BUDDHIST ART, RELIGION AND SOCIETY AT AMARĀVATĪ AND OTHER ALLIED CENTRES (BC 300 - AD 300)

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this written account **"Buddhist Art, Religion and Society at Amarāvatī and Other Allied Centres, BC 300-AD 300"** is the record of bonafide research carried out by **Francis N. J.** under my guidance and supervision. This thesis or part thereof has not been submitted earlier for the award of any other degree or diploma at this University or any other University.

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DECLARATION

I, Francis N. J., do hereby declare that this written account entitled "**Buddhist Art, Religion and Society at Amarāvatī and Other Allied Centres (BC 300–AD 300)**" is a bonafide record of research work done by me under the guidance and supervision of Dr. M. R. Raghava Varier, Reader (retired), Department of History, University of Calicut.

I also declare that this thesis has not been submitted by me fully or partly for the award of any degree, diploma, title or recognition before.

Calicut University Campus,
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This study of the historical dimensions of the Buddhist art of Amarāvatī and allied centres in the south-eastern Deccan stems out of my conviction that art can be studied meaningfully to form a synthetic view of the socio-religious milieu of a given historical context from which it springs. Selection of the present topic for my doctoral study has much to do with my interest in early Indian art—an interest which I have inherited from my sculptor-father, Sri N. P. Jose, and which has been fostered at the Department of History, University of Calicut, by my teachers, who taught me early Indian history and epigraphy at a time when I was still reading for the Master's in Ancient History. During the course of the present study, I have been helped by many individuals and institutions who have put me in a long trail of indebtedness.

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BOOK I

HISTORICISING THE ART OF AMARĀVATĪ

Part I

Preliminaries

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

The Buddhist art of early India is among the relatively better studied areas of early Indian artistic heritage of the period between 300 B C and 300 to 400 AD. Therefore, the sculptural and architectural forms of that art are among the best known of the early Indian traditions of art, and have been treated as cultural symbols of Indian traditions. Notwithstanding this greater clarity and concreteness about the outward forms of the early Buddhist art in juxtaposition to the art of other periods of early India, not much in precise form is known about the art activity during the period, out of which the sculptural and architectural forms emerged as the outward manifestation of the artistic tradition. Of all the early Buddhist sites in India, Amarāvatī (Latitude 16 34 N.; Longitude 80 17 E.), in District Guntur of Andhra Pradesh, has the longest history in terms of modern scholarship than that of Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Mathurā and Gandhāra and this scholarship is older than archaeology in India, the formation of the Archaeological Survey of India and the first museum in India.

The early Buddhist site of Amarāvatī, situated on the southern bank of the river Krsna, 35 km to the north of the modern town of Guntur in District Guntur (Andhra Pradesh) in the south-eastern Deccan has long been known to the students of early Indian history, archaeology and art ever since the pioneering efforts of Colonel Colin Mackenzie of the Trigonometrical Survey of India, towards the end of the 18th century at salvaging the ruins of the Buddhist *stūpa* (sepulchral mound) of the site from further ruination. The site is famous for the Buddhist *stūpa* and the

marble relief-sculptures that one adorned the railings of the *stūpa*. Ever since the importance of the site was brought to the notice of scholar-officials by Colonel Colin Mackenzie in the last decade of the 18th century, several archaeological excavations have been conducted at Amarāvatī and the adjacent village of Dharanikota which together constitute the ancient site of Dhānyakataka or Dhamñakata. These excavations have brought to light the ruins of a *stūpa*, the sculptured slabs of the railings of the *stūpa* with short label inscriptions, pot-sherds, coins and other artefacts of the different phases of occupation at the site.

A number of sites in the eastern Deccan with remains of *stūpa*s / *caitya*s and the sculptural decorations thereof had come to light by the end of the 19th century (Sewell, Robert, 1882) itself. The Buddhist affiliations of the remains of these sites, as for example that of Amarāvatī (Burgess, James, 1887, reprint 1970), Jaggayyapeta in District Krsna (Burgess, James, 1970) and Bhattiprolu in District Guntur (Bühler, G., 1894) were also known to the scholar-officials and archaeologists. To this list of sites was added such sites like Goli in District Guntur (Ramachandran, T. N., 1929), Gummadidurru or Ramireddipalle in District Krsna (Rao, Subba, 1928), Nāgārjunakonda in District Guntur (Longhurst, A. H., 1938) etc. in the first half of the 20th century.

While the interest of the British administrators, archaeological explorers and scholars on the eastern Deccan in the 19th century was primarily the recovering and museumising of the sculptural remains of Amarāvatī, the 20th century witnessed an interest in recovering and museumising the sculptures of the other Buddhist centres of the eastern Deccan like Gummadidurru, Goli, Nāgārjunakonda etc. The focus of archaeological excavations at Amarāvatī in the 19th and early 20th centuries had been either on the antiquity of the *stūpa*, its shape, size, and structure; or else, on the different sculptural and architectural phases at Amarāvatī. Decipherment and translation of the Amarāvatī inscriptions remained at the level of appendices to the

main discussion. Pre-occupation with the styles of Amarāvatī art, iconography and incidental features like dress, weapons, jewellery etc. depicted in the sculptures; with such issues as the form and chronology of the *stūpa*, and with the stylistic development of the sculptures and their relationship with other monuments persisted until the 1950s. The recent excavations conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India did help to understand the chronological sequence and stratigraphy of the site while at the same time bringing in a measure of systematisation and accuracy on the material. Any historiographical glance over the discourse on Amarāvatī during the last two centuries will show that most studies centred either (1) around the art and the sculptural styles of the *stūpa* or (2) on the architecture of the *stūpa* with its shape, size and structural phases in focus, or (3) on the chronology of the *stūpa*. This overemphasis on art and architecture *per se*, with regard to both Amarāvatī and the allied centres of the eastern Deccan, has vitiated a proper understanding of the historical dimensions of the construction of the *mahācaitya* and the linkages between the socio-economic processes and the Buddhism that developed in the eastern Deccan on the one hand and art and architecture on the other.

Although much headway has been registered in the archaeological excavations at, and the study of the art of, Amarāvatī, results of these researches remain more or less isolated blocks in time and space and have not been incorporated into historical studies. As already pointed out, the studies on Amarāvatī have suffered from, overemphasis on the art and architecture of the *stūpa*. A gulf between archaeological excavations and historical research is also discernible as has been noticed by H. Sarkar: "... We failed to study Dhānyakataka and its neighbourhood as a complete city, leading to an improper understanding of its ecological factors and its role in the early history of Andhra" (Sarkar, H., 1987: 632). He admits the fact that the *stūpas*

formed part of a larger social and economic fabric which was completely lost sight of (Sarkar, H., 1987: 632). While most scholars took the sculptural art of Amarāvatī as a source of history to shed light on the contemporary life, no serious attempt has been made to historicise art or to identify and analyse the relationship between art and the socio-religious mechanism at Amarāvatī. Such a stance on the part of the scholars failed to address such crucial issues as the society, religion and economy promoting a school of art, and the historical and social dimensions of art. Moreover, the problems of the rise of an urbanized or semi-urbanised agrarian economy, the religio-cultural influences from northern and central India via trade, the different social groups and the nature of their interaction, the rise and decline of the centre in terms of socio-economic and religious changes, etc. are desiderata in the discourse upon Amarāvatī.

The present study has as its main problematic, the role and function of the art of Amarāvatī and some of the allied centres in the contemporary history and society in the eastern Deccan and explores the historical dimensions of the art of Amarāvatī. The study of art is an important key to examine and understand historical processes. It stems out of the conviction that art can be studied meaningfully to form a synthetic view of the socio-religious and economic milieu of a given period. The production and appreciation of art or architecture are integral features that identify a people or a society in any historical context, and especially so in an ancient context since religious beliefs, canonical prescriptions, mythology, folklore, social ethos, political and economic patronage, aesthetics, technology etc. are involved in the production and appreciation of art. It is one of our presumptions, therefore, that the bent of mind that produced the systems of ancient Indian philosophy and literature also went into the production of early Indian art.

Art may be seen as a language in images and symbols by which man and society communicate in perceptual rather than in conceptual terms (Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 2, 1969: 485). It is one arena of human activity, which seeks to project the socio-cultural ethos of a given society. It is "an integral part of the mechanism of social existence" (Ken and Baynes, 1971: 5). Art activity has been seen as a social process in which artists, the work of art and the art public are interacting elements (James H. Barnet, cited in Desai, Devangana, 1990: 3). "Works of art are part of the society from which they spring" (Roskill, Mark, 1976: 11). Art has been described as a social product and the complex construction of a number of real, historical factors (Wolff, Janet, 1985: 1). It has been argued that art is a form of social activity through which a given society articulates its ethos, psyche and volition and that it is likely that the various social grades that went into the composition of the structural complex of the society are reflected in the objects of art produced by that society (Ray, Amita, 1978: 129).

The motivation for selecting the Buddhist art of Amarāvatī and the allied centres is that a study of the site in particular and of the allied centres in general provides with hitherto unexplored data for understanding the socio-cultural and economic aspects of the early history of eastern Deccan, gives us insights into the spread of Buddhist heterodoxy from the Gangetic basin over the centuries into eastern Deccan, and offers solutions to the enigma of the development of the Buddhist centres from within a Megalithic context. Amarāvatī-Dharanikota is taken in this paper as a single unit and focal point for study in contrast to what has been done by the archaeologists who dug up these two sites as separate entities for study and excavation. The rationale for considering these two sites as an organic whole is that, first of all, the inscriptions recovered from both the sites refer to the location of the Buddhist

establishments as Dhamñakata or Dhānyakataka—the ancient name of the locality—and attest to the common cultural affiliations. Secondly, the archaeological stratigraphies of both the sites, once placed side by side and read together, show unmistakable correspondence. Thirdly, a Buddhist religious establishment as a centre of popular worship could not originate and prosper in cultural isolation, unconnected with a settlement and devoid of patronage and still produce monumental buildings.

The period covered by the study i.e., from the 3rd century BC to the 3rd century AD needs justification. It is only from the layers ascribed by the excavator to the 4th to 3rd centuries BC that material remains in appreciable quantity have been collected. It is a period of transition from the Megalithic to the Early Historical in the eastern Deccan. Cultural and commercial contacts of the lower Krsna valley with central and north India resulting in the spread of elements of material culture and Buddhism to the south-eastern Deccan are also attested to since the 3rd century BC. Archaeologically, the period is noted for intensive "structural activity". The structural remains of the *mahācaitya* (great sepulchral and / or funerary mound) with the sculptured panels, votive and donative inscriptions, and coins belong to the period taken up for study. The period about 3rd century AD marks the climax of structural activity soon to be followed by a general decline in structural activity and trade.

The major arguments presented here in the form of lines inquiries, which have been advanced and sought to be worked out in the present study, are grouped into the following major clusters, organised into the various chapters.

Chapter 2

What are the nature, structure and contents of the nearly two century-old discourse upon Amarāvatī and how far have the Orientalist and Indian nationalist discourses determine the way in which knowledge on what is meant by the art of Amarāvatī has come to be accumulated?

Chapters 3 and 4

In what ways did the land-forms, ecology and natural resources of the south-eastern Deccan affect and characterise the development of the historical matrix of peasant economy, trade and urbanism to which the art-activity—which gave the typical outward form and appearance of the sculptures of Amarāvatī—was entwined?

Chapter 5

What were the characteristic features of the mode of patronage at Amarāvatī and the cognate centres in the south-eastern Deccan? How far was the mode of patronage at Amarāvatī in conformity with the picture of patronage as obtained from the Buddhist literary texts? How far did the socio-economic relations and organisation determine the patronage of the *mahācaitya* and thus also the sculptural forms that embellished the *mahācaitya*? Was the social function of the patronage activity that of (1) seeking association with the *mahācaitya*—the symbol of the Buddha, the *Sangha* and thus the source of power (2) projecting the donors into posterity, and (3) seeking legitimacy and validation of the donor groups who were relatively of recent origin in the historical context of the lower Krsna valley?

Chapter 6

How far did the *vihāra*s (monasteries), with affiliations to the *Caityaka* schismatic stratum, constitute the institutional base of the Buddhist art activity and social orientations at Amarāvatī? What were the major functions of the different cadres of the monastic groups, who were entrenched in the monasteries, as part of the institutional base at Amarāvatī? How far did the *mahācaitya* become the focus of the society, economy and religio-cultic life in the context of the multiplicity and hierarchy of *caitya*s in the south-eastern Deccan so as for us to characterise the society as becoming increasingly *caitya*-oriented?

Chapter 7

How far were the nature and contents of the forms of the art at Amarāvatī rooted in and characterised by the religio-cultic and doctrinal base of the *Caityaka* stratum of Buddhist monasticism? How far did the religiosity, cultic practices and doctrines of the *Caityaka*s deviate from that of the other Buddhist monastic groups? How far did the *Caityaka* religiosity converge with the doctrinal positions and the practices associated with the Mahāyāna forms of religiosity?

Chapter 8

Can the art of Amarāvatī with its inherent textuality be characterised as a Buddhist discourse? How far was the *mahācaitya* a semiosis of the changing phases of the institutionalised form of Buddhism on the one hand and the changing phases of the socio-economic structure on the other? What are the major thematic contents of the sculptural depictions, which once

adorned the visual imageries of the *mahācaitya* and contributed to its monumentality? Can it be argued on the basis of those art-historical evidences—which art historians had either not taken up or dismissed—that the sculptors of Amarāvatī were also involved in the earliest attempts at making the Buddha image in India, along with the sculptors of Mathurā and Gandhāra?

These eight clusters of the major questions and lines of inquiries listed above generate a model for historicizing the early Buddhist art of Amarāvatī and the allied centres in the eastern Deccan. In order to give anchorage to the arguments and discussions, all the available inscriptions have been studied, categorised and indexed in Book II (Index to Amarāvatī Inscriptions). Likewise, an index to select Amarāvatī sculptures with photographic reproductions has been presented in Book III (Index to Select Amarāvatī Sculptures), which responds to the problems of historical conceptualisation taken up in the study. It is hoped that the model proposed in the present study can be effectively used also for historicizing the art of the other early Buddhist centres of the period between 300 BC and 300 AD.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

The Eurocentric, colonial art-historical notions and the revivalist and obscurantist Indian nationalist art-historical notions during the last two centuries have together contributed to the languishing of the sculptures recovered from the early Buddhist site of Amarāvatī and the related sites, with their status as museumised relics and without their having any role in the studies on the historical processes of the day. This chapter proposes a schematisation of the extant studies on Amarāvatī and the allied centres based on the three processes mentioned hereunder: (1) The British colonial art-historical discourse transformed the limestone sculptures of Amarāvatī into the "Elliot Marbles"—which represented the emerging colonial practice of the maturing of Indian archaeology within the British Empire; and represented also the salvaging of the Amarāvatī sculptures from the native vandalism. These sculptures were then charged with Graeco-Roman links and ethnological meanings by the Orientalists and Indologists, in their own self-declared project for knowing the history of India for the benefit of native Indians. (2) Subsequently, the Indian nationalist discourse transformed these sculptures into the "Amarāvatī Marbles", which represented the glorious sculptural and decorative traditions of ancient Indians that had their role in the emotional integration of Indians in the period of struggle against British colonialism. (3) The persistence even today of a combination of these views of the sculptures of Amarāvatī and the allied centres of the south-eastern Deccan lead to biased opinions on the part of art historians to the effect that the Buddhist art of Andhra Pradesh was not in tune with the development of the early Buddhist narrative sculpture and that the people of Andhra Pradesh were not developing along the line of the Buddhists of the north-west of India.

2.1 Historiographcal Critique

This section takes a historiographical over-view of the development of the discourse upon Amarāvatī during the two centuries that followed the discovery of the *caitya* and the realisation of its importance. It goes on to show that this discourse forms an integral part of the British and Indian nationalist discourses on ancient India in a broader sense and that different phases of writings on Amarāvatī have been in tune with the changing phases of the British expansion in India and the rise and growth of Indian nationalist movement.

2.1.1 Orenitalist Discourse

British antiquarian interest in India started as a by-product of and as a sequel to the establishment of English East India Company's rule. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries the officers of the East India Company, out of administrative compulsions, tried to develop familiarity with the geography, languages, customs, religions and history of the 'natives' of Bengal and the Carnatic (Chatterjee, Atul and Burn, Richard, 1943; Marshall, P. J., 1970; Thapar, Romila, 1990). In 1784, the officers of the Company founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal that marked the beginning of an organized British project to decipher and construct the history of India (Kejariwal, O. P., 1988). This was followed by the establishment of several surveys, like the Trigonometrical Survey of India for the collection of information that was thought necessary and useful for the British in India. The surveyors reported the existence of the remains of temples, caves and shrines; and early coins, inscriptions and manuscripts of ancient texts. Subsequently these objects were transformed into 'artifacts', 'antiquities' and 'art' by the British through an interpretative strategy of constructing 'history' for India (Cohn, Bernard S., 1992: 301-

329). This necessitated an intensive search for the ancient remains and the manuscripts.

The accumulation of the remains necessitated 'safe custody', leading to a process of museumising these antiquities as a representative Indian collection for visualizing India's past (Guha-Thakurta, T., 1997: 21-51). Part of this process was the formation of archaeology as a discipline in colonial India, for the maturing of which Amarāvatī became a crucial site (Guha-Thakurta, T., 1997: 35-38). It was during this period of survey and search for the ancient remains that Colonel Colin Mackenzie of the Trigonometrical Survey of India heard about the discovery of antiquities in Amarāvatī and visited the place in 1797. Col. Mackenzie's realisation of the importance of the ancient remains at Amarāvatī and his pioneering effort at salvaging the ruins from further ruination marked the beginning of scholarly interest on Amarāvatī. He returned to Amarāvatī in 1816 and prepared plans and sketches of the place and drawings of several of the marble sculptures that he recovered from the mound that had been wantonly dug up by a local zamindar. The earliest notice of the remains was a note prepared by Mackenzie in 1803, entitled "*Memorandum of Amaresvaram in Guntur & C*" as part of his volume of drawings of the sculptured pieces recovered from Amarāvatī. Though he published his first report in 1807 as a paper (Sewell, Roberts, reprint 1973: 11-13, for excerpts) in the *Asiatic Researches*, the official journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, followed by a "*Memorandum of Antiquities & C in 1817*, and one more paper in 1823 in *Asiatic Journal* (Sewell, Robert, reprint 1973: 14-19, for excerpts), the remains of Amarāvatī continued to be in a state of neglect till the beginning of the 1860s.

Mackenzie's papers form the primary reports of the ancient remains at Amarāvatī and the adjacent village of Dharanikota. These reports of his survey contained a geographical description of the site of Amarāvatī, of the

locale of the temple of *Amareśvara,* the mound which was locally known as *Dipaladinne* ('Hill of Lamps'), a description of the way the mound was ransacked for suspected treasure and building material by a local zamindar and of the remains of the fort of Dharanikota. Allowing that in the first and second decades of the 19th century the Orientalists were still working out their paradigms on Indian culture and that study of early Indian languages was yet to mature, it is reasonable that "It was not till long after Col. Mackenzie's time that it was first surmised that the Amarāvatī *stūpa* was a Buddhist monument" (Burgess, James, reprint 1970: 3). Seen in this background, his supposition that it was of the Jains could have been a clue to the later realisation of its real cultural affinity. The process of monumentalisation of Amarāvatī art in the late 19th and 20th centuries can be traced back to Mackenzie's words. "The slabs . . . are remarkable for the beauty of the sculptures upon them . . . very neatly executed. Many a story is completely told with clearness and precision, and the characters accurately defined. The passions also are naturally exhibited and strongly marked . . . the carvings of the *Dipaladinne* are far superior to any ancient or modern Hindu production" (Burgess, James, 1970: 16). Yet it required a major change in aesthetic standards before non-Grecian proportion and form could be rediscovered and admired (Marshall, P. J., 1970: 3) in early Indian art objects as by James Fergusson's rediscovery of the Amarāvatī marbles from the coach-house of the Fife House at London, in 1867. Though many of Mackenzie's observations were imperfect (Burgess, James, 1970: 20) later explorers and authors were compelled to fall back on his notes, papers and sketches for precise measurements of the *mahācaitya* since the ruins were no longer *in situ.*

Even after Col. Mackenzie's initial operation at the site and preparation of drawings of the sculptured slabs, no attempt was made either to protect or to excavate and preserve the remains until 1845 when Sir Walter Elliot dug up some of the sculptured slabs from *Dipaladinne.*

In the period between Mackenzie's exploration and Elliot's excavation, H.H. Wilson brought out a *Descriptive Catalogue of Mackenzie Collection* in 1828 and of the presence of "Roman coins dug up chiefly at *Dipaldinne*" (Wilson, H. H., 1828) among the Mackenzie Collections. The real state of some of the marbles, which were kept in a market place in the city suburb of Masulipatam, was mentioned by Dr. Benza in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* (Sewell, Robert, 1973: 20; Burgess, James, 1970: 17).

By the 1830's attempts at deciphering the early Indian scripts were gaining momentum. Several scholar-officials were working backwards from the current, known scripts, through *Siddhamātrkā* and *Gupta Brāhmī*, to the early *Brāhmī* of the Aśokan inscriptions and thus securing entry into the numerous inscriptions of the country. This took James Prinsep, Assay Master of the Calcutta Mint, to the copies of a short inscription on a stone slab from Amarāvatī as well. Prinsep partially succeeded in deciphering this late *Brāhmī* inscription of Amarāvatī. Prinsep thought that the script of the inscription (cited by Lüders, H., 1973: 1214) was of the same type as the one found in the cave inscriptions at Mahābalipuram and that it was similar to the alphabets of Chhattisgarh (Cohn, Bernard S., 1992: 314). Thus, although his translation and transliteration were far from being accurate (Sewell, Robert, 1973: 19), he conjectured that the inscription "refers in all probability to the foundation and endowment of some Buddhistic institution by the monarch of his day" (Cohn, Bernard S., 1992: 314). It was now possible to view the marbles not simply as pieces of art but as art that had some purpose to serve. However, it was not until 1868 that renderings of the inscriptions appeared as appendices to works on art and architecture (Fergusson, James, reprint 1971: 238-240). The decipherment and study of these did not produce enthusiasm comparable to that of the decipherment of the Aśokan edicts, in spite of the fact that

the short label inscriptions of Amarāvatī, taken together, provided rich evidence on early Indian society, economy and religion.

In 1845 Sir Walter Elliot, Commissioner at Guntur, excavated the site and sent a considerable number of the recovered marbles to Madras. The fact that the report of his excavation and other papers, except a sketch, did not survive a ship-wreck never obliterated the title of 'Elliot Marbles' to a good number of Amarāvatī sculptures. The only account left by him about his work was a letter which Sir Walter sent to Robert Sewell (Sewell, Robert, 1973: 67-69) preceding the publication of the latter's work on Amarāvatī, and some of the subsequent writers have frequently referred to his work. With the excavation of Sir Walter Elliot, the sculptures from Amarāvatī became a collection in itself.

Sir Walter Elliot admitted that he "began to dig quite haphazard" and that he had "not the slightest idea at first, what was the character of the structure", which dawned on him, "slowly as the excavation proceeded " (Sewell, Robert, 1973: 68). Yet, most of the sculptures that were sent later to the British Museum were "the fruits" of his "search" (Sewell, Robert, 1973: 68). It may not be out of place in this context to observe that this kind of excavation, with also the absence of reports, could have destroyed the evidence and confused later excavators.

James Fergusson who was deeply interested in Indian architecture wrote a "*Description of Amarāvatī Tope in Guntur*" (Fergusson, James, 1868: 132-166) before describing the Amarāvatī marbles in the British Museum and the drawings of Mackenzie in the second part of his volume on *Tree and Serpent Worship* (Fergusson, James, reprint 1971). These works illustrated the architecture and history of a remote period of which only dim and fragmentary information was previously available (Burgess, James, 1970: 18). He tried to identify scenes and themes of many of the sculptured panels in the light of the studies on Buddhism that were fast

developing and viewed the marbles as forming part of the 'outer rail', 'inner rail', 'inner enclosure', 'pillars', etc. of the *stūpa*. He infers on the basis of what he calls "so much of Greek" and "Bactrian art in the architectural details of the Amarāvatī *stūpa*" (Fergusson, James, 1971: 172) that the rail belonged to the early Christian era. While inspiring further research, the *Tree and Serpent Worship* contained certain incorrect opinions (Subramanian, K. R., reprint 1981: 37) and suffered from a measure of bias characteristic of the Indology of the 19th century. The worship of the tree and serpent as seen at Sāñcī and Amarāvatī was considered as indicating the interconnection of Indian and Mediterranean ideas. Fergusson's Eurocentrism traced the origin of the Amarāvatī art to "sculpture taught by the Greeks" (Fergusson, James, 1971: 225). Having been convinced of the mythological nature of Indian religions and art, he placed Buddhism in the framework of the worship of the tree and serpent and not the other way round.

Although Fergusson was not well-versed in early Indian languages and scripts, he added an appendix on Amarāvatī inscriptions prepared by Sir Alexander Cunningham (Fergusson, James, 1971: 238-40) who was the Archaeological Surveyor and Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India since 1870 (?). Sir Cunningham realised that Amarāvatī inscriptions were donative in character and that the sculptured slabs and pillars were donated by worshippers including *gahapati*s (householders), *thera*s (elders), *bikhuni*s (nuns), etc.

In 1877 the *stūpa* site was again excavated, this time by Robert Sewell who was professionally untrained, but who thought it advantageous to preserve "these priceless gems of ancient Indian art" (Amarāvatī marbles) for making the past history of India interesting "to the student, the antiquary, or the statesman" (Sewell, Robert, 1973: 6). His *Report on the Amarāvatī Tope* published the results of his operations towards fixing

the position of the stones as they lay under the soil (Sewell, Robert, 1973: 9). The Report gave detailed description of the 89 marbles excavated in 1877. The historical remains of the neighbouring villages and *taluks* were surveyed and noticed by him in the *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras* (Sewell, Robert, 1882).

With the establishment of the Archaeological Survey of India, especially from the 1880s onwards, the amateurish exploration of the antiquarians and Indologists gradually gave way to the professional excavation of the archaeologists. Planned excavations, decipherment of the inscriptions and co-ordinate publication of the report on excavations and epigraphy were some of the important features of this second phase of the development of the studies on Amarāvatī. The emphasis on the art and structure of the *mahācaitya,* with the addition of its chronology based on political history, still persisted.

During this period, aspects of the Buddhist history, mythology, religion and canonical and secular literature were also being widely discussed upon in the academic circles, providing for a better understanding of the archaeological remains at Amarāvatī. However, this accumulation of knowledge about Buddhism, as Philip C. Almond has shown, is to be viewed as part of the Victorian discourse about Buddhism (Almond, 1988). This British discovery of Buddhism is part of a broader discourse about the Orient, which was presented "by the West, in the West, and primarily for the West" (Almond, 1988: 5). Moreover, this "construction and interpretation of Buddhism reveals much about nineteenth-century concerns and can be read as an important sign of crucial socio-cultural aspects of the Victorian period" (Almond, 1988: 5-6) as is the case in general of all Orientalist discourse. Scholars from continental Europe and America were also involved in the history of Buddhist studies—which evolved primarily on the basis of the study of

numerous canonical texts attributed to Buddhism—during the more than two century-old discourse on Buddhism (De Jong, J. W., 1987; Conze, Edward, 1967: 1-32).

A major excavation was conducted at the site in 1881-'82 by James Burgess of the Archaeological Survey of Madras. The results of his excavation and examination of the remains were published in *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeta* (Burgess, James, reprint 1970) and *Notes on Amarāvatī stūpa* (Burgess, James, reprint 1972). The former was intended to be complementary to Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*. It contained a description of the specimens of slabs with sculptures and inscriptions along with photographic illustrations. He traced the origin of the *stūpa*s or *caitya*s to the burial *tumuli* or sepulchres, each surrounded by a stone circle (Burgess, James, 1970: 23), examples of which are to be found in and around Amarāvatī (Rea, Alexander, 1908-'09: 90). Many of the sculptures were recognized to be illustrating *Jātaka* stories. He took a major step forward in his attempt to examine the development of the style of art by separating the earlier sculptures of the collection from the rest (Burgess, James, 1970: 66-69). Since Burgess was working simultaneously on the Buddhist cave temples and inscriptions also, he could hint at a picture of Buddhism with householders and traders supporting the renovation of the *stūpa*, though he attached little importance to it. Burgess argued, mainly on the basis of the style of the earlier sculptures and translations of the inscriptions, that the *stūpa* was first raised as early as the 2nd century BC (Burgess, James, 1970: 112) and that the *stūpa* had been undergoing additions or embellishments by the middle of the 2nd century AD (Burgess, James, 1970: 100). The early political history of Andhra was becoming clearer with the study of inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas, including the one which refers to Vāsistīputra Pulumāvi (Burgess, James, 1970: 3-5, 100).

The inscriptions noticed by James Burgess were translated by Dr. E. Hultzsch, Bhagavanlal Indraji and G. Bühler; and some of the translations were corrected by Franke (cited by Lüders, H., reprint 1973: 141-157). These translations except that of Indraji, on the one hand, were proof of the German interest in Indology with a different note from that of the British as well as from the-then dominant German intellectual quest for India (Rothermund, Dietmar, 1986) through literature and religion, but on the other, placed Amarāvatī art in its religious and chronological context.

In 1888, 1889, 1905-'06 and 1908-'09 Alexander Rea conducted excavations (Rea, Alexander, 1905-'06: 116-119; Rea, 1908-'09: 88-91) at the site. He discovered a large number of sculptures, inscriptions, rail panels, etc. There is reason to believe that Rea was aware of the importance of the material culture of the sites for his report mentions discovery of grass cutting implements, vessels, bronze lamps (Rea, Alexander, 1905-'06: 118), etc. He also knew that the presence of pre-historic stone implements in and around Amarāvatī and the discovery of the remains of megaliths under a smaller *stūpa* indicated the existence of a large population long before the foundation of the earliest of the Buddhist monastic buildings at Amarāvatī (Rea, Alexander, 1908-'09: 90-91). Rea placed the antiquities of Bhattiprolu, Gudivāda, Gantasāla, Amarāvatī etc. in a framework of south Indian Buddhism (Rea, Alexander, 1894. reprint 1969).

Since the excavations of Rea at the turn of the century, no archaeological excavation was conducted at the site until the 1950's. This was largely due to the unearthing of debris of ancient cities in the Indus valley and the consequent but gradual shift of emphasis from art to pre-history / proto-history and to the urban centres of the north-west of India. However, it was during this interval that the corpus of the-then available

Amarāvatī inscriptions was revised and published by the Archaeological Survey of India in its journals.

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, carried a study of two medieval Pillar inscriptions from Amarāvatī (1900-01: 146-160). The Mayidavolu Plates of Sivaskandhavarman addressed to the representative of the Pallavas at Dhānyakataka were published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol IV (1900-01: 88-89). In the *Annual Report* of 1905-'06, Dr. Sten Konov noticed the inscriptions copied from Amarāvatī and made an important observation that the language of these old inscriptions was identical with the *Pāli* of the Buddhist literature (Konov, Sten, 1905-'06: 165-166). Heinrich Lüders prepared a *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* as an Appendix to *Epigraphic India*, Vol. X (Lüders, reprint 1973). While revising and listing the Amarāvatī inscriptions, including those published earlier by Burgess and Hultzsch, he placed these along with the votive inscriptions from Mathurā, Sāranāth and Bodh Gayā in northern India; Bhārhut and Sāñcī in central India; Nāsik, Kārle, Kānheri, Nānāghat etc. in the western Deccan; and Bhattiprolu and Jaggayyapeta in the eastern Deccan.

The inscriptions noticed until 1917 in the *Annual Reports* of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy were edited with text and translation by Ramaprasad Chanda (Chanda, Ramaprasad, 1919-20: 258-275). He delineated on palaeographical grounds the four different varieties of the *Brāhmī* alphabet used in the inscriptions, which indicated the successive stages in the growth of the *mahācaitya* (Chanda, Ramaprasad, 1919-20: 259-261) and observed that "the signs from ancient *Brāhmī* epigraphs from Amarāvatī agreed with the southern variety of the Aśoka alphabet" (Chanda, Ramaprasad, 1919-20: 260). The *Prākrt* language employed in these was found to have close affinity with the *Paiśācī Prākrt* (Chanda, Ramaprasad, 1919-20: 260). Since the fifty-eight inscriptions edited by him did not yield information on dynasties except

the clan-name *Pākotaka* which he identified with the Vakatakas, he could not realise the importance of the contents for the history of eastern Deccan.

In 1937-'38, Seshadri Sastri discussed about an inscription on a pillar recovered from Dharanikota, which recorded the erection of the *Dharmacakradhvaja* of the *mahāvihāra* at Dhamñakata (Sastri, Seshadri P., 1937-38: 256-260).

In putting together the evidences which Indian inscriptions provided on the existence of the Buddhist *bhiksunī* order in India, Dr. B. C Law pointed out that as many as eight Amarāvatī inscriptions referred to the Buddhist nuns who figured as female donors (Law, B. C., (Law, B. C., 1940: 31-34). This brief paper was the first to classify data on any group of donors mentioned in the Amarāvatī inscriptions.

D. C. Sircar interpreted a fragmentary pillar inscription in early *Brāhmī* characters as a yet unknown pillar edict of the Maurya king Aśoka (Sircar, D. C., 1963-64: 40-43). Sircar analysed the language, palaeography and orthography of the inscription and suggested that the *stūpa* seemed to have been built by Aśoka in the mid-3rd century BC[i]

Apart from *Epigraphia Indica*, *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* also published from time to time the newly discovered or excavated inscriptions from Amarāvatī. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1887-1905 (reprint, 1986: 12-14) noticed the medieval Sanskrit and Telugu inscriptions of the Kakatiya period from the Amareśvara Temple. Lists of stone inscriptions copied during the year1936-'37 and 1941-'42 were published in *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1936-'37 (p. 42) and 1941-'42 (p. 91) respectively. The *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the years 1953-'54 (p. 21), 1954-'55 (p. 28) 1956-'57 (pp. 42, 98), 1957-'58 (p. 73), 1959-'60 (pp. 47-

51), 1965-'66 (pp. 61-65) and 1970-'71 (p. 33) noticed a good number of label inscriptions discovered during the respective years.

The spade-work of the 19th century archaeologists, epigraphists and Indologists, though still at its early stages of development, had collected sufficient data for producing histories of India by the beginning of the 20th century. Since the European, especially British, historians writing on India were not free from the ideology and spirit that determined the British policies in India, their accounts were either 'descriptive', presenting the thoughts and acts of Indians; or 'commentative', representing Indian thoughts and institutions as distortions of normal and natural thoughts and institutions; or 'explanatory', making the strange and incoherent seem rational and normal; or 'hegemonic', offering a comprehensive and totalising text (Inden Ronald, 1986: 401-446). This framework was explicitly or implicitly present in the general histories of India written by the Europeans, and the studies on Amarāvatī were no exception to this trend in Indian historiography between the consolidation of the British Empire and Indian Independence.

The major trends of this period, with regard to the discourse on Amarāvatī, are summarised here. While appreciating the style of Amarāvatī sculptures some art historians emphasised the Graeco-Roman connection or inspiration as done by V. A. Smith who argued that the art of Amarāvatī was "an Indianised adaptation of an Antonine development of Alexandrian art" (Smith, V. A., 1909: 116). To E. B. Havell the sculptures of Amarāvatī appeared to indicate two distinct groups of racial elements, one representing the "undeveloped indigenous Indian tradition" and the other "an importation from Western Asia" then "under Hellenic influence" (Havell, E. B., 1920: 16). Jouveau Dubreuil highlighted the structure of the *stūpa*, the sculptural art of which was inspired by the Greek and Roman arts (Dubreuil, Jouveu, 1920: 7). Irwin noted the influence of both

Mathurā and Gandhāra in the narrative method employed in the sculptures (Irwin, John, 1966: 87). The scenes depicted in the sculptured panels were identified by Foucher, Vogel, Kempers, René Grousset, Mille and Kramrisch (Sivaramamurti, reprint 1977. *passim*). The sculptures were placed against the background of the political history of the Sātavāhanas by Smith, Barnet and others (Rapson, E. J., reprint 1968: 537-546). The political history of the Sātavāhanas was reconstructed from the study of coins also. Notable of these studies were of Rapson (Rapson, E. J., reprint 1989) and Brown (Brown, C. J., 1922).

The obsession with the formula of art-architecture-political history of the Amarāvatī *stūpa* found a typical expression in Douglas Barrett's study of the sculptures from Amarāvatī kept in the British Museum (Barrett, Douglas, 1954). The issues which Barrett took up—the form of the *stūpa*, the chronology of its decoration, the stylistic developments in the sculptures and their relations with other monuments—were as old as the period of James Fergusson. The period he suggested for the *stūpa*—the 2nd century and first half of the 3rd century AD (Barrett, Douglas, 1954: 40)—was untenable with respect even to the-then known epigraphic evidence, let alone with respect to data from the recent excavations (Ghosh, A. and Sarkar, H., 1964-65: 168-169). He also drew up the Early Phase (circa 125-150 AD), the Middle Phase (150-200 AD) and the Later Phase (3rd-4th C. AD) of the art of Amarāvatī. Subsequently he reviewed his earlier stand that "It will be possible to argue that before the 1st century AD there was neither the social organization nor the economic wealth to erect a series of monuments in the Āndhradeśa. It is not even certain that its inhabitants professed the Buddhist religion" (Barrett, 1954: 40) and accepted a new chronology for the early phase which is still only "after about 80 AD"(Barrett, 1967-68, reprint 1991: 95). Yet, Barrett seemed to be aware of the historical significance of the sculptural tradition and its influence for the subsequent history of the eastern Deccan, South

India and South East Asia (Barrett, 1956. reprint, 1991: 129-144). I. K. Sarma has criticized Barrett's reassessment of the early history of the great *stūpa* for its "bias and meagre data" (Sarma, I. K., 1975: 64).

Philippe Stern and Mireille Bénisti recognized four phases in the Amarāvatī art. The time-bracket they suggested for these phases ranged from between the period of Bhārhut-Sāñcī on the one hand and that of Nāgārjunakonda on the othercited in, Ghosh, A. and Sarkar, H., 1964-65: 169).

2.1.2 Indian Nationalist Discourse

As a reaction to the British view of India's past and as a by-product of the rise and growth of Indian nationalism, Indian writers took up the study of India's past. While condemning and contradicting the British distortions of India's past, these nationalist historians projected the glories and achievements of ancient India, supported the claims and demands of nationalists, and used history as a tool for promoting nationalism. Indian art was idealized and put on par with philosophy. Along with ancient Indian literature, Indian art too attained its attributed role in the emotional integration of Indians in the period of struggle against the British. The nationalist preoccupations in art during the first quarter of the 20th century were such that sketches and paintings and sculpture were produced for expressing the nationalist sentiment in art as an Indian reaction against the colonial and Orientalist discourse on Indian art. As shown by Tapati Guha-Thakurta in her study of transformation of art in Bengal in late 19th and 20th centuries, the nationalist formulations of Indian art aimed at establishing a new Indian art, towards the beginning of the 20th century, by the following two-tiered approach: (1) through a new reading of early Indian art history with emphasis on the Indianness of the Buddhist art of Gandhāra, and a search for the 'golden age'of Indian art not in Gandhāra as was supposed by the British, but instead either at Nāsik, Kārle, Bhārhut

and Sāñcī, or else at Sāranāth and in the reliefs of Amarāvatī; and (2) through the making of a new 'national' and 'Indian' art (Guha-Thakurta, Tapati, 1992). In spite of this nationalist emphasis, the basic structure or contents of the nationalist writings with regard to Amarāvatī did not change from that of the European writings. The important studies of the period of nationalist struggle are given below.

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy took an idealistic view of the art of Amarāvatī, identifying many of the sculptured scenes and interpreting the motif and symbols employed in decoration. He argued that the Indian sculptors expressed higher spiritual values in their art and that Greek art was not aesthetically superior to Indian art. For him the Amarāvatī marbles represented "the most voluptuous and delicate flower of Indian sculpture" (Coomaraswamy, Ananda K., 1972 (a): 70-71). The schools of Amarāvatī and Ceylon, he suggested, are far more characteristically Indian and much more independent of the Hellenistic influences than the art of the Kusānas (Coomaraswamy, 1978: Part II, 7). Moreover, he thought that the few Buddha figures of Amarāvatī exhibited "original creative imagination" (Coomaraswamy, 1978: Part II, 7). The Catalogue of the collection of the Amarāvatī sculptures kept in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Coomaraswamy, (1978: Part II, 51-57), which was a gift of the Government Museum, Madras, included, among others, a 2nd century AD head of Buddha figure in white stucco (Coomaraswamy, 1978: Part II, 51). The Indian collection in the Boston Museum was also the result of the growing American interest in India and Indian studies.

The political history of Andhra was touched upon by R. C. Majumdar (Majumdar, R. C., 1987: 132-135). Nilakanta Sastri placed Amarāvatī against the background of the political history of the Sātavāhanas and the commercial activity and the Graeco-Roman influences of the early Christian centuries within a regional perspective

(Nilakanta Sastri, K. A., 1958: 93-94). The depiction of buildings in the sculptures of Amarāvatī was taken by S. K. Saraswati for indicating the architectural styles of ancient Indian cities (Saraswati, S. K., 1951: 484).

A connected account of the Buddhist remains of Andhra and the early political history of the region was brought out by K. R. Subramanian (Subramanian, K. R., reprint 1981). Situating Amarāvatī in the midst of Buddhist centres along routes of trade and communication, he noted the structure of the *stūpa*, social life as depicted in the sculptures, decline of Buddhism, and survival and influence of Amarāvatī art. In spite of its originality, the work was not free from the nationalist 'grandeur' of art or the 'colonial' achievements of early Andhra.

In 1942 C. Sivaramamurti reviewed the sculptures from Amarāvatī kept in the Government Museum, Madras (Sivaramamurti, reprint 1977). This monograph was a comprehensive catalogue in content, completing the decipherment of inscriptions then available, offering new identifications and correcting some of those previously suggested by scholars. Questions regarding the schools of Buddhism and of the origin of the *stūpa* attracted his attention. His study of the art, iconography, symbolism of the sculptures and every conceivable glimpse of life depicted in the sculptures enabled him to periodise the sculptures and to compare the features of the different periods with those of Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Mathurā, Ajantā and later Indian schools of art. Correlation between the inscriptions and Buddhist texts on the one hand and sculptures on the other was also attempted. Though Sivaramamurti did not bring in any new methodology for approaching the existing problems or address himself to new problems, he nearly finished the preparatory work necessary for undertaking interpretation on a broader scale.

O. C. Gangoly critically appraised the value and character of the Amarāvatī School of sculpture in a highly informed survey of the rise and

development of the Andhra School in all its branches. (Gangoly, O. C., 1973). He rightly recognized that the Andhra School of sculpture had developed in connection with the cult of decorating and worshipping the *caitya,* and associated it doctrinally with the *caityavandakas.* Gangoly was able to point out the religious and ritualistic affiliation of the school of art that developed in the south-eastern Deccan

Indian Independence set off a process of defining or / and redefining the essentials of what constituted the new nation. A process of what Tapati Guha-Thakurta calls "instituting the nation in art" began with Independence in which early Indian sculptures emerged "as a chosen field for the self-representation of the nation" (Guha-Thakurta, Tapati, 1997: 90-114). India was restructuring her polity, society and economy. Historians were expected to provide expert professional answers to issues emanating from the past (Narayanan, M. G. S., 1974). Theoretical developments in the social sciences enriched the perspective of the historian. Thus, a shift of emphasis from straight-line political history to socio-economic history was noticeable in the historiography of the post-Independence period. With regard to the studies on Amarāvatī, this change was apparent in the 1950's; but since then many of the old problems, like the chronology and structure of the *stūpa*, its sculptural phases and style, discussed at length by the European and the nationalist writers, got a new lease of life in the writings till the end of the 1970s.

Niharranjan Ray who had attempted a sociological study of early Indian art in 1945 (Ray, Niharranjan, 1945) argued that changes in the socio-economic structure and social psychology caused fundamental changes in art (Ray, Niharranjan, 1951: 527). The art of Amarāvatī, he argued, reflected the disposition and attitude of a mercantile social economy (Ray, Niharranjan, 1951: 528), which was getting evolved in the Deccan in the period of the prosperous maritime trade between the

Mediterranean world and the Deccan and South India, from about the middle of the 1st century AD. While introducing a humanistic, social and aesthetic approach to the study of Indian art, he proposed that objects of Indian art were valid and potent as objects of art itself and that they were formal articulations of collectively felt experiences (Ray, Niharranjan, 1974: ix-x). He also discussed the relation between idea and image (Ray, Niharranjan, 1973), and the meaning and social functions of Indian art.

2.1.3. Modern Scholarship

The writings of D. D. Kosambi marked an interdisciplinary and systematic approach to ancient Indian history, in terms of material foundations and relations of production. Kosambi took up the opening up and settlement of the Deccan within a theoretical framework that explained historical developments on the bases of changes in the modes of productions. He identified the role of the northern traders, the Brāhmins and the Buddhist monasteries in the transition from primitive barter system to village economy and trade in the Deccan (Kosambi, D. D., 1975: 262-270). The aboriginal origin of the Sātavāhanas is deduced by him (Kosambi, D. D., 1975: 243-244). Based on a statistical analysis of the Amarāvatī hoard of the punch-marked coins, he concluded that the hoard was deposited during the early days of the last Mauryan emperor Brhadratha (Kosambi, D. D., 1981: 144).

The Archaeological Survey of India revived excavations at the site in 1958-'59, under the direction of Dr. R. Subramanyam and K. Krishna Murthy. The result of the operation which brought to light inscribed architectural pieces, sculptured fragments, reliquaries, etc. was noticed in *Indian Archaeology - A Review*, 1958-'59.

With the objectives of establishing the stratigraphical sequence and thus providing a firm chronological framework to the history of the *stūpa*,

I. K. Sarma excavated the site in 1973 '74 (*Indian Archaeology- A Review*, 1973-74: 3-5). The excavation revealed five cultural periods from circa 4^{th}–3^{rd} centuries BC to circa 6^{th}–11^{th} centuries AD. Period I was coeval with the Mauryan phase; Period II was post-Aśokan; Period III corresponded to the Sātavāhana phase to which the *stūpa* as it stands today belonged; Period IV was of the Iksvāku-Visnukundin phase; and Period V belonged to the early medieval phase (*Indian Archaeology- A Review*, 1973-74: 4-5). In 1974-75 (*Indian Archaeology - A Review*, 1974-75: 2), I. K. Sarma further linked up the structural phases of the *stūpa* with the strata identified in 1973-'74.

Dharanikota was also systematically excavated but without ever considering Amarāvatī-Dharanikota as a single unit. The excavations of 1962-'63 (*Indian Archaeology - A Review*, 1962-63: 1-2), 1963-'64 (*Indian Archaeology- A Review*, 1963-64: 2-4) and 1964-'65 (*Indian Archaeology- A Review*, 1964-65: 2-3) established a clear stratigraphy and chronology for Dharanikota. Attempts were made to correlate the different deposits with the habitational strata (*Indian Archaeology- A Review*, 1963-64: 2).

Though these excavations were only small-scale vertical diggings, they did provide a general picture of the material culture of the area under study. This helped to de-emphasize the importance attached to styles of art. But the excavations could, in no way, keep pace with the historians trying to work out the social and economic aspects of a culture, people or settlement. This conspicuous gap between historical research and archaeological excavations at the site points to the need of attempting a fresh reading of the reports of the earlier excavations and to the direction which future excavations at the site should take.

The silver punch-marked coins found as a hoard at Amarāvatī were catalogued by P. L. Gupta. His study of the coins (Gupta, P. L., 1963)

treated only the physical aspects of the coins such as the nature of the metal, their fabrication, symbols and varieties, and weights. With his knowledge of other coin hoards, he worked out a chronology of the coins. A major drawback of this study is its failure to work out what the coins meant to the people who used them or the functions which they served. However, he pointed out that the Amarāvatī hoard was the biggest hoard of the punch-marked coins and that the coins of this type found in South India seemed to have travelled from North India (Gupta, P. L., 1991: 41).

Ghosh and Sarkar have considered a stele from among the finds uncovered in the 1958-'59 operation at Amarāvatī as the specimen representing the earliest phase of the sculptural art (Ghosh, A. and Sarkar, H., 1964-65) at Amarāvatī. They pointed out the artistic affiliation of the earliest phase of the sculptural art to the early Central Indian School. Labels engraved on the sculptures as if to explain the Buddhist theme of the depiction, like those on the Bhārhut reliefs, along with the palaeography of the labels, indicated late 2nd century BC for the date of the phase. Interestingly, they traced back the beginnings of art at Amarāvatī in particular and South-east India in general to their specimen.

The forty-four early inscriptions recovered in 1958-'59 and in the earlier unspecified operations—kept in the Archaeological Museum, Amarāvatī—ascribable to the 3rd-2nd centuries BC, were catalogued by A. Ghosh. He established that the *stūpa* had an origin earlier than 2nd century BC. According to him, the two inscriptions in Aśokan characters on the fragmentary but massive granite pillars, which were the uprights of the earliest railing along with the fragmentary pillar inscription ascribed by D. C. Sircar to Aśoka, pointed unmistakably to Aśoka as the founder of the Amarāvatī *stūpa* (Ghosh, A., 1979: 97-103).

Continuing the tradition of Ghosh, the inscriptions of the early Christian era were catalogued by H. Sarkar (Sarkar, H., 1971: 1-13), thus

furthering the documentation of the inscriptions kept in the Amarāvatī Museum. Like the studies immediately preceding that of Sarkar, analysis of the contents of the inscriptions except those required for working out the chronology, eluded his study as well.

Vidya Dehejia has analysed the chronological delicacies of the Amarāvatī epigraphs in her study on the early Buddhist rock-cut temples (Dehejia, Vidya, 1972: 191-92). Dehejia has classified the early activity at Amarāvatī into two phases belonging to the Post-Aśokan era. Of these, the first phase has been placed between 80 and 60 BC and the second phase within 60 and 25 BC on palaeographical grounds. She acknowledges a time lag between the small early *stūpa* at Amarāvatī and the *mahāstūpa* with sculptural decoration. In the light of further inscriptional evidence brought out by recent excavations, Dehejia's suggestions on chronology cannot be held any longer. Yet, Dehejia's study of the collective and popular bases of early Buddhist patronage of the sacred monuments in early India (Dehejia, 1992: 35-45) gives insights for undertaking similar inquiries for Amarāvatī. More recently, she has inquired into and focused on the technique by which stories are communicated in early Buddhist narrative art in India (Dehejia, 1997). She has identified seven modes of visual story-telling that were used in early Indian art and, interestingly, she has shown that maturity of narrative art in early India was achieved first in Amarāvatī and subsequently in Nāgārjunakonda, where the sculptors showed preferences for certain narrative techniques (Dehejia, 1997: 150-182).

In 1972, the Archaeological Survey of India published a guide-book (Sarkar, H. and Nainar, S. P., 1980) to the Amarāvatī Museum. Though intended mainly for an elucidation of the archaeological remains kept in the Museum, it outlined briefly the history of the *mahāstūpa*, incorporating the results of earlier studies.

I. K. Sarma combines the archaeological stratigraphy and the inscriptions for the first-time (Sarma, I. K., 1975) though his main problem too fell within the chronological tangle. The chronology he worked out from stratigraphy in 1973-'74 tallied with the palaeography of the inscriptions discovered in 1974-'75. He successfully linkes up the stratigraphical sequence with the problems of the architectural phases of the *stūpa*, which had baffled the early excavators. His study of the pre-Christian phase of the *stūpa* reveales that Buddhism at Amarāvatī had a pre-Aśokan beginning; the nucleus of the *stūpa* was pre-Aśokan in origin; the granite rail, excavated by Burgess and referred to by the later excavators, belonged to the Aśokan phase; and, the specimens of the earliest phase of the sculptural art belonged to the Aśokan phase and not to the late 2nd century BC as claimed by Ghosh and Sarkar. Finality in chronology would be possible, he postulates, only if the early structural phases of the *stūpa* were peeled off by excavation and followed by classification of the entire collection of antiquities from the site. The epigraphs recovered from the excavations of 1973-'74 and from the clearance and leveling operation that followed the 1974-75 excavation have been catalogued by I. K. Sarma (Sarma, I.K., 1974: 60-74; Sarma, I. K., 1980: 18-22) in continuation of the work started earlier by Ghosh and Sarkar. Based on a correlative study of the sculptures and inscribed architectural parts obtained from the earliest occupational levels of the *mahācaitya* site, he has shown that these remains indicate (1) the beginning of sculptural activity in stone in South India and (2) the plan of the *mahācaitya* and sculptural decorations and what he called "the ritual management of the *vihāra*" was planned right from the beginning (Sarma, I. K., 1985: 15-23).

The historical significance of the occurrence of the largest quantity in peninsular India of Nothern Black Polished Ware from the Early Histrorical context at Amarāvatī was discussed by I. K. Sarma in the light

of the evidence from C-14 dating (Sarma, I. K., 1974: 50-56; Sarma, I. K., 1985-57: 187-208). He has argued that (1) the Northern Black Polished Ware at Amarāvatī was "essentially a pre-Mauryan deluxe ware"; (2) the diffusion of this ware was linked with "the consolidation of the first urbanization in the north (*mahājanapadas*) and rise of new religious faiths like Buddhism and Jainism" (Sarma, I. K., 1985-57: 202-204); and (3) it was central to understanding the contacts between north India and south India. Moreover, Sarma's studies of the remains of the other Early Historical sites like Guntupalli (Sarma, I. K., 1978), Nāgārjunakonda, Peddaveggi, Bhattiprolu etc. in the eastern Deccan (Sarma, I. K., 1988; Sarma, I. K., 1990) and on coinage (Sarma, I. K., 1973; Sarma, I. K., 1980) have given a firm basis to rely upon for the archaeology, epigraphy and numismatics of the south-eastern Deccan.

Ever since Col. Mackenzie's works, the archaeological excavations were conducted only at the *stūpa*-site and at Dharanikota. The accidental discovery of Buddhist sculptures belonging to the Amarāvatī *stūpa* in the course of renovation of Sri Amareśvara Temple at Amarāvatī in recent times has opened up new vistas for excavation, though the Archaeological Survey of India is yet to turn its focus, from the *stūpa*-site that yielded sculptures, to Amarāvatī-Dharanikota as a single unit.

Sitapati and Krishna Sastry have studied the recently discovered sculptures (Sitapati, P.and Sastri, Krishna, 1980). They identify the theme of the sculptures and date these to the mature phase of the sculptural art between 100 AD and 150 AD i.e., the period of the Sātavāhanas. The 1990 excavation at the site of the *mahācaitya* by Siva Sarma has brought out some more early remains, though nothing conclusive about this excavation can be said in the absence of a detailed published account or report.

A breakthrough in historical conceptualisation with regard to early Andhra was brought about by two unpublished Ph. D. theses that focus on the socio-economic history of the eastern Deccan, submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. The first of these is the thesis by Anjana Chatterjee entitled 'Socio-economic Conditions in Early Andhra (c. 200 BC – 300 AD), which took up (1) the potentialities and processes of change in Megalithic culture, (2) the growth of agriculture, crafts and industries, (3) the growth of trade, (4) the rise of urban centres, (5) the emergence of social groups and (6) the growth of local political organisation (Chatterjee, Anjana, 1976). The other study is that of S. Seneviratne, entitled 'Social Base of Early Buddhism in South-east India and Sri Lanka (c. 3rd Century BC-3rd Century AD), which took up (1) the ecology and material culture of the proto-historic cultures, (2) the emergence of socio-economic institutions, (3) the structural evolution of political institutions, (4) the emergence of commercial and agrarian elite groups during the early historic period and (5) the social role of Buddhism (Seneviratne, S., 1985). In spite of the theoretical and empirical advancement brought about by Anjana Chatterjee and Seneviratne, they do not pay adequate attention to art *per se*, and the art activity—which cannot be missed— for developing a full understanding of the society and religion of the period.

Points of enquiry for a trend considerably away from those so far referred to have been taken up by Dr. M. R. Raghava Varier in a paper entitled *"Ideological Background of the Early South Indian Buddhist Inscriptions: A Case Study of the Amarāvatī Epigraphs*" (Raghava Varier, M. R., 1983). Dr. Varier has sought to explain the inscriptions in the conceptual framework of the Buddhist movements in early South India. A break-up of the donor groups figuring in the inscriptions indicated the nature of the socio-economic support of the centre. He tries to rationalize, on Buddhist doctrinal grounds, the absence at Amarāvatī of land grants and

money endowments, which were characteristic of the Buddhist cave-sites in the western Deccan. He has shown that '*punyaparināmanā*', the theory of transference of merit propounded by *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, operated in promoting gifts to the *vihāra*.

Dr. Varier's study of the social roots of early Indian palaeography has stressed that the textual meaning of the Buddhist labels or epigraphs becomes clearer only when they are read along with the *Jātaka* stories and the Buddhist idea of gift as discussed in philosophical texts like *Saddharmapundarīka Sūtra*, *Hrdayāvatī Sūkta* etc. He takes the texts of the inscriptions as components of a different kind of discourse. Moreover, the recording of the events of gifts was in itself an important and assertive semiotic symbol, which contributed to the discourse of the dominant group who propagated the Buddhist idea of gift (Varier, 2000: 1034-1051).

A broadly sociological approach to the study of the Buddhist art of Amarāvatī and the cognate centres is proposed by Amita Ray as part of her attempt at tracing the relationship between the given social and ideational pattern of life of early Andhra and the creative activities of the forms generated and fostered by it, in *Life and Art of Early Āndhradeśa* in 1983. (Ray, Amita, 1983). Notwithstanding the perspective, the rich inscriptional data-base unearthed at Amarāvatī remained poorly utilized or underutilized in her analysis.

H. Sarkar has added a new dimension to the scholarship on early Andhra by probing into the growth of cities in Āndhradeśa (Sarkar, H., 1987: 631-641). He emphasizes the role of rice-cultivation in the development of culture, maritime trade and commercial transactions with other regions of India. He argues, "Rice cultivation gave a boost to Andhra's economy leading to the growth of agrarian townships, some of which developed into commercial centres and international markets" (Sarkar, H., 1987: 639). However, the enquiry with regard to Amarāvatī is

only a peripheral one. It does not consider the processes of urban growth and the nature of the relationship between agriculture and urbanization; nor does it define urbanism in the context of archaeological remains. Sarkar admits that the excavators did not study Amarāvatī-Dhānyakataka as a unit and that they failed to study Dhānyakataka and its neighbourhood as a complete city. Incidentally, this points to the necessity of undertaking a new problem-oriented research.

Problems of chronology and style in relation to the architectural and sculptural evolution of the *mahācaitya* have again been the focus of recent studies on Amarāvatī. In 1992, Robert Knox, the Keeper of Oriental Antiquities of the British Museum, London, has brought out a revised catalogue of the sculptures preserved in the British Museum, entitled *Amarāvatī: Buddhist Sculptures from the Great Stūpa* (Knox, Robert, 1992). Knox has questioned the validity of Douglas Barrett's use of the terminology of 'middle' and 'late ' periods on the ground that since the Buddhist complex at Amarāvatī had a life of at least five hundred years, it would be inappropriate and confusing to call the last one hundred and fifty years of it as the middle and late periods. (Knox, 1992: 33). He has identified two periods or broad stages for the Amarāvatī style on the basis of a division of the style into pre- and post-reconstruction periods: 1) the simple beginning seen in engravings on parts of the rail, probably as early as the 3rd century BC, leading to a long, pre-reconstruction period from the 3rd century BC to about the late 1st century AD, and influenced by the art of Bhārhut and Sāñcī, and 2) the High Period in the post-reconstruction period, in two phases, encompassing the Middle and Late Periods of Douglas Barrett's sequence, and coinciding with the rule of the Sātavāhanas in the Āndhradeśa i.e., 2nd to 3rd centuries AD (Knox, 1992: 34). The catalogue of the sculptures is arranged architecturally so as to form a three-dimensional view of the *stūpa*. Moreover, the results of studies on the chemistry, petrology and surface coating of the sculptures, as well as the masterly photographic reproductions of the sculptures have brought out how the sculptures would have looked like nearly

two millennia back. However, the lack of references to the contents of the inscriptions on the sculptures kept in the British Museum, which have not been considered ever since James Burgess published texts of some of these more than a century ago and since Heinrich Lüders considered many of them for his listing of the *Brāhmī* inscriptions almost a century back, dilutes the comprehensiveness of the work as a catalogue.

Anamika Roy has approached the issues of chronology and style from a palaeographical point of view in her twin-volume work in 1994 entitled *Amarāvatī Stūpa: A Critical Comparison of Epigraphic, Architectural and Sculptural Evidence*. (Roy, Anamika, 1994). She has presented individual studies of the palaeography, architecture and the sculpture of the *stūpa* followed by a comparative study of the evidence provided by each aspect. Her comparative analysis of different aspects of the inscriptions from the early Buddhist centres, including those of Sri Lanka with which the south-eastern Deccan held close cultural ties, has added clarity to the circumstances of the evolution of the script at Amarāvatī. She, too, has traced the different stages of growth of the *stūpa* and their relationship to the subsequent embellishments with relief sculptures and inscriptions. Though she has presented a list of the inscriptions scattered in different museums, the full extent of the inscriptional data has eluded her analysis as well.

Elizabeth Rosen Stone has taken a style-critical approach to the Buddhist art of Nāgārjunakonda (Stone, 1994) and her basic aim has been to establish a chronology for the Buddhist art of Nāgārjunakonda. She has recognised the primacy of the Amarāvatī style in the course of development of the Nāgārjunakonda style, both of which belonged to a generalised Andhra style. A great deal of communication existed between the sculptors of the individual schools. She has argued that the site of Nāgārjunakonda provides evidence for the beginnings of the Mahāyāna in that area and that the art of the site documents the impact of trade with the western world.

Yet, a measure of bias seems to pervade her pronouncements on the art and religion of early Andhra.

Professor Gregory Schopen has brought about a new dimension to studies on Indian Buddhism by contesting many of the basic assumptions in the field and introducing new problems (Schopen Gregory, 1997). He has demonstrated, contrary to the extant notions of Buddhology, that the monks and nuns, both the scholastic *élite* and the less learned, participated in the cult of the *caitya / stūpa* and that they sponsored gifts to the *caitya*. His study of an Amarāvatī inscription has led to an understanding of the cult of the local monastic dead in Indian Buddhist monasticism (Schopen, Gregory, 1991. reprinted in Schopen, 1997: 165-203). His interpretation of the epigraph provides us with "an especially clear case in which the *stūpa* of a deceased local monk is presented with "gifts" exactly like the *stūpa*s of the Buddha himself were, a clear instance in which such a *stūpa* receives the same kind of *accoutrement*—an umbrella—as did the *stūpa*s of the Buddha" (Schopen, 1997: 179). By way of reinterpretation of a Nārjunakonda inscription, Schopen has shown that the conception of the relic was as "something in which the Buddha was wholly present" and as a living presence of the Buddha dwelling in his shrine (Schopen, 1988. reprinted in 1997: 148-164). Schopen's penetrating study and interpretations of the Buddhist inscriptional records open up new ways of problem-oriented research with regard to Buddhist studies in India.

2.1.4. Towards Problem Oriented Research

The foregoing historiographical analysis proves that (1) the discourse on the early Buddhist site of Amarāvatī and the allied centres in the south-eastern Deccan centred either around the art and the sculptural styles of the *stūpa*, with the tendency to monumentalise and idealise; or on the architecture of the *stūpa* with its shape, size and structural phases in focus; or on the chronology of the *stūpa*; (2) the archaeological

excavations and the studies of the inscriptions and coins subscribed *ad nauseam* to either or all of these categories; (3) the few exceptions did take up aspects of the socio-economic history but fell short of offering an integrated view, historical conceptualisation and a perspective at synthesis; and (4) the different phases of and trends in the development of the writings corresponded with those of the Orientalist and the Indian nationalist discourses on early India. It may be stated as an adjunct that the less rigorous and often careless attitude towards the rich evidence from Amarāvatī led to the *mahācaitya* being referred to as '*mahāstūpa*' and *stūpa*—terms which are not used even once anywhere in the more than the 268 inscriptions recovered from the site. It is acknowledged here, however, that the works reviewed here can provide the basis for interpretation on a wider scale with, of course, insights from various disciplines, including social theory. Our historiographical critique has also pointed out many lacunae, which justify our formulation of the problems and lines of inquiries as outlined in Chapter 1.

It is at this stage that the present study brings out and analyses the relationship between the art and socio-religious mechanism at Amarāvatī. The problems that we have formulated tend to historicize the early Buddhist art of Amarāvatī and the allied centres by reconstructing (1) the historical matrix in which the art activity out of which the three-dimensional form of the architecture and sculpture in question arose, (2) the modes of patronage of the art, (3) the institutional base of the art activity, (4) the socio-religious and cultic background of the production and appreciation of the art and (5) the essential nature and contents of this art as discourse. This can retrieve the early Buddhist art of Amarāvatī from the present insularity and place it in its legitimate status within the discipline of History.

2.2. SOURCES

The sources for the present study are varied in nature and since the problems developed in the study touch upon many aspects of the culture of a period, the methodology evolved should be capable of integrating different types of evidence and different disciplines. While reviewing, in the previous section of this chapter, the way the knowledge of Amarāvatī in particular and the allied centres in general was accumulated over the last two centuries, mention was made in passing of the archaeological excavations, the decipherment and study of the inscriptions and the cataloguing of the coins recovered from the early Buddhist sites in the south-eastern Deccan. There is, thus, no dearth of source materials to work upon, thanks to the painstaking though incompetent diggings of the 19th century and the planned and systematic excavations of the Archaeological Survey of India since Independence.

The sources pertaining to this study can be grouped into the following categories:

1) The archaeological remains which may be further classified as (a) artistic remains and (b) remains of the material culture,
2) Inscriptions,
3) Numismatic material and
4) The literary texts which include ancient Indian Buddhist texts and the classical Graeco-Roman accounts.

Each of these sources is discussed below in detail with the basic or key problems as the frame of reference.

2.2.1 Archaeological Remains

The archaeological remains from Amarāvatī-Dharanikota form the primary source for the study. The excavations at the site over the years have brought to light two types of remains, the artistic and that of the material culture.

2.2.1.1. The Sculptures

The site of the *mahācaitya* has yielded a rich collection of sculptures, mainly reliefs, in greenish limestone, that once adorned the *mahācaitya* and the smaller *caityas*. These sculptures are now kept in the Government Museum, Madras; British Museum, London; Archaeological Museum, Amarāvatī; Indian Museum, Calcutta; and Musée Guimet, Paris. The sculptures are chiselled on the outer rail, the inner rail, the drum-slabs, the dome-slabs, the pillars etc.— the different architectural parts constituting the *mahācaitya*. These sculptures covering the period from circa 200 BC to 300 AD depict incidents in the life of the Buddha, themes from the *Jātaka* stories and scenes of worship of the Buddha and of the symbols representing the Buddha. Of the scenes depicted in the sculptures, some may be mentioned here for forming an idea of the nature and character of the relief panels. Conversion of the Jatilas, Siddhārtha's departure, translation of the bowl, the conversion of Nanda, the miracle of the infuriated elephant etc. are some of the events from the life of the Buddha depicted in them. The *Jātaka* stories illustrated on the marbles are discussed below in the section on literary sources. Many of the scenes depicted in the Amarāvatī marbles appear in Bhārhut and Sāñcī also; but some of the scenes are not represented elsewhere. Scenes of domestic, rural and urban life, and elaborate and luxurious court-life of the times along with the simple life of the villagers are also depicted in the sculptures, although these aspects are to be brought out from the religious

attire they are in. It is to be remembered that many of the sculptures are in fragments and that some more sculptures are yet to be identified.

2.2.1.2. Material Culture

Direct access to the social and economic life of the period is possible through a study of the remains of the material culture laid bare by the excavations. Unlike the sculptures which conceal evidence, remains of the material culture can speak for themselves and provide direct evidence. The tools of the Early Stone Age and the Neolithic period, burial-urns of the Megalithic culture, artefacts of iron etc. indicate the cultural development of the eastern Deccan. The remains of brick structures, a navigational channel and a brick wharf, fortifications, a gold smith's mould, beads of semi-precious stones, *bullae* used as objects for ornamental wearing, ear rings and bangles of Mediterranean glass, votive offerings of terracotta, ivory, shell, etc. have come to light in the course of the excavations. Seals of glass and *lapis lazuli* and an ivory seal matrix have also come up during the excavations.

Of the pottery types recovered from the site, the earliest is the Black and Red Ware (*Indian Archaeology- A Review 1973-74*: 4), the characteristic Megalithic ware. It has a black interior and a red exterior. Made of well-levigated clay, the ware is wheel-turned; and the surface is slipped, polished or burnished. A flattish fragment of this ware was found with a label inscribed in early *Brāhmī* characters (*Indian Archaeology- A Review 1973-74*: 4).

The site has yielded profuse quantities of the Northern Black Polished Ware (N. B. P. W.), the diagnostic[ii] pottery of the early historical period. The ware has a strikingly lustrous surface and the specimens belonged to the golden, silvery, steel-bluish and black shades. The layer that yielded the N. B. P. W. at Amarāvatī has been assigned to the 4th

century BC, and the corresponding layer that yielded N. B. P. W. at Dharanikota has been dated by C-14 method to the period between 475 ± 100 and 205 ± 100 BC (Ray, H. P., 1986: 29). From the Gangetic basin which was the centre of origin of the ware, the N. B. P. W. spread all over the sub-continent as a whole in the wake of the Mauryan expansion, the spread of Buddhism and of iron technology (Roy, T. N., 1989: 252-253).

Another ceramic industry from the site is the Rouletted Ware (*Indian Archaeology- A Review 1973-74*: 5; *Indian Archaeology- A Review 1963-64*: 2), which was once thought of as an importation to India in the period of the prosperous trade contacts with the Roman world. The layer that yielded the ware has been assigned to the 1st / 2nd century AD (*Indian Archaeology- A Review 1973-74*: 5). The interior of such pottery carries the marks of rouletting in concentric bands which has been regarded as a Mediterranean practice in origin. The dishes are black inside and grey, black, yellow or brown outside (Raman, K. V., 1989: 258). It has been shown by scholars that the Rouletted Ware is a local product from south-eastern India, and not an import from the classical world, though the technique of decoration might have been acquired from the Roman world (Begley, Vimala, 1992: 176). More recently, the emphasis on this ceramic evidence as an indication for the pre-Periplus Indo-Roman trade on the Indian coasts (Begley, Vimala, 1992: 157-196) has given place to a new emphasis on the same as indication of the extent of internal trade networks (MacDowall, David W., 1998: 79-95). Sherds of Arretine ware and handles of Roman amphorae have also been found at Dharanikota (Raghavachari, K., 1989: 126).

2.2.2. Inscriptions

The inscriptions noticed at Amarāvatī are short labels inscribed on the different structural parts that constituted the *mahācaitya* and the smaller *caityas*. The inscriptions, written in *Prākrt* language and in

Brāhmī script, are essentially donative records registering gifts to the Buddhist establishment at Amarāvatī. These gifts are in the form of *thabho (stambha,* i.e., pillar), *sūcī* (cross bars), *mandapa*, uprights, coping stones, gate, etc. The formula of the epigraphs mentioning the object of the donation, the name, status or profession, community and residence of the donors, the purpose of the donations, etc. is akin to the one occurring at Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Mathurā and other early Buddhist centres. Thus, the inscriptions furnish names of persons, institutions, places etc. involved in the construction and renovation of the Buddhist complex at the site. The earliest written record from Amarāvatī is a fragmentary pillar edict of Aśoka. It has been shown that four varieties of the *Brāhmī* script were used in the epigraphs and that the *Prākrt* used in them betrays close affinity with the *Paiśācī Prākrt*. The social context of the epigraphs, which recorded the patronage of the art activity and its monastic base, has been detailed in Chapter 5 that studies the dimensions of patronage. The full texts of the 268 inscriptions from Amarāvatī are given below in Book II, *Index to the Amarāvatī Inscriptions*.

2.2.3. Numismatic Materials

Different types of coins that were in circulation in the period have been discovered in hoards as well as from archaeological excavations. The coins that have a bearing on this study belong to Indian and Roman issues. As indicators of the economic exchanges, the coins can supplement important information on the nature of the economy during the period.

Of these coins, the earliest issues are the silver punch-marked coins which are irregular in shape but uniform in weight. The punch-marked coins have been attributed to the period between the 6th / 5th century BC and the 2nd century BC; and the extensive use of the coins was a sequel to the expansion of the Mauryas who paved the way for money economy in

the Deccan and south India (Batia, P., 1989: 10). It is significant that the biggest hoard of the punch-marked coins in India was found at Amarāvatī (Gupta, P. L., 1991: 41), with its ceramic counterpart in the largest quantity of NBPW in peninsular India found at Amarāvatī in the excavations (*Indian Archaeology- A Review 1973-74*: 4). The Amarāvatī hoard contained 7,668 silver punch-marked coins belonging to 235 varieties (Gupta, P. L., 1963: ii). The study of these coins has shown that they belonged to periods III, IV, V and VI that had been suggested for the punch-marked coins of early India as a whole and that those of period VI were of the period of Aśoka and his successors (Gupta, P. L., 1963: ii). The quality of the metal of the coins, their wear, weight, etc. is helpful in working out the problems raised in the thesis. It has been maintained that all the punch-marked coins found in South India seemed to have travelled from northern to southern India (Gupta, P. L., 1991: 41).

The Sātavāhana coins have been found in the eastern Deccan, both in hoards and as stray finds, in archaeological excavations. "The Sātavāhanas issued lead coins and also silver ones with their life-like portraits with legends in southern *Brāhmī* on the obverse and in northern *Brāhmī* on the reverse" (Batia, P., 1989: 13). It has been pointed out that the Sātavāhana coins have a marked regional distribution (Ray, H. P., 1986: 148). In the eastern Deccan, the districts of Anantapur and Cuddapah and the region of the Coromandel Coast have yielded Sātavāhana coins (Rapson, E. J., 1989: lxxxi-lxxxii). Apart from Amarāvatī-Dharanikota, the sites of Goli, Nāgārjunakonda, Chebrolu, Rentala, Ghantasāla, Peddamaddur etc. in the lower Krsna basin have also yielded Sātavāhana coins (Sarma, I. K., 1980: 40-42 and *passim*.) as shown in Map No. [redacted] (See the Appendix) on the distribution of Sātavāhana coinage. The coins from the eastern Deccan carry the 'Ujjain symbol' on the reverse (Ray, H. P., 1986: 149). The coins from the Amarāvatī excavations are mainly of the later Sātavāhanas. Although the Sātavāhanas had a coinage of their own, the punch-marked

coins continued to be in circulation under their rule (Chattopadhyaya, B. D., 1977: 101).

During the first two centuries of the Christian era, Roman coins reached South India and the eastern Deccan in the wake of the flourishing commercial contacts of the Roman empire with south India. A study of the Roman coins from Andhra Pradesh has shown that more than one fourth of the Roman coins discovered from India have been reported from the state (Gupta, P. L., 1965:54). Ongole and Mallayapalem in the district of Guntur have yielded gold coins of Emperor Nero (54-68 AD) (Gupta, P. L., 1965: 58-59). Other sites that have yielded Roman coins are in the districts of Cuddupah, Krsna, Vishakhapatanam, Kurnool, Nalgonda, Karimnagar, Nelllore, etc (Gupta, P. L., 1965: 54-76). The coins from Andhra Pradesh include the issues of the Roman emperors from Augustus (31 BC-14 AD) to Caracalla (198-217 AD). On the basis of the presence of a large number of gold and silver coins of the 2nd century AD in Andhra Pradesh, it has been shown that the Roman trade activity had shifted from south India to the eastern Deccan in the 2nd century AD (Gupta, P. L., 1965: 48-49). That the Roman coins were approximately of the same weight as that of the indigenous silver-punch marked coins could have led to their conversion into legal tender in the sub-continent (Gupta, P. L., 1965: ii). It has been inferred that the Roman merchants directly participated in commercial transactions in the eastern Deccan (Ray, H. P., 1986: 144).

2.2.4. The Literary Sources

The literary sources may be grouped into two: (1) Indian and (2) foreign. Of the Indian sources, the Buddhist canonical texts in Pāli, Buddhist-hybrid Sanskrit and Sanskrit are important for understanding the philosophical background of the early Buddhist monastic activity in the south-eastern Deccan. The texts in Pāli comprise of the *Vinaya Pitaka,*

Sutta Pitaka and *Abhidhamma Pitaka*. The *Dīgha Nikāya* (Rhys Davids, T. W., 2000; Rhys Davids, T. W. and C. A. F., 2000 (a); Rhys Davids, T. W. and C. A. F., 2000 (b)), one of the four collections of the *Sutta Pitaka* containing the supposed dialogues of the Buddha, can give indications about *Theravāda* notions and their socio-economic contexts. Similarly, the *Pātimokkha*, *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga*, which constitute the *Vinaya Pitaka* (Rhys Davids, T. W. and Oldenberg, reprint 1996; Rhys Davids, T. W. and Oldenberg, reprint 1998 (a); Rhys Davids, T. W. and Oldenberg, reprint 1998 (b) are useful for discussing the religious beginnings, monastic practices and institutional formation at Amarāvatī. The final compilation of these texts would have taken place only around the beginning of the early Christian centuries, and that too in Sri Lanka.

The *Jātaka* stories forming part of the *Khuddhaka Nikāya* of *Sutta Pitaka* should be mentioned separately. This collection of more than five hundred stories of the former lives of the Buddha, many of which are secular, have all been given an odour of sanctity (Basham, A. L., 1985: 269) in Buddhism. Some of the stories have appeared as themes in the relief sculptures at Amarāvatī, a tradition seen at Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Mathurā, Gandhāra, Nāgārjunakonda, Goli etc. as well, which shows that as early as the 2nd to 1st century BC, many of the stories were already in wide circulation. The Amarāvatī reliefs portrayed the following *Jātakas: Māndhātu, Chhaddanta, Vessantara, Losaka, Sivi, Vidhurapandita, Mātanga* etc. (Cowell, E. B., reprint 1993).

The *Milindapañha*, written around the beginning of the early Christian era, has recorded the growing cult of the *caitya*, though the geography and events it refers to are far removed from the eastern Deccan. For understanding the doctrinal positions of the monastic groups that formed the *Caityaka* stratum, we depend upon *Kathāvatthu*—a text that takes up the doctrinal positions of the various monastic groups and refutes

them from the *Theravāda* points of view. These points of controversies have been summarized by James P. McDermott (McDermott, James P., 1998: 265-304).

Particularly relevant for our discussion of the religiosity centred on the worship of the *caitya*s was the *Mahāvastu* in Buddhist-hybrid Sanskrit, which declares itself to be the *Vinaya* of the *Lokottaravādin* sect of the *Mahāsānghika*s (Law, B. C., 1978; Rahula, Bhikkhu Telwatte, 1978). The only text that has been attributed to the *Pūrvaśaila*—an important schismatic group within the *Caityaka* stratum—is the *Lokānuvartana Sūtra*. The only translation of the text available is of fragments from the text (Harrison, Paul, 1984: 211-234). The *Lokānuvartana Sūtra* bears close resemblance to the *Mahāvastu* in many respects. The *Prātimoksa Sūtra* of the *Mahāsānghika*s and *Mūlasarvāstivādin*s (Prebish, Charles S., 1996) enables us to form a comparative view of the growth of monastic institutions among the different schismatic groups.

The Mahāyāna texts, some of which are thought to have been compiled in the eastern Deccan, are in Buddhist-hybrid Sanskrit; but the manuscript copies of the texts were recovered from Nepal, Central Asia and China (Nakamura, Hajime, 1989: 158). The texts are philosophical exegesis of the Mahāyāna tenets and have been roughly placed to the period that witnessed the adoption of Sanskrit as the medium in the Mahāyānist circles, i.e., 3rd or 4th century AD (Nakamura, Hajime, 1989: 155-156), though stray passages of the texts may be compositions as late as the 8th century AD (Nakamura, Hajime, 1989: 319). Because of the extensive nature of the texts, they are also known as *Vaipulya Sūtra* (Nakamura, Hajime, 1989: 154).

The important Mahāyāna texts present us with the picture of changing philosophical emphases and cultic practices of the Mahāyāna with which the religiosity of the *Caityaka*s of the eastern Deccan finds

correspondence. Select passages or summary versions of most of the Mahāyāna texts have been included in the *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, Vol. VIII (Potter, Karl H., 1999). Of these, the following texts are occasionally referred to:

1. *Lalitavistara*
2. *Saddharmapundarīka*
3. *Vajracchetika*
4. *Sukhāvadivyūha*
5. *Gandavyūha*
6. *Astasāhasrikaprajñāpāramitā*
7. *Manjuśrīmūlakalpa*
8. *Śiksāsamucchaya*
9. *Śrīmālasimhanāda Sūtra*
10. *Mahāratnakūta Sūtra*

It has to be made clear that direct answers and references to the problems and lines of inquiries that we have raised are not met with in the Buddhist texts, but only vague indications. Moreover, as pointed out by Uma Chakravarti in the case of Pāli texts (Chakravarti, Uma, 1996: 2-3), the use of literary texts without regard to the problems of stratification within the texts can be problematic. Equally problematic can be the dependence on the use of literary texts as faithful representations of the actualities (Warder, 2000: 1-13; Schopen, 1997). It has to be conceded, however, that the various texts mentioned above are not merely the products of schismatic or sectarian movements, but are to be viewed as emerging out of a common Buddhist heritage, which justifies our use of the diverse texts.

The foreign literary sources that are helpful for the study are the classical accounts. These are in Latin and Greek and attest to the commercial contacts between the Roman world and peninsular India. The

Periplus of the Erythrean Sea has been dated to the first century AD (Robin, Christian, 1997: 41-65; Fussman, Gerard, 1997: 66-71). It describes the ports along the coasts of India, including Masalia (possibly Masulipatnam) on the eastern coast and the source of goods reaching the ports for export. Ptolomey's *Guide to Geography*, which was written in the middle of the 2nd century AD (Ray, H. P., 1998: 7) and Pliny's *Natural History*, which was written towards the end of the 1st century AD (Ray, H. P., 1986: 6), are useful for information on trade with Rome. Thus, the nature of the trade relation between south India and the Roman world may be assessed based on studies on these texts.

The foregoing discussion on the source material for the present study, though not at all exhaustive and elaborate, points to the richness and complexity of the materials at hand. There are also certain limitations inherent in these sources. E.g. direct references to Amarāvatī / Dhānyakataka in the literary texts are limited and far in between; but the archaeological and epigraphic sources have a direct bearing on or reference to the site. Our combined use of the evidences from these diverse sources in the light of social theories is capable of reconciling the diverse sources vis-à-vis the problems that have been formulated.

Part II

Geographical and Cultural Context

CHAPTER 3

SITUATING AMARĀVATĪ AND THE COGNATE CENTRES: SPATIO-TEMPORAL DIMENSIONS

This chapter presents a geographical profile of the eastern Deccan and its cultural evolution. Understanding the physiography of the eco-zone under study is a necessary prelude to contextualising the problems raised and to test the plausibility of the logic and sequence of arguments. Study of the physical geography of the eastern Deccan reveals the influence of land-forms on the historical development of early Andhra. It also gives a key to study of the nature of the material culture of the region in the early and historic periods. Although the problems raised in the present study are specific to Amarāvatī, the geography of the eastern Deccan as a whole is taken up here since frequent references to the other early Buddhist centres of the area will be made for pursuing many of the lines of inquiry that cut across the geography of Amarāvatī or that of the lower Krsna Valley.

3.1. Geographical Background

The three basic physiographic regions that constitute the Indian subcontinent are the Deccan peninsula, the Indo-Gangetic plain and the Himalayan mountain ranges. Geologically, the Deccan peninsula is one of the oldest regions of the earth; and, topographically, the peninsula (which forms a plateau), except the southernmost tip, can be subdivided into three broad sections: Maharashtra, Karnataka and Telangana. It is with the third—the eastern part of the Deccan, covering roughly the modern state of Andhra

Pradesh—that the present study is directly concerned. This is the region known to early Indian and early medieval Indian literary texts as Āndhradeśa.

The Deccan plateau, the largest of the plateaux in India, slopes eastwards (Pichamuthu, C. S., 1980: 65) and northwards. In terms of physical geography, the eastern Deccan comprises two distinct parts: the western half which lies on the plateau of peninsular India and the eastern half which consists of coastal plains.

In Andhra Pradesh, the plateau is formed mainly of Precambrian gneisses (Pichamuthu, C. S., 1980: 66) and metamorphic rocks. The granite areas of the eastern Deccan can be differentiated from the lava region of the western Deccan though the plateau as a whole is of uniform physical characteristics. The plateau slopes eastwards with comparatively regular and easy grades to the step formed by the Eastern Ghats which form the eastern edge of the Deccan plateau.

The Eastern Ghats run parallel to the eastern coast, from Orissa to Tamilnadu, and are formed of detached hill ranges. The chain of elevations (of the Eastern Ghats) are irregular broken and discontinuous (Wadia, D. N., 1975: 18), and do not constitute a continuous range except in the Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts of Andhra Pradesh (*Gazetteer of India*, 1973: 54). Unlike the Western Ghats, they are much less in elevation, the average height being around 1500 feet. The important relief regions of the Eastern Ghats include the Nallamalai, Palkonda hills, Shevaroys etc. Spurs and isolated hills extend into parts of the coastal plain lying eastwards. Because of the lower elevation and the broken character, the Eastern Ghats have not been an obstacle to cultural intercourse between the plateau and the coastal plain (Nilakanta Sastri, K. N., 1958: 38).

The Andhra Coastal plains stretch from near Berhampur in the north to the Pulicat Lake, north of Madras, in the south. The coast is roughly parallel to the Eastern Ghats upto the Krsna valley and thence it turns south more or less parallel to the outline of the Cuddapah basin (Krishnan, M. S., 1982: 63). The coastline is broken by deltas and lagoons. Compared to the western coast, the eastern coastal strip is broader and varies from 50 to 80 miles. Though the coast is deficient in natural harbours, the open roadsteads afford anchorage (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1909: 42). It was from this coast that ships set sail to south-east Asia.

Since the general slope of the Deccan peninsula is towards the east, the drainage system has an easterly trend. The Western Ghats form the important water-shed between the easterly and westerly drainages of the plateau. The rivers that water the plateau have their sources in the Western Ghats; and they flow eastward and discharge into the Bay of Bengal. The rivers of the Deccan are generally rain fed and their volume of water fluctuates considerably throughout the year (*Gazetteer of India*, 1973: 10). Of the rivers that flow into the Bay of Bengal, two rivers, the Mahānadi and the North Pennār, mark the northernmost and southernmost boundaries respectively of the eastern Deccan. Historically and in terms of natural resources, Godavari and Krsna are more important. These rivers connect the western part of the peninsula with the eastern part.

River Godavari rises in the Nasik hills in the western Deccan, within 50 miles of the Arabian Sea, follows a south-easterly course covering 900 miles, cuts across a valley through the Eastern Ghats, and reaches the Bay of Bengal. As it enters Andhra Pradesh, the bed of the river becomes broader and sandier. Before falling into the sea, it branches off into seven, forming a

large delta at the mouth. It receives ten tributaries on the left and eleven on the right, thus forming a network of rivers.

River Krsna is the most important river that passes through the region covered by this study. Krsna rises near Mahabalesvar in the Western Ghats, about 40 miles from the Arabian Sea, and flows across the peninsula covering a distance of 800 miles before discharging into the Bay of Bengal. From Mahabalesvar the river runs south-eastward in rapid course into Karnataka. Then it turns eastward and flows through the heart of Andhra Pradesh between Guntur and Krsna Districts. The river is swollen by a number of affluents, Bhimā from the north and Tungabhadra from the south, and smaller ones like Koyna, Ghatprabha, Malprabha etc. The confluence of these tributaries creates doabs—the Shotapur Doab formed by the junction of Bhima and the Raichur Doab formed by Tungabhadra—as they join Krsna in the District of Kurnool. Krsna enters the coastal plains at Vijayawada. The river has built up a fertile delta as it enters the sea by two principal mouths. The lower reaches of the river are navigable while the upper reaches are too rocky to allow navigation. As shown in Map No. ... in the Appendix, the river Krsna runs past a number of early Buddhist sites and urban centres.

The soil formation of a region determines the crops and the nature of cultivation. The principal characters of the soil groups are generally deducible from the geological foundation (Wadia, D. N., 1975: 481) of that region. The four main soils of the eastern Deccan are the black, the red, the laterite and the alluvial. The black soil, better known as the black cotton soil or the regar, is the most important soil type in the Deccan trap area. It is found mainly in the river valleys of the peninsula. Region-wise, western Andhra Pradesh has this soil, which is highly retentive of moisture. It is fertile and suitable for growing cotton, wheat, jowar, gram, etc

(Pichamuthu, C. S., 1980: 117). The red soil is found in the east of Andhra Pradesh. Because of its uneven surface, the use of water for irrigation by means of canals is difficult. However, cultivation with the help of tank irrigation has been evolved in this region. The laterite soil, which covers the summits of plateaux of the Eastern Ghats, is formed by the weathering of laterite rocks. At the higher altitudes it cannot retain moisture and is poor agriculturally (Das, Dipakranjan, 1969: 7). The alluvial soil is found along the valleys and at the mouths of the rivers. The rich deltas in the eastern coastal plain, formed by Krsna and Godāvari, are of low alluvial sand. It is particularly suited for the cultivation of rice, cotton and sugarcane. This delta country has been a regular granary of rice, and its coast was the site of some of the earliest settlements of European trading companies in India (Nilakanta Sastri, K. N., 1958: 47).

The eastern Deccan was very rich in mineral resources. Many of the metals were available in Āndhradeśa or were within easy reach as those of the western Deccan. The Deccan was known to north India and the outside world as rich in precious and semi-precious stones, gold, copper, and in natural products. Copper ores occur in the Districts of Guntur, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Khammam, Nalgonda, Nellore and Mahbhubnagar (Krishnaswamy, S., 1979: 186). The largest deposit is in the Agnigundala belt of District Guntur, where lead ores are also found in association. Old workings for copper have been noticed at Gajjalakonda and Ramasundaram in Prakasam District and at Garimanapenta in Nellore District.

Iron ore of different varieties and grades are widely distributed in the eastern Deccan. The two major deposits are in Warangal, Khammam and Kurnool Districts. Varying grades of the ore are found in the Districts of

Chittoor, Cuddapah, Anantapur, Krsna etc. (Krishnaswamy, S., 1979: 278). Low-grade iron ores occur in Guntur District also.

Although occurrence of gold has been recorded in the eastern Deccan, none of these deposits has ever been producing gold in commercial quantities. Old workings for gold are found in the Ramagiri area of Anantapur District (Krishnaswamy, S., 1979: 232). The Bisanattam gold mines in Chittoor District may be considered as the extension of the Kolar, and it is important that the Kolar gold fields are not far away from the eastern Deccan.

The Deccan was a great source of diamonds including precious and semi-precious stones. Classical writers spoke of India as 'gem-bearing' (Das, Dipakranjan, 1969: 160). Kautilya knew that diamonds and precious stones were available in the south in plenty (Das, Dipakranjan, 1969: 160). Diamond mines have been working from an early period onwards in the alluvial deposits along the river Krsna (Das, Dipakranjan, 1969: 162). An index map showing diamond mines in Andhra indicates clusters of old workings in the Districts of Kurnool, Cuddapah, Guntur, Anantapur, Nalgonda and Mahbhubnagar (Krishnaswamy, S., 1979: 200-201). The important mines near Amarāvatī were in the villages of Mogahur, Battulapadu, Nakalanpet, Gani-Atukur and Portiyala an the northern side of the Krsna (Burgess, James, reprint 1970: 21).

Lime stones and marbles that can be used for building and carving purposes occur in the eastern Deccan. The sculptures from early Buddhist sites of the region like Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunakonda, etc. were chiselled in the Palnad limestone. These limestones are light green in colour and, being very compact and extremely finegrained, they lend themselves to intricate carvings (Harinarayana, N., 1987: 23).

The physiographical and geographical features mould the climate of a region. The average rainfall of the region varies from that of the coastal strip to that of the region west of the Eastern Ghats.

There is reason to believe that the eastern Deccan was rich in forest resources as well. The classical accounts testify to the forest products from the Deccan. Hiuen Tsang had to travel through the forests of Andhra to reach Dhānyakataka (Das, Dipakranjan, 1969: 106). Due to the lighter rainfall in the Eastern Ghats area, the trees are shorter than those of the Western Ghats.

The foregoing description of the basic physiography and natural resources of the eastern Deccan an eco-zone makes it easier to locate Amarāvatī-Dhānyakataka in the lower Krsna valley and on its southern bank. Amarāvatī held a position of strategic importance though it is situated at a distance of 62 miles from the mouth of river Krsna. Without the disadvantages and dangers of a situation on the coast of Coromandel, it enjoyed the benefits of communication with the sea (Subramanian, K. R., reprint 1981: 37). From the very mouth, the river Krsna is navigable up to Amarāvatī. Growing as an inland port, it stood as the gateway of commerce along Krsna, which served to fertilize its fields, to disseminate its culture and to distribute its goods (Subramanian, K. R., reprint 1981: 37). It has been shown that this geographical advantage was of prime concern in the localization of ancient sea-ports of India (Deloche, Jean, 1983: 439-448) and that the remains of the wooden wharf raised on post-holes, dated to the 2nd to the 1st century BC at Dharanikota, are among the few such important remains of harbours excavated in India (Deloche, Jean, 1983: 446).

Trade routes passing through early Andhra converged towards the country of Vengi, in the neighbourhood of Amarāvatī, lying between the lower valleys of Krsna and Godavari. The trade routes to Kalinga in the

north-east, to Tamilakam in the south, to Karnataka in the south-west, to Maharashtra in the north-west and to Kosala in the north converged here (Dubreuil, Jouveau, 1981: v-x). Buddhist sites grew along these caravan routes as are shown in Map No.... in the Appendix. The major clusters of Buddhist sites in the eastern Deccan are: (1) Vengi, Arugolu, Pithapuram, Kodavalli, Anakapalle, Sankaram, Dharapalem, Ramatirtham and Salihundam, located along the road to Kalinga; (2) Gudivada, Ghantasāla, Bhattiprolu, Buddhani, Chinna and Pedda Ganjam and Kanuparti on the road to Dravida; (3) Vijayaderpuram, Peddamaddur, Amarāvatī, Gharikapadu, Goli and Nāgārjunakonda on the road to Karnataka; (4) Alluru, Ramireddipalle and Jaggayyapeta on the road to Maharashtra; and (5) Guntapalle along the route to Kosala (Dubreuil, Jouveau, 1981: vi). It is thus clear that out of more than the sixty Buddhist sites of the early historical period located or exposed in Andhra Pradesh, the maximum concentration is in the Krsna delta, a fertile rice-growing area, and the fertile eastern coastal seaboard from Kalingapatam or Salihundam in the north to Ramatirtham on the river Pennar in the south (Sarkar, H., 1987: 632-33). The historical and cultural significance of the distribution of these sites along routes of trade and communication *vis-à-vis* the natural resources is indicated in the section below that discusses the cultural development of the south-eastern Deccan on the basis of archaeological stratigraphy.

3.2. CULTURAL BACKGROUND: FROM PRE-HISTORY TO THE EARLY HISTORICAL PERIOD

The picture of the cultural context presented here has a general reference to the eastern Deccan as a whole and a specific bearing on Amarāvatī-Dhānyakataka which is taken as at the nucleus or epicentre of a social formation from the Early Historical Period onwards. We have,

therefore, considered Amarāvatī as the primary site for historicizing the early Buddhist art of the south-eastern Deccan, to which material from the allied centres is collated. The bare outline formed is based mainly on evidences from archaeology. Although Amarāvatī had been excavated more than a dozen times, right from the days of Mackenzie, the excavators' spade and ingenuity searched for and systematically established a dependable stratigraphical sequence only once (*Indian Archaeology – A Review, 1973-74*: 4-5) the objectives of the rest of the diggings being directed mainly for recovering the sculptures. As has already been pointed out, the archaeologists did not excavate Amarāvatī and Dharanikota as a single unit, nor did they work out the correspondence between the strata identified at these two sites. However, thanks to the meticulous care with which they have recorded the stratigraphical sequence, it is now possible to put the excavation reports of both the sites side by side and read them together. Moreover, in the absence of horizontal excavations at Amarāvatī-Dharanikota, the evidence can not be expected to be so comprehensive as to form a complete picture of social life; but the development of an interdisciplinary approach and the shift of emphasis from the concern for ascertaining the sequence of cultures to study of cultures as integrated systems has opened up possibilities for reconstructing the complete life pattern, including socio-economic conditions. The treatment followed here is one of examining and interpreting archaeological evidence with the help of History and theories of social formation.

The antiquity of Amarāvatī-Dhānyakataka can be traced back to the prehistoric period. The tools and implements used by man in the Early Stone Age comprising hand axes, cleavers, discoids, scrapers and flakes have been collected from Dharanikota in the course of archaeological exploration (*Indian Archaeology – A Review*, 1961-62: 1; Sarkar, H. and Nainar, S. P.,

1980: 6). Rentala and Chejerla, also in Guntur District, have yielded tools of the Early Stone Age. Lower Palaeolithic tools have been found in the gravel deposits, which are exposed in the cliff sections of rivers like Krsna and Godāvari (Ghosh, A., 1989: 21). The Lower Palaeolithic phases of Nāgārjunakonda in Guntur District and of sites in Nalgonda District belong to the Acheulian tradition. Cultural remains of the Acheulian man are also reported from the Districts of Nellore, Cuddapah and Chittoor (Ghosh, A., 1989: 25). Statistical studies of the relative proportion of hand-axes and cleavers have shown that while handaxes are in excess over the cleavers in Kurnool area, cleavers out-number handaxes at Nāgārjunakonda and that typologically cleaver-dominated cultures show an advanced stage (Ghosh, A., 1989: 20).

Tools of the Middle Palaeolithic period have been found in Andhra Pradesh, outside the deltaic regions of Krsna and Godavari. They are associated with what has been called the Gravel II deposits of the Krsna system, lying mainly in the Districts of Guntur, Nalgonda and Kurnool, and the Shorapur doab and in the Nāgārjunakonda valley (Ghosh, A., 1989: 31). Sites in Adilabad and Karimnagar Districts also have yielded Middle Palaeolithic tools (*Indian Archaeology-A Review, 1974-75*: 1). While the tools found in Kurnool and Shorapur are made of siliceous stones and followed scraper-point tradition, those from the Nāgārjunakonda valley are made of quartzite and showed scraper-point and Acheulian traditions (*Indian Archaeology-A Review, 1974-75*: 31). It has been pointed out—on the basis of the Middle Palaeolithic sites outnumbering the Early Palaeolithic ones—that there was probably an increase in population during this period (*Indian Archaeology-A Review, 1974-75*: 27).

Upper Palaeolithic tools have been collected from a cave site in Kurnool District and river valley sites in Guntur, Chittoor, Kurnool and Prakasham Districts (*Indian Archaeology-A Review, 1974-75*: 32). Lithic industries of this period are divided, on typological grounds, into three major groups—the flake-blade, blade tool and blade-and-burin. The faunal remains of a variety of mammalion species from the Kurnool caves indicate the rich animal life and thick vegetation during the period. Thus, the Old Stone Age was a food- gathering and hunting stage, the dense forests providing ample plant and animal food resources.

Although details of transition from the hunting and food-gathering stage to the Neolithic period—food-producing and settled village farming stage—have not been worked out, the formulations by Braidwood and Home on the causes of the movement towards the development of an agricultural way of life have been widely accepted. They have argued that demographic stresses with a tendency to settle more or less permanently at one place in a locality, a proper environment and a distinctive level and type of exploitative technology would have played a causative role in the transition from the hunting to the producing stage (*Indian Archaeology-A Review, 1974-75*: 43-44). The discovery of three small polished Neolithic axes from Dharanikota shows that the area attracted early farming communities of the Neolithic Age (Sarkar, H. and Nainar, S. P., 1980: 6, 30) . These axes were hafted and used as cutting or scraping tools. Of the Neolithic sites of the eastern Deccan, Utnur and Nāgārjunakonda have been excavated.

The earliest Neolithic phase at Nāgārjunakonda (before 2500 BC) reveal a short-blade microlithic industry and a pale reddish brown pottery. Phase II (circa 2000 BC) reveal the earlier red ware and the burnished grey ware, microliths, quartzite flakes, etc. The people were no longer wholly

nomadic and some of the tools may have been used for rudimentary cultivation. Phase III revealed tools like axes, adzes, celts, chisels etc. and the burnished grey ware; and remains of rectangular house plans, pits used for dwelling and burials in a cemetery indicate that the people occupied the site for a long period. The last phase (circa 1500 BC) appeared to have been influenced by the Chalcolithic culture of central India (Ghosh, A., 1989: 61-63).

In spite of the impact of the Chalcolithic cultures from western and northern India, the early cultures of the eastern Deccan remained basically Neolithic except some settlements in the Districts of Kurnool and Cuddappah, at Singanapalli, and at Kesarapalle (Krsna District) in the Krsna-Godavari doab. The assemblage of wares excavated from Kesarapalle shows affinities with the Chalcolithic material from sites in central and western India (*Indian Archaeology-A Review, 1961-62*: 2). The last Phase at Kesarapalle has been found interlocked with the Megalithic habitational deposits and it has been estimated that the Chalcolithic occupation may be dated from the middle of the 8th century BC to the middle of the 5th century BC (Ghosh, A., 1989: 106). Even though the cultural set up of the eastern Deccan succeeding the late Neolithic / Chalcolithic period and after the advent of the Iron Age Megalithic period has not been worked out, the archaeological stratigraphy of the historical sites of the region reveals more or less a uniform sequence of cultures.

The archaeological stratigraphy of the south-eastern Deccan in general and of Amarāvatī and Dharanikota in particular begins from the megalithic cultural layer. The lowest level of Amarāvatī-Dharanikota yielded material belonging to the megalithic culture ascribable to a period prior to the construction of the *mahācaitya*. A few megalithic burial-urns were excavated

from below one of the smaller *stūpas* at Amarāvatī (Rea, Alexander, 1908-1909: 89-91). Megalithic burials are noticed in the region between Guntur and Amarāvatī (Sarkar and Nainar, 1980: 6) and many of the excavated historical sites in Andhra Pradesh, including those cognate sites we have listed, have megalithic phases underneath (Sharma, 1987: 87). There is a cluster of megalithic cultures in the fertile lower Krsna valley where agriculture was a significant element of the economy (Ray, H. P., 1986: 167). It is thus clear that the megalithic communities showed a preference for fertile tracts, river valleys and areas rich in gold or diamonds (Ray, H. P., 1986: 167). It has been postulated that the megalithic builders forming a large community occupied an extensive area in the eastern Deccan before the introduction of Buddhism (Sarkar, H. and Nainar, S. P., 1980: 6). The megalithic remains indicate, besides pastoral nomadism, a food producing economy in which agriculture might have played an important role (Sarkar, H. 1989: 122).

