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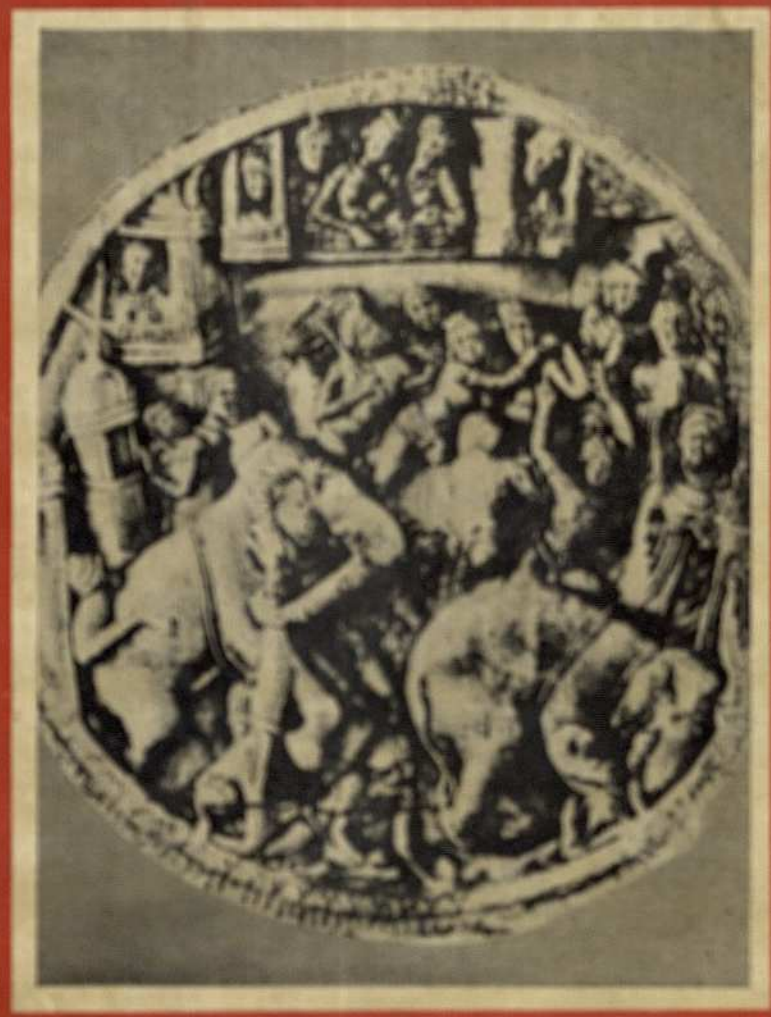


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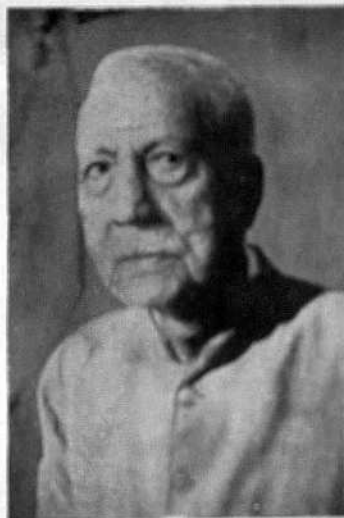
Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture, Bombay

# THE HISTORY AND INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS AND THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS

Dr. V. V. MIRASHI



Tusker Nalagiri prostrates himself before the Buddha  
(Amaravati Stupa)



**Dr. V. V. Mirashi**

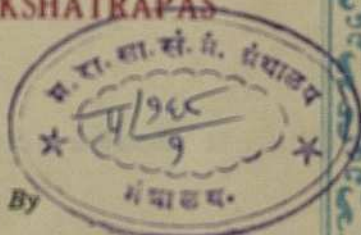
Dr. Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi, M. A., D. Litt. (Bombay), is regarded as one of the foremost living Indologists. After a brilliant academic career in the University of Bombay, he was appointed to the Sanskrit chair at the Morris College, Nagpur, in 1919. He retired as Principal of the Vidarbha Mahavidyalaya, Amaravati, in 1950. He worked as Hon. Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Nagpur University, from 1957 to 1966.

Dr. Mirashi's major works in English, viz., *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, *Inscriptions of the Vākatakas* and *Inscriptions of Śilāhāras*, have been published in the famous *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Series of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India. Some of his other works in English are *Studies in Indology*, Vols. I to IV, *Kālidāsa* and *Bhavabhūti*.

Dr. Mirashi has received high academic honours for his learning and research. He was honoured by the Viceroy of India with the title of Mahamahopādhyāya in 1941. The Universities of Saugar, Nāgpur and Vārāṇasī (Sampūrṇānanda) awarded their highest degree of D. Litt., *honoris causa*, to him in 1956, 1960 and 1978 respectively. He was elected General President of the All-India Oriental Conference (1959), the Indian History Congress (1961) and the Numismatic Society of India (1951). He was awarded the title of Padmabhūṣaṇa in 1975. He was nominated Correspondent to the Archaeological Survey of India in 1971. The Sūhitya

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By  
Dr. Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi



Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture  
Bombay

FIRST EDITION, 1981

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**Publisher :**

The Secretary,  
Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture,  
Bombay-400 032.

**Printer :**

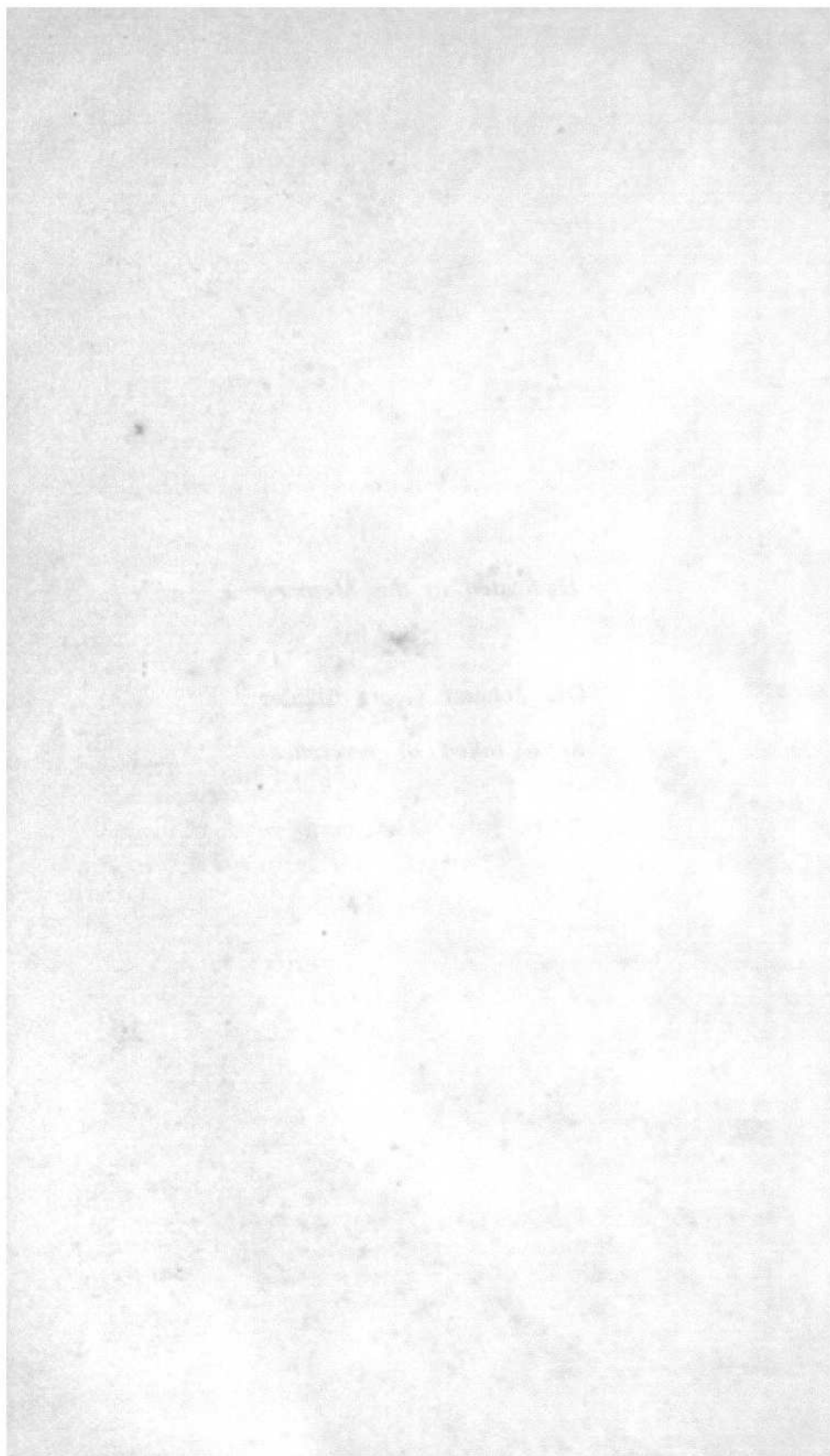
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*Dedicated to the Memory*

*of*

**Dr. Johann Georg Bühler**

*as a token of reverence*



## FOREWORD

The State Board for Literature and Culture (Sahitya Sanskriti Mandal) has been set up by the Government of Maharashtra for the modernisation of the Marathi language and literature and for encouraging research and publication with a view to protecting the rich heritage Maharashtra has in the fields of literature, history, culture and fine arts. To attain this objective, the State Board has undertaken a manifold programme of literary activities, one of these being to initiate, assist or undertake schemes for editing, translating and publishing in Marathi, relevant important published or unpublished source material which will have a direct or indirect bearing on the history and culture of Maharashtra. The Board has also the scheme for the preparation and publication of the socio-political, cultural and literary history of Maharashtra.

The Board has made a valuable contribution in this direction by publishing a few important books, as its own publications. Professor N. R. Phatak's translation of "Rise of the Maratha Power" by the late Justice M. G. Ranade, "Raigadachi Jeevankatha" by the late Professor S. V. Avalalkar, "Portuguese Source Papers" relating to Maratha History, Volume 3, translated by Shri S. S. Desai, from the original Portuguese collection and "A History of Maratha Navy And Merchantships" by Dr. B. K. Apte, are amongst such books. The Board has a plan of writing a comprehensive history of Maharashtra and also, what may be called, the People's History of Maharashtra. It has also undertaken the scheme for translation and publication of records in Portuguese, French, Urdu, Persian and Rajasthani relating to Maratha History.

Since it is one of the objects of the Board to encourage writing a history of Maharashtra and collect necessary material for the writing of such a history, it had requested Professor V. V. Mirashi to write a history of the Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas. "The Satavahana dynasty" to quote Professor Mirashi, "is the first known historical dynasty of Maharashtra, famous not only for the large expansion of its dominion but also for its achievements in literature, art and architecture". Such a history would bring to light not only the history of the dynasty but also the history of the people who were living in this kingdom. Some history is always hidden in mythology and our mythology attributes the famous Shalivahana

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\* Preface, page VII.



Era to some king of the Satavahana dynasty. The mythical story says that Emperor Shalivahana belonged to the community of pot-makers and as a child he used to make several earthen figures of horsemen and throw them in a well. Later when he became the king and had to fight the foreign invaders, all these figures became the real soldiers and brought success to the epoch-making king. Perhaps that the Satavahanas had a large trained army is the history underlying the mythical story.

Historical findings are never certain and they can and ought to be challenged time and again. Nevertheless, the history is to be written from the data that are available and the Board would not have been able to find out a better scholar than Professor V. V. Mirashi to write the history of such a great dynasty as the Satavahana. We are extremely happy that Professor Mirashi has undertaken this task. In doing this, he has, in fact, honoured the State Board of Literature and Culture. Professor Mirashi was the first Indian who was assigned to write a volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. The present volume is also modelled on the same line. This volume was first written in Marathi and is now appearing in its English form. We are sure that the book will be of great use to the scholars of history. The work is divided into two parts—Part I gives a comprehensive history of the Satavahanas and their contemporaries, the Western Kshatrapas, and Part II gives us all the available inscriptions of the Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas. The Board has great pleasure in releasing this volume.

S. S. BARRLINGAY,

*The 21st December 1981.*

*Chairman,*

State Board for Literature and Culture,  
Mantralaya, Bombay.

## PREFACE

The Sātavāhana dynasty is the first known historical dynasty of Mahārāshṭra, famous not only for the large expanse of its dominion but also for its achievements in literature, art and architecture. It had, however, fallen into complete oblivion in the middle ages. Some Purāṇas, no doubt, mention several kings of this family such as Simuka, Sātakarṇi, Hāla, Gautamīputra, Puṣumāvi and Yajña-śrī, together with their reign-periods, but, as they call them Andhras, there was a persistent misconception about their original home. None had a correct conception about the period of their rule. The Vihāra and Chaitya Caves excavated by them are still extant in Western Mahārāshṭra at Nāsik, Kārle, and Kānherī, but they were supposed to have been carved by the legendary Pāṇḍavas and were, therefore, known as 'Pāṇḍava Caves'. The large statues of the Buddha in some of them were named as Dharma, Bhīma and Arjuna. The caves contain several records on their walls, but none could decipher and interpret them, and none attempted to do so.

This state of things changed with the advent of the British. They had natural curiosity about such matters. They began to take interest in them soon after the establishment of their rule in the country. In 1784, during the time of the Governor General Warren Hastings, the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded which gave a fillip to the study of Indian antiquities. Four years later, in 1788, the first volume of its periodical, the *Asiatic Researches*, was published. This had its repercussions in Mahārāshṭra also. A branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, England, was established in

Bombay for the study of ancient Indian history, literature and art. Its researches began to be published in its *Journal* which aroused great interest in Indian antiquities.

The Sātavāhana inscriptions which were first brought to notice were those in the Nāneghāṭ Caves, about 56 miles north of Poonā. In 1837 Sykes drew attention to them in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IV, pp. 236 ff. Next year, in 1838, James Prinsep brought to notice the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I by publishing its copies in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VII. James Bird first drew attention to the Kānherī Caves near Bombay in an article published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 9 ff. in 1839. He described the inscriptions in the Caves in the *Historical Researches* in 1847. Thereafter, some scholars like Stevenson and Brett, Edward and Arthur West published eye-copies of inscriptions in several caves of Western Mahārāshṭra such as those at Nāsik, Kārle, and Kānherī in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, but they could not decipher and interpret them. Later, R. G. Bhandarkar, Bhagvanlal Indraji and Bühler deciphered and discussed many of them. Finally, Senart critically edited, translated and discussed the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas at Nāsik and Kārle with excellent facsimiles in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vols. VII and VIII. Several inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas have been found in Gujarāt, Kāṭhiawāḍ and Kachchh. They have been critically edited by scholars like Kielhorn, R. D. Banerji and Sukthankar.

Coins of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas come to notice from time to time. They too are reckoned among the reliable sources of ancient Indian history. They have been studied and published by several scholars like Bhagvanlal Indraji, Rapson and A. S. Altekar in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.

Inscriptions and coins are the most reliable sources of our knowledge of ancient Indian history. But they are published as they are discovered and are not arranged systematically. In 1877 James Prinsep indicated the necessity of arranging systematically the available inscriptional material bearing on ancient Indian history, and also suggested the name *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* for the Series of its Volumes. The first Volume of it containing the inscriptions of Aśoka was published more than a century ago, in 1877, by Sir Alexander Cunningham. Since then it has been re-edited by Dr. Hultzsch. Some more volumes of the Series have also been published, viz., Vol. II, Part I—(*Kharoshīhi Inscriptions*), ed. by Sten Konow (1929); Part II—(*Brāhmī Inscriptions of Bhārhut*), ed. by Lüders, Waldschmidt and Mehendale; Vol. III—(*Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*), first edition by J. F. Fleet (1888); second ed. by D. R. Bhandarkar B. Ch. Chhabra and G. S. Gai (1980); Vol. IV—(*Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*), ed. by V. V. Mirashi (1955); Vol. V—(*Inscriptions of the Vākātakas*), ed. by V. V. Mirashi (1963); Vol. VI—(*Inscriptions of the Śilāhāras*), ed. by V. V. Mirashi (1977).

After completing the Volume of the Śilāhāra Inscriptions, I took up the work of editing the inscriptions and writing a comprehensive history of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas. Much of my time during the last ten years was taken up by this work.

There are several problems presented by the history of these two dynasties. Several scholars have written on them, advocating different views. It was necessary to solve them before attempting to write the history of the dynasties. So I first studied those problems and published my views in research journals to evoke criticism, if any. Thereafter, I took up the work of editing the records and writing the history of the dynasties.

The present volume is divided into two parts—Part I gives a comprehensive history of the Sātavāhanas and their contemporary Western Kshatrapas. It

contains not only their political history but gives also detailed information about their administration, the religious, social and economic condition in their age as well as the literature, architecture, sculpture and painting of the time. Detailed discussions of controversial topics have been relegated to Appendixes. The next chapter is on coins. It was not possible to include coins of all types, but the main varieties of them have been described and illustrated. The last chapter is on the language of the inscriptions. It has at the end a comprehensive glossary of Prakrit words with their Sanskrit synonyms. The Volume has as many as 30 plates, containing 55 figures illustrating the inscriptions, architecture, sculpture, painting and coinage of the age. In short, an attempt has been made to give the reader as complete and clear an idea of the Sātavāhana age as possible.

Part II contains all known inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas, numbering 64 in all, and some more of other royal families which shed welcome light on the history of the age. Their English translation is given in each case and various problems connected with them are discussed in their introductory articles.

For the present work I have made full use of the writings of previous workers in the field to whom my grateful thanks are due. In editing the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas I have derived considerable help from the previous works of Bhagvanlal Indraji, Bühler and Senart, and also from Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*. In studying coins, Rapson's standard work on the coins of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas as well as the volumes of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* have been of invaluable help. Dr. Rasesh Jamin-dar greatly obliged me by furnishing up-to-date information about Kshatrapa records and sending me off-prints of some of his articles on them. Dr. Margabandhu, Superintending Archaeologist, Baroda, kindly

supplied excellent estampages of the Mewāsā stone inscription (No. 61) which enabled me to solve the riddle presented by the controversial epigraph. I am grateful to Dr. M. A. Mehandale, who, at my request, went through the Chapter on the language of the inscriptions and made some important suggestions.

The present Volume is modelled on the lines of those in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Series. As stated before, I have already edited three volumes in that Series, *viz.*, those of the inscriptions of (1) the Kalachuris and others, (2) the Vākājakas, and (3) the Śīlāhāras. These Volumes were first written in English, and later, they were turned into Marathi or Hindi. The present Volume was, however, first written in Marathi, because when I undertook the work I was not sure that I would live to see it published as I was then an octogenarian. In fact, before the Marathi Volume could be completed, I fell ill and had to undergo a major surgical operation. Fortunately, by the grace of the Almighty and the skill of the Surgeon Dr. Ajit Phadake of Bombay, I survived the operation and could complete the Marathi Volume in 1979. As I consider that it contains the correct history of my native State of Mahārāshṭra in that age, I thought of making it available to a larger circle of scholars in its English version. I am thankful to the Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture for having accepted it for publication, and to its Chairman, Dr. S. S. Barlingay, for having graced it with his foreword.

The Marathi Volume was dedicated to the memory of Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajī, who had taken a leading part in deciphering and interpreting a large number of Sātavāhana and Kshatrapa inscriptions. I am now dedicating the English version of it to another great savant, Dr. G. Bühler, who has done equally memorable work in the same field, as a token of my deep reverence for him. In the present Volume I have included some inscriptions and coins which came to

notice recently and brought it up to date. I have also corrected some misprints which had inadvertently crept into the Marathi Volume.

For permission to reproduce Plates Nos. 1, 3, 8-18 and 27, I am indebted to the Director General of Archaeology, Government of India, and for that to include some others to the Department of Ancient Indian History, Calcutta University, and the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona. For permission to issue the necessary reference books I am obliged to Prof. W. M. Kalmegh, Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University, and Dr. A. M. Shastri, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Nagpur University. I am indebted to Shri R. B. Alva, Director of Printing and Stationery, Maharashtra, for taking keen interest in this work and expediting its printing as much as possible. I am grateful to Shri L. J. Menesse and Shri M. Y. Mankame, who successively officiated as Manager of the Government Press, Nagpur, during the period, and also to their Staff for the excellent printing of the Volume. I have to thank Shri S. A. Sapre, Retired Director, Printing and Stationery, Maharashtra, for his valuable help in various ways.

Maharashtra Day,  
1st May 1981.

V. V. MIRASHI

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABORI</i>	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
<i>ADS</i>	Apastamba Dharma-sūtra (Bombay Sanskrit Series).
<i>ARASI</i>	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
<i>ASMGM</i>	Amarāvati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum by C. Sivaramamurti.
<i>ASWI</i>	Archaeological Survey of Western India.
<i>BG</i>	Bombay Gazetteer (Old Ed.)
<i>Bh.</i>	Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji.
<i>BMC</i>	Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum,
<i>(Andhras)</i>	Andhras, etc., by Rapson.
<i>Büh.</i>	Dr. G. Bühler.
<i>CAI</i>	Classical Accounts of India ed. by R. C. Majumdar.
<i>CHI</i>	Cambridge History of India, Ancient India.
<i>CII</i>	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
<i>CTI</i>	Cave Temples of India by Fergusson and Burgess.
<i>DKA</i>	Dynasties of the Kali Age by Pargiter.
<i>Ep. Andhra</i>	Epigraphia Andhraica.
<i>EC</i>	Epigraphia Carnatica.
<i>EHAC</i>	Early History of the Andhra Country by Gopalachari.
<i>EHD</i>	Early History of the Deccan by R. G. Bhandarkar.
<i>EI</i>	Epigraphia Indica.
<i>HCIP</i>	History and Culture of the Indian People.
<i>HIL</i>	History of Indian Literature (English Tr.) by Winternitz.



<i>IA</i>	Indian Antiquary.
<i>ICTWI</i>	Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India by Burgess and Bhangvanlal Indrajī.
<i>IHQ</i>	Indian Historical Quarterly.
<i>JA</i>	Journal Asiatique.
<i>JASB</i>	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
<i>JAS Bom.</i>	Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society.
<i>JBBRAS</i>	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
<i>JBORS</i>	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
<i>JBRAS</i>	Journal of the Bengal Royal Asiatic Society.
<i>JESI</i>	Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India.
<i>JNSI</i>	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
<i>JOI</i>	Journal of the Oriental Institute.
<i>JRAS</i>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
<i>JRASB</i>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
<i>LHSI</i>	Literary and Historical Studies in Indology by Mirashi.
<i>Lüders' List</i>	List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the earliest times to A. D. 400 by H. Lüders.
<i>Mem. ASI</i>	Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India.
<i>MSGH-I</i>	Maharashtra State Gazetteer — History — Vol. I (Ancient Period).
<i>Num. Suppl.</i>	Numismatic Supplement (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal).
<i>PHAI</i>	Political History of Ancient India by H. C. Raychaudhuri.
<i>RFV</i>	V. Raghavan Felicitation Volume, ed. by R. N. Dandekar and others.
<i>SBE</i>	Sacred Books of the East.
<i>SI</i>	<i>Studies in Indology</i> by Mirashi.
<i>ZDMG</i>	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morganländischen Gesellschaft.

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## CORRIGENDA

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
[ 266 ]	18	grammes	grains
[ 266 ]	f. n. 2	XXXVI	XXXVIII
[ 271 ]	16	grammes	grains
21	22	Agitaṇaka	Agiyataṇaka
71	20	Sātakarṇi	Yajña Sātakarṇi
73	13	the day 5	the day 5 of the illustrious <i>Svāmi</i> <b>Gautamīputra</b> <b>Yajña Sātakarṇi</b>
78	26	Vishṇunanda	Vishṇunandi
81	20	Potins	Potin
107	15		<i>Omit</i> (No. II)
120	2	Year [63]	Year [6] 3
145	8	Svasana	Śavagana
157	17	Āṅkishthā	Āṅkishthā
162	18	Āmrakavāṭaka	Āmravāṭaka
166	15	Āṅkishthā	Āṅkishthā
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PART I  
THE HISTORY OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS  
AND  
THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS



## CHAPTER I

### POLITICAL HISTORY

#### (A) The Sātavāhana Dynasty

The Sātavāhana dynasty is the first known historical dynasty of Mahārāshṭra. Its history has some special features. We know very little about the history of Mahārāshṭra in the pre-Sātavāhana age. Mahārāshṭra was, no doubt, included in the Empire of Aśoka, but from the great Emperor's edicts we know only that the country was then governed by his feudatories known as the Raṭhikas, Bhojas and Petenikas. We have no information even about their names, not to speak of any events of their reigns. From the time of the rise of the Sātavāhanas we begin to get some information not only about the political history of Mahārāshṭra but also about the administrative system of its rulers, the religious, social and economic condition of the country, its art and architecture, literature and coinage. Therein lies the importance of this royal family.

This dynasty is not only the oldest in Mahārāshṭra, it is the foremost in its achievements. The rule of the Sātavāhanas extended not only over a major part of the peninsula, it spread also to some parts of Central India for some time. The family continued to rule for more than four centuries and a half. This is a much longer period than that of any other ancient Indian dynasty.

This extraordinary duration of their rule is not, however, the sole or even the main cause of their pre-eminence. They gave liberal patronage to religion and literature, encouraged art, architecture and sculpture, promoted trade and commerce, and made their subjects happy and prosperous. When some foreigners

invaded and occupied their country, they fought bravely with them and drove them out before long. For all these reasons the age of the Sātavāhanas is unique in the ancient history of Mahārāshṭra.

But the sources of the history of this great dynasty are very meagre. We generally notice that the older an Indian dynasty is, the scantier are the sources of its history. As the Sātavāhana dynasty is the oldest known historical dynasty of Mahārāshṭra, it is not surprising that the sources of its history are very meagre. We have to collect information about it bit by bit. We have indeed a dynastic list of the Sātavāhana kings in the Purāṇas, but during the last millennium and a half so many interpolations have crept into it that instead of helping an investigator, it causes obstacles in his path. Still, scholars, foreign and Indian, have, during the last century and a half, collected patiently and studied critically considerable material for the history of the Sātavāhanas, which, though not adequate, enables us to state the history of the family in a broad outline.

### The Chronology of the Sātavāhanas

The first question which one has to tackle while outlining the history of any ancient dynasty of India is that of its chronology. This question has become very complicated in the case of the Sātavāhanas and various theories about it have been advocated by scholars.

One main source of the history of the Sātavāhanas is the genealogy of that royal family given by the Purāṇas. But these works are very greatly divided in that respect. The *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Bhāgavata* and *Vishṇu Purāṇas* give the total number of the Andhra, (*i. e.* the Sātavāhana) kings as thirty, but mention the names of only 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24 or 28 of them. On the other hand, the *Matsya Purāṇa* gives the number as 19, but actually mentions thirty kings. There is a

similar diversity in their statements about the total period of their rule. The *Matsya Purāṇa* states it as 460 years, and the *Vāyu* as 411, while the *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* give it as 456 years.<sup>1</sup> All these Purāṇas give also the reign-period of each king, but they do not agree in that respect also. So the evidence of the Purāṇas in this matter is not reliable. On the whole, we may take the total number of the Sātavāhana kings as thirty, and the total period of their rule as 460 years.<sup>2</sup>

If this view is accepted, the Sātavāhanas may have risen to power in 230 B. C. soon after the death of Aśoka in *circa* 236 B. C., and may have disappeared from history in *circa* A. D. 230. The latter date is almost certain; for we know from other evidence that the *Mahākshatrapa* Iśvaradatta rose in Western Mahārāshṭra, the Muṇḍa king Rāshṭramahārāja in Vidarbha, and the Ikshvāku king Śāntamula in Andhra about that time.

There is, however, no unanimity among scholars about the date of the rise of the Sātavāhanas. R. G. Bhandarkar,<sup>3</sup> H. C. Raichaudhuri,<sup>4</sup> D. C. Sircar<sup>5</sup> and some other scholars place that event in the second quarter of the first century B. C. We state below the arguments for that view and examine them critically.

*Argument 1*—The Purāṇas state that Simuka, the founder of the Andhra (*i. e.* the Sātavāhana) dynasty, will exterminate Suśarman, the last Kāṇva king, and rule over the earth.<sup>6</sup> The Kāṇvas succeeded the Śuṅgas and ruled in *circa* 75-30 B. C. So the Sātavāhanas who succeeded the Kāṇvas must have risen to power in the last quarter of the first century B. C.

<sup>1</sup> *DKA*, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *EHD*, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> *PRAL*, pp. 403 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *HCEP*, II, p. 195.

<sup>6</sup> *DKA*, p. 38.



*Examination*—Apart from the statement in the Purāṇas, there is no evidence that the Sātavāhanas invaded the dominion of the Kāṇvas, and after overthrowing them, founded their own kingdom. The capital of the Kāṇvas was not at Pāṭaliputra as is generally supposed, but at Vidiśā. Vidiśā could, indeed, have been invaded by a Southern king, but he could not have been the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty. No royal family becomes so powerful immediately after its rise as to invade a distant country. Vidiśā may have been attacked and captured not by Simuka as stated in the Purāṇas, but by one of his successors. In fact, we have some evidence bearing on this point. An inscription on the architrave of the South Gate facing the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī records a pious gift of a foreman of King Sātakarṇi.<sup>1</sup> Bühler has shown on the evidence of palaeography that this king must be identified with Sātakarṇi I, the son of Simuka, who flourished in the beginning of the second century B. C.<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence of the invasion and occupation of Central India by Simuka.<sup>3</sup> The Purāṇas seem to have ascribed the invasion of Vidiśā to Simuka though it was in fact an achievement of his son Sātakarṇi I.

*Argument II*—About fifteen or sixteen names of the Andhra (*i. e.* the Sātvāhana) kings appear only in the dynastic list in the Purāṇas and nowhere else. They may be the names of princes belonging to some minor branches of the family which have been inserted in the list of the rulers of the main branch. Some manuscripts of the *Matsya Purāṇa* give the number of rulers as nineteen, which seems to be correct. They may have ruled for about three centuries. If the

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, II, p. 88. Inscr. No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, II, p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Some coins of Sātakarṇi have been found in Central India. They may be of Sātakarṇi II. In the second cen. A. D. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi also conquered some parts of Central India, but he belongs to a later period.

Sātavāhanas disappeared in *circa* A. D. 230, their rise may be placed in *circa* 70 B. C.

*Examination*—It is true that some of the names in the dynastic list in the Purāṇas are not known from any other source. But this does not prove that they did not rule. It is only an *argumentum ex silentio*. It is not reliable. For instance, Āpilaka, the eighth king in the list, was completely unknown till about four decades ago. In 1937 his only known coin<sup>1</sup> was found at Bālpur on the bank of the Mahānadi in Chhattisgaḍh, which substantiated his inclusion in the Purāṇic list. He is one of the early Sātavāhana kings. We may in future obtain similar evidence about other kings as well.

*Argument III*—The characters of the Nāṅghāt inscription of Nāganikā, queen of Sātakarṇi, appear to be later than those of the Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodorus<sup>2</sup> (*circa* 100 B. C.), and earlier than those of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (20 B. C.). So Sātakarṇi must be placed in about the middle of the first cen. B. C. Consequently, the rise of the Sātavāhanas cannot be dated as early as 230 B. C.

*Examination*—Palaeographic evidence is not quite reliable when the distance in time is not large. It admits of various interpretations. Bühler has shown that according to epigraphical evidence, the Nāṅghāt inscriptions may be placed a little, but not much, later than Aśoka's and Daśaratha's edicts.<sup>3</sup> Besides, it is not likely that the Brāhmi alphabet developed at the same pace in places far off from one another such as those in Central India, Koṅkaṇ and Kaliṅga.

*Argument IV*—From an inscription in Nāsik Cave No. XVIII, we learn that it was excavated by Bhaṭṭapālikā who was a grand-daughter of Mahā-Haku-śri.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Num. Suppl.* N. 94. *JASB*, III (1937). See Pl. XX, No. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *JBRAS*, XXIII, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> *ASWE*, V, p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> *Inscr.* No. 10, lines 1-2.

The latter is identical with *Kumāra Haku-śrī*, a son of Sātakarṇi I, mentioned in a relievo inscription in the Nāṅghāṭ Cave. From the form of the entrance door-way, the lotus design on the face of the jamb, the miniature persepolitan pilasters, the rails of the balustrade flanking the steps and the treatment of the *dvārapāla*, Marshall dated the cave about the beginning of the Christian era.<sup>1</sup> Bhaṭapālika's grandfather Sātakarṇi could not, therefore, have flourished as early as 150 B. C.

*Examination*—In refuting Marshall's objection, A. S. Altekar questioned the identification of Mahā-Haku-śrī with *Kumāra Haku-śrī*, son of Sātakarṇi, on the ground that he is not called *Rājan* in the inscription of Bhaṭapālikā; for *Kumāra Haku-śrī* must have come to the throne in course of time. Hence Marshall's argument has no weight.

We do not accept this view. Mahā-Haku-śrī is probably identical with *Kumāra Haku-śrī*, who is named Śakti-śrī in Nāganikā's inscription. He must have succeeded Vedi-śrī, his brother, mentioned as the ruler in Nāganikā's inscription. The coins with the legend *Raño Satasa* probably belong to him. He is not called *Rājan* in Bhaṭapālikā's inscription, because he was not reigning at the time. However, his high status is indicated by *mahā* prefixed to his name. The door-way, the Persiopolitan pilasters, the *dvāra-pāla* etc., no doubt, suggest a later date, but that is because they were carved at a later time. This is indicated by the inscription on the arch of the door-way which records the donation of the village Dhambhika made by the people of Nāsika.<sup>2</sup> Bhaṭapālikā no doubt commenced the excavation of the cave; but for some reason, the work seems to have remained incomplete. Then the people of Nāsik came forward to complete it. They got the frontage of the cave carved, and also donated the village Dhambhika. They then recorded their pious gift in their inscription

<sup>1</sup> *CHI*, I, p. 637. See Pl. VIII, Fig. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *CTI*, pl. XXV. See Pl. VIII, Fig. 12.

on an arch of the door-way. This later carving may be dated 50 B. C. on palaeographic evidence. It does not preclude an earlier date for the interior of the cave which is substantiated by the palaeographical evidence of Bhaṭṭapālikā's inscription incised on two pillars in it.

So the view that the Sātavāhanas rose to power in *circa* 230 B. C. soon after the death of Aśoka is the correct one. If they ruled for 460 years, their fall must have occurred about A. D. 230. And this is what we find from the rise of several new States about that time in the different parts of South India previously comprised in the kingdom of the Sātavāhanas.

Within a short period of fifty years after the death of Aśoka his vast empire crumbled to pieces and several small States rose to power in the different parts of India. The Śuṅga *Senāpati* Pushyamitra exterminated the last Maurya king Bṛihadhratha and usurped power in Magadha. Mahāmeghavāhana declared his independence in Kaliṅga. The Raṭhikas, Bhojakas and Petenikas who were ruling in Mahārāshṭra could not have remained quiet in that period. One of them, Sātavāhana by name, declared his independence and struck copper and lead coins in his own name. These coins have been found over a wide area such as Hyderābād in Andhra,<sup>1</sup> Akolā in Vidarbha<sup>2</sup> and Newāsā in Western Mahārāshṭra,<sup>3</sup> both on the ground and in excavations. They have the figure of an elephant with the trunk uplifted and the legend *Raño siri-Sātavāhanasa* (This coin is of the illustrious king Sātavāhana) on the obverse, and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse.<sup>4</sup>

Sātavāhana was the progenitor of this family. Just as the descendants of King Gupta became known by the dynastic name *Gupta*, so the successors of this king Sātavāhana came to be known by his name.<sup>5</sup> This dynastic

<sup>1</sup> *JNSI*, VII, pp. 1 ff.; *SI*, III, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *JNSI*, XXXVII, pp. 143 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *From Prehistory to History*, pp. 175 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *JNSI*, II, pp. 5 ff. See Chapter VIII 'Coin' and Pl. XIX, Fig. 28-29.

<sup>5</sup> *Inscr. No. 1*, line 2.

name occurs first in the Nāsik Cave inscription of Kṛishṇa, one of the early kings of the family.

According to some scholars, these coins are not of the progenitor of the family but of a later king who is called *Kumāra Sātavāhana* in a relievo inscription in the Nāneghāt Cave. But this view has no basis. This *Kumāra Sātavāhana* was evidently a son of Queen Nāganikā. But as his name does not occur in her large inscription incised long after in the same cave when she had become very old, though it names her two other sons, it seems that he had predeceased her, and never came to the throne. No other king of this name is known. So these coins must be referred to the founder of the family.

The political situation prevailing then must have been favourable for his rise to power. We learn from Aśoka's edicts that he had stopped the slaughter of animals even in his own kitchen,<sup>1</sup> and made it punishable throughout his realm. An inscription found at Deotek in the Chāndā District of Vidarbha, which was probably incised by Aśoka's *Dharmamahāmātra*, proclaims the order of his *Svāmi* (Aśoka) that whoever would capture and slaughter (any animals) would receive condign punishment.<sup>2</sup> As people in ancient times had faith in the Vedic sacrifices involving the killing of animals, this order must have been felt obnoxious. So it is not surprising that when the central power became weak after the death of Aśoka, the people rose in revolt and helped ambitious men to declare their independence and to establish small states in the different parts of the country. This inference is substantiated by the fact that these founders of new states performed Vedic sacrifices soon after their rise to power. Thus, Pushyamitra Śuṅga performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices as stated in a stone inscription of one of his successors.<sup>3</sup> Sātavāhana's

<sup>1</sup> *SI*, I (second ed.), pp. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* I (second ed.) Some scholars think that this record was engraved a long time after Aśoka and, in support of their view, draw attention to the form of *cha* in line 1 of that epigraph. But a similar form of *cha* occurs in a relievo inscription (*viz.* No. 5) at Nāneghāt. See Part II, Agnī, an earlier form of *cha* also occurs in that record. So this view is not valid.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, XX, pp. 57 ff.

successor in the third or fourth generation performed not only two *Aśvamedhas* and one *Rājasūya* but also not less than fifteen other Vedic sacrifices,<sup>1</sup> and thereby brought prestige to the Vedic religion. This situation prevailed in the beginning of the second century B. C. when the *Sātavāhanas* established themselves. We have no evidence to date it about the middle of the first century B. C.

### The Original Home of the *Sātavāhanas*

Before we proceed to state the political history of the dynasty, we must settle the question of its home country. This matter has become very controversial. The *Purāṇas* call this dynasty *Andhra*. So all early historians such as R. G. Bhandarkar,<sup>2</sup> Bühler,<sup>3</sup> Rapson<sup>4</sup> and Vincent Smith<sup>5</sup> believed that the *Sātavāhanas* had their original home in the *Andhra* country. But if this view is accepted, we shall have to suppose that within one or two generations after their rise in *Andhra* they spread their power as far west as *Koṅkaṇ* on the Western coast. This appears extremely incredible. The early inscriptions and coins of this family have been found not in *Andhra* but in Western *Mahārāshṭra* including *Koṅkaṇ*. R. G. Bhandarkar read *Dhana-kaṭaka* in a *Nāsik* Cave inscription and, on the basis of it, inferred that the early *Sātavāhanas* had their capital at the place now known as *Dharaṇikoṭ* in *Andhra*;<sup>6</sup> but as Senart has shown, the correct reading there is *Beṇākaṭaka*, which, as we have shown elsewhere, is the region round *Pauni* on the bank of the *Veṇā* (or the *Vaingaṅgā*) in the *Bhaṇḍārā* District of *Vidarbha*. Vincent Smith identified the capital of the *Andhras* (i. e. the *Sātavāhanas*) with *Śrikākulam*<sup>7</sup> in the *Andhra Pradesh*, but the evidence

<sup>1</sup> See *Insur.* No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *EHD*, pp. 36 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *ASWT*, IV, pp. 105 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *BMC (Andhra)*, p. xvi.

<sup>5</sup> *ZDMG* (1902), p. 657.

<sup>6</sup> *EHD*, p. 46.

<sup>7</sup> See *Telling-Amstama*. This work is of the eleventh cen. A. D.

for it is as late as the eleventh century A. D. So it is not reliable. We have several inscriptions connected with the Great Stūpa at Amarāvati in Andhra, but none of them mentions any early Sātavāhana king. On the other hand, we get references to other rulers of Andhra in the records of the early period. For instance, we have, in an inscription from Bhaṭṭiprolu in Andhra, mention of King Kubiraka,<sup>1</sup> who, on the evidence of palaeography, seems to have flourished not long after Aśoka. He was not of the Sātavāhana family. In the Hāthīgumphā inscription King Khāravela, who flourished in *circa* 150 to 135 B. C., is said to have devastated the city of Pithunda, and defeated the confederacy of Tramira kings.<sup>2</sup> If the Sātavāhanas had been ruling in Andhra in that period, he would have mentioned them in that connection. He does not do so. So it is quite certain that the Sātavāhanas were not ruling in the Godāvarī-Kṛishṇā region in that age.

Some years ago, V. S. Sukthankar published an inscription of the Sātavāhana king Puḷumāvi found at Macḍonī in the Bellārī District of Karnāṭaka.<sup>3</sup> It mentioned Sātavāhanihāra (the territorial division of the Sātavāhanas), from which he inferred that the Sātavāhanas originally hailed from that region. But the inference does not seem valid ; for that district has no other antiquities of the Sātavāhana age. This Puḷumāvi was the last king of the Sātavāhana dynasty. When his power spread to that region at the end of the Sātavāhana period, it seems to have been so designated in order to distinguish it from other neighbouring territories. We have another similar territorial designation, *viz.*, Sātāhaniraṭṭha mentioned in the later Hirahaḍagalli plates of the Pallava king Śiva-skandavarman.<sup>4</sup> As no early inscriptions or coins of the Sātavāhanas have been found in that region, Sukthankar's theory that the Sātavāhanas originally hailed from there cannot be accepted. In fact, Sukthankar himself

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, II, pp. 323 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* XX, pp. 71 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* XIV, pp. 143 ff. Inscr. No. 34.

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, I, pp. 5 ff.

gave it up and in his later writings strongly advocated the view that the Sātavāhanas had their original home in Western Mahārāshṭra.

Recently Gopalachari has put forward a novel theory about the home of the Sātavāhanas.<sup>1</sup> He drew attention to the following verse which occurs in the Purāṇas about the rise of the Andhras (*i. e.*, the Sātavāhanas) :—<sup>2</sup>

शुद्धगानां चापि यच्छिष्टं  
 क्षपयित्वा बलं तदा ।  
 शिशुको ह्यभ्रजातीयः  
 प्राप्स्यतीमां वसुधराम् ॥

This verse states that Śiśuka (properly, Simuka), the progenitor of the dynasty, was of the Andhra race. From this, Gopalachari inferred that Simuka, who was probably a provincial Governor in Mahārāshṭra, originally hailed from the Andhra country. This view, though not inherently impossible, has no shred of evidence to support it. Had this been true, the Sātavāhanas would have stated their Andhra origin somewhere in their records. They do not do so anywhere.

More than 75 per cent of the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas have been found in Western Mahārāshṭra including Koṅkaṇ. Again, these include all their early inscriptions. Their early coins also have been found mostly in that region. The earliest references to them point to this very home of the family. For instance, the Hāthīgumphā inscription<sup>3</sup> states that Khāravela, the king of Kaliṅga (Orissa), not minding Sātakarṇi, sent his four-membered army consisting of elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers westward in his second regnal year, and when it reached Kanha-beṇṇā (*i. e.* the Vaingāṅgā), it struck terror in the hearts of the people of Asikanagara (the capital of the Ṛishnika country

<sup>1</sup> *BEAC*, pp. 23 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *DKA*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *IEI*, XX, pp. 74 ff.



or Khāndesh). Had Sātakarṇi been ruling over the Andhra country, Khāavela would have sent the invading army not westward but southward. This clearly indicates that his contemporary Sātakarṇi I was ruling in Mahārāshṭra, not in Andhra. His coins have been found at Pauni in the Bhaṇḍārā District in Vidarbha.<sup>1</sup>

Jain literature mentions Pratiśṭhāna (modern Paithān in the Marāthvāḍā Division) as the capital of the early Sātavāhana king Śaktikumāra.<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy (c. A. D. 140) says that Puḷumāvi was ruling from the same city.<sup>3</sup> All this evidence goes to prove that **Western Mahārāshṭra was the home of the Sātavāhanas.**

But then the question arises, 'How are these kings called Andhra?' This question is not difficult to answer. The dynastic lists in the Purāṇas appear to have been prepared in *circa* A. D. 320 for they do not contain any reference to later dynasties or kings. We have seen above that the Sātavāhanas fell in *circa* A. D. 230. At that time, the centre of Sātavāhana power was in Andhra. An inscription of Gautamīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi, one of the later kings of the dynasty, has been found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍ in the Andhra country.<sup>4</sup> It shows that he had founded a city named Vijayapuri (now known as Nāgārjunakoṇḍ), which he made his capital. His coins have not been found anywhere in Western Mahārāshṭra.<sup>5</sup> The latter country was then under the rule of Chuṭukula Sātakarṇi. It is not, therefore, surprising that the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas which were prepared in this later period, call the Sātavāhanas as Andhras. No other evidence shows that they originally hailed from the Andhra country. Hence there is absolutely no doubt that **the Sātavāhanas had the original home in Western Mahārāshṭra.**

Before the discovery of the coins of Sātavāhana, the progenitor of the family, scholars had made various

<sup>1</sup> *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 106 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This statement is not wholly reliable.

<sup>3</sup> *CAI*, p. 376.

<sup>4</sup> *Inscr.* No. 32.

<sup>5</sup> The coins of Vijaya Sātakarṇi in the Chāndī and Tachāḷī hoards are of an earlier king of that name, viz., Vāsiśṭhīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi.

conjectures about the origin of the dynastic name. Some explained it as originating in the gifts of conveyances (*vāhanas*) made by these kings to other people, while others traced it to such gifts made by others to them. Some others thought that the dynastic name was a corrupt form of *saptavāhana* (the Sun), and traced its origin to that god being their tutelary deity. But this is not supported by the evidence of their own inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> The *Kathāsaritsāgara* gives the fantastic story that a Yaksha named Sāta used to assume the form of a lion and carry about the son of a sage on his back.<sup>2</sup> From this that boy came to be known as Sātavāhana. These and other similar stories have no basis whatsoever. They are purely imaginary. From some recently discovered coins, we have come to know that Sātavāhana was the name of an ancient king, whatever may be the etymology of it. It was borne by his descendants just as the descendants of King Gupta became known as the Guptas. Its Prakrit form was Sālāhaṇa,<sup>3</sup> which was later Sanskritised as Śālivāhana. The current notion that Śālivāhana started the era of A. D. 78 is, however, completely baseless as shown later.

The Sātavāhanas were Brāhmanas by caste. In a Nāsik Cave inscription of Puṣumāvi, his father Gautamiputra is described as *eka-bamhaṇa* (a unique Brāhmaṇa), and *khatiyadāpa-māna-damana* (the subduer of the arrogance and pride of the Kshatriyas).<sup>4</sup> As a son of Brāhmaṇa Muṇḍa did in a subsequent period, this Brāhmaṇa Sātavāhana changed his ladle for a sword when there was confusion and chaos in the country after the death of Aśoka, and established peace and order in the Deccan. Though the Sātavāhanas were themselves Āryas and belonged to the

<sup>1</sup> There is no obeisance to the Sun in the beginning of their inscriptions. Only in Nāgaśikā's inscription in Nāgaohāḍ there is obeisance to him along with other gods.

<sup>2</sup> The *Kathāsaritsāgara*, VI, 87 etc.

<sup>3</sup> See the following *śloka*—

सत्त्वमममसोदधरिपुत्रकमुद्रुगमादिपामनी ।

सासदाहमकुलहरिसंभदलेकुलेकुलमणि ॥

*Prabandhakośa of Rājasekhara.*

<sup>4</sup> Insce. Nos. 13. See lines 7 and 5 respectively.

Brāhmaṇa caste, they married Nāga and even Śaka women without inhibition. Thus we find that Sātakarṇi I married a Nāga princess named Nāganikā, who was a strong adherent of the Vedic religion. Later, his descendant Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi married a daughter of the Western Śaka Kshatrapa Rudradāman I.<sup>1</sup> In that age, Hinduism had a catholic outlook and freely admitted the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas to its fold.

The names of several Sātavāhana kings contain mention of the *gotras* of their mothers such as Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi and Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi. From them some scholars have inferred that the matriarchal system was in vogue among the Sātavāhanas. Others see in them evidence of cross-cousin marriages. Gopalachari has remarked that these metronymics were not originally current among the Sātavāhanas. They came into vogue in later times and then spread among the Ikshvāku, Ābhīra and other royal families when they began to have matrimonial relations with the Sātavāhanas. But the custom of naming a male child after his mother is very ancient. For instance, Kṛishṇa is called *Devakīputra* in an Upanishad. As a matter of fact, metronymics were current not only among the princely families, they were common among ordinary people also. They are noticed not only in the inscriptions of the south, but also in those of the north. See, e. g. the names Mogalīputa and Kosikīputa in Sāñchī inscriptions<sup>2</sup>, and Vachhīputra in a Pitaḷkhorā epigraph.<sup>3</sup> We cannot also say that they were not current among the Early Sātavāhanas; for very few records of those Sātavāhanas have been discovered so far.

### The Evidence of the Purāṇas

Before commencing the history of the Sātavāhanas, we must clarify one or two matters. The Purāṇas give the names of from seventeen to thirty kings, but there is no

<sup>1</sup> Inscr. No. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Bhīlād Topes*, pp. 288, 289.

<sup>3</sup> *ICTWI*, p. 40.

unanimity among them. In some cases their evidence runs counter to the stronger testimony of contemporary inscriptions. For instance, the Purāṇas mention Pūrṇotsaṅga and Skandhastambhi as the successors of Sātakarṇi I,<sup>1</sup> but we learn from the Nāṅghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā<sup>2</sup> that Sātakarṇi was followed by his eldest son Vedi-śrī, while his other son Śakti-śrī was probably acting as *Yuva-rāja*. Pūrṇotsaṅga and Skandhastambhi are mentioned nowhere. Again, there is no unanimity in respect of the reign-periods of the kings mentioned in the different Purāṇas. In some cases, they are disproved by the contemporary evidence of inscriptions. For instance, the Purāṇas state that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi ruled for twenty-one years,<sup>3</sup> while one of his inscriptions in the Nāsik Caves is dated in his twenty-fourth regnal year.<sup>4</sup> Again, the Purāṇas assign only five years to the reign of Hāla, which appears very unlikely in view of his multifarious literary activity. In a few cases, no regnal period is mentioned at all. On the other hand, some Sātavāhana kings such as Kauśikīputra Sātakarṇi, Karṇa Sātakarṇi, and Kumbha Sātakarṇi are known from their coins,<sup>5</sup> but their names are not given in the Purāṇic lists. All this will show how weak is the evidence of the Purāṇic lists in regard to the history of the Sātavāhanas. It is not regarded as fully reliable unless it is corroborated by some other evidence.

The Purāṇas state that Sindhuka or Śiśuka was the founder of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) dynasty. His correct name Simuka (Śrīmukha) occurs in a relievio inscription in the Nāṅghāṭ Cave.<sup>6</sup> He is called Simuka Sātavāhana therein. His brother Kṛishṇa is described in a Nāsik Cave inscription as belonging to the Sātavāhana family (*Sātavāhana-kule Kanhe rājini*).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *DCA*, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscr.* No. 3, lines 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> See राजा श्रीमौलमीपुत्र एकविंशत्तमो मुपः । *DCA*, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> *Inscr.* No. 13, line 7.

<sup>5</sup> *SI*, III, pp. 29 ff., See Chapter VIII, Coins.

<sup>6</sup> See *Inscr.* No. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Inscr.* No. 1, line 1.

Altekar thought that these two were uterine brothers and were the sons of Sātavāhana.<sup>1</sup> Had this been the case, the wording in the aforementioned Nāsik inscription would have been *Sātavāhana-pute Kanhe rājini*. The relievo inscription *Simuka Sātavāhano* also means 'Simuka, a descendant of Sātavāhana.' So Simuka and Kṛishṇa were probably not the direct sons of Sātavāhana, but were separated from him by one or two generations.

#### Sātavāhana, the Progenitor of the Family

Though the Purāṇas state that Simuka was the founder of the Andhra (*i. e.* Sātavāhana) family, he was only a descendant of Sātavāhana. The latter was the real progenitor of the dynasty. As shown before, he rose to power in *circa* 230 B. C. soon after the death of Aśoka. His kingdom must have been small at first; but when it grew in expanse in course of time, his descendants took pride in saying that they were born in his family. As stated before, his coins have been found in Vidarbha, Western Mahārāshṭra and Marāṭhwāḍā. Some scholars object to this attribution on the ground that such coins bearing a royal name were not current in the country as early as 230 B. C.<sup>2</sup> They would ascribe them to a later king of that name whose statue with the label *Kumāro Sātavāhano* was carved in the Nāṅghāṭ Cave. This objection has no weight. None would have believed some fifty years ago that the Sātavāhanas issued silver coins as early as 150 B. C. Yet, we have now a joint silver coin of Sātakarṇi I and Nāganikā.<sup>3</sup> The same is the case of the coins bearing royal names. Besides, no other king of the name Sātavāhana is known to history. *Kumāro Sātavāhana* of the relievo inscription probably did not come to the throne as shown below.

<sup>1</sup> *MSG (History)* I, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Pl. XX, Fig. 33.

## Simuka Sātavāhana

Simuka, the first Sātavāhana king mentioned in the Purāṇas, flourished one or two generations after the aforementioned progenitor. His date can be fixed approximately as 200 B. C. The dynastic lists in the Purāṇas commence with his name probably because he extended his rule far and wide, and brought prestige to the family. His description which occurred in the beginning of the inscription of Nāganikā in the Nāneghāt Cave is now sadly mutilated, but even from the remaining fragments we learn that he was a brave and invincible warrior and bore the title of *Dakṣiṇāpathapati* (the Lord of the Daccan).<sup>1</sup> He seems, therefore, to have brought a large part of the peninsula under his rule. This is also corroborated by the recent finds of his coins. As he was the earliest powerful king of this dynasty, the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas commence with his name. Copper and Potin coins of Simuka have recently been found at the village Kapporopeṭ, in the Karimnagar district of Andhra.<sup>2</sup> They have on the obverse the figure of an elephant with the trunk uplifted or hanging down, and on the reverse the Ujjain symbol with a *svastika*, and the triangular standard. The complete legend on the obverse seems to have been *Raño Chhimuka Sātavāhanasa*. In the Dravidian languages *sa* is changed to *cha* or *chha*. For instance, the name of the Ikshvāku king Śāntamūla appears as Chāntamūla in the inscriptions of the family. As Simuka had the title of *Dakṣiṇāpathapati*, it is no wonder that his coins should be found in the Karimnagar District of Andhra. They do not show that Andhra was the original home of the Sātavāhanas as supposed by some scholars.

We have no definite information about the location of the Sātavāhana capital in this period. The

<sup>1</sup> *Inscr. No. 3, line 2. See note 3 on 13 p. of Part II.*

<sup>2</sup> *JESI. V, pp. 136 ff.*

earliest inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas have been discovered in the Junnar—Nāsik region. So it is not unlikely that their capital was situated in this part of the Deccan. There is some evidence to suppose that Nahapāna, who defeated the Sātavāhanas and occupied the Poona-Nāsik part of their kingdom, ruled from Junnar.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, not unlikely that the Early Sātavāhanas also ruled from the same place. When Nahapāna ousted them from there, they appear to have shifted their capital to Pratiṣṭhāna.<sup>2</sup> Otherwise, Nāganikā's large inscription would have been incised in a cave near Aurangābād instead of at Nāṇeghāt near Junnar. It is noteworthy that their earliest silver coin probably issued on the occasion of the performance of an Aśvamedha has been found at Junnar.

Simuka was succeeded by his brother Kṛishṇa. An inscription of his time has been discovered in the oldest cave at Nāsik,<sup>3</sup> and records that the cave was excavated by a *Mahāmātra* named Samaṇa.<sup>4</sup> The *Mahāmātras* were high officials. Those in charge of religious affairs were called *Dharma-Mahāmātras*. They are mentioned in the edicts of Aśoka. These officers are not noticed in later records.<sup>5</sup>

### The Statue Gallery at Nāṇeghāt

Kṛishṇa was succeeded by Sātakarṇi I. How the latter was related to him has become a matter of controversy. The Purāṇas state that Sātakarṇi was a son of Kṛishṇa.<sup>6</sup> But had it been so, the latter's

<sup>1</sup> It was probably the capital of Nahapāna previously. An inscription of his, *Amātya* has been found there.

<sup>2</sup> *CAI*, p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> *Inscr.* No. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Śraṇiṇa* is not used here in the sense of a Buddhist mendicant. It was a personal name. See a similar personal name *Tāpasa* which occurs in *Inscr.* No. 11.

<sup>5</sup> The use of this official name also indicates that the record was incised soon after Aśoka and not in the first cen. B. C.

<sup>6</sup> *DKA*, p. 39.

statue would have been carved in the Statue Gallery of Nānēghāṭ. The following statues were carved there<sup>1</sup> :—(1) The illustrious King Simuka Sātavāhana; (2) Queen Nāganikā and the illustrious King Sātakarṇi; (3) *Kumāra Bhāya*[la]; (4) (Name lost). (This statue was probably of *Kumāra Vēdi-śri*, who later ascended the throne after his father Sātakarṇi as mentioned in Nāganikā's inscription.) (5) *Mahārāṭhi* Tranakayira; (6) *Kumāra Haku-śri*; (7) *Kumāra Sātavāhana*. This list of statues does not contain the name of Kṛishṇa. If he had been the father of Sātakarṇi, his statue would certainly have been carved there instead of that of Simuka. So Sātakarṇi was not the son of Kṛishṇa, but of Simuka. Sātakarṇi may have been a minor at the time of his father Simuka's death. So Kṛishṇa may have succeeded the latter. Perhaps, like Chālukya Maṅgaleśa and Yādava Mahādeva, he may have had hostile relations with his nephew Sātakarṇi, and so his statue was not included in the Gallery. Whatever the reason may be, the omission of his statue from the Gallery clearly shows that Sātakarṇi was not the son of Kṛishṇa as stated in the Purāṇas, but of Simuka.

This Statue Gallery has confounded scholars. The central figures in it are Sātakarṇi and Nāganikā. Others figure therein because of their relation with them. Simuka was the father of Sātakarṇi. Katare's suggestion<sup>2</sup> that Nāganikā's statue is carved before that of Sātakarṇi because she was his mother cannot be accepted. Her statue is carved first there because of her prestige in the family. This is clearly shown even by the large Nānēghāṭ inscription.<sup>3</sup> We have now a joint coin of her and her husband Sātakarṇi, which leaves no doubt in the matter.<sup>4</sup> That coin has *Raño siri-Sātakarṇisa* above, and in a rectangle below a horizontal line, *Nāganikāya* on the obverse, together

<sup>1</sup> See Insur. Nos. 4—9.

<sup>2</sup> *IBQ*, XXVII, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> See Insur. No. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Pl. XX, Fig. 33.



with what appears like the figure of a horse on the left. This is the only Sātavāhana coin which has the name of a queen on it. This shows her prestigious position in the family at the time.

The Gallery had probably the statues of *Kumāra Bhāyala*, who seems to have been the eldest son of Sātakarṇi, and one other person, whose name is now lost, but who was probably *Kumāra Vedi-śrī*, who later succeeded his father Sātakarṇi and was ruling when the large inscription in the Nāṅeghāṭ Cave was incised. Then there was the statue of *Mahārāṣṭri Tranakayira*, who was probably the father of Nāganikā. His description in the large inscription is now almost completely lost, but from the remaining fragments he seems to have been described therein as a scion of the Aṅgiya family, an eminent warrior on the earth surrounded by the oceans, and a *Mahārāṣṭri*. His statue was included in the Gallery as he was the father of Nāganikā. Thereafter there were two more statues—one of *Kumāra Haku-śrī*, and the other of *Kumāra Sātavāhana*. They were both probably the sons of Nāganikā.<sup>1</sup>

Why are not all the sons of Nāganikā mentioned together? Why have they been divided into two groups? This has been a confounding riddle. But it is not difficult to resolve it. It seems that these statues of the four sons of Nāganikā were not all carved at one and the same time. The first six statues, *viz.*, those of Simuka, Nāganikā and Sātakarṇi, Bhāyala, Vedi-śrī and Tranakayira were carved in the first instance in the early part of the reign of Sātakarṇi. Later, Nāganikā had two more sons, *viz.* Haku-śrī and Sātavāhana, whose statues also were carved in due course. After considerable time when Vedi-śrī succeeded his father and Nāganikā became very old, the large inscription at Nāṅeghāṭ was incised.<sup>2</sup> At

<sup>1</sup> Some scholars say that *Hakusiri* could not have been the Prakrit form of *Sakti-śrī*; but it was probably a nickname of the prince. *Hakusiri* seems to be a Dravidian name.

<sup>2</sup> See Inscr. No. 3, line 5.

that time, only two of her sons, viz., the ruling king Vedi-śrī and his younger brother Śakti-śrī (identical with *Kumāra* Haku-śrī of a relievo inscription) were living, and so their names occur in the large inscription. The other two are not mentioned therein probably because they were dead at the time.

### Sātakarṇi I

Sātakarṇi was a powerful king. The large Nāṅghāṭ inscription contained his description, but nearly the whole of it is now lost, only the words *mahato maha-* being left. They show that he was reckoned among great persons. His greatness can also be ascertained from some events of his reign.

As his father Simuka had spread his rule over a major part of the Deccan and assumed the title of *Dakṣiṇāpathapati*, Sātakarṇi resolved to extend his kingdom in North India. The Śuṅgas had then a fairly large empire north of the Narmadā. Their capital had been shifted from Pāṭaliputra to Vidiśā in Central India. So the Greek king Antiacidas sent his ambassador not to Pāṭaliputra but to Vidiśā, as evidenced by his pillar inscription at the place.<sup>1</sup> Sātakarṇi seems to have invaded Vidiśā and occupied it for some time. This is shown by the inscription on an architrave of the Great Stūpa at Sāñchi. Vāsishṭhiputra Ānanda who got it incised describes himself therein as an *Āveśanika* (foreman) of King Sātakarṇi.<sup>2</sup> This invasion seems to have struck a blow to the prestige of the Śuṅgas and paved the way for the rise of the Kāṅvas. The mention in the Purāṇas that Simuka rose to power after overthrowing the Kāṅvas is probably reminiscent of this invasion by Sātakarṇi.

Sātakarṇi himself had to face an invasion of his kingdom by an enemy. The Hāthīgumphā Cave

<sup>1</sup> *JBRAS*, XXIII, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> *The Monuments of Sāñchi*, p. 398. See *Inscr.* No. 2.

inscription tells us that Khāravēla, King of Kāliṅga (Orissa), in the second year of his reign, sent his four-membered army to the west, not minding Sātakarṇi, and when it reached the Kanha-beṅṅā, it struck terror in the hearts of the people dwelling in the capital of the Ṛishika country.<sup>1</sup> This invasion has not been correctly interpreted. Some scholars identify Kanhabēṅṅā with the Kṛishṇā, and reading *Musika-nagara* in place of *Asika-nagara*, they take the passage to mean that when Khāravēla's army reached the Kṛishṇā, it frightened the people of Maski in the Raichur District. This interpretation of the passage is erroneous. For reaching the river Kṛishṇā, Khāravēla's army would have been required to march south, not west, because that river flows south of Kāliṅga. Besides, the correct reading in the passage is *Asika-nagara*, not *Musika-nagara*. Asika (Sanskrit, Ṛishika) was the ancient name of Khāndesh.<sup>2</sup> The latter country lies west of Kāliṅga.

So Khāravēla's army, marching west, reached the river Kanhabēṅṅā or the Vaingāṅgā. Pauni on that river was then the capital of Vidarbha. It was in the occupation of Sātakarṇi, whose coins have been found there in recent excavations.<sup>3</sup> This invasion of Vidarbha naturally frightened the people of Asika (*i. e.* Ṛishika, modern Khāndesh), which bordered Vidarbha on the West. This is the correct interpretation of this invasion of Khāravēla.

Khāravēla's army seems to have met with strong opposition near Pauni and had to turn back. Had it scored any victory, it would surely have been mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription. Sātakarṇi seems to have rushed to oppose the army when he heard of the invasion, and successfully turned it back. Two years later, Khāravēla again sent his army to invade the country, but this time he avoided confrontation

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, XX, pp. 71 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *ABORI*, XXV, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 106 ff.

with the Sātavāhana king. He captured some Rāṭhikas and Bhojakas and compelled them to bow to his feet.<sup>1</sup> He does not seem to have made any territorial gain by these invasions.

Sātakarṇi was as religious-minded as he was brave. He performed several Vedic sacrifices and made gifts of thousands of cows, hundreds of horses, elephants, garments, *kārshāpaṇa* coins and heaps of grains to Brāhmaṇas, servants and others.<sup>2</sup> The Nāṇeghāt inscription of his queen Nāganikā is now very sadly mutilated, but even in its present fragmentary state, it mentions the following sacrifices — two Aśvamedhas, Rājasūya, Anvārambhaṇiya, Aṅgārika, Bhagaladaśarātra, Gargatrirātrā, Aptoryāma, Aṅgirasāmayana, Śatātirātra, Aṅgirasatrirātra, and Chhandomapavamānatrirātra. In this he received the co-operation and support of his pious queen Nāganikā, She was adept in the initiatory and other rites, and had full faith in them. Sātakarṇi performed two Aśvamedhas and thereby established his supremacy in the country. His rule in Central India does not seem to have lasted long. But he acquired great fame as a brave and pious king. He issued some silver coins to commemorate his performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifices. They are the oldest Indian coins of that type. They have his own and his queen's name and the figure of a horse indicative of the Aśvamedha on the obverse. Besides these, he also issued potin and lead coins of different types. Some of them have the figure of a horse and some that of a bull with the legend *Raño siri-Sātakarṇisa* on their obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse.<sup>3</sup>

As Sātavāhana was the progenitor of this family, it became known as *Sātavāhana-kula* (Sātavāhana family); but after Sātakarṇi, the family came to be designated by his name, individual kings adding their

<sup>1</sup> *Et.* XX, pp. 71 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Insur.* No. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 18 ff. *Platr* XIX, Fig. 31, 32.

proper names to it. So we have Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇi, Skanda Śātakarṇi, Yajña Śātakarṇi, Kumbha Śātakarṇi and so on. Hereafter, the family became famous as *Śātakarṇi-kula*, the previous designation, viz., *Śātavāhana-kula*, having been superceded.<sup>1</sup>

The Purāṇas assign a reign-period of only ten years to this Śātakarṇi; but this is incredible. Fifteen or sixteen sacrifices including two Aśvamedhas and one Rājasūya could not have been performed in the short period of ten years. The Purāṇic statement here as in several other places seems erroneous.

### The Successors of Śātakarṇi

The Purāṇas say that Śātakarṇi was succeeded by Pūrṇotsaṅga, who ruled for eighteen years; but from the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā it seems that his son Vedi-śrī was his successor. In the large Nāṇeghāṭ inscription which was incised in his reign, his regnal year, season, fortnight and *tithi* were recorded in accordance with the custom of those days, but that part of it is now completely lost. However, the inscription in its preserved fragments describes him as one who performed several charitable works, fulfilled the desires of suppliants and bestowed wealth on them.

Nāganikā, his mother, had become very old during his reign, but she had not even then discontinued the performance of sacrifices. She is said to have herself (*svayam*) performed several sacrifices after her husband's death, of course, through her family priest. They were mentioned together with the specification of the *dakṣhiṇā* in the form of cows etc. in lines 17 to 20 of her Nāṇeghāṭ inscription, but that part of the record is now considerably mutilated. Still, the names

<sup>1</sup> Inscr. No. 34 mentions the territorial division Śātavāhanāhāra. In his *Harsha-charita*, Ch. VIII, Bāga mentions Śātavāhanas as a friend of Nāgolejuna.

of the following sacrifices can be made out—Āṅgira-sāmayana, Trayodaśarātra and Daśarātra.

Bühler,<sup>1</sup> Rapson<sup>2</sup> and several other scholars believed that when the large inscription in Nāṅeghāt was incised, Nāganikā was acting as Regent for her son Vedi-śrī. This belief was based on the expression *Namo Kumāravarasa Vedi-sirisa* in the first line of it. But it is incorrect. The expression means 'Obeisance to [Kārttikeya], the best of the Kumāras.<sup>3</sup> Vedi-śrī is next described as *Rājan*. Later, in the fourth line, he is referred to as *deva* (the reigning king). So he was undoubtedly himself ruling at the time.

Nāganikā had become very old and decrepit when the Nāṅeghāt inscription was incised. Her sons Bhāyala and Sātavāhaṇa had predeceased her. These calamities must have produced indifference to worldly affairs in her naturally religious mind. She is thus described in the Nāṅeghāt inscription—'She fasts for a month at a time; she leads the life of a female hermit in her home; she is extremely self-controlled and is adept in the performance of initiatory rites, vows and sacrifices.' In short, she was implicitly following the precepts of the *Smṛitis* for the conduct of a widow. The *Manusmṛiti* says<sup>4</sup>—

असीतामरणाश्चान्ता निपता ब्रह्मचारिणी ।

यो धर्मं एकपत्नीनां काङ्क्षन्ती तमनुत्तमम् ॥

Her life was exactly as laid down by Manu in this verse. In fact, some of the expressions used in her inscription seem to have been suggested by the verse cited above. This queen, who led a restrained life and spent her days in the performance of religious rites and the observance of vows, is hardly likely to

<sup>1</sup> *ASBZ*, V, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> *BMC (Aulhas)*, introd. xviii.

<sup>3</sup> See the translation of *Insaz. No. 3*. In the Sakti-Gunji inscr. also *Kumāravarasa* has been used in the sense of 'born by the grace of Kārttikeya.' *EI*, XXVII, pp. 48 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Manu*, V, verse, 158.

have acted as Regent for her son and governed a large kingdom like that of the Sātavāhanas.

As stated above, Vedi-śrī succeeded his father Sātakarṇi; but his name is not mentioned in the Purāṇic list. Pūrṇotsaṅga is mentioned therein as the son and successor of Sātakarṇi. Altekar suggested that this might be a *biruda* of Vedi-śrī, but of this there is no evidence.

During the reign of Vedi-śrī, his younger brother Śakti-śrī was probably the *Yuvarāja*. The names of only these two sons of Nāganikā are mentioned in the large Nāṅghāṭ inscription. Śakti-śrī is mentioned by his Prakrit name Haku-siri in the Statue Gallery in the Nāṅghāṭ Cave. His statue which was carved there has now disappeared. The coins with the legend *Raño siri-Satasa* probably belong to him. Some of them come from the region north of the Narmadā. He is probably identical with Mahā-Haku-śrī mentioned in an inscription in Cave No. XVIII at Nāsik. His descent in the royal family is probably indicated by the epithet *mahā* prefixed to his name Haku-śrī.

This Śakti-śrī is probably the same as Śakti-kumāra mentioned in Jain literature; but his description therein that he, being lascivious, was murdered,<sup>1</sup> does not appear credible. His coins of the Mālwa fabric have been found with the legend *Raño sara-Satasa*.<sup>2</sup> Some scholars ascribe them to King Sātakarṇi, but it looks more probable that they are of Śakti-śrī; for there is no reason why the royal name should have been abbreviated into *Sata*. Besides, there is no sign of the medial *ā* of *Sā*. Palaeographic evidence is in favour of ascribing these coins to Śakti-śrī.

Near the Vihāra cave excavated by King Kṛishṇa's *Mahāmātra* at Nāsik, there is another of the Chaitya

<sup>1</sup> *MSGH*, I, p. 82. Recently a coin of Śakti-Kumāra has been discovered.

<sup>2</sup> Rapson has read the legend on one of them as *Raño siri-Satasa*, but the sign of the medial *ā* of *sā* is not clear. The correct reading there appears to be *Satasa*, which stands for *Satasa*.

type excavated by Bhaṭapālikā, grand-daughter of Mahā-Haku-śrī and daughter of a *Rāj-āmātya*. According to some scholars, this Mahā-Haku-śrī is different from *Kumara Haku-śrī*, whose statue was carved in the Nāṅeghāt Cave; for, otherwise, the *biruda* of *Rājan* would have been used in his case. This argument is fallacious; for it is not an official record. Besides, that Haku-śrī's royal descent is indicated by the prefix *mahā* of his name<sup>1</sup> even as it is signified by *Araka* (Sanskrit, *ārvaka*) in some other cases.

Next comes Sātakarṇi II in the Purāṇic list. According to some scholars, the coins of the Mā|wā fabric with the legend *Raño siri-Sātakaṇisa* were issued by him,<sup>2</sup> while others say that those with the legend *Raño siri-Satasa* belong to him. Both these views are lacking in evidence. We know nothing about the reigns of these two kings. On the other hand, Sātakarṇi I is known to have performed two Aśvamedhas, carried his arms north of the Narmadā and occupied the region round Vidiśā. So these coins with the legend *Sātakarṇi* were probably struck by him.

Sātakarṇi II was followed by Lambodara. His is a peculiar name; but it seems that the Sātavāhanas were, in his time, moving eastward; for, his successor Āpilaka's copper coin has been found at Bālpur on the bank of the Mahānadī in Chhattisgaḍh.<sup>3</sup> It has on the obverse the figure of an elephant with the trunk hanging down to the right, a goad in front and the legend *Raño siva-siris-Āpilakasa* all round, meaning "This coin is of King Śiva-śrī Āpilaka." The epithet Śiva-śrī is found prefixed optionally to their proper names by the Sātavāhanas and other kings in ancient times. The reverse of this coin is blank. This coin differs in fabric from other coins of the Sātavāhanas.

His successor Meghasvāti is known from a single coin with the fragmentary legend -*ghasada* - (*Meghasvāti*),

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. [3] ff.

<sup>2</sup> *JNSI*, IV, pp. 25-28; *MSGH*, I, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> *JRSR*, III, N. 93 ff. Plate XX, fig. 30.



found in Andhra.<sup>1</sup> Though the royal name appears very fragmentary, it is not likely to be of any other king.

Meghasvāti is the ninth king in the Purāṇic list. Then up to the seventeenth king in the list we know only the names of rulers. We get no other information about any of them from any other source. Again, their reign-periods also are exceptionally small. The reason for this is not known.

### Hāla Sātavāhana

The seventeenth king in the list is Hāla, the famous author of the *Gāthā-saptaśatī*. But we know nothing about the events of his reign. The Sātavāhanas gave liberal patronage to the Prakrit language and literature.<sup>2</sup> The early Sātavāhana king Sātakarṇi I performed several Vedic sacrifices and made munificent gifts to Brāhmanas, but his queen used Prakrit, not Sanskrit, in recording the names of those sacrifices and the gifts made on the occasions. Prakrit flourished in full vigour under the patronage of the Sātavāhanas. All persons from the king to the commoner, men as well as women, whoever had any poetic inspiration composed Prakrit *gāthās*. From the large collection of a crore of such *gāthās* King Hāla selected seven hundred to form his *Kośa*. Bāṇa has given unstinted praise to it in an introductory verse of his *Harshacharita*.<sup>3</sup> This *Kośa* went through several editions later. Every time some *gāthās* were omitted and others substituted for them, the number seven hundred being adhered to.<sup>4</sup> Fortunately, the names of the poets who composed them

<sup>1</sup> MSGH, I, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> The *Kāthāsarit-sāgara* (VI, 114-115) gives the story of a Sātavāhana king who could not understand the meaning of the simple sentence *modakāimān tāḍaya*. Rājasekhara's *Kāvyaṃmānasa* (p. 30) states that King Sātavāhana of the Kuntala country had issued an order prohibiting the use of Sanskrit in his harem. Bhoja's *Saravathānāthābharaṇa* (N. S. Press p. 12) states that all people in the kingdom of Āḍhyaśīja (Sātavāhana) used the Prakrit language in their conversation.

<sup>3</sup> See the introductory verses of the *Harshacharita*.

<sup>4</sup> See the Chapter 'Literature', below.

have been preserved in the commentaries of the *Kośa*, from which we can draw some inferences about these different editions as shown in a subsequent chapter.

An incident in the life of Hāla forms the subject-matter of a Prakrit work called the *Lilāvai*. Vijayānanda, a *Senāpati* of Hāla, learns, in the course of his *digvijaya*, about the princess Lilāvati, the daughter of Śilamegha, King of Sirmhaladvīpa, from an apsaras (heavenly nymph). After his return to the capital he informs Hāla about her. The latter invades the region called Bhīmam on the Saptā-Godāvāri (known as Drākshārāma), kills a Rākshasa, and marries Lilāvati. He then visits Sirmhaladvīpa, meets the king of the country, and comes back to his capital Pratishhāna.<sup>1</sup> This story resembles that of Harsha's *Ratnāvali* in some respects, and has no historical value.

The Purāṇas mention Maṅṭalaka, Purindrasena and Sundara Sātakarṇi as the successors of Hāla, but we have no information about any of them. The next king Chakora is also not known from any other source.<sup>2</sup> But in a Nāsik Cave inscription Gautamī Balaśrī, his daughter-in-law, is described as *rājārshi-vadhū*, which shows that he was a righteous and religious-minded king. But the Purāṇas have assigned a reign-period of only six months to him! It was probably during his reign that the contemporary Kushāṇa king began his incursions in South India.

### Invasion of the Western Kshatrapas

In A. D. 78, the Kushāṇa king Kanishka commenced his reign. He soon conquered almost the whole of North India, and appointed Kshatrapas to govern the conquered country. He first installed Chashṭana as the *Kshatrapa* of the country round Kachchha and perhaps a part of Kāthiā-wād also. Inscriptions of his reign, dated in the sixth and eleventh years of the era of Kanishka (corresponding to

<sup>1</sup> *MSGH*, I, pp. 89 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 18 ff. The so-called coin of Chakora has no clear legend. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 116.

A. D. 84 and 89 respectively) have been found at Andhau and Daulatpur in Kachchha.<sup>1</sup> Later, Kanishka appointed another *Kshatrapa* named Bhūmaka to govern Gujarāt, some part of Kāthiāwāḍ and Mālwā.<sup>2</sup> His coins have been found in all these provinces. Whether he had conquered Koṅkaṇ and Mahārāshṭra is not known. Perhaps, his successor Nahapāna conquered these provinces and made Junnar,<sup>3</sup> about 56 miles north of Poonā, his capital.

The Śātavāhanas seem to have been forced to shift their capital to Pratiśṭhāna near Aurangābād in this period. The Kushāṇa Empire at this time comprised Anūpa (the country round Maheshvar), Gujarāt, Kāthiāwāḍ and Mālwā in North India, and Koṅkaṇ, Western Mahārāshṭra and Vidarbha in the south. Of these, Kachchha and a part of Kāthiāwāḍ were under Chashṭana, whose coins and stone inscriptions have been found therein. Nahapāna's coins have been obtained from Koṅkaṇ and Western Mahārāshṭra. Other provinces under his rule are known from references in the inscriptions of his son-in-law Ṛishabhadatta. Vidarbha was under another *Kshatrapa* named Rupamma, whose *chhāyā-khambha* (sculptured memorial pillar) has recently come to notice at his capital Paunī in the Bhaṇḍārā District. In Chhattisgaḍh hoards of the coins of Kanishka and his successors have come to notice.

The Śātavāhanas had fallen on bad days in this period. Who was reigning then is not definitely known. The Purāṇas mention the name of the ruling king as Śīva-Svāti. Gautamī Bala-śrī was probably his queen. She is described as *Mahā-devī* in a Nāsik cave inscription. So Śīva-Svāti seems to have had the title of *Mahārāja*. Southern Mahārāshṭra may have been under his rule ; but on the whole his condition was far from satisfactory.

<sup>1</sup> See Inscr. Nos. 63 and 45 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> *BMC (Andhra)*, p. cvii.

<sup>3</sup> Some scholars think that Bronch was the capital of Nahapāna, but no inscription of him or of any of his officers has been found there. On the other hand, Junnar has yielded an inscription of an *Amātya* of Nahapāna. See Inscription No. 44.

## Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi

Svāti's son and successor Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was a great military commander. In the first fifteen or sixteen years of his reign he consolidated his rule and increased his military power. He then resolved to free his country from foreign domination. He first invaded Vidarbha, an outlying province of Kanishka's empire, and occupied its chief city Kuśāvati (modern Pauni) on the Beṇā (or the Vaingāṅgā). He then marched against Nahapāna. He defeated him in a fierce battle fought in the vicinity of Govardhana near Nāsik. Nahapāna fled to the hilly region of Māvaḷa after this ignominious defeat. Gautamīputra visited the Buddhist caves near Nāsik soon after this memorable victory and donated a field to the Buddhist Saṅgha there. In the order to his *Amātya* Viṣṇupālita in charge of Govardhana, Gautamīputra designates himself as *Benākajaka-svāmī*,<sup>1</sup> implying thereby that he would extend to the Buddhist Saṅgha at Nāsik the same royal support which he had just before given to the Saṅgha of Benākajaka in Vidarbha. The battle of Govardhana was fought just before the commencement of the second fortnight of the rainy season in the eighteenth regnal year of Gautamīputra. His date of accession is not known. But as the last known date of Nahapāna is the year 46 of the Śaka era<sup>2</sup> (A. D. 124-125), the battle of Govardhana seems to have been fought in *circa* A. D. 125.

After this victory, Gautamīputra pursued Nahapāna to the hilly tract of Māvaḷa in the Sahyādri range and completely exterminated him and his family in another battle fought near Kārle in the Poonā District. He then visited the Buddhist caves at Kārle and donated the village of Karajaka to the Buddhist Saṅgha there.<sup>3</sup> This grant is dated on the first day in the fourth fortnight of the rainy season in his eighteenth regnal year. The interval between these two battles was about a fortnight.

<sup>1</sup> See Inscription No. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix No. I.

<sup>3</sup> See Inscription No. 12.

Nahapāna seems to have suffered a disastrous defeat in this second battle. In a Nāsik cave inscription of Puḷumāvi, his father Gautamīputra is described as the 'the exterminator of the whole Kshaharāta family.'<sup>1</sup> But one member of it named Māna seems to have escaped. He fled to the Māhishaka country in the south, where he soon carved out a kingdom for himself as shown later.

Gautamīputra then called back all silver coins of Nahapāna, and after stamping them with his own symbol, he allowed them to be circulated. A large hoard of Nahapāna's coins re-struck by Gautamīputra numbering 13,250 was found at Jogaltembhī in the Nāsik District.<sup>2</sup>

Encouraged by these splendid victories, Gautamīputra resolved to embark on a *digvijaya*, and soon conquered several countries, not only in South but also in North India, one after another in a whirlwind campaigns. A Nāsik cave inscription<sup>3</sup> of his son Puḷumāvi names the following countries under his rule—North India—Saurāshṭra (Kāṭhīāwāḍ), Kukura (South-east Rājputāna), Ākarāvanti (Eastern and Western Mājwā), and Anūpa (modern Indore and Nemāḍ districts of Madhya Pradesh); South India—Aparānta (North Koṅkaṇ), Ṛishika (Khāndesh), Aśmaka (Ahmadnagar District), Mūlaka (the region near Pratiśṭhāna) and Vidarbha. The following mountains were situated in his kingdom—Vindhya, Ṛikshavat (Sāt-putā), Pāriyātra (Mount Abu), Sahyādri, Kṛishṇagiri (Kānherī near Bombay), Mañchagiri, Sristana (Śrīśaila), Malaya, Mahendra (Eastern ghāt), Setagiri (Śvetagiri near Junnar), and Chakora. His horses are said to have drunk the water of three oceans evidently in the course of his *digvijaya*. There may be some exaggeration in this description, but at least the aforementioned countries were included in his extensive kingdom.

Gautamīputra no doubt carried his arms north of the Narmadā; for he is said to have defeated the Śakas, Yavanas and the Pahlavas. His skirmishes with them must

<sup>1</sup> See Inscription No. 18, line 9.

<sup>2</sup> *JBBRAS*, XXII, pp. 223 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Inscription No. 18.

doubtless have occurred in the regions of Māl̥wā, Kāṭhiāwāḍ and Rājputāna.

So Gautamiputra's kingdom extended from the southern part of Rājputāna, Kāṭhiāwāḍ and Māl̥wā in the north to the Kṛishṇā in the south, and from the Arabian Sea in the West to the Bay of Bengal in the east. The Kuntala country was probably not included in it. This is indicated by the Wategaon hoard recently discovered in the Sāngli District. It contained more than 350 coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi and more than a hundred of Skanda Sātakarṇi, both of them being sons of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi, but none of the latter king himself.<sup>1</sup>

We generally have little information even about the dates and incidents in the reigns of ancient kings, not to speak of that about their personal appearance, character and conduct. But fortunately, Gautamiputra is an exception to this. This is because his mother Gautamī Śrī-Bālā got a detailed description incised about them in Nāsik Cave III on the occasion of the donation of a village by her grandson Puṣumāvi for the decoration of the Cave.

This Gautamī Śrī-Bālā (illustrious Bālā of the Gautama *gotra*) was a devout follower of the Buddhist religion. As stated above, her son Sātakarṇi made the gift of a field to the Buddhist Community of the Nāsik Caves, when he visited them soon after his brilliant victory over Nahapāna at Govardhana. Since then she began her patronage to the Buddhist Community there. Six years after, when she came to know that the field previously donated by her son to the Saṅgha was not being cultivated and the village where it was situated had become desolate, she got another field exchanged for it through her son.<sup>2</sup> The order concerning this second gift is issued in the joint names of herself and her son Sātakarṇi. This incident plainly indicates her prestige and her influence on her son. Cave No. III which her son got excavated at her instance was rightly known as *Devi-leṇa* (the Queen's

<sup>1</sup> *JNSI*, XXXIV, pp. 205 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Inscription No. 13. Some scholars have inferred from this that she was taking an active part in administration, but of this there is no evidence.

Cave).<sup>1</sup> Its excavation seems to have continued for a number of years. The work was not completed even in the nineteenth regnal year of Puṣumāvi, who succeeded Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Some decorative work remained to be done. For it she got the village Piśāchīpadraka donated to the Saṅgha.<sup>2</sup> The decoration was probably in the form of small panels of sculptures on both the sides of the door-way depicting political events since the time of Sātakarṇi's father — how Nahapāna abducted Rāja-lakshmi, how Sātakarṇi rescued her and spent some time in her company, how she was again being forcibly carried away by the enemy, and, finally, how Puṣumāvi foiled his attempt.<sup>3</sup>

On this occasion, when the Cave was almost completed and was being made over to the Saṅgha, Gautamī was painfully reminded of her great son Sātakarṇi. So she got a detailed account of his personal appearance, character and conduct, and the extent of his kingdom composed in Prakrit and caused it to be incised on a wall of the cave.<sup>4</sup> This inscription is unique in ancient records and gives a detailed pen-picture of that noble son of India.

Gautamīputra was majestic in appearance and grave in demeanour. His face was as lovely as the full moon. His arms were long like the folds of the serpent Śeṣha. His gait was stately like that of a lordly elephant. He was as righteous as he was brave. He shared the joys and sorrows of his subjects, and helped them in their calamities. He levied only reasonable taxes on his subjects. He inspired awe and reverence among his people. He did not allow

<sup>1</sup> See Inscription No. 13, line 2.

<sup>2</sup> Inscription No. 18, line 11.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix IV, 'The Queen's Cave at Nāsik.'

<sup>4</sup> Gautamī had become very old by this time. This record was incised in the 19th regnal year of her grandson Puṣumāvi. Supposing that she had her son Sātakarṇi in her 16th year, and the latter came to the throne when he was twenty-four years old, she must have been (16 + 24 + 24 =) 64 at the time of his death as he had ruled for 24 years. So in the 19th regnal year of her grandson Puṣumāvi, she must have been (64 + 19 =) 83 years old. One can easily imagine the tumultuous grief surging up in her heart on the occasion of dedicating the finished cave to the Community of Buddhist monks as it had been ordered to be excavated in her name by her great son.

any one to transgress the rules of his caste. He himself implicitly followed those of his own caste. So he was called *eka-Brāhmaṇa* (a peerless Brāhmaṇa). He was the refuge of good people and the resting place of Āgamas. He abhorred violence. He used to forgive his enemy though he might have offended him. He had established the prestige of his family. He never suffered a defeat. He had great reverence for his mother and was always engaged in serving her. She also was justly proud of her brave, righteous and noble son as is reflected in that record.

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi defeated Nahapāna in his eighteenth regnal year, which, as shown above, probably corresponds to A. D. 125. He reigned for at least six years thereafter ; for his inscription of the twenty-fourth regnal year is incised in Nāsik Cave No. III. In this short period of six years, he conquered Saurāshṭra, some part of Rājputāna, Central India, North Mahārāshṭra, North Koṅkaṇ and Andhra. These remarkable conquests bespeak his military genius as well as his personal bravery.

### The Successors of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi

Gautamīputra was succeeded by his eldest son Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi in *circa* A. D. 132. He also was brave like his father, but he seems to have lost his provinces in North India as well as North Koṅkaṇ.<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy, who wrote about A. D. 140, states that at that time Chashṭana was ruling in Ujjain, and Puḷumāvi in Pratiśṭhāna.<sup>2</sup> It seems, therefore, that soon after the death of Gautamīputra, Chashṭana and his grandson Rudradāman recovered their North Indian provinces from the Sātavāhanas. This was the first defeat of Puḷumāvi. Some time later he suffered another defeat when Rudradāman wrested North Koṅkaṇ also from him. This was his second defeat. Rudradāman later gave North Koṅkaṇ to his son-in-law Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi as shown by an inscription of

<sup>1</sup> This is quite evident as the contemporary Kāhatrapa Chashṭana was then ruling from Ujjain. *CAI*, pp. 373 and 376.

<sup>2</sup> *CAI*, pp. 373 and 376.



his daughter's *Amātya* incised in a cave at Kānherī. In his Junāgaḍh inscription Rudradāman says that though he defeated Sātakarṇi twice, he did not exterminate him as he was not a distant relative of his.<sup>1</sup> The identification of this Sātakarṇi has long been a subject of controversy among scholars. He seems to be none else than Puḷumāvi. It seems that when Gautamīputra made his conquests in North India, the Sātavāhanas entered into a matrimonial relation with the Kshatrapas of Saurāshṭra after peace was established there. Rudradāman seems to have then given his daughter to Gautamīputra's youngest son Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi to cement peaceful relations. After Gautamīputra's death Chashṭana and Rudradāman adopted a hostile attitude, and recovered their lost possessions from Puḷumāvi whom they vanquished twice. Puḷumāvi is, therefore, the Sātakarṇi who was defeated twice by Rudradāman. He is thus referred to because, as stated above, the Sātavāhana family had become known by that name after their illustrious ancestor Sātakarṇi I. It is noteworthy that the Junāgaḍh inscription describes the Sātakarṇi defeated twice by Rudradāman as *Dakṣiṇā-pathapati*, and this very title of Puḷumāvi is mentioned in one of his Nāsik Cave inscriptions. So there should be no doubt about this identification.

Gautamīputra's queen was of the Vasishṭha *gotra*. So all his four sons — Puḷumāvi, Skanda Sātakarṇi, Vijaya Sātakarṇi and Sātakarṇi came to be called *Vāsishṭhī-putras*. As stated before, Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi succeeded Gautamīputra. Though he had to lose some provinces to the Western Kshatrapas in North India, he extended his rule to the country of Kuntala in the south. His inscription has recently come to notice at Vanavāsi, the capital of Kuntala.<sup>2</sup> It records that the slab on which it is incised is the *chhāyā-prastara* (sculptured memorial stone) of the crowned queen of Śivaśrī-Puḷumāvi. It shows that

<sup>1</sup> Inscription No. 51, line 12.

<sup>2</sup> Inscription No. 22.

Puṣumāvi, after conquering Kuntala, had married a princess of the country. She seems to have died there and has been commemorated by the *chhāyā-prastara*.

As Śiva-śrī has been prefixed to the name of Puṣumāvi in this record, some scholars differentiate him from Vāsishṭhī-putra Puṣumāvi,<sup>1</sup> and in support of their view they cite the following verse from the Purāṇas<sup>2</sup>:—

सप्तविंशः सुतस्तस्य पुलोमा वं भविष्यति ।

शिवश्रीं पुलोमा तु सप्तैव भविता नृपः ॥

This verse is taken to mean that after Gautamī-putra Sātakarṇi, his son Pulomā (*i. e.* Puṣumāvi) ascended the throne and ruled for twenty-seven years. Thereafter, Śivaśrī Pulomā ruled as King for only seven years. This is a wrong view. In ancient times the Sātavāhanas, the Kadambas and the Pallavas optionally prefixed Śiva-śrī to their names. Coins with both the legends *Puṣumāvi* and *Śiva-śrī Puṣumāvi* have been found in the Tarhālā hoard.<sup>3</sup> In his Nāsik Cave inscriptions he is called Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi, while in the legends on his coins in the Wāṭegaon hoard his name appears as Vasishṭhīputra Śiva-śrī Puṣumāvi.<sup>4</sup> There is no doubt that the two were identical. We have mentioned before a coin of Śiva-śrī Āpīlaka. An inscription at Vanavāsī mentions a king named Śiva-Skanda-Nāgaśrī.<sup>5</sup> The name of the Pallava king Śiva-Skandavarman, who rose to power after the fall of the Sātavāhanas, is known from the Mayidavolu<sup>6</sup> and Hirahaḍagalli<sup>7</sup> plates. If we suppose that Śiva-śrī Puṣumāvi was different from Puṣumāvi, we shall have to hold that as both of them

<sup>1</sup> See *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, I, pp. 34 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *DKA*, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> *JNSI*, II, pp. 39 and 40. Pl. XXI, Fig. 8—14.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* XXXIV, p. 207.

<sup>5</sup> See Inscription No. 37.

<sup>6</sup> *IEI*, VI, pp. 86 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* I, pp. 5 ff.

are called *Vāsishṭhiputra*, the mothers of both were of the Vasishṭha *gotra*. This is very unlikely. So the two names must refer to the same king, *viz.*, the eldest son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Several inscriptions of Puṣumāvi have been found in the caves at Kārle and Nāsik. Another inscription of his reign was incised on the railing of the *Stūpa* at Amarāvati in Andhra.<sup>1</sup> As stated before, a memorial inscription of his crowned queen has been noticed recently at Vanavāsī. His coins have been found over an extensive territory—in the Sānglī District of Western Mahārāshṭra, in Vidarbha, at Koṇḍāpur in the former Hyderābād State and in Andhra. So, though he lost his North Indian provinces to the Western Kshatrapas, he made up for the loss by extending his rule far and wide in the south. Western Mahārāshṭra, Karnāṭaka, Aśmaka, Mūlaka, Kosala, Andhra—all these were included in his kingdom. So he was rightly called *Dakṣhiṇāpātheśvara*. He undoubtedly maintained the prestige of his family after the death of his father. His silver coins bear his portrait. He had an acquiline nose and a resolute look.<sup>2</sup>

As stated before, Puṣumāvi ascended the throne in *circa* A. D. 132. According to the Purāṇas, he had a long reign of 27 years, which is not unlikely. So he must have closed his reign in *circa* A. D. 159.

The Purāṇas state the succession after Puṣumāvi in the following verses :—<sup>3</sup>

[ एकोनविंशति भाष्यः सातकर्णिस्ततो नृपः । ]  
 शिवश्रीर्षे पुलोमा तु सप्तैव भविता नृपः ।  
 शिवस्कन्धः सातकर्णिर्भवितास्यात्मजः समाः ॥

These verses have confounded many scholars. The first hemistich given above occurs only in the manuscript *e Vāyu*; but the readings in that

<sup>1</sup> Inscription No. XXI

<sup>2</sup> *JNSI*, XV, pp. 1—3.

<sup>3</sup> *DKA*, p. 42.

manuscript are found reliable in many cases. So this Sātakarṇi seems to be Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi who is mentioned in a Kānheri inscription as the son-in-law of the *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman of the Kārdamaka family. From his metronymic he appears to be the uterine brother of Puḷumāvi. Śivaśrī, who is mentioned in the next hemistich which occurs in many Purāṇas is this very Vāsishṭhīputra Śiva-śrī Sātakarṇi. The Purāṇas have not given his personal name but only his *biruda* Śiva-śrī. Besides, the reading in that hemistich is corrupt. The correct reading of it would be *Śiva-śrīr-vai Pulomāt-tu saptaiva bhavitā nṛipaḥ. Pulomāt* means 'after Puḷumāvi.' Śiva-Skandha mentioned in the second hemistich of that verse is really Śiva-Skanda, *i. e.* Śiva-śrī Skanda Sātakarṇi. He is wrongly described there as the son of the aforementioned Śiva-śrī Sātakarṇi. Really, he was his uterine brother. His lead coins have been found together with those of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi in the Wāṭegaon hoard.<sup>1</sup> The legend on them is *Vāsishṭhīputasa siri-Khada-Sātakarṇisa* meaning 'this coin is of the illustrious Vāsishṭhīputra Skanda Sātakarṇi.' Again, a silver portrait coin of Vāsishṭhīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi has recently come to notice. It has on the obverse the legend *Rāño Vāsishṭhīputasa Sa-* in Prakrit, and on the reverse *Arahaṇasha [Vāhiṣṭhi-putasha] hiru-Vijaya Hātakarṇisha* in a Drāviḍ language. So all the four sons of Gautamīputra—Puḷumāvi, Skanda Sātakarṇi, Vijaya Sātakarṇi and Sātakarṇi—were *Vasishṭhi-putras*. They all were uterine brothers. Potin coins of Vijaya Sātakarṇi have been found in the Chāndā and Tarhālā hoards. So he was ruling in Vidarbha; but as the legend on the obverse of his silver coins is in a Drāviḍi language, some part of Andhra must have been included in his dominion.

The afore-cited hemistich from Pargiter's constituted text of the dynastic list does not mention the

<sup>1</sup> *JNSI*, XXXIV, pp. 205 ff.

total reign-period of Skanda Sātakarṇi at all! Pargiter also was conscious of this. So in a foot-note he has given another reading of it, viz., *bhaviṣhyati samās-trayaḥ*, in place of *bhavit-āsy-ātmojaḥ samāḥ*.<sup>1</sup> It is no doubt free from the aforementioned defect, but it gives a reign-period of only three years to Skanda Sātakarṇi. This is incredible; for in the Wātegaon hoard itself there were as many as 101 lead coins of his, and from the commencement of the legend on them at different places, they seem to have been issued at different times. So he could not have ruled for three years only.

The Purāṇas do not state where these four brothers were ruling. We must determine this from the find-spots of their inscriptions and coins. The available evidence in this respect is detailed below.

We have shown above that Puṣumāvi was ruling over a large part of the peninsula. The Wātegaon hoard contained only his and Skanda Sātakarṇi's lead coins. So he was evidently succeeded by Skanda Sātakarṇi in that region. Recently a silver portrait coin of his has been found at Nāsik. His potin coins have been found in the Tarhālā hoard in Vidarbha, but they have not been noticed in Andhra. So the Sātavāhana kingdom seems to have been partitioned after the death of Puṣumāvi. Western Mahārāshṭra, Karnāṭaka and Vidarbha fell to the share of Skanda Sātakarṇi, while Andhra was occupied by Sātakarṇi. Several coins of this Sātakarṇi have been discovered in Andhra. They do not mention his metronymic, but they were probably issued by him and not by his father Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Recently a silver portrait coin of Vāsishṭhīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi has been found in Gujarāt. His potin coins were found in Vidarbha. He may have been ruling in Vidarbha and perhaps in Andhra also for some time after Skanda Sātakarṇi.

<sup>1</sup>DKA, p. 42 n. 7.

Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi's silver portrait coins have been discovered both in Andhra and in Western Mahārāshtra. So these two parts of the Sātavāhana kingdom were again combined in the reign of Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi after the death of Skanda and Vijaya Sātakarṇi. An inscription<sup>1</sup> of an *Amātya* of his queen who was the daughter of *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman has been found in a cave at Kānherī ; but it may be of an earlier date, when North Koṅkaṇ was included in the kingdom of that *Mahākshatrapa* or it may belong to a later period when Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi extended his rule to the west after the death of Skanda and Vijaya Sātakarṇi. As the record bears no date, it is not possible to be definite on this point.

The silver portrait coins of Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi, like those of Puḷumāvi, have been found in Andhra. As they were issued for circulation in that part of the country, the legend on them contains some Telugu words.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the legend on the silver portrait coins of Skanda Sātakarṇi has no Telugu words ; for his rule did not extend to Andhra.

An inscription in Nāṇeghāṭ mentions Chatarapana Sātakarṇi according to Bhagvanlal Indraji. Chatarapana is a queer name. It is not noticed in the dynastic list of the Purāṇas and is not known from any other source. So Bhagvanlal's reading of this name is open to doubt. Perhaps, the correct reading of the royal name is *Skanda Sātakarṇi*. His coins were found both in the Tarhālā and the Wāṭegaon hoard. A silver portrait coin of his has recently been recovered at Nāsik. The Nāṇeghāṭ inscription which probably belongs to his reign is dated in the regnal year 13, winter fortnight 5, and day 10. The Purāṇas assign a reign-period of only three years to him, but it is incredible as shown above.

Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi was probably succeeded by Yajña Sātakarṇi. His metronymic *Gautamiputra* is known

<sup>1</sup> Inscription No. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 12 ff.

from his inscriptions. His records have come to notice in Andhra and also at Nāsik and Kānherī.<sup>1</sup> His potin coins were included in the Tarhālā hoard. His lead coins with a double-masted ship were current in Andhra,<sup>2</sup> signifying his control of the Coromandel coast.

Yajña-śrī's silver portrait coins have been recovered from Kāthiāwāḍ, North Koṅkaṇ and Besnagar in Central India ; but it would be wrong to infer from them that all these were included in his kingdom. Aparānta (North Koṅkaṇ), however, was undoubtedly comprised in it ; for his inscriptions are noticed in the caves at Kānherī.<sup>3</sup>

Yajña Sātakarṇi had thus a large kingdom extending from the western to the eastern sea. The Purāṇas give a reign of nineteen years to him ; but he ruled for a much longer period. An inscription at Chin in Andhra is dated in the twenty-seventh year of his reign.<sup>4</sup>

The large Sātavāhana kingdom continued intact for one generation after Yajña Sātakarṇi. He was succeeded by Māṭharīputra Śakasena, but how he was related to him is not known. Perhaps, he was his son. The Purāṇas do not mention his name ; but his inscriptions exist in the Kānherī caves in North Koṅkaṇ.<sup>5</sup> One of them is dated in the eighth regnal year. The date in the other is now lost.

Vidarbha and Andhra also were comprised in his kingdom. His potin coins were noticed in the Tarhālā hoard.<sup>6</sup> Like other Sātavāhana coins in that hoard, they mention no metronymic. His inscriptions have not yet been discovered in Andhra, but some copper coins with the fragmentary legend *Māḍhari* or even with the single letter *Ma* are attributed to him.<sup>7</sup> They do not have his personal name Śaka, but they were probably issued by him.

<sup>1</sup> See Inscription Nos. 26 — 29.

<sup>2</sup> *SI*, III, pp. 17 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Inscription No. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Inscription No. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Inscriptions Nos. 30 and 31.

<sup>6</sup> See Chapter VIII \* Coins of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas.\*

<sup>7</sup> *Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Nos. 309 — 312.

No inscribed records or coins of any Sātavāhana king have been discovered in Koṅkaṇ and Western Mahārāshṭra after this Śaka Sātakarṇi's reign. North Koṅkaṇ seems to have been occupied then by Chuṭukula Sātakarṇi of Vanavāsi in the North Kannaḍa District,<sup>1</sup> while *Mahākshatrapa* Īśvaradatta rose to power in Western Mahārāshṭra in *circa* A. D. 230. These political revolutions will be described later.

### The Sātavāhana Capital shifted to Andhra

In Andhra Gautamīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi succeeded Śaka Sātakarṇi. The Purāṇas name him after Yajña Sātakarṇi and assign a reign of only six years to him. Recently, an inscription mentioning him has come to notice at Nāgārjunakoṇḍ.<sup>2</sup> It gives his metronymic *Gautamīputra*, and is dated in his sixth regnal year. Yajña Sātakarṇi also was Gautamīputra. So Vijaya Sātakarṇi may have been his brother. If Śakasena or Śaka Sātakarṇi was a son of Yajña, Vijaya Sātakarṇi seems to have succeeded his nephew. He may have had a short reign of only six years as stated in the Purāṇas.

Vijaya Sātakarṇi seems to have founded a city named Vijayapuri, which is mentioned as the capital of the Ikshvāku kings who succeeded the Sātavāhanas in Andhra. Vijaya Sātakarṇi also must have been ruling from the same city. It is now known as Nāgārjunakoṇḍ.

The Purāṇas mention Chaṇḍa-śri as the successor of Vijaya, and assign him a reign of ten years. He too was probably ruling only in Andhra. The inscription<sup>3</sup> at Koḍavali near Piṭhānpuram in Andhra which is dated in the eleventh regnal year of Vāsishṭhiputra Chaṇḍasvāti probably belongs to him. His coins have been obtained from the Kṛishṇā and Godāvāri districts of Andhra. Rapson has read the royal name on them as

<sup>1</sup> See Inscription No. 36.

<sup>2</sup> See Inscription No. 32.

<sup>3</sup> See Inscription No. 33.



*Chandrasvāti*, but it appears clearly as *Chaṇḍasvāti* in his Koṇḍavali inscription.

Besides these, Rudra Sātakarṇi is known from his coins found in Andhra ; but his name is not noticed in the dynastic list of the Purāṇas. The last Andhra (Sātavāhana) king mentioned in the Purāṇas is Puḷumāvi. How he was related to his predecessor Chaṇḍa-śrī (or Rudra-śrī) is not known.

Puḷumāvi's stone inscription has been discovered near Aḍoṇi in the Bellāri District of Karnāṭaka.<sup>1</sup> It names the surrounding territory as *Sātavāhanihāra* from which V. S. Sukthankar inferred that the region was the original home of the Sātavāhanas. This is not a valid conclusion as stated before. Sukthankar himself did not press it later, but threw his weight wholly in favour of the view that the Sātavāhanas originally hailed from Western Mahārāshṭra.

Sukthankar identified Puḷumāvi of the Aḍoṇi inscription with Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi.<sup>2</sup> He argued that he could not be the last king of that name mentioned in the Purāṇas, because, according to them, he had a reign of only seven years, while the Aḍoṇi inscription is dated in the eighth regnal year. This is not a valid argument ; for the regnal years of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) kings mentioned in the Purāṇas are not reliable as shown above. As the characters of the Aḍoṇi inscription are clearly of a later age, the Sātavāhana kings mentioned in it must be identified with the last king of the dynasty. On the potin coins in the Tarhālā hoard his name appears as Puḷuhāmavi.<sup>3</sup>

The Sātavāhana kings Vijaya, Chaṇḍa, Rudra and Puḷumāvi were all ruling in Andhra. The last of them may have extended his rule to Vidarbha in the west as shown by his coins in the Tarhālā hoard. Their capital was probably at Vijayapurī, which was evidently founded by Gautamīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi. So at the end of the Sātavāhana

<sup>1</sup> Inscription No. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, XIV, pp. 153 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *JNSI*, II, pp. 53 ff. Pl. XXI, Fig. 21-22.

age, the centre of Sātavāhana power shifted from Western Mahārāshṭra to Andhra. Hence, though the Sātavāhanas had their original home in Western Mahārāshṭra, they are designated as Andhras in the Purāṇas. This misled scholars for a long time. It is only recently that the correct view about their home-land has obtained recognition.

### The occupation of North Koṅkaṇ by Haritiputra Sātakarṇi

No inscriptions and coins of the aforementioned successors of Yajña Sātakarṇi, viz., Vijaya, Chaṇḍa, Rudra and Puṣumāvi, have come to notice in Western Mahārāshṭra and Koṅkaṇ. At the end of the Sātavāhana period an altogether different royal family seems to have established itself in North Koṅkaṇ. It may have been related to the Sātavāhanas. The centre of its power lay at Vanavāsī in the North Kannaḍa District, where a stone pillar inscription<sup>1</sup> of Hāritiputra Viṣṇukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi has been discovered. His name occurs also in a Kānherī Cave inscription. The cave was excavated by his daughter Nāgamulanikā.<sup>2</sup> She is also referred to in the Vanavāsī inscription.

Soon thereafter there was a political revolution in Karnāṭaka in which the Kadambas rose to power. The pillar at Maḷavalli in the Shimogā District of Karnāṭaka which bears the aforementioned inscription of the first regnal year of Hāritipura Viṣṇukaḍa Chutukulānanda Sātakarṇi has also another inscription of a Kadamba king incised on it, from which we learn about this political revolution.

We know about several other Sātavāhana kings, besides those mentioned in the Purāṇas, from their coins. Some coins resembling those found in Vidarbha were discovered in the former Hyderābād State from which we know about King Kauśikīputra Sātakarṇi.<sup>3</sup> They

<sup>1</sup> *EC*, VII, pp. 251 ff. Inscription No. 35.

<sup>2</sup> *ASHI*, V, pp. 86 ff. Inscription No. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *SI*, III, pp. 20 ff.

have the figure of an elephant with the trunk uplifted on the obverse, and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. Such coins of Karṇa and Kumbha Sātakarṇi, who are not mentioned in the dynastic list of the Purāṇas, were noticed in the Tarhājā hoard.<sup>1</sup> We have, besides, the coins of King Sebaka and those of his descendant Prākāśaśīva Sebaka discovered in the former Hyderābād State.<sup>2</sup> The former appears to be of a much earlier age than the latter. How these kings were related to the Sātavāhanas is not known.

### The Feudatories of the Sātavāhanas

Several feudatories of the Sātavāhanas were ruling in the different parts of the Deccan. We know about them from their coins. Lead coins of Sadakaṇa Kaḷalāya Mahārāṭhi have, for instance, been discovered in the Chitaladurga District of Karnāṭaka.<sup>3</sup> Rapson thought that he was referred to in the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā,<sup>4</sup> but, as shown elsewhere, this is not likely. Sadakaṇa in his name may have been derived from Sātakarṇi, but why that Mahārāṭhi adopted the *biruda* is not known.

Large lead coins of Chuṭukulānanda and Muḍānanda have been found in the North Kannaḍa District,<sup>5</sup> but how they were connected with the Sātavāhanas is not known. As stated before, the Chuṭukulānanda family spread its political power as far as Kānherī in North Koṅkaṇ, but their kingdom there was short lived as they were soon ousted therefrom by the Ābhīras as shown below.

### The Kura Princes of Kolhāpur

Some lead and potin coins with a hill and a tree by its side on the obverse and a bow with the string

<sup>1</sup> *SI*, II, pp. 83 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* III, pp. 107 ff. Coins of Sebaka, the progenitor of this family have also been found in the former Hyderābād State. *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 94 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *BMC* (Andhras), Introd. p. xxxiii.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Introd. p. xlvi.

*Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

downwards, fitted with an arrow pointing upwards on the reverse were found in excavations at Brahmapurī, a suburb of Kolhāpur, on the bank of the Pañchagaṅgā. They have the following legends<sup>1</sup> :—

- (1) Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Viḷivāyakurasa.
- (2) Raño Māḍhariputasa Sivalakurasa.
- (3) Raño Gotamiputasa Viḷivāyakurasa.

Their chronological order was as stated above; for the coins of No. 1 were restruck by No. 2, and those of No. 2 by No. 3. Rapson identified these kings with homonymous members of the Sātavāhana family.<sup>2</sup> For instance, No. 3, Gautamiputra Viḷivāyakura was, according to him, identical with the well-known Sātavāhana king Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi, but this view is not now regarded as plausible. Though these kings have used the title *Rājan* on their coins, they were in fact *Mahārāthis* or feudatories. This is indicated by the legend *Mahārāthisa* in place of *Raño* on a coin of No. 2 in the Kolhāpur Museum. We know that in the Sātavāhana age, some powerful feudatories assumed the title of *Rājan*. Nahapāna, for instance, though a Kshatrapa or governor, issued coins in his own name, bearing the title *Rājan*. So these three princes are now regarded as belonging to the Kura family. Ptolemy, who wrote his account in *circa* A. D. 140, mentions Baleokuras of Hippokura.<sup>3</sup> He seems to be identical with the second Viḷivāyakura. He was probably ousted by Puḷumāvi when he conquered the Kuntala country.

### King Māna of the Māhishaka Country

In a Nāsik cave inscription of Puḷumāvi, his father Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi is described as 'the exterminator of the entire Kshaharāta family.' So he seems to have killed not only Nahapāna but all his descendants also. But one adventurous member of the family seems to have escaped unnoticed. He later carved out a small dominion

<sup>1</sup> *Biol.*, pp. 5 ff. Pl. XXIV, fig. 44, 45.

<sup>2</sup> *BMC.*, (*Andrews*), *Introd.* p. xl.

<sup>3</sup> *CAI.*, pp. 37 ff.

for himself in the Māhishaka country comprising the Meḍak District of Andhra and the adjoining Bijāpur and Raichur districts of Karnāṭaka. He then struck large round lead coins in his own name. They have a large *Svastika* in the middle with the legend *Mahāsenāpatisa Bharadajaputasa Saga-Māna Chuṭukulasa*<sup>1</sup> (meaning 'this coins is of the Śaka king Māna Chuṭukula, son of Bhāradvāja') on the obverse, and the thunderbolt and an arrow pointing downwards on the reverse. The signs of the thunderbolt and arrow are characteristic of Nahapāna's coins. They occur nowhere else in the whole range of ancient Indian numismatics. So this Śaka Māna was undoubtedly a descendant of Nahapāna. He seems to have escaped when Gautamiputra defeated Nahapāna, and later established himself in the south. On some of his coins, he mentions his title *Mahāsenāpati*. So he may have at first been in the service of some king; but later he seems to have declared his independence and issued rectangular copper coins of the Śātavāhana type having the figure of an elephant with the trunk uplifted and the legend *Raño siri-Saga-Māna-Mahasasa* (meaning 'this coin is of the illustrious Śaka king Māna Mahisha') on the obverse, and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse.

In the legend on the coins of these kings, Māna calls himself Mahisha, *i.e.* King of the Māhishaka country. The following hemistich in the Purāṇas,<sup>2</sup> describing the rulers of the second and third centuries A. D., also refers to him :—

शकमानोभवद्राजा महिषाणां महोपतिः।<sup>3</sup>

This states that the Śaka king Māna was the ruler of the Mahishas (i. e. of the Māhishaka country). The Purāṇas mention only those kings who had attained great fame.

<sup>1</sup> *JNSI*, XI, pp. 1 ff. See Pl. XXV, fig. 46.

<sup>2</sup> *IHQ*, XXII, pp. 34 ff., See Pl. XXV, figg. 47 and 48.

<sup>3</sup> The following corrupt hemistich occurs in the Purāṇas in this connection :—

शकमानोभवद्राजा महिषीणां महोपतिः ।

The correct reading of it is given above.

So this king Māna must have become very powerful in course of time.

Where was this Māhishaka country situated? The *Vāyupurāṇa* groups it with Mahārāshṭra and Kalinga among the countries of the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The *Rāmāyaṇa* states that Sugrīva asked the monkeys to search for Sītā in the countries of Vidarbha, Ṛishika and Māhishaka. The *Mahābhārata* mentions Māhishaka in several places. The Bhishmaparvan couples it with Draviḍa and Kerala among the countries of the southern Janapadas. The Karṇaparvan remarks that the people of the Māhishaka country are as irreligious as those of Draviḍa and Kalinga. The Anuśāsanaparvan states that the inhabitants of the Māhishaka country were Kshatriyas, but they became *vṛishalas* for want of contact with the Brāhmaṇas. These passages suggest that the Māhishaka country was in the south, adjoining Vidarbha, Ṛishika and Kalinga. It probably represents the southern portion of the former Hyderābād State and the adjoining districts of Raichur and Bijāpur of Karnāṭaka.<sup>1</sup> This conclusion which we drew nearly thirty years ago has recently been confirmed by the discovery of the pillar inscriptions<sup>2</sup> of King Mahāmeghavāhana śrī-Sada at Gaṇṭupalli in the West Godāvāri District of Andhra. They mention two *birudas* of the king, viz., *Kalingādhipati* and *Māhishakādhipati*. The former had been held by that king's ancestor Khāra-vela, but the latter is new. It was evidently assumed by King Sada when he conquered the country of Māhishaka, which was probably adjoining it on the west. This corroborates our previous conclusion that Māhishaka was the ancient name of the southern part of the former Hyderābād State and the adjoining districts of Karnāṭaka.

Māna Mahisha seems to have adopted the family name Chuṭukula or Chuṭuka. Some coins of his

<sup>1</sup> *IHQ.* XXII, pp. 34 ff. The country Mahisha-maṇḍala to which the *Śramanādhārya* Mahādeva had been sent for the propagation of Buddhism was probably the same as Māhishaka.

<sup>2</sup> *Oriental Journal*, XIX, pp. 39 ff. See also *Vlg.* XVII, pp. 168 ff.

descendants, Yaśa and Śivala have been found in this part of the country,<sup>1</sup> but no inscriptions of any of these kings have yet come to notice anywhere. When they are discovered hereafter, we have no doubt that they will be found dated in the Śaka era.<sup>2</sup>

The dominion of these descendants of King Māna seems to have extended over a large part of South India. The Sātakarṇi of Vanavāsī apparently assumed the *biruda* of *Chuṭu-kul-ānanda* because of their association with the Chuṭu-kula of King Māna or his descendants.

We have shown before that at the close of the Sātavāhana age, the rule of Viṅhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi spread to North Koṅkaṇ. But his inscriptions and coins have not yet been discovered in Western Mahārāshṭra. On the other hand, some hoards of the coins of the Western Kshatrapas have been found at Karhāḍ,<sup>3</sup> Rāñjaṅgaon<sup>4</sup> and some other places. We cannot infer from them that the power of these Kshatrapas had extended to Western Mahārāshṭra; for similar hoards and even stray coins have been found in Vidarbha,<sup>5</sup> and they belong to the Vākāṭaka period. As the Vākāṭakas and the Ābhīras had no coins of their own, they seem to have allowed Kshatrapa coins to circulate in their dominion. But recently Mrs. Gokhale has published a coin<sup>6</sup> of *Mahākshatrapa* Īśvaradatta found at Indore which tells a different tale. It has shed important light on the political history of Western Mahārāshṭra in the post-Sātavāhana age.

### Mahākshatrapa Īśvaradatta

Coins of Īśvaradatta had indeed been found at several places. They were noticed in the collections of

<sup>1</sup> *JNSI*, XI, pp. 2 ff.; XV, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> *SI*, II, pp. 99 ff.

<sup>3</sup> (a) *Bom. Gaz.*, I, pp. 48, 49.

<sup>4</sup> *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 27 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *SI*, III, pp. 215 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *JNSI*, XL, pp. 37 ff. S. 20 Pl. XXVI, Fig. 11.

Western Kshatrapa coins found at Sarvāṇiā<sup>1</sup> in the former Bānswāḍā State, Vāsoja<sup>2</sup> in the former Junāgaḍh State and Rānjanagaon<sup>3</sup> in the Poonā District; but none of them were found to have a date of the Śaka era behind the head of the ruling Kshatrapa, as is commonly noticed in the coins of the Western Kshatrapas. They usually had what was believed to be the regnal year denoted by one or two horizontal lines behind the head on the obverse and the same denoted in words such as *varshe prathame* or *varshe dvitiye* on the reverse. It was, therefore, believed, that Īśvaradatta ruled only for two years.<sup>4</sup> He was referred to one of the gaps of two or more years noticed in the reign-periods of the Western Kshatrapas.<sup>5</sup>

Bhagvanlal suggested that Īśvaradatta flourished in the period of Śaka 171 to 176 and was the founder of the Traikūṭaka (later known as the Kalachuri-Chedi) era of A. D. 250; for no Kshatrapa coins of that period had been known. But later, coins of Vijayasena falling in that gap were discovered, which disproved Bhagvanlal's theory. Rapson placed Īśvaradatta in the gap between Śaka 158 and 160;<sup>6</sup> but D. R. Bhandarkar later noticed a coin of Yaśodāman dated Śaka 160 in the Sarvāṇiā hoard, which rendered Rapson's view inadmissible. Bhandarkar himself suggested the period Śaka 110 to 113<sup>7</sup> for Īśvaradatta, but Shobhana Gokhale has published Kshatrapa coins dated Śaka 110, 112 and 113, thereby disproving that view also.

The Indore coin<sup>8</sup> of Īśvaradatta published recently by Mrs. Gokhale has put an end to this wild goose chase. It had on the reverse a regnal year

<sup>1</sup> ARASI, for 1913-14, p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> JRASB, III, Num. Suppl. XLVII, p. N. 39.

<sup>3</sup> JNSI, XXXVIII, pp. 27 ff.

<sup>4</sup> BMC (*Andhras*), pp. 124-125.

<sup>5</sup> JRAS., 1890, p. 657.

<sup>6</sup> BMC (*Andhras*), pp. 135 ff.; Introd. p. cxxxv ff.

<sup>7</sup> ARASI for 1913-14, pp. 227 ff.

<sup>8</sup> See Pl. XXVI, Fig. 51.



mentioned in words as on the other previously discovered coins of that ruler, but they are now mutilated. Mrs. Gokhale read them as *vershe dvitiye*, but her reading does not appear to be correct. Till now no year of the Śaka era had been noticed behind the head on Īśvaradatta's coins, but this Indore coin has it clearly expressed by three numerical symbols as 154. This, like other years on the Kshatrapa coins, must be referred to the Śaka era and corresponds to A. D. 232-233. Other coins of Īśvaradatta also must have had a similar date of the Śaka era, mentioned on their obverse, but it was not noticed before. If Coin No. 472 in Rapson's *Catalogue* is scrutinised carefully, it will be found to have the symbol for 50 behind the head as on the Indore coin. The following unit number is shown by a small horizontal line noticed by Rapson too. The same year is expressed in words on the reverse by *varshe prathame*. So Īśvaradatta's reign seems to have commenced in Śaka 151 (A. D. 229-230). The date 154 on the Indore coin of Īśvaradatta must, therefore, be the fourth year of his reign. The same year must have been expressed in words like *vershe chaturthe* on the reverse. Therefore, the legend on the reverse of that coin could not have been *vershe dvitiye* as read by Mrs. Gokhale. On scrutinising another copy of the photograph of that coin kindly sent by her, we noticed the fragmentary letter *cha* on its edge. So the word there was undoubtedly *chaturthe*.

