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THE HISTORY OF THE ANDHRA REGION (6. A.D. 75-350)

The History of the Andhra Region
c A.D. 75-350

by

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Thesis submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy of the
University of London

School of Oriental and African Studies

1965

ABSTRACT

This thesis is the first attempt to write a political and cultural history of the Andhra region (districts of Krishna and Guntur) from c. A.D. 75 to 350 since the discoveries in the last two decades of a great number of new and important materials in this area. Most of these materials have been discovered at different excavated sites, especially at Nagarjunakonda.

The thesis is divided into thirteen chapters. Chapter I indicates the scope and sources of our investigations. The historical geography of the region of Krishna and Guntur is discussed in Chapter II, where an attempt is made to show that during the most of the stipulated period this area was known as Am̐hāpata, i.e. Andhrāpatha or Andhra. Chapter III deals with the political history of the latter territory up to the advent of the Satavahanas, and traces it back to the time of Aśoka.

These introductory chapters are followed in Chapter IV by an account of the activities of the Sātavāhana dynasty in the region of Krishna and Guntur. This chapter inter alia studies the question of the date of the extension of the authority of this family to this area. Chapter V contains discussions on the political history of the successors of the Sātavāhanas, the Ikṣvākus. Chapters VI and VII are concerned respectively with the chronology of their reigns, and the circumstances leading to their downfall in about the middle of the fourth century A.D. The Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku polity, with special reference to the positions

of the high officials, forms the subject of study in Chapter VIII.

Chapter IX evaluates sources concerning trade routes, commercial products, articles of export and import, traders and merchants, coins, guilds and other aspects of the economic conditions of the Andhra region under the Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus.

The heterogegeous elements of the Andhra society, their languages and dialects, customs, dresses and ornaments, sports and amusements and the position of the women in the Andhra society are studied in Chapter X.

Chapter XI gives an account of Buddhist and Brahmanical and other minor sects of this region and asseses the influence and importance of Buddhism in the Krishna-Guntur area ; Chapter XII deals with stūpa and chetiya-ghara architecture, the remains of Brahmanical shrines and secular structures, sculptures and other topics concerning the art and architecture of the region of Krishna and Guntur.

Chapter XIII contains the gist of results of our investigations. It is followed by a bibliography enumerating original sources as well as modern works.

At the end of the thesis there are two maps and eighteen plates containing facsimiles of inscriptions (Pl. I-II) and photographs of objects of art and architecture (Pl. II-XVIII).

PREFACE

This thesis embodies the results of my researches conducted at the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London) since October, 1962. I have also visited different sites of the districts of Krishna and Guntur to collect materials for my study. The entire work has been supervised by Dr. J. G. de Casparis. I am deeply grateful to him for his constant help and inspiring guidance.

Professor A. L. Basham, Dr. A. D. H. Bivar and Professor J. Brough of the School of Oriental and African Studies and Dr. R. G. Basak of Calcutta have been kind enough to offer valuable suggestions. Dr. P. Pal, Mr. Gupta, Mrs. E. Garland, Mrs. P. Coxson and Mrs. Granada have typed different portions of my thesis. Mr. N. Dutt has prepared the plates bound at the end of the thesis. Miss Nelson of the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and members of the staff of the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies have always offered me every library facility. Mrs. N. Mukherjee, Mr. S. Sujatullah, Mr. S. Pal, Mr. P. A. L. H. Gunawardane, Mr. Israruddin, Miss P. Misra and Mr. A. Das, have generously assisted me in various ways. I am greatly indebted to all of them.

I should like to acknowledge that the majority of the photographs in plates I-XX are here reproduced from published works. The names of the books and periodicals, where they have been published, are indicated in our description of these plates.

I must also record my gratitude to the University of London for awarding me a studentship for the sessions 1963-4 and 1964-5.

Ranjana Mukherjee.
Ranjana Mukherjee.

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List of Abbreviations

- AHD Ancient History of India (see G. Jouveau-Dubreuil in Bibliography)
- AIU Age of Imperial Unity (see R.C. Majumdar in Bibliography)
- ASI Archaeological Survey of India
- ASI AR Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports, Calcutta and Delhi
- ASMG Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum (see C. Sivaramamurti in Bibliography)
- ASSI Archaeological Survey of Southern India
- ASSI, vol.I Archaeological Survey of Southern India, vol.I, The Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta, by J. Burgess, London, 1887.
- ASWI Archaeological Survey of Western India
- BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
- BRAAH Buddhist Remains in Andhra and Andhra History, (see K.R. Subramaniam in Bibliography)
- BEFEO Bulletin de l'école Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi and Paris
- CAGI Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India
- CBREI Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India (see E.H. Warmington in Bibliography)
- CCADWK Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Ksatrapas, the Traikutakas Dynasty and the 'Bodhi Dynasty' (see E.J. Rapson in Bibliography)
- CCIAPGM A Catalogue of the Ikshvaku Coins in the

CHI Andhra Pradesh Government Museum (by R. Subrahmanyam, Hyderabad, 1962).

CII Comprehensive History of India (see K.A.N. Sastri in Bibliography).

CII, vol.II Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

part I Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol.II, part I, by S. Konow, Calcutta, 1929.

DHI Development of Hindu Iconography (see J.N. Banerjea in Bibliography).

DKA The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, by F.E. Pargiter, London, 1913.

EC Epigraphia Carnatica, Bangalore.

EDA Early Dynasties of Andhra (see B.V. Krishna Rao in Bibliography).

EHAC Early History of the Andhra Country (see K. Gopalachari in Bibliography).

EHD Early History of ^{the} Deccan vol.I (see G. Yazdani in Bibliography).

EI Epigraphia Indica, Ootacamund and Delhi.

ESIA Evolution du Style Indien d'Amarāvati (see P. Stern and M. Bénisti in Bibliography).

EZ Epigraphia Zelanica, Colombo, London.

Goli Buddhist Sculptures from a Stūpa near Goli Village, Guntur district (see T.N. Ramachandra in Bibliography, sec. I.A. (iii)).

HBI Histoire du Buddhisme Indien (see Lamotte in Bibliography).

IA Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

IA AR Indian Archaeology, A Review, New Delhi.

IHQ Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

Ind. Alt. Indische Altertumskunde (see C. Lassen in Bibliography).

Indian Sculpture Indian Sculpture (see M.M. Deneck in Bibliography).

JA Journal Asiatique, Paris .

JAHR Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry .

JASB Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta .

JBBRAS Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay .

JBORS Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna .

JNSI Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Bombay and Benares .

JPTS Journal of the Pali Text Society, London

JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London .

JUPHS Journal of the U.P. Historical Research Society, Lucknow .

KPA Kathāvatthupparakāra Atthakathā, (see Buddhaghosa in Bibliography sec. B(i)) .

Lüders' List A List of the Brāhmi Inscriptions by H. Lüders, EI, vol.X, appendix .

Manu Mānavadharmasāstra (see Manu in Bibliography B (i)).

Memoirs No.54 The Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunakonda, Madras Presidency, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no.54, by A.H. Longhurst, Delhi, 1938) .

Memoirs No.71 Nagarjunakonda, 1938, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India no. 71, by T.N. Ramachandran, Delhi, 1953.

McCrindle,
Ptolemy, McCrindle's Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy, (see S.N. Majumdar Sastri in Bibliography).

NH Naturalis Historia (see Pliny in Bibliography sec. B.(iv)).

NS New Series .

NIS New Imperial Series .

OS Old Series .

Periplus Periplus Maris Erythraei (see Bibliography sec. B.(iv)).

PHAI Political History of Ancient India (See H.C. Raychaudhuri in Bibliography)

PIHC Proceedings of the Indian History Congress .

Points of Controversy Points of Controversy or Subjects of Discourse, (see S.Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids in Bibliography).

Ptolemy Geographike Huphegesis (see Ptolemy in Bibliography, sec. B (iv)).

PTS Pali Text Society, London .

Pt Part

q.f. quoted from .

SABM Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum (see D. Barrett in Bibliography).

SBAW Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin .

SBPV Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule (see A. Bareau in Bibliography).

Schoff,
Periplus Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (see W. Schoff in Bibliography)

SI Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization (see D.C. Sircar in Bibliography).

SSLD The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan (see D.C. Sircar in Bibliography).

Strabo Geographikon (see Strabo in Bibliography sec. B (iv)).

Tāranātha Tāranātha's Treatise translated by A. Schiefner (see Tāranātha in Bibliography sec. B (iii)).

Tāranātha (text) Tāranātha's Treatise edited by A. Schiefner (see Tāranātha in Bibliography sec. B(iii)).

University History of Ceylon History of Ceylon (see H.C. Ray in Bibliography).

Vassilief,
Le Bouddisme Le Bouddisme ses dogmes son histoire et sa litterature (see M.V. Vassilief in Bibliography).

Vasumitra I-pu'-tsung-lun-lun (see Vasumitra in Bibliography sec. B (iii)).

vol. volume

ZDMG Zeitschrift der Mongenländischen Gessellschaft.

CHAPTER I
Introduction

A

Geography is a basic factor in history. Its influence on history was more pronounced in ancient times when communications depended much more on the natural facilities. Considered from this point of view, the area covering the modern districts of Krishna and Guntur (in Andhra Pradesh, India), situated on the Bay of Bengal as well as on the banks of the Krishna, seems to have been geographically favourable to the growth of civilisation in early times.

Numerous ruins of ancient monuments, discovered mainly on or near the banks of the Krishna, indeed bear clear testimony to human activities in this region. Serious investigations into their nature and importance began as early as the first quarter of the nineteenth century A.D. Mackenzie's report on the Amaravati monuments (~~Guntur~~ district) drew the attention of the outside world to its importance. The monuments were, however, more scientifically studied by J. Fergusson and J. Burgess. Since then excavations and explorations in other parts of the Krishna-Guntur region, such as Bhattiprolu, Gudivada, Jaggayyapeta, Guntupalle, Nagarjunakonda, Ramareddipalle, Alluru, etc. have been conducted by A. Rea, A.H. Longhurst, H. Kurashi, T.N. Ramachandran and other archeologists. These have yielded important materials for historical studies. Inscriptions discovered in these localities were ably edited by E.Hultzsch,

G. Bühler, J. Burgess, R.P. Chanda, J. Ph. Vogel and various other scholars.

All these researches and studies have made it clear that many of these monuments belonged to the reigns of the royal families called the Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus. The importance of their rule in the history of the districts of Krishna and Guntur is now well recognised. Several attempts have already been made to reconstruct the history of this region under the Sata-vahanas and the Ikṣvākus. However, the recent excavations at a few sites including Nagarjunakonda and Amaravati have unearthed a great amount of new materials. These discoveries have made a fresh evaluation of all extant sources a desideratum for a proper understanding of the history of this area.

We propose to examine in the following pages all the available sources to reconstruct the history, both political and cultural, of the Krishna and Guntur districts under the Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus. As we shall see later, these dynasties between them ruled this area from the last quarter of the first century A.D. to about the middle of the fourth century A.D. During the most, if not the whole, of this period the area was called Amdhāpata (Skr. Andhrāpatha i.e. Andhra) (Pt. II, IV, VII). Hence the following account will in fact constitute the history of the Andhra region between c. A.D. 75 - 350.

B

The sources, as already indicated, are chiefly archeological. Inscriptions, found at excavated and other sites, not only help us to glean the

political and administrative history, but also throw welcome light on economic, social and religious conditions of the region. Coins of the Sātavāhanas as well as the Ikṣvākus constitute important sources of political and economic history. Remains of monuments datable to the Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku period (ch. XII) furnish data for our knowledge of local art and architecture. Sculptural panels depicting social scenes allow us a glimpse of the Andhra society. Excavations at various sites of the Krishna-Guntur region, especially those at Nagarjunakonda, have also unearthed several domestic artifacts which throw some light on the daily life of the Andhra people. Information collected by us during our field work in this area will also be useful to our study.

Among Indian literary works, the Purānas refer to the rulers of this area. Although corrupt and defective, they are of some value as corroborative sources (p.107f). Pali works such as the Dipavaṃsa, the Mahāvāṃsa and the Kathāvatthupparakaraṇa Atthakathā, the Chinese translation of a text composed by Vasumitra and the Tibetan translation of a treatise by Bhavya provide us with valuable data for studying the religious movements in this area.

Among the Greek and Latin texts the Periplus Maris Erythraei, the Naturalis Historia of Pliny and the Geographike Huphegesis of Ptolemy furnish information on trade routes connecting the Krishna-Guntur area with the outside world and also throw some light on its political conditions in the decades preceding the period with which we are concerned.

A list of all these and other relevant sources, archaeological as well as literary, will be given in the bibliography. Hence it is unnecessary to

enumerate all of them in this chapter. We shall confine ourselves here only to indicating the different angles from which these materials will be considered.

C

As a good knowledge of the topography of an area is essential for a proper understanding of its history, we shall begin our study with a discussion on the the historical geography of the Krishna-Guntur region. In order to realise fully the historical implications of the reign of the Sātavāhanas in this area, a survey of the political conditions in the preceding age will also be necessary. These introductory chapters will be followed by discussions on the political and administrative history of the Andhra region under the rule of the Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus. Materials pertaining to cultural history will be evaluated in several following chapters concerning economic conditions, society, religion, art and architecture.

CHAPTER II

Geography

The name Andhra now denotes a state embracing a fairly large territory of the Republic of India. This geographical connotation of the term has no doubt evolved in modern times, receiving its legislative sanction only in 1953. However, there is evidence to prove that parts of the present area of Andhra Pradesh, have been associated with the appellation Andhra for several centuries.

The Mayidavolu inscription of the Pallava prince Śivaskandavarman, assignable to about the second half of the fourth century A.D. ¹ contains an order addressed to a vāpata (vyāpṛta or governor) stationed at Dhañakaḍa, regarding the grant of a village in Amdhāpata. ²

-
1. The forms of ya, (ω) sa, (y) la (ω) ma (y) etc., of the Mayidavolu inscription (EI, vol. VI, pl. facing pp. 84-87) appear to be more developed than those of the same letters of the later Ikṣvaku records (EI vol. XXXIV, pl. 2B facing p. 21) as well as than those of the identical letters in Pallava Siṃhavarman's epigraph (*ibid.*, vol. XXXII pl. facing p. 87) The last of the Ikṣvaku epigraphs from Nāgarjunakonda should be placed in the fifth decade of the fourth century A.D. (Ch. v. p. 96) and that of Siṃhavarman towards the end of the Ikṣvaku rule or shortly after (p. 207). This suggests the second half of the fourth century A.D. as the probable date of Mayidavolu epigraph. D.C. Sircar, who formerly placed Siṃhavarman in the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. (SSLD, p. 166), recently dated that ruler after the middle of the fourth century A.D. (EI, vol. XXXV p. 6).
 2. EI, vol. VI. p. 87.

Hence it appears that Dhañakada or Dhānyakataka,³ identifiable with the modern Amaravati-Dharanikot area in the Guntur district, was in the heart of Andhāpata or Andhrāpatha⁴ in the second half of the fourth century A.D.

The extension of the name Andhra to the Krishna district lying to the north of the river Krishna may be inferred from the evidence of the Chezarla inscription of Satsabhāmalla.⁵ It enumerates the achievements of King Kandara, who may be dated to about the second half of the fourth century A.D.⁶ The inscription describes him as the lord of the Siṣitetarabennā, i.e., the Krishnabenna⁷ or the modern Krishna, and indicates his authority in the Dhānyakataka and other localities, to be included in the regions on the lower Krishna.⁸ Hence he may be

-
- 3. Dhānyakataka, associated by literature and archaeology with Buddhism is almost definitely the modern Amaravati-Dharanikota area. An Amaravati inscription of the first/second century A.D. records the dedication of a (stab with) vase at the mahacetiya or (Dhana)kaṭa (ASMGM.p.282). Another epigraph discovered in nearby Dharanikot (about three quarters of a mile from Amaravati) speaks of the erection of a dharmacakra at the mahāvihara of Dhañakada (EI, vol. XXIV, p.259). This identification is confirmed by an Amaravati inscription of Siṅhavarman of about C. A.D.1100 which indicates that the region was called Dhanyaghata i.e., Dhānyakataka. (ASMGM, p.286).
 - 4. Andhrāpatha literally means 'way to the Andra region'. But on the analogy of expressions like Uttarāpatha and Daksināpatha, meaning "north India" and "south India" respectively, Andhāpata may denote the Andhra region. A Western parallel may be found in the name "Norway".
 - 5. South Indian Inscriptions, vol.VI no.594.
 - 6. Classical Age, p.203
 - 7. EHD, pp.10-11.
 - 8. South Indian Inscriptions.vol.VI.no.594. SSLD.pp.396-97, EHAC, pp.188,198

considered to have been the lord of the territories on both sides of the lower most portions of that river i.e., roughly the districts of Krishna and Guntur. This inscription also refers to his success against the Andhra people or in the Andhra region.⁹ In fact, the inclusion of Dhānyakataka, a part of Andhrāpāṭha, within his kingdom indicates that he actually ruled in Andhra. The above inference regarding the limits of his Kingdom would then suggest that Andhra in his age may have extended on both sides of the lower most Krishna.¹⁰

Thus by the fourth century A.D. the Guntur district and the lower most Krishna valley or roughly the modern districts of Guntur and Krishna were probably within Andhra. It is worthwhile to note in this connection that though such early sources as the Aitaraya Brāhmaṇa, the Epics and the R.E. XIII of Aśoka cite a people called Andhra, (pp.57 and 311f.) none of them furnish any definite evidence about their habitat. In fact, the Mayidavolu

9. Ibid.,

10. The feasibility of the inclusion of the region to the north of the lower most Krishna within Andhra is perhaps supported by a somewhat later source, like the Hsi-yu-chi of Hiuen-tsang See n.95.

inscription mentioned above is the earliest definitely datable source to associate any part of modern Andhra Pradesh with the term Andhra. However, it should be taken into account here that the Sātavāhanas, who as will be argued at a later stage, ruled in the Krishna-Guntur region from the days of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi to about the first or the second quarter of the third century A.D., (pp.88f) were unanimously designated in all the Purāṇas as Andhras and not as Sātavāhanas.¹¹

Such a phenomenon can be explained by the assumption that the Sātavāhanas who rose to political power in Western Deccan (pp.82-84.) were known to Purāṇic writers after the name of probably one of their last strongholds.¹² For a parallel example of a conquerer being named after the conquered territory, we may refer to some Classical texts alluding to the Kuṣāṇas by the term Bactrians.¹³ Hence, if the Sātavāhanas received the appellation Andhra from a territory they had later conquered and ruled till their downfall, that zone must have already been known by

11. DKA, pp.38f.

12. EHAC, pp.68f. See also SI.p.183, n.4.

13. Periplus, Sec. 47; Ammianus Marcellinus, Res Gestae, XXIII etc., Schoff. Periplus pp.184f, W.W. Tarn, "The Greeks in Bactria and India" (2nd Ed.,) p.148. n.4; Indian Studies Past and Present, vol.V, (1964) pp.271-272.

the name in question before the date of their annexation or well before the end of their rule there i.e., about the first or second quarter of the third century A.D., (pp.103-104.).

Alternatively, it may be suggested that the Sātavāhanas actually formed a family of the Andhra tribe or people, whose existence was indicated by such early sources as the Aitareya Brāhmana, the Epics, R.E.XIII of Asoka etc., and that one of their last strongholds, the Krishna Guntur region, was named after them. In fact some Purānas refer to them as Andhrajātīyas.¹⁵¹⁶

The Naturalis Historia of Pliny, dedicated in A.D.77¹⁷ describes the Andarae of India as a powerful tribe, 'which possesses numerous villages, and 30 towns defended by walls and towers, and which supplies its king with an army of 1,000,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 1000 elephants'.¹⁸ The Tabula Peutingeriana, the origin of which may be traced to the time of Augustus (27 B.C. - A.D.14)¹⁹ assigns apparently a large territory to the Andre Indi.²⁰ The only conceivable Indian name which can be

15. In fact Sātavāhana is the name of the family (EJ vol.VIII, p.605, ASI vol.IV, p.91)
16. DKA., p.38
17. Pliny; Natural History Loeb Classical Library Edition, Vol.I, p.viii.
18. NH., VI,23.
19. Cambridge Antiquarian Communications, vol.II, p.245; E.H.Bunbury, A History of Ancient Geography, vol.II, pp.696-7; See also Leo Bargow, A History of Cartography pp.37-38 (cont'd overleaf)

related to or rather identified either with Andrae or Andre (i.e., Andrae) is Andhra. And the Sātavāhanas formed the only group which not only became very powerful by the first century A.D.,²¹ but was also described in some sources, though of a comparatively later dates,²² as Andhras.²³

The above considerations suggest that the term Andhra denotes a people or a tribe who had become very powerful by the time of Pliny's information about them. And the Sātavāhanas, also known as Andhras in the Purānas, probably formed one of its component families. No doubt, it may be argued that the Sātavāhanas are never referred to as Andhras in their inscriptions. But surely the Kuṣānas, who undoubtedly formed a family of the Yüeh-Chih,²⁴ always called themselves as belonging to Kuṣāna family and not to the Yüeh-chih tribe.²⁵ So the Sātavāhanas may well have been a family of the Andhra tribe.

20. K. Miller, Die Pentingerisch Tafel, map, segmentum XII.

21. AIU, pp. 196f.

22. R.C. Hazra, Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu rites and customs Ch. II-IV; Classical Age p. 298

23. DKA, p. 38

24. Hou Han Shu, Ch. 118, p. 9a;

25. This is clear from a reference in a Mathura inscription to a kuṣāna ruler as Kuṣānaputra (H. Luders, Mathura Inscriptions; p. 135).

It is interesting to record against the background of the above reasoning that the Nasik praśasti of Gautamī Balaśrī includes Setagiri²⁶ within the dominion of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, which, as will be discussed later, has to be located somewhere around Nagarjunakonda in the Guntur district (pp.50,86). This perhaps indicates that the Krishna-Guntur region was not popularly called as Andhra at least when Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi began to rule there. And since the Purāna, though of a later period, refer to the Sātavāhanas as Andhras, it is probable that the area, called Andhāpata received its name from the Sātavāhana conquerors belonging to the Andhra tribe, some time during the period of their rule. Such a hypothesis is further substantiated by the example of the name Sātavāhanihāra, (denoting some parts of the modern Bellary district)²⁷ a territorial division of the Sātavāhana empire, referred to in the Myakadoni inscription of the reign of the Sātavāhana King Pulumāvi (IV).²⁸ This region, as far as we know, did not form a part of the original Sātavāhana kingdom,²⁹ in which case it had received that name only

26. EI, vol. VIII. p. 60.

27. See ch. IV. p.

28. EI, vol. XIV, p. 155

29. See Chapter IV, pp. 81-84. for a discussion on the original kingdom of the Sātavāhanas.

after its conquest by the Sātavāhanas.³⁰

As will be discussed later, the Sātavāhana hegemony over the Krishna-Guntur region may be dated from sometime in the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (pp. 85-87) to about the first or second quarter of the third century A.D. So the initial date for the association of the term Andhra with that region should be placed in the intervening period. And as Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi began to rule in C.A.D. 75, (pp. 88-94.), the required date may not be placed before that year. However, as we have once remarked above (p. 23.), the absence of the name Andhra from the list of Gautamīputras, dominions, in the Nasik inscription of the 19th regional year of his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi, would tend to place the required date at least some years later than C.A.D. 75 or even after the date of that epigraph.

This dating receives an indirect support from two important Classical sources which, as we shall see now, describes our region as Masalia or Maisolia. The Periplus Maris Erythraei, speaks of the harbours³¹ of

30. We do not know exactly when the Sātavāhana authority extended in the Bellary district, but, as it appears from the Mdyakadoni inscription, it was within the Sātavāhana empire at least during the time of Pulumāvi^(IV) possibly the last of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) rulers of the Puranic lists. See also AIU, p. 205.

31. Periplus, Sec. 60.

Camara (probably the same as Ptolemy's Khaberis emporium at the mouth of the Khaberos river),³² Poduca (modern Pondicherry or Arikamedu near the latter)³³ and Sopatma (or Sōpaṭṭinam of the early Tamil literature³⁴ identifiable with modern Markanam on the coast between Madras and Pondicherry).³⁵ Then after some digressions on Taprobone or Ceylon, the Periplus resumes the topographical description apparently of peninsular India by stating that 'in this locality is the country of Masalia, stretching a great way along the sea coast before the inland^{country}³⁶ (or whose sea-board stretches far into the interior).³⁷ From Masalia the course of voyage lies eastward across a neighbouring bay to Dosarene (which) produces the ivory known as Bosare. The location of Dosarene³⁸ is not absolutely certain, but it may possibly be connected with the river Dosaron, mentioned

32. Schoff, Periplus, p.242.

33. Ancient India, No.II, p.124.

34. K.A.N.Sastri, The Colas, (1st Ed.,) (1935) vol.I, p.30.

35. Ibid.

36. Periplus, sec.62. Schoff translates the passage as 'about these places is the region of Masalia stretching a great way along the coast before the inland country.' (Periplus, p.47).

37. J.L.Whitely translates the passage as 'in this locality stretching far into the interior is the country of Masalia) The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, Ph.D.Thesis, London University, (1940), p.132.

by Ptolemy³⁹ and placed somewhere above the river Manada,⁴⁰ probably the same as the modern Mahanadi.⁴¹

Thus the coastal area of Masalia should be placed somewhere between Markanam in the State of Madras and the Mahanadi in Orissa. The paucity of available data, do not allow us to be more precise on this point. Nevertheless, the suggested location of Masalia indicates the feasibility of the inclusion of the littoral lower Krishna valley within its limits.

A more precise line of demarcation of Masalia seems to be provided by the Geography of Ptolemy. The latter refers to a territory called Maisolia,⁴² apparently same as Masalia of the Periplus.⁴³ He seems to have located it above the Arōuarnoi.⁴⁴ The territory of the latter people has been connected with Aruvanādu (district of Aruva) mentioned in early Tamil literature and inscriptions, and placed between the two Pennar rivers or the Palar and the southern Pennar in the State of Madras.⁴⁵ According

39. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 17

40. Ibid., VII, 1, 16. Ptolemy mentions certain places between the Manada and the Dosaron, but they baffle attempts to identify them.

41. McCrindle, Ptolemy. p.7.

42. Ptolemy, VIII, 1, 15 and 93.

43. Periplus, see 62.

44. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 14

45. R. Gopalan, Pallavas of Kāñchī pp.XI-XII; SSLD p.148; See also Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, vol.XXI, (1930) pp.130-131, BSOAS XIII, 1949-51. p.152.

to Ptolemy, the littoral Masalia extended up to the area of the Gangetic Gulf.⁴⁶ Palaura, the first city of the latter region⁴⁷ has been identified by S.Lévi with Dantapura of Indian sources and has been located by him in the Ganjama district.⁴⁸ Ptolemy further indicates that the country of Maisoloi (obviously the people of Maisolia) as also contiguous to the territory of the Salakenoi, which included the city of Benagouron.⁴⁹ The Salakenoi are identified with the Sālankāyanas^{of} inscriptions⁵⁰ and Benagouron has generally been identified with ancient Vengīpura and modern PeddaVegi near Ellore and the Colair lake on the border of the Krishna and the West Godavari districts.⁵¹

In the coastal area of Maisolia Ptolemy places the mouth of the river Maisolos, Kentakassyla emporium, Koddoura, Allosygne emporium and above the latter the point of departure for ships bound for Khryse.⁵² The

46. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 16.

47. Ibid.,

48. JA, vol. CCVII, (1925) pp.46-57; IA, Vol.LV, (1926) pp.94f.

49. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 79.

50. PHAI, p.500.n.1.

51. SSLD, p.72.

52. Ptolemy, VII, 1.16.

inland cities of the Maisoloi (obviously of the people of Maisolia) are enumerated by Ptolemy as Kalliga, Bardamana, Koroungkala, Pharytra or Pharetra and Pityndra, the metropolis.⁵³

The foregoing indications about the approximate location of Maisolia and also the phonetic affinity would tend to equate Koddoura of Ptolemy with Kudura, mentioned as an administrative headquarter in an epigraph from Kondamudi (in the Krishna district) and situated apparently in the same region.⁵⁴ Kudūrā is considered to have been located at modern Guduru area near Masulipatam.⁵⁵ Vogel identified Kantakassyla with Kaṅṭakasela⁵⁶ mentioned in a Nagarjunakonda inscription.⁵⁷ The name Ghantasala, a place near Masulipatam, is sought to represent ancient Kantakasela.⁵⁸ This is philologically possible (Kaṅṭakasela > Gantakasela > Ghantāsela > Ghantāsala).

53. Ibid., VII, 1.93.

54. EI, vol.VI p.315. An Amaravati epigraph also refers to Kudura (ASMGM p.297)

55. SSLD, p.42 and 33.

56. EI, vol.XX, p.9

57. Ibid., p.22f.

58. SSLD, pp.33, 42. Katakasela, apparently the same as Kaṅṭakasela is mentioned in an Amaravati epigraph (ASMGM, p.280)

A Nagarjunakonda epigraph suggests the existence of a Buddhist establishment at Kantakasela.⁵⁹ Excavations at Ghantasala has exposed some Buddhist monuments,⁶⁰ and a few epigraphs from this region also refer to Kantakasola.⁶¹

Ptolemy locates the mouth of the river Maisolos between the country of the Arouarnoi and Kantakassyla.⁶² The only notable river between the suggested limits, i.e., Aruvanādu (territory of the Arouarnoi) noted above and Ghantasala (Kantakassyla), is the Krishna. Hence this⁶³ and not the Godavari, as has been suggested by some scholars, should be the Maisolas of Ptolemy.

S. Levi⁶⁵ very convincingly identified Pityndra with Pithum̐ḍa mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela⁶⁶ and Pihum̐ḍa of the Uttaradhyāyanasūtra.⁶⁷ However, the exact location of the Pityndra cannot yet be determined.⁶⁸

Though the other places of Maisolia enumerated by Ptolemy cannot be confidently located in a

59. EI, vol. XX, p. 22f.

60. A. Rea, South Indian Buddhist Antiquities, pp. 32.

61. EI, vol. XXVII, p. 3.

62. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 15 and 16.

63. See McCrindle, Ptolemy, pp. 66-67.

64. C. Lassen, Indische Altertumskunde vol. III, pp. 164, 200f.

A. Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India pp. (1871) p. 539

65. IA, vol. LV, (1926), pp. 146-7.

EI, vol. XX, p. 79.

67. Uttaradhyāyanasūtra, XXI, 1-2; H. Jacobi (Editor),

Jaina Sutras pt. II, p. 168

68. See in this connection ch. III. pp. 70-71.

modern map, the suggested identifications of some regions and towns mentioned by him and the Periplus are sufficient to indicate that Maisolia (=Masalia) stretched over a great part of littoral eastern Deccan. It seems to have stretched from somewhere in the north of Pennar to a locality to the south of Chicacole in the Ganjam district. Parts of it might not have been very far from Pedda Vegi in the West Godavari district. Hence, the Krishna-Guntur region was within the limits of Maisolia.⁶⁹

Thus Maisolia (=Masalia)⁷⁰ included the Krishna and Guntur districts during the periods to which the information of the Periplus and of Ptolemy's may be attributed.

A clue to the age of the data of the Periplus can be found in its description of the sea

69. A remnant of the name Maisolia may be recognised in Masulipatam (or the town^{of} Masuli), the name of a locality in the Krishna district. A Cunningham wanted to locate the land of the Arakarnoi immediately below the Godavari and so at least partly in the Krishna district, apparently because he identified that river with the Maisolos. A. Cunningham The Geography of Ancient India (1871) p.539) But as we have noted, the Maisolos was the same as the Krishna. The land of Aruvanādu was situated further below between the two Pennar rivers. It may also be added that Aruvanādu, according to an epigraphic evidence, included Bahur, identified with Bahur on the sea coast and near Pondicherry (EI, vol.XVIII.p.1) (GICAPGM)

70. In this connection see Pauly, vol.XIV, no.2, col.608

routes to Damirica lying not far from Masalia. The Periplus describes Hippalus' discovery of trade winds, as a result of which shorter voyages to Scythia, Barygaza and Damirica (in southern most India) could be made during his age.⁷¹ Pliny, on the other hand, speaks of four stages in the development of the maritime trade route to India. While in the first stage only coastal trading voyages were in vogue, the second stage was marked by the use of a less lengthy course to Patala (in Scythia)⁷² (*italics ours*) with the help of the Hippalus wind. In the following age another shorter route to Sigerus (in Damirica)⁷³ (*italics ours*) was discovered. "For a long time" this route was followed until a still shorter one was found out.⁷⁴

A comparison between the above data, furnished by the Periplus, and Pliny's Naturalis Historia should indicate that the author of the former text knew of the first three stages referred to by Pliny, the last two of which apparently resulted from the discovery of the Hippalus wind. The author of the Periplus, however, did

71. Periplus, sec. 57

72. Ptolemy, (VII, 1, 55) includes Patalene in Indo Scythia.

73. Schoff, Periplus, p. 201

74. NEH, VI, 101f. See also CBREI, pp. 45-46. It should, however, be noted here that the author of the Periplus, does not apparently betray his knowledge of the fourth stage referred to by Pliny.

not betray any knowledge of Pliny's fourth stage, which was initiated 'long time' after the beginning of the third stage or the date of the first direct voyage to Damirica. And since Pliny dedicated his book in A.D. 77⁷⁵ the 'Periplus' data concerning maritime routes to Damirica can hardly be placed after the middle of the first century A.D.⁷⁶ On the other hand, since Strabo, a geographer interested in all kinds of winds,⁷⁷ does not mention the Hippalus wind in his Geography composed in c. 7 B.C.,⁷⁸ the author of the Periplus with his knowledge of Hippalus cannot be placed before the last decade of the first century B.C.⁷⁹ Consequently, Periplus' Masalia, lying

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75. Pliny: Natural History, Loeb Classical Library, Edition, vol. I, p. viii.
76. There are indications that chronologically Hippalus, the discoverer, was nearer to the author of the Periplus than to Pliny. The author of the Periplus not only knew of the trade wind called Hippalus, but was also aware that it was named after its discoverer Hippalus. But to Pliny, Hippalus appeared as the name of a wind, a cape and a sea, but not as the name of a person who had been responsible for the discovery of that wind. This may suggest that by the date of Pliny's treatise the memory of Hippalus the man had already become obscured.
77. Classical Quarterly, vol. XXII (1928), p. 95.
78. The Geography of Strabo, Loeb Classical Library Edition, vol. I, pp. xxiv-xxvi.
79. In this connection see R.E.M. Wheeler, Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers, p. 126f.

not far from Damirica, may be assigned to about the middle
of the first century A.D.⁸⁰

Ptolemy made astronomical
calculation between C.March, A.D. 127 and February A.D.141.,⁸¹

80. Recently H.de Contenson (JA., vol.CCXLVIII, (1960) p.76f and J.Pierrenee (ibid., vol.CCXLIX, (1961) pp.441f.) have attempted to assign the Periplus to the third century A.D.

The above dating ignores some vital evidence contained in the Periplus. It refers to the existence of the Nabataean kingdom. Pierrenee has tried to amend the relevant reading. There is, however, no justification for such emendation (Frisk Periplus sec.19. B.N.Mukherjee The Lower Indus country Ph.D.Thesis. London University, (1963). Bk.V, Ch.I, n.10). Since there was no Nabataean territory after its annexation by Trojan in A.D. 105 (Cambridge Ancient History (1936) vol.XI, p.237) the Periplus should not be placed after that year.

Pierrenee believes in the widely accepted identification of King Manbanos, mentioned by the Periplus, with Nahapana. Gautamiputra Satyakarni who, as will be discussed later, reigned in the last quarter of the first century A.D. (pp.) had defeated Nahapana and completely crushed the latter's dynasty by his 18th regnal year (CCADWK pp.xiviii, cx.). Hence Nahapana ousted by Gautamiputra, did not flourish after that date.

A first century A.D. date for the Periplus is also suggested by its reference to internecine struggle between the Parthian princes in Scythia or the Lower Indus region. (sec.38). The rule of the latter princess in India is generally ascribed to a period ending by the second or the third quarter of the first century A.D. or a little later (Cambridge History of India vol.I, pp.580-581) see also Cambridge Ancient History vol.IX, p.882).

81. Pauly, vol.XXIII, no.2 col. 1788 and 1797.

and these formed the ultimate basis of his treatise on Geography.⁸² In fact, none of his information on India can be confidently dated after the middle of the second century A.D. Since, he includes among his informants navigators visiting Simylla or Chaul near Bombay,⁸³ his knowledge about the coastal area of peninsular India may not have been much out of date at the time of his collection of data on India.⁸⁴ Tiastences or Castana is the only definitely datable Indian ruler mentioned by Ptolemy in connection with his description of Larike, which extended from the sea coast and included Nasika,⁸⁵ (not very far from Bombay).⁸⁶ The last date of Castana cannot be placed after the year 72 or C.A.D. 150 when his grandson⁸⁷ had become the supreme ruler.⁸⁸ On the other hand, if

82. Recently Leo Bargow, R.A. Skelton and some other scholars have suggested that the present form of Ptolemy's Geography cannot wholly be attributed to him. They observe that it contains contradictory statements and occasionally betrays knowledge of towns and places none of which could have been known in his own times. (Leo Bargow, History of Cartography pp.34-35). Even if one accepts this suggestion, there is nothing in Ptolemy's description of India Intra Gangem which indicates a date posterior to his own time. In fact, Tiastenes (=Castana), Balaeokuros (=Vilivāyakura of c. first century A.D.) (Ptolemy VII, 1, 63 and 89) etc., are too shadowy figures in Indian history to be remembered by generations long after their own times.

83. Ptolemy, I, 17, 3-5.
 84. Schoff, Periplus p.200.
 85. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 63.
 86. McCrindle, Ptolemy. p.155
 87. Ptolemy. VII, 1, 63.
 88. EI., vol.VIII.p.42.

Ptolemy collected his data on India between^{c.} March C.A.D. 127 and February 141, his knowledge of Caṣṭana was probably not much out of date since the only known date of that ruler corresponded to C.A.D.130.⁸⁹

Thus Ptolemy's Maisolia, which was situated in coastal Deccan and the two emporiums of which were frequented by navigators (pp.282-83.), need not be dated after the middle of the second century A.D. We should also consider the feasibility of his consulting in or about that year (between^{c.} March C.A.D. 127 and February, 141), an old mariner or merchant who had been to Maisolia or heard of it in the very early period of his seafaring career. Since such a career may well have lasted for forty or fifty years, the date of Ptolemy's information about Maisolia could have been as early as the fourth quarter of the first century A.D.

The above arguments tend to fix Ptolemy's Maisolia including the Krishna-Guntur region to sometime between C.A.D.75 and 150. And since, Masalia mentioned by the Periplus, should be dated to about the middle of the first century A.D., we may conclude that the Krishna Guntur area was known as part Masalia or Maisolia for at least a considerable period in the first century A.D., and possibly at least up to c. A.D. 75.

89. EI., vol. XVI, pp.23f.

In Ptolemy's Geography we come across Maisolia, a country, Maisoloi a people and Maisolos a river. It is not known whether Maisolia derived its name from any of the other two or vice versa. The name Maisolos reminds us of the Mosalas, cited by the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata together with the Kośalas and the Tosalas.⁹⁰ Whatever may have been the origin of the name Maisolia, the suggested period of its existence may indicate that the area occupied by it was probably not known as Andhra during or before that time. And this hypothesis is in perfect harmony with the above dating of the application of the name Andhra to the lower Krishna valley from sometime between c. A.D. 75 and a year in or about the first quarter or second quarter of the

90. Bharata, Nāṭyaśāstra, (Kavyamala Edition). p.XVII, n.17. See also below ch.III p.79, and ch.Xp.309, n.4. The present form of the Nāṭyaśāstra cannot probably be dated before the sixth or even the 8th century A.D. But it has been demonstrated that parts of it may be traced back to the first few centuries of the Christian era. (Ramakrishna Kavi, Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata muni, Gaikawads Oriental Series no. XXXV, (1950), pp.12, 14; L. Renou and J. Fillozat, L'Inde Classique (1953), vol.II, pp.118-119). Hence its evidence may have some relevance to our study.

third century A.D.⁹¹ Whatever may have been the exact date for our region receiving the appellation Andhra, it is certain that it should have been called by that name before the downfall of the Sātavāhanas in our region.

The continuation of the name Andhra in the third century A.D. is also indicated by certain other sources. The Purāṇas mention Andhra Sripārvatīyas in the section dealing with the rules of

91. Such a hypothesis perhaps receives support from a well known source. The Ta-chih-tu-lun, the Chinese translation of Nagarjuna's Mahā Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra includes An-to-lo i.e., Andhra (JA., vol. CCXXIV, (1934), pp.35-36, YCTI vol. II p.210) in a list of countries (Ta-Chih-tu-lun-Ch. XXV; JA., vol. CCXXIV, (1934), pp.35-36). If, as it seems highly probably, the name of the Andhra region also occurred in the original treatise of Nāgārjuna, then there might have been an Andhra region during his own time. And as he is generally considered as a contemporary of a later Sātavāhana monarch (YCTI, vol. II. p.200; AIU p.206), the term Andhra may have denoted the whole empire of the Andhras, i.e., of the Sātavāhanas belonging to the Andhra tribe. We may draw attention here to the expression Andre Indi i.e., Andrae Indi, appearing in the Tabula Peutingeriana, which probably denotes the whole territory under the Andhras.

Alternatively, the term in question may indicate the area later included by the Mayidavolu grant in Andhrāpatha. The degree of the probability of this alternative suggestion is enhanced by the fact Nāgārjuna is traditionally associated with Sripārvata or the present Nagarjunakonda valley of the Guntur district. (See ch. XI. p. 382.).

the subordinates of the Andhras (=Sātavāhanas) in their dominions.⁹² As will be demonstrated later, these Andhra Sripārvatīyas were probably the Ikṣvākus of the Nagarjunakonda region (pp. 116-117.). The Sihalavatthupparakana a work datable to about the second half of the third century A.D. or early fourth century A.D.⁹³ mentions a Andha country,⁹⁴ which most probably denotes our region.

92. DKA., p. 46.

93. H. Ellawala, Social Institutions in Ceylon from the 5th century B.C. to the 4th century A.D., Ph.D. Thesis, London University (1962). pp. 10-15. Among many other reasons for its ascription to the third century A.D. the strongest is that it mentions several Ceylonese Kings up to that reign of Mahasena, who ruled about the second half of the third century A.D. and also possibly for a few years in the early fourth century A.D.

94. Sihalavatthupparakana, A.P. Buddhadatta (Editor), pp. 151-152. According to the Serivaniya Jātaka, Andhapura could be reached after crossing the river Telavāha. (Fausball, III, p. 113). The Telavāha has been identified by H.C. Raychaudhuri with the Krishna. (EHD., pp. 7-8). The Angavijjā refers to an Am̐dhi or a woman of Am̐dha (Angavijjā, XI, 2, 259). The Am̐dha may have denoted the Andhra country.

The above testimonies, when considered together, certainly suggest that in our period, or at least during its major part, the lower Krishna valley, corresponding roughly to the districts of Krishna and Guntur, was known as Andhra.⁹⁵

The territory included in this Andhra was probably considered in the early Christian centuries as a part of Dakṣiṇāpatha or south India. The Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman describes a Sātakarṇi as the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha. (Dakṣiṇāpathapati).⁹⁶ This Sātakarṇi may be identified with the Sātavāhana ruler Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi (pp. 100-101). As will be demonstrated later, he ruled over the Krishna-Guntur area. Hence the

95. Andhra as a topographical name continued to exist in the littoral eastern Deccan (including the Krishna Guntur district) in the following centuries, although extents of the territory denoted by it varied due to the shifting of political boundaries. For example, we may cite that Dandin mentioned district an Andhrānagara as a few days journey from Kalinga. (Dasakumāracarita Ch.VII); 2A vol. 1913.p.376)

Hiuen-tsang included Ping-ki-lo or Vengipura in An-to-lo or Andhra (YCTI, vol.II p.210) On the other hand, the Chinese pilgrim included Tē-na-ka-che-ka i.e., Dhanyakataka (or Amaravati Dharānikot locality of the Guntur district) in a country called also by that name (ibid., p.212) However, in a note added to the text of Hiuen-tsang's Hsi-yuchi, the Dhanyakataka country is cited as Ta-An-to-lo or MahāAndhra. (ibid., p.216).

96. EI., vol.VII p.44

latter region was within Dakṣiṇāpatha.

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta of the fourth century A.D. included Veṅgī (modern Pedda Vegi) and Kāñcī (modern Kanjeevaram) in Dakṣiṇāpatha.⁹⁷ So the Krishna-Guntur area which lay within the intervening zone, was also within the bounds of Dakṣiṇāpatha.

At the same time, our region was also sometimes within the limits of Drāviḍa-deśa. As it appears from the Periplus⁹⁸ and also the Geography of Ptolemy,⁹⁹ the name Lymirike,¹⁰⁰ a corrupt form of the term Dramira or Draviḍa, means only the southern most parts of India.¹⁰¹ But the Mahābhārata seems to call the land after (i.e., to the south of) the Godavari, in the coastal eastern Deccan as Drāviḍa.¹⁰² This implies that the Krishna-Guntur zone, to the south or south west of the Godavari, was in Dravidadeśa. And as the Mahābhārata

97. CII., vol.III p.6f.

98. Periplus, sec.53

99. Ptolemy, VII, 1,8

100. Schoff, Periplus, p.205.

101. Ibid.,

102. Mahābhārata, III, 118,3,4.

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is considered to have gained its present form or a substantial portion of it between c. 400 B.C. and c. A.D. 400,¹⁰³ some sources of that period may have thought of the territory in question as a part of Davida.¹⁰⁴

The eastern boundary of Andhra was the Bay of Bengal. Our present knowledge does not help us to define the exact limits on the other three sides. The most characteristic feature of the physical geography of this region appears to have been the Krishna river. It was known to Ptolemy by the name Maisolos¹⁰⁵ and as the Kriṣṇā to several Indian sources datable from the early medieval period.¹⁰⁶ It rises in the western Ghats and cuts right across the central and eastern Deccan including our region and debouches into the Bay of Bengal. The Krishna is particularly navigable in its lower course,¹⁰⁷ i.e., when flowing through our region. Among its

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103. M. Wintirnitz. A History of Indian Literature (1927) vol. I. p. 465. E. W. Hopkins, The Great Epic of India (1909), pp. 386f.
104. We have already noted that An-to-lo or Andhra occurs in a list of countries furnished in the Chinese translation of Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra of Nāgārjuna. (see above p. 37 n. 91.) In an analogous list in the Chinese translation of the Bedhisattvacharyya-nirddesa, done in A.D. 431, we find To-lo-hi i.e., Davida apparently in place of An-to-lo i.e., Andhra (SBAW 1918, p. 576; JA., vol. ccxxiv, (1934) pp. 34-35).
105. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 16.
106. EHD., p. 11.
107. Imperial Gazetteer of India vol. XV (1908) p. 336

tributaries the most important are the Vena, Koina, Musī, Warnā, Ghataprabhā, Malayaprabhā, Tungabhadrā etc., From her confluence with the Vena and apparently also with the Warna, the Krishna derives its various names like the Kanhabemina, Krishnavenna, Krishnaveni, Krishnaveṃna, Krishnavarnā, etc., After flowing through the lands comprising the districts of Krishna and Guntur, she debouches into the Bay of Bengal by two principal mouths and thereby forms a delta.¹⁰⁸

The only noteworthy lake of the region is the modern Colair lake on the borders of the Krishna and West Godavari districts. As will be discussed later, the Damira daha, mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela, may be identified with the Colair lake (pp 71-72).¹⁰⁹

Spurs of the Eastern Ghats run across the Krishna Guntur area. As has been demonstrated by H.C. Raychaudhuri, the entire Eastern Ghats from Ganjam in the north to Tinnevely in the south were known by the name of MahendraParvata,¹¹⁰ cited in the Purānas as one of the seven Kulaparvatas.¹¹¹

108. EHD., pp.10-12 Imperial Gazetteer of India vol.XV (1908) p.336.

109. In this connection see ch.III p. n.

110. H.C. Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities (1st Edition) pp.108-109.

111. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna, 57, 10.

E.H. Johnston has sought to identify the name of the Mahendra with that of the Oroudia, the last of the seven Indian mountains mentioned by Ptolemy.¹¹² Johnston argues that the form Oroudia suggests that its Indian original had a consonant after 'ou', probably 'd' or, if not, 'r'.¹¹³

There may, however, be some serious objections against the identification suggested by Johnston. The name of the last of the seven mountains of India referred to by Ptolemy has been differently spelt in various manuscripts of his Geography as Arouaia, Oroudiois, Arouraióis, Araraióis, Orudiis, Arouedon, Orudia, Oroudian, Oroudia etc.,¹¹⁴ According to Ptolemy, the rivers which take rise from this range are the Tyna, the Maisolos and the Manada.¹¹⁵ Of these the first is most probably the (north) Pennar,¹¹⁶ the second the Krishna¹¹⁷ and the third is definitely the Mahanadi.¹¹⁸

It is interesting to note that all these three rivers do not have a single range as their

112. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 19-25 and 31.

113. JRAS., 1941, p.220

114. L. Renou, La Géographie de Ptolémée l'Inde, Paris, (1925) p.18. BSOAS. vol. XIII, (1949-51), p.149; McCrindle, Ptolemy, p.78.

115. Ptolemy VII, 1, 36-38.

116. McCrindle - Ptolemy, pp.66-67.

117. Ibid., p.66

118. Ibid., p.71

respective sources.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, all three of them cut across the Eastern Ghats and debouche into the Bay of Bengal. Ptolemy appears to have wrongly considered the name of the mountain range through which all of these three rivers passes as the name of the mountain where their sources were alleged to have been. The mountain called Oroudia seems to be the Eastern Ghats or a part of it. Ptolemy locates the Salakenoi towards the Oroudian and cites Benagouron as one of their cities.¹²⁰ As pointed out above (p.27.), Benagouron is identified with ancient Vengipura and modern Peddavegi near Ellore in the borders of the Krishna and the West Godavari districts. Since the Eastern Ghats run through that district also, the identification of that range with the Oroudian seems all the more probable.

According to J. Ph. Vogel and L. D. Barnett,¹²¹ the Arouaia or Oroudia should have some connection with the people called by Ptolemy as the

119. This fact invalidates the attempt of H. Yule (and apparently also of Barthelot and H.C. Raychaudhuri) to place the Oroudian in the northernmost sections of the Western Ghats, and also does not support Lassen's identification of the Oroudian with the mountains above Kalinga. (In this connection see also ibid., p.81, H.C. Raychaudhuri op.cit., p.106).

120. Ptolemy VII, 1, 79

121. BSOAS vol. XIII (1949-51) pp.149-53

Arouarnoi.¹²² The latter, as has been first suggested by D.C. Sircar¹²³ and later by Vogel and Barnett,¹²⁴ may be connected with Aruvanāḍu (district of Aruva) and also with its inhabitants Aruvāḷur, mentioned in some epigraphic sources and also in the Tamil literature.¹²⁶ The Aruvanāḍu was either between the two Pennar rivers¹²⁷ or between Palar and the southern Pennar in the south Arcot district.¹²⁸ It appears therefore that Ptolemy's informants wrongly transferred the name of a region to a mountain running through that territory, that tract, or the mountain concerned was actually known by the name of the territory in question. As Ptolemy apparently assigned Arounia or Oroudia a great length,¹²⁹ it could well have been connected with such widely separated territories like Aruvanāḍu and the area of the Salakenoi around Vengīpura.

122. Ptolemy VII, 1, 14 and 92.
 123. SSID, p.148
 124. BSOAS, XIII (1949-51), pp.152-53.
 125. EI, vol.XVIII. p.1
 126. BSOAS, vol.XIII. 1949-51 p.152
 127. R. Gopalan, The Pallavas of Kanchi, pp.XI-XII.
 128. Quarterley Journal of the Mythic Society, XXI, (1930-31), pp.130f.
 129. According to Ptolemy, the Oroudian stretched from 133° to 138° (VII,1,25) or rather to 140° (VII,1,79) longitude. No doubt, Ptolemy's idea of the position of latitudes and longitudes was inaccurate. Nevertheless, we can safely assume that he thought that the Arouaia or Oroudian ran across a great length of territory.

Thus Johnston seems to be wrong in equating the name Oroudia with Mahendra. No doubt, the Oroudia may denote a part of the Eastern Ghats, as does the Mahendra mountain, but the name of the Oroudia range can on no account be said to have originated from the name of the Mahendra mountain. And if, as alternatively suggested above, The Oroudia or Aroudia mountain was actually named after the territory associated with it, the name Mahendra as denoting the Eastern Ghats must be considered to have been popular after the date of Ptolemy's information. In fact, there is no mention of Mahendra as a name of the Eastern Ghats which can be ascribed to any date before his time. However, since the Mahābhārata, which probably received its present form by the fourth century A.D.,¹³⁰ refers to Mahendragiri,¹³¹ identified with the Mahendragiri in the Ganjam district, the name Mahendra could possibly have begun to denote part or the whole of the Eastern Ghats before the end of our period (C. A.D.350).

130. See above, n.103.

131. Mahābhārata. III, 117,28.

132. N.L.Dey, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India (1899), p.50.

The word Siripavata (Śrīparvata), literally meaning the "beautiful mountain", occurs in a number of Nagarjunakonda inscriptions. Two of them (including the inscription no.F), contain the name in the expression Siripavate Vijayapuriya-puva-disā-bhāge vihāra Cula-Dhammagiriya cetivāgharam.¹³³ According to this expression the convent was located on the small Dhammagiri on the Siripavata in the eastern side of Vijayapura or on the small Dhammagiri in the eastern side of Vijayapura on the Siripavata. The second explanation is favoured by such phrases as Siripavate Vijayapure¹³⁴ and Śrī(parvate) (Vijay) pū(pu)ryyam¹³⁵ occurring in some Nagarjunakonda epigraphs where the absence of the clause puva disā bhāge should indicate that Siripavata was not situated on the eastern side of vijayapura and that the latter was situated on the Siripavata.

Cula-Dhammagiri is obviously the same as modern Naharallabodu, the small mound in the Nagarjunakonda valley, the findspot of one of the epigraphs in question (F). The phrase puva-disā-bhage may indicate that the Cula-Dhammagiri was situated to the east of

133. EI, vol.XX, p.22. F; XXXIV p.209

134. Ibid., vol.XXXV, pp.8-9

135. Inid., p.12

Vijayapura and this also implies that Vijayapura was situated to the west of the Cula Dhammagiri. To the west of Cula-Dhammagiri (Naharallabodu mound) lay a large tract of the modern Nagarjunakonda valley. Therefore, the western part of the present Nagarjunakonda valley was called Vijayapura. On the other hand, the expression puva-disā-bhāge may also mean that the Cula Dhammagiri was in the eastern quarter of the land lying within Vijayapura. Such an explanation would assign even a greater or even the whole of the Nagarjunakonda valley to Vijayapura.

Hence it appears that Vijayapura was the general appellation of the present Nagarjunakonda valley or part of it, and that it was situated on the Sriparvata. As the literal meaning (beautiful or illustrious mountain) of the term Sriparvata suggests, its use to denote a locality began from the latter's association with the mountain of the same name. Thus a part or whole of the mountain chains (Nallamalai) running on almost three sides of the Nagarjunakonda valley as well as the valley were called Siripavata

during our period.¹³⁶ This inference, however, never precludes the possibility of the existence of various names for different sections of these mountain chains.

We have already identified Cula Dhammagiri, mentioned inter alia in the Nagarjunakonda inscription (F), with a small mound now called Naharallabodu. The Mahā-Dhammagiri is also referred to in this same inscription¹³⁷ and it may be identified with one of the hillocks standing nearby. (p.47). An inscription of the reign of Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla refers to the erection of a temple of Nadagirisarasāmi¹³⁸ (also spelt as Nodagirisarasami) or of the lord Nadagiriśvara. It is evident that the God was named after Nadagiri, which apparently seems to have been a hill (giri) or a locality. Therefore, Nadagiri was situated somewhere around the

136. For an example of the name of a locality originating from that of a mountain, we can refer to a Nagarjunakonda epigraph mentioning a sreṣṭhin from Syandakaparvata (EI., vol.XXXV.p.13)

Vogel thought that the cetiyaghara mentioned in the passage Siripavāte Vijayapurīya puvadisā bhage vihāra Cula Dhammagiriya cetiya gharam "was situated on the Cula Dhammagiri" and yet thought that the vihāra was on the Siriparvata (ibid., vol.XX, pp.36, 9, 23)

D.C.Sircar identified Sriparvata with the Nallamalai range or that part of it enclosing the Nagarjunakonda valley (ibid., vol.XXXV p.34). The name Sriparvata occurs in also several sources of dates, later than our period (EI, Vol. IV p.195; VIII, pp.32; pp.303; XXX. p.37 etc.) A Tibetan source associates Nāgarjuna with Sriparvata. (N. Ma. Voss, Def. der Boddhismes, p.268. pp.220f)

137. EI., vol.XX.p.22f.

138. Ibid., vol.XXXV pl.facing p.5. Sircar's reading Nodagi(?) Sarasami is wrong.

Nagarjunakonda region where the epigraph in question was found.

On the bank of the river Krishna and in the north-eastern corner of the Nagarjunakonda valley was found an epigraph of Ābhira Vasuṣeṇa.¹³⁹ It speaks of the re-installation of an image of Aṣṭabhujasvāmin on the Sedagiri.¹⁴⁰ The image is referred to as esa bhagavan ... and is reported as re-installed without having been removed from its original place. This and also the discovery of a conch-shell with the inscription Bhagavat Aṣṭabhujasvāmisa in that area¹⁴¹ indicates that the Sedagiri, on which was the abode of Aṣṭabhujasvāmin, was in the vicinity of the same locality. The Siddhaldhari hill, which is situated only within 200 yards from the findspot of the epigraph, might have been the Sedagiri or a part of it.

Puvasela, mentioned in a Nagarjunakonda inscription as the place of a Buddhist establishment,¹⁴² may be identified with the hill to the east of the capital of the country of T'e-na-ka-che-ke, on which Hsuen-tsang saw the Fu-p'o-shih-lo, i.e., Purvaśila¹⁴³ (=Puvasela)¹⁴⁴ monastery.¹⁴⁵ The pilgrim also

139. IA., AR 1958-59.p.8.

140. EI., vol.XXXIV.p.202,203.

141. IA, AR, 1958-59. p.8. pl.VB.

142. EI., vol.XX. p.22f.

143. YCTI., Vol.II.p.214.

144. In this connection see ch.XI.p.

145. Ibid.,

mentions A-fa-la-shi-lo, ie., Avarasila,¹⁴⁷ a monastery on the hill to west of the capital. Two Buddhist sects were named after these two hills. Hsuen-tsang further informs that a former king erected these monasteries and had made a communicating path by the river.¹⁴⁸ Hence it appears that Purvasaila and Aparasila were situated in the vicinity of Te'na-ka-che-ka or Dhānyakāṭaka; i.e., the modern Amaravati-Dharanikot area and were also close to a river, apparently the Krishna.¹⁴⁹ Purvasaila and Aparasila mountains^{are} mentioned by Bhavya also.¹⁵⁰

The presence of such a large river¹⁵¹ as the Krishna and of so many mountains and hills did not render the Krishna-Guntur area inaccessible or hinder the growth of human settlements in that region. The Krishna is now navigable even in a country raft down to

147. Ibid.,

148. Ibid.,

149. Ibid.,

150. W.W. Rockhill, The Life of the Buddha p.184. Betan. Aggud. vol. Xc. 5364.

151. A Nagarjunakonda epigraph mentions inter alia a sela mandapa founded by Bodhisiri on the Pūphagiri (or Pūspagiri) (literally a flower mountain). It is probably modern Pūspagiri in the Cuddapah district. In this connection see also EI., vol. XXX pp.36-37. The epigraphs of our region refer to some mountains, or localities named after mountains. They are Syandakapavata (EI., vol. XXXV. p.13) Naghpavata (ASMG.M. p.278), Sihagiri (ibid., p.278), Rajagiri (ibid., p.290), Chadakapavata (EI., Vol. XX. p.25), ~~etc.~~, Dhanagiri (ASMG.M. p.301), etc., Unfortunately these places cannot be identified.

the sea. That such was the case in ancient times is perhaps indicated by the discoveries of many Buddhist settlements of our period, on or near it.¹⁵²

Dhānyakataka, mentioned in our epigraphic sources as Dhañakada¹⁵³ or Dhamñakada,¹⁵⁴ has already been located in the Amaravati-Dharanikot area of the Guntur district. The discovery of an epigraph probably of Aśoka (pp.58-59) in this area, apparently indicates its importance during the days of that Maurya emperor.¹⁵⁵ Recently a hoard of nearly 80,000 punch-marked silver coins have been found at Amaravati.¹⁵⁶

We have already referred to Vijayapura in the Nagarjunakonda valley. The valley seems to have been an ideal site for an early or medieval city with spurs of the Eastern Ghats including the Nallamalai range and the Nagarjuna hill on three sides and the river Krishna on the other. Thus Vijayapura situated in this valley was strategically an important city having been fortified by mountains and having Krishna as the main and

152. In this connection, see BRAAH., pp.v-x, map facing p.11.

153. EI., vol.XXIV, p.256.

154. EI., XXXIII, p.191.

155. EI., vol.XXXV, p.43.

156. IA., AR., 1953-54, p.39.

an obvious channel of approach to the valley.¹⁵⁷ The importance of Vijayapura in the days of the Sātavāhanas may be indicated by the fact that coin moulds of Gautamīputra Śatakarni - the first Sātavāhana monarch to extend authority over our region (pp.85-87); have been discovered here.¹⁵⁶ During the Ikṣvāku period Vijayapuri was either the capital or one of the chief cities.¹⁵⁸ Traces of the site of an āsvamedha sacrifice have been discovered here.¹⁵⁹ This may indeed be the remains of the one performed by Ikṣvāku Cāntamula,¹⁶⁰(I).

Of the different other place names occurring in the epigraphs of our time, some can be located in the present map of the Krishna Guntur region. One inscription from Jaggayyapeta apparently refers to it as Velagiri.^{160a} Kāntakasela a name occurring in a Nagarjunakonda epigraph,¹⁶¹ and Katakaseal of an Amaravati inscription¹⁶²

157. Even as late as the period of first series of excavation at Nagarjunakonda, the only other way through which one could get in or out of the valley was a gorge with thorny jungle on either side (Memoirs 54 p.1.). It was not wide enough to let in even a bullock cart (ibid.,p.8).

158. IA.AR.,1956-57,p.38.

159. Ibid.,p.37.pl.IVA.B.

160. EI.,p.16,3. For further details of Vijayapuri being the Ikṣvāku capital of one of their chief city see Chh,V.p.

160a. ASSI.,vol.I,p.100. The inscription is found in three version.

161. EI.,vol.XX,p.22F.

162. ASMGM.,p.280.

and Kantakasela of a few Ghantasala epigraphs,¹⁶³ have been convincingly identified with Kantakassyla emporium of Ptolemy¹⁶⁴ and modern Ghantasala in the Krishna district.¹⁶⁵ An Amaravati inscription speaks of a place called Kudūra.¹⁶⁶ The latter name may be recognised in Kūdūra of the Kondamudi grant of the Brhatphalāyana King Jayavarman, and has already been identified with modern Guduru in the Krishna district.¹⁶⁷ (p.28). As pointed out above, Ptolemy probably refers to it as Koddoura.¹⁶⁸

Sircar was unable to identify the name Kakalura, which occurs in a Nagarjunakonda inscription. But it reminds us of Kaikalura, lying 16 miles north east of Gudivada in the Krishna district.¹⁶⁹

The epigraphs of our region,

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163. EI., vol. XXVII, p.3.
 164. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 15.
 165. SSLD., p.33.
 166. ASMGM., p.297.
 167. EI., vol. VI, p.315; SSLD., p.42.
 168. Ptolemy., VII, 1, 15.
 169. ASMGM., p.296.

mainly from Amaravati¹⁷⁰ and Nagarjunakonda,¹⁷¹ furnish names of several other localities, cities and townships and villages, most of which in all probability lay in our region. But unfortunately, we have not been able to locate them in a modern map.

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- 170. Amaravati epigraphs mention places like Gahagūjakānda (ASMGM.p.303), Hiralura (ibid.,p.302) Jetaparavana (ibid.,p.277), Mahāvanasela (ibid.,p.279), Vesarapala (ibid.,p.278), Sirinagica (ibid.,p.280), Pusakavana (ibid.,p.279), Piduvana (ASMGM.,p.296), Nekhavana (ibid.,p.301), Narasala (ibid.,p.296), Mahegānājaka (ASMGM,p.300).etc.
 - 171. Nagarjunakonda epigraphs refer to place names like Govagama (EI.,vol.XX,p.22f), Pamnagāma (ibid.,p.17) Papila (ibid.,p.22f) Hiramuthuva (ibid.,)Samagandhaka (ibid.,vol.XXXIV,p.203),Mudera,(ibid.,203), Mahākoḍuvaka (ibid.,vol.XXXV,p.17), Magalarana (ibid.,p.15,16), Pūdokeda (ibid.,vol.XXXIV,p.19), Pavayata (ibid., vol.XXXV,p.16), Nelacavasa (ibid.,vol.XXXIV,p.210)etc.
 The Jaggayyapeta epigraphs acquaint us with names such as Nadature, Mahākamdururu (ASSI.,vol.1,p.110).
 An epigraph from Gurzala in the Guntur district records the gift of a Ksetra to Bhagavat Halampurasami (EI.,vol.XXVI,p.121). If Halampurasami stands for the God of a place called Halampura then Halampura may have been situated in or around the findspot of the epigraph in question. (See in this connection ibid.,pp.121f.)

The evidence for the existence of these cities and other settlements demonstrates that the hydrography and orography of the Krishna-Guntur area did not frustrate human activities in that territory during our period. On the contrary, the navigable Krishna with its fertile valley apparently encouraged, as all such rivers in ancient times did, the growth of important centres of civilization.

CHAPTER III

Political BackgroundA

The earliest phase of the political history of the Krishna-Guntur region, may be traced back to the Maurya Age.

The XIIIth Rock Edict of Asoka include the Andhra people within the rājaviṣaya. This should indicate that Andhras acknowledged his authority.² E. Hultzsch interpreted the term Andhra as the old name of the Telugu people on the eastern coast³ and apparently located the Andhras in the coastal areas of modern Andhra Pradesh. But as we have pointed out above, none of the early or rather pre-Christian sources - including the Asokan Edicts, indicates the location of their habitat. On the other hand, the earliest datable source known

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1. It may not be out of place to add here that the curtains on historic South India are raised a little before the Maurya times. Two passages of the Hathigumpha inscription have been interpreted to indicate the activities of the Nandas of Magadha in ancient Kalinga, (EI., vol. XX, pp. 79-80, AIU., pp. 213-214, CHI., vol. II, p. 114 etc.) Kalinga is associated by the Purānic tradition with Dakṣināpātha (IHQ., vol. XXI, (1945), p. 317). It is interesting to note that inscriptions of much later date recall Nanda rule in the Deccan. (CHI., vol. II, p. 672)
 2. '... (e)va meva (hi)da raja-ṣaṣvaspi Yona-Ka(m)boyeṣu Nabhaka-Nabhitiṇa Bhoja-Pitinikeṣu Aṁdhra-Palideṣu savatra Devanam priyasa dhramanuṣasti anuvaṣanti' (CII., vol. 1, p. 68).
 3. Ibid., p. XXXIX. D.C. Sircar thinks that the XIIIth R.E. suggests that the habitat of the Andhras was not far from that of the Bhojas. (AIU., p. 194). The XIIIth R.E., however, gives no such indication.

to have connected the appellation Andhra with any part of the modern Andhra Pradesh is the Mayidavolu inscription of Śivaskandavarman (of about the latter half of the fourth century A.D.). Hence, the presence of the Andhras in the rājaviṣaya of Aśoka does not necessarily imply the inclusion of the Krishna-Guntur region within his empire.

The evidence of a fragmentary pillar inscription, recently discovered in the Amaravati area may be more relevant to the question of the Maurya rule in that area. It seems to have been part of a rescript and refers to its author in the first person singular number. Both these characteristics are noticeable only in Asokan Edicts, but not in any other Indian epigraphs.⁶ The paleography and language of the⁷ of the

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4. EI., XXXV p.43. See pl. plate 25 on p.
 5. likhite(m)e (Ibid., p.43, L.2).
 6. Darius, the Persian emperor, had his epigraphs written in the first person singular number. (SI.pp.3,6.)
 7. Forms of letters like pa, (U), a (X), bha (A), ya (D) agrees exactly with those of the same letters in Asokan inscriptions. The form of ta (A) is also found in the XIR.E (Girnar) (CII., Vol.1 pl.22, L.1) and in the form of ma (Y) is also noticed in XIV.R.E.Girnar version. (CII.vol.1.pl.26, L.10). In fact, all the characters have remarkable similarity with Aśokan characters. Words like jano (L.3.) bahuni (L.3) occur in Asokan epigraph though no as coupled together (jano bahuni) like we find here in this epigraph.

inscription, as D.C. Sircar has rightly pointed out, do not also contradict its ascription to the time of Aśoka. These considerations tend to attribute it to Asoka,⁸ even though its extant portion does not contain his name or title or exactly corresponds to any of his known edicts.

There is indeed nothing surprising in the discovery of an Aśokan inscription at Amaravati. Distribution of Aśokan edicts as well as their contents suggest his authority extending upto the frontiers of the kingdom of the Coḷas, the Pāṇdyas, the Satyaputras and the Keralaputras, to be placed in the far south.⁹ His XIIIth R.E. refers to his conquest of Kalinga and ancient Kalinga, ¹⁰ lay to the north or rather the north east of the lower Krishna Valley. Asokan edicts have also been found at Jaugada in the Ganjam district ¹¹

8. Sircar who attributes this pillar to Aśoka further claims that it betrays the so called Mauryan polish (EI., vol. XXXV, p. 43). But we are constrained to admit after a close examination of the pillar, that it betrays no such polish. However, we may postulate that since it is made of fine grain quartzite of the Nallamalai range (*ibid.*, p. 41. n. 3), it was perhaps not much conducive to the application of so-called Mauryan polish as were the Aśokan pillars made of Chunar stone.

9. *CHI*, vol. II, p. 26.

10. *CII*, vol. I, p. 66.

11. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. XIV.

and also at Rajula Mandagiri¹² and Yerragudi¹³ in the Kurnool district. All these data suggest, if considered together, the probability of the inclusion of the Krishna Guntur region within Aśoka's empire.

It is also interesting to note here that a tradition, though of a comparatively later date, connects Asoka with the Peddavegi region. The Hsi-yü-chi reveals that at least in the days of Hiuen-tsang (first half of the 7th century A.D.) a current tradition attributed to Aśoka the erection of a stupa to the south-west of a monastery in P'ing-ch'i (or k'i)-lo (Vinjir or Vingir or Vingila)¹⁵ the capital of the An-to-lo country.¹⁶ No doubt this Chinese pilgrim differentiated between the T'e-na-ka-che-ka country,¹⁷ probably to be placed around Dhānyakataka or modern Amaravati-Dharanikot area, and the An-to-lo or Andhra

12. EI., vol.XXXI, pp.211,216ft.
 13. R.G.Basak Asokan Inscriptions, (1959), p.XIII.
 14. YCTI., vol.II. p.210.
 15. Ibid., vol.II, p.209.
 16. Ibid., p.214.
 17. Ibid., p.216.

country.¹⁸ And so he did not incorporate within the latter territory a great part of the Krishna Guntur region, which formed the very heart of the territory denoted by the earliest geographical connotation of the term Andhrāpatha (pp.17-19.)¹⁹. Nevertheless, if the suggested identification of P'ing-ch'i (or k'i)-²⁰ lo with Vengi or modern Pedda-Vengi near Ellore and the Colair lake is correct,²¹ we may concede that at least a tradition of the 7th century A.D. associated Asoka with a locality lying not very far from the Krishna-Guntur area.²²

On the basis of the above reasonings we may perhaps be permitted to adumbrate a

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- 18. Ibid., p.209.
 - 19. A note added to the Hsi-yu-chi, however, equates the the Te-na-ka-che-ka country with Ta-an-to-lo = Maha Andhra(ibid., p.216.)
 - 20. Ibid., p.210, S.Beal. The Buddhist record of the Western World, vol.II (1906), p.217, n.86.
 - 21. JRAS., vol.VI, (NS) (1873) p.261, YCTI., vol.II, p.210.
 - 22. It may not be out of place to note that at in the SriKakulam district of the Andhra Pradesh a stone obviously forming part of the top frieze of exterior surface of the drum of a Mañachetiya bears an inscription Dhamma raño Asoka Sirino inscribed in characters of the second century A.D. (IAAR., 1953-54, p.13.pl.XVI.B., EI., vol.XXXI. p.88; PIHC, (1953) pp.78-80.).

theory of Asoka's rule in the territory now included in the Krishna and Guntur districts. And as Aśoka himself is known to have conquered only Kalinga,²³ we may infer that the Mauryan age in the region concerned began either with the reign of his grandfather Chandragupta or in that of his father Bindusara.²⁴

There is, however, nothing to indicate that Magadhan supremacy over our region continued after Aśoka.

B

The earliest information on the political history of the territory in the post-Mauryan period seems to be provided by an inscribed casket discovered from a stupa in Bhattiprolu in the Guntur district.²⁵ These epigraphs may be attributed on paleographic grounds to sometime between the age of the

23. CII., vol.I, p.66.
 24. For a discussion on the question of the extension of Maurya authority to southern India see Romila Thapar, Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas, (1961). p.18.
 25. EI., vol.II, pp.327-328.

Aśokan edicts and that of the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravēla, and probably to a period not much earlier than the date of the last mentioned inscription.²⁶

26. Scholars are not unanimous on the question of the date of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions. R.B.Pandey is inclined to call them pre-Asokan (Indian Paleography (1952) vol. I, p.80). Bühler placed them sometime between the Asokan edicts and the Hathigumpha inscription (EI., vol.II, pp.323-26;). See also Vienna Oriental Journal, vol.VI, (1892), pp.142f. S.C.Upasak ascribes them to the first century B.C. or to the 1st century A.D. (The History and Paleography of the Mauryan and Brahmi Script(1959), pp.187,188.), and A.H.Dani to the 1st century A.D. (Indian Paleography (1963), pp.71, 72).

It must be added that the forms of some letters such as ga (𑀕), ca (𑀇), ha (𑀡) have affinities to those of the same letters in Asokan edicts. On the other hand, the occurrence of the later form of da (𑀢) should date the inscription to a period considerably later than the Aśokan edicts. The similar form of da (𑀢) can be noticed at least once in the Nanaghat inscription of Queen Nayanikā, datable to the second half of the 1st century B.C. (SI., pl.XXXIV, line 5, p.186, n.1). The forms of letters ka, (𑀓) sa, (𑀱) etc., are similar to those of the same letters in the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravēla, (IHQ., vol.XIV (1938), pl.I-VIII.), assignable to the later half of the 1st century B.C. (SI., p.206, n.1.). Some of the letters in the Bhattiprolu inscriptions appear to have rudimentary form of mātrā or serif. (EI., vol.II, pl. on second and third page after p.324). This feature is completely absent from the Asokan edicts, but can be noticed at least in case of some letters of the Hathigumpha inscription (JBORS, vol.III, (1917), pl.1 facing p.472). These considerations tend to place the Bhattiprolu inscriptions after Aśoka but not much earlier than Khāravēla.

The inscription engraved on
 27 the lid of the casket mentions a goṭhi i.e., goṣṭhī
 or committee or assembly, and enumerates the names of
 certain persons who are apparently its members. These
 are Hiranaṅvaghava, (Vu)galako, Kālaho, Visako, Thorasisi,
 Samano Odalo, Apaka(tho), Samudo, Anuga(ho), kuro,
 Satugho Jetako, (Je)to Alinaka, Varuno, Piga(la)ko
 koṣako, Suta, Papo, kabhera(kho), (Gale)ko, Samana(dā)so
 Bharado, Oḍālo (?); Thoratiso/ṭiso, Gilāno, Jambho,
 Puḍara (?) (A)vo, Gālavat, Janako Gosalkānaṃ, Kuro,
 Upaṣathaputo, Utara and Kārahaputo. 28

On the rim of the lower stone
 of the same casket is inscribed the following:

*Ṣa goṭhi nigamāputānaṃ

rājapāmukhā (1*) Ṣāririṣa puto Khubirako rājā Ṣihagoṭhiyā

27. According to Senart, the Bhattiprolu relics may have originally belonged to the north west of India, for relic caskets could travel far and wide (JA., SIX, vol. IV, (1894), pp.346-348, n.1.). However, since there is no evidence to suggest that the relic caskets found at Bhattiprolu were brought from outside, we may accept the hypothesis that they were manufactured and inscribed in the neighbourhood of the place of their discovery. Moreover, if the caskets were manufactured in the north west of India sometime in the centuries immediately before the epoch of the Christian era, we would have expected to find Kharosthī and not Brāhmī inscriptions on the caskets concerned.

28. EI., vol. II, p.328 and pl. second page after 324 (right hand side plate.) SI. p.216.

pāmukho (i*) Tesamānam ma(juṣam) phaligāṣamugo ca
 pāsāṇa ṣamugo ca'.²⁹

The above text may be Sanskritised
 as “Sā goṣṭhī nigama-putrānām rājapramukhā (i*)
Sārirasya putraḥ Khuviraka rājā siṃhagoṣṭhiyāḥ
pramukhaḥ (i*) tesam anyā maṅṣā, sphāṭika-samudgaḥ
ca pāsāṇa-samudgaḥ/ea (i*)’.

The above words may be translated
 as follows:

The committee (or assembly)
 of nigama putras is headed by a king. King Khubiraka,
 the son of Sāriria, is the chief of the Siṃha committee
 (or assembly). Their (gifts are) the other casket, and
 a box of crystal and a stone box.³⁰

The expression Sā goṣṭhī (i.e.,
Sā goṣṭhī) of the inscription of the lower stone of the
 casket obviously refers to the goṣṭhī (i.e., goṣṭhī)
 mentioned together with its members in the epigraph on

- 291 EI., vol. II, p. 328. Our reading of the text is based
 on the facsimile of the epigraph published in EI.,
 vol. II, pl. left hand side of the second page after p. 324.
30. Bühler interpreted the expression Sā goṣṭhī as a
 proper name (EI., vol. II, p. 328). In that case King
 Khubiraka has to be considered as the chief of two
 goṣṭhis (1) the Sā Goṭhi and (2) the Siṃha goṭhi. But
 Sā goṭhi may literally mean "that goṭhi".

the lid of the same casket. This goṣṭhī or committee is stated to have been headed by a rājā or king (i.e., by a person having the title of rājā.) It is quite clear from the context that King Khuviraka was the chief or head of the committee in question. And in that case, the committee concerned was called the Sihagoṣṭhi or the Sīmhagoṣṭhī.

We have no idea of the nature of this Sīmhagoṣṭhi³¹ which is described as a committee of nigamaputras.³² As the above inscriptions may be argued to imply, the committee may have been concerned with religious activities including the bestowal of donations.³³ On the other hand, the presence of a rājā or a king in that committee may indicate, though not certainly, that it had some political importance and/or performed some administrative duties.

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31. "Simha" means not only a 'lion' but also denotes 'a powerful one', 'a hero or an eminent person', 'a prince', 'a king', etc., (M.Monier Williams, A Sanskrit English Dictionary p.1213). In that case Sīmhagoṣṭhi could mean the 'Kings Committee'. On the other hand the name may betray some totemistic association, of Siha or Sīmha with goṣṭhi.
32. Nigama means a guild or corporation of merchants. It may also be interpreted as a town, city or a market place. (M.Monier Williams, op.cit., p.545).
33. Goṣṭhis are also preferred to in inscriptions from Sanchi (EI., vol.II, p.92.).

Whatever may have been the real character of the Sihagoṭhi or Sīmhagoṣṭhī, there is no gainsaying the historicity of king Khubiraka and the committee headed by him. As no royal title is ascribed to the father of Khuviraka, the latter was³⁴ probably the first sovereign ruler of his family.

C

The available data do not permit us to reconstruct the history of the successors of King Khubiraka. However, a passage in the Hathigumpha inscription of King Khāavela³⁵ throws some light on the history of the Krishna-Guntur region during his time.

The relevant portion of the inscription can be read as follows:

'.....puvarājanive(?)sitam
Pithumdam gadabha-nāṅgalena kāsayati janapada-bhāvanam ca

34. It is interesting to note that another Bhattiprolu casket inscription allude to a portrait of King Kuviraka (EI., vol. II, p. 329) undoubtedly the same as King Khuviraka.

35. EI., vol. XX, pp. 79-80; SI., pp. 206f.

terasa vasasatakataṃ bhi(m)ṅdati Damira dāha saṃghātaṃ
³⁶

The above passage may be rendered into Sanskrit in the following way:

'.....pūrva-rājaniveśitaṃ
Pithudaṃ gardhabhalāṅgalena kāśayati janapadabhāvanāṃca
travodaśa varṣa sattakṛtaṃ (yadvā kṛtāsattam) (yadvā
travodaśavarṣasata kṛtaṃ) bhinatti Damira hrada-
saṃghātaṃ.....'

36. Our reading of the epigraph is based mainly on the facsimile of the inscription published in JBORS vol.III, (1917) pl.1. facing pp.972. and also in IHQ., vol.XIV (1938) pl.1-VIII.

K.P.Jayaswal and R.D.Banerjee read Avarāja in place of Puvarāja and following the cumulative evidence of Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu Purāna, interpreted Ava as a name for the Andhras (EI.,XX,p.84). However, the correct reading seems to be Puva and not Ava, D.C.Sircar is also probably wrong in reading puvam (SI.,p.200.).

Puva should not indicate the name of a dynasty because in another passage, also of the same epigraph, is the expression puvaraja nivesitam is used in relation to another place (SI.,p.268,L.5). Therefore puva rajanivestam used in relation to two different areas, should indicate that the expression meant 'founded by former kings!'

The correctness of Barua's reading Pithuda-gadabha nagale nekāsayati (IHQ.,XIV,(1938),p.467). depends to a great extent on the identification of the letter before kāsayati, as ne. Consequently we cannot accept Barua's interpretation of the passage in question. (Ibid.,p.478-9).

The English translation of the passage may be given as follows:

.....causes Pithum̐da, founded by former kings, to be ploughed by an ass' plough and destroys the confederacy of the Damira lake (whose existence (has been) accomplished (for) thirteen (or hundred and thirteen or thirteen hundred) years) and which has been a source of anxiety to the countryside.

It is quite clear from the contents of the above epigraph that King Khāravēla of Kalinga was responsible for the ploughing by an ass' plough³⁷ (i.e., for the destruction of) the city of Pithum̐da as well as for the annihilation of the confederacy of the Damira lake (i.e., the league of the people or states around the Damira Lake). The coupling of both the incidents indicates that probably these two events were not unconnected with each other.

The Hathigumpha epigraph enumerates the achievements of Khāravēla year by year.³⁸

37. It is interesting to note that according to the Āvaśvakavṛtti; and Hemachandra's Viracarita, Konika ploughed Vaiśāli with ploughs drawn by asses (JBORS, XIII, (1927), p.231,n.1; EI., vol.XX,p.88.n.3).

38. SI., p.207f.

Unfortunately the portion of the text which seems to have contained the name of the year witnessing Kharavela's achievement in question is now mutilated. Since, however, the latter conquests are recorded between the descriptions of his expeditions in regnal years 10 and 12,³⁹ the events concerned may have occurred in the eleventh year of his reign.

S.Lévi very convincingly identified Pithumḍa with Pityndra⁴⁰ the metropolis included by Ptolemy among the inland cities of Maisolia.⁴¹ We have already indicated that the districts of Krishna and Guntur should have been within Maisolia (pp.26-30).

Ptolemy describes Pityndra as an inland city. But the Uttaradhyāyana-sūtra refers to a merchant from Campā reaching Pihumḍa, identified with Pithumḍa,⁴² by following a sea route.⁴³ This indicates

39. Ibid., p.209.
 40. IA., vol.LV, (1926), pp.145-147. S.Lévi's reading Pithuda should be corrected as Pithumḍa.
 41. Ptolemy, VII,1,93.
 42. IA., vol.LV, (1926), pp.146-147.
 43. Uttaradhyānasūtra, XXI,1-2; H.Jacobi (Editor), Jaina Sutras, part.II,p.168.

that the city in question was either on the sea or on a navigable river which was accessible from the sea. And since Pityndra, an inland city of ^{the} Maisolā, was somewhere near Benagouron or modern Pedda Vegi (p. 27.), the river in question was probably the Krishna. It is interesting to note that the Uttaradhyānasūtra indicates that Pihum̄ḍa was a market place.⁴⁴

From the above discussion it seems highly probable that Pithum̄ḍa was in or about the Krishna-Guntur region. And if, as remarked above the destruction of this city was not unrelated to Khāravēla's expedition against the peoples or the states around the Damira lake, the latter may have been situated in or about the Krishna Guntur area.

This hypothesis is rendered almost certain by several factors. The word Damira is a synonym of Draviḍa.⁴⁵ The latter name denotes a territory which according to the Mahābhārata,⁴⁶ included the lands along the coast immediately to the south of

44. Uttaradhyānasūtra, XXI, 3; H. Jacobi, Op. cit.,

45. Damira could be equivalent to Damila = Dravida or Tamila.

46. For references to the date of the Mahābhārata see ch. II, n. 103.

the Godavari.⁴⁷ Hence a lake, situated in or near the districts of Krishna and Guntur, could have been called as a Dravida one or a lake of the Dravida country.⁴⁸

In fact the most conspicuous lake in peninsular India is situated in the borders of the modern districts of Krishna, and West Godavari, viz. the Colair lake.⁴⁹ The locality around this lake may be connected with the region of Kaurala mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription.⁵⁰ The same lake is probably described as the water of Kunala by the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin, (II).⁵¹ These testimonies suggest that the lake was well known in the early centuries of the Christian Era. Hence, the name of this lake could well have been associated with the region around it.

If the Colair lake is the same

47. Mahābhārata, III, 118, 3-4.

48. This lake is repeatedly mentioned by several early Indian treatise. We may observe here that the Dasakumāracarita (ch.VII) by Dandin describes an Andhranagara within a few days' journey from Kalinga, and that it had a very big lake near it. This lake was possibly the Colair lake.

49. Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol.XXVI (Atlas) pl.44, c.3.