An issue that needs to be touched upon here is the transition from the prehistoric to the early historic or historic period in the eastern Deccan. The early Megalithic period (early 1st millennium BC) does not fall into the early historic period despite the contemporaneity and overlapping of the cultural assemblages of iron and black-and-red ware of the former with those of the latter. The later megalithic culture that corresponds to the Mauryan times has supplied the earliest reliable historical relics in the eastern Deccan. The historic period in the eastern Deccan may be said to have begun with (1) extensive use of iron, (2) opening up of corridors between North India and South India which promoted long distance trade and communication, (3) the spread of Northern Black Polished Ware, (4) the punch-marked coins that facilitated trade, (5) the early *Brāhmī* script and other elements of material culture, all of which are referred to in detail below. The excavated or

exposed remains from the clusters of Buddhist centres located in the lower reaches of the Krsna-Godāvari systems, like Nāgārjunakonda, Bhattiprolu, Chejerla, Garikapādu, Goli, Amarāvatī, Peddamaddur, Kanuparti, Pedda-Ganjam and Chinna-Ganjam in the District of Guntur; and Jaggayyapetta, Ramireddipalle (Gummadidurru), Alluru, Vijayawada, Gudivāda and Ghantasāla in the District of Krsna; and centres in the Districts of Śrikākulam, Vishakhapatnam, East Godavari and West Godavari, attest to the transition to the historical period. The archaeological stratigraphies of some of these sites are referred to below.

3.3. AN OVER-VIEW OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL STRATIGRAPHY

3.3.1. Amarāvatī: From the Early Historical to the 3rd / 4th Century AD

Cultural Period 1 (circa. 4th –3rd century BC) at Amarāvatī with its two sub-phases A and B has the corresponding stratum of Period I at Dharanikota. Sub-Period I A at Amarāvatī has yielded profuse quantities of Black-and-red Ware and Northern Black Polished Ware in association with iron, two inscribed potsherds in early *Brāhmī* characters and evidence of the existence of huts built of wattle and daub and posts. It appeared to the excavator that the *mahācaitya* complex, at least in a small scale, had already come into existence though the details of its components remained to be confirmed by further digging (Sarma, I. K., 1975: 60-61). Sub-Period I B is also associated with a large quantity of Northern Black Polished Ware, besides the Black and Red Ware, Black Polished Ware and inscribed granite uprights with 'typical Mauryan polish'. The excavator took Period I to be coeval with the Mauryan phase (*Indian Archaeology-A Review, 1973-74*: 4). This Period may be

placed along with the analogous stratum at Dharanikota of Period 1 that yielded Black and Red Ware of the megalithic fabric, a navigational channel and occupational deposits in the shape of a series of hearths with ash and vent-holes (*Indian Archaeology-A Review, 1962-63*: 1; 1963-64: 4; 1964-65: 2).

Period II (2^{nd}–1^{st} century BC) of the *stūpa* site at Amarāvatī is marked by the continuation of the Northern Black Polished and Black-and-Red Wares though slipped and dull red wares and punch-marked coins were found to occur in greater profusion. Intensive structural activity is indicated by the excavation of a gateway in which bricks of large sizes have been used, inscribed cross-bars, lime-floors and the railing which appeared to have covered the *stūpa*. The sculptural activity on lime-stones has shown a distinctive Amarāvatī style with its affinity with the post-Aśokan sculptural art of Bhārhut (*Indian Archaeology-A Review, 1973-74*: 5). Period II at Dharanikota has yielded megalithic Black-and-Red Ware and a few sherds of the Northern Black Polished Ware. Brisk structural activity is represented by a huge wharf abutting the navigational channel and regular habitational activity is indicated by the occurrence of post-holes and drains. A goldsmith's mould for ornaments was also excavated. The excavator has ascribed its period to the post-Aśokan (Sarma, I. K., 1975: 65).

Period III (1^{st}-2^{nd} century AD) at Amarāvatī, clearly ascribable to the Sātavāhana period, is characterized by the occurrence of the Rouletted, Kaolin, Polished Black and Polished Red Wares. It has yielded Sātavāhana coins of copper, lead and potin, the earliest issue belonging to Vāsithīputa Pulumāvi (130-159 AD). The stratigraphical evidence shows that the *stūpa*, as it stands today, belongs to this phase. Sculptured cross-bars and coping stones have also come to light. Corresponding layers at Dharanikota are (1)

of periods III and IV that yielded Rouletted Ware, handle pieces of Roman amphora, Black-and- Red Ware, the all black, the red and the grey wares, a circular brick structure within the fortified area, which may have been a well or a barn, and the brick revetment on both sides of the navigational channel; and (2) of Period VI with coins of the late Sātavāhanas, an inscribed ivory seal which may be ascribed to the 2^{nd}–3^{rd} century AD on palaeographical grounds, and repairs to the brick revetment of the channel (*Indian Archaeology-A Review, 1962-63*: 1-2, 1964-65: 2-3). Phase V was not very sharply defined and did not produce any datable materials.

Period IV (circa 3^{rd}-6^{th} century AD) is marked by coins of Iksvāku and Visnukundin rulers. Some isolated structures built of re-used bricks have also been exposed (*Indian Archaeology-A Review, 1973-74*: 5). The corresponding layer of Period VII at Dharanikota belonged to the post-Iksvāku period. It was represented by a tiled platform, which was the latest structural activity at the site to be followed by filling up of the navigational channel and the final abandonment of the site (*Indian Archaeology-A Review, 1962-63*: 2; 1964-65: 3; Ghosh, A., 1989: 126).

Although the *mahācaitya* continued to be a centre of Buddhism even after the 6th century AD, it lost its importance and showed signs of decline in Period V (circa 6^{th} to 11^{th} century AD) at Amarāvatī. This phase is represented by stray *Vajrayāna* (Tantric Buddhism) images and clay sealings with *mantras* inscribed on them.

3.3.2. Archaeological Remains from Allied Centres: An Over-view

Of the other allied Buddhist centres of the south-eastern Deccan, Nāgārjunakonda is the only site to have been horizontally excavated and,

therefore, a better archaeological perception of this site is available. More than hundred sites ranging in dates from the early Stone Age to the late Medieval Period have been exposed (Sarkar, H. and Misra, B. N., 1987: 4). The site came into prominence only in the second quarter of the 3rd century AD under the Iksvāku dynasty and the bulk of the sculptural remains from the site belong to the period from the 2nd or 3rd century AD onwards. The structural remains include that of monasteries, a *mahācaitya*, smaller *caitya*s, a citadel, Brāhminical temples etc. (Sarkar, H. and Misra, B. N., 1987: 19-44; Sarkar, H., 1966: 74-94; Ray, Amita, 1983: 90-93). The cultural sequence of Nāgārjunakonda in terms of archaeological data indicates the growth of the site as a seat of political power and religion and a centre of artisans and merchants (Sharma, R. S., 1987: 98-99). The Buddhist narrative sculptures of Nāgārjunakonda bear close similarity in nature, contents and style with the sculptural tradition of Amarāvatī, though the former site had its own stylistic evolution (Stone, 1994).

The remains of the site of Bhattiprolu, in District Guntur, have also met with the 19th century experience of destruction as well as excavation at the hands of untrained hands (Sarma, I. K., 1988: 30). These include debris of the *caitya*, *vihāra*, inscribed relic caskets, sculptures, pottery etc. which together indicate the site as a flourishing center from the Mauryan times to 4th century AD (Sarma, I. K., 1988: 30-56; Ray, Amita, 1983: 96-97).

The site of Goli, also in District Guntur, has yielded Buddhist sculptures, debris of a small decorated *caitya*, figures of *Nāga* etc. belonging to circa 3rd century AD (Ramachandran, T. N., 1929). The sculptural style of Goli has been characterized differently by art historians. While Amita Ray identifies its similarity with the style of Amarāvatī (Ray, Amita, 1983: 93), Elizabeth Rosen Stone maintains that both the earlier and later styles of Goli

are closer to and dependent upon the Nāgārjunakonda style (Stone, 1994: 86-90).

Another early Buddhist site with sculptural remains is Jaggayyapeta in District Krsna. The site was excavated by James Burgess in 1882. The materials recovered include the remains of the *mahācaitya* and some smaller *caitya*s, a pillared *mandapa*, sculptured slabs, Buddha image, inscriptions etc. (Burgess, James, 1970. reprint: 107-112; Ray, Amita, 1983: 94-95). Some of the sculptures recovered from the site stand in comparison with the early sculptures of Bhārhut and Amarāvatī (Burgess, James, 1970: 108).

One more early Buddhist site that has been taken as a cognate or allied centre is Gummadidurru or Ramireddipalli in District Krsna. The remains belong to a large *caitya*, several smaller *caitya*s, relief sculptures adorning the *caitya*s, monastic buildings, inscriptions etc. (Rao, Subba, 1928: 58-65; Stone, Elizabeth Rosen, 1994: 83-86). The sculptural representations include incidents from the life of the Buddha, the *Jātaka* stories, miniature representations of the *caitya* as seen in the Amarāvatī sculptures etc. It has been shown that these remains date from the 2nd century AD to the medieval times (Stone, 1994: 83).

It may be pointed out that a general pattern of cultural development of the eastern Deccan from the Prehistoric to the Early Historic through the Megalithic and then from the semi-nomadic and semi-agrarian stage to the full-fledged agrarian economy, trade and urbanism and the corresponding social formations can be discerned. The socio-economic processes of the eastern Deccan from the Early Historical Period has the following three phases of political formations: (1) Pre-Mauryan (6th to 3rd century BC), (2) Mauryan and early Sātavāhana (3rd century BC to 1st century AD), and (3) Late Sātavāhana (1st to 3rd century AD) (Ghosh, A., 1989: 148-49). Chapter 4

of the thesis attempts a reconstruction of the processes of socio-economic changes that coalesce with these political developments in the south-eastern Deccan during the period.

The assessment of the way the knowledge of the early Buddhist site of Amarāvatī was accumulated in the 19th and 20th centuries brings forth certain observations pertaining to the debris unearthed so far at the site. The "quite haphazard", non-professional diggings of the last century (Guha-Thakurta, Tapati, 1997: 35-38) and the absence of horizontal excavations have obliterated an integral and comprehensive picture of the structural and stratigraphical sequence of the ruins of the site. The remains were not monolithic i.e., these did not necessarily constitute a single monument like the *mahācaitya* in time and space, as is proved by the existence of some smaller *caityas* (Rea, Alexander, 1905-06: 118-119; Rea, Alexander, 1908-09: 88-89) near the *mahācaitya*. Evidently noticeable in and essentially interrelated to the different sculptural phases or styles are the large-scale renovations, attested to both by the inscriptional as well as the archaeological evidence. Once it is understood that there were also some smaller *caityas* as well as Buddhist monasteries like the *mahāvihāra* (Seshadri, Sastri, 1937-38: 257-259) at Amarāvatī, it follows that the site was not simply a '*stūpa*-site' as it was presented to be in the archaeological reports but rather that the *mahācaitya*, the numerous smaller *stūpas* and *vihāras*, the *nigama* (Chanda, Ramaprasad, 1919-20: 262-263) and *gosthi* (Ghosh, A. and Sarkar, H., 1964-65: 175), a navigational channel, a fortified settlement (*Indian Archaeology-A Review, 1962-63*: 1-2; *Indian Archaeology-A Review, 1963-64*: 2-4; *Indian Archaeology-A Review, 1964-65*: 2) etc. together constituted a Buddhist complex in the midst of an early historical market-town.

CHAPTER 4

PROCESSES OF CHANGE: TOWARDS AGRARIAN ECONOMY, TRADE AND URBANISM

The discussion so far has introduced the nucleus of the problem, justified the study through a historiographical critique, organized the source materials to work upon, and defined the study in terms of time and space. This chapter briefly traces the essential contents of the processes of historical change in the south-eastern Deccan during the six hundred year-span chosen for the study as the necessary prelude to contextualizing the institutional, socio-religious, ideological and cultic dimensions of the well known and much idealized but poorly understood 'Amarāvatī School of Art'. Our contextualisation of these processes of change is also expected to rationalize the historical and societal roots, role and function of what in common parlance has been called the 'Amarāvatī School of Art'.

As seen in Chapter 3, the lower Krsna valley stands out from the rest of the eastern Deccan, due partly to physiographical and ecological factors, as a nuclear region or an area of attraction, during the period between 300 B.C. and 300 A.D. In terms of cultural and historical development, the six hundred year-span registered a transition from the semi-pastoral and semi-agrarian way of life of the late Megalithic or Early Historical Period to the full-fledged agrarian economy, trade and urbanism of the early centuries of the Christian era. In terms of political formation, the region came under the state-systems of the Mauryas, the post-Mauryan locality-chiefs and the Sātavāhanas. The production and appreciation of art in the society of the period are to be viewed in the wider context of the human interactions on the

one hand and the interactions with the resources on the other. Any attempt at tracing the origins of the specific identity of the artistic expressions / art forms of a given society and region can start only from the cultural and historical matrix with which they are entwined. Though the discussion on these below is not exhaustive, it is based fully on archaeological, inscriptional and numismatic evidence.

4.1. The Megalithic Background

It has already been mentioned in Chapter 3 that the archaeological stratigraphy of the south-eastern Deccan in general and of Amarāvatī-Dharanikota in particular begins from the Megalithic cultural layers. The formative nature of the Megalithic period of the lower Krsna valley in the context of the subsequent phases of development towards an agrarian economy and urbanism has been understood mainly in terms of the potentialities and processes of change (Chatterjee, Anjana, 1976: 15-55). Of the large number of Megalithic sites found scattered in Andhra Pradesh, only four habitation sites have been discovered so far, viz Dharanikota, Nemalipuram and Mottadaka in District Guntur, and Kesrapalle in District Krsna (Ghosh ed., 1989: 123). Based on the grave-goods and because of the proximity of megaliths to tanks used for irrigation, the Megalithic builders of the lower Krsna basin may best be described as sedentary agriculturists with elements of nomadic pastoralism (Sastry, Krishna, 1983: 105-107; Ray, H. P., 1986: 169-170; Ramachandran, K.S., 1962: 60-64). It has been observed that the density of Megalithic settlements in the lower Krsna basin indicates that the settlers had begun to comprehend the economic potentialities of this area with its abundant agricultural resources and mineral wealth in its vicinity. The role of iron technology was crucial

in the utilization of these resources (Chatterjee, 1976: 21-37) and in the diffusion of an agricultural economy based on rice cultivation (Maloney, Clarence, 1976: 8-9).

Corridors of contact in the context of the internal distribution and exchange system, linking the various nuclear regions of the Deccan did come up even as early as the Proto-historic period itself (Parasher, Aloka, 1992: 449-451). Thus, any notion of a sudden and spectacular outburst of commerce and communication in the Early Historical Period is unfounded in the light of the continuity of Prehistoric and Protohistoric lines of movement (Lahiri, N, 1992: 409). The Megalithic settlements of the lower Krsna valley would have interacted with the other nuclear regions of peninsular India as part of the Protohistoric exchange circuits and drawn subsequently into the early historical routes of trade and communication. Thus, the early historical sites like Amarāvatī- Dharanikota were already circuit centres / nodal points in the pre-Mauryan period itself (I.A.R., 1965-66: 86; Allchin, F. R., 1995: 147), the economic or functional status of which subsequently attracted the Mauryan state network and the Buddhist monastic establishment.

The material remains of the excavated Megalithic sites of the Deccan as a whole suggest that within this extensive area peopled by Megalithic communities, an exchange network existed. This is further corroborated by the uniformity of the iron industry across the Megalithic culture zone and the widespread use of the Black–and–Red Ware (Chatterjee, Anjana, 1976: 40). The use of various kinds of semi-precious stones and beads, spread across an extensive area, coupled with the finds of (1) numerous gold and silver beads, in a Nagarjunakonda burial (Chatterjee, Anjana, 1976: 39-40; I. A. R., 1950-

60: 11) and (2) a goldsmith's mould for ornaments at Dharanikota (I.A.R., 1964-65: 2; Ghosh, 1989: 122) indicate the circuits that linked the lower Krsna basin with parts of Andhra Pradesh as well as Karnataka and north-western Deccan (Lahiri, N., 1992: 333-360; Allchin, F. R., 1962: 195-211).

The widespread exchange circuit, however rudimentary its infrastructure was, could have functioned either for the exchange of gifts among *élite* groups, or else had a commercial basis (Ray, H.P., 1987: 624). The task of operating the production-distribution network during the initial period was managed by the local *élite* (Seneviratne, 1985: 451). It was into this cultural and socio-economic matrix of late megalithism that the techno-cultural elements from north India started penetrating—a process which started in the pre-Mauryan period but became brisk and got itself established during the reign of Aśoka.

4.2. The Mauryan Stratum

The C_{14} dates for the spread of the Northern Black Polished Ware at Dharanikota provide a range from 475 ± 100 BC to 205 ± 100 BC (Sarma, I. K., 1974: 52-53) which support the pre-Mauryan penetration of the techno-cultural elements from north India into the lower Krsna valley. If this deluxe ware is linked up with the second urbanization in north India and its spread to the south–east of India as a resultant factor of this trade as well as early Buddhism, the Northern Black Polished Ware in the pre-*stūpa* level at Amarāvatī indicates the pre–Mauryan advent of Buddhism at the site (Sarma, I. K., 1974: 51; Sarma, I. K., 1985-87: 202; Ghosh, 1989: 148). The clearly identifiable Mauryan stratum at the site includes, apart from the fragmentary pillar edict ascribed to Aśoka (Sircar, D. C., 1966: 40-43), the granite uprights with inscriptions, Northern Black Polished Ware, Black and Red

Ware, inscribed sherds of Red Slipped Ware and Black and Red Ware, limestone upright depicting an elephant, an occupational layer etc. (Sarma, I. K., 1985: 15-21). It is important that Amarāvatī–Dharanikota is the site that has yielded the largest quantity of the Northern Black Polished Ware from Early Historical context in peninsular India (Sarma, I. K., 1985-57: 190). This is matched with the biggest ever hoard of the silver punch-marked coins found in India from the site—7668 in number—though these are not obtained from any stratified context (Gupta, P. L., 1963: 2). Thus, indisputable evidence of the Mauryan presence in the south-eastern Deccan comes from Amarāvatī–Dharanikota where the Mauryan stratum overlaps the Megalithic layer in stratified context. The expansion of Megalithic sites into the fertile flood plains of the Krsna river and the Mauryan presence there indicate a diversification of the resource base and a greater reliance on agriculture in addition to the exploitation of he mineral resources (Ray, H. P., 1989: 104). The prime motivation for the Mauryas to conquer the peninsula arose due to the necessity to extend their resource-base and get an access to the raw materials (Thapar, Romila, 1993: 14). This brought the Mauryan system into close interaction with the Megalithic settlements of the area and thus Amarāvatī –Dharanikota formed a core region within the Mauryan state (Thapar, Romila, 1993: 4; Thapar, 1998: 317). Of the other early Buddhist centres of Andhra Pradesh, Bhattiprolu and Vaddamānu in District Guntur, Garikapādu in district Krsna, Guntupalle in District West Godāvari and Rampa Errampalem in District East Godāvari, have yielded remains ascribable to the Mauryan period (Sarma, I. K., 1988: 11).

The lower Krsna valley was crucial and unavoidable to the routes of trade and contact through which the southern province of Aśoka located in Karnātaka, maintained contact with the metropolitan state capital of the Mauryas located in the eastern Gangetic valley. There were several possible

routes, both overland and coastal, connecting the several points of interaction on the way. Such a route passed through Amarāvatī -Dharanikota, Peddabankur (District Karimnagar), Pauni in Vidarbha (Maharashtra), via the Bheraghat to Tripuri, Rupnath, Bhārhut, Prayāga, and then to Pātaliputra (Chatterjee, Anjana, 1976: 42). Another route passed through Amarāvatī along the Krsna Valley and traversed the Nelgonda and Medak districts of Andhra Pradesh, Ter in District Osmanabad and then proceeded to Paithan, Maheśvar, Ujjain, Vidiśa, Sāñcī, Kauśāmbī, Śrāvasti, and Kapilavastu (Ray, H. P., 1986: 30-31; Thapar, Romila, 1998: 82; Lahiri, N., 1992: 381-391). The lower Krsna valley participated in the emerging Early Historical traffic on the eastern seaboard also (Ray, H. P., 1987-88: 79-80; Ray, H. P., 1998: 21-33).

4.3. Towards State Formation

4.3.1. The Early Processes

Though the processes which went into the making of the Early Historical society and of its transition to the Early Historical phase in the Deccan are yet to be fully worked out, it is clear that with the coming of the Mauryas, the Megalithic culture gave way to the Early Historical settlements in several regions of peninsular India. It has been suggested that the opening up of the peninsula for commercial exploitation by the Mauryas led to the gradual transformation of the megalithic settlements (Ray, H. P., 1986: 172-73). Of course, prior to the subordination of Andhra by the metropolitan state of the Mauryas, certain basic internal developments in the region had taken place such as the emergence of an agrarian base, demographic expansion, rudimentary craft specialization, a developing exchange network, a degree of social differentiation and the emergence of spheres of political influence

(Seneviratne, S., 1980-81: 55). The interaction that developed between the 'rank' society of the 'pre –state' Andhra on the one hand and the metropolitan state on the other led to the emergence of what has been called 'localities' in the early transitional phase i.e., 3rd to 2nd century B.C (Chattopadhyaya, B. D., 1987: 728). The sources refer to various similar locality chieftains / local chiefs in the south-eastern Deccan. The Amarāvatī epigraphs of the 3rd century B. C. refer to *kumāra* (Prince) Avatakama (Index No.I. 6) who was perhaps one of the princes of Mauryan royalty as indicated by the title *kumāra* (Seneviratne, 1980: 61). The *rājakumārī* (Princess) Sammaliyā (Index No. I. 13), *senagopa* (army general) Mudukutala (Index No. I. 8), and *senāpati* (army commander) Dharaka who belonged to the Pākotaka clan (Index No. I. 42) were part of the locality chieftains. An epigraph from Vaddamānu refers to *raño* Dhamaka i.e., King Dhamaka (Sarma, I. K., 1987: 95-96). A Battiprolu inscription refers to *rāja* Khubiraka or King Khubiraka (Sarma, I. K., 1988: 50-51).

Numismatic evidence from Amarāvatī indicates that out of the 235 varieties from a total number of 7668 punch-marked coins of the Amarāvatī hoard, 48 were exclusive to the hoard and likely to have been minted in the Deccan (Gupta, P. L., 1963: 34 and 153). Other coin series which can be associated with the 'localites' and ascribed to post–Maurya but pre-Sātavāhana issues have been reported from the region in and around Amarāvatī–Dharanikota, Chebrolu and Vaddamānu in District Guntur (Prasad, P. R. K., 1993: 53-63; Sastry, Parabrahma, 1993: 10-12; Chattopadyaya, B. D., 1987: 729) in the east, and Vīrapuram (Kamalakar, G and Veerender, M., 1991), District Kurnool, in the west. The impact of the Mauryan state on early Andhra resulted in a process of secondary state formation, which was largely conditioned by a fusion between the internal and the external developments (Seneviratne, S., 1980-81: 54-69). This

process can briefly be described thus: during the period of the metropolitan state hegemony, the pre-state social élites acquired cultural sophistication, legitimization of political status and a familiarity with the state apparatus required for a more efficient control over the subjects and the resources. Moreover, the amalgamation of Andhra into the sphere of influence of the metropolitan state resulted in a more intensive operation by local groups in economic activities, especially in trade and commodity production. These developments resulted in a greater disparity in the distribution of social wealth, and an integration of the polity and the economy within the power structures operated by a better-defined composite ruling class, which finally gave rise to a power crystallisation of the state in Andhra (Seneviratne, S., 1980-81: 69). With regard to the history of *Tamilakam* in the far south also, the Mauryan impact has been viewed as having played an important part in quickening the transformation of a semi-tribal society to civilization (Narayanan, M. G. S., 1977: 83-98).

Although the Megalithic culture lingered on in certain pockets of the lower Krsna valley, as seen in the archaeological stratigraphy, even after the end of the Mauryan presence and the beginning of the early historical period, the central characteristic feature of the early historical period was the growth of an agrarian economy which became the basis of the process of urbanization in the area and period under consideration. Direct evidence for large scale or extensive agricultural operations, however, are not forthcoming though the frequent references to the *gahapatis*, to technical land-tenure and land-measurement terms such *aksayanivi*, to agricultural labour, to corn-dealers, to large herds of cattle, to *hala*-measurement of land and to irrigation tanks, in the inscriptional records from the south eastern Deccan present the picture of a socio- economic base sustained by rural agriculture (Ray, Amita, 1983: 20-24; Chatterjee, Anjana, 1976: 56-92). That many of the settlements

of the area generated a surplus capable of supporting Buddhist monastic establishments is seen in the numerous donative records registering gifts to the *vihāras* and *caityas*.

In terms of political formation, this widening of the agricultural base coincided (1) with the rise of *Sada* chiefs who were probably descendents of the *Mahāmeghavāhana* dynasty of Kalinga, some time in the 1st century AD, and whose coins and inscriptions are reported from the coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh (Prasad, P. R. K., 1993: 60) and (2) the expansion of the later Sātavāhanas into the lower Krsna valley in the late 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century AD (Sastry, Ajay Mitra, 1998: 3-131). Studies on the early historical settlements in the Deccan in the late 1st and early 2nd centuries AD show an eastward expansion of Sātavāhana settlements into Andhra (Ray, H.P., 1989: 106). The earliest Sātavāhana epigraph in the eastern Deccan occurs at Amarāvatī in the early 2nd century AD (Burgess, James, 1970: 100). The distribution map of the Sātavāhana coinage shows a concentration in the lower Krsna valley during the late Sātavāhana period (Sarma, I. K., 1980: map no. xx).

4.3.2. Towards an Agrarian Economy

The birth of a full-fledged agrarian economy is signalled by the numerous references to the *gahapatis* as donors / patrons of the large-scale construction / renovation activities of *caityas* and *vihāras* in the south-eastern Deccan as a whole. The term *gahapati* stands for a landowner of substance, who played a crucial role in the extension of agriculture, and who distinguished himself from the rest of the socio-economic categories by a consciousness of position and pride in high birth (Fick, R., 1920: 253; Chakravarti, Uma, 1996: 65-93). Similar evidence from the eastern Deccan

as a whole has been taken by scholars to indicate the repetition of a process of socio-economic development which had occurred earlier in the Ganga valley in the context of the second urbanization in the north of India (Thapar, Romila, 1994: 122). Commensurate with the expanding agricultural base, the number of references to the *gahapatis* was also on the increase in the different phases of the patronage records of Amarāvatī (see Chapter 5 below). A very similar picture is obtained from the cognate centers also. The places of origin of the *gahapatis*, like Hiralūra, Tulaka, Akhasavada etc. (Index Nos. IV. 4; IV. 2; V. 7) can safely be counted as the village settlements / hinterland of the agrarian economy around Dhānyakataka though many of the place names in the inscriptions are yet to be satisfactorily identified. Among the donors who made gifts to the Buddhist monastic establishment at the site in the beginning of he 2nd century A.D. was the daughter of a *mahāgovallava* who could be a Sātavāhana officer having something to do with cattle wealth (Index No. III. 12; Seneviratne, S., 1980-81: 65; Sharma, R. S., 1996: 121). The function of *pāniyagharika* of *Rājan* Siri Sivamaka Sada (Index No. III. 15), generally understood as a superintendent of water-houses, was possibly in charge of the controlling of the distribution of water for irrigation (Ray, H. P., 1986: 93). The sculptural representation of agricultural activities, and of cows, bullocks and bullock-carts (Stone, Elizabeth Rosen, 1994: photo 253; Barrett, 1954: Pl. XXXVIII) further prove the growth of the agrarian economy during the period under study.

The very toponym 'Dhānyakataka' or 'Dhamñakada indicates the rise of the place as a centre of paddy cultivation and paddy trade (Seneviratne, S., 1985: 449-450) and is reminiscent of some of the processes that have been outlined above. Scholars have already shown that rice cultivation gave a boost to Andhra's economy, leading to the development of more complex social patterns and to the growth of agrarian townships, some of which

developed into commercial centres and international markets. Thus, rice played an important role in the development of culture in Andhra Pradesh, in maritime trade, and commercial transactions with the other regions of India, and therefore, the roots of urbanism in the lower Krsna valley can be traced back to agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry (Sarkar, H., 1987: 639).

4.3.3. Evolution of Trade Network

Characteristic features of the Deccan as a whole and the lower Krsna valley in particular in the early centuries of the Christian era include an unprecedented expansion of trade networks, increase in the volume of trade and the resultant marked prosperity. There was an expansion of settlements and the number of urban centres increased rapidly. Moreover, archaeological excavations document a technological improvement in the structural remains of the various sites. Yet another significant and interrelated feature was the location of the Buddhist monastic establishments along the routes of trade and communication. This phenomenal growth was caused partly by an increased internal demand and more so by the proliferating needs of the Mediterranean markets then under the Roman Empire.

The nature of the early historical trade was such that the whole of the Indian subcontinent was within an integrated communication chain and there was no difficulty at all in moving from Taxila in the north-west to the deep south or from the sub-Himalayan tract to the Bhagirathi delta (Chakrabarti, Dilip K, 2000; *Bhimasena Jātaka*, Bk. I: No. 80). These networks have been described Sātavāhana regional circuits with inter- linkages and contacts across the various micro regions over an extensive area (Ray, H. P., 1989 (a): 457). The lower Krsna valley (*Āndhradeśa*) as a micro region was thus well-knit in the routes of trade and communication linking the nodal points,

market centres of the western Deccan and Tamilakam in the south and central India, the Ganga valley and the north-west of the Indian sub continent. A major route in the Deccan was the trans-peninsular highway linking Krsna valley with Amarāvatī on the east coast to Bhāruch on the mouth of the Narmada on the west coast via Ter, Paithan and Nāsik. Bhāruch was further linked up with Mathurā in the north via Mahismatī and Ujjain. From Ujjain a major route ran to Pātaliputra via Kauśāmbī. Mathurā lay further connected with Taxila in the north-west and Pātaliputra in the Ganga plains in the east. Furthermore, the eastern littoral allowed the lower Krsna valley to be in touch with Pātaliputra via Tamluk at the mouth of the Ganga (Ray, H. P., 1996: 150; 1989(a); 1987-88: 79-89; 1990: 1-14).

The lower Krsna valley as a micro region took part in the emerging coastal traffic and network and was integrated into the trans-oceanic sailing circuits with South-east Asia (Ray, H. P., 1987-88: 88-89) and with the Mediterranean region (Ray, H. P., 1987: jesho 318) around the beginning of the Christian era. The agricultural economy and the urban centres received impetus by the contemporary Indo-Roman and the Indo-South-East Asian coastal trade.

The Roman commercial contact with the eastern Deccan was already hinted at in the section dealing with the sources for the present study. Increased commercial traffic between the coast of the western Deccan and the Mediterranean can be traced back to the first century BC, whereas it was only in the late first or early second century AD that the circum-peninsular route developed and the ports of the Andhra coast entered in to the maritime trade network with the Mediterranean region (Ray, H. P., 1987: 316-318). This does not, however, obliterate the significance of the find of glass objects in stratified digging at Dharanikota which shows that prior to the Indo-Roman

trade, contacts did exist between the south eastern Deccan and the regions around the Mediterranean, probably Egypt (Raghavachary, K., 1972-73: 167-70; Ray, H. P., 1998: 73-74). The finds of the rouletted ware, which is now generally accepted as a regional product of south-eastern India ante-dating Roman trade and described as 'sub-Roman' (Begley, Vimala, 1992: 157-196; MacDowall, David W., 1996: 80-81; Ray, H. P., 1998: 59-60) at Amarāvatī-Dharanikota and some of the cognate sites in the south- eastern Deccan, can be treated as the material remains of the continuation of the trade with the regions around the Mediterranean in the pre-Christian centuries. The only specifically Roman ceramics found at Amarāvatī-Dharanikota are the examples of *Arretine* ware and handles of amphorae, generally attributed to the first and second centuries AD (Raghavachary, K., 1972-73: 167). At Alluru, in District Krsna, an inscription records the gift of lamps shaped like the mouth of a fish and manufactured by the *Yavanas* (Sircar, D. C., 1939: 330) to the *Pūrvaseliya* sect, which is also mentioned in the Amarāvatī inscriptions. On the basis of these and other finds, a significant *Yavana* presence in the subcontinent has been postulated in the early centuries of the Christian era and that in the eastern Deccan the *Yavanas* appeared to be direct participants in local transactions (Ray, H. P., 1987: 322).

There is an increasing volume of references in the Graeco-Roman writings of the first two centuries of the Christian era to the itineraries, harbours, navigation and cargoes, relating to and involved in the maritime trade with India (Romanis, Federico de and Tchernia, A., eds, 1997; Thapar, R., 1997: 11-40). While the Periplus of the Erythraean sea, which is dated to the first century AD (Robin, Christian, 1997: 41-65; Fussman, Gerard, 1997: 66-71), mentions only the land of Masalia on the Andhra coast where a great quantity of muslin was produced, Ptolemy's geography, dated to the second century AD, gives a more detailed description of the eastern coast of Andhra

(Thapar, R., 1997: 14-16). Among the places mentioned by Ptolemy, Kontakossyla has been identified with Ghantaśaila or Ghantasala (Lüders: 1303; Chandra, Moti, 1977: 101; Ray, Amita, 1983: 25) in District Krsna , whereas Kodduora has been identified with Guduru / Kudura near Masūlipatanam (Ray, Amita, 1983: 25) both on inscriptional evidence. Similarly, Bengaouran may be equated with Vengipura in the eastern Deccan (Sircar, D. C., 1939: 72).

Commercial and cultural contacts between India and South-East Asia were also vital to the prosperity of the early historical eastern Deccan though the precise nature of participation of the south-eastern Deccan in that trade is not known. Two *mahānāvika*s are mentioned in the 1st to 2nd century AD inscriptions from Guntuplle and Ghantasāla (Sarma, I. K., 1988: 72-73, 84). Apart from contributing to prosperity, the maritime networks across the Bay of Bengal opened up channels for the spread of cultural influences and the Buddhist doctrine to South East Asia (Sarkar, H. B., 1974: 101-125; Ray, H. P., 1993: 42-51; Ray, H. P., 1998: 87-120; Glover, I. C., 1998: 129-158). Important evidence in this regard comes from two Nagarjunakonda epigraphs, which refer to monks from Sri Lanka and to people from such distant lands as Kashmir, Gandhāra, China, *Yavana*, *Damila* etc. (Srinivasan and Sankaranarayanan, 1979: 14-15, 28-29).

4.3.4. Social Changes

Simultaneous and commensurate with this long distance trade are the consequential social changes of the period, which will be taken up in Chapter 5 in connection with the dimensions of patronage of art. However, since the linkage between landed wealth and agricultural surplus and commercial capital are relevant for the present discussion, the epigraphical evidence to

that effect from the south-eastern Deccan is touched upon here. It was from the ranks of the *gahapatis* that the trading class and the financiers emerged—an interrelation that is attested to at Amarāvatī as in the case of Samuda the *vaniya*, who was the son of Hamgha the *gahapati* (Index No. IV. 18), of Sidhatha the *heranika* who was the son of Budhila the *gahapati* (Index NoIII. 32), and of a *sethi* who was the son of Pusila the *gahapati* (Index No. V. 4).

4.3.5. Links between Buddhism and Trade

An essential feature of the interrelationship among economy, society and religion that emerged in the region and period of the study is the link between Buddhism and trade. The market centres or urban centers that arose along the trade routes coalesce with the Buddhist monastic sites in the Early Historical Period. This has been recognized as a sub-continental feature indicating the growth of Buddhist monastic sites at the nodal points of major institutional forms of imperial power and long distance trade and which served as symbolic structures mediating social hierarchy within a new urban complex (Heitzman, James, 1984: 121-137). Moreover, a specific Buddhist identity is found to have existed for these early South Asian trading networks, both overland and overseas (Ray, H. P., 1998: 121-161). The Buddhist sites of the eastern Deccan / Andhra Pradesh show the inter-linkages outlined above. The connection between urbanism and Buddhist monasticism is best seen in the case of early Andhra Pradesh where Buddhism flourished as long as urbanism and trade flourished (Sharma, R. S., 1987: 100).

4.3.6. Towards Urbanisation

The emergence of urban centers in Andhra Pradesh in the early historical period can be understood only as a processual change involving a

multiplicity of causative factors—social, economic, political, ideological etc.—over a long period of historical developments. The process of urban growth leading to the rise of cities is now being perceived as the product of social change and as the manifestation of certain economic and social systems at work. These causative factors, which precede the rise of cities in the Krsna valley, include (1) population increase, (2) agricultural expansion, (3) social division of labour, (4) productive labour and surplus, (5) institutional mechanism for surplus extraction, (6) monumental constructions on a large scale, (7) complex social organization, (8) well-developed power-structure and (9) religious ideology as a focal point for social life and for mobilization and redistributive activities (Champakalaksmi, R., 1996: 1-92; Chatterjee, Anjana, 1976: 147-170; Sarkar, H., 1987: 631-42; Parasher, Aloka, 1992: 437-477). The combined testimony of archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic, literary and art-historical evidence brings out the nature of urbanism in the eastern Deccan, though there cannot be any one-to-one correspondence between theoretical formulations and data. Scholars generally agree that the early historical urbanism of the eastern Deccan can be characterised as secondary urbanization (Seneviratne, S., 1980-81; Champakalakshmi, R., 1996: 6). However, the question, What exactly is the extent to which the early historical market centres were urbanized?, cannot be precisely answered due partly to the absence of horizontal excavations except in the case of Nāgārjunakonda, and partly to the lack of micro studies of the various sites.

Amarāvatī-Dharanikota was the most urbanised of all the settlements in the south-eastern Deccan and it remained strongly urban for more than half a millennium between 300 BC and 300 AD. The site includes a square rampart enclosing an area of 33 hectares and, based on the size and typology of the cities within the Mauryan Empire, has been grouped into Grade 5 along

with Taxila, Kandahar, Sannati etc. in a list of 6 Grades. While Pātaliputra, the largest city of South Asia of the Mauryan times, comprised of a fortified area of 340 hectares, the Grade 6 sites like Kapilavastu and Puskalāvati comprised of an area between 16 and 30 hectres (Allchin, F. R., 1995: 146, 207). The earliest structural activity at Amarāvatī-Dharanikota included the construction of a wharf raised on posts at right angles to the rock-cut navigation channel (I. A. R., 1963-64: 2; I. A. R., 1964-65: 2). Slightly later, instead of the wooden wharf, a brick structure was constructed all along the channel on its inner side and earthen embankment was raised at the back (Raghavachary, 1989: 126). This was subsequently modified by the construction of a brick revetment with alternate gradients and landings at different levels of the water (Raghavachary, 1989: 126). Thus the site remained an inland port throughout. The material remains like glass objects, ivory seal matrix, goldsmith's mould for ornaments, terracotta-bullae etc. (Raghavachary, 1972-73: 167-170; Mukherjee, B. N., 1970: 141; Ray, H. p., 1986: 136; Sarma, I. K., 1975: 60-61; Chatterjee, Anjana, 1976: 147-170) bespeak of the urbanness of the site.

Epigraphic evidence, discussed at length in Chapter 5, further confirms the presence of non-agrarian population consisting of artisans and traders, village-settlements as the hinterland, urban and mercantile élite, royal officials and urban and mercantile corporate bodies like *nigama*, *gosti* etc. Moreover, the sculptural depiction of high city-walls, gateways, edifices, and harbours and of elaborate court-life (Knox, Robert, 1982: 43, 45-46) qualify the site for its contemporary characterization as a *nigama*. The site Amarāvatī-Dhānyakataka has been described as a metropolis and identified with Pityndra of Ptolomy since there is no evidence to suggest the existence of any contemporary settlement of larger dimensions in the same region (Chatterjee, Anjana, 1976: 168).

Apart from Amarāvatī-Dharanikota, the following sites in the eastern Deccan, most of which were Sāatavāhana culture sites, qualify to be characterised as urban in the post-Mauryan period though the degree of urbanisation and the chronology of urban phases vary: Nāgārjunakonda (District Guntur), Satānikota (District Kurnool), Kondapur (District Medak) and Peddavegi (District West Godavari) (Chakrabarti, Dilip, 1995: 305; Ghosh, 1987: Vol. II. *passim*). Excavations have reported urban phases also from Peddabankur and Dulikatta (District Karimnagar), Polakonda (District Warrangal), Peddamarrur (District Mahabubnagar), Yelesvaram (District Nalgonda), Sālihundam (District Srikakulam), Kesarapalle (District Krsna) and Chandavaram (District Prakasham) (Sharma, R. S., 1987: 87-100; Chatterjee, Anjana, 1976: 147-170). With the rise of the numerous urban centres, the general temporal contours of the early urban economy became discernible in the early Christian centuries AD and the tradition of urbanism conferred distinctive characteristics to the different urban centres. Thus, a categorization of these settlements vis-à-vis their relative sizes and functions came to be recognized in the south-eastern Deccan by the 3rd century AD when the process of urbanization entered its advanced stage (Chatterjee, Anjana, 1976: 165). This is seen in the inscriptional references to *nigama* at Amarāvatī (Index Nos. I. 11; I. 29; I. 41; I. 83; III. 33); to *patina* at Uppugunduru, District Prakasham (Chhabra, B. Ch, 1959-60: 191) and Gantasala (Srinivasan and Sankaranarayanan, 1979: No. 76); and to *nagaravāra*, *girivāra*, *negamavāra* etc. at Nāgārjunakonda (Chatterjee, Anjana, 1976: 166). An important feature to be noted in connection with the nature of functions of the sites in question is that most sites combined both religious and commercial functions, which partly determined the nature of the art activity and also the forms and themes of artistic representation.

4.4. The Historical Matrix of the Art Activity

The foregoing brief account of the major socio-economic forces operating in the south-eastern Deccan in particular and the eastern Deccan in general during the period taken up for study indicates (1) the emergence of an agrarian economy, (2) the growth of trade generated by the agrarian economy, the expansion of the Mauryan network into the peninsula in the three pre-Christian centuries and the proliferating needs of the Mediterranean markets controlled by the Roman Empire in the early Christian centuries, (3) the process of urbanization and (4) secondary state formation during the period taken up for our study. The historical matrix, which necessitated the production and appreciation of the sculptural art of Amarāvatī and allied centres, was brought about by the combination of the forces briefly taken up above. In the subsequent chapters, an attempt will be made to view the major problems of inquiries in the light of these forces of socio-economic change.

Part III

Amarāvatī Art in Historical Perspective

CHAPTER 5

FORMS AND DIMENSIONS OF PATRONAGE OF ART

The most visible remnants of the existence of Buddhism on the physical landscape of the south-eastern Deccan in the three centuries both before and after the beginning of the Christian era are the architectural remains of the various *caitya*s and *vihāras* and the sculptural / artistic embellishments attached to them as visual statements of religio-cultural totality of experience. The basic propositions of the present study hinge on the inseparability of the artistic and cultural heritage from the wider religio-philosophical and socio-economic heritage of Buddhism that grew and prospered in the region, and therefore, one of the main purposes of the discussion in this chapter is to demonstrate that patronage of the art-activity was in fact patronage of the Buddhist religion and its practices themselves and that the art of Amarāvatī can be meaningfully historicized only within the context of the interconnection amongst the art, the religion, the social system, the economy, and the political framework. In other words, the *mahācaitya* with the sculptures and epigraphs is viewed as the lithic, textual and artistic debris of the patronage of Buddhism of the region on the one hand and as an institution of patronage on the other.

Canonical recognition of the necessity of / status acquired by art in the world of Buddhism may be identified in the incorporation of the stories / myths explaining as to how art came to have a role in Buddhism: the dialogue of the Buddha with Ānanda, as related in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, shortly before the death of the Buddha, whereof the Buddha himself had indirectly provided opportunity for the artist to function by suggesting that *stūpa*s or memorial monuments, primarily of spiritual, if not artistic significance should be set up

(Rhys Davids, 2000: Vol II: XVI). By the time Buddhism reached the south-eastern Deccan, art and / or architecture had already become a component or a constituent element of the religio-cultural heritage represented and sought to be advanced by Buddhism. The visual dimensions of the architectural and sculptural media conferred on these a crucial role in a world of religio-cultural norms, signs and patterns as defined by Buddhism and its institutional apparatus. The pan-Indian character of this inseparability of art and architecture from its Buddhist religio-cultural base have been pointed out by studies on the history of Buddhist monuments in the major cluster-areas of the north and north-west and central India, and the western and eastern Deccan; its pan- Buddhist character is generally known from the studies on the Buddhist monuments outside India proper, namely, the other regions of South Asia and of South-east Asia. At what point of time Buddhism incorporated visual imageries is known only through the extant monumental remains, and in the case of the south-eastern Deccan it can not be later than the 3rd century BC

The first appearance of *stûpa*s or *caitya*s and *vihāra*s along with art and inscriptions as part of an architectural or structural complex in the south-eastern Deccan—a region where there are few remains of structural activity prior to the Buddhist connection—is symptomatic of a big social change. Without a transformation in the social structure of the pre-existing Megalithic, semi-agricultural and semi-pastoral people of the area, the art and architecture of Amarāvatī and the allied centres can not be presupposed or conceived of in terms of technology, resource-base, resource-mobilization and aesthetics. Though it has been generally held by archaeologists that the Buddhist establishments of Amarāvatī were independent of the megalithic settlements (Ghosh, A., 1989: 132), the excavation of megalithic burial-urns from beneath a small *stūpa* at the site (Rea, Alexander, 1908-09: 88-91) illustrates how Buddhism penetrated into

Megalithic surroundings. The advent of Buddhism as a belief-system with a network of associated and interrelated institutions, and its interactions with the political and social structure in the region provided the characteristics of cultural symbols to the artistic expressions of the period. The importance of the *caitya* as a cultural symbol increased further during the second half of the period taken up for the study (i.e. 1st to 3rd century AD) as is manifest in the transformation of the *caitya* to the *mahācaitya* and in the references to the *mahācaitya* as a focal point. Conversely, the changing nature and structure of the society got reflected in the architectural / sculptural layers of the *mahācaitya*.

Once it is accepted that art or architecture in an early historical context is more of social production than anything left primarily to individual genius (see Chapter 8 below), two of the fundamental questions that arise are: (1) What was the process through which the production of art / architecture of specifically religio-cultural orientation was carried out? and (2) Who were the patrons / sponsors and producers of that art? While the former question is related to the institutional base of the art-activity, and therefore, is taken up in Chapter 6, the latter is related to the nature of the social structure, and is taken up in the present chapter. In order to break the present stalemate in the historical study of the art of Amarāvatī and to learn more closely who the people responsible for the production and appreciation of that art were, a poignant question that needs to be raised is: Who were the patrons of the different stages of the art-activity at Amarāvatī during the six hundred-year span and whose ethos and moorings were the ones that were captured and articulated by the styles of the *mahācaitya* and the narrative sculptures?

It has been generally and often vaguely stated by most historians of early Indian art that religious endowments were largely responsible for promoting and

enriching the art heritage during the Mauryan and post-Mauryan times. Similarly, the distinction between the early Buddhist schools of art and the Mauryan art in terms of the nature of patronage was also generally understood. It was stated that if the Mauryan art was totally the product of active court patronage, especially in the form of religious munificence displayed by emperor Aśoka, the Gandhāra, Mathurā, Sāñcī and Amarāvatī art traditions not only flourished due to liberal monetary endowments made by the devout votaries of various sects but even conditioned by the tastes, ideas and preferences of the latter (Ray, Niharranjan, reprint 1975: 47). Even the specialised studies on patronage in Indian culture have refrained from drawing extensively on the epigraphic data from Amarāvatī and, strangely enough, suffer from presentation of sparse and inaccurate data due to a lack of rigorous examination of the evidence from the site. In her search for the nature of female patronage in Indian Buddhism, Janice D. Wills even invents and identifies one " 'Cāmtasiri', the sister of king Cāmtamūla and mother-in-law of King Siri Virapurisadata" as the principal donor of all the subsidiary structures associated with the *stūpa* complex at Amarāvatī (Wills, Janice D., 1992: 50). In fact, no such evidence exists to date. With regard to Sāñcī, the observations of historians have been criticised for not thoroughly looking into the inscriptional evidence (Singh, Upinder, 1996: 15). It may be mentioned in this context that the present study takes up, for the first time, the whole corpus of the epigraphic data from Amarāvatī for analysis in an attempt to bring out the different aspects of patronage of Buddhism and its art at Amarāvatī.

5.1. The Context and Object of Patronage

The context of patronage in the history of Buddhism emerged in the wake of an institutionalisation of the *Sangha*, the central content of which was the gradual transition from the eremites or a group of wandering almsmen to cenobites (settled monks who were entrenched in the cloisters). This transition

was one of far-reaching implications not only in the evolution of Buddhist monasticism, but also with regard to the very role the Buddhist *Sangha* was to play in the Early Historical Period through its interactions with the laity, which will be taken up in Chapter 6. The obligatory *vassāvāsa,* "residence in the rainy season", gave place to life in the *vihāra*s and subsequently to that in the *mahāvihāra*s, as at Amarāvatī, and the *Sangha* became sensitive to the needs of the society including lay or popular religiosity, both of which entailed construction and renovation activities on a large scale at the various early Buddhist monastic sites. These historical developments bring out the circumstances under which the *Sangha* became overtly dependent on the benefactions of the laity, the practice of the daily round of alms became more of a ritual, and the items of *dāna* shifted from cooked food (*pinda*) for the *bhikkhu*s to *caitya* or *stūpa* or the structural parts and artistic embellishments thereof, or land or even money to the *Sangha* or to the *vihāra*. Thus, *dana* was made one of the central concepts of Buddhism, described as the most important means available to the layman of accumulating merit, and made the major link between the religious categories on the one hand and the people on the other. *Dāna* brought the large majority of the people into the orbit of religious experience (Chakravarti, Uma, 1996: 61). The growth of Buddhism as a major religious tradition was due partly to *dāna* which was a way to involve the population as a whole even without embracing the celibacy and austerity of the *bhikkhu*.

Patronage at Amarāvatī is found constituted in the form of gifts or donations by various social categories to the Buddhist *Sangha* of the locality for the process of construction and reconstruction of the *mahācaitya* during the six hundred-year span between BC 300 and AD 300. The object of the patronage, of course, was the *mahācaitya* which embodied both social relationships and notions of aesthetics and thus became a cultural symbol (Thapar, Romila, 1992: 32). It

became the symbol of the power of the *Sangha* in relation to the patron, and emerged as the physical manifestation of the *Sangha* as an institution(Thaper, Romila, 1994: 25-40). Therefore, it was the *Sangha* itself that was being patronised by the act of ritualized gift-giving to the *mahācaitya* i.e, to the ritual object of the patronage. In order to bring out the network of social relationships, economic linkages and the ideological dimensions of the patronage at Amarāvatī, the first step is to delve deep into the inscriptional records of patronage, categorize the evidence, and then attempt an analysis and quantification. It will also help us in determining the precise nature and form of patronage and also in seeking what it holds out for the history of Buddhist religious and ritualistic practices.

5.2. Patronage Records at Amarāvatī

The 268 donative inscriptions found on the structural and sculptural debris at Amarāvatī can be specifically considered as records of patronage insofar as the texts of these epigraphs register acts of patronage of the construction and reconstruction / renovation activity going in Dhānyakataka / Amarāvatī during the six hundred-year span (BC 300 – AD 300) chosen for the study. On the basis of paleographic features, the Amarāvatī inscriptions have been chronologically grouped into four phases. The four-phase grouping was first put forward by R. P. Chanda (Chanda, R. P., 1925: 259-261) and subsequently by C. Sivaramamurti (Sivaramamurti, 1977: 272), but the chronology accepted here is more or less based on the four phases with sub-groups arrived at by Anamika Roy in her detailed paleographic analysis of the problem. We have, however, retained in certain cases the ascription of chronology by certain earlier scholars. The following is the chronological classification of the records of patronage at Amarāvatī:

1. Phase I (250 BC and 50 BC)

2. Phase II (Late 1st century BC and end of 1st century AD)

3. Phase III (Beginning of nd century AD and end of 2nd century AD)

4. Phase I (Beginning of 3rd century AD and end of 3rd century AD)

5. Group B Inscriptions

The real historical value of the votive inscriptions of Amarāvatī, it has been suggested, lies in the light which these throw by paleographic changes on the successive stages of growth of the *mahācaitya*. Moreover, these epigraphs provide a natural framework of time-scale in which the builders raised, restored, enlarged and retouched the *mahācaitya*, and show that whenever there was architectural and sculptural activity in relation to the *mahācaitya*, it has left behind its proof in the existing inscriptions (Agrawala, 1965: 291). Paleographical studies were found also useful in checking the validity of corroboration between the architectural, sculptural and epigraphic evidences, and also in building up a methodology by which the three types of evidences could be tested against each other (Roy, Anamika, 1994: 7). As already pointed out, these epigraphs, which were engraved consciously and purposely on the various structural parts and sculptural embellishments of the monuments at Amarāvatī, are taken in this study as records of patronage of Buddhism and its art. Therefore, a detailed analysis of the nature, structure, contents, pattern and ideology of these records of patronage is called for.

5.2.1. Implications of Palaeography

The palaeography of these patronage records has cultural and historical implications other than chronological, insofar as the present lines of inquiry are concerned. One is the cultural and social process involved in the transition from orality to script and text in the south-eastern Deccan—a problem which still awaits scholarly attention. Scholars have already shown that the evolution of the southern Indian scripts could be traced only from the early inscriptions of Amarāvatī and Bhattiprolu and from the cave records (Dani, A. H., 1986: 69). The characters employed in the fragmentary pillar inscription at Amarāvatī which is ascribed to Aśoka have been put on par with those of his Girnar edict (Sircar, D. C., 1966: 40) and the few words that could be made out from the fragmented text revealed Aśokan mannerisms (Ghosh, A., 1979: 100). More significantly, it has recently been argued on the basis of certain archaic, 'non-*Brāhmī*' symbols located in the early inscriptions of Amarāvatī and Bhattiprolu, that a south Indian script independent of *Brahmi* already existed in south India (Roy, Anamika, 1994: 18). Although the central focus of the present thesis lies elsewhere, the problem of the transition from orality to literacy and script in the eastern Deccan can be put into perspective on the basis of our discussion.

The second implication concerns the role of the Buddhist institutional base in the introduction and spread of the script / written text. The introduction of writing in the south was ascribed by A. H. Dani to the activity of Buddhist monks who were unlikely to be isolated from the Buddhist order of northern India (Dani, A. H., 1986: 69). Anamika Roy, too, finds substance in the argument that writing was introduced in south India by the Buddhist monks of northern India, and for support of this point, she indicates the presence of a '*bhikhuno Pātaliputāto*' i.e., the monk hailing from Pātaliputra, as donor at Amarāvatī and also the active association of the northern Buddhist monks with the religious activity of south-

eastern Deccan (Roy, Anamika, 1994: 19). It may safely be postulated that the d*hammakadhika*s (Index Nos. I. 27; II. 26; II. 18)) to whom the Amarāvatī epigraphs refer would have also read out the texts of the patronage records along with interpretations of the Buddhist texts and the theme of the sculptures to the laity assembled at the *stūpa*-site as part of pilgrimage. This is very likely to have been the case since literacy was confined to a narrow section of society that included the monks, merchants and officials; the necessity of uninterrupted patronage was needed in the context of the construction and extensions of the Buddhist establishment; and, there was the clear intention on the part of the patrons and the *Sangha* at publicizing the meritorious acts.

The third implication is the involvement of the state in the spread of the script. As pointed out by Prof. Romila Thapar, recourse to writing would have helped the Mauryan state in centralization of state administration and communication with distant areas. In the case of the Aśokan edicts in the vicinity of Buddhist monasteries—the Amarāvatī pillar inscription ascribed to Aśoka being a clear example—the monks would have read them out to the laity (Thapar, 1998: 281). The use of Prākrt in the Aśokan inscriptions in southern India, in spite of cultural and linguistic differences, was a cultural signal of the Mauryan empire and the inscriptions were symbolic of a statement of power and authority in an oral society (Thapar, 1993: 23; 1998: 281). Thus, the continued use of Prākrt for inscriptions in the non-Prākrt speaking area of the south-eastern Deccan in the post-Mauryan period also, could be symbolic of power and authority at different levels. An early Amarāvatī epigraph refers to a *rājalekhaka* (Index No. I. 38), which may indicate that the scribes probably worked under royal supervision and the writing activity was effected by the royal scribes. One more *lekhaka* (Index No. V. 24) appears as donor at Amarāvatī, though no royal connection is mentioned. Another royal scribe is mentioned as a donor at

Guntupalle (Sarma, I. K., 1998: 68-69) and four scribes are mentioned as donors in the Sāñcī inscriptions also (Singh, Upinder, 1996: 15), though no royal connection is mentioned in the latter case.

5.2.2. Structure of the Patronage Records

The inscriptions from Amarāvatī and the allied sites in the south-eastern Deccan can be viewed only in the wider context of the epigraphs, both in *Brāhmī* and *Kharosthī*, recording donations made by lay devotees and others to the Buddhist *Sangha*, during the one or two centuries before and the two or three centuries after the beginning of the Christian era. Such inscriptions are found to occur over an extensive area of the Indian sub-continent, though the language used in them varied from *Prākrt* in the north to Tamil in the south (Ray, H. P., 1989 (a): 439-449). The socio-economic milieu in which these records of patronage were created in the south-eastern Deccan has already been elaborated in Chapter 4 whereas the ideological and religious manifestations and milieu have been discussed in the present chapter as well as in Chapter 7.

The very practice of inscribing the donation as an essential part of instituting a specific donation to the *Sangha* is, in itself, indicative of a transformation of the early Buddhist idea of gift. There is no evidence in the early Buddhist texts for the practice of recording the gift to the *Sangha*, though the epigraphical evidence of the practice at Amarāvatī goes back to the 2nd and possibly even 3rd century BC. It was a by-product of the process of institutionalization of Buddhism and partly of changes in the Buddhist philosophy of recompense, which began to be reflected in the Buddhist religious praxis in the period *circa* 2nd century BC at the early Buddhist centers. In contrast to the lack of tangible benefits offered by the Pāli canon to the layman in return for gifts, the *Mahāsānghika* doctrine promised wealth and even a stature at par with the gods

in return for construction and embellishments of *stūpa*s (Rahula, Bhikkhu Telwatte, 1978: 168-169). Thus, while the only practical reason, as per the pre-*Mahāsānghika* Buddhist doctrine, for making large donations to the *Sangha* was the enhancement of social status, it was now given religious, devotional and ritual dimensions by the *Mahāsānghika*s. Since this will be discussed at length in Chapter 7 this brief statement suffices here.

Once the idea of gift-making with its religious or devotional and ritualistic dimensions became firmly rooted in the popular mind and perception, it gave rise to the fear that any error in gift-making might result in the loss of spiritual merit for the donor. Therefore, an established norm or a standardized mode of gift-making was required to ensure the fruitfulness of the specific gift for a specific donor (Nath, Vijay, 1987: 212). This accounts for a certain specific formulae or phraseology of the donative / patronage records in all the early Buddhist centres where the *Mahāsānghikas* or their offshoots held sway during the period taken up for the present study. The formula of the Amarāvatī epigraphs is more or less structurally akin to the one occurring at Bhārhut and Sāñcī in central India, Mathurā in the north, the cave-sites of the western Deccan, and Nāgārjunakonda and other sites of the south-eastern Deccan. There is, of course, difference in the combination of the phrases or formulae used in the numerous patronage records of Amarāvatī, which are drawn from a period that spans over half a millennium, but the general pattern that emerges is a combination of references to the era; the name of the object of the donations; the name, status or profession, community and place of residence of the donors; and the purpose of the donations. The similarity of our patronage records, both in structure and contents, with the Jaina votive records of Mathurā is clearly noticeable (De Leeuw, 1995: 232- 302). Moreover, it has to be kept in mind that scholars have already noted the parallelism between the structure of the Buddhist

donative records and the stipulations of the Brahmanical *smrti* texts (Nath, Vijay, 1987: 221-222). The occurrence in the patronage records of even the single monastic site like Amarāvatī of such a spectrum of expressions as *kāritam*, *dānam*, *patithāpita*, *deyadhamma*, *niyuta* etc. (Ray, H. P., 1998: 195) which were in vogue for recording gift / donation at the monastic centres of north and central India and of the western Deccan at different times, can be taken as an index to the influence of the ideology and religious practices developed by Buddhism as well as to the interactions of those early Buddhist centres on the similar traditions of Amarāvatī.

Analysis of the patronage records at Amarāvatī shows certain patterns or conventions of recording patronage at Amarāvatī during the four phases of the evolution of the patronage records. An important structural feature that cannot be missed is the short recordings of the early period which contrasts with the more elaborate and relatively lengthy documentations of the later period. Though many of the records are fragmentary and therefore yield only a portion of the phrases employed, some of the properly preserved records contain phrases that indicate a tendency towards ritualisation of the gifts. This is denoted by the widespread use of such terms as *patitāpita* i.e., *pratistāpita*, in the patronage records around the first three centuries of the Christian era (Index Nos. II. 32; II. 49; III. 5; III. 6; III. 7; III. 63; IV. 9; IV. 19). The specific phrases employed in the epigraphs to denote the recording of the institution of gifts include *dāna* / *dānam* (II. 3; III. 26; IV. 27; V. 5 etc.), *deyadhamma* (II. 32; III. 3; IV. 6: V. 18 etc.), *saviniyuta* (III. 36), *kāritam* (III. 16), and *dānapūrvam* (III. 49). The phase-wise usage of the phrases (See Book II, Index to Amarāvatī Inscriptions) brings out the evolution of the ritualistic practice of instituting donation and the corresponding religious connotations thereof. It may once again be noted that although epigraphic testimony to gift or sponsorship of the art-activity at

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Amarāvatī goes back to the 3rd century BC, the practice of registering the instituting of gift with a set of formulaic phrases or expressions began only around the 1st century BC.

An important component of the structure of the patronage records at Amarāvatī and the allied early Buddhist centres is the conscious attempt at constructing and recording a pedigree for the donor. In the construction of the geneology, the names of upto three generations of the donor are mentioned in certain cases as if to project an identity in unambiguous terms. It may further be noticed that this identity, which is being projected through the records of patronage, merges ultimately in the *mahācaitya*, the visible symbol of the Buddha, via the donation. The foregoing inquiry into the nature and structure of the patronage records at Amarāvatī has highlighted a very significant social function. It is postulated here that the main social function of the patronage records which registered the names and statuses of the donors along with the frequent invocations to the Buddha and the *Sangha*, and which declared the purpose of the donations, was to seek association with the *mahācaitya*—the source of power—project the donors into posterity and to seek legitimacy and validation of the donor-groups who were of relatively recent origin in the historical context of the south-eastern Deccan.

5.3. Demography of Patronage at Amarāvatī

The extant studies on the societal support to the art–activity at Amarāvatī are meagre but impressionistic, often unsupported by any analysis of the data-base. This has, unfortunately, vitiated a proper understanding of the historical dimensions of the art of Amarāvatī. It is this lacuna which is proposed to be filled or addressed here by the present analysis of the corpus of the Amarāvatī epigraphs. In presenting the inscriptional evidence on patronage, various items of

data are tabulated and then quantified phase-wise (see Book II, Index to the Amarāvatī Epigraphs). The study has isolated 19 relevant items of data from the epigraphs to bring out the exact nature of the patronage of Buddhism and its art. The names, statuses and class / community of the patrons, the objects donated, the places from where the patrons hailed, the numbers of monks, nuns and the laity as donors, the various social categories or occupation groups involved, the total number of persons involved in the patronage activity etc. are the major items of indexing the social history of patronage through the use of simple statistics. Moreover, while analyzing the classified epigraphic data on these lines, an attempt is made to argue that the questions / problems of societal support / patronage are as significant in defining or constituting a school of art / sculpture as the questions of style and composition, and theme and form. The dimensions of patronage developed herein are based fully on inscriptional evidence and are presented in a simple statistical format. Each chronological phase is first considered as an independent unit for isolating the major characteristics, and finally the phases are considered as a whole for indicating the major trends or patterns of patronage. It has to be admitted here, however, that the generalizations drawn on the basis of the currently available epigraphical data from the site of Amarāvatī may have to be revised at a later time in the event of a possible future discovery of inscriptions from the site, though structural alterations are less likely to arise.

5.4. Statistical Approach to the Inscriptional Evidence on Patronage

Out of a total number of 268 available instances of gift-making at Amarāvatī in the context of the construction, reconstruction and art-activity that span over nearly six hundred years, not less than 585 patrons are specifically referred to out of which not less than 313 are male and not less than 223 are

female, and the gender of the rest 49 is either not known or can not be determined due to the absence of data. One of the problems confronted in tabulating these figures was the lack of sufficient data for estimating the total number of persons involved in the case of those records which do not specify the names or numbers of the donors involved, and therefore, the total number of patrons and the gender break-up denoted by such institutions / corporations which provided patronage as *gāma* (*grāma*), *nigama* (*nigrāma*), *gothi* (Gosthi), etc. and such collective categories as *nāti*, *nātimitabādhava* etc. have not been incorporated into this estimate. Furthermore, out of the total of not less than 585 donors, 71 belonged to monastic background (40 monks and 31 nuns of different statusses), accounting for 13% of the total number of donors. Of the 268 patronage records, 140 have collective donors, 7 have institutional donors, and the rest have individual donors though many of the individual donors are referred to along with some other persons as husbands, wives, sons, daughters, servants etc. for revealing their precise identity, which makes such references more of a collective rather than individualistic nature. The significance of number of donor-categories will be taken up subsequently, but it suffices here to remark that the number of women donors is particularly visible. While Phase I yielded only 17 women donors, Phase II yielded 44, Phase III yielded an all-time high of 99, Phase IV yielded 38 and Phase V yielded only 27.

This increasing visibility of women donors raises two significant issues: 1) the right of women to own property in the context of the early Buddhist praxis in the south-eastern Deccan and 2) the nature of convergence or divergence between the canonical or literary references to the volume of participation of women in religious affairs and gift / patronage activities. That there was the right for women to own property like their male counterparts is obvious enough though the extent to which the exercise of this right depended on the male condescension cannot be determined. They were part and parcel of the world of

Buddhism that developed in the south-eastern Deccan, as is also clear from the discussion in Chapter 6 on the institutional base of the art activity at Amarāvatī. The total number of 223 women donors out of the total number of 585 donors is, by all standards, higher than the percentage of their participation depicted in the Buddhist texts, though any precise calculation about the latter does not exist at the present stage except certain well-informed general indications (Horner, I. B., 1975; Willis, Janice D., 1992: 46-53). With regard to women as donors at the other early Buddhist centres, it stands very much similar to the example of Sāñcī where the high degree of 'visibility' of women as donors has been pointed out as a striking feature of the Sāñcī inscriptions (Singh, Upinder, 1996: 9). It tempts to attempt a comparison between this high visibility of women in the inscriptional evidence with the sculptural evidence on their depiction in the reliefs. A preliminary attempt in this regard has been made in this study based on the published accounts of the sculptures kept in the different museums though a complete or ideal statistics of this sort can be developed only after examining all the available sculptures, at least some of which are unpublished or even not exhibited in the museums. Out of a total of 2723 human figures depicted in the Amarāvatī sculptures, 836 were of women (see the tablein Chapter 8). By any account, the volume of female participation in the social and religious life of the south-eastern Deccan was greater than what is available in the Buddhist textual traditions.

5.4.1. Names of Donors

A remarkable feature of the names of the donors at Amarāvatī is the presence of a large number of names with Buddhist affiliation / orientation which is significant for the present discussion on patronage of art and the characterization of that art. Once a list of such names at Amarāvatī is prepared and compared with similar names occurring in the other early Buddhist centres of

the peninsula, a key feature of the emerging pan-Indian religious identity during the period of half a millennium can be perceived. It will also be an index to the emergence of a specific Buddhist identity in the south-eastern Deccan during the early Christian centuries. The following is a list of the names of donors with obvious Buddhist affiliation.

Ananda (m)
Aya Dhama (f)
Bodhi
Bodhika (m);
Bodhika (m);
Budharakhita (m)
Budha (f)
Budha (f)
Budha (f)
Budha (f);
Budha (f)
Budha (f)
Maya
Budhara(khita)
Budharakhita
Budharakhita (f)
Budharakhita (m)
Budharakhita (m)
Budharakhita (f)
Budhi (m)
Budhi (m)
Budhi (m)

Budhi (m)

Budhi (m)

Budhi (m)

Budhi (m)

Budhi (m)

Budhilā (f)

Cula Budharakhitā (f)

Dhamadina (f)

Dhamarakhita (m)

Dhamarakhita (m

Dhamasa

Dhamasarayana (m)

Dhamasiria (f)

Dhamila (m

Dhammasiri

Hagha (f

Hagha (m)

Hagisiri (f)

Sidhatha

Mahadeva (m)

Revata (m)

Sagha (f

Sagha (f

Saghadasi (f)

Sagharakhita (f

Sagharakhita (m)

Samghada (f)

Samgharakhita (f);

Sidhartha (f)

Sidhatha (m)

The correspondence between certain names of donors at Amarāvatī and the names of some of the historical or semi-historical as well as mythical figures depicted in the Buddhist canons is noticeable. Some of the names have parallels in the early Buddhist canons. Of all the names at Amarāvatī with Buddhist orientation, the one that was favoured most was the name of the Master himself and its derivatives. Budhā (f), Budhi (m), Budharakhita (m), Budharakhitā (f), Cula Budharakhitā (f) etc. are some of the names that were derived from the name of the Buddha. The proper name Ananda, the name of the foremost of the Buddha's disciples, has its emulations here as the name of a male donor (Index No. III. 58) and as Anandā as the mother of a male donor (Index No. V. 6). Mahādeva (Index No. V. 4) is supposedly the name of the leader of the *Mahāsānghika* schism and the originator of the famous five points, which many of the Buddhist texts considered as the nucleus of the schismatic tendency. Rāhula (Index No. IV. 4) was the name of the son of the Buddha, Sāriputa (Index No. IV. 15) was the chief disciple of the Buddha, and Sidhatha (Index No. IV. 15) i.e., Siddhārtha, was the personal name of the Buddha and of the sixteenth of the twenty-four Buddhas. These canonical parallels are connected with the life and teachings of the Buddha and are common to the recorded traditions of most of the Buddhist schismatic groups. Revata (Index No. I. 31; I. 32) was variously related in the Pāli texts and the *Mahāvastu* as the fifth of the twenty-four Buddhas, as an eminent disciple of the Buddha and foremost among the forest-dwellers (*āranakānam*), as a pupil of Ānanda, and as an Elder who took a prominent part in the Second Buddhist Council at Vesāli (Malalasekera, 1983: 751–755). Somadattā (Index No. I. 38) has its masculine counterparts in Somadatta of the

Jātaka stories wherein he is variously referred to as a Bhodisattva born as the son of a Brahmin (Malalasekera, 1983: 1306-07).

The prevalence of the worship of the early Brahmanical gods like Visnu, Śiva and Krsna can be deduced from such personal names as Venhu (f) (Index No. IV. 6); Sivaka (m) (Index No. V. 4); Sivāla (f) (Index No. III. 3); Kanhā (f)(Index Nos. III. 60); Kanha (m) (Index Nos. III. 24; V. 10; V. 23); *Damila* Kanha (m) (Index No. II. 34); Cula Kanha (m) (Index No. II. 34); etc. Khata (Index No. III. 57) could have a Śaivite connection, corresponding to the Pāli equivalent of *Khanda* (Sanskrit *Skanda*), who is mentioned with Śiva in the Udāna Commentary (Malalasekera, 1983: 710). Similarly, such names as Laci (f) (Index No. II. 37), Paduma (f) (Index No. III. 41) etc. indicate the possible veneration shown to the goddess Laksmi. Adita, the name of the early Vedic Sun-god, is a male donor (Index No. III. 4). *Nāga* worship would have been widely prevalent as suggested by Nāga (m) and (f); Nāgabu; Nāgabu; Nāgabu; Nāgabu; Nāgabudhu (m); Nāgamala (m); Nāgamitā (f); Nāgamuli; Nāganikā (f); Nāgatā (f) etc. Another component of the religious milieu is the cult of the *Yaksa*s as can be seen in the reference to Cadamukha (m) as a *yaksa.* The reference to *Damila* may indicate geographic, linguistic and even ethnic origin of certain donors at Amarāvatī in the Tamil country. A similar influence of the southern languages in the derivation of certain names of donors, particularly that of Dāmila, in the inscriptions of the caves of the western Deccan, has also been noticed (Ray, H. P. 1986: 194).

This brief analysis of the personal names has revealed the explicit Buddhist overtones, which in turn documents, albeit indirectly, the influence of the Buddhist textual tradition and tenets that were preserved and kept alive by the institutional base at Amarāvatī and its environs. This can go a long way in further determining the nature of the socio-cultural identity of the various socio-economic groups in the region and offers some of the possible planes of interactions that

existed between the monastic centre and the groups that provided resources and patronage to the centre. Earlier scholars have not seriously taken this dimension of the personal names mentioned in the Amarāvatī epigraphs, possibly due to the overemphasis they had to attach to art and sculptural / architectural styles of the *mahācaitya*. The Appendix to this chapter presents 5 charts, which lists the names of donors (chart 1), statuses of the donors (chart 2), objects of donation (chart 3), institutional donors (chart 4) and places where donors came from (chart 5) in phase-wise groupings.

5.5. PATRONAGE AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Patronage activity, which involves a spectrum of socio-economic and religious factors, is always governed by existing social structure and economic organization. In order to understand the various social and economic dimensions of patronage of art and its institutional base and to form an idea about the forms or patterns of patronage, an inquiry into the different socio-economic categories that offered patronage is essential. The nature of social structure and the economic activities engaged in by the society in question could have a definite bearing on the forms and patterns of patronage activity. In the absence of such an analysis of the social categories referred to in the complete corpus of the available epigraphs form Amarāvatī, the understanding of the socio-economic background of the well-known Amarāvatī School of Art has remained partial and sketchy. In Chapter 4 the historical context of the evolution of a peasant economy has been touched upon while discussing the transition from the proto-historic cultures to the semi-tribal and semi-agrarian culture of the Early Historical Period in the south-eastern Deccan. This section attempts to reconstruct the socio-economic groups that patronized the *mahācaitya* and its institutional base, and constituted in themselves

a society that was primarily rooted in or largely affiliated to Buddhist socio-economic ethics.

5.5.1. Royal and Official Donors

The inscriptional data at our disposal can take the present attempt at piecing together of the data on social formation farthest to the 3rd century BC, though archaeological sources, as already outlined in Chapter 2 give indications of a flourishing commercial centre at Dharanikota and of a monastic centre at Amarāvatī at a still earlier period. The earliest datable evidence relevant for the discussion belongs to the Mauryan stratum, though only certain trends or aspects of social formation of the period can be developed. The impact of the Mauryan state, which has also been discussed in Chapter 4, opened up the peninsula for trade, accelerated north-south interactions, both commercial and cultural, and influenced the process of state formation. Nothing precise on social formations can be drawn from the archaeological materials that are dated to this period, though the presence of traders and varieties of artisans can be drawn. The very material and strategic importance of the region around Amarāvatī-Dharanikota to the Mauryan state is indicated by the Fragmentary Pillar Edict attributed to Aśoka, which is found to have expressed the well-known and generally accepted Aśokan mannerisms.

Social and occupational background of donors is found systematically registered as part of their identity in the donative records of Amarāvatī from the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. Royalty and officialdom formed a major group of patrons of the early phase of the *caitya* at Amarāvatī. There is every reason to believe that the *kumāra* Avatakāma who donated a *thabho* (Index No. I. 6) was one of the princes of Mauryan royalty, functioning as a viceroy or a governor (Seneviratne, S., 1980: 61; Thapar, 1998: 100–101). It is possible that *senagopa* (army general) Mudukutala who donated a *thabho* (Index NoI. 8) and *senāpati*

(army commander) Dharaka of the Pākotaka clan (Index No. I. 42) were local chiefs of Andhra serving the Mauryas (Seneviratne, S., 1980: 63) or were part of a well-defined ruling élite that emerged soon after the retreat of the metropolitan (Mauryan) state authority from the region. Similarly, the *rājakumāri* (princess) Sammaliya (Index No. I. 13), a patroness who donated an *unhisa* (*usnisa*, "coping stone") along with her *parivesaka* (retinue), belonged to some royal lineage that ruled in the south-eastern Deccan. The *rājalekhaka* (Index No. I. 38) and the *mahākura* (Index No. I. 43) appearing in two 2nd century BC epigraphs might be officers of some of these chiefs or rulers. Evidence from the other parts of the south-eastern Deccan is also indicative of the similar political formations under the locality chiefs. An epigraph from Vaddamanu, close to Amarāvatī, refers to *raño* Dhamaka or king Dhamaka (Sarma, I.K., 1987: 95-97), and a Bhattiprolu inscription refers to *rāja* Khubiraka or King Khubiraka (Sarma, I.K., 1988: 50-51) in the post-Mauryan times.

These references taken together indicate the rise of a graded social hierarchy and corresponding administrative functions on the one hand and the imitation of north Indian titles by the ruling groups on the other. Moreover, lineage groups that were close to power like the Pākotakas whose members have become *senāpati* and have registered donations to the *Sangha* at least five times (Index Nos. I. 15; I. 16; I. 34; I. 55; I. 62), too, have become part of this process of subscribing to norms and styles of the organised state societiy.

The reference to king Sivamaka Sada, probably a descendent of the *Mahāmeghavāhana* dynasty of Kalinga, and one of his officers entitled *pāniyagharika* (Index No.III. 15) as a donor at Amarāvatī immediately prior to the expansion of the later Sātavāhanas into the lower Krsna valley further explains the political situation on the eastern part of Andhra in the beginning of the early Christian era. Though it is not known from any other source as to what excactly

was the function of this officer, he is generally understood to be the superintendent of water houses, possibly in charge of distribution of water for irrigation (Ray, H. P., 1986: 93).

The consolidation of power by the later Sātavāhanas over the eastern Deccan or lower Krsna valley is signalled by the Amarāvatī epigraph referring to the reign of Vāsisthiputra Pulumāvi (Index No. III. 17) in the early 2nd century AD, another record mentioning the reign of Gautamiputra Yajña Sātakarni (Index No. III. 16) in the last quarter of the second century AD, and by the concentrated distribution of the Sātavāhana coinage in the lower Krsna valley during the late Sātavāhana period (Sarma, I. K., 1980). The reference to an *amacca* (*amātya*, "minister") as the donor of a *dharmacakra* (Index NoII. 46) could indicate a Sātavāhana minister, since the epigraph has been dated palaeographically to the Sātavāhana period. In the early Sātavāhana period, the *amacca* functioned as minister responsible for maintaining land records and for writing the land charters in the western Deccan (Ray, H. P., 1986: 180). Since there is no land charter or record from among the 268 patronage records from Amarāvatī, the functions of the *amacca* under the later Sātavāhanas in the south-eastern Deccan could be different. The *mahāgovalava* (*i.e.*, *mahāgovallava*, "the great cowherd") (Index NoIII. 12), whose daughter made an offering to the *caitya*, and the *mahātoda* (Index No.III. 50), whose wife was among the donors—both referred to in the epigraphs of the 2nd century AD—could be Sātavāhana officers, though the nature and functions of these offices are not known and these titles are previously unknown from any other source. The reference to an *uparaka* by name Nutu who donated three *sucis* (Index No. II. 9) could be a royal officer, and is reminiscent of the *uparika* of the early medieval epigraphs (Sharma, R. S., reprint 1985: 9,16, 17, 20, 61). The chief city of Pukiratha (Index No.IV. 18), referred to in an inscription of the mid-3rd

century ADcould be a provincial capital of the late Sātavāhanas or even of the Iksvakus, though there is at present no clue as to its location or identity. Similarly, the affiliations or lineage of princess Siricampurā (Index No. IV. 9) cannot be worked out due to lack of evidence.

5.5.2. Institutional Donors

5.5.2.1. *Gāma* and *Nigama*

Apart from the royalty and officialdom, the many institutional categories that associated themselves with patronage of the Buddhist institutional base at Amarāvatī and its environs included socio-economic and political institutions like *gāma* and *nigama*, politico-mercantile institutions like *gosthi* and extended kin groups / tribal lineages. While *gāma* appeared as an institutional donor in six records, *nigama* appeared in five records. Out of the six *gāma*s, Kalavaira *gāma* (Index No. I. 5) belonged to the Mauryan period; Ñāpita *gāma* (Index No. I. 76) and two others whose names are missing (Index Nos. I. 77; I. 82) belonged to the 2nd or 1st century BC; one whose name is also lost (Index No. II. 37) belonged to the 1st century AD; and another one whose name is also lost (Index No. IV.28), has been attributed to some time in the early Christian centuries AD. Out of the five donations instituted by *nigama*s, four belonged to the *nigama* of Dhānyakataka or Dhamñakada and one to that of Cadakica. The *nigama* of Dhānyakataka offered gifts to the *caitya* of the site in the 3rd century BC (Index No. I. 11), in the 2nd century BC (Index Nos. I. 41) and in the 1st century BC (Index No. I. 83). The only other *nigama* referred to in the Amarāvatī inscriptions is that of Cadakica (Index No. III. 33) which made a gift in the 2nd century AD.

An idea of the different functions and roles of the institutions like *gāma* and *nigama* in the context of patronage of art and religion in the

south-eastern Deccan can be formed on the basis of the scholarly discussions on the meaning and functions of these in different stages of early Indian economic history. *Gāma* has been treated as being equivalent to a village, though, in practice, it was the smallest unit of settlement and could imply a ward, a hamlet, or even a temporary settlement (Wagle, N. N., 1966: 13–21). A *gāma* may belong to one particular kin-group or occupational group and may often be known as the *nigama* of that group (Wagle, 1966: 17–21). One social characteristic implicit in the *gāma* as a settlement is that an inhabitant often derived his status / identity from the name of that *gāma*. At least some patrons at Amarāvatī derived part of their identity from the names of their respective *gāma*s or settlements (Index Nos. III. 3; IV. 4; IV. 28). Thus, the *gāma* constituted the basic unit of settlement and production.

A *nigama* has been taken as a *gāma* composed of members of various groups more or less integrated, was a larger and more complex unit than a *gāma,* and, in terms of size, has been placed somewhere between a *gāma* and a *nagara* or city (Wagle, 1966: 20 - 21). On the basis of literary references, the term *nigama* has been variously rendered as a market town, a town, a township and a district (Wagle, 1966: 21). The term also variously referred to a corporate body like a guild and a city (Thaplyal, K. K., 1996: 8-12). Merchants and traders were called *naigama*s, and since the *naigama*s who followed the same trade or calling lived in one and the same locality, that locality came to be known as *nigama* (Wagle, 1996: 12). Such settlements may have played the role of local markets, and in turn proved to be the nuclei of urban growth (Thapar, Romila, 1994: 124). The mercantile community dominated the *nigama*s (Thaplyal, 1996: 11) as can be proved in the case of Cadākica, a *nigama* headed by the *sethi*s (*sethipamukha*) at Amarāvatī (Index No. III. 33).

Another corporate body of mercantile association that appeared as a donor / patron at Amarāvatī and some other sites in early Andhra is the *gothi* or *gosthi*. It has been shown by scholars that *nigama* and *gothi* controlled the trade in Andhra and Tamilakam whereas it was the *śreni* that was prominently referred to in the epigraphic records of the western Deccan and Mathurā (Ray, H. P., 1998: 40). A contrasting view that *nigamas* were more prosperous and influential in the western Deccan than the *śrenis* has also been raised (Thaplyal, 1996: 11). Numismatic data show that some of the *nigamas* of the western Deccan wielded political power and issued coins (Ray, H. P., 1998: 192). Both the institutions are mentioned in the Bhattiprolu inscriptions (Sarma, I. K., 1988: 50–51). The decipherment of '*gothi*' on a sculptured stele at Amarāvatī proposed earlier by archaeologists (Ghosh and Sarkar, 1964 – 65, p.175) has been recently contested by Anamika Roy (1994, vol. i, p.193), and therefore, the existence of the *gosthi* at Amarāvatī can not be taken for granted. Yet, there is nothing unnatural in supposing the existence of both the *nigama* and *gosti* also at Amarāvatī since they are found at Bhattiprolu, not far from Amarāvatī. Moreover, it has to be noted that Amarāvatī and its environs were the most urbanized of all the regions in early Andhra.

5.5.3. Tribal / Lineage Groups as Donors

The patronage records of Amarāvatī and the allied centres in the south-eastern Deccan indicate a transitional phase in the evolution of the early historical society. With the expansion of an agricultural settlements in the lower Krsna valley, the entry of the region into the trade network that linked the entire sub-continent and the consequent socio-cultural interactions, as outlined in Chapter 4 were the key factors in this gradual transition from what has been called a tribal- / lineage-based system to a state society. The very similar process of cultural development in the western Deccan helped transform society from a loose

conglomeration of several tribes to a unified political system under the Sātavāhanas, which has already been appreciated by scholars (Ray, H. P., 1986). The continuance of the tribal characteristics is strongly indicated by the patronage records of Amarāvatī, as for example, the collective donations by certain extended kin groups or communities, some of which have already been named, like the Koramucaka (Index No. I. 14), Pākotaka (Index No. I. 15; I. 16; I. 34; I. 42; I. 55; I. 62), Thabakakula (Index No. I. 28), Padipudiya (Index No. I. 32) and Vitapāla (Index No.I. 76) of the Phase I, and Verākiya (Index No. IV. 24), Pusiliya (Index No. V.2) and Vākātaka (Index No. I. 34) of the early Christian centuries AD. Thus, the earliest reference to the Vākātakas occurs at Amarāvatī, even before its later identity as a ruling group. The collective donations by the villages, already discussed above, are also indicative of the continuing tribal elements in the social fabric.

5.5.4. Kinship And Identity

Although the importance of kinship as a binding and unifying factor and also as an important feature of social identity in the context of early Buddhism has been well-recognised by scholars on the basis of the Buddhist textual evidence, its prolonged existence even in the midst of urbanization in such areas as the south-eastern Deccan has not been given the attention it deserves due to the enthusiasm of historians for tracking down urbanism and urban centres at the expense of the well documented evidence for both urbanism as well as the simultaneous existence of kinship ties of different evolutionary stages at Amarāvatī and the allied centres. The sociological implications of the significance attached to kinship ties as a crucial factor in the identity of the donor / patron categories does not fall within the purview of the present study, but it suffices to say that the social values and norms, and the ethics and ideals articulated by the monastic centres at Amarāvatī and allied centres were being internalized by the tribes, lineage groups and extended kin-groups. Thus, along with the donor / patron, the

extended kin-groups also participated in the patronage activity and gradually shared in the doctrine of the merit thus acquired.

The kinship terms that are used in the patronage records of Amarāvatī are *nāti*, *nātimitabādhava* and *kula*. Wagle has shown that in the period of the Buddha, *nāti* as an extended kin-group functioned as an effective caste and in that sense, therefore, nearer to the modern sub-caste; it was also used in the sense of a social group and it did not indicate status (Wagle, 1966: 127–130). *Kula* was an extended family (Wagle, 1966: 111). *Nātimitabādhava* means the extended kin-groups, friends and relatives. *Kula* is used only once (Thabaka *kula* in Index No. I. 28). *Nāti* is also used once (Index No. III. 57). *Nātimitabādhava* occurs in nine epigraphs (Index Nos. II. 32 and II. 38; III. 7, III. 32, III. 43, III. 45 and III. 61; and IV. 15 and IV. 28) out of which three are associated with *gahapati* donors (Index Nos. III. 57, III. 61, IV. 28) and one each with the *heranika* (Index Nos. III. 32) and the *gadhika vāniya* (Index No. IV. 15).

5.6. Gahapatis

The most significant social component or factor of the patronage records of Amarāvatī in terms of the number of records associated with any social category is the *gahapati*, which accounted for 24 donations. It has been recognized that the term *gahapati* is of crucial significance to the undersanding of the society at the time of the Buddhha as well as of the social history of Buddhism (Chakravarti, Uma, 1996: 65-93) and that as a single social category, it formed the most important group of sponsors or patrons of the early Buddhist movement which was represented in the Buddhist literature. The term has a history of its own in the context of the early historical society of the Gangetic basin before its comparatively recent history in the Krsna valley. This term had been in existence from very early times onwards, but it has been given a special connotation in the Buddhist literature though there seemed to be no fixity to its meaning in a variety

of situations in which it appeared frequently in the textual sources. It is essential first to have an idea of the *gahapati* as a category of patrons of Buddhism as depicted in the literary sources for a better understanding of the *gahapati* as the most significant donor group at Amarāvatī as revealed in the patronage records.

A comprehensive study of the problem of the *gahapati* in the early Buddhist texts has brought out that the *gahapati* represented the economy as far as the early Buddhists are concerned (Chakravarti, Uma 1996: 67; Thapar, Romila, 1994: 121-122; Wagle, 1966: 151-156). The rendering of the term as a "rich houeholder" does not imply the range of characteristics that *gahapati* carries with it. The broad classification of the dimensions of meaning and functions of the *gahapati* has considered the *gahapati* as an element of the king's sovereignty or as the most important social group in relation to the king (Chakravarti, Uma, 1996: 67–69), as the pivot of the agrarian economy (Chakravarti, Uma, 1996: 70–73), as the owner and controller of property which enabled him to to become the donor of the *Sangha* par excellence (Chakravarti, Uma, 1996: 69), as the major tax payer (Chakravarti, Uma, 1996: 70), and as an employer of labour (Chakravarti, Uma, 1996: 79–80). Moreover, the use of the term *gahapati* has also been recognized as a status term in a generic sense or as a title (Rhys Davids and William Stede, 1994: 248) implying that there could be only one *gahapati* in each family (Chakravarti, Uma, 1996: 80). One central feature of the social history of Buddhism has been the *gahapati*'s special relatioship with the *Sangha* in his extension of support to Buddhism and this has been prominently represented as a major theme in the Buddhist texts. This is reflected in the representation of the *gahapati* Citta as the ideal *upāsaka* in the texts and the exhortation to him by the *deva*s to aspire for rebirth as a *cakkavatti* (Chakravarti, Uma, 1996: 82)—a potential possibility for the *gahapati*s to aspire for. Significantly enough, in the *Sigālovāda Sutta* of the *Digha Nikāya,* the Buddha's discourse was addressed to the young *gahapati* Sigāla and the duties of an ideal layman were narrated to him

(*Digha Nikāya*, III). Thus, the social order envisaged by the Buddhists was clearly one in which the *gahapati* was the nodal point (Chakravarti, Uma, 1996: 180).

A related term, which occurs in an Amarāvatī epigraph as a qualification or status of the donor, is *kotubika* (Index No. II. 46). The Pali equivalent of the term i.e., *kutumbika* or *kutimbika* has been taken in the sense of a man of property, a landlord, the head of a family (Rhys Davids and Stede, William, 1994: 219), more or less in the sense of a *gahapati*. In a contemporary epigraph of Nāsik in the western Deccan, a female donor's husband was described as a *kudubika* and a *hālakiya*, and her son as a *gahapati* (Lüders: 1121), which makes it beyond doubt that though the terms are not interchangeable, both are very related.

The 24 patronage records belonging to the *gahapati* donors at Amarāvatī mostly registered collective gifts, along with their wifes, sons, daughters or friends and relatives. The total number of people who belonged to this category of donors is only 27, which is a very low figure compared to the more than 70 donors who hailed from the various monastic categories. Yet, this social category formed the largest donor group to have associated with the institutional base of the *mahācaitya* in the patronage activity represented in the patronage records produced by that society. This direct evidence of the early Buddhist praxis of *dāna* as recorded in the early Buddhist site of Amarāvatī is unexpectedly contrary to the widely held notion, generated mainly on the basis of Buddhist textual evidences alone, that the largest share of support to the Buddhist movement came from the *gahapati* donors. Probably, the textual evidence of the Pāli sources might reflect the situation prior to the institutionalization of the *Sangha* whereas the present epigraphic sources reflect the realities in the period after the institutionalization of the *Sangha* or else the former was the result of considerable

editing on the part of the compilers of the early Pāli traditions, while the latter reflects the real historical praxis (For a similar view, see Schopen, Gregory, 1997)

The use of the term *gahapati* in the Amarāvatī epigraphs appears to be as a title or as a status term and its hereditary nature is very much clear. Of the total of 27 donors belonging to this category, 11 are referred to as *gahapati*s, 7 as sons of *gahapati*s, 4 as daughters of *gahapati*s, 2 as grandsons of *gahapati*s and 3 as wives of *gahapati*s. Since at least 10 records mentioning the places from where they hailed have survived, it seems that the geographical identity was a part of the social identity of the *gahapati*s at Amarāvatī. The following are the place names mentioned in connection with the identity of the *gahapati*s, though nothing precise is known that can lead to their probable geographical identification except that they were most likely to be in the periphery of Dhamñakada: Cadākica (Index No.II. 11), Valikaca (Index No. II. 12), Turughura (Index No. III. 63), Kodakha (Index No. III. 38), Tulaka (Index No. IV. 2), Hiralura (Index No.IV. 4), Bhutayana (Index No. V. 1), Turulūra (Index No. V. 4) and Akhasavada (Index No. V. 7).

The close connection between the *gahapati*s and the trading class, which has very well been understood mainly on the basis of literary sources in the context of the Gangetic valley, is clearly noticeable in the patronage records from Amarāvatī. *Gahapati* Hamgha is referred to as the father of *vāniya* Samuda (Index No. IV. 18), *gahapati* Pusila's son is a *sethi* (Index No. V. 4), and the son of *gahapati* Budhila is referred to as a *heranika* (Index No. III. 32). Some of the *upāsaka*s have *gahapati* background (Index No. IV. 1); and more importantly, out of the available donations specifically instituted for the benefit of the *Caityaka* sect, 2 belonged to the *gahapati* class (Index Nos. III. 17 and III.57).

Phase-wise, the most striking feature of the patronage records of Phase I is the near-absolute lack of reference to the *gahapati* and the contrasting prominence of the royalty, officialdom, the monks and the *sethi*s as donors. The *gahapati* appeared for the first time in the Phase II records. The details of the objects donated by *gahapati* Kanhati (Index No. II. 11), the grandson of *gahapati* Papin (Index No. II. 12), *gahapati* Gamilaka (Index No. II. 19) and *gahapati* Cadamukha (Index No. II. 56) are lost or not known. The son of *gahapati* Vāsumita (Index No. II. 41), along with his wife, sons, sisters and daughters, gifted a *thabha* or pillar. The only *kodubika* donor at Amarāvatī, Khadanāga, donated along with an *amaca* or *amacca*, minister (Index No. II. 46).

In the records of Phase III, *gahapati* Pega (Index No. III. 6) donated, along with his relatives, a *kalasa*; the son of *gahapati* Budhi (Index No. III. 8), along with his father, sister and wife, donated two *sūci* "cross-bar"; the *heranika* son of *gahapati* Budhila donated a *sūci*, along with his friends, relatives and *jñātī* (Index No. III. 32); the *gahapati* Mūla along with his wife and daughter, and the son of *gahapati* Budhi (Index No. III. 38) donated three *hathī* "elephants", or, according to Anamika Roy's decipherment, *tini hathā*, "the three hand coping" for the railing (Roy, Anamika, 1994: 110-111); *gahapati* Kahūtara and the son of *gahapati* Puri, along with the latter's relatives, donated a *dhamacakam* at the western gate of the *mahācaitya* as the property of the *Caityaka* school (Index No. III. 17); the wife of *gahapati* Sidhatha of the *Caityaka* school gifted, along with her daughters, son, mother, brothers, daughters-in-law, and her own *jñāti*s, a *divakhabha* or lamp-pillar (Index No. III. 57) and *gahapati* Chadamukha's daughter gifted an *udhapata* (Index No. IV. 63). The objects donated by the daughter of *gahapati* Ida along with an *upāsika* and a *bhikkhunī* (Index No. III. 9), the *gahapati* son (whose name is lost) of *gahapati* Sulasa (Index No. III. 46), and the son of *gahapati* Hamghi along with his sons, daughters, relations, friends and connections (Index No. III. 61) are not known. *Hālikā* or ploughwoman (Index

No. III. 63) was a donor who, by the western Deccan example stated above (Lüders: 1121), may be related to the *gahapati* group.

From Phase IV onwards, the numbers of *gahapati* donors are on the decline. The daughter-in-law of *gahapati* Kubula gifted, along with her son and sister (Index No. IV. 2), a *pata*; the wife and grandsons of *gahapati* Rāhula donated a *khabho* (Index No. IV. 4); the *gahapati* son of a *gahapati* father donated a *caitya* (Index No. IV. 6) and the *vāniya* son of *gahapati* Hamgha and *gahapati* Kodacandi donated an *unhisa* (Index No. IV. 18). The objects donated by the *gahapati* of the Verakiya family / lineage group (Index No. IV. 24) and the *gahapati* of the Vākātaka clan or tribe (Index No. IV. 28) are not known.

In Group B inscriptions also, which may be attributed to either Phase III or Phase IV, there are only three epigraphs with *gahapati* donors. The *sethi* son of *gahapati* Pusila donated, along with his wife, sons-in-law and daughters, two *pātuka* (Index No. V. 4) and the grandson of *gahapati* Māriti donated an *unhisa* (Index No. V. 7). The object donated by the *gahapati* Māriti's daughter (Index No. V. 1) is not known. A *hālika* donated a *thabha* (Index No. V. 3).

5.7. The Mercantile Classes

Scholars have already noted the connection between the *gahapatis* and the mercantile groups in the early historical context and, as has already been stated, this has clear epigraphic cofirmation from Amarāvatī. Before going on to take up this evidence, it has to be made clear that the terms used in the inscriptions for denoting these categories are more or less like the same vocabulary used for this purpose in the early Buddhist literature. In other words, the Pāli vocabulary that were used to describe the emerging socio-economic scenario as obtained in the north-eastern regions of India around the 6^{th} or 5^{th} centuries BC have been adapted into the inscriptional Prākrt even after half a millennium to describe the conditions

in the south-eastern Deccan. Sivaka, a *sethi,* is the son of *gahapati* Pusila (Index No. V. 4); Samuda the *vāniya* is described as the son of *gahapati* Hamgha (Index No. IV. 18) and Budhila, a *heranika,* is the son of a *gahapati* (Index No. III. 32). In an epigraph of the 3rd century AD discovered from Uppugundur, Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District, Vaira the *vāniya* is described as the son of *gahapati* Samghila (B. CH. Chhabra, 1959-60: 191). Thus, it is clear that the surplus which these mercantile groups invested in trade and related spheres was derived from the agrarian economy of the south-eastern Deccan.

Before taking up the evidence on patronage by the mecantile groups, an attempt has to be made to assess their social status and position, for which the currently available epigraphic data do not yield sufficent evidence, and therefore, much credence has to be given to the early Buddhist literature in Pāli and the suggestions of scholars based on the literary evidence. Rhys Davids and William Stede defined the *setthi* as foreman of a guild, treasurer, banker, 'city man', and wealthy merchant (Rhys Davids and Stede, William, reprint, 1994: 722). Ivo Fiser thought it better not to render the term in translation (Fiser, reprint 2001: 196–197) and instead listed the functions of the *setthi.* He ruled out the identification of *setthi* as the foreman of a guild (Fiser, 2001: 195–196) since there is no reference in the Pāli canon to that effect. On the basis of the evidence, mainly from the *Jātakas*, Fiser concluded that the *setthi* originally occupied with agriculture (Fiser, 2001: 170 - 171), began a business career in the market towns and invested in their transactions a part of the profits gained in agriculture (Fiser, 2001: 174), managed the exchange of goods between town and country (Fiser, 2001: 175), lent considerable sums of money to people living by trade (Fiser, 2001: 193–194), and was a man of sufficient wealth, and therefore, a valuable connection for all those people who wished to make their living by trade and who needed some initial capital or had run into debt and sought a way out by changing their way of living (Fiser, 2001: 194). He was occasionally a real usurer, a

treasurer and a banker, a man of wealth, position and infuence in the society (Fiser, 2001: 194) and the king appointed some of the *sethis* to his own services (Fiser, 2001: 181).

The *vāniyā* or traders are distinct from the *setthis*. Fiser informs that the two terms are always used independently and are never substituted for or confounded with each other in literature (Fiser, 2001: 173). The *vāniya* carried out the exchange of goods or trade in the proper sense of the word (Fiser, 2001: 173), dealt in various kinds of goods all over the country, and carried on their trade individually and directly with the consumer (Fiser, 2001: 175). They sold the goods themselves and kept the profit to themselves. The *Tandulanāli Jātaka* speaks about rich horse-dealers (I, 5: 124), the *Ahigundika Jātaka* speaks about dealers in corn (III, 365: 198) and itinerant traders are referred to in some other *Jātaka* stories (Fiser, 2001, p. 173). There were also traders who could cover the requirements of great cities like Benares and Rājagaha (Fiser, 2001, p. 175).

Heranika is generally understood as a treasurer in the context of the western Deccan (Ray, H. P., 1986: 112) or as a banker (Sivaramamurti, 1977: Nos. 86, 97), and the rendering as a goldsmith in the context of early Andhra (Chatterjee, Anjana, 1976: 79) is not supported by data since the filial connections of the *heranika* with the *vāniya* (Index No. IV. 1) and with the *gahapati* (Index No. III. 32) are clearly stated in the Amarāvatī epigraphs.

Of the only two *sethi* donors available for Phase I, the object of gift of Culananda (Index No. I. 4) is not known whereas the gift of Mauka (Index No. I. 7) was a *thabha* or pillar. Phase II has no *sethi* donors. The power and status attained by the *sethi* group by the early Christian centuries are clear from the reference in a Phase III inscription to the collective gift of a *sūci* by the *nigama* of Cadakica, which was headed by the *sethi* (Index No. III. 33). The only *sethi*

donor of Phase IV was Veradāsa (Index No. IV. 25) whose object of gift is not known. In Group B inscriptions, Sivaka the *sethi* and son of a *gahapati* (Index No. V. 4) donated two *pātukā*.

