THE HISTORY AND INSCRIPTIONS
OF THE SÁTAVĀHANAS 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 Vidarbhā 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 Kalachurī-Chedi Era, Inscriptions of the Vākaṭakas 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 *Bharabhūṭi*.

Dr. Mirashi has received high academic honours for his learning and research. He was honoured by the Viceroy of India with the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya in 1941. The Universities of Saugar, Nagpur and Vārānasī (Sampūrpañanda) 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 Padmabhūṣhaṇa in 1975. He was nominated Correspondent to the Archaeological Survey of India in 1971. The Sūhitya
THE HISTORY AND INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS AND THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS
THE HISTORY AND INSCRIPTIONS
OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS AND THE
WESTERN KSHATRAPAS

By
Dr. Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi

Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture
Bombay
FIRST EDITION, 1981

© All rights of translation reserved by the Author.

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

Printer:
The Manager,
Government Press and Book Depot, Nagpur-440 001.
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 Jeevankantha” by the late Professor S. V. Avalaskar, “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
FOREWORD

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. BARLINGAY.

The 21st December 1981.

Chairman.
State Board for Literature and Culture,
Mantralaya, Bombay.
PREFACE

The Sātavāhana dynasty is the first known historical dynasty of Mahārāṣṭra, 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, Sāta-karni, Hāla, Gautami-putra, Puḷumāvi and Yajña-śri, 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 Mahārāṣṭra at Nāṣik, Kărle, 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, Bhima 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 Mahārāṣṭra 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 Kānheri 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 Mahārāṣṭra such as those at Nāsik, Kārle, and Kānheri 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 inscriptive 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 — (Kharoshthi Inscriptions), ed. by Sten Konow (1929); Part II — Brāhmī Inscriptions of Bhārhat, 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 Vākāyaṇas, 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 Indrajī, Bühler and Senart, and also from Lüders’ *List of Brāhmi 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 Jamindar greatly obliged me by furnishing up-to-date information about Kshatrapa records and sending me offprints 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 Vākāṭakas, and (3) the Śilāhāras. 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 Mahārāṣṭra 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 Indraji, 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, V. V. MIRASHI
1st May 1981.
**ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABORI</strong></td>
<td>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ADS</strong></td>
<td>Apastamba Dharma-sūtra (Bombay Sanskrit Series).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ARASI</strong></td>
<td>Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ASMGM</strong></td>
<td>Amarāvati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum by C. Sivaramamurti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ASWI</strong></td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of Western India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BG</strong></td>
<td>Bombay Gazetteer (Old Ed.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bh.</strong></td>
<td>Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BMC</strong></td>
<td>Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Andhras, etc., by Rapson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Büh.</strong></td>
<td>Dr. G. Bühler.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CAI</strong></td>
<td>Classical Accounts of India ed. by R. C. Majumdar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHI</strong></td>
<td>Cambridge History of India, Ancient India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CII</strong></td>
<td>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CTI</strong></td>
<td>Cave Temples of India by Fergusson and Burgess.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DKA</strong></td>
<td>Dynasties of the Kali Age by Pargiter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ep. Andhra</strong></td>
<td>Epigraphia Andhraica.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EC</strong></td>
<td>Epigraphia Carnatica.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EHAC</strong></td>
<td>Early History of the Andhra Country by Gopalachari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EHD</strong></td>
<td>Early History of the Deccan by R. G. Bhandarkar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EI</strong></td>
<td>Epigraphia Indica.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HCIP</strong></td>
<td>History and Culture of the Indian People.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HIL</strong></td>
<td>History of Indian Literature (English Tr.) by Winternitz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IA</td>
<td>Indian Antiquary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICTWI</td>
<td>Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India by Burgess and Bhagvanlal Indraji.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IHQ</td>
<td>Indian Historical Quarterly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA</td>
<td>Journal Asiatique.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JASB</td>
<td>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JBBRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JBRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Bengal Royal Asiatic Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JESI</td>
<td>Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNSI</td>
<td>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRASB</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHSI</td>
<td>Literary and Historical Studies in Indology by Mirashi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lüders’ List</td>
<td>List of Brāhmi Inscriptions from the earliest times to A. D. 400 by H. Lüders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mem. ASI</td>
<td>Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHAI</td>
<td>Political History of Ancient India by H. C. Raychaudhuri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RFV</td>
<td>V. Raghavan Felicitation Volume, ed. by R. N. Dandekar and others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBE</td>
<td>Sacred Books of the East.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SI</td>
<td>Studies in Indology by Mirashi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZDMG</td>
<td>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gasellschaft.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreword by the Chairman, State Board for Literature and Culture.</td>
<td>(v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preface by the Editor</td>
<td>(vii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>(xiii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrigenda</td>
<td>(xxiii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part I</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The History of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER I.</strong>—Political History :</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A) The Sātavāhana Dynasty</td>
<td>[1]—[57]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Genealogy of the Sātavāhanas</td>
<td>[57]—[58]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) The Western Kshatrapas :</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) The Kshaharāta Kshatrapas</td>
<td>[59]—[68]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) The Kārdamaka Kshatrapas</td>
<td>[68]—[84]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) The Kshatrapas of Vidarbha</td>
<td>[84]—[85]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Genealogies of the Kshatrapas.</td>
<td>[85]—[86]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>APPENDIX I.</strong>—The Date of Khāravela</td>
<td>[87]—[99]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>APPENDIX II.</strong>—The Date of Nahapāna</td>
<td>[100]—[108]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>APPENDIX III.</strong>—The Founder of the Śāka Era.</td>
<td>[109]—[113]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>APPENDIX IV.</strong>—The Queen’s Cave at Nāsik</td>
<td>[114]—[118]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER II.</strong>—Administration</td>
<td>[119]—[130]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER III.</strong>—Religious Condition</td>
<td>[130]—[149]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER IV.</strong>—Social Condition</td>
<td>[150]—[169]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER V.</strong>—Economic Condition</td>
<td>[170]—[176]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER VI.</strong>—Literature</td>
<td>[177]—[235]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The Samhāra and Other Works of Hāla</td>
<td>[179]—[188]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Poets at the Court of Hāla</td>
<td>[188]—[193]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Part II

**Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas**

**Section I. — Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Inscription Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nāsik Cave Inscription of Kṛishṇa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sāñchī Inscription of Sātakarṇi</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Nāṇeghāṭ Cave Inscription of Nāgaṇikā</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4—9</td>
<td>Nāṇeghāṭ Cave Statue Inscriptions</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Nāsik Cave Inscription of Bhaṭapālikā</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi: Year 18.</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi: Year [18].</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi: Year 24.</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puḷumāvi: Year 2.</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kārle Cave Inscription of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puḷumāvi: Year 5.</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puḷumāvi: Year 6.</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Kārle Cave Inscription of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puḷumāvi: Year 7.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puḷumāvi: Year 19.</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi : Years 19 and 22.</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kārle Cave Inscription of the Reign of Vāsishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi : Year 24.</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Amarāvati Stūpa Inscription of the Reign of Vāsishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi.</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Vanavāsi Stone Inscription of Vāsishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Amarāvati Fragmentary Stone Inscription of Śīva-maka Sada.</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Kānherī Cave Inscription of the Time of Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi.</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Nāsik Cave Inscription of the Reign of Yajña Sātakarṇi : Year 7.</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Kānherī Cave Inscription of the Reign of Yajña Sātakarṇi : Year 16.</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Kānherī Cave Inscription of the Reign of Yajña Sātakarṇi.</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>China Stone Inscription of the Reign of Yajña Sātakarṇi : Year 27.</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Kānherī Cave Inscription of the Reign of Māṭhariputra Sātakarṇi : Year 8.</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Kānherī Cave Fragmentary Inscription of the Reign of Māṭhariputra Śakasena.</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Nāgārjunakonḍ Pillar Inscription of Vijaya Sātakarṇi : Year 6.</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Aḍopi Rock Inscription of the Reign of Puḷumāvi III : Year 8.</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Maḷavaḷḷi Pillar Inscription of Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi : Year 1.</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Kānherī Cave Inscription of the Reign of [Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi] : Year [9].</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Vanavāsi Stone Inscription of Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi : Year 12.</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Contents

### Section II.—Inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Inscriptions of the Kshaharāta Kshatrapas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Nāsik Cave Inscription of Rishabhadatta: Years 41, 42 and 45.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Kārle Cave Inscription of Rishabhadatta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Nāsik Cave Inscription of Rishabhadatta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Nāsik Cave Inscription (No. I) of Dakshamitrā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Nāsik Cave Inscription (No. II) of Dakshamitrā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Nāsik Cave Inscription of Rishabhadatta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Junnar Cave Inscription of the Reign of Nahapāṇa: Year 46.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Inscriptions of the Kārdamaka Kshatrapas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Andhau Yashṭi Inscription of the Reign of Chashṭana: Year 11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46–49</td>
<td>Andhau Yashṭi Inscriptions of the Reign of Chashṭana and Rudradāman I: Year 52.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Khāvdā Yashṭi Inscription of the Reign of Rudradāman I: Year [6].3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I: Year 72.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Gundā Stone Inscription of the Reign of Rudradāman I: Year 103.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Wāṇḍh Stone Inscription of the Reign of Rudrasimha: Year [110].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Andhau Yashṭi Inscription of the Reign of Rudrasimha: Year [114].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Junāgaḍh Stone Inscription of the Reign of a grandson of Jayadāman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Mūlavāsar Yashṭi Inscription of the Reign of Rudrasena I: Year 122.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Gaḍhā Stone Inscription of the Reign of Rudrasena I: Year 127.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS

No.  
58  İnţwā Clay Sealing of Mahārāja Rudrāsenā [I].  140  
59  Lāṭhī Stone Inscription of the Western Kshatrapas.  141  
60  Rājkoṭ Stone Inscription of Vijayasena : Year 162.  142  
61  Mewāsā Yashṭi Inscription of the Reign of Bharṭṛidāman : Year 203.  143  

[C] Inscriptions of the Kshatrapas of Vidarbha

62  Pauni Stone Pillar Inscription of Rupiamma.  149  

Some Additional Inscriptions

62(A) Amarāvatī Inscription of the Reign of Yajña Sātakarṇī.  151  
63  Daulatpur Yashṭi Inscription of the Reign of Chashtana : Year 6.  153  
64  Malhārā Plates of Ādityarāja . . . .  156  
65  Devni-Mori Casket Inscription of the Reign of Rudrasena : Year 127.  167  
Appendix VI—A Note on Kuśaṇa-mūla  171  
Index . . . . . .  177  

List of Plates

No.  
I  Fig. 1.—Nāsik Cave Inscriptions (Nos. 11 and 13) of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇī.  
II  Fig. 2.—Vanavāsi Stone Inscription of Vāsishṭhiputra Pujumāvi.  
III  Fig. 3.—Pauni Stone Pillar Inscription of Rupiamma.  
IV  Fig. 4.—Malhārā Plates of Ādityarāja—First Plate.  
   Fig. 5.—Malhārā Plates of Ādityarāja—Second Plate : First Side.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Fig. 6.—Malhārā Plates of Ādityarāja—Second Plate : Second Side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fig. 7.—Malhārā Plates of Ādityarāja—Third Plate : First Side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Fig. 8.—Malhārā Plates of Ādityarāja—Third Plate : Second Side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fig. 9.—Malhārā Plates of Ādityarāja.—Fourth Plate : First Side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Fig. 10.—Malhārā Plates of Ādityarāja—Fourth Plate : Second Side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fig. 11.—Malhārā Plates of Ādityarāja—Fifth Plate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Fig. 12.—Nāsik Chaitya Cave of Bhātapālikā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Fig. 13.—Nāsik Vihāra Cave of Rishabhadatta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fig. 14.—Queen’s Cave of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi at Nāsik.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Fig. 15.—Door-way of the Queen’s Cave at Nāsik.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fig. 16.—Kārle Chaitya Cave—Figures of Donors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Fig. 17.—Kārle Chaitya Cave—Front View.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fig. 18.—Kārle Chaitya Cave—Inside View.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>Fig. 19.—Sculptured Slab of the Amarāvatī Stūpa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fig. 20.—Submission of Nalagiri—Amarāvatī Railing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>Fig. 21.—King Māndhātā (Bhājā Cave).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>Fig. 22.—King Māndhātā invading Uttara Kuru (Bhājā Cave).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV</td>
<td>Fig. 23.—King Māndhātā in the Garden of Uttara Kuru (Bhājā Cave).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>Fig. 24.—Statue of Chashṭana at Māṭ (Mathurā Museum).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII</td>
<td>Fig. 25.—Ajaṅṭā Cave X—Painting of the Śaḍdanta-Jātaka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>Fig. 26.—Mother Goddess (Brahmapuri Excavation).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 27.—Greek God Poseidon (Brahmapuri Excavation).

XIX Fig. 28 and 29.—Coins of Sātavāhana.
Fig. 30.—Coin of Satakarnī I.
Fig. 31.—Coin of Sātavāhana.
Fig. 32.—Coin of Satakarnī I.

XX Fig. 33.—Coin of Satakarnī I and Nāganikā.
Fig. 34.—Coin of Śakti.
Fig. 35.—Coin of Āplaka.

XXI Fig. 35.—(a) Coins of the Sātavāhanas (Tarthāla Hoard).

XXII Fig. 36.—Portrait Coin of Gautamiputra Satakarnī.
Fig. 37.—Lead Coin of Śiva-śri Puḷumāvi.
Fig. 38.—Portrait Coin of Vāsishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi.

XXIII Fig. 39.—Lead Coin of Vāsishṭhiputra Skanda Satakarnī.
Fig. 40.—Portrait Coin of Vāsishṭhiputra Skanda Satakarnī.
Fig. 41.—Portrait Coin of Vāsishthiputra Satakarnī.
Fig. 41-A.—Portrait Coin of Vāsishṭhiputra Vijaya Satakarnī.
Fig. 42.—Portrait Coin of Gautamiputra Yajña Satakarnī.

XXIV Fig. 43.—Ship-type Coin of Yajña Satakarnī.
Fig. 44.—Coin of Gautamiputra Viḷivāyakura.
Fig. 45.—Coin of Mahāraṭhi Māṭhariputra Śivalakura.

XXV Fig. 46.—Coin  Mahāsenāpati Bhāradvāja-putra Śaka Māna Mahisha.
Fig. 47 and 48.—Coins of Rājan Śaka Māna Mahisha.

XXVI Fig. 49.—Portrait Coin of Nahapāna.
Fig. 50.—Portrait Coin of Chasṭana.
Fig. 51.—Portrait Coin of Iśvaradatta.
No.

XXVII  Fig. 52 (A).—Vanavasi Stone Inscription (Line 1) of Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarni (Right Half).

Fig. 52 (B).—Vanavasi Stone Inscription (Lines 2 and 3) of Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarni (Left Half).

XXVIII  Fig. 53.—Daulatpur Stone Inscription of the Reign of Chashtana : Year 6.

XXIX  Fig. 54.—Andhau Stone Inscription of the Reign of Chashtana : Year 11.

XXX  Fig. 55.—Mewāsā Stone Inscription of the Reign of Bhartridāman : Year 203.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Incorrect</th>
<th>Correct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[266]</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>grammaes</td>
<td>grains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[266]</td>
<td>f. n. 2</td>
<td>XXXVI</td>
<td>XXXVIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[271]</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>grammaes</td>
<td>grains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Agitaṇaṇa</td>
<td>Agiyataṇaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Sātakarni</td>
<td>Yajña Sātakarni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>the day 5</td>
<td>the day 5 of the illustrious Svāmi Gautamiputra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Vishṇunanda</td>
<td>Vishṇunandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Potins</td>
<td>Potin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>Omit (No. II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Year [63]</td>
<td>Year [6] 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Svasana</td>
<td>Śavagana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Åṅkis̄thā</td>
<td>Åṅkis̄thā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Åmravāṭaka</td>
<td>Åmravāṭaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Åṅkis̄thā</td>
<td>Åṅkis̄thā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>24-25</td>
<td>Bhāradvaja</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Mahārāṣṭra. Its history has some special features. We know very little about the history of Mahārāṣṭra in the pre-Sātavāhana age. Mahārāṣṭra 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 Mahārāṣṭra 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 Mahārāṣṭra, 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 Mahārāṣṭra.

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 Mahārāṣṭra, 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 Viṣṇu 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. 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.

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 *Mahākṣatrapa* Iśvaradatta rose in Western Mahārāṣṭra, the Mūṇḍa king Rāṣṭramahārāja in Vidarbha, and the Ikṣvāku king Śaṅtamula in Andhra about that time.

