

A STUDY OF TERRACOTTAS IN EARLY DECCAN UPTO 500 A.D.

*A Thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of History
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify I, **K.S. SHOBHA**, have carried out the research embodied in the present thesis for the full period prescribed under PhD ordinance of the University of Hyderabad.

I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of the thesis was earlier submitted for the award of research degree to any other university.

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TRANSLITERATION CHART

Tel	Eng	Dev	Tel	Eng	Dev	Tel	Eng	Dev
అ	a	अ	క	k	क	ఛ	dh	च
ఆ	ā	आ	ఖ	kh	ख	ఞ	n	ज
ఇ	i	इ	గ	g	ग	ట	p	घ
ఈ	ī	ई	ఘ	gh	ग्ह	ఠ	ph	ङ
ఉ	u	उ	ఙ	ṅ	ङ	డ	b	च
ఊ	ū	ऊ	చ	c	च	భ	bh	ज
ఋ	r	ऋ	ఛ	ch	च	య	m	य
ౠ	r̄	ॠ	జ	j	ज	ర	y	र
ఎ	ē	ए	ఝ	jh	झ	ల	r	ल
బి	ē	ॡ	ఞ	ṅ	ञ	ల	l	ॡ
బి	ai	ॢ	ట	t	ट	ల	v	ॣ
బ	o	ओ	థ	th	ठ	ల	ś	।
బ	ō	०	ద	d	ड	ల	s	॥
బౌ	au	औ	ధ	ḍh	ढ	ల	s	॥
అః	am	अः	న	n	न	ల	h	॥
అః	aḥ	अः	త	t	त	ల	l	॥
			థ	th	थ	ల	kṣ	॥
			ద	d	द	ల	r	॥

Dravidian letters : r l

Visarga : ḥ

anusvara : ṁ

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AA</u>	<u>Artibus Asiae</u>
<u>AI</u>	<u>Ancient India</u>
<u>ABORI</u>	<u>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,</u>
<u>APHC</u>	<u>Andhra Pradesh History Congress</u>
<u>APGAS</u>	<u>Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series</u>
<u>ARDAM</u>	<u>Annual Reports of the Department of Archaeology and Museum,</u> <u>Hyderabad.</u>
<u>BACRI</u>	<u>Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad</u>
<u>BDCRI</u>	<u>Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.</u>
<u>BIC</u>	<u>Birth of Indian Civilisation, New Delhi, 1968.</u>
<u>BE</u>	<u>Brahmapuri Excavations, Poona, 1945-46.</u>
<u>CC</u>	<u>Chalcolithic Chandoli, Poona 1965.</u>
<u>DM</u>	<u>Deccan Megaliths, Hyderabad, 1988</u>
<u>EA</u>	<u>Excavation at Apegeon, Poona, 1976.</u>
<u>EAS</u>	<u>Excavation at Sangankallu, Bellary, 1965</u>
<u>EB</u>	<u>Excavation at Bhokardhan, Nagpur 1974.</u>
<u>ENJ</u>	<u>Excavations at Nasik and Jorwe, 1950-51.</u>
<u>ET</u>	<u>Excavation at Ter, Poona, 1969.</u>
<u>ETK</u>	<u>Excavations at Takalghat and Khapa, Poona, 1970.</u>
<u>JAR.</u>	<u>Indian Archaeology-A Review,</u>
<u>IHQ</u>	<u>Indian Historical Quarterly,</u>
<u>JAAP</u>	<u>Journal of Archaeology Andhra Pradesh</u>
<u>JISOA</u>	<u>Journal of the indian Society of Oriental Art.</u>
<u>JRAS</u>	<u>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society,</u>
<u>ME</u>	<u>Man and Environment</u>

<u>MAS1</u>	<u>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India</u>
<u>PE</u>	<u>Piklihal Excavations, Andhra Pradesh Govt, Archaeological Services Nol, Hyderabad.</u>
<u>PAE</u>	<u>Pauni Excavations, Nagpur 1972.</u>
<u>PHCTV</u>	<u>Proto-hisotirc Cultures of Tungabhadra Valley, (A Report of Hallur excavations), Dharwar, 1971.</u>
<u>PHEHCMR</u>	<u>Proto-historic and Early Historic Cultures of Mehboobnagar Region, Dharwar, 1986.</u>
<u>PIHC</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.</u>
<u>PUR</u>	<u>Puratattva</u>
<u>SBSAP</u>	<u>'Salihundam' A Buddhist Site in Andhra Pradesh, 1964.</u>
<u>SE</u>	<u>Sangaon Excavations, Poona, 1969.</u>
<u>SAHI</u>	<u>The Stone Age Hill dwellers of Tekkalkota, Poona, 1965.</u>

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

"It has been suggested by anthropologists who deal with the interpretation of cultures, more than any other group of social scientists, that artefacts reflect norms and conventions of a society"¹. Artefacts are those objects that have been made, used or modified by human relationship. The formation of ideas of different aspects of human society and its contribution can be understood by us from the various forms of art and craft available to us in the archaeological record like rock paintings, ceramic traditions, terracotta figurines and other artefacts. Therefore, artefacts are an important source material for revealing cultural traits of a society defining its way of life and subsistence pattern. A proper study of art and craft objects, on the other hand, give a clue to understand the basic ingredients of a culture appropriately in terms of its ideological moorings. Terracottas are a very popular medium of artistic expression of people from very early times. Apart from revealing the artistic traditions, the technical skills are also visible in the making of terracottas.

According to a standard dictionary "terracotta" literally means "any kind of fine clay" but, in a general sense and usage, "it is an object fairly made of porous clay, that when fired assumes a colour ranging from dull ochre to red and usually is left unglazed"². The Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology refers to terracottas as "clay figurines" and further, it refers to the

technical aspects of how the clay was moulded. This was first done by hand and pinched, applied or incised and in certain cases, pin-hole decorations were made³. From pre-historic times terracottas in India have served as an important medium of expression for different cultural aspects. It has always reflected the contemporary socio-cultural, economic and artistic traditions of both urban and rural society. Since the earliest settled habitations, terracotta making traditions have exhibited various forms of figurines which initially were most concerned with the simple needs and beliefs of the people. The mother goddess terracotta figurines from the Zhob Valley of Baluchistan are considered to be the most ancient evidence of terracotta finds on the Indian sub-continent⁴.

The present thesis is an attempt to understand and describe the factual material and discuss the various stages of this tradition of making terracottas as part of the material cultures that evolved in society from the neolithic to the early historical phase i.e., roughly from c. 2000 BC to c 500 AD. In our opinion, terracottas are an expression of both art and craft and this will be highlighted during the course of this work. The material evidence will further be studied from the regional perspective of the Deccan as a whole and an attempt will be made to identify the elements of distinction and commonality over different parts of this region. This is important because the ecological features and other factors seem to have played a vital role in

bringing about cultural variations and regional diversity right from the pre-and proto-historic phases which continued into the early historic developments. Further, the various types of terracottas cannot be studied as unchanging in character and form. They have to be understood in the context of the socio-economic and religious conditions prevalent in the early Deccan from the changing perspective of different periods. The material cultures of this region pertain to the neolithic - chalcolithic, the megalithic and the early historic remains of human habitation. As mentioned above, broadly, the chronological span of these cultural phases has been taken up from roughly around c 2000 to c 500 AD. The chronology of these cultural phases, for the sake of convenience, has been further sub-divided into Phase I from c 2000 BC to 1000 B.C., Phase II from c 1000 BC to 200 AD. and Phase III from c 200 AD to 500 AD.

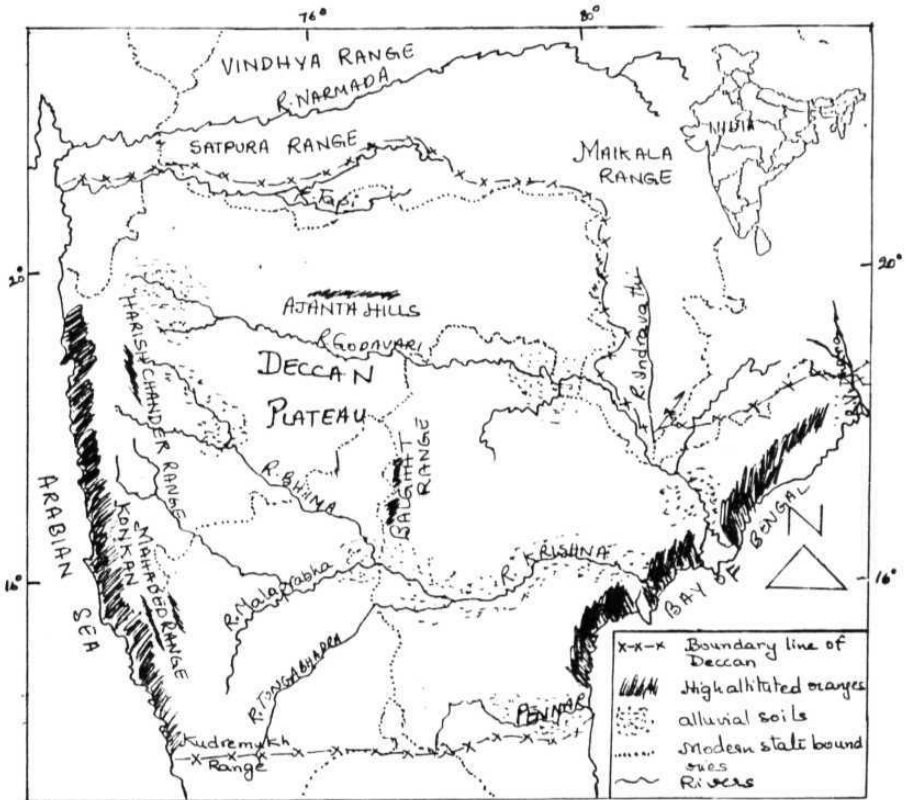
In order to study the history and development of terracottas in relationship to society we shall next define the region of our study, i.e., the Deccan. The geographical background and definition, meaning of the term "Deccan" and its inhabitants who have been referred to from ancient literary and inscriptional sources will be highlighted during the course of this discussion. The Deccan as the chosen area of study would coincide with a major part of the modern states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra. In terms of physiography, the Deccan approximately lies between

21°20" and 18°20" northern latitude, and 74°30" and 84°10" eastern longitude. It is constituted in the west mainly by the western ghats styled as Sahyadri Parvat ranges in the ancient texts, and in north by the Satpura range dividing the valleys of river Narmada and the Tapi. The Sahyadri stretches eastwards across the river valleys and is crossed by the passes which determine the major arterial routes into the Deccan. Prominent among these are the Galna hills, Ajanta, Kalsabi, Harishchandra and the Mahadeo ranges (**Map I**).

Since it is difficult to confirm formally the literary and archaeological data for an exact idea of the ancient geography of the Deccan, it is essential to survey some of the references to the term 'Deccan' or its equivalent in the ancient Indian literature. The inferences obtained from the various literary texts reveal different views in which various parts of the Indian sub-continent have been described. Many of the texts were written largely from the perspective of the Ganges Valley and north India. Several modern scholars have also surveyed this literature and concluded that the Deccan was an anglicised form of the term 'Dakkan' which, in turn, has been considered a corruption of an earlier term 'daksinapatha'⁵. The term daksinapatha occurs for the first time in the Rgveda and is vaguely said to denote the region below the Vindhyas. Daksinatya has been understood to mean, 'a person from the south' in the Astadhyayi. Daksinapatha has been mentioned in the Baudhayana Dharmasutra and is mentioned along with Surashtra⁶.

MAP I

PHYSIOGRAPHY AND AREA OF DECCAN



According to the Aitareya Brahmana daksinapatha has been described as the southern frontier where the fifty sons of sage Visvamitra migrated and tribes such as the Andhras, Pulindas, Pundras, Sabara and Mutiba were said to have descended from them⁷. These tribal names have been repeated in the Sankhyayana Śrauta Sutra, the Aranyaka Parva of the Mahābhārata and the Ramayana. However, it is only the Buddhist sources that have knowledge of the region beyond the river Godavari. The commentary on the Jatakas, the Petavatthu includes the Krishna valley and the land of the Tamils as part of Deccan⁸.

For modern scholars like Bhandarkar, the Deccan chiefly meant the Maharashtra region⁹. On the other hand, Vincent A. Smith defined the Deccan as the plateau lying to the south of the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers¹⁰. The imperial gazetteer described the division of the Deccan as that which included parts of Madhya Pradesh and the former Berar, parts of the former Hyderabad State, Maharashtra including the Konkan and four districts of the former Bombay-Karnataka¹¹. Modern geographical and ethnographical studies by scholars like Sumati Mulay define the Deccan in its narrow sense to be limited only to the present-day State of Maharashtra¹².

The physical outline of the Deccan* presents a varied geographical region with its historical and cultural peculiarities. In terms of geographical

* The source for physical Deccan has been taken from the *Imperial Gazetteers of India* Provincial series.

boundaries, the Deccan is bound by the Tapi river in the north-west, extending eastwards along the course of river Indravathi till it joins the Bay of Bengal. In the east the northern boundary line is limited the river Vamshadhara, till it merges into the Bay of Bengal. To the west the boundary line falls on the western ghats till the Kudremukh range. The southern boundary line is limited by Kudremukh range on the west, which crosses the northern Mysore Plateau, and cuts across the river Pennar, till it merges with the Bay of Bengal. The eastern boundary line falls along the coastal line and the eastern ghats till the mouth of river Pennar on the east coast in the south (Map I).

The north-western Deccan has three major rivers, the Tapi, the upper Godavari and the Krishna, with their tributaries playing a significant role in the material cultures and settlement patterns. The river Godavari rises in the western ghats near Trimbak in the Nasik district and flows through a gorge over the Sahyadri. It flows eastwards receiving on its right bank the Pravara and the Sindhphana river, and on the left bank the waters of river Dundra or Dhorna and Purna. Then it enters into the central Deccan at Basar in Nizamabad district of Andhra Pradesh and receives the Manjira which flows northwards. The eastern ranges of the Balaghat form a barrier between the course of the river Godavari. The Bhima river, although a tributary of the river Krishna, forms a major area of western Deccan and is drained by its tributaries i.e., the Ghod, the Sina, the Nira and the Man. The Ghod Valley has yielded palaeontological material which indicates the environment during

the upper Pleistocene period¹³. The upper Bhima formed an important centre for the conglomeration of chalcolithic settlements and early historic cultures. The south-western portion is drained by the river Krishna. The river Krishna rises in the Sahyadri near Mahabaleshwar. It flows through the Deccan at first, in east-south, and then in the south-easterly direction. It receives a number of affluents like Veni, Varna, Koina etc., before reaching the erstwhile Nizam State where it receives the Malaprabha on its right bank below Muddebihal. The river drops from the table land and flows down to the doab of Shorapur and Raichur. The western region of the Deccan rests on the basaltic base and is characterised by the Deccan lavas. The basaltic rock yields veins of silicious material such as chalcedona, agate, jasper and chert. The ranges, i.e., the Ajanta, Balaghat etc., controls the distribution of rainfall in this area. The entire area has a semi-arid climate with an annual rainfall of 100-1000 mm. According to M.K. Dhavalikar the above-mentioned geological, topographical and climatic factors have determined the soil formation in the Deccan¹⁴. In spite of the limited tracts of black cotton soil in the uplands and scanty rainfall, it is this area along the river valleys which is rich in this kind of soil. The rainfall decreases as one moves southwards from the Tapi Valley. The tributaries of the river Godavari, i.e., the Darna and the Pravara Valleys are most important, for, it is on the banks of these rivers that the settlements from Palaeolithic times sprang up. In terms of modern boundaries the north-western Deccan comprises the major area of the Maharashtra State (Map I).

Central Deccan comprises important rivers like the Wardha-Wainganga and is also drained by the mid-Godavari basin. Geologically this region is constituted by the gneissic complex of pre-Cambrian origin and parts of the stable block¹⁵. It consists both of dry and fertile alluvial land. The vegetation is comprised of deciduous zones. The important available raw materials are minerals like manganese, iron-ore, limestone and coal.

Central Deccan can be divided into two parts known as the Vidharbha, (in present-day Maharashtra) and the Telangana area (in present-day Andhra Pradesh). The Vidharbha region has brought to light tools like chert, blade, burins, quartzite etc., for the megalithic iron age. This region was sought by man because of the ready availability of the geological formation of basalts. The Marathwada-Telangana region has prolific neolithic sites; whereas the Telangana area has yielded evidences of megalithic and early historic cultures¹⁶. The mid-Godavari region comprises the modern states of Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh, i.e., districts of Amaravathi, Bhandra and Nagpur in Maharashtra and the districts of Adilabad, Karimnagar, Nizamabad, Medak, Mehboobnagar in Andhra Pradesh.

Geographically the coastal region of the Deccan is drained by the Godavari and Krishna rivers and the rivers like the Vamshadara, Languly etc.,. It is mainly constituted of fertile, alluvial land. The coastal belt is rich in archaeological sites like Keesarpalli, Nāgarjunakōṇḍā, Agiripalli etc

The coastal belt between the Krishna and the Godavari is occasionally marked by rich mango groves, swamps, big and small lagoons and low sand dunes near the sea¹⁷. The valley floors of this region is constituted of black soil, gradually leading upward into poorer red soils. The lower Krishna and the Godavari flow through the modern state of Andhra Pradesh, i.e., the districts of Srikakulam, West and East Godavari, Guntur, Nalgonda, Prakasham and Krishna.

The Mysore Plateau or the southern Deccan is mainly drained by the river Tungabhadra, Hagari, Hundi, Muneyeru, and the tributaries of the Pennar i.e., Sagalair, Papagni and the Chitravathi. The hinterland, which is broken into two components, i.e., the Telangana and the inland area of south of the river Krishna consisting of Anantapur-Chittoor basins and the crescent shaped formation of the Cuddapahs. This region is predominated by very complex rock formations from the Archean to the recent. For most of the south-western area, the rock formations are of the Archean period and to the south-eastern part we have the Cuddapah and Kurnool systems such as quartzite, tadapatri shales etc. Botanically the eastern face of the western ghats is clothed with timber and contains rich flora. The rainfall is from 360 inches to 19 inches. The deciduous forest area has the least rainy tracts with dry belt. Anantapur and Cuddapah have the hottest summer upto 48° Fahrenheit¹⁸.

Several ancient finds have been located here showing an evolution from the prehistoric to early historic times. According to M.L.K Murthy the earliest productive activities of human settlements like settled agriculture, stock breeding have been reported in these parts ¹⁹. The Mysore Plateau is also known for significant neolithic-chalcolithic settlements. Hallur is said to have been the earliest site to suggest the advent of *iron*. The *iron* here has been dated to as early as c 1000 BC., suggesting a technological progress in the Deccan²⁰. Southern Deccan mainly comprises of the modern districts of Karnataka i.e., Bellary, North Kanara, Dharwar, Raichur, Shimoga, Chitaldurg, Chikamangalore, and the districts of Andhra Pradesh, re., Kurnool, Ongole, Anantapur, Cuddapah, Chittoor and Nellore.

The Deccan with its unique *setting* provided abundant natural wealth which enabled human societies from pre-historic times to eke out a wholesome living. Terracottas as primarily a cultural products emerged in this dynamic and vibrant geographical setting. Our understanding of the tradition of making terracottas must, however, be first placed in a broader setting. We next turn to examine these aspects especially those that enable us to appreciate it both as an art and a craft.

Technically the word, 'Terracotta' is an anglicised word to mean 'baked clay'. In Sanskrit the term dravyam, or 'objects of clay' and 'mruthika bhanda' or 'clay ware' were considered to refer to terracottas as well²¹.

Literary references to clay have been reported through various other terms. The Yajur veda and the Atharva veda refer to Kṛtyās which means figurines made of clay²². Kṛtyās were handmade and appeared to be looking like a bride²³. They were prepared by the cikitsava or the potter. Further, it is known that cikitsava refers to artisans who were specially engaged in the preparation of making terracotta figurines²⁴. During the neolithic-chalcolithic phase, the terracottas were prepared by the kumbha or the potter who at first made the figurine crudely. The preparation of these clay figurines was a craft which had both economic and religious purposes. It was originally non-urban in character. A pertinent question which needs to be raised and discussed at the outset is the relationship between art and craft and society keeping in view the nature and development of terracotta making.

For the study of terracottas we have taken into consideration both the aspects of art and *craft*. Terracottas have existed from the primitive times and evolved in the process of cultural confluence. Most of the figurines of the neolithic - chalcolithic phase were made in conditions and environment which were generally those of undisturbed isolation. The artist and the terracotta forms exist among certain social strata which, though juxtaposed with fine-art by its existence in towns and cities, is separated by its economic level. Thus over time it subsists among both the privileged and less privileged classes²⁵. The artist was generally a craftsman and this activity was mainly in the production of utility objects. These objects are today called art only on

account of the aesthetic qualities they possess. This is evident most clearly in the forms of female and mother goddess figurines.

According to Pupul Jayakar, craft has two basic trends²⁶. Firstly, it reflects popular attitudes characterised by the conception of life and work which was agriculture and this reflected the familiar and unchanging forms of the village where the tradition of decorative skill survived. We find this aspect being reflected in terracottas found in the different regions of the Deccan from the neolithic-chalcolithic phase to the early historic period. The second trend has been called 'classic' and is described as elegant, sophisticated, full of ideological conceptions, rich in symbols and myths. This is most prominently reflected during the early historic phase. In our case study some of these features are found from the early historic phase and at Nevasa from the Buddhist shrine or stupa we have examples of terracottas made both by hand and mould which have high artistic value²⁷.

To define 'art' is a difficult task. There has been a lot of disparity among art historians over the definition of the term. Primarily there are two major schools that propagate their versions of definition of art. The one represented by the idealist school is based on the principle of a divorce of art from social life. Art is regarded by them as a product and expression of the absolute spirit, universal will, divine revelation or as an emotion of the artist²⁸. In contrast to the above view, the other school is represented by the historical materialist school which observes that art is a reflection of the social being

which has much in common with the manifestation of society. Further, according to this opinion, man's aesthetic relation to the reality is the specific subject matter of art and its task is the artistic portrayal of the world²⁹. In short, the emphasis is on the argument that all art is based on ideology and both are superstructural elements of social relations of production.

While the earlier school propagates the theory of art's for art sake, the latter deals with social realism. To define art 'its' specific form of social consciousness and human activity has to be highlighted. This specificity will enable us to appreciate from different angles the most important means of aesthetical comprehension and portrayal of the world³⁰. Thus from the above definition it is clear that both the work of art and aesthetic comprehension have an important role to play in the work produced. Just as art is the product of a specific social situation; aesthetic comprehension is also to be located in a specific work of view.

Art is a universal phenomenon which is as old as human beings. In the Indian context the first food gatherers and food producers had their own art. The former showed their expression through drawings on rocks. These works may seem unsophisticated to us but were depictions of those objects which must have had a sacred and economic utility for them. To be more precise, these works could be treated as the experience of the artist in everyday life and he must have done them for his own satisfaction as the

principle of patronage had not yet developed in this society³¹. Similarly, during the course of settled life or during the *proto-historic* period, the work of the artist reflects the socio-economic changes brought about by the spread of agriculture and the belief in the supernatural resulting in institutionalized religion. In agricultural societies belief in mother goddess was very much nurtured due to the notion of earth that gave food as mother. This is well represented in the proto-historic art. During the early historic period when religious institutions began to play a significant role in the production of art works by supporting the artists, the ideological factors came to intrinsically influence the works of art. Thus, these examples show that apart from the aesthetic values of work, another aspect which is common to them is that none of the art works can be seen devoid of their social and religious context.

In the classical Indian tradition, 'Art' has been distinguished as śilpa and kalā. Literary references to śilpa allude to it as a 'work of art' which represented a work of divine art³². A human artist imitated through his art work only such forms that are known to him in nature. But the metaphysical tradition puts forth that the artist not only has to achieve the form or rupa which is manifested by nature in this world but, on the other hand, the artist had to aim to realise the prototype of those very things believed to exist in the conceptual world³³. Thus śilpa was the common word used for craftsmanship as well, and the manual art of making clay figurines was known as śuśilpa³⁴. The maker of the clay figurines was addressed as śurūpa kritnu.

Reference to various types or categories of artisans like rathakara, taksaka, kumhara have been dealt with in the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā and the Taittiriya Brahmana³⁵. Further, references to apprentices like potter's apprentices - raja kumbhakarasa antevasika have also been referred to. The Mahavastu enumerates fields like "kosavika" (box maker), "chittrakaraka" (painter) "pustakaraka" (modellers of clay) and so on³⁶. Further, on the basis of their meanings a distinction is made between śilpa and kala. Śilpa has been referred to as vocational art and kala as avocational art. Indian literature provides us with an exhaustive list of arts of which eighteen or more are professional arts (śilpa) and the sixty four are avocational arts (kala). Thus śilpa-kala without any distinction, embraced every kind of skilled activity like music, drawing, painting and so on. References to the traditional list of sixty four arts have been found in such texts as the Srimad Bhagavata and Visnu-Purāna. The Buddhist and Jain texts that refer to them are the Lalitavistara and the Uttaradhyayana Sutra³⁷. The erotic text the Kamasutra of Vatsyāyana also has a graphic description of these arts.

On the other hand, kala or kushalatha mainly refers to yukthi or skill of a man applied to craft. Skill of an artist can be expressed both from the technical aspect of his attainment to work through a medium and from the mental aspect of his understanding to express his ideas. The aspects of artistic skill may vary according to the standard or conventions achieved by man at a given point of time: Here, art signifies the skill to create the

aesthetic values which are not repetitive but qualitative and subjective³⁸. Thus, the term may denote the connotation of non-utilitarian activity. On the other hand, craft denotes activities concerning the production of utilitarian commodities. However, in our opinion, craft can never be independent of art though it is quantitative and economic in character³⁹. The state of technical activities of a particular age can be valued or judged from the number of crafts flourishing, from the techniques of production, types of goods produced and the materials used. The nature and development of a craft can be ascertained from the changes in the nature of technical activities. Technological improvements have been taken to be synonymous with increased skills, improved types, shapes and quality of products and materials used.

"Thus, it can be suggested that terracottas have both the features of art and craft. As an art object terracotta figurines reflect the aesthetic sense of the people, their colour schemes, curvature of objects etc. For instance, the mother goddess among the agricultural communities was not only responsible for generating and nurturing life, she was also the earth-mother, or the 'womb' in which the seeds were sown. In literary texts, the womb is referred to as kumbha or ghata on the basis of agricultural fertility rites⁴⁰. Thus, the aesthetic sense of the artist is known through the various images made. In the present study an effort will be made to show how

people in the Deccan region became more refined in taste, colour schemes and the moulding of figurines and sculptures with experience accumulated with the passage of time. This can be done by examining the terracottas on the one hand, as a craft and on the other hand, in highlighting the elements of art in it. For instance, terracottas of the early historic phase especially the female portraits from Kondapur show the pleasing smile, thick lips and round faces with various hair styles which can be considered to be on a par with the sculptures found during the same phase. Thus, the terracottas figurines produced by the artisans were not only for their need but also to satisfy their natural urge for novelty and a creative spirit. However, every work of art is a social product. An artist creates a particular object or figurine taking the collective help of his family members in gathering the material for its preparation etc., and passes on the information from one generation to another. Thus, the cultural traits were inherent in the terracotta archaic figurines which have passed down for generations from the prehistoric phase to the proto historic phase and into the early historic phase. Scholars have hitherto dubbed them as crude and given them various names and have continually stressed that there was no change in the religious symbolism. In fact, religious symbols and images were constantly reused and incorporated to form a new and enriched religious context and therefore, changes would and did occur. The view of Stella Kramrisch that some archaic figurines were 'ageless, timeless', may hold good²⁵ but there were innumerable others that underwent change. Apart from religious terracottas, we have also studied all

non-religious terracottas and highlighted those objects which were made as terracottas but were used for decorative purposes and also for, in some cases, utilitarian purposes.

For the study of terracottas in Deccan, sources by and large, falls into the category of archaeological sources. Literary and epigraphical sources have been only partially used. Archaeological sources are, therefore, of primary importance and provide us with a base which enable us to distinguish the material changes that took place throughout pre-and proto-history and early history. Archaeological data can be got in the form of structural remains, burial areas, pottery, tools and artefacts like terracottas. This is revealed to us from field excavation reports and comprises our primary source material. To systematically present this data we have prepared six charts for this thesis. Chart I deals with the names, location and cultural phases of the sites were in alphabetical order, showing where the terracottas have been found. The other three important charts Chart II, III and IV, which have been placed under their respective headings pertain to the site wise distribution of the 'Material Cultures' of Phases I, II, and III respectively, Charts V and VI deal with names of sites and the cultural phases showing the various types of terracottas like human and animal figurines in one chart and terracotta objects in another.

For the study of terracottas we have a collection of photographs from the State Archaeology Department, Hyderabad and, from the Departmental

Museum, Nagpur and Nagpur University for sites like Ami, Bhokardhan, Pauni which throw light on the early historical phase. From the private collection of Mr. Patel we have a few illustrations of beads, ear ornaments, figurines and so on for the site of Paithan. Illustrations have been given in phase-wise, showing the location and the description of the terracottas. A few line drawings in the form of figurines have also been made. A total number of five maps have been made. Map I defines the physiography and the area of study. Maps II to V show archaeological sites of phase I, II and III where terracottas have been found.

It is our main concern in this thesis to argue that terracottas form an important source material for revealing the cultural traits of a society defining its way of life and subsistence pattern on the one hand, and on the other, its ideological, religious and artistic beliefs and endeavours. Our study of terracottas upto 500 AD would follow the holistic approach to emphasize that terracottas cannot solely be treated as craft or cult objects, inherent in them were aesthetic qualities, which can be appreciated in any object of art. By undertaking a study of terracottas we hope to explain how it developed from an object of craft to become an art form by taking into account the description of extant objects. Though terracottas flourished in different phases with familiar symbolism they were by no means static in art and form. Thus by undertaking this study, a much neglected area of history will get focussed

on and at the same time, a more complete socio-cultural history of the region would emerge.

For this study of terracottas we have categorised the information into the following chapters:

For the introduction we have placed the matter of study against the geographical background by highlighting the meaning and definition of the term, "Deccan". We have also discussed the many ramifications of the meaning of the term terracotta in its contemporary and current usage and the way it was used in the Indian literary tradition. We further found it necessary of explain the fact that it is in the social context that the production of art and craft objects can best be understood.

Chapter I deals with the historiographical trends pertaining to the numerous works on terracottas. A critical study of these writings on terracottas done by scholars has been elaborated upon here. We have discussed in detail first the orientalist and administrator, scholars and how they wrote about in art history in general. Next, the various art history and archaeological writings on terracottas in particular have been focussed upon identifying the context in which each of these were written. After creating a rationale for our study emanating from the above, we have discussed and described the sources used for our study in this chapter. Charts and maps showing the sites in alphabetical order in different phases have been used to highlight the various details in this regard.

Chapter II deals with the study of terracottas against the background of the material cultures of the Deccan pertaining to the neolithic-chalcolithic periods of human habitation from c 2000 - c 1000 BC. An attempt is made here to understand and describe the factual material pertaining to them and discuss the various stages of the terracotta traditions as part of the overall material culture of the times. Terracottas were products of different social and economic environment and these aspects have been highlighted in this chapter. The main part of this chapter is a description of the various terracotta finds for this period, i.e., the neolithic chalcolithic times.

In chapter III we analyse the data available on terracottas during the megalithic-iron age. In this chapter we have at the outset highlighted the socio-economic background and then described the terracotta finds. Within the background of these cultures, we have discussed the importance of terracotta sarcophagus and its religious significance in the megalithic phase. The technique of making these terracottas both by moulds and hand has been highlighted along with their description.

In chapter IV we have focussed on the terracottas that were produced by the complex society of early historical times. In this chapter we have identified the early phase of transition to the historical phase by explaining representations of the Mauryan presence and intrusions in terms of the advent of Buddhism. The early historic times marked by the rise of the early

State formation and this is further marked by a proliferation of terracotta remains not only in terms of the number of types found, but also in terms of large numbers that have survived the vicissitudes of times. In this Chapter we take a close look only at the terracotta figurines *i.e.*, the human and animal and analyse their meaning and contextual variety.

Chapter V is a continuation of Chapter IV, in which we have discussed terracotta objects ornaments and decorative objects that proliferated on a large scale during this period. We have first discussed the growth of urbanisation and the socio-economic and cultural growth during this phase since trade and commerce played a significant role, in bringing close contacts with Mediterranean and the Roman cultures in particular. This is evident from ornaments like bullae, amulets, and various decorative objects which show cross-cultural resemblances. Beads, bangles have been described along with the other ornaments keeping in mind their variety and individual peculiarities.

The chronological framework that we have adopted to discuss the history of terracotta-making in the Deccan is primarily because this enables us to clearly identify phases of change and continuity and thereby, overcome the generalization that terracottas in their type, form and content were static over time. With this Introduction we now proceed to take a close look at terracottas of the Deccan in each phase beginning with the neolithic-chalcolithic phase in Chapter II. However, before this, we review the existing literature on the subject in Chapter I.

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CHAPTER I

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

CHAPTER - I

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

The study of terracottas has hitherto largely been subsumed under the writing of art history. The modern writings on art history in India began in a systematic way with early attempts of the European and the British scholars. From the eighteenth century onwards administrative officials and independent scholars started reporting on Indian antiquities excavated and found extant at various sites. The roots of Indian terracotta making go back to at least three millennia and scholars have written about them ever since they started taking interest in understanding its origin and identifying the different varieties of terracottas found in India. The study of terracottas has to be located both in its historical and regional context. This can be best done if we, first and foremost, review the existing literature on the subject.

The initial historiographical context in which Indian art was observed by the Europeans in fact began as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth century. These European's works were mainly based on the tours conducted by travellers and their observations on the extant temples, sculptures and so on. Out of these travel reports two traditions grew, namely, those that thought that Indian art mainly represented images of horrific demons and *monsters* and secondly, those that argued that these temples had features of classical origin. In his book Much Maligned Monsters,

Partha Mitter has discussed these observations and writings in depth. While writing on the accounts of their tours, European writers, concentrated mostly on architecture rather than on the folk arts like terracotta making¹. Nevertheless, Partha Mitter points out that French scholars like Dupuis, Hancarville while discussing primitive societies, pointed out that the depiction of the bull was always reserved for symbolising power and male sexuality and for its association with vegetation². While comparing the bulls in the art of various countries Hancarville believed that the Indians revered the bull as dharmadeva whose image in the Surat temple was painted red and was similar to the bulls found in the temples of Greece and Rome³. Most of the writings on Indian art produced by the European scholars during this period were formulated in an ideological attitude which was prevalent in Europe. In an exhaustive review done by Dilip Chakrabathi, mention of eighteen writers and their perspective has been made¹. Those like Colin Mackenzie's approach was based on scientific ideas while simultaneously combined with a benign interest in understanding the spirit of art in India.

The eighteenth century witnessed the emergence of several aesthetic movements in Europe which contributed to a new romantic awareness of the past and indirectly contributed to the artistic revivals mainly through widely read journals. The movement which spread in Europe saw the growth of two distinct traditions in the writings on Indian art: a) to record the relevant facts on Indian art in a systematic manner and b) to speculate on

the nature and importance of art⁵. The translation of Sanskrit literature helped the Europeans to research particularly on historical geography⁶. The main issue was to identify ancient places mentioned in the classical literature with archaeological material available⁷. Pertinently, the revival movement also saw the inception of scientific archaeology which helped the writers to have a better understanding of Indian art. The traditional concept of decisive rules in art was replaced by the notion of "taste"⁸.

The advent of Europeans brought with them the ideas on art and culture of their post-renaissance phase wherein the notion of 'taste' or aesthetic value started being appreciated when they came as colonisers to India. They failed to understand the cultural refinement that India had passed through the ages. Instead, they named the Indian art tradition as barbaric during the earlier phase of colonial rule. The early colonial rule witnessed the influence of the Evangelical school of thought which propounded the 'whiteman's burden' idiom⁹. According to their political interest it was imperative to project the subject country's culture as uncivilised and barbaric, therefore, unruly, unsystematic and unorganised. For this reason they also felt that India could not produce stable governments or kingdoms. So was the case with their art traditions.

This view was criticised by Herman Goetz who was the first to recognize that political instability did not lead to an overall decline in culture¹⁰. Further, he opined, that there was the rise of several regional

political kingdoms which attracted new traditions of craft and industries¹¹. Due to the consolidation of British rule over India these early traditions had been eclipsed and the new socio-cultural changes in modern times facilitated the rise of a new Europeanised taste resulting in the growth of the company's school of art. An important ingredient of the cultural conquests was its impact on the attitude towards Indian crafts and art that was generated in writings beginning with the early nineteenth century.

In recent writings scholars have brought to the forefront the realization that 'Orientalism' had introduced authoritative and essentialised statements about Indian texts and institutional practices¹². They helped in creating a new context in which India was to be studied which was seen as the opposite of European norms and practices¹³. However, from our point of view, what is important to emphasize is that art now began to be placed in a new context for analysis overriding the existing indigenous framework that it had originally been built in. It can be observed that the nature of British rule in India was undergoing a change from being a trader, in the 17th and early half of the 18th century to becoming a powerful ruler from then onwards upto the mid twentieth century. The reporting of archaeological sites, documentation of various artefacts by the administrator-scholars was done more precisely and accurately in the 19th and 20th century. Further, this led to the writings on the various aspects of indigenous technology. According to Satpal Sangwan there were two paradigms of indigenous technological

applications under the British colonial rule. The first interest was "to take stock of those technological aspects which helped them in their military and commercial ventures"¹⁴. Under this category were aspects like shipping, navigation, public works and so on. The other set of interest consisted of agricultural practices and craft technology which they were interested in presumably to extract the maximum out of the available natural resources.

The British administrators were particularly interested in creating a knowledge about certain industries like textiles, iron, etc., Further, since raw materials like silk, cotton were easily available in India, the colonial rulers began to export these so that the finished goods could be sent back to India. This hit the local artisans and manufacturers to a large extent¹⁶. Apart from the fate of the textile industries, the Britishers were primarily interested in understanding the origin of iron technology. In the initial stages writings on iron technology by the British suggested that the Indian process of iron smelting was primitive and wasteful. The various excavations conducted in peninsular India, however, brought to light kilns which reflected on the ancient manufacturing of iron. Dilip Chakarbarthi points out that later writings of these scholars showed that the indigenous and unique method of metallurgy were well known in India from the ancient times¹⁷. During this early period of interest in Indian technology no special studies were done on understanding crafts, like terracotta making as those were fundamentally unrelated to (ho British economic interests.

Moving away from looking at indigenous technology, by the year 1867 the Europeans and the British schools on art and crafts began to be established. According to Ratnabali Chattopadhyaya one of the aims behind the establishment of art schools was the rejuvenation of Indian crafts for European consumption¹⁸. The aesthetic crisis in Britain in the 19th century was compelling them to make a search for alternative designs and expectation was created that the new school of art would produce such alternatives. The emphasis on the European artistic tradition in the curriculum of schools intended to produce with new techniques, alien designs, which could be consumed by the Europeans and the Europeanised Indians¹⁹. Cecil Burns had opined that, "India from an artistic point was entirely isolated from the rest of the world, and it is this isolation which enabled the Indian craftsmen to have monopoly in the local markets and prevented them from being known to international markets"²⁰. But there were alternative perspectives provided by influential personalities and art historians like E B Haveli and A K Coomaraswamy. Without their intervention the subjecting of Indian artistic tradition would not have been total and complete. In this context E B Haveli pertinently opined that the European formula of teaching art did not suit the techniques adopted by Indian craftsmen as their attitude to anatomy, design and nature was different²¹. Thus Haveli explained by arguing that throughout the ages Indian art has inherited the idea of enhancing the beauty of spirit and not only the outward material form²². Parimoo further points out in quoting Haveli, that Indian art was directed

more towards "the realisation of an idea, reaching through finite to infinite"²³. Because of the impact of the new teaching which was imposed on all the artists looking at nature through European rules, the Indian artists soon ceased to maintain Indian tradition in art and the work they produced was neither original nor European.

William Jones made an attempt to study the ancient texts on art and craft like the Silpa Śāstras which dealt with the sixty-four different arts and crafts²⁴. Later, James Tod cited references from the literary texts to understand the architecture of the various temples and buildings. This was further taken into account by Ram Raz who translated one of the Śilpa Śāstras texts called the Manasara²⁵. This manual, apart from describing the styles of architecture, tells us about the craftsmen involved in the construction of brick making, temple building and so on. The above survey has necessarily been general because in many of these early works on art and craft history no specific study on terracottas occur.