Īśvaradatta's dominion has not been located so far. His coins have been found mixed with those of the Western Kshatrapas in the hoards discovered in Gujarāt, Kāthiāwāḍ and Western Mahārāshṭra. These coins mention his title *Mahākshatrapa*. So he was acknowledging the overlordship of the Kushāṇas; but he was not a Śaka like the Western Kshatrapas; for the names of the latter generally end in *dāman*, *siṃha* or *senā*. See e. g. Rudradāman, Rudrasimha and Vijayasena. Īśvaradatta is not a name of that type. Mrs. Gokhale identified him with Īśvarasena, the founder of the

Ābhira dynasty; but it has no basis. The Nāsik cave inscription of that Ābhira king mentions him as *Rājan* Īśvarasena, son of Māṭhariputra Śivadatta.<sup>1</sup> It does not call him *Mahākshatrapa*. So *Mahākshatrapa* Īśvaradatta was undoubtedly different from Ābhira *Rājan* Īśvarasena. But like the latter, he also was probably ruling over Western Mahārāshṭra. From the find-spots of his coins he seems to have invaded the Mālwā-Kāṭhīāwāḍ region and held it for some time. Rapson has, in his *Catalogue*, included coins dated Śaka 151 to 154 of *Mahākshatrapa* Dāmasena.<sup>2</sup> Īśvarasena seems to have invaded his dominion, but as his coins dated mostly in the first and the second year of his reign have been found north of the Narmadā, he must have been soon forced to quit that territory.

### The Ābhira King Īśvarasena

*Mahākshatrapa* Īśvaradatta seems to have usurped power in Western Mahārāshṭra in Śaka 151 (A. D. 229) after ousting the Sātavāhanas. We do not know how long Īśvaradatta ruled, who his successors were and when disappeared from history. But it seems certain that another political revolution occurred in *circa*, A. D. 250. When the Ābhira king Īśvarasena, son of Śivadatta, established himself in Western Mahārāshṭra. His inscription of the ninth regnal year is incised in Cave X at Nāsik.<sup>3</sup> In course of time he or his successors spread their power to North Koṅkaṇ, Gujarāt, and the Anūpa country in Central India. The Ābhira era which spread in all these countries with

<sup>1</sup> *CII*, IV, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *BMC.*, (*Audhras*), pp. 108 ff. As coins dated (Śaka) years 151 to 154 of both *Mahākshatrapa* Dāmasena and *Mahākshatrapa* Īśvaradatta have been found, they could not have been ruling over the same country. Dāmasena was evidently ruling over Saurāshṭra and Mālwā, and Īśvaradatta over Mahārāshṭra. As the latter had invaded the country of Dāmasena, his coins have been found north of the Narmadā.

<sup>3</sup> *CII*, IV, pp. 1 ff.

the spread of Ābhīra power continued in use there for several centuries, afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

### The Muṇḍas of Vidarbha

As in Western Mahārāshṭra so in Vidarbha, there was a political revolution in *circa* A. D. 230 when, after the fall of the Sātavāhanas, a new Brāhmaṇa family rose to power as shown by a copper-plate grant recently discovered at Malhārā in the Amraoti District.<sup>2</sup> We learn from it that in the Muṇḍa family, which is described as a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu and the performer of an Aśvamedha sacrifice, there was a Brāhmaṇa named Soma who took delight in the study of the four Vedas. His son Vardhana and grandson Muṇḍa were, like him, learned, pious and righteous. The family became known after Muṇḍa, who was famous for the performance of sacrifices and avoidance of gifts. These three Brāhmaṇas never cared for pelf or power. But the next member of the family, Rāshṭra-mahārāja is said to have acquired royal status by his merits—in what manner it is not stated. His son Rājakula-mahārāja is said to have obtained a memorable victory over his enemies. It was probably he who performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice with which the family is credited. His son Ādityarāja made the grant of several villages to certain Brāhmaṇas named in the plates in the second year of his reign. The date of the plates is recorded in Prakrit at the end as follows—year 2, summer fortnight 2 and day 15.

Most of the villages mentioned in the grant can be identified in the Akolā and Amrāoti districts of Vidarbha, which leaves no doubt that the grant belongs to that part of the country. It is not dated in any era, but it can be easily shown that it is of the pre-Vakāṭaka age. This family which is credited with the performance of an Aśvamedha

<sup>1</sup> *CII.*, IV, pp. 5 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Inscription No. 64

sacrifice could not have flourished in Vidarbha in the time of the Vākātakas ; for their power was then supreme in that country from the Narmadā in the north to the Godāvāri in the south. Nor can the family be referred to the post-Vākāṭaka age. After the fall of the Vākāṭakas Vidarbha was for a time included in the kingdom of Vishṅukunḍin Mādhavavarman I.<sup>1</sup> We have shown elsewhere that the latter died in A. D. 528.<sup>2</sup> Thereafter, it was comprised in the kingdom of the Kalachuris of Māhishmatī. Kṛishṇarāja, the founder of Kalachuri power, seems to have annexed Vidarbha in *circa* A. D. 540.<sup>3</sup> He placed his feudatory Svāmirāja in charge of it.<sup>4</sup> The latter, imitating his suzerain, has dated his Nagardhan plates in the Ābhīra era. Their date corresponds to A. D. 573.<sup>5</sup> The Muṇḍa family could not have reigned in Vidarbha in the short period of 12 years from A. D. 528, the last possible date of Vishṅukunḍin Mādhavavarman I, to A. D. 540, the approximate date of the conquest of Vidarbha by the Kalachuris. The history of Vidarbha after A. D. 573, the date of the Nagardhan plates of Svāmirāja, is shrouded in obscurity. But it seems that the Early Chālukya king Pulakeśin II extended his power to Vidarbha soon after overthrowing the Kalachuri king Buddharāja in *circa* A. D. 620.<sup>6</sup> It appears clear from the description in the Aihole inscription<sup>7</sup> dated A. D. 634 that he then became the lord of three Mahārāshṭras. The Muṇḍa family could not have flourished in the period from A. D. 573 to A. D. 634 ; for, as shown above, its Malhārā plates are dated in a regnal year. Regnal years went out of use in the

<sup>1</sup> Numerous coins of the Vishṅukunḍins have been found in excavations and on the ground at several places in Vidarbha. See *Punjab Excavations*, p. 13 ; *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 164 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Misra, *Indological Research Papers*, Vol. I.

<sup>3</sup> He conquered Western Mahārāshṭra from the Traikūṭakas in A. D. 533. See *IAESI*, pp. 125 ff. He must have thereafter conquered Vidarbha. So that event has been dated in *circa* A. D. 540.

<sup>4</sup> His Nagardhana plates are dated in the year 322 (A. D. 573) of the Ābhīra era.

<sup>5</sup> *CII*, IV, pp. 611 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *IEI*, VI, pp. 1 ff.

post-Vākātaka age. There is not a single grant of that period which is dated in a regnal year. Either the Ābhira era or the Śaka era was then in vogue in Vidarbha. So the Muṇḍa family could not have flourished in the post-Vākātaka age also.

The Muṇḍa dynasty must, therefore, be referred to the pre-Vākātaka age. It must have flourished in the interval between A. D. 230, the date of the fall of the Sātavāhanas, and A. D. 270, the date of the establishment of Vākātaka power in Vidarbha by Pravarasena I.

As shown above, the Sātavāhanas disappeared in circa A. D. 230. Their fall must have been followed by confusion and chaos throughout their vast empire. When religious life became impossible in Vidarbha, the Muṇḍa family came forward to establish peace and order in the country in accordance with the direction of the *Manu-smṛiti*.<sup>1</sup> The contemporary son of the Brāhmaṇa Muṇḍa changed the ladle for the sword, and quelled the prevailing anarchy. He then adopted the significant name of *Rāshṭra-Mahārāja*; for he had established peace and order in his *rāshṭra*. His son Rājakulamahārāja seems to have performed an Aśvamedha to proclaim his supremacy in the country. His successor Ādityarāja may have ruled for a short time; for the only discovered grant of his reign recorded in the Malhārā plates is dated in the second regnal year. He was probably ousted by Pravarasena I, the son of Vindhyaśakati of Vallūra, who laid the foundation of the Vākātaka kingdom in Vidarbha.<sup>2</sup>

### The Ikshvākus of Andhra

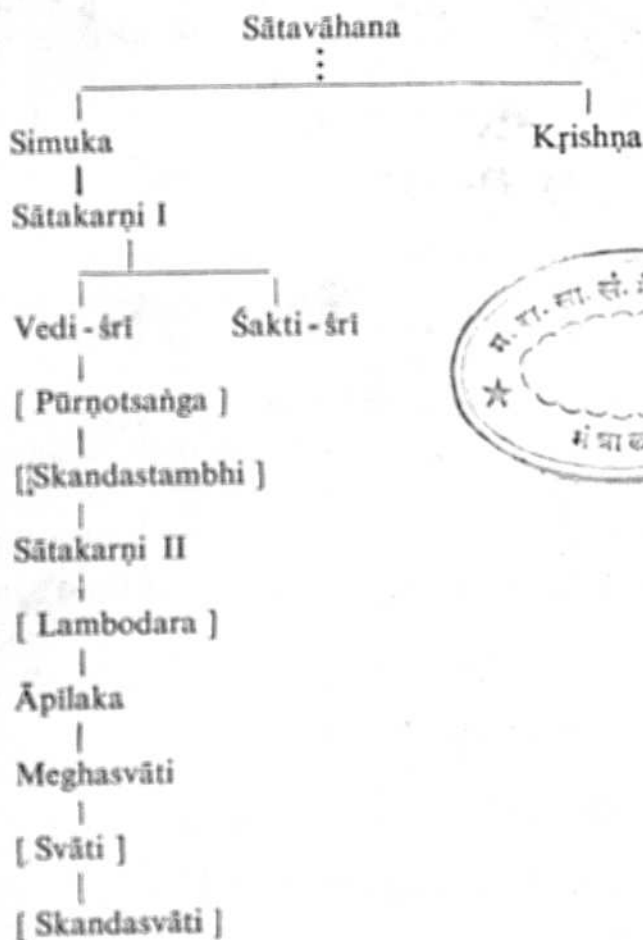
The Ikshvākus of Vijayapuri (Nāgārjunakoṇḍ) established themselves in Andhra. Śāntamūla, the founder of

<sup>1</sup> See *द्वस्तं दिजातिनिर्वाहं धर्मो यत्रोत्पद्यते* । *Manu*. VIII, v. 348.

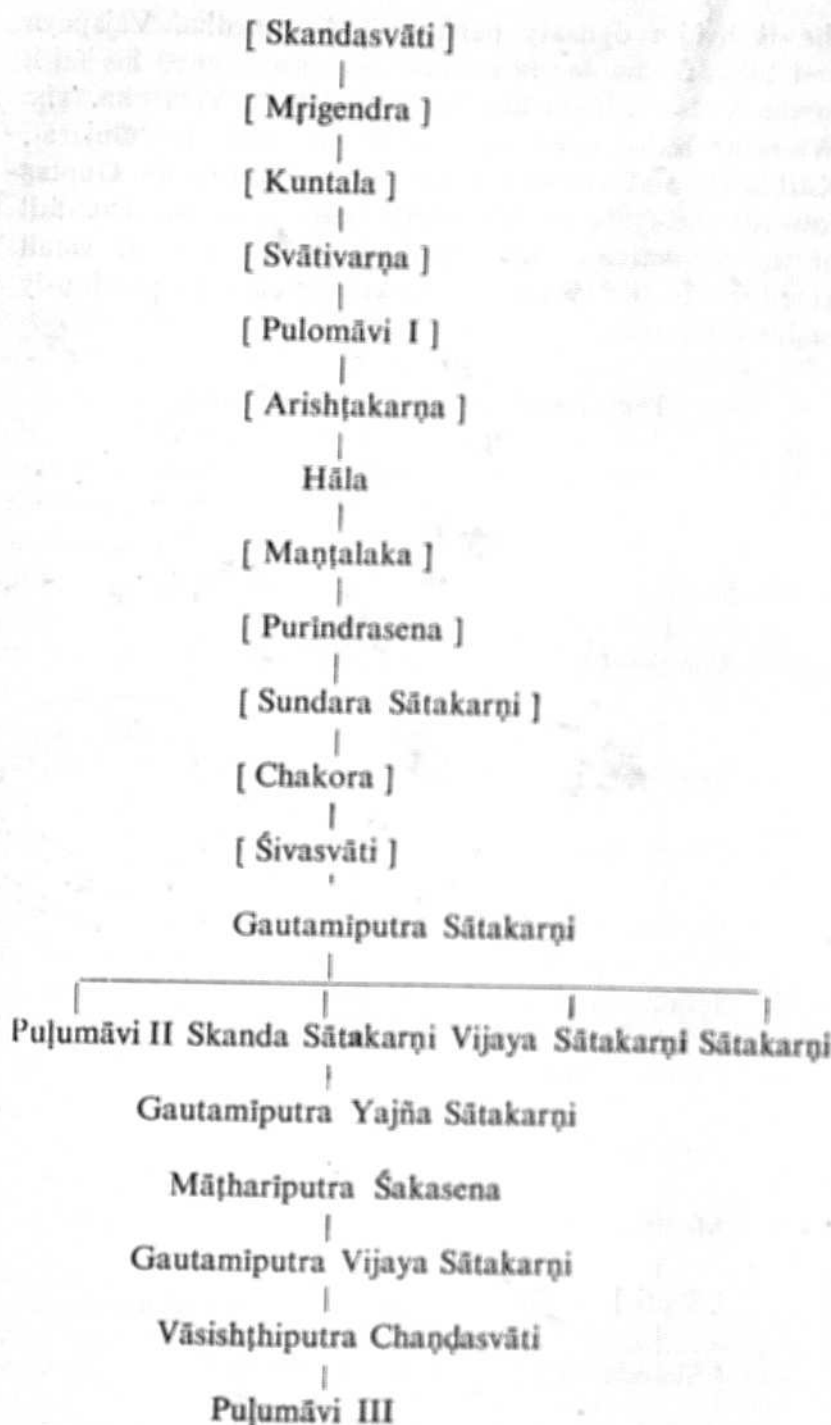
<sup>2</sup> Till now Vindhyaśakti I has been regarded as the founder of the Vākātaka kingdom in Vidarbha; but from the Malhārā plates, it is quite clear that Pravarasena I was the first king of the family ruling in that country. In all grants of the Vākātakas the genealogy starts from him. The Purāṇas also call him the progenitor of the family, *DKA*, p. 50.

the Ikshvāku dynasty performed Aśvamedha, Vājapeya and other Vedic sacrifices, and thus proclaimed his faith in the Vedic religion like his compeers in Vidarbha. The Western Kshatrapas continued to rule in Gujarāt, Kāthiāwād and Mālwā till their subjugation by the Guptas towards the close of the fourth century A. D. The fall of the Sātavāhanas thus resulted in the rise of small kingdoms in the various provinces which were previously under their rule.<sup>1</sup>

The Genealogy of the Sātavāhanas



<sup>1</sup> *EE*, XX, pp. 1 ff.



## (B) The Western Kshatrapas

## (I) The Kshaharāta Kshatrapas

The Sātavāhanas had to fight many times with the Western Kshatrapas. The preceding pages contain several references to their conflicts. It is proposed to give a connected account of them now.

The word *Kshatrapa* denotes 'a provincial governor.' It is not basically a Sanskrit word and does not occur in early Sanskrit literature. It is derived from the Iranian word *Kshatrapāvan*. *Kshatra* means 'a kingdom.' In the Achaemenian records *Kshatrapāvan* is used in the sense of 'a provincial governor.' On account of their contact with the Parthians, the Śaka and Kushāṇa invaders used the term to designate their provincial governors. There were two main groups of Indian *Kshatrapas*. Some were ruling over the Punjab and the adjoining region of Mathurā. They are known in ancient Indian history as 'the Northern Kshatrapas.' Others who wielded power in Mahārāshṭra, Koṅkaṇ, Saurāshṭra, Gujarāt and Mālwā are designated 'the Western Kshatrapas.' These *Kshatrapas* became virtually independent in *circa* A. D. 150, but they did not discard their previous designation of '*Kshatrapa*.' One is not inclined to discard even a subordinate title when one becomes accustomed to it. For instance, Pushyamitra Śuṅga was originally a *Senāpati* of the contemporary Maurya king. He did not discard that subordinate title even after he overthrew the Maurya king, usurped power and performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, not surprising that the governors of the Western Provinces continued to call themselves *Kshatrapas* even after they became independent.

Several Greeks, Scythians and Parthians invaded India from the north-west, but hardly any of them penetrated as far southwards as Mālwā, Gujarāt and

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, XX, pp. 57 ff.



Kāthiawād. According to a Jain tradition, however, the Scythians invaded Mālwā in the first century B. C. when King Gardabhilla was ruling from Ujjain. The latter had abducted a Jain nun who was the sister of the Jain Muni Kālakāchārya. The tradition says that the Jain *Āchārya* then approached the Scythians of Sindh for help in rescuing his sister. They invaded Mālwā, killed Gardabhilla and ruled there for four years. Later, Vikramāditya, son of Gardabhilla, ousted the Śaka invaders, and, in commemoration of his victory, started the Vikrama Śarvat in 58 B. C. The *Kālakāchārya-kathānaka* says that later the Scythians again conquered Mālwā and started the Śaka sarvat in A. D. 78.

A. S. Altekar believed in this Jain tradition;<sup>1</sup> for we know that the Scythian king Maues was ruling in Sindh in the first cen. B. C., and he may well have invaded Mālwā from there. As the Śaka occupation of Mālwā lasted for a short period of four years, it is not surprising that their coins have not been found there. We do not, however, think that this tradition is credible. Several traditional tales about Kālakāchārya occur in Jain works. He is said to have visited Suvarṇabhūmi (Sumātra), but of this there is no reliable evidence. We can at the most say that he flourished before Varāhamihira (sixth cen. A. D.). The Gardabhilla dynasty is stated in the Purāṇas to have risen to power after the fall of the Śātavāhanas, not before. Again, the Purāṇas do not state where the family was ruling. The name of Vikramāditya is not noticed in the Purāṇas and there is not even a shred of evidence to prove that he founded the era associated with his name in the first cen. B. C. The earliest known dates of that era come from Barnālā in the former Jaipur State, hundreds of miles north of Mālwā.<sup>2</sup>

We know from inscriptions that a Śaka Kshatrpa family was ruling at Mathurā from *circa* 50 B. C. to

<sup>1</sup> *MSGH*, I, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, XXVI, pp. 113 ff.

*circa* A. D. 50. The records of the Śaka Kshatrapa Kusūlaka and his son Pātika have come to notice there.<sup>1</sup> In the Taxilā plate of Pātika, his father Kusūlaka is mentioned as the *Kshatrapa* of Chhaharāta and Chuksha.<sup>2</sup> The latter place is probably identical with Chacha which lies north-west of Taxilā. Chhaharāta (or Kshaharāta) seems likewise to be another place near Taxilā. It seems to have given its name to the Kshatrapa family known as *Kshaharāta* (Prakrit, Khakharāta). Some members of this family were appointed Governors (Kshatrapas) of Mahārāshtra as shown below.

Some Kshaharātas appear to have established themselves in the region round Mathurā. Others repaired southwards to Gujarāt and Mahārāshtra. Bhūmaka is the first known Kshaharāta Kshatrapa. Altekar noticed a coin in the Prince of Wales Museum which had distinct signs of the sacred wheel (*dharma-chakra*) and a lion.<sup>3</sup> Though the issuer's name on it was illegible, Altekar thought that it was probably struck by a predecessor of Bhūmaka whose coins have those symbols.<sup>4</sup> The coins of Bhūmaka and Nahāpāna have the signs of the thunderbolt and an arrow pointing either upwards or downwards. They can be connected with those of the Śaka kings Spalirises and Azes II, which have the devices of the discus, bow and arrow. These show that the Kshaharātas must have come from North India. This is also indicated by their legends which are in the Greek and Kharoshṭhi alphabets.

### Kanishka's Kshatrapas

Kanishka came to the throne in A. D. 78. He soon spread his power almost throughout North India.

<sup>1</sup> *CII*, II, i, pp. 48 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *IBal.*, II, I, pp. 28 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *MSGH*, I, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> *IBal.*, I, p. 146.

His capital was situated at Purushapura (modern Peshāwar). He must naturally have found it difficult to govern his vast empire from such a far-off place. So he appointed Kshatrapas for the purpose. Bhūmaka was probably his Kshatrapa placed in charge of Mālwā, Gujarāt and at least some part of Saurāshṭra. His coins have been found in all these parts of the country, but no inscriptions of his have yet come to notice. He was succeeded by Nahapāna. The inscriptions of his time are dated in years ranging from 41 to 46. Scholars are sharply divided on the question whether these are years of his own reign or of the Vikrama or the Śaka saṃvat. This problem is discussed in detail in a separate Appendix.<sup>1</sup> The correct view seems to be that they are of the so-called Śaka saṃvat founded by Kanishka. Kanishka ruled for about 23 years. He himself must have appointed Bhūmaka to govern the afore-mentioned provinces of his empire.

As Bhūmaka hailed from North India, his coins have their legends in both Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī. The Kharoshṭhī legend is *Chhaharātasa Chhatrapasa Bhūmakasa*, and the Brāhmī, *Kshaharātasa Kshatrapasa Bhūmakasa*.<sup>2</sup> His coins have on the obverse the devices of an arrow pointing upwards, a pellet and the thunderbolt, and, on the reverse, those of the capital of a pillar, a lion and the wheel (*dharmachakra*). Some of these devices appear on the coins of the Kshatrapas of Mathurā to whom Bhūmaka may have been related.

After Bhūmaka, Nahapāna was appointed by the contemporary Kushāṇa Emperor to govern Gujarāt, Saurāshṭra, Central India, Northern Mahārāshṭra and Koṅkaṇ. As shown elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> the years cited in the records of his time are those of the Śaka era. The last of them is the year 46. Bhūmaka and Nahapāna were ruling over these provinces for a major part of

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II.

<sup>2</sup> *BMC (Andhras)*, pp. 63 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix II.

this period. Bhūmaka was in charge of them probably up to the Śaka year 20, and Nahapāna thereafter up to the Śaka year 46, after which he was overthrown by Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi. Kanishka seems to have extended his rule to these provinces soon after his accession, for, as shown below, he appointed Chash-tana to govern Kachchha before the Śaka year 6.

It is now known that Kanishka's power extended over several parts of South India also. As stated above, North Koṅkaṇ and Western Mahārāshṭra were comprised in his Empire. Vidarbha also was included in it as shown by the Paunī (Bhaṇḍārā District) inscription of the *Kshatrapa* Rupiamma.<sup>1</sup> Mekala and South Kosala, east of Vidarbha, were also comprised in his dominion as shown by several hoards of Kushāṇa coins discovered therein. For instance, a large hoard of 757 coins was recently found in the Bevahāri *tahasil* of the Shahaḍol District of Madhya Pradesh.<sup>2</sup> It contained the coins of the following Kushāṇa kings :—

Wema Kadphises	..	..	44
Kanishka	..	..	324
Huvishka	..	..	362
Other coins with indistinct legends,			27
			757
			757

This hoard shows that Kushāṇa power must have penetrated into these parts in the reign of Kanishka. The coins of his predecessor Wema Kadphises must have come mixed with his own to these parts. But not a single coin of Vāsudeva, who succeeded Huvishka, was noticed in that hoard, which shows that the Kushāṇas were ousted from South India during his reign (A. D. 145—176).

<sup>1</sup> See Inscription No. 62.

<sup>2</sup> *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 1 f.

### Nahapāna

No inscriptions of Nahapāna himself have yet been discovered, but an epigraph of his *Amātya* has been found at Junnar. This city may have been the capital of Nahapāna. As shown before, it was previously the capital of the Sātavāhanas. Several inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law Ṛishabhadatta have been incised in the Caves at Nāsik and Kārle,<sup>1</sup> and those of his daughter Dakshamitrā at the former place.<sup>2</sup> In his inscriptions Ṛishabhadatta has recorded his victories and benefactions at several places from which we can form an idea of the expanse of Nahapāna's dominion.

Nahapāna may have obtained the territory round Ajmer, Mālwa, some part of Saurāshṭra and North Gujarāt from Bhūmaka. He seems to have himself conquered North Koṅkaṇ and Western Mahārāshṭra from the Sātavāhanas. All these provinces were comprised in his dominion as shown by the mention of localities in the inscriptions of his son-in-law,<sup>3</sup> as also by the finds of his own coins.<sup>4</sup>

*Nahapāna* is a Parthian name. His son-in-law Ṛishabhadatta calls himself a Śaka. The Śaka and Pahlava tribes were then mixed together. So this admixture of races is not surprising.

In his Nāsik inscriptions Ṛishabhadatta has mentioned several of his own charities and benefactions. He gifted several thousand cocoanut trees in the villages of Nānaṅgola and Chikhalapadra in North Koṅkaṇ ; he made arrangements for free ferries for crossing several rivers in North Koṅkaṇ and established *prapās* for the free supply of drinking water to travellers. Some of these rivers are as follows :—The Ibā (which flows near Balsāḍ in Gujarāt), the Pāradā (the river Pār which flows north of Damaṇ), Damaṇa (now known as the Damaṇagaṅgā), the Karabeṇā (now known as the Kāveri which joins the Ambikā), Dahānukā (the creek near Ḍahāṇu), Tāpī (in the Surat

<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions Nos. 38—40, 43.

<sup>2</sup> See Inscription No. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Inscriptions Nos. 41 and 42.

<sup>4</sup> BMC (*Andhra*), pp. cviii ff.

District) and Bārṇāsā (the Bānās in the Ahmadābād District). He constructed houses and made gardens and tanks in Bharukachchha (Broach), Daśapura (Mandasor), and Govardhana (near Nāsik). He got eight Brāhmaṇas married at his expense at the holy place of Prabhāsa in Saurāshṭra.<sup>1</sup>

Ṛishabhadatta marched against the Mālayas (*i. e.* the Mālavas) for rescuing the Uttamabhadras who had been besieged by them, but they fled away at the mere noise of his approach. He then repaired to the holy place Pushkara where he took a bath in the sacred tank and made a gift of three thousand cows. This description clearly shows that the Mālayas mentioned in this connection are none other than the members of the Mālava gaṇa.

It may be objected that the various places mentioned in Nahapāna's inscriptions were holy places where he had gone to make his pious gifts. Their mention does not necessarily indicate the expanse of his father-in-law's dominion. The objection, however, is not valid. Had the intention of Ṛishabhadatta been simply to make charitable gifts at holy places, he would have preferred to make them at far holier places like Prayāga and Vārāṇasī, which were not inaccessible to him as they were situated in the Kushāṇa Empire. So these places where he made his charitable gifts were undoubtedly situated in the dominion of his *Bhaṭṭāraka* Nahapāna. The latter was ruling over a vast territory stretching from Ajmer in the north to the districts of Poonā and Nāsik in the south and from Saurāshṭra and Gujarāt in the west to Mālwā in the east. It is unfortunate that not a single epigraph of this great Satrap has yet been found.

Some Jain works contain *ākhyāyikās* about Nahapāna,<sup>2</sup> but their veracity is doubtful. One tradition says

<sup>1</sup> Inscription No. 43, line 1.

<sup>2</sup> *JORS.*, XVI, pp. 290 ff.; *MSGH.*, I, p. 152. The *Periplus* mentions a tale about Nambānus of Arūka (North Konkan). Altekar thought it credible, taking Nambānus to be Nahapāna. It mentions Broach as the capital of Nambānus. The *Periplus* is generally dated in the second half of the first century B. C. Nahapāna was ruling in the first half of the first century A. D. as shown by the dates of the inscriptions of his reign. So this tale is of no significance. As a matter of fact, the name of the ruler in the *Periplus* is not Nambānus but Mombārus. *CAI.* p. 301

that the Sātavāhana king besieged the capital Bharukachchha of Naravāhana (supposed to be Nahapāna) many times ; but he could not succeed even once in capturing it. So his minister thought of defeating Naravāhana by a statagem. He took service under him and egged him on to spend extravagantly. Thereby Naravāhana's treasury became empty, and his forces dwindled in strength. The Sātavāhana king then invaded his territory and gave him a crushing defeat.

Some scholars, who take Naravāhana of this tradition to be Nahapāna, attribute this victory to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. But the tradition deserves no credence ; for the battle in which Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi inflicted a crushing defeat on Nahapāna occurred not near Broach but near Kārle in the Poonā District.

We do not know if Nahapāna was as liberal as implied in the aforementioned tradition, but his son-in-law was undoubtedly very generous and religious-minded. It is noteworthy that the gifts mentioned in the beginning of his inscription No. 43 were all made to the followers of the Hindu religion. Again, though they have no concern with the Buddhist faith, they are described in detail in the record incised in a Buddhist cave at Nāsik, probably at the instance of Rishabhadatta himself. His regard for Sanskrit language is also evident from it. The Sātavāhanas were themselves followers of the Vedic religion. They performed several Vedic sacrifices, but they got their description incised not in Sanskrit, but in Prakrit. All their other inscriptions also are in Prakrit. On the other hand, most of the inscriptions of the Śakas are composed in fairly correct Sanskrit. The Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman is composed in elegant Sanskrit. He himself is described in it as the author of Sanskrit *kāvya*s in prose and verse. This contrast in the attitudes of the indigenous Hindus and the foreign Śakas is certainly noteworthy.

Rishabhadatta and his wife Dakshamitrā patronised Buddhism also. Rishabhadatta caused a cave to be excavated at Nāsik for the residence of the Bhikshus, made gifts of villages for their maintenance, and provided for their

clothing and medicines by investing large sums of money in the local guilds to form permanent endowments for the purpose.<sup>1</sup>

Nahapāna issued silver coins in his own name. He adopted the devices of the thunderbolt, pellet and arrow from the coins of Bhūmaka and used them with suitable changes for the reverse of his own coins. On their obverse, he used his own portrait with his name and title in Greek. On the reverse of his coins, he inserted, round the aforementioned devices, the legend *Rājño Kshaharātasa Nahapānasa* in the Brāhmī and *Raño Chhaharātasa Nahapānasa* in the Kharoshthī script. Nahapāna alone is known to have issued such coins mentioning the royal name and title in three scripts.<sup>2</sup>

A hoard of Nahapāna's coins numbering 13,250 was found at Jogaltembhi in the Nāsik District. The royal portrait on them was of different types from which some scholars inferred that they were issued by several of his successors,<sup>3</sup> and only the last of them was defeated by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The inference is not admissible. It is not likely that those successors of Nahapāna issued coins in his name, without inserting their own name and title on them. No members of the other or Kārdamaka family are known to have done so. Every one of them issued coins in his own name, stamping the current year of the Śaka era thereon. The reason why the portrait on the coins of the Jogaltembhi hoard appears different on different issues is that they were drawn by unskilled artists. Skilled artists like those who drew the portraits on Greek coins were evidently not available at the time in Mahārāshtra. Besides, we have no evidence of any other Kshatrapa ruling in Mahārāshtra after Nahapāna. On the other hand, in his Nāsik cave inscription Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi says that he is granting a field which was previously owned by Ṛishabhadatta. It shows

<sup>1</sup> *Kudimamāla* in Inscription No. 38, lines 3-4 is incorrect for *kuchalamāla*. See Appendix VI.

<sup>2</sup> *BMC (Andrew)*, pp. 656—57.

<sup>3</sup> *MESGH*, I, pp. 163 ff.



that Ṛishabhadatta and his father-in-law Nahapāna lived in the immediate past.

### (II) The Kārdamaka Kshatrapas

We shall next turn to the history of another Kshatrapa family which was ruling in this very period.

This family is known as the Kārdamaka Kshatrapas. This name occurs in an inscription of an *Amātya* of the daughter of Rudradāman I, incised in a cave at Kānherī near Bombay.<sup>1</sup>

#### Chashṭana

All members of this family have used the Śaka era in dating their records and coins, from which Dubreuil concluded that the era was founded by Chashṭana,<sup>2</sup> the progenitor of the family. But this view is inadmissible. Like Nahapāna, Chashṭana also was a *Kshatrapa* or a Provincial Governor. He could not have started an era which is symbolic of independence. Both Chashṭana and Nahapāna must have used the era of their suzerain, who was evidently the contemporary Kushāṇa Emperor Kanishka or his successor. This conclusion is now accepted by almost all scholars. Like all other eras, this era also had no particular name in the beginning. Later, it became known by the name of Śaka Saṁvat, because it had been used by the Śakas of Mālwa and Saurāshṭra for a long time. But there is no doubt that it was started by the Kushāṇa Emperor Kanishka.

Recently inscriptions of the time of Chashṭana dated in the sixth and eleventh years<sup>3</sup> have been found which have thrown important light on this question. Before their discovery, it was believed that after the defeat and extermination of Nahapāna, the contemporary Kushāṇa Emperor, probably Huvishka, appointed Chashṭana to

<sup>1</sup> Inscription No. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix III.

<sup>3</sup> Inscriptions Nos. 63 and 45 respectively.

arrest the expansion of Sātavāhana power in Central India. A statue discovered in the *devakula* at Māṭ near Mathurā represents Chashṭana, other statues there being of the Kushāṇa Emperors Wema Kadphises, Kanishka and Huvishka. This is shown by the inscription on it which has been read as *Mastana* by some and as *Shasṭana* by others, but the correct reading must evidently be *Chashṭana*. Chashṭana did not, however, come to the south as late as the year 47 of the Śaka era as believed before. It is now proved beyond doubt that he came there much earlier.

An inscription recently discovered at Andhau in the Kachchha District is dated in the 11th year during the reign of Chashṭana, the son of Ysāmotika. The year must evidently be referred to the Śaka era and corresponds to A. D. 89-90. Another record of the same Kshatrapa's reign discovered at Daulatpur is dated five years earlier in the sixth year which also is undoubtedly of the same era. Kanishka, the Kushāṇa Emperor, must have deputed Chashṭana to govern Kachchha and the adjoining territory soon after he conquered it in the beginning of his reign. Chashṭana's father Ysāmotika is mentioned without any title in all records. He was, therefore, a commoner. His son Chashṭana evidently obtained the governorship of Kachchha by sheer valour and ability. He may also have been related to Kanishka. Hence his statue was erected in the *Devakula* at Māṭ.

The early inscriptions of Chashṭana and his grandson Rudradāman have been found only in the Kachchha District.<sup>1</sup> So the territory under their rule was very much limited. It comprised the district of Kachchha and perhaps some part of Saurāshṭra. Some portion of Saurāshṭra — especially that near the holy place of Prabhāsa — was in the occupation of Nahapāna as his son-in-law Ṛishabhadatta got eight Brāhmaṇas married there at his own expense as stated in a Nāsik cave inscription. It is not likely that Nahapāna had conquered that territory from Chashṭana.

<sup>1</sup> See Inscriptions Nos. 45—50 and 52—54.

Chashtana's silver coins have been found.<sup>1</sup> They have his bust on the obverse with the legend in Greek surrounding it, and the figure of a hill with the moon above and a river below with the following legend in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī surrounding them — *Rājā Kshatrapasa Ysāmotika-putrasa Chashṭanasa*. Some coins mention his title *Mahākshatrapa*. One of his copper coins also has been found.

Chashtana's son Kshatrapa Jayadāman was helping him in administration. Such Kshatrapas could issue coins in their own names. Jayadāman's copper coins have been found. They have the figure of a humped bull together with that of a combined trident and a battle-axe on the obverse, and those of a hill, a crescent and stars on the reverse.<sup>2</sup>

### Rudradāman I

Jayadāman seems to have predeceased his father. He is nowhere mentioned as *Mahākshatrapa*. After his death his son Rudradāman began to help his old grandfather Chashtana in administration. As many as four inscriptions of the joint reign of *Rājan Chashtana* and *Rājan Rudradāman* dated in the year 52 (A. D. 130-31) have been found at Andhau in the Kachchha District. This date is later than the last known date (Śaka 46) of Nahapāna. In this short period of six years Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi had conquered the following provinces which were previously included in the territory under Nahapāna—Surāshṭra (Kāthiāwāḍ), Kukura (south-east portion of Rājaputān), Anūpa (Indore district of M. P.), and Ākarāvanti (Eastern and Western Mālwā).<sup>3</sup> Chashtana and Rudradāman could not offer him any resistance. They may have adopted a submissive policy purposely. It was probably in this period that Gautamīputra's son Vāsishṭhīputra

<sup>1</sup> BMC (Andhras), pp. 72—75.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Inscription No. 18.

Sātakarṇi was married to Rudradāman's daughter to cement a political alliance.<sup>1</sup>

The situation underwent a change after the death of Gautamiṣṭha Sātakarṇi in *circa* A. D. 132. His son Puṣumāvi was not as brave and able a general as he. So Chashṭana and Rudradāman took advantage of this situation and wrested the following northern provinces from Puṣumāvi :—Ānarta (North Gujarāt), Saurāshṭra (Kāṭhiāwāḍ), Anūpa (Indore and Nemāḍ districts), Sindhu-Sauvīra, and Ākarāvanti (Eastern and Western Mālwā). Puṣumāvi could not offer any resistance to them. Rudradāman defeated him twice, but instead of exterminating him totally, he, in view of the fact that he was his own son-in-law's elder brother, let him go. These victories must have been attained some time before A. D. 140; for Ptolemy, who wrote his work in that year, mentions Chashṭana as the ruler of Ujjain.<sup>2</sup> Rudradāman's Junagaḍh inscription dated A. D. 150 mentions Ākarāvanti (Eastern and Western Mālwā) as one of the countries comprised in his dominion.<sup>3</sup> Chashṭana and Rudradāman had reconquered these provinces by their valour and military skill. So the contemporary Kushāṇa Emperor invested both of them with the higher title of *Mahākshatrapa*. In his Junagaḍh inscription Rudradāman proudly states that he had obtained the higher title by his own merit.

After conquering these provinces, Chashṭana transferred his capital to Ujjain. As stated before, Ptolemy (A. D. 140) mentions that Chashṭana was ruling from Ujjain, and Puṣumāvi from Paiṭhaṇ. He does not mention Rudradāman. In his Junāgaḍh inscription, however, Rudradāman is seen ruling independently as *Mahā-kshatrapa* in A. D. 150. So most of the aforementioned countries must have been reconquered and the capital shifted to Ujjain before A. D. 140.

<sup>1</sup> Inscription No. 25. This inscription of an *Amātya* of the wife of Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, daughter of Rudradāman I, was found at Kānheri.

<sup>2</sup> *BMC (Andhra)*, p. xxxix.

<sup>3</sup> Inscription No. 54.

The power of the Kushāṇa Emperors seems to have been declining in the time of Rudradāman. The contemporary Kushāṇa overlord had to request Rudradāman to control the Yaudheyas who were occupying the adjoining territory and had increased their strength by defeating 'all Kshatriyas.' Rudradāman seems to have vanquished not only these Yaudheyas but also other similar republican tribes ruling in the neighbourhood like the Ārjunāyanas. He must have obtained some territory in these campaigns. Hence the country of Sindhu-Sauvira, which comprised the territory near Multān, was included in his dominion.

Rudradāman's kingdom extended from the Panjāb in the north to the Narmadā in the south. It comprised the following countries :—Sindhu-Sauvira, Maru (Mārwāḍ), Ānarta (North Gujarāt), Surāshṭra (Kaṭhiāwāḍ), Kukura (Sindh), Kachchha, Ākarāvanti (East and West Mālwā), Anūpa (Indore and Nemāḍ Districts) and Aparānta (North Koṅkaḍ).<sup>1</sup>

The Junāgaḍh inscription gives a detailed description of the personality and accomplishments of Rudradāman. He was skilled in the use of arms, a great warrior and a renowned military commander. He did not, however, destroy the enemy who submitted to him. He reinstated several chieftains who had lost their dominions. As stated before, he let off King Sātakarṇi, the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, whom he had defeated in a straight battle as he was a not distant relative of his.<sup>2</sup> As shown before, this Sātakarṇi was none other than Puṣumāvi. Rudradāman established peace and order throughout his dominion. He levied only just taxes. For the construction and repairs of public works such as tanks *etc.* he did not levy any taxes on his subjects, but met the expenditure from his own treasury. He had great faith in the Hindu religion

<sup>1</sup> Inscription No. 51, line 11.

<sup>2</sup> Though inscription No. 51 calls him Sātakarṇi, he was not the son-in-law of Rudradāman I. The king intended to be referred to was Puṣumāvi.

and held cows and Brāhmaṇas in veneration.<sup>1</sup> These Kārdamakas do not appear to have patronised the Buddhist religion as their Kshaharāta compeers did in Mahārāshṭra.

Rudradāman was known for his learning and art as he was for his munificence. He had himself composed *kāvya*s in prose and verse embellished with poetic qualities and figures. They must have been in Sanskrit. His Junāgaḍh inscription is composed in elegant and faultless Sanskrit in the Gauḍī style. He was also fond of music. It is not, therefore, surprising that he liberally patronised Sanskrit learning and promoted the sciences of logic and rhetoric. It is noteworthy that from his time the old method of recording dates by citing the current season, month and day fell into disuse and the new one of recording the lunar month (like Chaitra), fortnight and *tithi* came into vogue.<sup>2</sup> It bears testimony to the development of astronomy in that age. Rudradāman was, in short, an ideal king, brave, righteous, liberal and cultured. He was a living example of how Indian culture civilised and transformed beyond recognition foreign invaders.

As Rudradāman's capital was situated at Ujjain, he must have appointed several provincial governors to administer distant parts of his vast dominion. The name of only one of them, *viz.*, the Parthian Suviśākha, son of Kulaipa, who was placed in charge of Ānarta (North Gujarāt) and Surāshṭra (Kāthiāwāḍ) is known from the Junāgaḍh inscription. He, like his lord, was active in securing the welfare of the people. The Junāgaḍh inscription states that when the embankment of the large Sudarśana lake near Gīrnār burst owing to a cyclone and a heavy downpour of rain, he boldly undertook its repairs on his own responsibility notwithstanding the adverse opinion of capable ministers and

<sup>1</sup> See the reference to cows and Brāhmaṇas in Inscription No. 51, line 15.

<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that the date in all inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas is recorded in season, fortnight and day, while that in all records of the Kshatrapas is mentioned in lunar month, fortnight and *tithi*.

executive officers and carried out the work successfully enhancing thereby the religious merit and fame of his lord.<sup>1</sup>

Only two inscriptions of the reign of Rudradāman have been discovered so far, viz., the Khāvḍā inscription of the year 63 and the Junāgaḍh inscription of the year 72. As stated before, he was assisting his grandfather earlier as shown by their joint records dated in the Śaka year 52 (A. D. 130). The portrait on his silver coins shows that he must have lived at least up to the age of 60. So he may have continued to reign till A. D. 165. Towards the close of his reign his son Dāmaghsada (Dāma or Dāmajadaśrī) was helping him in the administration of his kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

### The Successors of Rudradāman I

As Rudradāman had a long reign, his son Dāmaghsada must have been fairly old when he came to the throne. This is also evident from the portrait on his coins. He had assumed the title of *Mahākshatrapa*. As very few coins issued by him have been found, he may have reigned from circa A. D. 165 to 175.<sup>3</sup>

He was succeeded by his son Jivadāman. During his reign commenced the practice of recording the date of the Śaka year in which a particular coin was issued behind the king's head on its obverse. Very few inscriptions of these Kshatrapas have been found. Their history is based mainly on the dates recorded on their coins.

Jivadāman struck his coins as *Mahākshatrapa* from Śaka 100 to Śaka 103, and again from Śaka 110 to Śaka 113. For the intervening period from Śaka 103 to Śaka 110 those of his uncle *Mahākshatrapa* Rudrasinha I have been recovered, from which he seems to

<sup>1</sup> Inscription No. 51, line 18.

<sup>2</sup> *BMC (Andhras)*, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*

have usurped the throne, setting aside his nephew.<sup>1</sup> A stone inscription of this Rudrasimha, dated Śaka 103, in which he mentions himself as *Kshatrapa* has been found at Gundā<sup>2</sup> in the Hālār District of Saurāshtra. He does not mention his nephew Jivadāman. The epigraph records the digging of a well by an Ābhira *Senāpati* named Rudrabhūti. From this inscription Altekar inferred that soon after the date of this record, Rudrasimha, with the aid of this Ābhira *Senāpati*, dethroned his nephew, usurped the throne, and assumed the title of *Mahākshatrapa*. In Saurāshtra some coins of *Mahākshatrapa* Īśvaradatta dated in the first or the second regnal year have been found mixed with those of the Western Kshatrapas. According to some scholars, this Īśvaradatta was an Ābhira; for some Ābhiras are known to have borne names ending in *-datta* such as Śivadatta. Altekar thought that Rudrasimha dethroned his nephew Jivadāman with the help of the *Senāpati* (Ābhira) Īśvaradatta, but the latter soon overthrew him and ruled for two years (from A. D. 188 to A. D. 190). He, however, allowed Rudrasimha to continue as *Kshatrapa*. Ultimately, Rudrasimha vanquished Īśvaradatta and continued to rule till A. D. 197.

### Mahākshatrapa Īśvaradatta

Altekar's aforementioned conjecture is based on a very slender basis. There is no evidence that Īśvaradatta was an Ābhira. Besides, it is not certain that the two years of his reign mentioned on his coins fell in this period. Bhagvanlal placed Īśvaradatta in A. D. 249—251, Rapson in A. D. 236—239 and D. R. Bhandarkar in A. D. 165—175. Recently Mrs. Gokhale has brought to notice a silver coin of Īśvaradatta found at Indore, which has shed very important light on his problem.

<sup>1</sup> BMC (Andhra), pp. 86—94.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscriptions* No. 52.



No year of the Saka era was so far known to occur on the coins of Īśvaradatta. Rapson noticed only one or two small horizontal lines on the obverse of his coins which he interpreted as denoting his regnal year, mentioned also on the reverse of those coins in words as *varshe prathame* or *varshe dvitiye*.<sup>1</sup> The Indore coin now discovered shows clearly for the first time the Śaka year 154 indicated by three numerical symbols, viz., 100, 50 and 4.<sup>2</sup> This coin must have also recorded on the reverse the corresponding regnal year of the *Mahākshatrapa*, but the legend there is now indistinct. From the traces left, the regnal year seems to be the fourth (*varshe chaturthe*). The coins of Īśvaradatta published by Rapson in his *Catalogue* must have had the year 151 or 152 recorded on their obverse. Rapson had noticed only the signs for 1 or 2 there, but if the plate is carefully scrutinised, his Coin No. 472 will show the symbol for 50 followed by that for 1 on its obverse. The same is mentioned as *vershe prathame* on its reverse. Śaka 151 (A. D. 229) was thus the first year of Īśvaradatta's reign. He bears the title of *Mahākshatrapa* on all these coins.

*Mahākshatrapa* Īśvaradatta seems thus to have reigned at least in the period from A. D. 229-230 to A. D. 232-233. The coins of *Mahākshatrapa* Dāmasena belonging to this very period have also been found in Mālwā and Saurāshtra. So Īśvaradatta is not likely to have ruled north of the Narmadā in this period. He must have been ruling elsewhere, probably in Mahārāshtra. He seems to have risen to power at the end of the Sātavāhana period and raided the territory north of the Narmadā. So his coins have been found mingled with those of the Western Kshatrapas in several hoards found in the latter's territory.

<sup>1</sup> *BMC (Andhras)*, pp. 124 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Pl. XXVI, Fig. 51 for the coin.

Rudrasimha had usurped power after dethroning his nephew Jivadāman, but the latter seems to have regained the throne in *circa* A. D. 197. Perhaps, Rudrasimha passed away about this time. Whatever the reason may be, the family struggle seems to have come to an end about this time. So we find Rudrasena I, the son of Rudrasimha I, serving as *Kshatrapa* under Jivadāman thereafter.

Rudrasena I ruled as *Mahākshatrapa* for twenty-two years. He had two sons Prithvisena and Dāmajada-śrī. Coins struck by them as *Kshatrapas* have been found, but neither of them came to the throne. On the other hand, we find that Rudrasena was succeeded by his younger brothers Saṅghadāman and Dāmasena, one after the other. The same occurred after Dāmasena also. It seems, therefore, that in view of the family feud between Jivadāman and Rudrasimha, the *Kshatrapa* family decided by a consensus that so long as there were younger brothers of the deceased *Mahākshatrapa* alive and capable of ruling, the succession should pass on to them in preference to his own sons.

During the reign of Rudrasena the Western *Kshatrapas* became matrimonially connected with the ruling families of far-off countries. The Śaka race to which they belonged had been assimilated in Hindu society in that age. Hence such matrimonial connections were not then interdicted. From the inscriptions of the Ikshvāku kings we learn that King Virapurushadatta married the daughter of a Śaka king.<sup>1</sup> She may have been either a daughter or a grand-daughter of this Rudrasena. At Vaiśālī in far-off Bihār a sealing of Prabhudāmā, the sister of Rudrasena, has been discovered.<sup>2</sup> She is called *Mahādevī*, but her husband is not named therein. The latter may have been ruling there after the *Kushāpas*.

<sup>1</sup> *EE*, XX, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *ARASI*, (1913-14), p. 136.

According to the aforementioned convention, Rudrasena was succeeded not by his son Pṛithivisena who had been assisting him as *Kshatrapa*, but by his younger brother Saṅghadāman. From his coins he seems to have ruled as *Mahākshātrapa* only for a year or two.<sup>1</sup> A possible reason for this is thus stated by Altekar :—The Mālava gaṇa of the Ajmer-Mārwāḍ region seems to have risen in revolt and declared its independence. It began to perform Vedic sacrifices. We learn about them from the *Yūpa* inscriptions found at Nāndsā in the Sahārā District of the former Udaipur State.<sup>2</sup> Saṅghdāman seems to have come into conflict with the Mālava gaṇa and lost his life in the struggle.

In the beginning of the reign of Dāmasena, his nephews Pṛithivisena and Dāmajada-śrī II were acting as *Kshatrapas*. Then his own son Viradāman assisted him as *Kshatrapa*, but he may have died prematurely. So his younger brother Yaśodāman I seems to have obtained the title of *Mahākshatrapa* in A. D. 238.<sup>3</sup> He seems to have ruled only for a couple of years and met with an untimely death. He was succeeded by his younger brother Vijayasena. He ruled as *Mahākshatrapa* till A. D. 250. Thereafter, his younger brother Dāmajada-śrī ruled for about five years.<sup>4</sup>

After the three sons of Dāmasena who held the title of *Mahākshatrapa* one after another, his grandson Rudrasena II, the son of Viradāman, came to the throne in *circa* A. D. 255. His rule lasted for a long period of twenty-two years, from A. D. 255 to A. D. 277. No coins of any *Kshatrapa*, however, have come to light for this period.

Some years ago a large hoard of *Kshatrapa* coins was discovered at Karhāḍ in the Sātārā District.<sup>5</sup> It contained coins of the Western *Kshatrapas* from the time

<sup>1</sup> *BMC (Andhras)*, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, XXVII, p. 252.

<sup>3</sup> *BMC (Andhras)*, pp. 128-30.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 137-40.

<sup>5</sup> *JBBRAS*, VI, pp. 16 ff.

of Vijayasena (A. D. 240 to A. D. 250) to that of Viśvasena (A. D. 294 to A. D. 304). On the evidence of the coins in this hoard Bhagvanlal conjectured that in that period (A. D. 250 to A. D. 310), the Kshatrapas invaded and occupied Mahārāshṭra which was then under the Ābhīras. Altekar did not consider this as likely.<sup>1</sup> The reason for the existence of this hoard in Mahārāshṭra was thus stated by him :— From very early times Karhāḍ has been known as the habitat of learned Vedic Brāhmaṇas. They were invited for the performance of Vedic sacrifices in far-off places, and received munificent *dakṣiṇās*. The Karhāḍ hoard was of the coins received by them by way of *dakṣiṇā*.<sup>2</sup> Both these explanations do not appear plausible. Hoards of Kshatrapa coins have been found not only in Karhāḍ but in several other places such as Rānjāgaon in the Poonā District,<sup>3</sup> Sonpur in the Chhindwādā District,<sup>4</sup> Bāsim in the Akolā District Kuṇḍinapur in the Amraoti District, and also in some other places in Vidarbha.<sup>5</sup> As the Ābhīras and the Vākāṭakas had no coins of their own, they seem to have allowed the Kshatrapa coins to circulate in their dominions for facility of transactions.

Rudrasena II seems to have been succeeded by his son Viśvasiṃha in *circa* A. D. 277, but his reign probably lasted for only two or three years. His brother Bhartṛidāman next succeeded him as *Mahākshatrapa*. His reign lasted for a fairly long period of twenty years. In the closing years of it his son Viśvasena was assisting him in administration as *Kshatrapa*.

In A. D. 284 the Sassanians invaded India and occupied Śaka-sthāna (Scythia) and Sindh. Bhartṛidāman maintained friendly relations with the Sassanian king Narseha. Numerous coins of this Kshatrapa have been found in Saurāshṭra and also in other countries like

<sup>1</sup> *MSGH*, I, pp. 163 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 22 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *JRASB*, III, N. S. pp. 94 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *SI*, III, pp. 215 ff.

Vidarbha which testify to the peace and prosperity of his reign.<sup>1</sup>

Bhartṛidāman is the last known *Mahākshatrapa* of the family of Chashṭana. He was succeeded by another Śaka family, the progenitor of which was Svāmī Jivadāman. His son Rudrasimha overthrew Bhartṛidāman and his son Viśvasena, and usurped power. How this family was related to that of Chashṭana is not known. Rudrasimha II<sup>2</sup> and his son Yaśodāman II struck coins only as *Kshatrapas*. They did not issue any as *Mahākshatrapas*. So long as the Kushāṇa Emperors were powerful, they used to bestow this higher title for some special achievement. Thereafter, that title was suggestive of independence. When the Kshatrapas acknowledged the supremacy of some other power, they could not assume this higher title. It is not possible to state definitely which contemporary power prevented these Kshatrapas from assuming the higher title. The Sassanians of Sindh were not sufficiently powerful in this period. So they could not have checked these Kshatrapas of Saurāshṭra and Mālhwā. Altekar thought that the Vākāṅka Pravarasena I who flourished in this age and performed as many as four Aśvamedhas must have brought pressure to bear on them ;<sup>3</sup> but this view does not appear plausible. On the other hand, the Ābhīras, their neighbours, were growing in power. They extended their rule to North Konkan, Gujarāt, and the Anūpa country, judging by the spread of their era in this period. The Purāṇas say that ten Ābhīras ruled for 167 years<sup>4</sup> (A. D. 250—417). Their rising power must have curbed the ambition of the Śaka Kshatrapas. Unfortunately, very few inscriptions of the Ābhīras have come to light so far. If more are discovered hereafter, they may throw light on this question.

<sup>1</sup> The Mevāsā Memorial pillar inscription is dated Śaka 203 and is of the time of Bhartṛidāman. See the discussion of its date in Inscription No. 61.

<sup>2</sup> On some coins of this Kshatrapa, some scholars read the name of the ruling Kshatrapa as Rudrasena and take him to be the third Kshatrapa of that name. See *JNSI*, XII, pp. 167-68 ; XXX, pp. 92 ff. ; XXXVII, pp. 155 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *MSGH*, I, p. 165.

<sup>4</sup> *CII*, IV, pp. xxxi ff.

The last known year of the reign of Yaśodāman II of this second Śaka branch is A. D. 332, after which there is a dark period of 16 years for which no records or coins have come to notice. Thereafter, we begin to get the coins of Rudrasena III. They mention his father Rudradāman II as *Mahākshatrapa*, but no coins of the latter have yet been found. We, therefore, do not know how he was related to Yaśodāman II of the second branch. Perhaps, his branch was separate from the aforementioned two branches. This second revolution may have occurred in *circa* A. D. 345.

Rudradāman II of this third branch may have ruled for only two or three years. His son Rudrasena III had a long reign of about 30 years, but it was a period of storm and stress as shown by several hoards of coins buried in those days. One of these was found at Uparakoṭ<sup>1</sup> near Junāgaḍh, and another at Sarvāṇiā<sup>2</sup> near Ratlām. Neither of them had coins of Rudrasena III, dated after A. D. 351. Some appeared to have just been issued from the mint. So it seems to have been a period of turmoil and trepidation.

The reason for this feeling of insecurity cannot be stated definitely. Altekar drew attention to the invasion of India by King Shāpur II of Irāṇ. He may have made an incursion into Saurāshṭra from his base in Sindh, which probably led to the spread of consternation among the people of that province.<sup>3</sup> But of this there is no definite evidence. Another cause of it is also not unlikely. The Allāhābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions one Rudradeva among the kings of Āryāvārata (North India) whom he exterminated.<sup>4</sup> Some scholars identify him with Vākāṭaka Rudrasena I, but in that case there would not have been the matrimonial alliance of the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas during the reign of Rudrasena's son Pṛithivīsheṇa I. Hence the identification of Rudradeva

<sup>1</sup> *JBRAS*, 1890, pp. 203 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *ARASE*, 1913-14, pp. 227 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *MSGH*, I, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> *CII*, III (old ed.), p. 7.

with *Kshatrapa* Rudrasena III appears more plausible. Samudragupta may have killed him in some border skirmish. He did not then annex the kingdom of the Kshatrapas, but the incident may have created an atmosphere of terror in the Kshatrapa dominion.

The subsequent history of the Kshatrapas is not quite clear. Rudrasena III was followed by his sister's son Svāmī Simhasena, and the latter by his son Svāmī Rudrasena IV, but both these had very short reigns. How Svāmī Satyasimha who followed was related to them is not known. Rapson thought that Svāmī Satyasimha was a brother of Simhasena,<sup>1</sup> while Altekar took him to be a brother of Svāmī Rudrasena IV.<sup>2</sup> Which of these is the correct view it is difficult to say.

### Gupta Invasion

The reigns of these three Kshatrapas — Svāmī Simhasena, Svāmī Rudrasena IV and Svāmī Satyasimha — cover a period of only six years (A. D. 382 — 388), which points to an extremely unsettled political condition in their kingdom. This could not have escaped the notice of the ambitious Gupta king Chandragupta II. By that time, Gupta power had extended only up to Vidiśā in Central India. This is shown by the discovery of three image inscriptions and several coins of Rāmagupta, the elder brother of Chandragupta II, at Durjanpur near Vidiśā and the neighbouring territory.<sup>3</sup> Soon after his accession, Chandragupta resolved to imitate his ambitious father Samudragupta and annex the neighbouring dominion of the Western Kshatrapas. In an inscription at Vidiśā, Śāba, his minister, states that he had accompanied King Chandragupta who had come there in the course of his *digvijaya*.<sup>4</sup> The inscription is not dated, but it can be referred to the close of the fourth century A. D. on the evidence of Kshatrapa and Gupta

<sup>1</sup> *BMC (Andhras)*, p. cxlix.

<sup>2</sup> *MSGH*, I, p. 167.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, XXXVIII, pp. 46 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *CIH*, III (old ed.), p. 15.

coins. The last known date of the last Kshatrapa Rudrasimha III is Śaka 310 + x (A. D. 388 + x). The earliest date on the silver coins of Chandragupta II, struck after the annexation of the Kshatrapa dominion, is A. D. 409. The Udayagiri inscription of his feudatory Sanakānika is dated in the Gupta year 82 (A. D. 401). So the date of Chandragupta's annexation of the Kshatrapa kingdom must lie between A. D. 390 and 400. It is commonly supposed to be A. D. 395.

Chandragupta must have sought the military assistance of the contemporary Vākāṭaka king for this expedition against the Kshatrapas. Altekar surmised that Chandragupta had planned to take the help of his son-in-law Vākāṭaka Rudrasena II, but he had to postpone the invasion on account of the latter's premature death.<sup>1</sup> There is absolutely no basis for this conjecture. Chandragupta's Vākāṭaka contemporary was Pṛithivishēṇa whom we have placed in the period A. D. 350—400 on the evidence of statements in Vākāṭaka inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> Chandragupta's invasion of the Kshatrapa territory must have occurred during his reign in *circa* A. D. 395 as stated before. After this victory Chandragupta must have thought of cementing the political alliance with the Vākāṭakas by giving his daughter Prabhāvatiguptā in marriage to the Vākāṭaka Crown-prince Rudrasena II. The wedding must have been celebrated with great eclat at the second Gupta capital Ujjain.<sup>3</sup> On such festive occasion, a new Sanskrit play is generally put on the boards. Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* seems to have been first staged on this occasion as implied in its *prastāvanā*.

With the annexation of the Kshatrapa kingdom, the well-known port of Broach came to be included in the Gupta Empire. It resulted in great expansion of foreign trade. This is also one of the causes of the great prosperity of the Gupta Empire. Ujjain became the second capital of that Empire and gave a fillip to the advancement of

<sup>1</sup> *MSGH*, I, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas* (CH, IV), p. v ff.

<sup>3</sup> See our *Kālidāsa* (English), ch. II.



Sanskrit learning and the spread of Indian culture. From a verse cited by Rājasekhara, we learn that several great Sanskrit authors attained renown after they were examined in the capital of Ujjain.<sup>1</sup>

### (III) The Kshatrapas of Vidarbha

Till 1964, it was not known that Vidarbha also was comprised in the dominion of the Kushāṇas. In December of that year an inscription was discovered at Paunī in the Bhaṇḍārā District of Vidarbha, which testified to the expansion of Kushāṇa power to that country. It was later edited by us in the *Epigraphia Indica*.<sup>2</sup>

The stone on which the record is engraved in the Brāhmī characters and the Prakrit language forms a part of a *chhāyā-khambha* or a sculptured memorial pillar. It is two feet and a half in height. It has the figure of a half lotus at the top and, below two horizontal lines, an inscription stating that it is the sculptured memorial pillar of the *Mahākshatrapa Kumāra* Rupiamma. The stone has, however, no image carved on it. This is also noticed in the case of several memorial pillars found in Saurāshṭra. Perhaps, a *chhāyā-khambha* in course of time signified only 'a memorial pillar'. It is also not unlikely that the upper part of the pillar which is broken away and lost had an image carved on it.

Rupiamma is not an Indian name. So like Nahapāna, Rupiamma probably flourished in an early period; for in later times, these Kshatrapas began to assume Indian names such as Rudradāman, Śrīdharavarman, Satyasīmha etc.

Rupiamma was a *Mahākshatrapa*. He must have extended Kushāṇa power by his valour, and so his suzerain may have invested him with this higher title. He is also called *Kumāra*. This does not, however, imply that he belonged to the royal lineage. *Kumāra* was, in that age, prefixed to the names of high dignitaries, as shown by some inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

<sup>1</sup> *Kāvyaśikṣā* (G. O. S.), p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, XXVII, pp. 201 ff.

The Pauni inscription is not dated, but Rupiamma probably flourished during the time of Kanishka or Huvishka. Pauni was then the capital of Vidarbha. The Sātavāhanas had evidently to retreat from there and move to their new capital of Pratishthāna.

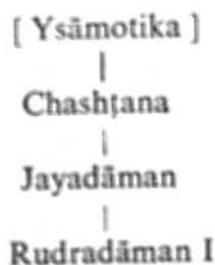
How long this Kshatrapa occupation of Vidarbha lasted is not known. But Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi seems to have captured this province before he marched against the Kshatrapa territory in Western Mahārāshṭra. This is shown by his epithet *Benākajaka-svāmī* in the order which he issued to his *Amātya* at Govardhana soon after his memorable victory over Nahapāna.<sup>1</sup> This epithet was used significantly as shown elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> The last known date of Nahapāna is the year 46, which, as shown elsewhere, is of the Śaka era and corresponds to A. D. 124. Gautamīputra's conquest of Vidarbha may, therefore, be dated in A. D. 125.

### Genealogies

#### (I) The Kshaharāta Kshatrapas—

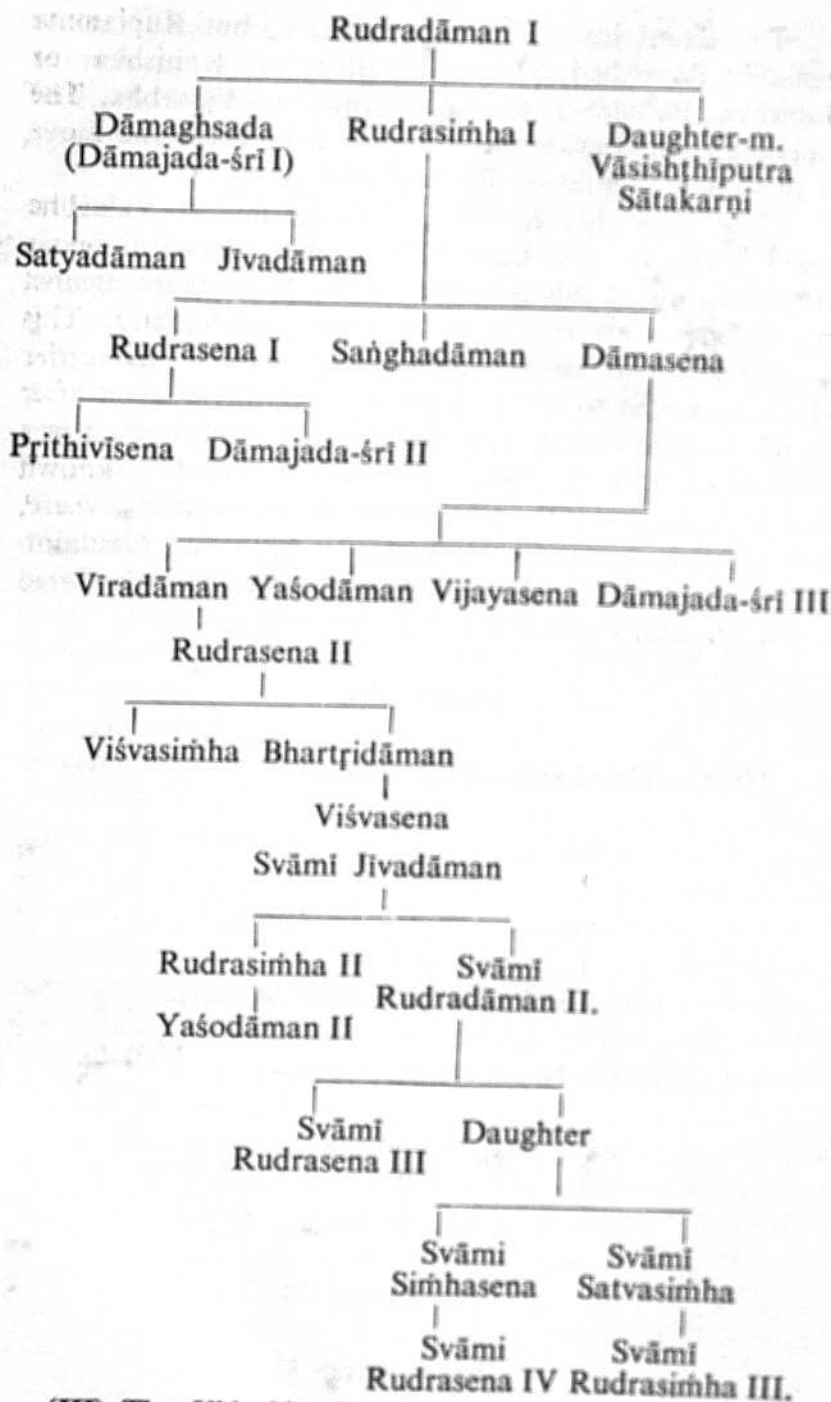


#### (II) The Kārdamaka Kshatrapas—



<sup>1</sup> Inscription No. II.

<sup>2</sup> See art II, p. 23.



(III) The Vidarbha Kshatrapas—  
Rupiamma.

## Appendix I

## The Date of Khāravela

The date of Khāravela, the great king of Kalinga, has become a subject of keen controversy during the last more than a century. His Hāthīgumphā Cave inscription is our only source of information for determining it. It is, however, in a very bad state of preservation. Hence scholars have widely differed from one another in its reading and interpretation. It is proposed to concentrate here on a few passages in it and thereby to fix approximately the date of the king who caused it to be incised.

It is now admitted by all that the inscription contains no date of any era.<sup>1</sup> We have, therefore, to rely mainly on the synchronisms of the rulers mentioned in it to arrive at an approximate date. The following synchronisms require to be considered in this connection : (1) Khāravela and Sātakarṇi, (2) Khāravela and Bahasatimita, and (3) Khāravela and the Yavana (Greek) king Dimita. We shall also have to consider how far the determined approximate date agrees with the statement in line 6 that Khāravela brought into the city from the road to Tanasuliya the canal excavated by King Nanda three centuries (or a hundred and three years) before.

Of the three synchronisms mentioned above, the second, *viz.*, that of Khāravela and Bahasatimita is of utmost importance and would yield a more or less definite result. So we shall consider it first.

## (I) Synchronism of Khāravela and Bahasatimita

Lines 11—14 are as follows :—

बारसमे वसे . . . . सहसेहि वित्तासयति उत्तरापयराजानो . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Bhagvanlal read the year 165 of the Maurya era in line 16. This was opposed by Fleet and Lüders. Jayanval and Banerji at first supported the reading of Bhagvanlal in *JBORS*, Vol. XIII, pp. 425 ff. But later, in their article on the Hāthīgumphā inscription, they have admitted that the record does not contain any date of the era. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 74.

मागधानं च विपुलं भयं जनेतो ह्यसं गंगाय पाययति [ 1\* ] मागधं च राजानं बहुसतिमितं पादे बंदापयति [ 1\* ]

*Uttarāpatha* is evidently used here in the general sense of North India and not in that of the country north of Prithūdaka (Pehoā).<sup>1</sup> Jayaswal's reading *hathi Sugāṅgiyam pāyayati* and its interpretation 'He drives his elephants into the Sugāṅgiya palace' is fantastic, since *pāyayati* cannot denote 'driving.' It is better to read *hathasam Gaṅgāya[m]*.<sup>2</sup> The reading *Bahasatimita* is almost certain and has been accepted by all scholars.

The passage, therefore, means that in his twelfth regnal year Khāravela suddenly terrified the kings of North India (*Uttarāpatha*) and, causing panic among the people of Magadha, made his elephants and horses drink the water of the Gaṅgā, and caused Bahasatimita, the king of Magadha, to bow to his feet.

Who is this Bahasatimita, the king of Magadha? His name in Sanskrit is generally taken to be Bṛihaspatimitra. Jayaswal identified him with Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, on the ground that Bṛihaspati (Jupiter) is the regent of the *nakṣatra* Pushya.<sup>3</sup> This reason is fantastic, and, therefore, has not been generally accepted. There is also no king of this name among the descendants of Aśoka mentioned in the Purāṇas. We know, however, of a king of this name from the Pābhosā (near Kosam) inscription<sup>4</sup> of Āshāḍhasena, who was his maternal uncle. His mother Gopālī was the daughter of the king Tevaṇiputra Bhāgavata of Ahichchhatra (capital of North Pāñchāla). Āshāḍhasena was a feudatory of Ūdāka in whose tenth regnal year the cave was excavated at Pābhosā. This Ūdāka is perhaps identical with king Odraka mentioned in the Purāṇas as the son of the Śuṅga

<sup>1</sup> See *Kāvya-mānāsā* (G. O. S.), 'पुष्यकालपरत उत्तरापथः' । *Kāvya-mānāsā*, p. 94. Prithūdaka is modern Pehoā.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. XX, pp. 80 and 88 n.

<sup>3</sup> *JBORS.*, Vol. III, p. 473.

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 242 f.

king Vasumitra, the grandson of Pushyamitra.<sup>1</sup> Bṛihaspatimitra was himself ruling over the Vatsa country with his capital at Kauśāmbī. It seems, however, that he had extended his rule to Pāṭaliputra soon after the death of Pushyamitra. The coins of some Mitra kings have been found at Pāṭṇā,<sup>2</sup> which show that it had come under their rule after the death of Pushyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty. Bṛihaspatimitra was probably the earliest member of this Mitra family. His kingdom seems to have extended from the country of Vatsa to that of Magadha. He is probably the king of Magadha mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription as the contemporary of Khāravēla.

It seems that the Śuṅgas were ousted from Magadha soon after the death of Pushyamitra. No coins or inscriptions of any successors of Pushyamitra have been found in Magadha. The view generally held by scholars that the Śuṅgas, the Kāṇvas and the Andhras (*i. e.* the Sātavāhanas) ruled successively at Pāṭaliputra has no basis. The centre of Śuṅga power seems to have shifted to Vidiśā after the death of Pushyamitra. It was at Vidiśā that his son Agnimitra was ruling in his time as *Yuvarāja*. He seems to have continued to do so even after his father's death. His descendants also probably ruled from the same city. Hence we find that the Greek king Antialcidas of Takśhaśilā sent his ambassador Heliodorus<sup>3</sup> to the court of Bhāgabhadra not at Pāṭaliputra but at Vidiśā (Besnagar). The Kāṇvas, who succeeded the Śuṅgas, seem to have made the same city of Vidiśā their capital. So we find that when the Andhra (*i. e.* Sātavāhana) king Sātakarṇi invaded their kingdom, and apparently occupied their capital for some time, an inscription of his foreman was engraved on the gateway of a

<sup>1</sup> *DKA*, p. 31, n. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *ASR*, 1912-13, pp. 84 f. Inscriptions of the kings Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra have been found at Bodhi Gayā. See *ARAS*, 1907-08, pp. 40 and 225; and 1908-09 p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> *JBRAS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 104.

Stūpa at Sāñchī.<sup>1</sup> Vidiśā, thereafter, became the capital of the Nāgas as the Purāṇas tell us. It was probably a second capital of the Guptas in the early part of their age, as Ujjayinī became later in the time of Chandragupta II. So Samudragupta, who was probably staying there as *Yuvarāja*, erected a temple of Vishṇu at Airikiṇa (Eraṇ, a few miles to north by east), which he calls *sva-bhoga-nagara-Airikiṇa* (Airikiṇa, a city in his own *bhukti*).<sup>2</sup> Recently, some statues of Jaina Tirthaṅkaras have been discovered at Vidiśā, bearing inscriptions of the reign of Samudragupta's son and successor Rāmagupta.<sup>3</sup> Vidiśā was thus famous as a capital from the second century B. C. to the fourth century A. D. during the time of the Śuṅgas, the Kāṇvas, the Nāgas and the Early Guptas. Hence, it is not surprising that Kālidāsa describes it as 'a capital famous in all quarters.'<sup>4</sup> When Khāravela invaded Magadha, he encountered there not a scion of the Śuṅga family but Bahasatimita who belonged to the Mitra family and had occupied that city after the death of Pushyamitra.

Pushyamitra closed his reign in *circa* 150 B. C. Soon thereafter Bṛihaspatimitra of Kauśāmbī seems to have raided and occupied Pāṭaliputra. The Hāthīgumphā inscription tells us that Khāravela raided it in his twelfth regnal year and made his war elephants and horses drink the water of the Gaṅgā. Next, he made Bṛihaspatimitra, the king of Magadha, bow to his feet and thus acknowledge his suzerainty. If we place the coronation of Khāravela in *circa* 150 B. C. his raid on Magadha may have occurred in 138 B. C. His Hāthīgumphā inscription narrates the events of his reign till the thirteenth year. He may have closed his reign soon thereafter. So he may have flourished in *circa* 150—135 B. C.

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. II, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 18 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 46 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See 'तेषां दिव्यं प्रथितविदिगालक्षणां राजधानीम्' in the *Meṃhālita*, v. 24.

## (II) Synchronism of Khāravēla and Sātakarṇi

Let us next see how far this approximate date of Khāravēla agrees with other synchronisms mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription. Line 4 of the record runs as follows :—

दुतिये च दशे अचितपिता तातकनि पछिमदिसं ह्यगजनरघ-  
बहुलं बहं पठापयति [ १० ] कञ्जुबेणागताय च सेनाय वितासिति असिक-  
नगरं [ १० ]

This passage tells us that in his second regnal year Khāravēla sent his army consisting of horses, elephants, chariots and foot-soldiers to the west, disregarding Sātakarṇi. When his army reached the Kañhabermṇā, he struck terror in (the hearts of the people of) Asikanagara.

Jayaswal and Banerji read *Musika-nagara* and took Kañhabermṇā to be the famous river Kṛishṇā which rises in the Sātārā District and after flowing through Mahārāshṭra, Karnāṭaka and Andhra joins the Bay of Bengal.<sup>1</sup> Dhavalikar has tried to show that *Musika-nagara* is modern Maski, where Aśoka's minor edicts have been discovered.<sup>2</sup> But as Barua has pointed out, the correct reading of the place-name is *Asika-nagara*; for "the right vertical stroke and intervening space between the two arms fulfil all the requirements of the letter *a*." Besides, *Musika-nagara* is nowhere mentioned in early inscriptions, whereas *Asika* (Sanskrit, *Ṛishika*) is noticed in several passages of the Epics and in early inscriptions as shown below.<sup>3</sup> *Asika-nagara* is now generally accepted as the correct reading. Barua, however, suggests that '*Asika* may be just a variant of *Musika*.' This is a gratuitous suggestion. Had *Asika* not occurred anywhere in early records, it may have had some weight. But *Asika* occurs quite clearly in a Nāsik inscription of the same

<sup>1</sup> *IEI*, Vol. XX, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *JASBom*, (New Series), Vol. XXXIII, p. 97 f.

<sup>3</sup> *IBHQ*, Vol. XIV, p. 463, n. 25.



period, viz., in that of Puṣumāvi in the description of the southern countries under the rule of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi.<sup>1</sup> We showed more than forty years ago that Asika (Sanskrit, Ṛishika) is mentioned together with Asaka (Sanskrit, Aśmaka) in ancient literature and inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> In the *Rāmāyaṇa* Ṛishika is coupled with Vidarbha and Māhishaka among the countries of the South which Sugrīva asked the monkeys to visit in search of Sītā.<sup>3</sup> In the *Mahābhārata* also, Ṛishika is grouped with Vidarbha and Western Anūpa.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere, the Epic couples Ṛishika with Aśmaka while mentioning the countries conquered by Karṇa.<sup>5</sup> In the *Daśakumāra-charita* the ruler of Ṛishika is said to have been, like that of Aśmaka, a feudatory of the king of Vidarbha.<sup>6</sup> These references plainly show that Ṛishika was contiguous to Aśmaka, Anūpa and Vidarbha. The only country which answers to this geographical position is modern Khāndesh; for it is bounded on the east by Vidarbha, on the north by the Nemāḍ District of Madhya Pradesh (ancient Anūpa), and on the south by the Aurangābād and Ahmednagar Districts (ancient Mūlaka and Aśmaka).

The passage tells us that Khāravela's army marching westwards reached Kañhabherṇā. This river cannot be identical with the Kṛishṇā rising in the Sātārā District; for it flows south, not west, of the country of Kaliṅga. Altekar, who supplied notes to the article of Jayaswal and Banerji on the Hāthigumphā inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, was hard put to it in explaining how Khāravela's army marching westward could reach the Kṛishṇā. He wrote, "There is no doubt that Khāravela reached the Kṛishṇā somewhere in the long and erratic course of that river. It is

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 60 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *JBORS*, Vol. XXV, pp. 167 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa*, (Nirṇayasāgara ed.), Kishkindhākāṇḍa, XLI, 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Mahābhārata* (Chitradālā Press ed.), Bhīshmaparvan, IX, 64; and Udyogaparvan, IV, 18-19.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Karṇaparvan, VIII, 20.

<sup>6</sup> *Daśakumāracharita*, (Bom. Sanskr. Series ed.), p. 138.

possible that he went westward, because the term *pachhima-disarā* is expressly mentioned. But it is uncertain as to where he reached the Kṛishṇā.<sup>1</sup>

The difficulty in identifying the Kañhaberīṇā flowing west of Kaliṅga is of these scholars' own creation. We identify that river with the Vainagaṅgā (Veṇā) after its confluence with the Kanhān (Kṛishṇā) in the Bhaṅḍārā District of Vidarbha. It was evidently known as the Kṛishṇa-veṇā (Kañha-beṛṇā) in ancient times. As it flows west of Kaliṅga, the description in the Hāthīgumphā inscription suits it very well. When Khāravēla's army reached the Vainagaṅgā, it naturally caused panic in the hearts of the people of Khāndesh which borders Vidarbha on the west.<sup>2</sup>

Besides, the passage says that Khāravēla sent his army to the west, disregarding Sātakarṇi. Vidarbha and Khandesh were then included in the kingdom of the Sātavāhanas (to whose family Sātakarṇi belonged), but Maski near the bank of the Kṛishṇā was not so included in the period referred to. Sātavāhana rule did not extend to Kuntala (in which Maski is included) even in the time of such a late king of the dynasty as Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi as we have shown elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> It was first in the time of his son Puḷumāvi that Kuntala came under the rule of the Sātavāhanas. So the reading *Musika-nagara* is out of the question.

When did this Sātakarṇi who was a contemporary of Khāravēla flourish? Several kings of this name are mentioned in the Purāṇas as belonging to the Andhra (*i. e.* Sātavāhana) dynasty. In fact, *Sātakarṇi* soon became the family name, superseding the earlier *Sātavāhana*. So some kings prefixed their metronymic or personal name to it to distinguish themselves from other Sātakarṇis. Hence we find such names of later kings as Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsishthiputra Sātakarṇi, Chakora Sātakarṇi, Yajña Sātakarṇi etc.

<sup>1</sup> *IEI*, Vol. XX, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *JNSI*, Vol. II, pp. 83 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 205 ff.

Various views have been expressed about the identification of this Sātakarṇi who was a contemporary of Khāravela. Some place him in the beginning of the second century B. C., and others towards the close of the first century B. C. For fixing his date even approximately, we must determine when this family rose to power in the Deccan.

The Purāṇas, at least a majority of them, aver that the Andhras (*i. e.* the Sātavāhanas) ruled for 456 or 460 years.<sup>1</sup> It is known that they disappear from history in *circa* A. D. 230.<sup>2</sup> So they must have risen to power in *circa* 230 B. C. *i. e.* soon after the death of Aśoka, when his vast empire disintegrated. The Purāṇas give thirty as the number of the rulers of this family; but some state the number as eighteen or nineteen. Besides, there are discrepancies in regard to the periods of their rule. It is difficult to resolve this tangle, but it is not unlikely that the family declared its independence soon after the death of Aśoka, *i. e.* in *circa* 230 B. C. Otherwise, if we suppose that this family rose to power in the first century B. C. there would be a blank of more than a century in the history of the Deccan.

The Purāṇas mention Simuka as the first king of this family. However, from some coins recently found in different parts of the Deccan and in excavations, it appears that Sātavāhana was the progenitor who gave his name to the family.<sup>3</sup> In his Nāsik cave inscription Kṛishṇa, the brother and successor of Simuka, describes himself as 'born in the Sātavāhana family.'<sup>4</sup> If he had been a son of Sātavāhana, he would not have referred to himself in this manner. It seems, therefore, that there were at least two members of this family who flourished before the brothers Simuka and Kṛishṇa. Their reign may have covered the period 230 to 200 B. C.

<sup>1</sup> *DKA*, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> As we have shown elsewhere, a Brāhmaṇa family rose to power in *circa* A. D. 230 in Vidarbha. Some other royal families founded kingdoms in other parts of the Deccan in A. D. 250.

<sup>3</sup> *JNSI*, Vol. VII, pp. 1 f.; Vol. XI, pp. 22 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Et.* VIII, p. 93.

Simuka was the real founder of Sātavāhana power. The Nāneghāt inscription describes him as an intrepid warrior who became the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha.<sup>1</sup> The Purāṇas assign a period of twenty-three years to his reign.<sup>2</sup> He was followed by Kṛishṇa, his brother, who succeeded him probably because his son Sātakarṇi I was then a minor. The Purāṇas assign a period of eighteen years to his rule. The total period of the two brothers' rule thus comes to 41 years. If the reign-periods given in the Purāṇas are correct, Sātakarṇi I may have come to the throne in (200 minus 41 =) 159 B. C. He was thus a senior contemporary of Khāravēla.

This Sātakarṇi was a powerful king. He performed several sacrifices including two Aśvamedhas, which testify to his supremacy in the Deccan.<sup>3</sup> He raided North India.<sup>4</sup> That he was ruling in Vidarbha is shown by some of his coins discovered during excavations at Paunī in the Bhaṇḍārā District.<sup>5</sup> This place is situated on the Vaingaṅgā (ancient Kaṅgha-Berṅā), and thus answers to the description in the Hāthīgumphā inscription. Khāravēla is said to have sent his large army westwards 'disregarding Sātakarṇi'. This wording shows that the latter was a powerful contemporary. This description aptly befits Sātakarṇi I, who was the most powerful king of the time.

Khāravēla's army evidently did not score any victory in this campaign. Otherwise, it would have been mentioned explicitly in the Hāthīgumphā inscription. Two years later, he again invaded the Sātavāhana kingdom and made the Raṭhikas and the Bhojakas bow to his feet. The latter were the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas. They are mentioned in the Edicts of Aśoka. The Sātavāhanas are known to have made matrimonial alliances with

<sup>1</sup> See बीरम वृरम अरविदुलचकम इतिनात्यवदिनाः in line 2 of the Nāneghāt inscription of Nāganika *ASWZ*, Vol. V, pp. 60 f.

<sup>2</sup> *DCA*, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> See the Nāneghāt inscription of his queen Nāganikā, Inscription No. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *EE*, Vol. II, p. 88, Inscription No. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *JNSI*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 106 f.

them.<sup>1</sup> Later, they disappear from history. The reference to them in the Hāthīgumphā inscription lends colour to the date 150—135 approximately fixed for Khāravela.

### (III) Synchronism of Khāravela and Demetrius

The third synchronism mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription is that of Khāravela and the Yavana king Dimita. The passage (line 8) runs as follows :—

अठमे च वसे महता च सेनाय . . . . गोरधगिरिं घातापविता  
राजगहं उपपीडयति [ 1\* ] एतिना च कंसपदनेन . . . सेनवाहने त्रिपु-  
चितं मधुरं अपयातो यवनराज [दिमित] . . . [ 1\* ]

This passage states that in the eighth year of his reign, Khāravela sacked Goradhagiri (Barābar Hills) and caused pressure on Rājagriha. Being frightened by the resounding march of his army the Yavana king Dimita fled to Mathurā. The name of this Greek king has not been preserved completely in the inscription, but from the traces left it seems to be Dimita (Demetrius).<sup>2</sup> Does this synchronism agree with the date 150 — 135 B. C. fixed above for Khāravela ?

Demetrius is known to have been a ruler of Bactria. His invasion of India is usually supposed to have occurred during the reign of the last known Maurya king Bṛihadratha. The confusion caused by it is said to be identical with that graphically described in the Yuga-Purāṇa section of the *Gārgī-saṁhitā*. This account says that ' the viciously valiant Greeks had to retreat hastily from Pāṭaliputra on account of a war having broken out amongst them. ' Scholars understand that this refers to the retreat of Demetrius from India on account of the trouble in his home country of Bactria caused by his rival Eucratides. Pushyamitra is said to have taken advantage of the confusion caused by this foreign invasion to usurp power in

<sup>1</sup> Mahārāṭhi Tranakayira, who was probably the father of Queen Nāganikā, is mentioned in a label inscription in the Nāgeghāt cave. *ASWZ*, Vol., V, p. 60 ; Inscription No. 7.

<sup>2</sup> The name is now damaged, but *me* is clear. The reading is accepted by many scholars.

*circa* 184 B. C. Does not this go against the date 150—135 fixed approximately for Khāravēla ?

It does not. The reference to Dimita in the Hāthīgumphā inscription can be taken to refer to Demetrius II, son of Demetrius I. Macdonald has shown that a few tetradrachms and drachms which have a comparatively youthful bust on the obverse and the figure of Pallas Athene standing to front with spear and shield, and the legend *Basileos Demetriou* were probably struck by another Demetrius who was a son of Demetrius I.<sup>1</sup> He may have been ruling somewhere near Mathurā. When he heard reports of Khāravēla's invasion of Rājagriha, he seems to have taken shelter in the fortified city of Mathurā.

This synchronism does not thus conflict with the date 150—135 B. C. fixed for Khāravēla. On the other hand, those who fix the date of Khāravēla in the first century B. C. would find it difficult to explain this mention of a Greek king named Dimita ruling near Mathurā.

So all the three synchronisms agree in placing Khāravēla in the period 150—135 B. C. We have next to see if any other statement in the Hāthīgumphā inscription conflicts with this date.

#### (IV) Reference to a Canal in the Hāthīgumphā Inscription

Line 6 has the following passage<sup>2</sup> :—

पंचमे च दानि वसे नंदराजतिवससत ओषाटितं तनमुलियवाटा  
पणाडि नगरं पवेत्तवति [ 1\* ]

This passage has been interpreted variously. It apparently states that in his fifth regnal year, Khāravēla brought to his capital from the road of Tanasuliya the canal which had been excavated by the Nanda king 103 (or 300) years before.

<sup>1</sup> *CHE*, Vol. I (1935), p. 448.

<sup>2</sup> See *Salust Inscriptions*, Vol. I (1963), p. 216, n. 5.

Shashi Kant, who has recently written on the Hāthīgumphā inscription, takes this passage to mean that the canal had been excavated 103 years after the commencement (in 527 B. C.) of the Mahāvīra era (*i. e.* in 424 B. C.).<sup>1</sup> If this interpretation is accepted, it will have no bearing on the date of Khāravela. But it is pointed out that the era of Mahāvīra is not seen used in ancient Indian Inscriptions.

H. C. Raychaudhuri took the passage to mean that the canal was excavated by a Nanda king three hundred years ago.<sup>2</sup> As he placed the rise of the Nandas in *circa* 345 B. C., he took this passage as supporting his view that Khāravela flourished in the first century B. C. This, however, presents other difficulties as shown above.

The wording of the expression is similar to those recording dates of an era.<sup>3</sup> Hence, some scholars take it to mean that the canal was excavated in the year 103 of the era of the Nanda king. That such an era was current in India is shown by the Yedarave inscription of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI.<sup>4</sup> Alberuni also was told that there was an era current in India which commenced in 458 B. C.<sup>5</sup> This evidently must have been the Nanda era. If this is accepted, the 103rd year of it will fall in 355 B. C. This also does not conflict with the date of Khāravela fixed before. Besides, the Jain tradition is said to be unanimous in placing the Nandas 60 years after Mahāvīra *i. e.* in *circa* 467 B. C., and in assigning them a rule of 155 or 150 years. So the canal could have been dug by a Nanda king in the year 103 of the Nanda era. This interpretation of the passage would, therefore, present no difficulty.

According to some scholars, however, the Nandas rose to power in 364 B. C. We know that they had extended their rule to Kaliṅga, where their era may have

<sup>1</sup> *The Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela* p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *PHAI*, (1950), p. 406.

<sup>3</sup> See *e. g.* the expression गकनुरकानातीतसकनर— which occurs in several inscriptions of the Śilāhāras.

<sup>4</sup> See the Yedarave inscription of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, *Bum. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii (old ed.), p. 437.

<sup>5</sup> Sachau, Vol. II, pp. 4—7.

been current. Otherwise, it would have been difficult to remember an exact date like 103 after the elapse of a century. Even if the expression means that the canal had been excavated in the year 103 of the Nanda era, and the Nandas ruled for about 40 years after 364 B. C. as supposed by these scholars, there would be no difficulty; for the expression does not state who excavated the canal. It may have been excavated by Aśoka in the 103rd year of the Nanda era commencing in 364 B. C. *i. e.* in 261 B. C. We know that the Mauryas constructed such works of public utility even in the outlying provinces of their vast empire.<sup>1</sup> Their construction of the Sudarśana lake near Gīrnār is well known.

But, it may be objected, no such era of any Nanda king is known. In that case, the expression *ti-vasa-sata* will have to be understood in the sense of about three centuries before; for an exact date like 300 years is not likely to have been remembered.<sup>2</sup> It is evidently a round number. If the Nandas rose to power in *circa* 364 B. C. as supposed by some scholars, and if Khāravēla began to reign in 150 B. C. as we have stated, the rise of the Nandas falls in the third century before the date of the Hāthīgumphā inscription. And this is what is stated in the expression under discussion.

Whatever interpretation of the expression we may adopt, it does not conflict in any way with the date 150—135 B. C. which we have fixed approximately for Khāravēla.

<sup>1</sup> *EEI*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The expression *ti-vasa-sata* is not to be interpreted quite literally; for the Canal was not brought into the Capital of Khāravēla by way of the ter-centenary celebration of the date of the original excavation! What was probably meant was that more than two hundred years had elapsed since its original excavation and the third century was running.



## APPENDIX II

### The Date of Nahapāna

The date of Nahapāna, who ruled over Northern Mahārāshtra, Koṅkaṇ, Gujarāt, Mālwā and Central and Southern Rājputāna, has been a subject of keen controversy for a long time. Rapson referred the dates 41, 42, 45 and 46 mentioned in his inscriptions to the Śaka era and thus placed him in the first quarter of the second century A. D. After the discovery of the Andhau inscriptions<sup>1</sup> dated in the (Śaka) year 52, this date was challenged by some scholars who pointed out that if the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapāna are referred to the Śaka era, the following events will have to be crowded in the short period of 6 years (46 to 52) :—(1) the end of Nahapāna's reign ; (2) the final destruction of the Kshaharātas ; (3) the accession and rule of Chashṭana as *Mahākshatrapa* ; (4) the accession and reign of his son Jayadāman as *Kshatrapa* and (5) the accession and reign of Rudradāman. They, therefore, referred the dates of Nahapāna to the so-called Vikrama era commencing in 58 B. C. But the main objection to this theory is that we have no other dates of that era from Mahārāshtra, Koṅkaṇ and Gujarāt in that or the succeeding period. The objection pointed out above to the view of Rapson has also not much weight ; for Chashṭana may well have come to the throne immediately after the Śaka year 46, his reign as Kshatrapa may have been a very short one and he may soon have attained the position of Mahākshatrapa. Again, his son Jayadāman may have been associated with him as Kshatrapa and may have predeceased him. Finally, Rudradāman, whose name is associated with that of Chashṭana in the Andhau inscriptions may have been ruling with the latter as a junior member of the family. Besides, the Andhau inscriptions show only that Kachchha was then (*i. e.* in Śaka 52) under the rule of Chashṭana and Rudradāman ; it does not prove that they had yet succeeded in wresting other

<sup>1</sup> *Et.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 23 f. See Inscriptions Nos. 46—49.

territories from the Sātavāhanas. That was done later by Rudradāman before the Śaka year 72 (150 A. D.). He then assumed the higher title *Mahākshatrapa*.<sup>1</sup> So Rapson's theory has many supporters.

Recently, however, that theory has been challenged on other grounds. In a closely reasoned article read before the Nāgpur session of the Indian History Congress in 1950, A. S. Altekar proposed to take the years of Nahapāna's inscriptions as regnal.<sup>2</sup> He placed Nahapāna in the period from c. A. D. 55 to A. D. 105 and supported this view on the following grounds :—

(1) In Nāsik inscription No. 38, there is a reference both to the silver Kārshāpaṇas and gold Suvarṇas. Gold coins were first issued in India by Wema Kadphises. So we cannot place Nahapāna in the first century B. C. by referring his dates to the Vikrama era. If he flourished in the period A. D. 55 to A. D. 105, the reference to gold coins can easily be explained.

(2) The *Periplus* states that Ariake (Aparānta) belonged to the kingdom of Nambānus, whose capital was Minnagar. Nambānus is generally identified with Nahapāna. The *Periplus* was written in the second half of the first century A. D. This evidence corroborates the date proposed above for Nahapāna.

(3) Bhūmaka and Nahapāna issued coins with the device of thunderbolt and arrow, which was evidently suggested by the motif of Arrow, Discus and Bow on the joint coinage of Spalirises and Azes II, who ruled before them by a short period of about 25 years.

(4) Ptolemy (A. D. 140) mentions Polemaios of the Deccan and Tiastenes of Ujjain as contemporaries. They are evidently identical with the Sātavāhana king Vāsishṭhi-putra Puḷumāvi and the Śaka Satrap Chasṭana respectively. We know that Chasṭana was ruling in Śaka 52 (A. D. 130). If Nahapāna ruled in the period A. D. 55—105, Puḷumāvi, son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who exterminated Nahapāna, could well have been reigning in A. D. 140; for

<sup>1</sup> *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 276.

<sup>2</sup> *PHC.*, XIII, p. 35 ff.

Gautamīputra is known to have reigned for at least 6 years after his victory over Nahapāna (in c. A. D. 105) and Puṣumāvi reigned thereafter for at least 24 years as known from his inscriptions, if not 28 years as stated in the Purāṇas.

(5) The statement in the Girnār inscription that Rudradāman defeated one Sātakarṇi twice, but had spared his life as he was not distantly related to him, suits this theory as the defeated king may have been Śivaskanda (the successor of Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, the son-in-law of Rudradāman), who ruled from A. D. 145 to A. D. 152. He may have been a son of Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi from a queen other than Rudradāman's daughter. So he is described in the Girnār inscription as not distantly related to him.

The problem of Nahapāna's date is thus still unsolved. We propose to tackle it from an altogether different point of view, viz., from the manner of dating in the inscriptions of Nahapāna.

It is well known that the mode of dating adopted in the most ancient records of India is that by citing regnal years. The dates are not referred to any era, because no eras were current in the earliest times. These regnal dates are cited in one of the following ways :—

(I) **Regnal dates** :—(A) The date is cited in combination with the royal name with or without the addition of a word like *vaijayika* in the beginning of the record. See e. g. the following dates :—

(1) Nāsik inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi (*EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 60 ff.) (No. 18) — Raño Vāsishṭhīputasa śiri-Puṣumāvisa savachhare ekunavise 10 (+\*)9.

(2) Aḍoṇi inscription of Puṣumāvi (III) (*EI*, XIV, pp. 155 ff.) (No. 34) — Raño Sātavāhanānam siri-Puṣumāvisa sava 8, Hema 2, diva 1.

(3) Kānākhedā stone inscription of Śrīdharavarman (*CII*, IV, pp. 13 f.) — Śaka-Nanda-putreṇa Mahādaṇḍanāyakena Śakena Śrīdharavarmanā ..... vaijayike samvatsare trayodaśame Śrāvaṇa-bahulasya daśamipūrvakam.

## OR

(B) The date is given at the end without the mention of the royal name since it has occurred before—See *e.g.* the following dates :—

(1) Nāsik Cave inscription of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (*EI*, VIII, pp. 71 ff.) (No. 11)—Line 6—Savachhare 10 (+•) 8, Vāsa-pakhe 2, divase 1.

(2) Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II (*EI*, XXVI, pp. 137 ff.). Line 28—Savachharam 30 (+•) 7 Hemantapakham padhamam divasa 4.

(3) Mayidavolu plates of Śivaskandavarman (*EI*, VI, pp. 86 ff.) Lines 25 26—Samvachharam dasaram 10 gimhā-pakho chhaṭho 6, divasam pañchami 5.

(II) Dates recorded in an era—When a date refers to any era, specified or unspecified, it is recorded in one of the following ways :—

(A) It is cited just in the beginning as in most of the later records. See *e.g.* the following dates :—

(1) Taxilā copper-plate inscription of Fātika (*CII*, II, i. p. 28)—Line 1—Samvatsaraye aṭhasatitamae 20 (+•) 20(+•) 20(+•) 10(+•) 4(+•) 4.

(2) Panjatār stone inscription of a Kushāṇa King (*CII*, II, i. p. 70)—Line 1—Sam 1 (x) 100(+•) 20(+•) 1(+•) 1 Śravaṇasa masasa di praḥhara 1.

(3) Mathurā stone inscription of Huvishka (*EI*, XXI, pp. 60 ff.)—Line 1—Samvatsare 20(+•) 8 Gurppiye divase 1.

## OR

(B) The date is mentioned in combination with the name of reigning king. See *e.g.* the following :—

(1) Andhau inscription of Chashṭana and Rudradāman (*EI*, XVI, pp. 23 ff.), (No. 46)—Line 1—Rājno Chashṭanasa Ysāmotika-putrasa rājno Rudradāmasa Jayadāma-putrasa varshe dvi-panchāśe 50(+•) 2 Phāgunabahulasa dvitiya-vā 2.

(2) Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Rudradāman I (*EI*, VIII, pp. 42 f.), (No. 51)—Line 4—Rudradāman varshe dvisaptatitame 70(+\*)2, Mārgaśīrsha-bahula-pratipadi.

Let us next see how the dates of Nahapāna are cited—

(A) Just in the beginning of the record without the royal name being combined with it. See the Nāsik Cave inscription (*EI*, VIII, pp. 82 ff.) (No. 38)—Line 1—Vase 40(+\*) 2 Vesākha-māse.

(B) In the middle of the record as required by the occasion (*loc. cit.*) Line 4—Bhūyo nena datam vase 40(+\*)1, Kātika sudhe panarasa puvāka vase 40(+\*)5.

(C) At the end of the record—See the Junnar Cave inscription of Nahapāna—*ASWI*, IV, p. 103 (No. 44)—Line 3—Vase 40(+\*)6.

Now, of these, the second and third modes of dating are not distinctive, but the first undoubtedly is; for we do not usually find regnal dates cited in this manner, *viz.*, in the very beginning of a record without being combined with the name of the reigning king. This is, therefore, a sure indication that the date 42 cited just in the beginning of the Nāsik cave inscription of Nahapāna is not a regnal year, but is the year of some era. That era can only be the so-called Śaka era, founded by Kanishka.

Another sure indication is the use of the word *varsha* in citing the date. As already pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn in another connection, the early years of the Śaka era in Mahārāshṭra, Gujarāt and Koṅkaṇ are signified by the use of the word *varsha*.<sup>1</sup> Regnal dates, on the other hand, are denoted by *saṁvatsara*. See the dates of Gautamiputra and Puṣumāvi cited above.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "In fact the way in which the word *varsha* is used both in the dates of the Western Kshatrapas and in the Śaka dates universally so called, tends, in my opinion, to support the view of those scholars who have assigned the former to the Śaka era on historical grounds and leads me to consider my list of dates as a continuation of the series of dates, from the year 41 to the year 110, which are furnished by the inscriptions and coins of the Western Kshatrapas." Kielhorn in *IA*, XXV, p. 153.

The dates cited in the inscriptions of Nahapāna, *viz.*, 41, 42, 45 and 46, are, therefore, of the Śaka era, and correspond to 119-20, A. D. 120-21, 123-24 and 124-25 respectively.

Besides, this view affords an explanation for the spread of the Śaka era in South India. If Nahapāna used the Śaka era in dating his records, his descendants, who later founded a kingdom in the southern portion of the Hyderābād State, must have also done the same. As we have shown elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> some members of the Kshaharāta family escaped to the south after Gautamiputra's conquest of Northern Mahārāshtra where they founded a kingdom, at first feudatory to the Sātavāhanas, but later quite independent of them. The Śaka king Māna, who flourished in the middle of the second century A. D., was a distinguished member of it. He is mentioned in the Purāṇas as the ruler of the Mahishas or of the Māhishaka country. His connection with the Kshaharāta family is shown by the device of 'thunderbolt and arrow' which appears on his coins almost invariably as it does on those of Bhūmaka and Nahapāna. No records of his time except his coins have been found so far, but we have no doubt that if the southern parts of the former Hyderābād State and the adjoining Kannaḍa territory are thoroughly explored, we may come across early records dated in the Śaka era. The era was evidently used in this area for a long time and the people had become accustomed to it. So it was adopted by the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi, who rose in to power that part of the country in the sixth century A. D.

We shall next consider the objections raised against this view, *viz.*, that the dates in the records of Nahapāna refer to the Śaka era.

(1) This view leaves little time for the events that occurred after the overthrow of Nahapāna and before the joint rule of Chashṭana and Rudradāman.

<sup>1</sup> Mirambé, *Studies in Indology*, II, pp. 93 ff.

This objection has already been answered above.

(2) According to this view, Nahapāna was overthrown some time later than A. D. 124. Even if we suppose that he was exterminated in that very year, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi ruled thereafter for at least six years *i. e.* till A. D. 130 at least. Puṣumāvi is known to have ruled for at least 24 years *i. e.* till A. D. 154 at least. We notice that Rudradāman had won back Aparānta, Surāshṭra, Anūpa and Ākarāvanti from the Sātavāhanas before 150 A. D. as is clear from the Junāgaḍh inscription of that date, but it appears from the Nāsik cave inscription of the 19th regnal year of Puṣumāvi (which must be later than 149 A. D. at least) that these countries were included in the dominion of Puṣumāvi. Altekar says, " It is difficult to imagine that Balasiri would have thought of giving a glorious account of her son's conquests in A. D. 149 or 150, if they had all evaporated into air by that time. There are no indications whatsoever to suggest that Vāsisthīputra Puṣumāvi suffered any defeat in his reign. It is further noteworthy that Rudradāman gives the name of the Deccan ruler overthrown by him as Sātakarṇi and as a not distant relative of his. There is no evidence to show that Puṣumāvi had any relationship with Rudradāman. If we place the overthrow of Nahapāna in A. D. 124, it is difficult to understand how Rudradāman could have defeated a Sātakarṇi before 150 A. D. Surely that Sātakarṇi could not have been the great Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. "

These are indeed weightly objections, but they are not unanswerable. In the first place, it is not correct to say that Puṣumāvi is not known to have suffered any defeat ; for in that case, it would be difficult to account for the statement of Ptolemy (A. D. 140) that Chashṭana was ruling at Ujjain and Puṣumāvi at Paiṭhaṇ. We know from the inscription of Bala-siri that her son Gautamīputra had conquered Surāshṭra, Kukura, Anūpa and Ākarāvanti. These countries must have been wrested by Chashṭana from the Sātavāhanas before A. D. 140., if he actually ruled from Ujjaini ; for the latter town is situated in Ākarāvanti. If Gautamīputra was not the adversary of Chashṭana,

it must have been Puḷumāvi. So the defeat must have occurred before A. D. 140. Perhaps, Puḷumāvi sustained another defeat at the hands of Rudradāman when the latter wrested Aparānta from him some time before A. D. 150. Before this event his daughter had been married to Puḷumāvi's brother Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇi. So Rudradāman contented himself with only wresting some territory from Puḷumāvi, but did not exterminate him as Gautamīputra had done in the case of Nahapāna.

Still, the question remains, 'How is it that Rudradāman is said to have twice defeated a Śātakarṇi, who was the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, but refrained from destroying him completely as he was a not distant relative of his? It could not be his own son-in-law Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇi; for the latter ascended the throne sometime after A. D. 154 at least. It seems that Puḷumāvi himself is here intended to be referred to as Śātakarṇi. Śātakarṇi had become a family name in that age. We have several names of Sātavāhana rulers ending in *Śātakarṇi* such as Mṛigendra Śātakarṇi, Kuntala Śātakarṇi, Sundara Śātakarṇi, Chakora Śātakarṇi, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇi, Yajña Śātakarṇi, Chanda (or Chaṇḍa) Śātakarṇi, Karṇa Śātakarṇi, Kauśikīputra Śātakarṇi *etc.* So to outsiders the family must have become known as Śātakarṇi. Hence, it should not be a matter for surprise that in the Junāgaḍh inscription Puḷumāvi is referred to as *Śātakarṇi*.

Besides, there are some weighty objections against Altekar's view that the dates of the inscriptions of Nahapāna are regnal years, Nahapāna was evidently subordinate to some imperial power. He is not known to have ruled anywhere except in Mahārāshṭra, Gujarāt, Koṅkaṇ and Central India. So we shall have to suppose that he ruled for at least 46 years in this part of the country. If he had such a long reign, it is surprising that no records of his reign dated earlier than the regnal year 41 should have been found anywhere in this extensive territory.

Nahapāna was preceded by Bhūmaka, who also must have ruled for some period, say ten years at least. This means that Bhūmaka and Nahapāna together ruled



for about 60 years before A. D. 105, which is taken by Altekar as the end of Nahapāna's reign. We shall, therefore, have to suppose that Bhūmaka was appointed to govern Gujarāt, Mahārāshṭra *etc.* by one of the Kadphises kings, probably by Kujūla Kadphises, who was an octogenarian. But have we so far come across any evidence that the Kadphises kings had extended their rule so far to the south ? It seems that it was in the time of Kanishka and his successors that Kushāṇa power spread to these parts of the country.

As stated above, no regnal dates of Nahapāna earlier than these doubtful ones have been found. A reign of 46 years is rather unusual, if not impossible. So it seems probable that, the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapāna are recorded in the Śaka era of A. D. 78.

## APPENDIX III

## The Founder of the Śaka Era

All scholars are agreed that the dates cited in the inscriptions and on the coins of Chashtana and his descendants are recorded in the Śaka era, but there is a great divergence of views among them as to who founded that era. There are four principal views on this question, *viz.*, that it was founded by (1) Vonones, (2) Nahapāna, (3) Chashtana and (4) Kanishka. We propose to discuss the question here.

## The First View — Vonones was the Founder

Bhagvanlal was the first scholar who propounded the view that Vonones started this era,<sup>1</sup> and though he later gave it up, it was adopted by D. R. Bhandarkar.<sup>2</sup> The only evidence on which it is based is that the era is known by the name of Śaka, and at the time when it commenced, the Śaka (Scythian) king Vonones was ruling in India. But this evidence has no weight. Like several other reckonings, this one too is not mentioned by any name in its early dates. Besides, Vonones himself was not a Scythian, but a Parthian. But the most potent objection to this view is that his rule did not extend to Gujarāt, Kāthiāwāḍ and Mālwa where the early epigraphs of the era have been found.

## The Second View — Nahapāna was the Founder

This view also is equally baseless. Nahapāna is an Iranian name. His son-in-law Rishabhadatta indeed calls himself Śaka (Scythian) in his inscription No. 40, and there was racial intermixture in those days. But even supposing that Nahapāna also was a Śaka, he is not likely to have started this era as he was only a *Kshatrpa* or

<sup>1</sup> *Bom. Gaz.* XIV, p. 617.

<sup>2</sup> *JBBRAS*, XX (1902), pp. 283 ff.

Provincial Governor. Besides, an era becomes current in a country only when it is continuously used there for a long time. Nahapāna's family was totally exterminated by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi as explicitly stated in inscription No. 18. There is no evidence to suppose that Chashṭana and his successors were related to him. Though we have proved elsewhere that the dates in the inscriptions of his reign are recorded in the Śaka era,<sup>1</sup> he could not have been the founder of it.

### The Third View — Chashṭana was the Founder

This view was first advocated by Cunningham.<sup>2</sup> He placed Nahapāna in *circa* 50 B. C. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi exterminated not him but one of his descendants. That Sātakarṇi and Chashṭana were contemporaries. Hence, Chashṭana seems to have started the Śaka era in A. D. 78.

This view also is untenable. It is now agreed that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi overthrew Nahapāna himself, not one of his successors. So Cunningham's view is inadmissible.

Later on, Jouveau Dubreuil vigorously supported this view.<sup>3</sup> According to him, Nahapāna flourished in the beginning of the Christian era. The dates in his inscriptions are not recorded in the Śaka era. Those in the inscriptions and on the coins of Chashṭana's successors, however, are of that era. The era is not used in any other early inscriptions. It must have been started by the progenitor of only that family in whose records it is found used. Consequently, it must have been commenced by Chashṭana.

This argument also is unconvincing. Chashṭana was only a *Kshatrpa* or Provincial Governor. He could not have founded an era of his own. Like other feudatories and governors, he must have used in his records the era of his Suzerain. We have shown elsewhere that his compeer

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II.

<sup>2</sup> *Num. Chron.* (1874), XIV (N. S.), p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 26 ff.

*Kshatrapa* Nahapāna has used the same era in his records. Chashṭana was not his overlord. So he could not have been the founder of the era which is found used in the epigraphs of both.

Recently Rasesh Jamindar has supported this view on the following grounds<sup>1</sup> :—

(1) Chashṭana and his successors were Śakas or Scythians. This era also is known by the name of *Śaka*.

(2) These Western Kshatrapas were politically independent. They were not feudatories of the Kushānas. They must have had an era of their own.

(3) Had the successors of Chashṭana been subordinate to the Kushānas, they would have imitated their coinage. They do not do so. Why should they have adopted their era ?

(4) Chashṭana recovered his territory previously conquered by Gautamiṃputra Sātakarṇi. He must have started the Śaka era in commemoration of this victory.

(5) Recently, an early date of this era — the year 11 — has come to notice in a record of Chashṭana. It has corroborated the view that he was its founder.

These arguments are not irrefutable. They are open to the following objections :—(1) The name Śaka Saṃvat of this era is not noticed in its early dates. In fact, the name of no era occurs in its early dates. It is noticed after it has been current for centuries. The name of the Gupta Saṃvat is noticed first in the Junāgaḍh inscription dated in its 137th year.<sup>2</sup> The name of the Ābhira Saṃvat commencing in A. D. 250 has not been noticed in any epigraph so far.<sup>3</sup> After the lapse of several centuries it came to be known as the Kalachuri Saṃvat because it was used by the Kalachuris, and as Chedi Saṃvat, because it was current in the Chedi country. Similarly, the era of A. D. 78 got the name of the Śaka Saṃvat

<sup>1</sup> See his article in the *Sambodhi*.

<sup>2</sup> *CI*, III (best ed.), p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, IV, pp. 447 and 519.

because it had long been used by the Śaka Kshatrapas of Mālwā and Kāṭhiāwāḍ.

(2) Chasṭana was only a Provincial Governor. Though his successors became politically independent, they did not give up their previous subordinate title of *Kshatrapa*. Several instances of this type can be cited from the ancient history of India. Pushyamitra Śuṅga did not discard his previous title of *Senāpati* even after he became king and performed two *Aśvamedha* sacrifices.<sup>1</sup> So though these Kshatrapas became independent in later times, they were originally subordinate to contemporary Kushāṇa Emperors, and, therefore, could not have started any era indicative of independent status.

Chasṭana and his successors did not imitate the coins of their Kushāṇa overlords, because their subjects had become accustomed to other coins, *viz.*, those of the Greek kings Apollodotus and Menander which had been current in their country for considerable time.<sup>2</sup> Hence they imitated the latter type of coins. The same is noticed in several cases in ancient Indian numismatics. When the Guptas conquered the countries of Mālwā and Kāṭhiāwāḍ, they issued silver coins like those of their predecessors, the Western Kshatrapas.

(3) Every conqueror does not necessarily start an era in commemoration of a memorable victory. There is no evidence that Chasṭana did so.

(4) Early inscriptions of Chasṭana dated in the years 6 and 11 have indeed been found recently. But they only show that he was ruling over Kachchha and Kāṭhiāwāḍ from those early years of the Śaka era. They do not evidence that he was its founder. Besides, we must remember that the Śaka era was then in use in another part of the Kushāṇa Empire, *viz.*, in Western Mahārāshṭra. There is no evidence that Nahapāna who was ruling there was subordinate to Chasṭana.

For these reasons Chasṭana could not have been the founder of the Śaka era.

<sup>1</sup>See Dhanadeva's inscription, *EI.*, XX, pp. 57 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 31.

### The Fourth View—Kanishka was the Founder of the Saka Era

This view is now accepted by most scholars. It was first put forwarded by Fergusson.<sup>1</sup> He tried to prove it on the evidence of the coins of Kanishka found mixed with those of some Roman Emperors in the Māṇikiyāla Stūpa. Oldenberg supported the view by reading Śaka on some coins of Kanishka.<sup>2</sup> Though Cunningham showed that the reading was incorrect,<sup>3</sup> Fergusson's view is not disproved thereby ; for the real reason why this era became known as Śaka is not that it was started by a Śaka king, but that it was used by the Śaka Kshatrapas of Mālwa and Kāthiāwād for a long time.

Kanishka's empire extended over a large territory. That it comprised Panjāb, Uttara Pradesh, Bihār and Madhya Pradesh is well known.<sup>4</sup> From recent researches, it appears to have extended also to Vidarbha and South Kosala (Chhattisgaḍh).<sup>5</sup> He must have appointed several Kshatrapas to govern these outlying provinces of his vast empire. Chashṭana, Bhūmaka and Nahapāna were his Kshatrapas. Recently, a *chhāyā-khambha* (sculptured memorial pillar) of *Mahākshatrapa* Rupiamma has come to notice in Vidarbha.<sup>6</sup> He must likewise have been a Governor of the Kushāṇas. That Kanishka started an era which was continued by his successors like Huvishka, Vāsudeva and others is not disputed. Chashṭana, Bhūmaka, Nahapāna, Rupiamma and other Governors appointed by him must have evidently used that era in their records. The era came to be known as the Śaka Saṁvat as it was used by the Śaka Kshatrapas of Mālwa and Kāthiāwād for several centuries.

**Kanishka is thus the real founder of the Śaka Saṁvat.**

<sup>1</sup> *JRAS* (N. S.), XII, pp. 264 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *IA* (1881), pp. 213 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Nam. Chron.* 1890, pp. 111 ff.

<sup>4</sup> His inscriptions have been found in these provinces.

<sup>5</sup> *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 1-5.

<sup>6</sup> See Inscription No. 62.

## APPENDIX IV

## The Queen's Cave at Nāsik

Cave III at Nāsik is known as 'Gautamīputra Cave' as it was excavated by that Sātavāhana king for Buddhist monks ; but its real name which was current in ancient times was the *Devī-leṇa*, 'the Queen's Cave', as it had been excavated by that king in the name of his mother Gautamī Bala-śrī. This name occurs in Inscription No. 19, line 3, in that Cave.

As many as five inscriptions—two of Gautamīputra and three of his son and successor Puṣumāvi—are incised in this Cave. We have given elsewhere the historical information contained in them. We have now to see what further information we can gather from the panels carved on both the sides of its doorway. This doorway of the main hall is thus described in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (Nāsik District)<sup>1</sup> :—

"The hall has a large main doorway 5' 10" broad and 9' 10" high in the middle, and a side door to the right 3' 7" broad and 7' 8" high. On either side of the main doorway is a window, the right window 6' 5" broad and 3' 6" high, and the left window 6' broad and 3' 6" high. Both the doorways have grooves for a wooden framework. The main doorway is beautifully decorated with an ornamental gate-way or *torāṇa* of nineteen panels, each about a foot square, seven of them over the doorway and six on the face of each door-post. Of the seven panels over the doorway, the middle panel has a relic shrine in half relief with umbrella, and two male figures standing on either side of it. On each side of the central panel are three panels. On the first of these to the left is the pīpal or the Bodhi tree. In the corresponding panel to the right is the Buddhist wheel on a shaft. In the second panel on the left a standing Buddhist monk salutes with his hands joined on his breast. In the corresponding

<sup>1</sup> *B.G.* (first ed.), XVI Nāsik District), pp. 545 ff.

panel to the right is a male figure with a monk-like shoulder-cloth but with a turban instead of a monk's bald head. In the third panel on either side is a male figure with a turban, with hands folded on the breast.

In the lowest of the six panels on each side of the door is an ugly dwarf-like male figure. The upper five panels on each side appear to tell two stories, each of which seems to begin from the lowest panel. In the lowest panel on the left stand a man and a woman, the man holding the woman's left hand in his. In the second panel the same man and woman stand with their arms round each other's necks. In the third panel is a woman dressed like a nun, but that she is not a nun appears from her anklets and her coiled hair ; near her is a man entreating or coaxing her. In the fourth panel the man of the third panel carries off a woman dressed like the woman in the second panel, who clings to the nun-like figure with her arms round her neck. The fifth panel shows that the woman who was being carried off has been rescued by the man in the second panel. The story seems to be of a married pair who were living affectionately with one another (the first panel showing their marriage and the second their affection), when a nun acting as a go-between persuades the wife to visit an ascetic in the forest. He tries to carry her off by force, and while she struggles, her husband rescues her and takes her home.

In the lowest of the five right-hand panels a woman with a jaunty head-dress leans her left hand on a tree and feeds a swan with her right. In the second panel a man winds his left arm round the same woman's neck and raises his right hand to her face imploring her to speak ; below a boy holds her foot and she rests her left hand on his head. The third panel shows the same man and woman with their arms round each other's necks and the small boy sitting looking on with folded arms. In the fourth panel the woman sits under a tree with her arms thrown round the boy's neck ; the man drags her by the hand ; but she does not look at him. In the fifth panel, the man carries off the woman by force.



The story seems to be of a man married to a gay wife who loved a servant. She elopes with the servant to a forest where her husband finds her, and failing to persuade her to come, carries her home by force. The first panel shows three marks of the woman's coquetry, her jaunty head-dress, her vain attitude leaning against a tree, and her feeding a swan. In the second panel her hand is laid on the servant's head to show that she loves him. The servant's arms are folded in the third panel to show that he conceals the intrigue with his mistress. The tree in the next panel shows that the scene is in a forest to which the lady has eloped with the servant. In the next her love for the servant is shown by her throwing her arms round his neck, and in the last her downcast hand and averted face show how unwilling she is to go home with her husband.

The two stories illustrate the chaste and the unchaste wife. The chaste wife, in spite of persuasion and force, remains true to her husband and is rescued by him. The unchaste wife, though married to an affectionate husband, elopes with a menial and has to be dragged from him by force."

The panels in the present cave have been well described in the extract given above, but their interpretation is all wrong. As the cave is of the Hinayāna Sect, the presence of the Buddha is suggested not by his image but by the *Stūpa*, the Bodhi Tree and the *Dharmachakra* on the architrave. The male figures on the two sides of the *Stūpa* are of course the *upāsakas*. The figure clad like a monk on the left is probably the Mahā-svāmika or the Chief Monk in charge of the Cave. The three other figures, one on the left and two on the right, who wear turbans probably represent royal personages who, as shown below, are also referred to in the panels on the door-posts. They seem to be Śiva-Svāti, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Puḷu-māvi.

The mode of narrating incidents of abduction by means of sculptured panels or terracotta figures is very old. They are scattered over a wide country, but they are not all of the same type. Each has to be interpreted

in its own context. For instance, the panel in the Udayagiri cave has been interpreted by Fergusson and Burgess as suggesting the invasion of Laṅkā. Another found at Kauśāmbī shows a Rākshasa running away, holding a woman who has raised her arms in alarm, with some of her ornaments like anklets and beaded chains falling down. The subject of this plaque seems to be the abduction of Sitā by Rāvaṇa. A coping fragment from Amarāvati depicts a scene in which some gods are carrying away by force a protesting heavenly nymph (*apsaras*) for presentation to Śakra. Thus various scenes of abduction of women are portrayed in sculptured panels.

The Editors of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Nāsik District, have interpreted the panels on the door-posts as depicting the abduction of a chaste and an unchaste woman. But why such scenes should be sculptured on the door-posts of a Vihāra cave passes our comprehension. We would prefer to interpret them as suggesting historical events of the age.

**Panels on the left door-post.**—The lowest panels on the right and left sides show a Yaksha bearing the burden of the upper panels as in those of many other doorways. The second and third panels above it show Śiva-Svāti enjoying the company of the Rāja-lakshmi. The fourth panel shows Nahapāna coaxing her, and the fifth abducting her by force. The sixth or the topmost panel on the left depicts Gautamiputra defeating Nahapāna and rescuing Rāja-lakshmi. That the two male figures in the fifth and the sixth panel represent different persons, *viz.*, Nahapāna and Gautamiputra, is clear from their hair styles.

**Panels on the right door-post.**—The same narrative is carried further in the panels on the right door-post. The second and third panels show that Rāja-lakshmi was living happily with Gautamiputra. She is proverbially known to be fickle. This is suggested by her jaunty head-dress. The boy shown sitting near her is the prince Puṣumāvi. As he was the heir apparent, Rāja-lakshmi has placed her hand on his head. The fifth panel on this right side has not been correctly described in the *Gazetteer*. It probably

shows Rudradāman trying to abduct Rāja-lakshmi. We have shown elsewhere how after the death of Gautamīputra, Rudradāman (and Chasṭana) wrested some northern provinces from the Sātavāhanas. The topmost panel on this side shows Puṣumāvi rescuing Rāja-lakshmi from the clutches of the enemy.