50. CII., vol.III, p.6.

51. EI., vol.VI, p.6.

the Damira daha of the Hathigumpha epigraph, then the confederacy of states or peoples around the lake may be considered to have occupied at least a part of the Krishna-Guntur region. It seems likely that Pithumḍa was one of the cities of that confederacy. It may even have been the chief city, since its metropolitan status is perhaps alluded to by the Hathigumpha inscription's description of it as having been founded by a former king.⁵²

The Hathigumpha inscription states that the above confederacy was in existence for thirteen (or hundred and thirteen? or thirteen hundred?) years and that it had caused great anxiety to the countryside, (janapada), obviously of the Kalinga Kingdom. It may further be added that if the confederacy is considered to have been in existence for thirteen (or one hundred and thirteen? or thirteen hundred?) years, then the trouble may have started even sometime before Khāravēla's reign. Eventually in his eleventh regnal year he destroyed that league and also Pithumḍa, probably the chief city of the confederacy.⁵³

52. SI., p. 209, see also above n. 36.

53. The Hathigumpha epigraph explicitly refers to the destruction of only one city of the confederacy, probably because it was the chief one.

Hence it appears that some time after the days of Khuviraka referred to in the Bhattiprolu inscriptions, roughly about the last half of the 1st century B.C.,⁵⁴ there was a league of states or people around a lake, now known as the Colair lake. They caused trouble to Kalinga for a long time and was eventually subdued by Khāravēla.

D

We do not know whether Khāravēla annexed the territory of the above confederacy to his own dominion. It is equally uncertain whether any of his successors exercised authority over that region which included at least part of the area now represented by the districts of Krishna and the Guntur.

In this connection, we may, however, refer to an inscription found at Velpuru in the Sattenapalli taluk of the Guntur district.⁵⁵ As has been demonstrated by D.C.Sircar the forms of characters of this epigraph resemble those of the epigraph of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his son Vasīṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi from Nasik, Amaravati, etc.,⁵⁶ If this is

54. PHAI, pp. 405 and 418-419. SI., p. 206. n.

55. EI., vol. XXXII, pp. 82-87.

56. Ibid., p. 83.

correct, it is likely that there was no great interval between these Sātavāhana monarchs and the age of the epigraph in question.

This inscription refers to a king called aira mahārāja Haritīputra(Mā)(na)sada.⁵⁷ Since the term aira appears as a title of Khāavela in the Hathigumpha inscription,⁵⁸ D.C.Sircar though hesitatingly, is inclined to connect Ma(na)sada with the dynasty of the former king.⁵⁹ D.C.Sircar further points out that the family of Khāavela, and not the Sātavāhanas, used the title mahārāja.⁶⁰

It must, however, be considered that according to the Hathigumpha inscription, the name of the family of Khāavela was Chedi and also probably Mahāmeghavāhana and not aira.⁶¹ The latter term occurs in the epigraph probably only as a kind

57. Ibid., p.86.

58. SI., p.206.

59. EI., vol.XXXII, p.84.

60. Ibid., p.86.

61. B.M.Barua, Old Brāhmi Inscriptions from Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves, (1929), p.40, n.2. see also p.68.

of honorific title of Khāravēla.⁶² It may also be noted that in or about our time the term aira was used very extensively in the Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda epigraphs. This was sometimes attached to the personal names of monks.⁶³ Again we hear of aira Utayipabhāhis in Amaravati⁶⁴ and the ayira haṅgha at Nagarjunakonda,⁶⁵ who cannot possibly be related to any royal dynasty. In the above contexts aira was possibly used in the sense of 'noble' or 'worthy'. The other meanings of aira or ārya are 'lord', 'master', etc.,⁶⁶ Hence, it is

62. Ibid., p.184. An Oriya manuscript of the 16th century or at least of a period not earlier than the 14th century, refers to a Kalinga King called Aira, who was a contemporary and an enemy of the Nandas of Magadha (ibid., p.183-85). Khāravēla, though not a contemporary of the Nandas, tried to undo an achievement of the latter. However, even if this literary testimony has some connection with Khāravēla, it must be conceded that a tradition recorded in so late a manuscript may not be reliable so far as enumeration of facts in the first century B.C. are concerned. Also, if it did really refer to Khāravēla or his family, it may have confused the name of the king with his title.

63. ASMGM., pp.278,291,294 etc.

64. ASMGM., 295.

65. EI., vol.XX, p.20.

66. See in this connection PIHC., (1953), pp.34-35.

likely that the word aira as it appears in the Velpuru epigraph and also in the Hathigumpha inscription, stands for 'lord', 'noble' or 'master' and may have no connection with a family name.

No doubt, Khāavela was called mahārāja, and the Sātavāhanas generally used the title rājan. But the assumption of the title of mahārājā was not limited to the family of Khāavela. Moreover, if Khāavela conquered the confederacy of the Damira lake (which probably embraced at least a part of the Krishna Guntur area), the rulers of the succeeding royal families in that region may have been influenced by the title used by the monarchs of Kalinga.⁶⁷

Thus we cannot confidently connect King (Mā)(na)sada with the dynasty of Khāavela, even though we admit the feasibility of the latter's rule in the lower Krishna valley. As indicated above, in or about the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarni or his son Vāsīsthīputra Pulumāvi. As we shall see later, Gautamīputra Sātakarni ruled roughly in the last quarter of the 1st century A.D., (pp 88-94.) and his son

67. As we shall see later mahārāja, was a very common title in eastern Deccan (see below pp 221-22.)

in the 1st quarter of the 2nd century A.D. (pp. 93-94.). The Sātavāhana authority over the Guntur district probably commenced during the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarnī and continued for a fairly long time, not ending before the reign of Candāśāti (pp. 100, 108). So Aira (Mā)(na)sada's rule in the Guntur district is to be placed possibly before c. A.D. 75 or thereabout.

It is interesting to note that two important classical sources, datable to about the same period (see pp. 24f.), throw some light on the lower Krishna valley.

The Periplus Maris Erythraei
68
mentions a region called Masalia which as we have discussed above should be assigned to the middle of the first century A.D. The Masalia of the Periplus identifiable with the Maisolia of Ptolemy's Geography, embraced a fairly large territory on the eastern side of the Deccan, and probably included the Krishna Guntur region. It is interesting to observe that Ptolemy refers to Pityndra, an inland city of ^{the} Maisoloi as the metropolis, apparently of the latter people.⁶⁹ This possibly suggests that Ptolemy alludes to the political boundary of the tract in question.

68. Periplus, see 62.

69. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 93.

The date of this information should be assigned, as pointed out earlier, to sometime between c. A.D. 75 and A.D. 150 (pp.33-37). Thus it appears that at least from about the middle of the 1st century A.D. to sometime between c. A.D.75 and 150, there was in eastern Deccan a territory called Masalia (= Maisolia), which included the Krishna Guntur region. Ptolemy's Maisolia was possibly a political entity and its inhabitants were called Maisoloi. Incidentally we may refer to a tribe called Mosala mentioned by Bharata in his Nāṭyaśāstra.⁷⁰ Since Bharata speaks of this tribe together with the Kalingas, it may not be impossible that the Mosalas lived near the habitat of the latter people. The Krishna-Guntur region or part of Ptolemy's Maisolia was not far away from the territory of the Kalingas. Hence, a connection between Maisoloi and the Mosala tribe may not be altogether impossible.

We should further take into consideration the age of the Velpuru inscription of āira(Mā)(na)Sada. As we have indicated above, its age

70. Nāṭyaśāstra (Kāvyamāla Edition), ch.XIII, versel7, Kośalāstośalācaiva Kalingā eva Mosalāh. See also B.M.Barua, op.cit., pp.203f.

may have been from sometime before A.D. 75 or thereabouts. We are not sure whether this monarch was scien of the house of Khāravēla or of the family ruling over the Maisoloi (= Mosala?) people or of an unknown royal dynasty. But it seems quite feasible that either he, or any of his immediate successors or predecessors, belonging to his own or to some other family ruled over parts of Maisolia (including the Lower Krishna valley), when Ptolemy's informants gathered information about the region in question.

CHAPTER IV

Sātavāhana HegemonyA

In its political sense, the name Andhra primarily denotes the dynasty described as Andhras or Andhrajātiyas in the Purāṇas¹ and as Sātavāhanas in the inscriptions.² The Sātavāhanas were in command of a great part of the Deccan during inter alia the probable period of the existence of Maisolia³ (including the Krishna-Guntur region). Hence, prima facie, the existence of some sort of political contact between them and the territory in Maisolia was chronologically possible. This seems to be particularly interesting since not only do the Purāṇas refer to the Sātavāhanas as Andhras, but the Krishna-Guntur region was also within the limits of a territory called Andhrāpatha in a 4th century A.D. inscription. (p.1?).

In fact, some scholars, including
⁴ E.J.Rapson, ⁵ V.Smith, ⁶ R.G.Bhandarkar and ⁷ G.V.Venkata Rao advocate

1. DKA., p.38.

2. ASWI., vol.IV, p.41; EI., vol.VIII, p.60.

3. PHAI., pp.415f.

4. CCADWK., p.xvi.

5. S.Chattopadhyay is of the opinion that since the Sātavāhanas are called Andhras as well as Andhrabhṛtyas in different Purāṇas they probably had their original homeland in Andhradeśa though they rose to power in Mahārāstra. (Journal of Indian History, vol.XLI, (1963), pp.754-755).

But we may point out here that the Andhra (i.e., Sātavāhanas) were never called Andhrabhṛtyas in the Purāṇas. The Andhra Andhrabhṛtyas were probably the successors of the imperial Andhras (Satavahanas) in the Andhra region. (See p. below). p.

6. R.G.Bhandarkar - Early History of the Deccan, p.32.

7. EHD., pp.77f. See also M.Rama Rao, PIHC., (1953), pp.37-38.

the view that the Sātavāhanas, called the Andhras in the Purānas, first rose to political power in Andhradeśa (eastern region of modern Andhra Pradesh).⁸ There is, however, no cogent evidence to connect the early Sātavāhanas with the eastern zone of modern Andhra Pradesh. This had led scholars like K.Gopalachari⁹ and D.C.Sircar¹⁰ to question the above view of Rapson and others.

The strongest argument that can be put forward against the latter opinion is that all early Sātavāhana inscriptions have been found in the western Deccan.¹¹

Moreover, the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela refers to his sending a military expedition without caring Satakarni of the west (Satakāṁnim pacrīma-disam).¹² This Satakāṁni, i.e., Sātakarni is generally considered to be one of the earliest Sātavāhana Kings of that name, either Sātakarni (I) or Sātakarni (II).¹³ This would imply that the early Sātavāhana territory, or at

8. These scholars apparently included within Andhradeśa, the Krishna, Guntur and Godavari districts (CCADWK, p.xvi, EHD., pp.77-78 etc.),

9. EHAC., p.5f.

10. AIU., pp.191-192.

11. ASWI., vol.V.p.64. SI., pp.183f. The early Sātavāhana coins have been found in western and central Deccan. (CCADWK pp.lxxx, lxxx. See also JNSI vol.XIII., (1951), pp.33-39).

12. SI., p.207.L.4.

13. AIU., p.198; EHAC., p.37; CHI., vol.II, p.297; SI., p.207. n.7.etc.,

least that during the days of Sātakarni and Khāravēla was to the west of the realm of the latter (i.e., Khāravēla). And since, the epigraph in question explicitly describes Khāravēla as the lord of Kalinga (Kalingādhīpatina Siri Khāravēlena...)¹⁴, hence, the logical inference would be that the Sātavāhana realm in Khāravēla's time lay to west of Kalinga. Since the Krishna and Guntur districts were situated to the south or more properly to the south west of Khāravēla's dominions, these did not possibly form a part of Sātakarni's realm.

Such a hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that Khāravēla in his 11th year, crushed a confederacy of peoples or states in or around the Krishna Guntur area (pp.68-73). This military venture was quite distinct from that sent in his year 2, ignoring the Sātakarni of the west.

As demonstrated above (pp.78-79), Ptolemy's Maisolia, (=country of Maisoloi) with its metropolis Pityndra might have been a political entity, and it included the modern Krishna and Guntur districts. Ptolemy's source of information regarding the region is datable to a period between c. A.D.75 and 150 (pp.33f). The existence of Masalia (=Maisolia) in or about the middle of the 1st century A.D. is also indicated by the author of the Periplus (pp.32-33).

14. SI., p.207. L.1.

If Maisolia enjoyed independent political status - which however, was not explicitly stated by Ptolemy - it could not have been within the bounds of the Sātavāhana empire before the closing quarter of the 1st century A.D.¹⁵ At least neither Ptolemy, nor any other source suggests the presence of the Sātavāhanas in the Krishna-Guntur area before that date.

B

The obvious implication of the above discussion is that Andhradesa or at least the heart of the old Andhrāpatha comprising the Krishna-Guntur zone was not within the realm of the early Sātavāhanas.¹⁶ On the other hand, indisputable testimonies, to be enumerated below, prove the hegemony of some later Sātavāhana kings over the Krishna-Guntur region. Hence the question arises when the Sātavāhanas extended their authority over that region.

According to Sircar, '... Pulumāvi, ... was probably responsible for the extension of Sātavāhana

15. It may not be out of place to recall at this point that in or about c. A.D.75. Haritiputra Āira (Mā)(na)śada was ruling over part of the Guntur district, (EI., vol. XXXII.p.86). See above p.

16. It is now generally admitted that the Sātavāhanas established their earliest kingdom in the western Deccan, the territories around Nasik, Karle and Nanaghat forming the hub of their dominion in the early days. (AIU, p.198; CHI, vol.II, p.96 etc). Ptolemy mentioned Baithano (Paithan) as the capital of Polemaios (=Pulumavi). (VII, 1, 82).

power in the land about the mouths of Krishna. This is suggested by the discovery not only of his inscription at Amaravati, but also of a large number of his coins in the same area as well as in the adjoining regions.¹⁷ M. Rama Rao suggests on the basis of the provenance of coins that the Andhra region had already passed under the rule of the Sātavāhanas during the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarni.¹⁸

It is doubtful whether the discovery of the species of a certain ruler at a particular site necessarily prove his authority over that region. There are, however, some other valuable data in support of the theory of M. Rama Rao.

Excavations at Nagarjunakonda in the Guntur district have yielded several moulds of the coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarni.¹⁹ These finds in addition to the discoveries of his coins in the Krishna-Guntur area²⁰ may indicate that during the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarni a Sātavāhana mint was located in that area. Hence, it may be concluded that at least the Nagarjunakonda area of the Andhra region was included within his dominion.

17. AIU, pp.204-205.

18. PIHC., (1953), p.38.

19. IA, AR, 1956-57, p.38.

20. PIHC, (1953), p.38;

Another source relevant in this context is the Nagarjunakonda epigraph of the Ābhīra king Vasuṣeṇa.²¹ It refers to the re-installation of Lord Astabhūjasvāmīn on the Saḍagiri (without having been removed from his original place) and also of the excavation of two tanks "on Saḍagiri and at Mudera".²² We have already suggested that the Siddhaldhari hill of the Nagarjunakonda region may be identified with Saḍagiri or a part of it, (p. 50.).

With the identification of the Saḍagiri with the Siddhaldhari adjoining Nagarjunakonda, appearing probably, a particular passage in the Nasik praśasti of Balaśrī appears to be significant. This epigraph engraved in the nineteenth regnal year of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi refers to the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi as the lord inter alia of Saḍagiri.²³ It is highly probable that the Saḍagiri of the Nasik inscription was identical with the almost homonymous hill²⁴ referred to in the Nagarjunakonda epigraph of Vasuṣeṇa, since the interval between these two

21. EI., vol. XXXIV, pp. 202 - 203.

22. Ibid., p. 203.

23. EI., vol. VII, p. 60. Levi identified Saḍagiri of this epigraph with Xerogerei included by Ptolemy within Larika (VII, 1, 63). (JA, vol. CCXXVIII, (1936), p. 65). But the Indian base of Xerogerei seems to be Khirogeri = Ksirogiri. See also IHQ, vol. II, (1926), pp. 351-352.

24. On the analogy of expressing taṭaka also as taḍāga and laṭa also as lāra, Saḍa could also have been a variant of Saḍa.

records need not be more than 225 or 250 years,²⁵ and since no other Setāgiri or Sedāgiri is referred to in any other known source of ancient Indian history.

The above considerations clearly indicate Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's rule over the Nagarjunakonda area.²⁶ Hence, so far as the available sources are concerned, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi appears to have been the first of the Sātavāhanas to have ruled over part or the whole of the Krishna-Guntur region.

25. As will be discussed later Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi ruled during the last quarter of the first century A.D. (pp.88f) and Vāsīṣṭhiputra Satakarni in the first quarter of the second century A.D. (pp.93-94.). Abhira Vasusena's rule in the Nagarjunakonda valley may be assigned to the closing years of the second quarter of the fourth century A.D. (p.186, n)1, pp.184f.)

26. Some scholars have located Cakora, of which Gautamīputra is said to have been the lord (EI, VIII, p.70) in coastal area of modern Andhra Pradesh (JNSI, vol.XXI, (1959), p.19; CCADWK, 1959). However, there is no evidence for such an identification. It may be recorded here that Levi tried to connect the name of the same mountain with a place called Tiagoura or Tiatoura, mentioned by Ptolemy as within Larika (JA, vol.CCXVIII, (1936), p.65).

A probable date for Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's rule in the Lower Kīrshna valley can be postulated on the basis of the chronology of his reign. However, scholars are not in agreement on the date of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi;²⁷ hence, an attempt may be made to determine the approximate period of his reign.

The Khakharata (or the Kṣaharāta) family was as explicitly stated in the Nasik prasasti of Gautami Balasri, destroyed by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.²⁸ And this information is strikingly corroborated by the Jogalthambi hoard which had yielded thousands of Kṣaharata (xaharatos) Nahapāna's silver specis overstruck by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.²⁹ In fact a Nasik epigraph of the year 18 of the last mentioned monarch, issued from a victorious camp, refers to the regranting of a piece of land held 'till today' i.e., till recently (ajakālakiyam) by Usabhadāta.³⁰ As there can be little doubt that this Usabhadāta is identical with Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law and

27. For a full discussion on the date of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi see B.N.Mukherjee, "The Lower Indus Country", Bk.III, Ch.2, Thesis, London University, 1963. see also n.

28. EI, vol. VIII, p.60 L.61 ... khakharātavasa niravsesa karasa ...

29. CCADWK, pp.lxxxviii - lxxxix. The exact number is 13, 250, (ibid., p.lxxxviii). A full account of the hoard is given in JBRAS vol.XXII, (1905-8) pp.223-245).

30. EI, vol.VIII, p.71;

governor of Nahapāna in the areas including the modern Nasik³¹ and Karla,³² Gautamīputra must have gained victory over him in or before his 18th regnal year. At least the year 46 of Nahapāna, which is his last known date and which is referred to in one of his āmata's (amātya's = minister's) record at Junnar³³ (situated not very far from Nasik and Karle), should be dated in or before the year 18 of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.³⁴

Thus the year 46 or 46 + X of Nahapāna corresponded to the year 18 of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Our idea of the chronological limits of Gautamīputra's reign depends to a great extent on the correct expression of this equation in terms of the Christian era. According to the majority of scholars, the year 46 of Nahapāna should be referred to the Śaka era of A.D. 78,³⁵ in which case the year 18 of Gautamīputra and 46 of Nahapāna should fall in A.D. 124. There is, however, no definite evidence, for supporting such a suggestion.³⁶ On the other hand, there are some stronger

31. EI, vol.VIII, p.78.

32. EI, vol.VII, p.57. CCADWK pp. lvi-lix, cx-cxi.

33. ASWI, vol.IV, p.103.

34. CCADWK, pp.xxix-xxx.

35. JA, S. IX, vol.IX (1897), pp.120-151, R.G.Bhandarkar, The Early History of the Deccan, pp.38-39; IA, vol.XXVI (1897), p.153; Bombay Gazetteer, vol.1, part 1, p.29; CCADWK, p.6x; PHAI, pp.488-489; AIU, p.180, n.1; CHI

36. vol.II, pp.275-277;

EHAC, p.51f.

reasons which may controvert such a theory.

Ptolemy included in Larika towns such as Nasika,³⁷ (~~Nasik~~), and Ozene,³⁸ i.e., Ujjayini.³⁹ Nasik and Ujjayini, however, were never within the geographical limits of Larike or Lāra or Lāṭa. This possibly suggests that Ptolemy's Larike referred to a political unit.⁴⁰ And since Ptolemy mentioned Ozene as 'the royal residence' of Tiastenes,⁴¹ identified with Caṣṭana of coins and inscriptions,⁴² the latter seems to have been the ruler of Larike.

The suggested identifications of different places included within Larike indicate that it did not incorporate the region of Cutch.⁴³ Some inscriptions from Andhau in Cutch, however, refers to the conjoint rule of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman in the year 52,⁴⁴ and this date must be referred to the Śaka era of A.D. 78.⁴⁵ Now, since there is no evidence of Caṣṭana's losing Cutch after it had been annexed by him, Ptolemy's information regarding

37. McCrindle, Ptolemy, p.156.

38. Ptolemy, VII,1,63.

39. McCrindle, Ptolemy, p.154.

40. Ibid., p.153.

41. Ptolemy, VII,1,63.

42. McCrindle, Ptolemy, p.155; CCADWK, pp. cxiii, lx, and 72f.

43. McCrindle, Ptolemy, pp.153f.

44. EI, vol.XVI, pp.23f;

45. Ibid., p.21; PHAI, pp.487f; AIU, p.183.

Larike should be placed in or before the year 52 of the Śaka era, i.e., in or before A.D.130.

Ptolemy's Geography further reveals that Larike under Tiastenes or Caṣṭana included Nasika⁴⁶ or Nasik in Western India. We have seen that Nahapāna also had possession of Nasik, but Caṣṭana's reign in Western India must be placed after that of Nahapāna.⁴⁷ Again, some dated epigraphs from Nasik suggest that it was included within the Sātavāhana dominions from the year 18 (= year 46, the last known date of Nahapāna) of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi⁴⁸ who captured Nasik from Nahapāna, to at least up to sometime in the year 22 of his son and successor Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi.⁴⁹ So Caṣṭana could have conquered Nasik only in or after the year 22 of Pulumāvi's reign. And since, as suggested above, Caṣṭana annexed the Nasik area before his conquest of the Andhau region in c. A.D. 130, the latest possible date for Pulumāvi's accession to the throne should have been c. A.D.(130-22 =) 108.

If these observations are correct,

46. Ptolemy, VII,1,63.

47. CCADWK, pp.Cxi - cxii.

48. EI, vol.VIII,p.71,73.

49. Ibid., pp.94, 59,60,65.

the 18th regnal year of Gautamīputra Sātakarni, who is known to have ruled for at least 24 years⁵⁰ immediately before Pulumāvi, cannot be placed after c. A.D. 102.

This conclusion nullifies the theory of referring Nahapāna's year 46 to the Śaka era of A.D. 78⁵¹, and further suggests that the latest possible date for the commencement of Gautamīputra Sātakarni's rule should have been c. A.D. 84.

An attempt may also be made to determine the earliest possible date for the initial year of his reign. The prototypes of the 'bust: Ujjain symbol and caitya' species of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi⁵¹, probably the son and successor of Gautamīputra Sātakarni⁵², may be found in the 'bust: caitya' type of the Satrapal coinage starting from the reign of Caṣṭana.⁵⁴ And as the only known date of the last mentioned monarch is the year 52 (c. A.D. 130), the first year of the 24 known regnal years of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi^{54a} cannot be placed before c. A.D. (130-24 =) 106.

50. EI, vol. VIII, p. 73.

51. Some modern scholars consider the year 46 of Nahapāna as his regnal year (PIHC, 1950, pp. 39-40; S. Chattopadhyaya Sakas in India pp. 44-47; Lalit Kala no. 3-4, p. 15 etc.,

52. JNSI, vol. XIV (1953), pp. 1f.

53. Ibid..

54. CCADWK, pp. 72f, variety B.

54a. EI, vol. VII, p. 71.

We must, however, note that the Andhau inscriptions of ^{the} year 52 (c. A.D.130) refer to the rule of both Caṣṭana and Rudradāman.⁵⁵ In that year the former was possibly the ruling mahākṣatrapa and the latter the kṣatrapa.⁵⁶ This suggests that Caṣṭana's coins, issued by him as a mahākṣatrapa, were first minted in or before that year. Hence the 'bust: caitya'^{type} coins, issued by him as a Kṣatrapa,⁵⁷ might have begun to be struck in an earlier period. If Pulumāvi's 'bust: Ujjain symbol and caitya' type coins were based on these kṣatrapa coins, the earliest date for Caṣṭana's ^{species} in question may be placed even sometime earlier than c. A.D.130. Consequently, the year 1 of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi's 24 regnal years may be ascribed to a year even before c. A.D.106.

We cannot accurately express the regnal year 1 of Vasisthiputra Pulumāvi in terms of the Christian era, since the initial date of Caṣṭana's kṣatrapa coinage is not precisely known. However, in view of the extreme paucity of known specimens of Caṣṭana's coinage issued by him as a kṣatrapa,⁵⁸ we may perhaps be permitted to postulate that his career as a kṣatrapa did not exceed more than a few years. If these observations are acceptable,

55. EI, vol.XVI, pp.23f.

56. PHAI, pp.487, 506.

57. CCADWK, pp.72-73, variety B;

58. JRAS, (1890), p.644, Ibid., pp.CXIII-CXIV

the initial year of Pulumāvi's reign may be placed not more than a few years before c. A.D. 106. Such a hypothesis allows us to fix the beginning of the 24 years of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's reign to a date falling not more than a few years earlier than c. A.D. (106-24 =) 82. Hence, the required date may be provisionally assigned to c. A.D.75.

Thus the initial date for the rule of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi may be placed sometime between c. A.D.75 and 84. So his rule of 24 years may be placed roughly in the last quarter of the first century A.D.⁵⁹

We have already stated that Ptolemy's Maisolia was a political entity and that it included the modern districts of Krishna and Guntur. We have also indicated above that Ptolemy's information about Maisolia should be referred to some date between c. A.D.75 and 150. If these observations are correct, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi may have annexed the Krishna-Guntur area in or about the closing quarter of the first century A.D. from

59. For different attempts to fix the date of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi see EHAC, p.54-55; PIHC, 1948, p.78; IHQ, vol. VI, (1930), pp.747f. EHD, vol.I pp.104-105 etc.,

the same power which dominated Ptolemy's Maisolia.⁶⁰

The continuing rule of the Sātavāhanas in the Krishna-Guntur region after the time of Gautamīputra.

63. There are about 3 or 4 Pulumāvis according to coins

An Amaravati epigraph refers to the reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi, identifiable with the son and successor of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.⁶² On the

basis of fabric, Rapson ascribed a class of coins of this

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64

60. In this connection see Ch. III. Ptolemy locates the region of the Salakenoi, i.e., the Sālankāyanas as contiguous to that of the Maisolia and includes within it the town of Benagouron (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 79). The latter is identified with Vengipuram or modern Pedda Vegi near Ellore in the West Godavari district. (See p. 27).

It is not certain whether Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi annexed the region of the Sālankāyana immediately above the modern districts of Krishna and Guntur, representing the old Andhrāpatha. However, on the basis of the testimonies of fabric and provenance, some coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sivaśri Sātakarṇi, Yajñasri, Siri Cada Sati etc., have been ascribed to the East Godavari districts. (CCADWK, p. 20, 29, 34, 30). In fact an inscription referring to the reign of Camda Sati (= Cada sati of coins) has been found at Kadavalli near Pithapuram in the East Godavari district. This region was within or at least not far from the region of the Sālankāyanas. Hence it seems feasible that the Sālankāyanas, also, at least for some time, may have been subjugated by the Sātavāhanas.

61. ASSI, vol. 1, p. 100.

62. AIU, p. 204; CCADWK, pl; EHAC, p. 66, etc.

63. There are about 3 or 4 Pulumāvis according to coins (CCADWK, p. 20f), and 2 according to epigraphs (Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi (II) of Nasik and Amaravati epigraphs (EI, vol. VIII, p. 60; ASSI, vol. 1, p. 100) and Pulumāvi IV of Myakadoni epigraph (EI, vol. XIV, p. 155)).

64. CCADWK, p. 20; see also JNSI, vol. XX, (1958), pp. 13-14.

appears from his Karle cave epigraph, Pulumāvi reigned for at least 24 years.⁶⁵

A group of species bearing the name Vasiṣṭhīputa Siva Siri Sātakarnī, i.e., Vasiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī Sātakarnī has also been attributed by Rapson to the Krishna and Godavari districts.⁶⁶ A ruler by the name of Vasiṣṭhīputra Śri Sātakarnī is known from a Kanheri inscription.⁶⁷ Another record from Nanaghat is dated in the reign of one Vasathiputa Catarapana Sātakarnī, i.e., Vasiṣṭhīputra Catarapana Sātakarnī.⁶⁸ The two last mentioned rulers have been identified with Vasiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī Sātakarnī of coins,⁶⁹ and if this identification is correct, then Śivaśrī in question ruled for at least 13 years.

It is not yet certain whether Sivamakasada of an Amaravati epigraph⁷⁰ should, following Rapson, be identified with Śivaśrī Sātakarnī, whose coins have been found in our region.⁷¹ We also did not know whether the same monarch should be identified, as has been done by Gopalachari, with Sivaskanda (or Sivaskanda Sātakarnī),⁷²

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65. SI., p.203 or EI., vol.VII, p.71. The Pūraṇas assign him 28 years of rule (DKA., p.42).
66. CCADWK, p.29; JNSI., vol.XX.
67. ASWI., vol.V, p.78, pl.LI, no.11.
68. JBRAS (OS) vol.XV, (1883), p.313. The ruler is here referred to as Vasiṣṭhīputra Catarapana Sātakarnī. As K.Gopalachari has explained, Catarapana is only a title to be connected with the term Kṣatrapa (EHAC., p.67).
69. EHAC., pp.66-67.
70. ASSI., vol.I, p.61, pl.LVI, no.2. Forms of letter like sa (𑀲), ra (𑀱), ya (𑀹) may be related to the form of the same letters in the Amaravati inscription of Pulumavi (ibid, pl. LVI, no.1).
71. CCADWK, p.lii; he attributes his coins to the later period of Satavahana rule (ibid).
72. EHAC., pp.66-67.

referred to in the Purāṇas as one of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's successors.⁷³

A clay seal found at Ramatirtham near Vizianagram, refers to one victorious king called Sivamaka. The paleographic features of this inscription (pl. II A) are akin to those of the Amaravati epigraph of Sivamakasada.⁷⁴ And since both the monarchs, whose inscriptions are found in eastern Deccan bore the name Sivamaka, they might have been identical.

The authority of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi over the district of Guntur is indicated by the Chinna Ganjam inscription of his 27th regnal year.⁷⁵ Several of the species of this king has been ascribed to the Krishna-Godavari districts on the ground of types and provenances.⁷⁶

The Purāṇas mention an Andhra King by the name of Vijaya.⁷⁷ This Vijaya may perhaps be identified with Gautamīputra Srī Vijaya Sātakarṇi whose epigraph has recently been discovered at Nagarjunakonda. The date of the epigraph concerned may be read as 6 or 8.⁷⁸ (pl. IA, p. 52a).

73. DKA., p. 42.

74. ASI. AR. Southern Circle. 1910-11, p. 14. Compare Pl. V2 of ibid with pl. LIV, no. 2 of ASSII, vol. I.

75. JASB., vol. XVI, 1920, p. 328. The Purāṇas assign him a reign of 29 years (DKA., p. 42).

76. CCADWK, pp. 34f; JNSI., vol. XX, 1958, Numismatic notes and monograph no. 6, pp. 19-20. A coin of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi bearing the figure of a ship was found at Chebrol in the Guntur district JNSI., vol. III, (1941), p. 43-45 pl. onp. 43.

77. DKA, p. 43. This assigns to him a reign of 6 years.

78. EI., vol. XXXVI, pp. 273-74. We may add here that a fragmentary Brahmi inscription from Amaravati bears Raño Gōṭa)ma(pu) in Prakrit (Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy, (1945-55) p. 28, no. 14). Among the Sātavāhanas, three kings, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi and Gautamīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi bore the metronymic Gautamīputra. Hence, the king Gautamīputra of this epigraph might have been either of the above three or even a non-Sātavāhana monarch.

Several coins bearing the name Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Cada Sati, i.e., Vāsiṭhiputra Sri Candra Sātakarni have been attributed to the Krishna-Guntur districts on the basis of types and provenances.⁷⁹ He has been very convincingly identified with Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Caṇḍa Sāti of the Kodavalli inscription,⁸⁰ of his 2nd or 13th⁸² regnal year. If this is so, then the provenance of this inscription may indicate the rule of some of the Sātavāhanas or at least that of Caṇḍaṣati over the Kodavalli area (near Pithapuram), situated to the north west of the ancient Andhra region. We may also note that this Caṇḍaṣati may also be identical with Caṇḍasri or Candraśrī Sātakarni, a son of Vijaya, according to the Puranic manuscripts.⁸³

It is not clear whether the last king of the Puranic list of Andhra kings, called by the name of Pulumāvi (or by its obvious variants),⁸⁴ reigned in the Krishna-Guntur regions. The historicity of his existence is however, corroborated by the Miyakadoni inscription of this 8th regnal year, found in the modern Bellary district.⁸⁵

79. CCADWK, pp.30-31.

80. EI, vol.XVIII, p.318.

81. Ibid.,

82. ZDMG, vol.LXII, (1908), p.592f;

83. DKA, p.43.

84. Ibid.,

85. EI, vol.XIV, p.155.

The fabrics and provenances of coins of Saka Sada(kani)⁸⁶ and Ruda Sataka(ni)⁸⁷ may indicate their rule in the Andhra region. Their names may betray their association with the Sātavāhana family and the paleographic features of the legends of their coins certainly date them after Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.⁸⁸

This evaluation of sources regarding the traces of Sātavāhana rule in ancient Andhradesa, including the Krishna-Guntur region, make it abundantly clear that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and some other monarchs exercised authority over that area. The latter groups of kings are universally included among the Sātavāhana successors of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.⁸⁹ This indicates the extension of Sātavāhana rule in the territory concerned by sometime during at least the 24 years reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and a continuous or continual rule of the family for a considerable period after his death.

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86. CCADWK, pp.10-12, M. Rama Rao, following Rapson, identifies Sakasada(kani) with Madhariputra Svami Sakasena of the year 7. (PIHC, 1957, pp.65ff). This identification is however uncertain, since the name in the coin is Sakā Sada(kani) (CCADWK, p.10, n.1; p.11, n.2) and not Sakasena.
87. CCADWK., p.46.
88. Ibid., compare pl.IX, no.254-258 with pl.III, G.P.2-3 and also with pl.VII, no.179.
89. AIU., pp.204, CHI., vol.II, pp.315f, EHD., pp.127ff, etc.

D

The date for the termination of the Sātavāhana authority in the Krishna-Guntur region can be inferred from various sources. If, as indicated above, Siri Cada Sāti of coins from the Andhra region is considered identical with Caṇḍaśrī or Candraśrī Sātakarṇi of the Purāṇas, and if these texts have correctly described the latter ruler as the penultimate King of the Andhra line of monarchs⁹⁰, then Sātavāhana's authority was acknowledged in the region in question, almost upto the period of the decline and downfall of the Sātavāhana empire.⁹¹

We have some more reliable sources to help us in solving the problem. The Junagadh inscription of the year 72 i.e., c. A.D.150⁹² states that Rudradāmana(1), in spite of having ... defeated Sātakarṇi, the lord of the Deccan (dakṣiṇāpathapati) did not destroy

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90. DKA, p.43 The name of rulers like Kubha Satakani, Kana Satakarni (JNSI, vol.II, p.24f) who, as their names as well as the discovery of their coins in a hoard containing also Sātavāhana coins indicate (ibid., p.24f), may perhaps be associated with the Sātavāhana dynasty. However, the absence of their names from the Purānic lists may suggest their ascription to a provincial and not ~~for that~~^{to} imperial Sātavāhana family.
91. The Kodavalli epigraph indicates Caṇḍaśrī's rule near Pithipuram. This added with the fact that his successor (according to the Puranas) ~~he~~ ruled in the Bellary district may also suggest that the intervening zone including the Krishna-Guntur districts were under Caṇḍasati.

92. CCADWK pp. cv and ~~cxviii~~ cxviii.

(him) on account of (having) not too distant connection (sambandhāvīdura)⁹³. The epithet dakṣiṇāpathapati associated with the name Sātakarṇi, suggests that the vanquished ruler must have been an imperial Sātavāhana monarch, and the expression sambandhāvīdura indicates that he was a close relation of the Rudradāman(1).

It is interesting to note that an epigraph from Kanheri, referred to above, speaks of a queen of Vāsīṣṭhiputra Śrī Sātakarṇi as a daughter of mahākṣatrapa Ru(dra)⁹⁴. The latter may be identified with Rudradāman(1), since both are known to have assumed the title mahākṣatrapa, and since both the records, from Junagadh and Kanheri, may be attributed to the same age on paleographic grounds.⁹⁵ If this identification is correct, Vāsīṣṭhiputra Śrī Sātakarṇi was a son-in-law of Rudradāman (1). This renders the identification of the Sātavāhana relative of Rudradāman, alluded to in the Junagadh record, with Vāsīṣṭhiputra Sātakarṇi highly

93. EH, vol.VIII, p.44.
 94. ASWI, vol.V, p.78, n.
 95. Ibid., EI, vol.VIII, pl.facing p.44. Forms of letters like ya, sa, ra, ma are identical in both the records.

probable.⁹⁶

Since Sātakarṇi of the Junagadh record or Vāsisthiputra Śrī Sātakarṇi was twice defeated by Rudradāman by the time of that inscription, i.e., c. A.D. 150, he might have ruled for at least sometime before that year or even may have finished his reign by that date. And if he has been correctly identified with Vāsisthiputra Catarapana Sātakarṇi of the Nanaghat inscription of the year 13, some or all of those years may have ended by c. A.D. 150. On the other hand, as in the year 52 or or c. A.D. 130 Caṣṭana was alive and his grandson Rudradāman was an associate ruler,⁹⁷ the latter's son-in-law

96. For the view of G. Bühler, who has suggested this identification see ASWI, vol.V, p.78. The Sātakarṇi of the Junagadh record has also been identified by scholars with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (AIU, p.202), with Vāsisthiputra Pulumāvi (CCADWK, p.XXXVIII), with Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi (EHD, p.108f). For different views regarding the identification of Sātakarṇi of the Junagadh record, see also Lalit Kala, no.3-4 (1956-57) p.19 and PIHC(1951) pp.52f.

If our view on the chronology of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is correct, he must have finished his reign before the earliest possible date of Rudradaman's rule. Vāsisthiputra Pulumāvi never assumed the name Satakarni. Paleography of Yajnasri Satakarni epigraph do not connect him with the Junagadh record so much as does the Kanheri epigraph mentioning Vāsisthiputra Sātakarṇi. Moreover, no source suggests Rudradaman's relation with any Sātakarṇi other than Vāsisthiputra Sātakarṇi.

97. EI, vol.XVI, pp.23f. PHAI, pp.487, 506.

Vasiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi could have hardly started to rule much earlier, if at all, before the last mentioned date. The paleography of his Nanaghat inscription would assign his 13th year to a date sometime after the inscription of Pulumāvi or in other words to sometime roughly in the middle of the 2nd century A.D.⁹⁸

We have already furnished a list of the Sātavāhana monarchs who ruled in the Krishna Guntur region after Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The above discussions make it clear that of them at least Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi should be placed before the rest. The known minimum total period of the rule of the Sātavāhanas in the Krishna-Guntur region after Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi is (27 years of Yajñaśri + 6 or 8 years of Gautamīputra Śrī Vijaya Sātakarṇi + 2 or 13 years of Caṇḍa Sāti=) 35 or 37 or 46 or 48 years. If we place them after the middle of the 2nd century A.D. or c. A.D. 150, the suggested date for Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, the resultant years would be c. A.D. 185 or 187, or 196 or 198.

We should now consider the possibilities that we do not know the periods of rules of all the possible Sātavāhana rulers in Andhradesa and that rulers of known dates may have ruled for longer periods,

98. JBBRAS, vol.XV (1883) pp.312 - 314. Bhagavanlal Indrajī apparently held this view.

and that Pulumāvi of the Myakadoni inscription of the year 8 may have held that area. These considerations suggest that we can date the end of the Sātavāhana rule in the Krishna-Guntur region even a few decades later than c.A.D.198.⁹⁹ Thus the first quarter or even the second quarter of the 3rd century A.D. may be considered as the probable period for the end of Sātavāhana rule in the Krishna-Guntur region. It is interesting to note that there is not much difference between these dates and the suggested dates for the downfall of the whole of the Sātavāhana empire.¹⁰⁰

E

An attempt may now be made to investigate the probable reasons leading to the decline of the Sātavāhana empire and so also of the Sātavāhana rule in the Krishna-Guntur districts.

An interesting feature of Sātavāhana polity was the special position enjoyed by several classes of subordinate rulers. Some of the officers having the title of mahārathi which primarily means provincial ruler - had matrimonial relation with the Sātavāhanas.¹⁰¹ Some other mahārathis,^{who} may or may not have had such connections with the Sātavāhanas struck independent coinage.¹⁰² We have

99. According to one interpretation the date of the Kodavalli inscription of Camdasati is A.D.210. (EI., vol. XVIII, p.318).
 100. AIU, p.206; CHI, vol. II, pp.322f; PHAI, pp.498-499.
 101. ASWI, vol. V, p.64.
 102. CCADWK, pp.57, lxxxii - lxxxiii.

also an instance suggesting that sometimes the mahārathis of the time of the Sātavāhanas granted villages with fiscal immunities attached to them,¹⁰³ and thereby acted as persons invested with great authority. The existence of hereditary mahārathiship is perhaps suggested by an epigraph of Pulumāvi's time which ascribed the title Mahārathi to both a father and his son.¹⁰⁴ Mahābhōjas, another class of officials, also sometimes enjoyed quasi-independence.¹⁰⁵

The existence of a powerful mahāsenapati in the days of Pulumāvi, identified with the last mentioned Sātavāhana ruler of the Purānic list of Andhra kings, is perhaps suggested by the Myakadoni inscription of his year 8, found in the Bellary district. This epigraph refers to the digging of a tank by a householder, residing in the village (of) Vepuruka, belonging to gamika (< gramika) kumāradata in the province of Satavahanihara, belonging to the mahāsenapati Khamdanaka.¹⁰⁶

103. EI., vol. VII, p. 61f.

104. EI., vol. VII, p. 61f. EHAC., p.

105. CHI., vol. II, p. 317. EHAC., p. 78-80.

106. EI., vol. XIV, p. 155.

This mahāsenāpati in question, who apparently owed allegiance to the Sātavāhana monarch, enjoyed Sātavāhanihara probably as his fief. If we identify the Sātavāhanihara of the Myakadoni inscription with Sātāhaniraṭṭha of the Hiranhadagalli copperplate of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, found also in the Bellēry district,¹⁰⁷ then Sātavāhanihara must have comprised a fairly large portion of the modern Bellēry district. The mahāsenāpati enjoying Sātavāhanihara in his turn had under him another official (a gumika) enjoying proprietary right to a village.

Thus the highest officials and hereditary rulers in the Sātavāhana empire often enjoyed de jure or de facto autonomous status. This probably augmented the power of the highest officials or subordinate rulers.

This overgrowth of power among the subordinate officers might have precipitated the

107. EI, vol. I, pp 5f. In this connection we may note that epigraphs of the time of Gautamiputra Sātakarni records the granting of lands by royal personages to members of different sects under the expressed conditions that the fields so granted 'shall not be entered (by any royal officers), not to be touched (by any of them), not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered by the district police, and shall enjoy all kinds of immunities'. (EI, vol. VIII, p. 73, 65f etc.). The members of different orders enjoying this kind of immunities were probably at least to some extent independent of the state. We do not know whether this state of affair had anything to undermine the power of the Sātavāhanas.

centrifugal tendencies always inherent in the body politic of an early empire. A Purānic passage seems to illuminate this point. It states that when the kingdom of the Andhras has come to an end, there will be kings belonging to the lineage of their servants', (Andhrānām samsthite rājye teṣām bhṛtvānvayā nrpāh,) and cites the Andhras, the Ābhīras, the Gadhabhins, the Śakas, the Yavanas, the Tuṣāras, the the Muruṇḍas and the Maunas¹⁰⁸ as the successors of the Andhras (Sātavāhanas) in the territory held (formerly) by the latter.¹⁰⁹

The above Purānic passage apparently indicates that the Andhrabhṛtyas brought about the downfall of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) empire. Since the Purānic texts often suffer from corruptions,¹¹⁰ the above statement cannot be accepted at its face value. Moreover, no known source suggests that the Ābhīras, the Gardhabhins, the Śakas, the Yavanas, the Tuṣāras, the Muruṇḍas and the Maunas ever served under the Andhras (Sātavāhanas). However, as the Ābhira King Iśvaraśena ruled in the Nasik area¹¹¹ probably immediately or not long after the fall of the

108. The Matsya Purāna has Huna in place of Mauna. (DKA, p. 47).

109. DKA, p. 45-47. The Matsya, Vayu and the Brahmanda Purana stated '...Andhrānām samsthite rājye teṣām bhṛtya-ānvaya-nrpāh Saptāy/Andhra bhaviṣyanti daś/Abhīras tathā nrpāh...' The Bhavīsyā and Viṣṇu Purāna has Sapt/Abhīrā Andhrabhṛtya in place of teṣām bhṛtya-ānvaya nrpāh... (ibid., p. 45). E. J. Rapson thinks that the Purānas represent the peoples as successive rulers. (CCADWK, p. 1xx). A careful perusal of the text, however, indicate that the people were contemporaries. See also H. H. Wilson (editor) Viṣṇu Purana, §136, p. 380, n. 64. (cont'd. overleaf).

Sātavāhanas in that region,¹¹² and since the Ābhīras, unlike the Śakas and Kuṣānas, are not known to have belonged to any royal family earlier than this, we should not altogether deny the possibility of the Ābhīras having been once subordinate to the Andhras, (Sātavāhanas). That the Ābhīras sometimes served under kings of different ethnic affiliations is indicated by the Gunda inscription which refers to Ābhīra Rudrabhūti as a senāpati, apparently under the Kṣatrapas.¹¹³

Again the term Andhra (different from Andhra, ~~the~~, Sātavāhanas) also occurring in the list of Andhrabhṛtyas may denote the successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Krishna-Guntur area, which was already known as Andhra by the time of the decline of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) empire. Hence, we cannot perhaps summarily reject the claim of the Purāṇas that the family of Andhra Kings (successors of the Sātavāhana in the Krishna-Guntur area) originally

(cont'd. from previous page)

110. E.J. Rapson (Editor) - Cambridge History of India, vol. I, (1922) p. 299.

111. EI., vol. VIII, p. 88; 105; CCADWK, pp. XLIV, cxx. The year 9 of Išvarasena is generally referred to the Traikutaka era of A.D. 248. (CII, vol. IV, p. Introduction).

112. The last Sātavāhana record from Nasik belongs to year 7 of Yajñaśri. Satakarni (EI., vol. VIII, p. 94).

113. IA., vol. X, (1881), pp. 157f.

owed allegiance to the Andhras (Sātavāhanas). Thus there may be some truth in the Purānic statement in question.¹¹⁴ In fact, our subsequent discussion (pp. 113f.) will bear out such a possibility.

On the other hand, it can be demonstrated that the Purānic authors misunderstood at least some of the other powers, ruling within or near the territories held earlier by the Andhras, as having been originally their servants. The Nasik inscription of Gautamī Balaśrī claims Gautamīputra's authority over Anupa Surāṭha, Kukura, etc.,¹¹⁵ On the other hand, the Junagadh inscription describes Rudradāman(1) as the lord inter alia,¹¹⁶ of Anupa (nivṛd), Surāstra, and Kukura. As mahākṣtrapa Rudradāman(1) ruled after Gautamīputra Sātakarni, the family of the former obviously wrested these territories from the Sātavāhanas. And we have no evidence suggesting reassertion of Sātavāhana authority in these regions.

Again, the Nasik praśasti includes Ākara within Gautamīputra's empire.¹¹⁷ There is no evidence of Sātavāhana suzerainty over that area after him. On the other hand, the Sanchi inscription of Vaskusāna of the

114. K. Gopalachari accepts the Purānic statement (CHI, vol. II, p. 325.)

115. EI, vol. VIII, p. 60.

116. Ibid., p. 44. For identification of these regions see CCADWK, p. xxxi-xxxiii.

117. EI, vol. VIII, p. 60.

year 22¹¹⁸ of the Kaniska era, and the Sanchi epigraph of Vāsiska of the year 28 of the Kaniska era¹¹⁹ alluded to the Kuṣāna influence in the Sanchi area of eastern Malwa, corresponding to ancient Ākara.¹²⁰ Gautamīputra, Sātakarṇi ruled, as demonstrated above, in or about the last quarter of the 1st century A.D. And if we accept the theory of dating the year 1 of the Kaniska era to A.D. 78,¹²¹ we may not be wrong in supposing that the Kuṣānas annexed Ākara form the Sātavāhanas.¹²² The Kuṣānas, as is well known, formed a branch of the Yüeh-Chih¹²³ also called Tukhara.¹²⁴ Tusara is a recognisable variant of the word Tukhara.¹²⁵

118. H. Hamid, R. C. Kar and R. P. Chanda - Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi, pp. 29-30. no. a 82; PIHC, p. 464, n. 8: (1944), p. 135; BSOAS, vol. XV (1953) p. 97.

119. SI, p. 144-145.

120. CCADWK, p. XXXIII, JA, vol. VII, (1878), p. 259.

121. PHAI, pp. 464ff.

122. An early medieval Chinese story refers to a struggle between Kaniska (the Kuṣāna king) and a Sātavāhana. (BEFEO vol. VI, (1906), pp. 38, 39).


Ākara, as the Junagadh inscription reveals, was under Rudradāman (I). It is suggested that the family of Caṣṭana originally served under the Kuṣānas. If this was so, the rule of that house there may have begun under the influence of the Kuṣānas.

123. Ch'ien-Han-shu, ch. 96a; PHAI, p. 458.

124. Ta-chih-tu-lun, ch. XXV; JA, vol. IX, (1877) pp. 310-11, n. 1.

125. BSOAS, vol. VIII, (1935-37), p. 888. We may add here that the Puranic information about the people like the Yavanas, Gardhabhins, Murāṇḍas and Maunas as having succeeded the the Andhras, is not supported by any other evidence. However, we may note here that several Karle epigraphs refer to Yavanas from Dhenukakata (EI, vol. VII, pp. 53, 55 vol. XVII, pp. 326-328). A Nagarjunakonda epigraph of Abhira Vasuseṇa datable to the middle of the 4th century A.D. refers to the Yo(na)rajas of Sanjayapuri (EI, vol. XXXIV, pp. 202-203). We do not know whether the Yavanas of Dhenukakata or the Yo(na)rajas of Sanjayapuri had anything to do with the downfall of the Sātavāhanas.

The above reasonings make us inclined to believe that Sātavāhana subordinates and some outside powers were responsible in different periods for the disruption of the Sātavāhana empire. The territorial disintegration probably began long before the final date of the dissolution of the empire. In fact, though intermittent struggle between the Scytho-Parthian Kṣatrapas and the Sātavāhanas seems to have resulted in permanent loss of some territories held by the latter, there is no evidence of direct contact between the two powers after the days of Rudradāman(I).¹²⁶

Another group of successors of the Andhras (Sātavāhanas), though not mentioned by the Purāṇas, may have been the Sātakarni family^{of Vanavasi}. The rule of the latter dynasty in the Vanavasi region is indicated by two inscriptions from Malavalli and Vanavasi. The former record designates Hāritīputta Vinhukadḍa Cutukulānanda Sātakarni as ~~the~~ Vaiyayantīpura rājā.¹²⁷ He is apparently the same as Hāritīputra Vinhukadḍa Cutukulānanda Sātakarni of the Vanavasi inscription.¹²⁸ These epigraphs alluding to the rule of a Sātakarni family in

126. S. V. Krishna Rao (EHD, p.136) states that "relentless pressure of the Sakas of Ujjain sounded the knell of the Sātavāhana empire". This view is not substantiated by known facts.

127. EC, vol.VII, p.251.

128. EI, vol.XXXIV, pp.241-242.

Vanavasi may be attributed to the third century A.D. on paleographic grounds.¹²⁹ Ptolemy includes Banabasi in Ariake,¹³⁰ apparently the same as Ariakē Sadinon,¹³¹ which has been interpreted to denote the Ariaca country under the Sātavāhanas.¹³² According to some scholars, a reference in a Nasik inscription to senāve Vejayantīve vijaya-Khadhāvārā as the place from where Gautamīputra Sātakarni is said to have issued an order to an amaca at Govadhana,¹³³ indicates his authority over Vejayanti or Vaijayanti i.e., Vanavasi.¹³⁴ The evidence of Ptolemy and of the Nasik inscription may thus hint at the Sātavāhana authority in Vanavasi in south western Deccan. It is not known when and how this area passed from the possession of the Sātavāhanas to that of the royal family alluded to in the Vanavasi and Malavalli inscriptions.¹³⁶

As our present knowledge of the history of the Sātavāhanas after Yajñaśrī Sātakarni is rather vague, we cannot state the reasons and stages of their decline more clearly. Nevertheless, the above

129. See below ch.V, p. n.

130. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 83.

131. JA, vol.CCXXVII, (1936), pp.72-75.

132. Our Heritage, vol.XI pp.648. The Periplus also refers to the Ariaca (sec. 41).

133. EI, vol.VIII, p.73.

134. CCADWK, p.xiviii.

135. Ibid., p.liv.

136. See in this connection CHI, vol.II, p.325.

discussion may be adequate to indicate that among the factors leading to their downfall were the inroads of outside powers and the rise of local families as well as of subordinate chiefs. In the successive stages of the decline either one or the other of these factors may have been particularly active.

E

One of these factors may have been primarily responsible for the end of Sātavāhana rule in the Krishna-Guntur area. In fact the above-quoted Purānic passages mentions Andhra as one of the Andhrabhr̥tyas¹³⁷ (servants of the Sātavāhanas) to have succeeded the Andhras (Sātavāhanas). This Andhra may have been as we have also indicated above (pp. 108-109) the Sātavāhana successors in the Krishna-Guntur region.

The actual change of power in the zone in question is indicated by a comparative study of two groups of coins. On grounds of fabric and provenance, several Sātavāhana lead coins bearing the devices of elephant and Ujjain symbol, have been attributed to the Krishna-Godavari districts, (pp. 292 f.) while some copper species of the same dynasty displaying identical types have been unearthed at Nagarjunakonda in the Guntur district.¹³⁸

137. See above n.109.

138. IA, AR, (1956-57), p.38 and pl.IXA; CCTAPGM pp.1 f.

Hence our conclusion, at least in the present state of our knowledge, should be that coins of the Ikṣvākus of the Krishna Guntur region was influenced by a class of Śātavāhana species and that they directly succeeded the Śātavāhanas in that area.

This hypothesis is corroborated by another evidence. We have already referred to the Nagarjunakonda^{inscription} of the year 6 or 8 of Vijaya Śātakarṇi, identifiable with Vijaya whom the Purānas have placed before the last two Andhra Kings.¹⁴¹ This inscription betrays striking similarities with those of the earliest Ikṣvāku records from Nagarjunakonda.¹⁴² In fact the record of Vijaya Śātakarṇi is paleographically related more to those of the Ikṣvākus than to any other royal dynasty of early

141. DKA, p.4.

142. One of the marked characteristics of the later Śātavāhana inscriptions is a tendency towards elongation and ornamentation of letters. This tendency attains perfection during the reign of the Ikṣvākus. In fact the Nagarjunakonda inscription of Vijaya Satakarni is very similar to the Ikṣvāku inscriptions from the same region. The form of the letters sa, ya, ra and na of the inscription of Vijaya Śātakarṇi is absolutely similar to those of the Ikṣvāku inscriptions.

Andhradesa.¹⁴³ This may perhaps preclude the possibility of any great interval between Vijaya Sātakarṇi and the Ikṣvākus.

In this connection we can profitably refer to^a statement in the Matsya Purāna. We have seen that some Puranās mention the Andhras as one of the Andhrabhṛtyas.¹⁴⁴ The Matsya Purāna, however, replaces the name Andhra in this context by the name Āndhra Śrīpārvatīyas.¹⁴⁵ The name Śrīpārvata occurs in several Nagarjunakonda epigraphs of the Ikṣvākus and their provenances and contexts give us an approximate idea of the situation of the former mountain. We have already demonstrated that the 'Sirparvata' was either a general appellation for the Nagarjunakonda region or a region which included Nagarjunakonda (pp.47-48).

143. If we compare the inscription of Vijaya Sātakarṇi with the earliest Pallava inscriptions from Andhradeśa i.e., the Machikallu inscription (EI, vol. XXXII, p.87) of Siṅhavanna and the Mayidavolu inscription of Śivaskandavarman, we find that the letters ra, sa, ya and a are considerably different from each other. In fact the Mayidavoly inscription has a sa like (✓) when the usual Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku sa was like (∅). We do not find the later Sātavāhana characteristics such as elongation and ornamentation in the early Pallava records from the Andhra region.

144. DKA, p.45.

145. Ibid., p.46.

If this is so, the Ikṣvākus who most probably had their capital or one of their chief cities in the Nagarjunakonda valley could have been called Śrīpārvatīyas (or those belonging to or living in Śrīparvata). Again, since they ruled in the area called Andhrāpatha they could also be called Andhras (i.e., people or rulers of or belonging to the Andhra region).

If this interpretation is correct,¹⁴⁶ the royal Ikṣvākus are alluded to in the Purānic source as the Śrīparvatiya Andhras and are included among the descendants of the servants of the Imperial Andhras or the Sātavāhanas, and succeeded the latter rulers over a part of their dominions.

Judged from all these angles, the generally accepted theory of the Ikṣvāku succession to the Sātavāhanas in the Andhra region seems to be well-founded.¹⁴⁷ And if our interpretation of the Purānic texts referred to above is acceptable, and if the latter's information is authentic, the ancestors of the royal Ikṣvākus might have been servants (i.e., officials of subordinate chiefs) of the Sātavāhanas.

146. In this connection see JBORS, vol.XIX (1933) p.171f.

EHAC, pp.125-127.
147. JBORS, p.171f. EHAC, pp.125-127. AIU, pp.224 etc.,

The Ikṣvākus, if they were really Sātavāhana officials, probably disowned allegiance to the Sātavāhanas sometime between the date of the Nagarjunakonda inscription of Vijaya Sātakarni of the year 6 or 8 and the year when Cāṅtamūla performed the aśvamedha sacrifice, evidently as an independent ruler (pp. 140f.).

At the same time the independent reign of the Ikṣvākus must be placed after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas in the Andhra region, which cannot be dated before c. A.D. 198 or even a few decades later (pp. 103-104).

Thus it appears that the first quarter of the third century A.D. or a period ^a little after that, ushered in the Ikṣvāku hegemony in the Lower Kṛishna valley, comprising the districts of Krishna and Guntur and representing at least substantially the ancient Andhrāpatha.

Chapter V.

The Ikṣvākus.A.Original homeland

The ethnic affiliation and the original homeland of the new rulers - the Ikṣvākus¹ cannot be determined with as much probability as the probable date of their emergence. However, the name Ikṣvaku is of great antiquity. The Rg Veda refers to Ikṣvaku as a hero.² The name occurs again in the Atharva Veda,³ but it is doubtful whether it refers to the same hero mentioned in the Rg Veda or to one of his descendents.⁴ The Śatapatha Brāhmana describes the Paurava King Purukutsa as an Aikṣvaku.⁵ It is also interesting to note that Trayarāna Traidhāta Trasadasyu, identifiable either with Purukutsa's son Trasadasya⁶ or with one of the latter's descendents,⁷ is called an Aikṣvāku in the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmana.⁸ These testimonies apparently induced A.A.Macdonell and A.B.Keith to hold

1. The word literally means 'a bitter gourd' (M.Monier Williams - A Sanskrit English Dictionary.p.164. See also SSLD.p.12.)
2. Rg Veda X,60.4.
3. Ātharva Veda,XIV,39.9.
4. Vedic Index,vol.I,p.75.
5. Śatapatha Brāhmana,XII,5,4,5.
6. Rg Veda,V.33.8; VII,19,3; VII,19,36;IV,42,8. See also IV,38.
7. Vedic Index,vol.I.p.333.
8. Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmana,XIII,3,12.

that the Ikṣvākus were originally a branch of the Purus or Pauravas.⁹ These Ikṣvākus, alluded to in the Vedic literature, may have flourished within or near the Aryan zone in northern India. Some scholars believe that they flourished in the Upper Indus Region,¹⁰ while some others locate their habitat in a territory some-what further east.¹¹

The Epic and Puranic traditions also seem to have preserved the name Ikṣvāku. The Rāmāyana,¹² and the Mahābhārata¹³ mention Ikṣvāku as the founder of the Solar dynasty in which the epic hero Rāma was thought to have been born. The Purānas, like the Matsya, Vāyu, Viṣṇu and the Brahmānda, refer to the high souled (mahātmanah) Ikṣvākus and furnish a long list of names of Ikṣvākus starting from Brhadbala. In this list the Purānas include Śākya Suddhodhana, Siddhārtha,

9. Vedic Index.vol.I.p.75.

10.H.Zimmer. Altindisches Leben (1879)pp.104 n. and 130.

11.R.Pischel → Vedische Studien.vol.II (1897)p.218.
K.F.Geldner, ibid.vol.III.(1901)p.152.

12.Ramayana,I,1,12.

13.Mahābhārata,II,14,568-69;III,205,8-9.

Rāhula, Prasenajit etc.¹⁴ It is doubtful whether all the kings alleged to have belonged to the Ikṣvāku family really ever existed. Moreover, some historical persons who had no connections with the Ikṣvākus may have been wrongly attributed to their family. Nevertheless there is no reason to doubt the very existence of the Ikṣvāku family referred to in the Puranas.

It appears from the context of the above sources that the Ikṣvākus, mentioned in the Epic and Purānic sources had their seat of authority in the region around Ayodhyā (modern Oudh in the Faizabad district, U.P.). We do not know whether these Ikṣvākus were related to the Ikṣvākus of the Vedic sources.

As already noted Ikṣvāku was regarded as the founder of the solar dynasty. Some Buddhist texts claim Ikṣvāku to have been the predecessor of the Buddha,¹⁵ Some tirthankaras of the Jainas are also said to have belonged to the Ikṣvāku lineage.¹⁶ We also find that many south Indian

14. DKA. pp.9-11.

15. Majjhima Nikāya (P.T.S) vol.II, p.124; Mahāvastu (Jones' edition) (1956).III, p.236, V.246.

16. H.Jacobi (editor) The Kalpasutra of Bhadrabāhu. The Jaina Sutras (SBE) p.218.

dynasties such as the Colas,¹⁷ the Gaṅgas,¹⁸ etc., have claimed their descent from Ikṣvāku. The Mahāvamsa calls some of the Ceylonese kings as descendents of Okkāka.¹⁹ Sinhalese epigraphs datable to periods from the tenth century onwards claimed that some kings of Ceylon belonged to the Okkāko dynasty.²⁰

It is difficult to believe that all these dynasties and families had connections with the Ikṣvākus of the Ayodhya region in the north. The testimonies in question may only indicate the popularity and perhaps the sanctity of the name Ikṣvāku and also of the dynasty founded by him.

The Ikṣvākus of the Krishna Guntur area however did not consider them as descendants of King Ikṣvāku or of his family, but actually assumed the dynastic name Ikṣvāku.²¹ This leads one to examine the relationship of the Ikṣvākus of the Krishna-Guntur area and those of the Ayodhya region.

17. EI.vol.XVIII,p.26

18. E.C.vol.VII,p.7,no.4. R.Rice,Coorg Inscriptions pp.3f. See also BRAAH.pp.81-82.

19. Mahāvamsa.LXX,32.

20. EZ.vol.II,p.30;vol.III,p.137 etc.

21. Gopalachari thinks that this feature indicates that the Ikṣvākus of the Krishna Guntur region had real connection with the Ikṣvākus of the North. (EHAC.p.129,130.n.24)

Stressing mainly the Purānic and Epic references to a southern course of migration of some Ikṣvākus,²² scholars like K. Gopalacari,²³ B.V.Krishna Rao,²⁴ and K.R. Subramaniyan,²⁵ and P.R. Ramachandran Rao,²⁶ assume some kind of relationship between the two groups. Some of them²⁷ in addition to the above sources, further point out that according to a Kanarese work called Dharmāmrtam, Ikṣvāku Yasodhara of Anga, a contemporary of the twelfth tirthānkara Vāsupujya, carved out a kingdom for himself in the Veṅgi country and founded the town of Pratipālapura.²⁸ M.S.Sharma identified the latter town with Bhattiprolu.²⁹

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22. The Vāyu Purāna (88,9) states that of the 100 sons of Ikṣvāku, 48 ruled in the south. The Raghuvamśa (XVI,31) and the Vāyu Purāna (99,199) with minor variations, refers to the establishment of Kuśavati on the south of the Vindhya and the Reva by Kuśa a son of Rāma. The Kuśa Jātaka has an almost similar story (Fausboll, Jātakas, vol.V, pp.234f.) These may, however, be nothing but a legend based upon the etymology of the name Kuśavati, brought in connection with Kuśa.
23. EHAC.p.129
24. EDA.pp.21,22.
25. BRAAH.p.81.
26. P.R.Ramachandran Rao, The Art of Nagarjunakonda (1956)p.67.
27. EHAC.p.129; EDA.p.122.
28. R.Shama Sastry (editor) Dharmāmrtam by Nayasena (1924).Ch.XI,VV 62-71.pp.76-77.
29. A paper read by M.S.Sharma on 'Jainism in South India' before the Archaeological Society of South India. cf. EHAC, p.129, n.24.

The Puranic and Epic tradition of a southerly migration of the Ikṣvākus do not necessarily indicate that they went to the Andhra region itself. The Dharmāmṛitam is perhaps the only source which relates to an Ikṣvāku drift into a region not far from the ancient Andhrāpatha. It is, however, difficult to place implicit faith in an early medieval text like the Dharmāmṛtam with regard to an event alleged to have happened in the distant past.

The epithet... 'ikhāku-rāja-pravara risi satapabhava-vamsa-sambhava' (sprung from hundreds of sages and excellent kings of Ikṣvāku's lineage) is applied to the Buddha in the Nagarjunakonda epigraph of the regnal year 14 of Ikṣvāku king Vīrapurusadatta.³⁰ Sircar thinks that it may refer to a claim of the king to belong to the dynasty of the Lord Buddha,³¹ who is traditionally described as a scion of the Ikṣvāku family of Kosala. We must admit, however, that the above passage may only vaguely allude to such a claim but by no means prove any such connection.

30. EI.vol.XX.p.22.F. This is an epigraph in Ikṣvāku characters and refers to the reign of king Mathariputa. The latter metronymic was borne by Vīrapuruṣadatta, the second king of the line.

31. SSLD.p.10.

In fact, similarity of names seems to be the only feature common to the Ikṣvākus of Ayodhya and other places of northern India and to the family of Vīrapurusadatta. Neither the Puranic and Epic traditions, nor the Nagarjunakonda epigraphs explicitly connect the Ikṣvākus of the Andhra region with the Ikṣvāku of the north.³² There is therefore no clear evidence of any connection between the Ikṣvākus of the Andhra region and those of Ayodhya or elsewhere.

32. In this connection we can refer to an oft-quoted passage of Caldwell that 'the Aryan immigrants to the south appear to have been generally Brahmanical priests and instructors rather than Kṣatriya soldiers; and the kings of the Pāndyas, Cholas, Kalingas and the Dravidians, appear to have been simply Dravidian Chieftains, whom their Brahmanical preceptors and spiritual directors... taught to imitate and emulate the grandeur and cultivated tastes of the Solar Lunar and Agnikula races of Kings.' (R. Caldwell, Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages (1875) p.115.) The Ikṣvākus of the Krishna-Guntur region may have adopted under strong Brahmanical influence, the name of the solar dynasty of Ayodhyas as their family name.

Rapson,³³ following Bühler,³⁴

considered that the Ikṣvākus of the Andhra region were Rājputs of northern descent. None of them however stated any reason for such a hypothesis. The use of the term Rājput with relation to any early Indian dynasty is rather unhappy. It is not until the early medieval times that we come across that name. Moreover, there is absolutely no evidence to connect the Ikṣvākus of the Andhra region with any part of Rajputana.

Dr. Sten Konow locates the original homeland of the Ikṣvākus somewhere in the Western Deccan, particularly in the Kanarese districts. He bases his surmise on a study of some linguistic characteristics of the Ikṣvāku epigraphs, which according to him ~~can~~ also be found in Kanarese.³⁵ But as will be demonstrated at a later stage the substratum in the language of the Ikṣvāku epigraphs distinguished as Kanarese by Konow may equally be considered as Tamil and also as Telegu (p).

33. CCADWK.p.XI,IV, pp.xliv,

34. IA.,vol.XI (1882)pp.256-257.

35. EI.vol.XX,pp.21,22.

Thus in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, the original homeland of the Ikṣvākus, the successors of the Śātavāhanas, may be sought either in the Andhra region, where they are known to have ruled, or in an area not far from the latter territory. The Puranas call them Andhras and also Andhra-Sripārvatīyas. We have indicated earlier that the Sriparavata in question should be placed in or about the Nagarjunakonda region (p. 100). Thus if the Puranic statement can be believed, the Ikṣvākus might have been a local people of the Krishna-Guntur region.

B.

Caste

Whether the Ikṣvākus of the Krishna-Guntur region are to be considered as of northern, west Deccanese or of purely local origin, it is certain that they used Brahmanic metronymics.

Buhler believes that the Brahmanic metronymics borne by kings do not necessarily prove that they themselves were Brāhmanas, because, according to the Sraūta Sūtras Kṣatriya kings were sometimes affiliated to their purohitas for religious purposes,³⁶ and adopted the gotra of

36. Et. vol. I. p. 394.

their purohitas. But as D.R. Bhandarkar has rightly pointed out, what the Srauta Sūtras actually lay down in case of a Ksatriya or a Vaisya is the adoption of the pravara and not the gotra of his purohita.³⁷ However, it should be admitted that the adoption of pravara naturally implies the adoption of the gotra as well.³⁸

Bhandarkar is of the opinion that the very use of the dynastic name Iksvāku by the kings concerned suggests that, like the Iksvākus of the north, they were Ksatriyas of the Solar dynasty. He further observes that the use of Vedic or Brāhmanic metronymics does not necessarily indicate that they were Brāhmanas. According to him, the use of Vedic metronymics by the Iksvākus may be explained by the assumption of their practice of pratiloma marriages, i.e. marriages between Ksatriya Iksvāku males and Brāhmaṇa females.³⁹

It has, however, been pointed out above that there is no strong evidence

37. Ibid. vol. XXII, p. 34.

38. J. Brough, The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara (1953) pp. 2-3

39. EI. vol. XXII, p. 36.

for a connection between the Ikṣvākus of the north and those of the Andhra region. Nor is there any clear indication that the Ikṣvākus of the latter region practised the pratiloma form of marriage.

It is also difficult to determine the caste of the Ikṣvākus. B.V. Krishnarao thinks that the Ikṣvākus were Brāhmanas, probably 'anāriseya Brāhmanas! He explained the term 'anāriseya' as denoting those who had no gotras and consequently adopted metronymics.⁴⁰ It is noteworthy that none of the numerous Ikṣvākus inscriptions refer to their gotra. Some inscriptions of Cāntisri, a sister of the Ikṣvaku king Cāntamūla, mention her son Khamdasagar-amnaka,⁴¹ but do not state his metronymic. Had his metronymic been mentioned, we could have known the gotra of his mother's family, i.e. the Ikṣvāku dynasty.

As this is, however, an argumentum ex silentio, it would not be wise to infer from the above premises that the Ikṣvākus had no gotra.

40. EDA.p.38

41. EI.vol.XX,p.16.C3;p.21.E.

In fact B.V.Krishnarao is not sure of his own hypothesis for he alternatively suggests that the gotra of the Iksvākus was probably Hārīta.⁴¹ We may, however, point out that Hārīta was not the name of gotra. It denoted a gana belonging to the Vāsīṣṭha gotra and also Kevala Āṅgīrasagotra.⁴² Among the Iksvākus there was a prince called Hārītiputra Vīrapuruṣadatta (II)⁴³ and this should indicate that the Iksvākus had matrimonial relations with a family of Hariti gana having the Kevala Āṅgīrasa or the Vāsīṣṭha gotra. Since the Iksvākus were at least initially within the sphere of the Brāhmanical culture (pp.400f.) it would be rather difficult, though not impossible, to believe that they violated the Sāstric taboo on marriage within the families of the same gana as well as gotra.⁴⁴ This indicated that the Iksvākus probably did not belong to the Harita gana and also to either the Vāsīṣṭha or Kevala Āṅgīrasa gotra.

41. EDA.p.39.

42. J.Brough,op.cit,pp.121,123,131,133,177.

43. EI.vol.XXXIV,p.19.

44. Manuṣaṃhita - III,5.

A similar line of argument also tends to suggest that the gotra of the Ikṣvākus, if they had any, could not have been the Vāsisthi,⁴⁵ Kāśyapa,⁴⁶ or Br̥hatphalāyana.⁴⁷ For they had connubial relations with the families of these gotras.

Thus we do not know whether the Ikṣvākus of the Krishna-Guntur region were Br̥hmanas or Ksatriyas. However, it is evident from their use of Brahmanical metonymics and the performances of Vedic sacrifices by their first King Cāntamūla that they, or at least some of them, either belonged to the Br̥hmanical religion, or adopted such a faith, or at least were under the influence of the Br̥hmanical culture. (pp. 400f).

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45. Names of Ikṣvāku rulers Vāsisthīputra Cāntamūla (EI.vol.XX,p.16 C3), Vāsisthīputra Ehuṅula Cāntamūla (ibid.p.24 G), Vāsisthīputra Rudrapuruṣadatta (EI.vol.XXXIV,p.22) suggested that Ikṣvākus had matrimonial relations with families of Vāsistha gotra.
46. The name of Ikṣvāku King Māthariputra Virapurusa-datta (EI.vol.XX.p.16,C3) indicates that the Ikṣvākus had matrimonial relations with a family of Mātharā gana belonging to Kāśyapa gotra.
47. A queen of Ehuṅula Cāntamūla hailed from a family belonging to the Br̥hatphalāyana gotra (EI.vol.XXXIV,p.22).

C
Kings

The lack of our knowledge concerning the origin and caste of the Ikṣvākus, however, does not impair the value of the suggestion put forward in the previous chapter, that they were the political heir of the Śātavāhanas in the Krishna-Guntur region. As suggested in the same chapter, the Ikṣvākus probably served under the Śātavāhanas in that area and later wrested from them the authority over it (pp.108-109).

Inscriptions and coins from Nagarjunakonda and other places supply the information of the reigns of four generations of Ikṣvākus in the Krishna Guntur region. They were Vasethiputa Siri Cāntamūla⁴⁸ (Vāsisthīputra Śrī Cāntamūla) Maṭhariputa Siri Virapurisadata,⁴⁹ (Mathariputra Sri Vīrapurusadatta) Vasethiputa Siri Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla⁵⁰ (Vāsisthīputra Sri Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla) and Vasethiputa Siri Rudrapurisadata⁵¹ or Siri Rulupurisadata.⁵² (Vāsisthīputra Sri Rudrapurusadatta.)

48. EI.XX, Insc. p.16.C3.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid. Insc. p.24. G.

51. Ibid. vol. XXXIV, p.22

52. Ibid. vol. XXVI, p.125

In addition to the four above-mentioned Ikṣvāku kings two more Ikṣvākus princes are known. They were Eli Ehuvaladāsannaka,⁵³ a son of Vīrapuruṣadatta, and Vīrapuruṣadatta (II),⁵⁴ a son of Ehuvala Cāntamūla.

(i) Cāntamūla

There are no epigraphic records belonging to the reign of the first Ikṣvāku king Cāntamūla. Information on him is gleaned from the epigraphs of his descendants.⁵⁵ However, some coins bearing the anem Cata(mula) may be ascribed to him.⁵⁶

His name is variously spelt as Cātamula,⁵⁷ Cāntamula⁵⁸ and Cāntamūla.⁵⁹ Vogel considers Cāntamūla as the correct form of the name.⁶⁰ The instances of slight deviation from this original form may have been due to linguistic peculiarities or

53. Ibid. vol. XXXV. p. 11.

54. Ibid. vol. XXXIV. p. 19.

55. His name is found in most of the inscriptions, ^{referring} to the reign of his son, grandson, and his great-grandson.

56. CCDAPGM. pp. 23-24. p. I, 1f.

57. ET. vol. XX. Insc. p. 16 C3; p. 19 C2; p. 21 E etc.

58. Ibid. p. 20, C4.

59. Ibid. vol. XXI. p. 65, M1; vol. XXXV, p. 3. etc.

60. Ibid. vol. XX. p. 3. n. 2.

due to the carelessness of the scribes, a very common feature of Ikṣvāku epigraphs.⁶¹

Sten Konow derives the word Cānta from Sanskrit Ksānta.⁶² He suggests alternatively its relation with Candaka, 'the designation of some actors from Mathura'.⁶³ We, however, fail to detect any apparent connection between Cānta and Candaka. However, the feasibility of Cānta's having been derived from Ksānta cannot be denied. Indeed Kṣa often changes into ca in the Prakrit dialect, one of which by and large was the language of Ikṣvāku epigraphs (compare cula^{63a} and ksudra^{63a}). However, in Ikṣvāku inscriptions Kṣa is sometimes represented by Kha (rukha = vrkṣa)⁶⁴. Hence we cannot be absolutely certain of the derivation of Cāntamūla from Ksāntamūla.

61. For instance in one epigraph the word mahārāja is engraved as mahara (EI.XX.p.19 B5, l.3, pl.B5). In another of them majhima seems to be wrongly inscribed as manigaya (ibid.p.20, C2, pl.C2.)

62. EI., vol.XX.p.25.

63. Ibid.p.26.

63a. Culaḥnaṁmagiri = Kṣudra Dharmagiri (EI.vol.XX.pp 22F)

64. EI.vol.XX.p.22.F.

D.C.Sircar, who sanskritises the name as Śāntamula, however, has a stronger case. He has rightly pointed out that modern Tamil, has no letter in its alphabet corresponding to śa of Sanskrit, and that Sanskrit śa is generally represented in Tamil by ca (e.g., Sanskrit pasu = Tamil pacu and Sanskrit satru = Tamil catturu.)⁶⁵ He further observes that this is due 'possibly to the fact that Sanskrit śa is represented in Prakrit by sa which again is almost identical with Dravidian ca e.g. cf. Kulacarman for Kulaśarman in Udayanandiram grant of Nandivarman Pallava. Sometimes sa is represented by ca in Prakrit e.g. sava = Pali cava. The word Śaka has sometimes been mentioned in Indian literature (e.g., Gargsamhita), as Caka.'⁶⁶

We may substantiate D.C. Sircar's suggestion in favour of Sanskritising Cāntamūla as Śāntamula. In modern Tamil the letter ஶ is now usually pronounced as sa, although the form of the letter is ultimately derived from that of ca in Sanskrit. It is also used for transcribing the letters

65. SSLD.p.17.n.1.

66. Ibid.

sa, śa or ca of Sanskrit words.

Thus, of the two suggested Sanskrit forms of the name Cāntamūla, the form Sāntamūla as suggested by D.C.Sircar, has a stronger case. Hence the question is whether we should indeed treat the name as having been derived from a Sanskrit base. The answer seems to be in the negative, since the Sanskrit epigraphs of our period also spell this name as Cāntamūla.⁶⁷ In the same records the Prakrit or Prakritised name like Virapurisadata⁶⁸ is properly Sanskritised as Vīrapuruṣadatta.⁶⁹ This indicates that Dr. Barnett's suggestion that Cāntamūla is derived from some unknown Dravidian word cannot be rejected. Moreover, we know that the Iksvākus ruled over a Dravidian area. If cāntamūla is really a Dravidian name, we do not know its meaning.⁷⁰

Thus, we are not absolutely certain, at least at the present state of our knowledge,

67. EI.vol.XXXIV.p.19.

68. In all the Iksvāku epigraphs in Prakrit the form Virapurisadata occurs.

69. EI.vol.XXXIV.p.19.

70. SSLD.p.17.n.1.

about the etymology of the word Cāntamūla. All that can be said is that it is more likely to be a Dravidian name rather than a word derived from a Sanskrit base. Hence, it is better to use the form as it appears in the epigraphs - viz. Cāntamūla.⁷¹

Cāntamūla was probably the first king of the Ikṣvāku dynasty. For his descendants traced their geneology back to him and no reference was made either to his father or to any other of his predecessors.⁷² A certain passage of an epigraph, engraved in the year 16 of King Ehuṣula Cāntamūla may have an allusion to the establishing of the Ikṣvāku royal dynasty by Cāntamūla. The passage runs as...

71. Cāntamūla is a rare name in Indian history. Apart from him the Ikṣvāku king Ehuṣula Cāntamūla, and a Senapati called Cāntapūla (EI.vol.XXXV,p.14), a name of this kind was assumed by another king. He was a Vaidumba ruler Cāntamānadēdi, also called Cāntāma (Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy. 1923, p.99)

72. No doubt, the absence of the name of an ancestor in the records of the third or fourth generation is plausible; but the absence of Cāntamūla's father's name in the epigraphs of his uterine sister, engraved in the year 6 of his son Virapurusaḍatta (EI.vol.XX.pp.1-37) may perhaps be interpreted to indicate that Cāntamūla's father was not a royal personage.

sva vīryy-ārjjita-vijaya-kīrtteh Iksvākūnām Śrī
Cāntamūlasya. ⁷³ D.C.Sircar translated the first

compound as (of one who) 'acquired the glory of vic-
 tory in battles by his own valour'.⁷⁴ A possible
 interpretation of this ^{expression} sva-vīryy-ārjjita-vijaya-
kīrtteh (Sva-vīryyā-ārjjita-vijaya-kīrtteh) may also
 be that it alludes to his supplantation of Śātavāhana
 sovereignty and the consequent establishment of
 Iksvāku royal power. However, it may just be a
 conventional epithet, and may not have anything to do
 with actual facts.

We do not know whether Cāntam-
 ūla was helped in the act of asserting independence by
 some members of local noble families such as the
 Pukiyas, the Dhanakas and the Hiramānakas, with whom he
 in particular and the Iksvāku kings in general main-
 tained close matrimonial relations and whose members
 were also employed as high dignitaries of the state.
 (p. 233).

73. EI.XXXIV, p.19.

74. Ibid. p.18.

It has been suggested above that the expression sva-vīrya-ārjjita-vijaya-kīrtti, may allude to Cāntamūla's victory over Sātavāhanas. In most of the inscriptions of his descendants he is also extolled as 'apatihata samkapa'⁷⁵ i.e. 'having unimpeded purpose.'

The expression agihot-āgithoma-vājapeya-āsvamedha yāji⁷⁶ and hiraṇakoti-gosata-sahasra-hala-satasahasra padāyi⁷⁷ is applied to Cāntamūla and refers to his performances of several Vedic sacrifices and dānas. These expressions with a very few minor variations occur in the inscriptions engraved in the year 6 of his son and successor Vīrapuruṣadatta.⁷⁸ Another Sanskrit epigraph belonging to the regnal year 16 of his grandson refers to him in the phrases agnistoma vājave (pe) yāy āsvamedha bahuvarnnaka yājinaḥ, naika hiraṇnya koti pradātuh gośatanasra halaśatanasra...⁷⁹

75. EI.vol.XX.p.16,C3.etc.

76. Ibid.p.19,e2.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.p.16,C3; p.21,E;p.24,H. etc.

79. EI.XXXIV,p.19.

Agnistoma⁸⁰ is the basic
⁸¹
soma rite, while the agnihotra⁸¹ is a more complicated
form of Soma ritual (p. 402). The Vājapeya⁸² is,
however, a special kind of Vedic rite which bestows
on a king the paramount lordship.⁸³ The āsvamedha,
as Keith⁸³ has pointed out, is an old and famous rite,
which can be performed by kings alone to increase
their realms (p. 401). It is interesting to note in
this connection that remains of an āsvamedha site
have been unearthed at Nagarjunakonda.⁸⁴ (p. 469)

The performance by Cāntamūla
of the āsvamedha has led B.V. Krishnarao to believe
that he was very powerful and that he carved out a
mighty empire. He writes: "Though it is not precisely
known whom Śrī Sāntamūla had conquered and subjugated
before he rose to be the supreme overlord in the Deccan,
it is possible that his dominion extended over Āsmaka-

80. A.B. Keith, Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads .vol. I. p. 343

81. Ibid. p. 381

82. Ibid. p. 340

83. Ibid. p. 343

84. IA. AR. 1956-57, p. 37, pl. LV. A. B. These remains were found within the fortified area of the Nagarjunakonda valley. (p. 37).

Mulaka, Kōsala and Kalina on the north, and that he subjugated several local rulers like the Gardhabhilas, Murundas, or Munḍas, Tuknāras, Śakas and Yavanas whom the Puranas mention as having succeeded the Imperial Andhras in the rulership of provinces.⁸⁵ We must point out here that the Purānas mention these above mentioned powers as successors of the Sātavāhanas (apparently over different parts of their empire), but never indicate that Cāntamūla's family (Andhra Śrīparvatīyas) ruled over them (p. 107).

Hence we cannot agree with this view until there is evidence suggesting Cāntamūla's supremacy over the peoples and territories enumerated above. Moreover, some archaeological sources indicate that an aśvamedha was not always preceded by a digvijaya (or a 'conquest of the four quarters'). Some inscriptions from Jagatram indicate that King Śilavarman of Yugaśaila, belonging to Ponavaṃśa, performed as many as four horse sacrifices. Paleographically this inscription should be assigned to the second

85. EHD. p. 39.

half of the 3rd century A.D. ⁸⁶

As Śilavarman is otherwise unknown, he may not have been a person of great authority. He probably performed the horse sacrifice without having conquered a vast area. In the context of the above, we may point out that the epithet cirotsannāśvamedhāharttā (← cirotsannāśvamedhāhartuh) attributed to Samudragupta, ⁸⁷ who undoubtedly made great conquests, literally indicates that he performed this sacrifice 'after it had long been in abeyance'. But surely the evidence from Jagatram shows that it was performed not long before the time of the Guptas.