It was under Alexander Cunningham's archaeological investigations in the year 1875-76 we, for the first time, come to know about the existence of terracottas when he excavated the Bhitargaon Gupta Temple in the Gangetic doab²⁶. Cunningham showed a general contempt and disinterest in the terracottas since they were not beautiful as the classical sculptures on the temple walls. Later on, in the same year, when A.C. Carlleye excavated at

Indor-Kher he was conscious of the occurrence of small moulded terracottas and made a note of them. The two terracottas excavated belonged to the types classified as the female figurines whose physical dimensions were clearly documented by him²⁷. However, apart from the mention of such finds of terracottas from the northern Indian we, for the first time, find from the reports of Alexander Rea in 1894, terracotta seals and figurines that were excavated at Sankavaram in Vishakapatnam District of Andhra Pradesh ²⁸. Except for the brief mention of the terracottas, Rea did not emphasize on the type and style of these figurines

It was with the discovery of the Indus Valley civilisation in 1919-20 that there was a major breakthrough in the writings on terracottas²⁹. The different artefacts brought to light a rich tradition which could now be traced back to c.3000 B.C. The excavations carried out at Harappa and Mohenjadarro brought to light a number of terracotta figurines, toys, seals etc. The terracotta female figurines were important discoveries and were identified as earth or mother goddesses which were made by hand. These hand made goddesses were compared with the figurines found in the earlier Kulli and Zhob cultures³⁰. Marshall confirmed that the cult of mother goddess was prevalent as a form of worship in this early society³¹. The discovery of terracottas at many sites of the Indus valley subsequently led to the study of these figurines by several scholars and writers upto the middle of the 20th century.

In the early 20th century by discovering and discussing the indigenous textual material on crafts and art in ancient India, historians and scholars strived to look at them with a new perspective by using sociological and ethno-archaeological methods. At the same time, writings on art history began to be written region wise. Since the 1930's in particular, the Indian political arena began to be dominated by an increasing consciousness about linguistic ethnic identity of a given area and scholars were thus keen to see artistic traditions as something distinctive in each region.

Ajit Ghosh was one of the foremost scholars who tried to interpret the terracottas from the cultural stand point of view³². It is he who vent the idea of folk art as a product of mass culture. Till then the interpretation of terracottas was from the classicist point of view. In 1929 article he pointed out in an article that folk art undoubtedly had always existed but there was hardly any conscious writing about it or the recognition of its importance. It was considered as a popular version of fine art and where none of the finer features of the latter existed. It was, however, embellished as a useful product³³. According to some scholars the so-called 'discovery' of folk art came to be linked to the development of national consciousness and later, to the growth of provincial and regional identity as to how people began to regard their own folk art as a special and unique heritage³⁴.

Leading art teachers like Haveli, Coomarswamy had criticised the modern art schools established by the Britishers. Coomaraswamy who wrote

during the first half of the 20th century wanted to build up an understanding of Indian art as a part of national culture and to relate the work of the Indian craftsmen to the thought of the Indian people³⁵. Coomaraswamy surveyed the entire range of visual arts and identified major styles and schools and ascertained their chronological position. Further, he advocated that scholars should emphasise on the Indian style which essentially embodied the Indian ideals³⁶. He argued that Indian art and crafts were far superior than those of the alien art which was being imposed on the colonized society. This, he thought, would cause great damage and Indian art would be unable to go back to its former greatness³⁷. His writings of Coomaraswamy were one of the first to focus on the use of literary sources to study art traditions. This enabled him to incorporate and highlight the aesthetic values that manifested all types of Indian art and craft. Another point raised by Coomaraswamy was that Indian art had always been produced in response to a demand which helped to glorify the artist who, in turn, pursued a personal ideal of beauty and strove to express himself as creatively as possible³⁸. Thus, in this view a lot depended on the individual and his capacity for creativity. This was nonetheless done within a certain ancient world view inherited by him that had remained intact for generation till it was disrupted by the colonial intrusion.

The studies prior to the 20th century were mostly done by the westerners and the influence by the British bureaucrats on orientalist, Evangelical and Colonial schools of thought all had a background in western

ideology and the world view. From the 20th century scholars having interest in the study of terracottas looked at them from a different point of view in that Indian scholars also began to write with the help of indigenous frameworks of knowledge. Therefore in the 20th century, studies on terracottas were projected a variety of studies from an individual intelligibility of culture. Coomaraswamy's articles opened up new avenues for serious research on the writings of Indian terracottas. While referring to the archaic terracottas Coomaraswamy first discussed the technical aspects of terracotta making³⁹. They were identified as those initially made by hand which were than compared to the terracottas found in the Mediterranean region. Next, he identified the early Indian terracottas especially the female figurines of the mother goddess which were referred to as cult objects and were associated with various names like nude goddess, earth mother and so on. The girdle (mekhala) worn by the goddess was compared to the mother of Aditya, a personification of Nature as suggested in the 5ūtra Literature⁴⁰.

Another notable scholar who wrote on terracottas during the early half of the twentieth century was Margret Murray. Her work mainly focused on literary sources. She tried to equate the Indian female figurines with those in Babylonia and Greece. The images of the mother goddesses from the Greco-Babylonian context were superimposed on the Indian figurines and the latter classified accordingly. She, by and large, categorised the early religious figurines under three groups viz., i) the Universal Mother or Isis type ii) the

Divine Woman or Ishtar type and iii) the Personified Yoni or Baubo type. These equations were done while not keeping in view the particular Indian context or, its own particular world view. The convergence of these figurines was done at a superficial level, i.e., on the basis of the shape, the material used and the style/technique and not at the semantic level. If one considers the semantic level of interpreting the data then one has to necessarily look into the context in which the figurines were found and to emphasize the world view of the maker. This has to be examined to understand comprehensively why such figurines were created in the first place⁴¹.

The ethos of Coomaraswamy's work in emphasizing the essence of Indian art was carried forward by Stella Kramrisch. Her contribution to the study of terracottas is from the folk art point of view. Her main focus was on describing the style form and technique that was visible in the treatment of the development of Indian art⁴². In her essay on Indian terracottas Stella Kramrisch classifies them into two groups the primitive type or the 'timeless' ones and the 'timed' ones. The primitive type, according to her, remained essentially changeless despite the changing historical circumstances. In contrast to the 'timeless' ones, the 'timed' types were different because they showed the vicissitudes of time and therefore, identified the age of the object⁴³. The two types, according to her, existed in juxtaposition to each other right from the pre-historic times upto the 20th century. Further, she has opined that the 'timed and 'timeless' dichotomy which is seen in relation to

terracottas is not limited to sculpture but is also noticeable in the circular scricoil of the Kerala temples and the hut type temples found in Bengal⁴⁴. In the case of terracottas she further emphasizes that the 'timeless' forms were inexorably stubborn agianst changes. In contrast, the 'timed' ones altered with the passage of time, they gradually matured and finally particular forms disintegrated⁴⁵. This division of understadning terracottas has had a great impact on later writings. Certain empirical examples support her hypothesis while others do not nearly follow her categorization.

VS. Agrawala's work throws light on the emergence of the clay figurines and the literary evidence that can be used to describe the terracotta objects⁴⁶. On the other hand, Das Gupta's work on 'Unpublished Ancient Terracottas' in 1945-47, that have been preserved in the Musee Guimet, Paris has given a brief description of these various terracottas. He has further compared the evolution of styles with specimens whose dates have been taken from various texts⁴⁷.

The post-independent period saw a spurt of writings on Indian art which were, however, mainly concentrated on sculpture and architecture. With the Indus site of Harappa and Mohenjodara now located in the newly created state of Pakistan, Indian archaeologists concentrated on bringing to light a number of excavated sites which yielded a considerable amount of artefacts inclusive of pottery and terracottas. Most of the excavated reports

give a brief sketch on the various types of terracottas found in the stratified layers or phases to which they belonged. Excavations and writings on the subject of terracottas were mostly concentrated on sites located in northern India that were first excavated. It is not surprising under these circumstances that several books, on terracottas were written only after independence.

S.C. Kala's work on terracottas was on those housed in the museums at Allahabad, Delhi and Lucknow. This was one of the first studies that attempted to discuss the terracottas which had both secular and religious symbolism attached to them⁴⁸. Further, he also discusses the techniques of terracotta making. He relied only on the terracotta figurines available in the various museums and hence, could not discuss the cultural context and the material milieu in which these figurines were found⁴⁹. Another noteworthy work done during this period on terracottas was the one by S.K. Saraswathi. Her work on the early terracottas mainly deals with the various female figurines found during the iron age period. The early terracottas found in the Bengal region were studied by Saraswathi in comparison with the sculptures of Amaravathi and the figurines found in Greece and Rome. One of the conclusions drawn is that there was a close affinity with ancient Roman ones especially the physiognomy treatment of the face and the body of the figurines found⁵⁰. During the 1950's, studies on the techniques of terracotta making have also been done by Fabria and Mukul Dey under their respective scrutiny. Mukul Dey has opined that the primitive forms of many terracottas

were indeed artistically superior and they represented a 'permanent or universal' mode of expression⁵¹.

I.K. Sharma's article on terracottas is an early attempt to study them as art objects belonging to a particular period namely, in this case the proto-historic. These terracottas were of both secular and religious nature⁵². Sankalia and Dhavalikar too have written on terracottas which flourished from the pre-harappan times. However, they focus on the historic period upto the Gupta period, bringing into relief a rich variety of terracottas. These scholars have also characterised the clay figurines on the basis of the stylistic and religious symbolism attached to them⁵³. These articles were mainly of a descriptive kind providing the much wanted general information on various types of terracottas found during the course of excavation.

A discussion on terracottas generally occurs in a perfunctory manner in reports of excavated sites which gradually begin to increase. However, individual writing on terracottas became more analytical. One such article was by Devangana Desai which dealt with the terracottas of the ancient India as a whole. In this view terracotta making has been viewed as a social process to cater to art loving people by the potter-artist of the period. According to Desai the terracottas, which have been placed in a chronological from the Harappan to the Kushan period by her, featured not only the religious and secular aspects, but also represented tribal and peasant cults and rituals. Some of the terracottas got treated with urban sophistication⁵⁴.

Thus, in this analysis terracottas throw up a complex picture for analysis reflecting their production in different economic modes of subsistence. These insights provided by Desai can be used to analyse terracottas at a micro level.

M. K. Dhavalikar subsequently wrote a detailed monograph on the Indian terracottas as art objects from the pre-harrappan times to those found on the late medieval temples of Bengal⁵⁵. This work is one of the few which focuses closely on the chalcolithic and the early historic terracottas of western India and the Deccan. His work is based on both literary and on archaeological evidence. He has interpreted terracottas as people's art taking in account social stratification as a factor of production. The terracottas were made, according to Dhavalikar, to satisfy both the religious and secular needs of every strata of society. He also deals with the technology of terracotta making and their cultural contacts with the Roman and other civilisations⁵⁶. He has interpreted the terracottas found with some of the farming communities of Central India and the fertility cults practised by them. The figurines associated with royal personages have been treated by him as decorative pieces that were probably used in the royal palaces and has suggested that toys found were probably used by the royal children. Thus Dhavalikar has brought out both the secular and the sacred cultural aspects of understanding terracottas keeping in mind that social stratification was an important parameter to define their production in different periods.

Another notable scholar who has contributed to the study of terracottas in Gujrat is Margabandhu⁵⁷. His work is not exclusively on terracottas but, he has placed the terracottas in the cultural context of their makers. His concept of historical relativism made him place terracottas both from chronological time scale and the space where they were found. Therefore, this constituted essentially, according to Margabandhu, "The study of the people how they adjusted their life and prepared the artefacts in relation to their needs and environment". His period of study represents a stage in urbanisation which resulted in the economic growth of trade and commerce. This early historic background suggests that the terracottas can be seen as important products of inter and intra-cultural contracts⁵⁸.

S K. Biswas' work is based on stylistic evolution of terracotta art of Bengal from the earliest time of their occurrence. He considers the terracottas as a distinct genere which arose in a taste of urban milieu but were highly demonstrative of the religious sentiments of the community which produced them. The material culture, according to Biswas, was factor which brought changes in terracottas through the ages. Also, according to him myths, and ballards were probably represented in terracottas⁵⁹. On the other hand, Vidhual Jayaswal and Kalyan Krishna have given an ethnological interpretation to terracottas which flourished in the state of Uttar Pradesh. Jayaswal tries to understand them by discussing the possible techniques of making the figurines. Her study is closely related to the present day practices relating to terracotta art of the Ganga Valley⁶⁰.

J.E. Van Lohuizende Leewis article, unlike the usual focus on human figurines, is on the terracotta animal figurines like the horse, the lion and the bull which have been compared with the animal figurines found on the reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and the bronze horses found in Java and Śrī Lanka. According to the author the horses were represented in similar styles and were probably imported to Sri Lanka from Andhra Pradesh. Further, he is of the opinion that these animals were intended to reflect cosmology implying that they were symbolic representations of the four quarters of the sky⁶¹.

Thus, while studying the various books and articles on terracottas, we notice that techniques of terracottas making has been mentioned by scholars like Sankalia and Desai. An indepth study of terracotta and of clay modelling from textual evidence, mostly from the South Indian Agamic texts, shows these ideas influenced the practices prevalent among the traditional image-makers. Prathiba Prakash's work mianly deals with the animal figurines which have been dated to the peirod c.600 BC to 600 AD. Her work pertinently throws light on the technical features involved in the making of terracottas. She has examined changes that took place in the techniques of making these terracottas and has remarked on the continuity of the use of standards clay moulds⁶². Scholars like C.Sivaramamurthi have dealt with the terracotta toys illustrating a variety of themes interwoven with the stories of Lord Buddha, the Epics and so on. This study is based on the study of various brick moulds as found in the National Museum at New Delhi⁶³.

Only recently Krishna Sastry's article, for the first time, exclusively deals with the terracottas found in Āndhra Pradesh especially those belonging to the Sātavāhana phase. He shows how the figurines from Peddabankur, Dhulikatta, Kotilingala, Kondapur bear similarities with those figurines found in northern Indian⁶⁴. He has also opined that the tradition of making terracotta figurines proliferated to the Deccan contemporaneously with North India. The recent work of Arundhanti Banerji on terracotta art helps in reconstructing the various aspects of the socio-economic and religious conditions of the early phases of habitation as found in the neolithic and chalcolithic cultures. Her study highlights the cultural cum regional variations in the terracotta art forms. To understand the growth of this artistic tradition she has classified the material culture of the period in which terracotta have been found. She has, however, classified the terracottas were not found in 'isolation' but they were part of the development of the broader cultural stages and this should be taken as a criteria to understand their evolution. In other words, the main characteristic of the cultural stages based on technology and other material culture forms part of the interpretation of terracottas. Thus, for the first time, a holistic approach has been followed to interpret terracottas in the different cultural stages of North and North-western India⁶⁵. No such study has, however, been done for the Deccan and South India. Our attempt is to undertake such a study from a holistic point of view as defined above so that terracottas are not merely considered art or craft objects but are also seen in their material, socio-economic and religious context.

To summarize from the above discussion, most of the scholars so far have dealt with terracottas as a source material to study art history and culture perse. During the 17th and 18th century scholars, mostly European, viewed terracottas from Orientalist perspective. The 19th century bureaucrats did some empirical study of terracottas on the sub-continent from the colonial perspective. They suggested that terracottas did not represent the aesthetic essence of the culture. For some of them the crude figurines reflected the barbaric and uncivilised character of the culture. The 20th century scholars whose scholastic view can be classified into different categories on broad thematic considerations, were more analytical in their research but the scope of many of the articles especially remained limited.

All these scholars have tried to project terracotta making as either products of the handicrafts and folk art or as manifestations of the religious and sacred behaviour of the people. For the early scholars like Coomaraswamy, Margret Murray, Sankalia etc., terracottas were largely representative of the religious belief system and thereby of the culture. Stella Kramrisch Desai, Kala, Ajit Ghosh etc., opined that terracottas need not be necessarily only objects of handicraft. They had influence of 'classicist' or 'elite' traditions which mingled with folk elements. This view point made the studies on terracottas a significant land mark because this premise has given scope for underlining the secular context and driving the meaning of the terracotta figurines in a non-religious sense as well. None the less, the scope of the studies remained within the realm of art and cultural history.

Margabandhu, Dhavalikar, Prakash, Biswas etc., further contributed to the study of understanding terracottas with their holistic approach. They did not view terracottas as mere pieces of evidence to study culture but as being part of the process of cultural production itself. In other words, they highlighted the social context in which they were produced which varied from period to period. They also pointed out that the utility of terracottas which ranged from the faine to the profaine and reflected all walks of life and strands of society. In this view the nature of social stratification also effected the quality, variety and form of terracotta making. As stated above, our study of terracottas in the Deccan upto 500 AD, would be largely following the holistic approach to emphasize that terracottas cannot solely be treated as art or cult objects. They were produced to define a secular context of society as well especially those that reflect the ornaments, the seals and such miscellaneous objects like toys and images of human beings and portraits that do not fall in the category of having religious symbolism.

The sources for the study of terracottas in the Deccan fall into, by and large, three types i.e., archaeological, epigraphical, and the literary. Epigraphical and literary sources, we may say, are of indirect help to us as they mainly deal with the names of places and social groups involved in the production of terracottas. Archaeological sources are, however, of primary importance and we shall discuss them in detail.

Archaeological sources provide us with a base which enables us to distinguish the material changes that took place through out pre-history, proto-history and early history. Today, it is a generally accepted fact that 'pre-history' is the period before written records came into existence, whereas 'proto-history' is that period belonging to the earliest age of history⁶⁶. While reviewing our source material we find that for the study of pre and protohistoric cultures where literary evidences are totally absent we have to solely depend on archaeological data. The archaeological data can be got in the form of structural remains burials, pottery, tools, and important artefacts like *terracottas*. This is revealed to us from the field excavations and comprises our primary source material. In this context we have prepared Chart I which gives the names, location and cultural phases of the sites where terracottas were found. The names of the sites have been put in alphabetical order. A total of seventy six sites have been listed. During the course of data collection it was found that sources pertaining to terracottas particularly in the context of its location in the Deccan could be identified largely from published excavation reports but, we also had to depend on the Annual Reports of the State and Central Archaeological Departments, for details on some of the sites of the Deccan (Map II).

For our study three modern states of the Deccan, i.e. Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra have been identified. In this context first we located the number of excavated sites known from the published material.

These sites have been alphabetically tabulated in the form of Chart I. Two other important charts have been made under their respective headings, that is 'Material Cultures' - Phases I to III, (Charts II, III, IV) and Types of Terracottas' (Chart V, VI) found in the Deccan in each of the three phases mentioned above. Given below are some details of the excavation of some of sites and of others, which have not been excavated, but are known to us from other sources; in Journals, like Ancient India, Journal of Archaeology of Andhra Pradesh, Bhārathi, Itihāsa, Bulletin of Deccan College, Purāttatva and so on. Some reports on excavated sites has been published by the Birla Archaeological Cultural and Research Institute in Hyderabad and by the Institutes and Universities in different states particularly Maharashtra i.e. the Deccan College Research Institute, Nagpur University and so on.

For Western Deccan twenty-five sites have been located by us (Chart I). Of these twenty-seven sites ten sites are known for neolithic-chalcolithic settlements and material culture (Chart II). Nevasa,⁶⁷ Prakash⁶⁸, Chandoli⁶⁹, Daimabad⁷⁰, Inamgaon⁷¹ are the major sites which throw light on the various types of terracottas of the neolithic-chalcolithic phase (Chart II, 4, 12, 15, 23,46, 48, 64, 70, 71, 72). sites like Karad⁷² Brahmapuri⁷³, Nasik⁷⁴, Paithan⁷⁵, Kausan⁷⁶, Ter⁷⁷, Vadagaon-Madhapur⁷⁸, Bhokardhan⁷⁹ and Varsus⁸⁰ have brought to light terracottas of phase II and III, namely, the iron-age and the early historical periods (Chart II & III). Sites like Bhokardhan⁸¹ Ter⁸², and Brahmapuri⁸³ in western Deccan give rich information about the

terracottas and their types on a large scale (Chart V, 6,9,68) and they have displayed high artistic and technical skills. This is particularly for phase III or the early historic period.

Of the various sub-regions of the Deccan, Central Deccan has a large number of sites (Chart I). The concentration of settlements here are partly located in the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh. Sites like Kondapur⁸⁴, Kaundinyapur⁸⁵, Pauni⁸⁶ and Ami⁸⁷ give rich information regarding terracottas for phases II and III. In contrast to these sites those like Pochampad⁸⁸, Taklaghat⁸⁹ give relatively less information about the terracottas (Chart I, 54, 66).

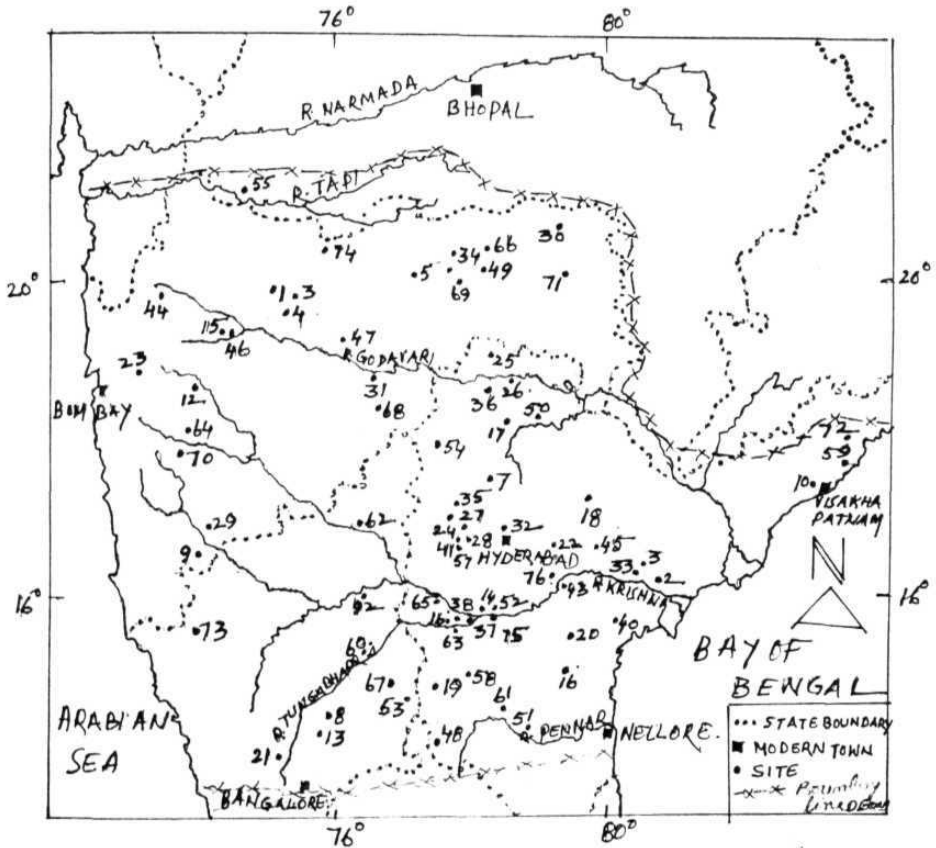
Under the supervision of Dr. V.V. Krishnasastry former Director, Archaeology and Museum, Government of Andhra Pradesh excavations have brought to light four major sites, namely Dhulikatta⁹⁰, Peddabankur⁹¹, Peddamarur⁹², and Chagtur⁹³ (Chart I, 11, 17, 50, 52). These sites are important megalithic-iron age sites. An important feature noticed in central Deccan is that the terracotta Sarcophagus have been found in large numbers. With reference to archaeological excavations and explorations work done under the aegis of Andhra Pradesh State Department of Archaeology and Museum from 1974-84, we have information from six minor excavations and seven major excavated sites like Kadambapur⁹⁴, Kudavelli⁹⁵, Kallepalli⁹⁶, Pratyadevamandalam⁹⁷, Keesargutta⁹⁸, Kotilingla", Kandi¹⁰⁰, Indoor¹⁰¹,

Nirazapalle¹⁰², Mantoor¹⁰³, Rekulapadu¹⁰⁴, Nelakondapalli¹⁰⁵ and Bublikonda¹⁰⁶ (Chart I, 26, 27, 28, 29, 37). The Telangana area of Central Deccan has mostly revealed a number of megalithic sites. Though many sites have been excavated and explored not much emphasis has been laid on the importance of artistic objects like terracottas or in classifying them on the basis of stratigraphy. Dating of these terracottas therefore causes considerable problems.

Sites such as Nāgārjunakoṇḍā¹⁰⁷ and Kesarapalle¹⁰⁸ in the Eastern Deccan are important neolithic sites (Map II) (Chart I 33,43) Yelleswaram¹⁰⁹ and Salihundam¹¹⁰ are important early historic sites in these parts. These sites are also significant for the double mould terracottas found here. (Chart I 59,76). Apart from these major sites, a few sites are known from minor excavation and explorations conducted by the Department of Archaeology and Museum, Āndhra Pradesh. Sites like Dharmavaripalem¹¹¹, Agripalli¹¹², Annagi¹¹³ Gandlur¹¹⁴, Mallipadu¹¹⁵ and Bublikonda¹¹⁶ have brought to light material cultures belonging to all three phases of occupation from prehistory to the early historic times. (Chart I,2,3,16,20,40). Sites in Eastern Deccan are mainly associated with the early historic phase and since the number of sites are few, terracottas have been found in meagre numbers when compared to the other sub-regions. However, Nāgārjunakoṇḍā¹¹⁷, Yelleswaram, ¹¹⁸ and Salihundam were not only important Buddhist centres, they were also early historic commercial and trading centres¹¹⁹.

MAP II

MAJOR SITES OF TERRACOTTA FINDS IN DECCAN



* Names of SITES INDICATED BY SERIAL NO. ON THIS MAP ARE
GIVEN IN CHART I pp.52

CHART I
Location and Chronology of Sites

Sl No	Name of the Site	Location	Phase I 2000-1000 BC	Phase II 1000-200 AD	Phase III 200-500 AD	RC dating	Reference
1	Adam 21°00N 79°27E	Nagpur dt., on R. Wardha-Wainganga.	CD	pd. III c1000-500BC pd.IV 500-150BC	pd.V 150-200 AD	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1988-89, p.50
2	Agripalli 16°40N 80°45E	Krishna dt.,	ED	NS	-	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1976-77, p.29
3	Anagi	Krishna dt.,	ED	-	EHS	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1977-78, p.1
4	Apegaon 19°36N 75°29E	Aurangabad dt.,	CD	pd.III	-	c1800-1600 BC	<u>EA</u> , 1979, p.9
5	Ami	Yavatmal dt.,	CD	-	pd.IIS pd.IIS	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1978-79, p.71
6	Bhokardhan 22°16N 75°46E	Aurangabad dt., on Godavari	WD	-	EM/IB 200-200 Ad	-	<u>EB</u> , 1974, pp.7-8
7	Bouserreddipalli	Medak dt.,	CD	-	EHS	-	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1983-84, pp. 2-3
8	Brahmagiri 14°37N74°71E	Chitaldurg dt., 30 miles south of Bellary	SD	-	pd.III 200BC-200AD	-	<u>AI</u> , 4,1947-48, p.202
9	Brahmapuri 26°41N 74°71E	Kolhapur dt., on right bank of Panchaganga	WD	-	EH	-	<u>BE</u> , 1952, p.4

Sl No	Name of the Site	Location	Phase I 2000-1000 BC	Phase II 1000-200 AD	Phase III 200-500 AD	RC dating	Reference
10	Bublikonda	ED Vishakapatnam dt., on left bank of Tandava	-	-	EHS		<u>ARDAM</u> , 1987-88, p.4
11	Chagtur	CD Mahboobnagar dt., between R.Krishna and Tungabhadra	-	pd.IMS			<u>IAR</u> , 1977-78, p.4
12	Chandoli 19°00N 74°00E	WD Poona dt., on R. Ghod	C pd. II&III	-	-	c1800-1500 BC c1500-1150 BC	<u>CC</u> , 1965, p.3
13	Chandravalli	SD Chitaldurg dt., adjacent to chi- taldurga hill	-	-	100-200AD	-	<u>AI</u> , 4, 1947-48, pp.270-272
14	Chinnamarur 15°58N 78°9E	CD Mahboobnagar dt.,	pd.I&II\$	M\$	-	-	<u>PHEHCMR</u> , 1986, p.73
15	Daimabad 19°31N 74°42E	WD Ahmदनagar dt., on left bank of R. Pravara	C pd.II 2000-1600 BC	-	-	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1979-80, pp.34.35
16	Dharmavaripalem	ED Prakasham dt.,	-	-	c1st/2ndC	-	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1974-75, p.6
17	Dhulikatta	CD Karimnagar dt.,	-	pd.I&II\$	ESS	-	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1976-77, pp.13-16
18	Dongatogu	CD Khammam dt.,	-	M\$	-	-	<u>DM</u> , 1988, p.2 25

Sl No	Name of the Site	Location	Phase I 2000-1000 BC	Phase II 1000-200 AD	Phase III 200-500 AD	RC dating	Reference
19	Eichuru	SD Adoni taluk.,	NS	-	EH\$		<u>IAR</u> , 1988-89, p.3
20	Gandlur	ED Guntur dt.,	ph.I\$	-			<u>IAR</u> , 1982-83, pp.1-2
21	Hallur 14°20N 75°37E	SD Dharwar dt.,	pd.I ph.II pd.II LNUN=C*	-			<u>PHCTV</u> , 1971. p.14
22	Huzumagar	ED Nalgonda dt.,	-	M@\$	-		<u>ARAP</u> , 1978-79 pp.20-21
23	Inamgaon 18°45N 75°10E	WD Poona dt., on right bank of R. Godavari	Cpd. I&II	-	-		<u>PUR</u> , 8, 1975-76, p.4
24	Indoor	Cd Medak dt.,	-	-	EH\$		<u>IAR</u> , 1982-83, p.43
25	Jainad 19°42N 78°38E	CD Adilabad dt.,	-	-	EH\$		<u>ARAP</u> , 1974-75, p.37
26	Kadambapur	CD Medak dt., 15 kms from Pedd- abankur	-	M\$	-		<u>ARAP</u> , 1974-75, p.2
27	Kallepalli	CD Medak dt.,	-	1st-2nd C AD	-		<u>ARAP</u> , 1974-75, p.24
28	Kandi	CD Medak dt., near	-	-	pd.II\$		<u>ARAP</u> , 1982-83, p.28
29	Karad	WD Satara dt., on confluence of R. Koyna & Krishna	-	-	ph.I&II		<u>ExK</u> , 1949, p.3

Sl No	Name of the Site	Location	Phase I 2000-1000 BC	Phase II 1000-200 AD	Phase III 200-500 AD	RC dating	Reference
30	Kaundinyapura	Amaravathi dt., on bank of R. Wardha	-	M/I pd.I	pd.IV		<u>IAR</u> , 1961-62,p.29
31	Kausan	Aurangabad dt., on the bank of R. Godavari	-	-	EH pd.I c300-100 AD		<u>IAR</u> , 1965-66,p.11
32	Keesargutta	Medak dt.,	-	-	ph.I 3rd-4th C BC		<u>ARDAM</u> ,1981-82,p.12
33	Keesarapalli	Krishna dt., 20 miles north-east of Vijayawada	Cpd.I. 8th to 5th C BC	pd.II.5th -1stC AD	pd. III. 3rd -4th C AD		<u>AI</u> ,22, 1966, p.37
34	Kholesvar	Amaravathi dt.,	-	-	EHS		<u>IAR</u> ,1978-79,p56
35	Kondapur 17°33N 78°1E	Medak dt. 43 north-west of Hyderabad	-	-	EHS		<u>ABORI</u> , 1941
36	Kotilingala	Karimnagar dt., between R.Pedda vagu & Godavari	-	-	pd.II 2nd BC- 1st C AD		<u>ARDAM</u> ,1981-82,p.19
37	Kudavelli	Mahboobnagar dt., on confluence of R. Krishna & Tungabhadra	-	-	pd.I 4th C AD- 6th C AD		<u>IAR</u> , 1978-79,p.5

Sl No	Name of the Site	Location	Phase I 2000-1000 BC	Phase II 1000-200 AD	Phase III 200-500 AD	RC dating	Reference
38	Kyatur	CD Mahboobnagar dt., 25kms from Karimnagar	-	M\$	-	-	<u>PHEHCMR, 1986, p.68</u>
39	Mandhal 20°57N 79°28E	CD Osmanabad dt., near Kajjala Irigation Project	-	-	\$	-	<u>IAR, 1987-88, p.88</u>
40	Mailipadu	ED Guntur dt.,	-	-	EHS	-	<u>IAR, 1987-88, p.</u>
41	Mantoor	CD Medak dt.,	lay VI \$	-	lay IV \$	-	<u>ARDAM, 1983-84, pp.2-3</u>
42	Maski	SD Raichur dt., on the bank of R. Tunga- dhara	-	pd.II c200BC- 1st C AD	pd.II c-200 AD	-	<u>AI, 13 1957, p.15</u>
43	Nagarjunakonda 16°31N 79° 14E	CD Guntur dt., on the bank of R. Krishna	ph.II&III c2000-1500BC	MPh. VII	-	-	<u>MASJ, 1972, p.72</u>
44	Nasik 20°02N 73°05E	WD Nasik dt., sou-	-	-	pd.IIA&IIB 500-100 AD	-	<u>ENJ, 1950-51, p.7</u>
45	Nelakondapally	Cd Khammam dt., 180 Kms south-east of Hyderabad	-	-	EHS	-	<u>ARDAM, 1984-85, p.18</u>
46	Nevasa	WD Ahmदनagar dt., on bank of R. Godavari	-	-	pd IV 200BC-100AD	-	<u>IAR, 1960-61, pp.20-21</u>

Sl No	Name of the Site	Location	Phase I 2000-1000 BC	Phase II 1000-200 AD	Phase III 200-500 AD	RC dating	Reference
47	Paiathan	CD Aurangabad dt., on bank of R. Godavan	-	pd.I/c300 100	EHS	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1965-66,p12
48	Palvoy	SD Anantapur dt.,	lay III	-	-	-	<u>PHPHCP</u> , 1976,p.9
49	Pauni	CD Bhandra dt., on bank of R. Wain ganga	-	ph.I&II 4th-3rd .C BC	ph.III 3rd-1st C AD	-	<u>PE</u> , 1972,p.
50	Peddabankur 18° 35N 79° 20E	CD Karimnagar dt., on bank of R. Manneru	-	300BC- 200Ad	EHS	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1968-78, p1-2
51	Peddachapalli	SD Cuddapah dt.,	-	-	EHS	-	<u>ARDAM</u> ,1977-78,
52	Peddamarur	CD Mahboobnagar dt.,	-	pd.IIS	EH,pd.IIS	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1977-78,p12
53	Pikihai	SD Raichur dt.,	LNUN=C*	-	-	-	<u>PE</u> , 1960,p.
54	Pochampadu	CD Adilabad dt.,	-	MS	-	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1963-64, p.1
55	Prakash 21° 30N 74°21E	WD Dhule dt., on the output bank of panchaganga	pd. IA&IB 1700-1500 BC 1500-1300 BC	pd.II c600-100BC	pd.III c2ndBC-6th AD	-	<u>AI</u> . 20&21, 1964-65,p.1
56	Pratyadevalampadu (identical to Kyatur)	CD Mahboobnagar dt.,	-	MS	-	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1963-64, p.1
57	Rekulapadu	CD Medak dt.,	-	1st-2nd C AD	-	-	<u>ARAP</u> , 1983-84,p.18

Sl No	Name of the Site	Location	Phase I 2000-1000 BC	Phase II 1000-200 AD	Phase III 200-500 AD	RC dating	Reference
58	Ramapuram	SD Bellary dt.,	ph.IA, B, C, \$	M@	-	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1981-82, pp.8-11
59	Sailhundam 18° 13N 84°15E	ED Srikakulam dt., bank of R. Vam- shadhara	-	-	3rd-4th C AD	-	<u>SBSAP</u> , 1964, pp.8-11
60	Sangankallu	SD Bellary dt.	pd.III ph.I	-	-	-	<u>EAS</u> , 1969, p.3
61	Sankavaram	SD Cuddapah dt.	-	M@	-	-	<u>DM</u> , 1988, p.54
62	Sannathi	SD Gulbarga dt.	-	-	EHS	-	<u>PUR</u> , 17, 1986-87, p.83
63	Satanikota 15° 55N 78°14E	SD Kurnool dt. right bank of R. Tung- bhadra	-	-	pd.II midd. 1stC BC -3rdC AD	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1977-78, pp.3-5
64	Songaon	WD Poona dt., confu- ence of R. Nira & Karha	Cpd.II&III S	-	-	-	<u>SE</u> , 1969, p.94
65	Serupalle	CD Mahboobnagar dt.	-	MIS	-	-	<u>PHEHOMR</u> , 1986-87, p.67
66	Takalghat 20°54N 78°56E	CD Nagpur right bank of Krishna	-	ph.IS	-	-	<u>ETK</u> , 1970, p.4
67	Tekkalakota 15°32N 76°53E	SD Bellary dt	N=C*pd.I pd.II	-	-	-	<u>SADI</u> , 1965, p.2

Sl No	Name of the Site	Location	Phase I 2000-1000 BC	Phase II 1000-200 AD	Phase III 200-500 AD	RC dating	Reference
68	Ter 15°32N 76°53E	WD Osmanabad dt.,	-	pd.I 300-100 BC pd.II 100 BC-100 AD	pd.III 50 AD 300 AD		<u>ET</u> , 1969,p.18
69	Tharsa 21°13N 79°9E	CD Nagpur dt,on	-	lay 2 & 4\$	-		<u>IAR</u> , 1985-86,p.58
70	Theur	WD Poona dt, bank R.Mutha	CS	-	-		<u>IAR</u> , 1969-70, p.27
71	Tuljha-puri Garhi	CD Amraoti dt, bank	ph.A&B\$				<u>IAR</u> , 1984-85,p.48
72	Vanithamandalam	ED Srikulam dt, northern bank of R.Vamshadara	-	-	EMS		<u>JAAR</u> , Vol.1.,,1979,p.117.
73	Vadagaon-Madhapur	SD -	-	-	EH		<u>MADHJ</u> , 1981,pp.110-111.
74	Varsus 21°15N 75°10E	WD Dhule dt, on R. Bura	-	-	EHS		<u>IAR</u> , 1978-79,p.16
75	Veerapuram 16°00N 78° 15E	SD Kurnool dt, on right bank of R. Krishna	-	-	-		<u>VTSCS</u> , 19984,p.
76	Yelleswaram 16°29N 78°10E	SD Nalgonda dt, on bank of R.Krishna	-	MS	pd.II 1st&2ndC AD pd.III&IV c300-500 AD		<u>AMYE</u> ,1963,p.4

KEY for Signs:

- = - overlap
- * - intrusion
- \$ - date not available
- @ - Terracotta Sarcophagus
- RC - Radio Carbon

Key to phases:

- LN - Lower Neolithic
- UPN - Upper Neolithic
- C - Chalcolithic
- M - Megalithic
- I - Iron-age
- EH - Early Historic
- WD - Western Deccan
- SD - Southern Deccan
- ED - Eastern Deccan
- CD - Central Deccan

Southern Deccan has sites for which we have six excavation reports, and for the rest of the excavated sites information has been mainly taken from the Indian Archaeology - A Review and the Annual Reports of the State Government of Andhra Pradesh. The first important excavation report published was that by R.E.M.Wheeler on Brahmagiri and Chandravalli which was excavated in 1947¹²⁰. (Chart I, 8,13) It has been suggested by scholars that Brahmagiri can be considered an important site of the Mauryan period and identified with the township of Isila. Sites like Maski¹²¹ Piklihal¹²² Tekkalakota¹²³, Palvoy¹²⁴ show important phase of transition from the neolithic to the iron age (Chart I 42, 48, 53,67). At Piklihal the upper phase of the neolithic is often marked by a chalcolithic intrusion (Chart I, 53). The lower phase of the neolithic at Palvoy is predominantly marked by ashmounds, hand made pottery and animal figurines¹²⁵. Sites like Ramapuram¹²⁶, Sankavaram¹²⁷ are known for megalithic sarcophagus in animal forms, whereas Satanikota¹²⁸ and Veerapuram¹²⁹ are rich in other terracotta finds (Chart I, 58, 61, 63, 75) The earliest settlement in the Southern Deccan are known to us from Wheeler's excavations. Though most of the sites are not rich in terracotta finds when compared with eastern and western Deccan, the transition phases can be located from sites like Maski, Piklihal and so on. In the same region Hallur is an important iron-age site¹³⁰. Terracottas in this region can clearly be identified as those emerging from the village based economy. Some terracottas found from the Salihundam site in phase III show Greco-Roman influence.

With the help of IAR's Annual Reports of the Department of Archneology find Museums, Andhra Pradesh we have tried to locate the various sites scattered in the Deccan region. Some of the IAR's contain at length description of the nature of the stie and material remains excavated, whereas a majority of the sites mentioned in them only indicate the material remain excavated in a perfunctory manner. Articles on understanding terracottas finds from excavations have been located in journals like the Purātattva. Most of the articles on understanding the subject have been scattered in different volumes of Journals and many were mainly concerned with describing tenacottas as part of art history. Sometimes articles about terracottas which were published way back between 1930-40 are not found in the excavation reports and this forms a lacunae for our study. The terracottas reported from the archaeological reports sometimes merely mention the word 'terracotta' or 'terracotta bead' and do not mention to which phase they belong or what type of terracotta it is. In the excavation reports so far published, these objects no doubt are dealt with and illustrated but only casually and not fully examined and judged from the point of view of arts or crafts. While referring to terracottas and other art objects, S. P. Gupta points out that a change in the writings of these objects should be adopted instead of using the method of periodizations like the Mauryan art, Kushan art, and the Gupta art suggests that terractottas should be studied along with pottery and other inter-disciplinary subjects as anthropology, sociology, and archaeology in a comprehensive manner¹³². The present study attempts an

analysis of the process of the development and evolution of terracottas on one hand, and the artistic talent and aesthetic sense that they depicted, during the successive phases of the period covered in this study.