We have shown elsewhere that the excavation of Cave No. III commenced during the time of Gautamīputra, but it was not finished even till the 19th regnal year of Puṣumāvi. In that year, the latter made the further donation of a village for the embellishment of the Cave. It was for the carving of these panels illustrating the historical events in the reigns of the three Sātavāhana rulers, viz., Śiva-Svāti, Gautamīputra and Puṣumāvi. These panels are thus of great historical importance.



## CHAPTER II

### Administration

The country normally under the rule of the Sātavāhanas was known as Dakṣiṇāpatha which comprised the territory south of the Narmadā, while that under the Western Kshatrapas comprised Saurāshṭra, Mālwā and Gujarāt. Yaśodhara, the commentator of the *Kāmasūtra*, defines Dakṣiṇāpatha as 'the country south of the Narmadā',<sup>1</sup> while Rājaśekhara says that it lay beyond Māhishmatī, modern Maheśvar, and comprised the countries of Mahārāshṭra, Māhishaka, Vidarbha, Kuntala, Koṅkaṇa, Kāñchī, Kerala, Chola, Pāṇḍya, Pallava *etc.*<sup>2</sup> The title of the *Dakṣiṇāpatha-pati* which the early Sātavāhana king Simuka assumed was not in this comprehensive sense of Dakṣiṇāpatha.<sup>3</sup> His dominion included only the countries of Mahārāshṭra (including Vidarbha), Koṅkaṇa and Māhishaka. The ancient names of the countries under the rule of the Western Kshatrapas were as follows—Kachchha, Surāshṭra (Kāṭhīāwād), Lāṭa (South Gujarāt), Ānarta (North Gujarāt), Ākarāvanti (Eastern and Western Mālwā), and Anūpa (Indore and Nemāḍ districts of M. P.).

### Divisions of the State

We shall now consider the sub-divisions of these countries. Administrative terms usually occur more in copper-plate grants than in stone inscriptions, but no such grants of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas have so far come to notice. The oldest southern copper-plate grant so far discovered is that on the Malhārā plates, and it belongs to the period after the fall of the Sātavāhanas.

<sup>1</sup> नर्मदाया दक्षिणेन देशे दक्षिणपथः । *Jayamangalā* commentary on the *Kāmasūtra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (G. O. S.), p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> *Inscr.* 2, line 2.

It is of the king Ādityarāja of the Muṇḍa family. Then follow those of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman found at Mayidavolū and Hirahaḍḍagallī. In view of this scarcity of copper-plate grants in this period, it is not surprising that we know of very few administrative terms of this age.

*Janapada* denoted the largest territorial division, viz., 'a country'. It occurs in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman. It was divided into *rāshṭras*, but this term is not noticed in the records edited here. The Hirahaḍḍagallī plates of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman, which are of a slightly later age, mention Sātāhani-raṭṭha<sup>1</sup> (Sātavāhana-rāshṭra) which name was evidently applied to it after the Sātavāhanas settled there for some time. The head of a *rāshṭra* was known as *Rāshṭrika*, (Prakrit, Raṭhika).<sup>2</sup> If the *rāshṭra* division was of a large size, the head of it was known as *Mahārāṭhi*. In the Sātavāhana age the Mahārāṭhis and Mahābhojas were great feudatories or zamindars. They could issue coins in their own names. Coins of the *Mahārāṭhi* Sadakaṇa Kaḷalāya of Karnāṭaka have been found.<sup>3</sup> From inscriptions of the Sātavāhana age, we find that the feudatories in the Ṭhāṇe and Kolābā districts were known as *Mahābhojas*, while those in the Poonā district were designated *Mahārāṭhis*.

The next sub-division was *āhāra*. Some *āhāras* of the time are mentioned in Sātavāhana inscriptions. See, e. g., the Sātavāhanihāra.<sup>4</sup> The Māmalāhāra<sup>5</sup> comprised the territory now known as Māvaḷa. The Śorpārahāra was the name of the region round modern Sopārā in North Koṅkaṇ. The Kāpurāhāra which roughly comprised the territory of the Surat District was in Gujarāt. *Āhāras* were apparently divided into *vishayas*, but this term is not noticed in the inscriptions edited here. The word no doubt occurs in the sense of 'a country' in the Junāgaḍh

<sup>1</sup> *Et*, I, pp. 5 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscr.* 64, line 34.

<sup>3</sup> *BMC (Andhras)*, p. 57. Coins of a Mahārāṭhi of the Kura family have been found near Kolhāpur. See the Chapter on Coins.

<sup>4</sup> *Inscr.* 34, line 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Inscr.* 22, line 2.

inscription of Rudradāman, but it is used there for the sake of alliteration.<sup>1</sup> The names of districts comprising the territory on the banks of rivers were formed by adding *kaṭa* or *kaḍa* to their names. See *e. g.*, Benākaṭa (or Benākaṭaka), Varadākaṭa and Karahākaṭa. Smaller divisions were called *pathakas*. See *e. g.*, Pratiśṭhāna-pathaka. Some kings founded new cities and named them after themselves. See *e. g.*, Vijayapuri founded by Vijaya Sātakarṇi, now known as Nāgārjunakoṇḍ.<sup>2</sup> It was his capital. The Ikshvākus, who succeeded the Sātavāhanas, also ruled from the same place. Navanagara,<sup>3</sup> which was probably founded by Puṣumāvi, has not yet been identified. Vaijayanti (modern Vanavāsi) was the capital of the Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇis in Karnāṭaka. The Sātavāhanas ruled from Pratiśṭhāna (modern Paiṭhan) for a long time. Their earlier capital was probably at Junnar,<sup>4</sup> but its ancient name is not known. Several other cities such as Girinagara (modern Junagaḍh) near Mount Girnār, Ujjayinī and Śūrpāraka find mention in our records. Bharukachchha (Broach), Kaliyāṇa (Kalyāṇ) and Cheula (Chaul) were well-known ports of the age. Pushkara near Ajmer was then also known as a holy place. Govardhana was then the chief town of its territorial division (*āhāra*) and had greater administrative importance than Nāsik which was then known as a holy place. The position is now reversed. Nāsik has become the headquarters of the district, and Govardhana has sunk to the position of a small village.

Names of villages ended in *grāma*, *padra* etc. See Karajikā-grāma, Chikhalapadra, Piśāchipadraka, Śālmalipadraka etc. Some villages and even fields in them were named after Yakshas and Yakshiṇis. See *e. g.*, the field Ajakālakiya which derived its name

<sup>1</sup> See 'समघ्राणां लक्ष्मणाया [याकरप्रालक्ष्मणार्थे] कामविषयाणां विषयाणां पत्न्या' Inscr. No. 51.

<sup>2</sup> An inscription of Vijaya Sātakarṇi has been found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍ. See Inscr. No. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Inscr. 19, line 14.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Junnar means an old city (*jirṇa-nagara*). It may have received this name after Puṣumāvi founded a new city (*navo-nagara*).

from the Yaksha Ajakālaka or Ajakālāpaka. Sudisaṇā was the name of a village derived from that of a Yakshiṇī.

### Republics

There were some republican tribes ruling in the Sātavāhana—Kshatrapa age in North India. Of them, the Mālavas, the Uttamabhadras and the Yaudheyas find mention in our inscriptions. The Mālavas were previously ruling in the Panjab. They and their associates the Kshudrakas greatly harassed Alexander on his return journey. Later, when foreign tribes invaded the north-west part of India, they moved southward and settled down in Nagar or Karkoṭa-nagara in the Jaipur State. When they attacked the Uttamabhadras who were probably their southern neighbours, Ṛishabhadatta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, rushed to their rescue. They then fled away. The Mālavas had not then come down to Central India, and so that part of the country was still known by its ancient name of Ākarāvanti. The Yaudheyas were a powerful tribe settled in Eastern Panjab. They had vanquished the Kshatriya chiefs of the neighbouring countries and were proud of their heroic title, but they were ultimately defeated by Rudradāman.<sup>1</sup>

No such republican tribes were ruling in Mahārāshtra and Central India. There the monarchical system was in vogue. From such names of rulers as Gautami-putra and Vāsishṭhīputra some scholars have concluded that the matriarchal system of government was prevalent there. But this is an erroneous view. The custom of naming a child after its mother was prevalent in India from very ancient times. See the name *Devaki-putra* of Kṛishṇa which occurs in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*. This custom was not confined to royal families. See the name *Kosiki-puta Mitadeva* of a commoner,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Inscr. 51, line 12.

<sup>2</sup> Inscr. 17, line 2.

and Vārāhi-putra of a Brāhmaṇa,<sup>1</sup> which occur in the inscriptions edited here.

Though royal power was absolute, it was to a certain extent controlled by religious dictates and public opinion. The king had to rule according to the rules laid down in the *dharmaśāstras*. People rose in revolt against unjust or despotic rulers. The Sanskrit play *Mṛichchhakatika*, which belongs to this age, shows how common people revolted against the despotic king Pālaka of Ujjayini and killed him. The *Dharmaśāstras* lay down that even other twice-born people like the Brāhmaṇas and the Vaiśyas should take up arms when religion is in danger :—

दस्त्रं द्विजातिभिर्प्राह्यं धर्मो यत्रोपरुध्यते ।

Two such occasions arose in that age. When after the death of Aśoka chaos and confusion were rampant in Mahārāshṭra and the central power had become weak, a Brāhmaṇa named Sātavāhana came forward and established peace and order in the country. The second occasion arose at the end of the Sātavāhana period. Then also there was anarchy in the country after the death of the last Sātavāhana ruler. Then a son of a learned and pious Brāhmaṇa named Muṇḍa changed his sacrificial ladle for the sword and established peaceful condition in Vidarbha. He then assumed the significant name of Rāshṭra-mahārāja as he had come forward for the rescue of the country (*rāshṭra*).

Succession was generally determined by primogeniture. As this rule caused family feuds, the Kshatrapas seem to have resolved by a consensus that in case the deceased Mahākshatrapa had living and capable brothers, the succession should devolve upon them in the order of seniority in preference to his own sons. The latter were associated as Kshatrapas in the administration of the kingdom. This custom continued for considerable time among the Western Kshatrapas.

<sup>1</sup> Inschr. 43, line 4.



The custom prevalent in Mahārāshtra was of a different type. When Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi died, he had four sons Puṣumāvi, Skanda Sātakarṇi, Vijaya Sātakarṇi and Sātakarṇi. As all of them are called Vāsishṭhīputras, they were uterine brothers. Puṣumāvi, being the eldest and the ablest of them, succeeded his father. But after his death, the kingdom was partitioned between the two brothers Skanda and Sātakarṇi, as appears evident from their coins. Skanda ruled over Western Mahārāshtra and Sātakarṇi over Andhra. Later, after the death of Skanda and his successor Vijaya, the two parts of the Sātavāhana kingdom were again united under Sātakarṇi.

#### Ministers and Executive Officers

The king appointed several ministers and executive officers to assist him in administration. They generally find mention in copper-plate grants as information about them was required to be communicated to them. As no such grants of the Sātavāhanas and Western Kshatrapas have been found, our knowledge about these ministers and officers is very meagre.

The Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman divides these dignitaries into two classes—(1) *matīsachivas*<sup>1</sup> or ministers and (2) *karmasachivas* or executive officers. The duty of the first type was to advise the king while that of the second was to execute the king's orders. Such officers were called *Mahāmātras* in the time of Aśoka. The designation seems to have survived up to the beginning of the Sātavāhana age; for the term is found used in the earliest inscription of the time.<sup>2</sup> Later, this designation fell into disuse. The officer often noticed in Sātavāhana inscriptions is the *Amātya*. The *Amātyas* were placed in charge of the different districts. Those who were included in the king's ministry were known as *Rāj-āmātyas*. Besides

<sup>1</sup> Inscr. 51, line 17.

<sup>2</sup> Inscr. 1, line 2.

them, the following are noticed in our inscriptions: *Senāpati* or the Army Commander, *Rajjuka*<sup>1</sup> or the Revenue Officer, *Bhāṇḍāgārika*<sup>2</sup> or the Treasurer, *Paniyagharika*<sup>3</sup> or the Superintendent of Water Works, *Kārmāntika*<sup>4</sup> or the Superintendent of Public Works, and *Āveśanika*<sup>5</sup> or the foreman.

### Titles of Kings

Grandiloquent titles of kings had not come into vogue in the Sātavāhana times. The ruler of an extensive kingdom like Gautamiṣṭha Sātakarṇi bears only the simple title of *Rājan*. Only in one place he is referred to as *Rājarāja*. *Mahārāja* is rarely used. Simuka and Puṣumāvi are called *Dakṣiṇāpathapati* and *Dakṣiṇāpathaśvara* respectively. The pompous titles of later ages like *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramaśvara* had not become fashionable. Similarly the various designations of their ministers and high officers also may not have been coined in the earlier age. But they were undoubtedly formed towards the close of it.<sup>6</sup> They are noticed in the Malhārā plates of Ādityarāja, which, as shown elsewhere, belong to the succeeding period. They continued in the subsequent period of the Guptas and the Vākātakas. Some of these titles of officers are given below.

### Officers

*Uparika*—This officer is mentioned first, which signifies his pre-eminence. He was probably of the rank of a Provincial Governor. He had the power to

<sup>1</sup> Inscr. 35, line 1.

<sup>2</sup> Inscr. 10, lines 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> Inscr. 24, line 1.

<sup>4</sup> Inscr. 37, line 2.

<sup>5</sup> Inscr. 2, line 2.

<sup>6</sup> Though these designations are first noticed in the Gupta records, there is no evidence that the Guptas coined them. We have shown elsewhere that the Malhārā plates in which they occur is of the pre-Gupta age.

appoint *Kumārāmātyas*. From Gupta inscriptions he seems to have held the rank of the head of a large territorial division called *bhukti*.

*Kumārāmātya*—Scholars hold various opinions about the nature of his office. He appears to be managing various departments. He may have been of the rank of the modern I.C.S. or I.A.S.

*Daṇḍapāśika*—He seems to be of the rank of the modern Police Commissioner.

*Chāṭa* and *Bhaṭa*—These correspond to modern policemen and soldiers. They often harassed village people as policemen do now. Hence they were forbidden to enter donated villages except when they had to arrest thieves and persons accused of high treason.<sup>1</sup>

*Dūtapreshaṇika*—He arranged for the despatch of *Dūtakas*. The latter are mentioned generally at the end of the charters of grants. They had to arrange for the transfer of the ownership of granted villages and fields to the rightful donees.

*Viniyuktaka*—He denoted a royal servant who was entrusted with any task.

*Kāshṭhika*—He corresponds to the modern peon.

Besides these, there were *Adhikshakas* or Superintendents of the various departments, but they are not mentioned in our inscriptions.

Most of these dignitaries and officers are mentioned only in the one copper-plate grant edited here because such grants were not usually made in the Sātavāhana age. Some plates of later times such as those granted by the Pallavas<sup>2</sup> and the feudatories of the Ābhiras have indeed been found; but most of them are very small in size and, therefore, do not mention such officers. The latter are however, noticed in some rare grants such as that on the recently discovered Thāṭner plates of Bhānushēṇa.

<sup>1</sup> In some records *जमदग्निवज्रावेग्यः* is added to 'चौरराजपक्षककारिवज्रेभ्यः'.

<sup>2</sup> CII, IV, pp. 5 ff.

<sup>3</sup> EI, I, pp. 5 ff.; VI, pp. 86 ff.

We have very scanty information about the civic administration of cities and villages. There was generally a *Nigama-sabhā* which looked after local administration. *Nigama* usually means 'a merchant', but the *nigama-sabhās* of the towns and cities had probably representatives of the different strata of the society on them. In such cases the word *nigama* had a wider significance. Āpastamba says that the king should appoint honest, righteous and venerable men for the administration of the towns and villages.<sup>1</sup> Their servants should also be like them. All donations had to be announced in the *Nigama-sabhā*<sup>2</sup> and then they were registered in the local registration office.<sup>3</sup> Their copies were then made over to the donees. The chief Buddhist monk who received them is called *Mahāsvāmika* in a Nāsik cave inscription.<sup>4</sup>

The Pañchāyat system must have been then in vogue; but it is not referred to in any inscription edited here. The village headman was called *Grāmaṇi*. He was like the modern Police-Pāṭil. He is mentioned in some *gāthās* of the *Gāthā-saptaśati*. His son *Grāmaṇi putra* exercised considerable influence on the villagers as suggested in some *gāthās*.<sup>5</sup> The *kuṭumbins* referred to in some *gāthās* are evidently the *Kuṇabis* or farmers of modern times. The *grihapati*<sup>6</sup> was a well-to-do resident of a village.

The *Manusmṛiti* attained its present form in the Sātavāhana age. Though it was not composed in Mahārāshṭra, it no doubt reflects the conceptions and ideals of that age. The *smṛiti* describes royal duties in its seventh chapter. The same are implied in two

<sup>1</sup> See वामेन नमरेव चार्वान् मुनीन् सत्यमीनान् प्रजापुत्रवे निदध्यात् । तेषां पुरुवास्त-  
वायुगा एव स्तुः । ADS, II, 10.26, 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> Inscr. 38, line 4.

<sup>3</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Inscr. 11, line 5.

<sup>5</sup> See the following *gāthā* (l. 31)—पहुरवगमम्विममे जाजा किच्छेण लह्द से  
पिद् । मामपिपुलसस उरे पस्वी उण सा मुहं मुवर्द् ।।

<sup>6</sup> See *gāthās* II, 7, II, 72.

inscriptions edited here, *viz.*, the Nāsik Cave inscription of Puṣumāvi (No. 18) and the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Rudradāman (No. 51). They state the main duties and draw a graphic picture of an ideal king as conceived in that period.

### Royal Duties

The primary duty of a king is to protect the country from foreign aggression, and the subjects in it from all calamities such as those from thieves, carnivorous beasts and epidemics.<sup>1</sup> Rudradāman performed this duty admirably. One other duty which is found emphasised in several ancient inscriptions is that a king must prevent intermixture of castes. The system of *chāḍurvarṇya* was then in vogue. It was then generally believed that society runs smoothly if all castes perform properly their duties as laid down in the *dharmaśāstras*.<sup>2</sup> Hinduism had not, however, become narrow-minded in that age. It welcomed within its fold not only members of other religions but also of other countries. The Sātavāhanas were Brāhmaṇas by caste. In a Nāsik cave inscription Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is called *eka-Bamhaṇa*, *i. e.* 'a peerless Brāhmaṇa.' But his son Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi married, during his (Gautamīputra's) life-time, evidently with his approval, a Śaka princess who was the daughter of *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman.<sup>3</sup> She afterwards became his *Mahā-devī* or Crowned Queen. This shows that foreigners such as the Yavanas, Śakas and Pahlavas were welcomed to the Hindu fold.

Another main duty of a king is to levy only just taxes on his subjects and to utilise the money thus obtained for their welfare. The aforementioned Nāsik cave inscription states that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was not lacking in the performance of this duty.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See क्षेमकुद्राजा यस्य विपत्ते प्रायेण वा लम्करवयं न विद्यते । *ADS*, II, 10, 25, 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscr.* 18, line 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Inscr.* No. 25, line 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Inscr.* No. 18, line 5.

Some other duties mentioned in the inscriptions are to construct public works of utility such as tanks and wells,<sup>1</sup> to encourage advancement of learning, to abstain from all violence except on the battlefield etc. Both the aforementioned kings rose to the people's high expectations in these respects also.<sup>2</sup>

In ancient times the ideal of a Welfare State was placed before the rulers. It is not surprising that Hindu kings trained in ancient discipline executed charitable works (called *pūrtas*) even as they performed Vedic sacrifices, but even the Śakas like Rishabhadatta who were completely transformed by Hindu culture took interest in their performance. In his Nāsik cave inscription Rishabhadatta says that he had constructed rest-houses (*dharmaśālās*) for travellers at Bharukachchha (Broach), Daśapura (Mandasor), and Śorpāraka (Sopārā).<sup>3</sup> So also he had constructed gardens, tanks and water-sheds for the supply of drinking water to travellers. He had provided free ferries for crossing the rivers Ibā, Pāradā, Damaṇa, Tāpī, Karabeṇā and Dahānukā. He had established rest-houses and *prapās* on both the banks of those rivers. In short, he had provided all facilities to travellers to make their journey comfortable.

Another important duty of a king is to administer justice. Inscriptions, however, rarely refer to it. The *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra* lays stress on it. One of the important principles of justice is that none should be punished on mere suspicion.<sup>4</sup> It is a matter of agreeable surprise that Āpastamba states this principle explicitly. The punishments laid down in the *Dharma-sūtra* appear to be harsh; but they were intended to be deterrent. For instance, Āpastamba has laid down capital punishment for the offences of homicide, theft and unlawful seizure of landed property, besides con-fiscation of the offender's property. *Prāyaścittas* are prescribed for a number of crimes.

<sup>1</sup> Inscr. No. 13, line 5.

<sup>2</sup> Inscr. No. 18, line 5, and No. 51, line 9.

<sup>3</sup> Inscr. 43, line 2.

<sup>4</sup> See न च सम्देहे दण्डं कुर्यात् । ADS. II, 5, 11, 2.

The Sanskrit play *Mṛichahhakaṭīka* has in the ninth Act the scene of the trial of Chārudatta for the alleged murder of Vasantasenā in which we see how trials for offences were conducted in the courts of the Kshatrapas in that age. The administration of justice had undoubtedly made considerable progress in those days.

In recent times the ideal of trusteeship has gained ground in public administration. Land is a valuable gift of God. He who has secured it must work hard and bring out as much produce from it as possible. If he fails to do so on account of indolence, it is an offence against society. For this reason the strikes by workmen and the lock-outs by owners are regarded as crimes against society, and the State steps in to curb both. It is a matter for agreeable surprise that a similar view is noticed in the *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra* which dates back more than two millenniums. Āpastamba says that if a person takes land on lease for cultivation, and fails to produce a crop through indolence, he should be made to compensate for it if he is well-to-do. If a workman relinquishes the work undertaken without reason, he should receive corporal punishment.<sup>1</sup> Some may think that these rules are partial to the richer sector of the society, but they will be found to be ultimately in the interest of the people.

<sup>1</sup> क्षेत्रं परिमुह्योत्पानाभावात् फलाभावे यः समृद्धः स भावि तदपहार्यः । जचसिगः  
कीनाशस्य कर्मन्यासे दण्डताडनम् ॥ *ADS*, II, 11, 28, 1-2.

## Chapter III

### Religious Condition

In the age of the Sātavāhanas and the Kshatrapas, all the three religions — Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina — were flourishing in India, but no inscriptions of Jainism have yet been found in their dominions. The only exception seems to be No. 55 which belongs to the reign of the grandson of Jayadāman. It records a gift to a Muni who had attained *kevali-jñāna*. This inscription may have reference to Jainism. Most of the remaining inscriptions either register gifts made to Buddhist monks or record erection of *yashṭis* (memorial pillars). The Sātavāhanas were followers of Hinduism. So were the Kshatrapas of Mālwa and Kāṭhīāwāḍ. Though this is not explicitly stated anywhere, it can be easily inferred from their personal names such as Rudradāman, Rudrasimha, and Rudrasena. Besides, they regarded cows and Brāhmaṇas as venerable.<sup>1</sup> But with the exceptions of the Nāṇeghāt inscription of Nāganikā and the Nāsik cave inscriptions of Ṛishabhadatta, we get no references to gifts made to Hindu gods and goddesses or to Brāhmaṇas. So judging from the number of inscribed records, one may infer that the followers of the Hindu religion were negligible in number in that age. This would, however, be an erroneous conclusion.

### The Vedic Religion

The Nāṇeghāt inscription records that Nāganikā, either jointly with her husband Sātakarṇi I, or herself alone after his death, performed several Vedic sacrifices. If we take into consideration, the *dakṣiṇās* that were given to the officiating priests, we can form some idea

<sup>1</sup> See the following extract from the Junāgaḍh inser. of Rudradāman I (Inscr. 51, line 15)— 'वर्षसहस्राय घोषाह्वय . . . . . शं.' . . . . .



of the state of the Hindu religion in that age. Some of them may be mentioned here. In the sacrifice of Bhagaladaśarātra as many as ten thousand and one cows, and in the Chhandomapavamāna sacrifice one thousand and one cows were given away by way of *dakṣhiṇā*. Sātakarṇi performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice twice. At the second Aśvamedha, he gave the *dakṣhiṇā* of one horse with silver ornaments, 14000 *kārshāpaṇas*, one village and a number of elephants.<sup>1</sup> Several such sacrifices and the *dakṣhiṇās* given on those occasions were mentioned in the Nāṇeghāt inscription, but the names of very few of them can now be read as the record is very much mutilated. But even in the present fragmentary state of the epigraph, the names of the following sacrifices can be made out — Agnyādheya, Anvārambhaṇīya, Aṅgārika, two Aśvamedhas, Bhagaladaśarātra, Gargatrirātra, Gavāmayana, Aṅgirasāmayana, Śatātirātra, Āṅgirasatrirātra, Chhandomapavamānatrirātra etc. Hundreds of Vedic scholars must have been invited for the performance of these sacrifices. One can easily imagine how large must be the herds of cows in the different parts of the country to meet the requirements of such gifts. One can also imagine the numbers of the followers of Hinduism in the dominion of the Sātavāhanas. It was in that age that the Āpastamba branch of the Black Yajurveda was formed in the Deccan which bespeaks the influence of the Vedic religion in South India of the time.

### Purāṇic Hinduism

Besides this Vedic religion, Purāṇic Hinduism also was flourishing in that age, though its vestiges are not noticeable now. In a Nāsik cave inscription Ṛishabhadatta mentions his gift of 70000 *kārshāpaṇas* to revered gods and Brāhmaṇas.<sup>2</sup> The gift to Brāhmaṇas must, of course, have been in the form of *dakṣhiṇā*. But how was the gift to gods utilised ? It must have been made over to the trustees

<sup>1</sup> Inscr. No. 3, line 11.

<sup>2</sup> See the reference to the donations to gods and Brāhmaṇas in Inscr. 43, line 1— 'देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च वीरगणपामदेन.'

or worshippers of the gods in the existing temples. For this, temples of gods must have been in existence at the time. We have evidence of this, though it is scanty. There was a famous temple of Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa) near Vidiśā. Its *dhvaja-stambha* was erected by the Yavana Ambassador Heliodorus of the Greek king Antialcidas of Taxilā at the court of the Śuṅga king Bhāgabhadra.<sup>1</sup> This is stated in an inscription on the pillar. Another inscription at Ghosunḍī (in the Chitoḍ District) mentions a temple of Saṅkarshana (Balarāma) and Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa) which dates back to the second century B. C.<sup>2</sup> That these gods were worshipped in that age is also evident from the opening obeisance to them in the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā.

The performance of Vedic sacrifices and the worship of Purāṇic gods prevailed not only in the beginning of the Sātavāhana age, but throughout that period. In this respect the evidence of the recently discovered Malhārā plates is quite clear. As shown elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> this grant belongs to the period immediately following the fall of the Sātavāhanas. It states the history of as many as six generations of a learned and pious Brāhmaṇa family of Vidarbha. Its members in the first three generations — Soma, Vardhana and Muṇḍa — were pious and righteous Brāhmaṇas, learned in the Vedas and always engaged in the performance of Vedic sacrifices. They led a life of self-control, observing duly all *yamas* and *niyamas*. The member of the fourth generation, Rāshṭra-mahārāja by name, is said to have obtained a royal status by his merit, but in what manner, it is not stated. He was the first king in that family. His son Rājakula-mahārāja performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice and expanded his dominion. His son Ādityarāja granted several villages to certain Brāhmaṇas in his second regnal year. As shown elsewhere, the first three members of this family, who were learned and pious Brāhmaṇas, lived at the close of the Sātavāhana age. There must have been

<sup>1</sup> *JBRAS*, XXIII, pp. 104 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, XVI, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Inscr.* 64.

several other Brāhmaṇa families in that age who spent their whole life in the study of the Vedas, and the performance of Vedic sacrifices, observing all rules laid down in the Śrutis and Smṛitis. Though we have not had other grants of this type, we cannot conclude that such Brāhmaṇas were rare in that age.

But Vedic sacrifices were very expensive and of long duration. They were not within the reach of common people. For them, the *Bhagavadgītā* had preached the path of devotion (*bhakti-yoga*). The Malhārā plates commence with *Namaḥ Purushottamāya* (Obeisance to Purushottama or Viṣṇu). So that family was a devotee of Viṣṇu. The path of devotion had come into vogue long before. The aforementioned Heliodorus, who erected a stone pillar at Vidiśā calls himself *Bhāgavata* or a devout worshipper of Bhagavat (Viṣṇu). As we have shown elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> the *Mahābhārata* attained its present form as a work containing a lakh of verses (*śata-sāhasrī saṁhitā*) in this age. Besides, several Purāṇas also had their nucleus formed in this period, and the various myths and legends narrated in them circulated among the masses of the time. Hence we find that in a Nāsik cave inscription of Puḷumāvi, his father Gautami-putra Sātakarṇi is said to have resembled Rāma, Keśava (Kṛiṣṇa), Arjuna and Bhīmasena in valour, and Nābhāga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Paraśurāma and Ambariṣa in spirited nature.<sup>2</sup> All these are well-known heroes of Hindu mythology. Common people of that age were well acquainted with their character and achievements.

Purāṇic Hinduism preaches not only *vratas* and *niyamas* but also fasts, pilgrimages, gifts, and charitable works (*pūrtas*) as means of acquiring religious merit. All these were in vogue in the Sātavāhana age. An inscription at Nāṇeghāṭ tells us that the dowager queen Nāganikā used to fast for a month at a time, that she lived like a female hermit in her own house, and that she was adept in the

<sup>1</sup> *LHSI*, pp. 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscr.* No. 18, line 8.

performance of initiatory rites, vows and sacrifices.<sup>1</sup> Another old Sātavāhana queen of the same type—Gautamī Bala-śrī—is described in a Nāsik cave inscription as one who regularly observed penance, self-control, vows, and fasts, and led a life of truthfulness, forgiveness, charity and non-violence.<sup>2</sup> One of the ways for acquiring religious merit was to visit a holy place, to bathe there and to make gifts. So Ṛishabhadatta is said to have repaired to the holy place Pushkara near Ajmer after winning a victory over the Mālayas. Other means of acquiring religious merit were believed to be to make gifts of a thousand cows, to feed a lakh of Brāhmaṇas and to get Brāhmaṇas married at one's expense. These are not, however, mentioned in the *Manusmṛiti* or the *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*. *Pūrtakarmas* or charitable works included such as the following :—to dig tanks and wells, to establish water-sheds for the supply of drinking water to thirsty travellers, to provide free ferries for crossing rivers, and to construct rest-houses for travellers. Ṛishabhadatta is said to have done all these.<sup>3</sup>

Later inscriptions mention holy *tithis* for the performance of charitable works or the giving of gifts. But they are conspicuous by their absence in our records. The reason for their non-mention seems to be that they are generally cited in Hindu inscriptions. But such inscriptions of that age have not yet been found.

Gifts are regarded as one of the usual means for the acquisition of religious merit. But there were Brāhmaṇas in the Sātavāhana age who never accepted any gifts. The following verse in the aforementioned Malhārā plates describes such a Brāhmaṇa in the following verse\* :—

प्रतिग्रहादिग्धकरस्य यस्य  
नित्यव्रतस्यापि हि दीक्षितस्य ।  
यज्ञे वसोर्वासवतुष्टिमुक्ता  
पपात धारा त्रिदिवादनत्पा ॥

<sup>1</sup> Inscr. No. 3, line 5.

<sup>2</sup> Inscr. No. 18, line 9.

<sup>3</sup> Inscr. No. 43, lines 1-3.

\* Inscr. No. 64, lines 14-17.

(The Brāhmaṇa Muṇḍa never allowed his hand to be tainted by the acceptance of gifts. He was always engaged in the performance of vows and sacrifices. So Indra, being gratified, used to pour a large shower of wealth during his sacrifices.)

In his *Raghuvaṃśā*<sup>1</sup> Kālidāsa has described that such a shower of gold was actually poured by Kubera for a gift to be made by King Raghu. The statement in the Malhārā plates is, of course, a figurative description. What is implied thereby is that though that Brāhmaṇa Muṇḍa was himself poor and never accepted any gifts, people on their own provided all material for his sacrifices. Recently we had a living instance of this type in Vidarbha.

### Buddhism

We shall next turn to Buddhism. That religion did not spread to South India during the first two or three centuries after the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. Mahārāshṭra is not mentioned in the sacred works of Buddhism. The ancient Pāli canon mentions only the following sixteen *janapadas* (countries)—Aṅga, Magadha, Kāśī, Kosala, Vṛjji, Malla, Chedi, Vatsa, Kuru, Pāñchāla, Matsya, Śūrasena, Aśmaka, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kāmbhoja.<sup>2</sup> All these except Aśmaka are countries of North India. Aśmaka was situated on the bank of the Godāvarī as stated in the *Suttanipāta*. According to some scholars, Aśmaka (or Aśvaka) was situated north-west of the country of Avanti and the country of that name in South India was a later colony of it.<sup>3</sup> The reason why this southern Aśmaka is mentioned in the *Suttanipāta* is that a Brāhmaṇa of that country had sent his disciples to see the Buddha and to get some questions answered by him. In the age of the Buddha the countries of Magadha, Kosala, Vatsa and Avanti were very powerful. Then Bimbisāra was ruling

<sup>1</sup> Canto V, verse 29.

<sup>2</sup> See *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (Pāli Text Society), IV, pp. 252 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Bhandarkar, *Carm. Lect.* 1918, pp. 53 ff.

in Magadha, Prasenajit in Kosala, Udayana in Vatsa, and Chanḍa-Mahāsena in Avanti. They sometimes were friendly and even formed matrimonial alliances and sometimes fought with one another.

Buddhism was introduced into Mahārāshṭra in the time of Aśoka. The Buddhist historical works *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa* were written in Śhri-Laṅkā in the fourth or fifth century A. D. They state that the third Buddhist Council was held in the reign of Aśoka. Moggaliputta Tissa was its President. After the work of the Council was over, *Mahāsthavira* Tissa sent monks for preaching Buddhism in certain countries. They were as follows : *Sthavira* Majjhatika was sent to Kāshmir and Gandhāra, Mahārakkhita to the Yavana country, Majjhima to the Himālayan country, Dharmarakshita to Aparānta (North Koṅkaṇ), Mahādharmaarakshita to Mahārāshṭra, Mahādeva to Mahisha-maṇḍala (Southern part of the former Hyderābād State), Rakshita to Vanavāsī (North Kannaḍa District), Śoṇa and Uttara to Suvarṇabhūmi (Brahmadeśa), and Mahendra and his associates to Shri-Laṅkā. This Buddhist Council was held in the seventeenth year of Aśoka's reign. So Buddhism seems to have been introduced into Mahārāshṭra in the 17th or the 18th regnal year of Aśoka.

Aśoka's edicts also describe how Buddhism was preached in his time. In his thirteenth rock-edict Aśoka says, "At a distance of six hundred *yojanas* the Yavana king Antiyoga (Antiochus), so also four other kings — Turamāya (Ptolemy), Antekiṇa (Antigonus), Maga (Magas), and Alikasundara (Alexander) — and also Chola, Pāṇḍya, Yavana, Kamboja, Nābhāka, Nābhapankti, Bhoja, Petenika, Andhra, Pulinda — all these are imitating the religious preaching of the Beloved of the Gods.<sup>1</sup>" Of these the Bhojas are the people of Vidarbha and the Petenikas are those of the region round Pratiśṭhāna (modern Paīṭhaṇ). Aparānta (North Koṅkaṇ) is also mentioned in the list. The date of this edict is the twelfth or the thirteenth

<sup>1</sup> See Aśoka's Rock-edict XIII.

year after Aśoka's coronation. It is given as the seventeenth regnal year of Aśoka in the *Mahāvamsa*. If we take into consideration that Aśoka was crowned four years after accession, both the statements will be seen to agree. The foreign kings mentioned in the edict were all ruling in B. C. 260 (B. C. 250 according to some scholars). So we may fix the middle of the third century B. C. as the date of the commencement of the preaching of Buddhism in Mahārāshṭra.

This date is corroborated by a stone inscription of a Mahāmātra of Aśoka who was in charge of Vidarbha. Several years ago we published a fragmentary stone inscription in Brāhmī characters which proclaimed the order of the *Svāmī* (Lord) that whoever would capture or kill any animals, would receive condign punishment.<sup>1</sup> This *Svāmī* must be Aśoka himself. The record is dated in the fourteenth year, evidently of the reign of Aśoka. It was apparently issued by a Dharma-mahāmātra of the king. It shows how the doctrine of *ahimsā* (non-slaughter) was preached in Mahārāshṭra and other countries during the reign of Aśoka.

How Mahādharmaśhita preached Buddhism in Mahārāshṭra is described in the following *gāthās* :—

महारट्ठं इसी गत्वा सो महाधम्मरक्खितो ।  
महानारदकस्सपाब्हं जातकं कथयी तहि ॥  
मग्गफलं पापुणिसु चतुरासीति सहस्सका ।  
तेरसं तु सहस्सानि पब्बजिसु तदन्तिके ॥

[That Sage Mahādharmaśhita went to Mahārāshṭra and there he narrated the *Jātaka* (birth-story) of Mahānāradakassapa. Then eighty-four thousand obtained the reward of conversion to the Buddhist path, and thirteen thousand took orders from him.]

That as many as eighty-four thousand persons embraced Buddhism as a result of the preaching of a *Jātaka* is a fantastic story like those narrated in the Hindu *Purāṇas*. But it is not unlikely that Mahādharmaśhita

used that story for propagating Buddhism in Mahārāshṭra. That *Mahānāradakassapa Jātaka* is numbered 544 in the *Jātaka* collection of the Buddhist *Tipitaka*. The story runs as follows :—

In ancient times a king, Aṅgati by name, ruled in Mithilā, the capital of Videha. He had a very beautiful and religious-minded daughter named Rañjā. In the festival of a full-moon night the king asked his three ministers, how he should pass that night. One of them suggested that he should invade the country of his enemy. The second advised that he should spend it in luxury and enjoyment of singing, dancing and music. The third told him that he should consult a Śramaṇa or a Brāhmaṇa well versed in religious matters. The king accepted the third advice. So they all repaired to a naked Kshapaṇaka named Guṇa of the Kāśyapa *gotra*. He preached the doctrine of Fate to the king. He said, "O King, there is no such thing as the other world. Good conduct is of no use. Every one gets what is dictated by his destiny. Every one has to pass through eighty-four *Mahākālpas*. Religious merit does not release him nor does sin prolong his stay there." Accepting his advice, the king resolved to spend all his time in the enjoyment of pleasures. He entrusted administration to his minister, and spent his days as advised. But his daughter Rañjā was very religious-minded. She advised him to lead a righteous life. She had knowledge of her past lives. So she described to him how she herself had to pass through the Raurava hell, how thereafter she had to live the life of the monkey, the bull etc., and how ultimately she obtained human life. She tried to turn his mind to the path of righteousness. But she did not succeed. So she prayed to the Great Souls who protect the world. Then Bodhisattva Nāradakassapa came there in the guise of a Parivrājaka. The King welcomed him and asked him about the existence of the other world. The Parivrājaka replied, "The other world does exist, but people engrossed in greed and delusion deny its existence. Then the King said, "Give me 50 coins now. I shall pay you 1000 in heaven." The Parivrājaka then replied, "O King, you are not



likely to go to heaven. If you do not give up your sinful life, you will go to hell, and will there suffer various pangs. Who will go there to ask for the repayment of the coins?" The Parivrājaka then described the dreadful life, full of sufferings, in hell. Being terrified thereby, the king surrendered to him. The Parivrājaka then described the lives of several righteous kings of the past, and after preaching the path of righteousness, he disappeared.

This Jātaka draws a heart-rending picture of the life in hell. If the story in the *Mahāvamsa* has any basis, Mahādharmaśhita may have used it for the purpose of proselytizing. Aśoka also seems to have adopted similar measures for preaching the tenets of Buddhism. In his fourth Rock-edit Aśoka says, "For a long time, for hundreds of years, have increased the slaughter of animals, violence to creatures, unseemly conduct towards relatives, Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas. But now in consequence of the practice of Dharma by Priyadarśin, the Beloved of the Gods, the sound of the drum (instead of becoming the sound of war) has become the sound of Dharma. He has shown *vimānas* (heavenly palaces), elephants, fire-pillars and such other heavenly scenes. Thereby Dharma has increased to an extent not seen for many hundred years before." Aśoka showed by representations what had been described in words in the *Nārada-kassapa-jātaka*, viz., that those who lead a spiritual life live in heavenly palaces and ride on celestial elephants, while those who live sinfully have to clasp flaming pillars in hell.

As Buddhism spread in Mahārāshṭra and the number of Buddhist monks increased, the need of *vihāras* for their residence, of *chaityas* for their prayers and of *stūpas* for their worship began to be felt, and they were excavated and carved in the hills of Mahārāshṭra. These caves and the inscriptions in them testify to the spread of Buddhism there.

There are indeed caves excavated in hills or in rocks in other parts of the country also, but they are

not as many, as large, and as beautiful as those in Mahārāshtra. They number nearly a thousand in Mahārāshtra. Some of them are very small while others are very large. Their architecture, sculpture and pictures, which fortunately still survive in some few of them, are extremely fine and wonderful. They are dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

These excavations are of three types. Some are of the type of the *Stūpas*. A *Stūpa* means a semi-circular tumulus either carved in a hill or constructed of stones, mud and bricks over the relics of a venerable person like the Buddha or his disciples. It is also called *Dāgoba* (*Dhātugarbha*) and *Chaitya*. The second type is known as *vihāra* or a monastic hall. The *vihāras* were meant for the residence of monks. Though they were given in charge of a particular sect, they were intended to give shelter to the monks of all sects in the rainy season and this was expressly stated at the time of making their gifts. The third type was the *chaitya-griha* or *gandha-kufi*, which was a prayer-hall. There generally used to be a cistern (*poḍhi*) by the side of a cave.

Both the *Sātavāhanas* and the *Kshatrapas* gave liberal patronage to Buddhism. *Ṛishabhadatta* and his wife *Dakshamitrā* got excavated a cave near *Nāsik* and made it over to the Buddhist monks. *Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi*, *Puḷumāvi*, *Yajña Sātakarṇi* and some other *Sātavāhana* kings also got caves excavated and donated them to the monks at *Nāsik*, *Kānheri*, *Kārlē* and other places. So did also their feudatories and *Zamin-dārs* who were known as *Mahābhōjas* and *Mahārāṭhis*. For instance, we find mention of *Mahābhōja Skandapālita*, son of *Mahābhōji Vijayā*, in an inscription at *Kuḍā*,<sup>1</sup> of *Kumāra Kāṇabhōja* in that at *Mahād*,<sup>2</sup> of *Mahārāṭhi Kausikīputra* in another at *Bhājā*,<sup>3</sup> of *Mahābhōja-bālikā*, *Mahādevi* and *Mahārāṭhini Sāmaḍinikā* in

<sup>1</sup> *ICTWI*, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *ASWI*, IV, p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* p. 83.

an epigraph at Beḍṣā<sup>1</sup> and of Agimitaṇika in a record at Kārle.

Not only kings, Kshatrapas, their feudatories and Zamindars but also commoners patronised Buddhism in the two or three centuries before and after Christ. Excavation of a cave was regarded as a means of securing a place in heaven. The following verse occurs in an inscription in Ajaṇṭā Cave XXVI in this connection<sup>2</sup> :—

यावत्कीर्तिलोके तावत्स्वर्गेषु मोदते देही ।  
चन्द्राकंकालकल्पा कार्या कीर्तिमहोदधेषु ॥

(So long as a meritorious work like a *vihāra* or a *chaitya* subsists in this world, the person who was responsible for it dwells joyfully in heaven. Therefore, people should excavate caves in hills which would last as long as the moon and the sun would endure.)

*Stūpas*, *chaityas* and *vihāras* were also constructed with bricks, stones and earth as they were carved in hills. There was a well known centre of Buddhism at Pauni in the Bhaṇḍārā District of Vidarbha.<sup>3</sup> Two *stūpas* were disclosed in the excavations made there by the Nāgpur University and the Central Archaeological Department. One of them was embellished with railings etc. like the *Stūpa* at Bhārhut. Several pious men and women had got their gifts recorded in inscriptions incised on the pillars and other parts of the railing of these *stūpas*. Among them we find members of various races, castes and professions such as the following :—*Bhadantas* or Buddhist monks, *Pravrājjikās* or nuns, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Brāhmaṇis*, *Yavanas*, *Śakas*, their women, gardeners, goldsmiths, ironsmiths, bamboo-workers, workers in bell metal, *grihapatis* (house-holders), *sārthavāhas* (caravan-leaders) *hālikas* (farmers), their women, *Śreshṭhins* (money-lenders), perfumers etc.

<sup>1</sup> *ICTWI*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> See the inscr. in Ajaṇṭā Cave XXVI, *ASIWI*, IV, pp. 13-14.

<sup>3</sup> Pauni Excavations, pp. 29 ff.

As the hills in Mahārāshtra were very suitable for excavation, people from far-off places got caves carved and donated them to the Buddhist communities. The grand *chaitya-griha* at Kārle has the following inscription<sup>1</sup> :—

वेजयन्तिता सेठिणा भूतपालेना सेलघरं परिनिष्ठितं जवुदिपम्ह उतम ।

We learn from it that the Chaitya cave regarded as the best in the Jambu-dvīpa (Bhārata) was got excavated by the *Śreshṭhin* Bhūtapāla of Vaijayanti. (Vanavāsi in North Kannaḍa District). This place was the capital of a branch of the Sātavāhana family. When the *Śreshṭhin* had come from such a far-off place for getting a cave excavated at Kārle, it is not surprising that several donors from such nearer places as the following are mentioned in inscriptions in the caves in Mahārāshtra—Karahāḍa (Karahāṭa), Dhenukākaṭa, Śūrpāraka (Sopārā), Kaliaṇa (Kalyāṇ), Chemula (Chaul), Vasya (Vasāi), Sthānaka (Ṭhāṇe) etc.<sup>2</sup>

### Schools of Buddhism

Even in the time of the Buddha there were divergent views held on some minor religious matters. As a result of the measures adopted by Aśoka for the spread of Buddhism, several centres of that religion came into being in far-off places in the country. On account of difficulties of communication and consequent lack of control from the centre, various *nikāyas* (saṅghas) were formed in course of time in the different parts of the country. They numbered eighteen. Some of them later merged into others as the differences were on minor points. There were as many as eight schools of the Mahāsaṅghika Nikāya, among which the following were prominent :—Eka-vyāvahārika, Lokottaravāda, Aparasāilika and Pūrvasāilika. This Mahāsaṅghika *Nikāya*, which originated in Vaiśālī, first spread in the eastern parts of the country and

<sup>1</sup> ICTWI, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 29.

then came to South India.<sup>1</sup> Dhānyakaṭaka (modern Dharaṇikoṭa was the principal centre of the Mahāsaṅghika school.<sup>2</sup> Its various branches find mention in the inscriptions there. The monks of this Saṅgha are mentioned in the inscriptions at Kārle and Kānheri.

The Sthaviravāda, which was another prominent Bauddha *nikāya*, came into being about a century after the Mahāsaṅghika. It had two principal branches, *viz.*, Sarvāstivāda and Haimavata (or Mūlasthaviravāda). The Sarvāstivāda school spread in North India from Mathurā to Nagarahāra in the Panjāb, and from Taxilā to Kāshmir. The Bhadāyaniya (or Bhadāvāniya) branch of the Sarvāstivāda school was prominent at Pauni in Vidarbha.<sup>3</sup> Later, it spread to Nāsik<sup>4</sup> and Kānheri.<sup>5</sup> The monks of this branch received several grants of caves, villages and fields from the Sātavāhanas.

Besides these, there are some other minor schools mentioned in the inscriptions of Mahārāshṭra such as the following :— Dharmottariya<sup>6</sup> at Sopārā, Junnar and Kārle, Sauvarshaka or Kāśyapiya at Kārle,<sup>7</sup> and Chaityaka<sup>8</sup> and Aparājita at Junnar.<sup>9</sup>

In the age of the Sātavāhanas the Hinayāna had spread in south India. So the object of worship in the caves of the time was the Stūpa, not the image of the Buddha. Later, in the time of Kanishka, the Mahāyāna came into being, which led to the worship of images. Towards the end of the Sātavāhana age flourished the great Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna, one of the great propagators of the Mahāyāna School, but his teachings had not affected much the mode of worship in his time.

<sup>1</sup> 2000 Years of Buddhism, pp. 112 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Amravati Sculptures in the Madras Govt., Museum, pp. 14 ff.

<sup>3</sup> From there they repaired to Western Mahārāshṭra.

<sup>4</sup> Inscr. No. 18, line 1.

<sup>5</sup> Inscr. No. 28, lines 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> ICTWI, p. 32.

<sup>7</sup> Inscr. No. 20, line 2.

<sup>8</sup> ASWI, IV, p. 95.

<sup>9</sup> ICTWI, p. 44.

The Stūpa was worshipped with flowers, incense, lights etc. Of these, lights were regarded very important, and gifts were made to keep them burning at all times.

The management of *vihāras* and *chaityas* was entrusted to a chief monk who was called Mahāsvāmika. He used to receive the gifts made to the Community. Generous donors used to arrange for the supply of clothing and medicines to monks by investing large sums of money in local guilds. Rishabhadatta had, for instance, arranged for the payment of 12 *kārshāpaṇas* to every monk annually for his clothing, and also some more as *kushāṇa-mūla*.<sup>1</sup> The real meaning of this term was not known for a long time. It is now known to be a mistake for *kuśala-mūla*, and seems to be used in the sense of medicine which is the root (*i. e.* the cause) of good health. An inscription in Cave X at Nāsik mentions it as *gilāna-bheshaja* or medicine for the sick.<sup>2</sup>

The monks were expected to get the necessary food by begging (*piṇḍa-pāta*) in the neighbouring places. They could accept meat only if it was not specially prepared for them. Buddhism no doubt interdicts killing of animals, but as the people in those days were generally non-vegetarian, the monks would have had to starve if they had followed strictly the principle of *ahiṃsā*.

The Buddhist monks moved from place to place for preaching the tenets of Buddhism in winter and summer, and spent the rainy season (*vassa*) in some place of shelter like a *vihāra*. Though the *vihāras* were given in charge of a particular school, they were intended for the use of the Buddhist community of all the four quarters (*i. e.* members of all schools) and this was explicitly stated in recording gifts of *vihāras*.

The Buddha had interdicted acceptance of gifts of precious metals. An attempt was made in the Council at Vaiśālī to make this rule less rigid ; but it did not

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix VI, *Kuśalmūla* is wrongly inscribed here instead of *Kuśalmūla*.

<sup>2</sup> *CII*, IV, p. 3.

succeed. However, it does not seem that this restriction was observed in practice; for in several cave inscriptions we find that monks and nuns themselves met the expenses of the carving of sculptures, nay even of getting entire caves excavated. For instance, an inscription at Kārlē records the gift of two sculptures of elephants made by a monk named *Āchārya* Indradeva.<sup>1</sup> Another states that a monk named Bhadrāsena had got a *mithuna* (couple) carved at his own expense.<sup>2</sup> At Kuṣṭhā *Parivṛājikā* (nun) Padminikā is said to have got excavated at her own expense a whole cave together with a water cistern near by.<sup>3</sup> Where did these monks and nuns get all this money from? It may have been provided by their male or female disciples, or may have been obtained by them from their relatives for charitable purposes.

Nuns as well as monks stayed in the *vihāras*. These nuns had probably taken orders after the death of their husbands. Some may have secured permission to join the Saṅgha even before matrimony. In the aforementioned inscription in a cave at Kuṣṭhā,<sup>4</sup> Padminikā mentions only the two monks who were her maternal uncles, but does not refer to her husband or son as sharing in the religious merit of the excavation. So she seems to have joined the Saṅgha though unmarried, following the example of her elderly relatives.

Some monks were engaged in teaching in the *vihāras*. They were called *Gaṇāchāryas*. The monks could accept nuns as their disciples, but not vice versa.

Several foreign tribes entered India in the time of the Sātavāhanas. Some of them stayed here permanently and adopted the Hindu religion. The Garuḍa pillar near Vidiśā was erected by the Ambassador Heliodora (Heliodorus) of the Greek king of Taxilā. There must have been many instances of this type, but they are not known as no remains of the temples of that age have survived. But

<sup>1</sup> ICTWI, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> ASWI, IV, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> ICTWI, p. 6.

we get many references to foreign converts to Buddhism. The Greek king Demetrius founded a city and named it Dattāmitrī after himself. It is probably identical with Dāntāmitrī (Dantāmitrī) mentioned in a Nāsik cave inscription, while recording the gift of Indrāgnidatta,<sup>1</sup> son of the Yavana Dhammadeva. *Yavana* means an Ionian Greek. A Kārle epigraph mentions a gift of two *Yavanas*, Sihadhaya and Dhamma.<sup>2</sup> An inscription in Nāsik cave X states that a Śāka woman named Vishṇudattā had made a permanent endowment for the supply of medicines to sick mendicants.<sup>3</sup> Rishabhaddatta and his wife Dakshamitrā donated cells in a cave at Nāsik. Rishabhaddatta had made a permanent arrangement for the food, clothing and medicines of the mendicants living in his cave by investing large sums of *kārshāpaṇas* in the guilds of the neighbouring places.<sup>4</sup> An inscription at Kārle records the gift of a *vihāra* cave by Harapharaṇa, son of Setapharaṇa of Abulāmā.<sup>5</sup> These persons appear to be Pārthians, judging by their names.

In the age of the Sātavāhanas the Hindus and Buddhists lived amicably side by side. The Sātavāhana king Kṛishṇa was himself a follower of the Vedic religion, but his *Mahāmātra* got a cave excavated at Nāsik for the residence of the Buddhist mendicants. Gautamī Balaśrī was herself the Crowned Queen (*Mahādevī*) of a Hindu king, but she was herself a devout follower of Buddhism. She got a cave excavated and a village donated by her son Sātakarṇi to the Buddhist monks at Nāsik. An inscription in Cave No. 13 at Kuḍā records the gift of a *Chaitya* cave by the Brāhmaṇa wife named Bhāyilā of a Brāhmaṇa *upāsaka* Ayitilu.<sup>6</sup> The Buddhists were not jealous of gifts made to the followers of the Hindu religion. Hence they apparently did not object to the recording

<sup>1</sup> ASI, IV, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> ICTW, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> CII, IV, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Inscr. No. 38, lines 1-3.

<sup>5</sup> Inscr. No. 20, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> ASI, IV, p. 86.



of Rishabhadatta's charities to Hindu Gods and Brāhmaṇas in a prominent place in their cave. In later times though Hindu and Buddhist dialecticians were vehemently engaged in philosophical disputations, they in their practical life lived amicably together.

The villages and fields donated to Brāhmaṇas were known as *brahma-dāya*. So the villages and fields given to Buddhist monks were called *bhikshu-hala*.<sup>1</sup> While donating them certain immunities used to be specified such as the following—None shall enter them; none shall interfere with them; none shall dig therein for salt; no soldiers or policemen shall enter them except for arresting persons accused of a theft or high treason. One grant has *sasiddhikam* as an adjective of the donated village. It seems to have been used in the same sense as *abhyantara-siddhikam* or *abhyantara-siddhyā* which occurs in later grants.<sup>2</sup> It seems to refer to the right of adjudicating cases of offences committed in the donated village. The same sense is conveyed by the expression *sa-danḍa-das-āparādham*, which is used in some later records.

Some scholars have alleged that these donations of villages led to feudalism in the country.<sup>3</sup> This is a mistaken view. After all, how many of such grants were made? Could they have made the donees as powerful as the feudal lords in Europe? The immunities that were recorded in the grants were intended to protect the donees from harassment by royal servants. They were not motivated politically.

### Yaksha Worship

Before we close this chapter, we must refer to certain beliefs that were current in that age. Yaksha-worship was then in vogue. On the railing of the *Stūpa* at Bhārhut in North India are carved images of

<sup>1</sup> Inscr. 19, line 3.

<sup>2</sup> *CII*, IV, p. 154 n.

<sup>3</sup> See C. J. K. Satyanarayana's *A Study in the History and Culture of the Andhras*, pp. 257 ff.

Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs, with their names incised near by.<sup>1</sup> Such images are not noticed on the railing of the *Stūpa* excavated at Paunī. Still, there is no doubt that the worship of the Yakshas was then in vogue. Some fields were named after certain Yakshas. Thus, one field in the neighbourhood of Nāsik was called *Ajakālakiya*.<sup>2</sup> It was named after the yaksha Ajkālaka (also called Ajakālāpaka). A village in the same locality was known as Sudisaṇā (Sudarśanā).<sup>3</sup> It was evidently named after the Yakshiṇī of that name. Her image is carved on the railing at Bhārhut, with her name engraved near it. From these names of fields and villages, there is no doubt that Yaksha-worship was prevailing in Mahārāshṭra in that age.

### The Mother Goddess

Another cult was of the Mother Goddess. In several excavations of that age terracotta figurines of the Mother Goddess have been found. They appear as seated either on a chair or on the ground, and are shown nude. Their breasts and lower parts are in bold relief.<sup>4</sup> Their hair is unbraided and is shown fallen on their shoulders on both the sides. They wear ornaments round the neck and the waist, and on the hands. These images must have been worshipped for the purpose of fertility in that age.

<sup>1</sup> *CII*, II, ii, pp. 74 and 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscr.* No. 11, line 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Inscr.* No. 13, line 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Plate XVIII*, Fig. 26.

## CHAPTER IV

### Social Condition

Very few sources of information about social condition in the age of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas are available. The main source of such information is usually the copper-plate grants of the age, but till now no such grants have been discovered. There is not also much contemporary literature, and the little that exists has not come down to us in its original form. As for religious literature, it is either too ancient to be relevant for this purpose or is very late. There is only one exception to this, *viz.*, the *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*. It seems that the *Āpastamba* branch of the Taittiriya-Śākhā of the Black Yajurveda to which it belongs was formed in South India. A commentary on the *Charaṇavyūha*<sup>1</sup> states that this branch still exists in the Andhra and other countries on the banks of the Godāvāri in the south-east direction of South India. The Brāhmaṇas of this branch are mentioned in several grants of southern kings, but they are conspicuous by their absence in those of northern rulers. Even now the Brāhmaṇas of the *Āpastamba Śākhā* are noticed in large numbers in the Nāsik, Poonā, Ahmadnagar, Solāpur, Kolhāpur and other districts of Mahārāshṭra and also in the Karnāṭaka, Tamiḷ Nāḍu, and Andhra States. The Brāhmaṇas of this school are even now known for their Vedic learning. Those in Vārāṇasi and some other cities of the north have migrated there from the south.

Southern countries generally find no mention in Vedic literature. The *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini no doubt

<sup>1</sup> See the following (slightly incorrect) extract from the *Charaṇavyūha*—

अन्धादिदक्षिणाम्नेवी आमोदामामरावधिः । यजुर्वेदस्तैत्तिरीय आपस्तम्बः प्रतिष्ठितः ॥  
चरणव्यूह-भाष्यानुवाद (१९५४), पृ. ४७. SBE. II, p. xxx.

states in a *sūtra* the derivation of the word *dākshinātya* (southern), but it is only in the later *vārttikas* of Kātyāyana that we find mention of southern countries like Pāṇḍya. So Āryan culture seems to have penetrated into the south in a much later age. From the evidence available, Bühler has dated the formation of the Āpastamba school before the third century—perhaps in the fourth or the fifth century B. C.<sup>1</sup> Winternitz also agrees with him.<sup>2</sup> The section on royal administration in the *Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra* bespeaks the existence of small kingdoms which must have been formed in the initial stage of the spread of Āryan culture in South India. A large State like that of the Sātavāhanas had not then come into being in South India. Still, it is not unlikely that the religious and social conditions described in that Dharmasūtra continued for three or four centuries thereafter. So it would not be unreasonable to use that dharmasūtra as a source of information for the age of the Sātavāhanas.

We must also utilise such other sources as the inscriptions of the time, the accounts of Greek travellers, the existing works of the age such as the *Gāthā-Saptasatī* and the *Mṛichchhakaṭīka* and also the contemporary remains disclosed by excavations.

The system of castes and stages of life (*Varṇas* and *Āśramas*) was then in vogue. The Āryans were divided into three castes—Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya and Vaiśya. The non-Āryans were relegated to the fourth caste, viz., Śūdra. Besides these, the *dharmasūtra* mentions Ugra<sup>3</sup> and Chāṇḍāla.<sup>4</sup> Later Smṛitis define Ugra as a son born to a Vaiśya from a Śūdra woman; but this sense was probably not intended by the author of the *dharmasūtra*. Haradatta, a commentator of the *dharmasūtra*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *SBE.* II, p. xliii.

<sup>2</sup> *HLL.*, III, p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> *ADS.*, I, 2, 7, 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* II, 4, 9, 6.

<sup>5</sup> वैश्याच्छूद्राणां जाल उग्र उग्रकर्मा वा द्विजातिः । हरदत्त, आ. ध. सू. १, २, ७, २०.

has given another meaning of it, viz., he who commits a horrible deed, which seems to have been intended in that passage.

### The Duties of the Castes

The Brāhmaṇa occupied a venerable place in this system. He was expected to spend his entire life in the study of the Vedas, the performance of sacrifices and the imparting of religious instruction to others. Most of the rules in the *Dharmasūtra* concern his conduct. Those who did not live such self-controlled life did not receive such honour; nay, they were despised as degraded Brāhmaṇas. A Brāhmaṇa could not engage himself in commerce, money-lending and medication.<sup>1</sup> These restrictions did not, however, apply to times of adversity. Ordinarily a Brāhmaṇa was not to handle a weapon even for examining it;<sup>2</sup> but when anarchy becomes rampant in the State and religious life becomes impossible, twice-born people other than the Kshatriyas (such as the Brāhmaṇas and the Vaiśyas) should take up arms, says Manu.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, several Brāhmaṇas, though not Vaiśyas, are known to have come forward to establish peace and order in the State when it was convulsed by confusion and chaos. Ancient Indian history shows that the Śuṅga, Kāṇva, Sātavāhana, Vākāṭaka and Kadamba royal families, to name a few, were of the Brāhmaṇa caste.

The duties laid down for the Kshatriyas were the study of the Vedas, performance of sacrifices, making of gifts, use of arms and protection of the people. As foreign tribes had not penetrated into South India in the time of the *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*, there are no references to them in that work. But from the fourth

<sup>1</sup> ADS, I, 3, 18, 21-23.

<sup>2</sup> परोक्षार्थेऽपि ब्राह्मण आयुधं नादधीत । ADS, I, 10, 29, 6.

<sup>3</sup> शस्त्रं द्विजातिभिर्ब्राह्मण धर्मो यत्रोपकल्पते । द्विजातीनां च वर्णानां विप्लवे कालकारिणे ।।

मनु. ४. ३४८.

century B. C. the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Pahlavas, the Kushāṇas and the Hūṇas invaded India from the north-west, conquered parts of the country, founded kingdoms and ultimately became amalgamated in Hindu society. What position was assigned to them in the hierarchy of the society has become a controversial subject. We know from inscriptions that they adopted Indian names, joined Indian religions and had matrimonial connections with the people of this country. But what status was assigned to them is a subject on which divergent views have been expressed. In this connection attention may be drawn to the following verses from the *Manusmṛiti* :—

शनकंस्तु क्रियालोपादिनाः क्षत्रियजातयः ।  
 वृषस्त्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥  
 पीण्डुकाश्चोड्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः ।  
 पारदाः पल्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खशाः ॥

Manu says that the Yavanas and other foreigners, though of the Kshatriya caste, became *vrishalas* (degraded persons) as no sacramental rites were performed by the Brāhmaṇas in their case. When once we accept the view that the Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas and other foreigners, though Kshatriyas, had become degraded owing to the non-performance of Vedic rites, it follows that they would be admitted to that caste after the performance of those rites. And this must have happened actually. For, as shown before, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who was deadly opposed to intermixture of castes (*varṇa-saṅkara*), himself got his youngest son Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi married to the daughter of the Śaka Kshatrapa Rudradāman, and in course of time, she became the Mahādevī (Crowned Queen) of that Sātavāhana king. Another instance of the same type is also known from the inscriptions of the age. Śāntamūla, the founder of the Ikshvāku family of Andhra, who performed several Vedic sacrifices, got his son Māṭharīputra Virapurushadatta wedded to Rudrabhaṭṭārika, daughter of the (Śaka)

Mahārāja of Ujjaini.<sup>1</sup> A later instance of the same type can also be cited. Karṇa, a famous king of the Kalachuri family, married the Hūṇa princess Āvalla-devī.<sup>2</sup> Her son Yaśaḥkarṇa later had no difficulty in ascending the throne—nay, the Hūṇas came to be reckoned among the highest Rājput clans. Śaka Ṛishabhadatta, who made several *mahādānas* of a thousand cows each and gifted as many as sixteen villages to Brāhmaṇas, could not have found any difficulty in getting Brāhmaṇas for his religious functions. We have of course no references to the performance of Vedic sacrifices by these foreign princes, but in all other respects they must have been completely amalgamated in the Hindu society.

The third caste was of the Vaiśyas. Besides the duties of Vedic study, performance of sacrifices and making of gifts which they shared with other twice-born people, they had agriculture, tending of cattle and trading assigned to them. Trade was in a flourishing state in the age of the Sātavāhanas. Commodities were transported from far-off places like Dhānyakaṭaka (modern Dharanikoṭ in Andhra) to the ports on the western coast such as Kalyāṇa, Śūrpāraka and Bharukachha, and to inland cities such as Ujjaini via Tagara and Pratiśṭhāna. The leaders of mercantile caravans were called *Sārthavāhas*. Even Brāhmaṇas engaged themselves in that profession and became rich. Chāru-datta was such a *sārthavāha* who had become rich in the profession, though he spent all his wealth in charity afterwards.

The Śudra was the fourth caste. The duty of the Śudras was to serve other castes. Besides, they were proficient in the various arts and crafts. Āpastamba says that a student should acquire from women and other castes the knowledge which he would not be able to obtain from his Brāhmaṇa teacher.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *HCIP*, II, p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> *CII*, IV, p. 293.

<sup>3</sup> *ADS*, II, 11, 29, 15.

The Āryan members of the first three castes had to stay with their teacher for some time after their initiatory ceremony. This close association must have resulted in mutual understanding and concord. All of them lived and dined together, as the Brāhmaṇas also were meat-eaters in those days. Āpastamba first states the view of some people that members of all castes except the Śūdras should dine together and then gives his own opinion that a pious Śūdra also should join the party.<sup>1</sup> He also states that either the Āryas or the Śūdras under the direction of the Āryas should prepare the food required for the Vaiśvadeva rite.<sup>2</sup> The caste system thus was not then as rigid as it became afterwards.

The *anuloma* system of marriage was then prevalent. The Brāhmaṇas and others were allowed to marry girls of their own and those of the lower castes.<sup>3</sup> The *pratiloma* marriages were interdicted; but the notion that the various low castes were brought about by marriages of the *pratiloma* type as stated in the *Manu-smṛiti* was not current in that age.

Unlike other Smṛitis, the *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra* makes no mention of the different kinds of sons. It is against the recognition of the adopted son; for, says it, "there cannot be a sale or a gift of a child."<sup>4</sup> This rule was, however, changed later. Āpastamba allows *niyoga* (levirate) in the absence of a natural son.<sup>5</sup>

Like other *dharmasūtras*, the *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra* has given detailed rules about the conduct of the Brāhmaṇas. The student who lived with his teacher must behave with due humility. The teacher also should

<sup>1</sup> सर्ववर्णानां स्वधर्मं कर्तमानानां भोक्तव्यं शूद्रवर्जमित्येके । तस्यापि धर्मोपनतस्य ।

आ. ध. सू. १.६.१८.१३-१४.

<sup>2</sup> आप्याः प्रयता वैश्वदेवेन्नसंस्काराः स्युः । आप्याधिष्ठिता वा शूद्राः । आ. ध. सू.

२.२.३.१, ४.

<sup>3</sup> *ADS*, II, 6, 13, 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* II, 6, 13, 10.

<sup>5</sup> समोत्रस्थानीया न परेभ्यः समाचक्षीत । आ. ध. सू. २.१०.२७.२.



treat him affectionately like his own son, and impart all his knowledge to him. If the student commits any fault, he should punish him by scolding, making him observe a fast or bathe in (cold) water, or forbidding him to come in his presence, in accordance with the nature of his fault.<sup>1</sup> Āpastamba has especially stressed the importance of the *Vaiśvadeva* rite and the reception of guests.<sup>2</sup> He says that all including a dog and a Chāṇḍāla should partake of the food prepared for the *Vaiśvadeva*.<sup>3</sup> Religious-minded Brāhmaṇas used to perform all these duties as is crystal clear from the Malhārā plates<sup>4</sup> which describe the mode of living of the righteous Brāhmaṇas of that age.

Āpastamba has also described the duties of the Kshatriyas in detail. The king should not live a more luxurious life than his *guru* or his *Amātya*.<sup>5</sup> In his country none should die of hunger, disease, cold or heat.<sup>6</sup> There should be no apprehension of a thief in the villages, nay, even in the forests of his realm.<sup>7</sup> He should not punish any one because of suspicion.<sup>8</sup> None who surrenders himself should be put to death. These and similar principles of civilised administration find mention in the *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*.

When Buddhism spread in the south, many people of Mahārāshṭra embraced that faith. As shown above, they included persons of various castes and professions. It does not, however, seem that they had given up their caste or formed a new caste of their own. An inscription in a cave at Kuḍā deserves special notice

<sup>1</sup> *ADS*, I, 2, 6, 24-29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* I, 2, 4, 11-14.

<sup>3</sup> सर्वान्वैश्वदेवे भागिनः कुर्वीता स्वचाण्डालेभ्यः । *Ibid.* II, 4-9-5.

<sup>4</sup> See *Inscr.* 64.

<sup>5</sup> गुरुनमात्तपोश्च नातिजीवेत् । आ. घ. सू. २.९.२५.१०.

<sup>6</sup> न चास्य विषये क्षुधा रोणेण हिमालयाभ्यां वावसीदेदभावाद्दुष्टिपूर्वं वा कश्चित् ।  
आ. घ. सू. २.९.२५.११.

<sup>7</sup> क्षेमकुद्राजा यस्य विषये ग्रामेरभ्ये वा तस्करभयं न विद्यते । आ. घ. सू. २.९.  
२५.१५.

<sup>8</sup> न च सन्देहे दण्डं कुर्वीत् । आ. घ. सू. २.९.११.२.

in this connection. It records the gift of a *chaitya-griha* by Bhāyilā, the Brāhmaṇa wife of a Brāhmaṇa *Upāsaka* named Ayitilu.<sup>1</sup> It is clear from this record that both the husband and the wife had embraced the Buddhist faith. This is shown by the epithet *Upāsaka* applied to the husband. The wife's faith in Buddhism is evident from her gift of the *chaitya-griha*. Still, they are both described as Brāhmaṇas in the inscription. Nay, they must have been so designated at their own instance. So they had not given up their caste after their conversion to the Buddhist faith. Buddhism objected not so much to caste as to the slaughter of animals in sacrifices and to the authority of the Vedas. We have shown elsewhere that even in later ages there were intermarriages between the Hindus and the Jains also.<sup>2</sup>

### The Duties of the Āśramas

Hinduism lays down not only *varṇas* (castes) but *āśramas* (stages of life) also. The four *āśramas*, viz., the Brahmachāri (the Student), the Gṛihastha (the house-holder), the Vānaprastha (the hermit) and the Saṁnyāsīn (the recluse) have been prevailing since the Vedic age. They are all described in the *Āpastambadharmasūtra* also. Āpastamba says that the Saṁnyāsīn should give up the study of the Vedas, beg for only as much food as would suffice for keeping himself alive, give up all interest in worldly affairs, wear only such clothing as is discarded by others or go about naked, and attempt to realise the self. He has also referred to the opinion of some people that this mode of life results in the attainment of bliss in this very life,<sup>3</sup> but he does not agree with this view. For, says

<sup>1</sup> *ICTWJ*, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscriptions of the Śiṅgharūs* (CII, VI), p. lx.

<sup>3</sup> बुद्धे लोभप्रापणम् । लब्धत्वात्तैः किंप्रतिबिद्धम् । बुद्धे वेत्स्ये मयापणमिहेष न दुःखमुपलभेत ।

आ. ध. सू. २. ९. २१. १४-१६.

he, if one had attained bliss by the realisation of the self, he would not have been seen suffering from sorrows in this life. Whatever that may be, there were *Munis* or Sages of this type in the age of the Sātavāhanas. An inscription at Juhnar records the gift of a cave made by Nandabālikā, the wife of a *rishi* (sage) named Mūlasvāmin.<sup>1</sup> This *rishi* seems to have been a follower of the Hindu religion. Had he been a Buddhist, he would have been referred to as a *Bhikshu*. After he renounced the worldly life and went to dwell in a forest, his wife seems to have made this pious gift.

### The Joint Family System

The joint family system seems to have prevailed during the age of the Sātavāhanas. In several inscriptions of the time, though the head of the family is mentioned as the actual donor, he is seen dividing the religious merit of his gift among his brothers, sisters, sons and daughters. In an inscription at Junnar an *Upāsaka* is seen stating explicitly that the gift mentioned therein is a joint one made by him and his uterine brother. It clearly indicates that the two brothers were then living together after the demise of their father.<sup>2</sup> In another record in a cave at Kānherī, we find the donor stating his desire that the religious merit of his gift should accrue to his parents and children.<sup>3</sup> It indicates that his parents were then living with him in their old age.

### Inheritance

We shall next consider whether sons and others shared in ancestral property as they did in religious merit. Āpas-tamba has cited various opinions on this matter. Some people held the view that the eldest son should inherit

<sup>1</sup> *ASWI*, IV, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> *Inscr.* No. 27, lines 5—8.

the whole property of his father, and the wife should have her ornaments and the property donated to her by her relatives. Āpastamba did not subscribe to this view. He has also mentioned another view according to which the elder son should inherit a larger share of his father's property, and the other sons should divide what remains of it equally.<sup>1</sup> His own view seems to be that with the exception of impotent, mad and degraded sons, all other sons should divide their patrimony equally.<sup>2</sup> He makes no mention of the wife among the heirs of the deceased person. He says elsewhere that since the husband and wife live together after their marriage, there should be no division of property between them.<sup>3</sup> If the husband goes abroad, the wife has the right to spend for occasional expenses from his property,<sup>4</sup> but she has no right to it after his death!

The wife's right to family property was recognised very late in India. Āpastamba has mentioned sons, *sapiṇḍas*, the Āchārya and disciples as heirs to a dead person's property, and thereafter his daughter also, but not his wife! It was the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* (II, 135) that first recognised the wife as the first heir to the property of a person who dies leaving no sons, but this revolutionary view did not receive acceptance for a considerable time thereafter. That it had not met with general acceptance even in the time of Kālidāsa (*circa*-A. D. 400), is shown by the episode of the merchant Dhanamitra in the *Śākuntala*.<sup>5</sup> The daughter, however, was recognised as an heir after the *Sapiṇḍas*.<sup>6</sup> Āpastamba says that in the event of there being no heir, the property should escheat to the crown.

<sup>1</sup> *ADS*, II, 6, 14, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* II, 6, 14, II.

<sup>3</sup> जादापत्योर्न विभागो विद्यते । आ. ध. सू. २. ६. १४-१६.

<sup>4</sup> न हि भर्तृविप्रवासो नैमित्तिके दाने स्तेयमुपदिशन्ति । आ. ध. सू. २. ६. १४. १६.

<sup>5</sup> In the *Śākuntala*, Act VI, when King Dushyanta learns about the death of the merchant Dhanamitra, he orders an inquiry as to whether any of his wives was pregnant.

<sup>6</sup> पुत्राभावे यः प्रत्यासन्नः सपिण्डः । . . . दुहिता वा । आ. ध. सू. २. ६. १४. २. ४.

Several inscriptions of the Sātavāhana age record large gifts made by Buddhist nuns (*Bhikṣuṇīs*). They may have espoused Buddhism after their husband's death. There are not many instances of women becoming nuns when they were unmarried. It seems, however, that there were in those days many women who, being very rich, spent their wealth in charity. It is not known whether they had obtained that wealth from their father or their husband, or whether it was their *Strī-dhana*. For instance, an inscription at Kol in North Koṅkaṇ records the excavation of a cave by Dharma-śrī, who was the daughter of an *Upāsaka* and the wife of Śivadatta,<sup>1</sup> but it does not state how she had obtained the money. Some gifts were made by *Parivrājikās* (*Bhikṣuṇīs*). They may have collected the amount necessary for it. One such gift is mentioned in Inscription No. 5 at Kuḍā. It was made by the *Parivrājikā* Padumanikā (*Padminikā*),<sup>2</sup> the daughter of the *Parivrājikā* Nāganikā and the niece of the monks *Bhadanta* Pātimita and *Bhadanta* Agimīta. The gift consisting of a cave together with a cistern was made to the local Buddhist Community. Some gifts were made by the *Bhikṣuṇīs* and *Upāsikās* who collected the money therefor from their rich relatives such as the *Mahābhōjās* and the *Mahārāṭhis*, who are mentioned in their records.

Some women were engaged in service. Inscription No. 13 mentions the door-keeper Loṭā who took down the order of Gautami-putra Sātakarṇi. The titles *Mahāsenāpatinī* and *Mahārāṭhini* of some women were, however, due to their being wives of high dignitaries. Whether the custom of *Satī* was prevalent in the Sātavāhana age, it is difficult to say. It is not referred to in any inscription of the period. Āpastamba also makes no mention of it. *Manu* lays down that a widow, after her husband's death, should lead a life of self-control, observing *yamas* and *niyamas*. The dowager queens Nāganikā and Gautamī Bala-śrī lived the same kind of life. This is stated in inscriptions No. 3 and 18. The *Gāthāsaptasatī*,

<sup>1</sup> *ASWT*, IV, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

however, refers to the custom of *Satī* in *gāthās* Nos. 407 and 633.<sup>1</sup>

### Dress and Ornaments

The custom of wearing a veil (*pardā*) was not in vogue. In some panels of the Amarāvati Stūpa, we find women worshipping the *Chaitya* in public places, participating in discussions in assembly-halls, and entertaining their husbands and guests with singing etc.<sup>2</sup> They are nowhere shown wearing a veil.

Usually, people wore in those days two garments — one lower and the other upper, besides a head-dress (*pheta*). The upper garment was often tied round the waist, with the ends dangling between the legs. The head-dress appears almost everywhere. While living with his teacher, the Brahmachāri had to use only two garments. The upper garment was worn like the sacred thread. It went over the left shoulder and under the right arm-pit. He was not to use any head-dress. The view of some people that sewn garments were not known in those days is not correct. See the following description of a *Snātaka* returning home after completing his studies, as given in the *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*.<sup>3</sup> :—

He should wear a garland, apply sandal-paste to his face, oil to his hair and mustaches, collyrium to his eyes, and (fragrant) oil to his body. He should wear a head-dress, a cloak reaching to his feet and a pair of shoes or wooden sandals.

This passage refers to a long robe (*kañchuka*). Such a robe used to be worn by a king's chamberlain. Hence his name *kañchuki*.<sup>4</sup>

The *śikhā* (tuft of hair on the head) is regarded as a

<sup>1</sup> *Gāthā-saptasatī* (ed. by S. A. Jogalekar), Introd. p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> *MSGH*, I, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> मात्यालिप्तमुखः उपलिप्तकेभ्रमभ्रुकतोभ्यक्तो वेष्टित्युपवेष्टितो काञ्चुकुपानही पादुकी । आ. श. सू. १. २. ८, २.

<sup>4</sup> Harsha's *Ratnavali* describes how a dwarf took shelter inside the long robe of a *Kāñchuki* when a monkey ran amuck.

mark of Hinduism. It has been mentioned by Āpastamba.<sup>1</sup> It used to be shaven off at the time of a sacrifice.<sup>2</sup>

Women usually wore a kind of head-garment. A woman is shown with a pointed head-garment<sup>3</sup> in a cave at Kuḍā. She may have been of the Śaka (Scythian) race. Other women are shown with uncovered breasts. Perhaps the intention was to show that they were wearing a very thin breast-garment. The *Gāthāsaptasatī* mentions a bodice.<sup>4</sup>

The Scythian Kshatrapas were differently dressed. They wore a trouser and a coat, with an overcoat on it and a belt at the waist.<sup>5</sup> Yajña Sātakarṇi appears with a close fitting cap on his coins. He also wore a jewel on it. Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi wore no such cap, but he also wore a jewel in front of his head.<sup>6</sup> Nahapāna appears with a flat *pugree* on his head on his silver coins.<sup>7</sup>

Men as well as women were fond of wearing ornaments. We have mentioned above the jewels worn on their heads by Yajñaśrī and Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi. Some other Sātavāhana kings and Kshatrapas do not appear to have worn them. Women wore foot-ornaments which are not of course noticed in the case of men ; but many other ornaments were common to both, such as round ear-rings dangling from the ears, armlets, bracelets and rings. Besides, women wore girdles of pearls or jewels.

All castes including Brāhmaṇas ate meat. Āpastamba mentions the meat of several animals as sanctioned for the Brāhmaṇas. It includes that of cows and bulls also.<sup>8</sup> The Buddhists were no doubt advocates of *ahimsā*

<sup>1</sup> अथापि ब्राह्मणम् । रक्तो वा एवोनपिहितो यन्मुण्डस्तस्यैतदपिधानं यच्छिञ्चेति ।  
आ. ध. सू. १.३.१०.८.

<sup>2</sup> सत्रेषु वचनाद्वपनं सिद्धायाम् । आ. ध. सू. १.३.१४.९.

<sup>3</sup> MSGH, I, p. 176.

<sup>4</sup> *Gāthāsaptasatī*, Verse 385.

<sup>5</sup> See the statue of Chasthana, PL XVI, Fig. 24.

<sup>6</sup> See his coin, PL XIII, Fig. 42.

<sup>7</sup> See his coin, PL XXIII, Fig. 41.

<sup>8</sup> येननुद्धोर्भक्ष्यम् । आ. ध. सू. १.९.१३.३०.

(non-killing), but Buddhist monks were allowed to accept meat not specially prepared for them. Later, after the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism the use of meat was interdicted. Liquor was in common use. Vases filled with Roman wine were imported for the use of kings and their high officers and feudatories. Their remnants have been found in several excavations in Mahārāshtra.<sup>1</sup> Common people must be using locally prepared liquor. Liquor was prohibited in the case of the Brāhmaṇas, Buddhists and Jainas. Āpastamba lays down that a drunkard should be made to drink very hot liquor, which would result in his instantaneous death.<sup>2</sup> A similar *prāyaścitta* is mentioned by Āpastamba in the case of thieves. The thief should approach the king with loose hair and a club in hand. He should own up his offence. Then the king would strike him on the head whereby he would be absolved of his guilt.<sup>3</sup> Similar *prāyaścittas* have been laid down in the case of other offences also.

### Festivals

The Samāja was an important means of entertainment. It has been mentioned by Aśoka in his edicts. It included various kinds of pastimes and scenes. Āpastamba has forbidden students living with a teacher to attend such *Samājas*.<sup>4</sup> To divert people from such *Samājas* Aśoka had arranged for another type of *Samājas* in his Empire. They were religious in character and included exhibition of such scenes as heavenly palaces for meritorious persons and blazing pillars for the sinful. There were also other modes of entertainment as strolling in public gardens mentioned in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*.

<sup>1</sup> *Pavane Excavations*, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> मुरापोमिदस्यर्ता मुरा विवेत् । आ. घ. सू. १.१.२५.३.

<sup>3</sup> स्तेनः प्रसीर्णकेशोत्ते मुसलमादाय राजानं गत्वा कर्माचक्षते । तेनैव हृत्याइवे मोक्षः ।  
आ. घ. सू. १.१.२.५.४.

<sup>4</sup> तभ्यः सम्राजस्यैवागन्ता । आ. घ. सू. १.१.३.१२.



Of the festivals then in vogue, the *Indra-dhvaja* was most important. It goes back to the Vedic times. Indra was the most popular god in the Vedic age. The *Rigveda* describes several exploits of Indra. Kṛishṇa challenged him. So Indra poured continuous showers of rain, and greatly harassed the *gopas* who were companions of the boy god Kṛishṇa. The latter then lifted the Govardhana mount to give them shelter. This episode is described in the *Harivaṁśa*.

The *Indradhvaja* festival was celebrated on the eighth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada. A large pole was carried ceremoniously with singing and dancing to the city or the palace gate. Then on the twelfth *tithi* of the same fortnight it was decorated with garments and ornaments and an image of Indra was installed in front. There would be entertainments of singing, dancing and music on the occasion. According to a tradition, a Sanskrit play was first staged in the festival of the *Indradhvaja*. The festival was in vogue in the Sātavāhana age. It is mentioned in the *Mṛichchhakatika*. It is stated there that none should see the *Indra-dhvaja* being taken down. Indra as a god had retained his importance fairly till the age of the Sātavāhanas. He is bowed to in the beginning of the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā. The following interesting *gāthā* occurs in the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhā-bharaṇa*<sup>1</sup> :—

सच्चं विअ कट्टमओ सुरणाहो जेण हल्लिअधूआए ।  
हत्थेहि कमळदलकोमलेहि छित्तो ण पल्लविओ ॥

(Verily this Indra has become wooden. Otherwise, would it not have put forth tender leaves when touched by the lotus-like hands of (this beautiful) daughter of a farmer ?)

Another important festival of those days was that of Madana (Cupid). It was celebrated on the thirteenth *tithi* of Chaitra, which was known as Madana-trayodaśī (the thirteenth *tithi* of Cupid). On that *tithi* an image

<sup>1</sup>See *gāthā* No. 458 in the *Gāthāsaṁgraha*.

of Madana used to be worshipped in a garden outside the city where a large fair was held. The management of this festival was entrusted solely to the women-folk of the city, as we find it stated in Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-Mādhava*. From the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* we learn that it was in this festival that Chārudatta and Vasantasenā first saw each other. Besides these, the Phālguna festival or the *Holikā* was also celebrated with great eclat. It is mentioned in *gāthā* No. 369.

Another pastime was gambling. It has been prevailing since the Vedic-age. The Āryans were very fond of gambling. The Gambler's Hymn in the seventh Maṇḍala of the *Rigveda* is well known. Āpastamba says that arrangements for gambling should be made by the king by placing a table in the assembly-hall in which well-conducted and righteous Āryas should take part.<sup>1</sup> The *Mṛichchhakaṭika* shows how a gambler who lost a game in gambling got dejected and embraced the Buddhist faith.

Āpastamba states in I, 8, 23, 6 the high ideal that was placed before the people. Avoidance of anger, joy, displeasure, greed, hypocrisy and infatuation, truthfulness, rectitude of conduct, gentleness, mental quietude, self-control, friendship with all and contentment—these are the characteristics of all *āśramas*. He who observes them in his life becomes merged in the Great Self.<sup>2</sup>

### The Standard of Living

We shall next describe the standard of living in those days. Several great cities came into being in the Sātavāhana age when palaces, spacious buildings and mansions were constructed. They have completely vanished leaving no trace behind ; but we can form some idea of them from

<sup>1</sup> *ADS*, II, 9, 25, 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> असोपोहृषोरोषोलोभोमोहोदम्भोदोहः मत्पचनमनस्वागोषैमुनमनसूया संविभागस्त्वाम आर्जेवं मादंवं समो दमः सर्वैर्द्वैरविरोधो योग आर्वंमानुषं तुष्टिरिति सर्वाश्रमाणां समक्यदानि तान्यनुत्तिष्ठन्विधिना सावंगामीभवति । आ. ध. सू. १.८. २३.६.

the panels affixed to the *Stūpas* at Amarāvati and other places. Large cities were surrounded by deep moats filled with water. Beyond them were constructed strong ramparts built of bricks with fortified towers having battlements for protection. Inside the cities, there used to be many-storeyed buildings with vaulted roofs. Timber was considerably used in the construction of buildings. This has left its mark in the excavations of caves and the construction of gateways as shown elsewhere.

The description of the mansion of Vasantasenā in the fourth Act of the *Mṛicchhakaṭika* gives us an idea of the magnificent residential buildings of the age and of the high standard of living of affluent people. Taking with him the necklace of jewels given by Chārudatta in exchange for the stolen ornaments of Vasantasenā, his friend Maitreya comes to Vasantasenā's mansion, where her maid receives him and takes him round showing him the various Courts of it. Vidūshaka is astounded to see the various activities there.

Vasantasenā's mansion had eight courts. Maitreya first noticed its gateway. It was studded with jewels and was decorated with strings of pearls, garlands of fragrant flowers, auspicious jars and banners. It was provided with stairs of gold and windows of crystal. A porter was sitting nearby snoozing like a Brāhmaṇa learned in the Vedas.

In the second court Maitreya saw the bullocks of Vasantasenā's *pravahaṇa*, and also a buffalow, a ram, horses, monkeys and an elephant. The court was a sort of a zoo.

When he entered the third court, Maitreya noticed several seats arranged for people of high ranks, a half-read *pothī* left open on a reading stool, a *mainā* in a cage set with jewels, and maids going about with picture-boards painted in many colours.

In the fourth court, Maitreya heard sounds of the tabor, the ringing of cymbols, the sweet notes of the flute and the music of the lute. Some girls were taking lessons in dancing and some others in acting.

The fifth court contained the kitchen where various kinds of puddings were being prepared. Their smell made Maitreya smack his lips. He felt as if he was in heaven.

The sixth court showed several goldsmiths and jewellers making ornaments of gold, jewels and pearls, and also perfumers preparing cosmetics of sandal, musk and saffron. There were courtesans and their lovers chewing *tāmbūla* with camphor. Some others were drinking wine from jars to their heart's content.

Maitreya saw in the seventh court doves, parrots, cuckoos, kabiñjals, peacocks, swans and cranes sporting quite freely.

The eighth court contained apartments of the higher ups such as Vasantasenā's mother and brother.

The foregoing very brief description of Vasantasenā's mansion would show what kind of rich, luxurious and happy life affluent people of those days were enjoying.<sup>1</sup> It was due to the favourable balance of trade which India had in the age of the Sātavāhanas. Pliny complained that every year millions of *sestertii* were being drained out of the Roman republic in payment of Indian silks, so dearly people loved their wives and daughters. According to his estimate, about five crores of *sestertii* (five lakhs of pounds) were pouring into India from Rome. Hundreds of Roman coins of the period from Augustus to Nero have been found in India, especially in South India, from which Pliny's statement does not seem to be exaggerated. The cause for the prosperity of India in the age of the Sātavāhanas and the Kshatrapas lay in this favourable balance of trade with foreign countries.

Such luxurious life can be inferred only from the descriptions in the contemporary literary works. On the other hand, the standard of living of the middle and lower classes of society in that age is evidenced by the remains brought to view in archaeological excavations.

<sup>1</sup> This description in the *Mṛgichhukāṭika* seems to have been taken from the *Bṛhatkathā*. See E. P. Marthin's *Budhāvāsin's Bṛhatkathā-śloka-saṅgraha*, pp. 25-26.

Remains of the Sātavāhana-Kshatrapa period have been discovered in the excavations at several places such as Kolhāpur, Nāsik and Jorve in Western Mahārāshtra and at Paunī in Vidarbha. Of these, those at Brahmapurī, a suburb of Kolhāpur, deserve special notice. This site is undoubtedly of the Sātavāhana age. We have dealt elsewhere with the coins of the Kura dynasty which flourished there. Ptolemy (c. A. D. 140) mentions Hippokura, the capital of King Baleokuros.<sup>1</sup> This king is undoubtedly identical with Viḷivāyakura whose coins have been found there. The name of the capital Hippokura does not, of course, resemble Brahmapurī, the present name of the site, but there is no doubt about the identification of Baleokuros with Viḷivāyakura. So the site is undoubtedly of the Sātavāhana age.

The houses in the ancient site of Brahmapurī were built on a sound foundation of two or more layers of large pebbles and sticky clay.<sup>2</sup> Walls of burnt bricks were erected on such foundations. In the beginning of the age, the bricks measured 21 inches long, 11 inches broad and 3 inches high. Later, their size was reduced to 15 inches × 7 inches × 2 inches. Care was taken to see that their joints never met. Usually the residential houses of middle class people consisted of four rooms or three rooms and a veranda, of which one was used as a kitchen. They were covered by a sloping roof made of bamboos or wooden rafters on which tiles were fixed with iron nails. The floor was made of bricks or of small pebbles and lime, and had a large jar for storing grain or water in one corner.

The pots for daily use were made of clay and included dishes, cups and vessels of different sizes. Some of them seem to have been copied from Roman vessels or were actually imported from abroad. Specially noteworthy are the Roman amphoras with handles on both sides and a pointed bottom, which were imported filled with strong wine. Fragments of such amphoras have been noticed

<sup>1</sup> *CAI*, p. 376.

<sup>2</sup> *JBBRAS*, XXVII (No. 5), pp. 99 ff.

in the excavations at Pavnār in Vidarbha also. That Brahmapurī had trade contacts with Rome is also shown by the bronze images of Greek and Roman gods, one of which is that of Poseidon,<sup>1</sup> the Greek god of the sea, who was a younger brother of Zeus.

The excavations at Brahmapurī yielded parched grains of rice, *nāchṇā* and gram, which formed the staple food of the people in that age. They were not, however, completely vegetarian ; for in one of the rooms a complete skeleton of a deer has been discovered. Venison was evidently as much liked by them in those days as it is by their descendants now. They wore cotton garments, some remnants of which have been recovered in the excavations.

The people of those days were fond of ornaments. Several kinds of beads, bangles and finger-rings were found from the Sātavāhana layers at Brahmapurī. The bangles are of bone, glass and ivory. Besides these, there were various ornaments of glass imported from abroad, possibly from Rome.

As iron had become known before the age of the Sātavāhanas, several tools and weapons made of that metal were in common use. The grind-stone was, however, not known till the beginning of the Christian era. So it is not noticed there too. Its place was taken by the mortar and pestle, and the quern. The quern discovered at Brahmapurī had four legs, and was  $17\frac{3}{4}$  inches in length,  $7\frac{3}{8}$  inches in width and 9 inches in height. Its pestle (*varavaṅṭā*) is  $11\frac{3}{4}$  inches in length and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter.

Waste water was carried by pipes to a ring well, 4 to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet in diameter. Its sides were made of baked earthen rings or of baked bricks. These wells were at some distance from the place of residence.

Such material culture has come to notice during excavations at several places in Mahārāshṭra. It gives us a glimpse of the common man's life in those days.

<sup>1</sup> See Pl. XVIII, Fig. 27. Poseidon is the god of the sea, and a younger brother of Zeus. He is shown with a trident, and a dolphin nearby. His temples were erected on hills.

## CHAPTER V

### Economic Condition

#### State Income

In the Sātavāhana age the income of the State was derived from land revenue and other cesses, taxes levied on commodities, excise and octroi duties, fines imposed on offenders, escheat of the property of persons who died without leaving an heir etc. Some income was also derived from State-owned lands. For instance, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi says in Inscription No. 11, "The field named after Ajakālaka Yaksha, measuring three hundred *nivartanas*, which was previously owned by Ṛishabhadatta has now become ours. We are donating it to the mendicants of the Triraśmi hill.<sup>1</sup>" There must have been several such fields owned by the State. Other fields were, however, owned by private persons as in the Rayatvāri system now prevalent in Mahārāshṭra. The State received only the revenue settled in their cases. Inscription No. 43 shows that Ṛishabhadatta had to purchase a field near the city of Govardhana from its owner Aśvibhūti by paying 4,000 *kārshāpaṇas* to him before he could give it to the mendicants. The price of each field depended, of course, on the quality of land in it. So Gautamīputra could, without doing any injustice, exchange an uncultivated field of 200 *nivartanas* for another (evidently of a better productivity) measuring only 100 *nivartanas*.<sup>2</sup>

#### Grants and Immunities

Some royal grants were of whole villages. In such cases the owners of lands were not dispossessed of

<sup>1</sup> Inscr. No. 11, lines 2-3.

<sup>2</sup> Inscr. No. 13, lines 3-5.

them. What was donated was only the land-revenue, which was thereafter to be paid to the donee. It is noteworthy that not only the State but even the Corporations of some cities owned whole villages. An inscription in Cave XVIII at Nāsik records that the people of Nāsika donated the village of Dhambhika to the local Buddhist Community apparently to meet the expenses of getting the door-way of the Cave carved.<sup>1</sup>

Along with the gifts of lands and villages certain immunities were granted to the donees. Royal servants such as *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* (policemen and soldiers) were forbidden to enter them except for apprehending thieves and persons accused of high treason.<sup>2</sup> None could dig in them for salt. The donees of such villages were free from the obligation of arranging for the stay and transport of royal officers visiting them. Fines imposed on offenders were usually paid to the State, but in the case of *agrahāra* villages they would accrue to the Brāhmaṇa donees. In some villages the right of adjudicating law suits was transferred to their donees.<sup>3</sup>

Inscriptions make no mention of the crops produced in the Sātavāhana age; but they were probably the same as now, viz., rice, jawār, bājṛā, wheat, sugarcane, gram, cotton etc. Some of these are incidentally mentioned in the *Gāthā-sapta-śati*.<sup>4</sup> In view of the importance of Vedic learning and the long continued and strenuous intellectual labour involved in mastering the sacred works, a *Śrotriya* (Brāhmaṇa learned in the Vedas) was exempted from the payment of all taxes.<sup>5</sup>

### Trade

Trade with inland as well as foreign countries was flourishing in those days. The *Periplus* states that

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 22

<sup>2</sup> Some records state चौरराजापत्यकारिदण्डवर्जम् as an exception to this rule. See *CH. IV*, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Inscr.* 35. See also p. 89, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Gāthā-sapta-śati* (ed. by Jogalekar), pp. 213 ff.

<sup>5</sup> अकरः श्रोत्रियः । *Agastamba-dharmasūtra*, II, 10-26-20.



foreign ships used to carry cargo to the ports in Sindh as well to others like Barygaza (Broach), from where it was carried to market towns by land-routes. The ports of Kaliyāṇa (Kalyāṇ), Śūrpāraka (Sopārā) and Cheula (Chaul) were well known in those days. They were connected by land-routes with such cities and market-towns as Nāsik, Govardhana, Karahāṭa (Karahād), Tagar (Ter in the Osmānābād District), Vaijayantī (Banavāsī in the North Kannaḍa District), Pratiśṭhāna (Paiṭhaṇ) and others. Residential caves for Buddhist monks were excavated at several places on the western coast and above the ghāṭs. They were probably on the trade-routes of those days.

In ancient times trade was usually carried on through the *śreṇis* (or guilds). The following guilds are mentioned in inscriptions — *dhānikas* (traders in corn), *gandhikas* (sellers of perfumes), *mālākāras* (florists), *suvarṇakāras* (goldsmiths), *selavaḍhakis* (stone-masons), *odayantrikas* (manufacturers of hydraulic machines), *tilapishakas* (oilmen), *kularikas* (potters), *kolikas* (weavers), *vaṁsakāras* (bamboo-workers), etc. There were sometimes more than one guild of the same profession in a locality. Inscription No. 38 shows that there were two guilds of weavers in Govardhana, and the rates of interest they offered on perpetual endowments differed probably according to their reputation and stability. These guilds were engaged not only in the production and transport of merchandise, they did also banking business. They used to receive endowments and pay monthly interest on them. People had full faith in their honesty and stability. Rishabhadatta was in fact the *de facto* ruler of Mahārāshṭra in his days. But he preferred to invest his amounts for permanent endowments for mendicants in the guilds at Govardhana rather than in the State Treasury or in the State Banks if there were any in those days.

Donations of lands and villages were announced in the *Nigama-sabhās* (or town-assemblies) first, and were

then registered in the local Offices.<sup>1</sup> The *Nigama-sabhā* probably consisted of the representatives of the local people and exercised control over the local guilds. So people were assured of their stability and regular payment of interest on the amounts invested with them.

The rate of interest then varied from 9 to 12 per cent per annum. Ṛishabhadatta invested a sum of 2,000 *kārshāpaṇas* in one guild at the rate of 12 per cent per annum and another of 1,000 *kārshāpaṇas* in a second guild at the rate of 9 per cent per annum. The difference in the rates of interest was probably due to the stability or the need of the guilds concerned.

Clay-seals of several guilds have been discovered in the excavations at Vaiśālī, from which we get varied information about them. No such seals have, however, been found in the excavations in Mahārāshṭra. So our knowledge about them is very meagre.

Kauṭilya mentions *śreṇi-bala* or the army of guilds.<sup>2</sup> As the guilds carried on trade with various countries, they had to keep some guards for the safety of their caravans passing through forests and deserted tracts. Kings used to seek the help of this *śreṇi-bala* in times of difficulty. Hence it is included in the army of the State.

### Coins

Various kinds of coins were in circulation in the age of the Sātavāhanas. The Nāṇeghāṭ inscription records gifts of thousands of *kārshāpaṇas* given to the priests officiating at their sacrifices. The *kārshāpaṇa* denoted a coin of silver as well as that of copper. But the *kārshāpaṇas* mentioned in that inscription were probably of copper. The *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya also mentions salaries of royal servants counted in hundreds and thousands of *kārshāpaṇas*. In view of the short supply of silver in India, those coins also were probably of copper.<sup>3</sup> A joint

<sup>1</sup> Inscr. No. 11, line 5.

<sup>2</sup> Kauṭilya, *Arthasāstra*, IX, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Kane, *History of Dharmadāstra*, III, pp. 120 ff.

silver coin of Sātakarṇi and Nāganikā has recently come to notice. Such coins must have been issued in commemoration of the Aśvamedha and other great sacrifices performed in that age. In the excavation at Koṇḍāpur, several moulds of punch-marked coins were found. According to some scholars, private merchants used to issue coins with such moulds.

The *kārshāpaṇa* coins mentioned in the inscriptions of Ṛishabhadatta were probably of silver ; for his father-in-law Nahapāna is known to have issued thousands of such coins. The Jogaltembhi hoard contained more than 13,250 such silver coins of Nahapāna.

Gold coins also were then in circulation. A Nāsik cave inscription states that two thousand gold coins were equivalent to seventy thousand silver *kārshāpaṇas*.<sup>1</sup> This works out to the ratio of one gold coin to thirty-five silver *kārshāpaṇas*. Gold coins were first introduced by the Kushāṇa Emperors. Nahapāna was probably the Kushāṇa Emperor Kanishka's Kshatrapa (Governor) placed in-charge of Mahārāshṭra, Gujarāt, Kāthiāwāḍ and Mālhwā. His silver *kārshāpaṇas* weighed 30 grains each, after deducting dross in them. Taking 120 grains as the general weight of a gold coin of Kanishka, we find that 120 grains of gold were equal in value to  $(35 \times 30 =)$  1050 grains of silver. This means that the ratio in the prices of silver and gold was then 9 : 1 as shown by Altekar.<sup>2</sup>

Silver had to be imported, while gold freely flowed into India from Rome as the balance of trade was then favourable to the former. This explains how silver had appreciated in value in that age.

The Sātavāhanas minted potin and lead coins also. Lead coins were much larger in size than potin coins, though both were round in shape. These coins are described in a later chapter.

D. R. Bhandarkar thought that the gold coins of the Kushāṇa king Wema Kadphises were referred to by the word *kuśāṇa* in the expression *Kuśāṇa-mūla* which

<sup>1</sup> Inscr. No. 38, line 5.

<sup>2</sup> *MSGH*, I, p. 181.

occurs in Inscription No. 38 ; but, as shown elsewhere, *Kuśāṇa-mūla* is wrongly written there for *kuśāla-mūla*<sup>1</sup> and makes no reference to any coin.

One of the principal causes of the national prosperity of that age was that India had flourishing trade with foreign countries, especially with Rome. We can gather some information about it from the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (the Guide to the Indian Ocean). The Erythraean Sea denoted the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf also, according to the author of this work, who remains unknown. The work was composed some time between A. D. 80 and 89.

The *Periplus* mentions three kings of Western India, viz., Nambānus,<sup>2</sup> the Elder Saraganus and Sandares. Some scholars identify Nambānus with Nahapāna, but the identification does not appear likely. The *Periplus* states that Barygāzā (Broach) and Ariākā (North Koṅkan) form the western boundary of the kingdom of Nambānus and also of India. Their eastern boundary was Abiriā (the Ābhīra country) which was close to Scythia. If Nambānus is taken to be identical with Nahapāna, these statements seem to refer to the country near Broach. It was no doubt included in the kingdom of Nahapāna. But that Kshatrapa could not have been intended in this connection ; for the *Periplus* was composed in circa A. D. 80, while Nahapāna was ruling in Mahārāshṭra much later. His known inscriptions are dated from Śaka 41 to 46 (A. D. 119 to 124). Who this Nambānus was cannot be ascertained.

Some scholars identify the Elder Saragenus with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. In his time Kallieṇa was a famous port ; but, the *Periplus* says, in later times if Greek vessels even by accident entered its ports, a guard was put on board and they were taken to Barygaza. Some identify this Sandares with Sundara Sātakarṇi, the great-grandfather of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. This identification is not unlikely chronologically.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix VI.

<sup>2</sup> Some take this name to be Moembaras.

## Exports and Imports

We learn from the *Periplus* that there was flourishing maritime trade from the ports of Barygaza (Broach), Kallieṇa (Kalyāṇ) and Suppārā (Sopārā). These ports were joined by land-routes with the cities of Paiṭhaṇ, Tagara (Ter in the Osmānābād District) and Ujjain. The Indians carried on flourishing trade with foreign countries like Egypt, Greece and Italy. Among the exports were included sesame oil, sugar, animal-skins, cotton fabrics, silk, muslin, pepper, cardamom, cinamon, jewels, ornaments, etc.<sup>1</sup> The imports were of Roman wine, copper, tin, lead, glass etc. The balance of trade was favourable to India and so Roman gold flowed into India. Pliny, a contemporary of the author of the *Periplus*, deplored the drain of Roman gold to India in exchange for costly luxurious goods.

Barygaza produced in abundance wheat, rice, clarified butter, sesamum oil and honey obtained from reeds. The author of the *Periplus* did not know sugar cane. He calls it a kind of reed producing honey. Cotton fabrics had been in vogue in India since the time of the Indus Valley Civilization. Herodotus, the famous Greek historian, has mentioned the cotton clothes of Indian soldiers. Garments made from deer-skins, silk (*kiṭaja-vastra*) and muslin (*sūkshma vastra*) are mentioned in several passages of the contemporary Sanskrit literature. So also are various ornaments of gold, silver, diamonds and pearls. Roman gold coins obtained in exchange for them have been found in excavations in several places.

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<sup>1</sup> *JOI*, XXVI, pp. 401

## CHAPTER VI

### Literature

In the age of the Sātavāhanas the language of the common people and also of the State Governments was Prakrit. As far back as the sixth century B. C. Gautama Buddha and Vardhamāna Mahāvira, the founders respectively of Buddhism and Jainism, had used the Prakrit language of the time for the propagation of their religious tenets among the common people. Later, in the third century B. C., Aśoka also issued his edicts addressed to his subjects in his vast empire extending from Afghanistan to Mysore in the spoken dialects of the time. Even if we grant that the rules of the Dharmasūtras were observed in practical life and the members of the three higher castes lived with their *gurus* and studied the Vedas for some time, their knowledge of Sanskrit must have been very meagre as shown by contemporary evidence. Āpastamba has laid down the rule that a Brahmachāri should salute the members of the three higher castes by folding his hands, stretching them forward and mentioning his own name. The latter should return the salutation, prolatating the last vowel of his name<sup>1</sup> as in the following :—

आवृष्मान् भव सौम्य शुभशर्मन् ।

Manu also has given this rule, but he says further :—

यो न वेत्यभिवादस्य विप्रः प्रत्यभिवादनम् ।

नाभिवाद्यः स विदुषा यथा शूद्रस्तथैव सः॥ (मनु. २. १२६)

(The Brahmachāri should not salute the Brāhmaṇa who does not know how to prolate the vowel in his name. He is no better than a Śūdra !)

As the *Manusmṛiti* mentions the Yavanas, Śakas and Pahlavas, it is dated in the period 200 B. C. to A. D. 200. This is also the age of the Sātavāhanas. The afore-cited

<sup>1</sup> See प्लावनं च नाम्नोभिवादनप्रत्यभिवादाने च पूर्वेषां वर्णानाम् । ADS., I, 2, 5, 17.

verse of the *Manusmṛiti* shows that even several Brāhmaṇas of that age could not return the salutation of the Brahma-chāri properly. Sanskrit had lost its place to Prakrit in that age.

Some early Sātavāhanas performed Vedic sacrifices. Queen Nāganikā's Nāṇeghāṭ inscription records that she and her husband King Sātakarṇi performed several Vedic sacrifices and donated to the officiating priests thousands of cows and *kārshāpaṇas* and also several elephants, horses and villages as *dakṣiṇā*. But the description of these sacrifices is written not in Sanskrit but in Prakrit. Nay, not a single inscription of any Sātavāhana king is written in Sanskrit. It is surprising that the Śakas, who were foreigners, gave much better patronage to the Classical language. The Nāsik Cave inscriptions of Ṛishabhadatta, though not in pure Sanskrit, show a much greater mixture of Sanskrit words.<sup>1</sup> The Śaka Kshatrpa Rudradāman's Junāgaḍh inscription<sup>2</sup> is written in elegant and faultless Sanskrit. He is even credited therein with the authorship of *kāvya*s in prose and verse, embellished with *alaṅkāras*. On the other hand, the description of her son Sātakarṇi which Gautamī Balaśrī caused to be composed in glorification of him, though full of *alaṅkāras*,<sup>3</sup> is in Prakrit. In fact, it seems to have been first written in Sanskrit and then converted into Prakrit. The Sātavāhanas appear to have directed that all State orders must be issued in Prakrit.

In view of this love for Prakrit noticed in the Sātavāhana age, it is not surprising that several traditional stories illustrating it became current about them. Rājaśekhara states that a Sātavāhana ruler of the Kuntala country issued an order that only the Prakrit language must be spoken in his harem. Bhoja also mentions this tradition in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*. Sātavāhana patronage to Prakrit poets is also evidenced by Hāla's

<sup>1</sup> See Nāsik Cave inscription (No. 43) of Ṛishabhadatta.

<sup>2</sup> Inscription No. 51, line 14.

<sup>3</sup> See the following adjectives: दिवसकरकरविशोषितकमलविमलसदिसवदनस and वरधारणविकमचारविकमस in Inscription No. 19, lines 3-4.

*Gāthā-saptaśatī* or *Sattasāī*. It is a well-known anthology of Prakrit verses composed in that age.

### 1. The Sattasāī and Other Works of Hāla

One of the initial verses in the *Sattasāī* states that King Hāla, a patron of poets, compiled it by selecting seven hundred out of a crore of Prakrit *gāthās*<sup>1</sup> :—

सत्तसआइ कइवच्छलेण कोडीअ मज्झआरम्मि ।

हालेण विरआइ सालंकाराणं गाहाणं ॥ (क्र. ३)

The original title of this work was *Kośa* or *Gāthā-kośa*. It occurs in the colophons of some commentaries. See e. g., the following verse in the commentary of Gaṅgādhara :—

एसो कइणामंकिअगाहापडिबद्धवड्ढिआआमो ।

सत्तसअओ समत्तो सालाहणविरइओ कोसो ॥ (नि. प्रे. पृ. २०७)

This shows that the *gāthās* had the names of their authors coupled with them. Such names are given in several commentaries of the work. As in several Sanskrit anthologies, they are in some cases different in different commentaries, but this does not indicate that they are all fictitious. The afore-cited *gāthā* calls this Prakrit anthology a *kośa*. The *Sāhityadarpaṇa* defines a *kośa* as follows<sup>2</sup> :—

कोशः श्लोकसमूहस्तु स्यादन्योन्यानपेक्षकः ।

(A *kośa* is an anthology of mutually unconnected verses.). This *gāthā-kośa* was compiled by Sālāhaṇa. *Sālāhaṇa* is the Prakrit form of Sātavāhana. As Hāla was a member of the Sātavāhana family, the *Sattasāī* is described in the afore-cited colophon as 'compiled by Sālāhaṇa.' In his *Harshacharita* Bāṇa has eulogised this anthology of *gāthās* in the following verse :—

अविनाशिनमप्राम्यमकरोत् सातवाहनः ।

विशुद्धजातिभिः कोशं रत्नैरिव सुभाषितैः ॥

<sup>1</sup> The numbers of *gāthās* cited hereafter are as in the *Gāthasaptasāī*, ed. by S. A. Jogalekar. They are identical with those in the edition of the work published by Nirṇayasāgar Press in 1911.

<sup>2</sup> *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VI, 329.



(Sātavāhana compiled an everlasting and refined anthology of good sayings containing faultless *svabhāvoktis* which resembles an inexhaustible treasure of pure jewels such as cannot be formed in a village.).

Hāla, the author of this anthology, is highly praised by several later poets. See, for instance, the following praise of him by Uddyotanasūri in his *Kuvalayamālā*<sup>1</sup> :—

भणिइविलासवइत्तणचोक्किल्ले जो करेइ हल्लिए वि ।  
कव्वेण कि पउत्थे हालो हालावियारे व्व ॥

This *gāthā* says that Hāla, by the charm of his words, makes even the rustic peasants dance as if under the influence of wine.

पणइहि कइयणेणू य भमरेहि व जस्स जायपणएहि ।  
कमलायरो व्व कोसो विलुप्पमाणो वि हु ण झीणो ॥

(This anthology is not exhausted, however much it might be robbed of its sayings by poets enamoured of its excellence, even as a cluster of lotuses is not drained of its honey however much the bees fond of it may suck it.)

In later times, the word *kośa* became current in the sense of 'a lexicon', and so it ceased to be used in that of an anthology of separate verses. This misled D. R. Bhandarkar who thought that the *kośa* eulogised by Bāṇa was different from Hāla's *Gāthāsaptasatī*.

Hāla is mentioned as the seventeenth king in the list of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) rulers in the Purāṇas. They assign him a reign of only five years, which appears incredible. He probably flourished in the first century A. D.

This date, however, is not accepted by several scholars. Keith places him in the period A. D. 200—450. Weber thought that he must have flourished in the third century A. D.—in any case, before the seventh century A. D.

<sup>1</sup> *Kuvalayamālā* ed. by A. N. Upadhye, p. 3

D. R. Bhandarkar has drawn attention to the mention of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā in v. 89, the reference to *aṅgārakavāra* (Tuesday) in v. 261 and the description of Vikramāditya in v. 464, and on this evidence he has referred the *Gāthāsaptasatī* to the sixth century A. D. As stated before, he thinks that the *kośa* eulogised by Bāṇa in one of the introductory verses of his *Harshachaita* cannot be this anthology of Prakrit verses.<sup>1</sup> This is however, a mistaken view as shown before.

The *gāthās* on the evidence of which Bhandarkar would place the *Sattasāī* in the sixth century A. D. must first be proved to have been included in the original anthology before their testimony can be utilised for the purpose. The *Sattasāī* went through several editions. Every edition contained only seven hundred *gāthās* ; but this number was adhered to by omitting some old *gāthās* and inserting new ones of the same number in the anthology. Weber has shown that there were six such editions. Only 430 *gāthās* occur in all of them. They alone belong to the original *Sattasāī*. One cannot be confident about other *gāthās*.

These *gāthās* were composed by several poets in the Māhārāshṭrī Prakrit. Originally, each *gāthā* had its poet's name coupled with it as stated by the last *gāthā* in Gaṅgā-dharā's commentary cited above. Some of the *gāthās* were composed by poets and some other by poetesses. But all these poets and poetesses were residents of Mahārāshṭra ; for the *gāthās* mention the mountain Vindhya and the rivers Revā, Tāpī and Godāvārī. There is not a single hill or river of North India mentioned in any of them.

Among the authors of this Prakrit anthology are mentioned King Hāla and the poets of his Court like Pālitta (or Pādalipta) and several poetesses such as Revā, Mādhavī, Anulakshmi, and Andhralakshmi. Which of them were contemporaries of Hāla and which were of a later age, cannot be determined now. But some of the

<sup>1</sup> *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 189.

names appear to be of later kings and poets from which it is evident that some *gāthās* were interpolated in the anthology from time to time. The names of these poets are given below, with references to their *gāthās*<sup>1</sup> :—

(1) King Karṇa of the Sātavāhana family (vv. 55 and 455) ; (2) Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II (vv. 45, 64, 202, 208 and 236) (Gaṅgādhara) ; also vv. 146, 156, 203, 209, 341, 506, 567 and 724 (Bhuvanapāla) ; (3) Vākāṭaka Sarvasena (vv. 502, 503) (Pitāmbara) ; vv. 217, 234 (Bhuvanapāla) ; (4) Māna (Rāshtrakūṭa Mānānka) vv. 101-104 ; (5) Rāshtrakūṭa Devarāja, vv. 138, 239 ; (6) Āḍhyarāja (contemporary of Hāla), vv. 66, 169, 219, 235 (Bhuvanapāla) ; (7) Vākpatirāja (contemporary of Bhavabhūti, 8th century A. D.), v. 95 (Gaṅgādhara), 616-618 (Pitāmbara).

As *gāthās* of later poets were interpolated in the *Sattasai* from time to time, it is necessary to ascertain that the particular *gāthā* which is to be cited as evidence was included in the original *Sattasai*. As this is an impossible task in the present circumstances, it is better not to rely on the evidence of these *gāthās*. For instance, see the mention of King Vikramāditya in the following *gāthā*<sup>2</sup> :—

संवाहणसुहरसतोसिण दंतेण तुह करे लखं ।

चलणेण विक्कमाइत्तचरिअं अणुसिन्धिअं तिस्सा ॥

The following seems to be the context of this *gāthā* : A lady says to her lover with reference to another sweetheart of his : "Her foot, which being delighted by your massage imprinted its lac-dye marks on your hand, has imitated the action of Vikramāditya (who also, being pleased with the victories of his men, places lakhs of coins on their hands).

King Vikramāditya mentioned in this *gāthā* was probably Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty; for such traditions about him are mentioned in later

<sup>1</sup> *SI.*, I (second ed.), pp. 93 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Gāthā*, No. 464.

inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> This *gāthā* must, therefore, have been inserted in the *Sattasai* after A. D. 400. The date of the original *Sattasai* cannot be proved on its evidence.

The *Sattasai* is a collection of popular verses. The age of Hāla saw a blossoming of popular poetry. Whoever from the king to the peasant had any poetic fervour composed *gāthās*. From out of a crore of such *gāthās*, King Hāla is said to have selected only seven hundred in compiling his *Sattasai*.

The authors of these *gāthās* were not connoisseur townsmen, nor are the women they described coquettish. The *gāthās* portray the simple daily life in the villages of Mahārāshṭra such as can be seen even today. They describe scenes of love, humour, natural phenomena, pleasures and pains of human life and delicate feelings of men and women. And these pictures are drawn with a few strokes. Therein delicate feelings of women are expressed not by men but by women themselves. About the excellence of these word pictures in Prakrit one poet says :—

अमिअं पाउअकख्वं पडिउं सोउं अ जे ण जाणति ।

कामस्त तत्तर्तति कुणति ते कहं ण लज्जति ॥

(How do they not feel ashamed who do not know how to read a Prakrit *kāvya* or to listen to it, and still participate in the discussion of the principles of *Kāmasāstra* ?).

Though the *Sattasai* mentions in some verses the secret meeting places of lovers, it would be unwise to probe references to secret sexual enjoyment in almost every *gāthā* as some commentators have done. Some *gāthās* contain pure nature description. See e. g. the following *gāthā* (No. 4) :—

उअ णिच्चलणिपन्दा विसिणीपत्तम्मि रेहइ बलाआ ।

णिम्मलमरगअभाअणपरिट्ठिआ संखसुत्ति व्व ॥

<sup>1</sup> See the following verse eulogising the Rāshṭrakūṭa Emperor Amoghavarsha I in the Sanjūn plates (*ET.*, 53, p. 248)—

हत्वा अतारमेव राश्वमहुरदेवी च दीनस्तथा लशं कांठिमलेखपत्तिकल कलौ दाता  
स गुप्तान्वयः । येनातयाभि तनुः स्वराम्बमनहुद्धाह्यायैः कैः का कया ह्योस्तस्योन्नत-  
राष्ट्रकूटसिक्को दातेति कीर्त्यामपि ॥

(See how this white female crane is sitting motionless on the (blue) leaf of that lotus. She appears like a (white) oyster placed on a plate of spotless emerald).

This *gāthā* gives a vivid picture of the crane, resulting in the figure of speech called *Svabhāvokti*. But later when *Dhvanikāvya* (or suggestive poetry) came to be classed as the best kind of poetry, the rhetoricians tried to discover erotic meaning even in such verses. Mammaṭa, for instance, deduces the following suggestive sense from it—“As this female crane is sitting motionless here, this place is quite lonely. So this is a good place of meeting for our sexual enjoyment.<sup>1</sup>”

In some places, however, a secret meeting place is no doubt suggested as in the following *gāthā*<sup>2</sup> :—

किं रुअसि ओणअमुही धवलाअन्तेमु सालिद्धित्तमु ।

हरिआलमंडिअमुही णडि व्व सणवाडिआ जाआ ॥

(“The white rice-field is now ripe. It will soon be mowed and our meeting place will be gone.”—Why are you weeping at this thought, with the face bent down? See that yonder field of hemp which, like an actress with her face smeared with yellow turmeric, is ready to receive you. There you can meet your lover!)

Such meeting places are not resorted to only for stealthy amorous enjoyment. They may have been used even by newly wedded couples for their meetings. However, some *gāthās* do suggest illegal amorous meetings such as the following :—

भम धम्मिअ वीसत्थो सो सुणओ अज्ज मारिओ तेण ।

गोलातडविअडकुडंगवासिणा दरिअसीहेण ॥

This is a standard illustration of a *dhvani-kāvya* cited in several rhetorical works. A woman who sees a religious man approaching her secret meeting place says to him with a view to scaring him away :—“O

<sup>1</sup> *Ullāsa* I, verse 8 (ed. by Zalkikar).

<sup>2</sup> *Gāthā* No. 9.

Pious Sir, You can now move about without any apprehension of being polluted by the touch of the dog; for this very day it has been killed by that dreadful lion which is in the thick jungle on the bank of the Godāvāri."

The *Sattasai* contains several pathetic word-pictures of women separated or going to be separated shortly from their husbands. See what a village woman whose husband was to go abroad next morning says<sup>1</sup> :

कल्लं किल खरहिअओ पवसिइहि पिओत्ति सुण्णइ जणम्मि ।  
तह वड्ढ भअवइ णिसे जह से कल्लं विअ ण होई ॥

(I have heard from people that my hard-hearted husband is to go abroad tomorrow morning. Revered Night ! Be so long that the morning will never dawn !)