Out of a total of 13 inscriptions mentioning members of the *vāniya* class, two have specifically referred to the concerned patrons as *gadhika*s (i.e., *gandhika*s) or dealers in perfumery (Index Nos. II. 24, IV. 15), the latter of whom, by name Dhamarakhita who is the son of a *vāniya*, donated a *padhānamadavo* or the chief pavilion. Two *gandhika*s are referred to as having accepted the discipleship of the Buddha in the Buddhist-Hybrid Sanskrit text *Mahāvastu* (Law, 1978: 12). The other epigraphs from Amarāvatī have not specified the items dealt in by the donors in their trades.

Phase III has 5 gifts by the *vāniya* s: Kuta donated a *cetiyakhabho* (Index No. III. 2); and the objects donated by Sidhi, a *vāniyini* or wife of a *vāniya* (Index No. III. 53) and Nakasiri who is a *vāniyaputa* or son of a *vāniya* and resident of Dhanagiri (Index No. III. 54) are not known. The names and objects of donations of the other two *vāniya* donors (Index Nos. III. 58, III. 62) are not available. Elsewhere in the south-eastern Deccan, a *mahānāvika* or master mariner was a donor in an inscription of the 1st – 2nd century AD at Guntupalli (Sarma, I. K., 1978: 52) and in the *Jātakas* such a master mariner was entrusted with the task of building a hall (Law, B. C., 1954: 254).

Phase IV has 5 epigraphs that registered donations by the *vāniya* patrons, one of which (Index No. IV. 15) has already been mentioned. The son of *vāniya* Bodhisama who lived at Kevurūra donated a *pata* or slab (Index No. IV. 5) and the wife of *vāniya* Samuda donated an *unisa* (Index No. IV. 18). The object donated by the wife of *vāniya* Nāgatisa (Index No. IV. 1) is not known. The wealth attained by the mercantile class of the region in the 3rd century A. D is

clearly reflected in the very purposeful depiction of the female donor Cadasiri as a *dhanikasattānika* ("wife of a rich caravan owner") who, along with Nāgacampaki the *vāniyini*, donated an *unhisa* (Index No. IV. 12).

In Group B inscriptions, a *divathabha* or pillar for lamps was gifted by *vāniya* Budhi who was the son of *vāniya* Kanha (Index No. V. 10) and the details of gift by another *vāniya* donor are not clear or are missing (Index No. V. 21).

Of the three *heranika* donors at Amarāvatī, two have already been referred to, whose names were Sidhatha (Index No. III. 32) and Budhi (Index No. IV. 1). The name or the object of donation of the third is missing (Index No. V. 24).

5.8. The Artisans

Of the list of donors who would rank next in the social scale was the *āvesanin*, variously rendered as artist of authority, foreman among the artisans, chief artist, a title or position acquired by an individual who possessed great artistic merit etc. (Misra, R. N., 1975: 20–21). The two *āvesanin*s referred to in the Amarāvatī epigraphs belonged to Phase I. The daughter of *āvesanin* Nadabhuti gifted a *thabho* (Index No. I. 36) and the personal details of the other *avesanin* (Index No. I. 65) are missing. Interestingly enough, this artist or artisan of status and authority is found mainly in the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and Iksvākus i.e., in the early Buddhist sites of Sāñcī in central India and Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeta in the eastern Deccan. That they were a specialized group of sculptors or artisans is clear from the Sāñcī epigraph that referred to the *āvesanin* of *rājan* Siri Sātakani (Lüders: 346) as well as from the three Jaggayyapeta epigraphs that referred to the ā*vesanin*'s father as an *āvesani* (Lüders: 1202, 1203, 1204). It is likely that Māghavadata (Index No. I. 6) could be a scribe or a sculptor of the *kumāra* Avatakāma. As will be explained further in Chapter 6, the *āvesanin*s worked under the general supervision of *navakamika*s who were

members of the Buddhist monastic order. The sculptural wealth that is Amarāvatī owed much to the skill of these artists.

Two occupational groups that are referred to as donors in the patronage records are the *pasanika* or stone-mason (Index No. IV. 23) and the *camakāra* or leather worker (Index No. III. 43). Though the exact social position or status of these groups is not known from the sources, the reference to the *camakāra*'s father as an *upajhāya* shows the general social mobility of the group and that the social stigma attached to such professions are later developments at least in the context of the south-eastern Deccan. Among the nearly six hundred donors at Amarāvatī referred to in the records that spread across half a millennium, there is only one reference to a domestic or personal servant Māyā who, along with her mistress Budhā and others, donated a *vedi* or rail (Index No. III. 37).

5.9. Monastic Groups

Though most of the socio-economic categories that appeared as patrons in the patronage records of Amarāvatī have been taken up above, a comprehensive picture of the Buddhist social spectrum and the demography of patronage activity in the environs of Amarāvatī can be formed only with an analysis of the various monastic categories who were numerically the single largest donor group at Amarāvatī, about which historians have either kept silence or seem to be unaware of. Moreover, this stands in sharp contrast to the picture of the support of the early Buddhist movement envisaged in the Pāli literature, based on which too much of theorization was resorted to and applied to the later stages of Buddhism without paying adequate attention to the transparent inscriptional evidence on the very ardent monastic participation in the worship of the *caitya / stūpa*. There is no denying, however, of the generally non-economic function of the monk

community and that the real economic source of their support ultimately originated from the productive categories in the society.

Not less than 50 memberes of the Buddhist *Sangha* have been located in the epigraphs as donors, of which not less than 31 are monks and not less than 14 nuns. It is significant that the monks and nuns, too, chose to have their names inscribed on the patronage records like their non-monastic counterparts and they were not a monolithic or uniform group, but rather belonged to, as is explained in Chapter 6, different cadres or statuses, on the basis of seniority or certain qualifications. They made donations both independently and along with members of the other social groups. The gifts by the renunciants, in fact, pose certain questions regarding their economic base and the social or ritual necessity of making gifts, satisfactory answers to which are lacking. Nor is there any clue to this from our patronage records. Since these as well as the various groups of monastic donors are taken up in Chapters 6 and 7, they are not taken up here for the sake of avoiding repetition.

The social background of the monastic / renunciant class is important for understanding the world of Budddhism at Amarāvatī and also in attempting to trace the social milieu of the monastic sects and their major tenets. Though nothing precise is known about the social background of the monastic groups, the particular pattern of making the gift along with certain social categories as noticed in at least two specific instances at Amarāvatī could give clue to a possible answer to this problem. With regard to an inscription of Phase IV that registered the gift by *thera* Citaka, the earliest editor of the epigraph had reported that a *sethi* by name Vera Dāsa made the gift for the benefit of the monk in question (Index No. IV. 25), though the full text of the epigraph has not yet been published by the Archaeological Survey of India. If the inscription in question contains this particularly clear statement of an existing practice or emerging trend, the gift of

the *thera* Bodhika (Index No. IV. 28) can be thought to have been offered by the *gahapati* along with whom the monk made that gift. In Phase III, a *samanika* offered a gift along with her brothers and sisters (Index No. III. 26). Similarly, the gifts by the monks and nuns along with whom other social groups appeared as joint donors may be treated as having been sponsored by the respective social groups (Index Nos. II. 26, III. 4, IV. 17 and IV. 21). It is significant to remember in this connection that in many of the post-Kusāna Jain inscriptions, the names of monks are mentioned in connection with the exhortation for instituting or dedicating the Jain images in question and the acts of the gifts were attributed to some patrons (De Leeuw, reprint 1995: 241–251) and that many customs and practices of Buddhist monks were influenced by the similar customs already in vogue with Jain monks. Apart from this association of the monastic groups with the *gahapati* and *sethi*, no other evidence is available regarding their social background. The early Buddhist literary texts give the impression that it was from the *brāhmana* class that the largest number of *bhikkhu*s hailed, followed by the *khattiya*s, the *ucca kula*s and ony one from the *gahapatikula* (Chakravarti, Uma, 1996: 124). This may be contrasted with the absolute lack of reference to the *brāhmana* and the *khattiya*s in the Amarāvatī epigraphs.

5.10. The *Upāsaka*s

The terms *upāsaka* and *upāsikā* are generally understood in most histories of the Buddhist traditions as a layman and laywoman respectively as it is in the Christian or Eurpopean religious tradition. And the early Buddhist textual evidence on the *upāsaka*s was largely taken in this European Christian sense by early Buddhologists in highlighting the non-monastic or even extra- monastic character as the main ingredient of the religious identity of the *upāsaka*s as the supporters or followers of the Buddhist movement. In the *Avadāna*s, which were nearer to the content and spirit of the early *Brāhmī* votive records, they were

depicted as the backbone of the monastic establishments and the monks since they supplied the indispensable wants of the monks in return for which they were privileged to listen to the various discourses delivered by the monks (Sharma, Sharmishtha, 1985: 158).

In the list of patrons at Amarāvatī, there are only 16 donors with specific identity or status as *upāsaka / upāsikā*, and this stands in sharp contrast to the 480 donors of non-monastic affiliation or character. It seems, therefore, that notwithstanding the textual evidence or the interpretations thereof, every non-monastic donor need not be treated as *upāsaka / upāsikā* and that the *upāsaka*s of the Amarāvatī epigraphs were a clearly specified semi-monastic or pro-renunciant category as is clear from the analysis of the inscriptions. This is important in assessing the religious, especially ritualistic developments in the Buddhist movement of the south-eastern Deccan in the early Christian centuries AD

The social background of the *upāsaka*s at Amarāvatī is available in at least two instances: *uvāsikā, by name* Kamā, was the daughter of *gahapati* Ida (Index No. III. 9) and *upāsaka* Nāgatisa is mentioned as a *vāniya* along with whom a *heranika* figured as a donor (Index No. IV. 1). Important evidence that further indicates the affiliation of this group is available in the references to their gifts along with members of the *Sangha*, some of whom were very prominent in the institutional set up at Amarāvatī: *Uvāsaka* Gotiya made a donation along with two *mahānavakamaka*s, one *aya*, one *ayira*, one *navakamaka* and one follower of the *Caityaka* school (Index No. III. 4); Kamā, the *upāsikā* already referred to, shared her gift along with the nun Nāgamitā (Index No; III. 9); one *uvāsikā* Ravisiri made her donation along with a *bhayata* (Index No. IV. 21). The status of the other joint donors who appear along with the *upāsaka*s is not available or not stated (Index Nos. I. 47; II. 6; II. 40; III. 3; III.13; III. 16; III. 41; III. 42; V. 30; V. 32). Another interesting evidence is that it is this group that has registered

the highest consciousness of geographic identity among any of the donor categories at Amarāvatī if taken individually. Out of the 8 epigraphs mentioning the *upāsaka*s, the places from where they hailed are given in 5. While two of them hailed from Dhānyakataka (Index Nos. III. 41, V. 30), one each hailed from Ujjain (Index No; III. 16), Katakasela (Index No. III. 42) and Narasala (Index No. IV. 1), the former two of which were prominent early Buddhist monastic centres. Katakasela is identified with Kantakasela or modern Ghantasala in District Krsna (Chandra, Moti, 1977: 101; Gupta, 1973: 76–77) and was a prominent port city on the east coast, whereas the identity of Narasala is not known.

One feature that has not been taken up in connection with the social structure is the possible presence of foreigners / non-Indian social elements in the south-eastern Deccan. In Chapter 4, the suggestion of scholars to the effect that the *Yavanas* appeared to be direct participants in the local trade transactions in the Deccan was noted in connection with the discussion on the commercial contacts that existed between the Mediterranean world and the south-eastern Deccan. Other than the sculptural evidence, there is no direct proof for the social presence of foreigners at Amarāvatī, whereas in the case of Nāgārjunakonda there are inscriptional references to the *Yavana*s, and the people of China, Ceylon and Gandhāra (Srinivasan and Sankaranarayanan, 1979: nos. 17, 51) and to a Śaka donor (Srinivasan and Sankaranarayanan, No. 29). With regard to Amarāvatī, Anamika Roy has brought out 'internal' evidence regarding the role played by the Śaka scribes and has interpreted the personal names Nagabu (Index Nos. II. 4, II. 8, II. 43, II. 44) and Kubula (Index No: IV. 2) as Śaka scribes (Roy, Anamika, 1994: 73-76). Moreover, she has even cited a Madras Government Museum cross-bar (No. 256) from Amarāvatī as the gift of a Śaka (Roy, Anamika, 1994: 74), though she has not cited the text of the inscription. Further west at Sannati, a female donor was a *Yavanikā* (Nagaraja Rao, M. S., 1985: 43). Kārle, Nāsik and Junnar in the western Deccan and Sāñcī in central India have yielded epigraphic

refernces to the *Yavana* donors (Ray, H. P., 1998: 314-315). The vagueness regarding the identity and status of foreigners in early Indian sources (Parasher, Aloka: 123) probably accounts for the lack of specificity in the patronage records at Amarāvatī as well.

The foregoing analysis of the social world of Buddhism at Amarāvatī in the south-eastern Deccan during the six centuries taken up for study i.e., BC 300 – AD 300, with particular reference to an attempt at classifying the patrons / donors of the art activity into certain broad categories, at seeking the rationale behind their respective gift-making behaviour, and also at comprehending their economic competence as donors, has brought out: (1) the role of the Buddhist social ideals or ethics in the structuring of social relations at Amarāvatī (2) the parallelism between the social categories mentioned in the Amarāvatī epigraphs and the social groups mentioned in the Budddhist canons, (3) the role of the monastic centre at Amarāvatī in identifying and universalizing the various social categories and 4) the broad features of a pattern of the patronage activity with regard to Amarāvatī.

The role of the Buddhist social ideals or ethics in the structuring of the social world of Buddhism has been established and is well recognized by scholars. It was tentatively argued by social historians of Budddhism that it projected a world-view by postulating certain new norms and goals of social behaviour and became an instrument of social transformation. Doctrinally, the basis of this transformation has been generally traced to the following four ideals: *sacca* (truth, homogeneity and unity through an absence of invidious distinctions based on birth, wealth or family in the matter of social evaluation); *dhamma* (righteousness, goodness, morality); *dāna* (charity as a way of life rather than a specific set of isolated acts); and *asāhasa* (non-violence, violence being the negation of righteousness) (Gokhale, B. G., 1956: 38). The role of the *Sangha* was that of the custodian of the moral and spiritual values values of society (Gokhale, 1956, p.

39). The significance of the relation between these religious conceptions and the general ordering of social and cultural life in the modern Buddhist context is well understood thanks to the anthropological field works in Burma by Milford E. Spiro (Spiro, Milford E., 1971). He had shown that the doctrine of *karma* had important social consequences by providing a moral authority to the social order and that the doctrine of merit or the belief in merit acquired through *dāna* as a primary means to salvation became a powerful motive for economic action (Spiro, Milford E., 1971: 438–477). This seems to refute the conclusion of Max Weber that the doctrinal characteristics of Buddhism were inimical to worldly action (Weber, Max, 1958: 213). The political implications of some of these ideals in Mauryan India (Thapar, reprint. 1998: 137–181) and in modern Thailand (Tambiah, S. J., 1976) are well known.

The near absolute similarity between the social categories mentioned in the *Brāhmī* epigraphs of the early Buddhist monastic centres and the social categories mentioned in the Buddhist textual sources was highlighted by Uma Chakravarti (Chakravarti, Uma, 1996: 120, 191–197). The basic criterion, that was adopted for identification in the early Buddhist texts was in terms of the function actually performed by the concerned person, and interestingly, the same was also adopted by the inscriptions in identifying the social scenario in the south-eastern Deccan. There are, however, points of divergence between the two sources, as for example, the absence of references in the Amarāvatī inscriptions to the *ksatriyas* and to the *brāhmanas*, which is more akin to the social stratification as developed in Sri Lanka than to the situations in the Gangetic valley (Chakravarti, Uma, 1996: 113–118). It is significant to remember that similarities did exist between the social bases of Buddhism of south-eastern India and Sri Lanka (Seneviratne, S., 1985). The only possibility of the existence of *brāhmanas* in the Amarāvatī inscriptions is found in the reference to one Mugudasama (Index No. II. 13) whereof the suffix

sama may be interpreted to mean *Śarmā*, generally used in the inscriptions of the north as *varna-* or caste suffix.

The role of the monastic centre at Amarāvatī in identifying, recognising and universalizing the various social categories is taken up at length in Chapter 6 on the institutional base of the art activity, and therefore, there is no need to go here into such details. One thing that emerges clearly from the inscriptional evidence is that the monastic center as represented by the *mahācaitya* was increasingly becoming a focal point for the people living in the area. The assembling of the various social categories, which were isolated from the analysis of the inscriptions, in the context of the performance of ritualized *dāna* at the cultic spot of the *mahācaitya* as well as the terms of reference in the epigraphs to the centrality of the *mahācaitya* tends to show the growth of the monastic centre as a social and community centre. An interesting observation that has to be made in connection with the present discussion on the social dimensions of the art activity is that there is a structural correlation or correspondence between the socio-economic developments on the one hand and the architectural or artistic developments of the *mahācaitya* on the other. The structural developments of the *mahācaitya* may be viewed as representative of socio-economic developments, though the nature of the extant debris of the *mahācaitya* will not allow of any satisfactory identification of the architectural or sculptural layers with the corresponding groups of patrons. In this respect, the *mahācaitya* represented a social semiosis and it can be viewed as having a semiotic value as elaborated upon in Chapter 8 on the functions of art as discourse.

5.11. The Buddhist Mode of Patronage: The Amarāvatī Experience

The foregoing inquiry has brought out the braoad features of the pattern of patronage in the context of the construction and renovations at Amarāvatī during

the period between 300 BC and 300 AD The features that have been highlighted produce a better understanding of the mode / pattern of the Buddhist patronage activity within the social contexts of art and qualify those categories through which the social production of the Buddhist art / architecture as symbol of religious authority and socio-economic status of the patrons was executed. The patronage activity at Amarāvatī involved the whole spectrum of the society and may be viewed as a two-tiered structure, which in fact reflected and represented the very structure of the social world of Buddhism. The first part, which includes the patronage activity of different social categories, may be characterized as ***community patronage*** (after Romila Thapar 1992 and 1994) and the second part, which includes the patronage activity of the monastic categories, may be characterized as ***monastic patronage***. Both the tiers represent the leading features of the patronage activity of the two segments of the Buddhist society and, taken together, summarise what may now safely be called the ***Buddhist*** Amarāvatī ***mode of patronage***. This two-tiered representation of the Buddhist patronage activity has the definite advantage of accounting the too significant a presence of the world-renouncer / monastic groups whose patronage activity has not received the scholarly attention it should have, possibly due to the persistance of the Buddhist text-based view that the non-monastic, lay sections of the society formed the patron-class of the Buddhist *Sangha*. While such a formulation is perfectly compatible with the history of early Buddhism as envisaged in the early Pāli texts, it has to be taken into account that (1) the context of practice of Buddhism at the monastic sites and their environs was very different from the picture that is obtained from the Pāli canon and (2) the Buddhism at Amarāvatī is to be seen within the context of institutionalized Buddhism when members of the *Sangha* were, as can be understood from the inscriptional evidence, participated and even promoted the *stūpa / caitya* cult. It may also be noted that the present context of the gifts, both by members of the socio-economic groups and the monks and nuns,

was far removed from that of the earlier items of *dāna* like food, dress and monastic residences as often were the case in the literary texts, and instead was more of a cultural or civilizational symbol into which layers of religious, social and ritualistic meanings were ascribed. The volume of monastic participation in the patronage activity at Amarāvatī equals the volume of community patronage and is beyond controversy, but what remain unresolved are the problems of the economic potentialities of the monks and nuns, and their accessibility to the money or wealth with which they embarked on the sponsorship of the construction / renovation activity. The ultimate source of the gifts of the monastic categories may have to be traced to the generosity of the socio-economic categories, but that need not deter us from advancing the two-tiered model of patronage.

The basic ingredients of both the streams of patronage are given below for comparison.

Community Patronage	Monastic Patronage
1. Belonged to different social categories	1. Belonged to different sects and cadres
2. Belonged to surplus producing groups	2. Belonged to basically non-producing group
3. Donated structural objects of the mahācaitya	3. Donated structural objects of the mahācaitya
4. Dāna for merit and welfare	4. Dāna for merit and welfare
5. Both individual and collective gifts	5. Both individual and collec- tive gifts
6. Gifts are necessarily recorded with specific phraseology	6. Gifts are necessarily recorded with specific Phraseology
7. Lineage is specified	7. Monastic affilations and teacher–pupil relationship are specified
8. Social status / identity is metioned	8. Institutional status / identity is mentioned

Patronage encapsulates a relationship between the patron and the recepient of the patronage. At Amarāvatī, this relationship—between the donor and the *Sangha*—is expressed in most of the patronage records, vaguely and indirectly, in the phraseology used for registering the act of donation or gift. The direction of this relationship is always towards the Buddha through the *mahācaitya* or the *Sangha* and the medium is invariably the *dāna*. If each point in this relationship is given a sign or notation, its diagrammatic representation can be attempted in the following way:

> **Patron (P) → Gift (G) → *Mahācaitya* (M) / *Sangha* (S) → Buddha (B)**. In other words, it is **PGMB** or **PGSB**.

In the interaction narrated above between the creator of the *mahācaitya* i.e., the *Sangha*, and the patron i.e., the donor categories, an integrated and organized behaviour-pattern developed, through which a form of social control was exercised (Thapar, 1994: 38). Since this is treated at length in Chapter 6, only that part of the argument, which treats of patronage as a social phenomenon, is taken up here.

The problems of the concept of 'patronage in Indian culture' have already been the focus of scholarly attention (Miller, B. S., 1992). A group of American and Indian experts has inquired into the aesthetic, ideological and political constraints affecting cultural production and have grouped the manifestations of patronage in India into four divisions that corresponded to the dominant Indian ideological systems, one of which is the Buddhist mode of patronage (Miller, B. S., 1992: 4). For them patronage is:

> "... a multi-dimensional, sometimes loosely codified network of exchanges involving not only the production of art and literature, but also its performance, transmission, reinterpretation and preservation. The

> giving and receiving may take place between individuals, or between individuals and groups or institutions ... Such exchanges bestow status on both giver and receiver, as well as religious merit where the exchange involves donation to a religious institution ... patronage recreates the ideological context of contemporary history and projects the individual or group into posterity ..." (Miller, B. S., 1992: 3).

Patronage networks in India, they argued, lie embedded in particular socio-political systems, which in turn rest on culturally patterned conceptions of power and authority (Miller, B. S., 1992: 3-4). Following the conceptual formulations of Raymond Williams on patronage as a deliberate act of choice by a community as it decides to donate wealth and labour towards the building of a monument which encapsulates its religious beliefs and social values, Prof. Romila Thapar has characterized the collective and popular bases of the donations for the building and the adornment of the Buddhist monuments in early India as 'community patronage', which she says marked a cultural and social innovation based on the emergence of new social groups who identified themselves as patrons of new aesthetic forms (Thapar, 1992: 19-34; 1994: 25-40). The evidence furnished by the patronage-records from Amarāvatī closely fits into this model of community patronage as proposed and elaborated upon by Thapar.

Community patronage involved social relations and a conscious act of exchange (Thapar, 1994: 39). The act of patronage asserted the status of the patrons, legitimized the patron and acted as a cultural catalyst (Thapar, 1994: 26). It articulated the cohesion of the community making the act (Thapar, 1992: 22) and drew on an identity or sense of community which was based on a uniformly recognized religious practice and belief that were historically evolved and cut across segmental differences (Thapar, 1994: 32). It indicated the emergence of new social groups who identified themselves with a particular kind of patronage and with new aesthetic forms (Thapar, 1992: 32). Patronage of this kind was a

pan-Indian phenomenon (Dehejia, Vidya, 1992: 44) in the construction of the early Buddhist monuments during the period chosen for the present study.

The concept of patronage, as outlined above, and the various dimensions which it took, were essentially interlinked with the Buddhist ideology of gift or *dāna* from which the forms and practices of patronage emanated. Since this ideology of gift was the basic motivating factor, the important links between this dominant Buddhist ideology and patronage-activity are briefly outlined here whereas the religious and ritualistic aspects will be treated in Chapter 7. Community patronage in the early period took the form of *dāna* for the acquisition of *punya* or merit which helped to bring individuals closer to *nirvāna*—the Buddhist ideal *par excellence* and the basis of the Buddhist spiritual life—irrespective of sectarian differences. The basic sociology of gift is (1) that they are obligatory and with specific interests (Mauss, 1970: 1), and (2) that they create a bond between the donor and the recipient and constitute an irrevocable link (Mauss, 1970: 58). The meritorious actions through *dāna* linked the lay and monastic communities together (Gethin, 1998: 101-104) and was a form of social and economic exchange (Thapar, reprint 1987: 116-117; Nath, V., 1987: 169-190). Doctrinally, the concept of merit in Buddhism is intimately bound up with another early Indian theory, i.e., theory of *karman* or cause and effect, and the history of the ideology of merit was one of a symbiotic relationship between the *Sangha* and the laity (Strong, John S., 1987: Vol. 9: 383-384). Acts of merit were seen as seeds that bore most fruit when they were planted in good fields of merit or *punyaksetra*. Both the Buddha and the *Sangha* were thought of as fields of merit, and with the institutionalization of Buddhism, the *Sangha* was described in the Buddhist texts as the incomparable field of merit (Endo, Toshiichi, 1987: 62). Though some authorities have expressed skepticism about the significance attached by the Buddhist monastic sects of the south-eastern Deccan to offerings to *stūpa*s and *caitya*s (Lamotte, 1988: 634), our patronage records prove beyond

doubt that the *mahācaitya*, which symbolized both the Buddha and the *Sangha*, became the best field of merit, particularly in the context of the later part of the period taken up for the present study. The patron may be attributed with the aim of obtaining rewards for his actions, of securing enlightenment, and of sharing the merit with others (Strong, 1987: 384), all of which are mentioned as purposes of making gifts in the patronage-records of Amarāvatī in particular and of the cognate centres of the south-eastern Deccan in general. Contemporary evidences for the Buddhist merit-making practices and its sociological and economic implications have been highlighted by anthropologists (Spiro, 1971: 425-477).

Though the idea of gift appeared to be as early as the time of the Buddha and philosophized to a great extent in the early Buddhist texts (Endo, Thoschiichi, 1987; Nyanatiloka, 1972: 44), it was most fully developed by the Mahāyāna as one of the *pāramitas* or perfections in connection with the basic practices of the *bhodhisattva* ideal (Dayal, Har, reprint 1975: 172-193). Scholars have already shown that the textual meaning as well as the ideological basis of the Buddhist votive inscriptions can be fully appreciated only in the light of the idea of gift as embodied in the philosophical texts of the Mahāyānists like *Saddharma-pundarika* and *Hrdayāvati-sūkta* (Varier, 2000: 1039-1040). Equally useful are the idea of gift as discussed in the *Mahāvastu* (Rahula, 1978, pp. 43-58) and the *Avadāna* texts (Sharma, Sharmishtha, 1985: 13-19).

What emerges in the light of the foregoing discussion on the forms and dimensions of patronage in the south-eastern Deccan in general and Amarāvatī in particular is one peculiar social orientation, that is, the *caitya mahācaitya* was increasingly becoming the focal point of the society. In Chapter 6 on the institutional base of the art-activity, further evidence will be adduced to argue that the society in question was more or less *caitya*- oriented.

Appendices to Chapter 5

I. Names of Patrons / Donor

Sl. No. 2 INDEX NO. I. 2
Thissa pata.

Sl.No. 3 INDEX NO. I. 3
Mala

Sl.No. 4 INDEX NO. I. 4
Chulananda (m)

Sl.No. 5 INDEX NO. I. 5
Kalavaira gama

Sl.No. 6 INDEX NO. I. 6
1. Avatakama (m);
2. Maghavada (ta)

Sl.No. 7 INDEX NO. I. 7
Mauka

Sl.No. 8 INDEX NO. I. 8
Mudukutala (m)

Sl.No. 10 INDEX NO. I. 10
Uta (f)

Sl.No. 11 INDEX NO. I. 11
Nigama of Dhanakataka

Sl.No. 12 INDEX NO. I. 12
Hupahena

Sl.No. 13 INDEX NO. I. 13
1. Sammaliya (f) 2. Servants (waiters) of Sammaliya

Sl.No. 14 INDEX NO. I. 14
Nalajarabha

Sl.No. 15 INDEX NO. I. 15
Cula (m)

Sl.No. 16 INDEX NO. I. 16
Cula (m)

Sl.No. 17 INDEX NO. I. 17
Khata (Skanda)

Sl.No. 20 INDEX NO. I. 20
. . vataka

Sl.No. 26 INDEX NO. I. 26
Budhi (m)

Sl.No. 27 INDEX NO. I. 27
Budhi (m)

Sl.No. 28 INDEX NO. I. 28
Thabaka kula

Sl.No. 29 INDEX NO. I. 29
Nigama

Sl.No. 30 INDEX NO. I. 30
Likhita (m)

Sl.No. 31 INDEX NO. I. 31
Not specified

Sl.No. 32 INDEX NO. I. 32
Revata(m)

Sl.No. 33 INDEX NO. I. 33
Kumba (f)

Sl.No. 34 INDEX NO. I. 34

Pakotaka

Sl.No. 35 INDEX NO. I. 35

Reti (f)

Sl.No. 36 INDEX NO. I. 36

Nada (f)

Sl.No. 37 INDEX NO. I. 37

Kumba (f)

Sl.No. 38 INDEX NO. I. 38

Somadatta (f)

Sl.No. 40 INDEX NO. I. 40

Samāyā (f); her husband's name is Namdaka

Sl.No. 41 INDEX NO. I. 41

Nigama of (Dha)nakadaka

Sl.No. 42 INDEX NO. I. 42

Dharaka

Sl.No. 43 INDEX NO. I. 43

Neda

Sl.No. 44 INDEX NO. I. 44

Semakāna ?

Sl.No. 48 INDEX NO. I. 48

Ragāma

Sl.No. 49 INDEX NO. I. 49

Dhamarakhita

Sl.No. 52 INDEX NO. I. 52

Tikana (m)

Sl.No. 55 INDEX NO. I. 55

Cula (m)

Sl.No. 56 INDEX NO. I. 56

Tikana (m)

Sl.No. 58 INDEX NO. I. 58

Idā

Sl.No. 59 INDEX NO. I. 59

Culananda (m)

Sl.No. 60 INDEX NO. I. 60

Revā (f)

Sl.No. 61 INDEX NO. I. 61

Pako...

Sl.No. 64 INDEX NO. I. 64

Khatā (f)

Sl.No. 66 INDEX NO. I. 66

1,Utara (m). 2, Khalata or Galata (m)

Sl.No. 68 INDEX NO. I. 68

Cino...

Sl.No. 71 INDEX NO. I. 71

Saghala (m)

Sl.No. 72 INDEX NO. I. 72

1,Utara (m). 2, Khalata or Galata (m)

Sl.No. 73 INDEX NO. I. 73

. . . (m)

Sl.No. 76 INDEX NO. I. 76

Vitapala (of the Vitapala community / tribe/ lineage group

Sl.No. 77 INDEX NO. I. 77

. . . ra gama

Sl.No. 81 INDEX NO. I. 81

Gopiya (f)

Sl.No. 82 INDEX NO. I. 82

...gama

Sl.No. 83 INDEX NO. I. 83

Nigama of Dhamnakadaka

Sl.No. 84 INDEX NO. I. 84

1.Apaku (m); 2. Kamma (f)

Sl.No. 85 INDEX NO. I. 85

Not clear but a female donor

Sl.No. 86 INDEX NO. I. 86

1.Culamaka (m); 2.Tapa (m), 3. . . . tasa (m)

Sl.No. 87 INDEX NO. II. 1

1.Sagharakhita (f), 2.Hagha (f), 3.Yava (f)

Sl.No. 88 INDEX NO. II. 2

Missing

Sl.No. 89 INDEX NO. II. 3

Gotami (m)

Sl.No. 90 INDEX NO. II. 4

Nagabu

Sl.No. 92 INDEX NO. II. 6

Hamviya puta (son of Hamvi) (m)

Sl.No. 94 INDEX NO. II. 8

6. Nāgabu

Sl.No. 95 INDEX NO. II. 9

Nutu (m)

Sl.No. 96 INDEX NO. II. 10

1. ... ... -(f), 2. ... ... -(f). (Names lost)

Sl.No. 97 INDEX NO. II. 11

1. p. . . (m), 2. . . . (f), 3. . . . (males), 4. . . . (females)

Sl.No. 98 INDEX NO. II. 12

1. . . . (m), 2. Kanha (f)

Sl.No. 99 INDEX NO. II. 13

1. . . . (m); 2. . . . (f), 3.. . . f); 4. . . . (m)

Sl.No. 102 INDEX NO. II. 16

1. . . . (m) Name lost; 2. – (m) Names lost

Sl.No. 104 INDEX NO. II. 18

Missing / damaged

Sl.No. 105 INDEX NO. II. 19

1. Gamilaka (m);

2. . . (name lost) (m);

3. . . (name lost) (f)

Sl.No. 106 INDEX NO. II. 20

Aya Dhama (f)

Sl.No. 107 INDEX NO. II. 21

1. . . . (m) (Name lost);

2. . . (f) (Name not given);

3. . . (m) Names not given)

Sl.No. 108 INDEX NO. II. 22

1,Cula Ayira (m); 2, Nada (Nanda) (f)

Sl.No. 109 INDEX NO. II. 23

Maha Naga

Sl.No. 110 INDEX NO. II. 24

1. Hamgha (m); 2 – (m) names not stated; 3. – (f) names not stated

Sl.No. 111 INDEX NO. II. 25

Cavaka

Sl.No. 112 INDEX NO. II. 26

1. Chada (m); 2. Chada's mother (f), 3. (Name lost) (m); 4. Parapota (m)

Sl.No. 113 INDEX NO. II. 27

Dhana . . (m)

Sl.No. 114 INDEX NO. II. 28

Name of the main donor missing

Sl.No. 117 INDEX NO. II. 31

..(G)ama

Sl.No. 118 INDEX NO. II. 32

1. – (f) (Name lost); 2. Hamgha (f)

Sl.No. 119 INDEX NO. II. 33

1. Cuvika (m); 2. Naka (m); 3. Kama (m); (Name lost)

Sl.No. 120 INDEX NO. II. 34

1. Damila Kanha (m); 2. Cula Kanha (m); 3. Nakha (f)

Sl.No. 121 INDEX NO. II. 35

Nilaka (m)

Sl.No. 122 INDEX NO. II. 36

1. . . . (m) Name lost; 2. His mother (f); 3. His father (m); 4. His sisters (f); 5. His wife (f); 6. His Sons (m)

Sl.No. 123 INDEX NO. II. 37

Laci (Laksmi) (f)

Sl.No. 124 INDEX NO. II. 38

1. . . . (m) – Name lost); 2. Natimitabadhava

Sl.No. 125 INDEX NO. II. 39

1. . . . (m); 2. His father (m); 3. His wife (f); 4. His brothers (m)

Sl.No. 126 INDEX NO. II. 40

Utara (f)

Sl.No. 127 INDEX NO. II. 41

1. Himala (m); 2. – (f); 3. – (m); 4. – (f); 5. –(f) (names not mentioned except 1)

Sl.No. 128 INDEX NO. II. 42

Dhamasa

Sl.No. 129 INDEX NO. II. 43

Nagabu

Sl.No. 130 INDEX NO. II. 44

Nagabu

Sl.No. 131 INDEX NO. II. 45

1. Name of male donor missing; 2.Name of female donor missing.

Sl.No. 132 INDEX NO. II. 46

Missing

Sl.No. 133 INDEX NO. II. 47

1. Kuda (m); 2. Balama (f)

Sl.No. 134 INDEX NO. II. 48

Reyata (m)

Sl.No. 135 INDEX NO. II. 49

1. Bodhika (m); 2. Budharakhita (m); 3. Vidhika (m); 4.with their mothers, fathers etc.

Sl.No. 136 INDEX NO. II. 50

Budha (possibly a donor)

Sl.No. 137 INDEX NO. II. 51

. . . (m)

Sl.No. 138 INDEX NO. II. 52

1. Hamgha, 2. Hamgha; 3. Cula Hamgha

Sl.No. 140 INDEX NO. II. 54

1. – (f)

Sl.No. 142 INDEX NO. II. 56

Candamukha (m)

Sl.No. 144 INDEX NO. III. 1

Donor's name missing

Sl.No. 145 INDEX NO. III. 2

1.Kuta (m); 2.his wife (f); 3.Daughers (f); 4.Grandsons (m)

Sl. No. 146 INDEX NO. III. 3

1. Sivala(f) 2. Her sons and daughters

Sl.No. 147 INDEX NO. III. 4

1.Budharakhita (m); 2.Gotiya (m); 3.Reti (m); 4.Hamgha (m); 5.Dhamarakhita (m); 6. . . . ranaka (m); 7.Katanaka (m); 8.Adita (m); 9.Nakha (f); 10.Maka(f); Budha (f); 12.Cada (f).

Sl.No. 148 INDEX NO. III. 5

1. Pusakalika (m); 2.Wife of Hagha (f); 3.Mahacamdamukha (m); 4. Culacamdamukha (m); 5. . . . (Name lost) (f); 6.Utariya(m), 7.Cula Hamgha (f); 8.Dighasiri (f); Bala (m)

Sl.No. 149 INDEX NO. III. 6

1. Pega (m); 2.His brother (m) – no name, 3.His sisters (f) – no name, 4.His wife (f) – no name

Sl.No. 150 INDEX NO. III. 7

1.Cakadata (f); 2.Wife of . . . (f); 3. Her father . . .(m); 4. Natimita badhava

Sl.No. 151 INDEX NO. III. 8

1. Makabudhi (m); 2.Budhi (m); 3. . . . (f), 4. . . . (f)

Sl.No. 152 INDEX NO. III. 9

1.Kama (f); 2. . . . (m); 3. . . . (m); 4.—(f); 5.Nagamita (f)

Sl.No. 153 INDEX NO. III. 10

1.Budharakhita (f); Daughters of Budharakhita – (names not stated); 3.Dhamadina (f), 4. Sagharakhita (m)

Sl.No. 154 INDEX NO. III. 11

Roha (f)

Sl.No. 155 INDEX NO. III. 12

. . . (f) (Name lost)

Sl.No. 156 INDEX NO. III. 13

1.Cada (f); 2. . . . (m); 3. . . . (f) Name not stated.

Sl.No. 157 INDEX NO. III. 14

1. . . . (m), 2.. . . (f)

Sl.No. 158 INDEX NO. III. 15

Missing / not specified

Sl.No. 159 INDEX NO. III. 16

Jayila (name of donor)

Sl.No. 160 INDEX NO. III. 17

1.Kahutara (m); 2.Isila (Rsila) (m); 3.Brothers of Isila (m); 4.Sisters of Isila (f); 5.Naganika (f); 6.Sons of

Isila (m); Names of sl.nos.3, 4,5, and 6 are not specified.

Sl.No. 161 INDEX NO. III. 18

Cada (f)

Sl.No. 162 INDEX NO. III. 19

Names lost

Sl.No. 163 INDEX NO. III. 20

Koja (m)

Sl.No. 164 INDEX NO. III. 21

Kaliga (f)

Sl.No. 165 INDEX NO. III. 22

1. Mahacatu (m), d. ... (f); 3. . . . (Males); 4. . . . (Females). No names are stated.

Sl.No. 166 INDEX NO. III. 23

Nagabudhu (m)

Sl.No. 167 INDEX NO. III. 24

1.Karaparika (m); 2.Nagamala (m); 3.Kanha (m)

Sl.No. 168 INDEX NO. III. 25

Papa (m)

Sl.No. 169 INDEX NO. III. 26

1.Saghamita(f); 2.Brothers of Saghamita(m) - names not stated; 3.Sisters of Saghamita (f) - names not stated.

Sl.No. 171 INDEX NO. III. 28

Missing

Sl.No. 172 INDEX NO. III. 29

--(f) – name not given

Sl.No. 173 INDEX NO. III. 30

Budhara(khita) – m or f

Sl.No. 174 INDEX NO. III. 31

Budha (f)

Sl.No. 175 INDEX NO. III. 32

1.Sidhatha (m); 2.The friends of Sidhatha; 3.Jnati of Sidhatha 4.Relatives of Sidhatha

Sl.No. 176 INDEX NO. III. 33

Bhadanigama (Righteous townfolk)

Sl.No. 177 INDEX NO. III. 34

Tuka (f)

Sl.No. 179 INDEX NO. III. 36

1.Ajaka (m); 2.The father of Ajaka (m)

Sl.No. 180 INDEX NO. III. 37

1.Budharakhita (f); 2.Budha (f); 3.Maya (m)

Sl.No. 181 INDEX NO. III. 38

1.Mula (m); 2.Mahakama (f); 3.Kodakammaya (f); 4.Chamda (m); 5.Budhi(m)

Sl.No. 182 INDEX NO. III. 39

Sidhartha (f)

Sl.No. 183 INDEX NO. III. 40

1.Pesama (m);

2.Hamgha (m)

Sl.No. 184 INDEX NO. III. 41

1.Budharakhita (m); 2.Paduma (f);

3.Hamgha (m)

Sl.No. 185 INDEX NO. III. 42

1.Utara (m); 2.Mother of 1 (f), 3.Sisters of 1 (f), 4.Brothers of 1 (m), 5.Daughters (f)

Sl.No. 186 INDEX NO. III. 43

1.Vidhika (m); 2. — (f); 3. — (f); 4.—(males); 5.Naga(m); 6.—(f); 7.natimitabamdhava (patermal cousins in the male line entitled to property, and friends and relatives).

Sl.No. 187 INDEX NO. III. 44

1. (. . . . name lost) (m); 2.Not stated (f); 3. Not stated (f)

Sl.No. 188 INDEX NO. III. 45

1.Dhanajana (f); 2.Natimitabadhava (jnatis, friends and relatives)

Sl.No. 189 INDEX NO. III. 46

1.--- (m) (name missing); 2.Nagata (f); 3.Sulasa(m); 4. . . . (f) (name missing)

Sl.No. 190 INDEX NO. III. 47

1.Tuma (f); 2. . . . (f) (Names not stated)

Sl.No. 191 INDEX NO. III. 48

1.Bhada (f); 2.Naka (f)

Sl.No. 192 INDEX NO. III. 49

---(m) name lost)

Sl.No. 193 INDEX NO. III. 50

1.Visaghanika(f); 2.Yaga(f)

Sl.No. 194 INDEX NO. III. 51

Mala (f)

Sl.No. 195 INDEX NO. III. 52

Son of Budhusirivadiya

Sl.No. 196 INDEX NO. III. 53

1.Sidhi(f); 2.Cada(m)

Sl.No. 197 INDEX NO. III. 54

1.Pusi . . . (f)

Sl.No. 198 INDEX NO. III. 55

Retika (m)

Sl.No. 199 INDEX NO. III. 56

1.Nakabudha(nika) (f); 2.Daughter of Nakabudha(nika) (f)

Sl.No. 200 INDEX NO. III. 57

1.Khada (f); 2.Daughters of Khada (females); 3.Sons of Khada (males); 4.Mother of Khada (f); 5.Brothers of Khada (males); 6.Daughters-in-law of Khada (f); 7.Patermal cousins/relatives (Both f&m)

Sl.No. 201 INDEX NO. III. 58

1.Budhi (m); 2.Ananda (m)

Sl.No. 202 INDEX NO. III. 59

. . . badi

Sl.No. 203 INDEX NO. III. 60

1.Kanha (f); 2.---(m); 3.--- (males and females)

Sl.No. 204 INDEX NO. III. 61

1.Dusaka (m); 2.. . . (males); 3. . . . (females), 4.---(males & females)

Sl.No. 206 INDEX NO. III. 63

1.Tanacadaya (f); 2.---; 3.Badha(m); 4.Bhada(f)

Sl.No. 207 INDEX NO. IV. 1

1.Nakha(f), 2.Budhi(m), 3.Mula(m)

Sl.No. 208 INDEX NO. IV. 2

1.Tuka (f); 2.---(m); 3.---(f); Names not stated in 2 & 3)

Sl.No. 209 INDEX NO. IV. 3

---(f) (name lost/not specified)

Sl.No. 210 INDEX NO. IV. 4

1.---(males); names not given; 2.--- (f); names not given

Sl.No. 211 INDEX NO. IV. 5

1.Son of vaniya Bodhisamma who lives at Kevurura; 2.Mother of 1; 3, 4 and 5 not known

Sl.No. 212 INDEX NO. IV. 6

1.Hagha (m); 2.Venhu (f)

Sl.No. 213 INDEX NO. IV. 7

Budha (f)

Sl.No. 214 INDEX NO. IV. 8

1.Vidhika (m); 2.Budharakhita (f); 3.Cula Budharakhita (f)

Sl.No. 215 INDEX NO. IV. 9

Kumari Siri Campura (f)

Sl.No. 218 INDEX NO. IV. 12

1.Nakacampaka (f); 2.Cadasiri (f); 3.Siri (f)

Sl.No. 221 INDEX NO. IV. 15

1.Dhamarakhita (m); 2.Dhamila (Dharmila (m); 3.Mother of (1) (f); 4.Wife of (1) (f); 5.Brothers of (1) (males), 6.Sons of (1) (males); 7.Daughters of (1) (females); 8.Daughters-in-law of (1) (females); 9.Grandsons of (1) (males); 10.Paternal cousins, friends and relatives (males&females).

Sl.No. 222 INDEX NO. IV. 16

Dhamasarayana (m)

Sl.No. 223 NDEX NO. IV. 17

1.Hamgi (f); 2.Vaba(f)

Sl.No. 224 INDEX NO. IV. 18

1.Gharani (wife) of Samuda (Samudra) who is a vaniya (merchant); 2.Kotacandi (m)

Sl.No. 225 INDEX NO. IV. 19

Hagha (f); Nagasena

Sl.No. 226 INDEX NO. IV. 20

1.Haghada (f); 2.Kamdada (f); 3.Samghada (f)

Sl.No. 227 INDEX NO. IV. 21

1.Dhamasiria (f); 2.Pasama (f); 3.Hagisiri (f); 4.Cada (m); 5.Ravisiri (m)

Sl.No. 228 INDEX NO. IV. 22

1. . . . Bu . . .(m); 2.Nadhasiri (m)

Sl.No. 229 INDEX NO. IV. 23

Nada (m)

Sl.No. 230 INDEX NO. IV. 24

1.---(m); 2.---(f); 3.---(males)

Sl.No. 231 INDEX NO. IV. 25

Vera-Dasa (m).

Sl.No 232 INDEX NO. IV. 26

Sama

Sl.No. 233 INDEX NO. IV. 27

1.---(m), (name lost); 2.His sons(m) (name not stated).

Sl.No. 234 INDEX NO. IV. 28

1.---(m); 2.---(f); 3.Bodhika (m); 4.Camuna (f); 5.---(males), 6.---(males&females)

Sl.No. 237 INDEX NO. V. 1

1.Samgharakhita (f); --(males); 2.---(females); 4.Chada (m); 5.Ajuna (m); 6.Chadamugha (m)

Sl.No. 238 INDEX NO. V. 2

1.Bodhi; 2.Nagamuli

Sl.No. 239 INDEX NO. V. 3

Names not clear

Sl.No. 240 INDEX NO. V. 4

1.Sivaka (m); 2.Munuri (f); 3.Vicita (m); 4.Mahadeva (m); 5.Budha (f); 6.Cadapusa (f); 7.Cama (f)

Sl.No. 241 INDEX NO. V. 5

1.Sagha (f); 2.Saghadasi (f); 3.Kumala (f)

Sl.No. 242 INDEX NO. V. 6

---(f)

Sl.No. 243 INDEX NO. V. 7

Ajuna (m)

Sl.No. 244 INDEX NO. V. 8

1.---(m); 2.---(males&females).

Sl.No. 246 INDEX NO. V. 10

1.Budhi (m); 2.---(f); 3.---(males); 4.---(females); 5.---(males); 6.---(females&males)

Sl.No. 247 INDEX NO. V. 11

1. . . (m); 2. . . . (females); 3. . . . (males); 4. . . . (males).

Sl.No. 248 INDEX NO. V. 12

1.Rakhadi; 2.Dati

Sl.No. 249 INDEX NO. V. 13

1.Budhi (m); 2.Budha (f)

Sl.No. 251 INDEX NO. V. 15

1.Bhagommu (f); 2.Bodhi

Sl.No. 254 INDEX NO. V. 18

(Si) dhamthi (f)

Sl.No. 256 INDEX NO. V. 20

1.---(f); 2.---(f)

Sl.No. 257 INDEX NO. V. 21

1.---(m);

2.---(males&females)

Sl.No. 258 INDEX NO. V. 22

Mahanaga (m)

Sl.No. 259 INDEX NO. V. 23

1.---; 2.Kanha (m)

Sl.No. 261 INDEX NO. V. 25

1.---(m); 2.---(f)

Sl.No. 262 INDEX NO. V. 26

1.---(m); 2.---(f)

Sl.No. 263 INDEX NO. V. 27

---(m)

Sl.No. 265 INDEX NO. V. 29

1.---(m); 2.---(m)

Sl.No. 266 INDEX NO. V. 30

Namdiputa (m)

II. List of Statuses of the Donors / Patrons

Sl. No. 2	INDEX NO. I. 2 Name of monk
Sl.No. 3	INDEX NO. I. 3 Probably a monk
Sl.No. 4	INDEX NO. I. 4 Seti
Sl.No. 5	INDEX NO. I. 5 Institution / *gama*
Sl.No. 6	INDEX NO. I. 6 1. *Kumara* (prince-indicates royalty); 2. a scribe or a sculptor?
Sl.No. 7	INDEX NO. I. 7 *Sethi* (m)
Sl.No. 8	INDEX NO. I. 8 *Senagopa* (army-general)
Sl.No. 9	INDEX NO. I. 9 Sons
Sl.No. 10	INDEX NO. I. 10 Mother of Dhanamala
Sl.No. 11	INDEX NO. I. 11 *Nigama* of Dhanakataka
Sl.No. 13	INDEX NO. I. 13 1. *Rajakumari* (Princess) 2. *Parivesaka* of 1
Sl.No. 14	INDEX NO. I. 14 of the koramucaka community/lineage/tribe/ group
Sl.No. 15	INDEX NO. I. 15 *Pakotakanam* (of the Pakotakas) = member of the Pakotakas = a community / tribe / lineage group
Sl.No. 16	INDEX NO. I. 16 Pakotaka (nam) = Member of the Pakotaka clan / community / lineage group
Sl.No. 21	INDEX NO. I. 21 Wife
Sl.No. 27	INDEX NO. I. 27 *Dhamakadhika*, an inhabitant of ...;
Sl.No. 29	INDEX NO. I. 29 Town/institution = *nigama;* name lost, probably Dhanyakataka
Sl.No. 30	INDEX NO. I. 30 *Bhikhu*
Sl.No. 31	INDEX NO. I. 31 Son of Harela (m)
Sl.No. 32	INDEX NO. I. 32 Belongs to *Padipudiniya* community
Sl.No. 33	INDEX NO. I. 33 The mother of Utika

Sl.No. 34 INDEX NO. I. 34

A community, perhaps identical with the later Vakatakas (see Chanda, pp.260-261.)

Sl.No. 36 INDEX NO. I. 36

Daughter of the *(a)vesanin* Nadabhuti

Sl.No. 37 INDEX NO. I. 37

Mother of . . . (name lost)

Sl.No. 38 INDEX NO. I. 38

Wife of Bala, the *Rajalekhaka*

Sl.No. 39 INDEX NO. I. 39

Sl.No. 40 INDEX NO. I. 40

Wife of Namdaka

Sl.No. 41 INDEX NO. I. 41

Nigama

Sl.No. 42 INDEX NO. I. 42

Senapati of the *Pakotaka*. Whose *senapati* is not known?

Sl.No. 43 INDEX NO. I. 43

Mahakura. Who is a *mahakura* ? or a tribe ?

Sl.No. 45 INDEX NO. I. 45

bhikhuni

Sl.No. 47 INDEX NO. I. 47

upasi(ka)

Sl.No. 48 INDEX NO. I. 48

Sl.No. 51 INDEX NO. I. 51

kurāve

Sl.No. 52 INDEX NO. I. 52

Son of Satula

Sl.No. 54 INDEX NO. I. 54

jāyā

Sl.No. 55 INDEX NO. I. 55

Pakotaka(nam) = Member of the Pakotaka clan / community / lineage group

Sl.No. 56 INDEX NO. I. 56

Son of Satula

Sl.No. 60 INDEX NO. I. 60

Daughter of ...ka.

Sl.No. 61 INDEX NO. I. 61

Probably refers to the *Pakotaka* clan

Sl.No. 62 INDEX NO. I. 62

Seta ?

Sl.No. 64 INDEX NO. I. 64

Wife of ...guta

Sl.No. 65 INDEX NO. I. 65

āvesanin

Sl.No. 66 INDEX NO. I. 66

Sons of Acinaka

Sl.No. 71 INDEX NO. I. 71

Samana (Monk)

Sl.No. 72 INDEX NO. I. 72

Sons of Acinaka

Sl.No. 73 INDEX NO. I. 73

Son of Nitohapakhala

Sl.No. 74 INDEX NO. I. 74

Papu matu (Mother of Papu)

Sl.No. 76 INDEX NO. I. 76

Vitapala community/tribe/lineage group

Sl.No. 77 INDEX NO. I. 77

Gama

Sl.No.81 INDEX NO. I. 81

Samanu (for *Samani*) = nun

Sl.No. 82 INDEX NO. I. 82

Institution

Sl.No. 83 INDEX NO. I. 83

Nigama

Sl.No. 85 INDEX NO. I. 85

1.Mother (f), 2.Daughters (f), 3.Grandsons (m)

Sl.No. 87 INDEX NO. II. 1

1. *Pavajitika*, 2.*Pavajitika* and daugher of the *parajitika* Sagharakhita, 3.Daughter of Hagha

Sl.No. 88 INDEX NO. II. 2

Puta (son)

Sl.No. 89 INDEX NO. II. 3

Lost/missing

Sl.No. 90 INDEX NO. II. 4

Probably a mason

Sl.No. 92 INDEX NO. II. 6

Son of an *uvasika* (i.e., *upasika*)

Sl.No. 94 INDEX NO. II. 8

Probably the name of the stone-mason.

Sl.No. 95 INDEX NO. II. 9

Uparaka (Skt. *Uparika* of the later inscriptions?), Title of an officer.

Sl.No. 96 INDEX NO. II. 10

1.Daughter of 2; 2.Mother of 1

Sl.No. 97 INDEX NO. II. 11

1. Son Kanhati, 2. Wife of 1,3.Sons of 1, 4.Daughters of 1.

Sl.No. 98 INDEX NO. II. 12

1. Grandson of *gahapati* Papin, 2. Wife of 1

Sl.No. 99 INDEX NO. II. 13

1. Son of Mugudasama (Mukundasarman); 2.Daughters, 3.Daughters-in-law and 4.grandsons.

Sl.No. 100 INDEX NO. II. 14

The donor is from Vidisa

Sl.No. 102 INDEX NO. II. 16

1. --; 2. Sons of 1

Sl.No. 104 INDEX NO. II. 18

Mahathera and *Mahadhammakadhika*

Sl.No. 105 INDEX NO. II. 19

1. *Gahapati* (m); Son of (name lost), 3. Daughter of Revata (name lost)

Sl.No. 106 INDEX NO. II. 20

An *aya*; an *atevasini* of *aya* Reti

Sl.No. 107 INDEX NO. II. 21

1. Not known; 2. Wife of

1; 3. Sons of 1.

Sl.No. 108 INDEX NO. II. 22

Antevasika of *ayira* Bhutarakhita who is a *Mahathera* and a resident of (R)ayasala; 2, *Bhikhuni* and *antevasini* of *ayira* Budharakhita, an *arahat*. It is the state of being as an *antevasi* and an *antevasini* of *Mahathera* and *Arahat* that gives status and identity to the donors

Sl.No. 109 INDEX NO. II. 23

Ayiraka? (the worthy? or a clan name?)

Sl.No. 110 INDEX NO. II. 24

1. *Gadhika* (perfumer); 2. Sons of 1;3.Daughters of 1.

Sl.No. 112 INDEX NO. II. 26

1. Not known; 2 Mother of Chada; 3. *Navakamikapadhana*; 4. *Dhamakadhika* and an *aya* (worthy)

Sl.No. 113 INDEX NO. II. 27

(*Gahapa*)*ti*

Sl.No. 114 INDEX NO. II. 28

1.*Bhatu* (brother) (m); 2.*Bhagini* (sister) (f)

Sl.No. 117 INDEX NO. II. 31

Gama / institution

Sl.No. 118 INDEX NO. II. 32

1. The wife Hamgha, 2. The daughter of Sagharakhita

Sl.No. 119 INDEX NO. II. 33

1. . . . , 2. . . . , 3. . . . (lost), 4. *Thera*

Sl.No. 120 INDEX NO. II. 34

1. Kanha from Tamil country (*Damila*); 2. Brother of Kanha; 3. Sister of Kanha

Sl.No. 122 INDEX NO. II. 36

1.Not known; 2.Mother of 1; 3.Father of 1; 4.Sisters of 1;5.Wife of 1; Sons of 1.

Sl.No. 123 INDEX NO. II. 37

The mother of . . .

Sl.No. 125 INDEX NO. II. 39

1. – (m); 2. His father (m); 3. His wife (f); 4. His brothers (m)

Sl.No. 126 INDEX NO. II. 40

Uvasika

Sl.No. 127 INDEX NO. II. 41

1. Son of Vasumita who is a *gahapati*; 2. Wife of Vasumita; 3. Sons of Vasumita; 4. Sisters of Vasumita; 5. Daughters of Vasumita

Sl.No. 128 INDEX NO. II. 42

The name of a stone-mason

Sl.No. 129 INDEX NO. II. 43

Name of a stone-mason

Sl.No. 131 INDEX NO. II. 45

Female donor is the daughter of the male donor

Sl.No. 132 INDEX NO. II. 46

1. A minister (*amaca*), the resident of Atapura and an immigrant from Agaloka; he is also the son of

Viraskanda; 2. Skandanaga, a *kotumbika* (i.e., householder).

Sl.No. 133 INDEX NO. II. 47

1. *Aya* (worthy / monk); 2. *Bhariya* (wife) of . . . ra

Sl.No. 134 INDEX NO. II. 48

Donor/mason

Sl.No. 135 INDEX NO. II. 49

Relatives (Father, mother, son, *bhagineya* etc.)

Sl.No. 136 INDEX NO. II. 50

Atevasika / bhikkhu

Sl.No. 137 INDEX NO. II. 51

Son of Bhadaya (Bhadraya) (m)

Sl.No. 138 INDEX NO. II. 52

1. *Jahara bhikhu* and *atevasika* of Budhi who is a *mahavinayadhara*, a *thera* and *bhayata* of *Theriyana*.

Sl.No. 139 INDEX NO. II. 53

Not clear/fragmentary

Sl.No. 140 INDEX NO. II. 54

1. Mother of Pipa

Sl.No. 142 INDEX NO. II. 56

Gahapati

Sl.No. 143 INDEX NO. II. 57

Vika?

Sl.No. 144 INDEX NO. III. 1

1. *Bhariya* (f) - wife; 2. *Puta* (m) – son; 3. *Duhuta* (f) - daughter

Sl.No. 145 INDEX NO. III. 2

Vaniya

Sl. No. 146 INDEX NO. III. 3

1. *Uvasika* (f); Sons and daughters of Sivala

Sl.No. 147 INDEX NO. III. 4

1.*Mahanavakamaka*, 2.*Uvasaka*, 3.*Aya* (worthy), 4.Not specified, 5.*Navakamaka*, 6.Not known, 7.Not specified, 8. *Ayira* (worthy) and *Mahanavakamaka*, 9. Mother of Maka, 10.Daughter Nakha and a follower of the *Cetika* school, 11.Not specified, 12.Not specified

Sl.No. 148 INDEX NO. III. 5

Donors 3 and 4 are referred to as *Caityaputa* or sons of *Caitya*

Sl.No. 149 INDEX NO. III. 6

1.*Gahapati* and resident of . . .lura; .Brother of 1; 3.Sisters of 1; 4.Wife of 1

Sl.No. 150 INDEX NO. III. 7

1, 2, 3 not stated / missing

Sl.No. 151 INDEX NO. III. 8

1.Son of Budhi who is a *gahapati;* 2.Father of 1; 3.Sister of 1; 4.Wife of 1

Sl.No. 152 INDEX NO. III. 9

1.*upasika*, who is a daughter of *gahapati* Ida and daughter of the *gharani* (housewife); 2.Sons of Kama; 3.Brothers of Kama,

4.Sisters of Kama,5.*Bhikhuni*

Sl.No. 153 INDEX NO. III. 10

.*Bhikhu*ni and an *antevasi(ni)* of Budharakhita who is the *Vetikanavakamaka* with *thera* and *bhayata* status 2. Daughters of Budharakhita; 3&4 : Possibly members of the *Sangha*)

Sl.No. 154 INDEX NO. III. 11

Bhikhuni who has passed beyond the eight worldly conditions and who is the daughter of the venerable (*mahaya*) Sujata of great self-control

Sl.No. 155 INDEX NO. III. 12

Daughter of the *Mahagovalava* (i.e., *mahagovallava*) = the great cowherd

Sl.No. 156 INDEX NO. III. 13

1.*Uvasika* and mother of Budhi; 2.Sons of 1; 3.Daughters of 1

Sl.No. 157 INDEX NO. III. 14

1.The son Dhamadeva, an inhabitant of Virapura, 2.*Atevasini* of Budharakhita

Sl.No. 158 INDEX NO. III. 15

Paniyagharika of King Siri Sivamaka Sada

Sl.No. 159 INDEX NO. III. 16

Upasaka

Sl.No. 160 INDEX NO. III. 17

1.*Gahapati*; 2.Son of Puri who is a *gahapati*; 3.Brothers of Isila; 4.Sisters of Isila; 5.Wife of Isila; 6.Sons of Isila.

Sl.No. 161 INDEX NO. III. 18

The daughter of . . .

Sl.No. 162 INDEX NO. III. 19

1. *bhikhuni* (f); 2. *Kumari* (daughter) - (f)

Sl.No. 164 INDEX NO. III. 21

Missing/not stated

Sl.No. 165 INDEX NO. III. 22

1. . . . ; 2.Wife of Mahacatu; 3.Sons of Mahacatu; 4.Daughters of Mahacatu

Sl.No. 166 INDEX NO. III. 23

Probably a mason / not stated

Sl.No. 168 INDEX NO. III. 25

Brother of the *bhayata* (reverend) Budhi who is a *Cetiyavadaka*.

Sl.No. 169 INDEX NO. III. 26

1.*Samanika*; 2.Brothers of (1); 3.Sisters of (1)

Sl.No. 171 INDEX NO. III. 28

Gaha(pati)

Sl.No. 172 INDEX NO. III. 29

Ativasini (*atevasini*) of *aya* (worthy) Kamaya

Sl.No. 173 INDEX NO. III. 30

Missing; probably a monk/nun

Sl.No. 174 INDEX NO. III. 31

Mother of Kama and a *gharani* (housewife)

Sl.No. 175 INDEX NO. III. 32

Heranika, the son of the *gahapati* Budhila

Sl.No. 176 INDEX NO. III. 33

1.*Bhadanigama* (Righteous townfolk) 2.*Sethipamukha* (Headed by merchants)

Sl.No. 180 INDEX NO. III. 37

1.Wife of Nagabodhi; 2.Mother of Nagabodhi; 3.Servent(m)

Sl.No. 181 INDEX NO. III. 38

1.*Gahapati*, 2.Wife of Mula, 3.Daughter of Mula, 4.*Gahapatiputa*, 5.*Gahapati*

Sl.No. 182 INDEX NO. III. 39

Amtevasini of *Purima Mahavinaseliya*

Sl.No. 183 INDEX NO. III. 40

1.*Pemdapatika* who resides at Mahavanasela and a pupil at the feet of the *Mahathera*, 2.Not stated

Sl.No. 184 INDEX NO. III. 41

1.*Upasaka* and son of Goti; 2.Wife of Budharakhita; 3.Son of 1 and 2

Sl.No. 185 INDEX NO. III. 42

1.*Upasaka*; 2.Mother; 3.Sisters; 4.Brothers; 5.Daughters

Sl.No. 186 INDEX NO. III. 43

1.*Camakara*, the Son of Naga who is an *Upajhaya* or teacher; 2.Mother of Vidhika; 3.Wife of Vidhika, 4.Brothers of Vidhika; 5.Son of Vidhika; 6.Daughters of Vidhika; 7.*Nati* of Vidhika

Sl.No. 187 INDEX NO. III. 44

1.Not specified; 2.Wife of 1; 3.Sisters of 1

Sl.No. 189 INDEX NO. III. 46

1.*Gahapati* who is the son of another *gahapati* by name Sulasa; 2.Not specified/stated; 3.Son of the *gahapati*, 4.Daughter of the *gahapati*. Grand father and grand son with the same name.

Sl.No. 190 INDEX NO. III. 47

1. . . . (not specified); 2.Daughters of Tuma

Sl.No. 191 INDEX NO. III. 48

1.*Pavacita*; 2.*Pavacita*

Sl.No. 192 INDEX NO. III. 49

A *pavacita* and an *antevasi* of the *aya* (worthy) Budhi who is a *mahavinayadhara* of the . . . *seliya* school

Sl.No. 193 INDEX NO. III. 50

1.Wife of Mahatoda; 2.Not specified

Sl.No. 194 INDEX NO. III. 51

Antevasini of *uvajhayini*

(teacher) Samudiya who in turn is the *atevasini* of Punavasu, the *Vinayadhara* and an *aya*.

Sl.No. 196 INDEX NO. III. 53

1.*Vaniyini*; 2.Resident of Vijayapura

Sl.No. 197 INDEX NO. III. 54

1.Sister of Nakasiri, son of the merchant (*vaniyaputa*) Nagabudhi, residing at Dhanagiri

Sl.No. 200 INDEX NO. III. 57

1.Wife of *gahapati* Sidhatha of the *Jadikiya/Caityaka* school

Sl.No. 201 INDEX NO. III. 58

1. *Vaniya*; 2.Lost/missing

Sl.No. 203 INDEX NO. III. 60

1.Wife of . . . ka; 2.Father of 1; 3.Relatives and friends of 1

Sl.No. 204 INDEX NO. III. 61

1.Son of *gahapati* Hamghi; 2.Sons of 1; 3.Daughters of 1; 4.*Natimitabamdhava of* 1

Sl.No. 205 INDEX NO. III. 62

Vaniya

Sl.No. 206 INDEX NO. III. 63

1.Daughter of the *gahapati* Cadamukha; 2.Lost / missing; 3.*Halika* (ploughman / agriculturist); 4.Grand-daughter of (1)

Sl.No. 207 INDEX NO. IV. 1

1. *Gharani* (wife) of Nagatisa who is an *upasaka* and a *vaniya*; 2.*Heranika*, son of Nakha; 3.Son of Nakha

Sl.No. 208 INDEX NO. IV. 2

1.Wife of Budhi who is the son of the *gahapati* Kubula; 2.Son of Tuka; 3.Sister of Tuka

Sl.No. 209 INDEX NO. IV. 3

Sister of Sidamta who is a *pavaita* (monk)

Sl.No. 210 INDEX NO. IV. 4

Grandsons of Kama (m) the daughter of Bhagi(f) who is the wife of *gahapati* Rahula (m)

Sl.No. 211 INDEX NO. IV. 5

Kevurura

Sl.No. 212 INDEX NO. IV. 6

1.A *gahapati* and son of a *gahapati*, 2.Wife of 1.

Sl.No. 213 INDEX NO. IV. 7

One who stays in the *Piduvana* of *daharabhikhunis* (young *bhikhunis*) and is the sister of Budhi, a monk (*bhadata*), and Cula Budhi.

Sl.No. 214 INDEX NO. IV. 8

1.A *daharabhikhu* who is an *atevasi* of *bhayata* Naga; 2.*Atevasini* of *bhayata* Naga; 3.Grand

daughter of Budharakhita, the *atevasini* of *bhayata* naga.

Sl.No. 215 INDEX NO. IV. 9

Kumari (Princess)

Sl.No. 218 INDEX NO. IV. 12

1.*Vaniyini* (wife of merchant); 2. . . . not stated or lost; 3.Wife of Budhila who is a *dhanikasathanika* (rich caravan leader)

Sl.No. 221 INDEX NO. IV. 15

1.*Gadhikasa vaniya*; 2.Vaniya who is a disciple of the pure-teacher Sariputa of the *Mahavanaseliyanam*

Sl.No. 222 INDEX NO. IV. 16

A *thera* who follows the *arana arayadhama* (the noble life of the forest-dweller)

Sl.No. 223 INDEX NO. IV. 17

1.Daughter of the sister of Bodhi; 2.*Pavajitika* (nun)

Sl.No. 224 INDEX NO. IV. 18

1.*Gharani* of Samuda who is a *vaniya* and whose father is *gahapati* Hamgha; Samuda lives in the chief city of Puki district; 2.*Gahapati*

Sl.No. 225 INDEX NO. IV. 19

Vanikini (merchant's wife); *pendapatika*

Sl.No. 227 INDEX NO. IV. 21

1.*Bhavata* (reverend); 2., 3., 4., (not specified/lost); 5.*Uvasaka*

Sl.No. 228 INDEX NO. IV. 22

1.*Bhayamta* (reverend or venerable monk); 2.*Antevasi* of (somebody) and an inhabitant of Maheganajaka

Sl.No. 229 INDEX NO. IV. 23

Matula of *pasanika* (stone-worker)

Sl.No. 230 INDEX NO. IV. 24

1.*Gahapati*; 2.Mother of 1; 3.Sons of 1

Sl.No. 231 INDEX NO. IV. 25

Sethi

Sl.No. 232 INDEX NO. IV. 26

Brother of . . .

Sl.No. 233 INDEX NO. IV. 27

1.. . . (*ha*)*pati*, 2.Sons

Sl.No. 234 INDEX NO. IV. 28

1.*Gahapati* of the *Vakataka* clan; 2.*Gahapatikini*; 3.*Thera*; 4.Wife of the Vakataka *gahapati*; 5.Brothers of 1; 6.Paternal cousins, friends and relatives of 1 (*natimita badhava*).

Sl.No. 236 INDEX NO. IV. 30

matula

Sl.No. 237 INDEX NO. V. 1

1.*Uvasika* and the daughter of the *gahapati* Mariti; 2.Brothers of 1; 3.Sisters of 1; 4., 5. and 6. sons of 1.

Sl.No. 239 INDEX NO. V. 3

Halika (ploughman / agriculturist)

Sl.No. 240 INDEX NO. V. 4

1.*Sethi* and son of the *gahapati* Pusila who is an inhabitant of Turulura; 2.Wife of Sivaka; 3.Son-in-law of Sivaka, 4.Son-in-law of Sivaka; 5., 6., and 7. Daughters of Sivaka

Sl.No. 241 INDEX NO. V. 5

1.Wife of Lonavalavaka; 2.Wife of Sagharakhita; 3.Wife of Mariti

Sl.No. 242 INDEX NO. V. 6

Mother of Ananda

Sl.No. 243 INDEX NO. V. 7

Grandson of the *gahapati* Mariti who is an inhabitant of Akhasavada

Sl.No. 246 INDEX NO. V. 10

1.*Vaniya* and son of *vaniya* Kanha; 2.Wife of 1; 3.Sons of 1; 4.Daughters of 1; 5.Grandsons of 1; 6.Relatives, friends and connections of 1

Sl.No. 247 INDEX NO. V. 11

1.---; 2.Daughters of 1; 3.Sons of 1; 4.Grandsons of 1.

Sl.No. 249 INDEX NO. V. 13

1.*Cetiyavadaka* (*cetiyavamdaka*) who is also a *thera* and a *bhayamta*; 2.*Bhikhuni* and also the sister of 1.

Sl.No. 251 INDEX NO. V. 15

1.Wife of Sidhatha; 2.---.

Sl.No. 252 INDEX NO. V. 16

Mother

Sl.No. 254 INDEX NO. V. 18

(*Sama*)*nika*

Sl.No. 255 INDEX NO. V. 19

(*bhikh*)*uni*

Sl.No. 256 INDEX NO. V. 20

1.*Samanika*; 2.Sister of 1.

Sl.No. 257 INDEX NO. V. 21

1.*Vaniya*; 2.Relatives of 1.

Sl.No. 259 INDEX NO. V. 23

1.---; 2.A *leghaka* (scribe)

Sl.No. 260 INDEX NO. V. 24

Heranika

Sl.No. 261 INDEX NO. V. 25

1.---; 2.Daughter of 1

Sl.No. 262 INDEX NO. V. 26

1.*Gaha*(*pati*); 2.Wife of 1

Sl.No. 263 INDEX NO. V. 27

Puta

Sl.No. 265 INDEX NO. V. 29

1.---; 2.Sons of 1

Sl.No. 266 INDEX NO. V. 30

Upasaka

Sl.No. 267 INDEX NO. V. 31

Siva

Sl.No. 268 INDEX NO. V. 32

Upasi . .

III. List of Objects Donated

Sl.No. 5 INDEX NO. I. 5
thabha

Sl.No. 6 INDEX NO. I. 6
thabha

Sl.No. 7 INDEX NO. I. 7
Thabho / thabha

Sl.No. 8 INDEX NO. I. 8
thabha

Sl.No. 10 INDEX NO. I. 10
Suci (cross-bar)

Sl.No. 12 INDEX NO. I. 12
thabho

Sl.No. 13 INDEX NO. I. 13
Unhisa (coping stone)

Sl.No. 18 INDEX NO. I. 18
Yakhasa thabho? (*Yaksa*-pillar)

Sl.No. 28 INDEX NO. I. 28
thabho

Sl.No. 30 INDEX NO. I. 30
thabha

Sl.No. 31 INDEX NO. I. 31
Suci

Sl.No. 33 INDEX NO. I. 33
Suci (cross-bar)

Sl.No. 35 INDEX NO. I. 35
thabho

Sl.No. 36 INDEX NO. I. 36
Thabha (pillar)

Sl.No. 37 INDEX NO. I. 37
Suci

Sl.No. 39 INDEX NO. I. 39
Suci (cross-bar)

Sl.No. 40 INDEX NO. I. 40
Sucika and *unisa*

Sl.No. 48 INDEX NO. I. 48
Suci

Sl.No. 58 INDEX NO. I. 58
Suci

Sl.No. 66 INDEX NO. I. 66
Thabho (pillar)

Sl.No. 70 INDEX NO. I. 70
Three *suci*s (Three cross-bars)

Sl.No. 72 INDEX NO. I. 72
Thabho (pillar)

Sl.No. 73 INDEX NO. I. 73
Suci

Sl.No. 76 INDEX NO. I. 76
Suci

Sl.No. 77 INDEX NO. I. 77
Suci

Sl.No. 82 INDEX NO. I. 82
pato(slab)

Sl.No. 84 INDEX NO. I. 84
Thabho

Sl.No. 85 INDEX NO. I. 85
Unisa (coping stone)

Sl.No. 87 INDEX NO. II. 1

Upata (upright slab)

Sl.No. 95 INDEX NO. II. 9

Tini suciyo (three rail-bars)

Sl.No. 102 INDEX NO. II. 16

Unisa (coping)

Sl.No. 103 INDEX NO. II. 17

Pata (slab)

Sl.No. 107 INDEX NO. II. 21

Unisa (coping)

Sl.No. 108 INDEX NO. II. 22
thambha

Sl.No. 109 INDEX NO. II. 23
Unisapata (coping slab)

Sl.No. 110 INDEX NO. II. 24

Cetiyakhabha (*caitya* pillar)

Sl.No. 115 INDEX NO. II. 29

Probably part of the mason's identifying the exact positions where the cross-bars were to be erected or else part of the calculations / measurements of the plan.

Sl.No. 118 INDEX NO. II. 32

2. *dhama budhabanaya ? laya ? patithapita*

Budhabamala (should be *abadhamala*)

Sl.No. 120 INDEX NO. II. 34

Udhampata.

Sl.No. 125 INDEX NO. II. 39

Bhagavato Budhapamatu pata (translated by Chanda as 'a slab bearing an image of the omniscient Buddha')

Sl.No. 127 INDEX NO. II. 41
Thabha

Sl.No. 132 INDEX NO. II. 46

Dhamacaka-dhaya

Sl.No. 133 INDEX NO. II. 47

Thabho

Sl.No. 144 INDEX NO. III. 1

Tha(*bho*)

Sl.No. 145 INDEX NO. III. 2

'*Dakhinayake cetiyakhabho sadhaduko danam.*' (Donative of a *caitya* pillar with a relic at the southern gate)

Sl.No. 147 INDEX NO. III. 4

Upright slab

12. 1.*Mahanavakamaka*, 2.*Uvasaka*, 3.*Aya* (worthy), 4.Not

Sl.No. 148 INDEX NO. III. 5

Udhapata (upright slab)

Sl.No. 149 INDEX NO. III. 6

Kalasa . . . (vase on slab)

Sl.No. 150 INDEX NO. III. 7

Sothikapata abadamala (slab with *svastika* or and *abatamala*)

Sl.No. 151 INDEX NO. III. 8

Suci (2. cross-bars)

Sl.No. 156 INDEX NO. III. 13

Chata (umbrella=*Chhatra*) for the *caitya* of of *ayira* Utayipabhahi

Sl.No. 160 INDEX NO. III. 17

Dhamacakam (Wheel of law) at the western gate (*aparadara*) as the property of the *cetikiyanam nikaya*

Sl.No. 161 INDEX NO. III. 18

Six *suci* (6 cross-bars)

Sl.No. 163 INDEX NO. III. 20

Ucakapato (*udhakapato* = upright slab)

Sl.No. 164 INDEX NO. III. 21

Unisa (coping stone) at the northern entrance (*ayaka*) of the *mahacetiya*

Sl.No. 165 INDEX NO. III. 22

Unisa (coping stone)

Sl.No. 168 INDEX NO. III. 25

Suci (cross-bar)

Sl.No. 173 INDEX NO. III. 30

Suci

Sl.No. 174 INDEX NO. III. 31

10 *Suji* (cross-bar)

Sl.No. 175 INDEX NO. III. 32

Suyi (*Suci*) = Cross-bar

Sl.No. 176 INDEX NO. III. 33

Suci (cross-bar)

Sl.No. 177 INDEX NO. III. 34

Suci (cross-bar)

Sl.No. 180 INDEX NO. III. 37

Veti

Sl.No. 181 INDEX NO. III. 38

Gift of 3 elephants for the Buddhist Sangha

(Anamika Roy corrects this as "the three hand coping for the railing" and attributes it to the 1st c. B.C. See pp.110-111).

Sl.No. 182 INDEX NO. III. 39

Gift of 3 elephants to the *vetika*

Sl.No. 183 INDEX NO. III. 40

Udapata (Upright slab)

Sl.No. 184 INDEX NO. III. 41

Udhapata

Sl.No. 186 INDEX NO. III. 43

Punaghatakapata (slab with an overflowing vase)

Sl.No. 187 INDEX NO. III. 44

Abadamala

Sl.No. 188 INDEX NO. III. 45

Six cubits for the *vetika* (or rail enclosure) or six cubits long *vetika*.

Sl.No. 189 INDEX NO. III. 46

(Object not clear) at the southern gate

Sl.No. 193 INDEX NO. III. 50

Unisa

Sl.No. 194 INDEX NO. III. 51

Pendaka (slab)

Sl.No. 196 INDEX NO. III. 53

Unisa (coping stone)

Sl.No. 200 INDEX NO. III. 57

Divakhabha (lamp-pillar) as seat of merit (*Dhamathana*)

Sl.No. 202 INDEX NO. III. 59

Unisa (coping stone)

Sl.No. 203 INDEX NO. III. 60

Sothikapata (slab with a *svastika*) and an *abatamala* (a type of a carved slab)

Sl.No. 206 INDEX NO. III. 63

Udhapata (upright slab) erected on the southern side of the main gate of the *Mahacaitya*

Sl.No. 208 INDEX NO. IV. 2

Pata (slab)

Sl.No. 210 INDEX NO. IV. 4

Khabho (pillar)

Sl.No. 211 INDEX NO. IV. 5

1.Mulasiri (m); 2.---(f); 3.Dhammasiri; 4.Bapisiri; 5.Sagha (f)

Sl.No. 212 INDEX NO. IV. 6

A *cetiya*, a *vetika* (rail) and a *pata* (slab)

Sl.No. 214 INDEX NO. IV. 8

Pata (slab) at the northern gate.

Sl.No. 218 INDEX NO. IV. 12

Unisa (coping)

Sl.No. 221 INDEX NO. IV. 15

Padhanamadavo (an important pavilion)

Sl.No. 223 INDEX NO. IV. 17

Pendaka (slab)

Sl.No. 224 INDEX NO. IV. 18

Unisa (coping stone)

Sl.No. 225 INDEX NO. IV. 19

(Object not specified) at the small *caitya* (*khudacetiya*) of Nagasena, a *pendapatika* who lives in village parts

Sl.No. 226 INDEX NO. IV. 20

Umnisa (coping stone)

Sl.No. 232 INDEX NO. IV. 26

Suci

Sl.No. 233 INDEX NO. IV. 27

Divadho hatho (a cubit and a half). Gift of space: probably unsculptured area; perhaps indicates ritulaisation of *dana*; need not be out of actual architectural/structural plans and needs, but as a ritual.

Sl.No. 238 INDEX NO. V. 2

Yaghapata (Tablets of homage) with enshrined tooth (*sabada kosa dantisa*)

Sl.No. 239 INDEX NO. V. 3

Thabha (pillar)

Sl.No. 240 INDEX NO. V. 4

Two *patuka* (2 foot prints)

Sl.No. 242 INDEX NO. V. 6

Patuka (foot prints)

Sl.No. 243 INDEX NO. V. 7

Unisa (coping stone)

Sl.No. 244 INDEX NO. V. 8

1.Two *cetiyapata* (2 *caitya* slabs); 2. Three *patuka* (3 foot prints); 3. One *unisa* (1 coping stone); 4. One

puphaganiyapata (a slab with a flower vase).

Sl.No. 246 INDEX NO. V. 10

Divatha(bha) or pillar for lamps at the southern entrance to the *mahacetiya*

Sl.No. 247 INDEX NO. V. 11

Pata (slab)

Sl.No. 248 INDEX NO. V. 12

Padukapata (slab with foot-prints)

Sl.No. 249 INDEX NO. V. 13

Sihathana (lion-seat)

Sl.No. 251 INDEX NO. V. 15

Udhapata (upright slab)

Sl.No. 258 INDEX NO. V. 22

Four pillars with *pata*

Sl.No. 259 INDEX NO. V. 23

Pata

Sl.No. 262 INDEX NO. V. 26

Thambha (pillar)

IV. List of Institutional Donors

Sl.No. 5 INDEX NO. I. 5

Gama

Sl.No. 8 INDEX NO. I. 8

Sena (army)

Sl.No. 11 INDEX NO. I. 11

Nigama of Dhanakataka

Sl.No. 13 INDEX NO. I. 13

Indicates royalty

Sl.No. 29 INDEX NO. I. 29

Nigama

Sl.No. 41 INDEX NO. I. 41

Nigama of (Dha)nakadaka

Sl.No. 42 INDEX NO. I. 42

The tribal composition of the army is indicated.

Sl.No. 46 INDEX NO. I. 46

Sangha

Sl.No. 76 INDEX NO. I. 76

Napita *gama*

Sl.No. 77 INDEX NO. I. 77

Gama

Sl.No. 82 INDEX NO. I. 82

gama

Sl.No. 83 INDEX NO. I. 83

Nigama of Dhamnakadaka

Sl.No. 93 INDEX NO. II. 7

Sa(m)gha

Sl.No. 114 INDEX NO. II. 28

Dhanakata-maha cetiya

Sl.No. 117 INDEX NO. II. 31

Gama

the male donor

Sl.No. 132 INDEX NO. II. 46

Mahavihara (of the *Puvaseliyana nigaya*)

Sl.No. 135 INDEX NO. II. 49
Samgha and *Culi Samgha*

Sl.No. 159 INDEX NO. III. 16
Dhanakata-*cetiya* and *mahacetiya*

Sl.No. 164 INDEX NO. III. 21
Mahacetiya
apati Budhila

Sl.No. 176 INDEX NO. III. 33
Ni*gama*

Sl.No. 181 INDEX NO. III. 38
Sangha

Sl.No. 206 INDEX NO. III. 63
Mahacetiya

Sl.No. 215 INDEX NO. IV. 9
Indicative of the presence of royalty/the state apparatus

Sl.No. 224 INDEX NO. IV. 18
Pukirathe (*Rastra* indicates district)

Sl.No. 230 INDEX NO. IV. 24
14 *Mahacetiya*

Sl.No. 231 INDEX NO. IV. 25
Mulavasa cetiya

Sl.No. 234 INDEX NO. IV. 28
Gama

Sl.No. 244 INDEX NO. V. 8
Mahacetiya of Damnakata

Sl.No. 266 INDEX NO. V. 30
Cetiya of Dhanakata

V. List of Places where Donors Came from

Sl.No. 5 INDEX NO. I. 5
Kalavaira

Sl.No. 11 INDEX NO. I. 11
Dhanakataka

Sl.No. 22 INDEX NO. I. 22
Naranjara (river)

Sl.No. 27 INDEX NO. I. 27
Name lost

Sl.No. 30 INDEX NO. I. 30
Pataliputa

Sl.No. 41 INDEX NO. I. 41
(Dha)nakadaka

Sl.No. 57 INDEX NO. I. 57
Kudura

Sl.No. 76 INDEX NO. I. 76
Napita

Sl.No. 77 INDEX NO. I. 77
. . . ra

Sl.No. 83 INDEX NO. I. 83
Dhamnakadaka

Sl.No. 87 INDEX NO. II. 1
Jetaparavana

Sl.No. 95 INDEX NO. II. 9
Kodimuti

Sl.No. 97 INDEX NO. II. 11
(Cada)ka or Candaka

Sl.No. 98 INDEX NO. II. 12

Valikaca

Sl.No. 100 INDEX NO. II. 14

Vidisa

Sl.No. 108 INDEX NO. II. 22

(R)ayasela

Sl.No. 114 INDEX NO. II. 28

Dhanakata

Sl.No. 118 INDEX NO. II. 32

1, Amsutalika; 2, Pugaratha

Sl.No. 120 INDEX NO. II. 34

1. Damila; 2. Dhana (i.e., Dhanakata

Sl.No. 132 INDEX NO. II. 46

1. Dhanakada, 2. Atapura, 3. Agaloka

Sl.No. 147 INDEX NO. III. 4

1.Pakagiri; 2.Sihagiri; 3.Nagapavata; 4.Vesaraparala

Sl.No. 148 INDEX NO. III. 5

Sirinagica

Sl.No. 149 INDEX NO. III. 6

1.Dhanakata, 2.. . .lura

Sl.No. 153 INDEX NO. III. 10

1.Rajagiri; . . . 2. . . . varuru

Sl.No. 157 INDEX NO. III. 14

Virapura

Sl.No. 159 INDEX NO. III. 16

1. Ujjaini, 2. Dhanakata

Sl.No. 176 INDEX NO. III. 33

Chadakica (Chandrakrtya)

Sl.No. 181 INDEX NO. III. 38

Kodakha

Sl.No. 183 INDEX NO. III. 40

Pusakavana; Mahavanasela (Apparently place names through need not be so; possibly monasteries).

Sl.No. 184 INDEX NO. III. 41

Dhanakataka

Sl.No. 185 INDEX NO. III. 42

Katakasela

Sl.No. 196 INDEX NO. III. 53

Vijayapura

Sl.No. 197 INDEX NO. III. 54

Dhanagiri

Sl.No. 198 INDEX NO. III. 55

Nekhavana

Sl.No. 206 INDEX NO. III. 63

Turughura

Sl.No. 207 INDEX NO. IV. 1

Narasala

Sl.No. 208 INDEX NO. IV. 2

Tulaka

Sl.No. 209 INDEX NO. IV. 3

Mandara

Sl.No. 210 INDEX NO. IV. 4

Hiralura

Sl.No. 214 INDEX NO. IV. 8

Kudura

Sl.No. 221 INDEX NO. IV. 15

Gahagujakamda

Sl.No. 223 INDEX NO. IV. 17

Kavururа

Sl.No. 224 INDEX NO. IV. 18

Adithana of *Pukiratha*
(Chief city of Pukiratha)

Sl.No. 228 INDEX NO. IV. 22

Maheganajaka

Sl.No. 234 INDEX NO. IV. 28

. . . game (name lost)

Sl.No. 237 INDEX NO. V. 1

Bhutayana

Sl.No. 240 INDEX NO. V. 4

Turulura

Sl.No. 243 INDEX NO. V. 7

Akhasavada

Sl.No. 244 INDEX NO. V. 8

1.Damnakata; 2.Rajagiri

Sl.No. 266 INDEX NO. V. 30

Dhanakata

Chapter 6

INSTITUTIONAL BASE OF EARLY BUDDHIST ART AT AMARĀVATĪ

The central concern of this chapter is the reconstruction of the institutional base of the early art activity and the particular pattern of social interaction in the environs of Amarāvatī and the allied centres during the time span that has been chosen for the study. It highlights the role of early monastic Buddhism with its ideological, socio-religious and economic contents, and with the monastery as the institutional base, in accelerating the socio-economic processes and in providing focus to the typical social interactions and traits, structurally and functionally similar to those seen at the other early Buddhist centres of the period, like Sāñcī, Bhārhut, Mathurā etc. This is an attempt at understanding the most important institutional apparatus of Buddhism—the *vihāra* or the monastery as the institutionalised form of the Buddhist *sangha*—during the period of the transition from the megalithic cultural stratum to the early historical period, mainly in the light of evidence from Amarāvatī-Dharanikota, the site that has yielded the largest quantity of material evidence of religious and socio-economic import in the eastern Deccan and had diffused cultural idioms or traits which were symptomatic of a new social formation in the eastern Deccan as a whole during the three centuries both before and after the beginning of the Christian era. References will also be made often to the evidences from some of the allied centres to show the development of similar institutional formation.

Of more than the sixty Buddhist sites of the early historical period, located or exposed in Andhra Pradesh, the maximum concentration is in the Krsna delta and the fertile eastern coastal

seaboard from Kalingapatam or Sālihundam in the north to Rāmtīrtham on the river Pennar in the south (Sarkar, H., 1987: 632-633). As argued in Chapter 5, the Buddhist establishments at Amarāvatī came into existence in the centuries immediately preceding the beginning of the Christian era as part of a network of patronage activity, which we have characterized as the Buddhist Amarāvatī mode of patronage. Patronage activity in the form of collective or community patronage as well as monastic patronage had been a prominent feature in peninsular India in the warmth of the commercial prosperity ushered in by the expansion of trade and agriculture (Thapar, Romila, 1992: 19-34; Dehejia, Vidya, 1992: 35-45).

6.1. Primacy of the *Sangha* and *Vihāra*

The history of the evolution of Buddhism was such that the Buddhist monastic community was one of the prerequisites—the other two being the Buddha and Dharma—for the existence of Buddhism in a given society and that without the *sangha* there was no Buddhism (Bechert, Heinz and Gombrich, Richard, reprint,1995: 7-8; Gombrich, Richard, 1995: 9-14; Gethin, Rupert, 1998: 92; Dutt, Sukumar, reprint 1988: 19-32)

Any search for the institutional apparatus of the early Buddhist movement begins from the *sangha* i.e., the monastic organisation, and the *vihāras* i.e., the base of operation or function of the *sangha*. The *sangha* and the *vihāras* are the two outfits that connected the doctrines, beliefs and practices of Buddhism with the life and culture of the people. However, structural remains of monasteries have not so far been properly identified at Amarāvatī though inscriptional references to them are concrete, supplemented by Hiuen Tsang's accounts. The Dharanikota Dharmacakra Pillar Inscription records the erection of *Dhammacakka-dvaja* at the eastern gate of the *mahāvihāra*

(Seshadri, Sastri, 1937-38: 259-60) at Dhanakada, while the prevalence of the different *Mahāsānghika* monastic sects like the *Caityakas*, the *Puvaseliya, Mahāvanaseliya, Rājagirika, Siddhatthika, Jadikīya* etc. may be assumed from the existence of their respective monasteries (Burgess, James, reprint 1970: 53,104; Seshadri, Sastri, 1937-38: 259; Sastri, Ajay Mitra, 1957-58: 41-45; Barua, Dipak Kumar, 1969: 199-201.) at Amarāvatī at different times, many of which were later on found deserted by Hiuen Tsang (Beal, Samuel, reprint 1969: 221-23.) in the 7th century AD

It was noticed as early as 1837 by James Prinsep that the origin of the Buddhist monuments at Amarāvatī owed much to endowments or donations (James Prinsep, cited in Cohn, Bernard S., 1992: 314). This was, later on, elaborated by Alexander Cunningham, Hultzsch, Burgessat et al. who had brought out that the structural parts of the *mahācaitya* were donated by various socio-economic groups like *bhikkhu* and *bhikkhunī*, and lay groups like *upāsaka* and *upāsikā* (Fergusson, James, reprint 1971: 67-69; Burgess, James, 1970: *passim*) on the basis of the decipherment of the epigraphs found engraved on the debris at the site. A closer look at some of the groups mentioned in the epigraphs offers scope for understanding the nature of interaction among these groups, the participation of the donors in the construction of the *caityas* and their role in the social set up of the day, and more importantly, the nature of institutional formation in the south-eastern Deccan during the two or three centuries both before and after the beginning of the Christian era.

6.2. Monks and Nuns as Donors and as an Elite Group

Of all the donors mentioned in the epigraphs from Amarāvatī, the category of monks and nuns stand out in sharp contrast to the other categories of donors on more than one ground. They belonged, by the

prescriptions of the *Vinaya* rules, to an apparently non-economic function but could still confer gifts to the *mahācaitya;* secondly, they are generally found to enjoy greater status than that of the other donors; and thirdly, certain specialised cadres among them formed what may be called a monastic *élite,* enjoying greater respectability and authority and organising those activities which arose in the context of the construction and renovation of the *caityas.* The source of income of the monks at Amarāvatī for sponsoring building activities is ambiguous. It has, however, been suggested with regard to the donations of the monks and nuns at Bhārhut and Sāñcī that the monks had strayed considerably away from the path of austerity and abstinence preached by early Buddhism and had begun to participate in mercantile activity in the two centuries preceding the beginning of the Christian era (Nath, Vijaya, 1987: 76-78; Ray, H. P., 1987: 627). Possibly, it was not necessary on the part of the monks and nuns to renounce all their wealth upon entering the brotherhood of monks in spite of the canonical prescriptions in the *Vinayas* to the contrary. As had been mentioned in the *Jātaka* stories, monks had occasionally retained and enjoyed worldly possessions even after joining the *sangha* or amassed wealth by trading in clothes or selling vegetables or getting a living by being physicians (*Devadanna Jātaka*, Book I, no. 6; *Guna Jātaka,* Book II, no. 157; *Somanassa Jātaka,* Book XV, no. 505; *Sātadhamma Jātaka,* Book II, no. 179; Ray, H. P., 1998: 148-155). That the monks owned private property in the Kusāna period in northern and central India is certain (Liu, Xinru, 1988: 105-107). Gregory Schopen has contrasted both the inscriptional evidences to donations by monks and the archaeological discoveries of coins and coin-moulds in the cells of monasteries: (1) with the normative prescriptions of the canonical texts and (2) with what he calls the "protestant presuppositions" in Buddhology (Schopen, Gregory, 1997: 3-5). We accept the conclusion of Schopen on the question as to

whether the Buddhist monks and nuns possessed private property: "... the evidence we have, from all periods indicates that they did" (Schopen, Gregory, 1997: 4).

6.3. Hierarchy among the Buddhist World-renouncer

The epigraphs from Amarāvatī do not refer to the monks as a monolithic group. While some are referred to as *bhikhu* (Index No. I. 30) and *bhikhunī* (II. 22; III. 9); most others are referred to with honorific titles like *aya* (Index No. II. 20) and *ayira* (Index Nos. II. 22; II. 26) which mean "worthy of"; *bhayata* and *bhayamta* (Index Nos. II. 52; III. 10; IV. 8; IV. 21) which mean "reverend or venerable monk"; *dahara bhikhu* (Index No. II. 52) which means "young monk"; *pavajitikā* (Index No. IV. 17), *samanikā* (Index No. III. 26) and *samana* (Index No. I. 71); and *thera* (Index Nos. II. 33; II. 52) which means "elder" and *mahāthera* (Index Nos. II. 18; II. 22) which means "great elder". Some of the titles may be indicative of the inferior position accorded to the nuns, possibly on the basis of gender and scriptural learning, as compared with the monks (Law, B. C., 1940: 32) whereas epithets like *dahara, bhayata, thera, mahāthera* etc. are indicative of seniority, status and respectability. Although it had been maintained by earlier writers that no distinction in rank was made in ancient times among the Buddhist monks except that which was connected with age and superior knowledge and that there was no hierarchy among them (Kern, H., reprint, 1974: 84), the inscriptional evidence from Amarāvatī can be taken to indicate the difference in status of the venerable monks and the ordinary lay worshippers who were casually referred to either by their professions and occupations or by their places of residence. It also vouches for the suggestions of scholars that a specifically Buddhist character of the laity never got crystallised in the long history of Buddhism in India (Gokhale, B.G., 1980: 76). Similar honorific titles occur at the other early Buddhist

centres also like, Sāñcī (Singh, Upinder, 1996: 15-16), Kānheri, Bhājā etc. (Lüders, H.: 984-1034, 1078-1085).

6.3.1. Specialists of Canons

A second group of monks figuring as donors bear titles indicative of specific ecclesiastical functions in a monastic context, as for example *dhamakadhika* which means "preacher of the *dharma*" (Index No. I. 27); *mahādhammakadhika* which means "great preacher of the *dharma*" (Index No. II. 18); *vinayadhara* which means "learned in *Vinaya*" (Index No. III. 51); *mahāvinayadhara* which means "great scholar in *Vinaya* texts" (Index Nos. II. 52; III. 49); and *samyutakabhānaka* which means "scholar or reciter of *Samyukta Nikāya*" (Index No. III. 40). Many of these titles occur in the inscriptions at Bhārhut, Sāñcī and Bodh Gayā (Lüders, H.: 347, 773, 949) also while referring to the monk-donors. The titles point to the system among the Buddhist monks of the eastern Deccan of specialisation in the different branches of the Buddhist canons. They envisaged the two particular functions of reciting or discussing the sacred texts within a monastic and scholastic context for preserving and transmitting them (Dutt, Sukumar, 1924: 18, 127-28; Dutt, N., 1977: 44-46) and secondly, of preaching and teaching the lay devotees as well as the different social groups outside the monastic context. This division of monks into separate offices or bodies, each of which was meant to preserve a particular portion of the Buddhist scriptures, helped in safeguarding the purity of the basic teachings of the Buddha through a tradition of textual scholarship in a pre-literate context (Dutt, N., 1980: 114-116; Dutt, S., 1988: 249-250; Rhys Davids, reprint 1970: 73-74). It is significant that some of the offices or functions referred to above are mentioned in the Pali canons which shows that these offices were definitely anterior to the final compilation of the canons (*Mahāvagga,* IV, 15, 4; Rhys Davids, 1923:

xii-xiii) and can be dated back to the first Buddhist Council (Dutt, N., 1980: 115). There are instances of these specialised offices having given rise to schismatic schools by their clinging on to particular portions of the *Pitaka* (Dutt, N., 1980: 116; Dutt, N., 1977: 46). If understood in terms of the descriptions in the canonical literature, the monks with such titles and status hailing from the north and south-east of India were participants in the Buddhist Councils and were the intellectual force behind the philosophical speculations and controversies enshrined in the *Tripitaka* and their commentaries (Akira, Hirakawa, 1993: 70). It may also be presumed that these offices had contributed to the growth of canons on the basis of their experience within the *milieu* of the eastern Deccan, though sifting those portions or ideas with such imprint and reconstructing the texts of the schismatic groups who held sway at Amarāvatī at different times may not be possible with the present state of knowledge of the Buddhist canonical literature. It has been shown by Nalinaksha Dutt, on the basis of epigraphical evidence from Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakonda, that a *Mahāsānghika* canon in its three divisions existed in the eastern Deccan in the beginning of the Christian era (Dutt, N., 1977: 62-64).

With regard to the status accorded to and commanded by the monks in question, a distinction can be made between the monks whose functions were undefined and unregistered, and the monks whose functions were defined and registered in the donatory epigraphs which were meant to be commemorative. The latter group stood out among the monks, commanding reverence and respectability from the whole group of monks as well as the laity. It has already been shown by scholars that the monks are not represented as a uniform group in the Pāli texts (Wagle, N., 1966: 73). Moreover, the monastic practice of according rank and status on the basis of learing and the degree of

asceticism was noticed by I-tsing also (Joshi, Lal Mani, 1977: 77-78). The earlier custom among Buddhologists of characterising the monks as a monolithic group without proper emphasis on the different functions or offices attached to them in different historical contexts will have to be reviewed in the light of the present evidence.

6.3.2. Monastic Specialists and Supervisors of Buddhist Art Activity

A curious function or office associated with the monks and frequently mentioned in the epigraphs is that of *navakamaka* (Index Nos. III. 4; III. 10), the overseer of building or renovation work, whose functions appear to be much different from that of the *vinayadhara, dhamakadhika, samyutaka bhānaka* etc., already referred to above. *Navakamaka* is met with at the other early Buddhist centres of the peninsula like Bhārhut, Kānheri and Sonārī (Lüders, H.: 773,987,154) also. This office too can be traced back to the early Buddhist canonical literature though not much of concrete evidence can be deduced from the textual sources on the real nature or style of their functioning, their status *vis-à-vis* the other functionaries among the monks and the laity, and the nature of their interaction with the community. The significance of the office of *navakamaka* can be partially worked out from the *Cullavagga* wherein the Buddha permitted the *bhikkhus* to give new buildings in course of erection for the *sangha* to the charge of a *navakamika.* Such a *bhikkhu* was an overseer, should exert himself to the end that work on the *vihāra* or other buildings might be brought to a rapid conclusion, and should afterwards cause repairs to be executed wherever the buildings have become broken or worn out (*Cullavagga*, vi, 5, 2). In the same text, the Master lays down procedures to be followed by the *sangha* on appointing a *navakamika.* The deliberations involved included seeking the willingness of the *bhikkhu* to undertake the duty, laying the matter

before the *sangha* as a *ñatti* (resolution) and seeking its approval of the appointment (*Cullavagga*, vi, 5,3). He is an officer or functionary of the Buddhist *sangha* for the conduct of the multifarious activities of the *sangha* or the monastery (Dutt, S., 1924: 188. 1988: 145, 149). The appointment of senior monks as *navakamika* was found necessary for ensuring the ecclesiastical specifications of monastic buildings (Misra, R. N., 1975: 19). Moreover, the actual process of collecting contributions or donations for the building activities of the *stūpa* would have led to the taking up of the supervisory role by the monks which might gradually have included the supervision of the technical aspects of architecture and sculpture as well (Thapar, Romila, 1992: 30). The primacy of the monastic concerns has been pointed out by Schopen also: "Monks—and oftentimes learned monks—supervised and controlled building activities at monastic sites; they determined, it would appear, what was and what was not built and where it was to be placed. Their choices and their values are, again, what we see expressed at Buddhist monastic sites"(Schopen, Gregory, 1997: 191).