86. IA.AR.1953-54, pp.10-11. Three āśvamedha sites of this king have been found. An inscription from one of the sites states that 'this brick is from the āśvamedha sacrifice of king of Yugaśaila...'. Another site has an inscription on a brick ^{which} says that 'this is the altar of the fourth horse sacrifice performed by king Śilavarman, who was of...'. There are several other less known kings who are known to have performed several horse sacrifices. The Bhārasiva Bhavanāga performed as many as ten horse sacrifices. (SI.p.420) Viṣṇukundin Mādhavavarman(I) performed eleven horse sacrifices. (EI.vol.XVII,p.338)

87. SI.p.278.

So it seems that the expression cirotsannāśvamedhāh-arttā implied that the proper or conventional form of śvamedha i.e., holding that sacrifice after achieving great conquests, was not performed by any king for a long time before Samudragupta. And this supports the hypothesis that śvamedha sacrifice was sometimes performed without making 'conquests of the four quarters', i.e., vast areas.⁸⁸

The above considerations suggest that the performance of the horse sacrifice by Cāntamūla should not be a decisive factor in determining the extent of his dominion. The provenances of his coins at Nagarjunakonda⁸⁹ and Ongole⁹⁰ and the inscriptions of his successors at Nagarjunakonda,⁹¹ Uppugundur,⁹² Gurzala,⁹³ Jaggayyapeta,⁹⁴ and

88. This also suggests that though the Baudhāyana Srautayśūtra (XV,1) enjoins that an śvamedha should be performed by a universal monarch, it was occasionally performed by ordinary rulers. We may also note that the Mahābhārata indicates that the śvamedha may sometimes be performed to atone sins. (Mahābhārata.XIV,88,13-15) See also Indian Culture, vol.I (1934)pp.114-118.

89. IA.AR.1955-56.p.26. Some lead coins the legends of which have been tentatively read as Siri Vira (purisadata) and Siri (Cata)mula are found in the Ghat area. pl.XXXVIII.

90. CCIAFGM.p.1.

91. EI.vol.XX.p.16.C3.

92. Ibid.vol.XXXIII.

93. EI.vol.XXVI.p.125.

94. ASSI.vol.I,p.110.

Ramireddipalli,⁹⁵ may allow us to include these regions and thereabouts within the Ikṣvāku Kingdom. Cāntamūla performed aśvamedha probably to commemorate his victory over the Sātavāhanas and to celebrate the establishment of the new power of the Ikṣvākus.

Wijayapura in the valley of Nagarjunakonda, where the site of his aśvamedha has been discovered, probably formed the nucleus of his dominion. From the time of Cāntamūla onwards it was probably the capital of the Ikṣvākus or at least one of their chief cities. This is suggested by discoveries here of the majority of Ikṣvāku inscriptions, the memorial pillars of the members of the royal family,⁹⁶ the traces of the remains of the aśvamedha sacrifice, a palace site⁹⁷ and a citadel wall.⁹⁸

As has been noticed above, Vāsisthiputra Cāntamūla and his successors had close

95. ASI.AR.1930-34, p.238.

96. EI, vol.XXI, p.64; vol.XXXIV, p.22; vol.XXXV, p.11.

97. IA.AR.1955-56, pp.25-26.

98. IA.AR.1957-58, pp.5-6

connections with members of several noble families whom they employed in high offices of state. Epigraphic records furnish the names of five such families - the Pukiyas,⁹⁹ the Dhanakas,¹⁰⁰ the Hiramñakas,¹⁰¹ the Kulahas (or Kulahakas),¹⁰² and the Puṣyakāndīyas.¹⁰³ With at least the first two of these Cāntamūla had matrimonial as well as official relations. Cāntamūla's co-uterine sister Cāntisiri was given in marriage to Vāsithiputa Khamdasiri of the Pukiya family.¹⁰⁴ The latter was appointed as a mahāsenāpati and mahātalavara. His daughter Adavi Cātisiri was married to Khamdavisākhamnaka of the Dhanaka family who was a mahāsenāpati, a mahātalavara and a mahādandanāyaka.¹⁰⁵

99. EI.vol.XX.p.16.C3; p.19.B5; etc.

100. Ibid.p.18.B2.

101. Ibid.p.18.B4.

102. Ibid.vol.XXXV.pp.13-14.no.6. This epigraph, which mentions a Kulahaka chief, mahasenapati Cāntapula, may be dated to the Ikṣvāku times or a little later on palaeographic grounds. We also hear of a Kulahaka vihāra and a kulahaka bālikā. The latter was married to a member of the Hiramñyaka family.

103. Ibid.vol.XXXIV.p.19.

104. Ibid.vol.XX.p.16.C3.

105. Ibid.p.18.B2.

Our knowledge regarding the family of Cāmtamūla is fairly detailed. We do not know his father's name, but a passage in a pillar inscription (L) dedicated to his memory ¹⁰⁶ gives a long list of names of his sisters, mothers and wives. It is, however, not explicitly stated which of these names belong to which group. But, as D.C.Sircar has pointed out, there seems to be a punctuation mark in line 1.9 and 1.1b. which may suggest that the said list was divided into distinct sections indicating thereby the names of the sisters, mothers and queens respectively of the dead (sagagata) king Cāmtamūla. ¹⁰⁷

Cāmtamūla's mother's names, which occur in the second section of the list were Nāgasiri, ~~Kāmasiri~~, Golasiri, Khalasiri, Bodhisiri, Khadasiri, Satilasiri, Perajatasiri, Pāṃditasri, Sivanāgasiri.

The names of Cāmtamūla's queens were Bapisiri, Nadisiri, Ayasiri, Kāṃnasiri, Sivanāgasiri.

106. EI.XXXV, pp.3-4. This inscription is engraved on a pillar with five sculptural panels depicting different incidents. Since the pillar seems to be erected in memory of the dead King Cāmtamūla, the incident in question may be referred to the reign of Cāmtamūla. Hence B.V.Krishnarao's view (EDA p.63) that the sculptural panels portray the life of Puruṣadata (Virapurūṣadatta) cannot be accepted.

107. EI.vol XXXV.p.5. The so-called punctuation mark in question looks like '-'

In the light of the above evidence it is interesting to note Copalachari's observation that 'Unlike his father and son, who indulged in many wives, Siri Cāntamūla had only two queens.'¹⁰⁸ His observation is based on the hypothesis that in the first sculptural panel of the memorial pillar inscription, Cāntamūla is represented as sitting with two queens. Secondly, following Vogel¹⁰⁹ he reads in the last line of the inscription... subhatarikāhi ca Sarasikāya Kusumalatāya and further remarks that subhatarikāhi is a mistake for Sanskrit subhattārikābhīh, meaning 'by his own ladies or wives'¹¹⁰ Thus he considers Sarasikā and Kusumalatā to have been the two wives of Cāntamūla.

It is difficult, however, to agree with Gopalachari's interpretation of the sculptural panel and also with his reading of the last line of the epigraph in question. A king cannot be said to have only two queens simply on the grounds that he is

108. EHAC, p. 134

109. EI.vol.XXI.p.64. Vogel failed to explain the term subhatarikā.

110. EHAC.p.134.

delineated together with only two ladies in a sculpture. For these two could very well be his favourite queens.¹¹¹ Moreover, the reading of the term subhatarikā is wrong. Vogel, the first editor of the epigraph in question, wrongly reads the word as subhatarikā. Following him others committed the same mistake¹¹² until D.C.Sircar pointed out that the correct reading should be abhatarikā, and not subhatarikā.¹¹³ Sircar quite convincingly interprets abhatarikā as Sanskrit abhyant-
arika and translates it as a 'female friend', possibly a concubine.¹¹⁴ If used as an official designation,

111. In ancient India a king used to have a number of wives. Among them a selected few were his favourite queens. The chief queen was called agramahisī. Bhattini is a queen but not the crowned or the consecrated one like a devi (M.Monier Williams, op.cit.p.745.)

112. B.V.Krishna Rao (EDA.pp.41-42)^{n.3} gives a novel interpretation of the term subhatarikā. He says that subhatarikā seems to be a compound of Sanskrit and Paisaci (or Andhra) word subha and tārikā. The term tarika seems to be a noun form of the root taruvu, which means in Telegu 'that which has been given or obtained by compulsion'. Hence Taruva-katte meaning a slave girl, is derived. So subhatārikā according to B.V.Krishna Rao may be interpreted to mean 'a female royal slave' or 'slave maid'. This explanation of the meaning of the term subhatārikā (sic) is fanciful and hardly convincing.

113. EI.vol.XXXV.p.4 pl. 1A. The forms of letters a and and ligature su in Ikṣvāku inscriptions are very similar. But on a closer examination, one does find some difference. While a looks like ḥ, su appears as ḥ. The estampage on which Vogel has based his reading was unsatisfactory, but the relevant portion was discernable.

114. Ibid.p.3.

We are, however, unable to accept his interpretation of the term as meaning a female friend possibly a concubine.¹¹⁵ For a similar term (abhyantara-pasthāyaka) occurs in a Mathura inscription as denoting an official designation.¹¹⁶ It may, as also alternatively suggested by Sircar mean a guard of the harem or the inner royal apartment, (p.245) Significantly enough the honorific śrī does not appear in the names of these two abhyantarikās, so it can be reasonably inferred that these two ladies mentioned as abhyantarikās at the end of the memorial pillar inscription were not queens of king Cāntamūla and possibly did not even belong to the royal family.

The names of sisters of Cāntamūla furnished by the memorial pillar inscription are Anatasiri, Khamdasiri, Viṅhab(o)dhisiri, Mōtasiri, Samusiri, Nāgavasusiri, Manigusiri, Khamdakot̄isiri, Mahisasiri, Kundamatisiri, Mulasiri, Ayakatusiri and Maduv̄isiri.

115. Ibid.

116. Luders.no.98.

The Nagarjunakonda epigraphs acquaint us with two more sisters (sodarā bhagini, i.e. co-uterine sisters) of King Cāntamūla. One of them was Cāntisiri who was responsible for a large number of benefactions to the Buddhist Sangha in the valley. The benefactions in question were made in the year 6,¹¹⁷ 15¹¹⁸ and 18 of¹¹⁹ King Vīrapurusadatta. Hāmmasirinika, another sister of Cāntamūla I, is referred to in two inscriptions of her two daughters Bapisirinikā¹²⁰ and Chathisiri.¹²¹ These two records are dated in the ^{regnal} year 6 of Vīrapurusadatta. It is noteworthy that the names of these co-uterine sisters do not appear in the list of the names of sisters of Sri Cāntamūla in the memorial pillar inscription (L).

Gopalachari, following Vogel, had read the year of the inscription (L) in question as vimsaya or 20th regnal year of Vīrapurusadatta. He accounted for the absence of the names of Cāntisiri and Hāmmasirinikā from the said list by suggesting that

117. Et. vol. XX. p. 16, C3.

118. Ibid. vol. XXI, p. 66. M. 3.

119. Ibid. pp. 21, 22 E.

120. Ibid. p. 20, C2.

121. Ibid. p. 20. C4. This epigraph mentions her once as Hāmmasiri and once as Hāmmasirinikā.

the former died between the year 18 and 20 of Virapurusaḍatta and the latter before his twentieth regnal year.¹²²

However, as we shall demonstrate later the date of the epigraph should be read as Vijaya and may be interpreted as one of the years of Jupiter's cycle of sixty years.¹²³ (pp. 187f) It is difficult to determine to what regnal year of Virapurusaḍatta the year Vijaya should have corresponded. It could very well be any of his twenty¹²⁴ or even of unknown regnal years (p. 194) If the epigraph in question was engraved in or after the year 18 of Virapurusaḍatta, one could explain the absence of Cāntisiri's name there by supposing that, possibly, she was dead by that time. If, however, the memorial pillar (L) was erected before the eighteenth regnal year of Virapurusaḍatta, it would be difficult to account for the absence of Cāntisiri's name from the inscription on it.

As far as Hammāsirinika is

122. EHAC.p.134.

123. Vogel had read the year as viṃsaya (ET.vol.XXI. p.64) D.C.Sircar, who has recently re-edited the epigraph, has corrected the reading to vijaya. (ibid.vol.XXXV.p.3).

124. ASSI.vol.I,p.110.

concerned, we do not know whether she was alive during the regnal year 6 of Virapurusa-datta. Two records of two of her daughters, dated in the last mentioned year refer to her in the expression '...āpano mātaram Hammasirinikam parināmetuna'¹²⁵ (with due regard to mother Hammasirinika). This expression, however, does not help us in determining whether she was dead or alive in that year.

At least one of the sisters of Cāntamūla referred to above, viz. Cāntisiri was either a Buddhist or an ardent supporter of that religion (p. 397). King Cāntamūla himself, however, was a follower of the Brahmanical faith. As we have already noticed above, he performed four Vedic sacrifices, the agnihotra, the agnistoma, the vājapeya and the aśvamedha (see also pp. 400f). Sircar thinks that Cāntamūla's epithet '...aneka-hiramñā-koti-go-satasahasahala-satasahasa-padāyi' may imply that he performed the sixteen mahādānas.¹²⁶

K. Gopalachari observes that in the last sculptural panel on the memorial pillar in question (L) (p. n. 106) Cāntamūla is depicted in a plain attire, bare headed, wearing a sandal and holding

125. EI., vol. XX. p. 19, C2; p. 20. C4.

126. SSLD. p. 18. n. 2.

a staff in his hands. By his side is an attendant holding a vessel containing libation water. The five persons before him are Brāhminas who are ready to receive gifts from him. On the ground is seen a heap of round pieces of uncoined metal. Gopalachari wants to interpret the panel concerned as delineating the performance of the gift of hiranya pindas or gold pieces of definite weight.¹²⁷ He further notes that the gift concerned was made possibly on the occasion of his performance of the agnistoma for what appears as flung over his shoulders is perhaps (as used in agnistoma sacrifice) the skin of an antelope.¹²⁸

A close examination of the sculpture does indeed indicate that it represents some sort of a ceremony. But its nature cannot be determined from the poor state of the sculpture.

Of all the Brahmanical deities, Cāntamūla seems to have been specially devoted to Mahāsena (Kārttikeya). This is evident from the epithet...Virupakhapati Mahāsenaparigahita... attributed to him (pp 415f)¹²⁹

127. EHAC.p.133.

128. Ibid.p.133.n.40.

129. EL.vol.XX.p.16.C3.etc.

K.Gopalachari assumes that as Cāntamūla is represented in the fifth sculptural panel (of pillar L) as a middle aged person, he lived up to his middle age.¹³⁰ It is difficult, however, to accept this hypothesis in its face value, as the effaced nature of the panel makes it difficult to determine the age of the person sculptured.

As has already been suggested, Cāntamūla began to rule in the Andhra region after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas, i.e. in or about the second quarter of the third century A.D. As will be demonstrated later, the latest possible date for the termination of his rule was A.D. 273., the Vijaya year of his son and successor Vīrapurusadatta.

(ii) Vīrapurusadatta

The largest number of Ikṣvāku epigraphs are dated in the reign of this son and successor of Cāntamūla viz., Madhariputa Sīri Virapurisadatta¹³¹ (i.e. Mātharīputra Śrī Vīrapurusadatta). Bühler¹³² and following him Burgess,¹³³ take siri and

130. EHAC.p.134.

131. EI.XX.p.16.3.

132. IA.vol.XI.(1882)p.257.

133. ASSI.vol.I,p.111.

vīra as honorific prefixes to the rest of the name Purusadatta, meaning 'given by Visnu'. Bühler argues that in order to prove that Virapurusa is a plausible name we shall have to presuppose the existence of a deity called Virapurusa, and that in the event of the absence of such a deity we shall have to take siri and vīra as honorific prefixes meaning 'the glorious hero'.¹³⁴

The above line of argument, however, does not seem to be conclusive. We have the evidence of the historical existence of such names as Cirātadatta,¹³⁵ Parnadatta,¹³⁶ Jayadatta,¹³⁷ etc., in Gupta inscriptions, none of which contains any allusion to a god. Therefore the expression Virapurusa need not necessarily be considered to refer to any god.

D.C.Sircar, who formerly did not agree with Bühler, recently changed his view and apparently interpreted vīra as an honorific prefix to the name Purusadatta. He has cited the example of a

134. IA.vol.XI.(1882)p.257

135. SI.p.284.

136. Ibid.p.302.

137. Ibid.p.328.

fragmentary epigraph from Nagarjunakonda which has
 '...kumarasa vira ar(ibha)...' 138 He has remarked
 that the absence of sandi joining vira and aribha,
 the name of the prince, makes it clear that vira was
 essentially an epithet. We however fail to agree with
 D.C.Sircar's opinion. Even if vira was an epithet,
 one should have expected to find a correct sandhi.
 joining vira with aribha. 139

We cannot altogether deny the
 possibility that Purusadatta was a personal name. We
 have examples of occurrences of such a name in the
 early centuries of the Christian era. A Nasik epigraph
 mentions a lady called Purisadatā. 140 Some Mathura
 coins refer to a king called Purusadatta. 141

On the other hand, as
 Gopalachari has pointed out, names beginning with vira
 (viz. Virama and Viramika), occur in epigraphs of our
 period. 142 He has further pointed out that on coins
 and in epigraphs the honorific śrī is generally found

138. EI.vol.XXXV, pp.19-20.

139. For example we can refer to Sryehavula (EI.vol.
XXXVI, p.19) which is the resultant form of a
sandhi between śrī (an honorific) and Bhavula.

140. EI.vol.VIII.p.75.

141. J.Allan, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India
(1936) pl CX and p.176.

142. EHAC.p.135.n.44.

to appear immediately before the personal name when two or more honorific prefixes including sri adorn it. For examples, references may be made to such names including prefixes as Sivasiri, Satakarni and Sivasiri Apilaka.¹⁴³ According to this line of argument, vira-purusadatta in the expression Mathariputra Sri Virapur^usadatta was the personal name of the king concerned.

The obvious implication of the above discussion is that both the forms Purusadatta and Virapur^usadatta can be justified as a proper name. There is, however, an indication that vira formed an integral part of the personal name of the Ikshvaku king in question. Virapur^usadatta (I)'s son Ehu^uvula Cantam^ula had two sons - Virapur^usadatta¹⁴⁴ (II) and Rudrapurusadatta.¹⁴⁵ Following Bühler, if we consider vira and rudra as honorific prefixes, we obtain one and the same name for two brothers, namely Purusadatta. Since two brothers cannot possibly be considered to have the same name, it is better to consider vira and rudra as integral parts of the forms Virapur^usadatta (II) and Rudrapurusadatta, respectively. Hence

143. Ibid.
 144. EI.vol.XXXIV.p.19
 145. Ibid.p.22.

Vīrapurusadatta (II) and also his grandfather should also be called Vīrapurusadatta and not Purusadatta.

Many of Vīrapurusadatta's epigraphs were dated in his regnal year 6 when a great number of benefactions were made to the Buddhist sangha by the royal Iksvāku ladies.¹⁴⁶ The value of these epigraphs is however very meagre as far as political history in his region is concerned. One noteworthy feature of these epigraphs is that they never use a single word of praise for the reigning king. On the other hand, his father is extolled in almost all the Iksvāku epigraphs and his son in at least one of them. The last mentioned epigraph praises Cāntamūla¹⁴⁷ and Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla¹⁴⁸ very extravagantly, but refers to Vīrapurusadatta simply as mahārāja. The significance of such a contrast, if any, cannot be determined at the present state of our knowledge.

146. In this year, several donations, mainly by Cāntisiri, were made in the Mahāvihāra at Nagarjunakonda (EI. vol. XX. p. 16). See also p. 19 B2, pp. 20, 21, C2, C4 etc.

147. agnistoma-vājaveyāśvamedha bahusuvarṇnaka yājinah naikahiṅamnya-koti pradātuh gośata-sāhasra halaśatasahasrā pradātuh, svavīryārjjita-vijaya-kīrtteh, sri Cāntamūlasya (EI. vol. XXXIV. p. 19)

148. sagara-Dilip-Ambarisa-Yudhisthira (t)ulya-dharma-vijayasya Rāmasyeva sarvvajan-ābhirāmasya. siri Ehuṅvula Cāntamūlasya. (ibid).

No doubt, the epigraphs are silent about the political exploits of this king. Nevertheless, a fair idea of the extent of his realm may be formed on the basis of the provenances of his inscriptions and coins.

Most of the epigraphs of his reign are found at Nagarjunakonda in the Palnad taluk of the Guntur district,¹⁴⁹ where as we have noticed above (p. 144) was either the capital of the Ikṣvākus or at least one of their chief cities. Other epigraphs of his reign have been discovered at Uppugundur¹⁵⁰ in the Ongole taluk of the Guntur district and at Jaggayyapeta¹⁵¹ and Ramireddipalle,¹⁵² both in the Nandigam taluk of the Krishna district. Thus a substantial part or the whole of the Krishna-Guntur region was under his sway. Such a hypothesis is perhaps supported by the discovery of his coins at Nagarjunakonda¹⁵³ and also in a hoard found at Ongole.¹⁵⁴

149. EI.vol.XX.p.16.17.C3.etc.ff.

150. Ibid.vol.XXXIII.p.191. This epigraph is dated in his regnal year 19.

151. ASSI.vol.I.p.110.

152. ASI.AR.1930-34.p.238.

153. IA.AR.1955-56,p.26.

154. CCIR.PGM.pp.1 f

A Nagarjunakonda epigraph of Virapurasadatta's year 6 records the donation of a mahadevi called Rudraharabhatarika and further describes her as Ujanikā mahāra(ja) bālikā.¹⁵⁵ Though the epigraph does not state her relationship with Virapurasadatta, the fact that the inscription refers to the reign of the latter monarch and that Rudradharabhatarika was a queen of Virapurasadatta.

Ptolemy mentions Ozene (Ujjayinī) in Larika (~~Ujjayinī~~) as the place of the royal residence of Tiastenes (i.e. Castana).¹⁵⁶ The house of Castana continuously or continually ruled there at least from the time of Ptolemy's information about Larika¹⁵⁷ to the beginning of even the middle of the fourth century A.D.¹⁵⁸ So in the period of Virapurasadatta's reign in the third century A.D. (p. 194) the ruling power in Ujjayinī in Avanti was the house of Castana. These considerations tend to identify the Ujanikā mahārāja with a member of the latter family. The name of the queen may also, perhaps, betray her

155. Ibid. (~~1961~~) B5.p.19. Vogel converts mahārabālika as mahārājabālika.

156. Ptolemy. VII, 1, 64.

157. Our Heritage, vol. XI (1963) pp. 45, 38, 49.

158. JRAS. ⁽¹⁹⁶¹⁾ pp. 106f. CCADWK. p. cxiii.

connection with this family since rudra formed part of the names of quite a few members of this family. ¹⁵⁹ So we may accept Vogel's suggestion that the marriage relation in question was established with the house of Castana. ¹⁶⁰

It is difficult to determine the exact date of Virapurusatatta's marriage with Rudradharabhatārikā. His only known date which can be expressed in terms of the Christian era is c.A.D. 273 - 74 (p. 192). This year may have corresponded to one of his twenty known ¹⁶¹ or to one of even yet unknown regnal years. However, since Virapurusatatta had been ruling in c.A.D. 273-74 and the marriage took place in or by his 6th regnal year, it could not have taken place after

159. We may cite names of Rudradāman, Rudrasena, Rudrasimha etc.

160. EI. vol. XX. pp. 4-5. K.P. Jayaswal according to whom Virapurusatatta ruled between c.A.D. 230-250, believes that during this time the Bhārasivas and not the Sakas were ruling in Ujjayini. He says that the title mahārāja used for Rudradharabhatārikā's father indicates that he was a 'Hindu' ruler. And he uses this as a confirmation of his theory about the Bhārasiva rule in Avanti. (JBORS. vol. XIX (1933) p. 174.

We may observe here that there is no evidence of Bhārasiva^{rūks} in Avanti in this period. Moreover, the inscription of Rudradharabhatārikā, where the title mahārāja occurs, was not an official record of the mahārāja of Ujjayini and it may not have used the exact title assumed by him. Moreover, it is well-known that the western Kṣatrapas used inter alia such Indian titles as rājan. See also Indian Culture vol. I. (1934) pp. 114-115.

161. ASSI. vol. I. p. 110.

(273 -74 +6 =) c.A.D.279-80. As will be suggested later, Virapurusa-datta probably did not rule before the ~~middle of~~ c.A.D.244-45 (p.194). So any of the Mahāksatrapas or Ksatrapas of the family of Castana ruling between c.A.D.244-45 and 273-74 might have been Virapurusa-datta's father in law. ¹⁶²

We do not know whether Virapurusa-datta's marriage into a powerful family of extra-Indian origin had any political significance. In this connection it is interesting to note that an epigraph of the 13th regnal year of Ehuvala Cāntamūla reveals the existence of another mahisi or queen of Virapurusa-datta and describes her as...Mahāvalabhikāya Yakhīlinikā. ¹⁶³
The epigraph records the erection by her of a chāyā thāmbho in memory of her son Eli Ehuvaladāsainnaka.

It is apparent from the above context that Mahāvalabhī was the name of Yakhilinika's place of origin. D.C.Sircar is uncertain about the identification of Mahāvalabhī, but at the same time remarks that it reminds one of Valabhī in Kathiawar, which was the capital of the Maitrakas. ¹⁶⁴

162. The Mahāksatrapas and Ksatrapas who are known to have ruled during this period are Vijayasena, son of Damasena. Dāmajadaśrī (c.A.D.254) son of Damasena. Rudrasena II, son of Viradāman, Bhatrdāman, son of Rudrasena(II) and Viśvasiṃha son of Rudrasena II. (JHAS. (1890)pp.654f)

163. EI.vol.XXXV.no.3.p.11.

164. Ibid; Classical Age. pp.63,103,147f.

We may indeed consider the feasibility of the identification of Mahāvalabhī with Valabhī in Kathiawar, especially because no other city of that name is known to us till now. The word mahā is sometimes prefixed to a name to indicate its greatness or largeness. However, the word mahā probably had also another connotation in Iksvāku epigraphs. A pair of co-uterine brothers are referred to as Mahācaṁdamukha i.e. Caṁdamukha the elder and Cula-caṁdamukha¹⁶⁵ i.e. Caṁdamukha the younger. Two scions of the Pūkiya family are called Mahākāmdasiri¹⁶⁶ and Khāmdasiri.¹⁶⁷ In both these cases the persons so named are related by blood. On the analogy of such uses of the term mahā, we may at least suggest that orographical names like Mahā Dhammagiri¹⁶⁸ (or Mahādhammagiri) and Cula Dhammagiri¹⁶⁹ (or Culadhhammagiri) of a Nagarjunakonda inscription refer to two hills situated in geographically contiguous places. Modern examples of similar use of the words

165. EI.Vol.XX.p.22.F.

166. Ibid.p.20,C5.

167. Ibid.p.16,C3.

168. Ibid.p.22F.

169. Ibid.

Pedda (= Mahā) and Cinna (= Ksudra > Cula) may be found in names of neighbouring localities like Peddaḡanjam and Chinnaḡanjam in the Guntur district and also those of Pedda Vegi and ChinnaVegi in the West Godavari district.

On the basis of this consideration, we may guess that Mahāvalabhi was the same as Valabhi or was situated near it.¹⁷⁰

If this hypothesis is correct, then Yakhilīnika hailed from Valabhī or from a place situated near it. Kathidwad, including Valabhī, was under the rule of the house of Castana during the probable period of the rule of Virapurusaḡatta. We have seen already that Virapurusaḡatta had marriage relations with the house of Castana. We however, do not know whether Yakhilīnikā had any connections with the latter family.

170. We may note here that Hiuen-tsang calls the region around Pedda Vengi as An-to-lo or Andhra. (YCTI.vol.II.p.210). He distinguishes it from Te-na-ka-che-ka or Dhānyakataka (ibid.p.214) which, as we know was included in ancient Andhrapatha (p.17). However a footnote in an earlier edition of the Si-yü-chi calls Te-na-ka-che-ka as Ta-an-to-lo or Maha Andhra. (ibid.II.p.216). Maha Andhra and Andhra were thus situated not far from each other.

Another instance of a matrimonial contact between the family of Virapurusaḍatta and a royal house is furnished by an epigraph of the year 11 of Virapurusaḍatta's son Ehuḅula Cāmtamūla. It mentions Virapurusaḍatta's daughter Kodabalasiri as the wife of the mahārāja of Vanavāsa.¹⁷¹ We are not certain about the date of this marriage - it may have occurred some time during Virapurusaḍatta's reign or even in that of his successor Ehuḅula Cāmtamūla.

Vanavāsi (= Vanavasa) also named Vaijayanti¹⁷² was possibly ruled by a Sātakarni family during this period. The Malavalli pillar inscription of Hāritīputta Vinḅukaḍḍa Cutukulānanda Sātakanni refers to him as Vaijayantīpura rājā.¹⁷³ This, and the Vanavasi epigraph of Haritiputḅa Vinḅukaḍḍa Cutukulānanda Sātakanni,¹⁷⁴ have remarkable paleographic similarities with the Ikṣvāku epigraphs,¹⁷⁵ and may suggest that the Satakarnis in question were contemporaries of the Ikṣvākus. This possibly allows us to regard Virapurusaḍatta's son-in-law as a scion of

171. EI.vol.XX.p.24.H.

172. CCADWK.p.liv.EC.vol.VII.p.251.

173. EC.vol.VII.p.251.no.263.pl facing p.252.

174. EI.vol.XXXIV.pp.241-42.pl A and B.

175. In the Malavalli and the Vanavasi inscriptions the vertical strokes of characters like ka, ra etc and also ligature signs for i and u are distinctly elongated. This feature may be compared with similar features of Ikṣvāku epigraphs. Forms of letters such as sa etc. of the first two inscriptions are akin to those of the same letters in Ikṣvāku epigraphs.

the Satakarni dynasty of Vanavāsī.

These matrimonial contacts with distant royal powers may have widened the sphere of Ikṣvaku influence. Hence they may have some political implications.

Epigraphic evidence throws some light on the family of Vīrapuruṣadatta. We do not know which of the ladies mentioned in the list of Camtamula's wives in the memorial pillar inscription (L) was Virapurusaḍatta's mother. She probably belonged to the Matharā gaṇa (or family) because her son was called Mātharīputra.

Vīrapuruṣadatta had at least five queens, of which we have already mentioned two, viz., Rudhradharabhatārikā and Yakhīlinikā. It is interesting to note that Vīrapuruṣadatta married three of his cousins. Two of them were Chāṭṭisirinikā¹⁷⁶ and Bapisirinikā,¹⁷⁷ daughters of his paternal aunt Hammasirinikā. Since these queens are mentioned in records of his year 6, the marriages in question should have taken place in or before that year. In a record of his year

176. Ibid. p. 20, C4.

177. Ibid. p. 20, C2.

18, he is referred as the jāmātā (or son-in-law) of his paternal aunt Cāntisiri who was the wife of mahāsenāpati mahātalavara Vāsethiputa Khamdasiri of the Pukiya family.¹⁷⁸ So it is possibly in or before that year that Virapurasadatta married Cāntisiri's daughter. It is not known whether Bhatidevā, mentioned as Virapusadatta's wife in a few epigraphs of Ehuvala Cāmtamūla's regnal year 2, was identical with Cāntisiri's daughter.

We have already referred to Virapurasadatta's daughter Kodabalasiri and his son and successor Ehuvala Cāmtamūla. He had another son by the name of Eli Ehuvaladāsannaka.¹⁷⁹ The latter prince acted as a mahasenapati under Ehuvala Cāmtamūla and died in or before his regnal year 13. In that year her mother erected a chāvā thāmbho in his memory.¹⁸⁰

The epigraphs do not throw any light on the religious affiliation of Virapurasadatta. However, there is little doubt that his reign was a prosperous period in the history of Buddhism. The

178. Ibid. p.21.E. Cāntisiri made some benefactions in Virapurasadatta's regnal year 6, but none of the inscriptions recording these benefactions refer to Virapurasadatta as her son-in-law. So it is possible that the marriage took place sometime between the regnal year 6 and 18 of King Virapurasadatta.

179. EE. vol.XXXV.p.11.

180. Ibid.

flourishing conditions of the different communities of Buddhist monks in Nagarjunakonda valley was to a great extent due to the munificence of the Ikṣvāku royal ladies. Though there is no definite indication that the king himself patronised Buddhism, the very fact that his queens,¹⁸¹ sisters¹⁸² and daughters¹⁸³ strongly favoured Buddhism, even if they were not Buddhist themselves, is sufficient proof of at least his tolerance towards the religion of the Buddha.¹⁸⁴

181. EI.vol.XX.p.19B;pp.20-21.C2,C4.

182. Ibid.p.18,B,2.

183. Ibid.p.24.H.

184. B.V.Krishnarao strongly believes that originally Vīrapuruṣadatta was an adherent of the Brahmanical faith but was later converted to the religion of the Buddha. He further adds that his conversion was mainly due to the persuasion by his two paternal aunts Cāntisiri and Hammasirinikā. Krishnarao's hypothesis is based on 'his' interpretation of some sculptural panels from Nagarjunakonda. For example he cites a sculpture from stupa no.9 depicting a king crushing a phallic symbol. Krishnarao identifies this king with Vīrapuruṣadatta. (EDA.pp.58-60) However, since the sculptures are unlabelled, it is impossible to be sure that they depict the Ikṣvāku king in question. Rama Rao also uses unlabelled sculptured panels as representing events of Vīrapuruṣadatta's reign. By studying some such sculptures, he comes to the conclusion that Vīrapuruṣadatta overchampioned the cause of Buddhism, as a result of which devotees of Brahmanical cults rose in revolt against him (PIHC.(1955)pp.98) It is impossible to accept such a theory based on fanciful interpretation of unlabelled sculptures.

Vīrapurusadatta ruled for at least twenty years.¹⁸⁵ B.V.Krishnarao thinks that he renounced the kingdom. He interprets the last panel on the memorial pillar (L) referred to above as representing Vīrapurusadatta's act of renouncing the kingdom and pouring libation water in the hands of the heir apparent Ehuṅvula Cāmtamūla. Krishnarao, following Vogel, reads the date of the epigraph on this pillar (L) as year 20 and fixes that year as the date of Vīrapurusadatta's abdication.¹⁸⁶ But, as we have already observed, the king depicted in the memorial pillar inscription (L) was Cāmtamūla (p.116). The panel in question probably depicts a ceremonial scene the exact nature of which is uncertain.

D.C.Sircar advocated the theory of an Abhira inter-regnum between the rules of Vīrapurusadatta and his son Ehuṅvula Cāmtamūla.¹⁸⁷ But as will be argued later, Ābhīra Vasusena did not invade the Ikṣvāku territory during the reign of Vīrapurusadatta. The Ābhīra invasion took place probably

185. ASSI.vol.I.p.110.

186. EDA.p.61.

187. EI.vol XXXV.p.6. His theory of an Abhira inter-regnum is supported by Karthikeya Sharma (Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, vol.XXIX,1959-60. p.57)

during or shortly after the reign of his grandson Rudrapurusadatta (pp.181f). As will be discussed at length in the following chapter, Vīrapurusadatta's reign of at least twenty years may be placed in and around the middle of the third century A.D.

(iii) Ehuvula Cāntamūla

Vīrapurusadatta's successor in the Andhra region was his son Ehuvula Cāntamūla.¹⁸⁸ Many scholars such as H.P.Sastri,¹⁸⁹ K.R.Subramaniyan,¹⁹⁰ B.V.Krishnarao,¹⁹¹ P.R.Ramachandran Rao,¹⁹² K.P. Jayaswal¹⁹³ read the name of this king as Bahuvala Cāntamūla. The correct reading should be Ehuvula. The form of the first letter is ɔ in most of the epigraphs. It stands for 'e' and not 'ba'. We may also draw attention to a comparatively recently discovered epigraph from Nagarjunakonda. In this the name of the

188. EI.vol.XX.pp.23,24,G;p.24.H.etc.

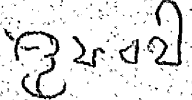
189. JBORS.vol.XIX (1933)p.173,n.1.

190. BRAAH.p.86.

191. EDA.p.108.

192. P.R.Ramachandran Rao - Art of Nagarjunakonda.p.8.

193. JBORS.vol.XIX (1933)p.173.n.1.

king concerned appears as  = sreyahavala,¹⁹⁴ and this definitely proves that the first letter of the name was 'e' and not 'ba'.

The political exploits of this monarch are not known. However, we may note that an epigraph of his son and queen dated in his year 16 describes him as Sagara-Dilīp-Āmbarīsa-Yudhisthira(t)-ulya-dharmma-vijayasya Rāmasyeva Sarvva-janābhirāma.¹⁹⁵

('One who has lawfully obtained victories like Sagara, Dilīpa, Ambarīsa and Yudhisthira and one who is loved by all people like Rāma...'). It is not known whether the above epithets actually allude to any military expedition undertaken by Ehuvala Cāntamūla and to any victory scored by him. The passage in question seems rather a conventional description of ruler's greatness

194. EI.vol.XXXIV.pl. facing p.20.f.17. The name is however found with a number of variants, such as Ehuvala (EI.vol.XX.p.24,H) Ehuvala (ibid.vol.III.p.61.G3) Ehavula (ibid.vol.XXXV.p.11) etc. The meaning of this name is uncertain. But it may be, like Pulumāvi, a Dravidian name.

195. EI.vol.XXXIV,p.19. We should notice here that in his year 13 a memorial pillar was erected in the memory of Ehuvala Cāntamūla's deceased brother mahāsenāpati Eli Ehuvaladāsannaka by his mother Yakhilīnikā (ibid.vol.XXXV.p.11). We are not sure whether this prince's death may be connected with any war.

and achievements. We may also add here, that an epigraph of the latter monarch engraved in his year 11 introduces one Elisri, a talavara vara. Elisri's grandfather senapati Anikki is also mentioned in the epigraph and is described as one who had won victories in battlefields and acquired wide renown (senāpater-yyas-samara-vijayinah-kkhyāta-kirtter-Anikkeh...)¹⁹⁶ It is not certain whether Anikki fought for Ehuvara Cāmtamūla or for any of his predecessors.

It is interesting to note that like his father, Ehuvara Cāmtamūla also had matrimonial relations with a mahātalavara family. One of his wives, Kupanaśrī was the granddaughter of mahātalavara Skandagopa of the Puṣṭyakamdiya clan and the daughter of mahātalavara Khamdahāla, while her maternal uncle was mahātalavara Uttara.¹⁹⁷

An epigraph of the regnal year 11 of his son and successor Rudrapurusadatta records the erection of a chāyā khambo for the dead (sagagata) queen Vammabhātā, the wife of Ehuvara Cāmtamūla and the daughter of a mahāksatrapa of the

196. Ibid. vol. XXXIII, p. 149.

197. EI. vol. XXXIV, p. 19.

Brhatphalāyana gotra. 198

The epigraph concerned does not mention the name or dominion of this mahāksatrapa. No doubt, the title of Vāṃmabhata's father immediately reminds us of the Western Ksatrapas. However, we must admit that this title, had also been used, though very rarely, by other purely Indian rulers. Īsvaradatta, possibly a non-Saka, had the same designation. 199 Moreover, there are also instances of the adoption of Indian versions of foreign titles by Indian rulers. 200 It is difficult to be certain whether a Scytho-Parthian ruler could have adopted a Brahmanic gotra like the Brhatphalāyana, even though early Indian scriptures allowed the Ksatriyas so perhaps all rulers to adopt their purohitas' pravaras. The definite evidence of the existence of a family of rulers of the Brhatphalāyana gotra in, or near, the Krishna-Guntur area is furnished by the Kondamundi plates of King Jayavarman. Jayavarman of the Brhatphalāyana gotra flourished some time in the latter half of the fourth century A.D. 201.

198. Ibid. p.22. This pillar also bears a sculptural representation of the dead queen. pl facing p.21.
 199. CCADWK. pp.124-125
 200. Apratihatacakra - a title of a Sātavāhana king (ASWI.volV.p.60) was probably influenced by the title Aniketos ^{some} Indo-Greek rulers. R.B.Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore. p. 14)
 201. His epigraph (EI.vol.VI,pp.316f.pl facing pp.316-319) has remarkable palaeographic resemblance with the Mayidavolu Copper plate of Sivaskandavarman. (ibid. pl facing p.86-88)

and so not long before our period (pp. 212-213). However, in order to connect Vammabhata with Jayavarman's family we shall have to presuppose the existence of that family as a ruling power, subordinate or independent during Ehuvara Cāntamūla's reign.

It is also relevant to note in this connection the distinctive feature of the costume worn by the queen in the sculptural panel²⁰² (n.198). On the pillar bearing the inscription in question she has an upper garment covering the bust and she wears a long skirt. As will be noted below (p. 330) Indian women rarely wore dress like this. More peculiar is the style of the hair of the queen. Her hair is done partly in coiffure and partly in locks hanging down to the shoulder. In fact, the dress and costume of this queen, when considered as a whole, betray remarkable resemblance to those of some ladies noticeable in two sculptures from Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda and ascribable to some foreign stock. (pp. 336-337). However,

202. EI. vol. XXXIV, pl. A facing p. 21. Formerly this sculptural panel was interpreted as depicting Prajāpati Gotamī, holding child Buddha in a scarf (IA, AR. 1955-56, p. 24). D. C. Sircar, who edited the epigraph, however, has connected the interpretation of the sculpture by suggesting that it represents the deceased queen Vammabhata. (EI. vol. XXIV, p. 20)

We are bound to admit that these features of the costume and hairdress of Vammabhatā may simply suggest the influence of foreign culture in our region and does not necessarily indicate her racial affiliation.

These considerations debar us from ascribing Vammabhatā definitely to the family of a foreign mahāksatrapa and induce us to offer an alternative suggestion of the possibility of an Indian origin for her paternal family.

Thus we cannot be certain about the racial affinity of Vammabhatā. We are also unable to determine the political implication, if any, of her marriage with Ehuvula Cāmtamūla.

An epigraph of the year 2 of Ehuvula Cāmtamūla mentions Bhatidevā as his mātuya, i. e. his mother.²⁰³ D.C. Sircar,²⁰⁴ K. Gopalachari,²⁰⁵ B.V. Krishnarao²⁰⁶ and K.P. Jayaswal²⁰⁷ apparently on the basis of the use of the term mātuya, consider Bhatidevā as his mother. This may very well have been

203. EI.vol.XX,p.24.G.

204. SSLD.p.35.

205. BHAC.p.142.

206. EDA.p.108.

207. JBORS.vol.XIX (1933)p.174.

the case. However, the word mātuya could have alluded to Ehuvula Cāntamula's stepmother. This is substantiated by the Nagarjunakonda Châyākhambo inscription of Queen Vāmmabhatā. This queen, whose father belonged to the Brhaphalāyana gotra was described in the epigraph as the mātuya of Vāsethiputa Siri Rudapurīsadatta²⁰⁸ (Vāsisthīputra Rudrapuruṣadatta). The very metronymic of Vāsisthīputra Rudrapuruṣadatta suggests that his mother's father's gotra was Vāsistha. So Vāmmabhatā, whose father's gotra was Brhaphalāyana, could only have been Vāsisthīputra Rudrapuruṣadatta's stepmother.

In fact any one of the wives of Virapurūsadatta, other than Cāntisiri's daughter could have been Ehuvula Cāntamula's mother. As is apparent from his metronymic Vāsisthīputra, Ehuvula's mother should have belonged to a family of the Vasistha gotra. But Cāntisiri's daughter belonged to the Pūkiya family,²⁰⁹ which had marriage relations with families of Vasistha gotra. So the gotra of her paternal family could not have been Vāsistha.

208. EI.vol.XXXIV.p.22.no.2.

209. Cāntisiri was married to a Vāsethiputa Khamdasiri of the Pūkiya family (ibid.vol.XX.p.16.C3.)

We have already referred to two marriages of Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla, one with Kupanaśrī and the other with Vāṃbhata of a mahākṣatṛapa's family. A Nagarjunakonda inscription acquaints us with another queen of this monarch. Her name was Khamḍavulā.²¹⁰

Epigraphs furnish us with the name of two of his sons. They were Vāsisthīputra Rudrapuruṣadatta²¹¹ and Hāritīputra Vīrapuruṣadatta (II).²¹²

Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla is known to have ruled for at least twenty-four years.²¹³ Like that of his father one record of his reign is also dated in the year Vijaya²¹⁴ of the Bārhaspatya māna. As will be demonstrated later this year should have corresponded to c.A.D.333-34 (p.192). It will also be demonstrated that his rule of at least twenty-four years did not continue after c.A.D.337 (p.195).

210. EI.vol.XXIX.p.139.

211. Ibid.vol.XXXIII,p.22.

212. Ibid.vol.XXXIV.p.19.

213. EI.vol.XXXV.p.12.

214. Ibid.p.7.

(iv) Rudrapurusadatta

As we have already mentioned Ehuvula Cāntamūla had two sons, Hāritiputra Vīrapurusadatta and Vāsēthiputa Siri Rudapurisadatta. The only record mentioning the former belongs to the regnal year 16 of his father and at that time he acted as a mahāsenāpati.²¹⁵ We do not know whether he ever became a king. However, in the absence of any evidence suggesting his rule, we may assume that Vāsēthiputa Siri Rudapurisadatta (Vāsisthīputra Śrī Rudrapurusadatta) whose reign is referred to in a Nagarjunakonda epigraph²¹⁶ directly succeeded Ehuvula Cāntamūla on the Ikṣvāku throne. He is further identified with Kulapurisadatta²¹⁷ of the Gurzala inscription of the year 4.²¹⁸ This identification is permissible, since a change from la to da is philologically possible, and since the palaeographic features of the Nagarjunakonda and Gurzala inscriptions may be referred to the same age.²¹⁹

Four memorial pillars found at site no.136 at Nagarjunakonda commemorate four

215. EI.vol.XXXIV,p.19.

216. Ibid.p.22.

217. EI.vol.XXVI,p.125.

218. EI.vol.XXXIV,pp.21,22.

219. EI.vol.XXXV,p.15 no.1.

groups of soldiers who had served respectively under a rathika Bhata,²²⁰ a senapati,²²¹ Karadaru Kumāra ~~or~~,²²² and rathika Haraka,²²³ all of whom were stationed at Magalarana. On the grounds of their language and palaeographic features, D.C.Sircar attributes all of these inscriptions to the same period.²²⁴ The identification of Magalarana or Mangalāranya is not possible.²²⁵

220. Ibid.p.15,n.I.

221. Ibid.p.15.no.II.

222. Ibid.p.16.no.III. We do not know whether Kumāra preceeding Karadaru was a part of the name of the person concerned or was a title indicating that Karadaru was a prince.

223. Ibid.p.16.no.IV.

224. Ibid.pp.16,17.

225. We do not know whether Magalarana can be identified with Magalli near Kabash Nandigam.

The simultaneous erection of memorial pillars for so many groups of soldiers, however, suggests that they were involved in some sort of a battle.

Palaeographically all these records may be attributed to the Ikṣvāku age.²²⁶ However, we do not know whether this took place during the reign of Rudrapurusadatta or in that of any of his Ikṣvāku predecessors.

The Nagarjunakonda inscription of Rudrapurusadatta is dated in his regnal year 11.²²⁷ We do not know whether he continued to rule after that date. As will be argued later, his rule in at least the Nagarjunakonda valley ended by c. A.D. 348 (p. 193).

226. EI.vol.XXXV,pp.14-15.

227. A fragmentary inscription of the Ikṣvāku age refers to kumara Siri Vira ar(ibha)... (ibid. vol.XXXV.p.20). Some coins to be associated with the Ikṣvāku issues on the grounds of fabric, types and metrology carry an inscription... ari va(na)... (Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy. 1959-60, p.31. EI.vol.XXXV.p.20.) We do not know whether Kumara Siri Vira Ar(ibha) may be connected with ariva(ha), the issuer of these coins.

CHAPTER VI

Ikṣvāku Chronology

A

Ikṣvāku rule in the Andhra region is not known to have continued after Rudrapuruṣadatta. On the other hand, a Nagarjunakonda epigraph, which on palaeographic grounds may be related to the later Ikṣvāku inscriptions,¹ introduces the rule of a King Vāṣē(si)ṣṭhi-putra Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa.²

Thus prima facie, this epigraph indicates the rule of the Ābhīras in the Nagarjunakonda area about the end or a little after the downfall of the

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1. The general characteristics of the post Sātavāhana epigraphs, such as elongated and ornamented verticals, are present in this epigraph. On the other hand, there are certain characteristics noticeable here which may also be found in later Ikṣvāku inscriptions. There are striking similarities between the forms of letters like sa, ja, va etc., of Vasuṣeṇa's inscription (EI, vol.XXXIV, pl.facing p.202) with those of the same letters of later Ikṣvāku epigraphs including one of Ehuṅvula Cāntamulā's year 24 (ibid.,XXXV; pl4 facing p.13) and one of Rudrapurusadatta's year 11 (ibid.,vol.XXXIV,pl.2B, facing p.21). In Vasuṣeṇa's epigraph the tendency towards forming curves and loops are, however, more pronounced than in the two last mentioned Ikṣvāku inscriptions. The only noticeable difference is that va of Vasuṣeṇa's epigraph is more akin to the form used for it in the Mayidāvolu copper plate of YuvaMaharājā Sivaskandavarman (EI, vol.VI pl.facing pp.84-88).
 2. EI, vol.XXXIV, pp.202-203

Ikṣvākus in that territory. Hence, the record in question seems to be of capital importance for the chronology of the Ikṣvākus in the Andhra region.

The epigraph is dated in the year 30³. According to D.C.Sircar this year should be referred to the so-called Traikutaka-Kalacuri Era of A.D. 248. For the latter reckoning is generally considered to have been founded by the Ābhīra King Māṭhariputra Iśvarasena. In that case the year 30 of Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa should have corresponded to A.D.278/9.

As will be discussed below in greater detail, an epigraph of Vīrapuruṣadatta and another of Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla are dated in the year Vijaya of the Bārhaspatyamāna or the Jovian Cycle. D.C.Sircar observes that these two years called Vijaya, should have corresponded to c. A.D.273 and 333 respectively. In the light of these three dates - c.A.D. 278/79 of Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa, c.A.D.273

3. Following the editor of IA, AR, (1958-59, p.8), B.N.Mukherjee read the date of the record as year 9 (IHQ, vol.XXXV, (1959), p.139). D.C.Sircar, on the other hand, reads the date as year 30 (EI, vol.XXXIV, p.202). His reading appears to be more probable since we find the same form of numeral 30 in some Kuṣāṇa records (G.S.Ojha, Bhāratiya Prachina Lipimālā, pl.LXXIIb).

of Vīrapuruṣadatta and c. A.D.333 or Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla-Sircar postulates the following chronology:-

Vīrapuruṣadatta c. A.D.255-75.

Ābhīra inter-regnum c. A.D.275-80.

Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla c. A.D.280-335⁴

Sircar's interpretation of the tow Vijaya years in terms of the Christian era may, as to be argued later, be accepted. It is, however, difficult to agree with his view about the attribution the year 30 of Ābhīra Vasuṣeṅa to the so-called Traikuṭaka-Kalacuri era and consequently also with the theory of an Ābhīra inter-regnum.

We do not know for certain whether this reckoning was really started by an Ābhīra king. On the other hand, since it is not impossible for a monarch to rule for thirty years, it is not imperative that the year 30 should necessarily be referred to an era. Again, if, following Sircar, we date Ābhīra Vasuṣeṅa to c. A.D.278/79 we should expect to find strong palaeographic resemblance between this inscription and the epigraph of Vīrapuruṣadatta of the year Vijaya, i.e., c.A.D.273, since the interval between the two records - found from the same region - would be hardly more than five years. In fact, of the two inscriptions, the forms of the letters in the epigraph

4. EI, vol.XXXV, p.6. See also IHQ, vol.XXVI (1960) pp.22f.

of Vasuṣeṇa seems to be more developed, especially those of the characters a, u, da, etc.,⁵ Moreover, as we have already noted above (n.1), the general palaeographic features of the epigraph (of Vasuṣeṇa) do indeed tend to place it to the closing period of the rule of the Ikṣvākus, or even after.

Thus there does not appear to be any strong reason for assigning the year 30 to the reckoning of A.D.248. On the other hand, its ascription to a regnal year may be further substantiated by the following discussion.

The epigraph in question speaks of the re-installation of an image of God Āṣṭamjasvāmi, i.e., Aṣṭabhūjasvāmin at Seḍagiri by mahāgrāmika mahāhatalavara mahādaṇḍanāyaka Śivaseba i.e., Śivaśeḇa, the Yo(na)rājas of Sañjayapuri, Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti and Viṣṇurudraśivalānanda Sātakarni of Vanavāsā,⁶ in the year 30 of Ābhīra king Vasuṣeṇa. It is to be noted here that the persons responsible for the re-installation of the image concerned must have been contemporaries of Vasuṣeṇa. So a knowledge of their chronological position may help us to determine

5. Compare EI, vol.XXXIV, pl.facing p.202 with ibid., vol.XXXV, pl.1A.

6. EI, volXXXIV.pp.202-203. The epigraph has Yorajibhih which seems to be a scribal mistake for Yonarajibhih.

the period of Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa's rule in the Nagarjunakonda area.

Of the persons mentioned, no title is ascribed either to Viṣṇurudraśivalānanda Sātakarṇi of Vanavāsi or to Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti. However, the association of Viṣṇurudraśivalānanda Sātakarṇi with a ruling house of Vanavāsi may be inferred. For not only is he described as a native of Vanavāsi, but his name (Viṣṇurudrasivalānanda Sātakarṇi) also betrays close affinity to that of King Viṇhukada Cutukulānanda, Sātakarṇi of Vanavāsi. As we have discussed above (p. 165), the family of the latter King was ruling in Vanavasi in or about the Ikṣvāku period. (p. III). Hence, we may regard Viṣṇurudraśivalānanda Sātakarṇi as a scion, even if not a ruling member, of the Sātakarṇi family of Vanavāsi.

On the analogy of the absence of either a royal or a princely title before the name of Viṣṇurudraśivalānanda Sātakarṇi, the non-ascription of a title to Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti need not necessarily mean that he had not assumed any. The importance of his status is also perhaps indicated by his association with the Yona kings of Sañjayapuri in a meritorious act. It is indeed interesting to note that in the Śaka Satrapal families of the Avanti region, there were at least two

members having the name Rudradāman. One of them was Rudradāman (I) referred to in the Junagadh inscription of the year 72, i.e., c.A.D.150⁷. Since he flourished in the middle of the 2nd century A.D., he could not possibly have been the Rudradāman mentioned in our record. The only other known Rudradāman of a probable Śaka extraction was Rudradāman (II), the father of mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena (III)⁸. The former is known only from the legend of the coins of his son, and there he is designated as rājan, mahākṣatrapa and svāmī.

The first known date of his son Rudrasena (III) is 270 or c.A.D.348⁹. No Kṣatrapa coin is known to have been issued between 254¹⁰, the last date of Yasodāman (II), and 270, or between c. A.D.332 and 348. We have also no information on the relationship between Rudradāman (II) and Yasodāman, who probably ruled up to c.A.D.332. But since the former was the father of mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena (III), who reigned from c.A.D.348, he might have flourished between c.A.D.332 and 348.

7. EI, vol.VIIII.p.42.

8. CCADWK, p.179. Recently an inscription bearing the name of Rudradamaśri has been discovered in the Mirzapur district of U.P. (EI, vol.XXXIV, p.245). We do not know whether he may be identified with either of the two known Rudradāmans.

9. CCADWK, p.179.

10. Ibid., p.175.

The premise that Rudradāman of Avanti may be assigned to a period between c.A.D.332 and 348, indicates that his contemporary Vasuṣeṇa should have ruled about the same time. At least the year 30 of Abhira Vasuṣeṇa's reign should have corresponded to any year between c.A.D.332-348.¹¹

This inference means that the Ikṣvākus, who began their independent rule immediately after the end of Sātavāhana hegemony in the Andhra region in or about the second quarter of the third century A.D., should have finished their rule at least in the Nagarjunakonda valley by c. A.D.348.

B

The other two dates of capital of importance for the foundation of Ikṣvāku chronology also come from Nagarjunakonda.

One of these epigraphs refer to the reign of Virapurusaḍatta in the expression '... Siri Virapurisadata(sa) vasa-satāya savachara(m) Vijaya(m) vāsa-pakhaṁ prathamam 1 divasa bitiva(m) ...' The other inscription, belonging to the reign of Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla has its date as ... Siri-Ehavaḷa-Cāntamūlasa savacharam Vija ... (mha)-pa diva 1

11. In this connection see IHQ, vol.XXXV, (1959) pp.139f.

12. EI, vol.XXXV, p.3, pl.1A.

13. Ibid., p.7, pl.1B.

The first of these two epigraphs was originally edited by Vogel who read its date as samvachara vim̄sava(m̄).¹⁴ D.C.Sircar, who has recently re-edited the inscription corrected Vogel's reading to savachara(m̄) vijaya(m̄).¹⁵ It appears from a close examination of this inscription¹⁶ as well as its facsimiles¹⁷ that there is hardly any doubt on the occurrence of the word vijaya.

Of the word following the term savacharam̄ in the second record the first two letters can be read as vija, but the third letter is very indistinct.¹⁸ Since, however, no numerical figure can be indicated by an expression beginning with vija, and since the presence of vija cannot be explained in any other way, we shall have to assume the letter after vija as ya and consequently the date of the year as

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14. Ibid., vol. XXI, p. 64, pl. L. The part of the facsimile of which contains the date, is very indistinct.
 15. EI., vol. XXXV, p. 3, pl. 1A.
 16. We had an opportunity to examine the epigraph when we visited Nagarjunakonda.
 17. EI., vol. XXXV, pl. 1A.
 18. Ibid., pl. 1B.

Vijaya.¹⁹

A possible translation of the expression savacharam vijayam may be the 'victorious year'. However, since all the dated Ikṣvāku records are referred to the regnal years of the kings, savacharam vijayam in this context should allude to some specific date. The only specific year that the word Vijaya can denote is, as D.C.Sircar observes,²⁰ the year of the same name of the cycle of Jupiter or the Bārhaṣpatyamāna.

No doubt, the earliest known epigraphic use of this cycle is found in the Mahākuta pillar inscription of Maṅgaleśa, dated in the year Siddhārtha, corresponding to A.D.602-603.²¹ Nevertheless,

19. J.Karthikeya Sarma believes that two inscriptions of Virapurūṣadatta are dated in his seventh regnal year as well as in the year vijaya. He further attempts to read the regnal year 13 and also the year vijaya in an inscription of the reign of Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla. On the basis of inferences drawn from these datings he reconstructs the Ikṣvāku chronology. (Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, vol.XXIX, (1959-60).pp.50-59). It must, however, be pointed out that this cyclic year occurs in only one (not two) inscription of Virapurūṣadatta and in one of Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla, (This is quite distinct from the one cited by Karthikey Sarma. In fact the inscription of the reign of Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla cited by him does not contain the Vijaya year at all), none of which contain any regnal years. Hence the very basis of Karthikeya Sarma's theory is wrong.

20. EI, vol.XXXV, p.2.

21. IA, vol.XIX (1890), p.18.

since some sources quote Vrddha Garga²² as the authority about their information on the Jovian cycle, this system of reckoning may have been in use in a period as early as the date of Vrddha Garga.²³ Moreover, it appears from the number of known instances of the use of this cycle that this mode of counting years was much more popular in the south than in the north.²⁴ Hence, there is no prima facie difficulty in considering the expression savacharam vijayam in Ikṣvāku inscriptions as the name of that year in the Jovian cycle.²⁵

A cycle of Jupiter or the Bārhaspatya māna covers a period of sixty years (or five revolutions of the planet), each year of which has a different name.²⁶ Each saṁvatsara is the period occupied by the planet Jupiter in passing by his mean motion through one sign, or 30°, of the Zodiac.²⁷ However, as L.D.Swamikannu Pillai has demonstrated, a year or saṁvatsara in the south

22. S.Davies, Asiatic Researches, vol.III, p.218.

23. A.Cunningham. Book of Indian Eras, (1883).p.18.

24. The earliest north Indian record to be dated in the cyclic year is the Gaya inscription of A.D.1175 (EI, vol.XX, p.55, Bhandarkars List.no.370). In south India (south of the Narmada) the method of counting year by the Jovian cycle is in vogue even in modern times. (R.Sewell, S.B.Diksit, The Indian Calender (1896).p.36.).

25. See in this connection L.Renou, J.Filliozat, L'Inde Classique, vol.II, p.726.

26. There is another method of counting a cycle of Jupiter. According to this, a cycle of Jupiter consists of twelve years, each having a separate name. (R.Sewell Indian Chronography (1912), pp.65f.). None of the years of this cycle is called Vijaya.

27. R.Sewell - Indian Chronography. p.46. 'The cycle is (contd., overleaf)

Indian version of the system of the Jovian cycle is in fact a solar year with a Jovian name.²⁸ An Indian solar year generally begins in the month of Caitra (March - April) or Vaiśākha (April - May),²⁹ i.e., in an Indian summer season. Hence a Vāsapakha or a fortnight of the rainy season of a Vijaya year, referred to in the inscription of Vīrapuruṣadatta, should be ascribed to the second season of that year, whereas the gimhapakha or a fortnight of the summer season mentioned in his son's epigraph should be dated to the first season of a Vijaya year. This anachronism may be obviated by assuming that either the father and son ruled conjointly or that the two Vijaya years in question should be referred to two different Jovian cycles of sixty years. We shall prefer the second alternative, since there is no evidence of the

(contd. from previous page).

27. generally treated as beginning with Prabhava samvatsara as No.1; but, referred back on its astronomical basis to the beginning of Kaliyuga in 3102 B.C., it begins with No.27 Vijaya, and this Samvatsara is treated as number one by the present Suryya Siddhanta and its followers'. (*ibid.*,)
28. L.D.Swamikannu Pillai, Indian Chronography, p.39.
L.D.Swamikannu Pillai, An Indian Ephemeris, vol.I, pt.I, p.51.
29. L.D.Swamikannu Pillai, Indian Chronography, p.I, Table 1,
L.D.Swamikannu Pillai, An Indian Ephemeris, vol.I, pt.I, p.195; See also vol.I, pt.II, pp.35f.

system of conjoint rule amongst the Ikṣvākus. And as a Jovian cycle consists of sixty years, the year Vijaya of Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla's record should be placed sixty years after the year Vijaya of his father's inscription. A considerable interval between these two epigraphs is also indicated by a comparison between their respective palaeographic features.³⁰

The two separate Vijaya years of these two monarchs should be equated with any two Vijaya years falling after sometime in or about the second quarter of the third century A.D., when the Sātavāhana rule ended in our region, and before c.A.D.348, a date by which the Ikṣvāku rule in the Nagarjunakonda area had already declined. During this stipulated period the cyclic year Vijaya could have occurred twice, once in A.D.273-274³¹ and once again in A.D.333-334³². So we may assign the first Vijaya year to the reign of the father and the second to the rule of the son.

30. Forms of letters like bha, pā, mā are more developed in the record of Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla (EI, vol. XXXV, pl. 1B.) than these of the same letters in the epigraph of Virāpuruṣadatta (ibid., pl. 1A.). The tendency towards forming curves and loops, a characteristic feature of later Ikṣvāku epigraphs is present only in the first of these two records. This also indicates that they do not belong to the same year.

31. Samikannu Pillai, Indian Chronography, Table I.

32. Ibid.

C

The above hypothesis provides us with two guiding factors for the reconstruction of Ikṣvāku chronology. We know two dates of two consecutive Ikṣvāku kings in terms of the Christian era. The first Vijaya year (c.A.D.273-274) may be dated in or after the twenty^{known} years of Vīrapuruṣadatta's reign. Similarly, the second Vijaya year (c.A.D.333-334) may be ascribed to any of the twenty-four known or even unknown regnal years of Ehuṣvula Cāntamūla. We also know that the minimum period of the reign of Vīrapuruṣadatta is 20³³ years, of Ehuṣvula Cāntamūla is 24³⁴ years and of Rudrapuruṣadatta is 11 years.³⁵ We have already seen above that the four generations of Ikṣvāku rule should be dated after sometime in or about the second quarter of the third century A.D. (p.118.) and before c.A.D.348.

It follows from the above data that the earliest years of the reign of Cāntamūla (≡) should be placed sometime in or about the second quarter of the third century A.D. If we assign him an average period of the rule of an Indian King - viz 19 years,³⁶ we may assume that he reigned for almost the whole of the second quarter

33. ASSI, vol.I, p.110.

34. EI, vol.XXXV, p.12.

35. Ibid., vol.XXXIV, p.22.

36. A.L.Basham, Studies in Indian History and Culture, (1964), p.86.

of the third century A.D. He might have ruled for a longer period. In fact the latest possible limit of his reign may be placed in c.A.D.273-274, the year Vijaya of his son and successor Virapurusaḍatta.

As far as Virapurusaḍatta is concerned, we know that he was on the throne for at least twenty years and that a part of his reign should have corresponded to c.A.D.273-274, which was also the earliest possible date for the end of his reign. If his father had exercised authority upto c.A.D.273-274, it might even have been his first regnal year. However, if his father had a reign of 19 years, the earliest possible date for the beginning of Virapurusaḍatta's reign should be placed roughly ^{towards} ~~at~~ the end of the second or in the beginning of the third quarter of the third of the third century A.D. On the other hand, since his son Ehuḅula Cāntamūla and grandson Rudrapurusaḍatta reigned between them for not less than (24 + 11) thirty five years, and since, the Ikṣvākus probably finished their rule at least in the Nagarjunakonda area by c.A.D.348, the latest possible date for the end of Virapurusaḍatta's reign should be

fixed in $(348-11) + (24) = c. A.D. 313$.³⁷

So c.A.D. 313 appears to be the latest possible date for the beginning of the reign of Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla. The earliest possible date for the beginning of his reign may be placed in c.A.D. 273-274 the Vijaya year of his father. Since he was reigning in c.A.D. 333-334 the earliest possible date for the end of his reign should not be placed before that year. On the other hand, since his son ruled for at least eleven years and as the Ikṣvāku rule in at least the Nagarjunakonda region should have ended by c.A.D. 348, his reign could not have stretched beyond $(348-11=)$ c.A.D. 337.

37. We may note here that M. Rama Rao (RIHC, 1961, pp. 48-56, Journal of Indian History, vol. XL (1962), pp. 558-559) does not believe that either Virapurūṣadatta or Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla ruled beyond the known period of their reign. However, we must concede here that dated inscriptions of a king only enable us to fix the minimum period of his reign. Rama Rao further determines the date of the Ikṣvāku kings on the basis of his ideas of the chronologies of the Br̥hatphalāyanas, the Salankāyanas and the early Pallavas. We may observe here that our knowledge of the above line of kings is very inadequate and imperfect and cannot help us much in fixing the Ikṣvāku chronology. On the other hand, as will be apparent from our discussion in the following chapter a knowledge of Ikṣvāku chronology will be helpful to some extent in determining approximate dates of the above mentioned dynasty of kings.

Following the above line of argument, c.A.D. 337, i.e., the earliest possible date of Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla, should also be considered as the latest possible date for the beginning of the reign of his son Rudrapuruṣadatta. Similarly, c.A.D. 333-34 i.e., the earliest possible date for the end of his father's reign should also be accepted as the earliest possible date for his accession to the throne. If Rudrapuruṣadatta began his reign in c.A.D. 333-34 his reign of at least eleven years could not have finished before c.A.D. 344-45. On the other hand, the provenances as well as the contents of the Nagarjunakonda epigraph of Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa indicates that he had been ruling in the Nagarjunakonda area at least in his 30th regnal year. We have already noted that the latter year should be placed between c.A.D. 332 and 348. (p. 187.). So the 30th regnal year of Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa has to be associated to a year between c.A.D. 344-45 and 348. It means that that Ikṣvāku hegemony ended at least in the Nagarjunakonda valley sometime between c.A.D. 344-345 and 348.³⁸ Hence c.A.D. 348 was the latest possible date for Rudrapuruṣadatta's rule in the Nagarjunakonda area.

38. R. Subrahmanyam believes that the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions referring to King Vasuṣeṇa as well as Rudradāman and Viṣṇurudraśivālananda Śātakarṇi does not indicate the rule of the Ābhiras in the Nagarjunakonda area. He points out that the Western Satrapal family and the Śātakarṇi family of Vanavasi

On the basis of our above arguments we may now indicate below the longest possible period of the reign of each of the Ikṣvāku

Cāntamūla - Earliest possible date c.A.D. 225 - latest possible date c.A.D.273.

X Virapurūṣadatta - Earliest possible date c.A.D.244-45 - latest possible date c.A.D.313-14.

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to which he assigns respectively Rudradāman and Viṣṇurudraśivalānanda Sātakarṇi had happy matrimonial relations with the Ikṣvākus. Hence the league which included Rudradāman and Viṣṇurudraśivalānanda Sātakarṇi and was led by Vasuṣeṇa could not have done any harm to the Ikṣvākus. According to R.Subramanyam this confederacy was formed to help the Ikṣvākus to fight their Pallava and Anandagotrā enemies. (CCUAPGM, p.190).

The inscription in question, however, only records the re-installation of an image and some other pious acts by a few persons including Rudradāman and Viṣṇurudraśivalānanda Satakarni in the year 30 of Abhira Vasuṣeṇa. This can only prima facie suggest the sovereign rule of Vasuṣeṇa in the year 30 in the locality where the images were re-installed. It may also perhaps indicate that the persons responsible for the re-installation of the image were friendly towards Vasuṣeṇa. But it never speaks about their relationship with the Ikṣvākus. Moreover, it must be remembered that matrimonially, related families could develop inimical relations. Rāṣṭrakuta king Krishna(III) fought against his maternal uncle (EHD, p(293),

Ehuvula Cāntamula - Earliest possible date c.A.D.273-74 -
latest possible date c.A.D.337.

Rudrapuruṣadatta - Earliest possible date c.A.D.333-34 -
latest possible date c.A.D.348.³⁹

39. It appears that the total period of the rule of the Ikṣvākus upto the end of their authority in the Nagarjunakonda area did not cover more than 124 years. And as will be shown in the following chapter, their rule in any part of the Krishna-Guntur region cannot be placed after c.A.D.350.

This hypothesis regarding the total period of the Ikṣvāku rule in Andhra seems to receive some support from the Puranas. According to the Matsya Purana, Andhra Sripārvatīyas reigned for 'twice fifty' (dvi-pancāśatam/samāh) years (DKA, p.46). The corresponding passage in the Vayu and the Brahmanda Purāna ascribed to the Andhras, apparently the same as the Andhra Sripārvatīyas 102 śate (sic) dve ca śatam or 112 (dasa dve ca śatam) years of rule (ibid.). We have already identified the Andhra Sripārvatīyas with the Ikṣvākus (pp. 116-117). This means that the Puranic sources ascribe to them not more than 112 years of reign. This to some extent is in agreement with the maximum period of their rule suggested by us.

CHAPTER VII

End of Ikṣvāku Supremacy
in the Andhra Region

A

The Nagarjunakonda inscription of the year 30, which suggests Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa's sovereign rule in the Nagarjunakonda area, does not explicitly state that he ousted the Ikṣvākus. The proximity of their dates should, however, indicate such an incident.

Until new evidence becomes available it is impossible to determine the causes of the decline of the Ikṣvākus and the circumstances leading to their final disappearance. However, we may take an account of the various

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1. B.V. Krishnarao is inclined to believe that the imperial Andhras survived the rise of the Ikṣvākus, bore hostility to wards as the latter and helped the Ballavas to overthrow them (EDA., p.115). The evidence of the contents of the Tarhala hoard from the Akola district may suggest the survival in Vidarbha of a branch of the Andhra (Sātavāhanas) even after Pulumavi, the last Andhra king according to the Puranic lists (JNSI, vol. II, (1940), p.83f). But there is not indication that they helped the Pallavas to extend their sway over to the Andhra region. Moreover, as we have already indicated above, it was the Ābhiras, and not the Pallavas, who probably overthrew the Ikṣvākus at least from the Nagarjunakonda valley.

There is also not an iota of evidence to support of Krishnarao's theory that 'revival of aggressive Brahmanism which was not even tolerated during the reign of Virapurusaḍatta and Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla rose like the many headed Cobra to wreak vengeance upon the Buddhism and its illustrious patron the Ikṣvākus' (EDA., p.115). There is nothing to suggest, Virapurusaḍatta or Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla were themselves Buddhists and showed intolerance towards Brahmanism. On the other hand, there is evidence of some donations made for the erection of temples of Brahmanical deities during Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla's reign. (EI., vol. XXXIII

(contd. overleaf).

powers which rose in or about the Ikṣvāku dominions immediately or little after them. Our only directly relevant source in this connection is the Nagarjunakonda epigraph of Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa dated in ~~his~~ year 30. It refers to the reinstallation of God Aṣṭa-bhūjasvāmin, on the Sedagiri without having been removed from its place, and also records the decoration of the enclosure of the shrine of the god, the cleaning of the well called Mahananda, and the construction of two tanks at Sedagiri and at Mudera by mahagrāmika, mahatalavara, madādanāyaka sivaṣeḥa, i.e., śivaṣeḥa of the Kauśika gotra and Peribideha family, the Yo(na)-rajas of Sañjayapuri, Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti and Viṣṇurudraśivālananda Sātakarṇi of Vanavāsa.²

We do not know whether Śivaṣeḥa was a local man or came in the Nagarjunakonda region along with Ābhīra vasuṣeṇa. Whatever may have been the native place of Śivaṣeḥa it is certain that he was an important official for he bore such high ranking titles of Ikṣvāku times (pp.223f.) as mahātalavara and mahādanāyaka along with a hitherto unknown title mahagrāmika.

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p.229; ibid., vol.XXXIV.p.19). The latter's son Vīrapurusadatta (II) with his mother Kupanaśrī was responsible for the erection of the devakula and adhvaja stambha for God Puṣpabhadrasvāmin (Ibid.,)

2. EI, vol.XXXIV, p.202-203.

The Yo(na)rājas or Yavana

³rājas, mentioned in the record may have been, as the word originally meant, some Ionian Greeks. However, in the age of our inscription, by which time India had come into contact with other Greeks as well as Graeco-Romans, Yona might have also denoted any ^{Person}hailing from anywhere to the west of the Indian sub-continent.⁴ The epigraph mentions Sañjayapuri as the headquarter of these Yonarājas. The name of this place may be associated at least phonetically with Sañjayantīnagarī, mentioned in the Mahābhārata in connection with Sahadeva's southern conquest,⁵ and also with modern Sañjan in the Thana district of Bombay.⁶

We have already identified Rudradāman of Avanti with the father of mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena (III), (pp.185-87), and have assigned Visnurudraśivalānanda Satakarni to the Sātakarni family of Vanavāsā. (p.185.). It is not clearly known whether Vasuṣeṇa was helped by all these rulers in his struggle against the Ikṣvākus. Nevertheless, it is extremely interesting to note in this context that the kings of Vanavāsā, probably the Sātakarnis, and the Satrapal family

3. Ep., vol. XXXV, pp. 202-203.

4. In this connection see Indian Culture, vol. I, (1935), pp. 343f.

5. Mahābhārata, II, 31, 70.

6. It may be noted here that there is evidence to suggest that Sañjan attracted foreigners from the medieval times. The Parsees and Arab chiefs are known to have settled here after their advent into India. (See J.N. Banerjea Volume, p. 95f).

of Ujjayini, to which Saka Rudradāman probably belonged had matrimonial relations with the Ikṣvākus. This apparently indicates the existence of friendship between the Ikṣvākus on the one hand, and the Satakarni family of Vanavāsā (p. 165.) and the Saka power of Ujjayini (W. Malwa) on the other. The inscription of the year 30, however, suggests that Saka Rudradāman of Avanti (W. Malwa) and Viṣṇurudraśivalānanda Sātākarni of Vanavāsā had good relations with Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa, who in probability was an enemy of the Ikṣvākus.⁷ Their participation in a meritorious act in the newly conquered domain of Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa, situated far away from their own, may allude either to their active support in Vasuṣeṇa's attempt at overthrowing the Ikṣvākus or merely to their recognition of Ābhīra authority in the Nagarjunakonda area, after the completion of the change of power.

As noted earlier, the Ikṣvāku rule in the Nagarjunakonda area continued at least up to c.A.D. 344-45. We have also seen that the year 30 of Vasuṣeṇa's reign should be assigned to a year between c.A.D. 344-45 and 348. Hence, it was only in the closing stage of the period of his 30 regnal years that he was the overlord of the Nagarjunakonda area. Hence he extended his rule to this valley from somewhere else.

7. See above ch. VI, n.

The rise of the Ābhīras in parts of the western Deccan is evinced from the Nasik inscription of Abhīra Eśvarasena, i.e., Iśvarasena.⁸ As we have also indicated above, ~~that~~ he, to some extent, may have been responsible for the decline of the imperial Sātavāhanas in western Deccan (pp.107-108). No doubt, there is no definite indication of any connection between the family of Vasuṣeṇa and that of Iśvarasena. The former may have belonged to a completely different settlement of the Ābhīras, because by our time the Abhīras had already been diffused over many parts of India.⁹ On the other hand, a strong similarity between the names of Ābhira Māṭhariputra Iśvarasena and of Ābhīra Vāsiṣṭhīputra Vasuṣeṇa may suggest that the two rulers might have belonged to the same family or settlement.

It should be recorded here that we are not certain whether Vasuṣeṇa conquered the whole of Andhrāpatha from the Ikṣvākus. Available evidence only proves his authority over the Nagarjunakonda valley.

B

Thus by c.A.D. 348 or about the

8. EI, vol.VIII.p.88.

9. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, vol.XXX (1939) pp.148f; PIHC, (1951), pp.91f.

the middle of the 4th century A.D., the Ābhira phase in the history of at least a part of the Andhra region began. There are indications, however, that Ābhira rule in that part of India was one of short duration.

The Allahabad Pillar inscription includes Paiṣṭapuraka Mahendra (or Mahendragiri), Kauṛalaka Maṅṭarāja, Vaingeyaka Hastivarman, Palakkaka Ugrasena, Kausthalapuraka Dhanañjaya and Kānceyaka Viṣṇugopa in the list of Kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha conquered by Samudragupta.¹⁰

Piṣṭapura was probably the same as modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari district, Kaurala is considered to have been connected with the Colair lake in the borders of the west Godavari and the Krishna districts, and Vengi is surely the modern Pedda Vegi in the East Godavari district. Pālakka and Kusthalapura are tentatively identified with Palakkada in the Nellore district and Kuttalur in the North Arcot district. There is hardly any doubt about the identity of kāñci with Kanchipuram of the last mentioned district.¹¹

These identifications reveal that some of the above territories were not very far from and

10. CII, vol.III, pp.6ff.

11. For identification of these names, see IHQ, vol.I, (1925) pp.250-260; PHAI, p.538-40; SI, p.257 n.1, etc.,

some were quite close to either the northern or the southern limits of the Krishna-Guntur area. This also suggests that Samudragupta apparently traversed through the last mentioned zone in order to reach Pālakka (Palakkada), Kāñci and Kausthalapura (Kuttalur). This seems a little perplexing as Harisena the author of the Allahabad inscription, does not mention any conquered kingdom of Dakṣiṇāpatha that can be located either in the heart of the Krishna or of the Guntur district. This problem may be solved by assuming that these districts or parts of them were, in the period concerned, within the political limits of one or more of the above kingdoms of Dakṣiṇāpatha.

The date of Samudra Gupta's southern conquest may be guessed. He must have ended his rule by A.D. 376 or 380, either of which corresponded roughly to the year 1 of his son Chandragupta (II)'s reign.¹² On the other hand, since the Gupta era of A.D. 319-20 was started either by him or more probably by his father Chandragupta (I),¹³ the major or whole period of his reign may be placed¹⁴

12. The Mathura pillar inscription (SI, p. 261) of Samudragupta's son Candragupta (II) is dated in the year 61 of the Gupta era and his fifth (pañcama) or first (prathama) regnal year. So if Candragupta's fifth regnal year is referred to in the epigraph in question, then Samudragupta ceased to rule by $((319 + 61) - 4 =)$ c.A.D. 376. If, however, the year 61 of the Gupta era was the first regnal year of his son, he should have ended his rule by c.A.D. 380.

13. Vākataka Gupta Age, (edited by A.S. Altekar and R.C. Majumdar (1954)) pp. 146-147.

14. JRAS, (1893), p. 80; PHAI, p. 530; etc.

after the beginning of that reckoning. About this time the Ikṣvākus were ruling in the Andhra region, and they continued to rule there at least up to sometime in c.A.D.344-45. Between the latter date and c.A.D.348, the Ābhīras succeeded the Ikṣvākus at least in the Nagarjunakonda valley. (p.196.). And as Samudragupta is not recorded to have confronted either the Ikṣvākus or the Ābhīras of Dakṣiṇāpatha,¹⁵ even though he apparently traversed the Krishna-Guntur area, the date of the completion of his southern conquest may not be placed before c.A.D.344-45. Thus by sometime between c.A.D. 344-45 and A.D.376 or 380 Samudragupta subjugated the above mentioned dominions or rather completed his military expeditions against them. It also appears that at that time one or more of these kingdoms of Dakṣiṇāpatha held the whole or parts of the Andhra region. This means that probably by the date of the completion of Samudragupta's

15. No doubt the Allahabad pillar inscription includes the Ābhīras in the list of tribes swearing allegiance to Samudragupta (SI, pp.257-58). These Ābhīras may not be connected with those of southern India, because the epigraph does not mention the Ābhīras in connection with Samudragupta's southern campaign. Moreover, since the rest of the tribes mentioned along with the Ābhīras in the inscription had their habitats in northern India, the Ābhīras of Samudragupta's inscription probably belonged to some Ābhīra settlement in north India.

southern expedition the Krishna-Guntur region was not any longer controlled by the Ābhīras and also by the Ikṣvākus, if their rule had survived in any part of that territory after the Ābhīra occupation of the Nagarjunakonda valley.

C

The evidence of an inscription, discovered at Manchikallu in the Guntur district, seems to be noteworthy in this connection. It records that a Pallava king named Siḥavarman i.e., Siḥavarman made propitiary rites and made gifts (of woolen carpets) to the tethikas, i.e., tairthikas, of Jīvaśivasami (Jivaśivasvāmain) Svami for avoiding evil and for attaining victory and prosperity.¹⁶

The forms of letters ka, la, sa, ra, pa, etc., of this epigraph have close similarity to those of the same letters occurring in the inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus, particularly to those of the year 16 and 24 of the reign of Eḥuvula Cāntamūla and of the year 11 of Rudrapuruṣadatta.¹⁷ On the other hand, the forms of the letters na and ta of Siḥavarman's epigraph are somewhat more developed than those of the same letters in Ikṣvāku

16. EI. vol. XXXII, p. 89.
17. Compare pl. facing p. 87 of ibid., vol. XXXII with pl. 4 of ibid., vol. XXXV and pl. 2 facing p. 121 of ibid., vol. XXXIV. G. Sambasiva Rao, who discusses the question of Pallava authority in the Guntur district places Siḥavarman

records. Thus the inscription of Pallava Simhavarman can be paleographically dated to the later period of the Ikṣvākus or shortly after.

The presence of a Pallava monarch in a locality lying not far from the Nagarjunakonda valley in or about the closing years of the Ikṣvākus or shortly after may indicate his military success against the Ābhīras, the successors of the Ikṣvākus at least in that area. It may even suggest his success against the Ikṣvākus, if they had survived in any part of the Guntur district even after the Ābhīra occupation of the Nagarjunakonda region.¹⁸ Either or both of these powers may have been alluded to by the passage in the Manchikallu inscription, which, as we have seen, refers to Simhavarman's religious and pious acts to score (further) his (own) victory.¹⁹

That the Pallavas achieved their aim is evident from the testimony of the Mayidavolu Copperplates of the Pallava crown Prince Śivaskandavarman of Kāñci, which testifies to the Pallava authority over Amdhāpata

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about c.A.D.295-310 (JAHRS, vol.XXIX (1963-64) pp.73-77). However, according to the chronology we have accepted here, Ikṣvaku rule in the Guntur district did not decline before c.A.D.344-345. Hence such an early date for Pallava authority in the Guntur district cannot be accepted.

18. There is no direct evidence to support an alternative view of D.C. Sircar that the Pallavas and the Ābhīras jointly attacked the Ikṣvākus (EI, vol.XXXV.p.6.)

19. EI, vol.XXXII, p.89.

i.e., the Andhra region.²⁰ On paleographic grounds these copperplates may be dated to the second half of the fourth century A.D.²¹ and also after the Manchikallu inscription.²² In fact Simhavarman of the latter epigraph is also considered as the father of Śivaskandavarman.²³

This hypothesis is in keeping with the inferences deduced above from the evidence of the Allahabad pillar inscription that one or more of the kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha, including Kañceyaka Viṣhugopa, controlled the whole or parts of the Krishna-Guntur area during the time of Samudragupta's southern conquest. The early Pallavas as discussed above were the earliest power in the Andhra region except the Ābhīras and the Ikṣvākus who ended their rule about the middle of the fourth century A.D.

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20. EI, vol.VI, pp.86ff. The British Museum plates of Carudevī, found in Gunapadeya in the Kandakur taluk of the Guntur district, was issued in the reign of Pallava Vijaya Skandavarman (SI, p.443). He has been identified with Sivaskandavarman of the Mayidavolu epigraph (AHD, p.70; EDA, p.17). This identification is by no means certain (SSLD, 167f; SI, p.443.n.1.).
21. See above ch.II, n.2.
22. Compare pl.facing pl.facing p.84-88 of EI, vol.VI, with pl.facing p.87 of ibid., vol.XXXII., p.87.
23. EI, vol.XXXII, p.89; Classical Age, p.276. The Mayidavolu inscription of Prince Sivaskandavarman refers to his father as Bappa. This word should rather mean 'father' than denote a personal name.

Visnugopa of Kāñci is universally considered to have²⁴ been an early Pallava monarch. And, as, shown above, Samudragupta's southern campaigns were completed sometime between c.A.D. 344-45 and 376 or 380. Hence we may now postulate that Pallava King Viṣṇugopa ruled over the Andhra region or at least over parts of it at the time of Samudragupta's southern conquest.

D

We do not know whether any power other than the Ābhīras and perhaps also the Pallavas was responsible for hastening the decline of the Ikṣvākus. However, we may at this point draw attention to certain information furnished by some epigraphs.

The cumulative evidence of the Chezarla inscription of Satsabhāmalla, mentioning his grandfather King Kandara,²⁵ the Gorantla inscription of King Attivarman,²⁶ and the Mattepad inscription²⁷ of King Damodaravarman reveals the existence of a new line of

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24. IHQ, vol. I, (1925), p. 252 ; SSLD, p. 177.
 25. South Indian Inscriptions, vol. VI, no. 594.
 26. IA, vol. IX. (1880) pp. 102-3. SSLD, pp. 54f.
 27. EI, vol. XVII pp. 329-330.

rulers belonging to Ananda gotra. The first inscription refers to Attivarman as Kandaranrpatikula-sambhuta (sprung from the family of King Kandara) and the second is said to have been issued from Vijaya-Kandarapura (victorious city(founded by) King Kandara). King Kandara referred to in the above inscriptions obviously flourished before both of these rulers.