A woman's husband went abroad, promising her to return within a certain number of days. Then<sup>2</sup> —

अज्जं गओत्ति अज्जं गओत्ति अज्जं गओत्ति गणरीए ।  
पढमं विअ दिअह्ढे कुड्ढो रेहाहि चित्तलिओ ॥<sup>3</sup>

She drew lines on the wall of her house, saying, 'Today is gone.' 'Today is gone.' 'Today is gone.' ; and in this way she filled the whole wall of her house with lines drawn in the first half of the first day (of his absence).

Some *gāthās* depict humorous scenes. See e. g. the following<sup>3</sup> :—

पाअपडिअस्स पइणो पुट्ठि पुत्ते समारुहत्तम्मि ।  
दढमण्णुदुण्णिआए वि हासो षरिणीए णेक्कन्तो ॥

(As the wife was angry with him, he prostrated before her. Just then his little son climbed on his back. Seeing it, she, though very enraged, could not contain her laugh.)

<sup>1</sup> *Gāthā* No. 46.

<sup>2</sup> *Gāthā* No. 208.

<sup>3</sup> *Gāthā* No. 11.

The following *gāthā* which describes *prasūti-vairāgya* (aversion on child - birth) is also noteworthy<sup>1</sup> :—

हासाविओ जणो सामलीअ पढमं पसूअमाणए ।  
बल्लहवाएण अलं मम त्ति बहुसो भणन्तीए ॥

When Śyāmalā, after her first child-birth, said again and again, "Don't mention the name of that dear one of mine", she made the people (around) indulge in (loud) laughter."

See what a loving mother says at the first cutting of her infant's teeth<sup>2</sup> :—

गेह्णह पलोअह प्हसिअवअणा पइस्स अप्पेइ ।  
जाआ मुअपढमुत्तिभण्णदन्तजुअलंकिअं बोअम् ॥

"Take (*this*). See (*this*)" Saying so the wife gives her husband the plum which bears the signs of the first cutting of her infant's couple of teeth."

The suggested sense of the following *gāthā* is also noteworthy.

दिअरस्स असुद्धमणस्स कुलवह्ण णिअअकुड्ढलिहिआइ ।  
दिअअं कहेइ रामाणुलग्गसोमित्तिअरिआइ ॥

(Seeing that her brother-in-law's attitude towards her was immoral, the respectable woman draws the picture of Lakshmaṇa (*always*) following Rāma, on the wall of her house, and thereby shows him the devoted service the former did to his elder brother. She suggests to her brother-in-law that he should behave towards her with as pure mind as Lakshmaṇa was doing with respect to Sitā).

When her father-in-law presented her with a coloured *sāri*, the over-joyed daughter-in-law of the farmer went about proudly. See her description in the following *gāthā*<sup>3</sup> :—

अपत्तपत्तअं पाविऊण नवरंगअं हलिअसोण्हा ।  
उअह तणुई ण माअइ रुन्दामु गामरच्छामु ॥

<sup>1</sup> *Gāthā* No. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Gāthā* No. 200.

<sup>3</sup> *Gāthā* No. 241.

(She was indeed a slender girl; but being proud of her unexpectedly obtained coloured *sārī*, she strutted about so majestically that she could not be contained (even) in the broad streets of the village !)

These few examples should suffice to show how the Prakrit poets of the age could successfully draw an engrossing picture in a few words. The same skill was later shown by Sanskrit poets in their *subhashitas*.

Hāla is widely known as the author of the *Sattasāi*, but he wrote several other works also as has recently been shown by Prof. H. C. Bhāyāni.<sup>1</sup> We give below information about some of them.

Hāla Sātavāhana wrote a work on Prakrit metres, which dealt with the *dvipadis* in detail.<sup>2</sup> Besides, he compiled a dictionary of Prakrit words. In his *Deśī-nāma-mālā* Hemachandra has given four citations from that *kośa*, which shows that it was regarded as authoritative on the subject. One of the citations is *jambulām madya-bhājanam*.<sup>3</sup> This shows that the *kośa* gave Sanskrit equivalents of Prakrit words. It further indicates that the *kośa* was composed in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre.

From citations in the *Svayambhū-chhandas* of the Apabhraṃśa poet Svayambhū, we learn that Hāla wrote a Prakrit work besides the *Sattasāi*. One of them is about *udgīti*<sup>4</sup> and is ascribed to Sālāhaṇa. Another is in the metre *Śārdūlavikriṭita*<sup>5</sup> and is ascribed to Hāla

<sup>1</sup> *Raghavan Felicitation Volume (RFV)*, pp. 61 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The *Vṛitta-jāti-samucchaya* of Virahāṅka (c. 880-920) ( mentions Sātavāhana together with Bhujagādhipa and Vṛiddhakavi as expositors of *dvipadi*. See *RFV* pp. 63 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *RFV*, p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> See—उम्मीद सालाहणस्स—

षणदोहडिण् भरद व वाला लाअणसलिलेहि ।  
रमपालवालनिम्भअरोमावलिवल्लरि न्व सिचेइ ॥  
*Ibid.*, p. 69, n. 18.

<sup>5</sup> See—अहवा हालस्स—

कामं पुण्कधर्णुं सकुसुमसरं तुण्णं तिअच्छाहअं  
सोउं ज जुवइजणो ण कुविओ तं अरिष से कारणं ।  
हेलासज्जजअं समसमिणओ पाअंतरालीकअं  
केसालेसिणिवंधणं चिअ जं एत्थमह को मल्लओ ॥ स्वयंभूउदस्स, १—४७.२.



One more work is also ascribed to Hāla. It is about the *Gītikās* known as *Dhavalas*. Hemachandra gives much information about the *Dhavalas* and then says, "Further illustrations would be found in the sayings (*uktis*) of Sātavāhana." The Apabhraṃśa poet Svayambhū says that Sātavāhana has composed several lyrics called *Dhavalas*. These must have been in Prakrit, not in Apabhraṃśa. *Dhavala* means 'a white bull'. So Bhayani thinks that they may have been of the *Anyokti* type.<sup>1</sup>

Hemachandra gives three other names of Hāla Sātavāhana, viz., Kuntala, Pūsa and Chaūrachindha. As Hāla was ruling over the Kuntala country, he may have been known by the name of Kuntala. Vātsyāyana, the author of the *Kāmasūtra*, mentions the traditional story that Kuntala Sātakarṇi murdered his Crowned Queen Malayavatī with a pair of scissors,<sup>2</sup> but one cannot vouch for the veracity of it. As for the *biruda Chaūra-chindha* (*chatura-chinha* or *chatur-āṅka*) of Hāla, Bhayani thinks that Hāla may have composed a *kāvya*, the last verse in every section of which contained the word *chatura*<sup>3</sup> (Prakrit, *chaūra*).

### Poets at the Court of Hāla

Several poets flourished at the Court of Hāla. Some of them find mention as authors of *gāthās* in the commentaries on the *Sattasai*, but we know very little about them. One of them was Pālitta, Pādalipta or Śrī-Pālita. He was the Chief Poet of Hāla's Court. Abhinanda says in his *Rāmacharita*<sup>4</sup>—

हालेनोत्तमपूजया कविवृषः श्रीपालितो ललितः ।

Uddyotanasūri says that Pālita was the foremost poet in the assembly of Hāla. On account of him, King

<sup>1</sup> *RFV.*, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> कर्तार्या कुन्तलः सातकार्णिः सातवाहनो महादेवीं मलयवतीं [जघान] । कामवृज, p. 131

<sup>3</sup> *RFV.*, p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> Abhinanda's *Rāmacharita*, XXII, 10, 100.

Hāla shone in learned assemblies as one would by means of a (*beautiful*) pearl necklace.<sup>1</sup>

णिम्मलमणेण गुणगरुणेण परमत्वरयणसारेण ।  
पालित्तएण हालो हारेण व सहइ गोट्टीसु ॥

This Pālitta is well known as the author of the *kathā Taraṅgavatī*, but it has not come down to us. Several *gāthās* of Pālitta are included in the *Sattasāi*.<sup>2</sup>

Another famous poet of Hāla Sātavāhana's Court was Poṭṭisa. He is mentioned together with his contemporary Prakrit poets Harivṛiddha, Nandivṛiddha and Hāla in the *Karpūramañjari* of Rājaśekhara.<sup>3</sup> The Prakrit work *Lilāvai* of Koṭhala calls him 'a minister of Hāla.' Some commentators of the *Sattasāi* have coupled his name with five *gāthās*.<sup>4</sup> Bhayani found his name mentioned as a minister of Hāla in the margin of a manuscript of the *Lilāvai* in the Library of the L. D. Institute of Indology at Ahmedabad. This supports the aforementioned statement about Poṭṭisa in the *Lilāvai*.

In the first *javanikā* of the Prakrit play *Karpūramañjari* of Rājaśekhara, the King sides with the Cheṭī in her wrangle with the Vidūshaka, and praises her. Then the Vidūshaka retorts, "Then why don't you say straightway that this our Cheṭī surpasses in excellence of poetic talent Harivṛiddha, Nandivṛiddha, Hāla and Poṭṭisa?" In this retort two other main poets of Hāla's court are mentioned, *viz.*, Harivṛiddha and Nandivṛiddha. Harivṛiddha was an eminent Prakrit poet. In the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* Bhoja quotes the following *gāthā*<sup>5</sup> while illustrating the fault of *gūdhārtha* (obscure meaning) :

अम्हारिसा हि कइणो कइणो हरिवुड्डसालिपमुहा वि ।  
मंडुकुक्कमक्कडा वि हु होंति हरी सप्पसीहा वि ॥

<sup>1</sup> *Kuvalāyamañjārī*, Part I, page 3.

<sup>2</sup> See *e. g.* Nos. 393, 417, 425 etc.

<sup>3</sup> When in the *Karpūramañjari*, Act I, the King refers to the maid as 'a poet', the Vidūshaka asks him angrily, ता उज्जुअं जेव कि ण भणोअदि अम्हाणं चेडिआ हरिवुड्डसालिपमुहाणि पि पुरदो मुकइति ।

<sup>4</sup> See *e. g.* *Gāthā*, No. 89.

<sup>5</sup> *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, I, 123.

(A poet says, "People call us poets. Harivṛiddha, Sāli and such others also were 'poets.' The frog, the monkey, the serpent and the lion—all these are designated as *haris*."')

Of these, Sāli is evidently Sālāhaṇa or Hāla. Like him, Harivṛiddha also was a great poet. In the prosodial work *Vṛitta-jāti-samuchchaya*, Virahāṅka makes special mention of Bhajagādhipa, Sātavāhana and Vṛiddha-kavi as exponents of the *Dvipadī*. This Vṛiddha-kavi is probably Harivṛiddha. Hemachandra mentions him by this name in a passage from the *Vṛitta-jāti-samuchchaya* cited in his *Siddha-Hemachandra*. His name is associated with the *gāthā*, No. 288.

The other famous Prakrit poet Nandivṛiddha is the author of the *Gāthā-lakṣhaṇa*, a work on Prakrit prosody. It has undergone great change as shown by H. D. Velankar. It is ascribed to Nandiyāḍḍha, the author of a prosodial work. This Nandiyāḍḍha is evidently identical with Nandivṛiddha mentioned in the above-cited passage of the *Karpūramāñjarī*. His name is connected with the *gāthā*, No. 392.<sup>1</sup>

Besides these, there was another great poet at Hāla's Court. He was Āḍhyarāja. He is the renowned author of *gāthā*, No. 234. Bāṇa pays a high tribute to his *utsāhas* in the following verse :

आदधराजकृतोत्साहैर्हृदयस्यैः स्मृतेरपि ।  
जिह्वान्तः कृष्यमाणेषु न कवित्वे प्रवर्तते ॥

(When the *utsāhas* of Āḍhyarāja are in one's heart or even in one's memory, his tongue, as if pulled inward, does not proceed to compose a poem.)

Bhoja says in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭh-ābharāṇa* that in the time of Āḍhyarāja all people used to speak in Prakrit.<sup>2</sup> Rājaśekhara, on the other hand, records a similar tradition about King Sātavāhana, *viz.*, that he had ordered that all the inmates of his harem must speak in

<sup>1</sup> *RFV.*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>2</sup> See के भूवभ्राडपराजस्य राज्ये प्राकृतभाषिणः । सरस्वती-कण्ठाभरण, 1, 15.

Prakrit.<sup>1</sup> Again, the name *Āḍhyarāja* suggests that he was a king. So some people identify *Āḍhyarāja* and *Sātavāhana* (Hāla). Bāṇa, however, has eulogised *Sātavāhana* and *Āḍhyarāja* in different verses. Bāṇa flourished earlier than *Rājaśekhara* and *Bhoja*. So his testimony must be regarded as more trustworthy. *Āḍhyarāja*, therefore, could not have been identical with *Hāla-Sātavāhana*.

But what does *utsāha* mean? It was the name of a Prakrit metre. *Svayambhū* and *Hemachandra* have both defined it. It had six parts of four *mātrās* each, and in its third and fifth parts the syllables were either as √-√ or as √, √√. Prakrit prosodists say that the *utsāha* metre was usually used in the lyrics of *Dhavalā*, *Maṅgala* and *Phullaṭaka*, and that they were usually in *Apabhraṁśa*. It seems that Prakrit and *Apabhraṁśa kāvyas* in this metre were then current. Among them, *Āḍhyarāja's kāvya* in the *Utsāha* metre was the best.<sup>2</sup>

From the *Sṛṅgāra-prākāśa* we learn that every section of *Āḍhyarāja's kāvya* was marked with *dhairya*. This means that the last verse of it had the word *dhairya* inserted in it. A similar characteristic of ancient Sanskrit and Prakrit *kāvyas* is known from the *Kirātārjuniya*, *Śiśupālavadhā*, *Harivijaya* and *Setu-bandha*.<sup>3</sup> *Āḍhyarāja* appears to have composed such a *Mahākāvya* the last verse of each section of which had the word *dhairya* inserted in it.

The **Chhappaṇṇaya Poets**—The *Kuvalayamālā* of *Uddyotnasūri* has the following *gāthā*:<sup>4</sup>

पालित्तयसालाहणछप्पण्णयसीहणायसदेहि ।

संबुद्धमुद्धसारंगओ व्व कह ता पयं देमि ॥

(How can I take any steps, being, like a simple deer, terrified by the roar of the lions, viz., *Pālittaya*, *Sālāhaṇa* and *Chhappaṇṇaya*?)

<sup>1</sup> *Kāvya-mānāsā*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *RFV.*, pp. 74 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *SI.*, IV, p.

<sup>4</sup> *Kuvalayamālā*, p. 3.

This *gāthā* mentions a poet (or poets) named Chhappaṇṇaya along with such great poets of old days like Sālāhaṇa and Pālittaya. The *Kuvalayamātā* further says about Chhappaṇṇaya<sup>1</sup> :—

छप्पण्णयाण किवा भण्णउ कइकुंजराण भुवणम्मि ।  
अण्णो वि छेयभण्णिओ अज्ज वि उवमिज्जए जेहि ॥

(What need be said about the Chhappaṇṇayas, the eminent poets, with whom even now a poet of clever sayings is compared in this world ?)

This *gāthā* has used the plural number while referring to Chhappaṇṇaya ? So Chhappaṇṇaya was not one poet, but a group of poets. The *Avantisundarikathā* probably refers to them in the following verse<sup>2</sup> :

सेतुरूपेण तिष्ठन्तो लोके सद्वस्तुदर्शिनः ।  
षट्पञ्चाशत्प्रमाणत्वं गता नः कविपुङ्गवाः ॥

This verse tells us that the Chhappaṇṇayas had written a work called *Setu*. They were *kavi-puṅgavas* or 'eminent poets' and were fifty-six in number. They had insight into the real nature of things, and attained the position of authority. Though dead, these poets continued to live in the form of the *Setu*.

As *chhappaṇṇaya* and *shaṭ-pañchāśat* are synonymous, both meaning 'fifty-six' one naturally concludes that they both refer to the same poets. Besides, this verse about *shaṭ-pañchāśat* (fifty-six) poets occurs in the *Avantisundari-kathā* with reference to some very ancient poets. Chhappaṇṇayas also are grouped with very ancient poets like Sālāhaṇa (Sātavāhana-Hāla) and Pālittaya. So both the names apparently refer to the same poets or to the same group of poets. But recently a manuscript of a Prakrit work named *Chhappaṇṇaya-gāhāo* has come to notice in Cambay,<sup>3</sup> which has thrown an altogether different

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Avantisundarikathā*, Introductory verses.

<sup>3</sup> *JOL.*, XI, pp. 385 ff.

light on this problem *Chhappanṇaya* means *śaṭprajña* or 'a connoisseur' (*sahṛidaya*). It seems that there was an old anthology of such *gāthās* current under the name of *Chhappanṇaya gāhāo*. If this is correct, the afore-cited verse can be amended as follows :—

सेतुरूपेण तिष्ठन्तो लोके सद्वस्तुदर्शनः ।  
षट्प्रज्ञाः सत्प्रमाणत्वं गता नः कविपुङ्गवाः ।

These poets were probably contemporary with Hāla. The *gāthās* of practical wisdom composed by them may have been current then under the name of 'the *Setu*.'

## 2. The *Bṛihat-kathā* of Guṇāḍhya

We shall next turn to the *Bṛihat-kathā*, another well-known work of the Sātavāhana age.

The three ancient works, viz., the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bṛihat-kathā* are well-known sources of several Sanskrit and Prakrit poems and plays.<sup>1</sup> Nay, they together constitute one large river flowing in three different streams. Fortunately, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are still extant, but the *Bṛihat-kathā* is no longer procurable. Such was not, however, the state of things till the eleventh or the twelfth century A. D. Till that time the *Bṛihat-kathā* and its author Guṇāḍhya were well known not only in India but also in far-off countries of Greater India like Cambodia. Daṇḍin (sixth cen. A. D.) has, in his *Kāvya-darśa*, described it as follows :—

भूतभाषामयीं प्राहुरद्भुतायां बृहत्कथाम् । which shows that it was written in the dialect of the Piśāchas (*goblins*). Subandhu also has referred to it in a simile in his *Vāsava-dattā*<sup>2</sup> : बृहत्कथालम्बीरिव शालभञ्जिकोपेतैः ।

<sup>1</sup> श्रीरामायणभारतबृहत्कथानां कवीश्रमस्फुर्भः । विब्रीता इव सरसा सरस्वती स्फुरति वीभिजा ॥ आपासप्तशती.

<sup>2</sup> *Vāsavadattā* (Vāgnvillka ed.), pp. 123-24. There is a pun on the word *sālabhañjikā* which means (1) a statue carved on a pillar etc. and (2) a character in the *Bṛihat-kathā*.

In one of the introductory verses of his *Harsha-charita* Bāṇa says about it :—

समुद्दीपितकन्दर्पा कुतगौरीप्रसादना ।  
हरलीलेव नो कस्य विस्मयाय बृहत्कथा ॥

This refers to a story about its origin, which we shall discuss later. Bāṇa refers to the work in the expression बृहत्कथाकुशलेन in his other work, the *Kādambarī*, also.

Uddyotanasūri (A. D. 778) and Jinasena (ninth cen. A. D.), the authors of the *Kuvalayamālā*<sup>1</sup> and the *Ādipurāṇa* respectively, have eulogised it. In his *Daśarūpaka* (I. 68) Dhanañjaya (10th cen. A. D.) advises young poets to study such works as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bṛihat-kathā* and to weave such incidents in their works as would contribute to the development of *rasas* (sentiments). Dhanika, a commentator of that work, has referred to the story of Madanamañjūshā<sup>2</sup> in the *Bṛihat-kathā*. Trivikrama-bhaṭṭa of Vidarbha, who flourished in the same age, says in the following verse that Guṇādhyā, like Bāṇa, has diverted the minds of all people :—

शंश्वदाणद्वितीयेन नमदाकारधारिणा ।  
घनुपेव गुणादधेन निःशेषो रञ्जितो जनः ॥

Somadeva (A. D. 950), the author of the *Yaśastī-lakachampū*, has also referred to the *Bṛihat-kathā* in his work.

Guṇādhyā's fame was not confined to India. Like that of the great poet Kālidāsa, it had crossed the ocean and entered Cambodia and other countries of Greater India. See the following verse which occurs in the *praśasti* of the Cambodian king Yaśovarman<sup>3</sup> :—

पारदः स्थिरकल्याणो गुणादधः प्राकृतप्रियः ।  
अनीतिर्यो विशालाक्षरशूरो न्यक्कृतभीमकः ॥

<sup>1</sup> *Kuvalayamālā* (Singhi Jaina Works Series), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Her name appears as Madanamañchukā in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and similar works.

<sup>3</sup> *ARASI*, 1912, pp. 35—69.

Guṇāḍhya has been mentioned by means of puns in another inscription there<sup>1</sup> :—

गुणान्वितस्तिष्ठतु दूषितोऽपि स्थानार्पितो येन पुनर्गुणाढ्यः ।  
गदोऽप्ययं चारुविभूषणाय हरप्रयुक्तः किमुतामृतांशुः ॥

The Gaṅga king Durvīṅta (sixth cen. A. D.) is said to have translated the *Bṛihat-kathā* into Sanskrit.<sup>2</sup> The work is reported to have been translated into Tamil also.

This extraordinary Prakrit work has now become unprocurable. Only its Sanskrit versions and some works based on it are now available, but they do not agree about its original form. Scholars hold different views about the identity of its author, the country of his origin, the king who patronised him and the age in which he flourished. Diverse views have also been expressed about the nature of the dialect in which the *Bṛihat-kathā* was written, why it was called *Paiśāchī* and where it was current. We have to discuss all these problems here.

Three Sanskrit versions<sup>3</sup> of the *Bṛihat-kathā* are now extant. Of them, two, viz., (1) the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* of Somadeva (A. D. 1063—1081) and (2) the *Bṛihat-kathāmañjari* of Kshemendra (A. D. 1000) were produced in Kāśmīr. Though they have much in common, they differ also in several places. Though on comparison they seem to have been prepared from the same Prakrit original, the latter does not appear to have been the original *Bṛihat-kathā*. The third version is the *Bṛihat-kathā-śloka-saṅgraha* of Budhasvāmin (c. 8th cen. A. D.), which came to light recently. It was written in Nepal and is fragmentary. Its verses now number 3622. Originally, it may have been of about 25,000 verses. This third version differs much from the two Kāśmīri versions mentioned above. It has fewer

<sup>1</sup> *J.A.*, (1886), pp. 397 ff. and (1886), pp. 178 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *J.R.A.S.* (1913), pp. 380—390.

<sup>3</sup> One other version in Sanskrit is known from Bhoja's *Sṛī-gāraprakāśa*. See V. Raghavan's *Sṛī-gāraprakāśa*, pp. 824 ff.



tales interpolated in it than the Kāśmīri versions. So it is held to be nearer the original work. Besides these, there is also a Jaina version called *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī*, in which love stories similar to those of Naravāhana-datta mentioned in the *Bṛihatkathā* are narrated about Vasudeva, the father of Kṛishṇa.

### Guṇāḍhya, the Author of the Bṛihatkathā

From the various references to the *Bṛihatkathā* mentioned above, there should be no doubt that the work in the Paiśāchī dialect was extant till the twelfth century A. D., and that Guṇāḍhya was well known as its author. There is, however, no unanimity about the life of this poet. The *Bṛihatkathāślokaśaṅgraha* gives no account of his life. The initial chapter of the Kāśmīri versions called *Kathā-piṭha-lambaka* is not noticed therein. Guṇāḍhya is named only in one place in it, and that too only incidentally. In its fourteenth chapter Vegavān, the king of the Vidyādharas, inquires of his envoys how his son Mānasavega was governing his kingdom to which they reply, "Even Guṇāḍhya will not be able to describe it." Except in this one place, Guṇāḍhya figures nowhere in the version of Budhasvāmin. For an account of Guṇāḍhya's life we must, therefore, depend entirely on the Kāśmīri versions.

The story of Guṇāḍhya's life occurs in the first section of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* called Kathāpiṭhālam-baka. However, that section was not written by Guṇāḍhya, but by King Sātavāhana. See the following verses (VIII, 35—37) :—

अथ तां गुणाद्वचदत्तामादाय कथां बृहत्कथां नाम्ना ।  
 नृपतिरगान्निजनगरं नरवाहनदत्तचरितमयीम् ॥  
 गुणदेवनन्दिदेवौ तत्र च तौ कथाकवेः शिष्यौ ।  
 क्षितिकनकवस्त्रवाहनभवनघनेः संविभोजे सः ॥  
 ताभ्यां सह च कथां तामाश्वस्य स सातवाहनस्तस्याः ।  
 तद्भाषयावतारं वक्तुं चक्रे कथापीठम् ॥

Once upon a time, while Śiva and Pārvatī were engaged in conversation, Pārvatī said to the the God, रम्यां काञ्चित्कथां ब्रुहि देवाद्य मम नूतनाम् । (My Lord, Tell me today a new and interesting tale.) Śiva agreed and, to keep the tale secret, appointed Nandi as *dvārapāla* (door-keeper) and began to narrate it. Just then a *gana* (servant) of Śiva entered the apartment stealthily and listened to that engrossing tale. He next told it to his wife named Jayā. But can women keep money and secrets to themselves? Jayā told the tale to Pārvatī, who could not control her rage and cursed Pushpadanta to become a mortal. When his friend Mālyavān interceded for him, she cursed him also. But when Jayā entreated her, she partially revoked her curses. She said, "Pushpadanta, you will become Vararuchi, a minister of King Nanda, and later, you will meet a Yaksha named Supratika on the Vindhya Mountain. He will have been born as a *Piśācha* (goblin) named Kāṇabhūti. When you will tell him this tale, you will be freed from this curse. Mālyavān will take birth as Guṇāḍhya in the city of Supratishṭha. When he will listen to this tale told by Kāṇabhūti, he also will be freed from his curse and come back to heaven." Accordingly, Pushpadanta was born as Vararuchi or Kātyāyana in the city of Kauśāmbī, and Mālyavān as Guṇāḍhya in that of Supratishṭhita. His tale is as follows :—

"There is a town named Supratishṭhita in the country of Pratishṭhāna. There lived a Brāhmaṇa named Somaśarman. He had two sons, Vatsa and Gulma, and a daughter, Śrutārthā. Once when she went to a river to bathe, she was impregnated by Kirtisena, a nephew of the Serpent King Vāsuki. Later, her son became well known as Guṇāḍhya.

Guṇāḍhya studied all lores from his teacher and returned home. Thereafter, he went to the capital Pratishṭhāna of King Sātavāhana. One day in summer, when King Sātavāhana was sporting with his queens in a well in his garden, he began to splash water on

them. Then his Brāhmaṇa queen said to him, *Modakair-mām tāḍaya* (Don't spatter me with water). The king however, understood it as meaning, "Pelt me with *modakas*", and he immediately asked his servants to fetch a dish full of *modakas*. Then the queen smilingly said to him :—

राजभवसरः को ऽयं मोदकानां जलान्तरे ।  
उदकैः सिञ्च मा त्वं मामित्युक्तं हि मया तव ॥  
सन्धिमात्रं न जानासि माशब्दोदकशब्दयोः ।  
न च प्रकरणं वेत्सि मूर्खस्त्वं कथमीदृशः ॥

The queen said, "Mahārāja ! What is the use of these *modakas* in water here ? I asked Your Majesty not to spatter me with water. You do not even know the *sandhi* of the words *mā* and *udaka*. So also you do not notice the occasion. How ignorant you are!"

At this the king felt ashamed. He immediately sent for the Sanskrit Paṇḍits of his Court—Guṇāḍhya and Śarvavarman—and asked them "How long will it take for me to learn Sanskrit ?" Then Guṇāḍhya replied, "Mahārāja, for mastering Vyākaraṇa, which is, as it were, the mouth of all lores, twelve years are required, but I shall be able to teach it to you in six years." Then Śarvavarman said, "Mahārāja ! I will teach it to you in six months." Then Guṇāḍhya vowed, "If you succeed in teaching His Majesty Sanskrit in six months, I will not thereafter write in Sanskrit, Prakrit or any dialect now current." At this Śarvavarman also vowed, "If I do not succeed in teaching His Majesty Sanskrit in six months, I shall carry your sandals on my head for twelve years." In order to win his bet, Śarvavarman practised austerities and pleased Kārttikeya, by whose grace he obtained the easy Sanskrit grammer called *Kātantra* or *Kālāpa* from the god. With its help he made the king proficient in Sanskrit in six months.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Śarvavarman's *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa* is much easier to understand than Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It is still current in Kashmir and Bengal.

As Guṇāḍhya lost the bet, he repaired disconsolate to the temple of Vindhyavāsini, and later by her direction he went to the Vindhya forest. He saw several Piśāchas (goblins) there. They were talking among themselves, from which he learned their language Paisāchī. Later, he met the Yaksha Kāṇabhūti, who told him the long narrative of the Vidyādhara in seven sections. He composed it in the Paisāchī dialect in seven years. In order to guard it from the Vidyādhara, he wrote it out on the leaves of trees. His disciples took it to King Sātavāhana, but he rejected it as it was written in the language of the Piśāchas. In despair Guṇāḍhya began to throw the leaves into fire one by one after reading its contents aloud. To hear the tale the birds and beasts of the forest used to gather there. They would become so engrossed in it that they forgot their food and drink, and became emaciated. The cooks in the royal kitchen could not serve savoury meat. On coming to know the reason for it, the king himself went to the forest where Guṇāḍhya was staying and entreated him for a copy of the tale. Then Guṇāḍhya said, "O King, I have already burnt six lakhs of verses. Only one lakh of them now remains. My disciples will read them to you." Saying so, he went to heaven. The king got the tale read out by the disciples, and then himself composed the *Kathā-piṭha* (Introductory) Prakaraṇa of it."

This narrative of Guṇāḍhya occurs in the two Sanskrit versions, the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Bṛihat-kathāmañjarī*, but it is not noticed in the third version the *Bṛihatkathāślokaśaṅgraha*. A somewhat different version of the tale of Guṇāḍhya occurs also in the *Nepāla-māhātmya*.<sup>1</sup> From the colophons of it we learn that it forms the third chapter of the Himavat-khaṇḍa of the *Skanda-purāṇa*. The tale of Guṇāḍhya in this

<sup>1</sup> This portion in the *Nepāla-māhātmya* (17—30) is given in an Appendix to Lacote's *Essay on Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛihatkathā* (published by the Mythic Society, Bangalore, 1923).

*māhātmya* is as follows : "Guṇāḍhya was a son of Vishṇudatta of Mathurā. After his father's death he went to the Court of Madana, King of Ujjain. He got admission to it on the recommendation of Śarvavarman. Further incidents in the tale such as the ridicule of the king due to his ignorance of Sanskrit, the bets of the two Paṇḍits about the period required for learning that Classical language, the revelation of the Kātantra Vyākaraṇa by Kārttikeya and so forth are narrated as in the Kāśmīri version. It is further stated that when Guṇāḍhya lost his bet, he went to a forest and began to lament. Just then Sage Pulastya came there. He advised him to instal a Śiva-liṅga there and compose nine lakhs of *gāthās* to attain liberation. Accordingly, Guṇāḍhya commenced to compose *gāthās* and to read them out. Birds and beasts began to gather to listen to them, which caused scarcity of savoury meat in the royal kitchen. Then the King came to the hermitage. Guṇāḍhya said to him, "O King, get these nine lakhs of *gāthās* translated into Sanskrit. I now go back to Nepāl."

If these two versions of Guṇāḍhya's tale are read carefully, one would undoubtedly come to the conclusion that the version in the *Nepāla-māhātmya* was composed by a sectarian devotee of Śiva in a later age. This tale is of the same type as several others in the Purāṇas where we notice old tales transformed by the addition of a few sectarian details.

The narrative in the Kāśmīri version is quite credible. The Sātavāhanas undoubtedly patronised Prakrit poets. Several poets of that age are known to have composed their works in Prakrit. So it is not surprising that Guṇāḍhya and Śarvavarman flourished at their court. On the other hand, King Madana of Ujjain is unknown to history.

How is it then that the account of Guṇāḍhya is not noticed in Budhasvāmin's version ? It could not have been interpolated in the Kāśmīri version by Somadeva; for he asserts that he has made no

changes in the original work. See the following verse:—

यथा मूलं तथैवैषा न मनागप्यतिक्रमः ।  
ग्रन्थविस्तारसंक्षेपमात्रं भाषा च भिद्यते ॥

(I have narrated in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* what occurred in the original *Paiśāchī Bṛihatkāthā*. I have abridged or enlarged it here and there. Again, its language is Sanskrit while that of the original work is *Paiśāchī*. In no other respect have I transgressed the original.)

The French scholar Lacote has very minutely and critically studied both the *Kāśmīri* and *Budhasvāmin's* versions. He has come to the conclusion that only one-tenth portion of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* may have occurred in the original *Bṛihatkāthā*. In view of the close agreement of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Bṛihatkāthamañjirī*, these two Sanskrit versions can be traced to one and the same *Paiśāchī* original, but the latter was not the original *Bṛihatkāthā*. It differed from it considerably.

Now the question arises, 'Was the tale of *Guṇāḍhya* included in the original *Paiśāchī Bṛihatkāthā*?' It is difficult to answer this question. We have shown above that it does not occur in *Budhasvāmin's* version. Besides, there are several faults such as anachronism in it. For instance, it states that *Pushpadanta* was born as *Vararuchi-Kātyāyana* and became a minister of King *Nanda*, and that he was a contemporary of *Guṇāḍhya* who flourished at the Court of a *Sātavāhana* king. These statements involve the fault of anachronism; for we know that the *Sātavāhanas* rose to power after *Aśoka*, who flourished long after the *Nanda* kings. So *Vararuchi* and *Guṇāḍhya* could not have been contemporaries. The tale of *Guṇāḍhya* mentions several miracles which it is hard to believe. Nevertheless, the broad frame-work of that tale does not appear to have been very different from that noticed in the *Kāśmīri* version.

In this connection the statements of *Daṇḍin* and *Bāṇa*, who are the oldest authors referring to the *Bṛihatkāthā*, are of utmost importance. In one of the

introductory verses of his *Harshacharita* Bāṇa describes the *Bṛihatkathā* as follows :—

समुद्दीपितकन्दर्पा कृतगौरीप्रसादना ।

हरलीलेव नो कस्य विस्मयाय बृहत्कथा ॥

This verse describes the close similarity between the *Bṛihatkathā* and Śiva's sportive action by means of paronomastic adjectives. The poet asks, "Who would not feel surprised to see the *Bṛihatkathā*?" The expected answer is "Everyone would indeed be struck with wonder to see that work as he would be by Śiva's sportive action. Śiva first burnt Cupid, the god of love, but he later began to appease Gaurī (Pārvatī). Just as this is surprising, so is the Paisāchī *Bṛihatkathā*; for that work excites passion by its love-stories and yet by the tales in that very work Śiva won Gaurī's favour."

This verse clearly implies that the tale about the origin of the *Bṛihatkathā* which occurs in the Kathā-pīṭha-prakarāṇa of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* was included in the original *Bṛihatkathā* in the age of Bāṇa (the seventh cen. A. D.). This way of introducing one's work with an incident like that of a curse pronounced in heaven is noticed in some ancient Sanskrit works such as the *Harshacharita*<sup>1</sup> of Bāṇa and the *Udayasundarikathā*<sup>2</sup> of Soḍḍhala. So the *Bṛihatkathā* may well have commenced with the conversation of Śiva and Pārvatī leading ultimately to the cursing of Pushpadanta and Mālyavān.

Let us take next the following verse in the *Kāvya-darśa* of Daṇḍin :—

कथा हि सर्वभाषाभिः संस्कृतेन च बह्यते ।

भूतभाषामयी प्राहुरद्भुतायी बृहत्कथाम् ॥

<sup>1</sup> It is stated in the first *uchchhvāna* of the *Harshacharita* that when Sarasvatī laughed at the mistakes in the Sāma-singing of the sage Durvāsas in the Brahma-loka in heaven, the latter cursed her. Bāṇa was born in the Sāraavata family descended from her. This narrative occurs in connection with the early history of Bāṇa.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Udayasundarikathā* the heavenly sages Tīlaka (Poet Bāṇa) and Tīlaka are shown to have been transformed into pillars in a temple of Sarasvatī in consequence of a curse. They are shown to have been freed from it when later they listened to the story of *Udayasundarī* composed by Soḍḍhala.

From this verse we learn that *Bṛihatkathā* contained several marvellous tales, and that it was written not in Sanskrit but in the language of the *bhūtas* (spirits or goblins). As stated previously, Guṇāḍhya, its author, flourished in the age of the Sātavāhanas. These kings gave liberal patronage to the Prakrit language. They performed several Vedic sacrifices, but they have left their account of them not in Sanskrit, but in Prakrit. There is not even a single inscription of the Sātavāhanas in Sanskrit. So the tradition got current that they had prohibited the use of Sanskrit in their harem. This tradition has been recorded by Rājaśekhara<sup>1</sup> and Bhoja<sup>2</sup> in their respective rhetorical works. So the incident of a Sātavāhana king misunderstanding the meaning of a simple Sanskrit sentence like *modakair mām tāḍaya* may well have happened in the time of a Sātavāhana king.

Several poets like Pādalipta, Poṭṭisa, Nandivṛiddha, Harivṛiddha and Āḍhyarāja flourished in the Sātavāhana age. They wrote their works in the Māhārāshṭri Prakrit. From Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa*, however, we learn that Guṇāḍhya, who flourished in the same age, wrote his *Bṛihatkathā* not in that dialect but in Paiśāchī, which was not then commonly known. He must have done this for some special reason such as that of the bet mentioned above.

The *Kātantra* vyākaraṇa composed by Guṇāḍhya's contemporary and rival Śarvavarman, is fortunately still extant. It has made the learning of Sanskrit much easier by omitting the technical terms and *anubandhas* of Pāṇini and confining itself only to Classical Sanskrit. The need for such a simple Sanskrit grammar may well have been felt owing to an incident such as that of the bet described above.

<sup>1</sup> *Kāvyaḍarśa*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> See के ३ भूवभाईधराजस्य काले प्राकृतभाषिणः । सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण, २, १५.

A commentator explains आडधराजः शालिवाहनः ।



Therefore, the main incidents in the introductory portion of the Kāśmīri version, viz., the conversation of Śiva and Pārvatī in heaven, the bets of Guṇāḍhya and Śarvavarman, the easily comprehensible nature of Śarvavarman's grammar, the use by Guṇāḍhya of an uncommon dialect like Paiśāchī in his work—all these make it very likely that the introductory portion in the Kāśmīri version is genuine. The reason for its absence in the *Bṛīhatkathā-śloka-saṅgraha* seems to be this, viz., that it was composed not by Guṇāḍhya but by the Sātavāhana king. This does not, of course, mean that all statements in the Kathā-piṭha-lambaka such as that about Guṇāḍhya's birth are true. In several places in Sanskrit literature we find history smothered by tradition. The present is an instance of the same type.

#### The Home and the Date of Guṇāḍhya

We shall next see what information we can gather about Guṇāḍhya. The *Bṛīhatkathāmañjarī* says that he was born in Pratiśṭhāna (modern Paīṭhaṅ in the Aurangābād District of Mahārāshṭra).

प्रतिष्ठानपुरे जातो माल्यवान् दक्षिणापथे ।  
गुणाढ्य इति यो लोके विश्रुतो गुणगौरवात् ॥

The *Kathāsaritsāgara*, on the other hand, mentions the city of Supratiśṭhita as his birth-place. See the following :—

अन्यच्च माल्यवानपि नगरवरे सुप्रतिष्ठिताख्ये सः ।  
जातो गुणाढ्यनामा देवि तयोरेष वृत्तान्तः ॥

The conflicting statements can be reconciled by supposing that Guṇāḍhya was born in the city of Supratiśṭhita situated in the larger territorial division of Pratiśṭhāna. The Petenikas mentioned in Aśoka's Edicts were probably the inhabitants of this division. Later, Pratiśṭhāna became the capital of the Sātavāhanas as shown before. Elsewhere, the *Kathāsaritsāgara*

states that after completing his education Guṇāḍhya went to Pratishthana to meet the Sātavāhana King. This shows that his native place (Supratishthita) was different from the royal capital. Some scholars, relying on the statement in the *Nepālamāhātmya*, identify Pratishthāna with the homonymous place in North India near the confluence of the Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī; but this is not correct. The city Pratishthāna mentioned in the *Bṛihat-kathāmañjarī* was situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. Pratishthāna near Allāhābād is not in the Dakṣiṇāpatha (South India).

The aforementioned Supratishthita is also called Supratishthā in some passages in the Kāśmīri version. (See the Suratamañjarī-lambaka of the *Bṛihat-kathāmañjarī*). It was the chief town of an *āhāra* (a large territorial division). This *āhāra* is mentioned in as many as three grants<sup>1</sup> of the Vākātakas. From the boundaries of the donated villages situated in this *āhāra*, it seems that the division included some portion of the Hīnganḡhāṭ *tahsil* of the Wardhā District, and the Varoḍā and Yeotmāl *tahsils* of the Chāndā and Yeotmāl Districts respectively. The village Pothrā which lies in this region seems to resemble Supratishthā phonetically. As the boundaries of Supratishthā are not mentioned anywhere, one cannot be definite on this point.

The date of Guṇāḍhya cannot be definitely determined. According to tradition, he flourished at the court of a Sātavāhana king; but *Sātavāhana* was a family name. It was derived from the progenitor of the royal family. His coins have been found at different places in Mahārāshṭra, but he flourished in a very early age—the end of the third century B. C. Guṇāḍhya cannot be referred to such an early age. All descendants of Sātavāhana bore his name. Who among them was the author of the *Bṛihat-kathā* it is difficult to say. Bühler placed Guṇāḍhya in the second

<sup>1</sup> See discussion of this in our *SL*, I (second ed.), pp. 77 ff.

or the third century A. D., and Lacote about the middle of the third cen. A. D. But these are baseless conjecturers.

We generally find that sometimes there occurs in history a wave of creative literary activity. There was such a wave in the reign of the Sātavāhana king Hāla. We have shown above that several learned men and poets flourished in his time. The Purāṇas have assigned him a reign of only five years, but this is unbelievable. He must have ruled for a long time. But Guṇāḍhya is not likely to have flourished during his reign. A king like Hāla is not likely to have been so ignorant of Sanskrit as not to understand the meaning of a simple Sanskrit sentence like *modakair māṁ tādāya*. Besides, he had composed not only *kāvya*s but also prosodial works. One of them contained Sanskrit synonyms of Prakrit words as shown before. Guṇāḍhya could not have flourished in his reign.

Hāla is the seventeenth king in the Purāṇic list of the Sātavāhanas. We know nothing about his five successors except their names and regnal years. From the time of the twenty-third king Gautamīputra Sātākarnī to that of the last king, Puṣumāvi the third, the Sātavāhanas had a glorious career. During their time Guṇāḍhya could not have received the ill treatment he is said to have done at the Sātavāhana Court.

Guṇāḍhya may have flourished soon after Hāla. Uddyotanasūri's *Kuvalayamālā* has coupled him with the Prakrit poets Hāla, Pādalipta and Shaṭprajña. So he must have flourished soon after them. The date of Hāla also is not definitely fixed; but he is generally referred to the beginning of the first cen. A. D. Guṇāḍhya may have flourished soon thereafter.

The main tale in the Bṛihatkāthā is that of Naravāhanadatta, the son of Udayana and Vāsavadattā. He marries as many as twenty-six wives and ultimately attains the rank of *Chakravartin*. His chief queen Mandana-māñchukā was the daughter of a courtesan named Kaliṅgasenā. She attains the position of a *kula-vadhū* (respectable

woman) ultimately as Vasantasenā does in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*. Perhaps, Śūdraka has borrowed some ideas and incidents of his play from the *Bṛihatkathā*. We have shown elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* was produced in the beginning of the Kushāṇa age. It, therefore, confirms the date of the *Bṛihatkathā* suggested above. Scholars have shown that Bhāsa is indebted to the *Bṛihatkathā* for some incidents in his *Svapnavāsavadatta*.<sup>2</sup> Bhāsa undoubtedly flourished before Kālidāsa (c. A. D. 400). This also corroborates the aforementioned date of that Paiśāchī work.

As the main tale in the *Bṛihatkathā* is about the prince Naravāhanadatta of Kauśāmbī, it is not surprising that the work contains some references to localities of North India. But they do not indicate that its author Guṇāḍhya hailed from that part of the country.

### The Language of the *Bṛihatkathā*

We shall next turn to the question of the language of Guṇāḍhya's work. Both the Kāśmīri works call it Paiśāchī. Daṇḍin describes it as the *bhūta-bhāshā* (the language of the spirits). According to Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, it was current in the region of Avanti (Western Mālwa), Pāriyātra (Mount Abu), and Daśapura (modern Mandasor) :—

आवन्त्याः पारियात्राः सह दशपुरजैर्भूतभाषां भजन्ते ।

The main characteristics of this language are thus given in Hemachandra's *Prākṛita-vyākaraṇa*<sup>3</sup> :—

- (1) Consonants as a general rule are not dropped ; they remain as in Sanskrit.
- (2) ळ is changed to ल, ञ to न, ण to ण, श and ष to स. See मलन (मदन), गनेन (गुणेन), कुळं (कुलं), सती (शरी), विसमो (विषमो:).

<sup>1</sup> See below the section on the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*.

<sup>2</sup> Bhāsa has made several changes in the original story. See A. D. Pusalkar, *Bhāsa : A Study*, pp. 236 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Hemachandra—*Prākṛita-Vyākaraṇa* ed. by P. L. Vaidya.

- (3) ञ, न्य and ष्य are changed to ञ्, ञ in राजन् is changed to ञ्. राज्ञा ( राजा ); कञ्जका ( कम्पका ); पुञ्ज ( पुण्य ).
- (4) The letters of टवर्ग are optionally changed to those of तवर्ग. कुत्वंकं or कुट्वंकं ( कुट्वंकं ).
- (5) य in हृदय is changed to व. See हित्पके ( हृदये ).
- (6) ट्वा of the Absolutive is changed to तुन, and ष्ट्वा to दून or त्पून. मन्तून ( मत्वा ), नदून ( नष्टवा ), तत्पून ( तष्ट्वा ).
- (7) The passive voice is indicated by इय्य. See दिय्यते ( दीयते ).
- (8) The future form is indicated by एय्य. See ह्वेय्य ( भविष्यति ).
- (9) The Ablative singular of words ending in ञ ends in जातु. or जातो. See तुमातु, तुमातो ( त्वत्तः ); ममातु, ममातो ( मत्तः ).

Besides, there are a few other peculiarities, but they need not be discussed here.

The Paiśāchī has a sub-dialect called *Chūlikā-Paiśāchī*, the only additional peculiarities of it being (1) the third and fourth letters of a class are changed to the first and second of the same class, and (2) र is changed to ञ optionally. See नकर ( नगर ), मख ( मष ).

Hemachandra has given the following *gāthās* as illustrations of *Chulikā Paiśāchī*<sup>1</sup> :—

- (१) पनमथ पनयपकुण्णितगोलीचलनमालम्पातिविम्बं ।  
तसमु नखतप्पनेसुं एकातसतनुबलं सुहं ॥  
[ प्रणमत प्रणयप्रकुण्णितगौरीचरणाप्रलम्नप्रतिविम्बम् ।  
दशमु नखदपणेषु एकादशतनुधरं रुद्रम् ॥ ]
- (२) नच्चन्तस्स य लीलापातुक्खवेन कम्पिता वमुधा ।  
उच्छलन्ति समुद्दा सइला निपतन्ति तं हलं नमथ ॥  
[ नृत्यतश्च लीलापादोरक्षेपेण कम्पिता वमुधा ।  
उच्छलन्ति समुद्राः शैला निपतन्ति तं हरं नमत ॥ ]

<sup>1</sup> It may be conjectured that these illustrations were the initial verses of the *Bṛīha-kathā*. The latter was no doubt written in prose as stated by Dugḍin, but it is not unlikely that it had some *maṅgala-gāthās* in the beginning. But these *gāthās* are in the *Chūlikā-Paiśāchī*. Guṇādhyā is nowhere stated to have composed his work in the *Chūlikā-Paiśāchī*. Perhaps, Hemachandra has made some changes in the original *gāthās* so as to make them illustrations of the *Chūlikā-Paiśāchī*.

We have stated above the evidence for the view that this Paiśāchī dialect was current in the vicinity of the Vindhya. Guṇāḍhya was originally a court-poet of the Sātavāhanas of Mahārāshṭra. So he may well have gone to the region in the vicinity of the Vindhya when he became disconsolate by Śarvavarman's winning of the bet. But Grierson held a different view. According to him, the Paiśāchī Prakrit was current in the north-west regions of India—in Kāfiristān, the Svāt Valley, Chitral and Gilgit. As the people of this region were carnivorous, they were known as Piśāchas. The change of *ṛ* and other soft consonants to *ṝ* and other hard ones which is noticed in the language of these territories is a characteristic feature of Paiśāchī. But then how is it that Paiśāchī resembles Pāli in some respects? To this, Grierson's reply is as follows:—Paiśāchī was the spoken dialect of the region round Taxilā in the North-west Province. Pāli is its literary form. This view has not even a shred of evidence to support it. So Keith and some other scholars have not subscribed to it. Keith has shown that Paiśāchī has only one surd, viz. *sa*, but Aśoka's Edicts in the North-west Province have other surds also. So their language cannot be called Paiśāchī. Lacote says, "It can only be inferred that Paiśāchī was a literary adaptation of a language particularly vulgar, spoken by semi-barbarian tribes, and that consequently it was found to be different from it in many particulars."

Guṇāḍhya had no connection with the north-west region of India. He lived in the Sātavāhana age, and at the time of the composing the *Bṛihatkāthā*, he was in the Vindhya region. So he must have used the dialect of that region in his work.<sup>1</sup> This is a reasonable view, and it has been accepted by Keith<sup>2</sup> and Sten Konow.<sup>3</sup> We have evidence for it in the afore-cited statement of Rājaśekhara. Paiśāchī is said to resemble the dialect of Mālwā.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The dialect *Avantījā Prakṛita* mentioned by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* (XVII, 40) may be Paiśāchī.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 269.

<sup>3</sup> *ZDMG*, (1910), p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> *ABORI*, XXI, p. 26.

In certain respects such as the change of ऋ to ॠ, it shows the influence of the Dravidian languages. Paisāchī's resemblance to Pāli can thus be accounted for. Pāli, in which the Buddhist canon is composed, was not the language of Magadha. It was the language of Central India as shown by some scholars. Aśoka's son Mahendra took it to Śrī-Laṅkā.<sup>1</sup> Tārānāth's statement that Sthaviravādi Bauddhas read their sacred works in the Piśāchikā language<sup>2</sup> lends support to this view. This Piśāchikā is none other than Paisāchī.

Paisāchī has very little literature. The *Bṛihatkathā* is the only noteworthy work in that dialect, but it is not extant now. Several Prakrit grammarians have given rules of that dialect, but have cited no illustrations. Hemachandra and Bhoja are the only exceptions. We have given above two *gāthās* from Hemachandra's *Vyākaraṇa*. All other passages cited by him are very short and are in prose. In his *Śṛiṅgāra-prakāśa*, Bhoja has given a fairly long extract from the *Bṛihatkathā*.<sup>3</sup> It is also in prose. We learn from Daṇḍin's *Kāvya-darśa* that the *Bṛihatkathā* was written in prose. So the short passages cited by Hemachandra as illustrations of his *Sūtras* may have been from the *Bṛihatkathā*. Lacote has tried to identify their sources in that work. In the *Kumārapālacharita*, Hemachandra has given six *gāthās* of Paisāchī, and two of Chūlikā-Paisāchī. Some *stotras* of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras and a few speeches in one or two Sanskrit works are also in Paisāchī,<sup>4</sup> but on the whole, the literature in Paisāchī is insignificant.

Sanskrit authors are fond of exaggeration. Prakrit authors are no exceptions. The Prakrit grammarian Vararuchi gives the following long list of countries where the Paisāchī dialect was spoken :—

काञ्चीदेशीयपाण्ड्ये च पाञ्चालं गौडमागधम् ।  
 द्राचडं दक्षिणात्यं च शौरसेनं च केकयम् ।  
 शावरं द्राविडं चैवं एकादश पिशाचजाः ॥

<sup>1</sup> This view has been expressed by Kuhn. See Gune, *Introduction to Comparative Philosophy* (first ed.), p. 177. The same view is held by Franke.

<sup>2</sup> *ZDMG.*, 1910, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> V. Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa*, p. 335.

<sup>4</sup> *ABORI*, XXI, pp. 27 ff.

Had this been true, there would not have been so much dearth of literature in Paisāchi.

#### 4. The Kātantra Grammar of Śarvavarman

We have given above the legend that Śarvavarman, a Sanskrit Paṇḍit at the Court of a Sātavāhana king, composed an easy Sanskrit grammar called Kātantra for teaching the Classical language to him. There seems to be much substance in this tradition. The grammatical system of Pāṇini was in vogue throughout the country till the time of the Sātavāhanas. Learned Sanskrit scholars were engrossed in examining the *Sūtras* in Paṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* and making them succinct and faultless. Several successors of Pāṇini composed *vārttikas* for the purpose. Later, Patañjali, who was a contemporary of the Śuṅga King Pushyamitra, re-examined the whole material in his *Mahābhāshya*. His monumental work is regarded as most authoritative on the Pāṇinian system.

But the Grammar of Pāṇini treats of both the Vedic and the Classical Sanskrit, and is intended for those who want to attain complete mastery over the language. It does not cater for those who wish to attain only general knowledge of the Classical language. For them, the need of a simple grammar must have been felt. When it was pointedly brought to notice by the incident in the Watersport of a Sātavāhana king, Śarvavarman seems to have composed his *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa*. It is the oldest among such Vyākaraṇas.

Śarvavarman's Vyākaraṇa is known by three names, viz., Kātantra, Kaumāra and Kālāpa. As it is a small or brief grammar, it came to be known as *Kā-tantra* (Small Treatise). As Śarvavarman is supposed to have obtained it by the grace of Kumāra or Kārttikeya it got the name of *Kaumāra*. Its third name *Kālāpa* is derived from the *kalāpa* (or plumage) of the peacock, the vehicle of Kārttikeya.

The existing Vyākaraṇa of Śarvavarman has in all 1383 *Sūtras*;<sup>1</sup> but some of its *prakaraṇas* (sections)

<sup>1</sup> This number has been given from the *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa* (edited with the com. Rūpamālā by Hiraçhandra Nemichandra, Vikrama Saṅhvat,



such as *kṛit*, *nipāta*, *strī-pratyaya* and *uṅ-ādi* seem to have been added later. This is indicated by the repetition of the auspicious word *siddhi* again in the beginning of the *kṛit* section.<sup>1</sup> Tradition says that the section was appended later by Śākaṭāyana or Vararuchi.<sup>2</sup> It is also noteworthy that Durgasiṃha, who is the oldest commentator of this Vyākaraṇa, has not commented on the sections of the *nipātas*, *strī-pratyayas* and *uṅ-ādi*. If these sections are omitted, the total number of the sūtras of this Vyākaraṇa does not exceed 1,000. This number is considerably smaller than 4,000, the number of the Sūtras in Paṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*. Besides, these sūtras are so composed as to be easily intelligible to beginners. So it is not a matter for surprise that with their help Śarvavarman succeeded in imparting a general knowledge of Sanskrit to his royal pupil.

Śarvavarman has adopted several devices for making his grammar easy. He omitted Vedic Sanskrit completely from the purview of his grammar. For the *pratyāhāras* (abbreviations) used in Paṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*, the Māheśvara *Sūtras* were necessary. In them, the natural order of letters had to be changed. Śarvavarman omitted *pratyāhāras* completely as they are difficult to understand. He has thereby been able to retain the natural order of the letters of the alphabet. The technical terms used by him such as *vartamānā* (Paṇini's लट्), *hyastani* (Pāṇini's लङ्), *parokshā* (Pāṇini's लिट्), *śvastani* (Pāṇini's लृट्) are significant and therefore easily intelligible. He used some new terms which also are quite simple. See लिङ्ग (prātipadika), अग्नि (masculine words ending in short इ and उ), घुट् (consonants except semi-vowels and nasals) etc. He has adopted Pāṇini's sūtras which were easy, such as ऋते च तृतीयान्तात् । (१.३५); व्याह्वयिभ्यो रमः । (२.२५४).

But in cases where Pāṇini's sūtras were difficult to understand, he has made them easy by adding the necessary words. See e. g. Pāṇini's इको यणचि ( ६.१.७७ ),

<sup>1</sup> *Siddha* occurs in the first Sūtra of the *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa*. See सिद्धो वर्णसमाप्तायः ।

<sup>2</sup> Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 84.

Śarvavarman has substituted it by his Sūtra इवर्णो यमसवर्णो न च परो लोप्यः । Pāṇini has not, in some cases, grouped his Sūtras according to topics. So Bhaṭṭoji Dikshit had to change their order in many places. Śarvavarman realised the need for it nearly two thousand years ago. So he has arranged his Sūtras as required for the convenience of teaching. In short, Śarvavarman has taken all measures for making his grammar as easy as possible.

Later, the sections on *kṛit*, *taddhita* and *stripratyayas* which were necessary for making the grammar complete were added. Several commentaries also came to be written on it. Among them, that of Durgasimha is the oldest.

The Kātantra Vyākaraṇa is widely used in Bengal and Kāśmir, but it is not popular in its native country of Mahārāshṭra. It seems to be taught in some Jain Pāṭhaśālās of Mahārāshṭra. Our own copy of it contains the commentary *Rūpamālā* of a Jaina Muni named Bhāvasena.<sup>1</sup>

The Kātantra Vyākaraṇa seems to have been current in Mahārāshṭra till the time of the Yādavas of Devagiri. See the following interesting verse in the Purushottampurī plates dated Śaka Saṁvat 1232 (A. D. 1310) of the Yādava king Rāmachandra<sup>2</sup> :—

श्रीरामः शर्ववर्मा पदघटनलघूपायदुग्दुग्मं वृत्ति-  
व्याख्याताशेषसूत्रो विकरणविलङ्घानुनिष्पादितार्थः ।  
वर्णानां व्युत्क्रमेण व्यवहरणमपाकृत्य संदर्शितार्थो  
जेता दिव्याकृतीनां शिशुरपि तदिह स्पृश्यते नापशब्दः ॥

[The illustrious Rāma (Rāmachandra)—who noticed an easy way of securing his kingdom, whose entire policy is explained by his occupation of the fort (of Devagiri), who obtained his object by his personal energy which shone by the use of various means, who showed the way to acquire wealth by forbidding the activities of the castes in transgression (of the dictates of the Śāstras), who surpassed celestial beings in that though a boy, he was not

<sup>1</sup> In this edition Śarvavarman is called *Jaināchārya*.

<sup>2</sup> *ET.*, XXV, p. 211.

affected by censure—is verily Śarvavarman, who noticed an easy way of forming *padas*, all of whose aphorisms are explained by Durga's commentary, who derived the intended sense from roots combined with conjugational signs,<sup>1</sup> who showed how to obtain the meaning (*of abbreviations*) without writing the letters of the alphabet in the reverse order, and who has surpassed the primeval grammarians,<sup>2</sup> since not even a boy (*who studies his grammar*) is tainted by the use of wrong words.<sup>3</sup>]

Both the works discussed above—the *Sattasāi* and the *Bṛihatkāthā*—are in Prakrit. So the question arises, 'Were not any Sanskrit works produced in that age?' From the Malhārā plates recently discovered in Vidarbha it is quite evident that there were several Brāhmaṇa families learned in the Vedas who regularly performed the duties of their castes and preached the tenets of their religion. They must have written Sanskrit works also, but none of them have yet come to light.

But Sanskrit learning seems to have flourished at least in the dominion of the Western Kshatrapas. They gave much patronage to the Hindu religion as appears from the Nāsik Cave inscriptions of Ṛishabhadatta. Rudradāman of the Gujarāt—Mālvā branch is known to have himself composed Sanskrit *kāvya*s in prose and verse which were embellished with *alankāras*. None of them have, however, survived the ravages of time. The only exception is the Sanskrit play *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, to which we shall now turn.

### 5. The *Mṛichchhakaṭika* of Śūdraka

The *Mṛichchhakaṭika* is a unique play in Sanskrit dramatic literature. The plots of Sanskrit plays are

<sup>1</sup> *Vikarāṇa* means the conjugational sign affixed to a root before *śarvadhātuka* terminations are added to it.

<sup>2</sup> While construing the verse with Śarvavarman, the *paśo-chchhedā* in the fourth quarter will be 'जेता आदिव्याकृतीनाम्'

<sup>3</sup> The heavenly personage Rāmachandra had to suffer calumny on account of the abandonment of Sītā.

generally derived from the two Epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Some are based on harem intrigues in the lives of historical kings. See e. g. the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa and the *Ratnāvalī* and the *Priyadarśikā* of Harsha. The plots of a few plays like the *Mālatī-Mādhava* of Bhavabhūti are, no doubt, drawn from social life, but even in their case, most of the characters are of the higher social status. The *Mṛichchhakaṭīka* is, however, concerned with incidents in the lives of persons of a low social status like the hetaera, the masseur, the gambler, the Viṭa and the Cheṭa. Therein lies its uniqueness.

### Its Relation to the Chārudatta

There are several controversial problems raised by this play, and many of them are still unresolved. The *Mṛichchhakaṭīka* bears close resemblance to another Sanskrit play, the *Chārudatta*, in respect of plot, characters, language etc.<sup>1</sup> So it has been a matter of a long-drawn controversy whether the *Chārudatta* is an abridged version of the *Mṛichchhakaṭīka* or the latter is an enlarged redaction of the former with the addition of several incidents and characters. We have briefly discussed this question elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> Still, we may add here some more instances in support of our view.

In both the *Mṛichchhakaṭīka* and the *Chārudatta*, the Sūtradhāra notices great preparations going on in his house for a feast. On his enquiry, the Naṭī tells him that it was the day of the *pāraṇā* of her fast for securing a good husband. When the Sūtradhāra asks her if the husband is of a future life, the Naṭī replies in the affirmative. Then the following dialogue follows :—

**Sūtradhāra** (*angrily*) — See, Gentlemen ! She is trying to secure a husband in her next life at my cost.

<sup>1</sup> The names of some characters are, however, changed in the *Chārudatta*. Thus, the name of the person who commits a theft in Chārudatta's house is given as Sāvalāka in the *Mṛichchhakaṭīka*, while it is Sāpalāka in the *Chārudatta*. Similarly, the person who had advised the Naṭī to undertake a fast is named Jūrnavṛiddha in the *Mṛichchhakaṭīka* while he is called Chūrnavṛiddha in the *Chārudatta*.

<sup>2</sup> *SI*, III, pp. 35-6.

**Naṭī**—Noble Sir, Be pleased ! Be pleased ! This my fast is for securing you as my husband in the next life.

This interesting incident is much mutilated in the *Chārudatta*. When the Naṭī tells the Sūtradhāra that her fast was for obtaining a good husband in the next life, the Sūtradhāra simply says, *savvaṃ dāva chitṭhadu*. (Let it be). This looks unnatural. One feels that something has been omitted here. On the other hand, the speeches in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* appear quite natural. See also the subsequent dialogue in the *Chārudatta* :—

**Sūtradhāra** — Who advised you to undertake this fast ?

**Naṭī**— Your revered Chūrṇagoshṭha.

**Sūtradhāra** — Well done ! Chūrṇagoshṭha ! Well done !

This very incident is much better treated in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*. When the Sūtradhāra learns that the fast was recommended by his friend Jūrṇavṛiddha, he exclaims, “ Oh you rogue Jūrṇavṛiddha ! When shall I see you, fragrant as you are like the locks of a newly wedded young wife, cut off by the enraged king Pālaka ? ”

As we have shown elsewhere, this passage has been misunderstood by all editors and commentators of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*. The words of the Sūtradhāra are not to be taken literally. Jūrṇavṛiddha was a friend of the Sūtradhāra as he was of Chārudatta. The aforementioned remark of the Sūtradhāra is purposely inserted here in order to show how cruel King Pālaka was, and to foreshadow his downfall which occurs in the last Act. The author of the *Chārudatta* has omitted this remark of the Sūtradhāra as he makes no reference to the political crisis at the end of the play ; for he has omitted the last six Acts of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*.

We may take another incident, *viz.*, that of the upper garment perfumed with jasmine flowers (*jāti-kusuma-vāsita-prāvāraka*). The author of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* has made a skilful use of it. We find in the first Act that it was sent by the perfumer Jūrṇavṛiddha as a present to Chārudatta. When the latter saw it, he was painfully reminded of his poverty, since he formerly used to shower such presents on others, while he was now reduced to such penury that

his friends, knowing his fondness for perfumed garments, made such presents to him. This incident explains why Chārudatta, in the very beginning of the first Act, dwells on his miserable life due to poverty. There is no reference to this *prāvāraka* in the *Chārudatta*. Hence Chārudatta's opening remarks about the miseries of poverty are inexplicable in that play.

The author of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* has made further use of this perfumed garment quite skilfully. We find in the first Act that Vasantasenā, who was pursued by Śākāra, Viṭa and Cheṭa, gives the slip to them and stealthily enters Chārudatta's house by a side door when it was opened by Vidūshaka. Taking her to be his maid Radanikā, Chārudatta throws the perfumed garment to her and asks her to cover with it his son Rohasena who was sleeping in the open. When Vasantasenā smells the fragrance of the perfumed garment, she concludes that Chārudatta's age was not indifferent to the enjoyment of such pleasures. That enhances her love for him.

In the second Act, we find that Chārudatta, being pleased by the daring of Karṇapūraka, who brings a wild elephant under control, throws the garment as a present to him as he had then no precious ornament on his person. When Vasantasenā learns about this incident, she enquires of Karṇapūraka whether the garment was perfumed with jasmine flowers. When she comes to know that it was so, she concludes that the person who made that present to Karṇapūraka must have been Chārudatta and none else. This furthers her love for him.

All these incidents are interconnected, and have been skilfully inserted by the author of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, while they are not noticed at all in the *Chārudatta*. This is an unmistakable proof that the latter play is an abridgement of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*. In the Kerala country where the manuscript of the *Chārudatta* was found, Sanskrit plays are even now abridged for being put on the boards.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As the *Chārudatta* is an abridged version of the original play for the stage, it does not contain the *Bhārata-vākyā* at the end as in other Trivandrum plays.

### Prof. Jhala's Argument

Prof. G. C. Jhala has drawn attention to an expression in the fourth Act of the *Chārudatta* which seems to settle this issue.<sup>1</sup> That play is of four Acts (I to IV), the last six Acts having been omitted. In the fourth Act Sajjalaka, who had committed a theft in Chārudatta's house, makes over the stolen ornaments to Vasantasenā. The latter, who knows what had happened, not only asks him to return them to Chārudatta but also presents his sweetheart Madanikā to him. Then they both depart in a carriage. At this, Vasantasenā's maid exclaims, *पिबं मे अमृदंकाण्डाणं संवृत्तं ।* Prof. Jhala says that the expression *amudamka-ṅāḍaam* has a pun. One meaning of it is, "This play has been as sweet as nectar." This meaning suits the context. But there is another meaning also, which the author of the *Chārudatta* wants to suggest. *A-mṛid-aṅka-nāṭaka* means also 'the play in the Acts of which there is no reference to clay (*mṛid*), i. e. to the clay-cart'.<sup>2</sup> (So the other sense is, 'Now this play in which (unlike in the *Mṛichehhakaṭika*) there is no reference to the clay-cart has come to an end.' In the *Mṛichehhakaṭika* Vasantasenā puts her ornaments in a clay-cart and presents them to Chārudatta's son Rohasena. Hence the play gets its name *Mṛichehhakaṭika* (the play of the Clay-Cart). This incident is omitted in the *Chārudatta*. Prof. Jhala says that the author of the *Chārudatta* wants to suggest by the pun on *a-mṛid-aṅka-nāṭaka* that his play is an abridgment of the *Mṛichehhakaṭika*. If we agree with Prof. Jhala, this expression clinches the issue. It shows clearly that the *Chārudatta* is an abridgment of the *Mṛichehhakaṭika*.

### Its Critical Examination

But Prof. Jhala's explanation of the expression is not undebatable. The expression *amudamkaṅāḍaam*

<sup>1</sup> *JBBRAS.*, (New Series), XXVII, pp. 272 f.

<sup>2</sup> T. Ganapati Śastri and several other editors of the *Chārudatta* have given the Sanskrit *chhāyā* of this Prakrit saying as *amṛit-aṅka-nāṭakam sanvṛittam*. It should really be *a-mṛidaṅga-nāṭakam sanvṛittam* as shown later.

*samvuttam* was a popular saying in ancient times. Its Sanskrit form *amṛidaṅgo nāṣak-āṅkaḥ samvṛtttaḥ* occurs in the Bhāṣa *Padma-prābhṛitaka* recently discovered.<sup>1</sup> It means, 'This Act has commenced without the sounding of *mṛidaṅga* (tabor).' In ancient times, the commencement of a play was announced with the sounding of the tabor (*mṛidaṅga*). Thus, in the first Act of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* the persons on the stage infer, from the sounding of the tabor behind the curtain, that the competition in *nāṭya* is about to begin. So the expression *a-mṛidaṅga-nāṣakam samvṛttam* means that the event has occurred unexpectedly. This saying occurs in the speech of Vasantasena's maid when Sajjalaka departs with Madanikā. Vasantasena then says, 'Oh ! I have seen a dream while quite awake.' Then the maid remarks, 'This incident has occurred suddenly like a play commencing without the preliminary sounding of the tabor.'

This saying was current in the age of the Bhāṣa *Padmaprābhṛitaka*, ascribed to Śūdraka. It has not been noticed elsewhere, though some other similar sayings occur in other Bhāṣas.<sup>2</sup> We shall show later that the *Padmaprābhṛitaka* belongs to a later age than the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*. When the author of the *Chāru-datta* abridged the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, he introduced it as it occurred in a Bhāṣa traditionally ascribed to the same author.

So there is no doubt that the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* is the original play. But there is a divergence of views as regards its author and the age in which he flourished. We now proceed to discuss this question.

### Information about Śūdraka

Sanskrit dramatists generally insert their names in the *prastāvanās* of their plays. The *Mṛichchhakaṭika* also not only mentions Śūdraka as its author but

<sup>1</sup> *Chaturbhūṅgī* (ed. by Motichandra and V. S. Agrawal), p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> A similar saying occurs in the *Pāṇḍurājanaka*. *Ibid.*, p. 30, n. 22 (2).



gives also much information about him. He was a Brāhmaṇa well versed in the Vedas. After performing an Aśvamedha sacrifice and placing his son on the throne, he, at the age of a hundred years and ten days, ended his life by entering fire. It is difficult to believe this traditional story. The *prastāvanā* of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* was evidently written by some one long after the age of Śūdraka. It is, however, not unlikely that the author of the play was named Śūdraka. Vāmana (circa A. D. 800) says after defining *ślesha* शूद्रकादिरचितेषु प्रबन्धेष्वस्य भूयान्प्रपञ्चो दृश्यते । (Many instances of this *ślesha* are noticed in the works of Śūdraka and others). He has cited two passages from the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*—(1) द्यूतं हि नाम पुरुषस्यासिंहासनं राज्यम् । (Act II) and (2) वासां बलिभं वति मद्गृह्देहलीनां etc. (Act I). Of these, the first passage is not noticed in the *Chārudatta*. So it is evident that Vāmana knew Śūdraka as the author of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*.

### The Date of Śūdraka

There is great uncertainty about the date of Śūdraka. In fact, it seems that there were several kings of that name in ancient times. From the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* it appears that its author had detailed knowledge of Ujjayinī. So he may have flourished there. On the other hand, Bāṇa mentions in the beginning of the *Kādambarī* a king of that name ruling in Vidiśā.<sup>1</sup> The Purāṇas contain long lists of kings who flourished in ancient times. Śūdraka's name does not figure therein.

Recently, two Sanskrit works, (1) the incomplete and fragmentary prose work, the *Avantidundarī-kathā* of Daṇḍin, and (2) its metrical abridgment, the *Avantisundarī-kathā-sāra*, have been found and published in the Dakṣiṇa-Bhārati-grantha-mālā. The former of these

<sup>1</sup> See his description in the beginning of the *Kādambarī*.

contains the following verse about Śūdraka<sup>1</sup> :—

शुद्रकेणासकृज्जित्वा स्वच्छया खड्गघारया ।  
जगद्भूयोभ्यवष्टब्धं वाचा स्वचरितार्यया ॥

The verse states that Śūdraka not only conquered the world more than once but has also provided it with a work based on his own career.

The sense of this verse is not quite clear, but it seems to imply that Śūdraka has given indication of the incidents in his life in a literary work. Such stories are known to occur only in the *Avantisundari-kathā-sāra*.

Daṇḍin's *Avantisundari-kathā* has been recovered in a fragmentary form, but its contents have been abridged in the metrical work *Avanti-sundari-kathā-sāra*. This work contains the following account of Śūdraka's life<sup>2</sup> :—

“In his previous birth Śūdraka was a Brāhmaṇa named Śaunaka. After rebirth in the Aśmaka country, he came to be known as Indrāgnigupta. People called him Śūdraka also. Once he was told by a Brāhmaṇa that he would get Rāja-lakshmi (royal fortune) after passing through several calamities. He grew up in the company of a prince named Svāti. While playing together, the friends were turned into enemies. Once upon a time Śūdraka lifted up a large stone-slab. The Buddhist monk Saṅghilaka, who saw that feat of his, took him and entered a large underground hollow. The monk attempted to kill him while he was engaged in *ras-oddharaṇa* (extraction of mercury), but Śūdraka put him to death, and then emerged from that hollow. Once he noticed a woman feeding on the flesh of his friend Viśvalaka, but as soon as he seized her, she was freed from a curse and went to heaven. He abducted the princess Vinayavati and ruled over the whole earth surrounded by the four oceans, enjoying the company of his friends and queens.”

<sup>1</sup> *Avantisundarikathā* (Dakṣiṇa-Bhārati-Granthamālā, 1924), pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41 f.

M. Rāmākṛiṣṇa Kavi, who has edited the *Avantisundarī-kathā-sāra*, believed in the historicity of the foregoing incidents of the life of Śūdraka, and inferred that he was a contemporary of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) king Svāti mentioned in the Purāṇas. He fixed the end of Svāti's reign in 56 B. C. and identified Śūdraka with King Vikramāditya,<sup>1</sup> the reputed founder of the Vikrama Saṁvat.

This theory about the date of Śūdraka is based on a very shaky foundation. The stories in the *Avantisundarī-kathā-sāra*, like those in such Sanskrit works as the *Kathā-sarīt-sāgara*, are purely imaginary, and have no historical basis. Secondly, we have no reason to suppose that this Svāti who is supposed to have been a playmate of Śūdraka was a prince of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) family. Even supposing that the identification is correct, it cannot be useful in determining the date of Śūdraka; for the Purāṇas mention as many as five kings of that name in the Andhra (Sātavāhana) dynasty.<sup>2</sup> We have no means to know which of them was a contemporary of Śūdraka. Śūdraka's name Vikramāditya occurs in a very late work, viz. in the *Vetala-pañchaviṁśati* included in the *Kathāsarīsāgara*. So these legends about Śūdraka deserve no credence. Though the tales in the *Avantisundarī-kathā-sāra* are imaginary, the order of poets praised in the preliminary verses of the original work, the *Avantisundarī-kathā*, appears to be chronological as we have shown elsewhere from the mention of the Vākāṭaka king Sarvasena and the anthology of the Chhappanṇaya poets.<sup>3</sup> So we are inclined to take Śūdraka also mentioned in one of these preliminary verses as historical. He is indeed not called there the author of the *Mṛichachhakaṭīka*, but no other author of that name is known to history.

<sup>1</sup> He is called Vikramāditya in the *Vetala-pañchaviṁśati* also. See the *Kathāsarīsāgara* (Nirṇayasāgar Press, 1915), p. 466.

<sup>2</sup> DKA., p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas* (CII., Vol. V), pp. 29, 49 etc.

The preliminary eulogistic verses in the *Avantisundarī-kathā* mention the following authors in this order—(1) Śūdraka; (2) Bhāsa; (3) Sarvasena; (4) Chhappaṇṇaya Poets; and (5) Kālidāsa. This order appears to be chronological. Kālidāsa is now proved to have flourished in the time of Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya (in *circa* A. D. 400). Sarvasena ruled in *circa* A. D. 330—355 as shown by us elsewhere. Bhāsa is known to have preceded Kālidāsa and probably flourished in *circa* A. D. 300. So Śūdraka eulogised before Bhāsa probably flourished in the second cen. A. D. This is also supported by another evidence. In the *Prastāvanā* of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Kālidāsa mentions Saumilla as an old Sanskrit dramatist. No work of his is now extant, but from a verse of Rājaśekhara we learn he collaborated with another poet Rāmila in writing a work on the life of Śūdraka :—

तौ शुद्रककथाकारौ बन्धौ रामिलसोमिलौ ।  
काव्यं ययोद्वयोरासीदधर्नारीनरोपमम् ॥

This verse states that the *Śūdraka-charita* composed by the two poets Rāmila and Somila appears uniform throughout like the *Ardha-nārī-naṭeśvara* form of Śiva. As Somila (who is probably identical with Saumilla mentioned by Kālidāsa) was regarded as an old poet in the time of Kālidāsa (A. D. 400), Śūdraka whose life he described must have flourished much earlier, probably in the second century A. D.

Scholars are sharply divided as regards the date of Śūdraka. Keith has admitted that it is impossible to fix his date definitely.<sup>1</sup> Sten Konow identifies him with Śivadatta, the father of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena, who started the so-called Kalachuri era in A. D. 249-250.<sup>2</sup> He overthrew the last Sātavāhana king. This political revolution is reflected in that mentioned in the last Act of the *Mṛichchhakaṭīka*. In that Act

<sup>1</sup> Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 131. He takes the *Mṛichchhakaṭīka* to be an enlarged version of the *Chārudatta*.

<sup>2</sup> Sten Konow, *Das Indische Drama*, pp. 56 f.

we find the cowherd Āryaka slays the reigning king Pālaka, and usurps the throne. In ancient times the Ābhīras were classed among the Śūdras. So Śivadatta may have been known as Śūdraka. Other scholars have not accepted this view of Sten Konow. S. K. De has not assigned a definite date to Śūdraka.<sup>1</sup> He says merely that the *Mṛichchhakaṭīka* is not a very late play. Winternitz,<sup>2</sup> Oliver<sup>3</sup> and R. D. Karmarkar,<sup>4</sup> who accept the view that the *Mṛichchhakaṭīka* is an enlarged redaction of the *Chārudatta*, assign Śūdraka to the fifth or the sixth century A. D. This is a mistaken view. The *Mṛichchhakaṭīka* is certainly not so late. We proceed to show that on the evidence of the religious condition described in the play and some geographical references which occur in it, it is possible to fix an approximate date for Śūdraka.

We have shown elsewhere that the political revolution described in the last Act of the *Mṛichchhakaṭīka* occurred at the end of the reign of Pālaka, son of Pradyota or Chanḍamahāsenā, king of Ujjayinī. Pālaka was a cruel and despotic ruler. So people rose in revolt against him, slew him and placed a young cowherd name Āryaka on the throne. Pradyota was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha. His son Pālaka is known to have been defeated by King Ajātaśatru, the king of Magadha. The latter's date is fixed as 493—462 B. C. So the religious condition in the time of the *Mṛichchhakaṭīka* must be that prevailing in about the middle of the fifth century B. C. We next proceed to see how it is described in that play.

Buddhism had then spread considerably in Central India. Those who were tormented by the calamities in worldly life or by some other reason resorted to that religion for peace of mind. In the second Act of the play we find that the Saṁvāhaka loses ten gold

<sup>1</sup> S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Indian Literature* (English Tr.), Vol. III, Fasciculus I, I (Cal. Univ.), p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *The Little Clay Cart*, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> See his edition of the *Mṛichchhakaṭīka*. Macdonell also held the same view. See *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 361.

coins in gambling. The gamblers harass him by their demand. So he seeks shelter with Vasantasenā. When she comes to know that he was previously serving Chārudatta, she gives her gold bangle to the gamblers to free him from the debt. But the Saṁvāhaka becomes so much disgusted by the harassment of the gamblers, that he resolves to espouse Buddhism and become a Śākya Śramaṇaka (Buddhist Monk). Next, in the eighth Act Śākāra strangles Vasantasenā and believing that she was dead, he departs after spreading a large mass of dry leaves over her body. Then there comes the Saṁvāhaka turned a Buddhist Monk, and after taking a bath he spreads his clothing over the heap of dry leaves for drying. He soon notices some motion inside it, and when Vasantasenā comes out of it, he says to her, "In the Vihāra nearby lives my religious sister. Please rest there for a while and then go home."

From this scene in Act VIII, it is clear that there was at least one *Vihāra* then in Ujjayinī. At the end of the last Act, after the political revolution was over and Chārudatta was saved from the gallows, Śarvilaka asks him, "What should we do to this Monk?" Then Chārudatta replies—*पुण्य्यां सर्वविहारेषु कुलपतिर्यं नियताम् ।* "Make him the Head of all the *Vihāras* (of course, in your own kingdom)." This shows that there were then in Central India a number of Buddhist monasteries.

Even great poets are sometimes noticed committing the fault of anachronism unwittingly, and describing the condition prevailing in their own days. Śūdraka is no exception. See e. g. the following speech of Śākāra pursuing Vasantasenā in the first Act<sup>1</sup>—

अन्धकारे पलायमाना माल्यगन्धेन सूचिता ।  
केशवन्दे परामृष्टा चाणक्येनेव द्रौपदी । ।

The reference to Chāṇakya involves the fault of anachronism. We have seen above that the political

<sup>1</sup> *Mricchhakatika*, Act I, v. 39.

condition intended to be described in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* is that of *circa* 450 B. C., when King Pālaka was ruling in Ujjayinī. Chāṇakya was not living then or before that time. He was a contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya who ascended the throne of Magadha after exterminating the Nanda family in *circa* 324 B. C., *i. e.* after more than a century and a quarter. So the reference to him in the speech of Śākāra suffers from the fault of anachronism.

Śūdraka seems to have committed the same fault in describing the religious condition in Ujjayinī in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*. That condition could not have obtained in Ujjayinī in the time of Pālaka (*circa* 450 B. C.) Buddhism did not spread much in Central India during the first three centuries after the death of the Buddha (*circa* 544 B. C.). It was only after Aśoka espoused Buddhism and appointed *Dharmamahāmātras* and Buddhist Missionaries that Buddhism spread far and wide. So the religious condition in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* which presupposes the existence of several Buddhist monasteries in Central India could not be of the middle of the fifth century B. C. It must be of a much later age. It cannot also be of as late an age as that of the Guptas; for Buddhism was then yielding place to Hinduism. Though Śūdraka professes to describe the religious condition in the time of King Pālaka, that condition really prevailed in a much later age, *viz.* that of the early centuries of the Christian era.

As Śūdraka has unwittingly described the religious condition in his own age, he has also inserted some political references which betray his own time as we propose to show now.

After the political revolution mentioned in the tenth Act, the new king Āryaka sends the following message to Chārudatta through Śarvilaka, "Immediately after accession, your friend Āryaka offers to you the kingdom of Kuśāvati on the bank of the river Veṇā. Please agree to this first request of your friend by

accepting it." Scholars have not so far understood the implication of this passage. Let us discuss it in some detail.

When a king of Ujjayinī offers the kingdom of Kuśāvati on the bank of the Veṅā (modern Vaingāṅgā in the Bhaṅḍārā District) to his friend, it means that his own rule then extended from the country of Ākarāvanti (present Mālwa) in the north to the country of the Vaingāṅgā in the south. But this political condition did not obtain in the time of King Pālaka (*i. e.* the middle of the fifth cen. B. C.). Śūdraka is evidently referring unwittingly to the political condition in his own time. For understanding its full significance we must first identify Kuśāvati.

We learn from the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki that before his death, Rāma distributed the countries of his empire among his own and his brothers' sons. About the kingdoms of Kuśa and Lava, the *Rāmāyaṇa* says as follows<sup>1</sup> :—

कोशलेषु कुशं वीरमुत्तरेषु तथा लवम् ।  
अभिविच्य महात्मानाबुभावेव कुशीलवो ॥

Rāma gave the Dakṣiṇa or South Kośala country to Kuśa and the Uttara or North Kośala to Lava. Uttara Kośala was the name of the country round Ayodhyā. Rāma founded Śrāvastī, and made it the capital of Lava. Dakṣiṇa Kośala corresponds to the modern Chhattisgaḍh Division of Madhya Pradesh, comprising the districts of Raipur and Bilāspur and some adjoining territory. Kausalyā, the mother of Rāma, was a princess of this country. This shows how the view of some scholars that the *Rāmāyaṇa* does not contain any references to South India, and that Laṅkā, the capital of Rāvaṇa, was situated a few miles north of Jabalpur is erroneous.

After making over the country of Dakṣiṇa Kośala to Kuśa, Rāma founded the city of Kuśāvati

<sup>1</sup> *Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa* (Cr. ed.), Uttarakāṇḍa, 97, v. 1.



in his name<sup>1</sup> and made it his capital. This city is described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as situated in the region near the Vindhya mountain (*Vindhya-parvata-rodhasi*).

In the sixteenth canto of his *Raghuvamśa*, Kālidāsa describes that while Kuśa was ruling from Kuśāvati, he saw one night the presiding deity of Ayodhyā, who described to him to what pitiable condition that city was reduced after the passing away of Rāma. She importuned Kuśa to shift his capital there in order to restore its previous glory to that city. Kuśa promised to do so and soon proceeded to do it. Kālidāsa has described his journey from Kuśāvati to Ayodhyā in the sixteenth canto of his *Raghuvamśa*. He mentions the Vindhya mountain and the river Revā (Narmadā) in this connection. This leaves no doubt that Kuśāvati was situated to the south of the Narmadā and the Vindhya mountain.

The mention of Kuśāvati as situated on the bank of the Veṇā<sup>2</sup> (modern Vaingāṅgā) helps in the identification of that city. The Veṇā or the Beṇā is undoubtedly the Vaingāṅgā, which flows through the Bhaṇḍārā District. It has been regarded as very holy from very ancient times. The territory on both the banks of it was known in ancient times as Beṇā-kaṣa<sup>3</sup> or Beṇā-kārparabhoga.<sup>4</sup> These names occur in the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Vākātakas. The city of Kuśāvati must have been situated on the bank of this very river.

But have we any evidence showing that such an ancient city existed in this part of the country? The description suits the town of Pauni in the Bhaṇḍārā

<sup>1</sup> See—कुशास्य नगरी रम्या विन्ध्यपर्वतरौघसि ।

कुशावतीति नाम्ना वा कृता रामेण धीमता ॥

*Ibid.*, Uttarakāṇḍa, 99, v. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The editors of the *Mṛichchhakatika* have not yet been able to identify this Veṇā. Oliver thinks that it was a tributary of the Gaṅgā and flowed past Ujjayīni and Kuśāvati. Karmarkar thought that it was a tributary of the Narmadā, and identified Kuśāvati with Rāmnagar in Bundelkhaṇḍ !

<sup>3</sup> See Nāsik Inscription of Gautamīputra, (No. 11).

<sup>4</sup> *Inscriptions of the Vākātakas* (CII., V), p.

District. It is situated on the bank of the Veṇā (modern Vaingāṅgā). Several *Stūpas* dating back to the Maurya-Śūṅga period have been discovered there in recent excavations.<sup>1</sup> King Bhagadatta of the Bhāra family, who flourished in the first century A. D. established a *Pādukā-paṭṭa* there as recorded in a large stone inscription found there.<sup>2</sup> It was probably his capital. The country of Beṇā-kaṭa has been mentioned in some inscriptions of the second century A. D. in the caves at Nāsik,<sup>3</sup> which shows that the town was famous in the early centuries of the Christian era. This town must evidently be the ancient Kuśāvati. There is no other so ancient a place on the bank of the Vaingāṅgā.

From the description in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, it seems clear that this region was comprised in the empire of the king ruling from Ujjayinī. This political condition obtained only in the second century A. D. The Kushāṇa Emperor Kanishka and his successors soon extended their rule not only to such countries of the North as the Punjāb, Uttara Pradesh, Bihār, Gujarāt, Kachchha, Kāṭhiāwāḍ and Mālwā but also to Koṅkaṇ, Northern Mahārāshṭra and Vidarbha in the South. They appointed Kshatrapas (or Provincial Governors) to rule over these provinces. They are known to have appointed Chashṭana over Kachchha and parts of Kāṭhiāwāḍ, and first Bhūmaka and later Nahapāna over Koṅkaṇ and Northern Mahārāshṭra. Their inscriptions and coins have been found in these provinces. That Vidarbha was also placed under a Kshatrapa became known from a memorial pillar of the *Mahākshatrapa* Rupiamma discovered at Pauni itself. These Kshatrapas of Veṇā-taṭa were evidently ruling as Governors of the Kushāṇa King of Ujjayinī.

This situation changed soon thereafter. In *circa* A. D. 125 the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra of

<sup>1</sup> See Nagpur University Report on Pauni Excavations.

<sup>2</sup> *ET.*, XXIV, pp. 11 f.

<sup>3</sup> See our article 'Beṇā-kaṭa, A famous Buddhist Centre in Vidarbha', *VII.*, XV.

Pratishthāna raided Vidarbha, and annexed the country to his kingdom. He next marched west and exterminated the Kshaharāta race in battles fought near Nāsik and Kārle in Northern Mahārāshtra. In the grant of a field which he made soon after his victory at Govardhana near Nāsik, he describes himself as *Beṇā-kaṭaka-svāmī* (the Lord of the Beṇākaṭa).

Gautamīputra next invaded and occupied several countries in Central India such as Saurāshtra (Kāṭhlāwāḍ), Ākarāvanti (Eastern and Western Mālwa) etc., as stated in a Nāsik Cave inscription of his son Puḷumāvi. But this large empire of Gautamīputra did not last for long. Soon after his death, Rudradāman, the grandson of Chashṭana, reconquered some countries of the north like Saurāshtra and Ākarāvanti, but he could not extend his rule to Vidarbha and conquer Veṇā-taṭa.<sup>1</sup>

The *Mṛichchhakaṭika* shows that the kingdom of Kuśāvati was comprised in the empire of the ruler of Ujjayini. This state of things obtained only in the early period of Kushāṇa rule, i. e. in the beginning of the second century A. D. If we suppose that Śūdraka has described the political situation in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* as it obtained in his own time, he must be placed in the first quarter of the second century A. D.

Recently, a Bhāṇa (one-character play) named *Padmaprābhṛitaka* ascribed to Śūdraka has been discovered and published. Before closing this subject, we must discuss how far its date agrees with that of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* fixed above. Śūdraka's name occurs only in the colophons of the play, but as one of its verses has been cited under the name of Śūdraka in the anthology *Vidagdha-jana-vallabha*, we must credit him with its authorship. But from the religious and social condition, the style of composition and language, this play appears to be later by at least two or three

<sup>1</sup> The Girnār Rock Inscription of Rudradāman mentions Eastern and Western Ākarāvanti as included in his Empire; but it makes no mention of Vidarbha as comprised therein.

centuries than the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*. Its subject-matter may be summarised as follows :—

Mūladeva, son of Karṇi, sends his Viṭa named Śaśa to Devasenā, the daughter of a hetaera to probe her mind. He meets her and comes back with the present (*prābhṛitaka*) of a lotus (*padma*) given by her. Hence this one-Act play is called *Padma-prābhṛitaka*. This play is written in a well-developed style, full of long compounds and *alaṅkāras*. While passing by the streets of Ujjayinī, the Viṭa accosts a number of persons following different professions such as a poet, a grammarian, a Buddhist monk, a nun etc., and indulges in much social satire, pointing out their vain pretensions and foibles. In some places he draws a graphic word pictures of lovely young women or of those suffering from the pangs of separation. The work contains several popular sayings, one of which, viz., *a-mṛidaṅgo nāṭak-āṅkaḥ saṁvṛittaḥ* has been mentioned above.

Some characters of this Bhāṇa have been mentioned by Bāṇa in his *Kādambari*. So it is undoubtedly older than the sixth century A. D. and may even be of the Gupta age as shown by Moti Chandra and V. S. Agrawal. But this Bhāṇa is not likely to have been a work of the author of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*. The latter play is written in a much simpler, forcible and direct style, free from verbal acrobatics, and the society it describes is morally far better than that in the *Padmaprābhṛitaka*, which is full of hypocrites, rogues and rakes. That play must, therefore, have been composed in a much earlier age, viz. the second century A. D. as shown above.

## 6. The Works of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva

The Sātavāhana age is known for its philosophical as well as for its literary works. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang says that four Suns illumined the world. They are Aśvaghosha, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva and

Kumāralāta. In view of the philosophical works of Nāgārjuna there is not the slightest exaggeration in the statement of Hiuen Tsang so far as he is concerned.

Divergent views have been expressed about the date of Nāgārjuna. Kalhaṇa says in the *Rājatarangīni* (I. 173) that Nāgārjuna was the only *Bhūmiśvara* that flourished in Kāśmīr in the time of Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka. But Kalhaṇa is a very late author; his statement cannot be taken as thoroughly reliable. Tārānāth says that Nāgārjuna flourished during the reign of Kanishka. But this date appears too early for Nāgārjuna. In the last *uchchhvāsa* of the *Harshacharita* Bāṇa says that Nāgārjuna presented a pearl necklace as an antidote against poison to King Sātavāhana, the lord of the three oceans, but he does not give the personal name of that king. Nāgārjuna's *Suhrillekha* (Letter to a Friend) is still extant in its Chinese translation. Chinese tradition says that it was written by the philosopher to a Sātavāhana king, but in this case too the personal name of the king is not given. Some scholars make Nāgārjuna a protege of Yajña-śrī Sātakarṇi,<sup>1</sup> and others that of Vijaya Sātakarṇi.<sup>2</sup> The latter view appears more likely; for his capital Vijayapuri where Nāgārjuna lived for a long time became known as Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,<sup>3</sup> which name is still in vogue. Hiuen Tsang tells us that the King had built a five-storeyed large *vihāra* for him. If this is correct, Nāgārjuna must be placed in the beginning of the third cen. A. D.

There are several legends about the life of Nāgārjuna. Kumārajīva wrote his *life* in the Chinese language in *circa* A. D. 405, in which he has recorded that he was born in a Brāhmaṇa family of Vidarbha.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *HIL.*, I (Eng. Tr.), p. 348.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 348, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Fa Hian says that the king had erected a five-storeyed Sanghārām on the mountain Śrīparvata for Nāgārjuna. That king was probably Vijaya Sātakarṇi; for it was he who founded the city of Vijayapuri in Andhra and made it his capital. *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 201.

<sup>4</sup> *HIL.*, I (Eng. Tr.), p. 344.

This is supported by a tradition current there. It is said that astrologers had predicted from his horoscope that Nāgārjuna would live only for seven years. His parents gave him in charge of a servant and sent him to a hill near Rāmagiri lest they would have to see his end before their eyes. The cave where the little boy Nāgārjuna and the servant stayed is still known as the Nāgārjuna Cave. It is opposite the hill of Rāmagiri (modern Rāmṭek). There he had a vision of Avalokiteśvara, by whose grace his premature death was averted. The Bodhisattva asked him to go to Nālandā, where he later rose to the position of an Āchārya.

Kumārajīva's aforementioned *Life* of Nāgārjuna tells a different tale. Nāgārjuna was well versed in Tāntric rites. He could thereby vanish when he liked. Once upon a time he entered the harem of the king of Magadha with his three companions, and caused much confusion there. They were all apprehended. His companions were put to death, but Nāgārjuna was pardoned when he promised to become a *Bhikṣu*. Later, he mastered the Buddhist *Tripiṭakas* in 90 days, but he did not feel satisfied. Afterwards, he obtained the text of the *Mahāyāna Sūtra* from an old *Bhikṣu* of the Himālayas. Kumārajīva says that he propagated Buddhism for 300 years! The Tibetans believe that he lived for 600 years. Such tales, though they are several centuries old, can hardly be believed.

Nāgārjuna was the chief exponent of Mahāyāna Buddhism, though not its founder. From Kumārajīva's Chinese translation of the *Mahāyāna Sūtra* it appears that it was in existence before the time of Nāgārjuna. Nāgārjuna's own work is the *Mādhyamika-kārikā*, in which he has expounded the Mādhyamika philosophy in 400 *kārikās*. His own commentary *Akutoḥayā* is now available only in its Tibetan translation. A Sanskrit commentary called *Prasannapadā* by Chandrakīrti is also extant.

Nāgārjuna's philosophical system is called *Mādhyamika* (or the Middle One) because it does not regard

anything either as *sat* (existent) or as *asat* (non-existent) by its nature but only relatively. It is also known as *Śūnya-vāda*<sup>1</sup> not because it regards all things as *śūnya* (void), but because they have come into existence by 'Dependent Origination' and therefore have no independent existence. It is *asat* (non-existent) from the point of view of the ultimate reality. This results in the recognition of two kinds of existence, viz., *paramārtha-satya* and *vyavahāra-satya*. These were later recognised in the Advaita Vedānta also, and the theory of *Māyā* was based on them. Hence Gauḍapādāchārya, the teacher's teacher of Śaṅkarāchārya, has paid obeisance to the Buddha in the following verse of the Section *Alāta-śānti* of his *Kārikās* on the *Māṇḍukyopaniṣad* :—

ज्ञानेनाकाशकल्पेन धर्मान्यो गगनोपमान् ।  
जेवाभिन्नेन संबुद्धस्तं वन्दे द्विपदां वरम् ॥

Where Gauḍapāda did not agree with the Buddha, he has remarked, नैतद्बुद्धेन भाषितम् । (This has not been stated by the Buddha.) If the *Śūnya-vāda* of the Buddhists is thus interpreted, its roots can be traced to the Upanishads, and its culmination in the *Māyā-vāda* of Śaṅkarāchārya. Hence the latter is called *Prachchhanna Buddha*.

Several other works of Nāgārjuna are also known. The *Yuktishashṭikā* and the *Śūnyatā-saptati* expound his philosophy mentioned above. The *Pratītya-samutpādā-hṛīdaya* is devoted to the exposition of origination as dependent on the relation of cause and effect (or Causality-dependent origination).<sup>2</sup> The *Mahāyāna-vimśaka* and the *Vigraha-vyāvartani* are two other works of Nāgārjuna. Besides these, several other works have been attributed to him.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Śaṅkarāchārya has taken *śūnya* in the sense of 'void' and in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras* (II, 2, 32) has rejected *Śūnya-vāda* as 'thoroughly to be discarded.'

<sup>2</sup> V. V. Gokhale has edited five *Pratītyasamutpādukārikās* in the *V. S. Apte Commemoration Volume* (pp. 62 ff.), published by the Deccan Education Society in 1978.

<sup>3</sup> *HIL.*, I, p. 348.

Āryadeva, a pupil of Nāgārjuna, also flourished in the Sātavāhana age. His *Life* also was written in Chinese by Kumārajiva in A. D. 405. His principal work, the *Chatuḥ-śataka*, like the *Mādhyamika-kārikā* of Nāgārjuna, was of four hundred verses. It was commented on by Chandrakīrti. Haraprasad Sastri has published some extracts from it. Its seventh *Prakaraṇa* was restored in the original Sanskrit by Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, and the last nine *Prakaraṇas* by P. L. Vaidya with the help of their Tibetan translation.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Chatuḥśataka* Āryadeva has refuted the objections raised by other Buddhist philosophers and also the Vaiśeshikas against the philosophical system of Nāgārjuna.

There were several Nāgārjunas in ancient times. Winternitz has mentioned four men of that name. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* contains the tale of one Nāgārjuna who was an alchemist. He was a minister of King Chirāyu who lived in the city called Chirāyu.<sup>2</sup> Such legends were current in the seventh cen. A. D. also. Hiuen Tsang has mentioned them. Another Nāgārjuna is said to have prepared an edition of Suśruta's medical work.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *HIL.*, I (Eng. Tr.), p. 150, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Nirṇayasāgar Press), p. 188. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> *HIL.*, III (Eng. Tr.), p. 613.



## Chapter VII

### Architecture, Sculpture and Painting

#### Architecture

A special style of architecture came into vogue in India with the spread of Buddhism. Monuments called *Stūpas* began to be raised on the relics of Gautama Buddha, his predecessors and disciples. They were known as *Dāgobas* (*Dhātugarbhas*). *Chaityas* were erected as meeting halls for the prayers of monks. Buddhist monks moved from place to place for the propagation of the Buddha's teachings for eight months in the year—in the seasons of winter and summer, but they had to stay in one place in the rainy season. For this *vassā-vāsa* they needed places of shelter. So *vihāras* were built or excavated for the purpose. In course of time several schools of Buddhism came into existence. Though the *chaityas* and *vihāras* were placed in charge of a particular school, they were open for use to the monks of all schools. This was expressly stated and recorded at the time of their dedication.

The early *chaityas* and *vihāras* were constructed in wood. They are not in existence now, but some of their features can still be marked in the caves excavated in hills. The pillars of excavated *chaityas* and *vihāras* slope slightly inward. Such sloping was necessary when the pillars were wooden, but it is noticed in the early rock-cut temples also. The measure of sloping is an approximate index to the antiquity of the particular cave.

Excavation of caves commenced in the reign of Aśoka. He and his grandson Daśaratha excavated caves in the Barābar hills near Gayā and donated them to the Ājīvika monks. The caves in Mahārāshṭra are later. They are larger in size and architecturally more elaborate. They are distributed in several districts of Mahārāshṭra. They are at Bhājā, Junnar and Kārle in the Poonā District.

Koṇḍāṇe in the Kolābā District, Pitaḷkhorā in the Khān-desh District and Kānherī in the Thāṇe District. The reason for their accumulation in Western Mahārāshṭra is thus stated :—" The explanation of the phenomenon is that the trap rocks which overlie the country and form the hill sides everywhere in the West are exceptionally well-suited for the purpose. They lie everywhere horizontally, are singularly uniform in their conformation, and have alternate strata of harder and softer rocks which admit of caves being interpolated between them with singular facility and they are everywhere impervious to moisture. "

### The Caves at Bhājā

Of these, the caves at Bhājā are regarded as the oldest. One of them is of the *Chaitya*, and the others of the *Vihāra* type. The *Chaitya* is 36 feet 8 inches wide, and 58 feet long, with a semi-circular apse at the back. It has 26 octagonal pillars which separate its nave from the aisle (*mattavāra-ṇakq*), 3 ft. 5 in. wide, on either side. The pillars are 11 ft. 4 in. in height, and slope 5 in. inward. There were at the top semi-circular arches of wood which were shown as supporting the roof, but they have disappeared now. Later, they were carved in the caves, though they were not then required for their original purpose. The *Stūpa* is 11 ft. in diameter, with the cylinder 4 ft., and the dome 6 ft. high. It has a *hermikā* or a box at the top. In many caves, there is a door just opposite the *Stūpa*, and a large semi-circular window above for light. It is generally known as 'a horse-shoe window' on account of its shape ; but its form closely resembles that of a leaf of the *Aśvattha* tree under which Gautama attained enlightenment at Gayā. Hence the window in a rock-cut cave was given the shape of its leaf.

There is a *Vihāra* close to the *Chaitya* at Bhājā. A *Vihāra* is also called 'a *maṇḍapa*'. As this *Vihāra* is a small one, it has no pillars supporting its roof. It has only five cells, and those too only in the back wall of the Cave. Later, when larger *vihāras* were excavated, the cells were

provided in both the side-walls, and sometimes in the front veranda also.

These caves at Bhājā can approximately be dated in the second century B. C. Later, several such caves, much larger in size, came to be excavated in the various districts of Mahārāshṭra. They cannot all be described here. But an account of some of the important ones is given here.

### The Caves at Nāsik

The oldest cave at Nāsik containing an inscription is Cave No. XIX. It was excavated by a *Mahāmātra* of King Kṛishṇa, who was the brother and successor of Simuka, the earliest Sātavāhana king mentioned in the Purāṇas.

The cave next in antiquity is the *Chaitya*<sup>1</sup> (Cave No. XVIII) in the centre of the row of caves at Nāsik. It is the only Cave of the *Chaitya* type there. All other caves there are of the *Vihāra* type. As in other caves of the *Chaitya* type, its nave is separated from the aisles by two rows of pillars. The interior of the cave measures 38 ft. 10 in. by 25 ft. 4 in. It is 23 ft. 3 in. high. The cylinder of the *Stūpa* is 5 ft. 6 in. diameter, and 6 ft. 3 in. in height. It has a small dome surmounted by a *hermikā*. The five octagonal pillars on either side have a pot-like base, but those round the *Stūpa* have no such base. Opposite the *Stūpa*, there is a large window of the usual type, which is decorated with the *triratna* and *svastika* symbols and figures like of those of tigers, elephants and horses. The pilasters on the two sides of the door were decorated with figures of serpents *etc.*, but that on the right side has now disappeared. By the side of the left pillar stands a Yaksha (or a *dvārapāla*), who holds a lotus in his right hand and the end of his belt in the left. He wears a tight turban on his head with a tuft in front.

This cave has two inscriptions. One of them (No. 10) is incised in two lines each on the fifth and sixth pillars

<sup>1</sup> *CTI.*, pp. 272 ff. Plate facing p. 273 and woodcut Plate XXV.

on the right. It records that the cave was excavated by Bhaṭapālikā, the grand-daughter of Mahā-Hakuśrī. The other record is engraved on the inner arch of the large front window, and records that the people of Nāsika donated the village of Dhambhika.

The mutual relation of these two records and the question when the cave was excavated have become matters of keen controversy. As this is the only *Chaitya* cave at Nāsik, it must have been cut very early. As the monks required a *Vihāra* for residence, they also needed a *Chaitya* for their prayers. The oldest *Vihāra* at Nāsik was excavated in the time of King Kṛishṇa. Later, when the need for a *Chaitya* was felt, Bhaṭapālikā, who was connected with the royal family, appears to have got this cave carved. She was the grand-daughter of Mahā-Hakuśrī. This Hakuśrī seems to be identical with *Kumāra* Hakuśrī of a rilievo figure inscription at Nāṇeghāṭ. He is also mentioned as Sati-siri in the inscription of Nāganikā there. He apparently came to the throne in due course ; for the coins with the legend *Raño siri-Satisa* were probably struck by him. No title like *rājan* is prefixed to his name in the inscription of Bhaṭapālikā apparently because he was not ruling at the time when the *Chaitya* was excavated ; but his birth in a royal family is indicated by the honorific *mahā* prefixed to his name.

Though the *Chaitya* was excavated by Bhaṭapālikā, its door, the semi-circular window and the figures of animals on its arches had not been carved. This work was done at a later age<sup>1</sup> by the people of Nāsik who then recorded also their gift of the village Dhambhika on an inner arch of the window.

If this explanation, supported as it is by palaeographic evidence of the inscription, is accepted, Marshall's view<sup>2</sup> that ' the form of the entrance doorway, the lotus design on the face of its jambs, the miniature Persepoitan pilasters, the rails of the balustrades flanking the steps and the

<sup>1</sup> For another instance of the frontage (*ghara-mukha*) carved after the excavation of a cave, See *CTI.*, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> *CHI.*, I, p. 637.

treatment of the *dvārapāla*—all bespeak a later date and, therefore, Hakuśrī, the grand-father of Bhaṭapālikā and son of Nāganikā, could not have lived before the first century A. D.' becomes clearly untenable.

Long after this, the Kshatrapas conquered parts of Western Mahārāshṭra. One of the caves excavated in their time is that of Ṛishabhadatta, son-in-law of *Mahākshatrapa* Nahapāna (Cave No. X). It contains three of his inscriptions (Nos. 38, 40 and 43). Besides, his wife Dakshamitrā donated a cell on either side of the veranda which contains an inscription recording it.

This cave is of the *Vihāra* type.<sup>1</sup> It measures 43 ft. by 45 ft., and has three entrances. It has five cells with a bench inside on either side of the hall, and six in the back wall. There was a *Stūpa* in *bas-relievo* on the back-wall, but it was replaced by a figure of Bhairava in later times. Its position can still be marked by the remnants of its capital and decorations. In the veranda too on the left side, there are two figures of a Bhairava carved in later days.

The front veranda of this cave has six pillars with a pot-shaped base and a similar capital. The entablature is finely decorated with the figures of men and animals. This cave is of the first quarter of the second century A. D.

Soon after this cave was completed and decorated, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi overthrew Nahapāna and established his supremacy in Western Mahārāshṭra. He then ordered excavation of a cave in the name of his mother Gautamī Balaśrī, which was completed in the 19th regnal year of his son and successor Puṣumāvi. Its name *Devi-leṇa* (the Queen's Cave) occurs in an inscription of Puṣumāvi incised therein.

This cave (No. III) also is of the *Vihāra* type and is of a large size like that of Ṛishabhadatta.<sup>2</sup> It measures 41 ft. by 46 ft. and has twenty cells for monks. Of these, seven have been carved in the right, six in the back and five in the left wall, besides one on each side of the veranda.

<sup>1</sup> *CTI.*, Plate XIX (2). See our Plate IX, Fig. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Plate XIX (1). See our Plate IX, Fig. 14.

The central doorway has six panels of sculptures on each side, depicting contemporary historical events.<sup>1</sup> (See Appendix IV). The veranda has two pilasters, one on each side, at the end, and six octagonal pillars in the middle on a carved balustrade with varied capitals and a fine architrave decorated with beautiful figures of animals like elephants and horses, and lotus designs. According to connoisseurs of art, the carving in this cave is somewhat inferior in quality to that in the cave of Rishabhadatta.

We shall next turn to the *Chaitya* cave at Kārle which is regarded as the finest in India.

### The Chaitya Cave at Kārle

The caves at Kārle comprise a large *Chaitya* and several smaller *Vihāras*. The *Chaitya* is regarded as the largest and the finest of all *Chaitya* caves in India.<sup>2</sup> It is also well preserved. It is 124 ft. 3 in. in length, 45 ft. 6 in. in width and 46 ft. in height. Its front is two-storeyed. The upper storey has a large window of the *Aśvattha* leaf type, while the lower one has three entrances, two of which give access to the aisles, and the middle one to the nave of the inner hall. The portion of the frontage between the doors is decorated with the figures of standing men and women who probably represent the donors of the cave.

The inside hall has thirty-seven pillars which separate the nave from the aisles. Of these, fifteen on either side are octagonal and have carved richly ornamental capitals. Each capital shows two kneeling elephants facing opposite directions and bearing finely carved figures, generally of a man and a woman, but, in some cases, both of them females.<sup>3</sup> The remaining seven pillars are plain, and separate the apse from the *Stūpa*. All the pillars are quite perpendicular. The previous mode of carving sloping pillars has fallen into disuse.

<sup>1</sup> *CTI*, Plate XX. See our Plate X, Fig. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 47 facing p. 236. See our Plate XI, Fig. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 46, facing p. 232. See our Plate XI, Fig. 18.

The roof is ornamented with a number of wooden ribs, copied from the wooden *Chaityas* of early times, though they serve no purpose in such rock-cut *Chaityas*. The *Stūpa* inside is cylindrical in shape. Formerly, it had three wooden umbrellas over the *hermikā*. One of them is still extant.

The *Chaitya* cave has a porch in front measuring 55 ft. by 15 ft. It is closed in front by a screen, now dilapidated, on two plain octagonal pillars. In front of the screen stands a pillar, a sixteen-sided shaft surmounted by four lions facing different directions.

The large dimensions of the inner hall, the magnificent capitals of its pillars and its lofty vault at once impress the visitor and he agrees with the statement in the following inscription incised there that the Cave is the best in the whole of Jambudvīpa.<sup>1</sup>

वेजयंतितो सेठिणा भुतपालेना सेलघरं परिनिठपितं जंबुद्विपग्निह उत्तम [ 1\* ]

[A merchant of Vaijayantī (Vanavāsī in the Kannaḍa District), Bhūtapāla<sup>2</sup> by name, excavated this rock-cut cave, the best in the Jambu-dvīpa (India).]

There is a divergence of opinion about the date of this *Chaitya*. Some refer it to the first century B. C.<sup>3</sup> and others to the second century A. D.<sup>4</sup> In this connection, the statement that it was excavated by a merchant of Vaijayantī quoted above is significant. When we find that a merchant of a far-off place like Vaijayantī (Vanavāsī in the Kannaḍa District) gets a cave excavated at Kārle in Mahārāshṭra, it sheds important light on the intercourse between the two countries. Such intercourse was established for the first time during the reign of Vāsishṭhiputra Puṣumāvi. We have shown elsewhere that the country of Kuntala was not included in the Śātavāhana empire till the time of Puṣumāvi. In the large hoard of lead coins discovered at Wāṭegaon in the Sāngli District (previously comprised

<sup>1</sup> Lüders' *List*, No. 1087.

<sup>2</sup> For the figures of the donor and members of his family, see our Plate XX, Fig. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Com. Hist. Ind.*, II, p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> *HCIP*, I, p. 502.

in the Kuntala country), there was not even a single coin of his father Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. It was Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi who first carried his arms to Kuntala, and married a princess of that country. (See Inscription No. 22). From that time onwards, intercourse between the two countries began to grow. It was probably in that age that a rich merchant of Vanavāsī got this magnificent cave excavated at Kārle so distant from his native place of Vanavāsī. Hence the *Chaitya* probably dates about the middle of the second century A. D.

### The Stūpa at Paunī

The *Chaityas* and *Vihāras* discussed so far were cut in rocks. They were also structural *i. e.*, built of stones and bricks. Recently, the remains of two structural *Stūpas* have been exposed in the excavations carried on by the Nagpur University and the Central Archaeological Department at Paunī in the Bhaṅḍārā District. Paunī is a very ancient place situated on the bank of the Vaingāṅgā. From the description in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Raghuvamśa*, it appears to be identical with the ancient capital Kuśāvati of Kuśa, the elder son of Rāma.<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions dating from the Maurya age have been found there and in the surrounding territory. In the Sātavāhana age, it was for some time included in the Kushāṇa empire. An inscription recently discovered at Paunī records the erection there of a *chhāyā-khambha* (a sculptured memorial pillar) of the *Mahā-kshatrapa* Rupiamma.<sup>2</sup> Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi defeated the Kshatrapa of this place before he marched against Nahapāna of Western Mahārāshṭra. He has referred to himself as *Beṇākaṭaka-svāmī*<sup>3</sup> in the order which he issued immediately after his victory over Nahapāna at Govardhana near Nāsik. Paunī was the chief place of this Beṇākaṭa (or the Vaingāṅgā District). Its monks used to go to far-off places like Nāsik and Kānherī for

<sup>1</sup> Chapter VI (Literature), pp. [227] ff.

<sup>2</sup> Inscription No. 62.

<sup>3</sup> *Sanskṛatbhāṣa-muktāvālī*, VIII, pp. 203 ff. See Chapter VI.



preaching the teachings of the Buddha. They were of the Bhadāyaniya branch of the Sthaviravādi Sect.

A large Stūpa was erected at the site of the present Jagannāth mound at Paunī in the Maurya-Śuṅga age. Its original form in the Maurya age measured 125 metres in diameter. In course of time it came to have two casings of bricks. At the time of the first casing it was provided with a *pradakṣhiṇā-patha* and a railing of wood all round. When these were worn away, a second casing of bricks was overlaid, and its size increased to 135 metres in diameter. The wooden railing was replaced by that of stone. The stone pillars of it numbered about a hundred. Outside it there was another *pradakṣhiṇā-patha* and it was encircled by another railing of stone. Its pillars were octagonal. They had on their three sides the Buddhist symbols of the *chaitya*, the Bodhi tree and the *bhadrāsana*, and some figures suggestive of legends like that of Muchalinda. Names of donees were engraved on the pillars, cross-bars and copings. The path of circumambulation was shown by means of three high pillars erected in the four directions round the *Stūpa*. Usually, a high pillar is erected near such a *Stūpa*. A piece of such a broken pillar was discovered near the site of the *Stūpa*, but the figures of lions and the Sacred Wheel on it are now lost forever. There must have been a *harmikā* and three stone umbrellas over it in the case of this *Stūpa* also, but only some pieces of one umbrella have been recovered so far.<sup>1</sup>

The pillars and other parts of the stone railing of the *Stūpa* at the Jagannāth mound have inscriptions recording gifts made by goldsmiths, *grihapatis* (house-holders), recluses, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās* (lay-devotees). All these are people of the middle class. It is surprising that there is not a single instance of a gift made by persons of the ruling class or their officers. It may be inferred from this that the *Stūpa* was constructed at the expense of the common people, but such a conclusion would be misleading. Paunī was the ancient capital of Vidarbha. As shown elsewhere,

<sup>1</sup> *Paunī Excavations*, pp. 25 ff.

coins of King Sātakarṇi I have been found there.<sup>1</sup> The Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela also shows that it was under the rule of that king.<sup>2</sup> Thereafter, it seems to have come under the rule of the Bhāra king Bhagadatta, who installed there a *pādukā-paṭṭa* of some divinity. As stated before, there was at the place a *chhāyā-khambha* (sculptured memorial pillar) erected in memory of the *Mahā-kshatrapa* Rupiamma. It does not seem likely that a *Stūpa* constructed at such a capital did not receive any gifts from the ruling family of the age. The reason for the absence of the records of royal gifts seems to be the disappearance of *vihāras* connected with the *Stūpa* as Royal orders were usually engraved in *vihāras* or monasteries as shown by the inscriptions at Nāsik, Kānherī and other places. The space round about this *Stūpa* at Paunī has since been brought under cultivation. This seems to be the main reason of the absence of epigraphs recording royal gifts there.

At a distance of about a mile from this place, remains of another *Stūpa* constructed in a different manner have come to light in the course of excavation. Again, a third *Stūpa* is probably hidden under what is now called the Mound of Hardolāl.

On palaeographical evidence the *Stūpa* under the Jagannāth mound as well as the railings and pillars connected therewith may be referred to the period extending from the third century B. C. to the third century A. D. This great centre of Buddhism seems to have suffered decline in the subsequent age of the Vākātakas when there was a revival of Hinduism in Vidarbha as in other parts of the country.

### Sculpture

The caves of the Sātavāhana period in Mahārāshṭra belong to the Hinayāna Sect of Buddhism. So we notice nowhere there any image of the Buddha. His presence is always suggested by a symbol such as the *pādukās*,

<sup>1</sup> Coins of Sātakarṇi I have since been found there. See Chapter VII.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. [91] ff.

the *bhadrāsana*, the Stūpa and the Bodhi tree. Hence, we do not notice many sculptures of that age there. Yaksha worship was then in vogue. So we find figures of the Yakshas and the Yakshiṅīs carved on the railings of the Stūpas. Several such images were carved on the railing and other parts of the Stūpa of the Śunga age at Bhārhut. Their names also are incised nearby. Such images are, however, very rare in the case of the Stūpa at Paunī. The lower half of a Yaksha image has been found there which seems to show that it was of rare beauty. Another image of a Yaksha with the face of an ass (*Khara-mukha*<sup>1</sup>) standing full front was found in the excavations at Paunī.<sup>2</sup> He has placed the palm of his left hand on his chest, and raised the right hand in the *abhaya-mudrā* (sign of protection). He is dressed in a very thin garment secured by a belt. His sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*), bracelets and other ornaments are also duly carved.

Several scenes from the Jātaka tales have been carved on the railing of the Stūpa at Bhārhut. Their titles are also engraved near them. There is only one such tale illustrated at the Stūpa of Paunī, viz., that of Muchalinda Nāga, represented by a person with the serpent's hood.<sup>3</sup> The words *Mucharindo Nāgo* are incised near by. On either side of him, there is a person standing, with his hands placed one over the other on his chest. That was then the mode of salutation. Both have a lower garment, with the upper one (*uttariya*) tied like a belt over it, its ends hanging in front. Both of them are shown with bracelets and ear-ornaments, and have large bunches of hair tied on their head. The carving of these persons is of an ordinary type.

We cannot form an idea of the sculptural art of the Sātavāhana age from these sculptures. For that we must turn to the Bhājā caves again. There are some excellent sculptures in Cave No. XX there which is of the Vihāra type.

<sup>1</sup> *Paunī Excavations*, Plate XXV (2).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Plate XXV (1).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Plate XXII.

### The Sculptures At Bhājā

One of these is of a warrior.<sup>1</sup> He faces full front and holds in his right hand a large bow resting on the ground. His left hand rests on a dagger fixed in his waist-band. His quiver is seen tied behind his left arm. His hair is tied in two bunches on the head as was the fashion of those days. He has worn several ornaments such as ear-rings, armlets, bracelets and necklaces of jewels. He has worn a lower garment secured by a waist-band, the folds of which are hanging in front.

Besides this, there are two large panels in the cave about the interpretation of which there has been a keen controversy. They are carved on the right and left sides of the entrance at the east end of the veranda. On the left side, we see a royal personage<sup>2</sup> driving in a chariot with two women, one of whom holds the *chhatra* (royal umbrella), and the other a *chāmara* (fly-whisk). The chariot has four horses yoked to it. It is shown running with full speed over the bodies of nude demonesses. The royal personage is accompanied by some females on horseback. One of them has a stirrup on her foot. This is supposed to be the earliest instance of a stirrup shown in sculpture. The other panel carved nearby shows a royal personage riding a large elephant. Behind him is sitting his servant holding a standard. The elephant is shown holding an uprooted tree in his trunk.<sup>3</sup>

These panels are difficult to interpret. Coomaraswamy has taken the first panel as showing the Sun driving with his two wives in a chariot of four horses over the bodies of some *rākshasās* representing darkness.<sup>4</sup> Usually, the Sun's chariot has seven horses yoked to it, but in ancient sculptures his chariot has only four horses.<sup>5</sup> So there can be no objection to this interpretation on this ground.

<sup>1</sup> See our Plate XIII, Fig. 21.

<sup>2</sup> See our Plate XIV, Fig. 22.

<sup>3</sup> See our Plate XV, Fig. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Plate XVII, Fig. 61.

Coomaraswamy took the second panel as of Indra riding his elephant Airāvata.

But the main objection to these interpretations is that they appear irrelevant in their present setting. The Sun and Indra were no doubt worshipped in the Sātavāhana age. There is obeisance to both in the beginning of the Nāṅghāt inscription of Queen Nāganikā, one of the earliest records of that age. But why should the panels of these Hindu gods be carved in the Buddhist cave? So Coomaraswamy's interpretation of them does not appear convincing.

