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. 53-54.
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). On the left bank of the river Pravara the excavations have brought to light the site of Daimabad (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 Inamgaon and Prakash 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 Theur to the west of Pune (Chart I, 70). Important sites of the Pravara-Godavari basin during this phases are Apegaon, Chandoli, Sonegaon, Tuljapur-Garhi 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 millennium 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 cultures. C-14 dates from the sites like Nevasa, Chandoli, Sonegaon would suggest that the cultures attained their prosperity between c 1300-1000 B.C.

The river Godavari which flows in the south-easterly 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 phase (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 Agiripalli and Keesarpalli 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 Nāgarjunakonda in Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh (Chart I, 43). Between the river Krishna and the Tungabhadra recent excavations have revealed two important settlements, ie., Chagtur and Peddamarrur 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 Brahmagiri, Hallur, Maski, Piklihal, Sangankallu 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 region.

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 soils. 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 cultures. The Mesolithic cultures of this phase were mainly comprised of Abevillan and Acheulean industry of scrape, burin and the microliths. Sangankallu has yielded evidence of a Mesolithic tool industry (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 portable. 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 spears\textsuperscript{29}. 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 everyday life and he must have done them for his own satisfaction as the principle of patronage had not developed by then\textsuperscript{30}. 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 society\textsuperscript{31}. 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"\textsuperscript{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 areas. Sankalia opines that the neolithic life style was an advanced stage in the process of human civilisation.

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). 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). 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 communities. According to Rami Reddy the spatial distribution suggest that the movements of ashmound folk and their activity was from the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SI No</th>
<th>Name of the Site</th>
<th>Tools</th>
<th>Structures</th>
<th>Pottery</th>
<th>Terracottas</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Adam</td>
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<td>ml, cuip</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Chagtur</td>
<td>CD</td>
<td>bl</td>
<td>ssb</td>
<td>RPW, BRW</td>
<td></td>
<td>IAR.1977-78,p.11</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Chandoli</td>
<td>WD</td>
<td>pb, st</td>
<td>fl, qm, bu,</td>
<td>Mw, JW</td>
<td>af, zf</td>
<td>CC.1965,p.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>CD</td>
<td>ml, st</td>
<td>hp, kilns</td>
<td>GW, BRW</td>
<td>af, bds</td>
<td>PHEHCMR,1996,p.73</td>
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<td>WD</td>
<td>ah, sb</td>
<td>mw, kilns</td>
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<td>IAR,1979-80,p.39</td>
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<td>Elchuru</td>
<td>ED</td>
<td>sb</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ED</td>
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<td>PHCTV,1971,p.14</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Inamgaon</td>
<td>WD</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>hp, kilns</td>
<td>BRW, Mw, JW</td>
<td>af, hf, bds, vot, ds</td>
<td>PUR 8,1975-79,p.4</td>
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<td>ED</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>GWRW</td>
<td>bds</td>
<td>AI.22,1966,p.37</td>
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**Key: Tools & Terracottas:**

**Key: Pottery:**
- BRW-black and red ware, GW-grey ware, KW-kaoku ware, JW-jorwe ware, Mlw-malwa ware, RW-red ware, RPW-red painted ware, NBPW-northern black polished ware.
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<td>IAR 1954-55, p.7</td>
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<td>am, mf</td>
<td>GW</td>
<td>af</td>
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<td>SD</td>
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<td>af</td>
<td>EAS 1969, p.3</td>
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<td>WD</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>if</td>
<td>GW, MW, RW</td>
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<td>WD</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>bd</td>
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<td>Tuljapur Garhi</td>
<td>WD</td>
<td>ml</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>JW, MW</td>
<td>bd, semi precious stones</td>
<td>IAR 1984-85, p.48</td>
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<td>27</td>
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<td>SD</td>
<td>bp</td>
<td>ub, wd</td>
<td>buff ware, GW, RW</td>
<td>af, bd</td>
<td>VTSTV 1984, p.23</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


**Key**: Pottery: BRW-black and red ware, GW-grey ware, KW-kaoku ware, JW-jonwe ware, MW-malwa ware, RW-red ware, RPW-red painted ware, NBPW-northern black polished ware.
north-west to the south-eastern direction of the peninsula\textsuperscript{37}. 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 Sankrānti or Pongal\textsuperscript{38}.

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 counterparts\textsuperscript{39}. 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\textsuperscript{40}. Nāgārjunakoṇḍā in coastal Andhra shows a continuance from the early neolthic to the early historic times but with the absence of chalcolithic phase\textsuperscript{41} (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 phase\textsuperscript{42} (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 ware\textsuperscript{43} (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 occassionally 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).