Apart from the archaeological sources, we have also taken the literary and inscriptional works for further references. Ancient literature is extensively used in this study as a source of information about the nature of arts and crafts in ancient India. Ancient literature has proved to be of invaluable help as a complementary source of data for this study. Literature has revealed and filled up the gaps which archaeology had left open. Of the four Vedas, the Yajur veda, and the Atharva veda dated to c 1000 - 800 BC have been referred to note the various terms used to describe the potter-artist like kumhara, śurūpakirtanu, śuśilpa, and so on¹³³. Artists involved in the terracotta making have been referred to as pustakāraka, kumhara etc., from the Samhitas¹³⁴ and Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa. Regarding the geographical names and places and the ethnological know how of ancient India literature like the Brahmaṇas, Mahābhārata, Ramayana and Purānas, and other literature like Hala's Gāthā Sapta Sati have been referred to¹³⁵.

The source that deals with the study of inscriptions is known as 'Epigraphy'. Inscriptions provide information regarding the names of places, names of guilds artisans and donations made by artisans/groups. With regard to the Deccan region the earliest inscriptions have been found in the

southern Deccan in the form of the Asokan inscriptions¹³⁶. Three Asokan rock edicts and five minor rock edicts are of particular importance for us as they provide information on the tribal names, territories, of the ancient period for the Deccan region¹³⁷.

For the early historic phase we have made use of the edited and translated versions of inscription obtained from the following journals: Epigraphica Indica, Epigraphica Andhrica, and the Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society. These journals have been referred to by us to know the terms used for guilds, merchants and fiscal terms. Here to the term used for the potter is addressed to as kumhara. The Satavahana inscriptions have been largely found in the western Deccan, though fragmentary inscriptions have also been located in the eastern Deccan. Further, in order to define and get information on the physical geography of the Deccan under study we have made use of Gazeetters of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.

For the study of terracottas at sites like Dhulikatta, Peddabankur, Piklihal, Yelleswaram, and sites like Arni, Bhokardhan, Pauni, we have a collection of Photographs from the State Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, Departmental Museum, Nagpur, Nagpur University, which focusses the inborn skill of the artisan/craftsmen at the time of neolithic-chalcolithic to early historical phase. From the private collection of Mr. Patel we have a few illustrations of beads, ear ornaments, figurines and so on for the site of Paithan. According to Mr. Patel these objects are not reported from excavations at the site but were

given to him by various people during the construction of the dam on the river Godavari. Most of the illustrations belong to the early historic phase and have parallels with the objects found from Ter and Bhokardhan which were found during the course of excavations.

Relevant data on the terracottas presented in this study come from the excavated sites and form the core of our empirical information and these have all been charted out in the various charts prepared for this thesis. This data reveals numerous objects along with terracottas and throw considerable light on the artistic talent and craftsmanship of the people of ancient Deccan. They further reveal that the involvement of social groups for the production of terracottas was abundant. Literary sources also corroborate this aspect. However, for the present thesis our use of literary and inscriptional sources has been limited.

To conclude, the writings on terracottas came to be focussed upon mainly from the 19th century onwards. Even though sites were excavated and terracottas were found, scholars and historians had concentrated in the early writings on art history especially on architecture and sculpture. Coomaraswamy, for the first time, focussed on writing about terracottas and showed "how they were important not only as documents of the religious culture but as documents of the history of art". Most work from the 1960s onwards, relating to terracottas was concerned with northern parts of India especially Bengal and the Ganga-Jamuna doab. Many of the authors writing

on terracottas have tried to look at terracottas as art objects. It has been more recent writing that has looked at the evolution of terracottas in their socio-cultural and religious context. As far as Deccan region is concerned we have information on terracottas from excavation reports and reviews but still a systematic study of terracottas found in this region needs to be done. By undertaking a study on terracottas we hope to explain how it developed from an object of craft to become an art form by taking into account both the archaeological and literary evidence, Though terracottas flourished in different phases it was by no means static in content and form. Thus, by undertaking this study, not only a much neglected area of history will get focussed upon but, at the same time, a more complete socio-cultural history of the region would emerge.

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CHAPTER II
NEOLITHIC-CHALCOLITHIC PHASE 1

CHAPTER II

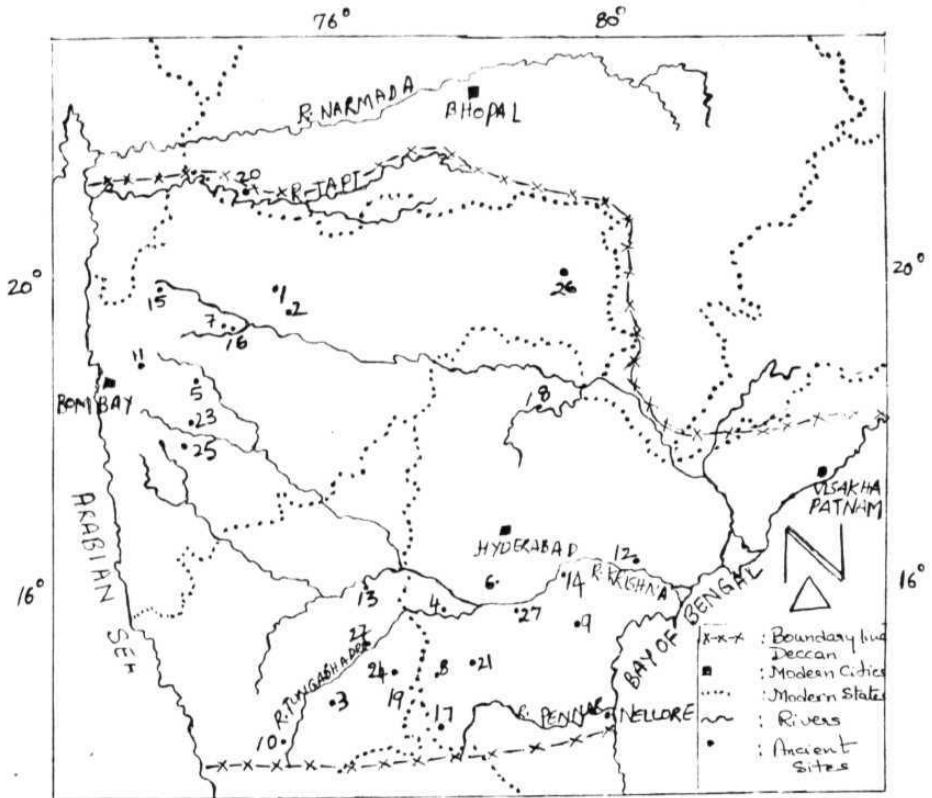
NEOLITHIC-CHALCOLITHIC PHASE I

In this chapter we shall place the study of terracottas against the background of the material cultures of the Deccan pertaining to the neolithic chalcolithic periods of human habitation. Broadly speaking the chronological span of this phase I has been taken up to be from around c 2000 B.C.- 1000 B.C. Keeping in view the length of the neolithic chalcolithic period and its variations, we propose to study the nature of the early settlements and the terracottas available at various sites in a chronological order. An attempt is made here to understand and describe the factual material pertaining to them and to discuss the various stages of the terracotta tradition as part of the overall material cultures of the times. Terracottas, we argue were products of different social and economic environments and this is another aspect we propose to highlight in this chapter.

The physical boundaries of the Deccan present varied geographical divisions with their historical and cultural peculiarities. For the neolithic-chalcolithic phase the number of excavated sites discussed by us are 27 which show evidence of terracottas. These sites are shown in Chart II in alphabetical order indicated by serial numbers. The columns showing tools, artefacts, pottery and terracottas indicate at a glance, the wide range of material cultures. These sites have further been marked on Map III. A brief

MAP III

DISTRIBUTION OF SITES WITH TERRACOTTA FINDS - NEOLITHIC - CHALCOLITHIC PHASE I



* Names of Sites indicated by serial no. on this map are

Given in Chart II, pp. 83-4

description of the geographical location of these sites is first and foremost necessary and we start from the north western part of the Deccan. The western Deccan has three major rivers, i.e., the Tapti, the upper Godavari, the river Krishna and its tributaries all providing the locale for the distribution of the material cultures and the settlement patterns in this part of the Deccan from time to time. The upper Godavari basin is rich in archaeological remains ranging from the Paleolithic to the early historic period. Fifteen miles before Nasik, the Godavari receives on the right bank the waters of the river Pravara and Mula near the Harischander hills. It is on the south bank of the river Pravara in Ahmadnagar district that the earlier settlement at Nevasa flourished (Chart I, 46)¹. On the left bank of the river Pravara the excavations have brought to light the site of Daimabad² (Chart I,15). The people of the Malwa culture occupied large tracts of land in the Tapti valley and also certain areas in the Pravara-Godavari and Bhima valleys (Map III). They occupied Inamgaon³ and Prakash⁴ quite extensively (Chart I, 23,55). The succeeding cultures i.e., the Jorwe culture in the western Deccan was spread over a large area bounded by the Purna valley in Vidharbha to the east, the Tapti valley in the north, upper Krishna valley in the south and Theur⁵ to the west of Pune (Chart I,70). Important sites of the Pravara-Godavari basin during this phases are Apegaon⁶, Chandoli⁷, Sonegaon⁸, Tuljhapur-Garhi⁹ in Aurangabad District of Maharashtra (Chart I, 4,12,64,71). The frequency of the Malwa sites decreased south of the Tapi valley and the distance between the sites also increased, due to different climatic condition and a more arid

environment. A number of radio-carbon dates place the neolithic-chalcolithic cultures in the second millenium B.C. in the Pravara-Godavari and the *Bhima* valleys where its evolution and prosperity spread primarily resulting in the fusion of the Malwa and the southern neolithic cultures¹⁰. C-14 dates from the sites like Nevasa, Chandoli, Sonegaon would suggest that the cultures attained their prosperity between c 1300-1000 B.C.¹¹

The river Godavari which flows in the south-eastern direction is then joined by rivers like the Pranhita, Wardha and Wainganga,. A recent excavation in the Wardha-Wainganga basin has brought to light the settlement at Adam indicating the Vidharbha Chalcolithic' phase¹² (Chart I, 1). Krishna, the other major river, rises in the western ghats and flows southwards skirting the eastern spurs of the hills as it enters the state of Andhra Pradesh. Here, the Krishna drops from the table-land of the Deccan to the alluvial doab of Shorapur and Raichur. Excavations on its lower banks has brought to light Agiripalli¹³ and Keesarpalli¹⁴ in the Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh (Chart I, 2,33). Period I at Keesarpalli is marked by the Chalcolithic cultures (Chart I, 33). On the right bank of the river Krishna, excavations have revealed the settlements at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā in Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh¹⁵ (Chart I, 43). Between the river Krishna and the Tungabhadra recent excavations have revealed two important settlements, ie., Chagtur¹⁶ and Peddamarrur¹⁷ in Mehboobnagar district of Andhra Pradesh (Chart I, 11,52).

Archaeological data indicates that the Raichur Doab, i.e., the stretch between the Krishna and Tungabhadra especially the area adjacent to the Krishna was the home-land of important groups of neolithic pastorals. Excavations at sites like Brahmagiri¹⁸, Hallur¹⁹, Maski²⁰, Piklihal²¹, Sangankallu²² indicate that the neolithic sites were mostly concentrated around the upper courses of the Krishna and its tributaries (Chart I, 8,21,42,53,60). According to Sankalia the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab region proved to be a contact zone for the development of neolithic sites in the lower Krishna and the chalcolithic cultures in the upper Krishna region²³.

Prehistoric settlements in Deccan have been revealed from the palaeolithic and mesolithic times onwards. The Palaeolithic sites have been largely located on red sandy soils, whereas Mesolithic sites have been found on red, brown, and black soils²⁴. Settlements during the Palaeolithic period were first confined to river valleys and slowly they spread to the plateau in the subsequent Mesolithic period. Pachad and Hathkambha caves on the Konkan coast have yielded important evidence of Mesolithic cultures²⁵. The Mesolithic cultures of this phase were mainly comprised of Abevillan and Acheulean industry of scrape, burin and the microliths²⁶. Sangankallu has yielded evidence of a Mesolithic tool industry²⁷ (Chart II, 22). Tools like scrapers pebbles, etc., have been associated with hunting and food gathering. The hunter food gatherers usually denoted an extended range of food collection with dwellings also being portable²⁸. In the Deccan these early

habitations formed the essential background for subsequent human interventions.

In the Indian context the first food gatherers and food producers had their own art in the form of pictures depicting cattle, men and spears²⁹. These works may seem unsophisticated to us but were depictions of those objects which must have had a sacred as well as economic utility for him. To put it more precisely, these works could be treated as the experience of the artist in every day life and he must have done them for his own satisfaction as the principle of patronage had not developed by then³⁰. Thus even the most rudimentary society has its own art and develops that art which it favours and tolerates. Artists as members of society create their artistic work in accordance to the type of relations existing in society³¹. Though these cultures reveal the use of a wide variety of tools archaeology does not give us any evidence of terracottas during this phase of earliest human habitation in the Deccan.

In anthropological terms, the neolithic culture has been understood in terms of its cultural predominance which in the words of Sahlins differentiates them from the earlier inhabitants. Thus, "tribal people and cultures have been connected with neolithic techniques of production, as if the latter necessarily usher in evolutionary advances beyond the cultural capacities of hunters"³². The neolithic cultures are characterised firstly by the

systematic exploitation of natural resources and secondly, the tendency to settle permanently in the open or, to make seasonal migrations to potential habitational areas³³. Sankalia opines that the neolithic life style was an advanced stage in the process of human civilisation³⁴.

Archaeologists have defined the cultures of neolithic phase on the basis of tool technology. Tool making has been represented in the production of ground and polished tools. Efforts for permanent settlements, pottery making also assume importance during this phase. The cultural assemblage, of this phase therefore consists of pottery, various types of tools, house plans etc.

The neolithic culture in the Deccan is identified by variations in different parts of the region. Southern Deccan has predominant number of neolithic sites in which the lower and upper stages are clearly distinguished (Chart II, 3,8,17,19,20,22) (Map III). The lower neolithic phase at Piklihal consists of a stone-axe industry, a blade and bladelet tool techno-complex, hand made pottery, and cattle-rearing as their economy (Chart II, 19)³⁵. The earliest cattle rearing dates back to between c. 2300 B.C. - 1800 B.C., and is evident from the numerous ashmounds excavated from sites like Palvoy, and the like (Chart II, 17). F.R. Allchin has inferred that the ashmounds were results of the ritual burning of cowdung accumulations in cow-pens of neolithic communities³⁶. According to Rami Reddy the spatial distribution suggest that the movements of ashmound folk and their activity was from the

CHART II
Material Culture-Neolithic-Chalcolithic
Phase - I

Sl No	Name of the Site	Tools	Structures	Pottery	Terracottas	Miscellaneous	Reference
1	Adam	WD ml, cuip	mf.	RWBRW	clay floors	--	PUR 20, 1989-90, p.96-97
2	Apegaon	WD ml,	--	GWRW/Mw	bds	--	EA, 1976, p.2
3	Brahmagiri	WD ml,	--	GWRW	--	--	Al.4, 1947-48, p.202
4	Chagtur	CD bl	ssb.	RPWBRW	--	--	IAR, 1977-78, p.11
5	Chandoli	WD pb, st,	fl, qm, bu,	Mw, JW	af, zf,	--	CC, 1965, p.2
6	Chinnamarur	CD ml, st,	hp, kilns	GWRW	af, bds	--	PHEHOMR, 1996, p.73
7	Daimabad	WD ah, sb,	mw, kilns	GWRW, JW	af, hf, vot, ds	--	IAR, 1979-80, p.39
8	Elchuru	ED sb,	--	RWBW	bds.	--	IAR, 1988-89, p.3
9	Gandlur	ED ca,	pd, h,	GW, buff, br	lp,	--	IAR, 1988-89, p.2
10	Hallur	SD cuip,	ub,	GWRWBW,	af,	--	PHCTV, 1971, p.14
11	Inangaon	WD sa,	hp, kilns,	BRW, Mw, JW,	af, hf, bds, vot, ds	--	PUR 8, 1975-79, p.4
12	Keesarpalli	ED --	--	GWRW	bds.	--	Al.22, 1966, p.37

Key : Tools & Terracottas: af-animal figurines, ah-arrow heads, am-ash mounds, bds-beads, bp-bone point, bu-burials, ca-copper axes, ch-circular huts, cuip-copper implements, cb-cists burials, fl-floors, h-house, hf-human figurines, hp-house plans, lf-lime floors, lp-lamps ml-mud floors, ml-microliths, mw-mud wals, pb-polished blades, pd-pit dwellings, qr-querns, sa-stone axes, sb-stone balls, ssb-shale stone blocks, st-stone tools, ub-urn burials, wd-wattle daub, vot-votive offerings.

Key : Pottery : BRW-black and red ware, GW-grey ware, KW-kaaku ware, JW-jorwe ware, Mw-maiwa ware, RW-red ware, RPW-red painted ware, NBPW-northern black polished ware.

Sl No	Name of the Site	Tools	Structures	Pottery	Terracottas	Miscellaneous	Reference
13	Maski	SD ml,	--	--	--	--	<u>AI</u> , 13, 1957-58, p. 15
14	Nagarjunakonda	ED ml,	ch, mf, pd	GW,			<u>IAR</u> , 1965-66, p. 77
15	Nasik	WD ml, sb	--	--	--	--	<u>IAR</u> , 1954-55, p. 6
16	Nevasa	WD -	--	GW, MW, JRW,	af, hf, zf, vot, ds	--	<u>IAR</u> , 1954-55, p. 7
17	Palvay	SD ml,	am,	GW, RW, BW	af,		<u>IAR</u> , 1967-68, p. 2
18	Peddabankur	CD ml, st					<u>IAR</u> , 1969-70, p. 1-2
19	Piklihal	SD sa,	am, mf,	GW,	af, hf,		<u>PE</u> , 1960, p. xv
20	Prakash	WD ml,		BRW, GW, MW,	af,	--	<u>AI</u> , 20&21, 1964-65, p. 14
21	Ramapuram	SD	cb,	RW,	af	--	<u>IAR</u> , 1981-82, p. 4
22	Sangankallu	SD cuip, sa,	ch,	buff ware, GW,	af,		<u>EAS</u> , 1969, p. 3
23	Songaon	WD	lf,	GW, JW, MW, RW,	lp,	--	<u>SE</u> , 1969, p. 44
24	Tekkalakota	SD sa,	ch,	buff ware, GW,	af,	--	<u>SADI</u> , 1965, p. 2
25	Theur	WD -	-	GW, RW,	bd,	--	<u>IAR</u> , 1969-70, p. 27
26	Tuljhapur Garhi	WD ml,	ch,	JW, MW,	bd,	semi prescuos stones	<u>IAR</u> , 1984-85, p. 48
27	Veerapuram	SD bp,	ub, wd,	buff ware, Gw, Rw,	af, bd,	--	<u>VTSTV</u> , 1984, p. 23

Key : Tools & Terracottas: af-animal figurines, ah-arrow heads, am-ash mounds, bds-beads, bp-bone point, bu-burials, ca-copper axes, ch-circular huts, cuip-copper implements, cb-cists burials, fl-floors, h-house, hf-human figurines, hp-house plans, lf-lime floors, lp-lamps mf-mud floors, ml-microliths, mw-mud wals, pb-polished blades, pd-pit dwellings, qr-querns, sa-stone axes, sb-stone balls, sbb-shale stone blocks, st-stone tools, ub-urn burials, wd-wattle daub, vot-votive offerings.

Key : Pottery : BRW-black and red ware, GW-grey ware, KW-kaoku ware, JW-jonwe ware, MW-maiwa ware, RW-red ware, RPW-red painted ware, NBPW-northern black polished ware.

north-west to the south-eastern direction of the peninsula³⁷. On the other hand, Amita Ray points out that the ashes burnt out of cowdung indicate that these were seasonal camp sites which were associated with religious festivals as is today performed in the modern festivals like Makara Sankranti or Pongal³⁸.

The upper neolithic in the Deccan is marked by a significant development in the settlement and economy. The neolithic-chalcolithic cultures in the southern Deccan were represented by a significant overlap often of the intrusive nature in the latter cultures. The cultural and material equipment of this region also shows significant differences from its western Deccan counterparts³⁹. According to Subba Rao the coarse grey urns with associated tools like polished axes at Nevasa is probably a good evidence of definite contact and movements from the north to the south and *vica-versa*⁴⁰. Nāgārjunakoṇḍā in coastal Andhra shows a continuance from the early neolithic to the early historic times but with the absence of chalcolithic phase⁴¹ (Chart II, 14). Brahmagiri in the southern Deccan also shows a significant continuance from the lower neolithic period but is represented by the overlap of a chalcolithic phase⁴² (Chart II, 3). The potter's assemblage of the neolithic-chalcolithic overlaps at Brahmagiri has been suggested by the occurrence of black and red ware and imitations of Jorwe ware⁴³ (Chart II, 3).

The material culture of several sites in the Deccan for the neolithic phase mainly consists of stone-axes and a blade and burin industry at sites

like Chagtur, Chinnamarur, Pilklihal (Chart II, 4,6,19). It is interesting to note that in the north-western part of the Vidharbha and Telangana region the neolithic folk made effective use of the locally available raw material like chert, chalcedony and occasionally quartz. This region was sought after by man because of ready availability of the geological formation of basalts. Sites like Nasik, in western Deccan have brought to light a profuse collection of microliths, stone-blades and copper blades (Chart II, 15)⁴⁴.

By applying the geo-morphological analysis Amita Ray tries to indicate that the lower-Krishna valley provided for continuous settlements from pre-historic times⁴⁵. In coastal Andhra, Keesarpalle and Nāgarjunakoṇḍā have thrown light on the different cultural phases (Chart II, 12,14). Keesarpalle represents short blade microliths, neoliths and burnished grey ware⁴⁶, where as Nāgarjunakoṇḍā displays a profuse stone blade industry in its three phases (Chart II, 14)⁴⁷. The common materials used were chert and rock crystal. While comparing the western and the central Deccan the tool equipment appears to be homogenous in its nature. The occurrence of chalcolithic in the neolithic is represented by the microliths and copper tools. According to B.Subbarao there was substantial possibility of cultural contact within the Deccan region. This contact has been suggested by the findings of uniform material equipment in the form of polished stone tools⁴⁸.

The neolithic cultures of western Deccan were represented by simple structures like pit dwellings, fractional burials, mud floors, circular

hutments and house plans (Chart II, 1,5,7,11). Central Deccan has no significant habitational settlement whereas southern Deccan represents neolithic habitational sites during the successive sub-phases of the neolithic period. The structures include houses, circular hutments, pits and burials (Chart II, 10,19,21,22). These structural remains show the continuous settled nature of the neolithic-chalcolithic people with attempts of permanent settlements⁴⁹. The settlement of the people also show the gradual attempt to be acquainted with nature and with a new technology⁵⁰. The settlements also signify the natural selection of the neolithic-chalcolithic folk of areas that were fertile and were also in close proximity to natural springs and water resources. The structures also represent some cultural contact in the form of burial within the same region i.e., sites like Tekkalakota and Tekwada have burials which have been taken to resemble one another (Chart II, 24).

The process of farming during neolithic-chalcolithic times was possibly carried out by clearing the surrounding jungles. Farming necessitated disturbance of natural vegetation. The events of the earliest disturbance of natural vegetation by prehistoric man to clear land for farming can be depicted through pollen analysis of lake and swamp deposits⁵¹. This disturbance, according to Vishnu Mittre, may have been due to the presence of charcoal fragments in the corresponding levels of the lake sediments, suggesting clearance of natural vegetation by means of fire⁵². However the most important invention that man made during this phase was the wheel and

plough. The plough was made as a wedge dividing the soil and the wheel for grinding crops⁵³. The rubbing stones and querns suggest that some sort of grain cultivation existed in the early neolithic phase. M.L.K.Murthy refers to the introduction of an agro-pastoral way of life into the hitherto hunter-gatherer habitates resulting in the creation of a new cultural eco-system⁵⁴. The contact of hunter gatherers with the early farming communities resulted in the splitting of hunter-gatherers into different specialised professionals as evidence for the practise of agriculture⁵⁵. Allchin suggests that millets like bajra which was cultivated in western Deccan may have come from Africa⁵⁶. The neolithic folk of western Deccan knew the art of terracing the crop on hills which helped the soil and moisture to conserve itself after monsoon⁵⁷.

The chalcolithic culture in Deccan which emerged out of this early phase of habitation are marked by a well organised village based economy, and in this regard work on the western Deccan sites is important for the study of social formation. Dhavalikar suggests that the reason for the confinement of these early settlements to the river beds in the absence of sophisticated technological equipment, may be due to the availability of the black cotton soil of this region⁵⁸. This ecological variation seems to have influenced the nature of the village based cultures. Further, Dhavalikar points out that the early settlement cultures that flourished in Maharashtra represent a cultural process with a distinct regional mark⁵⁹.

The early farming communities subsisted not only on farming but also on hunting and fishing. This method of mixed economy continued to exist in the chalcolithic times⁶⁰. Agriculture brought large communities together for subsistence, which further led to the division of labour for efficient farming and craft specialisation⁶¹. This may have been due to two possible reasons: i) greater concentration of people at one place ii) because of increased food supply⁶². Inamgaon has revealed a mature chalcolithic period which was based on mixed economy (Chart II, 11)⁶³. The technique of floatation has been utilised by Dhavalikar to understand the basis of subsistence of early farming communities and the seasonal crops, they cultivated⁶⁴. On the basis of understanding this technique it was concluded that the farmers practised the system of crop rotation as is done today. Irrigation is also said to have played an important role amongst the chalcolithic early farmers⁶⁵. This is evident from the construction of a bund to divert the river Ghod for artificial irrigation which was known to the early farmers who cultivated wheat during the early Jorwe phase, i.e., c 1400 - 1000 B.C., at Inamgaon⁶⁶ (Chart II, 11). According to Dhavalikar the control of water or storing surplus water emphasised that there existed a kind of centralised authority⁶⁷. The formation of ruling elite, specialised craftsmen, forming of a class structured society must have been due to accumulation of increased surplus. The chalcolithic site formation at Inamgaon reveals that they can be considered as a ranked society. This is also evident from Daimabad which corroborates the existence of public structures such as fortifications, granary etc., (Chart II, 7)⁶⁸.

In the Telangana region sites like Chinnamarrur appear to be prominent with their chalcolithic finds (Chart II, 6)⁶⁹. The earliest levels here have yielded hutments with lime flooring. Further, the excavations have yielded stratified levels with tools and chisels signifying the metal activity and animal diet of the people. Sites like Brahmagiri, Sangankallu, Veerapuram have signified a chalcolithic phase often, in the form of intrusion into the upper neolithic (Chart II, 3,22,27). Because of the intrusive nature of the existence of copper, it has been thought that the evidence of copper may not necessarily mean the knowledge of copper working⁷⁰.

During the prehistoric phase of the neolithic times man created the first synthetic material, i.e., pottery. Earthen ware vessels coupled with other inventions assured the stone age man a comfortable and settled life. This marked a significant technological development from the early palaeolithic stage and is concomitant with the rise of food production in most parts of the world. The discovery of pottery gave the early man an opportunity to display and apply his aesthetic sense by means of decoration through paintings and also by making a variety of shapes in pots. Development of pottery making also effected the making of terracottas. Therefore, in outlining the chief features of the material cultures above we naturally have to give an indepth analysis of the ceramic culture. Pottery is an important source which helps us to build up the sequence of cultures and reconstruct the material cultures of the neolithic-chalcolithic times in a systematic way. The various

types of pottery have been studied based on the pottery which has survived through time and found documented in excavations reports. Along with these ceramic remains, the terracotta objects also emerge for the first time in human society. Various factors including cultural ones led to their creation producing a variety of forms. Their technology was closely related to the developments in ceramic technology.

According to scholars soil formation is an important determinant of the regional features influencing the culture and prosperity of a region and also its use in making pottery⁷¹. By using the contextual approach Matson had analyzed and related pottery making techniques to ceramic ecology. Ceramic ecology thus studies ceramic environ, local resources etc., that made pottery making viable and its particular nature⁷². Ceramic ecology was further linked with ethnographic settings which included behaviour pattern in pottery making tools etc⁷³. In the prehistoric context this behaviour was inferred by making specific analogies with ethnographically known pottery making communities. Sites like Daimabad Inamgaon, Prakash located were all reported in rich black and alluvial soils, and their surroundings were characterised by thick vegetation⁷⁴. The black cotton soil, however, also provided a rich pottery assemblage which marked the regional tradition known through the types called Jorwe, Malwa, and the Savalda ware (Chart II, 2, 5, 7, 11). Daimabad has the earliest inhabitants of the neolithic phase using a coarse grey ware and red hand-made pottery (Chart II, 7)⁷⁵.

This grey ware was hand-made pottery and resembled that from Brahmagiri in southern Deccan (Chart II, 3)⁷⁶. Peddamarrur in the Telangana region have revealed the early neolithic occupations which preceded the chalcolithic intrusion. Nāgārjunakoṇḍā Pd II has revealed red ware and grey ware (Chart II, 14). At Hallur and Palvay excavations revealed grey ware, red ware, and black ware respectively (Chart II, 10,17).

As pottery forms an important component of the material culture it involves the study and technique of making pottery. The method of pottery making employed by potters may be broadly classified into two: those made by hand modelling and those made by wheel throwing⁷⁷. In the lower neolithic phase the popular ware was made by hand⁷⁸. The most important resource in pottery manufacturing is 'clay' for the vessel body. For studying clay and its composition scientist, archaeologists mainly focus on the rock forming minerals like silicate or sedimentary type of rocks that are found in it⁷⁹. These types of rocks occur naturally with a characteristic chemical composition and a regularly ordered atomic structure⁸⁰. The term 'clay' usually denotes a fine grained earthy material that becomes plastic or malleable when moistened. For pottery manufacturing the most important and basic requirement is the preparation of clay⁸¹.

While referring to the text Sakalādhikāra V.V. Krishna Sastry points out that there are ten types of clay; those found in deep lakes, rivers, and

hills, tanks, etc⁸². The text further goes on to describe that powdered lac and decotation was also added to these clay mixtures⁸³. The clay was then well kneaded and pressed⁸⁴. In the western Deccan tempers like donkey's dung are said to have been added to the clay whereas in the Vidharbha and Telangana region and in the southern Deccan ash and quartz, are said to have been used as tempers⁸⁵. According to Nagaraja Rao quartz powder when mixed in the preparation of the paste gave a glittering surface to the vessels⁸⁶. With the help of ethnographic survey Arnold Dean explains that the potter, to acquire clay tempers etc., obtained them from within seven kilometers of the potter's living area or resource area⁸⁷. The catchment area and the potting location may vary since other factors were involved such as location of the market for the distribution of produce etc.⁸⁸

The technique involved in the hand modelling process can be further classified under three groups : a) Pressing b) Moulding c) the Strip method. In the first process a lump of clay was pressed in the hand between the thumb and fingers. Different tools were further used to get the desired form. From this process of the pressing method, the technique of moulds emerged⁸⁹. In the strip method each circuit of pot was formed by a separate strip of clay which were arranged one upon the other and pressed into union⁹⁰. After getting the shape of the pot, the potter treated the pot with shaving, drying, polishing and so on. After the drying of pots the next process involved was to fire them. According to Sarasvathi the process of firing was,

and is, done in three ways i.e., open firing, oven firing and kiln firing⁹¹. Productive technology of firing involved two methods for making of different types of pottery⁹². They were the process of oxidising and the process of reduction⁹³. In the process of oxidising, atmosphere firing was done through combustion, where in the burning gas supplied oxygen which carried metals into the clay to give oxide colours⁹⁴. Under this type the fired pots became grey. At sites like Brahmagiri, Palvay, the pottery of the neolithic phase was crudely made of unslipped blotchy grey ware whereas, in the same region at sites like Maski grey ware was dressed with a thin slip (Chart II, 13). Thus, within the same region variation in the technique of pottery making can be seen.

In the open firing method pots were piled upon a flat piece of ground on a raised platform or, in a dug out hallowed ground⁹⁵. The fuel was placed below and or above the pots. In this process the stuffed inside part and the rim part of the pots turned out black, while the exposed become red⁹⁶. Excavations at Daimabad, Inamgaon have thrown to light on the existence of a potters kiln (Chart II, 7,11). The existence of kilns in the later period, i.e., the Chalcolithic period shows that the demand for making pots had now become considerably usefull for it began to serve varied purposes like cooking, storing etc⁹⁷. Marie-Claude Mahias observes that in the process of pottery making the constraints in determining the material aspects were more numerous than the technical problems⁹⁸. Citing some examples, she

argues that the potters kiln demanded large investment of wood etc., which the potters probably found difficult to meet". Therefore, the potters may not have been able to adopt this technique on a large scale¹⁰⁰.

The pottery in the Chalcolithic phase was all wheel made which was an improvement on the earlier method. The method or process involved in wheel throwing after the processing of clay was to place a lump of clay on the wheel with its mass carefully centered while the wheel was simultaneously rotated¹⁰¹. The potter manipulated the lump deftly with his fingers to shape it into a hollow ware. In the western Deccan the potter usually worked on a socketed spoked wheel¹⁰². The socketed spoked wheel had three principal points a nave, a felly, and connecting spokes¹⁰³. The stone socket was embedded in the under surface of the nave and the pivot was fixed separately into the ground. In the western Deccan the potter used the socketed spoked wheel and used a long stick to twirl the wheel while standing but he shaped the vessels by squatting down¹⁰⁴. On the other hand in the southern Deccan, the pivoted wheel was used by the potter who constantly leaned on the wheel during the course of work¹⁰⁵. Subsequently, the wheel thrown pots were beaten and enlarged. The tools involved in the process of beating is called the anvil. Excavation reports from Tekkalakota have revealed stone anvils without a knob¹⁰⁶. The purpose of beating the pot was to enlarge the size of the wheel turned pot¹⁰⁷. Thus after these processes were completed the potter further treated it with various ways like

shaving slipping, engraving etc., before it was ready for firing. In the southern Deccan terracotta dabbers had been used by the porters to remove the excess quantity of clay¹⁰⁸. Through the reduction method the wheel made pots were turned to black¹⁰⁹. In the western Deccan this method in the chalcolithic phase was extensively used and the types of vessels produced were jars, bowls, etc¹¹⁰., further, the overlap of megalithic culture in period II of Brahmagiri has brought to light a large amount of black ware (Chart II, 3)¹¹¹.

The black and red ware has been found at Daimabad in phase III and at Prakash in phase 1,2,3 (Chart II, 7). At Daimabad the BRW had a slight lustre resulting from cloth or leather burnishing or polishing¹¹². The texture was dense which consisted of fine material and some vegetable matter¹¹³. The BRW at Prakash was recovered from the lower levels of the chalcolithic phase also (Chart I, 20). At Hallur the BRW has been discovered from the overlap phase from the chalcolithic to the megalithic period (Chart II, 10) The process of making BRW was different in respect of the technological makeup, which we will take up for discussion in the next chapter.

Thus it has been noticed from the various sites in the Deccan region the neolithic-chalcolithic phase has brought to light a variety of pottery like grey ware, red ware, black ware and the BRW. The first three was

continued into the megalithic phase. Even though the pottery of the neolithic and the early chalcolithic phase was hand made, the techniques and the tools used in making the pottery varied from one region to the other. The technique of pottery making was also associated with terracottas in terms of the processing of clay and so on. According to Prudence Rice the terracottas can be subsumed within the broader category of earthen ware¹¹⁴. Since pottery making techniques were also associated with terracotta making a brief description on the types and techniques involved in making of terracottas can be brought to focus next. In fact terracottas found along with the pottery in the neolithic phase were hand-made and sometimes were unbaked. Terracottas were relatively coarse and porous and were fired at low temperatures in the beginning¹¹⁵.

The method involved in the hand made terracottas figurines was to first hold a simple lump of clay made into a rough mass by hand then divide it into three parts¹¹⁶. The top portion was used for the making of the hand, and other parts for the rest of the body. The terracottas during the neolithic phase consisted of mainly human and animal figurines and some decorative terracottas. The human figurines can be broadly classified into two groups : female and the male both showing feature less form, standing crudely, represented with or without head. The total number of human figurines identified for study in the Deccan for Phase I are twelve (Chart V,4,9,11,16,33,35,40,42,47,52,55,58) . Of these five belong to the

archaic type of figurines (Chart V, 11,33,40,42,55) five belong to the category called female figurines or mother goddesses (Chart V, 4,11,16,33,52,67) and three male figurines (Chart V,11,16,40). Applique pottery and plaques also portray animal and human figurines as attested in the finds at Daimabad and Inamgaon and western Deccan (Chart V,11,16). It is however important to note that in the pastoral phase of the neolithic period we do not come across any mother goddess figurines.

The archaic or the so called ageless type of figurines were essentially religious in nature and catered to the demands of the people living in pastoral cum agrarian economy. They clearly symbolised the mother Goddess emphasising the archaic vitality of the mother force. For phase I evidence of such archaic mother forms have been available from the western and southern Deccan. The method adopted by the potter-artist for preparing these figurines was solely dependent on the hand. The figurines were very crudely made. The nose was brought out by pinching up the clay which resulted in the process of leaving a depression on both sides. The depression were used as sockets for pellets, mostly round to represent eyes. The ears were rarely shown. The technique of shaping the mouth was either shown by an elongated pellet to represent lips or, in some cases, the mouth was represented by a deep incision below the nose¹¹⁷. Excavations at Daimabad, Inamyaun and Nevasa have yielded archaic figurines characterised by a short tapering body with stumpy legs, pendulous breasts, indicated either by pinching or by applique pellets (Chart V,11,16,33). The figurine excavated

FIGURE : I



ARCHAIC FIGURINE

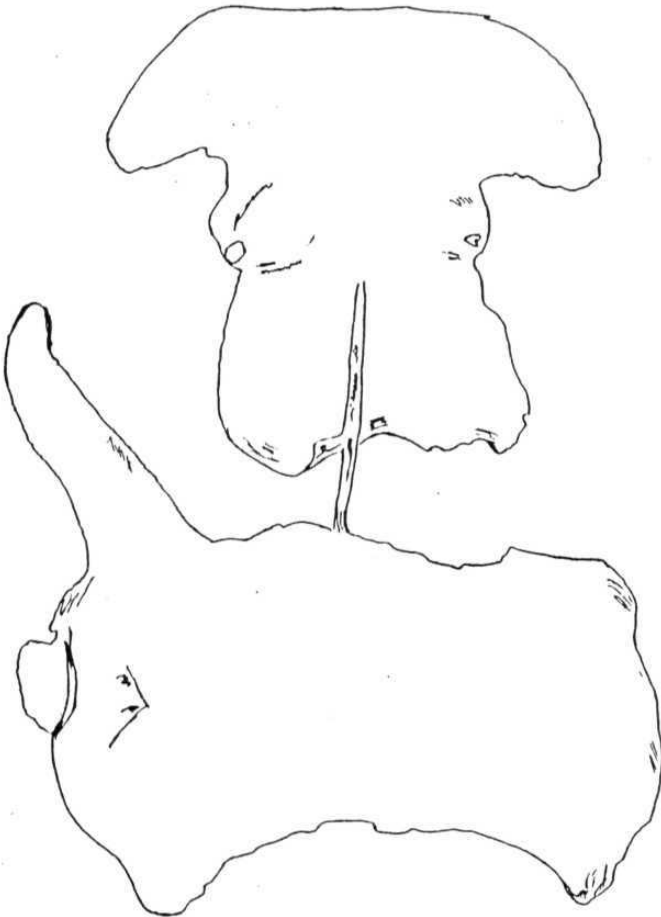
LOCATION : NEVASA, INAMGAON
PHASE : NEOLITHIC-CHALCOLITHIC, PHASE I
COURTESY : M.K. DHAVALIKAR, MASTER PIECES OF
TERRACOTTAS, Bombay, 1977.

at Nevasa is marked by short featureless breasts, slightly elevated by pinching and a prominent navel marked by the finger. The treatment of the figurine is rough and a mere symbolic form which shows poor workmanship¹¹⁸. The figurine was also ill-baked and was probably connected with some sort of fertility rite practised by the people in general (Figure, I).

From the various excavation reports pertaining to the Deccan region we have information on mother goddesses or female figurines known by various names such as 'Nude', 'Shameless' or 'Earth' goddesses and so on. In technique these figurines were similar to those defined as archaic goddesses or figurines. The nude goddesses in phase I have also been associated with some sort of fertility cult identified as the earliest examples of mother goddesses¹¹⁹. Daimabad excavations have yielded four human figurines represented as female forms (Chart V, 11). According to the excavators female figurine forms are of great significance as they point to a cult practice prevalent at Daimabad. All the four forms were hand-made and crude but were of different sizes. Of the four female figurines all, except one, shows the bust portion. The bust is of dull red colour and shows a coarse variety marked by slightly projected head with a flat back and stumpy legs¹²⁰.