There is, however, no unanimity among scholars about the date of the rise of the Sātavāhanas. R. G. Bhandarkar, H. C. Raichaudhuri, D. C. Sircar 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 Susarman, the last Kāṇva king, and rule over the earth. 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.

---

8 *D.K.A.* p. 36.
3 *EMR.* p. 48.
4 *PFAI.* pp. 403 ff.
5 *HCEP.* II, p. 195.
6 *D.K.A.* 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 Pātaliputra 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 Sāñchi records a pious gift of a foreman of King Sātakarṇi. 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. There is no evidence of the invasion and occupation of Central India by Simuka. 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

2 ET, II, p. 88.
3 Some coins of Sātakarṇi have been found in Central India. They may be of Sātakarṇi II. In the second cen. A.D. Guptamiputra 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\(^1\) was found at Bālpur on the bank of the Mahānāḍi 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 Nāneghat inscription of Nāganikā, queen of Sātakarni, appear to be later than those of the Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodorus\(^2\) (*circa* 100 B. C.), and earlier than those of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (20 B. C.). So Sātakarni 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 Nāneghat inscriptions may be placed a little, but not much, later than Aśokas and Daśarathas's edicts.\(^3\) 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 Bhāṭapālikā who was a grand-daughter of Mahā-Haku-śrī.\(^4\)

\(1\) *Num. Suppl.* N. 94. *JASR*, III (1937). See Pl. XX, No. 34.
\(2\) *JBRAS*, XXIII, p. 104.
\(3\) *ASWF*, V, p. 71.
\(4\) *Inscr.* No. 10, lines 1-2.
The latter is identical with Kumāra Haku-āri, a son of Sātakarṇī I, mentioned in a relief inscription in the Nāneghāt Cave. From the form of the entrance door-way, the lotus design on the face of the jamb, the miniature persepoltian 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.\(^1\) Bhāṭapālikā’s grandfather Sātakarṇī 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-āri with Kumāra Haku-āri, son of Sātakarṇī, on the ground that he is not called Rājān in the inscription of Bhāṭapālikā; for Kumāra Haku-āri 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-āri is probably identical with Kumāra Haku-āri, who is named Śakti-āri in Nāganikā’s inscription. He must have succeeded Vedi-āri, 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 Rājān in Bhāṭapālikā’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 Persi-politan 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.\(^3\) Bhāṭapālikā 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

---

\(^1\)CTI, I, p. 637. See PI. VIII, Fig. 12.  
\(^3\)CTI, pl. XXV. See PI. 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 Bhaṭa-pālikā’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 Bṛhadratha and usurped power in Magadha. Mahāmeghavāhana declared his independence in Kaḷiṅga. The Raṭhikas, Bhojakas and Petenikas who were ruling in Mahārāṣṭra 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,¹ Akolā in Vidarbha² and Newāsā in Western Mahārāṣṭra,³ both on the ground and in excavations. They have the figure of an elephant with the trunk uplifted and the legend *Ruṇo siri-Sātavāhanasa* (This coin is of the illustrious king Sātavāhana) on the obverse, and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse.⁴

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.⁵ This dynastic...
name occurs first in the Nāsik Cave inscription of Kṛṣṇa, 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 Nānēghāṭ 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 pre-deceased 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,¹ and made it punishable throughout his realm. An inscription found at Deoṭek 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.² 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.³ Sātavāhana’s

¹ SI, 1 (second ed.), pp. 1 ff.
² Ibid. 1 (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 Nānēghāṭ. See Part II, Again, an earlier form of cha also occurs in that record. So this view is not valid.
³ 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, 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, Bühler, Rapson and Vincent Smith 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 Mahārāṣṭra including Koṅkaṇ. R. G. Bhandarkar read Dhana-katāka 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; but as Senart has shown, the correct reading there is Beṇākatāka, which, as we have shown elsewhere, is the region round Pauni on the bank of the Veṇā (or the Vaingaṅgā) in the Bhanḍāra District of Vidarbha. Vincent Smith identified the capital of the Andhras (i.e. the Sātavāhanas) with Śrīkākulam in the Andhra Pradesh, but the evidence

---

1 See JCM. No. 3.
2 ZREH, pp. 36 ff.
3 ASW, IV, pp. 105 ff.
4 BUC, p. xvi.
5 ZDMG (1902), p. 537.
6 ZREH, p. 46.
7 See Trilokīya-dharma. 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 Amarāvatī 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 Kūbiraka, who, on the evidence of palaeography, seems to have flourished not long after Aśoka. He was not of the Sātavāhana family. In the Hāṭhīgumphā inscription King Kāravela, 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. 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 Godāvari-Kṛishṇā region in that age.

Some years ago, V. S. Sukthankar published an inscription of the Sātavāhana king Pulumāvi found at Macconā in the Bellār District of Karnāṭaka. 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 Pulumāvi 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 Hiraḥaḍagallī plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. 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

---

1 *EI*, II, pp. 323 ff.
4 *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 Mahārāṣhṭra.

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

शुद्धानां च धाति वधिलक्ष्मस्त
लयधिक्ष्वा वर्मं तव ।
सिनुको ह्रद्यञ्जातीयः
प्रात्यंतीमां कषुधराम् ॥

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 Mahārāṣhṭra, 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 Mahārāṣhṭra including Kōṅkaṇ. 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 Hāṭhigumpha inscription states that Khāravela, the king of Kaliṅga (Orissa), not minding Sātakarni, sent his four-membered army consisting of elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers westward in his second regnal year, and when it reached Kanha-beṇṇa (i.e. the Vainganga), it struck terror in the hearts of the people of Asikanagara (the capital of the Rishniika country

1 EJEA, pp. 23 ff.
3 EJ, XX, pp. 74 ff.
or Khāndesh). Had Sātakarṇi been ruling over the Andhra country, Khāravela would have sent the invading army not westward but southward. This clearly indicates that his contemporary Sātakarṇi I was ruling in Mahārāṣṭra, not in Andhra. His coins have been found at Paunji in the Bhaṇḍāra District in Vidarbha.¹

Jain literature mentions Pratishtāna (modern Paiṭhaṇ in the Marāṭhā Division) as the capital of the early Sātavāhana king Śaktikumāra.² Ptolemy (c. A. D. 140) says that Puḷumāvi was ruling from the same city.³ All this evidence goes to prove that Western Mahārāṣṭra 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 Gautamiputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi, one of the later kings of the dynasty, has been found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍ in the Andhra country.⁴ 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 Mahārāṣṭra.⁵ The latter country was then under the rule of Chulkula 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 Mahārāṣṭra.

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

¹ JNSI. XXXV, pp. 106 ff.
² This statement is not wholly reliable.
³ CAI, p. 376.
⁴ Inscr. No. 32.
⁵ The coins of Vijaya Sātakarṇi in the Chaulukī and Tarāḥī boards are of an earlier king of that name, viz., Vāsishṭhiputra 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.¹ 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.² 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 Sālāhana,³ 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 Brāhmaṇas by caste. In a Nāsik Cave inscription of Puṣumāvi, his father Gautamiputra is described as eka-bamhapa (a unique Brāhmaṇa), and kha-tiyadapa-māna-damana (the subduer of the arrogance and pride of the Kshatriyas).⁴ 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

¹ There is no obeisance to the Sun in the beginning of their inscriptions.
² Only in Nāgārjuna's inscription in Nāgabhūta there is obeisance to him along with other gods.
³ See the following glāṭh—

    सप्त - व्य श्रीमति विजयसुरिपुराणानि तत्ततः आशोधितानि ।
    सातवाहानशुभदर्शित गाडि ले कुरुन्दुन्दुप्रिय !

Puρबद्वीप उक्तिः of रामचरितमाणस्.
⁴ Inside Nā. 13. See lines 7 and 5 respectively.
Brāhmaṇa caste, they married Nāga and even Śaka women without inhibition. Thus we find that Sātakarni I married a Nāga princess named Nāganikā, who was a strong adherent of the Vedic religion. Later, his descendant Vāsiṣṭhiputra Sātakarni married a daughter of the Western Śaka Kshatrapa Rudradāman I.¹ 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 Gautamiputra Sātakarni, Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pujumāvi and Gautamiputra Yaśa Sātakarni. 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 metronyms were not originally current among the Sātavāhanas. They came into vogue in later times and then spread among the Ikshvākus, Ābhiras 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 Devakiṣṭiṣṭi in an Upanishad. As a matter of fact, metronyms 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 Mogaliputa and Kosikiputa in Sāṅchi inscriptions², and Vachhi-patra in a Pitaḷkhorā epigraph.³ 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

---
¹ Inscr. No. 25.
² Bālsā Tōpas, pp. 288, 289.
³ ICTWI, p. 40.
unanimity among them. In some cases their evidence runs counter to the stronger testimony of contemporary inscriptions. For instance, the Purânas mention Pûrântsânga and Skandhastambhi as the successors of Sâtakarnî I,¹ but we learn from the Nâneghât inscription of Nâganikâ² that Sâtakarnî was followed by his eldest son Vedi-śrî, while his other son Śakti-śrî was probably acting as Yuvarâja. Pûrântsânga and Skandhastambhi are mentioned nowhere. Again, there is no unanimity in respect of the reign-periods of the kings mentioned in the different Purânas. In some cases, they are disproved by the contemporary evidence of inscriptions. For instance, the Purânas state that Gautamiputra Sâtakarnî ruled for twenty-one years,³ while one of his inscriptions in the Nâsik Caves is dated in his twenty-fourth regnal year.⁴ Again, the Purânas assign only five years to the reign of Hâla, 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 Sâtavâhana kings such as Kaušikiputra Sâtakarnî, Karṇa Sâtakarnî, and Kumbha Sâtakarnî are known from their coins,⁵ but their names are not given in the Purânic lists. All this will show how weak is the evidence of the Purânic lists in regard to the history of the Sâtavâhanas. It is not regarded as fully reliable unless it is corroborated by some other evidence.

The Purânas state that Sîndhuka or Śîsuka was the founder of the Andhra (Sâtavâhana) dynasty. His correct name Simuka (Śrimukha) occurs in a relievo inscription in the Nâneghât Cave.⁶ He is called Simuka Sâtavâhana therein. His brother Kṛishṇa is described in a Nâsik Cave inscription as belonging to the Sâtavâhana family (Sâtavâhana-kule Kanhe rājini).⁷

¹ DKA. p. 38.
² Insgr. Nos. 3, lines 1-4.
³ See राजा भीमभाषीलके एकविश्वसी कूचः । DKA. p. 42.
⁴ Insgr. Nos. 13, line 7.
⁵ See I, III, opp. 29 ff., See Chapter VIII, Coins.
⁶ See Insgr. Nos. 4.
⁷ Insgr. Nos. 1, line 1.
Altekar thought that these two were uterine brothers and were the sons of Sātavāhana.¹ Had this been the case, the wording in the aforementioned Nāsik inscription would have been Sātavāhana-pute Kanhe rājini. The relievo inscription Simuka Sātavāhana also means 'Simuka, a descendant of Sātavāhana.' So Simuka and Krishṇa 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 Mahārāṣṭra and Marāṭhwaḍā. 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.² They would ascribe them to a later king of that name whose statue with the label Kumāra Sātavāhana was carved in the Nānēghāṭ 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 Sātakarni I and Nāganikā.³ The same is the case of the coins bearing royal names. Besides, no other king of the name Sātavāhana is known to history. Kumāra Sātavāhana of the relievo inscription probably did not come to the throne as shown below.

¹ MSG (History) I, p. 77.
² Ibid., p. 76.
³ 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). 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 Kapporọpt, in the Karimnagar district of Andhra. 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 Śaṅtamaṇḍala appears as Chaṅtamaṇḍala 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
earliest inscriptions of the Sättavāhanas 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 Sättavāhanas and occupied the Poona-Nāsik part of their kingdom, ruled from Junnar.\(^1\) It is, therefore, not unlikely that the Early Sättavāhanas also ruled from the same place. When Nahapāna ousted them from there, they appear to have shifted their capital to Pratishṭhāna.\(^2\) Otherwise, Nāgānikā’s large inscription would have been incised in a cave near Aurangābād instead of at Nāpēghāṭ near Junnar. It is noteworthy that their earliest silver coin probably issued on the occasion of the performance of an Āśvamedha 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,\(^3\) and records that the cave was excavated by a Mahāmātra named Samaṇa.\(^4\) 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.\(^5\)

The Statue Gallery at Nāpēghāṭ

Kṛishṇa was succeeded by Sātakarnī I. How the latter was related to him has become a matter of controversy. The Purāṇas state that Sātakarnī was a son of Kṛishṇa.\(^6\) But had it been so, the latter’s

---

\(^1\) It was probably the capital of Nahapāna previously. An inscription of his, Amāyav has been found there.

\(^2\) CAI, p. 376.

\(^3\) Inschr. No. 1.

\(^4\) Samaṇa is not used there in the sense of a Buddhist mendicant. It was a personal name. See a similar personal name Tāpasa which occurs in Inschr. No. 11.

\(^5\) The use of this official name also indicates that the record was issued soon after Aśoka and not in the first cent. B.C.

\(^6\) DKA, p. 39.
statue would have been carved in the Statue Gallery of Nāñeghāṭ. The following statues were carved there:—(1) The illustrious King Simuka Sātavāhana; (2) Queen Nāganikā and the illustrious King Sātakarnī; (3) Kumāra Bhāya[la]; (4) (Name lost). (This statue was probably of Kumāra Vedi-śri, who later ascended the throne after his father Sātakarnī as mentioned in Nāganikā’s inscription.) (5) Mahāraṇhi 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 Sātakarnī, his statue would certainly have been carved there instead of that of Simuka. So Sātakarnī was not the son of Kṛishṇa, but of Simuka. Sātakarnī may have been a minor at the time of his father Simuka’s death. So Kṛishṇa may have succeeded the latter. Perhaps, like Chālukya Maṅgalesa and Yādava Mahādeva, he may have had hostile relations with his nephew Sātakarnī, 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 Sātakarnī 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 Sātakarnī and Nāganikā. Others figure therein because of their relation with them. Simuka was the father of Sātakarnī. Kātare’s suggestion that Nāganikā’s statue is carved before that of Sātakarnī 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 Nāñeghāṭ inscription. We have now a joint coin of her and her husband Sātakarnī, which leaves no doubt in the matter. That coin has Raño sīrī-Sātakaṇīsa above, and in a rectangle below a horizontal line, Nāganikāya on the obverse, together

1 See Inscri. Nār. 4—9.
2 IHQ, XXVII, p. 211.
3 See Inscri. Nār. 3.
4 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 Sātakarnī, and one other person, whose name is now lost, but who was probably Kumāra Vedi-śrī, who later succeeded his father Sātakarnī and was ruling when the large inscription in the Nāṇeghāṭ Cave was incised. Then there was the statue of Mahāraṇhi 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 Mahāraṇhi. 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.

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 Sātakarnī, Bhāyala, Vedi-śrī and Tranakayira were carved in the first instance in the early part of the reign of Sātakarnī. 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 Nāṇeghāṭ was incised.¹ At

¹ Some scholars say that Haku-śrī could not have been the Panākhrī form of Śakti-śrī; but it was probably a nickname of the prince. Haku-śrī seems to be a Dravidian name.
² See Inscri. No. 3, line 8.
that time, only two of her sons, viz., the ruling king Vedi-śri and his younger brother Śakti-śri (identical with Kumāra Haku-śri 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 Nāṃe-
ghāṭ 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.¹
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 Sāṃchi. Vāsishṭhi-
putra Ānanda who got it incised describes himself
therein as an Avesanika (foreman) of King Sātakarṇi.²
This invasion seems to have struck a blow to the
prestige of the Śuṅgas and paved the way for the rise
of the Kāṇvas. The mention in the Purāṇas that
Simuka rose to power after overthrowing the Kāṇvas
is probably reminiscent of this invasion by Sātakarṇi.

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

¹ dEBrAKS, XXIII, p. 104.
inscription tells us that Khāravela, King of Kaliṅga (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-benṇā, it struck terror in the hearts of the people dwelling in the capital of the Ṛishika country. ¹ This invasion has not been correctly interpreted. Some scholars identify Kanhabenṇā with the Kṛishṇā, and reading Musikanagara in place of Asika-nagara, they take the passage to mean that when Khāravela’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, Khāravela’s army would have been required to march south, not west, because that river flows south of Kaliṅga. Besides, the correct reading in the passage is Asikanagara, not Musika-nagara. Asika (Sanskrit, Ṛishika) was the ancient name of Khāndesh.² The latter country lies west of Kaliṅga.

So Khāravela’s army, marching west, reached the river Kanhabenṇā or the Vaingaṅgā. 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.³ 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 Khāravela.