It has been shown that the status of the *navakamika* was dependent on the personal accomplishments of the concerned monk and the nature of the work that he was to supervise (Ray, H. P., 1998: 144). They were artists of authority as distinguished from other classes of artisans like *āvesanin*, the foreman of artisans (Misra, R. N., 1975: 17-21), or *pasanika*, the stone worker (Index No. IV. 23). M. Njammasch has shown that the *navakamika* was an important person in the hierarchy of the Indian Buddhist monastic structure (Njammasch, M., cited in Schopen, Gregory, 1997: 190, 202 (f.n. 103)). Being master architects, they had other monks as pupils at Amarāvatī as in the case of *thera bhayata* Budharakhita who had *bhikhunī* Budharakhita as a female *atevāsī* (Index No. III. 10). This resident teacher-pupil relationship was conducive to specialisations and to the

growth of particular schools of sculpture and architecture (Misra, R. N., 1975: 17-21). The references to *antevāsī* and *antevāsinī* at Amarāvatī in contexts of both scriptural and sculptural / architectural specializations and learning prove that an instituted process of Buddhist learning / specializations had already come up by the beginning of the Christian era. Moreover, it has been shown that the *antevāsī* formed the central constituent element in the Buddhist system of learning (Witanachchi, C., 1961: 738-740). It is beyond doubt that the system of monastic learning at Amarāvatī gave specific emphasis to art and architecture as a faculty essential for monastic life. The status accorded to these monk-supervisors at Amarāvatī amounted to that of the experts of canons, the teachers and the preachers as is clear from the epithet or phrase employed in the epigraphs—*thera bhayata*—to denote reverence and seniority. Similar evidence can be noticed at the other early Buddhist centres also. At Bhārhut, the early Buddhist site to which the sculptural and artistic traditions of the early phase of the Amarāvatī art are heavily indebted, a *navakamika* donor was referred to as a *bhānaka* (Lüders, H.: 773), thereby indicating an association between the knowledge of the canons and the planning and the construction of the *caitya*. At Nāgārjunakonda in the lower Krsna valley, a *navakamika* who knew *Dīgha* and *Majjhima Nikāya* by heart established the foundation of the *mahācaitya* at the site (Misra, R. N., 1975: 18). At Kānheri, a *pavajita* and a *thera* functioned as *navakamikas* (Lüders, H.: 987).

The epigraphs mention some more monk-functionaries associated with the renovations of the *caitya*s like *vedikānavakamika*, the "supervisor of the renovation-work of the *vedikā*" (Index No. III. 10); *mahānavakamika*, "the great supervisor of the renovation-work" (Index No. III. 4); and *navakamikāpadhāna*, "the chief supervisor of the renovation-work" (Index No. II. 26). These titles are suggestive of

the extent of the construction / renovation that was going on at Amarāvatī in the two or three centuries before and after the beginning of the Christian era, as well as of the prevalence of a hierarchy among the monk-supervisors, not recorded either in the early Buddhist literature or at the other early Buddhist centres. In one of the epigraphs already mentioned, the coming together of monk-supervisors of different statuses and of different institutional bases for instituting the donation is recorded. The inscription records the gift of two *mahānavakamika*s, one *navakamika* and a follower of the *Caityaka* monastic sect (Index No. III. 4). One of the donors is described as the supervisor of renovation work at Sihagiri—a place which is yet to be properly identified. The other donor is referred to as the great supervisor of renovation work at Nāgaparvata, which has been identified with Guntupalli (Sarma, I. K., 1978: 55). It can be understood from this inscription that (1) the monastic organization and supervision of art activity formed an important function of the Buddhist establishments that had come up in the eastern Deccan as a whole, (2) the stylistic and thematic resemblance between the art at Amarāvatī and the allied centres originated partly from the monastic supervision and (3) Amarāvatī was the nodal point of the monastic tradition of art that developed as part of the *caitya* cult. It seems that the most developed mode of *caitya*-construction of the early Buddhists was practiced at Amarāvatī by the *Caityakas*, a schismatic group devoted to the construction and worship of *caityas*, whose beliefs and practices will soon be briefly examined below. Furthermore, the corpus of the epigraphs as a whole is permeated with the references to the status accorded to the specialized categories of the monks.

Data on the inmates of the *vihāra*s at Amarāvatī indicate a structured monastic hierarchy with various functionaries. The cadres of the preachers and teachers, and the monk-supervisors constituted a

monastic *élite* who were in a position to interact with the different socio-economic and occupational groups. Interestingly enough, they are found registering their gifts along with the donors from various social groups. Moreover, analysis of the epigraphs brings forth the picture of a monastic community entrenched in the cloisters, but interacting with the people of the region at different levels.

6.4. *Caityakas* and their Doctrinal base

Amarāvatī is the one site where all the philosophical and schismatic trends within early Buddhism got ample and continuous reflections in terms of inscriptional and sculptural evidence. Some of the early Buddhist schismatic groups that were enumerated in the *Mahāvamsa, Dīpavamsa* and *Kathāvatthu-atthakathā* have been referred to in the Amarāvatī inscriptions also and one particular group among them, the *Caityakas,* was in possession of the *mahācaitya* (Index No. III. 17) at Amarāvatī. The *Caityakas* were an off-shoot of the *Mahāsānghikas,* the earliest seceders from the original Buddhist *sangha* and the forerunners of the *Mahāyāna.* Basically Hinayanists, the *Mahāsānghikas* established themselves at Vaiśālī and Pātaliputra in the north, but gained more influence subsequently at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakonda in eastern Deccan (Dutt, N., 1977: 12; Bapat, P. V., 1997: 99-100; Sastry, A. M., 1957-58: 41-42; Bareau, Andre, 1987: 445-447). Of the *Mahāsānghikas,* the *Caityakas* were the most active and dominant at Amarāvatī as attested to by the epigraphs. They were occasionally also referred to as *cetiyavadaka* or *cetiyavamdaka* (Index No. III. 25) and they might have had a separate literature of their own, which could have merged with or incorporated subsequently into the huge compilation known as *Mahāvastu* (Rahula, Bhikkhu Telwatte, 1978). The epigraphs also mention four more monastic sects—the *Pubbaseliyas* (Index No. II. 46), *Aparaseliyas* at Nāgārjunakonda (Lamotte, 1988: 525), *Rājagiriyas* and *Siddhatthikas* who are supposed

to have branched off from the *Caityakas*. These four sects were given the collective name *Andhaka* by Buddhaghosha in his commentary to the *Kathāvatthu* (Bareau, Andre and Van Zeyst, H. G. A., 1961: 602-606). Since all the Buddhist sects of Amarāvatī during the period belonged to either the *Caityaka* mother-sect or else the different *Andhaka* sects, off-shoots of the *Caityakas*, it is reasonable to hold that the specialised cadres of the reverend monks who have been highlighted above belonged to the *Caityaka* monasteries.

The doctrinal contributions of the *Caityakas* and their cultural practices brought about transformations in religious ideology and consequently, in the attitudes of the *sangha* towards the laity (Ray, Amita, 1983: 55). They held that one could acquire great merit by the creation, decoration and worship of the *caityas;* even a circumambulation of the *caitya* as well as offerings of flowers, garlands, scents, etc. to the *caitya* were meritorious; and one could acquire religious merit by making gifts and donations, and the merit thus acquired could be transferred to one's relatives and friends (Dutt, N., 1977: 123-125; Bareau, Andre and Van Zeyst, H. G. A., 1961: 602-606). The socio-economic implications of these apparently ethical percepts coupled with the provision offered by the epigraphs for proclaiming and commemorating *dāna* to the *sangha* may be deduced from the waves of donations and the prolonged construction and renovation activities that have spanned across nearly half a millennium at Amarāvatī. The intellectual emphasis of the *Caityaka* monasteries seems to be twofold: one on canons as represented by the *dhammakadhika, vinayadhara* and other functionaries and the other on subjects of pragmatic importance like architecture useful for the construction and upkeep of *caityas* and *vihāras* as represented by the *navakamika, mahānavakamika* etc. Thus the *Caityaka* monasticism combined together scriptural and sculptural / artistic traditions.

The custom of building *caitya* or *stūpa* to commemorate great personages was pre-Buddhist in origin, and all that the early Buddhists did was adapting an early Indian practice to suit the new purpose of motivating people and popularising the Buddhist doctrines by incorporating ritual veneration of the commemorative monument. The kernel of rationality or justification for the *Caityaka*-attempt to focus the *caitya* has to be eventually sought for in the oft-quoted dialogues put into the mouth of the Buddha in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. According to that dialogue, the Buddha recommended, "At the four cross-roads a *stūpa* should be erected to a *Tathāgata*. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart—that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy" (*Dīgha Nikāya*, XVI, *Mahāparinibbānasutta*). In the same *Sutta*, the Buddha while staying at Vaiśālī was said to have taught the Vajjians the seven conditions of welfare and prosperity, one of which was the support of their own tribal shrines. As long as they honoured, esteemed, revered and supported *Vajjicetiyani* (the Vajjian shrines) in town or in country, the Buddha said, the Vajjians would surely prosper (*Dīgha Nikāya*, XVI, *Mahāparinibbānasutta*). This canonical justification of a pre-Buddhist practice became the central axiom of the *Caityakas* who gave to it formal expressions through an elaborate system of observances (See Chapter 7 below).

The presence of the *Caityakas* at Amarāvatī is attested to by the inscriptions of the early Christian centuries, whereas the earliest structural foundations of the *mahācaitya* have been ascribed by the excavations to as early as the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. The earliest sculptural activity at Amarāvatī in particular and south-east India in general has also been traced to the 2nd century BC. Furthermore, the theme of the earliest narrative art, together with the labels engraved on

a *stele* at Amarāvatī which placed Dhānyakataka along with the *Caityaka* centres like Vaiśālī, has been interpreted to mean the presence of the *Caityakas* by about the 2nd century BC (Ghosh, A. and Sarkar, H., 1964-65: 168-177; Sarkar, H., 1966: 100). The inscription at Amarāvatī, which reads *Bhikhuno Pātaliputato* (Index No. I. 30), looks back to corridors of contact between Pātaliputra, the chief centre of the *Mahāsānghikas*, and Amarāvatī in south-east India. Thus even the phase of the religious and artistic activity at Amarāvatī in the pre-Christian centuries can be traced to the cult of the raising, embellishing and worshipping of the *caitya*s although these practices were yet to be theoretically formalised and institutionalised through the monasteries. The influence wielded by the *Caityakas* can be inferred from such characterisations in the inscriptions as *mahācetiye cetikiyānam nikāyasa parigahe*, "the great *caitya* in the possession of the *Cetika* school" (Index No. III. 17). If the short but explicit descriptions of the intense devotion with which the *mahācaitya* was visualised in the epigraphs are indicators, we find the picture of various social groups getting more or less oriented to the *caitya* in the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the beginning of the Christian era, reminiscent of a similar but later tradition of a temple-oriented society and culture in south India more than half a millennium later (Narayanan, M. G. S., 1994: 309-325; Veluthat, Kesavan, 1987: 151-159; Gurukkal, Rajan, 1992). What emerges is that the *Caityakas* were primarily responsible for bringing the *Caitya* at Amarāvatī into cultural focus and in systematising and popularising the characteristic practices of *caitya* worship.

The foregoing examination of the inscriptional evidence on the specialised functionaries among the monks attached to the monasteries and the discussion of their philosophical and schismatic base together form a prelude to counterpoising the overemphasis on the styles of art

(as seen in the archaeological and art historical literature hitherto) and to taking up the preeminent role of the monasteries in the cultural and socio-economic activities of the region, though any inquiry in this regard is bound to be handicapped due to the lack of direct evidence. However, discussions on the role of the monks and renouncers of ancient India galore and recourse is sought here to the insights thrown up by these erudite discussions.

6.5. Role of the Buddhist World-renouncer and the *Vihāras*

The social, economic and ritualistic role of the renouncers, who include the monks too, has been a characteristic feature of ancient Indian civilization and they were symbols of authority within the society (Thapar, Romila, 1994: 13; Tambiah, Stanley J., 1976; Ling, Trevor, 1973: 137-139). The renouncer was believed to acquire supernormal powers and accumulate in himself a complex inter-relation of social signals and became an alternative avenue of authority (Thapar, Romila, 1994: 13). The Buddhist *sangha* as a body of renouncers was considered as an alternative source of authority, which governed social and religious life, and it was a channel of communication with the society (Thapar, Romila, 1994: 30; Thapar, 1984: 72). As providers of ethics and discipline for the lay community and as centres of intellectual, artistic and educational life in the community, the Buddhist monasteries acted as social catalysts (Thapar, Romila, 1984: 59-60, 92). With the institutionalization of the *sangha*, a new phase of the regular association of the *sangha* with the society at large began, which replaced the earlier stage of isolation. That this new social orientation was systematically promoted by the *sangha* can be understood from the fact that one of the categories of proficiencies acquired by the monks has been described by the *Cullavagga* as wisdom in the worldly lore (Rhys Davids and

Oldenberg, 1998. reprint: IV, 4, 4; Gokhale, B. G., 1956: 34-39). Thus, the Buddhist monasteries turned out to be not only repositories of learning and art but also centres of structured interaction with the lay community. Scholars have already shown in the case of the Buddhist monasteries of the western Deccan that they acted as pioneers and also as centres providing information on cropping pattern and markets and as organisers of village settlements. Secondly, they helped in establishing channels of communication in the newly colonised regions, which could then be used by the state to enforce its authority. The picture that emerges in the western Deccan was one of a tripartite relationship involving the state, the monasteries and the tribal communities (Ray, H. P., 1986: 207). Almost parallel instances have been noticed in northern India under the Kusāna rule and in the contemporary China (Liu, Xinru, 1988: 121-123, 167-173; Liu, Xinru, 1996). As will be shown subsequently in this chapter, the monasteries of Amarāvatī offer analogous trends.

6.6. Reconstructing the Institutional Base

6.6.1. Processes of Interaction between the *Vihāra* and the Society

The process of interaction that we are going to outline below between the *bhikkhus* centred in the *vihāras*, and the laity, will help us in tracing different aspects of the institutional base of the early Buddhist art-activity as represented by the evidence at Amarāvatī. This interaction in itself was a consequence of the institutionalisation of the *sangha* and of Buddhism in general, which brought about changes in the way of life of the monks from one of the eremite or homeless wanderer to that of monastic habitude of the cenobite, and a transformation of the concept of *dāna* (Dutt, S., 1924: 110-176; Dutt, S., 1988: 53-97; Gombrich, R., 1995: 77-89). Though references do

occur at Amarāvatī to the itinerant mendicants and forest-recluses (Index No. IV. 16), who may be taken for a vanishing category, no precise chronological framework can be assigned for the transition from the former to the cenobites of the monasteries in the eastern Deccan. This gradual transformation from the *vassāvāsa* (rain-retreat) to the *vihāra*s like the *mahāvihāra* of Dhamñakata brought about changes in the *pātimokkha,* the monastic code set out in the *Vinaya,* and debates on the details of which occupied the proceedings of the various Buddhist Councils and even contributed to the rise of new sects (Prebish, Charles S., 1996; La Vallée Poussin, Louis de, reprint 1976). The *pātimokkha* was recited on the occasion of the celebration called *uposatha* in the monasteries, at the time of the new moon, for which the monks and the laity came together to participate. Thus, the monasteries and the laity came into closer contact contributing to various levels of interactions. Two concerns of the *vinaya* rules were the dependence of the *sangha* upon the lay community and the appearance of the *sangha* in the eyes of that community, which gave the foundation for the greater interaction. In other words, points of contacts and interaction were incorporated into the *vinaya* rules, giving scope for the monastery to function as a viable social instrument.

The developments within Buddhist monasticism as briefly outlined above brought about a corresponding change in the monastic ideal as well: from that of the imperfect *arhat* to that of the *Bodhisattva,* the one on the path to Buddhahood, who would indefinitely delay his entry into *nirvana* in order to carry out his liberating activity for the benefit of all the sentient beings as long as possible through the accumulation and transference of meritorious actions. Though fully developed by the Mahayanists subsequently, the *Mahāsānghika*s were the first people / sect responsible for the rise of

punyaparināmanā or transference of merit (Dayal, Har, reprint 1975: 188-193; Raghava Varier, M. R., 1983). Philosophical and sectarian differences apart, the concept contributed to *dāna* or gifts to the *sangha* in return for religious merit and social status. Gift-giving in the context of the construction and decoration of *stūpa*s was idealised in the texts of the *Mahāsānghika* sects, and the devotees were promised a sure path leading to the heavenly abodes (Rahula, Bhikkhu Telwatte, 1978: 56-57, 168-169). The Buddhist *Avadāna*s are replete with references to the performance of *dāna* in the context of the construction and embellishment of the *caityas* (Sharma, Sharmishtha, 1985: 13-19, 39).

6.6.2. Organisation of Resources and the Exchange of Values

An important context of interaction between the monks and the lay people, about which inscriptional evidence does exist, was the process of organisation of human and material resources contributory to the erection of the Buddhist establishments at Amarāvatī. Apart from properly articulated plans, the construction of the *caitya*s would have required mobilisation of men, materials and money. Central to the problem here is *dāna* or gift to the *caityas* as symbols of the *sangha,* by which the construction and renovations of the Buddhist establishments of Amarāvatī were sustained over half a millennium as is manifest by 268 available votive or donatory inscriptions found engraved on the sculptured slabs and other debris of the site. Invariably all these inscriptions furnish names and professions of the donors, the places of their origin, and often the purpose behind the meritorious act of giving *dāna*. The gifts were essentially in the form of different architectural parts constituting the *caityas* and not in terms of money or land as had often been the case with the Buddhist cave sites of the western Deccan (Dehejia, Vidya, 1972). A gamut of

interactions of varied dimensions may be postulated here as having led to donations since the community of the locality, belonging to different professions, of various means, and of different social cadres or statuses, offered generous gifts to the *sangha* as symbolised by the *mahācaitya*. This kind of community patronage was preceded by a range of interactions among the monks and the people of the locality, ranging from admonishing *dāna* to the actual process of arranging sponsors and getting the gifts executed to the liking of the patrons.

A close reading of the corpus of the epigraphs brings forth the different forms of contact among the various groups of donors figuring in the epigraphs. While a gift was instituted in return for religious merit, it is apparent that the donor had already come under the orbit of *punyaparināmanā* or transference of merit and that the antecedent stages of direct or camouflaged modes of teaching the religious metaphysics and ethics could be anticipated. Although it is not explicitly stated in the Amarāvatī epigraphs that the exhortation by the monks contributed to the institution of gifts by the laity, we have pointed out in Chapter 5 that such a conclusion can be inferred from the joint donations instituted by monks and members from different social groups. It is significant that many of the gifts of Jaina images and architectural parts of the Jaina establishment at Mathurā were instituted at the instance of Jain monks and nuns, as stated in the post-Kusāna Jain epigraphs from Mathurā (De Leeuw, 1995: 242-251). Probably, the functions of the monks who are variously referred to in literature and inscriptions as *dhamakadhika, samyutakabhānaka* etc. and the *pendapātika* had much to do with such admonitions and didactic roles in an extra- monastic context. In addition to the stated desire of acquiring merit for oneself and the relatives, what the donor expected in return was the unregistered desire for promotion in the social scale, which was made feasible by the *dāna* to the *sangha*.

Though different categories of donors occur, ranging from members of the ruling *elite* to the tribes and occasionally the villagers en *masse* with the traders, bankers, socio-economic institutions like *nigama* and *gosthi,* agriculturists, artisans and others in their midst, the common unifying factor that acted as the intermediary was, of course, the Buddhist *sangha,* functioning as the focus and inspiring people to act in certain prescribed modes. *dāna* as an economic institution was central to the contemporary economy (Nath, Vijay, 1987: 190) and as such, a gift-economy constituted the base of the society during the period and in the region discussed in the present chapter.

The enormous mobilisation of man-power necessary for building the Buddhist monuments held within its ambit the potential for exchange of values among the participating groups (Miller, Barbara S., 1992: 5). Any such inquiry in the present context entails viewing architecture or art as a social object as well. Once a building is thus defined as a social object, layers of social relations and meanings, as well as of the religious and aesthetic implications, can be read out from the *caityas* of the site. Even changes of artistic or architectural styles could sometimes be linked to the uses of form or image as ideological signs (Markus, Thomas A., 1993: xix-xx, 21, 37; Dallapiccola, A. L. and Lallemant, S. Z-A., 1980; Werner, Karl, 1991). Both the sculptures and the epigraphs have preserved evidence to understand what the monks and the lay devotees understood of the *mahācaitya.* Stray descriptions in the epigraphs as well as depictions in the reliefs bring out the centrality of the *mahācaitya* in the contemporary visual imagery and cultural life. The religious symbolism woven into the *caitya* might have played a significant role in bringing the space and form of a building into cultural focus. The *dhātu* or corporeal remains enshrined in the *stūpa* ensured the continuing presence of the Buddha in the midst of the monastic and lay

communities (Trainor, Kevin: 25-32). The nature of evidence may not permit us to work out the precise manner in which the monumentality of the *mahācaitya* was articulated among the people, but the flocking together of the various socio-economic and ruling groups for sponsorship of building the *mahācaitya* at Amarāvatī is indication enough of a process of gradual exchange of values embodied in *dāna*. This might have included, among other things, religious and devotional perceptions, literary and artistic sensibilities, aspects of technology and material culture etc. It was the long term and continuous association involved among different strata of people from across a wide geography for a collaborative venture that became pivotal in this gradual and bilateral cultural adaptation. The archaeological counterpart of this cultural adaptation is exhaustive and shows similarities of cultural layers with those noticed at the other early Buddhist centres of the peninsula, as we have mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3.

6.6.2.1. Modes of Patronage and the Interaction

The community patronage, which formed part of what we have called the Buddhist Amarāvatī mode of patronage, as represented by the epigraphs from Amarāvatī involves social relations and a conscious act of exchange among the donors and the Buddhist *sangha*. The *stūpa* or the *caitya* i.e., the object of the *dāna*, became the symbol of the Buddha and the *sangha*, and it even symbolised an alternative source or centre of power (Thapar, Romila, 1992: 23-24; Thapar, Romila, 1994: 28-30). Thus, the network of community patronage can be taken to demonstrate the close nexus between the *vihāra* and the emergent socio-economic groups like *gahapati, vāniya* etc., and institutions like *nigama, gosthi* etc. at Amarāvatī—a pattern noticed throughout the Indian subcontinent during the heyday of Buddhism. It may also be suggested that one of the purposes of donations for the

donor-groups was to seek association with the *mahācaitya,* the source of power, and seek legitimacy and validation for themselves who were of relatively recent origin in the emerging hierarchy of power in the historical context of the eastern Deccan.

6.6.2.2. Architectural Layers as Indicators of the Process of Socio-economic interactions

One particular feature of the debris unearthed so far at Amarāvatī that gets added significance in the context of the exchange of values is the large scale of renovations or reconstructions which the monument underwent from time to time for nearly half a millennium. Analysis of the debris is not clear as to the number of renovations that might have taken place or as to whether these were partial renovations or were additions as part of extensions. It is to be acknowledged, however, that the renovations were occasions of contact and association among the monks, the laymen, the traders, the architects and the sculptors. In fact, the renovations kept alive the culture-contact among the people involved in the process and ensured the continuity of the exchange of values in a fluent manner. The importance of the renovations was recognised by the ancient monks themselves and the prolonged process of reconstruction had even contributed to the rise of separate offices of monks or a category of specialised monks, as has been seen, within the monastic hierarchy, in charge of renovations as mentioned in the Buddhist canonical literature and the epigraphs. Though most archaeologists and epigraphists came across and noticed the renovations, they have not yet recognised the socio-economic implications that lay shrouded beneath the layers of the debris.

6.7. The *Vihāras* and the Megalithic Builders

Right from the late megalithic or early historical period onwards, say *circa* 4th-3rd centuries BC when the *mahācaitya* complex came into existence at least in a smaller scale, the harnessing of the resources for the construction of the *caitya* had already begun stage by stage. Although the manner in which resources were channelised from the megalithic symbiotic economy of pastoralism and sedentary agriculture (Krisgna Sastry, V. V., 1983: 51-114; Chatterjee, Anjana, 1976: 40-46; Seneviratne, S., 1980-81: 54-69) is not precisely known, the occurrence of megalithic burials at Amarāvatī both under one of the a *caitya*s as well as very close to the *mahācaitya* site (Rea, Alexander, 1908-09: 90-91) holds out possibilities of working out the nature of contact among the monks, the ruling *élites* and the semi-pastoralists. The evidently funerary association of and the structural similarities between the *caitya* and the megaliths point to continuity in traditions and locations regarded as sacred and associated with the dead (Ebert, Jorinde, 1980: 219-228). Judging from the debris of the *mahācaitya* at Amarāvatī and what is said and vaguely reflected in the inscriptions, it is evident that the *mahācaitya* stood as an imposing and monumental structure with much appeal to visibility and aesthetics. It is reasonable to suggest that the essential convergence of the structure of the megaliths and the *caitya*s on the one hand, and the association of the cult of the dead inherent in the megaliths and of the *mahāparinirvāna* symbolised by the *caitya* on the other promoted acculturation of the semi-pastoral and semi-agrarian people in the south-eastern Deccan during the period covered by the present study. The convergence of the artistic symbolism could be representative of the growth of receptiveness on the part of the megalithic people towards the values and material culture of the migrant Buddhist religion and its cultural practices.

6.8. Amarāvatī as a Nodal point

The flocking together of the donors to Amarāvatī from across a wide geography, as already demonstrated in Chapter 5, shows yet another dimension of the influence wielded by the monastic centre that cut across various socio-economic and religious groups. Donors hailed from places like Pātaliputa i.e., Pātaliputra (Index No. I. 30), Vidiśā (Index No. II. 14) Katakaselaka i.e., Khandasala (Index No. III. 42) etc. Organizing potential donors from the near- and the far-flung parts of peninsular India and getting their devotional, artistic and financial sensibilities translated and incorporated into monumental art involved groups of specialized monk-functionaries, architects, sculptors and artisans in the process. Going by the references to *navakamikas*, the donors probably did not directly employ sculptors or artisans but instead got their gifts executed by the reverent monks who possessed the technical skill and scriptural knowledge to ensure that the relief-panels or architectural parts concerned were in accordance with the symbolic and religious meanings that were woven into the very structure of the *caityas*.

We have already traced in Chapter 5 the significance of patronage of the art activity and the Buddhist establishment at Amarāvatī and the allied centres by the ruling groups, their *entourage*, officialdom and military officers. Here, the same inscriptional references are treated as evidences for indicating the close interactions between the Buddhist monastic establishment and the successive political power-structures in the eastern Deccan represented by the Mauryas, the post-Mauryan locality chiefs, the Sātavāhanas and the Iksvākus. This interaction was based on a bilateral relationship: the *sangha* providing networks of loyalty and legitimation, which could be used for political consolidation and the state providing patronage and protection to the monastic establishments. Prof. Romila Thapar's view

on the relationship between the Mauryan state and the *sangha* is worth quoting:

> The importance, to the state, of monastic organization was that renunciatory orders cut across both caste and clan and weakened existing identities. Thus, in the metropolitan state and the core areas where caste society was established, the *sangha* provided another center of identity. Where it also supported the state this alternative identity was useful to the state. The renunciatory orders broke caste obligations and even if this applied only to the monks the fact that the monks lived in the vicinity of settlements meant that there was a continual presence of a group respected in society but not observing social obligations. In the peripheral areas, the *sangha* would again have acted as an alternative form of coalescing identity and weakening clan ties. (Thapar, Romila, 1993: 24).

The contacts between the Sātavāhana polity and the Buddhist monasteries in the western Deccan, too, were based more or less on the same kind of bilateral relationships which existed in the Mauryan period. As H. P. Ray has shown, these include: (1) the suitability of Buddhism to maintain cohesion within new settlements, (2) the crucial need on the part of rulers to acquire legitimacy, in the context of a society which was making a transition from a tribal structure to the *varna* structure, (3) the monastic establishments which helped the state in the peaceful consolidation of the newly settled lands and (4) the sanctity of the Buddhist centres of worship located in strategically important locations helping in the creation of buffer zones (Ray, H. P., 1986: 175-183).

The close interaction between the monastic base and the tribes / lineage groups / communities of the south-eastern Deccan is also vaguely represented in the epigraphs. The different tribes, whom we have listed in Chapter 5, were being accommodated in the process of cultural development in the south-eastern Deccan to a unified political system under the later Sātavāhanas. Though nothing precise is known about the way in which they were accommodated into the political and

social framework, their participation in the cult of the *caityas*—which was mediated by the Buddhist monastic base at Amarāvatī and was the chief mode of religiosity and cultic practices supported by the whole range of population in the region—is fairly clear enough.

6.9. The Monastic Centre and the Mercantile Groups

Although the location of Buddhist monastic establishments at strategic points along trade routes was a sub continental feature as has been widely accepted, direct evidence is wanting with regard to the possible interactions between the monastic centre at Amarāvatī and the socio-economic institutions like *nigama* and *gosthi* who figure as donors at Amarāvatī. Trade in this region was controlled and organised by these institutions and, on the basis of parallels from the western Deccan (Thaplyal, Kiran Kumar, 1996: 84-109), they may be said to have exercised some form of autonomous urban administration. One of the epigraphs from Amarāvatī speaks of the gift of a *sūcī* (cross-bar) by the *bhadanigama* (righteous townsfolk) of Cadakica, which was headed by merchants or financiers (Index No. III. 33). The reference to *gosthi* at Amarāvatī on a stele depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha and which specifically associated *vamda nāma gosthi* (Index No. I. 24) with certain structures or architecture at Amarāvatī led scholars to surmise that the *gosthi* had an important role in the construction or reconstruction of the *mahācaitya* (Ghosh, A. and Sarkar, H., 1964-65: 175). By dint of their mercantile association, the *nigama and gosthi* could act as intermediaries between the monastic centre and the *vāniya*, and in channelising support to the *sangha* from the trading and other occupational groups. The evidence from Bhattiprolu, also in the eastern Deccan, of a *gosthi-samana* (Lüders, H.: 1333) or a monk belonging to a *gosthi* is noteworthy in this regard. The close relationship among the *nigama*, bankers, and the rich caravan leaders (Chandra, Moti, 1997: 173) could enhance the status

of the *Dhānyakataka nigama* and the *vamda nāma gosthi* as corporate socio-economic bodies which stood in comparison with the monasteries or *sangha* as a religious and ideological corporate, commanding influence over the society.

6.10. The Monastic Centre and the *Gahapati*

The intercourse between the monks / monasteries and the *gahapati* at Amarāvatī can be prefaced with the canonical prescriptions—of course, norms suggested by the monks themselves —on the reciprocal duties of the householders and members of the *sangha* as formally set out in the *Sigalavāda Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. What was stressed in the *Sutta* was the householder's duty of providing generously for the material needs of the *bhikkhus* and, in return, the *bhikkhus*' duty of revealing to the householder the way to heaven (*Dīgha Nikāya*, xxi, *Sigalavāda Suttanta*). This relationship was more of complementariness and long-term exchange, which holds out a series of implications for the inquiry.

The most obvious example of the interaction between the monks and the *gahapatis* is, again, the numerous gifts unfailingly registered in the epigraphs. A break-up of the donor-groups indicates that the highest percentage of donors hailed from among the *gahapatis* (See *Index to Amarāvatī Inscriptions*, below in this thesis). The term stands for a landowner of substance, playing a crucial role in the extension of agriculture, and who distinguished himself from the rest of the socio-economic categories by a consciousness of position and pride in high birth (Fick, Richard, 1920: 253; Chakravarti, Uma, 1996: 65-93; Thapar, Romila, 1994: 121). They were big peasant proprietors who were also leaders of the rural agricultural communities. The rise of the *gahapati* as a socio-economic institution can be taken as signalling an agrarian economy of which that category was the pivot

(Chakravarti, Uma, 1996: 121). It was from the ranks of the *gahapatis* that the trading class and the financiers emerged—an inter-relation that is attested to at Amarāvatī also as in the case of Samuda the *vāniya*, who was the son of Hamgha the householder (index No. IV. 18), and of a *heranika*, a treasurer (Index No. III. 32). Similar evidence from the eastern Deccan as a whole has already been taken by scholars to indicate the repetition of that process of socio-economic development, which had occurred earlier in the Ganga valley in the context of the second urbanization (Thapar, Romila, reprint 1994: 122). Some *gahapatis* were prosperous enough to donate a *caitya*, a railing and a sculptured slab simultaneously (Index No. IV. 6). It is thus apparent from the inscriptions that an agricultural surplus had been produced in the eastern Deccan by this time, which was being invested in trade as well as in sponsoring Buddhist monastic and religious activities. The patronage extended by the *gahapatis* to the *sangha* and *vice versa* indirectly helped in forging new links for the first time in society, which were not based on kinship, as was the case in the earlier megalithic social stratum. The comparatively recent origin of the *gahapatis* could also be one of the reasons for their ample support to the *sangha* in exchange for religio-social approval and hence legitimacy to their pursuits (Thapar, Romila, 1984: 109-111). As already pointed out at the outset, this type of 'community patronage' was a marked feature of the early Buddhist sites of the peninsula where *stūpa*s or *caitya*s and monastic establishments were constructed and embellished through gifts from the community. The *gahaptis* were the backbone of this community patronage. The highest percentage of the gifts from this class and the origin of the monks from among the *gahapati* families are indicators of the volume of the interaction between the monastic centre and the *gahapatis* of the agrarian hinterland.

6.11. The Monastic Centre and Women

Extensive association between the nuns and the laity formed a regular feature of the interaction in the area around Amarāvatī as can be deduced from the epigraphs. Women appear at Amarāvatī as donors, *upāsikā* and *bhikkhunī*. The role of women in fostering / forming a Buddhist lay society in its cultural fullness remains to be inquired into though their part in the spread of the religion has already received scholarly attention. Buddhism would not have become the force that it did had it not been for the part that women played devotedly. What have so far been highlighted by scholars were mainly the portrayals of women in the early Buddhist canonical texts (Horner, I. B., reprint 1975; Law, B. C., reprint 1981), the female patronage of monastic establishments (Willis, Janice D., 1992: 46-53), the inscriptional evidence on the *bhikkhunis* (Law, B.C., 1940) etc. The problem in question here for us is the possible interactions between the *bhikkhunis* i.e., the women within the monasteries on the one hand, and the women outside the *sangha* on the other, as can be understood from the epigraphs. The context of the interactions could be, to begin with, preaching to the laity by the nuns as indicated by the references to the nuns as *atevāsin* or *antevāsin* of senior monks who were *Vinayadharas* (Index No. III. 51). The presence of the nuns among the laity, especially among the womenfolk, and the consequent contact could be postulated as contributory to the *dāna* instituted by women unaccompanied by their men folk. In channelising the gifts from the womenfolk, they would have played no less a significant part than that of the monks. The amazing number of female donors and their active participation in the religious life of the period as recorded in the epigraphs and the sculptural representations at Amarāvatī anticipate cultural and social contacts and religious formation over a long period of time. As part of the monastic institution, the nuns along with the

monks were successful in orientating social groups or categories by their presence as well as interactions.

6.12. The Monastic Centre and the Sculptors

The contrast between the artisan-donors and the sculptor-donors who were casually referred to by their names in the epigraphs on the one hand and the monk-supervisors of the art-activity who were also donors but commanded authority and status on the other is conspicuous. Nāgabu (Index No. II. 43), Nagabudhu (Index No. III. 23), Dhamasa (Index No. II. 42), Nadabhuti (Index No. I. 36) and many anonymous artisans were at work at Amarāvatī under the supervision of *navakamika, navakamikāpadhāna, mahānavakamika, vedikānavakamika* and others.

6.13. Implications of Selection of Sculptural Themes

A potential instance of the exchange of religio-cultural outlook had been the very selection of themes for the narrative art and its acceptance on the part of the donors. The role of the monks as experts of canon and art is unmistakable though their role in a context of fixing the themes for sculptural representation has to be made out from their supervisory roles. Moreover, the repetition of the themes of the narrative art at all the early Buddhist centres further clarifies the issue and shows the predominance of the *sangha* and the monasteries in the exchange of values and outlooks. Yet another instance of the interaction, which lies hidden in the phraseology and structure of the donatory inscriptions, was the way in which the socio-economic groups as donors whom we have enumerated were identified, known and recognised by the Buddhist religio-cultural centre through the monasteries and the *caityas* as the institutional base. As revealed by the inscriptional formula, the donors as representatives of the social

groups were being drawn or absorbed into a new world of the acquiring and transferring of merit.

A full and satisfactory reconstruction of the forms of interaction which ensued the early Buddhist art activity at Amarāvatī has not been attempted here in the absence of a detailed recording of events, the kind of which is available for certain mediaeval Indian temple-complexes like that of the Sun Temple of Konāraka (Boner, Alice, 1987: 99-108). Some of the stages involved in the building process may be identified, albeit on the basis of the scanty evidence supplied by the *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger, Wilhelm, reprint 1986: 187-219) and *Tūpavamsa* (Law, B. C., 1945: 64-92) with the hope that the inter-personal and inter-group interactions can be viewed in proper historical perspective and context. Selection of site, preparation of plans, recruitment of architects and artisans, supervision by monks, collection and transportation of lime-stones, organising patronage, arrangement of infra-structural facilities etc. are some of the stages involved in the process. A process of installing the *mahācaitya* into the centre-stage of life and culture of the region is also involved during the period that we have highlighted. As already pointed out, it was the art-activity at Amarāvatī, which spans nearly four or five centuries and involved different socio-economic categories and relations, religious beliefs and practices, mythology, folk culture, architectural and engineering skills etc. that provided the context for the various forms of interactions that we have outlined. In fact, religious and monastic institutions through their own mediation of the community patronage were streamlining the production and appreciation of art.

6.14. The Institutionalised form of *Caityaka* Buddhism

The foregoing exercise in examining the nature and forms of interactions among the donor-groups offering patronage brings out certain features of the institutional base of the early Buddhist art activity and the social orientations at Amarāvatī during the six hundred year span between *circa* 300 BC and 300 AD. The monastery emerges as the most developed and organized nodal point of the institutionalized form of Buddhism irrespective of the changing phases of sway of the monastic sects of *Mahāsānghika* origin. The *Caityakas* were the most entrenched of the *Mahāsānghikas* in the area probably because of their doctrinal and practical disposition towards specialization in the construction and worship of *caityas*. So far as the archaeological and inscriptional evidence goes, the planning and construction of the *caityas* and the subsequent renovations and sculptural embellishments spanning across half a millennium and which involved processes of mobilization of human, natural and economic resources in a large scale, constituted the most significant socio-economic and cultural activity at Amarāvatī during the period. Also entrenched in the monasteries were the different cadres of the monks whose presiding and mediating functions included preserving the canons through a tradition of textual scholarship and preaching the way of the Buddha, fixing the architectural plans and designs of the *caityas* and selecting themes for the sculptural and narrative art, and organizing patronage from the various socio-economic categories, the tribal kin-based groups, the urban and mercantile corporations and the representatives of political power. The inquiry also brings out an architectural tradition, not highlighted so far, within the monasteries and of the monastic contributions to the 'Amarāvatī School of Art'. Facilitating these activities were the various specialised groups of monks who may safely be characterised as having formed a monastic *élite*.

The inquiry has also highlighted the historical dimensions of the construction and frequent renovations of the *caityas* at Amarāvatī. It tends to characterise the lead role of the *Caityaka* monasteries in that process as the essential content of an early Buddhist paradigm or model of religious and socio-economic expansion and growth with the monasteries as the institutional base. The concepts of *punyaparināmanā* and *dāna* offered the doctrinal foundation for this early Buddhist activity. The inclusion of the practice of honouring and supporting the *caityas* as one of the seven conditions which the Buddha taught the Vajjians for attaining welfare and prosperity further supports our argument. The process of the construction and renovations further accelerated the socio-economic processes, which was already set in motion in response to the linking of the Krsna valley with the sub-continental network of trade and communication controlled by the Mauryan Empire. We further suggest that the early Buddhist activities at Amarāvatī, like the construction and the frequent renovations of the *caityas* and the *vihāras,* and the instituting of gifts as part of a network of community and monastic patronage inspired by the doctrine of *punyaparināmanā* or transference of merit as mediated by the monasteries, contributed to the typical social interactions and orientations or traits, structurally and functionally similar to those traits seen at the other early Buddhist centres of the time. The social groups offering patronage to the *caityas* belonged to varying degrees of development and different life styles, from tribal to the urban, and were getting in return legitimacy and social status through the patronage of the *mahācaitya* which was the visible symbol of the Buddha and the *sangha*. The pattern of *dāna* at Amarāvatī reveals aspects of the early Buddhist notions of social exchange implicit in the *dāna*. Patronage of the *caityas* was met with social status. The

proliferation of the *dāna* can be related to the architectural evolution of the *mahācaitya* from the earlier simple and modest form to the complex and richly ornamented *mahācaitya* of the early Christian centuries AD. Inversely, the enlargement and beautification of the *mahācaitya* can be related to the increasing volume of association of the social groups with the monasteries. So inextricably interwoven are the links between art and the institutionalised form of Buddhism at Amarāvatī that art was both the context and a medium for the spread of cultural values. The inquiry has looked at the art of Amarāvatī as the context for layers of socio-economic interaction and as an essential ingredient of the socio-religious and economic mechanism, and has searched for art in society and not for society in art.

6.15. *Mahācaitya* as Cultural Symbol and Focus

A particular socio-cultural formation is found to have come into existence in the period as reflected in the data regarding the monumental construction at the site. The evidence allows us to place the *mahācaitya* as the pivot around which the newly emerging socio - cultural formation was getting affiliated or identified, with the monasteries as the institutional base that offered focus and ethics to the construction and renovation activities which marked the transition from the megalithic phase to the agrarian householding economy in the area around Amarāvatī. The ideology behind the *dāna* on the one hand and the urban and the mercantile ethos on the other, both of which contributed to the socio-economic interactions as depicted in the epigraphs, can be traced to the construction and the renovations of the *mahācaitya* as well as to its monastic base of the different *Mahāsānghika* sects. It is also clear that the major socio-economic and cultural experiences revolved around the *mahācaitya* as a cultural symbol and its visual imageries and worship. The epigraphs also speak about the centrality of the *mahācaitya* in the socio-economic and

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Apart from a purely architectural or artistic or historical perspective, the *mahācaitya* can also be looked at as a semiotic symbol representing the changing phases of the institutionalised Buddhism and the cultural *milieu* on the one hand and the changing phases of the socio-economic structure on the other. What loom large behind the processes outlined above are the *vihāra* and the *mahācaitya,* taken together, as the institutional base of the early Buddhist art-activity at Amarāvatī.

CHAPTER 7

THE *CAITYAKA* SCHISMATIC STRATUM AND MAHĀYĀNA LINEAGES

In spite of the sporadic but emphatic statements by historians and art-critics to the effect that " it was indeed Buddhism and the Buddhist monastic establishments which drew the Āndhradeśa of old out of its tribal isolation and placed it on the main road to Indian life and culture"(Ray, Amita, 1983: 64), the essential foundation for a social history of the religious and cultic practices of the people of the south-eastern Deccan during the two or three centuries before and after the beginning of the Christian era is still a desideratum. With regard to these aspects in the case of Amarāvatī, which is one of the most important early Buddhist centres, there is no difference either. As a result, the different aspects of the religious and cultic experiences of this monastic and worshipping centre on the one hand and their contributions to the history of Buddhism on the other remain less understood or appreciated by historians. Moreover, the linkages between the kind of art and architecture represented by the site of Amarāvatī and its religious or ideological and cultic backgrounds have not been incorporated into the already extant historical studies. Based on textual and archaeological evidence, this chapter proposes to discuss the Buddhist religiosity at Amarāvatī so as to develop a better understanding of the religious dimensions that lay embedded in what has been called the Amarāvatī School of Art and in the concomitant patronage of art-activity.

As an early Buddhist site, Amarāvatī has the unique advantage (1) of having an archaeological record of a cultural contact with the geography of early

Buddhism, which starts from not later than the 4th century B.C. onwards, that is, immediately after those events in north-eastern India that are generally associated with the Buddha and the early growth of the movement; (2) of having been the focal point of legendary and mythicized accounts as the sacred spot with which the life of the Buddha was connected in Buddhist hagiography; (3) and as the centre where the subsequent evolution of the *dharma* took place. One of the earliest themes of sculptural representation at the site purported to present the worship of the Amarāvatī *caitya* with the canonised and mythified pedigree of events in the life of the Master in a narrative style (Ghosh and Sarkar, 1964-65). The base of the *mahācaitya* goes back archaeologically to the 3rd century B.C., whereas the epigraphic reference to *vinayadhara, dhammakathika* etc. supports the association of the site with the textual tradition of the Buddhist canons. A conscious process of appropriating the antiquity of and attributing sacredness to the site by the various monastic or schismatic traditions is noticeable here. In terms of the legend of Bāvarī as given in the *Suttanipāta,* the Āndhra country learned of the Buddhist message from the very lips of Śākyamuni (Lamotte, 1988: 347). The *Dhammapadatthakathā* has stated that the Buddha, in one of his previous births as a *brāhmana* youth named Sumedha, was born in Amarāvatī (Law, B. C., 1973: 62). The *Manjuśrīmūlakalpa* identifies Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunakonda and other sites in the south-eastern Deccan as important centres of the Mahāyāna (Ray, Reginald, 1999: 405) and mentions that the *Caitya* of Dhānyakataka enshrined a relic of the Buddha (Dutt, Nalinaksha, 1929. Reprint 1985: 794). *Gandavyūha* tells us that *Manjuśrī* lived in the extensive forest at Dhānyakataka (Sastri, P. S., 1955: 68). Both the Mahāyāna in general and especially the *Kālacakra Mūlatantra* are supposed to have been preached by the Buddha at the *stūpa* of Dhānyakataka (Helmutt Hoffmann, quoted in Sarma, I.K., 1985: 20). The *Vajrayāna* thinkers ascribe the turning of the third wheel of the Law at Dhānyakataka, directly to the Buddha, and place it sixteen years after the Buddha's enlightenment (Sastri, P. S., 1955: 70). The Tibetan

sources suggest that the Buddha was born as *Padmasambhava* in Dhānyakataka to propound Tāntric Buddhism (Sastri, P. S., 1955: 70). The analysis of the inscriptional evidence from Amarāvatī shows that the site was more than a monastic centre and had become the focus of the Buddhist pilgrims from far and wide and a centre for diffusion of religious ethics and cultic practices by the beginning of the Christian era. In the midst of this metamorphosis was yet another transition of the site from its position as the earliest Buddhist monastic site in Andhra—where its history has been variously traced back to the time of the Buddha himself on literary evidence (Sastri, P. S., 1955: 68) and to the pre-Mauryan times on archaeological basis (Sarma, I. K., 1985: 16; Subrahmanian, K. R., 1981: 3)—to its new position as one of the major sites on the eastern sea-board instrumental in the spread of Buddhism and its cultic practices to south-east Asia (Ray, H. P., 1987-88: 88-89).

7.1. Buddhist Schism and the South-eastern Deccan

The inquiry into the major trends of the Buddhist beliefs and practices as obtained from our sources has to be prefaced with a brief account of the early Buddhist schismatic trends with which, in fact, many early Buddhist sects, or broad divisions, presented their origins and transmitted their doctrines. This schism and the various sects thereof have a specific historical bearing on Amarāvatī and the allied centres of the south-eastern Deccan, and so a brief account of the sects in relation to Amarāvatī will be helpful in placing their affiliations and orientations in historical and cultural perspective. The suggestion of Étienne Lamotte that the central achievement of the Buddhist sects was the spiritual conquest of India through their organisation of missions, the instructions, the building of *stūpa*s and *caitya*s, the founding of monasteries, contacts with all levels of the population both Indian and foreign in origin, relations with princes, in a word all the undertakings

likely to ensure the propagation of the Good Law (Lamotte, 1988: 549), is still mostly valid today.

The history of schism in Buddhist history, or *sanghabheda* as it was known in the Buddhist texts, goes back to the lifetime of the Buddha himself, when Devadatta demanded the institution of five austere practices of asceticism that were to be mandatory to all the renunciants (Ray, Reginald, 1999: 164-67). The schismatic tendencies and dissentions in the early Buddhist *Sangha*; the deliberations of what have been called the Buddhist Councils, the second of which was supposedly held at Vaiśāli and whereupon the Mahāsānghikas branched off from the original *Sangha*; the geographical dispersion of the early monastic sects; and the philosophical disputations and points of controversies among them as described in the textual traditions of the various sects; have all been topics of scholarly debates (E.g., Poussin, 1976; Dutt, N., 1977; Dutt, N., 1980; Dutt, S., 1924; Lamotte, 1988 etc.) to need any elaboration here. It has to be made clear, however, that there is considerable disagreement among scholars with regard to the historicity and dating of some of the Councils and their traditions (Kern, H., 1974: 107-9) and that the Buddhist traditions concerning the Councils and schisms are so vacillating and contradictory that they cannot be considered to be objective accounts of historical value (Lamotte, 1988: 290). Yet, there is consensus of opinion on the fact of schism and an evolution of new schools of thought not later than the reign of Aśoka (Lamotte, 1988: 292). The discussion presented below is confined to the historical relevance of the schism with a view to developing a coherent account of the religious and ideological milieu represented by the early Buddhist centre at Amarāvatī.

Although some scholars, notably André Bareau, have argued that doctrinal matters solely were responsible for the sectarian movement (Prebish, 1996: 27), others have argued that Buddhist schism has nothing to do with doctrinal disagreements as such, but is the result of divergence in monastic rules (Williams, Paul, 2000: 98). Lamotte has pointed out that the *nikāya*s i.e., groups or schools, emanated in the context of geographical extension of the Buddhist community over the entire Indian territory and when the religion of a particular monastery tended to specialise in a specific branch of learning and the resulting differences distinguished the emerging practices in the various ecological and cultural niches from one another (Lamotte, 1988: 519). The system of specialisation in the *Vinaya* rules and competition among such specialists like *Suttantika*s, *Vinayadhara*s, *Dhammakathika*s and others for seats and meals in assemblies helped their gradual conversion into full-fledged schools (Chakraborti, Haripada, 1973: 256). The Buddhist concept of *sanghabheda*, "splitting of the *sangha*", always referred to splits due to matters of monastic discipline and the term has been preferred by recent scholars to 'schism' (Bechert, 1984: 65), which is used in Christian Church History to denote splits in the Church due to debates or discussions in the interpretation of dogma. It is quite probable that *sanghabheda* began with disciplinary rules and, in course of time, incorporated matters of doctrinal differences (Dutt, N., 1977: 34); or else sectarian movements have been a product of both doctrinal and disciplinary issues (Prebish, 1996: 27). What emerges from the *sanghabheda* was a *nikāya*, ("assemblage", "group" etc.) which is generally rendered as a sect, but can be defined as a group of monks who mutually acknowledged the validity of their *upasampadā*, "orientation", "ordination", and consequently, if staying within the same *sīmā* (parish or disciplinary limit), commonly performed *vinayakarma*s. The early *nikāya*s, therefore, represented groups of monks who had accepted identical interpretations of the rules of *vinaya* (Bechert, Heinz, 1984: 67-68).

The Second Buddhist Council at Vaiśālī, traditionally dated to a century after the *mahāparinirvāna*, is considered as marking the first schism and the separate identifications of *Mahāsānghika*s and *Sthaviravādin*s. Whatever be the historicity of the traditions of the Councils, (1) the controversies on the *dasavatthuni* or the ten points traditionally attributed in the *Cullavagga* to the Vajjian monks (Jinananda, 1997: 37), (2) the controversies on the *pañcavastu* or five theses or propositions attributed to Mahādeva I—the instigator of the schism—by the Tibetan and Chinese sources (Lamotte, 1956: 40-54; Dutt, N., 1977: 24), and (3) the persistence on the *pañcavastu* of heresy under Mahādeva II who caused the further sub-sects of *Caityaka*, *Aparaśaila* and *Uttaraśaila* within the *Mahāsānghika* sect (Lamotte, 1988: 283)—all point, as suggested by Lamotte, to a discussion in the different Buddhist traditions illustrating the progress of a heresy which, originating in southern India, spread from *Sangha* to *Sangha* and, after many transformations, finally triumphed in several communities, particularly among the *Caityaka*s and *Śaila*s in the Andhra region (Lamotte, 1988: 284). One important feature of the points of debates, which is relevant in discussing the lineages of the religiosity at Amarāvatī, both in the cases of *dasavatthuni* and *pañcavastu*, is the direction to which these theses were taken by the *Mahāsānghika* sub-sects in Andhra. Therefore, the refutation of the 72 theses, which are attributed to the *Andhaka* sects (the sects of Andhra) by Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*, reveals that the *Theravāda* attached more importance to the sects of the south-eastern Deccan than to all the other non-*Theravāda* schools put together (Rhys Davids, 1964: 686).

7.1.1. Filiations of the Sects

On the basis of inscriptional evidence on Buddhist sects from various parts of India at least from the first century B.C., it can be safely stated that the monastic

sects or schools had a long history behind them before the process of drafting of their history, filiations or genealogy and doctrines by the monastic textual tradition—Indian, Chinese and Tibetan—began from the early centuries of the Christian era. These traditions of the Buddhist chronicles presented a list of eighteen sects i.e., eight belonging to the *Mahāsānghika* and twelve belonging to *Sthāvira* School, although a list of as many as thirty four has been compiled by André Bareau from literary sources and epigraphic evidence (Hirakawa, 1998: 115). These are:

1. *Mahāsānghika*
2. *Lokottaravādin*
3. *Ekavyāvahārika*
4. *Gokulika* or *Kukkutika*
5. *Bahuśrutīya*
6. *Prajñaptivādin*
7. *Caitīya* or *Caitika*
8. *Andhaka*
9. *Pūrvaśaila* or *Uttaraśaila*
10. *Aparaśaila*
11. *Rājagirīya*
12. *Siddhārthika*
13. *Sthavira*
14. *Haimavata*
15. *Vātsīputrīya*
16. *Sammatīya*

17. *Dharmottarīya*

18. *Bhadrayānīya*

19. *Sannagarika* or *Sandagirīya*

20. *Sarvāstivādin* or *Vaibhāsika*

21. *Mūlasarvāstivādin*

22. *Sautrāntika* or *Sankrāntivādin*

23. *Dārstāntika*

24. *Vibhajyavādin* (Sri Lankan *Theravāda* School)

25. *Mahīśāsaka*

26. *Dharmaguptaka*

27. *Kāśyapīya* or *Suvarsaka*

28. *Tāmraśātiya*

29. *Mahāvihāra* Sect of the *Theravādin* School

30. *Abhayagirivāsin* or *Dhammarucika*

31. *Jetavanya* or *Sāgalika*

32. *Hetuvādin*

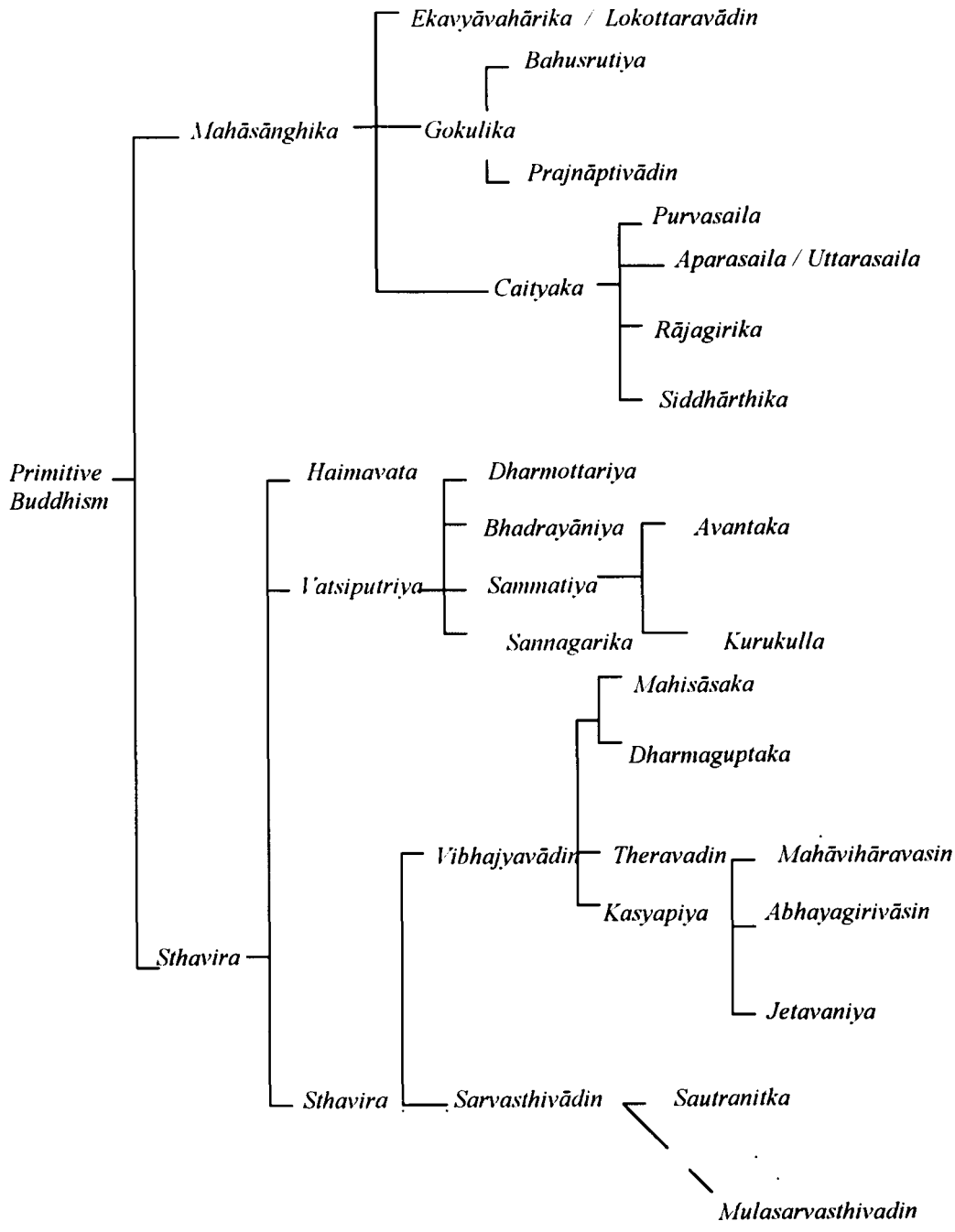
33. *Uttarāpathaka*

34. *Vetullaka*

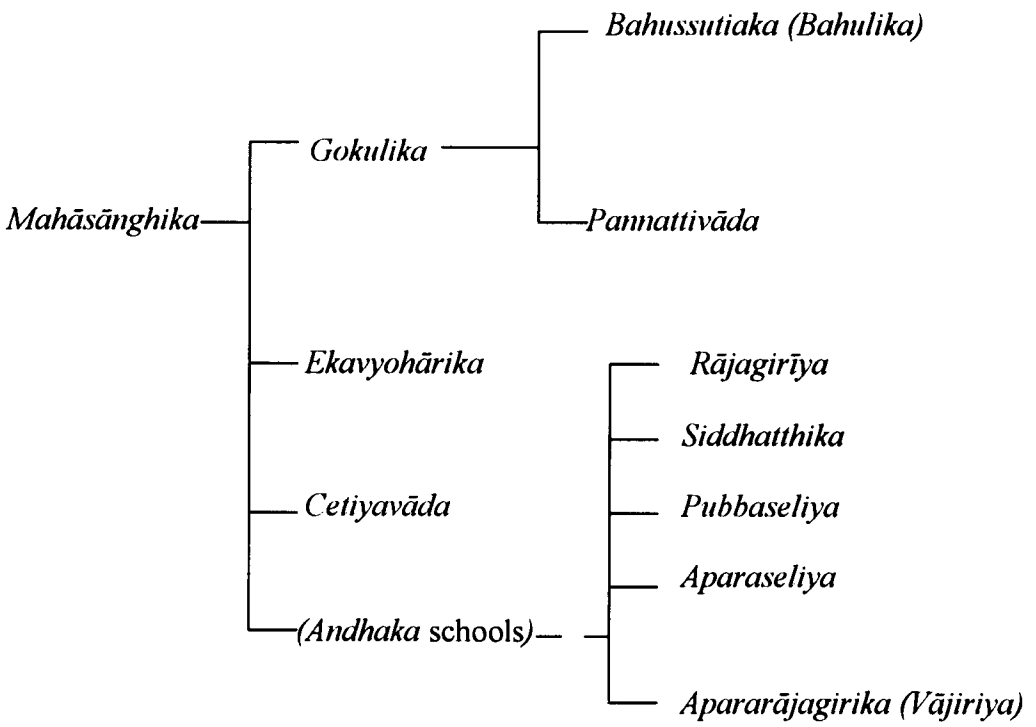
A very significant corollary which is relevant for the present discussion and is drawn from the lists of sects presented by the different monastic traditions, is the general convergence of data or agreement of details regarding those *Mahāsānghika* sects known as the *Caityakas*, *Pūrvaśailas*, *Aparaśailas* etc. with whose presence,

doctrines and practices of worship and rituals in the south-eastern Deccan we are concerned in this chapter. Irrespective of monastic tradition, the sects of the south-eastern Deccan or Andhra form one of the major doctrinal traditions—possibly the most developed of them all, and the most institutionalised and the most recent in evolutionary and metaphysical or doctrinal positions. In one of the lists of *Mahāsānghika* sects of Tāranātha, the Tibetan historian, the *Caityaka*s, *Pūrvaśaila*s and *Aparaśaila*s were the sixth, seventh and eighth sects respectively (Lamotte, 1988: 529), whereas in another one of his lists of *Mahāsanghika* sects, containing only eight, five were of the south-eastern Deccan or Andhra (Lamotte, 1988: 536). In the list of Vasumitra, the *Sarvāstivādin* author of 1st or 2nd century A. D., the *Caityaśaila*s, *Aparaśaila*s and *Uttaraśaila*s formed the 6th, 7th and 8th sects respectively (Lamotte, 1988: 530). In the *Dīpavamsa* list, the *Cetiya*s, *Hemavatika*s, *Rājagirīya*s, *Siddhatthika*s, *Pubba* and *Aparaselika*s and *Apararājagirika*s formed the major part of the list of the *Mahāsānghika* sects (Oldenberg, 1962: 141; Law, 1947: 6). In the *Mahāvamsa* list also, the *Cetiya* sect (Geiger, 1986: 26) figured prominently. The central focus of attention in the *Kathāvatthu-atthakathā*, as already pointed out, was the refutation of the doctrinal positions of the *Mahāsanghika* sects of Andhra. Lastly, the Sammitīya / Sammatīya in the lists of Bhavya / Bhāvaviveka—preserved in both Sanskrit and Tibetan (Bu ston) manuscripts—and the *Caitika*s, *Pūrvaśaila*s and *Aparaśaila*s in the *Mañjuśrīpariprcchā*—preserved mainly in the Tibetan and Chinese manuscripts—formed the major trunk of the *Mahāsānghika* sects (Rockhill, 1972: 182, 186; Lamotte, 1988: 534-535). Hiuen Tsang reported by name the "*Pūrvasilā*" and "*Avarasilā*" as the two *sanghārāma*s of Dhanakata (Beal, 1969: 221).

The filiations of the *Mahāsānghika* school and the sects of the south-eastern Deccan within the pan-Indian Buddhist context have been best clarified by André Bareau in the diagram (Bareau, 1987: 447) reproduced below.


Ekavyāvahārika / Lokottaravādin
Bahusrutiya
Mahāsānghika
Gokulika
Prajnāptivādin
Purvasaila
Aparasaila / Uttarasaila
Caityaka
Rājagirika
Siddhārthika
Primitive Buddhism
Haimavata
Dharmottariya
Bhadrayāniya
Avantaka
Vatsiputriya
Sammatiya
Sannagarika
Kurukulla
Mahisāsaka
Dharmaguptaka
Vibhajyavādin
Theravadin
Mahāvihāravasin
Kasyapiya
Abhayagirivāsin
Sthavira
Jetavaniya
Sthavira
Sarvasthivādin
Sautranitka
Mulasarvasthivadin

Hirakawa Akira has further clarified the same in another diagram (1998: 116) thus:



Moreover, the study of the geographical distribution of these sects in the Indian subcontinent on the basis of the evidence from a list of 63 inscriptions has shown that out of the 30 inscriptions referring to the *Mahāsānghika*s and their sub-sects, 22 inscriptions belonged to the *Caityaka*s and their subdivisions located in the south-eastern Deccan (Lamotte, 1988: 525-526). Thus, the three important points that emerge from the foregoing discussion and which need to be emphasised here are: 1) The *Mahāsānghika*s had their stronghold in the south-eastern Deccan, 2) the *Caityaka* and its subdivisions formed the most influential and identifiable stratum within the *Mahāsānghika* monastic stratum and 3) the epicentre of the *Caityaka*

stratum was Amarāvatī. Further evidence will be adduced subsequently in support of the third observation noted above.

7.1.2. The *Caityaka* Stratum at Amarāvatī

Though no conclusive statement on the antiquity of the *Caityaka* schismatic stratum is possible in the present state of the evidence, the Ceylonese chronicles of *Dīpavamsa* and *Mahāvamsa* indicate that the *Caityaka* school of the *Mahāsānghika* lineage would already have been established in Andhra by the time of Aśoka's succession to the throne (Hirakawa, 1998: 89). There is another tradition that connects the origin of the *Caityaka*s and the reign of the *Sātavāhana*s (Warder, 2000: 312). Rhys Davids observes that the *Caityaka*, which was also known as *Cetiyavāda*, was very probably the source of the *Pubba* and *Aparaselika* schools at Dhanakataka (Rhys Davids, 1891: 411). Subsequently it has been confirmed that the *Caityaka*s belonged to the earliest group of the *Mahāsānghika* schism from which the later school comprising chiefly the *Saila* schools or the *Andhaka*s emerged (Dutt, N., 1977: 53-54). In other words, the *Caityaka*s were the mother sect of the *Andhaka* sects. While the earlier group of the *Mahāsānghika*s was originally located at Pātalīputra with adherents scattered over northern and north-western India, the later group migrated to the south-eastern Deccan in the 2nd century B.C. (Dutt, N., 1977: 67-68). André Bareau, however, brings down the *Caityaka* settlement in the region to the period "shortly before the beginning of the Common Era" (Bareau, 1987: 445). The route suggested by archaeologists for the spread of the Northern Black Polished Ware (N. B. P. W.) from Bihar to the lower Krsna valley through Pauni in the Vidarbha region (Sarma, I. K., 1985-87: 201) was most likely to have been followed also by the monastic groups from the northern epicentres like Vaiśālī and Pātaliputra.

We would like to begin the reconstruction of the *Caityaka* stratum at Amarāvatī *per se* by pointing out the very cogent answer put forward by Gregory Schopen to a problem that existed with regard to the nature of evidence on the *caitya / stūpa* cult in early Indian Buddhism, which is basic to any understanding of the evidence that will be taken up afterwards with specific reference to Amarāvatī. The problem concerns the contrast between the abundant epigraphic data on the monastic participation in the *caitya / stūpa* worship at the early Buddhist centres and the poor textual data on the same in the extant Pāli *Vinaya* of the Buddhist canons. Schopen's answer to this problem is that the fact that "...they are no longer found in the *Vinaya* known to us could, apparently, only be explained by assuming that either they had inadvertently dropped out of the manuscripts or, perhaps, were intentionally written out" (Schopen, 1997: 91).

If Schopen's arguments on the problem suggest that 1) monks in early Pāli tradition were not disallowed from the supposedly lay activity of worshipping at *stūpa*s, 2) they did in fact participate in the *stūpa* cult and 3) the Pāli evidence appears to present a general picture not substantially different from that of the other *Nikāya* traditions (Ray, Reginald, 1999: 339), then Schopen's answer opens up scope for further raising the following formulations:

1) The missing or deleted references, although beyond the scope of reconstruction, could be more or less coterminous in spirit to those monastic rules on the *stūpa / caitya* and to those sections on *caitya* cult found in such texts as the *Mahāvastu* for example.

2) Such references could have belonged to a monastic group that specialised in or promoted the *caitya* cult, and

3) The *Caityaka* stratum could be among those essentials of early Buddhist religiosity about which consensus of monastic traditions converged.

If these can be acceptable as a formulation, then the *Caityaka* stratum as a mode of expression of religiosity can be traced out from early Buddhist realms of both theory and practice.

In order to complete the documentation of the various monastic sects or groups who formed the *Caityaka* stratum, the following list of epigraphic references in Prākrt to the various sects of this stratum in the south-eastern Deccan may be deemed suitable:

Sl. No.	Site	Sect	Reference
1	Amarāvatī	*Pūvaseliyāna Nikāya*	Index No. II. 46
2	,,	*Culisangha* ?	Index No. II. 49
3	,,	*Cetika*	Index No. III. 4
4	,,	*Cetiyavadaka / Caityavandaka* (Skt.)	Index No. III.25
5	,,	*Purima Mahāvinaseliya /Pūrva Mahāvana śaila* (Skt.)	Index No. III.39
6	,,	*Mahāvanasela*	Index No. III.40
7	,	*Cetikiyānam Nikāya*	Index No. III.17
8	,,	*...seliyānam*	Index No. III.49
9	,,	*Jadikiyānam*	Index No. III.57
10	,,	*Mahāvanaseliyānam*	Index No. IV.15
11	,,	*Caityaka*	Index No. V. 13
12	,,	*Rājagirinivāsika*	Index No.III. 10
13	,,	*Sidhata*	Index No.IV. 18
14.	,,	*Rājagiri*	Index No. V. 8

The following are the references from the other allied sites in the south-eastern Deccan.

15.	Nāgārjunakonda	*Aparamahāvinaseliya*	Lamotte, 1988: 525
16.	,,	,,	Lamotte, 1988: 525
17.	,,	”	Lamotte, 1988: 525
18.	Alluru	*Pūrvaseliya*	Sircar, 1939: 330
19.	Ghantasāla	*Aparaseliya*	Lamotte, 1988: 525
20.	Rāmireddipalli or Gummudidurru	*Caitya Sangha*	Subba Rao : 63-64

The following four epigraphs refer to the presence of the *Caityaka*s in the Buddhist sites of the western Deccan:

Sl. No.	Site	Sect	Reference
1.	Nasik	*Caityaka*	Lüders: 1130
2.	Junnar	”	Lüders: 1121
3.	Kanheri	”	Lüders: 1020
4.	Ajantā	”	Sastri, 1957-58: 42

7.2. The World of the *Caityaka* Religiosity and Doceticism

It has to be conceded that no literary text of the *Caityaka* mother-sect with the likeness of canonical status has so far been traced, though some of their sub-sects like the *Pūrvaśaila*s possessed texts with canonical status. Although it is not known whether the *caitya* specialists and worshippers had any specialised canonical

texts of their own, something of a *caitya / stūpa* stratum is already found to exist in Buddhist literature, both in Pāli and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, which can be considered as the literary parallels or remnants or antecedents of the archaeological evidence on *caitya* worship. Since these textual references to the antecedents and proliferation of the *caitya / stūpa* cult have already been cited and presented by scholars at length and *ad nauseam*, only brief notices to suffice to the contexts will be made of them below in connection with the reconstruction of the religiosity of the *Caityaka* stratum at Amāravatī. Our attempt in this chapter will be, on the basis of such literary, epigraphic and sculptural evidence, to discuss the world of religiosity and Buddhist doceticism represented by the *Caityaka* stratum.

We would like to begin the reconstruction of the contents of the *Caityaka* religiosity by pointing out Gregory Schopen's critique of the presentation of textual and non-textual evidence in Indian Buddhism over the years, which is very much relevant for the present discussion. He has shown that there has been a curious and "unargued" preference for the textual / canonical sources and that there is no scholarly justification for giving "overriding primacy" to the textual sources (Schopen, 1997: 1-3). "...Scholars intent on generating historical statements have consistently used textual sources as if they were somehow descriptions of actual behaviour, and little explicit consideration has been given to the almost certain noncongruency between an ideal and the actual" (Schopen, 1997: 30). Moreover, he thinks that the texts or canons show "what a small atypical part of the Buddhist community wanted that community to believe or practice" (Schopen, 1997: 1). Schopen has consistently projected, instead, the significance of the inscriptional evidence for understanding Indian Buddhism. The two advantages that he attributes to this source of information are: 1) Many of the inscriptional data predate what can definitely be known from literary sources; and 2) these tell us not what some literate, educated Indian Buddhists wrote about what they might or should have

done, but what a fairly large number of practising Buddhists actually did (Schopen, 1997: 30, 56). These arguments are particularly relevant for us since we tend to accept the inscriptional and sculptural evidence for understanding the *Caityaka* practices.

There is consensus among scholars regarding the doctrinal similarity between the *Caityaka*s and the various off-shoots of the *Mahāsānghika*s. Before taking up the contents of religiosity specifically attributed to the *Caityaka*s, it is necessary to take a brief look at the fundamental doctrines of the *Mahāsānghika*s in general for a better understanding of the *Caityaka* stratum. The doctrines of the *Mahāsānghika*s have been summarised by Anukul Chandra Banerjee thus:

> The fundamentals are the four noble truths, the eightfold path, the non-existence of the soul, the theory of *karma*, the theory of *pratītya samutpāda*, the thirty-seven *Bodhipaksīya dharma*s, and the gradual stages of spiritual advancement. According to them, the Buddhas are *lokottara* (supramundane); they have no *sasrava dharma*s (defiled elements); their bodies, their length of life and their powers are unlimited; they neither sleep nor dream; they are self-possessed and always in a state of *samādhi* (meditation); they do not preach by name; they understand everything in a moment (*ekaksanika-citta*); until they attain *parinirvāna*, the Buddhas possess *ksayajñāna* (knowledge of decay) and *anutpādajñana* (knowledge of non-origination). In short, everything concerning the Buddhas is transcendental. The *Mahāsānghika* conception of the Buddhas contributed to the growth of the later *trikāya* theory in *Mahāyāna*. Thus the *Mahāsānghika*s conceived of the Buddha docetically and gave rise to the conception of the *Bodhisattva*s. According to them, the *Bodhisattva*s are also supramundane, and do not pass through the four embryonic stages of ordinary beings. They enter their mother's wombs in the form of white elephants and come out of the wombs on the right side. They never experience lust (*kāma*), malevolence (*vyāpada*) or injury (*vihimsa*). For the benefit of all classes of sentient beings, they are born of their own free will in any form of existence they choose. All these conceptions led to the defecation of the Buddhas and *Bodhisattva*s. (Banerjee, A. C., 1997: 100-101. Diacritical signs have been added. Banerjee means "to free from impurity or corruption", "refine").

The reconstruction of the basic contents of *Caityaka* religiosity is attempted here essentially in terms of the practices as represented in the inscriptional records as well as the sculptural depictions on the one hand and the doctrines as represented in the literary texts on the other. The world of the *Caityaka* practices are taken up first, followed by some of their doctrinal positions. This reconstruction, it is hoped, will highlight what the *Caityakas* at Amarāvatī in particular and the south-eastern Deccan in general were all about in the early Christian centuries.

7.2.1. The *Caitya* Cult

The central focus of the *Caityaka*s and their off-shoots, as the very terms *cetiya*vāda, *cetiyavadaka* (*caityavandaka*), *cetikiyānam* (*caityakayānam*) etc. indicate, was the cult of the *caitya*; and the archaeology and epigraphy of the monastic site of Amarāvatī have yielded numerous but often fragmentary representations of the cult. The cult of the *caitya* was of primary importance to early Buddhism and was the context for the practice of various forms of religiosity. It furnished the context for the early Buddhist art and hardly any evidence has come so far for the existence of a Buddhist art in a pre-*caitya* context. This makes Gangoly's vague suggestion that the erection of some of the earliest of the *stūpa*s should be ascribed to the *Caityaka*s (Gangoly, 1973: 19) less problematic and more of a valid point for research. Since such an inquiry does not fall within the purview of the present study on the delineated focus on Amarāvatī and allied centres, no attempt has been made here to pursue it further.

The terms *caitya* (Sanskrit) and *cetiya* (Pāli and Prākrt) have been taken by scholars to be the variants of the most general denotative for any sanctuary which can well stand for *stūpa*, a *vihāra*, an assembly hall, a tree, a memorial stone, a holy relic or object or place or even an image; and may mean any shrine, particularly associated with Buddhism, of any character constructed for purposes of worship,

honour, esteem and regard (Law, 1973: 79-80). Etymologically. *caitya* is said to come from the root *citā*, a funeral pile and is thus related to a funeral pile or mound (Monier-Williams, 1997: 402). Similarly, *cetiya* is taken for 'a tumulus, sepulchral monument, cairn' (Davids and Stede, 1994: 272). The *Kāligabodhi Jātaka* puts into the Buddha's answer to Ānanda the distinction between the varieties of the *caitya*s: 1) *sārīrika* or those of the body (i.e., *caitya* for bodily relics such as bone, hair, nail etc.), 2) *pāribhogika* or those of association (i.e., *caitya* for use or wear such as head-dress, garments, bowls or the *bodhi* tree and 3) *uddesika* or those prescribed as memorial monuments (Cowell, 1993: XIII, 479: 142).

Closely related to the *caitya* in functional terms is the *stūpa*, which designates a mound-shaped structure typically containing the ashes, or other remains of representations of the Buddha or a saint (Ray, Reginald, 1999: 325). *Stūpa* is taken to mean "a Buddhist monument, *dagoba* (generally of a pyramidical or dome-like form and erected over sacred relics of the great Buddha or on spots consecrated as the scenes of his acts)" (Monier-Williams, 1997: 1260).

Scholars have asserted that *stūpa* and *caitya* are virtually the same and have pointed out the main difference between the two to be thus: *caitya* is often used in a more extended sense, and even when it is equated with the *stūpa* it signifies the religious- or observance-aspect, while *stūpa* signifies the structural or architectural aspect (Goswamy, 1980: 1). Gustav Roth has, however, demonstrated the major difference between the two based on the following brief statement in the tentative 1973 Göttingen Seminar translation by Japanese Y. Ejima from the Chinese *Mahāsānghika Vinaya*. "It is called *stūpa* that has relics in it, and it is called *caitya* that has not relics in it" (Roth, 1980: 195, citation from Ejima). This explains that by the time the *vinaya* of the *Mahāsānghika*s was compiled, *caitya*s and *stūpa*s had the same exterior shape and that the distinction gradually vanished (Hirakawa,

1987: 95). Gregory Schopen has shown, based on an analysis of passages in both the Pāli and Sanskrit canons, that the two terms are equivalent (Schopen, 1997: 89-91). He has also pointed out, moreover, that what elsewhere would be called a *stūpa* has consistently been referred to as a *cetiya* in the Nāgārjunakonda inscriptions (Schopen, 1997: 90, 159-160). We would like to add that the same is true with regard to the epigraphs of Amarāvatī and the other allied centres, too, possibly due to the predominance of the *Caityaka* groups, and also that we follow both the theory of equivalence of *caitya* and *stūpa* as proposed by Schopen and their symbolism and function as proposed by various other scholars to whom references will be made below. It is to be mooted here that all the Buddhist monuments with the consistent use of *cetiya / caitya* in the corresponding inscriptional records might belong to the *Caityaka* stratum.

7.2.2. Symbolism and Meaning of the *Caitya / Stūpa*

An understanding of the various meanings woven into the very structure of the *caitya / stūpa* through the trajectory of an elaborate symbolism is essential for perceiving the dimensions of the *Caityaka* practice of the construction, embellishment and worship of the *caitya*. The symbolism of the *caitya* as a whole along with those of the various parts of the *caitya*, formed a discourse in itself in various strata of the Buddhist literary texts, to some of which reference will be made below. Given below is a summary of the major trends in the scholarly debate on the symbolism of the *stūpa / caitya*.

The cult of the *caitya / stūpa* is found to have pre-Buddhist historical roots (Irwin, 1980 and 1991; Dallapiccola, 1980; Harvey, 1991: 82) and has been classified as part of the universal tradition of the 'primordial mound', variously termed in ancient cultures as ziggurat, pyramid, barrow, *stūpa* etc. (Irwin, 1991: 46). As already pointed out in Chapter 6, all that the early Buddhists did was adapting an

early Indian practice to suit the new purpose of motivating people and popularising the Buddhist precepts by incorporating ritual veneration of the commemorative monument. A widely held early Buddhist notion was that the relics of the Buddha were enshrined in *stūpa*s, which accounted for the veneration and devotion to *stūpa*s. Of the early Buddhist monastic groups, the *Caityaka*s are known to have specialised in the cult of the *caitya / stūpa* and given formal expressions to the cult through an elaborate system of observances.

Stūpa / caitya worship has been one of the fundamental institutions of Buddhism (Dutt, S., 1988: 182), "the religious edifice par excellence" for Buddhism as Alfred Foucher had put it (Foucher, cited in R. Ray, 1999: 324), and "the chief emblem of the Buddhist faith" as in the words of Debala Mitra (Mitra, quoted in Ray, Reginald, 1999: 324). One major argument of the earlier scholars that the *stūpa / caitya* cult represented the popular religiosity (e.g., Dutt, S., 1988: 183; Dutt, N., 1945) is no longer held by recent scholars (e.g., Schopen, 1997). As already pointed out, the inscriptional evidence on the volume of the monastic participation in the *caitya* cult at Amarāvatī has enabled us to reject the prevalent notion that the *caitya* cult was basically a lay movement or a popular institution. Scholars have further shown that the *stūpa*s are characteristic not only of the Buddha but also of the other Indian Buddhist saints (Ray, Reginald, 1999: 324-357). The *stūpa* is an important symbol in early and later Indian Buddhism because of its ability to render the Buddha and other departed saints spiritually present (Ray, Reginald, 1999: 344). Schopen has shown on the basis of two epigraphs from Amarāvatī that *stūpa*s were also built for the cult of the local monastic dead in Indian Buddhist monasteries (Schopen, 1997: 165-203).

A very important significance of the *caitya / stūpa*, as brought out by Paul Mus, is that "the *stūpa* is the Buddha, the Buddha is the *stūpa*" (Mus cited in Ray,

Reginald, 1999: 353) from the very period from which there is archaeological evidence. As an illustration of this argument, Mireille Bénisti has pointed to the numerous artistic representations that attest to the identification of the *stūpa* with the Buddha (cited in Ray, Reginald, 1999: 353), with particular reference to the running series of *stūpa*s and seated Buddhas from Amarāvatī. Bénisti has noted that the Buddhist tradition directly identified the *stūpa* with the body of the Buddha (cited in Ray, Reginald, 1999: 326). The notion of the identity of the *stūpa* with the physical body of the Buddha in the early Buddhist iconography is supported also by Adrian Snodgrass who thinks: "In Buddhist art the *stūpa* and the Buddha image are interchangeable (Snodgrass cited in Ray, Reginald, 1999: 326). Jorinde Ebert clarifies that the *stūpa* is the *nirvāna*-body of the Buddha (Ebert, 1980: 220). This view is supported further by the epigraphic references from Amarāvatī to such phrases as *bhagavato mahācetiyasa* (Index Nos. III. 57, III. 63), which Gregory Schopen has, after much argumentation, taken to mean that the *caitya* "belonged" to the Buddha, that he "owned" it and that it contained "the Buddha himself" (Schopen, 1997: 171).

The *caitya* / *stūpa* is worthy of devotion because of the relics it contains (Harvey, 1991: 95) and the relics of the Buddha were thought of as an actual living presence (Schopen cited in Ray, Reginald, 1999: 326). Peter Harvey has attributed to the *stūpa* a combination of the two functions discussed above i.e., *stūpa* / *caitya* as a symbol of the Buddha and as a reliquary, and has shown that the *stūpa* depicted both the Buddha's physical and spiritual personality (Harvey, 1991: 99-100). He thinks that the *stūpa* was originally intended as a model of the enlightened personality of the Buddha (Harvey, 1991: 99). John Irwin has linked the origin of the *stūpa* with the cult of the *bodhi* tree, which was the principal shrine of early Buddhism (Irwin, 1980: 18-20).

The significance of the symbolism of the *caitya* can be understood also from the extant portions of a discourse, as brought out by Roth, that lie spread-out in the *Vinaya* traditions of certain monastic sects or groups (Roth, 1980: 183-209). Roth's study of passages from the *Vinaya-ksudraka-vastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins* (*circa* 1st century A.D.), the Tibetan version of the *Caitya-vibhāga-vinayodbhāva-sūtra* (*circa* 1st century A.D.) of an unknown *vinaya*, the *Prakirnaka-caitya-laksana* of the *Stūpa-laksana-kārikā-vivecana* of the *Mahāsānghika-Lokottaravādin* (*circa* 2nd century A.D.) etc. has yielded a "common stock of an ancient *stūpa*-structure-cum-doctrinal-notion-symbolism which may have taken place during the first and second centuries A.D." (Roth, 1980: 197). He points out that there existed in these texts a continuous tradition or a systematic catalogue of dogmatic issues related to each and every part of the *stūpa* (Roth, 1980: 202). These texts have presented a list of the structural parts of the *stūpa / caitya* and listed their symbolic meanings. Commenting on these texts cited by Roth in his study mentioned above, Harvey shows that the texts saw the *stūpa* as symbolising the '*Dharma*-body" in the sense of the 37 *bodhipaksiyadharmas* or 'requisites of enlightenment' and certain other spiritual qualities (Harvey, 1991: 97). He has shown further that the *stūpa* symbolised the *dhamma* and the transformations it brings in the person who practises it, culminating in enlightenment (Harvey, 1991: 97).

The symbolism of the *caitya / stūpa* had implications and meanings at the social and political plains also, to which reference has been made in Chapter 5 on the dimensions of patronage. Gerard Fussman has suggested that the *stūpa* has a central role in affording protection to kings and their subjects (Fussman cited in Ray, Reginald, 1999: 327). Prof. Romila Thapar has dwelt on this issue and has suggested that both social relationships and notions of aesthetics are embodied in the *stūpa* and to that extent it became a cultural symbol (Thapar, 1992: 32). She

thinks that the *stūpa* was seen as one of the physical symbols of the *sangha* as an institution (Thapar, 1992: 24, 1994: 30).

Based on the major trends of scholarly opinions presented above, we would like to conclude that the *mahācaitya* at Amarāvatī and the *caitya*s at the allied centres were never merely religious or artistic edifices with functions limited to the performance of rituals. Levels of social and cultural authority were part of the symbolic representation and understanding of the *mahācaitya* as a monument and, therefore, the *mahācaitya* had a semiotic value.

7.2.3. Construction, Decoration and Worship of *Caitya*s

It has already been stated in Chapter 5 that the context of the art-activity and the patronage records at Amarāvatī and the other allied centres in the south-eastern Deccan was the process of the construction, renovation, decoration and worship of the *caitya*s. Invariably every piece of sculptured limestone recovered from the *stūpa*-site at Amarāvatī has been attributed to some or the various stages of the process of the art-activity associated with the *mahācaitya* or the smaller *caitya*s. The major theme that looms large in the archaeology, epigraphy and art of the south-eastern Deccan during the period chosen for the present study is the worship of the *caitya*. The statistical data on the sculptures from Amarāvatī, which we have tabulated with approximation, based on an examination of the extant sculptured panels kept in the Museums in India and on the basis of the published accounts of the sculptures kept in Museums outside India, shows that structural *caitya*s / *stūpa*s are represented not less than 63 times. Most of these scenes depict the worship of the *caitya*s. If the list of *caitya*s is extended further to include *pāribhogika-cetiya* and *uddesika-cetiya*, then the number of *caitya*-representations will go up to 270 approximately. It comprises of 75 *bodhi*-trees / *vrksa-caitya*s, 14 *buddhapāda*s, 46 *dharmacakra*s, 12 *pūrnaghata*s, 10 pillars, 47 *vajrāsana*s etc. (see Table in Chapter

8). These venerated objects, like the *caitya / stūpa*, were symbolic of "the essence of the Buddha present in the midst of his community" (Zimmer, 1960: 60-61). The meaning and implications of these symbols of early Buddhism have been explained by various scholars (Coomaraswamy, 1972; Harvey, 1991: 68-102), and therefore, needs no elaboration here. The consensus tends to treat these symbols as indications of the inexpressible nature of the Buddha (Harvey, 1991: 68). The select photographs presented in Book III (Index to Select Amarāvatī Sculptures) are representative of the centrality of the *caitya* and *caitya*-worship within the religious practices of the *Caityaka*s.

7.2.4. *Caitya* Worship: the Epigraphical Evidence

The study of the 268 inscriptions recovered from Amarāvatī (see Book II, *Index to Amarāvatī Inscriptions*) helps us in understanding different aspects of the *caitya*-worship as practised by the various groups that constituted the Buddhist society in the region. They included monks and nuns, *upāsaka*s, various socio-economic categories and institutions, communities / tribes etc. Our study indicates that not less than 600 people, excluding those indicated by institutions / corporations, are referred to in the extant epigraphs as patrons of / participants in the *caitya* cult at Amarāvatī, whereas the total number of human figures that appeared in the extant sculptured panels comes approximately to 2730, including those appearing in scenes that do not depict *caitya* worship. The number of monks and nuns who participated in the cult comes to around 75. And the monks formed, as explained in Chapter 6, an essential part of the institutional base of the monasteries with the *mahācaitya* as the pivot or focus of socio-cultural interactions and cultic life, allowing us to identify a pattern in religio-social formation. Moreover, many of the learned monastic participants of the *caitya* cult were specialists in the canons and were themselves supervisors of the construction, renovation and beautification of the *caitya*s at the site. Similarly, the evidence for monastic participants in the

caitya cult and formation of institutional base with the *caitya*s as focus of cultic and cultural life as seen in the epigraphic evidence from the allied centres, too, have led us in Chapter 6 to propose this pattern as a feature of the south-eastern Deccan as a whole. The central point, which is being emphasised here, is that it was the cult of the *caitya* as symbolising the Buddha or as the Buddha himself that became the focal point of the socio-cultural interaction between the institutional base of the Buddhist monasteries and the people of the region.

One significant feature of the *caitya* worship at the monastic site of Amarāvatī is that worship was not merely of the *mahācaitya*, but also of the smaller *caitya*s dedicated to certain dead or saintly monks. The *mahācaitya* was thought of as having enshrined the relics of the Buddha as is clear in the description "...*bhagavato dhātu pari(gahita) mahācetiye*..." (Index No. II. 49). Certain architectural parts of the *mahācaitya* were also enshrined with relics as is clear from phrases like "...*dakhināyāke cetiyakhabho sadhātuko dānam*" (Index No. III. 2) and "...*yaghapata sabada kosa dantisa dānam*" (Index No. V. 2). The *mahācaitya* is further described as " *bhagavato mahācetiya*" (Index Nos. III. 57; III. 63; IV. 18; and V. 2), which, as already stated, has been taken to mean that the *mahācaitya* "belonged" to the Buddha, that he "owned" it and that it contained "the Buddha himself". Apart from the worship of the *mahācaitya*, the worship of the smaller *caitya*s dedicated to certain saintly or dead monks is proved by the references to "...*airānām Utayipābhahīnam cediya*..." (Index No. III. 13) and "...*Nāgasenasa khudacetiya*..." (Index No. IV. 19) and by the gift of a *caitya* (Index No. IV. 6). These references are taken here as indicative of a hierarchy of *caitya*s within the multiplicity of *caitya*s, with the *mahācaitya* of the Buddha at the apex and the smaller *caitya*s as subsidiaries or satellites.

An essential component of the worship of the *caitya* as symbol of the Buddha or as the Buddha himself is the worship of the other symbols or relics of the Buddha, to which mention was made already. That this was also an accepted and essential part of the *Caityaka* religious practice can be drawn from the references to the gift of a *dhamacakam* (i.e., the *dhammacakkam* or *dharmacakram* or *Dharma*-Wheel) at the western gateway of the *mahācaitya* as the property of the *Caityaka*s (Index No. III. 17). Similarly, a *dharmacakra* on top of a pillar was established at the eastern gate of the *Mahāvihāra* at Dhanakada, which was possessed by the *Pūrvaseliyānam*, a sub-sect of the *Caityaka* School (Index No. II. 46). It has to be remembered in this context that the number of scenes depicting the worship of the *dharmacakra* in the extant remains alone comes to around 50 (see the table in Chapter 8). Yet another symbol that can be specifically associated with the *caitya* worship as represented by the *Caityaka*s at Amarāvatī is the throne of the Buddha. An Amarāvatī epigraph (Index No. V. 13) refers to it as *sihathāna*, (i.e., *sihathāna*) "lion-seat", which was the joint gift of the monk Budhi who was a *thera* and a *cetiyavadaka* (*caityavandaka*, "*caitya*-worshipper"), and his sister Budhā who was a nun. Sculptural depiction of the seat of the Buddha in the extant remains of the sculptures from Amarāvatī comes to about 50 (see the table in Chapter 8). The other symbols that were worshipped at Amarāvatī, about which mention was already made, cannot precisely be related by name to the *Caityaka*s based on any epigraphic evidence. Yet, such an association is apparent in the sculptural representation of the worship of the symbols along with that of the *caitya*. The worship of the Buddha in the form of further symbols is clear from inscriptions that refer to the gift of *pādukapata* or slab with foot-prints (Index Nos. V. 4; V. 12) and *punaghatapata* or *pūrnaghata,* the vase of plenty (Index No. III. 43). Flaming columns, which represented the Buddha, used to be worshipped at Amarāvatī (Burgess, 1970: 31; Harvey, 1991: 81-82; Barrett, 1954: Pl. XXXV). The cult of the *bodhi*-tree has been the theme of several sculptural representations at Amarāvatī

and the other early Buddhist centres. Symbolically, the tree represented the Buddha's enlightenment and had been an object of worship in pre-Buddhist India for the fulfilment of wishes and attaining fertility (Harvey, 1991: 71). Irwin has argued that the *bodhi*-tree was the principal shrine of Buddhism until the 3rd century B.C. (Irwin, 1980: 18). The simplest and earliest type of tree-shrine enclosed by railings is depicted at Amarāvatī (Sarma, I. K., 1985, Plate 17).

7.2.5. Rituals of the *Caitya* Cult

An important part of the religious functions of the monastic site of Amarāvatī was its function as a cultic spot and as a centre of pilgrimage. It is mainly in the inscriptional records that this function of the site, which has not received the scholarly attention it deserved, can be found expressed most clearly. This is supplemented further by the numerous scenes of *caitya*-worship, which are the sculptors' view of the practices / rituals of *Caityaka* religiosity. The reliability of both the sources is strengthened by the fact of their having produced under supervision by senior monks who were also experts of the *Caityaka* canons. The site as a ritual centre, firstly, attracted people from different parts of the Deccan and the subcontinent as a whole and, secondly, the site itself was, at least by the beginning of the 1st century A.D., part of a network of similar sites of Buddhist pilgrimage. What attracted the various sections of the society—whom we have listed in detail in Chapter 5—to the site and prompted them to become patrons / donors depended on the purposes and the virtues of the *caitya* cult, to a discussion of which we will move shortly. In order to understand the purposes and objectives of the *caitya* cult better, it is necessary that the major rituals which the *caitya*-worshippers actually performed at the *mahācaitya* / the cultic spot will be examined first.

We would like to begin by observing that the very architectural remains, which constituted the physical structure of the *mahācaitya* and the smaller *caitya*s and, therefore, formed a significant part of the process of constructing the ritual centre of Amarāvatī, themselves came up as part of a ritualised act of *dāna* or gift. An elaborate and formalised system of procedures lies unnoticed in these acts of *dāna*, which involved prescribed and standardised convention and mode of expression of devotion or religiosity. The ritualization of the gift is seen in the following three formalised procedures. First, the act of participation in the construction of the *caitya*s and, therefore, of the ritual centre coincided by a declaratory epigraph in a typical phraseology. Secondly, the standardisation of the repetitive and cumulative nature of the act is ensured by the view of the act as *dānam* (Index Nos. II. 3; III. 26; IV. 27 etc.) and *deyadhammam* (for e.g., Index Nos.II. 1; II. 32; III. 46; IV. 6). Thirdly, the objects of the gift are stated to be *patithāpita*, i.e., *pratisthāpita* "caused to be set up or established" (Index Nos. I. 75; II. 49; III. 5; IV. 19 etc.). The votive records from most of the early Buddhist centres of the period share more or less these common characteristics (Ray, H. P., 1998: 195-196). Therefore, the act of participation in the construction, renovation and embellishment of the *caitya*s at Amarāvatī was in itself a ritual.

Wide-ranging procedural formations were involved in connection with *dāna* in both the Brahmanical and Buddhist traditions in early India (Nath, 1987: 191-233; Endo, 1987), though with regard to the Buddhist context the only ritualised act was the practice of pouring water at the time of gift-making, as narrated in the *Jātaka* stories (Nath, 1987: 218). However, *patithāpita* (Sanskrit: *pratisthāpita*) as used at Amarāvatī and as at Sāranāth (Schopen, 1997: 244-245) may be compared with *pratisthā*, which was used for the ritual pertaining to installation of images, pillars, gateways etc. in the later Brahmanical sources (Nath, 1987: 228). There is at least one example in which the procedure of gift-giving was referred to as

deyadhamma-patithāpita (Index Nos. II. 32; III.7; III. 63 etc.) indicating the further procedures of which we do not have inscriptional reference.

The visually imposing or monumental appearance of the *mahācaitya* was an important factor in defining Amarāvatī as a ritual site. Some of the extant *caitya* slabs have presented a glimpse of how the *mahācaitya* might have originally looked like. Sivaramamurti has presented a detailed narrative account of the physical and artistic dimensions of these *caitya* slabs and the contemporary visual image of the *mahācaitya* that the sculptural narrations contained (Sivaramamurti, 1977: 263-266). Kevin Trainor, basing his arguments on those of Gregory Schopen, has shown with regard to Sāñcī as a ritual site that the architectural remains of that site testified to a belief in the continued presence of the Buddha (Trainor: 33). This notion is tenable in the case of Amarāvatī as well in the light of the previous discussion on the symbolism of the *caitya*. The interdependence of the architecture of the *stūpa*s in general and the devotional aspects of the *stūpa*s were also themes of scholarly attention (Meister and Steinhardt, 1987: 373-380; Sarkar, 1966). Some of the rituals that will be taken up below have interdependence with these strands.

One of the more important observances, which can be stated to have been practised by the *caitya*-worshippers, on the basis of the archaeological evidence and comparison with the *caitya*s / *stūpa*s of both central India and the south-eastern Deccan, was the *pradaksinā* or circumambulation of the *caitya*. In the circumambulation, the worshippers or devotees walked around the *mahācaitya* in a clockwise direction, keeping one's right side toward the *mahācaitya* (Ray, Reginald, 1999: 334) in keeping with the belief that the Buddha was present in the *stūpa* and in conformity to the same sorts of canonical guidelines that they would have followed, had they been physically approaching the Buddha himself (Trainor:

33; Dutt, S., 1988: 187-188). The ritual of the *pradaksinā* had a direct bearing on the manner in which the *caitya*-worshippers viewed the sculptural depiction of the scenes from the Buddha's life, which were presented chronologically on the *mahācaitya*. Mireille Bénisti, with specific reference to the context of Amarāvatī, has shown thus: "The pathway around the *stūpa* becomes a veritable communion between the edifice (i.e., the *mahācaitya*) and the worshipper: on the one hand, he accomplishes an act of veneration and of respect toward the monument which embodies for him the Buddha and his teaching, and by this act he puts himself on the path first followed by the Buddha; on the other hand, the monument by its symbolic efficacy guides him on that path" (Bénisti cited in Ray, Reginald, 1999: 354, fn 25).

Certain conventions of respect or devotion toward the *caitya* have been represented in the sculptures of the various Buddhist sites of the south-eastern Deccan. These include prostrating and kneeling before the *caitya*, often with the head of the worshipper placed at the base of the object / symbol of veneration, decorating the *caitya* with garlands, and placing of the palms together in adoration. Photographic reproductions of some of these scenes have been presented in Book III (Index to Select Amarāvatī Sculptures). Textual references to these practices as highlighted by André Bareau and Mireille Bénisti, have been cited and explained by Reginald Ray (Ray, Reginald, 1999: 331-337). With specific reference to Amarāvatī, Anamika Roy has pointed to the ritualised practice of garlanding and decorating of the *mahācaitya* and to the existence of holes on friezes in the Amarāvatī Museum, presumably for wooden pegs to hold garlands (Roy, Anamika, 1994: 102-103, Pls. 161& 162).