The inscriptions from Chezara describes King Kandara as the lord of the Sitetarabennā, i.e., the Krishna[^]benna, and of Trikūta and also vquely alludes to his suzertainty over, the whole of the Andhra region.²⁸ (pp.18-19). The findspots of the inscriptions of Attivarman and Dāmodaravarman indicate the authority of the Anandagotra kings in the Guntur region. The Gorantla epigraph records the gift of lands in the village of Tanrikonra on the southern bank of the Krishna and also in the village of Antukkura. The first village has been identified with Tadikonda,²⁹ 10 miles to the north of Guntur town, and the second with Gani-Antukuru to the west of Bezwada.³⁰

These testify to the rule of the Kings of the Anandagotra in and about the Krishna-Guntur area.

28. EHAC, p.186. See above p.
 29. EI, vol.XVII, p.328. SSLD, p.61; EDA, p.335.
 30. Ibid.,

D.C.Sircar has pointed out that the forms of characters in the Gorantla and Mattepad inscriptions in some respect resemble those of the Ikṣvāku epigraphs.³¹ However, a close examination of their paleographic features reveals, that the form of several of their letters are very much more developed than those of the same letters in the Ikṣvāku epigraphs. In fact, the paleographic traits of the two inscriptions in question have closer affinity to those of the copper-plates of the Śālikāyanas, particularly to those of the Colair plates Nandivarman(II),³² who should be placed after Samudragupta.³³ We do not know by how many generations Attivarman and Damodaravarman were separated from each other and also from Kandara. However, since we do not know of any other Anandagotra king, we may, at least in the present state of our knowledge, assume that the intervals were not considerable.

The existence of another ruling family in at least a part of the Andhra region is suggested by the Kondamundi copperplate of King Jayavarman of the

31. SSLD, p.56.

32. Compare pl.facing p1102 and 103 of IA.vol.IX (1880) and pl.facing p.328 and 329 of EI, vol.XVII, with pl. facing pp.176 and 177 of IA, vol.VI.(1876).

33. According to the Śālikāyana genealogy (SSLD.p.70), Nandivarman II was separated from Hasivarman (I), a contemporary of Samudragupta by three generations.

34
 Br̥hatphalāyana gotra. Hultzsch demonstrated that this epigraph should ^{be} assigned to the age of the Mayidavolu epigraph of Śivaskandavarman on paleographic grounds.³⁵
 This grant (Kondamundi) records an order of the king to his vāpata at Kūdūra, identified with Guduru in the Krishna district (p.28). Hence Jayavarman seems to have under his sway at least a part of the Krishna-Guntur region in or about the period of the Mayidavolu inscription, i.e., the second half of the fourth century A.D.³⁶

Hastivarman of Veṅgī, one of the southern kings vanquished by Samudrāgupta, may be placed, as is apparent from the above dating of the Gupta emperor's southern conquest, in or about the second half of the fourth century A.D. Vengi, identified with Pedda Vegi in the west Godavari district, was also close to the Andhra region.³⁷

34. EI., vol.VI.p.316.

35. Ibid., pp.315-316. The peculiar forms of ma (𑀢); sa (𑀣), and ka (𑀤) of the Mayidavolu epigraph (EI., vol.VI.pl.facing pp.84-88) are also present in this epigraph ibid., pl.facing p.316 and 317). The forms of letter ya are also similar in both the epigraphs.

36. See above ch.II n.2 for a discussion on the date of the Mayidavolu inscriptions.

37. PHAI., p.540.

Hastivarman has been identified with the earliest person³⁸ of the same name among the Śāṅkāyana monarchs of Vengi. The name of the Śāṅkāyanas has been identified with that of the Salakenoi,³⁹ a people mentioned by Ptolemy.⁴⁰ The latter also mentioned a city of the Salakenoi as Benagouron.⁴¹ It is thought to be the same as Vengipura or modern Pedda Vegi.⁴² However, since Ptolemy's Geography does not indicate the Salakenoi as forming a political power, we do not know whether Śāṅkāyanas were politically important even before the days of Hastivarman.⁴³

38. The Classical Age, p.204.

39. See ch.II, n. ; for the necessary references.

40. Ptolemy VII, 1, 79.

41. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 79.

42. PHAI, p.500.n.1.

43. Śāṅkāyana Devavarman of the Ellore grant is considered by some scholars to have ruled earlier than Hastivarman(I). As D.C.Sircar believes that Prakrit inscriptions are chronologically earlier than sanskrit epigraphs, he dates the inscription of Devavarman written in Prakrit before the Śāṅkāyana epigraphs, including those referring to Hastivarman, which are composed in Sanskrit (SSLD, p.69). K.Gopalachari further adds that the Pedda Vegi plates of Śāṅkāyana Nandivarman (II) which furnishes the geneological list from Hastivarman (I) to Nandivarman(II) do not mention Devavarman. So the latter should have reigned either before Hastivarman or after Nandivarman (II). Gopalachari accepts the former alternative, since he thinks, like Sircar, that Prakrit epigraphs should be dated earlier than sanskrit inscriptions (EHAC, p. 171.).

Such a view seems to be untenable. Two inscriptions of the reign of Ikṣvāku Ehuvala Cantamula are written in Sanskrit (EI, vol.XXXIV, p.19), whereas both the known epigraphs of his sons reign are in Prakrit (EI, vol.XXVI, p.125; vol.XXXIV, p.22). Again a royal geneological list in an inscription usually traces the direct line of descendents and does not include the name of a brother or a relation of an ancestor of the reigning monarch.

Thus the rule of the family of the Ananda gotra, that of the Br̥hatphalāyana gotra, and of the Śāṅkāyanas may be traced in or near the limits of the Andhra region in or about the second half of the fourth century A.D. As indicated above, to the same age and to localities lying close to the territories in question may be placed, Maṅṭarāja of Kaurāla or Kurāla (the region around the Colair lake in the borders of the Krishna and the West Godavari districts).⁴⁴

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For an example, we can refer to the fact that the Bhitari seal of Kumārāgupta (II) gives the Gupta geneology from the time of Kumārāgupta (I) (L) to Kumārāgupta (II or III), but does not mention skandagupta, the son and successor of Kumārāgupta (I). So the absence of Devavarman's name in the geneological list in question does not necessarily indicate his chronological position.

On the other hand, strong resemblance between the forms of ligature ya, and of letters ra, ja, etc., of his inscription (EI., vol. IX. pl. facing p. 58-59) and those of the same ligature and of same letters of an epigraph of Nandivarman (I) (EI., vol. XXXI. pl. facing pp. 4 and 5), may indicate that there was no great interval between these two kings. If we compare the form of the letter ya in Devavarman's epigraph with that of the identical letter in the inscription of Nandivarman (I), the former ruler seems to have flourished only a little later than the latter monarch.

⁴⁴. If Mantaraja ruled in the southern side of Colair, he could have held part of our region during Samudragupta's southern conquest.

None of the epigraphs, referring to these powers, can paleographically be dated quite so early as the Manchikallu inscription.⁴⁵ In fact, so far as the available evidence is concerned, Simhavarman appears to have been the earliest ruler of at least a part of the Andhra region of the fourth century A.D. excepting the Ikṣvākus and Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa. And as noted above, the Mayidavolu inscription of the second half of the fourth century A.D. implies the extension of Pallava authority over the whole or the major part of the same territory. Hence it is better to presume, at least in the present state of our knowledge, that the powers enumerated in the preceding paragraph could have come into prominence in the Andhra region only after the decline of the early Pallavas in that territory.

E

On the basis of the above discussion we may now infer that the Ikṣvāku rule in the Nagarjunakonda

45. Compare pl.facing p.87 of EI, vol.XXXII (Simhavarman's epigraph) with either EI, vol.XVII pl.facing p. (Damodarvarman's epigraph) or with pls. facing pp.316-319 of EI, vol.VI (Brhatphalāyana Jayavarman's epigraph) or pl.facing p. 4 and 5 of EI, vol.XXXI, (Sālankayana Nandivarman(I)'s epigraph) etc., For a discussion on the Manchikallu epigraph, see above, p.

valley was terminated by the Ābhīras sometime between c.A.D.344-45 and 348. The Ābhīras themselves were probably ousted from the Andhra region by the early Pallavas.⁴⁶ The

46. We may examine here the relevance of the Talgunda inscription of Kadamba King Śāntivarman to our study. It indicates that Mayuraśarman, an ancestor of Śāntivarman, had a quarrel with the Pallavas of Kañci. It further states that he having 'swiftly defeated in battle the frontier guards of the Pallava lords, occupied the inaccessible forest stretching up to the gates of Śrīparvata' (EI., vol.VIII.p.35).

We have already noted that Śrīparvata was a name of the range of mountains running by the side of the Nagarjūnakonda valley, as well as of the valley itself (p.). If the Śrīparvata of the Talgunda inscription is placed in the same region, we may assume that in the days of Mayuraśarman, Pallava authority might have extended up to the Nagarjūnakonda area, and that the former ruler stayed for some time near about that area during the period of the Pallava rule.

We may add here that Mayuraśarman is described in the Chandravalli inscription as tormentor of the Abhiras and of Sakastana (Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report, (1924), p.50; SI., p.274). If the Ābhīras in question are identified with those of the Nagarjūnakonda area, we may postulate the activities of Mayuraśarman in the Andhra region not long after the Ikṣvākus. As has been suggested, the Sakasthana should be identified with the territory of the Scytho-Parthian Satraps of Western India (SSLD, p.244). The latter power was ousted by Candragupta (II) by c.A.D.401 or rather by c.A.D.413 (J.Allan, Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Sasānka the king of Gauda, p.xxxix.). This may mean that Mayuraśarman might have made his conquest in the first quarter of the fifth century A.D. or even earlier.

However, we must notice that Śrīparvata mentioned in some Visnukundin records is located in the Kurnool district: (SSLD., p.135). In fact an inscription of Yadava Simhana found at Puṣpagiri in the Cuddapah district, actually indicates the existence of the 'gate of Śrīparvata' in that area (EI., vol.XXX, p.32). So we cannot be sure whether the Śrīparvata in question can be identified with the Śrīparvata in the Nagarjūnakonda valley. And since the Abhiras are known to have many settlements in India (for

latter might have also been responsible for the liquidation of Ikṣvākus authority in the Andhra region if the latter power continued to rule in any part of that territory after their downfall in the Nagarjunakonda valley. ⁴⁷

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references see n. — above) we cannot confidently locate the habitat of the Abhirās vanquished by Mayuraśarman in the Nagarjunakonda area. Again we cannot be absolutely certain about the suggested identification of Sakasthana with the territory of the Western Ksatrapas in Gujrat, Maharashtra and Central India, for the Indus region is called Scythia in the Periplus (sec.38), and Indo-Scythia in Ptolemy's Geography (VII,1,55f.). Hence an attempt to determine the date of Mayuraśarman on the basis of his success against Sakasthana is untenable.

Thus we cannot be sure of the early Kadamba activities in the Andhra region shortly or not long after the downfall of the Ikṣvākus. Mayuraśarman may have defeated the frontier guards of the Pallavas in or about the Śrīparvata in the Kurnool district or elsewhere. These considerations do not allow us to support the theory of R.Subramanyam that the Talgunda inscription indicates the Kadambas as the exterminator of the Ikṣvākus (CETARGM p.22).

47. K.R.Subramaniyan suggested long ago that the Ikṣvākus 'were displaced' from the Andhra region by the Śālikāyanas on the one side and 'by the Kadamba-Vakataka expansion from the other' (BRAAH p.86). We have not yet come across any source suggesting the military expeditions of the Śālikāyanas or the Vakatakas in the Krishna-Guntur region during the rule of the Ikṣvākus. Again, as discussed above, the Kadambas cannot be confidently held responsible for the downfall of the Ikṣvākus.

K.Gopalachari (EHAC., p.158) thinks that the Brhatphalāyanas to some extent may have been responsible for the downfall of the Ikṣvākus. But as we have noted above (p.), the epigraph of Brhatphalāyana King Jayavarman cannot be placed so early as that of Pallava King Simhavarman. It is true that Jayavarman, a contemporary or semi-contemporary of Pallava Sivaskandavarman ruled over at least a part of the Krishna district. But it is not known whether he wrested that area from the Ikṣvākus, or the Pallavas or some other power. Hence we cannot accept the suggestion of Gopalachari' ~~at~~ its face value.

By the date of the completion of Samudragupta's southern campaigns sometime between c.A.D.344-45 and 376 or 380, the rule of the Ikṣvākus as well as of the Ābhīras in the Andhra area had already ended. And, since, as remarked earlier, the early Pallavas of Kāñchi seem to have already been in command of the whole or the major part of the Andhra region in about the period of Samudragupta's southern expedition (p. 209.), the latest date for the end of the Ikṣvāku rule in that territory cannot be placed with confidence after the middle of the fourth century A.D.⁴⁸

48. An epigraph of the fifth century A.D. discovered in the Davanagere taluk of the Chitaldrug district of Mysore mention matrimonial connection between the Kekayas and the Ikṣvākus. (EC., vol.XI, p.142). This according to Sircar refers to the Ikṣvākus of the Andhra region, who, in that case, should have lingered on as a ruling power in some parts of the Andhra region. (SSLD, p.15). This is by no means completely impossible, but the evidence and consequently the suggestion is weak as there were other families claiming descent from the Ikṣvākus (see pp.121-22).

CHAPTER VIII
Administration.

A.

Inscriptions form the basis of the study of the administrative organisation of the Andhra region under the Sātavāhanas and their successors the Ikṣvākus. At the very outset we must draw special attention to the fact that our knowledge of the administrative structure of the Sātavāhana empire is derived, to a large extent, from their epigraphs found in western Deccan. Hence, we are not absolutely certain whether the administrative system, as indicated by these inscriptions was equally applicable to the Krishan-Guntur region in the eastern part of their empire. Such an assumption is, however, only feasible and is certainly not contradicted by the Sātavāhana epigraphs from the Andhra region, a few of which do furnish some administrative terms. An idea of the statecraft of the Andhra region under the rule of the Ikṣvākus, ~~may~~ be formed with the help of the evidence of the epigraphs alluding to their rule.

B.

Kings.

Kingship in the Sātavāhana as well as in the Ikṣvāku period was hereditary. The Sātavāhanas do not claim any divine origin for Kingship. We may note in this connection that among the Ikṣvāku monarchs, at least Cāntamūla (I) is said to have been possessed by Mahāsena i.e. Karttikeya (Virupakhapati-Mahāsena parigahita).¹

In eastern Deccan the title mahārāja appears to have been popular for a King at least from the time of Khāravēla.² A King of the Krishna-Guntur region, Haritiputra Aira (Mā)(na)sada used this title.³ The Sātavāhanas, however, are not known to have adopted this title. They uniformly used the title rājan in western⁴ as well as eastern Deccan.⁵ It may also be noted here that during our period, rājan was the usual title for a King in western Deccan. It was adopted by the Western Kṣatrapas,⁶ the

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1. EI., vol. XX, p. 16, C; See T. W. Rhys Davids, Pali English Dictionary, p. 46, for the various meanings of the expression parigahita.
 2. EI., vol. XX, p. 79.
 3. EI., vol. XXXII, p. 82.
 4. EI., vol. VIII, p. 73, 94, etc.
 5. ASMG, p. 283, JASB., vol. XVI, (1920), p. 328; EI., vol. XVIII, p. 318, vol. XXVI, p. 273. See appendix.
 6. EI., vol. VIII, pp. 81, 82 etc.

Sātavāhanas,⁷ and their successors such as the Ābhīras,⁸ the Sātakarni family of Vanavāsi.⁹ The successor of the Sātavāhanas in eastern Deccan, viz., the Ikṣvākus, seem to have used both the titles rājan and mahārāja, the former possibly due to their association with the Sātavāhanas and later due to local influence.

The title sami, i. e., svāmin, sometimes applied to a few Sātavāhana monarchs,¹⁰ and to the first three Ikṣvāku kings¹¹ appears to have been more popular with their contemporary power the Western Kṣatrapas from an earlier time.¹² The Sātavāhanas¹³

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7. See note 4.
 8. EI., vol. VIII, p. 88.
 9. Ibid., vol. XXXIV, pp. 241-242; EC., vol. VII, p. 251, No. 263.
 10. EI., vol. VII, p. 6; JASB., vol. XVI, (1920), p. 328, etc.
 11. Ibid., vol. XXXV, p. 3. Vol. XXXIV, p. 22.
 12. ASWI., vol. IV, p. 103.
 13. The earliest evidence of the use of svāmin as a regal title by the Sātavāhanas is noticed in the Karla inscription of the year 7 of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi (EI., vol. VII, p. 61). Description of Gautamīputra Sātakarni as Benākatakasāmi in the Nasik inscription of year 18 (EI., vol. VIII, 71) do not appear to have denoted a regular regal title. Epigraphs ascribing this title (svāmin) to Nahapana may be dated earlier (ASWI., vol. IV, p. 103).

and possibly also the Ikṣvākus¹⁴ began to use this title after having come into contact with the Satrapal power of Western India.

C.

High Officials.

Among the high officials of the Sātavāhana-Ikṣvāku age, mentions may be made of amaca,¹⁵ (< amātya), mahāsenāpati,¹⁶ senāpati,¹⁷ mahataraka¹⁸ (< mahattaraka), mahātalavara,¹⁹ mahādaṇḍanāyaka²⁰ and raṭhika²¹ (< rāṣṭrika).

During the major part of the Sātavāhana period, an official usually bore one title. A departure from this practice is indicated by an epigraph from Chinna Ganjam in the Guntur district,

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14. The Ikṣvākus also may have used this title due to their contact with the Satrapal power of Western India. (p.). On the other hand, we must also admit that they might have adopted this title from the Sātavāhanas, their predecessors in the Andhra region.
15. EI., vol. VIII, p. 71, 65; ibid., vol. XVIII, p. 318, vol. XXIV, p. 259 etc.
16. Ibid., vol. VIII, p. 65; vol. XIV, p. 155; vol. XX, p. 16, C3; p. 18, B2, etc.
17. Ibid., vol. XXXIII, p. 149; vol. XXXV, p. 15, no. II.
18. JASB., vol. XVI (1920), p. 328.
19. EI., vol. XX, p. 21C. 5; vol. XXXIV, p. 19. etc.
20. Ibid., vol. XX, p. 18, B. 2.
21. Ibid., vol. XXXV, p. 15, no. 1; p. 16, no. IV.

belonging to the year 27 of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi.

It refers to a donor in the expression -

.....araka-mahatarakena mahā(s*)e[nāpatina*]
yājina mahādām[danayakena *]²²

This suggests that by the year 27 of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi, an officer could bear more than one title. The continuation of this system, perhaps on a larger scale, can be noticed in the Ikṣvāku period.²³ This practice of assumption of several titles by one person first noticed during our period, was to become a common feature of Indian polity from the time of the imperial Guptas.²⁴

Amaca. The cumulative evidence of the occurrences of the term amaca (<amātya) in the

- 22. JASB., vol. XVI, (1920), p.328, pl. XVI, p. 17.
- 23. During the Ikṣvāku period almost all the mahāsenāpatis were also mahātalavaras (EI., vol. XX, p. 16C.3; pp. 20, 21C.5; p. 18, B.2 and B.4; vol. XXXV. p. 17), whereas in at least one instance all the three titles mahāsenapati, mahātalavara, and mahādandanāyaka were borne by one Khamdaviśākhamnaka of the Dhanaka family (ibid., p. 18B.2). Śivīśepa referred to in the epigraph of Abhira Vasuṣeṇa, also bore three titles, viz., mahāgramika, mahātalavara, mahādandanāyaka. (ibid., vol. XXXIV. p. 202).
- 24. In the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta Harisena is called as a Sandhivigrahaka, Kumāramātya and mahādandanāyaka (CII., vol. III, p. 10).

Sātavahāna records from western Deccan,²⁵ in a Dharanikot epigraph²⁶ of the Sātavahana age²⁷ as well as in the Kodavalli (East Godavari district) inscription of Gaṇḍa|Sāti,²⁸ may perhaps suggest that amātyas were employed by the Sātavāhanas all over their empire including the Andhra area.²⁹ Epigraphic testimonies from the Sātavāhana period suggest that amātya was the designation for an official in charge of an administrative division - probably an ahāra or a province³⁰ (pp.248f.).

Mahāsenāpati- Mahāsenāpati, another high official of the Sātavāhana-Ikṣvāku period was very probably, as

25. EI., vol.VIII, p.71, 73; vol.VII, p.65, etc.

26. EI., vol.XXIV., p.259.

27. Ibid., pp.258, 259.

28. Ibid., vol.XVIII, p.318.

29. Literally amātya means 'inmate of the house', 'belonging to the same house or family', 'a companion', 'follower', 'counsellor', 'minister' (M.Monier Williams, op.cit.p.81). The Arthaśāstra regards amātya as one of the seven elements of a state....svamyamātyajanapada-dūrgakoṣadaṇḍamitrāṇi prakṛtayah (Arthaśāstra, Bk. VI, Ch.1).

30. Several Sātavāhana epigraphs contain orders of Sātavāhana monarchs to amātyas stationed at ahāras. From this it appears that an amātya possibly governed an āharā. It may be noted that a Karle inscription of the time of the Sātavāhanas refers to paragata gamasu amaca, or amātya in charge of a conquered village. (This reading of ours is based on the facsimile published in ASWI, vol.IV, pl.LIV, no.20, Karle no.1. l.21.) Since the amātya concerned was in charge of newly conquered areas, he probably served as governor of the territory concerned during the time of trouble. A modern counterpart is to be found in a military governor.

literally meant by the term 'the great commander in chief of the army.' The earliest reference to a mahāsenāpati is found in a Nasika inscription of the year 22 of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi.³¹ In this epigraph the mahāsenāpati appears in the role of the drafter of a charter.³² That the Sātavāhanas had mahāsenāpatis in

31. EI., vol. VIII, p. 65.

32. In this epigraph the mahāsenāpati in question is referred to in the expression ... mahāsenāpatinā Medhunena...nā Chato. (Ibid. p. 65). Senartt translated the word Chato as written (kṣan = to hurt) (Ibid. vol. VII, pp. 69-70). We admit that the evidence of the the Kondamudi copperplate of Br̥hatphalāyana king Jayavarman, which contains his order originally given verbally and yet refers to him as svayam chato (ibid., vol. VI, p. 318), probably indicates that Chato could also mean 'signed'. Hultsch also understood the word as conveying the same sense. (Ibid., p. 319, n. 5). However, as it appears from the context, chato of the inscription of Pulumāvi should mean 'written'. Several of the inscriptions found in Nasik and Karle caves reveal the procedure of giving a royal charter in the Sātavāhana age. A Sātavāhana charter used to contain the order of a Sātavāhana king addressed to the amaca stationed in the headquarter of an āhāra. The order which was concerned with a grant and the immunities connected with it, was used to be given by the king orally. This was taken down by an official. Then the official had the charter examined, sometimes by the king himself and at times by the existing record keeper. After this the charter (paṭṭikā) was probably registered with the proper authorities and later delivered to the donees concerned. The contents of the paṭṭikā or charter, inscribed originally probably on copperplates was then engraved, on a wall of a lena or cave. (Ibid., vol. VIII, pp. 65, 71, 73 etc.), where we find them now. Mahāsenāpati Medhuna as it appears

the Andhra region is possibly indicated by the Chinna Ganjam inscription of the reign of Yajnaśri Sātakarṇi.³³

The mahāsenāpati, primarily the great commander of the army, at least during the later Sātavāhana period, was entrusted with the governing of an administrative division or was allowed to rule as subordinate chief. The Myakadoni inscription of the time of Pulumāvi, to be identified with the last mentioned Andhra king of the Pūranic lists, records the gift of a householder Samva, a resident of the village of Vepuraka, belonging to the gumika Kumāradatta, in the country of Sātavāhanihāra belonging to mahāsenāpati khamdanaka.³⁴

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from the context was responsible for writing the order given by the king concerned. Hence he probably was responsible for drafting a royal charter on the basis of the order given by the king (see also EHAC, p.83). There are instances from Nasik where once an amaca (EI., vol. VIII, p.71) and once a patihāra (ibid., p.73) drafts a charter. Senart's remark that drafting or writing of a royal charter and putting it into writing is to be considered menak (EI., vol. VIII, p.70) cannot be accepted for the Arthasāstra states that ministerial qualifications among others is one of the prerequisites of a scribe: (Arthasastra, Bk. II, Ch. X)

33. JASB., vol. XVI, (1920), p.328.

34. EI., vol. XIV, p.155. The expression mahasenapati khamdanakasa janapade Sātavāhanihāre may be translated as 'in the Sātavāhanihāra janapada of (i.e. belonging to) mahāsenapati Khamdanaka' or as 'in the Sātavāhanihāra in the janapada of Khamdanaka'. Since the epigraph concerned refers to the reign of a Sātavāhana monarch and since ahāra appears to be the name of the highest administrative division of the empire, Sātavāhanihāra should not be considered to have been a part of the janapada in ques-

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Epigraphic sources reveal the simultaneous existence of several mahāsenāpatīs in the Ikṣvāku period. For instance in the 6th regnal year of Virapurusaḍatta we come across the name of as many as five mahāsenāpatīs, viz., Mahakṣāmasāiri,³⁵ Khāmasāiri,³⁶ and Vinhusāiri³⁷ of the Pukiye family, Khāmasālikireṇṇaka³⁸ of the Hiraṇṇika family and Khāmasāisākhāṇṇaka of the Dhanaka family.³⁹

It is interesting to note that all the above mentioned mahāsenāpatīs, excepting Khāmasālikireṇṇaka of the Hiraṇṇika family, were related to the ruling house of the Ikṣvākus by marriage and hence were possibly members of influential families.

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tion, but should be taken to be the name of the janapada. The word janapada is not a proper name, and may mean 'an inhabited country', (M. Williams, op. cit., p. 410) or technically a country.

35. Ep., vol. XX, p. 20, C5.

36. Ibid., p. 16, C. 3.

37. Ibid., p. 21, C5.

38. Ibid., 18, B4.

39. Ibid., p. 18 B2. One memorial pillar inscription of Nagarjunakonda reveals the name of another mahāsenāpati mahātalevara of the Ikṣvāku period. His name was Ayabhuti (Ep., vol. XXXV, p. 17).

An exalted position for the mahāsenāpatis is suggested by the fact that two known Ikṣvāku princes Eli Ehuvaladāsainaka⁴⁰ and Virapurūṣadatta (II)⁴¹ served as mahāsenāpati under Ehuvala Cāntamūla.

Senāpati. A few Ikṣvāku epigraphs⁴² furnish the existence of the officials called senāpati. They were army leaders apparently below the rank of the mahāsenāpati.

Mahattara. The Chinna Ganjam inscription of the time of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi, as quoted above, mentions a person inter alia as a mahataraka.⁴³ The term mahataraka (mahattaraka) is generally considered to mean a 'courtier' or a 'chamberlain',⁴⁴ i.e., an officer in charge of a private apartment of the king or of a nobleman. Hence mahattaraka, mentioned in an inscription referring to

40. EI., vol. XXXV, p. 11.

41. Ibid., vol. XXXIV, p. 19.

42. Ibid., vol. XXXIII, p. 149; ibid., vol. XXXV, p. 16. An Amaravati epigraph which on paleographic grounds may be dated to an age much earlier than the Sātavāhana period (EI., vol. XV, p. 260) mentions senāgopa Muḍukatala. The term senāgopa is generally translated as a general, ibid., but gopa may mean a 'protector' or 'guardian' (M. Williams, op.cit., p. 368.) so senāgopa may mean a 'keeper of an army' (ibid., p. 1246).

43. JASB., vol. XVI (1920), p. 328.

44. M. Williams, op.cit., p. 794.

the reign of Yajñasrī Satakarni and not associated with a noble man, might have been a courtier or a superintendent of the affairs of a department of the royal household of the Sātavāhanas.

Mahātalavara.— This is a title which seems to have been conferred on or assumed by most of the mahāsenāpatis of the Ikṣvāku period and also by some other persons. The earliest known epigraphic reference to it may be found in an Alluru inscription. This epigraph may be dated to the Sātavāhana period on palaeographic grounds.⁴⁵ It may therefore be assumed that this official designation was in use in the Krishna-Guntur region as early as in the Sātavāhana period.

45. Calcutta Review, vol. XVI (1925), pl. facing p. 48. The forms of letters ya (𑀅), na (𑀆), pa (𑀇), sa (𑀈), closely resemble the same letters of the epigraphs of Gautamiputra Satakarni and Nahapāna from western Deccan. The elongation of verticals - a characteristic of the ^{script of the} closing period of Satavahana empire and the Ikṣvāku age is completely absent. A Ramiradipalle inscription mentioning a mahātalavara has also been attributed to the Satavahana period by K. Gopalachari. For, he observes that in the Sātavāhana period the title mahātalavara is not found in combination with that of mahāsenāpati. This premise of Gopalachari is correct, but he seems to be wrong in attributing the Ramiradipalle inscription to the Sātavāhana period only on the ground that here the title mahatalavara does not occur in association with any other title. Surely, in Ikṣvāku period as well, at times the title mahātalavara occurs just by itself. (EI., vol. XXXIV, p. 19).

Whereas the first part (mahā) of the expression mahātalavara is obviously the Sanskrit prefix mahā meaning 'great', the second seems to be a term borrowed from some non-Sanskritic source, most probably Dravidian. A Telugu talavari is a 'beadle', 'porter', 'guardsman' or 'watchman'.⁴⁶ In Tamil talavay means a general⁴⁷ and a talaiyāri means a village watchman.⁴⁸ Talavāra i.e., talavara in Kanarese also denotes a village watchman 'who is paid for his service by a grant of land subject to a quit rent only'.⁴⁹ The evidence of different meanings of the analogous words in the above languages may suggest that the duty of a talavara was one of a constabulary nature.⁵⁰ But surely, the mahātalavaras of the Satavāhana-Ikṣvāku times, who apparently were important personages, were far superior in rank to an ordinary watchman.

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46. C.P. Brown, A Telugu English Dictionary, p. 517.
 47. Tamil Lexicon, Madras (1929), vol. III, p. 1802.
 48. Ibid., p. 1786.
 49. R.W. Reeve, A Dictionary of Canarese and English, (1858), p. 496.
 50. During the Vijayanagara empire, the designation talari was used in this sense. (T.V. Mahalingam - Vijayanagara Empire, (1940), pp. 131, 317; N.V. Ramanayya, Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara (1935), pp. 253-254).

K. Gopalachari⁵¹ thinks that the mahātalavaras were viceroys or feudatory governors of provinces. B. V. Krishnarao⁵² who translates the term as the 'Lord Chief Justice' or the 'Great Chief Justice' believes that they were hereditary rulers of provinces and high functionaries of the state. We must admit, however, that from the context of our epigraphs, the nature of the function of a mahātalavara becomes hardly clear. We are not sure whether the mahātalavaras were necessarily feudatories. Our above survey of the various meanings of the form analogous to the term mahātalavara may suggest that the mahātalavaras were some sort of great watchmen or governors.⁵³

51. CHI., vol. II, p. 317.

52. B. V. Krishnarao thinks ^{that} the mahātalavara families of the Pukiyas and the Hiramnakas derived their names from their rulership over provinces of Pugi-naḍu or Pugi-visaya (ibid., p. 45) and Hiranyaraṣṭra (ibid., p. 46) mentioned in epigraphs of later times. In fact, we come across a name Pugi-ratha during our period (see p. 26, n. 113), but we do not know whether the Pukiyas were in any way associated with this territorial unit.

53. See also SSLD., p. 19. Subodhikā a somewhat late commentary on the Kalpasutra by Vinayavijaya states that talavarah-tuṣṭa bhupāla pradatta pāttabandha-vibhu-sita rājasthāniya (Niranyasāgara press edition leaf 601, lines 6-7; SSLD., p. 19). The mahātalavaras in the early Jaina literature are mentioned together with the 18 ganarājas (H. Jacobi, editor, Kalpasutra, 61, 11, 21-25; SSLD., p. 19). Two ^{A few} Jaina works mention talavari (Angavijja, ix, 255) and the talavara (Uvāsagadāsao, edited by A. F. R. Hoernle, p. 8).

In the year 6 of Virapurusaḍatta the Pukiya family had at least three members who were mahāsenāpatis and mahātalavaras. They were Mahakḥāṁdasirī and Kḥāṁdasiri, probably two brothers, and the latter's son, Vinhusiri. Another epigraph of Ehuṁvula Cāṁtamūla's reign also furnishes an instance of hereditary mahātalavaraship. The father and grandfather of Kupanaśri, one of his wives, were mahātalavaras.⁵⁴ We do not know whether the above two instances of hereditary mahatalavaraship may be considered the norm of the day. We may further add that since the great majority of the mahātalavaras were relations of the royal Ikṣvāku family, they probably belonged to the upper strata of the society.⁵⁵

The term talavaravara occurs as a designation of one Elisri during the Ikṣvāku age.⁵⁶ If vara of talavaravara means 'best', we may postulate the existence of two different ranks among the officials

54. EI., vol. XXXIV, p. 19.

55. In Tamil the word talaiyāyār means 'person of the first rank, eminent person'. (Tamil Lexicon - Madras, vol. III, p. 1786.)

56. Ibid., vol. XXXIII, p. 150. In Telegu there is a term Talarivaḍu - meaning a village watchmen (C. P. Brown, op. cit. p. 517). If talavaravara may be connected with talarivaḍu then the former should have meant a village watchman lower by far in status than the mahātalāvāra.

or chiefs assuming the office of talavara, the higher having the title mahātalavara and ^{the} lower talavara.⁵⁷

However, we must admit that talavaravara may also mean the great talavara i.e., mahātalavara. The term mahātalavara and talavara survived the Ikṣvaku age⁵⁸ and they⁵⁹ or their obvious variants were used over many parts of India.

57. Parallel examples may be found in mahasenapati and senapati, mahādandanāyaka and dandanāyaka, mahākṣatrapa and ksatrapa, etc.

58. This designation was in use in the short Abhira interlude (EI., vol. XXXIV, p. 202) in our region, and also during the reign of Brhatphalāyana Jayavarman. (ibid., vol. VI, p. 316). During the Vijāyanagara empire talavaris were a kind of village officer whose function was to maintain peace in the village. They were considered as important officials in the village, but their position in the hierarchy of the Vijāyanagara empire was rather humble, unelevated and inconsequential (T.V. Mahalingam - Vijayanagara Empire, pp. 131-137).

59. Bloch suggested that the word taravara which is coupled with the word mahāpratihāra in a clay sealing from Basarh, may be identical with the word tarake of a few early medieval copperplates (ASI. AR., 1903-4, p. 108, no. 16). Tarike occurs as an official designation in the Khalimpur copper plate of Dharmapāla (EI. vol. IV, p. 250, l. 46). The Deo-Barnak inscription of Jivitagupta mentions a talavātaka (CII., vol. III, p. 217, no. 46). The Nigunda inscription of Amoghavarṣa refers to a talavargga (EI., vol. VI, p. 103). Talavarggi occurs in the Kudopalli plates of Mahābhavagupta (EI., vol. IV, p. 258). In the Katak plates of Maḥāsivagupta Talahita is mentioned (ibid., vol. III, p. 132). An epigraph of the Kalachuri king Sarideva refers to the son of the governor of Ehur as a talavara. Talavaradeva occurs in the Santa Bommali Plates of Indravarman, dated in the year 87 of the Ganga era (ibid., vol. XXV, p. 97). During the Vijayanagara regime talavarike appears to be a composite tax made up of a number of small dues coming from various sources. (T.V. Mahalingam, op. cit., p. 255).

Mahādandanāyaka.— An epigraph of the year 27 of the reign of the Sātavāhana monarch Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi mentions a mahādandanayaka.⁶⁰ This office is also known to have been continued during the Ikṣvāku period.⁶¹ The earliest epigraphic use of this term dandanāyaka is evinced in a Kuṣāna record of Kaniṣka's reign.⁶² Sten Konow translated the term daḍa-nayago (<dandanāyaka) of this epigraph as a 'general'.⁶³ The term mahādandanāyaka has been alternatively interpreted by different groups of scholars either as the 'chief justice'⁶⁴ or the 'chief of the army'.⁶⁵ None of the above epigraphs, or any later source,⁶⁶ however, clearly define the nature of the office

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60. JASB., vol. XVI, (1920), p. 328, pl. XVI, p. 17. Due to its fragmentary nature and very unsatisfactory state of preservation one can read only mahāda(m) in this epigraph. There is, however, no reason to doubt that the full word was mahādandanāyaka.
61. EI., vol. XX, p. 18. B. 2.
62. CII., vol. II, p. 149.
63. Ibid., p. 150.
64. Ben. Prasad - State and Government in Ancient India, (1928) p. 295.
65. AIU., pp. 343, 354. Age of Imperial Kanauj, p. 242, or 292?
66. The continuation of the use of this term almost immediately and a little after the Ikṣvāku period is evident from the Nagajunakonda inscription of Abhira Vasusena (EI., vol. XXXIII, p. 202) and the Kondamudi copperplate of Brhatphalāyana Jayavarman (EI., vol. VI, p. 318). In the latter inscription the term mahātagivara is obviously a mistake for a variant of the word mahātalavara.

held by a mahadaṇḍanāyaka. Nevertheless, since daṇḍa may denote a rod (a symbol of judicial authority or punishment),⁶⁷ as well as a form of military array⁶⁸ or royal army, a mahādaṇḍanāyaka might have either judicial or military duties or even might have had both. No doubt, examples from both the Sātavāhana⁶⁹ and the Ikṣvāku⁷⁰ periods of one and the same person holding the office of mahādaṇḍanāyaka as well as mahāsenapati, which is primarily connected with military functions, would tempt one to stress on the judicial character of the post of the mahādaṇḍanāyaka.⁷¹ But it must be borne in mind that a sharp distinction between the organisation of the judiciary and of the army may not have been quite so pronounced during our

67. M. Monier Williams, op. cit., p. 466.

68. Arthaśāstra, Bk. X, Ch. VI; M. Monier Williams, op. cit., p. 466.

69. The mahādaṇḍanāyaka of the Sātavāhana period was also a mahāsenapati and mahattarakā (JASB., vol. XVI (1920), p. 328).

70. In the Ikṣvāku period mahādaṇḍanāyaka Khaṁdavisākhamnaka of the Dhanaka family was also a mahāsenapati and mahātalavara (EI., vol. XX, p. 18, B. 2).

71. K. Gopalachari on this consideration interprets the term as denoting a judicial office (EHAC., p. 149).

period as it is in modern days.⁷²

Rathikas.—Two of the many memorial pillar inscriptions found at Nagarjunakonda which may be attributed to the Ikṣvāku period on paleographic grounds,⁷³ mention a class of officials called rathikas. These epigraphs may be read as follows:

Maga[la]raṇa - vathavasa

raṭhikasa Bhatasa pā[sa].....

bhaḍaṇa[m] padita[na]m chāyā-tha[bho] [II*]⁷⁴

Magalarāṇa - vathavasa raṭhikasa

[Harakasa pasadatana patata].

na[m] ma(bha)ḍa.....

Chra[ya] - kha(bha) [II*]⁷⁵

72. An epigraph from Ceylon belonging to the reign of Kassapa (V) (c.A.D. 929-39) expressly suggests that the function of the daṇḍanāyaka was of a judicial character (EZ., vol. I, p. 47, line 22-24... rat patavannaṭ giya raj-kol-sam-daruvaṇ gat daṇḍa gingiriyak āta sam-daruvaṇ ~~rat~~ daṇḍanāyakayan hindā vicārakoṭṭ-hāriyā yutūvak harnā isā...). However, since this is an epigraph of the tenth century A.D., we are far from certain whether the nomenclature was used in the sense of a judicial officer in the third century A.D., and in an area in the mainland of India. Moreover there are examples in the history of Ceylon where the daṇḍanāyakas were entrusted with duties military as well as judicial and administrative (EZ., vol. III, p. 86; vol. V, pp. 137, 139f. University History of Ceylon, vol. I, p. 373.)
73. EI., vol. XXXV, p. 14-15.
74. Ibid., vol. XXXV, p. 15.
75. Ibid., p. 16.

Raṭhika or Sanskrit rāṣṭrika etymologically means 'one concerned with a rāṣṭra' (state). The term occurs very early in Indian epigraphs. Aśoka's edicts mention a people called Raṭhika in association with the Petenikas as western borderers of his empire.⁷⁶ They might have inhabited the Mahārāsthra territory in his time.⁷⁷ They are referred to again in Khāravela's epigraph where it is stated that the latter monarch 'caused all the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas to bow at his feet.'⁷⁸

The Nanaghat inscription of the early Sātavāhanas refers to a mahārathi.⁷⁹ Their existence in the later period of the Sātavāhana empire is evinced from epigraphic⁸⁰ and numismatic sources.⁸¹ Several mahārathī coins assignable to the Sātavāhana age, have been found in the Chituldurg region.⁸² These

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76. CII., vol. I, p. 55. Senart suggested the identification of this name with Surāstra (Inscriptions de Piyadasi, vol. I, p. 126) and Lassen, with Lāṭa (Ind. Alt., vol. I. (see Ed.) p. 137, n. 4). These suggestions cannot be accepted since both these territories were included within Aśoka's empire. Lassen's alternative suggestion is the identification of the Raṭhikas with the Aratṭhas of Punjab, who are mentioned by the Periplus, (see 47).
77. Bühler (ZDMG, vol. XXXVII (1883), p. 261). Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (Early History of Dekkhan, pp. 11f) connects them with Mahārāstra, the Pali form of which (Mahārathā) occurs in the Mahāvamsā (XII, 5, 37) and the Dipavamsā (VIII, 8).
78. EI., vol. XX, p. 79. Aśoka's epigraphs refer to Raṭhikas as Pitinikas, i. e., hereditary governors. By Khāravela's time they may have been de facto independent chiefs.
79. ASWI., vol. IV, p. 60f.
80. EI., vol. VII, p. 61.
81. CCADWK, pp. 57, lxxxii-lxxxiii.
82. Ibid.

mahārathis are not known to have assumed any royal or princely titles. Thus these mahārathis or mahārāṣṭrikas of the Sātavāhana period appear to be subordinate officials or rulers, enjoying some privileges - including that of striking coins - apparently denied to regular officials of the empire.

Following the literal meaning of the term mahārathi it may be suggested that persons invested with such a title were great officers or rulers, or persons concerned with the administration of rāṣṭras. We shall presently see that the term rāṣṭra denoted a territorial division of the kingdom of the Ikṣvākus and also probably of the Sātavāhanas.

As the Ikṣvākus were successors of the Sātavāhanas, the raṭhikas of Ikṣvāku times could also have been subordinate officials or rulers in charge of the administration of different parts of the kingdom. Sircar indeed understands a raṭhika of Ikṣvāku times as governor of a province. There is, however, an indication that during this period the term acquired a new or at least an additional connotation.

We have already quoted the two

Nagarjunakonda epigraphs which mention respectively raṭhika Bhata and raṭhika Haraka. They are described as residents of Magalarana (-Magalarana vathavasa raṭhikasa....). Both these epigraphs have to be attributed to the same age on palaeographic grounds.⁸³ As these epigraphs commemorate several soldiers belonging to (i.e., subordinate to or who served under) either of these raṭhikas, described as residents of or stationed at Magalarana or Mangalāranya, the latter was probably a military camp or base. From the above two epigraphs it appears therefore that these raṭhikas lived at Mangalāranya at least for some time.⁸⁴

If these raṭhikas are considered according to the general and usual explanation of the term, governors of provinces, or rāṣṭras, the possibility of their simultaneous existence in one locality would be difficult to explain.⁸⁵ On the other hand, the indication

83. EI., vol. XXXV, pp. 14-15.

84. The word vathava or Sanskrit vāstavya may mean resident, permanent or temporary. If the term vathava here indicates temporary residency, then the raṭhikas may be considered as stationed in Mangalāranya for official reasons.

85. It cannot be argued that these raṭhikas were originally residents of Mangalāranya and had their official headquarters at two other different places. For in that case the inscriptions, referring to the soldiers who were officially connected with the raṭhikas, were expected to mention their official headquarter in addition to their native place. We may note here that the Nagarjunakonda inscription of the reign of Abhira

in the above two epigraphs that these two raṭhikas of Mangalāranya were commanders of several soldiers, should suggest that they were military chiefs having their headquarters at that place.

Hence, raṭhikas, of Ikṣvāku period at least sometimes acted as military chiefs, even though they might have had performed the duties of a subordinate ruler or of a governor assigned to the maharāṭhis of the Sātavāhana times or earlier.⁸⁶

footnote contd. from previous page....

Vasuseṇa, to be dated to about the end of our period, refers to one mahāgramika mahātalavara mahādaṇḍanāyaka Śivasepa. (EI., vol. XXXIV, p. 202). Mahāgramika may mean the resident of Mahāgrama. On the other hand, there are instances of the use of the term as an official title. (In this connection see ibid., p. 198). The assumption of this title by the person of the rank of mahātalavara and mahādaṇḍanāyaka indicates that the term denoted a high official.

86. In the Hirahadagalli copperplate of the early Pallavas, the term raṭhika most probably indicates the head of an administrative division or province (EI., vol. I, p. 5). An Amaravati inscription which on palaeographic grounds may be dated to a period much earlier than the Sātavāhana age (EI., vol. XV, p. 264, no. 12, pl. 12 facing p. 266. Here the form of the letter ra, ja, ba, and da are close to the forms of the same letters in Aśokan epigraphs) mentions a rajalekhaka or the royal scribe. According to the Arthaśāstra the lekhaka was an important officer and he adds that 'persons possessed of ministerial qualification, acquainted with one kind of custom, smart in composition, good in legible writing and sharp in reading should be appointed as a lekhaka' (Bk. II, ch. X. 5.) In the Nagarjuna-konda inscription of the reign of Ābhira Vasuseṇa, the term used for the engraver of the epigraph is uḷlekhaka (EI., vol. XXXIV, p. 203). He was apparently an important personage, for his other designation is amātya. However we are not sure whether he was the drafter of the contents of the epigraph or the actual engraver.

D.Lesser officials.

The lesser officials mentioned by our epigraphs are the paniyagharika⁸⁷ and the Koṭhakarika.⁸⁸

Paniyagharika — Paniyagharika of King Sivamaka Sada,⁸⁹ (Raṅṅsiri Sivamaka Sadasa paniyagharika....) mentioned in an Amaravati inscription may have been a person in charge of a 'waterhouse' instituted by the government. Such type of establishments probably supplied water among the thirsty travellers, traders, pilgrims, etc. Hāla's Sattasāī also refers to distribution of water by a pābālihā i.e., prapāpālika⁹⁰ or a 'cistern-girl', (a girl in charge of a water reservoir). The custom of distributing water to the thirsty travellers still persists in India.

87. ASSI., vol. I, p. 61.

88. EI., vol. XX, p. 22F.

89. See No. 82.

90. R. G. Basak (editor) Gāthāsaptasāti (1962), II, 61.

Koṭhakarika.—An upāsikā named Bodhisiri described her maternal uncle in an epigraph of the year 14 of Viṅapuruṣadatta, as a Koṭhakarika.⁹¹ Koṭhakarika is the Prakrit form of Sanskrit Kaṣṭhāgārika. Vogel translates the term as either the treasurer or the superintendent of a royal store house.⁹² The evidence of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, however, precludes the possibility of its denoting the office of a treasurer.

According to this text, the royal treasury is the Kośagrha.⁹³ But the Koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa, apparently the same as the Koṣṭhāgārika, is the superintendent of the store house (koṣṭhāgāra), who shall

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91. EI., vol. XX, p. 22. F. N. Dutt takes Bodhisiri for a native of Ceylon (IHQ., vol. VII (1931), p. 653). There is no cogent reason, however, following which one may consider Bodhisiri to be a Ceylonese.
92. EI., vol. XX, p. 7.
93. The Arthaśāstra describes the Kośagrha as an important piece of architecture. It should have elaborate, elusive and secret chambers and passages for storing valuables. This text also says that the King shall construct his own residential palace after the model of his treasury or his motogrha. (Arthaśāstra, Bk. I, Ch. XX).

supervise the accounts of the agricultural produces (sītā), taxes coming under rāṣṭras, country parts; commerce (kṛayima); barter (parivartana); begging for grains (prāmityaka); grains borrowed with promise to repay (apamityaka); ^{Production of rice,} oil, etc. (simhanika); incidental revenue (anyajātā); statements to check expenditure (vyayapratyaya), and recovery of past errors (upasthanam).⁹⁴

These considerations suggest that the Koṣṭhāgārika of the Iksvāku age was a superintendent of the store house and not of the royal treasury.⁹⁵

E.

Women in Administration

Guards.— It is interesting to note that not only men

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94. The Arthaśāstra devotes one full chapter on Koṣṭhāgārādhyaksa (Bk. II, ch. XV). According to a commentator on the Arthaśāstra, since koṣṭha means belly, koṣṭhāgāra implies all the necessities of life. Hence koṣṭhāgāra is the house where all the necessaries of life are stored. (R. Sāmasāstry, translator, (1924), p. 102, n. 1.). C. Sivaramamurti thinks that Koṣṭhāgāras or Koṣṭhagṛhas were houses and granaries. He sees in a relief from Amaravati a representation of a Koṣṭhagṛha (ASMGH, p. 130. pl. XI, fig. 7). It may, however, be any building. Koṣṭhāgāras are mentioned in a few Indian epigraphs. (Luders, no. 937; EI., vol. XX, p. 49 etc. ¶). For a discussion on Koṣṭhāgāra see Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, vol. XIV (1964), pp. 42-45.
95. Bhāndāgārika occurring in a Sātavāhana epigraph from Nasik. (EI., vol. VIII, no. 19) was possibly the treasurer.

but women also participated in certain departments of administration.⁹⁶ They appear in some sculptural panels of our period probably as body-guards of royal and other important personages. Assignments of this kind for female guards is indeed recommended by the Arthaśāstra.⁹⁷ These female guards were employed apparently for the safety of the royal members.

Abhatarikā.— An epigraph of the reign of the Ikṣvāku king Vīrapuruṣadatta describe two ladies, Sarasika and Kusumalata as abhatarikās.⁹⁸ D.C.Sircar sanskritised the term as abhyantarikā and suggested ^{that} it could stand for a female friend, possibly a concubine.⁹⁹ However, on the analogy of the existence of a group of officials called

96. Memoirs 54, pl.XXVII, la, XXXa, XLIIIb etc; ASMG, pl.LII.2; SABM, pl.XXVI etc. Female guards are also depicted in Gandhara art. (Harald Ingholt, Gandhāran Art in Pakistan, (1957), pl.39B.

97. The Arthaśāstra states that some guards, attendants and servants of kings are to be female. (Arthaśāstra, Bk.I., ch.XX-XXI). Megasthenes informed that the care of a king's person was entrusted to women, who were purchased from their fathers. (Megasthenes quoted in Strabo XV, l.53). An epigraph of the reign of a King called Aira Mā(na)sada, found in the Guntur district, mentions his female torch bearer (di(s)i-(dh)arikā). (EI., vol.XXXII, p.82).

98. EI., vol.XXXV, p.4, Abhatarikā was wrongly read by Vogel as subhatarikā (ibid., vol.XXI, p.64).

99. EI., vol.XXXV, p.3.

abhyantara psthāyaka indicated by a Mathura inscription,¹⁰⁰ the term abhyantarikā may better be considered as a class of officials. As also suggested by Sircar alternatively,¹⁰¹ its literal meaning may indicate an officer of an inner apartment, probably guard of the royal harem.

Ateपुरा-महतरिका — Ateपुरा महतरिका, i.e., Sanskrit antaपुरा महतरिका is mentioned in an epigraph of the reign of Ikṣvāku Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla.¹⁰²

We have already suggested that mahattara may mean a class of official consisting possibly of supervisors of the royal household. The word mahattarikā then should denote a female superintendent. Hence an antaपुरा (meaning the interior of the house or of the 'female apartment' or the king's palace,¹⁰³) was apparently a departmental supervisor of the royal household or the harem.

100. Luders, no. 98.

101. Ibid., p. 5.

102. EI., vol. XXXV, p. 3. See Ch. V. p. for a discussion on these two abhyantarikās.

103. M. Monier-Williams, op. cit., (1872), p. 43.

A Nasik inscription (no.5)

contains a joint order of Gotami Balaśrī and her son Gautamīputra Sātakarni.¹⁰⁴ This has been interpreted by some scholars as indicating that sometimes women, especially royal ladies, associated themselves with the administration of the country.¹⁰⁵ But we must admit that we do not know whether this was the norm or this cited instance was an exception. However, in this connection we may point out that during the Sātavāhana and the Ikṣvāku periods, sometimes the wives of mahāsenāpatis bore the title mahāsenāpatinī,¹⁰⁶ and that wives of mahātalavaras in the Ikṣvāku age assumed the title mahātalavarī.¹⁰⁷ On the analogy of

104. EI., vol. VIII, p. 73.

105. CHI., vol. II, p. 315, n. 1.

106. A mahāsenāpatinī is mentioned in a Nasik epigraph of Yajñaśrī Sātakarni's reign (EI., vol. VIII, p. 94). During the Ikṣvāku period, Culacātisirinika, the wife of mahāsenāpati, mahātalavara Calikiremnaka, is referred to as a mahāsenapatini (ibid., vol. XX, p. 18, B. 4).

107. We do not know of any mahātalavarī in the Sātavāhana period. But during the Ikṣvāku period we come across mahātalavarī Cāmtisiri the wife of mahāsenapati, mahātalavara Khamdisiri (ibid., p. 16, C. 3), mahātalavarī Aḍavi, Cātisiri, wife of mahāsenapati, mahātalavara, mahādaṇḍanāyaka Khamdavisakhāmnaka (ibid., p. 18, B. 2). Another lady is mentioned just by the title of mahātalavarī and she was the wife of mahāsenapati mahātalavara Mahākhamdasiri (ibid., pp. 20, 21).

the meanings of ācaryyā and ācaryyānī respectively as a lady teacher and wife of a teacher,¹⁰⁸ mahāsenāpatinī and mahātalavarī may be interpreted only to denote respectively the wife of a mahāsenapati and of a mahātalavara.¹⁰⁹ So it is possible that the titles were merely honorific ones, and did not suggest any specific functions. Hence we are not certain whether women took part in any sphere of administration of the Andhra region other than that of running the royal household and guarding the palace.¹¹

F.

Administrative units.

There are evidences, though of a fragmentary nature,^{for} forming an idea of the territorial units into which the Andhra region was divided for administrative purposes. Terms such as Govadhanāhara,¹¹⁰ Sātavāhanihāra¹¹¹ etc. found in Sātavahana inscriptions indicate that āhāra was the name of

108. Kātyāyana-Vārttika, IV, 1.48.

109. In German one finds 'Frau Doktor' for the wife of a doctor.

110. EI., vol. VIII, pp. 65, 71, 73 etc.

111. Ibid., vol. XIV, p. 155.

an administrative unit. So far as available evidence is concerned āhāra seems to be the terminology of the highest administrative unit.¹¹² And expressions like Govadhane amaca¹¹³ in some Nasik inscriptions and mahāsenāpatisa khamdanakasa janapade Śātavāhanihāre¹¹⁴ in the Myakadoni inscription suggest as indicated above that an amaca (amātya) or a mahāsenapati was in charge of the administration of an āhāra.

We do not know for certain whether the Śātavāhanas had any other name for the provinces of their empire. If, however, the mahārathis of the Śātavāhana period may be considered as having derived that name from special kinds of rulership or subordinate rulership over great (mahā)raṭhas or rāṣṭras, then the latter may have been another name for a province of the Śātavāhana empire. The expression araṭhasavināyikam¹¹⁵ occurring in some Śātavāhana epigraphs has been translated by Senart as 'exempt from

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112. In none of the epigraphs is there any indication that there was a larger unit than āhāra.
 113. EI., vol. VIII, pp. 65, 71, 73.
 114. Ibid., vol. XIV, p. 155. See also above, n. .
 115. EI., vol. VIII, p. 71.

interference by "district police"¹¹⁶ or "police" of the rāṭha or rāṣṭra.¹¹⁶ If araṭhasaṁvināyikam was not a conventional epithet among several kinds of parihāras then this may be considered as another indication of the feasibility of rāṭha or rāṣṭra being the name of some administrative unit of the Sātavāhana empire.¹¹⁷

The Krishna-Guntur region formed a part of the Sātavāhana empire and hence it might have formed one or more of their provinces, or might have even been included within one of their provinces. The available epigraphs do not throw any light on their administrative division or subdivisions of the Andhra region during the Sātavāhana age. It has been suggested that Dhānyakaṭaka or the Amaravati-Dharanīkot area was the capital of the Sātavāhanas in their domain in the Krishna-Guntur region.¹¹⁸

116. Ibid., p.72.

117. That variable terminology could be used for the provinces of one and the same empire is evident from the well-known examples from Gupta polity where deśa and bhukti (PHAI., p.560), were simultaneously used to denote provinces of the empire.

118. R.G. Bhandarkar, Early History of the Deccan (1928), p.32.
C.K. Gairola, A cultural History of the Sātavāhana Dynasty, Ph.D. Thesis, London University, 1949, p.53.
C. Sivaramamurti, Indian Sculpture, (1961) p.43.

That the first administrative division of the Ikṣvāku kingdom was most probably the raṭha or rāṣṭra is apparent from the Jaggayyapetra epigraph of the reign of Vīrapuruṣadatta. It speaks of the father of an artisan as resident in the village of Neḍutūra in Kammākaratha i.e., province of Kammāka.¹¹⁹ An allusion to the latter name can at once be traced in Karmarāṣṭra occurring in the Chandalur grant¹²⁰ and the Oṅgodu grants.¹²¹ Oṅgodu, included by the latter grant within Karmarāṣṭra, has been identified with Ongole in the Guntur district.¹²² This alludes to the inclusion of at least part of the modern Guntur district within Kammakaratha of Ikṣvāku times. However, as the Chandalur and also the Oṅgodu grants are ascribed

119. ASSI., Vol. 1. p. 110. Two epigraphs from Amaravati mention a province of Pugi (Pugirathe). (ASMGM., p. 279, 298; ASSI., vol. I, pl. LVII, no. 17). Burgess wrongly read the name as Campuki. These epigraphs on palaeographic grounds may be assigned either to the later period of the Sātavāhana empire or the early part of the Ikṣvāku age. The form of characters ra, pu, ka, etc., have long ornamental verticals, a trend noticed in the later Sātavāhana epigraphs and of course throughout the Ikṣvāku period.

120. EI., vol. VIII, p. 235.

121. Ibid., vol. XV, p. 255.

122. Ibid., p. 254. Karmakarāstra is mentioned in a few other epigraphs. See ibid., p. 239; IA., vol. VII (1878), p. 187. etc

long after our period, we are not absolutely certain about the jurisdiction of Kāmmakarāṭha in the age with which we are concerned.

The āhāra of the Sātavāhana times and the raṭha of the Ikṣvāku age¹²³ was further subdivided into gramas, which were the smallest administrative units. The Myakadoni inscription refers to a gama, i.e., grāma in Sātavāhanāhāra, and the Jaggayyapeta epigraph also refers to a grāma within Kāmmakarāṭha. None of them mentions any other territorial unit in between the two. The Myakadoni inscription refers to a grama in the Sātavāhanihara as belonging to (i.e., under)

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123. The raṭha of Ikṣvāku times was possibly a synonym of the āhāra of the Sātavāhana times and raṭha of Pallava times. That āhāra and raṭha corresponded roughly to the same territorial division is probably borne out by the evidence of two epigraphs from the Bellery district. One of these, the Myakadoni inscription, found in the Adoni Taluk of the Bellery district, speaks of a grāma in Sātavāhanāhāra. (EI., vol. XIV, p. 155). This āhāra must have comprised many grāmas. So this grāma appears to have been a unit under an āhāra. In ^{an} inscription found in the village of Hirahadagalli in the Bellery district, ^{which is} and to be placed 125-175 years after the first epigraph speaks of a grāma in Sātahaṇirattha. (EI., vol. I, p. 6). Here again we find grāma as a territorial unit within a rāstra. So it appears that the raṭha of Hirahadagalli and raṭha of Jaggayyapeta denoted roughly the same administrative division as the āharas of Sātavāhana times.

one gumika or grāmika.¹²⁴ It may be guessed, though cannot be supported by any direct evidence, that during the Sātavāhana-Ikṣvāku age the affairs of a village in the Andhra region was looked after by a grāmika.¹²⁵

124. EI., vol. XIV, p. 155. Two Amaravati inscriptions to be dated much earlier than the Sātavāhana period (EI., vol. XV, p. 259) mention Dhañakada nigama (ibid., p. 262, 263). If the scope of the activities of this nigama was the same as those referred to in a Nagarjuna-konda inscription regarding some donations and endowments (see Ch. IX, p.), then one of the duties of the nigama mentioned above was to look after the proper execution of trusts and endowments.

125. See above. n.

CHAPTER IXEconomic ConditionsARoutes

The Andhra region, under the hegemony of the Sātavāhanas and then under the rule of the Ikṣvākus, apparently enjoyed political stability, an essential prerequisite for economic growth of any area. Its geographical position was also favourable for establishing communication with other parts of India and with the outside world.

Ruins of numerous Buddhist and other establishments have been found in different parts of the Andhra region. References may be made to archaeological sites such as Amaravati-Dharanikot, Nagarjunakonda, Jaggayyapeta, Bezwada, Ramireddipalle, Bhāttiprolu, Goli, Ghantasala etc. It is only reasonable to assume that these sites were accessible from different parts of the Andhra region.¹

This hypothesis is supported by the references in epigraphic sources of the early Christian centuries, to persons of different regions visiting or making gifts at Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Jaggayyapeta, Ramireddipalle, etc. Among

1. For relative topographical position of these places see BRAAH, map facing p.11.

the donors at the mahācetiya at Amaravati there are individuals from Pataliputra, Katakasela, Kudura, Kavurura, Vijayapura, Dhanagiri, Nekhavana etc.² Benefactors of different establishments at Nagarjunakonda included visitors from Syandakaparvata, Chadakapavata etc.³ Of these names as already noted, Kudura, Katakasela or Kaṁtakasela and Vijayapura may be identified respectively with the modern village of Guduru in the Krishna district, Ghantasala between Guduru and the Krishna, and a part or whole of the Nagarjuna-konda valley. As noted earlier, Kantakassyla or Kantakasela was an emporium, and Vijayapura was an important city. The expression nigama or town of Dhañakada and references to residents of Dhañakada⁴ suggest that apart from having been a place of Buddhist interest, it was also a populous locality. It seems obvious that some sort of routes connected each of these above localities with at least some other parts of the Andhra region.⁵

The existence of some kind of routes between these regions is also perhaps indicated by Ptolemy.

2. ASMGM., pp. 276, 280, 297, 300, 301, 301.
 3. EI., vol. XXXV, p 13; vol XX, p.25, J.
 4. Ibid, vol. XXXIII, p. 191.
 5. Even if we admit that pilgrims could undertake perilous journeys, the evidence of general inhabitation at Dhañakada and Vijayapura and also their apparently favourable topographical situation would suggest that they were connected with many other parts of the Andhra region by some accessible routes.

He describes the inland towns of the Maisoloi, to be placed in our area (p. 28), as Kalliga, Bardamana, Koroungkala, Pharytra or Pharetra and Pityndra.⁶ The coastal towns of Maisolia are listed by the same author as Kantakassyla, Koddoura and Allosygne.⁷ Vogel has demonstrated that Ptolemy followed inter alia the itineraries of traders in enumerating names of towns and settlements of different regions of India.⁸ That Ptolemy's knowledge of Maisolia also was based on information supplied by traders and merchants is probably suggested by the facts that he qualifies Kantakassyla as an emporium and Allosygni as a mart as well as the place of departure for those bound for the Golden Khersonese.⁹ Hence it may be guessed that there were connecting routes between the towns placed by Ptolemy in the coastal areas and also between those in the inland regions of Maisolia. It is interesting to note that Ptolemy's Kantakassyla and Koddoura may be identified with Kantakasela¹⁰ and Kudura¹¹ of the epigraphic sources mentioned above, and also respectively with modern Ghantasala and Guduru. It

6. Ptolemy, VII, 1,93.

7. Ibid., VII, 1,15.

8. BSOAS., vol XIV (1952) pp. 78 -86.

9. Ptolemy, VII, 1,14.

10. EI., vol XX, p.35

11. SSLD., pp 33, 42.

appears from these identifications that a trade route connected Ghantasala and Guduru.

The navigable Krishna with its tributaries possibly afforded one of the main modes of communication.¹² The same river may also have been one of the connecting links of our region with some other parts of India. A coastal route for communications between that region and other parts of the subcontinent seems to be alluded to in different sources. Ptolemy's descriptions of littoral towns in the land of the Arouarnoi¹³ and those on the Gangetic Gulf¹⁴ as having been situated respectively immediately below and above the coastal settlements in Maisolia may tend to suggest - if Ptolemy is considered to have followed itineraries of traders in enumerating cities in India - that one or several littoral route or routes ran through all these regions.

12. Traces of a brick built stepped embankment has been found at Nagarjunakonda. (ICA. AR (1955-56) p. 23. pt. XXXVIII) and also at nearby Yelteswaram. (Abdul Waheed Khan, A Monograph on Yelteswaram Excavations, Andhra Pradesh. Government Archaeological series no.14 (1963) p. 9, pt. XI.

13. Ptolemy, VII,1,14

14. Ibid., VII,1,16.

The Mahābhārata, which is considered to have substantially attained its present form in or about our age,¹⁵ speaks of the journey of the Pāṇḍavas from the Kausiki river to the sea coast where was Gaṅgāsāgara and thence along the sea shore to the land of the Kaliṅgas, where there was the river Vaitaraṇī. From that region Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of the five Pāṇḍavas, went to the Mahendragiri, whence he came to the Godāvārī, and after crossing that river reached the sea in the Dravida land.¹⁶

Gaṅgāsāgara is a famous spot in West Bengal. The Vaitaraṇī is to be placed in the Midnapore district, whereas the Mahendragiri may be identified with the hill of the same name standing in the border regions of the Ganjam and the Srikakulam districts of Andhra Pradesh.¹⁷ As already noted, the Dravida land beyond the Godāvārī, may have included the Andhra region (pp. 40f.)

The Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa describes the victorious march of Raghu inter alia through Suhma, Vaṅga, Utkala, Kaliṅga apparently including the Mahendra mountain and across the south and the Kāverī, the

15. See p. 41, n. 103 for references.

16. Mahābhārata, III, 114-118.

17. J.N. Banerjea Volume, P. 324, n. 26.

valley of Malaya, the Tamraparni in the Pandu country, Malayadaradura, the Sahya mountain, the region of Kerala, Aparānta etc.¹⁸ Kālidāsa probably imagined his hero as having traversed not only the coastal route referred to above, but also a course running through the rest of the coastal regions of the eastern side and also through the western side of the peninsula. This coastal route which ran through our region was probably more or less the same as that mentioned above. Thus it appears that in or about the early centuries of the Christian era, a route ran from West Bengal along the sea coast and by the sides of the Eastern Ghats, to parts of the Andhra region.

According to the Allahabad pillar inscription, the kingdoms of Dakṣiṇāpātha whose kings were beaten by Samudragupta, included Kosala, Mahākāntāra, Kaurāla, Pistapura, Kottura, Erandapalla, Kāñcī, Veṅgi, Palakka, Devarāstra, Kausthalapura, etc.¹⁹ They may be identified respectively with South Kosala comprising Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur regions, the Jeypore forest area of Orissa (including a part of Dandakāranya?), the Colair lake region in the borders of the West Godavari and the Krishna districts, Pithapuram in the East Godavari district, Kothoor near Mahendragiri in the Ganjam district, a town near Chicacole in

18. Raghuvamsa - IV,V,36f; See also VI,54.

19. CII., vol.III.p.6ff.

the Ganjam district, **Kanĥīpuram** in the Chingleput district, Pedda Vegi in the Godavari district, Palakkada in the Nelore region, Tellamanchili in the Vizagapatam district, and Kuttalur in the North Arcot district.²⁰ These identifications suggest that the localities in question do not appear in the Allahabad pillar inscription in the strict geographical order. Nevertheless, it seems highly probable that all these localities were traversed by Samudragupta. It is only reasonable to assume that he followed a route through the Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region, and across a forest area and the Eastern Ghats of Orissa to the territory of Mahendragiri in the Ganjam district, and thence along the coast up to the North Arcot district.

Two more sources of the early Christian centuries, though not belonging to the period we are concerned with, support the existence of such an inland cum coastal route. According to the Aihole inscription, Pulakeśin (II) conquered the Kalingas with the Kosalas (i.e. Southern Kosala or Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur tract), Piṣṭapura (modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari district), the localities of the water of Kunāla (modern Colair lake in the borders of the West Godavari and the Krishna districts), the lord of the Pallavas connected with Kāñcīpura (**Kanĥīpuram** in

20. Vakata Ka Gupta Age, pp. 133-134. I.H.Q., vol. I (1925) pp. 250-260; PHAI pp. 538-40; SI ., p. 257, n.1 etc. Avamukta, another southern kingdom conquered by Samudra Gupta, is not yet identified.

the Chingleput district), and crossed the Kāveri to conquer the Colas.²¹ This description indicates that, at least partly, he followed the route traversed earlier by Samudragupta.

According to the Life of Hiuen-tsang by Hui-li, the pilgrim travelled from Tan-mo-lih-ti (Tāmralipti or modern Tamruk in the Midnapore district)²² to Wu-t'u (Odra including the upper part of coastal Orissa).²³ It appears from the Hsi-yü-Chi²⁴ and the She-Kia-Fang-Chi²⁵ that he went from Wu-t'u to Kung-yü-to (Kongada or the area around the Chilka lake and part of the Ganjam district)²⁶ and Ka-leng-ka (Kalinga) to the south-west of Kongoda. From here the pilgrim went to Kiao-sa-lo (or Kosala or the modern Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur area) surrounded by mountains and forests, and thence through forests to the An-to-lo or the Andhra country.²⁷ Thus at least in the 7th century A.D., one

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21. E.I. vol VI, p 6 . Fa-hsien (4th century A.D.) observed that the kingdom of Dakṣiṇāpatha or South India was out of the way and perilous to travel. (J.Legge, Fa-hsien, A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms, see 35) This observation suggests that routes in South India including the Andhra region were not easy to follow. Nevertheless, other sources quoted above indicate that they were accessible.
22. CAGI pp 577 f
23. CAGI p.584; J.N.Banerjea Volume, p.325
24. YCTI, vol II p.194-210. According to the Hsi-yu-chi, Hiuen-tsang travelled from Tamralipti to Karnasuvarna and thence to Odra (ibid)
25. P.C.Bagchi, She-Kia-Fang-Chi pp 106 f.
26. CAGI., p. 857, EI., vol. VI, pp. 136-137.
27. CAGI., p. 590f.

or more routes across south Kosala were connected with the coastal route in the eastern side of the peninsula.

The cumulative evidence of the above sources suggests that during our period one or more routes ran from the region of the modern Allahabad district area and Baghelkhand, Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur tracts and the Eastern Ghats to the Ganjam district and then joined the coastal route or routes stretching from the modern regions of West Bengal, and through Orissa and the Andhra Pradesh including the area assignable to the ancient Andhra region to the further south.

The Periplus Maris Erythraei describes traders' journey from Paethana or Paithan²⁸ and Tagara or Ter²⁹ to Barygaza³⁰ (or Broach)³¹. The Periplus states that from Tagara was carried to Barygaza merchandise brought there locally from the regions along the sea-coast.³² As has been pointed out by J. Campbell, the expression 'the sea-coast' here means the coast of the Bay of Bengal and not the Western coast where Barygaza was situated.³³ Fleet, on the

28. Schoff, Periplus, p.195

29. Periplus, sec.51.

30. Schoff, Periplus p. 166

31. Ibid. p.180. For a lucid summary of our knowledge of ancient trade routes between Paithan and different parts of the Deccan through the Thalghat, Bharghat and the Nanaghat, see JRAS (1946) ppl66-168. D.Barrett, Karle, p.1f

32. Periplus, sec.51.

33. Gazetter of the Bombay Presidency. vol XVI, p.181.

basis of archaeological and other data, has traced two ancient routes - the first starting from the region of Masulipatam and the second from the area of modern Vinukonda, joining about twenty-five miles south-east of the area now called Hyderabad, and proceeding through Tagara (Ter), Pratisthāna (Paithān) etc. to further west.³⁴ These premises allow us to infer the existence of a trade route connecting our region with the Western Deccan.

The maritime contact of the Krishna-Guntur area with other parts of India is indicated by a few sources. The Uttarādhyāyanasūtra, datable to the early centuries of the Christian era,³⁵ refers to a merchant from Campā reaching Pihūṃḍa by following a sea route.³⁶ Pihūṃḍa is further indicated as a place suitable to trading. It is identified with Pithumda of the Hathigumpha inscription and the Pityndra metropolis in the territory of the Maisoloi described by Ptolemy (pp.29,70). This information probably indicates the existence of a riverine-cum-maritime trade route from Campā in the Bhagalpur district of modern Bihar and through the Ganges and across or along the coast of the

34. JRAS., (1901) pp. 537-552

35. The Uttaradhyāyanasūtra is considered to have ^{been} composed originally in the first century B.C. However, additions and alterations went on till 980 years after Mahāvira i.e. roughly up to A.D. 454 (ibid p XL). See also T. Charpentier's Uttaradhyāyanasūtra (1922) pp. 30-31

36. Uttaradhyāyanasūtra, XXI, I, 2 and H. Jacobi, (editor) Jaina Sūtras 7 Part II p. 168

Bay of Bengal to a town in the Krishna-Guntur area. The latter town was either on the coast or on a navigable river (probably the Krishna as indicated above pp.70-71) accessible from the sea.

The Periplus refers to sailing courses towards the east from Masalia (the region including the Krishna-Guntur districts) and across the adjacent bay to the region of Dosarene.³⁷ As noted earlier, the latter may be connected with the coast area through which flowed the river Doasron, mentioned by Ptolemy and placed somewhere above the Manada or the Mahānadi in Orissa³⁸ (pp.25-26).

Indian texts such as the Milinda Pañha³⁹ and the Mahāniddeśa,⁴⁰ both attributable to the

37. Periplus, Sec.62

38. Ptolemy, VII,I,16 & 17.

39. The Milinda Pañha refers to the sailing of a ship owned by a wealthy person to Sovira (i.e. Sauvira in eastern Sind), Surattha (Saurashtra in Kathiawad peninsula), Kola-pattanam, Vaṅga (in Southern Bengal), Takkola (same as Tokola emporium of Golden Khersonese mentioned by Ptolemy and located in north west coast of Malay peninsula), Alasanda (Alexandria in Egypt), Suvannabhumi and Cina.

40. The Mahāniddeśa, as pointed out by S.Lévi refers inter alia to different ports like Takola, Vesunga, Java, Tamali, Vanga, Elavaddhana, Suvannakota, Suvannabhumi, Tambapanni (i.e. Ceylon), Suppara (Sopara in Maharashtra), Bharukachha (Broach) (Etudes Asiatiques vol.II (1925) p.2f. 52,53, 432-33). Takola, Vesunga, Java, and Tamali may be identified with Takola, Vesunga, Iabadiu and Temala of Ptolemy (VII,2,5,3,4,29) All of them are placed in South East Asia (M.S. Crindle - Ptolemy pp.196-199,239-40.

early Christian centuries,⁴¹ allude to maritime connections between different Indian ports and several places of South East Asia. But none of these sources includes any port of the Krishna-Guntur region in their respective lists. This, however, does not necessarily indicate the lack of contact of our region with the world outside India. Two coins of the Sātavāhana monarch Yajnasrī Sātakarnī*, found in the Guntur district, bear the figure of a sailing ship on the obverse.⁴² This may betray the interest of the issuer of the coin or of the local people in shipping or even in seafaring.

A Ghantasala epigraph assignable to our period⁴³ records the donation of the wife of a mahanāvika

- 41. For the date of Milinda Pañha see Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, - The Milinda Questions. (1930) pp.5,6,23; AIU., p.410; For a discussion on the date of the Mahaniddesa see Etude Asiatique, vol.II,1925,pp.50-51.
- 42. JNSI. vol III. (1941), p.43. These same type of coins, attributed by Rapson to Pulumāvi are found in the Coromondal coast between Madras and Cuddalore (CCADWK p.LXXXI-LXXXII).CV.V.Mirashi has attempted to prove that these latter species should also be considered as issues of Yajnasri Satakarni. (JNSI.,vol III,(1941) p.45.) But the letters pm and lu on one of these coins (CCADWK, pCl.V, no.95) support Rapson's attribution.
- 43. EI., vol XXVII. p.2.

or sailing master.⁴⁴ This may perhaps allow us to infer that the sailors vocation was not unknown to the people of the Andhra territory during our age.

The seafaring habits of the people of the Andhra region or rather of the Andhra empire (Sātavāhana empire) are perhaps further alluded to by Ptolemy. He mentions a cape of Taprobane called Andrasimondou.⁴⁵ Lévi considers this word as a corruption of the term Andhra Samudra.⁴⁶ If this interpretation is correct, a coastal place of Taprobane or Ceylon was named after Andhra. This was possibly due to the cape's contact with the people of the Andhra region or empire, or due to its situation on a sea called Andhra.⁴⁷ Whichever of the above is correct, the term Andhra Samudra perhaps alludes to the seafaring habit of the Andhra people. We shall point out later that the Ceylonese monks formed an important section of the population of our region (pp.315,344). There is a passage in the Sihalavatthuppaṅkarana which alludes to a sea journey undertaken by some Ceylonese monks to the Andhra region.⁴⁸

44. Ibid. p.4

45. Ptolemy, VII,11,3.

46. JA., vol CCXXVII (1936) pp 95-96.

47. We may note here that the Sātavāhana monarch befriended by Nagarjuna was described by Bāna as trisamudhrādhipati Harsacarita, Niranyasagara press, 3rd edition, p.250.)

48. Sihalavatthuppakaranam A.P.Buddhadatta (editor) (1959) Ch 65, p.151.

Ceylon may not, however, have been the only country having maritime connection with the Krishna-Guntur area. Some sources hint at such relations between the latter zone and other countries to its west or east.

Strabo, a geographer of the age of Augustus (28 B.C. - A.D. 14) refers to the voyages of at least a small number of ships from Egypt to the Ganges.⁴⁹ The Periplus' lack of accurate knowledge of the configuration of the coast after Cape Comorin and of the details of the eastern coast of the peninsula, and his wrong idea about the position of Taprobane or Ceylon, perhaps indicates that even in the days of its author not many western sailors circum-navigated the southern portion of the peninsula to reach the ports of eastern Deccan.⁵⁰ This inference is substantiated by the absence in Ceylon of the finds of Roman coins prior to those of the time of Nero (A.D.54-65)⁵¹ in contrast to the numerous discoveries in South India of the Roman coins minted from the time of Augustus (28 B.C.- A.D.14.)⁵²

49. Strabo, XV.

50. Periplus, Sec 59f. In this connection see CBREI pp 121,125.

51. B.W, Cōdrington - Ceylon Coins and Currency, pp 31f; Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol.XIX, (1906-1907) pp.161-188.

52. JEAS. (1904), p.591f; Ancient India, vol. 21 pp.116-121; R.E. M.Wheeler - Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers, p.138f.

One should also, in this connection, take notice of the heavy concentration of the findspots of Roman coins of the first century A.D. in or near the Palghat gap area of the Coimbatore district.⁵³ It probably suggests that people interested in Roman trade frequented the Palghat gap, approachable from the western and the eastern Deccan respectively by the valley of the Kaveri and of the Ponnai.⁵⁴ It is not unlikely that before the beginning of the regular circumnavigating of the southernmost parts of India by the Roman sailors, the merchandise brought to the western coast was transferred to the eastern coast along the route through the Palghat gap.

The account of the author of the Periplus, however, definitely indicates at least his indirect knowledge of the eastern coast including the region of Masalia, incorporating the Krishna-Guntur area. The regular visits of the Roman sailors to the eastern coast may have begun by the time of Hadrian (c.A.D.117-141), since Dionysios Periegetes, who perhaps wrote during his reign,⁵⁵ stated that he was neither a merchant nor a seafarer, and did not go through the Indian Ocean to the Ganges like many who staked their life for great wealth.⁵⁶

53. Ibid note 51.

54. R.E.M. Wheeler op.cit. pp.143-144

55. CBREI. p.117.

56. Orbis Descriptio, LL.710-712.

We do not know whether, in the early years of their regular voyages to the eastern side of the peninsular India and beyond, the Roman sailors practised coastal navigation. The earliest information on direct sailing across the Bay of Bengal by a Roman subject is perhaps furnished by Marinus of Tyre. He, as is known from Ptolemy's Geography, records the voyage of one Alexander from Cape Kori in the Kolkhic Gulf to Paloura on the Gangetic Gulf and thence to Sada and beyond.⁵⁷ Cape Kori is the same as modern Dhanushkoti in South India.⁵⁸ Paloura has been identified by Lévi with Dantapura of Indian sources and is placed by him near Chicacole in the Ganjam district.⁵⁹ Sada is included by Ptolemy in the Argyre or Silver country⁶⁰ which has been located in modern Arakan.⁶¹

These data allude to the activities of western sailors on the Bay of Bengal on which was also situated the region of Maisolia including the Krishna-Guntur region. A further development in the use of oceanic courses took place by the date of Ptolemy's information about the latter zone. He locates in Maisolia⁶² the points of departure (apheterion) for ships bound for Khryse. The apheterion is

57. Ptolemy I, XIII,1 and 5-9.

58. McCrindle - Ptolemy, p.61

59. JA., vol.LIV, (1925) pp.46-57; JA, vol LV (1926) pp.94f.

60. Ptolemy, VII,1,15.

61. McCrindle, Ptolemy, p.196

62. Ptolemy, VII,1,15.

placed after the river Maisolos, Kantakassyla emporium, Koddoura and Allosygne emporium.⁶³ Though the latter place cannot be pinpointed in a modern map,⁶⁴ the suggested identifications of Maisolos, Kantakassyla and Kuddoura respectively with the river Krishna (p. 29), Ghantasala (p. 28) and Guduru (p. 28), in the Krishna district, need not be doubted. Hence the point of departure for ships bound for Khryse might have been somewhere above Guduru and in the coastal area of the Krishna district or thereabouts. Khryse is the identical with Khryse Khora i.e. the Gold country of Khryse Khersonesos, i.e. the Golden Khersonesos, both placed by Ptolemy in India as Extra-Ganjem.⁶⁵ These are generally considered to have been situated in the Malay peninsula.⁶⁶

Thus by the time of Ptolemy's information about Maisolia (c.A.D.75-150) traders and mariners used to sail to Malay peninsular from the Krishna-Guntur area.⁶⁷

63. Ibid.
 64. McCrinkle-Ptolemy p.68; CBREI p.126.
 65. Ptolemy, VII, 2, 17 and 15
 66. McCrinkle + Ptolemy, pp.198, 221; CBREI, p.126; P.Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, pp.153, 272
 67. The Periplus Maris Exteri states that 'the entire periplus along that part of the Gangetic Gulf which goes from apheterion until up to the fifth mouth of the Ganges, which is called Antiboli, is a distance of 5660 stadia. But the entire periplus of India within the Ganges from the harbour Nausthothmos until the fifth mouth of the Ganges which is called Antiboli is a distance in all of 35695 stadia' (Sec. 39). The same text further describes the apheterion from which all those sailing to Khryse leave (Sec.37). (C.Müller Geographiæ Graecæ Minores vol.I. pp.535-6). It appears that this apheterion was connected with other parts of India by coastal navigation and with Khryse by direct sailing across the Bay of Bengal. We do not know whether this apheterion is the same as the apheterion mentioned by Ptolemy.

Among them were seafarers from the Roman empire, who supplied to Ptolemy information on different parts of India, Golden Khersonese and also on the region stretching up to Kattigārā.⁶⁸

Warmington assigns this information furnished by Ptolemy to the second stage of the development of the use of maritime courses by western sailors between peninsular India and South-East Asia.⁶⁹ The route indicated by the Marinus of Tyre may be referred to the second stage, while the first stage was probably marked by coastal navigation.⁷⁰

Now it seems clear that from some time in our period seafarers from the Roman empire visited our area and thence sailed also to South-East Asia. It is not impossible that the local people of the Andhra region also made

68. Ptolemy., II,1, 17, 5.

69. CBREI, p.126.

70. Ibid., see Map facing p.394

such voyages ⁷¹ at least to South East Asia. ⁷²

B

Natural Products, Industries, Manufactured Goods

Professions, Traders, Merchants.

The Krishna-Guntur regions connections with other parts of India and the outside world were naturally conducive to its economic growth. Epigraphs of our region do

71. It appears from an observation of K'ang T'ai, quoted in the Shui-ching-chu, that there was a maritime route from inter alia Chu-li to the mouth of the Ganges, where was Tan-mu, and thence to Ta'-ch'in (L.Petech, Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu, Rome, (1950), p.53).

Chu-li is identified with Takola referred to by Ptolemy (VII, 2,5), Tan-mi is the same as Tamralipti and Ta Chin is the Roman empire. Since K'ang-T'ai as well as the Shui-ching-chu itself may be assigned to the 3rd century A.D. (ibid., p.1,55), this evidence may suggest that south-east Asians and also the Indians knew of eastern lands' trade with Roman empire and also participated in navigating merchant ships to the Roman Orient. It is interesting to note that Dio Cocceianus Chrysostomus (A.D. 40 - 112 or sometime after 112) mentioned in his discourse (no. 32, sec. 40) the presence of Bactrians and Indians in Alexandria. They probably went there as traders and sailors.

72. Tavernier, a traveller who came to India in the Mughal period, found Masulipatam, now in the Krishna district, as the best anchorage in the Bay of Bengal and the only place from where vessels sailed for Pegu, Siam, Arakan, Bengal, Kochin China, Mecca and Hormos and also for the islands of Madagascar, Sumatra and Mavillus. (Tavernier, I,XIII). See also R.E.M.Wheeler, op.cit., p.173.

in fact allude to several products, industries and their dealers and also to men of different professions.

The name Dhānyakataka meaning valley, town or royal camp of rice,⁷³ suggests that the area denoted by it produced abundant rice. However, as it was a town, the area was possibly an important market place for rice. Hiuen-tsang observed in the seventh century that An-to-lo⁷⁴ (Andhra) and the Te-na-ka-che-ka⁷⁵ country (Dhānyakataka i.e. modern Amaravati Dharanikot area) had fertile soil, and that the latter territory yielded abundant crop.⁷⁶ It may be added here that the land on the lower courses of the Krishna, including its delta is amongst the few zones of peninsular India suitable for irrigation and cultivation.⁷⁷

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73. M.Monier Williams, op.cit., p.243. It is interesting to note that Tāranātha translates the name Dhānyakataka as 'rice heap' (Byas-spūis) (Tāranātha, p.142, n, 26)
74. T.Watters, op.cit., vol II, p.209.
75. Ibid., p.214.
76. Ibid.
77. L.Dudley Stamp, India, Pakistan and Ceylon and Burma, (9th Ed.) p.199.