Khāravela’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, Khāravela again sent his army to invade the country, but this time he avoided confrontation

¹ EI, XX, pp. 71 ff.
² ABORI, XXV, p. 66.
³ JINSI, XXXV, pp. 106 ff.
with the Sātavāhana king. He captured some Raṭhikas and Bhojakas and compelled them to bow to his feet.\(^1\) He does not seem to have made any territorial gain by these invasions.

Sātakarni 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.\(^2\) The Nānaghāṭ 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, Āṅgārika, Bhagaladaśarātra, Gargatriratrā, Aptoryāma, Āṅgirasāmayana, Śatātirātra, Āṅgirasatriratrā, and Chhandomapavamānatiratrā. 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. Sātakarni 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-Sātakaṇiṣa on their obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse.\(^3\)

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

---

\(^1\) EJ, XXII, p. 71 ff.
\(^2\) Insat. No. 3.
\(^3\) JNKG, VIII, pp. 18 ff. Plate XIX, Fig. 31, 32.
proper names to it. So we have Gautamiputra Sātaka-
ṛṇa, Vāśishṭhiputra Sātakarni, Skanda Sātakarni,
Yajña Sātakarni, Kumbha Sātakarni and so on. Here-
after, the family became famous as Sātakarni-kula, the
previous designation, viz., Sātavāhana-kula, having been
superceded.¹

The Purāṇas assign a reign-period of only ten
years to this Sātakarni; 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 Purānic statement here
as in several other places seems erroneous.

The Successors of Sātakarni

The Purāṇas say that Sātakarni was succeeded by
Puruñotsaṅga, who ruled for eighteen years; but from
the Nāneghāṭ inscription of Naganikā it seems that
his son Vedi-śrī was his successor. In the large Nāne-
ghāṭ 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.

Naganikā, 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 dakshinā in the form of cows etc. in lines 17 to
20 of her Nāneghāṭ inscription, but that part of the
record is now considerably mutilated. Still, the names

¹ Inscr. No. 34 mentions the territorial division Sātavāhāhāna. In his Mahā-
charita, Ch. VIII, Bāṇa mentions Sātavāhana as a friend of Nāgīśeṇa.
of the following sacrifices can be made out—Aṅgirāsāmayana, Trayodaśārātra and Daśārātra.

Bühler, Rapson and several other scholars believed that when the large inscription in Nāṇeghāṭ was incised, Nāganikā was acting as Regent for her son Vedi-śri. This belief was based on the expression Namo Kumāravarasa Vedi-śirasa in the first line of it. But it is incorrect. The expression means ‘Obeisance to [Kārttikeya], the best of the Kumāras.' Vedi-śri 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 Nāṇeghāṭ inscription was incised. Her sons Bhāyala and Sātavāhana had predeceased her. These calamities must have produced indifference to worldly affairs in her naturally religious mind. She is thus described in the Nāṇeghāṭ 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 Sūtrītis for the conduct of a widow. The Manusmrītī says—

अतीतिसपर्वापरत्क नियता श्रुत्वारिषीः

यो धम्म एकपनीयं कादशनी तमनुनातम् ॥

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

---

1 ASW?, V. p. 67.
2 BMC (Aitibhāṣa), Introd. xvii.
3 See the translation of Inscr. No. 3. In the Sakti-Gumji inscr. also Kumāra-śrama-dātā has been used in the sense of 'born by the grace of Kārttikeya.' El, XXXVI, pp. 48 ff.
4 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 Sātakarni; but his name is not mentioned in the Purāṇic list. Pūrṇotsaṅga is mentioned therein as the son and successor of Sātakarni. 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 Nānēghat inscription. Śakti-śrī is mentioned by his Prakrit name Haku-sirī in the Statue Gallery in the Nānēghat 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, does not appear credible. His coins of the Mālwa fabric have been found with the legend Raño sara-Satasa. Some scholars ascribe them to King Sātakarni, 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 Chaitiya

---

1 MSGH, I, p. 82. Recently a coin of Śakti-Kumāra has been discovered.
2 Rason 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 Satāra.
type excavated by Bhaṭapālikā, grand-daughter of Mahā-Haku-śrī and daughter of a Rājāmātya. According to some scholars, this Mahā-Haku-śrī is different from Kumara Haku-śrī, whose statue was carved in the Nāṅeghāṭ Cave; for, otherwise, the biruda of Rājān 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\(^1\) even as it is signified by Araka (Sanskrit, ārvaka) in some other cases.

Next comes Sātakarṇī II in the Purānic list. According to some scholars, the coins of the Māṅwā fabric with the legend Raṅo sīrī-Sātakanśa were issued by him,\(^2\) while others say that those with the legend Raṅo sīrī-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, Sātakarṇī 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 Sātakarṇī were probably struck by him.

Sātakarṇī 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 Āṭilaka’s copper coin has been found at Bālpur on the bank of the Mahānadi in Chhattisgarh.\(^3\) 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 Raṅo sīva-sīris-Āṭilakasa all round, meaning “This coin is of King Śiva-śrī Āṭilaka.” 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– (Meghasvātī),

---

\(^1\) See above, pp. [32] ff.
\(^2\) JSRI, IV, pp. 25—29; MYGHE, I, p. 34.
\(^3\) JRAI, 134, N. 93 ff. Plata XX, fig. 38.
found in Andhra.¹ Though the royal name appears very fragmentary, it is not likely to be of any other king.

Meghasvāti is the ninth king in the Purānic 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-saptakāti. But we know nothing about the events of his reign. The Sātavāhanas gave liberal patronage to the Prakrit language and literature.² The early Sātavāhana king Sātakarnī I performed several Vedic sacrifices and made munificent gifts to Brāhmaṇas, 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 a crore of such gāthās King Hāla selected seven hundred to form his Kośa. Bāņa has given unstinted praise to it in an introductory verse of his Harshacharita.³ 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.⁴ Fortunately, the names of the poets who composed them

¹ MSGH, I, p. 86.
² The Kathākālīta (VL, 114-115) gives the story of a Sātavāhana king who could not understand the meaning of the simple sentence mudakāsam-mādhi tājaya. Rājaśekhara’s Kāvyaśāsana (p. 50) states that King Sānvedhana of the Kuntala country had issued an order prohibiting the use of Sanskrit in his harem. Bhoja’s Sarswatāhavībhāṣa (N. S. Près, p. 12) states that all people in the kingdom of Ālāyanāka (Sātavāhana) used the Prakrit language in their conversation.
³ See the introductory verses of the Harshacharita.
⁴ 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 Lilāvati. Vijayānanda, a Senāpati of Hāla, learns, in the course of his digvijaya, about the princess Lilāvati, the daughter of Śilamegha, King of Siṁhaladvipa, from an apsaras (heavenly nymph). After his return to the capital he informs Hāla about her. The latter invades the region called Bhimam on the Saptagodāvari (known as Drākshārāma), kills a Rākshasa, and marries Lilāvati. He then visits Siṁhaladvipa, meets the king of the country, and comes back to his capital Pratishṭhāna. This story resembles that of Harsha's Ratnāvali in some respects, and has no historical value.

The Purāṇas mention Maṇṭalaka, Purindrasena and Sundara Sātakarni 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. But in a Nāsik Cave inscription Gautami Balaśri, his daughter-in-law, is described as rājarśhi-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 Chashtana as the Kshatrapa of the country round Kachchha and perhaps a part of Kāthiāwāc also. Inscriptions of his reign, dated in the sixth and eleventh years of the era of Kanishka (corresponding to

---

*AMEH, I, pp. 89 ff.

*JNSH, XXII, pp. 18 ff. The so-called coin of Chakora has no clear legend.

*JNSH, XXII, p. 110.
A. D. 84 and 89 respectively) have been found at Andhau and Daulatpur in Kachchha. Later, Kanishka appointed another Kshatrapa named Bhūmaka to govern Gujarāt, some part of Kāṭhiāwāḍ and Mālwā. His coins have been found in all these provinces. Whether he had conquered Koṅkaṇ and Mahārāṣṭra is not known. Perhaps, his successor Nahapāna conquered these provinces and made Junnar, about 56 miles north of Poonā, his capital.

The Sātavāhanas seem to have been forced to shift their capital to Pratishṭhāna near Aurangābād in this period. The Kushāṇa Empire at this time comprised Anūpa (the country round Maheshvar), Gujarāt, Kāṭhiāwāḍ and Mālwā in North India, and Koṅkaṇ, Western Mahārāṣṭra and Vidarbha in the south. Of these, Kachchha and a part of Kāṭhiāwāḍ were under Chashṭana, whose coins and stone inscriptions have been found therein. Nahapāna’s coins have been obtained from Koṅkaṇ and Western Mahārāṣṭra. Other provinces under his rule are known from references in the inscriptions of his son-in-law Rishabhadatta. Vidarbha was under another Kshatrapa named Rupiamma, whose chhāya-kambha (sculptured memorial pillar) has recently come to notice at his capital Pauni in the Bhaṇḍārā District. In Chhattisgaḍho hoards of the coins of Kanishka and his successors have come to notice.

The Sātavāhanas 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 Śiva-Svāti. Gautami Bala-śri was probably his queen. She is described as Mahā-devi in a Nāsik cave inscription. So Śiva-Svāti seems to have had the title of Mahārāja. Southern Mahārāṣṭra may have been under his rule; but on the whole his condition was far from satisfactory.

---

1 See Inscri. Nos. 63 and 45 respectively.
3 Some scholars think that Brench 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 Amśa of Nahapāna. See Inscription No. 46.
Gautamiputra Sātakarnī

Svāti's son and successor Gautamiputra Sātakarnī 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 Kusāvati (modern Pauni) on the Beṇā (or the Vaingaṅgā). 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 Māvala after this ignominious defeat. Gautamiputra 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 Vishñupālita in charge of Govardhana, Gautamiputra designates himself as Benākaṭaka-svāmi, 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 Benākaṭa 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 Gautamiputra. His date of accession is not known. But as the last known date of Nahapāna is the year 46 of the Śaka era (A. D. 124-125), the battle of Govardhana seems to have been fought in circa A. D. 125.

After this victory, Gautamiputra pursued Nahapāna to the hilly tract of Māvala 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. 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.

8 See Inscription No. II.
9 See Appendix No. II.
* See Inscription No. II.
Nahapāṇa seems to have suffered a disastrous defeat in this second battle. In a Nāsik cave inscription of Puḷumāvi, his father Gautamiputra is described as the 'the exterminator of the whole Kshaharāta family.' But one member of it named Māṇa 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.

Gautamiputra then called back all silver coins of Nahapāṇa, and after stamping them with his own symbol, he allowed them to be circulated. A large hoard of Nahapāṇa's coins re-struck by Gautamiputra numbering 13,250 was found at Jogaltembh in the Nāsik District.

Encouraged by these splendid victories, Gautamiputra 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 of his son Puḷumāvi names the following countries under his rule—North India—Saurāṣṭra (Kāṭhiāvād), Kukura (South-east Rājputāna), Ākarāvanti (Eastern and Western Māḷwā), and Anūpa (modern Indore and Nemāḍ districts of Madhya Pradesh); South India—Aparānta (North Koṅkan), Rishika (Khāndesh), Aṣmaka (Ahmadnagar District), Mūlaka (the region near Pratishṭhāna) and Vidarbha. The following mountains were situated in his kingdom—Vindhya, Rikshavat (Sātpuḍā), Pāriyātra (Mount Abu), Sahyādri, Kṛishṇagiri (Kānheri near Bombay), Maṅchagiri, 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.

Gautamiputra 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

---

1 See Inscription No. 18, line 9.
2 *JBRAS*, XXII, pp. 223 ff.
3 See Inscription No. 18.
doubtless have occurred in the regions of Mālwa, Kāthiāwād and Rājputāna.

So Gautamiputra’s kingdom extended from the southern part of Rājputāna, Kāthiāwād and Mālwa in the north to the Krishna in the south, and from the Arabian Sea in the West to the Bay of Bengal in the east. The Kuntal 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 Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi and more than a hundred of Skanda Sātakarni, both of them being sons of Gautamiputra Sātakarni, but none of the latter king himself.¹

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 Gautami Śri-Bālā got a detailed description incised about them in Nāsik Cave III on the occasion of the donation of a village by her grandson Pulumāvi for the decoration of the Cave.

This Gautami Śri-Bālā (illustrious Bālā of the Gautama gotra) was a devout follower of the Buddhist religion. As stated above, her son Sātakarni 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.² The order concerning this second gift is issued in the joint names of herself and her son Sātakarni. 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-leśa (the Queen’s

¹ JNCNL XXXIV, pp. 205 ff.
² Inscription No. 11. Some scholars have inferred from this that she was taking an active part in administration, but of this there is no evidence.
Cave). Its excavation seems to have continued for a number of years. The work was not completed even in the nineteenth regnal year of Pułumāvi, who succeeded Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi. Some decorative work remained to be done. For it she got the village Pišāchipadraka donated to the Saṅgha. 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 Pułumāvi foiled his attempt.

On this occasion, when the Cave was almost completed and was being made over to the Saṅgha, Gautami 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. This inscription is unique in ancient records and gives a detailed pen-picture of that noble son of India.

Gautamiputra 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 Śesha. 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

---

1 See Inscription No. 13, line 2.
2 Inscription No. 18, line 11.
3 See Appendix IV, 'The Queen’s Cave at Nārāyana.'
4 Gautami had become very old by this time. This record was inscribed in the 19th regnal year of her grandson Pułumāvi. 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 Pułumāvi, 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 
*ekā-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.

Gautamiputra 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 Mahārāṣṭra, North Koṅkaṇ and Andhra. These remarkable conquests bespeak his military genius as well as his personal bravery.

**The Successors of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi**

Gautamiputra was succeeded by his eldest son Vāsishṭhiputra 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.² Ptolemy, who wrote about A. D. 140, states that at that time Chashṭana was ruling in Ujjain, and Puḷumāvi in Pratishṭhāna.³ It seems, therefore, that soon after the death of Gautamiputra, Chashṭana and his grandson Rudradāman recovered their North Indian provinces from the Sāta-vāhanas. 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 Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi as shown by an inscription of

---

¹ This is quite evident as the contemporary Kihatrāpa Chashṭana was then ruling from Ujjain. *CAI*, pp. 373 and 376.
² *CAI*, pp. 373 and 376.
his daughter's *Amātya* incised in a cave at Kānhēri. In his Junāgaḍh inscription Rudradāman says that though he defeated Sātakarṇī twice, he did not exterminate him as he was not a distant relative of his. The identification of this Sātakarṇī has long been a subject of controversy among scholars. He seems to be none else than Puḷumāvi. It seems that when Gautamiputra made his conquests in North India, the Sātavāhanas entered into a matrimonial relation with the Kshatrapas of Saurāśṭra after peace was established there. Rudradāman seems to have then given his daughter to Gautamiputra's youngest son Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarṇī to cement peaceful relations. After Gautamiputra's death Chashṭana and Rudradāman adopted a hostile attitude, and recovered their lost possessions from Puḷumāvi whom they vanquished twice. Puḷumāvi is, therefore, the Sātakarṇī 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 Sātakarṇī I. It is noteworthy that the Junāgaḍh inscription describes the Sātakarṇī 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.