The inscriptional references to *dhamakadhika* or preachers of *dharma* (Index Nos. I. 27 and II. 26) and *mahādhammakadhika* (Index No. II. 18) can be taken to mean the context of a formally instituted preaching of *dhamma*, which was attended by the devotees at the ritual site in return for the gifts to the *Sangha*. Placing of lamps at various spots around the *mahācaitya* was a *Caityaka* practice as is clear from the references to the gift of *divakhabho* or *dīpastambha*, "lamp-pillar" as a seat of merit at the foot of the *mahācaitya* of the Lord (*bhagavato mahācetiya pādamale)* by the wife of a *gahapati* who belonged to the *Jadikiyānam* or *Caityakayānam*, the "*Caityaka* school" (Index No. III. 57). Another *divathabha*, (a variant of *dipakhabho*), "pillar for lamps" was installed at the southern entrance to the *mahācaitya* (Index No. V. 10). The gift of an *udhampato* or *ūrdhvapata*, "upright slab" at the specific spot of the foot of the *mahācaitya* (*mahācetiyapādamūle*) in yet another epigraph (Index No. II. 34) gives sufficient support for considering the foot of the *mahācaitya* as having ritual and ceremonious significance. *yaghāpata* or *yāgapata*, "tablets of homage" (Index No. V. 2) indicates the practice of homage, probably of flowers, perfumes etc. to the *mahācaitya*. The gift of *padhānamadava* or *pradhānamandapa*, "important pavilion or hall" (Index No. IV: 15) is indicative of festive occasions and of rituals and ceremonies at the *mandapa*s, though we do not know precisely as to what these occasions could have been. It is likely that those five festivals, mentioned in the *Bhiksunī-vinaya* belonging to the *Vinaya* of the *Ārya Mahāsānghika Lokottaravādin*—viz (1) *jātimahā* celebrating the birth of the Buddha, (2) *bodhimahā* celebrating his awakening, (3) *dharmacakramahā* celebrating the turning of the Wheel of the Law, (4) *Ānandamahā* commemorating Ānanda, and (5) *Rāhulamahā* commemorating Rāhula (J.W. de Jong, 1979: 298-299)—were part of the celebrations of the *Caityaka*s also. The close connection between the *Caityaka*s and *Lokottaravādin*s (Dutt, N., 1977: 60) further strengthens this supposition. The scenes of elephants adoring or kneeling in front of a *caitya* with lotus in trunks,

depicted on a slab (Barrett, 1954: Pl. XIV, b), which was a joint-gift of a *thera* of the *Caityaka*s (Index No. V. 13), of elephants adoring a *bodhi*-tree (Barrett, 1954: Pl. xxii; Sivaramamurti, 1977: Pl. xxxix, 1) and of the procession of relics on elephants, both at Amarāvatī (Sivaramamurt, 1977: xliii-1) and Sāñcī (Trainor, [undated]: 32) may be taken as evidence for the custom of employing elephants for formalised occasions, festivals or ceremonies.

7.2.6. *Yaksa* and *Nāga* Cult

An important ingredient of the early Buddhist religiosity as can be seen from the archaeological remains of the early Buddhist centres of the south-eastern Deccan was the cult of *yaksa*s and *nāga*s. This pre-Buddhist cult had already become a part of the world of Buddhism by the time the early *stūpa*s were built and the early textual traditions were formalised. Amarāvatī epigraphs speak of the cult of the *yaksa* Cadamukha (Index No. I. 23) and of another *yaksa* whose name is missing (Index No. I. 18). Moreover, I. K. Sarma has shown that the figure of the headless seated *yaksa* in granite from Amarāvatī, though its stratigraphical position is not known, can be assigned to the Mauryan period and considered as the oldest image from south-east India (Sarma, I. K., 1985: 18). Buddhist legends present the *yaksa*s as protectors and guardians of the Buddha and the *stūpa*. Coomaraswamy had pointed out that the Buddha himself was called a *yaksa* in some early Buddhist texts (Coomaraswamy, cited in Sivaramamurti, 1977: 78). A guardian *yaksa*, Śākyavardhana, the tutelary deity of the *Śākya*s, is shown in the Amarāvatī sculptures (Sivaramamurti, 1977: 78).

Sivaramamurti has shown that the *yaksa*s closely resemble *nāga*s in their strength as well as in their capacity for guarding treasures (Sivaramamurti, 1977: 79). The sculptural representations of the cult of the *yaksa*s and *nāga*s indicate the

belief that they conferred riches on the devotees (Sivaramamurti, 1977: 79). Coomaraswamy has appreciated the significance of the *nāga* and *yaksa* cult in understanding the evolution of the Buddha image also (Coomaraswamy, 1972).

At Amarāvatī, the cult of the *yaksa* and *nāga* are part of the cult of the *caitya* and the Buddha and, therefore, it is likely that the cult of the *caitya* and the Buddha was also thought of as having the power to confer riches and happiness. The *paritta* (*paritrā*, "protection") ceremony of Sri Lanka, which goes back to at least the 7th century A.D. and was performed for banishing evil and ushering in good luck, has close relations with the *stūpa* cult (de Silva, 2001: 139-150; Saddhatissa, 2001: 125-137). Some of the 12th century Ceylonese inscriptions refer to the erection of a *mandapa* for the recitation of *paritta* (de Silva, 2001: 142) on the basis of which similar functions can also be thought of for the *padhānamadava* at Amarāvatī, already referred to under the section on Rituals of the *Caitya* Cult above. The quest for protection from disease and accident and effects of bad *karma* led to the practice of chanting Buddhist texts and formulas as described in the *Ātānātiya Suttanta* (Davids, T. W. Rhys and C. A. F. Rhys, 2000: 185-197). The cult of *Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara*, which was popular among the trading groups as part of the notion of a saviour from the dangers of travel (Ray, H. P, 1998: 153-154), could have its earlier stratum in the cult of the *caitya* at different early Buddhist centres, whereby the traders hailing from different places participated as part of the pilgrimage.

The rituals and conventions of respect toward the *caitya*, which we have described in this section in some detail, conform more or less to those described in some of the texts in Buddhist-hybrid Sanskrit and Pāli. These conventions as contained in the *Mahāvastu* (Ray, Reginald, 1999: 335), *Śiksāsamuccaya* (Bendall and Rouse, 1999: 94-95, 271), *Divyāvadāna* (Sharma, Sharmistha, 1985: 150) and

Tūpavamsa (Law, 1945) may be treated as the possible remnants of the special literature of the *caitya / stūpa* worshippers, which is now lost or imbedded in the subsequent Buddhist literary traditions, as suggested by Gangoly (Gangoly, 1973: 4-5). It needs to be pointed out in this context that many of the rituals and modes of worship that we have enumerated above with particular reference to Amarāvatī and the south-eastern Deccan have parallels in the Buddhist societies of south and south-east Asia (Gethin, 1998: 168-169; Gombrich, 1987: 463-467) and these are derived from a common ancestry and heritage.

7.3. Doctrinal Positions of the *Caityakas*

In this section, an attempt will be made to reconstruct the doctrinal positions of the *Caityaka* stratum based on the available evidence. No claim is advanced here that this reconstruction is comprehensive or has incorporated every theme about which the *Caityaka* stratum held its own epistemological or general philosophical views, either in agreement or in disagreement with the known positions of the other early Buddhist / *Mahāsānghika* sect or groups.

7.3.1. Acquisition of Merit through *Caitya* Worship

One of the central concerns of the *Caityaka* religiosity, as already mentioned, was the acquisition of merit or *punya* through the construction, embellishment and worship of the *Caitya*s. The explicit statement of this belief has not, however, been traced so far in any literary text which could be attributed to the *Caityaka*s with certainty. Yet, as explained in Chapter 5, the patronage records from Amarāvatī indicate that the gifts were made mostly either as *dāna* or as *deya-dhamma*, which in Buddhist precept and practice were the basic means or vehicle for the acquisition of merit. Some of these patronage records contain references to the objectives of the donors in instituting the ritualised act of *dāna*: for *dhamathāna* i.e., seat of merit (Index No. III. 57), for *āyuvadhanika* i.e., longevity of life (Index

No. IV. 28), for the benefit of the donor's nephews, sons-in-law, grand-daughters and grandsons (Index No. V. 2), for the benefit of a *thera* (Index No. IV. 25), for the attainment of the welfare and happiness of the whole world (Index No. IV. 18), for the benefit and happiness of all the beings in the world (Index Nos. II. 46; IV. 19; IV. 30) and as *savaniyuta* i.e., *sarvaniyukta,* at the instance of all (Index No. III. 36).

We have already indicated the likelihood of those portions of the early Buddhist texts, which focus on the *caitya*s and emphasise the various forms of *caitya* worship as reflecting a religiosity that could be parallel and similar to the *Caityaka* religiosity. While some earlier scholars thought that the *Caityaka* literature are "now lost" and perhaps "imbedded in latter literature of the *Mahāsānghika*s (Gangoly, 1973: 4-5), more recent scholars believe that the *Caityaka* literature do exist in a modified form incorporated into Mahāyāna texts (Warder, 2000: 312). Thus, the detailed descriptions of the objective and purpose of the *caitya* cult as obtained in a series of archaic texts incorporated in the *Mahāvastu*, the *Vinaya* text of the *Lokottaravāda* branch of the *Mahāsānghika*s, can be considered as relevant and valid for discussing the religious practices of the *Caityaka*s as well. It is significant to remember in this context that the doctrines of the *Lokottaravādin*s were considered so close to that of the *Caityaka*s that Nalinaksha Dutt even characterized the *Caityaka*s and *Lokottaravādin*s as identical (Dutt, N., 1977: 53, 60).

The setting up of *caitya*s as a meritorious act has a long pedigree in Buddhist literature. In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, the Buddha himself was made to recommend the efficacy of the setting up of *stūpa*s thus: "At the four cross-roads a *stūpa* should be erected to the *Tathāgata*. And whosoever shall there place garlands

or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart—that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy" (Davids, T. W. Rhys, and C. A. F. Rhys, 2000: Vol II: 156). One of the seven conditions of welfare and prosperity, which the Buddha taught the Vajjians, was the honour and offerings and rites at their *caitya*s (Davids, T. W. Rhys, and C. A. F. Rhys, 2000: Vol. II: 80). The *Milindapañha* justifies the validity of honouring the relics of the *Tathāgata* (Davids, T. W., Rhys, *The Questions of King Milinda*, SBE, XXXV, Part I: 148-151).

It is the *Avalokita Sūtra*—a text within the *Mahāvastu*—that gives a detailed account of the virtues of *Caitya* worship, portions of which are quoted at length and commented upon by Gangoly, Rahula and Reginald Ray. A modified version of the *Avalokita Sūtra* occurs in the *Śiksāsamuccaya*, a Mahāyāna treatise, for indicating the merit of adoring *stūpa*s (Bendall and Rouse, 1999: 92, 271). Through the construction, decoration and worship of the *caitya*s, according to the *Mahāvastu*, one wins the respect and honour of beings, both human and superhuman; secures the resolution to become a Buddha in the world; becomes a peerless Buddha in the world; shall awaken to the excellent supreme enlightenment; shall come to possess the virtues of the path to *nirvāna* etc. (Ray, 1999: 330). The list further includes a place in the heaven of the thirty-three gods, immunity from sorrow and status as a king (Gangoly, 1973: 5; Rahula, 1978: 168-169). The *Saddharmapundarīka Sūtra*, an early Mahāyāna text, also speaks of the *stūpa* worship as capable of leading one to enlightenment (Kern, 1994: SBE, XXI: 50-52, 149). Glorious results attained by *caitya* worship are also mentioned in the *Avadāna*s (Sharma, Sharmishtha,1985:19).

7.3.2. Transference of Merit

On the basis of epigraphic testimony, it can be demonstrated that many of the ritual acts of *dāna* from the Buddhist sites of the south-eastern Deccan involved

the concept of transference of merit. At Amarāvatī the objective of a donor has been clearly articulated thus: *savasa ca lokasa hitasukhathataya* (Index No. IV. 18), implying that the donor made the gift for the welfare and happiness of the whole world. Another donor expresses his wish thus: *sava loka satva hitasu(khā)ya* (Index No. II. 46), meaning that the donor made the gift for the benefit and happiness of all beings in the world. Yet another rendering of the same wish of a donor has been read by epigraphists thus in a fragmentary form: "...*sarva sattvānam*..." (Index No. IV. 30). One gift was at the instance of all as indicated by the use of *savaniyuta* (Index No. III. 36). These epigraphs may be treated as a group in itself in that the donors explicitly transferred the merit to somebody else. There is another category of epigraphs from Amarāvatī that involves a main donor who is accompanied by a group, mostly the main donor's relatives, friends and kinsmen (for e.g., Index Nos. II. 13; II. 24; III. 4; III. 41; IV. 18). Often the term used to indicate this is *nātimitabādhava* (for e.g., Index Nos. III. 32; IV. 15). In this case, a devotee is donating for the benefit of himself and all the others who are specifically and otherwise mentioned along with him. Thus, it can be inferred that the idea of transference of merit is visibly implied in the group donations / collective gifts of this second group as well. It is significant to note that in one inscription the joint-donors are referred to as *dhamnabhaginīnam*, which Sivaramamurti has rendered as *dharmabhāginīnām*, "sharers of merit" (Index No. III. 50). This may be taken as a clear statement of the doctrinal position that merit could be shared which facilitated the transference of merit. Moreover, an enquiry into the distribution pattern of group donations involving transference of merit in the early Buddhist centres by Dr. M. R. Raghava Varier has indicated that the largest number of group donations of that variety occurs at Amarāvatī followed by the western Deccan cave sites, Mathurā and Bhārhut respectively (Varier, 1999: 1041).

The evidence cited above clearly contradicts the views of Lamotte who thought that the donors of Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunakonda etc. remained the spiritual inheritors of the early donors at Bhārhut and Sāñcī (Lamotte, 1998: 433) and that like that of the latter sites, there could be no question of transferring the merit to a third party (Lamotte, 1988: 415). The first group of epigraphs directly and the second group indirectly bring out what the intentions of the donors at Amarāvatī were. With regard to Nāgārjunakonda also, it can be demonstrated that transferring of merit, as specified in the first group at Amarāvatī, was involved in such expressions, which stated the desire for the welfare and happiness of the world (Srinivasan and Sankaranarayanan, 1979: no. 8: 10, no. 10: 11, no.42: 25). The term *parināmetuna*, as pointed out by Gregory Schopen, was used at Nāgārjunakonda to express the intended transfer of merit (Schopen, 1997: 64).

Gregory Schopen has differentiated the concept of transference of merit as it occurs in the inscriptions of the early Buddhist centres of Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Mathurā, Nāgārjunakonda and even of Sri Lanka from the transference of merit as it occurs in the Mahāyāna inscriptions (Schopen, 1997: 6-67, 35-43). Applying his own definition of the classical form of the Mahāyāna formulae in Indian inscriptions (Schopen, 1979: 1-19), Schopen has refuted the arguments of Gerard Fussman who read Mahāyāna in certain epigraphs of Mathurā, which involved the transference of merit (Schopen, 1997: 36-38) and the views of Heinz Bechert who took this doctrine to be a Mahāyāna idea (Schopen, 1997: 43). Other scholars have also shown that the practice of the transference of merit was an ancient and common Buddhist practice (Gethin, 1998: 109; Strong, 1987; vol.9: 384-386).

Although the transference of merit is not mentioned explicitly in the earliest canonical sources, it has to be conceded that the doctrine has its roots in what is

known as Hinayāna and that it was most fully developed in the Mahāyāna (Strong, 1987: 384-385). It became one of the basic practices of the Mahāyāna, in the form of *punyaparināmanā*, which was essentially linked to the doctrine of the *Bodhisattva* or the Buddha-to-be (Keith, 1963: 283-286). The Mahāyānists developed the idea further to its logical conclusion and it became part of the practice of the *dāna-pāramitā* or the Perfection of Giving (Dayal, 1975: 188-193) and as part of the idea of salvation (Conze, 1957: 148). Its relation with the idea of gift on the one hand and the idea of *bhakti* or devotion on the other has also been highlighted (Varier, 1999: 1040-1041). Moreover, a Ramireddipalli (Gummadidurru) inscription in Sanskrit dated to the 5th century A. D., i.e., one century after the end of the time bracket we have taken for our study, refers to the erection of an image of the *Bhagavat* by certain monks so that all living beings might have no more future births. It further mentions that whatever merit accrued, all that belonged to the *Caitya Sangha* (Rao, Subba, 1928: 63-64). This can be an indication of the *Caityaka* formula involving transference of merit being transformed into what appears to be the Mahāyāna formula of the inscriptions. Therefore, Schopen's description of a proto-Mahāyāna inscription of Mathurā as representing a stage in the development toward the classical form of the Mahāyāna (Schopen, 1997: 39-40) need not deter us from pointing out that if a comparison between those early Amarāvatī epigraphs which involve no transference of merit and those epigraphs of Amarāvatī which do involve the largest concentration of that concept in early Indian Buddhism is attempted, the latter does mark, in fact, a point of departure within the pre-Mahāyāna or Hinayāna and stands closer to what scholars have identified as the proto-Mahāyāna.

7.3.3. Aspects of Ancestor Worship

There is reason to suggest that certain aspects of the religiosity at Amarāvatī had historical roots in the pre-existing megalithic culture of the south-eastern

Deccan. In Chapter 3, the presence of a developed Buddhist centre in the megalithic context was touched upon, though there was nothing to indicate the interaction between the two and also to indicate the nature of the transition from the latter to the former.

It is worthwhile to juxtapose the megaliths and *caitya*s in order to trace out elements of convergence between the two, which can possibly yield certain indications about the co-existence or the transition. One important point to be noted in this regard is the evidently funerary association and the structural similarities between the megaliths and the *caitya*s. Secondly, megalithic burials occur, as already pointed out, either under the Buddhist *caitya*s as at Amarāvatī where 17 burial-urns were excavated below a subsidiary *caitya* (Rea, 1908-'09: 88-90) and Yeleswaram (Sastry, Krishna, 1983: 88) or near the *caitya*s as at many of the Buddhist centres of the south-eastern Deccan (see Map No. ... in the Appendix), which point to, as suggested by Prof. Romila Thapar, continuity in areas or spots regarded as sacred and associated with the dead. This sense of continuity, she explains, also extended to the community, which in the first place built the megalithic structure, and later to the Buddhist religious community (Thapar, 1992: 24). It has been argued by Jorinde Ebert that the *stūpa* was on the one hand strongly reminiscent of archaic Indian death-cults and was, therefore, suitable to serve as a symbol for the *parinirvāna* of the Buddha (Ebert, 1980: 222). Then it seems arguable that the essential convergence of the structure of the megaliths and the *caitya*s on the one hand, and the occurrence of the cult of the dead inherent in the megaliths and of the *mahāparinirvāna* symbolised by the *caitya* on the other, promoted the interaction between the institutional base of Buddhism and the megalithic builders. The participation of the tribal *élite* and the tribes / communities as a whole in the patronage network at Amarāvatī, as outlined in Chapter 5, is the available evidence for the interaction. The growth of the social base of Buddhism

in the south-eastern India has been traced to the dynamics of the synchronisation of the proto-historic or megalithic cult of ancestor worship with the Buddhist social ideology (Seneviratne, 1985: 532-541). An interesting line of inquiry put forward by Seneviratne in this regard, though not pursued by him, concerned the influence of megalithic milieu on the practices of the *stūpa*-builders (Seneviratne, 1985: 538).

If viewed in the light of the discussions summarised above, the consistent use of the term *cetiya* (i.e., *caitya*) with all its funerary and cultic connotations, in the epigraphs from the Buddhist sites of Andhra alone (Schopen, 1997: 197), becomes culturally and historically significant. Then, the popularity or predominance of the *Caityaka*s in the south-eastern Deccan, with Amarāvatī as the epicentre, becomes more of a case of an early Buddhist stratum of religiosity having some clear roots in the proto-historical milieu. Some of the smaller *caitya*s at Amarāvatī, as shown by Schopen, belonged to the local monastic dead and were also referred to and treated as *cetiya*s and were presented with gifts exactly like the *mahācaitya* of the Buddha was (Schopen, 1997: 165-203). Thus, it may safely be surmised that the cult of the dead was still so dominant that the *caitya*s of both the Buddha and the monks came to be constructed more or less simultaneously. If, as Schopen seems to think, the association of the Buddhist sites with the proto-historical burials is not limited to Andhra and was more of a general pattern of the Buddhist occupation or appropriation of early burial sites in India (Schopen, 1997: 194), the primacy of the *caitya* cult in early Buddhism turns out to be a pan-Indian phenomenon.

Some scholars have suggested that one of the motivations for the Buddhist practice of sharing of merit was the desire to continue the practice of ancestor worship (Strong, 1987: 385). One of the heretical views attributed by the

Kathāvatthu to the *Rājagirikas* and *Siddhātthikas*—sects forming the *Caityaka* stratum—was that the dead benefited by the very same material items offered by the living (Premasiri, 20001: 157-158). A related notion of these two sects was that merit could be accumulated and that a person enjoys its fruits in after-life on account of such accumulation (Dutt, N., 1977: 127-128; Zeyst, Van,, 1961: thesis no. 55: 605). Epigraphically, the *Caityaka* belief in life after death is visibly stated in an epigraph from Amarāvatī, which refers to the gift of a brother of a *Caityaka* monk as *ānugāmika* i.e., gift accompanying the donor after death (Index No. III. 25).

7.3.4. Supramundane Conception of the Buddha

The *Caityaka* conception of the Buddha is central to the understanding of their doctrinal positions and of their relative position within the long history of evolution of Buddhist *abhidharma* (systematic philosophy) and religiosity. Mention has already been made of a particular concept of the Buddha as *lokottara* or supramundane, which was the best known of the *Mahāsānghika* doctrines and this appeared to be the most important characteristic doctrine of the *Mahāsānghika* sect known after if—the *Lokottaravādins*—to whom belonged the *Mahāvastu*, which described itself as the *Vinaya* of the *Lokottaravādin* sub-school of the *Mahāsānghikas* (Rahula, 1978: 1). As best summarised by Paul Williams, this doctrine asserts all actions of the Buddha which appear worldly (*laukika*) to be the same actions as ordinary people engage in, and are in reality extraordinary, 'supramundane'(*lokottara*) (Williams, 2000: 128).

It can be understood from the *Theravādin* polemic embodied in the *Kathāvatthu* and in Buddhaghosa's commentary to it that many of the doctrines attributed to the *Andhaka* sects, who formed the *Caityaka* stratum, advocated a

lokottara or supramundane / transcendent view of the Buddha. Many of the 72 theses attributed to them (Zeyst, Van 1961: 602-606) relate to the *Caityaka* conception of the Buddha as *lokottara*. Thesis no. 5 states that the Buddha's discourse (*vyavahāra*) is transcendent (Zeyst, Van, 1961: 603); thesis no. 64 states that the Buddha and his disciples possessed the power to perform miracles (Zeyst, Van,, 1961: 606); thesis no. 71 states that a *bodhisattva* or the Buddha-to-be, in order to realise his supreme desire, will be born in evil existence or circumstances (Zeyst, Van,, 1961: 606); and thesis no. 7 states that the powers (*bala*) of the Buddha are common to his disciples as well (Zeyst, Van,, 1961: 603). Commenting on these transcendentalist ideas of the *Caityaka*s, A. K. Warder has shown that they evidently developed the transcendentalist ideas in a new way, perhaps parallel to the *Lokottaravāda* at first but probably going beyond the positions of the older school. His explanation is worth quoting at length:

> The Buddha's discourse was transcendental (all of it), his enlightenment was already determined when he was born, he could set aside natural laws (and so presumably produce any miraculous effects he wished). In his previous lives as the *bodhisattva* he already enjoyed supreme mastery over the principles of transmigration and was reborn in his successive lives at his own free will, having apparently already passed beyond any further effects of his former actions when he first became a *bodhisattva*. Similarly, perhaps, his present pupils enjoyed this mastery and could set aside natural laws, which would imply that they were now *bodhisattva*s as he had been formerly: that they aimed to be *buddha*s in the remote future, not simply *arhant*s attaining final *nirvāna* now (Warder, 2000: 314).

The supramundane conception of the Buddha of the *Caityaka* tradition is even more clearly stated by the *Lokānuvartana Sūtra* / the *Sūtra* of Conformity with the World, a Mahāyāna text which was assigned by Chandrakirti (Mahāyāna author of the 6th or 7th century A.D.) to the *Pūrvaśaila* sect as a canonical text of that school (Harrison, 1984: 227). Harrison has also shown that the central theme of this text was that the Buddha, while appearing to share the lot of the ordinary men, in

reality transcends all earthly limitations (Harrison, 1984: 213). He has further shown, moreover, that this *Sūtra* may be one of the sources for the *Mahāvastu* (Harrison, 1984: 224). The supramundane doctrines of the various branches of the *Mahāsāṅghika*s were often treated as docetism (Keith, 1963: 221; Lamotte, 1988: 625; Bareau, cited in Harrison, 1984: 213). In a Nāgārjunakonda inscription, the Buddha was conceived of as *jita rāga dosa moha* i.e., one who has conquered attachment, ill-will and delusion (Srinivasan and Sankaranarayanan, 1979: no. 10: 11; Dutt, N, 1977: 124). The *Mahāsāṅghika* groups held that if the Buddhas were *lokottara*, the *bodhisattva*s also could not be average beings or they must also be supramundane. The *Andhaka*s held that an individual, from the moment he develops *bodhicitta*, becomes a *bodhisattva* and is destined to become a Buddha (Dutt, N, 1977: 110-113). Thesis no. 61 of the *Andhaka*s explains the *Caityaka* conception of *nirvāna* as a morally good and faultless state (Zeyst, Van,, 1961: 605).

7.3.5. Deification of the Buddha

Part of the *Caityaka* conception of the Buddha as supramundane was the deification of the Buddha. Thus, the birth of the Buddha was defined as miraculous with no physical processes entailing birth, both in the *Lokānuvartana Sūtra* (Harrison, 1984: 222) and in the *Mahāvastu* (Obeyesekere, Gananath, 1973: 217-229). Thesis no. 56 of the *Andhaka*s shows that as a result of excessive devotion to the Buddha, it was held that the Buddha's excreta excelled all other perfumes (Zeyst, Van,, 1961: 605). The process of deification of the Buddha, which followed the supramundane or transcendentalist conception of the Buddha among the various Buddhist sects, was represented both in the Buddhist texts and art from the early Christian centuries A.D. onwards.

At Amarāvatī, the inscriptional phraseology has incorporated certain features of this process of divinisation of the Buddha. This has to be considered as an essential part and a further continuation of the *Caityaka* practice of worship and adoration of the *caitya*. The progress of this deification can be understood from such usages as '(?*sa*)*tutamasa naravasabha sammāsambudhādica*...' which means (adoration) to the best ... the foremost of men, the truly enlightened, the Sun! (Index No. IV. 1); '... *namo bhagavato logātica* ...' which means adoration to the Lord, the illuminator or Sun of the world! (Index No. III. 41..); '... *namo bhagavato Sidha*...' which means adoration to the Lord Sidha... (Siddhattha)... (Index No. II. 38); '...(*sidha*)*tanam*' which may be taken to indicate (adoration to) Siddhathas (Siddhārthas)! (Index No. IV. 18); and '*namo bhagavato savasatutamasa Budha*...' which means adoration to the Lord Buddha, the best of all beings! (Index No. IV. 3). Similar usages occur also in the inscriptions of Nāgārjunakonda (Srinivasan and Sankaranarayanan, 1979: no. 8: 10, no. 10: 11). The use of *bhagavat* for the Buddha has distinctly numinous or holy connotations, as argued by Edward Conze (Conze, 1962: 27; 1967: 39-40).

That there is also evidence for the worship of the Buddha image at Amarāvatī is clear from the sculptural representations of the Buddha as part of the self-image of the *mahācaitya* complex, which are depicted on the *caitya*-slabs, as well as from the limited number of free-standing statues recovered from the debris at the site. Of the nearly 80 representations of the Buddha among the extant debris (see the Table in Chapter 8), those with halo alone number around 50, which indicate the divinisation and worship of the Buddha. Many of the Buddha figures appear, in fact, in scenes of the Buddha being worshipped, by men and celestial beings. It has been suggested that the *Caityaka*s accepted the idea of the five *dhyāni* Buddhas and worshipped them in the form of *āyaka* pillars (Roy, 1994: 112). Yet,

it is strange that there is only one inscription from Amarāvatī that can be interpreted to mean a reference to the image of the Buddha (Index No. II. 39).

7.3.6. Unique Monastic Practices

In the course of our study of the *Caityaka* religiosity, certain monastic practices, some of which are met with at Amarāvatī alone, have come to light. Two epigraphs from Amarāvatī refer to two monks as *pemdapātika* and *pendavatika*, which epigraphists have rendered as mendicant monks (Index No. III. 40, IV. 19). Another epigraph from Amarāvatī refers to a *thera* as a follower of *ārana arayadhama* or the noble life of the forest dweller (Index No. IV. 16). A similar reference occurs at Bedsa in the western Deccan also (Burgess, 1964: 89-90). These mendicant monks are said to be residing in forests and villages. While one made a gift, the other seemed to have possessed a small *caitya* in his honour. Our study of the type of mendicant monasticism represented by this apparently eremitical and ascetic stratum of the forests of peninsular India, on the basis of textual and inscriptional evidence, has shown that while there was an element of survival of the earlier ascetic tradition described in the early Buddhist texts, it was more likely to be representing an emerging practice of the ascetic ideal of the forest monk of the peninsular India in general and of the south-eastern Deccan in particular (Francis: 2002).

One unique feature of Buddhist monasticism at Amarāvatī was the existence of nuns and monks with daughters and sons. An epigraph refers to the meritorious gift by Sagharakhitā, a *pavajitikā*, her daughter Haghā, a *pavajitikā*, and by her (latter's) daughter Yavā (Index No. II. 1). Another epigraph refers to the gift of the nun Rohā—who was said to have passed beyond the eight worldly conditions—the daughter of venerable Sujātā of great self-control (Index No. III. 11). Another nun,

Budharakhitā, made a collective gift along with her daughters and some others (Index No. III. 10). Likewise, an *upajhāyaputa* (son of a teacher-monk) figured as one of the donors in another epigraph (Index No. III. 43). The implications of these epigraphs have a direct bearing on the history of early Buddhist monasticism. No other early Buddhist site in India has yielded similar evidence. Hirakawa Akira tried to rationalise the evidence of two of these inscriptions by suggesting that these probably referred to daughters born before the women had entered the Order (Hirakawa, 1998: 241). Had this been the case, it remains strange that no similar case is reported from the hundreds of donative epigraphs from the other early Buddhist sites. Moreover, this stands in sharp contrast to the prescriptions of the various *Vinaya* traditions that ensured the renunciation of household life of wife, children and family, and the vow of complete sexual abstinence. It has to be remembered that one of the grounds for expulsion from the Sangha was sexual intercourse. Therefore, the kind of evidence from Amarāvatī to the effect that the female donor's mother and grandmother were nuns and so on, can not be accommodated unless there was relaxation or laxity regarding celibacy among the *Caityaka*s. We have come across such a possible laxity in one of the theses attributed to the *Andhaka*s in the *Kathāvatthu*, XXIII. I (McDermott, 1998: Vol VII: 303), which says that an act of sexual relationship (*methunadhamma*) may be entered upon if there is a united resolve to be thus associated in future lives in *samsāra* (Zeyst, Van, 1961: 606). Keith had cited the points of controversies numbered IV, 1 & 2, XXII, 5 and XXIII, 1 in the *Kathāvatthu* to indicate possible sanction of married life among the *Andhaka*s and certain other groups (Keith, 1963: 214). Another supporting evidence for our position in this context is that one of the five propositions regarding the status of the *arhat*, debated by the early Buddhist councils as per traditional accounts, was that *arhat*s could have impure seminal emissions, which was accepted by the *Andhaka* sects also as can be understood from the point II:1 of the controversy in the *Kathāvatthu* (McDermott, 1998: 275-276).

The later Mahāyāna practice of a married, monastic community in Kashmir (Keith, 1963: 297) and the householder-cum-tāntric priest of Newar Buddhism in Nepal (Gellner, 1992) point to the laxity / relaxation of celibacy within Buddhist monasticism which could have begun much earlier, perhaps at Amarāvatī itself, as we would submit.

7.4. Tracing the *Mahāyāna* Lineage of the *Caityakas*

At the end of our reconstruction of the *Caityaka* stratum, we would like to make certain observations on the nature and character of the practice of the *Caityaka* religiosity in terms of historical developments within Buddhism in the early Christian centuries in India. Central to studies on the history of Buddhism of the early Christian centuries has been the rather contentious and unsettled debate over such questions as the time, place and nature of the Mahāyāna. While keeping away from the polemic of the debate, we would like to indicate what our inquiry into the *Caityaka* religiosity holds out regarding some of the contentious issues of that debate. The central concern here is not to suggest that the Mahāyāna originated in the south-eastern Deccan, nor to suggest that the *Caityaka* stratum was the direct or lineal precursor of the Mahāyāna, but only to point out those aspects of the *Caityaka* religiosity that converge with what has been called the Mahāyāna movement.

Basic to the presentation below is, as can be seen, the tacit assumption that the Mahāyāna did have corridors of contact or base in the earlier forms of Buddhist thought and practice and that it could not have originated in a vacuum unconnected with these. The viewing of the Mahāyāna as an "inner motivation and vision" (Williams, 2000: 102) unto Bodhisattva-hood, setting aside the earlier notions of the Mahāyāna as sect and transition, can be prefaced with its lineages in the earlier

forms. The inquiry into the *Caityaka* religiosity has brought out many aspects of doctrine and practice that bear resemblance to or close affinity with the doctrinal positions and practices associated with the Mahāyāna. Many of these have already been discussed above, while certain others not, both of which are briefly treated below for indicating the points of convergence between the *Caityaka* stratum and the Mahāyāna forms of religiosity.

7.4.1. The *Lokottara* Conception of the Buddha

The *Caityaka* doctrines of the supramundane or transcendentalist nature of the Buddha and the deification of the Buddha contain the germs from which the Mahāyāna doctrine developed (Banerjee, A.C., 1997: 104). Nalinaksha Dutt was of the opinion that the Buddhological speculations and the *bodhisattva* conception implied in these doctrines were Mahāyānic traces in the tenets of the Mahāsānghikas (Dutt, N, 1977: 265). Warder has suggested that the general drift of these ideas was towards making the Buddha completely transcendent, beyond the laws of nature, and then to project this transcendence back over his previous existence as *bodhisattva* and that these ideas would form the basis of the Mahāyāna (Warder, 2000: 313-314). Such Buddhological notions closely resemble those of the Mahāyāna (Harrison, 1984: 228). The *Caityaka* position that *bodhisattva*s can consciously choose where they will be born, as mentioned earlier, is similar to Mahāyāna teachings (Hirakawa, 1998: 262).

7.4.2. The Emptiness of *Dharmas*

The doctrines stated in the *Lokānuvartana Sūtra* that all things, including all *dharma*s, lacked fundamental primary existence or intrinsic existence (Williams, 2000: 130). Harrison has found in that *Sūtra* an expression of a doctrinal standpoint

very similar to that of the early *Prajñāpāramitā* as set forth in the *Astasāhasrikā*, a standpoint which insists upon the 'emptiness' of all *dharmas*, their non-arising and lack of own-being (*svabhāva*), the merely conventional validity of verbal distinctions as opposed to the true undifferentiated nature of the *dharmadhātu*, and so on (Harrison, 1984: 212). Some of the verses from *Lokānuvartana Sūtra*, which were quoted as '*Pūrva Śaila* verses' and as authoritative by the *Mādhyamaka* Mahāyāna philosopher Candrakirti in order to justify the doctrine of his school, as shown by Warder, suggest that the *Pūrvaśailas* had arrived almost at the typically Mahāyānist position of making little distinction between 'persons' and 'principles' (Warder, 2000: 336-337).

7.4.3. The Imperfection of the *Arhat*

The conception of the *arhat* as having some imperfections and physical impurities as explained in the points I. 2 and II. 2-4 of the *Kathāvatthu* (McDermott, 1998: 270-271, 276-277) along with the conception of the Buddha as supramundane was the necessary prerequisite for the development of the Mahāyāna (Warder, 2000: 339).

7.4.4. Universal Accessibility of *Arhat*-hood

The *Caityaka* view that even a layman could become an *arhat*, as mentioned in the *Kathāvatthu*, IV. 1 (McDermott, 1998: 282) may be seen as having some connection with the logic and ethics of the *bodhisattva*-path as embodied in the Mahāyāna text of *Śri Māla Sūtra*. Wayman and Wayman have shown that this text portrayed the *bodhisattva*-path in a way that applies equally to laymen or monks (Wayman and Wayman, 1990: 8). The identification of the text, which teaches that all sentient beings have the potentiality of Buddhahood with the Mahāsānghikas of the 3rd century A.D., is significant for us. The extension of

membership to householders (in the *Sangha*) has epigraphic evidence at Amarāvatī (Index No.III. 57) and Nāgārjunakonda (Sastri, P.S, 1955: 72).

7.4.5. *Caitya* Worship: The Way

The best-known thesis on the relation between the cult of the *stūpa / caitya* and the Mahāyāna was that of Hirakawa Akira entitled *The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Its Relationship to the Worship of Stūpas* (1963). His arguments may be summed up thus:

> "... the *stūpa*s were constructed and administered by lay believers and were not affiliated with any particular school or sect. However, as *stūpa*-worship continued to flourish, *stūpa*s came to be constructed within monastic compounds and monks began to worship at them. ... Once a *stūpa* accumulated alms, believers began to live around it and use the food and clothing that had been offered at it. These believers, who were considered religious specialists in their own right, probably assisted pilgrims who came to the *stūpa* by finding lodgings for them, giving instructions about worship, and explaining the carvings of the Buddha's life and of the *Jātaka*s inscribed there. They probably preached about the greatness of *Sākyamuni*'s personality, compassion, and power to help save sentient beings and formulated doctrines concerning these subjects... The orders of religious practitioners that sprang up around the *stūpa*s were thus vitally interested in two major doctrinal themes: the Buddha's ability to save sentient beings and the types of practices that would enable people to realise Buddhahood. The religious activities of these *bodhisattva*s eventually led to the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism. ... According to the *Ugradatta-pariprcchā* and the *Daśabhumikāvibhāsā*, *bodhisattva*s could practice either at *stūpa*s or in the forest. They were to meditate and perform austerities in the forest, but if they became ill, they were to return to a *stūpa* in a village to be cured. ... In the *Upāyakauśalya-parivarta* (Chapter on Expedient Means), a variety of practices leading to Buddhahood are discussed. These include the practice of the six perfections (*pāramitā*s) but also the building of *stūpa*s, the carving of images, and acts of worship and the offering made at *stūpa*s. Since the realisation of Buddhahood was the primary goal of Mahāyāna practice, *stūpa* worship clearly had a close relationship to Mahāyāna beliefs. The *stūpa* also provided a model for many elements in *Amitābha*'s Pure Land

> (Sukhāvati). ... the relationship between Mahāyāna Buddhism and *stūpa* worship was very close (Hirakawa, 1987: 92-96; also Hirakawa,1998: 270-274).

Some of Hirakawa's arguments are empirically not well founded and can be accepted only with reservation. Gregory Schopen has shown, as we have already pointed out, that inscriptional evidence contradicts the notions of the laity as the principal supporters of *stūpa*-worship of the monastic aversion to *stūpa*-worship, and of the Mahāyāna as primarily a move by the laity (Schopen, 1997 and 1979). The analysis of the forms and dimensions of patronage at Amarāvatī in Chapter 5 also goes to contradict some of the arguments of Hirakawa. Hirakawa's emphasis on the association of the laity with the rise of the Mahāyāna was also criticised by Paul Williams (Williams, 1989: 20-26; 2000: 105-106), and by Paul Harrison who has shown that translations of the Mahāyāna *Sūtra*s into Chinese as early as the 2nd century A.D. were done overwhelmingly by monks (Harrison cited in Williams, 2000: 107).

In spite of the criticism of the different points of arguments of Hirakawa, there can be no doubt that the *stūpa* was the religious centre for the renunciant *bodhisattva* and that the *stūpa* did provide focus for institutional and community life for the Mahāyāna. Mahāyānists promoted many aspects of the *caitya* cult, as shown by Hajime Nakamura (Nakamura, 1999: 222). Moreover, as pointed out by Reginald A. Ray, he has brought out the possible role of the forest renunciant in the inception of the Mahāyāna and, secondly, has shown in a plausible way that the forest-renunciant *bodhisattva* might be intimately involved with the *stūpa* (Ray, 1999: 343, 408). This is significant for the history of Buddhism in the south-eastern Deccan in the light of the evidence from Amarāvatī, as explained below.

7.4.6. *Bhakti* via *Caitya*

One important characteristic of the religiosity within the Buddhism that developed in the region and which underlies every form of the religio-cultic life that we have been able to enumerate so far is *bhakti* or devotion. It is *bhakti* to the Buddha through the *caitya* that encompassed the worship of the *caitya* and among other things and the rituals associated with it. Scholars have already made attempts to locate *bhakti* as a natural tendency within Buddhism and which, along with the supramundane conception of the Buddha, was to be the main contributory factor towards the origin and development of the *bodhisattva* doctrine (Dayal, 1975: 30-36). The influence of other non-Buddhist sects would also have contributed to its growth (Ibid: 36-38). Sukumar Dutt has postulated that some form of connections did exist between *bhakti* and the *stūpa* worship (Dutt, S, 1957: 198-212) and that it was stressed in different forms in the Mahāyāna (Ibid: 234). He further saw the *bhakti* as having prepared the ground for the production of the Buddha image (Dutt, S., 1957: 233-240). Upadhyaya views *bhakti* as having its origins in the *Bhāgavata* School which later became the pivotal feature of the Mahāyāna (Upadhaya, K.N., 1980: 349-357). The sculptural depictions of *caitya* worship as well as the descriptions in the epigraphs of the way in which the devotees understood the *mahācaitya* on the one hand and the Buddha as *bhagavad* on the other at Amarāvatī point to the growing cult of *bhakti* in the region. Moreover, it is significant that the origins of the best-known expression of *bhakti* in the history of south India has been traced back to the region around Venkatam, the northernmost point of *Tamilakam* as mentioned in the *Sangam* literature, and to the socio-economic milieu of the Pallava kingdom (Narayanan and Kesavan, 1987: 351-352; Kesavan, 1987: 153) which maintained close relations with the lower Krsna valley.

7.4.7. *Pemdapātika* and *Āranaka*.

The ascetic form of monasticism represented by the eremite-mendicants (*pemdapatika*) and the forest-renunciants (*āranaka*) at Amarāvatī can be considered as representing the earliest archaeological / epigraphical evidence of the activity of the forest-dwelling, ascetic monks attempting to return to the ideals of original Buddhism, to which some scholars have traced the origins of the Mahāyāna. Reginald A. Ray has proposed that the Mahāyāna originated as a tradition of renunciation and retirement into the forest, and he has based this conclusion on an examination of the evidence in a good number of Mahāyāna *Sūtra*s. He says that what eventually came to be understood as the Mahāyāna originated as a tradition of forest saints and their devotees and such a view also accounts for the lack of a strong sense of self-conscious identity in the early Mahāyāna as well as for the lack of archaeological or epigraphical evidence for the Mahāyāna till from monastic sites the 4th or 5th century A.D. (Ray, 1999: 251-292, 407-421). This view of the origin of the early Mahāyāna is also supported by Paul Harrison who has observed that some of the impetus for the early development of the Mahāyāna came from forest-dwelling monks and that many of the Mahāyāna *Sūtra*s gave evidence of an ascetic attempt to return to the original inspiration of Buddhism (Harrison, 1995: 48-69).

7.4.8. Transference of Merit

The transference of merit, as we have discussed earlier, contains many elements that converged with the fully developed *punyaparināmanā* of Mahāyāna.

7.4.9. Art Historical Linkages

Data from art history have often been taken to indicate the possible Mahāyāna trends in regard to the Buddhist sites of eastern Deccan. While James Burgess thought that the sculptures of Amarāvatī did not seem to have gone the length of the later Mahāyāna sects in the adoration of images of the Buddha or the worship of the *Avalokiteśvara* and the *Bodhisattva*s (Burgess, 1970: 27), H. Sarkar

concludes that the architecture of Nāgārjunakonda belonged at first to mixed Hinayāna Buddhism and subsequently to Mahāyāna orientation (Sarkar, 1966: 94, 108). Mireille Bénisti took the *stūpa*s and the art thereof of Buddhist sites in Andhra to be representations of early Mahāyāna doctrine, at the same time indicating the early roots of *tantra* (Bénisti, cited in Stone, 1994: 54). Elizabeth Rosen Stone, too, states that the architecture of Nāgārjunakonda showed a transition from Hinayāna to Mahāyāna (Stone, 1980: 113). She has further argued that the *āyaka* pillars at Nāgārjunakonda indicated the Mahāyāna doctrine of *sambhogakāya* (Stone, 1994: 54). Moreover, I.K. Sarma has cited an unpublished inscription, which he dated to the 2nd century A.D., from the reserve collection of the site Museum at Amarāvatī, to indicate the installation of an image of *Bhagavati Puspatārā*, as well as the existence of a limestone image of *Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara* from Rāmatirtham in District Prakasham (Andhra Pradesh), which is also assigned to the 2nd century A.D. (Sarma, 1987: 21).

Tracing the origins of the Mahāyāna from within the doctrinal tendencies of the *Mahāsāṅghika* tradition alone is problematic since the *Sarvāstivādin*s of the north-western India had also many points of convergence with the Mahāyāna and many causative factors might lie outside Buddhism itself. Since we are concerned primarily with pointing out the possible links between the *Caityaka* stratum and the Mahāyāna, we would like to note in passing the debate among scholars who had either traced the Mahāyāna from the *Mahāsāṅghika* sects or else suggested that these sects might have constituted the original form of what became the Mahāyāna. (Conze, 1957: 119-121. 1962: 195-201; Dutt, N., 1976: 82; Banerjee, A.C., 1997: 100-105; Bareau, 1987: 449. Bareau cited in Ray, Reginald, 1999: 426; Warder, 2000: 312-315, 336-337; Roth, 1980: 183-209; Harrison, 1984: 211-234; Wayman and Wayman, 1990; Bhattacharya, 1993: 204-205; Reat, 1998: 23 etc.).

7.4.10. The Āndhra Origin of the Mahāyāna Sutras

Apart from the doctrinal links pointed out above, there is evidence that suggests the possibility of some of the early Mahāyāna *Sūtra*s having their origin in south-eastern Deccan (Sastri, P.S, 1955: 73-74). There is a Tibetan tradition based on the Tibetan text *Siddhānta* about the existence of a *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, which were among the earliest Mahāyāna *Sūtra*s, in Prākrt dialect belonging to the *Pūrvaśaila*s and *Aparaśaila*s (Dutt, N, 1977: 274-276; Harrison, 1984: 228; Nakamura, 1999: 159), who formed part of the *Caityaka* stratum. This tradition indicates that changes were taking place to the tenets of the *Śaila* schools and that they ultimately became full-fledged Mahāyānists (Dutt, N, 1929: 796). Based on a remark of the 16th century Tibetan historian, Tāranātha, it has been shown that there was a class of Hinayāna monks who had been propagating the Mahāyāna teaching (Dutt, N, 1997: 276). Another important evidence, too often cited by scholars, is given in a passage in the various *Prajñāpāramitā*s, which states that the Mahāyāna teaching would originate in the *Daksināpatha*, would proceed to the east, and would finally travel to the north (Dutt, N, 1977: 276).

Another important early Mahāyāna text, *Gandavyūha*, has been associated with the region around Dhānyakataka. In that text, *Mañjusrī*— an important *Bodhisattva* of the Mahāyāna—was represented in the midst of his travel as having visited the city of Dhanyākara, which has been identified with Dhānyakataka, and delivered a discourse there (Dutt, N, 1977: 277; Hirakawa, 1998: 253).

Warder has cited a reference from the *Nikāyasamgraha* of the *Sthaviravādin*s of Sri Lanka, according to which the *Ratnakūta*, a collection of early Mahāyāna *Sūtra*s, owed its composition to the Andhra schools. Warder's own analysis of the collection, too, has indicated its probable composition by the

Pūrvaśaila monks (Warder, 2000: 337-340). It is significant for us to recognise that one of the early Mahāyāna texts, the *Rāstrapālapariprcchā Sūtra* in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit contained in the *Ratnakūta* collection, has described the *bodhisattva* as a saint of the forest (Ray, Reginald, 1999: 260-266). The Buddhist centres of Dhānyakataka and Śriparvata were mentioned by the semi-*tāntric* Mahāyāna text *Manjusrimulakalpa* as suitable for Buddhist practice (Dutt, N, 1929: 794). P.S. Sastri and A.K. Warder have suggested that some of the *bodhisattvas—Mañjusrī, Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara* and *Sāmantabhadra*—were introduced by the *Śaila* schools to revolutionise the old doctrines (Sastri, 1955: 74-75; Warder, 2000: 357). Yet another supporting evidence brought out by P.S. Sastri, largely on the basis of Tibetan and Chinese sources, is the possibility that some of the Mahāyāna thinkers and writers either hailed from Andhra or had their main field of activity in the south-eastern Deccan (Sastri, 1956: 55-59). Warder's examination of the doctrinal positions of the *Mahāsāṅghika* sects, which we have included in the *Caityaka* stratum, as well as the Mahāyāna textual evidence, led to his conclusion that the monks of the *Pūrvaśaila* school questioned the early *Abhidharma* and attempted a wholesale restatement of the Buddhist doctrines (Warder, 2000: 313, 337).

Before winding up this discursive attempt at reconstructing the *Caityaka* stratum and its Mahāyāna lineage, we shall mention in passing for the sake of completing the documentation of the related data that strengthen our argument, a brief list of the scholarship on the possible origins of the Mahāyāna in the south-eastern Deccan or Andhra between 1st century B.C. and 1st or 2nd century A.D (Conze, 1957: 124. Conze cited in Ray, Reginald, 1999: 425; Dutt, N, 1977: 274-278; Chakraborti, Haripada, 1973: 287; Thapar, 1985: 130; Nakamura, 1999: 159; Bhattacharya, 1993: 204-205; Wayman, 1978: 35-80; Wayman and Rosen, 1990; Warder, 2000: 313-314, 336-337 etc.). These views may be contrasted with the

views of those who deny the origin of the Mahāyāna in the south-eastern Deccan and instead locate its origins in the north-west of India (Lamotte, cited in Ray, Reginald, 1999: 405-406; A .L. Basham, cited in Ray, Reginald, 1999: 406, 425 etc.). André Bareau has advanced a strong critique of the theory of north-western origins and concluded that the Mahāyāna originated in the region north of the Deccan, in Konkana, Orissa and Mahākosala, among the sub-sects of the *Mahāsāṅghika*s, and among the *Prajñāptivāda* and *Bahuśrutiya* who formed a link between the older northern *Mahāsāmghika* and the later south-eastern *Mahāsāṅghika*s (Bareau, cited in Ray, Reginald, 1999: 425-426). A more balanced and synthetic view of the origin of the Mahāyāna, which has definite implications for our reconstruction of the links of the *Caityaka* stratum with what could be the early Mahāyāna, is the one articulated by Reginald A. Ray. He has integrated the recently brought out evidence on the early Mahāyāna activity with the conflicting theories of origins. He has suggested that both of the geographical regions suggested by scholars have something to do with the authentic origins of the Mahāyāna, but in different senses. In the first stage, the Mahāyāna could have developed in the south-eastern Deccan as a non-monastic forest movement which can not be dated with precision; later, perhaps in the late 3rd or 4th centuries, it may have undergone a process of monasticization and emerged as a monastic movement in the north-west of India (Ray, Reginald, 1999: 404-421).

Part IV

Amarāvatī Art in Demensional Perspective

Chapter 8

ART AS DISCOURSE: HISTORICITY AND TEXTUALITY OF THE BUDDHIST ART OF AMARĀVATĪ

The previous chapters have brought out the institutional, religio-cultic and patronage contexts of the early Buddhist art of the south-eastern Deccan and have prepared the ground for viewing the three-dimensional form of that art as the lithic remains of a discourse in the process of the social production of art. The production and appreciation of art are two of the integral features that identify a people or a society in any given historical context. Although historians of art and social scientists would agree that visual art represented contemporary realities, the observation of Francis Haskell that there existed no significant propositions as to the precise nature of the relationship between particular social systems and the kind of art that developed under them (Haskell, 1972: 439) seems still relevant today with regard to the question of the relationship / linkages between art and society at Amarāvatī and the allied centres of the south-eastern Deccan. The aim of this chapter is to attempt a shift of focus, from the emphasis on either the structural and chronological phases of the *mahācaitya* at Amarāvatī or its art and sculptural styles or else the trend of explaining styles against the socio-economic and political background, to an emphasis on art as discourse in the social production of art. Such a stance can yield, it is expected, details on the nature of the dynamics between art and society, art and religion, and thus attempt to bring the art of the south-eastern Deccan to the mainstream of discussion in the historical studies of the region.

It was already mentioned in Chapter 5 that by the time Buddhism as a religio-cultural and socio-economic movement had reached the south-eastern Deccan, art had become an integral part of the heritage represented and sought to be advanced by Buddhism. The earliest evidence on Buddhist art does pertain to the *stūpa / caitya* and that the art and architecture of Amarāvatī and the allied centres cannot be viewed in isolation from the *caitya / stūpa* context of early Buddhism. We have also mentioned that the initial appearance of the *caitya*s and *vihāra*s along with sculptural decorations, inscriptions etc. in the early historical period were symptomatic of a big socio-economic change.

8.1. Social Production of Early Buddhist Art

Throughout in this study, we have viewed art as an important criterion or index for the study of the society / period to which it belonged, and its production and appropriation as a multilateral process. Our discussion of the major factors of production of the art of Amarāvatī in particular and of the allied centres in the south-eastern Deccan in general encompasses the historical, socio-cultural and religio-ritualistic contexts under which that art was made and used. One feature of the process of the production of art was its collective or collaborative nature and the general anonymity of the artists or sculptors. This is not to deny the existence of inscriptional or literary evidence on ancient Indian artists (Misra, 1975 and 1994), but only to indicate that there is no meaning in the search for the artist of the Renaissance conception in such an early Indian context since the social organization of artistic production in early India was very much a community affair (Ray, Niharranjan, 1974: 243-246) involving the whole spectrum of the society. With regard to Amarāvatī and the early Buddhist art in general, the three-dimensional form was not *the* art *per se*, but only one part of it. It is our presumption that this peculiar nature of Buddhist art was the prime reason for the relative anonymity of

those early Indian sculptors. Another essential part of the nature of Buddhist art is its ideological dimension, which will be taken up below.

The studies of Niharranjan Ray (Ray, Niharranjan, 1945, 1973 and 1974), Amita Ray (Ray, Amitha, 1983), Devangana Desai (Desai, Devangana, 1990), Romila Thapar (Thapar, Romila, 1992 and 1994), and Vidya Dehejia (Dehejia, Vidya, 1992 and 1997) have gone a long way in viewing early Buddhist art as part of a collective or social production with emphasis on the relationship between a given social and ideational pattern of life and the creative activities of the forms generated and fostered by it. Our approach is based on insights from these studies as well as the perceptive works of Janet Wolff on the social production of art (Wolff, 1985) and Thomas A. Markus on the analysis of the meaning of architecture in terms of social relations (Markus, 1993). Wolff has emphasized the significance of technology, social institutions in the form of recruitment, training of artists and patronage systems, and economic factors as basic to the study of social production of art (Wolff, 1985: 26-48). Art is an ideological activity and an ideological product. The ideology in question will affect art through the institutions and processes of art production, social relations and conditions of artistic production, and aesthetic conventions (Wolff, 1985: 49-70). Thus, Wolff concluded that art was a social product (Wolff, 1985: 140). The arguments of Markus that buildings are vehicles for social meaning and that architecture describes social relations of power and of bonds go to define buildings or the products of architectural practice as social objects (Markus, 1993: 3-28). It can be seen that our discussion spread out in the previous chapters have taken up these issues with specific reference to Amarāvatī and the allied centres of Buddhist art. The present chapter on the three-dimensional form of the art at Amarāvatī further endorses this view of art history. The recent emphasis of Partha Mitter on the interaction between artistic production and patronage in its social and cultural contexts and between individual creativity and

dominant ideology as a corrective to the British colonial view of Indian art history (Mitter, 2001: 1-4) further accords our approach to the study of Amarāvatī art.

Even when the art of Amarāvatī is put into perspective as part of the social production of art, the religious and cultic base of the three-dimensional form is not de-emphasized, but rather holds the key to forming an index to the contents and subject matter of the artistic representation as well as to understanding its meaning / function. The religious roots of early Indian art on the one hand and the parallelism between the aesthetic experience and the religious experience in early Indian traditions on the other are too well known (Coomaraswamy, 1972 and 1981; Ray, Niharranjan, 1973 and 1974) to need any elaboration here.

8.2. Situating the Amarāvatī Art in History and Society

In Chapter 2, we have made a critical assessment of the attempts of some representative art historians at situating the art of Amarāvatī in time and space and in relation to the other phases of early Indian art. One recent attempt has tried to locate the status or position of Amarāvatī art within the context of the art traditions of the ancient world thus: "The Amarāvatī sculptures rank with the highest products of the art of the great ancient cultures of Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean" (Knox, 1992: 22). These studies were concerned mainly with the chronology and style of the architectural and sculptural phases at Amarāvatī. Since the phases representing the beginnings of the sculptural art in the region (Ghosh and Sarkar, 1964-65), the later phase represented by the Buddhist art of Nāgārjunakonda (Stone, 1994) and the phases in between (Sivaramamurt, 1977; Barrett, 1954; Knox, 1992) have been studied in detail, our shift of focus to the context of *art in society* can conceptualise the social reference points of the form, contents and style of the art as part of Buddhist discourse in three dimensional form.

In spite of the common pattern of cultural evolution in the region as a whole, the site of Amarāvatī-Dhānyakataka had a centrality as we have already noted in Chapter 3. Art historically, this has its parallel in the centrality of Amarāvatī art in the region, the form, style and contents of which became the common denominator of the Buddhist art of the south-eastern Deccan as a whole during the period of the study. The most representative and extensive of this art-activity was centred at Amarāvatī. As we try to situate the early Buddhist art of Amarāvatī and the allied centres in history and society, we would like to distance our view of this art from the earlier method of classifying it on the basis of notions of style, either as 'Andhra art' or as 'Sātavāhana art' or as the 'Amarāvatī School'. The use of 'Andhra art' precludes the fact that the form and contents of that art were not unique to Andhra. The Sātavāhana dynasty had practically nothing to do with the kind of art that developed at the site in question and, as already explained, the patrons of the art were members of the society as a whole including the renunciants. Moreover, not even a single Sātavāhana monarch has appeared as a donor at Amarāvatī or allied centres. The use of 'Amarāvatī School' projects European art historical notions of style into early India and militates against the aesthetic conditions that prevailed in early India. Our own position in this regard, based on that of E. H. Gombrich on style in art (Gombrich, E. H, 1972: 352-361), is that what is essential for situating art in historical perspective is the combination of the nature, contents, functions, form and patronage of art. If at all style as a category or tool is taken in our discussion, it refers to the combination of these features with a social reference point. Therefore, it is safe to prefer the use of 'Buddhist art of Amarāvatī and allied centres or of the south-eastern Deccan' to the use of the other classifications discussed above since these features are more clearly expressed in such a classification.

8.3. Correspondence Between the *Mahācaitya* and the Society

The study of the concordance of the sculptures, themes of sculptural representation and inscriptions by early scholars has indicated certain elements of correspondence between the *mahācaitya* and the society. It is in the light of our previous discussions on the symbolism of the *stūpa* and the worship of the *mahācaitya* that we propose some more correspondence between the plan or architecture of the *mahācaitya* and the society, in the environs of Amarāvatī-Dhānyakataka for example. The first point of correspondence in this regard is the monumentality of the *mahācaitya*. The fact that the monument did survive into as late as the 14th century AD (Paranavitana, S., 1935: 90-110) shows that the way the *mahācaitya* was built was meant to be parallel to its role or significance for society as a symbol of the Buddha and the Sangha and as a focus for the society. We have also pointed out that the society of the region of the period was more or less oriented to the *caitya* in institutional, religio-cultic and socio-economic dimensions. The frequent sculptural depictions of the imposing visual appearance of the *mahācaitya* on the *caitya*-slabs as a 'self-imaging' process as some art historians have referred to (Mitter, 2001: 21) could have been a part of this process of monumentalisation of the *caitya / mahācaitya*.

Archaeologically, there were clear-cut plans for the construction of the *mahācaitya* right from the 3rd century BC The excavator felt that the entire scheme of the *mahācaitya*, its layout, sculptured *décor*, and perhaps the ritual and management of the *vihāra*, was planned right from the beginning (Sarma, 1985: 20). If we accept Anamika Roy's suggestion that one of the words in the Fragmentary Pillar Edict of Aśoka is to be reconstructed as *cetiya*, then the pillar in question was a part of the *caitya*-complex (Roy, 1994: 16). There is also the possibility of the prior existence of the Amarāvatī *stūpa* on the one hand and the existence of a sophisticated urban community which was exposed to ideas coming from northern

India (Subrahmanyam, 1985: 25). A typical feature of the *stūpa*s of Andhra is what has been called the *āyaka* platforms and pillars, the only parallel to which has been found at Vaiśālī (Sarkar, H., 1966: 90; Roy, Sita Ram, 1988: 719). There is at present no way to decide how much of the plan of the earliest *caitya* at Amarāvatī was modelled on those of the still earlier ones of northern India.

The process of construction of the *mahācaitya* as a collaborative effort and some of the interactions that could have taken place in such contexts are outlined in Chapter 6. Our tabulation of inscriptional evidence speaks of approximately 600 individuals (omitting the collective categories of donors) from the different sections of the society as donors spread out over nearly six hundred years, though the number of artisans / artists mentioned specifically is very small. Some of the coping-stones were donated with precise measurements as mentioned in certain epigraphs of the 1st century BC (Roy, 1994: 110-111; Index No. III. 38). Some of the architectural components of the debris, especially those cross-bars with 'ill-defined' tenons belonged to the smaller *caitya*s having their own railings (Rea, 1909: 118-119). Epigraphical evidence from such smaller *caitya*s shows that these were dedicated in honour of the monastic dead and were also worshipped in exact terms as the *mahācaitya* of the Buddha was (Schopen, 1997: 165-203). Thus, there is a hierarchy of *caitya*s at the site. V. S. Agrawala and Anamika Roy have proposed that whenever there was a change in the sculptural style at Amarāvatī, it had left its impact on the inscriptions of the sculptures (Roy, 1994: 107). Anamika Roy has analyzed the different terms used in the Amarāvatī inscriptions for referring to the architectural parts of the *mahācaitya* in a chronological sequence (Roy, 1994: 107-111) and developed a chronological chart of the architectural phases of the *mahācaitya*.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF ARCHITECTURAL PHASES

PHASE I (Circa 3rd century BC – 1st century BC)

GROUP I (circa 3rd century BC)

Railing (Granite Uprights)

GROUP II (circa 3rd century BC- 1st century BC)
Railing (Limestone uprights, cross-bars), circumambulatory path and drum slabs)

PHASE II (1st century AD)

Drum slabs, drum pilaster, *Chatra danda*, Railing wooden Umbrella, dome-slabs and festoon design circumambulatory path

PHASE III (2nd century AD)

Railing (richly carved uprights, copings, cross-bars) Plain *stūpa*s and *Āyaka* pillars

PHASE IV (3rd century AD)

Drum slabs, Friezes, Drum Pilasters, Railing Small votive *stūpa*s and Dome slabs (Roy, 1994: 116).

These structural parts known in the epigraphs as *sūci, harmika, vedika, pādamūla, āyaka, thabho* etc. came up in the context of the patronage networks, as discussed in Chapter 5. We have also taken up the symbolic and ritualistic significance of some of the structural parts of the *mahācaitya* in Chapter 7. The *pradaksināpatha*, where the ritual circumambulation in a clock-wise direction was held, was central to the way the devotees participated in ritualized cult at the *mahācaitya*. It separated the sacred structure from the profane devotees. Certain structural parts were so planned and shaped as to enable the devotees to have a view

of the sculptural narration at eye level (Jouveau Dubreuil cited in Sivaramamurti, 1977: 26). Another notion of space intrinsic to the plan of the ritual site can be understood from the location of the smaller *caityas* close to the *mahācaitya* of the Lord.

8.4. Index to the Sculptural Forms of the Buddhist Themes

The three-dimensional form of the Buddhist exposition of doctrinal precepts and its practice that emanated from the institutional base at Amarāvatī has taken the form of a religious discourse. Our thematic analysis of the sculptural narration has brought out some aspects of the textuality of the sculptures. The selection of the various themes from a collection of essential or representative precepts of the Buddhist teaching could have done only by experts of the Buddhist lore. That was one reason why the supervisors of the process of construction and embellishment of the *mahācaitya* were necessarily senior monks of status and authority with scriptural knowledge, and having monks and nuns as pupils, on which we have dwelt at length in Chapter 6. We have also shown that such supervisors of the art-activity were central to the institutional base at Amarāvatī. Inscriptional evidence has further shown the activity of the experts of the *Vinaya* and the speakers or recitors of the *Dharma* at Amarāvatī. We have taken them, too, as an essential part of the institutional network. It seems that the production of both the three-dimensional and the literary forms of the Buddhist precepts drew on the same source and that there was similarity or links between the two. We propose the possibility that the *dhammakathikas* explained to the devotees the contents of the sculptural narration and related them with what was to be understood by the pilgrims. Even if it is agreed that the compilation of the Buddhist texts was already over by the beginning of the early Christian centuries, the literary forms of the compiled texts could have been understood only by a few since literacy was limited

to a few sections of the society. This can also account for the textual dimensions of the narrative art.

Based on the catalogue of the sculptures from Amarāvatī (Sivaramamurti, 1977; Coomaraswamy, 1978; Barrett, 1954; Sarkar and Nainar, 1980) kept in the different museums, the themes of the sculptural representation may be grouped into three major categories with their textual parallels in the *Jātaka*s, *Vinaya*s, *Dhammapada-atthakathā* etc.

8.4.1. The Buddha's Hagiography

8.4.1.1. **Scenes from the Buddha's Life**

1. The Shooting Contest and Other Scenes
2. The Conversation of the Jatilas
3. Story of Angulimāla
4. Quarrel for the Relics of the Buddha
5. The Dream of Māyā and of Her Bath in Water from Anotatta Lake
6. The Temptation of the Buddha
7. The Buddha and Nāgas
8. Rāmagrāma Stūpa
9. The Bodhisattva's Descent as a White Elephant
10. Dream of Māyā and Its Interpretation
11. Śuddhodana Visits Māya in the Aśoka-Grove
12. Siddhārtha's Departure
13. Translation of the Headdress
14. Translation of the Bowl
15. The Great Enlightenment
16. The First Sermon in the Deer Park
17. The Conversion of Yasa and his Friends

18. The Conversion of the Bhaddavaggiya Youths
19. The Birth of Rāhula and other Scenes from the Buddha's Life
20. The Conversion of Nanda
21. Sumana the Gardener
22. The Buddha Subdues the fierce Elephant Nālagiri
23. Ajātasattu Visits Buddha
24. Monkey Offers Honey to the Buddha
25. The Story of Anugulimāla
26. The Buddha Performs a Miracle
27. The Buddha Preaches to His Mother in Heaven
28. King Pasenadi entertains Ānanda and Other Monks
29. Cullakala's Wives Regain Their Husband
30. Rūpananda learns of the Impermanence of Beauty
31. The Story of Udayana and His Queens
32. The Division of the Relics
33. Symbolic Representation of Principal Scenes from the Buddha's Life
34. The Miracle under the Jambu Tree
35. The Renunciation of Prince Siddhārtha
36. Scenes Ending with Māra's claim of the Buddha's Seat
37. Sujāta Feeds the Bodhisattva
38. Rāhula Asks for His Inheritance
39. Principal Scenes from the Buddha's Life
40. Siddhārtha as Prince
41. The Attack of Māra
42. The Buddha at the Nairañjanā River
43. Offering of Barley Cakes and Honey by Trapusa and Bhalluka
44. The Visit of Asita and His Nephew, Naradatta

45. The Buddha's Visit to Kapilavastu
46. Child Buddha Being Presented to the Tutelary *Yaksa* of the Śākyas
47. Purchase of Jetavanārāma
48. Bodhisattva in the Tūsita Heaven

8.4.1.2. Scenes from the Previous Lives of the Buddha (Stories from the *Jātaka* and *Avadāna*)

1. Snake Charmer and His Monkey (*Ahigundika Jātaka*)
2. Story of Bhuridatta (*Bhuridatta Jātaka*)
3. The Noble Six-tusked Elephant (*Chanddanta Jātaka*)
4. The Love-Smitten King (*Culla Bodhi Jātaka*)
5. The Wicked King Who Chopped His Son into Bits (*Culla Dhammapāla Jātaka*)
6. The Story of the Messenger (*Dūta Jātaka*)
7. Ghosaka the Fortunate (*Ghosajasetthi Uppatti*)
8. The Story of Kavikumāra (*Kavikumārāvadāna*)
9. Māra Obstructs Paccekabuddha's Feeding(*Khadirangara Jātaka*)
10. The Elephant Mahilamukha Is Taught Virtue (*Mahilamukha Jātaka*)
11. The Story of Mittavindaka the Unfortunate One (*Losaka Jātaka*)
12. The Story of the Virtuous Prince (*Mahāpaduma Jātaka*)
13. Mandhāta, the Universal Monarch
14. The Story of Mātanga (*Mātanga Jātaka*)
15. The Peacock Preaches the Law (*Mora Jātaka*)
16. Sakka Gains a Celestical Nymph (*Rohini Khattiya Kanna*)
17. The Story of Sarvamdada (*Sarvamdadāvadāna*)
18. The Story of Prince Somanassa (*Somanassa Jātaka*)
19. Virtue Rewarded (*Suruci Jātaka*)

20. The Presents of King Bandhuma (*Vessantara Jātaka*)
21. Vidhura the Wise One (*Vidhurapandita Jātaka*)
22. *Nāga Campa(ka) Jātaka*
23. *Sasa Jātaka*

8.4.2. Scenes Unique to Amarāvatī

8.4.3. The *Caityaka* / Extra-Canonical / Non-Textual Stratum

Comparison of these themes at Amarāvatī with the very similar themes from the other early Buddhist sites is instructive on the common source from which these were drawn, irrespective of the monastic sects to which the monuments in question belonged. While there are twenty-two scenes representing stories from the life of the Buddha (Nakamura, 1999: 17, 27) and representations of forty *Jātaka*s at Bhārhut (Dehejia, 1997: 281-282), the number of themes chosen from the Buddhist canons were sixty at Sāñcī (Mitter, 2001: 19), out of which *Stūpa* I accounted for five *Jātaka*s and twenty-nine scenes from the life of the Buddha (Mitra, Debala, 1984: 15-42). In the caves of the western Deccan, only a few scenes from the canon are carved (Ray, 1986: 186). In spite of the richness of the symbols, decorative motifs and forms of the art of Kusāna Mathurā (Sharma, R.C., 1994: 117-126), there are only ten *Jātaka*s of the period out of the thirteen recognized *Jātaka* stories among the Mathurā reliefs apart from scenes from the life of the Buddha and devotional scenes representing reverence to the Buddha and objects associated with the Buddha such as the *pātra* or bowl and the head dress (Asthana, Shasi, 1985: 36; J. A. Raducha cited in Ray, H.P., 1998: 146). The basic themes of narrative art at Gandhāra, too, were derived from these pan-Indian textual sources of early Buddhism (Nehru: 49-68). It can be seen that the themes of sculptural depiction at the other sites of the eastern Deccan were also more or less the same (Stone, 1994).

One advantage of the narrative mode, both of the themes as well as of their sculptural or visual representation, is the range of possibilities they contain for interpretation and didactic purposes. The *Jātaka*s with their roots in the popular cultural life (Law, 1955: 249-264) were appropriated within a Buddhist context as a persuasive means of communication due to their potential for rearranging social relations and for offering alternative focus for socio-political relations through their notions of justice (Roy, Kum Kum, 1996: 23-40). Vidya Dehejia has suggested that the main texts to which the Amarāvatī artists seemed to have turned for their presentation of the historic life of the Buddha were the *Lalitavistara*, the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* and the *Dhammapada* commentary (Dehejia, 1997: 169). The *Lalitavistara* was the Buddhist text *par excellence* for the sculptures of Borabudur in Indonesia, where the biography of the Buddha was depicted in detail in 120 scenes as narrated in the text (Krom, 1974). Yet another text known at Amarāvatī was the *Aśokāvadāna* from which the story featuring the *Rāmagrāma stūpa* being worshipped by the *Nāga*s was adopted as theme at Amarāvatī and Sāñcī (Strong, 1989: 112).

8.5. Social Roots of Iconography

The iconography of the Buddhist art of Amarāvatī and the allied centres has not been worked out as thoroughly as that of Mathurā and Gandhāra due to certain biases and prejudices on the part of art historians as we have shown in Chapter 2 on the historiographical critique of the extant studies on Amarāvatī. Yet, one of the better known of the various characteristic elements or constituent factors of the art of Amarāvatī has been its iconography, into a study of which, therefore, we do not propose to enter. Instead, an attempt will be made here to sketch the different aspects of the social roots of that iconography as part of our effort at situating that *art in society* and not *society in art* as the practice with regard to Amarāvatī used to

be. The emphasis will be more on the points of correspondence between elements of iconography and the societal understanding or perception of them.

Central to the iconography of Amarāvatī art was the religious milieu, which linked the society with the contents of the art in question. This universality of the religious milieu of the early Buddhist art traditions about which we have already alluded to earlier, was the primary causative factor behind the similarity in the iconography of the Buddhist art traditions, though there were regional variations in form and style. It also accounts for the similarities among the iconographies of the Jain, Buddhist and Hindu art in early India. Secondly, the form and style in which the sculptures were carved were also linked to the material milieu. The institutional base also influenced the skill and training of the sculptors and craftsmen. Thirdly, the symbols and motifs employed in the sculptural depictions had their base in the perceptions, imageries and sensibilities of the people of the region and early India in general. Had it not been so, the intended meaning of the motifs and symbols, which occurred so frequently and throughout in the art of Amarāvatī and the allied centres would not have been understood and sustained in the monastically mediated process of ascribing well-defined significations.

8.6. Schematising the Buddhist Sculptures of Amarāvatī

In the light of the foregoing discussion and the history of early Buddhist art, it seems possible to schematize or classify the elements of iconography of the Amarāvatī sculptures into two convenient stages or groups: Buddhist sculptures without the Buddha image and Buddhist sculptures with the Buddha image. This classification has the vantage of maintaining that the appearance of the Buddha image was a point of departure in the early Buddhist art history and, at the same time it is free from the antipathy of the Eurocentric and colonial art history towards the 'aniconic' stage of the early Buddhist art. It also incorporates the chronological

element in that the second group belonged to the 2nd and 3rd century AD i.e., either contemporaneous or a little later to the similar Buddha images of early India.

8.6.1 Buddhist Sculptures without the Buddha Image

The crucial problem as to why the Buddha was not represented anthropomorphically, but only by symbols in the early Buddhist art remains unsolved, though doctrinal grounds have frequently been cited by art historians (Coomaraswamy, 1978: Part II: 5; Zimmer, 1960: 61-62, 335). The nature of the Buddhism that was being understood and practiced in the early Buddhist centres had some fluent character about it in the two or three centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. Many of the texts—through which the late 19th and 20th century Orientalists and Buddhologists knew Buddhism—were yet to be finally compiled by the period in question. The specialists of precepts and texts among the monks themselves were still debating their own perceptions of the teachings embodied by Buddhism as reflected in the different historical and monastic traditions during the period. The deified Buddha was yet to become the central focus of the then available Buddhist religious discourse. The *dharma* was being conveyed to people through examples like the events in the life of the Buddha and the *Jātaka* stories. The art that arose in this context was still Buddhist even without the image of the Buddha.

Sivaramamurti took up the constituent elements of an iconography of the Amarāvati sculptures of this stage in detail as early as 1944. Only the major elements are listed here from the exhaustive study presented by Sivaramamurti on this topic (Sivaramamurti, 1977: 44-95).

I. Symbols

1. *Vrksa-caitya*

II. Symbols of Sovereignty

1. The Wheel
2. Lion Throne
3. *Svastikā and Pūrna kumbha*
4. *Trisūla* on Wheel
5. Flaming Pillar
6. Deer
7. White Umbrella

III. *Sirivacca*

IV. Marks of the Greatest of Men

1. *Usnisa*
2. *Urna*
3. Marks on the Feet

V. Feet

VI. Lion, Bull and Elephant

VII. The Buddha Image

VIII. Deities

1. *Vanadevatas* or Tree Spirits
2. *Nadidevatas* or River Spirits
3. *Nāgas*
4. *Garudas*
5. *Kinnaras*
6. *Gandharvas*
7. *Yaksas*
8. *Sri / Siri Laksmi*
9. *Sakka (Indra)*
10. *Vajrapāni*
11. *Māra*
12. *Sthavara* the Earth Goddess

VIII. Animals

a) Mythical Animals

1. Lion Type
2. Elephant Type
3. Equine Type
4. *Makara*
5. Mermen

b) True Animals

Zimmer has pointed out that there was "a comparatively early instance of the lotus symbol as the pedestal of the Buddhist saviours" on an Amarāvatī pillar of the 3rd century AD and the representation of the Buddha as standing on "expanded lotus calyxes" (Zimmer, 1960: 173). An ' aniconic' iconography of the *mahācaitya* can also be visualized in the series of the self-images of the monuments in the light of the discussion on the symbolism and worship of the *caitya / stūpa* as given in Chapter 7. A peculiar symbol by which the Buddha was represented in the Amarāvatī sculptures was the flaming or fiery pillar, for which there are many examples (Barrett, 1954: Pl. XXXV; Dehejia, 1997: 49, Figure 40). This peculiar symbol is a distinct invention and a contribution of Amarāvatī to the store of the Buddhist symbolism (Ghosh, D, 1927 (B): 493).

The list presented above may be supplemented by the every conceivable detail of the material world represented in the sculptures, as brought out by Sivaramamurti, though he had the different purpose of reconstructing the glimpses of life in the Sātavāhana or Andhra period (Sivaramamurti, 1977: 96-150). The excavation reports of the site, reviewed in Chapter 2, have also yielded aspects of correspondence with the material objects represented in the sculptures.

8.6.2. Buddhist Sculptures with the Buddha Image

The anthropomorphic representation of the Buddha changed the course of the Buddhist sculptural art in India from the 1st century AD onwards. The Buddha, who was so far elusive in art, is now visible and present in three-dimensional form before the devotees for visualization and worship. The questions about the nature and place of origin of the first image of the Buddha are not as controversial and contentious today as they used to be, since there is consensus in support of the views of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and van Lohuizen de Leeuw. In 1927, Coomaraswamy rejected the Greek origin of the Buddha image and asserted that the Buddha images were first created by Indian sculptors working at Mathurā and not in Gandhāra (Coomaraswamy, 1972). Van Lohuizen de Leeuw confirmed in 1949 the suggestions of Coomaraswamy that the standing Buddha images were derived from *yaksa* images and the seated Buddha images from Jaina images (de Leeuw, 1995: 152-154, 167-169). Although she concluded that the Buddha image first appeared at Mathurā at least half a century earlier than in Gandhāra (Ibid: 169), the date of its origin is still hotly debated (Mitra, 2001: 23). It is certain that many of the examples of the Buddha image at Amarāvatī, which will be taken up below, do go back to the 2nd century AD and that the appearance of the Buddha image in north India preceded that of Amarāvatī by a few decades only (Barrett, 1954: 58-59).

The basic change that took place in the sculptural tradition at Amarāvatī due to the creation of the Buddha image was the practice, unique to Amarāvatī, of the symbolic and anthropomorphic representation of the Buddha simultaneously. The *Caityaka* beliefs and practices could have been partly responsible for this peculiarity (Dutt, S., 1988: 164, 194), which got itself expressed in a new sculptural tradition that marginalized the figure of the Buddha in its allocation of space to the *mahācaitya* in perspective view. It is likely that the *Caityaka* conception of the nature of the Buddha as being in conformity with the world (*lokānuvartana*), as

explained in Chapter 7, was also responsible for such a sculptural tradition of the Buddha along with the symbols. It may also be considered as the artistic attempt at fusing the dichotomy of the natures of the Buddha.

8.7. The Amarāvatī Buddha

The controversy pertaining to the origin of the Buddha image between the Eurocentric and nationalist art historians was centred also on the claims of priority for Gandhāra and Mathurā and was always at the neglect of the rich evidence from Amarāvatī—the only other site in India where Buddha images were produced more or less simultaneously as at Mathurā and Gandhāra—with the result that all forms of the early Buddha images in India were ascribed either to the Mathurā model or to the Gandhāra one. The only one attempt at taking into consideration the possible contributions of Amarāvatī to the forms of the Buddha image was made by Douglass Barrett, but that too as an Appendix to his Catalogue (Barrett, 1954: 57-61). One reason that had contributed to the earlier lack of interest in the Buddha images of Amarāvatī seems to be the absence at Amarāvatī of the pronounced 'classical' or Graeco-Roman features as at Gandhāra and the absence of iconized and colossal free-standing images as at Mathurā and Gandhāra. An element of regional bias also seems to have been a strong undercurrent in this lack of interest in the Buddha images of the south-eastern Deccan as a whole and of Amarāvatī in particular. The prime concern here is to identify the forms of the Buddha images at Amarāvatī and recognize the existence of an Amarāvatī Buddha.

One peculiarity of the religious milieu of the *Caityaka*s at Amarāvatī, as detailed in Chapter 7, was the greater emphasis of the *Caityaka*s on the symbolic worship of the Buddha, which partly accounts for the relatively less abundant and iconographically less stylized Buddha images of Amarāvatī when compared to those of Mathurā and Gandhāra. We have also traced in detail the doctrinal developments

and cultic practices, including the deification of the Buddha and elements of *bhakti* that could have preceded and facilitated the production of the Buddha image at Amarāvatī. In other words, the south-eastern Deccan was also active, productive and capable of original religious conceptions like the other regions of India in the early Christian centuries. Moreover, as was the case with the northern and north-western parts of India, the Buddhist art of the south-eastern Deccan was also essentially rooted in the religio-cultic milieu. The most striking feature of the archaeology of the Buddha images from Amarāvatī is that invariably every image has the *caitya* context and that all the Buddha images were originally produced either as forming structural parts of the *mahācaitya* or else as part of the embellishment of the *caityas*. This seems to us to be very significant in understanding the conception of the Buddha image in relation to Amarāvatī. No other early Buddhist site has yielded a stream of continuous evidence from the 3rd century BC the 3rd century AD so that the contexts of the sculptures without the Buddha image and with the Buddha image can be put into art historical perspective.

8.7.1. Forms of the Buddha Image

If the deification and worship of the Buddha was the culmination of a long-term process, the different forms of the Buddha image should also be the result of a similar process. Art historically, this can be traced more fully, if at all, not from the iconographical details of the stylized images, but from the evolutionary and historical or functional contexts in which the specific images in question appeared. Therefore, the approach here gives emphasis to the functions of the sculptures concerned rather than to the details of their iconography.

Our examination of the images of the Buddha has shown that the figure of the Buddha appeared in two sculptural forms and in at least four contextual types. The two sculptural forms are the relief Buddhas in the narrative context and the

Buddha statues as free-standing images. While the former comprises of those Buddha images, which were not yet fully stereotyped and less iconized for the purpose of worship, the latter comprises mainly of those images of the Buddha, which were fully stylized and stereotyped, and were more of iconized images being worshipped by the devotees.

The three contextual types of the Buddha images are briefly described below.

8.7.1.1. The Buddha in the *Caitya* Context

The largest number of the Buddha figures at Amarāvatī is found either along with the depiction of the *caitya*s or as part of the 'self-image ' of the *mahācaitya*. It is our presumption that the Buddha image at Amarāvatī was first introduced in this context, in purely relief form, in order to replace the symbolic representation of the Buddha. In some of the photographs that we have presented, it can be seen that the next scene on the same limestone slab is often the symbolic or the 'iconic' representation of the Buddha. Close observation of some of these scenes brings out that the only structural difference among these scenes in terms of form, space, contents etc. is in the replacement of the symbol with the image of the Buddha. All the other features—the men and women and the celestial beings in adoration of the symbol or the Buddha and their respective postures—are exactly the same. Thus, the same sculptor or group of sculptors and their monk-supervisors were responsible for this kind of a mixed or hybrid representation of the Buddha, both in the symbolic and anthropomorphic form, which allows us to understand at least some aspects of the transition to the new sculptural traditions. Although Amarāvatī is the only site where this phase of transition in a very natural form has left clear evidence, most early art historians who had debated on the origin of the Buddha image and drawn theories on it have not incorporated this unique evidence from Amarāvatī. It is equally significant that Sivaramamurti ascribed a period between 100 AD and 150

AD for some of these sculptures (Sivaramamurti, 1977: 164-174). Statistically, there is a predilection towards the seated Buddhas in the *caitya* context.

Even after the introduction of the Buddha image in the *caitya* context, the significance of the *caitya* for representing or symbolizing the Buddha was retained as can be seen in the space and size allocated to the Buddha images in relation to the *caitya*. In the friezes depicting the Buddha and *caitya* in alternate series, both were sculpted in the same size and in equal space. In the sculptural plan of the *caitya*-slabs, which provided the self-image of the *mahācaitya*, the process of accommodation and the growing importance of the image of the Buddha are very clear. There is only one image of the Buddha on the largest of the *caitya* slabs (See Book III, Index to Select Amarāvatī Sculptures), where it is placed on the top margin to the sculptural representation of the *mahācaitya*, and that too in miniature along with the other symbolic representations of the Buddha. The space given to the Buddha image shifts to the lower central position on some slabs (See Book III, Index to Select Amarāvatī Sculptures) and the number of the Buddha images rises to as many as four on the same relief (See Book III, Index to Select Amarāvatī Sculptures), though the miniature representation was still the rule. An interesting observation to be made in this regard is that on certain representations of the *mahācaitya*, the space now found allocated to the image of the Buddha was previously occupied on occasion by the figure of the many-hooded *nāgas* (Barrett, 1954: Pls I, a & b, II, a & b). Moreover, in one example, the Buddha himself is depicted with the hood of a *nāga* over his head (Barrett, 1954: Pl. II), in the place of the halo. Similar scenes are also found at Nāgārjunakonda (Stone, 1994: Pls. 111, 148, 227) and Goli (Stone, 1994: Pl. 98). It is significant to remember that Coomaraswamy had postulated "a genetic connection" between the polycephalous *Nāga* of the Mathurā or Sāñcī type and the seated Buddha or Jina sheltered by a *Nāga* (Coomaraswamy, 1972: 24-27). The Pārśvanātha figure with the many-

hooded *nāga* over his head as at Mathurā (Coomaraswamy, 1972: Figure 43) is so close to the figure of the Buddha with the many-hooded *nāga* over his head as at Amarāvatī (Barret, 1954: Pl. II) that the artistic repertoire of the south-eastern Deccan can not be divested of the *Nāga* heritage. Coomaraswamy had also pointed out that the Buddha is sometimes referred to as a *Nāga* (Coomaraswamy, 1981: 191, 198).

8.7.1.2. Buddha in Narrative Context

A good number of the Buddha images at Amarāvatī are found in the narrative or story-telling context as at Gandhāra, Nāgārjunakonda etc. In many of the scenes representing various themes from the life of the Buddha as well as the *Jātaka* stories, the image of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva were represented. The figure of the Bodhisattva at Amarāvatī was not at all stereotyped and it was exactly the figure of a standing or seated prince—very common in the sculptural narratives at Amarāvatī—with a halo (Barrett, 1954: 60). He is portrayed as an active and young prince, enjoying the pleasures of life (See Book III, Index to Select Amarāvatī Sculptures) or as an emperor seated in a *simhāsana* surrounded by devout attendants, and carved in the same pattern of the scenes of adoration of the symbolic representations of the Buddha and as if the symbol were replaced by the figure of the *Bodhisattva* with a halo and a tree over his head (See Book III, Index to Select Amarāvatī Sculptures or Sivaramamurti, 1977: Pl. XXXIII, 1).

While the Buddhas of both Mathurā and Gandhāra are nimbate (Coomaraswamy, 1972: 19-20), i.e., having a nimbus or halo, we come across certain Buddha images from Amarāvatī without a halo around or over the head of the Buddha (Barrett, 1954: 59 and Pls. XXIX; also see Book III, Index to Select Amarāvatī Sculptures). Doctrinally, Buddha image without halo may indicate a stage when the process of deification of the Buddha was not yet complete, whereas

iconographically, it can point to the possibility of its earlier occurrence when compared to the images with the halo. Moreover, the Buddha image of this type without the halo is depicted as though it is of the figure of a monk. If the short curly hair, *usnisa* and halo are added to the figures of the monks, the result is an Amarāvatī Buddha (Barrett, 1954: 59). The similarity between the depictions of the Buddha and the monks at Amarāvatī is striking in the scene of the depiction of the Nālagiri legend (See Book III, Index to Select Amarāvatī Sculptures). The figure of the monk standing closest to the prostrating elephant in that scene was a clear case of the Buddha in the making in the Amarāvatī sculptures.

Most of the Amarāvatī Buddha images are found with halo, both in the seated and standing postures. The process of stylization and repetition, leading to certain stereotyped features, is evident in both the seated and sitting postures. An important feature that emerges from our examination of the sculptures of the Buddha in narrative context is that there was a tendency towards an active and preaching posture at Amarāvatī unlike that of Gandhāra and Mathurā where the meditating posture was favoured most. Barrett has shown that the standing Buddha figure with the right shoulder uncovered was commonly used at Amarāvatī which he considered as the original conception of the Amarāvatī sculptor and which provided a model to south India and Sri Lanka for many centuries (Barrett, 1954: 61). This standing figure is so naturally rendered and interwoven into the narrative contexts and takes its place alongside the seated figures that "there need be in this instance no question of outside influence" (Barrett, 1954: 61).

8.7.1.3. Buddha Image in Free-standing Context

The third contextual type of the Buddha-image at Amarāvatī is the free-standing figure, though the number of such images is not as abundant as at Mathurā or Gandhāra. Of the three types at Amarāvatī, the free-standing ones are relatively

fewer, but these are the most stylized of all the three (See Book III, Index to Select Amarāvatī Sculptures). Some of the Buddha images were placed at the four entrances of the *mahācaitya* at the rectangular projections at the four cardinal points facing the devotees on circumambulation. This is proved both by the excavation reports and the details on some of the *caitya*-slabs which depicted the self-images of the *mahācaitya*. Thus, the free-standing Buddha images were meant for worship. Though Gangoly has argued that the figure of the Buddha on the panels were somewhat stereotyped repetitions of the free-standing figures which appear to have preceded the panels that introduced the anthropomorphic representations of the Buddha (Gangoly, 1973: 24), we can not subscribe to this argument on two grounds: 1) All the figures of the Buddha on the panels to which he referred were not stereotyped and that, as we have shown earlier, some of the most naturalistic representations of the Buddha as an active and preaching teacher at Amarāvatī are found in the narrative context on the panels. 2) Stylization of an image could take place only after continued practice of certain sculptural styles or conventions and, therefore, we would suggest that contrary to Gangoly's argument, the stylized or stereotyped free-standing Buddha images were less likely to have preceded the Buddha images in the narrative contexts, and that they were more likely to have succeeded the other contextual types of the Buddha images that we have briefly described above. This is very similar to the case of Gandhāra where sizeable reliefs centring on enlarged Buddha images in high relief appear late in the history of Gandhāra art (Dehejia, 1997: 184-185).

The foregoing examination of the different forms and types of the Buddha image at Amarāvatī has yielded sufficient ground for searching the salient or typical features of what can now safely be called the Amarāvatī Buddha. The Amarāvatī Buddha, whether seated or standing, in the *caitya* or narrative or free-standing contexts, exhibits certain common features, some of which are also found at

Mathurā and Gandhāra. Many of these are derived from Mathurā and Gandhāra via the religio-cultural and commercial links between the lower Krsna valley and the north and north-west of India during the early Christian centuries AD, but some others could have been developed by the sculptors of Amarāvatī themselves since they were also exposed to the philosophical, doctrinal and cultic development within the Buddhism of the region through their monk-supervisors.

There is correspondence between the Buddha images of Mathurā and those from Amarāvatī as are represented mainly by such features as the short curly hair, the feet and right shoulder uncovered, the left hand holding up a fold of the robe, and certain sitting postures and positions of hands or *mudrās* (Burgess, 1970: Pls. XLVI, 1; XLVI, 2; XLVIII, 3). Similarly, there is correspondence between the Buddha images of Gandhāra and Amarāvatī as clearly represented in the standing Buddha figure, with both shoulders covered and the folds of robe more formally rendered as in Photograph No. in Book III, Index to Select Amarāvatī Sculptures or Barrett, 1954: Pl. XXIX). It has rightly been pointed out by Joe Cribb that the relief carvings of the Buddha at Amarāvatī had the same features of composition as those used at Mathurā and Gandhāra, i.e., standing, facing in *abhayamudrā*, dressed in monastic robes with cloak covering both shoulders, looped with symmetrical folds across the chest and its end held in a bunch above waist-level by the left hand, and his head surrounded by a halo with a marked edge (Cribb, 1984: 237-238). In spite of these similarities with Mathurā and Gandhāra, the Buddha images of Amarāvatī can be clearly recognized and identified as separate from those of the former two sites on certain stylistic features or grounds. As Gangoly has demonstrated, the Mathurā type was further improved upon by the Amarāvatī sculptors (Gangoly, 1973: 51 and Figures, 15, 13, 14). The Amarāvatī Buddha developed a peculiar convention in the turn and upward sweep of the bend of the fold of the upper garment (Gangoly, 1973: 51). Coomaraswamy has pointed out the

significance of the representation of the royal gesture of the *cakravartin* or emperor at Jaggayyapeta and Amarāvatī (Coomaraswamy, 1972: 16; 1972 (a): Pl.V, 19,20) for early Buddhist iconography. Subsequently, J. E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw has postulated further that the *abhayamudrā* is a development of the royal gesture in some reliefs from Jaggayyapeta and Amarāvatī (De Leeuw, 1995: 167), one of which we have reproduced (See Book III, Index to Select Amarāvatī Sculptures). Some novel poses were also introduced at Amarāvatī in the seated Buddha images (Gangoly, 1973: 53), a prominent one being the *sattvaparyanka āsana*, which appeared first at Amarāvatī (Barrett, 1954: 57).

The Amarāvatī Buddha that emerges from the many iconographic and stylistic features, which we have briefly surveyed in the foregoing discussion, is the figure of a standing monk who was represented also in the 'aniconic' or pre-iconic art, to which was added such features as curly hair, *usnisa* or the protuberance and halo. In the production of this image, iconographic elements of both the earlier phase of the art at Amarāvatī prior to the beginning of the Christian era as well as the other early Buddhist traditions of art from Mathurā and Gandhāra were utilized. That this Amarāvatī Buddha was the source of the Buddha images of the south-eastern Deccan as a whole and of south India and south-east Asia for a long time to come is generally agreed upon by art historians (Barrett, 1954: 61; 1991: 129-144; Aiyappan and Srinivasan, 1960: 66-69).

No absolute dating of the Amarāvatī Buddha is possible today in the present state of the evidence, but a combined use of archaeology, epigraphy and palaeography and a comparison with the chronology worked out for Mathurā and Gandhāra have yielded certain indications. Any consideration of the date of the Buddha image at Amarāvatī should also take a serious note of the fact that the art-activity at Amarāvatī and some of the allied centres in the south-eastern Deccan

goes back to as early as 3rd and 2nd centuries BC and that this art-activity and the artistic productions thereof, including the earlier stratum of the *caitya* and its debris, were neither inseminated nor influenced by the artistic traditions of Mathurā and Gandhāra, of which the former was already a centre of art-activity, but the latter was yet to emerge as such. Instead, it was the artistic influence of Bhārhut and Sāñcī and the religious and monastic milieu of the north-eastern centres that were influential in this early stage at Amarāvatī. Thus, it can not be denied that there was a cultural and artistic repertoire in the south-eastern Deccan even before the beginning of the Christian era. It should also be acknowledged that this cultural and artistic repertoire was still Indian and capable of being drawn from as the source of the artistic imageries by the sculptors of the south-eastern Deccan as a whole in the early Christian centuries AD This is not to deny or denigrate the imporatation of ideas or designs from the Kusāna-Mathurā and Gandhāra, but only to emphasize that it was into an already rich and dynamic tradition of religious art that the model or design and iconographic features of the Buddha image from Mathurā or Gandhāra did reach. Moreover, most scholars who have tried to date the Buddha images of Amarāvatī have taken the presence of the iconographic features of Mathurā and Gandhāra in the iconography of the Buddha image at Amarāvatī as the basic evidence for dating the Buddha image at Amarāvatī, often implying that textual base and folk traditions which lay behind Buddhist artistic imageries were available solely to the studios of Mathurā, and to Gandhāra via Mathurā.

A second observation that we would like to make is that the basic points of Coomaraswamy's inquiry into the origin of the Buddha image—(1) what constituted the Buddha image; (2) what the contents of the early representation of deities by means of symbols were; (3) what the necessity for a Buddha image was, (4) which elements of the later anthropomorphic iconography already present in early Indian art were etc. (Coomaraswamy, 1972)—can be worked out also for

Amarāvatī. Such an inquiry is not attempted here, but some such questions have already been taken up in the present discussion. It may be noted with due respect to Coomaraswamy, that many of the elements that he had been searching for were better represented in the sculptures of a period prior to the anthropomorphic stage at Amarāvatī than those in Mathurā and Gandhāra. Similarly, the points of Niharranjan Ray's inquiry, into how the ideological and spiritual reality that the Buddha was imagined to be, was translated and transmuted into the image of the Buddha in concrete visual terms of plastic art (Ray, Niharranjan, 1973: 9-52), could be viewed as applicable to Amarāvatī also, and not necessarily exclusive to Gandhāra and Mathurā. Adopting 120 AD as the date of accession of Kaniska, Coomaraswamy has suggested the end of the 1st century AD as the date for the earliest Buddha images of Mathurā (Coomaraswamy, 1972: 34 and 37), which he thought were not the first of its kind ever made. Joe Cribb has suggested that the adaptation of the Buddha image of Mathurā by the sculptors of Gandhāra had begun by circa 150 AD and that the development of the full-fledged Gandhāra style had taken place circa 220 AD (Cribb, 1984: 243), though Karl Khandalawala has suggested that the five dated Gandhāra sculptures belonged to various dates between as late as 261 AD and 408 AD (Khandalawala, 1985: 61-71).

Sivaramamurti dated the introduction of the Buddha image at Amarāvatī to circa 100 A.D when there was an occasional departure from the symbolical representation of the Buddha (Sivaramamurt, 1977: 29. Pls. XX, 1 and XXII, 1). Gangoly pushed the date of this beginning still earlier to 50 AD with a lower limit of 225 AD (Gangoly, 1973: 24-27). Even within the 'short chronology' developed by Barrett for the Amarāvatī sculptures, he hinted at the possibility that the Buddha image in north India preceded that of Amarāvatī by a few decades only, though the date he suggested for its introduction at Amarāvatī was the last two decades of the 2nd century AD (Barrett, 1954: 58-59). More recently, Anamika Roy has argued

that the representation of the human form of the Buddha made its appearance in Amarāvatī in the early 2nd century AD (Roy, Anamika, 1994: 177). Moving on to Nāgārjunakonda, the worship of the free-standing Buddha image has been dated to the later part of the 3rd century AD (Stone, 1980: 116-117).

Though some of the sculptured panels with the Buddha image at Amarāvatī bear epigraphs, only one of them has yielded what can be considered as possible evidence for an attempt at palaeographically dating the Buddha image. The inscription (Index No. II. 39) as well as the sculptured slab on which it was inscribed are fragmentary so that neither the epigraph nor the sculpture can be fully reconstructed or visualized. The text of the inscription refers to " *...bhagavato buddhapamātu pata...* " which has been taken to mean a slab of Lord Buddha. Sivaramamurti has assigned a date of circa 100AD for the epigraph. Unlike in Gandhāra or Mathurā, where epigraphic references to the installation of the images are numerous (Schopen, 1997: 238-257), the epigraph in question is the only one that refers to the presence of the image of the Buddha and the installation of the image of the Buddha at Amarāvatī. However, the sculpture is so fragmentary that Sivaramamurti was unable to find any figure of the Buddha on the sculptured slab except the legs of some women with heavy anklets (Sivaramamurti, 1977: 283, No. 48). If the date suggested by Sivaramamurti is accepted for this inscription and for the two sculptured slabs with the figures of the Buddha that we have already referred to (Sivaramamurti, 1977: Pls. XX, 1 and XXII, 1), what follows is that these low-relief Buddhas in the narrative scenes could have been carved not much later—perhaps by only a few decades—than the earliest Buddha images of Mathurā. *If we take that these fully evolved images of the period circa 100 AD are not necessarily the earliest attempt at Amarāvatī, as it very likely, it will follow that the sculptors at Amarāvatī were also involved in the earliest attempts at making the Buddha images in India, along with those of Mathurā and Gandhāra.*

Therefore, in the light of this discussion and the detailed survey of the doctrinal and cultic base of the religiosity of the south-eastern Deccan during the period, it may not be far-fetched to conclude that the Buddhist art of the south-eastern Deccan was not averse to the Buddha image and that it was very much in tune with the Buddhist artistic traditions of early India. Moreover, such opinions of art-historians as that of Elizabeth Rosen Stone, to the effect that (1) the Buddhist art of Andhra Pradesh was not in tune with the development of early Buddhist narrative sculpture as a development from the aniconic imagery of Bhārhut and Sāñcī to the iconic imagery of the Gupta narratives of the Sāranāth school, and (2) that the people of Andhra Pradesh were not developing along the line of the Buddhists of the North-west of India (Stone, 1994: 64-65) may need serious revision.

8.8. Roots of Sculptural Styles

The historiographical tradition of looking at the art of Amarāvatī in terms of notions of aesthetics that are non-Indian is a by-product of the colonial search for Graeco-Roman elements in Indian art and the nationalist attempt at countering it by emphasizing its Indianness. The art historical practice of identifying and recognizing certain visual characteristics as the key to a style, which in turn should be the hall-mark of a school of sculpture or painting, has hardly any historical root in early Indian art. Moreover, there is little evidence to indicate that craftsmen or artisans ever saw themselves as protagonists of or forming a particular school of sculpture or painting. This is not to deny that the sculptures of Gandhāra or Mathurā or Amarāvatī can not be identified and distinguished in terms of the visual effects which they create, but only to indicate that the aesthetic conditions or standards that prevailed among early Indian sculptors, artisans and patrons need not be the same as those which existed in the western societies (Mitter, 2001: 2). As E. H. Gombrich has shown, "style" became established as a term of art history in the

18th century only, and the names for styles denote either desirable dependence on a classical norm or the condemned deviations from it (Gombrich, E. H., 1972: 354). The powers of art in transmitting notions of authority in the early Indian context have been acknowledged by historians (Miller, 1992; Asher and Metcalf, 1994). The power of forms as ideological signs sometimes causes sponsors to prescribe a style (Markus, 1993: 37).