By applying the geo-morphological analysis Amita Ray tries to indicate that the lower-Krishna valley provided for continuous settlements from pre-histonic times. In coastal Andhra, Keesarapalle and Nagarjunakondā have thrown light on the different cultural phases (Chart II, 12,14). Keesarpalle represents short blade microliths, neoliths and burnished grey ware, where as Nagarjunakondā displays a profuse stone blade industry in its three phases (Chart II, 14). 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 tools.

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 settlements\(^49\). The settlement of the people also show the gradual attempt to be acquainted with nature and with a new technology\(^50\). 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 deposits\(^51\). 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 fire\(^52\). 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 crops\textsuperscript{53}. 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-system\textsuperscript{54}. 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 agriculture\textsuperscript{55}. Allchin suggests that millets like bajra which was cultivated in western Deccan may have come from Africa\textsuperscript{56}. 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 monsoon\textsuperscript{57}.

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 region\textsuperscript{58}. 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 mark\textsuperscript{59}. 

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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 times. Agriculture brought large communities together for subsistence, which further led to the division of labour for efficient farming and craft specialisation. This may have been due to two possible reasons: i) greater concentration of people at one place ii) because of increased food supply. Inamgaon has revealed a mature chalcolithic period which was based on mixed economy (Chart II, 11). The technique of floatation has been utilised by Dhavalikar to understand the basis of subsistence of early farming communities and the seasonal crops, they cultivated. 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 farmers. 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 Inamgaon (Chart II, 11).

According to Dhavalikar the control of water or storing surplus water emphasised that there existed a kind of centralised authority. 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).
In the Telangana region sites like Chinnamarrur appear to be prominent with their chalcolithic finds (Chart II, 6). 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 working.

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 pottery\textsuperscript{71}. 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 nature\textsuperscript{72}. Ceramic ecology was further linked with ethnographic settings which included behaviour pattern in pottery making tools etc\textsuperscript{73}. 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 vegetation\textsuperscript{74}. 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)\textsuperscript{75}. 
This grey ware was hand-made pottery and resembled that from Brahmagiri in southern Deccan (Chart II, 3). Peddamarrur in the Telangana region have revealed the early neolithic occupations which preceded the chalcolithic intrusion. Nāgārjunakonda Pd II has revealed red ware and grey ware (Chart II, 14). At Hallur and Palvoy excavations revealed grey ware, red ware, and black were 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 throwing. In the lower neolithic phase the popular ware was made by hand. 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 it. These types of rocks occur naturally with a characteristic chemical composition and a regularly ordered atomic structure. The term 'clay' usually denotes a fine grained earthly material that becomes plastic or malleable when moistened. For pottery manufacturing the most important and basic requirement is the preparation of clay.

While referring to the text Sakaladhikāra V.V. Krishna Sastry points out that there are ten types of clay; those found in deep lakes, rivers, and
hills, tanks, etc\textsuperscript{82}. The text further goes on to describe that powdered lac and decotation was also added to these clay mixtures\textsuperscript{83}. The clay was then well kneaded and pressed\textsuperscript{84}. 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 tempers\textsuperscript{85}. According to Nagaraja Rao quartz powder when mixed in the preparation of the paste gave a glittering surface to the vessels\textsuperscript{86}. 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 area\textsuperscript{87}. 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.\textsuperscript{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 emerged\textsuperscript{89}. 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 union\textsuperscript{90}. 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 firing. Productive technology of firing involved two methods for making of different types of pottery. They were the process of oxidising and the process of reduction. 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 colours. Under this type the fired pots became grey. At sites like Brahmagiri, Palvoy, the pottery of the neolithic phase was crudely made of uslipped 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 ground. 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 red. 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 etc. Marie-Claude Mahias observes that in the process of pottery making the constraints in determining the material aspects were more numerous than the technical problems. 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 scale\textsuperscript{100}.

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 rotated\textsuperscript{101}. The potter manipulated the lump deftly with his fingers to shape it into hallow ware. In the western Deccan the potter usually worked on a socketed spoked wheel\textsuperscript{102}. The socketed spoked wheel had three principal points a nave, a felly, and connecting spokes\textsuperscript{103}. 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 was and used a long stick to twirl the wheel while standing but the shaped the vessels by squating down\textsuperscript{104}. 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 work\textsuperscript{105}. 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 knob\textsuperscript{106}. The purpose of beating the pot was to enlarge the size of the wheel turned pot\textsuperscript{107}. Thus after these processess 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 clay. Through the reduction method the wheel made pots were turned to black. In the western Deccan this method in the chalcolithic phase was extensively used and the types of vessels produced were jars, bowls, etc., further, the overlap of megalithic culture in period II of Brahmagiri has brought to light a large amount of black ware (Chart II, 3).