The nude figurines were not only been produced individually but were sometimes they were featured with animals like the bull, snake etc. She

FIGURE II



NUDE GODDESS

LOCATION : INAMGAON

PHASE : NEOLITHIC - CHALCOLITHIC, PHASE I

COURTESY : M.K. DHANALIKAR, MASTER PIECES OF
TERRACOTTAS, BOMBAY, 1977

was also represented on plaques and pots. The nude figurine from *Inamgaon* reportedly found inside a receptacle covered with a lid made of black clay, pointed to her having stumpy legs and curved hands. She appeared to have been placed in a vertical position. This figurine had a blind hole in the abdomen and there was another corresponding hole near the hump of the bull found together over the receptacle (Chart V,16). A provision was made for inserting a stick to enable the female figurine ride over the bull¹²¹ (Figure II).

From a description of the above mentioned figurines pertaining to phase I of our study one can recognize the primitive conception of mother or fertility goddesses in early Deccan. N.N. Bhattacharya observes that all cultural traits like norms of behaviour and offer habit inherited traditions were composed and communicated through women or females¹²². The female figurines in the initial stages was modelled due to society's awe, interest and quest to know more about the mystery surrounding the reproductive power of women which later gave rise their to worship in divine forms¹²³. Scholars like Sankalia and Dhavalikar, refer to the female figurines as nude, shameless, earth goddesses (Chart V, 11,16)¹²⁵. On the other hand, Stella Kramrisch categorizes the archaic figurines as timeless or ageless ones¹²⁴. Further, these archaic figurines were found at the Indus Valley sites. Coomaraswamy points out that such features like nudeness, indication of navel in these figurines are commonly found through out India¹²⁶. The crudeness of the form and bare

breasts suggests the possibility of them being generally identified as mother goddesses. On the other hand, scholars like Das Gupta opine that female figurines with the fertility characteristics should be considered as representation of mother goddesses of certain types, like the Universal Mother or Ishtar type. Further, he points out that female figurines with fertility characteristics may not all be religious and do not consequently represent mother goddess¹²⁷. The conclusion that comes only after studying all the characteristic features of females figurines suggest that they belong to the religious or secular figurines¹²⁸.

The nude figurine from Inamgaon represented with the bull and the female suggests according to scholars the symbolic representation of child birth (Chart V,16). Literary reference refer to such figurines as bala-grahās¹²⁹. M.K.Dhavalikar opines that such figurines seem to be the proto-type of the goddesses called vishira who may have been worshipped by the mother of the new born babies that were not strong enough to survive during the first few months of life¹³⁰. According to scholars female nude figurines depicted on plaques and pots featuring the sex organs, breasts and vagina represent an auspicious diety believed to be capable of bringing prosperity¹³¹. Such female figurines are known to us from sites like Bilwali, Navdatoli and so on¹³².

Compared to female figurines, the male figurines in the Deccan during this phase are few. The number of male figurines are 3 (Chart V, 11,16,40).

At Piklihal among the surface finds a male torso belonging to the lower neolithic phase was found¹³³. This may signify the lack of fertility cult but importance of male in a pastoral society. Scholars refer to such figurines as archaic due to their peculiar physiognomic features¹³⁴ (Chart V,40). The male figurine at Piklihal is characterised by a flat crude modelling with stumpy legs and tapering hands. The facial features are absent¹³⁵ (Chart V,40). A specimen male figurine from Daimabad belonging to the Malwa phase has revealed a terracotta applique head, now missing, stiff limbs and a flat body¹³⁶ (Chart V,11). At Inamgaon two specimen male figurines have been reported from the vicinity of the hearth which were made of black clay and were baked¹³⁷. The male figurines reported in the chalcolithic phase do not suggest any religious significance, they may have been secular ones. Allchin suggests that the male torso reported from Piklihal was ithyphallic¹³⁸. On the other hand, the male figurine found at Daimabad and Inamgaon signify and form an integral part of the house hold functions.

Representation of animals in art dates back to a hoary past when human beings lived in caves and used stone tools for hunting. As human beings took to settled life and adapted to sedentary habits there was a proliferation in different types of art and altogether with it, terracotta animals formed a prominent subject of these representations. This is evident through the occurrence of various animal figurines in Zoomorphic and individual forms. Of the most commonly found and reported through excavations, are the bull

figurines which during phase I are found in large quantities the number of terracotta bulls found in excavation of the Deccan are nine in numbers (Chart V.9,11,16,35,40,42,45,47,58).

Animal figurines of the neolithic chalcolithic phase, especially the bull figurines, have been divided into two distinct groups, i.e., naturalistic and the stylized bulls¹⁴⁰. Scholars suggest that the evolution of stylized bulls could be traced from the naturalistic ones. Since both the groups appear side by side they do not point to any chronological development. According to observations made by Z.A.Ansari the evolution of the bull figurines did not take place in the Banas valley but, the probable area of the early formation of bull figurines may be around the Chambal Valley¹⁴¹. The importance of humped bull goes back to Indus Valley times as well. Scholars dwell on its importances with the Pashupati seal of the proto-type of Shiva. In the former category, i.e. the naturalistic ones the figurines were made of pure clay which were baked in a uniform temperature. The delicate modelling was evidenced in long, curved pointed horns, prominently showing the hump, and the mouth was made in a pinched way¹⁴². In the other category, viz, in the stylized form the head, horns and the hump were depicted but the hind part was represented by a stem with a rounded end. Sometimes the end was made flat¹⁴³.

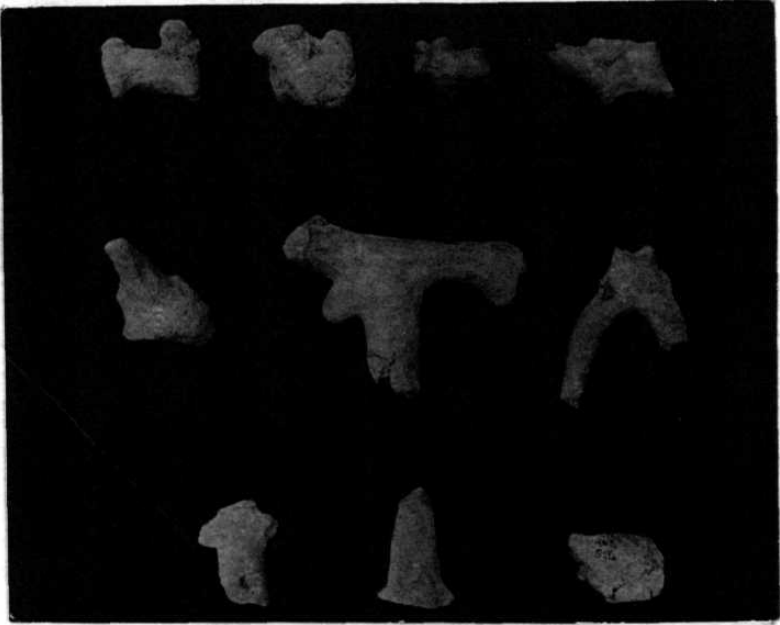
From the excavations stylized bulls have been reported from Daimabad and Inamgaon (Chart V, 11,16). At Daimabad in phase IV bull

figurines were recovered. This bull figurine is in a sitting position, with a prominent hump protruding and it has a slit mouth. It is partly damaged near the horns¹⁴⁴. Inamgaon revealed a realistic form of bull made of fine clay with pinched limbs. Thick horns projecting forward and a raised tail expressed the vitality and strength of the animal¹⁴⁵. The round body was provided with an applique hump (Chart V,16). From Ramapuram in its phase Ic bull figurines bearing similar features have been reported¹⁴⁶ (Chart V,45). Both the figurines are stylistically akin to each other. Chinnamarrur in its phase II has revealed bull figurines which were apparently humpless and the arch like end of the stem piece was slightly bifurcated into two projections to make it stand¹⁴⁷ (Chart V,10).

According to observations made by I.K.Sarma, morphologically the bull figurines of the lower neolithic period at Piklihal were represented by incised eyes and nostrils where as in the upper neolithic period, the bull figurines were treated crudely with exaggerated humps and horns¹⁴⁸ (Chart V,40) (Plate 1). Brahmagiri IB shows bulls in more or less uniform style and type as found at Piklihal¹⁴⁹ (Chart V,40). Full specimens of bulls numbering four from the chalcolithic levels have been reported from Veerapuram. Here at phase Ic a bull head with two horns and mouth, possibly luted to the body of a vessel was found¹⁵⁰ (Chart V,58).

Bulls in the form of theriomorphic and zoomorphic forms have been reported from Chandoli and Nevasa (Chart V,9,23). The theriomorphic vessel

Plate No. 1



Bull Figurines

Location : **PIKLIHAL**

Phase : Neolithic - Chalcolithic Phase I

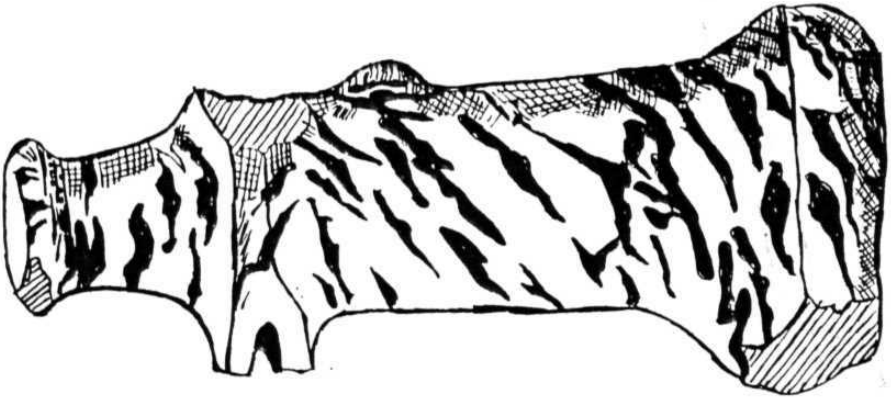
Courtesy : State Archaeology Department, Hyderabad.

reported from Chandoli was depicted with two pointed horns stretched high. It had a prominent pinched hump and a projected mouth. The vessel was made of very fine clay, well fired with a hollow cylindrical body and a rimmed opening in place of the mouth of the bull. It had a small hump and tail in applique¹⁵¹ (Chart V,9). Slanting strokes in black were found all over the body which had a reddish slip. Instead of legs the vessel was placed on the wheels (Figure III). According to Sankalia such figurines fall in the category of stylized bulls. Further, such vessels have been reported from Iran, Egypt and Mesopotamia¹⁵².

From the above descriptions we notice two types of bulls: the humped and the humpless ones. These two types indicate the artistic skill in modelling a symbolic form of projecting two characteristic parts of the body, viz., the horn and the hump on a pedestal. Such stylized forms have been reported from Kayatha and Eran. On the other hand, M.K. Dhavalikar observes that bull figurines reported from Chinnamarrur are parallel with the bull figurines found at Ahar in Rajasthan¹⁵³.

Apart from bulls, other figurines comprise of birds, and the figurine of a crocodile on a plaque. The number of bird figurines are two (Chart V,16,40). Representation of an owl from Inamgaon pd III was found with a nose and round pellets indicating its eyes (Chart V,16). Other details are not distinct as the figurine is in a fragmentary condition¹⁵⁴. From the

FIGURE III



ZOOMORPHIC FIGURINE

Location : Chandoli
Phase : Neolithic-chalcolithic, phase I
Source / Ack. : Courtesy - H.D. Sankalia, and M.K. Dhavalikar,
"Terracotta Art in India", Marg, vol.23, no.1, 1969.

surface collection at Piklihal we have a rough modelled bird of buff surfaced clay (Chart V,40). The eye is indicated by a large stick impression. The tail is missing but the head is turned towards the ground. According to observations made by Allchin this may possibly be a jungle fowl¹⁵⁵. The size of the bird figurines suggest that they were used as toys merely as artistic objects. The neolithic-chalcolithic people have observed their surroundings which mainly constituted of birds and animals.

Phase I at Inamgaon gives evidence of a solitary example of a crocodile plaque. These terracotta plaques most probably were prepared separately and luted to the pots or, put on walls for decoration. The crocodile had deep incision in parallel rows simulating its skin. Its tail and hind legs are found missing¹⁵⁶ (Chart V,16). With the gradual emergence settled life the early societies increasingly began to produce luxury goods. Some of these in their simple form were aspects of self adornments in the form of beads.

Clay constituted a commonly used material for making beads during the neolithic-chalcolithic period. It continued further into the megalithic iron age and early historic phases. Beads are a valuable source of information because they are unrivalled in tracing the influence of one culture on another¹⁵⁷. The word bead is derived from the verb "bidden" to pray and was originally associated with the beads on a rosary¹⁵⁸. According to

M.G. Dikshit beads mean almost any pierced object which can be strung¹⁵⁹. The technique employed in the processing of beads was similar to that of pottery making and other terracotta objects. During the neolithic-chalcolithic phase some beads were made by hand like the spherical beads. But, on a larger variety, beads were probably manufactured by moulding them upon a piece of some combustible substance which was burnt away during baking¹⁶⁰. According to Neelima Dahiya the irregularity of the beads suggest that they were being moulded by fingers¹⁶¹. Further, she states that the better specimens of beads were rubbed on both the corners so that they may fit well when strung. The various types of beads found during phase I are 12 in numbers (Chart VI, 3,6,9,12,15,17,18,28,38,42,43,44). According to scholars the bead making at this point in time was the handiwork of either ladies or children in the family and was not a specialised job to be dealt with by professional lapidaries¹⁶². Period I and II at Apegaon has revealed annular beads, and cylindrical beads (Chart VI,3). These were hand made¹⁶³. Terracotta beads of different types have been revealed from the early levels of Period III at Inamgaon like the spherical, barrel, tubular and arecanut beads¹⁶⁴. (Chart VI, 18) At Daimabad beads have been found both from the Malwa and Jorwe levels. These clay beads were unbaked and they were locally manufactured. The holes were drilled in the beads so that they could be bored from each end and then strung to a thread¹⁶⁵ (Chart VI,12). From the Jorwe level arecanut shaped beads have also come to light at this site. The arecanut beads were prepared out of fine clay with sand as the main

degraisant¹⁶⁶. They were turned on a flat rotating wheel and were then baked hard, an important feature of the arcaunt beads, in majority of the cases, was that these beads had a shallow cup like depression near the butt and secondly, sometimes they had a milled appearance to an extent of showing parallel groove marks at very close intervals. In other cases the butt end of the beads had deeply incised grooves¹⁶⁷. Arecanut beads for phase I have been reported only from Daimabad (Chart VI.12).

Spherical, spacer, circular, barrel shaped beads have also been reported from Brahmagiri Pd1B, Hallur Pd1 (Chart VI, 6,16). The spacer bead from Chandoli is hand made where as the spacer bead reported from Kesarpalle Pd11 has four perforations and is in oblong shape¹⁶⁸ (Chart VI,9,22). From the late neolithic phase, i.e., Brahmagiri IB, a barrel circular bead was well baked having thin black burnished slip. At Daimabad the long barrel circular bead was made of fine clay and was red in colour. The bead bears finger impression suggesting that they were hand modelled (Chart VI,6,12).

Apart from the beads, terracotta ornaments have also been reported ornaments are commonly understood to enhance the beauty of the human-being and were worn for religious, festive and also daily purposes. The ear ornaments from phase I have come from three important sites i.e., Chandoli, Daimabad and Inamgaon (Chart VI,9,12,16). They have revealed ear plugs and ear reels (Chart VI.12,18,15,23). Ear reel from Daimabad

has been treated with a slip and burnished from outside. These were hand-made¹⁶⁹. Apegaon pd III has revealed a pulley shaped terracotta ear ornament¹⁷⁰ (Chart VI,3). From Inamgaon excavation reports we have a solitary terracotta pendant resembling a frog having two small lugs on either side which are perforated¹⁷¹.

Under the utilitarian objects the most noteworthy are the terracotta lamps which have been reported in various shapes and sizes. Three lamps have been recovered from phase I (Chart VI,12,18,28). These were hand-made. Lamps have been categorised and classified into two basic forms viz., oval and squarish¹⁷². They were made of medium to coarse clay, treated with slip and fired into red or grey colours. They were identical in fabric to the hand-made pottery found at these places. The oval shaped lamps were flat based and had medium high walls with a shallow lid-channel and a burnt tip¹⁷³. They were of coarse fabric. At Inamgaon a triangular lamp has been found from the Jorwe level. Its front wall was low while the back was comparatively high. It had a flat base, straight sides, a deep wick channel and was highly burnt from inside indicating their prolific use for bringing light to the habitation area. Such lamps have also reported from Chandoli and Songaon¹⁷⁴ (Chart VI, 9,38).

Thus, the neolithic-chalcolithic culture in the Deccan is identified by variation in different parts of the region. The emergence of terracotta figurines

especially the bull figurines were popular and important in the lower neolithic phase. This probably has a relationship with the pastoral nature of the neolithic economy and may suggest a focus on the worship of nature and male gods. The less number of terracottas found in the neolithic phase may be due to their shifting as indicated from the ash mounds or according to A Ilchin seasonal camps sites were associated with religious festivals¹⁷⁵. The lower neolithic may signify the lack of fertility cult but the importance and focus was on male figurines in a pastoral society. With the coming of settled life we find a change from the pastoral to village based economy with agriculture as the main occupation. The early neolithic societies were subsistence based and the only terracottas found are those called 'archaic' figurines or mother goddesses. The terracottas with religious symbolism begin to emerge with the occurrence of the agricultural economy. However agriculture brought large communities together which subsequently generated a surplus in chalcolithic times and this further led to a division of labour and craft specialisation. Specialisation of craft production is evident from the various mother goddess/archaic figurines reported during the chalcolithic phase and may be seen as the beginning of the proliferation of terracottas.

In phase I craft is intertwined with the conception of life and terracotta works were largely made to provide for simple needs of an agrarian society. The unchanging forms of the village tradition indicated that decorative skills survived which is reflected in the hand made terracotta figurines and a

few examples have been discussed by us. The first earthen ware is marked by a significant technological development and is concomitant with the rise of food production. Pottery during phase I displayed the potters aesthetic sense by making various types and shapes of pots. The pottery techniques varied from one region to another, not only in the various types of tools but also in the various postures used by the potter to make his objects in different regions. Terracottas found along with pottery in this phase were hand made and sometimes unbaked. The techniques of terracotta making were simple as the principle of patronage had not yet developed in this society. In spite of the terracotta figurines being simple, the roughness and quality suggest that the terracotta maker was not a specialist but only that the potter made these figurines as a side activity. Further the archaic/mother goddess figurines were probably used for common rituals and not for long term use. Further, their making was not looked into in any detail, and therefore their purpose was connected with some sort of fertility cults. Since most of the archaic/mother goddesses have been depicted in nude with fertility characteristics, they most probably were used for explaining local religious beliefs. The role of the potter during this phase was not only to produce the various types of pottery but simultaneously he also produced the terracottas mainly as a craft product to cater to the needs of the village community.

Animal figurines especially the bull figurines of the lower neolithic phase continue into the chalcolithic period. These figurines bear resemblance

to the bull figurines reported from Ahar and Indus cultures. Both realistic and stylistic types of bull figurines have been reported in the neolithic-chalcolithic phase. The size of the bird figurines reported in the chalcolithic phase at sites like Inamgaon, Daimabad, may have been used as toys and were merely artistic objects. Luxury goods in the form of ornaments like beads are very few in this phase. The few number of beads suggest that it was a product of community activity without professional makers. The potter to some extent continued to make beads, which were hand made ones, but gradually began to specialize in this task in phase II i.e., megalithic-iron age and early historic phase. Beads like arecanuts, spherical, tabloid, spacer continued into the later phases. Under the decorative objects lamps were used for religious and lighting of houses. It was essentially a cheaper form of making, lamps from the residue clay or left out clay used for pottery. Therefore, they were prolifically used. The continuity and the new techniques along with the further development of terracottas will be discussed in the megalithic-iron age and early historic phase.

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CHAPTER III

MEGALITHIC-IRON AGE PHASE II

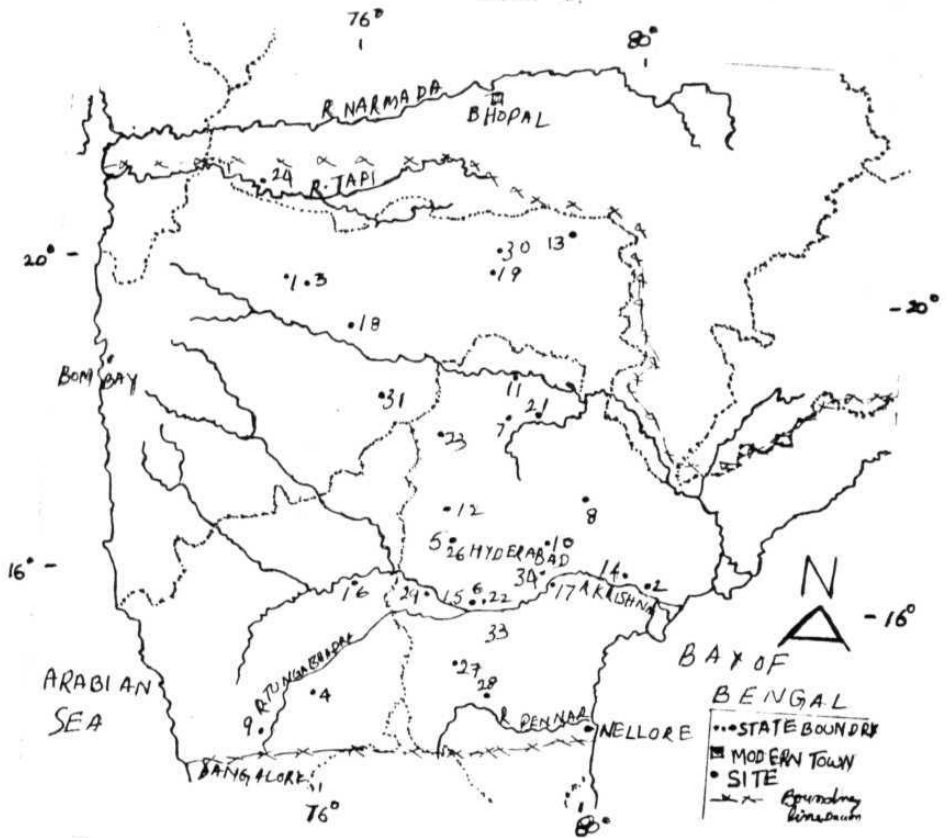
CHAPTER III

MEGALITHIC-IRON AGE PHASE II

In this chapter we will discuss the terracottas found in the megalithic iron-age period. The chronological dating of this phase has been accepted by us to be roughly between c. 1000 B.C. -200 B.C. The megalithic culture of the Deccan is a regional manifestation of certain eschatological trends which had been imbibed by the regional cultures in their transformation from copper-bronze usage to the widespread use of iron metallurgy. The term megalith refers to the two Greek words, megos meaning 'huge' and lithos meaning 'stone', thus describing a huge stone¹. It may be explained as a grave or memorial erected in stone either dressed or, in its natural form, contained, enclosed or, over a funerary assemblage. Graves without any lithic appendage containing cultural material of the period have also been called 'megaliths'².

The areas occupied by the megalithic people in the Deccan are all primarily semi-arid with low rainfall. There is, however, variation in the amount of rainfall especially in the coastal region of the Deccan. The number of megalithic-iron-age sites in the Deccan with terracotta finds are thirty-four (Chart III) (Map, IV). With the decline of the chalcolithic cultures, western Deccan witnessed the emergence of the early historic cultures with the apparent absence of the proto-historic cultures based on iron technology with

MAP IV
 DISTRIBUTION OF SITES WITH TERRACOTTA FINES
 MEGALITHIC - IRON AGE
 PHASE II.



* Names of Sites indicated by Serial no. on this Map are given in Chart III, pp.128

megalithic characteristics³. Paithan⁴, Prakash⁵, and Ter⁶ in mid Godavari are, the only important iron age sites in the western Deccan (Chart I, 47,55,68). The cultures with megalithic characteristics are, however, found more prolifically in the Vidharbha-Telengana region, and in the southern part of the Mysore Plateau. In this phase ancient habitational sites known are Kaundinyapur⁷, Paunar⁸, Pauni⁹, Takalghat¹⁰ and the sites known from the recent excavation. In the Wainganga basin are Adam¹¹ and Arni¹² (Chart I, 30,49,66,1,5). From the mid Godavari region the Department of Archaeology and Meseums Government of Andhra Pradesh, has excavated altogether twelve sites including four habitational sites along with megalithic burials. While sites like Chagtur¹³, Dongatagu¹⁴, Kallepalli¹⁵, Kyatur¹⁶, Pochampadu¹⁷, Pratyadevamandalam¹⁸, Rekulapadu¹⁹ and Serupalle²⁰ are burials sites (Chart I, II, 18,27,38,54, 56,65), Chinnamarur²¹, Kadambapur²², Peddabankur²³, Peddamarur²⁴ have yielded habitational evidence of the megalithic period (Chart I, 14,26,50,52). Megalithic-related artefacts like horse remains, iron tools and implements and other horse related materials are prolifically found more in the Vidharbha-Telengana region²⁵ (Chart III, 6,11,21, 22) Horses and their associated items like stirrups and trappings have been reported from sites like Hallur, Takalghat during phase II. Deo opines that the evidence of horses during the megalithic period indicates that the megalithic society did have persons with some status or rank²⁶. An important aspect of the megalithic economy in this region was its ability to produce iron objects on a large scale and the availability of iron²⁷.

In contrast to the above regions, in coastal Andhra the settlements emerged out of the already existing neolithic and chalcolithic cultures. Agiripalli²⁸, Huzurnagar²⁹, Keesarpalle³⁰, Nagarjunakonda³¹, and Yellesvaram³² are the major megalithic sites here. (Chart 1,2,22,33,43,75). In coastal Andhra megalithic cultures form an essential background to the early historic period in the fertile belts of Krishna-Godavari basin³². The megalithic cultures in coastal Andhra have been largely evidenced by the occurrence of ceramics like Black and Red ware, Red ware, and sometimes, with the occurrence of iron objects³⁴ (Chart III, 9,34). According to SB. Deo the people of coastal Andhra and the Southern Deccan were in contact with the Telengana region for the supply of iron objects and artefacts³⁵ since the latter had large resources of naturally available iron ore. In the southern region of the Mysore plateau five megalithic sites have been identified of which Brahmagiri³⁶, Maski³⁷, and Veerapuram³⁸ are known to be habitational sites (Chart I, 8,42,76), while Ramapuram³⁹ and Sankavaram⁴⁰ are known for megalithic burials only. (Chart I, 58,61) (Map IV).

Unlike in other parts of northern and central India the iron age in the Deccan region was marked essentially in the megalithic context. The megalithic culture, according to Allchin highlighted a significant change in the settlement pattern of the South Indian cultures⁴¹. However, the diffusionary element in the spread of the megalithic culture has been suggested by him because, he feels that the introduction of iron technology itself meant the

dawn of civilisation⁴². The overall uniformity of the megalithic culture as being concomittant with the iron using culture in South India is therefore striking. We find at some sites that these were superimposed at different levels of the preceding phase of the neolithic-chalcolithic settlement. At Hallur there is a chalcolithic-megalithic overlap, presenting the earliest C¹⁴ date for the use of iron in the Deccan which is c. 1000 BC⁴³ (Chart 1,21).

The early megalithic sites suggest a nomadic hoard substantiated by the finding of arrow heads and spear-heads and were constantly on the move. Owing to this we have very few reports on terracottas. Paunarpd I dated between 1000 BC and 800 B.C., has revealed pointed pottery with the absence of metal objects⁴⁴. Iron objects were noticed at Paunarpd I in layers 8,8a and 7 of period MA, whereas Kaundinyapura Pd II, dated to 800-600 BC in western Deccan has revealed BRW, occurrence of iron carnelian beads showing the presence of megalith⁴⁵. An important feature of the megaliths from this region is that they were associated with the horse, as evident from the bones, horse shoe, etc, which is not reported from the sites of Andhra Pradesh⁴⁶. The ancient habitation mound at Veerapuram revealed three phases of cultural succession; neolithic, megalithic and early historic. The megalithic phase has been assigned to a time bracket of seven centuries ranging from 1000 BC and ending in overlap phase around 300 B.C. The site has revealed pottery. Iron, beads of semi-precious stones and terracottas⁴⁷. In the telegana region of Andhra Pradesh sites like

CHART III
MATERIAL CULTURE-MEGALITHIC-IRON AGE
Phase - II

Sl No	Name of the Site	Tools	Sturctures	Pottery	Terracottas	Miscellaneous	Reference
1	Adam	WD in.	mf.pb.	BRW/RW.	bd.hs.	- -	<u>PUR</u> 20 1939-90 p.94
2	Agiripalli	ED bp.	cb.	BRW/RBWRW.	srp.	- -	<u>IAR</u> 1976-77 p.5
3	Ami	WD is.	- -	BRW/RPW.	af.bd.hf.hp.	- -	<u>IAR</u> 1984-85 p.1-2
4	Brahmagiri	SD - -	cb.	BRW.	- -	Asokan inscr.	<u>AI</u> 4.1947-48 p.202
5	Chagtur	CD in.	ssb.	BRW/RPWRW.	af.hf.srp.	- -	<u>IAR</u> 1977-78 p.11
6	Chinnamarur	CD id.	cb.kilns.	BRW.	bd	- -	<u>PHEHCMR</u> 1986,p.4
7	Dhulikatta	CD -	-	BRW/RW.	bd.hf.	Ivory PMC.	<u>ARDAM</u> 1975-77 pp.13-16
8	Dongatogu	CD -	-	BRW	-	-	<u>DM</u> 1988 p.25
9	Hallur	SD -	-	BRW.	af	-	<u>PHCTV</u> 1971 p.14
10	Huzurnagar	ED is.	cb.	BWRW.	srp	- -	<u>ARAP</u> 1978 co.20-21
11	Kadambapur	CD -	-	BRW/BWRBW	bd.	- -	<u>ARAP</u> 1974-75 p.2
12	Kallepalli	CD -	-	RW	bd	-	<u>ARAP</u> 1974-75 p.24

Key Tools & Terracottas: af-animal figurines, ah-arrow heads, am-ash mounds, bds-beads, bp-bone point, bu-burials, ca-copper axes, ch-circular huts, cuip-copper implements, cb-cists burials, fl-floors, h-house, hf-human figurines, hp-house plans, lf-lime floors, lp-lamps mf-mud floors, ml-microliths, mw-mud walls, pb-polished blades, pd-pit dwellings, qr-querns, sa-stone axes, sb-stone balls, ssb-shale stone blocks, st-stone tools, ub-urn burials, wd-wattle daub, vot-votive offerings

Key Pottery: BRW-black and red ware, GW-grey ware, Kw-kaolin ware, JW-jorwe ware, Mlw-maiwa ware, Ow-ochre ware, RW-red ware, RPW-red painted ware, NBPW-northern black polished ware.

Sl No	Name of the Site	Tools	Structures	Pottery	Terracottas	Miscellaneous	Reference
13	Kaundinyapura	WD -	-	BRW NBPW	Toys.vot.ds	--	<u>EK</u> 1968,p.2-5
14	Keesarpalli	CD -	-	BRW/RW	bd.	--	<u>AI</u> 22.1966,p.13
15	Kyatur	CD imp	cb	BW,OWRW	af.bd.	--	<u>PHEICMR</u> ,1986,p.
16	Maski	SD -	-	BRW	af.bd.hf.srp	--	<u>AI</u> .13.1957,pp.10-12
17	Naganjunakonda	ED -	-	BRW,	bd.	--	<u>IAR</u>
18	Paithan	CD -	-	BRW,NBPW	af.hf.	PMC.	<u>IAR</u> .1965-66,pp.10-12
19	Pauni	WD -	-	BRW,RW.	af.bl	PMC	<u>ASJ</u> .1926-27,p.12
20	Paunar	WD -	-	BRW,Rw.	af.hf.bd	--	
21	Peddabankur	CD imp	cb.	BRW,NBPW	af.hf.	--	<u>IAR</u> 1968-69,pp.1-2
22	Peddamarur	CD in	cb	RW	af.bd	--	<u>IAR</u> 1977-78,p.12
23	Pochampadu	CD -	-	BRW,BPW,RW	af.	--	<u>IAR</u> 1963 p.1
24	Prakash	WD -	-	BRW,NBPW.	bd.	--	<u>AI</u> 20&21.1964-65,p.13
25	Pratyadevalampadu	CD ssb.	-	BRW/RW.	af.	--	<u>ARAP</u> 1981-82,p.24

Key Tools & Terracottas: af-animal figurines, ah-arrow heads, am-ash mounds, bds-beads, bp-bone point, bu-burials, ca-copper axes, ch-circular huts, cup-copper implements, cb-cists burials, fl-floors, h-house, hf-human figurines, hp-house plans, lf-lime floors, lp-lamps mf-mud floors, ml-microliths, mw-mud wals, pb-polished blades, pd-pit dwellings, qr-querns, sa-stone axes, sb-stone balls, ssb-shale stone blocks, st-stone tools, ub-urn burials, wd-wattle daub, vot-votive offerings

Key Pottery: BRW-black and red ware, GW-grey ware, Kw-kaolin ware, JW-jonwe ware, Mw-maiwa ware, Ow-ochre ware, RW-red ware, RPW-red painted ware, NBPW-northern black polished ware.

Sl No	Name of the Site	Tools	Sturctures	Pottery	Terracottas	Miscellaneous	Reference
26	Rekulapadu	CD -	-	russet coated	bd.	--	<u>IAR, 1981-82, p.4</u>
27	Ramapuram	SD -	-	BRW.	af.	--	<u>IAR, 1981-82, p.4</u>
28	Sankavaram	SD -	-	BRWRW.	srp.	--	<u>DM, 1988, p.5</u>
29	Serupalle	CD -	-	BRWRW.	af.srp	--	<u>PHEHC:MR, 1986, p.67</u>
30	Takaighat	WD -	-				
31	Ter	WD -	-	KWRPW	bd.hf.vot	--	<u>IAR, 1974-75, p.32</u>
32	Vaddamanu	CD					
33	Veerapuram	CD imp	bu	BRW	bd.af.	--	<u>VSTV.</u>
34	Yellesvaram	ED imp	bu	BRWRW	bd.srp	--	<u>AMYE, 1983, p.4</u>

Key Tools & Terracottas: af-animal figurines, ah-arrow heads, am-ash mounds, bds-beads, bp-bone point, bu-burials, ca-copper axes, ch-circular huts, cup-copper implements, cb-cists burials, fl-floors, h-house, hf-human figurines, hp-house plans, lf-lime floors, lp-lamps mf-mud floors, ml-microliths, mw-mud walls, pb-polished blades, pd-pit dwellings, qr-querns, sa-stone axes, sb-stone balls, sss-shale stone blocks, st-stone tools, ub-urn burials, wd-wattle daub, vot-votive offerings

Key Pottery: BRW-black and red ware, GW-grey ware, Kw-kaolin ware, JW-jorwe ware, Mlw-maiwa ware, Ow-ochre ware, RW-red ware, RPW-red painted ware, NBPW-northern black polished ware.

Chinnamarur, Chagtur, Peddamarrur, Serupalle, Kyatur (Chart III, 5,6,15,22,29) known for burials have revealed large and huge sarcophagus, and associated ware like BRW, RW, iron nails and beads. It is only in much later reported sites like Agripalli Adam, Chagtur, we have reports suggesting the presence of terracottas. The terracottas reported were mostly through burials.

The transition from chalcolithic to iron age can be clearly noticed at the site of Chinnamarur. (Chart I, 14), According to Krishna Sastry at Chinnamarur a neolithic cemetery of family burials was noticed in a megalithic habitation while a megalithic cemetery was noticed over the neolithic habitation⁴⁸. Maloney argues that the spread of iron technology in general implies the diffusion of agricultural economy based on rice cultivation⁴⁹. Other sites which show the overlap of megalithic culture with the preceding neolithic-chalcolithic, are Brahmagiri and Maski which have evidence of earlier habitation and are in themselves important megalithic sites as well (Chart III, 4,16). At Brahmagiri the iron age culture is represented on the one side by the overlap of the neolithic-chalcolithic and on the other, by early historic Andhra cultures. Around this area this is also important evidence of the presence of the Mauryas (Chart III,4). Brahmagiri is best known for its association with the Asokan rock edict during the megalithic phase⁵⁰. As can be inferred from the Asokan inscriptions certain tribes seem to have existed even before the Asokan rule and this has further been substantiated by the archaeological information of the megalithic culture⁵¹. The megalithic early

historic overlaps are very important because the cultural level and the technological base for the society becomes inevitably different at this stage.

Iron was used by the megalithic people to meet domestic, warfare and agricultural needs. This equipment appears to represent an uniformity of technical skills in the Deccan (Chart III). Besides the homogeneous equipment, megaliths were also found in association with the evidence of horse related items. Further, they are also found in contact with early historic equipment like Rouletted Ware and Mauryan remains (Chart III,4). The megalithic monuments also had an uniform variety of Black and Red ware ceramic tradition which has been considered significant by scholars for the identification of the iron age (Chart III, 4,6,21,32,34). Scholars like Vimala Begley opine that the iron age and the early historic age should be placed in the same chronological bracket as both were associated with the Rouletted Ware⁵². The iron age in general brought about significant changes in the pattern of life of the people. Excavation reports have revealed from the overlap phases of neolithic-chalcolithic cultures the terracotta beads from sites like Brahmagiri and so on.

Archaeologists have defined the culture of the megalith period primarily on the basis of its tool technology. The level of tool technology attained by the megalithians can be discussed in the context of the wide

range of tools used which indicate their possible material requirements. The number of objects like agricultural implements such as axes, hoes, ploughshares, offence objects like swords, arrow heads, daggers etc., implies its use for both warfare and agriculture and the availability of this raw material in the Deccan on a large scale (Chart III, 6, 15, 21, 29, 34) In the western Deccan megalithic sites like Kaundinyapura and Paunar are scarce (Chart III, 13,20), whereas in the Telengana region the megalithic folk utilised the local raw materials as indicated by the findings of iron-ore and slags at these sites⁵³ (Chart III, 6, 15,21,29) As a result of the smelting of iron and making of sophisticated iron tools they could be employed for quarrying the stone blocks in order to detach them from hillocks which, in turn, facilitated the construction of structural edifices, both domestic and sepulchural⁵⁴ (Chart III,25) Peddabankur and Pochampadu have thrown light on numerous iron objects (Chart III,21,23). According to Krishna Sastry the entire Karimnagar region was scattered with iron ore and ancient iron working spots⁵⁵. The evidence of kilns indicate that the iron smelting may have been in the hands of a few smiths who must have been connected with the local levels of production with in the villages or *gramas*, small markets and towns⁵⁶. The level of craftsmanship reflected in the latter megalithic sites in the manufacture of metal objects and terracottas indicate that the megalithic people had a separate class of artisans who catered to the needs of the community⁵⁷.

In the Krishna-Godavari delta basin the iron deposits and objects do not seem to be as rich as the Telengana region (Chart III,14,17). However, in the southern part of the Mysore plateau substantial iron tools were found to indicate the megalithic cultures of the region and these are represented along with an assemblage of microliths, copper tools, arrow heads and spearheads (Chart II,4,16,33). Sites like Piklihal have been taken to represent the intrusion of people with iron technology⁵⁸. In the case of Hallur, the iron technology has been thought of in terms of the coming of new people⁵⁹ (Chart III, 9) In researches on the Ganges valley the technology of iron was held responsible for the movement of people into forests and clearing the thick vegetation. Scholars have tried to reconstruct the material life of the megalithic people on the basis of their technical equipment but it has been difficult to emphasize on the role of iron technology for the large scale spread of agriculture in Deccan. The advent of the megalith culture and the growth of new technology was nonetheless, concomitant with the rise of ancient agriculture. When the use of iron artefacts became widespread it led to a change of pace in the agrarian growth when compared to the use of other metal technologies for agriculture. However, the megalithic sites also suggest hunting activity as substantiated by the finding of arrow-heads and spear-heads (Chart III, 5,9,21,23). The ploughing of soil was probably done with the help of the bulls and cows were probably used for milking purpose⁶⁰. Rice was supposed to have formed

their staple food⁶¹. On the basis of various agricultural implements as excavated from the different sites of the Deccan region it is possible to suggest that the economy of the megalithic folk was mixed⁶². Deo pertinently opines that megalithic folk were not settled agriculturists but were mostly pastoralists practising smallscale agriculture in some areas of arable land, or where irrigation tanks existed. Domestication of animals meant that they formed part of the people. This is attested to on the basis of animal bones found at sites like Peddabankur⁶⁴ (Chart III, 21). Deo further states that the meagre quantity of grains discovered in the Waidha-Wainganga basin also substantiates that the megalithic groups were not agriculturists in this region but belonged to pastoral community practising small scale agriculture⁶⁵. In other regions according to some scholars the introduction of large scale tanks in the megalithic period not only indicates the advance of agriculture but also the organisational aspect of these communities⁶⁶. Krishna Sastry points out that the burial sites in the Telengana area were noticed in the proximity of large irrigation tanks which may have supplied drinking water to their household and must have, also been used for sustaining the crops⁶⁷. According to Vishnu-Mittre the plant remains from the southern part of Mysore plateau suggest that the occupation of the megalithic folk in this region was agriculture⁶⁸. Ragi, rice, and sugarcane have been found from the various sites in the Mysore plateau. A. Sundara identifies the charred grains from the overlapping phase in Hallur as ragi⁶⁹.