If the "Amarāvatī style" refers to any distinctive and recognizable way in which the relief or three-dimensional depiction of certain specific themes were made, it has social or historical points of reference. Thus, the "style" which we refer to is a description of the visual effects of a distinctive and recognizable pattern or convention, which originated from such factors as (1) the pre-existing cultural milieu, (2) the contemporary socio-cultural and religio-cultic basis, (3) the material and technology used, (4) the forms of patronage etc. Similarly, the notion of "the Amarāvatī School of Art" can be meaningful only if it refers to the institutional base of the production of the forms of art in a specific style. Our inquiry into it in Chapter 6 has brought out that it was the monasteries with the *mahācaitya* as the focus that organized the network of the art-activity. How much of that institutional base was mediated by the *Caityaka* religiosity has been detailed in Chapter 7. In spite of these emerging points of clarity, there are still many missing links in the understanding of the Amarāvatī style, and about which concrete description is still a desideratum. For example, what are the criteria for identifying the Amarāvatī style? and why did this style originate precisely in the form in which it was? Unlike that of the Gandhāra style, about which specific and specialized studies have come out (Nehru, Lolita, 1989), what constituted the much talked about Amarāvatī style remains less understood.

The artistic monuments of Amarāvatī and the allied centres functioned as texts and visual narratives in their own right (Dehejia, 1997: 37). At Amarāvatī alone, an estimated 60 feet high solid hemisphere, raised on a cylindrical platform measuring 6 feet high and 140 feet in diametre, constituted the *mahācaitya* as a visual text. A three-part outer-railing protected the monument, 192 feet in diametre, consisting of 136 lofty pillars and 348 crossbars that held up 800 feet of decorated coping stone. Two pairs of lions guarded a 26-foot wide gateway at the four cardinal points. The narrow path for circumambulation was placed between the outer railing and the drum, with decorated *āyaka*s at the four cardinal points (Mitter, 2001: 27). Calculations indicate that, like that of the Bhārhut *stūpa*, only forty percent of the pieces that constituted the decoration of the *mahācaitya* at Amarāvatī have survived (Dehejia, 1997: 151). It was twice the size of the Bhārhut *stūpa* and a third larger compared to the main *stūpa* at Sāñcī (Dehejia, 1997: 151). Coomaraswamy has estimated that a surface area of 16, 800 square feet was covered with sculptured relief (Coomaraswamy, 1978: Part II, 7).

8.9. STATISTICAL APPROACH TO SCULPTURAL DEPICTION

The chart given below presents the results of a statistical survey of the spilt-up of the various sculptured or carved items or ingredients, which constituted the visual narratives at Amarāvatī. Not every extant piece has been scrutinized, nor has every element in three-dimensional form been taken into account. The dependence on only the published accounts and the generally accepted identifications of themes makes the results more of an approximation. This statistics can, it is hoped, bring about a better understanding of what the "Amarāvatī School" and "Amarāvatī style" were all about.

Serial Numbers	Items of Depiction	Sivaramamurti, 1977	Barrett, 1954	Anamika Roy, 1994	Coomaraswamy, 1978	Sarkar & Nainar, 1980	Sarma, I. K., 1985	Total
1	Human figures:							2723
	a) Men	995	643	117	18	111	1	1885
	b) Women	421	361	20	9	24	1	836
	c) Children	2						2
2	Buddha figures:							78
	a) Buddha with halo	18	26	6				50
	b) Buddha without halo	20	6		1	1		28
3	Bodhisattva	1	2			4		7
4	*Yaksa*	19		1		1	1	22
5	Symbols:							258
	a) *Caitya*	22	19	8	4	8	1	62
	b) Tree	39	26	3	1	4	2	75
	c) *Buddhapāda*	4	7	1		2		14
	d) *Dharmacakra*	16	20	3	3	3	1	46
	e) *Pūrnaghata*	3	3	3		5		1
	f) Pillar	3	1			1		5
	g) Throne	27	7	8	1	4		47
6	Animals:							311
	a) Elephants	47	16				1	64
	b) Horses	41	33	1		1		76
	c) Snakes	10	15	6		2		33
	d) Bullocks	9	10					19
	e) Lions	43	41	13	10	6		113
	f) Peacock	3						3
	g) Monkey	2						2
	h) Deer	1						1
7	Carts	1				1		2
8	Huts	3						3

8.10. Modes of Narration

Intrinsic to the sculptures of Amarāvatī are the technique by which these were presented as visual texts in themselves. Coomaraswamy believed that the sculptures of Amarāvatī might have been covered originally with thin plaster and were coloured (Coomaraswamy, 1972: 70). The analysis of the sculptures kept in the British Museum has shown that the reliefs were originally given a surface coating (Knox, 1992: 232) for a painted visual effect.

Vidya Dehejia has recently analyzed the distinctive ways in which ancient Indian artists presented Buddhist narratives to their audience of monks, pilgrims and patrons (Dehejia, 1997). She has identified seven modes of visual story telling, considered the reasons for one mode being chosen over another, and explored how the effect of a story on the viewer varied according to the manner chosen to portray it. These are comparable to the wide range of modes within the field of literary narrative (Dehejia, 1997: 4). It was at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakonda that this narrative art reached "maturity" (Dehejia, 1997: 150-182).

The modes of narration at Amarāvatī have drawn on at least one usage of each of the seven narrative modes identified by Dehejia. Of these, the following three modes were more popular at Amarāvatī than the others were.

8.10.1. Sequential Network

Sequential narrative contains the repeated appearance of the protagonists at different times and places; the distinction between the modes is compositional in nature, and revolves around the principle of enframement. In sequential narrative, extrinsic criteria are used to demarcate temporal divisions. Scenes are separated from one another by a variety of compositional means, and generally each episode is contained within a separate frame. In sequential narrative, each scene is a unit in

itself; each event occurs at one specific moment, in one particular space. Frequently, sequential narrative is found in the format of a horizontal frieze, although on occasion it may assume a vertical lay out (Dehejia, 1997: 20). Examples for the sequential network include Barrett, 1954: Pl. XXI, b; Barrett, 1954: Pl. XXVIII; Sivaramamurt, 1977: Pl. XXXIII, 1, some of which we have reproduced in Book III. Such examples come from Nāgārgunakonda (Dehejia, 1997: 20, Fig. 15) and Goli (Dehejia, 1997: 20, Fig. 14).

8.10.2. Narrative Network

Narrative network is a complex variety of story-telling that may be described as a system of networks involving large and complex scenes, but possessing a distinct validity as an independent category. Narrative networks extend across an expanded span that does not allow the viewer to see the conclusion of the tale at the same time as he views the beginning. It shares features of the sequential mode in its partial demarcation of scenes (Dehejia, 1997: 27-32, 159-161). Examples for the narrative network include Figures 36 and 37 in Dehejia, 1997: 150.

8.10.3. Monoscenic Narrative: Theme of Action

The monoscenic mode centres around a single event in a story, one that is generally neither the first nor the last and which introduces us to a theme of action. Such a scene is usually an easily identifiable event from a story and it serves as a reference to the narrative. Viewers are introduced to the story in the middle of the action and the relation of key figures to scenic details must be unmistakable and stimulate viewers into telling themselves the story (Dehejia, 1997: 10). Examples include Dehejia, 1997: 163, Figures 142, 143.

The other four narrative modes employed at Amarāvatī are:

8.10.4. Monoscenic Narrative: Static Mode

The static mode of monoscenic narration is frequently used by artists to present the viewer with scenes from the Buddha's life when the supremacy of the Buddha is the prime concern. In this mode, artists generally present the single, culminating episode of a story and focus thematically on the wisdom and presence of the Buddha. In such depictions, the narrative content is sharply reduced and the reliefs represent scenes in which the action has already taken place. The artist presents us with the result of a narrative episode, or with the situation that immediately follows that narrative episode (Dehejia, 1997: 12). Figure 146 of Dehejia, 1997: 166 is the example.

8.10.5. Continuous Narrative

Continuous narratives depict successive events of an episode or successive episodes of a story within a single enframed unit, repeating the figure of the protagonists in the course of the narrative. Consecutive time frames are presented within a single visual field, without any dividers to distinguish one time frame from the next; however, temporal succession and spatial movement are generally clearly indicated. The comprehension of continuous narrative requires awareness that more than one moment of time is presented within a single visual frame, and that multiple appearances of the protagonists indicate successive moments of time as well as successive spaces in which action occurs (Dehejia, 1997: 15). The relief depicting the Nalagiri episode is the example (See Book III, Index to Select Amarāvatī Sculptures).

8.10.6. Synoptic Narrative

In the synoptic mode of narration, multiple episodes from a story are depicted within a single frame but their temporal sequence is not communicated and

there is no consistent or formal order of presentation with regard to either causality or temporality. The scant attention paid to the element of time is characteristic of this mode. The multiple episodes of a story generally contain the repeated figure of the protagonists (Dehejia, 1997: 21). Figure 145 of Dehejia, 1997: 165 and figure 17 of Dehejia, 1997: 23 are examples.

8.10.7. Conflated Narrative

Conflated narrative is complementary to the synoptic mode with which it shares many features. However, while multiple episodes of a story or multiple scenes of an episode are presented, the figure of the protagonists is conflated instead of being repeated from one scene to the next; this characteristic overlapping manner of presentation subverts temporal successions even further (Dehejia, 1997: 25). However, Dehejia has not cited any example from the sculptures of Amarāvatī for the conflated narrative.

8.11. Sources of Stylistic Variety

In the light of the different points of inquiries taken up above, we have touched upon some elements that could constitute the Amarāvatī style. Though these elements may not be sufficient to define what is meant by the Amarāvatī style or art, the following statement by Amita Ray seems to sum up what can be the basis of the style represented by the Amarāvatī School:

> It is a fact of some significance that irrespective of the themes for purposes of narration, the facial and physiognomical forms of men and women, their stances and movement in these narrations, the general compositional arrangement of figuration—men, women, animals, architectural features etc., the distribution of light and shade, the consequent visual effect, the anticipated aesthetic responses of the clientèle and their general ethos, all seem to belong to a common denominator (Ray, Amita, 1983: 139-140).

It is generally agreed upon by art-historians that the sculptures of Amarāvatī did not belong to any homogeneous tradition and that they contained many sub-

trends (Kramrisch, 1979: 46 53; Rowland, 1970: 207-214; Zimmer, 1964: 350-351). Our inquiry into the historical evolution of the cultural matrix of the south-eastern Deccan has brought out the primacy of the megalithic socio-economic and material strata in the formation of the society, economy and culture in the lower Krsna valley during the six hundred-year span chosen for the present study. Moreover, cultural forces including material culture from different parts of the Indian sub-continent and outside of it, too, went into the formation of the particular socio-cultural, economic and religious matrix of the south-eastern Deccan. Thus, the primary socio-cultural stratum of the south-eastern Deccan interacted with five sub-strata from 1) northern Gangā valley, 2) central India, 3) north-western India, 4) south India, and 5) the Mediterranean region in the context of the trade linking the Deccan with the Roman Empire. The strands of sculptural styles, which art historians have identified at Amarāvatī in particular and the allied centres in general, are viewed here as having their roots in the interaction among these diverse sources of culture. The stylistic amalgam of the different strands at Amarāvatī is a result of the historical process, which we have detailed at length, in the previous chapters.

Before concluding this lengthy and discursive look at the art of Amarāvatī, some of the peculiarities of the stylistic strands that constituted the Amarāvatī style are mentioned here. The chronology worked out for Amarāvatī indicates that two broad stages can be identified for the evolution of the Amarāvatī style from step by step, local, stylistic progression over several centuries through the pre-reconstruction (i.e., of the *mahācaitya*) period to the fully developed Amarāvatī style of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD (Knox, 1992: 31-34). These are:

1) The simple beginning seen only in the engravings on part of the rail, leading to a long, pre-reconstruction period from the 3rd century BC to about the late 1st century AD, influenced by the art of Bhārhut and Sāñcī;

2) The "mature" or "High Period" (i.e., the fully evolved style), encompassing the period between circa 100 ADand 250 AD.

The following peculiarities of the Amarāvatī style have emerged from our analysis, which is supported also by the views of art historians (Ghosh, D, 1927: 264-272, 486-507; Sivaramamurti, 1977; Barrett, 1954; Gangoly, 1973: 99-102; Ray, Amita, 1983: 155-162; Dehejia, 1997):

1) The figures are round, their movements free and speedy, perspectives deep and clear and spaces distributed.

2) Figures are presented in bisections, trisections, cross sections and in all imaginable turns and twists, bends and curves, positions and postures, gaits and stances. This means that every single feature has been worked out of the depths of the stone, as if in the round which enables each figure to present in any way it likes or the artist wants it to like.

3) The composition is full of movement, surcharged with emotion and articulated in terms of sensitive physiognomical forms of males and females.

4) The physiognomical form underlines the masculinity of men and the feminity of women.

5) The slender and elongated human figures.

6) Ornamentation as the basic function of all the carvings and compositions.

7) The scenes generally crowded with the figures in foreshortened forms.

8) The mode of narrations preferred being the sequential network, narrative network and monoscenic network.

9) The externals of the style more or less derived from that of Bhārhut and Sāñcī and occasionally from that of the Roman / Mediterranean art.

10) The iconography of the Buddha parallel to and partly modelled on that of Mathurā and Gandhāra.

11) The school of Amarāvatī art and its style arising in the context of the construction and worship of the *caityas* and its continuance to be so throught in the period of the study.

Since the origins of the Amarāvatī style *per se* and the technical or material basis of the relationship between that style and the other early Indian schools of sculpture are outside the purview of the present study, no attempt has been made to elaborate some of the points that have only been touched upon here to suit the context. Moreover, scholars have dwelt at length on many such questions as, for example, the relations between the Amarāvatī style and that of Gandhāra and that of Rome (Fergusson, 1971: 161; Sivaramamurti, 1964: 34-35; Stone, 1985: 35-40; Stone, 1994: 78-79; Gangoly, 1973: 94-96; Ray, Amita, 1983: 158-162; Roy, Anamika, 1994: 152-154; Raghavachary, 1972-73: 167-170 etc.). Similarly, the relations between Amarāvatī and Mathurā have also been argued for by scholars (de Leeuw, 1995: 118; Rowland, 1970: 208-214; Cribb, 1984: 237-243).

8.12. Buddhist Art as Discourse

At the end of the present discussion, we have reached a stage whereupon it seems possible to indicate the function and nature of the art of Amarāvatī. In the light of the analysis presented in this study, it can be suggested that the basic function of the art at Amarāvatī was to assist the practitioners of the *Caityaka* religiosity. The *mahācaitya* as an artistic and religio-cultic monument functioned as a visual text in itself, symbolizing the Buddha and *Sangha* and as the focus for the *Caityaka* religiosity. The themes that were represented in sculpture through an elaborate complex system of symbols and codes had definite messages or intended meanings, which were didactic, as part of the Buddhist religious discourse that emanated from the monastic institutional base at Amarāvatī during the period of the study. Since literacy was limited to a few, sculptural art had an important role as a

text of this Buddhist discourse that developed in the region. The institutional, ideological and patronage contexts of the art activity, as taken up in the foregoing chapters, have been central to our characterization of this discourse. It is in the light of these discussions that the meanings attributed to the Buddhist art and architecture can be reconstructed.

Secondly, this art *per se* was, as suggested by Coomaraswamy, a devotional or cultic rite (Coomaraswamy, 1981: 161-199). In this devotional rite, the patron, the artist and the pilgrim participated. There had also developed a formula of doctrine and ritual, explaining the context and purpose of the art. Coomaraswamy cites Monsieur Mus to show that Buddhist art-activity had inherited the essential values of the Vedic sacrifice (Coomaraswamy, 1981: 179-180). The early Buddhist mode of patronage, as discussed by Prof. Romila Thapar, too, encapsulates this linear connection between the Vedic and Buddhist notions of patronage (Thapar, 1992 and 1994). The history of the Buddhism that developed in the south-eastern Deccan can not be properly understood if it is divested of the traditions of art. Therefore, the Buddhist art at Amarāvati, situated in history and society can be considered as an institution of Buddhism.

Thirdly and finally, the art of Amarāvatī can be viewed as the *Caityaka* art in light of the discussions in Chapter 7 and the present chapter.

Conclusion

TOWARDS A MODEL FOR HISTORICISING EARLY BUDDHIST ART IN INDIA

The Eurocentric and colonial art-historical notions and the revivalist and obscurantist Indian nationalist art-historical notions during the last two centuries have together contributed to the languishing of the sculptures recovered from the early Buddhist site of Amarāvatī, with the status of museumised relics. The British colonial art-historical discourse transformed the limestone sculptures of Amarāvatī into the "Elliot Marbles"—which represented the emerging colonial practice of the maturing of Indian archaeology within the British Empire, and the salvaging of the art from the native vandalism to which the Orientalists and Indologists charged Graeco-Roman links and ethnological meanings in their own self-declared project for knowing the history of India for native Indians. Subsequently, the Indian nationalist discourse transformed these sculptures into the "Amarāvatī Marbles", which represented the glorious sculptural and decorative traditions of ancient Indians that had their role in the emotional integration of Indians in the period of struggle against British colonialism. The persistence even today of a combination of these views of the sculptures of Amarāvatī and the allied centres of the south-eastern Deccan lead to biased opinions on the part of art historians to the effect that the Buddhist art of Andhra Pradesh was not in tune with the development of the early Buddhist narrative sculpture and that the people of Andhra Pradesh were not developing along the line of the Buddhists of the north-west of India.

The analysis presented in the study has situated the early Buddhist art of Amarāvatī and the allied centres in the context of contemporary history and society of the south-eastern Deccan during the six hundred year-span between 300 BC and 300 AD. The central proposition that underlies all the arguments and the organisation of data in the present study has been that the production and appreciation of art are integral parts of the given society and period, and that study of history and society is possible through the study of art in the model proposed here as well, since art encompasses the ideology, the socio-economic relations, the forms of production, the technology, the religious and mythological heritage etc. Another proposition basic to the arguments and presentation has been that it is only rational and logical to take that the same bent of mind that produced the systems of Indian thought also went into the production of the structure, contents, styles and consistency of Indian art. We have looked at the art of Amarāvatī not as something that was imposed from outside, but as the creation of the society in question to meet its own internal needs. It is our belief that the analysis presented in the foregoing pages has been able to allocate space for the Buddhist art of Amarāvatī and the allied centres in the history of the south-eastern Deccan.

The methodology that has been employed in the study is a combined use of, in the light of social theories, the analyses of (1) the reports of archaeological excavations, (2) the epigraphical evidence from the available 268 inscriptions summarised into Book II (Index to the Amarāvatī Insriptions, and the relevant epigraphs from the allied centres, (3) the numismatic evidence, (4) the Buddhist texts in *Pāli*, *Prākrt* and *Samskrt* and (5) the sculptures kept in the various museums, select photographs of which have been indexed in Book III (Index to Select Amarāvatī Sculptures).

The major arguments that have been advanced and sought to be worked out at some length in the study are grouped into: (1) the art of Amarāvatī and the allied centres had specific modes of patronage, religio-cultic roots and codes of viewing, which were determined and mediated by the Buddhist institutional base at Amarāvatī, (2) the *mahācaitya*—the embodiment and focus of the modes of patronage, the religio-cultic practices and the codes of viewing—functioned as a visual text in itself, (3) the *mahācaitya* was semiotic of the Buddhist discourse that emanated from the institutional base and (4) the *mahācaitya* was symbolic of the nexus of religion, society, polity, economy and art of the region. It can be seen that the thrust of these arguments are on (1) the rise and growth of Amarāvatī in the Krsna valley, (2) the nature and pattern of the social formations and socio-economic relations of the period, (3) the historical developments in the Buddhist religious philosophy and worship and (4) the appropriation of art towards ideology. The arguments are spread out between Parts I and IV of Book I of this thesis.

The historiographical critique of the extant studies on Amarāvatī has justified the formulation of the role and function of the art of Amarāvatī in contemporary Indian history and society as the central problem in contrast to the traditional focus on aspects of society in the art or on stylistic features as the central constituent element of the sculptural art. In the historiographical overview of the development of the discourse upon Amarāvatī during the last two centuries, it has been shown that the different phases and trends of development of the writings on Amarāvatī have been in tune with the Orientalist and Nationalist discourse on early India.

The study of the spatio-temporal dimensions of the geographical and ecological context of the south-eastern Deccan as an eco-zone during the period, as outlined in Chapter 3, has revealed the nature of the material culture and the influence of land-forms on the socio-economic development of the region. The lower Krsna valley stands out from the rest of the eastern Deccan as a nuclear region or as an area of attraction during the period. The location of Amarāvatī-Dhānyakataka in the fertile lower Krsna valley at a distance of 62 miles from the mouth of the river Krsna was strategically important in that the site enjoyed the benefits of communication with the sea without the disadvantages and dangers of a situation on the coast of Coromandel. We have also indicated the historical and cultural significance of the distribution of Buddhist monastic sites of the region along routes of trade and communication, linking the entire sub-continent *vis-a-vis* the natural resources.

The origins of the artistic expressions, forms of art and their specific identity are searched for within the cultural and historical matrix with which these are entwined. This has been attempted partly by placing the production and appreciation of art against the wider context of the human interactions on the one hand and interactions with the resources on the other. The antiquity of Amarāvatī-Dhānyakataka is traced back to the pre-historic period. The transition from the semi-pastoral and semi-agrarian way of life of the late Megalithic or Early Historic Period to the full-fledged agrarian economy, trade and urbanism of the early centuries of the Christian era—which coincided, in terms of political formation, with the state-systems of the Mauryas, the post-Mauryan locality chiefs and the Sātavāhanas—has been traced in Chapter 4. The process of change in the period was towards peasant economy, trade and urbanism in the lower Krsna valley. As part of viewing

the modern sites of Amarāvatī and Dharanikota as together forming the ancient site of Dhānyakataka, the excavation reports of both Amarāvatī and Dharanikota have been placed side by side and read together to find out the corresponding layers through the four cultural periods.

In order to install the Buddhist art of Amarāvatī along with the corresponding art-activity within the realm of historical studies, we have explored (1) the forms and dimensions of the patronage of art, (2) the institutional base of the art-activity, (3) the religio-cultic and ritual dimensions of the objects of art and (4) the historicity and textuality of the art as discourse.

The inquiry into the network of patronage of the art-activity has brought out two strands of patronage networks at Amarāvatī, *viz* (1) 'community patronage' which fits exactly with the mode of patronage proposed by Prof. Romila Thapar and (2) monastic patronage, which has not received the attention it deserves, due partly to the preoccupations of the historians. Since both these strands are found in an amalgam and they together constitute the dominant mode of patronage at Amarāvatī, we have characterised this amalgam as the Buddhist Amarāvatī mode of patronage. It is for the first time that the whole corpus of the 268 epigraphs recovered from Amarāvatī is taken up for socio-economic analysis. The basic proposition of this analysis hinges on the inseparability of the artistic and cultural heritage from the wider relgio-philosophical and socio-economic heritage of Buddhism that grew and prospered in the region. The Buddhist Amarāvatī mode of patronage depended on a network of social relationships, economic linkages and ideological emphasis. The analysis of the patronage records has revealed a Buddhist identity among the various social categories or socio-economic

groups and the various cadres of the monastic groups of the region in the early Christian centuries AD. These records had registered the names and statuses of the donors along with the invocations to the Buddha, the *Sangha* and the *Dharma*, and declared the purpose of the ritualised gifts. We have postulated that the main social function of the patronage-activity as can be understood from the patronage records was to (1) seek association with the *mahācaitya*—the symbol of the Buddha and the Sangha and thus the source of power—(2) project the donors into posterity and (3) acquire legitimacy and validation of the donor groups who were of relatively recent origin in the historical context of the lower Krsna valley. Our study of the demography of patronage at Amarāvatī has brought out aspects of both convergence and divergence with the picture of patronage as obtained from the Buddhist texts and the extant studies that are based fully on literary evidence.

Patronage activity, which involves a spectrum of socio-economic and religious factors, is always governed by existing social structure and economic organisation. Apart from royalty and officialdom, certain socio-economic and political institutions like *gāma* and *nigama*, politico-mercantile institutions like *gosthi*, extended kin-groups / tribal lineages etc. are involved in the patronage network. The most significant social category to have patronised the art-activity at Amarāvatī and the allied centres was the *gahapati* and this agrees well with the Buddhist textual evidence on the most important group of patrons of the early Buddhist movement. Next in number and prominence are mercantile groups and artisans as patrons of the Buddhist institutional base and the art-activity at Amarāvatī. We have argued that a comprehensive picture of the Buddhist social spectrum and the demography of patronage activity in the environs of Amarāvatī can be formed only with an analysis of the various monastic categories who were numerically the single largest donor

group at Amarāvatī, about which historians have either kept silence or seem to be unaware. Moreover, this stands in sharp contrast to the picture of the support of the *gahapati*s to the early Buddhist movement as embodied in the *Pāli* literature, based on which too much of theorisation was resorted to and applied to the later stages of Buddhist history without paying adequate attention to the transparent inscriptional evidence on the very ardent monastic participation in the patronage activity and the worship of the *caitya / stūpa*. Therefore, the community patronage and the monastic patronage are described as having constituted a two-tiered mode of patronage of the Buddhist art-activity, which is termed the Buddhist Amarāvatī mode of patronage. The direction of the relationships embedded in this patronage has been represented thus: Patron (P) → Gift (G) → *Mahācaitya* (M) / *Sangha* (S) → Buddha (B). In other words, it was either PGMB or PGSB. We have also been able to bring out the role of the monastic centre at Amarāvatī in identifying and recognising the various social categories and the role of Buddhist social ideals or ethics in the structuring of the social relations and the social world as well as the perception of these in the south-eastern Deccan.

The examination of the nature and forms of interactions among the various donor groups has brought to the fore many features of the institutional base of the early Buddhist art-activity and its social orientations at Amarāvatī during the period. The Buddhist monastery emerges as the most developed and organised nodal point of the institutionalised form of Buddhism. The *Caityaka*s, an off-shoot of the *Mahāsāṅghika*s, were the most entrenched of the Buddhist monastic groups of the region, probably because of their doctrinal and practical disposition towards specialisation in the construction and worship of *caitya*s. It has been shown that the planning and construction of the *mahācaitya* and the smaller *caitya*s and the subsequent renovations and

sculptural embellishments involved processes of mobilisation of human, natural and economic resources in a large scale, and constituted the most significant socio-economic and cultural activity at Amarāvatī during the span of half a millennium. Deeply entrenched in the monasteries were, as has been shown on the basis of inscriptional evidence, the different cadres of the monks whose presiding and mediating functions included preserving the canons through a tradition of textual scholarship, fixing the architectural plans, selecting themes for the sculptural and narrative art, organising patronage, supervising renovations and embellishments etc. They may safely be characterised as having formed a monastic *élite*. The architectural tradition within the *Caityaka* monasteries and the monastic contributions to the "Amarāvatī School of Art", which have not received due attention so far, have also been highlighted.

The perception of the particular socio-cultural formation that has emerged from the present study indicates that the *mahācaitya* was the pivot around which the newly emerging socio-cultural formation was getting affiliated or identified with the monasteries as the institutional base that offered focus and ethics to the construction and renovation activities, marking the transition from the Megalithic phase to the agrarian and householding economy in the south-eastern Deccan. The analysis of the patronage records has further brought out the centrality of the *mahācaitya* in the socio-economic and cultural interactions. It is also clear that the major socio-economic and cultural experiences revolved around the *mahācaitya* as a cultural symbol and its visual imageries and worship. What loomed large behind the processes of institutional formation, as outlined in Chapter 6, were the *vihāra* and the *mahācaitya*, taken together, as the institutional base of the early Buddhist art-activity at Amarāvatī. In other words, the society in question was increasingly

becoming *caitya*-oriented. We have been able to highlight the role of *Caityaka* Buddhism with its ideological, socio-religious and economic contents and with the monastery as the institutional base, in accelerating the socio-economic processes and in providing focus to the typical social interactions and traits, structurally and functionally similar to those seen at the other early Buddhist centres of the period like Sāñcī, Bhārhut, Mathurā etc.

The religio-cultic and ritualistic roots of the art of Amarāvatī have their base in the Buddhist religious philosophy as proposed and practised by the *Caityaka* stratum, which was one of the more influential schismatic groups of early Buddhist monasticism. We have reconstructed the *Caityaka* stratum at Amarāvatī in particular and the south-eastern Deccan in general, their *Mahāsānghika* filiations, doctrinal positions, religiosity and cultic practices. The cult of the *caitya* comprised of not only the construction, embellishment and worship of the *caitya*s, but also a series of rituals and observances. Often, these are found interlocked with the *nāga* and *yaksa* cults and ancestor worship. Doctrinally, the two concepts that are found to be central to the *Caityaka* religiosity and as facilitating the art-activity are the acquisition of merit through the *caitya* worship and the transference of merit. Moreover, it is shown that the supramundane conception of the Buddha and the deification of the Buddha are central to the understanding of the *Caityaka* doctrinal positions and of their relative position within the long history of development of Buddhist systematic philosophy. Two types of monastic practices of the *Caityaka*s, which seem to be influential or germinative in the subsequent monastic history of Buddhism, have come up in the course of the study. These are: (1) the practices of the *pemdapātika* or *pendavātika* who represented an emerging mendicant monasticism with life in the forest as the ideal and (2) the monastic practices of the nuns and monks with daughters and

sons. Our reconstruction of the *Caityaka* stratum has stressed the primacy of the *caitya* cult to early Buddhism, which was the context for the practice of various forms of religiosity, many of which are, interestingly, well documented not in the Buddhist literary texts, but in the inscriptional records.

The study of the religiosity of the *Caityaka* stratum of the south-eastern Deccan has enabled us to add an appendix to the rather contentious and unsettled debate over the time, place and nature of the origin of the Mahāyāna. While keeping away from the polemic of that debate, some aspects of the doctrine and practice of the religiosity advanced by the *Caityaka*s, which converged with the doctrinal positions and practices associated with the Mahāyāna forms of religiosity, have been indicated. These are the key doctrines and practices that characterise the *Caityaka* stratum, though some of these are shared also by other early Buddhist sects. These include: (1) the doctrine of the supramundane nature of the Buddha and the consequent deification of the Buddha, (2) the doctrine that all things, including all *dharma*s lacked fundamental primary existence, (3) the conception of the *arhat*s as having imperfections, (4) the view that even a layman could become an *arhat*, (5) the cult of the *caitya* and the practices associated with it, (6) the practice of *bhakti*, (7) the conception of the transference of merit and (8) the ascetic forms of monasticism represented by the eremites (*pemdapātika*) and the forest-renunciants (*āranaka*).

A shift of focus of the Buddhist art-historical studies, from the emphasis hitherto on either the structural and chronological phases of the *mahācaitya*, or its art and sculptural styles, or else the trend of explaining styles against the socio-economic and political background, to an emphasis on art as discourse in the social production of art has been attempted in this

study. Such a view of art and the lines of inquiries in this direction have yielded certain details on the nature of the dynamics of art and society and art and religion. The study of the index that has been prepared to the available sculptural forms of the Buddhist themes at Amarāvatī shows that the scenes from the Buddha's life were given primacy, followed by scenes from the previous lives of the Buddha as narrated in the *Jātaka* stories. Both the types of themes were presented in the contexts of the over-arching cult of the *caitya* and the religiosity advanced by the *Caityaka*s. This textuality of the sculptural forms and their themes has a pan-Buddhist and pan-Indian character about it, judging by the similarities of thematic representations and the technical skill and the narrative modes employed at Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Gandhāra and other early monastic sites. The very production of these sculptural narratives on the *mahācaitya* and the smaller *caitya*s was a ritual act in itself in which the patrons, the artisans / sculptors, the *Sangha* and the practitioners of the *Caityaka* religiosity were participants. This network was largely dependent on the social world and the ideological environment mediated by the discourse that emanated from the Buddhist institutional base at Amarāvatī. It is argued that the sculptural art was representative of this Buddhist discourse and that it was in itself a discourse.

The study has stressed the social roots of iconography and sculptural styles rather than dwelling at length on the niceties of the iconographic features or stylistic problems since we tend to consider as crucial, the points of correspondence between iconography and the societal understanding or perception of them in the context of the discourse mediated by the institutional base. A more balanced and meaningful schematisation of the Amarāvatī sculptures into two major categories than that of the extant classification of the 'aniconic' sculptures and 'iconic' ones with Eurocentric and colonial

hangovers, has been introduced for historicizing the sculptural depictions of Amarāvatī. These are: (1) Buddhist Sculptures without the Buddha Image and (2) Buddhist Sculptures with the Buddha Image. Our examination of the Buddha images of Amarāvatī in the light of a review of the famous debate on the origin of the Buddha image and the reconstruction of the *Caityaka* religiosity has brought out the decisive nature of the evidence from Amarāvatī, which art historians have either rejected or not taken up seriously due to certain inherent biases, to recognise the existence of the Amarāvatī Buddha. The study of the contextual types of the Buddha images at Amarāvatī indicates that the Buddha image at Amarāvatī was first introduced in relief form in the *caitya* context or scenes to replace the symbolic representations of the Buddha. Though no absolute dating of the Amarāvatī Buddha is possible in the present state of the evidence, it has been pointed out that there exists enough evidence to argue that the sculptors of Amarāvatī were very likely to have been involved in the earliest attempts at making the Buddha images in India, along with those of Mathurā and Gandhāra. The attempt in Chapter 8 to take a statistical approach to the sculptural depictions gives anchorage or a better understanding of what the "Amarāvatī School" and "Amarāvatī Style" are all about.

In order to give anchorage to the arguments and discussions presented in the study, all the available epigraphs from Amarāvatī have been studied, categorised and indexed in Book II. Moreover, the schematisation of the graphic forms of the sculptural art of Amarāvatī and the allied centres, as given in Book III, responds to the problems of historical conceptualisation that have been undertaken in the study. The graphic forms of the art *per se* at Amarāvatī are not isolated blocks in time and space; but are to be viewed as

contiguous with social and historical processes. In other words, the museumised relics are historicized by the present study.

The study has highlighted the historical dimensions of the construction and frequent renovations of the *caitya*s at Amarāvatī. It tends to characterise the lead role of the *Caityaka* monasteries in that process as the essential content of an early Buddhist paradigm or model of religious and socio-economic expansion and growth with the monasteries as the institutional base. The concepts of *punyaparināmanā* and *dāna* offered the doctrinal foundation for this early Buddhist activity. It is suggested that the early Buddhist activities at Amarāvatī, like the construction and the frequent renovations of the *caitya*s and the *vihāra*s and the institution of gifts as part of a network of community and monastic patronage contributed to the typical social interactions and orientations or traits, structurally and functionally similar to those traits seen at the other early Buddhist centres. Patronage of the *caitya*s was met with social status. The enlargement and the beautification of the *mahācaitya* can be related to the increasing volume of association of the social groups with the monasteries. So inextricably interwoven are the links between art and the institutionalised form of Buddhism at Amarāvatī that art was both the context and the medium *par excellence* for the spread of cultural values. The inquiry has looked at the art of Amarāvatī as an essential ingredient of the socio-religious, economic and ideological mechanism, and has searched for *art in society* and not for *society in art*. Apart from a purely architectural, artistic, or historical perspective, the *mahācaitya* can also be looked at as a semiosis representing the changing phases of the institutionalised form of Buddhism and the cultural *milieu* on the one hand and the changing phases of the socio-economic structure on the other.

What underlie the analyses, arguments and organisation of data—as discussed above—are the basic elements of historicizing the early Buddhist art of Amarāvatī in a more meaningful framework within the disciplinary confines of early Indian historical studies than what is available hitherto. The basic premise of the framework has been that ancient / early art offers a field for the study of human activity as an integrated system in which social relations, forms of production, religious philosophy in the form of ideological system, literature, mythology, technology, aesthetics etc. are involved. The second premise has been that every people or society has its own aesthetic traditions and that the production and appreciation of art is an integral feature of the identity of a people or society in a given historical context. In order to break the stalemate into which the study of the early Buddhist art of Amarāvatī has slipped over the years, the study has proposed to give a thrust to the understanding of the relationship between the art and the socio-religious and economic mechanism at Amarāvatī. This has been done by taking up the interrelated problems of (1) the geographical and cultural context, (2) the forms and dimensions of patronage, (3) the institutional base, (4) the religio-cultic *milieu*, (5) the understanding of art as discourse and (6) the schematisation of the graphic forms of the art. The results which we have been able to bring about with regard to the historicizing of the art of Amarāvatī and the allied centres of the south-eastern Deccan by using the model proposed in the present study give us sufficient ground for proposing this as a viable model for historicizing the art of the other early Buddhist centres in India. This model can accommodate the socio-economic, religious and cultural transformations within the eco-zonal, chronological and historical contexts, as shown throughout in the present study. A second vantage of this model is its responsiveness to the problems of historical conceptualisation.

BOOK II

INDEX TO AMARĀVATĪ INSCRIPTIONS

I

INTRODUCTION

The central aim of Book II is to present the complete corpus of the Amarāvatī inscriptions for a systematic analysis and thus produce a source book of the rich and historically significant data from the Amarāvatī epigraphs. C. Sivaramamurti has presented the text and translation of the 120 the-then available epigraphs, as well as lists of the personal and geographical names referred to in these records in his masterly Catalogue in 1942. The subsequent discovery and decipherment of yet another group of more than 120 short donative epigraphs in the course of various excavations at the site has made that part of his Catalogue which deals with inscriptions obsolete and in need of revision. Moreover, Anamika Roy has recently contradicted Sivaramamurti's periodisation, which he had derived on the basis of palaeographical and style-critical studies. While Anamika Roy's study takes a major step forward in terms of palaeography, the socio-economic and religious implications of the data from the Amarāvatī epigraphs remain less understood. Since the main focus of the present study has been de-linked from the problems of traditional emphasis like questions of chronology and artistic / architectural styles, the valuable data from the site can now be objectively assessed and quantified for understanding the historical dimensions of the linkages between art and religion, and art and society.

The text of all the available inscriptions, except some of those on the sculptures kept in the British Museum—the full texts of which have not so far been published ever since James Fergusson produced an eye copy in 1868 and Heinrich Lüders prepared summaries of the contents in 1912—have been incorporated into the Index, though no attempt has been made to give translations to all the inscriptions. A few inscriptions recovered from the recent excavations or clearance operations have not so far been published. The inscriptions dated to the later period

or the medieval times have also not been included in the Index since they do not come under the purview of the study. The key data from all the available inscriptions, have been tabulated to facilitate study.

Since many aspects of the inscriptions have already been discussed in the chapters dealing with sources for the study as well as the patronage records, they are not taken up here to avoid repetition. However, certain problems involved in the indexing and periodisation of the inscriptions need to be touched upon here since a satisfactory criteria, other than paleographical, is still awaited. One major problem, except in the case of the fragmentary pillar edict ascribed to Aśoka and those epigraphs referring to the Sada ruler Sivamaka Sada and to two Sātavāhana kings, Gautamiputra Śri Yajña Sātakarni and Vāsisthiputra Śri Pulumāvi, has been the lack of references to known or identifiable eras. Even in the case of the inscriptions dated in the regnal years of the Sātavāhana rulers, there is still no finality of opinions (For a recent assessment of the evidence on Sātavāhana chronology, see. Sastri, A.M, 1998). Data for precisely dating the inscriptions is not forthcoming from the analysis of the names and status of the donors, the objects of donations or else the place names. Therefore, the chronological classification / periodisation followed here is based mainly on the conclusions arrived at by the palaeographical analysis and relative chronology proposed by of Anamika Roy (Roy, Anamika, 1994). However, with regard to those epigraphs, which she has not considered at all, the dating of the earlier scholars has been accepted.

Phase I covers the time bracket between 250 B.C. and 50 B.C. and comprises of 86 inscriptions dated to three sub groups of the period between 250 B.C. and 200 B.C., circa 150 B.C., and 100 B.C. and 50 B.C. This Phase begins with Serial Number 1, Index Number 1 and ends with Serial Number 86, Index Number I. 86.

Phase II covers the time bracket between the late 1st century B.C. and end of the 1st century A.D. and comprises of 57 epigraphs dated to three sub groups of the late 1st century B.C., first half of the 1st century A.D., and the second half of the 1st century A.D. This Phase begins with Serial Number 87, Index Number II. 1 and ends with Serial Number 143, Index Number II. 57.

Phase III covers the time bracket between beginning of the 2nd century A.D. and the end of the 2nd century A.D. and comprises of 63 epigraphs dated to two sub groups of the first half of the 2nd century A.D. and the second half of the 2nd century A.D. This Phase begins with Serial Number 144, Index Number III. 1 and ends with Serial Number 206, Index Number III. 63.

Phase IV covers the time bracket between the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. and the end of the 3rd century A.D. and comprises of 30 epigraphs dated to two sub groups of the first half of the 3rd century A.D. and second half of the 3rd century A.D. This Phase begins with Serial Number 207, Index Number IV. 1 and ends with Serial Number 236, Index Number IV. 30.

In addition to these four Phases, one more phase or group has been created into which all the remaining epigraphs, about which palaeographical studies have not so far been made in a systematic manner but about which there is general agreement among scholars regarding a relative chronology some time in the first three centuries of the Christian era, have been categorized. This is the Group B Inscriptions, some of which may be placed to the Phase III and some others to the Phase IV. This group comprises of 32 inscriptions.

It was already noted in an earlier context that at least four varieties of the *Brāhmī* script were employed at Amarāvatī and that the *Prākrt* language used in the epigraphs show close affinity with the *Paiśācī Prākrt* (Chanda, R. P., 1925: 260). The site of Amarāvatī occupies a unique position among the early Buddhist sites

with regard to the evolutionary stages of the early *Brāhmī* script in that some of the features of the early *Brāhmī* script are preserved in the epigraphs of the site. A. H. Dani thinks that the evolution of the southern Indian scripts can be traced only from the early inscriptions of Amarāvatī and Bhattiprolu, and from the cave records of Tamil Nadu (Dani, A. H., 1986: 69). On the basis of some 'non- *Brāhmī*' symbols in the early Amarāvatī epigraphs (Roy, Anamika, 1994: 32), the possibility of the existence of a south Indian script independent of *Brāhmī* has been postulated (Roy, Anamika 1994: 18). The graffiti on potsherds at the site has been dated to the early Mauryan period (*Indian Archaeology – A Review*, 1973 – '74: 4). Palaeographers have shown that the early Amarāvatī script contained an earlier stratum of *Brāhmī*, which was not traceable at Bhārhut and Sāñcī, and this has been taken for fixing the initial date of the writing activity associated with the *mahācaitya* at Amarāvatī somewhat earlier than the period assigned to the *stūpas* of Bhārhut and Sāñcī (Roy, Anamika, 1994: 29). The only other site where graffiti in *Brāhmī* has been dated to levels even earlier than Amarāvatī and the other archaeological sites is Anurādhapura in Sri Lanka (Deraniyagala, 1990: 149–161. Also, 1992: 739–747). Interestingly, it has been argued by scholars that the period of the early *Brāhmī* inscriptions of Sri Lanka is broadly the same as that of the early Amarāvatī inscriptions and that there is a close resemblance between the letter-forms of the early Amarāvatī epigraphs and those of the early *Brāhmī* inscriptions of Sri Lanka (Roy, Anamika, 1994: 30–32). Equally significant is the architectural similarities between the *stupas* of the south-eastern Deccan and that of ancient Sri Lanka (Roy, Anamika, 1994: 93–95). Thus, the earliest writing activity in southern India could be met with in the inscriptions of Amarāvatī, and this has implications for the cultural history of the region as a whole.

In the present study of the 268 short donative / votive epigraphs from Amarāvatī, which are being taken up as whole for the first time, 23 items of data are searched for, that seemed to be relevant for the history of patronage of Buddhism and its art. Due to the fragmentary nature of the records and the data thereof, the inscriptions if taken up individually, may not yield sufficient evidence for

attempting generalisation. The split-up of the data from the epigraphs have been formed into different categories and are numbered from 1 to 23. While indexing the inscriptions, the respective category numbers alone appear along with the concerned item of data that has been isolated. Moreover, at the foot of every page, the items of data along with their respective numbers are given for easy reference. Every inscription is given a serial number along with the Index Number. The following are the various items of data and their respective numbers used hereafter in the Index:

1. Find Spot
2. Reference
3. Language and Alphabet
4. Date
5. King
6. Text
7. Translation
8. Nature
9. Purpose
10. Object Donated
11. Name of the Donor / Patron
12. Status of the Donor / Patron
13. Place Name
14. Institution / Corporation
15. Class / Community
16. Schismatic / Monastic Group
17. Doctrinal Matters
18. No. of Males
19. No. of Females
20. No. of Monks
21. No. of Nuns
22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsikā*
23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to

2. ANALYSIS OF INSCRIPTIONS

PHASE I (250 BC and 50 BC)

Sl.No. 1 INDEX NO. I. 1

1. Surface find from near the *stupa*-site, Amarāvatī. On a fragment of a pillar: fragmentary

2. D.C.Sircar, 'Fragmentary Pillar Inscription from Amarāvatī, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, (1963-64), pp.40-43

3. *Prakrt; Brahmi* of Asokan/Mauryan period. 3rd century B.C

6. 1. *para[r]ta(tra)[l*] abh[isa]*

2 *[dha] kho likhite [m]e*

3 *jano bahuni*

4 *anusuyamti[l*]sa*

5 *ra chhijiti vijaye*

6 *[pi cha] mam[e] pi*

7 *[pi tata tā]*

7. 1 ... in the future world. ... anointed

2. ...indeed (it) has been written by me

3 ... the people ... many

4. (They) regret. Therefore ... by me

5... when one gets a victory (in a battle or war)

6... and then again of myself also

7. ...too...there.

Sl. No. 2 INDEX NO. I. 2

1. *Stupa*-site: Inscribed pottery fragment: Black and red ware.

2. I.K. Sarma, "Some More Inscriptions from Amarāvatī. Excavations and the Chronology of the *Mahastupa*" in Z.A Desai and A.M.Shastri (eds.), *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, vol. pp.62,, 66, no.72 & I, 1974. I.K. Sarma, "Early Sculptures and Epigraphs from south-east India: New Evidence from Amarāvatī"; in Asher & Gai (eds.), *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art*, New Delhi, 1985, p.16

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi* of Asokan variety: The sherd represents the earliest extant example of writing recorded from the site.

6. ...*thusa pāta*...

11. thissa pata.

12. Name of monk

20. 1

23. 1

Sl.No. 3 INDEX NO. I. 3

1. *Stupa*-site: Inscribed pottery fragment: On red-slipped ware

2. I.K. Sarma, 1974, p.66, no.73; 1985, p.16.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*: Early *Brahmi* of Mauryan characters.

6. ...*malasa*...

11. Mala

12. Probably a monk

Sl.No. 4 INDEX NO. I. 4

1. *Stupa*-site: On lime-stone *suci* fragment

2. I.K. Sarma, 1974, p.66, no.74.

3. *Prakrt* and Early *Brahmi* (Mauryan characters).

6. ...*Chulanandasa setika panika*...

8. Donative

11. Chulananda (m)

12. *Seti*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

18. 1

23. 1

Sl.No. 5 INDEX NO. I. 5

1. *Stupa* site: On granite upright.
2. I.K. Sarma, 1974, p.70, no. 303/480; I.K. Sarma, 1985, p.17 and plate 16; No. 1 of Ghosh, 1979, p.101
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*: Asokan / Mauryan characters.
6. *Kālavaira gāmasa thabho*
8. Donative (collective/institutional)
10. *thabha*
11. Kalavaira *gama*
12. Institution / *gama*
13. Kalavaira
14. *Gama*
23. Group

Sl.No. 6 INDEX NO. I. 6

1. *Stupa* site: On granite upright:
2. I.K. Sarma, 1974, p.70, no.302/218; I.K. Sarma, 1985, P.16 & plate 14. A. Ghosh, 1979, p.101, No.2.
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; Asokan / Mauryan
5. Kumara Avatakama (m) (ie; Prince Avatakama)
6. *kumārasa Avatakāmasa thabho*

   Māghavadate nāma Kara
8. Donative
10. *thabha*
11. 1. Avatakama (m); 2. Maghavada(ta)
12. 1. *Kumara* (prince; indicates royalty); 2. a scribe or a sculptor?

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

18. 2

23. Two

Sl.No. 7 INDEX NO. I. 7

1. *Stupa* site: On granite upright.
2. I.K. Sarma, 1974, p.70, no.556; Ghosh 1979, no.3, p. 101
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*: Asokan characters as in the Girnar edict
6. *ānasa Maukasa sethino thabho*
8. Donative
10. *Thabho / thabha*
11. Mauka
12. *Sethi* (m)
18. 1
23. 1

Sl.No. 8 INDEX NO. I. 8

1. *Stupa* site.
2. C. Sivaramamurti, 1977; no.18, p.276 (Also Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.42, no.69 B, and Plate V, no.19; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.101, and Plate LVI, no. 4; Lüders, 1266
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*: Mauryan characters as per Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, and p.101.
6. *Senagopasa Mudukutalasa thabho*
7. The pillar of the general (*senagopa*) Mudukutala (Mrdukuntala).
8. Donative
10. *thabha*
11. Mudukutala (m)
12. *Senagopa* (army-general)
14. *Sena* (army)
18. 1

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

23. 1

Sl.No. 9 INDEX NO. I. 9

1. *Stupa*-Site: fragment of a rail pillar
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.17, p.276 (also R.P. Chanda, no.14, p.265)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*: *circa* 250 BC-200 B.C as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p.213.
6. ..... *gasa putānam*
7. Of the sons of..... ga.
8. Donative: of a group
11. Not known
12. Sons
18. 2
23. Not less than 2

Sl.No. 10 INDEX NO. I. 10

1. *Stupa*-site.
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.20, p.276 (also Chanda, no.13, p.264)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*: *circa* 250 BC-200 B.C as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p.213.
6. *Utāyā (Dha)namalamātu suci*
7. Cross-bar (gift) of Utā the mother of (Dha)namala
8. Donative
10. *Suci* (cross-bar)
11. Uta (f)
12. Mother of Dhanamala
18. 1
19. 1
23. 2

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 11 INDEX NO. I. 11

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragment of an oblong rail-pillar
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.58, p.285 (also Chanda, no.4, p.262)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*: *circa* 250 BC-200 B.C as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p.213.
6. *Dhanakatakasa nigamasa*
7. (The gift) of the city (*nigama*) of Dhanakataka
8. Donative: Institutional/Collective
11. *Nigama* of Dhanakataka
12. *Nigama* of Dhanakataka
13. Dhanakataka
14. *Nigama* of Dhanakataka
23. The whole people of Dhanakataka

Sl.No. 12 INDEX NO. I. 12

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī Museum
2. A.Ghosh, 1979, no. 4, p. 101
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*: *circa* 250 BC-200 B.C as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p.213
6. *Hupahenasa thabho*
8. Donative
10. *thabho*
11. Hupahena
18. 1
23. 1

Sl.No. 13 INDEX NO. I. 13

1. On marble railing: *Stupa*-site

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

2. A.Ghosh, 1979, no.37, p.103; also *A.R.I.E* for 1953-54, no.35, p.21; I.K. Sarma in Asher & Gai, 1985, p.18; P.R. Srinivasan, *Lalit Kala*, 10, p.59;
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 3rd c.B.C. Characters
6. *Rāja kumāriya Sammaliya parivesakānam unhisam.*
8. Donative: Collective
10. *Unhisa* (coping stone)
11. 1. Sammaliya (f) 2. Servants (waiters) of Sammaliya
12. 1. *Rajakumari* (Princess) 2. *Parivesaka* of 1
14. Indicates royalty
19. More than 1
23. More than 1; No. of attendants not known

Sl.No. 14 INDEX NO. I. 14

1. *Stupa* site: On a broken cross-bar with sculptural depiction of a *stupa*, etc.
2. Ghosh, 1979, no.8, p.102; also I.K. Sarma in Asher & Gai, 1985, pp.17-18 and plate 17;
3. *Prakrt Brahmi*; 3rd century B.C. characters
6. *Koramucakāna Nalajarabhasa...*
8. Donative
11. Nalajarabha
12. Of the koramucaka community/lineage/tribe/group
15. Koramucaka
17. Shows the connection/links between the monastic centre and the tribes/communities
18. 1
23. 1 and a tribe / collective

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 15 INDEX NO. I. 15

1. On a cross-bar

2. *A.R.I.E*, 1959-60, no. B 46, p.49 (Also, no. 25 of Ghosh, 1979, p.102)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 2nd or 3rd century B.C. characters

6. *Pākotakānam Culasa*

8. Donative

11. Cula (m)

12. *Pakotakanam* (of the Pakotakas) = member of the Pakotakas = a community / tribe / lineage group

15. Pakotaka

18. 1

23. More than 1 (1 + a community)

Sl.No. 16 INDEX NO. I. 16

1. *Stupa*-site: On a cross-bar

2. A.Ghosh, 1979, no.24, p.102; *A.R.I.E*, 1959-60, no. B 47, p.49

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 2nd or 3rd century B.C. characters

6. *[Pā]kotakanam Cula[sa]*

8. Donative

11. Cula (m)

12. Pakotaka(nam) = Member of the Pakotaka clan/community/lineage group

15. Pakotaka

18. 1

23. More than 1 (1 + a community)

Sl.No. 17 INDEX NO. I. 17

1. *Stupa*-site: On a fragment of a cross-bar: fragmentary

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

2. A. Ghosh, 1979, no.35, p.103; also *A.R.I.E*, 1959-60, no. B 49, p.49

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 2nd or 3rd century B.C. characters

6. ...*gutasa jāyāya khatāyā*

8. Donative

11. Khata (Skanda)

19. 1

23. At least 1

Sl.No. 18 INDEX NO. I. 18

1. *Stupa*-site: On a fragment of a pillar

2. A.Ghosh, 1979, no.7, p. 102; also *A.R.I.E*, 1959-60, no. B 50, p.49

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 2nd or 3rd century B.C. characters.

6. ...*khakasa Yakhasa thabho*

8. Donative

10. *Yakhasa thabho*? (*Yaksa*-pillar)

17. Shows the worship of *yaksa*s, an early practice. The *yaksa* is called . . . .khaka.

Sl.No. 19 INDEX NO. I. 19

1. *Stupa*-site: On a broken piece of stone: fragmentary: Surface find.

2. *A.R.I.E*, 1959-60, no. B 22, p.48

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 2nd or 3rd century B.C. characters

6. *masa Semakāna*

8. Donative

Sl.No. 20 INDEX NO. I. 20

1. *Stupa*-site: On a broken cross-bar: fragmentary

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

2. A.Ghosh, 1979, n o.36, p.103; also *A.R.I.E*, 1959-60, no. B 28, p.48

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 2nd or 3rd B.C. characters

6. ...*vatakānam*

8. Donative

11. . . vataka

Sl.No. 21 INDEX NO. I. 21

1. *Stupa*-site: On a broken cross-bar: fragmentary

2. *A.R.I.E*, 1959-60, no. B 32, p.48

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 2nd or 3rd B.C. characters

6. *ka jāyāya*

8. Donative

12. Wife

19. At least 1

23. 2

Sl.No. 22 INDEX NO. I. 22

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.273, no.1 (Also, Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.86, plate XLIV, 4; Ramachandran T.N., 1932, pp.135-153; Kempers, 1932, pp.364-371; P.R. Srinivasan, *Lalit Kala*, 1961, p.60)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 2nd century B.C. as per P.R. Srinivasan, 1961, p.60

6. *Naranjarā*

..... *gamanam*

7. Neranjarā river

(The great) departure

13. Naranjara (river)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

17. Suggests the Bharhut parallel and connects early Amarāvatī sculputral tradition with that of Bharhut.

Sl.No. 23 INDEX NO. I. 23

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.273, no.3. (Also Chanda, pp.269-70, no.36; P.R. Srinivasan, 1961, p.60
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 2nd century B.C. as per Srinivasan, 1961, p.60.
6. *Yakho Cadamuko vakunivāsi*
7. *Yaksha* Cadamukha (Chadramukha) residing in Vaku (vakula?).
17. Indicates the cult of *Yaksa*. The reference to *Yaksa* Cadamukha residing at *Vaku*; *Vaku/vakula* – a tree of a particular species

Sl.No. 24 INDEX NO. I. 24

1. Stupa-site: On a stele.
2. Ghosh & Sarkar, 1967.
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; late 2nd c.B.C.
6. 1.*Bahuputacetiya Vesālakāni cetiyāni*
   2. *Cāpāta-cetiya Māro yācate osath-ita (ti)*
   3. *[Vesa]liya(ye) viharati Mahāvane kudāgā[ra]-[sa]lāya*
   4. *Nāgā[apa]*logana
   5. *Sālavane bhagavato parinivute*
   6. *Sāvathi*
   7. *Jetavana Andhapidikasa ārāmo*
   8. *Dhamnekada Vamda – nāma gothi*
7. 1. Bahuputra-*caitya* (and) the *caitya*s of Vaisali
   2. In Cāpāla *caitya* Mara begs renunciation of life.
   3. [The Lord] dwells in the Kutāgārā-cottage in Mahāvana at Vaisāli.

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

4. The elephant's look
5. The extinction of the Lord in the Sāla-grove
6. Srāvati
7. The *ārāma* of Anāthapidika in Jetavana
8. The *gosthi* called Vanda at Dhānyakataka.

Sl.No. 25 INDEX NO. I. 25

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.274, no.8 (Also Burgess, *Notes*, p.21, no.36B; Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.98, plate xliii, 14; Lüders, 1308
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 200 B.C. – 100 B.C. as per Srinivasan, 1961, p.59
6. *Sidham.....hadiga.....yaghar(i).*
17. The use of *sidham*

Sl.No. 26 INDEX NO. I. 26

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras
2. Sivaramamurti, p.274, no.9
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; B.C. 200-100 B.C. as per Srinivasan, 1961, p.59.
6. 1. *(sa) Budhi*
   2. *vi sa*
8. Donative
11. Budhi (m)
18. 1
23. One (m)

Sl.No. 27 INDEX NO. I. 27

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.274, no.10 (Also Chanda, no.31, p.268)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 200 B.C. – 100 B.C. as per Srinivasan, 1961, p.59.
6. *...vāsakasa dhamakadhikasa Budhi.....*
7. *..... of (Budhi) preacher of the law, residing at.....*
8. Donative
11. Budhi (m)
12. *Dhamakadhika*, an inhabitant of ...;
13. Name lost
17. Reference to *dhamakadhika*; context of preaching and conversion / acceptance of the faith
18. 1
20. One
23. One

Sl.No. 28 INDEX NO. I. 28

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras; Fragment of a rail-pillar
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.275, no. 14(Also Chanda, p.263, no.7)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; B.C. 200 – 100 B.C. as per Srinivasan, 1961, p 59.
6. *(tha) bakadulasa thabho*
7. Pillar, (gift) of..... (tha)baka family
8. Donative:Collective
10. *thabho*
11. Thabaka *kula*
15. Thabaka *kula*
23. *Kula* as a whole

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 29 INDEX NO. I. 29

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras; fragment of a rail-pillar
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.16, p.275 (Also, Chanda, no.15, p.265)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; B.C-200 – 100 B.C as per Srinivasan P.R., 1961, p.59
6. ..... *gamasa*
7. Of the town (*nigama*).....
8. Donative/Collective: institutional
11. Ni*gama*
12. Town/institution = *nigama;* name lost, probably Dhanyakataka
14. Ni*gama*
23. Collective

Sl.No. 30 INDEX NO. I. 30

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras; fragment of a rail-pillar
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.19, p.276 (Also, Chanda, no.3, p.262)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 150 B.C. as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p. 213.
6. ..... *sa Likhitasa thabho bhi(khu)no Pātaliputato*
7. .....Pillar, (gift) of Likita a monk from Pātaliputa(Pātaliputa).
8. Donative
10. *thabha*
11. Likhita (m)
12. *Bhikhu*
13. Pataliputa

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

18. 1

20. 1

23. 1

Sl.No. 31 INDEX NO. I. 31

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras; fragment of an oval rail-bar
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.21, p.276 (Also, Chanda, no.19, p.266)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 200-100 B.C. as per Srinivasan, 1961, p.59
6. *(Ha)relaptu(tasa) suci.*
7. Of Revata of the son of (Ha)rela.
8. Donative
10. *Suci*
11. Not specified
12. Son of Harela (m)
18. 2
23. 2

Sl.No. 32 INDEX NO. I. 32

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras; fragment of a rail-bar
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no. 22, p.276 (Also, Chanda, no. 10, p.264)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 200 B.C.-100 B.C; Srinivasan, 1961, p.59
6. *Revatasa padipudi(niya)nam.*
7. Of Revata of the *Padipudiniya* community
8. Donative
11. Revata (m)
12. Belongs to *Padipudiniya* community

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

15. *Padipudiniya*

18. 1

23. 1

Sl.No. 33 INDEX NO. I. 33

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras; fragment of an oval rail-bar
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.23, p.276 (Also, Chanda, no. 16, p.265.)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 200 B.C-100 B.C.; Srinivasan, 1961, P.55.
6. *Utikasa mātu kumbāyā suci*
7. Cross-bar, (gift) of Kumba, the mother of Utika.....
8. Donative
10. *Suci* (cross-bar)
11. Kumba (f)
12. The mother of Utika
13. 1
19. 1
23.2

Sl.No. 34 INDEX NO. I. 34

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras; fragment of an oval rail-bar
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.24, p.276 (Also, Chanda, no.8, p.263
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 200 B.C. -100 B.C.; Srinivasan, 1961, p.59
6. *Pākotakā*.....
7. (The gift of) the Pākotakas
8. Donative: Group/collective
11. Pakotaka

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

12. A community, perhaps identical with the later Vakatakas (see Chanda, pp.260-261.)

15. Pakotaka

23. Collective

Sl.No. 35 INDEX NO. I. 35

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras; fragment of a pillar

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.275, no.13 (Also, Chanda, p.263, no.6)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 150 B.C., as per Anamika Roy, vol.i, 1994, p.213.

6. *Malamavuka..... ya Retiya thabho*

7. Pillar, (git) of Reti .....of Malamāvuka

8. Donative

10. *thabho*

11. Reti (f)

19. 1

23. 1 (female)

Sl.No. 36 INDEX NO. I. 36

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī.

2. Lüders, no.1298, p.155 (Also Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, Plate LVI, no. 7 (plate only)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 150 B.C., A.Roy, p.213

8. Donative

10. *Thabha* (pillar)

11. Nada (f)

12. Daughter of the *(a)vesanin* Nadabhuti

19. 1

23. 2

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 37 INDEX NO. I. 37

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras; fragment of an oval rail-bar
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.25, p.277 (Also Chanda, no.17, p.265)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 150 B.C. as per A.Roy, 1994, p.213.
6. ..... *sa matu Kumbāya suci*
7. Cross-bar (gift) of Kumbā the mother of.....
8. Donative
10. *Suci*
11. Kumba (f)
12. Mother of . . . (name lost)
18. 1
19. 1
23. 2 one (f) one (m)

Sl.No. 38 INDEX NO. I. 38

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras; fragment of an oval rail-bar
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.26, p.277 (Also, Chanda, no.12, p.264)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* B.C.150, as per A.Roy, 1994, p.213.

5. One *Raja* is referred to, but no name
6. *Rājalekhakasa Bala*

   sa jāyāa Somadatā
7. Of Somadatā (Somadattā) the wife of the royal scribe Bala.
8. Donative

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

11. Somadatta (f)
12. Wife of Bala, the *Rajalekhaka*
18. 1
19. 1
23. Two

Sl.No. 39 INDEX NO. I. 39

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras; fragmentary
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.27, p.277 (Also Chanda, no.20, p.266)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 150 B.C., as per A.Roy, 1994, p.213
6. ..... *gasa suci*
7. Cross-bar(gift) of .....
8. Donative
10. *Suci* (cross-bar)
11. Name lost
23. At least one

Sl.No. 40 INDEX NO. I. 40

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī
2. Ghosh, 1979, no.5, p.101
3. Prakrt and Brahmi; 150 B.C., as per A.Roy, 1994, p.213
6. 1.Namdakasa bhāriya
   2. *[ya] Samāya*
   3. *[sa]suciko sa-uniso*
8. Donative
10. *Sucika* and *unisa*
11. Samāyā (f); her husband's name is Namdaka
12. Wife of Namdaka
18. 1

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

19. 1

23.2

Sl.No. 41 INDEX NO. I. 41

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī
2. Ghosh, 1979, no.6, p.101
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 150 B.C., as per A.Roy, 1994, p.213
6. *[Dha]nakadakasa nigamasa*
8. Donative: collective
11. *Nigama* of (Dha)nakadaka
12. *Nigama*
13. (Dha)nakadaka
14. *Nigama* of (Dha)nakadaka
23. Collective / the whole people of Dhanakataka

Sl.No. 42 INDEX NO. I. 42

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī
2. Ghosh, 1979, no.7A: 1, p.102
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 150 B.C., as per A.Roy, 1994, p.213
6. *Pākotaka-senāpatino Dharakasa.*
8. Donative
11. Dharaka
12. *Senapati* of the *Pakotaka.* Whose *senapati* is not known?
14. The tribal composition of the army is indicated.
15. Pakotaka
18. 1
23. 1

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 43 INDEX NO. I. 43

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī
2. Ghosh, 1979, no.7A: 2, p.102
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; second century B.C.*
6. *Mahakurasa Nedasa*
8. Donative
11. Neda
12. *Mahakura.* Who is a *mahakura* ? or a tribe ?
18. 1
23. 1

Sl.No. 44 INDEX NO. I. 44

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 9, p.102
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; second century B.C.*
6. *...masa Semakāna*
8. Donative
11. Semakāna ?
18. 1 ?
23. 1 ?

Sl.No. 45 INDEX NO. I. 45

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; fragmrnt
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 10, p.102
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; second century B.C*
6. *...ya bhichuni*
8. Donative
12. *bhikhuni*
19. 1

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

23. 1

Sl.No. 46 INDEX NO. I. 46

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 12, p.102
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; second century B.C*
6. Samghāyā
14. *Sangha*

Sl.No. 47 INDEX NO. I. 47

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; fragment
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 13, p.102
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; second century B.C*
6. *upāsi[ka]...*
12. *upasi(ka)*
19. 1
22. 1
23.1

Sl.No. 48 INDEX NO. I. 48

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 15, p.102
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; second century B.C*
6. *Ragāmasa suci*
8. Donative
10. *Suci*
11. Ragāma
18.1
23.1

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 49 INDEX NO. I. 49

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 16, p.102
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; second century B.C*
6. *Dhamarakhitasa.*
8. Donative
11. Dhamarakhita
18. 1
23. 1

Sl.No. 50 INDEX NO. I. 50

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; fragmentary
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 17, p.102
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; second century B.C*
6. kama...
23. 1?

Sl.No. 51 INDEX NO. I. 51

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; fragmentary
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 18, p.102
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; second century B.C*
6. *kurāve*
8. Donative
12. *kurāve*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 52 INDEX NO. I. 52

1. Stupa –site, on a cross-bar
2. A.Ghosh, 1979, No.19, p.102; also *A.R.I.E.*, for 1959-60, no. B37, p.49.
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 3rd century A.D. characters
6. *Satula-putasa Tikanasa*
8. Donative
11. Tikana (m)
12. Son of Satula
18. 1
23. 2

Sl.No. 53 INDEX NO. I. 53

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; fragnentary
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 21, p.102
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; second century B.C*
6. *...kāyāgu(la?)ta.*
16. *...nikāyāgu(la?)ta.*

Sl.No. 54 INDEX NO. I. 54

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; fragnentary
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 23, p.102
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; second century B.C*
6 *...ka-jāyāyā*
12. *jāyā*
19. 1
23. 1

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor Patron; 12. Status of the Donor Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution Corporation; 15. Class Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 55 INDEX NO. I. 55

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 25, p.102
3. Prakrt and Brahmi; second century B.C
6. *[Pā]kotakanam Cula[sa]*
11. Cula (m)
12. *Pakotaka(nam)* = Member of the Pakotaka clan / community / lineage group
15. Pakotaka
18. 1
23. More than 1 (1 + a community)

Sl.No. 56 INDEX NO. I. 56

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 26, p.102
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; second century B.C*
6. *Satula-putasa Tikanasa*
11. Tikana (m)
12. Son of Satula
18. 1
23. 2

Sl.No. 57 INDEX NO. I. 57

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 27, p.103 (Also *A.R.I.E* 1959-60, p.49, no. B40.)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; second century B.C*
6. *Kudura-calaka (A.R.I.E* 1959-60, p.49, no. B40 reads the text as *Kunjara calakā*)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

13. Kudura

Sl.No. 58 INDEX NO. I. 58

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 29, p.103
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; second century B.C*
6. *Idā-data [su]ci kidhi?*
10. *Suci*
11. Idā
23.1

Sl.No. 59 INDEX NO. I. 59

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 30, p.103
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; second century B.C*
6. *Culanadas Se...*
11. Culananda (m)
18. 1
23. 1

Sl.No. 60 INDEX NO. I. 60

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; fragmentary
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 31, p.103
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; second century B.C*
6. *...ka-duhutu Revāyā*
11. Revā (f)
12. Daughter of ...ka.
19.1
23.2

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 61 INDEX NO. I. 61

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; fragmentary
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 32, p.103
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second century B.C
6. *Pāko...*
8. Probably collective gift
11. Pako...
12. Probably refers to the *Pakotaka* clan
15. Pako...
23. Collective gift

Sl.No. 62 INDEX NO. I. 62

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; fragmentary
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 33, p.103
3. Prakrt and Brahmi; second century B.C
6. *Culanadasa Setakahanikāna bhatara...*
12. *Seta* ?
23. 1

Sl.No. 63 INDEX NO. I. 63

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; too fragmentary to yield data
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 34, p.103
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; second century B.C
6. *...kakāna*

Sl.No. 64 INDEX NO. I. 64

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī;
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 35, p.103
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; second century B.C

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

6. ...*gutasa jāyāya Khatāya.*

11. Khatā (f)

12. Wife of ...guta

19. 1

23.2

Sl.No. 65 INDEX NO. I. 65

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī;

2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 38, p.103

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; second century B.C*

6. *āvesanino...*

8. Donative

12. *āvesanin*

18. 1

23. 1

Sl.No. 66 INDEX NO. I. 66

1. *Stupa*-site: On a pillar; Amarāvatī Museum

2. A.Ghosh, 1979, no.39, p.103; text same as in ...

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* characters of the 2nd c. B.C.

6. *A[cinaka-putana Utara]sa Khalatasa ca thabho*

7. The pillar is the gift of Utara and Khalata, the sons of Acinaka

8. Donative: Collective

10. *Thabho* (pillar)

11. 1,Utara (m). 2, Khalata or Galata (m)

12. Sons of Acinaka

18. 2

23. 3

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 67 INDEX NO. I. 67

1. *Stupa*-site: On a pillar; too fragmentary. Amarāvatī Museum
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 43, p.103
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* characters of the 2nd c. B.C.
6. ...*nāki*...

Sl.No. 68 INDEX NO. I. 68

1. *Stupa*-site: On a pillar; Amarāvatī Museum
2. Ghosh, 1979, no. 44, p.103
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* characters of the 2nd c. B.C.
6. *Cino(na?)m.*
8. Donative
11. Cino...
23. 1

Sl.No. 69 INDEX NO. I. 69

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras; fragmentary
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.28, p.277.
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 200 B.C.-100 B.C. as per Srinivasan, 1961, p.59
6. *chagha*

Sl.No. 70 INDEX NO. I. 70

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras; fragment of an oval rail-bar
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977 no.29, p.277 (Also Chanda, no.18, pp.265-266).
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 200 B.C. – 100 B.C., as per Srinivasan, 1961, p.59.
6. *tini suciyo*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

7. Three cross-bars... ... ...

8. Donative

10. Three *sucis* (Three cross-bars)

Sl.No. 71 INDEX NO. I. 71

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Govt. Museum, Madras; fragmentary

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.30, p.277 (Also Chanda no.11, p.264

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 200 B.C. – 100 B.C., Srinivasan, 1961, p.59.

6. *Sāghalasamanasa a*... ... ...

7. ... ... Of the monk Sāghala

8. Donative

11. Saghala (m)

12. *Samana* (Monk)

18. 1

20. 1

23. 1

Sl.No. 72 INDEX NO. I. 72

1. *Stupa*-site: On a pillar; Amarāvatī Museum

2. A.Ghosh, 1979, no.40, p.103; also *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1956-57*, no. B.38, p.42.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* characters of the 2nd c. B.C.

6. *Acinaka-putana Utarasa Khalatasa ca thabho*

8. Donative: Collective

10. *Thabho* (pillar)

11. 1,Utara (m). 2, Khalata or Galata (m)

12. Sons of Acinaka

18. 2

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

23. 3

Sl.No. 73 INDEX NO. I. 73

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; on a lime-stone: fragmentary
2. A.Ghosh, 1979, no.28, p.103; also *A.R.I.E., 1959-60*, no. B.58, p.50
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 2nd B.C. characters
6. *Nitohapakhala-putasa su[ci*]*
8. Donative
10. *Suci*
11. . . . (m)
12. Son of Nitohapakhala
18. 1
23. 2

Sl.No. 74 INDEX NO. I. 74

1. Amarāvatī
2. *A.R.I.E., 1959-60*, no. B41, p.49; Ghosh 1979, no.42, p.103.
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 2nd c. B.C., characters
6. *Pāpu-mātuyā dānam.*
8. Donative
12. *Papu matu* (Mother of Papu)
19. 1
23. 2

Sl.No. 75 INDEX NO. I. 75

1. Amarāvatī
2 *A.R.I.E., 1970-71*, no.B23, p.33
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 2nd c. B.C. characters

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

6. .....*Patithāpita*

8. Donative

17. Patithapita

23. At least 1

Sl.No. 76 INDEX NO. I. 76

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; On a cross-bar

2. A.Ghosh, 1979, no.14, p.102; *A.R.I.E., 1959-60*, no.B48, p.49;

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 1st or 2nd c. B.C. characters

6. *Nhāpita-gāmasa vita-pālānam suci*

8. Donative: collective

10. *Suci*

11. Vitapala (of the Vitapala community/tribe/lineage group

12. Vitapala community/tribe/lineage group

13. Napita

14. Napita *gama*

15. Vitapala

17. Close links between the monastic site and the communities/tribes as well as the socio-economic units. Seen in the similar inscriptions of the period

23. Collective / community / tribe as a whole

Sl.No. 77 INDEX NO. I. 77

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; On a cross-bar; fragmentary.

2. *A.R.I.E., 1959-60*, no.B51, p.49

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 1st or 2nd century B.C. characters

6. ...*ra gāma*

8. Donative: Collective

10. *Suci*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

11. . . . ra *gama*

12. *Gama*

13. . . . ra

14. *Gama*

23. Institutional / collective

Sl.No. 78 INDEX NO. I. 78

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī: On a cross-bar

2. I.K. Sarma, 1974, p.66, no.75

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 2nd-1st c B.C.

6. *Kurivāliyānā...*

16. *Kurivaliyana* (Any monastic group?)

Sl.No. 79 INDEX NO. I. 79

1. *Stupa*-site:

2. I.K. Sarma, 1974, p.67, no.76

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 2nd – 1st C. B.C.

6. ... ...*Kārasa a...*

Sl.No. 80 INDEX NO. I. 80

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; On a broken pillar; fragmentary

2. *A.R.I.E.*, 1959-60, no. B45, p.49

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 1st century B.C. characters

6. *ida... ...sacikādha...*

Sl.No. 81 INDEX NO. I. 81

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; On a fragment of an oblong rail-pillar; fragmentary.

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

2. R.P.Chanda, 'Some Unpublished Amarāvatī Inscriptions', *E.I.*, XV (1919-20), Calcutta, 1925, p.262., no.1.
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 100B.C.-50B.C., as per A.Roy, p.214.
6. *Gopiyā samanu de[ya-dhama]*
7. The Pious gift of the nun Gopiyā
8. Donative
11. Gopiya (f)
12. *Samanu* (for *Samani*) = nun
17. *De(ya dhama)*
19. 1
21. 1
23. 1

Sl.No. 82 INDEX NO. I. 82

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; On a sculptured fragment; fragmentary
2. Chanda, 1925, no.2, p.262.
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 100B.C-50B.C., as per A.Roy, p.214.
6 ... ...*gāmasa pato*
7. (This) slab (is the gift of) the village... ... ...
8. Donative: gift by institution/collective gift.
10. *pato*(slab)
11. ...*gama*
12. Institution
14. *gama*
23. Collective / institutional

Sl.No. 83 INDEX NO. I. 83

1. *Stupa*-site: On a sculptured fragment: fragmentary
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.275, no.12 (also Chanda, no.5, p.263)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 100B.C.-50B.C. as per Anamika Roy, p.214

6. *Dhamnakadakasa nigamasa*

7. (Gift) of the town of Dhamnakada (Dhanyakataka).

8. Donative; by an institution / collective

11. *Nigama* of Dhamnakadaka

12. *Nigama*

13. Dhamnakadaka

14. *Nigama* of Dhamnakadaka

23. The town / market-place as a whole.

Sl.No. 84 INDEX NO. I. 84

1. *Stupa*-site:On a sculptured fragment of a rail pillar

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.15, p.275 (Also Chanda, no.9, p.264)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 100B.C-50B.C. as per Anamika Roy, p.214.

6. *Kamma..... .....yā Apakuyā thabho*

7. Pillar, (gift) of Apaku..... .....Kamma

8. Donative

10. *Thabho*

11.1.Apaku (m); 2. Kamma (f)

18.1

19.1

23.2, (1 male and 1 female)

Sl.No. 85 INDEX NO. I. 85

1. *Stupa*-siteon a coping stone.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.273, no.4 (Also Burgess-Hultzsch, 1882, *Notes*, p.8, no.2B, and Pl ii, no.3; Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*,

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1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

1887, p.67, and Plates XXVIII, 6 and LXI, no.52; Lüders, 1231)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 100-50B.C as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p.214.

6. *(?hu) tukaya sanatukāya unisa dānam*

7. Gift of a coping stone by.....(with her daughters and grandsons.)

8. Donative: Group donation

10. *Unisa* (coping stone)

11. Not clear but a female donor

12. 1.Mother (f), 2.Daughters (f), 3.Grandsons (m)

18. Not less than 2

19. Not less than 3

23. Not less than 5

Sl.No. 86 INDEX NO. I. 86

1. *Stupa*-site: fragmentary

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.273, no.2 (Also R.P. Chanda, nos.43, 37 and 38, pp.270-271)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 100-50 B.C, as per Anamika Roy, p.214

6. *Culamākuyā / tapaya / ukati danā*

tasa dānam

7. Of Culamaka (Kshullamrgā) : / Of Tapa (Trapā); / Gift of ukati.Gift of.....tasa

8. Donative: group donation

11. 1.Culamaka (m); 2.Tapa (m), 3. . . . tasa (m)

18. 3

23. 3

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

PHASE II (1st Century BC and end of 1st Century AD)

Sl.No. 87 INDEX NO. II. 1

1. *Stupa*-site: fragment of a sculptured slab.
2. Sivaramamurti 1977, no.31, pp.277-278 (Also Burgess Hultzsch, *Notes*, no.205, p.54; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.90 f, and Plates XLVI, 2 and LX, no.50; Lüders, 1262)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* late 1st C. B.C., as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p.215.
6. 1. *Sidham Jetaparavanavathavaya pavajitikaya Sagharakhikāya bālikaya ja*

   2. *pavajitikāya Haghāya kumarikāya ja Yavaya dāna deyadhama ūpato*
7. Meritorious gift of upright slab (*ūpata*) by the nun (*pavajitikā*) Sagharakhitā (Samgharakshitā) living in Jetaparavans, her daughter the nun Hamghā and by her (latter's) daughter Yavā
8. Donative; group donation by nuns with daughers
10. *Upata* (upright slab)
11. 1. Sagharakhita (f), 2.Hagha (f), 3.Yava (f)
12. 1. *Pavajitika*, 2.*Pavajitika* and daugher of the *parajitika* Sagharakhita, 3.Daughter of Hagha
13. Jetaparavana
17. Nuns with daughers: a particular stage in the Buddhist monastic history: Deviation from the *Vinaya* prescriptions. The *Caityakas*/Andhakas had justified sex among members of the order. See N.J. Francis, '*Pindapatika*', p.21, no.63.
19. 3
21. 3
23. 3 (2 *pavajitikas* and daugher)

Sl.No. 88 INDEX NO. II. 2

1. *Stupa*-site: Sculptured fragment; fragmentary.
2. H.Sarkar, *JAIH*. 1971, p.10, no.70

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* First century B.C. as per Anamika Roy

. 6. ...*Sahaputasa [na] ha*...

2. ... ...

8. Collective gift is indicated (by the only surviving ". . . *sahaputasa (na)ha* or *saha putena* (as corrected by the Ed. Sircar) i.e., together with his son.

11. Missing

12. *Puta* (son)

18. 2

23. 2

Sl.No. 89 INDEX NO. II. 3

1. *Stupa*-site: Sculptured fragment of an image

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.274, no.6.(Also Chanda, no.39, p.270)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Late 1st C. B.C as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p.214)

6. *Gotaminamo*... ... ... dānam

7. Gift..... of Gotami

8. Donative

11. Gotami (m)

12. Lost/missing

17. *danam*

18.1

23.1

Sl.No. 90 INDEX NO. II. 4

1. *Stupa*-site:fragment.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.77, p.292 (Also Chanda, no.30, p.268)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Late 1st C. B.C. as per Anamika Roy, p. 214.

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

6. *Nāgabu*

8. Donative

11. Nagabu

12. Probably a mason

18. 1

23. 1

Sl.No. 91 INDEX NO. II. 5

1. *Stupa*-site: On a fragment of a coping stone: fragmentary

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.125, p.304 (Also Chanda, no.29, p.268)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Late 1st C. B.C., A.Roy, p.214.

6. *yasa ceti(ya ma)dhā vetika capa*

7. If *dha* may be read as *hā* as it is possible, then it would mean... the great rail the *caitya*. Chanda, as any one would, finds it difficult to see what *madhā* means and suggests that it may be a local *tadbhava* of Sanskrit *madhya*

17. *yasa cetiya;* whose *cetiya?vetika.*

Sl.No. 92 INDEX NO. II. 6

1. *Stupa* site: on a coping stone

2. H.Sarkar, *J.A.I.H.*, no.53, p.5.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Late 1st century B.C. as per Anamika Roy, p.215.

6. ..... *uvāsikāya Hamviyā putasa* .....

8. Donative

11. *Hamviya puta* (son of Hamvi) (m)

12. Son of an *uvasika* (i.e., *upasika*)

18. 1

22. 1 (*Upasika*) (f)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

23. 2, 1. Son of an *Upasika*, 2. *Upasika* Hamvi

Sl.No. 93 INDEX NO. II. 7

1. *Stupa*-site On a fragment: fragmentary
2. Chanda, 1925, no. 26, p.267
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Late 1st C. B.C, as per A.Roy, p.214.
6. .....*[cha]chuli-sa[m]ghāya*.....
7. .....to the Sangha.....*chachuli*
8. Donative
14. *Sa(m)gha*
17. Donation to the Samgha has been mentioned specifically

Sl.No. 94 INDEX NO. II. 8

1. *Stupa*-site: On the reverse (unpolished) side of a big slab
2. Chanda, 1925, no.30, p.268.
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Late 1st C. B.C., as per A.Roy, p.214.
6. *Nāgabu*
11. Nagabu
12. Probably the name of the stone-mason.

Sl.No. 95 INDEX NO. II. 9

1. *Stupa*-site:On the corner of a disc with lotus
2. R.P. Chanda, 1925, no.33, p.269
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Late 1st C. B.C., as per A.Roy, p.214.
6. 1. *Nutu uparakasa*
   2. *Kodimutikasa*
   3. *tini suciyo*
   4. *dānam*
7. Three rail bars are the gifts of the *uparaka* Nutu of Kodimuti

---

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

8. Donative

10. *Tini suciyo* (three rail-bars)

11. Nutu (m)

12. *Uparaka* (Skt. *Uparika* of the later inscriptions?), Title of an officer.

13. Kodimuti

17. Interest of the Officer / Connections with the monastic sites

18.1

23. 1

Sl.No. 96 INDEX NO. II. 10

1. *Stupa*-site:

2. R.P. Chanda, 1925, no.35, p.269.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Late 1st C. B.C., as per A.Roy, p.214.

6. .....*sa mātugāya*.....

7. .....with her mother.....

8. Donative: Collective

11. 1. ..... -(f), 2. ..... -(f). (Names lost)

12. 1.Daughter of 2; 2.Mother of 1

19. 2

23. 2

Sl.No. 97 INDEX NO. II. 11

1. *Stupa*-site: fragment: On a pillar. British Museum.

2. Lüders, no.1220, p.143 (Also Fergusson – Cunningham, *T.S.W.*, p.240, no.15, and Plates LIII, I and XCIX, no.15)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Late 1st C. B.C., as per A. Roy, p.215.

8. Donative: Collective

11. 1. p. . . (m), 2. . . . (f), 3. . . . (males), 4. . . . (females)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

12. 1. Son of the *gahapati* Kanhati, 2. Wife of 1, 3.Sons of 1, 4.Daughters of 1.

13. (Cada)ka or Candaka

17. *Deya dhama*

18. Not less than 4

19. Not less than 3

23. Not less than 7

Sl.No. 98 INDEX NO. II. 12

1. *Stupa*-site: On a pillar. British Museum.

2. Lüders, no.1222, p.143 (Also Fergusson-Cunningham, *T.S.W*, p.240, no.17, and Plates LVIII, I and XCIX, no.17)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Late 1st C. B.C. as per A. Roy, p.215.

8. Donative: Collective

11. 1. . . . (m), 2. Kanha (f)

12. 1. Grandson of *gahapati* Papin, 2. Wife of 1

13. Valikaca

17. *Danam*

18. 1

19. 1

23. 2

Sl.No. 99 INDEX NO. II. 13

1. On a fragment of a flower-vase: Fragmentary

2. Lüders, no.1232, p.145 (Also Burgess, *Notes*, p.10, no.22; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, no.34, p.103, and Plate LVIII, no.34)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Late 1st C. B.C., as per A. Roy, p.215.

6. *(Sidham Mugudasa(ma)putasa marāma(pama)... ...*

(sadhu)hutukānam sasunhikānam sanatu[kānam]... ... ...

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

7. Success! (The gift) ..... of the son of Mugudasa[ma] (Mukundasarman) with their daughters, with their daughters-in-law, with their grandsons..... "

8. Donative : Collective

11. 1. . . . (m); 2. . . . (f), 3.. . . (f); 4. . . . (m)

12. 1. Son of Mugudasama (Mukundasarman); 2.Daughters, 3.Daughters-in-law and 4.grandsons.

17. *Sidham*

18. Not less than 4

19. Not less than 4

23. Not less than 8

Sl.No. 100 INDEX NO. II. 14

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragment: Amarāvatī Museum.

2. Anamika Roy, *Amarāvatī Stupa*, vol.1., 1994,no.18 (no.472 of the Amarāvatī Museum), Appendix 4, p.210 (No text is given)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Late 1st C. B.C., as per A. Roy, p.214.

8. Donative

12. The donor is from Vidisa

13. Vidisa

23. 1

Sl.No. 101 INDEX NO. II. 15

1. *Stupa*-site: Sculptured fragment; Amarāvatī Museum

2. H. Sarkar, *JAIH*, 1971, no.65, p.10

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Late 1st C. B.C. as per A. Roy, p.215.

4. Donative:Collective

6. 1. ..... *[Sidham] [De]vana..... ...putasa puraga.....*

2. *timita Budhavana...deya*

3. .....

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

12. A *puta* (son) is referred to

17. *Sidham; deya*; the term *Budhavana.*

18. 1 (*puta*) (m)

23. More than 1

Sl.No. 102 INDEX NO. II. 16

1. *Stupa*-site: fragmentary. Govt. Museum, Madras

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.95, p.296 (Also Chanda, no. 44, p.271)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Ist C. B.C. or A.D.

6. ... ...*(sa)putakasa unisa pāda*... ... ...

7. (gift of) coping ..... by with his sons.

8. Donative : Collective

10. *Unisa* (coping)

11.1. . . . (m) Name lost; 2. – (m) Names lost

12.1. --; 2. Sons of 1

18. Not less than 3

23. Not less than 3

Sl.No. 103 INDEX NO. II. 17

1. *Stupa*-site: British Museum

2. Lüders, no. 1226, p. 144 (Also Fergusson, *T.S.W.*, Plates XCIII and XCVI, 3 (plates only)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Late 1st C. B.C. as per A. Roy, pp.195-196.

8. Donative

10. *Pata* (slab)

Sl.No. 104 INDEX NO. II. 18

1. *Stupa*-site:

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.274, no.5 (Also Burgess, 1887, *B.S.A.J.*, p.67 and plate XXI, 3 Lüders, 1289)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 200-100 B.C as per Srinivasan 1961, p.59. First half of the 1st C. A.D. as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p.215.

6. *(ma)hātherasa Mahādhammakadhikasa*.....

7. ..... Of the great elder (*thera*) Mahādhammakadhika (Mahādharmakadhika).....

8. Donative

11. Missing / damaged

12. *Mahathera* and *Mahadhammakadhika*

17. *Mahathera* status / a saint / monk and great preacher

18. 1

20. 1

23. 1

Sl.No. 105 INDEX NO. II. 19

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragmentary

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.32, p.278 (Also Chanda, no.25, p.267)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* First half of the 1st C. A.D., as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p.215.

6. 1. .....*nili Gamilakasa gahapatisa*

   2. .....*putasa ja Revatasa ja bal(i)kāya*

7 1. .....of Gamilaka the householder .....the son of 2 ..... and of the daughter of Revata

8. Donative: Group

11. 1. Gamilaka (m); 2. . . . (name lost) (m); 3. . . . (name lost) (f)

12. 1. *Gahapati* (m); Son of (name lost), 3. Daughter of Revata (name lost)

17. 3

19. 1

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

23. 4 (3 males and 1 female)

Sl.No. 106 INDEX NO. II. 20

1. *Stupa*-site: On a fragment of an ocagonal pillar
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no. 93, pp.295-296 (Also Burgess, *Notes*, p.23, no.87 (lower inscription), and plate IV, no.10; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.82, and plates XLII, 8 and LVII, no. 18 (lower inscription); Lüders, no.1246, p.147)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* First half of 1st C. A.D. as per A.Roy, p. 215.
6. *Aya Retiyā atevāsiniyā ayadhamāya dānam*
7. Gift of the worthy Dhamā, female disciple of the worthy Reti
8. Donative
11. *Aya* Dhama (f)
12. An *aya*; an *atevasini* of *aya* Reti
19. 2
21. 2
23. 2

Sl.No. 107 INDEX NO. II. 21

1. *Stupa*-site: *British Museum*: fragmentary
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no. 61, p.288 (Also Chanda, no.42, p.271)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* First Half of the 1st C. A.D. as per A.Roy, p. 215
6. ..... *riyasa sputakasa unisa*
7. Coping by..... with his (wife) and sons
8. Donative: Collective
10. *Unisa* (coping)
11. 1. . . . (m) (Name lost); 2. . . . (f) (Name not given); 3. . . . (m) Names not given)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

12. 1. Not known; 2. Wife of 1; 3. Sons of 1.

18. Not less than 3

19. 1

23. Not less than 4

Sl.No. 108 INDEX NO. II. 22

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī;On a broken pillar

2. H.Sarkar, *J.A.I.H.*, vol. IV, 1971, no.55, pp.5-6 (Also Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, no.39: pp.103-104; Lüders, no.1280, pp.152-153).

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* First half of 1st century A.D as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p.215

6. 1. *[R]āyaselavnivaāsino vasibhutasa*

2. *[Ma]hatherasa ayira-Bhutarakhitasa [a]-*

3.*[te]vāsikasa Cula-ay[I]rasa ara[ha]-*

4.*[tasa] ayira-Budharkhitasa ate[vā]-*

5. *[si]niya bhikhuniya Na[dāya] thambho dā[na]*

8. Donative: Collective

10. *thambha*

11. 1,Cula Ayira (m); 2, Nada (Nanda) (f)

12. *Antevasika* of *ayira* Bhutarakhita who is a *Mahathera* and a resident of (R)ayasala; 2, *Bhikhuni* and *antevasini* of *ayira* Budharakhita, an *arahat*. It is the state of being as an *antevasi* and an *antevasini* of *Mahathera* and *Arahat* that gives status and identity to the donors

13. (R)ayasela

17. 1, *Mahathera* status; 2, *Arhat* status; 3, who are the *antevasika* and *antevasini*?

18. 3

19. 1

20. 3

21. 1

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

23. 4; a) *Antevasi*(m); b) *Antevasini* (f); c) *Mahathera* (m); d) *Arahat* (m)

Sl.No. 109 INDEX NO. II. 23

1. *Stupa*-site: fragmentary.
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no. 94, p.296, plate LXV, 11
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* First half of the 1st C. A.D. as per A.Roy, p. 215
6. 1. ..... *nam janā(nam)ca*.....

   2. ..... *(i)rakasa Mha Nāga*.....

   3..... *patarige bhosa (u)*.....

   4. *n(i)sapatā dāna*
7. A coping slab, gift of ..... the worthy (..... *irakasa* to be read *ayirakasa*) Maha Naga .....
8. Donative: Seems to be collective.
10. *Unisapata* (coping slab)
11. Maha Naga
12. *Ayiraka*? (the worthy? or a clan name?)
15. *jana(nam)ca*. . . can mean along with the people

Sl.No. 110 INDEX NO. II. 24

1. *Stupa*-site: On a pillar. British Museum
2. Lüders, no. 1210, no. 141 (Also Fergusson-Cunningham, *T.S.W.*, p.239, no.5, and plates LXXXIX and XCIX, no.V; Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.18, foot note, 2)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* First half of the 1st C. A.D. as per A.Roy, p. 215
6. *Gadhikasa Hamghasa sa putakasa sa duhutukasa cetiya thabho dānam*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

7. Of Gandhika Hangha with his sons, with his daughters, the gift of a *ceitya* pillar

8. Donative: Collective

10. *Cetiyakhabha* (*caitya* pillar)

11. 1. Hamgha (m); 2 – (m) names not stated; 3. – (f) names not stated

12.1. *Gadhika* (perfumer); 2. Sons of 1; 3. Daughters of 1.

18. Not less than 3

19. Not less than 2

23. Not less than 5

Sl.No. 111 INDEX NO. II. 25

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī Museum.

2. I.K.Sarma, 1974, p.67, no:81

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* first half of the 1st C.A.D. as per Anamika Roy, p.215.

6. ..... *ka*

.....*Chavakasa dā[nām?]*

8. Donative

11. Cavaka

17. *Da(nam?)*

Sl.No. 112 INDEX NO. II. 26

1. *Stupa*-site: fragmentary; Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.275, no.11 (Also Chanda, p.270, no.40)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Second half of the 1st C. A.D as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p.215.

6. 1.*(sa) Cadasa mātuya*

2. *nam navakamikāpadhānapari*

3.*no dhamakadhiko aya Parapo ta ca.*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

7. ..... Of Chada (Candra) and of his mother..... the chief supervisor of the renovation work..... and the preacher of the law, the worthy (*aya*) Parapota.

8. Donative: Gropup donation

11. 1. Chada (m); 2. Chada's mother (f), 3. (Name lost) (m); 4. Parapota (m)

12. 1. Not known; 2 Mother of Chada; 3. *Navakamikapadhana*; 4. *Dhamakadhika* and an *aya* (worthy)

17. *Navakamikapadhana* and *Dhamakadhika* donate along with others

18. 3

19. 1

20. 2

23. 4

Sl.No. 113 INDEX NO. II. 27

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragmentary

2. Lüders, no.1211, p.141 (Also Fergusson-Cunningham, *T.S.W.*, p.239, no.6, and plates XC, 2 and XCIX, no. VI)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 1st C. A.D., as per A Roy, p.215.

8. Donative: Collective

11. Dhana . . (m)

12. (*Gahapa*)*ti*

18. 1

23.1

Sl.No. 114 INDEX NO. II. 28

1. Fragment of a sculpture

2. H.Sarkar, 1971, *J.A.I.H.*, p.10, no.66.

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Early Christian era

6. 1. ..... *sa-bhatukasa sa-bhaginikasa*

2. *[Dha]nakata-mahā-ce(ti*ye* .....

11. Name of the main donor missing

12. 1.*Bhatu* (brother) (m); 2.*Bhagini* (sister) (f)

13. Dhanakata

14. *Dhanakata-maha cetiya*

18. 1

19. 1

23. More than two

Sl.No. 115 INDEX NO. II. 29

1. *Stupa*-site:On a cross bars

2. H.Sarkar, *J.A.I.H.*, 1971, pp.4-5 and 11 Nos.48, 49, 50, 51, 52 and 67 (5 lime stone cross bars)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Early Christian era

6. 1. *pa* 70 5 (?)

2. *sa* 30 7

3. *a* 30 [*]

4. *dha* 70 1

5.*ca* 70 2

6.*Cho* 60 ni (perhaps masson's mark)

8. Masons marks (see *A.R.I.E.*, 1959-60, Nos.21, 29 and 30. New Delhi, 1963)

10. Probably part of the mason's identifying the exact positions where the cross-bars were to be erected or else part of the calculations / measurements of the plan.

Sl.No. 116 INDEX NO. II. 30

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragment debris

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

2. H.Sarkar, *JAIH*, 1971, p.11, no.68

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Early Christian era

6. 1. ...*[tan0]*

   2. ...*ta saha*

   3. .....*[sa]*...

8. Collective gift as indicated by . . . *saha* . . .

Sl.No. 117 INDEX NO. II. 31

1. *Stupa*-site:On a broken pillar

2. *A.R.I.E.*, 1959-60, no.B.44, p.49

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 1st C. A.D. characters

6. *.(g)āmasa*

   ...(t)ulā cha.

8. Donative: Collective

11. ..*(G)ama*

12. *Gama* / institution

14. *Gama*

23. Collective / institutional

Sl.No. 118 INDEX NO. II. 32

1. *Stupa*-site:On a carved pillar

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.35, p.279 (Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.92 and plate XLVIII.1, but no text given; Lüders, 1294, but not read)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; circa* A.D. 100

6. 1. *nilikam Amsutalikasa Hamghasa gharaniya ca Sagharakhitaya bālikāyāPugarāthāya Haghaya ca deya*

   2. *dhama budhabanaya ? laya ? patithapita*

7. Success.....A pious gift of a *budhabamālā* (should be *abadhamālā*) is erected, with *jnati*s, friends and relatives by.....the wife of Hamghā (Samghā) of Amsutalika

---

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

(Amsutalika), and Hamgha (Samgha) of Pugaratha (Pugarāshtra), the daughter of Sagharakhita (Samgharakshitā).

8. Donative : Group donation

10. *Budhabamala* (should be *abadhamala*)

11. 1. – (f) (Name lost); 2. Hamgha (f)

12. 1. The wife Hamgha, 2. The daughter of Sagharakhita

13. 1, Amsutalika; 2, Pugaratha

17. Use of *deyadhama* and *patithapita*

18. 1. (Indirect reference to Hamgha, the husband)

19. 3

23. 4

Sl.No. 119 INDEX NO. II. 33

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragmentary

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.38, p.280

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; circa* 100 A.D.

6. 1. ..... *Cuvika(sa) (Na) (ka) sa*..... *(the) (ra) sam ci (ma) mu (gha) ga* .....

2 *Kici (dha)* ..... *Kamāya*..... *yasaram(i)*.....

7. Fragmentary. The names of Cuvika, Naka and Kama are mentioned; also a *thera*

8. Donative: seems to suggest a group donation

11. 1. Cuvika (m); 2. Naka (m); 3. Kama (m); 4. – (m) (Name lost)

12. 1. . . . , 2. . . . , 3. . . . (lost), 4. *Thera*

17. *Thera*

18. 4

20. 1

23. 4

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka* / *Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 120 INDEX NO. II. 34

1. *Stupa*-site: On a fragmentary flower-vase slab

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.40, p.281 (Also Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, no.80, p.20, and Plate III, no.8; Burgess – Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.104, and plate LIX, no. 41)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Circa 100. A.D.

6. 1. *DamilaKanhasa bhātunam ca Cula Kanhasa Nakhaya ca Dhanamahace*

   2. *tiyapādamule udhampato*

7. An upright slab at the foot of the great *caitya* of Dhana, gift of *Damila* Kanha (*i.e.*, Kanha or Krshna from Tamil country i.e., *Damila*), his brother Cula Kanha (Kshulla Krshna) and his sister Nakhā.

8. Donative : Group

10. *Udhampata.*

11. 1. *Damila* Kanha (m); 2. Cula Kanha (m); 3. Nakha (f)

12. 1. Kanha from Tamil country (*Damila*); 2. Brother of Kanha; 3. Sister of Kanha

13. 1. Damila; 2. Dhana (i.e., Dhanakata

17. *Dhanamahacetiyapadamule* (At the foot of the great *Caitya* of Dhana)

18. 2

19. 1

23. 3

Sl.No. 121 INDEX NO. II. 35

1. *Stupa*-site: fragmentary

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.282, no.43

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Circa 100 A.D

6. *Nilakasa uti*... ... ...

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

7. Of Nilaka .....
8. Donative
11. Nilaka (m)
18. 1
23. 1

Sl.No. 122 INDEX NO. II. 36

1. *Stupa*-site:fragmentary
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.47, p.282 (Also Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.103 and plate LVIII, no.33; Lüders, 1301.)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Circa 100 A.D.
6 ..... *lasa smaātukasa sap(i)tukasa sabhaginikasa sabhāriyasa*

   Saputakasa saku ..... *dā(nam).*
7. Gift of ..... along with his mother,father, sisters, wife and sons.
8. Donative: Group
11. 1. . . . (m) Name lost; 2. His mother (f); 3. His father (m); 4. His sisters (f); 5. His wife (f); 6. His Sons (m)
12. 1.Not known; 2.Mother of 1; 3.Father of 1; 4.Sisters of 1; 5.Wife of 1; Sons of 1.
17 *Danam*
18. Not less than 4
19 Not less than 4
23. Not less than 8

Sl.No. 123 INDEX NO. II. 37

1. *Stupa*-site: fragmentary
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.49, p.283 (Also Burgess *Notes*, p.16, no.34, bis; Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, pp.82-83, and plate XLII)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* circa 100 A.D.

6. ..... *tinividapiya*.....

..... *gila mātayā Laciya dā(na)*

7. Gift of Laci (Lakshmi) the mother of.....

8. Donative

11. Laci (Laksmi) (f)

12. The mother of . . .

19. 1

23. 2

Sl.No. 124 INDEX NO. II. 38

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragment of a sculptured slab: fragmentary

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.44, p.282 (Chanda, no.21, p.266)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Circa 100 A.D.