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 polishing. The texture was dense which consisted of fine material and some vegetable matter. 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 ware. 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 beginning.

The method involved in the hand made terracottas firugines was to first hold a simple lump of clay made into a rough mass by hand then divide it into three parts. 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 nose. 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
**Archaic Figurine**

**Location**: Nevasa, Inamgaon

**Phase**: Neolithic-Chalcolithic, Phase I

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 workmanship. 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 goddesses. 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 legs.

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

NUDE GODDESS

LOCATION: INAMGAON
PHASE: NEOLITHIC - CHALCOLITHIC, PHASE I
COURTESY: M.K. DHANAVIKAR, MASTER PIECES OF TERRACOTAS, 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 goddess. The conclusion that comes only after studying all the characteristic features of females figurines suggest that they belong to the religious or secular figurines.

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-grahas. 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 life. According to scholars female nude figurines depicted on plaques and pots featuring the sex organs, breasts and vagina represent an auspicious deity believed to be capable of bringing prosperity. Such female figurines are known to us from sites like Bilwali, Navdatoli and so on.

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 found\(^{133}\). 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 features\(^{134}\) (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 absent\(^{135}\) (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 body\(^{136}\) (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 baked\(^{137}\). 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 form Piklihal was ithyphallic\(^{138}\). On the other hand, the male figurine found at Daimabad and Inamgaon signify and form an intergal 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 sendentary 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 bulls\textsuperscript{140}. 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 Valley\textsuperscript{141}. 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 way\textsuperscript{142}. 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 flat\textsuperscript{143}.

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 horns. 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 animal. The round body was provided with an applique hump. From Ramapuram in its phase Ic bull figurines bearing similar features have been reported (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 stand (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 horns (Chart V,40) (Plate 1). Brahmagiri IB shows bulls in more or less uniform style and type as found at Piklihal (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 found (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
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 pioninent 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 applique\textsuperscript{151} (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 Mesopotamia\textsuperscript{152}.

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 Rajasthan\textsuperscript{153}.

Apart from bulls, other figurines comprise of birds, and the figurine of a crocodile on a plaques. The number of bird figurines are two (Chart V,16,40). Representation of an owl from Inamgaon pd III was found with n nose and round pellets indicating its eyes (Chart V,16). Other details are not distinct as the figurine is in a fragmentary condition\textsuperscript{154}. From the
FIGURE III

ZOOMORPHIC FIGURINE

Location: Chandoli
Phase: Neolithic-chalcolithic, phase I
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 fowl\textsuperscript{155}. 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 socitary example of a 
crocodile plaque. these terracotta plaques most probably were prepared 
seperately and luted to the pots or, put on walls for decoration. The crocodile 
had deep incision in parallel rows stimulating its skin. Its tail and hind legs 
are found missing\textsuperscript{156} (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 another\textsuperscript{157}. The word bead is derived from the verb "bidden" to pray 
and was orginally associated with the beads on a rosary\textsuperscript{158}. According to
M.G. Dikshit beads mean almost any pierced object which can be strung\textsuperscript{159}. 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 baking\textsuperscript{160}. According to Neelima Dahiya the irregularity of the beads suggest that they were being moulded by fingers\textsuperscript{161}. 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 lapidaries\textsuperscript{162}. Period I and II at Apegaon has revealed annular beads, and cylindrical beads (Chart VI,3). These were hand made\textsuperscript{163}. Terracotta beads of different types have been revealed from the early levels of Period III at Inamgaon like the spherical, barell, tubular and arecanut beads\textsuperscript{164}. (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 thread\textsuperscript{165} (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 five clay with sand as the main
The were turned on a flat rotating wheel and were then baked hard, an important feature of the arecaunt 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 grooves. Arecaut beads for phase I have been reported only from Daimabad (Chart VI.12).

Spherical, spacer, circular, barell 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 shape (Chart VI,9,22). From the late neolithic phase, i.e., Brahmagiri IB, a barell circular bead was well baked having thin black burnished slip. At Daimabad the long barell 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-
made\textsuperscript{169}. Apegaon pd III has revealed a pulley shaped terracotta ear
ornament\textsuperscript{170} (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 perforaled\textsuperscript{171}.

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 squarish\textsuperscript{172}. 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
tip\textsuperscript{173}. 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
Songaon\textsuperscript{174} (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 festivals. 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 interwined 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.
Inspite 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, sphencal, tabloid, spacer continued into the later phases. Under the decorative objects lamps were used for religious and lightining 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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