Thus despite the technological uniformity the advent of the megalithic culture introduced agriculture in some areas whereas in others communities following hunting and pastoralism continued exist. During the megalithic phase both domestic and sepulchral architecture meant that building activity with non-perishable material began which was not found in the neolithic period⁷⁰. The huge burials related to sarcophagus implies that the megalithic folk had certain religious beliefs in life after death. A change in the religious aspects from the worship of mother goddesses figurines to that of life after death is an indication of the development of a further new mode of thinking. In the Wainganga region the orthostats in Huzurnagar were arranged to form nine chambered cist maintaining equidistance between one chamber and the other for depositing the individual grave goods⁷¹ (Chart III, 10). Provision of two passage chambers and port-holes show the forethought of the people in building these monuments long before completing the burials. After the formation of cists and chambers the folk employed locally available boulders of white granite to protect the exact central spot maintaining an equal distance from the centre⁷². This also indicates that the megalithic folk were precise in mathematical calculations. In the Telengana area, Chinnamarur a megalithic habitation site was situated on the alluvial soil and was close to the burial places (Chart III, 6). The floor of the structures was made of shale stones chips plastered with lime concretations⁷³. The enclosed structures at Chagtur and Chinnamarur show that the megalithic people constructed barricades around their dwellings for safety and

protection⁷⁴ (Chart III, 5,6). Krishna Sastry opines that these may have inspired the inhabitants of the later period to plan dry masonry wall around their habitation which in course of time led to the construction of fortification during the early historic period⁷⁵.

The megalithic monuments as revealed from the sites may have been built by a centralised and co-ordinated society. Renfrew calls such a society as a chiefdom society⁷⁶. Many of the burial and habitational sites like Chagtur, Chinnamarur, Peddamarur, (Chart III, 5,6,22) have revealed luxury items like BRW, figurines, beads, made of terraccattas, iron nails etc, which indicate the importance of the chief. According to E.R. Service the chiefdoms were particularly distinguished from tribes by the presence of centres which co-ordinated economic, social, and religious activities⁷⁷. The ruling chieftains in a chiefdom society commanded the resources of the areas where they maintained predatory control. Anthologies show that the major function of the chieftain was the predatory extraction of resources and their subsequent redistribution⁷⁸. This also led to the specialisation of crafts and is evident from the various types of pottery and the mould made terracottas. Redistribution was based on the ability of the chieftain to organise plunder raids⁷⁹. This is evident from the various weapons and tools excavated from the sites of the Deccan region (Chart III, 5,6,10,15,21). Thus the megalithic society was a stratified society but not a full fledged State society.

Of all the material and economic changes, the most significant is its characteristic pottery which during the megalithic phase was largely Black and Red ware. (Chart III, 1,6,7,9,13,14,16,29). Wheeler has suggested that the megalithic builders adopted the BRW from the chalcolithic culture towards its end phase⁸⁰. It was however, adapted to serve their purpose and therefore, some differences emerge during the megalithic phase. The adoption of BRW indicate the impact on the social setup. The new communities imposed themselves on the existing chalcolithic population.

The process of making BRW was different in respect of the technological make up. For example, inverted, single or double firing method was used by the potter in making this ware indicating a development in the technology of making pottery⁸¹. Hand-made and wheel made pottery continued into the megalithic phase. The BRW according to H.N. Singh was processed by the 'inverted firing technique'⁸². In this method the pots were kept inverted in the kiln and hence, the interior and the portions around the neck were burnt under reducing conditions. As a result of this the interior turned black and the exterior turned from dull red to buff in colour. Saw dust, vegetable matter must have been used to fill in the pots while firing under reducing conditions. The firing of BRW was done on low temperatures as this process would not allow the ware to crumble if kept in wet conditions for a long period of time. But the surface was highly burnished and polished to get a glossy surface with the juice of tuthi or Abutilon Indicum⁸³. Kaundinyapura

has revealed pottery which was made in this way and baked⁸⁴ (Chart III, 13). According to M.G. Dikshit the BRW at Kaundinyapura has been labelled as megalithic BRW and it discloses different characteristic features. Further, the scholar elaborates the differences by pointing out that the megalithic BRW with a black slip having bright shining appearances may have been due to burnishing a feature which is not evident in the later BRW⁸⁵. Prakash has revealed the BRW with a slight lustre which had probably resulted from cloth or leather burnishing (Chart III, 24)⁸⁶.

The pottery in the Deccan region was mostly plain, but occasionally some wares had simple grooves, incised strokes, nail impression etc., Bowls of various shapes like carinated bowl having grooves on the exterior fragments of conical bowl or lid with a concave and inverted rim, fragments of tulip shaped shallow bowl with inverted rim, elliptical and undercut on the exterior, with corresponding depression in the interior were commonly found in the Raichur doab⁸⁷. The most common shapes of BRW found in the central Deccan were associated with the megalithic burials which include deep bowls, carinated dishes with round or flat bases and globular pots⁸⁸. At Kadambapur the megalithic phase III has revealed pit burials in which a BRW funnel shape vase has been noticed (Chart III, 11)⁸⁹.

The associated wares found along with BRW in Deccan are Red Ware, NBPW and Black Ware. The pottery at Kaundinyapura, Paithan,

Prakash is characterised by the presence of NBPW (Chart III, 13,24). The technique of making NBPW is similar in the process of making Black ware. Under the reduction method the pots were burnt for a certain time, the pile was covered with clay paste and all the outlets were sealed, so that the smoke was retained within⁹⁰. The surface of this ware was covered with slip which varied in lustre from steel grey, shining blue or shining brownish black as found in the western Deccan⁹¹. The shapes in this ware consisted of rimless bowls, handis pear shaped vases etc.,

Megalithic pottery has been classified into two groups: the coarse and unpolished receptacles like the burial urns, the sarcophagi and their lids, and secondly the well fired finely polished smaller vessels as discussed above. The burial urns were mainly of two categories the sarcophagi and pot burials. According to Gururaja Rao megalithic pottery has been classified into two groups in which the technique of making the sarcophagus was to shape the clay into thick sections and then shaped into large vessels of pyriform or fusiform urns with elongated body and a pointed or truncated bottom⁹². Later, they were given animal forms resembling mainly a ram or a buffalo. According to scholars terracotta sarcophagus was introduced by the Chaldeans since this type of burial was not found elsewhere and was absent in phase I of our study⁹³. According to B. Subramanyam, terracotta sarcophagi excavated and reported are generally found in all types of burials though not in all burials⁹⁴. Citing an example from the site at Peddamarur

and Serupalle in Central Deccan, nine cist burials revealed the sarcophagi (Chart III, 29). Further, Subramanyam reports that the sarcophagi were meant for elite of the megalithic society or they belong to a religious custom followed by particular tribe. However, merely taking into account the physical features of the burials and assigning them to a particular tribe is not possible unless the contents of the grave goods are studied more closely⁹⁵. For example, a cairn circle may contain sarcophagi urns and other grave goods, but it does not mean that all cairns should contain similar goods⁹⁶. However, it has been observed that though various types of burials existed at one place, each type of burial was contemporaneous with one or other type, and there was also a geographical continuity as far as their location was concerned⁹⁷.

Since pottery making techniques were also associated with terracotta making we next turn to take a brief look on the types and techniques involved in making of terracottas. The hand made terracotta figurines of the neolithic-chalcolithic phase continued during the megalithic iron age as well. Apart from the hand made figurines, terracottas also began to be prepared by two types of moulds, the single and the double moulds. Due to specialisation and the techniques involved, hand and mould technique was used simultaneously for making of huge sarcophagi; the concentration of this craft was mainly on the items concerned with burials like beads etc. So the number of terracotta mother goddesses are comparatively less than phase

I and phase III. Craft specialisation and aesthetic sense of the potter can be seen in the various shapes and sizes, types of the urns, pottery and sarcophagi. This technique was an advancement from the neolithic-chalcolithic phase. In the single mould, the figurines were prepared either from models in clay, wax, wood or soap stone or, by carving the desired design in negative⁹⁸. The process of making terracottas from double mould was by pressing the two moulds on a solid lump of clay and removing off the surplus by a sharp instrument¹⁰. The other method was to press the wet clay into two different moulds of the front and back portion separately so as to form hollow shells¹⁰⁰ (Plate 2) . After detaching and luting them together the figurines were retouched to deepen the grooves and incise designs on them could be made. Then the objects were baked in a closed or open kiln but direct heat was not applied¹⁰¹. The objects baked were kept in an earthen ware which was covered from outside with charcoal and husk¹⁰². Improvement in the technology of making terracottas imply an increasing specialization emerging in the craft of making a variety of ceramic products.

According to S.P.Gupta the distribution of potteries along with terracottas began to vary from one sub-region to other on the Indian sub-continent¹⁰³. Further, he opines that a stage had been reached when the potter-artist who made terracottas did not probably make pottery, or if he did, he rarely did so. The technique of making terracotta now became specialized than those making pots. Terracottas required more skill and artistic flare to

Plate no : 2



SINGLE MOULD



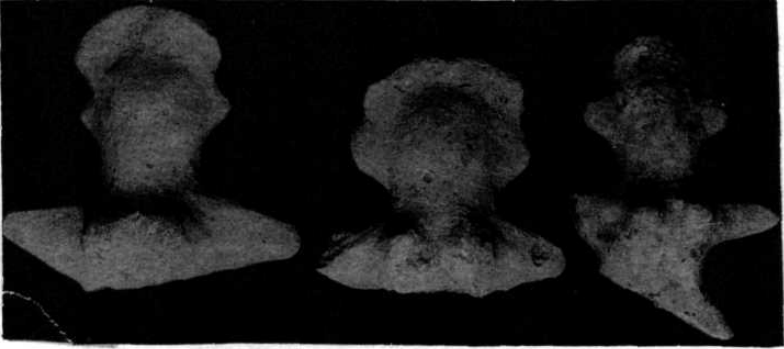
DOUBLE MOULD

Location : DHULIKATTA **PAITHAN**
Phase : Megalithic - Iron Age, Phase II
Courtesy : Mr.Patil Private Collection, **Paithan**
State Archaeology Department, Hyderabad

fashion the figurines. They varied according to their size and features¹⁰⁴. Further, the common potter who had earlier been involved making figurines could make only very crude figurines as seen in the earlier chapter on phase I.

Excavation reports have revealed six mother goddess figurines for the megalithic iron age phase in the Deccan (Chart V, 8,34,38,39,44,56). The archaeological reports merely mention the existence of a mother goddesses without dealing the individual features of each in detail. Of the six figurines reported only two have been dealt with the some detail. Mother Goddess figurines are known to us from the reports at Peddabankur. The illustration depicts three figurines. The figurine is hand made, and the goddess head is shown in the first figurine in thin trefoil mass, hand pointed and breast are shown prominently. The body below the breast is broken. The second figurine head is shown as a prominent mass with a round halo at the back pointed breasts, hand and the body below the waist is broken. In the third figurine the mother goddess face is pinched to a prominent mass, hands tapered to points, legs and breasts are broken¹⁰⁵. (Plate 3). Terracotta mother goddess figurines of the megalithic iron age bear resemblance to the simple nude figurines with prominent breasts and hanging arm stumps from Ter and Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. (Chart V, 31,56). According to Margret Murray such mother goddess figurines have been classified as the Baubo type¹⁰⁶. The Baubo type of figurines are generally reported in squatting form in which the beauty of the form or its individual features are

Plate no : 3



Mother Goddess

Location : PEDDABANKUR
Phase : Megalithic - Iron Age, Phase HI
Courtesy : State Archaeology Department, Hyderabad

FIGURE IV



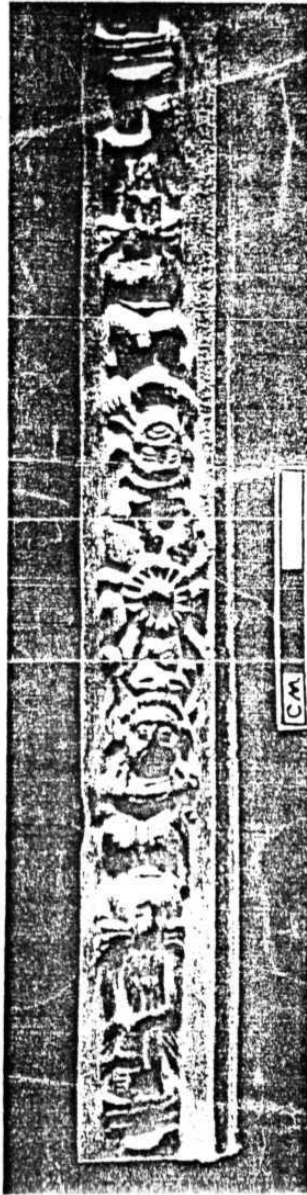
MOTHER GODDESS

LOCATION : TER

PHASE : Megalithic - iron age, Phase II

COURTESY : M.K. Dhavalikar, Master Pieces of
Terracottas, Bombay, 1986

Figure V.



B

BANGIE

Location : Pauri
Phase : Megalithic - iron age, phase II
Courtesy : State Archaeology Department,
148(b) Hyderabad.

disregarded. In fact, the other characteristic features such as breast are also minimized and the importance is laid only on the pudena¹⁰⁷.

In phase I the mother goddess or the so-called shameless goddess were associated with some sort of fertility cult and identified as the earliest examples of mother goddess worship. In phase II the difference is that the mother goddess has been noticed in squatting position wearing a beaded necklace around the neck, a thick girdle around the waist and heavy anklets¹⁰⁸. Such figurines are known to us from the excavation at Ter¹⁰⁹ (Chart V, 56). For the first time in phase II the girdle emerges on the mother goddess and continues into the early historic phase. It appears to have had a functional value in order to keep the garment in a firm position around the waist (Figure IV). Further, the girdle is also said to symbolize an emphatic significance of being a child bearing fertility features¹¹⁰. Coomaraswamy opines that the nude goddess was known as Aditi who was considered a personification of Nature. Sometimes she was identified with the earth who was incorporated into the later religious practices and is known to us also from the literary texts¹¹¹. The Atharva veda in fact mentions the sacred girdle (Mekhala) which is seen constantly worn by nude goddesses as being a long-life (ayusyam) charm. Such figurines are also known to us from many sites of northern India¹¹².

Apart from the mother goddess figurines the animal figurines known for this phase are bulls and a solitary example of a deer. Of the animal

figurines the bull which was known profitically in the neolithic-chalcolithic times continued to play an important role in the megalithic phase. The number of bulls reported from excavation are five. (Chart V, 10,14,39,44,). Excavations at Peddamarur reveals bull figurines with a thick long snout and eyes and mouth fashioned in an archaic way¹¹³. On the other hand from the Central Deccan region Chinnamarur revealed bull figurine found in urns having two long horns and a tail¹¹⁴. The legs in this case are shown stout and straight. The eyes are depicted in the form of pinches. The bulls were hand made and stylistic in form. They do not appear to be substantially different in form and style from those found in the neolithic-chalcolithic phase.

The other noteworthy animal figurine identifiable for this phase is a deer figurine (Chart V, 41). The hand made deer figurine is only one of its kind and has an elongated body with long slender horns¹¹⁵. Since it is so small in size it has been suggested that these terracotta deer figurines were probably used as toys (Plate 4).

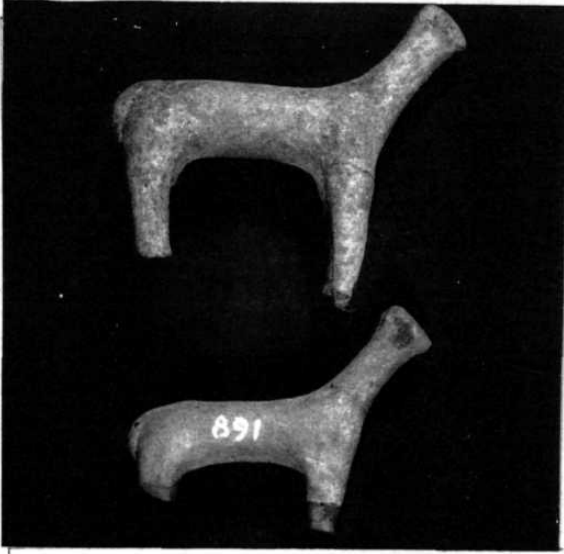
In the early prehistoric cultures the deer figurines have been commonly presented in rock art as part of a larger group as in hunting scenes or in animal processions individually they can be seen as a study naturalism¹¹⁶. For the early man the deer with antlers, beautiful skin and graceful movements must have been of great appeal since it not only provided meat, its hide was used for clothes, while its antlers were used for weapons. The terracotta figurine of the deer indicates that the megalithic folk

were familiar with it and probably hunted the deer for their food and used its horns for weapons.

The megalith phase is of course important for another kind of animal figurines known to us from the cist burials in the form of terracotta sarcophagus (Plate 5). The type of animals attached to the elongated body of the sarcophagi suggest that could either have been meant for the elite of the megalithic society and reflected a religious customs ie., belief in life after death. Some of the animal figurines have been associated and represented with the five elements of nature which served as a means of transport the dead to the other world. Excavation at Peddamarur has revealed three types of sarcophagus from a four chambered cist burial of which one sarcophagi is of red ware with five slip over the body. The sarcophagi was barrel shaped and recantangular in plan and pentagonal in cross section. Subramanyam, opines that the hand made bovine animal, attached to the sarcophagus at Peddamarur, had long and study horn was luted as if to indicate that the animal was carrying the coffin¹¹⁷. From Sankavarm a ram shaped sarcophagus with six legs was reported (Chart V, 39,49). The front portion of the coffin was raised in the form of an animal terminating in a socket into which it is fitted. The detachable head of the ram had curved horns¹¹⁸.

The buffalo and Ram as found at some or above sites (Chart V, 39,49) has multifarious religious significance. In Hindu art these

Plate no : 4



Deer Figurines

Location : **POCHAMPAD**
Phase : **Megalithic - Iron Age**, Phase III
Courtesy : State Archaeology Department,
Hyderabad

Plate no : 5



Sarcophagus in Cist burial

Location : PEDDAMARRUR
Phase : Megalithic - **Iron Age, Phase III**
Courtesy : State ARchaeology **Department,**
Hyderabad

animal figurines were later represented as vehicles for deities like Lord Yama, Lord Agni etc¹¹⁹.

Terracotta finds of a non-religious nature were also found in this phase. They were mostly in the form of ornaments. During this phase they mainly consisted of beads and bangles. Beads during this phase were of different shapes and sizes. During this phase fourteen have been identified in excavation reports. Some of the types which were found in this phase were the one which were annular, cylindrical and tabloid in shape. The beads were prepared according to the double mould method. Recent excavations from Adam have brought to light annular beads (Chart VI,1). Beads from Kesarapalli and Prakash that were found were of another type, namely, the pear shaped beads (Chart VI, 22,34). At Prakash this evidence has come from the overlap levels of the use of iron and the early historic phase at this site¹²⁰. From sites like Chagtur, Kyatur, Peddamarur beads reported from excavations were found, associated with the terracotta sarcophagus¹²¹. The most commonly found beads from these places were circular, biconical, spherical, tabloid, long and short barrelled beads (Chart VI, 8,24,33). From the hand made beads, the double mould method of bead making was adopted. A change can be seen during the megalithic iron age phase. The shapes and sizes and the broken beads from the various sites, suggest that they were baked and moulded. From Peddamarur the tabloid beads were decorated with concentric circles. From the same site

another type i.e., the terracotta conical bead was found which is said to represent a phallic symbol. It was found in the a megalithic burial. However, it being a bead is doubted since it had no arrangement for suspension.

Terracotta cylindrical and circular beads have also been found at Keesarapalle II in coastal Andhra, but these were all unpierced¹²². A pendent which resembled a bead has come to light from Serupalle. A long cylindrical bead having pointed or blunt end which resembled a phallus was also found. It had a hole at the base just below the broad end to facilitate easy suspension¹²³. (Chart VI, 40)

The most interesting ornament during this phase was a bangle from Pauni¹²⁴ (Chart VI, 19). This bangle was noticed in the exploration area. It was made of pure clay; well fired and had negative incised motif of a female figure with lotus on top, which repeated itself if the bangle was rolled. The figure on it had fanned head dress, heavy necklace, prominent bare breast, open navel below which she is shown wearing a sari tucked in front and she also wears a heavy girdle (Figure IV). The artist who made this bangle, may have catered to the needs of the chief or elite; the female figurine with heavy girdle and lotus on top, suggest that she may have been a mother goddess. For the first time we observe that the terracotta figurine shows the depiction of cloth on the body of the figurine inferring that the megalithic iron age society knew the art of wearing clothes. Scholars refer to the girdle as fertility features.

Thus a clear cut marker between the megalithic and the early historic context is quite difficult in the archaeological record because it shows at many sites an overlap between the two phases. The overlapping situation from the neolithic-chalcolithic to the megalithic-iron age are important for postulating internal sub-regional contacts (Chart I). The level of tool technology attained by the megalithians indicate the possible use of tools based on an improved equipment. In this context the introduction of iron technology signified an important breakthrough. Not merely did it introduce a change in the use of a new metal, but with the use of iron artefacts there was a widespread change in the pace of agrarian growth in some areas of the Deccan. Scholars have suggested that the pastoral economy was predominant. The various agricultural implements discussed by us above clearly indicate that megalithic peoples economy was mixed and definitely it was pre-urban. However the megalithic burial monuments suggest that, there may have been a centralised a co-ordinated society to control the surplus and redistribute it.

Iron technology not only played an important role in the economy of the megalithic folk, but also paved the way for an improvement of craft specialisation. With regard to our subject of study we noted that in the level of craftsmanship we find an improvisation as reflected in the manufacture of the moulds for making of terracottas. It has been suggested that this went hand in hand with the use of iron for making the moulds. This had an impact

on the fact that a separate group of artisans emerged in the village who catered to the needs of the people for making terracottas of a specialist kind. This is clearly seen in the large sarcophagi that are found in many megalithic burials. Mother goddess continued and this may suggest that there was an earlier tradition co-existing with the new megalithic people who had come to settle in the Deccan. Of all the material eco-changes in the megalithic phase the most significant was its characteristic potter which was largely BRW. The firing methods used by the potter in making of this ware indicated a development in the technology of making pottery. This had also an impact on the terracotta making and is seen in the preparation of the sarcophagi, where the wheel was used extensively.

It is interesting to note that during the megalithic phase the mother-goddess figurines changed in style and make, which is depicted through ornaments with intricate designs. This further suggest a marked improvisation from the nude goddess of phase I. Most of the characteristic features of the nude goddess were retained during this phase. The continuity of the worship of mother goddess is known to us from a few terracotta figurines known from sites like Ter and Nagarjunakonda. The super imposition of the new belief of the burial systems may have been one of the cause for the less production of mother goddess figurines. This is evident through excavation reports.

We find from the various types of sarcophagus the notion of life after death was predominantly emphasised through the burial system. The artist improved his technical skills, through the various animal figurines like ram, bovine, elephant which were attached to the body of the sarcophagus by hand and double mould method. The improvisation of the skills is further elaborated in the making sarcophagus with wheels for the leg. The megalithic burials in which sarcophagus were dominantly reported through sites suggests that the religious belief of the folk changed megalithic in a gradual manner and a comparative lack of terracotta figurines.

Terracotta ornaments in the form of beads and bangles were identified by the different types of beads as noted in the chart. We have observed an improvement in the skill of making hand made beads to that of making re., mould. The inherent skills of the artist is seen in the increasing number of beads which were not reported during phase I. There was a continuity of certain beads like arecanut, spherical etc., specialisation is also seen in the ornamentation of bangle. This suggest that during the megalithic-iron age there existed a category of skilled artisan for preparing and making certain specialised objects and figurines, who catered to the local chiefs and the elites of the society. Greater specialization in terracotta making is, however seen during the early historic phase. We next turn to explain these changes in Chapter IV.

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CHAPTER IV

EARLY HISTORIC-FIGURINES PHASE III

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In the earlier two chapters we have discussed the various terracotta finds in relation to the distribution of pre and proto-historic cultures and their subsistence pattern, which in turn depended much upon their technological development. The variations among the societies is seen in their particular characteristic features which, according to Service, are due to the different degrees of cultural growth and their adaptive responses to varying environmental circumstances. In a given environment the exploitation of natural resources decided the cultural predominance of a particular culture. This cultural predominance was due to technological improvement in tools, pottery, structures etc, which had an impact on the way terracottas were made. Thus, the study of economy and subsistence pattern of these early cultures led us to understand the society associated with it and the production of its cultural artefacts.

The term proto-historic period is understood to be a preliterate state of human habitation in which archaeological finds are the exclusive important evidence to understand the nature of socio-economic conditions of the people. The early historic times are marked by a proliferation of terracotta remains not only in terms of the numbers of types found but also in

terms of a large number that have survived the vicissitudes of times. In this chapter we take a close look at the terracotta figurines, human and animal, and analyze their meaning and context during this period. In the following Chapter (VI) we describe the terracotta objects which can be classified as ornaments and those meant for decorative purposes. The early historic society is usually marked by the rise of written sources of information and a significant development in the material culture often markedly characterising an urban society³. This represents a highly sophisticated social organisation. In this and the next chapters we focus on the terracottas that were produced by this complex society of early historical times.

As indicated in the previous chapters the physical boundaries of the Deccan present varied geographical regions with their historical and cultural peculiarities. For the early historic phase the number of excavated sites is greater than the sites excavated and reported for phase I (Chart II), and phase II (Chart III). There are forty-five sites which indicate the presence of terracotta remains. These sites have been alphabetically listed along with the material cultures found at each of them (Chart V) (Map V).

We shall begin a description of the geographical location of these sites by starting from the north-western part of the Deccan. The western part of the Deccan is prominently marked by the estuaries of the river Narmada and the Tapti and the coastal strip of the Konkan. The Satpura range divides

the valleys of the Konkan. The Satpura range divides the valleys of the Narmada and the Tapti and contains a number of high plateaus. Significant among these is the Toranmal plateau lying within the boundaries of the present Uhule district⁷¹. The Sahyadri of the western ghats stretch eastwards across the river valleys and are crossed by the passes which determine the major arterial routes. Prominent among these are the Galna hills, Ajanta, Kalsubi, Baleshwar, Harishchandra, Purandhar and the Mahadeo ranges⁵. In between the Toranmal plateau and the Galna hills, archaeological excavations have revealed an important early historic site on the river Panchaganga, i.e., Prakash⁶ (Chart I, 55). On the eastern slopes of the Sahyadris the river Godavari rises near Trimbakeshwar in Nasik district and flows across the Deccan in the south easterly direction. The upper Godavari basin is rich in archaeological remains ranging from the Palaeolithic age to the early historic period. On the southern bank of the Godavari the ancient site of Nasik is located⁷ (Chart I, 44). The early historical period has been dated from the fifth century B.C to the third century A.D. (Chart I, 44)⁸.

Fifteen miles before Nasik the Godavari receives, on the right bank, the combined waters of the Pravara and Mula, near the Harischandra hills. Here the settlement at Nevasa in the Ahmadnagar district of Maharashtra is located on the bank of the river Godavari⁹ (Chart I, 46). Kausan¹⁰ and Paithan¹¹ are also located on the banks of river Godavari in

Aurangabad district and these were major Satavahana cultural sites dated between c 300 B.C. to 100 A.D., (Chart I, 31,47). The Satavahana town of Bhogavardhana or Bhokardhan also lies in the Godavari basin on the right bank of the river Kelna¹² (Chart 1,6). The river Godavari which flows in a south-eastern direction is joined by rivers like the Pranhita, the Wardha, the Wainganga and on the right bank it is joined by the river Manjira. This river flows along the former districts of Osmanabad in Maharashtra, Bidar in Karnataka and Medak in Andhra Pradesh. Excavations reports have brought to light early historic settlements at Ter on the west bank of the river Terna in Osmanabad district¹³ (Chart 1,68). Ter is said to represent an important commercial centre of the Satavahana times. In the same district a recent excavation has brought to light another early historical settlement at Mandhal¹⁴ (Chart 1,39).

Further, the river Godavari receives on its left bank the Purna which flows in to the Parbhani district of Maharashtra and is joined by the Pranhita, conveying the united waters of the Wardha and the Wainganga. Kaundinyapura an ancient site on the bank of the river Wardha flourished during the iron-age¹⁵ (Chart 1,30). At Pauni, an important settlement of the early historical period has been dated between 3rd century to 1st century A.D.¹⁶ (Chart I,49). Recent excavations have brought to light the settlement at Adam in the Wardha-Wainganga basin. The settlement here began with

the Vidarbha-Chalcolithic phase and continued through the early historic phase¹⁷ (Chart I,1) Arni located on the bank of Amaravati in Yvnntmal district is yet another important site of this period¹⁸ Settlement began here with the megalithic phase and continued upto the Satavahana period (Chart I,5)

After collecting the waters of the Mañjira, Penganga, Wardha, Pranhita and Indravathi, the river Godavari takes a south-easterly direction through the various districts of the state of Andhra Pradesh. Major archaeological sites which participated in the Indo-Roman trade during the Sātavāhana period are located in these districts. Peddabankur in Karimnagar district has revealed a megalithic phase followed by the historical phase which is divided into two sub-periods IIA and IIB¹⁹. (Chart I,50). This site is rich in various types of terracottas. From the same district we have the settlement at Dhulikatta belonging to the Satavahana period²⁰ (Chart I,17). Kotilingala is considered a typical Sātavāhana site and is located between the river Peddavagu and Godavari and is said to have flourished between the 2nd century B.C. to 1st century AD.,²¹ (Chart I,36) This site has yielded many coins providing important links between the post-Mauryan and the Satavahana periods.

Krishna is a major river of the Deccan and rises in the western ghats and then flows southwards skirting the eastern spurs of the hills, past

Karad²² (Chart I, 29), where it receives on the right bank, the Koyna from the western side of the Mahabaleshwar hills. The excavations conducted near Panchaganga have revealed the settlement at Kolhapur or Brahmapuri. This site has yielded a rich hoard of Satavahana antiquities²³ (Chart I,9, Chart V,7). On entering the state of Andhra Pradesh the Krishna drops from the tableland of the Deccan down to the alluvial doabs of Shorapur and Raichur. The first of the doab is formed by the confluence of the Bhima which brings the water into the modern districts of Ahamadnagar, Poona, and Sholapur in Maharashtra. The second confluence of the Krishna is with the Tungabhadra which drains the north of Mysore and Bellary districts in Karnataka and the Kurnool district in Andhra Pradesh. The Raichur doab serves as a corridor that connects Maharashtra plateau with regions lying to the South. Due to the geo-political situation, the districts of Bellary and Bidar have constituted an important area for human settlement from the prehistoric times. The discovery of Sannathi on the bank of the river Bhima in the heart of Gulbarga district has yielded rich crop of terracottas of the early historic times²⁴, (Chart I,62). On the right bank of the river Krishna and the Tungabhadra excavations have revealed sites in the district of Kurnool. Excavations at Satankota located on the right bank of Tungabhadra have revealed a cultural sequence represented by two periods i.e., period I represented by the megalithic phase and period II represented by time sequence ranging from the first century B.C. to 3rd century AD²⁵ (Chart I,63).

Excavations at Maski and Brahmagiri in Raichur and Chitaldurg district respectively began with the neolithic phase followed by the megalithic and early historic; phase²⁶ (Chart I, 8,42) From Raichur district the river Krishna covers a considerable distance between the eastern portion of the former Hyderabad and the districts of Kurnool and Guntur. In Guntur district the river bed is deep, rocky with a rapid fall winding in the north-eastern direction through the Nallmalai range and other small hills. On reaching the eastern ghats, the river Krishna turns sharply south-eastwards and flows between the districts of Krishna and Guntur directly into the sea at Hamsaladeevi. Both the Krishna and Guntur districts have several early historic sites with major evidence of the spread of Buddhism in this region. Keesarpalli which flourished in the lower Krishna basin provides for the first time a continuous index of cultures from the neolithic to the early historical period²⁷ (Chart I, 33). Nāgarjunakoṇḍā in the Krishna valley is another important site which revealed settlements from the neolithic-chalcolithic times to the early historic period²⁸ (Chart I, 43). Yelleswaram on the left bank of the river Krishna, has yielded rich cultural sequences from its megalithic past to its late medieval period²⁹ (Chart I,76).

In Deccan the transition to the early historical phase is significantly marked by the presence of the Mauryan influence represented by the Aśokan inscription (Map II). Some scholars attribute the Mauryan intrusion in terms of the advent of Buddhism™. The Buddhist monastery became responsible for

the development of commerce in the lower Godavari and Krishna basin and also in the Western Deccan³¹. The Mauryan influence at sites like Maski suggest the idea of the exploitation of the gold mines around this region³². Scholars like B. D. Chattopadhyaya suggest that the encroachment of the Mauryans in the affair of the Deccan should not be seen to signify any administrative hold for there is evidence of the existence of local chiefs like Rathaks, Bhojas in Deccan during the same period³³. The formation of 'localities' saw the beginning of the political institutions like Raja³⁴. Terms like Mahārathis, Mahābhoja as revealed from the numismatics evidence at Kotilingala and Veerapuram also suggest the formation of elites at the level of the localities prior to the emergence of the Satavahanas³⁵ (Chart V,23,41). It must then be concluded that the process of the fusion between internal and external forces were clearly discernible in the rise of the Sātavāhana state.

Scholars also suggest that during the early centuries of the Christian era sites like Ter, Bhokardhan, Kondapur, Brahmagiri, graduated into being 'urban centres' the rise of urban centres was not the result of one single cause but originated in various circumstances. The most important factor for the growth of urban centres was the existence of surplus and a distribution machinery represented both by the administrators and traders³⁶. Further, V.K.Thakur states that in the pre-industrial towns the number of people residing in them was greater than those living in the surrounding villages³⁷. This may have been due to economic reasons. He substantiates

this, by giving the evidence of references in the Jātakas where in apprentices belonging to rural areas were said to have been employed in the towns to impart training of varied crafts and industries³⁸. H Sarkar refers to cities of ancient Andhra as centres of exchange selling agricultural, animal and forests products³⁹. According to him, sites like Bhatiprolu for instance, located in the coastal region of the Deccan were essentially agrarian towns surrounded by rural settlements as feeders⁴⁰. On the other hand, Sudershan Seneviratne, while visualising the features for the state formation in Andhra and Kalinga, argues in terms of the expansion of an agrarian base, demographic expansion, craft specialisation, development of exchange network, etc., in the transition from the megalithic to early historic times⁴¹. These features are attested to by the inscriptional and archaeological evidence suggesting the rise of the Satavāhnanas and the Ikshvakus⁴².

The rise and expansion of the Satavāhnanas represents in the Deccan the beginning of an organised set-up in which certain features like well defined administrative machinery, organised military system and religious patronage to Buddhism, early Brahmanism and Bhagavatism emerges significantly.

The economy of the early historic period in Deccan was based on agriculture, trade and commerce. This is evident from the various inscriptional references to the term hala which means a cultivated land or the land used

for plough cultivation⁴³. Agriculture seems to have been managed by the Sethis who took special interest in promoting it⁴⁴. The villages during the early historic period seem to have indulged in 'community production consider able scale which enabled a variety of artisans to accumulate wealth"¹⁵. From the Gathasaptasati we come to know that the villages were administered through the grimanis. The agricultural base of the early historical communities gave rise to the increase in settlements along the river basins. This is evident from the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea which provided information regarding the number of ports and inland market towns⁴⁶. The growth of cities and towns, nigamas and gosthis paved the way for the growth of numerous industries and craft⁴⁷.

The large variety of artefacts unearthed during excavations at different sites in the Deccan during the early historic times is an indicator for the proliferation of crafts and division of labour. Literary texts also corroborate to the presence of potters of guilds kulaka⁴⁸. Artisans worked as independent persons and earned cash income in contrast to dāsas and karmākaras who worked for getting food and clothes. The craftsmen formed the basis of handicraft production. Kutilya's Arthasastra makes a distinction between two types of craftsmen, the karuśasitr - a master craftsman employing a number of artisans on wage basis, and the savavittakāru, an artisan working independently⁴⁹. Further, the jātakas make references to apprentices like the potter's appientice - rajakumbhakaiassa antevasika⁵⁰. On the other

hand, inscriptions from the Western Deccan records investments made with different guilds like *vithavasasreni*, *kularika* and so on⁵¹. In the early historic phase the potter had to cater to the needs of the people not only for making pots but also for making a variety of kinds. Because of the great demand for terracottas he had to adopt the double mould technique in their manufacture. Due to the adoption of this technique the production of terracotta making rose to the level of a craft that catered for the market⁵².

An overall study of the early historic period represents a well stratified society which was the full-fledged state society adopting strategic consideration towards significant religious ideologies for the ultimate sustenance of the economy of the state. Western Deccan is very important for the early historic formation of the Buddhist cave temples. Structures from this region has revealed querns brickstructures, brick houses (Chart IV 6,8,28) where as central Deccan has structural remains and are important for the knowledge and prosperity of early historical cultures in this region in terms of the political development. Sites like Kotilingla, Dhulikatta are important in this aspect (Chart IV.II,23). Groups like *gahapati*, *kutumbika*, *qandhikas* largely seem to have derived their wealth from agricultural activities⁵³. Inscriptions during the early historic period make mention of several occupational groups like *raiaveja*, *manikāra*, *mālakira*, *suvanakāra* and so on⁵⁴.

Among the most important remnants of the material culture of this period a discussion on the different types of pottery provides the essential

CHART IV
MATERIAL CULTURE-EARLY HISTORIC
Phase - III

Sl No	Name of the Site	Tools	Structures	Pottery	Terracottas	Miscellaneous	Reference
1	Adam	WD imp	bs.st micaceous	BRW	af.bd.hf.wh	lc.	<u>PUR.20</u> 1989-90, pp-96-97
2	Annagi	CD -	bs.	BRWBPRW	-	lc.	<u>IAR.</u> 1977-78, p.1
3	Ami	WD iob.	bs.	BRWRTW	bd.S	lc.	<u>IAR.</u> 1978-79
4	Bhokardham	WD -	bs.if RTWRW	Amp.BRW, KW, S. Vot.	af.bd.bu.hf	lc, Stc	<u>EB.</u> 1974, pp.7-8
5	Bousereddipalli	CD -	-	RWBW	bd.	Ins	<u>ARDAM.</u> 1983-84, p.18
6	Brahmagiri	SD ikl.	- RCPW, KW, NBPW	Amp. BRW, BW coins	af.bd.bu.hf.	-	<u>BE.</u> 1945-46, p.84
7	Brahmapuri	WD ik.	-	BPW, BRW, RW.	af.bd	-	<u>AT.</u> 4, 1947-48, p.202
8	Bublikonda	CD -	Chaitya	RTW,	af.	-	<u>ARDAM.</u> 1987-88, p.4
9	Chandravalli	SD -	-	BRW, RTW.	af.hf.	lc, Rc	<u>AT.</u> 4, 1947-48, p.270
10	Dharmavarpalem	CD -	-	RW.	bd.	-	<u>ARDAM.</u> 1947-75, p.6

Key: tool, terracottas : af-animal figurines, amp-amphroe, bs-brick structures, bd-beads, bu-bulls, ch-chaitya, ff-female figurine, ik-iron knives, iob-iron objects, imp-iron implements, ins-inscriptions, lf-line floors, lc-lead coins, lp-lamps, mg-mother goddess, mb-mud bricks, S-seals, st-stone, Stc-satavahana coins, vot-votive, wh-wheels.

Key Pottery: Amp-Amphora, BRW-black and redware, BPRW-black painted red ware, BW-black ware, KW-kaolin ware, NBPW-Northern black polished ware, RCPW-Russet coated painted ware, RPW-red painted ware, RTW-rouletted ware, RW- red ware.

Sl No	Name of the Site	Tools	Structures	Pottery	Terracottas	Miscellaneous	Reference
11	Dhulikatta	CD iob.	-	BRW RPW	af, hf, bd	-	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1976-77, pp.13-14
12	Elchuru	CD -	-	RW BW	af, hf, bd	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1988-89, p.3
13	Indoor	CD -	-	RW BRW,	af, hf,	Copper Coin	<u>IAR</u> , 1982-83, p.43
14	Jainad	CD -	-	RPW	bd,	-	<u>ARAP</u> , 1974-75, p.28
15	Kandi	CD	-	RWRW,	af, hf	-	<u>ARAP</u> , 1982-83, p.28
16	Karad	WD	-	BW	af, hf	-	<u>ExK</u> , 1949, p.3
17	Kaundinyapura	WD -	bs,	NBPW, Russett	af, hf, bd	PMC, Sat.coins	<u>IAR</u> , 1961-62, p.29
18	Kausan	WD -	bs		Bul, Kw.	Copper coins	<u>IAR</u> , 1965-66, p.26
19	Keesaragutta	CD -	bs	BWRW	bd	-	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1981-82, p.12
20	Keesarapalli	CD -	br NBPW, GW	RTW, BRW	bd	Glass	<u>Al</u> , 22, 1966, p.43.
21	Kholesvar	WD -	-	BW, RW	af, hf	Indo-sassanian	<u>IAR</u> , 1978-79, p.56
22	Kondapur	CD -	bs, ch, st	BRW	af, hf, bd, bu	Lead coins	<u>ABORI</u> , 1941, p.8-10
23	Kotilingala	CD -	fi	BRW, RW, BPW	af, bd	Gold, Glass	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1981-82, p.12.
24	Kudavelli	CD isp	-	dull, RW, KW BRW	bd	Gold Coins	<u>IAR</u> , 1978-79, p.5

Key: tool, terracottas : af-animal figurines, amp-amphroe, bs-brick structures, bd-beads, bu-bulls, ch-chaitiya, ff-female figurine, hf-human figurine, ik-iron knives, iob-iron objects, imp-iron implements, ins-inscriptions, lf-line floors, lc-lead coins, lp-lamps, mg-mother goddess, mb-mud bricks, S-seals, st-stone, Stc-satavahana coins, vot-votive, wh-wheels.