The black cotton soil of Palnad taluk and neighbouring tracts is suitable for the cultivation of cotton. Much cotton is now produced in the Palnad and the Sattenapalli taluk of the Guntur district.⁷⁸ That cotton was an important product of the Krishna-Guntur region in or about our period, may be inferred from ^{an} information supplied by the Periplus. It states that Sindon was produced in great quantity in Masalia,⁷⁹ i.e. the territory including the Krishna-Guntur district. Sindon or muslin⁸⁰ was manufactured from raw materials including cotton. Another source, the Bhīmasena Jataka, also refers to the weaving industry of Andhra.⁸¹

An inscription of the early Pallava King Simhavarman, found at Manchikallu in the Guntur district, records the donation of woollen carpets (kurttaka) by him.⁸² This perhaps alludes to carpet manufacturing industry in the Guntur district in or about our period.

78. Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol XVII, p.326
 79. Periplus, Sec. 61
 80. S.C. Woodhouse, English Greek Dictionary (1964) p.547.
 81. Fausboll. Jātakas, vol I, pp.355-359.
 82. EI., vol XXXII, p.89.

The vast number of stone sculptures found in the various places of our territory and especially at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda surely indicates regular working in stone quarries. A kind of greenish lime stone and a kind of black stone, known locally as Cuddappah stone, were used at Nagarjunakonda. The first kind of stone is found in the regions of Dachepalle and Nadikunda and the second in the Macherla area.⁸³ The so-called marble slabs at Amaravati might have been brought from the so-called marble (= lime stone) quarries in the Sattanepalle and Palnad taluk.⁸⁴ There are indications that the latter quarries had been worked in ancient times.⁸⁵

We do not know whether there was any regular trade in stone. The existence of such a trade, however, is not improbable since an Amaravati inscription refers to a pasanika⁸⁶ i.e. a worker or dealer in stone.⁸⁷

83. This information was gathered by us during our field work in the Nagarjunakonda valley.

84. BRAAH., p.133, n.2. There was a stone quarry near Jaggayyapeta (ASSI., vol I, p.107)

85. BRAAH., p.133, n.2. See also R. Sewell - List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras, Madras. 1882. Vol. I. p.45, 63, f.n.1 ; Krishna District Manual, pp.169, 202, 222 and 247.

86. ASMGM., p.302.

87. We do not know whether several brick-built structures discovered at Nagarjunakonda indicate the existence of a brick manufacturing industry in that area. We are also not certain whether the diamond mines of Partiyala and lead mines of Palnad were worked in our times. (BRAAH. p.133, n.2).

The enormous ruins at Nagarjunakonda and Amaravati also presuppose the existence during our period of sculptors, architects and builders. There are in fact epigraphic references to vadhāki⁸⁸ meaning a carpenter, builder, mason or architect, and to āvaseni⁸⁹ or the foreman of artisans. The mention of navakammika;⁹⁰ navakammika-padhāna⁹¹ and mahānavakamika⁹² in our epigraphs indicate the presence of supervisors of new construction or renovation works. The prefix mahā and suffix pradhana perhaps indicate different grades in the post of navakammika.

Excavations at Nagarjunakonda have yielded earthen urns of various shapes and sizes,⁹³ including one bearing floral designs between rows of criss-cross patterns⁹⁴ or the so-called Andhra motifs.⁹⁵ Waterpots, food bowls,

88. EI., vol XX, p.22 f.

89. ASSI, vol.I, p.110.

90. EI., vol.XX.p.22 f.

91. ASMGM., p.275.

92. Ibid., p.278.

93. Excavated object no.NK/VI/56, II A (2) H.R.113F;HR/117A/SN VIII/57/DIV 69/B/4(3)., B 4(3) (locus B4-12-6/C 4-8-6" depth 1" etc.

94. Ibid.

95. Ancient India, No.4 p.237, pl. cxii, 1, 3 etc.

begging bowls and miniature pots have also been discovered here.⁹⁶ From these as well as broken pots and sherds found here it is clear that the local people used black polished, black-slipped, red-slipped and black and red wares.⁹⁷

Beads of various materials and sizes have been unearthed at Nagarjunakonda.⁹⁸ Conches used mostly for religious purposes, have been found in the locality.⁹⁹ Many copper and iron objects discovered^{here}, and mention may be made of a bronze chain,¹⁰⁰ a small bronze bell,¹⁰¹ etc. An inscription from Alluru in the Guntur district, attributed to the Sātavāhana age, refers to the gifts of brass cauldrons and bronze vessels.¹⁰²

These potteries, beads, conches, iron and bronze objects may have been manufactured locally. At least they cannot be proved to have been imported into the Krishna-Guntur area. Hence, we may presume the existence in

96. Excavated object no.NK/57,NI/99-;B1(3);NV/57,NI/10/B 5 (e). See Memoirs no.54 p.20 and Memoirs no.71.p.IXXI-XXII etc

97. IA AR (1957-58) p.9. Most of the pottery types except the late ones were analogous to those from Anikamedu (Ancient India,No.2.p.45f) Brahmagiri (ibid.no.4.p.207f), Chandrayalli (ibid,pp.271f),and Sisupalgarh (ibid no.5 pp.78f.)

98. IA AR (1956-57) p.38.

99. Ibid., (1958-59) p.8. pl.VB;Memoirs 54,pp.17,18,22.

100. Nagarjunakonda Museum exhibit no.459.

101. This was noticed by us at the technical section of the Museum at Nagarjunakonda.

102. EHAC, p.79.

that region of potters, blacksmiths, bead and conchshell manufacturers, in addition to sculptors and architects.

Epigraphic testimonies allude to other kinds of professions, trades and traders. A camakara (carmakāra) mentioned in an Amaravati inscription¹⁰³ probably earned his livelihood from works concerning leather. A gadhika (gandhika), mentioned in another Amaravati record,¹⁰⁴ was a manufacturer of perfumery, and was possibly associated with its trade (gandhadravayas). The pursuing of the vocation of goldsmith by some persons of our region is indicated by the designation heranika applied to two different persons in two Amaravati inscriptions.¹⁰⁵ The articles manufactured by these heranikas were presumably inter alia the gold reliquaries and their contents such as gold flowers, gold beads etc.¹⁰⁶ An example of the fine craftsmanship of the jewellers of our period is a pair of beautiful earrings made from fine gold

103. ASMGM. p.281

104. ASMGM. p.303

105. ASMGM. p.294; C.Sivaramamurti's interpretation of the word heranika as a banker (ibid.,p.294) and once as treasurer (ibid.,p.296) is wrong.

106. IA.AR.,1955-56,p.24, pl.XXXIXV.

threads recently unearthed at Nagarjunakonda.¹⁰⁷ As in modern times, these jewellers were also possibly responsible for supplying the precious and semi-precious stones some of which in our period accompanied the gold flowers in the relic caskets.¹⁰⁸ Similarly a gold bowl and silver dish recovered from the Sarvva-deva temple site, were also probably the products of the heranikas of our period.¹⁰⁹ It may be noted here^{that} the remnant of a house unearthed during an excavation at Nagarjunakonda has been recognised as that of a goldsmith's shop.¹¹⁰ This has yielded terracotta crucibles, a touchstone, iron pestle, terracotta and stone weights, terracotta bangles, earrings and oblong moulds with designs for ornaments.¹¹¹

References in Nagarjunakonda epigraphs to Puvika seni¹¹² (= āpūpika śrenī) or guild of confectioners and panika seni¹¹³ (= parnika śrenī) i.e. guild of dealers in leaves (betel?) and gadhika seni indicate in our period the presence of guilds in our period.

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107. Ibid., 1956-57, p. 38, pl. LXB. A gold necklace has also been found (ibid.). The area where the epigraph of Abhira Vasusena was found, yielded a gold plaque, depicting a man holding a lotus. (ibid., 1958-59, p. 8, pl. V.C.). These objects now kept in the technical section of the Archaeological Museum at Nagarjunakonda were examined by us.
108. Memoirs no. 54, pl. XV, a, b, c, pp. 19-20.
109. These two objects were examined by us at the technical section of the Archaeological Museum at Nagarjunakonda.
110. IA. AR. 1959-60, p. 9, pl. V.B.
111. Ibid., p. 9, pl. VI. A. B. C.
112. EI., vol. XXXV, p. 7.
113. Ibid.

Some of the above testimonies as well as inscriptional references to some persons as Vanīya¹¹⁴ (= vanikā) or merchants and an allusion in an epigraph to a sātavāha¹¹⁵ or leader of caravan (of traders) suggests the existence of an important mercantile community in the Andhra region. Reference in an inscription to the son of a vanīya also as a vanīya¹¹⁶ may indicate that at least sometimes a profession was hereditary.

The above quoted reference to the guilds of confectioners, perfumers and dealers in leaves probably allow us to infer that other classes of craftsmen and traders formed similar corporate bodies. A member of a guild was possibly called a kulika and a guild was usually headed by one chief (kulika pamukha).¹¹⁷

The prosperity of some merchants and traders of the Andhra region is perhaps indicated by the fact that a gadhika or gandhika made a gift of a pillared hall (padhāna mandava)¹¹⁸ and that the wife of a caravan leader was described as dhanikasathanikā (the wife of a rich caravan leader.)¹¹⁹

114. ASMGM., p.286, 298, 296, etc; EI., vol.XX.p.22F, vol.XXXIII, p.191 etc.

115. ASMGM., p.299.

116. Ibid. p.303

117. EI., vol.XXXIV, p.210

118. ASMGM., p.303.

119. ASMGM. p.299.

Trade with the Outside World.

There are indications that not only indigeneous traders and merchants, but also foreigners were interested in the commerce of the Andhra region. Ptolemy locates in our region two emporiums, Kantakassyla and Allosygne.¹²⁰ A survey of Ptolemy's Geography reveals that the designation emporium was used by him for several coastal market towns in East Africa, Arabia, India and South East Asia.¹²¹ But, as E.H. Warmington has pointed out, the word emporium does not occur at all in Ptolemy's survey of the 'west' - mostly included in the Roman empire - and of Egypt, then under Roman occupation.¹²² It may further be noted that Ptolemy did not use the designation emporium for all possible market towns on or near littoral India. He did not specify Sopara as an emporium, whereas sources earlier than¹²³ and contemporary

120. Ptolemy, VII,1,15.

121. CBREI. p.107.

122. CBREI. p.107.

123. The Periplus indicates the existence of an emporium in Cuppara (= Souppara = Sopara) obviously before the days of Ptolemy.

with him¹²⁴ indicated that this was a market town.

These considerations perhaps tend to show, as E.H. Warmington has observed, that the word emporium had a restricted connotation in Ptolemy's Geography.¹²⁵ A conceivable interpretation of the term in question is that it denoted an oriental market town, lying on or near the sea coast and beyond the imperial frontiers of Rome, in the commerce of which a Roman subject like Ptolemy might be at least academically interested. Such an explanation appears to be substantiated by the discovery of a Roman trading station at Arikamedu near Pondicherry¹²⁶ identified with the Poduke emporium of Ptolemy.¹²⁷

124. A Kanheri record, ascribed to the period of Vāsisthīputra Pulumāvi alludes to a member of a guild of Soparaga, i.e. Sopara (ASWI, Vol V, p.78). Another Kanheri record of the period of the same monarch mentions a jeweller of Soparāyaka, i.e. Sopārā (ibid, p.82). Vāsisthīputra Pulamavi flourished in the first quarter of the second century A.D. and so roughly in the age of Ptolemy (p.). Hence the evidence of the epigraphs may be referred to the age of the latter. See in this connection B.N. Mukherjee, The Lower Indus Country, Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1963, BK II, ch.IV, p.1.

125. CBREI, p.107

126. Ancient India, no.2. p.124.

127. Ptolemy, VII, 1,14.

From the above discussion we may presume that traders and merchants of the Roman empire were interested in the trade of the emporiums of Kankassyla (or modern Ghantasala) and Allosygue. They visited those places, conducted commercial transactions and probably, at least temporarily, resided there while waiting for favourable trade winds to embark upon return journeys or for forward voyages to South East Asia, via 'the departing point' somewhere above Allosygue.

We have no detailed lists of the goods exported from or imported into the Krishna-Guntur area by the Roman subjects or sailors of other nationalities. There are only some stray allusions to such articles. The Periplus informs us that a great quantity of muslin was manufactured in Masalia.^{127a} No doubt, it does not specifically state that muslins were exported from Masalia. However, since it expressly refers to exports of muslins from other parts of India,^{127b} the Masalia region with her great production of muslin might have been one of the suppliers of that fabric to traders including perhaps those of the Roman empire.

127a. Periplus, sec. 62.

127b. Ibid., sec. 6, 48 etc.

The Periplus' information on Masalia, as indicated above, may be placed sometime in the middle of the first century A.D. However, if our inference in the preceeding paragraph is correct, Masalia, including the Krishna-Guntur area could have retained muslin as one of her articles of export even during our period.

In connection with the study of the foreign trade of our region a reference may be made to an inscribed stone slab discovered in the Jetavanārāma at Anuradhapura in Ceylon.^{127c} This epigraph, attributable to about the ~~third~~ century A.D.,¹²⁸ is inscribed on a type of lime stone which cannot be procured locally in the island.¹²⁹ On the other hand, this kind of lime stone is available in great quantities in the Andhra region. In fact a great number of the sculptures of our period and zone were made on stones of similar kinds.¹³⁰ A further possible link of the stone slab in question with the Krishna-Guntur region is indicated by the paleographic characteristics of the epigraph. Paleographically it may be related more closely to the inscriptions of the Ikṣvāku age from Nagarjunakonda than to any other Ceylonese epigraph.¹³¹ The nature of the stone and the

127c. EZ., vol.IV.pp.273-285.

128. Ibid, pp.274-275

129. Ibid.

130. Ibid.

131. Ibid. pp.274-75, 78

paleographic features of the inscriptions on it, when seen against the background of at least missionary contact between our region and Ceylon (pp315-349), may perhaps indicate, as suggested by S. Pannavitana, that it was possibly brought into Ceylon from our area¹³² and a scribe from or trained in the Krishna-Guntur area inscribed on this stone slab. We do not know whether the evidence discussed here indicates that stones were regularly brought from our territory to Ceylon, probably by means of rafts.

Images of the Buddha recognisable as products of the sculptors of the Amaravati school have also been found in different parts of Ceylon.¹³³ This may suggest that such icons were used to be exported from the Krishna-Guntur area.

Excavations at Oc-éo in the Mekong delta, have revealed the existence of a settlement in the early Christian centuries,¹³⁴ the culture of which was influenced by India.¹³⁵ One of the statuettes¹³⁶ and many of the floral

132. Ibid., p.274

133. Arts and Letters. vol XXVIII (1954) p.46; P.L.Prematilleke, Religious Architecture and Sculpture of Ceylon (Anuradhapura period). Ph.D.Thesis, London University, 1964, vol I, p.215.

134. BEFEO. vol XLV (1959) pp.75f. Some precious stones found here bear Brāhmī inscriptions of the 2nd-5th centuries A.D.

135. Ibid. R.E.M.Wheeler, op.cit, p.173

136. Ibid. L.Malleret, L'Archeologie du Delta du Mekong, vol I, p. 89.

motifs in the sculptures found here recall the art of Amaravati.¹³⁷
 We do not know whether this was due to contact, through trade,
 between this locality and the Krishna-Guntur region, where was
 Amaravati.¹³⁸ Such Indian influence has indeed been sought
 to be explained as the results of contacts between South-East
 Asia and Ceylon, which was influenced by Indian art and culture.¹³⁹
 However, at least the trade of Oc-ee with countries to its west
 is suggested by the local discoveries of Roman gems, beads and
 a coin and gems of Sassanian origin.¹⁴⁰

According to the Hou-Han-shu, an
 embassy from Ngan-touen, the King of Ta-Ch'in, reached the
 Chinese court via Jih-nan in the ninth year of the Yen-hsi
 period during the reign of Huan-ti¹⁴¹ (c A.D.166)¹⁴² Ta-Ch'in
 is identified with the Roman orient or the eastern part of the
 Roman empire.¹⁴³ Jih-nan, located in Tong-king,¹⁴⁴ was to the

137. Ibid, vol II, p.66
 138. See also Ibid, vol.III,p.183
 139. BEFEO, vol.XLIX (1959)pp 631-635.
 140. L.Malleret, op.cit., vol.III,p.183.
 141. Hou-Han-shu, ch.118.
 142. T'oung-Pao, S.II, vol.VIII (1907) p.185.
 143. Ibid., p.181,n.1.
 144. T'oung-Pao, S.II, vol.VIII (1907) p.185

north-west and so remoter than the Oc-eeo area. The latter locality, situated not far from the sea, could then have been visited by sailors from the Roman empire, whose voyages across the Bay of Bengal to South-East Asia used to begin, as we noted above, from a place in Maisolia,¹⁴⁵ (including the Krishnaguntur area). These considerations tempt one perhaps not to reject the possibility of commercial contacts between our region and the Mekong delta of South-East Asia.¹⁴⁶

An important article of import into our territory is mentioned by the Alluru inscription attributable to the Sātavāhana age. It refers to a gift of a 'Yonaka lamp', having the shape of a bādala fish.¹⁴⁷ The word Yonaka certainly indicates a non-Indian origin of the lamp. This was possibly imported from some area of the Roman empire.¹⁴⁸ Sprinklers and handles of Roman amphorae discovered at Nagarjunakonda¹⁴⁹ presuppose the import of these objects of daily use from the Roman empire.

145. Ptolemy, VII,1,15.

146. For traces of influence of the art of Amaravati in South-East Asia, see P. Dupont - La Stauaire Preangkorienne p.204; Etude Asiatique, vol.1, (1924) p.29A; BEFEO vol. XLIX (1959) p.79.

147. EHAC., p.79

148. The word Yona (Yonaka) may, in the period Sātavāhana and the Iksvaku, have meant the best known of all foreign western countries, viz. the Roman empire. The latter is certainly known to have produced lamps of various kinds and shapes. (M. Rostovtzeff - The Social and Economic History of the Roman empire, vol.1 (1957) pp.69,132 and fig.2 etc.)

149. IA., AR., (1957-58) p.9. Coral beads have been discovered in relics caskets in Stūpas at Nagarjunakonda. (Memoir 54, p.20). Since Pliny and the Periplus indicated that India did not have coral (NH, XXXII, 21-24, Periplus, sec.29, 39, 56), the material for the beads might have been imported from the west. (See also CBREI pp.263-64)

Coins.

Roman coins might have also found their way into the Krishna-Guntur area.

A Nagarjunakonda inscription of the Ikṣvāku period records a bestowal of three endowments in coins, totalling to a 100 dināri.¹⁵⁰ There is hardly any doubt that the word dināri is derived from the term denarius, which designated Roman silver and also gold coins.¹⁵¹ The contact of our region with Roman species is further indicated by the discoveries of a gold coin of Tiberius¹⁵² (A.D.14-37), one of Hadrian¹⁵³ (A.D.117-138), and another of the time of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161), during excavations at Nagarjunakonda.¹⁵⁴ Excavation at Yelteswaram, has yielded a gold coin of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-210)¹⁵⁵ In fact, regular import of Roman gold and silver coins into different parts of India is attested

150. EI., vol.XXXV, p.7.

151. The expression dinarius aureus is found in some literary sources (Petronius, Satyricon, XXXIII, NH XXXIII, 3, 42; XXI, 3, 185; XXXIV, 3, 37; Periplus, sec.49) See also T.Mommsen, Histoire Monnaie Romaine (translated by L.duc de Blacas) vol.III; pp.19-20, n.3.)

152. IA., AR., (1956-57) p.38, pl. LX.C.

153. Memoir, no. 71. p.30. pl. xxxv(1).

154. IA., AR., (1956-57) p.38, pl.LX.D.

155. Ahmad Waheed Khan, op.cit. p.55.

by the Periplus,¹⁵⁶ and the provenances of several hoards of imperial Roman coins in India, particularly in its peninsular area,¹⁵⁷ corroborate the evidence of that text.

These considerations suggest that Roman Imperial coins were regularly imported into our region during the period in question.¹⁵⁸ It has already been suggested that Roman coins found their way to India through commerce.¹⁵⁹ The same might have been true with the Roman coins in our region, particularly since it had two emporiums, which, as indicated above, had connections with Roman traders.

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156. Periplus. sec.49 and 50; Coins were brought as regular articles of trade. (Sec.49) and also for paying the prices for procurable merchandise.
157. JRAS. (1904) p.591f; Ancient India, no.2, pp.118f. ; R.E.M. Wheeler op.cit. p.139f.
158. The word dināra occurring in a few inscriptions of the Gupta age (SI, pp.286,325,330, etc), may denote indigenous Gupta gold coins, struck on the weight standard of gold denarius. We do not, however, know of any coin of the Andhra region, which can be considered to have been an imitation of a denarius or to have been minted on the weight standard of a silver dinarius or a gold denarius. So dinara of the Nagarjunakonda epigraphs should refer to actual Roman coins. In this connection see EI., vol. XXXV, p.5.

The above evidence of making endowments in dinarii coins further implies that these gold or silver or both, formed a part of the regular currency of our region during the Ikṣvāku period.¹⁶⁰ The influence of the Roman coinage on the local currency system is further betrayed by the name of a class of coins called dināri-māsaka, mentioned in a few Nagarjunakonda inscriptions of the Ikṣvāku age.¹⁶¹ Dināri of the term dināri-māsaka is certainly a word of Roman origin. According to some texts the word māsa (= māṣa) or māsaka (= māsaka) denotes a coin or certain weight of small denomination. 16 gold māsas of 5 raktikas¹⁶² each, were equal

160. The discovery of a gold coin of Tiberius at an Ikṣvāku site at Nagarjunakonda may indicate that the coin imported in an earlier age, remained in circulation at least till sometime during Ikṣvāku rule. It must, however, be remembered that Roman coins of the pre-reform period were intrinsically more valuable than coins issued after the reforms of Nero, and hence naturally were more attractive to people outside the Roman empire who accepted them as bullion.
161. EI., vol. XX, p.19.B.5; vol. XXXIV, p.210; vol. XXXV, p.7.210
162. Scholars who have weighed raktikas of 'red seeds' are not unanimous regarding their weights. According to A. Cunningham a raktika weighs 1.83 grains (A. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India (1891), p.44) W. Elliot, V.A. Smith and D.R. Bhandarkar have considered the weight of this seed respectively as 1.68 (W. Elliot, Coins of India (1886) p.49) 1.825 (V.A. Smith, Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum (1906), p.134) and 1.75 grains (D.R. Bhandarkar, Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics (1921) p.212) See also S.N. Chakravarti, Ancient Indian Numismatics (1931) p.5) F.R. Allchin has demonstrated that the evidence of two inscribed weights from Mathura, a weight unit from Taxila as well as of silver punched marked and bar coins indicates an average weight of a red seed. (115-c.120 m.g.) (Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, vol. VII (1964) pp.201-205)

to the weight or value of a suvarṇa, while 16 or 20 silver ¹⁶³
māṣas, each weighing 2 raktikas, equalled the weight or value
of a silver Purāṇa or Karṣāṇa. ¹⁶⁴ 20 copper māṣas each
having the weight of 2 raktikas were of the same weight or value
of one kārṣāṇa. ¹⁶⁵ Hence the term dināri-māṣaka occurring in
Indian inscriptions could have denoted a type of Indian coinage
influenced by Roman money. And since māṣas or māṣaka had small
denominations, a dināri-māṣaka might have denoted a coin less
valuable than a denarius, gold or silver, and several of such
dināri māṣakas might have equalled the weight or rather the
value of a gold or silver denarius. We are not sure whether
we can, on the basis of the above Indian texts on māṣa, assume
that a dināri-māṣaka was 1/16th or 1/20th of a denarius. ¹⁶⁶

This integration of Roman denarii in
the system of the coinage of the Andhra region had at least a

163. Narada-smṛti, 57 and 58 (SBE), vol. XXXIII, p. 231.

164. Ibid.

165. Arthaśāstra, Bk. II, 12 and 19; Manu-smṛiti, VIII, 134-7;
Visnu-smṛiti X, 19f; Narada-smṛiti 57 and 58

166. See also EI., vol. XX, p. 29; SSLD., p. 27 n.1.

tacit approval of the government or might have probably originated from a popular demand. 167

There is indeed ample evidence of the existence of local coins in the Krishna-Guntur area under the Sātavāhanas and their successor the Ikṣvākus. On the basis of provenances, the following types of coins are considered to have been issued by the following Sātavāhana kings in the districts of East and West Godavari and also in those of Krishna and Guntur. 168

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- 167. The fact that an Ikṣvāku queen made donation of dināri māśakas (EI., vol. XX. p. 19 B. 5), indicates that these coins were acceptable also to the royal Ikṣvāku family. The term dināri māśaka is not completely unknown to Indian literature. The Angavijjā, a Prakrit text of the third century A.D. refers to dinara-māśaka (Angavijjā, IX, 185) V.S. Agarwala apparently considers the term as denoting a sub multiple of Kusana gold coins struck on Roman weight standard (JNSI, vol. XIX (1957) p. 23). The dināri-māśakas of the Krishna-Guntur region however could not have any connection with the Kuṣāna currency system. The Angavijjā also refers to coins called suvannā masaka, raupya masaka, nanaka masaka etc. It appears that masaka was a well-known denomination of coins. See also JNSI, vol. XIII (1951), pp. 164-174; vol. XVI (1954) pp. 14-35. vol. XIX (197) p. 183 etc.
 - 168. CCADWK p. LXXII. Rapson attributed these coins to the Krishna and (East and West) Godavari districts. (ibid, p. LXXI). But subsequent discoveries show that coins of these types were also current in the Guntur district region (Memoirs no 71, p. 30;) However, it should be noted here that much of the Guntur district was formerly within the limits of the Krishna district (Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. XII (New Edition), pp. 388-89).

Types.

1. obv. Gaiya:
rev. Ujjain or cross and ball symbol.

Kings

- a) Gautamīputra 169
Sātakarni
b) Vāsisthīputra
Pulvāvi
c) Vāsisthīputra
Śiva-śrī
Sātakarni
d) Gautamīputra Śrī
Yajña Sātakarni
e) Vāsisthīputra-śrī
Candra-sati
f) Sri Rudra
Sātakarni

2. obv. ship with two masts.
rev. Ujjayini symbol.

Yajñaśrī 170
Sātakarni

3. obv. lion r. or l.
rev. Ujjayini symbol.

- a) Vāsisthīputra
Pulvāvi
b) Vāsisthīputra
Siri Candaśati=
Vāsisthīputra
Candra Sāti
c) Saka Sada (Kani)
d) Gautamīputra
Yajñaśrī Sātakarni

169. IHQ, vol. XXXIV (1958) pp. 44-45

170. JNSI. vol. III (1941) pp. 43-45.

Types.

Kings.

4. obv. elephant r. or l.
rev. Ujjayini symbol.

- a) Gautamīputra Yajñasri Sātakarṇi
- b) Sri Rudra Sātakarṇi ¹⁷¹

All the above mentioned coins were struck in lead. Rapson noticed a difference in fabric between coins of type no.1 on the one hand, and type no.3 on the other, and thought that this distinction was due to their having been currencies of two different districts of Andhradesā. ¹⁷² Whether such an explanation is acceptable or not, there is no doubt that all of them were made of lead, and, with the exception of some species of Śaka Sada (Kani), ¹⁷³ were round in shape.

In addition to the above, coins bearing a bust on the obverse and a star, crescent, wavy line, caitya and Ujjain symbol on the reverse, may have been minted in the ~~Gour~~ area during the rule of the Sātavāhanas. A clay mould of the reverse type bearing the Brāhmī inscription Iruhaṇasa... putasa hiru Pulumaviṣa has been discovered during an excavation at Nagarjunakonda. ¹⁷⁴ The inscription apparently refers to the

171. CCADWK.p.LXXIV-XXIII; IHQ.vol.XXXIV (1958)pp.53-45. For stray finds of Sātavāhana coins in our region see IA.,AR (1956-57)p.38; M.Rama Rao, Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum; pp. 58-53.

172. CCADWK., p.lxxii

173. Ibid.p.46

174. The mould was examined by us at the Nagarjunakonda site Museum (technical section). A photograph of the mould is published in IA.AR., 1956-57 pl.LXI.B., where, however, no reading is given.

Sātavāhana King Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi. Since this is the only known mould of this type of Sātavāhana coins, this discovery probably distinguishes Nagarjunakonda as one of the mints for these coins.¹⁷⁵

This type is known to have been minted only in silver and struck by only a few Sātavāhana kings such as Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi,¹⁷⁶ Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śri Sātakarni¹⁷⁷ and Gautamīputra Yajñasri Sātakarni.¹⁷⁸ As it has already been recognised, Sātavāhana coins of this type were based on the silver coins of the family of Caṣṭana, on a weight standard of 34-36¹⁷⁹ or rather 40-42 grains,¹⁸⁰

175. As we have once remarked above (pp.53,85.) several coin moulds of Gautamīputra Sātakarni found at Nagarjunakonda (*ibid.*, p.38) may indicate that a Sātavāhana mint was situated at Nagarjunakonda. (*ibid.*, p.38)
176. JNSI., vol. XIV (1952) pp.1-4.
177. Ibid., vol. XI (1949) pp.59f.
178. Ibid., vol. XII (1950) pp.126-133. CCADWK, p.45. Rapson attributes this type of Sātavāhana coins only to Aparanta and Saurashtra (*ibid.*, pp. lxxxix and 45). However, a few coins of this type have also been discovered in other regions.
179. CCADWK, p. clxxxiv.
180. We have reached this conclusion after examining several Ksatrapa coins. According to the Sāmantapāsādikā Atthakatha of Buddhaghosa, Nila Kahapana was distinct from rudradāmaka (Kahapana) (H.W. Codrington-Ceylon Coins and Currency (1924) p.177). The Sārattha dīpanī Vinayatikā, a commentary on the Sāmantapāsādikā, states that rudradāmaka was worth three parts of one nila kahapana (*ibid.*, p.179). Nila kahapana may be the same as a silver kahapana which may look bluish on account of the verdigris deposit on it. (JNSI., vol. XIII (1951) p.190). Rudradāmaka is the name of the silver struck by the family of Rudradāman, the grandson of Caṣṭana (JNSI., vol. XIII (1951) p.188). The theoretical weight of silver karsapana is 32 rati, or about 58 grains. Hence a silver having three-fourth of the value of Nila-kahapana should weigh roughly 42 grains.

bearing a bust on the obverse and a caitya, a wavy line, a star and a crescent on the reverse. 181

It seems interesting to record that a number of silver coins of the family of Caṣṭana were found in a hoard recently discovered at Petluriparem in the Guntur district. 182 These coins of a ruling house of Western India, may have been imported into this area of their find by some hoarder or trader, and so their discovery does not prove that they formed a part of the regular local currency. It appears more probable that the Sātavāhanas first began to mint their independent silver coins after annexing a part of the territory held by the group of Caṣṭana, where their prototypes had been in regular circulation. Later the Sātavāhanas may have minted the same type of coins from mints in other parts of their dominions, including the Krishna-Guntur area.

The extreme paucity of known Sātavāhana coins of this type, in contrast to the huge number of Sātavāhana species of copper, lead and potin, may indicate that they were issued only in token numbers and did not form part of a regular currency of the Sātavāhana dominions. 183

181. CCADWK.p.c.lxxxiv.

182. IA.AR (1956-57)p.77. These silver species include those of Viradaman, Vijayasena, Damajasri (III), Rudrasena (II), Visvasimha, Bhatrdaman, Visvasena, Rudrasimha (II) and Yasodaman and a few of Isvaradatta.

183. Only a very few species are known (JNSI.vol. xiv (1952), p. 5.)

So far as the Krishna-Guntur area of the Sātavāhana empire was concerned, official indigenous currency appears to have consisted mainly of lead coins.

The veracity of this inference is further substantiated by the fact that the Ikṣvākus, the successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Krishna-Guntur region, minted only lead coins bearing ^{inter alia} the devices of types nos. 3 (horse: Ujjain symbol) and no. 4 (elephant: Ujjain symbol) of the Sātavāhana lead coins enumerated above. Their coins have been found in a big hoard discovered in the Ongole Taluk, ¹⁸⁴ and also at Nagarjunakonda, ¹⁸⁵ Kabash Nandigam, ¹⁸⁶ etc., These may be classified as follows:

<u>Types</u>	<u>King</u>
1. obv. horse ¹⁸⁷ rev. Ujjain symbol	a) (Siri)Cāta = Cāmtamūla
2. obv. lion rev. plain	a) Raño...Vira = Virapurusa-datta? (can be read on only one specimen)

184. CCAPGM, pp 23f.

185. IA., AR. (1956-57) p.38. Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy 1953-54, p.12; 1957-58, p.11; 1959-60, p.130 etc.

186. CCADWK., pp.49-52. Coins from Kabash Nandigram were published by Hapson under the heading 'Names of Kings not known'. These have now been attributed to the Ikṣvāku ruling family (Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy (1957-58), p.11.)

187. R. Subrahmanyam thinks that there is a post before the horse (CCAPGM, p.23) but we do not notice any. (See ibid, pl. I, no.1)

TypesKings

- | | |
|--|--|
| 3. obv. elephant
rev. Ujjain symbol | a) Siri Ca(ta) = Cāntamūla 188
b) Siri (Vira) or (viri)
purūṣa = Vīrapuruṣadatta
c) Siri Eha = Ehuṣula
Cāntamūla
d) Siri Rudapu = 189
Rudrapuruṣadatta |
| 4. obv. 2 persons mounted on a
horse back to left
rev. Ujjain symbol | Name of king cannot be 190
read. |
| 5. obv. 2 persons probably
mounted on an elephant
rev. Ujjain symbol | a) Siri Vira = Siri 191
Vīrapuruṣadatta |

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188. This is only doubtfully attributed to Vīrapuruṣadatta (CCADWK, pp. lxxiv-lxxv). For similar specimens having lion; Caitya type, see Memoir, no. 71, p. 30 pl. XXXVI, 2-5
189. Some coins from Gudivada with legend Siri Ru(da) (A. Rea, South Indian Buddhist Antiquities, Madras (1894) pp. 21-31) may be attributed to Rudrapuruṣadatta.
190. Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy, (1953-54) p. 12. pl. no. 1, 2 and 4-9. The plates are very indistinct.
191. Ibid., p. 12. no. 10-15. In no. 11 Siri Vira can be read. The device is not clearly noticeable in the published photographs, coins of group number 4 and 5 are apparently ascribed to the Ikṣvakuṣ. (ibid. p. 12)

The lead coins of the Sātavāhana age, so far as it appears from examining extant specimens, were die-struck.¹⁹² Some lead coins of the Ikṣvāku period might have been similarly struck by dies,¹⁹³ while some others were certainly cast.¹⁹⁴ Great variations in the actual weights of the coins of both groups of rulers do not allow us to be absolutely precise about the metrology followed by them.¹⁹⁵

A close scrutiny of a large number of specimens of both groups, however, suggest that there had been several denominations,¹⁹⁶ the lowest of which might have been the same as that of the Sātavāhana silver coins.¹⁹⁷ As noted above, the latter species were struck on the weight standard of the Western Kṣatrapas. This metrology was related to a weight standard followed by the Indo-Greeks and the Scytho-Parthians in India.¹⁹⁸

192. CCADWK, p. xv.

193. See CCAPGM pl. V, no. 83, 84, 85.

194. See ibid., pl. I, no. 6 and 12; pl. X, no. 154, 162 etc. The little strips of metal, seen attached to a number of coins, can be found only with cast coins and not with die-struck pieces.

195. CCADWK, p. clxxxiii. See also EHAC, pp. 111-113

196. Ibid, pp. 10, 20, 24, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 41, 46, 47 etc; CCAPGM, pp. 23f. Rapson ascribed two coins, weighing 15.2 grains and 11.4 grains respectively to Yajñasrī (CCADWK p. 41). But there is no distinct trace of any inscription on either of them. (p. 41)

197. The theoretical weight standard seems to have been c. 40-42 grains. R. Subrahmaniam thinks that the normal weight of Ikṣvāku coins was about 50 grains (CICAPGM, p. 2) but this weight standard seems to be little too high since many of the Ikṣvāku coins weigh as low as c. 35 grains (ibid p. 26)

198. CCADWK, p. clxxxviii; P. Gardner-Catalogue of Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings of India and Bactria, p. lxviii

The fact that the Ikṣvākus coined only lead, though, as indicated above, they came across Roman gold coins, should suggest that in our period lead was not a metal of a very little value. The reference in the Periplus to the import of copper, tin and lead into India,¹⁹⁹ indicates that these so-called base metals were considered valuable in ancient India. Such a hypothesis is substantiated by Pliny's statement that 'India has neither brass nor lead, but exchanges precious stones and pearls for them'.²⁰⁰

Whatever value was attached to lead in the Andhra region, it could not probably have been as important a metal as gold or silver. Ikṣvāku lead coins may have been current in the Ikṣvāku period, simultaneously with the Roman gold and also possibly silver coins referred to as dināri in Ikṣvāku epigraphs (pp.288f.). In fact dināri māṣaka, the name of the indigenous coins mentioned in the Ikṣvāku inscriptions, may denote the Ikṣvāku lead coins. As indicated above, a fixed number of dināri māṣaka were equal in value to a silver or gold dinarius.²⁰¹

199. Periplus. sec.49.

200. NH.,XXXIV,17. For a reference to the existence of a lead mine in the Guntur district, see BRAAH,p.133.n.2. Great amounts of lead have been imported into India even in modern times (G.Watt-Commercial Products of India,London,(1908) pp.707-8)

201. Several Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku coins are found neatly clipped (CCFAPGM, pl.XI,175; XIV,239 etc). These may have been used to denote fractions of the value of the original pieces.

Another reason for minting coins of metal less valuable than silver or gold was probably to facilitate the use of coins in small transactions.²⁰² Such an explanation implies frequency of small commercial transactions among people, and thereby indicates a brisk trade in the Andhra region.²⁰³

202. It is interesting to note that Longhurst found in one cell of a monastery at Nagarjunakonda, small lead coins of the usual 'Andhra type' and also lead ore and 'an earthenware die' capable to produce similar coins (Memoir, 54.p.16) This may indicate that at least sometimes monks made coins bearing royal types and legends. Either such a practice was officially recognised or the monks forged coins.

203. For the economic principle which necessitates circulation of coins of small denomination, consult the views of K.Marx discussed by B.M.Masson in Vestnik Drevnei Istorii (1955) part II, pp 45.

A large hoard of punch-marked silver coins (nearly 8000) have recently been found at Amaravati (IA,AR (1953-54) p.39). We do not know whether these coins were unofficially circulated during our period in our region. However, that sometimes such unofficial circulation of silver coins were in vogue, is apparent from the example of the Kusana dominions (SI., p.147 and n.3). In fact, it is not impossible that the term purana-kahapana or 'old kahapana', mentioned in the Alluru inscription of the Satavahana age (EHAC, p.79), denotes this type of coins in distinction to Kahapanas of lesser antiquity. Species of the Satavahanas as well as coins of the Western Ksatrapas were called Kahapanas (SI, pp.188 and 159). Rudradamaka, mentioned in some Buddhist texts is considered to denote silver coins of the group of Rudradaman (I), the grandson of Castana (JUPHS VI (1933) pp.157f; JNSI vol.XIII, 1951, p.189)

Banking System

The facilities for the use of coins in an area experiencing commerce apparently favoured the growth of local banking systems. Of the different conceivable functions of a bank viz., receiving and lending money at interest, taking custody of deposits of property for safety, acting as executor of certain trusts or endowments etc., at least a few may have been discharged by the trade guilds of our area and period.

An inscription of the reign of Iksvāku Ehuvula Caṁtamula informs us that certain persons made a devakula i.e., a temple, and a thala of Lord Naḍagirisarasami²⁰⁴ and created an akhayanivi (aḥṣaya-nivi) or perpetual endowment. It appears from the context of the epigraph in question that out of the endowment money 70 dināris were invested or deposited in the (Ga) dhika seni, i.e. the perfumer's guild, and 10 dināris were invested or deposited in each of the three other guilds including the panīka seni (guild of dealers in leaves) and the puvika seni (confectioners' guild).²⁰⁵ The māsānumāsika vadhi or monthly interest to

204. EI., vol. XXXV, p. 5. D.C. Sircar wrongly read the name as Nodagi (?) sara (ibid. p. 7)

205. Ibid., p. 7. The name of the fourth guild is lost.

be received from these investments or deposits was apparently earmarked for the maintenance of the establishment. The epigraph refers to some persons who were probably responsible for the upkeep (citana^{literally} meaning embellishment) of the building. If these persons failed to fulfil their duties, the necessary work was to be taken over and executed by the nigama headed by a sethi (sethipamukha-nigama)²⁰⁶. The expression nigama should be interpreted here to denote a city council or corporation and not a traders' guild, for which our epigraphs use the word seni (śrenī).

Another Nagarjunakonda inscription records the creation of a permanent endowment (akhayanivi) of the value of divadhama satam or 150 dināri māśakas.²⁰⁷ Apparently the money of this endowment was invested or deposited with the head of a guild (kulika pamukha). It appears from the context that the purpose of the endowment was to provide, apparently out of the interest accruing from the deposit, money for some meritorious act connected with a Buddhist establishment.²⁰⁸

206. EI., vol. XXXV, p. 7. An Amaravati inscription also refers to a sethipa mukha (ZDMG. vol. XXXVII (1883) p. 557, no. 29)

207. Ibid., vol. XXXIV, p. 210.

208. The Aparamahāvīnaseliyas were possibly the sects for which the donation in question was made. (See EI. vol. XXXIV, p. 210)

It may be presumed on the basis of the testimonies of these above epigraphs that during this period people used to deposit endowed money in different trade guilds, whose monthly interest financed their meritorious acts. It is not clear whether the guilds themselves were at any time responsible also for the execution of the latter acts. However, it may be presumed that if they failed on any occasion to perform their duties, the city council saw to the execution of the job concerned. The nigama's relationship with such endowments is perhaps clarified by two records from the western Deccan of the Śaka-Sātavāhana age, which indicate that details of endowments were proclaimed and registered in the nigama-sabhā or the hall of the city corporation.²⁰⁹ It was probably the duty of the city council or corporation to look after the proper execution of trusts and endowments.²¹⁰

209. EI., vol. VII. pp. 82, 88.

210. Sethi or sresthi, the designation of the head of the nigama, mentioned in one of the two Nagarjunakonda inscriptions, primarily means 'best' or 'chief' and secondarily denote 'a distinguished man', 'a person of authority', 'an eminent artisan', 'a head of an association following the same trade or industry', 'president of a guild', a 'banker' etc. (M. Monier Williams, op.cit. p. 1102). The word sethi also occurs in a few Nagarjunakonda and Amaravati inscriptions. (EI., vol. XXXV, p. 7); (ASMGM, pp. 275 and 285)

The senis or guilds,²¹¹ with which endowed amounts were deposited and which had to provide interest, obviously had to invest the endowed money somewhere to achieve financial gains.²¹² Financing trades and industries and industries for monetary profits or interests²¹³ was one of the objects of these senis or guilds of our period who thereby in all probability acted as banks.

E

Land

We do not know whether the śrenīs had anything to be concerned with the akhayanivis (akṣayanivis) or perpetual endowments of lands or fields. A Nagarjunakonda epigraph of the Ikṣvāku age speaks of a donation of five villages as a perpetual endowment, apparently to provide the money for some meritorious acts from the income or revenue of these villages.²¹⁴ A similar endowment for the upkeep of the

- 211. For an account of the guilds in western Deccan during the Sātavāhana period see IA vol.XLVIII (1919), pp.82f. In this connection see also EHAC, pp.110,111 and PIHC (1951) pp.27,32.
- 212. A passage in the Arthaśāstra (Bk.V,ch.II) states that 'corporations lent money to merchants to buy merchandise.' There are instances from other parts of India where guilds invested the endowed money to promote their own interest. (SI.pp 311f)
- 213. In this connection see A.Bose, Social and Rural Economy of Northern India, c.800 B.C.-200 A.D. (1st edition), WVdII, BkII, PKV.
- 214. EI., vol.XXXIV, p.210.

temple of Puṣpabhadrasvāmin is recorded in an inscription of the reign of Ehuṣula Cāntamūla.²¹⁵

Ordinary donations of land are also known from epigraphic sources. The Alluru epigraph of the Sātavāhana period contains a statement regarding the donation of 24 nivatanas of land to the nikāya of the Puvaseḷa.²¹⁶

The Gurzala inscription of the reign of Rulupurusadatta (Rudrapurusadatta) records the gift of a field (kṣetra) to Bhagavat Halāmpurasāmi.²¹⁷

These donations of land to religious establishments certainly suggest that state or government of our zone and period acknowledged private ownership of land.²¹⁸

Nivatana, i.e. Nivartana, mentioned in the Alluru inscription seems to have indicated a plot of land, measured according to certain standards. The same term also occurs in Sātavāhana inscriptions from western Deccan.²¹⁹

It appears from the Arthasāstra that a nivartana of land measured 240 x 240 square cubits.²²⁰ However, we do not know whether the size of a nivartana was identical during our period.

215. Ibid., p.22

216. EHAC., p.89

217. EI., vol.XXVI, p.123

218. We must note here that land granted to the temple of Puṣpabhadrasvāmin was a donation given by an Ikṣvāku prince. But the other donors were private individuals.

219. EI., Vol.VIII, pp.71,73 etc.

220. Arthasāstra Bk.II.ch.20; See also SSLD, p.330.

It is not known whether governors such as mahatalavaras had any hereditary proprietary right over lands. It may, however, be safely assumed that though private ownership of land was recognised, it was with the state or the government that the ultimate authority over all territory rested.

Royal grants of the western Deccan of the Sātavāhana period record donations of lands to religious institutions with different types of immunities (parihāras).²²¹ This practice of attaching such immunities to lands granted is not known to have existed in the Krishna-Guntur area during the Sātavāhana-Ikṣvāku age. However, the Mayidavolu inscription of the early Pallava Śivaskandavarman, to be dated shortly after our period,²²² refers to the grant of a village in Āndhāpatha with all immunities (savabahmadeyapariharo)²²³

221. EI., vol. VIII, pp. 65, 71, 73 etc.

222. See Ch. II, p. 1.

223. EI., vol. VI, p. 86f. One of the immunities (parihāras) was freedom from being dug for salt (alonakhādakam). Does it mean that the state had the right over underground properties like mines? Other immunities included the 'freedom from being entered by dist. police or soldiers' (arathasamvināyikam). Can it be suggested that granting of lands with these kind of immunities, deprived the state of her authority over a part of the land within its own jurisdiction?

Available sources do not furnish any indication about the revenue acquired by the Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus, either from taxes on lands or from levying duties on merchandise and industrial outputs. We may, however, guess that taxes were levied on goods imported into emporiums like Kantakassyla and Allosygne.

The above discussion indicating the existence of different commercial products, industries, manufactured goods, professions, traders and merchants, and different other administrative-cum-economic organisations indicate the existence of a complex economic structure in our area.

As noted above, the opulence of some merchants is reflected in their comparatively expensive donations.²²⁴ Even ladies, royal as well as private, made munificent donations towards the Buddhist church.²²⁵ All these, when considered as a whole, suggest the existence of a number of wealthy people in the Krishna-Guntur area during the period in question.

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224. Two inscriptions of the reign of Ehuṅvula Cantamula refer to a Sethivaravadhamāna in the nikāya of Aparamahāvinaseliya and Mahāvinaseliya at Vijayapura (EI., vol. XXXV, p. 9). D.C. Sircar thinks that the phrase sethivaravadhamana means an institution maintained by a sethi (ibid., p. 8). If his interpretation is correct, then this sethi appears to have been rich enough to run the cost of a residence of monks.
225. This may indicate that woman's right to property was recognised. We do not know whether all sons and daughters had equal rights to their paternal property after their father's death.

SocietyATribes and Peoples

A variety of peoples and tribes composed the society of the Krishna Guntur region during the rule of the Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvakus.

As we have remarked above, the Masalia of the Periplus¹ and the Maisolia of Ptolemy² included the Krishna-Guntur^{region}. The Maisoloi³ referred to by Ptolemy was apparently the inhabitants of Maisolia. As also suggested earlier, it is not impossible that the Maisoloi had some connection with, or were identical with the Mosala people cited by the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata together with the Kalingas and Tosalas⁴. (pp. 79-80.).

In the neighbourhood of the Maisoloi lived the Salakenoi, and Benagouron was one of their cities⁵. We have already observed that the Salakenoi of Ptolemy

1. Periplus, see 62.

2. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 15.

3. Ibid., VII, 1, 79.

4. Nāṭyaśāstra (Kavyamala Edition), XVII, 17. See also BRAAH, p. 10.

5. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 79.

has to be equated with the Śāṅkāyavaś⁶ of the Indian epigraphic sources (pp.214-15.) who are known to have ruled in the region around Vengi a little after our period (pp.214-215). Benagouran has also been identified with modern PeddaVengi near Ellore.

Another people, the Andhras, are alluded to by the very name of our area. It is interesting to note that neither the Periplus nor Ptolemy uses the appellation Andhra to denote any part of our region. It has been indicated earlier that the territory in question was annexed to the empire of the Sātavāhanas, who are called Andhras in the Purānas. We have already considered the feasibility of the theory that since none of the Sātavāhana epigraphs describe them as Andhras, they received the latter name in some later sources due to their association with the region called Andhra, which incidentally was one of their last strongholds. However, a better hypothesis as also argued earlier, is that the Sātavāhanas actually formed a family of the Andhra people and the Krishna-Guntur region, was called Andhra after the name of the tribe to which their Sātavāhana rulers belonged.

6. Śāṅghāyana according to the Mahābhārata was a son of Viśvāmitra. S. Sørensen, An Index to the Names in the Mahabharata (1904). p.609.

The earliest source which mentions the Andhras is the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. It describes them as the cursed descendants of Viśvāmitra, living on the outskirts of the Aryan territory along with the Puṇḍras Śābaras, Pulindas, and the Mutibas.⁷

There are many incidental references to the Andhras in the Epics, a few of which suggests their southern habitat.⁸ Aśoka in his XIIIth R.E. included the Andhra people within his rājavisaya, but did not indicate their habitat.⁹ The Naturalis Historia of Pliny furnished the information of the existence of the powerful tribe of the Andarae, who were apparently indicated as living in the neighbourhood of the Kalingae, Modagalingae, Modubae (Mutibas) (italic ours) and Uberae (Sabara?) (italics ours).¹⁰ As indicated above the Andarae of Pliny were possibly the Sātavāhanas. (pp 21-22)

Manu apparently classifies the Andhras with the Caṇḍālas when he states that they and the

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7. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII, 18,.....tan anu vyājaharāntān vaḥ prajā bhakṣisteti ta etendhrāḥ Puṇḍrāḥ Śābarāḥ Pulinda Mutiba ityudyantya bahavo bhavānti Vaiśvamitra dasyunam bhuvisthāḥ.
8. Mahābhārata, II, 1175; III 12839; VII, 122; VIII 779; Ramayana, Bk. IV, 41; T.H.Griffiths, The Rāmāyana of Valmiki, Vol. IV, p. 423).
9. CII, vol. I, p. 68. See above p.
10. NH., VI, 23.

Medas must live outside the village.¹¹ In another passage of Manu the Andhras the Medas and the Cuncus and the Madgus are described as having the occupation of killing animals.¹² While speaking of mixed castes Manu says that from a Vaideha (by women of kārāvāra and Niṣāda castes) an Andhra and a Meda are born.¹³

The Sāmāntapasādika mentions the Andhras together with the Damilas as non-Aryan and Mlechhas.¹⁴ The Apadāna also speaks of the tribe of the Andhaka.¹⁵ The Purānas describes the Andhras as a southern people.¹⁶

Of the above sources a few seem to hint at a Deccanese or South Indian habitat for the Andhras and the uniform note of contempt¹⁷ for the Andhras in the Brahmanical Sanskrit texts probably indicates that originally

11. Manu-Smṛiti, X, 36.

12. Ibid., X, 48.

13. Ibid., X, 36. See also the Laws of Manu (SBE), vol. XXV, p. 411 notes on verse 36.

14. Sāmāntapasādika (PTS), i, 255 '....milikkhanam nāmo yo koci anariyaka Andha Damilādi...'

15. Apadāna (PTS), ii, 359.

16. Bhāgavat Purāna, IX, 23, 5., Vāyu Purāna, 45, 127 etc.,

17. The idea that Andhra was the name of a low-caste people lingered on for a fairly long time. An epigraph of the reign of the Pala King Devapāladeva mentions the Andhras together with such despised people as the Caṇḍālas. (...Medāndhraka Caṇḍāla).

they did not abide by the Brahmanical rules. We have also seen that some of the above mentioned texts have referred to them as non-Aryans.¹⁸

Of the various ruling families of our region the Sātavāhanas are definitely and the Ikṣvākus are perhaps alluded to in the Pūraṇas as Andhras. We have already suggested an ethnical connection between the Sātavāhanas and the Andhras whereas such relationship between the latter people and the Ikṣvākus cannot be postulated with confidence. The Abhīras came to this region from somewhere outside.

The presence in our region of foreigners like the Śakas is perhaps indicated by the Nāgarjunakonda inscription of a certain Budhi who describes

18. The Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata describes the Andhra people as asita (not white, i.e., dark). Nāṭyaśāstra (Kavyamala edition); XXI, 102. According to T. Watter's interpretation of a passage in the Hsi-yü-chi of Hiüen-tsang, the people of Te-na-ka-che-ka (i.e., Dhānyakataka or modern Amaravati-Dharanikot) were of black complexion and violent disposition and fond of arts. (YCTI., vol. II, p. 214). S. Beal translated the passage in question as 'the complexion of the people of Te-na-ka-ch-ka was yellowish black...and they were fond of learning'. (S. Beal - Buddhist Records of the Western World, p. 217). A Jaina text (Vyavahara Bhasya, 7, 126, a. q. f. J. C. Jain, Life in Ancient India as Depicted in Jaina Canons, Bombay (1947) p. 266), alludes to the cruel disposition of the Andhras.

herself as sister of a Śaka named Moda.¹⁹ It may be repeated here that the ruling dynasty of the Sātavāhanas as well as the Ikṣvākus had matrimonial relation with Saka family of Caṣṭana's descendants.²⁰

An evidence perhaps indirectly suggests the existence of foreign merchants such as Greeks or Romans or Egyptians in the Andhra region. Ptolemy mentions Kantakassyla and Allosygne as emporiums of Maisolia.²¹ As suggested earlier, the term emporium in Ptolemy's Geography has a restricted sense, denoting probably a part beyond the Roman empire, but having connections with Roman traders and sailors. (pp. 281-82). Such an explanation is in agreement with the discovery of a Roman trading station

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19. EI., vol. XX, p. 37. It may be repeated here that the Sātavāhanas and also the Ikṣvākus had matrimonial relations with the Śaka ksatrapas of Western India.
20. Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti, probably connected with the family of Caṣṭana was among those who re-installed the image of Lord Aṣṭabhujaśvamin on the Sedagiri situated in the region of Nagarjunakonda. A few figures in some sculptural reliefs from Nagarjunakonda wearing long coats and trousers have been interpreted as representation of Scythian soldiers. (Memoirs. no. 54 and PL, ~~xc. xc.~~ p. 1; EI., vol. XX, p. 37). We are, however, not absolutely certain whether these sculptures allude to the Sakas or some other persons of non-Indian origin.
21. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 15.

at Arikamedu near modern Pondicherry, identifiable with the Poduke emporium of Ptolemy.²² Hence as remarked earlier, Allosygne and Kantakassyla (modern Ghantasala in the Krishna district) of Maisolia which included the Krishna-Guntur area might have been visited or even at least temporarily inhabited by the Roman traders (p. 283.²³).

The Ceylonese monks probably formed an important and possibly an influential section of the Buddhist community of our region. An epigraph of an upāsikā named Bodhisiri refers to a Sīhala-vihāra²⁴ - evidently a monastery to accommodate Buddhist monks from Ceylon. We may also refer to the gift of a pair of Buddhapāda sculptured in stone, to the vihāra of the Theriya Vibhajjavādins²⁵ who

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22. Ancient India no.2, (1546) pp.1f. Some Karle cave inscription's mention gifts of Yavanas from Dhenukākata (probably somewhere in the Deccan) which may indicate the existence of a settlements of Yavanas in the Deccan. A Yona or Yavana kingdom at least about the close of our period is indicated by the Nagarjunakonda epigraph of Vasusena's reign which mention inter alia the Yonarajas of Sañjayapuri as having been responsible for a pious work in Sedigiri.... (EI., vol. XXXIV. pp. 202-203).
23. Roman traders and sailors stayed there probably during the period that they conducted transaction with the local people and their ships waited for a favourable sea wind to embark on return journeys or for sailing further to South East Asia. see above, p.
24. EI., vol. XX, p. 22f.
25. EI., vol. XXXIII., p. 250.

as will be discussed later were probably Ceylonese monks (pp.248f.) Acāryya Dhammanandin, the author of the Sīhalavattthupparāṇā, is noted to have lived in the Kaṇṭakaselapattana., i.e., Kantakassyla emporium or modern Ghantasala.²⁶

B

Language

The presence of these different elements in the population of the Krishna-Guntur region may indicate the existence of a number of languages or at least of various dialects.

Buddhaghosa who flourished not very long after our period²⁷ mentions an Andhaka language (bhāsa) and apparently distinguishes it from Damili language (bhāsa).²⁸ The same or an earlier form of Andhaka language alluded to by Buddhaghosa may have been the

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26. A.P. Buddhadatta (editor) Sīhalavattthupparāṇā (1959), pp.35,62. See also H. Ellawala, 'Social Institutions in Ceylon from the 5th Century B.C. to the 4th Century A.D.'. Ph.D. Thesis, London University, 1962, pp.10f. The Sīhalavattthupparāṇā also refers to an exodus of a section of Ceylonese monks to Andha (Andhra) during a famine. (ibid., pp.151-152).
27. B.C. Law, Buddhaghosa, (1946), p.24.
28. Sammohavinodāni, Abhidhamma Pitake Vibhangatthakatha (PTS), p.287, See also G.P. Malalasekera, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, vol. I, (1937), p.106.

principal or one of the local languages of the Andhra region.²⁹ Occurrences of certain words in the inscriptions of our territory, which cannot be explained with the help of Sanskrit or Prakrit lexicons, may be guessed to have formed a part of the vocabulary of one or several of its local languages.

Sten Konow connects such unexplained words of the Prakrit inscription of the Ikṣvākus with a dialect having a Dravidian - probably Kanarese - substratum. In favour of his hypothesis, he points out that the suffix anaka which is found in several names of the Nagarjunakonda epigraphs, also occurs in inscriptions from Junnar, Kanheri, Kuda, Karle and Bedsa. He also observes that the words Kanda, Karāmbu, and Calikiremnaka of the Ikṣvāku epigraphs may be related with Kanarese 'child', 'envy' and 'moon' respectively.³⁰

29. We may also note here that the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata states that in the production of a play their (local) language should not be assigned to the Andhras but they should speak the dialect current in Saurasena (Nāṭyaśāstra, (Kavyamāla Edition). XVII, 44-46). Since the origin of the Nāṭyaśāstra may be traced in the opening centuries of the Christian era, the local language of the Andhras alluded to here may have some relevance to our period. In the 7th century A.D. Hiuen-tsang observed that the mode of speech of the people of An-to-lo differed from that of mid-India though their scripts were identical (YCTI., vol. II, p. 209).

30. EI., vol. XX, pp. 25-26.

There are, however, some flaws in Konow's arguments. The localities of western India cited by him as furnishing epigraphic testimonies to the use of anaka suffix, are not in the Kanarese speaking area. Again the changing of sa to ha is not limited to Kanarese.³¹ Moreover, we cannot altogether deny the feasibility of a connection between naka (or anaka) with the wellknown Prakrit suffix naka. Kanda, which Konow wants to explain as the Kanarese word is possibly the Prakrit Kanda < Sanskrit Skanda. Furthermore, if the other two words cited by Konow can be successfully interpreted as Kanarese, we may also point out that karum - of the name Karumbudhina appearing in a Nagarjunakonda inscription, reminds us that it means 'black' in Tamil.³² It is also claimed that names like Ehuvula, Aḍavi Cāntisiri and Damila Kanha betray Tamil influence.³³ It may further be added that the title talavara occurring in the epigraphs of our period may be traced in Dravidian languages like Tamil, Telugu etc.,³⁴

Thus even though Dravidian influences can be detected in several non-Prakrit and non-Sanskrit

31. EHAC, p.128.

32. Tamil Lexicon, vol.II(1928), p.96; EHAC.,p.128.

33. EHAC.,p.128.

34. See p. ; we may note here that personal names such as Kodabudhi and a place name Mahakoduvaka occur in two Nagarjunakonda epigraphs (EI.,vol.XXXV, p.17). In Telugu Koda means 'a tree' (C.P.Brown, Telegu English Dictionary, p.322) and Kodu means 'a rivulet' (ibid., p.326).

words in the Ikṣvāku epigraphs, the sum total of such evidence does not prove that the impact of Kanarese or Tamil was greater than that of Telugu. On the other hand, since the Krishna-Guntur region was definitely the homeland of the Telugu speech from about the early medieval period the Dravidian tongue indicated by the Ikṣvāku epigraphs was perhaps the prototype or even a rudimentary form of Telugu. It is not impossible that what is now considered as influences of Dravidian languages like Tamil and Kanarese, were also characteristic of that of the prototype or an early form of Telugu for all the Dravidian languages probably had a common origin.³⁵

This local dialect or language was, however, not the official language of the Andhra region during our period. As elsewhere in India during this period, that place was taken by Prakrit³⁶ and from a later date by Sanskrit³⁷ also.

While generally related to the Prakrit used in Western Cave inscriptions, the inscriptional

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35. R.Caldwell, A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages (1876). pp. 4f.
 36. EI., vol. XX, pp. 16f; vol. XXI, pp. 61f.
 37. Ibid., XXXIII, p. 149; vol. XXIV, p. 19.

Prakrit of our region display some minor variations.³⁸
 There are, for ~~example~~, more frequent instances of the
 doubling of consonants in epigraphs of our region and
 period³⁹ than in the Western cave inscriptions. Our epigraphs
 sometimes retain older, gerundial forms.⁴⁰

There is an independent evidence
 of the use of Prakrit by the Buddhists of our region. A
 Tibetan tradition reveals that the Pūrvaśailas and the
 Aparasailas (local Buddhist sect of the Mahāsāṅghika school)
 (pp. 371-72) had a Prajñāpāramitā in a Prakrit language.⁴¹

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38. According to R.P. Chanda, the Amaravati epigraphs betray close affinity to the Paisāci Prakrit of the grammarians (EI., vol. XV. p. 260). The Brhatkathā of Gunādhyā is supposed to have been written in Bhutabhāṣā or Paisāci (Dandin, Kāvyaadarśa, I, 38). But since the original text is lost, our knowledge of Paisāci is very inadequate and imperfect. The later authorities which mention Gunādhyā's work acquaint us with a few characteristics: the uses of na, for na, ta for ṭa and la for la, etc.,. These are, however, not sufficient data on the basis of which one can trace the influence of Paisāci in any form of Prakrit. Moreover, though Gunādhyā is traditionally associated with the Sātavahana court, he probably composed his Paisāci work somewhere in the Vindhya. And the Vindhya were far away from our region. (See S. Konow., ZDMG., vol. LXIV, (1910) pp. 104-107.)
39. For instance we can cite the use of Sagottena for Sagotrene, and (EI., vol. XXXIV, p. 22).
40. For instance we may refer to the retaining of the form porinametuna and not replacing it by parinamēija in a few Nagarjunakonda epigraph (EI., vol. XX, p. 18, B2; pp. 20-21, C5 etc.,).
41. MN. Vasilief, Der Buddhismus, p. 268. For other literary works of the Buddhist sects of our region, see p. 393

When during the latter part of our period, Sanskrit came to be used simultaneously with Prakrit, the latter still held its predominant place. This may perhaps account for the Prakrit influence that can so often be traced in the Sanskrit epigraphs of our zone and period.⁴²

These Sanskrit inscriptions are written mostly in verse and the metres used are anuṣṭubh,⁴³ Sragdhara,⁴⁴ Vaṁśaṣṭha,⁴⁵ Pañca cāmara or Tūnaka⁴⁶ and Upajāti.⁴⁷

42. A Sanskrit epigraph of the reign of Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla has the expression ... maḥādevasya Puppabhadrasvāminah ... (EI., vol. XXXIV, p. 19). Occurrence of the form Puppa for Puṣpa and of genitive svāminah instead of dative sāmine are due to Prakrit influence. The same epigraph also contains such Prakrit forms as Vājaveja and Bhagavatto (ibid.). The language of these Sanskrit epigraphs seems to be a form of mixed Sanskrit. These Sanskrit epigraphs are usually full of grammatical errors. The inscriptions which are free from such errors and the language of which closely approach pure Sanskrit include one of the regnal year 11 of Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla (EI., vol. XXXIII, p. 149) and also one undated Ikṣvaku record. (EI., vol. XXXV, p. 18).

43. EI., vol. XXXIII, p. 149.

44. Ibid.,

45. Ibid., vol. XXXV, pp. 17, 18.

46. Ibid.,

47. Ibid., vol. XXXIV, pp. 202-203.

CCustoms.

Different ethnic elements speaking different languages or dialects were probably familiar with distinct social practices. Paucity of material is one of the greatest drawbacks in giving a detailed picture of any particular aspect of the local habits and customs. Nevertheless, a close study of the epigraphic and other source, fragmentary and scarce as they may be, allow us a glimpse into the society of the Andhra region of our period.

It seems to have been patrilineal since succession to the throne passed from father to son. Paternal influence in the family circle is further indicated by the fact that children's name, more often than not, resembled those of the members of his paternal family.⁴⁸ (p.340.). Nevertheless, the use of metronymics at least among a class of people probably betray influence of some maternal relation in the family circle of the Andhra region.⁴⁹

48. The Ikṣvāku Kings and many of their officials and relatives bore metronymics. (EI., vol. XX, pp. 16f).

49. In a Dravidian society the maternal uncle has a special status in his nephew's family. (JRAS., (1907), p. 618). It is interesting to note that the mātula (maternal uncle) finds mention in a record where only direct geneologies on the paternal and the maternal side of the donor are traced. (EI., vol. XXXIV., p. 19) (See also ibid., vol. XX, p. 22f)

Of the different metronymics

known to have been used in our region references may be made to Gotamiputa (Gantamiputa),⁵⁰ Vasithiputa⁵¹ (Vasisthiputra),⁵² Madhariputa (Māthariputra) and⁵³ Haritiputra. It is interesting to note that though⁵⁴ Gautama and Vasistha were names of gotras and also of⁵⁵ ganas (an exogamous unit within gana),⁵⁶ Mātharā and⁵⁷ Haritī denoted ganas only. Mātharā gana belonged to the Kāsyapa gotra, whereas Harita or Haritī was a gana of the⁵⁸ Vasistha gotra and also of the Kevala Angirasa gotra.⁵⁹

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50. EI., vol. VIII, p. 60, 71, 73 etc.,
 51. Ibid., vol. XX, p. 16 C3; vol. XXXV, p. 7, 1B.
 52. Ibid., vol. XX, p. 21E,
 53. Ibid., vol. XXXIV, p. 19.
 54. J. Brough, The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Prayara (1953). pp. 32, 37, 109, 177; Purusottama Pandita, Gotra Pravara Manjari, ch. III and VII.
 55. J. Brough, op. cit., pp. 32 and 37; Purusottama Pandita, op. cit., ch. III and VII.
 56. J. Brough, op. cit., p. 29.
 57. Ibid., p. 158; Purusottama Pandita, op. cit., ch. VI.
 58. Ibid., ch. VII; J. Brough, op. cit., p. 177.
 59. Ibid., pp. 121, 127, 131 and 133; Purusottama Pandita, op. cit., ch. VII.

Among four castes only Bāṃṃana, i.e., Brāhmana is expressly referred to in the available epigraphs of the Krishna Guntur region of our period.⁶⁰

We may, however, presume that the existence of one caste in ancient Indian society also implies the presence of others.⁶¹

Polygamy was practised, as in other regions of India, at least by the kings. Ikṣvāku Virapurasadatta had at least five wives (pp. 166f) and his father, according to the memorial pillar inscription (L) (p. 146) *ep̄veṃ*. There is no evidence of the practice of polygamy by ordinary people. However, on the analogy of the social customs of other ancient Indian societies, we may presume that it was not unknown to the people of the Krishna-Guntur region.

The Ikṣvāku inscriptions furnish the earliest epigraphic evidence of patrilineal cross cousin marriage. King Virapurasadatta married three daughters of his paternal aunts, one of Cāṃṃisiri⁶² and two of Hāmmasiri.⁶³

60. EI., vol. XX, p. 16 c 3.

61. In this connection see also EI., vol. XXXIII, p. 191; ASMGM, p. 294, no. 86. For an account of the four caste system in Western Deccan see IA., vol. XIV (1919), pp. 77-78.

62. EI., vol. XX, p. 21, E.

63. Ibid., p. 26, C. 2; IC 4.

Since this is the only instance of such type of marriage in our area and period,⁶⁴ we cannot confidently consider it as a regular feature of the society. We may, however, cite the statement of such an early authority as the Baudhāyana Dharmasutra that in the South India 'sexual relation could be established with the daughters of mother's brother and those of the father's sister.'⁶⁵ Marriage of this kind means

64. We may note here that there are epigraphic references to such forms of marriage at a much later period. Rāṣṭrakuta king Kṛṣṇa (II) married Lakṣmi, the daughter of his maternal uncle Raṇavīgraha Śaṅkaragana; another Rāṣṭrakuta monarch, Indra (II) married Vijāmbā; the daughter of his mātula Ammaṇādeva (Anāṅgādeva) of the Kalachuri family (SSLD.p.13,n.2.). Rajendra Cola (I married Madhurantakī, the daughter of his maternal uncle Rājendradeva (V.Ramesan, Andhra chronology (1949) p.50). It may be pointed out here that till today the practice of cross cousin marriage is a well-known feature of South Indian as well as Ceylonese society.

65. Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra, I, ii,1-4...mātula - pṛtṛsvasr-duhitṛi gamana. In modern times cross-cousin marriage in both ways is practised in many parts of south India (T.N.Medan, Gopal Savana (editors)., Indian Anthropology (1962), p.335). In modern Andhra patrilateral as well as matrilateral cross cousin marriage is practised among most castes (Iravati Karve, Kinship Organisation in India, (1953), p.231). However, the Reddis and a few others do not favour patrilateral cross cousin marriage (ibid.,p.191,231). A certain passage in the Rgveda may have an allusion to the acquaintance of the early northerners with such a system. (In this connection, see K.L.Daṣṭari, Social Institutions in Ancient India (1947), pp.148, 149). For references to marriages between even co-uterine brothers and sisters in early period see S.C.Sarkar, Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India, (1928) pp.116-135). In Buddhist literature in addition to references^o cousin marriage, there are mentions of marriage between co-uterine brothers and sisters (See B.C.Law, Marriage in Buddhist Literature, IHQ.,vol.II, (1926),pp.563f).

that for the married couple the 'blood' relatives' are also 'affinal relations' and the marriage strengthens bonds already existing between two families.⁶⁶

As in other parts and ages of India political considerations probably influenced the royal families' selection of brides and grooms. At least such an inference can be made from the instances of matrimonial relations of the Sātavāhanas with a member of the house of Caṣṭana (pp.100-101) and of the Ikṣvākus with the latter family as well as with a ruling dynasty of Vanavasi (pp.161,165). As also noted earlier, the Ikṣvāku kings and princesses had marriage relationships with members of the families of their officials.

Not~~ing~~ much is known about the rites performed before and after the birth of the offspring of a marriage. However, as to be suggested later, a fertility ~~or~~ fecundity or mother goddess cult might have existed in the Nagarjunakonda area (pp.423-24). This perhaps presupposes the observance of antenatal as well as postnatal rites.

Some fragmentary sources give us a rough idea of the current funeral practices. Excavations on the northern slope of the Nagarjuna hill along the river bank have exposed the remains of an elaborate structure

66. Iravati Karve, op.cit., pp.222, 228.

67. See also EI., vol. XXXIX, p.137.

consisting of three ~~units~~ structures. The first is a huge pillared hall with seating arrangements. The second lying to its west is also a pillared hall, but it is situated on a higher level than the former. The sculpture of a lady lying in state and some huge pots used for funerary practices have been found here. The third unit comprises a ruined (saiva) temple with a dhvajastambha in front of it containing an inscription of the reign of Ehuvara Cantamula.⁶⁸

The site where the above remains of these structures have been discovered has been recognised as a royal cremation ground.⁶⁹ If this is acceptable, it may be postulated that the dead bodies used to be burnt.⁷⁰ The sculpture of the lady lying in state⁷¹ reveals that after death the two hands of the deceased were laid cross-wise on the

68. IA., AR., (1958-59) p.8. pl.VIA.

69. Ibid., p.8.

70. For information about the burning of bodies of monks see p.

71. Ibid., pl.VI C. The sculpture found in this site delineates a lady leaning against a ladder (ibid., pl.VI B) has been interpreted as evidence for the practise of Sati (ibid., p.18). The lady is, however, shown in a very relaxed attitude, similar to that of some other figures in sculptures at Amaravati (ASMGM., pl.II 6; pl.V.9). Here she has her left foot in a folded pose and she leans against a torana (gateway). See also P.R.Ramachandran Rao, The Art of Nagarjunakonda (1956) pl.XXXV; and ASMGM, pl.II, p. It may be noted here that in some Bhuvaneshvar temples of much later period the alasa kanyas are depicted in a very similar attitude (K.C.Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains at Bhuvaneshwar (1961) fig.69). Hence, there is no real basis for the suggested interpretation of the sculpture in question as depicting a lady who is about to jump into a funeral pyre.

~~diaphragm~~. The presence of a Śaiva temple in the cremation ground probably stresses the religious aspect of funeral rites as practised in the days of the Ikṣvākus.

Inscribed pillars or slabs, occasionally containing sculptures were sometimes erected to commemorate the deceased persons or heroes. They were called Chāyā khambhos or Chaya thambhos (Chāyā stambhas).⁷² The word chāyā literally means a 'reflected image', a 'reflection'.⁷³ In fact some of these Chāyā Khambhas used to bear both sculptured figures as well as inscriptions, thereby justifying their claims to be called image pillars. On a pillar of this kind are perhaps carved different incidents of the life of Cāntamūla.⁷⁴ The Chhayakhambha of the Ikṣvākuḥ queen Vanmabhatā bears her sculpture.⁷⁵ As however, sculpture is not always found on such pillars even if they are defined as Chāyā Khambhos by the inscriptions,⁷⁶ the phrase probably received by sometime in our period a conventional meaning denoting any memorial pillar.

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72. EI., vol. XXI, Pillar, L. pp. 63-64; vol. XXXIV, p. 22 pl. facing p. 21; vol. XXXV, pp. 11, 15, 16 etc.;
 73. M. Monier Williams, op. cit., p. 406.
 74. EI., vol. XXI, pillar L. pp. 63-64.
 75. Ibid., vol. XXXIV p. 22 pl. facing p. 21.
 76. Ibid., vol. XXXV, pp. 14, 15, 16, etc.

DPosition of Women

To evaluate the position of women in early Andhra society we have to take into consideration the evidence of sculptures and inscriptions. Sculptures of our area in this period represent woman as participating in public ceremonies.⁷⁷ They are portrayed as playing the harp,⁷⁸ the flute,⁷⁹ the ālingya-mrdanga⁸⁰ and ankya mrdanga⁸¹ and another instrument which resembles a modern Indian sarod.⁸² This and the carvings of dancing figures of women in a group⁸³ or in solo⁸⁴ perhaps indicate that they enjoyed some amount of freedom of movement and choice.⁸⁵

Epigraphic as well as sculptural testimonies reveal that women held a prominent position among the Buddhist laity and very actively participated in the worship of the Buddha.⁸⁶ 72 out of the 145 epigraphs from Amaravati⁸⁷ and the great majority of those from Nagarjunakonda

77. Indian Sculpture, pl.65,68.

78. Memoir^{no.54}, pl.XLVIII,a.

79. SABM, pl.XXVI.

80. ASMGM, pl.XIII, 8 and 9.

81. SABM, pl.XXVII, ASMGM, pl.XIII,10.

82. SABM, pl.XXVI.

83. ASMGM, pl.XLIII,1a.

84. SABM, pl. XXVI.

85. Vatsāyana observed that Andhra women are by nature gentle and fond of enjoyment. They are vulgar in their tastes and impure in their habits (Vatsāyana, Kamasūtram II, 5,28).

86. Indian Sculpture pl.65, 68 etc.,

87. This information is obtained from EHAC, p.97.

record donations by ladies or by persons in association with ladies.

Women of our region were not content only as donors. Some of them actually entered the Buddhist order and became pavajetikā, bhikkhuni, samanikā, and so forth (pp.395-396).

As already noted, women were employed as officials in the ^{royal} household (pp.244f-). The feminine form of word denoting a persons title or designation was occasionally attached to his wife's name. (pp.247-48). We have also observed that the evidence of great number of gifts made independently by ladies indicates that women held and could own and freely bestow (and so sale) property.

E

Dresses and Ornaments

Early Andhra women, if sculptural evidence can be believed, were generally very scantily clad. Very rarely they appear to have covered their breast. For such an instance we may refer to a Nagarjunakonda relief representing the Ghata-Jātaka. Here Devagabbhā,⁸⁸ and

88. Memoirs, no.54, pl.XLVI. The interpretation of this panel as representing the Ghatajātaka is only tentative (ibid., p.53).

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another woman in a relief from Amaravati have a kind of loose flowing drapery placed over the breast and along the shoulders. The lower garment worn by the women of our period was often a piece of twisted cloth which she used to wrap round her waist and join into a big knot either on the sides⁹⁰ or in the middle.⁹¹ There are many sculptures again which exhibit women in long skirts.⁹²

The Andhra ladies of our period gave such a good deal of attention to their hair-do. Styles ranged from simple kinds to very intricately designed coiffures. The simplest mode of dressing the hair was to part it in the middle and leave it loose at the back.⁹³ Rather a common fashion was to make a single plait flowing down to the waist; this was very often adorned with beads and gems woven together to cover it from top to bottom, and also with

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89. Indian Sculpture, pl.72., Two more reliefs from Amaravati depict respectively a dancing figure (SABM., pl.XXVII) and another lady (ibid., p. XXV) with a scarf over their shoulders. See also Goli, pl.VI.E.
90. Memoirs, no.71, pl.XXVIII; Indian Sculpture, pl.27 and 40.
91. Ibid., p.32; Memoirs, 54, pl.XLI, b.
92. Ibid., pl.68, 78, ASMGM pl.LII.2; E.H.Gravelly & C.Sivarāmamurti, Illustrations of Indian Sculpture, Mostly Southern (1939) pl.X, Memoirs no.54, pl.XLIX, a: SABM, pl.XXVII, XII, etc., A terracotta female figurine from Nagarjunakonda shows a woman with a long skirt (IA., AR., 1955-56, pl.XI B, top piece).
93. Memoirs, no.71, pl.XI A, right hand bottom figure.

other ornaments around it.⁹⁴ However, what on sculpture appears to have been beads and gems might in fact have been flower wreaths.⁹⁵

Coiffures variously designed were worn usually at the nape of the neck⁹⁶. An interesting mode of dressing hair was to arrange it into a big knot and place it on one side of the head.⁹⁷ Like the plaits the coiffures were also adorned with jewellery and/or with flower wreaths.

In contrast to the scanty clothing women of our period wore rather heavy and numerous jewellery. Their forms and designs were of a great variety. Of these a few can be discussed here.

The head ornaments resembling a necklace were placed along the margin of the forehead and the hairline.⁹⁸ This is similar to a modern 'sinthi'. A designed locket closely akin to what is now called lalātika⁹⁹

94. Memoirs, no. 54 pl. XXXIXa, Memoirs, no. 71, pl. XXXa.
 95. ASMGM, pl. XXXVI, 1, 2; Memoirs no. 54 pl. XXXIXb etc.
 95. In South India as opposed to northern India, it is still a common fashion to cover the plait with a flower wreath.
 96. Indian Sculpture, pl. 71. A medallion recovered at Nagarjunakonda depicts a lady who has her hair done into a small knot, hanging below the nape of the neck. (Memoirs no. 54. pl. XVI d left hand side). This is a very common mode of hairdressing in the south at the present day.
 97. IA., AR, 1958-59, pl. VIB. This is the so-called sati sculpture. 2a. Memoirs no. 54, pl. XXXIVb, XXVib, Goli, VI. G.
 98. Memoirs no. 71 pl. XXXVI.
 99. Some terracotta heads examined by us (yet unpublished) appear to contain this jewellery.

was probably used occasionally. Another interesting jewellery appear to have been a hair band of closely woven beads.¹⁰⁰

The earrings were of different patterns including simple rings. An excavation at Nagarjunakonda has unearthed a beautiful pair of gold earrings made from fine gold thread.¹⁰¹ Relief sculptures do not portray women wearing nose tops but a gold medallion recovered from the Nagarjunakonda valley shows a woman with a nose ornament.¹⁰² Necklaces worn by women were generally short.¹⁰³ A gold necklace has been unearthed in the Nagarjunakonda valley but its design do not tally exactly with any of those that appear in relief sculptures.¹⁰⁴

Women wore girdles over their lower garments.¹⁰⁵ One noteworthy feature of women's jewellery were the 'multiple' bangles,¹⁰⁶ armlets¹⁰⁷ and anklets.¹⁰⁸ These were in use along with the simpler bangles¹⁰⁹ and anklets.¹¹⁰

100. Memoirs no. 54, XXXVIb. It may be added in this connection that some comparatively elaborate head-dresses are found noticeable in some panels of sculptures. It is not clear whether they should be regarded as jewellery or as a hair-band consisting of woven beads on cloths. C. Sivaramamurti treats one of this as dhammila (ASMGM., p. 107. pl. viii, 23. pl. LXI. 2.).

101. IA., AR., 1956-57, p. 38, pl. LXB.

102. Memoirs no. 54, pl. XVI d left hand side.

103. SABM, pl. XLIV, XLV, etc; Memoirs no. 71, pl. XXXVII, B, XXXVIII.

104. IA., AR., 1956-57, p. 38, pl. LXB | 105. Memoirs no. 54, pl. XLIX.

106. Ibid., pl. XXXIIIa; XLVIIa, etc.,

107. Memoirs no. 54, pl. XXXIXa; SABM, pl. XII.

108. Indian Sculpture pl. 14, 30, 41, etc., SABM, pl. XXVI; ASMGM, pl. L, 2.

109. Goli, pl. IV, I.

110. Indian Sculpture. pl. 74; SABM, pl. XXXVII.

Men wore unstitched garments of a kind similar to a modern dhoti, which usually reached ankle.¹¹¹ These often had pleats and artistic waistknots.¹¹² Rather a fairly common feature of these garments was that the end of it was used to hang in front in the form of a semi-circle.¹¹³ In many sculptural panels, men are depicted as having an unstitched upper garment (uttariya?) which was placed in various manners from shoulder to waist,¹¹⁴ sometimes diagonally across and at times all over the upper portion of the body.¹¹⁵

Men of our period wore jewellery such as necklaces,¹¹⁶ earrings,¹¹⁷ bangles and armlets.¹¹⁸ Elaborate¹¹⁹ turbans often studded with jewels adorned their forehead.¹²⁰

Most of the garments and ornaments described above were possibly those of the members of the upper strata of the society. This is largely due to the

111. Memoirs no. 54, pl. XXII, a; pl. XXVIIb and c; SABM, pl. XXVI.

112. Memoirs no. 54, pl. XXII, a; XLI a and b.

113. Indian Sculpture, pl. 63.

114. Memoirs no. 71, pl. IX, 5; Indian Sculpture, pl. 73.

115. SABM, pl. XXIX.

116. Memoirs no. 54, pl. XXXVIII a and b, XLIX a; Indian Sculpture pl. 65, etc.,

117. Ibid., pl. 74; SABM, pl. XXIV.

118. Ibid., pl. XLV, Memoirs no. 54, XLVI, b.

119. SABM, pl. XLIV, XLV, etc.,

120. Memoirs no. 54, pl. XIVA, c; XLII a and b; Indian Sculptures, pl. 78, etc.,

fact that sculptures which form our chief relevant source generally delineate court scenes and gatherings apparently of important personages. There are however, a few panels containing men and women in more humble surroundings such as around groups of thatched cottages¹²¹ or in the pastoral ground.¹²² In them we may perhaps recognise the common folk of the society. These scenes portray women in very simple clothing, with far less ornaments than those we have described above and their mode of dressing hair is also much simpler.¹²³ In these panels men appear often in shorter lower garments. They do not seem to have any turban but at times they have a peice of fabric tied round the head. They have very few or no ornaments.¹²⁴

A few sculptures from Nagarjunakonda and Amaravati, may be considered to represent the non-Indian elements in the population of the Krishna-Guntur region. All these sculptured figures due to general similarities between their dresses and physiognomy, may be classified

121. Memoirs no.71, pl.XXXA.

122. SABM, pl.XXVII, right hand corner.

123. Memoirs no.71, pl.XXXA.

124. Ibid., SABM, pl.XXVII, right hand corner. For a discussion, In connection with dresses, see also Journal of Indian History vol.XXX(1952) pp.65,66.

in one group. One of these figures carved on a pillar recovered from the palace site at Nagarjunakonda, shows a bearded man holding a spear. He wears a long tunic or heavy coat and a tight fitting trouser. He has a pointed helmet.¹²⁵ Apparently this sculpture represents a soldier. His mode of dressing is not noticed among the male figures in the vast majority of sculptures discovered in the Krishna-Guntur area. On the other hand, it betrays close similarity with the kind of uniform worn by the Kusāna emperors.¹²⁶

Two sculptures, one from Amaravati¹²⁷ and the other from Nagajunakonda¹²⁸ depicts a man wearing a similar uniform. He is seen in company of a lady. Her dress is also distinctive. She wears a finely pleated long skirt and has a long scarf loosely wrapped round her body.

125. Memoirs no.54, pl.XC, a. This sculpture has been considered by some scholars to represent the Scythians. (ibid., of pl.XC caption, EI., vol.XX, p.37; BHAC., p.136, n.51. etc.,) On one side of this same pillar appears another man. His dress on the whole resembles that of the one we have described above, but he wears a shorter tunic. The sculpture on this side of the pillar is not published.
126. V.A.Smith, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (1906), pl.XI, 8, 9, 10, etc.,
127. SABM, pl.X. Unfortunately the head of the lady in this panel is mutilated. Another sculpture from Amaravati shows a lady in more or less the same dress, but she is in company with a man who wears an unstitched garment similar to a Roman toga. (ASMGM., pl.LIX, 1). Ikṣvāku Queen Vāṃmabhaṭā, who as we have hesitantly suggested, might have been a daughter of the Satrapal family of Ujjain, is delineated in a Chāyā Khambho in a similar dress.
128. It is yet unpublished. We noticed this sculpture during our field work at Nagarjunakonda. The head of the figure of the lady is better preserved here than that in the Amaravati sculpture mentioned above.