6. 1. *Sidham namo bhagavato Sidha*.....

2. *sanātimitabadhava (na)*.....

7. Success! Adoration to the Lord Sidha(tha).....(gift of.....) Along with his *jāti*s, friends and relatives

8. Donative: Group donation

11. 1. . . . (m) – Name lost); 2. *Natimitabadhava*

17. 1. *Sidham*; 2. *Namo bhagavato Sidha*(*tha*) (i.e., salutation to Sidhartha); 3. *Natimitabadhava*

18. More than one

23. More than one

Sl.No. 125 INDEX NO. II. 39

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragmentary: possibly carried an image of the Buddha

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.48, p.283 (Also Chanda no.22, p.266)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* circa 100 A.D.

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka* / *Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

6. *rasa sapitu (ka)sa sabhayakasa sabhātuka*

   ..... *dāna bhagavato Budhapamātu pata*

7. Gift of a slab (/) of Lord Buddha..... by..... with his father, wife and brothers.

8. Donative: Group

10. *Bhagavato Budhapamatu pata* (translated by Chanda as 'a slab bearing an image of the omniscient Buddha')

11. 1. . . . (m); 2. His father (m); 3. His wife (f); 4. His brothers (m)

12. 1. – (m); 2. His father (m); 3. His wife (f); 4. His brothers (m)

17. Inscriptional evidence for palaeographically dating the Buddha image at Amarāvatī though both Chanda and Sivaramamurti did not find any Buddha image on the slab due to its fragmentary nature. *Pamatu* (Sanskrit *Pramatri*) could mean omniscient. The divine, holy and omniscient Buddha indicates the growth of divinisation of the Buddha / *lokottara* conception, and its reflections in sculpture / art.

18. Not less than 4

19. 1

23. Not less than 5

Sl.No. 126 INDEX NO. II. 40

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragment of a coping stone of a rail: At the beginning of the inscription is a symbol of a wheel on *pitha*

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.53, p.284 (Also Chanda no.23, p.267)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* circa 100 A.D.

6 *uvāsikaya Utarāya uvā (sa)*

7. Of the female lay worshipper (*uvāsikā*) Utarā (Uttarā), the lay worshipper

8. Donative

11. Utara (f)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

12. *Uvasika*

19. 1

22. 1

23. 1

Sl.No. 127 INDEX NO. II. 41

1. *Stupa*-site:On a large fragment of a pillar: On the other side is an eleven-line inscription referring to the Pallava kings.
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.59, p.285 (Also Burgess, *Notes*, p.50, no.17, and plate VI, no.27; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.106, and plate LXI, no. 51; Lüders, 1277)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* circa 100 A.D.
6. *gahaptino Vāsumitasa putasa Himalasa sabhāriyasa saputakasa sabhaginiyasa saduhutukasa thabhā dāna*
7. Gift of pillar by Himala, the son of the householder Vāsumita (Vāsumitra) with his wife, sons, sisters and daughters
8. Donative: Collective
10. *Thabha*
11. 1. Himala (m); 2. – (f); 3. – (m); 4. – (f); 5. –(f) (names not mentioned except 1)
12. 1. Son of Vasumita who is a *gahapati*; 2. Wife of Vasumita; 3. Sons of Vasumita; 4. Sisters of Vasumita; 5. Daughters of Vasumita
18. Not less than 3
19. Not less than 5
23. Not less than 8

Sl.No. 128 INDEX NO. II. 42

1. *Stupa* site: on an upright. Amarāvatī Museum
2. H.Sarkar, *J.A.I.H.*, Vol.IV, parts 1-2, 1970-71, pp.3-4, no.45.

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 1st -2nd c. A.D. as per I.K. Sarma, 1974, p.64.

6. *dhamasa*

8. Not Known. Text comprises of only a single word

11. Dhamasa

12. The name of a stone-mason?

18. 1

23. 1

Sl.No. 129 INDEX NO. II. 43

1. *Stupa* site: on an upright; Amarāvatī Museum.

2. H.Sarkar, *J.A.I.H.*, no.46, p.4.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Early years of the Christian era (1st - 2nd century A.D. as per I.K. Sarma, 1974, p.64)

6. *Nāgabu*

11. Nagabu

12. Name of a stone-mason

18. 1

23. 1

Sl.No. 130 INDEX NO. II. 44

1. .*Stupa* site: on an upright; Amarāvatī Museum.

2. H.Sarkar, *J.A.I.H.*, no.47, p.4.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Early years of Christian era (1st -2nd century A.D. as per I.K. Sarma, 1974, p.64)

6. *Nāgabu*

11. Nagabu

18. 1

23. 1

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 131 INDEX NO. II. 45

1. *Stupa* site: on a coping stone
2. H.Sarkar, *J.A.I.H.*, no.54, p.5 (Also Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.102, no.26 and pl.LVII.
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 1st -2nd century A.D. as per I.K. Sarma, 1974, p.64.
6. *...kasa sa-dutukasa dānam āga...*
8. Donative

11.1. Name of male donor missing; 2.Name of female donor missing.

12. Female donor is the daughter of the male donor

18.1

19.1

23.2

Sl.No. 132 INDEX NO. II. 46

1. *Stupa*-site:On a pillar. Amarāvatī Museum.
2. H.Sarkar, *J.A.I.H.*, no.56, pp.6-7, (Also P.Seshadri Sastri, 'Dharanikota *Dharmachakra* Pillar Inscription', *E.I.*, XXIV, 1937-38, pp.256-260
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* First-second century A.D as per I.K.Sarma, 1974, p.64; but second half of the 3rd c.A.D. as per A.Roy, p.217.
6. 1. ..... *[va]chara*
   2. *pana..... 6 divase*
   3. *prathame 1..... ka kodubikasa*
   4. *Khadanāgasa sa-[ga?] rakena agalokakena Viranasa*
   5. *putena amacena*
   6. *Ataporena Dhana[kadasa mahāvihāre puva-dare pava-*
   7. *jitāna[m] bhik[khu]-sa[m]ghasa Puva-seliyāna nigāyasa*
   8. *parigahe dhammacaka dhayo padithapita sava-loka*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

9. *sat[**]va-hita-su[khā]ya*.....

7. On the first day 1, (of the sixth fortnight) 6 (of the ... season) in the year (thirty five) (35 of the king ..., this) shaft (surmounted) with a *Dharmachakra* has been established at the eastern gate in the great monastery of Dhanakada, (which is) in possession of the school of the Purvasailiyas, the monkish order of ascetics, by ...., the minister, a resident of Atapura, an immigrant from Agaloka, son of Viraskanda (?), ... of the householder Skandanaga, for the benefit and happiness of all the beings in the world.

8. Donative: Collective

9. For the benefit and happiness of all the beings in the world.

10. *Dhamacaka-dhaya*

11. Missing

12. 1. A minister (*amaca*), the resident of Atapura and an immigrant from Agaloka; he is also the son of Viraskanda; 2. Skandanaga, a *kotumbika* (i.e., householder).

13.1. Dhanakada, 2. Atapura, 3. Agaloka

14. *Mahavihara* (of the *Puvaseliyana nigaya*)

16. *Puvaseliyana nigaya*

17.1, *Savaloka satva hita sukhaya* (i.e., for the benefit and happiness of all the beings in the world) reveals the pro-Mahayana trend of the *Purvasaila* sect. 2, *Padithapita*

18. 2

23. 2 males

Sl.No. 133 INDEX NO. II. 47

1. *Stupa*-site: Rectangular fragment of a pillar

2. H.Sarkar, 1971, no.57, p.7

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*, 1st - 2nd c.A.D as per I.K.Sarma, 1974, p.64.

6. 1. .....*no aya Kuda(?) ku*.....

2.*ra[sa] bhariyāya Balāma*.....

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

3. *thabho*

8. Donative: Group

10. *Thabho*

11.1. Kuda (m); 2. Balama (f)

12.1. *Aya* (worthy / monk); 2. *Bhariya* (wife) of . . . ra

18.1

19.1

20.1

23.2

Sl.No. 134 INDEX NO. II. 48

1. *Stupa*-site:On a broken lime stone pillar

2. H.Sarkar, 1971, no.59, p.7

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 1st - 2nd C. A.D. as per I.K. Sarma, 1974, p.64)

6. *Reyatasa*

11. Reyata (m)

12. Donor/mason

18. 1

23. 1 (m)

Sl.No. 135 INDEX NO. II. 49

1. *Stupa*-site: Dome slab depicting *Bodhi* tree, *Dharmacakra* and *stupa*-worship. In three horizontal compartments. Amarāvatī Museum.

2. H.Sarkar, 1971 *J.A.I.H.*, p.8, no.61

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 1st - 2nd century A.D. as per I.K. Sarma, 1974, p.64.)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

6. 1. *Sidham namo (bha*)gavato jibudeva vajasakabhaga va*)ta dhamuparanatone maha-cetiya.....putasa Bodhikasa sa-pitukasa sa-matukasa sa-bha*

2. *bhagineyasa Budharakhita-tatiya-putasa Vidhikasa sa-pitukasa sa-matukasa sa- bha...kasa putanaca sa-samghasa culi-samghasa*

3. .....*patithāpita*

8. Collective gift

11. 1. Bodhika (m); 2. Budharakhita (m); 3. Vidhika (m); 4.with their mothers, fathers etc.

12. Relatives (Father, mother, son, *bhagineya* etc.)

14. *Samgha* and *Culi Samgha*

16.Which is the Sangha and Culi a Sangh?

17. 1. . . . *namo bhagavato*; 2. . . . *Jibudeva vajasaka bhagavato dhatu pari(gahita) mahacetiye* . . . ; 3. . . . *sa samghasa culi-samghasa* . . . ; 4.*patithapita.*

18. 3

19. 2

23. More than 7

Sl.No. 136 INDEX NO. II. 50

1. *Stupa*-site: Dome slab depicting *purna-kumbha*: fragmentary; Amarāvatī Museum.

2. Sarkar, *J.A.I.H.*, 1971, pp.8-9, no.62

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 1st - 2nd C. A.D. as per I.K. Sarma, 1974, p.64.

6. 1. ...*Sidham*...

2....*atevasika*...

3. ...*Budha*...

11. Budha (possibly a donor)

12. *Atevasika / bhikkhu*

17. *Sidham*. Sculptural depiction of *purnakumbha.*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

18. 2

19. 1 (*Atevasika*)

23. 2

Sl.No. 137 INDEX NO. II. 51

1. *Stupa*-site: Dome slab depicting worship of the *dharmacakra* in the upper part and Bodhi tree in the lower part. Amarāvatī Museum.

2. Sarkar, *J.A.I.H.*, 1971, no.64, p.9.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 1st C – 2nd C. A.D. as per I.K. Sarma, 1974, p.64.

11. . . . (m)

12. Son of Bhadaya (Bhadraya) (m)

17. Seems to refer to two *samgharama*s

18. 1

23. 1 (m)

1.

109

Sl.No. 138 INDEX NO. II. 52

1. *Stupa*-site: Drum-frieze depicting 1. Water, 2. *Bodhi-tree*, 3. *Dharmacakra* and 4. *Stupa* with *Nagas*; Amarāvatī Museum.

2. H.Sarkar, *J.A.I.H.*, 1971, no.63, p.9.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Early Christian era (1st-2nd C. A.D. as per I.K. Sarma, 1974, p.64)

6. 1.*Sidham Theriyāna mahā- vinaya-dharasa therasa bhayata-Budhisa atevāsikasa*

2. *Jahara-bhikhuno hamghasa hamghāya ca culi-hamghāya ca d[e]ya- dhama pato*

3. *sa* ... ...

8. Donative

11. 1. Hamgha, 2. Hamgha; 3. Cula Hamgha

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

12. 1. *Jahara bhikhu* and *atevasika* of Budhi who is a *mahavinayadhara*, a *thera* and *bhayata* of *Theriyana*.

16. *Theriyana*

17. *Deyadhama*

18. Four (1. *Jahara bhikhu*, 2.*Hamgha*, 3.*Hamgha*, 4. *Cula Hamgha*)

20. Two (1. *Jahara bhikhu*, 2.*Mahavinayadhara thera bhayata*

23. Two, 1. *Jahara bhikhu*, 2. *Mahavinayadhara*

Sl.No. 139 INDEX NO. II. 53

1. Amarāvatī: a kilometre to the south-east of the *stupa*-site. Fragment of a sculptured frieze with unidentified scenes (Seated figure on a throne, flanked by 2 figures – one with a dagger and the other with folded hands. Another scene of a male with a sword; and of another carving of a *stupa*; fragmentary.

2. H.Sarkar, *J.A.I.H.*, 1971, no.71, p.10.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Early Christian era (1st C. - 2nd c. A.D. as per I.K. Sarma, 1974, p.64)

6. ..... *tasa ca*..... *sa*..... ..... *patimana*... *vācayatehi patithapito*

8. Donative

12. Not clear/fragmentary

17. . . . *patimana* . . . *vacayatehi patithapito.*

Sl.No. 140 INDEX NO. II. 54

1. *Stupa*-site:On a broken cross-bar: fragmentary

2. *A.R.I.E.*, 1970-71, no. B22, p.33

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* characters of 1st or 2nd A.D.

6. *Pipa mātuya dānam*

7. Gift of the mother of Pipa

8. Donative

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka* / *Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

11. 1. – (f)

12. 1. Mother of Pipa

19. 1

23. 2

Sl.No. 141 INDEX NO. II. 55

1. *Stupa*-site: Lime stone: fragment; Amarāvatī Museum.
2. I.K.Sarma, 1974, p.67, no.77.
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 1st-2nd century A.D.
6. *Sasa*

Sl.No. 142 INDEX NO. II. 56

1. *Stupa*-site: Lime stone fragment
2. I.K.Sarma, 1974, p.67, no.78
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 1st-2nd century A.D.
6. 1. *[gaha]patisa Chandamukhasa*
   2. *Nita Budha Vasa*
8. Donative
11. Candamukha (m)
12. *Gahapati*
17. Nita Budha Vasa
18. 1
23. 1

Sl.No. 143 INDEX NO. II. 57

1. *Stupa*-site: Lime stone fragment
2. I.K.Sarma, 1974, p.67, no.79.
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 1st-2nd century A.D.
6. *vikasa*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

12. Vika?

PHASE III (Beginning of 2nd c. AD and end of 2nd c. AD)

Sl.No. 144 INDEX NO. III. 1

1. *Stupa*-site: fragmentary. Octagonal shaft. Amarāvatī Museum.
2. H.Sarkar, *J.A.I.H.*, no.58, p.7
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Beginning of the 2nd centuary A.D as per Anamika Roy, p.216.
6. *-[sa bhar]iyasa sa-putakasa sa-duhutaskasa tha[bho]*
8. Group donation: collective
10. *Tha(bho)*
11. Donor's name missing
12. 1. *Bhariya* (f) - wife; 2. *Puta* (m) – son; 3. *Duhuta* (f) - daughter
19. Missing
20. Two
23. More than 3

Sl.No. 145 INDEX NO. III. 2

1. *Stupa*-site: Portion of a pillar "at the left side of the south entrance" as Burgess put it.
2. Sivaramamurti, no.50, p.283 (Also Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, pp.5-6, no.3, Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.86 and plates XLV, 1 and LX no.47; Lüders, 1229)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Ist c. B.C. characters (Phase III.1 beginning of the 2nd C. A.D., A.Roy, p.216)
6. 1. *Sidham vāniyasa Kutasa sa*

   2. *bheriyasa sputakasa saduhu*

   3. *tukasa sanatukasa dakhināyā*

   4. *ke cetiyakhabho sadhāduko dānam*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

7. Success! Gift of a *caitya* pillar (*cetiyakhabho*) with a relic (*dhatu*) at the southern gate (*ayaka*) by the merchant Kuta with his wife, sons, daughters and grandsons.

8. Donative: group

10. '*Dakhinayake cetiyakhabho sadhaduko danam.*' (Donative of a *caitya* pillar with a relic at the southern gate)

11. 1.Kuta (m); 2.his wife (f); 3.Daughers (f); 4.Grandsons (m)

12. *Vaniya*

17. *Caitya* pillar with a relic. Whose relic? Outside the *caitya*? Whose relic in the 1st C. B.C.? Traditional Mahayana accounts of the Buddha's relics at Dhanyakataka. cf. *Manjusrimulakalpa*

18. Not less than 3

19. Not less than 3

23. Not less than 6

Sl. No. 146 INDEX NO. III. 3

1. *Stupa*-site: Govt. Museum, Madras

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.274, no.7, (Also Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.43, no.210, and plate V, no.21, Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.94, and plates LIV, 2 and LVI, no.5, Lüders; 1268)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Beginning of the 2nd C. A.D. as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p.215

6. *Sidham uvāsikaya Sivalāya saputikaya saduhutukāya deya dha (ma)*

7. Success! Pious gift of the female lay worshipper (*uvasika*) Sivala (Sivala) with her sons and daughters

8. Donative : Collective gift

11.1.Sivala (f); 2.Her sons and daughters.

12.1. *Uvasika* (f); Sons and daughters of Sivala

17.1. *Sidham*; 2. *Deyadha*(*ma*)

18.2

19. Three

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka* / *Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

22. One

23. Not less than five.

Sl.No. 147 INDEX NO. III. 4

1. *Stupa*-site: Sculptured slab divided into 2 panels. Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.33, p.278 (Also Chanda no.55, p.274.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Beginning of the 2nd C. A.D. as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p.215.

6. 1. *(Si)dham Pākag(i)ri nevasakas Mahā(ṇ)avakamakasa ……Budharakhitasa …… (u)vasikasa Go(ti) ys(sa) aya Re(ti)……*

2. *Haghasā Sihagiri (na)vakamakasa Dhamarakhitasa ……ranakasa Katanakasa Nagapavatā*

3. *mahā(na)vakamakasa ayira ā(dita)sa…… Vesaraparalvathavaya Cetikaya Makaya matuya Nakhaya Budhaya ca Cadaya ca*

4. *gu(la?) (la?) ga…… gha*

7. (This upright slab is) of Buddharakhita (Budharakshta), the great supervisor of renovation (*Mahānavakamaka*), residing at Pākagiri, of the lay worshipper (*uvasaka*) Gotiya, of the worthy (*aya)* Reti, of Hamgha (*Samgha*), of Dhamarakhita (Dharmarakshita), the supervisor of renovation work at Sihagiri (Simhagiri), of.....ranaka, of Katanaka, of the worthy (*ayira*) Adita (Aditya), the great supervisor of renovation work at Nagapavata (Nāgaparvata, of Nakhā the mother of Makā (Mrgā), a follower of the *Cetika* school residing at Vesaraparala, of Budha (Buddhā), Cada (Candrā).

8. Donative: Group donation

10. Upright slab

11. 1.Budharakhita (m); 2.Gotiya (m); 3.Reti (m); 4.Hamgha (m); 5.Dhamarakhita (m); 6. . . . ranaka (m); 7.Katanaka (m); 8.Adita (m); 9.Nakha (f); 10.Maka(f); 11.Budha (f); 12.Cada (f).

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

12. 1.*Mahanavakamaka*, 2.*Uvasaka*, 3.*Aya* (worthy), 4.Not specified, 5.*Navakamaka*, 6.Not known, 7.Not specified, 8. *Ayira* (worthy) and *Mahanavakamaka*, 9. Mother of Maka, 10.Daughter Nakha and a follower of the *Cetika* school, 11.Not specified, 12.Not specified

13. 1.Pakagiri; 2.Sihagiri; 3.Nagapavata; 4.Vesaraparala

16. *Cetika* school

17. *Sidham*

18. 8

19. 4

20. Four

22.1

23. 12

Sl.No. 148 INDEX NO. III. 5

1. *Stupa*-site: Sculptured slab; fragmentary. Govt. Museum, Madras

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.39, p.280, (Also Chanda, no.57, p.275) Some of the letters in the second and third lines are lost since Chanda published the inscription

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Beginning of the 2nd C. A.D. as per Anamika Roy, p.216.

6. 1. *Sidham namo bhagavato Sirinegicasa Pusakatikasa Hamghasa bhariyaya ca Cātiyaputanam ca*

   2. *Mahacamdamukhasa Culacandamukhasa bāilikāya ca Utariyasa na.....ya Cula Hamghaya Disas(i)ri*

   3.....*Balasa*.....*patithapita udhapata*

7. Success! Adoration to the Lord ! (This) upright slab (*udhapata*) erected here (is the pious gift) of Pusakalika of Sirinagica, of the wife of Hagha (Samgha), of Mahacandmukha and Culacandamukha, the sons of Catiya and his daughter ..... of Uttariya, Cula Hamgha and Dighasiri..... Bala.

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

8. Donative: group donation

10. *Udhapata* (upright slab)

11. 1. Pusakalika (m); 2.Wife of Hagha (f); 3.Mahacamdamukha (m); 4. Culacamdamukha (m); 5. . . . (Name lost) (f); 6.Utariya(m), 7.Cula Hamgha (f); 8.Dighasiri (f); Bala (m)

12. Donors 3 and 4 are referred to as *Caityaputa* or sons of *Caitya*

13. Sirinagica

17. Use of 1.*Sidham*, 2. *Patithapita*

18. 5

19. 4

23. 9

Sl.No. 149 INDEX NO. III. 6

1. *Stupa*-site: fragment of sculptured slab; Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.45, p.282, (also Chanda no.48, p.272)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Beginning of the 2nd C. A.D. as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p.216.

6. 1. ..... *lure vathavasa Pegagaha(pa)*.....

   2. .....*(sa) bhatukasa sabhaginikasa sabhaya*.....

   3. .....*katamahācetiye kalasa*.....*patithāpi(to)*

7. This (slab with) vase (*kalasa*.....) is erected at the great *caitya* of (Dhana)kata by Pega the householder, residing at..... lura, along with his Brother, sisters and wife

8. Donative: group

10. *Kalasa* . . . (vase on slab)

11. 1. Pega (m); 2.His brother (m) – no name, 3.His sisters (f) – no name, 4.His wife (f) – no name

12. 1.*Gahapati* and resident of . . .lura; 2.Brother of 1; 3.Sisters of 1; 4.Wife of 1

13. 1.Dhanakata, 2.. . .lura

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference: 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution Corporation; 15. Class Community; 16. Schismatic Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

17. *Patithapita*

18. 2

19. Not less than 3

23. Not less than 5

Sl.No. 150 INDEX NO. III. 7

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragment of sculptured slab;Govt. Museum, Madras.
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.46, p.282, (also Chanda no.47, p.272)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Beginning of the 2nd C. A.D. as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p.216.
6. 1. ..... *sa bhariyāya Caka*..... *...ya sapitukāya*
   2. ..... *(sa) nātimitabadhavehi deya dhama*
   3. ..... *patithapita sothikāpatā abātālā ca*
7. (This) slab with *svastika* or auspicious slab *abātamālā* is erected as meritorious gift by Caka ..... wife of..... with her father, ... *jnātis*, friends and relatives
8. Donative: group
10. *Sothikapata abadamala* (slab with *svastika* or and *abatamala*)
11. 1.Cakadata (f); 2.Wife of . . . (f); 3. Her father . . .(m); 4. *Natimita badhava*
12. 1, 2, 3 not stated / missing
17. 1.*Deyadhama*; 2.*Patithapita*, 3.*Natimitabadhava*
18. 1
19. 2
23. More than 3

Sl.No. 151 INDEX NO. III. 8

1. *Stupa*-site: fragment of a sculptured slab; Govt. Museum, Madras.2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.64, p.289, (Also Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.35, no.174; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.48, and plates XVIII, 2 and LVI, no.11; Lüders, 1254)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Beginning of the 2nd C. A.D. as per A. Roy, 1994, p.215.

6. 1. *gahpaatisa Budhino putasa Makabudhino sapi*

   2. *tukasa sabhaginikasa sabhāriyasa*

   3.*deyadhama paricakā be suciya dāna*

7. Pious gift of two cross-bars with circular panels (*paricaka*), by Makabudhi (Mrgabuddhi), son of the householder Budhi (Buddhi), along with his father sister and wife.

8. Donative: Collective

10. *Suci* (2. cross-bars)

11. 1. Makabudhi (m); 2.Budhi (m); 3. . . . (f), 4. . . . (f)

12. 1.Son of Budhi who is a *gahapati;* 2.Father of 1; 3.Sister of 1; 4.Wife of 1

18. 2

19. 2

23. 4

Sl.No. 152 INDEX NO. III. 9

1. *Stupa*-site: Sculptured copingstone. Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, pp.289-290, no.67, (Also Burgess, *Notes*, p.32, no.151; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.55, and plates XXI, 2 and LVI, nos.13, a.b; Lüders, 1252)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Beginning of the 2nd C. A.D. as per A.Roy, p.215

6. .... *gahapatino Idasa duhutu gharaniya Kanhāya duhutuya upāsikāya Kāmāya saputikāya sabhātukāya bhikhuniyā ca Nagamitāya taya (sukaya ba?)*

7. (The gift) of the female lay worshipper (*upasika*), Kamā, the daughter of the Housewife Knhā (Krshnā) and of the householder Ida (Indra), with her sons, brothers and sisters and of the nun Nāgamitā..... .....

8. Donative: Group/collective

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

11. 1.Kama (f); 2. . . . (m); 3. . . . (m); 4.—(f); 5.Nagamita (f)

12. 1.*upasika*, who is a daughter of *gahapati* Ida and daughter of the *gharani* (housewife); 2.Sons of Kama; 3.Brothers of Kama, 4.Sisters of Kama,5.*Bhikhuni*

18. 5

19. 4

21. 1

22. 1

23. 9

Sl.No. 153 INDEX NO. III. 10

1. *Stupa*-site: fragmentary; Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, no.69, p.290 (Also Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.53 and plate LVI, no.6; Lüders, 1250, p.148)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* beginning of the 2nd C. A.D. as per A.Roy, 1994, p.215.

6. 1. *Rajagirinivāsikasa*

2. *vetikānavakamakasa*

3. *therasa bhayata Budharakhitasa*

4. *atevasi..... Varurika bhikhunina Budharakhita(ya)*

5. *sadhutuka.....ya Dhamadinaya Sagharakhi*

6.*tasa ca dānam*

7. Gift ..... of the nun (*bhikhuni*) Budharakhitā (Buddharakshitā) of..... Varuru, the female disciple of the elder (*thera*) venerable (*bhadanta*) Budharakhita (Buddharakshita) the overseer of the repair works (*navakamaka* of the rail (*vedika*); with her daughters and of Dhamadina (Dharmadatta) and of Sagharakhita (Sangharakhita).

8. Donative: Collective

11.1.Budharakhita (f); Daughters of Budharakhita – (names not stated); 3.Dhamadina (f), 4. Sagharakhita (m)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

12.1.*Bhikhu*ni and an *antevasi(ni)* of Budharakhita who is the *Vetikanavakamaka* with *thera* and *bhayata* status 2. Daughters of Budharakhita; 3 & 4 : Possibly members of the *Sangha*)

13.1.Rajagiri; . . . 2. . . . varuru

17. Nun with daughters; supervisor of the reconstruction is a *thera*.

18. 2

19. Not less than 4

20. Not less than 1

21. 1

23. Not less than 6

Sl.No. 154 INDEX NO. III. 11

1. *Stupa*-site: Triangular fragment of a coping stone; Govt. Museum, Madras

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.292, no.74, (Also Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.41, no.66B, and plate IV, no.17; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.63, and plates LVI, no.16; Lüders, no.1264, p.150)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* beginninf of 2nd C. A.D., A.Roy, 1994, p.215.

6. ... ...*nilikā mahayāya Sujātamya maāvasibhutaya duhutāya bhikhuniy Rohāya athaloka dhamma vitivatāya dā(na).*

7. Gift of the nun Rohā who has passed beyond the eight worldly conditions, the daughter of the venerable Sujātā of great self-control.

8. Donative

11.Roha (f)

12. *Bhikhuni* who has passed beyond the eight worldly conditions and who is the daughter of the venerable (*mahaya*) Sujata of great self-control

17. 1.Statement of the doctrine / principle. The monastic / schismatic affiliations of these doctrins? 2.The venerable Sujata of great self-control had a daughter.

19. 1 or 2

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

21. 1 or 2

23. 2

Sl.No. 155 INDEX NO. III. 12

1. *Stupa*-site: Govt. Museum, Madras
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.91, p.295 (Also Chanda, no.41, pp.270-271)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* beginning of the 2nd C. A.D. as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p.216.
6. ..... *mahāgavatāva balikāya (na)* .....
7. ..... of the daughter of great cowherd (mahāgovalavā-mahagovilava
8. Donative
11. . . . (f) (Name lost)
12. Daughter of the *Mahagovalava* (i.e., *mahagovallava*) = the great cowherd

18. 1

19. 1

23. 2

Sl.No. 156 INDEX NO. III. 13

1. *Stupa*-site: On a fragment of a *chhatra*; Govt. Museum, Madras.
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.295, no.92, (Also Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.49, no.88B and plate VII, no.29; Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.55, no.88B; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.87, and plates XLV, 6 and LX, no.45; Lüders, no.1276, p.152)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* beginning of the 2nd C. A.D. as per Anamika Roy, 1994, vol.1, p.216
6. *uvāsikāya Cadaya Budhino mātuya saputikāya sadutukāya airānam Utayipabhāhina cediyasa chata deyadhammam*
7. Meritorious gift of umbrella for the *caitya* (*cediya*) of the worthy (*airāna)* Utayipabhāhi by the female lay worshipper Cadā

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

(Candrā), mother of Budhi (Buddhi), with his sons and daughters

8. Donative: Collective

10. *Chata* (umbrella=*Chhatra*) for the *caitya* of of *ayira* Utayipabhahi

11. 1.Cada (f); 2. . . . (m); 3. . . . (f) Name not stated.

12. 1.*Uvasika* and mother of Budhi; 2.Sons of 1; 3.Daughters of 1

17. *Airanam Utayipabhahinam cediya* (*caitya* of the worthy Utayipabhahi); shows the existence of smaller *caityas*; *caityas* in honour of *ayira*; relic worship.

18. Not less than 2

19. Not less than 3

20. 1

22. 1

23. Not less than 7

Sl.No. 157 INDEX NO. III. 14

1. *Stupa*-site: British Museum.

2. Lüders, no.1224, p.143 (Also, Fergusson-Cunningham, *T.S.W.*, p.240, no.19, and plates XCV, 4 and XCIX, no.19)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* beginning of the 2nd C. A.D. as per A Roy, p.216.

8. Donative: Collective

11. 1. . . . (m), 2.. . . (f)

12. 1.The son Dhamadeva, an inhabitant of Virapura, 2.*Atevasini* of Budharakhita

13. Virapura

17. 1.*Deyadhamma;* 2.*Atevasini*

18. 2

19. 1

20. 1

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

21. 1

23. 4

Sl.No. 158 INDEX NO. III. 15

1. *Stupa* site: Fragment of a coping-stone of the outer rail

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.291, no.72, (Also, Burgess, *Notes*, p.51, no.89, and plate VI, no.28; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.61, and plates XXVII, 1 and LVI, no.2; Ropson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, 1908, p. LII, no.19; Lüders, 1279, p.152)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per A.Roy, vol.i, 1994 p.216.

5. Siri Sivamaka Sada

6. *rāno Siri Sivamaka Sadasa paniyagharikasa pa……*

7. …… of the superintendent of the water houses (*paniyagharia*) of king Siri Sivamaka Sada.

8. Donative

11. Missing / not specified

12. *Paniyagharika* of King Siri Sivamaka Sada

18. 1

23. 2

Sl.No. 159 INDEX NO. III. 16

1. *Stupa*-site:On a dome slab depicting worship of the Bodhi tree

2. H.Sarkar, *J.A.I.H*, no.60, pp.7-8.

3. Sanskrit influenced by Prakrt, and *Brahmi*

4. Last quarter of the second C. A.D. (175-200 A.D)

5. *Rajno* Gotamipu (tra) Sri-yajna-(Sa)takani

6. 1. *Sidham rājno Gotampu[trasya] Sri-Yajna-[Sa]- takanisya samvatsare…… vāsa-pa divase 8 Ujjayini-upasakena*

   2. *Jayilena ……mahācetiye kāritam……*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

.....Dhanakata-cetiya.....

8. Donative

11. Jayila (name of donor)

12. *Upasaka*

13. 1. Ujjaini, 2. Dhanakata

14. *Dhanakata-cetiya* and *mahacetiya*

17 *Sidham*

18. 1

22. 1 (*Ujjaini-upasaka*)

23. 1

Sl.No. 160 INDEX NO. III. 17

1. *Stupa* site: sculptured rectangular slab; fragmentary; Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, pp.283-284, no.51, (Also, Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.26, no.121, and plate IV, no.11 transcript in Sanskrit and English translation by Bhagavanlal Indraji; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.100, and plate LVI, no.1; Lüders, 1248)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;*, Second half of 2nd century A.D. as per A.Roy, p.216.

4. In the year . . . of the king Vasithiputa Pulumavi.

5. *Rano* Vasithiputa Sami Siri Pulumavi

6. 1. *(Si)dham rān(o)Vā(si)th(i)puta(sa) m(i) Siri Pulumāvisa savachara..... Pindasutariyanam Kahutara gahapatisa Purigahapatisa ca putasa Isilisa sabhātukasa*

   2.*saginiṅkasa bhayāya ca sa Nākānikāya saputaka (sa).....(to) mahācetiye Cetikiyānam nikāsa parigahe aparadāre dhamacakam dedham(mam) (th)āpita*

7. Success ! In the year.....of the king, the lord Sri Pulumāvi, the sone of Vāsithi (princess of Vāsishtha family), pious gift (*dedhama*) of a wheel of law (*dhamacakam*) at the Western gate (*aparadāra*), the property (*parigaha*) of the *Caityaka*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

school (*Cetikiyānam nikasa-* to be read *nikāyasa*), was erected by the householder (*gahapati*) Kahutara and Isila, the son of the householder Puri (both) of the *Pindasutariya* family, the latter along with his brothers, sister and wife (Nākanikā) and sons

8. Donative:group

10. *Dhamacakam* (Wheel of law) at the western gate (*aparadara*) as the property of the *cetikiyanam nikaya*

11.1.Kahutara (m); 2.Isila (Rsila) (m); 3.Brothers of Isila (m); 4.Sisters of Isila (f); 5.Naganika (f); 6.Sons of Isila (m); Names of sl.nos.3, 4,5, and 6 are not specified.

12.1.*Gahapati*; 2.Son of Puri who is a *gahapati*; 3.Brothers of Isila; 4.Sisters of Isila; 5.Wife of Isila; 6.Sons of Isila.

15. *Pindasutariya*

16. *Cetikiyanam Nikaya*

17.1.*Sidham*, 2.*Deyadhammam*, 3.*Dhamacakam* at the *aparadara* (western gateway) as property of the *Cetikiyanam*. What is the connection between *dhammacaka* and the *cetikiyanam*? As symbol of the Buddha?

18. Not less than 6

19. Not less than 3

23. Not less than 9

Sl.No. 161 INDEX NO. III. 18

1. *Stupa*-site: Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.65, p.289, and plate LXV, 1

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Circa 150 A.D.

6. 1. *kāya bālikaya Cadāya*

   2. *cha suci.*

7. Pious gift of two cross-bars (suci) by Cadā), the daughter of.....

8. Donative

10. Six *suci* (6 cross-bars)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

11. Cada (f)

12. The daughter of . . .

19. 2

23. 2

Sl.No. 162 INDEX NO. III. 19

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragment. Sivaramamurti reported that the inscription was covered with cement and therefore he could not verify the reading of Burgess with the original

2. Sivaramamurti, no.68, p.290 (Also Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.48)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* circa 150 A.D

6. 1. ..... *(bhik)uniya*

   2. .....(kumā)rikayā

   3..... *(dā)na*

7. .....gift, ... of the daughter ..... of the nun.....

8. Donative: seems to register collective gift

11. Names lost

12. 1. *bhikhuni* (f); 2. *Kumari* (daughter) - (f)

19. 2

21. 1

23. 2

Sl.No. 163 INDEX NO. III. 20

1. *Stupa*-site: Base of a rail-pillar; Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.71, p.291 and LXV, 4. (Also Burgess Hultzsch, *Notes* p.33, no.58 B; Lüders, 1253, p.148)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* circa 150 A.D

6. *Kojasa(?)cakapato(dā)na*

7. Gift of a ..... slab by Koja.

8. Donative

10. *Ucakapato* (*udhakapato* = upright slab)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

11. Koja (m)

18. 1

23. 1

Sl.No. 164 INDEX NO. III. 21

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragmentary:

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.73, pp.291-292 (Burgess, *Notes*, p.31, no.145 and Plate IV, no.15; Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.62, and Plates XXVII, 2 and LVI, no.15; Lüders, 1251, p.148)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* circa 150 A.D

6. *Kaligaya mahācetiya utarāyāke unisadāna*

7. Gift of coping stone at the northern entrance (*ayaka*) of the great *caitya* by Kalingā (Kalinga)

8. Donative

10. *Unisa* (coping stone) at the northern entrance (*ayaka*) of the *mahacetiya*

11. Kaliga (f)

12. Missing/not stated

14. *Mahacetiya*

19. 1

23. 1

Sl.No. 165 INDEX NO. III. 22

1. *Stupa*-site: On large coping stone; Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.292, no.75 and Plate LXV, 6; (Burgess, *Notes*, p.38 (no text given), no.188; Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.57, and plate XXII, 2 (not read / no text); Lüders, 1259, p.149 (no text). All except Sivaramamurti found it illegible.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* circa 150 A.D

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

6. ..... *Mahācatusa sabhariyasa saputakasa saduhukasa unisa dāya dhammaya dāya,*

7. Coping slab, gift as pious offering..... by Mahācatu, with his wife sons and daughters

8. Donative: Collective

10. *Unisa* (coping stone)

11.1. Mahacatu (m), d. ... (f); 3. . . . (Males); 4. . . . (Females). No names are stated.

12. 1. . . . ; 2.Wife of Mahacatu; 3.Sons of Mahacatu; 4.Daughters of Mahacatu

17. *Daya dhammaya daya* (gift as pious offering)

18. Not less than 3

19. Not less than 3

23. Not less than 6

Sl.No. 166 INDEX NO. III. 23

1. *Stupa*-site: Lime stone gragment; Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.76, p.292, Plate LXV, 17

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* circa 150 A.D

6. 1. *Nāgabu*

   2. d*h(u) no*

7. Of Nāgabudhu

8. Donative

11. Nagabudhu (m)

12. Probably a mason / not stated

18. 1

23. 1

Sl.No. 167 INDEX NO. III. 24

1. *Stupa*-site: Govt. Museum, Madras

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.78, p.292 and Plate LXV.5

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;*circa 150 A.D

6. 1. *Kāraparikasa*

   2. *Nāgamalasa(?)*

   3.*va Kan(ha)sa ca badhi*

7. The *badhi*(?) of Kāraparika, Nāgamala and ..... *Kanha (Krsna).*

8. Donative: collective

11. 1.Karaparika (m); 2.Nagamala (m); 3.Kanha (m)

18. 3

23. 3

Sl.No. 168 INDEX NO. III. 25

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragment of a disc of the outer rail; Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.293, no.79, (Also Burgess, *Notes*, p.41, no.65B, and plate V, no.18; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.101 f. and plate LVI, no.12; Lüders, no.1263, p.150)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* circa 150 A.D

6. 1. *Cetiyavadakasa bha*

   2. *yata Budhino bhātu*

   3. *no Papāno ā*

   4. *nugāmikasa*

   5. *suci dāna*

7. Gift of an *ānugāmika* cross-bar by Papā the brother of the reverend (*bhayatha*) Budhi (Buddhi) a *Cetiyavadaka.*

8. Donative

10. *Suci* (cross-bar)

11. Papa (m)

12. Brother of the *bhayata* (reverend) Budhi who is a *Cetiyavadaka.*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

16. *Cetiyavadaka/Cetiyavamdaka* or *Cetiyavada* (*Caityavada*) as suggested by Burgess, i.e., *Caityaka*

17. 1.A monk as a *Caitya* worshipper; 2.The term *anugamika* ("the gift accompanying (him after death)" as translated by Burgess and Hultzsch could suggest the *Caityaka* belief in life after death. '*Caitya*' from '*cita*'; the megalithic concordance/synchronism/nucleus of the belief. Gifts of this kind also indicate certain cult practices associated with this.

18. 2

20. 1

23. 2

Sl.No. 169 INDEX NO. III. 26

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragment of a disc; Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.80, p.293 (Also Burgess, *Notes*, p.37; Lüders, no.1315, p.156)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* circa 150 A.D

6. 1. ..... *(ka)ya samanikāya*

   2. *(Sa)ghamitāya sabhā*

   3. *tukāya sabha*

   4. *(g)inikāya*

   5. *danam*

7. Gift of the nun (*samanikā)* Saghamitā (Sanghamitrā) with her brothers and sisters

8. Donative: Collective.

11. 1.Saghamita(f); 2.Brothers of Saghamita(m) - names not stated; 3.Sisters of Saghamita (f) - names not stated.

12. 1.*Samanika*; 2.Brothers of (1); 3.Sisters of (1)

16. . . . . *kaya* (The first part is damaged). By all probability, a Buddhist School. The actual name of the Budhist School is lost

18. Not less than 2

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka* / *Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

19. Not less than 3

21. 1

23. Not less than 5

Sl.No. 170 INDEX NO. III. 27

1. *Stupa*-site: Weather-worn inscription on a disc: with a small *stupa* in the centre; Fragmentary. Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.81, p.293 (Also Burgess, *Notes*, p.37, no.112; Lüders, no.1310, p.156)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi* , circa 150 A.D.

6. 1. *nam sa*

2..... *Tāsa*

3.*(n) i(sa)*

7.

9. Too fragmentary to make any sense

Sl.No. 171 INDEX NO. III. 28

1. Fragmentary; Govt. Museum, Madras

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.82, p.293

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* circa 150 A.D

6. *gaha...*

7. Householder

8. Donative

11. Missing

12. *Gaha(pati)*

18.1

23.1

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 172 INDEX NO. III. 29

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragment of a cross-bar bearing a disc.
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.294, no.83, (Also Burgess, *Notes*, p.16, and p.53, no.36; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.102, and plate LVI, no.14; Lüders, no.1237, p.146)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* circa 150 A.D
6. *aya Kamāyasa ativā*

   siniyā dānam
7. Gift of the female disciple (atevāsini) of the worthy (aya) Kamāya
8. Donative
11. --(f) – name not given
12. *Ativasini* (*atevasini*) of *aya* (worthy) Kamaya
17 *Atevasini* indicates the system of teacher-pupil/specialisation in the canons
18. 1
19. 1
20. 1
21. 1
23. 2

Sl.No. 173 INDEX NO. III. 30

1. Fragment of a disc of a coping stone
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.84, p.294 (Also, Burgess, *Notes*, pp.18-19, no.60, Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.53, no.60; Lüders, no.1241, p.146)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* circa 150 A.D
6. 1. *Budhara*

   2. *jida*
7. (gift of cross-bar – *sujidāna*-by) Budhara(khitā).....

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka* / *Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

8. Donative

10. *Suci*

11. Budhara(khita) – m or f

12. Missing; probably a nun

23. 1

Sl.No. 174 INDEX NO. III. 31

1. *Stupa*-site: Cross-bar; Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.85, p.294

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* circa 150 A.D

6. 1. *Kamamātuya gharaniyā*

   2. B*udhāya suji dānam*

7. Gift of a cross-bar by the housewife Budhā (Buddhā) the mother of Kama (Karma).

8. Donative

10 *Suji* (cross-bar)

11 Budha (f)

12.Mother of Kama and a *gharani* (housewife)

17. Kama (Karma) as a name of a person

18. 1 (m)

19. 1 (f)

23. 2

Sl.No. 175 INDEX NO. III. 32

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragment of an outer rail-bar; Govt. Museum, Madras

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.294, no.86, (Also Burgess, *Notes*, p.25, no.114 and plate IV, no.13, Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, pp.102-103, and plate LVII, no.27; Lüders, no.1247, p.147)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* circa 150 A.D

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

6. 1. *Budhilagahapatiputasa heranika(sa)*

   2. *Sidhathasa samitanātibdhavasa suyi*

   3. *dānam*

7. Gift of a cross-bar by the banker Sidhatha (Sidhārtha), son of the householder Budhila, along with his friends, *jnātis* and relatives

8. Donative: collective

10. *Suyi* (*Suci*) = Cross-bar

11. 1.Sidhatha (m); 2.The friends of Sidhatha; 3.Jnati of Sidhatha 4.Relatives of Sidhatha

12. *Heranika*, the son of the *gahapati* Budhila

17. Instituting gift along with *natibadhava*; danam.

18. Not less than 5

23. Not less than 8

Sl.No. 176 INDEX NO. III. 33

1. *Stupa*-site: Cross-bar with lotus; Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.87, p.294 (Also, Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.39, no.196)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* circa 150 A.D

6. 1. *Chadākicasa sethipamukhasa*

   2. *bhadaniga*ma*sa suci*

   3. *dānam*

7 Cross-bar, gift of the righteous townsfolk of Chadākica (Chandakrtya) headed by *sethi*

8. Donative: collective / institutional

10. *Suci* (cross-bar)

11. *Bhadanigama* (Righteous townfolk)

12. 1.*Bhadanigama* (Righteous townfolk) 2.*Sethipamukha* (Headed by merchants)

13. Chadakica (Chandrakrtya)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

14. Ni*gama*

15. Indicative of the close connection between the traders (or *nigama*) and the monastic centre.

18. Collective/not specified

23. Townfolk as a whole

Sl.No. 177 INDEX NO. III. 34

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragment of a cross-bar; Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.88, p.295 (also Chanda, no.32, pp.268-269)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*, circa 150 A.D

6. *Tukāya suci dānam*

7. Gift of cross-bar by Tukā

8. Donative

10. *Suci* (cross-bar)

11. Tuka (f)

17. *danam.*

19. 1

23. 1

Sl.No. 178 INDEX NO. III. 35

1. Fragment of the outer rail copinng (slab): the inscription is weather-worn

2. Sivaramamurti, no.89, p.295 (Also, noticed by Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.63, Plate XXVIII, 3, but not read; Lüders, no.1288, p.154, but not read)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi; 150* A.D

6. ..... *lijikā (ya?) (a?) (sa?) bha*

8. Donative

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 179 INDEX NO. III. 36

1. Fragment of a sculptured slab depicting battle scene; Govt. Museum, Madras.
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.295, no.90; (Also, Burger, *Notes*, p.36, no.179, but no text; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.58, and plate XXIV, 1; Lüders, 1256, p.149)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* circa 150 A.D
6. ....*Sa pātukasa Ajakasa unisa savaniyuta dyadhammam*
7. Pious gift of coping stone, at the instance of all, by Ajaka (with his father?)
8. Donative: collective

11.1.Ajaka (m); 2.The father of Ajaka (m)

17. *Savaniyuta deyadhammam* (pious gift, at the instance of all)
18. 2
23. 2

Sl.No. 180 INDEX NO. III. 37

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī
2. I.K. Sarma, *JESI*, Vol.7, 1980, p.19, no.86.
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi:* Later half of the 2nd century A.D., coeval to the later Satavahana times.
6. 1. ...*kasa Nāgabodhikasa bhariyāya Budha-rakhitāya mātuyā Budhāya chadāsasa Māya cha dāna Bhagavto*

   2. *vedi*
7. Obeisance to the Lord; Gift of a rail (*vedi*) jointly by Buddharakshitā, wife of Nāgabodhi, his mother Buddhā and her servant Māya
8. Collective gift / group donation.
10. *Veti*
11. 1.Budharakhita (f); 2.Budha (f); 3.Maya (m)

12.1.Wife of Nagabodhi; 2.Mother of Nagabodhi; 3.Servent(m)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

17. Buddha referred to as *bhagavat*; *dana*.

18. 1

19. 2

23. 3

Sl.No. 181 INDEX NO. III. 38

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; on a coping

2. I.K.Sarma, *JESI*, vol.7, 1980, p.19, no.87.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*: Later half of the 2nd century A.D., coeval to the later Satavahana times.

6. 1. *Gahapatikānam Kodakhasa Mulasa cha bhariyāya Mahākamāya Kodakammaya cha bālikaya hamghāya cha dāna tini hathi*

   2. *(triratna) Budhi gahapati putasa Chamda..*

7. Gift of three elephants for the Buddhist Sangha by the householder Mula residing at Kodakha, his wife Mahākāma and daughter Kodāmya. (gift)-Chandra, the son of householder Buddhi.

8. Collective gift/group donation.

10. Gift of 3 elephants for the Buddhist Sangha (Anamika Roy corrects I.K. Sarma's decipherment and renders it as "the three hand coping for the railing" and attributes it to the 1st c. B.C. See pp.110-111).

11. 1.Mula (m); 2.Mahakama (f); 3.Kodakammaya (f); 4.Chamda (m); 5.Budhi (m)

12. 1.*Gahapati*, 2.Wife of Mula, 3.Daughter of Mula, 4.*Gahapatiputa*, 5.*Gahapati*

13. Kodakha

14. Sangha

18. 3

19. 2

23. 5

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 182 INDEX NO. III. 39

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; on a coping stone
2. I.K.Sarma, *JESI*, vol.7, 1980, p.19, no.88
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*: Later half of the 2nd century A.D., coeval to the later Satavahana times.
6. *Purima Mahāvinaseliyāna amtevasiniya*

   Sidhathyāya dāna vetikāya tini hathi
7. Gift of three elephants to the (*vetikā*) rail by Siddhārthā, a female disciple of Pu*rvamahāvinasaila* school.
8. Donative
10. Gift of 3 elephants to the *vetika*
11. Sidhartha (f)
12. *Amtevasini* of *Purima Mahavinaseliya*
16. *Purima Mahavinaseliya* or *Purva Mahavinasaila* School
17. *Purima* means preceding or former. Antiquity (greater) of the *Mahavinesliya*, a sub-school of the *Caityavadins*. 'The other 3 are *Aparasaila*, *Rajagirika* and *Sidhathaka*, collectively grouped under *Andhaka* school. It is doubtful whether *Pubha* (*Purva*) and *Avara* (*Apara*) *saila* schools had any difference except the *saila* (hill) on which the followers of the sects lived" (I.K. Sarma, 1980, p.19); Gift of elephants to the *sangha caitya*
19. 1
21. 1; Referred to only as *amtevasini*. Could be a *bhikkhuni*
23. 1

Sl.No. 183 INDEX NO. III. 40

1. *Stupa* site: Amarāvatī; Sculptured slab:broken. Govt. Museum, Madras.

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka* / *Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.279, no.34, (Also, Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.55, no.231; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.91, and plates XLVII, 3 and LVIII, no.35. Lüders, 1272)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per Anamika Roy, vol.i, 1994, p.216.

6. 1. *Sidham Samyutakabhanakam Pusakavanavasika mahāth(erānam Parivinutān caranagata at(e)v(ā)sikasa*

2. *pemdapātikasa Mahāvanāselavathavasa Pasamasa Hamghasa ca deyadhamma imaudha pato*

7. Success! This upright slab is the pious gift of Pesama the mendicant monk (*pemdapatika*), residing at Mahāvansela, the pupil at the feet of the great elder (*mahathera*) Parivinuta living at Puskavana, and scholar in *Smyutaka bhāna* (i.e., *Samyukta Nikaya*), and of Hamgha.

8. Donative

10. *Udapata* (Upright slab)

11. 1.Pesama (m); 2.Hamgha (m)

12. 1.*Pemdapatika* who resides at Mahavanasela and a pupil at the feet of the *Mahathera*, 2.Not stated

13. Pusakavana; Mahavanasela (Apparently place names through need not be so; possibly monasteries).

16. Mahavanasela

17. 1.Use of *Sidham* and *deyadhamma*, 2.*Pendapatika*; 3.*Samyutaka bhanaka* shows the existance of *Samyukta Nikaya*; 4.*Mahathera* Status ; Etienne Lamotte takes it for a sect of Buddhism see p. 348).

18. 3

20. 2

23. 3

Sl.No. 184 INDEX NO. III. 41

1. *Stupa* site: Amarāvatī; sculptured slab.

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.36, p.280 (Also Burgess-Hultzsch, p.90, LXI, no.53; Lüders, 1271)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per Anamika Roy, vol.i 1994, p.216.

6. 1. *Sidham namo bhgapato logāticasa Dhanakatakāsa upāsakasa*

2. *Gotiputasa Budharakhitasa gharaniya ca padumāya pusa ca Hamghsa Budhi*

3. (*bodhi..... ...udharakhitasa savaka..... Udhappatā) sa*

7. Success! Adoration to the Lord; the illuminator (lit. Sun) of the world (Upright slab, gift) of the lay worshipper (*upāsaka*) Budharakhita, of Dhanakataka, the son of Goti, and of his wife Paduma (Padma) and of their Son Hamgha (the.....)

8. Donative: Group

10. *Udhapata*

11.1.Budharakhita (m); 2.Paduma (f); 3.Hamgha (m)

12.1.*Upasaka* and son of Goti; 2.Wife of Budharakhita; 3.Son of 1 and 2

13. Dhanakataka

17. Use of '*sidham namo bhagavato logatica*' Success! Adoration to the Lord; the illuminator (sun) of the world!

18. 2

19. 1

22. 1

23. 3

Sl.No. 185 INDEX NO. III. 42

1. On a large slab with two sculptured ponds. Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.37, p.280 (Also Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, no.54, p.106, and Plate LXI, no.54; Lüders, 1303)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per Anamika Roy. Vol.i, 1994, p.216.

6. 1. *Sidham Katakaselakasa upāsakasa utarasa samat(u)*

2. *sa sabhaginikasa sabhat(u)kasa sadhutukasa*

7. Success! (Gift) of the lay worshipper (*upasaka*) Utara of Kantakasela with his mother, sister, brother and daughters

8. Donative: group donation

11. 1.Utara (m); 2.Mother of 1 (f), 3.Sisters of 1 (f), 4.Brothers of 1 (m), 5.Daughters (f)

12. 1.*Upasaka*; 2.Mother; 3.Sisters; 4.Brothers; 5.Daughters

13. Katakasela

17. Use of *sidham*

18. Not less than 3

19. Not less than 5

22. 1

23. 8

Sl.No. 186 INDEX NO. III. 43

1. *Stupa* site: On a flower-vase slab

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.281, no.41, (Also, Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.46, no.232, and plate VI, no.25; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.91, and plates XLVII, 2 and LVIII, no.36; Lüders, 1273)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p.216.

6. 1. *Sidham camakaras Nāgaupajhayaputasa Vidhikasa smatukasa sabhayakasa sabhātukasa putasa ca Nagasa sama* dhu* tukasa sanatimitabamdhavasa deyadhamma.*

2. *punaghatakapato*

7. Success; Meritorious gift of a slab with an overflowing vase (*punagjatakapato*), by the leather-worker (*camakara*) Vidhika, the son of the teacher Naga, with his mother, his wife his

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1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

brothers, his son Naga, his daughter and with his *jnātis* (paternal cousins in the male line entitled to property, friends and relation

8. Donative: group

10. *Punaghatakapata* (slab with an overflowing vase)

11. 1.Vidhika (m); 2. — (f); 3. — (f); 4.—(males); 5.Naga(m); 6.—(f); 7.*natimitabamdhava* (patermal cousins in the male line entitled to property, and friends and relatives).

12. 1.*Camakara*, the Son of Naga who is an *Upajhaya* or teacher; 2.Mother of Vidhika; 3.Wife of Vidhika, 4.Brothers of Vidhika; 5.Son of Vidhika; 6.Daughters of Vidhika; 7.*Nati* of Vidhika

17. 1.*Sidham*, 2.*Deyadhamma*, 3.Along with relatives (*natimitabandhava*); 4.*Upajhaya* (a monk) having a son! Compare with the nuns having daughters (Sivaramamurti, nos. 31 and 69 pp.277-278 and p.290; N.J. Francis, '*Pindapatika*', p.21, foot note 63); 5.Grandfather and grandson bear the same name. Also seen in the Uppugundur inscription; 6.Idea of *punaghata* (*purnaghata*)

18. More than 4

19. 4

20. 1 (*Upajhaya*)

23. More than 8

Sl.No. 187 INDEX NO. III. 44

1. *Stupa* site: fragment of a flower-vase slab; Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.42, p.281 (Also Burghess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.102, no.20; and Plate LVII, No,20; Lüders, no.1249)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 2nd half of the 2nd century A.D. as per Anamika Roy, 1994, p.216.

6. 1. ..... *bhayigena sabhaginikena*

   2. *(abadamala kāritā savasica*

7. An *abadamala* slab was prepared by ..... with his wife and sisters...

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

8. Donative: group

10. *Abadamala*

11. 1. (. . . . name lost) (m); 2.Not stated (f); 3. Not stated (f)

12. 1.Not specified; 2.Wife of 1; 3.Sisters of 1

17. *Karita savasica*

18. 1

19. Not less than 3

23. Not less than 4

Sl.No. 188 INDEX NO. III. 45

1. *Stupa* site: fragment of a coping stone

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.54, p.284 (Also, Lüders, 1269; Chanda, no.46, p.271-272; Burgess, *Notes*, p.43, no.74 B. full text and translation not given)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 2nd A.D. as per A.Roy, vol.i, p.216.

6. *(dha)najanāya sanālimitabadhavāya dānam vetikāya cha hatho*

7. Six cubits for the rail enclosure gift of ..... Dhanajanā with her *jnati*s, friends and relatives

8. Donateive: Collective

10. Six cubits for the *vetika* (or rail enclosure) or six cubits long *vetika.*

11. 1.Dhanajana (f); 2.Natimitabadhava (*jnatis*, friends and relatives)

19. 1

23. 1 + relatives

Sl.No. 189 INDEX NO. III. 46

1. *Stupa* site: fragment of a coping stone

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, pp.284-285, no.55. (Also, Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, pp.35-36, no.175, and plate IV, no.16;

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, pp.104-105, no.44, and plate LX, no. 44; Lüders, 1255)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per A.Roy, p.216.

6. 1. *(Si)dham Sulasa gahapatiputena (ga)*

   2.*Nāgatāya bālakena ya Sulasena Sadhutu* ……

   3.*khinapase dāra kārita deyadha (ma)*

7. Success! Meritorious gift made at the gate at the sourthern side by the householder (*gahapati*)…… son of the householder Sulasa, …… (with) Nāgatā, and his son Sulasa, and his daughter……

8. Donative: Collective

10. (Object not clear) at the southern gate

11. 1.--- (m) (name missing); 2.Nagata (f); 3.Sulasa(m); 4. . . . (f) (name missing)

12. 1.*Gahapati* who is the son of another *gahapati* by name Sulasa; 2.Not specified/stated; 3.Son of the *gahapati*, 4.Daughter of the *gahapati*. Grand father and grand son with the same name.

17. 1.*Sidham*; 2.*Deyadhama*; 3.Grandfather and grandson with the same.

18. 2

19. 2

23. 4

Sl.No. 190 INDEX NO. III. 47

1. *Stupa* site: fragment of a coping stone

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.56, p.285 (Also, Chanda, no.45, p.271)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per A.Roy, p.216

6. *Tumāya Saputikāya sada*

7. (Gift) of …… tumā with her daughters, with ……

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

8. Donative:group

11. 1.Tuma (f); 2. . . . (f) (Names not stated)

12. 1. . . . (not specified); 2.Daughters of Tuma

19. Not less than 3

23. Not less than 3

Sl.No. 191 INDEX NO. III. 48

1. *Stupa* site: On a fragment

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.62, p.289 (Also, Chanda, no.58, p.275)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per A.Roy, p.216

6. *pavacitāya Bhadaya pavacataya Nakaya doyadhamma nama*

7. The meritorious gift of the nun (pavacita) Bhadā (Bhadrā) and of the nun Nakā

8. Donative:group

11.1.Bhada (f); 2.Naka (f)

12.1.*Pavacita*; 2.*Pavacita*

17 *Deyadhamma*

19. 2

21. 2

23. 2

Sl.No. 192 INDEX NO. III. 49

1. *Stupa* site: on two fragments; Dr.Hultzsch read the inscriptions after joining the first and second parts.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.289, no.63, (Also, Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.44, Nos.78B and 217, and plate V, Nos.23 and 22; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.102, and plate LVII, no.25; Lüders, 1270)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per A.Roy, p.216

6. .....*(se)liyanam mahav(i)nayadharasa aya Bud(dhi)sa atevāsikasa pavaci(ta)*.....

7. (Gift) of the ascetic .....the disciple of the Worthy Budhi (Buddhi) of the .....seliya school, great scholar of Vinaya.

8. Donative

11. ---(m) name lost)

12. A *pavacita* and an *antevasi* of the *aya* (worthy) Budhi who is a *mahavinayadhara* of the . . . *seliya* school

16. . . . *seliyanam*

17. *Mahavinayadhara* implies a *Vinaya* of the . . . *seliya* school. There is a Tibetan tradition of a *Prakrt* text / *vinaya* of the *Seliya / Puvaseliya* school. The '*antevasi*' of this *Mahavinayadhara* further shows the systematisation / specialisation of this *Vinaya*

18. 2

20. 2

23. 2

Sl.No. 193 INDEX NO. III. 50

1. *Stupa* site: fragment of a coping stone

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.66, p.289, plate LXV,I

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per A.Roy, vol.i, p.216

6. .....*( ) kasāmi matulasa mahātodasa bhariyāya Visāghabikāya Yagāya ca damnabhagininam danapuvam yaka unisa*

7. A coping slab given as gift, by the sharers of the merit (*damnabhagininam or dharmabhāgininam*),..... Visaghanikā (Visakhanikā) the wife of Mahātoda the uncle of ..... kasami, and Yagā (Yajna)

8. Donative: collective

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

10. *Unisa*

11. 1.Visaghanika (f); 2.Yaga(f)

12. 1.Wife of Mahatoda; 2.Not specified

17. The donors are described as *damnabhagininam*, i.e., *dharmabhagininam*, which means the sharers of merit. If the decipherment is correct, it would mean a specific expression of the doctrine concerning the sharing and transference of merit; 2.*danapurvam* i.e., given as gift.

18. 1

19. 2

23. 3

Sl.No. 194 INDEX NO. III. 51

1. *Stupa* site

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.70, p.291 (Also, Bühler in Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.37, Plate LVI, no.8; Lüders, 1286, p.153)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per A.Roy, p.216

6. 1. *Vinayadharasa aya Punavasusa atevāsiniyā uvjhāyiniya Samudiyayaatevā siniya Malāya pendaka*

   2. *(dā)na.*

7. Gift of a slab by Malā the female disciple of the female teacher Samudiyā the disciple of the worthy (*aya*) Punavasu (Punarvau), learned in *Vinaya* (texts).

8. Donative

10. *Pendaka* (slab)

11. Mala (f)

12. *Antevasini* of *uvajhayini* (teacher) Samudiya who in turn is the *atevasini* of Punavasu, the *Vinayadhara* and an *aya*.

17. *Vinayadhara* (m); *Upajhayini* (f). *atevasini* Mala (f); indicates the system of the *vinaya* texts / canons as well as the gender base of the teacher-pupil system.

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

18. 1

19. 2

20. 1

21. 2

23. 3

Sl.No. 195 INDEX NO. III. 52

1. *Stupa* site: fragmentary

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.106, p.299 (Also, Chanda, no.51, p.273.)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per A.Roy, vol.i, p.216

6. ……? *Budhusirivadiyasa puto ? lama*

7. ..... the son of Budhusirivadiya

8. Donative

11. Son of Budhusirivadiya

18. 2

23. 2

Sl.No. 196 INDEX NO. III. 53

1. *Stupa* site: fragmentary

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.111, p.300 (Also, Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.85, and plates XLIII, 8 and LVIII, no.30; Lüders, no.1285, p.153)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per A.Roy, vol.i, p.216

6. *Sidham namo bhagavato Vijayapuravathavasa Cada…… vaniyiniya Sidhiya …… sa patithavita*

7. Success! Adoration to the Lord! (This coping stone) was erected by the merchant's wife (*vaniyini*) Sidhi (Siddhi),..... of Cada (Candra) residing at Vijayapura

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1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

8. Donative:collective

10. *Unisa* (coping stone)

11. 1.Sidhi(f); 2.Cada(m)

12. 1.*Vaniyini*; 2.Resident of Vijayapura

13. Vijayapura

17. 1.*Sidham*; 2.*Namo bhagavato* (Adoration to the Lord)

18. 1

19. 1

23. 2

Sl.No. 197 INDEX NO. III. 54

1. Fragment of a frieze with seated Buddhas and chauri-bearers.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.114, p.301 (Also, Chanda, no.52, p.273)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per A.Roy, vol.i, p.216

6. *Dhanagirivatava Nagabudivaniyāputa Nakasiri bahiniya Puse*... ... ...

7. ..... of Pusi .....sister of Nakasiri (Nāgasiri), son of the merchant Nāgabudi (Nagabuddhi), residing at Dhanagiri

8. Donative: collective

11. 1.Pusi . . . (f)

12. 1.Sister of Nakasiri, son of the merchant (*vaniyaputa*) Nagabudhi, residing at Dhanagiri

13. Dhanagiri

18. 2

19. 1

23. 3

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 198 INDEX NO. III. 55

1. *Stupa* site: sculptured fragment of a standing Buddha.
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.116, p.301 (Also, Chanda, no.54, p.273)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per A.Roy, vol.i, p.216
6. 1. *Retikasa Nekhavanasa(ā?)*

   2. *puyuvilaya.....ka*
7. Of Retika of Nekhavana (The rest is not clear)
8. Donative
11. Retika (m)
13. Nekhavana
18. 1
23. 1

Sl.No. 199 INDEX NO. III. 56

1. *Stupa* site: on a fragmentary image of a seated Buddha.
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.117, p.301 (Also, noticed by Chanda no.49, p.272. Chanda could not make out any sense.
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per A.Roy, vol.i, p.216
6. *(Sidham).....sa bāli(i) (ka) ya Nakabudha (nikāya).*
7. Success! (Gift) of Nakabudha(nikā) with her daughter
8. Donative: collective
11. 1.Nakabudha(nika) (f); 2.Daughter of Nakabudha(nika) (f)
19. 2
23. 2

Sl.No. 200 INDEX NO. III. 57

1. *Stupa* site: On a piece of small octagonal pillar

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, pp.301-302, no.118, (Also, Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.22 f. no.86, and plate III, no.9; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.103, and plate LIX, no.38; Lüders, 1244, p.147)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per A.Roy, p.216

6. 1. *Sidham Jadikiyānam Sidhāthagahapa*

   2. *tisabhstiyaya Khadaya sadhutukaya*

   3. *saputikaya samatukāya sabhatakasa*

   4. *(sa) gharasun(hā)ya sahajanatihi*

   5. *bhagavato mahacetiya padamale*

   6. *apano dhamathāna divakhabho patithavito*

7. Success! At the foot of the great caitya of the Lord has been placed a lamp pillar as seat of merit by Khadā (Skadā) the wife of the householder Sidhatha (Siddhartha) of the *Jadikiya* (*Caityaka*) school, with her daughters, son, mother, brothers, daughters-in-law of the house .... and her own *jnatis*(husband's paternal cousins)

8. Donative: collective

9. For one's own seat of merit (*dhamathana*)

10. *Divakhabha* (lamp-pillar) as seat of merit (*Dhamathana*)

11. 1.Khada (f); 2.Daughters of Khada (females); 3.Sons of Khada (males); 4.Mother of Khada (f); 5.Brothers of Khada (males); 6.Daughters-in-law of Khada (f); 7.Patermal cousins/relatives (Both f&m)

12. 1.Wife of *gahapati* Sidhatha of the *Jadikiya/Caityaka* school

16. *Jadikiyanam* (Sivaramamurti takes it for the *Caityaka* school

17. 1.*Sidham*; 2.Jadikiyanam/*Caityakayanam*; 3.Bhagavato *mahacetiya padamale apano dhamathana divakhabho patithavito* (At the foot of the great *caitya* of the Lord has been placed a lamp pillar, as seat of merit); 4.Padamula (*Padamala*) as a ritual/cultic spot; 5.*Apano dhamathana* (i.e., as one's own seat of merit; 7.*Divakhabho* i.e., practice of putting lamps on pillars (Diva=Diva=Dipa=lamp); 8. '*Patithavita*', indicates the

---

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

possible involvement of rituals. 9.*Gahapati* specifically associated with a school at Amarāvatī

18. More than 4

19. More than 6

23. More than 13

Sl.No. 201 INDEX NO. III. 58

1. *Stupa* site: On a fragment: fragmentary

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.121, pp.302-303 (Also Chanda, no.50, pp.272-273)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per A.Roy, p.216

6. 1. ……*gavato samasambudha(sa) B(u)*……

2.……*gasela sighara ga*……

3. *(na)am parigaha mahas(a)*

4. ……*yata Ananda* ……*ra(ya)*

5. ……*ya vaniyasa Budhi*

6. *ga*

8. Donative: seems to be collective

11.1.Budhi (m); 2.Ananda (m)

12. 1. *Vaniya*; 2.Lost/missing

17. 1. . .*gavato samasambudha;* 2.*(na)am parigaha mahas (a)*. . .

18. 2

23. 2

Sl.No. 202 INDEX NO. III. 59

1. *Stupa*-site

2. Chanda, 1925, no.53, p.273

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per A.Roy, p.216

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

6. ..... *bhadiya deya dham unisa pati[thavita]*

7. (This) pious gift of ..... bhadi, the coping –stone, is placed.....

8. Donative

10. *Unisa* (coping stone)

11. . . . *badi*

17. *deyadhama*

23.1

Sl.No. 203 INDEX NO. III. 60

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragment

2. Lüders, no.1287, p.154 (Also, Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, plate LXI, no.55 (plate only)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per Anamika Roy, Vol.1, p.216.

8. Donative: Collective gift

10. *Sothikapata* (slab with a *svastika*) and an *abatamala* (a type of a carved slab)

11. 1.Kanha (f); 2.---(m); 3.---(males and females)

12. 1.Wife of . . . ka; 2.Father of 1; 3.Relatives and friends of 1

17. 1.*Sothikapata*; 2.*Abatamala*; 3.What is the significance of the *Svastika*?

18. More than 1

19. More than 1

23. More than 2

Sl.No. 204 INDEX NO. III. 61

1. *Stupa*-site: On a fragment of the base of a slab: fragmentary

2. Lüders, no.1274, p.152 (Also, Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.47, no.249; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.105, and plate LX, no.48)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 2nd century A.D. as per A.Roy, vol. I, 1994,p.60 and p.63

6. *Sidham Namo Bhagavato Hamghi(gaha)tiputasa Dusaka(sa)*.....

(sa)putakasa saduhutukasa sanati(m)itabamdhava(sa).....

7. Success! Hail to the Exalted one (Buddha)! [The gift] of Dusaka (Dushaka), the son of the householder Hamghi (Samghi)..... with his sons, with his daughters, with his relations, friends, and connections.....

8. Donative: collective

11.1.Dusaka (m); 2.. . . (males); 3. . . . (females), 4.---(males & females)

12.1.Son of *gahapati* Hamghi; 2.Sons of 1; 3.Daughters of 1; 4.*Natimitabamdhava of* 1

17.1.*Sidham Namo Bhagavato*; 2.*Natimitabamdhava*

18. Not less than 6

19. Not less than 4

23. Not less than 10

Sl.No. 205 INDEX NO. III. 62

1. *Stupa*-site: On a pedestal of a sculpture

2. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1956-57*

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* characters of 2nd century A.D.

8. Not clear

12. *Vaniya*

18. 1

23. 1

Sl.No. 206 INDEX NO. III. 63

1. *Stupa*-site: At the lower end of a sculptured slab

2. R.P. Chanda, 1925, no.56, p.274

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*; 2nd century A.D;

6. 1. *Sidham Turughura vathavasa Chandamukha gahapatisa bālika Tanachadaya .....cha halikaya Badhaya*
   2. *nitukāya Bha(cha?)daya cha Bhaga[vato] mahāchetiyasa paradāre [pura dāre? [dakhi]ne pase [u]dhapata [de]ya dhama*
   3. *patithapita*

7. Success! (This) upright slab placed on the south side of the main (*para*) gate of the *Mahāchaitya* of the Blessed one, (is) the pious gift of ..... the daughter of householder Chadamukha (Chandramuka), an inhabitant of Turughura, and of..... and of the *hālikā Bā*dhā and of her grand-daughter Bhadā (Bhadrā).

8. Donative:collective

10. *Udhapata* (upright slab) erected on the southern side of the main gate of the *Mahacaitya*

11.1.Tanacadaya (f); 2.---; 3.Badha(m); 4.Bhada(f)

12.1.Daughter of the *gahapati* Cadamukha; 2.Lost / missing; 3.*Halika* (ploughman / agriculturist); 4.Grand-daughter of (1)

13.Turughura

14. *Mahacetiya*

17.1.*Sidham;* 2.*Bhagavato mahacetiya;* 3.*Deyadhama,* 4.*Patithapita*

18.1

19.2

23.More than 3

PHASE IV (Beginning of 3rd c. AD and end of 3rd c. AD)

Sl.No. 207 INDEX NO. IV. 1

1. *Stupa*-site:Fragment of a small slab with the remains of three figures of the Buddha and two *caityas* between

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1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.296, no.97, (Also, Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.53, no.26B; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.82, and plates XLII, 4 and LVIII, no.28; Lüders, 1239, p.146)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* First half of the 3rd century A.D, as per A.Roy, p.217

6. *(?sa)tutamasa naravasabha sammasambudhādicasa upāskasa Nārasalasa vāniyasa Nāgatisasa gharaniya Nākhāya sahā apano putehi heranikena Budhinā Mulena.....*

7. (Adoration) to the best.....the foremost of men, the truly Enlightened the Sun. (The gift) of Nākhā the wife of the merchant and *upasaka* Nāgatisa (Nagatishya), inhabitant of Narasala, with her sons, the treasurer *(heranika)* Budhi (Buddhi), Mula,.....

8. Donative:collective gift.

11. 1.Nakha(f), 2.Budhi(m), 3.Mula(m)

12. 1. *Gharani* (wife) of Nagatisa who is an *upasaka* and a *vaniya*; 2.*Heranika*, son of Nakha; 3.Son of Nakha

13. Narasala

17. *satutamasa naravasabha sammasambudhadicasa . . .* (Adoration) to the best . . . the foremost of men, the truly enlightened, the Sun)

18. 3

19.1

22. 1

23. 4

Sl.No. 208 INDEX NO. IV. 2

1. *Stupa*-site: On a coping stone

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, pp.298-299, no.104, (Also, Alexander Rea, 'Excavations at Amarāvatī', *Annual Report. Dir.Gen.Arch.Surv. India, 1905-06*, (Calcutta, 1909), p.117, plate XLVIII, no.1; Lüders, 1205(a), p.179; Chanda, no.34, p.269)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* First half of the 3rd century A.D, as per A.Roy, p.217

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

6. *sa Tulakicasa gahapatisa kubulasa putasa budhino bhāriyāya Tukāya saputikaya sabhaginikāya pato deya dhammam*
7. Pious gift of slab (*pata*) by Tukā, the wife of Budhi (Buddhi), the son of the householder Kubula, a Tulakica? with her son and sister
8. Donative: Collective giift
10. *Pata* (slab)
11. 1.Tuka (f); 2.---(m); 3.---(f); Names not stated in 2 & 3)
12. 1.Wife of Budhi who is the son of the *gahapati* Kubula; 2.Son of Tuka; 3.Sister of Tuka
13. Tulaka
17. *Deya dhammam*
18. 3
19. 2
23. 5

Sl.No. 209 INDEX NO. IV. 3

1. *Stupa*-site: sculputres of 3 *stupas* with 2 Buddhas intervening: fragmentary
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.300, no.110 (Also, Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.12, no.12B, and plate III, no.5; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.85, and plates XLIII, 6 and LVII, no.22; Lüders, 1234, p.145)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* First half of the 3rd century A.D. as per A.Roy, p.217
6. *Sidham namo bhagavato savasatutamasa Budasa Mandaravathavasa pavaito Sidhamtasa bhaginiya*
7. Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha, the best of all beings! (Gift) of the sister of the monk (*pavaita*) Sidamta, living at Mandara
8. Donative
11. ---(f) (name lost/not specified)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

12. Sister of Sidamta who is a *pavaita* (monk)
13. Mandara
17. 1.*Sidham*; 2.*Namo bhagavato savasatutamasa Budhasa* (Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha, the best of all beings!)
18. 1
19. 1
20. 1
23. 2

Sl.No. 210 INDEX NO. IV. 4

1. *Stupa*-site:On fragment of a pillar
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.302, no.120, (Also, Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.38, no.189; Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.54, no.189; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.104, and plates LIX, no.42; Lüders, 1260, p.149)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* First half of the 3rd century A.D. as per A.Roy, p.217
6. 1. ..... *Hiralure Rāhulagahapatisa bhāriyāya Bhagiya bālikaya*

   2. .....*(Ka)maya natukānam ca khabho*
7. Pillar, (gift) of the grandsons of Kama (Kāmyā) the daughter of Bhagi the wife of the householder Rāhula.....in Hiralura
8. Donative: collective
10. *Khabho* (pillar)
11. 1.---(males); names not given; 2.--- (f); names not given
12. Grandsons of Kama (m) the daughter of Bhagi(f) who is the wife of *gahapati* Rahula (m)
13. Hiralura
17. A clear-cut geneology, beginning from a *gahapati* through his wife, her daughter and her grandsons, is constructed here; the name 'Rahula'.

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

18. Not less than 3

19. 2

23. Not less than 5

Sl.No. 211 INDEX NO. IV. 5

1. Lüders, no.1213, p.142 (Also, Fergusson-Cunningham, *T.S.W.*, p.239, no.8, and Plates LXXVII and XIX, no.VIII)
2. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* First half of the 3rd century A.D. as per A. Roy, p.217
8. Donative: collective
9. *Pata* (slab)
10. 1.Mulasiri (m); 2.---(f); 3.Dhammasiri; 4.Bapisiri; 5.Sagha (f)
11. 1.Son of *vaniya* Bodhisamma who lives at Kevurura; 2.Mother of 1; 3, 4 and 5 not known
12. Kevurura
17. At least 1
18. At least 2
23. 6

Sl.No. 212 INDEX NO. IV. 6

1. *Stupa*-site: British Museum.
2. Lüders, no.1216, p.142 (Also Cunningham, *T.SW.*, p.240, no.11, and plates LXXXII, 6 and XCIX, no.XI)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* First half of the 3rd century A.D. as per A.Roy, p.217
8. Donative: collective
10. A *cetiya*, a *vetika* (rail) and a *pata* (slab)
11. 1.Hagha (m); 2.Venhu (f)
12. 1.A *gahapati* and son of a *gahapati*, 2.Wife of 1.

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

17. 1.Gift of a *caitya* indicating the existence of *caityas* other than the *mahacaitya* 2.A hierarchy of *caityas* may be postulated, with the *mahacaitya* at the apex 3.*Deyadhama* 4.To whom were these *caityas* dedicated?

18. 1

19. 1

23. 2

Sl.No. 213 INDEX NO. IV. 7

1. *Stupa*-site: fragmentary

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.96, p.296, plate LXV, 10

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 200 AD-250 AD

6. ..... *(ka)sa bhadata Budhisa Cula Budhisa bhaginiyā (udhā(ya)..... (da) harabhikhuni Piduvanatāya*

7. .....(Gift) by Budhā, staying in the *Piduvana* of young *bhikkhuni*s, sister of.....the monk Budhi (Buddhi) and Cula Budhi (Kshulla buddhi)

8. Donative

11. Budha (f)

12. One who stays in the *Piduvana* of *daharabhikhunis* (young *bhikhunis*) and is the sister of Budhi, a monk (*bhadata*), and Cula Budhi.

17. . . . *daharabhikhuni Piduvanataya* . . .

18. 2

19. 1

20. 1

21. 1

23. 3

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 214 INDEX NO. IV. 8

1. *Stupa*-site: sculpture showing scenery from the life of the Buddha.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.99, p.297 (Also, Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.93, and plate XLVIII, 4; Lüders, no.1295, p.154)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 200-250 AD

6. *Sidham Kuduranivasikasa bhyata Nāgasa atevāsikara daharabhihusa Vidihikasa atevāsiniya ca Budharakhitāya natiya ca Cula budharakhitāya ca utarāyake pato dāna*

7. Success; Gift of a slab at the northern gate by the young monk (*daharabhikhu*) Vidhika, disciple of the reverend (*bhayata=bhadanta*) Nāga, who resides at Kudura and by his female disciple (*atevāsini*) Budharakshita (Buddharashitā) and by her grand-daughter Cula Budharakhita (Kshulla Buddharakshita

8. Donative: collective

10. *Pata* (slab) at the northern gate.

11. 1.Vidhika (m); 2.Budharakhita (f); 3.Cula Budharakhita (f)

12. 1.A *daharabhikhu* who is an *atevasi* of *bhayata* Naga; 2.*Atevasini* of *bhayata* Naga; 3.Grand daughter of Budharakhita, the *atevasini* of *bhayata* naga.

13. Kudura

17. 1.*Atevasini* having grand-daughter, 2.A system of teacher-pupil relationship

18. 2

19. 2

20. 2

21. 2

23. 4

Sl.No. 215 INDEX NO. IV. 9

1. *Stupa*-site: on a fragment

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.101, p.298) Also, Chanda, no.28, p.268)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 200-250 A.D
6. 1. ..... *bhar(a?)*

   kumāri Siricampura
7. ..... the princess Siri Campura
11. *Kumari Siri* Campura (f)
12. *Kumari* (Princess)
14. Indicative of the presence of royalty/the state apparatus
17. The gift by the princess is indicative of the connection between the royalty and the monasatic network, and secondly, of the interest of the royalty at the monastic site
19. 1
23. 1

Sl.No. 216 INDEX NO. IV. 10

1. *Stupa*-site: too fragmentary
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.105, p.299
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 200-250 AD
6. *kasa*
7. Of.....
8. Donative

Sl.No. 217 INDEX NO. IV. 11

1. *Stupa*-site: too fragmentary to make any sense
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.107, p.299
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 200-250 AD
6. .....vasava.....rava.....ya?.....la.....

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 218 INDEX NO. IV. 12

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragment of sculpture/slabs
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.299, no.108 (Also, Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.85, and plates XLIII, 3 and LVIII, no.29; Lüders, 1292, p.154)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 200-250 AD
6. *vāniyiniyā Nakacampakiyā.....Cadasiri(sa)..... Siri.....*

   Dhanikasathanikāya Budhilaya ca dhāna dhamam unhisinhi nivide magasa hetukanantana
7. .....Coping gift of the merchant's wife (*vāniyini*) Nākacampaki (Nāgacampaka) .....Cadasiri (Candrasri),.....Siri (Sri), the wife of a rich caravan leader (*dhanikasathanikā*) Budhila.....
8. Donative: collective
10. *Unisa* (coping)
11. 1.Nakacampaka (f); 2.Cadasiri (f); 3.Siri (f)
12. 1.*Vaniyini* (wife of merchant); 2. . . . not stated or lost; 3.Wife of Budhila who is a *dhanikasathanika* (rich caravan leader)
17. 1.Contact between the trading group and the monastic centre. 2.*Nivide magasa hetukanantana*
18. 2
19 3
23. 5

Sl.No. 219 INDEX NO. IV. 13

1. *Stupa*-site: too fragmentary
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.115, P.301.
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 200-250 AD
6. *tupeghaya.....sa*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 220 INDEX NO. IV. 14

1. *Stupa*-site: fragmented pillar.
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.123, p.303, and plate LXV, 14. He adds that the letters are very queer and no sense can be made out
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 200-250 AD
6. 1. *Sarvaviridhah bhandato (nghā)ta*
   2. *cairikapādhah apara pa*
17. *Sarvaviridhah bhandato . . . Cairikapadhah aparapa*

Sl.No. 221 INDEX NO. IV. 15

1. *Stupa*-site:On a fragment of a pillar: fragmentary
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, pp.303-304, no.124 (Also, Burgess-Hultzsch, *Notes*, pp.7-8, no.8, and plate II, no.2; Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.52 f., no.8; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.105, and plate LX, no.49; Lüders, 1230, p.144)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 200-250 AD
6. 1. *Sidham namo (Bha)gavato ācar(yiāna)*
   2.*ma(hā)vanaseliyāna Sāripu(tāna a).*
   3.*malāna sisihasa (sagharu)...*
   4. *gahagujākamdasa Dhamilavani.....*
   5. *yaputasa Gadhikasa vaniyasa (Si)*
   6. *rakhitasa sapitukasa samātuka(sa sa)*
   7. *(bha)riykasa sa(bha)tukasa sa....*
   8. *saputaka(sa) sadhutukasa sgharas (unhaka)*
   9. ..... *sasanatukasa*
   10. *sanatikasa sanatimitabadhava(sa).*
   11. *saghadeyadhammam .padhānama(da)vo.....*
   12. *patithav(i)to.*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

7. Success! (Adoration to the Lord).....An important pavilion (*padhānamadavo*) has been erected as meritorious gift for the order (*Sagha deyadhama*), by the merchant Dha(ma)rakhita (Dharmarakshita), dealer in perfumery, son of the merchant Dhamila (Dharmila), of Gahaguhākamda, disciple of the (pure teacher Sariputa of) Mahavanasela (Mahāvanasaila), with his father, mother, wife, brothers, daughters, daughters-in-law of the house, grandson, *jnati*s, friends and relatives

8. Donative:collective

10. *Padhanamadavo* (an important pavilion)

11. 1.Dhamarakhita (m); 2.Dhamila (Dharmila (m); 3.Mother of (1) (f); 4.Wife of (1) (f); 5.Brothers of (1) (males), 6.Sons of (1) (males); 7.Daughters of (1) (females); 8.Daughters-in-law of (1) (females); 9.Grandsons of (1) (males); 10.Paternal cousins, friends and relatives (males&females).

12. 1.*Gadhikasa vaniya*; 2.Vaniya who is a disciple of the pure-teacher Sariputa of the *Mahavanaseliyanam*

13. Gahagujakamda

16. *Mahavanaseliyanam*

17. 1.Sidham; 2.Significance of *Mahavavanaseliyanam*, a pro-Mahayana group/*caityaka* seet 3.Sariputa as a pure-teacher; 4.*Sagha dayadhammam* (Meritorious gift for the Sangha); 5.*Padhanamadava* What function does the *madava* serve?, 6.*Patithavito* 7.A merchant is a disciple of an *acariya*

18. Not less than 8

19. Not less than 6

20. 1

23. Not less than 15

Sl.No. 222 INDEX NO. IV. 16

1. *Stupa*-site: sculptured fragment, showing scene from the life of the Buddha.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.98, p.297 (Also, Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, Plate LVIII, no.21 (plate only. No text); Lüders, no.1299, p.155 (not read)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka* / *Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 3rd century A.D. as per A.Roy, p.217

6. *hara ānavar(u)no vamakhu arana arayadhama tharāna Dhamasaraya(na?) apara*

7. .....? the elder (tharāna=therena) (following) thenoble life of the forest dweller (*ārana araya dhama*), Dhamasarayana (Dharmasrayana).....

8. Donative

11. Dhamasarayana (m)

12. A *thera* who follows the *arana arayadhama* (the noble life of the forest-dweller)

17. A *thera* who follows *arana arayadhama* (the noble life of the forest dweller)

18. 1

20. 1

23. 1

Sl.No. 223 INDEX NO. IV. 17

1. *Stupa*-site: Broken slab with scenes from the life of the Buddha.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.100, p.297 (Also, Burgess, *Notes*, p.18, no.54, and plate III, no.7; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.78, and plates XLI, 6 and LVII, no.19; Lüders, no.1240, p.146)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 3rd century A.D. as per A.Roy, p.217

6. 1. ..... *Bhagavato Kavururе* vathaviya pavajitikāya Vabayā tha

2. ..... *yā Hamgiyā bhāyitiyā Bodhiyā utayā imam pendaka patitham (pi)*

3. *a*

7. (Adoration) to the Lord! This is slab (*pendaka*) was set up by Hamgi (Samgh) the daughter of sister (*bhāyiti*) Bodhi ..... of the nun Vaba residing at Kavurura.

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka* / *Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

8. Donative:collective

10. *Pendaka* (slab)

11. 1.Hamgi (f); 2.Vaba(f)

12. 1.Daughter of the sister of Bodhi; 2.*Pavajitika* (nun)

13. Kavururа

17. . . . *bhagavato* (Adoration to the Lord!)

19. 3

21.1

23. 3

Sl.No. 224 INDEX NO. IV. 18

1. *Stupa*-site:*Caitya* slab (plate I of Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*): Govt. Museum, Madras.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.102, p.298 (Also, noticed by Burgess, *Notes*, p.51, no.4; Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.72, and plates I and LVII, no.17; Lüders, no.1281, p.153)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 3rd century A.D. as per A.Roy, p.217

6. ……*(sidha)tanam Pukirathe adhithāne……vathavasa hamgha gahapatiutasa vaniyasa Samudasa gharaniya ca Kodaccandi gaha(pati)……na ca savasa ca lokasa hitasukhathalaya Bhagavato mahāc(e)tiyasa unisasa pa……*

7. Adoration to Siddhathas (Siddhārthas)! Gift of coping stone to the great *stupa* of the Lord by the wife of the merchant Samuda (Samudra), the son of the householder Hamgha (Samgha), living in the chief of the Puki district (Pukiratha= Pukirashtra) and by the ..... house (holder) Kotacandi, for the welfare and happiness of the whole world.

8. Donative: collective

9. *Savasa ca lokasa hitasukhathataya* . . . (for the welfare and happiness of the whole world)

10. *Unisa* (coping stone)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

11. 1.*Gharani* (wife) of Samuda (Samudra) who is a *vaniya* (merchant); 2.Kotacandi (m)

12. 1.*Gharani* of Samuda who is a *vaniya* and whose father is *gahapati* Hamgha; Samuda lives in the chief city of Puki district; 2.*Gahapati*

13. *Adithana* of *Pukiratha* (Chief city of Pukiratha)

14. *Pukirathe* (*Rastra* indicates district)

17. 1. (*Sidha*)*tanam* (Adoration to Sidharathas!); 2.*Savasa ca lokasa hitasukhathataya* (for the welfare and happiness of the whole world); 3.*Bhagavato mahac* (*e*)*tiya*

18. 3

19. 1

23. 4

Sl.No. 225 INDEX NO. IV. 19

1. *Stupa*-site: *Caitya* slab: fragmentary

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.103, p.298, and plate LXV,8 (Also, Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.72, and plate XXXI, 6

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 3rd century A.D. as per A.Roy, vol .I, 1994 p.217

6. *Sidham (namo) bhagavato gāmmamahivathasa pendavatikasa Nāgasenasa khudacetiya....Haghavānikiniya patithapitam savasatamata a*

7. Success! (Adoration) to the Lord! Erected by the merchant's wife Haghā (Samghā), at the small *caitya* of the mendicant (*pendavatika*) Nāgasena living in village parts, for the ..... of all.

8. Donative

9. *Savasatamata a*. . . (for the . . . of all)

10. (Object not specified) at the small *caitya* (*khudacetiya*) of Nagasena, a *pendapatika* who lives in village parts

11. Hagha (f); Nagasena

12. *Vanikini* (merchant's wife); *pendapatika*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

17. 1.*Pendavatika* Nagasena who lives in village parts; 2.*Khudacetiya* of Nagasena; 3.More than one *Cetiya*/hierarchy of *Caitya*s; 4.*Sidham* (*namo*) *bhagavato*, 5.*Patithapita*m (Indicates ritual)

18. 2

19. 1

20. 1

23. 3

Sl.No. 226 INDEX NO. IV. 20

1. *Stupa*-site:On fragments of sculptures: fragmentary

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, pp.299-300, no.109. (Also, Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.85, and plates XLIII, 9 and LVIII, no.31; Lüders, 1283, p.153)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 3rd century A.D. as per Anamika Roy, p.217

6. *(Sidham)Haghadaya Kamdadaya Samghadaya ..... (i)maumnisa ptithavita ti*

7. Success! This scooping stone was set up by ..... Haghada (Samghadā), Kamdadā (Skandadā), Samghada.....

8. Donative: collective

10. *Umnisa* (coping stone)

11. 1.Haghada (f); 2.Kamdada (f); 3.Samghada (f)

17. 1.*Sidham*; 2.*Patithavita*

19. 3

23. 3

Sl.No. 227 INDEX NO. IV. 21

1. *Stupa*-site:On fragment showing two Buddhas and two stupas.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.112, p.300 (Also, Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.AJ.*, p.85; Lüders, no.1284, p.153)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 3rd century A.D. as per A.Roy, p.217

6. ..... *Bhavāta- Dhammasiria yā- Pasamayā- Haga*(i)ri- *Cadā-Ravisiri uvasakaima patithavi(ta)*

7. This is erected by the reverend (*bhayata*) Dhamasiriā (Dharmasrikā), Pasamā (Prasāma), Hagsiri (Agnisri), Cadā (Candrā) and the lay worshipper (Ravisri).

8. Donative: collective

11. 1.Dhamasiria (f); 2.Pasama (f); 3.Hagisiri (f); 4.Cada (m); 5.Ravisiri (m)

12. 1.*Bhavata* (reverend); 2., 3., 4., (not specified/lost); 5.*Uvasaka*

18. 2

19. 3

21. 1

22. 1

23. 5

Sl.No. 228 INDEX NO. IV. 22

1. *Stupa*-site: frieze showing Buddhas and stupas.

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.113, pp.300-301 (Also, Burgess, *Notes*, p.12, no.11 B, and plate II, no.4; Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.53, no.11 B; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.85, and plates XLIII, 4 and LVII, no.23; Lüders, no.1233, p.145)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 3rd century A.D. as per A.Roy, p.217

6. ..... *(ante)vasikasa Mahegānājakāsa bhayamtā Nādhasiri(i) sa (sa) bhayamta Bu*.....

7. ..... the vernerable (*bhayamta*) Bu..... disciple ot the venerable Nadhasiri (Nāthasri) inhabitabt of Mahegānājaka and disciple (*antevasika*) of.....

8. Donative: collective

11. 1. . . . Bu . . .(m); 2.Nadhasiri (m)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

12. 1.*Bhayamta* (reverend or venerable monk); 2.*Antevasi* of (somebody) and an inhabitant of Maheganajaka

13. Maheganajaka

18. 2

20. 2

23. 2

Sl.No. 229 INDEX NO. IV. 23

1. *Stupa*-site:On a fragment of a pillar (9½ feet length) with low-relief of *stupa* with a five- hooded snake: fragmentary

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, p.302, no.119 (Also, Burgess, *Notes*, p.42, no.68B; Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.54, no.68B; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.86, and plates XLIV, 2 and LVIII, no.32; Lüders, 1265, p.150)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* second half of the 3rd century A.D. as per A.Roy, p.217

6. 1. *adh(a)b(a)bh)(a)*.....

   2.*tukasa dāna ma*.....

   3.*pasanikamātula Nada*.....

7. ..... gift..... of Nada (Nanda).....the uncle of the stone-worker(*pasanika : pāhānika* from *pāsāna*, stone).

8. Donative

11. Nada (m)

12. *Matula* of *pasanika* (stone-worker)

18. 1

23. 2

Sl.No. 230 INDEX NO. IV. 24

1. On a slab built into the outer *prakara* wall of the *Amaresvaraswami* Temple, Amarāvatī.

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

2. List of Stone Inscriptions Copied during the year 1936-37, *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1935-38*, no.329, p.42 and p.63

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* characters of the 3rd century A.D.

8. Donative: collective

11. 1.---(m); 2.---(f); 3.---(males)

12. 1.*Gahapati*; 2.Mother of 1; 3.Sons of 1

14 *Mahacetiya*

15.*Verakiya*

18. Not less than 3

19. 1

23. Not less than 4

Sl.No. 231 INDEX NO. IV. 25

1. On a slab built into the outer *prakara* wall of the *Amareswaraswami* Temple, Amarāvatī:

2. List of Stone Inscriptions Copied during the year 1936-37, *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1935-38*, no.330, p.42 and p.63

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* characters of the 3rd century A.D.

8. Donative: collective

9. For the benefit of the *Thera* Chitaka of the *Mulavasa cetiya*

11. Vera-Dasa (m)

12. *Sethi*

14. *Mulavasa cetiya*

17 1.Gift by a *sethi* for the benefit of *thera* Citaka of the *Mulavasa cetiya.* It is thus evident that many of the gifts instituted by monks and nuns were, in fact, sponsored by other groups. 2. What is meant by *Mulavasa cetiya*? Is it the *Mahacaitya* itself or any other institution? 3.The earliest epigraphical reference to the *Mulavasa.* Another *Mulavasa* in Kerala. (cf. the controversies over the *Mulavasa* problem in the history of

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1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Kerala). 4.Citaka as the name of the monk. Anything to do with *cita / cetiya cetika* etc.?

18. 1

20. 1

23. 2

Sl.No. 232 INDEX NO. IV. 26

1. On a cross-bar: fragmentary
2. A.Ghosh, 1979, no.11, p.102; *A.R.I.E.*, for 1959-60, no. B35, p.49
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* characters of 3rd century A.D.
6. *...bhātuno Samasa suci*
8. Donative
10. *Suci*
11. Sama
12. Brother of . . .
18. 1
23.2

Sl.No. 233 INDEX NO. IV. 27

1. *Stupa*-site: Fragment of a coping stone of a rail
2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.52, p.284 (Also, Chanda no.24, p.267)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 3rd century A.D as per Chanda p.260
6. ..... *(ha) patino saputakasa dāna divadho hatho*
7. Gift of the householder..... with his sons a cubit and half
8. Donative: collective
10. *Divadho hatho* (a cubit and a half). Gift of space: probably unsculptured area; perhaps indicates ritulaisation of *dana*; need not be out of actual architectural/structural plans and needs, but as a ritual.

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

11. 1.---(m), (name lost); 2.His sons(m) (name not stated).

12. 1. . . . (*ha*)*pati*, 2.Sons

17. Gift of space: probably unsculptured area; Indicates ritualisation of *dana*: *dana* need not necessarily arise out of actual architectural/structural plan/needs; Probably to accommodate willing groups in the construction/reconstruction of the *mahacaitya*.

18. Not less than 3

23. Not less than 3

Sl.No. 234 INDEX NO. IV. 28

1. *Stupa*-site:On a fragment of an octagonal pillar: fragmentary

2. Sivaramamurti, 1977, no.126, p.304 (Also, Chanda, no.27, pp.267-268)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* 3rd century A.D as per Chanda, p.260

6. 1. ....*game vāthavasa gahapatisa Vākātakasa gahapatiki(ni)* ... ... *ca-pano*

   2. *nā therena Bodhikena bhāriyāya Camunāya sabhatukehi*.....

   3.... ... ...*kehi sanati mitabadhavehi āyuvadhanika*.....

7. ..... Of the householder..... of the Vākātaka clan, residing in the village.....of the housewife..... by the elder (*thera*) Bodhika..... of (Vākātaka's)wife Camuna with her brother..... with *jnati*s, friends and relatives, for his longevity.....

8. Donative: collective

9. *Apano ayudhanika* (for his longevity)

11. 1.---(m); 2.---(f); 3.Bodhika (m); 4.Camuna (f); 5.---(males), 6.---(males&females)

12. 1.*Gahapati* of the *Vakataka* clan; 2.*Gahapatikini*; 3.*Thera*; 4.Wife of the Vakataka *gahapati*; 5.Brothers of 1; 6.Paternal cousins, friends and relatives of 1 (*natimita badhava*).

13. . . . game (name lost)

14. *Gama*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

15. *Vakataka*

17. Longevity/increment of the term of life as the motive for the gift

18. Not less than 6

19. Not less than 4

20. 1

23. Not less than 10

Sl.No. 235 INDEX NO. IV. 29

1. *Stupa*-site: fragments of drum slab.

2. I.K.Sarma, 1974, no.82, p.67

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* Circa 3rd century A.D

6. *bo*

7. Probably mason's marks

Sl.No. 236 INDEX NO. IV. 30

1. *Stupa* site: Amarāvatī; at the bottom of a cross beam with sculpture of Buddha in a preaching posture.

2. I.K. Sarma, *JESI*, vol.7, 1980, no.89, p.20

3. Mixed Sanskrit; *Brahmi* in Ikshvaku style

4. 3rd-4th century A.D.

6. *tasa sarrva sattvānam samātulacha*

7. The language of the record appears to be mixed Sanskrit. Reduplication of consonants can be noticed in *Sarva*. The palaeography of the record and the style of the sculptured relief favour an Ikshvāku date i.e., 3rd – 4th century A.D

8. Probably collective gift as indicated by '*samatulaca*'

12. *matula*

17. . . . *sarrva sattvanam* . . .

18. 1

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

23. 2. More than 1

PHASE V

Sl.No. 237 INDEX NO. V. 1

1. *Stupa*-site:On a sculptured panel; British Museum.
2. Lüders, no.1206, p.141 (Also, Fergusson-Cunningham, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 1971 (Reprint), p.239, no.1 and plate LXIV, 1 and XCIX, I)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
8. Donative: collective
11. 1.Samgharakhita (f); --(males); 2.---(females); 4.Chada (m); 5.Ajuna (m); 6.Chadamugha (m)
12. 1.*Uvasika* and the daughter of the *gahapati* Mariti; 2.Brothers of 1; 3.Sisters of 1; 4., 5. and 6. sons of 1.
13. Bhutayana
18. Not less than 5
19. Not less than 3
22. 1
23. Not less than 9

Sl.No. 238 INDEX NO. V. 2

1. *Stupa*-site: Now the British Museum.
2. Lüders, no.1207, p.141 (Also, Fergusson-Cunnigham, *T.S.W.*, p.239, no.2 and plate LXXXIII, I, and XCIX, no.2)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
8. Donative:collective
9. For the benefit of the donors' nephews, sons-in-law, grand-daughters and grandsons

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1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka* / *Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

10. *Yaghapata* (Tablets of homage) with enshrined tooth (*sabada kosa dantisa*)

11. 1.Bodhi; 2.Nagamuli

15. *Pusiliya*

17. 1.*Yaghapata sabada kosa dantisa* (tablets of homage with enshrined tooth); 2.*Savasacha hitasughatha* (for the happiness and . . . of all); 3.*Bhagavatomahacetiya*; 4.Relic worship

18. More than 6

19. 2

23. More than 8

Sl.No. 239 INDEX NO. V. 3

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; Now, British Museum.

2. Lüders, no.1208, p.141 (Also, Fergusson-Cunningham, *T.S.W.* p.239, no.3, and plates XC, 7 and XCIX, iii)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*

8. Donative: collective

10. *Thabha* (pillar)

11. Names not clear

12. *Halika* (ploughman / agriculturist)

17. *Deyadhama*

18. 1

23. More than 1

Sl.No. 240 INDEX NO. V. 4

1. *Stupa*-site: carved rail pillar; now British Museum.