Key Pottery: Amp-Amphora, BRW-black and redware, BPRW-black painted red ware, BW-black ware, KW-kaolin ware, NBPW-Northern black polished ware, RCPW-Russett coated painted ware, RPW-red painted ware, RTW-rouletted ware, RW- red ware.

Sl No	Name of the Site	Tools	Sturctures	Pottery	Terracottas	Miscellaneous	Reference
25	Mandhal	WD	-	RW	as.be.	-	IAR, 1987-88 p 38
26	Mailpadu	CD	-	BW/RW/RPW	hf.	-	IAR, 1987-88 c 1
27	Mantoor	CD	-	RW	af.bd.	-	ARDAM, 1983-84 pp 2-3
28	Maski	SD	imp	BRW RW	bd.hf.	-	IAR, 13, 1957, p 15
29	Nagarjunakonda	ED	imp	BRW/BW/RTW	af.bd.bl.	-	IAR, 1965-66 p 7
30	Nasik	WD	ch	BRW/NBPW	bd.	-	ENJ, 1950-51, p 57
31	Nellakondapally	CD	imp	BRW/NBPW	mg.vot.	-	ARDAM, 1984-85, p. 18
32	Nevasa	WD	-	BRW	-	-	IAR, 1954-55, p 13
33	Paithan	WD	st	BRW/RW,	af.bd.mg.	-	IAR, 1965-66, p 27
34	Paunar	WD	-	BRW	bd.hf.vot.dis.	-	PE, 1972, p.2
35	Peddabankur	CD	-	BRW/RW,	ar.bd.ff.	-	IAR, 1969-70, pc 1-2
36	Peddachapalli	CD	-	BRW/RW	-	-	ARDAM, 1977-78, p.4
37	Peddamarur	CD	-	BRW/RW,	-	-	IAR, 1977-78, p 2
38	Prakash	WD	imp	BRW/NBPW/RW	bd.ff.	-	AI, 20&21, 1964-65

Key: tool, terracottas : af-animal figurines, amp-amphroe, bs-brick structures, bd-beads, bu-bulls, ch-chaitiya, ff-female figurine, hf-huma figurine, ik-iron knives, rob-iron objects, imp-iron implements, ins-inscriptions, lf-line floors, lc-lead coins, lp-lamps, mg-mcitar goddess, mb-mud bricks, S-seals, st-stone, Stc-satavahana coins, vot-votive, wh-wheels.

Key Pottery: Amp-Amphora, BRW-black and redware, BPRW-black painted red ware, BW-black ware, KW-kaolin ware, NE-N-Northern black polished ware, RCPW-Russet coated painted ware, RPW-red painted ware, RTW-rouletted ware, RW-red ware.

Sl No	Name of the Site	Tools	Sturctures	Pottery	Terracottas	Miscellaneous	Reference
38	Pratyadevalampadu	CD	-	BRW/RW	bd.bl	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1981-82, p.24
39	Salihundam	ED	ch, vh	BRW/RTW/RW	af.bd, vot.mg	-	<u>SBSAP</u> 1964 p.11
40	Sannati	WD	ch, vh	BRW/BW/RW	bd.hf.	-	<u>PUR</u> , 17, 1986-87, p.23
41	Satanikota	CD	fort	BRW/RW	bd, ff, lp	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1977-78, p.5
42	Ter	WD	ch, vh	BRW/NBRW	araf, hf, lp, vot	-	<u>ET</u> , 1969, p.18
43	Vadagaon Madhapapur	SD	st,	BRW	araf, hf	-	<u>MHADHU</u> , p.5
44	Veerapuram	CD	imp.in	BRW/BW	af, ff, lp	-	<u>VE</u> , p.23
45	Yelleswaram	WD	ch, mb, st, vh	BRW/BW/RW	araf, hf, vot	-	<u>AMYE</u> , 1965, pp.4-5

Key: tool, terracottas : af-animal figurines, amp-amphroe, bs-brick structures, bd-beads, bu-bulls, ch-chaitya, ff-female figurine, hf-human figurine, ik-iron knives, iob-iron objects, imp-iron implements, ins-inscriptions, lf-line floors, lc-lead coins, lp-lamps, mg-mother goddess, mb-mud bricks, S-seals, st-stone, Stc-satavahana coins, vot-votive, wh-wheels.

Key Pottery: Amp-Amphora, BRW-black and redware, BPRW-black painted red ware, BW-black ware, KW-kaolin ware, NBPW-Northern black polished ware, RCPW-Russet coated painted ware, RPYW-red painted ware, RTW-rouletted ware, RW-red ware.

and most direct background for understanding the skills in making terracottas. Often, pottery is taken as an essential criteria of dating the different phases of any period. A clear cut marker between the megalithic and the early historic context is quite difficult in archaeology as it shows significant overlaps between the two phases mainly because of the continuance of the same type of pottery (Chart IV,6). According to observations made by Nagaraja Rao the two distinct traits, i.e., the BRW and iron, start in the layers representing the last phase of the neolithic chalcolithic cultures and continues upto the cultural traits of the early historic phase⁵⁵. This is evident from sites like Brahmagiri, Maski (Chart IV,6,28). In southern Deccan, at Brahmagiri the iron age culture is represented on the one side by the overlap of the neolithic-chalcolithic, and on the other, by the early historic Andhra culture⁵⁶ (Chart IV,6). On the other side, of the river Tungabhadra sites like Hallur, Piklihal, Sangankallu which were rich in neolithic-chalcolithic phase became less important in terms of material remains found during the early historic phase⁵⁷ (Chart II,10,19,22). However, Maski and Brahmagiri show a continuous habitation from very early times (Chart IV, 6,28). The early historic remains at Brahmagiri identified with the Satavahana layers and its habitation, have also been found at other sites like Chandravalli, Sannati, Vadagaon-Madhavapur⁵⁸ (Chart IV,9,40,43).

In Western Deccan the early historic phase is represented by the northern black polished ware, BRW, red ware, black ware, Amphroe (Chart IV,4,7,17). Sites like Paithan and Nevasa appear to be very important sites through the early historic evidence (Chart IV,32,43).

In the Wardha-Wainganga basin during the early historic phase, pottery is represented by the BRW, micaceous red ware, black ware, Rouletted ware, Kaolin ware, black slipped burnished pottery⁵⁹ (Chart IV,1,3,7,17). In the coastal region or the Lower Godavari and Krishna basin the pottery assemblage is mostly black and red ware, red ware, burnished ware, rouletted ware⁶⁰ (Chart IV,20,29,45). The significant feature of the pottery in the early historic phase is the continuation of the earlier pottery traits into the latter which were some times represented by overlaps and sometimes, by intrusion (Chart I, 8).

From the Mysore plateau region pottery is represented in the form of a distinct pottery. The varieties consisted of BRW, rouletted, russet coated, arretine, grey ware, red and black, black ware, black polished ware (Chart IV, 6,9,28). Chandravalli represents a good collection of pottery varieties along with Brahmagiri⁶¹ (Chart IV,6,9).

In the early historic period pottery from the excavations have mainly brought to light wheel turned ware. As stated in the earlier chapters the most important material required for pottery manufacturing was 'clay'. After its processing, to make it suitable for use, the clay was placed on the centre of the wheel while it was being rotated simultaneously so that the potter could deftly manipulate the lump with his fingers to shape it into a hollow ware⁶². The potters technique during the early historic phase improved not only in the

tools he used, but also in the making of the pots. Since the knowledge of creative process is transmitted hereditarily the selection of tools is ascribed to a group and not an individual potter⁶³. Thus, the share of the work and knowledge is passed from one generation to another, and thus becomes a cultural trait⁶⁴. This is evident from the various methods used in the process of throwing. The distribution of the techno-cultural trait is evident from the following evidences; in the Deccan region the potter twirls the wheel standing and throwing in a bent position, where as in the north-western India the potter squats in a comfortable position during both throwing and turning process⁶⁵. Anvil and terracotta dabbers were used by the potters to beat and remove the excess quantity of clay from the body of the vessels. Through the process of reduction method the wheel made pots were fired to get the result in black colour⁶⁶. In the southern Deccan the overlap of megalithic culture of period II at Brahmagiri has brought to light the large amount of black ware⁶⁷ (Chart I,8).

The Vidharbha-Telengana region of the Deccan area has revealed BRW which was coarse in fabric and quite distinct from the megalithic BRW. The megalithic BRW in this region had black slip with bright appearance which may have been due to burnishing (Chart IV,4). The BRW in the Western Deccan was found along with iron using assemblages⁶⁸. This ware which was wheel thrown showing light lustre and was contemporary with the NBPW of the northern fame. (Chart IV,7,17,30,38). The BRW reported from

the coastal region of the eastern Deccan has graffiti marks identical with those found in the Asokan Brahmi script⁶⁹.

Apart from the BRW, the other distinctive ceramic that was associated with the early historic phase was the rouletted ware. The rouletted ware was potted on a quick wheel from fine levigated clay which turned grey or greyish pink⁷⁰. Before firing it was treated with slip on both sides and was subjected to inverted firing, which turned black inside and showed variegated shades of grey to brown outside. According to Margabhandu there were many forms of rouletting like concentric, circles, triangles, diamonds dots and so on⁷¹. The typical shape in this ware was the beaked dish⁷². This ware has been found at Brahmagiri, Chandravalli, Maski (Chart IV,6,9,28). In Western Deccan this ware is scarce and is limited to a few sherds from Nasik, Nevasa, Ter and Bhokardhan (Chart IV, 4,30,32,42). In the central Deccan this ware is reported from Kondapur only (Chart IV, 22), and in eastern Deccan the rouletted ware is known to us from the reports of Keesarapalli (Chart IV,20).

The concentration of Russet-coated painted ware was in the area south of the Krishna. This ware occurs with the BRW at most sites. (Chart IV, 6,9,28). The technique involved in the making of this ware was to produce the pot and then dry it hard to obtain a russet coat or a ochre wash⁷³. After drying it, the pot was painted in Kaolin in a variety of designs. The last process involved in the making of russet coated painted ware was to

fire it in the kiln⁷⁴. The most common type and shape in this ware were the bowls, dishes and occasionally, some vases⁷⁵. In the Western Deccan this ware was peripheral and only sherds of this have been found at Nasik, Nevasa, and Kaundinyapura⁷⁶ (Chart IV,17,30,31). In the eastern Deccan Satankikota IIB has revealed this ware, where as in the southern Deccan this ware has been excavated from the phase III at Brahmagiri (Chart IV,6,41). The existence of this ware along with BRW indicates a distributional pattern of both inland and external trade⁷⁷. The concentration of russet coated painted ware in the coastal Deccan in many of the monastic establishments indicates complex commercial networks⁷⁸. Thus the distribution of ceramic evidence indicates a predominant communication network in the Deccan region.

During the early historic phase innovation of Kaolin pottery was reported from the sites like Arni, Bhokardhan, Kondapur, Nevasa (Chart IV, 3,4,22,32). Here, owing to the unsuitability of black soil for fashioning the terracotta figurines Kaolin was preferred by the artisans. S.K.Mitra opines that due to the dearth or absence of alluvial clay, Kaolin was mostly used by the early historic artisans⁷⁹. Kaolin is usually found in the Deccan traps, which, when put into water, becomes hard. Lapping is done to get the shine out of the ware. As a result of this new technique the terracotta figurines of men and women, "are characterised by bold, vigorous physiognomy features". Kaolin is mainly found in the Vidhaibha-Maithwada region. Dhavalikar opines that Kaolin was a much more finer material than clay and therefore, the terracottas do full justice to the skill of the artist who fashioned them⁸⁰.

The pottery of the early historic phase has been recovered from the structures, like chaityas, circular brick structures, stūpas, urns, cists burials along with tools like iron implements and other objects. Pottery becomes an important cultural material to study, not only from the point of view of the techniques used to make it but, also its usage. It is always found in association with various other material. The technique of making terracottas can be subsumed within the broader category of earthen ware. Development in pottery making techniques especially those related with baking them in Kilns had a great impact on terracotta making, clay formed the main ingredient of making both the terracottas and pottery.

During the early historic phase terracottas continued to be produced by hand but the double mould was also used prolifically. In the hand made figurines the techniques of making was marked by pinching and frequent use of pellets, whereas, in the double mould technique the figurine was produced hollow (Plate 2). The figurine in hollow type was the result of the use of double mould system which had a mould for the front and another for the back side⁸¹. A thin layer of clay was pressed in these moulds and the casts recovered in this way were joined together. Some of the figurines had holes in the body because these holes in the body were useful in letting out the inflated air due to heating⁸². According to Margabandhu this technique did not appear to have evolved locally but was adopted when the enterprising traders from the west were busy in exchanging their product with those from

CHART V
TERRACOTTA FIGURINES IN EARLY DECCAN UPTO 500 A.D

Sl No	Name of the Site	Phase I 2000-1000 BC	Phase II 1000-200 AD	Phase III 200-500 AD	Reference
1	Adam	CD --	--	mg	<u>PUJ</u> , 20, 1989-90, pp 96-97
2	Agripalli	ED --	sp	--	<u>IAR</u> , 1976-77, p.29
3	Annagi	ED --	--	bl,mg	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1974-75, p.6
4	Apegaon	WD mg	--	--	<u>EA</u> , 1976, p.6
5	Bhokardhan	WD --	--	ar, bd, bl, dm, ep, ff, hm, hs, mf, mg, mk,	<u>EB</u> , 1974, pp. 150-58
6	Brahmagiri	SD --	--	ar, mg,	<u>AI</u> , 4, 1947-48, p.202
7	Brahmapuri	WD --	--	ar, mg,	<u>BE</u> , 1952, p.4
8	Chagtur	CD --	dm, hm, mf, mg, sp,	--	<u>IAR</u> , 1977, p.11
9	Chandoli	WD zf, hm, bl	--	--	<u>CC</u> , 1965 p.3
10	Chinnamarur	CD --	bl, hm, sp,	--	<u>PHEHCMR</u> , 1986, p.73
11	Daimabad	WD ar, bl, hm, mf, mg,	--	--	<u>IAR</u> , 1979-80, p.39
12	Dhulikatta	CD --	--	bd, bl, ep, hs, mf, mg, rm, zf	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1976-77 pp
13	Dongotagu	CD --	sp	--	<u>DM</u> , 1988, p.25

Key to symbols: archaic, bd-bird, bl-bull, dm-double mould, ep-elephant, ff-female figurine, hm-hand made, hs-horse, mf-male figurine, mg-mother goddesses, mk-monkey, rm-ram, sp-sarcophagus, zf-zoomorphic

Sl No	Name of the Site	Phase I 2000-1000 BC	Phase II 1000-200 AD	Phase III 200-500 AD	Reference
14	Hallur	SD --	bd,bl,hm	--	<u>PHCTV</u> , 1971, p. 4
15	Huzumagar	ED --	hm, sp	--	<u>PHEHOMR</u> , 1965 p. 19
16	Inamgaon	WD bd,bl,cr,hm,mf,mg,bt	--	--	<u>PUR</u> , 8, 1975-76 p. 4
17	Indoor	CD --	--	bd, dm, ff,	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1982-83 p. 43
18	Kadambapur	CD --	ff,	--	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1974-75 p. 30
19	Kandi	CD --	--	dm, ff, hm	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1982-83 p. 28
20	Kaundinyapur	WD --	--	ar, rm	<u>IAR</u> , 1961-62, p. 29
21	Kausan	WD --	--	ff	<u>IAR</u> , 1965-66 p. 23
22	Keesaragutta	CD --	--	ff, mf	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1981-82 p. 12
23	Kholesvar	CD --	--	bl,	<u>IAR</u> , 1978-79, p. 55
24	Kondapur	CD --	--	ep, ff, hs, rm	<u>ABORI</u> , 1941, pp. 3-10
25	Kotlingala	CD --	--	ff, sp,	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1981-82 p. 19
26	Kyatur	CD --	sp,	--	<u>PHEHOMR</u> , 1965 p. 68
27	Mandhal	WD --	--	ar,	<u>IAR</u> , 1967-68, p. 53

Key to symbols: archaic, bd-bird, bl-bull, dm-double mould, ep-elephant, ff-female figurine, hm-hand made hs-horse, mf-male figurine, mg-mother goddesses, mk-monkey, rm-ram, sp-sarcophagus, zf-zoomorphic

Sl No	Name of the Site	Phase I 2000-1000 BC	Phase II 1000-200 AD	Phase III 200-500 AD	Reference
28	Mailipadu	--	--	ff.	<u>IAR</u> , 1987-88,p.1
29	Mantoor	CD	--	mk.	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1983-84, pp 2-3
30	Maski	SD	--	ff.	<u>AI</u> , 13, 1957, p. 15
31	Nagarjunakonda	ED	--	bl,ep.	<u>IAR</u> , 1965-66, p.77
32	Nelikondapally	CD	--	dm,mf,mg.	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1984-85, p. 18
33	Nevasa	WD	ar,mg,zf	mg.	<u>IAR</u> , 1954-55, p.7
34	Paithan	WD	--	bd,dm,hs,mf,mg	<u>IAR</u> , 1965-66, p.27
35	Palvay	SD	bl,hm.	--	<u>IAR</u> , 1967-68, p.2
36	Pauni	--	ar,dm,hm.	--	<u>PE</u> , 1972, p.2
37	Paunar	WD	--	mg, dm	<u>IAR</u> , 1965-66, p.27
38	Peddabankur	CD	mg, sp.	ar,bd,hs,mg.	<u>IAR</u> , 1969-70, pp. 1-2
39	Peddamarur	CD	bl,mg,sp.	--	<u>IAR</u> , 1977-78, p. 12
40	Pikihai	SD	ar,bd,bl,mf,hm,bf.	--	<u>PE</u> , 1960, p.xv
41	Pochampadu	CD	de,mk,sp.	--	<u>IAR</u> , 1963-64, p.3

Key to symbols: archaic, bd-bird, bl-bull, de-deer, dm-double mould, ep-elephant, ff-female figurine, hm-hand made hs-horse, mf-male figurine, mg-mother goddesses, mk-monkey, rm-ram, sp-sarcophagus, zf-zoomorphic

Sl No	Name of the Site	Phase I 2000-1000 BC	Phase II 1000-200 AD	Phase III 200-500 AD	Reference
42	Prakash	WD ar,bl	- -	bd,ff	<u>AI</u> ,20&21,1964-65,p.14
43	Pratyadevalampadu	CD - -	- -	bd,bl	<u>IAR</u> ,1981-82,p.24
44	Rekulapadu	CD - -	bl,mg	- -	<u>ARDAM</u> ,1983-84,pp.2-3
45	Ramapuram	SD bl,hm	- -	- -	<u>IAR</u> ,1981-82,p.4
46	Sailhundam	ED - -	- -	bd,bl,ep,hs	<u>SBSAP</u> ,1964,pp.11
47	Sanganikallu	SD bl,hm	sp	- -	<u>EAS</u> ,1969,p.3
49	Sankavaram	SD - -	sp	- -	<u>DM</u> ,1988,p.54
50	Sannati	WD - -	- -	ff,mf,mg	<u>PUR</u> ,17,1986-87,p.23
51	Satanikota	CD - -	- -	bd,bl,dm,ff,hs	<u>IAR</u> ,1977-78,p.5
52	Songaon	WD bd,ff	- -	- -	<u>SE</u> ,1969,p.44
53	Serupalle	CD - -	sp	- -	<u>PHEHCMR</u> ,1986,p.67
54	Taklaghat	WD - -	bd	- -	<u>ETK</u> ,1970,p.4
55	Tekkalakota	SD ar,hf	- -	- -	<u>SADI</u> ,1965,p.2
56	Ter	WD - -	ar,mg	ep,ff,hs,mg	<u>EI</u> ,1969,p.18
57	Vadagaon-Madhavapur	SD - -	- -	bd,hs,ff,mf,ep	<u>VEVK</u> ,p.5
58	Veerapuram	SD bl,hf	- -	bl	<u>VTSTV</u> ,p.23
59	Yeilesvaram	ED - -	sp	ar,ff,ep,hm,dm,hs, rm,mg	<u>AMYE</u> ,1965,pp.4-5

Key to symbols: archaic, bd-bird, bl-bull, dm-double mould, ep-elephant, ff-female figurine, hm-hand made hs-horse, mf-male figurine, mg-mother goddesses, mk-monkey, rm-ram, sp-sarcophagus, zf-zoomorphic

the Deccan⁸³. That terracottas were in great demand is indicated by the fact that the potter adopted the double mould technique in manufacturing them so that large (lumpers could be produced. Due to the adoption of this technique the production of the terracottas rose to the level of craft that catered for the market.

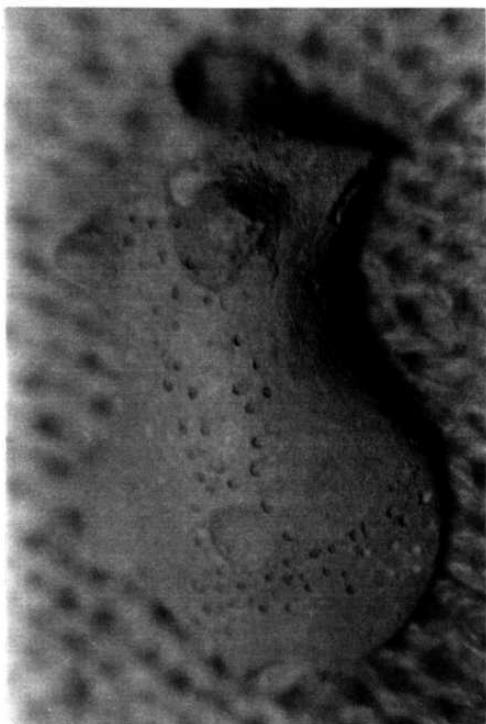
During the early historic phase the terracottas reported from the various sites of the Deccan region have revealed broadly two types of terracottas, the "ageless" type and the "time bound" type with variations. This is mainly with reference to the human figurines. Out of the thirty three sites, fourteen sites have revealed mother goddess figurines (Chart V, 1,3,5,6,7,12,32,33,34,37,38,50,56,59), six sites have revealed archaic figurines, (Chart V,6,7,20,27,38,59), fourteen female figurines (Chart V.17,19,21,22,24, 25,28,30,31,42,50,56,57,59), and seven male figurines (Chart V.5,12,22,32,34,50,57).

As during the earlier phases of habitation the archaic figurines in the early historic phase were also known as the "ageless" figurines. This was due to the mode of execution of the figurines, which was simple and intimated representing the traditional figurines of the land. They were essentially of folk origin and were made by hand. There is hardly any change in the execution and style of there through the ages. The human figurines belonging to the "ageless" group represent females with heavy and bulging hips and prominent breasts sometimes with the navel and abdomen over

emphasised⁸⁴. Of the six figurines reported, we will discuss the figurine from Paithnn (Chart V,34). The figurine is characterised by flat, crude, modelling having stumpy legs and tapering hands. The facial features are mostly absent while the breast are shown in applique (Plate 6). The archaic figurines reported from Kondapur and Peddanbankur may have been manufactured at one place and exported to other places⁸⁵ (Chart V,24,38).

Under the category of the "time bound variation" types the mother goddess figurines known from the excavations in the Deccan are fourteen in number (Chart V, 1,3,5,6,7,12,32,33,34,37,38,50,56,59). This type are found in the western Deccan at Nasik and Yellesvaram in the eastern Deccan⁸⁶. The mother goddess figurines which were termed as 'nude', 'shameless' and 'earth' goddesses in phase I and II in the Deccan region (Chart V.16,32) , were changed not only in their names and terms used to describe them but also in the physical features that they how represented, the dress coiffure, and styles of making them changed due to the evolution of artistic skills in the mould technique. From the above sites mentioned three unique figurines called mother goddesses have been reported from Dhulikatta, Pedabankur, and Yelleswaram (Chart V, 12,38,59). The figurines were cast out of double moulds, the first type is a figurine with outstretched hands and arms lifted. She wears a double makara type head dress secured with a band in the middle. She is decorated with a necklace, waist band (mekhala) of a wavy design and beaded kanakanas. The flowing hair is made into a back knot⁸⁷.

Plate no : 6



Archaic Figurine

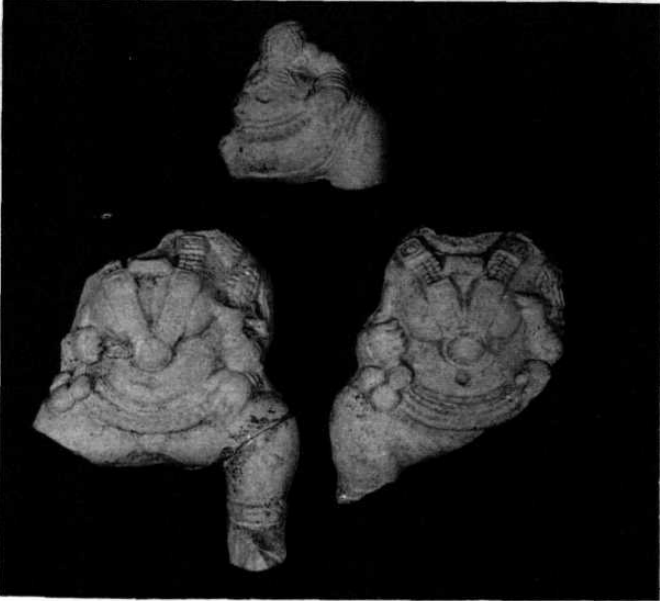
Location : PAITHAN
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : Mr. Patel, Private Collection
Paithan, Aurangabad

(Plate 2). This type is reported from the late Sātavāhana and Ikṣhvāku levels at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and Yellesvaram (Chart V, 31,59). Krishna sastry opines that such similar figures are found in the rock brusingss of proto-historic period at mudumala in maktal taluk of Mahboobnagar district, which appears in arch-type⁸⁸. .

The second type of mother goddess from Peddabakur is made of kaolin (Chart V, 38). This figurine has a universal distribution among the early historical sites like Sannati, Ter and Kondapur. (Chart V, 24,50,56). The Peddabankur example shows the head, the right leg, and back portion of the figure missing. Her left hand simply rest on the thighs. A parrot perching on the right arm is nudging the breasts of the goddess with its bill. The goddess holds a bunch of fruits in her right hand⁸⁹. She is decorated with a broad necklace ending in a locket above the prominent navel, with bangles, a beaded waistbank of double rows and keyuras above the feet. Nudity is also indicated (Plate 7). In another figure of the same type of goddess, she wears a beaded yajñopavita and a beaded necklace with leaf pendants⁹⁰. The left breast is partially covered with the leaf (pipal) pendant. Here the parrot is shown with its head bent below the breast of the goddess⁹¹. Nudity is also indicated.

The third type of mother goddess is found at Dhulikatta⁹² (Chart V,12) It is made of finely levigated clay. The back portion and body

Plate no : 7



Mother Goddesses with Bird Figurine

Location : PEDDABANKUR
Phase : Early Historic, Phase **III**
Courtesy : State Archaeology Department, Hyderabad

below the breast line is missing. The goddess holds her prominent breast with her hands from below. She wears a beaded yagnopavita passing over her left shoulder through the middle of the breast, a torque (kanthi or griveyaka) around the neck, crescentic ear ornament (chandra kārṇika), a beaded fillet over the forehead with a crest jewel and beautifully combed hair towards the right. Ornaments such as kankāras, keyuras, and the lalatika (crest jewel) are in pleasing harmony with smiling expression of the goddess who is here depicted with parted lips, narrow eyes and bulbous cheeks⁹³(Plate 8).

Of these three types of mother goddess, the first figurine with upraised hands, is similar to the Phoenician goddess Baal or Astarte, dated c 1300 B.C., carved on an ivory plaque found at Beida in Syria⁹⁴. she was also shown with her arms upraised and carrying in her hand sheaves of fodder baiting two goats on either side⁹⁵. The mother goddess from Peddabankur had her hands upraised but was without any fodder bait yet, she may been considered the Goddess of plenty⁹⁶. According to Krishna sastry some figurines with out-stretched legs indicating the genitals may represent the Goddess of Fertility⁹⁷.

According to Krishna Sastrys analysis the second type of mother goddess figurine with bird or parrot in the left hand and a bunch of fruits in the right hand, suggest the symbolic representation of love and was

considered to be the vehicle of Manmatha or the God of love⁹⁸. It is said that figurines with a bird parrot were probably used for conveying messages between the lovers. These figurines have also been corroborated in literary texts like Hala's Gāthāsaptasati⁹⁹. A similar, mother goddess figurine in the form of ivory sealing from Dhulikatta has an inscription in Brahmi characters which leads as 'Ajani Siriya Game Kumariya'. According to the Arthasastra in the centre of the parapets of a fort an abode of Goddess Kumari should be installed¹⁰⁰. Since Dhulikatta was a fortified town, a temple may have been dedicated to Goddess Kumari¹⁰¹. Kumari means one who is unmarried parrot being one of the attributes of the Goddess Kumari suggested that the above mentioned nude goddess with a parrot may have been the Goddess Kumari¹⁰².

The third type of mother goddess figurine (Plate 8) with prominent breasts in her hand, have also been found from Babylonia¹⁰³. It may possibly represent a Goddess as giving milk or juice or life. Gangoly ascribes these figures to the Bronze Age dated to c. 2500-1200 B.C. Further, Gangoly opines that the Babylonian mother goddess, Nana or Ishtar is not only the source of fertility but also the Gracious mother of mankind and the Goddess of Love¹⁰⁴. She is considered as the Aphrodite of Babylonia. The Goddess Ishtar was sometimes identified with Venus, 'the daughter of Sin'¹⁰⁵. According to Coomaraswamy similar nude female goddess figurines is said to have come from Peshawar district¹⁰⁶. Mathur, on the other hand, identifies such

Plate no : 8



Mother Goddess

Location : DHULIKATA
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : State Archaeology Department,
Hyderabad

figurines as Sri Lakshmi¹⁰⁷. The goddess holds her right breast with her left hand while her right hand points to the sex which represents the fertility cult¹⁰⁸.

Plaques featuring the nude figurines, usually headless with squatted legs displaying pudenda which were strongly marked and exaggerated in size, have been reported from the banks of river Godavari (Chart V, 5). Such nude figurines have been identified as Lājāgauris. According to Bolon Carol the abundance of names given to nude goddess may be due to regional replacement of a lost original name¹⁰⁹. Excavation from Bhokardhan have revealed a fragmentary plaque showing three female Lajagauri figurines in relief, shown standing hand in hand, noses are either pinched up or applique, eyes of the middle figure are applique, while one to the left eye is incised, having tapering and conical in the end. Breasts are small and small holes on the belly suggest navel, legs are pinched up (Plate 9). The largest number of this type has been revealed from Ter¹¹⁰. The figurine from Ter is cast with a reddish coarse core and is on a square plaque. The torso of a female figure known in a symbolically lying posture; or, in the utkatikasana posture in which a person is shown sitting with heels kept close to the bottom; the vagina prominently displayed; four floral symbols in four corners is prominently shown¹¹¹. Such figurines have also come from Sannati, Kondapur, and Yellesvaram (Chart V,24,50,59). This seems to be the essential element of the iconography of the goddess, but with some

Plate no : 9



Lājāgauri

Location : BHOKARDHAN
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : Dr. Chandrashekar,
Nagpur University Museum, Nagpur

characteristic features of her, are the upraised arms and the concealment or obliteration of head and face by one device or other.

Tiwari opines that the mother goddess represent a Greco-Roman goddess whose cult was imported into India in the early centuries of the Christian era on the other hand he suggests, she is "Aditi-Uttānapad" of the R̥g-Veda¹¹². Further, he says that there is a possibility of relationship with upper palaeolithic Venuses of Europe, neolithic mother goddess of Western Asia and the goddess cult in certain chalcolithic cultures of India¹¹³. Sankalia while describing the nude goddess list them in the order of 'Baubo type' of figurines from the Deccan¹¹⁴. A headless terracotta figurine in relief from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, according to Sankalia, resembles a Stupa. Further, while studying similar goddess figurines from the stone sculptures from Vadagaon, Sankalia refers to the addition of bull figurines of these as now being conceived as forms of Parvathi of Durga¹¹⁵. H.K.Narasimhaswami, while referring to the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā stone figurine of the nude goddess, remarks that the figurine with knees laterally spread and the pudenda clearly marked with girdles around the waist¹¹⁶, is similar to the terracotta nude goddess from Nevasa, Ter, and Sannati (Chart V, 33,50,56) Clearly the former had used as it as a model from the terracotta figurines. Further, the stone sculpture has inscriptions written in prakrit in Brahmi characters which informs us that the Queen Mahadevī Khāmduvulā wife of Mahārājā Siri Ehalā Camtamūla was avidhava and jīvaputā¹¹⁷. Here, the term avidhavā denotes one whose

husband is living and, jīvaputa refers to one whose son or sons are living. Thus, the inscription along with figurine appears to be the goddess of women who prayed to her for a happy and fruitful marital life¹¹⁸. According to Chapparg this is also a modern tradition recorded from the Siddan Kotte figure in Karnataka State¹¹⁹.

According to Bolon Carol the 'Lājāgaurī' in artistic and conceptual artistic and conceptual ancestry descends from a group of ancient popular symbols, the lotus and the purna kumbha or the brimming pot¹²⁰. Scholars like Sankalia trace the antecedents of the Lājāgaurī way back to the Indus Valley art dating to c. 2500-1500 B.C.¹²¹

According to Bolon Carol the artist who created the Lājāgaurī images may have identified these images with the various ancient symbols of fortune, fertility, and life force to communicate her power through their rich heritage of meanings¹²². As these historical-religious symbols and images were constantly reused and reincorporated they formed a new and enriched religious context. In this connection Margabandhu suggest that these figurines belong to the category of cult figurines with religious affiliation¹²³. From the above discussion we can infer that the nude goddess figurines was not only a popular goddess of the village communities, but also counted among the votaries members of the royal families.

From the few terracottas recovered at Nevasa in Western Deccan an evolutionary stage of the making of female terracottas can be traced. The early phase, i.e., the neolithic-chalcolithic terracottas were found to be hand made and crudely fashioned (Chart V,33). Those figurines prepared from the double moulds in the early historic context were primarily mother goddess figurines. Here, both the early and later stages in the technique of terracotta making was observed. Apart from the religious meaning attached to some female figurines, the rest of the figurines belong to secular category. These male and the female figurines are characterised by stout physiognomy and extremely sensitive modelling. It is noteworthy to observe the sensitive modelling of the artist in portraying the figurines reflecting the embellishments and tastes of the nagaraka class. This also suggests that a new trend was in vogue also depicting the portraits which showed the influence of foreign art idioms. This is evident from the ornaments, hair styles and head gears and also in the physical features. The mould and the hand modelling contributed to this new art idiom, creating images in accordance to the changing pattern of life. They are also known for their vitality and plastic simplicity of form. Some of the figurines bear distinct traces of Greeco-Roman influence.

Under the category of secular female figurines the techniques used in preparing the figurines were both single and double mould. they are fourteen in number (Chart V, 5,17,19,21,22,24,25,28,30,42,50,56,57,59). Kondapur has a wide range of female faces or potraits. The hallow figurines

of Kaolin from Kondapur made in moulds in two or more parts joined and fired, showing traces of green, red and yellow paints¹²⁴. A second variety of figurines in the form of portraits were solid and made of soft clay mixed with sand. They were found with a coat of light red slip applied before firing. One of the terracotta figurines representing a figure with conventional ringlets of hair with a flat nose, thick lips and oval face show typical features of an indigenous non-Aryan ethnic type¹²⁵. Another figurine with a jewellery band round the fore-head, with heavy ear-rings and a mass of hair on the crown of the head and the ornamental plaits falling on the nape of the neck shows the particular skill and care taken by the artisan in the treatment of coiffure¹²⁶ (Plate 10). According to Dikshit the skill of the artist is seen from the attempt to infuse the figures with an expression of "internal calm and repose worthy of a votary of the Buddhist faith"¹²⁷. From Nevasa a double mould figurine is modelled crudely but the facial features have been rendered in a bold manner. The broad nose and the thick lips are characteristic features of the Satavahana figurines. The hair is gathered in a projecting knot on the top of the head and is embellished with pearl strings at the base and in the middle. From the parting of the hair in the middle is suspended (lalantika) which has an indistinct rosette pattern carved on it. On the head we see the locks of curled hair¹²⁸. Such figurines in the form of portraits are also known from the Kondapur and Paithan. Another head of a female in the full bloom of her youth is delicately modelled¹²⁹. The hair is combed into a bun which is lavishly ornamented with pearl strings she wears a tiara (ardha-mukutha) having a large crest on

Plate no : 10



Female Portraits

Location : **KONDAPUR**
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : State Archaeology Department
Hyderabad

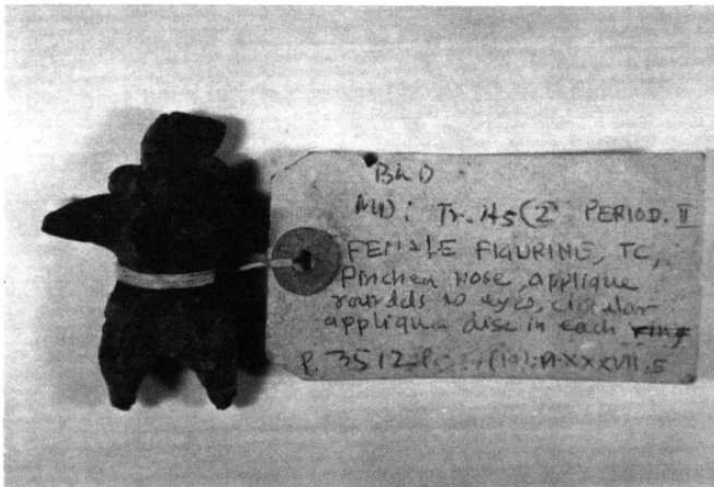
the proper left and a smaller one on the right. The figurine is made of Kaolin¹³⁰ (**Plate 11**) such figurines having similar features have come from Paithan. Crude female figurines have come from Bhokardhan (**Plate 12**).

The techniques employed by the artists in the Deccan were entirely different from those that were in vogue in north India. As against the single mould technique used by the north Indians, the artist in the Deccan region used the double mould technique¹³¹. Two different moulds, one for the front and the other for the back, were made (**Plate 2**). A thin layer of clay was pressed in each of the moulds and both the parts were then joined by a *fine* ribbon of clay and touched up¹³². Some of the terracottas of this phase has holes in places which are apparently intended for letting out hot expanded air resulting from baking. Some terracottas also indicate the use of a double mould fitted in a master cover¹³³. This is indicated by a thin line at the joint. This technique which was highly specialised and does not appear elsewhere. However, Dhavalikar opines that such techniques were learnt from the Romans¹³⁴. The secular female heads which have been discussed above were made by the double mould technique. This not only shows the distinct ethnic type of features, but also shows the taste of the nagaraka class who acquired these terracottas. Scholars opine that such secular figurine of joyous heads of men and women catered to the needs and tastes of the wealthy mercantile community.

Plate no : 11



Plate no : 12



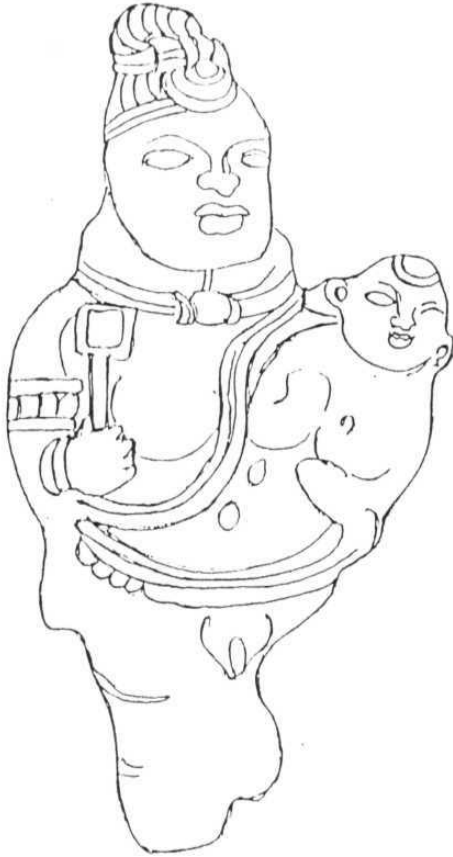
Female Figurines

Location : **PAITHAN, BHOKARDHAN**
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : Mr. Patel, Private Collection, **Paithan**
Dr. Chandrashekar, Nagpur University Museum,
Nagpur

Under the category of the female figurines, noteworthy figurine noticed from the excavation reports of *Yellawaram* is a specimen figurine of a mother and a child¹³⁵ (Figure VI). This figurine depicts a mother carrying a child on her waist. The head of the figurine is missing and the figure is in erect position. Her right hand is positioned on her right thigh. She is decorated with some ornaments. The child's face is prominently seen, and her left hand and left leg is placed on the waist of his/her mother. Similar figurines have been found at Chandraketurah in Bengal¹³⁶. Agarwal classifies them as Ankadhari type of figurine¹³⁷. Ankadhatri figurines have also been reported from Prakash, Ter, and so on. During the *Sātavāhana* -*Ikṣvāku* period mother and baby became a popular theme. On stylistic grounds Noorjahan¹³⁸ opines that these may possibly represent fertility cult. Dr. Agarwal quotes Divyavadana and other works of *sanskrit* Buddhist literature to show figurines may have been nurses employed to attend on royal princes. Further he goes on to explain the four kinds of nurses like Ankadhatri (having child in arm), Maladhatri (one who bathed the child and washed linen), Sthanadhatri and Kridadhatri, (one who fed the child with her milk and entertained the child with playthings).