Her mode of dressing hair is also distinctive. A coiffure is placed high on the head and part of her hair is arranged in locks which hang down to her shoulders. Women in the sculptures of our region are generally not seen in such pleated skirts, long scarves and with such hair styles. These sculptures probably indicate the costumes used by foreigners residing in our region or at least known to the sculptors in question.¹²⁹

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Amusements and Sports

A huge structural remain at Nagarjunakonda has been interpreted as representing an amphitheatre. This structure, oblong in shape, consists of rows of seating arrangements, rising in terraces on four sides of a low open space. There is an opening on one side of the structure which apparently represents the original entrance and passage into the theatre.¹³⁰ Though the shape of this theatre is not round like a Roman amphitheatre, its general appearance and alleged purpose leave little room

129. For a detailed description of the dresses, ornaments as well as furniture and other articles of use as delineated in the sculptures of our region, see ASMGM., pp. 96f.

130. IA.A.R., 1957-58, pp. 6-7, pl. III, IV, A. In this connection see S. Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, (1962), p. 133. He thinks that a gold medallion of Nagarjunakonda, bearing a profile of a lady and the inscription Sasikalā represents an actress or a dancing girl.

to doubt foreign influence on its architecture.¹³¹

The Andhras contributed a melody to Indian music, which is recognised in the musical literature as Āndhri. Mātāṅgamuni, whose latest possible date may not be placed long after our period¹³² mentions on the authority of an earlier person called Sardūla,¹³³ the characteristics of the Āndhrā melody.¹³⁴

The popularity of wrestling is perhaps alluded to by a clay seal depicting two wrestlers

131. It may not be out of context to quote a few observations from the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata since parts of it may be ascribed to our period. In course of his discussion on dramaturgy he observed that in Andhra the Dāksināṭya pravṛtti (or local usage) is followed (Nāṭyaśāstra (Kavyamala Edition) XIII, 34, 35). This implies the popularity of dramatic art among the Andhra people. Bharata also remarked that the people of the southern countries favoured various kinds of dances, songs and instrumental musics, an abundance of the graceful (kaiśiki) style and clever and graceful gestures. (ibid., p. 216).

132. Brhaddeśi (Trivundrum Sanskrit series no. XCIV), p. Introduction.

133. JAHS, vol. XI (1937), pp. 13-15.

134. Brhaddeśi (Trivundrum Sanskrit Series, no. XCIV), p. 136.

Vibhāvinī tu Paurāṭi vegavantī tu Pañcamā
Andhri Gandhārikā caiva sat
Syur-Mālava pañcama ||

Another passage of the same has (ibid., p. 137):

Madhyamāśa pañcamāntā bhāvanāsthā Dhruveśajā
Andhrī tu viśruta loke vyādhā dustesu (?)
giyate ||

It appears that Andhri was the name of a kind of hunting melody (JAHS, vol. XI, 1937) pp. 13-15).

The Nāṭyaśāstra also mentions Andhra melody (Kavyamala edition, XXVIII, 148).

Risabhah pañcamaśa caiva gāndhārotha Niśādavan/
Caṭvāronīśa bhavantyāndhrayāmapanyasāsta eva tu //

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in action.

Structural remains of a pillared hall assignable to the third century A.D. on stylistic grounds have been discovered on the river bank of Nagarjunakonda.¹³⁶ These pillared halls have been considered to have been places of popular assemblage.¹³⁷ The pillars found here are carved with reliefs showing children playing with birds, bulls, horses, rams, cocks, deers, etc.,¹³⁸

Our discussion on society would perhaps remain incomplete without a reference to the various personal names occurring in the epigraphs of our period. Most of these names are Prakrit and Prakritised Sanskrit names.¹³⁹ Some names which apparently do not seem to have a Sanskrit origin are possibly derived from a local language.¹⁴⁰

Sometimes the suffix anaka or ¹⁴¹nikā and the honorific sri is attached to the name of some members of the society of the Krishna-Guntur area. It appears that in the time of selecting the name of a child,

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135. IA., AR., 1957-58. pl. VI, 1.
 136. IA., AR., 1955-56, p. 24, 25. Ikṣvāku coins have been found here.
 137. Ibid., p. 24.
 138. Ibid.,
 139. Perajatasiri (ibid., vol. XXXV, p. 3) corresponds to Sanskrit Pārijataśri, Anatasiri (ibid.) corresponds to Sanskrit Anantaśri etc.,
 140. Gandi, Elisiri Anikki (ibid., vol. XXXIII, p. 149). Ehuvula Cāntamula (ibid., vol. XXXIV p. 19), Kodabādhī (ibid., vol. XXXV, p. 7 B1).
 141. Bapisirinikā (ibid., vol. XX, p. 19 C2) Buddhamnaka (ibid., p. 22F) etc.,

those of other members of the family were often taken into consideration. Epigraphic sources indicate that often a father's name was given to his son or daughter, with only slight variations.¹⁴² The custom of naming a child after his grandfather is also known to have been followed.¹⁴³ There are further examples of granddaughter's name having close similarity to that of her grandmother.¹⁴⁴ Occasionally two brothers had closely similar names.¹⁴⁵

As in other societies religion exerted abiding influence over nomenclature. As Buddhism seems to have been the predominant religion of the land, (pp. 343f.) it is scarcely surprising that names of Buddhistic affiliation should have been popular in our region. Most of these Buddhistic names were centred round

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142. Candamukha's two sons were called Mahācādamukha and Calacādamukha (*ibid.*,) and Revata's daughter was Revatānikā (*ibid.*,).
143. The preference for such methods of naming is often noticed in other royal families of India. In the Krishna-Guntur region itself also we find Cāntamūla's grandson was called Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla (*ibid.*, p. 23,) and Vīrapurusadatta's (I) grandson was named Vīrapurusadatta (II) (*ibid.*, vol. XXXIV, p. 19). The prevalence of this system amongst the common people is indicated by the evidence of one Saṅghila having been called after his grandfather (*ibid.*, vol. XXXIII, p. 191).
144. Budhavānikā's granddaughter was called Buddhānikā (*ibid.*, vol. XX, p. 22F).
145. Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla had a brother (step-brother?) by the name of Ehi Ehuṅvuladāsannaka (*ibid.*, vol. XXXV, p. 11). Mahācādamukha's brother was Culacādamukha (*ibid.*, vol. XX, p. 22, F).

the Buddha,¹⁴⁶ the Dharma¹⁴⁷ and the Saṅgha.¹⁴⁸ Names associated with Brāhmanic and Purānic deities were also known.¹⁴⁹ Some names again betray the influence of the Nāga cult.¹⁵⁰ A few epigraphs furnish personal names probably indicating some sort of combinations of Nāga and Buddhistic names¹⁵¹ as well as Nāga and Brāhmanic¹⁵² appellations.

Although the above survey does not provide us with all the details, it is sufficient to give us the impression of a fairly orderly society. It appears to have been an amalgam of different ethnic elements and cultures. The abiding influence of religion in the life of the people is perhaps alluded to by the selection of personal names alluding to the Buddhist triratna and also

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146. Budhā (ibid., vol. XX, p. 25; ASMGM., p. 85) Budhamnaka (ibid., vol. XX, p. 22f) and Budhi. (EI., vol. XX, p. 37). Budharakhita (ASMGM., p. 278, 280 etc.) Bodhisamma (EI., vol. XX, p. 22f), Bodhisiri (ibid.,) etc. were names connected with Bodhi.
147. Dhamā (ASMGM., p. 296), Dhamadina (ibid., p. 290), Dharmannika (EI., vol. XXXIII, p. 191), Dhamila (ibid., p. 303) etc.
148. Samghila (EI., vol. XXXIII, p. 191), Samgha (Samgha, ASMGM., p. 278), Samgharakhita (ibid., p. 290) etc.
149. Yajñaśrī (JASB., vol. XVI (1920), p. 328). Rudapurusaḍatta (EI., vol. XXXIV, p. 22), Khadāsiri (Skandasri (ibid., vol. XX, p. 16.C.3) Vinūsiri (ibid., p. 21, C5) Laci (Lakṣmi) (ASMGM., p. 283) etc.
150. Naka (Naga) (EI., vol. XX, p. 22f), Mahānāga (ASMGM., p. 296), Nagatara (EI., vol. XX, p. 25) etc.
151. Nagabodhinika (ibid., vol. XX, p. 22F).
152. Sivanagasiri (ibid., vol. XXXV, p. 4).

to Brahmanical and Naga cults. There is no evidence for the prevalence of any form of religious animosity. On the contrary, donations and patronage generously bestowed on the Buddhist Saṅgha by members and relatives (p.397.) of the family of a Brahmanical King like Caṁtamula (may) may testify to their tolerant attitude.

Religion

The foregoing accounts of the political, administrative, economic and social conditions are to a great extent based on epigraphs, most of which are records of donations to religious persons and institutions. The great majority of such gifts were bestowed on the Buddhist Saṅgha. This and also the remains of monuments associated with Buddhism prima facie indicate the popularity of their faith in our zone and period.

The date for the introduction of Buddhism in the Krishna-Guntur area cannot be fixed with absolute certainty. Some scholars, relying on traditions, have suggested that Buddhism was introduced in our region not very long after the nirvāṇa of the Master¹ and certainly before Asoka.² But these traditions were recorded in much later times and hence are of dubious value, and, perhaps, unauthentic.

1. IHQ, vol. XXXI (1955) pp 68-75

2. BRAAH, p.3.

J. Burgess claimed to have noticed on a few slabs and pilasters of the stupa at Jaggayyapeta (in the Krishna district) some letters closely resembling the forms of the Mauryan alphabet.³ If this claim is correct,^{the} stupa at Jaggayyapeta, now in the Krishna district, may have been in existence by the time Asoka. Such an assumption is also not prima facie impossible, since, as we have discussed above (pp. 58f), our territory was most probably included within the empire of Asoka 2 - a great patron of Buddhism.

A pillar found in the course of an excavation at the south eastern corner of the great stupa at Amaravati may throw further light on the problem concerned. Sculptures and inscriptions on the three sides of this pillar are well preserved.⁴ Inscriptions on two sides refer respectively to the Jetavanārāma of Anāthapīṇḍa (pl. I B) and the cetiya at Barahuta (pl. I C). It appears that they merely serve as captions for the sculptures they accompany. The third side of the pillar in question carries the

3. ASSI, vol. I. pp. 108, 111

4. For instance we may compare the paleographic features of a Barhut inscription referring to Jetavana monastery and to Anāthapīṇḍa (B. M. Barua, Barhut, Bk. III, pl. xlv) with one of the pillar inscriptions in question mentioning the same monastery or person (pl. I B). The forms of letters ja, va, na, ra, a, na, dha, pa, da, ka, of both epigraphs are similar or even almost identical.

inscription 'Dhañakāḍa vada nāma gova' (pl. I D.) i.e., Dhañakāḍa patha nāma grāma, beside the bas relief sculpture of a stūpa on the bank of a river. This definitely suggests, and it is also indicated by the labelled sculpture on two other sides, that the sculpture on the third side of the pillar represents a Buddhist site at a gova (~~gopa~~ grama) called Dhañakāḍa vada or 'the way to (or of) Dhañakāḍa', apparently the same as Dhānyakāḍaka or the modern Amaravati-Dharanikot area.

The paleography of the epigraph is strikingly similar to those of the inscriptions found at Barhut. A comparison of the paleographic features of this epigraph with those of the Asokan edicts also tends to date them not long after the Maurya period.⁵

The reference to the cetiya of Barahuta on one side of the pillar is also significant. Barahuta is obviously the same as modern Barhut, where the ruins of a large Buddhist stūpa have been discovered.

5. The forms of letters ja, ya, ^{and} ta are akin to those ^{of the} same letters in Asokan edicts (CII, vol. I. pl. 1). A few early Amaravati inscriptions have been published in EI. vol. XV, pp. 260f.) R. F. Chanda, the editor of these epigraphs, has observed that the paleography of these epigraphs can be compared with those of the Asokan edicts (ibid pp. 259f)

The monuments of Barhut are datable to the Śunga period (second century B.C. and the first quarter of the first century B.C.)⁶ The reference to the Buddhist cetiya at Barhut by the above Amaravati epigraph and also the sculpture delineating it on the same side of the pillar indicate the importance of Barhut at the time of the erection of the pillar: Again, like the sculptured panels at Barhut, those on the pillars concerned are accompanied by captions. This feature, which is not noticed anywhere else in India, may also allude to the proximity of dates of ^{the} two groups of sculptures. These considerations suggest that the epigraph referring to Dhañakāḍa vada, occurring in one side of the pillar in question, should be dated to the time when the Buddhist establishment at Barahuta flourished, i.e., sometime in the second century B.C. and the first quarter of the first ^{century} B.C. This corroborates the above dating of the pillar suggested on paleographic grounds. If these arguments are acceptable, it may be assumed that there was a Buddhist stūpa and consequently a Buddhist establishment in Dhañakāḍa or the modern Araravati-Dharanikot area well before the periods of the Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus.

6. A. Cunningham, The Stūpa of Bharut, (1879) pp. 14-17; B. M. Barua, Barhut, vol. I. (1934), pp. 20-21; CHI, vol. II pp. 686-687.

The presence of Buddhism in the Krishna-Guntur area in about the first century B.C. is also indicated by the Buddhist relic caskets found in the stūpa at Bhattiprolu. The inscriptions on one of these have been dated by us to some time before the time of Kharavela, who reigned in the last quarter of the first century B.C. (pp.62-63)

B.

Thus Buddhism was practised in the Krishna-Guntur region long before the Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus. However, so far as epigraphic evidence is concerned, Buddhism appears to have become more popular or its popularity became much more expressive during their reigns than in any other preceding age. Several epigraphs at Amaravati,⁷ Nagarjunakonda⁸ and a few at Jaggayyapeta⁹ and Alluru¹⁰ etc., datable to the periods of Sātavāhana and the Ikṣvākus, contain numerous references and allusions to the Buddha and his religion in general and also to some particular Buddhist sects.

7. ASMGM, pp.273f.

8. EL, vol.XX, pp.16f; vol.XXI, pp.60f; vol.XXXV, pp.1f; etc.

9. ASSI, vol.I, p.110.

10. EHAC, p.89.

A Nagarjunakonda inscription of the Ikṣvāku period¹¹ records the installation of 'a pair of feet' (carved out of stone) of the Buddha in the monastery 'of teachers who are followers of Theravāda who ^{are} adhered to Vibhājyavāda doctrines (ācariyānam theriyānam Vibhajavādānam)' and 'who are responsible for causing pasāda (i.e. prasāda) to the peoples of Kasmira, Gamdhara, Yavana, Vanavasa and Tambapāṇḍīpa'. These teachers are further described as mahāvihāravāsins¹²

The credit for causing pasāda to the people of Kāsmira, Gandhara, Cina, Citata, Tosali, Avarāṃta, Vāṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana, Damila, Palura and Tambapāṇḍī-dīpa is attributed in another Nagarjunakonda inscription of Ikṣvāku age to the Theravadin teachers of Tambapāṇḍīna (...ācariyānam ... theriyānam Tambapa(ri)-nakānam). This inscription records inter alia donations

11. EI., vol. XXXIII, p. 248

12. Ibid., p. 250.

in favour of these teachers.¹³

The common names in the two above lists of countries or peoples¹⁴ suggest that the inscriptions in question refer to the same school or sect of teachers. It is also clear from the above inscriptions, particularly from the first that at least some of the teachers of this school lived in the Nagarjunakonda area. Thus members of the Theravāda

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13. Ibid, vol.XX,p.22f. The term theriyānam has been translated by J.Ph.Vogel as 'of the fraternities' (ibid.p.23) and by N.Dutt as 'among the nuns' (IHQ, vol.VII (1931),p.653). While Vogel's translation is inappropriate, Dutt is certainly wrong. The Pali or Prakrit word for 'nun' is theri, Theriya of theriyānam must be related to sanskrit sthavira, i.e. sthavira-vada = theravada. D.L. Barua interprets acariyanam theriyanam Tambapannikānam suparigahe as 'to those who were (known) to the inhabitants of Tambapanna as teachers of the Theravāda traditions.' (Indian Culture, vol.I (1934) p.110.) This seems to be rather a forced translation, as the Pali or Prakrit word for 'known' do not occur in the passage. Moreover, theriyānam and Tambapannakānam must be grammatically related to acariyanam and should be taken as adjective of the latter word.
14. For identifications of these peoples and regions see EI.,vol.XX,pp.35-36.

school of Buddhism inhabited this region in the Ikṣvāku period. It is interesting to note that the teachers of this Theravāda school are described in the second epigraph as belonging to or hailing from Ceylon and in the first as Vibhājjavādin as well as mahāvihāravasin.

Theravāda Buddhism is traditionally known to have been introduced in Tāmapāṇṇi, i.e. Ceylon,¹⁵ during the time of Asoka.¹⁶ The Buddha, as it appears from the Kathāvattuppakarana Atthakathā¹⁷ and the Mahāvamsa¹⁸ was referred to in the meeting of

15. EI., vol. XX, p. 36

16. Mahāvamsa, XIV, 65. The first schism in the Saṅgha resulted in its division into Theravāda (= Sthaviravāda) and Mahāsāṅghika orders. The difference arose from the acceptance of ten controversial rules of discipline by a class of monks (Mahāsāṅghikas) against the protest of another group (the Theravādins). Some texts, however, attribute the cause of the difference to the discussion on the five doctrinal points put forward by one Mahādeva. A study of the ten rules and the five doctrines suggests that there were differences between these two schools on doctrines as well as on disciplinary rules. (In this connection see N. Dutt, Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools (1925) pp. 225f; AIU, pp. 379-381; N. Bapat, 2500 Years of Buddhism, pp. 41-49, 98-99 etc; HBI, pp. 143f and 301f; etc.)

17. KPA (JPTS) p. 6.

18. Mahāvamsa, V, 271.

the council of Pataliputra as a Vibhājjavādin, because he in facing each of the great problems used to adopt a prudent attitude distinguishing (vibhājja) points in favour of and against each doctrine.¹⁹ Hence the Theravādin followers of the Buddha - the Vibhājjavādin²⁰ - could well have been known as Vibhājjavādins.²¹

That the Ceylonese Theravādins were also known by this appellation is alluded to by the Mahāvamsa.²² It also indicates that the Mahāvihāra a monastery in Ceylon, became the repository of the Pali Pitaka and the main centre of the Theravādins.²³ Thus the Theravādins of Ceylon could also have been called as

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19. See also SBPV, p. 268; L. Renou, J. Filliozat, op.cit, vol. II, p. 329. The Buddha was a Vibhājjavādin and not an Ekāmsavādin, his method of teaching being analytic and not synthetic. (Majjhima Nikaya, (P.T.5) vol, II, 197).
20. See also N. Dutt, Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools (1925), pp. 249-250.
21. For other connotation of Vibhājjavādin see p. 355 n. 33.
22. Mahāvamsa, V, 271; see also the KPA (JPTS), I, 1; H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism (1896) pp. 110-111; SBPV, p. 168.
23. Mahāvamsa, XV, 6f; E. W. Adikaram, Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon (1953) pp. 105-106.

dwellers of the Mahāvihāra (Mahāvihāravāsin).²⁴

Pasāda which the Theravādins are said to have caused to different countries and peoples, ~~It~~ may mean 'delight', 'happiness', 'conversion' etc.²⁵ It seems rather unlikely that the Ceylonese Theravādins gladdened (by visiting?) or converted all the peoples and countries included in the above lists. They could, however, have claimed to share the credit of the achievements of their brother Theravādins in India.²⁶

It should also be remembered that the Ceylonese Theravādins in question referred to in

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24. One tradition recorded in some early medieval treatises, indicate that Mahāvihāravāsina was the name of Sthavira or Theravāda sect of Ceylon (HBI, pp.602-603). D.C.Sircar thinks that the expression mahāvihāravāsin attributed to the Theravāda teachers in the Nagarjunakonda epigraph denotes that they lived in the mahāvihāra of Nagarjunakonda (EI., vol. XXXIII, p.249). This view is unacceptable. The inscription in question explicitly refers to a donation made in the vihāra (and not mahāvihāra) of the Theravādin teachers and uses the term mahāvihāravāsin as a sort of adjective. However, the mahāvihāra of Nagarjunakonda was quite distinct from the monastery where the donation in question was made. (Ancient India no.16 (1960)p.69). The former was apparently the monastery attached to the mahācetiya of Nagarjunakonda (EI., vol. XX, p.19, s.5). Hence the Theriyas of this epigraph could not have been resident in the mahāvihāra of Nagarjunakonda.
25. Mahāvamsa, XX, 8; XIII, 2; See also IHQ, vol. VII (1931) pp.651-653.
26. For an account of conversions of most of these peoples and countries, see Mahāvamsa, XII, 1f. A few Amaravati inscriptions describe some donors as Theras (ASMG, pp.290, 297 and 304). These persons apparently belonged to the Theravāda school.

the above two epigraphs resided in the Nagarjunakonda area. One of these epigraphs also refers to a Sihala vihāra,²⁷ obviously a vihāra to accommodate Ceylonese monks, and situated apparently in the same locality.

It is not necessary to believe that the Ceylonese monks introduced Therāvāda²⁸ in the Krishna-Guntur region, since, as indicated above, the latter area came into contact with the religion of the Buddha in a much earlier age. Nevertheless, the presence of the Ceylonese Theravādins in the Krishna-Guntur region probably alludes to close relations between the Buddhist communities of these two territories²⁹.

27. EI, vol.XX, p.22f.

28. For a discussion on the philosophy and beliefs of the Theravādins, see HBI, pp.65f; H.Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism (1896) pp.105f; P.V.Bapat, op.cit.pp.101-104.

29. The word ācariyanam of the second Nagarjunakonda inscription (EI, vol.XX, p.22f) occurs in a compound of which only part can be deciphered as '..tarājācariyanam', The letters preceding ta may however be restored. The inscription concerned primarily records a donation in the convent on the Cula Dhammagiri where the teachers in question lived. Another Nagarjunakonda inscription refers to the teachers of the convent of the same name as acamtarājācariyanam (EI, vol.XXXIV, p.211). This indicates that the missing portion of the compound may be restored as acam. Sircar thinks that the compound acamtarājācariyanam refers to 'the teachers of (or from) Acamtarāja' or rather to 'the teachers of the Acamtarāja community' (ibid, p.212). But the expression acamtarājācariyanam may refer to the 'highest royal teachers' of Ceylon, whose kings also professed the Therāvāda faith. At least, there is no doubt that acamtarājācariyanam alludes to the Theravādins and not to members of any other sect.

Of the different schools associated with the Theravāda,³⁰ only one is mentioned in an epigraph from Nagarjunakonda. It records the erection of a pillar and a monastery for the benefit of the masters of the Mahisāsaka, i.e. Mahīśāsakas. The benefactor was Kodabalasiri, the wife of the maharaja of Vanavāsa and the sister of Ikṣvāku Ehuṅvula Cāṁtamūla.³¹

N. Dutt apparently believes since the donor in question was the queen of Vanavāsa i.e. modern Banabasi, the Mahīśāsaka sect probably had a centre in that locality and had no following in the Nagarjunakonda area.³² However, since the epigraph in question speaks of the erection of a monastery for the Mahīśāsakas apparently in the locality where it is discovered, there seems to be little doubt about the establishment of the sect concerned at Nagarjunakonda during the Ikṣvāku age.

30. For a discussion on the philosophy and beliefs of the Theravādins, See HBI, pp.657f; H.Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, pp.105f; P.V.Bapat, op.cit., pp.101-104.

31. EI., vol.XX, p.24, H.

32. IHQ., vol.VII (1931), p.647.

The Mahiśāsaka³³ was, as reported by some tradition, the name of a division of the Sthaviravādin³⁴ or the Theravādin.³⁵ On the other hand, a few other Buddhist texts consider it as the name of a branch of the school called Vaibādyavādin or Vibhājjavādin.³⁶ The latter, according to a list of Bhavya and Tāranātha was one of the three original divisions of the Buddhist Saṅgha.³⁷ The term

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- 33. Przyluski, and following him A. Bareau connected the name of the Mahiśāsaka sect with that of Mahiṣa-maṇḍala, identifiable with the region of Mahrsmati or modern Māheśvara on the Narmada (Boddica Memoirs, vol. II, pp. 322-325; SBPV, p. 181). The name Mahisamandala may, however, be connected also with Mysore (L. Renou, J. Filliozat, op.cit., p. 557). For a summary of different curious explanations of the meaning of the name Mahiśāsaka given by different earlier sources see SBPV, p. 181.
 - 34. Bstan-hgyur, f. 164. Tāranātha, pp. 270-271; List furnished by the Mañjuśrīparipṛcchā q.f. HBI, p. 590.
 - 35. Dipavaṃsa, V, 47; Mahavaṃsa, V, 6, 7.
 - 36. Bstan-hgyur, f. 164. Rockhill, op.cit., p. 186; Tāranātha, op.cit., p. 271.
 - 37. Ibid. However, the Sammatiya tradition considered the Vibhajjavadins as forming a branch of the Sarvāstivādin whose origin was ultimately traced to the Sthaviravādins. (Rockhill, op.cit., p. 186, Taranatha, op.cit., pp. 271-272.) See also HBI, pp. 591-592.

Vibhajjavādar should not be taken in these contexts as a synonym for Theravāda, though majority of the Buddhist traditions associate this Vibhajjavāda branch with the Theravāda school.³⁸ This Vibhajjavāda branch probably rose sometime after the original equation of the term vibhajjavāda with theravāda.³⁹

Hence an association of the Mahīśāsakas with the Theravāda school cannot be denied. It should, however, be noted that attributions of contradictory philosophical ideas to the Mahīśāsakas in Buddhist sources⁴⁰ have led scholars to postulate the existence of two different groups bearing the same name.⁴¹

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38. Bstan-hgyur, vol.XC; f.164; Rockhill, op.cit. p.182; Tārānātha, pp.271-272. According to a list of Bhavya there was a Vibhajjavādin school as distinct from the Theravāda and the Mahāsaṅghika orders. (Bstan-hgyur, vol.XC, f.164; Rockhill, op.cit. p.182; see also HBE, pp.590-593). The Vibhajjavādins, as opposed to the Sarvāstivādins, did not assume the existence of all past (atita) Karmans. We may also add here that Bareau has suggested that the term Vibhajjavādin as it appears in the Vibhāsa of the Sarvāstivādins, denotes all non-Sarvāstivādin-Vaibhāsikas in general and a sect in particular. (SPBV, pp.167-168)
39. L.Renou, J.Filliozat, op.cit., vol.II, p.561.
40. Vasumitra, III, IX A and B; Asia Major, vol.II, pp.58f and 62f. SBPV, pp.167f.
41. SBPV, pp.167f; P.V.Bapat (editor) op.cit. p.164.

While the first group did not believe in the past and the future and admitted the existence of present and asamskāras the second group postulated inter alia the existence of past, future and intermediate state (antarabhāva).⁴²

We do not know to which of these two groups of the Mahīśāsakas belonged the beneficiaries of the donations made by Kodabalasiri. No other branch of Buddhist thoughts belonging to the Theravada school is cited in the epigraphs of our region. On the other hand, the same class of evidence contains references to quite a few branches of the Mahāsaṅghika school.

It appears from three Nagarjunakonda epigraphs, found in three redactions, - that Bhatidevā a wife of the Ikṣvāku king Viṣṇu-śadatta and mother of the reigning King Ehuṅvula Caṅtamula, erected a vihāra or monastery for the acariyas (ācāryas = masters or teachers) of the Bahusutiyas.⁴³ One of these epigraphs further describes the monastery as the Devi-vihāra,⁴⁴ which was

42. See *above* n.40. For philosophical ideas of the Mahīśāsakas see Asia Major, (OS), vol. II, pp. 58f. SBPV, p. 180.

43. EI. vol. XX. pp. 23-24, G. ; vol. XXI. p. 62, G2, G3.

44. Ibid. vol. XXI, p. 62. G. 3.

probably so named because it was erected and perhaps even maintained by the Ikṣvāku queen.

The Bahusutiyas or the Bahusrūtīyas owed their origin to the Mahāsāṅghika division. However, while Vasumitra,⁴⁵ a list of Bhavya,⁴⁶ the Sariputraparipreṣhā,⁴⁷ etc.,⁴⁸ considered the Bahusutiya (or Bahusrutaka) branch as having been issued directly from the Mahāsāṅghikas, the Dipavanīsa,⁴⁹ Mahāvamsa,⁵⁰ Kathāvatthupparakaraṇa Atthakathā,⁵¹ one list of Bhavya,⁵² etc affiliated it to the Gokulika branch of the Mahāsāṅghikas. The Bahusrūtīya school, which was probably founded by a person versed in all lores (bahusrūta)⁵³

45. Vasumitra II, 2 Asia Major (OS) vol. II, p. 15.

46. Bstan-hgyur, vol. XC, f. 164-172; Rockhill, op. cit. p. 182

47. Taisho Tripitaka, no. 1465, p. 900C; q. f. HBI. p. 588

48. See also HBI. p. 585, 590, 594f.

49. Dipavanīsa, V, 41. It refers to the sect as Bahusuttaka.

50. Mahāvamsa, V, 5. It refers to this sect as Bahulikā.

51. KPA (JPTS) (1888-89) pp. 2-5. It says that Bahulika is another name for Bahusuttika.

52. Bstan-hgyur, vol. XC, f. 166-172; Rockhill, op. cit. p. 186

53. A list of Bhavya says that those who are taught by the master Bahusrūtīya are called Bahusrūtīyas. (Bstan-hgyur, vol. XC, f. 164; Rockhill, op. cit. p. 183) Vasumitra refers to the existence of a Bahusrūtīya group before the great schism of the Saṅgha (Vasumitra, II, 1; Asia Major (OS) vol. II, p. 14). Here the term Bahusrūtīya means only 'learned' and is not connected with the sect of that name.

believed that the Buddhist teachings on transitoriness, suffering, void, non-ego (anātman) and nirvāna (and the quietude) - which lead to final liberation are super-mundane (lokottaraśāsana), while his teachings on other themes are mundane (laukika śāsana). Ar̥hats, according to the Bahuśrutīyas were subject to some kind of temptations and had still some doubts and ignorance and could gain spiritual perception only with the help of others.⁵⁴

An Amaravati inscription dated in the reign of Vasithiputa Sami Siri Pulumāvi (i.e. Vāsisthīputra Svāmī) records a private donation of a dharmacakra (made of stone) or wheel of law at the western gate of the maḥrācetiya for the acceptance of the cetikiya nikāya⁵⁵ or the Caityaka school. Another inscription found also at Amaravati and paleographically assignable to our period refers to a person as Vesaralapula Vāhava Cetika Maku or, Maku, a follower of the Caityaka school and resident at Vesuralapula.⁵⁶ A Cetiya-vādaka or a believer in the Caityaka doctrine is

54. Vasumitra, III, 2; Asia Major(os), vol. II, pp. 35-36. S
55. ASMG. p. 283 also SBPV, pp. 82-83.

56. Ibid. p. 278.

spoken of in another Amaravati epigraph of the same age.⁵⁷

These above cited references seem to indicate the popularity of the Caityakas in the Amaravati region during our period. The cumulative evidence of Vasumitra⁵⁸ and Bhavya⁵⁹ alludes to one Mahādeva,⁶⁰ a monk of the Mahāsāṅghika order, and a dweller on the Caitya hill or on the mountain with a caitya, as the founder of the Caityasaila or the Caityika school. The Dipavamśa, the Mahāvamśa, and the Kathavatthu-ppakarana Atthakathā consider the cetiya sect a

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57. Ibid. p.293. C.Sivaramamurti seems to be right in rejecting Lüders' translation of Cetiyavāda as 'Caitya worshipper'. The form Cetiya vādā occurring in the Kathavatthupparāna Atthakathā was apparently the same as the Caityakas. (KPA (JPTS).p.2). One Siddhātha is called in an Amaravati inscription as Jadikiyanam (i.e. of the Jadikiyas) (ASMGM.p.302). If Jadikiyanam may be amended as Cadikiyanam, we may have here another allusion to the Caityakas.
58. Vasumitra, II, 2; Asia Major, (OS), vol. II, p.15
59. Bstan-hgyur, f. 166; Rockhill, op. cit., p. 189.
60. This Mahādeva is explicitly differentiated by Vasumitra from Mahadeva, who raised the famous 'five points' and which contributed much to the cause of the first dissension in the Buddhist Saṅgha. (See note.1) See also JRAS(1910).pp.415f; IHQ.vol. XXXII (1956) pp.140f; vol. XXXV (1959) pp.45f.

branch of the Gokulas belonging to the Mahāsāṅghika order.⁶¹

It is apparent that the above mentioned terms, Cetiyaka, Cetikiya, Caityasaila, Cetiya, Vetiyavada etc., refer to one and the same school. According to Vasumitra the members of the Caityasaila sect believed in the five points raised by Mahādeva in the second Buddhist council. They also thought that the Badhisattvas were not free from the bad states of existence. They further thought that offerings made to a stūpa did not help one in acquiring great fruits.⁶²

61. Dipavaṇṇisa, V, 42-43; Mahāvāṇisa, V, 5-6: KPA (JPTS) pp. 2-3 and 5f; Bstan-hgyur, vol. CX. f. 163-72; Rockhill. op. cit., p. 186. For references to other sources dealing with the question of the origin of the Caityaka school, see HBI, pp. 583, 588, 590, 593 and 594.

62. Vasumitra, III, 4; Asia Major (OS) vol. II, p. 38. Vasumitra's evidence seems to strike at the root of N. Dutt's theory that the Caityakas received their appellation on account of attaching great importance to the worship of the caitya or stūpa (IHQ, vol. VII (1931), p. 648). For a theory similar to that of Dutts, held by A. C. Banerjee see P. V. Bapat, op. cit. p. 118.

Prakrit forms of the name

Pūrvasāila considered by Buddhist traditions as the name of one of the offshoots of the Mahāsāṅghika school,⁶³ are found in a few inscriptions of our region. The Alluru inscription, assignable to the Sātavāhana period, records gifts made to the Puvaseliya sect (Puvaseliya nigaya).⁶⁴ Another inscription of the same period, found at Dharanikot, refers to the donation of a dharmacakra at the eastern side of the mahāvihāra at Dhañakada, i.e. Dhanyakataka, for the acceptance of the Puvaseliyas.⁶⁵ The Nagarjunakonda inscription of upasika Bodhisiri dated, in the Ikṣvāku age, refers to the ex-davation of a tank and the construction of a covered verandah (alamdā-mandabo) at Puvasela.⁶⁶

The last mentioned record seems to allude to a Buddhist establishment called Puvasela or situated at Puvasela (Purvasaila). The existence of

63. Mahāvamsa, V, 12; Dipavamsa, V, 54; Bstan-hgyur, vol. XC, p. 163 and 172; Rockhill, op. cit. p. 182 and 186; Tch'ou-san-tsang-ki-tsi, Taisho Tripitaka, no. 2145, K 3, p. 20a; HBI, p. 592; Tāranātha p. 277 etc.

64. EHAC, p. 89.

65. EI, vol. XXIV, p. 259.

66. Ibid., vol. XX, p. 22, f.

such an institution even at a later period is proved by a statement of Hiuen-tsang about a monastery called Fu-p'o-shih-lo (i.e. Purvaśilā) or 'East Mountain' on a hill to the east of the capital of the country of T'e-na-ka-che-ka, i.e. Dhanakataka = Dhanyakataka.⁶⁷

The latter was also apparently the name of the capital of the country. This and also the indication that Fu-p'o-shih-lo belonged to the adherents of the Mahāsāṅghika system⁶⁸ leaves no room to doubt that the name of Purvaśilā (meaning East Mountain) was associated with that of the sect called Purvaśailā⁶⁹ (literally meaning the same).

Hiuen-tsang further notices a monastery called A-fa-lo-shih-lo (i.e. Avaraśilā) or 'West Mountain' to the west of the same capital. A list of Bhavya also states that 'those who live on the Purva and Avara mountain are respectively called the Purvaśailā and Avaraśaila.⁷⁰ The latter branch is apparently

67. YCTI, vol. II, p. 214

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Bstan-hgyur, vol. XC, f. 164; Rockhill. op. cit. p. 184

identical with the Aparasāila mentioned by Vasumitra.⁷¹

The special association of these two sects of the Purvaseliyas and Aparaseliyas with the Krishna-Guntur region is indicated by the Kathavatthu-ppakarana Atthakatha, which includes them in the list of Andhaka (belonging to Andha, i.e. Andhra) sects.⁷²

The existence of the Aparasāila sect in our period is suggested by an epigraph from Ghantasala near Maṣsulipatam. This inscription, assignable to the Ikṣvāku age, on paleographic grounds,⁷³ refers to the Aparasela i.e. Aparasāila sect.⁷⁴

Vasumitra stated the original doctrines held in common by the Aparasāila, Uttarāsāila and the Caityaśailas.⁷⁵ We have already referred to the doctrines of the latter.⁷⁶ As Vasumitra and the

71. Vasumitra, II, 2; Asia Major. vol. II, p. 15. The change from pa into va is philologically possible.

72. KPA(JPTS), I, 9.

73. EI. vol. XXVII, p. 2.

74. Ibid. p. 4.

75. Vasumitra, III, 4; Asia Major(GS) vol. II, p. 38.

76. For a summary of the religious beliefs of the Purvasāilas and the Aparasāilas as found in the commentary of the Kathavatthu, see Points of Controversy. pp. xxii - xxiii, and SBVP. pp. 100-103 and 105.

Sāriputrapariprocchā cite Uttaraśaila apparently in place of the name Purvaśaila of Bhavya and other authorities, the two schools in question might have been identical.⁷⁷ A. Bareaux reconciles both the names by suggesting that 'probably the Purvaśaila monastery was to the north-east of Dhānyakataka'.⁷⁸

The school of the Aparaseliyas has been identified by J. Ph. Vogel with that of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas mentioned in quite a few Nagarjunakonda epigraphs. He thinks that Aparaseliya is an abbreviated form of Aparamahāvinaseliya.⁷⁹ This identification is supported by N. Dutt,⁸⁰ A. Bareaux⁸¹ and E. Lamotte.⁸²

Two of these records, dated in the reign of King Virapurusa-datta, refer to the

77. SBPV.p.99; E. J. Thomas, The History of Buddhist Thought. pp.172-173, etc.

78. SBPV, p.99.

79. EI.vol.XX.p.10; see also vol.XXXV, pp.10-11.

80. IHQ.vol.VII.(1930) p.647

81. SBPV.p.105.

82. HBI.pp.581 and 583.

renovation of the mahācetiya (- mahācaitya) for the 'acceptance of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas.⁸³ One of these two further speaks of the erection of a pillar at the mahācetiya by Bapisiririkā, the queen of King Virapurusatatta.⁸⁴ One of the apsidal temple inscriptions at Nagarjunakonda perpetuates the memory of the erection of a stone built hall surrounded by a cloister 'with everything provided' (sava niyutaṃ catusala-parigahitam-sela maṃtavam) at the foot of the mahācetiya (mahācetiya-pādamūle) for the acceptance of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas. The donor was Cāntisiri, a sister of King Cāntamūla and the mother-in-law of Virapurusatatta.⁸⁵

These instances of munificent donations suggest the popularity of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas in our territory and period. But neither these

83. EI.vol.XX, p.17,C1, and p.19,C2.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid.p.21E. A close study of several fragmentary inscriptions, found at a site near the ruined apsidal temple (EI.vol.XXI,p.64), reveal that these also perpetuate the same donation of Cāntisiri (ibid.p.66.M-1-19, especially nos. M2 and M3).

epigraphs nor any literary sources betray any indication suggesting the identity of the Aparaseliyas and the Aparamahāvinaseliyas.⁸⁶ On the other hand, an Amaravati inscription refers to one Sariputta of the Mahāvīnaseliyas⁸⁷ and thereby perhaps alludes to the existence of a sect called Mahāvīnaseliya. The latter name may be found in the expression Aparamahāvīnaseliya meaning 'the other or Western Mahāvīnaseliya'. A connection between the sects of the Aparamahāvīnaseliyas and the Mahāvīnaseliyas is also indicated by a Nagarjunakonda inscription mentioning the mahā-nigāya or 'great assembly of the Aparamahāvīnaseliyas and the Mahāvīnaseliyas'.⁸⁸ These considerations hint at the possibility

86. See in this connection EHAC.pp.144-145.

87. ASSI.vol.I,pl,LX,49.

88. It appears from the contents of the inscription in question that the Aparamahāvīnaseliyas and the Mahāvīnaseliyas lived at a monastery called Setthivara vadhamāna (p. —) and that there Cadasiri a lay worshipper built a sela maḍava or a 'pavilion made of stone' for the acceptance of the ariya-sagha i.e. Arya Saṅgha. The term ariya-sagha seems to denote in this particular case the nikāya of the Aparamahāvīnaseliyas and the Mahāvīnaseliyas. Another inscription records the erection of a sela maḍava(?) and a bhaṣa-sala (= bhāṇḍāra śālā or store room) by Cadasiri at the mahānigāya of the Aparamahāvīnaseliyas and the Mahāvīnaseliyas at the establishment called setthivara-vadhamāna. (EpGr, p.10-11)

of the derivation of the terms Aparamahāvinaseliyas from the Mahāvinaseliya⁸⁹ or of both from a common source.⁹⁰ Mahāvinaseliya may have originally been a topographical name or a corruption of a more intelligible expression.⁹¹

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89. We may draw here attention to an Amaravati inscription referring to a pendapatika as a resident of Mahāvanasela. (ASMGM.p.279). For references in Buddhist literature to a place called Mahāvana, see G.P. Malalasekera. Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, vol.II, p.555 .
90. We may point out here that there is no evidence in support of the theory which identifies the Mahāvinaseliyas with the Uttarasailas (CHI.vol.II, p.368.)
91. A clay seal, found in the Buddhist monastery at Ramatirtham near Vizianagram in the Srikakulam district, bears the inscription Siri-Sivamaka-Vijayirāja Sela-sāghasā (pl. II A) meaning 'of the sela or saila (Buddhist) community of monks of (i.e. patronised by) the victorious King Sivamaka' (ASI.AR. Southern Circle, 1908-9, p.10; 1910-11, p.14 and pl.V, 2). We have already identified this Sivamaka with Sivamaka Sada, probably a Sātavāhana monarch (p 97). Thus in the Sātavāhana period there were Selas or Sailas in the Ramatirtham area in the eastern Deccan. It is not impossible that the Selas or Sailas had connections with one or more of the different saila schools of our region.

The expression (sidha)tanam⁹² inscription i.e. of the Siddhārthas, occurring in an Amaravati, is rightly considered by N.Dutt as referring to the Siddhātthakas.⁹³ The latter are mentioned in the Dipavaṃsa⁹⁴ and Mahāvāṃsa⁹⁵ as an offshoot of the Mahāsaṅghika school and are characterised by Buddha-ghosa as one of the Andhaka sects.⁹⁶ The Siddhātthikas, it appears from the commentary on the Kathāvatthu, believed inter alia in Karmavāda.⁹⁷ In their opinion, merit (of a donor) could be increased through the utilisation (of the gift) by the donees.⁹⁸ According to them, an arhaṭt did not die a premature death.⁹⁹

Attempts have also been made to find in two Amaravati inscriptions an allusion to the Rājagiriya sect¹⁰⁰ considered by the Dipavaṃsa,¹⁰¹ the

92. ASMGM.p.298

93. IHQ.,vol.VII (1931)p.649.

94. Dipavaṃsa.V,54.

95. Mahāvāṃsa.V,12.

96. KPA,I,9.

97. Ibid,XBII,3.

98. Ibid,VII,5.

99. Ibid,XVII,2. All these views were shared by the Rājagirikas.

100. IHQ.,vol.VII (1931)p.649.

101. Dipavaṃsa,V,54. It further mentions a sect called Apararājagirika.

Mahāvamsa¹⁰² and Bhavya¹⁰³ as a branch of the Mahāsāṅghikas and by Buddhaghosa as one of the Andhaka sects.¹⁰⁴ However, one of the two epigraphs refers to a Rājagiri-nivasika¹⁰⁵ or a resident of Rājagiri and the other to a topographical name Rayasela.¹⁰⁶ Hence these expressions do not appear to allude to the Rājagiriya school. Nevertheless, since, Buddhaghosa speaks of the Rājagiriya as one of the Andhaka sects, their presence in the Andhra region in or before the time of Buddhaghosa (5th century A.D.) cannot be doubted. We may also note that according to the Dipavamsa, the sect of the Rajagirikas originated before those of the Siddhāthikas, the Pubbaseliyas, Aparaseliyas and the Apararājagirikas.¹⁰⁷

An Amaravati epigraph mentions a gift of an umbrella at the cediya (caitya) of the aira Utayipabhāhis.¹⁰⁸ It appears from the context that Utayipabhāhi was the name of a Buddhist sect. Burgess

102. Mahāvamsa. V, 12.

103. Bstan-hgyur, f. 164. Rockhill, op.cit. p. 186

104. KPA, (JPTS), I, 9.

105. ASMGM. p. 290.

106. ASST. vol. I, p. 104.

107. Dipavamsa. V. 54.

108. ASMGM. P. 295.

has^{suggested} their identification with the Uttaraśailas. 109

There is, however, no textual reference in support of this.

Of these Buddhist sects, the Puvaseliyas, the Aparaseliyas, the Aparamahāvinaseliyas, the Sidhatas and the Utayipabhahis are not known to have been explicitly mentioned in any epigraphic sources outside the Andhra region. 110 This may imply that they

109. ASSI.vol.I.p.87,n.1.

110. An inscription from Pedda-Vegi in the West Godavari district no doubt refers to the Avaraśailas. (Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy.1927.p.43.no.219). But this locality is situated in the borders of the Krishna and West Godavari districts. Moreover, the inscription also mentions the Avaraśailas as belonging to Kariṭakaseli, i.e. Ghantasala in the Krishna district.

The Mahisāsakas are mentioned in the Kura inscription of Śāhi Toramān (EI,vol.I.p.238). The Bahusrutiṣas are also cited in an inscription from Palatu Dheri (now in West Pakistan) (CII,vol.II.pt.I,p.122). Two Nasik inscriptions refer to the Cetikas (Lüders' List no.1130,1171).

A Nasik inscription records the grant of a village by Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi to the Dhanakata-samanas residing in a cave on the Tiranhu hill (= a hill near Nasik) (EI.vol.VIII,pp.65f.). We do not know which of the sects mentioned in the epigraphic sources of the Krishna-Guntur region is indicated by this Nasik inscription.

originated or were at least very popular in that area. This inference is also supported by the fact that Buddha-ghosha, who flourished in the fifth century A.D., designated the Pubbaseliya, Aparaseliya, Siddhatthika and the Rājagiriya¹¹¹ as Andhaka sects, i.e. sects of the Andha or Andhaka country.¹¹² Hiuen-tsang's evidence - quoted above - that the existence of the Purvasila (East Mountain) and Aparaśilā (West Mountain) monasteries on the mountains respectively on the east and west of the capital of the Dhanyakataka country¹¹³ also indicates that the names of the schools concerned were of local origin.

Vasumitra indicates that the Caityaśaila, the Aparasāila and the Uttaraśaila school came into existence towards the close of the second century after the death of the Buddha.¹¹⁴ The Mahāvamsa¹¹⁵

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111. KPA (JPTS) I, 9; Points of Controversy, p. xxxiv.
Does the Kathavatthu-ppakerana Atthakatha allude to a sect called Andhaka? (KPA (JPTS) I, 9.)
112. In this connection see N. Dutt. IHQ. vol. VII, p. 649; B.C. Law Volume, vol. I. pp. 284-85
113. YCTI, vol. II. p. 214.
114. Vasumitra, II, 2; Asia Major (OS) vol. II, p. 15.
115. Mahāvamsa, V, 11-13.

and the Dipavaṃsa¹¹⁶ also indicates that these sects arose in the second century after the death of the Buddha. One list of Bhāvya explicitly states that after the Mahāsāṅghika school came into being one hundred and forty years after the demise of the Buddha, its different factions including the Purvaśaila, the Aparāśaila and the Caityika sects or subsects 'gradually' evolved out of it.¹¹⁷

These literary testimonies are, however, not supported by the epigraphic sources. The evidence of the latter does not indicate the existence of these sects before our period. The Aparamahāvanaseliyas and the mahāvinaseliyas are not apparently mentioned in any literary source. The same may be observed about the Utayipabhahis. The Kathāvatthupparakaraṇa Atthakatha¹¹⁸ the Mahāvamsa¹¹⁹ and the Dipavaṃsa¹²⁰ refer to the Siddhatthikas and the Rājagiriya. It may be tentatively suggested that of these two at least the Siddhatthikas became prominent for the first time in our period.

116. Dipavamsa.V.53-54.

117. Bstan-hgyur, vol.XC, pf.163-164. Rockhill, op.cit. p.182.

118. KPA (JPTS), I, 9.

119. Mahāvamsa.V, 12.

120. Dipavamsa, IV, 54.

Most of the schools of our zone and period, including those mentioned in the three preceding paragraphs, were, as discussed above, originated from or affiliated to the Mahāsāṅghika order. N. Dutt is inclined to find a reference to the name of the latter order in the expression Ayira-haṅgha (= Arya Saṅgha) occurring in some Nagarjunakonda epigraphs of our period. He observes that in the Chinese titles of the Vinaya texts, the name Mahāsāṅghika is sometimes shortened to Saṅghika. Moreover, the word Haṅghi appearing before the name of a gahapati (or a householder) in an Amaravati inscription should refer to the Mahāsāṅghika order, which was the first 'to give the laity a place in the Buddhist dharma.' N. Dutt further points out that the word ārya may also be a synonym for 'mahā' (great). Thus according to him, Ayira-haṅgha of the epigraphs in question may be equated with Mahāsāṅghika.¹²¹

Some points may, however, be raised against N. Dutt's arguments. Chinese sources sometimes used shortened forms of Indian names,¹²² but that should not necessarily indicate that such a practice was

121. IHQ, vol. VII (1931), pp. 647-648. This view is supported in CHI, vol. II, p. 369.

122. For example we can refer to the use of Fo for denoting the name of the Buddha in the Ho-u-tan-shu (T'oung Pao, S. II, vol. VII, 1907, p. 194)

followed in India as well. Again, the phrase Ayira haṅgha may simply mean 'the best or the venerable or noble sangha and thereby denote, in a Buddhist context, the Buddhist community of monks in general.¹²³ The occurrence of the word Haṅgha before the name of a laity in an Amaravati inscription may betray the influence of the Mahāsāṅghika ideals in the area concerned, but does not prove that the expression Ayira haṅgha denotes the Mahāsāṅghika. It is, however, true, as we have seen above, that most Buddhist sects of the Andhra region of our period evolved out of the Mahāsāṅghika school. In fact, as its different branches were mentioned in the inscriptions concerned, there was no necessity of referring to it explicitly.

C.

As branches of the Mahāsāṅghika school, these sects naturally propagated its chief tenets which they did not contest. One of the fundamental beliefs of the Mahāsāṅghika school was that all Buddhas were supermundane (lokottara).¹²⁴ And one of its branches,

123. D.L.Bartta has argued that in the Theravāda literature the word Ayira Saṅgha also means the Savaka Saṅgha. (Indian Culture, vol.I. (1934)p.108)

124. Vasumitra, III, 1, A; Asia Major (OS) vol. II, p. 18.

the Bahusūtiya, as indicated earlier, advocated the supermundane nature of at least some teachings of the Buddha (p. 359.).

Inscriptions of our region contain allusions to the superhuman qualities, power, nature and appearance ¹²⁵ to the Buddha. And as these epigraphs are records of gifts and donations to the

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125. The Buddha is referred to as dasa bala mahābala, i.e. ~~who~~ of great power is possessed of the ten powers (EI.vol.XX,p.22f). He is also praised as caka lakhana sukha māra sujāta carana, i.e. one whose graceful and well formed feet are marked with the sign of the wheel. (ibid) See also ibid p.16.C3,p.18.B.4,vol.XXXV,p.13 etc.)

In some epigraphs the Buddha receives the epithet aga pagala or agrapudgala (EI.vol.XX^{p.25}; ibid.vol. XXXVI,p.274) or 'the best soul'. The Buddha believed that a being was composed of five skandhas (mass of elements), and there was nothing called soul as distinct from these five skandhas. The Matsiputriyas, who formed a branch of the Mūlasthavira section of the Sthaviravāda school, favoured the conception of an ego in order to explain the previous existence and births of the Buddhas. Instead of using the term ātman they used the term Pudgala. (N.Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism, (1960) pp.229-231). It is interesting to note here that the Buddha who did not believe in the existence of soul is described as the best or the foremost soul.

Buddhist sangha, they generally reflect the beliefs of lay worshippers, donors and donees.

This excessive admiration for and devotion to the Buddha are in keeping with the fact that his images, obviously objects of veneration and worship have been discovered at Amaravati¹²⁶ and in a few of the Buddhist chapels at Nagarjunakonda.¹²⁷ An epigraph of the 24th regnal year of Ehuvala Caritamūla records the erection of a stone image of the Buddha after eulogising him in extravagant terms.¹²⁸

The popularity of the conception of the Buddha as superhuman was in keeping with the popularity of the Jātakas or the stories of his former births.¹²⁹ This is suggested by the delineations of several Jataka tales in the numerous sculptural panels found at Amaravati,¹³⁰ Nagarjunakonda,¹³¹ etc.

126. ASMGM. pl. LXIV, 2.

127. Memoirs no. 71, pl. X, A.

128. EI. vol. XXXV, p. 13.

129. W. Winternitz. A History of Indian Literature, vol. II. p. 131. AIU. pp. 404-405; N. Dutt, Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism (1930) pp. 6f.

130. For the names of the Jātaka stories represented in sculptural panels at Amaravati see ASMGM, pp. 206-239.

131. For the names of the Jataka stories recognised as having been delineated on sculptures at Nagarjunakonda see Memoir 54, pp. 41f. Incidents from the life of the Buddha are also translated into stone at Amaravati. (ASMGM, pp. 164f) and Nagarjunakonda (Memoirs 54, pp. 37, 41; Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, vol. XI. (1961) pp. 7f.

The Bodhisattvas, among whom were apparently also the heroes of the Jataka stories, were probably considered at least by some of the Mahāsāṅghikas as supermundane.¹³² Hence it may be interesting to note that Cāntisiri, sister of Iksvaku Cāntamūla (1) is described by a Nagarjunakonda inscription, found in several versions,¹³³ as bestowing velāmi - gifts or gifts like velama.¹³⁴ Velama was famous in Buddhist legends for his munificence¹³⁵ and was identified in the Anguttara Nikāya with the Buddha in one of his former births,¹³⁶ i.e. with a Bodhisattva. And we may add here that dāna i.e. gift or liberality, the first of the six paramitas which, according to Buddhist traditions, a Bodhisattva is required to possess for attaining the Buddhahood.¹³⁷

132. Vasumitra, III, 1; Asia Major (OS). vol. II, p. 21

133. EI. vol. XX, p. 15.

134. Ibid. p. 16. C3.

135. Fausball, Jataka, vol. I. p. 228; EI. vol. XX, p. 33

136. Anguttara Nikāya (PTS). vol. IV, XX. 5. p. 394; EI. vol. XX. p. 33.

137. AIU. p. 386.

The idea of acquiring great merit through gifts is betrayed by several of our inscriptions. One of the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions records the donations to the Theravādins 'for the endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints and for that of the whole world',¹³⁸ while another refers to donations to the Mahisāsakas 'for the sake or welfare and happiness of all sentient beings'.¹³⁹

Inscriptions, perpetuating gifts in favour of branches of the Mahāsāṅghikas or in favour of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas and others, also indicate the idea of the acquirement of merit by donations. Several of them record donations for the attainment by the donors concerned, of welfare and happiness in both worlds.¹⁴⁰ Some of these also wish for the donors attaining nirvāṇa¹⁴¹ or the wealth of nirvāṇa (nivāṇa saṃpatti).¹⁴² A few inscriptions express ~~also wishes, sometimes,~~ in addition to the above, for the longevity of the reigning king¹⁴³ or donors¹⁴⁴ and/or

138. EL.vol.XX,p.22,F.

139. Ibid,p.24,H.

140. Ibid,p.18,B2; p.19,B5; p.20,C5; p.21,E.

141. Ibid,p.18,B4, p.19,B5; p.20,C5; p.21,E; vol.XXI, p.67,M.11; vol.XXXV,p.9,2A;p.10,2B.etc.

142. Ibid.vol.XX,p.16,C3.

143. Ibid.p.21,no.E;vol.XXXV,p.9,2A; p.10,2 B etc.

144. ASMGM. p.304.no.126.

for welfare and happiness of the donor's relatives¹⁴⁵
or of the whole world.¹⁴⁶

The notion of transferring merits to all beings or in other words the conception of karma as a transferable quality is perfectly illustrated by a Nagarjunakonda inscription. It records the erection of the image of the Buddha by a person for the happiness and welfare of all beings, and then quotes a (śloka) which wishes the attainment of nirvāna by the world (all beings) on account of the merit accumulated by making the religious gift.¹⁴⁷

This belief of the capability of ordinary persons to attain nirvāna seems to have been another important trait of the religious concepts of the Buddhists of our region. In fact, the Puvaseiyas

145. EI.vol.XX,p.21,E; p.22,F; vol.XXXV p.9,2A;p.10, 2B etc.

146. Ibid.vol.XX,p.16.C3,p.24.H.

147. EI.vol.XXXV,p.13. '(Dēya)-dharma^mm = ida(m)ñ =
kr̥tvā yat = puṇyaṁ samupārjjitaṁ(tam)/te(na)
puṇyaṇa(ṇa) loko = yaṁ nir-(vv)ānaṁ = adhigacchatu//
For a similar example of transferring one's merit for the benefit of others see J.Ph.Vogel, Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura (1910), Allahabad, p.50.

believed, as indicated by Buddhaghosa, that amata, meaning nirvāna in the context¹⁴⁸ is an object of thought of a person not yet free from bondage.¹⁴⁹

In the above testimonies of the worship and deification of the Buddha, and also in the allusions to the conception of the Bodhisattva, and the idea of gaining merit by practising pāramitās and also in the wishes of transferring these merits to the benefits of all beings, one may find traces of what we know as Mahāyāna ideals.¹⁵⁰ No doubt, it is impossible to be

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148. KPA, IX, 2; IHQ, vol. VII, (1931), p. 650; N. Dutt, Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism (1930) pp. 164-166.
149. KPA, IX, 2; See also IHQ, vol. VII (1931), p. 250 and E. J. Thomas, op. cit., pp. 119f. For a discussion on the early Buddhist conception on nirvāna see N. Dutt, Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism (1930), pp. 129f.
150. N. Dutt, Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism (1930) p. 34; AIU, p. 387; R. G. Basak, Lectures on Buddha and Buddhism (1961), pp. 51-52; E. L. Suzuki, Mahāyāna Buddhism (2nd edition), pp. 1f. We may refer here to the Chinese translation of Āśvaghosa's Mahāyāna-śraddho-tpada-śāstra, one of the early texts expounding the Mahāyāna system. It records the wish that the merit accrued from composing it may be distributed among all creatures. (T. Suzuki, Āśvaghosa's Discourses on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana (1900), p. 149)

precise about the role of our zone and period in evolving these ideals, as these are also implied by texts and documents pertaining to the other Mahāsāṅghika sects or its branches ¹⁵¹ in other regions, and also by treatises and inscriptions ¹⁵² referring to the Sarvāstivādins. However, we may bear in mind that the Aṣṭasāhasrika-prajñāpāramitā, considered to be the earliest of the texts expounding all basic Mahayana doctrines, ¹⁵³ attributes the origin of the Mahayana teachings to the south (Dakṣiṇāpāṭha) ¹⁵⁴ And ^{we} may further point out that the Krishna-Guntur region must have been one of the earliest strongholds of Buddhism in south India. ¹⁵⁵

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151. N.Dutt, Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism (1930) pp.25-34; E.J.Thomas, op.cit. pp.200f.
152. CIE.vol.II, part I, pp.48, ~~137~~, 145, 155, 176 etc.
153. AIU, p.387.
154. Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal).p.225. According to a Tibetan tradition, there was a Prajñāpāramitā in the Prakrit language belonging to the Purvaśaila and Aparāśailas (M.V.Vassiljev. Der Buddhismus, p.268).
155. In this connection consult also the theory of N.Dutt suggesting that Nagarjunakonda was an early centre of Mahāyāna (IHQ.vol.v (1929) pp.794-796) See also. ibid.vol.XXXII (1956)pp.1634.

We may further point out that Nāgārjuna, the authoritative exponent of the Mahāyānic doctrine of (śūnyata or tathatā) in his Madhyamakārikās was associated with the monastery of Śrīparvata, in south India by a Tibetan tradition.¹⁵⁶ We have already identified Śrīparvata with the hill by the side of the Nagarjunakonda valley as well as the valley itself.¹⁵⁷ Some sources also indicate Nāgārjuna as a contemporary of a Sātavāhana king.¹⁵⁸

156. Tāranātha, p. 73; EI. vol. XX, p. 9.

157. It may be stressed here that the name Nagarjunakonda incorporates the name of Nāgārjuna. Hiuen-tsang noticed that most of the brethren in the capital of the Te-na-ka-che-ka i.e. Dhanyakataka country were adherents of the Mahāsāṅghika system. He also indicated that the śāstra Master P'o-p'i-fu-Ka i.e. Bhāvaviveka of this locality propagated the teaching of Nāgārjuna. Hiuen-tsang's evidence may thus indicate that in the seventh century A.D. Mahāyāna system was known in the Dhanyakataka (i.e. the Amaravati-Dharanikot) area and that the Mahāsāṅghikas of that locality might have had some connection with it.

158. CII. vol. II, pp. 200-201; Suhrillekha (JPTS) 1886, pp. 1-32. It must, however, be added that some modern scholars think that he was probably the Tāntrika Nāgārjuna and not the Mahāyānic philosopher Nāgārjuna. (IHQ vol. VII (1931) pp. 636-639; BSOAS. vol. VI. pp 417-429).

D

Buddhist monks of our region belonging to the Theravāda or the Mahāsāṅghika school, were associated with different monasteries (vihāras). And it may be inferred from the testimonies of the donations by the laity to different Buddhist establishments in the rainy season as well as in other periods of the year, that Buddhist monks permanently resided there and did not take shelter in the vihāras only during the rainy season (for Vassavāsa). Excavations at different places in the Krishna-Guntur regions and especially at Nagarjunakōnda, have unearthed several monastic units.

Epigraphic sources clearly indicate that the vihāra on the Cula Dhanimagiri was inhabited by the Theravādins of Tambapanna or Ceylon.¹⁵⁹ There is also a reference to sihala vihāra evidently a vihara for the Ceylonese monks.¹⁶⁰ One vihāra at Nagarjunakonda was erected for the Mahisāsakas¹⁶¹ and another for the Bahusutīyas.¹⁶² The Mahāvihāra at

159. EI.vol XX,p.22,F; See also Ancient India.no.16 (1960) pp.68-69.

160. EI.vol.XX,p.22,F.

161. Ibid.p.24,H.

162. Ibid.vol.XX.pp.23-24,G;vol.XXI.p.62,G2 and G3.

Nagarjunakonda belonged to the Aparamahavinaseliyas.¹⁶³

As already noted, an Amaravati inscription of the time of Vāsithīputa Pulumāvi records the erection of a 'wheel of law' at the western gate of the mahācetiya for the acceptance of the school (nikā i.e. nikāya) of the Cetikiyas.¹⁶⁴ The Mahācetiya was apparently at Amaravati, which was part of ancient Dhañakāḍa (p. 18.). However, another epigraph, also probably of the Sātavāhana age,¹⁶⁵ speaks of the erection of a 'wheel of law' at the eastern gate in the mahāvihāra of Dhañakāḍa, for the acceptance of the nigāya (i.e. nikāya) of the Puvaseiyas.¹⁶⁶ On the analogy of a few Nagarjunakonda inscriptions' reference to the mahācetiya as a part of the mahāvihāra of that area,¹⁶⁷ the mahācetiya of Amaravati may also be connected with the mahāvihāra of that place. Hence if the inscriptions in question are assignable to one and the same date, the establishment at Amaravati may be considered to have been inhabited

163. Ibid. vol. XX, p. 21, E; p. 17, C 1; p. 19, C 2 etc. One Nagarjunakonda inscription found in two versions indicates that members of the nikāya of the Aparamahavinaseliyas, ^{and the Mahāvihāraseliyas} lived in one monastery (EI, vol. XXV, p. 9).

164. ASMGM, pp. 283-284

165. EI, vol. XXIV, p. 259

166. Ibid.

167. Ibid. vol. XX, p. 19, B. 5.

simultaneously by both the Cetikiyas and the Puvaseliyas in the Sātavāhana age. On the other hand if the epigraphs can be attributed to two different years, the same establishment may have been dominated by two different communities in different periods of the Satavahana age.¹⁶⁸

We have already noted that in Hiuen-tsang's time the Puvaseliyas and the Aparaseliyas had two different monasteries respectively to the east and west of Dhānyakāṭaka.¹⁶⁹ An establishment at Ghantasala or ancient Kantakasela seems to have been connected with the Aparaseliyas in our period.¹⁷⁰ The Sihalavatthupparāna, a work of roughly the second half of the third or early fourth century A.D.¹⁷¹ refers to its author Dhammanandin as a resident of Paṭṭakōṭṭi vihāra at Kantakasalapattana.¹⁷² This indicates the existence in Kantakasela of a vihāra called Paṭṭakōṭṭi. We do not know whether the Aparaseliyas of Kantakasela were in any way related to this vihāra.

168. For a similar example of a Buddhist establishment having been inhabited by different communities in two different periods, see SI, pp. 200-202.

169. YCTI, vol. III, p. 214.

170. EI, vol. XXVII, p. 4.

171. See p. 38 n. 92. for necessary references.

172. N. P. Buddhadatta, (editor), Sihalavatthupparānaṃ, p. 35.

The epigraphic data are sufficient to suggest that members of different Buddhist sects and schools, following different doctrines, generally inhabited different monasteries in various areas or even in the same locality.¹⁷³ The inscriptions refer to the Samanas¹⁷⁴ (recluse or monks)¹⁷⁵ pavajetikas¹⁷⁶ (ascetic or novice monks)¹⁷⁷ bhikkhus¹⁷⁸ (mendicant friars)¹⁷⁹ and

173. One of ^{the} reasons for different Buddhist communities residing in different monasteries may have been their adherence to different sets of disciplinary rules (pātimokkha), the strict observance of which was scrutinised in periodical assemblies or upasatthas (AIU.pp.375-376). A few inscriptions record the dedication of an establishment to monks of all regions or for the 'Universal Sangha' and yet specify one particular sect as the beneficiary. (EI.vol.XX,p.21. E;p.24,H.)
174. ASMGM, p.277; EI, vol.XX.p.16.C 3.
175. T.W. Rhys Davids, op.cit.p.141.
176. EI.vol.XX,p.21E; XXI,p.26; ASMGM.pp.277,289,297,300 etc.
177. T.W. Rhys Davids, op.cit.p.36. The word pavajitika may also be related to pravajja which alludes to the state of a person who has not yet received full ordination (upasampāda). See also Majjhima Nikāya, vol.I.(PTS) p.179.
178. ASMGM.p.276; EI.vol.XX,p.21 E. There are references to dahara bhikhu or young bhikhu (ASMGM.p.297).
179. T.W. Rhys Davids, op.cit.p.128.

a pendapatika¹⁸⁰ (monks who lives on alms thrown on the bowl while begging).¹⁸¹ Religious persons of all these categories had connections with or even resided in different monasteries.¹⁸² These Buddhist establishments were naturally centres of training for members of the sangha and also for training and preaching of their respective faiths.

180. ASMG. pp.279 and 298.

181. This was no. 3 of the Dhutunga ordinances. Quite distinct from the Pātimokkha rules in origin and purport was a set of ascetic rules known as Dhutunga. These rules numbered 12 in the north and 13 in the south. (D.D.Kausambi (editor) Visuddhimagga (1940) ch.II.)

182. Ashes contained in waterpots and covered by inverted food bowls have been found in a few stūpas at Nagarjunakonda. A.H.Longhurst has suggested that these indicate that when a monk (arhats?) died his body was cremated and ashes were put in waterpots, the mouths^{of} which ~~were~~ covered by a food bowl. It has also been surmised that remains of distinguished monks (arhats?) were preserved in monasteries and that when a sufficient number of pots (with ashes) had been collected, a stupa was erected to enshrine them. (Memoirs. no.54. pp.20-21. In this connection see also. ASI,AR, Southern Circle, 1916-17, pp.35-36.

The word antevasika occurring in a few inscriptions of our period, means 'a disciple' or perhaps especially denotes a disciple in a monastery or of a Buddhist teacher.¹⁸³ One Ananda, ~~of~~ navakammika, is referred to in two Nagarjunakonda epigraphs as bhajaṃta (bhadanta)¹⁸⁴ as well as Dīgha Majjhima-Nikāya-dhara and also as antevasika of the ayira-haṃṃha of the acāriyās or teachers who were Dīgha-Majjhima-paṃca matukosaka (desaka)-vācakas.¹⁸⁵

N. Dutt relates the word mātuka to Paṭli mātikā and sanskrit mātrikā, and notes that these terms may denote either the Abhidhamma or the Vinaya Pitaka. He further points out that the Mahāsāṅghikas, who are indicated to have been predominant in the Andhra region had their Vinaya Pitaka divided into five parts. Hence he is more inclined to interpret the expression paṃca-mātuka as referring to the Vinaya Pitaka of the Mahāsāṅghikas.¹⁸⁶ A Bureau considers that the word mātuka (mātrikā) may only indicate the

183. EI.vol.XX,p.17,C1; p.20; 2,ASMGM.p.300 etc.

184. For the use of this word as denoting revered or venerable monks see ASMGM,pp.296,300. etc

185. EI.vol.XX,p.17,C; p.20,C2.

186. IHQ.vol.VII (1931) pp.641-646.

187
 Abhidhamma Pitaka. D.L. Barua has, however, rightly pointed out the term mātuka should not be related to mātikā since mātuka itself is a well known Pali (as well as Prakrit) word.¹⁸⁸ It means 'matrix', 'origin', etc.¹⁸⁹

Hence the passage concerned may be interpreted as denoting the 'preachers and preceptors of the five 'matrices' or 'origins' of Buddhist thoughts (starting with or including) the Dīgha and the Majjhima (Nikāyas).¹⁹⁰ We may point out here that the Sutta Pitaka is divided into five parts including the Dīgha Nikāya and the Majjhima Nikāya.¹⁹¹

The specialisation of the teachers in question in the studies of this Pitaka is also indicated by the description of their disciple as 'well versed in the Dīgha (nikāya) and the Majjhima Nikāya only.

187. SBPV. pp.104-105; See also HBI, p.164.

188. Indian Culture, vol.I.(1934), p.109.

189. T.W.^{Phys} Davids, Pali English Dictionary. p.152.

190. For a slightly different translation see Indian Culture, vol.I.(1934) p.109.

191. H.Kern, op.cit. p.1, n.4.

It appears that in our zone and period one particular teacher or a class of teachers or a disciple specialised in the studies of one particular Piṭaka. This inference is in keeping with the reference to a teacher in an Amaravati inscription as Vinayadhara or 'versed in the Vinaya (Piṭaka)',^{191a} and also with the description of a teacher of one of the Saliya i.e. Seliya or Śaila schools in another Amaravati inscription as mah(ā) vinayadhara or 'great scholar of Vinaya (Piṭaka)'.¹⁹²

These teachers' knowledge of Buddhist theology and teachings is further indicated by reference to the Theras (or Theravadin) acariyas as 'experts in determining the meaning and implication of nine-fold teachings of the Śāstri, i.e. the Buddha (navamga-Sathu-sāsana-atha-vyajana-vinicaya-visārada.)'¹⁹³

191a. ASMGM.p.291.

192. Ibid.p.289.In this connection see also HBI,p.164 and N.Dutt, Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist schools.(1925) pp.207f.

193. EI.vol.XXXIII,p.250,pp.207f. The nine divisions of the Buddhist scripture are sutta (sermons in prose), Geyya (sermons in prose and verse), veyyakarana (explanation or commentary), gāthā (scriptures in stanzas), Udāna (pithy sayings), Itivuttaka (short speeches of the Buddha), Jataka (stories of miracles) and Vedāla (teachings in the form of questions and answers). (Majjhima Nikāya (PTS) vol.I.p.133; EI, vol.XXXIII,p.249.

These monks are also described as '(persons) who are well versed in traditions of different classes of Buddhist recluses' (Ariya vamsa praveni-dhara).¹⁹⁴

The ruins of a structure near the remains of a monastery at Nagarjunakonda have been considered to represent an ancient convocation hall.¹⁹⁵ If this theory is correct (which is however not more than a probable surmise), we may have here a further evidence for the importance of teaching and learning in the monastic life of the Andhra region. Perhaps the same inference can be supported by the fact that a Tibetan tradition records that the Pubbaseliyas and the Aparaseliyas had a prajña-pāramitā in the Prakrit dialect.¹⁹⁶

The literary works of the local sects of our region are indicated by a Sinhalese text the Nikāya Sangraha. It says that

194. EI.vol.XXXIII.p.149. A fragmentary inscription from Nagarjunakonda, describes some acaryas or teachers as 'experts in expounding doctrines of their own philosophy as well as of others philosophy.' (EI.vol.XXXIV,p.211). We have already suggested that these teachers were Theravadins. (see n. 24.).

195. S.Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries in India (1962), p.134.

196. M.V. Vassilief, op.cit.p.268.

the Ratthapālagarjjita, Ālavakagarjjita, Āṅgulimāla Piṭaka and Gūlha Vessantara were works respectively of the Purvasāili, Aparśāili, Rājagirika and the Siddharthikas. The Andhakas, according to the same text, wrote Katnakūṭa and other scientific works. ¹⁹⁷

The word Dhamakadhika

(= Dharmakathika) occurring in two Amaravati inscriptions¹⁹⁸ may denote 'a preacher of doctrines (of Buddhism)'. Another Amaravati inscription describes a great Thera (or Sthaveravādin) as Mahādhammakadhika¹⁹⁹ or great or chief Dhammakathika. No doubt, these inscriptions do not explicitly connect these Dhammakadhikas in question with any monastery. The association of such preachers with monasteries may however be assumed, since the latter institutions were centres for preaching Buddhism.²⁰⁰ This inference perhaps receives support from the fact that an Amaravati inscription refers to a samyutaka bhānaka or a reciter of the

197. Mudaliayar W.F. Gunawardhana (editor), Nikaya Sangrahawa, (1908) p.9. See also in this connection E.W. Adikaram, Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon (1953), pp.98-100.

198. ASMG. pp.274,275.

199. Ibid, p.274. See also EI.vol.XX, p.24.H.

200. In this connection see N.Dutt, Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools. (1925), p.208.

Sāmyukta (Nikāya) as a mahathera,²⁰¹ who must have been a resident of a monastery.

Some members in different monasteries supervised navakamma in those institutions.²⁰² A navakammika was a superintendent building operations like new constructions, renovation works, etc.²⁰³ Our epigraphs mention navakammika,²⁰⁴ maha-navakammika²⁰⁵ and navakammika-padhana.²⁰⁶ There are instances of learned Buddhists performing the jobs of navakammikas.²⁰⁷

201. ASMGM.p.279

202. In this connection see EI,vol.XX,pp.17,C1; p.19, C2; See also ASMGM,p.290.

203. EI.vol.XX,p.30. ^{See also} Cullavagga,VI,5; SBE.vol.XX,p.189f for scope and nature of the function of a navakammika.

204. See note 202.

205. ASMGM.p.278.

206. Ibid,p.275.

207. EI.vol.XX,p.17,C1; p.19,C2.

E

The existence of female members in the monasteries of our region is perhaps indicated by epigraphic references to such terms as pavajitika,²⁰⁸ samanikā,²⁰⁹ and bhikkhuni.²¹⁰ These terms are obviously the feminine forms of pavajitika, samana, and bhikkhu.²¹¹ We have already discussed the implications of these names.

Sometimes bhikkhunis or nuns were highly qualified women. One of the Amaravati inscriptions describes a bhikkhuni as athaloka-dhamma-vitivata²¹² or as one who has gone beyond the eight worldly conditions. As known from the Khuddakapāṭṭa, athalokedhamma or eight worldly conditions in which one may be subjected are believed to be lābha (gain), alābha (loss), yasa (fame), ayasa (dishonour), pasamāsa (praise),

208. ASMGM. p.297, no.100. See also p.289.

209. Ibid. p.293, no.80.

210. Ibid, pp.290, no.67; 292, no.74, p.294, no.96 etc. Names of several ātevasinis or female students occur in a number of Amaravati inscriptions (ibid. pp.294, 296, 297 etc.)

211. One portion of an establishment at Nagarjunakonda reveals the existence of only two, narrow doorways for entrance and exit and a set of private bathrooms. It has been suggested that this privacy arrangement indicates that the portion concerned was a nunnery. (S.Dutt, op.cit. p.134)

212. ASMGM. p.292, no.74.

nida (blame), sukha (happiness), and dukha (suffering)²¹³.

An interesting epigraph from Amaravati refers to one pavajitikā Sagarakhita, her daughter pavajitikā Haṅghā, and the latter daughter Yavā.²¹⁴

This indicates that married women with issues could have joined the Buddhist Saṅgha possibly after renouncing the world.²¹⁵

F

Upāsikas and upasikās i.e. male and female lay worshippers²¹⁶ are mentioned in some inscriptions making gifts and donations to the Buddhist viharas.²¹⁷ In fact, monks and monasteries

213. R.C.Childers, Pali English Dictionary.p.221; JRAS (1869), p.328.

214. ASMGM.p.277, no.31.

215. For a discussion on the part played by women for the spread of Buddhism, see N.Dutt, Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools. (1925) pp.75-77. See also B.C.Law. EI.vol.XXV, pp.31f for an account of Bhikkhunis^{mentioned} in Indian epigraphs.

216. HBI.pp.71-92.

217. EI.vol.XX, p22 F; ASMG M, pp.274, 278, 284, 295, 300 etc. In this connection see also EDA.pp.64f. An inscription from Amaravati records a gift by one Maḷa, a female disciple (aḷevāsini) of an Uvajhayini called Samudiyā who herself was a disciple of a scholar learned in Vinaya (pitaka) (vinayadhara) (ASMG M, p.281, no.70). The term uvajhayini should mean according to strict grammatical rule the wife of a Uvajhaya i.e. Upādhyāya or teacher. The Uvajhayini in question, however, also appears to have been a teacher herself. She was probably a lady teacher who was married to a teacher and did not renounce the world. This and also the fact that she was the student of a vinayadhara should suggest that ordinary female worshippers used to take interest in Buddhist learnings.

depended on the charities of the laity.²¹⁸ We have already referred to different benefactions made by ladies of royal and noble families. These are also indications that religious institutions were sometimes even maintained by inter alia the royal and noble ladies. Cāntisiri, the paternal aunt and mother-in-law of Ikṣvaku Virapurusaḍatta erected a cātu-sela-parigahita sela-maṇḍitava near the mahācetiya at Nagarjunakonda and provided it with 'everything' (sava-~~ni~~niyuta).²¹⁹ Similarly the monastery of the Bahusrutīyas, erected by the same king's wife Bhatideva, was also 'provided with everything' (savajāta-niynto-vihāra).²²⁰ It was also called Devī-vihāra,²²¹ probably because it was founded and maintained by the Ikṣvaku queen (mahadevi).

A fragmentary inscription found at Nagarjunakonda refers to some meritorious acts at

218. One Nagarjunakonda inscription found in two redactions seems to describe an upasaka cadasiri as 'one who has bestowed many religious gifts at prominent cities and prominent townships as well as on the prominent hills in connection with festivals in honour of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.' (EI. vol. XXXV, pp. 19-10. A and B. See also p. 29)

219. Ibid. vol. XX, p. 21 E.

220. Ibid. vol. XXI, p. 62 G. 2 and 3.

221. Ibid. p. 62. G. 3.

Mahāraja-vadhamana in Vijayapura.²²² The expression Mahāraja-vadhamana literally means 'king prosperous or augmenting' and may, on the analogy of the evidence of the above name Devī-vihāra, here, denote here 'a prosperous institution maintained by a king', or 'an institution maintained by a prosperous king.'²²³

Similarly the name Sethivara-vadhamāna, denoting an institution of the nigāya of the Aparamahavinaseliya and the Mahāvīnaseliya,²²⁴ may suggest that it was maintained by a Sethi or the chief of a guild²²⁵ (p.367,n.88). Some inscriptions at Amaravati record donations and gifts to Buddhist establishments by merchants and traders.²²⁶

Most conspicuous of the ordinary donors was one Bodhiseri, an upāsika. Not only

222. Ibid. vol. XXXV, p.19.

223. See also ibid.

224. Ibid. pp.9-10, 2A and 2B. A portion of the institution called sethivara was known as mahādeviparivena or 'private cell of a monk named after mahādevī'. She may have been a queen or a private female responsible for maintenance or rather for the construction of the cell.

225. Ibid. p.18.

226. ASMGM. p.283, no.50; p.294, no.87; p.289, no.108 etc. In this connection see also EI, vol. XXXIV, p.210.

did she erect a cetiyaghara with a cetiya in the cula Dhammagiri and provided it 'with everything' (savani-yutam),²²⁷ but also performed many other religious acts like excavating a tank at Puvaseḷa, building a cetiya-ghara in the Kulaha vihāra,²²⁸ a shrine for the Bodhi tree in the Sihala-vihāra, a maṇḍava near the eastern gate of the mahācetiya at Kāntakasela etc.²²⁹ Ukhasiri-vadhamana, which appears to have been the name of a Buddhist institution at Ghantasala,²³⁰ was probably maintained by a person called Ukhasiri.²³¹ Epigraphic data from Nagarjunakonda, Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta supply us with numerous examples of donations and gifts to the Buddhist Saṅgha by private individuals.²³²

227. EI.vol.XX,p.22.F.

228. During the Ikṣvāku period, there was a family named Kulaha. (EI.vol.XX,p.18,B; vol.XXXV,p.14 6A). It is possible that the Kulaha monastery was named after the Kulaha family, probably for erecting and/or maintaining it.

229. Ibid.vol.XX,p.22.F.

230. Ibid.vol.XXVII,p.3.

231. Ibid.vol.XXXV,n.1.

232. Ibid.p.11,no.3;p.13,no.4;p.19,B1;p.18.no.7A; ASMGM,p.273, etc.

The ultimate motive behind all these munificent acts was, as pointed out above, acquisition of religious merit. And their great number alludes to the popularity of Buddhism in the Krishna-Guntur area in our period.²³³

II

A

The religion of the people of the Andhra region was, however, not confined to Buddhism. There is also evidence for the performance of Vedic rituals.

The Chinnaganjam inscriptions of the reign of Yajñasri Sātakarṇi alludes to a sacrificer.²³⁴ Epigraphs of the Ikṣvāku period reveal that Cāntamūla (1) performed (agnihotra, agniṣṭoma, vajapeya and aśvamadha = sacrifices).²³⁵ Some ruins

233. For a discussion on the conditions of Buddhism in Western Deccan during the Sātavāhana age See IA, vol. XLVII (1919) pp.78-79.

234. JASB, vol. XVI, (1920); p.328. The Nanaghat inscription of the time of the early Sātavahānas records different kinds of Vedic sacrifices performed by them. (ASWI.vol.V, pp.60-61)

235. IA.AR (1956-7), p.37, pl.LV, A, B.

at Nagarjunakonda have been recognised as the remains of a site of an āsvamedha (p.140.) Here excavations have unearthed a tortoise shaped tank, another tank probably for sacrificer's, purificatory (avabhṛta) bath, skelton of a horse killed during the sacrifice and a suci or iron mace by which it is believed to have been killed during the sacrifice.²³⁶ This may be considered as substantiating the epigraphic evidence.

The āsvamedha, or the horse sacrifice,²³⁷ (p.140.), the Vājapeya or the drink of strength,²³⁸ are vedic rites of great ritualistic and religious and some political significance.²³⁹ Agniṣṭoma²⁴⁰ is the simplest form of soma sacrifice. Performance

236. IA.AE (1956-7), p.37.pl.LV,A,B.

237. Āpastambha Śrautasūtra,XX; A.B.Keith, The Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads (1925) vol.II,pp.343-348; P.E.Dumont, L'Āsvamedha (1927) p.1f.

238. Āpastambha Śrautasūtra.XVIII; A.B.Keith, op.cit. pp.339-343.

239. See above. p.140

240. A.B.Keith, op.cit., p.327. Iksvaku epigraphs also claim that Cāntamūla also performed Bahusuvarnaka (EI,vol.XXXIV,p.19) and made large numbers of gifts like giving away crores of gold (pieces), hundred thousands ploughs (ibid.vol.XX,p.16.C3). The figures representing the number of gifts may be conventional see also SI.pp.158,162.

of these sacrifices should imply a great impact of vedic ritualism on the mind of the first Ikṣvāku king. The offering of the agnihotra or Fire-God oblation which was to be done daily,²⁴¹ would further allude to the Ikṣvaku sovereigns' abiding faith in the vedic religion. An inscription also indicates his sister's favourable disposition to Bamhanas or Brāhmanas, the custodians of vedic culture.²⁴²

241. Apastambha Srautasutra, VI; A.B.Keith, op.cit. pp.318-319. P.E.Dumont, L'Agnihotra, (1939) pp.1f.

242. EI.vol.XX,p.16,C3. The popularity of the Vedic religion in or around our region shortly after our period is indicated by several inscriptions. One of the features of the meritorious acts performed by the kings of this age was to make generous gifts to the Brāhmanas (see EI.,vol.VI, pp.86f, 316f; vol.XXV,pp.148-149; vol.XXI,pp.4f; etc.). One of these refers to the daily activities and duties of the Brāhmanas belonging to different gotras and caranas. It says that they were engaged in penance, recitation of sacred texts, offering of oblation to gods, observing vows, and practising religious austerities. They were experts in studies of the Vedas, Vedāngas, Itihāsas, Purānas, Niroga (medical science), chando vicitra (metrical science) and pravacana (exposition of texts). They performed several duties like studying, teaching, offering and conducting sacrifices, performing charities and receive gifts. (EI.vol.XXXV.p.151.)

B

We do not know whether the Ikṣvāku King's faith in the Vedic religion was shared by a great section of his subjects. Our sources, however, are a little more helpful in our attempt to evaluate the influence of the post-Vedic religious thoughts in our region.