2. Lüders, no.1209, p.141 (Also Fergusson-Cunningham, *T.S.W.*, p.239, no.4, and plates LIII, 2 and XCIX, no.IV)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*

8. Donative:collective

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka* / *Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

10. Two *patuka* (2 foot prints)

11. 1.Sivaka (m); 2.Munuri (f); 3.Vicita (m); 4.Mahadeva (m); 5.Budha (f); 6.Cadapusa (f); 7.Cama (f)

12. 1.*Sethi* and son of the *gahapati* Pusila who is an inhabitant of Turulura; 2.Wife of Sivaka; 3.Son-in-law of Sivaka, 4.Son-in-law of Sivaka; 5., 6., and 7. Daughters of Sivaka

13. Turulura

17. *Sidham*; 2.*Deyadhama*

18. 4

19. 4

23. 8

Sl.No. 241 INDEX NO. V. 5

1. *Stupa*-site: on a pillar; British Museum.

2. Lüders, no.1218, p.142 (Also, Fergusson-Cunningham, *T.S.W.*, p.240, no.13, and plates LXI, 1 and XCIX, no.13; Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.38 and plate LXI, no.56)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*

6. *Lonavalavakasa Samgharakhitasa ca Mariti(sa) ca bharaiyāyo Sagahadāsiya ca Kumalaya ca dānam*

7. A gift of Saghā and Saghadasi and Kumala (Kukāla), the wives of Lonavalavaka, Sangharakhita, and Mariti(?)".

8. Donative: collective gift.

11.1.Sagha (f); 2.Saghadasi (f); 3.Kumala (f)

12.1.Wife of Lonavalavaka; 2.Wife of Sagharakhita; 3.Wife of Mariti

17. *Danam*

18. 3

19. 3

23. 6

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 242 INDEX NO. V. 6

1. *Stupa*-site: On a pillar; British Museum.
2. Lüders, no.1219, p.143 (Also, Fergusson-Cunningham, *T.S.W.*, p.240, no.14, and plates LVIII, 2 and XCIX, no.14)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
8. Donative:collective gift
10. *Patuka* (foot prints)
11. ---(f)
12. Mother of Ananda
17. 1.Worship of the foot-prints as symbol of the Budha; 2.*Danam*
19. 1
23. 2

Sl.No. 243 INDEX NO. V. 7

1. *Stupa*-site: sculpture showing scenes from the life of the Buddha; British Museum.
2. Lüders, no.1221, p.143 (Also, Fergusson-Cunningham, *T.S.W.*, p.240, no.16, and plates XCII, 1 and XCIX, no.16)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
8. Donative
10. *Unisa* (coping stone)
11. Ajuna (m)
12. Grandson of the *gahapati* Mariti who is an inhabitant of Akhasavada
13. Akhasavada
17. *Deyadhama*
18. 1
23. 2

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 244 INDEX NO. V. 8

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; sculptures showing scenes from life of Buddha; British Museum.
2. Lüders, no.1225, p.144 (Also, Fergusson-Cunningham, *T.S.W.*, p.240, no.20, and plates LXXXII, 1 and XCIX, no.20)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
8. Donative: collective
10. 1.Two *cetiyapata* (2 *caitya* slabs); 2. Three *patuka* (3 foot prints); 3. One *unisa* (1 coping stone); 4. One *puphaganiyapata* (a slab with a flower vase).
11. 1.---(m); 2.---(males&females).
13. 1.Damnakata; 2.Rajagiri
14. *Mahacetiya* of Damnakata
17. 1.*Deyadhamma*, 2.*Puphaganiyapata*
18. More than 2
23. More than 3

Sl.No. 245 INDEX NO. V. 9

1. *Stupa*-site: On a pillar; British Museum.
2. Lüders, no.1212, p.142 (Also, Cunningham, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p.239, no.7 and plates XC, 1 and XCIX, no.VII)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
17. Mentions the *mahacetiya*

Sl.No. 246 INDEX NO. V. 10

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; on a sculptured slab; British Museum.
2. Lüders, no.1214, p.142 (Also Cunningham-Prinsep, 1837, *Journ, Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol.VI, p.218, and plate X; Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, Plate IX; Cunningham, *T.S.W.*, p.239 no.9, and plate XCIX, no. IX)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

8. Donative: collective

10. *Divatha(bha)* or pillar for lamps at the southern entrance to the *mahacetiya*

11. 1.Budhi (m); 2.---(f); 3.---(males); 4.---(females); 5.---(males); 6.---(females & males)

12. 1.*Vaniya* and son of *vaniya* Kanha; 2.Wife of 1; 3.Sons of 1; 4.Daughters of 1; 5.Grandsons of 1; 6.Relatives, friends and connections of 1

17. *Divathabha*; lamps at various points of the *mahacetiya*

18. More than 7

19. More than 4

23. More than 11

Sl.No. 247 INDEX NO. V. 11

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; On a sculptured slab; British Museum.

2. Lüders, no.1215, p.142 (Also, Cunninghham, *T.S.W.* p.240, no.10, and plates XCV, 3 and XCIX, no.X)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*

8. Donative: collective

10. *Pata* (slab)

11. 1. . . . (m); 2. . . . (females); 3. . . . (males); 4. . . . (males).

12. 1.---; 2.Daughters of 1; 3.Sons of 1; 4.Grandsons of 1.

18. Not less than 5

19. Not less than 2

23. Not less than 7

Sl.No. 248 INDEX NO. V. 12

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī

2. Lüders, no.1217, p.142 (Also Cunningham, *T.S.W.*, p.240, no.12, and plates LXXV and XCIX, no.12)

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*

8. Donative: collective

10. *Padukapata* (slab with foot-prints)

11. 1.Rakhadi; 2.Dati

17. *Paduka* indicates worship of the symbols of the Buddha.

23. 2

Sl.No. 249 INDEX NO. V. 13

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī; On a sculptured rectangular block. British Museum

2. Lüders, no.1223, p.143 (Also, Cunningham, *T.S.W.*, p.240, no.18, and plates LXXXVII, 5 and XCIX, no.18)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*

8. Donative:collective

10. *Sihathana* (lion-seat)

11. 1.Budhi (m); 2.Budha (f)

12. 1.*Cetiyavadaka* (*cetiyavamdaka*) who is also a *thera* and a *bhayamta*; 2.*Bhikhuni* and also the sister of 1.

16. *Cetiyavadaka* who is a *thera* and *bhayamta*. Of the *Caityaka* school

17. 1.*Deyadhama*; 2.*Sihathana*: worship of the symbol of the Buddha

18. 1

19. 1

20. 1

21. 1

23. 2

Sl.No. 250 INDEX NO. V. 14

1. *Stupa*-site: Amarāvatī

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka* / *Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

2. Lüders, no.1227, p.144 (Also, Fergusson, *T.S.W.*, plate XCIV, 4 (plate only)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
17. Invocation of *Bhagavat*

Sl.No. 251 INDEX NO. V. 15

1. *Stupa*-site:On a small fragment
2. Lüders, no.1235, p.145 (Also, Burgess, *Notes*, p.13, no.16B; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.104, and plate LIX, no.40)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
6. .....*Sidhathasa bhariyāya bhagommuya*

   .....*dhuya Bodhiyā ca dānam ima udhapa(ta).*
7. This Urdhvapatta is the gift .....of the wife of Sidhatha (Siddhārta)..... and of Bodhi
8. Donative:collective
10. *Udhapata* (upright slab)
11. 1.Bhagommu (f); 2.Bodhi
12. 1.Wife of Sidhatha; 2.---.
18. 1
19. 1
23. 3

Sl.No. 252 INDEX NO. V. 16

1. Fragment: Depicting the front of some building with arched windows.
2. Lüders, no.1236, p.145; Lüders remarked that he could not make out any sense. (Also, Burgess, *Notes*, p.16, no.34 bis; noticed by Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.83 and plate XLII, 7)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
6. ...*piya*

   ...*gila mātuya* ...*laviya*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka* / *Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

12. Mother

19. 1

23. More than 1

Sl.No. 253 INDEX NO. V. 17

1. Fragment: on an outer rail pillar

2. Lüders, no.1238, p.146 (Also, Burgess, *Notes*, p.17, no.25 B, and plate III, no.6; Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.53, no.25 B; Noticed by Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.105 and plate LX, no.46)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi;* in later characters

17. . . . *thapito*

Sl.No. 254 INDEX NO. V. 18

1. On a disc

2. Lüders, no.1242, p.146 (Also, Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.19, no.66; Burgess, Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.101, and plate LVI, no.10)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*

6. *[Sama]nikāya*

   [Si]dhathiyā

   deyadhama

7. The meritorious gift of the ascetic [Si]dhathi (Siddhārthi).

8. Donative

11. (Si) dhamthi (f)

12. (*Sama*)*nika*

17. (*De*)*ya dhamma*

19. 1

21. 1

23. 1

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 255 INDEX NO. V. 19

1. On a fragment of a cross-bar: fragmentary
2. Lüders, no.1257, p.149 (Also, noticed by Burgess, *Notes*, p.37, no.182; Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.48 and plate XVIII, 3)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
8. Donative
12. *(bhikh)uni*
19. 1
21. 1
23. 1

Sl.No. 256 INDEX NO. V. 20

1. On a double disc of a cross bar of the outer rail
2. Lüders, no.1258, p.149 (Also, Burgess, *Notes*, p.37, no.185. Hultzsch, *Notes*, p.54, no.185; Burgess-Hultzsch, *B.S.A.J.*, p.101, and plate LVI, no.9)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
6. .....*chiāya samanikiya*

   ...*(ya) sabhaginikāya*

   (dā)na.
7. The gift of the ascetic.....with her sisters
8. Donative:collective
11. 1.---(f); 2.---(f)
12. 1.*Samanika*; 2.Sister of 1.
19. 2
21. 2
23. 2

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 257 INDEX NO. V. 21

1. On a portion of the base of a flower-vase slab
2. Lüders, no.1278, p.152 (Also noticed by Burgess, *Notes*, p.50, no.67)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
8. Donative:collective
11. 1.---(m); 2.---(males&females)
12. 1.*Vaniya*; 2.Relatives of 1.
17. An invocation of *Bhagavat*
18. More than 1
23. More than 3

Sl.No. 258 INDEX NO. V. 22

1. Fragment
2. Lüders, no.1282, p.153 (Also Hultzsch, *Zeitschs. Deutsch. Morgenl, Ges.* Vol.XXXVII, p.559, no.38)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
8. Donative
10. Four pillars with *pata*
11. Mahanaga (m)
18. 1
23. 1

Sl.No. 259 INDEX NO. V. 23

1. Fragment
2. Lüders, 1291, p.154 (Also, Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, plate XXXIX, 4 (not read; plate only)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
8. Donative

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

10. *Pata*

11. 1.---; 2.Kanha (m)

12. 1.---; 2.A *leghaka* (scribe)

18. 2

23. 2

Sl.No. 260 INDEX NO. V. 24

1. On the base of a standing figure

2. Lüders, no.1297, p.155 (Also, noticed by Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.97, and plates LII, 4 and LIX, no.43). Full text not read / not given in both.

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*

8. Donative

12. *Heranika*

18. 1

23. At least 1

Sl.No. 261 INDEX NO. V. 25

1. On a fragment: fragmentary

2. Lüders, 1300, p.155 (Also Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.102, and plate LVII, no.26)

3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*

6. .....*kasa sadutukasa dānam ā*.....

7. The gift of.....with his daughter

8. Donative: collective

11. 1.---(m); 2.---(f)

12. 1.---; 2.Daughter of 1

18.1

19.1

23. 2

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

Sl.No. 262 INDEX NO. V. 26

1. On a broken fragment in the steps of a well near the village: Amarāvatī -Dharanikota: fragmentary (see Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.103, no.37)
2. Lüders, no.1302 (Also, Burgess, *B.S.A.J.*, p.103, and plate LVIII, no.37)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
6. .....*sa gaha[pati]*.....

   ... *sabhāri[yasa]*...

   ...*thambho o[varako]*...
7. Perhaps the gift of a pillar and a cell by a *gahapati* along with his wife
8. Donative:collective
10. *Thambha* (pillar)
11. 1.---(m); 2.---(f)
12. 1.*Gaha(pati)*; 2.Wife of 1
18. 1
19. 1
23. 2

Sl.No. 263 INDEX NO. V. 27

1. Fragment of double disc
2. Lüders, no.1316, p.156 (no details). (Also Burgess, *Notes*, p.38, no.192)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
6. ...*(pu)takasa*...
8. Donative
11. ---(m)
12. *Puta*

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

18. 1

23. 2

Sl.No. 264 INDEX NO. V. 28

1. On a double disc
2. Lüders, no.1317, p.156 (Also, Burgess, *Notes*, p.39, no.194)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
6. *...sa ... dāna.....*
8. Donative

Sl.No. 265 INDEX NO. V. 29

1. On a part of the coping
2. Lüders, 1321, p.157 (Also Burgess, *Notes*, p.44, no.218)
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
6. *khapatino saputakasa dāna divathapatha...?*
8. Donative: collective
11. 1.---(m); 2.---(m)
12. 1.---; 2.Sons of 1
18. 2
23. 2

Sl.No. 266 INDEX NO. V. 30

1. A sculptured marble in the Archaeological pavilion: Amarāvatī
2. *List of Inscriptions Copied by the Office of the Govt. Epigraphist for India, 1941-42. A.R.I.E., 1942*, no.25, p.91; it seems that the text has not yet been published so far
3. *Prakrt* and *Brahmi*
4. 10th day
5. Gotamipu
8. Donative

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

11. Namdiputa (m)
12. *Upasaka*
13. Dhanakata
14. *Cetiya* of Dhanakata
18. 1
22. 1
23. 1

Sl.No. 267 INDEX NO. V. 31

1. On a cross bar
2. A.Ghosh, 1979, no. 22, p.102; *A.R.I.E., for 1959-60,* no.B.36, p.49
6. *Sivāya...*
9. Donative
12. Siva
23. 1

Sl.No. 268 INDEX NO. V. 32

1. Fragment of a cross-bar: fragmentary
2. *A.R.I.E, 1959-60*, no.B.39, p.49
6. *upāsi....*
8. Donative
12. *Upasi . . .*
22. 1
23. 1

1.Find Spot; 2. Reference; 3. Language and Alphabet; 4.Date; 5. King; 6. Text; 7.Translation; 8. Nature; 9. Purpose; 10. Object Donated; 11. Name of the Donor / Patron; 12. Status of the Donor / Patron; 13. Place Names; 14.Institution / Corporation; 15. Class / Community; 16. Schismatic / Monastic Group; 17. Doctrinal Matters; 18. No. of Males; 19. No. of Females; 20. No. of Monks; 21. No. of Nuns; 22. No. of *Upāsaka / Upāsika*; 23. Total No. of Persons Involved / Referred to.

3. Comparative Chart of the Early Brāhmī Letters.

	Aśokan variant	Bhatti prolu	Sri Lanka	Sāñchī I	Sāñchī II	Bhārhut Rail	Bhārhut Gateway	Nana ghat	Amarāvatī I	Amarāvatī II	Amarāvatī III
a											
ā											
i											
u											
e											
o											
ka											
kha											
ga											
gha											
ca											
cha											
ja											
jha											
ña											
ṭa											
ṭha											
ḍa											
ḍha											
ṇa											
ta											
tha											
da											
dha											
na											
pa											
pha											
ba											
bha											
ma											

	Aśokan variant	Bhatti prolu	Sri Lanka	Sāñchī I	Sāñchī II	Bhārhut Rail	Bhārhut Gate-way	Nana ghat	Amarāvatī I	Amarāvatī II	Amarāvatī III
ya											
ra											
la											
va											
śa											
ṣa											
sa											
ha											

	Nasik	Kōḍā	Kauśāmbī (Āyāga-paṭṭa)	Mathurā Śodāsa	Mathurā votive inscs.	Sri Lanka Nāga	Amarāvatī I	Amarāvatī II	Amarāvatī III
a									
ā									
i									
u									
e									
o									
ka									
kha									
ga									
gha									
ca									
cha									
ja									
jha									
ña									
ṭa									
ṭha									
ḍa									
ḍha									
ṇa									
ta									
tha									
da									
dha									
na									
pa									
pha									
ba									

	Nasik	Kūḍā	Kauśāmbī (Āyāga-paṭṭa)	Mathurā Śoḍāsa	Mathurā votive insecs.	Sri Lanka Nāga	Amarāvatī I	II	III
bha									
ma									
ya									
ra									
La									
va									
śa									
ṣa									
sa									
ha									

	Sannati	Pulumāvi Karle	Pulumāvi Nasik	Junagadh	Kaniṣka III	Bhadra magh	Amarāvatī Pulumāvi	Amarāvatī Śivamaka	Amarāvatī Early	Amarāvatī Late
a										
ā										
i										
u										
e										
o										
ka										
kha										
ga										
gha										
ca										
cha										
ja										
jha										
ña										
ṭa										
ṭha										
ḍa										
ḍha										
ṇa										
ta										
tha										
da										
dha										
na										
pa										
pha										
ba										
bha										

	Sannati	Pulumāvi		Junagadh	Kaniṣka III	Bhadra magh	Amarāvatī			
		Karle	Nasik				Pulumāvi	Śivamaka	Early	Late
ma										
ya										
ra										
la										
va										
śa										
ṣa										
sa										
ha										

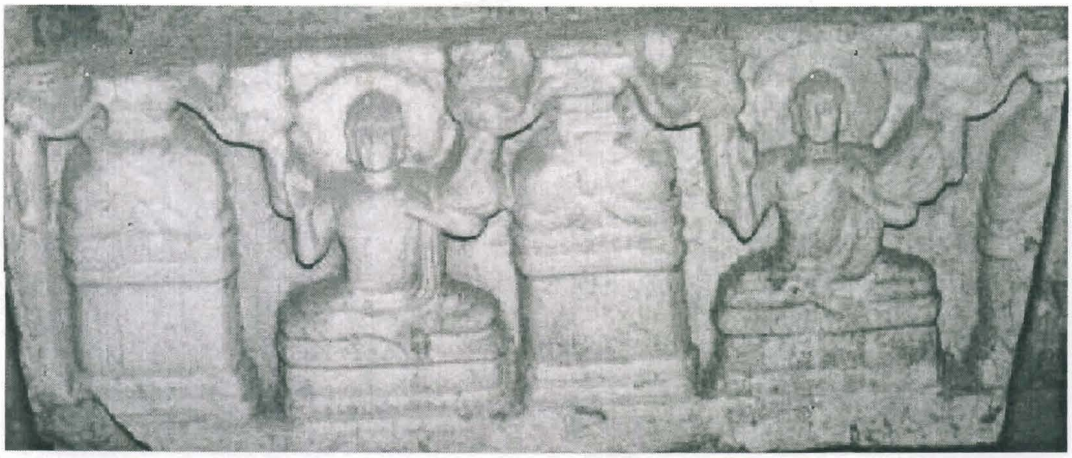
	Sannati	Nāgārjunakoṇḍā	Jaggayyapeṭa	Yajñā S (Nasik)	Yajña S (Amarāvatī)	Amarāvatī Early	Amarāvatī Late
a							
ā							
i							
u							
e							
o							
ka							
kha							
ga							
gha							
ca							
cha							
ja							
jha							
ña							
ṭa							
ṭha							
ḍa							
ḍha							
ṇa							
ta							
tha							
da							
dha							
na							
pa							
pha							
ba							
bha							

	Sannati	Nāgārju-nakoṇḍā	Jaggayya-peta	Yajña S (Nasik)	Yajña S (Amarāvatī)	Amarāvatī Early	Amarāvatī Late
ma							
ya							
ra							
la							
va							
śa							
ṣa							
sa							
ha							

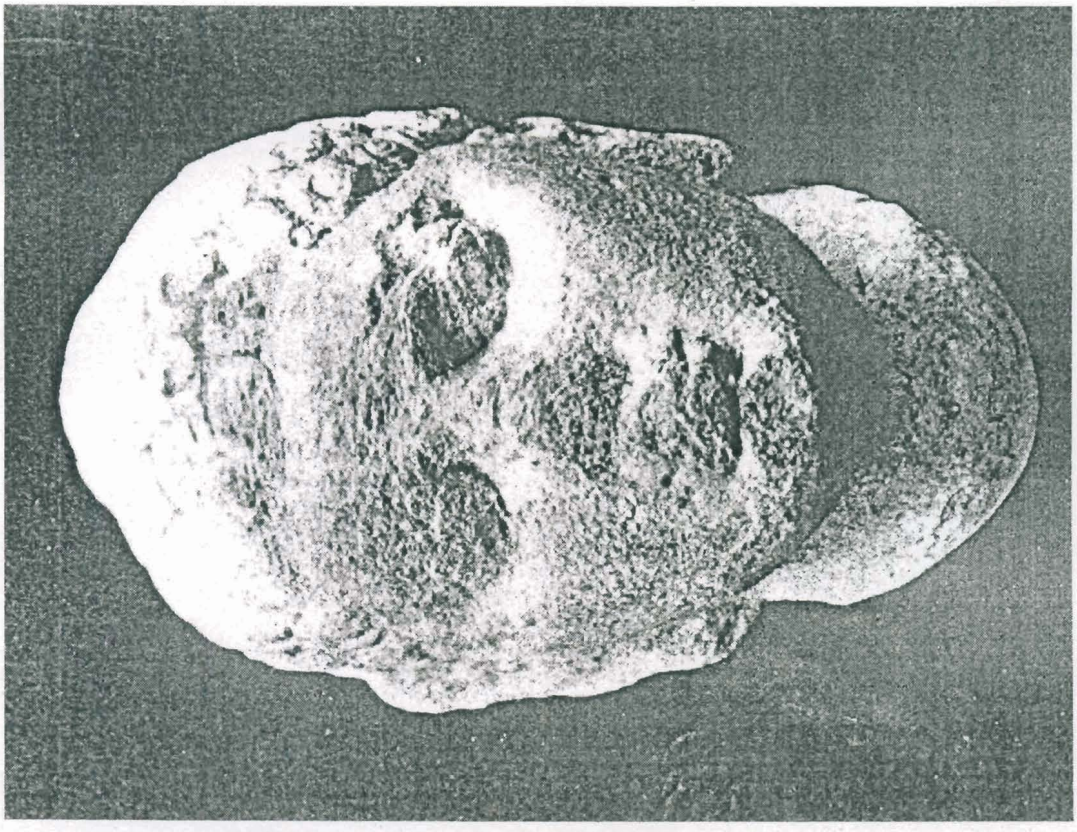
1. Sculptures from Amarāvatī 479-514

1. The image of the Buddha.

1.1. Caitya Content

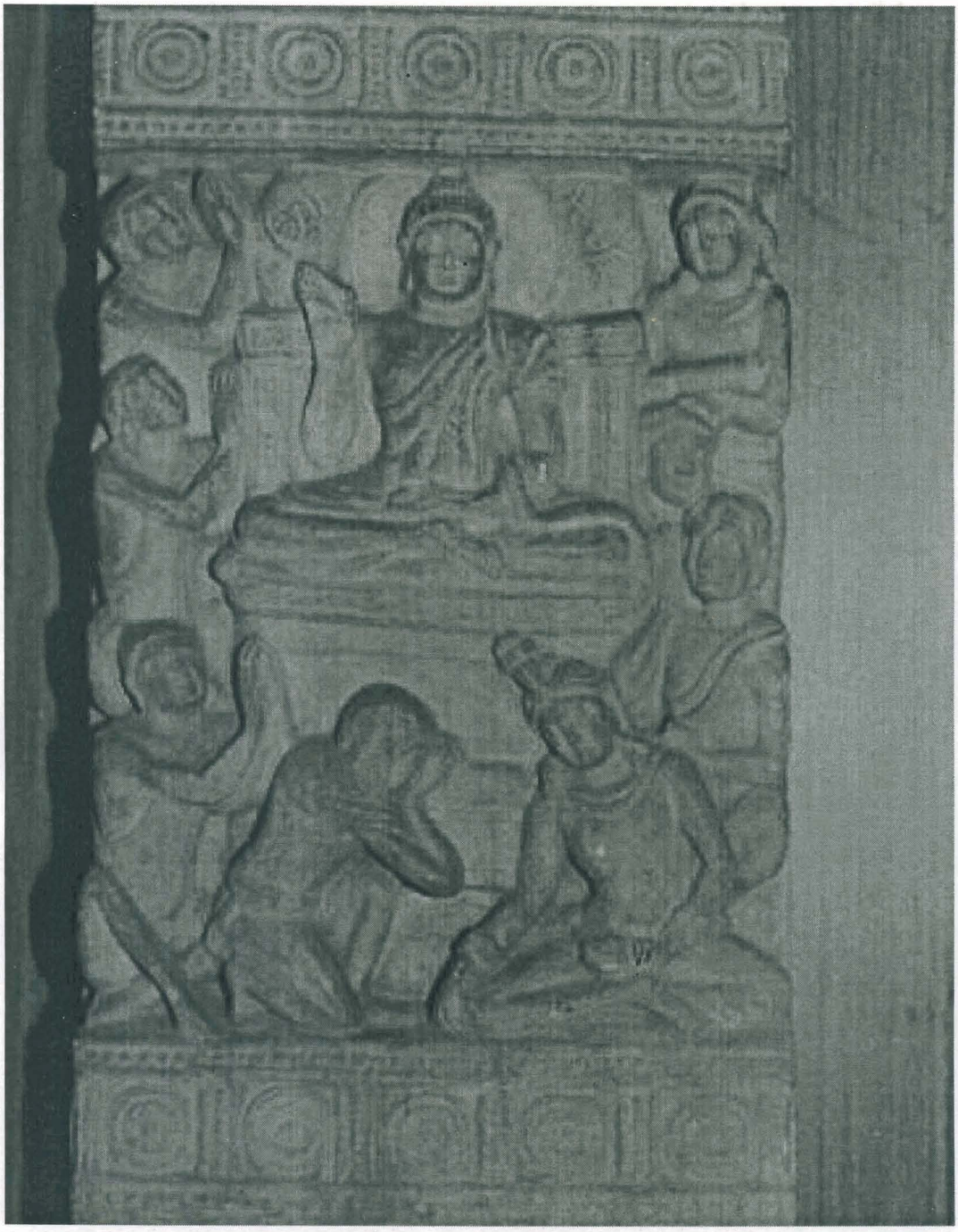


1.2 Free-standing content



1.3 Buddha Preaching

Photographs by Francis N.J.



2. Scenes from Buddha's Life

Photograph by Francis. N. J.

Photograph by Fanieis N. J.

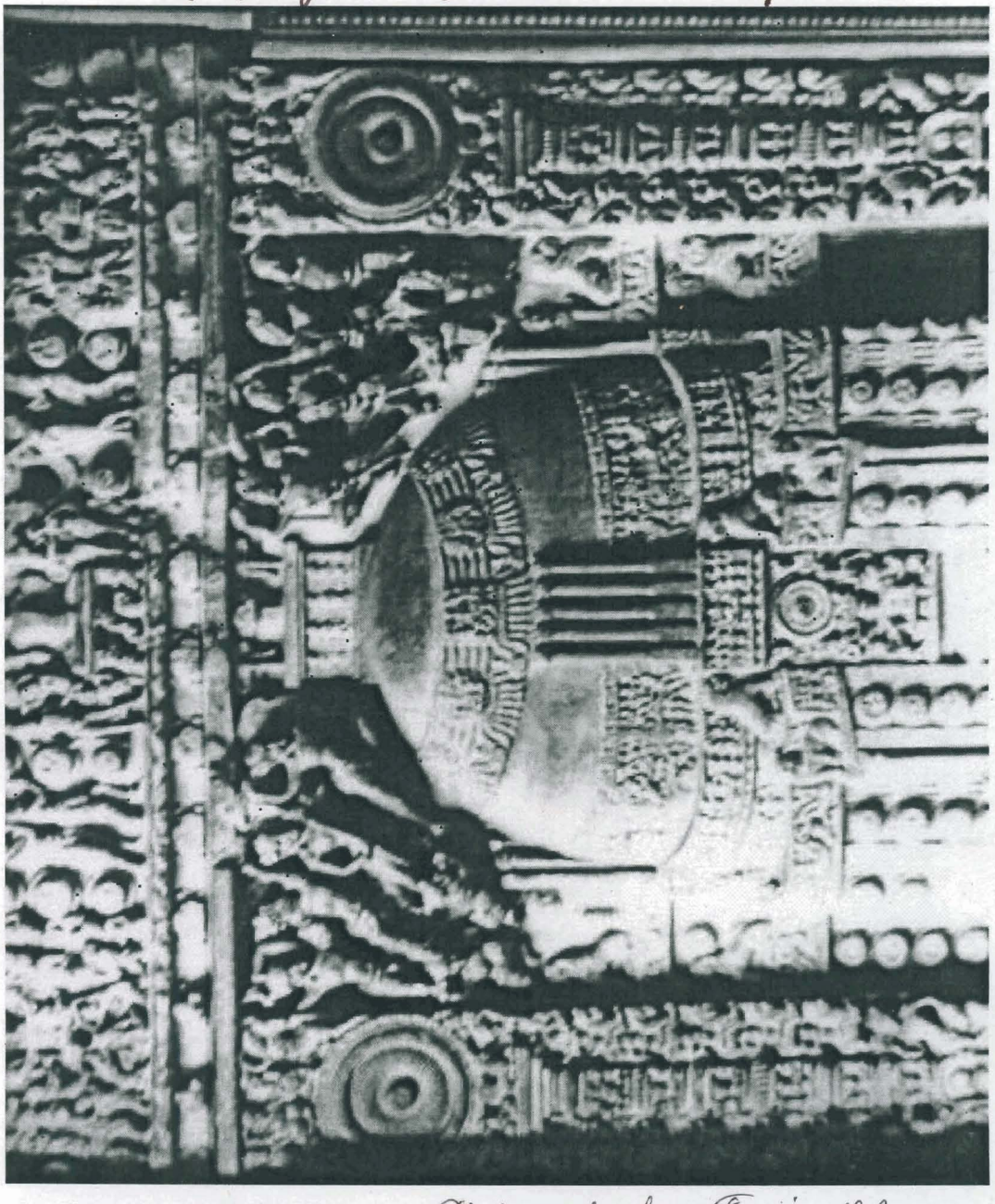
Photograph by Francis N. J.

Photograph by Francis N.J.

Photograph by Francis N. J.

Photograph by Francis N. J.

3. Worship of Symbols of Buddha : Caitya / Stūpa



Photograph by Francis N. J.

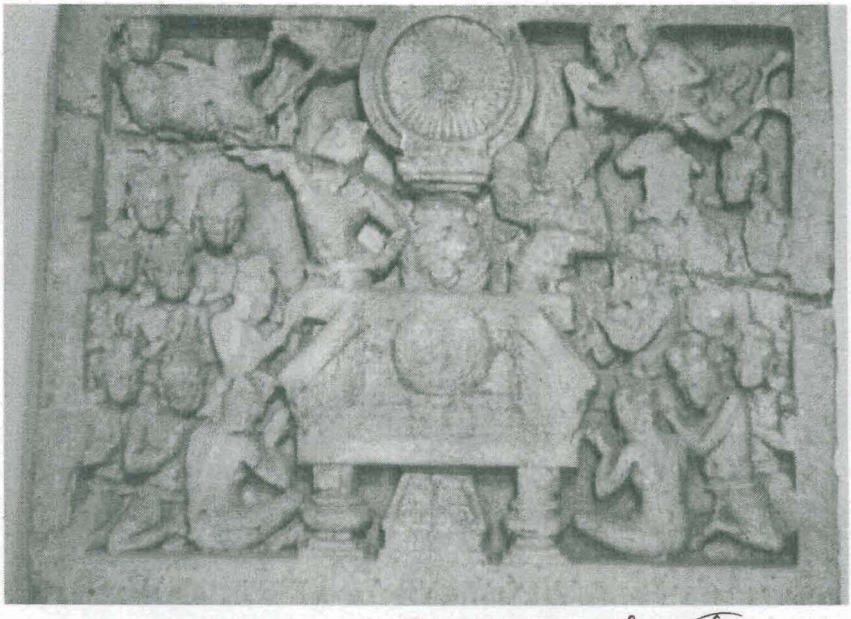
Photograph by Francis N. J.

4. Worship of Symbols of Buddha: Bodhivṛkṣa and seat of Buddha.

Photographs by Francis N. J.

Photographs by Francis N. J.

5. Worship of Symbols of Buddha: Dharmacakra



Photographs by Francis N. J.

6. Worship of Symbols of Buddha : Flaming Pillar

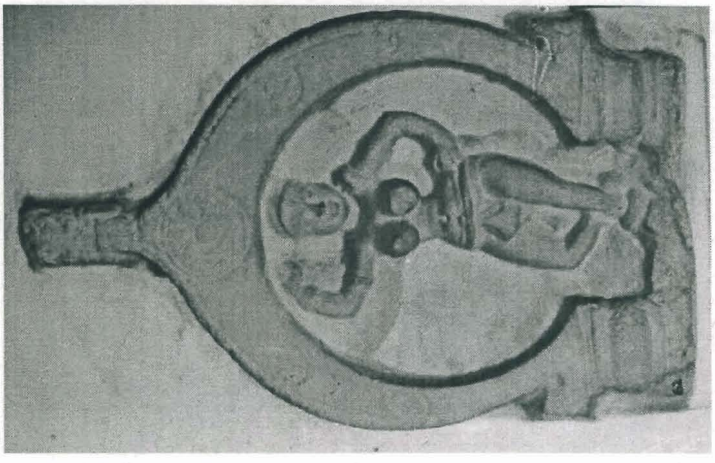
7. Worship of Symbols of Buddha: Pillar

8. Worship of Symbols of Buddha: Buddhapāda.

9. Worship of Symbols of Pūrṇaghaṭa

Photographs by Francis X. J.

10. Yakṣa/yakṣi Cult.



11. Nāga Cult.

12. Scenes from the Previous Lives of Buddha: Jātakas.

Photograph by Francis N.J.

Photographs by Francis N. J.

Photographs by Frances N. J.

II. Sculptures from Allied Centres : 515–517

a) Nāgārjunakonda

1. Buddha in Caitya Context

2. Buddha Preaching

3. Scenes from the Previous Lives of the Buddha

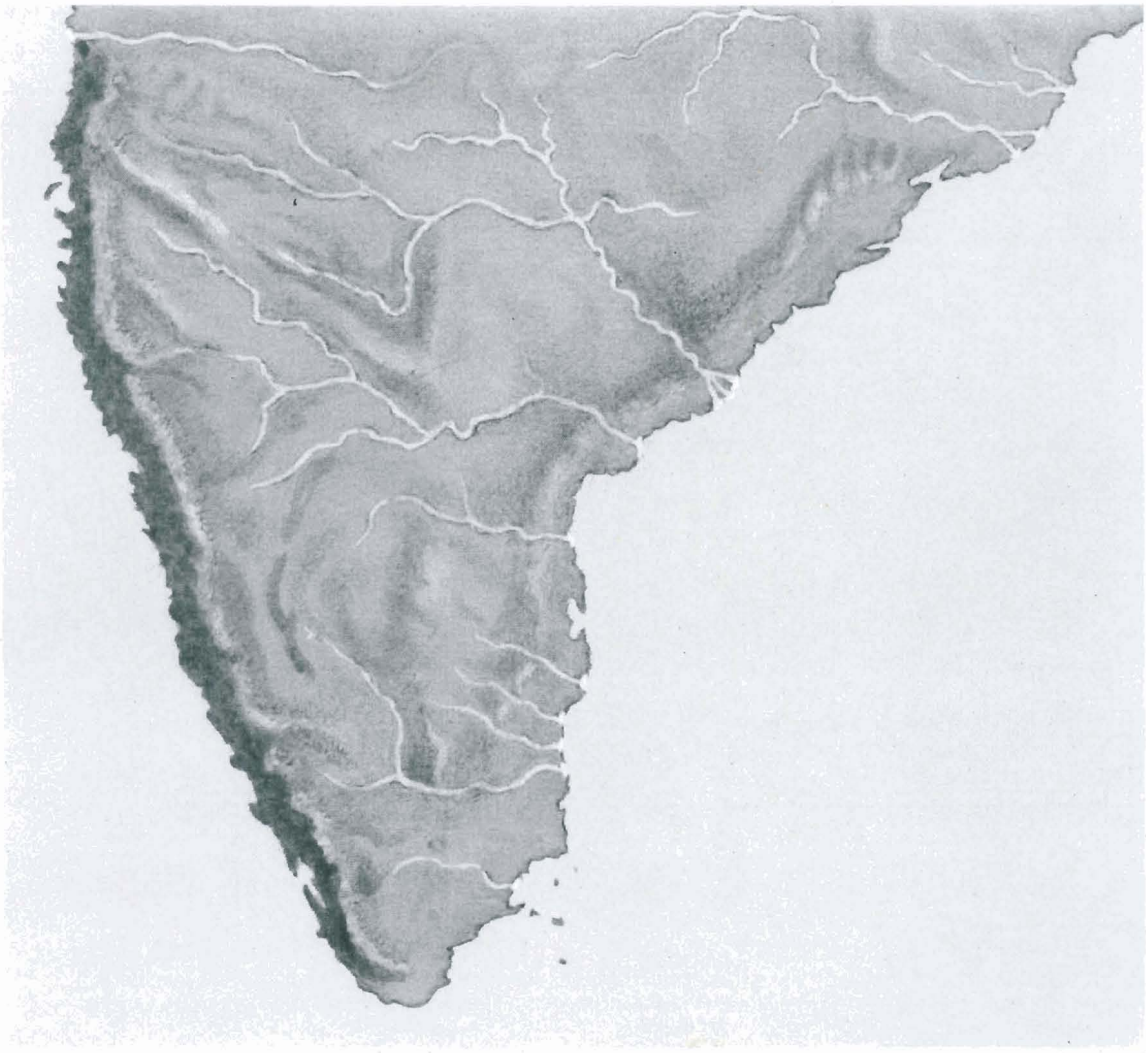
By Jaggayyapeta.

1. A Cakravartin?

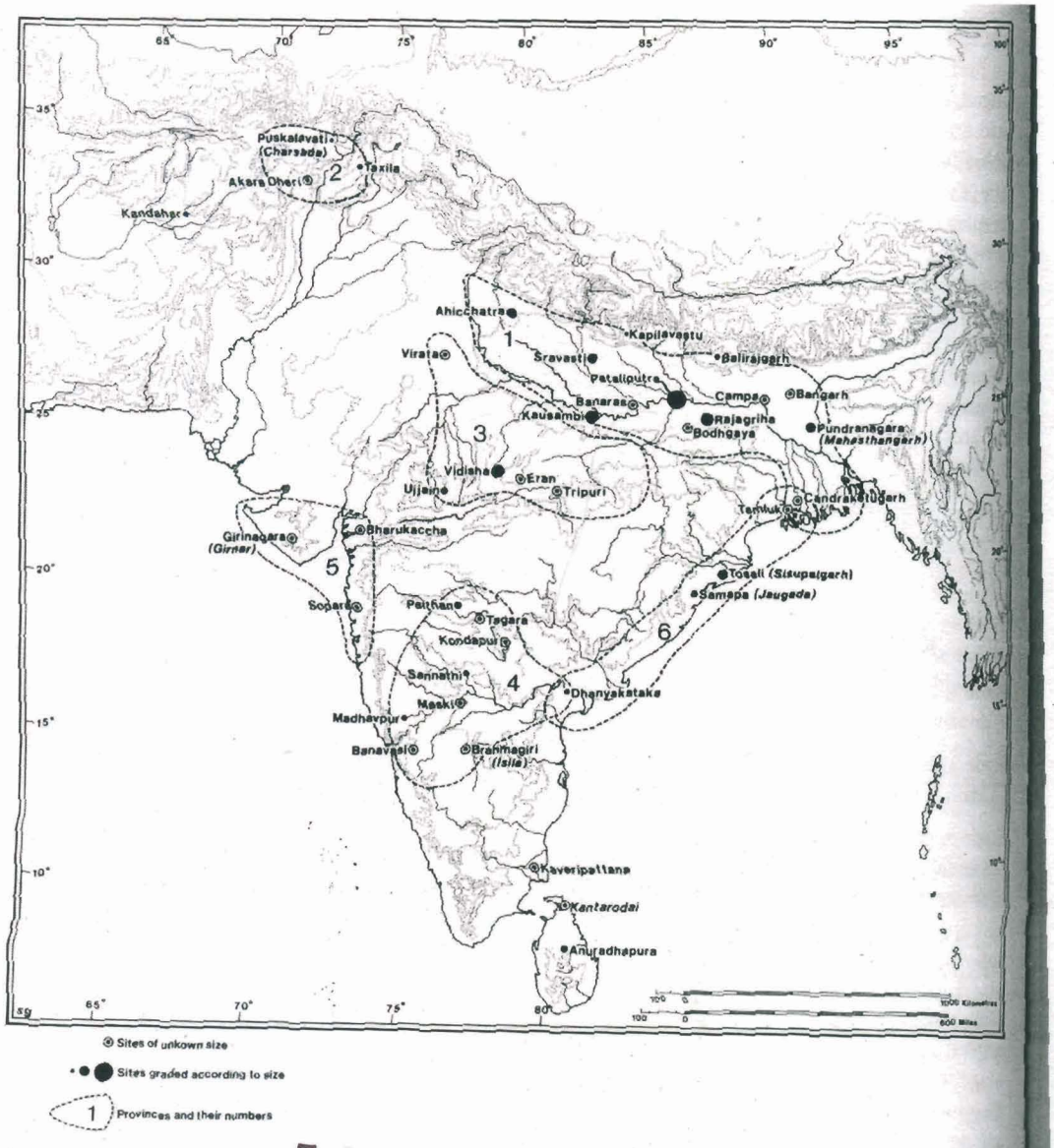
Photographs by Francis. N. J.

Appendices 518–537

I. RELIEF MAP OF THE DECCAN & SOUTH INDIA



MAP No. 1

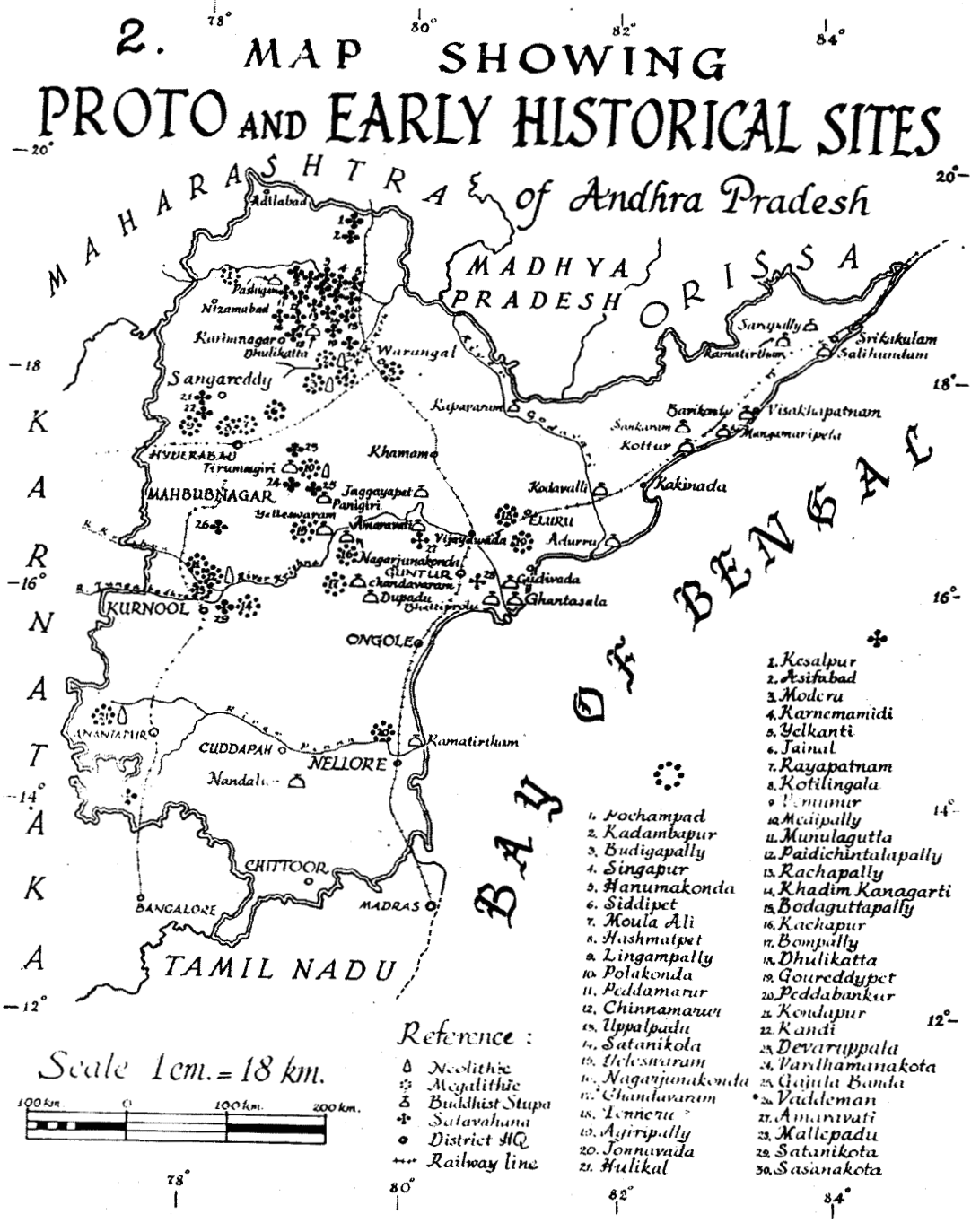


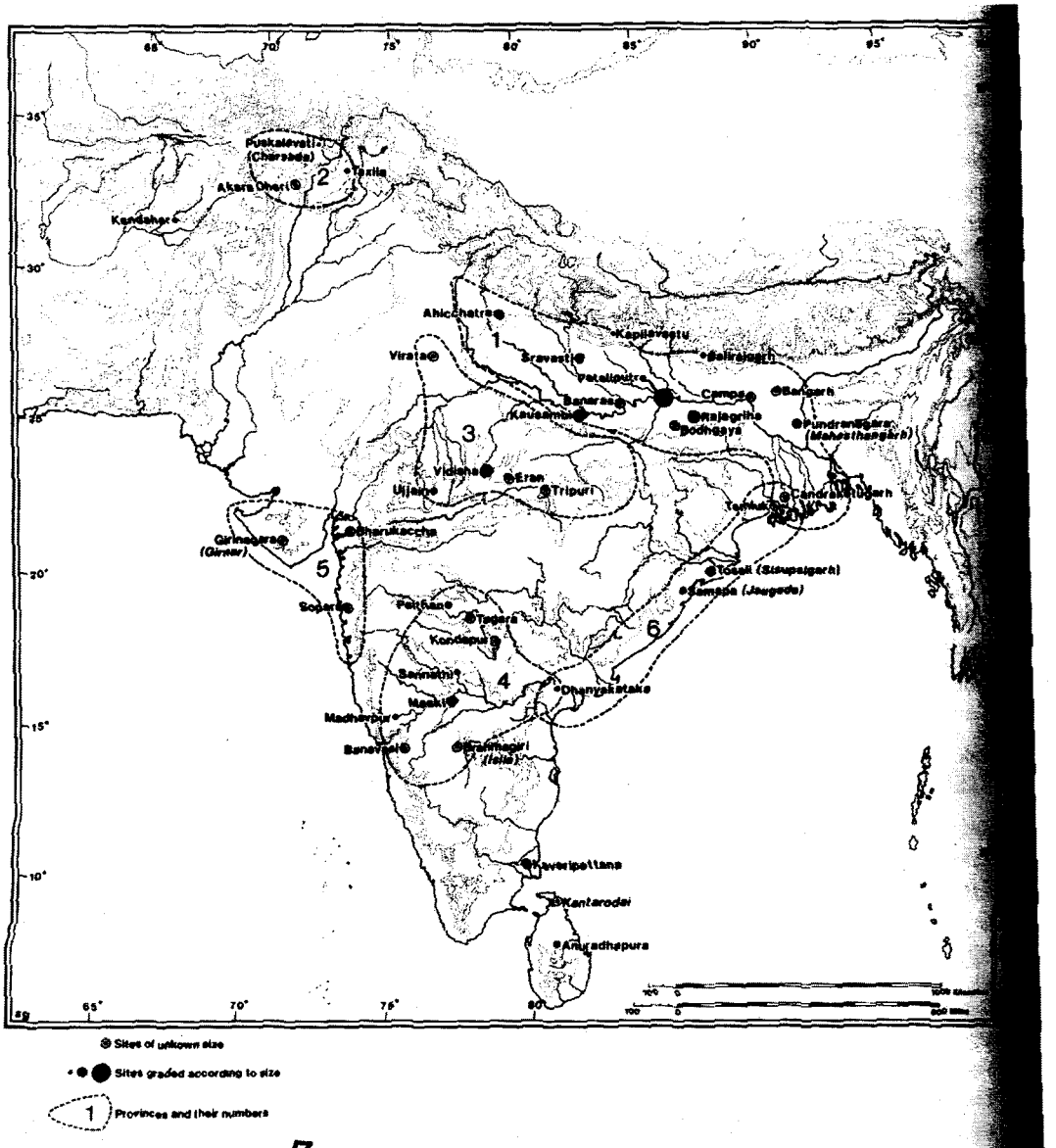
3. Map of probable provincial groupings of the Mauryan empire, with cities graded according to their size (see p. 207).

BOOK III

INDEX TO SELECT AMARĀVATĪ SCULPTURES

2. MAP SHOWING PROTO AND EARLY HISTORICAL SITES of Andhra Pradesh





Sites of unknown size

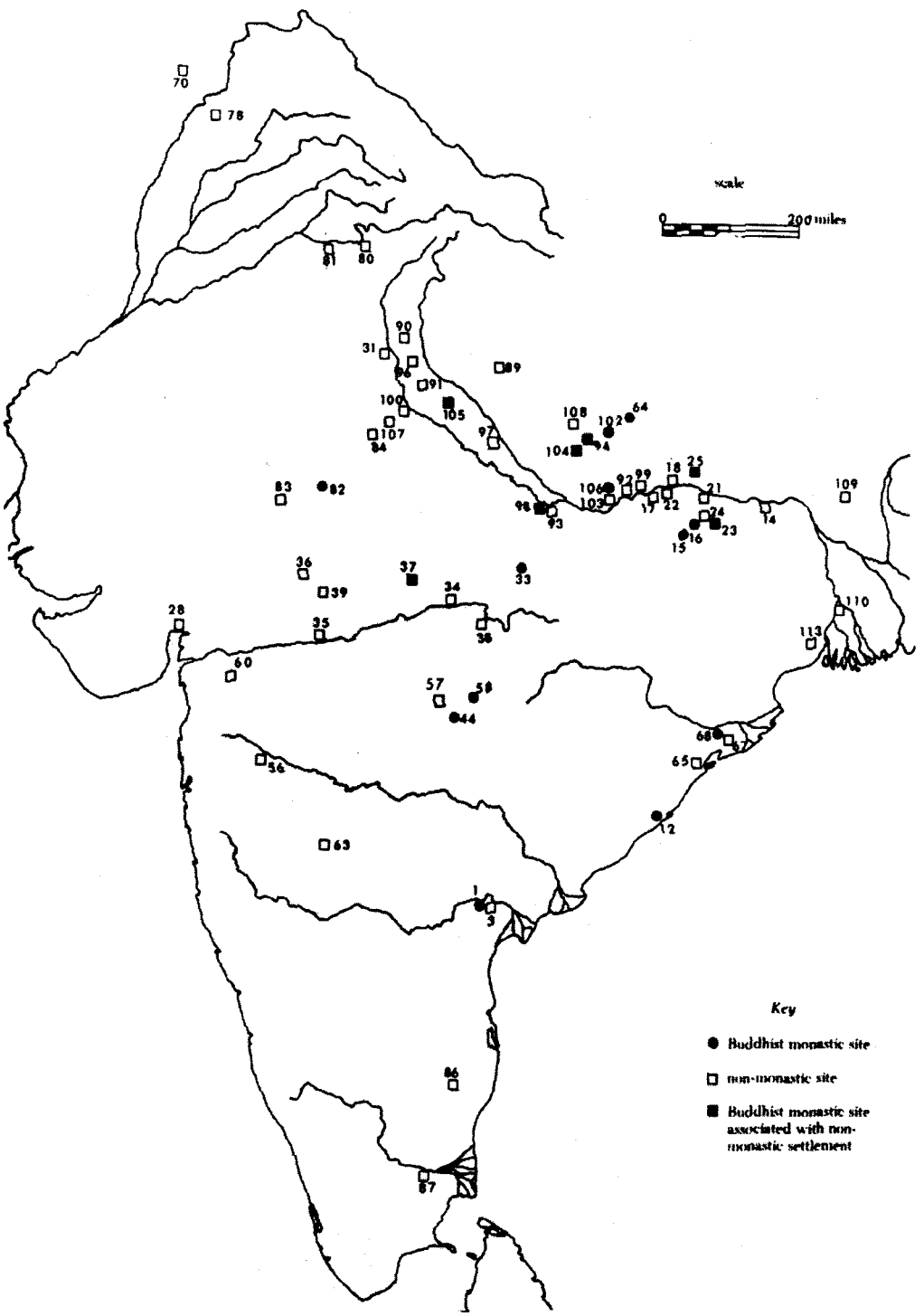
Sites graded according to size

1 Provinces and their numbers

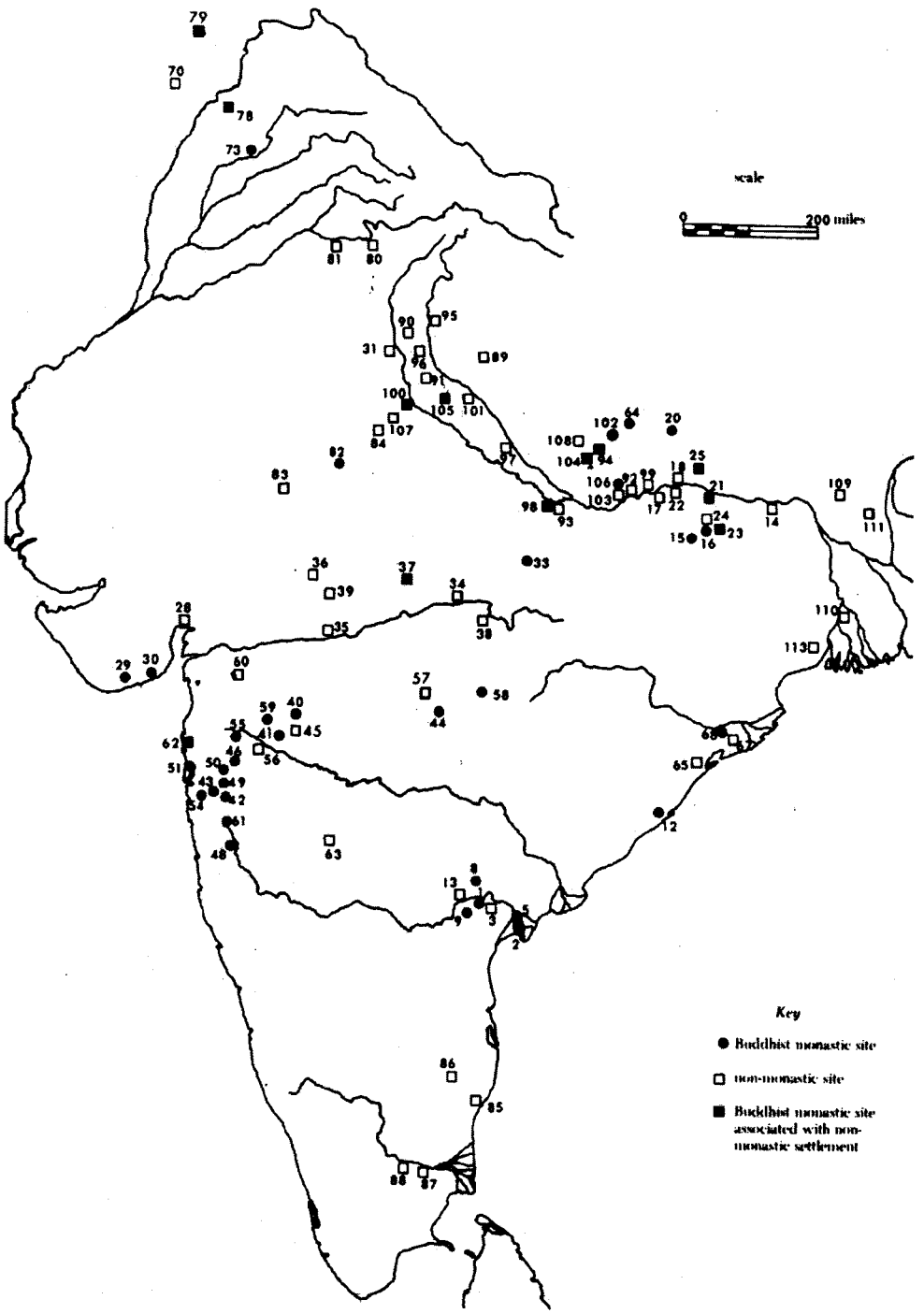
3. Map of probable provincial groupings of the Mauryan empire, with cities graded according to their size (see p. 207).

4 • Map of cities and principal states of South Asia (c. BC 200–1).

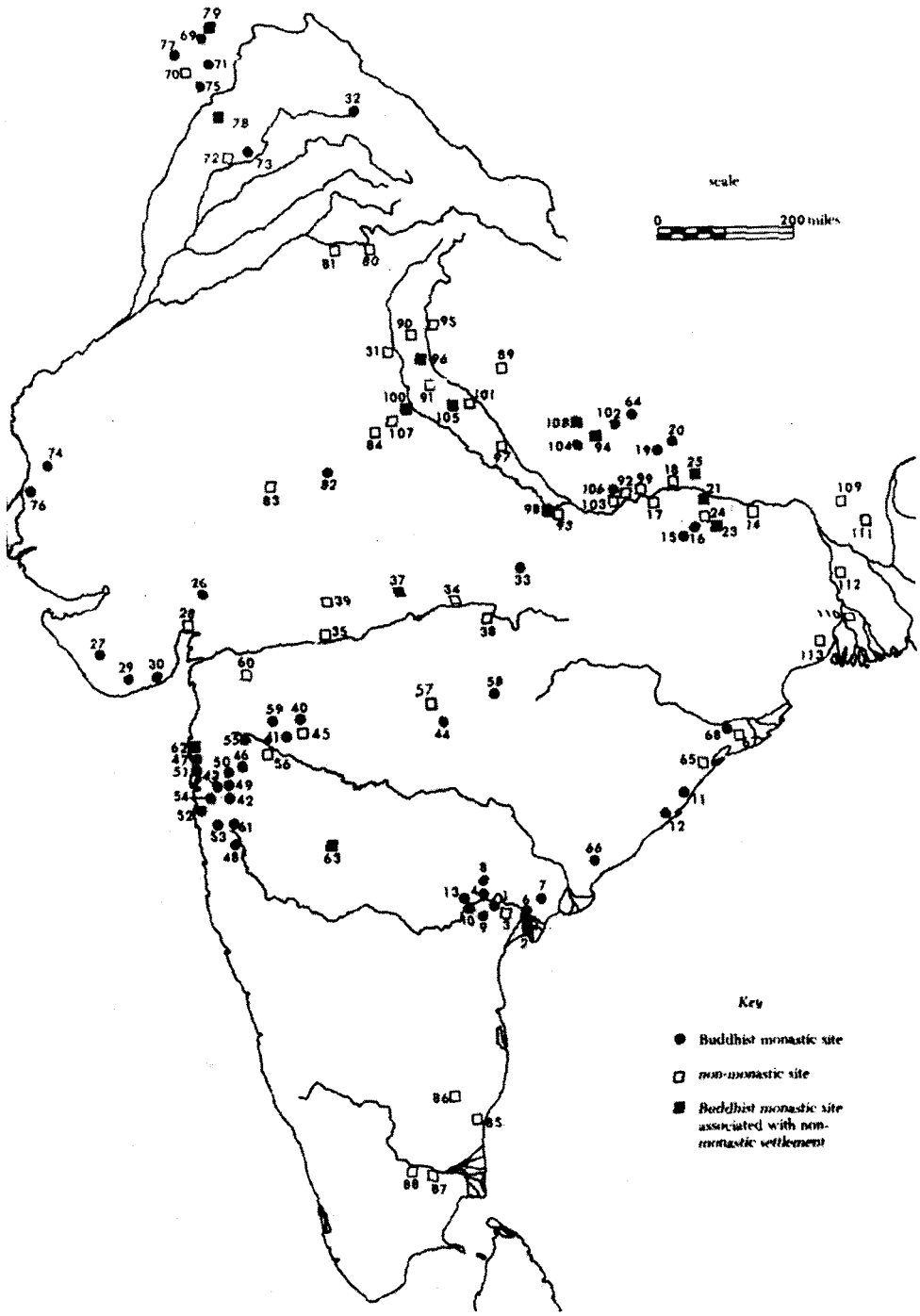
5. Map of Cities and principal States of South Asia (C. AD-1—200).



6 Archaeological sites—Third century B.C.



7. Archaeological sites—200–0 B.C.

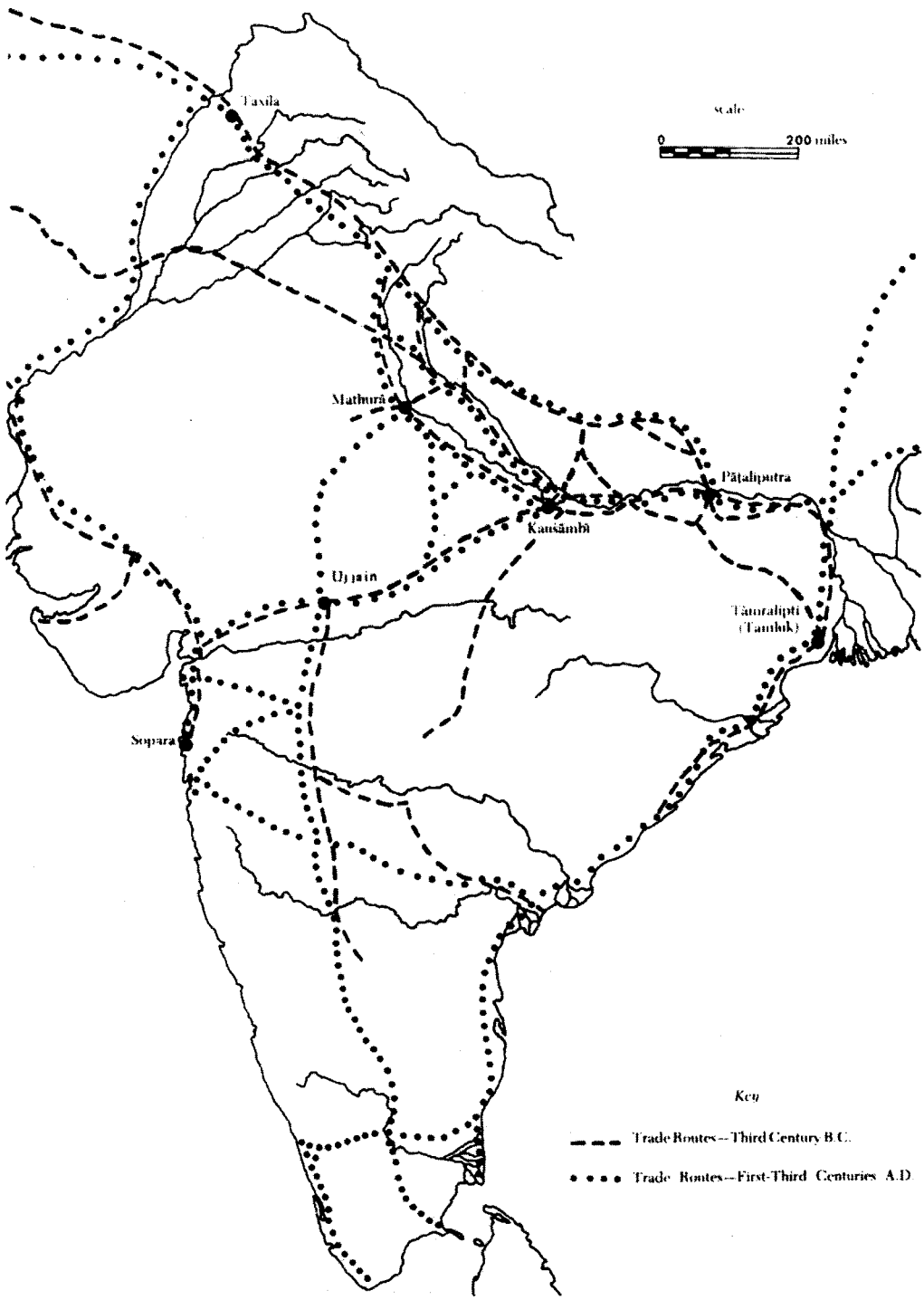


8. Archaeological sites—A.D. 0–300.

9. LIST OF SITES IN MAP Nos. 6, 7 & 8

	1. Amarāvatī		33. Bharhut
	2. Bhaṭṭiprolu		34. Eran
	3. Dharanikota	Madhya	35. Maheśwar
	4. Ghantaśālā	Pradesh	36. Nagda
	5. Guḍivāda		37. Sanchi
Andhra	6. Gummadidurru		38. Tripurī
Pradesh	7. Guṇṭapalli		39. Ujjain
	8. Jaggeyapeta		
	9. Kesanapalli		40. Ajaṇṭa
	10. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa		41. Aurangabad
	11. Rāmatīrtham		42. Bedsa
	12. Sālihundam		43. Bhājā
	13. Yelleśvaram		44. Bhāndak (Vijasan)
			45. Bhokardan
	14. Antichak		46. Junnar
	15. Barabar		47. Kāṇheri
	16. Bodh Gaya		48. Karāḍh
	17. Buxar		49. Karle
	18. Chirand		50. Koṇḍane
	19. Kasia	Maha-	51. Koṇḍivte
Bihar	20. Lauriya-Nandangarh	rashtra	52. Kudā
	21. Pāṭaliputra		53. Mahāḍ
	22. Prāhladpur		54. Nadsur
	23. Rājgir		55. Nāsik
	24. Sonpur		56. Nevāsa
	25. Vaiśālī		57. Paunar
			58. Pauni
	26. Devinmori		59. Pitalkhora
	27. Junāgadh		60. Prakash
Gujarat	28. Nagara		61. Sirwal
	29. Sana		62. Sopara
	30. Talaja		63. Ter
Harayana	31. Purana Qila	Nepal	64. Rummindei
Kaśmir	32. Harvan		

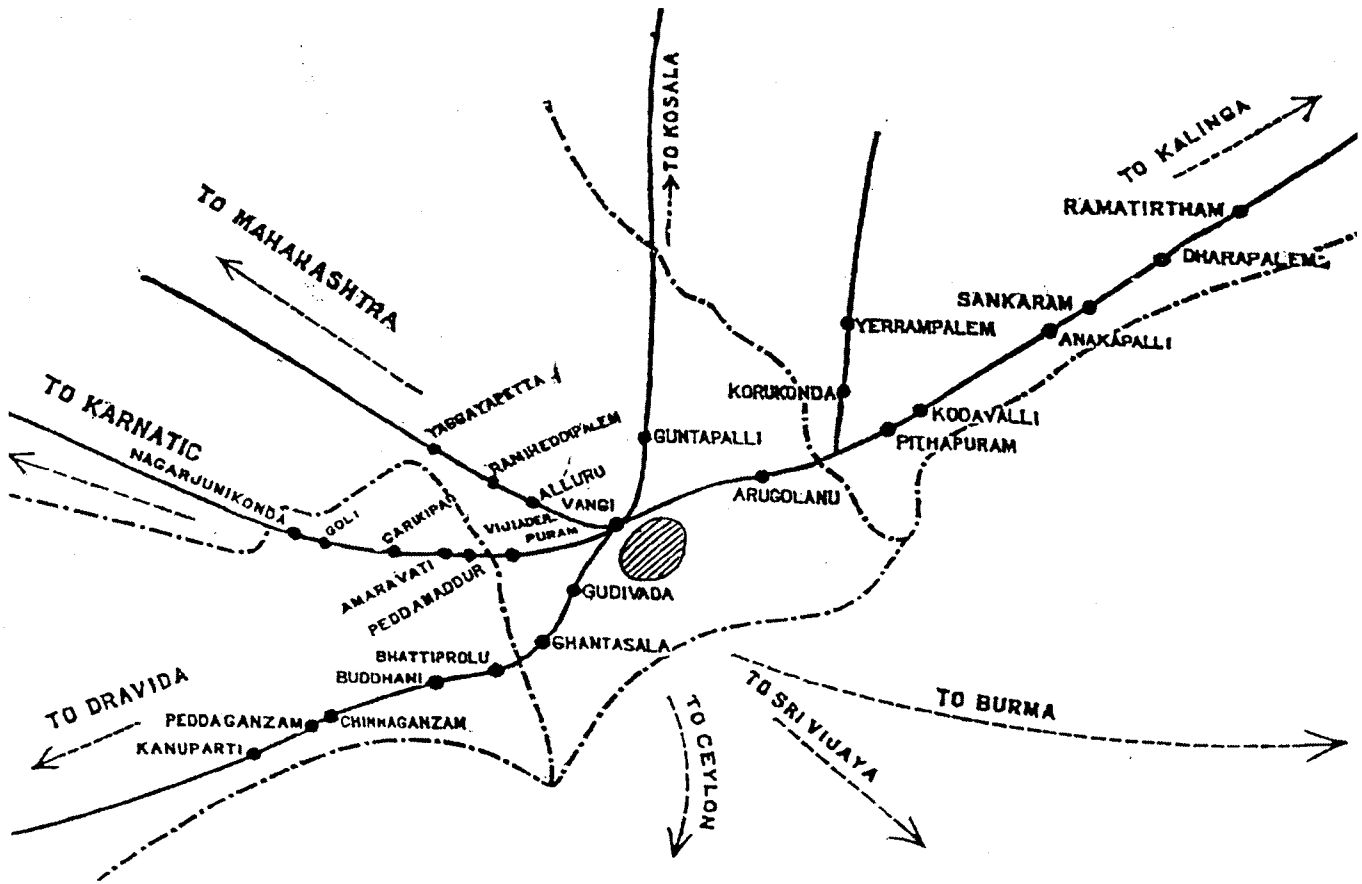
Orissa	65. Jaugada
	66. Śaṇkaram
	67. Śiśupālgarh
	68. Udayagiri
Pakistan	69. Barikot (Swat Valley)
	70. Chārsada
	71. Jamalgarhi
	72. Mallot
	73. Mānikyāla
	74. Mohenjo-Daro
	75. Sahri-Bahlol
	76. Sudheran-jo-Dharo
	77. Takht-i-Bahi
	78. Taxila
	79. Udegram-Mingora
Punjab	80. Rupar
	81. Sanghol
Rajasthan	82. Bairat
	83. Nagarī
	84. Noh
Tamil Nadu	85. Arikamedu
	86. Kāñchīpuram
	87. Kaveripaṭṭinam
	88. Uraiyūr
Uttar Pradesh	89. Ahichchhatra
	90. Alamgirpur
	91. Atranjikhera
	92. Bairānt (Vairanta)
	93. Bhiṭā
	94. Bhuila
	95. Hastināpura
	96. Indor Khera (Indrapura)
	97. Kanauj
	98. Kauśāmbī
	99. Masaon
	100. Mathurā
	101. Pakna Bihar
	102. Piprāhwā
	103. Rajghāt
	104. Sāketa (Ayodhya)
	105. Sankisa
	106. Sarnath
	107. Sonkh
	108. Śrāvastī
	109. Bāngarh
	110. Chandraketugarh
	111. Mahāsthān
	112. Rajbadidanga
	113. Tamluk (Tāmralipti)



10. Trade routes in ancient South Asia

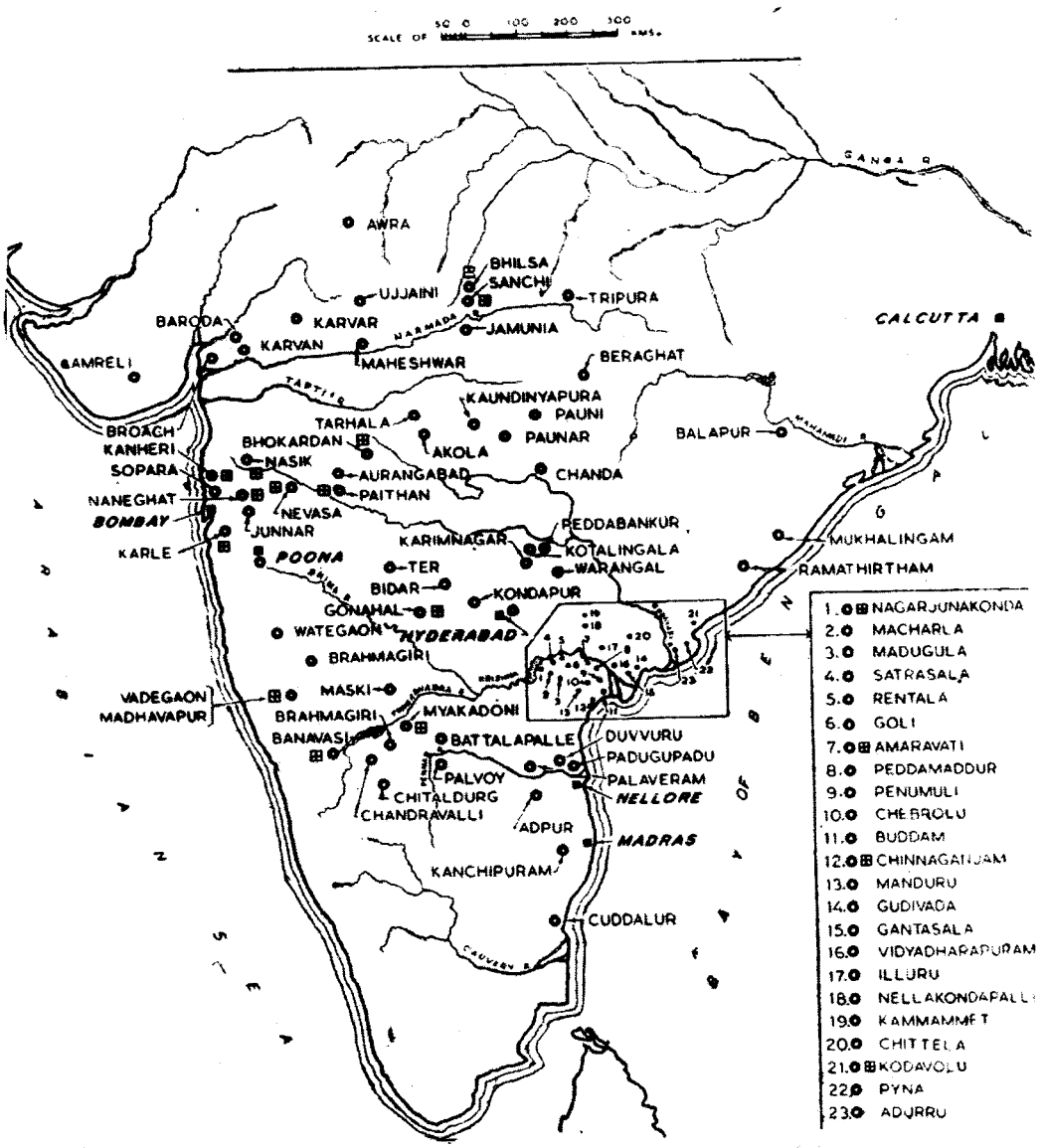
11. Important Trade Routes of the Eastern Deccan.

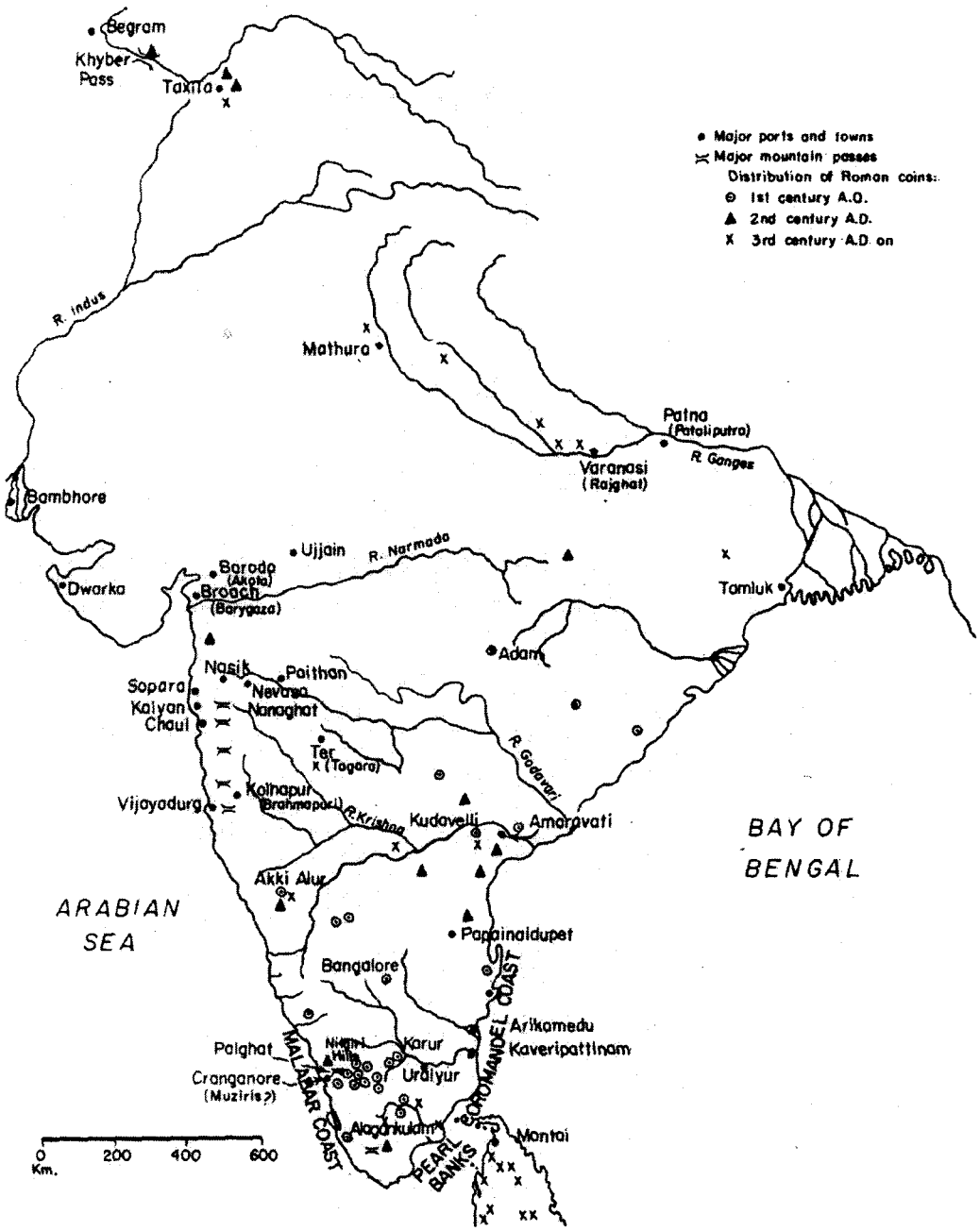
Reproduced from K. R. Subramanian, Buddhist Remains in South India, New Delhi; Cosmo, 1981, p. XVIII



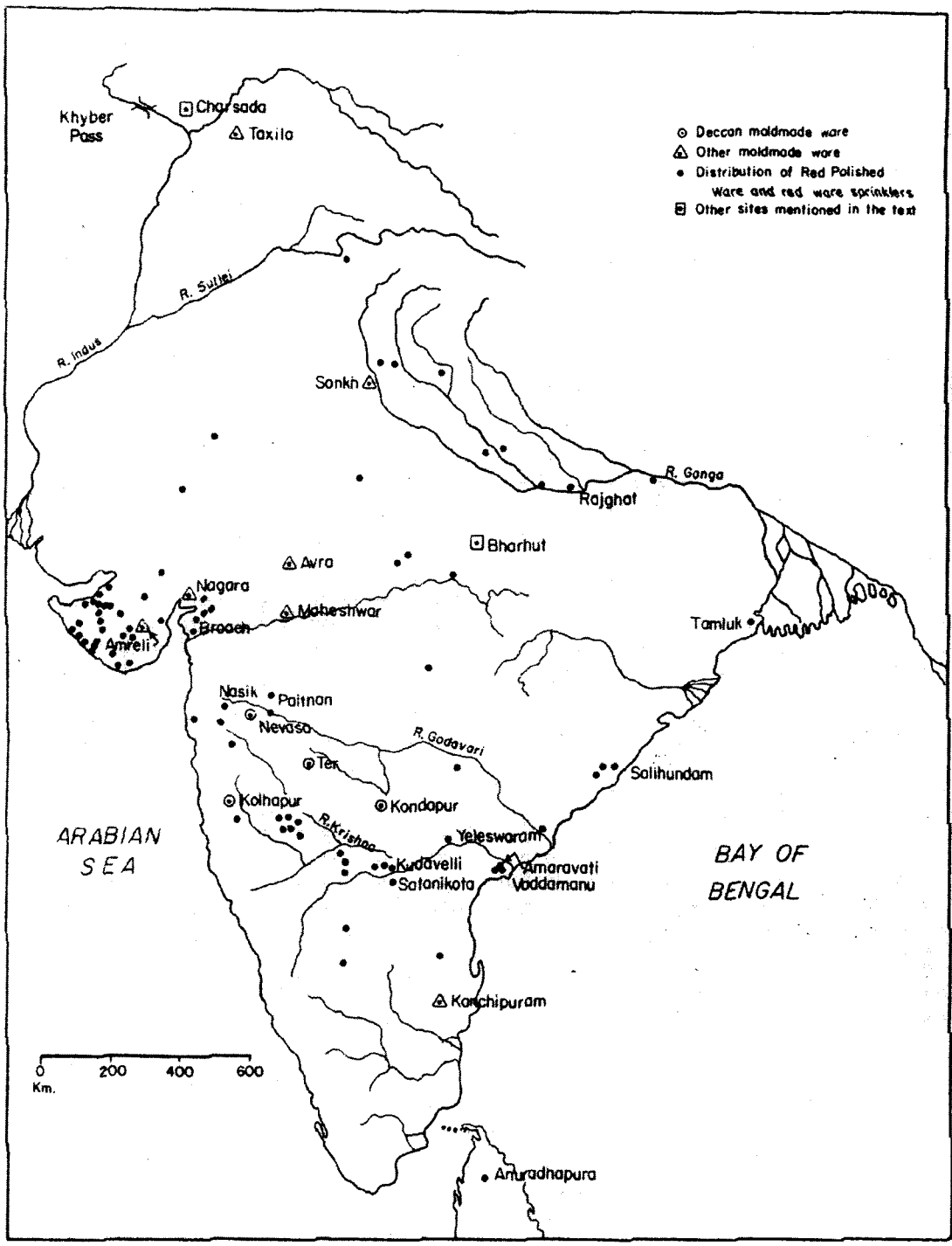
12. SATAVAHANA COINAGE

● COIN SITES ⊞ INSCRIPTIONS ■ MODERN TOWNS.

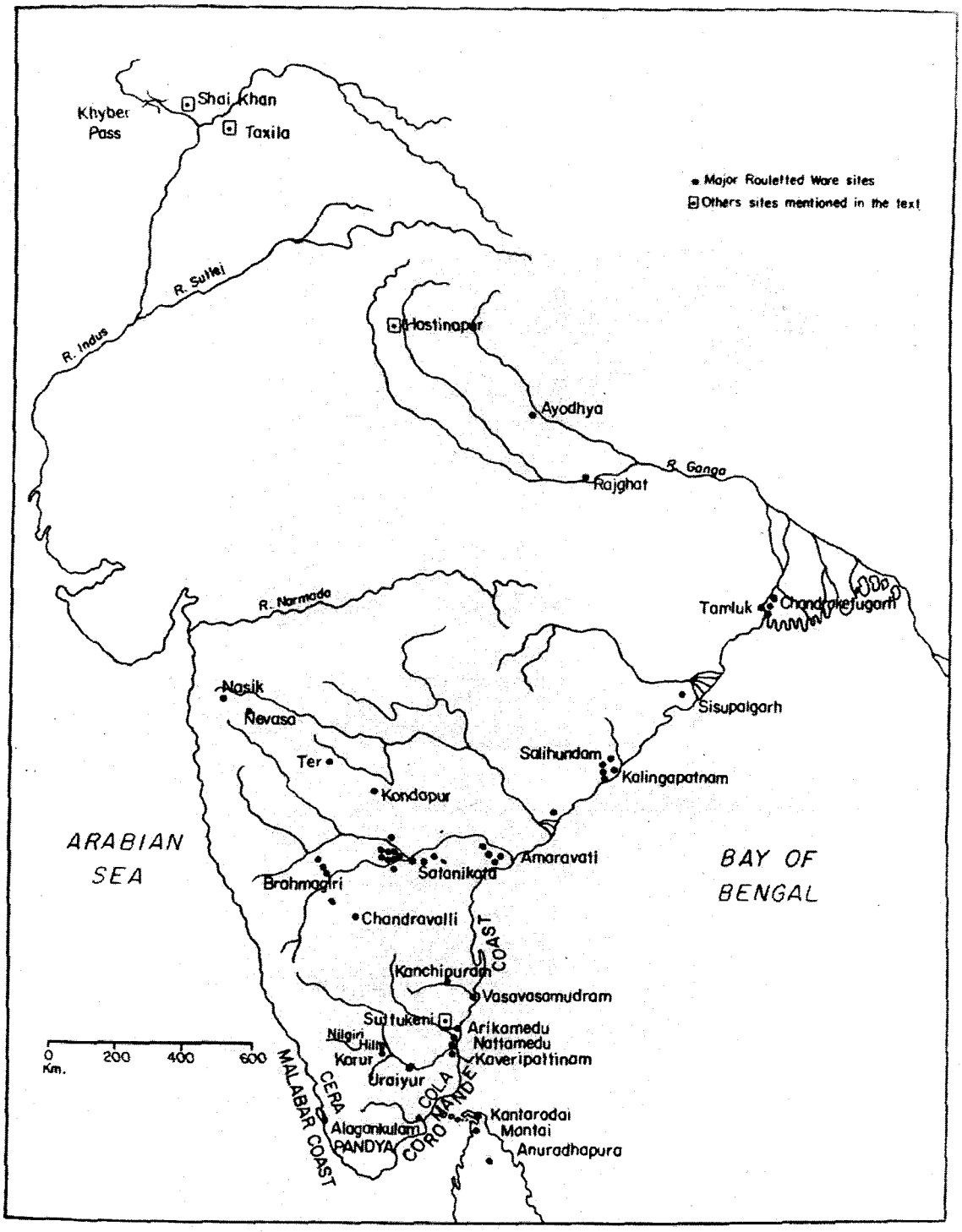




13. Ancient India: Major ports, towns, and sites of Roman coin finds.

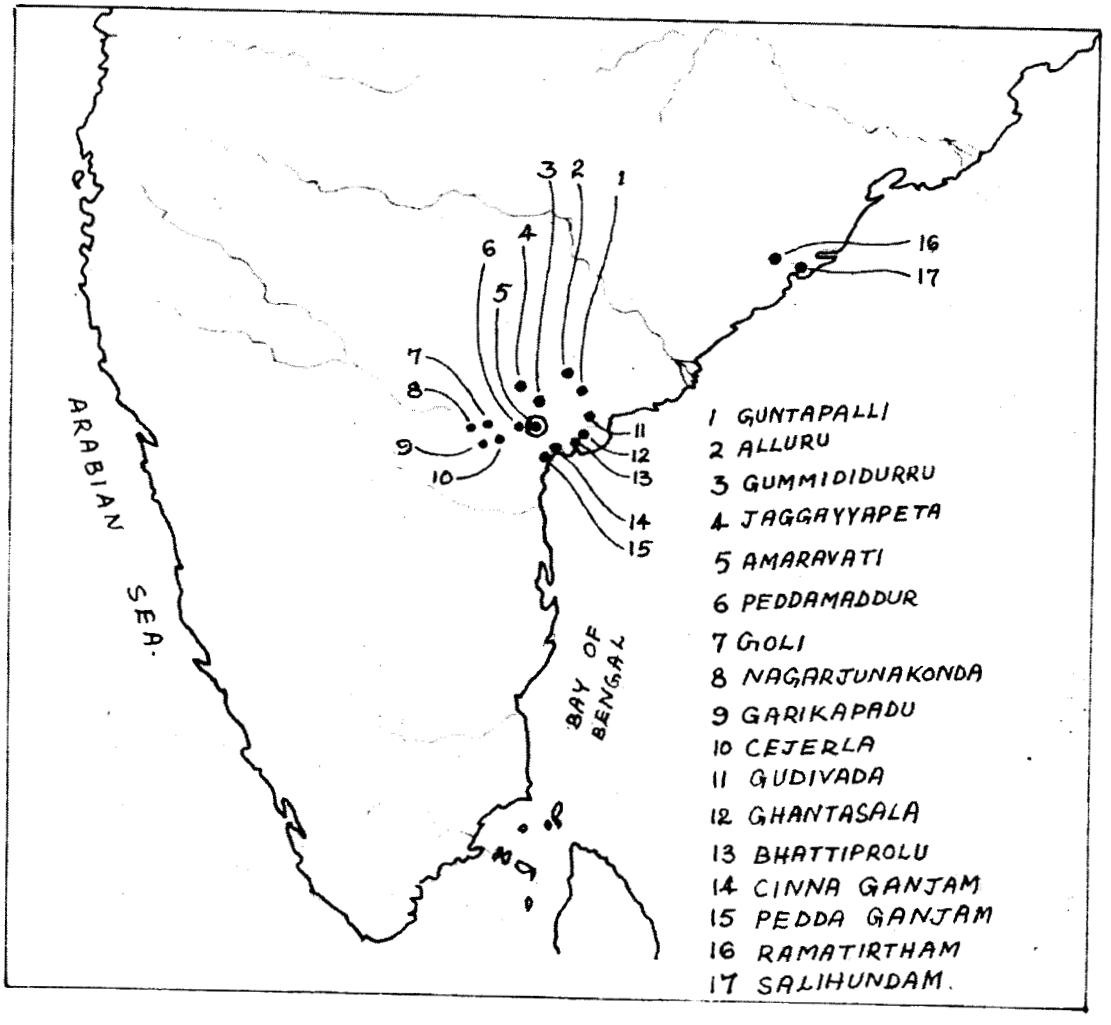


14. Distribution of Mold Ware and Red Polished Ware in India.



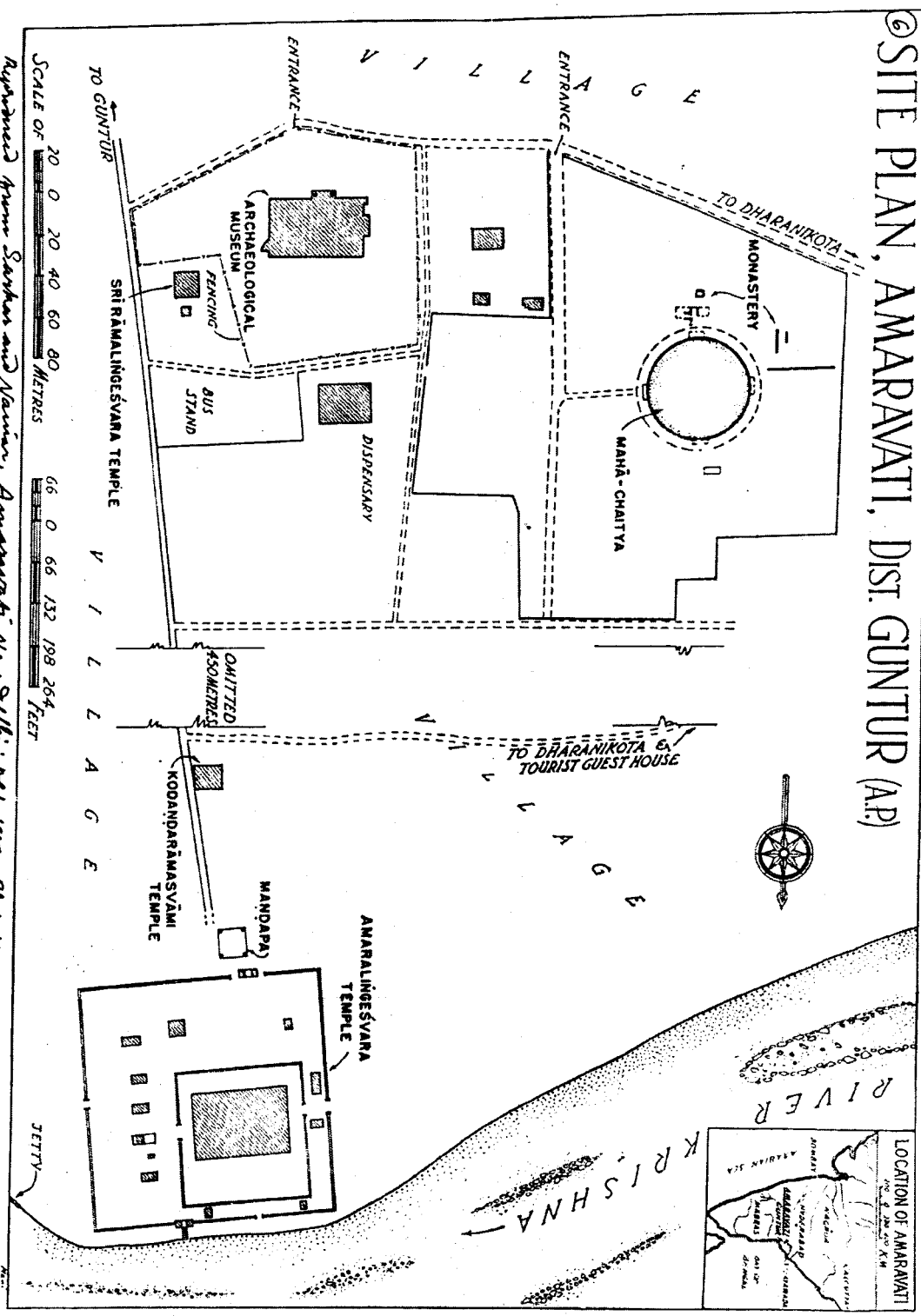
Distribution of Rouletted Ware in India and Sri Lanka

15. BUDDHIST SITES IN THE EASTERN DECCAN.



BASED ON THE MAP OF BUDDHIST SITES IN KRISHNA DEVA, NORTHERN BUDDHIST MONUMENTS, NEW DELHI : ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, 1964. p. 99.

16.



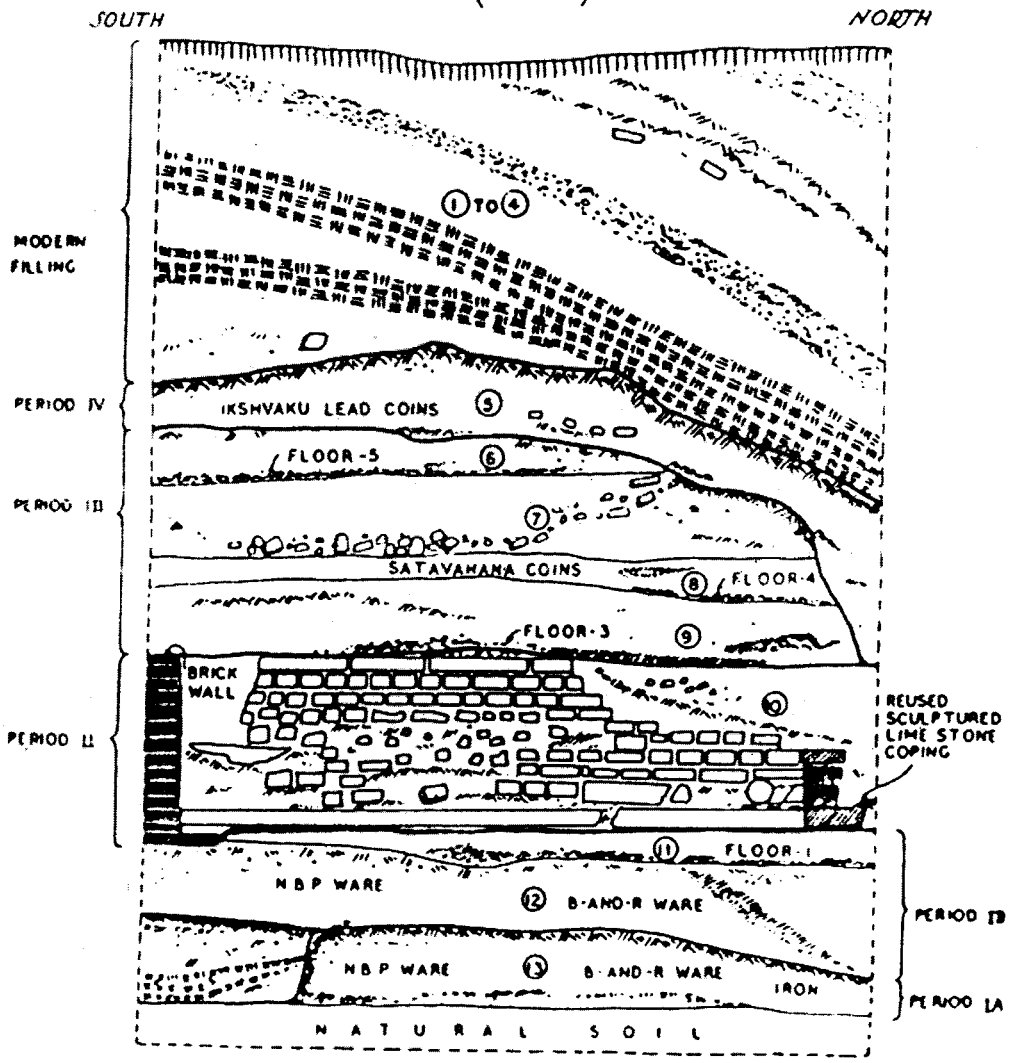
Reproduced from Sankar and Nanda, *Amaravati*, New Delhi: ASI, 1980, Plate IX.

17. AMARĀVATĪ: 1974, DIST. GUNTUR (A.P.)

SECTION LOOKING WEST

0 1 2 METRES

(TRYA2/2)

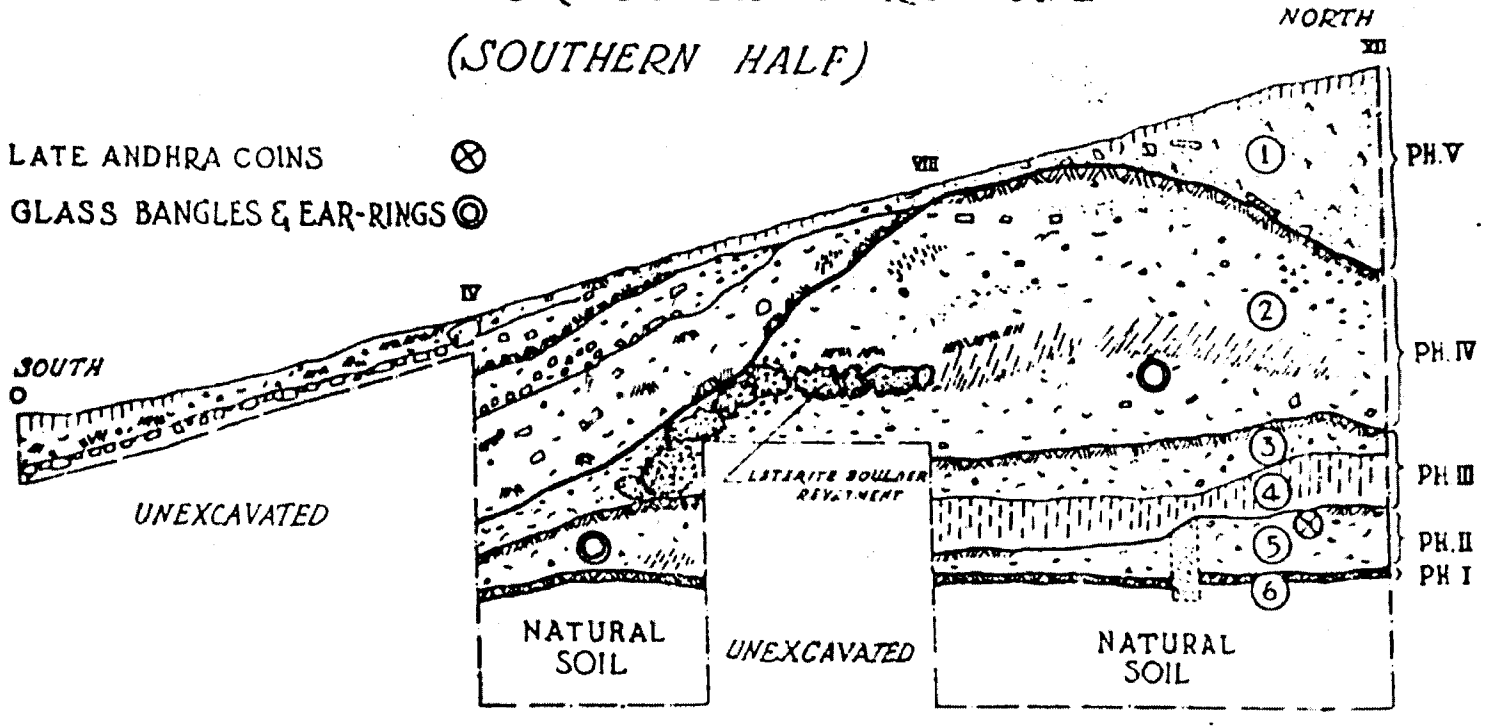


Reproduced from IAR. 1973–74, p. 3.

DHARANIKOTA 1963: SITE DKT-3

SECTION ACROSS THE FORT-WALL

(SOUTHERN HALF)



Reproduced from IAR. 1963-64, p. 3.

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Archaeological Survey of India	*Indian Archaeology – A Review, 1962-63*
Archaeological Survey of India	*Indian Archaeology – A Review, 1964-65*
Archaeological Survey of India	*Indian Archaeology – A Review, 1973-74*
Archaeological Survey of India	*Indian Archaeology – A Review, 1974-75*
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