Gautamiputra's queen was of the Vāsishṭha gotra. So all his four sons—Puḷumāvi, Skanda Sātakarṇī, Vijaya Sātakarṇī and Sātakarṇī came to be called *Vāsishṭhi-putras*. As stated before, Vāsishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi succeeded Gautamiputra. 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. It records that the slab on which it is incised is the *chhāyā-prastara* (sculptured memorial stone) of the crowned queen of Śivaśri-Puḷumāvi. It shows that

---

1 Inscriptio No. 51, line 12.
2 Inscriptio No. 22.
Pulumāvi, 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-śri has been prefixed to the name of Pulumāvi in this record, some scholars differentiate him from Vāśishṭhi-putra Pulumāvi,¹ and in support of their view they cite the following verse from the Purāṇas²:

स्तवायस: सुतस्ततिः पुलोमा ये भविष्यति।
सिद्धवर्मेण पुलोमा नु सर्वेष चकिता नूप: १।

This verse is taken to mean that after Gautamiputra Sātakarni, his son Pulomā (i. e. Pulumāvi) ascended the throne and ruled for twenty-seven years. Thereafter, Śivaśri 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-śri to their names. Coins with both the legends Pulumāvi and Śiva-śri Pulumāvi have been found in the Tarhāla hoard.³ In his Nāsik Cave inscriptions he is called Vāśishṭhiputra Pulumāvi, while in the legends on his coins in the Wātegaon hoard his name appears as Vāśishṭhiputra Śiva-śri Pulumāvi.⁴ There is no doubt that the two were identical. We have mentioned before a coin of Śiva-śri Āpilaka. An inscription at Vanavāsi mentions a king named Śiva-Skanda-Nāgaśri.⁵ The name of the Pallava king Śiva-Skandavarman, who rose to power after the fall of the Sātavāhanas, is known from the Mayidavolu⁶ and Hirahadagalli⁷ plates. If we suppose that Śiva-śri Pulumāvi was different from Pulumāvi, we shall have to hold that as both of them

¹ See Studies in Indian Epigraphy, I, pp. 34 ff.
² D.K.A., p. 42.
³ INSII, II, pp. 39 and 40. Pl. XXI, Fig. 8—14.
⁴ Ibid. XXXIV, p. 297.
⁵ See Inscription No. 37.
⁶ IE, VI, pp. 86 ff.
⁷ Ibid. I, pp. 5 ff.
are called *Vāsishthiputra*, 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 Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi. Several inscriptions of Puḷumāvi 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.¹ As stated before, a memorial inscription of his crowned queen has been noticed recently at Vana-vāsi. His coins have been found over an extensive territory—in the Sāngli District of Western Mahārāṣṭra, 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 Mahārāṣṭra, Karnāṭaka, Aṣmaka, Mūlaka, Kosala, Andhra—all these were included in his kingdom. So he was rightly called *Dakṣiṇāpatheśvara*. 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.²

As stated before, Puḷumāvi 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 Puḷumāvi in the following verses :—³

```
[ एकोनविशंतिभाष्यः सातक्षरितततो नूः ।
शिवानीव पुलोमा तु सप्तेष्ठभिता नूः ।
शिवतस्यः सातक्षरिन्वितस्यायत्तः समाः ॥
]
```

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

¹ Inscription No. XXI
² JNSI, XV, pp. 1—3.
³ DKA, p. 42.
manuscript are found reliable in many cases. So this Sātakarni seems to be Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarni who is mentioned in a Kānheri inscription as the son-in-law of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman of the Kārḍamaka family. From his metronymic he appears to be the uterine brother of Puḷumāvi. Śivaśri, who is mentioned in the next hemistic which occurs in many Purāṇas is this very Vāsishṭhipura Śiva-śri Sātakarni. The Purāṇas have not given his personal name but only his biruda Śiva-śri. Besides, the reading in that hemistic is corrupt. The correct reading of it would be Śiva-śrīr-vai Pulomāt-tu saptāva bhavītaṃ niippaḥ. Pulomāt means 'after Puḷumāvi.' Śiva-Skandha mentioned in the second hemistic of that verse is really Śiva-Skanda, i.e. Śiva-śri Skanda Sātakarni. He is wrongly described there as the son of the aforementioned Śiva-śri Sātakarni. Really, he was his uterine brother. His lead coins have been found together with those of Vāsishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi in the Wāṭegaon hoard.¹ The legend on them is Vāsīṭhiputasa sīrī-Khada-Sāta-
kaṇīṣa meaning 'this coin is of the illustrious Vāsishṭhiputra Skanda Sātakarni.' Again, a silver portrait coin of Vāsīṭhiputra Vijaya Sātakarni has recently come to notice. It has on the obverse the legend Rāṇo Vāsaṭhi-
putasa Sa- in Prakrit, and on the reverse Arahapasha [Vāhiṭhi-putasha] hiru-Vijaya Hātaṇaṃṣha in a Drāviḍ language. So all the four sons of Gautamiputra— Puḷumāvi, Skanda Sātakarni, Vijaya Sātakarni and Sātakarni—were Vāsīṭhiputras. They all were uterine brothers. Potin coins of Vijaya Sātakarni have been found in the Chāndā and Tarhāḷā 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 hemistic from Pargiter's constituted text of the dynastic list does not mention the

¹JNSI, XXXIV, pp. 205 ff.
total reign-period of Skanda Sātakarni at all! Pargiter also was conscious of this. So in a foot-note he has given another reading of it, viz., bhavishyati samās-trayaḥ, in place of bhavir-āsy-ātmajah samāḥ. It is no doubt free from the aforementioned defect, but it gives a reign-period of only three years to Skanda Sātakarni. This is incredible; for in the Wāṭegaon 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 Pūjumāvi was ruling over a large part of the peninsula. The Wāṭegaon hoard contained only his and Skanda Sātakarni’s lead coins. So he was evidently succeeded by Skanda Sātakarni in that region. Recently a silver portrait coin of his has been found at Nāśik. His potin coins have been found in the Tarhāḷā hoard in Vidarbha, but they have not been noticed in Andhra. So the Sātavāhana kingdom seems to have been partitioned after the death of Pūjumāvi. Western Mahārāṣṭra, Karnāṭaka and Vidarbha fell to the share of Skanda Sātakarni, while Andhra was occupied by Sātakarni. Several coins of this Sātakarni have been discovered in Andhra. They do not mention his metronymic, but they were probably issued by him and not by his father Gautamiputra Sātakarni. Recently a silver portrait coin of Vāsishṭhiputra Vijaya Sātakarni 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 Sātakarni.

\[DKA, \text{p. 42 n. 7.}\]
Vāsisṭhīputra Sātakarni’s silver portrait coins have been discovered both in Andhra and in Western Maha-
rashtra. So these two parts of the Sātavāhana kingdom were again combined in the reign of Vāsisṭhīputra Sāta-
karni after the death of Skanda and Vijaya Sātakarnī. An inscription1 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 Vāsisṭhīputra Sātakarnī extended his rule to the west after the death of Skanda and Vijaya Sātakarnī. As the record bears no date, it is not possible to be definite on this point.

The silver portrait coins of Vāsisṭhīputra Sātakarnī, 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.2 On the other hand, the legend on the silver portrait coins of Skanda Sātakarnī has no Telugu words; for his rule did not extend to Andhra.

An inscription in Nāṇeghāṭ mentions Chatarapana Sātakarnī according to Bhagvanlal Indrajī. 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 Sātakarnī. His coins were found both in the Tarhāḷā 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.

Vāsisṭhīputra Sātakarni was probably succeeded by Yajña Sātakarnī. His metronymic Gautamiputra is known

1 Inscription No. 25.
2 JANI, XXXVIII, pp. 12 ff.
from his inscriptions. His records have come to notice in Andhra and also at Nāsik and Kānheri.\(^1\) His potin coins were included in the Tarhāḷa hoard. His lead coins with a double-masted ship were current in Andhra,\(^2\) signifying his control of the Coromandel coast.

Yajña-śri’s silver portrait coins have been recovered from Kāthiāwād, North Konkan and Besnagar in Central India; but it would be wrong to infer from them that all these were included in his kingdom. Aparānta (North Konkan), however, was undoubtedly comprised in it; for his inscriptions are noticed in the caves at Kānheri.\(^3\)

Yajña Sātakarni 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.\(^4\)

The large Sātavāhana kingdom continued intact for one generation after Yajña Sātakarni. He was succeeded by Māṭhariputra 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 Kānheri caves in North Konkan.\(^5\) 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 Tarhāḷa hoard.\(^6\) 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 Māṭhārī or even with the single letter Ma are attributed to him.\(^7\) They do not have his personal name Śaka, but they were probably issued by him.

---

\(^1\) See Inscription Nos. 26—29.
\(^2\) SI, III, pp. 17 ff.
\(^3\) Inscription No. 27.
\(^4\) Inscription No. 29.
\(^5\) Inscriptions Nos. 30 and 31.
\(^6\) See Chapter VIII, ‘Coins of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas.’
\(^7\) 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 Mahārāṣṭra after this Śaka Sātakarṇi’s reign. North Koṅkaṇ seems to have been occupied then by Chuṭukula Sātakarṇi of Vanavāsī in the North Kannada District, while Mahākṣatrapa Iśvaradatta rose to power in Western Mahārāṣṭra in circa A. D. 230. These political revolutions will be described later.

The Sātavāhana Capital shifted to Andhra

In Andhra Gautamiputra 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 Nāgārjunakonḍ. It gives his metronymic Gautamiputra, and is dated in his sixth regnal year. Yajña Sātakarṇi also was Gautamiputra. 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 Nāgārjunakonḍ.

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 at Koḍalvali near Pithānapuram in Andhra which is dated in the eleventh regnal year of Vāsishṭhiputra Chaṇḍavāti probably belongs to him. His coins have been obtained from the Krishnā and Godāvari districts of Andhra. Rapson has read the royal name on them as

---

1 See Inscription No. 36.
2 See Inscription No. 32.
3 See Inscription No. 33.
Chandrasvāti, but it appears clearly as Chaṇḍasvāti in his Koḍavali inscription.

Besides these, Rudra Sātakarni 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 Pulumāvi. How he was related to his predecessor Chaṇḍa-śri (or Rudra-śri) is not known.

Pulumāvi’s stone inscription has been discovered near Aḍoṇi in the Bellāri District of Karnāṭaka. It names the surrounding territory as Sātavāhanahāra 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 Mahārāṣṭra.

Sukthankar identified Pulumāvi of the Aḍoṇi inscription with Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi. 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 Puluhāmavi.

The Sātavāhana kings Vijaya, Chaṇḍa, Rudra and Pulumāvi 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 Gautamiputra Vijaya Sātakarni. So at the end of the Sātavāhana

---

1 Inscription No. 34.
2 EI, XIV, pp. 153 ff.
3 JNSI, II, pp. 53 ff. Pl. XXI, Fig. 21-22.
age, the centre of Sātavāhana power shifted from Western Mahārashṭra to Andhra. Hence, though the Sātavāhanas had their original home in Western Mahārashṭra, 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 Sātakarṇī

No inscriptions and coins of the aforementioned successors of Yajña Sātakarṇī, viz., Vijaya, Chaṅḍa, Rudra and Puḷumāvi, have come to notice in Western Mahārashṭra 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 Vanavāsi in the North Kannaḍa District, where a stone pillar inscription of Haritiputra Vishṇuśkaṇa Chuṭukulāṇanda Sātakarṇī has been discovered. His name occurs also in a Kānheri Cave inscription. The cave was excavated by his daughter Nāgamulanikā. She is also referred to in the Vanavāsi inscription.

Soon thereafter there was a political revolution in Karnaṭaka in which the Kadambas rose to power. The pillar at Majavalli in the Shimoga District of Karnaṭaka which bears the aforementioned inscription of the first regnal year of Haritipura Vishṇuśkaṇa Chutukulāṇanda Sātakarṇī 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 Kauśikiputra Sātakarṇī. They
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 Tarhālā hoard.\(^1\) We have, besides, the coins of King Sebaka and those of his descendant Prākaśaśīva Sebaka discovered in the former Hyderabad State.\(^2\) 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 Sadakāna Kaḷalāya Mahāraṭhi have, for instance, been discovered in the Chitaladurga District of Karnāṭaka.\(^3\) Rapson thought that he was referred to in the Nānehāṭ inscription of Nāganikā,\(^4\) but, as shown elsewhere, this is not likely. Sadakāna in his name may have been derived from Sātakarṇi, but why that Mahāraṭhi adopted the biruda is not known.

Large lead coins of Chuṭukulānanda and Muḍānanda have been found in the North Kannada District,\(^5\) 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

---

\(^1\) *SL*, II, pp. 83 ff.
\(^2\) *Ibid.* III, pp. 107 ff. Coines of Sebaka, the progenitor of this family have also been found in the former Hyderabad State. *Ibid.* VII, pp. 94 ff.
\(^3\) *BMC* (Andhras), Introd. p. xxxiiii.
downwards, fitted with an arrow pointing upwards on the reverse were found in excavations at Brahmapuri, a suburb of Kolhāpur, on the bank of the Pañchagaṅgā. They have the following legends¹ :—

(1) Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Vilivāyakurasa.
(2) Raño Māḍhariputasa Sivalakurasa.
(3) Raño Gotamiputasa Vilivāyakurasa.

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 honomymous members of the Sātavāhana family.² For instance, No. 3, Gautamiputra Vilivāyakura was, according to him, identical with the well-known Sātavāhana king Gautamiputra Sātakarni, but this view is not now regarded as plausible. Though these kings have used the title Rājan on their coins, they were in fact Mahārathis or feudatories. This is indicated by the legend Mahārathisa 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.³ He seems to be identical with the second Vilivāyakura. He was probably ousted by Puḷumāvi when he conquered the Kuntala country.

King Māna of the Māhishaka Country

In a Näsik cave inscription of Puḷumāvi, his father Gautamiputra Sātakarni 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

¹ Ibid., pp. 5 ff. PI, XXIV, fig. 44, 45.
² BMC., (Andhra), Introd. p. xi.
³ CAE, 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 Chuṭukulasas (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 Sātavāhana type having the figure of an elephant with the trunk uplifted and the legend Raṇo 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 hemistic in the Purāṇas, describing the rulers of the second and third centuries A. D., also refers to him:

शक्मानोभव्रज शक्मिश्र शक्रपति: 

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.

---

1 JNSI, XI, pp. 1 ff. See Pl. XXV, fig. 46.
2 IHQ, XXII, pp. 34 ff., See Pl. XXV, figs. 47 and 48.
3 The following corrupt hemistic occurs in the Purāṇas in this connection:—
   शक्मानोभव्रज शक्मिश्र शक्रपति: 

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 Vāyu purāṇa groups it with Mahārāṣṭra and Kaliṅga among the countries of the Dakshiṇāpatha. The Rāmāyaṇa states that Sugriva asked the monkeys to search for Sītā in the countries of Vidarbha, Rishīka 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 Kaliṅga. The Anuśānapanarvan states that the inhabitants of the Māhishaka country were Kshatriyas, but they became vrishalas for want of contact with the Brāhmaṇas. These passages suggest that the Māhishaka country was in the south, adjoining Vidarbha, Rishīka and Kaliṅga. It probably represents the southern portion of the former Hyderābād State and the adjoining districts of Raichur and Bijāpur of Karnātaka. This conclusion which we drew nearly thirty years ago has recently been confirmed by the discovery of the pillar inscriptions of King Mahāmeghavāhanā śri-Sada at Gaṇṭupalli in the West Godāvari District of Andhra. They mention two, birudas of the king, viz., Kaliṅgādhipati and Māhishakādhipati. The former had been held by that king’s ancestor Khāravela, 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 Karnātaka.

Māna Mahisha seems to have adopted the family name Chuṭukula or Chuṭuka. Some coins of his
descendants, Yaśa and Śivala have been found in this part of the country, 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. The dominion of these descendants of King Māna seems to have extended over a large part of South India. The Sātakarniś of Vanavāsi 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 Viṃhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarni spread to North Koṅkaṇ. But his inscriptions and coins have not yet been discovered in WesternMahārāṣṭra. On the other hand, some hoards of the coins of the Western Kšatrapas have been found at Karhād, Rāṅjāngaon and some other places. We cannot infer from them that the power of these Kšatrapas had extended to Western Mahārāṣṭra; for similar hoards and even stray coins have been found in Vidarbha, and they belong to the Vākāṭaka period. As the Vākāṭakas and the Ābhiras had no coins of their own, they seem to have allowed Kšatrapa coins to circulate in their dominion. But recently Mrs. Gokhale has published a coin of Mahākšatrapa Iśvaradatta found at Indore which tells a different tale. It has shed important light on the political history of Western Mahārāṣṭra in the post-Sātavāhana age.

Mahākšatrapa Iśvaradatta

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

1 JNSI, XI, pp. 2 ff.; XV, p. 120.
3 (a) Bom. Gaz. i, pp. 48, 49.
4 JNSI, XXXVIII, pp. 27 ff.
6 JNSI, XL, pp. 37 ff. S. 38 Pl. XXVI, Fig. 11.
Western Kshatrapa coins found at Sarvāṇiā in the former Bāṅswāḍē State, Vāsoja in the former Junāgaḍh State and Rānjangaon 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 dvitīye on the reverse. It was, therefore, believed, that Īṣvaradatta ruled only for two years. He was referred to one of the gaps of two or more years noticed in the reign-periods of the Western Kshatrapas.

Bhagvanlal suggested that Īṣvaradatta 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 Īṣvaradatta in the gap between Śaka 158 and 160; 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 for Īṣvaradatta, but Shobhana Gokhale has published Khatrapa coins dated Śaka 110, 112 and 113, thereby disproving that view also.