In a lengthy article on this subject, R. G. Gyani has shown that these panels refer to the story of King Māndhātā.<sup>1</sup> V. S. Agrawal also has subscribed to the same view.<sup>2</sup> The *Mahābhārata*,<sup>3</sup> the Buddhist *Jātakas* and the *Divyāvadāna* describe the country of Uttara Kuru (North Kuru) as inhabited by prosperous, happy, art-conscious and amorous people.<sup>4</sup> After conquering Videha and other countries on the earth, King Māndhātā resolved to invade the rich country of Uttara Kuru on the Meru mountain. In the second panel described above, he is shown entering that country on an elephant. In the background of that panel is shown the prosperous, happy and sportful life of the people of that country. They get all the objects of enjoyment as soon as they entertain a desire for them (*saha-chitt-otpādāt*).<sup>5</sup> They are always youthful. The loving couples of that country obtain from the *Kalpa-vṛiksha* (Wish-fulfilling tree) various ornaments, fine garments and different kinds of food and drink as soon as

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, I, pp. 18 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Art*, pp. 191-92.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahābhārata* (Chitrasālā Press), Bhishmaparvan, adhyāya 7, vv. 1—11.

<sup>4</sup> *Divyāvadāna* (ed. by P. L. Vaidya), pp. 136 ff. Though the *Divyāvadāna* in its present form dates about A. D. 200 to 350, the story of Māndhātā had been current much earlier among the Hindus and the Buddhists. So it is not unlikely that some incidents in it were sculptured in the cave at Bhājā.

<sup>5</sup> यादृशमाकाङ्क्षति देवो वा देवकन्वा वा सहचित्तोत्पादाद् हस्ते प्रादुर्भवति । . . .  
चतुर्विधा आभरणवृक्षाः । चतुर्विधा वाद्यभाण्डवृक्षा वेणुवल्लेरीमुषोषकाः । . . .  
चतुर्विधापि सुधा । . . . मधुमाधवकादम्बरीपरिपानम् । गूहाः कूटागाराः हर्म्याः  
प्रासादाः . . . । *Ibid.*, p. 137.

they desire to have them. This is shown in the scenes in *bas-relievo* in the background of the second panel. The first panel shows King Māndhātā driving in his chariot through the sky while on his way to take part in the battle with the Asuras. His chariot is shown running over their bodies.<sup>1</sup> The *Divyāvadana* says that he entered the heavenly assembly called Sudharmā after winning a victory over the Asuras.

The story of King Māndhātā was well known to the Buddhists. Various incidents of it were sculptured in the panels on the railings of *Stūpas*. For instance, a panel on the railing of the *Stūpa* at Amarāvati shows how Indra honoured the king by giving him half his seat after his victory over the Asuras.<sup>2</sup> The story of Māndhātā states that the king was not satisfied with the honour shown to him by Indra, and that he entertained the ambition of deposing Indra and becoming the lord of both gods and men. His avarice resulted in his downfall. The panels in the Bhājā Cave represent two events in the career of King Māndhātā. This appears to be the correct interpretation of these panels.

In the Sātavāhana and Kshatrapa age, full-size statues of royal personages were erected to commemorate them. In a cave at Nāṇeghāṭ there were such statues of Simuka, the first Sātavāhana king mentioned in the Purāṇas, his son Sātakarṇi I and the latter's queen Nāganikā, the queen's father Tranakayira, and princes Bhāyila, [Vedi-śrī], Hakuśrī, and Sātavāhana.<sup>3</sup> Their names were incised at the top. But these statues are now completely damaged. In North India a statue of Chasṭana, the founder of the Kshatrapa kingdom of Mālwa and Kāṭhiāwāḍ, was installed in the Statute Gallery (*Deva-kula*) at

<sup>1</sup> राज्ञो मूर्धनिस्थ, सर्वेषामप्यसुराणां वैहायसमभ्युद्गम्योपरि स्थितः। पश्चात्ते सुराः कथयन्ति—क एषोस्माकमुपरि विहायसमभ्युद्गतः। पश्चात्ते संलक्षयन्ति। . . जिता भग्नाः पराजिताः परापृष्ठीकृता आसुरीं पुरीं प्रविष्टाः। *Ibid.*, p. 138, Māndhātā was another name of Māndhātā.

<sup>2</sup> *Amravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 293.

<sup>3</sup> Inscription No. 4.

Māṭ near Mathurā. It has been found in the form of a head-less torso.<sup>1</sup> Therein Chashṭana appears as a young prince wearing trousers and a long coat reaching below the knees, secured by a beautiful belt made up of round and square plaques. His name *Shastana* (Tiasstenes) is engraved in front in the lower part of the coat.<sup>2</sup> Chashṭana was probably related to the Kushāṇa Emperor Kanishka, and so his statue was included in the Gallery. We know that he was placed in charge of the Kachchha-Kāṭhiāwāḍ territory when he was quite young. This also suggests his relationship to the royal family.

### The Stūpa at Amarāvati

There are five famous shrines of Śiva in Andhra, viz., Bhīmārāma, Kumārārāma, Drākshārāma, Kshīrārama and Amarārāma. The place of the last of these is known as Amarāvati and lies on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇā in the Gunṭur District. In ancient times it was a famous centre of Buddhism. There was a grand and magnificent *Stūpa* there which was known by the significant name of *Mahāchaitya*. It was flourishing till the ninth or the tenth cen. A. D. but later, owing to the decline of Buddhism in India, the *Stūpa* and the *Vihāras* of the place fell into decay and were converted into a big mound locally known as *Dīpa-dinne* (the Hill of Lamps). Later, when Vasu Reddi, the Zamindār of Chintāpalli in Andhra, decided to stay at Amarāvati, he invited people from the neighbouring places to come and settle there, and offered them the necessary financial aid for doing so. Those who came to settle there ransacked the *Dīpa-dinne* mound for bricks. They found there finely carved marble slabs which were used later in building the steps of the Amareśvara temple and the local tank Śivagaṅgā. Some other slabs were used in the

<sup>1</sup> See our Plate XVI, Fig. 24.

<sup>2</sup> The name there is read as *Shastana*. It evidently stands for *Chashṭana*.

construction of a local mosque after scraping off human figures carved thereon.<sup>1</sup>

In 1797, when Col. Mackenzie of the Trigonometrical Survey visited the place, he realised the importance of the marble panels discovered there. Later, some marble slabs were presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and some others to the India Office in England. Thereafter several more were found in the excavations done there. They were removed to the Madras Government Museum, where they have been arranged in the form of a *Stūpa*, railings etc. At Amrāvati, however, there now remain no vestiges of the original *Stūpa*.

The capital of the Andhra country was situated at Dhanakaṭaka (Dhānyakaṭaka, now known as Dhanuṅkoṭ), at a distance of about half a mile from Amrāvati. Some scholars think that the Sātavāhanas originally hailed from the Andhra country, and they had their capital at Dhanakaṭaka. That this view has absolutely no basis has been shown elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

A small fragment of an Aśokan pillar has recently come to notice at Amrāvati.<sup>3</sup> It seems, therefore, that the great Maurya Emperor had built a *Stūpa* at Amrāvati with which that pillar was connected. In the Sātavāhana period it was Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi who first extended his rule to Andhra. Inscription No. 18 at Nāsik states that his chargers had drunk the water of the three oceans and also that he was the lord of Mount Mahendra. His coins have been found at several places in Andhra such as Peḍābankūr and Koṇḍāpur.<sup>4</sup> Sātavāhana inscriptions also have been discovered in Andhra from the time of Puṣumāvi I. An inscription of his time on the railing of the Amrāvati *Stūpa* records that two persons named Kahutara and Isila got the Sacred Wheel sculptured

<sup>1</sup> *ASMGM*, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter I (Political History), above, p. [9].

<sup>3</sup> *Et.*, XXXV, pp. 40 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See the Chapter on Coins.



there.<sup>1</sup> Coins of Puṣumāvi's brother Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi have also been found in Andhra. The Prakrit legends on the portrait coins of these kings and some of their successors contain some Dravidian words from which we can gauge local influence on their coinage.<sup>2</sup> An epigraph of Yajña Sātakarṇi has come to notice at Chin on the seashore near Amrāvati. He issued lead coins with the design of a double-masted ship indicative of his control over the Coromandel coast.<sup>4</sup>

After the reign of Mātharīputra Śakasena or Śaka Sātakarṇi, the large Sātavāhana empire was divided into two parts. His successor in Andhra, Vijaya Sātakarṇi founded the city of Vijayapuri<sup>5</sup> and made it his capital. The great Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna flourished at his court. The king built a lofty Vihāra for him at Vijayapuri (modern Nāgārjunakoṇḍ) which the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang has described in his *Travels*.<sup>6</sup> At his instance the king encased the Stūpa at Amrāvati with sculptured marble slabs. Tārānātha's statement that Nāgārjuna provided the Stūpa at Amrāvati with a railing does not seem to be correct; for the railing there had been erected earlier during the reign of Puṣumāvi I as evidenced by the aforementioned inscription. Nāgārjuna flourished much later. Besides, Puṣumāvi's capital was at Pratishṭhāna in Mahārāshṭra as stated by Ptolemy. He does not seem to have taken much interest in the Stūpa at Amrāvati. On the other hand, Vijaya Sātakarṇi was ruling at Vijayapuri (Nāgārjunakoṇḍ) not far from Amrāvati. Nāgārjuna seems to have passed his later days at his capital. It is therefore,

<sup>1</sup> Inscription No. 21, line 2.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter on Coins.

<sup>3</sup> Inscription No. 29.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter on Coins.

<sup>5</sup> Inscription No. 32.

<sup>6</sup> *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, pp. 200 ff. Though the description is given there as pertaining to the capital of South Kosala, it is really of Vijayapuri (Nāgārjunakoṇḍ).

more likely that it was Vijaya Sātakarṇi who was responsible for the repairs of the Amarāvati Stūpa and its casing with sculptured marble slabs, perhaps at the instance of Nāgārjuna. As the Stūpa at Amarāvati had long been in existence, Tārānāth seems to have mistakenly ascribed the construction of its railing at the suggestion of Nāgārjuna to an earlier Sātavāhana king.

The Stūpa must have been much smaller in the time of Aśoka. The pillar erected near it was of quartzite as shown by a piece of it found at the site. Its railing was of granite. The palaeographic evidence of some pieces of it shows that it probably dates back to the third century B. C. that is to the time of Aśoka. Some time thereafter it was replaced by one of limestone as evidenced by its pieces discovered there.

In the Sātavāhana age both the Stūpa and the railing were greatly transformed. Its final form is seen on some marble slabs affixed to the Stūpa.

The railing of the Stūpa was about thirteen ft. high. Its uprights were about nine ft. high and 2 ft. 10 in. broad. They had three *sūchis* or cross-bars, 2 ft. 9 in. in diameter, with a coping, one foot thick and two ft. eight in. high. It is calculated that the railing had 136 uprights, 348 cross-bars and 800 coping stones.<sup>1</sup> All of these bore exquisite carving. The coping showed on its outer side a huge garland carried by young men and women on their shoulders, with such motifs as the Bodhi tree, the *Dharma Chakra* and the Stūpa carved in its loops. The uprights were decorated with figures of full and half lotuses. On the pillars of each gateway four lions were sculptured, two facing each other and two others in the opposite directions. But there were no *toranas* as in the case of the Stūpa at Sāñchī. The base of the Stūpa was 162 ft. 7 in. in diameter and 6 ft. in height. It was

<sup>1</sup> *Amarāvati* by N. S. Ramaswami, pp. 34 ff.

decorated with sculptured marble slabs numbering about a hundred. The dome on it was 138 ft. in diameter and about 14 ft. in height. 'Its lower portion was covered with large carved slabs surmounted by two registers of friezes, the upper of tridents and the lower of animals. The dome curving upwards, bore on its face stucco figures of *pūrṇa-ghaṭas*, dwarfs carrying a garland and roundels'. The *harmikā* on the Stūpa had a square railing with sides of more than twenty-four ft., and an octagonal pillar in the middle.

A special feature of this Stūpa was the Āyaka (Āryaka, honoured) platforms attached to it. Each of them was about three ft. wide and had five pillars, from ten to fourteen ft. high. They had octagonal shafts.

Like the Stūpa at Bhārhut, this one also has now disappeared completely. Its description given above is based on the sculptured slabs which decorated it<sup>1</sup> and the remains discovered in excavations.

During the age of the Ikshvākus who succeeded the Sātavāhanas, the Stūpa must have undergone further alterations. A number of smaller Stūpas seem to have been added. Some pieces of their railings and *harmikās* smaller than those of the main Stūpa, have been recovered in excavations.

According to Connoisseurs of art, the sculptures from Amarāvati can be dated in four periods on the evidence of art and paleography.<sup>2</sup> The sculptures of the first period dating from 200 B. C. to 100 B. C. are very few. They comprise pilasters, various animal capitals of pillars, symbols suggestive of the Buddha such as the Bodhi Tree, his *pādukās* etc. and their worshippers. At first the Buddha was represented symbolically, not anthropomorphically. His image is seen nowhere in the early caves of Mahārāshtra. Neither is it seen in any of the fragments of this first period at Amarāvati. The figures in the sculptures

<sup>1</sup> See our Plate XII, Fig. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *ASMG.M.*, pp. 27 ff.

of this first period are in low relief. Their drapery and ornaments are well carved, but the figures themselves appear somewhat stiff.

The second period extends from 100 B. C. to 100 A. D. The sculptures of this period appear more graceful and natural. The Mahāsaṅghika Branch of Buddhism spread to Andhra in this period. It had several off-shoots or sub-branches there such as Chaityaka, Lokottaravādin, Pūrvaśailika and Aparāśailika. They were more reformatory. Their influence is seen in the sculptures of the period. The Buddha is now shown in human form especially when he appears as a Teacher. Some slabs depicting events of his life such as his *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa* were affixed to the Stūpa of that period.

The third period is of about A. D. 150 and is regarded as the most glorious period of Amarāvati art. It falls in the reign of Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi, as shown by an inscription incised on the railing of the Stūpa there. The uprights, the cross-bars and the copings had various motifs carved on them. On their outer face the uprights had a large lotus carved in the middle, with a half lotus at the top and the base. In the space between them various scenes from the Buddha's life were represented. On their inner sides of the uprights, cross-bars and copings various scenes from the Jātakas or Buddhist birth-stories were carved. The object was to acquaint the pious devotees who would pass by the *pradakṣhiṇāpatha* between the Stūpa and the railing with those Jātaka stories, and thereby instruct them in the tenets of Buddhism. No other Stūpa is known to have had such a magnificent railing.

The fourth period extends from A. D. 200 to A. D. 250. In this period some marble slabs of the original casing were removed and after carving them on the back with new motifs they were refixed on the stūpa.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Amarāvati*, p. 32.

The figures of this period are slightly taller and thinner. The new casing may have been done at the instance of Nāgārjuna.

A critic has thus described the human figures carved in the sculptures of the Amarāvati Stūpa. "Scene after scene teems with tall and slender human figures. They are everywhere in abundance, in all places and attitudes, in action and movement, in ease and relaxation, in the high tension and elegant langour, sitting, standing, bending, flying, dancing, hanging, hovering, always exhibiting sturdy but delicately modelled bodies with heavy hanging shoulders borne on a pair of slender supple legs, all definite in their precise and exuberent outline, and characterised by an amazing elasticity of movement." The artists had closely observed the contemporary life which is truly reflected in their art. They have carved a poor man's cottage, a royal palace and a two-storeyed Vihāra of monks with the same faithfulness. They have minutely noted and skilfully shown in their sculptures what clothes people of different ranks wear, what ornaments they like, what kind of furniture they use, what type of houses they live in, what kinds of weapons they utilise in fighting—in short what manner of life they lead".

Coomaraswamy has described the Amarāvati style of sculpture as 'the most voluptuous and delicate flower of Indian art'.<sup>1</sup> The voluptuousness is, however, not tainted by indecency. The artist loves life and attempts to enjoy it to the full. Bachofer says, "A passionate sense for everything terrestrial manifests itself as if Indian art had taken leave of this world with a tumultous feast before deliberately entering the cold-fields of spirituality."<sup>2</sup>

How skilfully the Amarāvati sculptor could portray a scene can be illustrated with the medallion of the

<sup>1</sup> Coomaraswamy, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> *Amarāvati*, p. 41.

subjugation of the elephant Nalagiri.<sup>1</sup> The medallion is divided into two parts. On the left, the tusker Nalagiri, being in rut, is running amuck through the streets of Rājagriha, trampling upon some people and seizing others with his trunk. This has spread consternation among the onlookers. They are clasping each other in fright. Even those who are sitting on the first floor of the neighbouring houses are anxious for their safety. On the right side of the medallion stands the Buddha, calm and quiet. Seeing him the wild elephant prostrates itself at his feet. What a dramatic change in the scene! The Amarāvati artists have depicted the various scenes in the life of the Buddha and the stories of the *Jātakas* so vividly that they did not feel the need of recording their subjects nearby as did the artists of the Bhārhut Stūpa.

### Influence of Roman Art

Some scholars have alleged that Amarāvati art was greatly influenced by Roman art. In support of their view they adduce the following evidence<sup>2</sup> :—

- (1) Some female figures are draped like Roman matrons.
- (2) In one scene a boy is seen drinking wine from a horn.
- (3) The Amarāvati railing shows the figure of a winged lion.
- (4) Some *yakshas*, young men and women are shown on the railings as bearing a huge garland.
- (5) The figure of a soldier wearing Roman armour is carved in one place.

These motifs are no doubt Roman in character. There was a Roman factory at Arikāmeḍu not far way, from which Roman influence may have penetrated into Amarāvati. There was brisk trade with Rome in that age. Roman amphoras of wine have

<sup>1</sup> See our Plate XII, Fig. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Amarāvati*, pp. 37 ff.

been found in excavations at some places such as Pavnār in Vidarbha and Brahmapurī in Western Mahārāshṭra. The aforementioned motifs may have been borrowed from Roman art, but they are all decorative. The soul of the Amarāvati art was wholly Indian. It was evolved from the indigenous Indian art as seen in the Cave-temples of Western India and the Stūpas at Bhārhut and Sāñchi.<sup>1</sup>

### Painting

Ajañṭā is situated at the head of a *ghāṭ* in the Indhyādri hills. The caves famous for their architecture and painting are excavated 'in the face of an almost perpendicular scarp of rock, about 250 ft. high, sweeping round in a curve of fully a semicircle, and forming the north or outer side of a wild secluded ravine, down which comes a small stream. Above the cave the valley terminates abruptly in a waterfall of seven leaps, known as the *sāt kuṇḍa*, the lower of which may be from 70 to 80 ft., and the others 100 ft. more'. It has enhanced the natural beauty of the place.

There are thirty caves carved there including those in an imperfect condition. Of these, five (9, 10, 19, 26 and 29) are *chaityas* and the remaining twenty-five *vihāras*. They again fall into two classes, viz., those of the Hinayāna and of the Mahāyāna. Of the six Hinayāna caves, Nos. IX and X are *Chaityas*, and four (Nos. VIII, XII, XIII and XV) are *Vihāras*. They are all of the Sātavāhana period. The remaining caves are of the Vākāṭaka and later periods. We are concerned here with those of the Sātavāhana age.

As these caves are situated in a secluded place in a solitary glen, they remained unknown for several centuries. They came to notice when some officers of the Madras army visited the place in 1819. Thereafter, several others visited and described them.

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. Cit.*

All these caves are of the Buddhist faith. They are not mixed with those of the Hindu and Jaina religions as at Ellorā and some other places.

Of the Hinayāna caves mentioned above, Nos. IX and X, which are of the Chaitya type, are the oldest as evidenced by the drapery and ornaments of figures painted, and the characters of the records incised therein. Cave No. X has the following inscription<sup>1</sup> incised on the left of the *Chaitya* window :—

- 1 वासिष्ठिपुत्रस कट-
- 2 हादिनो घरमुख
- 3 दानं [ 1\* ]

The inscription records that Vāsishṭhīputra Kaṭahādi got the frontage of the Cave excavated and presented it to the Buddhist Community. Burgess identified this Vāsishṭhīputra with the well-known Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi of the Sātavāhana family and so dated the cave in the first cen. A. D.<sup>2</sup> This dating is undoubtedly wrong. Had this Vāsishṭhīputra been of that royal family, there would have been the title *raño* prefixed to his name. The custom of naming a child after its mother was in vogue both in North and South India. So we know of several Vāsishṭhīputras. The Hinayāna caves at Ajaṅṭā mention not a single prince. They were all carved and painted by merchants or common people. The characters of this inscription do not appear to be much later than the time of Aśoka.<sup>3</sup> Again, the costume, ornaments etc. of men and women painted in these caves do not differ from those of the figures in the early sculptures at Sāñchī and other places. So the Caves IX and X probably date back to the second century B. C.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ASWL.*, IV, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *CTI.*, p. 295. Also, *ASWL.*, IV, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *ASWL.*, IV, Plate LVI (No. 1).

<sup>4</sup> *CTI.*, Plate XXIX. The figures of the Buddha in this cave are, however, of later period.



As stated before, the *Chaitya* Caves IX and X are the oldest of all caves at Ajañṭā. Again, of them, Cave IX is of an earlier date than Cave X; for it is much smaller in size and is excavated lower in the rock. Had the larger *Chaitya* Cave X been excavated before, it is very unlikely that this smaller *Chaitya* would have been taken up for excavation at a lower level and in a more inconvenient place.

Cave No. X is the largest of all early *Chaityas*. It is 41 ft. and 1 in. long, 9½ ft. broad and 36 ft. high. Its nave is separated from the aisles (*mattavār-ṇakas*) by 39 octagonal pillars. The arches over the nave were of wood as in the *Chaitya* Cave at Kārle. Those in the aisles, however, are in the rock. The *Stūpa* is perfectly plain with its cylinder of 15 ft. in diameter. Its *harmikā* has three square slabs, each one slightly larger than the one below it.<sup>1</sup>

Both these *Chaityas* were originally adorned with paintings, but only fragments of them now remain therein. They are of the fresco type. The rough surface of the walls and pillars were plastered with well kneaded clay mixed with the ashes of rice-chaff. The surface was then coated with white colour and the pictures painted thereon.<sup>2</sup> Most of the caves at Ajañṭā had such paintings, but nine-tenths of them have perished. Even now Caves XVI and XVII contain several paintings fairly well preserved. They are usually cited in describing the art of Ajañṭā paintings, but they are outside the scope of the present work. Those in Cave IX and X are rarely illustrated.<sup>3</sup>

### Painting in Ajañṭā Cave X

We found a *Jātaka* tale illustrated in a painting of Cave No. X. Its painted plate was not available to

<sup>1</sup> *CTI.*, p. 292.

<sup>2</sup> *Ajañṭā*, p. 26. According to Balasaheb Panta Pratinidhi, the paintings at Ajañṭā are not of the fresco type but of the sacco type.

<sup>3</sup> The works on Ajañṭā Paintings of both Balasaheb and Yazdani do not contain any plates of the paintings in Cave X.

us. Therefore we illustrate it with a woodcut published by Burgess.<sup>1</sup> It will give the reader some idea of Ajanṭā art in this early period.<sup>2</sup>

This picture illustrates the *Shaḍ-danta Jātaka* (The story of the six-tusked elephant, *Jātaka* No. 514). It runs as follows<sup>3</sup> :—

A six-tusked elephant once greatly provoked his mate. So the latter resolved to take revenge in her next birth. She was reborn as the queen of a great king. She obstinately asked him to get for her the tusks of a six-tusked elephant. The king entrusted the task to a hunter. The latter disguised as a hermit repaired to the spot indicated by the queen, and digging a large pit, awaited the approach of the elephant. When he came near, he wounded him with an arrow. The elephant suffering from intense pain inquired from the hunter the reason for wounding him. On coming to know it, he himself pulled out his tusks with anguish and made them over to the hunter. When the latter brought them to the queen she repented of her wicked deed. She was reminded of the elephant's love for her in her past life and died of a broken heart.

The artist has depicted the various incidents in this tale with consummate skill.<sup>4</sup> In the left half of the picture the six-tusked elephant is shown sporting joyfully with his companions on the Himālayas. The next scene portrays the subsequent incidents of the tale, viz., his being wounded by the hunter and his pulling out his own tusks and handing them over to the hunter. The latter is next shown carrying the tusks to the palace. The king tells the queen about them. She feels distressed and when the tusks are brought to her, she is overwhelmed with deep sorrow and dies of a broken heart.

<sup>1</sup> *ASWT.*, IV, Plate XVI.

<sup>2</sup> See our Plate XVII, Fig. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Jātakas*, No. 514. This *Jātaka* is illustrated with paintings in other caves also at Ajanṭā.

<sup>4</sup> See our Plate XVII, Fig. 25.

From the woodcut in Plate XVII one would not have a clear conception of the exquisite beauty of the original in the absence of colour. Still, he would be able to form some idea of the artist's skill in portraying natural scenery, freedom of drawing, and emotional suggestiveness. He would be surprised to see the progress in art achieved by Indian artists two thousand years ago.

## CHAPTER VIII

### Coins of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas

Before the rise of the Sātavāhanas punch-marked coins were in circulation in South India as in North India. The Sātavāhanas were the first rulers of South India who issued coins in their own names. The coins were of copper, lead and potin, rarely of silver. They were known as *kārshāpaṇas*. The *Manusmṛiti* (VIII, 136) gives this name to coins of copper weighing one *karsha* (16 *māshas*). The Nāṇeghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā records gifts of thousands of *kārshāpaṇas* as *dakṣhiṇās* to the officiating priests of several sacrifices. These *kārshāpaṇas* were probably of copper, perhaps of lead.<sup>1</sup>

#### Coins of King Sātavāhana

King Sātavāhana, the progenitor of the Sātavāhana dynasty, was the first to issue coins in his own name in South India. His copper coins have been found at Auranṅābād, Hyderābād and Akolā. Some of his lead coins have also been obtained in excavations such as those at Nevāsā and Koṇḍāpur. Two of these are described below :—

##### (1) Coins of King Sātavāhana :

(A) A Coin of Copper.<sup>2</sup> — Find-spot—Hyderābād (Andhra). Shape—square, each side being .8 in. Weight—110 grains.

Obverse—Elephant to right with the trunk uplifted; in front of it the symbol of the double

<sup>1</sup> The *Kārshāpaṇa* coins were also of silver. See the discussion in Kane's *HD*, III, pp. 123 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *SI*, III, pp. 1 ff. Our Plate XIX, Fig. 28. Medial vowels are generally not marked in the legends of coins. The legend here and in the sequel is given with the medial vowels inserted.

letter *chha* (two circles cut by a vertical line); on the back, a triangular standard cut by a horizontal line. Legend commencing in the lower left corner—*Raño siri-Sādavāha(nasa)*.

Reverse—Ujjain symbol of two circles, one inside the other, with a pellet. *Chha* symbol opposite some circles, and *svastika* opposite some others.

(B) A Coin of Lead.<sup>1</sup>—Find-spot—Excavations at Koṇḍāpur. Shape—oval. Weight—98.9 grains.

Obverse—Elephant to right with trunk hanging down. Legend—*Siri-Sādavāha*—,

Reverse—Ujjain symbol of two circles one inside the other with a pellet inside. A pellet outside each pair of circles.

(C) A Coin of Lead.<sup>2</sup>—Find-spot—Newāsā excavations. Shape—round.

Obverse—Bull to right; a hill of three arches above. Legend—*Raño siri-Sātavāhanasa*.

Reverse—Tree in railing; taurine symbol and śrīvatsa on left; below, hill of two arches with river below.

Scholars are sharply divided about the attribution of these coins. Some think that they cannot be of the progenitor of the family because when he rose to power in *circa* A. D. 230 B. C. soon after the death of Aśoka, such coins with the ruler's name were not in vogue. They, therefore, attribute them to *Kumāra Sātavāhana* mentioned in a relievo figure inscription in a Nāṇeghāṭ Cave. He may have issued them when he ascended the throne. This view does not appear to be correct. As shown elsewhere, this *Kumāra Sātavāhana* probably did not come to the throne. He died prematurely. No other ruler of the name of *Sātavāhana* is known. So these coins must be ascribed to the progenitor of the family.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *SI*, pp. 3 ff. Our Plate XIX, Fig. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Sankalia, *From History to Pre-history at Newāsā*, p. 172. Our Plate XIX, Fig. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Coins struck in the names of ancient Indian cities (e. g. Tagara) are generally referred to this very age. *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 36 ff.

## (2) Coins of Simuka :

Six coins of Simuka—five of copper and one of potin—have recently been found at the village Kapparopeta in the district of Karimagara in Andhra.

Shape—square, each side measuring—1.4 to 1.6 cm.  
Weight—1.25 to 2.13 grammes.

Obverse—Elephant with trunk uplifted or hanging down. Śrīvatsa symbol above. Complete legend—*Raño siri Chhimuka Sātavāhanasa*.

Reverse—Ujjain symbol with *svastika* between its orbs.

## (3) Coins of Sātakarṇi I :

(A) A Coin of Lead.<sup>1</sup>—Find-spot—Hyderābād;  
Shape—round. Diameter—.9 in. Weight—282 grains.

Obverse—Bull to right. Circular legend above—*Raño siri-Sātakarṇisa*.

Reverse—Tree of five leaves in the centre, with the Śrīvatsa symbol to right and triangular banner to left; a circle above on both sides. Below, *svastika* to right and *tri-ratna* symbol to left; a hill of two arches below.

This coin appears to be earlier than many other coins of Sātakarṇi, and may therefore be ascribed to Sātakarṇi I.

(B) A Coin of Potin.<sup>2</sup>—Find-spot—Paunī excavations; Shape—square; with sides of .8 in. and .7 in.; Weight—138 grains.

Obverse—Elephant with the trunk raised to left; Ujjain symbol with a pellet on its left. Legend in a horizontal line at the top—*Raño siri-Sātakarṇi*—.

Reverse—Bull with the tail raised to right; above, wheel with eight spokes and triangular standard.

This coin with the figure of an animal on both the sides is unique. On the evidence of palaeography, it appears to be fairly old, and so it is probably of Sātakarṇi I. Another coin of this Sātakarṇi has also been found on the ground at Paunī. These coins show that

<sup>1</sup> *SI*, III, pp. 10 ff. See our Plate XIX, Fig. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 106 ff. Our Plate XIX, Fig. 32.

his power extended to Paunī on the Vaiṅgaṅgā. He was probably the Sātakarṇi mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela.

(C) A Coin of Bronze.<sup>1</sup> — Find-spot — Tevar, near Jabalpur. Shape — square, .8 in. Weight — 80 grains.

Obverse — Ujjain symbol in the centre, with the crescent above; triangular standard in railing; elephant on the left. Below, a river with fishes. At the top in a horizontal line — [*Raño*] *siri-Sātakarṇisa*.

Palaeographical evidence shows that this coin is of Sātakarṇi I. It is noteworthy that it was found in an old site at Tripurī. It is apparently of the time when Sātakarṇi I had conquered some part of Central India extending up to Sāñchī near Vidiśā, and occupied it for some time.

(D) A Joint Silver Coin of Sātakarṇi I and Nāganikā.<sup>2</sup> — Find-spot — Junnar. Shape — round, with diameter — .75 in. Weight — 108 grammes.

Obverse — Legend in two lines — (1) *Raño siri-Sātaka* —, (2) *Nāganikāya*. The figure of a horse on left.

Reverse — Orbs with a *svastika* inside; a pellet between two orbs; figure of spear on the left.

This is the oldest silver coin of the Sātavāhanas. From the figure of a horse on it, it seems that it was issued on the occasion of a horse-sacrifice. The mention of Nāganikā in its legend shows that she was a queen of Sātakarṇi I and testifies to her prestige in the administration.

(4) A Copper Coin of Sakti.<sup>3</sup> — Find-spot — Besnagar (ancient Vidiśā) in the river bed. Shape — round. Diameter — 2.20 cm. Weight — 100 grains.

Obverse — A female figure on a platform, with Ujjain symbol on left and crescent on its top. Legend surrounding — *Raño siri-Satisa*.

<sup>1</sup> *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 110 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* XXXVI, pp. 6 ff. Our Plate XX, Fig. 33. This is in an enlarged size of its plastic cast.

<sup>3</sup> *Seminar*, p. 27. Our Plate XX, Fig. 34.

Reverse—Elephant with up-lifted trunk between two hills, each of three arches; a tree in railing above.

Rapson classed these lead and potin coins as of Mālwā fabric belonging to Western India. No coins of King Sātavāhana had been known in his time. So he ascribed these coins to Sātakarṇi ; but we do not find royal names so abbreviated elsewhere. These coins appear to be of Sati-siri (Śrī-Śakti) mentioned in the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā. He is called Śakti-Kumāra in Jaina works. One of the relievo figure inscriptions in the Nāṇeghāṭ Cave mentions *Kumāra* Haksiri, who seems to be this Śakti-śrī. Another copper coin of his, square in shape, has been found in Ujjain.

The aforementioned conjecture has since been supported by the find of a lead coin of *Kumāra* Śakti in the excavations at Sātanikoṭa in Karnul District of Andhra Pradesh. The coin has the legend *Kumāra siri-Satisa* on the obverse. It shows that Śakti was ruling over the territory as Crown Prince, with the privilege of issuing coins in his own name. Later, when he ascended the throne, he issued the coins with the title of *Rājan*.

(5) A Copper Coin of Āpilaka.<sup>1</sup> — Find-spot—Bālpur on the Mahānadi in the Bilāspur District. Shape—round. Diameter—1 in. Weight—65 grains.

Obverse—Elephant with trunk hanging down to right; goad in front. Legend surrounding it—*Raño Śiva-siris-Āpilakasa*.

Reverse—Blank.

This king Āpilaka is named fairly early in the Puraṇic list. In this coin he mentions the *biruda* *Śiva-śrī*. The Sātavāhanas mentioned this epithet optionally. This coin indicates that Sātavāhana power had extended up to the eastern limit of Chhattisgaḍh in his reign.

<sup>1</sup> Num. Suppl. XLVII, pp. 93 ff. See our Plate XX, Fig. 35.



(6) **Coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi**—The coins of various types such as elephant, lion, horse, *svastika* and hill struck by this king have been found in various countries in the South.<sup>1</sup>

(A) A Potin Coin of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.<sup>2</sup>—Find-spot—Tarhālā in Vidarbha. Shape—round, .8 in. in diameter. Weight—60.5 grains.

Obverse—Elephant with trunk uplifted to right.

Legend—*Siri-Sātakaṇisa*.

Reverse—Ujjain symbol.

His coins numbered 573 in the Tarhālā hoard—more than those of any other Sātavāhana king in that hoard. His metronymic does not occur on them, but it is noticed in the legend on his coins found in the Koṅḍāpur excavations, and also in those at Peḍābankur.<sup>3</sup> So he had undoubtedly conquered the Andhra country. His coins of the horse, hill and *svastika* types have been found in Andhra.

(B) Silver Portrait Coin of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.<sup>4</sup>—Find-spot—Bālpur (Chhattisgaḍh). Shape—round. Diameter—.6 in. Weight—27.9 grains.

Obverse—King facing right, with curly hair.

Legend—*Gotami* . . .

Reverse—Ujjain symbol on left; hill of six arches with crescent above on right; sun nearby; between the two, *arahaṇasha* (of the king).

This is the only silver coin of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi known so far.

(C) Silver Coins (of Nahapāna) re-struck by Gautamīputra.<sup>5</sup>—After his memorable victory over Nahapāna, Gautamīputra called back all silver coins of that Kshatrapa and, after striking them with his stamp, he allowed them to be circulated in his dominion. A large hoard of such re-struck coins was found at Jogaltembhī in the Nāsik District.

<sup>1</sup> *BMC (Andhras)*, pp. 3, 17. *Seminar*, pp. 82 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *JNSI*, III, p. 38. Our Plate XXI, Figg. 1 to 7, 11 and 12.

<sup>3</sup> Rama Rao, *Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, pp. 34—37.

<sup>4</sup> *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 106 ff. Our Plate XXII, Fig. 36.

<sup>5</sup> *JBBRAS*, XXII, pp. 223—243; *BMC (Andhras)*, p. 68.

The obverse and reverse of the stamp are as follows —

Obverse—Hill of three or six arches with or without a crescent. Legend—*Raño Gotami-putasa siri-Sātakaṇisa*.

Reverse—Ujjain symbol with or without pellet, with or without crescent.

(7) Coins of *Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi*.—His potin coins have been found in Vidarbha and lead coins in Western Mahārāshṭra and Andhra.

(A) A Potin Coin of *Puḷumāvi*.<sup>1</sup>—Find-spot—Tarhājā (Vidarbha). Shape—round. Diameter—·8 in. Weight—43 grains.

Obverse—Elephant with uplifted trunk to right. Legend—*Raṇā siri-Puḷumā[visa]*.

Reverse—Ujjain symbol.

Some coins in this hoard have the legend *Raṇā Siva-siri-Puḷumāvisa*. Those coins also are of this very king. The Sātavāhanas sometimes prefixed the *biruda Siva-siri* to their names, and sometimes they did not do so.

(B) A Lead Coin of *Puḷumāvi*.<sup>2</sup>—Find-spot—Wāṭegaon in the Sānglī District of Western Mahārāshṭra. Shape—round. Diameter—1·2 cm. Weight—8·60 grammes.

Obverse—Elephant with uplifted trunk to right. Legend encircling it—*Raño Vāsithi-putasa Siva-siri-Puḷumāvisa*.

Reverse—Ujjain symbol.

(C) A Silver Portrait Coin of *Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi*.<sup>3</sup>—Find-spot—Hyderābād. Shape—round. Diameter—·7 in. Weight—30 grains.

Obverse—Bust of king to right; curly hair on head; ear-rings; a large jewel indicative of royal position on forehead. Legend—encircling—*Raño Vāsithi-putasa siri-Puḷumāvisa*.

<sup>1</sup> *JNSI*, III, pp. 39-40. See our Plate XXI, Fig. 8—14.

<sup>2</sup> *LHSI*, p. 170. See our Plate XXII, Fig. 37.

<sup>3</sup> *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 12 ff. See our Plate XXII, Fig. 38.

Reverse—Ujjain symbol and hill of five arches, with river below the centre. Encircling legend—*Araṇaśha Vāhiṭṭi-mākaṇaśha tiru-Puḷumāvisha* (This coin is of the illustrious king Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi).

(8) Coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Skanda Sātakarṇi. — His coins have been found in Vidarbha and Western Mahārāshṭra. They have not, however, been found in Andhra so far.

(A) A Potin Coin of Skanda Sātakarṇi.<sup>1</sup> — Find-spot—Tarhālā (Vidarbha). Shape—round. Diameter—0.65 in. Weight—65 grains.

Obverse—Elephant with trunk uplifted. Legend—*[Raṇā] siri-Khada-Sātakaṇisa*.

Reverse—Ujjain symbol.

(B) A Lead Coin of Vāsishṭhīputra Skanda Sātakarṇi.<sup>2</sup> — Find-spot—Wāṭegaon in Sāngli District. Shape—round. Diameter—1.1 cm. Weight—4.380 grammes.

Obverse—Elephant with uplifted trunk, with the encircling legend—*Raṇā Vāsiṭṭhīputasa siri-Khada-Sātakaṇisa*.

From the metronymic of this king, it is clear that he was a uterine brother of Puḷumāvi and Vijaya Sātakarṇi.

(C) A Silver Portrait Coin of Vāsishṭhīputra Skanda Sātakarṇi.<sup>3</sup> — Find-spot—Nāsik. Shape—round. Diameter—6.5 mm. Weight—28.5 grains.

Obverse—King's bust to right; curly hair on head; narrow strip of cloth round the head; jewel on forehead. Legend—*[Raṇo] . . . siri-Khada-Sātakanisa*.

Reverse—Ujjain symbol ; hill of six arches, with sun to right, river below. Legend—*. . . . Sātakaṇisa*.

The legend on the reverse does not appear to be Dravidian. His coins have not been found in Andhra.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, III, pp. 41 ff. Our Plate XXI, Figs. 15-16.

<sup>2</sup> *LHSI*, p. 171. Our Plate XXIII, Fig. 39.

<sup>3</sup> See *Vidharbha Samshodhana Manḍal Vārshika*, 1977, p. 115. Our Plate XXIII, Fig. 40.

## (9) Coins of Vāsishthīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi:—

(A) Potin Coins — Find-spots — Chāndā and Tarhāḷā in Vidarbha.

Two potin coins of this king were found in Chāndā long ago. Some more were found in the Tarhāḷā hoard.<sup>1</sup>

Shape — round. Diameter — .68 in. Weight — 31 grains.

Obverse — Elephant with uplifted trunk to right.

Legend — [ja]ya Sātakaṇisa.

Reverse — Ujjain symbol.

(B) Silver portrait Coin.<sup>2</sup> — Recently a silver portrait coin of this king mentioning the metronymic Vāsishthīputra has been found.

Find-spot unknown. It is from the cabinet of S. S. Shukla of the Prince of Wales Museum. Shape — round; circumference 6½ cm.; weight — 26.2 grammes.

Obverse — King facing right with curling hair having a jewel in front, and ornaments in ears.

Legend — Vasas̥hi-putasa Sa . . .

Reverse — Ujjain symbol; hill of six arches with the sun and the moon above, and a river below.

Legend — Ara . . . Vasas̥hi-putasha hiru — Vijaya Hata[kaṇisha].

The portrait on this coin differs from that on the coin No. 10 B. So this Vāsishthīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi was different from Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi of No. 10 B. He was his uterine brother, being a son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. He was also different from Gautamīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍ inscription (No. 32).

## (10) (A) A Lead Coin of Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi. —

Find-spot — Kṛishṇā and Godāvari districts of Andhra. Shape — round. Diameter — .8 in. Weight — 91 grains.

Obverse — Hill of three arches with river below.

Legend encircling — Raṇo Vāsishthiputara Siva-siri-Sātakaṇisa.

<sup>1</sup> *SI*: III; pp. 42. ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Vidarbha Sanshodhana Manjal Varshika*, 1979, pp. 153. ff. Our Plate XXIII, Fig. 41 (A).

Reverse—Ujjain symbol of two orbs one inside the other with a pellet.

(B) A Silver Portrait Coin of Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi<sup>1</sup> — Find-spot not known. Shape—round. Diameter—·7 in. Weight—28 grains.

Obverse—King's bust to right; curly hair on head; jewel on forehead; earrings. Encircling legend—*Raño Vāsithīputasa siri-Sātakaṇisa*.

Reverse—Ujjain symbol and hill of five arches with crescent on top in the centre. Sun between. Encircling legend—*Arahaṇasha Vāhiṣṭi-mākaṇasha tiru-Hātakaṇisha* (This coin is of King Vāsishṭhīputra śrī-Sātakarṇi).

(11) Coins of Yajña Sātakarṇi. — His coins of various types such as elephant, hill, horse, lion, ship, etc. have been found in several parts of South India such as Western Mahārāshṭra, Vidarbha and Gujarāt. They are of various metals such as potin, lead, copper and silver.

(A) A Potin Coin of Yajña Sātakarṇi.<sup>2</sup> — Find-spot—Tarhālā in Vidarbha. Shape—round. Diameter—·7 in. Weight—43 grains.

Obverse—Elephant with trunk uplifted to right. Legend encircling it—*Raño siri-Yaṇa [ Sātakaṇisa ]*.

Reverse—Ujjain symbol.

(B) A Lead Coin of Yajña Sātakarṇi.<sup>3</sup> — Find-spot—Gunṭur District in Andhra. Shape—round. Diameter—·8 in. Weight—121 grains.

Obverse—Ship with two masts; sea below, indicated by fishes and conch. Encircling legend—*Raño sāmisa siri-Yaṇa-Sātakaṇisa*.

(C) A Silver Portrait Coin of Yajña Sātakarṇi.<sup>4</sup> — Find-spot—Saurāshṭra. King's bust to right; helmet on head; jewel indicative of royalty on forehead; ear-rings. Encircling legend—*Raño Gotamīputasa siri-Yaṇa-Sātakaṇisa*.

<sup>1</sup> *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 9 ff. Our Plate XXIII, Fig. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *SI*, III, pp. 42 ff. Our Plate XXI, Figg. 17—21.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* III, pp. 17 ff. Our Plate XXIV, Fig. 43.

<sup>4</sup> *BMC (Andhras)*, p. 45. Our Plate XXIII, Fig. 42.

Reverse — Ujjain symbol and hill of six arches in the middle, with crescent over both; Sun between and river below hill. Encircling legend — [*Araha*]-*nasha Gotamiputasha hiru-Yaṅa-Hātakaṅisha*.

(12) Coins of [Māṭharīputra] Śaka Sātakarṇi —

(A) A Potin Coin of Śaka Sātakarṇi.<sup>1</sup> — Find-spot — Tarhālā in Vidarbha. Shape — round. Diameter — .7 in.. Weight — 34 grains.

Obverse — Elephant with uplifted trunk to right.

Legend — *Sakasa Sā[takaṅisa]*.

Reverse — Ujjain symbol.

The inscriptions of Māṭharīputra Śaka-sena are found in the Caves at Kānheri. These coins may be his.

(B) A Copper Coin of Māṭharīputra [Śakasena]<sup>2</sup> — Find-spot — Peṅḍābankur District of Andhra. Shape — round. Diameter — .50 in. Weight — 23.5 grains.

Obverse — Elephant with trunk hanging down to right.

Legend — *Raṅo Māḍhari-*.

Reverse — Ujjain symbol.

His coins found in Andhra are very small in size. They show only the metronymic *Māḍhari-* of the king. But he is not likely to be any one else than Māṭharīputra Śakasena.

(13) A Lead Coin of Vāsishṭhīputra Chandrasvāti<sup>3</sup> — Provenance — Kṛishṇā-Godāvari districts in Andhra.

Obverse — Hill of three arches with river below.

Encircling legend — *Raṅo Vāsishṭiputasa siri-Chada-Sātisa*.

Reverse — Ujjain symbol of two orbs, one inside the other, with a pellet.

(14) Coins of Puḷumavi III<sup>4</sup> — Find-spot — Tarhālā (in Vidarbha). Shape — round. Diameter — .65 in. Weight — 40.5 grains.

<sup>1</sup> *SI*, III, p. 44. See our Plate XXI, Fig. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Rama Rao, *Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, No. 311.

<sup>3</sup> *BMC (Andhra)*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>4</sup> *SI*, III, p. 45. See our Plate XXI, Fig. 31.

Obverse—Elephant with uplifted trunk to right.

Encircling legend— . . . *Puḥhāmavi-*.

He was the last king in the Sātavāhana dynasty. His name differs slightly from those of the preceding homonymous Sātavāhana kings. His inscription has been found in the Bellāry District of Karnāṭaka.

The Tarhālā hoard had, besides, the potin coins of Kumbha Sātakarṇi and Karṇa Sātakarṇi.<sup>1</sup> Their coins have not been found elsewhere.

Besides the above, a coin of King Sebaka<sup>2</sup> of the bull type has been found in Hyderābād. He seems to be a very early ruler. A horse-type lead coin of his descendant Prakāśa-śiva-Sebaka<sup>3</sup> also has been found. These kings were no doubt ruling in the Deccan, but whether they were independent or were feudatories of the Sātavāhanas is not known ; for some powerful feudatory princes also struck their own coins. We shall now proceed to describe such coins.

### Coins of Feudatories

#### Lead Coins of the Kura Kings (of Kolhāpur)

A hoard of lead and copper coins was discovered at Brahmapurī, a suburb of Kolhāpur, at the time of the construction of the bridge on the Pañchagaṅgā which flows nearby. Some of the coins were found re-struck by later kings of the family; from which we can arrange the rulers chronologically as follows :—

- (1) Vāsishṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura.
- (2) Māṭharīputra Śivalakura.
- (3) Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura.

These coins were examined by R. G. Bhandarkar. They were included by Rapson under 'the Coins of the Andhras'. How these rulers were connected with the Sātavāhanas has long been a matter of discussion. In view of the metronymic *Gautamīputra* of the third king

<sup>1</sup> *JNSI*, III, pp. 43-44. See our Plate XXI, Figs. 24-25 and 26—28.

<sup>2</sup> *SI*, III, pp. 49 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* III, pp. 52 ff.

mentioned above, Rapson identified him with the homonymous Sātavāhana king, but the names of the other two rulers do not agree. From the title *Mahārāṣṭhi* held by Māṭharīputra Śivalakura on a coin published by Kundangara, it is evident that these rulers were not independent, but held a feudatory rank. Ptolemy (A. D. 140) tells us that in his time Siri Pulemaios was ruling at Baithan (Paiṭhan), and Baleokuras at Hippokura. The former is undoubtedly Puḷumāvi II. Hippokura cannot now be identified, but Baleokuras is undoubtedly Viḷivāyakura. It seems, therefore, that Viḷivāyakura (II) was ruling at Kolhāpur in the time of Puḷumāvi II. When the latter conquered the Kuntala country, he seems to have annexed his dominion.

(15) A Lead Coin of Vāsishthīputra Viḷivāyakura<sup>1</sup> — Find-spot — Kolhāpur. Shape — round. Diameter — 1·2 in.; Weight — 242·2 grains.

Obverse — Hill of four arches; crescent above; tree in railing on left; *svastika* above.

Reverse — Bow with arrow pointing upward. Encircling legend — *Raño Vāsishthīputasa Viḷivāyakurasa.*

(16) (A) A Lead Coin of Māṭharīputra Śivalakura<sup>2</sup> — Shape and diameter — as above; Legend on the reverse — *Raño Maḍharīputasa Sivalakurasa.*

(B) Same as above, published by Kundangar<sup>3</sup> — Find-spot — Kolhāpur; Legend on the reverse — *Mahārāṣṭhisa Māḍharīputasa Sivalakurasa.*

(17) A Lead Coin of Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura<sup>4</sup> — Find-spot — Kolhāpur. Shape — round. Diameter — 1·15 in. Weight — 164·6 grains.

Obverse and Reverse types as above. Legend — *Raño Gotamīputasa Viḷivāyakurasa.*

He was a contemporary of Puḷumāvi II of Pratiśṭhāna.

<sup>1</sup> BMC (*Andhras*), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* m p. 2. See our Plate XXIV, Fig. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Plate XXIV, Fig. 45.

<sup>4</sup> BMC (*Andhras*), p. 13.



### Coins of the Mahisha Feudatories

(18) **Coins of Saka King Māna**—Some lead and copper coins of King Māna were discovered in the excavations at Koṇḍāpur in the former Hyderābād State. One of them is described here—

(A) A Lead Coin of Mahāsenāpati Śaka Māna, son of Bhāradvāja<sup>1</sup>—Find-spot—Excavations at Koṇḍāpur. Shape—round. Diameter—·9 in. Weight—135 grains.

Obverse—A large *Svastika* in the centre. Encircling legend—*Mahāsenāpatisa Bharadaja-putasa-Saga-Māna-Chuṭukulasa*. (This coin is of Mahāsenāpati Śaka Māna Chuṭukula, son of Bhāradvāja.)

Reverse—Thunderbolt and arrow pointing downward.

The reverse type connects this ruler with the Western Kshatrpa Nahapāna ; for these symbols are seen only on the coins of the Kshaharāta Kshatrapas. He calls himself Śaka (Scythian). His epithet *Chuṭukula* connects him with the king Chuṭukulānanda.

After the extermination of Nahapāna by Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi, this Śaka Māna appears to have escaped and come to Southern Deccan where he soon established himself. As he mentions his title *Mahāsenāpati* on these coins, he seems to have taken service under the contemporary Sātavāhana king, probably Puṣumāvi II.

(B) Two Copper Coins of Śaka Māna, King of the Mahisha Country.<sup>2</sup> These are from the cabinet of Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderābād.

(B) (i)<sup>3</sup> Shape rectangular—1 in. × 0·9 in. Weight—130 grains.

Obverse—Elephant with uplifted trunk to right.

Legend—*Saga-Māna-Mahasasa*.

Reverse—Ujjain symbol of two orbs, one inside the other, with a pellet. *Svastika* in the field.

(B) (ii) This coin<sup>4</sup> is of the same type as above, but smaller and thicker. Rectangular—·95 in. × ·75 in.

<sup>1</sup> *SI*, III, pp. 65 ff. See our Plate XXV, Fig. 46.

<sup>2</sup> *SI*, III, pp. 56 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* III, pp. 56 ff. See our Plate XXV, Fig. 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* III, pp. 56 ff. See our Plate XXV, Fig. 48.

Weight—180 grains. Legend—*Raño Sagamāna-Ma-*. When both the fragmentary legends are put together, the complete legend becomes—*Raño Saga-Māna-Mahasasa*, meaning 'This coin is of the Mahisha King Śaka Māna.' This ruler seems to have given up in course of time his title of *Mahāsenāpati* and adopted that of *Rājan* when his power increased. The country over which he was ruling was known as Māhishaka. This has been indicated by the recently discovered Guṇṭupalli inscriptions of King Sada. He was apparently a powerful king; for he is mentioned in the following hemistich in the Purāṇas:—

शकमानोभवद्राजा महिषाणां महीपतिः ॥

(19) A Lead Coin of Yaśa Mahisha<sup>1</sup>—Find-spot—Maski in the Raichur District. Shape—round. Diameter—1.35 in. Weight—210 grains.

Obverse—Horse to right. *Svastika* above. Tree in railing. Fragmentary legend—*Siri . . . Yasasa Maha[sasa]*.

Reverse—Hill of ten arches. Moon above and Brāhmi letter *ga* in a square of double lines. This king appears to be a descendant of Māna Mahisha.

(20) A Lead Coin of Sivala Mahisha<sup>2</sup>—Find-spot—Hyderābād, from the cabinet of Hurmuz Kaus. Shape—round. Diameter—·85 in. Weight—154 grains.

Obverse—Crescent encircled by the legend—*Sivalasa Maha[sasa]*.

Reverse—Hill of six arches with a pellet. Crescent above. All encircled by a square of two lines.

(21) A Lead Coin of Chuṭukulānanda<sup>3</sup>.—Find-spot—Kārwār. This coin is of King Chuṭukulānanda of the North Kannaḍa District. As shown above, the Śaka King Māna had assumed the *biruda Chuṭukula*. This king was probably his feudatory.

<sup>1</sup> *SI*, III, pp. 72 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* III, pp. 74 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *BMC (Andhra)*, p. 59.

Metal—lead. Shape—round. Diameter 1·15 in. Weight 210·4 grains.

Obverse—Hill of seven arches. Large arch round it. Legend [ *Ra* ]ño *Chufukulānāndasa*.

Reverse—Tree in railing in the centre. *Svastika* with *nandipada* above on left. Triangular standard with symbol of double *ya* above.

Similar coins of Muḷānanda have been found in this district.

### Coins of the Kshaharāta Kshatrapas

(22) A Copper Coin of Bhūmaka<sup>1</sup>—Provenance—Gujarat, Kāthiāwāḍ and Mālwā. Metal—copper. Shape—round. Diameter—8 in. Weight—69·8 grains.

Obverse—Arrow pointing upward and thunderbolt, with a pellet between. Encircling legend in Khzroshthī—*Chhaharātasa Chhatrapasa Bhūmakasa*.

Reverse—Lion with paw raised, and Sacred Wheel. Pillar below. Encircling legend in Brāhmī—*Kshaharā[tasa] [Kshatra]pasa Bhūmakasa*.

Unlike Nahapāna, he does not seem to have assumed the title *Rājan*.

(23) A Silver Coin of Nahapāna<sup>2</sup>—Provenance—Gujarāt, Kāthiāwāḍ, and Mālwā. Shape—round. Diameter—65 in.

Obverse—Bust of King to right. Encircling legend in Kharoshthī—*Raño Chhaharātasa Nahapānasa*.

Reverse—Arrow pointing downwards and thunderbolt, with a pellet between. Encircling Brāhmī legend—*Rājño Kshaharātasa Nahapānasa*.

A large hoard of 13,250 silver coins of Nahapāna was found at Jogaltembhī in the Nāsik District. More than two-thirds of them were restruck by Gautami-putra Śātakarṇi. The busts on these coins were dissimilar, but it would be wrong to infer from them

<sup>1</sup> *BMC (Andhras)*, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> *BMC (Andhras)*, p. 65. See our Plate XXVI, Fig. 49.

that the coins were issued by different descendants of that Kshatrapa.

Nahapāna issued some copper coins also.<sup>1</sup> They show on the obverse the thunderbolt and arrow pointing downward with the legend in Brāhmī, and, on the reverse, a tree in railing.

### Coins of the Kārdamaka Kshatrapas

(24) A Silver Coin of Chashṭana<sup>2</sup> — Shape — round. Diameter — .6 in. Weight — 28.5 grains.

Obverse — Bust of King. Legend in Greek.

Reverse — Sun and Moon. Legend in Brāhmī — *Rājno Kshatrapasa Ysāmotika-putrasa . . .*

Some of his silver coins show his title *Mahā-kshatrapa*. Some others have the royal name *Chashṭana* in Kharoshṭhī also. A copper coin of Chashṭana has also been found.

His descendants continued to issue for a long time silver coins having the King's bust on the obverse and a hill with a river below, and crescent and sun on two sides, with the legend encircling all on the reverse. The legend contains the ruler's and his father's name and title. From the time of Jivadāman, son of Dāmajadaśri, these coins begin to record the dates of their issue in the Śaka era behind the bust on the obverse. We come to know their approximate reign-periods from them. Very few inscriptions of these Kshatrapas have been found so far. Their history is known mainly from their coins.

Similar coins of Mahākshatrapa Īśvaradatta issued in the first and second regnal years have been found in some hoards of Kshatrapa coins and elsewhere. Recently, his coin of the fourth regnal year containing the corresponding date 154 of the Śaka era has been found at Indore. Before its discovery, scholars had made various conjectures about his time. Bhagvanlal

<sup>1</sup> *BMC (Aulhus)*, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72. See our Plate XXVI, Fig. 50.

Indraji thought that he came to the throne after defeating Kshatrapa Vijayasena in Śaka 170, and founded the Traikūṭaka (later known as the Kalachuri-Chedi) era of A. D. 248-49. But later it was found that there was no break in Kshatrapa dates at that time. Rapson placed Īśvaradatta in the gap between Śaka years 158 and 161; but it was noticed later from the Sarvāṇīā hoard of Kshatrapa coins that there was no gap then also. As Īśvaradatta assumed the title of *Mahākshatrapa*, he appears to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the contemporary Kushāṇa Emperor.

On Īśvaradatta's coins discovered previously, the Śaka dates 151 and 152 were shown by means of the symbols for 100, 50 and 1 or 2, but they had not been noticed. Rapson stated that only the unit symbol for 1 or 2 was seen on the obverse of these coins of Īśvaradatta and the same was expressed by the words *varshe prathame* or *varshe dvitiye* on their reverse. But the symbol for 50 can also be read if the photographs of some of his coins are scrutinised carefully. We describe below the recently discovered coin of Īśvaradatta—

(25) A Silver Coin of Īśvaradatta.<sup>1</sup> — Find-spot — Indore. Shape—round.

Obverse—King's bust to right, with a necklace of jewels. Behind the head, Śaka year 154 (shown by symbols).

Reverse—indistinct hill with the encircling legend.

[*Maha*] *kshatrapasa Īśvaradattasa varshe cha[tu]* . .

As Śaka 154 (A. D. 232-33) was the fourth regnal year of Īśvaradatta, he must have come to the throne in A. D. 229-30. This appears to mark the end of Sātavāhana rule in the Deccan.

Chasṭana's family continued to rule till the end of the reign of Viśvasena (last known date Śaka 226—A. D. 304). Thereafter, Svāmī Rudradāman, son

<sup>1</sup> *Marathwādā Samshodhana Maṅḍal Vārshika*, 1976. See our Plate XXVI, Fig. 51.

of Svāmi Jivadaman, came to the throne. His last known successor Svāmi Rudrasimha III's coin bearing the Śaka date 31(x). (=A. D. 388+x) has been found. He was exterminated by the Gupta king Chandragupta II in *circa* A. D. 395.

The silver coins of the Western Kshatrapas of Mālwā and Kāṭhīāwāḍ were long in circulation. As the Ābhiras and the Vākāṭakas had no coins of their own, they allowed these Kshatrapa coins to circulate in their territories. Their hoards and stray coins also have been found in Vidarbha. They have been recovered from some places in Western Mahārāshṭra and Gujarāt also. From a hoard discovered at Karhāḍ in the Sātārā District Altekar inferred that it might have been the *dakṣiṇā* given to a Brāhmaṇa of that place which has long been noted for its learning. But this does not appear to be valid; for, recently another large hoard of Kshatrapa coins has come to notice at Rānjanḡon in the Poonā District.

## Chapter IX

### (A) The Language of the Inscriptions

As stated in a previous chapter, even the higher classes of Society did not commonly use the Sanskrit language in their daily transactions in the age of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas. When the Āryans entered India, their language was, no doubt, Vedic Sanskrit. But the Non-Āryans, who had dealings with them, could not have manipulated with ease that language with its ten conjugations, three kinds of preterite, various declensional forms of nouns and pronouns and so forth. So the language as used by them underwent great changes, resulting in the formation of Prakrits. The Āryans also had to use the latter in their communication with them. Gautama Buddha and Vardhamāna Mahāvira, the founders of Buddhism and Jainism, used these very dialects in preaching the tenets of their new religions to the common people. Aśoka also has used these very dialects in addressing the subjects of his vast empire extending from Afghanistan in the north to Mysore in the south. It is not, therefore, surprising that the Sātavāhanas who succeeded him followed the same course.

The Sātavāhanas performed several Vedic sacrifices, but they have left their account not in Sanskrit, but in Prakrit. Not a single inscription of that family is in Sanskrit. The Kshatrapas also, who occupied a part of their territory, used the language of the then common people in recording their gifts; but we notice therein considerable influence of Sanskrit. Rishabhadatta, son-in-law of the Kshaharāta ruler Nahapāna, defeated the Mālavas who had invaded the territory of the Uttamabhadras in Central India. He next went to the holy place of Pushkara, bathed at the *tīrtha* and made gifts of three thousand cows and a village to Brāhmaṇas. The description of these events which he got incised in a cave at Nāsik is in the first person. So

it clearly records his own words. It is as follows :—

भटारका-अंभ्रातिया च गतोस्मि वर्षारतुं मालयेहि रुघं उतमभाद्रं  
मोचयितुं [1•] ते च मालया प्रनादेनेव अपयाता उतमभद्रकानं च  
क्षत्रियानं सर्वे परिग्रहा कृता [1•] ततोस्मि गतो पोक्षरानि [1•]  
तत्र च मया अभिसेको कृतो व्रीणि च गोसहस्रानि दतानि गामो च [1•].

These words are in a mixed dialect of Sanskrit and Prakrit.

The Kshatrapas of Mālwā and Kāthiāwāḍ gave much greater patronage to the classical language. The Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Rudradāman is written in elegant Sanskrit embellished with figures of speech. His patronage to Sanskrit is reflected in several matters. His daughter was married to Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi. He donated Aparānta which he had conquered from the Sātavāhanas to his son-in-law. The inscription in a Kānherī cave which records a gift by an *Amātya* of his daughter is almost wholly in Sanskrit. The only incorrect form in it is *Śri-Sātakarṇisya*. Several inscriptions recording the setting up of memorial stones (*yashṭis*) by the people of Mālwā and Kāthiāwāḍ in those days have been discovered, most of which are in Sanskrit. Only one or two words in them are in Prakrit.<sup>1</sup> The form generally used to denote the status of the contemporary ruler in Sātavāhana inscriptions and coins is *raño*, rarely *raṇo*, but it is invariably *rājño* in the legends on Kshatrapa coins. This one fact is sufficient to show the influence of Sanskrit on the dialect current in the dominion of the Western Kshatrapas. We need not expatiate on the Sanskrit language used in that age, but we must describe the peculiarities of Prakrit then in vogue.

As stated before, intelligibility and facility in pronunciation are the main causes of the origin of the Prakrits. These were secured by the following means :—(1) Omission of the dual forms of nouns, pronouns and verbs ; (2) elision of the dative case ; (3) addition of *a* to words ending in a consonant to make them vowel-ending. See *e. g.*, the forms *sirimāto* (for *śrimān*) and *mahimāvatānam* (for

<sup>1</sup> See Inscriptions Nos. 52, 55, 56, 61 etc.



*mahimavatām*). The words *yat*, *tat* and *etat* omit their final consonant and become vowel-ending as *ya*, *ta* and *eta* before taking the declensional affix. See e. g. *etasa*. (4) Omission of tenses except the present and the future. (5) Use of past participles such as *kata*, *gata* and *data* in stead of preterite forms. Almost all these characteristics of the Prakrits appear in the inscriptions edited here.

In Prakrits one member of a conjunct consonant is doubled for facility of pronunciation. But the records edited here do not generally show instances of double consonants. See e. g. *Gotamiputasa*. Conjunct and double consonants were not completely absent from the languages of those days ; for we find the following forms in the records of the time—*Vijñhupālita*, *maha-khattava* etc. Why are not double consonants then noticed in our records ? The explanation generally given is that the double consonants, though expressed by a single letter, are to be pronounced as double. This does not appear convincing. They must have been pronounced as they were written.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, double consonants, are also noticed in some rare cases. See *Hārīti-puttāya* in Inscription No. 35, line 3.

Words used in Prakrit inscriptions are divided into three classes—(1) *Tatsama* (those that have retained their Sanskrit form) ; (2) *Tadbhava* (those that have undergone a change) ; and (3) *Deśi* (current in the common language but not derived from Sanskrit). The Sātavāhana inscriptions have very few *Tatsama* and *Deśi* words. Most of the words, though derived from Sanskrit, have undergone a change. Very few of them present any difficulty in tracing their original Sanskrit form. For a comprehensive treatment of them, the reader is referred to M. A. Mehendale's *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits*.<sup>2</sup> We give here only a few instances.

<sup>1</sup> Such double consonants are not noticed even in the records of the Ikshvākus who followed the Sātavāhanas. See *EI*, XX, pp. 16 ff. But they are found in the Prakrit portion of the Bāsim plates of the Vākātakas. *CII*, V. pp. 96 ff.

<sup>2</sup> M. A. Mehendala, *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits*, pp. 46 ff.

## Sandhi

In Prakrit, vowels are not combined though they come together. See e. g. महअइरकेन No. 19, line 3. *Api* and *iti* are exceptions. When these come immediately after a vowel-ending word, they drop their initial vowel. See क्तितापराधे पि, चरिखतो ति<sup>1</sup>

## Phonology

## (1) Change in vowel—

Vowel in Sanskrit	Vowel in Prakrit	Examples
ऋ	अ	कृता > कटा
	इ	सदृश > सदिस
	उ	ऋतुकाले > उतुकाले
	[Elision]	ऋधवत् > छवत्
ऐ	ए	शैल > सेल-
ओ	ओ	गोत्मिक > गोमिक
अ	आ <sup>2</sup>	अनुवर्षम् > अनुवासं
अ	अ	मुदशंना > मुदिसणा
अ	अ <sup>2</sup>	इंद्रस्य > इंदस
	उ	दुहितु > दुहुतुय
	ए <sup>2</sup>	विष्णुनन्दिनः > वेष्णुनंदिस
अ	अ	पिशाचीपद्रक > पिसाजिपद्रक
उ	उ <sup>2</sup>	भुक्त > भूत
	अ <sup>2</sup>	दुहितुः > दीहितु
	ओ <sup>2</sup>	पुष्करम् > पोक्षरानि

<sup>1</sup> The references to the Prakrit words in this and the following pages will be found in the Index of Prakrit Words given at the end.

<sup>2</sup> This change occurs before a simplified conjunct consonant.

<sup>3</sup> This change occurs before an assimilated conjunct consonant.

(2) Change of consonant—

Consonant in Sanskrit	Consonant in Prakrit	Examples
क्	ग् <sup>1</sup>	नालिकेर > नाळिगेर—
ग्	य्	नागनिकायाः > नायनिकाय
च्	ज्	पिशाचीपद्रक > पिसाजिपद्रक
ज्	य्	राजामात्य > रायामच
ट्	ड्	कुट्टुविन्या > कडुविनिय
ठ्	ढ्	माठरीपुत्रस्य > माडरिपुतस
ड्	ळ	गरुड > गरुळ
ण	न्	वरुण > वरुन
त्	द्	सातवाहन- > सादवाहन-
प्	ब्	प्रपा > पुवा
भ्	व	ऋषभदत्तेन > उपवदात्तेन
य्	ज्	भार्यायाः > भरिजाय
स्क्	ख्	स्कन्दसातकर्णः > खदसातकर्णिस
ष्ट्	ठ्	यष्टिः > लठि
स्त्	ध्	वास्तव्य > वाधव
त्य्	च्	अमात्येन > अमत्तेन
त्स्	छ्	वत्ससगोत्रस्य > वछसगोत्रस
क्ष	छ्	ऋक्षवत्- > छवत्-
	ब्	दक्षिणा > दखिना -
श्र	सर्	श्री- > सिरि-
ज्ञ्	ञ्	यज्ञः > यज्ञो
ज्ञ्	न्	आज्ञप्तम् > आनत्
ण	न	सुवर्णम् > सुवंन
ष्ण	ण्ह	विष्णु > वेण्ह
	न्ह	कृष्ण > कन्ह
स्म	म्ह	अस्माकम् > अम्ह

<sup>1</sup> This and the following changes up to य becoming ज् occur in the case of consonants between vowels.

## Morphology

## Masculine nouns in a—

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	असो	असा
Accusative	अमच	
Instrumental	समणेन	यत्रेहि
Dative	सधाय	
Ablative	खधायारा	
Genitive	उपासकस	सबसतानं
Locative	जंबुदिपमिह	नेत्यकेसु

## Neuter Nouns—

Nominative	लेण, लेणं कुण्णमूले	निवतनसतानि
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## Feminine Nouns—

## (1) Nouns in आ—

Nominative	दखिना	दखिनायो
Instrumental	वालिकाय, लोटाय	मुण्हाहि
Dative	पूजाये	
Ablative	वणासाय	
Genitive	सेनाये	

## (2) Nouns in ई—

Nominative	महादेवी	कुभियो
Instrumental	कुडुविनीय	अतेवासिनिहि
Genitive	वेजपतिये	गावीनं, अतेवासिनिण
Locative	नदीये	कखडीसु

## Pronouns

(1) The Demonstrative Pronouns इदम्, एतत्, यत् and तत् omit their last consonant and are declined like words in अ. इम is substituted for इदम् and has forms like इमे, and इमस्मि. Its Nom. singular form इण occurs in No. 14, line 3.

(2) **Personal Pronouns**—First personal pronoun, insr. plural—अम्हेहि. Genitive plural optional forms in न and नं (Sanskrit नः) are noteworthy.

(3) **Cardinal Numerals**—

पायूण (सं. पादोनम्), त्रिनि (सं. त्रीणि), वारसक (सं. द्वादशक), तेरस (सं. त्रयोदश), पनरस (सं. पञ्चदश), पंचत्रिंशक (पञ्चत्रिंशत्) are noteworthy.

(4) **Ordinal Numerals**—

पथमे (सं. प्रथमे), वितिये (सं. द्वितीये), तर्तिये (सं. तृतीये), पंचमे, छडे (सं. षष्ठे), सातमे (सं. सप्तमे), तेरसे (सं. त्रयोदशे), पनरस (पञ्चदशे) occur in the present records.

### Conjugation

The forms वसति, वितराम of the first conjugation and ददाति, ददम of the third conjugation in the present tense occur in these inscriptions. The third conjugation disappeared in later times. Most of the verbal forms are in the *Parasmaipada*, those in the *Ātmanepada* like भुक्ते being very rare. Not a single form of preterite occurs here, its sense being conveyed by past participles like *data* (*dattam*), *āṇata* (*ājñaptam*), and *bhūta* (*bhuktam*). The future third person singular भविति is taken from Sanskrit by making a slight change. Very few forms of roots in the present tense passive occur, only two कसते (सं. कृष्यते) and ज्ञप्ते (सं. ज्ञायते) being noticed in these records.

In Sanskrit causatives are formed by adding अय (or आपय) to roots. The corresponding affix is आणे (आपय) in Prakrit. No. 39 has the form भोजापयिता. It seems to be the instrumental singular of the causative present participle from the root भुञ्.

**Imperative Mood**—Imperative singular form परिहरेहि and plural form परिहरेठ occur in these inscriptions. The forms निवघ्राणेहि and निवघ्राणेय are similar ones in the causal sense.

### Participles

**Present Participles**—The Sanskrit present participle form in अत् becomes vowel-ending by adding अ at the end. See पतिवन्तानं (Sanskrit प्रतिवसताम्). In some forms the original nasal is noticed. See वसंतानं (सं. वसताम्).

**Present Passive Participles** end in मान. The passive affix य is not noticed in मुजमान.

The form अनुविधीयमान in No. 18, line 10 is a passive present participle form, but in the context its sense seems to be active.

**Past Passive Participles**—These are formed by adding त् to the root as in Sanskrit. The form दिन from the root ण occurs in one place instead of दत्. The termination is changed to ट in कटा. The causative affix is आपित. See बंधापित.

**Potential Passive Participles**—These are formed by adding त्व्य, अनीय and य as in Sanskrit. See वतवो (सं. वक्तव्यः), दुपसाधनीय- (सं. दुप्यधर्षणीय-), and सदेयमेयो. The absolutes in क्वा and त्यर् noticed in Sanskrit occur also in Prakrit. See कृता (सं. कृत्वा), उदिस (सं. उद्दिश्य).

We shall next notice some peculiarities of the Prakrit language. The names of villages and seasons are used in the plural. See नामे कखडीमु (13·3) (in the village Kakhaḍi). The holy place Pushkara is not a village, but it is used in the plural in 43·4. See हतोस्मि गतो पोक्षरानि.

The names of the seasons are similarly used in the plural. See वामान पखे (खर्तौः पखे) (13·7), हेमंताण पखे (सं. हेमन्तस्य पखे), (14·2) and निग्हाण पखे (सं. शीष्मस्य पखे) (98·1).

In Prakrit, adjectives and connected words are often placed after those they qualify or refer to. See सेनाये वेज्यंतिये (of the victorious army), विजयखधावारा गोवधनस (from the victorious camp in Govardhana) (18·1) etc.

As this peculiarity of the language was not borne in mind, some scholars committed mistakes in their interpretation of the record. They connected गोवधनस with the following वेनाकटक and thought that Benākāṭaka was situated in Govardhana. As a matter of fact, it is the name of the region on both the banks of the river Beṇā (Waingāṅgā) in the Bhaṅḍārā District of Vidarbha.

From the phonology and morphology of the words in the present inscriptions, it will be seen that their language does not differ much from that of Aśoka's edicts. And this is but natural; for the earliest inscriptions given here were incised not long after that Emperor's edicts. Even in the later records in the present collection (Nos. 34 to 37) it does not show any significant alteration.

### The Name of the Prakrit Dialect

The name of the dialect in which these records are written is stated nowhere. As they come from Mahārāshṭra, they are supposed to have been in the Māhārāshṭri Prakrit; but that name is not so ancient. In his *Nāṭyaśāstra* Bharata states the rules for the use of the different dialects by the characters of plays. He mentions the following seven Prakrits in this connection—*Māgadhi*, *Āvantikā*<sup>1</sup> (that of Ujjain), *Prāchyā*, *Śaurasenī*, *Ardhamāgadhi*, *Bāḥlikā* and *Dākṣiṇātyā*.<sup>2</sup> Among these, that called *Dākṣiṇātyā* (Southern) seems to be the Prakrit of the Sātavāhana country, but it is not called *Māhārāshṭri* in that work. Besides, the rule that *Māhārāshṭri* should be used in verses does not occur therein. On the other hand, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* states that the *Śaurasenī* Prakrit should be used in the *kāvya*<sup>3</sup> :—

शौरसेनीं समाश्रित्य भाषां काव्येषु योजयेत् ।  
अथवा छन्दतः कार्या देशभाषा प्रयोक्तृभिः ॥

Bharata's date is uncertain, but his *Nāṭyaśāstra* is believed to have attained the present form in the third century A. D.<sup>4</sup>

Vararuchi is the earliest known grammarian of Prakrit. He has referred to *Māhārāshṭri* only in one place. In the

<sup>1</sup> *Avantijā* (*Āvantikā*) probably stands for the *Pañcābhi* Prakrit.

<sup>2</sup> *Nāṭyaśāstra* (G. O. S.), Vol. II, p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 176.

<sup>4</sup> Kane, *Introduction to the Sāhityadūrpāṇa*, p. 22.

first nine sections of his *Prākṛita-prakāśa*, he has given rules about the Prakrit language. That is the old portion of that grammar. In the next three chapters, he has given rules for *Paiśācī*, *Māgadhi* and *Śaurasenī*, and in his last *sūtra* he says — जेषं माहाराष्ट्रीवत् । (In other respects these dialects follow the rules of the Māhārāshṭrī dialect). From this, it is supposed that the rules in the first nine sections of his work are of Māhārāshṭrī. These different dialects were probably not differentiated in his time. This is also noticed from the inscriptions and literary works of that age. The change of *t* to *d* and of *th* to *dh* is the main characteristic of Śaurasenī, but we see it in the inscriptions of Mahārāshṭra and in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, which we have shown to be a work of the Sātavāhana period. See e. g., मोतमिमुतो मिरिमदकणि in inscription No. 11, line 1, and the following verse taken at random from the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*<sup>1</sup> —

मा दुग्दो ति परिह्वो णत्थि कअन्तस्स दुग्दो णाम ।  
चारित्तेण विह्वो अइदो वि अ दुग्दो होइ ॥

This verse has the form दुग्दो which belongs to Śaurasenī. That play does not use Śaurasenī forms also throughout; for we find the form भेत्तुण characteristic of Māhārāshṭrī in a verse elsewhere (Act VI, v. 5). So the conclusion is inescapable that the different Prakrit dialects were not differentiated in the Sātavāhana age.

Still we can show that the dialect which later became known as Māhārāshṭrī was then current in Mahārāshṭra.

After the age of the Sātavāhanas, the four Prakrit dialects, Māhārāshṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhi and Paiśācī, were differentiated and became known by their respective names. The revised edition of Vararuchi's *Prākṛita-prakāśa* mentions only these Prakrits. Some scholars identify Vararuchi with Kātyāyana, the author of the *Vārttikas* on Pāṇini's *Sūtras*, but Vararuchi is certainly not so old.

<sup>1</sup> Its Sanskrit rendering would be as follows:—

मा दुग्दो इति परिह्वो नास्ति कृतास्तस्य दुग्दो नाम ।  
चारित्तेण विह्वो अइदोपि च दुग्दो भवति ॥



His date is probably the fourth or the fifth century A. D. Māhārāshṭrī had then become well known by the literature produced in it. Daṇḍin says—

महाराष्ट्राश्रयां भाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः ।

So in his days these other Prakrits also must have become differentiated and known by their separate names.

In Māhārāshṭrī and Śaurasenī, the nominative singular form of nouns in अ ends in ओ, while in Māgadhī, it ends in ए. Vararuchi says that the single letters क्, ग्, च्, ज्, त्, द्, प्, य् and ब् between vowels are generally omitted कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लोपः । (प्रा. प्र., 2-2) See मुकुलः > मङ्गलो, नगरं > णजरं etc.<sup>1</sup> Though this rule is stated in regard to all Prakrits, it is observed specially in Māhārāshṭrī. Hence, the large scale elision of single consonants between vowels has become a special characteristic of Māhārāshṭrī. In Śaurasenī *t* becomes *d*, and *th* becomes *dh*. *Garuḍa* is changed to *Garuḍa* in Māhārāshṭrī, while it remains unchanged in Śaurasenī. In Māgadhī *s* becomes *ś* and *r* becomes *l* in all words. In other Prakrits the change of *ś* to *s* is not optional. There are also some other peculiarities of these Prakrits, but we need not go into those details here.

The question now arises, whether in view of the rules specified above, the language of the present inscriptions can be called Māhārāshṭrī ; for they do not show the large scale elision of single consonants between vowels, which is the main characteristic of Māhārāshṭrī. See the following forms—*agapogalasa* (32-1); *amachasa* (13-1); *Ujeniya* (40-4); *khatiya* (18-5); *nikāyasa* (12-2) etc.

Some scholars say that the language of these inscriptions is not Māhārāshṭrī. Māhārāshṭrī Prakrit was originally not current in the country now known as Mahārāshṭra. Turner says that the original home of Māhārāshṭrī in the time of Aśoka lay much further in the north than what

<sup>1</sup> Some examples of this rule occur in some records included in the present collection. See e. g. नामनिकायाः > नामनिकाय > नायनिकाय (Inscr. No. 5). In the last example there is *yariṣṭi*, which is also noticed in the following form—रायामचस (सं. राजामात्यस्य) (10-2).

we now call Mahārāshṭra. As the ancestors of the Gujarāṭi-speaking people began to throng in that country, the Māhārāshṭri-speaking people were pushed southward. According to Turner, Mahārāshṭra from which the dialect derived its name must be understood in its derivative sense of 'a large country'. It signified the large territory north of the Vindhya.<sup>1</sup>

In the old Buddhist work *Mahāvamsa* Mahārāshṭra is, however, used in the sense now current. In the reign of Aśoka, Mogaliputta Tissa sent Mahādharmaśhita for preaching Buddhism in Mahārāshṭra. It is generally believed that the first use of that territorial term occurs in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II, dated A. D. 634, but we showed more than two decades ago that the name is noticed also in a record at Eraṇ commemorating the death of Nāga soldiers in a battle fought there.<sup>2</sup> The memorial pillar was set up there by Satyanāga who is described as Māhārāshṭraka 'a resident of Mahārāshṭra.' This record is not dated, but on the evidence of another epigraph found at Kānākhedā near Sāñchi, it can be referred to the second century A. D.<sup>3</sup> So the territorial name Mahārāshṭra is at least as old as the second century A. D.

In literature the territorial name Mahārāshṭra occurs in the *Kāvyaḍarśa* of Daṇḍin (sixth century A. D.). It is besides noteworthy that it is with reference to the Māhārāshṭri Prakrit.

महाराष्ट्राश्रयां भाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः ।  
सागरः सूक्तिरल्लानां सेतुबन्धादि यन्मयम् ॥

(The language current in Mahārāshṭra is regarded as Prakrit *par excellence*. In it works like the

<sup>1</sup> *IRAS*, 1921, p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> *CII*, IV, p. 610.

<sup>3</sup> See Śridharavarman's stone inscription, *CII*, IV, pp. 13 ff. We previously referred the date of the record to the Ābhīra era, but have since changed our view. The date of it seems to be of the Śaka era and corresponds to A. D. 180-81. Śridharavarman was evidently a Kshatrapa of the Kushāṇas like Chushṭāga, Nahapāna and Rupiama.

*Setubandha*<sup>1</sup> and others, which are a veritable ocean of good sayings, have been written.)

This *Setubandha* is a work of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II. It is written in the Māhārāshṭrī Prakrit as stated by Daṇḍin. Another work *Lilāvai* was also written in the same Prakrit. It was the spoken language of Māhārāshṭra (*Marahatt̥ha-desī-bhāsā*) as expressly stated therein.<sup>2</sup> Hāla's *Saptaśatī* is also written in the same Prakrit; for it shows the large-scale elision of single consonants between vowels.<sup>3</sup> Its author Hāla flourished six generations before Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (second century A. D.). So the language of the inscriptions of that king and his successors is undoubtedly Māhārāshṭrī.

The question now arises, 'How is it then that the elision of intervocalic consonants is not noticed in the epigraphs of that king and his successors? This question is not difficult to answer. This language noticed in the inscriptions was the spoken dialect of those days, while that in the aforementioned works is the literary Prakrit. Some inscriptions in the present collection are royal orders. They have been incised as they were issued. See e. g., the order issued in the name of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his Queen-mother (Inscription No. 13). As shown above, Inscription No. 43 (lines 2-5) gives the very words of Ṛishabhadatta. The actual spoken dialects were more conservative than the literary dialects of the time. The duplication of consonants and their elision did not generally occur in the spoken dialect of that age. So they are not noticed in the contemporary epigraphs. Later, consonants were assimilated in the spoken dialects. So they are shown in the contemporary inscriptions like the Bāsim plates of Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti II. In literature, however, duplication and elision of consonants were shown from early times. Hence they are noticed in the *Gāthā-saptaśatī*.

<sup>1</sup> In this work the *intervocalic* *t* has been changed to *d* as in Sauraseni. In that age too the rule was not followed strictly. See *Setubandha* tr. by Handiqui, *Introd.*, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> *Lilāvai* (ed. by A. N. Upadhye), *gāthā* 1330.

<sup>3</sup> See the *gāthās* from it cited in the Chapter on Literature.

Usually, the grammar of any language is written after some literary works are composed in it. So Vararuchi's *Prākṛita-prakāśa* must have been written some centuries after *Sattasai* and other works of the Sātavāhana age. Hence that Prakrit grammar takes note of the peculiarities of the dialects used in them.

The Māhārāshṭrī Prakrit grew in importance when Hāla, Pālitta, Nandiṣiddha and other poets of the Sātavāhana age wrote their works in it. Hence the rule was made that it should be exclusively used in Kāvya.<sup>1</sup> It came to be regarded as Prakrit *par excellence* as stated by Daṇḍin, and it being the principal Prakrit, grammarians composed their rules principally with reference to the forms current therein, those in other Prakrits being treated as exceptions. Hence, Vararuchi has adopted this method in his *Prākṛita-prakāśa*. Turner's view that Māhārāshṭrī was first current north of the Vindhyas and was later introduced in the Deccan when the people of Kāthiāwāḍ and Gujarāt pushed the inhabitants of Central India southward is lacking in the necessary proof.

### (B) Glossary of Prakrit Words in the Inscriptions

In this Glossary, the first number following a Prakrit word denotes the number of the inscription and the second that of the line in which it occurs. Its Sanskrit equivalent is given in brackets.

अ	अश्वयं (अश्वयम्) १८८.
अश्वयनिवि (अश्वयनीविः) ३८१.	अगपोमलस (अरन्यपुद्गलस्य) ३२१.
अश्वयनिवि (अश्वयनीविः) १९२ ;	अगाधेययंत्रो (अन्याधेययज्ञः) ३७.
२७-१०.	अगियतणकस (अगियतणकस्य) १०२.
अश्वयनिविहेतु (अश्वयनीविहेतोः)	
१९३.	

<sup>1</sup> See— शौरसेनी प्रयोक्तव्या तादृशीनां च योषिताम् ।

आत्मानेव तु माथामु माहाराष्ट्री प्रयोजयेत् ॥

साहित्यदर्पण, ६-१५९.

अ—contd.

अंगियकुलवधनस (अंगियकुल-  
वधनस्य) ३२.  
अंगिरसतिरतो (अंगिरसातिरात्रः)  
३१५-३१६.  
अचरियस (आचार्यस्य) ३७२.  
अचितं (अचिन्त्यम्) १८८.  
अजकालकिय (अजकालकीयम्)  
१३२.  
अजुन—(अर्जुन—) १८८.  
अंत्रातिया (आज्ञप्त्या) ४३३.  
अठ (अष्ट) ३८४.  
अठभायापदेन (अष्टभार्याप्रदेन)  
३९३.  
अणता (आज्ञप्ता) १९४.  
अणदपुतस (आनन्दपुत्रस्य) २७३-४.  
अणदेन (आनन्देन) २७५.  
अतुयामो (अप्तोर्यामः) ३१४.  
अतेवासिनिण (अन्तेवासिनीनाम्)  
१५२.  
अतेवासिनिहि (अन्तेवासिनीभिः)  
१५५.  
अतो (अस्मात्) ३८३.  
अघिठानस (अघिष्ठानस्य) १८७.  
अघियापिता (अघिष्ठापिता) ५०७.  
अनारभनीयो (अन्वारम्भणीयः)  
३११.  
अनुगामिहि (अनुगामी) ४०४.  
अनुप—(अनूप—) १८२.  
अनुवासं (अनुवर्षम्) ३९३.  
अनो (अन्यः) २८४.  
अनोमस (अनवमृश्यः) ११४;  
१३५; १९४.  
अपडिदातवा (अप्रतिदातव्याः)  
३८३.

अपयवसितसमाने (अपर्यवसितसमा-  
मानम्) २६३.  
अपयाता (अपयाताः) ४३४.  
अपरकखडिये (अपरकखडिचाम्)  
११२.  
अपरदक्षिणपसे (अपरदक्षिणपाश्वे)  
१८११.  
अपरंत—(अपरान्त—) १८२.  
अपरेणुस (अपरेणोः) २७४.  
अपालस (?) (अप्रावेश्यः) १९४.  
अपावेस (अप्रावेश्यः) १३५.  
अप्रतिहयचकस (अप्रतिहृतचकस्य)  
३१.  
अबरीस—(अम्बरीष—) १८८.  
अबुलामायवचवस (अबुलामायवास्त-  
व्यस्य) २०२.  
अभटप्पवेसं (अभटप्रवेश्यम्) ३५२.  
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सेउंलानं (शैवलानाम्) २८.२०.  
सेटगिरि— (श्वेतगिरि—) १८.३.  
सेतफरणपुत्तस्य (सेतफरणपुत्रस्य)  
२०.२.  
सेनाये (सेनायाः) ११.१.  
सेलवडकीहि (शिलावर्धकिभिः)  
२८.२१.  
सेवकामो (सेवाकामः) १८.११.  
सो (सः) १३.४.  
सोवसकस (सोवर्षकस्य) २०.२.  
सोळकस (षोडशकम्) २७.१३.  
सोळसगामदेन (षोडशग्रामदेन)  
३९.२-३.  
स्त्रावित (श्रावितम्) ३८.४.  
स्वामिवणण (स्वामिवर्णनम्) १९.४.  
स्वामिसकसेनस (स्वामिशकसेनस्य)  
३०.१ ; ३१.१-२.

ह

हकूसिरि (श्रीहकुः) ८.१.  
हठि (हस्ती) ३.११.  
हठे (हस्ते) २७.११.  
हथगतो (हस्तगतः) १९.४.  
हथी (हस्ती) ३.७.  
हथे (हस्तेन) ४३.४.  
हरफरणस (हरफरणस्य) २०.२.  
हितमुधस्थतये (हितमुखस्थितये)  
२०.४.  
हारितीपुतस (हारितीपुत्रस्य) ३७.१.  
हारितीपुत्ताय (हारितीपुत्राय)  
३५.३.

ह—*contd.*

हारितीपुत्रो (हारितीपुत्रः) ३५.१.

हितसुघस्थतये (हितसुखस्थित्यै)

२०.३.

हितसुघथ (हितसुखार्थम्) २७.९.

हिमवत- (हिमवत्-) १८.१.

हेमत- (हेमन्त-) २३.२.

हेमताण (हेमन्तस्य) २६.१; १५.१.

हेमतान (हेमन्तस्य) २०.१;

३७.१.

हेमंताणं (हेमन्तस्य) १४.२.

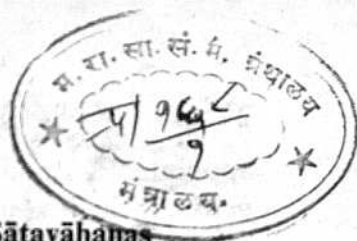
हेमंतानं (हेमन्तस्य) २९.३.

PART II  
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS  
AND  
THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS



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## Section I—Inscriptions of the Sātavāhans

No. 1

### Nāsik Cave Inscription of Kṛishṇa

This inscription is incised on the upper sill of the right window in Cave No. XIX at Nāsik. It was first noticed by Edward West and Arthur West, who published an eye-copy of it in 1865. It was next discussed by R. G. Bhandarkar, and was later edited with a plate and a translation by Bühler in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, p. 98 and Plate LI. It was included by Bhagvanlal Indraji in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI, pp. 502 ff. and was finally edited by Senart in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 93 and Plate VI.<sup>1</sup> It is edited here from the same plate.

This is the oldest Sātavāhana inscription so far discovered. Its characters are of the Brāhmī alphabet. The letters are well cut, and except for a slit in the first letter of both its lines, the whole record is well preserved. Its language is Prakrit.

The object of the inscription is to record that the cave (No. XIX) was excavated by *Mahāmātra Samaṇa* of Nāsika during the reign of King Kṛishṇa of the Sātavāhana family (*Sādavāhana-kule*). This is the earliest mention of the Sātavāhana family. The description of Kṛishṇa as belonging to the Sātavāhana family shows that he was separated from Sātavāhana, the progenitor of the family, by one or two generations at least. Otherwise, if he had been a son of Sātavāhana, the wording here would have been *Sādavāhana-pute*. There has been much discussion about the *Mahāmātra* who got the cave excavated. If *Samaṇa* (Sanskrit, *śramaṇa*, a Buddhist monk) is taken as denoting the religious rank of the *Mahāmātra*, we shall have to suppose that the Sātavāhana king had

<sup>1</sup> *Liders' List*, No. 1144.

appointed a Buddhist monk to the high office of a *Mahāmātra*. In favour of this interpretation Senart says, "*Samaṇena* ought really to be read as *samaṇānariṇ*, and the functionary meant—conformably to the precedent of Aśoka, of which Bhagvanlal reminds us in connection with this very text—was entrusted with the inspection of the monks in the Nāsik district." He, however, admits that his interpretation is hypothetical.

The reading *samaṇena* is, however, quite clear. So *Samaṇa* seems to be the proper name of the *Mahāmātra* on the analogy of *Tāpasa* which occurs in another Nāsik inscription. In Prakrit inscriptions we notice that an adjective or a word in apposition is often placed after the word it refers to. *Mahāmāteṇa* is in apposition to *samaṇena*, and denotes the rank of the functionary named *Samaṇa*. In ancient times also people were eager to record their names in connection with the gifts they had made or the works they had constructed. *Samaṇa*, who is described here as a *Mahāmātra* of King Kṛishṇa, must have, likewise, desired to record his name in the present inscription after the cave was completely excavated.

There is only one place-name, *viz.*, *Nāsika*, mentioned here. The place has retained its ancient name to this day. In the Sātavāhana age also it was famous as a holy place, but it was not then the chief town of its territorial division. Govardhana, which lies about seven miles from it, held that position as is clear from other inscriptions of the period.

Line	Text
1	सादवाहनकुले कन्हे राजिनि नासिककेन
2	समणेन महामातेण लेण कारित <sup>1</sup> [ 1* ]

#### Translation

While Kṛishṇa of the Sātavāhana family is (ruling as) King, this cave has been caused to be made by the *Mahāmātra* *Samaṇa*.

<sup>1</sup> This word is followed by a *svastika* and a taurine symbol.

## Sāñchī Inscription of Sātakarṇi I

This inscription is incised on the top architrave of the South Gate facing the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī in Madhya Pradesh. Its reading was first published by Cunningham in his *Bhilsā Topes* (p. 264) in 1854. Its contents were thereafter discussed by Bhagvanlal, Maisey, Bühler and Rapson.<sup>1</sup> Marshall and Foucher have given its reading and translation in their *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. I, part ii (p. 34), discussed its date on pp. 273 ff., and published its facsimile in Vol. III, part ii. It is edited here from the same plate.

The present record is engraved in three lines and is in a good state of preservation. Its characters are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and its language Prakrit. The object of it is to record that the architrave is the gift of Vāsishṭhīputra Ānanda, the foreman (*āveśānin*<sup>2</sup>) of the king, the illustrious Sātakarṇi.

Scholars have expressed different opinions about the identification of King Sātakarṇi whose foreman Vāsishṭhīputra Ānanda donated the architrave. Bühler was of the opinion that the characters of the present inscription resembled those of the Nāṇeghāt inscription of Nāganikā, and identified the king Sātakarṇi mentioned in it with the homonymous son of Simuka.<sup>3</sup> He placed him in 150 B.C. Jayaswal and Rakhaldas Banerji agreed with him.<sup>4</sup> But Ramaprasad Chanda identified him with Sātakarṇi II on palaeographic grounds. He referred him to the period 75-20 B. C.<sup>5</sup> Marshall and Foucher have supported the same view. Rapson also has expressed the same opinion.<sup>6</sup> He suggested that the engraver committed a mistake in incising this record. "As *Vāsishṭhīputra* is so commonly found as a metonymic of the Sātakarṇis," says he, "it

<sup>1</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 346.

<sup>2</sup> Hemachandra's *Abhidhānamuchintāmaṇi* explains *āveśānin* as *śilpīśālā*.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, VI, p. 83; *Indian Palaeography* (Eng. Tr.), p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, XX, p. 74.

<sup>5</sup> *Mem. ASI*, I, pp. 7 and 10 ff.; *IHQ*, 1929, pp. 600 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *BMC* (*Andhra* etc.), *Introd.*, p. xlvii.

would seem not improbable that the order of the first two lines has been confused in the process of copying, and that they should read—*Rāño Vāsishṭhiputasa siri-Sātakaṇisa* etc." This view, however, is absolutely baseless. Metonymics like *Vāsishṭhiputra* were commonly used not only in the case of royal personages but also in that of commoners.<sup>1</sup> Besides, if this record is taken to be of the time of *Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi*, it will have to be assigned to the second century A. D. as he will have to be identified with the homonymous son-in-law of *Rudradāman I.*<sup>2</sup> No other *Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi* of that age is known to history. None, however, places the present record in such a late age.

As *Bühler* has shown, the characters of the present record resemble those of the *Nāṅghāt* inscription of *Queen Nāganikā*. The *Purāṇas* have assigned a period of only ten years to the reign of *Sātakarṇi I.*<sup>3</sup> This is hard to believe ; for he performed two *Aśvamedhas*, one *Rājasūya* and ten to fifteen other Vedic sacrifices. He must, therefore, have reigned for a fairly long period. It was probably he who carried his arms to Central India and held it for some time. His successors do not seem to have been so powerful. So the present record must be referred to his reign. Though he himself was a staunch follower of the Vedic religion, his foreman was a Buddhist. He got the architrave carved where he has left the present inscription recording his gift.

Line	Text
1	राजो सिरिसातकणिस
2	आवेसनिस वासिष्ठिपुत्रस
3	आनंदस दानं [ 1* ]

#### Translation

This is a gift of *Ānanda*, son of *Vāsishṭhi*, who is a foreman of the king, the illustrious *Sātakarṇi*.

<sup>1</sup> See *Kosikiputasa Mitadevata*, No. 17, line 2.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 25, line 1.

<sup>3</sup> *DKA*, p. 39.

## Nāṇeghāt Cave Inscription of Nāganikā

This inscription is incised on the left and right side walls of a large cave in Nāṇeghāt, about 56 miles north of Poonā. It was first brought to notice by Sykes, who published an eye-copy of a small portion of it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IV (1837), pp. 288 ff.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter, Prinsep, Stevenson and Bhagvanlal discussed it. Bühler edited it with facsimile plates in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. V, pp. 60 ff. Later, Bühler, Franke and Rapson discussed its contents. Recently Parameshvarilal Gupta<sup>2</sup> and we<sup>3</sup> also have discussed it.

Bühler says, "The Nāṇeghāt inscriptions, which belong to the oldest historical documents of Western India, are in some respects more interesting and important than all the other cave inscriptions taken together." He says further, "Owing to the mutilation of Nos. I and II, the enquiry into the bearing of the Nāṇeghāt inscriptions on the early history of the Dekhan presents very considerable difficulties, and its results must always remain open to adverse criticism in a higher degree even than those deduced from other documents of the same class, because more conjectures and speculative combinations are necessarily required in order to acquire them." The truth of Bühler's remarks will be clear from the discussion in the sequel.

**Characters**—The present inscription is incised in old Brāhmī characters. About them Bühler says, "According to the epigraphical evidence, these documents may be placed a little but not much later than Aśoka's and Daśaratha's edicts. But what, in my opinion, most clearly proves that they belong to one of the first Andhras is that their graphic peculiarities fully agree with those of the Nāsik inscription of Kanha's or Kṛishṇa's reign. In the

<sup>1</sup> Lüders' *List*, No. 1112.

<sup>2</sup> *Studies in Epigraphy*, II, pp. 91 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* III, pp. 86 ff.

latter we have the same forms of *da*, *ka*, *ja*, *ra*, *la*, *va* and *ha*, the same absence of the thickening or serifs at the top of the vertical strokes, and the same vascillation as to the forms of *ta* and *ma*. The complete identity of the characters strongly corroborates my view that the Sātakarṇi whose wife caused the Nāṇeghāṭ inscriptions to be incised is the Sātakarṇi whom the Purāṇas call the son of Kṛishṇa and the third Andhra King.<sup>1</sup> ”

**Language**—The language of the present inscription is Prakrit. Bühler has drawn attention to the following peculiarities : “ It is necessary to alter *bhāriyā* in line 4 which stands in the nominative case to *bhāriyāya*, the instrumental, and *Vedisiri-mātu*, a genitive, to *Vedisiri-mātuya*, the instrumental. ”

Like several other inscriptions of the age, the present one also must have commenced with *Sidham* ‘ Success ! ’, but the word is now lost. It is followed by obeisance to Dharma, Indra, Saṅkarshaṇa (Balarāma), the Moon and the Sun, the four guardians of the quarters, *viz.*, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vāsava (Indra), and, finally, Kumāra-vara (the foremost among the *kumāras*) (*viz.*, Kārttikeya). Bühler thought that the ruling prince Vēdi-siri was addressed with *namo* ‘ adoration to ’ or ‘ praise to ’, and treated with the same reverence as the gods invoked in the beginning of the *maṅgalācharaṇa*. He further observed in connection with the queen who caused the present inscription to be incised, “ In the enumeration of the queen’s virtues (line 5), it is asserted that she “ lived (*even*) in her home like an ascetic (*gaha-tāpasā*) ”, and “ remained chaste (*charita-bramhachariyā*) ”. Such behaviour befits a widow only, not a wife whose husband is living . . . Hence it seems that the two epithets *gaha-tāpasā* and *charita-bramhachariyā* clearly indicate that the king was dead. If that was the case, the conclusion that the widowed queen ruled during the minority of the son, and that the son was Vēdi-śrī, follows from the *namaskāra* addressed to him. ” Rapson did not accept Bühler’s view that the inscription

<sup>1</sup> *ASWI*, V, p. 67.

mentions an obeisance to the minor prince Vedi-śrī. So he suggested that the word *namo* should be construed not with the word which follows but with that which precedes it (e. g. with Yama-Varuna-Kubera-Vāsavānam).<sup>1</sup> But, like Bühler, he too believed that the queen was then acting as regent for her minor son Vedi-śrī.

We showed for the first time that this interpretation of the record was far from correct.<sup>2</sup> In ancient records *namo* is invariably connected with the word that follows.<sup>3</sup> So *namo* in the present record has to be construed with *Kumāravarasa*, but the expression means 'Obeisance to Kārttikeya, the best of the *kumāras*'. The words *Vedi-sirisa raño* which follow are evidently to be construed with those now lost in the beginning of the next line which must have stated the regnal year of the king, the season, fortnight and day when the record was engraved.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, all these details of the date are now lost. Besides, the queen, as shown below, was then very old. She was living a life of great restraint, observing fasts and vows. She had lost all interest in worldly affairs. She could not have been administering as Regent a large kingdom like that of the Sātavāhanas on behalf of her minor son.

The present record is very much mutilated. Hence it has to be interpreted with 'conjectures and speculative combinations' as observed by Bühler and so it has given rise to different views. It must have mentioned in the beginning the regnal year of King Vedi-śrī, as also the season, fortnight and day according to the prevailing custom in the South, but all this portion is now completely lost. Only the name of the ruling king is still legible. Then commences the description of the queen, the central figure in the present record. She is described first as the

<sup>1</sup> *BMC (Andhras)*, p. xlv.

<sup>2</sup> *SI.*, I (second ed.), pp. 135 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See (1) नमो अरुहंतान्। (Hāthigumphā inscription), *EI*, xx, p. 79.

(2) नमो भगवतो देवराजसकुलस (Nāgārjunakoṣṭha inscription of Virapurushadatta). *Ibid.*, xx, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> The name of the ruling king and the date are usually mentioned in the beginning of an inscription. See the Tummalguḍem plates of Viṣṭukunḍin Govindavarman II, line 13. *Ep. Andhra.*, II, p. 10.



daughter-in-law (*vadhū*)<sup>1</sup> of a lord of **Dakṣiṇāpatha** (Deccan) who was 'a brave and invincible warrior', then as the daughter of one born in the *Anḡiya* family who was the foremost warrior on the whole earth surrounded by mountains and oceans, next as the consort of one whose name ended in *śrī* and who was the greatest among the great and, finally, as the mother of King **Vedi-śrī** who performed charitable works (*pūrtas*),<sup>2</sup> who bestowed wealth (on supplicants), who conferred boons on them and fulfilled their desires, and who was also the mother of the illustrious prince (*Kumāra*) **Śakti**. She is next described as follows :— She was the foremost lady of the *Nāga* race ; she used to fast for a month (at a stretch) ; she lived like a hermit in her own home ; she led a (*very*) restrained life and was adept in the performance of initiatory ceremonies, vows and sacrifices. This is followed by the mention of the following sacrifices performed by her, together with the numbers of the cows, horses, elephants, chariots, garments and *kārshāpaṇa* coins donated on the occasions :—*Agnyādheya*, *Anvār-ambhaṇīya*, [*Anḡā*]rika, *Rājasūya*, two *Aśvamedhas*, *Bhagaladaśarātra*, *Gargatrirātra*, *Gavāmayana*, *Aptoryāma*, *Anḡirasāmayana*, *Śatātīrātra*, *Anḡirasatriātra*, and *Chhandomapavamānatriātra*. These sacrifices were performed by her as the consort of her husband. Besides these, she performed the following herself<sup>3</sup> (*svayam*), evidently

<sup>1</sup> The *akshara ya* in line 3 is a remnant of the word *vadhūya* (by the daughter-in-law). So the preceding lines 2 and 3 must have contained the description of her father-in-law *Simuka Sātavāhana*. Bühler read *liya* and took it as the remnant of *dāliya*. He connected it with the following word *Mahārūḥiṇo* ; but such a construction is unlikely as shown by —*śrīva dhāriyā* in line 4. Rapson thought that *liya* was a remnant of *Kaṭaliya*, because some coins of *Sadakaga Kaṭalīya Mahārāṭhi* have been found. Both these emendations are unconvincing.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler took *putadāya* in the sense of *putradāya* and thought that *Vedi-śrī* was described here as 'one who gives sons'. But how can a king or a prince bestow sons ? So *putadāya* must be understood in the sense of *pūrtadāya* (of one who performed charitable works like the digging of wells etc.).

<sup>3</sup> Th. *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* (II, 7. 15-17) says न स्त्री जुहुयात् and denies the right of performing sacrifices to women. *Nāganikā* is, however, described here as proficient in performing initiatory ceremonies and sacrifices. How are these to be reconciled ? Bühler says, "Though in general Brāhmaṇas are forbidden to act as priests for women, that prohibition does not apply to queens who may be conducting government of a State, either independently or for minor sons." *ASWI*, V, p. 67.

through her family priest (*Purohita*), after the death of her husband—Aṅgirsāmayana, Trayodaśātīrātra, and Daśarātra. These are mentioned in the 17th and the following lines. The names of several other sacrifices mentioned in those lines are now illegible.

Most scholars are now agreed that the queen described after the obeisance to gods in the first line of the present record is none other than *Nāganikā* mentioned in a label over a figure in relief on another wall of the Nāneghāṭ Cave. The brave and invincible warrior whose daughter-in-law she was is identical with King Simuka mentioned first in the Purāṇa list of the so-called Andhra (*i. e.* Sāta-vāhana) kings. Her father who is next described as a scion of the Aṅgiya family and as the foremost warrior on the whole earth is the same as the *Mahārāṭhi Tranakayira* named in another label inscription in the same cave. Thereafter, a considerable portion of the present inscription has become illegible. It contained the description of her husband. Only the honorific suffix *-siri* of his name is now legible. He was clearly none other than *Sātakarṇi* mentioned in the Purāṇas. From his description in lines 10-11 we learn that he performed several sacrifices, including one Rājasūya and two Aśvamedhas. The record next mentions her son *Vedi-śrī* who was then reigning and his younger brother *Śakti-śrī*.

As all names of royal personages except those of *Vedi-śrī* and *Śakti-śrī* are now lost, Parameshvarilal Gupta has suggested that the queen described in it is not *Nāganikā* but some one else. He thinks that she is described in it as the daughter-in-law of the Aṅgiya family, the queen of a *Mahārāṭhi* and the daughter of a powerful king who was the lord of the Dakṣiṇāpatha. As Gautamīputra *Sātakarṇi*, the twenty-third king mentioned in the Purāṇic list, is known from inscriptions as the first king who assumed the title of *Dakṣiṇāpathapati*, the queen described in the present record must be referred to a date later than his, *i. e.* later than the second century A. D.

This is clearly an erroneous view. There is absolutely no reason to suppose that the present inscription and

those on the figures in relief in the same cave belong to different times. Paleographic evidence shows that they all belong to the same age. That no Sātavāhana king assumed the title of *Dakṣiṇāpathapati* before the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi because it is not seen in any previous record is an *argumentum ex silentio*.<sup>1</sup> It is not reliable ; for we have not got all records of his predecessors. Besides, if Vedi-śrī had been a son of a *Mahārāṭhi*, he would not have been called *Deva* and *Rājan* in the present inscription ; for Mahārāṭhis were feudatories, not independent rulers. So the queen described in the present inscription was undoubtedly identical with the queen of Sātakarṇi, the third king mentioned in the Puraṇic list of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) kings, known also from a label over a figure in relief in the Nāṇeghāṭ Cave.

Bühler's view based on palaeographic evidence that the present inscription must have been incised soon after the age of Aśoka and Daśaratha is confirmed by its contents. It mentions no less than eighteen sacrifices performed by Sātakarṇi and Nāganikā. They include two Aśvamedhas and one Rājasūya. This points to the age after the death of Aśoka. In North India Pushyamitra Śuṅga, who rose to power by overthrowing the last Maurya king Bṛihadratha, removed all restrictions on the performance of Vedic sacrifices, and himself celebrated two Aśvamedhas<sup>2</sup> as recorded in an inscription at Ayodhyā. The Sātavāhanas did the same in South India. They rejuvenated the Vedic religion by performing themselves a number of Vedic sacrifices at which they made munificent gifts of hundreds of cows, horses, elephants, chariots and *kārshāpaṇas*. This points to an age soon after the death of Aśoka. We have no evidence suggesting that a similar situation prevailed in a later age. So the queen described in the present inscription can be none else than Nāganikā, the consort of the early Sātavāhana king Sātakarṇi I.

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, Gautamīputra was not *Dakṣiṇāpathapati* or *Dakṣiṇāpathesvara* as he had not conquered Kuntala. The *title* *Dakṣiṇāpathesvara* is applied in No. 18 not to Gautamīputra but to his son Puṣyamāvi.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, XX, pp. 67 ff.

This view has recently been unexpectedly corroborated by the find of a joint silver coin of Sātakarṇi and Nāganikā discovered at Junnar near Nāṅeghāṭ and published by P. J. Chinmulgund.<sup>1</sup> It has on the obverse the legend *Raño siri-Sāta* [ka] together with that of *Nāganikāya* in a rectangle below, and a figure on the left which Chinmulgund takes to be that of a horse. He thinks that this coin seems to have been issued on the occasion of an Aśvamedha sacrifice. The reverse of the coin has the well-known Ujjain symbol. This coin has provided undisputable proof of the mutual relation of Sātakarṇi and Nāganikā, and of an Aśvamedha sacrifice performed by them. This is one of the earliest silver coins bearing a royal name discovered in South India.

Line

Text<sup>2</sup>

[Left Wall]

- 1 [सिधं नमो पञ्जापति\*]नो धंस नमो ईदस नमो संकंसनवासुदेवानं  
 चंवसू[या]नं<sup>3</sup> म [हि]मा[ब]तानं चतुनं चं(च) लोकपालानं  
 यमवरुनकुबेरवासवानं नमो कुमारवरस [।\*] वेदिसिरिस रजो<sup>4</sup>  
 2 . . . . . [वी]रस सूरस अप्रति-  
 हतचकस दधिना[पठ]प[तिनो\*]<sup>5</sup> . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> See the figure of this coin in Plate XX.

<sup>2</sup> From Plate LI in *ASWI*, V. The *aksharas* lost in the original are shown by dots approximately. They will give the reader a rough idea of their number.

<sup>3</sup> Bühler read *chanda-sātāman*, but this reading is evidently incorrect.

<sup>4</sup> Hereafter, the regnal date of the king, the season, fortnight and day must have been mentioned, but they are all lost. For this custom of stating the date in the beginning of a record, see the Tummalguḍem plates, *Ep. Andhra*, II, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> This appears to be the description of Simuka. These adjectives qualifying *Simukana* (now lost) are connected with [*vadhā\**]ya in line 3. See a similar description of Gautami Bala śri in No. 18. Here only one *akshara ya* is left over. Bühler and Rapson, however, read —*liya*. The former takes it to be the remnant of *bāliya*, which he connects with *mahārāṣṭro* in line 3, But such construction is not likely. See the wordings in *-sīra bhāriyā* in line 4. Rapson takes them to be the remnant of *Kaḥliya*, but that name is not likely to have occurred here.

- 3 . . . . . य महारठिनो अंगियकुलवधनस  
सगरगिरिवलयाय पचविय पचमबीरस<sup>1</sup> वस . . . . .  
. . . . . य महतो मह<sup>2</sup> . . . . .
- 4 . . . . . सिरिस भारिया  
देवस पुतदस<sup>3</sup> वरदस कामदस धनदस वेदिसिरिमातु<sup>4</sup> सतिनो  
सि[रिमत्]स च मानुय [सो]म . . . . .  
. . . . . पचमय . . . . .
- 5 वरिय . . . . . [ना]गवरद-  
यिनिय मासोपवासिनिय गहतापसाय चरितब्रम्हचरियाय दिख्वत्तयंज-  
सुं[डा]य यजा हुता धूपनसुगंधा य निय[मेन\*] . . . . .
- 6 रायस<sup>5</sup> . . . . . [य]जेहि यिठं  
वनो। अगाधेयंजो इ[खि]ना दिना गावो बारस १०[+\*]२  
असो च १ अनारभनियो यंजो इखिना धे[नु] . . . . .
- 7 . . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . . इखिनायो दिना गावो १०००[+\*]७०० ह्यो १० . . . . .
- 8 . . . . .  
. . . . . स सतरय(स) बासलठि २००[+\*]८०[+\*]९<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These appear to be the adjectives of Nāganikā's father. A word like *bālāya* is lost here. Her father named here must have been *Mahārūṣhī* Tranakayira. See No. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Here commences the description of Śātakarṣi, the husband of Nāganikā. See *sirisa bhariyā* in line 4.

<sup>3</sup> Bühler, who read *putradāsa*, took it to be the Prakrit form of *putradāsa*; but this is unlikely. How can a king bestow sons? *Pūradāsa* is evidently intended here. *Pūra* means a charitable work like the digging of a tank or a well.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Vedisirisa mātura*. The compound used here is according to the dictum *sūpekshatve-pi gamakatvāt samāsah*.

<sup>5</sup> This word cannot be construed properly as the *akṣaras* preceding and succeeding it are lost. The words *yañehi yīṭham* indicate that the construction here is impersonal. Note the word *sayam* (*svayam*) in line 17. The sacrifices named thereafter were performed by Nāganikā herself through her *Paruṣhita* after her husband's death.

<sup>6</sup> The symbol for 9 is not certain. Bühler was inclined to read it as *da*. *Dakubhiyo* (*udakubhiyo*) means 'water-pots'. Bühler has suggested the reading *rupimayyo* for *rupāmāyyo*.

- कुम्भियो रुपामयियो १०[+\*]७ नि . . . . .
- 9 . . . . . रि को यंजो दखिनायो  
दिना गावो १००००[+\*]१००० असा १००० पस [पको\*] . . . . .
- 10 . . . . . १०[+\*]२ गमवरो<sup>१</sup> १ दखिना काहापना २००००  
[+\*]४०००[+\*]४०० पसपको काहापना ६०००[+\*]१  
राज[सूययंजो] . . . . . सकटं

(Right Walk)

- 11 धंजगिरितंसपयुतं<sup>२</sup> सपटो १ असो १ असरथो १ गावीनं १००  
[+\*][१\*] असमेघो वितियो [यिठो] दखिनायो  
[दि]ना असो रुपालं[का]रो १ सुवंन . . . नि १०  
[+\*]२ दखिना दिना काहापना १००००[+\*]४०००  
गामो १ ह]ठि] . . . . . [दखि]ना दिना
- 12 गावो<sup>३</sup> . . . सकटं धंजगिरितंसपयुतं . . . . . १०[+\*]  
वायो यंजो . . . . .  
७ धेनु . . वाय सतरस-
- 13 . . . . . १०[+\*]७ अच . . . . . पसपको  
दिनो . . . . . १०[+\*]२ [अ]सो रुपा[लंका]रो १  
दखिना काहाप[ना] १०००० . . . . . २<sup>४</sup>

<sup>१</sup> Read गामवरो.

<sup>२</sup> This is not the name (Dhānyakaṭa) of the supposed capital of the Śātavāhanas. It means 'mountain-like heaps of grains.'

<sup>३</sup> The numerical symbol here is indistinct. Bhagvanlal took it as signifying 60,000.

<sup>४</sup> Some numerical symbols after that denoting 10,000 have become indistinct.

- 14 . . . . . [गा\*][बो]  
 २०००० भगलदसरतो यंजो यि[ठो] दखिना दिना गाबो १००००  
 [+\*]१ गर्गतिरतो यंजो यिठो [दखिना] . . . . .  
 पसपको पटा ३००[+\*]१ ग[वा]मयनं यंजो यिठो . . . . .  
 गाबो १०००[+\*]१०० [+\*]१ . . . . . गाबो  
 १००० [+\*]१०० पसपको काहापना १००[+\*]१ पटा १००  
 अनुयामो यंजो . . . . .
- 15 . . . . . गवामयनं यंजो दखिना दिना गाबो  
 १०००[+\*]१००[+\*]१ अंगिरस[सा]मयनं यंजो यिठो [दखिना]  
 गाबो १०००[+\*]१००[+\*]१ त . . . . . [दखि]ना  
 दिना गाबो १०००[+\*]१००[+\*]१ सतातिरतो यंजो . . . . .  
 . . . . . दखिना  
 गाबो १०००[+\*]१०० आंगिरस[ति]रतो यंजो यिठो [दखि]ना  
 [गाबो]
- 16 . . . . . गाबो १०००[+\*]२ छंदोमपवमा-  
 [नतिरतो\*]दखिना गाबो १०००[+\*]१ आं[गि]रस[तिरतो\*]यंजो  
 [यि\*]ठो दखिना दिना . . . . . यंजो  
 यिठो दखिना दिना गाबो १०००[+\*]१ . . . . .
- 17 . . . . . न . सयं . . . . .  
 दखिना दिना गाबो . . . . .  
 . . . . . [अं]गि[रसा]मयनं छवस  
 . . . . . [दखि]ना दिना गाबो १००० . . . . .  
 . . . . . दिना गाबो १०००  
 [+\*]१ तेरस . . . . .
- 18 . . . . . तेरसरतो स . . . . .  
 ग दखिना दिना गाबो . . . . .  
 . . . . . दसरतो म . . . . . दिना  
 गाबो १०००[+\*]१ उ . . . . . दिना  
 गाबो १०००[+\*]१ उ . . . . .
- 19 . . . . .  
 . . . . . यंजो  
 दखिना [दिना] . . . . .  
 . . . . .

20 . . . . .  
 . . . . . दखिना  
 दिना . . . . .  
 . . . . . [1\*]<sup>1</sup>

### Translation

Success! Obeisance to Dharma, [the lord of all creatures], Indra, Saṅkarshaṇa (Balarāma), Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa), the Moon, the Sun, the four great guardians of the world, (*viz.*) Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, (*and*) Indra, and also the best of the *kumāras* (Kārttikeya)! . . . . .  
 . . . . .<sup>2</sup> of King **Vedi-śrī** . . . . . of the heroic, brave and invincible Lord of the **Dakṣiṇāpatha**<sup>3</sup>  
 . . . . . who is *Mahārāṭhi*, who was born in the **Aṅgiya** family (*and who is*) the foremost warrior on the earth surrounded by mountains and oceans<sup>4</sup> . . . . .  
 . . . . .—who is the wife of the illustrious . . . . .<sup>5</sup>  
 [and] great (*person*); who is the mother of King **Vedi-śrī** who has performed (*several*) charitable works, who confers the cherished<sup>6</sup> boons (*on supplicants*), fulfils their desires, and makes (*munificent*) gifts of wealth (*to them*); and (*who is also*) the mother of the illustrious **Śakti**; who is an eminent lady of the Nāga race; who observes fasts of a month (at a stretch); who lives in her home like a recluse; who leads a chaste life; who is adept in the performance of vows, initiatory ceremonies and sacrifices—performed sacrifices perfumed with incense regularly . . . . . In the *Agnyādheya* sacrifice was given the sacrificial fee of twelve-12- cows and 1 horse; in the *Anvārambhaṇiya* sacrifice (*was given*) the sacrificial fee of . . . . . 1,700 cows, 10 elephants, . . . . 280 water pots, 17 silver pots . . . . in the *Aṅgārika* sacrifice the sacrificial fee 11,000 cows, 1,000 horses, . . . . to a sacrificial attendant . . . . . 12, . . . . 1

<sup>1</sup> Bühler has remarked, "It seems doubtful if this line was the last."

<sup>2</sup> Here some portion stating the regnal year, season, fortnight and day is lost.

<sup>3</sup> This appears to be the description of Simuka, the father-in-law of Nāganikā.

The word *vadhūya* which denoted the relationship occurred in line 3, but only the last *akṣhara ya* of it is now legible.

<sup>4</sup> This is probably the description of Tranakayira, the father of Nāganikā.

His statue was carved in the Nāneghāṭ Cave. See No. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Here the name of Sātakarṇi, the husband of Nāganikā is lost.



excellent village, 24,400 *kārshāpaṇas*, 6,001 *kārshāpaṇas* to the sacrificial attendant. In the *Rājasūya* sacrifice the sacrificial fee.....a cart, a good garment, to him who was employed in the disposal of mountains of grains, (and also) 1 horse, 1 horse-chariot (and) 101 cows. A second *Aśvamedha* (was performed) in which the sacrificial fee given was 1 horse with silver trappings (and) gold [ornaments] (and) 12 . . . . The sacrificial fee given was 14,000 *karshāpaṇas*, 1 village . . . elephants . . . the sacrificial fee was given . . . cows . . . 1 cart to him who was employed to disposal of heaps of grains . . . sacrifice was performed . . . 17 cows . . . *Saptadaśātirātra* Sacrifice was performed . . . 17 . . . gift was made to the attendant of the sacrifice . . . 12 . . . 1 horse with silver trappings, 10,000 *kārshāpaṇas* . . . 20,000 cows; the *Bhagaladaśarātra* sacrifice was performed (and) the (following sacrificial fee) was given 10,001 *kārshāpaṇas*; the *Gargatirātra* sacrifice was performed; the sacrificial fee was given . . . 301 garments to the attendants of the sacrifice; the *Gavāmayana* sacrifice was performed - 1,101 cows (were given) . . . 101 *kārshāpaṇas* to the attendant of the sacrifice, 100 garments; the *Aptoryāma* sacrifice was performed . . . the *Gavāmayana* sacrifice was performed; the sacrificial fee 1,101 cows was given; the *Āngirasāmayana* sacrifice was performed; the sacrificial fee 1,101 cows [was given]; . . . the sacrificial fee 1,101 cows; the *Śatātirātra* sacrifice . . . the sacrificial fee 1,100 cows; the *Āngirasatriātra* sacrifice [was performed] - the sacrificial fee . . . . 1,002 cows; the *Chhandomavamānatirātra* sacrifice, the sacrificial fee . . . 1,001; the *Āngirasatriātra* sacrifice was performed; the sacrificial fee was given . . . . — *tirātra* sacrifice was performed, the sacrificial fee was given 1,001 cows . . . She herself . . . gave the sacrificial fee of . . . cows. The *Āngirasāmayana* of six years duration was performed . . . the sacrificial fee was given . . . 1,000 cows . . . 1,001 cows . . . *Trayodaśātirātra* . . . the sacrificial fee was given . . . cows . . . The *Daśarātra* [sacrifice was performed] . . . 1,001 cows . . . 1,001 cows . . . the sacrifice . . . . was performed, the sacrificial fee was given . . . .