It appears from these sources that the Krishna Guntur area also witnessed, with the other parts of India, the growth of religious schools centering on individual gods.

The Chinna Ganjam inscription of the year 27 of Yajñasri Sātakarṇi begins with an invocation to Bhagavata Vasudeva.²⁴³ This name can be traced in that of Bhagavata Krishna Vasudeva, whose cult must have been popular even before the rise of the Sātavāhanas.²⁴⁴

It has been suggested that Krishna, the son of Vasudeva and Devaki was originally

243. JASB.vol.XVI (1920),p.328. For an account of Vedic and Brahmanical sects in western Deccan see D.R. Bhandarkar, Deccan of the Sātavāhana Period, IA vol.XLVII (1919),pp.77-79.

244. R.P.Chanda, Archaeology and Vaisnava tradition (Memoirs No.5 of the Archaeological Survey of India) p.152.

a human being and a member of the Vṛṣṇi tribe.²⁴⁵ The Vāyu Purāna, one of the oldest of the Purānas, indicates that he, his brother Sankarsana, his son Padyumna, and Samba, and his grandson Aniruddha were five heroes of the clan, (i.e. the Vṛṣṇi|clan). It further distinguishes them as 'Gods who were human by nature' (manuṣyaprakṛti).²⁴⁶ The Mora well inscription of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Sodāsa, which speaks of the image of five holy Vṛṣṇiviras or heroes (bhagavatām Vṛṣṇnām pañcavīraṇaṃpratimā) certainly alludes to the prevalence of the practice of worshipping Kṛṣṇa and the four others. They were probably loved, revered, worshipped and deified for their heroic and other qualities.²⁴⁷ In this personal affection, love and devotion one can perceive a very rudimentary form of Bhaktivāda, which found magnificent expression in later Vaisnavism.²⁴⁸

245. The Mahābhārata describes Kṛṣṇa, the son of Vasudeva and Devakī as a scion of the Vṛṣṇi family (Mahābhārata, XII, 348, 6-8). See also Bhāgavadgītā X, 373. The Chhandogya Upanisad refers to Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī as a pupil of Gihora of the Angirasa gotra (III, 17)6; R.G. Bhandarkar, op.cit. p. 11; H.C. Raychaudhuri, Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaisnava Sect, (1920), p. 37.

246. Vāyu Purāna, 91, 1-2; see also CHI, vol. II, p. 385.

247. See J.N. Banerjea, CHI, vol. 11, pp. 384-385.

248. R.G. Bhandarkar, op.cit. pp. 42f.

According to the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, the word Vāsudeva was an object of veneration,²⁴⁹ and Patañjali considered it the name of the worshipful one, i.e. God.²⁵⁰ The Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus, assignable to the second century B.C.,²⁵¹ eulogises Vāsudeva as a devadeva or 'God of gods' and calls himself Bhāgavata.²⁵² It appears that the cult which probably originated from the love and devotion (bhakti)²⁵³ for Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, transformed him into the supreme God. These worshippers were called Bhagavatas or devotees of the Bhāgavat,²⁵⁴ As it appears from the Besnagar inscription, the earliest tenets of the Bhāgavatism, preached the practice of dama, cāga, and apamāda.²⁵⁵ Vasudeva himself the object of worship was conceived of in his fivefold aspects of para

249. Aṣṭādhyāyī, IV, 3, 98.

250. Keilhorn (editor), Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, vol. II, p. 314; R.G. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems. (1913) p. 3.

251. R.P. Chanda, Op.cit. p. 152.

252. ASI, AR 1908-9, p. 126.

253. For a discussion on bhakti, see Hopkins JRAS (1911) p. 727f.

254. H.C. Roychoudhury, op.cit. p. 59.

255. See n. 252 and H.C. Roychoudhury, op.cit. p. 53.

(highest aspect), vyuha (emanatory form), vibhava (his incarnatory form), antaryāmin (his form as the inner controller of the actions of individuals) and arcā (his image).²⁵⁶ It was thought that from Parā-Vāsudeva emanated Vyuha Vāsudeva, and from the latter Sankarṣaṇa, whereas Pradyumna emanated from Sankarṣaṇa and Aniruddha from Pradyumna.²⁵⁷

It is evident from the Taittirīya Aranyaka²⁵⁸ as well as the Great Epic²⁵⁹ that Vāsudeva was identified with Viṣṇu and also with Nārāyaṇa. Viṣṇu was an important solar deity of the Vedic times²⁶⁰ and Nārāyaṇa, according to the Śatapatha Brahmana, pervaded all the world and gained superiority over all beings by performing pancaratra sattrā.²⁶¹ The Taittirīya Aranyaka describes Nārāyaṇa

256. Bhagavadgita, ch. X and XI; CHI.vol.II, pp.385-386

257. Ibid.

258. Taittirīya Aranyaka, X,1, 6.

259. Mahabharata, XII, 345, 13f. See also Hopkins, Epic mythology, p.206; IHQ.vol.VII (1931)p.350.

260. Rgveda, I, 155, 5; i, 22, 20; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (Haug's translation) p.1 m.

261. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XII, 3, 4; XII, 6.

as "the deity eternal, supreme and lord." ²⁶² The Mahābhārata describes Nārāyaṇa as all pervading, all generating eternal purusa or primaeval man. ²⁶³

These identifications presuppose the fusion of the three respective cults. There are different theories regarding the reasons for these identifications. ²⁶⁴ However, there is no doubt, as is evident from such an important text as the Mahābhārata, that the cult of Vāsudeva - Viṣṇu - Nārāyaṇa exerted tremendous influence on the Indian mind. Garuḍa, connected with the Vedic solar deities including Viṣṇu was associated with Vasudeva in the Besnagar inscription noted above. ²⁶⁵ It refers to the erection of a Garudadhvaja (Garuḍa staff) of Vasudeva. The Ghosundi inscription of Sarvatāta of the second century B.C. ²⁶⁵ records the construction of a stone enclosure called Nārāyaṇa-vātakā (i.e. vātika) for the

262. Taittirīya Aranyaka, X, 11, 1.

263. Mahabharata, XII, 350, 14.

264. For different views, see R.G. Bhandarkar, op.cit. pp. 30f; H.C. Roychoudhury op.cit. pp. 62f; CHI vol. II, pp. 392-93; IHQ vol. VII (1931) pp. 343f; R.P. Chanda, op.cit. pp. 165f; Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics vol. II. pp. 535-536, etc.

265. SI p. 92.

worship of Bhagavatas Vāsudeva and Śankarṣaṇa.²⁶⁶

It is clear from these epigraphic sources that the composite cult later called Vaisnavism was already born in the second century B.C.

It should be apparent from the above sketch of the origin of the Bhagavatism that the occurrence of the reference to Bhagavata Vāsudeva in the Chinnaganjam inscription alludes to the presence of that cult in the Krishna-Guntur area of the Sātavāhana period. It is not definitely known whether the Caturvyuhavāda referred to above, was known to the Bhagavatas of our region in the Sātavāhana age.²⁶⁷

Further development of the Bhagavata cult in this zone is indicated by the Nagarjunakonda inscription of the reign of Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa. It contains an invocation to Bhagavata-deva-paramadeva-purāna-purusa Nārāyaṇa, or the lord

266. Ibid.

267. The Nanaghat epigraph of the early Sātavāhana age refers to Vasudeva and Śankarṣaṇa but not to Prādyumna and Aniruddha (ASWI, vol.v, pp.60f.) D.C.Sircar observes that this absence of the reference to the two members of vyuha indicates that Vyuhā doctrine was not yet popular during the age of this inscription, at least around the Nanaghat area (SI.p.186,n.4). See also IA, vol. XLVII (1919) p.78.

'Nārāyaṇa who is the supreme God of gods and the
primaeval man'. It records the re-installation of an
image of Bhagavān Aṣṭabhujaśvāmin and wishes the well
being for cows. ²⁶⁸

We have already referred to
literary sources describing Nārāyaṇa in similar terms
as the above epigraph. His association with cows,
as is perhaps alluded to here, is not known from any
sources prior to the fusion of this cult with those of
Vāsudeva and Viṣṇu. It may further be noted here that
a conch found at Nagarjunakonda bears an inscription
referring to Bhagavata Aṣṭabhujaśvāmin as well as the
figure of a wheel or disc, the famous ayudha of Viṣṇu. ²⁶⁹
These considerations suggest that Narayana, referred to
here, belonged to the composite cult of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu-Naraya
Nārāyaṇa.

Thus the Andhra region of our
period witnessed the professing of one of the early forms
of Vaisnavism. ²⁷⁰ It is not known whether the tribe
of the Ābhīra king, during whose reign the image was re-
installed, did anything to popularise Vaisnavism in our

268. EI.vol.XXXIV, pp.202-2L3.

269. IA. AR (1958-59)p.8 and pl. V, B.

270. The Penugonda inscription of the Sāṅkāyana King
Hastivarman, which may be paleographically placed
not long after our period alludes to his devotion
to Nārāyaṇa (EI.vol.XXXV, pp.148-149)

region. Their devotion to this creed²⁷¹ and also their association with cows were well known.²⁷²

The image of Abhujasvāmin spoken of in Vasuṣeṇa's record invoking Nārāyaṇa, was obviously a Vaisnava (a cult of Vasudeva-Narayana-Visnu) icon having eight arms. The Brhatsamhitā, as pointed out by J.N.Banerjea,²⁷³ refers to the making of images of Viṣṇu with eight, four or two hands. Of eight armed viṣṇu the three right hands should show a mace, an arrow and a sword while the fourth would be held in the abhaya mudrā. His left hands should carry a bow, a shield, a wheel and a conch.²⁷⁴ There are known specimens of sculptured figures of eight-armed viṣṇu of the Kuṣāṇa

271. R.G. Bhandarkar. op.cit. pp.136f; H.C.Raychaudhuri op.cit. p.45.

272. B.Suryavanshi. The Ābhīras (1962) p.59. IENC (1951) pp.97-99.

273. DHI. p.396. Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art. vol.XIII (1945) pp.67f.

274. Brhatsamhita, ch.57.vv.31-5.

period²⁷⁵ and also of later ages.²⁷⁶ Thus there does not appear to be any doubt that Aṣṭabhujaśvāmin referred to in our record was an image of Viṣṇu. It is evident from the contents of the epigraph referring to the re-installation of the image that it was worshipped at Nagarjunakonda even before the Ābhīra phase.

Another great sect, that of the Śaivas, also had its followers amongst the people of our region. An inscription of the reign of Ehuṅvula

275. Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art, vol.V. (1937) p.124, pl.3. This is an image from Mathura of which four hands are preserved, but the attributes of the hand do not conform to the Brhatsaṃhita description. This was possibly the virata form of Viṣṇu (ibid.p.124)

276. H.Krishna Sastri, South Indian Gods and Goddesses. p.17, fig.11; Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art, vol.XIII (1945) pp.68,71.

In a fragmentary coping stone found at Amaravati one can notice a female figure seated on the raised pericarp of a lotus flower and a mythical makara gazing at her (ASMGM pl.XV, 3). J.N.Banerjea has identified it as Srī, the consort of Viṣṇu (DHI p.374; see also ASMGM, p.28). If this identification is correct and if this sculpture is dated, as is claimed, to the early phase of Amaravati art (ibid.p.28), her plastic representation in a Buddhist sculpture would indicate her popularity in the Andhra region during our age or earlier.

Cāntamūla records the foundation of a Sarvvadevadhivasa of an abode of Sarvvadeva, i.e. Sarvvadeva.²⁷⁷ Sarvva is a well known name for Śiva mentioned inter alia in the Mahābhārata.²⁷⁸

Another Nagarjunakonda epigraph of the period of Ehuva Cāntamūla speaks of the erection of a dhvajastambha (or flagstaff) and a devakula of Puspabhadraṣvāmin, who is also called Mahādeva.²⁷⁹ Since as to be shown presently, Deva and also Mahadeva was an epithet of Śiva, the name Puspabhadrasvamin might have alluded to the same deity.

The Manchikallu inscription of Pallava Simhavarman datable to or shortly after our period (pp.207-08) enumerates gifts made to the tethikas, i.e. tairthikas, of the temple of Jīvaśivaśamin.²⁸⁰ The latter

277. EI.vol.XXXIII,p.149.

278. Mahābhārata,III,167,47;173,42f.

279. EI.vol.XXXIV,pp.19-20.

280. Ibid.vol.XXXII,p.89.

term surely means 'Lord Śiva who is alive' and indicates that the image or emblem of Śiva enshrined in that temple was looked upon by local devotees as a living one (jāgrata).

All these sources testify to the presence of Śaivas in the Andhra region during our period. Several archaeological²⁸¹ and literary sources²⁸² imply the importance and popularity of the Śaiva faith in the early Christian centuries. Hence its presence in the Krishna-Guntur region need not cause any surprise.²⁸³ However, the reference in the Man-chikallu inscription to the tairthikas as the devotees of Jīvasivaśāminis particularly noteworthy. The word tairthika, or Sanskrit tairthika, denotes a person of the Tairthika sect. Hsüen-tsang, in the seventh century A.D. noticed the worshipping by ash-smeared tirthikas in a temple of Maheśvaradeva in Gandhāra.²⁸⁴

281. For references to these sources see CHI, vol. II, pp. 401-403.

282. Ibid.

283. For references to Śaivas in the Saṅgam literature see CHI, vol. II, pp. 566f.

284. YCTI vol. I, p. 221.

He also indicated the presence of Pāśupata Tirthikas in the region of Mo-lo-kir-T'a in south India.²⁸⁵ These testimonies may, as postulated by J.N.Banerjea,²⁸⁶ advocate the identity of the Tirthikas connected with the ash-smearing Pāśupatas. Moreover, the name Pāśupata denoted a Śaiva sect²⁸⁷ founded by Lakulīsa in the first century A.D.²⁸⁸ Hence the Tairthikas of the temple of Jīvasivaśvāmin may have been the ash smeared Pāśupatas. This may indicate the existence of the Pāśupata sect in the Andhra area about the close of our period.²⁸⁹

285. Ibid. vol. II, p. 229.

286. J.N.Banerjea, Pañcopasana, pp. 165-66.

287. For a discussion on the doctrines of the Pāśupatas see R.G. Bhandarkar, op.cit., p. 116.

288. This view was first expressed by D.R. Bhandarkar (JBRAS (OS) vol. XXII, p. 151; EI, vol. XXI, pp. 1-9). J.N. Banerjea has tried to show that the Pāśupatas were the same as Śiva Bhāgavatas, referred to by Patañjali, and that Lukulīsa only reformed and not literally founded the sect called Pāśupata (CHI, vol. II, pp. 396-397; J.N. Banerjea, Pañcopasana, pp. 148f.)

289. A fragmentary Nagarjunakonda inscription refers to the tethikas. (EI, vol. XXXIV, p. 210). However, since this epigraph records donation to a Buddhist church, the word tethika may here denote, as it often does in Buddhist texts, simply a member of a non-Buddhist sect and does not specially allude to any one of the Pāśupata school.

Not only Siva, the lord of the Pāsupatas, but also at least one member traditionally associated with his pantheon was also probably worshipped in our territory. Cāntamūla (I) is described in a large number of Ikṣvāku epigraphs as Virupakhapati mahāsenaparigahita or as 'accepted or possessed by Mahāsena the lord of Virupakha.'²⁹⁰ Mahāsena (which literally means 'possessor of great army') was the name of a god popular particularly among the kings and chiefs of India in the early centuries of the Christian era. A seal unearthed at Bhita, bears evidence of the dedication of a Kingdom by a king of the third or fourth century A.D. to Maheśvara. Mahasena or Maheśvara and Mahasena (Maheśvara-Mahāsenātisroṭarājya)²⁹¹ If the latter interpretation is correct, then Mahāsena may have been conceived of as having been associated with Maheśvara or Śiva.²⁹² The Kankhera inscription of the year 201 or A.D. 279 seems to refer to Mahādandanāyaka Śrīdhavarman, as a devotee of lord Mahasena, the

290. EI.vol.XX,pp.16, C3, 19, C2.

291. ASI.AR.1929-30,pp.132-133.

292. ASI.AR.1929-30,pp.132-133.

commander of the army of gods (Tridaśaganāsenāpati).

The latter qualification identifies him with Skanda, described in the Rāmāyana as the generalissimo of gods.²⁹⁴ This identification is further supported by the fact that Virūpakha = Virūpakṣa, of whom Mahāsenā has been described as the lord, is called in the Great Epic^{as} one of the Rudra attendants of Skanda.²⁹⁵ Skanda, also called Kārttikeya, is described in one epic tradition as a son of Agni,²⁹⁶ and indicated by another as an issue of Śiva, of whom Agni was a form.²⁹⁷

Some coins of the second century A.D.,²⁹⁸ belonging to the warrior tribe called Yaudheya,²⁹⁹ allude to the dedication of their state to god Brahmaṇyadeva alias Kumāra.³⁰⁰ Moulds of their

293. SI.p.180.

294. Rāmāyana, I, 38.

295. Mahābhārata, III, 237, 11.

296. Rāmāyana, I, 37.

297. Mahābhārata, Arāṇyakparvan, ch.229. Many legends describe Kārttikeya as the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. See R.G.Bhandarkar, op.cit.p.150.

298. J.Allan, Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India. (A catalogue of coins in the British Museum)p.cliii.

299. Ibid.p.cliii - cliii.

300. Ibid. p.270; DHI,p.141.CHI,vol.II.p.406.

coins have been found at Rohak,³⁰¹ which was evidently within their territory. It has been identified with Rahitaka,³⁰² mentioned in the Great Epic as the favourite city of Kārttikeya.³⁰³ This suggests a relation between or identity of Kumāra and Kārttikeya. In fact the Mahāmayūri, datable to the second century A.D.,³⁰⁴ describes Kārttikeya-Kumāra as the lord of Rahitaka.³⁰⁵

It appears that originally there were different deities concerning arms and wars. The similarity between the concepts of these ultimately led to their merging with one another. The earliest evidence for the existence of any of their cults is supplied by Patañjali who alludes to images, inter alia of Skanda and also of Viśākha,³⁰⁶ who is described in the Mahābhārata as one born out of Skanda.^{306a}

The application of the expression Skando (= Skanda) Komaro (= Kumāra) Vizago

- 301. B.Sahni, Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India, (1945) pp. 76.
- 302. CHI. vol. II, p. 406.
- 303. Mahābhārata, 32, 35.
- 304. JA, 5, II, v. 2, 3 (1915) pp. 24f.
- 305. Mahāmayūri, verse no. 21.
- 306. Keilhorn, The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, vol. II, p. 429 on Pāṇini, V, 3, 99.
- 306a. E.G. Bhandarkar, op.cit. p. 151.
- 307. ~~E. Gardner, Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum, (1886) pl. XVIII, 24.~~

(= Viśakha) Maaseno (= Mahāsena) to three (and not four) divinities on some coins of Huviṣka³⁰⁷ suggests that the process of merging had already begun in the Kuṣāṇa age. It was completed perhaps by the closing completion period of the growth of the Great Epic.

Since the god Mahāsena (=Kārttikeya) of the Śaiva pantheon seems to have been conceived as the commander of the celestial army, it is not surprising that Cāntamūla, the founder of the Ikṣvāku Kingdom, was his devotee or even considered as 'accepted or possessed by him'. The popularity of his cult in the Nagarjunakonda area may be alluded to by the ruins of two temples which are considered to have been shrines of Kārttikeya.³⁰⁸ A lime stone figure, found in Nagarjunakonda shows a person standing with his left hand resting on his waist to which is secured a sword in a hilt. The right hand is broken and on the right side of the figure is probably a staff or spear, the upper part of which is also missing.³⁰⁹ This figure has been identified as

307. P.Gardner, Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum, (1886) pl. XXVIII, 24.

308. Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, vol. XI (1961) p. 23.

309. IA. AR. 1956-57, pp. 36-37, pl. LVIIC.

an icon of Kārttikeya.³¹⁰ It has indeed some similarities with the figure and posture of Kārttikeya as it appears on some Yaudheya coins³¹¹ and also with those of Maaseno (Mahāsena = Karttikeya) on some Kuṣāna coins.³¹²

Another stone slab from Nagarjunakonda bears a female figure standing in sambhanga pose. She holds a trident (or a standard?). A sword is held firmly at the hilt by her left hand resting on her waist. In the background appears a peacock's feather and an umbrella.³¹³ As we have just noted, Maasena (= Mahāsena = Kārttikeya) appears on several Kuṣāna coins with similar posture and with identical weapons.³¹⁴ Peacock was considered as a mount of Kārttikeya.³¹⁵ These considerations tend to identify this female figure as a consort of Karttikeya or his Śakti.³¹⁶

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310. Ibid. p.37. Another stone head found in this site (ibid. pl.LVII B) is also considered to be that of Kārttikeya (ibid. p.36)
311. J.Allan, op.cit. pl.XXXIX, 20, XL, 11 etc. A bird can perhaps be seen below the right arm of the alleged figure of Kārttikeya from Nagarjunakonda (pl.) Maasena on Kuṣāna coins carries a standard surmounted by a bird.
312. P.Gardner, op.cit. pl.XXVIII, 24.
313. IA.AR. 1955-56, p.25.
314. P.Gardner, op.cit. pl.XXVIII, 24.
315. DHI, p.366, pl.XVI, b.
316. IA.AR. 1955-56, p.25.

If these arguments are correct, images of Kārttikeya and his consort were worshipped in the region of Nagarjunakonda during our period. It is also interesting to note further that the inscription, which records the erection of the abode of Sarvvadeva, also refers to the person responsible for its construction as a follower of Kārttikeya and also as a devotee of Hutavāha tanaya canda śakti Kumāra, i.e. Kumāra the son of fire (Agni) and wielder of the terrible spear.³¹⁷ The spear appears to be a cognizance of Kumāra on several Yaudheya coins.³¹⁸ The description of Kumāra as the son of Fire God is very interesting since it betrays a knowledge of the epic tradition advocating such a parentage (p.406). As noted above, another epic legend considers Śiva, one of whose manifestations was Agni or Fire as the father of Skanda (= Kārttikeya). We do not know whether the latter legend was also known in the Nagarjunakonda area and whether an idea of an affiliation of Kārttikeya to Śiva was indicated by the construction of a temple of Sarvvadeva or Śiva by a

317. EI.vol.XXXIV,p.149

318. J.Allan, op.cit.p.270.

devotee of Kārttikeya.

The popularity of epic tradition and beliefs among the people of the Andhra region of our period is further alluded to in another epigraph of the reign of Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla. It describes Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla as 'one who has lawfully obtained victories like Sagara, Dilīpa, Ambarīṣa, and Yudhiṣṭhira and one who is loved by all people like Rāma', (Sagara-Dilīpa-Āmbarīṣa-Yudhiṣṭhira (t)dyadharmma-vijayasya Rāmasya = eva sarvvajanābhiramasya)³¹⁹ and thereby betrays knowledge of legends concerning these Epic and Puranic heroes.³²⁰

C

Epigraphic sources furnish more names of gods or demi-gods. The Vēlpuru inscription, datable to c.A.D.75 or thereabouts (p 78), is concerned with the construction of a mandapa of Lord Bhūtagāha.³²¹ The latter name may be compared with Bhutagrhya, the

319. EI, vol. XXXIV, p. 19.

320. For these legends see E.W. Hopkins, Epic Mythology (1915) pp. 5, 35, 160, 187, etc.

321. EI, vol. XXXII, p. 84.

name of a class of spirits. ³²² Nadagirisarasami and Halampurasami, cited respectively in a Nargarjunakonda inscription of the period of Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla's reign ³²³ and ^{the} Gurzala inscription of Rulūpurusadatta's (- Rudrapurusadatta's) reign ³²⁴ may ^{have been} local names of one

322. Ibid. p.85. It may be noted here that Śiva, Kubera and Vāyu are described in the epic sources as lords of Bhūtas (Rāmāyaṇa, V, 34, 28; Harivaṁśa v.v. 265 and 12493). See also E.H.Hopkins, op.cit. pp. 97, 142.

We may ^{also} note here that calcined bones of ox, deer, and hare were found in one chamber of stūpa no. 9, while waterpots and food bowls were discovered in another chamber of the same stūpa (Memoirs ^{no. 54} p. 23). Longhurst suggested that these pots contained water and food for the spirits of the dead animals whose bones were enshrined in the stūpa (ibid.) whether such an hypothesis is acceptable or not, the stūpas association with the memory of a dead king may be indicated by the discovery in its vicinity of a pillar commemorating Cāntamūla (EI. vol. XXI, p. 63). Several such memorial pillars have been discovered at Nagarjunakonda (EI. vol. XXXV, pp. 11, 14-17, etc.).

We may add here that attempts have been made to find ^{the} Amaravati sculptures, traces of the cult of tree and serpents and also of water spirits.

(J. Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship. p. 72, 225; J. Ph. Vogel, Indian Serpent Lore (1926) pp. 43, 103, and ASMG. pp. 70f.; EHAC. p. 116.)

323. EI. vol. XXXV, p. 7.

324. Ibid. vol. XXVI, p. 125.

or two different well-known divinities or names of deities of pure local origin.³²⁵

A head in stone, found at Nagarjunakonda is considered to represent that of a Yaksa.³²⁶ The latter is also recognized in some relief sculptures from places such as Amaravati³²⁷ and Nagarjunakonda³²⁸ etc.

Some miniature terracotta representations of half squatting half nude female figures³²⁹ found at Nagarjunakonda have their female organs clearly shown.³³⁰ A big stone image having such features was the gift on an Ikṣvāku queen. In an inscription appearing on it she is described as an avidhavā (one whose husband is alive) and a jivaputā (one whose son

325. A report on excavations at Nagarjunakonda described the ruins of a temple as those of a shrine of Hariti (IA.AR.1954-55, p.22.pl.XLV a & B), it is further claimed that terracotta figures of the same god^{class} have been found in that locality (IA.AR (1956-57)p.38. Hariti was well known in India as a goddess who protected children (DHI pp.380-381)

326. IA.AR, 1957-58, pl. VII A.

327. ASMGM. pl. XV, 2 pp.77-82.

328. MemOirs. no.54 pp.25,30,31,32 etc.

329. They appear to have only an ornament round their waist.

330. They were on display in the technical section of the Nagarjunakonda site museum. Their photographs are yet unpublished.

is alive)³³¹ It is not impossible that the images described above had some relation to some fertility cult or the cult of the mother goddess.³³²

Some of the above data may suggest, in spite of their fragmentary character, a survival of local beliefs and superstitions in the Krishna-Guntur area, even though the great religion of northern religion - like Buddhism, Vaisnavism and Saivism - had already been deeply rooted there long before the close of our period.³³³ Of these again Buddhism became the most predominant religion.³³⁴

331. EI.vol.XXIX,p.139,pl.facing p.139. The inscription runs as 'Siddham Mahādeviya-avidhavaya jivaputaya mahārāja Siri Bhuvāla Cāntamūla patiya Khānduvulāya kārta.'

332. See in this connection EI.vol.XXIX,p.139. Some terracotta figures of the mother goddess are reported to have been unearthed at Nagarjunakonda. (IA.AR.1956-57,p.38.)

333. For allusions to religious toleration in the Krishna-Guntur region and also to the influence of religion on society see p.342

334. J.Ph.Vogel (EI.vol.XX,p.10) and K.Gopalachari (CEAS,p.159) ~~attribute~~ the reason for the flourishing state of Buddhism in the Nagarjunakonda area respectively to the patronage of traders and to that of royal ladies. We have already pointed out that both these classes as well as ordinary people patronised the religion of the Buddha in the Krishna-Guntur area.

ART AND ARCHITECTUREA

Several monuments, ruins of which have been unearthed in and around the Krishna-Guntur region, have been attributed to our period by archeologists and art historians. They are dated mainly on grounds of their style and epigraphic evidence.¹

A comparative study of the different types of architecture discernable among the ruins of these buildings reveals that the great majority of them were connected with Buddhism. Of these monuments again the most conspicuous are the remains of those which are commonly called stūpas.

It is well recognised² that the Buddhist stūpas were architecturally and conceptually evolved out of a pre-Buddhist practice³ of erecting a mound, probably circular or hemispherical

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1. For an account of the archeological remains of most of these monuments, see BRAAH, pp.11-36.
 2. J.Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (1910), pp.65-66; A.K.Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art (1927) p.10; AIU.pp.487-488 etc.
 3. J.Fergusson, op.cit. pp.65-66; CHI, vol.II.p.711; Mahāparinibbāna Suttānta, Digha Nikāya, XVI,5,11; SBE.vol.XI.p.93;

in shape by an accumulation of earth on a funeral pyre.⁴

The stūpas of the Krishna Guntur region, referred to as cetiyas (caitya) in local epigraphs,⁵ may be divided into different categories according to their religious significance. Ruins of several stūpas have yielded caskets of different metals (gold, silver and copper)⁶ containing bones and/or precious or semi-precious stones, ornaments and other precious usable objects.⁷ These are supposed to contain the mortal remains and other relics of the Buddha or objects used by him.⁸ A few of the stūpas at Nagarjunakonda, which have yielded only ashes in pots, are

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4. For a discussion on the development of stūpa architecture in India and other countries, see J. Fergusson, op.cit. pp.63f; P. Brown, Indian Architecture. vol. I. (1st edition), pp.16f; A. H. Longhurst, The Development of the Stūpa, Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, vol. XXXVI (1929) pp.135-149; A. H. Longhurst, The Story of the Stūpa (1936); pp.1f; G. Combaz, L'evolution du Stupa en Asie, Melanges Chinoise et Bouddhique, vol. II. (1933) pp.163-305; and S. K. Sareswati, AIU. pp.487-494; etc.
 5. EI. vol. XX. p.19, B5; p.18. B2; p.19. C2; etc.
 6. Memoirs. no. 54, pp.17, 19 etc. ASI. AR. Southern circle. 1916-17, p.36; etc.
 7. Ibid. Sometimes more than one casket was found placed one within the other.
 8. CHI. vol. II, p.711; ASMGM. pp.19-22. etc.

considered by Longhurst to have enshrined remains of monks (arāhants?) and are called by him as 'monastic' stūpas.⁹ Some stūpas at Nagarjunakonda do not appear to have contained any object within them.¹⁰ In addition to these, there are several small votive stūpas.

From the point of view of architecture, however, the classification of the stūpas will be a little different. Though all these seem to have had the appearance of a hemispherical dome (anda), situated at least in most of the known cases on circular platforms (medhi),¹¹ some of them were big structural monuments, whereas structural votive stupas were very small in size. There are also examples of enshrined stūpas rock hewn as well as structural.

9. Memoirs.no.54.pp.20-21.

10. Ancient India.no.16 (1960),p.77. In a stūpa (no.9) at Nagarjunakonda bones of ox,deer and hare have been found. (Memoirs,no.54.pp.23-24) For a brief discussion on this discovery see above p.422,n.322

11. A few stūpas were built on high square platforms (Ancient India.no.16 (1960) p.80) See also p.75)

B

The remnants of structural stūpas indicate great variations in their diameters, in the plans of their domes (anda) and basements or drums (medhi). These also betray differences in building techniques.

A group of stūpas at Guntupalle in the Krishna district are found to have been small mounds of stone and earth, set up generally on low circular stone-paved brick basements¹²

The stone stūpa (no.7) at Guntupalle (diameter of drum is $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet and of the dome is 16ft, and the height of the drum is 5 feet and of the dome is 8 feet 6 inches) has an inner core of earth and stone covered by a facing of small well cut stone blocks accurately fitted together without the use of mortar.¹³

The great cetiya or stūpa of Amaravati probably had, when finally renovated, sculptural stone slabs around its drum (diameter is 162 feet

12. ASI.AR. Southern Circle.1916-17,p.35 and pl.XXVI. One of these stūpas bears a fragmentary inscription in Brāhmī characters of second century B.C. (ibid. p.35).

13. Ibid.p.36,pl.XXIII.

7 inches)¹⁴ made of masonry.¹⁵ The 8 feet thick brick dome (diameter is about 138 feet)¹⁶ was probably stuffed with mud and brick.¹⁷ The largest stūpa at Pedda-Ganjam (Guntur district) had a hollow brick dome packed with earth.¹⁸

14. SABM.p.34.

15. This appears from an account of Maekenzie, the first scholar to visit the ruins of the Amaravati stūpa (The Asiatic Journal.vol.XV (1823)p.468). The remnant of the great stūpa at Amaravati is now completely removed from its original place. In fact no scholar other than him had seen at least a great portion of the ruins in situ. Hence his report, published in The Asiatic Journal.vol.XV (1823) and his volumes containing sketches of Amaravati, now in the Commonwealth Relations Library (former India Office Library), are of capital importance for a study of the art and architecture of this stūpa.

16. SABM.p.36.

17. Maekenzie clearly reported that the 'inner circle' of sculptures (the 'outer circle' having been formed by surrounding rails) rested on a masonry wall (The Asiatic Journal.vol.XV.(1823)p.468) Hence the drum of the platform of the stupa must have started with this wall and not, as wrongly thought by J.Burgess, with the 8 feet thick circular wall standing 12 feet inside the 'inner circle' and concentric with it. (ASSI.vol.I.pp.20-21). As pointed out by D.Barrett, the circular wall formed the base of the dome itself. (SABM.p.35) There is, however, no indication in support of his theory of the existence of cross walls within the dome. Maekenzie's report may only indicate that it was filled with bricks. (The Asiatic Journal.vol.XV.(1823) vp.469).

18. A.REA, South Indian Buddhist Antiquities. Madras, (1894), p.3. The main stūpa of the monastery on the Cula Dhammagiri also had a brick dome over solid rubble core. (Ancient India.no.16.(1960) p.69) For an account of a few similar solid stupas at Nagarjunakonda, see ibid,pp.16-17.

The stūpas at Gudivada^{18a} and Bhattiprolu (Guntur district)¹⁹ appear to have been made of solid bricks from base to top. In the Bhattiprolu stūpa, however, a hollow square brick shaft, probably a reminiscent of wooden posts of earlier days or a receptacle for containing a wooden post is found to have been sunk in the centre of the dome, from the summit to the bottom.^{19a}

The stūpa at Garikapad (diameter 31½ feet) had alternate layers of earth and lime with rubble within an outer brick ring.²⁰ The stūpa at Jaggayyapeta had an outer casing of stone slabs which enclosed alternate layers of earth and closely fitted large bricks.^{20a} This method of construction allowed little or no percolation of water and consequent swelling of earth which could have injured the outer casing. It also prevented any great lateral thrust.^{20b}

18a. A.Rea.op.cit.p.2.

19. Ibid.

19a. Ibid.p.9. A similar feature may be noticed in the stupa at Piprahwa (CHI.vol.II.p.712)

20. A.Rea.op.cit.p.3.

20a. ASSI.vol.I.p.107.

20b. Ibid.

In the centre of the ruins of the stūpa at Ghantasala (Krishna district) may be traced a cube of solid bricks rising to the top of the dome and enclosed by an outer concentric square of bricks. The hollow space in between is divided by cross walls, one at the centre of each side. The whole is surrounded by a circular brick wall, the inner face of which is touched by projections from four square walls referred to above as well as by the produced sides of the outer square. Beyond this circle, and concentric with it, there is, at a distance of $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet, another massive wall circle, $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. The space between these two circular walls are divided into sixteen cells by an equal number of radially disposed cross-walls connecting these two, while the broad outer base formed the basis of the drum, the inner circle corresponded to the vertical base of the dome²¹ (pl. III A). All the hollow chambers were probably filled with mud.²² This method of construction needed lesser stone or brick materials than those built according to any of the above plans.

A few stūpas at Nagarjunakonda

21. A. Rea. op.cit. p. 25; CHI, vol. II. p. 733.

22. Ibid. p. 23

probably had within them four or more partition walls radiating from the centre or from a solid or hollow square or circle²³ (pl. III B, IV B). The ground plan of a stūpa at Edda Ganjam indicates that two concentric big circles, separated from each other by a width of 4 feet 10 inches, are connected by twelve cross-walls radiating from the centre. Four of these cross-walls reach the centre inside the inner circle.²⁴

The ruins of the mahācetiya of Nagarjunakonda indicate a drum whose height was 5 feet and width 7 feet and diameter 106 feet.²⁵ In ground plan eight walls radiating from a central hub to meet another concentric circular wall. From the latter sixteen cross walls join the next concentric circular wall, whence same number of likewise walls run into the outermost concentric wall, thus peripheral wall formed the base of the circular platform or drum²⁶ (pl. IV A). The inner structure, when complete, looked like a wheel on plan and, with curved

23. Ancient India. no. 16. (1960) pl. XXXIX, XXXVI; XLIV etc.

24. A. Rea. op.cit. p. 3.

25. Memoirs. no. 54. p. 16; 111.

26. Ibid. p. 12. pl. XI, b; CHI. vol. II. p. 733; IHQ. vol. XXVIII (1952) p. 117. Another stūpa at Nagarjunakonda indicates similar techniques of building, but here the cross walls radiate from a central hollow square (pl. IV B) (IA&AR. 1958-59, pl. IV, A, pl. V.)

crossed walls, also looked (in section) like an amalgum of spokes²⁷ of an umbrella.²⁸ This structure was probably surfaced with earth and was plastered.²⁹

The weight of the superstructure of a stūpa built according to this plan would have been considerably less than that of a stūpa built following any of the above mentioned constructional methods. The stūpas of Alluru³⁰ and Gummudidurru,³¹ both datable to our period, were also built according to this technique.

Though the innovation of the latter technique was probably the culmination of attempts to economise the use of costly materials and to reduce the weight of the superstructure, it did not altogether replace other modes of construction. The monastery of the Mahisāsakas constructed during the reign of Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla³² had a solid stūpa,³³ whereas the mahācetiya

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27. A study of available statistics indicates that the number of such 'spokes' in a stūpa depended on its diameter and dimension. (Ancient India.no.16 (1960) pp.78-80).
28. Memoirs.no.54.p.12.For F.R.Allchin's observation on the Divyavadāna's reference to a form of stūpa, which may resemble the plans of the mahācetiya at Nagarjunakonda, see BSOAS.vol.XX (1957)p.1,n.3.
29. Ibid.pp.16-17.
30. ASI.AR.1926-27.pp.150-151.
31. Ibid.pp.154-155.
32. EI.vol.XX,p.24.H.
33. Ancient India.no.16 (1960)p.69. One of the two stūpas of the monastery of the Mahisāsakas had a wheel shaped ground plan.

with a wheel shaped ground plan must have been in existence by the year 6 of his father's rule.³⁴ Nevertheless, the number of known cases of the use of the technique in question suggests its popularity in our zone and period. Similar plans may be noticed in a Jaina stūpa at Mathura,³⁵ in a stūpa at Shah-ji-Ki-Dheri at Peshawar,³⁶ in a stūpa at Barā Pahari near Patna,³⁷ and also in a phase of the Dharmarajika stūpa at Taxila.³⁸ However, in no area of ^{the} Indian subcontinent the building technique in question was so much in use as in the Krishna-Guntur region.³⁹

The extremely ruinous conditions of the stūpas do not allow us to visualise their exact outer forms. Nevertheless we may form a general idea of the appearance of a structural stūpa of the Andhra region

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- 34. EI.vol.XX,p.19,B5.
 - 35. V.A.Smith. The Jaina Stūpas and other Antiquities of Mathura,pl.III.
 - 36. ASI.AR.1908-09,p.48.
 - 37. Ibid. Eastern Circle,1915-16,p.16.
 - 38. J.Marshall, Taxila,vol.I.p.236.
 - 39. Similar plans of construction may be discerned inter alia in the ruins of the Tantalē tomb of 'Phrygia' (Mélanges Chinoise et Bouddhique.vol.XII (1933)p.166) in the remnants of the Mausoleum of Augustus in Rome (L.Crema,L'Architettura Romana,Enciclopedia Classica. s.III,vol.XII,T.I, 1959,pp.242f.fig.265), and in those of the Mahāsthupa, Dakkhina^osthupa, Pubbāramasthupa, etc. at Anuradhapur in Ceylon. (S.Paranavitana, The Stupa in Ceylon., Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon,no.V,p.26.)

with the help of the evidence of some contemporary votive stūpas, stūpa-shaped relic caskets and also representations of stupas on caitya slabs and pillars.

As has been already stated above, the hemispherical dome (anda) was generally supported by a circular base or drum (medhi). Above the dome was probably placed a small, square pavilion (Harmikā), surrounded by a railing. The evidence of a gold relic casket from a stūpa (not the mahācetiya) of Amaravati indicates that a pole rising from the square pavilion held an umbrella (of stone) on its top.⁴⁰

It should be noted here that many slabs of sculpture at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda depicting stūpas give different ornamental forms of

40. ASI.AE. 1908-9.pl.XXVII,b. It is interesting to note that some sculptural representations of stūpas do not at all show any square pavilion or any umbrella. (ASSI. vol. I, pl.XXXV, 1; ESIA, pl.XI, a and b; etc.)

the harmikā and umbrella.⁴¹ We do not know whether all these indicate actual architectural varieties or simply reflect sculptors' imagination.

In several stūpas relics or mortal remains in boxes or caskets or pots were enshrined in small chambers at the centre of the base.⁴² However, in a stūpa of wheel-shaped plan, the relics were often placed, as in the case of the stūpas at Nagarjunakonda, in one of the side cists or chambers.⁴³ (pl. IVA)

41. A few caitya slabs depict stūpas with two shafts rising from a square harmikā and capped by parasol^s (ASSI.vol.I.pl.XXVIII). Some sculptural slabs show a rectangular object (surmounted by a wheel etc.) flanked by two shafts with umbrellas rising from the harmikā (ibid.pl.XXXVI,1 and 2). Sometimes the shafts are indicated as holding some umbrellas (Memoirs,no. 54.pl.XL, C). For other decorations and forms of harmikā and umbrellas see Memoirs no.54.pl.XL,no.C; XLa; XXVII,4 ; SABM.pl.I and b,IV; ASSI.vol.I.pl. XXXIII;ASMGM.p.25. One caitya slab shows the middle rectangular object as holding a wheel as well as one umbrella, whereas side shafts are tied with thick banners (SABM.pl.IV). Sometimes a harmikā is expanded upwards into a shape of inverted stepped pyramid. (Memoirs no.59.pl.XI,a) Several stūpas, as depicted on slabs, have a multitude of umbrellas arranged almost in the shape of a tree (Bodhi tree?) rising from (a hedge-shaped) harmikā. (See also ASMGM. p.25)

42. A.Rea. op.cit.p.10.

43. Memoirs.no.54.p.17.

As it appears from the extant ruins, the circular basal platform of a stūpa was of no great height. The height of the extant portion of the drum of the mahācetiya at Nagarjunakonda is only 5 feet.⁴⁴ Neither the remains of monuments, nor stūpas delineated in caitya slabs hint at the presence (as can be noticed in several north Indian stūpas)⁴⁵ of flights of steps from the ground to the circular platform.⁴⁶

The great majority of the stūpas of our region had rectangular projections at each of the four cardinal points of the basal platform.⁴⁷ The projections at the Jaggayyapeta stūpa were 2 to 2½ feet in width, 12 to 15 feet in length and roughly 3 feet 9 inches in height.⁴⁸ The projected platforms of the

44. Ibid. pp. 16 and 19.

45. P. Brown. op. cit. p. 17.

46. Memoirs. no. 54. p. 16.

47. Memoirs. no. 54. pp. 12, 16, 19 etc; pl. XI, a, b, c, d; ASSI, vol. I. pl. XLVII, no. 4; XXXVII, no. 1 and 2; A. Rea, op. cit. p. 32; ASI. AR. 1926-27, p. 150; ASSI. vol. I. p. 110; etc.

48. ASSI. vol. I. pp. 107 and 110.

mahācetiya of Nagarjunakonda seem to have measured 22 feet in length, 5 feet in width and 5 feet in height.⁴⁹ (pl. V A) The projections of the Alluru stupa were 14 feet 8 inches long and 2 feet wide.⁵⁰

Five free standing pillars were generally placed on each of these projections.⁵¹

As it appears from sculptural representations of stūpas, the forms and designs of these pillars varied from plain round columns⁵² to sculptured stelae.⁵³ Pillars belonging to the latter group carried in relief the 'wheel of law', or a stūpa or a triratna or some other auspicious symbol on their top,⁵⁴ whereas some others bore in addition wheels and other auspicious marks on their shafts.⁵⁵

49. Memoirs.no.54.p.16.

50. ASI.AE.1926-27.p.150.

51. See above n.47. It has been suggested, though not substantiated by any definite evidence, that projections of some stupas at Nagarjunakonda 'might not always have carried...pillars' (Ancient India, no.16. (1960), p.80.)

52. ASSI.vol.I.pl.XXXVI,no.1.pl.XXXIX,no.3; ESIA.pl XL; Ancient India,no.16 (1960) pl.XLVII; Memoirs.no.54, pl.XI,a; etc.

53. ASSI.vol.I.pl.XXXIX,no.1; SABM.pl.II; Memoirs.no.54, pl.XI, b and c; etc.

54. ASSI.vol.I,pl.XXXIX no 1 and 2; XXXII, no.1; SABM, pl.II; Memoirs.no.54.pl.XI, b and c; etc.

55. ASSI.vol.I.pl.XXXIII,no.3; XXXVI, no.2 etc.

One such pillar found at Jagga-
 Yyapeta is square at the bottom and octagonal above.⁵⁶
 Those discovered at Nagarjunakonda are made of grey lime-
 stone and have generally square bases, octagonal shafts
 and rounded tops.⁵⁷

Three sides of each projection,
 looking like an altar, appear to have been often faced
 with pilasters and sculptures depicting Buddhist themes
 and figures including symbolic as well as anthropomorphic
 representations of the Master.⁵⁸ A.H. Longhurst has
 noticed that these projected platforms were the most
 highly decorated parts of a stūpa bearing sculptures.⁵⁹
 This should at least hint at their apparent importance.

One inscription, found on three
 pillars originally on these projected platforms, records
 the erection of five āyaka Khambhas 'together with every-
 thing (savaniyuta) at puvadāra (eastern gate) of the
mahācetiya of Bhagavān Buddha in (the village of) Velagiri.⁶⁰

56. Ibid. p.110.

57. Memoirs, no.54.p.13.

58. Ibid. pp.19,21; pl.XI, a, b, c, d; SABM. pl.II, IV. etc.

59. Memoirs. no.54. pp.16,19,21. etc.

60. ASSI. vol.I. p.110.

Similar pillars found at the mahācetiya of Nagarjunakonda are described by inscriptions on them as khambha or 'pillar'.⁶¹ Thus the term āyaka is not the integral part of the name of these pillars and may refer to the offset itself. Such projections have significant parallels in Ceylon. A similar, though not identical, offset structure of the Abhayagiri dagoba or stūpa in Ceylon appears to have been referred to as ayakas (āyakas) in a third century A.D. inscription found there.⁶²

The term āyaka, i.e. āryaka, may mean 'any one (or thing) honourable, noble or respectful.'⁶³ This indicates that this projection was an object of honour and veneration. Such an inference is also supported by the fact that on these projected platforms stood pillars carrying the miniature stūpa, wheel (of law), etc. The latter evidence also indicates that the projected platforms as well as the pillars were dedicated to Buddha, the most honourable one.

The implication of the number of pillars on each projection is not clear. Longhurst

61. EI.vol.XX,p.16 C3, p.17. C1, p.18.B2 etc.

62. E2.vol.I.p.255. S.Parnavitana,op.cit.p.59.

63. M.Monier Williams. A Sanskrit English Dictionary.p.152

observes that they represent the five great incidents (nativity, renunciation, enlightenment, turning of the wheel and great demise) of the life of the Master.⁶⁴

This is not altogether unlikely, since the bases of several of the offset structures have been noticed to bear panels illustrating one or other of the great incidents of the life of the Buddha.⁶⁵

They seem to have been open air altars for worship added to the stūpa representing the Buddha. The absence of this projection from almost all of the votive stūpas⁶⁶ and all enshrined stūpas and stupa shaped relic caskets indicates that it was not an integral part of stupa architecture.

The paleographic features of a few letters on some pilasters and slabs of the Jaggayya-peta stūpa surely indicate its existence long before the Christian era.⁶⁷ But the inscription (on three pillars at

64. Memoirs.no.54.p.16.

65. Ibid.p.14.

66. The only votive stūpa carrying an āyaka platform has been discovered at site no.2 at Nagarjunakonda, Ancient India, no.16 (1960) p.77±.

67. ASSI.vol.I.p.111.

Jaggayyapeta), which records the erection of āyaka khambhas, is dated in the reign of the Ikṣvāku king Vīrapurusadatta⁶⁸ and hence alludes to the dating of the āyaka platform in question to the Ikṣvāku period.⁶⁹ Epigraphic sources indicate that at least the āyaka platforms of the mahācetiya at Nagarjunakonda must be dated to the reign of King Vīrapurusadatta.⁷⁰

68. Ibid. p.110.

69. We may note here that the Jaggayyapeta inscription records the erection of āyaka khambhas at puvadāra or 'the eastern gate'. It seems that an āyaka platform, situated not far from one of the gateways was also nicknamed as dāra. It seems interesting to note that similar projections in Ceylonese dagobas, which have been called asāyakaṣ in an epigraph, are now known as Vāhalkṣada, which literally means 'gateway' (S. Parānavitana, op.cit. p.58.)

70. EI. vol. XX, p.19, B5. No inscription of the Ikṣvāku period explicitly states that the mahācetiya of Nagarjunakonda was erected during their rule. One inscription records the gift of a pillar by an Ikṣvāku queen when the mahācetiya was 'being completed by Cāntisiri. (ibid. p.19, B5). It is not clear whether the expression concerned refers to the completion of the original construction or of a renovation. Another Nagarjunakonda inscription refers to the navakamma of the mahācetiya (ibid. p.17, C1). Navakamma may mean new construction as well as renovation.

It is not impossible that the mahācetiya at Nagarjunakonda existed even before the beginning of the Ikṣvāku rule there. The Nagarjunakonda inscription of Sātavāhana Vijaya Sātakarni refers to the Buddha, and thereby indicates the influence of Buddhism in that area even before the rise of the Ikṣvākus.

No doubt, K. Gopalachari argues that the evidence of the use of bricks of the same size in all parts of the mahācetiya and also in other establishments at Nagarjunakonda, and the fact that relic caskets found in that area 'are all nearly alike', prove that the whole of the mahācetiya at Nagarjunakonda was constructed in the Ikṣvāku period. (EHAC, p.139n). But bricks of the same size as well as caskets of similar type could have been used in different periods.

These data perhaps suggest that āyaka platforms and khambhas were sometimes added to the already existing stūpas. Though the rudimentary form of an altar may be noticed in a stūpa at Vaisali (Behar),⁷¹ in no Indian stūpa outside the eastern Deccan can one find such highly decorated platforms. So this architectural feature may be considered a contribution of this region to the Indian Buddhist architecture. It appears from S. Paranavitana's discussion on Vāhalkada that projections in the Buddhist stūpas of Ceylon began to appear from the second or rather the third century A.D.⁷² The ground plan of these projections was the same as that of the āyaka platforms of the Andhra region. This may betray the knowledge of the architects of one area of the development of the stūpa architecture in the other region. We have already noted that Ceylonese Buddhists had contacts with the Andhra region during our period.

71. IA.AR. 1958-59.pl.VIII,B; Ancient India.no.16 (1960) p.81.

72. S. Paranavitana.op.cit.p.57. S. Paranavitana has shown that the vāhalakadas of the three stūpas (Ruvanvali, Ma^{tr}āthupa and Abhayagiri) at Anuradhapura, and of the kantakacetiya at Mihintale, were added much later than the dates of their original constructions. In this connection see also L.M. Prematilleke, Religious Architecture and Sculpture of Ceylon. (Anuradhapura period) Ph.D. Thesis, University of London.pp.111f.

Āyaka platforms are, however, not noticed in the ruins of all stupas of our region. Similarly, not all the stūpas appear to have been decorated by sculptures. None of the structural stūpas at Guntupalle seems to have been carved with sculptures.⁷³ A few stūpas, depicted on slabs found at Amaravati, show little or no sculptural decorations.⁷⁴ Some caitya slabs are seen as representing stūpas with sculptures on their drums⁷⁵ and sometimes also on the zone near the top of the dome.⁷⁶ Some stūpas in sculptures are also noticed as having friezes on their domes arranged as knotted loose strings of garlands.⁷⁷ A number of the stupas at Nagarjunakonda appear to have sculptured panels on the faces of their basal platforms.⁷⁸ Several such slabs originally forming parts of stupas at Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Ghantasala, Alluru, etc.,⁷⁹ indicate that a highly ornamental stūpa generally had all around the ^{outer} side of its cylindrical part sculptural panels with a narrow frieze above. The hemispherical part included (a) a range of sculpture, (b) a plain zone above it (c) another range of

73. ASI.AR. Southern Circle. 1916-17, pp. 35-36.
 74. ASSI. vol. I. pl. XVIII, 4; XXVIII, 2; etc.
 75. ESIA. pl. XVI, b.
 76. ESIA. pl. XLIII, XL; etc.
 77. Memoirs. no. 54. pl. XXV, no. b, c, etc.
 78. Ibid. pp. 16f and 24-33.
 79. ASI.AR. 1926-27, pp. 150f; Memoirs. no. 54. pl. XI c; A. Rea, op.cit. pl. XXVII; SABM. pl. IV; etc.

sculpture and (d) a plain zone at the top.⁸⁰ (pl. VI A)

As it appears from the remains of decorated stupas at Nagarjunakonda, a stupa was ornamented partly with stone slabs and partly with works in stucco.⁸¹ It is interesting to note that this decorating method is known to have been employed in Buddhist architecture in Gandhāra.⁸² The references to vetikā or 'rail enclosure', suci or 'cross bar', and um̐nisa (variants unhisa or unisa) or 'coping' in a number of Amaravati inscriptions⁸³ apparently indicate the existence of a railing. This is also supported by the report of Mackenzie.⁸⁴ The stone rail around the stupa at Amaravati probably measured 192 feet in diameter and was pierced in four cardinal points of compass. It consisted of upright pillars, about 9 feet high and 2 feet 10 inches wide, with long, roughly worked stumps set in a foundation of brick and mortar. Between each pair of uprights were three cross bars ^{from} which projected

80. For Jouveau-Dubreuil's observations on this issue, see Bulletin de l'Association Française des Amis de l'Orient. 1932, pp. 5-10. The cāitya slabs depict un-ornamented stupas with or without āyaka platforms as well as ornamented stupas with or without such projections.

81. Mémoires. no. 54. p. 15.

82. Ibid.

83. ASMGM. pp. 283, 289, 291, 292, 293, 299, 304 etc.

84. The Asiatic Journal, vol. XV (1823) pp. 468f.

tenons, lenticular in section, into corresponding mortises cut into the edges of the uprights. The whole was crowned with a coping stone rounded at the top and fixed by tenon and mortices to the pillars.⁸⁵ Both sides of the rails were heavily sculptured.⁸⁶ The stūpa rail, as may be gathered from the stūpas represented on caitya slabs, was turned radially outward at each of the four cardinal points or gates and then was turned inwards.⁸⁷ At each gate the pillar were flanked by lions at the top.⁸⁸ The 13 feet wide processional path (pradaksināpatha) at Amaravati between the stupa and rail was paved with grey limestone.⁸⁹

Burgess noticed a processional path also at Jaggayyapeta.⁹⁰ Longhurst thinks that the brick foundations by the side of the 13 feet wide processional path around the mahācetiya at Nagarjunakonda supported a wooden railing.⁹¹ But not all the stūpas in

85. SABM.p.29.

86. Ibid.pp.30f.

87. Ibid.p.30.

88. ASSI.vol.I.pl.XXXVIII, no. 1 and 2. Sometimes near the gateways were placed pillars surmounted by wheels (Memoirs.no.54,pl.XI,c) and pillars carrying lamps. (ASSI.vol.I.p.15) One of the latter pillars is probably referred to as diva khabha in an Amaravati inscription (ASMG.p.302)

89. SABM.p.32.

90. ASSI.vol.I.p.107.

91. Memoirs.no.54.p.16.

the Krishna-Guntur region appear to have had this type of an enclosure.⁹²

The above description of structural stūpas of the Krishna-Guntur area indicates that they often varied in details of style and technique of construction. However, it will not be wise to suggest that these differences always help to fix their exact chronological positions. As we have already remarked above, inscriptional evidence clearly suggests that the one of the stūpas of the Mahisāsake monastery, built in the reign of Ehuṅvula Cāntamūla, had a solid stūpa, whereas the mahācetiya at Nagarjunakonda, which was in existence during the reign of his father, was built on a wheel shaped plan (i.e. made of hollow brick chambers packed with loose earth) (pp 432f). Moreover, stūpas were subject to renovations and alterations. We have already referred to the addition of āyaka platforms to the stūpas at ~~two periods~~ subsequent ~~to their~~ original construction (as in the case of Jaggayyapeta). As we shall see later, there may have been more than one phase in the building activities at the mahācetiya of Amaravati. (p. 483)

92. Ancient India. no.16 (1960), p.80; ASI.AR. Southern Circle. 1916-17, pp.35-36; etc. It may be noted here that a stūpa at Alluru had a brick parapet wall on the circular platform (ASI.AR. 1926-27 p.150) Rails around the stūpas are more commonly seen in northern India.

We must, however, consider that since a general tendency towards elaboration and ornamentation is noticeable in different spheres of early Indian art, it may be presumed that the beginning of the practise of building stūpas with little or no sculpture in the Krishna-Guntur area was earlier than the time by which the custom of constructing larger and ornamental stūpas had become popular. Thus for dating a stūpa one should take into consideration not only its style and architectural details, but also other forms of evidence including epigraphic testimonies.

C

Votive stupas were miniatures of large structural stūpas. However, perhaps with one solitary exception, votive stupas of the Krishna-Guntur region are not known to have any āyaka platforms. This has been discovered in site no.2 at Nagarjunakonda.⁹³ It seems that the votive stūpas of our territory generally used to have solid cores.⁹⁴

93. Ancient India, no.16. (1960)p.77.

94. Ibid.

D.

The most important rock-hewn stūpa is found in a rock cut shrine at Guntupalle in the Krishna district. Its drum is 18 feet 11 inches in diameter and 3 feet 9 inches in height. The hemispherical dome is 9 feet 2 inches in diameter and 4 feet 9 inches high. The harmikā and umbrella are no longer there; but a socket hole meant originally for receiving them can still be noticed.⁹⁵

The stupa is in the centre of a circular hall with a diameter of 18 feet and a height of 14 feet 9 inches. The roof of the shrine is elliptical or rather vaulted and is carved with sixteen curved ribs radiating from the centre. On these ribs rest four concentric circular rafters.^{(pl. VIIA, B) 96} This arrangement of the roof does not add to the strength of the rock architecture, and only simulates a roof made of wood or wood and bamboo. This 'wooden' character of this shrine is further emphasised by its horse-shoe-shaped facade, in which may be noticed the projecting ends of little rafters, unnecessary in stone architecture, but essential in a wooden building.⁹⁷ (pl. VI B).

95. ASI.AR. Southern Circle, 1916-17. p. 30.

96. Ibid; Fergusson, op. cit. p. 168.

97. ASI.AR. Southern Circle. 1916-17. p. 16, pl. XVIII, 1-4.

Thus here we find a translation into stone of an architectural technique generally employed in wooden buildings. Its prototype has been found by S.K. Saraswati⁹⁸ in the circular shrine of wood and brick, found at Bairat (Rajasthan) and dated to the Maurya period.⁹⁹ The facade of the Guntupalle shrine has also striking similarity to those of the Sudama and Lomasa rishi caves in the Barabar hills (Behar), datable to the Maurya period.¹⁰⁰

This stylistic consideration as well as the fact that one of the structural stupas near this shrine bears an inscription of the second century B.C.,¹⁰¹ should date it at least long before the beginning of the Christian era.¹⁰² The existence during our period of structural shrines of similar circular plan may be indicated by a number of sculptures found at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda.¹⁰³ One caitya slab from the latter place shows a

98. CHI, vol. II. p. 719.

99. D.R. Sahni, Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Bairat. pp. 28-31.

100. A.K. Coomaraswamy, op.cit. pp. 18, 19. pl. IX, 28. A.K. Coomaraswamy has rightly related the plan of the Sudama cave to that of a structural circular shrine delineated in a Bharut relief (ibid. p. 19. pl. XII, 113)

101. ASI. AR. Southern Circle. 1916-17. p. 35.

102. Similar rock-cut circular shrines may be noticed in a cave at Junnar (Maharashtra) and also in one at Kondivate (Maharashtra) (Fergusson, op.cit. pp. 131-158)

103. ASSI. vol. I. pl. XLV, no. 3; Memoirs. no. 54. pl. XI, 9; XVIII, a, b. See also Ancient India no. 16 (1960) pl. XLVI.

circular chamber with an elliptical or hemispherical roof built on rafters radiating from the centre (pl. VIII A)¹⁰⁴

It has a finial on top of the roof, which has a 'horse-shoe'-shaped window on its front, a reminiscent of similarly shaped facade of the Guntupalle shrine. Within the shrine is seen a throne on which is an auspicious symbol and in front of which is a stone slab carrying foot prints. This description of the chamber, depicted as situated near a stūpa, distinguishes it as a shrine.

Footprint slabs have actually been discovered at Nagarjunakonda¹⁰⁵ and Amaravati.¹⁰⁶ Bases of a few structures with an opening in front, have also been unearthed at Nagarjunakonda during excavations.¹⁰⁷

Since all these are found in the vicinity of the ruins of monasteries and stūpas, it is not impossible that they are remnants of circular shrines. One of them is circular outside (13 feet 7 inches in diameter) but square (6 feet 11 inches) within.¹⁰⁸

104. Memoirs. 54, pl. XI, a.

105. ET. vol. XXXIII. pl. facing p. 250.

106. SABM, pl. XLVII, ASSI, vol. I. pl. LII, no. 8.

107. Memoirs 71, pl. XXXI. A; p. 20 and n. 15; Ancient India, no. 16 (1960), pl. XXXVIII.

108. Memoirs. 71, p. 20. T. N. Ramachandran thinks that they are remnants of storage rooms, guard rooms, or office rooms, since a stone bed has been found in one of these circular chambers (ibid, p. 20). However, what appears to him a stone bed may have in fact been a part of a seat on which were placed, as indicated by the slab described above, auspicious symbols representing the Buddha.

Developments on the design and style of the circular shrine, delineated by the last mentioned caitya slab, may be traced in two sculptures discovered at Amaravati. One of them depicts a circular chamber having a hemispherical dome (made of concentric rafters?) with a kind of finial on top and with a row of horse shoe shaped windows. Another row of such windows may be noticed on the upper zone of the outer face of the chamber. The shrine has an opening, through which can be seen the interior. It shows a stūpa with a chakra on a raised platform and below a canopy and encircled by a row of pillars ¹⁰⁹ (pl.VIII B)

Another Amaravati sculpture, now preserved in the Musée Guimet in Paris, represents a circular structure of tapering height having a hemispherical dome (made of radiating rafters?) It has three rows of 'horse-shoe'-shaped windows over projected balconies with porches and pillars. The middle of the uppermost row of balconies enshrines a stūpa ¹¹⁰ (pl IXA). The latter feature probably distinguishes the structure as a shrine for stūpa worship. ¹¹¹ G. Combaz considers this structure as

109. ASSI.vol.I.pl.XLV.no.3. Here the full outer face of the shrine is not shown as fully covered in order to allow the viewer a glimpse of its inner contents. Similar inner arrangements may be noticed in a cave at Junnar and in the structural circular chamber at Bairat, both referred to above.

110. Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques.vol.II (1933)p.118. Fig.11.

111. See also an Amaravati sculpture published in J. Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship. (1873) pl.LXIII,1.

indicating an integration of stupa with the vihāra or monastic architecture.¹¹² To us, however, its architectural style appears as a development of that of the circular chamber indicated by the first of the two Amaravati sculptures in question.

A remote similarity may be noticed between the architectural style indicated by the first of the above two Amaravati sculptures and that depicted in a sculptural panel of the Pallava period.¹¹³ We may also find a very interesting connection between the architectural style of the circular shrine depicted by the first Amaravati sculpture and that of the Thuparama dagoba of Ceylon, if S. Parṇaviṭana is right in suggesting that the four concentric circles of stone pillars around the latter stūpa were meant to support a roof which had its outer circular rim rested on a brick wall.¹¹⁴ For this means that the Thuparama dagoba was enshrined, like the stūpa in the Amaravati sculpture, in a circular structure. Since, as noted above, the Ceylonese Buddhists had regular contact with our region, the prototype of the architectural

112. *Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, vol. II, (1933) p. 189

113. A.K. Coomaraswamy. op.cit. pl. LVIII, no. 198

114. S. Parṇaviṭana, op.cit. pp. 751-790. S. Parṇaviṭana has refuted all arguments put forward by other scholars suggesting various other interpretations of the presence of the concentric circles of pillars.

style of enshrined Thūpārama dagobā may be found in India.

As we have already noted, the circular Buddhist structures of our region enshrined either auspicious symbols representing the Buddha or ^athe stūpa. A circular shrine with a thūpa, i.e. stūpa, or cetiya, i.e. caitya, could have been called Thūpaghara (Stūpagrha) or Cetiyaghara (caityagrha).¹¹⁶

The archaeological remains of the circular cetiya gharas of our area are far less in number than those of the apsidal cetiya-gharas.¹¹⁷ A Nagarjunakonda inscription of the year 14 of Ikṣvāku King Virapurusaḍatta records the erection of a cetiya gharā with a flooring of slabs and a cetiya, i.e. stūpa.¹¹⁸ The epigraph is found inscribed on the stone paved floor of a long brick built structure with an apse at one end and an opening on the other. The apsidal end contains a stūpa. The opening which seems to be the remnant of a doorway leads into a place flanked apparently by two bases of very thick brick walls. The latter were probably used for supporting a porch in front of the doorway. In front of the open space between the thick walls (or pillars?) is a step of stone shaped like

115. It is interesting to note that the Mahāvamsa states that Vasabha erected a thupaghara (stūpa-grha) at Thūparāma (Mahāvamsa, XXXV, 88). Thūpaghara must denote a chamber enshrining a stūpa.

116. See above n.115.

117. ASI. AR. Southern Circle, 1916-17, p. 33, pl. XXI; Memoirs, no. 54, pp. 8-9, Memoirs, no. 71, p. 13; etc.

118. EI, vol. XX, p. 2, F.

a half moon. Stones of such a shape are known as 'moon stones'.¹¹⁹

The cetiya ghara built by Cāntisiri in the regnal year 18 of Vīrapuruṣadatta¹²⁰ had also^a identical ground plan¹²¹ (pl. IXβ).

The interiors of these shrines appear to have been plastered and whitewashed.¹²² As, however, only the foundations or lower portions of these and similar structures have been unearthed at Nagarjuna-konda, we cannot be absolutely certain about the frontal appearances of their superstructure. Nevertheless, one may get some idea from the remnants of a Buddhist structure at Guntupalle (53 feet 7 inches in length and 14 feet 5 inches in breadth).¹²³ Here the door jambs are carried up as pilasters to the springing of a semi-circular brick arch, spanning the doorway at a height of about 15 feet. The height of the interior may also have been the same. Massive brick projections on each side of the entrance, as in the above apsidal shrines, are probably the remnants of the walls supporting a porch.¹²⁴

119. Memoirs.no.54,p.8.pl.Va.

120. EL.vol.XX.p.14 and 21E.

121. Memoirs.54,pl.IV b; p.8.

122. Ibid,p.8.

123. ASI.AR,Southern Circle,1916-17,p.33 and pl.XXI.

124. Ibid.

The interior of the ruins of this shrine was found by A. Rea as filled up with bricks from side walls and roof, which indicated that the roof had been made of brick and probably also of plaster.¹²⁵ Here were also found some broken earthenware roof finials.¹²⁶

Such a pottery finial was discovered in an apsidal shrine at Nagarjunakonda.¹²⁷ This and also the above description of the apsidal structure perhaps permit us to recognise the representation of such a shrine in a sculpture from the stūpa of Jaggayyapeta.¹²⁸ Here the roof of the shrine is shown vaulted, on the ridge of the vaulted roof are four finials, and on its frontal part is a 'horse-shoe'-shaped decoration. A 'horse-shoe' shaped window is seen on the upper portion of the facade of the building. A 'moon-stone' can be noticed at the doorway which is followed by a flight of steps leading into the interior. Within the shrine is a backless seat under a parasol, and behind a slab with footprints. (pl. XA.)

If the above suggestion is correct, the apsidal temples of our region had vaulted

125. Ibid, p. 33.

126. Ibid, p. 2.

127. Memoirs. 71, p. 15.

128. ASSI. vol. I, pl. LV no. 2.

roofs with finial ends. Their structural remains show that they were built of very large bricks and that their floors were paved with large black slabs of stone (now known as Cuddapah slabs).¹²⁹ Their outer walls were also at least sometimes plastered.¹³⁰

The origin of this type of building should be sought in the supposed structural prototypes of the rock cut apsidal shrines of Western India dated to the first and second centuries A.D. or earlier.¹³¹ On the other hand, the influence of the architectural style of the apsidal shrines of our region may be discerned in the vaulted roof with traces of finial ends found in the Kapotesvara temple at Chezarla¹³² (Guntur district) datable to the early Pallava age. The Dharmarāja ratha and the Ganeśa ratha at Mahabalipuram (Madras State), dated to the Pallava period, have śikharas or spires which betray a fusion of the designs of the dome of the circular cetiya gharas and the vaulted roofs of the apsidal cetiya gharas.¹³³

129. Memoirs. 71, p. 13.

130. Ibid. The object of worship in a cetiya gharas was either a stūpa (pl. XI A) (Memoirs. no. 71. pl. XII, A) or an image of the Buddha (Memoirs. no. 71. pl. XII, B) (pl. XI B).

131. J. Fergusson, op. cit., pp. 134-148; AIU, pp. 499-502; etc.

132. A. K. Coomaraswamy, op. cit. pl. XXXV, no. 147. Memoirs. no. 71, p. 13.

133. J. Fergusson, op. cit., p. 172. fig. 89; A. K. Coomaraswamy, op. cit. pl. LIX, no. 202.

'Horse-shoe' shaped windows of these cetiya gharas of our period, which architecturally owed its origin to an earlier age, survived, though with variations in details, as an architectural motif into the times of the Pallavas, Colas, Pandyas, the Vijayanagara Kingdom, etc.¹³⁴ This motif can also be noticed in the vāhalkadas (n 69) of the Ceylonese dagobas or stūpas.¹³⁵ 'Moon-stone', which formed a part of the steps leading to the cetiya gharas, was used also as a step-stone in Ceylonese Buddhist architecture.¹³⁶

Excavations at Nagarjunakonda have also laid bare bases of square, oblong and octagonal chambers in different monastic units.¹³⁷ A 'torso' of the Buddha on a lotus pedestal have been found in the ruins of a square chamber in the quadrangle of a vihāra.¹³⁸

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134. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, Archeologie du Sud de L'Inde, vol. I. 1914, pp. 61-64.
135. S. Paranavitana, op. cit. pp. 48 and 50. ^[136] H. Mode, Die Buddhistische Plastik auf Ceylon. 1963, p. 44. History of Ceylon. vol. I. pt. I. 1959. p. 263.
137. IA. AR. 1956-57, pp. 37; 1957-58, p. 8; Ancient India no. 16 (1960) p. 69, etc.
138. IA. AR. 1956-57, p. 37.

The remnant of an oblong chamber within the area of the monastery of the Bahusrutiyas are found to have in front of it a pillar bearing a seated figure of the Buddha.¹³⁹

An octagonal chamber built of re-used bricks has been discovered in the vicinity of a three 'winged' monastery. It is enclosed within a wall.¹⁴⁰ These descriptions of these chambers may support the suggestion that they were (Buddhist) shrines.¹⁴¹

Another religious structure seems to have been referred to by the expression bodhi-rukha-pāsāda (bodhi-vrkṣa-prāsāda).¹⁴² This shrine for the Bodhi tree is said to have been built by upāsikā Bodhisiri in the Sihala vihāra, situated apparently at Nagarjunakonda. A similar shrine is possibly delineated in an Amaravati

139. Ancient India.no.16.(1960)p.69.pl.XXXVIII,B.

140. IA,AR.1957-58.p.8.

141. See above n.137. Excavators have discovered a shrine flanked by two rooms, on the top of a hill in the Nagarjunakonda region. The shrine can be approached by a flight of steps leading to the top of the hill. (IA,AR.1954-55,p.22-23. P.R.Ramachandra Rao, The Art of Nagarjunakonda.p.25) A pillar inscription, found here, records the putting up of a 'perpetual lamp' (IA,AR.1954-55,p.23) It can be paleographically dated to the Ikṣvāku period (ibid.pl.XLVI B). A broken image discovered in the shrine has been suggested to be that of Hārīti. But no reason is adduced for such a suggestion (IA,AR.1954-55.p.22)

142. EI.vol.XX.p.22.F.

sculpture.¹⁴³ It depicts a four storied circular stone structure with 'horse-shoe'-shaped windows and railings. This structure encircles a tree (Bodhi tree?) which outgrows it. The depiction of two flying figures as adoring the tree alludes to the sacred nature of the tree and perhaps suggests that it was the Bodhi tree (pl X B)¹⁴⁴

The information about the erection of a shrine for the Bodhi tree in the Sīhala vihāra, situated apparently at Nagarjunakōnda, is extremely interesting. For such shrines are known to have been popular with the early Buddhist worshippers of Ceylon.¹⁴⁵

143. ASMGM.pl.XV,1; p.134. See also ASSI.vol.I.pl.XXI. no. 2. the middle portion of the rail panel.

144. For a discussion on the sculptural representations of bodhi shrines see A.K.Coomaraswamy's article on Early Indian Architecture in Eastern Art, vol.II. (1930) pp.225-235. Some early Indian sculptures, which portray people paying homage at an altar before a tree, probably indicate another form of worshipping the Bodhi tree (ESIA.pl.XXII)

145. University History of Ceylon.pp.257-258.

E

Near different sites of stūpas and shrines are found remains of cells obviously used by monks.

A series of rock cut cells can be noticed at Guntupalle. These appear to have been planned and executed in a haphazard manner. There is a rock hewn verandah in front of the cells. This verandah has doors and windows and are decorated with 'horse shoe' shaped gables above them.¹⁴⁶

This architecture is rather primitive in appearance. It is also devoid of any sculptural decoration. These facts as well as the presence of an inscription of about the second century B.C.¹⁴⁷ on a nearby structural stūpa may date these cells well before the beginning of the Christian era.

Of the cells in the Krishna-Guntur region those which can be confidently dated to our period are generally structural. In the Nagarjunakonda valley remains of them have been found near the ruins of different stūpas and shrines. These cells, rectangular or

146. ASI.AR.Southern Circle.1916-17.pp.30-31.

147. Ibid.

square in shape, are found to have been made of very large bricks. (pl XII A) These rooms are noticed to have been arranged generally in one,¹⁴⁸ two,¹⁴⁹ three¹⁵⁰ or four¹⁵¹ rows. 'Two rows of cells' were arranged in the shape of the letter 'L' or were built facing each other. The plan of 'three wings of cells' usually took the shape of the letter 'U'. If cells were to be divided into four wings, the latter were constructed on all four sides of a quadrangle. Cells were generally arranged as abutting on an enclosure wall. Within some of the enclosure walls have been unearthed foundations of several other structures. These are considered to be those of refectories,¹⁵² kitchens,¹⁵³ store rooms,¹⁵⁴ etc.¹⁵⁵ Foundations of square halls have been traced within most of the enclosure walls. These are found situated between wings of cells (pl XIII B)

148. Ancient India.no.16 (1960),pl.XLVIII,pp.71-76

149. Ibid.

150. Ibid.

151. Ibid.

152. Memoirs.no.54.p.9; Ancient India,no.16.(1960), pl. XLVIII.

153. Memoirs, 54.p.10.

154. Ibid. One Nagarjunakonda inscription refers to a Bhara-śāla (abhāṇḍāra śālā) or 'store room' of a monastery. (EI.vol.XXXV.p.9)

155. Memoirs.no.54.p.10.

Stone pillars of such a hall belonging to the monastery no.3 (of site no.5) have been discovered. These pillars of limestone, nicely cut, stand about 8 feet above the floor level. The upper and lower ^{parts of the} pillars are square in section and ornamented with semicircular medallions carved with lotus emblems. (pl.XIII A) The central portions of the pillars are octagonal in section. The tops are provided with rectangular grooves probably for receiving wooden beams.¹⁵⁶ Longhurst surmised that the roof of the hall was thatched.¹⁵⁷ However, an analysis of the remains of the roof of such a pillared hall at the site no.6 indicates that it was constructed of thin Cuddapah slabs, bricks, lime mortar, brick mortar and plaster.¹⁵⁸ Floors of this pillared hall built of bricks, brick concrete, earth and stone were paved also with Cuddapah stones.¹⁵⁹ A flight of steps with balustrades or wing-stones (having the shape of a makara) and

156. Ibid.p.11.

157. Ibid.

158. Memoirs. no.71.p.17.

159. Ibid. p.18. Floors of some other pillared halls were also paved with stones. Wooden pillars have been found in the ruins of one such hall at Nagarjunakonda. (IA,AR. 1957-58.p.8) See also Memoirs.no.54.p.9.

a moonstone have been found on the western side of the hall.¹⁶⁰

Epigraphic sources mentioning ovāraka¹⁶¹ (apavāraka) and maṃdava¹⁶² (mandapa) probably alludes to a cell and a pillared hall.¹⁶³ The term vihāra, occurring in a number of epigraphs at Nagarjunakonda probably, in the contexts in question, refer to a whole Buddhist establishment including one or two stūpas, cells, halls, etc. This is evident from the reference in a Nagarjunakonda inscription to the mahācetiya as belonging to the mahāvihāra.¹⁶⁴ Results of excavations indicate that the sizes of the Buddhist establishments at Nagarjunakonda varied considerably. These may be divided into units consisting of:-

- a) one or two stūpas and a residing quarter with or without a pillared hall,
- b) one or two stūpas, a residing quarter with or

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160. Memoir.no.71.p.17.pl.XXV,a. Similar 'wing-stones' shaped like makaras can be noticed in Celonese Buddhist architecture (University History of Ceylon. vol.I,pt.I.p.263.) H.Mode,op.cit.pp.41f, fig.31.
161. EI.vol.XX,p.22,F.
162. Ibid.vol.XXXV,p.97A.
163. A Nagarjunakonda inscription of the year 18 of King Virapurusaḍadatta speaks of the erection of a 'stone maṃtava with a cloister' (ibid.vol.XX,p.21,E.)
164. Ibid.p.19, B5.

without pillared hall and one or two apsidal temples (pl. XIII B).

and c) a residing quarter without any pillared hall, and an apsidal temple with a stūpa.¹⁶⁵

Isolated stūpas may also be noticed in the Nagarjunakonda valley.¹⁶⁶

Though nowhere else in the Krishna-Guntur region units of Buddhist establishments can be so clearly recognised as in the latter valley, their traces may be noticed at Guntupalle,¹⁶⁷ Jaggayyapeta¹⁶⁸ Pedda Ganjam,¹⁶⁹ Gummadidurre,¹⁷⁰ Ranka¹⁷¹ Alluru,¹⁷¹ etc. The considerable number of these monasteries alludes to the presence of a great number of Buddhist monks in the Andhra region.¹⁷²

165. Ancient India, no.16.(1960) pl.XLVIII.

166. Ibid. p.77. Excavations at Nagarjunakonda have revealed that sometimes stūpas and monasteries were built on the ruins (?) of previously existing stūpas. (pl.XIV A) (IA.AR.1954-55, pl.XIV A) and monasteries (ibid 1956-57) pl.LVI(B) (pl. XIV B).

167. ASI.AR. Southern Circle.1916-17.pp.30f.

168. ASSI. vol.I.pp.107-108.

169. ASI.AR. Southern Circle.1916-17.p.34.

170. ASI.AR.1926-27.pp.152f. *See also*

171. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy.1923-24. p.3; 1926-27.p.74

171. ASI.AR.1926-27.pp.150f.

172. *See also* CHI, vol. II, pp.736f.

In comparison to our knowledge of the Buddhist shrines, our idea of the architectural styles of the Brahmanical temples is insufficient.

A Nagarjunakonda inscription records the erection of a prāsāda called Sarvvadevādivāsa or 'the abode of Śiva'.¹⁷³ The inscription is found in the ruins of a stone built structure near the bank of the Krishna, which seems to have comprised an 'L' -shaped pillared wing. A portion of it situated to the south is on a lower level. This portion contains massive pedestals and so may have been the shrine proper. Balustraded steps placed above a 'moon-stone' lead from here to the upper pillared hall.¹⁷⁴

Excavations on the northern slope of the Nagarjunakonda hill have exposed the remains of three structures. The first of them appears to have been

173. EI.vol.XXXIII,p.149. It has been wrongly thought that this inscription perpetuates the memory of the erection of a Kārtikeya temple (IA.AR.1956-57 p.36) See also Journal of Oriental Research Institute, Madras,vol.XI (1961)p.21.

174. Ibid.p.36 and pl.LIVa.

a huge pillared hall with seating arrangements. The second lying to its west probably represents another pillared hall. It is situated on a higher level than the first hall. The third building comprises a ruined temple within a brick built enclosure wall.¹⁷⁵ The temple, which faces west, is made of stone. The shrine is an apsidal one. Pillars are found planted at fixed intervals on the periphery of the apse. They were probably meant for carrying the super-incumbent load.¹⁷⁶ An inscription on a pillar found in front of the temple records the erection of a devakula or temple of Puspabhadrasvāmin as well as a dhvajastambha in the regnal year 16 of Ehuṅvula Gaṁtamula.¹⁷⁷ It is obvious that the shrine in question was called the devakula of Puspabhadrasvāmin (Śiva) (p. 412).

A site, locally known as that of a temple of Kārttikeya, has the remains of a pillared hall with a brick parapet wall with an opening in front of it. The latter leads to an open space, after which can be noticed the foundation of a room with a porch in front of

175. IA.AR.1958-59.p.8.pl.VIA.

176. Journal of the Oriental Research Institute, Baroda, vol.XI (1961) p.21.

177. EI.vol.XXXIV,p.19.

it, facing towards the pillared hall.¹⁷⁸

Ruins of long rows of pillared mandapas or halls, apparently belonging to the temple of Aṣṭabhujā-svāmin (Visnu, pp.408-09), have also been discovered at Nagarjunakonda in the north-eastern corner of the valley. The structural remains in this area ~~included three chambers, one of which was confronted by a~~ dhvajastambha.¹⁷⁹

As in the mandapas of the Buddhist establishments, so also here the pillars were probably used to support wooden beams, on which rested the roof constructed with stone slabs, bricks and lime.¹⁸⁰

Pillared mandapas seem to have been a feature common to both Buddhist and Brahmanical establishments. But Brahmanical shrines, unlike Buddhist ones at Nagarjunakonda, were built of stone. It should also be noted that in the Nagarjunakonda area, all known Brahmanical structures were built along the river bank, whereas the Buddhist establishments were built in the interior of the valley.

178. This information was gathered by us during our field work in the Nagarjunakonda valley in October 1963. K.V.Sundara Rajan reports the discoveries of two Kārttikeya shrines, apparently including the one referred to here. (Journal of Oriental Research Institute, Baroda, vol. XI. (1961) p.23) He, however, does not describe either of these two shrines.

179. IA.AE.1958-59.p.8; These structures were superimposed by rubble structures of medieval times (ibid)

180. Ibid.1956-57.p.36.

Excavations at Nagarjunakonda

have laid bare a well plastered square brick built tank (measuring 27' x 27' x 8' 6"). It is a four tiered structure with the bottom 6' 4" square. To its south a brick tank (18' x 12') has been discovered. Its plan resembles the shape of a tortoise.¹⁸¹ (pl XV A)

Both the tanks are situated within a massive compound wall. It has been suggested that these are ritualistic structures - probably connected with a horse sacrifice¹⁸² (p. 401). In fact, the skeleton of a horse, and a mace have been dug up near the first tank.¹⁸³ We have already noted that Cāntamūla (†) performed an aśvamedha (p. 139). These structures may have been erected on the occasion of this sacrifice.

181. IA.AE. 1956-57, p.37.pl.LIV.

182. Ibid.

183. Ibid.

As in the cases of the Brahmanical shrines, the number of the remains of secular buildings of the Andhra region datable to our period is by no means considerable.¹⁸⁴

In the central part of the Nagarjunakonda valley ruins of a large pillared hall have been discovered. The pillars found here are highly ornamented and are noticed to bear sculptures relating to 'semi-classical subjects' including a crude representation of Dionysus.¹⁸⁵ In both these respects the pillars are so different from those discovered in religious structures of this area that Longhurst has surmised that they belong to a secular structure, probably a palace.¹⁸⁶ This is not unlikely since the site for the asvamedha, performed probably by King Cāntamūla, is situated close to it.¹⁸⁷

Some panels of sculptures from Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and Goli ~~portray~~ various types

184. *In this connexion, see ASMG.M., pp. 134f.*

185. For a description of an early Indian city, see the Milinda Pañha, I, 34 and 330f. For a discussion on this topic, see also A.K. Coomaraswamy's article on Early Indian Architecture in Eastern Art, vol. II. (1930) pp. 209f.

186. Memoirs, no. 54, p. 11; pl. VIII, C; IX; X: c and d.

187. Ibid., p. 11. Not far from this site was a stepped and balustraded bathing place (ghat) on the Krishna. (IA. AR. 1955-56, pp. 25-26). A brick embankment along the river has also been noticed. (ibid., pp. 25-26; ibid. 1956-57, p. 36)

of buildings which apparently represent secular structures. It appears from them that big buildings often had more than a single storey, with the upper or the topmost one having flat, barrel shaped, or curvilinear roofs.¹⁸⁸ Barrel shaped roofs with finial ends on top and horse-shoe shaped windows on the facade¹⁸⁹ (pl. xv, A, II) had similarities in appearance with the roofs of the apsidal cetiya ghara.

Excavations at Nagarjunakonda

have unearthed ruins apparently of residential quarters of ordinary citizens. Each unit had three rooms with a common verandah in front.¹⁹⁰ Similar lay out has already been noticed in the Sātavāhana levels at Brahmapuri and Kolhapur (Maharashtra).¹⁹¹

Sculptural panels discovered in our region depict square (or circular), circular and rectangular huts respectively with curvilinear, hemispherical and barrel-shaped roofs. The roofs appear to have been thatched.¹⁹² (pl. xv, A, 4-6). Probably ordinary

188. ASMGGM. p. 136. pl. XXVIII, 1; Goli pl. Id; IV, a; Memoirs, no. 54. pl. XXXV, b. Roofs were probably made of tiles and were probably supported by wooden bars placed on stone (?) pillars.