The Indore coin* of Īṣvaradatta published recently by Mrs. Gokhale has put an end to this wild goose chase. It had on the reverse a regnal year

---

* A. R. S. I., 1913-14, p. 229.
* J. N. S. I., XXXVIII, pp. 27 ff.
* A. R. A. S. I., 1890, p. 637.
* 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, Kāṭhiāwād and Western Mahārāṣṭra. These coins mention his title *Mahākshatrapa*. So he was acknowledging the overlordship of the Kushānas; but he was not a Śaka like the Western Kshatrapas; for the names of the latter generally end in *dāman*, *sinha* or *sena*. See e.g. Rudradāman, Rudrasimha and Vījayasena. Īśvaradatta is not a name of that type. Mrs. Gokhale identified him with Īśvarasena, the founder of the
Äbhira dynasty; but it has no basis. The Nāsik cave inscription of that Äbhira king mentions him as Rājan Īsvarasena, son of Māṭhariputra Śivadatta. It does not call him Mahākšatrāpa. So Mahākšatrāpa Īsvaradatta was undoubtedly different from Äbhira Rājan Īsvarasena. But like the latter, he also was probably ruling over Western Mahārāṣṭra. From the find-spots of his coins he seems to have invaded the Mālwā-Kāṭhiawād region and held it for some time. Rapson has, in his Catalogue, included coins dated Śaka 151 to 154 of Mahākšatrāpa Dāmasena. Īsvarasena 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 Äbhira King Īsvarasena

Mahākšatrāpa Īsvaradatta seems to have usurped power in Western Mahārāṣṭra in Śaka 151 (A.D. 229) after ousting the Sātavāhanas. We do not know how long Īsvaradatta 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 Äbhira king Īsvarasena, son of Śivadatta, established himself in Western Mahārāṣṭra. His inscription of the ninth regnal year is incised in Cave X at Nāsik. In course of time he or his successors spread their power to North Koṅkaṇ, Gujarāt, and the Anūpa country in Central India. The Äbhira era which spread in all these countries with

---

1 CII, IV, p. 3.
2 BMC., (Andhra), pp. 108 ff. As coins dated (Śaka) years 151 to 154 of both Mahākšatrāpa Dāmasena and Mahākšatrāpa Īsvaradatta have been found, they could not have been ruling over the same country. Dāmasena was evidently ruling over Saurashtra and Mālwā, and Īsvaradatta over Mahārāṣṭra. As the latter had invaded the country of Dāmasena, his coins have been found north of the Narmadā.
3 CII, IV, pp. 1 ff.
the spread of Ābhīra power continued in use there for several centuries, afterwards.¹

The Munḍas of Vidarbha

As in Western Mahārāṣṭra 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 Malhāra in the Amraoti District.² We learn from it that in the Munḍa family, which is described as a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu and the performer of an Aṣvamedha sacrifice, there was a Brāhmaṇa named Soma who took delight in the study of the four Vedas. His son Vardhana and grandson Munḍa were, like him, learned, pious and righteous. The family became known after Munḍa, 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, Rāṣṭra-mahārāja is said to have aquired 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 Aṣvamedha 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 Aṣvamedha
sacrifice could not have flourished in Vidarbha in the time of the Vākāṭakas; for their power was then supreme in that country from the Narmadā in the north to the Godāvari 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 Vishṇukundin Mādhavavarman I.¹ We have shown elsewhere that the latter died in A. D. 528.² Thereafter, it was comprised in the kingdom of the Kalachuris of Māhishmati. Kṛishṇarāja, the founder of Kalachuri power, seems to have annexed Vidarbha in circa A. D. 540.³ He placed his feudatory Svāmirāja in charge of it.⁴ The latter, imitating his suzerain, has dated his Nagardhan plates in the Ābhira era. Their date corresponds to A. D. 573.⁵ 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 Vishṇukundin 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 Chāluksya king Pulakeśin II extended his power to Vidarbha soon after overthrowing the Kalachuri king Buddhārāja in circa A. D. 620.⁶ It appears clear from the description in the Aihoḷe inscription⁷ dated A. D. 634 that he then became the lord of three Mahārāṣtras. 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

¹ Numerous coins of the Vishṇukundins have been found in excavations and on the ground at several places in Vidarbha. See Pasur Excavations, p. 13; JNSI, XXVIII, pp. 164 ff.
² Mienahi, Indological Research Papers, Vol. I.
³ He conquered Western Mahārāṣtra from the Traikūṭakas in A. D. 533. See LIHESI, pp. 125 ff. He must have thereafter conquered Vidarbha. So that event has been dated in circa A. D. 540.
⁴ His Nagardhana plates are dated in the year 322 (A. D. 573) of the Ābhira era.
⁵ CHII, IV, pp. 611 ff.
⁶ Ibid., IV, p. 1.
⁷ E.G., VII, pp. 1 ff.
post-Vākāṭaka age. There is not a single grant of that period which is dated in a regnal year. Either the Ābhīra era or the Śaka era was then in vogue in Vidarbha. So the Munḍa family could not have flourished in the post-Vākāṭaka age also.

The Munḍa dynasty must, therefore, be referred to the pre-Vākāṭaka 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 Vākāṭaka 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 Munḍa family came forward to establish peace and order in the country in accordance with the direction of the Manu-smrīti.\(^1\) The contemporary son of the Brāhmaṇa Munḍa changed the ladle for the sword, and quelled the prevailing anarchy. He then adopted the significant name of Rāṣṭramahārāja; for he had established peace and order in his rāṣṭra. 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 Mahārā plates is dated in the second regnal year. He was probably ousted by Pravarasena I, the son of Vindhyāśakati of Vallūra, who laid the foundation of the Vākāṭaka kingdom in Vidarbha.\(^2\)

\begin{flushleft}
The Ikṣvākus of Andhra
\end{flushleft}

The Ikṣvākus of Vijayapuri (Nāgārjunakonda) established themselves in Andhra. Śāntamūla, the founder of

\(^1\) See एस्त्र द्वितैयिति निर्देशिति चयी वर्षयास्थले | Manu. VIII, v. 348.

\(^2\) Till now Vindhyāśakti I has been regarded as the founder of the Vākāṭaka kingdom in Vidarbha; but from the Mahārā plates, it is quite clear that Pravarasena I was the first king of the family ruling in that country. In all grants of the Vākāṭakas the genealogy starts from him. The Purāṇas also call him the progenitor of the family, DKA, p. 50.
the Ikshvāku dynasty performed Āśvamedha, 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.¹

The Genealogy of the Sātavāhanas

Sātavāhana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simuka</th>
<th>Krishṇa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sātakarni I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedi-śri</td>
<td>Sakti-śri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ Pūrṇotsaṅga ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Skandastambhi]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sātakarni II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ Lambodara ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āpilaka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghasvāti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ Svāti ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ Skandasvāti ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ EZ, XX, pp. 1 ff.
[Skandasvāti]
[Mrigendra]
[Kuntala]
[Svātivarṇa]
[Pulomāvi I]
[Arishṭakarṇa]
Hāla
[Maṭtalaka]
[Purindrasena]
[Sundara Sātakarṇī]
[Chakora]
[Śivasvāti]

Gautamiputra Sātakarṇī

Puḷumāvi II Skanda Sātakarṇī Vijaya Sātakarṇī Sātakarṇī

Gautamiputra Yajña Sātakarṇī

Māṭhariputra Śakasena

Gautamiputra Vijaya Sātakarṇī

Vāsiṣṭhiputra Chaṇḍasvāti

Puḷumāvi III
(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 Kushāna 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 Mahārāṣṭra, Koṅkaṇ, Saurāṣṭra, 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 Śunga 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.\(^1\) 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

\(^1\) E. L. XX. pp. 57 ff.
Kāṭhiawād. According to a Jain tradition, however, the Scythians invaded Mālwa 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 Mālwa, 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 Sāṃvat in 58 B.C. The Kālakāchārya-kathānaka says that later the Scythians again conquered Mālwa and started the Śaka sāṃvat in A.D. 78.

A. S. Altekar believed in this Jain tradition;1 for we know that the Scythian king Maues was ruling in Sindh in the first cen. B.C., and he may well have invaded Mālwa from there. As the Śaka occupation of Mālwa 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 Sātavāhanas, 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 Barnāla in the former Jaipur State, hundreds of miles north of Mālwa.2

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

---

1 MSGH, I, p. 144.
2 EI, XXVI, pp. 118 ff.
circa A. D. 50. The records of the Śaka Kshatrapa Kusūlaka and his son Pātika have come to notice there.\(^1\) In the Taxilā plate of Pātika, his father Kusūlaka is mentioned as the Kshatrapa of Chhaharāta and Chuksha.\(^2\) 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 Mahārāṣṭra as shown below.

Some Kshaharātas appear to have established themselves in the region round Mathurā. Others repaired southwards to Gūjarāt and Mahārāṣṭra. 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.\(^3\) 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.\(^4\) 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 Spalirisises 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.
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 Saurāśṭra. 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 saṁvat. This problem is discussed in detail in a separate Appendix.\(^1\) The correct view seems to be that they are of the so-called Śaka saṁvat 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 Kharos̱ṭhī and Brāhmi. The Kharos̱ṭhī legend is Chhaharātasa Chhatrapasa Bhūmakasa, and the Brāhmi, Kshaharātasa Kshatrapasa Bhūmakasa.\(^2\) 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, Saurāśṭra, Central India, Northern Mahārāṣṭra and Konkan. As shown elsewhere,\(^3\) 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

---

\(^1\) See Appendix II.
\(^2\) BMC (Andhras), pp. 63 ff.
\(^3\) 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 Sātakarni. Kanishka seems to have extended his rule to these provinces soon after his accession, for, as shown below, he appointed Chashtana 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 Mahārāṣṭra were comprised in his Empire. Vidarbha also was included in it as shown by the Pauni (Bhanḍārā District) inscription of the Kṣatrapa Rupiamma.1 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 Bevāhārī tahasil of the Shahaḍol District of Madhya Pradesh.2 It contained the coins of the following Kushāṇa kings:

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

Total 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).

---

1 See Inscription No. 62.
2 ASER, XXVIII, pp. 1 ff.
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 Rīshabhadatta have been incised in the Caves at Nāsik and Kārle,¹ and those of his daughter Dakshamitrā at the former place.² In his inscriptions Rīshabhadatta 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, Mālwā, some part of Saurāshṭra and North Gujarāt from Bhūmaka. He seems to have himself conquered North Koṅkaṇ and Western Mahārāṣṭra 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,³ as also by the finds of his own coins.⁴

Nahapāna is a Parthian name. His son-in-law Rīshabhadatta 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 Rīshabhadatta has mentioned several of his own charities and benefactions. He gifted several thousand coconut trees in the villages of Nānaṅgola and Chikhala padra 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 Balsād in Gujarāt), the Pāradā (the river Pār which flows north of Damaṇ), Damaṇa (now known as the Damaṇagaṅgā), the Karabena (now known as the Kāveri which joins the Ambikā), Dahānukā (the creek near Dhānū), Tāpi (in the Surat

¹ Inscriptions Nos. 38—40, 43.
² See Inscription No. 38.
³ Inscriptions Nos. 41 and 42.
⁴ BMC (Andhras), pp. cviii ff.
District) and Bārṇāsā (the Bānās in the Ahmadābād District). He constructed houses and made gardens and tanks in Bharuakachchha (Broach), Daśapura (Mandasor), and Govardhana (near Nāsik). He got eight Brāhmaṇas married at his expense at the holy place of Prabhaṣa in Saurāṣṭra.\footnote{1}

Rishabhadattha marched against the Mālayas (i.e. the Mālavas) for rescuing the Uttamabhadrās 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 gāna.

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 Rishabhadattha 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 inaccessibly to him as they were situated in the Kūshāṇa Empire. So these places where he made his charitable gifts were undoubtedle situated in the dominion of his Bhāṭṭāraka 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 Saurāṣṭra and Gujārat in the west to Mālwa 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,\footnote{2} but their veracity is doubtful. One tradition says

\footnote{1} Inscription No. 43, line 1.
\footnote{2} J.B.O.R.S., XVI, pp. 290 ff.; MSGH., I, p. 152. The Periplus mentions a tale about Nambrauns of Azilka (North Koṭāka). Altèkar thought it credible, taking Nambrānaus to be Nahapāna. It mentions Broach as the capital of Nambrānus. 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 Nambrānus 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 Gautamiputra Sātakarni. But the tradition deserves no credence; for the battle in which Gautamiputra Sātakarni 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 Junāgadh inscription of Rudrādāman is composed in elegant Sanskrit. He himself is described in it as the author of Sanskrit kāvyas 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.¹

Nahapāṇa 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 Rājñī Kshaharātasa Nahapāṇasa in the Brāhmi and Raṇo Chhaharātasa Nahapāṇasa in the Kharoshthi script. Nahapāṇa alone is known to have issued such coins mentioning the royal name and title in three scripts.²

A hoard of Nahapāṇa’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,³ and only the last of them was defeated by Gautamiputra Satakarni. The inference is not admissible. It is not likely that those successors of Nahapāṇa 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 Mahārāṣṭra. Besides, we have no evidence of any other Kshatrapa ruling in Mahārāṣṭra after Nahapāṇa. On the other hand, in his Nāsik cave inscription Gautamiputra Satakarni says that he is granting a field which was previously owned by Rishabhadatta. It shows

¹ Kudālamānī in Inscriptions No. 38, lines 3-4 is incorrect for kudālamānā. See Appendix VI.
² BMC (Andhras), pp. 656—57.
³ MSGH, I, pp. 163 ff.
that Rishabhadatta 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.¹

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,² 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 Saṃvat, 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 years³ 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

¹ Inscription No. 25.
² Appendix III.
³ 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 Chashtagana, other statues there being of the Kushāna Emperors Wema Kadphises, Kanishka and Huvishka. This is shown by the inscription on it which has been read as Mastana by some and as Shastana by others, but the correct reading must evidently be Chastana. Chashtagana 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 Chashtagana, 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 Kushāna Emperor, must have deputed Chashtagana to govern Kachchha and the adjoining territory soon after he conquered it in the beginning of his reign. Chashtagana’s father Ysāmotika is mentioned without any title in all records. He was, therefore, a commoner. His son Chashtagana 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 Chashtagana and his grandson Rudradāman have been found only in the Kachchha District. 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 Rishabhadatta 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 Chashtagana.

—See Inscriptions Nos. 45—50 and 52—54.
Chashtana’s silver coins have been found. 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 Brāhmi and Kharoshṭhi surrounding them — Rājña Ksatrapasa Ysāmotika-putrasa Chashtanasa. Some coins mention his title Mahākṣatrapa. One of his copper coins also has been found.

Chashtana’s son Ksatrapa Jayadāman was helping him in administration. Such Ksatrapas 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.2

Rudradāman I

Jayadāman seems to have predeceased his father. He is nowhere mentioned as Mahākṣatrapa. 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 Gautamiputra Sātakarni had conquered the following provinces which were previously included in the territory under Nahapāna—Surāshṭra (Kāṭhiāwād), Kukura (south-east portion of Rājaputān), Anūpa (Indore district of M. P.), and Ākarāvanti (Eastern and Western Mālwa).3 Chashtana and Rudradāman could not offer him any resistance. They may have adopted a submissive policy purposely. It was probably in this period that Gautamiputra’s son Vāsishṭhiputra

1 BMC (Andhras), pp. 72—75.
2 Ibid., pp. 76 ff.
3 Inscription No. 18.
Satakarni was married to Rudradaman's daughter to cement a political alliance.1

The situation underwent a change after the death of Gautamiputra Satakarni in circa A.D. 132. His son Pulumavi was not as brave and able a general as he. So Chashtha and Rudradaman took advantage of this situation and wrested the following northern provinces from Pulumavi:—Ānarta (North Gujarāt), Saurāshtra (Kāthiāwād), Anūpa (Indore and Nemād districts), Sindhu-Sauvira, and Ākārāvanti (Eastern and Western Mālwa). Pulumavi could not offer any resistance to them. Rudradaman 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 Chashtha as the ruler of Ujjain.2 Rudradaman's Junagadh inscription dated A.D. 150 mentions Ākārāvanti (Eastern and Western Mālwa) as one of the countries comprised in his dominion.3 Chashtha and Rudradaman had reconquered these provinces by their valour and military skill. So the contemporary Kushāna Emperor invested both of them with the higher title of Mahākshatrapa. In his Junagadh inscription Rudradaman proudly states that he had obtained the higher title by his own merit.

After conquering these provinces, Chashtha transferred his capital to Ujjain. As stated before, Ptolemy (A.D. 140) mentions that Chashtha was ruling from Ujjain, and Pulumavi from Paithan. He does not mention Rudradaman. In his Junagadh inscription, however, Rudradaman is seen ruling independently as Mahā-kshatrapa in A.D. 150. So most of the afore-mentioned countries must have been reconquered and the capital shifted to Ujjain before A.D. 140.