## Nāṇeghāt Cave Statue Inscriptions

These inscriptions are incised on the top of the statues carved in the back wall of a large cave at Nāṇeghāt. The old edition of the *Poonā District Gazetteer* (1885), p. 221, gives the following description of them : "In the back a niche or recess, about nine inches deep, begins about 1' 8" from the east wall (of the cave) and continues to within 1' 7" of the west wall. In this long recess there are traces of eight figures or statues about life size. Almost nothing is left in the wall to show where the statues stood except the feet, and in several cases the feet are worn to a rounded knob. But near the top of the wall above each, the name of the person represented is carved in large letters. The first figure is of king Sātavāhana,<sup>1</sup> whose feet and the end of a waist cloth falling between the feet, remain about 1' 5" from the east wall. The next figures were a couple of statues of Queen Nāyanikā and King Sātakarṣi. Almost no trace of this couple is left but a slight swelling which was once one or two pairs of feet 1' 6" and 2' 11" from the feet of King Sātavāhana. The fourth figure, whose feet can be dimly traced about 1' 10" from number three was Prince Bhāyala. Two feet one inch to the right are a pair of feet, whose is not known, as the inscription is broken.<sup>2</sup> The sixth, which is 2' 5" from the fifth, was the statue of Vir, the champion and saviour of the Marāṭhās.<sup>3</sup> The seventh, of which the only trace is a rounded knob representing feet about 2' 4" from Vir, was prince Hakuśri. The eighth which is 2' 5" further was prince Sātavāhana. About 18" beyond Sātavāhana, the recess ends."

These inscriptions were first noticed by Sykes in 1837.<sup>4</sup> Thereafter they were discussed by Prinsep, Stevenson,

<sup>1</sup> Really the statue was of King Simuka, Sātavāhana was his family name.

<sup>2</sup> The statue here was evidently of Prince Vēdi-śri, who later succeeded his father Sātakarṣi. He was reigning when the large Nāṇeghāt inscription of Nāyanikā was incised.

<sup>3</sup> The correct name of the statue was *Mahārāṭhī Tranakayiro*.

<sup>4</sup> See Lüders' List, Nos. 1113—1118.

Franke, Bhagvanlal, Bühler and Rapson. Bühler has published their facsimiles.

**Characters and language**—The characters of these inscriptions are of the old Brāhmī alphabet, and their language Prakrit.

There were eight statues in all carved in this niche. They were as follows :—(1) The illustrious king *Simuka Sātavāhana*; (2-3) Queen *Nāyanikā* and King, the illustrious *Sātakarṇi*; (4) *Kumāra Bhāyala*; (5) Name lost; (6) *Mahārāṭhi Tranakayira*; (7) *Kumāra Haku-śrī*; (8) *Kumāra Sātavāhana*. Of these, Simuka is evidently identical with Śīśuka mentioned in the Purāṇic list of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) kings. His Sanskrit name may have been *Śrīmukha*. The Purāṇas mention Kṛishṇa as his younger brother and successor. It seems that when Simuka died, his son Sātakarṇi was a minor, and so the former's younger brother Kṛishṇa succeeded him. Later, when it was decided to get carved the statues of royal personages and their near relatives, the name of Kṛishṇa was omitted as he was not in the direct line;<sup>1</sup> for Sātakarṇi was the son of Simuka, not of Kṛishṇa as wrongly stated in the Purāṇas. The next double statue was of Queen *Nāganikā* and King *Sātakarṇi*. The former was of the Nāga race as shown by her name.<sup>2</sup> As she is carved first in the double statue, Katare conjectured that she was the mother, not the wife, of Sātakarṇi; but the conjecture is incorrect. Her statue was carved first probably because of her political importance. She is the only queen of the age whose name appears on a silver coin of the time. The next statue was of Prince *Bhāya[la]*. He was probably the eldest son of Sātakarṇi and Nāganikā. The name of the next statue is now lost, but it was probably of Prince *Vedi-śrī*, who, as the reigning king, is mentioned in No. 3. The next statue was of

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, Kṛishṇa had usurped the throne after his brother Simuka's death during the minority of the latter's son Sātakarṇi, or he may have tried to keep out his nephew Sātakarṇi even after he came of age as the Chālukya Maṅgaleśa and the Yādava Mahādeva are known to have done. This may be the reason why his statue was not carved in the Cave.

<sup>2</sup> *Nikā* denotes 'a woman.' See *Śakantikā* used in the Nāsiik Cave inscription of Iśvarasena. *CII*, IV, p. 3.

*Mahārāṭhi* Tranakayira. He seems to be the father of Queen Nāganikā. The last two statues were of *Kumāra* Haku-śrī and *Kumāra* Sātavāhana. These were evidently the younger sons of Sātakarṇi and Nāganikā. Of these, Haku-śrī is probably identical with *Kumāra* Śakti-śrī<sup>1</sup> mentioned in the large Nāṅghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā.

The order in which these statues were carved seems perplexing; for we have here, after the royal couple Nāganikā and Sātakarṇi, first, two sons of Nāganikā, viz., Bhāyala and Vedi-śrī, then the father of Nāganikā, viz., *Mahārāṭhi* Tranakayira, and then again two other sons of the same queen, viz., Haku-śrī and Sātavāhana. None has so far solved the riddle of this perplexing order of the statues, but it is not difficult to do so. The statues seem to have been carved in two instalments. The first six of them were probably carved about the middle of Sātakarṇi's reign. They included that of the reigning king's father Simuka, then of himself and his queen, next of his two sons Bhāyala and Vedi-śrī, and lastly of his father-in-law *Mahārāṭhi* Tranakayira. Some time thereafter Nāganikā had two more sons, viz., Haku-śrī and Sātavāhana.<sup>2</sup> Their statues also were next carved there. Still, the niche had a space of 1' 6" left after the last statue. Bhāyala seems to have pre-deceased his father Sātakarṇi. So the latter was succeeded by Vedi-śrī mentioned as the reigning king in the large Nāṅghāṭ inscription. That record names only two sons of Nāganikā, viz., the reigning king Vedi-śrī and the prince Śakti-śrī. The latter is evidently identical with *Kumāra* Haku-śrī mentioned in a label inscription, and with Śakti-kumāra known from a recently discovered coin. The dowager queen was then very old. She had lost all interest in worldly affairs and was leading a life of great restraint. As the large Nāṅghāṭ inscription mentions only Vedi-śrī and Haku-śrī, *Kumāra* Sātavāhana

<sup>1</sup> Prakrit *Haku-śrī* cannot be derived from Sanskrit *Śakti-śrī*. Perhaps, *Haku-śrī* was a pet name of the prince.

<sup>2</sup> Prince Sātavāhana bore the name of the progenitor of the royal family. For similar instances, see the name *Sinda* of a later member of the *Sinda* family in the Tidguṇḍi plates of Śaka 1004 and the name Sātakarṇi (of Vāsīshṭhiputra Sātakarṇi) in the Sātavāhana family.

also seems to have been dead at the time. This is the only possible explanation of the perplexing order of the statues carved in the Nāṅghāṭ Cave. It shows that the opinion of some scholars that the coins with the legend *Raño siri-Sātavāhanasa* belong to this *Kumāra Sātavāhana*, and not to the progenitor of the royal family is incorrect.

Line	Text
	No. 4
1	राया सिमुकसातवाह-
2	नो सिरिमातो [ १* ]
	No. 5
1	वेदि-नायनिकाय रञ्जो
2	च सिरि-सातकनिनो <sup>1</sup> [ १* ]
	No. 6
1	कुमारो भा-
2	य[लो*] [ १* ]
	No. 7
	महारठि त्रनकयिरो [ १* ]
	No. 8
	कुमरो हकुसिरि [ १* ]
	No. 9
	कुमारो सातवाहनो [ १* ]

#### Translation

- No. 4.—The illustrious King Simuka *Sātavāhana*.  
 No. 5.—(*These statues are*) of Queen *Nāganikā* and King, the illustrious *Sātakarṇi*.  
 No. 6.—Prince *Bhāyala*.  
 No. 7.—*Maharajhi Tranakayira*.  
 No. 8.—Prince *Haku-śrī*.  
 No. 9.—Prince *Sātavāhana*.

<sup>1</sup> In this inscription the royal names are in the genitive. In other inscriptions they are in the nominative.

## Nāsik Cave Inscription of Bhaṭapālikā

This inscription is incised in four vertical lines on the fifth and sixth pillars of the right-hand row in Cave XVIII at Nāsik. Its characters are older than those of several other inscriptions at the place. It is in a fair state of preservation.

This inscription was first brought to notice by Bird and Orlebar in 1847.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter, it was discussed by Stevenson-Brett, Edward and Arthur West, R. G. Bhandarkar, Bühler, Bhagvanlal Indraji, Senart and Rapson. Bühler, Bhagvanlal and Senart have given its reading and translation. It is edited here from Senart's plate.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the present inscription are of the early Brāhmī alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

The **object** of the present inscription is to record that the *Chaitya* on the *Tiraṇhu* hill, where it is incised, was excavated by Bhaṭapālikā. She is described in it as the daughter of the *Rājāmātya* (Royal Minister) *Arahalaya* of the place *Chalisilāṇa*, grand-daughter of *Mahā-Haku-śrī*, wife of the *Bhāṇḍāgārīka* (Treasurer) and *Rājāmātya Agitaṇaka*, and mother of *Kapaṇaṇaka*.

Scholars have held diverse views on the question whether Haku-siri mentioned in the present record is identical with or different from *Kumāra* Haku-siri mentioned in a relievo figure inscription in the Nāṇeghāt Cave. Marshall thought that 'the form of the entrance doorway, the lotus design on the face of its jambs, the miniature Persepolitan pilasters, the rails of the balustrade flanking the steps and the treatment of the *dvārapāla* figure'<sup>2</sup>—all indicated a date of about the beginning of the Christian era.<sup>3</sup> He identified this Haku-siri with *Kumāra* Haku-siri of a Nāṇeghāt inscription and dated

<sup>1</sup> Lüders' *List*, No. 1141. See the other references there.

<sup>2</sup> See Plate 8, Figure 12.

<sup>3</sup> *CHI*, I, p. 637. See also *CTI*, pp. 273 ff.

the rise of the Sātavāhanas in the first cen. A. D. A. S. Altekar, on the other hand, took them to be different as the Haku-siri of the present inscription bears no royal title like *Rājan*. He, therefore, held that this record did not in any way militate against the date of the rise of the dynasty in the second cen. B. C., which he advocated.<sup>1</sup> Neither of these views is quite correct. Mahā-Haku-siri of the present inscription is no doubt identical with *Kumāra* Haku-siri of the Nāṇeghāṭ record. He is mentioned in the large inscription of Nāganikā as Satī-siri. He must have come to the throne after Vedit-siri. The coins with the legend *Raño siri-Satasa* were evidently issued by him. He is not called *Rājan* in the present inscription because it belongs not to his time but to that of his grand-daughter Bhaṭapālikā. Still, his royal descent is indicated by the prefix *mahā* applied to his name. See a similar instance of *araka* (*āryaka*) indicating the royal status of Yajña Sātakarṇi<sup>2</sup> in No. 29. Senart's observation that the characters of the present inscription are later by one or two generations than those of the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā corroborates this date.

As Marshall has observed, the doorway, the pilasters and the figure of the *dvārapāla* of the Chaitya Cave where the present inscription is incised no doubt bespeak a later date; but that is because they were carved in a later age. This is indicated by the inscription *Nāsikakānam Dhambhika-gāmasa dānam* incised on its Chaitya window. It shows that this cave of Bhaṭapālikā remained incomplete for some time. Later, its doorway was carved by the residents of Nāsika who recorded their gift of the Dhambhika village in the aforementioned inscription.<sup>3</sup>

**Localities**—*Chalisilaṅaka* and *Dhambhika* do not exist now in the Nāsika District. *Tiraṅhu* (Sanskrit, *Tri-raśmi*) is the name of the hill where the record is carved.

<sup>1</sup> *MSG*, History, 1, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> No. 29, line 2.

<sup>3</sup> Though the present inscription has *nīphupīṭha* (excavated), such caves were not generally completed in one generation. See No. 18.

Line	Text <sup>1</sup>
1	रायामच-अरहलयस चलिलीलणकस <sup>2</sup> दुहुतुय महाहकुसि-
2	[ रि ] . . य <sup>3</sup> भटपालिकाय रायामचस अगियतणकस भंडाकारिक-
3	यस भारियाय <sup>4</sup> कपणकमातुय चेतियघरं पवते-
4	तिरष्मि निठपापित [ १० ]

### Translation

Bhatapālikā, daughter of the *Rājāmātya* Arahalaya, [grand-daughter] of Haku-siri, wife of the *Rājāmātya* and *Bhāṇḍāgārīka* Agiyatanaka and mother of Kapananaka, has excavated this Chaitya Cave on the Trirasmi hill.

No. 11; Plate I

### Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi : Year 18

This inscription is incised under the ceiling of the east wall of the veranda of Cave III at Nāsik. It occupies the first five lines and the first half of the sixth. Then, after the symbol of a *svastika*, commences inscription No. 13. The record is well preserved.

The present inscription was first brought to notice by Stevenson and Brett, who published an eye-copy of it in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. V (1853), pp. 46 ff.<sup>5</sup> Later, it was discussed by Edward and Arthur West, R. G. Bhandarkar, Bühler, Bhagvanlal Indraji, Pischel, Franke, Hultzsch and Rapson. Bühler has edited it in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, pp. 104 ff. and plate, and Senart

<sup>1</sup> From *EI*, VIII, Plate III. For another instance of the frontage of a cave (*gharī-mukha*) carved later, see the inscription in a cave at Ajanṭā, *ASWI*, IV, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Bhagvanlal separated *cha* from *Līṅgakaṣa*.

<sup>3</sup> Bhagvanlal read *Mahābhakusīriyā*, and Bühler *Mahābhakusīri'yā'yā*. Senart has shown that two *akṣaras* are lost between *ri* and *yā*, and has suggested the reading *natīya* (of the grand-daughter) here.

<sup>4</sup> Bhagvanlal read *satīriyāya* here and took it to mean 'by Satāriyā.' This is not likely.

<sup>5</sup> See references in Lüders' *List*, No. 1125; *EI*, VIII, pp. 71 ff. and Plate.



in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 71 ff. and plate. It is edited here from the facsimile published with Senart's article.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the present inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, considerably later than those of No. 1. See the forms of *ka*, *ga*, *cha*, *ta*, *da*, *ma*, *pa*, and *ha*. The present record contains the numerical symbols of 1, 2, 18 and 200. Its language is Prakrit.

The inscription records the order of **Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi**, the lord of **Benākāṭaka**, issued from the victorious camp of his triumphant army at **Govardhana**. It is addressed to the *Amātya Vishṇupālita* of **Goverdhana** and runs as follows.—“We have granted to the monks at **Tekirasi** 200 *nivartanas* of land in our field known by the name of (the Yaksha) **Ajakālaka** in the village **West Kakhaḍi** which had been owned (before) by **Ushavadāta** (Ṛishabhadatta).” The order next states the following immunities incidental to the granted land : “It shall not be entered by any royal servant; it shall not be interfered with by any one; it shall not be dug for salt; it shall not be meddled with by any magisterial functionary. It should be provided with all immunities. We have personally given this order.” It has been recorded by **Śivagupta**. It has been safely deposited with the *Mahāsvāmikas*. Its *paṭṭikā* (deed) was prepared by **Tāpasa** and was delivered in the (*regnal*) **year 18**, the **rainy season fortnight 2** and the **day 1**.

The order recorded in the present inscription was issued by **Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi** from his victorious camp at **Govardhana** evidently after his memorable victory over **Nahapāna**. It describes his army as *vaijayantī*, triumphant. Scholars have variously interpreted this epithet of his army. **Bühler** took it to mean ‘protected by **Vijayanta** (Indra),’ but it has not been used elsewhere in this sense. He also suggested another interpretation of it. “Possibly”, he says, “the word may, however, be connected with the name of the famous town, **Vaijayanti** (Prakrit, *Vejayanti*), the **Byzantian** of the **Greeks**, which

was situated in the Koṅkaṇ, and doubtless formed part of the Andhra dominions. If that were the case, the adjective might be translated by 'recruited at or lying in garrison at Vaijayantī'.<sup>1</sup> Neither of these interpretations is acceptable. We have shown elsewhere that Gautamīputra's power did not spread to the North Kannaḍa District<sup>1</sup> where Vaijayantī (modern Vānavāsī) is situated. Besides, the army was then encamped not at Vaijayantī, but at Govardhana near Nāsik. *Vaijayantī* means 'triumphant'. The same sense is conveyed by the expression *Vijya-khadhāvārā*. These adjectives suggest the memorable victory which Gautamīputra had won over Nahapāna before he made the donation recorded in the present inscription.

The epithet *Benākaṭaka-svāmi* applied to Gautamīputra has also been interpreted variously. Bühler read *Benākaṭakā*, and connecting it with *Govadhanasa* took the expression to mean that the order was issued 'from Benākaṭaka in Govardhana.' But there is no place of this name in the territorial division of Govardhana. According to the usual mode of syntactical connection in Prakrit, *Govadhanasa* must be construed with *vijayakhadhāvārā*, and the combined expression means 'from the victorious camp at Govardhana'.

*Benākaṭaka* means 'the territory on the banks of the Beṇā or the Vaingāṅgā.' In ancient times, the names of districts ended in *kaṭa* or *kaṭaka*. See *Varadākaṭa* (Varhāḍ, modern Berār), *Nāndikaṭa* (modern Nāndeḍ) and *Karahākaṭa* (modern Karhāḍ). The reason why Gautamīputra did not designate himself as *Mūlaka-svāmi* after his native country, or as *Pratishṭhāna-svāmi* after his capital, and why he called himself *Benākaṭaka-svāmi* can be easily conjectured. He had conquered the country of *Benākaṭaka*<sup>2</sup> (the territory on both the banks of the river Beṇā or Vaingāṅgā, *i. e.* in the vicinity of Paunī in the Bhaṅḍārā District of Vidārbha), before he won his memorable victory over Nahapāna in Western Mahārāshṭra. He

<sup>1</sup> Mirashi, *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, pp. 167 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A pillar inscription of *Mahākshatrpa Kumāra* Rupamma has been discovered at Paunī. See No. 62.

wanted to assure the Buddhist monks in Nāsik that he would treat them as liberally as he had done those in Beṅākaṭaka which he had conquered just before.<sup>1</sup>

The date of the order in the present inscription is stated by citing the (*regnal*) year, season, fortnight and day as in all other inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas. This was our ancient method of recording a date. Such season-dates continued to be cited till the end of the fifth century A. D. in Mahārāshṭra including Vidarbha. It is noticed in the recently discovered Thāḷner plates of the last Vākāṭaka king Harisheṇa.<sup>2</sup> As against this, all inscriptions of the contemporary Western Kshatrapas are dated in the Śaka era, with the citation of the lunar month, fortnight and *tithi*. Again, the word used to denote the year in the records of the Śātavāhanas is *saṁvatsara* as against *varsha* which is invariably noticed in the inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas.

**Localities**—Govardhana still retains its ancient name and is situated on the right bank of the Godāvāri, about seven miles west of Nāsik. It was the chief place of the *āhāra* (territorial division) of the same name. Nāsik was then known only as a holy place. *Apara-Kakhaḍī* (Western Kakhaḍī) does not now exist in the Nāsik District. *Tekirasi* is the same as *Tri-raśmi*, the three-peaked hill near Nāsik.

## Line

Text<sup>3</sup>

- 1 सिधं [ 1\* ] सेनाये वेजयंतिये<sup>4</sup> विजयखधावारा गोवधनस  
वेनाकटकस्वामि<sup>5</sup> गोतमिपुतो सिरिसदकणि  
2 आनपयति गोवधने अमच विष्णुपालित<sup>6</sup> [ 1\* ] गामे अपरकखडिये  
य<sup>7</sup> खेतं अजकालकियं उसभदतेन<sup>8</sup> भूतं निवतन —

<sup>1</sup> See the section 'the Kshatrapas of Vidarbha' above.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Journal of the Rajawade Research Society* (Marathī), Vol. XLVIII, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 20 ff.

<sup>3</sup> From the plate in *E I.*, VIII.

<sup>4</sup> *Vejayatiye* (Būh.).

<sup>5</sup> *Benākaṭakā svami* (Bh. and Būh.).

<sup>6</sup> *Viṣṇupālitam* (Bh. and Būh.).

<sup>7</sup> *Kakhaḍiyam yam* (Bh.).

<sup>8</sup> *Ushabhadātana* (Bh.).

- 3 सतानि द्वे २०० एत अम्हखेत निवतनसतानि द्वे २०० इमेस पवजितान  
तेकिरसिण<sup>1</sup> वितराम [ 1\* ] एतस चस खेतस परिहार
- 4 वितराम अपवेस<sup>2</sup> अनोमस अलोणखादक अरटसविनयिक सवजात-  
पारिहारिक च [ 1\* ] एतेहि नं परिहारेहि परिह[रे]हि<sup>3</sup> [ 1\* ]
- 5 एते चस खेतपरिहा[रे]<sup>4</sup> च एथ निबघापेहि [ 1\* ] अविने<sup>5</sup>  
आणतं [ 1\* ] अमचेन सिवगुतेन छतो [ 1\* ] महासामियेहि  
उपरखितो [ 1\* ]
- 6 वता पटिका सबछरे १० [ +\* ] ८ वासपखे २ दिवसे १ [ 1\* ]  
तापसेन कटा [ 1\* ]

### Translation

Success! From the victorious camp of the triumphant army in Govardhana, the illustrious Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī, the lord of Benākāṭaka<sup>6</sup>, issues the (*following*) order to Amātya Viṣṇupālita in Govardhana:—The field of two hundred—200—*nivartanas* (known as that) of Ajakālaka (*yaksha*)<sup>7</sup> in the village of Western Kakhāḍī, which was (previously) owned by Ṛishabhadatta—that our field of two hundred—200—*nivartanas* We give to these mendicant monks of the Tiraśmi<sup>8</sup> (Caves)

<sup>1</sup> *Tekirasina* (Bh.).

<sup>2</sup> *apāvesa* (Bh.).

<sup>3</sup> *pariharahī* (Bh.); *pariharihī* (Büh.).

<sup>4</sup> *parihār[ā]* (Se.).

<sup>5</sup> *avīyena* (Büh.); *suviyena* (Bh.).

<sup>6</sup> Senart's translation 'the lord of Benākāṭaka in Govardhana' has been shown to be incorrect.

<sup>7</sup> Bühler and Bhagvanlal have taken *ajakālaktiya* in the sense of *adyakālīka* 'enjoyed till now.' According to them the field was being owned by Rishabhadatta till then. In that case, its form seems queer. Senart also thought that the form was singular. "It is besides necessary", says he, "that the object of the gift should be precisely stated, the more so because if Rishabhadatta had laid hand on a possession in those parts, it is hardly to be believed that it would not have extended over more than one field. I, therefore, am inclined to think that *Ajakālaktiya* is the name of a place, whatever may be its exact etymology which I have no means to state for certain." It really means 'known by the name of Ajakālaka (Yaksha)'. The name of this Yaksha was carved near the *Stūpa* of Bhārhut. For another similar instance, see *Sudisāṇā*, the name of a village. *Sudisāṇā* was a Yakshi. See No. 19, line 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Tekirasīya* appears to have been written here wrongly for *Terasikānain* (*Trairasīkānain*).

and We (*also*) grant them the following immunities of that field—(*viz.*) it must not be entered (*by any royal servant*); it must not be interfered with; it must not be dug for (*obtaining*) salt; it must not be meddled with by the district functionaries; it should be provided with all immunities. You should register (*this*) field and its immunities. This order has been given orally (*by Us*). It has been written down by the *Amātya Śivagupta*. It has been safely preserved by the *Mahāsvāmikas*.<sup>1</sup> Its *paṭṭikā*<sup>2</sup> was given (*on the following date*)—the year 18, the rainy season fortnight 2, (and) the day 1. (*It was*) prepared by Tāpasa.<sup>3</sup>

## No. 12

Kārle Cave Inscription [Of Gautamiṣputra Sātakarṇi]:  
Year [18]

This inscription is incised on the second and third tiers of the frieze between the central and the right-hand door of the Chaitya Cave at Kārle in the Poonā District.

This record was first brought to notice by Stevenson, who published an eye-copy of it in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol III, p. 498, in 1834. It was next discussed by Prinsep, Bird-Mitchel-Wilson, Stevenson-Brett, Bhagvanlal Indrajī, Pischel, Franke, Hultzsch, Senart and Rapson.<sup>4</sup> Bühler has edited it in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, pp. 112 ff. and Plate, and Senart in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, pp. 64 ff. and Plate. It is edited here from the Plate accompanying Senart's article.

The present inscription is interrupted in the second line by the beams of the ceiling. Bhagvanlal has given only its estampage, but not its transcript nor its translation. Bühler and Senart have given both.

<sup>1</sup> These *Mahāsvāmikas* were probably the chief Bhikshus who were in charge of the cave.

<sup>2</sup> These *Paṭṭikas* were of cloth and were used like the paper slips of the modern times.

<sup>3</sup> This Tāpasa may have been the executor of the grant like the *dīnaka* mentioned for the same purpose in copper-plate grants. The name Tāpasa recalls that of *Samana* mentioned in No. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 1105.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the present inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and the language Prakrit.

The object of the present inscription was to record the donation of the village Karajaka as *bhikshu-hala*<sup>1</sup> for the maintenance of the *bhikshus* of the Mahāsaṅghika *nikāya* (*saṅgha*) dwelling in the caves of Valuraka. The village was situated on the northern way in the *āhāra* (large territorial division) of Māmāla. The order about it was given orally to the *Amātya* [Pūruguṭpa] of Māmāḍa.<sup>2</sup> It was written down in the victorious camp. Its *paṭṭikā* was prepared by Śivaskandagupta on the following date—the year [18], the rainy season fortnight 4 and the day 1.

As the initial portion of the present inscription has been lost, we have to conjecture who issued this order from his victorious camp. Inscription No. 39 states that a village named Karajika<sup>3</sup> was granted by the Śaka Ṛishabhadatta for the maintenance of the *bhikshus* of Valūraka. It is probably identical with that mentioned in the present inscription. So it seems that the same village was again granted by Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi after his defeat of Nahapāna, the overlord of Ṛishabhadatta. The year mentioned in the present inscription is not clear. Bühler doubtfully read it as 14.<sup>4</sup> Senart too was not certain about the reading, but he retained it though 'he saw no particular reason for the reading of the second symbol as '4' rather than any other unit.' Rapson pointed out that both the Nāsik and Kärle edicts were issued from a victorious camp, and it is almost certain that both were executed by the same minister, who is called Śivagupta at Nāsik and Śiva-skandagupta here.<sup>5</sup> This testimony surely indicates that the present

<sup>1</sup> *Bhikshu hala* (Monks' land) means 'land donated to *bhikshus* (monks)' just as *Brahma-dāya* signifies 'land donated to Brāhmanas.'

<sup>2</sup> *Māmāḍa* and *Māmāla* denote the same territorial division, now known as Māvāḷa.

<sup>3</sup> This village is named as *Karajika* in an inscription of Ṛishabhadatta (No. 39).

<sup>4</sup> Bühler had read the date of the preceding Nāsik inscription of Gautamiputra also as the 14th year, but he subsequently altered it to 18.

<sup>5</sup> BMC. (*Andhra*), p. xlii.

edict also was issued by Gautamīputra Śrī-Śātakarṇi as a result of his victory over Nahapāna, and that its date must be similarly 'in the year 18.' Rapson's conclusion is correct, though one of his reasons for it does not appear convincing. As we have shown elsewhere, the prefix *śiva* was optionally applied to personal names in that age. Śivagupta and Śiva-Śkandagupta are not likely to be identical. The former was stationed at Nāsik and the latter at Kārle. Nevertheless Rapson's conjecture that the year of the present inscription was 18 is correct. It seems that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi invaded the territory and won a victory over Nahapāna near Kārle about a fortnight after he donated the field to the *Bhikshus* of the Nāsik Caves on the first day of the second fortnight of the rainy season in his regnal year 18. He then made this gift of a village to the *bhikshus* of a different Saṅgha dwelling in the caves at Kārle.

**Localities**—The royal order of the present inscription was addressed to the *Amātya* of the *āhāra* (territorial division) of Māmāḍa or Māmāla. It denotes the region now known as Māvaḷa. Valuraka was the ancient name of Kārle, which is included in the division of Māvaḷa. Karajagaon, which lies about 5 miles to the north-east of Kārle is the modern representative of Karajagrāma.

Line	Text <sup>1</sup>
1 . . . . .	[ आनपयति ] [ * ] मामाडे <sup>2</sup> अमत्र परगत . ममु <sup>3</sup> एथ लेनस वालुरकेस <sup>4</sup> वाथयान
2	पयजितान भिखुन निकायस महास [ धि ] यान यनय एथ मामालाहारे उतरे मगे <sup>5</sup> [ गामे ] करजके [ मु* ] <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bhagvanlal has published only an estampage of this inscription. Bühler and Rapson have given its reading, translation and notes.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler read *Māmāle*, but the *akshara* *ḍ* is quite clear.

<sup>3</sup> Rapson has suggested the reading Purugupta as on the Bhitari seal of Kumāragupta. The correct reading of the royal name is, however, *Pūrugupta*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Lenesu Vālorakesu*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *utara-mage*.

<sup>6</sup> In Prakrit the names of villages are used in the plural number.

- 3 भिक्षुहले[ल]<sup>1</sup> ददम [ 1° ] एतेस तु गाम करजके<sup>2</sup> भिक्षुहल  
 ओयपापेहि [ 1° ] एतस चस  
 4 गामस करजकान भिक्षुहलपरिहार बितराम [ 1° ] अपावेस  
 अ . . . .<sup>3</sup> पारिहारिक च [ 1° ] एतेहि न परिहारेहि परिहरह  
 [ 1° ] एतस चस गाम करजके<sup>4</sup>  
 5 भिक्षुहलपरिहारे च एय निवघापेहि [ 1° ] अबियेन आनत . . . .  
 छतो विजयठसातारे<sup>5</sup> दतो डे . . . . [ 1° ] पटिका सब  
 १० [ +° ] [ < ]<sup>7</sup>  
 6 वा प ४ विच १ सिवखदगुप्तेन कटा [ 1° ]

### Translation

. . . . . issues the (*following*) order to *Amātya* [*Pūrugupta*]:—We have given as *bhikshu-hala* the village *Karajaka* lying on the northern way in the *āhāra* (territorial division) of *Māmāḍa* for the maintenance of the mendicant monks—the *Mahāsaṅghikas*—dwelling here in the *Valuraka* Caves. So you should make over (the land) as *bhikshu-hala* (*Monks' land*) in the village *Karajaka* to them.<sup>8</sup>

We (*hereby*) grant the (*following*) immunities incidental to the *bhikshu-hala* in respect of this village *Karajaka*—It shall not be entered (*by royal servants*); it shall not be meddled with; and (*other*) immunities also. Give (*them*) these our immunities. And register these immunities incidental to the *bhikshu-hala* in respect of this village *Karajaka*. Ordered orally. . . . (*This was*) recorded and granted at (*Our*) victorious camp. The *paṭṭika* (deed) of it was prepared by *Śivaskandagupta* in the year [18], the fortnight 4 of the rainy season, (*and*) the day 1.

<sup>1</sup> Senart says that *bhikshu-hala* was to be incised, but as he was lost in a cleft, he was incised again.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler's reading *gāma Karajakesu* appears to be preferable. The above reading is given by Senart as more likely.

<sup>3</sup> Read the lost letters as *anoma* as in No. 13, line 5.

<sup>4</sup> Read *gāma Karajakesu*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *vijaya-khalāsvāra*. See No. 11, line 1.

<sup>6</sup> Read *the rahi* (Büh.).

<sup>7</sup> Bühler read the numerical symbol as 4. Senart thought that reading doubtful. Still, he retained it. Rapson has shown that the correct reading must be 8.

<sup>8</sup> Halrach showed that *oyapāpēhi* is Imperative second person singular. Senart accepted it.



## Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi : Year 24

This inscription is incised in continuation of No. 11, from which it is separated by a *svastika*, under the ceiling of the east wall of the veranda of Cave III at Nāsik. It was brought to notice in 1853 by Stevenson and Brett, who published an eye-copy of it in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. V, pp. 46 ff. Thereafter, it was discussed by Edward and Arthur West, R. G. Bhandarkar, Bühler, Bhagvanlal Indraji, Pischel, Franke, Hultsch, Senart and Rapson.<sup>1</sup> Bühler has edited, it in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, pp. 105 ff. and Plate, and Senart in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 73 ff. and Plate. It is edited here from the plate accompanying Senart's article.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the present inscription are of the Brāhmi alphabet, and the language Prakrit. It includes the numerical symbols for 2, 4, 10, 20 and 100.

The inscription states the following order which King Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his blessed (*Jīva-sutā*) mother, the Great Queen, addressed to the *Amātya Sāmaka* (*Śyāmaka*) at Govardhana :—“ We had previously given a field in the village *Kakhaḍī* as our pious gift to the mendicant monks dwelling in the cave on the *Triraśmi* hill. That field is not being cultivated, and that village also is not (*now*) inhabited. Therefore, we are (*now*) giving our royal field of 100 *nivartanas* on the border of the town to the mendicant monks dwelling in a cave on this *Triraśmi* hill. ” After this the usual immunities incidental to the field thus given are specified. This order was given orally. It was written down by the (*female*) door-keeper *Loṭā*. Its *paṭṭikā* was prepared by *Sujivin* on the date—the Year 24, the fortnight 4 of the rainy season and the day 5. It had been recorded before (*in the capital*) on the date—the year 24, the fortnight 2 of summer and the day 10.

<sup>1</sup> Lüders' *List*, No. 1126.

The interval between these two dates was evidently the time required by the order to reach Govardhana.

The inscription does not name the Great Queen who was associated with Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi in issuing this order. But she is called his mother. She was evidently Gautamī Bala-śrī known from No. 18. She is described here as *jīva-sutā* (one whose son is living). From the age of the *Rigveda*<sup>1</sup> to have a living son was regarded as a sign of good fortune. Besides, Gautamī had then as her son the illustrious Sātakarṇi who had attained the rank of 'the King of kings'. She was naturally proud of this good fortune, which is reflected in this epithet. See her description in No. 18 below.

In the order mentioned in the present inscription, Cave III at Nāsik is designated as 'Our Cave'. The territory round Nāsik was not included in the kingdom of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi till his eighteenth regnal year. In the order which he issued immediately after his victory over Nahapāna there is no reference to this cave. So he seems to have got it excavated thereafter. From the present inscription, it seems that it was got excavated between the regnal years 18 and 24 of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi.

The field gifted by the order in No. 11 was situated in the village Kakhāḍī, whereas that donated by the order recorded in the present inscription lay in that named **West Kakhāḍī** (*Apara Kakhāḍī*). Again, the former gift was made by Gautamiputra, while the latter was by him and his mother. So Senart thought that the two villages were different. But this does not appear to be correct. The two villages were identical. The order in the present inscription was issued by Sātakarṇi at the instance of his mother. So her name is associated with his. It shows her firm adherence to the Buddhist faith and her influence on her great son. She was evidently associated with him in his pious activities.

<sup>1</sup> See *Rigveda*, X, 2, 6, 9. Also *Mahābhārata*, V, 144, 9; and *Rāmāyana*, IV, 19, 11.

Line	Text <sup>1</sup>
1	सिधं [ 1* ] गोवधने अमचस सामकस देवो राजाणितो <sup>2</sup> [ 1* ]
2	रज्रो गोतमिपुतस सातकणिस महादेविय च जीवमुताय राजमातुष वचनेन गोवधने [ अम* ] चो सामको अरोग वतवो [ 1* ] ततो एव च
3	वतवो एव अम्हेहि पवते तिरण्णुम्हि अम्ह धमदाने लेणे पतिवसतानं पवजितान भिखून गामे कण्डीमु पुव खेतं वत [ 1* ] त च खेत
4	[ न* ] कसते सो च गामो न वसति [ 1* ] एवं सति य दाणि एव नगरसीमे राजकं खेतं अम्हसतकं ततो एतेस पवजितान भिखूनं तेरण्णुकानं ददम
5	खेतस निवतनसतं १०० [ 1* ] तस च खेतस परिहार वितराम [ 1* ] अपावेस अनोमस अलोणखादक अरठसचिनिमिक सबजात- पारिहारिक च [ 1* ]
6	एतेहि न परिहारेहि परिहरेठ [ 1* ] एत चस खेतपरोहारे च एव निबधापेथ [ 1* [ अविनेन आणत [ 1* ] पटिहारखिय <sup>3</sup> लोटाय छतो लेखो [ 1* ] सबछरे २० [ +* ] ४
7	वासान पखे ४ दिवसे पचमे ५ मुजिबिना कटा [ 1* ] निबधो निबधो <sup>4</sup> सबछरे २० [ +* ] ४ गिम्हाण पखे २ दिवसे १० [ 1* ]

### Translation

Success! (*This*) order should be communicated to *Amātya Sāmaka* (*Śyāmaka*) in *Govardhana*:—By the order of King *Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi* and his blessed<sup>5</sup> Queen-mother, the *Mahādevī*, the *Amātya Śyāmaka* in *Govardhana* shall be informed of (*Our*) well-being<sup>6</sup> and shall then be told (*as follows*):—“We had previously given a field

<sup>1</sup> From the plate in *E I.*, VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Senart has suggested the reading *deya rūp-ānātī*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *paṭihāra-rakhiya*.

<sup>4</sup> *Nibadho* is unnecessarily repeated.

<sup>5</sup> D. C. Sircar has added the following note on *jiwa-sudā*: “The word *jiwa-sudā* suggests that the king was ill and the people had to be assured against his death. The next king was possibly on his way to the throne, and the queen-mother who might have been in power for some time had to refer to the dying king's name. This illness proved fatal to *Gautamiputra*.” *Select Inscriptions*, seconded. (1965), p. 200. This wild conjecture is absolutely baseless.

<sup>6</sup> Senart translates *Sāmako aroga vatavo* as ‘*Sāmaka* should be addressed with the usual civility’. This is incorrect. The *degya* is of *Gautamiputra* and *Bala śri*, not of *Sāmaka*. See the word *kudālī* or the expression *Kudālīne atavareva* which occurs in a similar context in copper-plate grants.

in the village **Kakhaḍī** to the mendicant monks dwelling in the Cave which is Our pious gift on the **Triraśmi** hill. (*But*) the field is not now cultivated, and the village (*also*) is not inhabited. In these circumstances, we are (*now*) giving a hundred—100—*nivartanas* in Our royal field on the boundary of this [Govardhana] town to the mendicant monks dwelling (*in the cave*) on the **Triraśmi** hill and are also granting them the (*following*) immunities: It shall not be entered by (*any royal servant*); it shall not be meddled with; it shall not be dug for salt; it shall not be entered by any magisterial functionary; it shall have all kinds of immunities. You should register these immunities here. Ordered orally. The order was written down by the door-keeper **Loṭā**. (*The paṭṭikā for it*) was prepared by **Sujivin** on (*the following date*)—the year **24**, the fortnight **4** of the rainy season and the day five **5**. Registered on (*the following date*)—the year **24**, the fortnight **2** of summer and the day **10**.

## No. 14

## Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhiputra PuḶumāvi : Year 2

This inscription is incised on the front wall of an unfinished cave beyond Cave No. XXIII. Edward and Arthur West first brought it to notice in 1865 by publishing an eye-copy of it in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 47 ff. It was later discussed by R. G. Bhandarkar. Bühler, Bhagvanlal Indraji and Senart have edited it and discussed its contents.<sup>1</sup> It is edited here from the plate accompanying Senart's article.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and its language Prakrit. The pronomial form *īna* in the sense of *idam* which occurs in line 3 is noteworthy. The record has been considerably damaged in the last line.

The object of the present inscription was to record that a farmer named **Dhaṇama** got the cave excavated for

<sup>1</sup> *Lidders' List* No. 1147. Senart has edited it in *ET*, VIII, pp. 94 ff. with a plan.

the acquisition of religious merit by his father and mother and also by his sister. It has in the beginning the date—the year 2, the fortnight 8 of hemanta (winter) and the day [8], during the reign of King Vāsishṭhīputra Svāmī illustrious Pulumāvi.

Line

Text<sup>1</sup>

- 1 सिद्धं [ १० ] रजो वासिष्ठिपुत्रस सामिसिरिपुत्र-
- 2 माइस संबछरे २ हेमंता [ ण० ] पखे ४ दिवसे [ ८ ]<sup>2</sup>
- 3 एतिय पुवाय कुटुंबिकेण धणमेण इण
- 4 कारितं सह [ माता० ] पितुहि सह [ भगिने ] . .

Translation

Success! In the (*regnal*) year 2, the fortnight 4 of winter (*and*) the day [8] of Vāsishṭhīputra Svāmī illustrious Pulumāvi, on the aforementioned [*tithi*], the farmer Dhaṇama, together with his father and mother and (*also*) his sister, got this (*cave*) excavated.

No. 15

Kārle Cave Inscription [of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi] : Year 5

This inscription is incised on two sides of a semi-circular cistern of a *Vihāra* Cave to the north of the *Chaitya* Cave at Kārle. Stevenson and Brett brought this inscription to notice by publishing an eye-copy of it in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. V (1854), p. 158. It was later discussed by Bhagvanlal Indrajī, Bühler-Burgess and Senart.<sup>3</sup> It is edited here from the plate accompanying Senart's article.

**Characters and language**—This inscription is in a fragmentary condition, several *aksharas* in the beginning, middle and end of it having become illegible. Its characters are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and its language Prakrit. The numerical symbol for 5 occurs in line 1.

<sup>1</sup> From the plate facing p. 94 in *E. I.* VIII.

<sup>2</sup> The reading of this numerical symbol is not certain. Bhagvanlal read it as 6, and Bühler as 8. Senart has not given any definite reading.

<sup>3</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 1107.

As several *aksharas* of the present inscription have been lost, it has become difficult to interpret it. Still, its object seems to have been to record that the female disciples of some *Bhadanta* (monk) dedicated this Cave and their *Śrāvikā* sisters dedicated the adjacent cistern to the Community of Buddhist monks and the Buddha as their pious gift.

The record commenced with the full mention of its date, but now only the following particulars of it are legible, viz., (the year) 5, the fortnight . . . of winter . . . To whose reign this year refers is not known, but it certainly cannot be of the reign of a Western Kshatrapa; for all dates of those Kshatrapas are recorded in the Śaka era and are later than 40. Besides, they are introduced by the word *varshe*, not by *saṃvatsare* as appears in the present case. The year cited here cannot also be of the reign of Gautami-putra Sātakarṇi; for he is known to have conquered Western Mahārāshṭra in his eighteenth regnal year. So this date is probably of Puḷumāvi's reign; for a record dated only two years later in his reign has been found at Kārle itself.

Line	Text
1 . . . . .	[सबळ•]रे ५ हेमताणं <sup>१</sup> प[खे•] . . . . . [एता•]य पुवाय [भ]यत -
2 . . . . .	हिण अतेवासिनिण लेणं भग्नि[ने] . . साविकान सदिगा -
3 . . .	[धमु] काले पवइतान सघाय वु[घाय•] [च] [देय•]- धम पोहि
4 . . . . .	[परिवारेण उपय] . . . . .
5 . . . . .	अतेवासिनिहि उसभाए [ १• ]

#### Translation

. . . . . In the year 5, the fortnight . . . of winter—on this aforementioned [*tithi*], the female disciples of *Bhadanta* . . . . . [got this cave excavated] and

<sup>१</sup> *Hamāṅga*, (Bh. and Bāh.).

their *śrāvikā* sisters<sup>1</sup> . . . . . dedicated the cistern here to the Community of Buddhist Monks and the Buddha as (*their*) pious gift.

By her associates . . . . . (*and*) female disciples (*and also*) by Ṛishabhā<sup>2</sup> . . . . .

## No. 16

## Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsishthīputra Puṣumāvi : Year 6

This inscription is incised on the back wall of the veranda of Cave II at Nāsik. Edward and Arthur West first drew attention to this record in 1865 by publishing its eye-copy in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII, p. 52. It was thereafter discussed by R. G. Bhandarkar, Bühler, Bhagvanlal Indraji and Senart.<sup>3</sup> It is edited here from the plate accompanying Senart's article.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the present inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

The record is very much mutilated. Only its first line can be read now. It mentions its date as follows :—the sixth year of (*the reign of*) Vāsishthīputra Puṣumāvi, the fifth fortnight of summer, the . . . day. The numerical symbol denoting the day is now lost.<sup>4</sup> As the inscription is very much mutilated, its object cannot be ascertained.

## Line

## Text

1 सिधं [ १० ] रजो वासिठिपुतस सिरिपुडुमाविस संबछरे छडे ६  
गिम्हपखे पचमे ५ दिवसे [ १ ] . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> "It is not at all certain whether the term *śrāvikā* is applied to the female donor or to one of the nuns, and still less whether it has the meaning 'a lay-worshipper', as in the terminology of the Jainas." —Senart.

<sup>2</sup> As the inscription is very much mutilated in this part, it does not admit of any coherent meaning.

<sup>3</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 1122. See also the plate facing p. 39 in *E. I.* VIII.

<sup>4</sup> Bühler read the numerical symbol as denoting 1, but Senart found it illegible.

## Translation

Success ! In the sixth - 6 - year, the fifth - 5 - fortnight of summer (and) the day [1] (of the reign) of King Vāsishṭhiputra, the illustrious PuḶumāvi . . .

No. 17

## Kärle Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhiputra PuḶumāvi : Year 7

This inscription is incised on the upper frieze to the left of the central door of the *Chaitya* Cave at Kärle. Bird and Michell first drew attention to this record in the *Historical Researches* (1847), pp. 58 ff. Thereafter, it was discussed by Stevenson-Brett and Franke.<sup>1</sup> Bhagvanlal, Bühler and Senart have edited it with a translation. It is edited here from the plate accompanying Senart's article.

**Characters and language**—The present inscription has covered three lines, leaving one word which is incised at the right hand side of the fourth. Its characters are of the Brāhmi alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

The **object** of the present inscription was to record that *Mahārāṣṭri Vāsishṭhiputra Somadeva*, the son of *Mahārāṣṭri Kauśikīputra Mitradeva* of (the place) *Okhaḷakiya*, donated a village (of an unspecified name) to the Buddhist Community of *Valuraka* dwelling in the Caves at *Valuraka*. It is stated further that the village was given with ordinary and extraordinary taxes<sup>2</sup> and those paid in kind or coin.

<sup>1</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 1100.

<sup>2</sup> The epithet *sakarukaro* was interpreted as 'together with the expenses for the repairs of the caves at Valuraka' by Bhagvanlal and Bühler. But *Valurakale-nina* is to be construed with *Valuraka-sughava* which precedes it. Several instances of such construction can be cited from these inscriptions. *Sakarukaro* appears to have been used in the same sense as *sodratgaḥ* and *soparikarāḥ* which are noticed in later records.

Senart's explanation of *sūrya-meya* as 'with its income fixed or proportional' does not appear satisfactory. *Deya* seems to have been used here in the sense of 'what can be counted' i. e. 'in cash', and *meya* in that of 'what can be measured' i. e. 'in grain'. In ancient times State revenue was paid both in cash and in kind. See *Inscriptions of the Śilāhāras* (C II, IV, pp. 82 ff.)



The date of the present inscription is stated as the regnal year 7 of Vāsishṭhīputra Svāmī illustrious Puṣumāvi, the fortnight 5 of summer and the day 1.

**Localities**—Valuraka was the ancient name of Kārle. The name of the donated village has been omitted inadvertently. Ancient Okhaḷakiya may have become Ukhaḷi or Ukhaḷgaon now. Several villages of this name now exist in the Ahmadnagar, Jalgaon and Aurangābād districts, but none is noticed in the Poonā District. As the Buddhist Community at Kārle had received gifts from the people of far-off places, Okhaḷakiya need not have been situated in the Poonā District, but it cannot be definitely identified in the absence of the specification of its boundaries.

Line	Text <sup>1</sup>
1	सिधं <sup>2</sup> [ १० ] रजो वासिष्ठिपुतस सामित्तिरि[पु][कुमावि*]स सवछरे सतमे ७ [ गि ] म्हपखे पचमे ५
2	[ दि ] वसे पचमे १ एताय पुवाय ओखळकिप्यान महारथिस <sup>3</sup> कोसिकिपुतस मितदेवस पुतेन
3	[ म ] हारथिना वासिष्ठिपुतेन सोमदेवेन गामो इतो बलुरकसंपस बलुरकलेनान <sup>4</sup> सकरकरो <sup>5</sup> सदेय -
4	मेयो [ १० ]

### Translation

Success ! In the (*regnal*) year seventh -7- of King Vāsishṭhīputra Svāmī illustrious Puṣumāvi, the fifth -5- fortnight of summer, the first -1- day, on the aforementioned *tithi*, Mahārathi Vāsishṭhīputra Somadeva, the son of Mahārathi Kauśikīputra Mitradeva of (*the village*)

<sup>1</sup> From Plate 3 in *E.I. VII*.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol, Bhagvanlal, Bühler and Senart have not noticed it.

<sup>3</sup> Bhagvanlal read *Māharathisa*, but the *akshara* has a clear dot signifying *tha*. Besides, *Mahārathinā* occurs in line 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Valūraka-lēṇana* (Büh.).

<sup>5</sup> Bhagvanlal read *sa-karākāro sa-deyamayo*, and interpreted it as 'together with the expenses of the peeples of the caves'. Bühler read *sakā-kārosa* and interpreted it in the same manner. Senart's interpretation given here is much better.

Okhalakiya has donated (*this*) village<sup>1</sup>, together with ordinary and extraordinary taxes, and together with (*the revenue*) in cash or kind, to the Buddhist Community of Valuraka (dwelling) in the Caves at Valuraka.

No. 18.

### Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi : Year 19

This inscription is incised on the back wall of the veranda above the entrance in Cave No. III at Nāsik. Stevenson and Brett brought it to notice first in 1853 by publishing an eye-copy of it in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. V, pp. 41 ff. Later, it was discussed by Edward and Arthur West, R. G. Bhandarkar and Franke.<sup>2</sup> Bühler, Bhagvanlal Indraji and Senart have edited it with a translation. It is edited here from the plate published by Senart.

**Characters and language**—The characters of this inscription are of the Brāhmi alphabet and its language Prakrit. It seems to have been first composed in Sanskrit and then translated into Prakrit. So it contains several figures of word and sense and also long compounds rarely noticed in Prakrit inscriptions.

The **object** of the present inscription was to record that King Puḷumāvi, who bore the title of *Dakṣiṇā-patheśvara* (the lord of the Deccan), donated the village **Pisāchīpadraka** situated south-west of the Triraśmi hill, together with all rights of its enjoyment, as his pious gift to the **Bhadāvanīya** Buddhist Community for the embellishment of the cave excavated by his grandmother *Mahādevī Gautami Bala-śrī* on the Triraśmi hill and for the acquisition of religious merit by his father (Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi). In the beginning the present inscription contains the date—the (*regnal*) year 19 of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, the summer fortnight 2 and the day 1.

Cave III, where this inscription has been incised, had

<sup>1</sup>The name of the village is omitted here inadvertently.

<sup>2</sup>See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 1123.

been excavated by *Mahādevī* (Great Queen) *Gautamī Bala-srī*, the mother of *Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi*, and had been donated by her to the aforementioned Community of Buddhist monks. In the present inscription she is mentioned with three titles, viz., *Mahādevī*, *Mahārāja-mātā* and *Mahārāja-pitāmahi*. They are all significant; for she was the Queen of a *Mahārāja*. His name does not occur in any inscription, but it is given as *Śiva-Svāti* in the Puraṇās. Her son *Sātakarṇi* also was a *Mahārāja*; for he was the lord of a large kingdom in Central and Southern India. Her grandson *Puṣumāvi*, again, is called *Dakṣiṇāpath-eśvara* in the present inscription itself. She was naturally proud of this unique good fortune as is reflected in these three titles used in the present inscription.

*Mahādevī Gautamī* was rightly proud of her brave and righteous son *Sātakarṇi*. This is evident from the detailed description of his character, conduct and conquests with which the present inscription opens. No such description of any other king of ancient India has yet been discovered.

The present inscription describes *Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi* as the ruler of *Asika* (*Ṛishika*), *Asaka* (*Aśmaka*), *Kukura*, *Aparānta* (North Koṅkaṇ), *Vidarbha*, *Anūpa* and *Akarāvanti* (East and West *Mālwā*). Next, the extent of his kingdom is indicated by the mention of the following mountains comprised in it — *Vindhya*, *Ṛikshavat*, *Pāriyātra*, *Sahya*, *Kṛishṇagiri*, *Macha*, *Śristana*, *Malaya*, *Mahendra*, *Śvetagiri* and *Chakora*. Further, his *digvijaya* is suggested by the description that his horses had drunk the water of the three oceans. His commands were obeyed by all *Rāja-maṇḍalas*.

In personal appearance *Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi* resembled the full moon (of the *purnimā*); his gait was like the mode of walking of an elephant; his arms were muscular, round and long like the folds of a great serpent. He always gave protection to the afflicted, was ever engaged in serving his mother, shared the joys and sorrows of his subjects, spent properly the wealth which he obtained by rightful means, gave assistance to the *Brāhmaṇas* and

the people of other castes in their adversity, and prevented the intermixture of the four castes. He is further described as the abode of the *Āgamas*, the resort of good people, the shelter of *Rāja-lakshmi*, a peerless bowman and a unique Brāhmaṇa. He detested violence and so he forgave his enemy for his hostility and did not inflict a corporal punishment on him.

About his prowess we are told that he had humbled the arrogance of the Kshatriyas, destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and the Pahlavas, totally exterminated the Kshaharāta race, and brought prestige to his own Sātavāhana family. His victorious banner was never captured by the enemy and his capital was never molested by hostile forces.

We have shown above that Cave No. III was got excavated and donated to a Buddhist Saṅgha by Gautamī Bala-śrī through her great son Sātakarṇi. So it was known as *Devī-leṇa* (the Queen's Cave) as stated in line 2 of the next inscription (No. 19). But it had not been embellished till then. So Puḷumāvi, her grandson, arranged for its embellishment with sculptures etc. by donating the village Piśāchīpadraka for the purpose.

**Localities—Dakṣiṇāpatha** signifies the region south of the Narmadā.<sup>1</sup> Another definition of the term is that it lies beyond Māhishmatī (modern Maheśvar in the former Indore State).<sup>2</sup> **Asika** is Sanskrit Ṛishika. From the references to it in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, it seems that this country lay in the vicinity of Anūpa (Nemāṇḍ and Indore districts of Madhya Pradesh), Vidarbha and Aśmaka. Such a country can only be modern Khāndesh.<sup>3</sup> **Asaka** (Aśmaka) lay to the south of the Godāvari as appears clear from the references to it in the *Suttanipāta*. It evidently comprised the modern districts of Ahmednagar and Biḍa. **Mūlaka** corresponded to the present Aurangābād District. Its capital was Pratiśṭhāna (modern

<sup>1</sup> माहिष्मत्याः पश्चतो दक्षिणापथः । *Kāvyaśikṣā*, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> नर्मदायां दक्षिणेन देशे दक्षिणापथः । *Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra* (Kāshī Sanskrit Series), p. 112 (Jayamadgala com.).

<sup>3</sup> *SI.*, I. pp. 184 ff.

Paiṭhaṇ) on the Godāvarī as stated in the Pāli literature.<sup>1</sup> The exact location of **Kukura** is not known. Varāhamihira places it in the Madhya Deśa, which suggests that it lay to the north of the Narmadā. **Aparānta** is well known as the ancient name of North Koṅkaṇ. **Anūpa** corresponded to the modern Nemāḍ and Indore districts of Madhya Pradesh. Its capital Māhishmatī is identical with modern Maheśvar on the Narmadā.<sup>2</sup> **Vidarbha** is too well known to need identification. In ancient times, it extended from the Narmadā in the north to the Godāvarī in the south. **Ākarāvanti** comprised Eastern and Western Mālwā corresponding to its divisions of Pūrva and Aparā, both of which are mentioned in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman. The capital of the former was Ākara, and that of the latter, Avanti. Both are still known by their ancient names.

The present inscription mentions several mountains. **Vindhya**, **Sahya** and **Malaya** retain their ancient names even now. **Ṛikshavat** is now known as Sātpuḍā. **Pāriyātra** is probably the old name of Mt. Abu. **Kaṇhagiri** is the modern Kānherī hill. **Macha** (Sanskrit, Mañcha) is identified by Bhagvanlal Indraji with Rāmaśeja hill.<sup>3</sup> The location of **Siriṭana** (Sanskrit, Śrī-stana) is uncertain. Some identify it with Śrī-Śaila. **Seṭagiri** (Sanskrit, Śvetagiri) is identified by some with a hill near Nāgārjunakoṇḍ. It is mentioned in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍ inscription of Vasuśeṇa. According to others, it was identical with the hill of Nāṇeghāṭ.<sup>4</sup> **Mahendra** is the well-known name of the eastern range of hills in Andhra. **Chakora** cannot be identified now. No village corresponding to **Pisāchīpadraka** can now be identified in the Nāsik District.

## Line

Text<sup>5</sup>

1 सिद्धं<sup>6</sup> [1\*] रजो वासिठीपुत्रस<sup>7</sup> सिरिपुत्रुमाविस सबखरे<sup>8</sup> एकुनवीसे

<sup>1</sup> *Suttanipāta*, Pārāyānavaggo Vatthugāthā, V. 2.

<sup>2</sup> In the inscriptions at Maheśvar, the place is mentioned as Māhishmatī. See *Potdar Comm. Vol.*, p. 319.

<sup>3</sup> *Nāsik District Gazetteer* (old ed.), p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> See *Satagara-pavate* in No. 23.

<sup>5</sup> From the plate facing p. 60 in *EL*, VIII.

<sup>6</sup> Elsewhere its Prakrit form *siddham* is used.

<sup>7</sup> *Vāsīḥīputasa* (Bh. and Būh.).

<sup>8</sup> *Samvachhure* (Būh.).

- १०[ +\* ] १ गिम्हाण<sup>१</sup> पञ्चे वितिये २ दिवसे तेरसे १०[ +\* ] ३  
राजरजो गोतमीपुतस हिमव[त]मेह -
- 2 मंदरपवतसमसारस असिकअसकमुळकसुरटकुपुरापरंत<sup>२</sup> अनुपविद-  
भआकरावतिराजस विस्सछवतपरिचात<sup>३</sup> सय्हकण्हगिरिमचसिरिटन-  
मलयमहिव -
- 3 सेटगिरिचकोरपवतपतिस सबराज[ लोक ] मडलपतिगहीतसासनस  
दिवसकर[ क ] रविबोधितकमलविमलसदिसवदनस तिसमुदतोयपीतवा-  
हनस पटि[ पु ] णचदमडलससिरीक -
- 4 पियदसनस वरवारणविकमचाहविकमस भुजगपतिभोगपीनवाट<sup>४</sup> विपुल-  
बोधमुव[ र\* ] भुजस अभयोदकदानकिलिननिभयकरस अविपनमातु-  
मुसूसाकरस सुविभततिवगदेसकालस
- 5 पोरजननिविसेससममुखडुखस खतियदपभानमदनस<sup>५</sup> सकयवनपल्हवनि-  
सूदनस धनोपजितकरविनियोगकरस कितापराधे पि सतुजने अपाण-  
हिंसाहसिंसा दिजावरकुटुबविवध -
- 6 नस खखरातवस<sup>६</sup> निरवसेसकरस सातवाहनकुलवसपतिथापन<sup>७</sup> करस  
सवमंडलाभिवावितच[ र\* ] नस विनिवतितचातुवणसकरस अनेकसमरा-  
वजितसतुसघस अपराजितविजयपताकसतुजनदुपसधनीय -
- 7 पुरवरस कुलपुरिसपरपरागतविपुलराजसदस आगमान निलयस  
सपुरिसान असयस सिरिये अधिठानस उपचारान<sup>८</sup> पभवस एककुसस  
एकधनुधरस एकसूरस एकबम्हणस राम -
- 8 केसवाजुनभौमसेनतुलपरकमस<sup>९</sup> छणधनुसव<sup>१०</sup> समाजकारकस नाभाग-<sup>११</sup>  
नहुसजनभेजयसकरयपातिरामाबरीससमतेजस अपरिमितमख्यमचित-  
मभूत-<sup>१२</sup> पवनगहळसिधयखरखसविजाधरभूतगधवचारण -
- 9 चदविचाकरनखतगह्विधिणसमरसिरसि जितरिपुसघस नागवर<sup>१३</sup> छघा  
गगनतलमभिगाइस कुलविपुलसिरिकरस सिरिसातकणिस मातुय महा-  
देवोय गोतमिय बलसिरीय सचवचनदानखमाहिसानिरताय तपदमनिय -

<sup>१</sup> *Gimhāna* (Bh. a: d Būh.).

<sup>२</sup> *parīva* (Bh.).

<sup>३</sup> *Parivāna* (Būh.).

<sup>४</sup> *gōva-vāṭa*— (Bh. and Būh.).

<sup>५</sup> *Reud*—*dhamaṣa*.

<sup>६</sup> *vaṭṭa* (Būh.).

<sup>७</sup> *paṭṭhāpāna* (Būh.).

<sup>८</sup> *upachārānaṭṭh* (Bh.).

<sup>९</sup> *parīdhamaṣa* (Būh.).

<sup>१०</sup> *chhāna-vaṇaṣaṣa* (Bh.); *Chhāna ghaṇaṣaṣa*— (Būh.). Perhaps *dhamaṣaṣa* is intended.

<sup>११</sup> *Nābhāga*— (Būh.).

<sup>१२</sup>—*mabhatāṭṭh* (Bh.).

<sup>१३</sup>—*gaga-vāra*— (Bh.); *naṅga-vaṇa* (Būh.).

- 10 मोपवास्तपराय राजरिसिबवधुसद<sup>1</sup>मखिलमनुविधीयमानाय कारित  
 देयधम [केलासपवत\*]सिखरसदिसे तिरण्णुपवतसिखरे वि[मा]-  
 नवरनिविसेसमहिदीकलेण [ 1\* ] एत च लेण महादेवी महाराजमाता  
 महाराज[पि]तामही ददाति निकायस भदावनीयानं भिखुसघस [ 1\* ]
- 11 एतस च लेण[स] चितण<sup>2</sup>निमित्त महादेवीय अयकाय सेवकामो<sup>3</sup>  
 पियकामो च णता . . . . दखिणापवेसरो<sup>4</sup> पितुपतियो धमसेलुस  
 [ददा]ति गाम तिरण्णुपवतस अपरदखिणपसे पिसाजि<sup>5</sup>पदकं सवजात-  
 भोगनिरठि [ 1\* ]

### Translation

Success! In the nineteenth—19—(regnal) year of the King, the illustrious Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi, in the second—2—fortnight of summer, on the thirteenth—13—day, the *Mahādevī* (Great Queen) *Gautamī Bala-śrī*—who is devoted to truth, charity, forgiveness and non-violence, who is always engaged in penance, self-control, restraint and fasting, who fully follows the mode of life of the wife of a Royal Sage, who is the mother of the King of kings, the illustrious *Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi*, who in strength was equal to the mountains *Himavat*, *Meru* (and) *Mandāra*; who was the king of *Ṛishika*, *Aśmaka*, *Mūlaka*, *Surāshṭra*, *Kukura*, *Aparānta*, *Anūpa*, *Vidarbha* and *Akarāvanti*; who was the lord of *Vindhya*, *Ṛikshavat*, *Pāriyātra*, *Sahya*, *Kṛishṇagiri*, *Mañcha*, *Śrī-stana*, *Malaya*, *Mahendra*, *Śvetagiri* and *Chakora* mountains; whose orders were obeyed by all circles of princes; whose face resembled a fresh lotus opened by the rays of the Sun; whose chargers had drunk the waters of the three oceans; whose lovely face was beautiful like the full moon; whose gait was like the mode of walking of a choice elephant; whose arms were stout, muscular, fleshy and long like the folds of a lordly serpent; whose fearless hand used to become wet by the water poured out in granting protection; who (always) waited upon

<sup>1</sup> *vadhū-sada*—(Büh.).

<sup>2</sup> *chītanā*—(Büh.).

<sup>3</sup> *Sevākāmo* (Bh.).

<sup>4</sup> *Dakṣiṇāpāthīvaro* (Büh.).

<sup>5</sup> *Pisāchī*—(Büh.).

his blessed<sup>1</sup> mother; who properly allotted time and place to the three objects of human life; who shared the joys and sorrows of the people; who humbled the arrogance of the Kshatriyas; who destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas; who properly spent the taxes which he rightfully collected; who was averse to inflicting capital punishment even on his enemy who had offended him; who brought about the prosperity of the families of the Brāhmaṇas and also of the lower castes; who totally exterminated the race of the Kshaharātas; who established the fame of the Sātavāhana family; whose feet were saluted by all circles (*of princes*); who prevented the intermixture of the four castes; who vanquished multitudes of enemies in many battles; whose victorious banner was never captured (*by the enemy*); whose capital was too strong to be attacked; whose royal title was inherited from a series of noble ancestors; who was the abode of the Āgamas, the refuge of good people, the asylum of the Royal Fortune (*and*) the source of good manners; who was a unique controller, an unrivalled Bowman, a pre-eminent hero, and a peerless Brāhmaṇa; whose prowess was like that of Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna and Bhīmasena; who held festive assemblies of archery;<sup>2</sup> who in lustre resembled Nābhāga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma and Ambarīsha; who used to obtain inexhaustible, lasting, inconceivable and marvellous victories in the forefront of the battle-fields crowded with Pavana, Garuḍa, the Siddhas, the Yakshas, the Rākshasas, the Vidyādharas, the Bhūtas, the Gandharvas, the Chāraṇas, the Sun, the Moon, the constellations and the planets; who, when seated on the shoulder of a choice elephant, pervaded the sky

<sup>1</sup> Bh. takes *avipanna-* as an adjective of *mātṛ* and interprets it as 'who served his mother even when she is free from illness.' Other people serve their mothers when they are ill. Bühler translated it as 'who never disobeyed his mother', but this does not follow the original. Senart translated it as 'of unchecked obedience towards his mother', which also is unsatisfactory. *Avipanna* has the same sense as *śiva-mātṛ* used elsewhere. It suggests that Gautamī was fortunate or blessed.

<sup>2</sup> The expression has been variously interpreted: 'who invites assemblies on the festive occasion (which takes place) on the declining *ayana*' (Bh.); 'who on festive days caused to be made much merry-making and many joyous assemblies' (Büh.); 'liberal on festive days in unceasing festivities and assemblies' (Se.).



(with his lustre),<sup>1</sup> who secured a great fortune for his own family — [Mahādevī Gautamī Balaśrī] has caused to be excavated as her pious gift this precious Cave resembling a heavenly palace<sup>2</sup> on the top of the Tiraśmi hill which looks like a peak of the Kailāsa mountain. This Cave the Mahādevī (Great Queen), who is the mother of a Maharāja and grandmother of (another) Mahārāja, donates to the Bhadāvaniya Community of Buddhist monks.

(Line 11) For the embellishment<sup>3</sup> of this Cave, her grandson, the lord of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, who is desirous of serving his revered grandmother and pleasing her, adds to the religious endowments (of this Cave), for the bridge of the religious merit<sup>4</sup> of his father<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bhagvanlal and Bühler read *naga-vara-khodhā*—. Bh. translated it as 'who pierced the surface of the sky like the summit of a mighty mountain' and Büh. as 'who dives deeper into the sky than the shoulder of the most excellent mountain'. The use of the word *skandha* in the present expression indicates that the intended reading is probably *naga-vara-skandha*-, and *naga* means 'an elephant'. Senart who has given that reading, has translated it as 'plunging into the sky from the shoulder of his choice elephant'. None of these interpretations is satisfactory.

<sup>2</sup> *Vimāna* has been taken by Bhagvanlal in the sense of 'a celestial chariot', but it is evidently used here in the sense of a *prāsāda* (a temple).

<sup>3</sup> Bühler has taken *chitāga-nimitta* in the sense 'in order to allow this cave to be (duly) taken care of', evidently understanding *chitāga* in the sense of 'chintana'. Bhagvanlal translated it as 'for painting the cave'. But the Cave has no paintings. Bhagvanlal remarked, 'Time may have destroyed the colouring, but it is possible that the intention of painting the cave was not carried out'. The rendering 'for embellishment' suggested by Senart is much better. Puṣumavi made this donation for embellishing the cave with sculptures. We have shown elsewhere that there are several *śilpa-paṭṭas* on both the sides of the door-way where political incidents of the time have been suggested. See Appendix IV. The grant recorded here may have been intended for that purpose.

<sup>4</sup> Bhagvanlal takes *Dharmasetu* as the name of 'the manager of the Cave.' This is inadmissible. In the next inscription (No. 19), it is used in the sense of 'a religious gift'. It is so called because it, like a bridge, enables a person to cross the ocean of *saṁsāra*.

<sup>5</sup> *Pitupatiyo* cannot be interpreted satisfactorily. Bh. connected it with *Dakṣiṇāpathesaro* and understood it in the sense of 'hereditary'. Bühler connected it with *dharmasetusa* and understood it in the sense of '(intended) as a bridge of merit for his father (and his father's) wife.' None of these interpretations is satisfactory. Senart says, "*Patti* in the Buddhist Pāli, *i. e.* *prāpti*, is a technical term denoting the application to another of the merit acquired by good works, by a gift, or by a foundation. (See Childer, *s. v.*)" He, therefore, translates the expression as 'making over the merit of the gift to his father.' This is a much better interpretation. Puṣumavi's mother was living at the time. So he has mentioned only his father in this connection. For a similar instance, see the Tiroḍḍi plates of Vākātaka Pravarasena II. *CII.*, V, p. 50. Pravarasena made the grant for the religious merit of his mother. He does not mention his father who was dead at the time.

the village **Pisāchīpadraka** situated to the south-west of the **Triraśmi hill**, renouncing all his right to its enjoyment.

## No. 19

## Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi : Years 19 and 22

This inscription is incised on the back wall of the veranda in Cave III at **Nāsik** in continuation of inscription No. 18, from which it is separated by a *svastika*. It extends over four lines. In some places it has been damaged or has become indistinct.

Stevenson and Brett first drew attention to it by publishing its eye-copy in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. V, pp. 45 ff. Later, it was discussed by Edward and Arthur West, R. G. Bhandarkar, Pischel, Franke, Hultsch and Rapson.<sup>1</sup> Bhagvanlal Indraji, Bühler and Senart have edited it with a translation. It is edited here from the plate published by Senart.

**Characters and language**—The characters of this inscription are of the Brāhmi alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

The order recorded in the present inscription was issued by Puṣumāvi, the lord (*Svāmi*) of **Navanagara**.<sup>2</sup> It says, "In the year 19, in the fortnight 2 of summer, on the day 13, We had given the village **Sudarśanā** on the southern road in the *āhāra* (territorial division) of **Govardhana** for the purpose of creating a permanent

<sup>1</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 1124; *E. I.* VIII, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Navanaga-svāmi* was written and engraved by a mistake of the writer and the engraver. A similar mistake occurred in writing and engraving *Bhavattavarman* in place of *Bhavudatavarman*, which was corrected later when the king's coins were found. This Navanagara was evidently founded and named so by Puṣumāvi, as the previous capital of Nahapāna was named *Junnar* (*Jirga-nagara*). Its exact location is not known, but Puṣumāvi had not transferred his capital there. This is shown by Ptolemy's statement in *circa* A. D. 140 that he was ruling from *Pratibhāga*.

endowment (*akshaya-nivi*) for the up-keep of the Cave at the request of the mendicant monks of the **Bhadāyaniya**<sup>1</sup> Sect of **Beṇākaṭa**. In exchange for that village **Sudarśanā**, We are now giving the village **Śālmalipadra** situated on the eastern road in the *āhāra* of **Govardhana**. You shall deliver this village of **Śālmalipadra** to the mendicant monks of the **Bhadāyaniya** Sect dwelling in the **Queen's Cave**, for the purpose of creating a permanent endowment for the care of the Cave donated by Our revered Sire."<sup>2</sup> Next are mentioned the immunities incidental to the gift of the village. The order states further, "You shall record these immunities in regard to the villages **Sudarśanā** and **Śālmalipadra**. The order for cancelling the grant of the village **Sudarśanā** has been issued. This order has been written down by the *Mahāsenāpati* **Medhuna** and has been kept in safe custody by the resident monks of **Beṇākaṭa**,<sup>3</sup> The *paṭṭikā* (deed) of this order was prepared by [**Sātakarṇi**].<sup>4</sup> In the year 22, the fortnight . . of summer and the day 7." The record ends with the following words :—"For the well-being of the residents of **Govardhana**, **Vishṇupāla** has described the Buddha and made obeisance to him."

The present inscription contains two dates. The first of them is identical with that recorded in the preceding

<sup>1</sup> This Sect is named as *Bhadāvaniya* in No. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Bhagvanlal took *maha-atraka* in the sense of *Mahā-āchārya*. Bühler thought that *Pulumāvi* was thereby intended to be referred to. Senart understood it in the sense of the head of the local *vihāra*. These identifications cannot be accepted. This term has been used here in connection with the donor of the Queen's Cave. That cave was got excavated by Gautami-putra **Sātakarṇi** in the name of his mother, and so it came to be known by the name *Devī-loma* (Queen's Cave). So *Maha-atraka* (the Great Āryaka) mentioned here is none but Gautami-putra **Sātakarṇi**.

<sup>3</sup> The monks residing in the Nāsik caves had come from **Beṇākaṭa** (the territory on the banks of the *Vaingāṅgā*), and were in power at the Nāsik caves. So the *paṭṭikā* recording the donation of the village was made over to them.

<sup>4</sup> The letters are almost completely lost here, but from their traces left, the name appears to be **Sātakarṇi**. Senart, however, remarked, "It is most improbable that we have to read *Sātakarṇinā*, and it would indeed be extremely puzzling if this royal name were borne by a simple engraver." But the mention here is like that of a *Dātaka* in later inscriptions. Even persons from the royal family are seen mentioned as *Dātakas*. **Sātakarṇi** mentioned here may, therefore, have been the king's younger brother **Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi**. The execution of the present order may have been entrusted to him.

inscription (No. 18). On the basis of this, Bühler identified the villages Piśāchīpadraka and Sudarśanā.<sup>1</sup> If so, why was the latter name not used in the preceding inscription? Really speaking, these two villages were different, and they were gifted also for different purposes. Puḷumāvi granted the village Piśāchīpadraka in his nineteenth regnal year for the embellishment of the Queen's Cave. Sudarśanā was a Yakshiṇī, Puḷumāvi granted a village named after her in his 19th regnal year for the up-keep of the cave. Later, he donated Śālmalīpadra in exchange for it in his 22nd regnal year. It was actually delivered to the Bhikshus of Beṇākaṭa dwelling in the cave by the present order of Puḷumāvi in that year.

The statement in line 2 of the present inscription that Cave No. III had been granted [by Gautamīputra] at the request of the monks of Beṇākaṭa is noteworthy.<sup>2</sup> Previous editors had read *Dhanakaṭa-samanehi* in place of *Benākaṭa-samanehi* and identified Dhanakaṭa with Dhañakaṭa (modern Dharaṇikoṭ in Andhra). But the monks of Dhanakaṭa were of the Mahāsaṅghika Sect,<sup>3</sup> which belonged to the Mahāyāna. The Bhadāyaniya Bhikshus to whom the Cave was donated belonged to the Sthaviravāda. Why should the Mahāsaṅghikas of Dhanakaṭa make a request to Gautamīputra for the donation of a cave to the adherents of a rival Śākhā? Hence the reading *Benākaṭa-samanehi* adopted by Senart is in all probability the correct one. *Benākaṭa* is mentioned again in line 4 of the present inscription, which supports Senart's reading in line 2. His remarks supporting *Benākaṭa-samanehi* in line 2 are worth quoting: "Of course, I cannot venture to hold my own against those who worked from the stone itself. I must own,

<sup>1</sup> Sudarśanā was a Yakshiṇī. She is mentioned in a Bhārhut inscription. See a similar name in *Ajñālikāya* in No. 11. Sudarśanā and Piśāchīpadraka are not identical. The former was on the southern road from Govardhana, while latter was on the western road. Besides, they were donated for different purposes. So they were undoubtedly different.

<sup>2</sup> See the expression *amho dhamma-dāne* in No. 13. The order in that inscription was issued in the names of both Gautamī and her son Sātakarṇī.

<sup>3</sup> See *Amarāvati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, pp. 15 ff.

however, that considering the general similarity of *b* and *dh*, it seems very tempting to suppose that our Dhana-kaṭa is not different from the Benākaṭa in the following epigraph. Of the two, the reading *Benākaṭa* seems to me the better secured one." Senart thought that this Benākaṭa was situated in the Nāsik District;<sup>1</sup> but no place of that name can be traced in that district. Benākaṭa denoted the territory on the banks of the Beṅā or Vaingāṅgā. There was a famous Buddhist centre at Paunī on the bank of that river in the Bhaṅḍārā District of Vidarbha as revealed by the excavations of the Nāgpur University and the Central Archaeological Department in recent years.<sup>2</sup> The monks of that place were of the Bhadrāyāniya Sect. They are mentioned in the Kānherī inscriptions also.

**Localities**—The location of Navanagara and Śūdarśanā has been discussed already. No village of the name Śālmalipadra can now be traced in the Nāsik District. The name must have by now changed to Sāvargaon. Three villages of this name still exist in the Nāsik and Niphāḍ *tālukās* of the Nāsik District. That in the Nāsik *talukā* is close to Govardhana, but it lies to the west, not to the east as stated in the present inscription. So it could not have been intended here. Sāvargaon in the Niphāḍ *tālukā* lies to the north-east of Govardhana. It may have been the one mentioned here.

Line	Text <sup>3</sup>
1	सिध [ १० ] नवनरस्वामो <sup>4</sup> वासिठिपुतो तिरिपुडुमवि जानपपति गोवधने आमच
2	सिबलदिल य अम्हेहि सब १० [ +० ] १ गि प २ दिव १० [ +० ] ३ वेनाकटसमनेहि <sup>5</sup> एय पवते तिर[ ष्टुग्हि* ] . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, VII, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> At Paunī on the bank of the Vaingāṅgā in the Bhaṅḍārā district, the remains of two large Stūpas and several inscriptions of the Maurya-Śuṅga period have been discovered. It was a famous centre of Buddhism.

<sup>3</sup> From the plate in *E. I.* VIII.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Navanagara-svāmī*.

<sup>5</sup> Bh. and Būh. had read *Dhanakaṭa-samanehi*, but Senart has suggested the reading given above. It is undoubtedly the correct one.

- . . . . <sup>1</sup> धमसेतुस लेनस पटिसथरणे अखय[निवि\*]हेतु  
 एथ गोवधनाहारे दखिणमगे गामो मुदिसणा<sup>2</sup> भिखुहि देविलेणवासेहि  
 निकायेन भदायनियेहि पतिगय दतो [ 1\* ] एतस दानगामस सुदसनान  
 परिवटके एथ गोवधनाहारे पुवमगे
- 3 गाम सामलिपद ददाम [ 1\* ] एत त महअहरकेव ओदेन धमसेतुस  
 लेनस पटिसथरणे अखयनिविहेतु गाम सामलिपद भि[खु]हि  
 देविलेण[वासेहि\*] [निका\*]येन भदायनियेहि प्रतिगय्ह ओयपपेहि  
 [ 1\* ] एतस च गामस सामलिपदस भिखुहलपरिहार
- 4 वितराम [ 1\* ]अपालस<sup>3</sup> अनोमस अलोणखादक अरटसविनविक<sup>4</sup>  
 सवजातपारिहारिक च [ 1\* ] एतेहि न परिहारेहि परिहरेहि [ 1\* ]  
 एत च गाम-सामलिपद<sup>5</sup>-परिहारे च एथ निवधापेहि खु[ विसन ]गामस च  
 [ 1\* ] मुदिसनान विनिबधकारेहि अणता<sup>6</sup> [ 1\* ] महासेनापतिना  
 वेधुनेन . . . . ना छतो [ 1\* ] बटिका [वेनाकटवास]-  
 केहि<sup>7</sup> ह्य[ग\*]तो [ 1\* ] दता पटिका सव २०[ +\* ]२ गि पखे  
 . . दिव ७ [ 1\* ] [सा\* ] तकणिना<sup>8</sup> कटा [ 1\* ] गोवधनवाथवान  
 फास . यो<sup>9</sup> विण्हपालेन [स्वामि]वणण णत [ 1\* ] नम भगतसपति-  
 पतपस<sup>10</sup> जिनवरस सुधस [ 1\* ]

### Translation

Success ! Vāsishṭhīputra illustrious Puḷumāvi, the Lord of Navanagara, issues the (*following*) order to Śivakhadila,<sup>11</sup> the *Amātya* at Govardhana :—

“In the year 19, the fortnight 2 of summer, the day 13, we had given the village Sudarśanā on the southern road in the *āhāra* of Govardhana as Our

<sup>1</sup> Here some *akṣaras* like *pativasatāna bhikkhāna* are lost.

<sup>2</sup> *Sudisana* (Bh.); *Sudusana* (Büh.).

<sup>3</sup> Read *apāvesa*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *savitayika*.

<sup>5</sup> *Samalipada* (Büh.).

<sup>6</sup> *ānata* (Bh.).

<sup>7</sup> *Bhikkhāna-vāsakāhī* (Bh.).

<sup>8</sup> *Sā. kanama* (Büh.).

<sup>9</sup> *Phāsukāyana* (Bh.); *phesukaya* (Büh.).

<sup>10</sup> *bhagavataso patipatigāso* (Bh.). Senart has taken this in the sense of *abhyudgata-saṃgrāhī-pratigāya*.

<sup>11</sup> His name in Sanskrit will be Śiva-Śkandila. The prefix Śiva is noticed in several personal names of the time. Śkandila means Kārttikeya.

pious gift to the mendicant monks of the **Bhadāyaniya** Sect dwelling in the **Queen's Cave**, with a view to creating a permanent endowment for the up-keep of the cave, at the request<sup>1</sup> of the monks of **Beṇākaṭa**<sup>2</sup> dwelling in the caves on the **Triraśmi hill**. In exchange for that village We are (*now*) granting the village **Śālmaliṭpadra** on the eastern road in the *āhāra* of **Govardhana**. You shall deliver (*that*) village **Śālmaliṭpadra** to the Buddhist Community of the **Bhadāyaniya** Sect dwelling in the **Queen's Cave** for the purpose of creating a permanent endowment for the up-keep<sup>3</sup> of the Cave donated by Our revered Sire<sup>4</sup> as a pious bridge for the acquisition of religious merit.

(Line 3) We are granting the following immunities in regard to the gift of the village **Śālmaliṭpadra** made to the Monks :—It shall not be entered (*by royal servants*). It shall not be meddled with. It shall not be dug for salt. It shall not be interfered with by any magisterial functionary. You shall allow all immunities in regard to it. You shall register these immunities in regard to the village **Śālmaliṭpadra** (*and*) also the village **Sudarśanā**.

The Officers who registered the previous gift of the village **Sudarśanā** have noted this order. The **Mahāsenāpati Medhuna** has written down this royal

<sup>1</sup> This has been supplied conjecturally.

<sup>2</sup> Bhagvanlal and Bühler had read *Dhanakata-samanthi*, but since *he* and *she* were similar in shape in that age, Senart suggested the reading *Beṇākaṭa-samanthi*, which, on other evidence also, appears to be the correct one. This question has been discussed before.

<sup>3</sup> *Paṭisantharāṇa* (Sanskrit, *pratisantharāṇa*) originally signified 'spreading of a carpet etc. for reception'. Subsequently it denoted the meaning of 'welcome' or 'reception'. Senart has understood it in the sense of 'care', which seems to be suitable in the context. Bühler understood it in the sense of 'repairs'.

<sup>4</sup> *Maha-āyaka* has been interpreted differently by different editors. Senart has understood *āyaka* (Sanskrit, *āryaka*) in the sense of a religious personage. So *Mahā-Āryaka* would be 'the Chief Bhikṣu'. Bühler, took it as referring to Pujamāvi. This term occurs in the order issued by Pujamāvi. So by *Mahā-Āryaka* (the great Ārya), he seems to refer to his father Gautamīputra Sātakaṇṭhi. He had donated the Cave as his *odāna* (Sanskrit, *avadāna*) or a pious gift in the name of his mother. Bühler has understood *odāna* in the sense of 'kind', while Senart has taken it as meaning 'by an action resulting in religious merit.'

order. The *paṭṭikā* (deed) (of this order) has been delivered to the residents of Beṇākāṭa. The *paṭṭikā* was issued in the (regnal) year 22, in the fortnight .. of summer, on the day 7. It was prepared by [Sātakarṇi].<sup>1</sup>

(Line 4) For the well-being of the residents of Govardhana, Viṣṇupāla has issued the (following) description of the Lord<sup>2</sup> :—"Salutation to the Buddha, the foremost among the Jinas, whose pre-eminence and majesty are exalted."<sup>3</sup>

## No. 20

Kärle Cave Inscription of the Reign of Vāsishṭhiputra  
Pujumāvi : Year 24

This inscription is incised at the top on the wall of the second cell (from the south) of a *Vihāra*, north of the *Chaitya* Cave at Kärle in the Poonā District. This record was first brought to notice by Bird in 1847.<sup>4</sup> Later, Stevenson and Brett, Franke and Rapson discussed it. Bhagvanlal Indraji, Bühler and Senart have edited it with a translation. It is edited here from the plate published with Senart's article.

<sup>1</sup> *Sātakarṇi* is not clear ; but Senart read *-takarṇi*, from which it seems to be the intended reading. But this Sātakarṇi was not an engraver as Senart supposed, Copper-plate grants usually mention a *Dātaka* or an Executor of the particular grant. Even princes of the royal family are sometimes mentioned in this capacity. So in Sātakarṇi mentioned here. He was a uterine brother of Pujumāvi.

<sup>2</sup> Bhagvanlal and Bühler have taken *Sūmi* as referring to Pujumāvi. Bhagvanlal has translated this sentence as follows :—"The description of the lord (King) has been given by Viṣṇupāla for imparting pleasure to the inhabitants of Govardhana." But what follows is not a description of Pujumāvi. Bühler's translation of this sentence is as follows :—"Viṣṇupāla has been appointed by the order of the lord to the charge of the inhabitants of Govardhana". Neither of these is acceptable. According to Senart, Viṣṇupāla seems to be some officer at Govardhana. (Is he not identical with Viṣṇupālita mentioned in No. 11 ?) He seems to have got the last line in praise of the Buddha engraved in the Cave on his own responsibility.

<sup>3</sup> Bhagvanlal read *aparipatipasa* (*apratipratipasa*) and understood that adjective of *Buddha* in the sense of "one who has no rival." Bühler read *patipatipasa* and understood it in the sense of "one who has attained the glory of Arhatship." The readings and translation given above follow Senart's.

<sup>4</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 1106.



**Characters and language.**—The present inscription is of four lines and is in a fair state of preservation. Its characters are of the Brāhmī alphabet. The form of the initial *e* in *ekavise*, and the looped *ta* are noteworthy. This record contains the numerical symbols of 2, 3, 4 and 24. Its language is Prakrit. In some cases the genitive form ends in *sya* as in Sanskrit, which is noteworthy.

The object of the present inscription was to record that *Upāsaka Harapharaṇa*, the son of *Setapharaṇa*, who was a follower of *Suvarsha* or *Kāśyapiya Saṅgha*, and resided at *Abulāmā*, dedicated a *maṇḍapa* (or *vihāra*) of nine cells to the *Mahāsaṅghika* Community of Buddhist monks in honour of his father and mother. He has recorded herein that *Buddharakshita* and his mother rendered him assistance in this task. This *vihāra* cave was completely excavated in the twenty-first regnal year of *Puḷumāvi*, but was actually made over to the *Mahāsaṅghikas* about three years later in the (regnal) year 24, in the third fortnight of winter, on the second day. The record states at the end that there is another cave of the *Upāsikā* mother of *Buddharakshita* nearby.

As stated here, this cave lies to the north of the *Chaitya* Cave at *Kārle* and has nine cells. The *Purāṇas* state that *Puḷumāvi* ruled for twenty-eight years. So this cave may well have been occupied in his twenty-fourth year. The mention of the *Mahāsaṅghika* Sect in the present record is worthy of note.

The personal names *Harapharaṇa* and *Setapharaṇa* are Persian.<sup>1</sup> The former resembles Greeco-Persian *Horopharnes* or *Holophernes*. *Pharaṇa* at the end of it means 'the lord' in Persian. *Seta* may be a corruption of Persian *kshaeta*. *ASWI*. IV, p. 113, n. 10.

**Locality**—The place-name *Abulāmā* is not Indian. It may have been the name of a region or of a town in Iran.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ASWI*. IV, p. 112.

Line	Text <sup>1</sup>
1	सिध [ १* ] रज्जो <sup>२</sup> वासिठिपुतस तिरिपुळुमाविस सबछरे चतुविसे- २०( +* )४ हेमंतान <sup>३</sup> पखे ततिये ३ दिवसे वि -
2	तिये २ उपासकस हरफरणस सेतफरणपुत्तस्य सो[ व ]सकस्य अबुला- माय वयवस्य इम वेयधम म[ ड ]पो <sup>४</sup>
3	नलगम महासधियानं परिगहो सधे चातुविसे दिन <sup>५</sup> मातापितुनं पुजा <sup>६</sup> [ ये* ] सबसतानं हितमुषस्यतये [ १* ] एकविसे <sup>७</sup> स -
4	बछरे निठितो [ १* ] सहेत च मे पुन बुधरखितेन मातर चस्य <sup>८</sup> [ उ ]पासिकाय [ १* ] बुधरखितस मातु वेयधम पाठो <sup>९</sup> अनो [ १* ]

### Translation

Success! In the twenty-fourth—24—year of the King Vāsishṭhīputra illustrious Puḷumāvi, in the third—3—fortnight of winter on the second—2—day, this pious gift of a *maṇḍapa* (*vihāra*) of nine cells was given to the Universal Saṅgha as the special property of the Mahāsaṅghikas by the *Upāsaka* Harapharaṇa, the son of Setapharaṇa, who belongs to the Sauvarshaka<sup>10</sup> (or Kāśyapiya) Saṅgha and is a resident of Abulāmā, in honour of his father and mother and for securing the well-being and happiness of all creatures. It had been excavated in the twenty-first<sup>11</sup> (*regnal*) year. Buddharakshita and his *Upāsikā* mother have rendered assistance to me. There is another pious gift of the mother<sup>12</sup> of Buddharakshita behind (*this Cave*)<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> From the plate in *EL*. VII.

<sup>2</sup> *Rajo* (Büh.), but the plate shows *Rajo* clearly.

<sup>3</sup> *Hemantāna* (Bh. and Büh.). But the reading given above is clear in the plate.

<sup>4</sup> *mapo* (Bh. and Büh.). But the second *akshara* of this is not clear.

<sup>5</sup> *Dinan* (Bh.)      <sup>6</sup> *Pūjā* (Bh.).

<sup>7</sup> Bühler read *eka-vīse*, but the reading *eka-vīse* given by Bhagavanīal and Senart appears to be correct.

<sup>8</sup> Bühler has suggested the reading *mātarakshī*.      <sup>9</sup> *Pāṭho* (Bh.).

<sup>10</sup> *Sauvarshaka* (Sanskrit, *Sauvarshaka*) means 'a follower of the Savarsha or Kāśyapiya Saṅgha' (Büh.).

<sup>11</sup> Bühler read *eka-vīse*, but as the expression here mentions the date when the *maṇḍapa* had been completed, that reading is not admissible.

<sup>12</sup> Bühler supposed that *Mātarakshī* (Sanskrit, *mātarakshī*) was her name.

<sup>13</sup> The last two words cannot be interpreted satisfactorily. Bühler read *pāṭho* and took the words to mean that a second passage was completed. Senart has omitted these words in his translation. If *pāṭho* is amended into *pāṭhe* (*prīṭhe*), the intended meaning may be 'There is another (*maṇḍapa*) behind (*this*).'

### Amarāvati Stūpa Inscription of the Reign of Vāsishthīputra Puṣumāvi

This inscription was incised on a gateway pillar of the railing of the Stūpa at Amarāvati in the Andhra Pradesh. Its reading was first published by Bhagvanlal Indraji in 1882. Later, Hultsch, Burgess and Pischel discussed it.<sup>1</sup> Śivarāmamurti also has given its reading and translation.<sup>2</sup>

**Characters and language**—The characters of this inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

The present inscription contained a date of the reign of Vāsishthīputra Svāmī illustrious Puṣumāvi, but it has now been lost. The object of the inscription was to record that the *Gṛihapati* Kahutara and Isili (Rishila), the son of the *Gṛihapati* Puri, erected as their pious gift the Sacred Wheel on the western gateway of the Stūpa which belonged to the Chetikiya Buddhist Saṅgha of the Mahā-Chaitya (the Great Chaitya). It is further recorded that the brothers and sisters of the second *Gṛihapati* Isili and his wife Nākānikā with her sons were to share in the religious merit of this pious gift.

The importance of the present inscription lies in this that it proves the extension of Sātavāhana power to Andhra Pradesh during the reign of Puṣumāvi. His coins also have been found there. Tārānātha says that Nāgārjuna erected the railing round the Stūpa at Amarāvati. From this some scholars have conjectured that the great Buddhist philosopher flourished during his reign. The mention of the brothers and sisters as partners in the pious gift shows that the joint family system then prevailed in Andhra. The Chetikiya Nikāya mentioned in this inscription was a sub-division of the Mahāsaṅghika Sect of Buddhism.

<sup>1</sup> Lüders' List, No. 1248.

<sup>2</sup> *Amarāvati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 283.

Line	Text
1	[सि]धं [ १* ] र[त्रो] वा[सिठि]पुत[स] [सा]मिसिरि - पुढुमाविस . . . पिडमुतरियानं कहुतर - गहपतिस पुरि - गहपतिस च पुतस इसिलिस सभातुकस
2	स[भ*]गिनिकस भयाय च सनाकानिकाय सपुतक[स] . . . . [तो] महाचेतियचेतिकियानं निका[य*]स परिगहे अपरदारे धमचकं वेयघ[म्मं] वापित [ १* ]

#### Translation

Success ! [In the year . . . .] of King Vāsishṭhī-putra Svāmī illustrious Puḷumāvi, the *Gṛihapati Kahutara* of the Piṇḍasutariya family and *Isili* (Rishila), the son of the *Gṛihapati Puri*, together with his brothers and sisters and his wife *Nākānikā* (and) . . . . together with his sons, have erected as their pious gift (*this*) *Dharma Chakra* (Sacred Wheel) on the western gateway (*of the railing*) owned by the Buddhist Community of the *Chetikiya* Sect of the *Mahā-Chaitya*.

No. 22; Plate II

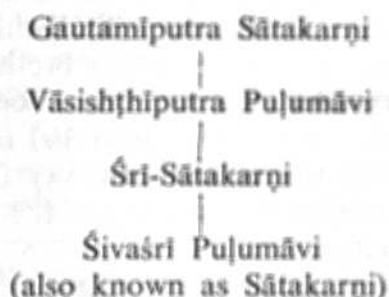
#### Vanavāsī Stone Inscription of Vāsishṭhī-putra Puḷumāvi

This inscription was discovered recently while clearing the courtyard in front of the temple of Madhukeśvara at Vanavāsī. "The inscribed slab is of ash-coloured basalt and measures 4·8' × 1·1' × 0·5'. The slab is artistically carved and the inscription is in the centre of the stone. There is a pointed tip at the bottom, from which it becomes evident that it was intended to be fixed to a socket. At the top of the stone is seen a *chaitya* motif partly preserved."

The inscription was published by A. V. Narasimha Murthy and H. R. Raghunath Bhat in the *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, pp. 34 ff. We discussed it in the *Archaeological Studies* (Mysore University), Vol. I, pp. 2 ff. It is edited here from the plate published in the *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

The inscription is of only two lines and records that the *chhāyā-prastara* (image-stone) is of the *Mahādevī* (Chief Queen) of Vāsishthīputra Śiva-Śrī Puḷumāvi. The previous editors of this inscription stated that Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi was succeeded by Sātakarṇi, and the latter by Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi. He was also known as Sātakarṇi. The present inscription is of his reign. So the genealogy of these kings will be as follows :—



This is a confused genealogy. The Sātavāhanas sometimes prefixed *Śivaśrī* to their names and sometimes they did not do so. The Tarhālā hoard contained coins of both the types. We learn from No. 18 that Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi was a son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. From a fragmentary inscription<sup>1</sup> at Kānheri, we know that Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi was the son-in-law of Rudradāman of the Kārdamaka family. This Rudradāman is undoubtedly the Śaka *Mahā-kshatrpa* Rudradāman of the Junāgaḍh inscription. Two other Vāsishthīputras have become known from their lead coins in the Wāṭegaon hoard and silver portrait coins, *viz.*, Vāsishthīputra Skanda Sātakarṇi and Vāsishthīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi. These four kings were uterine brothers, all of them being sons of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and a queen of the Vasishtha *gotra*.

<sup>1</sup> See inscription No. 25.

From No. 18, we learn that the following countries in South India were included in the kingdom of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi—(1) Asika (Ṛishika or modern Khāndesh); (2) Asaka (Aśmaka) (modern Ahmadnagar and Bīḍa Districts); (3) Mūḷaka (modern Aurangābād District with its capital at Pratiṣṭhāna), and (4) Vidarbha. Kuntala (modern Sātārā, Kolhāpur, Belgaon, Dhārṇād and Kannaḍa districts) was probably not comprised in his kingdom. So the Wāṭegaon hoard found in the Kuntala country did not contain a single coin of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Puḷumāvi seems to have annexed that country for the first time. So his present Vanavāsī stone inscription has come to notice in Kuntala. No inscriptions or coins of any of his predecessors have yet been discovered in Kuntala.

The present inscription shows that a *chhāyā-prastara* (an image-stone) of the Chief Queen of Puḷumāvi was set up at Vanavāsī. Such stones and pillars had carved on them the images of the persons to commemorate whom they were erected. Such images were generally carved after the death of the persons in whose memory they were set up. This is suggested by a scene in the *Pratimā-nāṣaka* of Bhāsa. Such an image-inscription has been found on a pillar at Nāgārjunakoṇḍ.<sup>1</sup> Another was recently discovered at Paunī in the Bhaṇḍārā District of Vidarbha.<sup>2</sup> Such stone slabs and pillars probably had images carved on them such as are noticed on the aforementioned pillar discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍ; but no such figure was noticed on the memorial stones discovered at Vanavāsī and Paunī. Puḷumāvi's Chief Queen was probably a princess of Vanavāsī. Hence her memorial stone has been discovered at Vanavāsī.

Line

Text

सिधं [ १० ] राजो वासिष्ठोपुत्रस सिधसिरि -  
2 पुळुमाविस महादेविय छआपधरो [ १० ]

<sup>1</sup> *IEI*, XXXIV, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> See inscription No. 62.

## Translation

Success! This is the image-slab of the Chief Queen of King Vāsishṭhiputra Śiva-śri Puṣumāvi.

No. 23

Nāṇeghāt Inscription of the Reign of [Skanda] Sātakarṇi :  
Year 13

This inscription is incised above a cistern at Nāṇeghāt. Bhagvanlal Indraji edited it in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XV, pp. 315 ff.<sup>1</sup> Its facsimile was not, however, published with the article. Rapson felt its need while discussing its contents for checking the Pandit's readings; but no facsimile of the record has yet been published. At my request Shri R. G. Pandeya, Superintending Archaeologist, Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, and Dr. Jamkhedkar, Director of Archaeology, Mahārāshṭra State, sent their Epigraphical Assistants to Nāṇeghāt to copy the inscription, but neither of them could trace it there. Since then it has been located at Nāṇeghāt, but it could not be copied owing to several difficulties.

**Characters and language**—As no facsimile of the record has yet been published, its characters cannot be described, but, like those of all other Śātavāhana inscriptions, they must have been of the Brāhmī alphabet. The language is Prakrit.

The **object** of the present inscription was to record that on the tenth day of the fifth fortnight of winter in the 13th regnal year of one Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi, *Grihapati* Damaghosha of Kāmavana dug a water-cistern in the Satagara hill, where the present inscription has been incised, and dedicated it as his pious gift to the Community of Buddhist monks.

<sup>1</sup> *JBRAS.*, XV, p. 314.

Bhagvanlal read the name of the Vāsishṭhīputra as *Chatarapana*, but as the upper stroke of *pa* is a little curved, he conceded that the name might also be read as *Chataraphana*. This appears a very curious name. None like it has been noticed in the Puraṇic dynasty of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) kings. But Bhagvanlal read it on a silver coin of Yajña-śrī Sātakarṇi, found at Sopārā. He read *Chatarapana-kumāru* in the legend on the reverse of that coin, and on its basis he concluded that Chatarapana was the father of Yajña-śrī Sātakarṇi. This coin of Yajña-śrī resembled those of the Western Kshatrapas. On its obverse it had the king's bust to right, and the signs of a hill, a river etc. on the reverse, as on the coins of the Western Kshatrapas. According to Bhagvanlal, *Chatarapana* is mentioned on the coin as the father of Yajña-srī. It is well-known that Kshatrapa coins mention the ruling king's father's name. Bhagvanlal obtained another similar coin of Yajña-śrī at Āmreli, but the legend on its reverse was even less distinct. He then argued as follows :—"The characters of the present Nāneghāṭ inscription resemble those of the time of Yajña-śrī. As Chatarapana is called Vāsishṭhīputra in it, he seems to have been a younger brother of Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi. As Yajña-śrī's Sopārā coin is of the same type as the coins of Kshatrapa Rudradāman, he must have been his contemporary. He was evidently the Sātakarṇi who was defeated twice by Rudradāman and then released as stated in his Junagaḍh inscription. Yajña-śrī first invaded his territory, but was ultimately defeated by him."

The historical sources discovered during the last half a century have disproved these conjectures of Bhagvanlal Indrajī. Some more coins of the same type have since been found which show that Yajña-śrī's coins have an identical legend, on both the obverse and the reverse, with only this difference that the reverse legend has some Dravidian words and terminations.<sup>1</sup> So there

<sup>1</sup> The silver portrait coins of Yajña Sātakarṇi have the legend *Raño Gotamī-putasa śrī-Yajña-Sātakarṇi* on the obverse and *Arhaṇaśa Gotamī-putasaḥ hīru-Yajña-Hārikarṇi* on the reverse.



is no mention of *Chatarapana* on any coin of Yajña-śrī. Even according to Bhagvanlal, Chatarapana was Vāsishṭhīputra, i. e., a son of a queen of the Vasishṭha gotra.

From inscriptions at Nāsik and Kānherī, and coins found at Wāṭegaon and elsewhere, we know of four Vāsishṭhīputras, viz. (1) Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi, (2) Vāsishṭhīputra Skanda Śātakarṇi,<sup>1</sup> (3) Vāsishṭhīputra Vijaya Śātakarṇi, and (4) Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇi.<sup>2</sup> All of them were uterine brothers and sons of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. They all ruled in Mahārāshṭra. So the Vāsishṭhīputra mentioned in the present inscription must be one of them. Of these, Vijaya Śātakarṇi was probably ruling in Vidarbha and perhaps in Andhra too. His coins have been found at Chāndā and Tarhālā in Vidarbha. His silver portrait coin legend has some Telugu words. Coins of Skanda Śātakarṇi have been found in Western Mahārāshṭra<sup>3</sup> and his silver portrait coin has no Telugu words in its legend. So Skanda Śātakarṇi may have been ruling in Western Mahārāshṭra.

No estampage of the present inscription has yet been published, but the conjecture may be hazarded that it had in the first line the words *Vāsishṭhīputasa siri-Khada-Śātakarṇisa*. This Khada Śātakarṇi is the same as Skanda Śātakarṇi, mentioned in the Purāṇas. He was not, however, the son of Puṣumāvi as stated in the Purāṇas. He was his brother. Pargiter has given the relevant line in the constituted text as follows :<sup>3</sup>—

शिवस्कन्दः सातकर्णभक्तास्यात्मजः समाः ।

But this line is defective as it does not mention his regnal period. A MS. of the *Vāyupurāṇa* gives the line as follows :<sup>4</sup>—

शिवस्कन्दः सातकर्णभविष्यति समास्त्रयः ।

<sup>1</sup> The Wāṭegaon hoard contained lead coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi and Vāsishṭhīputra Skanda Śātakarṇi.

<sup>2</sup> No. 25 mentions Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇi.

<sup>3</sup> *DKA.*, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42, n. 7.

But it gives him a very short reign-period of only three years. From several coins of this Skanda Sātakarṇi in the Wāṭegaon hoard where the legend commences at different points,<sup>1</sup> it appears quite clear that he ruled for a fairly long period. Several statements in the Purāṇas recording reign-periods have been proved to be wrong by the unchallengeable evidence of contemporary inscriptions. This is one more instance of the same type.

So the present inscription is probably of Vāsishṭhī-putra Skanda Sātakarṇi. He issued coins of both potin and lead.<sup>2</sup> The Tarhālā hoard contained his coins of potin, and the Wāṭegaon hoard those of lead. Recently, a silver portrait coin of him has been discovered.<sup>3</sup> But this is so far the only known inscription of his reign.

**Localities**—The hill where the present inscription has been incised is called **Satagara**. Bhagvanlal took *Sapta-giri* as its Sanskrit form, and held that it was the ancient name of the hill near Junnar. Alternatively, he suggested the reading *deya-dhamasa Tagara-pavate* in line 4 and took *Tagara-parvata* to be the name of the hill near Junnar. He concluded on the basis of this evidence that Junnar was the ancient city of Tagara.<sup>4</sup> Both these conclusions are wrong. Satagara may be identical with Seṭagiri mentioned in No. 18 as a mountain in the kingdom of Gautami-putra Sātakarṇi.<sup>5</sup> He is described therein as its Svāmi (Lord). Just as Kṛishṇagiri (Kānheri) is mentioned separately from Sahya (Sahyādri), of which it is an off-shoot, so is Śveta-giri of the present inscription. It seems that one off-shoot of the Sahyādri range was known as Kṛishṇa-giri (Black Hill), and another as Śvetagiri (White Hill). Bhagvanlal's identification of Tagara with Junnar has since been proved to be erroneous. Tagara is now correctly taken

<sup>1</sup> The legend on his lead coins in the Wāṭegaon hoard commences at different places on the obverse. So they must have been issued in different years.

<sup>2</sup> See the Section on the coins of the Sātavāhanas.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *JBRAS.* XV, p. 313.

<sup>5</sup> An inscription at Nāgīrjunakoṇḍ also mentions Seṭagiri. It seems to have been the name of a local hill.

to be identical with Ter in the Osmānābād District on the undisputable evidence of excavations.

Line	Text <sup>1</sup>
1	सिधं [ 1* ] रणो वसतिपुतस [ खव <sup>2</sup> ] सातकर्णिस
2	सवच्छर तर १० [ +* ] ३ हेमत पख पचमे दिवसे १०
3	कमवनस गहपतस दमघसस देयधम
4	पनियपुवा देयधम सतगरपवते एव [ 1* ]

#### Translation

Success ! In the year thirteen-13-in the fifth fortnight of winter, on the day 10, (*this*) water-cistern is (*dedicated as*) a pious gift of *Grihapati* Damaghosha of Kāmavana here on (*this*) Śveta-giri hill.

No. 24

#### Amarāvati Fragmentary Stone Inscription of Śiva-maka-Sada

This inscription is incised on a coping stone at Amarāvati in Andhra. It was first read by Burgess in 1882. Thereafter, Hultzsch<sup>2</sup> and Rapson discussed it. Sivarāma-murty also has published his reading and translation of it. They are adopted here.

**Characters and language**—The characters of this record are of the Brāhmi alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

The inscription consists of only one line, which also is very much mutilated. Its object cannot, therefore, be

<sup>1</sup> From Bhagvanlal's article in *JBBRAS.* XV, p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> Bhagvanlal read *Chaturapana* here and also on the silver coins of Yajña-īri Sātakarṇi and took it as the name of the latter's father. But that reading of the legend on the silver coins is now proved to be wrong. His reading *Chaturapana* here is also probably wrong. The name here must have been *Khadā*. All the four sons of Gautami-putra were called *Vāsishṭhī-putra* in inscriptions and coins. The eldest of them, *viz.*, Pujumāvi could not have been intended here; for he never bore the name of Sātakarṇi. Vijaya Sātakarṇi was ruling in Vidarbha and perhaps in Adhra too. The youngest also could not have been mentioned here; for inscriptions and coins he is generally named Sātakarṇi only, without any additional personal name. See No. 25. So the *Vāsishṭhī-putra* Sātakarṇi in the present inscription must have been Skanda Sātakarṇi.

<sup>3</sup> Lüders' *List*, No. 1279.

definitely stated. It seems to record some pious gift of a *Paniya-gharika* (Superintendent of Water Works) of King Śiva-maka-Sada at Amarāvati. This king seems to be of the Sātavāhana family, *Sada* being perhaps an abbreviation of *Sātakarṇi*. This name, however, occurs nowhere in the Sātavāhana genealogy. The prefix *Śiva* was optionally applied to their names by several kings of the age. *Maka* seems to be an honorific prefix. So the personal name of the king ruling at the time seems to have been *Sada* or *Sāda* (Sātakarṇi), known also as Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, as suggested by Rapson.<sup>1</sup> His coins have been found in Andhra. It seems that the Sātavāhana kingdom was divided between the two brothers, Skanda Sātakarṇi and Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, after the death of Puṣumāvi. Skanda obtained Mahārāshṭra including Vidarbha, and Sātakarṇi Andhra. After the former's death, Vijaya Sātakarṇi began to rule in Vidarbha. He may have held some part of Andhra also. Later, Sātakarṇi, the youngest brother, obtained Mahārāshṭra also as shown by the following inscription (No. 25).

The officer whose donation is recorded in the present inscription was *Paniya-gharika* (the Superintendent of Water Works) at Amarāvati. His designation shows that the local government there made suitable arrangements for, and looked after, the supply of drinking water to the people of the town.

#### Text<sup>2</sup>

रजो सिदि - सिवमक - सदस पनियघरिकस प . . . .

#### Translation

[This pious gift is of] the Superintendent of Water Works of the King, illustrious Śiva-maka-Sada (the venerable Śiva-Sātakarṇi).

<sup>1</sup> BMC., (Andhra), p. lii.

<sup>2</sup> ASMM., p. 291

### Kānherī Cave Inscription of the Time of Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi

This inscription is incised in a niche or recess above Cistern No. V on the road to the Caves at Kānherī. It was first noticed by Bird in 1847. Thereafter, Stevenson-Brett, West, Bühler, R. G. Bhandarkar and Rapson discussed it.<sup>1</sup> It is edited from the facsimile published with Bühler's article.

**Characters and language**—The characters are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and the language almost correct Sanskrit.

The **object** of the present inscription was to record that the faithful *Amātya Śateraka* of the Queen of the illustrious *Sātakarṇi*, who was the daughter of the *Mahākshatrapa Rudra* - and was born in the *Kārdamaka* family, donated as his pious gift the water cistern where the inscription is engraved. This *Mahākshatrapa Rudra* - is none other than *Mahākshatrapa Rudra - dāman*, who ruled over *Mālwā* and *Kāṭhīāwāḍ*, about the middle of the second century A. D. He is known to have promoted Sanskrit learning and himself composed *kāvya*s in prose and verse. The use of almost correct Sanskrit in the present inscription<sup>2</sup> of his daughter's *Amātya* is indicative of the same atmosphere at the court of his son-in-law, *Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi*.

The name *Kārdamaka* of *Rudradāman*'s family<sup>3</sup> is known from this inscription only. That he had given his daughter to the *Sātavāhana* prince, *Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi* is also known only from this record. It is, therefore, of great historical importance.

We have shown before from the preceding inscription that *Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi* was ruling over *Andhra* after the death of *Puṣumāvi*. Later, his rule seems to have

<sup>1</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 994.

<sup>2</sup> The only wrong form used in the present inscription is *Śri-Sātakarṇi* for *Śri-Sātakarṇi*.

<sup>3</sup> It is not unlikely that *Kārdamaka* was the name of the Queen's mother's family. See Rapson, *BMC. (Andhras)*, p. ciii.

extended to Mahārāshtra. Perhaps, Rudradāman had earlier annexed Aparānta (North Konkan) after defeating Puḷumāvi. In his Junāgaḍh inscription (No. 51) he is described as the lord of Aparānta, and is said to have defeated Sātakarṇi twice, but later released him because he was his 'not distant' relative. We have shown elsewhere that this Sātakarṇi was none other than Puḷumāvi.<sup>1</sup> After conquering Aparānta from Puḷumāvi, Rudradāman may have given it to his son-in-law Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi. Hence, this inscription of the latter's queen's *Amātya* has been found at Kānheri.

Line	Text <sup>2</sup>
1	३ . . . . . वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीसात[कर्ण]स्य देव्या[: ] कार्दमक- राजवंशप्र[भ]वाया महाक्षत्र[प]रु[द्र* <sup>4</sup> ] . . पु[त्र्या:] . . .
2	. . . . . [स्या:] <sup>3</sup> . . . [वि]श्वस्यस्य अमात्यस्य शतैरकस्य पानीयभाजनं देयधर्म[: ] [1*]

#### Translation

This water-cistern is a pious gift of the faithful *Amātya* Sateraka of . . . . . the queen of the illustrious Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, who is born in the Kārdamaka royal family, and is the daughter of *Mahākshatrapa* Rudra . . . . .

No. 26

### Nāsik Cave Inscription of the Reign of Yajña Sātakarṇi : Year 7

This inscription is incised on the back wall of the veranda of Cave XX at Nāsik. Stevenson and Brett

<sup>1</sup> Several members of the Sātavāhana family assumed names ending in *Sātakarṇi* (e. g. Skanda Sātakarṇi) after their illustrious ancestor Sātakarṇi I. Hence, Puḷumāvi seems to have been referred to as Sātakarṇi in Rudradāman's Junāgaḍh inscription (No. 51).

<sup>2</sup> From the facsimile published with Bühler's article. *ASWT.*, V, Plate LI (11).

<sup>3</sup> The words 'सिद्धम् राजः' may have been incised here.

<sup>4</sup> He is evidently *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman.

<sup>5</sup> The name of the queen is lost here.

first drew attention to it in 1853. Later, Edward and Arther West, R. G. Bhandarkar and Franke discussed it. Bhagvanlal Indraji, Bühler and Senart have edited it with a translation.<sup>1</sup> It is edited here from the plate published with Senart's article.

**Characters and language**—The characters of this inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

The **object** of this inscription is to record that *Mahāsenāpatinī Vāsu*, the wife of the *Mahāsenāpati Bhavagopa* of the *Kauśika gotra* completed the excavation of the cave which had been commenced by a *Yati* named **Bopaki**, but had remained incomplete for several years, and dedicated it for the dwelling of the mendicant monks of the four quarters, on the **first day** of the **third fortnight** of winter in the **seventh** regnal year of **Gautamīputra Svāmī** illustrious **Yajña Śātakarṇi**.

The inscription shows that the wife of a *Mahāsenāpati* took pride in calling herself *Mahāsenāpatinī*.

Line	Text <sup>2</sup>
1	सिधं [ 1* ] रजो गोटमिपुतस सामिसिरियज्जसातकणिस संबछरे सातमे ७ हेमताण पखे ततिये ३
2	दिवसे पयमे कोसिकस महासेणापतिस भवगोपस भरिजाव महासेणा- पतिणिय <sup>3</sup> वामुय लेण
3	बोपकियतिमुज्जमाने <sup>4</sup> अपयवसितसमाने बहुकाणि वरिस्ताणि उक्कुते <sup>5</sup> पयवसाण नितो चातुदि -
4	सस च भिबुसघस आवासो दतो ति [ 1* ]

#### Translation

Success ! In the (*regnal*) seventh—7—year, in the third—3—fortnight of winter, on the first day the

<sup>1</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 1146 and *EI*, VIII, pp. 93 ff.

<sup>2</sup> From the plate facing p. 60 in *EI*, VIII.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahāsenāpatiniya* (Büh.).

<sup>4</sup> *Sujamāyasa pāyavāsita* (Bh. and Büh.). Senart's reading given above is better.

The letters *a* and *su* were alike in the alphabet of that period.

<sup>5</sup> *Utkuta* (Sanskrit, *utkrīta*) is used here in the sense of 'excavated'.

*Mahāsenāpatinī Vāsu*, the wife of the *Mahāsenāpati Bhavagopa* of the *Kauśika gotra*, completed this cave, which had remained incomplete for several years after its excavation had been commenced<sup>1</sup> by the ascetic (*yati*) *Bopaki*, and dedicated it to the Community of Buddhist monks from (all) the four quarters for their residence.

No. 27

Kānherī Cave Inscription of the Reign of Yajña  
Sātakarṇi : Year 16.

This inscription is incised on the left-hand side wall outside the veranda of Cave No. LXXXI at Kānherī. Bird first brought it to notice in 1847. Thereafter, Stevenson-Brett, West, Bhagvanlal Indrajī, Bühler and Franke discussed it.<sup>2</sup> It is edited here from the plate published with Bühler's article.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the inscription are of the Brāhmi alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

This inscription is dated in the **sixteenth** (*regnal*) year of King *Gautamīputra Svāmī* illustrious *Sātakarṇi*, on the **fifth day** of the first fortnight of summer. The object of it was to record that the merchant *Upāsaka Apareṇu*, the son of *Ānanda*, who resided at *Kālayāna*, together with all members of the family, got excavated this cave and the assembly hall in the hill *Kṛishṇagiri* for the Community of Buddhist monks from all the four quarters in order to obtain religious merit for their parents. At the same time he had made a permanent endowment of 200 *kārshāpaṇas* carrying an interest of one per cent (per month) for the Community of Buddhist monks, and also donated his own share of half the produce of a field at *Magalathāna*. From the amount thus received, sixteen *kārshāpaṇas* were to be given to the *Bhikshus* for their clothing and one

<sup>1</sup> Bühler's rendering 'which had been destroyed for many years' is not correct.

<sup>2</sup> See the references in Lüders' *Lit.*, No. 1024.



*kārshāpaṇa* to each monk in every month of the rainy season (for their medicine).

Such an arrangement was also made by Rishabhādatta in his inscription No. 38 for the Bhikshus of his Nāsik Cave. But that inscription mentioned the number of Bhikshus who were to receive the monthly stipend. Such is not the case here. The interest on 200 *kārshāpaṇas* at the rate one per cent per month would amount to 24 *kārshāpaṇas*. Some more *kārshāpaṇas* would be obtained from the produce of the field. From the amount thus collected from the two sources the *Bhikshus* were to receive the necessary money for their clothing. Besides, they were to get one *kārshāpaṇa* each for every month of the rainy season. Senart thought that it was probably for food. But he admitted that such a proceeding was, from the point of view of principle, most incorrect, the monks being expected to live on alms and being precluded from touching any money. We have stated elsewhere that the word *kuśaṇa-mūla* used in this connection is a mistake for *kuśala-mūla*,<sup>1</sup> and that the small amount given to each Bhikshu was for his medicine. It was given in the rainy season; for one generally falls ill in that season, and in other seasons the monks used to go from place to place where they received the necessary help from the Buddhist laity.

**Localities**—*Kālayāṇa* is modern Kalyāṇ in the Thāṇe District, famous as a port from ancient times. *Magala-thāna* is probably identical with *Māgāṭhaṇe* in the same district.

Line	Text <sup>2</sup>
1	सिधं ॥
2	रजो गेतमिपुतस सामिसिरियजसातकणिस स[त]छरे <sup>3</sup> १०[+*] ६ मि -
3	म्हाण पख १ दिवस ५ कालयाणवाठवस नेगमस अण -

<sup>1</sup> See the Note on *Kuśaṇa-mūla* in Appendix VI.

<sup>2</sup> From the plate published with Bühler's article.

<sup>3</sup> Read *savachhare*.

- 4 इपुतस उसा(पा)सकस अपरेणुस स[प]रिवारस सहा  
 5 कङ्कुबिनिय आनदमातु [ञ]वारिणिकाय सहा बालकेन अणदेन  
 6 सह च सु[ण्हा]हि अण . . ल . सिपे [च] धामदेविय  
 7 सह च . . . वेण अह[वि]अपण<sup>1</sup> मातापितरो(रा) उदिस  
 8 पावते कण्हसेले लेणं कोठि च देयघा[मं] चातुदिसे  
 9 भिच्छुसघे पड्डिठापित सावस[ता]णं हितमुघय [ 1\* ]  
 10 एतस च अखयनिवि दत्ता काहापणानि सतानि वे २००  
 11 सघत येव हटे पड्डिके सते एठ च आघपण -  
 12 खेतियस खेत गामे मगलधाने भोजकापति एतो  
 13 संघेण दातवं चिबवरिक सोळसक पड्डिको च मासे उतुकाले [ 1\* ]

### Translation

Success ! In the year 16, in the fortnight 1 and on the day 5, the merchant *Upāsaka* *Apareṇu*, the son of *Ānanda*, who is a resident of *Kālayāṇa*, together with his relatives, together with *Juvāriṇikā*, the mother of of *Ānanda*, together with his son *Ānanda*, together with his daughters-in-law . . . together with *Dhāmadevī* . . . caused to be excavated (*this*) cave and an assembly-hall on the *Kṛishṇa Śaila* (Black Mountain) as his pious gift to the Community of Buddhist Monks of the four quarters for the well-being and happiness of all creatures and with a view to obtaining religious merit for his parents.

To the same Community he has donated a permanent endowment of two hundred—200—*kārshāpaṇas* at the interest of (*one*) *kārshāpaṇa* per hundred *kārshāpaṇas*. He has also given a field of a half-share ownership in the village of *Maṅgalasthāna* for being enjoyed. From this (interest and the revenue) the Saṅgha should give (*the Bhikshus*) sixteen *kārshāpaṇas* for clothing and a *kārshāpaṇa*<sup>2</sup> per month in the (*rainy*) season.

<sup>1</sup> The *aksharas* here are indistinct. Bühler has suggested the reading *puhaviapēṇa*.