189. ASMGGM. pl. XXVII, 1.

190. IA. AR. 1957-58. p. 8.

191. Ibid.

192. ASMGGM. pl. 134. pl. XLVIII, 2; XLVI, 2; Memoirs no. 71, pl. XXXA. Barrel-shaped roofs may also be noticed in the Sahadeva and Bhīma Rathas at Mahavalipuram dated to the Pallava age.

people of the countryside and also perhaps of towns(?) lived in huts of these types

Excavators at Nagarjunakonda have found traces of well laid out streets ¹⁹³ flanked by buildings. ¹⁹⁴ But their more important discovery in this area is a structure which has been identified as a stadium. We have already described it (p. 337). The presence of a stadium as well as the figure of Dionysus, mentioned above, perhaps betray Roman influence on the art and architecture of our region.

A citadel (?) wall enclosing an area of 3000 x 2000 feet has been discovered at Nagarjunakonda. It appears to have been built in two phases, first with morum or mud and then with burnt bricks. ¹⁹⁵ Ruins of similar walls can be noticed at Dharanikot, ¹⁹⁶ a part of ancient Dhānyakataka. Such walls were probably erected around important towns.

193. Remains of brick-built drains are believed to have been discovered at Nagarjunakonda.

194. IA.AR. 1959-60.p.9. Remains of a goldsmith's shop have been unearthed at this site. The area was visited by us in October 1963.

195. IA.AR.1957-58.p.5.

196. The Asiatic Journal.vol.XV.1923.p.467. It was also noticed by us during our field work at Dharanikot in October 1963. A part of the mounds covering this wall has now been excavated.

Panels of sculptures from Amaravati indicate that there were gateways at the entrances to the towns.¹⁹⁷ Sometimes these were elaborate structures consisting of towers situated on both sides of the entrance and connected above the latter (entrance) by a room ~~for~~ gangways (?) (pl. XVIA,7). Following A.K. Coomaraswamy,¹⁹⁹ we may call these 'gate-houses.' These were probably used as watch towers and were centres for collecting tolls and duties.

H.

Some of the structures described above, particularly the Buddhist stūpas, were often embellished with sculptures, worked in stone as well as

197. ASMG.M. pl. XLIII,1; LI,1.

198. The thatched (?) roof of one such tower depicted in an Amaravati sculpture has striking similarity in appearance with that of Draupadīratha at Mahabalipuram belonging to the Pallava age.

199. Eastern Art. vol. II (1930) p.213.

stucco. 200

Sculptural panels found in railing as well as on the face of the drum and dome of stupas deal with Buddhist themes. They illustrate different incidents of the Buddha's life²⁰¹ and depict different Jātaka stories²⁰² and other Buddhist legends.²⁰³

The Buddha is represented in many of these panels by auspicious symbols such as a stūpa, the wheel, svastikā, the Bodhi tree, footprint, parasol over thrones,²⁰⁴ etc.

The anthropomorphic^{po} representation of the Master in many panels depicts him as seated,²⁰⁵ standing²⁰⁶ or even flying.²⁰⁷ He is delineated in different āsanas with his hands displaying various mudrās of which the most frequently noticed is the abhaya mudrā.²⁰⁸

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200. For discussion on sculptures relevant to our study, see S.K. Saraswati, A Survey of Indian Sculpture, pp. 56-58 and 58-87; B. Rowland, The Art and Architecture of India. 1953. pp. 124-125; ASMGM. pp. 6f. SABM. 40f, etc.
201. Memoirs. no. 54. pp. 34-43; 56-62; ASMGM. pp. 151-157; 164-168. 175-205; 248-259. Journal of the Oriental Research Institute. Baroda, vol. XI, (1961) pp. 7f.
202. Memoirs. no. 54; pp. 43-55; ASMGM. pp. 206-239 and 260-263.
203. Memoirs. no. 54; pp. 61-62; Ibid. no. 71. p. 7.
204. ASSI. vol. I. pl. XXIII, 1; XXVIII, 2; XLIV, 1; XLV, 1-4; ASMGM. pp. 57f; Memoirs. no. 54. XXIX, b; SABM. pl. XLVII etc.
205. Memoirs. no. 54, pl. XXIV. a and b; XXXVII, b, etc.
206. SABM. pl. XXIX; Memoirs, no. 54. pl. XXXII, b; XXXV, b. etc.
207. Memoirs. no. 54. pl. XXXV. a.
208. See the above 3 notes also Memoirs no. 54, pl. XLVIII b; XXXVIII b; ASSI. vol. I, pl. XVI no 4; ESIA, pl. LII a and b etc.

In addition to the above, freestanding images of the Master have been found at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda.²⁰⁹
(pl. XVI B, XVII A).

The heads in these images have spiral or curly hair. Unnisa, wherever noticeable has also spiral hair.²¹⁰ Urna can be noticed in a few of the images.²¹¹ The drapery (saṅghati) is thick and is found to leave the right shoulder bare²¹² or to cover both the shoulders.²¹³ The latter characteristic is noticed in several Buddha icons produced by the Gandhara school.²¹⁴ It should also be noticed that the Master is sometimes delineated as wearing two pieces of cloth, an upper garment (saṅghati) and an inner garment (antarvāsa).²¹⁵

The proportion of the body as

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209. Memoirs.no.71,plX,A; ASMGM.pl.LXIV.2. pp.54-57; SABM. pp. 57-61; etc.
210. A.K.Coomarswamy, op.cit.pl.XXXIII,no.13 7
Ibid.pl.XXXIII,no.138.
211. Memòirs.no.54.pl.VI C; Ibid.no.71,pl.XV.
212. A.K.Coomarswamy,op.cit.pl.XXXIII,no.139.
213. Ibid.pl.XXXIII,137.
214. A.Foucher, L'Art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhara, vol.I. (1895)pp.453,fig.227,p.458,fig.279.p.459,fig.230;etc
215. A.K.Coomaswamy,op.cit.pl.XXXIII,no.141;SABM.pl.XXIX etc.

well as the drapery with its folds indicated by incised lines and overlapping ridges have close affinity to those of the Buddha images of the Mathura school.²¹⁶

However the face is oval and narrow as compared to the rather round and full face of the Mathura Buddhas. The massiveness of the Mathura type is also not much noticeable in the Buddha images of our area.²¹⁷

The free standing Buddha figures with the right hand held shoulder high in the abhayamudrā and with left hand held high with back of the fist facing the spectator are of surpassing interest to the students of art history. They seem to have served as prototypes for the Buddha images in Ceylon,²¹⁸ in the third century

216. A.K.Coomarswamy, op.cit. pl. XXII. no. 83.

217. S.K.Saraswati, A Survey of Indian Sculpture, p. 87; B.Rowland, The Art and Architecture of India (1953) p. 125, pl. 72.

218. Arts and Letters, vol. XXVIII, (1954) p. 46; University History of Ceylon, p. 266; H.Mode, op.cit. figs. 126-129. A

few bronze image of the Buddha were dug up during an excavation at Amaravati (ASI.AR.1908-9, p. 90). One of the images (height 54.5 cm) stands in sama-pada-sthānaka pose and wears saṅghati. The fingers of the left hand are held back. The right hand shows varada mudrā. It has curled hair and long ears. It has stylistic affinity to the stone images of the Buddha referred to above (ibid. pl. XXVIII, a, b). C. Sivaramamurū dates it to the 3rd century A.D. (C.Sivaramamurū, South Indian Bronzes, 1962, p. 68)

A.D. And the types so adopted retained its popularity in Ceylon at least up to the 12th century A.D.²¹⁹ It has been suggested that probably through Ceylon the influence of these images and of Amaravati art in general reached parts of south east Asia.²²⁰

Apart from the images or symbols representing the Buddha, the sculptural panels of our region depict men and women in various attitudes, flying figures of Nagas, garland bearers, dwarfs, etc. Among animals, real or mythical, are winged lions, elephants, horse, bulls, deer, makaras etc. Of the floral motifs the most noticeable are acanthus and lotus. The latter as well as foliage can be seen on pillars and pilasters. Of other noteworthy motifs special references should be made to puṇakumbhas and 'horse-shoe'-shaped windows.²²¹

219. Arts and Letters.vol.XXVIII,(1954),p.46.

220. BEFEO.vol.XLIX (1951)vol.XLIX,(1959),pp.631-636, pl. LVI - LXII.

221. SABM.pl.V-XXIII;ASSI.vol.I,pl.XXIII,1b;XXII,1-2; XXVI,2,4,5; XXXI,3,4; LI,2;LV,2;Memoirs.no.54.pl. XLIII-LI, XII; Goli.pl.II-XII;ASMGM.pp.92-95. In this connection see also C.Sivaramamurti, Royal Conquests and Cultural Migrations in South India and the Deccan. pp.2-3; Journal of the Oriental Research,Baroda,XI,(1961)pp.13-16.

Very little has been published about the Brahmanical images discovered at Nagarjunakonda. We have already referred to a few of them (pp. 418, 419,). We may add here that a bronze statuette of an archer standing in ābhāṅga pose has been found in that locality. (IA.AR.1957-58.pl.LVII.d). It has been suggested that it represents Rama as an archer (ibid.p.38) or Siddhartha (C. Sivaramamurti,South Indian Bronzes, p.68) No convincing reason has, however, been adduced in support of these suggestions.

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All these sculptures found in the above mentioned sites may be broadly divided into two groups on grounds of technique and style.

The figures which appear in sculpture belonging to the first group (pl XVII B) are carved in low flattened reliefs.²²² Some carvings at Jaggayyapeta seem to be attached to the surface almost like linear sketches.²²³ Panels are clumsily and crudely sculptured.²²⁴ Figures, though sometimes slender in the Jaggayyapeta reliefs,²²⁵ are generally of a stout nature.²²⁶ They are rigid, stiff and are often delineated in unrealistic poses.²²⁷ (pl XVII B)

The sculptures of the second group (pl XVIII, B) betray artists' skill for carving figures in high as well as in low reliefs²²⁸ and their sense of depth and dimension.²²⁹ Sometimes figures of the first plane of a panel are cut in deep relief and those of the subsequent planes in gradually lower relief.²³⁰ The relief matures in

222. ASSI.vol.I.pl.LI,2;ASMGM.pl.XIV,1,3;etc.

223. ASSI.vol.I,pl.LV,2 and 3.

224. SABM.pl.V.

225. ASSI.vol.I.pl.LV,1,LIV,3.

226. Ibid.pl.LI,2;ASMGM.pl.XIV,3;etc.

227. Ibid.SABM.pl.V.

228. ASMGM.pl.XXV, 1 and 2; pl.XXXIV,I.

229. ESIA.p.XVII,b.

230. ASMGM.Pl.XXV,1 and 2; pl.XXXIV,1.

depth, whence the figures seem to emerge and achieve the full roundedness of form. The techniques of oversecting and foreshortening are noticed to have been applied.²³¹

Panels are neatly and harmoniously treated.²³² Very often numerous figures are depicted in a single panel; but the viewer's sense of crowdedness and monotony is averted by presenting them in variety of poses and postures.²³³

Emphasis of artists is on people.²³⁴ Animals, flowers and plants are far less depicted than people.²³⁵ Men and women, though occasionally stout and flabby²³⁶, are generally very slender and tall.²³⁷ The slender and elongated limbs are particularly noteworthy. The figures are flexible²³⁸ and dynamic in rhythm.²³⁹ They are gracefully²⁴⁰ and often sensuously²⁴¹ treated.^{241a}

231. See above.n.213.

232. ESIA, pl.XXII, a; XXV, b; SABM.XLII.

233. SABM.pl.XXIX, XXVII, XXV etc.

234. Ibid.pl.XXIII; XXIV; ASMG.pl.XLIX, b; LI, a; Memoirs.no. 54.pl.XXVIII, a, b, c; XXIX, ab-c etc.

235. SABM.pl.IX, c, d; XXb; XXI, a; etc.

236. Memoirs.no.54.pl.XXVI, c; XXVII, a; etc.

237. Indian Sculpture, pl.XXII; XXVII; XL; SABM, XVII.

238. Ibid.pl.XXVII.

239. ESIA.pl.XXIX, XXXI, XLI, b; Memoirs.no.54.pl.XLIV, a; Goli.pl.II, e, f, etc.

240. Memoirs, no.54.pl.XLV, XLVI, a; Goli.pl.III, g; IV, i.

241. ESIA.pl.XXX, b, c; XLIX, b; Memoirs.no.59, pl.XLIII, a; Goli.pl.I, b; etc.

241a. An unfinished sculpture from Nagarjunakonda shows a figure drawn only by a faint line. This indicates that a figure to be sculptured was first drawn in line on stone and was then chiselled out.

Thus the difference between the sculpture of these two groups is great technically as well as stylistically. And the absence in our area of sculptures which can effectively span the difference may suggest a considerable interval of time between the two art movements indicated by these two groups of sculptures.

The flattened reliefs of the sculptures of the first group may be stylistically related to the art of Barhut (second century B.C. and the first half of the first century B.C.),²⁴² with the traits of the latter art we have already compared an Amaravati pillar bearing labelled sculptures, a feature common to Barhut reliefs (pp.344-45).

P.Stern and M.Bénisti have demonstrated that reliefs from Amaravati betray a few stylistic details noticable in sculptures at Karle, Mathura, Nasik, Ajanta, Kanheri and Begram.²⁴³ T.N. Ramachandran has pointed out that the presence of Vajrapāṇi with the Buddha which is 'very frequent' in Gandhāra sculptures can be noticed in a few panels at Nagarjunakonda.²⁴⁴ The sculptures referred to by these scholars belong to our second group.

242. AIU.p.524.

243. ESIA.pp.87-88.

244. Memoirs.no.71,pp.11 and 13; See also Memoirs.no.54. pl.X,c.

As we have noted above, a figure of Dionysus, attributable to the second group, has been found on a pillar at Nagarjunakonda.²⁴⁵ This and also the discovery in a stūpa site of two gold medallions imitating Roman imperial coins or medals,²⁴⁶ indicate contacts of our region with the world outside India, perhaps the Roman empire. The discovery of a stadium at Nagarjunakonda (p.337) may also point to that direction.²⁴⁷ As already indicated, the Krishna-Guntur region came in direct contact with the Roman empire in or about the first quarter of the second century A.D. Hence this dating may have bearing on the question of determining the age of the sculpture of the second group.

The testimony of the paleographic features of available epigraphs also suggests a considerable interval between the dates of the sculptures of the two groups concerned. Those belonging to the first group are mostly found at Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta.²⁴⁸ Some Amaravati epigraphs²⁴⁹ and some letters noticed on a few slabs and pilasters of the Jaggayyapeta²⁵⁰ stūpa cannot

245. Memoirs.no.54.pl.X,d.

246. Ibid.no.54.pl.XVI,d,p.21. See also Manuel D'Archeologie Romain,vol.I.(1916)pp.504-5;fig.278

247. See also ESIA.p.89.Figures of garland bearers, *ganās* sphinx,winged lions,etc.may allude to foreign influences.

248. ASSI.vol.I,pp.108f;pl.LV,2,3;LIV,3 etc.

249. See our pl.Iβ,card D;ASSI.vol.I.pl.LVI,4.

250. ASSI,vol.I.pp.108-111.

be paleographically dated after the inscriptions of Barhut.²⁵¹ On the other hand, the great majority of inscriptions at Amaravati cannot be ascribed to any period immediately before the commencement of the Sātavāhana hegemony in eastern Deccan.²⁵² As already suggested, the Satavahana period began here in the last quarter of the first century A.D. (p 94).

These arguments, based on style and technique of sculptures as well as on paleographic evidence, should indicate that the first group should be placed long before the beginning of the Christian era,²⁵³ whereas the second group is to be dated only from the last quarter of the first century A.D. This is also supported by the architectural evidence from the Amaravati

251. Compare the forms of letters of inscriptions nos.1-20 of R.P.Chanda's article on 'Some Unpublished Amaravati Inscriptions' in EI.vol.XV,pp.258-275, with B.M.Barua, Barhut, book III, (1937), pl.XVIII, 22;XXXV, 26 and 28 etc. According to Burgess, the letters on slabs and pilasters of the Jaggayyapeta resemble the Mauryan script. (ASSI,pp.108 and 111)

252. ASSI,vol.I.pl.LXI-LXIII.In this connection see also EI.vol.XV,pp.261f.

253. This controverts the theory of D.Barrett that the Amaravati sculptures should be dated from the second quarter of the second century A.D. (SABM.p.56) See also ESIA.pp.72-76; S.K.Saraswati, A Survey of Indian Sculpture.pp.70-71; S.Kramrisch, Indian Sculpture.pp.34-35.

stūpa. A few slabs of this stūpa are found sculptured on both sides. Sculpture on one side of a slab belongs to the first and that on the other side to the second group.²⁵⁴ This suggests that the slab was re-used by sculptors after it had been fixed on the stūpa.²⁵⁵ This and also the fact that the pavement in the north-west quadrant was found laid upon broken sculptures,²⁵⁶ indicate that the Amaravati stūpa was renovated at least sometime after its erection.²⁵⁷ Thus there were at least two different periods of building activities at Amaravati.

As our foregoing discussion demonstrates, the great majority of buildings at Nagarjunakonda must be assigned to the Ikshvaku period (c.A.D.225-348). So the sculptures found in those structures should be dated to the same age. Excavations at Nagarjunakonda have not yielded any sculpture ascribable to the first group in question.²⁵⁸ Sculptures from Goli,²⁵⁹ Gummadiduru,²⁶⁰

254. J.Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship. (1873)p.218; ASSI.vol.I, p.78 etc.

255. SABM.p.64, no.15 = pl.IV and p.71 no.98 = pl.V. Both the sculptures are found on one slab (British Museum. no.79).

256. ASSI.vol.I.p.76.

257. Ibid.p.22.

258. See plates of Memoirs no.54 and 71.

259. Goli.pl.I-XII.

260. ASI.AR.1926-27.pl.XXXV, a, b; XXXVI, a, b, c, d.

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Ghantasala, etc., must be stylistically affiliated to those of Nagarjunakonda and so to the second group.

No doubt, since the stūpa of Amaravati was continued to be worshipped up to the medieval period,²⁶² there might have been phases in the development of technique and style betrayed by the second group of sculpture. Indeed some detached ^{Amaravati} sculptures, which can be related to the products of other early medieval schools, may be dated long after our period.²⁶³ Their number is, however, very meagre in comparison to the vast number of sculptures of the second group.

We should also note that very few inscriptions at Amaravati can be dated after the third century A.D.²⁶⁴ Since the majority of inscriptions record constructions of different parts of the Buddhist establishment, the flourishing period of art at Amaravati may have been over before or by the end of our period.

261. A.Rea, op.cit. pl. XXX.

263. Arts and Letters, vol. XXVIII (1954) pp. 41f.

262. ASMG pp. 285-288; EI, vol. VI, pp. 43-44; EZ, vol. IX, pp. 100f.

264. EI, vol. XV, p. 261.

Relying on stylistic grounds, several scholars have tried to date the sculptures of our second group to different periods of early Christian centuries.²⁶⁵ No doubt some reliefs may be a little different from some others in details of style and execution. Modelling of some sculptures from Nagarjunakonda and Goli are weaker and softer than some of the best sculptures at Amaravati.²⁶⁶ Such differences may allude to two different dates for the sculptures in question. However, the dissimilarities in stylistic details may have been due to differences in the capabilities and skill of the sculptors employed. In fact all sculptures of the second group are so similar to one another in the essential features of technique and style that it is difficult to divide them into several groups betraying technical and chronological differences.²⁶⁷ It

265. ASMGM.pp.29-32. ESIA.pp.74-76.

266. AIU.p.525.

267. Recent excavations at Nagarjunakonda have unearthed a number of terracotta sculptures. They include figures of Hariti, mothergoddess, horses, elephants, bulls, a lion face, a figure of a monkey feeding her baby etc. (IA.AR.1956-57.p.38,pl.LXI,a). Some of them are beautiful and delicate. However, as terracotta art of the same technique and style may be attributed to different parts and periods of India, it is not safe to make any observation on their dates. Their technique is to quote Kramrisch 'ageless' (Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art. Vol. VII (1939) p. 89).

is perhaps better to consider the second group as covering the whole period ranging from the date of the earliest to that of the latest of the sculptures in question.

It appears that the second phase of building activities at Amaravati as well as the great majority of the sculptures of this region should be ascribed to our period. To the same age should be attributed the sculptures and the architecture of Nagarjunakonda, Alluru, Gummadidurru, Ghantasala, etc. We have already noted that the Jaggayyapeta stupa was renovated during the Ikshvaku age.

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It is noteworthy that the number of sculptures and architecture of the Krishna-Guntur area datable before our period is very meagre in comparison to the numerous sculptures and monuments of the age in question. This sudden rise in the trend of creative art was no doubt mainly due to the demand of its patrons. The latter, as it appears from the nature and purpose of the plastic art of our age, were either Buddhists or supporters of Buddhism. They, as already indicated above (pp. 377f.), were royal ladies, members of noble families, traders, ordinary laymen and also Buddhist monks and nuns. The urge for acquiring merit by making various kinds of gifts to the Buddhist church was great (pp. 379f.) Often

icons and sculptures were donated and buildings were dedicated to the Saṅgha.

Wealth of traders may have been augmented by trading with other parts of India as well as the western world. Royal ladies and the noblesse were naturally rich enough to patronise art.

Extension of the śātavāhana empire to the Krishna-Guntur region and the latter's contact with the Roman empire allowed its artists to imbibe and assimilate influences from different quarters. Architects and sculptors, patronised and experienced in these ways, produced objects of art vastly superior to any preceeding age of our region.

The art created by them left a rich legacy. We have already dealt with the probabilities of its influence on the Pallava art as well as on the art and architecture of Ceylon. Thus looked at from different angles, the art of our area appears to have been one of the finest expressions of the genius of India's creative mind.

CHAPTER XIII

Conclusion

The foregoing discussions on the activities of rulers and peoples in the Andhra region (the Krishna and the Guntur districts) between c. A.D. 75 and 350 seem to have yielded some interesting results. The authority of the Sātavāhanas was extended to this region during the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarni and not, as some scholars have suggested, in the time of his son and successor Vāsisthīputra Pulumavi (pp. 84 f). Their rule in this territory continued definitely until sometime in the reign of Vijaya Sātakarni (p. 118) and probably up to a period in the reign of Candā Sāti (p. 100) or even of Pulumāvi of the Mīyakadoni inscription. (p. 104).

The Ikṣvākus, the successors of the Sātavāhanas (pp. 113 f), were ousted by the Abhīras, at least from the Nagarjunākonda region, sometime between c. A.D. 344-45 and 348 A.D. (pp. 181 f). Their last known ruler was Rudrapurusadatta (p. 180). The Pallavas may have been responsible for the extinction of the Abhīra power and also perhaps for that of the Ikṣvākus if the latter continued to rule in any part of the Andhra region after they had been expelled from the Nagarjunakonda valley (p. 208).

A few administrative designations became regularly current for the first time during our period. Among such official titles were mahātalavara (pp. 230 f) and mahāsenāpati (pp. 225 f). There was also a marked tendency to assume by officials of high rank more than one administrative title (pp. 223-224).

The term dināri māsaka, which is cited in a few Ikṣvāku inscriptions, designates a type of local species influenced by Roman Imperial Coinage (pp. 290f). This, in its turn, hints at trade contacts between the Roman empire and the Krishna-Guntur region. Commercial relations with the Roman empire and other countries are also indicated by Ptolemy (pp. 281f). Several epigraphs refer to traders and allude to commercial activities (pp. 272f).

Trade and other forms of contact with different parts of India as well as with the outside world may explain the presence of heterogeneous elements in the Andhra society of our period (pp. 309f). Recent excavations at Nagarjunakonda indicate the presence of the followers of Vedic rites and Brahmanical sects in this society (pp. 400f). However, the society was predominantly Buddhist (pp. 343f). Several Buddhist sects, such as the Pubbaseliyas, Aparaseliyas, Siddhātthikas, Aparamahāvinaseliyas and the Mahāvina-seliyas became prominent during our period. These or at least the last two were probably sects of local origin (pp. 371-372).

The popularity of Buddhism is also attested by the ruins of religious architecture dated to our period (pp. 425f). These were erected by traders, royal and noble families and ordinary people as gifts and donations to the Śaṅgha. Local artists and architects, patronised by these donors, made certain innovations in plans and designs of religious architecture. We have referred to the āyaka platforms of the stūpas, the presence of which was perhaps necessitated by the demands of the local Buddhists (pp. 437f).

Local architects also made contribution towards the development of temple

architecture. The remains of earliest structural temples of the Deccan have been unearthed at Nagarjunakonda.

No doubt, these artists had undergone influences from other parts of India and the outside world (pp.486-488). They, on their part, contributed to the development of the art and architecture in the eastern Deccan, influenced the art of Ceylon and, perhaps, through the latter, also that of some of the countries of south east Asia (pp.476-77,487).

The Andhra region of our period appears to have left rich legacies, particularly in the fields of religious art. For this reason, more than anything else, the period dealt with in this study constitutes an important phase in the history of ancient India.

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MAPS AND PLATES

Description of Plates

Plate I A Nagarjunakonda inscription of the (Sātavāhana king) Vijaya Sātakamni (i.e. Vijaya Sātakarni).

L 1 ; (N)emo bhagavato agapagalasa

L 2 : ramño Gotamiputasa Siri Vijaya Śa

L 3 : takamnisa sa va 6 (or 8) gi pa 6
diva Vesa-

L 4 : Khaapunima

B Inscription on an Amaravati pillar

C do

D do

Plate II A The Ramatirtham Clay Seal Inscription of Sivamaka (ASI, AR, Southern Circle, 1908-09, pl.V,2).

B An image of Kārttikeya from Nagarjunakonda

Plate III A The ground plan of the stūpa at Ghantasala (A. Rea, South Indian Buddhist Antiquities, pl. XIV)

B Remnant of a stūpa at Nagarjunakonda ; indicates wheel-shaped plan (IA, AR, 1954-55, pl. XLIV B)

Plate IV A Groundplan of the mahācetiya at Nagarjunakonda (Memoirs, no.54, pl.XII, b)

B Remains of a stupa at Nagarjunakonda; shows inner cross wall (IA, AR, 1958-59, pl.IV, A)

Plate V A Mahācetiya of Nagarjunakonda (Memoirs, no.59, pl. XII, a)

B An Amaravati sculpture depicting an undecorated stupa (ASSI, vol.I, pt. XXVIII, 2)

Plate VI A A caitya slab from Amaravati depicting a decorated stupa (SABM, pl. II)
 B The facade of the rock-hewn caitya shrine at Guntupalle (ASI, AR, Southern Circle, 1916-17, XVII, b)

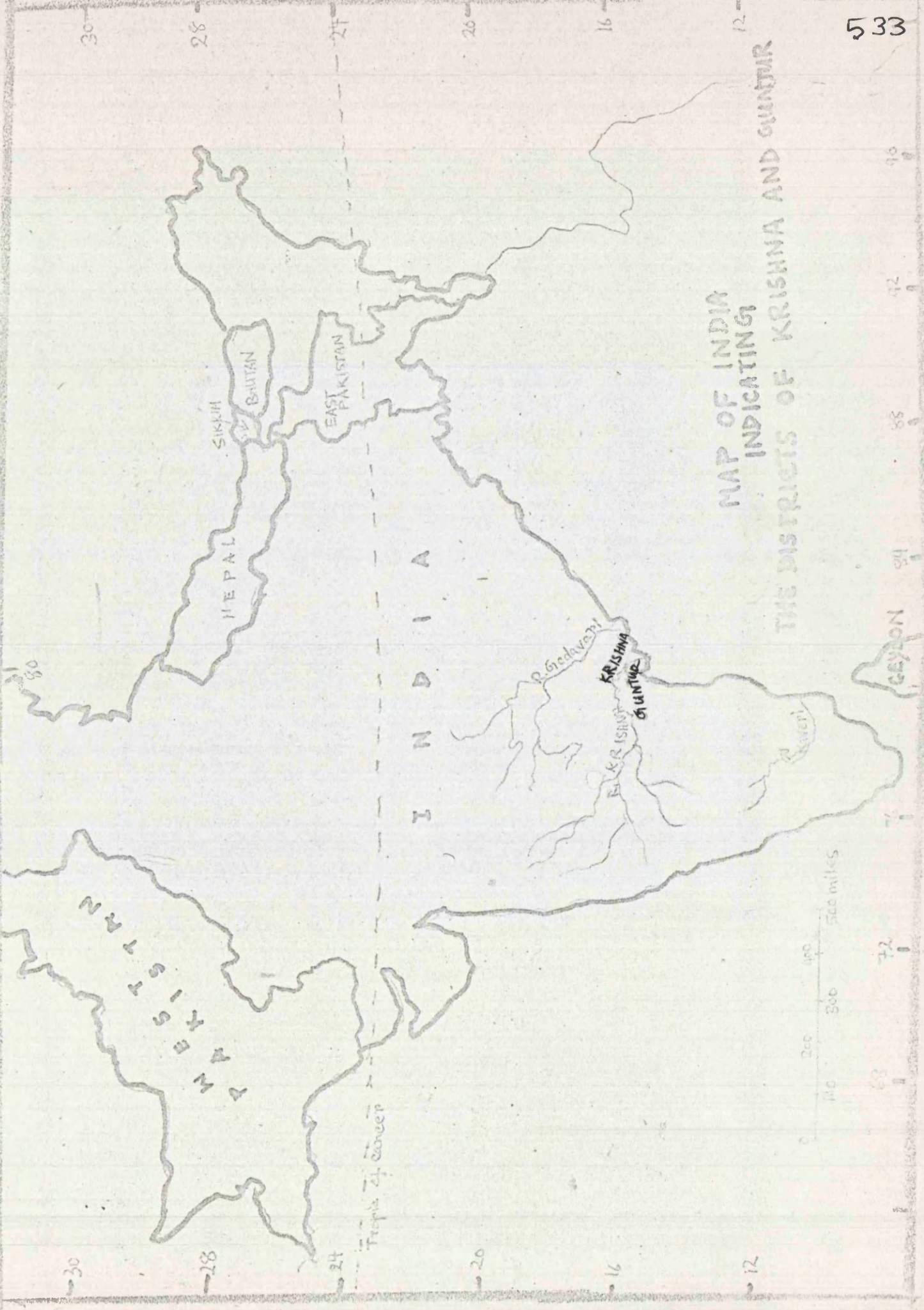
Plate VII A and B Plans of arrangements of ribs in roof of the rock-cut shrine at Guntupalle (ASI, AR, Southern Circle, 1916-17, pl. XVIII, 2 and 3)

Plate VIII A A caitya slab from Nagarjunakonda ; depicts (among others) a circular shrine (Memoirs, no. 54, pl. XI, a)
 B An Amaravati pillar representing a circular shrine (ASSI, vol.I, pl. XLV, 3)

Plate IX A An Amaravati sculpture depicting an elaborate form of a caitya shrine (Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, vol.II, 1932, fig. in p.188)
 B Groundplan of the apsidal temple (cetiya ghara) built by the Iksvāku princess Cāntisiri (Memoirs, no.54, pl.IV, B)

Plate X A An Jaggayapa sculpture bearing a representation of an apsidal cetiya ghara (ASSI, vol.I, pl. LV, 2)
 B A shrine for the Bodhi tree represented on a slab from Amaravati (ASMGM, pl.XV, 1)

- Plate XI A Remains of an apsidal cetiya ghara with stūpa at site no. 6 at Nagarjunakonda (Memoirs, no.71, pl.XII, a)
- B Remains of an apsidal cetiya ghara (temple) with a figure of the Buddha (Memoirs, no. 71, XII, e)
- Plate XII A Cell 1 of the northern wing of the monastery at site no.6 of Nagarjunkonda (Memoirs, no.71, pl.XXIII, A)
- B Plan of monastery I built by Bodhisiri (Memoirs, no.54, pl.V,b)
- Plate XIII A Remains of the pillared hall built by Cāmtisiri at Nagarjunakonda (Memoirs, no. 54, pl. IV, a)
- B Plan of monastery II at Nagarjunakonda (Memoirs, no. 54, pl.v,d)
- Plate XIV A A stūpa at site V at Nagarjunakonda built on an earlier one (IA, AR, 1954-55, pl. XCIV, A)
- B Monastic structures built on earlier religious structures (IA, AR, 1956-57, pl. LVI, B)
- Plate XV A 'Tortoise-shaped' tank unearthed at Nagarjunakonda (IA, AR, 1956-57, pl. LV, B)
- B Remains of defence wall found at Nagarjunakonda (IA, AR, 1957-58, pl. II, B)

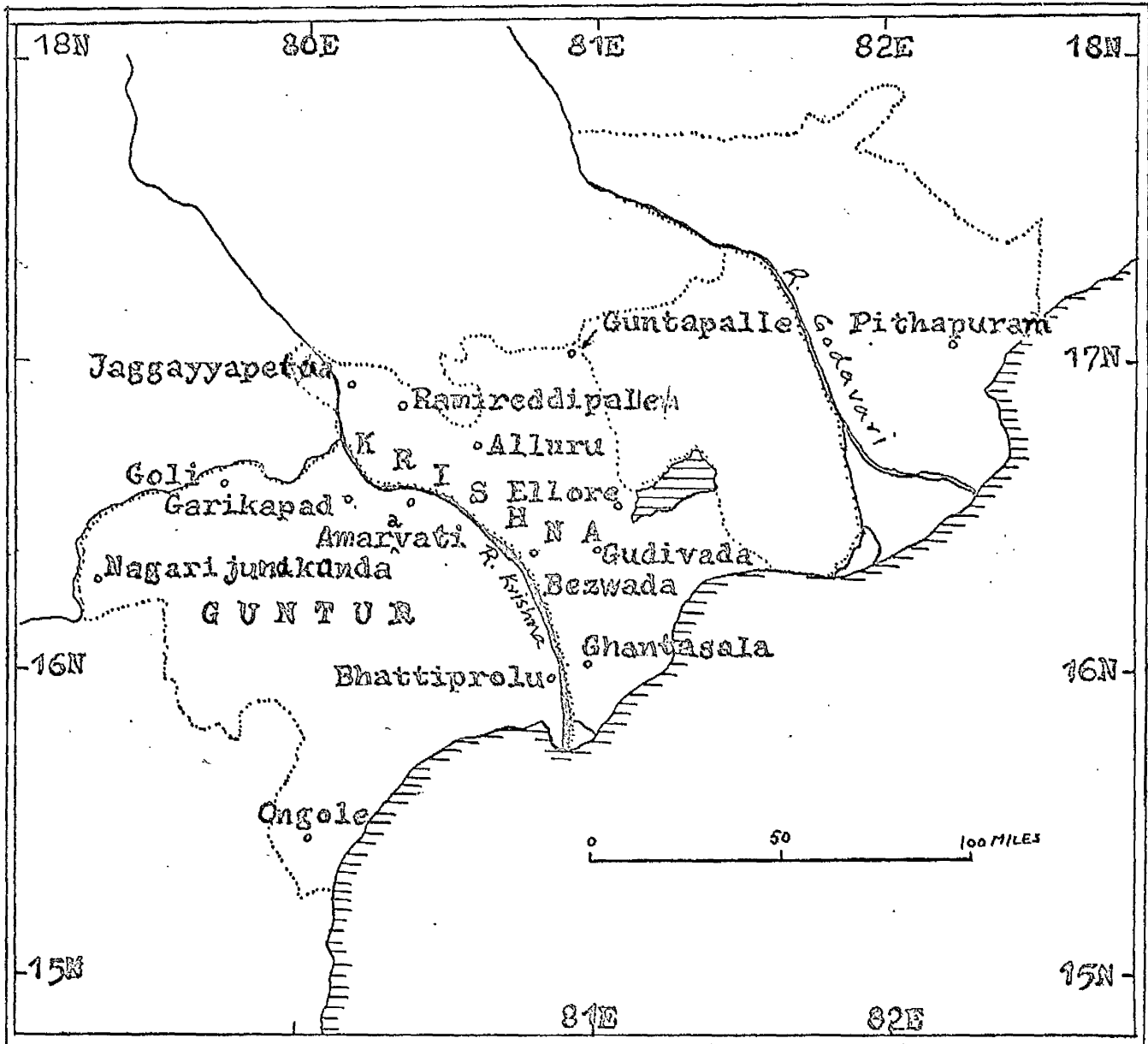


MAP OF INDIA
INDICATING
THE DISTRICTS OF KRISHNA AND GUNTUR

30
28
24
20
16
12

80
82
84
86
88
90

72
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THE ANDHRA REGION
(The Districts of Krishna and Guntur).

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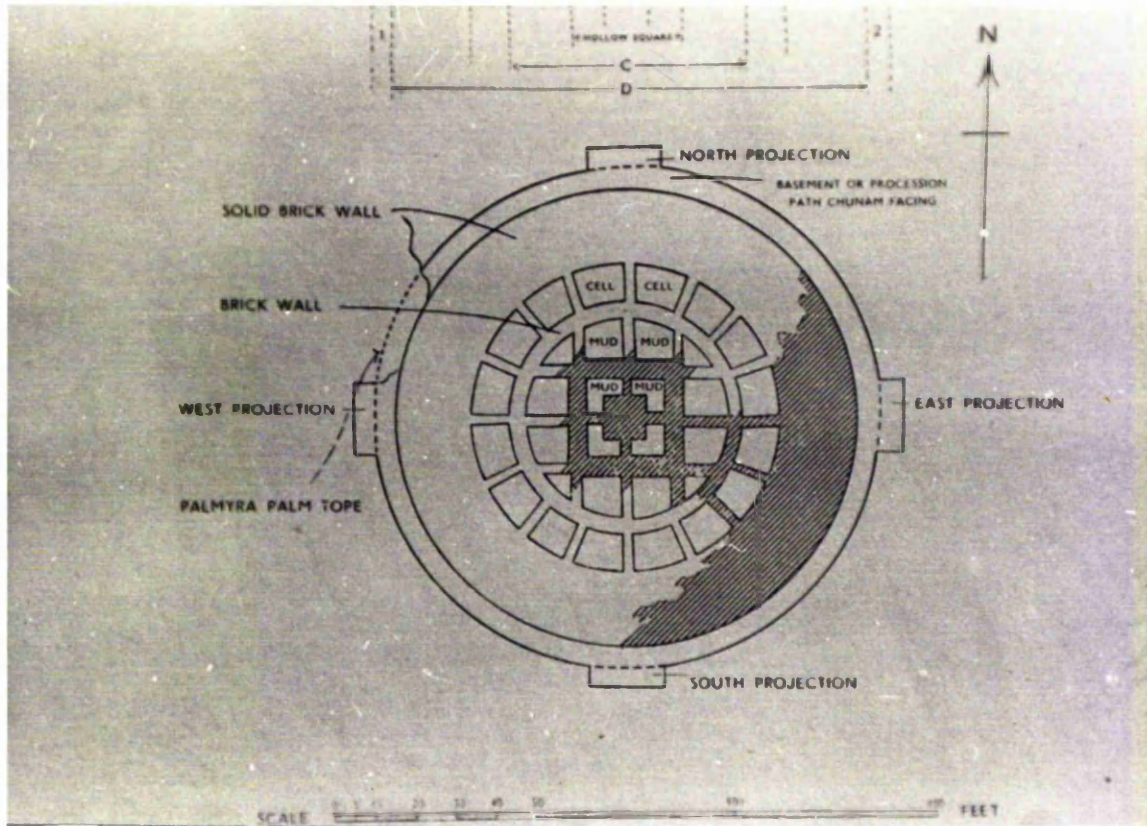
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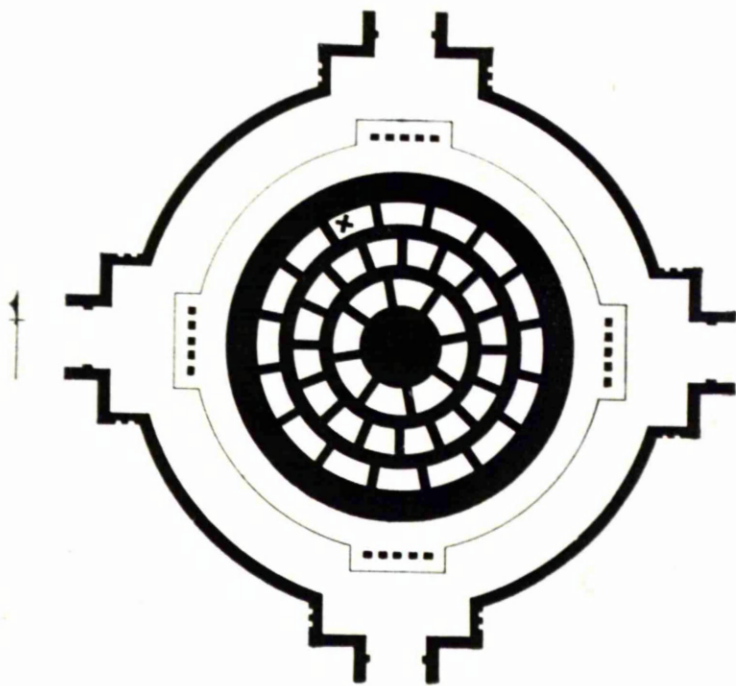
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A.



B.

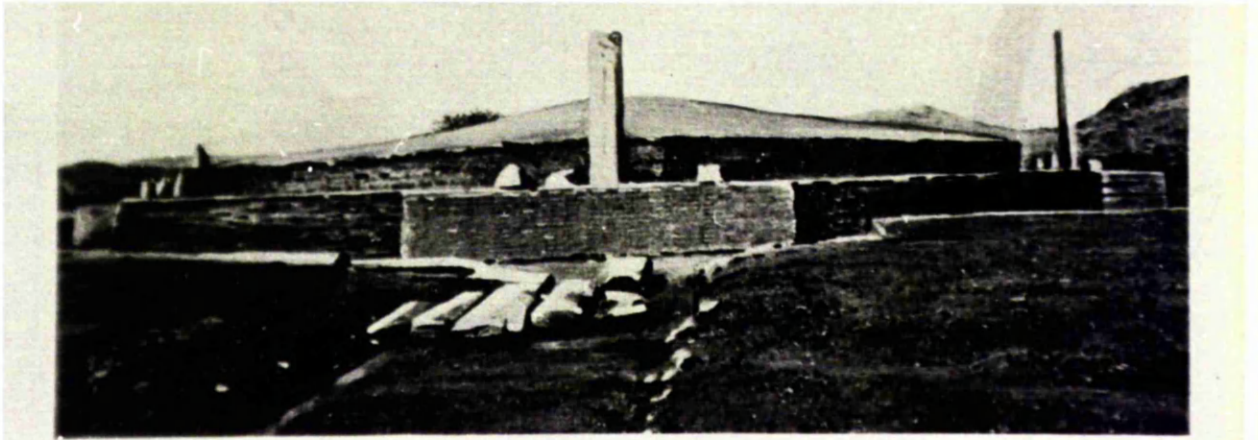


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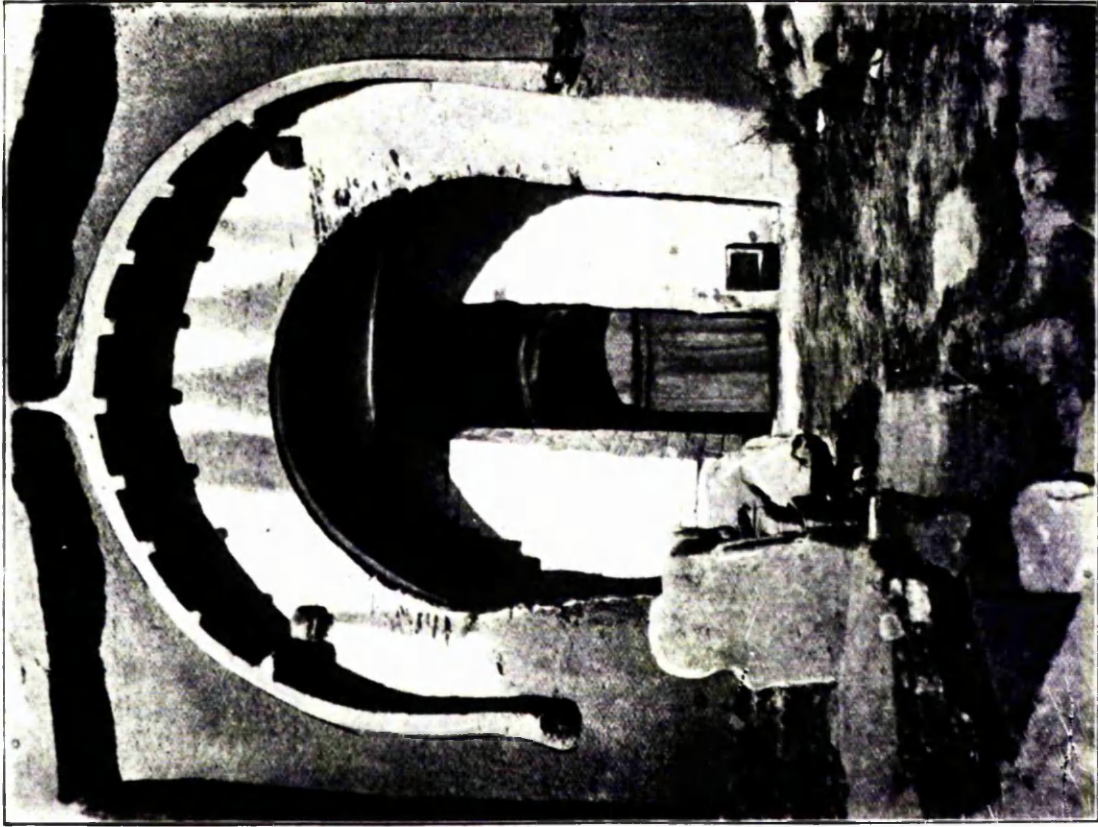


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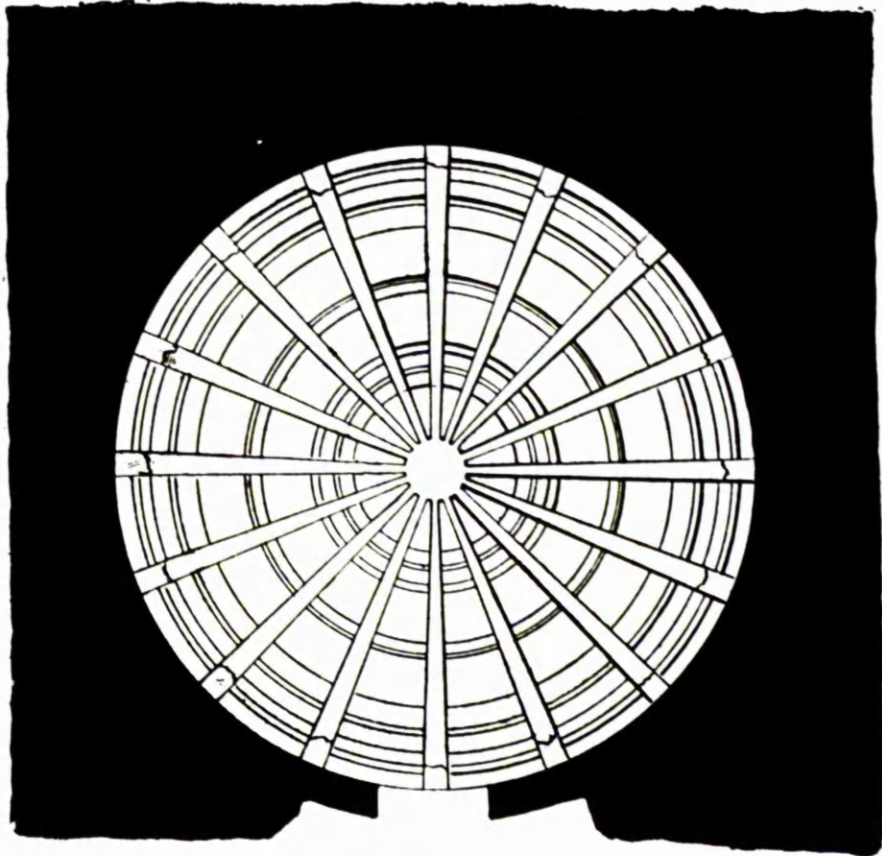
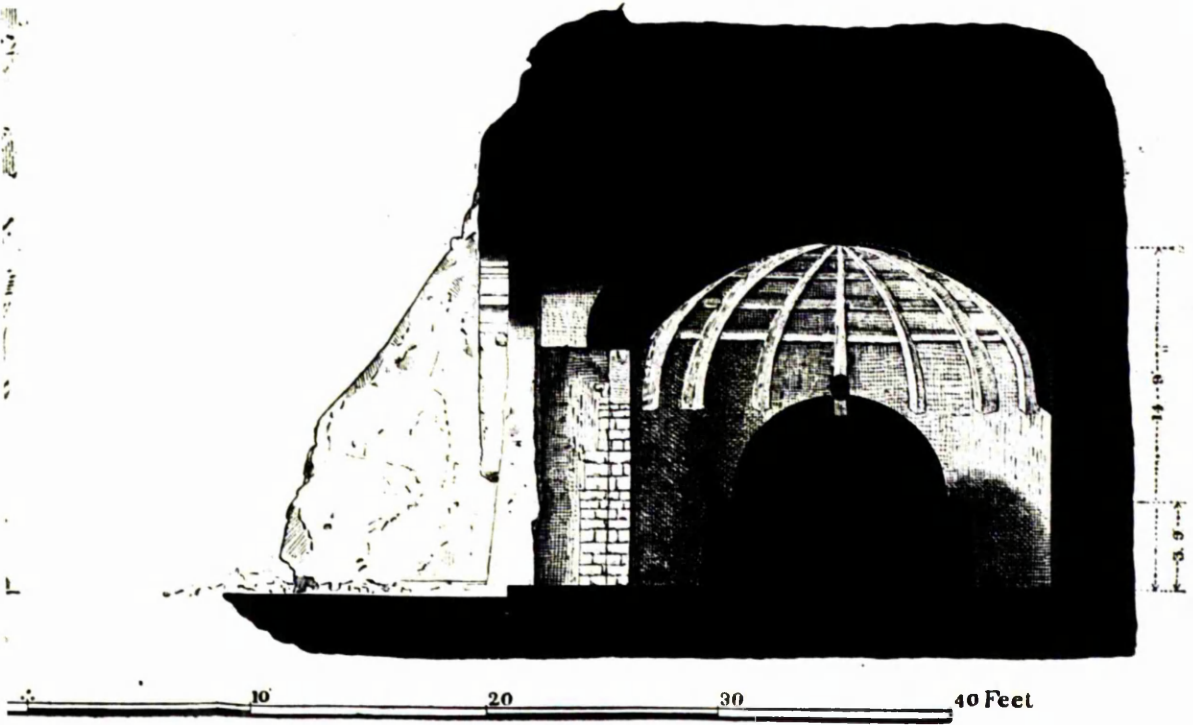
Drum slab. Late Phase (100)

A

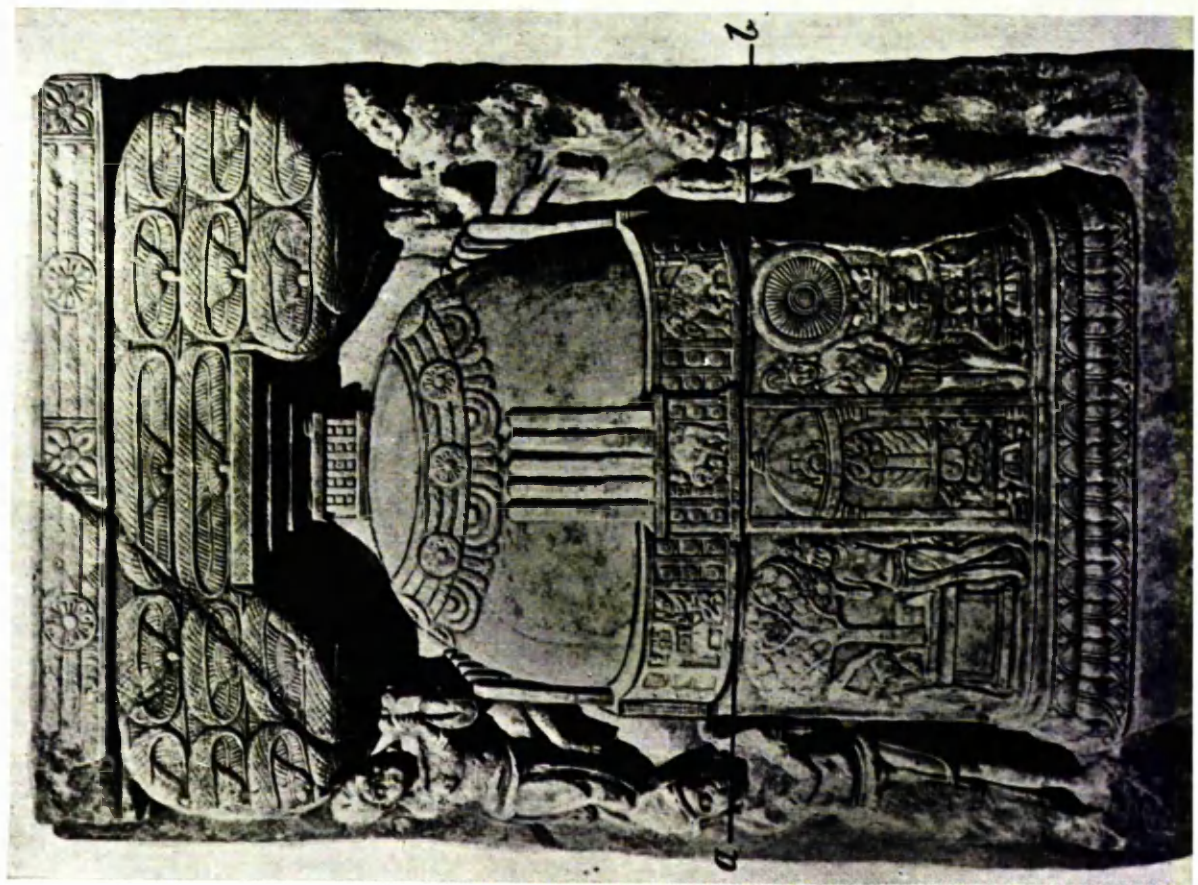


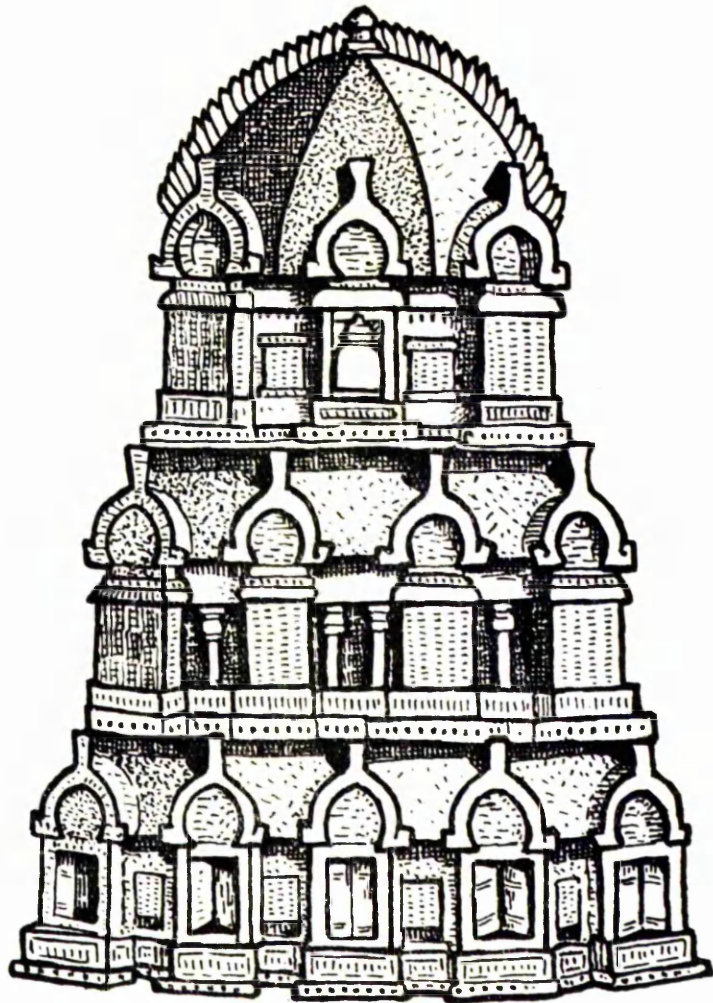
Detail of entrance.

B

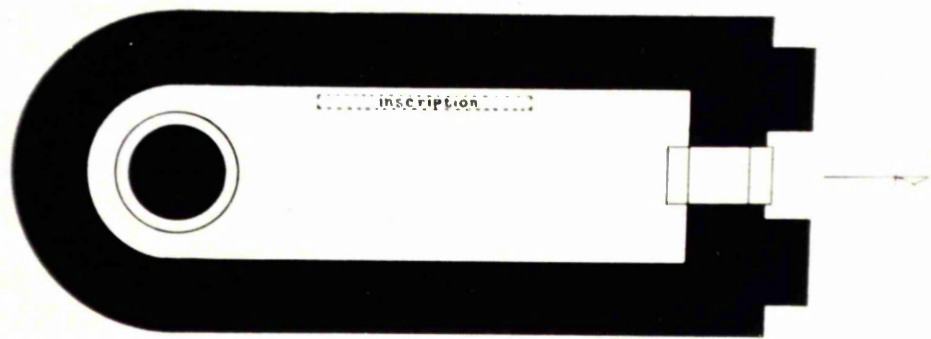


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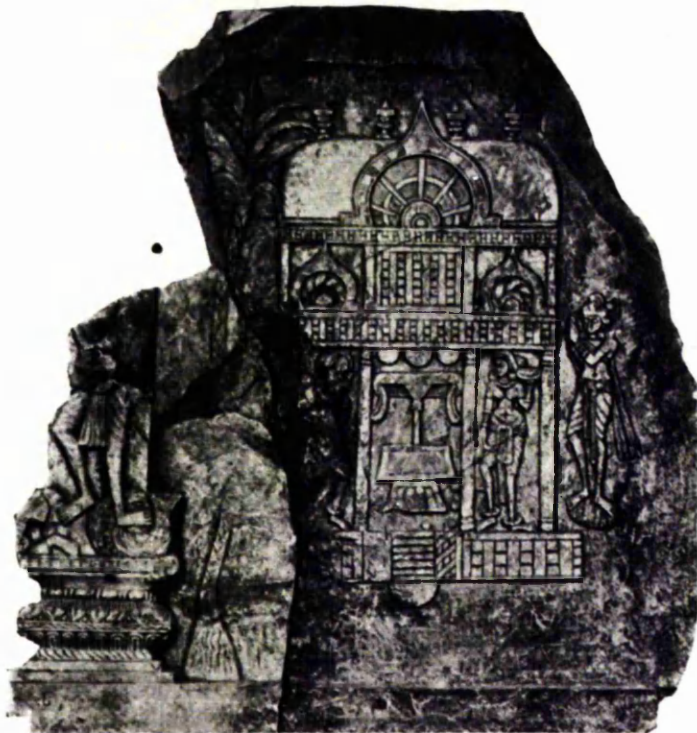
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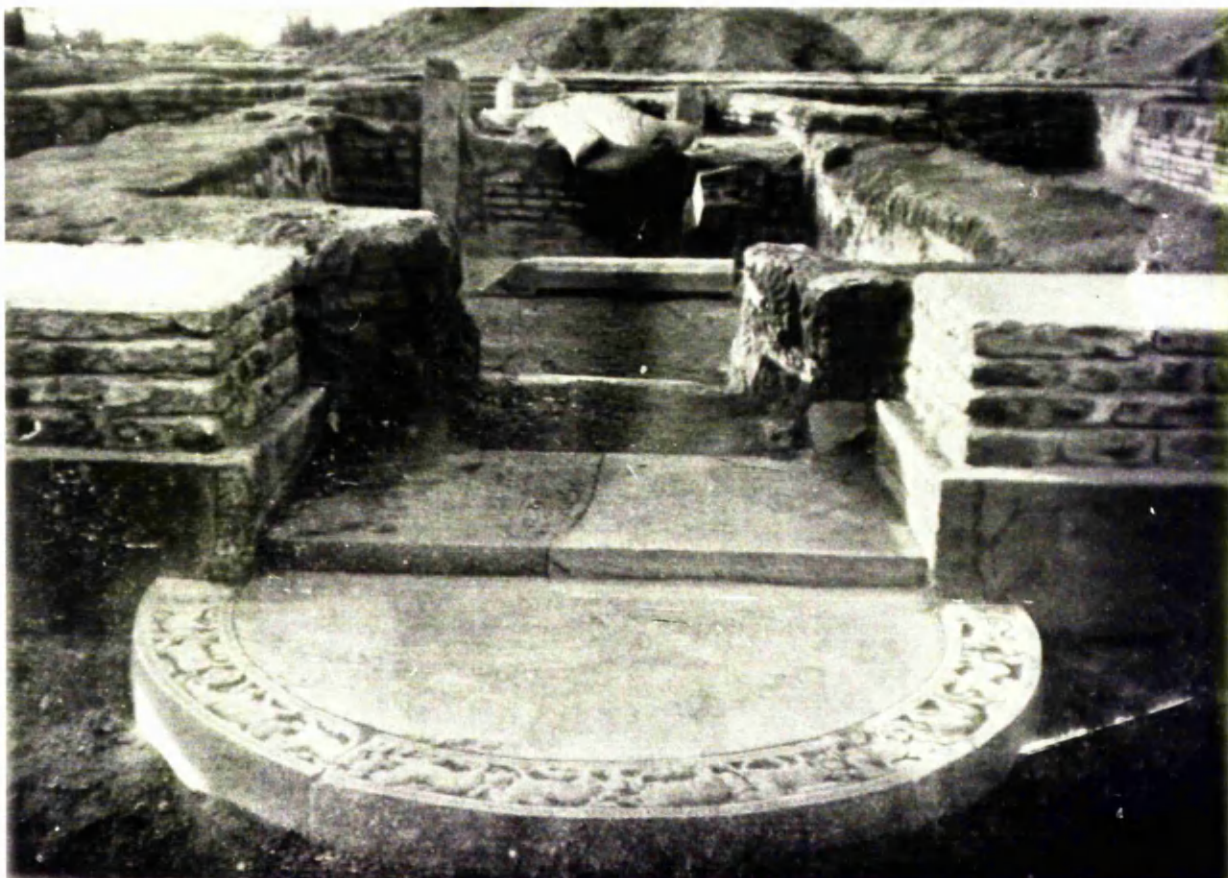
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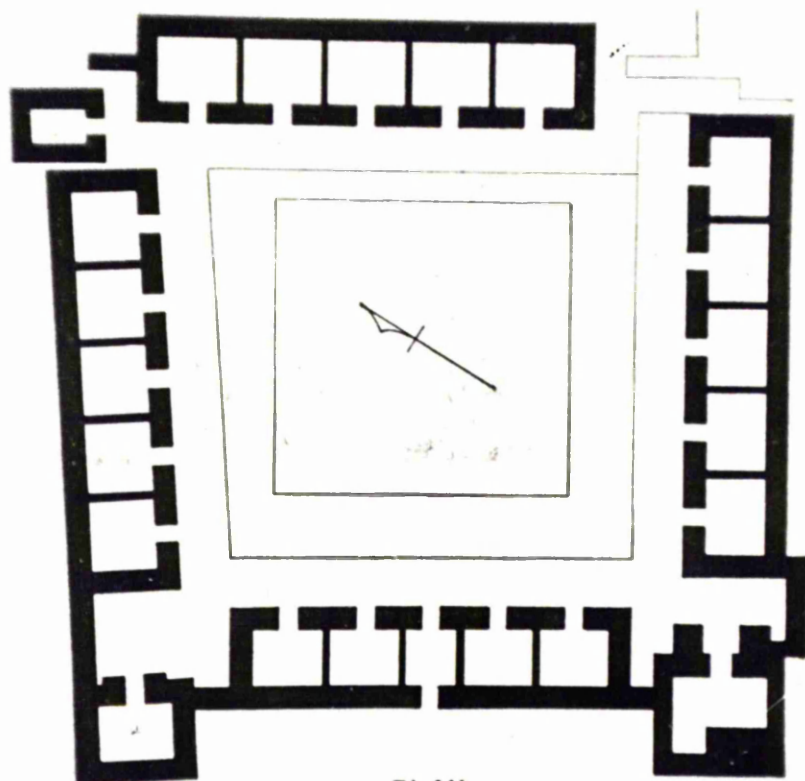
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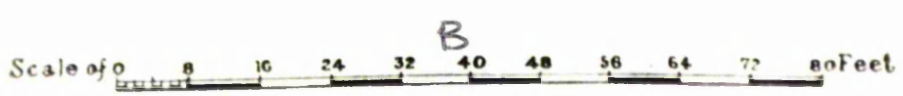
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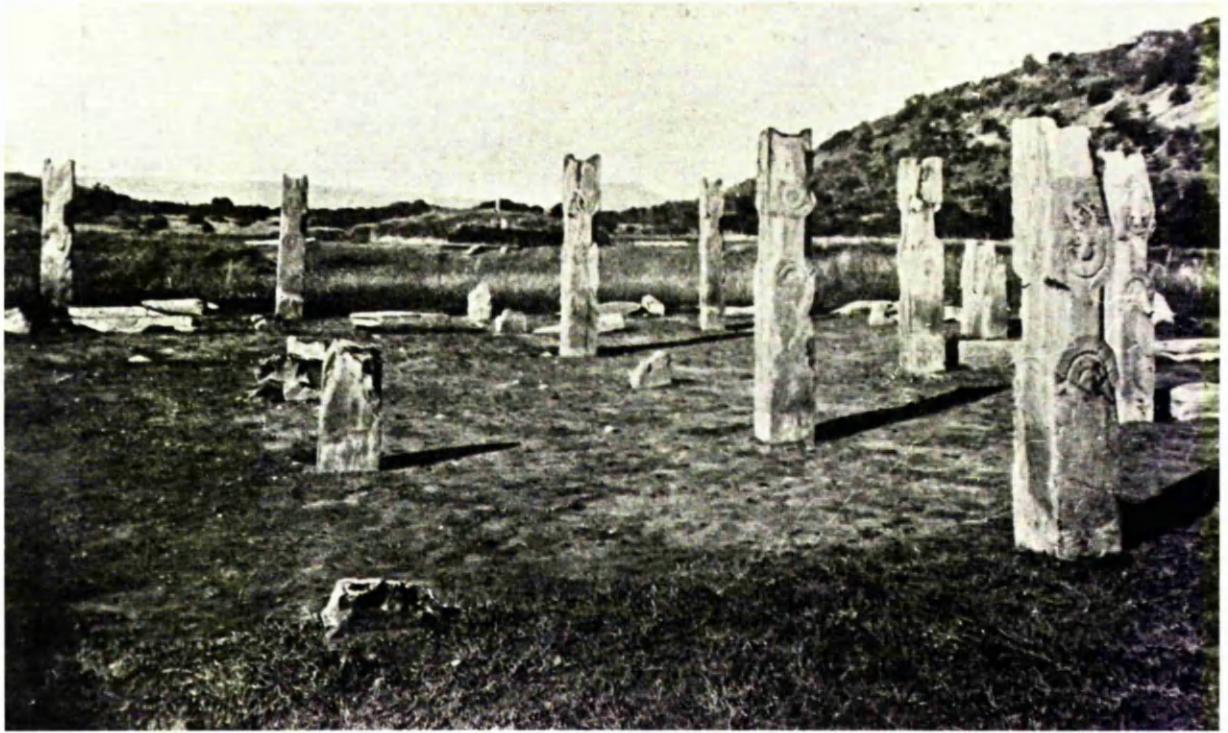


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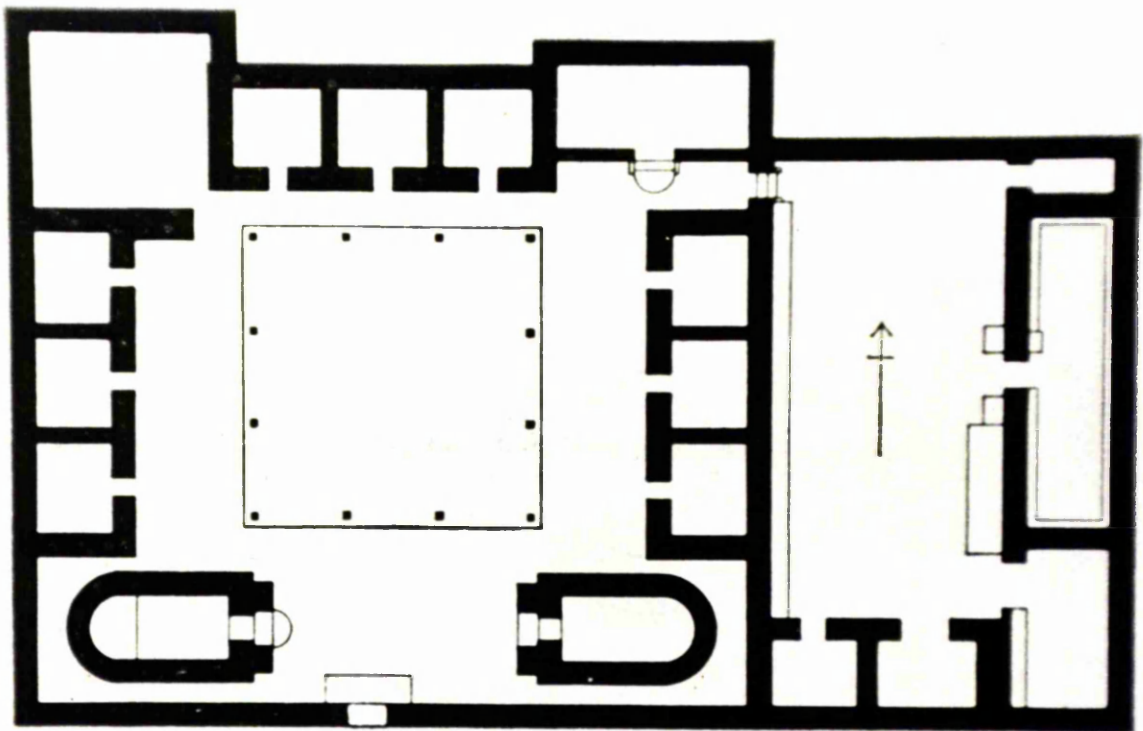


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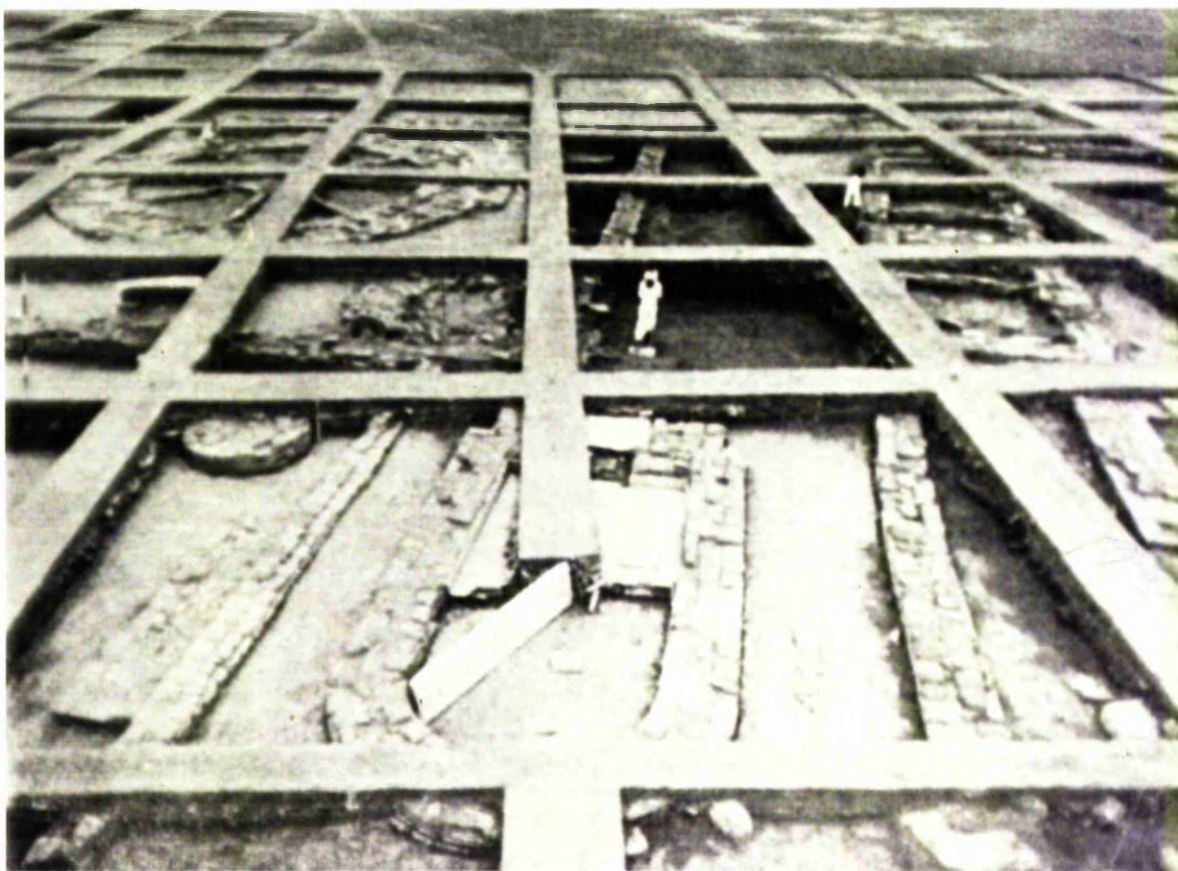


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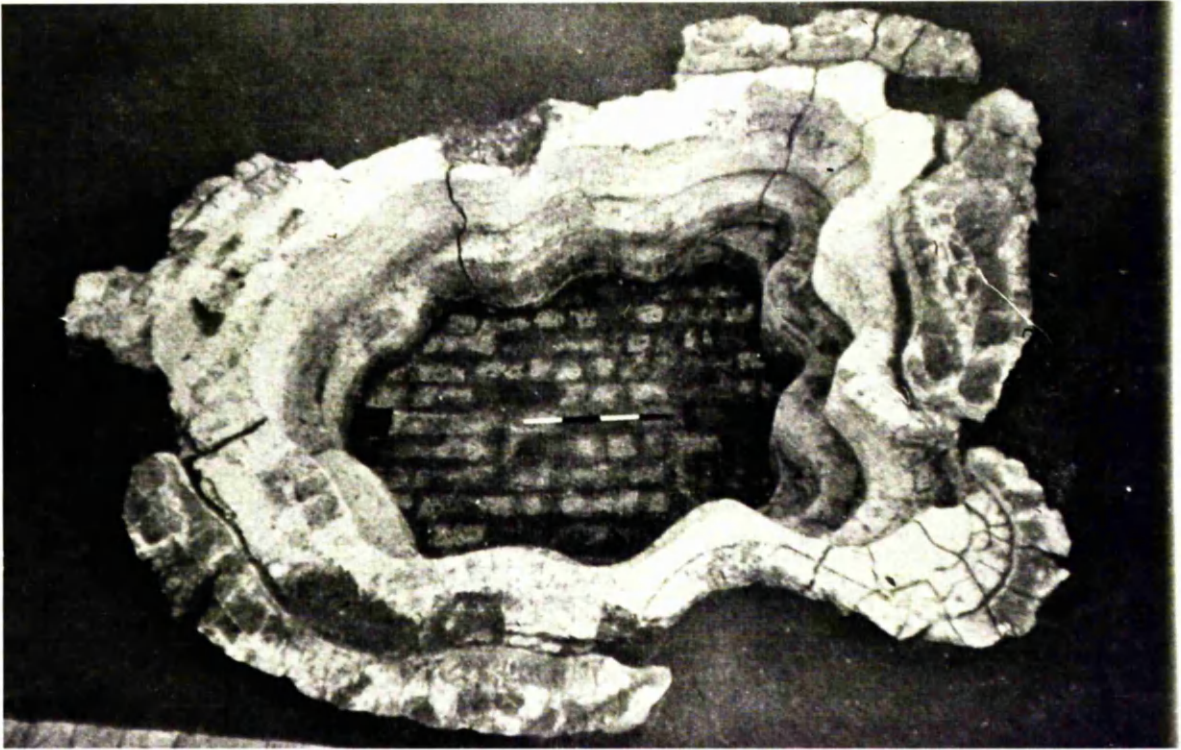
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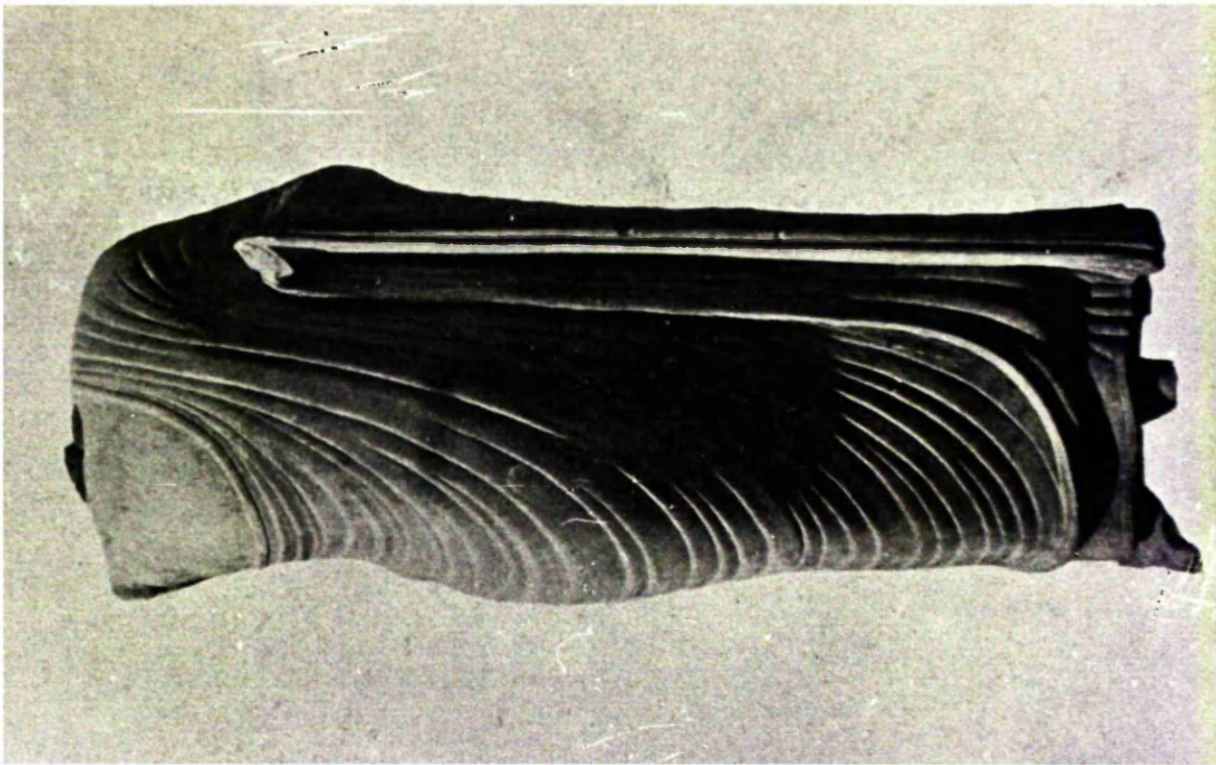
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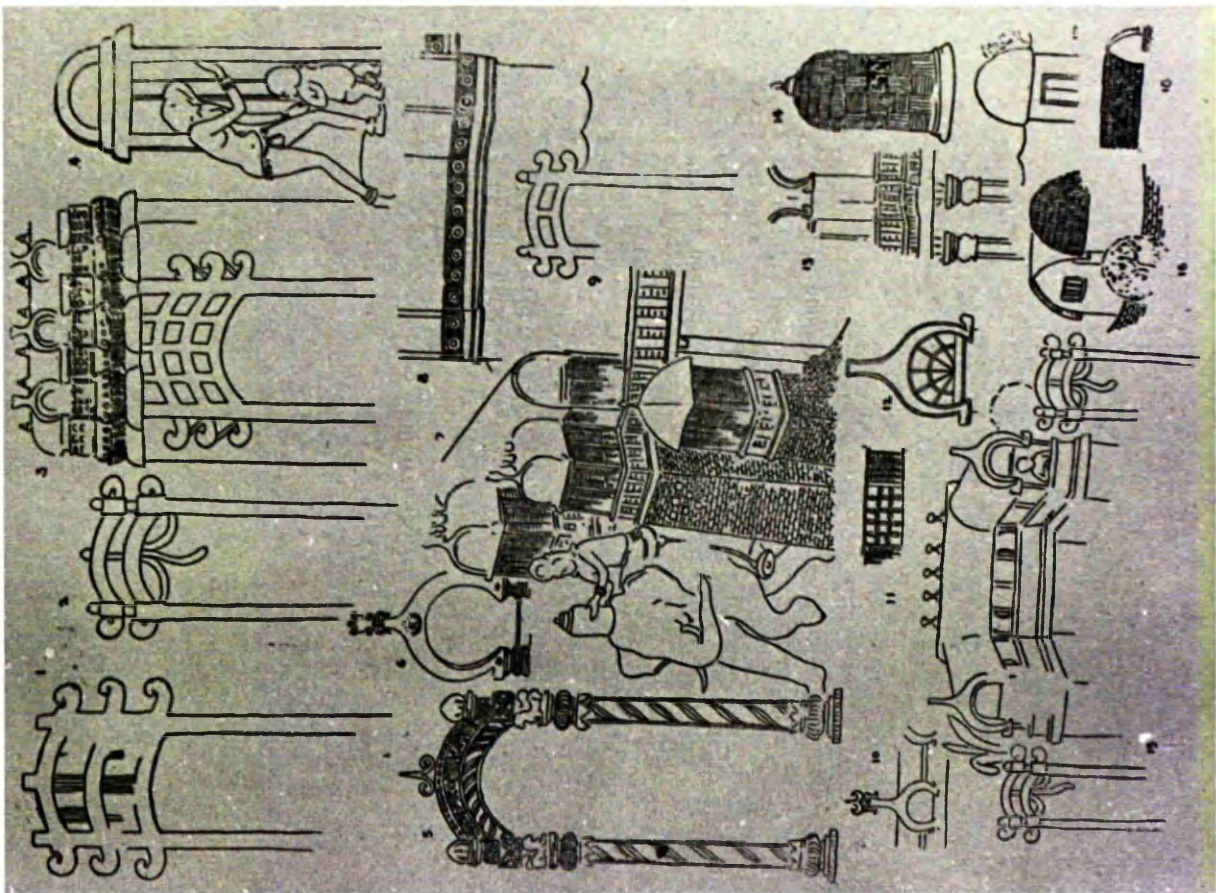
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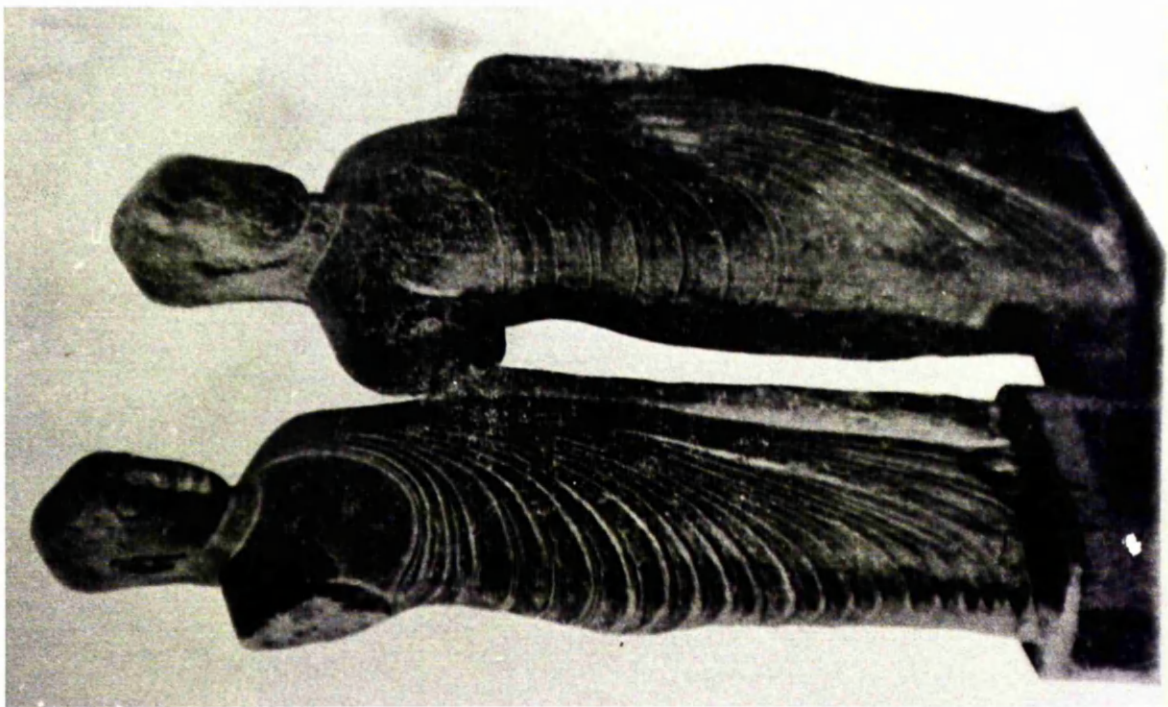
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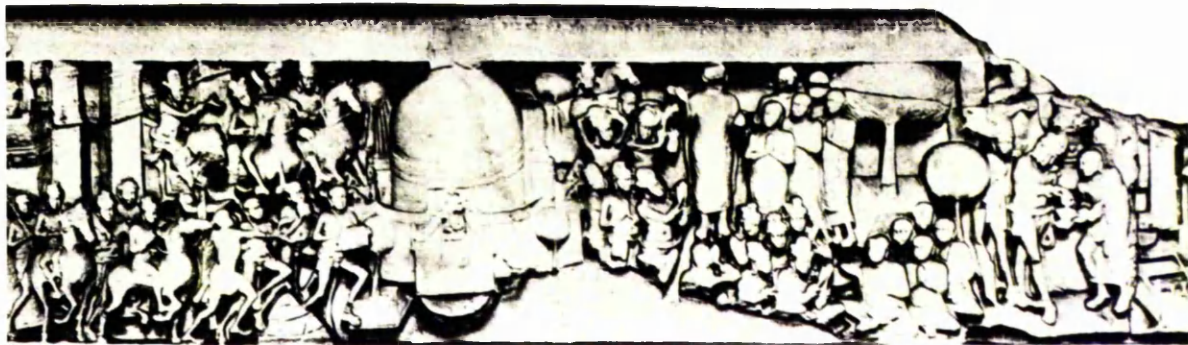
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A



A



B