---

1 Inscription No. 23. This inscription of an Anurupa of the wife of Vāsishṭhaputra Satakarni, daughter of Rudradaman I, was found at Kānherī.
2 BMC (Andra), p. xxix.
3 Inscription No. 34.
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 Mālāwā), Anūpa (Indore and Nemāḍ Districts) and Aparānta (North Koṅkaṇ). ¹

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 Dakshiṇāpatha, whom he had defeated in a straight battle as he was a not distant relative of his. ² As shown before, this Sātakarṇi was none other than Puḷumāvi. 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

¹ Inscription No. 51, line 11.
² 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 Puḷumāvi.
and held cows and Brāhmaṇas in veneration. These Kārdamakas do not appear to have patronised the Buddhist religion as their Kshaharāta contemporaries did in Mahārāṣṭra.

Rudradāman was known for his learning and art as he was for his munificence. He had himself composed kāvyas 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. 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 Surāṣṭra (Kāṭhiāwād) 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 Girnār 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

---

8 See the reference to cows and Brāhmaṇas in Inscription No. 51, line 15.
9 It is noteworthy that the date in all inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas 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.¹

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 Dāmajadaśāri) was helping him in the administration of his kingdom.²

The Successors of Rudradāman I

As Rudradāman had a long reign, his son Dāmaghsada must have been fairly old when he come to the throne. This is also evident from the portrait on his coins. He had assumed the title of Mahākṣatrapa. As very few coins issued by him have been found, he may have reigned from circa A.D. 165 to 175.³

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 Kṣatrapas have been found. Their history is based mainly on the dates recorded on their coins.

Jivadāman struck his coins as Mahākṣatrapa 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 Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasimha I have been recovered, from which he seems to

¹ Inscription No. 51, line 18.
² BMC (Andhras), p. 80.
³ Loc. cit.
have usurped the throne, setting aside his nephew.\textsuperscript{1} A stone inscription of this Rudrasimha, dated Śaka 103, in which he mentions himself as Kṣatrapa has been found at Gundā\textsuperscript{2} in the Hālār District of Saurāshṭra. 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 Mahākṣatrapa. In Saurāshṭra some coins of Mahākṣatrapa Īšvaradatta dated in the first or the second regnal year have been found mixed with those of the Western Kṣatrapas. According to some scholars, this Īšvaradatta 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) Īšvaradatta, 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 Kṣatrapa. Ultimately, Rudrasimha vanquished Īšvaradatta and continued to rule till A.D. 197.

\textbf{Mahākṣatrapa Īšvaradatta}

Altekar’s aforementioned conjecture is based on a very slender basis. There is no evidence that Īšvaradatta 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 Īšvaradatta 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 Īšvaradatta found at Indore, which has shed very important light on his problem.

\textsuperscript{1} BMC (Aedhara), pp. 86—94.
\textsuperscript{2} Inscription No. 32.
No year of the Saka era was so far known to occur on the coins of Iśvaradatta. 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*. The Indore coin now discovered shows clearly for the first time the Saka year 154 indicated by three numerical symbols, *viz.*, 100, 50 and 4. This coin must have also recorded on the reverse the corresponding regnal year of the *Mahākṣatrapa*, but the legend there is now indistinct. From the traces left, the regnal year seems to be the fourth (*varshe caturthe*). The coins of Iśvaradatta 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 Iśvaradatta’s reign. He bears the title of *Mahākṣatrapa* on all these coins.

*Mahākṣatrapa* Iśvaradatta seems thus to have reigned at least in the period from A. D. 229-230 to A. D. 232-233. The coins of *Mahākṣatrapa* Dāmasena belonging to this very period have also been found in Mālwā and Saurāshṭra. So Iśvaradatta is not likely to have ruled north of the Narmadā in this period. He must have been ruling elsewhere, probably in Mahārāshṭra. 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 Kṣatrapas in several hoards found in the latter’s territory.

---

1 *BMC (Andhras)*, pp. 124 ff.
2 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 matrimonia-liy connected with the ruling families of far-off countries. The Saka 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 Saka king.\(^1\) She may have been either a daughter or a grand-daughter of this Rudrasena. At Vaiśāli in far-off Bihār a sealing of Prabhudāmā, the sister of Rudrasena, has been discovered.\(^2\) She is called Mahādevi, but her husband is not named therein. The latter may have been ruling there after the Kushāṇas.

\(^1\) EJ, XX, p. 19.
\(^2\) EJ, XXIII-IV, p. 136.
According to the aforementioned convention, Rudrasena was succeeded not by his son Prithivisena who had been assisting him as Kshatrapa, but by his younger brother Saṅghadāman. From his coins he seems to have ruled as Mahākṣatrapa only for a year or two.¹ A possible reason for this is thus stated by Altekar:—The Mālava gaṇa of the Ajmer-Mārwād 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.² Saṅghadāman 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 Prithivisena and Dāmajada-śri II were acting as Kshatradas. 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 Mahākṣatrapa in A. D. 238.³ 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 Mahākṣatrapa till A. D. 250. Thereafter, his younger brother Dāmajada-śri ruled for about five years.⁴

After the three sons of Dāmasena who held the title of Mahākṣatrapa 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.⁵ It contained coins of the Western Kshatrapas from the time

¹ BMC (Andhras), p. 126.
² EI, XXVII, p. 252.
³ BMC (Andhras), pp. 128-30.
⁴ Ibid., pp. 137-40.
⁵ 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 Mahārāṣṭra which was then under the Ābhīras. Altekar did not consider this as likely. The reason for the existence of this hoard in Mahārāṣṭra 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 sacrificial in far-off places, and received munificent dakshinās. The Karhāḍ hoard was of the coins received by them by way of dakshinā. 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 Rānjanāgon in the Poonā District, Sonpur in the Chhindwādā District, Bāsim in the Akolā District Kuṇḍinapur in the Amraoti District, and also in some other places in Vidarbha. 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 Viśvasimha in circa A. D. 277, but his reign probably lasted for only two or three years. His brother Bhrāṭridāman 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. Bhrāṭridāman maintained friendly relations with the Sassanian king Narseha. Numerous coins of this Kshatrapa have been found in Saurāshṭra and also in other countries like

---

1 MSGH, I, pp. 163 ff.
2 Loc. cit.
3 JNES, XXXVIII, pp. 22 ff.
4 JRASB, III, N. S. pp. 94 ff.
5 Sf, III, pp. 215 ff.
Vidarbhā, which testify to the peace and prosperity of his reign.

Bhartridāman is the last known Mahākṣatrapa of the family of Chashṭana. He was succeeded by another Śaka family, the progenitor of which was Svāmi Jivadāman. His son Rudrasimha overthrew Bhartridāman and his son Viśvasena, and usurped power. How this family was related to that of Chashṭana is not known. Rudrasimha II and his son Yaśodāman II struck coins only as Kṣatrapas. They did not issue any as Mahākṣatrapas. So long as the Kusana Emperors were powerful, they used to bestow this higher title for some special achievement. Thereafter, that title was suggestive of independence. When the Kṣatrapas 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 Kṣatrapas from assuming the higher title. The Sassanians of Sindh were not sufficiently powerful in this period. So they could not have checked these Kṣatrapas of Saurāšṭra and Mālwa. Altekar thought that the Vākṣaka Pravaraśena I who flourished in this age and performed as many as four Aśvamedhas must have brought pressure to bear on them; 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 Koṅkaṇ, 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 (A.D. 250—417). Their rising power must have curbed the ambition of the Śaka Kṣatrapas. 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.

1 The Mevāśa Memorial pillar inscription is dated Śaka 203 and is of the time of Bhartridāman. See the discussion of its date in Inscription No. 61.
2 On some coins of this Kṣatrapa, some scholars read the name of the ruling Kṣatrapa as Rudrāsena and take him to be the third Kṣatrapa of that name. See JNSI, XII, pp. 167-68; XXX, pp. 92 ff.; XXXVII, pp. 155 ff.
3 MSGH, I, p. 165.
4 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 Mahākṣatrapa, 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 Uparakoṭi near Junāgaḍh, and another at Sarvāṇiā² 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 Irān. He may have made an incursion into Saurāṣṭra from his base in Sindh, which probably led to the spread of consternation among the people of that province.⁵ 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 Āryāvarata (North India) whom he exterminated.⁴ 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 Prithivisheṇa I. Hence the identification of Rudradeva

⁵ A.R.A.S.I., 1913-14, pp. 227 ff.
⁶ M.G.H., I, p. 66.
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 Svāmi Simhasena, and the latter by his son Svāmi Rudrasena IV, but both these had very short reigns. How Svāmi Sātyasimha who followed was related to them is not known. Rapson thought that Svāmi Sātyasimha was a brother of Simhasena,¹ while Altekar took him to be a brother of Svāmi Rudrasena IV.² Which of these is the correct view it is difficult to say.

**Gupta Invasion**

The reigns of these three Kshatrapas—Svāmi Simhasena, Svāmi Rudrasena IV and Svāmi Sātyasimha—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.³ 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.⁴ 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

¹ BMC (Andhras), p. clix.
² MSGH, I, p. 167.
³ EI, XXXVIII, pp. 46 ff.
⁴ CH, 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 Vākātaka king for this expedition against the Kshatrapas. Altekar surmised that Chandragupta had planned to take the help of his son-in-law Vākātaka Rudrasena II, but he had to postpone the invasion on account of the latter’s premature death.¹ There is absolutely no basis for this conjecture. Chandragupta’s Vākātaka contemporary was Prithivisheṇa whom we have placed in the period A. D. 350—400 on the evidence of statements in Vākātaka inscriptions.² 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 Vākātakas by giving his daughter Prabhāvatiguptā in marriage to the Vākātaka Crown-prince Rudrasena II. The wedding must have been celebrated with great éclat at the second Gupta capital Ujjain.³ 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

¹ MSGH, I, p. 167.
² Inscriptions of the Vākātakas (CII, IV), p. v ff.
³ See our Kālidāsa (English), ch. II.
Sanskrit learning and the spread of Indian culture. From a verse cited by Rājaśekhara, we learn that several great Sanskrit authors attained renown after they were examined in the capital of Ujjain.¹

(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 Pauni 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.²

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 Mahākṣatrapa 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, Śrīdhavaravārman, Satyasiṅgha etc.

Rupiamma was a Mahākṣatrapa. 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.

¹ Kārīyamārīṁsā (G. O. S.), p. 55.
² 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 Pratishṭāna.

How long this Kshatrapa occupation of Vidarbha lasted is not known. But Gautamiputra Sātakarnī seems to have captured this province before he marched against the Kshatrapa territory in Western Mahārāṣṭra. This is shown by his epithet Benākaṭaka-svāmi in the order which he issued to his Amāṭya at Govardhana soon after his memorable victory over Nahapāna. This epithet was used significantly as shown elsewhere. 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. Gautamiputra's conquest of Vidarbha may, therefore, be dated in A. D. 125.

Genealogies

(I) The Kshaharāta Kshatrapas—

Būmaka

| Nahapāna | Dinika |

| Dakshamitrā | Ṛishabhadatta |

(II) The Kārdamaka Kshatrapas—

[ Ysāmotika ]

| Chashṭana |

| Jayadāman |

| Rudradāman I |

*Inscription: No. 11.
*See art II, p. 25.
(III) The Vidarbha Kshatrapas—
Rupiamma.
Appendix I

The Date of Khāravela

The date of Khāravela, the great king of Kaliṅga, has become a subject of keen controversy during the last more than a century. His Hāthigumpha 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.¹ 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 Sātakarnī, (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:

बारसे के ल तिसरे वितासमति उत्तरपरंपरानि...

¹ Bhagvanlal read the year 165 of the Maurya era in line 16. This was opposed by Fleet and Lüders. Jeyaswal and Banerji at first supported the reading of Bhagvanlal in JBOAS, Vol. XIII, pp. 425 ff. But later, in their article on the Hāthigumpha inscription, they have admitted that the record does not contain any date of the era. EI, Vol. XX, p. 74.
\textbf{Uttarāpatha} is evidently used here in the general sense of North India and not in that of the country north of Prithūdaka (Pehoā).\footnote{See \textit{Kāvyamānīsā} (G. O. S.), \textit{पूर्वप्रकाश स्वसंस्करण}, \textit{Kāvyamāṁsā,} p. 94. Prithūdaka is modern Pehoā.} Jayaswal's reading \textit{hathi Sugāṅgiyaṁ pāyayati} and its interpretation 'He drives his elephants into the Sugāṅgiya palace'\footnote{\textit{EI, Vol. XX, pp. 80 and 88 n.}} is fantastic, since \textit{pāyayati} cannot denote 'driving.' It is better to read \textit{hathasaṁ Gaṅgāya[m].} The reading \textit{Bahusatimita} 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 (\textit{Uttarāpatha}) and, causing panic among the people of Magadha, made his elephants and horses drink the water of the Gaṅgā, and caused Bahusatimita, the king of Magadha, to bow to his feet.

Who is this Bahusatimita, the king of Magadha? His name in Sanskrit is generally taken to be Bṛhaspatimitra. Jayaswal identified him with Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, on the ground that Bṛhaspati (Jupiter) is the regent of the \textit{naksatra} Pusya.\footnote{\textit{JBORS, Vol. III, p. 473.}} 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\footnote{\textit{EI, Vol. II, pp. 242 f.}} of Āshāḍhasena, who was his maternal uncle. His mother Gopālī was the daughter of the king Tevāṇiputra Bhaṅgavaṭa of Ahichchhatra (capital of North Pāṅchāla). Āshāḍhasena was a feudatory of Udāka in whose tenth regnal year the cave was excavated at Pābhosā. This Udāka is perhaps identical with king Odraka mentioned in the Purāṇas as the son of the Śuṅga.
APPENDIX I—THE DATE OF KHĀRAVELA

king Vasumitra, the grandson of Pushyamitra. Bṛhaspatimitra was himself ruling over the Vatsa country with his capital at Kauśāmbi. 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 Pāṭnā, which show that it had come under their rule after the death of Pushyamitra of the Śunga dynasty. Bṛhaspatimitra 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 Hāthigumpha inscription as the contemporary of Khāravela.

It seems that the Śungas 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 Śungas, the Kāṇvas and the Andhras (i.e. the Sātavāhanas) ruled successively at Pāṭaliputra has no basis. The centre of Śunga 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 to the court of Bhāgabhadrā not at Pāṭaliputra but at Vidiśā (Besnagar). The Kāṇvas, who succeeded the Śungas, seem to have made the same city of Vidiśā their capital. So we find that when the Andhra (i.e. Sātavāhana) king Satakarni invaded their kingdom, and apparently occupied their capital for some time, an inscription of his foreman was engraved on the gateway of a

1. DJRA, p. 31, n. 13.
2. ASR, 1912-13, pp. 84 ff. Inscriptions of the kings Indragnimitra and Brahmamitra have been found at Bodh Gayā. See ASR, 1907-08, pp. 40 and 225; and 1908-09, p. 147.
Stūpa at Sāñchī. 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 Ujjayinia became later in the time of Chandragupta II. So Samudragupta, who was probably staying there as Yuvarāja, erected a temple of Viṣṇu at Airikiṇa (Eraṅ, a few miles to north by east), which he calls sva-bhoga-nagara-Airikiṇa (Airikiṇa, a city in his own bhukti). Recently, some statues of Jaina Tirthaṅkaras have been discovered at Vidiśā, bearing inscriptions of the reign of Samudragupta’s son and successor Rāmagupta. Vidiśā was thus famous as a capital from the second century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. during the time of the Śūṅgas, the Kanvans, the Nāgas and the Early Guptas. Hence, it is not surprising that Kālidāsa describes it as ‘a capital famous in all quarters.’

When Khāravela invaded Magadha, he encountered there not a scion of the Śūṅga family but Bahasatimitra 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 Bṛhaspatimitra of Kauśāmbi seems to have raided and occupied Pāṭaliputra. The Hāthigumpha 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 Bṛhaspatimitra, 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 Hāthigumpha 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.
(II) Synchronism of Khāravela and Sātakarni

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

हुतिये च वसे अभित्यिता तातकान्ति पद्मिनिः ह्यमाननृरध-वहत्रेण दंडे धारणवति [1°] कन्द्रवेणणागताय च सेताय विलासिति असिक-नगरे [1°].