<sup>2</sup> Senart suggests that this monthly stipend may have been for food; but he has conceded that it would be against principle. See Appendix VI, where it is shown that the little money may have been for medicine.

### Kānherī Cave Inscription of the Reign of Yajña Sātakarṇi

This inscription is incised on the right-hand gatepost of the *Chaitya* Cave at Kānherī. Several *aksharas* in the first eleven lines of it are now damaged. Still, it is not difficult to know its purport.

Bird first drew attention to this inscription in 1847. Thereafter, Stevenson-Brett, West, Bhagvanlal Indrajī and Bühler discussed it.<sup>1</sup> Bühler has edited it with a translation and a Plate. It is edited here from the same plate.

**Characters and language**—The characters of this inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

This inscription bore a date of Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi, but the regnal year in it is now lost. Only the mention of the fifth fortnight of summer now remains, the number of the day in that fortnight being also lost. The object of it is to record who commenced the excavation of the cave, where it is incised, who completed it, which Bhikshu supervised the work, and who polished it.

The excavation of this Chaitya Cave was commenced by the merchants Gajasena and Gajamitra. It was dedicated to the Bhadāyaniya Sect of Buddhism. We have shown on the evidence of No. 18 that the Bhikshus of this Sect had hailed from Beṇākaṭa in Vidarbha. The excavation of the Cave was completed by *Sthavira Achala*, *Bhadanta Gāhala*, *Bhadanta Vijayamitra*, *Bhadanta Bodhi*, *Bhadanta Dharmapāla* and *Upāska Apareṇka*.<sup>2</sup> *Bhadanta Bodhika* supervised the work.

Line

Text

1 रञ्जो गोतमि[पुतस सामिसिरियञ्ज - \* ]

<sup>1</sup>See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 987. *ASWZ* V, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup>Apareṇka has been mentioned in No. 27 also.

- 2 सो(सा)तकणित [संवछरे . . . . . गि - ]
- 3 म्हपखे पंचमे [ ५ दिवसे . . . . .
- 4 वाणिजकेहि उत्तु(?) . . . . .
- 5 षुय उपनेहि या . . . . .
- 6 खातिपेहि भातूहि . . . . .
- 7 गजसेनेन गजमि[तेन] . . . . .
- 8 कपठायि खेतिय . . . . .
- 9 आचरियानं निका[यस . . . . . भवाय\*]
- 10 नोयानं परिगहे प[तिठापितं . . . . . मा\*]
- 11 तापितूनं अभतोता[नं . . . . .
- 12 पूजाय कुटुंबिनो[न बाल]कानं बालि[कानं]
- 13 सबतस भागिनियान निका[यस नाति - ]
- 14 वगस च अग पटिअसिय सबवस[तानं]
- 15 हितमुखाय हेतु [ १\* ] एथ च नव[कमि\*]
- 16 का पबजितो थेरा भदत अचला भादं[त\*]
- 17 गहला भदंत विजयमिता भदत बो[धिक्को]
- 18 भदत धमपाला उपासको च नेगमो अन[द]-
- 19 पुतो अपरेनुको समापिता [ १\* ] आचरियान थेराणं
- 20 भदत सेउंलानं सिसेन उपरखितन भ -
- 21 इत बोधिक्केन कत सेलवडकोहि [ नाय]कमि -
- 22 सेहि कडिचकेहि महाकटकेहि खदर -
- 23 किना च मोठिकेना [ १\* ]



### Translation

In the year . . . of King Gautamīputra (Svāmi illustrious Yajña Sātakarṇi), in the fifth—5—fortnight of summer, . . . day, the merchants . . . the Khatiya brothers . . . Gajasena (and) Gajamitra have established (this) Chaitya, lasting till the end of the world, to be owned by the Saṅgha of the [Bhadāya]niya Āchāryas, in honour of their parents and for securing religious merit for their wives, little sons and daughters, a step-brother, the multitude of their sister's sons and all kinsmen as also for the well-being and happiness of all creatures.

(Line 15) The Superintendents of this work—the recluse *Sthavira Bhadanta Achala*,<sup>1</sup> *Bhadanta Gāhala*, *Bhadanta Vijayamitra*, *Bhadanta Bodhika*, *Bhadanta Dharmapāla*, *Upāsaka* Merchant *Apareṇuka*,<sup>2</sup> the son of *Ānanda*—have completed it. The work has been executed by *Bhadanta Bodhika*, the disciple of the *Āchārya Thera Seula*, who acted as Overseer with the help of the stone-masons, architects, *Kaḍhichakas* of the districts and the polisher *Skandaraki*.

No. 29

**China Stone Inscription of the Reign of Yajña Sātakarṇi :  
Year 27**

The slab containing this inscription was found south of the river *Kṛishṇā* near the sea-shore at the village *China* in Andhra. It is now preserved in the Madras Government Museum. Several *aksharas* on it have now become indistinct.

This inscription was published by Bühler in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 95-96, without a facsimile. Fleet later suggested some corrections in Bühler's readings in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1905, p. 305.<sup>3</sup> As the facsimile of this inscription is not available, Bühler's text has been reproduced and discussed here.

**Characters and language**—The characters of this inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

This inscription was engraved in the 27th year of the century-long reign of the *Āryaka*<sup>4</sup> (Lord) *Yajña Sātakarṇi*, in the fourth fortnight of winter, on the

<sup>1</sup> The text has some of these names used in the plural to show reverence for the Bhikshus.

<sup>2</sup> He is mentioned in No. 27, line 4.

<sup>3</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 1340.

<sup>4</sup> *Araka* (Sanskrit, *Āryaka*) means 'venerable'. *Mahā-araka* in line 3 of No. 19 therefore, refers to Gautamiputra, the father of Puṣyamāvi, as shown before. Here *Araka* seems to refer to King Yajña Sātakarṇi.

fifth day. It opens with an obeisance to the Buddha. As the inscription has been very much mutilated, its object cannot be ascertained; but it probably records some gift of the King to the Buddha.

The Purāṇas assign a reign of 29 years to Yajña Sātakarṇi. So the regnal year mentioned in the present inscription does not conflict with it.

The present inscription shows that the rule of Yajña Sātakarṇi extended to Andhra. His coins of several types have been found there. One of the types—a ship with two masts—is specially noteworthy. It indicates that his power had extended to the Coromandel coast.

Line	Text
1	तिष्ठं [ 1* ] नमो भगवतो [ 1* ] . . . [ वस ] रज्रो गोतमि -
2	पुत्रस अरकतिरियज्रसातकणिस वससताय संबच्छर सत्[ वि ] -
3	सं २० [ +* ] ७ हेमतानं पञ्चं चतुर्थं ४ वि[ वसं ] [ पंच* ] मं ५ एतिय
4	पुत्राय अरकमहतरकेन महा . . . . .
5	याजिना महाइ . . . . .
6	घाय . . . . . [ 1* ]

### Translation

Success ! Obeisance to the Bhagavat ! In the **twenty-seventh—27—**year of the reign of a hundred years<sup>1</sup> of King **Gautamiputra illustrious lord Yajña Sātakarṇi**, in the **fourth—4—fortnight** of winter, on the **fifth—5—day** on this aforementioned *tithi*, the great Lord, . . . who has performed . . . the sacrifice . . . (has made this pious gift) to the Buddha.

<sup>1</sup> *Vasa-satāya* which occurs in line 2 has been variously interpreted by scholars. Bhagvanlal Indraji took it to mean *varsha-satyām* (in the course of a century), but it does not suit the context. This word occurs also in an inscription at Vanavāsi (No. 37). Bühler took it as equivalent to *varsha-sattāyām* (during the reign of the family). See *EI*, I, p. 96. D.C. Sircar has shown that the expressions *vasa-satāya* and *varsha-saharāya* occur in inscriptions in order to suggest that the pious acts were done with the intention of securing a life of a hundred or a thousand years. *EI*, XXXIV, p. 241. The same idea is conveyed by *kapa-śāyī* (enduring till the end of the world) used as an adjective of a *chaitya* in line 8 of No. 28, above.

### Kānherī Cave Inscription of the Reign of Maṭharīputra Śakasena : Year 8

This inscription is incised on the right-hand wall outside the veranda in Cave No. XXXVI at Kānherī. West drew attention to it by publishing an eye-copy of it in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VI, p. 6, in 1861. Later, it was discussed by Bhagvanlal Indraji, Bühler, R. G. Bhandarkar and Rapson.<sup>1</sup> It is edited here from the plate published with Bühler's article. Its characters are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

The inscription mentions in the beginning the date, the 8th regnal year of Māṭharīputra Svāmī Śakasena, the fifth fortnight of summer and the tenth day. This king probably belonged to the Sātavāhana family. His name is not mentioned in the Purāṇas; but some coins in the Tarhālā hoard were of Śaka Sātakarṇi, who seems to be none other than this Śaksena. He seems to have been ruling in Mahārāshtra including Aparānta (North Konkan) and Vidarbha. Some copper coins with the fragmentary legend *Māḍharīputa* have been found at Peḍābankur,<sup>2</sup> from which his rule in Andhra also can be inferred.

The object of the present inscription was to record that the merchant and *Grihapati* . . . the son of the merchant Vishṇunanda, who was (a resident) of Kaliyaṇa, got this Cave excavated on the aforementioned date. With him were associated his venerable (grandfather) — sena, his father Vishṇunandī, his mother Bodhisamā, his brother — hasti and the whole merchant community (of the place).

Locality — Kaliyaṇa<sup>3</sup> is the only place named in this inscription. It is identical with modern Kalyāṇ in the

<sup>1</sup> See the references in Lüders' *Lit.*, No. 1001. *ASWT.*, V P. 79

<sup>2</sup> See the Section on Coins.

<sup>3</sup> This place is named *Kālyāṇa* in No. 27.

Thāṇe District. It was a well-known port in ancient times.

Line	Text
1	सिधं [ १० ] रजो म(मा)डरिपुतस स्वामिसकसेनस
2	सबछरे ८ गि प ५ दिव १० एताय पुवाय क -
3	लियणकस नेकमस वेणुनंदिस पूतस नेग -
4	मस गहपतिस . . . तिस लेण पतिठापि -
5	त सहा आद्यकेन . सेन सहा पितुणा वेणुन -
6	बिना सहा मातुय बोधिसमाय सहा भा -
7	[ तुना . . ] हबिना सहा [ स ] वेन [ तिकायेनेति ] [ १० ]

#### Translation

Success ! In the year 7, in the 5th fortnight, of summer, on the 10th day (of the reign of) King Mātharīputra Svāmi Śakasena, on this aforementioned *tithi*, the merchant *Grihapati* . . . the son of the merchant Vishṇunandi of Kaliyaṇa, together with the venerable<sup>1</sup> . . . , together with his father Vishṇunandi, together with his mother Bodhisamā, together with his brother . . . hasti and together with the whole merchant community, caused this Cave to be excavated (*here*).

#### No. 31

#### Kānherī Cave Fragmentary Inscription of the Reign of Mātharīputra Śaksena

This inscription is incised outside the veranda of Cave No. XXXVI at Kānherī, like Inscription No. 30. West first drew attention to it by publishing an eye-copy of it in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VI, p. 7. Later, Bühler, Franke and Rapson discussed it.<sup>2</sup> Bühler's reading is given here.

<sup>1</sup> *Ayyaka* means 'venerable,' the same as *ātraka* used elsewhere. Here it probably refers to the grandfather of Vishṇunandi. *Mahā-ātraka* is used to denote the great King Gautamiputra Sātakarṣi in No. 19.

<sup>2</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 1002. *ASW*, V, p. 82.



**Characters and language**—The characters of the inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

This record is very much mutilated; but from the preserved portion its **object** seems to be similar to that of the preceding inscription (No. 30) as some persons figure in both of them.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Māthari-putra Svāmī Śakasena**. The regnal year, season and fortnight mentioned in it are now lost, but the **day** is 10 as in the preceding inscription. So other particulars of the date were probably the same. Its **object** also may have been similar. It seems to have recorded that **Halaṅikā**, the wife of . . . son of **Vishṇunandī** residing at (**Kaliyaṇa**), got this cave excavated for the acquisition of religious merit. In this *Āryaka* (venerable) . . . **Dhāmaya** and . . . **Buddhakaya** . . . were associated with her.

**Localities**—The place-name mentioned before *vathaveya* in line 3 is now lost, but like that in No. 30 it was in all probability **Kaliyaṇa**. It is identical with modern **Kalyāṇ** in the **Thāṇe** District as shown before.

Line	Text
1	सद्य [ १* ] र[ ज्ञो* ] म(मा)[ डरिपुतस स्वामि ]— सकसे —
2	[ नस ] . . . . . [ दि ]वा १० एता[ य ]
3	. . . . . बठवेय वेणुनदिपुत्र
4	[ स ] . . . . . स भजाय हालणिका ले—
5	[ ण पतिठापित स ]हा आय्यकेन ला . . . स . . . . .
6	. . . . . धामये . . . . .
7	. . . . . बुद्धकयेन सहा वि . . . . .

#### Translation

Success ! [In the year .] of King **Māthari-putra Svāmī Śakasena** . . . . . on the **day 10**—on this (*tithi*) **Halaṅikā**, the wife of . . . . . the son of **Vishṇunandī**, residing at . . . . . excavated (*this*) cave together with venerable . . . **Dhāmaya** (and) **Buddhakaya** . . . . .

## Nāgārjunakoṇḍ Pillar Inscription of Vijaya Sātakarṇi : Year 6

This inscription was found on the bank of the Kṛishṇā near Nāgārjunakoṇḍ. It was built into a balustrade of the *ghāṭ* on the river. It was edited by H. Sarkar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 273-74, with a plate. It is edited here from the same plate.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet. *Ta* is looped, but *na* is not. The lower part of *ma* and *va* is flat. The record is in a good state of preservation. Its language is Prakrit.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the *agrya-pudgala* (the best of beings) Buddha. It then records the date—the (regnal) year 6 of Gautamīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi, the fortnight 4 and the day of the full moon in Vaiśākha, evidently recording the erection of a pillar there. That *tithi* is regarded by the Buddhists as most sacred as it is associated with the birth, attainment of true knowledge and *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. The pillar was evidently erected to commemorate these events in the Buddha's life.

Potins coins of Vijaya Sātakarṇi were found in both the Chāndā and Tarhālā hoards, but from his silver coin<sup>1</sup> recently discovered it seems that he was different from this king; for he was Vāsishṭhīputra, while this king was Gautamīputra. This Vijaya Sātakarṇi founded the city Vijayapuri (modern Nāgārjunakoṇḍ), and made it his capital. This name of his capital occurs in several inscriptions of the Ikshvākus,<sup>2</sup> who also ruled from there. This Vijaya Sātakarṇi was probably the Sātavāhana king who transferred the seat of his government from Pratishṭhāna

<sup>1</sup> The silver coin of Vijaya Sātakarṇi mentions his metronymic *Vāsishṭhīputra* which shows that he was a son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. His namesake mentioned here was Gautamīputra and ruled in a later period.

<sup>2</sup> D. C. Sircar's conjecture, based on the mention of only one *śatvatsara*, viz. *Vijaya* in the inscriptions of the Ikshvākus, that the Ikshvāku capital Vijayapuri was founded in that *śatvatsara*, and so the sixty-year cycle of *śatvatsaras* commences therewith, has been disproved by the present inscription. See our *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, pp. 103 ff.

in Western Mahārāshṭra to Vijayapurī in Andhra.<sup>1</sup> As his successors were ruling from this capital in Andhra, the Purāṇas, whose dynastic lists were probably composed soon after the fall of the Sātavāhanas, call them Andhras, though as a matter of fact they had their original home in Western Mahārāshṭra, where their earliest inscriptions and coins have been found.

This Vijaya Sātakarṇi is mentioned in the Purāṇas as the successor of Yajña-śrī. The line in Pargiter's constituted text runs as follows :—

षडेव भविता तस्माद् विजयस्तु समा नृपः ।

Some Purāṇas give the readings षडेते . . . समा दस । which seem better. He may have ruled for ten years as stated therein as there is no evidence to suppose that he died soon after this inscription was incised.

Line	Text
1	[ न ]मो भगवतो अगपोगलस [ १० ]
2	रज्रो गोतमिपुतस सिरिबिजयस -
3	तकणिस सब ६ गि प ४ दिव येसा -
4	अपुणिम [ १० ] .

#### Translation

Obeisance to the Bhagavat, who is the foremost Being !  
In the year 6 of the illustrious King Gautamiputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi, in the fortnight 4 of summer, on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha (*this pillar was erected*).

No. 33

#### Koḍavali Rock Inscription of the Reign of Chaṇḍasvāti : Year [ 11 ]

The remains of what looks like a Buddhist *Stūpa* are noticed on a hillock at a distance of nearly two miles

<sup>1</sup> This is also corroborated by the fact that the Sātavāhana king Śaka-sena who succeeded Yajña-śrī in Western Mahārāshṭra is not mentioned in the Purāṇic list of Andhra (Sātavāhana) kings, whereas it mentions Vijaya and the last Puṣamāvi, whose rule was confined to the eastern parts of the Sātavāhana kingdom.

in the north-westerly direction from the village of **Koḍavali**, about 9 miles from Piṭhāpuram in Andhra. The present inscription is incised on a rock nearby. Sten Konow edited it first in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morganlandischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. LXII, p. 592. Thereafter, it was edited by Krishna Sāstri in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 316-319, with a plate. It is edited here from the same plate.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet. *Ta* has a loop, and *ma* has a flat bottom. *kha* shows a knot in its lower part. From these palaeographic peculiarities, the present inscription seems to be of the second or the third century A. D. Its language is Prakrit. As the writing is in a bad state of preservation, its interpretation is uncertain in some places.

The present inscription refers itself to the time of **Vāsishṭhīputra Svāmī** illustrious **Chaṅḍasvāti**. His regnal year was mentioned in it, but it has now become indistinct. It consisted of two numerical symbols, the first of which is not clear now. It was probably of the number 10. The second symbol is of 1. Further, the inscription seems to mention **He pa 2, divasa 2**. So the intended date was probably the eleventh regnal year of Chaṅḍasvāti, the second fortnight of winter, and the second day.

The **object** of the present inscription was probably to record a pious gift of the **Amātya Sasamikhagu**. Krishna Sastri could not interpret this record satisfactorily. Sten Konow read *Amacha bhūmi-veśa dhama śhapita* and took it to mean that an **Amātya** built an earthen house as a pious gift. This also does not appear satisfactory for the following reasons:—The reading does not contain the name of the **Amātya** and (2) *bhūmi-veśa* has the palatal *śa*, but the inscription has changed it to the dental *sa* in *siri*.

The coins of **Chaṅḍa-śrī** have been found in the Kṛishṇā and Godāvārī districts, but they have not yet been noticed in Vidarbha. Some coins have the king's name as **Chanda**. The Purāṇas give both the forms **Chaṅḍa-śrī** and **Chanda-śrī**.

According to them, he ruled after Vijaya Śātakarṇi; but Rapson places him before Yajña-śrī. Some Purāṇas give him a reign-period of ten years, and some of three years. The present inscription assigns a reign-period of at least 11 years to him. The coins of Śāka Śātakarṇi have been found in Vidarbha but not those of Gautamīputra Vijaya Śātakarṇi and Chaṇḍa Śātakarṇi. So the rule of these Sātavāhanas seems to have been confined to Andhra after the reign of Māṅharīputra Śāka Śātakarṇi.

**Localities**—Krishna Sastri read *Khajjāvali* in line 4 and regarded it as the old form of the present Koḍavali; but that name is not likely to have occurred there.

Line	Text <sup>1</sup>
1	सिधं [ १* ] राजो बासिठी -
2	पुतस सामि सिरि -
3	चं [ ड ] सातिस <sup>2</sup> [ सबछ ] रे <sup>3</sup>
4	[ १० ] <sup>4</sup> [ +* ] १ हे प २ दिवस २ <sup>5</sup>
5	अमच ससमिखगु <sup>6</sup> धम
6	थापित [ १* ]

### Translation

Success ! In the (*regnal*) year [ 11 ], in the fortnight 2

<sup>1</sup> From the plate facing p. 318 in *E.I.* XVIII.

<sup>2</sup> The second *akshara* in this royal name is not clear now, but both Sten Konow and Krishna Sastri have read it as *ḍa*. The former read *Chakṣasātisa*, and the latter *Chakṣasātisa*. The curve denoting medial *i* is clear in the facsimile. Coins give the reading *Chakṣasātisa*. See *B M C. (Andhra)*, pp. 32-33. On some coins Rapson has read *Chakṣasātisa*.

<sup>3</sup> Krishna Sastri read *rājī-vachhure* 2, but the number of the regnal year must have occurred in the beginning of the next line.

<sup>4</sup> The first numerical symbol here is indistinct now. Sten Konow read it as 10(+\*) 3 (?).

<sup>5</sup> Krishna Sastri read *di 1 Khajjāvali*; but no sign of 1 appears between *di* and *kha*. The next *akshara* is *va*, not *kha*. See *va* in *Vāstī*—, *Sa* in *divasa* resembles that in *sāti*. Sten Konow also has not accepted the reading *Khajjāvali*.

<sup>6</sup> Sten Konow's reading *amachasa bhumi-vesa* and his interpretation of it as 'the earthen house of the Amātya' are inadmissible. The *Amātya* who caused this to be engraved would surely have inserted his own name therein. The correct reading seems to be as given above. *Sasamikhagan* seems to be a personal name.

of winter, on the day 2—on this day, the *Amātya Sasamikhagu* established (*here*) (*his*) pious gift.<sup>1</sup>

## No. 34

## AḌOṆĪ Rock Inscription of the Reign of PuḌumāvi (III) : Year 8

This inscription is engraved on a reddish rock lying between the two villages Myacḍoṇi and Chinnakaḍabūru in the *Aḍoṇi taluka* of the Bellāri District of Karṇāṭaka. It was published with a facsimile plate by V. S. Sukthankar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIV, pp. 143 f. It is edited here from the same plate.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet. The verticals of the *aksharas a* and *ra* are elongated and turned to the left at the lower end. The curve of the medial *i* is round in shape. The sign of the medial *ā* is slightly curved. These forms of the letters show a tendency to approach those in the inscriptions of the Ikshvākus. The language is Prakrit.

The **object** of the present inscription is to record that *Grihapati Sāmba* excavated a tank near the place of the rock inscription in the village of *Vepuraka* of the Military Officer *Kumārādatta* situated in the *Jāgir* of *Sātavāhanibāra* belonging to the *Mahāsenāpati Skandanāga*. It is dated on the **first day** in the **second fortnight** of winter in the **eighth (regnal) year** of the *Sātavāhana* king, the illustrious *PuḌumāvi*.

The mention of the *Sātavāhana* family of the reigning king *PuḌumāvi* is noteworthy. This is the third known reference to that royal family name in the inscriptions of the period, the earlier two being known from Nos. 1 and 18. There were several kings of the name *PuḌumāvi* in the *Sātavāhana* family. For determining which of them is named here, Sukthankar relied on the mention of the regnal year 8 in the present inscription. He concluded

<sup>1</sup> The form of the pious gift is not mentioned.

that he must be Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, the son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who had a long reign of 28 years. He cannot be the last mentioned Pulomāvi of the Purāṇic list as he had a reign of only seven years<sup>1</sup> whereas the present inscription mentions a reign of eight years. This is faulty reasoning; for the reign-periods mentioned in the Purāṇas are not reliable. In some cases they are disproved by the stronger evidence of contemporary inscriptions. Palaeographic evidence is more reliable. As shown above, the characters of the present inscription lean towards those of the Ikshvāku inscriptions. So the Puḷumāvi mentioned in the present record must be identified with the last Sātavāhana king of that name, viz., Puḷumāvi III.<sup>2</sup> His coins were noticed in the Tarhālā hoard. His name on them appears as Puḷuhāmavi.

The present inscription shows that the custom of granting villages and larger territories as *ināms* and *jāgirs* to military officers prevailed in the Sātavāhana age.

**Localities**—The territorial division Sātavāhanihāra recalls that of Sātāhaniraṭṭha mentioned in the Hirahaḍa-gallī plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. It shows that at least a part of the Bellāry District was named after the Sātavāhanas. The village Vepuraka mentioned in the present inscription cannot, however, be identified now.

Line	Text
1	[सि]धं [ १* ] रजो सातवाहनानं [सि]रिपुडु[मा]चिस सव ८ हेम २ दिव १
2	[प्र*][धमस] महासेनाप[ति]स खंद[ना]कस जनपदे सातवाहनिहारे
3	[गो*]मिकस कुमारदत्त गामे वेपुरके षष्ठेन गहपतिकेन [को]तानं संबेन
4	तळकं खानितं [ १* ].

<sup>1</sup> DKA., p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> The Purāṇas mention Śivāsri Puḷumāvi as different from Puḷumāvi. In that case he would be Puḷumāvi IV; but the Purāṇic statement is wrong. Śivāsri was optionally prefixed to their own names by several kings of the ancient period. So there were only three Puḷumāvīs in the Sātavāhana family.

Translation

Success ! *Grihapati* Samba of the **Konta** family, residing in the village **Vepuraka** belonging to the military officer **Kumāradatta**, which is comprised in the *Janapada* (territorial division) of **Sātavāhanihāra** owned by the *Mahā-Senāpati* **Skandanāga**, excavated a tank in the year **8**, in [the fortnight] **2** of winter, on the [first]—1—day (*in the reign*) of the king, the illustrious **Puṣumāvi** (of *the family*) of the **Sātavāhanas**.

No. 35

**Majavalli Pillar Inscription of Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi :**  
Year 1

This inscription is incised on a hexagonal pillar of black stone, six feet in height, lying in front of the **Kalleśvara** temple at the village of **Majavalli** in the **Shikārpur tālukā** of the **Karnāṭaka State**. There are in all eight lines inscribed on its six sides from the bottom upwards. The first and the sixth sides have each two lines, and the other four sides have each one line engraved on them. Of these eight lines, the first three contain the inscription of **Chuṭukulānanda**, and the remaining five that of the **Kadamba king Śivaskandavarman**.

**Bühler** first brought this inscription to notice in 1895. Later, it was discussed by **Rice, Fleet and Rapson**. **Rice** has edited it in the *Epigraphia Carnatika*, Vol. VII, with a translation and a plate.<sup>1</sup> It is edited here from the same plate.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the record are of the **Brāhmī** alphabet, and the language **Prakrit**.

The inscription opens with the proclamation of the victory of the God **Majapaḷi**. Thereafter the following order of **Hāritiputra Viṅhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi**, who belonged to the **Mānavya gotra** and ruled

<sup>1</sup> See the references in **Lüders' List**, No. 1195.



from *Vaijayantīpura* is communicated to the *Rajjuka Mahāvallabha* : "We have given together with all immunities the village *Sahalāṭavī* to *Koṇḍamāna*, the son of *Hāritīputra Tākiñchi*, for the enjoyment of the god *Maḷapaḷi* in order to secure the augmentation of our life and prosperity." Finally, the date of the present inscription is mentioned as follows : The first (*regnal*) year, the second fortnight of summer and the first day.

On the evidence of palaeography the inscription seems to be of the end of the Sātavāhana age. In that period *Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi*, King of *Vanavāsī*, established himself in *Karnāṭaka* in the south, and soon extended his rule to North *Koṅkaṇ* as shown by the next inscription (No. 36). The epithets *Hāritīputra*, *Mānavya-sagotra* and *Chuṭukulānanda* of the king are noteworthy. The *biruda Chuṭukulānanda* seems to have been borrowed from the successors of the Śaka king *Māna*. *Viṇhukaḍa* may have been the home province of this family in *Karnāṭaka*. The *birudas Mānavya-sagotra* and *Hāritīputra* were later adopted by the *Kadambas* and the *Chālukyas* of *Bādāmi*. *Hāritīputra* occurs in a grant of the *Vākāṭakas* of *Vatsagulma* also.<sup>1</sup>

**Localities**—Rice had read the name of the place where this inscription was discovered as *Maṭṭapaṭṭi*. The correct name of it is *Maḷapaḷi*, and it is still current in the form *Maḷavaḷi*. *Vaijayantī* was then the capital of this *Sātakarṇi*. It is now known by the name of *Vanavāsī* in the North *Kannaḍa* District.

## Line

## Text

- 1 सिद्धम् ॥ जयति भगवान् मळपळिदेवो [ 1\* ] वैजयन्तीपुरराजा  
मानव्यसगोत्रो हारितीपुत्तो विष्णुकड्डचुटुकुलानन्दसातकणि आणपयति  
महावलभं रज्जुकं [ 1\* ].
- 2 आयुधनवद्धतीच्छं भगवतोषपटीयसीं मुखान्वयं गामाहारसहलाटवीं ॥  
मळपळिदेवभोगं महानुराणं ठाणं आत्मरक्षाय सब्वपरिहारेण वीतरासं  
अभटप्पवेसं ससिद्धिकम्

<sup>1</sup> *C I I*, V, p. 96.

3 एवं उचितं सख्यपरिहारेण तार्किचीमुताय ब्रम्हदेज्जं दिण्णम् कौण्डिन्य-  
सगोत्ताय हारितीपुत्ताय कोण्डमाणाय इध्वद्वत्ति वित्तीय गिम्हूपक्खं  
पडमदिवसं पडमसमच्चरम् दिण्णं . . . . . [ 1\* ]

### Translation

Success ! Victorious is the God Maḷapaḷi ! *Hāritiputra* Viṅhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi, who is of the Mānavya gotra and King of Vaijayantipura, issues the following order to the *Rajjuka* Mahāvallabha :—The *āhāra* of the Sahalāḷavī village,<sup>1</sup> the gift of which is very effective in pleasing the god and is the cause of (the donor's) happiness, has been granted by Us together with all immunities, free from all obstructions<sup>2</sup> and from the entrance of all royal servants, but inclusive of the right to adjudicate disputes,<sup>3</sup> as a *brahma-dāya* to Kondamāna, the son of *Hāritiputra* Tākiñchi, of the Kaunḍinya gotra, for the enjoyment of the God Maḷapaḷi, who comprises in himself all gods, for the purpose of the augmentation of Our life and prosperity.

Given in the first (regnal) year, the second fortnight of summer and the first day.

No. 36

### Kānherī Cave Inscription of the Reign of [Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi] : Year [9]

This inscription is incised on the right-hand side-wall outside the veranda of Cave LXXVII at Kānherī. It was brought to notice by Bird in the *Historical Researches* in 1847. Thereafter, West published its eye-copy in the

<sup>1</sup> *Gāmāhāra-Sahulāḷavī* cannot be interpreted satisfactorily. Elsewhere, *āhāra* is used in the sense of 'a large territorial division'.

<sup>2</sup> *Viharāsam* (Sanskrit, *vītrāsam*) seems to be used in the sense of *bādharāṭṭhān* used elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> *Sāntādhikarī* is used here in the same sense as *abhyantara-siddhikam*, which occurs elsewhere. See *C.I.I.* IV, pp. 251, and 253 n. It signifies 'together with the right to adjudicate disputes.' The donees of such villages had the right to try all local cases of dispute.

*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 10 f. Bühler, Franke and Rapson also have discussed it.<sup>1</sup> As its facsimile is not available, it is discussed here on the basis of Bühler's reading of it.

**Characters and language**—The characters of this inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

The present inscription had, in its first line, the ruling king's name, the regnal year, the season and the fortnight, but they all have been lost now. However, from the eye-copy one can read the year 9 and the season hemanta (winter). Bühler read *Pula* preceded by a sign of medial *i*, and on that basis, read the words in the first line *Svāmi* or *Siri Puṣumāvi* as the name of the then ruling king.<sup>2</sup> But an inscription containing similar personal names and epithets as here has been discovered at Vanavāsī.<sup>3</sup> Hence, Rapson's conjecture<sup>4</sup> that the ruling king's name in this inscription was Viṅhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sāta-karṇi appears probable.

The object of this inscription was to record that *Mahābhojī Nāga-mulanikā*, who was the daughter of a *Mahārāja* and the wife of a *Mahārāṭhī*, the mother of *Skandanāga Sātaka*, and the sister of *Mahābhoja Dhaṇaseṇa*, donated this cave to the Community of Buddhist Monks of the place for the religious merit of her parents.

The description of the donatrix in the present inscription is similar to that of the mother of *Kumāra Śivaskandanāga-śrī* in the inscription dated in the 12th regnal year of King Hāritiputra Viṅhukada Chuṭukulānanda Sāta-karṇi (No. 37). She too is described therein as the wife of a *Mahābhoja* and the daughter of a *Mahārāja*. Her personal name *Nāgamulanikā* has, however, been omitted there by some mistake of the writer and the engraver. This striking similarity in their description shows that the two ladies were identical. This was pointed out by

<sup>1</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 1021.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler has taken this inscription as of the time of Viṅhūthiputra Puṣumāvi.

<sup>3</sup> See No. 37.

<sup>4</sup> *BMC. (Andhras)*, p. liii.

Rapson and it has been accepted by Lüders too in his *List*.<sup>1</sup> This appears to be the correct conclusion.

This Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi flourished long after Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi, whose Chief Queen's memorial stone pillar was set up at Vanavāsī. (See No. 32.) He seems to have named his family Chuṭukulānanda with reference to the Chuṭukula of the Śaka king Māna who ruled over the Māhishaka country.<sup>2</sup> He, therefore, seems to have flourished at the end of the Sātavāhana period. Though Bühler conjecturally ascribed the present inscription to Puṣumāvi, he drew attention to the later forms of certain letters.<sup>3</sup> This lends support to Rapson's view stated above.

Line	Text
1 . . . . .	स . . . . . [कुल] . . . . . सब ९ [?[ हेम
2 . . . . .	स दसमिय एताय पुवाय महाराजबालिकाय म[हाभोजि]य
3 वा[लि]काय महारठिनिय खंदनागसातकमातुय महा[भो]जस [अहि - ]	
4 [जस] च धणसेणस[?[ भगिनिय नागमुलनिकाय लेण देयघम	
5 . . . . .	मिकुसघे पतिठापि[तं] मा[तुपित]रा उदिस का . . एण अ - . .

### Translation

In the (*regnal*) year [9] of<sup>4</sup> . . . . . of winter, on the tenth (*tithi*)—on this afore-mentioned *tithi*, Mahābhojī young Nāgamulanikā, the daughter of a Mahārāja, the wife of a Mahārāṭhi, who is the mother of Skandanāga-Sātaka and the sister of the Mahābhoja Dhaṇaseṇa of the Nāga race, established this cave . . . . . as her pious gift to the Community of the (*Buddhist*) Monks, in the name of her parents . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Lüders' *List*, No. 1021.

<sup>2</sup> *Studies in Indology*, III, pp. 68—70.

<sup>3</sup> *ASW* I, V, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> The royal name here has been lost. Bühler conjectured it as Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi. But Rapson has shown that it is probably Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi on the evidence of No. 37, below.

**Vanavāsī Stone Inscription of Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi :**  
Year 12

(Plate XXVII)

This inscription is incised on the two edges of a large slate slab bearing a beautiful representation of a five headed cobra. The slab is fixed in a niche in the courtyard of the Madhukeśvara temple at Vanavāsī in the North Kannaḍa District. The inscription consists of three lines, the first line being on the left margin of the slab from top to bottom, and the others on the right margin.

Burgess first drew attention to this inscription in 1879-80. Thereafter, Bhagvanlal Indraji, Bühler, Rapson, Lüders, Lakshminarayan Rao, Panchamukhi and Dinesh Chandra Sircar discussed it.<sup>1</sup> Recently, G. S. Gai has edited it with a plate in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 339 ff. It is edited here from the same plate.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and the language Prakrit.

The date of the present inscription is stated in the beginning as the year 12 during the century-long reign<sup>2</sup> of King Hāritiputra Viṣṇukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi, the seventh fortnight of winter and the first day. On this day Śiva-Skanda-Nāga-śrī, the Mahābhūvi (i. e. Mahābhōjī), blessed<sup>3</sup> daughter of a Mahārāja (and) the mother of a Yuvarāja, caused the Nāga to be engraved, a tank to be dug, and a vihāra (monastery) to be constructed as her pious gifts. This interpretation of the present inscription

<sup>1</sup> See the references in *E. I.* XXXIV, pp. 238 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Vasa-satāya* has been variously interpreted by scholars. Bühler first took it in the sense of *vanāda-sattāyāḥ* (in the particular year of the government of the family), but later he modified it into *vīva-sattāyāḥ* 'in the year of the world government'. This sense has been accepted by Gai. In a similar context *varsha-sahasrāya* occurs in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman. So D. C. Sircar's suggestion that it should be taken in the sense of 'for a century-long reign' appears preferable. Such expressions are, of course, to be taken as formal.

<sup>3</sup> *Jiva-satā* occurs elsewhere also in the sense of 'blessed.' See No. 13, line 1.

given by previous editors is, however, incorrect. Śiva-Skanda-Nāga-śrī is not the name of a female, but of a male. Again, the adjectival expressions used in the present inscription to qualify Skanda-Nāga-śrī occur also in the description of the donatrix of No. 36. So these two ladies are clearly identical. The donatrix in No. 36 is named Nāgamulanikā and she is described there as the mother of Skanda-Nāga-Sātaka. In the present inscription, the name of the donatrix is omitted by a mistake of the writer and the engraver, but she is described as the mother of a *yuvarāja* (*yuvarāja-mātā*). The name of that *yuvarāja* occurs in the following word Śiva-Khada-Nāga-siriya. As we have shown elsewhere, the prefix *śiva* applied to Khada-Nāga is of no consequence. It was optionally prefixed by ancient kings to their names. The remaining Khada-Nāga-siri (Śrī-Skanda-Nāga) is not different from Khada-Nāga-Sātaka (Skanda-Nāga-Sātaka) in the Kānherī inscription. As the writer has inadvertently used *ya* at the end of this word, it gives the wrong impression that it is the name of a female.<sup>1</sup> Really speaking, the writer had to write *Sivakhadanāga-sirisa yuvarājasa mātuya*, but he wrongly wrote *yuvarāja-mātuya Sivakhadanaga-siriya* instead.<sup>2</sup> Even if he had written *Sivakhadanāga-sirisa yuvarāja-mātuya*, it could have been understood in the sense of *Sivakhadanāga-sirisa yuvarājasa mātuya* according to the dictum *sāpekshatve-pi gamakatvāt samāsah*. So the correct meaning of the expression used in the present inscription is — ‘by (Nāgamulanikā), the mother of the *yuvarāja* Śiva-Skanda-Nāga-śrī’.

The present inscription has used the expressions *Vishṇukaḍa* and *Chuṭukulānanda* as epithets of *Hāritiputra Sātakarṇi* during whose reign the present inscription was engraved. We have explained their significance before (No. 36). Śiva-Skanda-Nāga, who is mentioned as a *yuvarāja* in the present inscription, seems to have flourished

<sup>1</sup> *Śrī* occurs indeed at the end of the names of females also. See *Bala śrīya* in No. 18, line 6. But *Śiva-śrī* does not occur at the end of the name of any female.

<sup>2</sup> Several mistakes committed by writers and engravers have remained uncorrected. See e. g. *Nāga-nara-vāmi* in No. 18, line 1.

at the end of the Sātavāhana period ; for in an inscription on a pillar at Maḷavaḷli, a village granted by Hāritī-putra Śivaskandavarman of Vanavāsi was regranted later by a Kadamba king.<sup>1</sup> So these Chuṭukulānanda kings seem to have flourished later than the Sātavāhanas, but earlier than the Kadambas.

The present inscription states at the end that Khadasāti (Skanasāti) was the Supervisor of the aforementioned works, and that Naṭaka, a pupil of the *Āchārya* Idamoraka (Indramayūraka) of Sajayata engraved the Nāga on the slab.

**Locality**—Sajayata (Sañjayanti) seems to be the ancient name of Vanavāsi.

Line	Text
1	सिधं [ १* ] रज्रो हारितीपुत्रस विष्णुकडचुटुकुलानन्दसातकर्णिस वससताय सवछरं १० [ +* ] २ हेमतान पखो ७ विवस १ महामुविग महाराज- बालिकाय जिवपुताय
2	पुव[रा]ज[मातुय] सि[व]खडनागसिरिय देयधमं नागो तडागं विहारो च [ १* ] एय कमतिको अमचो खडताति [ १* ] सजयतकस अचरियस [ इ- ]
3	इमोरकस सिसेन नटकेन नागो कतो [ १* ]

#### Translation

Success ! In the year 12 of the century-long reign of King Hāritīputra Viṣṇukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi, in the fortnight 7 of winter (*and*) on the day 1—on this day . . . <sup>2</sup> who is *Mahābhuvī* (Mahābhojī), the daughter of a *Mahārāja*, the blessed mother of the *Yuvarāja Śiva-Skanda-Nāga-śrī*, caused a Nāga to be engraved, a tank to be dug, and a *vihāra* (monastery) to be constructed. *Amātya* Skanda-Sāti was the Supervisor of these works. Naṭaka, the pupil of the *Āchārya* Indramayūraka of Sajayata, engraved this Nāga.

<sup>1</sup> EC. VII, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Her name *Nūgamulānikā* has been omitted here by a mistake of the writer and the engraver. See No. 36, line 4.

## Section II—Inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas

### (A) Inscriptions of the Kshaharāta Kshatrapas

No. 38

#### Nāsik Cave Inscription of Rīshabhadatta : Years 41, 42 and 45

This inscription is incised over the door of a small cell on the left-hand side of the veranda and on the back wall of it in Cave No. X at Nāsik. Previously these two parts were considered separate,<sup>1</sup> but now it is known that each line commences over the cell on the left and is continued on the back wall of the veranda. The inscription falls into two parts. The first part is dated in the [Śaka] year 42 and occupies the first three lines and the three-fourths part of the fourth. It is incised in bold letters. Then commences the appendix which forms the second part. It is incised in small letters and is dated in the [Śaka] year 45. It has occupied the remaining one-fourth part of the fourth line. Thereafter, the fifth line commences not over the small cell on the left like the previous four lines, but on the back wall of the veranda ; but the concluding three words of it are again incised in bold letters on the left-hand cell. Unless the mode in which the two parts of this inscription are incised is borne in mind, the inscription cannot be rightly understood.

This inscription was first brought to notice by Bird, Reeves and Orlebar in the *Historical Researches*, p. 49, in 1847. Later, it was discussed by Stevenson-Brett, Edward and Arthur West, R. G. Bhandarkar, Franke, and Rapson.<sup>2</sup> Bühler, Bhagvanlal Indraji and Senart have edited it with a translation. It is edited here from the plate published with Senart's article.

<sup>1</sup> Bhagvanlal has stated that this mistake was first committed by Brett, and was followed by West and R. G. Bhandarkar. See *Nāsik District Gazetteer* (old ed.), p. 573.

<sup>2</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 1133.



**Characters and language**—The characters of the present inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and its language Prakrit. It contains the numerical symbols of 8,000, 7,000, 3,000, 2,000, 1,000, 40 and 5. The dates in the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas were recorded in a regnal year, season, fortnight and day; but those in the inscriptions of the Kshatrapas are in a year of the Śaka era, lunar month, bright or dark fortnight and *tithi*. Again, the word introducing the date is *sahvatsara* in the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas, whereas it is invariably *varsha* in those of the Kshatrapas. The latter mode of recording a date is a characteristic of the Śaka era, in which all inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas are dated.

The present inscription falls into two parts. The object of the first part is to record that in the month of Vaisākha<sup>1</sup> of the [Śaka] year 42, Ṛishabhadatta, son of Dīnika and son-in-law of the Kshaharāta Kshatrapa Nahapāna, donated Cave No. X to the Community of Buddhist monks of the four quarters and invested a sum of 3,000 *kārshāpaṇas* in the guilds at Govardhana to form two *nivīs* (permanent endowments) for the purpose of defraying with its interest, the expenses of the clothing and medicines of the Bhikshus. The first endowment was of two thousand *kārshāpaṇas* which was invested in a guild of weavers with the interest of one *paḍīka*<sup>2</sup> (*kārshāpaṇa*) per cent (per month). The interest (of 240 *kārshāpaṇas*) on it was to be utilised in giving 12 *kārshāpaṇas* each to 20 Bhikshus dwelling in his cave in the rainy season every year for their clothing. The second endowment of 1,000 *kārshāpaṇas* was invested in another guild of weavers, carrying an interest of three-quarters of a *paḍīka* (per month). The interest on it (amounting to 90 *kārshāpaṇas*) was

<sup>1</sup> This donation must have been given on the full-moon *tithi* of Vaisākha, which is regarded as very holy in Buddhism; for the birth, enlightenment and *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha occurred on this very *tithi*.

<sup>2</sup> *Paḍīka* means 'a *kārshāpaṇa*'.

to be utilised for the *kuśala-mūla*<sup>1</sup> (medicines of the Bhikshus). Further, it is clearly stipulated that these endowments were not to be withdrawn at any time. Only the interest on them was to be utilised for the *chīvaras* (clothing) and *kuśala-mūla* (medicines) of the Bhikshus.

Besides these, the inscription records one more donation. Rishabhadatta donated, to the Community of monks, eight hundred cocoanut trees in the village of Chikhalapadra comprised in the *āhāra* (territorial division) of Kāpura.

All these donations were first announced in the *Nigamasabhā*<sup>2</sup> (town-assembly) (of Govardhana) before they were registered in the local Registration Office.<sup>3</sup>

Then commences an appendix of the inscription. It records that in the [Śaka] year 41, on the fifteenth *tithi*

<sup>1</sup> *Kuśala-mūla*, as read by previous editors, is a mistake for *Kuśala-mūla*. Buddhist monks needed three things while living in a *vihāras*—(1) food, (2) clothing, and (3) medicines. When Rishabhadatta got his cave excavated at Nāsik, he made arrangements for the supply of all the three to the Bhikshus. He had got the cave excavated for the residence of the Bhikshus in the rainy season. As stated in No. 43, he had arranged for the food of the Bhikshus by donating a village near Govardhana. Again, as stated in the present inscription, he had arranged for their clothing by giving the Bhikshus twenty *kārshāpapas* each, out of the interest on a permanent endowment of 2,000 *kārshāpapas* invested in a local guild. Now remained *kuśala-mūla* (or medicines). For that he invested 1,000 *kārshāpapas* in another local guild to form a permanent endowment, which yielded an interest of three quarters of a *kārshāpapa* per cent (*per month*) i. e. 90 *Kārshāpapas* in a year. As one could not say which Bhikshu would require how much money for medicines, he did not arrange for the distribution of this amount among the Bhikshus. It was kept as a common fund, from which the necessary expenses on the medicines of ailing Bhikshus were to be met. We know from inscriptions that grants were made even separately for the cost of medicines. See the Nāsik Cave inscription of the reign of Ābhira Iśvarasena, *CII.*, IV, p. 3. *Kuśalamūla* is a mistake for *kuśala-mūla*. The latter term occurs in several Kharoshthī inscriptions of the time in the sense of 'religious merit', the cause of happiness in the other world. Medicine also is *kuśala-mūla* as it is the cause of our health (*kuśala*). See *CII.*, II, part 1, pp. 149, 158 and 170. Also see the Tummalgudem plates of the Vishnukundins, *E.A.* II, pp. 4 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Smart has translated *Nigama-sabhā* as 'the Town-hall'. Had that been the intended sense, *nigama-sabhā-griha* would have been used.

<sup>3</sup> Bhagvanlal has translated *phalaka-vāre charitrato ti* as '(This inscription) sets forth (my) work, (standing) on the front of the door-way' and Bühler as '(All this) has been written on boards according to custom'. Smart understands it in the sense 'at the Record Office according to custom'.

Just as some gifts were written on *patīkās* (of cloth), others may have been recorded on wooden boards.

of the bright fortnight of *Kārttika* *Ṛishabhadatta* had (mentally) donated 7,000 *kārshāpaṇas* to gods and *Brāhmaṇas*.<sup>1</sup> This donation he actually gave in the form of two thousand gold coins<sup>2</sup> at the rate of one gold coin for thirty-five (silver) *kārshāpaṇas* on the full-moon day (of an unspecified month) in the [*Śaka*] year 45. This gift also was registered in the (local) Registration Office according to custom.

Localities — *Kāpura* mentioned in the present inscription as the headquarters of an *āhāra* of the same name, is still known by its ancient name, and lies about three miles from *Vyārā* in the *Surat* District. *Chikhalapadra* is probably *Chikhli* in the same district.

## Line

Text<sup>3</sup>

- 1 तिथं [ 1\* ] वसे ४० [ +\* ] २ वेसाख-मासे राज्ञो अहरातस क्षत्रपस  
नह्पानस जामातरा दीनीकपुत्रेन उषवदातेन संघस चातुदिसस इमं लेणं  
नियतितं [ 1\* ] इत चानेन अक्षयनिधि काहापणसहस्रा -
- 2 नि त्रिनि ३००० संघस चातुदिसस य इमास्मि लेणे वसंतानं<sup>4</sup> भविसति  
चिवरिक कुशणमूले<sup>5</sup> च [ 1\* ] एते च काहापणा प्रयुता गोकधन-  
दायवासु श्रेणिमु कोलीकनिकाये<sup>6</sup> २००० वधि पडिकरत अपर-  
कोलीकनिका-
- 3 ये १००० वधि पायून<sup>7</sup> पडिकरत [ 1\* ] एते च काहापणा अपडिदातवा  
वधिभोजा [ 1\* ] एतो चिवरिक-सहस्रानि वे २००० ये पडिके  
सते [ 1\* ] एतो मम लेणे वसयुयान भिखुनं बोसाय एकीकस  
चिवरिक वारसक [ 1\* ] या<sup>8</sup> सहस्र प्रयुतं पायूनपडिके सते अतो  
कुशण-

<sup>1</sup> The part of the present inscription recording this gift to Hindu gods and the *Brāhmaṇas* seems to have been incised in the *Buddhist* Cave here at the express desire of *Ṛishabhadatta*. The gifts to gods must have been made over to the temple-priests.

<sup>2</sup> These gold coins must have been of the *Kushāna* Emperors.

<sup>3</sup> From the plate published with *Senart's* article in *Et.*

<sup>4</sup> *vasāntānān* (Bh. and Būh.).

<sup>5</sup> *Kuṣaṇa-mūla* (Bh.)

<sup>6</sup> *kolīka*— (Būh.)

<sup>7</sup> *Pāyuna*— (Bh. and Būh.).

<sup>8</sup> *ya* (Bh. and Būh.).

<sup>9</sup> *Kuṣāna*- (*Senart*), but his plate shows *Kuṣaṇa* clearly.

- 4 मूल<sup>1</sup> [ 1\* ] कापुराहारे च गामे चिखलपद्रे दतानि नालिगेरान मुल-  
सहस्रानि अठ ८००० [ 1\* ] एत च सर्वं<sup>2</sup> द्वावित निगमसभाय  
निबध च फलकवारे चरित्रतो ति [ 1\* ] भूयो नेन दत्तं वसे ४०  
[ +\* ] १ कातिकशुद्धे पनरस पुवाक वसे ४० [ +\* ] ५  
5 पनरस नियुतं भगवतां देवानं ब्राह्मणानं च कार्वापणसहस्रानि सतरि  
३०००० पंचत्रिंशत् सुवर्णं कृता दिन सुवर्णसहस्रणं मूल्यं [ 1\* ]  
6 फलकवारे चरित्रतो ति [ 1\* ]

### Translation

Success ! In the year 42, in the month of *Vaiśākha*,<sup>3</sup> Rishabhadatta, son of Dīnika and son-in-law of the Kshaharāta *Kshatrapa Rājan Nahapāna*, dedicated this cave to the (*Buddhist*) Community of the four quarters. Besides, he gave a permanent endowment of three thousand — 3000 — *kārshāpaṇas* to the (*Buddhist*) Community of the four quarters. It will be utilised for the expenses of the clothing and the medicines<sup>4</sup> of the Bhikshus living in this cave.

(Line 2) And these *kārshāpaṇas* have been invested in the guilds at *Govardhana* — one of them of 2000 *kārshāpaṇas* being invested in a guild of weavers at the interest of one *paḍlika*<sup>5</sup> (*kārshāpaṇa*) (*per month*), and the other of 1000 *kārshāpaṇas* being invested in another guild at the interest of three-fourths of a *kārshāpaṇa* (*per month*). These *kārshāpaṇas* are not to be paid back. Only their interest is to be utilised.

<sup>1</sup> *mūla* (Bh.).

<sup>2</sup> *sarva* (Bh.).

<sup>3</sup> The *tīthi* has not been inscribed here inadvertently, but it must have been that of the full-moon.

<sup>4</sup> *Kuśāṇa-mūla* has been variously interpreted by scholars. Bhagvanlal has suggested three different meanings of it. "It comes from *kuśāṇa*, that is 'coarse food given to mendicants'; or it may mean 'a mat' (Sk. *kuśāya*, a Rishi's seat); or it may be *kuśāya* 'the mendicant's drinking vessel'. Bühler also could not understand its meaning and has omitted it in his translation. Some take it in the sense of 'expenses of outside life.' *El. VIII*, p. 83. D. C. Sircar takes it in the sense of *krīś-āṇa* (minor food). D. R. Bhandarkar thought that it denoted 'a coin of the Kuśāṇas'. *Kuśāṇa-mūla* seems to have been wrongly written for *kuśāṇa-mūla* and denotes 'medicine required for good health'. See *gilāna-bheshaja* in the Nāsik inscription of Śvareasena, *CII*, IV, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Paḍlika* (Sanskrit, *pratikā*) seems to be used in the sense of 'a *kārshāpaṇa*'.

(Line 3) From the interest on the two thousand—2000—*kārshāpaṇas* invested at the rate of one *paḍika* (*kārshāpaṇa*) per cent (*per month*) twenty mendicant monks dwelling in the rainy season in my Cave should get twenty (*kārshāpaṇas*) each for the expenses of their clothing. From (*the interest on*) the thousand *kārshāpaṇas* invested at the rate of three-fourths of a *paḍika* (*kārshāpaṇa*) per cent (*per month*) the expenses of their medicines should be met.

(Line 4) Eight thousand—8000—cocoanut trees in the village of Chikhalapadra in the *āhāra* (territorial division) of Kāpura have been given (*by me to the Community of the Bhikshus*).

All this has been announced in the *Nigama-sabhā* (Town-assembly) and has been recorded on wooden tablets<sup>1</sup> according to custom.

(Line 4) Again,<sup>2</sup> the gift of seven thousand—7000—*kārshāpaṇas* which he (*mentally*) gave to gods and Brāhmaṇas formerly in the year 41, on the fifteenth day of Kārttika, he actually delivered<sup>3</sup> in the form of two<sup>4</sup> thousand gold coins at the rate of one gold coin for thirty-five (*silver*) *kārshāpaṇas* on the fifteenth day<sup>5</sup> of Kārttika in the year 45. (*This has been recorded*) on wooden tablets according to custom.

#### No. 39

#### Kārlē Cave Inscription of Ṛishabhadatta

This inscription is incised on the upper frieze to the right of the central door of the Chaitya Cave at Kārlē. Stevenson and Brett first brought it to notice in 1854. Later, Franke and Rapson discussed it.

<sup>1</sup> *Vāre* has been taken by Bhagvanlal in the sense of *dvāre* 'on the door' and by Senart in that of 'a registration office.'

<sup>2</sup> The following portion is written in slightly smaller letters, but the last words *phalakavāre charitrato ti* are again written in bold letters as in the first part.

<sup>3</sup> *Niyutam* means delivered actually.

<sup>4</sup> *Dina* has been taken in the sense of 'two' by both Bhagvanlal and Senart. Bühler could not make out the exact meaning of the second postscript.

<sup>5</sup> The fortnight has not been specified here.

Bhagvanlal, Bühler and Senart have edited it with a translation.<sup>1</sup> It is edited here from the plate published with Senart's article.

**Characters and language**—This inscription is engraved in five lines, and is in a fair state of preservation. As it is written concisely, it has to be interpreted with the help of Inscription No. 43 of Rishabhadatta.

The **object** of the present inscription was to record that Rishabhadatta, son of Dinika and son-in-law of Rājan Kshatrpa Nahapāna of the Kshaharāta family, donated the village Karajika for the maintenance of the Buddhist monks of all quarters dwelling in the caves at Valūraka in the rainy season.

In the description of Rishabhadatta the following religious and charitable works of his are mentioned:—He made three gifts of a lakh cows each (to Brāhmaṇas); he gave (as *dakṣhiṇā*) gold coins and built a *ghāṭ*<sup>2</sup> (a flight of steps) at the river Bārṇāsā; he donated sixteen villages to gods and Brāhmaṇas; he got eight Brāhmaṇas married at the holy place of Prabhāsa and fed a thousand Brāhmaṇas every year.

The present inscription does not contain any date. It mentions the charities and religious gifts of Rishabhadatta only to the Hindus. It does not also make any mention of his exploits described in No. 43. So he seems to have made the donation of this Karajika village before the (Śaka) year 42 (A. D. 120). We have shown elsewhere that the years cited in the inscriptions of the Kshaharāta Kshatrapas are of the Śaka era.

**Localities**—Valūraka was the ancient name of Kārle. Karajika is probably identical with Karajgaon, about 5 miles north-east of Kārle. Inscription No. 12 names it as Karajaka. The Bārṇāsā is the modern Banās, which flows through Eastern Rājputāna and joins the Chambal.

<sup>1</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 1099.

<sup>2</sup> *Tithakareṇa* has been interpreted by Bhagvanlal as 'being a visitor to the *tirtha* at the Banāsa river' (*JCTI*, p. 33). Bühler and Senart have left *tirtha* untranslated. *Tirtha* means 'a flight of steps for descending into a river'. Bhagvanlal has translated it correctly in the *Nāuk District Gazetteer*, p. 571.

Line	Text <sup>1</sup>
1	सिधं [ १* ] रजो <sup>2</sup> खड्गरातस खतपस नहपानस जा[मा]तरा [दीनीक*]पूतेन उसभदातेन ति -
2	गोसतसहस[रे]ण नदिया बनासाया मुवण[ति]पकरेण देवान ब्रह्माण च सोळ[स]गा -
3	मवे[न*] पभासे पूततिवे <sup>3</sup> ब्रह्माण अठभायाप[देन*] [अ]नुवासं पि तु सतसहस <sup>4</sup> भो -
4	जापयिता बलूरकेसु लेणवासिनं पवजितानं चातुदिसस सधस
5	यापनथ गामो [क]रजिको इतो स[वा]न [वास]वास्तितानं [ १* ] .

## Translation

Success ! *Ṛishabhadatta*, son of [ *Dinika* ] and son-in-law of *Rājan* and *Kshatrapa Nahapāna* of the *Kshaharāta* family—who made three gifts of a lakh cows (*each*), who donated gold (*coins*) and constructed a *ghāt* on the *Bārṇāsā*,<sup>5</sup> who gave sixteen villages to gods and *Brāhmaṇas*, who got eight *Brāhmaṇas* married on a holy day at *Prabhāsa*, who feeds hundred thousand *Brāhmaṇas* every year, — has donated the village *Karajika* for the maintenance of the Community of all recluses from the four quarters<sup>6</sup> dwelling in the caves of *Valūraka* in the rainy season.

No. 40

Nāsik Cave Inscription of *Ṛishabhadatta*

This inscription is incised on the right wall of the court in Cave X at Nāsik. It falls into two parts. The first part was of twelve lines. The first 9 or 10 *aksharas* in the first eleven lines have now been

<sup>1</sup> From the plate in *Et.*, VIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Rajo* (Büh.).

<sup>3</sup> *Pāṇa-tithe* (Büh.).

<sup>4</sup> *Gāvasāpi tri-sata-sahasraṇi* (Bh.); (*Amvāsani pi tu sata-sahas-*, (Büh.).

<sup>5</sup> No. 43 gives its extended reading as *nadyāni Bārṇāsāyāni suvarṇo-dāna-tīrtha-kareṇa*.

<sup>6</sup> Though the village was donated to the monks of *Valūraka*, it was intended for the residence of all monks who sought refuge in the caves in the rainy season.

damaged by rain. Some of them can be restored with the help of other inscriptions in this very cave, but several *aksharas* on the left of lines 9-11, and the whole of line 12 have been lost and cannot now be restored. Bhagvanlal read *cha ti* at the end of line 12 and inferred therefrom that the part ended there. But Senart did not notice the *aksharas* there.

The second part of the inscription is incised after leaving space of two or three lines. It consists of four lines. This part also is very much damaged; but from the remaining *aksharas* it does not seem to be a separate inscription. It appears to be an appendix of the preceding record. Its wording cannot now be restored.

Bird and Orlebar first drew attention to this inscription in 1847. Thereafter, Edward and Arthur West, R. G. Bhandarkar, Franke, and Rapson discussed it. Bühler, Bhagvanlal and Senart have edited it with a translation.<sup>1</sup> It is edited here from the plate published with Senart's article.

**Characters and language**—The characters of this inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

This inscription is of Śaka Rishabhadatta, son of Dinika and son-in-law of Rājan and Kshatrapa Nahapāna [of the Kshaharāta family]. It records his ever continuing charities and pious works. The mention of his race Śaka which occurs in line 2 is noteworthy. Some of the charities and pious works mentioned here are also referred to in other inscriptions in this cave, but some are new.

Rishabhadatta had provided for feeding a hundred thousand Brāhmaṇas throughout the year at Śorpāraga, Chechinā, Dāhanūkānagara, Kekāpura, Bharukachchha, Anugāmi, Ujjainī and Sākhā. He had donated a hundred thousand cows for the religious merit of Nahapāna on the full-moon *tithi* of Chaitra. He had donated gold (coins) and built a *ghāṭ* on the bank of the Bārṇāsā.

<sup>1</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 1135 and 1136. Also *EL*, VIII, plate facing pp. 85 and 86.



These charities are recorded in the first part of the present inscription.

The Appendix which follows seems to record that **Rishabhadatta** donated five thousand (*kārshāpaṇas*) to Brāhmaṇas, and constructed a *ghāt* at some river; but this portion has been very much damaged.

**Localities**—**Śorpāraga** is modern Sopārā in the Ṭhāṇe District. **Dāhanūkā** is the chief place of the modern Ḍahāṇū *tālukā* of the same district. **Cechināna** may be Chinchāṇī-Tārāpur, about 8 miles north of Bombay. **Bharukachcha** is Broach. **Ujjainī** is well known. **Anugāmi**, **Kekāpura** and **Sākhā** cannot be identified.

Line	Text <sup>1</sup>
1	[सिधं । रज्रो क्षहरा*] तस क्षत्रपस महपानस जामा -
2	[तु दीनीकपुत्रस*] शक्तस उपवदातस नेप्यकोमु
3	. . . [शोर्पार*] ने चोचिजे <sup>2</sup> बाहनूकानगर <sup>3</sup> केकापुरे
4	. . . [भएक*] छे अनुगामिम्हि उजेनिय साधाय -
5	. . . [अनुवासं भगवं*] तो ब्राह्मणा भुजते सतसाह -
6	[स्त्री*] . . . [भग*] वतां ब्राह्मणानं गवां सतस -
7	[ह्रानि तीणि दतानि*] भगवतां देवान ब्राह्मणानं च दता -
8	[सोळस गामा वसे*] . . . चेत्रसुधे पनरस क्षहरा -
9	. . . . . गवां [स] तसहस्त्रेन उप -
10	[वदातेन*] . . . . . नदीये वणासाय इ -
11	. . . . . सुवणतिथ च जापते तस
12	. . . . . [च ति] [ 1* ]
13 <sup>4</sup>	. . . . . गवता ब्राह्मणा
14	. . . . . [सह*] त्रानि पंचाशं [५००००]
15	. . . . . मासाय <sup>5</sup> तिथे
16	. . . . . देय न जप [ 1* ]

<sup>1</sup> From the plate accompanying Senart's article.

<sup>2</sup> *Vechīṇye* (Büh.).

<sup>3</sup> *-nagare* (Bh. and Büh.).

<sup>4</sup> This and the following lines are engraved below the preceding inscription after leaving some space. They may be connected with it. Some scholars take the two parts as separate records, but from the initial portion of this second part this does not seem to be correct.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps *Bānāṇḍya tīthe* was intended.

## Translation

Success ! In the ever continuing pious works of Śaka Ṛishabhadatta, (son of Dīnika) and son-in-law of [ Rājan Kshaharāta ] Kshatrapa Nahapāna, a hundred thousand Brāhmaṇas are fed throughout the year at Śorpārāga, Chechimāna, Dāhanukānagara, Kekāpura, . . . . Bharukachchha, Anugāmi, Ujjainī (and) Sākhā. He has given three hundred thousand cows to the revered Brāhmaṇas. He has donated [ sixteen villages to the revered gods and Brāhmaṇas ]. Ṛishabhadatta donated a hundred thousand cows for acquiring religious merit for the Kshaharāta [ Nahapāna ] on the full-moon tithi of Chaitra. He gave gold (coins) and built a *ghāṭ* on the bank of the Bārṇāsā river . . . . . He donated fifty thousand — 50000 — cows to revered Brāhmaṇas. On the *ghāṭ* of (the river Bārṇāsā) . . . . .

## No. 41

## Nāsik Cave Inscription (No. I) of Dakshamitrā

This inscription is incised over the door-way of the right cell in the veranda of Cave X at Nāsik. It was first brought to notice by Bird and Orlebar in 1847. Thereafter, Stevenson-Brett, Edward and Arthur West, R. G. Bhandarkar and Franke discussed it.<sup>1</sup> Bühler, Bhagvanlal Indraji and Senart have edited it with a translation. It is edited here from the plate published with Senart's article.

**Characters and language**—The characters are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and the language Prakrit.

The object of the inscription was to record that Dakshamitrā, the wife of Ṛishabhadatta, son of Dīnika, and the daughter of the Kshatrapa Rājan Nahapāna, donated the cell where the inscription is incised (to the Community of Buddhist monks) as her pious gift.

<sup>1</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 1134.

The present inscription bears no date, but Dakshamitrā must evidently have dedicated the cell only after the Cave was completely excavated in the (Śaka) Year 42 by her husband Ṛishabhadatta.

## Line

Text<sup>1</sup>

- 1 तिघं [ १० ] राजो शहरात्स क्षत्रपत नहपान -
- 2 स दीहितु दीनीरुपुत्रत उपवदात्स
- 3 कुडुंबिनिय<sup>2</sup> दक्षमित्राय देयघंमं जोवरको [ १० ]

## Translation

Success ! (*This*) cell is the pious gift of Dakshamitrā, the wife of Ṛishabhadatta, son of Dinika, and the daughter of the Rājan and Kshatrapa Nahapāna of the Kshaharāta (family).

No. 42

## Nāsik Cave Inscription (No. II) of Dakshamitrā

This inscription is incised over the door-way of the left cell in the veranda of Cave X at Nāsik. Bird and Reaves first brought it to notice in 1847. Thereafter, Stevenson-Brett, Edward and Arthur West, R. G. Bhandarkar and Franke discussed it.<sup>2</sup> Bhagvanlal Indraji, Bühler and Senart have edited it with a translation. It is edited here from the plate published with Senart's article.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

The **object** of the present inscription was to record that Dakshamitrā, the wife of Ṛishabhadatta, son of Dinika, and the daughter of Rājan and Kshatrapa Nahapāna of the Kshaharāta family dedicated the cell

<sup>1</sup> From the plate published with Senart's article in *EF. VIII*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kufumbhīya* (Bh.).

<sup>3</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 1132.

in Cave X to the Community of Buddhist monks as her pious gift.

The cell was probably dedicated after Cave No. X was completely excavated in the Śaka year 42 (A. D. 120-21).

Line	Text <sup>1</sup>
1	सोधं <sup>2</sup> [ १० ] राज्ञो <sup>3</sup> क्षत्रपस नहपानस दीहि -
2	तु दीनीकपुत्रस उषवदातस कुडुंबिनिय दक्षमित्राय <sup>4</sup> देयधमं ओवरको [ १० ]

#### Translation

Success ! This cell is the pious gift of Dakshamitrā, the wife of Rishabhadatta, son of Dīnika, and the daughter of Rājan and Kshatrapa Nahapāna of the Kshaharāta family.

No. 43

#### Nāsik Cave Inscription (No. II) of Rishabhadatta

This inscription is incised on the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. X under the ceiling. It is in five lines and occupies the whole back wall. This is the largest of all inscriptions in the caves at Nāsik and is engraved in bold letters. From the size of the letters and the language it is clear that the whole of it was not engraved at one and the same time. The first two lines and the three-fourths part of the third were probably incised immediately after the Cave was completely excavated. The date of it is not cited here, but from No. 38 it seems to have been the [Śaka] year 42<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> From Plate VII in *ET*, VIII.

<sup>2</sup> *sūdhān* (Bh. and Büh.).

<sup>3</sup> *Rāho* (Bh.); *Rāho* (Büh.). Elsewhere, the form is generally *raho*.

<sup>4</sup> *Dakshamītrāya* (Büh.).

<sup>5</sup> In the beginning of that inscription there is clear mention that Rishabhadatta dedicated it to the Community of Buddhist Monks of the four quarters in the year 42. We have shown elsewhere that the years cited in the inscriptions of the reign of Nahapāna are of the Śaka era.

(A. D. 120-21). Then comes the first appendix in slightly smaller letters. It records a victory of **Ṛishabhadatta**. Next, the second appendix is incised in still smaller letters. It mentions **Ṛishabhadatta**'s gift of a field for the supply of food to the **Bhikshus** dwelling in the cave. These events must have taken some two or three years after the excavation of the cave.

Bird, Stevenson, Reeves and Orlebar first drew attention to this inscription in the *Historical Researches* in 1847. Thereafter, Stevenson-Brett, Edward and Arthur West, R. G. Bhandarkar, Franke, Hoernle and Rapson discussed it.<sup>1</sup> **Bhagvanlal Indrajī**, **Bühler** and **Senart** have edited it with a translation. It is edited here from the plate published with **Senart**'s article.

**Characters and language**—The characters are of the **Brāhmī** alphabet, and the language **Prakrit**. The first part of the inscription is written in rather incorrect **Sanskrit** and the construction is in the third person. The first appendix which follows is in **Prakrit** and the construction of it is in the first person. The second appendix also is in **Prakrit**, but its construction is again in the third person.

The **object** of the present inscription was to record that **Rishabhadatta**, son of **Dinika** and son-in-law of **Rājan** and **Kshatrapa Nahapāna** of the **Kshaharāta** family, excavated the cave in the **Tiriraśmi** hill near **Govardhana**, and also the cistern nearby. The description of **Ṛishabhadatta** contains references to the following events:—He gave away three hundred thousand cows; he made gifts of gold and built a *ghāṭ* on the bank of the river **Bārṇāsā**; he donated sixteen villages to gods and **Brāhmaṇas**; he fed a hundred thousand **Brāhmaṇas** every year; he got married eight **Brāhmaṇas** at the holy place **Prabhāsa**; he gave gifts of quadrangular residential houses at **Bharukachchha**, **Daśapura**, **Govardhana**, and **Śūrpāraka**; he made gardens, tanks and wells; he established, for charitable purposes, free

<sup>1</sup> See the references in *Lüders' List*, No. 1131.

ferries for crossing the rivers *Ibā*, *Pāradā*, *Damaṇa*, *Tāpī*, *Karabeṇā* and *Dāhanukā*; he constructed charitable rest-houses and established sheds for free distribution of drinking water to travellers on both the banks of these rivers and donated to the assemblies of the Charakas at *Piṇḍitakāvada*, *Govardhana*, *Suvarṇamukha*, *Śorpāraga* and *Rāmatīrtha*, thirty-two thousand coconut trees. All these were given to the followers of the Vedic religion and for the benefit of the common people.

Ṛishabhadatta is called *dharm-ātman* in the present inscription, from which Senart inferred that he must have been converted to Buddhism before this inscription was engraved.<sup>1</sup> But this conclusion is unwarranted; for even after the excavation of this cave he is stated to have gone to the holy place of *Pushkara*, bathed there and made a gift of cows. As stated in No. 38, he continued to make gifts to the *Brāhmaṇas* as he did to the Buddhists.

In the first Appendix Ṛishabhadatta states that as ordered by the *Bhaffāraka* (his lord Nahapāna) he marched for the rescue of the *Uttamabhadra* Kshatriyas who were besieged by the *Mālayas*.<sup>2</sup> He says, "At the noise of my march the *Mālayas* began to take to their heels. So I captured them and handed them over

<sup>1</sup> *Et.* VIII, p. 80. It is natural to call the person who makes a gift *dharmātman*. It is used as an epithet of even a Yavana in a Nāsik inscription. See Nāsik Cave Inscription No. 18, in the *Nāsik District Gazetteer* (old ed.), p. 587.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler identified the *Mālayas* as the residents of the Malaya mountain (*ASWI*, IV, p. 100, n. 4). But this identification is wrong. After defeating the *Mālayas*, Ṛishabhadatta went to the holy place of *Pushkara* near Ajmer to bathe. This leaves no doubt that the *Mālayas* were the *Mālavas* of North India. This *Mālava gata* was well known in ancient times. The commentary *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini (V. 3.114) mentions it as a military organisation (*āyudha-śrī-saṅgha*). Greek historians of Alexander's campaigns also have mentioned them. They call them *Malloi*. They were then living in the Panjāb. When the Greeks, Śakas and other foreign tribes invaded the north-west parts of India, the *Mālavas* moved southward and established themselves in the Jaipur-Udaipur region. Their coins have been found in that part of the country. Later, they occupied the central region of North India, which came to be known thereafter as the *Mālava* country. Previously, it was called *Ākarāvanti*. See No. 18, line 2, and No. 51, line 11.

to the **Uttamabhadras**.<sup>1</sup> Then I went to the holy place of **Pushkara**, bathed there and made gifts of three thousand cows and a village.

The **Mālayas** mentioned in this appendix were plainly the members of the **Mālava gana**. Their coins have been found in the Jaipur-Udaipur region. The territory of the **Uttamabhadras** evidently lay to the south of their kingdom and to the north of **Gujarāt**. It is noteworthy that they are called *Kshatriyas* in this passage.

The second Appendix of the present inscription states that **Ṛishabhadatta** purchased from **Aśvibhūti** for four thousand *kārshāpaṇas* a field situated north-east of **Govardhana** which belonged to his (**Aśvibhūti**'s) father, and donated it for providing chief food to the monks of the four quarters, dwelling in his cave.

**Localities**—The present inscription mentions several rivers and places. **Bhagvanlal Indrajī** has suggested the identification of most of them. **Bārṇāsā** is probably the river **Banās** which, flowing through **Pālanpur** in **Gujarāt**, joins the gulf of **Kachchha**. **Ibā** may be the river **Ambikā**, which rises in the **Bānsaḍā** hill in **Gujarāt** and joins the **Arabian Sea** about ten miles north of **Balsāḍ**. The **Pāradā** is now known as the **Pār** which flows near the village **Pārḍi**, about twelve miles north of **Damaṇ**. The **Tāpī** has retained its ancient name. The **Damaṇa** is the modern **Damaṇagaṅgā**. **Karabeṇā**, mentioned as the **Kalāveṇi** in the *Kumārapālacharita*, may be the **Kāveri** which joins the river **Ambikā**. **Dāhanukā** may be the creek near the village of **Ḍahāṇū**, about 70 miles north of **Bombay**.

**Prabhāsa** is the famous holy place in **Kāthiawāḍ**. **Bharukachchha** is **Broach**, and **Daśapura** **Mandasor**. **Śorpāraga** also called **Śūrpāraka**, the ancient capital of **North Koṅkaṇ**, is now known as **Sopārā**. **Piṇḍitakāvaḍa**

<sup>1</sup> *Uttamabhadra* has been used in the plural. So it indicates a republican or an oligarchic tribe. The *Uttamabhadras* were then probably occupying the region near **Udaipur**. The present **Malwa** was then comprised in the dominion of **Nahapāna**. See the mention of **Daśapura** (modern **Mandasor**) in line 2 of this inscription.

and Suvarṇamukha cannot now be identified. Pokshara is the famous holy place of Pushkara near Ajmer. Bhagvanlal identified Rāmatīrtha with a *kuṇḍa* near Sopārā, but as Sopārā has been mentioned separately, the identification does not seem likely. We have noticed a region named Rāmatīthikā mentioned in an ancient copper-plate grant.<sup>1</sup> It was situated north-west of Poonā. Rāmatīrtha may have been its chief place. No place of that name can, however, be traced at present in the Poonā District. Nānāṅgola cannot be identified.

Line	Text <sup>2</sup>
1	सिद्धम् [ 1* ] <sup>3</sup> राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामा[त्रा] <sup>4</sup> दीनोरुपुत्रेण उपब्रह्मतेन त्रिगोसतसहस्रदेन नद्या वार्णासायां सुवर्णदान- तीर्थंकरेण देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च षोडशग्रामदेन अनुवर्षं ब्राह्मणशत- साहस्रीभोजापयित्रा
2	प्रभासे पुष्यतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्याप्रदेन भरुकच्छे दशपुरे गोवर्धने शोर्पारगे च चतुःशालावसधप्रतिश्रयप्रदेन आरामतडाग - उदपानकरेण इवापारवाचमणतापीकरबेभादाहनुका नावा पुष्यतरकरेण एतासां च नदीनां उभतोतीरं सभा -
3	प्रवाकरेण पौडितकावडे गोवर्धने सुवर्णमुखे शोर्पारगे च रामतीर्थे चरकपथंद्रूपः ग्रामे नानंगोले द्वान्नीशतनाळीगेरमूलसहस्रप्रदेन गोवर्धने त्रिरश्मिन्नु पर्वतेषु धर्मात्मना इदं लेणं कारितं इमा च पौडियो [ 1* ] <sup>5</sup> भटारका - अंजातिया <sup>6</sup> च गतोस्मि वर्षारतुं मालयेहि <sup>7</sup> रुधं उतम- भाद्रं <sup>8</sup> मोचयितुं
4	ते च मालया प्रनादनेव अपयाता उतमभद्रकानं <sup>9</sup> च क्षत्रियानं सर्वं परिग्रहा कृता [ 1* ] ततोस्मि गतो <sup>10</sup> पोक्षरानि [ 1* ] तत्र च मया

<sup>1</sup> *El. XXV*, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> From the plate published with Senart's article.

<sup>3</sup> There is a sign of *svastika* inscribed here.

<sup>4</sup> The sign for the medial *ā* in this *akshara* has an unnecessary sign of medial *u* attached to it on the right.

<sup>5</sup> The inscription commencing here is in smaller letters.

<sup>6</sup> The *akshara* *am* seems to have been engraved subsequently between *kā* and *āā*.

<sup>7</sup> Three or four letters appear to have been cancelled between *ye* and *hi*.

<sup>8</sup> *Uttamabhadram* (Büh.).

<sup>9</sup> *Uttamabhadraśālini* (Büh.).

<sup>10</sup> *Tatośmi gata* (Büh.).



अभिसेको कृतो श्रीणि<sup>1</sup> च गोसहस्रानि दत्तानि गामो च [ 1\* ]<sup>2</sup> इत  
चानेन<sup>3</sup> क्षेत्रं ब्राह्मणस्य वाराहिवृत्रस्य अश्वभूतिस्य हृष्ये कीर्तिता  
मुलेन<sup>4</sup> काहापणसहस्रेहि चतुर्हि ४००० य सपितुसत्तक नगरसीमाय  
उतरापराय दीताय [ 1\* ] एतो मम ज्ञेये वस -

5 तानं चातुर्वीतस भिक्षुसघस मुखाहारो भविस्ती [ 1\* ]

### Translation

Success ! *Ṛishabhadatta*, son of *Dinika* and son-in-law of *Rājan* and *Kshatrapa Nahapāna* of the *Kshaharāta* (family) — who gave gifts of three hundred thousand cows; who gave gold (*coins*) and built a *ghāṭ* on (*the bank of*) the river *Bārṇāsā*; who donated sixteen villages to gods and *Brāhmaṇas*; who feeds a hundred thousand *Brāhmaṇas* annually; who got eight *Brāhmaṇas* married at the holy place of *Prabhāsa*; who gave away (*after building them*) quadrangular residential houses at *Bharukachchha*, *Daśapura*, *Govardhana* (*and*) *Śorpārāga*; who made (*several*) gardens, tanks and wells (*for the use of the people*); who provided charitable ferries of boats (*for crossing the rivers*) *Ibā*, *Pāradā*, *Damaṇa*, *Tāpī*, *Karabeṇā*, and *Dāhanukā*; who constructed charitable rest-houses and established sheds for free supply of drinking water (*to travellers*) on both the banks of those rivers; who donated thirty-two thousand coconut trees in the village of *Nānaṅgola* to the assemblies of the *Charaka* (*recluses*) of *Piṇḍitakāvaḍa*, *Govardhana*, *Suvarṇamukha*, *Śorpārāka* and *Rāmatīrtha* — the pious *Ṛishabhadatta* has excavated this Cave in the *Tiraśmi* hill and has dug this cistern (nearby).

(Line 3) "I had gone to rescue the *Uttamabhadras* who had been besieged by the *Mālayas*. Those *Mālayas* ran away at the (*mere*) noise of my approach. I handed them over to the *Uttamabhadra Kshatriyas*."

<sup>1</sup> *Tīpī* (Büh.).

<sup>2</sup> The next inscription has been written in still smaller letters after leaving space for 8-10 letters.

<sup>3</sup> *Data cha nena* (Bh.).

<sup>4</sup> *mūlenas* (Büh. and Bh.).

Then I went to (*the holy place of*) Pushkara. I bathed there and gave gifts of three thousand cows and a village.

(Line 4) From *Aśvibhūti*, son of *Vārāhī*, a field belonging to his father, which is situated on the north-western boundary of (*this*) city, was purchased at the price of four thousand—4 000—*kārshāpaṇas*. From its produce the main food of the Buddhist Community of the four quarters living in my cave will be provided for.

## No. 44

## Junnar Cave Inscription of the Reign of Nahapāna : Year 46

This inscription is incised in the fourth cave, east of the *Mānmoḍī* Hill near *Junnar*. *Stevenson* and *Brett* first brought it to notice in 1854. Later, *Burgess*, *Bhagvanlal Indrajī*, *Bühler*, *Franke* and *Rapson* discussed it.<sup>1</sup> *Bhagvanlal* and *Bühler* have also published its fascimile, from which it is edited here.

**Characters and language**—The characters of this inscription are of the *Brāhmī* alphabet, and its language *Prakrit*.

The object of the inscription is to record that *Ayama* (*Aryaman*) of the *Vatsa gotra*, who was an *Amātya* of the *Rājan* and *Mahākshatrapa Svāmī Nahapāna*, got excavated the cistern (*poḍhi*) and the *maṇḍapa* (*vihāra* or monastery) as his pious gift for the acquisition of religious merit. The inscription bears the date 46 at the end. Like other dates in the inscriptions of the Western *Kshatrapas*, this year must be referred to the *Śaka* era and corresponds to A. D. 124–25.

No inscription of *Nahapāna* himself has yet been discovered. His son-in-law *Ṛishabhadatta*'s inscriptions have been found at *Nāsik* and *Kārle*. His capital was

<sup>1</sup> See the references in *Lüders' List*, No. 1174.

probably at Junnar. Hence his *Amātya's* inscription seems to have been found near Junnar. This question has been discussed elsewhere. Nahapāna is mentioned here with the title *Mahākshatrāpa*. In all previous inscriptions he bears the lower title *kshatrāpa*.

Line	Text
1	[ रज्रो ] महाबलपस सामिनहृपानस
2	[ आ ] मात्यस बहसगोतस अयमस
3	[ दे ] यधम च [ पो ] ङि मटपो च पुत्रचय वसे ४० [ + • ] ६ कतो [ १ • ]

#### Translation

Aryaman of the Vatsa *gotra*, *Amātya* of *Rājan* and *Mahākshatrāpa Svāmi Nahapāna*, has made this cistern and this *maṇḍapa* (*vihāra*) as his pious gifts for the acquisition of religious merit in the (*Śaka*) year 46.

(B) Inscriptions of the Kārdamaka Kshatrapas

No. 45 ; Plate XXIX.

Andhau Yashti Inscription of the Reign of Chashtana :  
Year 11

This inscription was discovered at the village of Andhau, 24 km. south-east of Khāvḍā in Kachchha in 1968. It was edited by Dr. Mrs. Shobhana Gokhale in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. II, pp. 104-111 with a plate. It is edited here from the same plate.

**Characters and language**—The characters are of the Brāhmī alphabet of the usual Kushāṇa type. The language is Prakrit.

A small part of the stone on which the inscription is incised is broken away and lost on the left, resulting in the loss of three *aksharas* in each line as appears clear from line 2. The inscription must have commenced with the auspicious word *sidham* like other records of that age. It then states that in the 11th year during the reign of Chashtana, son of Ysāmotika, the sons of Madhukāna, son of Pālitaka . . . raised the *yashti*<sup>1</sup> (memorial stone).

The mention of the 11th year in the present inscription is of utmost importance. Before the discovery of this inscription, the earliest known year of the joint reign of Chashtana and his grandson Rudradāman was 52. Like the dates on the coins of these Kārdamaka Kshatrapas, the year of the present inscription must be referred to the Śaka era. In fact, though that era was started by the Kushāṇa king Kanishka, it became known as the Śaka era, because it was used by the descendants of the Śaka Kshatrapa Chashtana for a long time. It is again noteworthy that in this inscription as in other records of the Śaka era, the word introducing the year is *varsha*, not *sanivatsara* which is noticed in other inscriptions not dated in the Śaka era.

<sup>1</sup> The custom of erecting a *yashti* or memorial stone is very ancient. The *Manu-smṛiti* (II, 283), lays down punishment for causing damage to a *yashti*. Several such *yashtis* are known to have been raised in the district of Kachchha. See Nos. 46 etc.

The Kushāṇa Emperor Kanishka seems to have appointed Chashṭana to govern Kachchha and perhaps some part of Kāṭhiāwāḍ when he was in his teens;<sup>1</sup> for he ruled over that region for at least 41 years as is clear from Nos. 46-49. At first, the territory under his rule was very small; for Gujarāt, Madhya Bhārat, and some part of Kāṭhiāwāḍ were placed under the rule of another Kshatrapa, viz., Bhūmaka. After the latter's death they were entrusted to Nahapāna as is evident from Nos. 38 and 43. They were later conquered by Chashṭana and Rudradāman.

Line	Text <sup>2</sup>
1	[सिधं क्ष*][त्र]स य्सामोतिकपुत्रस
2	. . . स <sup>3</sup> वर्षाये १०[+*]१ पालितकस <sup>4</sup>
3	. . . पुत्रस माधुकानस जात -
4	. . . <sup>5</sup> लषि पुत्रहि उषापिता [ 1* ]

#### Translation

Success ! In the 11th year of *Kshatrapa* [Chāshṭana], son of Ysāmotika, the sons of Mādhlukāna, son of Pālitaka . . . raised (*this*) *yashṭi* (memorial stone).

Nos. 46—49

#### Andhau Yashṭi Inscriptions of the Reign of Chashṭana and Rudradāman I : Year 52.

The memorial stones with these four inscriptions were found erected on a hill at the village Andhau in Kachchha. Ranachhodbhai Udairam, the Dewan of the Bhūj State, removed them to Bhūj. D. R. Bhandarkar, who noticed them there, first drew attention to

<sup>1</sup> The Daulatpur inscription mentions a still earlier regnal year (viz. 6) of Chashṭana. See No. 63.

<sup>2</sup> From the plate in *JAIH.*, II.

<sup>3</sup> The first three *aksharas* in this line were plainly *Chashṭana*.

<sup>4</sup> *Pālitaka* may have been an administrative term denoting 'Protector'.

<sup>5</sup> Here three *aksharas* appear to be lost. The number of the sons may have been incised there.

them. Later, R. D. Banerji edited the inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVI, pp. 19 ff. with plates. They have been edited here from the same plates.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the inscriptions are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and their language is Prakrit.

All the four inscriptions commence with the date Year 52, the second day of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the reign of Rājan Chāshṭana, son of Ysāmotika, and Rājan Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman. Like other dates in the inscriptions and on the coins of the Western Kshatrapas, this date also must be referred to the Śaka era. It corresponds to A. D. 130-31. Banerji thought that these inscriptions were of the reign of Rudradāman. He supposed that either a word like *pautrasa* was omitted after *Chāshṭanasa*, or the writer who drafted these records did not know the relation of Rudradāman to Chashṭana as he was ruling in far-off Ujjain. But this view is inadmissible. Chashṭana was not ruling from Ujjain at this time. Till A. D. 124 Ujjain was in the occupation of Nahāpāna; for his son-in-law's charities at Daśapura north of that city, are recorded in his Nāsik inscription of about the Śaka year 45 (A. D. 123). Thereafter, it was conquered by Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi in *circa* A. D. 125, and it probably remained in his occupation till his death in *circa* A. D. 132. Thereafter, it was conquered by Chashṭana and Rudradāman. The present inscription belongs to this interim period.

It was a practice among the Western Kshatrapas that the king, who is generally called *Mahākshatrapa* or *Rājan*, took some near relative, either his son or his brother, to assist himself in the administration of his kingdom, giving him the title of *Kshatrapa*. He could issue his own coins with the title of *Kshatrapa*. In all the four inscriptions edited here, both Chashṭana and Rudradāman have the title *Rājan* prefixed to their names. So it seems that Chashṭana in his old age had taken Rudradāman for help in the administration of the kingdom.

The object of all the four inscriptions was to record that certain individuals raised *yashṭis* (memorial stones) in commemoration of their deceased relatives. The first three *yashṭis* were erected by Madana, son of Sihila of the Aupaśati *gotra*, in memory of (1) his sister and Sihila's daughter Jyeshṭhavirā, (2) his brother and Sihila's son Ṛishabhadeva, and (3) his own wife and daughter of Sihamitra of the Śreṇika *gotra*. The fourth *yashṭi* was erected by Śrāmaṇera Treshṭhadatta of the Aupaśati *gotra* in memory of his son Ṛishabhadeva.

## No. 46

Line

Text

- 1 [राज्ञो चाष्ट]नस य्सा मोतिकपुत्रस राज्ञो रुद्रवामस जयदामपुत्रस
- 2 व[र्षे] [द्वि]पं[चाशे] ५०[+\*]२ फगुण बहुलस द्वितिय वा<sup>१</sup> २  
मदनेन सीहिलपुत्रेन भ्रगिनिये जेष्टबीराये
- 3 सीहिलघत ओपसतिसगोत्राये लष्टि उवापित [१\*]

## Translation

In the year fifty-two—52—on the second—2—day of the dark fortnight of Phālguna during the reign of Rājan Chāshtana, son of Ysāmotika, and Rājan Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman, Madana, son of Sihila, raised (*this*) *yashṭi* (*in memory*) of his sister Jyeshṭhavirā, daughter of Sihila, who is of the Aupaśati *gotra*.

## No. 47

Line

Text

- 1 राज्ञो चाष्टनस य्सा मोतिक -
- 2 पु[त्र]स राज्ञो [रु]द्रवामस
- 3 जयदामपुत्रस वर्षे द्वि(पं) -
- 4 [चा]शे ५०[+\*]२ बहुलस
- 5 द्वितियं वा २ ऋषभदेवस
- 6 सीहिलपुत्रस ओपसतिसगोत्रस
- 7 भ्रा[त्रा] [मदनेन] [सीहिल]पुत्रेन
- 8 लष्टि उवापित [१\*]

<sup>1</sup> Banerji read 'va 2' and took it to mean 'the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight'. But the *akshara* is clearly *vā* and stands for *vāra*. See No. 63, line 4.

Translation

In the year fifty-two—52—on the second day—2—of the dark fortnight of Phālguna, during the reign of *Rājan Chāshṭana*, son of *Ysāmotika*, (and) of *Rājan Rudradāman*, son of *Jayadāman*, *Madana*, son of *Sihila* of the *Aupaśati gotra*, erected (this) *yashṭi* in memory of his brother *Ṛishabhadeva*, son of *Sihila*.

No. 48

Line	Text
1	राज्ञो चाष्टनस म्तामोतिकपुत्रस राज्ञो रुद्रदामस जयदामपुत्रस वर्षे द्विपंचाशो ५०[+*]२
2	फल्गुनबहुलस द्वितियं वा २ यशदताये सोहमितघिता शेनिकसगोत्राये शामणेरिये
3	मदनेन सोहिलपुत्रेन कुटुम्बिनिये [लष्टि] उद्यापित [1*]

Translation

In the year fifty-two—52—on the second—2—day of the dark fortnight of Phālguna during the reign of *Rājan Chāshṭana*, son of *Ysāmotika* (and) *Rājan Rudradāman*, son of *Jayadāman*, *Madana*, son of *Sihila*, erected (this) *yashṭi* in memory of his wife *Śrāmaṇeri Yaśodattā* of *Śreṇika gotra* who was a daughter of *Sihamita*.

No. 49

Line	Text
1	राज्ञो चाष्टनस म्तामोतिकपु[त्र]स [राज्ञो] रु[द्रदामस] जयदाम -
2	पुत्र[स] वर्षे ५०[+*]२ फल्गु[न] बहुलस द्वितियं वा २
3	शुभभवेवस श्रेष्ठदत्तपुत्रस ओपशतिगोत्रस
4	पित्रा श्रेष्ठदत्तेन शामणरेन लष्टि उद्यापित [1*]

Translation

In the year 52, on the second—2—day of the dark fortnight of Phālguna, during the reign of *Rājan Chāshṭana*, son of *Ysāmotika*, (and) *Rājan Rudradāman*, son of *Jayadāman*, *Śrāmaṇera Treshṭhadatta*, father of *Ṛishabhadeva*, son of *Treshṭhadatta* of the *Aupaśati gotra*, erected (this) *yashṭi* (in memory of his son).



## No. 50

**Khāvḍā Yasthī Inscription of the Reign of  
Rudradāman I : Year [63].**

This inscription incised on a stone slab, 15' 4" × 3' 2" × 11" in size, lying on a mound, one and a half mile south-west of the village Khāvḍā in the Kachchha District, was found by J. N. Nanavati. The record was edited by him and H. G. Shastri in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XI, pp. 237 ff. with a plate. Later, it was published by P. R. Srinivasan in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 139 ff. with a plate. It is edited here from the same plate.

**Characters and language**—The characters are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and the language Prakrit.

The object of the present inscription was to record that the *yasthī* of Śrāmaṇera . . . son of Śatruṃsaha, of the . . . *gotra* was raised by his son Dhanadeva. It contained a reference to a year indicated by two numerical symbols, the first of which is now illegible, while the other seems to denote 3.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Rājan Svāmī Rudradāman, son of Rājan Svāmī Jayadāman, who was son of Mahākshatrapa Svāmī Chāshṭana, son of Ysāmotika. It is noteworthy that Chashṭana is called Mahākshatrapa here. Again, it is usually believed that his son Jayadāman predeceased him, but here he is mentioned with the title Rājan. Unlike the preceding four inscriptions (Nos. 46-49), this one does not show that Chashṭana and Rudradāman were then ruling jointly. So it seems to have been inscribed after the death of Chashṭana and before his grandson Rudradāman acquired the title of Mahākshatrapa by his victories.<sup>1</sup> The present inscription must, therefore, be referred to the period after the (Śaka) year 52, when

<sup>1</sup> In the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of the (Śaka) year 72, Rudradāman is stated to have acquired the title of Mahākshatrapa by his own prowess.

Chashṭana and Rudradāman were ruling jointly, and before the (Śaka) year 72 when he is known to have had the title of *Mahākshatrapa*. So year was probably 63. The lost numerical symbol in the present inscription probably denoted 60.

Line	Text
1	राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस
2	यस(यसा)मोलिकपुत्रस स्वामिचा[ष्ट] -
3	नस पुत्रस राज्ञो स्वामिज[यदा*]मस पुत्रस
4	राज्ञो स्वामिरुद्रदामस [वय्ये*] . ३ धावणस
5	. . . <sup>1</sup> अ . . कस शत्रुंसहपु -
6	त्रस धामणेर[स] . . गोत्रस पुत्रे -
7	ण धनदेवेन य[ठि अ]धिस्थापिता [1*]

#### Translation

In the year [63] of *Rājan Svāmi Rudradāman*, the son of *Rājan Svāmi Jayadāman*, (who was) the son of *Rājan Mahākshtrapa Svāmi Chāshṭana*, son of *Ysāmotika*, on the day . . . of *Śrāvaṇa*, this *yashṭi* of *Śrāmaṇera* of the *gotra* . . . . ., son of *Śatruṁsaha*, was erected by (his) son *Dhanadeva*.

No. 51

#### Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I : Year 72.

This inscription is incised on the western side of a large rock near the gorge that leads to the valley round the Girnār hill near the town of **Junāgaḍh** in *Kāṭhiāwāḍ*. The same rock has the edicts of *Aśoka* and an inscription of *Skandagupta* engraved on it.

*James Prinsep* first drew attention to this epigraph by publishing its reading and a small facsimile of it

<sup>1</sup> The reading of the symbols used here is uncertain. *Nanavati* and *Shastri* have read them as denoting 15, but this reading is inadmissible. *P. R. Srinivasan* has read them as *be* 5, but that reading too is not convincing.

in 1838. Later, Lassen, Jacob-Westergaard, H. H. Wilson, Bhau Daji, Egging, Bhagvanlal Indraji and Bühler discussed it.<sup>1</sup> Finally, Kielhorn edited it with a translation and a plate in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 36-49. His edition of the record is still regarded as authoritative.

**Characters and language**—The inscription is written in the characters of the southern Brāhmī alphabet. Its language is almost flawless Sanskrit. Only in a few places the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed. This long inscription contains only five sentences and four verbs. It is composed in the Gauḍī style, full of long compounds. The technical rhetorical terms *sphuṭa*, *laghu*, *chitra*, *kānta* etc. which are incidentally mentioned in it throw welcome light on the progress of the science of rhetoric in that age.

The **object** of the present inscription was to record that in the [Śaka] year 72, on the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha during the reign of *Mahākshatrpa Rudradāman I*, the Śudarśana lake was devastated by the floods of the rivers *Suvarṇasikatā* and *Palāśinī* rising from the *Ūrjayat* mountain. They were produced by a tremendous downpour of rain and by the large breach in its embankment caused by a violent storm. The embankment was later repaired and made thrice as strong as before.

The past history of this lake is given in it as follows:—The lake was constructed by the *Rāshṭriya* (Governor) *Pushyagupta* for the Maurya king *Chandragupta*, and was provided with canals by *Yavanarāja Tushāspa*, an officer of the Maurya king *Aśoka*.

The inscription contains a detailed description of the Western Kshatrpa *Rudradāman* during whose reign the embankment of the lake was repaired. He was grandson of *Mahākshatrpa Svāmi Chasṭana* and son [of *Kshatrpa Jayadāman*]. He had himself

<sup>1</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 965.

acquired the title of *Mahākshatrapa*. His kingdom comprised the following and other countries :—Eastern and Western Ākarāvanti, the Anūpa country, Ānarta, Surāshtra, Śvabhra, Marudeśa, Kachchha, Sindhu-Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparānta and Nishāda. He had forcibly exterminated the Yaudheyas, who had become very powerful and arrogant. Though he defeated King Sātakarṇi,<sup>1</sup> the lord of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, twice he did not totally exterminate him as he was a not distant relative of his.

Rudradāman was an ideal king. His subjects of all castes had selected him as their lord. Several princesses had chosen him as their husband in their *swayamīvaras*. He was proficient in the use of arms. He detested the use of violence except in battles. He had reinstated several deposed kings. He could himself compose *kāvya*s in prose and verse. He was noted for his liberality. He gave protection to his subjects from thieves and robbers, beasts and diseases. He levied only just taxes on his subjects. Still, his treasury used to overflow with gold, silver, diamonds etc.

The inscription further states who rebuilt the embankment and in what circumstances. The breach in it was so large that Rudradāman's capable Ministers and Executive Officers had expressed their opinion against its repairs. But this caused great disappointment among the people. Then Pahlava Suviśākha, son of Kulaipa, who had been appointed to govern Ānarta and Surāshtra, reconstructed the embankment, thereby augmenting the religious merit, fame and glory of his lord (Rudradāman).

**The Date**—Like the dates of other inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas, that of this record also must be referred to the Śaka era. The dates of ancient inscriptions are generally recorded in expired years. The month of Mārgaśīrsha in the expired Śaka year 72 was intercalary. So the date of the present

<sup>1</sup> This Sātakarṇi is Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi as shown elsewhere.

inscription would correspond either to the 18th October or to the 16th November in A. D. 150. It does not admit of verification.

**Localities**—**Ūrjayat** was the ancient name of the Girnār mountain. The river **Suvarṇasīkatā** rising from it is now known as Sonarekhā.<sup>1</sup> It bears the name **Svarṇarekhā** in the *Skandapurāṇa*. The other river **Palāśīnī**, which also rose from **Ūrjayat**, cannot be identified now. **Ākarāvanti** was the name of the entire Mālwa. Its eastern part was known as **Ākara**, from which the Agarwāl caste takes its name. Its western part was **Avanti**, the chief town of which was Ujjain. **Anūpa** corresponds to the present Indore and Nemāḍ districts of Madhya Pradesh. Its capital was **Māhishmatī**, now known as Maheśvar. **Surāshṭra** was the ancient name of Kāṭhiāwāḍ. **Śvabhra** may be the country through which flows the river Śvabhramatī (modern Sābarmatī). **Maru** is modern Mārwaḍ. **Kachchha** still retains its ancient name. After studying the various references in the *Mahābhārata* and other works, B. D. Mirchandani has recently come to the conclusion that when the joint name **Sindhu-Sauvīra** is used, it signifies the region on the Western and the Eastern bank of the river Indus.<sup>2</sup> **Sindhu** denoted the territory now known as Derjāt, and **Sauvīra** that round **Multān**. As the present inscription states that **Rudradāman** had exterminated the **Yaudheyas**, it is quite possible that this territory in the far-off north was included in the kingdom of **Rudradāman**. The exact location of **Kukura** is not known. **Aparānta** signified North Koṅkaṇ. **Nishāda** may have been the country of the aborigines in Gujarāt and Rājputāna.

Line

Text<sup>3</sup>

1 सिद्धम् [1\*] इदं तडाकं<sup>4</sup> सुवर्णसिं नि[रि] मगराव[पि] [इ]र-

<sup>1</sup> *Purāṇa*, XIV, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *ABORI.*, LVII, pp. 81-93.

<sup>3</sup> From the plate in *EI.* VIII.

<sup>4</sup> *taḍākaṁ* (Büh.).

- [मन्त<sup>1</sup> . . . . . [मृ\*] [त्ति]-  
 कोपलविस्तारायामोच्छ्रयनिःसंधिवद्ददुदसर्व्वंपाळीकत्वात्पर्व्वतपा -
- 2 वप्रतिस्पर्द्धिसुखिलष्ट[बन्ध\*] . . . . . [व]जातेनाकुत्रिमेण  
 सेमुबग्धेनोपपन्नं सुप्रतिविहितप्रनाळीपरीवाह -
- 3 मीढविधानं च त्रिस्क[न्ध\*] . . . . . नाविभिरनुग्रहंमहत्यु-  
 पचये वसंते [।\*] तविदं राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य सुगृही -
- 4 तनाम्नः स्वामिचष्टनस्य पौत्र[स्य] . . . . . पुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य  
 गुरुभिरभ्यस्तनाम्नो रुद्रवाम्नो वर्षे द्विसप्ततितमे ७० [+\*]२
- 5 मार्गशीर्षेबहुलप्रति[पदि\*] . . . . . सृष्टवृष्टिना  
 पञ्जंभवेन एकान्धभूतायामिव पृथिव्यां कृतायां गिरेरुजंयतः  
 सुवर्णसिकता -
- 6 पलाशिनीप्रभृतीनां नदीनां अतिमात्रोद्बृत्तंबेगैः सेतु[म] . . . . .  
 यमाणानुरूपप्रतीकारमपि  
 गिरिशिखरमस्तटाट्टालकट्टारशरणोच्छ्रयविध्वंसिना युगनिधनसदृश -
- 7 परमघोरवेगेन वायुना प्रमथितसलिलविक्षिप्तजञ्जरीकृताव[दी][णं]-  
 क्षिप्ताश्मवृक्षगुल्मलताप्रतानं आ नदी-  
 तलाविर्युद्धाटितमासीत् [।\*] चत्वारि हस्तशतानि बीशदुत्तराध्यायतेन<sup>3</sup>  
 एतावन्वेव विस्तोर्णेन
- 8 पञ्चसप्ततिहस्तानवगाडेन भेदेन निस्तृतसर्व्वतोयं मरुधन्वकल्पमतिभृशं  
 दुर्ब<sup>4</sup> . . . . . स्याथे मौर्यस्य राज्ञः चंद्रगु[प्तस्य\*]  
 राष्ट्रियेण श्वेतेन पुष्यगुप्तेन कारितं अशोकस्य मौर्यस्य [कृ\*] ते  
 पवनराजेन सुवासुधेनाधिष्ठाय
- 9 प्रणालीभिरलंबुतं तरकारितया राजानुरूपकृतविधानया तस्मि(स्मिन्)  
 भेदे वृष्टया प्रनाहया वि[स्तु]तसेतु . . . . . णा  
 आ गर्भात्प्रभृत्सर्व्विहतसमुदितराजलभोधारणानुगतस्सर्व्ववर्णैरभिगम्य<sup>5</sup>  
 रक्षणार्थं पतित्ये वृतेन आ प्राणोन्मुखासात्पुरुषवधनिवृत्तिकृत -

<sup>1</sup> Read -*apritika*—(B&h.)  
<sup>2</sup> Read the lost aksharas here as *Rājāḥ kṣhatrapasya sugrihita-nāmaḥ Svāmi Jayadāmanah.*  
<sup>3</sup> Read *vishāḥ-yutān-*.  
<sup>4</sup> Read *durdarśanam-āṭi.*  
<sup>5</sup> Read *abhīgamyā.*

- 10 सत्यप्रतिज्ञेन अन्यत्र संप्रामेध्वभिन्मुखागतसदृशसस्त्रप्रहरणवितरणाविगुण-  
रिपु . . . . . तकारुष्येन स्वयमभिगतजनपद-  
प्रणिपतितशरणदेन दस्युव्यालभूगरोगादिभिरनुपसूष्टपूर्व्वनगरनिगम -
- 11 जनपदानां स्ववीर्याजितानामनुरक्तसर्व्वप्रकृतीनां पूर्व्वर्षापराकराव-  
न्त्यनूपनीवृदानत्सुराष्ट्रश्च [ भ्र ] मरुकच्छसिग्धुसौवीरकुरापरान्तनिषा-  
दावीनां समप्राणां तत्प्रभावा . . . . . धंकाभविषयाणां  
विषयाणां पतिना<sup>2</sup> सर्व्वलव्राविष्कृत-
- 12 वीरशब्दजातोत्सेकाविधेयानां योधेयानां प्रसह्योत्सावकोन दक्षिणापथपते :  
सातरुर्णेद्विरपि निर्व्व्याजमवजित्वावजित्य संबंधाविद्वूरतया अनुरसाव-  
नात्प्राप्तयशसा मा . . . . . प्तविजयेन छष्टराजप्रतिष्ठा-  
पकेन यथात्वंहस्तो-
- 13 छष्ट्याजितोजितधर्मनिरागेन (ण) सव्दात्वंगाग्धर्व्वंन्यावाद्यानां विद्यानां  
महतीनां पारणधारणविज्ञानप्रयोगावाप्तविपुलकीर्तिना तुरगगजवध-  
चर्यासिचम्भनिपुट्टाद्या . . . . . तिवरबललाघव-  
सौष्टवक्रियेण अहरहृद्मानमानान-
- 14 वमानशीलेन स्थूललक्षणेन यथावत्प्राप्तैर्बलिशुक्लभागैः कनकरजतवस्त्र-  
वैड्यैरत्नोपचयविषयन्दमानकोशेन स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्रकान्ततब्दसमयो-  
दारालंकृतगद्यपद्य . . . . . प्रमाणमानोम्मानस्वर-  
गतिवर्णसारसत्त्वा (स्वा) दिभिः
- 15 परमलक्षणव्यञ्जनोपेतकान्तमूर्तिना स्वयमधिगतमहाशत्रुपनाम्ना  
नरेन्द्रकन्यास्वयंवरानेकमात्यप्राप्तवाम्ना महाशत्रुणेण हृद्वाग्ना वधं-  
सहस्राय गोब्राह्मण . . . . . त्थं धम्मंकीर्ति-  
वृद्धघर्षं च अपोडयित्वा करविष्टि -
- 16 प्रणयक्रियाभिः पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्मात्कोषा [ त\* ] महता धनोधेन  
अनतिमहता च कालेन त्रिगुणवृद्धतरविस्तारायामं सेतुं विधाय सध्वंत [ : ]  
. . . . . मुदशान्तरं कारितमिति  
[ 1\* ] अस्मिन्नर्थे
- 17 महाशत्रुपस्य मति सचिवकर्मसचिवैरमात्यगुणसमुद्युक्तेरप्यतिमहत्त्वा-  
(स्वा) द्भेदस्यानुत्साहविमुखमतिभिः प्रत्याख्यातारम्भं पुनः सेतुवृग्ध-  
नेराश्याद्वाहाभूतासु प्रजासु इहाधिष्ठाने पौरजानपदजनानुग्रहार्थं  
पात्थिवेन कृत्स्नानामानत्सुराष्ट्रानां (णां) पालनार्थं निपुक्तेन
- 18 पङ्कवेन कुलंपपुत्रेणामात्येन मुविशाखेन यथावदर्थधम्मंभवहारदर्शनैर-  
नुरागमभिवर्द्धयता शक्तेन दान्तेनाचपलेनाविस्मितेनाभ्येणाहाभ्येण

\* Read yathāvat-prāpta- dharm-ā-

\* Read palyā.

19 स्वधिष्ठिता धर्मकोसियशांसि भर्तुरभिषद्व्ययतानुष्ठितमिति ।

### Translation

Success ! This lake **Sudarśana**—though far away from **Girinagara**, with its embankment in three sections, which has all its rows well joined with mud and stones so as to leave no gaps in its breadth, length and height, and so vies in strength with the spur of a mountain, which has been excellently constructed . . . ., which has been provided with natural dams, conduits and contrivances to guard against foul matter—is now in an excellent condition.

(Line 3) In the seventy-second—72—year, on the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of **Mārgaśīrsha**, during the reign of **Rājan** and **Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman**, whose name is repeated (*again and again*) by venerable persons; who is the son of . . . and grandson of **Rājan** and **Mahākshatrapa Swāmi Chashṭana**; whose name is auspiciously uttered<sup>1</sup>—when an unceasing downpour of rain made the earth a vast ocean, this lake was laid bare down to the bottom of the rivers by the swollen and tremendously rushing streams of the **Suvarṇasikatā**, the **Palāśinī** and other rivers rising from the **Ūrjayat** mountain, and its joints were shattered, though suitable measures had been taken to guard against it, by the storm which destroyed the peaks of mountains, trees, ramparts, towers, entrances and houses, which was of tremendous velocity as if of the time of world-destruction, and which scattered about stones, trees, bushes, creepers *etc.*—

(Line 7) As all water of the lake flowed out by a breach four hundred and twenty cubits long, as many cubits broad and seventy-five cubits deep, it had a dreadful look like a vast sandy desert.

(Line 8) This lake had been constructed by

<sup>1</sup> See स सुवृद्धोत्तमा स्थापयत्ययं स्मर्यते मयैः । He whose name is (*auspiciously*) uttered by wise people in the morning is called *sugrihita-nāma*.



**Pushyagupta** of the Vaiśya caste, the Provincial Governor of the Maurya king Chandragupta. Tushāspa, a Yavana prince, provided it with canals constructed under his own supervision for the sake of the Maurya (king) **Aśoka**, and with a large conduit befitting a king, which was brought to view in the (*large*) breach, and also with an extensive embankment—

(Line 9) *Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman*—who has been selected by all castes as their Lord, resorting to him for their protection as he has possessed royal fortune ever since his birth; who has taken the true vow of not destroying human life except in a battle so long as he lives; who fights only with the foe who opposes him in battle, is worthy of him, and is not incapable of wielding a weapon; who is moved with compassion (*when he sees a helpless enemy*); who affords protection to those who of themselves resort to him and bow to him; who is the lord of East and West Ākaravantī, the Anūpa country, Ānarta, Surāshtra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sindhu-Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparānta, Nishāda and other countries, which comprise cities, mercantile towns and villages, which are free from the troubles of thieves, serpents, (carnivorous) beasts and epidemics, which have been conquered by him by his own prowess and the people in which are loyal to him, and which secure their objects of life such as [religious merit], wealth and enjoyment of pleasures through his prowess; who has perforce exterminated the Yaudheyas who had become arrogant as they had established their title as heroes by vanquishing all Kshatriyas; who has become renowned as he did not exterminate Sātakarṇi, the Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, twice in a straight fight as he is, not remotely, related to him; who has reinstated deposed princes; who has exhibited his respect for noble justice by his right decisions (*declared by*) raising his hand; who has obtained great renown by his acquisition, retention, proficiency and use of the great lores of word, sense, music and logic; who has attained great agility and

skill in the control of horses, elephants and chariots, in the use of the sword and the shield, and in personal combats; who is daily engaged in making gifts, showing respect and avoiding disrespect (*to others*); who is bounteous; whose treasury is overflowing with gold, silver, diamonds, lapis lasuli (*and*) other jewels by means of rightly levied, taxes and dues; who [has composed Sanskrit *kāvya*s] in prose and verse embellished with figures and the proper use of words, and possessing the qualities of lucidity, charm, sweetness, strikingness and brilliance; whose attractive body is marked with signs indicative of highest excellence such as correct shape and form, voice, gait, complexion, strength and courage; who has himself acquired (*the title of*) *Mahākshatrapa*; who has obtained garlands in the *svayamvaras* of several princesses—(that Rudradāman) has made this lake *Sudarśana* look (*even*) more beautiful (than before) by getting its embankment constructed thrice as strong, broad and long, within a not very long period of time, by spending from his own treasury a vast amount of money without oppressing the people with taxes, forced labour and presents (*nazarāṇas*) for the purpose of augmenting thereby his religious merit and fame during his reign of a thousand years (for the benefit of) the cows and the *Brāhmaṇas*.

(Line 16) In this matter the Ministers and Executive Councillors of the *Mahākshatrapa*, though possessing the necessary executive ability, had interdicted the reconstruction of the embankment, being greatly depressed by the largeness of the breach. But when the subjects, in their despair of having the embankment reconstructed, began to lament, the *Amātya Pahlava Suviśākha*, son of *Kulaipa*, who had been appointed by the King to protect the people of the towns and villages in the entire *Ānarta* and *Surāshṭra* countries—who augments their loyalty to him by rightly deciding their religious and economic cases, who is able, self-controlled, steady, modest, respectable and honest—

completed this embankment, thereby enhancing the religious merit, fame and glory of his Lord.

No. 52

**Gundā Stone Inscription of the Reign of Rudrasimha I :**  
Year 103

This inscription was found by Major Watson in a well in the village of **Gundā** in the Hālār District of North Kaṭhīāwāḍ in 1880. It was later removed to Jāmnagar. When the Watson Museum was founded, it was deposited in it. Bühler published his reading and translation of it in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, pp. 170 ff. Later, Bhagvanlal Indraji, Rapson and Devadatta Bhandarkar suggested some corrections in its readings.<sup>1</sup> R. D. Banerji and V. S. Sukhtankar finally edited it in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVI, pp. 233 ff. It is edited here from the plate published with their article.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and its language is Prakrit, mixed with Sanskrit.

The record opens with the following genealogy of the then reigning king *Kshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasimha I*. He was the great-grandson of *Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Chāshṭana*, the grandson of *Rājan Kshatrapa Svāmi Jayadāman* and son of *Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Rudradāman*. Next is given the date of the inscription as the year 103, the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of *Vaiśākha*, the *muhūrta* of the constellation *Aśvinī*. It is recorded that on that *muhūrta Senāpati Rudrabhūti*, son of the *Ābhira Senāpati Bāpaka*, caused a *vāpi* (step-well) to be dug and built at the village of **Rasopadriya**.

From the coins of *Rudrasimha* we learn that he was reigning as *Kshatrapa* in Śaka 102, as

<sup>1</sup> See the references in *L.Ā. letters' List*, No. 963.

*Mahākshatrapa* from Śaka 103 to 110, then as *Kshatrapa* from Śaka 110 to 112, and finally as *Mahākshatrapa* again from Śaka 113 to 118.

**Locality**—The village *Rasopadriya* is not in existence now. But since the inscribed stone was found at *Gundā*, and such stones are not generally removed from their original places, that village seems to have been named *Gundā* in course of time.

Line	Text
1	ति[ ङ ] [ १* ] राज्ञो महक्षत्रपस्य स्वामिचाष्टनप्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य स्वामिजयदामपौत्रस्य
2	राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामिरुद्रदामपुत्रस्य राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य स्वामिरुद्र-
3	सोहस्य [ व ] यं [ त्रि ] युत्तरशते १०० [ +* ] ३ वैशाख शुद्धे पंचमिध [ त्य ] तिथौ रोहिणीनक्ष [ त्र ] -
4	मुहुर्ते जाभीरेण सेनापतिबापकस्य पुत्रेण सेनापतिरु [ द्र ] भूतिना रसो -
5	[ प ] द्विये वा [ पो ] [ षा ] नि [ तो ] [ वं ] धापितश्च सर्व्वसत्वानां हित- सुखार्थमिति [ १* ]

#### Translation

Success ! In the year one hundred and three—103—, at the auspicious moment of the constellation of *Rohiṇī*, on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of *Vaiśākha*, (during the reign) of *Rājan Kshatrapa Svāmī Rudrasimha*, son of *Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmī Rudradāman*, grandson of *Rājan Kshatrapa Svāmī Jayadāman* and great-grandson of *Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmī Chāshṭana*, *Senāpati Rudrabhūti*, son of *Ābhira Senāpati Bāpaka*, caused (*this*) step-well to be dug and to be built for the well-being and happiness of all creatures.

**Wāṇḍh Stone Inscription of the Reign of Rudrasimha I :  
Year [110]**

This inscription incised on a rather thin stone slab of irregular shape was discovered at Wāṇḍh in the Māṇḍavī tālukā of the Kachchha District and is now deposited in the Bhūj Museum. It has been edited first by Dr. Jamindar in the *Sambodhi*, Vol. III, p. 74, and later by P. R. Srinivasan in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 142 ff. Jamindar's reading is given here with a few changes.

**Characters and language**—The characters are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and the language Prakrit.

The inscription is incised in shallow letters and is in a bad state of preservation. Therefore, it does not admit of a connected sense. It opens with the mention of a year of the reign of *Rājan Mahākshatrpa Svāmi Rudrasimha*, son of *Rājan Mahākshatrpa Svāmi Rudradāman*. The year was read as 110 by Jamindar, and as 105 by P. R. Srinivasan. The facsimile of the record is faint and does not admit of a definite reading of the date.

Rudrasimha I was the son of *Mahākshatrpa Rudradāman I*. Before he came to the throne, his nephew Jivadāman was reigning as *Mahākshatrpa*, Bhagvanlal read the (Śaka) year 100 on one of his coins.<sup>1</sup> His portrait on that coin was also different from that on his other coins.<sup>2</sup> So it is believed that Jivadāman ruled for some time as *Mahākshatrpa*. He was later deposed by his uncle Rudrasimha I. The latter's coins dated from Śaka 103 to 110 have been found. They mention his title *Mahākshatrpa*. Subsequently he had to work as *Kshatrpa* under his nephew from Śaka 110 to 112. From the traces left

<sup>1</sup> *BMC. (Andhras)*, p. cxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. cxxv.

in the present inscription, it seems that his title *Mahākshatrapa* was mentioned therein. So its date is probably Śaka 110; for in the following year he was again reduced to the position of *Kshatrapa*.

The inscription may have recorded the erection of a *yashṭi*, but by whom and for what purpose cannot be stated.

Line	Text
1	राज्ञो महा[क्षत्रपस] स्वामिरुद्रवामपुत्र -
2	स [रा*][ज्ञो महा][क्षत्रप*]स्य स्वामिरुद्रसिंह -
3	स वरिशे १००[+*]१० . . . नितशेतह
4	अयंति स्वामित्र . . . रुद्रमा . . . मु
5	[व]कसगोत्र थ . . विज रत्र थापित
6	केशवेसिकए[ 1* ].

#### Translation

[As the inscription on this *yashṭi* is very much mutilated, it does admit of a coherent meaning. It appears to mention the year 110 of the reign of *Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasimha* in the beginning.]

No. 54

#### Andhau Yashṭi Inscription of the Reign of Rudrasimha I : Year [114]

This inscription was discovered at the village of *Andhau* in the *Khāvḍā tālukā* of the *Kachchha* District. It is now deposited in the *Bhūj* Museum.

The inscribed stone has lost some portion both on the right and on the left; but the historical information in it is not lost completely. It has been edited by Dr. Jamindar.<sup>1</sup> His reading is given here as no clear estampage of it was available.

<sup>1</sup> *Sambodhi*, III., p. 46.

**Characters and language**—The characters are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and the language Prakrit.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasīmha* I, son of *Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Rudradāman*, grandson of *Rājan<sup>1</sup> Kshatrapa Jayadāman*, and great-grandson of *Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Chashṭana*. The (Śaka) year 114 in his reign is denoted by numerical symbols in line 6.

The **object** of the present inscription seems to be to record that some Ābhira (his name is lost) got this *yashṭi* erected in memory of . . . of *Dūshenika gotra* at the hands of *Nandaka*.

Line	Text
1	[ सिद्धम् ।* राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्वामिचष्टन*— ]
2	[ प्र* ]पोत्रस्य राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य [ जय ] —
3	दामपोत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रप —
4	स्य स्वामिरुद्रदामपुत्रस्य
5	[ रा ]ज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामिरुद्रसि —
6	हस्य वर्षे १०० [ +* ] १० [ +* ] ४ श्येष्ठम् [ लीय ]
7	[ शु ]द्ध द्वादशियमिति <sup>२</sup> प्रतिष्ठापे . .
8	आभोरपुत्र कु . . . .
9	. . . . . [ पु ]त्र [ स ] . . . .
10	दूषेनिकसगोत्रस
11	नंदकहस्ते उच्चापित [ ।* ]

#### Translation

Success ! In the year 114, on the twelfth tithi of the bright fortnight of the month *Jyeshthāmūliya*, during the reign of *Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasīmha*, son of *Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Rudradāman*, grandson of *Rājan Kshatrapa Jayadāman* (and) great-grandson [of *Rājan Mahākshatrapa Chashṭana*],

<sup>1</sup> Jayadāman was acting as *Kshatrapa* during the reign of his father Chashṭana. He predeceased his father. So the epithet *Mahākshatrapa* has not been applied to him.

<sup>2</sup> Read *dvadashyam*.

this *yashji* was erected at the hands of Nandaka in memory of . . . . the son of . . . of the Dūshenika *gotra*, the son of an Ābhira.