The figure is modelled in a manner posing before a camera. The hairdo is executed that the frontal view gives an appearance of bicornate with elaboratory ornamental tiara. The hair is pulled up and rolled forming an elongated and bicornate lock which has been fastened around by a triple

FIGURE VI



MOTHER AND CHILD

LOCATION : TER
PHASE : EARLY HISTORIC, PHASE III
Ackn. : Courtesy Department of State
Archaeology, Hyderabad.

ornamental band. The forehead in the middle is decked rich rosette which proceeds an ornamental band, like a diadem, going round the head. This band has two floral bosses to adorn the head. The central rosette on the forehead from the band proceeds ornamental strings going up to the rear and fasten the top bicronate type of hairdo. The necklace is composed of globular and gadrooned beads worn in such a fashion that the middle gadrooned bead serves as a pendant. According to Mangalam the purpose of this figurine was to satisfy the need of the society for a fertility goddess. It was either used as a votive offering or as an image of the goddess and it was included among the household deities propitiated during the dangers of child birth.

Male figurines are seven in number **(Chart V, 5,12,22,32,34,50,57).**

A male figurine baked and treated with red slip is shown sitting in an awkward manner with his legs stretched apart and the hand raised above **(Chart V,42)**. He has a plump face which betrays sensitive modelling. He wears an ornamental headgear which has a broad head forehead band, a crest on the proper left and a fan shaped projection on the top of the head which is embellished with pearl strings¹³⁹. The necklace worn by him is also elaborate, it is composed of rosettes, cylindrical amulets and heart-shaped pieces. The other necklace which is worn in the Yaiñopavita fashion, also has similar heart-shaped pieces and cylindrical amulets. The bracelets are simple beaded bands, and the cord around the waist (katisūtra) is also simple. The

most striking feature of this figurine is that the person is shown with his organ erect. Dhavalikar opines that such nude figurines were found all over the Deccan region and may have used as votive offerings¹⁴⁰. Stylistically they are related to the donor couple at Kanheri near Bombay¹⁴¹.

From the excavated report at Dhulikatta a red slipped hand made male figurine, is seen wearing a hat like head gear with a prominent brim and a jewel attached to the hat on the left. The eyes and ears with discular Kundalas are made in applique, lips parted to show laughing expression. There is a hole at the top of the head. Krishna Sastry opines that such male figurines may have been used as lids for covering the pots or jars. (Plate 13).

Head and a torso of the male figurine from Brahmapuri/Kolaphur, shows the face as broad, slightly rounded at the chin, eyes deeply incised with a prominent ridge, the nose is broken leaving a small round spot in the middle, a thick lower lip slightly projecting¹⁴². The head is covered by a low flat head dress and it has long ear rings with round pendants in each ear.

Apart from the mother-goddess and male figurines reports have revealed terracottas figurines of Yakshas and Yakshinis from the Deccan region. The Yakshas and Yakshinis have been broadly classified in terms of their emblems, mounts and association with particular animals, birds etc. The description of the Yakshas and Yakshinis in ancient literature corroborates the

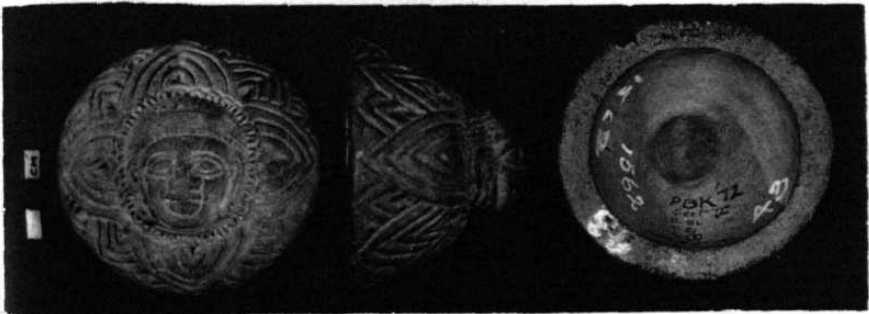
Plate no : 13



Male Figurine

Location : DHULIKATTA
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : State Archaeology Department, Hyderabad

Plate no : 14



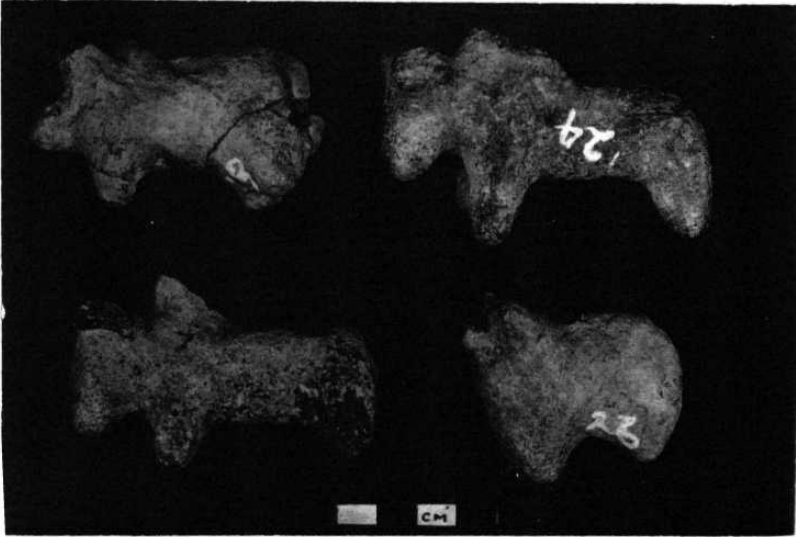
Yaksha Figurine

Location : DHULIKATTA
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : State Archaeology Department, Hyderabad

classification of this type of terracottas with the iconography of sculptural pieces reported from Amaravathi, Sanchi, etc.¹⁴³. For example, the Atharva veda refers to the Ynkshns as itarajanāh or 'other folk'¹, while in the Paippalada version of the same text, they are referred to as punyajānāh¹⁴⁴. Further, the term yaksha appears in the Jaiminiya Brahmana to mean 'wonderous thing'¹⁴⁵. In the Grihyasūtras, the yakshas are invoked together with numerous other figurines and are classified as Bhūtas¹⁴⁶. In the Buddhist and Jaina tradition Yakshas and Yakshinis speak of good and bad Yakshas¹⁴⁷. Further Yakshas are often called as Devas in the Jaina tradition¹⁴⁸.

Turning to the extent remains, the Yaksha images in their antiquity are datable to the Sātavāhana phase. The ancient literature and tradition refer to Kubera as the chief of all Yakshas¹⁴⁹. He is considered as one of the four Great Devas and is famed as one of the four different Lokapalas being the guardian of the north¹⁵⁰. He is also labelled as Kupiro Yakho or Mani bhadra¹⁵¹. Several terracotta figurines depicting the figure of Kubera have been reported from the sites of Bengal, fully jewelled as the God of wealth. In contrast to the north Indian figure, the figure found at Kondapur in Deccan has a dumpy nose and irregular features and long hair¹⁵² (**Chart V, 24**). Bodhisattva figurines have been referred to as Yakshas, as well. Yazdani observes that the Bodhisattva form in a meditative mood adds to the eternal beauty¹⁵³.

Plate no : 15



Bull Figurines

Location : PEDDABANKUR
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : State Archaeology Department, Hyderabad

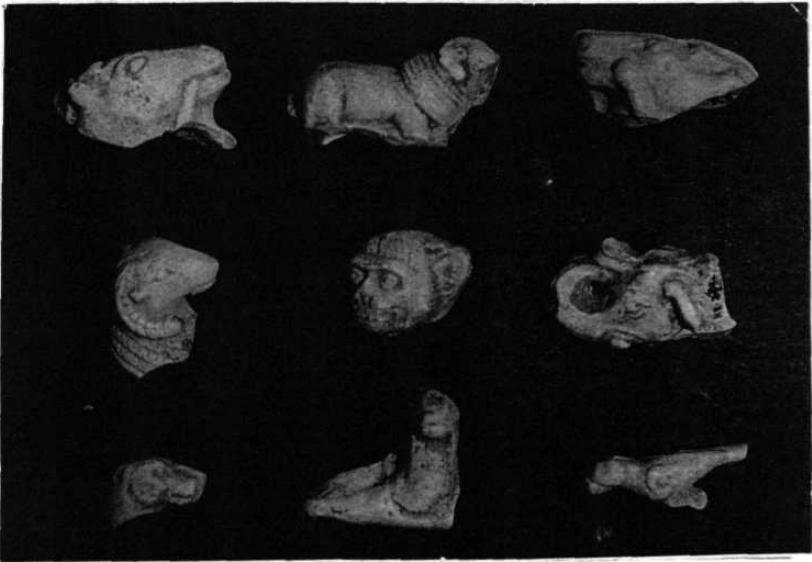
Another terracotta figurine of Yaksha is a dome shape wearing a broad beaded fillet over the forehead, hair shown in ringlets, bulbous eyes and parted thick lips has been found from Peddabankur¹⁵⁴ (Chart V, 35). The figure is hollow inside which is probably of an Yaksha. The Yaksha has elongated ear lobes carrying chakra-kundalas and the head is closely encircled by probably tongues of flames or, rays shown as circle of loops. The body of the dome below the loop circle is incised with a lotus design. This terracotta figurine is made of double mould (Plate 14). Agarwal suggests that such Yaksha heads with turban enclosed by lotus medallions are found in the Bharut sculptures as well¹⁵⁵. Symbolically the Yaksha figurines are compared to sun-god or sometimes to Agni who is said to be the lord of the Yakshas¹⁵⁶ (Yakshādhyaksha).

Phase III has brought to light a large number of animal figurines. The total number of animal figurines are nineteen (Chart V, 3,5,12,17,20, 23,24,29,31,34,38,42,43,46,51,56,57,58,59). According to Amita Ray the animal figurines like horses, bull elephant, and the birds have been termed as toys¹⁵⁷. Among the various animals reported the common figurine found during the course of excavations has been the bull figurines which are nine in number (Chart V,3,5,12,25,31,43,46,51,58). The bull figurines during the early historic phase was mostly done by a single and double mould method. Simultaneously, the hand made bull figurines with applique eyes and horns, the neck with pinched decoration continued to exist. Such bull figurines have

come from Bhokardhan, Nevasa, Kondapur, Pauni (**Chart V, 24,33**). Kondapur has revealed stylised bull figurines clearly showing the pronounced hump¹⁵⁸. The bull figurine reported from Peddabankur belong to the Satavahana period, membering to four types. In this category we come across both the humpless and the humped bulls, with slightly broken tail. (**Plate 15**). A single specimen from the Veerapuram excavation reveals the figurine of a bull¹⁵⁹ (**Chart V, 58**). This bull figurine is complete with a prominent hump and legs pointed, and a short tail. From the size of some of the bulls and style we can say that these were used toys. T.V.G.Sastri observes that the bulls reported from Veerapuram were used as knobs¹⁶⁰.

In the next category of animal figurines we have horses. The number of horse figurines revealed from the excavations are nine (**Chart V, 5,12,24,34,38,46,51,56,59**). From Eastern Deccan at Yelleswaram reports have revealed horse figurine which were richly decorated¹⁶¹. (**Chart V, 59**). One of the figurines is a caprisoned steed, with a long garland around the chest the reins consists of a plain double strap and the mane in neatly trimmed, head is visible and the rest of the body is broken. Teeth have been indicated by indentation placed on the portion brought into relief by *pinching*. the eyes are shown with *pellets*. According to scholars decoration on the manes of the horses exhibit the cultural contact of the Indo-scythians in the Deccan region¹⁶². Such figurines have also been reported fortn Paithan and Kondapur (**Chart V, 24,34**).

Plate no : 16



Bull, Ram, Monkey, elephant Figurines

Location : **KONDAPUR**
Phase : Early Historic, Phase **III**
Courtesy : State Archaeology Department, Hyderabad

The number of fragmentary specimens of elephant figurines found from the excavations are nine in number (Chart V, 5,12,24,31,34,36,56,57,59). From Peddabankur two types of elephant figurines have been reported viz; a terracotta squatting elephant with an ornamental strap over the shoulder. In this case the legs are damaged and the cast of the second side is missing¹⁶³. This is a piece from the surface collection. The other elephant figurine from the same site has its torso and head missing. The legs of the animal and left leg of the rider are, however, visible where as in Kondapur, the head of the elephant is hand made the body is broken, the trunk is lifted in a salutation position (Plate 16). In the eastern Deccan the elephant figurine which is reported from Yellawaram was well baked with a clearly visible genital organ, applique tail turned to the right and its end is shown with various incisions. According to scholars the elephant figurines should be regarded as the divine mount of Lord Indra and, at the same time, they can be associated with the birth of Lord Buddha, and Mahavira¹⁶⁴. During the Satavahana Ikshvaku period the elephants and horses formed an important arm of the royal army besides being the beast of burden.

The number of ram figurines reported from the excavation are five in number (Chart V, 5,12,20,24,59). They have been realistically modelled particularly the twisted horns of the animal¹⁶⁵. Yellawaram excavations have reported a neck of a ram with curved horns and hair indicated by grooves. At Kaundinyapura the ram neck has a vertical hole showing that it was

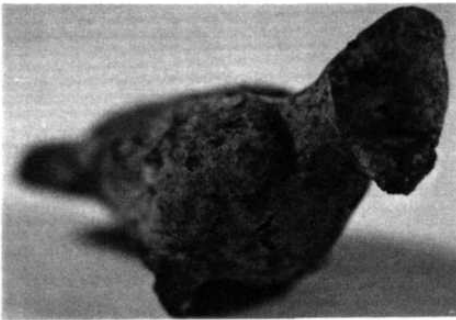
Plate no : 17



Monkey Figurine

Location : BHOKARDHAN
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : Dr. Chandrashekar, Nagpur University
Museum, Nagpur

Plate no : 18



Bird Figurine

Location : BHOKARDHAN
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : Dr. **Chandrashekar**, Nagpur University
Museum, Nagpur

movable and attached to the body by suitable pivot¹⁶⁶. According to Margabandhu some of the finest specimen of ram figurines have been reported from Bhokardhan, Kondapur are artistically made and imbued with realism¹⁶⁷(**Plate 16**). These ram figurines are similar in their make as to the one noticed at Yellesvaram. In addition to the curved horns they have garlands of jingling bells at the neck.

Two monkey figurines are reported from Bhokardhan and Kondapur (**Chart V, 5,24**). Bhokardhan has revealed a fragmentary figurine of a monkey with broad ears, deep eyes, nose flattened at the base, slit mouth eating something with the right hand and supported by the left one¹⁶⁸ (**Plate 17**). The figurine from Bhokardhan is well baked and coated with lime. The Kondapur monkey figurine is represented by only the head position showing broad ears, deep eyes, flattened nose at the base and a slit mouth¹⁶⁹ (**Plate 16**).

Apart from the animal figurines, excavations have laid bare bird figurines also. the number of bird figurines in the region of our study are ten (**Chart V, 5,12,17,34,38,42,43,46,51,57**). From Peddabankur we have three archaic bird figurines. These bird figurines were crudely made and defy proper identification. From the surface collection a cock in well levigated clay and baked to a buff colour has been reported from Peddabankur¹⁷⁰. It has a prominent crest, pointed ears but its bill is broken. Another bird figurine

identified as sparrow from the mid-level is slightly broken at the back¹⁷¹. This has been reported from Peddabankur as well. Sparrow have **also** been reported from Bhokardhan in its period **II (Chart V, 5)** The sparrow is small in size with its tail portion broken, wings raised upwards the beak intact has a single perforation to keep the toy figurine hanging¹⁷² (**Plate 18**). From the same site we have a complete figurine of a pigoon with a single perforation in the centre of the back to keep the toy hanging. It is shown with spread out wings, flat based and is lime coated, with red ochre¹⁷³. The feathers at the back were shown as spread-up.

The study of terracotta animal and bird figurines during the early historic phase reveal that some regional variation existed in the making technique. Figurines like elephant in Central Deccan were made both by hand and mould. Parts like tail, trunk were made by hand and then attached to the main body which was done by mould and then baked. In Eastern Deccan, on the other hand the figurines were entirely done by moulds. The animal figurines reported from the Deccan were mainly done by double mould technique unlike their northern Indian counterparts where single mould technique was both in vogue. Most of animal figurines like ram, birds, bull had perforations which suggests that they were used as toys for the cart or they were worn around the neck¹⁷⁴. Further, it may be noted that the bull figurines which were prolifically represented in the early neolithic-chalcolithic and megalithic period in the southern Deccan became meagre during the

early historic period. Scholars like Biswas opine that animals like elephant, horse, ram, either individually or, in association with divinities as riders certainly predict that they were used as cult figurines¹⁷⁵. This is also further opined by D.P.Ghosh who associates the figurines with the cults of Indira, Agni, and Surya the Vedic trinity¹⁷⁶. This can further be inferred from the terracotta figurine of Gāṇeśha reported from Veerapuram. It has been identified with Lord Indira¹⁷⁷. Similarities in the types and mode of execution of figurines like horse, elephants have been reported from sites like Bhokardhan, Kondapur, Yellesvaram due to the trade and commercial links with each other.

Thus in the early historic society the terracottas were produced by a complex society of the early historical times. During this phase the Deccan region saw the transition to the early historic phase which was significantly marked by the presence of Mauryan influence represented by Asokan inscription and the intrusion in terms of the advent of Buddhism. The formation of localities saw the beginning of political institutions. The process of fusion between internal and external forces were clearly discernible in the rise of the Sātavāhana power during this phase.

The phase c 200 to 500 A.D is marked by a proliferation of terracotta remains not only in terms of the number of types found, but also in terms of a large number that have survived the vicissitudes of time.

in phase 1. The mother goddess figurines were depicted with heavy ornaments and elaborately decorated. Scholars have looked at these figurines from the view of various terracotta figurines found and reported through out the world. They have tried to look at the figurines from the European view and incorporated them into the Indian context.

The various human figurines portrayed by the artist shows the taste of the naqaraka class and the urban tastes. The delicate **modelling** of the portraits especially the female figurines, show a certain amount of foreign influence not only in this physical features, but also in hair styles, jewellery etc. Further we can infer that both the rural and urban tastes, were seen in the terracotta figurines. The continuation of the archaic figurines and the various new types of mother goddess modelling by the artist catered to the demands and requirement of the people living in pastoral/agrarian economy and to the urban centres. The early forms, i.e., the archaic/ageless type symbolised the goddesses and emphasised the archaic vitality of the mother force. For instance, the terracotta plaque from Nāgarjunakoṇḍā of a personified Yoni type of Goddess indicates the continuity of the archaic cultural elements, showing the process of secularization and sensualization, there by transforming the elements of ritual features to cultic depictions.

In the later examples, the mother goddess figurines represent religious themes along with animals and birds. The artist while treating these objects choose

the subjects keeping in new the social perspective of the changing situations. For instance the Yaksha with rays of sun/Tire reported from Dhulikatta depicts the sensitive modelling of the artist and also the taste of the said period.

Thus in the early historic phase we observe that they were two types of terracotta figurines (1) with cultic and ritual features, as in the examples of Lājagaurī or the female divinity (2) secular figurines with nagaraka tastes. The female figurines bearing the features of Greeco-Roman from various sites represent the amalgamation of magico-religious and secular inspirations. This may be due to the urban background, that the terracottas received sophisticated and nagaraka features in their artistic presentation and techniques. Further, from the prolific number of terracottas, with distinguished characteristics, we presume were the mould made images and may have been used as trade items along with the other objects.

In the category of animal figurines the bull was stylistically depicted and the number of bulls in this phase decreased. The study of animal figurines reveal that some regional variation existed in the technique of making. Elephant figurines in central Deccan hand were made both by hand and mould whereas in eastern Deccan these animal figurines were entirely done by moulds. Figurines like horses, elephants with decorated stirrups, mane most probably depict them as modes of transport during Sātavāhana and Ikshavaku times. The portraits of human figurines riding on the horse

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CHAPTER V

**EARLY HISTORICAL PHASE III
TERRACOTTA ORNAMENTS & OBJECTS**

CHAPTER V

EARLY HISTORIC-ORNAMENTS AND OBJECTS

PHASE III

The early historic times are marked by a proliferation of terracotta remains in the form of terracotta ornaments and objects which have survived the vicissitudes of times. The early historic society is marked by the development in the material culture often characterised by an urban society. The period c 200 A.D. - in the Deccan is noted as an era of economic prosperity indicated by the growth in trade and commerce. In Deccan the growth and development of urbanisation were due to several factors. The first place may be assigned to the large scale use of iron implements in agriculture¹, because its production and availability is found at many sites **(Chart IV, 1,3,7,24,28,29,36,38,39,40, 41,42,43,44)**. The deployment of new techniques had some impact on the increase in surplus which was consumed by the inhabitants of the towns as well used for commercial exchange. Thus, with the common use of iron, a congenial environment was created for the growth of urban centres².

Along with the urban centres, simultaneously, the number of crafts increased during this period. Literary evidences provide us with information on crafts connected with the production of pottery, terracotta and brick-making. The earliest economic activities of the early historic phase seem to have been mostly concentrated in the western and eastern Deccan **(Chart IV)**. The

close proximity to the coastal regions and the impending necessity for the extension of trading activities was supposed to have been the major reason for concentration of Sātavāhana-Ikshavāku settlements and urban centres in these regions. This is evident from the discovery of Roman coins in some of the sites (Chart IV,6,9). The Roman finds extensively collected suggest the commercial interaction between the Roman world and the early historic society in the Deccan. The Roman influence is also seen in the various terracotta coins and bullae that have been found. The coin bullae reported in the early historic phase in the Deccan region comprises of copies or imitations in clay. (Chart IV, 4,6,18,22,41) The similarity of their nature suggests the provenance from a single source and their wide popularity indicate their specific use as pendants³.

In the light of available evidence we can assume that the fiscal resources of the settled villages were based both on agrarian and craft production. Craft activities indicate trading and redistributive functions of smaller sites though participation in long distance trade may have been limited to towns and cities⁴. Religious centres especially Buddhist monasteries also flourished in the vicinity of these large settlements like Keesarapalli, Salihundam, Ter, Yelleswaram and so on⁵(Chart IV, 20,39,42,45). The major routes located from the sites is known to us. The caravan routes touched Ter in Western Deccan and went to the lower Krishna valley enroute to Sannati⁶.

The literary sources provide us the terms frequently **used** for traders Vanik, a Setthi who was also **the** head of a niqama. As trade formed an important source of revenue it would have been essential for the coffers of the rulers⁷. Further, the Jātakas refers to a complex mechanism with commercial transaction at different levels governed to a great extent by the nature of the commodity handled. Inscriptions from western Deccan refer to guilds or śreni. According to the Bhattiprolu inscriptions niqama and the goṣṭhi are important members of the organisation⁸. According to H.P.Ray guilds consisted mainly of craftsmen and other occupational groups, in which the niqama and goṣṭhi were considered to be more in the nature of units of urban administrations⁹. The urban centres were attached with administrative and commercial importance at sites like Nasik, Paithan, Ter, in Western Deccan and Amaravathi, Ghantasala in the coastal areas of Āndhra Pradesh¹⁰ (**Chart IV, 44,47,68**). Further, trade with the Roman world created a favourable situation for the manufacture of terracotta figurines during the early **centuries** of the Christian era.

The terracotta seals and sealings, coin bullae, reported from the Deccan region were probably used by corporate bodies for commercial, religious and political transaction¹¹. As referred to by Scholars, the trade links between the Mediterranean and Western Deccan is indicated by halts of ships and cargo's which imported goods at the ports of western Deccan. The **transaction** of sale of the imported goods may have been entirely done by the

corporate bodies which used various seals for official transactions. Of such seals and sealings terracottas were one of them¹².

Apart from seals and coins, excavations have revealed weights and measures from sites like Salihundam¹³ (Chart IV,38). These weights and measures made of terracotta occurs in the time span of c 200 B.C - 300 A.D. Salihundam has yielded prism-shaped weights. The face of one side of the prism is divided into four fields in which a series of short lines numbering three lines or dashes occur¹⁴. The other side of the face is plain except for three small dashes at the centre. Thus, these objects suggest weights of some sort were prevailing in the early centuries of the Christian era. Margabandhu observes that since the denomination of the weights of the terracotta tablets were not known, he suggest that the tablets bearing similar designs must have had equal weights¹⁵.

Thus from the above it can be observed that the large variety of artefacts unearthed during the early historic times is an indicator for the proliferation of crafts and the division of labour. The craftsmen formed the basis of handicraft production. The artisan or the potter in the early historic phase had not only to make pots but also to make a variety of terracottas. The artist in the early historic phase became a specialised craftsman and exclusively made terracottas in accordance to the demand for it. Due to the double mould technique terracotta making rose to the level of a craft that catered for the market.

CHART VI
TERRACOTTA ORNAMENTS AND OBJECTS IN EARLY DECCAN PHASE III

Sl No	Name of the Site	Phase I 2000-1000 BC	Phase II 1000-200 AD	Phase III 200-500 AD	Reference
1	Adam	WD	ann.hp	-	<u>PUR</u> , 20, 1989-90, pp. 96-97
2	Annagi	CD	-	arc.gh	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1974, p.6
3	Apegaon	WD	ann.	-	<u>EA</u> , 1974, p. 10
4	Arni	WD	arc	lp	<u>IAR</u> , 1978-79, p.71
5	Bhokardhan	WD	-	arc.ann.bic,brl.cy,gh, gl,gd,glc,lp,mkam, ndam,pr,sl,sp,tab, tog,vot,wh.	<u>EB</u> , 1974, pp. 150-158
6	Brahmagiri	SD	br.spc.sp	ann.bic,cy,gd,glc	<u>AL</u> , 4, 1947-48, p.20
7	Brahmapuri	WD	-	arc.ann.bic,bl,cy, pr,sp,sl,wh.	<u>BE</u> , 1952, p. 4
8	Chagtur	CD	arc	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1977-78, p.4
9	Chandoli	WD	epl,sp,lp	-	<u>CC</u> , 1965, p. 3
10	Chandravalli	SD	-	gd,glc	<u>AL</u> , 4, 1947-48, p.270

Key to symbols:
arc-arcanut, ann-annulus, aml-amalaka, bic-bicone, brl-barrel, cy-cylindrical, cpl-ear plug, crl-car reel, gh-ghota, gl-gobulars, gd-gadrooned, glc-grooved & lug collared, lp-lamps, mkam-makara amulet, ndam-nandi amulet, pr-pear, sl-seals, sp-scacer, tabloid tog-toggle, vot-votive, wh-wheels.

SI No	Name of the Site	Phase I 2000-1000 BC	Phase II 1000-200 AD	Phase III 200-500 AD	Reference
11	Chinnamarur	CD -	arc.brl.sp	-	<u>PHENCMR</u> , 1986, p.73
12	Daimabad	WD arc.brl.epl.eri	-	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1979-80, p.30
13	Dharmavari-palem	CD -	arc	-	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1974-75, p.6
14	Dhulikatta	CD -	ami.brl.gd.sp	gd.brl	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1976-77, pp.33-16
15	Elchuru	CD arc.	-	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1988-89, p.3
16	Gandlur	CD epd.lp	-	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1988-89, pp. 1-2
17	Hallur	SD -	-arc.tb	-	<u>PHCTV</u> , 1971, p.14
18	Inamgaon	WD arc.sp	-	-	<u>PUR</u> , 8, 1975-76, p.4
19	Kandi	CD -	-	bol	<u>ARDAM</u> , 1982, p.28
20	Kaundinyapur	WD -	-	ann.bpl.brl.cy.gb. gh.lp.sp.tab.tog.	<u>IAR</u> , 1961-62, p.29
21	Karad	WD -	-	arc.brl.tab.	<u>ExK</u> , 1949, p.3
22	Kesarapalli	CD -	cl.cy.pr	Pr	<u>AI</u> , 22, 1966, p.37
23	Kondapur	CD -	-	arc.brl.biam.bu.cy epi.es.gd.gl.plpd. tab.tbs.tog.	<u>ABORI</u> , 1941, pp.8-10
24	Kyatur	CD -	arc.brl.bic.sp	-	<u>PHEHCMR</u> , 1986, p.63
25	Maski	SD -	ann.cy.sp.tb	ann.bic.pr.sp.tab	<u>AI</u> , 13, 1957, p.15
26	Nagarjunakonda	ED -	sp.tb	-	<u>MASI</u> , p.2

Key to symbols: arc-arecanut, ann-annulus, ami-amalaka, bic-bicone, brl-barrel, bu-bullae, buam-bullae amulet, bi-bangle, cy-cylinder, ca. epl-ear plug, eri-car reel, gh-ghota, gl-globulars, gd-gadrooned, glc-grooved & lug collared, lp-lamps, mikam-makara amulet, ncam-nandi amulet, pp-pulley pendent, pr-pear, sl-seals, sp-spacer, tabloid, tog-toggle, vot-votive, wh-wheels.

Sl No	Name of the Site	Phase I 2000-1000 BC	Phase II 1000-200 AD	Phase III 200-500 AD	Reference
27	Nasik	WD	sp.tb	-	<u>MASJ.</u>
28	Nevesa	WD	-	sp.pr	<u>ENJ.</u> 1950-51 p.57
29	Palvoy	SD	ann.sp.cy	-	<u>PHPHCP</u> , 1976 p.9
30	Paithan	WD	aml.cy.crer	lp.si	<u>IAR.</u> 1965-66.p.27
31	Pauni	WD	arc.sp.hp	-	<u>PE.</u> 1972.p.86
32	Paunar	WD	arc.epl	arc.gic.tub.vot	<u>IAR.</u>
33	Peddabankur	CD	cb.bic.brl.sp.tub	-	<u>IAR.</u> 1988.pp.1-2.
34	Prakash	WD	pd	-	<u>Al.</u> 20-21, 1964 p.1
35	Ramapuram	SD	ann.	-	<u>IAR.</u> 1981-82.pp.8-11
36	Salihundam	ED	-	arc.sp	<u>SBSAP.</u> 1964.p.11
37	Sannthi	WD	-	arc.sp	<u>PUR.</u> 17, 1986-87.p.83
38	Satanikota	CD	-	arc.sp.lp	<u>IAR.</u> 1977-78.pp.3-5
39	Songaon	WD	arc.sp.lp	-	<u>SE.</u> 1969.p.4
40	Serupalli	CD	epd	-	<u>PHEHCMR.</u> 1986-87.p.67
41	Takalghat	WD	arc.cb	-	<u>ETK.</u> 1970.p.4

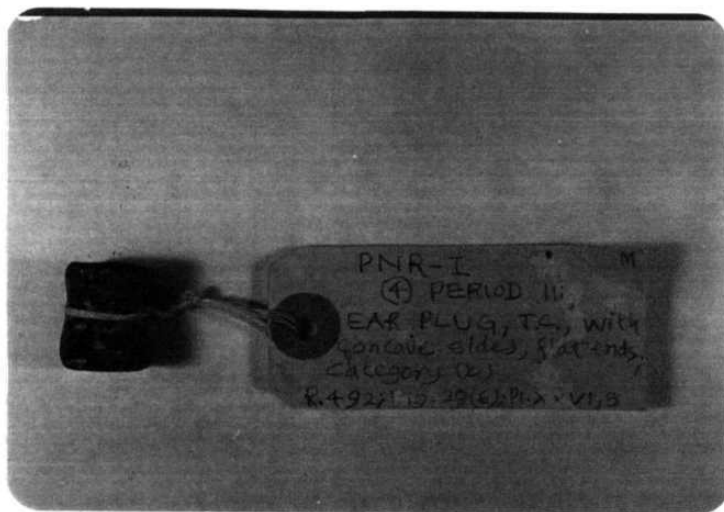
Key to symbols: arc-arecanut ann-annulus, aml-amalaka, bic-bicone, brl-barrel, cy-cylindrical, epl-ear plug, eri-ear reel, gh-ghata, gl-globular, gd-gadrooned, gic-grooved and lug collared, lp-lamps, mkam-makara amulet, ndam-nandi, amulet, pr-paar, si-seals, sp-spacer, tabloid, tog-toggle, vot-votive, wh-wheels.

Sl No	Name of the Site	Phase I 2000-1000 BC	Phase II 1000-200 AD	Phase III 200-500 AD	Reference
42	Ter	WD	arc.sp.cr.	arc.sp.cr.	<u>ET</u> , 1969,p.18
43	Tharsa	WD	arc.ann	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1985-86,p.58
44	Theur	WD	arc.sp	-	<u>IAR</u> , 1985-86,p.58
45	Tuljapur-Garhi	WD	-	am	<u>IAR</u> , 1984-85,p.58
46	Vadagaon Madhvapur	SD	-	ann.sp.	<u>MADHU</u> .
47	Veerapuram	CD	ann.sp	arc.ann.epl.	<u>VTSCS</u> , 1984,p.43
48	Yelleswaram	ED	-	ann.sp.tb	<u>AMYE</u> , 1963,p.4

Key to symbols: arc-arecanut, ann-annulas, aml-amalaka, bic-bicore, bri-barrel, cy-cylindrical, epl-ear plug, ar-ear reel, gh-ghata, g-globular, gd-gadrooned, glc-grooved and lug collared, lp-lam:cs, mkam-makara amulet, ndam-nandi amulet, pr-pear, si-sea s, sp-spacer, tabloid, tog-toggle, vot-votive, wh-wheels

Terracotta ornaments of diverse types were used to decorate the human beings for religious and social gatherings and for daily use. Both men and women wore jewellery. These were more abundantly worn in view of their easy availability at a lesser cost. Beads and ear ornaments were both hand and wheel made. In the latter ones striation made of the wheel were clearly discernible. Many of them were made from moulds and then hand-finished. Under the first category of ornaments are the ear ornaments they have been found in two varieties (Chart VI, 5). Scholars have named the early ear plugs as spools, studs, plugs etc. Ear plug comprises of a that plain surface found with concave sides to fit into the ear. By using the literary works Margabandhu has identified the ear plugs or discs as 'tatanka' which was described as "circular in shape, heavy in weight and inserted in between the lobes"¹⁶. In western Deccan ear plugs have been reported from Bhokardhan and Kaundinyapura whereas in the Eastern and Southern Deccan they have been reported from Salihundam and Maski (Chart VI,4,13,18). Kaundinyapura has reported ear discs of bright red slip, some of them having flat sides and grooved edges while others are cylindrical with tapering sides ending in a truncated cone¹⁷. Bhokardhan has unique ear plugs which have a cylindrical shape and they are slender with knobs at both ends¹⁸ (Plate 19).

Decorations on the ear discs include prominent channel around the periphery or a shallow square depression and a geometric design. Maski has reported designs on the ear discs such as lotus with a central boss, flower



Ear Plug

Location : PAUNAR
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : **Dr. Chandrashekar,**
Nagpur University Museum, Nagpur



Ear Disc

Location : **BHOKARDHAN**
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : **Dr. Chandrashekar,**
Nagpur University Museum, Nagpur

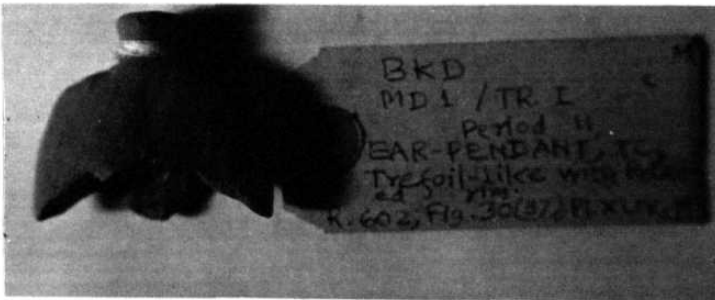
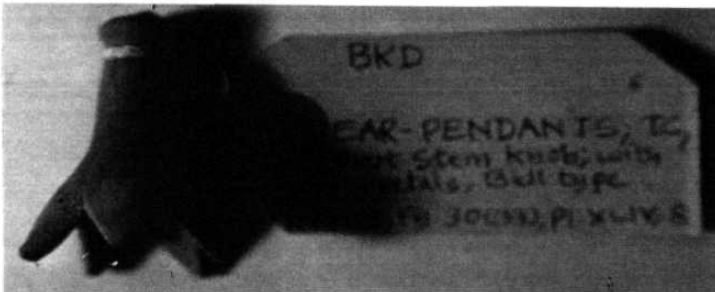
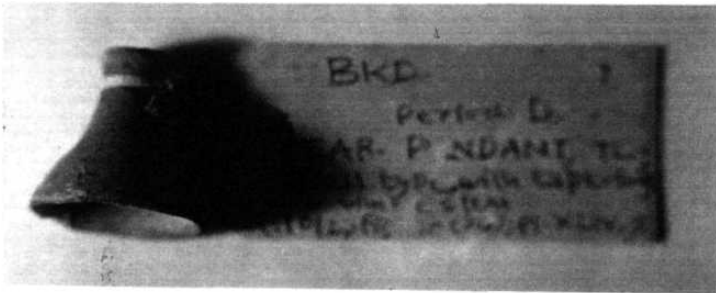
patterns, radial strokes from a central dot. In one of the discs a roaring lion and in another possibly a cow and calf, have been realistically depicted¹⁹. The various designs and motifs on the ear ornaments suggest that during the early historic phase, people believed in certain beliefs or used them as charms. The design in which they were made not only shows the taste of the people but also the workmanship of the craftsmen. Further, Margabandhu suggests that the most finest ear disc, comes from sites of western India from sites like Bhokardhan, Ter, which were also centres of bead industries; which were situated near to the source of raw materials²⁰ (**Plate 20**). Identical shapes of ear ornaments suggest that the industries were spread out at different places from where the finished products were sent far and near places.

Pulley shaped ornaments have been reported from Kondapur and Bhokardhan. The ear pulley from Kondapur is decorated with pellets in front with a boss, at the back for insertion into ear lobe²¹ (**Chart VI, 5,23**). At Bhokardhan an ear pulley in the shape of "cylindrical pendants", having concave sides with flat ends each with punctured decorations on both sides were found. (**Chart VI, 5**) The ear pendants were made by double mould technique. From the western Deccan ear pendants from Bhokardhan consists of a flat rectangular piece with decorations of grooves serrated on its marginal side with a perforation at the top²². At Bhokardhan two types of pendants have been reported. The first type of pendant was found to be of

three varieties, viz. (a) Bell type with the stem more elongated (b) Bell type with petals at the lower rim (c) Trefoil-like with petalled rim (Plate 21). These ear pendants have been noticed for the first time in Deccan. According to scholars the first type was found to be more popular during the Sātavāhana times as a large number of them were found at this site²³.

The ear rings which were crescent shaped were prepared from moulds with ends decorated with beading or threading. The front of each was decorated in designs. These terracotta ear rings occur extensively at Sātavāhana sites in Central India, Western Deccan and south-east coast. From Paithan we have two types of crescent shaped ear rings. The first one is made with a double mould with both tips intact and bearing depression on both sides followed by horizontal lines covering the pendant with plain horns²⁴ (Chart VI, 30) (Plate 22). In the other type, the ear ring decorations consist of a double border of bosses in repousse are layed crescent wise round a circular gap. There are two small holes reinforced with wire rings on the observe side²⁵.

Along with these decorative objects reports also furnish evidence of the occurrence of Bangles. The bangles found in our area of study are five in number (Chart VI, 4,6,16,20,28). Bhokardan has revealed two types of bangles, those with a broad and channelled circumference, ie., with plano-concave section, and those which are round in section. Further, from the



Ear Pendant

Location : BHOKARDHAN
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : **Dr. Chandrashekar,**
Nagpur University Museum, Nagpur



Crescent Shaped Ear Ring

Location : **PAITHAN, BHOKARDHAN**
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : Mr. Patel, Private Collection, **Paithan**,
Dr. **Chandrashekar**, Nagpur University .
Museum, Nagpur

same site, a bangle with its inner surface being rough, two parallel rows of small birds and beaks interlocked flanked by incipient ridges. Apart from this type of bangle, the other bears dots and wavy lines in relief. From a **personel** collection at Paithan bangles with rope patterns and edge bands enclosing chains of bead have been reported. A few of them have slanting lines' (Plate 26).