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

Jayaswal and Banerji read Musika-nagara and took Kaṇhāhambā to be the famous river Krishnā which rises in the Sātārā District and after flowing through Mahārāṣṭra, Karnāṭaka and Andhra joins the Bay of Bengal.1 Dhavalikar has tried to show that Musika-nagara is modern Maski, where Asoka’s minor edicts have been discovered.2 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, Rishika) is noticed in several passages of the Epics and in early inscriptions as shown below.3 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 Nāśik inscription of the same

1 IE, Vol. XX, p. 83.
3 JHPQ, Vol. XIV, p. 403, n. 25.
period, *viz.*, in that of Puḷumāvi in the description of the southern countries under the rule of Gautamiputra Sātakarnī.\(^1\) We showed more than forty years ago that Asika (Sanskrit, Rishika) is mentioned together with Asaka (Sanskrit, Aśmaka) in ancient literature and inscriptions.\(^2\) In the *Rāmāyaṇa* Ṛishika is coupled with Vidarbha and Māhishaka among the countries of the South which Sugriva asked the monkeys to visit in search of Sītā.\(^3\) In the *Mahābhārata* also, Ṛishika is grouped with Vidarbha and Western Anūpa.\(^4\) Elsewhere, the Epic couples Ṛishika with Aśmaka while mentioning the countries conquered by Karṇa.\(^5\) In the *Daśakumāra-charita* the ruler of Ṛishika is said to have been, like that of Aśmaka, a feudatory of the king of Vidarbha.\(^6\) 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 Nēmād 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 Kaṅhaberīṇā. This river cannot be identical with the Kṛishṇā rising in the Sātārā District; for it flows south, not west, of the country of Kālinga. Altekar, who supplied notes to the article of Jayaswal and Banerji on the Hāthigumpha 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

---

\(^1\) *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 60 ff.
\(^3\) *Rāmāyaṇa*, (Nirṛṣyayastāgara ed.), Kishkindāḥākoḍa, XII, 10.
\(^4\) *Mahābhārata* (Chitrāśālā Press ed.), Bīhārapurva, IX, 64 ; and Udyogaparvan, IV, 18-19.
possible that he went westward, because the term *pachhima-disari* is expressly mentioned. But it is uncertain as to where he reached the *Krishna*.\(^1\)

The difficulty in identifying the *Kanhabernā* flowing west of *Kalinga* is of these scholars’ own creation. We identify that river with the *Vainagā* (*Vēṇā*) after its confluence with the *Kanhar* (*Krishna*) in the *Bhāndārā* District of Vidarbha. It was evidently known as the *Krishna-Vēṇā* (*Kanha-bermā*) in ancient times. As it flows west of *Kalinga*, the description in the *Hāṭhigumpha* inscription suits it very well. When *Khāravela*’s army reached the *Vainagā*, it naturally caused panic in the hearts of the people of *Khāndesh* which borders *Vidarbhā* on the west.\(^2\)

Besides, the passage says that *Khāravelas* sent his army to the west, disregarding *Sātakarṇi*. *Vidarbhā* and *Khāndesh* were then included in the kingdom of the *Sātavāhanas* (to whose family *Sātakarṇi* belonged), but *Maski* near the bank of the *Krishna* 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 *Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi* as we have shown elsewhere.\(^3\)

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 *Khāravela* 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 *Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi*, *Vāsishthiputra Sātakarṇi*, *Chakora Sātakarṇi*, *Yajña Sātakarṇi* etc.

\(^1\) *Et*, Vol. XX, p. 83.


\(^3\) *Bull.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 205 ff.
Various views have been expressed about the identification of this Sātakarṇi who was a contemporary of Khāravēla. 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.\textsuperscript{1} It is known that they disappear from history in \textit{circa} A. D. 230.\textsuperscript{2} So they must have risen to power in \textit{circa} 230 B. C. \textit{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, \textit{i. e.} in \textit{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.\textsuperscript{3} In his Nāsik cave inscription Kṛishṇa, the brother and successor of Simuka, describes himself as ‘born in the Sātavāhana family.’\textsuperscript{4} 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.

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{DKA}, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{2} As we have shown elsewhere, a Brāhmaṇa family rose to power in \textit{circa} A. D. 230 in Vidarbha. Some other royal families founded kingdoms in other parts of the Deccan in A. D. 250.
\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Ef. VIII}, p. 93.
Simuka was the real founder of Sātavāhana power. The Nāgēghaṭ inscription describes him as an intrepid warrior who became the lord of Dakshiṇāpatha. The Purāṇas assign a period of twenty-three years to his reign. He was followed by Krishña, his brother, who succeeded him probably because his son Sātakarni 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, Sātakarni I may have come to the throne in (200 minus 41 =) 159 B.C. He was thus a senior contemporary of Khāravela.

This Sātakarni was a powerful king. He performed several sacrifices including two Aśvamedhas, which testify to his supremacy in the Deccan. He raided North India. That he was ruling in Vidarbha is shown by some of his coins discovered during excavations at Paunī in the Bhaṇḍāra District. This place is situated on the Vain-gangā (ancient Kañha-Bemā), and thus answers to the description in the Hāthigumpha inscription. Khāravela is said to have sent his large army westwards ‘disregarding Sātakarni’. This wording shows that the latter was a powerful contemporary. This description aptly befits Sātakarni I, who was the most powerful king of the time.

Khāravela’s army evidently did not score any victory in this campaign. Otherwise, it would have been mentioned explicitly in the Hāthigumpha 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 Asoka. The Sātavāhanas are known to have made matrimonial alliances with

---

1. See नैसर्गिक सूर्य अति लिङ्गनादिके दितिमापयितिन. in line 2 of the Nāgēghaṭ inscription of Nāgānaka ASW, Vol. V, pp. 60 f.
3. See the Nāgēghaṭ inscription of his queen Nāgānaka, Inscription No. 2.
them. Later, they disappear from history. The reference to them in the Hāthigumpha inscription lends colour to the date 150—135 approximately fixed for Khāravela.

(III) Synchronism of Khāravela and Demetrius

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

अठमे च वरसे महत्ता च सनाय णम् ्तोरसिंहिरि पतापवितरा राजगांह उपरसस्यित [1*] एतिह च कानपटने च सनवाहने कप्पु-चित्त मधुरं अयतो यवनराज [विसंि] ्ते [1*]

This passage states that in the eighth year of his reign, Khāravela sacked Goradhasa (Barābar Hills) and caused pressure on Rājagṛih. 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). 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 Gārgi-samhitā. 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 Euclatides. Pushyamitra is said to have taken advantage of the confusion caused by this foreign invasion to usurp power in

---

1 Mahāraṇi Trunakṣayī, who was probably the father of Queen Nāgānīkā, is mentioned in a label inscription in the Nāgāghāṭ cave. *ASWI*, Vol. V, p. 60; Inscription No. 7.
2 The name is now damaged, but mā 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 Khāravela?

It does not. The reference to Dimita in the Hāthigumphā 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.1 He may have been ruling somewhere near Mathurā. When he heard reports of Khāravela’s invasion of Rājagṛiha, 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 Khāravela. On the other hand, those who fix the date of Khāravela 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 Khāravela in the period 150—135 B.C. We have next to see if any other statement in the Hāthigumphā inscription conflicts with this date.

(IV) Reference to a Canal in the Hāthigumphā Inscription

Line 6 has the following passage:

पञ्चमेव दानि कसे निद्रामगनसत ोषानिति तनपूलियवाटा ।
यो शाप नगरेन प्रेक्षयति ॥ ॥

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

---

Shashi Kant, who has recently written on the Hāthigumphā 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.). If this interpretation is accepted, it will have no bearing on the date of Kharavela. 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. As he placed the rise of the Nandas in \( \text{circa} \) 345 B.C., he took this passage as supporting his view that Kharavela 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. 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. Alberuni also was told that there was an era current in India which commenced in 458 B.C. 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 Kharavela fixed before. Besides, the Jain tradition is said to be unanimous in placing the Nandas 60 years after Mahāvīra i.e., in \( \text{circa} \) 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 Kalinga, where their era may have

\[ \text{1 The Hāthigumphā Inscription of Kharavela} \text{ p. 34.} \]
\[ \text{2 PHAI,} \text{ (1950), p. 406.} \]
\[ \text{3 See e.g. the expression } \text{शक्त्वर्षकालपतिौसक्त्यनस्तिः } \text{ which occurs in several inscriptions of the Sillāhāras.} \]
\[ \text{4 See the Yedarave inscription of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, } \text{Jain, Gen., Vol. I, part ii (old ed.), p. 437.} \]
\[ \text{5 Sachau, Vol. II, pp. 4–7.} \]
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.¹ 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.² It is evidently a round number. If the Nandas rose to power in circa 364 B. C. as supposed by some scholars, and if Khāravela 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 Hāthigumpha 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 Khāravela.

¹ EB, Vol. VI, pp. 8 ff.
² The expression ti-vasa-sata is not to be interpreted quite literally; for the Canal was not brought into the Capital of Khāravela by way of the one-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 Nahapâna

The date of Nahapâna, who ruled over Northern Mahārāṣṭra, Koṅkaṇ, Gujjurāt, Mālvā 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 dated in the (Śaka) year 52, this date was challenged by some scholars who pointed out that if the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapâna 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 Nahapâna’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 Nahapâna 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 Māhārāṣṭra, Koṅkaṇ and Gujjurāt 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 Kshatrāpa 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 wrestling other

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.¹ 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.² 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 Kārshapānas and gold Suvarnas. 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 Spaliris 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 Vāsishṭhiputra Puṭumāvi and the Śaka Satrap Chashṭana respectively. We know that Chashtana was ruling in Śaka 52 (A. D. 130). If Nahapāna ruled in the period A. D. 55—105, Puṭumāvi, son of Gautamiputra Sātakarni, who exterminated Nahapāna, could well have been reigning in A. D. 140; for

² PIHC, XIII, p. 35 ff.
Gautamiputra is known to have reigned for at least 6 years after his victory over Nahapāna (in c. A. D. 105) and Pułumāvi 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 Sātakarnī 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 Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarnī, the son-in-law of Rudradāman), who ruled from A. D. 145 to A. D. 152. He may have been a son of Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarnī 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:—


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

(3) Kānākheḍā stone inscription of Śrīdharavarman (CII, IV, pp. 13 ff.) — Śaka-Nanda-putreṇa Mahādāṇḍanāyakena Śakena Śrīdharavarmanā ............ vaijayike saṅvatsare trayoḍasane Śrāvaṇa-bahulasya daśamipūrvvakam.
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 Gautamiputra Sātakarni (EI, VIII, pp. 71 ff.) (No. 11)—Line 6—Savachhare 10 (+•) 8, Vāsa-pakhe 2, divase 1.


(3) Mayidavolu plates of Śivaskandavarman (EI, VI, pp. 86 ff.) Lines 25 26—Saṁvachharam dasamaṁ 10 gimha-pakho chhaṭho 6, divasam pamchami 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—Saṁvatsaraye āṭhasatattamæ 20 (+•) 20(+•) 20(+•) 10(+•) 4(+•) 4.

(2) Panjatār stone inscription of a Kushāṇa King (CII, II, i. p. 70)—Line 1—Saṁ 1 (x) 100(+•) 20(+•) l(+•) 1 Śravaṇasa maṇasa di praḍhara 1.

(3) Mathurā stone inscription of Huvisha (EI, XXI, pp. 60 ff.)—Line 1—Saṁvatsare 20(+•) 8 Gurpāya divase 1.

OR

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

(1) Andhāu inscription of Chashtana and Rudradāman (EI, XVI, pp. 23 ff.), (No. 46)—Line 1—Rājno Chāṣṭhanasa Yāsīmotika-putrasa rājno Rudradāmasa Jayadāma-putrasa varshe dvi-pamchāse 50(+•)2 Phā-gunabahulasa dvitiya-vā 2.
(2) Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Rudradāman 1 (EI, VIII, pp. 42 ff.), (No. 51)—Line 4—Rudradāmno varshe dvisaptattitame 70(+*)2, Mārgaśīrṣha-bahula-pratipadi.

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

(A) Just in the beginning of the record without the royal name being combined with it. See the Nāśik 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, Kāṭika sudhe panarasah puvāka vase 40(+*)5.

(C) At the end of the record—See the Junnar Cave inscription of Nahapāṇa—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 dated 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 Nāśik cave inscription of Nahapāṇa is not a regnal year, but is the year of some era. That era can only be the so-called Saka 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 Saka era in Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarāt and Koṇkaṇ are signified by the use of the word varsha. Regnal dates, on the other hand, are denoted by saṃvatsara. See the dates of Gautamiputra and Puḷumāvi cited above.

1 Cf. “In fact the way in which the word varsha is used both in the dates of the Western Khātrapas and in the Saka dates universally so called, lends, in my opinion, to support the view of those scholars who have assigned the former to the Saka 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 310, which are furnished by the inscriptions and coins of the Western Khātrapas.” Kielhorn in IA. XXV, p. 153.
APPENDIX II—THE DATE OF NAHAPĀNA

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 Hyderabad State, must have also done the same. As we have shown elsewhere,1 some members of the Kshaharāta family escaped to the south after Gautamiputra’s conquest of Northern Mahārāṣṭra 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 Hyderabad State and the adjoining Kannada 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 Bādami, 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 Chāshṭana and Rudradāman.

1 Mierishi, Studies in Indology, II, pp. 95 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, Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi ruled thereafter for at least six years i.e. till A. D. 130 at least. Puḷumāvi 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, Surāṣṭra, Anūpa and Ākarāvantī 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 Puḷumāvi (which must be later than 149 A. D. at least) that these countries were included in the dominion of Puḷumāvi. 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 Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puḷumāvi 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 Puḷumāvi 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 Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi."

These are indeed weighty objections, but they are not unanswerable. In the first place, it is not correct to say that Puḷumāvi 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 Puḷumāvi at Paṭṭhan. We know from the inscription of Bala-siri that her son Gautamiputra had conquered Surāṣṭra, 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 Gautamiputra 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 Vāsisṭhiputra Śātakarni. So Rudradāman contented himself with only wresting some territory from Puḷumāvi, but did not exterminate him as Gautamiputra had done in the case of Nahapāna.

Still, the question remains, ‘How is it that Rudradāman is said to have twice defeated a Śātakarni, who was the lord of Dakshināpatha, but refrained from destroying him completely as he was a not distant relative of his? It could not be his own son-in-law Vāsisṭhiputra Śātakarni; 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 Śātakarni. Śātakarni had become a family name in that age. We have several names of Śatavāhana rulers ending in Śātakarni such as Mṛigendra Śātakarni, Kuntala Śātakarni, Sundara Śātakarni, Chakora Śātakarni, Gautamiputra Śātakarni, Vāsisṭhiputra Śātakarni, Yajña Śātakarni, Chanda (or Chaṇḍa) Śātakarni, Karṇa Śātakarni, Kauśikiputra Śātakarni etc. So to outsiders the family must have become known as Śātakarni. Hence, it should not be a matter for surprise that in the Junāgaḍh inscription Puḷumāvi is referred to as Śātakarni.

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 Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarrāt, Koṅkan 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, Mahārāṣṭra etc. by one of the Kadphises kings, probably by Kujula 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,¹ and though he later gave it up, it was adopted by D. R. Bhandarkar.² 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, Kāthiāwād and Mālwā 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 Kshatrapa or

¹ BMIR, GAZ. XIV, p. 617.
² 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. Nahapâna’s family was totally exterminated by Gautamiputra Sâtakarni as explicitly stated in inscription No. 18. There is no evidence to suppose that Chashtana 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, he could not have been the founder of it.

**The Third View — Chashtana was the Founder**

This view was first advocated by Cunningham. He placed Nahapâna in *circa* 50 B.C. Gautamiputra Sâtakarni exterminated not him but one of his descendants. That Sâtakarni and Chashtana were contemporaries. Hence, Chashtana seems to have started the Śaka era in A.D. 78.

This view also is untenable. It is now agreed that Gautamiputra Sâtakarni overthrew Nahapâna himself, not one of his successors. So Cunningham’s view is inadmissible.

Later on, Jouveau Dubreuil vigorously supported this view. According to him, Nahapâna 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 Chashtana’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 Chashtana.

This argument also is unconvincing. Chashtana was only a *Kshatrapa* 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

---

1 See Appendix 11.
3 *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 26 ff.
Kṣatrapa Nāhapāña has used the same era in his records. Chāshṭana 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 grounds¹:

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

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

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

(4) Chāshṭana recovered his territory previously conquered by Gautamiputra Sātakarpī. 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 Chāshṭana. 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 Saṁvat 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 Saṁvat is noticed first in the Junāgaḍh inscription dated in its 137th year.² The name of the Ābhīra Saṁvat commencing in A. D. 250 has not been noticed in any epigraph so far.³ After the lapse of several centuries it came to be known as the Kalachuri Saṁvat because it was used by the Kalachuris, and as Chedi Saṁvat, because it was current in the Chedi country. Similarly, the era of A. D. 78 got the name of the Śaka Saṁvat

¹ See his article in the Sambodhi.
² CH, III (first ed.), p. 60.
³ ibid., IV, pp. 447 and 519.
because it had long been used by the Śaka Kshatrapas of Mālwa and Kāthiāwād.