## No. 55

**Junāgaḍh Stone Inscription of the Reign of a grandson of Jayadāman**

This inscription was found while digging near the Cave known as Bābā Pyārā's *Maṭha* and situated east of the town of Junāgaḍh in Kāṭhiawāḍ. The inscribed stone broke while it was being taken out. It suffered another breakage when it was being transported to the local palace. Later, it was taken to and deposited in the Watson Museum. It was then in two pieces. It was read first by Bühler, who published it with a plate in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. II, pp. 140 ff. It has been referred to by Rapson and Lüders.<sup>1</sup> Finally, R. D. Banerji and V. S. Sukthankar edited it with a plate in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVI, pp. 239 ff. It is edited here from the same plate.

**Characters and language**—The characters of this inscription are of the Brāhmi alphabet, and its language Sanskrit. It can be reckoned among the few inscriptions of the age that are written in correct Sanskrit.

As the inscription is very badly mutilated it does not admit of a coherent meaning. But from the remaining parts of it, it seems to belong to the reign of a *Mahākshatrpa* who was a grandson of Jayadāman. The latter had two grandsons—(1) Dāmajada and (2) Rudrasimha. Which of them is intended here cannot be determined on account of the extremely fragmentary state of the present inscription. The last line seems to refer to some one possessed of *kevali-jñāna*, from which it can be surmised that its purpose was to record

<sup>1</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 966.



some pious gift to Jainism. If this is correct, the cave near which the present inscription was found may have been of the Jaina religion. The inscription mentions as its date the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra.

Locality—Girinagara mentioned here was the ancient name of Junāgaḍh.

Line	Text <sup>1</sup>
1 . . . . .	स्तथा सुरग[ण] . . . . . क्षत्राणां प्रथम . .
2 . . . . .	चाण्डनस्य प्र[पौ]त्रस्य राज्ञः क्ष[त्र]पस्य स्वामि- जयवामपौत्रस्य राज्ञो [महा] - . . . . . [शं]त्रशुक्लस्य दिवसे पंचमे ५ इ[ह] गिरि- नगरे देवासुरनागय[क्ष]रा[क्ष]स . . . . .
4 . . . . .	थ[पु]रमिष . . . . . केवलज्ज्ञानसं . . . . ना . . . . . जरामरण . . . . .

#### Translation

. . . . . the multitude of gods . . . . . the best among the Kshatriyas . . .

During the reign of *Rājan Mahākshatrapa* . . . . . the grandson of *Rājan Kshatrapa Svāmī Jayadāman* and great-grandson of . . . . . *Chāshṭana* . . . . . on the fifth—5—day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra. . . . here (this) *Girinagara* . . . the gods, Asuras, Nāgas, Yakshas and Rākshasas . . . -*kevali-jñāna* . . . old age (*and*) death . . . .

No. 56

#### Mūlvāsar Yashṭi Inscription of the Reign of Rudrasena I : Year 122

The narrow pointed memorial stone bearing this inscription was found at *Mūlvāsar*, a small village about

<sup>1</sup> From the plate in *EL. XVI.*

ten miles to the north-east of Dvārakā, a well-known holy place in Kāthiāwāḍ. It was later removed to the public library there. It was first noticed by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji and Rapson in 1890. Its reading has been published in the *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattywar*, p. 23. Later, it was discussed by Bhagvanlal Indraji and Rapson.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently Hiranand Sastri published its reading with a plate in the *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, pp. 173 ff. It is edited here from the same plate.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahākshatrapa Svāmī Rudrasena* and is dated in the (Śaka) year 122. Unlike other *Yashṭi* inscriptions, it does not give the genealogy of the reigning king, but from other inscriptions and coins he seems to be **Rudrasena I**, grandson of *Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman I* and son of *Mahākshatrapa Rudrasimha I*. On the evidence of his coins, Rapson has fixed his reign as Śaka 121 to 144 (A. D. 199 to 222).<sup>2</sup> The date of the present inscription falls in this period.

The **object** of the inscription was to record that a son of a person named *Vāñijaka* sacrificed his life for the sake of his friend. Surprising as it may seem, this memorial stone does not mention the name of that son, though it gives that of his father who raised his memorial.

Hirananda Sastri's statement that the Indians borrowed the custom of raising memorial stones from foreigners<sup>3</sup> is not correct; for, as stated before, we find a clear reference to such *yashṭis* in the *Manusmṛiti*, IX. 285, which lays down punishment for the person who damages a *yashṭi*.

<sup>1</sup> See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 962.

<sup>2</sup> *B. M. C. (Andhra)*, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, p. 175.

Line	Text
1	राज्ञो महाक्षत्रप[स्य] [स्वा]मिन्द्रसेनस्य
2	वर्षे १००[+*]२०[+*]२ वंशाब्द - बहुल - पञ्चम्यां
3	इमं(यं) शिलालिखितं [उत्थापिता*] वाणिजकस्य पुत्रेण
4	प्रतिजीवितं दत्तं [स्व]मित्रे हि जि(नि)जस्य [ 1* ]

#### Translation

In the year 122 of (*the reign of*) *Rājan Mahā-kshatrpa Svāmi Rudrasena* (I), on the fifth tithi of the dark fortnight of *Vaiśākha*, this Memorial Stone has been set up (*here*); for the son of *Vāṇijaka* gave up his life for (*the sake of*) his friend.

No. 57

#### Gaḍhā Stone Inscription of the Reign of Rudrasena I : Year 127

The stone bearing this inscription was found near a tank at *Gaḍhā*, a village near *Jasdan* in *Kaṭhiāwāḍ*. It is now preserved in the *Watson Museum* at *Rājkoṭ*. Its reading was first published by *Bhau Daji* in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VIII, pp. 234 ff. in 1868. Later, *Hoernle*, *Bhagvanlal Indraji*, *Rapson* and *D. R. Bhandarkar* discussed it.<sup>1</sup> *R. D. Banerji* and *V. S. Sukthankar* have edited it with a facsimile plate in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVI, pp. 236 ff. It is edited here from the same plate.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the inscription are of the *Brāhmi* alphabet, and its language is *Prakrit*.

The inscription opens with the mention of the date, the year 127,<sup>2</sup> the fifth tithi of the dark fortnight

<sup>1</sup> See the references in *Lüders' List*, No. 967.

<sup>2</sup> The unit sign of this date is not certain. It may denote 6. See the aforesaid reference in *Lüders' List*.

of Bhādrapada during the reign of the Western Kshatrapa Rudrasena. He is described as great-great-grandson of *Mahākshatrapa Bhadramukha Svāmi Chasṭana*, great-grandson of *Rājan Kshatrapa Svāmi Jayadāman*, grandson of *Rājan Mahākshatrapa Bhadramukha Svāmi Rudradāman* and son of *Rājan Mahākshatrapa Bhadramukha Svāmi Rudrasimha*. It will be noticed that the epithet *Bhadramukha* (of blessed appearance) is applied to all dead *Mahākshatrapa* forefathers of the reigning king. Kālidāsa has used that adjective in the speech of a female hermit of the hermitage of Mārīcha while addressing an unknown person, viz. King Dushyanta in the *Śākuntala*, Act VII. It is not, however, known to occur in inscriptions elsewhere.

The object of the present inscription was to record that the brothers of *Khararpattha*, son of *Pratāśaka*, set up a *śatra*<sup>1</sup> in his memory. The record seems to have closed with the prayer that *Khararpattha* may go to heaven; but all words of this prayer except *svarga* (heaven) are now lost in the last line.

Line	Text
1	[ व ] वं १०० [ +* ] २० [ +* ] ७ [ भा ] द्रपदवहलस ५ [ रा ] जो महक्षत्रपस
2	भद्रमुखस स्वमचष्टनपुत्रप्रपौत्रस्य राजो क्ष [ व ] पस
3	स्वामिजयदमपुत्रपौत्रस्य राजो महक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य
4	[ स्व ] मरुद्रवामपौत्रस्य राजो महक्ष [ व* ] पस्य भद्रमुखस्य स्वम-
5	रुद्रसीह [ पुत्र* ] स्य राजो महक्षत्रपस्य स्वामिरुद्रसेनस्य [ १* ] इवं शत्रं
6	मानसगोत्रस्य प्र [ ता ] शकपुत्रस्य खरपंत्यस्य भ्रात्रभिः उत्पवि [ तं ] स्व [ वं* ]
7	.....

<sup>1</sup> *Śatra* has been variously interpreted by scholars. Bhaṭṭa Dajī took it to mean 'a tank'. Hoernle understood it in the sense of 'a Soma sacrifice', Lüders in that of 'a seat', and R. D. Banerji in that of 'a free feeding house'. But these meanings do not suit *utthavānāni* (raised). The sense of 'a memorial stone' would suit it best. Such a memorial is now called *chhatra* in Marathi. Several other inscriptions from Kāghīwād record the setting up of such memorial stones.

## Translation

In the year 127, on the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada (during the reign) of Rājan Mahākshatrpa Svāmi Rudrasena, (who is) great-great-grandson of a son of Rājan Mahākshatrpa Bhadrāmukha Svāmi Chasṭana, great-grandson of a son of Rājan Kshatrpa Svāmi Jayadāman, grandson of Rājan, Mahākshatrpa Bhadrāmukha Svāmi Rudradāman, (and) son of Rājan Mahākshatrpa Bhadrāmukha Svāmi Rudrasinḥa, this śatra has been set up by the brothers of Khararpattha, son of Pratāsaka, of the Mānasa gotra.  
 . . . . . to heaven !

No. 58

## Imṭwā Clay Sealing of Mahārāja Rudrasena [1]

This clay sealing was found during excavation by G. V. Acharya at the site of Imṭwā situated on a hill in the midst of a thick jungle, about three miles from Junāgaḍh in Kāṭhiāwāḍ. The place is known by this name probably because it abounds in old bricks. The sealing has been published by B. Ch. Chhabra in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 174-75, with a plate. It is edited here from the same plate.

The sealing is circular, with a diameter of one inch. It shows a hill in the centre with the legend running round it. It begins at III.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the legend are of the Brāhmi alphabet, and its language is Sanskrit. The legend is as follows :—*Mahārāja-Rudrasena-Vihāre Bhikshu-saṅghasya* (This sealing is of the Buddhist Community of the *vihāra* of *Mahārāja-Rudrasena*).

In ancient times documents on pieces of cloth, palm-leaves etc. were sealed by pressing a seal-stamp on a lump of clay. Bāṇa describes the incident in his *Harshacharita* when at the commencement of Harsha's

march for *digvijaya* the seal-stamp slipped from his hand and fell on the wet ground marking the earth with his name, as he was going to make a grant of land. Several such clay sealings have been found in the excavations at Vaiśālī, Rājagṛh, and other places. The present sealing is of the same type.

As many as four Kshatrapas of the name of Rudrasena are known from the coins and inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas. As the characters of the present sealing are fairly old, the Rudrasena mentioned in it was probably the first Kshatrapa of that name in the dynasty of the Western Kshatrapas. From his coins he seems to have flourished in the period of A. D. 199-222.

The Western Kshatrapas generally used the title *Rājan*. So the title *Mahārāja* mentioned in the present sealing is noteworthy. Rudrasena I seems to have built a *vihāra* at the site of Imṭwā and dedicated it to the Buddhist Saṅgha. From the correct Sanskrit used in the legend on the sealing it appears that it was in the occupation of the Bhikshus of the Mahāyāna Sect.

No. 59

### Lāthi Stone Inscription of the Western Kshatrapas

The stone bearing this inscription was found at the village of Lāthi in Kāthiāwāḍ. It is now deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Its facsimile plate was published in the *Chronology of Gujārāt* (Plate XVII B).

This inscription is very sadly mutilated. Only the first two lines of it can now be seen partially. The first line shows the words *Mahākshatrapasa* [*Svāmi*] *Rudra*—and the second only one *akshara sa*.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the present inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and the language Prakrit.

The *Mahākshatrapa Svāmī Rudrasena* mentioned in the present inscription was probably the first Kshatrapa of that name, who was a grandson of Rudradāman I.

Most of the inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas have been found in the Kachchha District, especially at Andhau. The present inscription found elsewhere is, therefore, of some interest on that account.

### No. 60

#### Rājkoṭ Stone Inscription of the Reign of Vijayasena : Year 162

The stone bearing this inscription was lying in the Office of J. M. Nanavati at Rājkoṭ. Its photograph was published in the *Chronology of Gujarāt*, Plate XVIII, C. It has been edited by Jamindar in the *Sambodhi*, Vol. III, p. 75. It is edited here from that plate.

**Characters and language**—The characters are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and the language Prakrit.

The present inscription is of three lines only, of which several *aksharas* are now lost or are illegible. It mentioned the reigning Kshatrapa's name in the first line, but it is illegible now. From the year 162 mentioned with it,<sup>1</sup> it can be restored as Vijayasena, this Kshatrapa was ruling in the period Śaka 160-172. The **object** of the inscription was to record that some person, whose name is now illegible, got a well dug in the field of . . .son of *Sinhasena*.<sup>2</sup> The record ends with the prayer in Sanskrit that the religious merit of the pious action may be augmented.

<sup>1</sup> Jamindar read the numerical symbols of the date as 100 (+) 5, but this number does not agree with the expression *vayye dvavasthanare satame* (Sanskrit, *dvāshasthy-uttare satatame*) used in the record. See the table in Bühler's German edition of *Indian Palaeography* for the form of the numerical symbol of 60.

<sup>2</sup> Jamindar thinks that this Sinhasena was of the dynasty of the Western Kshatrapas, but there was only one Sinhasena in that line, and he flourished in Śaka 304. He cannot be this Sinhasena.

Line	Text
1	तिडम् [१०] राजो महाशत्रुस्य [विजयसेनस्य०] वस्ये द्वस्तुत[रे]
2	शतमे १००[+०]६०[+०] २ . . . . . सिंहसेनपुत्रस्य
3	सर्वसत्त्वहितमुखायं खेते बाबी [प्रति]ष्ठापित [१०] फ[ल]मभि- वर्द्ध[ताम्०] [+०]

#### Translation

Success ! In the year one hundred and sixty-two—162—of (*the reign of*) *Mahākshatrapa* [Vijayasena] . . . . . got a well dug in a field of . . . of the son of *Sinhasena* for the well-being and happiness of all creatures. May the fruit (*of this pious deed*) be augmented.

No. 61 ; Plate XXX

#### Mewāsā Yashti Inscription of the Reign of Bhartṛidāman : Year 203; Plate XXX

This inscription was discovered in 1893 at Mewāsā, a village in the Kachchha District of Gujarāt by Diwan Bahadur Ranchhodbhai Udayram of Bombay. It is now deposited in the Museum at Bhūj. The record was first noticed by V. G. Trivedi and D. B. Diskalkar in the *Annual Report of the Watson Museum, Rājakoṭ*, 1923-24, pp. 12 ff. Later, Diskalkar edited it in the *Transactions of the Fifth All-India Oriental Conference* (1928), pp. 565 ff., but without any plate. B. N. Mukherjee, adopting Diskalkar's transcript, discussed the contents of this record in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1961), pp. 106 ff. Recently Rasesh Jamin-dar, who had made an eye-copy of it, discussed it in a paper which he read at the Madras conference of the Epigraphical Society of India in January in 1978. Though discussed by several scholars, the riddle of this inscription still remains unsolved. As no facsimile of it had been published, I requested the Director General of Archaeology to get it copied for me. Then



Dr. C. Margabandhu, Superintending Archaeologist, Western Circle of the Archaeological survey of India, sent his colleague Dr. B. L. Nagarch to copy the inscription. He sent me excellent estampages of it, from which the inscription is edited here.

The inscription is incised on a stone which is 2 ft. 1 in. in height and 1 ft. 2 in. in breadth at the top and 1 ft. 5 in. at the bottom. This shows that it has lost a small strip at the right side. This is also made clear by the plate which shows a mutilated letter at the end of the third line of the record. This was evidently not noticed by Diskalkar. It has vitiated his reading and interpretation of it. Other scholars who adopted his transcript had no means to correct his readings. This fact, however, is important for the interpretation of the present inscription as shown below.

At the head of the inscription there appear some letters or symbols which Diskalkar could not interpret. The plate shows two *aksharas* with an upright symbol between them. The *aksharas* are *dri* and *sham*, and the symbol seems to be an auspicious lamp-stand between them. *Drisham* is noticed in the beginning of several Vākāṭaka land-grants and is usually taken as a sign of their authentication. Here it appears as an auspicious word.

The present record consists of seven lines. Except the last line which is almost wholly illegible, the inscription is in a fair state of preservation. The characters are of the southern alphabet. The following peculiarities are noteworthy. The *akshara tra* is written in two ways :—(1) either by lengthening the left member of *ta* to end in a hook on the right as in *putra-praputrasya*, line 2, which is peculiar to this record, or (2) by lengthening the right member of *ta* to end in a similar hook on the left as in *dauhitrasya*, line 5, which is the usual way noticed in other records. The curve denoting *ñ* in the conjunct *jña* is added to the vertical on the left and not on the right as is usually done. The signs of the medial *i*, *o* and *au* are

shown by ornamental curves on the top of the letters. The language is incorrect Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit names and words like *Bhadidama* (for Bhartṛidāman), line 2, and *yaffi*, line 6.

The object of the inscription was to record that a *yashfi* (memorial stone) was set up by Vasurāka, an Ābhīra of the Harihovaka *gotra*, who was son of Vapa, grandson of Svasana and daughter's son (*dauhitra*) of [Gugana], on the 7th day of Kārttika in a particular year (discussed below) in memory of his master (*bhartṛi*) Rājyeśvara. The last line seems to state that he constructed a dwelling also.

The transcript of the present inscription is given below. If it is interpreted as it stands, it would mean that the *yashfi* was set up in the (Śaka) year 103, when an unnamed great-great-grandson of Bhadidama, who was himself a great-great-grandson of Chashṭana, was ruling. This presents several difficulties. Bhartṛidāman was not a great-great-grandson of Chashṭana, *i. e.* he did not belong to the fourth generation after Chashṭana. He belonged to the seventh generation after him. Again, the transcript would show that the *yashfi* was set up not even in the time of Bhartṛidāman but in that of his great-great-grandson. And still it is dated in the 103rd year (of the Śaka era)! In that year even Bhartṛidāman was not born, much less was his great-great-grandson.

To get over these difficulties, Diskalkar proposed two things: (1) *Putra-prapautra* should be understood in the sense not of 'a great-great-grandson', but in that of 'a descendant', and (2) the year cited in the present inscription should be taken not as 103, but as 300. The first suggestion is acceptable. The Sanskrit language has no word to denote a descendant of the 7th generation. So he is denoted as *putra-prapautra*. That expression here means only 'a descendant'. The second suggestion, however, cannot be admitted, *Varsha-śate tryuttarake* can by no means be taken in the sense of 300. Besides, in such inscriptions recording the setting

up of a *yashṭi*, the name of the then reigning king is invariably mentioned. The present inscription mentions two predecessors of the ruling king, *viz.*, Chasṭana and Bhartṛidāman, but not the ruling king himself. Diskalkar has given no reason for this omission. Besides, he interpreted the inscription to mean that Vasurāka erected the *yashṭi* in memory of his king (*rājyeśvara*). Usually a *yashṭi* was set up in memory of one's relative or of some person very closely connected. Vasurāka is not likely to have set it up in memory of the contemporary ruling king.

Mukherji tried to connect the year 103 mentioned in the present inscription with Bhartṛidāman in a novel manner. He referred it to the Ābhīra era and took it as corresponding to A. D. 352. In that year Bhartṛidāman's descendant Rudrasena III was ruling. So the *yashṭi* is said to have been set up in his reign. But in all other inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas, the dates are recorded in the Śaka era. How is it that only in this inscription the date is given in the Ābhīra era? To this question Mukherji's answer is as follows:—The person who set up the *yashṭi* was himself an Ābhīra. So he recorded the date in his inscription in the Ābhīra era. But still the question remains, 'Why is not the then ruling king named in this inscription?'

Mukherji has answered this question as follows:—The present inscription mentions only two *Kshatrapas* and none else by name for the following reasons:—(1) Chasṭana is named because he was the founder of the family, and (2) Bhartṛidāman is named because there was a revolution in his time, and a scion of another family (*viz.*, Rudrasimha) occupied the throne. Subsequently, there was a second revolution when Rudradāman II usurped the throne. To show that he was a descendant of Chasṭana, the genealogy in the present inscription is carried back to the latter.

This theory is not convincing. If the object of the present inscription was to indicate that the then ruling

king in A. D. 352 was a descendant of Chashtana it looks surprising that it does not name him. Besides, some other inscriptions of the Ābhīras in the kingdom of the Western Kshatrapas are dated not in the Ābhīra era but in the Śaka era.<sup>1</sup> So Mukherji's theory is unacceptable.

What is then the solution of this riddle? If the transcript of the present inscription given below is scrutinised carefully, it will be noticed that most of the words in line 2 are repeated in the same order in line 3. This happens sometimes inadvertently when one is copying a record from a given draft. We have shown some other instances of confusion caused by the writer's mistakes,<sup>2</sup> This is an instance of the same type. The correct transcript of the initial portion of the present inscription will be as follows:—

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामिचण्डनस्य पुत्रप्रपुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य  
अदिदमस्य वर्षशत[द्वये] त्र्युत्तरके

As stated before, all scholars are agreed that *putra-prapautra* has to be understood in the sense of 'a descendant'. Again, the last word in the third line is *varsha-śata*, not *varsha-śate*, as would be required if it is to be the *viśeshya* of *tryuttarake*. Some right-hand portion of the stone has evidently been broken away and lost.<sup>3</sup> It may be noticed that *varsha-śata* occurs at the end of the line, and there is a mutilated letter, viz., *d*, following that word.<sup>4</sup> As stated before, the stone is 1 ft. 5 in. at the bottom and only 1 ft. 2 in. at the top, which clearly substantiates this conjecture. So the word at the end of line 3 was *varsha-śata-dvaye*. It is connected with *try-utrake* in the beginning of the following line 4. So the intended date was 203. This must be

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, the date Śaka 103 in the Gundā inscription of Rudrasinha I and Śaka 114 in the Andhara inscription also of the same king—both being records of the Ābhīras dated in the Śaka era.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. the expression *Śiva-khadu-nāga-sīrṣa* in No. 37, and *kudāga-māle* in No. 38. The mistakes in both were due to the inadvertence of the respective writers.

<sup>3</sup> See the stampage of the *yaulei* in Plate XXX.

<sup>4</sup> See the mutilated *d* at the end of line 3.

referred to the Śaka era and corresponds to A. D. 281-82. In this year Bhartṛidāman was ruling as stated here; for his coins dated in Śaka 201 to 217 have been found.

The *yashṭi* mentioned in the present inscription was set up by Vasurāka in memory of his lord (*bhartṛi*) Rājyeśvara, not in that of any king of that name.

Line	Text <sup>1</sup>
1	सिद्धम् [१*] राज्ञो महाक्षत्र(त्र)पस्य स्वामिचष्टन[स्य*] <sup>2</sup>
2	पुत्रप्रपुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य भदिदम[स्य*] <sup>3</sup>
3	पुत्रप्रपुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य वर्षगत[इये*] <sup>4</sup>
4	त्रि-उत्रके (अ्युस्तरे) वपुत्रस्य स्वगनप्रपुत्रस्य आभिरस्य
5	हरिहोबकसगोत्रस्य वसुराकस्य गुगनबोह्रिस्य <sup>5</sup>
6	कार्ति(त्ति)कस(स्य)मु दि ७ राज्येश्वरस्य [इ][यं*] भर्तुं यद्वि प्रष्टापि -
7	ता <sup>6</sup> . . . . . एकं भवनं च [१*]

### Translation

Success ! In the year [two] hundred and three, on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, (*during the reign*) of Rājan Mahākshatrapa Bhadidama (Bhartṛidāman)<sup>7</sup>, who is the great-great-grandson of Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Chashṭana, Vasurāka — who is an Ābhira of Harihovaka *gotra*, who is son of Vapu, great-grandson of Śvagana and daughter's son of Gugana — set up (*this*) *yashṭi* in memory of his lord Rājyeśvara . . . and a house also.

<sup>1</sup> The Plate shows at the top the *aksharas del* and *shyam* with an auspicious sign of a lamp-stand between them.

<sup>2</sup> The complete word was -*Chashṭanasya* as shown by the preceding adjective *Mahākshatra (tra) pasya*.

<sup>3</sup> This *akshara* has been lost owing to the breaking away of a part of the stone at this edge.

<sup>4</sup> The mutilated letter *d* here shows that the original complete word here was - *duye*.

<sup>5</sup> Diskalkar read *Gutthajudhitasya*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *Bhartur-yashṭih pratishṭhāpitā*.

<sup>7</sup> The repeated expressions have been omitted in the translation.

(C) Inscriptions of the Kshatrapas of Vidarbha

No. 62; Plate III

**Pauni Stone Pillar Inscription of Rupiamma**

The piece of stone bearing this inscription was found while digging in the field of Shri Maniram Lanjewar at **Pauni** in the Bhandārā district of Vidarbha in 1957. We edited the record in the *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 201 ff. It is now preserved in the Central Museum at Nāgpur.

The inscription is incised on a piece of stone 30 cm. broad and from 30 to 57 cm. high. The stone has the figure of a half lotus at the top and, separated from it by two horizontal lines, the present inscription in three lines below. It is written in the Brāhmī alphabet. The first two lines are 29 cm. and the third only 9 cm. in length.

**Characters and language**—The characters are of the Brāhmī alphabet of about the second cen. A. D., and the language Prakrit.

The **object** of the inscription was to record that the sculptured pillar (*chhāyā-skambha*) on which it is incised was of (*i. e.* was set up in memory of) *Mahākshatrapa Kumāra Rupiamma*. He was evidently a provincial Governor like Bhūmaka, Nahapāna and Chashāna, appointed by the contemporary Kushāna King to govern Vidarbha. His title *Kumāra* resembles that applied to *Mahāsenāpati* Eli Ehaladāsa in an inscription at Nāgārjunakoṇḍ. He seems to be a Scythian (Śaka); for his name *Rupiamma* appears like an Indianised form of a Scythian name.

The present inscription shows that the rule of the Kushānas was not confined to Western Mahārāshtra and Koṅkaṇ in South India, as was supposed before, but included Vidarbha also. In fact large hoards of

Kushāṇa coins have been found in Chhattisgaḍh also,<sup>1</sup> indicating that that region also was included in the Kushāṇa Empire.

The pillar set up in memory of *Mahākshatrapa* Rupiamma is called *Chhāyā-khaṇḍho* (Sanskrit, *Chhāyā-skambhaḥ*). This is the earliest instance of the use of this word. Later, we notice it in several records. Two inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍ record the erection of *chhāyā-stambhas* in memory of Eli Ehavaladāsa and Queen Vammabhaṭā. A *chhāyā-stambha* usually bore the image of the person in memory of whom it was erected as is shown by the panel of three figures, viz., the queen and her two attendants carved above the record on the pillar of Vammabhaṭā.<sup>2</sup> The present inscribed stone has, however, no such figure. It may have been carved on the upper portion of it which has now been broken away and lost.

The epithet *Kumāra* applied to *Mahākshatrapa* Rupiamma is noteworthy. *Kumāra* in such cases does not mean 'a prince'; for it is used in connection with the name of a *Mahāsenāpati* also. Probably it denoted some title. It recalls the official designation of *Kumārāmātya* which occurs in several later land-grants.

Line	Text
------	------

- |   |                          |
|---|--------------------------|
| 1 | सिधम् [१*] महत्तव-कुमारस |
| 2 | हृषिभूमस छाया -          |
| 3 | खंभो [१*]                |

#### Translation

Success ! (This) is a sculptured pillar of *Mahākshatrapa Kumāra Rupiamma*.

<sup>1</sup> *JNSI*, XXXIII, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Et.*, XXXIV, pp. 20 ff.

## Some Additional Inscriptions

No. 62 (A)

### Amarāvati Inscription of the Reign of Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi

This inscription is incised on a sculptured slab affixed to the dome of the Main Stūpa at Amarāvati in the Gunṭur District of Andhra Pradesh. It was described and deciphered by H. Sarkar in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History* (Calcutta University), Vol. IV, pp. 7-8 and Plate. The record is in a very bad state of preservation. As its estampage was not available for decipherment, the tentative reading given by Sarkar is reproduced here.

The present inscription is incised on a marble slab, 124 cm. high and 90 cm. broad affixed for decoration to the Stūpa called *Mahā-chaitya* at Amarāvati. It is in three lines. The upper panel is now very much damaged. The lower one shows the figure of the Bodhi tree in the middle with an *upāsaka* and an *upāsikā* worshipping it on either side. The present record is inscribed below. It measure 88 cm. in length and 11 cm. in height.

**Characters and language**—The characters are of the Brāhmī alphabet. The ends of the letters *ka* and *ra* show a slight bending to the left. The language is Prakrit mixed with Sanskrit. There appears greater influence of Sanskrit here than is noticed in the records of the time of Yajña-śri in Western Mahārāshṭra.

The **object** of the inscription is to record that on the eighth day of the fifth fortnight of the rainy season in the . . . year of the illustrious Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi, Jayila, an *upāsaka* of Ujjayini, decorated the *Mahā-chaitya* at *Dhanakaṭa* (with the present inscribed sculptured slab).

Sātavāhana power had penetrated into Andhra in the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi long before the time of Yajña-śri Sātakarṇi, whose inscriptions and coins also have been found here. So the present record does not



make any addition to our historical knowledge. But it is important from another point of view. The sculptures at Amarāvati were carved in different periods. Their dates can be fixed approximately with the aid of the epigraphs inscribed there. They evince development or decadence of the local sculptural art. According to connoisseurs of the art, the sculptures at Amarāvati begin to show signs of decline in the age of Yajña-śrī. Their period can be fixed approximately as the end of the second century A. D. on the palaeographic evidence of the present inscription.

**Localities**—There are only two place-names in the present inscription, *viz.*, Dhanakaṭa and Ujjayinī. The former is now known as Dharanikoṭ. It lies near Amarāvati. Ujjayinī needs no identification.

Line	Text
1	तिघम् <sup>1</sup> [1*] राज्ञो गोतमपु[त्रस्य] श्रीयज्ञ[त]तर्कणिस्य संवत्सरे . . . वास प ५ दिवसे ८ उज्जयिनिउपसक्तेन
2	जयिलेन . . . . महाचेतिये . . . . कारितं . . . . .
3	. . . . . धनकटचेतिय . . . . [1*]

#### Translation

Success ! In the year . . . of the King, the illustrious Gautamiputra Yajña Sātakarṇi, the fortnight 5 of the rainy season and the day 8—(on this day) Jayila, an *upāsaka* of Ujjayinī, caused (this sculptured slab) to be made . . . of the *Great Chaitya* (Stūpa) at Dhanakaṭa.

<sup>1</sup> This word is incised in the margin on the left of the first two lines.

No. 63; Plate XXVIII

Daulatpur Yashti Inscription of the Reign of Chashana :  
Year 6

This inscription incised on a stone pillar 75 cm. high and 20 cm. broad was recently discovered in a field of Shri Mukhidhanji Karsan Patil in the village of Daulatpur, about 104 km. north-west of Bhūj in the Kachchha District. It has been edited by Dr. Mrs. Shobhana Gokhale with a plate in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 237 ff. We noticed the article recently while studying the inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas. At our request Shri B. K. Thapar, Additional Director General of Archaeology, directed Dr. Margabandhu, Superintending Archaeologist, Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, to supply estampages of the record to us. Dr. Margabandhu sent his colleague Dr. Nagarch to copy the record for us. We edited the inscription from the available material in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 34 ff. We edit it here from the plate published with that article.

The inscription now consists of 13 lines. About three lines of it have been lost at the top. No portion seems to have been lost on the right and left sides of the stone, but about two lines have now become illegible at the bottom. The inscription has been written in a cursive manner, which makes its reading and interpretation difficult.

**Characters and language**—The inscription being written in a cursive manner, its characters are not squat and broad like those of the Andhau stone inscription of Chashana's reign. The *akshara ta* has no knot, but *na* has it. See *Priti-svāmine* in line 6. *Ya* is tripartite. See *gotrāya*, line 5. *Va* has a longish form and a round bottom. See *Varāhadeva*—, lines 9-10. The numerical symbol for 6 occurs in line 2. The language is Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit.

The first line in the present state of the inscription contains two *aksharas nasya* of utmost importance for the interpretation of the record. They are evidently

the remnants of the word *Chashṭanasya*.<sup>1</sup> Chashṭana was the founder of the line of the Western Kshatrapas of Saurāshṭra and Mālava. So his name is invariably mentioned in all records of the family. The correct reading of the next three (2-4) lines is *rājye vāse 6 gi- [mha] ditiya māsa dasa vāsare-tri(tra) rājye*, meaning 'In his (*i. e.* Chashṭana's) kingdom in the year 6 in the second month of summer, on the tenth day—in his kingdom here. The numerical symbol for 6 which occurs at the end of the second line is noticed in several records of the Kushāṇa age and is unmistakable. Besides, this method of recording the date by citing the year, season, month and day was prevalent in North India in early times.<sup>2</sup> In later records the date is mentioned by citing the year, lunar month, fortnight and *tithi*.

The object of the present inscription was to record that the Ābhīra (Regareśvaradeva),<sup>3</sup> son of Varāhadeva and grandson of Jaitraka, erected the *yashṭi* in memory of Pritisvāmī of the Vasu *gotra*, son of Sudotaka, for the well-being of the whole family.<sup>4</sup>

This is the second inscription of Chashṭana to be discovered in recent years. No. 45, also of the reign of Chashṭana, was dated in the eleventh year. The present inscription takes Chashṭana's rule back by five years. Both these dates, like those in other inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas, must be referred to the Śaka era founded by Kanishka. Before their discovery it was believed that the contemporary Kushāṇa emperor sent Chashṭana to govern his southern provinces after the extermination of Nahapāna by the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi some time after Śaka 46 (A. D. 124). That view now needs to be revised. It seems that Kanishka appointed Chashṭana to govern Kachchha and a part of

<sup>1</sup> The *aksharas* lost in the first three lines have been conjecturally restored.

<sup>2</sup> When the rule of the dynasty was stabilized, it adopted the method of citing a year, a lunar month like Chaitra, a fortnight and a *tithi*, which is noticed in all their later records.

<sup>3</sup> The reading of this personal name is not quite certain.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Gokhale's readings and interpretations cannot be accepted. See *JOI.*, XXVIII, ii, pp. 34 ff.

Saurāshṭra after he conquered these provinces in the beginning of his reign. Chashṭana must then have been in his teens. Ptolemy, who wrote in *circa* A. D. 140, describes him as ruling from Ujjain. He must then have been an octogenarian. It is not, therefore, surprising that he appointed his grandson Rudradāman to assist himself in the administration of his kingdom in Śaka 52 (A. D. 130-131) as shown by the Andhau inscriptions of that year.

Chashṭana was probably related to Kanishka. So his statue was erected in the *devakula* at Māṭ which contained those of several Kushāṇa Emperors like Kanishka and Huvishka. It is, therefore, not surprising that he appointed him to govern Kachchha when he conquered it in the beginning of his career. Later, some part (but not the whole) of Kāthiāwāḍ was added to the territory under him. A Nāsik inscription<sup>1</sup> of Ṛishabhadatta shows that at least a part of Saurāshṭra was included in the territory under Nahapāna; for it states that he got eight Brāhmaṇas married at the holy place of Prabhāsa as a pious act.

Line	Text
1 . . . नस्य <sup>2</sup> . . .	
2 राज्ये वसो ६ [गि] -	
3 म्ह दितिय मास [व] -	
4 स वासरेत्रि(त्र) राज्ये व-	
5 मुसगोत्राय	
6 प्रितिसवामिने . व-	
7 मुदोलकमुताय	
8 . अभिरस्य <sup>3</sup> [जे] -	
9 वरुपौत्रस्य व-	
10 राहवेवपुत्रस्य	
11 [रेगरेश्वर] <sup>4</sup> देवस्य	
12 . . गोत्रहिताय	
13 [लठि] उपापित [।*]	

<sup>1</sup> See No. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Chashṭanaya*. The previous lost portion may have been \*सिधं। यामोक्तिक-पुत्रस्य वसुपस्य.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Abhira*.

<sup>4</sup> The reading of this name is not certain.

## Translation

During the reign of Chashtana,<sup>1</sup> in the year 6, the second month of summer and the tenth day - (on this day) this *yashṭi* (memorial pillar) has been erected by the Ābhīra Regareśvaradeva, son of Varāhaeeva, grandson of Jaitraka, [in memory of] Pritisvāmi, son of Vasudotaka of the Vasu *gotra*, here in this kingdom for the well-being of the (*whole*) family.

No. 64 : Plates IV-VII

## Malhārā Plates of Ādityarāja

These plates were in the possession of Mahadevrao Borekar of the village Malhārā in the Achalpur *tālukā* of the Amraoti District in Berar. One of these plates was sold at Achalpur in 1974. It was brought to P. M. Muley of the Central Museum, Nagpur, for decipherment. V. P. Rode, Ex-Curator of the Museum, deciphered the writing on it, and found that it was issued by King Ādityarāja of an unknown lineage, and recorded his grant of some villages to a few Brāhmaṇas. He tried to trace the other plates of the set, but his attempts proved fruitless. So he published that one plate in the *Vārshika* (Annual) of the Vidarbha Samshodhana Maṇḍal, Nāgpur, in 1975. Later, the remaining plates of the set came to light gradually. We published the whole grant in the *Vārshika* of the Maṇḍal in March 1976. Later, we republished it in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. LIV, pp. 1 ff. Ajay Mitra Shastri raised some objections to our dating of the grant in the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 30 ff., which we answered in the same *Journal*, Vol. V, pp. 1 ff. The grant is included here in view of the light it sheds on the political and cultural history of the age of the Sātavāhanas, though it is of a slightly later period.

The set consists of five copper plates. They were strung together by a ring, which may have had a seal attached to it. A broken ring 9 cm. in diameter has

<sup>1</sup> In the portion lost in line I, there must have been mention of Yasmotika, the father of Chashtana, and the latter's title *Koharapa*.

been recovered, but it has no seal attached to it. The first and last plates are inscribed on one side only, and the other on both the sides. All the plates are thinner and somewhat smaller than those of Vākātaka grants.<sup>1</sup> They measure 17.6 cm. in length and 9.7 cm. in breadth, and weigh 900 grammes.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the present grant are of the box-headed type, and resemble those of the Vākātaka grants. The numerical symbols for 10, 5, and 2 occur in the last line, of which that for 5 is noteworthy. The language is Sanskrit except in the last line which records the date in Prakrit. The grant is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The whole inscription is written in elegant Sanskrit.

The object of the present inscription is to record that King Ādityarāja of the Muṇḍa family donated certain villages in the *bhoga* (sub-division) of Āṅkiśṭhā to some Brāhmaṇas. The plates were issued from Vānakheṭa. The villages donated were as follows:—Mahāgrāma, Chikkhallikā comprising two villages, Āmrakagartikā, Lauhaśalakā, Chiñchapallikā, Niggoṇḍijjhāra, Daharakapaṭattā, Āmravāṭaka, Śimsapādikā, and Bujjāṭaka. The grant was communicated to the following officers<sup>2</sup>—*Uparika*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Daṇḍapāsika*,

<sup>1</sup> This indicates that this grant is of the pre-Vākātaka age. Copper plates on which grants were engraved became thicker, longer and broader in course of time. See the following measurements:—

- (1) The present plates (c. A. D. 270)—7.0" × 3.4".
- (2) Bāsim plates of Vindhyadakti II (c. A. D. 392)—6.1" × 3.4".
- (3) Poonā plates of Prabhāvatī-guptā (c. A. D. 413)—9.25" × 5.75".
- (4) Sivani plates of Pravaraśena II (c. A. D. 438)—8.19" × 4.50".
- (5) Nagardhan plates of Svāmīrāja (c. A. D. 573)—7.9" × 4.1".
- (6) Mātūli plates of Nannazāja (c. A. D. 709)—7.9" × 3.9".

<sup>2</sup> These terms of official designation are noticed in several ancient grants, but scholars are not agreed about their exact signification. From the Dāmodarpur plates of the time of Kumāragupta we learn that an *Uparika* used to appoint a *Kumārāmātya*. So he was a superior officer of the status of a provincial Governor. The *Brhatsphuṭi-smṛiti* mentions him. The *Bālakriyā* commentary of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* (I. 307) states his qualifications in the following words—*dīkṣhīyā-chācitra-ekāśra-ḍeṭhaśc* *adhikarāna-sandigdha-vivekakṛit*. So he appears to have been entrusted with judicial work also (*Et.* XXIV, p. 134). *Chāpa* and *dhapa* correspond to the policemen and soldiers of modern times. Vogel says, "These officials are noticed even now in the Chambā State. *Chāpa* is the head of a purgānā, and *dhapa* is his assistant." *Antiquities of Chambā*, part I, pp. 130 ff.

*chāṭa*, *bhaṭa*, *kāshṭhika*, *Dūtapreshaṅika*, and *Viniyuktaka*. The Brāhmaṇas to whom the grant was made were as follows :—Mātulasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, Bhaṭṭasvāmin, Agnisvāmin, Dityasvāmin, Droṇasvāmin, Nannasvāmin, Sūryasvāmin, Kālīśarman etc. The object of the donation was to acquire religious merit and fame for the donor and his parents. The date of the grant is given in the last line as savva 2, gimha pa 2 and di 15 (*i. e.* the year 2, the second fortnight of summer and the day 15). It is in Prakrit.

The present grant opens with an auspicious symbol denoting *siddham* and the words *Namaḥ Purushottamāya* (Obeisance to Purushottama). Then follows the genealogy of the donor. There was, in the family of Muṇḍa which performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice, [a Brāhmaṇa named] Soma of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, who was a devout worshipper of Bhagavat, and took delight in the study of the four Vedas. He is next described as follows :—Though he studied with his (*single*) mouth (*all*) the four Vedas, which God Brahmā had recited with his four mouths, he did not feel conceited.<sup>1</sup> Next is mentioned his son Vardhana, who is described as meditating on his feet. He is eulogised in a verse as follows :—Regular performance of religious duties and observances, righteous conduct, Vedic learning, hospitality to guests and austerity —this was a most difficult and pre-eminent way of life of this noble person. Next is mentioned his son Muṇḍa, who never accepted any gift. So Indra used to pour from heaven an abundant shower of wealth in his sacrifices. We are next told that the descendants of this Muṇḍa even now take pride in that they were born in his lineage, since his name had brought prestige and fame to the family.

None of these three ancestors of Ādityarāja who granted the present plates, ever wielded any royal

<sup>1</sup> *vāmaya* denotes 'pride' or 'conceit' here. See the following remark of Duryodhana about Kṛishṇa in Bhāṣa's *Dūtavākya* (Act I): ज्ञानीपतां स विद्मन्साहनमात्रविस्मितो देवः ।

power. They were all pious and learned Brāhmaṇas, always engrossed in the performance of Vedic sacrifices and never caring for pelf or power. The next member of the family was Rāshṭramahārāja, who is said to have acquired a royal title (*rāja-śabda*) by his own merits. The circumstances in which and the means by which he attained a royal status are not mentioned in this grant. Next is named his son Rājākulamahārāja, who is said to have made the offerings of the lives of his enemies to the fire of fighting. This shows that he won some memorable victories. His son was Ādityarāja, whose description in the present plates is of the routine type. He made the present grant.

Let us next consider when this Muṇḍa family flourished. That it belonged to an early age is indicated by the following:—(1) The family is described as *Aśvamedha-yāji*. So it must have performed at least one Aśvamedha sacrifice. Aśvamedhas went out of vogue soon after the Vākāṭaka age. This family could not have flourished in the Vākāṭaka period; for the Vākāṭakas were then supreme in Vidarbha. They were followed in Vidarbha by the Vishṅukunḍins, the Kalachuris and the Chālukyās of Bādāmi in close succession. The Muṇḍa family, therefore, has no place in the post-Vākāṭaka age.<sup>1</sup> It must have, therefore, flourished in the pre-Vākāṭaka age.

<sup>1</sup> A. M. Shastri has suggested that this Muṇḍa family may have been ruling in Vidarbha before the time of the Chālukyās of Bādāmi; but this is not likely. After the death of Vākāṭaka Harisheṅga, Vishṅukunḍin Mādhanavarmā I extended his power to Vidarbha. He died in A. D. 528. Then Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja conquered Western Mahārāṣṭra in A. D. 533. He must have extended his rule to Vidarbha by A. D. 540. His feudatory Svāmīrāja was ruling in Vidarbha in the Ābhīra year 322 (A. D. 573). The Muṇḍa family could not have ruled in Vidarbha in the brief period of twelve years from A. D. 528 to 540. It could not also have held Vidarbha in the period from A. D. 573 to A. D. 634, the date of the Aihole inscription of Pulikēśin II; for in that case, it could not have recorded the date of the Malhārā plates in the regnal years. Like the date of the Nagardhan plates, it would have been recorded in the Ābhīra era. There is not a single inscription of this period in which its date is recorded in a regnal year. So the Muṇḍa family must be placed in the pre-Vākāṭaka age. For a fuller discussion of this question, see our article on it in *JESI*, V, pp. 1 ff.



(2) The date of the present grant which is recorded in the regnal year, season, fortnight and day also points to an early age. Only three or four inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of the Vākātakas are recorded in such season-dates. All other inscriptions of the Vākātakas, like those of other dynasties which flourished in that period, are dated in a lunar month like Chaitra, a fortnight and a *tithi*. The Malhārā plates which contain a season-date must, therefore, be referred to an early age.

(3) Again, the use of Prakrit in recording the date points to an early age. It seems that the drafter of the grant composed it in Sanskrit and made it over to the royal secretariat for inserting the date. The latter did it in Prakrit because Sanskrit had not yet come into vogue for this purpose. A similar use of Prakrit is noticed in the Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II. Later, Prakrit ceased to be used for this purpose also. So the present grant must be referred to a pre-Vākātika age.

But it may be asked, if the present grant belongs to a pre-Vākātika age, how is it that such technical official terms as *Uparika*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Daṇḍapāśika*, *Dūtāpreshaṅika* etc. which we find only in the Gupta and later records are used in the present grant? It is not difficult to answer this question. These Officers must have been in existence in the earlier periods also. We find similar, though not identical terms, in such early grants as that recorded in the Hirahadagaḷli plates of Śivaskandavarman. The latter mention such terms as *Rājakumāra*, *Senāpati*, *Rāshṭrika*, *Deśādihikṛita* etc. in their Prakrit forms. We must remember that the present grant belongs to a pious Brāhmaṇa family known for its learning. It is, therefore, no matter for surprise that it is written in faultless Sanskrit. It has

<sup>1</sup> These records are—(1) the Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, (2) the Dudiyā plates of Pravaraṇa II, (3) the Māṇḍhū plates of Prithivīśūra II (yugas 2 and 10). A season-date is recorded in the Thāṅṅ plates of Harishūra. It is also noticed in the Pīndhurgā plates of Pravaraṇa II, but they are spurious.

used such terms as *Uparika*, *Kumārāmātya* etc. which must have been current at the time though in their Prakrit forms. It is not likely that the Guptas formed and used them in their inscriptions for the first time.

According to the Purāṇas, the Sātavāhanas (whom they call Andhras) ruled for about 460 years. They seem to have declared their independence in *circa* 230 B. C. soon after the death of Aśoka. So they may have disappeared from history in *circa* A. D. 230. Their downfall seems to have been followed by chaos and confusion in Vidarbha as in other parts of South India. This led to the establishment of new ruling families. The Muṇḍa family known for its learning, piety and performance of Vedic sacrifices seems to have come forward for establishing peace and order in Vidarbha. The *Manusmṛiti* enjoins that the twice-born people (besides the Kshatriyas) should take up arms when religion is in danger. The contemporary son of Muṇḍa seems to have obeyed the call of duty. He changed the sacrificial ladle for the sword, and established peace and order in Vidarbha. He then assumed the significant name of **Rāshṭra-mahārāja**; for he had come forward for the protection of the *rāshṭra*. His successor **Rājakula-mahārāja** seems to have obtained great victories in battles. It was probably he who performed the Aśvamedha with which his family is credited. Thereby he must have established his supremacy in Vidarbha. His son was Ādityarāja who granted the present plates. No successor of his is known. So this family seems to have lost its power soon thereafter. Pravarasena I, son of Vindhyaśakti I, invaded Vidarbha from the south, vanquished Ādityarāja and established his kingdom in Vidarbha.<sup>1</sup> We have shown elsewhere that this occurred in *circa* A. D. 270.

**Localities**—**Vānakheṭa** from where the plates were issued may have been the capital of Ādityarāja, since

<sup>1</sup> All copper-plate grants of the Elder Branch of the Vākāpakas mention Pravarasena I as the founder of Vākāpaka rule in Vidarbha.

no word like *vāsakāt* or *sthānāt* has been added to it, indicating that it was a temporary place of royal residence. We find three places corresponding to Vānakheṭa in Vidarbha.—(1) Vānakheṭa in the Buldhāṇā District, (2) Vānakheṭapura in the Akolā District, and (3) Vānakheṭa in the Chandrapur District. Of these, Vānakheṭapura in the Akolā District is probably the intended place as it is nearest to the other places mentioned in the present grant. Mahāgrāma is probably Mahāgaon in the Akolā tālukā. Āmrakagartikā may be Āmajhiri in the Melghāṭ tālukā of the Amraotī District. Chikkhallikā is clearly Chikhli in the Amraotī taluka. Lauhaśalakā seems to be identical with Lohagaon in the Amraotī tālukā. Chiñchapallikā must be one of the several places named Chincholi in Vidarbha. Two of them, viz., Chincholi khurd and Chincholi budruk, are in the Akolā tālukā. No places corresponding to Niggoṇḍijjhāra, Daharakapaṭattā and Āmrakavāṭaka can now be traced in Vidarbha. The Āṅkishṭhā-bhoga, in which the donated villages were situated, may be identical with the region round Ākoṭ, a fairly large town in the Akolā District.<sup>1</sup>

Line

Text<sup>2</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ नमः<sup>4</sup>पुरुषोत्तमाय ॥ स्वस्तित्वात् [1\*]
- 2 परमभागवतोऽस्वमेधयाजिनां मुष्टयु-
- 3 त्राणाम् भारद्वाजतपोत्रः चतुर्व्यंदा-
- 4 नन्दितोमः ॥ चतुर्भिरचतुरो
- 5 वेदान्वेषत्रं [ :\* ] ब्रह्मा जगाद यान् [1\*] तानधीत्ये-
- 6 कवपत्रेण यो न विस्मयमागतः<sup>4</sup> [ ॥ १ ॥\* ]

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller discussion of this grant, see our *Samshodhano-muktāvalī*, VII pp. 50-56.

<sup>2</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Metre—*Anuṣṭubh*.

## Second Plate : First Side

- 7 तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धृष्टातः स्ववङ्गश(वंश)-  
 8 वड्ढंनो वड्ढंनो(नो) नाम ॥ यमनियम-  
 9 रत्तवमाव्यंवृत्तिः श्रुतम-  
 10 तिथिप्रियता तपस्विता च[१\*]  
 11 अभवदतिमुदुक्करं हि तस्य

## Second Plate : Second Side

- 12 व्रतमिदमाव्यंमते<sup>१</sup>परं सदेव<sup>१</sup> ॥ [२॥\*]  
 13 तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धृष्टातः अप्रति-  
 14 प्राहको मुण्डः ॥ प्रतिग्रहाविग्ध-  
 15 करस्य यस्य । नित्यव्रतस्यापि हि  
 16 शीलितस्य । यज्ञे वसोर्वासावतुष्ट(ष्टि)मुक्ता  
 17 पपात धारा त्रिदिवादनत्पा<sup>२</sup> ॥ [३॥\*].

## Third Plate : First Side

- 18 चिह्नं लोकविशेषसंति सुमहत्सक(स्क)भ्रमलब्धास्य-  
 19 इम् । स्वाद्यं रत्नमिव प्रजाबहुमतं वङ्गश(वंश)प्रति-  
 20 ष्टाकरम्[१\*]यस्याद्यापि वहन्ति नाम कुलजा दिक्षु  
 21 प्रकाशं मुणैः श्रीवत्सं भुजगा इवोन्नत-  
 22 कणाः प्रोन्नामितंमूढंभिः<sup>३</sup> ॥ [४॥\*] तस्य पुत्रः(त्र) -  
 23 स्तत्पादानुद्धृष्टातः स्वगुणोपास्मिजतराज-  
 24 शब्दः श्रीराष्ट्रमहाराजः [१\*] तस्य पुत्रः

## Third Plate : Second Side

- 25 तत्पादानुद्धृष्टातः श्रीराजकुलमहाराजः  
 26 येन कुन्तानलज्वाले । वरारणिसमुद्भये ।  
 27 दशोमलान्यमिवाणां हुताग्यापूषि  
 28 संपुणे<sup>४</sup> ॥ [५॥\*] तस्यात्मज - कनकपद्मकज -

\* Metre—*Pushpitiyāra*.\* Metre—*Upajitā*.\* Metre—*Śārdūlavākṛīṣṭā*.\* Metre—*Anuṣṭubh*.

## Fourth Plate : First Side

- 29 राशिनौरः कान्त्या शशीव जगतो नयनाभि-  
 30 रामः[1\*] रामाम्बरीषसगरप्रतिभ्रभावः ।  
 31 आदित्यराज इति विभ्रुतनामधेय<sup>1</sup> [ : ॥६॥\* ] यत्त[रा]जानुत्ता[तः\*]  
 32 स आदित्यराज कुशलो ॥ आङ्गकिण्डाभोगवासिनः  
 33 समुपागतानुपरिककुमारामात्यदण्डपाशिक -  
 34 चाटभटकाण्ठी (ण्ठि) क दूतप्रेषणिकविनियुक्तका -  
 35 दीन् सम्बोधयत्यस्तु व[:\*] संबिदितम्[1\*]  
 36 भारद्वाजसगोत्राय मातुलस्वामिने  
 37 भट्टस्वाम्यग्निस्वामिदित्यस्वामिद्रोणस्वामि -

## Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 38 नन्नस्वामिशू(सू)द्व्यस्वामिकालिशम्भंभ्र -  
 39 तिभ्यश्च ब्राह्मणभ्यः महाधामः चिक्छस्ति-  
 40 काद्वयम् ॥ आञ्जकगस्तिका लौहस -  
 41 लका । चिञ्चपल्लिका । निष्पोण्डिञ्जारम् ।  
 42 बहुरकपटत्ता ॥ ज(आ)ञ्जवाटक ॥ शिङ्गास(सिता) -  
 43 पाविका । बुञ्जाटकञ्चेति ॥ मातापित्रो[ : ]

## Fifth Plate

- 44 आत्मनश्च पुण्यपरोभिचूद्वये । उदकपूर्व-  
 45 ण ग्रामा दत्ताः ॥ बहुभिर्भवंमुधा भुक्ता ।  
 46 राजभिस्तगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा  
 47 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ [७॥\*] षण्ठि-  
 48 वर्षसहस्राणि । स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिवः[1\*]  
 49 आच्छेता दानुमन्ता च ताम्येव नरके वसे[त्\*] ॥ [८॥\*]  
 50 सण्व २ गिम्ह ५ २ विव १०[+\*]५ ॥

## Translation

(Lines 1 — 4) Success ! Obeisance to Purushottama :  
 (Formerly) there (was), in the family of the  
 descendants of Munja who performed an Aśvamedha

<sup>1</sup> Metre—*Vasantatilakā*.

<sup>2</sup> Metre of this and the following verse—*Anuṣṭubh*.

sacrifice, (a *Brāhmaṇa* named) Soma who belonged to the *Bhāradvāja gotra*, was a most devout worshipper of *Bhagavat (Vishṇu)* (and) took delight in the study of the four Vedas.

(Verse 1) He (Soma) did not feel conceited by studying with his single mouth the four Vedas which *Brahmā* recited with his four mouths.

(Lines 7-8) (*Thereafter*) there was his son named **Vardhana**, meditating on his feet, who augmented (*the glory of*) his family.

(Verse 2) Regular performance of religious duties and observances, righteous conduct, learning, love for guests and austerities—This was the ever continuing and extremely difficult vow of that (*Vardhana*) of noble mind.

(Lines 13-14) (*Then*) there was his son **Muṇḍa** meditating on his feet, who never accepted any gift.

(Verse 3) In the sacrifices of (that *Brāhmaṇa* *Muṇḍa*) whose hand was never tainted by the acceptance of any gifts, who was always engaged in the observance of vows and was (always) initiated for sacrifices, there used to fall from heaven a large shower of wealth poured by the gratified *Indra*.

(Verse 4) Even as serpents with their raised hoods bear on (*their folds*) God *Vishṇu*, so the descendants (*of that Brāhmaṇa Muṇḍa*) even now bear his praise-worthy jewel-like name with their heads held high—(*the name*) which is suggestive of special merits, which has become famous by their noble deeds. which is praised by the people, has invested the family with (*great*) prestige, (and) which has become well known by (*his*) merits.

(Lines 22—25) (*Thereafter*) there was his son, the illustrious **Rāshṭra-mahārāja**, who meditated on his feet and who had obtained a royal title by his merits. (*Then*) there was his son (named) **Rājakula-mahārāja**, meditating on his feet—

(Verse 5) Who offered to (the fire in the form of) a battle the offerings of the lives of (*his*) enemies

spotless with fame—(*the fire*) the flames of which are in the form of the spears of warriors and which is produced from the *araṇis* (fire-sticks) in the form of hostilities.

(Verse 6) His son is well known by the name of **Ādityarāja**, who is fair-complexioned like a cluster of golden lotuses, who, like the moon, gladdens the eyes of the whole world by his splendour, (*and*) who in prowess resembles Rāma, Ambarisha and Sagara.

(Lines 42—45) That **Ādityarāja**, being in good health, informs, with the consent of Yajñarāja, the *Uparikas*, the *Kumārāmātyas*, the *Daṇḍapāśikas* the *chaṭās*, *bhaṭs*, the *kāshṭhikas* (staff-bearers), the *Dūta-preshaṇikas*, the *Viniyuktakas* and others who reside in the *bhoga* (territorial division) of **Aṅkishṭhā** and have assembled here as follows :—

“Be it known to you that for the augmentation of religious merit and fame of Our parents and Ourselves, We have, with the pouring out of water, donated the (*followings*) villages, (*viz.*) **Mahāgrāma**, two **Chikkhallikās**, **Āmrakagartikā**, **Lauhaśalakā**, **Chīnachapallikā**, **Niggoṇḍijjhāra**, **Daharakapaṭattā**, **Āmravātaka**, **Śimsapādikā** and **Bujjātaka** to the (*following*) **Brāhmaṇas**, (*viz.*) **Mātulasvāmin** of the **Bhāradvaja gotra**, **Bhaṭṭasvāmin**, **Agnisvāmin**, **Dityasvāmin**, **Droṇasvāmin**, **Nannasvāmin**, **Sūryasvāmin**, **Kālīsarman**, and others.”

(Verse 7) Many kings like Sagara and others enjoyed the earth. He who owns the earth (*at a particular time*) gets the (*religious*) reward (*of the gift*) of that time.

(Verse 8) The giver of land rejoices in heaven for six thousand years. (*But*) he who confiscates it or consents (to the confiscation), dwells in a hell for the same (*number of years*).

(Line 50) The year 2, the summer fortnight 2, [*and*] the day 15.

Devni—Morī Casket Inscription of the Reign of  
Rudrasena: [ Ābhīra ] Year 127.

A circular relic casket, 7 in. in diameter and 5 in. in height, was discovered inside a large *Stūpa* during excavations at Devni-Morī near the village Sāmlāji in the Sābarkāntḥā District of Gujarāt, conducted by the Archaeological Department of the Mahārāja Sayājīrao Gaekwāḍ University in 1962. The present inscription is incised on the drum and the outer side of the base of the stone casket. Another inscription incised on the outer and inner sides of its lid and the outer side of the rim contains a Prakrit version of the Buddhist text of *Pratītyasamutpāda*. It is not of historical importance.

The former inscription was first edited by R. N. Mehta and S. N. Chaudhari.<sup>1</sup> They referred the date of it—the year 127—to the Śaka era and identified Rudrasena mentioned in it with Rudrasena I, a descendant of the Western Kshatrapa Chasṭana. These views are erroneous as shown by us subsequently in an article published in the *Vishveshvarananda Indological Journal*, Vol. III, pp. 101 ff. Hence the present inscription is included in an Appendix.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the inscription are of the Brāhmi alphabet, and the language correct Sanskrit.

The object of the present inscription was to record that in the year 127, on the fifth tithi of Bhādrapada during the reign of the Kathika King Rudrasena, the *Bhikshus* Agnivarman and Sudarśana constructed a *Mahā-Stūpa* near *Mahā-Vihāra*. Its construction was supervised by the Buddhist *Bhikshus* Pāsāntika and Paḍḍa.<sup>2</sup> The stone casket containing the relics of the Buddha was deposited under the paved floor of the *Stūpa* by Varāha,

<sup>1</sup> *JOL*, XII, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> *Sieue* has read this name as *Palla*. *Srinivasan* has read the name as here.



the son of Sena. The famous Bhikshu Mahāsena, who longs for the blessings of the Buddha, got this casket prepared for the augmentation of *Dharma* and *Saṅgha*.

The aforementioned editors of the present inscription referred the date 127 to the Śaka era and identified the king Rudrasena mentioned in it with Rudrasena I, a descendant of Chashṭana. As he was ruling from A. D. 200 to 220, this Śaka year 127 (A. D. 205-06) falls in his reign.

This view, however, does not appear to be correct. The characters of the present inscription do not appear to be as old as the beginning of the third century A. D. They resemble those of the Pārḍi plates of the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasena, dated in the Ābhira Saṃvat 207 (A. D. 456-57).<sup>1</sup> Besides, most of the inscriptions dated in the beginning of the third century A. D. are in Prakrit, while this record is in Sanskrit. Again, if Rudrasena of the present inscription had been of the Western Kshatrapa family, his title *Kshatrapa* or *Mahākshatrapa* would have been mentioned in it. Further, the family name *Kathika* of the ruling king Rudrasena precludes the possibility of his being a descendant of Chashṭana, who is known to have been of the Kārdamaka family. One more reason which clinches the issue is that the *Stūpa* in which this relic casket was found contained two coins of the Western Kshatrapa Viśvasena (A. D. 294-304). They showed clearly that the *Stūpa* could not have been constructed in Śaka 127 (A. D. 205-06). So the date 127 mentioned in the present inscription must be referred to some other era.

From the genealogical lists preserved in the Purāṇas we learn that the Ābhīras succeeded the Andhras (*i. e.* the Sātavāhanas). Ten Ābhīra kings ruled for 167 years. This Rudrasena was probably of the Ābhīra family. Like the Western Kshatrapas, the Ābhīras also had names ending in *-sena*. An inscription in Cave X at Nāsik mentions the Ābhīra king Iśvarasena, son of

<sup>1</sup> *CII*. IV, pp. 22 ff.

Śivadatta.<sup>1</sup> The Ābhīras conquered Western Mahārāshtra, Koṅkaṇ, North and South Gujarāt and the Indore District of Madhya Pradesh as shown by the spread of their era of A. D. 250 in all these regions. The Sābarakārnṭhā District which includes Devnī-Morī lies just to the north of the Ahmedābād and Panchmahāl districts where inscriptions dated in the Ābhīra era have been discovered.<sup>2</sup> If Ābhīra Rudrasena was ruling in these parts of Gujarat, it is not unlikely that he had spread his power to the Sābarakārnṭhā District also some time before the Ābhīra year 127 (A. D. 376-77). This region was previously under the rule of the Western Kshatrapas and so the coins of Kshatrapa Viśvasena (A. D. 294—304) have been found in the Stūpa. This theory presents no difficulty and is in conformity with all available evidence. The inscription is, therefore, dated in the Ābhīra year 127 corresponding to A. D. 376-77. It does not admit of verification in the absence of the necessary details.

Mehta and Chaudhary thought that there was a *palli* (village) named Pāśāntika near Kārma, and that it was the ancient name of Sāmlāji; but these readings and interpretations are wrong. There is no place mentioned in the present inscription.

Line

Text<sup>3</sup>

(On the drum of the casket)

- 1 नमस्सत्त्वज्ञाय ॥ ज्ञानानुकम्पाकारभ्यप्रभावविषये नमः [1°] सम्यक्-  
संबुद्धसूर्याय परवदितमोनुवे<sup>4</sup> ॥ [१॥०°] सप्ताविशत्यधिके<sup>5</sup> कथिक-  
नृपाणां कुसमागते न्वसते [1°]  
2 भ(भा)द्रपदपंचमदिने नृपती श्रीरुद्रसेने च<sup>6</sup> [॥२॥०°] कुत<sup>7</sup> मवनि-

<sup>1</sup> *Ch.* IV, p. 3.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 17 ff.<sup>3</sup> From the plate opposite pp. 68-69 in *EL* XXXVII.<sup>4</sup> Metre—*Anuṣṭubh*.<sup>5</sup> Read *sapta-sihasya-adhika* which would be the correct form. It has been changed due to the exigencies of the metre.<sup>6</sup> Metre of verses 2 to 6—*Anuṣṭubh*.<sup>7</sup> *Kṛitah* and *mahā-śīpaḥ* which would be the correct forms have been changed *metre causa*.

केतुभूतं महाविहाराश्रये महास्तूपं (पम्) [1\*] सत्त्वा [स्वा] नेकानुग्रह-  
निरताभ्यां शाक्यभिक्षुभ्यां (भ्याम्) [11311\*]

- 3 साध्वग्निवर्म्मनाम्ना मुदशनेन च विमुक्तरंज्रेण [1\*] काम्माभित्तो च  
पाशान्तिक [पड्डो] शाक्यभिक्षुकावन्न ॥ [४11\*] दसबलशरीरनिलय-  
शुभशालमयस्स्वयं वराहेण [1\*].

(On the base of the casket)

- 4 कुट्टिम [गतः] कि (कु) तोयं समुद्गकस्सेनपुत्रेण ॥ [५\*] महसेन<sup>1</sup>  
भिक्षुरस्य च कारयिता विभूतः समुद्गस्य [1\*]  
5 सुगतप्रसादकामो बुद्धचत्थं धम्मसङ्घाभ्यां (भ्याम्) ॥ [६11\*].

### Translation

Obeisance to the Omniscient (Buddha) !  
(Verse 1) Obeisance to the Sun in the form of the  
Rightly Enlightened (Buddha) in respect of (*right*)  
knowledge, compassion, pity and power—(the Sun) that  
dispels darkness in the form of hostile disputants.

(Verses 2-3) When the year one hundred increased  
by twenty-seven of the Kathika kings had commenced,  
on the fifth day of Bhādrapada, during the reign of the  
King, the illustrious Rudrasena, (this) Great Stūpa near  
the Great Vihāra, which is (*as it were*) a banner of  
the Earth, was constructed by the Buddhist *Bhikshus*  
who are (*ever*) engrossed in blessing numerous beings,  
(*viz.*) the noble Agnivarman and the flawless Sudarśana.  
The supervisors of this work were the Buddhist monks  
Paśāntika and Paḍḍa.

(Verse 5) This casket made of auspicious stone  
which contains the (*remains of*) the body of the Buddha  
was placed below the pavement (*of the Stūpa*) by  
Varāha himself, the son of Sena.

(Verse 6) The well-known *Bhikshu Mahāsena*, who  
longs for the grace of the Buddha, caused this  
casket to be made for the augmentation of Dharma  
and Saṅgha.

<sup>1</sup> The correct name was probably *Mahāsena*. It has been changed *metric cause*.

## APPENDIX VI

### A Note on Kuśaṇa-mūla

There are some terms in early epigraphical records which have baffled scholars for a long time. *Kuśaṇa-mūla* is one of them. No Sanskrit or Prakrit Dictionary gives its meaning. So scholars have expressed diverse views about it. It is proposed to discuss its meaning in the present Appendix.

*Kuśaṇa-mūla* is known to occur only in two passages in one and the same inscription, viz., that of Ushavadāta (Rishabhaddatta) dated in the years 41, 42 and 45 in Cave No. X at Nāsik. The passages are given below for ready reference :—<sup>1</sup>

**Lines 1 and 2 :** दत्त चानेन अक्षयनिधि काहापणसहस्रानि त्रिनि  
३००० संपन्न चानुदिसस ये इमस्मि लेणे वसंतानं भविसति चिचरिक्  
कुशणमूले च ।

**Line 3 :** एतो चिचरिक्-सहस्रानि वे २००० ये पडिके सते [1\*]  
एतो मम लेणे वसकुपान भिक्षुनं बीसाय एकीकस चिचरिक् वारसक [1\*]  
या सहस्र प्रयुतं पायून पडिके गते अतो कुशणमूल<sup>2</sup> [1\*]

In this inscription Ushavadāta tells us that he had invested 3,000 *kārshāpaṇas* (in the guilds at Govardhana) for supplying *chīvaras* (clothing) and *kuśaṇa-mūla* to the Bhikshus living in the cave (at Nāsik). In the second passage he tells us that out of the sum of 3,000 *kārshāpaṇas*, two thousand have been invested for the supply of *chīvaras* at the interest of one *paḍika* per hundred (per month).<sup>3</sup> Out of the interest (amounting to 240 *paḍikas* or *kārshāpaṇas*), twelve *kārshāpaṇas* should be given to each one of the twenty Bhikshus keeping the *vasso* in his Cave. The remaining amount of one thousand *kārshāpaṇas* has been invested

<sup>1</sup> *EE.*, VIII, 82 f.

<sup>2</sup> Sauer's transcript shows *kuśana* - at the end of the third line, but there also the correct reading is *kuśana*—.

<sup>3</sup> As Sauer has shown, the interest mentioned is to be understood as monthly. See the *Mamunpāt*, VIII, 142.

at the rate of three quarters of a *paḍika* per cent (per month), from the interest (amounting to 90 *paḍikas*<sup>1</sup> or *kārshāpaṇas*) on which, *kuśaṇa-mūla* (of the Bhikshus) should be provided for. The direction for the utilisation of the interest at the rate of one per cent per month on the deposit of 2,000 *kārshāpaṇas* is quite clear. The interest amounted to 240 *paḍikas* or *kārshāpaṇas*, and it was to be spent in providing *chīvaras* or clothing to twenty monks, twelve *kārshāpaṇas* being given to each. But the meaning of *kuśaṇa-mūla* for which the interest of three quarters of a *paḍika* per cent per month on 1,000 *kārshāpaṇas*, amounting to 90 *kārshāpaṇas*, was to be spent is not clear. Bhagwanlal proposed three alternative meanings of *kuśaṇa* : (1) *ku-aśana*, coarse food given to mendicants, (2) *kuśaya*, a mendicant's seat, or (3) *kuśaya*, a mendicant's drinking vessel. None of these is satisfactory. A monk was expected to obtain his food by begging, and for his seat or begging bowl, he would not require so much money for its periodical renewal. Bühler has not offered any explanation of the term. Senart drew attention to four Kānheri inscriptions<sup>2</sup> of the period which provided for the supply of twelve *kārshāpaṇas* to each monk for his *chīvaras* (clothing) and one more during a season (*ritu-kāle*) which in one inscription is specified as *gimha* (summer). He understood this one *kārshāpaṇa* as the monk's stipend. He admitted that 'such a proceeding, of course, is, from the point of view of principle, most incorrect, the monks being expected to live on alms and being precluded from touching any money.'<sup>3</sup> Besides, the interest on 1,000 *paḍikas* which, following Bühler, he took to be 75 *paḍikas* or *kārshāpaṇas*, could not have sufficed for giving one *kārshāpaṇa* each to twenty monks residing in the Cave during the *vasso* of four months ; but he got over the difficulty by supposing that the *vasso*

<sup>1</sup> Bühler and Senart thought that the interest on the second deposit amounted to 75 *paḍikas* or *kārshāpaṇas*, but this is incorrect. The interest at the rate of three-fourths of a *paḍika* per month comes to 9 *paḍikas* per year per hundred. So that for 1,000 *paḍikas*, it would amount to 90 *paḍikas*. D. R. Bhauddikar has given it correctly.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 15, 18, 21 and 23, *ASWT.*, V.

<sup>3</sup> *EL.*, VIII, p. 83.

at Nāsik might have been of less duration. This explanation also is clearly untenable. D. R. Bhandarkar made a novel suggestion. In his *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 199, he observed as follows :—

“ This amount of 90 *kārshāpaṇas*, the inscription says, was the *kushāṇa-mūla* i. e. the value of *kushāṇas*. Looking, however, to the similar phraseology used in other cave inscriptions of the period, I have shown elsewhere that *kuśaṇa* of this must correspond to *paḍika* (*pratika*) of other cave epigraphs, and must denote a specific coin. And I have further ventured to express the view that *kushāṇa* in particular denotes the silver coinage of Nahapāna and was so called because he issued it for his Kushāṇa overlord who must have been Kadphises I. I have just now told you that Ushavadāta deposited a sum of 1,000 *kārshāpaṇas* in a guild which annually yields 90 *kārshāpaṇas* by way of interest. This inscription was engraved in Ushavadāta's cave which accommodated 20 monks and where each of them was to be given a *kushāṇa* for every one of the four months of the rainy season. Evidently, therefore, 80 *kushāṇas* were required every year, and had to be obtained with the ninety *kārshāpaṇas*, or in other words, the rate of exchange between these two classes of coins was 8 : 9. ” This explanation also is untenable. The inscription does not state explicitly that one *kushāṇa* was to be given to each monk. Besides, the inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna use only two terms, *kārshāpaṇa* and *suvarṇa*,<sup>1</sup> the former evidently for his own silver coins and the latter for the gold coins of the Kushāṇas which must have been in circulation in his realm. *Kushāṇa*, as a coin, is nowhere used in any of his inscriptions.

D. C. Sircar understands *kuśaṇa* in the sense of *kṛtānna* (minor food).<sup>2</sup> Ushavadāta had already provided for the chief food of monks living in his cave. See *EI.*, VIII p. 78.—एतो मम लेणे वसतानं चातुदीसस भिखुसघस

<sup>1</sup> *EI.*, VIII, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Sircar, *Select inscriptions*, (first ed.), p. 159.

मुखाहारो भविसती । There is no point in providing for minor food again.

Since no explanation offered so far is satisfactory, we propose a new one. *Kuṣaṇa-mūla* is probably a mistake for *kuśala-mūla*.<sup>1</sup> Engravers are known to have made grave mistakes in engraving. As we shall show presently, *kuśala-mūla* occurs in some inscriptions of this and later periods in an allied sense. *Kuśala-mūla* means 'the cause of well-being' *i. e.* medicine. There were three main needs of Buddhist monks—(1) shelter in the rainy season, (2) clothing, and (3) medicines in case of illness. Caves were excavated to give shelter to monks from all quarters in the rainy season. Several inscriptions in the caves at Nāsik and Kānheri state that large sums in *kārshāpaṇas* were deposited in the local guilds to provide for the supply of robes to mendicants from the annual interest on the amounts deposited. Then remains the need for the supply of medicines in case the monks fell ill. Some inscriptions are known to provide for them. The Nāsik Cave inscription of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena, for instance, records that a pious Śaka female lay-worshipper named Viṣṇudattā made some permanent endowments in the guilds at Nāsik for the supply of medicines to sick monks (*gilāna-bheshaj-ārthan*).<sup>2</sup> Ushavadāta also seems to have provided for a similar purpose out of the interest on the second investment of 1,000 *kārshāpaṇas* at the rate of three quarters of a *paḍika* (per month). He did not distribute the interest among the monks evidently because every monk might not need it, while some other monks might require more than what would come to his lot if it were distributed equally.

*Kuśala-mūla* is, therefore, the correct form of the

<sup>1</sup> See e. g. *Navo-nara-svāmī* in the Nāsik Cave Inscription of Puṣṭimūvi (No. 19), which is plainly a mistake for *Navo-nagara-svāmī*. It cannot mean 'the new lord'; for the inscription is of Puṣṭimūvi's 22nd regnal year. It has remained uncorrected like *kuṣaṇa-mūla*. Another instance is the royal name *Bhavāṅga-saemān* of a Nala king occurring in the Rithpur plates (*EE*, XIX, pp. 100 ff.). It was supposed to be the correct name of the king until we showed from the Edinburg hoard of Nala coins that the correct name was Bhavadattasaemān. See *JNSI*, I, 29 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *CII*, IV, p. 3.

intended word. It was written as *kuṣaṇa-mūla* evidently by a mistake of the engraver. The latter word occurs nowhere in Indian inscriptions, whereas the form *kuśala-mūla* occurs in several records as we shall now proceed to show.

In the Kharoshthī Inscriptions edited by Sten Konow, the word *kuśala-mūla* occurs in three passages.<sup>1</sup> They are given below together with their English translation by him for ready reference :—

(I) Māṇikiāla stone Inscription (*CII*, II, i, pp. 149 - 50)–  
Lines 8—11.

- Line 8 : एतेन कु-  
 .. 9 : कुशलमुलेन बुधेहि च पचएहि च  
 .. 10 : समं सद भवतु  
 .. 11 : अतर स्वरबुधिस [1\*]

Translation—Through this root of bliss, together with the Buddhas and Śrāvakas, may it for ever be for the principal share of (*my*) brother Svarabuddhi !

(II) Hiḍḍā Inscription of the Year 28 (*CII*, II, i, p. 158).

Line 2 : एतेन कुशलमुलेन तेण धमंन अभिवुत्ति येण धमंखए बोधिसत्त्वसरिरि सवंसत्वन निर्वन-संभरण भवतु रजस अग्रप्रचणए ।

Translation—Through this root of bliss may the Bodhisattva relic, with suppression of those *dharmas* where there is a decay of *dharma*, be the equipment for Nirvāṇa of all beings and for a principal share for the king !

(III) Wardak Vase Inscription—(*CII*, II, i, p. 170).

Line 2 : इमेण कुशलमुलेण महूरजरजतिरज-ह्वेषकस अग्रभणए भवतु [1\*]

Translation—Through this root of bliss, may it be for the principal lot of *Mahārāja-Rājātirāja Huvishka*.

<sup>1</sup> *CII*, II, i.



In all these places Sten Konow has translated *kuśala-mūla* as 'the root of bliss'. What is meant is religious merit (*puṇya*), which is the cause of well-being (*kuśala*) in the next world. This word is not confined to Kharoshthī inscriptions. We have recently noticed it in the Tummala-guḍem plates of the Vishṇukunḍin king Govindavarman.<sup>1</sup> See the following passage (*Ep. Andhr.*, II, p. 11)—Lines 21—23—

Line 21 : स्वस्या जप-

„ 22 : महिष्या परममहादेव्या विहारस्य दीपधूपगन्धपुष्पध्वज-  
पानभोजनशयनासनम्लान-

„ 23 : भैषज्यषष्ठस्फुटितशीर्णसंस्कारादिकुशलमूलानुपच्छे-  
दारथंम् . . . . . ।

Here the expression पानभोजनशयनासनम्लानभैषज्य- has no reference to *vihāra*, but to the monks living therein. The villages were donated for full continuance (*anupachchheda*) of the merit (*kuśala-mūla*) accruing from the repairs of the *vihāra* and the supply of food, drinks, beds, seats and medicines to the monks residing therein. This is, of course, according to the notions prevailing in later times. Here also *kuśala-mūla*, which literally means 'the root of well-being (in the other world)' signifies religious merit accruing to the performer of religious and pious works.

It will thus be seen that the word, intended to be engraved in two places in the aforementioned Nāsik inscription of Ushavadāta, was really *kuśala-mūla*. It then signified 'medicines' but in course of time it came to signify religious merit which results in the *kuśala* (well-being) of the person in the next world.

<sup>1</sup> For the age of these plates, see our article to be published in a coming volume of the *Ep. Andhr.*

## INDEX

The numerals without brackets refer to the pages of Part II (Inscriptions) and those with rectangular brackets to those of Part I (History). The following abbreviations are used. *au.*—author; *Br.*—Brāhmaṇa; *Bu.*—Buddhist; *ca.*—capital; *ci.*—city; *co.*—country; *com.*—commentator; *dy.*—dynasty; *ep.*—epithet; *f.*—female; *fam.*—family; *fru.*—frudatory; *gen.*—general; *k.*—king; *ksh.*—Kshatrapa; *lo.*—locality; *m.*—man; *me.*—metronymic; *min.*—minister; *mo.*—mountain; *off.*—officer; *pr.*—prince; *q.*—queen; *ri.*—river; *s.a.*—same as; *sa.*—sacrifice; *t. d.*—territorial division; *te.*—temple; *tn.*—town; *vi.*—village; *w.*—wife; *wk.*—work.

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 Setapharana, *m.*, 56, 57, [147].  
 Setu, *wk.* [192].  
 Setubandha, *wk.* [294].  
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 Shastri, A. M. 156, 159*n.*  
 Shastri, H. G. 120, 121*n.*.  
 Shaṭpeṇjā, *an.* [206].  
 Śādhū-Hemachandra, *wk.*, [190].  
 Sihadhaya, *m.* [147].  
 Sihala, *m.* 118, 119.  
 Sihāmītra, *m.*, 118, 119.  
 Sihhasena, *m.*, 142, 143.  
 Śīlamegha, *k.* of Sihhala-dvīpa, [29].  
 Sihhasena, *ksk.* [82].  
 Śihlapādīkā, *vi.*, 157, 166.  
 Simuka Sātavāhana, *Sātavāhana k.*, 3, 8, 9, 11*n.*, 15*n.*, 17*n.*, 18—20, [17] [3] [4] [15]—[17] [19] [21] [95] [119].  
 Sinda, *k.*, 19.  
 Sindhuka, *s. a.*, Simuka, [10].  
 Sindhu-sarvira, *co.*, 123, 124, 128, [71].  
 Sincar, D. C. 77*n.*, 92 and *n.*, 97*n.*, 173.  
 Siṅka, *s. a.* Simuka, [11] [15].  
 Śīlapādhā, *wk.* [191].  
 Śivadatta, *Abhira m.*, 169, [53] [75] [160].  
 Śivagupta, *off.* 24, 28.  
 Śivalakura, *fr.* [47].  
 Śivaskandagupta, *off.* 29, 30.

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- Sivakhadila, *off.* 53 and *n.*  
 Sivala, *Māhātīhaka k.* [ 50 ]  
 Śiva-maka-sada, *Sātavāhana k.*, 66 — 67.  
 Śivaramamurti, 58, 66.  
 Śivaškanda, *Sātavāhana k.*, [ 102 ]  
 Śiva-Skandagupta, *off.* 29 — 31.  
 Śiva-Skanda-Nāga-śrī, *k.*, 92, 94.  
 Śiva-Skandavarman, *Pallava k.*, 86, 87,  
 103, 160, [ 37 ], [ 120 ]  
 Śiva-śrī, *ep.* 61, 62, [ 27 ], [ 37 ], [ 39 ]  
 Śivā-śrī, Puṣumāvi, *s. a.* Puṣumāvi, [ 37 ]  
 Sevavāti, *Sātavāhana k.*, 42, [ 30 ]  
 [ 116 ] — [ 118 ]  
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 65, 66*n.*, 67, [ 24 ], [ 36 ], [ 39 ], [ 41 ]  
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 Skandanāgaśrīta *pr.*, 90, 91, 94.  
 Skandapālita, *m.*, [ 141 ]  
 Skandaraki, *m.*, 76.  
 Skandastambhī, *k.*, [ 15 ]  
 Smith, Vincent, [ 9 ]  
 Sodjhalā, *au.* [ 202 ]  
*Sodraṅga*, 39*n.*  
 Soma, *Br.*, 158, 164, 165, [ 54 ], [ 133 ]  
 Somadeva, *au.* [ 194 ], [ 195 ]  
 Somadeva, *m.*, 39, 40.  
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*Soparīkara*, 39*n.*  
 Sorpāruga (*s. a.* Sorpāraka) *m.*, 103 —  
 105, 108, 109, 112.  
 Sorparakāhāra, *śr.*, [ 120 ]  
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 Śramaṇa, *monk.*, [ 16 ]  
 Śramaṇera, 118-121.  
 Śrāvaka, 175.  
 Śreṅgī-bala, [ 173 ]  
 Śreṅgika, *goera*, 118, 119.  
 Śrīdharavarman, *koś.*, [ 102 ]  
*Śrīṅṅavaprakāśa*, *wh.*, [ 191 ], [ 195 ]*n.*  
 [ 210 ]  
 Śrīnivasari, P. R., 120, 132.  
 Subandhu, *au.*, [ 193 ]  
 Sudarśana, *monk.*, 167, 170.  
 Sudarśana, *lake*, 122, 127, 129, [ 71 ]  
 Sudarśanā, *Yak. dh.*, 51.  
 Sudarśanā, *śr.*, 27*n.*, 49, 50, 51 and *n.*,  
 52, 53, [ 122 ]  
 Sudarśanā, *śr.*, [ 149 ]  
 Śūdraka, *au.* [ 207 ], [ 219 ] — [ 231 ]  
*Sugrīhita-nāman*, 127 *n.*

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- Sujivin, *m.*, 32, 35.  
 Sukthankar, V. S., 130, 135, 138, [ 10 ]  
 [ 44 ]  
 Sundara Sātakarṇi, *Sātavāhana k.*, [ 29 ]  
 [ 107 ]  
 Śuṅga, *dy.* 10, [ 3 ], [ 8 ], [ 21 ], [ 88 ] —  
 [ 90 ], [ 150 ], [ 244 ]  
 Śūnya-vāda [ 234 ]  
*Śūnyatā-saptatī*, *wh.*, [ 234 ]  
 Supratishṭha, *śr.*, [ 197 ]  
 Supratishṭhita, *śr.*, [ 197 ], [ 204 ]  
 Śūrasena, *co.*, [ 136 ]  
 Śurāshtra, *co.*, 46, 123, 124, 128, 129,  
 [ 32 ], [ 70 ], [ 71 ], [ 106 ]  
 Śūrpāraka, *m.*, [ 121 ], [ 172 ]  
 Śūryavāmin, *Br.*, 150, 166.  
 Sūryama, *Kāvyā k.*, [ 3 ]  
*Sūryapāna*, *wh.*, [ 136 ]  
 Sūryana, 'a gold coin,' [ 10 ]  
 Sūryana-bhāmi, *co.*, [ 60 ], [ 137 ]  
 Sūryasamakha, *śr.*, 109, 111, 112.  
 Sūryasānikatā, *śr.*, 122, 124, 127.  
 Sūryasha, *Br. Sūry.* 56, 57.  
 Sūryākhya, *off.*, 123, 129, [ 73 ]  
 Śvabha, *co.*, 123, 124, 128.  
 Śvāgata, *m.*, 145, 148.  
 Śvāmīn, *śr.*, 50, 121, 123, 127, 137, 139,  
 140, 141, 142.  
 Śvāmīkīja, *śr.*, 157*n.*, 159*n.*, [ 53 ]  
*Śvāmīnāvadhāna*, *wh.*, [ 207 ]  
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- Tadbhava* words, [ 284 ]  
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 Tāgana, *off.*, 2, 28.  
 Tāpī, *śr.*, 105, 110, 112.  
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*Tāpīnāth*, *wh.*, [ 189 ]  
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*Tevanigupta Bhāgavata*, *śr.*, [ 88 ]  
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 Tīrgha, *ms.*, 21, 22.

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- Tirthachakras, [ 90 ].  
 Tissa, *Br. monk*, [ 137 ].  
 Tisakūṭaka, *dy.*, [ 51 ] [ 55 ].  
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 Tivastira, *dy.*, [ 10 ].  
 Tranakayira, *fn.*, 9, 12n., 15n., 17n.,  
 18-20, [ 19 ], [ 20 ], [ 96 ]n., [ 249 ].  
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- Udāka, *Śaṅga k.*, [ 88 ].  
 Udayana, *k.*, [ 137 ], [ 206 ].  
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 Udayotanasūtri, *au.*, [ 180 ], [ 188 ], [ 191 ],  
 [ 194 ], [ 206 ].  
 Udgiti, *metre* [ 187 ].  
 Ugra [ 151 ].  
 Ujjain symbol, [ 7 ].  
 Ujjāinī, Ujjāyini, *ca.*, 104, 105, 151, 152,  
 [ 121 ], 15.  
 Uparika, *off.*, 157, 160, 166, [ 125 ].  
 Uppāka, 'a m. devotee,' 56, 57,  
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 Ujjayinī, *ms.*, 122, 126, 127.  
 Ushavandina, s. n. Rishabhudatta, 24,  
 171, 173.  
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 [ 65 ], [ 122 ], [ 282 ].  
 Uvaha, *metre*, [ 190 ], [ 191 ].  
 Uvaca, *monk.*, [ 117 ].  
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- Vachī-pāta, *metre.*, [ 14 ].  
 Vaidya, P. L. [ 235 ].  
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 [ 172 ], [ 242 ].  
 Vajrapānigāya, *ca.*, 88, 89.  
 Vaidhika, [ 235 ].  
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- Vākṭaka, *dy.*, 26, 157, 159, [ 50 ], [ 54 ],  
 [ 55 ], [ 79 ], [ 80 ], [ 83 ], [ 101 ], [ 152 ],  
 [ 205 ], [ 228 ], [ 245 ], [ 280 ], [ 294 ].  
 Vākpatirāja, *poet.*, [ 182 ].  
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 101, 102.  
 Vāmana, *au.*, [ 220 ].  
 Vamrabhaṭṭa, *q.*, 150.  
 Vānakheṭa, *ca.*, 157, 161.  
 Vanavāsi, *ca.*, 59-62, [ 42 ].  
 Vāṅjāka, *m.*, 137, 138.  
 Vapa, *m.*, 145, 148.  
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 Varāhadeva, *m.*, 154, 156.  
 Varāhamihira, *au.*, [ 60 ].  
 Vārāhiputra Aśvibhūti, *m.*, [ 123 ].  
 Vararuchi, *au.*, [ 212 ], [ 290 ], [ 291 ], [ 295 ].  
 Vardhamāna Mahāvira, *Tirthankara*,  
 [ 177 ], [ 182 ].  
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 Vardhana, *Br.*, 158, 165, [ 54 ], [ 133 ].  
 Vārttikas, *sk.*, [ 291 ].  
 Vasavakya, 77n., 92.  
 Vāsavakata, *sk.*, [ 193 ].  
 Vāsavadattā, *q.*, [ 206 ].  
 Vāsishṭhiputra, *m.*, 3, 4, 14, 39, 40, 63,  
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 35-62, 64 and n., 66n., 67, 69 and n.,  
 85, 174n., [ 35 ], [ 38 ], [ 40 ], [ 242 ],  
 [ 243 ], [ 255 ], [ 259 ].  
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 [ 14 ], [ 24 ], [ 36 ], [ 39 ], [ 41 ], [ 93 ],  
 [ 70 ], [ 71 ], [ 124 ], [ 128 ], [ 153 ],  
 [ 283 ].  
 Vasso, 171, [ 145 ].  
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 Vāsudeva, *Keshava k.*, [ 61 ].  
 Vāsudeva-tīrthī, *sk.*, [ 196 ].  
 Vasudotaka, *m.*, 154, 156.  
 Vasumitra, *Śaṅga k.*, [ 89 ].  
 Vasuhera, *k.*, 44.  
 Vāsu, *ca.*, [ 136 ].  
 Vāsyayana, *gotra.*, [ 188 ].  
 Vājrapāyana, *sk.*, [ 2 ], [ 3 ], [ 38 ], [ 49 ].  
 Vedha, *ca.*, [ 89 ], [ 90 ].  
 Vedhī, *Sātavāhana k.*, 6-10, 15, 17n.,  
 19, [ 6 ], [ 19 ], [ 21 ], [ 24 ].  
 Velankar, H. D. [ 190 ].



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- Vegā, *ri.*, 85-87, [ 226 ].  
*Vetalapañchavimśati*, *wk.*, [ 222 ].  
*Vidagdha-jana-vallabha*, *wk.*, [ 230 ].  
 Vidarbha, *co.*, 42, 44, 46, 61, [ 32 ], [ 92 ].  
 Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya [ 235 ].  
*Vigrahavyāvartani*, *wk.*, [ 234 ].  
 Vihāra, 'a monastic hall,' [ 141 ].  
 Vijayā, *f.*, [ 141 ].  
 Vijaya Sātakarṇi (Gautamiputra), *k.*, 81, 82, 84, [ 12 ], and *n.*, [ 43 ]-[ 45 ], [ 232 ], [ 233 ], [ 252 ], [ 253 ].  
 Vijaya Sātakarṇi (Vāsishthīputra) *k.*, 64, 66*n.*, 67, [ 12 ]*vs.*, [ 36 ], [ 39 ]-[ 41 ], [ 124 ].  
 Vijayamitra, *monk*, 74, 75.  
 Vijayapurī, *ca.*, [ 12 ], [ 44 ], [ 56 ], [ 121 ], [ 232 ], [ 252 ], [ 253 ].  
 Vijayasena, *ksh.*, 142-143, [ 51 ], [ 78 ], [ 79 ].  
 Vikrama Sāhvat, [ 60 ], [ 62 ], [ 100 ].  
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 Vikramāditya VI, *Later Chūlukya k.*, [ 98 ] and *n.*.  
 Viṣṭvāyakra, Gautamiputra, *feu.*, [ 47 ].  
 Viṣṭvāyakra, Vāsishthīputra, *feu.*, [ 47 ].  
 Vindhya, *mo.*, 42, 44, 46, [ 30 ].  
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 Vindhyaśakti II, Vākātaka *k.*, 157 *n.*, 160 and *n.*, [ 103 ], [ 234 ].  
 Vinhukaḍa, *śivūta*, 87-90, 92-94, [ 50 ].  
*Vinīyuktaka*, 'a servant,' 158 *n.*, 166, [ 126 ].  
 Virādāman, *ksh.*, [ 78 ].  
 Virahāṅka, *au.*, [ 150 ].  
 Virapurushadatta, *Ikshvāka k.*, [ 77 ], [ 153 ].  
 Virasena, *ksh.*, 168.  
 Vishaya, *t. d.*, [ 120 ].  
 Vishvudattā, *f.*, [ 147 ].  
 Vishvukaḍa, *s. a.* Vinhukaḍa, *śivūta*, [ 45 ].  
 Vishvakuṇḍin, *dy.*, 159, 176, [ 55 ].  
 Vishvunandi, *m.*, 78-80.  
 Vishvupāla, *m.*, 50, 55 and *n.*.  
 Vishvupālita, *m.*, 24, 27.  
*Vishvapurāṇa*, *wk.*, [ 2 ], [ 3 ].

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- Viṣvasena, *ksh.*, [ 28 ], [ 79 ].  
 Vonones, *k.*, [ 109 ].  
 Vṛiddhakavi, *s. a.* Haṅgīrīśiddha, *au.*, [ 187 ]*vs.*, [ 190 ].  
 Vṛijī, *co.*, [ 136 ].  
*Vṛittajātisamucchaya*, *wk.*, [ 190 ].  
*Vyavahāra-satya*, [ 234 ].

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- Watson, 130.  
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 West, Arthur, 1, 21, 23, 32, 35, 38, 41, 49, 68, 70, 71, 74, 78, 79, 89, 95, 103, 105, 106, 108.  
 West, Edward, 1, 21, 23, 32, 35, 38, 41, 49, 68, 70, 71, 74, 78, 79, 89, 95, 103, 105, 106, 108.  
 Westergaard, 122.  
 Wilson, H. H. 28.  
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- Yādava, *dy.*, [ 19 ], [ 213 ].  
 Yajña Sātakarṇi, *Sāuvāhana k.*, 22, 63 and *n.*, 69-77, 84, 151, 152, [ 42 ], [ 43 ], [ 93 ], [ 141 ], [ 232 ], [ 252 ].  
*Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, *wk.*, [ 159 ].  
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 Yaśa, *Mihīshaka k.*, [ 50 ].  
 Yaśāhkarṇa, *Kalichuri k.*, [ 154 ].  
*Yasastilakachampū*, *wk.*, [ 194 ].  
 Yaśōji, 'a memorial pillar,' 115-114, 120, 134, 136, 137, 145, 147*n.*, 148, 156.  
 Yaśōdīman II, *ksh.*, [ 79 ], [ 80 ], [ 81 ].  
 Yaśōdātā, *f.*, 119.  
 Yaśōdhara, *com.*, [ 119 ].  
 Yaśōvarman *k.*, [ 194 ].  
 Yaśōbhayan, *Republican tribe*, 123, 124, 128, [ 72 ], [ 122 ].  
 Yavana, *Greek*, 43, 47, [ 32 ], [ 137 ], [ 177 ].  
 Yavana, *dy.*, [ 153 ].  
 Yavana-ekji, *Greek k.*, 122, 128.  
 Yāmōtika, *m.*, 115-121, [ 69 ].  
*Yātishasthīkā*, *wk.*, [ 234 ].

PLATE I

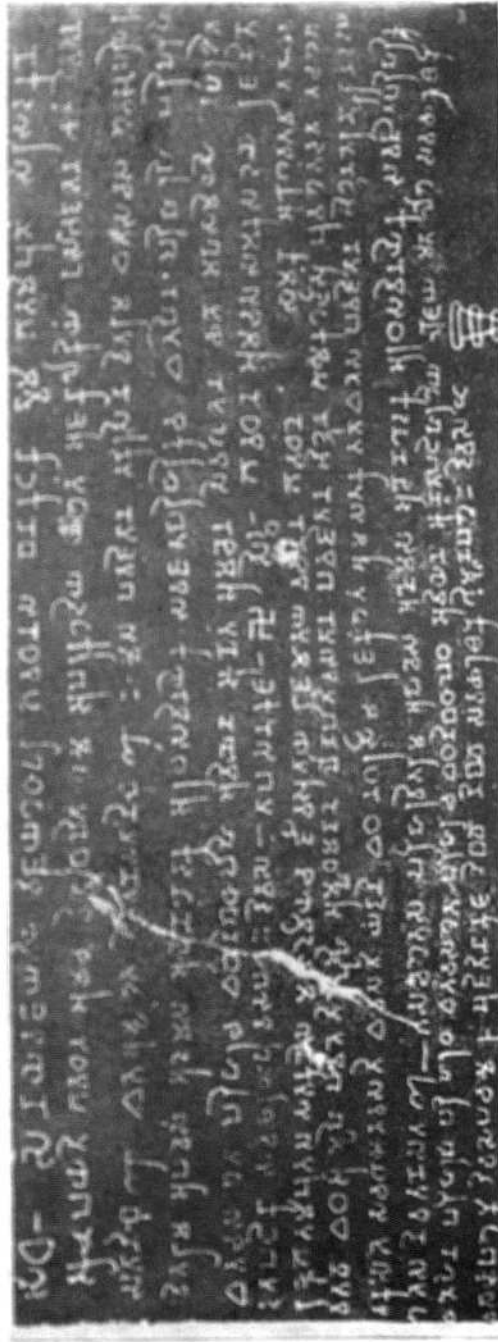


Fig. 1—Nāsik Cave Inscriptions ( Nos. 11 and 13 ) of Gautamīputra Sātākarnī

PLATE II

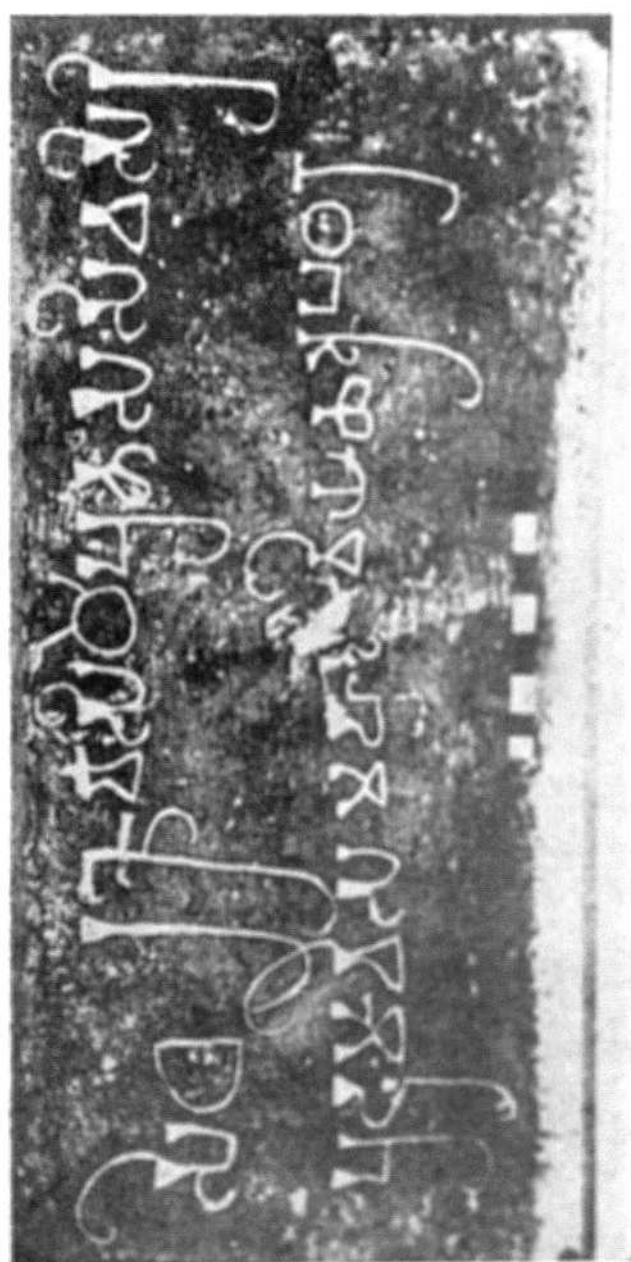


Fig. 2—Vavilona Stone Inscription of Vavilona (Pulmonia)

PLATE III



*Fig. 3—Pauni Stone Pillar Inscription of Rupiamma*

PLATE IV  
MALHARĀ PLATES OF ADITYARĀJA

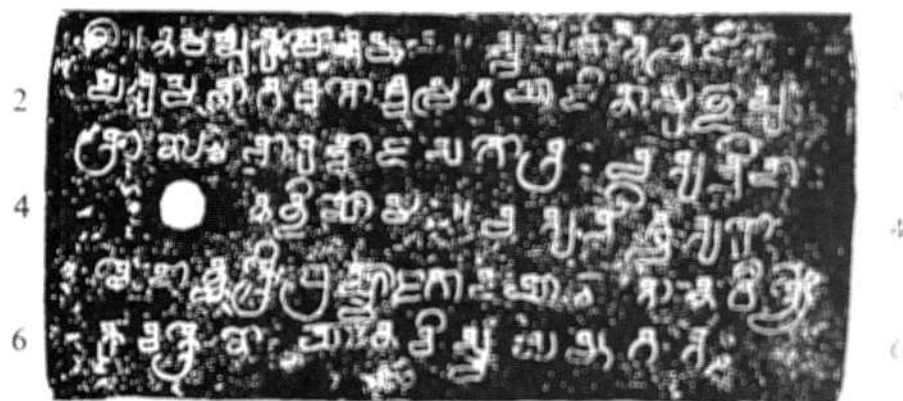


Fig 4 - First Plate



Fig 5 - Second Plate - First Side

PLATE V  
MALHARA PLATES OF ĀDITYARĀJA



Fig. 6—Second Plate : Second Side

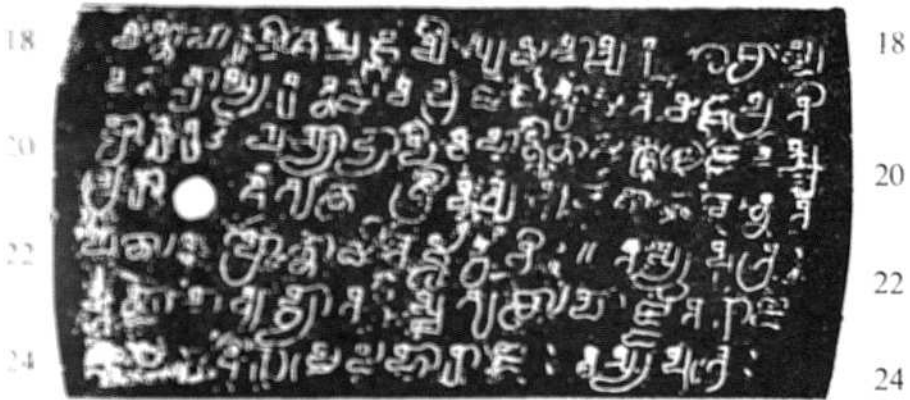


Fig. 7—Third Plate : First Side

PLATE VI  
MALHARÁ PLATES OF ADITYARÁJA



Fig 8.—Third Plate—Second Side

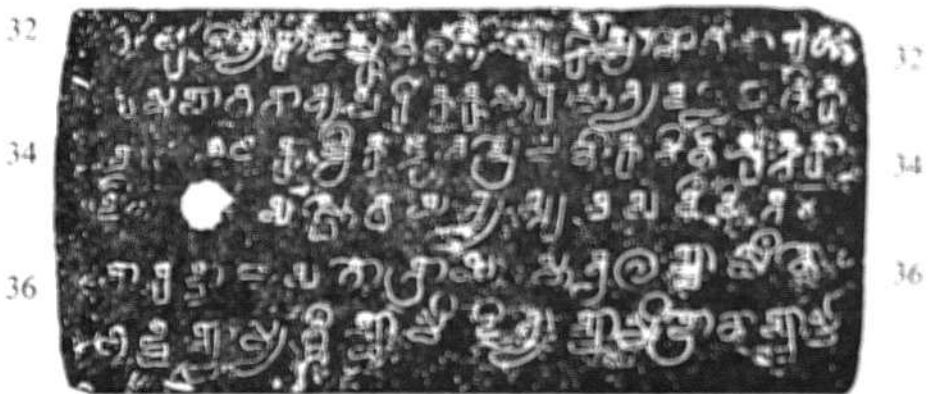


Fig 9.—Fourth Plate—First Side

PLATE VII  
MALHĀRĀ PLATES OF ĀDITYARĀJA



Fig. 10—Fourth Plate : Second Side

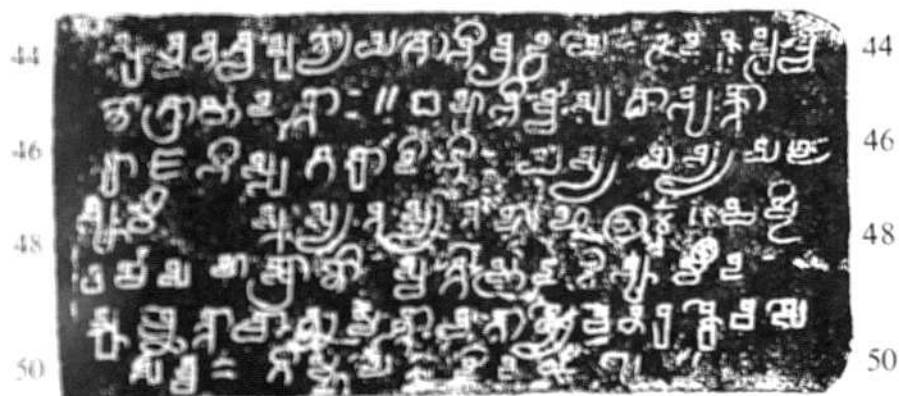


Fig. 11—Fifth Plate



PLATE VIII



*Fig. 12*—Nāsik Chaitya Cave of Bhaṭṭapālikā

PLATE IX

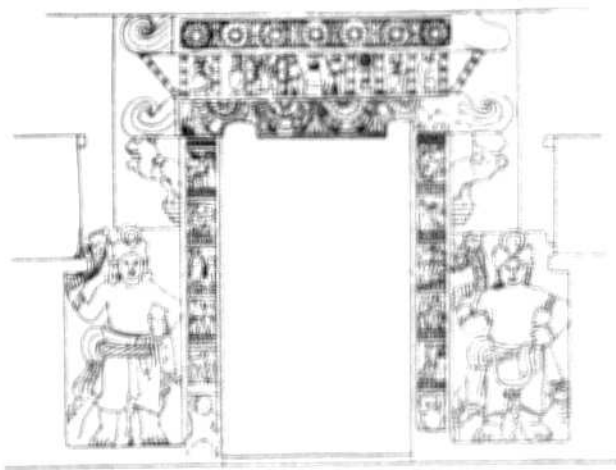


*Fig. 13*—Nāsik Vihāra Cave of Ṛishabhadatta



*Fig. 14*—Queen's Cave of Gautamiṣputra Sātakarni at Nāsik

PLATE X



*Fig. 15*—Door-way of the Queen's Cave at Nāuk



*Fig. 16*—Kārlē Chaitya Cave Figures of Donors

PLATE XI



*Fig. 17—Kārle Chaitya Cave—Front View*



*Fig. 18—Kārle Chaitya Cave—Inside View*

PLATE XII



Fig. 20—Submission of Nalagiri—Amarāvati, Raichur



Fig. 19—Sculptured Slab of the Amarāvati, Sijpa

PLATE XIII



*Fig. 21—King Māndhātā ( Bhājā Cave )*

PLATE XIV



*Fig. 22--King Māndhātā invading Uttara Kuru ( Bhājī Cave )*

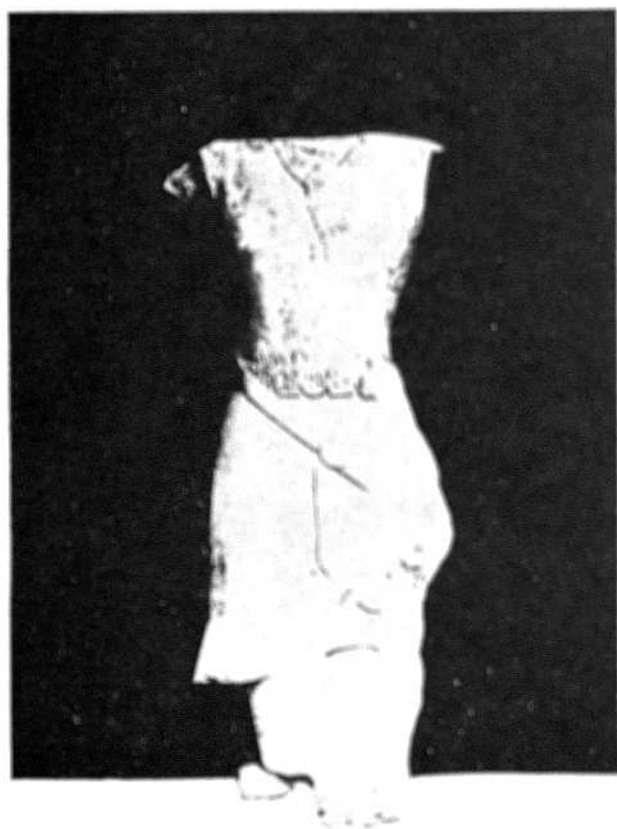
PLATE XV



Fig. 21— King Māndhātā in the Garden of Uttara Kuru (Bhājā Cave)



PLATE XVI



*Fig. 24* - Statue of Chashtana at Mât (Mathurâ Museum)

PLATE XVII



H. Coomaraswamy, Del.

Fig. 25—Ajañṭā Cave X—Painting of the Shad-dantia-jātaka

PLATE XVIII



*Fig. 27*—Greek God (Poseidon)  
(Brahmapuri Excavation)

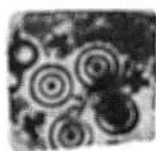


*Fig. 26*—Mother Goddess  
(Brahmapuri Excavation)

PLATE XIX  
COINS



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*Figs. 28 & 29—Sātavāhana*



*Fig. 31—Sātavāhana*



*Fig. 30—Sātakarni I*



*Fig. 32—Sātakarni I*

PLATE XX  
COINS



*Fig. 33—Sātakarni I and Nāganikā*



*Fig. 34—Śakti*



*Fig. 35—Āpilaka*

PLATE XXI  
COINS



Potin Coins from Tarhātā hoard—Nos. 1-7 and 11-12 : Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi; Nos. 8-10, 13, 14 : Puṣumāvi II; Nos. 15-16 : Skanda Sātakarṇi; Nos. 17-21 : Yajña Sātakarṇi; Nos. 22-23 : Vijaya Sātakarṇi; Nos. 24-25 : Kumbha Sātakarṇi; Nos. 26-28 : Karṇa Sātakarṇi; Nos. 29-30 : Śaka Sātakarṇi; Nos. 31-32 : Puṣumāvi III.

PLATE XXII



*Fig. 36—Gautamīputra Śātakarni (Portrait Coin)*



*Fig. 37—Vāsishṭhīputra Śivalēri Puṣumāvi*



*Fig. 38—Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi (Portrait Coin)*

PLATE XXIII



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*Fig. 39—Vāsishṭhīputra Skanda Sātakarṇi*

*Fig. 40—Vāsishṭhīputra Skanda Sātakarṇi (Portrait Coin)*



*Fig. 41—Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi (Portrait Coin)*



41-A



*Fig. 41-A—Vāsishṭhīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi (Portrait Coin)*



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*Fig. 42—Gautamiputra Yajña Sātakarṇi (Portrait Coin)*



PLATE XXIV



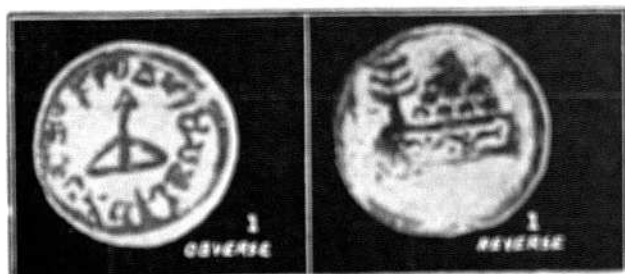
43

*Fig. 43*—Shrip-type Coin of Yajña Sātakaṛṇa



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*Fig. 44*—Gautamīputra Viḍivāyakaṛa



*Fig. 45*—Mahārāṣṭri Māḥarīputra Śivalakṛa

PLATE XXV  
COINS



Fig. 46—Mahāsenāpati Bharadvāja-putra Śaka Māna Mahisha



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Figs. 47 & 48—Rājan Śaka Māna Mahisha

PLATE XXVI

COINS



*Fig. 49—Nahapāna*



*Fig. 50—Chashtana*



*Fig. 51—Iivaradatta : Year 154*

PLATE XXVII (A)

Fig. 52 (A)—Vamavāsi Stone Inscription of Chutukulananda Śālikarma : Year 12



Line 1—Left Half



Line 1—Right Half

Fig. 52 (B)—Vanavāsī Stone Inscription of Chutukulānanda Sātakarni: Year 12



Lines 2 & 3—Left Half



Lines 2 & 3—Right Half

PLATE XXVII (B)

PLATE XXVIII

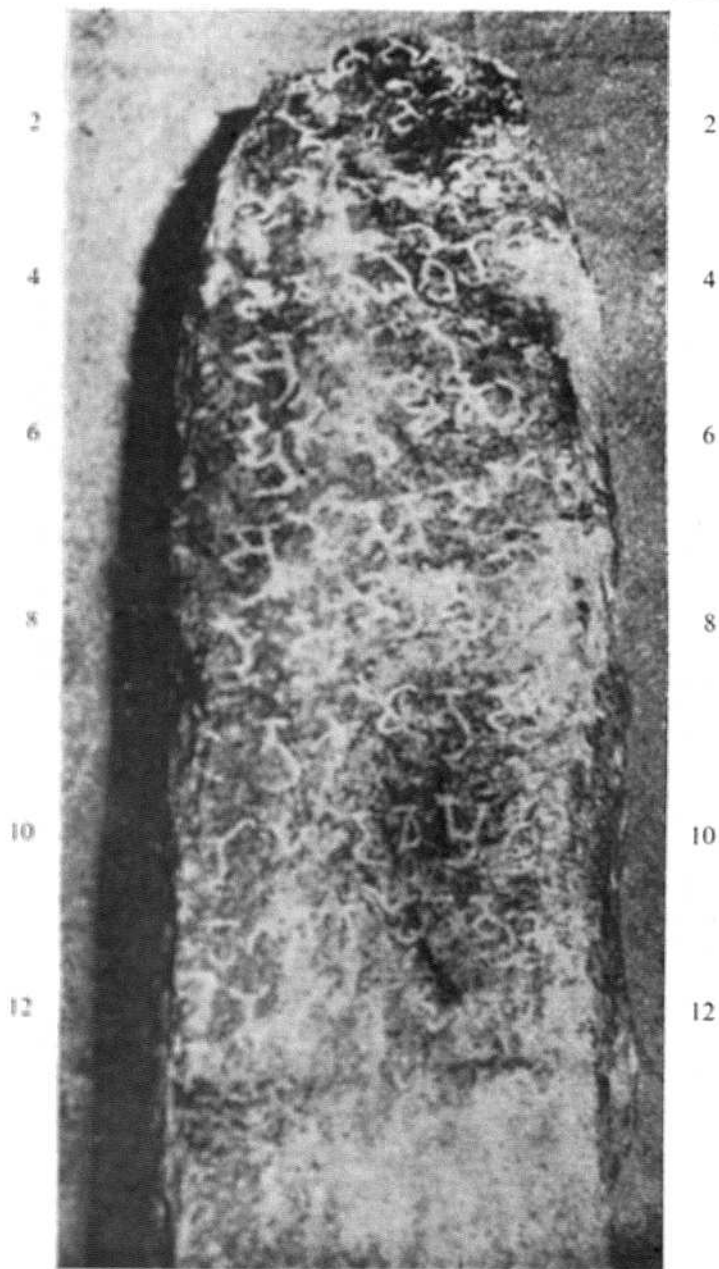
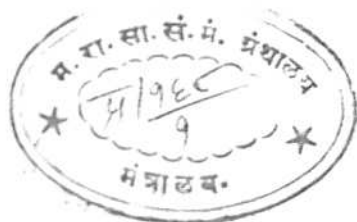


Fig. 53—Daulatpur Stone Inscription of the Reign of  
Chashtana : Year 6

PLATE XXIX



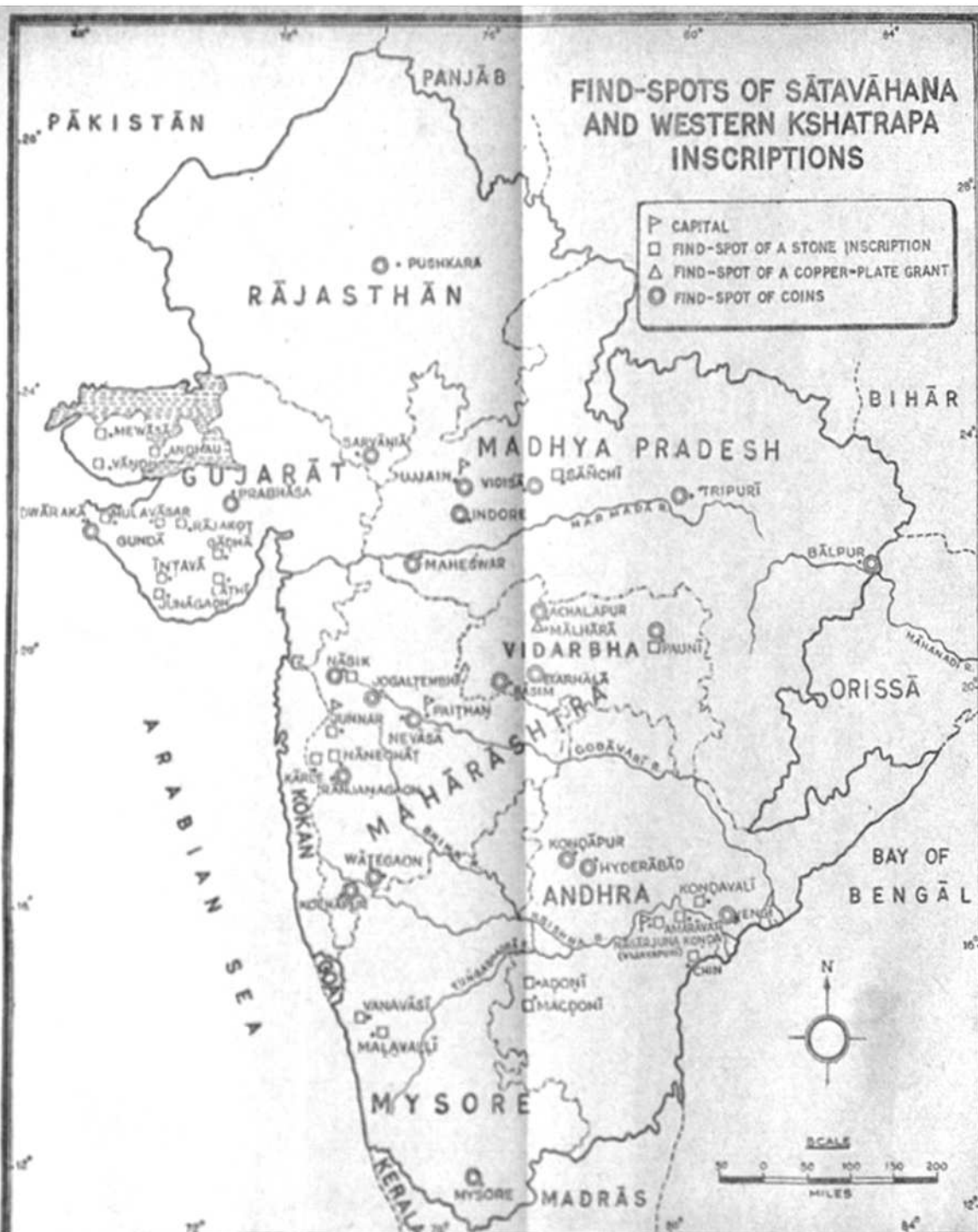
*Fig. 54*—Andhau Stone Inscription of the  
Reign of Chashtama: Year 11

PLATE XXX



Fig. 55—Mewāṣā Stone Inscription of the Reign of  
Bhartṛidāman : Year 203





Akādemi, the Numismatic Society of India and the Epigraphical Society of India have elected him as their Hon. Fellow.

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The present work contains a comprehensive history of the Sātavāhanas, the first known historical dynasty of Mahārāshṭra, and of the Western Kshatrapas who were their contemporaries and ruled over parts of Mahārāshṭra, Saurāshṭra and Central India. It is based on thoroughly reliable material such as contemporary inscriptions, coins, literary works, architecture, sculpture etc.

The work is divided into two parts. The first part gives a detailed political history of the dynasties. Several questions of this period such as the original home of the Sātavāhanas, the dates of their rise and fall, their relations with other contemporary royal families, the era used in the inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas etc.-are still undecided. They have been discussed in detail and definitely solved. As some of the problems are extremely controversial, they have been fully treated in separate Appendices. Besides, the present work describes in detail administration, religious, social and economic condition, Sanskrit and Prakrit literature, architecture, sculpture and painting of the age. A subsequent chapter describes the Prakrit dialect of the time and gives a complete glossary of Prakrit words used in the inscriptions collected here. The work has as many as 30 plates at the end illustrating inscriptions, coins, architecture, sculpture etc. of the age.

The second part has two sections. The first section contains 38 inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas, and the second 26 records of the Western Kshatrapas. The introductory articles on them give varied information about their discovery, historical data in them, identification of localities mentioned in them etc. and, finally, their English translation. The third section comprises some records which were discovered later or throw important light on the problems of the age.

The Sātavāhana is the earliest known historical royal family of Mahārāshṭra. The present volume gives as complete a picture of its age as is possible from the source material known so far. It is on the same model as the author's volumes in the famous *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Series.