Beads found in the archaeological record were made of a variety of materials like shell, lapis lazuli, *carnelian* and *clay*. Beads were manufactured both by hand and the moulds. The potter-artist improved the method of preparing beads by the mould system and introduced new varieties of beads along with various designs. The most commonly found beads are the arecanut shaped beads prepared out of fine clay with sand as the main ingredient. These beads have been sub-divided into three categories (a) broad flat base with tapering top (b) biconical with flat ends (c) with one end flat. These arecanut beads were the most popular beads and were found all over the Deccan²⁶. (Figure, XIII, XIV, XV)

The arecanut beads reported in phase III are **different** in **texture** and make from their counter parts found in phase I and II. Beads in phase III are thus qualitatively and quantitatively are more in number, this is mainly because they are made on a fast mating wheel and baked very hard. From the excavation reports we have ten sites which have yielded **arecanut** beads

FIGURE VII-XII



Fig. VIII



Fig. 10



Fig. 12



Fig. VII



Fig. XIII

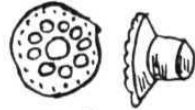


Fig. XIV



Fig. II



Fig. IX



Fig. XV

TERRACOTABEADS, AMULETS, Bullae

Location : Tes, Bhokardan, Kondapur,

Phase : Early Historic Phase III

Courtesy : Department of State Archaeology,
Hyderabad.

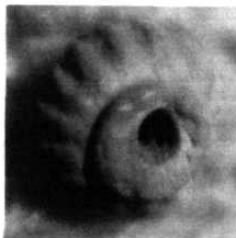
(Chart VI,2,4,6,14,16,21,22,28,34,38). The arecanut beads, in a majority of cases, had a shallow cup like depression near the butt which was one of the prominent features of these beads. In certain types the arecanut beads had a milled appearance to the extent of showing parallel groove marks at very close intervals and in some cases the butt end of the beads had deeply incised grooves²⁷ **(Figure VII).**

From the late Sitavāhana period, Brahmapuri has revealed arecanut shaped beads with a cup shaped depression at the butt end which is generally shallow **(Chart VI, 6)**. Wheel made beads are reported from Nasik which had grooves and some of them had very close grooves around the body²⁸ **(Chart VI, 19)**. The arecanut beads found at Nasik have been considered the standard type. According to M.G.Dikshit the arecanut beads at Kondapur are of three different types and they differ from one another in their height and size. Some of them have grooves near the butt-end but all of them have a depressed centre at the other end²⁹ **(Chart VI, 16)**. Salihundam, Yelleswaram have brought to light arecanut beads of red and black burring marks³⁰ **(Chart VI 28,38)**.

Gadrooned beads have been reported from Brahmagiri, Dhulikatta and Kondapur **(Chart VI,6,10,16)**. At Kondapur the gadrooned beads are large in size with lug-collars at the ends. They are made of double mould. The central portion of this bead is bulged out and the lug collars are short. It was



Leaf Pendant



Gadrooned Bead

Location : **BHOKARDHAN**
Phase : Early Historic, Phase HI
Courtesy : Dr. **Chandrashekar**,
Nagpur University Museum, Nagpur



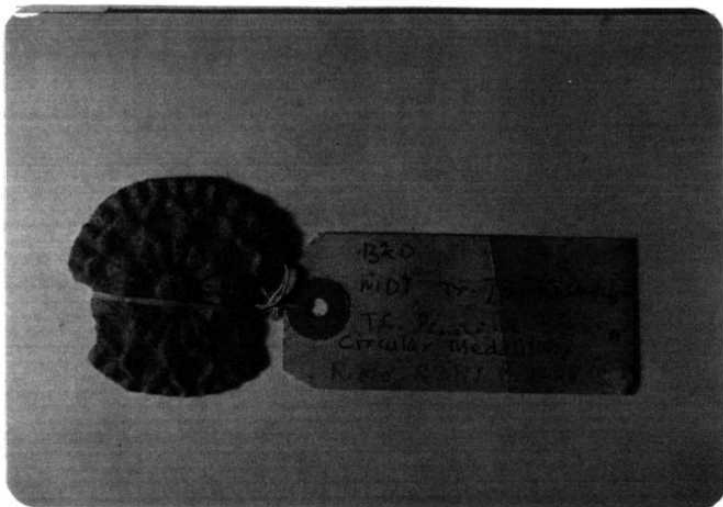
Makara Amulet

Location : **PAITHAN**
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : Mr. Patel, Private Collection,
Paithan

also wheel made³¹ (**Plate 23**). Barell shaped beads have been reported from Brahmagiri, Bhokardhan, Dhulikatta, Kondapur and Yelleswaram (**Chart VI,4,5,10,16,38**). The barell shaped beads were of two varieties viz., long barell cylinder **types and short** barell ones. Both these varieties have come from Yelleswaram (**Chart VI, 38**). They were **hand-made**³² (**Figure IX**).

Another commonly used bead during the early historic phase were the pear-shaped beads. The number of sites at which these have been found are six (**Chart VI,4,6,15,18,19,38**). Yelleswaram has reported pear shaped beads from the Ikshvaku levels. Some pear shaped beads have grooves around the base without the truncated apex and some are short pear-shaped, truncated with a pale buff colour and being grooveless have been reported from Yelleswaram³³ (**Chart VI,38**). Spherical beads have been reported from Brahmagiri, Kyatur, Nasik and Peddabankur (**Chart VI,,17,19,23**). A square eye bead from Kondapur with a bright red slip of well levigated clay was prepared out of a mould and bears representation of the eye³⁴ (**Figure VII**) It **has** attrition marks at one of the edges and while pressing in the mould the potter left his finger impression on the reverse. Scholars like Sankalia opine that such beads were used as a charm, a practise commonly believed in India and was styled as drishta-mani³⁵.

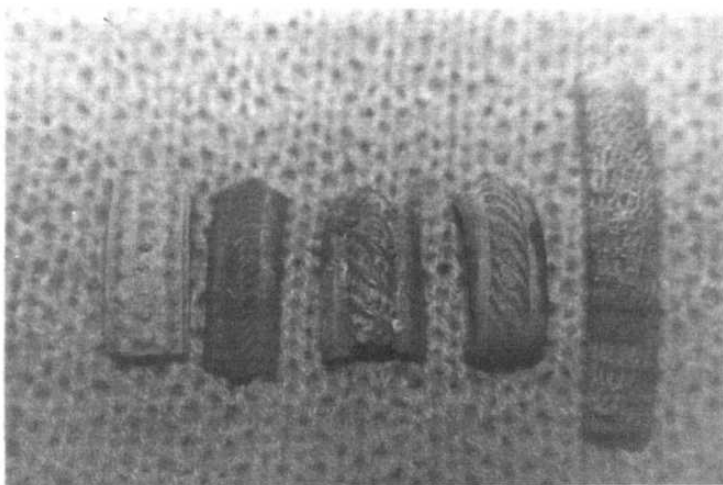
Of the various types of beads discovered amalaka beads were popular in the western and central Deccan (**Chart VI,6**). An amalaka bead



Circular Medallion

Location : BHOKARDHAN
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : Dr. Chandrashekar
Nagpur University Museum, Nagpur

Plate no : 26



Bangles

Location : PAITHAN
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : Mr. Patel, Private Collection, **Paithan**

found from Bhokardan was hand made with a thin petal like projection and had a circular perforation (**Chart VI,4**) (**Figure 10**). This type of bead has **come** in three sizes, big medium and small. All of them have thick petals and blunted projections. An amalaka bead from Kondapur has eight gadroons³⁶ (**Chart VI,16**). **These** beads were wheel made (**Plate 23**).

The largest number of beads have mainly come from Kondapur, Bhokardhan and Yellaswaram. Of the many beads, arecanut, gadrooned, spherical, pear-shaped beads were the commonly used shapes made by the potter. Beads reported from Kondapur were to a large extent, wheel made beads, where as at those at Bhokardhan and Yelleswaram were hand and mould made beads. One of the rare types of beads in the rudraksha bead **found** from Kaundinyapura³⁷. This specimen has dotted bands and in between the bands there are marginal concentric lines. Such beads, according to Margabhandu, may have been used for chanting mantras or wearing around the neck.

Apart from beads, the early historic sites have reported amulets and coin bullae. Amulets were worn on the neck of a person for some magico-reasons. Moreover, their popularity at many sites indicated the underlying contacts between different phases because of the familiarity in design³⁸. Amulets were made by moulds. During the early historic phase a variety of amuletic pendants have been found with symbols reflecting upon the

religious and social aspects of the period. Amulets have been classified under three sections (1) Amulets with artefacts as symbols. Prakash in Western Deccan has revealed amulets in the shape of a scabbard with beaded borders and a handle. The dagger amulet is in the shape of a weapon like motif in plain and decorated form³⁹ (Chart VI,26). According to Sankalia this type of amulet was possibly connected with cult figurines reported from Crete and was known to Indians when they came into contact with them through trade⁴⁰.

The second type of amulet was the one bearing human and animal motifs. Under this category the most commonly used and reported ones are the Nandi bull amulets. The bull amulet was sacred to both the Hindus and the Buddhists⁴¹. For Buddhism it stood for asterism Taurus in which Buddha was born. In Vedic literature bull was referred to for its virility⁴². These were made of double moulds. Kondapur, Ter and Yelleswaram have brought to light a number of bull amulets (Chart VI,16,28,38). Kondapur in Central Deccan has yielded a number of bull amulets where the bull has been found in a seated posture. The sitting posture of the animal was also understood as being a Vahana of gods since early times⁴³. The bull amulets were made of separate moulds and joined together. The bulls have garlands round the neck and have decorated pedestals below with perforations (Figure XI).

The third type of amulets are the makara amulets reported from Bhokardhan, and Kondapur (Chart VI,4,16). These amulets were made of

double-moulds. It is made of clay in the round hollow within, produced by Paithan, Ter, double mould technique. Specimens of the double mould variety consists of a pair of addorsed makara with open mouth. They have a central perforation for strings (**Plate 24**). At Kondapur this type consists of two pieces, one with makara face and the other side is in the form of a pillar like strut made in double mould⁴⁴. Manglam in an article refers to Makarika Indian motifs to represent the auspicious Vahana of Varuna or Ganga⁴⁵, further the « makara terracottas reported for the Satavahana period were probably used by navigators. Scholars have inferred that due to the hectic maritime activities promoting foreign trade, the makarika must have been worshipped in the house of navigators or used for ritual purposes by them⁴⁶. From Bhokardhan a leaf amulet has been reported (**Plate 23**).

From the various varieties of ear-rings, pendants beads, and amulets with specific symbols, we can suggest that their mode of use and purpose was related, in some cases, to the ingrained belief of people in the magico-aspects of life. Some of the varieties of ear ornaments, amulets had however secular significance as well, and these were probably used in the daily life. Further, these ornaments also indicate cultural contact between different phases. The uniformity of amulets and ear rings in different parts of the Deccan suggest the wide spread extensive trade in Deccan during the early historic phase which also brought cultural symbols in contact with each other. According to Sankalia the makara amulet is associated with designs

known in architecture **and** furniture⁴⁵. Further, these were adorned as head dress ornaments.

Clay bullae occur extensively during the early historic levels in the time bracket of c 300 BC-200 A.D. Coin bullae have been found with objects of Greco-Roman character. These bullae comprise of copies or imitations in clay . These clay bullae were worn round the neck. The clay bullae's were cast from moulds either, single or, double. The former type consisted of a flat or convex back at times, with finger impressions. The latter type were found with figures on both sides made by cementing together, two different casts back to back. The bullae have been labelled as "terracotta casts, clay imitations of coins" mainly being copies of Graeco-Roman medallions. Clay bullae reported from western and central Deccan bear resemblances with gold and silver bullae used during this phase. According to Margabandhu the Romans who carried trade with western India exchanged goods in return for gold and silver bullae bearing the emblem of their ruler. Such bullae with human faces or imitation of coins, especially Roman, have been reported from Bhokardhan, Brahmapuri, Chandravalli, Karad, Paithan and Ter⁴⁷ (**Chart VI, 4,6,8,14,20,42**). From Brahmapuri the clay bullae bears the head of the emperor in low relief with a marginal legend on both sides of the figure. A circle of small dots and a raised rim appears on the border. Finger prints appearing on the reverse show that it was taken from a mould⁴⁸. A large number of coin bullae representing imitations of recognisable aureii and

denarii of Roman emperors occur at Brahmapuri, Kondapur, Karad (Chart VI,6,14,16).

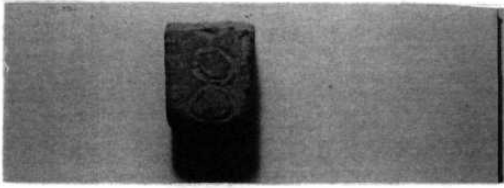
Apart from human faces, we have coin bullae with floral and animal motifs. From Kondapur a bullae has been impressed with lotus design and another resembles the shape of kidney been decorated with a ring of dots and a pipal leaf in relief at the centre with a ribbed loop on top⁴⁹ (Figure XII). The unstratified layer at Bhokardan has revealed a medallion having motifs on both the surfaces. On one face, is a cable frame skirted by petals formed by beadings, with an elephant figure. Its tiny eyes, curved trunk and minitusk are clearly visible. The animal is adorned with ornaments. On the reverse side is multi-petalled lotus bordered by a beaded line⁵⁰. A complete circular medillion pressed in mould, oneface having the motif of a lotus flower in relief (Plate 25) Coin bullae were common during the period c 200 B.C.-200 A.D. Dikshit mentions that the coin bullae from Kolhapur represents the early Mathura art traditions⁵¹.

Under the category of decorative objects we also have those objects that were used for recreational activity and those that had gave value, they were used both by children and adults. Terracotta objects identified with games are dices, Hopscotches and chess items. The number of terracotta dice as reported from excavation are three (Chart VI,6,28,38). The dice consists of a flat rectangular or as long shape with four sides which were

incised with 1,2,3,4 dots or punches running serially. Each dot at times was surrounded by circle and boarded by straight lines⁵⁴ (Plate 27). Gamesmen having cylindrical section ending in cone were also prepared in terracotta. Two sites have revealed objects of a chess game (Chart VI,4,26). At Bhokardhan and Prakash chess game counters have square section at the base and a few have features of stūpa from flat base and round knob possessing a semi-circular arch in relief⁵³. According to J.E.Van Lohiuzende leeuw three animal figurines found and reported from Kondapur, viz., the horse, lion and bull should be understood as chess mates⁵⁴. Due to their size there is a possibility that they could have been mainly associated with the chess game. Further, while comparing the animals with the Yantrala figurines found at Pabalu Velurea in Srilanka, Van-lohiuzende leeuw associates these figurines as symbolic representatives of the four quarters of the sky or cardinal points⁵⁷. These animal figurines have also been compared by him with the reliefs found at Nāgarjunakoṇḍā and the bronze horse found at Java and Srilanka. The horse in his view probably represented similar styles and were imported into Srilanka from Andhra Pradesh.

Under the category of utilitarian items, terracotta lamps of the early historic phase have been reported through excavations which are nine in number (Chart VI,4,5,20,30,38) lamps made of terracottas were simple, shallow, and bowl shaped. Most of the lamps had a pinched mouth for wick and revealed soot-marks. Incense burners were artistically decorated.

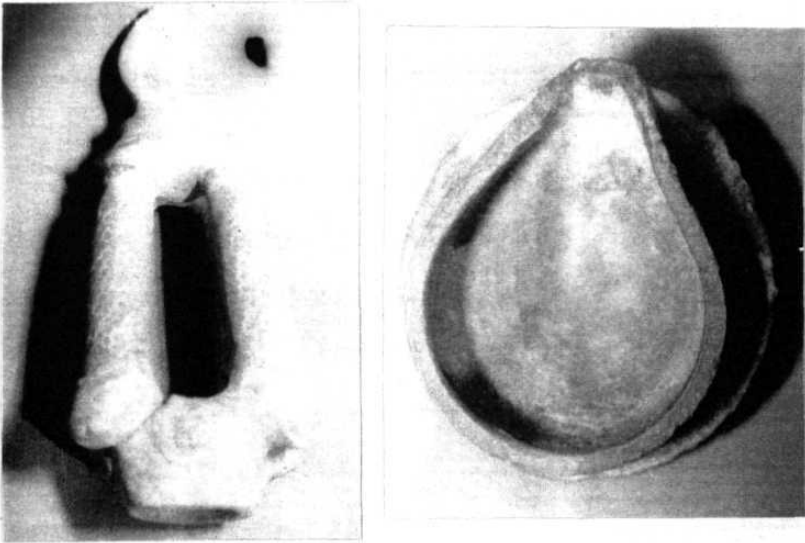
Plate no : 27



Dice

Location : **BHOKARDHAN**
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : **Dr. Chandrashekar,**
Nagpur University Museum, Nagpur

Plate no : 28



L a m p s

Location : **PAUNAR**
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : **Dr. Chandrashekar,**
Nagpur University Museum, Nagpur

Salihundam has a saucer-shaped lamp which has been dated around c 200 B.C.-100 A.D. Shallow lamps with soot-marks have also been known from Paunar. Lamps reported from Ter were cast from moulds and bear, on the upper side, ribbed decoration (**Chart VI, 42**) (**Plate 28**). From the same site terracotta suspension lamp in the form of the bust of a female with hollow head and provided with a central knob, a transverse perforation in which a corrugated piece of iron was found. At the top was a funnel shaped hole for oil. The face was oval and features were typically Roman⁵⁶. Due to Roman trade, Ter has produced unique lamps like, lamp depicting a marine deity lying flat over a base with right leg stretched and left flexed at the knee. The decorations on the lamps reveal considerable Greek influence⁵⁷.

Votive tanks were found for the first at Nevasa in Western Deccan but most of these tanks were reported from north India. According to H.P.Ray Votive tanks were believed to have been introduced by the Sakas or Parthians⁵⁸. A majority of votive tanks have been reported from Western Deccan at the following sites like Brahmapuri, Bhokardhan, Ter, Kaundinyapura, Paunar (**Chart VI, 5,7,20,32,42**). Desai suggest that these were possibly linked with the cult of the mother - goddess in her Hellenised - Parthain form. The widely prevalent type of votive tanks are either rectangular, square and circular; sometimes consisting of birds at the rim, ladders on the walls with aquatic animal designed inside⁵⁹. They were made both by hand and moulds.

The most common decorative terracottas were the wheels or, the wheeled carts. The number of sites which have revealed the wheels are seven. According to Margabandhu wheels of the early historic phase were of two types the hubbed and the bi-convex wheels⁶⁰. These wheels were prepared from broken potsherds by perforating and rubbing them to circular shape. The hub was indicated in relief, spokes decorated by circles with slight incisions. Report from Bhokardhan, Yelleswaram have brought to light a complete specimen of the wheel, which is coarse black and red, rough broad at circumference with a hub on one side and truncated on the other (Plate 29).

Thus, in the early historic phase the terracotta figurines, objects and ornaments is marked and characterized by the urban society. One of the main feature for the growth of urbanisation during c 200 AD was due to the existence of a larger surplus and a distributive machinery represented both by administrators and traders. The influence of the roman external trade was also one of the factors for the growth of urbanisation. This is evident from the various human figurines, bullae, seals etc., Trade with the Romans not only brought the Deccan society in contact with a large number of artefacts but the Roman trade also influenced, the demand for several objects of which terracottas were an important element.

The economic activities during this phase was concentrated all over the Deccan but a large number of terracottas were found in eastern, western,



Cart Wheels

Location : YELLESWARAM
Phase : Early Historic, Phase III
Courtesy : State Archaeology Department, Hyderabad

central Deccan. Inscriptions from the rock-cut caves records the names of the guilds of potters. The variety of beads like amalaka, gadrooned, leaf pendants, crescentic ear rings which were manufactured by the double-mould method, show the aesthetic sense of the the artisans in preparing them. These beads, pendants, have also been noticed in the human figurines. This is evident from plate 7 in which the mother-goddess figurine is depicted with a beaded necklace with leaf pendants. In another figurine plate 8 the goddess is shown with crescentic ear ornament like the models shown in the plate //along with other jewellery. From this we can infer that the early historic artist produced these objects and also wore them, which were commonly used and traded.

The secular Kaolin figurines reported from Kondapur also bear testimony to the fact that mould made ornaments like crescentic ear ring, ear plugs, spherical beads, nandi amulets and bullae were used by the people. The development of the mould technique during this phase is also one of the cause for a large scale manufacture of terracottas. Apart from their importance in the social context, they were also beads and bullae, amulets which had religious significance. This is evident from the single and rear specimen of rudraksha found at Kaundinyapura.

The objects like dices, animal figurines like horse, lion, and bull have been represented as objects meant for entertainment hand and mould made

techniques were used for the production of these terracottas. Specialisation of Craft is known from the availability of the terracotta in abundance, suggesting that they were rich mercantile centres and were connected with various trade routes. One such example is Nagarjunakonda which was not only a religious centre, but was also an important rich mercantile centre for Roman trade. Scholars like Desai suggest a possibility of Roman colony at Ter on evidence of Roman objects and influence on this place. Because of this urban background, we notice that the terracottas received sophisticated and naqaraka touches in this artistic presentation and techniques. Some of the terracotta figurines, like the female and male represent the taste of the naqaraka.

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CONCLUSION

Terracottas or clay figurines in India have served an important medium of expression for different cultural aspects. The study of terracottas done in the previous chapters brings to relief their rich variety found in the Deccan region. Their distribution amply bears out the fact that the terracottas emerged as an important craft during the neolithic phase and continued up till the early historic times. The study of terracottas in the Deccan region has mainly focussed on the material form of the objects to show, how over a historical period of time, not only the cultural factors but also other social and economic factors, led to their creation and their variability within the various sub-regions of Deccan.

In the introductory chapter of our study, we have made an attempt to provide the geographical background of our area of study. We have also highlighted how earlier scholars had studied terracottas under the rubric of craft or art objects. Various views of scholars were put forth and we observed that craft can never be understood as independent of art. We also put forth the framework that terracottas were social products. In phase I the terracottas reflect popular attitudes characterised by life and work which was mainly agriculture and reflected the familiar and unchanging forms of village life where the tradition of decorative skill survived. These craft objects began slowly to evolve into an art object with aesthetic features prominently displayed. This is particularly marked during the early historic phase.

Further, it was the potter who initially made the figurines and he slowly began to specialize in the making of terracottas. This tendency began from the megalithic phase onwards.

In our study of terracottas we first and foremost noted that physical boundaries of the Deccan presented a varied geographical division with historical and cultural peculiarities. From the various sites known to us from the excavation reports have seen that concentration of sites for phase I was mainly in the Western Deccan region where they were widely distributed. This has a lot to do with the large scale excavations done here by the Deccan College, Pune and the Nagpur University in the last few decades. Scholars have viewed western Deccan as a corridor linking the northern part of the sub-continent to the southern as early as the chalcolithic times. We have noted that the first agricultural settlements developed at sites like Daimabad as indicated from the excavations. Due to increase in aridity as early as 1000 B.C in western-Deccan scholars have suggested that the abandonment of several sites took place and subsequently, the beginning of the Iron age led to a shift in the occupation of the Vidharbha region.

Even though some sites pertaining to the megalithic-iron age have been reported and located in the Vidharbha-Marthawada region, here we do not come across sites pertaining to phase I, namely, the neolithic-chalcolithic phase (**Chart IV**). The distribution of megalithic iron-age sites have been noted by us mainly from the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh and from

Karnataka region of the Southern Deccan (**Chart V**). The Vidharbha-Telangana region was well known for iron-ore reserves. Various iron implements tools, and kilns, which confirm that local iron-ore was used for their manufacture. The Telangana sites in Andhra Pradesh were mainly to do with their peculiar burial systems found in this region. Further, we have argued that together with pastoralism, agriculture also formed an important component of the megalithic economy. It has been noted that as far as the early historic phase is concerned the distribution of the sites studied by us were found and reported fairly spread out over the whole of the Deccan (**Chart I and V**).

In **Chapter I** we noted that the writings on terracottas came to be focussed upon mainly from the 19th century. We have discussed how in the 17th and 18th centuries scholars viewed the whole of the Indian art context from the European perspective. Infact, during these early periods of individual studies on terracottas are absent. In the 19th century the British beureaucrats opined that the terracottas reflect the cultural stages that the sub-continent passed through and concluded from the orientlist and the colonial perspectives that the terracottas did not represent the aesthetic essence of the culture. Scholars of the 20th century, however, tried to classify the terracottas in different categories on thematic considerations. Coomaraswamy and Sankalia viewed the terracotta figurines as representatives of the religious belief system of the culture. Stella Kramrisch,

Desai, Ghosh opined that terracottas were the handicraft of the 'folk'. This view point made the studies on terracottas a land mark because this premise has given a secular context to defining the meaning of terracotta figurines.

On the other hand, studies have revealed that scholars like Marghabandu, Dhavalikar, Biswas, Prakash have looked at terracottas from a holistic approach. They did not view terracottas as mere pieces of evidences to understand culture but looked at them as part of cultural production itself. However, individual scholars in their studies either have solely viewed terracottas from the religious point of view or, from the artistic point of view. In our study of terracottas in this thesis an attempt has been made to analyze the terracottas from a holistic approach incorporating the material, socio-economic and religious context in which they should be placed.

For discussing the source material in this chapter we have solely depended on the archaeological records. From these reports we have brought forth sites which have been reported in the Deccan region. These sites have been tabulated by us in an alphabetical order in charts showing phase I, II and III. Further, charts III, IV and V dealt with describing the material cultures showing the distribution of terracottas along with sturcutres tools and pottery found at the various sites.

Looking at the particular data of our study in Chapter II, we noted that the terracotta figurines especially the bull figurines were popular and

important in the lower neolithic phase. This probably had a relationship with the pastoral nature of the neolithic economy and may suggest a focus on the worship of nature and male gods. With the coming of settled life we find a change from the pastoral to village based economy and growth of agriculture. Agriculture was the main occupation of the people. Early neolithic societies were subsistence based and the only terracottas found are those called archaic figurines of mother goddesses. However, agriculture brought large communities together which subsequently generated a surplus in the chalcolithic times and this further led to a division of labour and craft specialisation. In an overall sense, in phase I craft was intertwined with the conception of life and terracotta works were largely made to provide for simple needs of this society. This was reflected in the unchanging form of some of the village traditions which indicate that decorative skills survived. This is particularly evident through the almost unchanging forms of the mother-goddess figurines in the samples discussed by us.

As noted in Chapter II, the first synthetic material created by man was the earthenware. This marked a significant technological development from the palaeolithic stage and is concomitant with the rise of food production in most parts of the world. The discovery of pottery gave the early man an opportunity to display and apply his aesthetic sense by making various types and shapes of pots. From the various sites in the Deccan region the neolithic-chalcolithic phase has brought to light a variety of pottery of grey-

ware, redware, black ware and BRW (Chart III). From the above noted pottery, we noticed an improvement in the method of pottery making from hand-made to wheel made pottery. The tools used for making pots varied from one region to other; and sometimes the techniques also varied. The technique of pottery making was also associated with the technology of making terracottas in terms of the processing of clay and so on. Thus, we found in our discussion that along with pottery remains terracotta objects also emerged for the first time in human society during phase I. In fact, terracottas found along with pottery in the neolithic chalcolithic phase were hand made and sometimes baked. The techniques involved in the process of making terracottas were simple in the neolithic-chalcolithic phase. In fact, we noted that the terracottas that have survived from phase I were not only limited, but they did not survive due to the lack of firing process. Had they been fired their survival would have been possible.

Further, it is important to note that in the pastoral phase of the neolithic period we do not come across any mother goddess figurines. In Phase I the role of the potter was not only to produce the various types of pottery but simultaneously, he also produced the terracottas mainly as a craft product to cater to the needs of the village community. This is evident to us from the roughness and the poor quality with which they were made. This may have been due to the fact that at this stage the terracotta maker was not a specialist and the potter himself made the terracotta figurines as a side

activity. Further, the figurines were probably used for common ritual purposes to be used and thrown away and were not to be kept for long term purposes. Therefore, due to these facts their making was not looked into with any amount of detail. Their purpose especially those of the archaic and the mother goddess figurines was connected with ritual practises and once the ritual was over, they were not kept by the people but were made again when the ritual had to be performed.

From the various sites we have noted that in the later neolithic and chalcolithic phase the belief in mother goddess was very much nurtured due to the notion of earth that gave food as mother. She was symbolised as the vitality of the mother force. A great variety of archaic/mother goddess figurines have been known to us from the chalcolithic sites of the western Deccan (**Chart III**). These were simple, crude and feature less and not of high artistic standard but they do indicate and reflect their aesthetic taste. Beside human figurines we also noted from the various reports the terracotta animal forms. Among the animal forms, we have observed that during phase I the bulls were predominantly prevalent. There were both hump and humpless bulls. Further, figurines such as owl, fowl, and crocodile suggest that the neolithic-chalcolithic folk knew about these jungle animals which were designed as objects of toys and for decorative purposes.

It has been observed that the gradual emergence of settled life in the early societies increasingly began to produce luxury goods. Some of

these in their simple form were objects of self adornment in the form of beads. The production of beads and utilitarian objects was a community activity with out professional makers. To some extent, in phase I the potter continued to be a terracotta maker and only later gradually began to specialize in the making of terracottas.

In **Chapter III** we noted that a clear cut marker between the megalithic and the early historic context is quite difficult in the archaeological record because it has shown at many sites an overlap between the two phases (**Chart I**). We have suggested that the overlapping situation from the neolithic chalcolithic to the megalithic-iron age was important for postulating internal sub-regional contacts (**Chart I**). The level of tool technology attained by the megalithians indicated the possible use of tools based on an improved equipment. In this context the introduction of iron technology signified an important break through. Not merely did it introduce a change in the use of a new metal but, with the use of iron artefacts, there was a widespread change in the pace of agrarian growth in some areas of the Deccan (**Chart IV**). Scholars have suggested that the pastoral economy was predominant during the megalithic times. The various agricultural implements discussed by us clearly indicate that megalithic economy was mixed but definitely it was pre-urban. However, the megalithic burial monuments too suggest that there may have been a centralised and co-ordinated society to control the surplus and redistribute it.

Iron technology not only played an important role in the economy of the megalithic folk, but also paved the way for improvement of craft specialisation. We have noted that the level of craftsmanship improved as reflected in the manufacture of the moulds for the making of terracottas. It has been suggested, that this went hand in hand with the use of iron for making the moulds. This had an impact on the fact that a separate group of artisans emerged in the village who catered to the needs of the people for making terracottas of a specialist kind. This is clearly seen in the large sarcophagii that were found in many of the megalithic burials. Mother goddesses continued and this may suggest that there was an earlier tradition co-existing with the new megalithic people who had come to settle in the Deccan.

Of the material and economic changes in the megalithic-iron age phase, the most significant was its characteristic pottery which was largely BRW (Chart IV). The process of making black and red ware was different in respect of the technological make up like firing methods indicating a development in the technology of making pottery. The adaptation of new methods had some impact on the social set up. The new comers imposed themselves on the already existing chalcolithic population. The techniques used in the making of BRW had also an impact on the terracotta making and has been seen by us in the preparation of the sarcophagii, where the wheel was used extensively. Improvement in the technology of making terracottas

implied an increasing specialization emerging in the craft of making a variety of ceramic products.

It is interesting to note that during the megalithic phase, the mother goddess figurines changed depicting their ornaments with various designs, suggesting a marked improvisation from the nude goddess of phase I but, at the same time, they retained their earlier forms as well (**Chart II**). The new belief in the burial system brought a change in the religious sphere. The excavation reports of this phase reveal comparatively few mother-goddess figurines, but the notion of life after death was given more prominence (**Chart IV**). Even though, terracotta figurines are few, the techniques improved because of the skills needed to make the animal head for the sarcophigii which we noted were most elaborate. Further the burial pattern suggests that the belief patterns of the megalithic people had changed and therefore, there was a comparative lack of human terracotta figurines as found in the earlier phase (**Chart IV**). Further, in the later phases of the megalithic-iron age when the terracotta figurines have been found they probably reflect the continuance of the earlier traditions and not necessarily the practise of the new megalithic society.

Of the animal figurines the bull, as observed by us, was known prolifically in the neolithic-chalcolithic phase and this continued to play an important role in the megalithic phase. They do not appear to be substantially different in form and style from those found in the neolithic-

chalcolithic phase. This can again be explained in the context of the predominance of the pastoral economy in certain areas for the megalithic times. Wild animals like the deer were also known to the megalithic folk. This has been depicted in the form of terracottas suggesting that the megalithic folk may have wanted them for food or used them to depict their observance of nature.

Terracotta finds of a non-religious nature were also witnessed in phase II. They were mostly in the form of ornaments and consisted of beads and bangles. From the excavation reports we have noted sites identifying the different types of beads. An improvement from hand-made, to mould made beads has been noted suggesting an advance in craftsmanship. However the shapes and the types of beads found in the megalithic iron age were the same as those found in phase I, but they were certainly improved in their technique and have been reported and in full shapes. Specialisation is also seen in the ornamentation of bangles. The intricate design, well levigated clay and they being fully baked over suggest the skill of the artisan in preparing the bangle. Thus during the megalithic-iron age the common potter who had been involved in making figurines and specialist craftsmen emerged in this phase who satisfied the local chiefs by way of gifts in the form of bangles and other ornaments. The existence of bangles also suggests, that it was a luxury object which required a lot of skill and aesthetic sense in preparing them.

In **Chapter IV** we have focussed on the terracottas that were produced by a complex society of the early historical times. We have observed that in the Deccan region the transition to the early historic phase was significantly marked by the presence of Mauryan influence represented by Asokan inscription and the intrusion in terms of the advent of Buddhism (**Chart V**). The formation of localities saw the beginning of political institutions. The process of fusion between internal and external forces were clearly discernible in the rise of the Satavahana power during this phase.

The early historic times, i.e., c 200 to c 500 A.D was marked by a proliferation of terracotta remains not only in terms of the number of types found, but also in terms of a large number that have survived the vicissitudes of times. The economy of the early historic phase in Deccan, as observed by us, was based on agriculture, trade and commerce. Inscriptional references as observed by us, point out that land was granted. Agricultural base of the early historic communities gave rise to the increase in settlements along the river basin. The large variety of artefacts unearthed during the excavations at different sites in the Deccan in the early historic times is an indicator for the proliferation of crafts and division of labour (**Chart V**). Craftsmen formed the basis of handicraft production. From the literary evidences we also noted that the artisans worked independently and employed a number of artisans on wage basis. Further, we noted the diversified names of the artisans employed in the production of terracottas like pustakāraka, lepyakrit and śurupakritānu.

We have observed that during the early historic phase pottery from the excavation reports have mainly brought to light wheel turned ware. The distribution of techno-cultural traits was evident from the various methods used in making of pots. New pottery in the form of russetcoated painted ware, rouletted ware, in the central and coastal Deccan indicated a complex commercial network. Thus, the distribution of ceramic evidence indicates a predominant communication network in the Deccan region. However, we have noted that during the early historic phase a new innovative pottery in the form of Kaolin was reported and preferred by the artisans (**Chart IV**).

The archaic figurines as observed by us have been reported from the proto historic phase and passed down for generations into the early historic phase. This suggests that the hand made figurines continued along with the new technique continued along with the new technique of preparing terracottas through the moulds (**Chart V**). The mould techniques became an important aspect which was hitherto not known in phase I. Terracottas were in great demand as indicated by the fact that the artist or potter adopted this technique in manufacturing them so that they could produce a large quantity of terracottas. As suggested above Kaolin was preferred by the artist in western Deccan and the new mould technique was adopted in which men and women were characterised by bold, vigorous *physiognomii* features. Such type of features have been noted mainly from the Vidharbha-Telangana region.

The so called nude or shameless goddess as noted in phase I and II (**Chart III and IV**) in the Deccan region had now changed, not only in terms of their names, and phrases used to describe them, but also in the physical features that they now represented. The various terracotta images like the form of Lajagaurī and the goddess with various animals have been identified with various ancient symbols of fortune, fertility and life forces to communicate her power and their rich heritage of meanings. These historical-religious symbols and images were constantly reused and incorporated to form a new and enriched religious context and therefore, changes did occur. The cultural traits were inherent in the archaic figurines which have passed down for generation from the pre historic phase to the proto-hisotoric and into the early historic phase (**Chart III,IV,V**). The view of Stella Kramrisch that some archaic figurines were 'ageless, timeless' may hold good but there were innumerable others that underwent change. Further, we have observed that the mother goddess was not only a popular goddess of the village community but was also counted among the votaries members of the royal family.

Apart from the religious figurines we also studied secular and non-religious figurines especially the male figurines which were fashioned in style with heavy head dress, ornaments and sometimes with garments (**Chart V**). The study of terracotta animal figurines during the early historic phase reveal certain regional variations in technique of preparing them. Certain sites in

central Deccan have adopted both the techniques of mould and hand whereas, in the eastern Deccan animal figurines were entirely made by moulds. Further, the study also reveals that there were regional differences in the dispersal of animal figurines. In support it may be noted that the bull figurines which were adequately represented during phase I and II became meagre in the early historic phase (**Chart III, IV, V**). Other animal figurines especially the toy horses and elephants were richly caprisoned, majestic and appear to have been of fine breeds. This further indicates that horses and riders appear to have been popular in the early historic phase (**Chart IV**).

In Chapter IV which is a continuation of the discussion in the earlier chapter on the early historic phase we have noted that the rise of urban centres during this phase was due to the existence of a large surplus and a distribution machinery represented both by the administrators and traders. This phase was also noted for a marked increase in external trade and the Roman influence. We have argued and analysed the term 'urbanisation' and its growth in this chapter. Scholars have tried to discuss urban growth on the basis of several factors. We have noted that anthropologists and sociologist consider the urban growth as a natural process and consider population and ecological factors as prime importance in the growth of towns. Where as Gordon Childe has explained urbanisation on the basis of their characteristic features such as dense population, non-food producing classes supported by the surplus produced by peasants,

monumental building, ruling class, trade and artistic expression. From the various views put forth by scholars, historians, anthropologists, we have tried to analyse urban growth with important factors which influenced the city and towns. It indicated an increased food supply, marketing and trade, landlords, administrations, craft specialisations, and religious communities all of who inhabited the urban environment.

The economic activities during this phase was concentrated all over Deccan, but a large number of terracottas were found in the western, central and eastern Deccan. Trading activities were supposed to have been the major reason for the emergence of urban centres. Inscriptions from the rock cut caves in western Deccan and fragmentary inscriptions of eastern Deccan record the names of guilds of potters, srenis and refer to diversified economic activities during the early historic phase. Trade with the Romans not only brought the Deccan society in contact with a large number of artefacts but the Roman trade influenced the demand for several objects of which terracottas were an important element. This is evident to us from the evidence of bullae, seals, coins, beads, amulets found in large quantities for this period of our study.

In phase I and II we had noted that terracottas were produced by the potter and it was mainly a craft product which satisfied the village community, but during the early historic phase the artist came to known as

grama-silpa, raja-silpa and so on. We further notice that these two artists either employed artisans under them or they worked individually. The terracottas prepared during this phase were produced with high grade of excellence (Chart VI). Terracotta beads of various shape and sizes reveal that certain sites like Kondapur, Bhokardhan flourished as bead industry centres. Kaundinyapura has been noted for rare type of rudrakshara terracotta beads (Chart VI). Clay bullae as noted by us occur extensively sometimes decorated with geometric, floral and animal or human motifs. As far as Deccan is considered we have imitations of clay bullae reported from Western Deccan, Vidharbha and Eastern Deccan region. The distribution of crescent-shaped ear ornaments was extensively known to us from the western and the central Deccan. Utilitarian objects like lamps bear familiar features to that found and reported from the Mediterranean region. Votive figurines were noticed by us from the western Deccan in large quantities. Ornaments and objects of the early historic phase are an indicator for the proliferation of crafts and the division of labour. The deployment of new techniques, i.e., the double mould had an impact on the new forms of terracotta objects and ornaments which was consumed by the inhabitants of the towns as well as used for commercial exchange.

The chronological framework that we have adopted in this thesis to discuss the history of terracotta-making in the Deccan is primarily because this enables us to clearly identify phases of change and continuity and

thereby, overcome the generalization that terracottas in their type, form and content were static over time.

Even though sites had been excavated and terracottas were found, scholars and historians had hitherto concentrated in writing on art history especially on architecture and sculpture. Coomaraswamy, for the first time, focussed on writing about terracottas and showed "how they were important not only as documents of the religious culture but as documents of the history of art". Most work from the 1960s onwards, relating to terracottas was concerned with northern parts of India especially Bengal and the Ganga-Jamuna doab. Many of the authors writing on terracottas had tried to look at them only as art objects. It has been more recent writings that have looked at the evolution of terracottas in their socio-cultural and religious context. As far as Deccan region is concerned we have information on terracottas from excavation reports and reviews but still a systematic study of terracottas found in this region had needed to be done. By undertaking a study on terracottas we have argued how it developed as an object of craft. It was also an object of art but we pertinently emphasized on the economic and social context in which it was made. Though terracottas flourished in different phases it was by no means static in content and form. Thus, by undertaking this study, not only a much neglected area of history has been focussed upon but, at the same time, a more complete socio-cultural history of the region has emerged.

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