(2) Chashṭana 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.¹ 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.

Chashṭana 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.² 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 Mālwa and Kāthiāwād, 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 Chashṭana did so.

(4) Early inscriptions of Chashṭana dated in the years 6 and 11 have indeed been found recently. But they only show that he was ruling over Kachchha and Kāthiāwād 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 Mahārāṣṭra. There is no evidence that Nahapāṇa who was ruling there was subordinate to Chashṭana.

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

¹See Dhanadeva’s inscription, EI., XX, pp. 57 ff.
²Brown, 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 forward by Fergusson. He tried to prove it on the evidence of the coins of Kanishka found mixed with those of some Roman Emperors in the Māṇikīyāla Stūpa. Oldenberg supported the view by reading Śaka on some coins of Kanishka. Though Cunningham showed that the reading was incorrect, 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 Mālwā and Kāṭhiāwād for a long time.

Kanishka’s empire extended over a large territory. That it comprised Panjāb, Uttar Pradesh, Bihār and Madhya Pradesh is well known. From recent researches, it appears to have extended also to Vīdarbha and South Kosala (Chhattisgarh). 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 Vīdarbha. He must likewise have been a Governor of the Kushāpas. 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 Mālwā and Kāṭhiāwād for several centuries.

Kanishka is thus the real founder of the Śaka Saṁvat.

---

1 *JRAS* (New S.), XII, pp. 264 ff.
4 His inscriptions have been found in these provinces.
5 *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 1-5.
6 See Inscription No. 62.
APPENDIX IV

The Queen’s Cave at Nāsik

Cave III at Nāsik is known as ‘Gautamiputra Cave’ as it was excavated by that Sātavāhana king for Buddhist monks; but its real name which was current in ancient times was the Devi-leṇa, ‘the Queen’s Cave’, as it had been excavated by that king in the name of his mother Gautami Bala-śri. This name occurs in Inscription No. 19, line 3, in that Cave.

As many as five inscriptions—two of Gautamiputra and three of his son and successor Pujumāvi—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)¹:

“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 toraṇa 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 pipal 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

¹ BG. (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 women’s left hand in his. In the second panel the same man and women stand with their arms round each other’s necks. In the third panel is a women 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 women’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 Hinayana 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, Gautamiputra Sātakarni and Pujumāvi.

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 Kauśāṃbi 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 Rāvana. A coping fragment from Amarāvatī 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 Śīva-Svāti enjoying the company of the Rāja-lakṣmī. 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-lakṣmī. 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-lakṣmī 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 Puḷumāvi. As he was the heir apparent, Rāja-lakṣmī 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 Rudradaman trying to abduct Raja-lakshmi. We have shown elsewhere how after the death of Gautamiputra, Rudradaman (and Chashana) wrested some northern provinces from the Satavahanas. The topmost panel on this side shows Pulumavi rescuing Raja-lakshmi from the clutches of the enemy.

We have shown elsewhere that the excavation of Cave No. III commenced during the time of Gautamiputra, but it was not finished even till the 19th regnal year of Pulumavi. 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 Satavahana rulers, viz., Siva-Svasti, Gautamiputra and Pulumavi. These panels are thus of great historical importance.
CHAPTER II

Administration

The country normally under the rule of the Sātavāhanas was known as Dakshināpatha which comprised the territory south of the Narmadā, while that under the Western Kshatrapas comprised Saurāshṭra, Mālvā and Gujarāt. Yaśodhara, the commentator of the Kāmasūtra, defines Dakshināpatha as 'the country south of the Narmadā',\(^1\) while Rājasekharasays that it lay beyond Māhishmati, modern Maheśvar, and comprised the countries of Mahārāṣṭra, Māhishaka, Vidarbha, Kuntala, Koṅkaṇa, Kāṇchi, Kerala, Chola, Pāṇḍya, Pallava etc.\(^2\) The title of the Dakshināpatha-pati which the early Sātavāhana king Simuka assumed was not in this comprehensive sense of Dakshināpatha.\(^3\) His dominion included only the countries of Mahārāṣṭra (including Vidarbha), Koṅkaṇa and Māhishaka. The ancient names of the countries under the rule of the Western Kshatrapas were as follows—Kachchha, Surāśṭra (Kāṭhiāwād), Lāṭa (South Gujarāt), Ānarta (North Gujarāt), Ākarāvanti (Eastern and Western Mālvā), 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.

---

\(^1\) Yaśodhara commentary on the Kāmasūtra.
\(^2\) Kāśyapamīnda (G. O. S.), p. 33.
\(^3\) Inser. 2, line 2.
It is of the king Ādityarāja of the Munḍa family. Then follow those of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman found at Mayidavolū and Hirahāḍagallī. 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 rāṣṭras, but this term is not noticed in the records edited here. The Hirahāḍagallī plates of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman, which are of a slightly later age, mention Sātāhani-raṭṭha¹ (Sātavāhana-rāṣṭra) which name was evidently applied to it after the Sātavāhanas settled there for some time. The head of a rāṣṭra was known as Rāṣṭrika, (Prakrit, Raṭhika).² If the rāṣṭra division was of a large size, the head of it was known as Mahāraṭhi. In the Sātavāhana age the Mahāraṭhis and Mahābhōjas were great feudatories or jamindars. They could issue coins in their own names. Coins of the Mahāraṭhi Sadakaṇa Kaḷalāya of Karṇāṭaka have been found.³ From inscriptions of the Sātavāhana age, we find that the feudatories in the Ṭhāne and Kolābā districts were known as Mahābhōjas, while those in the Poonā district were designated Mahāraṭhis.

The next sub-division was āhara. Some āhāras of the time are mentioned in Sātavāhana inscriptions. See, e. g., the Sātavāhanihāra.⁴ The Māmalāhāra⁵ comprised the territory now known as Māvaḷa. The Šopārakāhāra was the name of the region round modern Sopārā in North Koṅkan. The Kāpurāhāra which roughly comprised the territory of the Surat District was in Gujarāṭ. 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

---
¹ EI, I, pp. 5 ff.
² Inscr. 64, line 34.
³ BMC (Andhras), p. 57. Coins of a Mahāraṭhi of the Kuru family have been found near Kolhāpur. See the Chapter on Coins.
⁴ Inscr. 34, line 2.
⁵ Inscr. 22, line 2.
inscription of Rudradāman, but it is used there for the sake of alliteration.¹ 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., Pratishṭānapathaka. Some kings founded new cities and named them after themselves. See e.g., Vijayapuri founded by Vijaya Sātakarni, now known as Nāgārjunakond.² It was his capital. The Ikshvākus, who succeeded the Sātavāhanas, also ruled from the same place. Navanagara,³ which was probably founded by Puḷumāvi, has not yet been identified. Vaijayanti (modern Vanavasi) was the capital of the Chutukulānanda Sātakarnis in Karnāṭaka. The Sātavāhanas ruled from Pratishṭāna (modern Paithan) for a long time. Their earlier capital was probably at Junnar,⁴ but its ancient name is not known. Several other cities such as Girinagara (modern Junagadh) near Mount Girnār, Ujjayini and Śūrpāraka find mention in our records. Bharukachchha (Broach), Kaliyāna (Kalyān) 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 (*āhara*) 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*, *padraka* 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 Ajakālākiya which derived its name

¹See 'सम्प्रभाणोऽसंभामलायः (ब्राह्मणविवर्धयायः) कामविवर्धयायः (विद्यायः) पत्थर' Inscr. No. 51.
²An inscription of Vijaya Sātakarni has been found at Nāgārjunakond, See Inscr. No. 32.
³Inscr. 19, line 14.
⁴Perhaps Junnar means an old city (jirna-nagara). It may have received this name after Puḷumāvi founded a new city (nava-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 Uttambhadras 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 Karkoṭanagara in the Jaipur State. When they attacked the Uttambhadras 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.¹

No such republican tribes were ruling in Mahārāśtra and Central India. There the monarchical system was in vogue. From such names of rulers as Gautamiputra and Vāsishṭhiputra 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,²

¹ Inscr. 51, line 12.
² Inscr. 17, line 2.
and Vāraḥi-putra of a Brāhmaṇa, 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 Mrīchehakaṭika, 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:

शस्त्र सुभाषितिनिघरोणं धर्मं यथोपध्ययते।

Two such occasions arose in that age. When after the death of Aśoka chaos and confusion were rampant in Mahārāṣṭra 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 Munda changed his sacrificial ladle for the sword and established peaceful condition in Vidarbha. He then assumed the significant name of Rāṣṭra-mahārāja as he had come forward for the rescue of the country (rāṣṭra).

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 Mahākṣatrapa 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.

\[\text{Inscr. 43, line 4.}\]
THE SÂTAVÂHANAS AND THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS

The custom prevalent in Mahârâshâtra was of a different type. When Gautamiputra Sâtakarnî died, he had four sons Puḷumâvi, Skanda Sâtakarnî, Vijaya Sâtakarnî and Sâtakarnî. As all of them are called Vâsishthiputras, they were uterine brothers. Puḷumâvi, 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 Sâtakarnî, as appears evident from their coins. Skanda ruled over Western Mahârâshâtra and Sâtakarnî over Andhra. Later, after the death of Skanda and his successor Vijaya, the two parts of the Sâtavâhana kingdom were again united under Sâtakarnî.

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 Sâtavâhana and Western Kshatrapas have been found, our knowledge about these ministers and officers is very meagre.

The Junâgadh inscription of Rûdrâdâman divides these dignitaries into two classes—(1) matisachivas\(^1\) 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 Mahâmâtras in the time of Aśoka. The designation seems to have survived up to the beginning of the Sâtavâhana age; for the term is found used in the earliest inscription of the time.\(^2\) Later, this designation fell into disuse. The officer often noticed in Sâtavâhana inscriptions is the Amâtya. The Amâtayas were placed in charge of the different districts. Those who were included in the king’s ministry were known as Râj-âmâtayas. Besides

\(^1\) Inscr. 51, line 17.
\(^2\) Inscr. 1, line 2.
them, the following are noticed in our inscriptions: Senāpati or the Army Commander, Rajjuka\(^1\) or the Revenue Officer, Bhāṇḍāgārika\(^2\) or the Treasurer, Paniyagharika\(^3\) or the Superintendent of Water Works, Kārmāntika\(^4\) or the Superintendent of Public Works, and Āveśanika\(^5\) or the foreman.

**Titles of Kings**

Grandiloquent titles of kings had not some into vogue in the Sātavāhana times. The ruler of an extensive kingdom like Gautamiputra Sātakaṛi bears only the simple title of Rājan. Only in one place he is referred to as Rājarāja. Mahārāja is rarely used. Simuka and Pulumāvi are called Dakshiṇāpathapati and Dakshiṇāpathēśvara respectively. The pompous titles of later ages like Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara 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.\(^6\) 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 Vākāṭakas. 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

---

\(^{1}\) Inscr. 35, line 1.
\(^{2}\) Inscr. 10, lines 2-3.
\(^{3}\) Inscr. 24, line 1.
\(^{4}\) Inscr. 37, line 2.
\(^{5}\) Inscr. 2, line 2.
\(^{6}\) 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 Kumārāmātya. 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 Bhaja—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.¹

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.

Vinīyuktaka—He denoted a royal servant who was entrusted with any task.

Kāśṭhika—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 Pallavas² and the feudatories of the Ābhīras 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 Thā̀lner plates of Bhāṇushena.

¹ In some records अमर्कुटका ग्रामस्थ: is added to चत्वारकम्याकाश्वीचिवः.
² Cf., IV, pp. 5 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 nigaṇa had a wider significance. Āpastamba says that the king should appoint honest, righteous and venerable men for the administration of the towns and villages. Their servants should also be like them. All donations had to be announced in the Nigama-sabhā and then they were registered in the local registration office. Their copies were then made over to the donees. The chief Buddhist monk who received them is called Mahāśāvāmika in a Nāṣik cave inscription.

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 Grāmaṇī. He was like the modern Police-Pāṭil. He is mentioned in some gāthās of the Gāthā-saptakātī. His son Grāmaṇī putra exercised considerable influence on the villagers as suggested in some gāthās. The kutumbins referred to in some gāthās are evidently the Kūṇabis or farmers of modern times. The grihapati 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 Mahārāṣṭra, 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
inscriptions edited here, viz., the Nāsik Cave inscription of Puḷumāvi (No. 18) and the Junāgadh 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. 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 *chāṭurvārṇya* 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*. 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 Gautamiputra Satakarni is called *eka-Bamhaṇa, i.e. 'a peerless Brāhmaṇa.' But his son Vāsishṭhiputra Satakarni married, during his (Gautamiputra's) life-time, evidently with his approval, a Śaka princess who was the daughter of *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudradāman. She afterwards became his *Mahā-devi* 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 Gautamiputra Satakarni was not lacking in the performance of this duty.

---

1. See शेषमुद्राम् मस्य वियवे रामेष्वरे वा नम्तराय न विवैः | *A.S., II, 10, 25, 15.*
2. *Inscr., 18, line 6.*
3. *Inscr., No. 25, line 2.*
4. *Inscr., No. 18, line 5.*
Some other duties mentioned in the inscriptions are to construct public works of utility such as tanks and wells,¹ 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.²

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 (dharmāśālās) for travellers at Bharukachchha (Broach), Daśapura (Mandasor), and Šorparā (Sopārā).³ 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, Tāpi, Karabēṇa and Dahāṇukā. 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.⁴ 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 confiscation of the offender’s property. Prāyaścittas are prescribed for a number of crimes.

---

¹ Insir. No. 11, line 5.
² Insir. No. 18, line 5, and No. 51, line 9.
³ Insir. 43, line 2.
⁴ See न च सत्येण्यं दशय सुमार्गविध्यं। A.D.S. II, 5, 11, 2.
The Sanskrit play *Mrichahhakatika* has in the ninth Act the scene of the trial of Chārūdatta for the alleged murder of Vasantasena 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 millennia. 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.¹ 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.

---

¹ *केवल जीलोग्योत्मकानां विभिन्न जीलोग्याः संज्ञानः स भाच्छ तदनन्तः॥ अनविलः कीमाः जीलोग्याः दशताहनम्॥* *A.D.S., 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 Mālwā and Kāṭhiāwāḍ. Though this is not explicitly stated anywhere, it can be easily inferred from their personal names such as Rudradāman, Rudrasirmha, and Rudrasena. Besides, they regarded cows and Brāhmaṇas as venerable.1 But with the exceptions of the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā and the Nāsik cave inscriptions of Rishabhadatta, 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 Nāṇeghāṭ inscription records that Nāganikā, either jointly with her husband Sātakarnī I, or herself alone after his death, performed several Vedic sacrifices. If we take into consideration, the daśāvīṇīs that were given to the officiating priests, we can form some idea

---

1 See the following extract from the Junāgadh inscr. of Rudradāman I (Inscr. 51, line 15)—’कर्पकृष्णयो मोहिन्द्राणसम्मयः’...
of the state of the Hindu religion in that age. Some of them may be mentioned here. In the sacrifice of Bhagaladasarātra as many as ten thousand and one cows, and in the Chhandomapavamāna sacrifice one thousand and one cows were given away by way of dakṣiṇā. Sātakarṇi performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice twice. At the second Aśvamedha, he gave the dakṣiṇā of one horse with silver ornaments, 14000 kārshāpaṇas, one village and a number of elephants.¹ Several such sacrifices and the dakṣiṇās given on those occasions were mentioned in the Nāṅeghāṭ 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—Agniḍhaya, Anvārambhāṇiya, Anāgārika, two Aśvamedhas, Bhagaladasarātra, Gargatrirātra, Gavāmayana, Anāgirasāmayana, Śatātirātra, Anāgirasātirātra, Chhand omapavamānatrirātra 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.

Purānic Hinduism

Besides this Vedic religion, Purānic Hinduism also was flourishing in that age, though its vestiges are not noticeable now. In a Nāṅik cave inscription Rishabhadatta mentions his gift of 70000 kārshāpaṇas to revered gods and Brāhmaṇas.² The gift to Brāhmaṇas must, of course, have been in the form of dakṣiṇā. But how was the gift to gods utilised? It must have been made over to the trustees

¹ Inscr. No. 3, line 11.
² See the reference to the donations to gods and Brāhmaṇas in Inscr. 43, line 1—‘देवताम्: ब्राह्मण्यमश्च बोइप्रायम्ये।’
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.¹ This is stated in an inscription on the pillar. Another inscription at Ghosūṇḍi (in the Chitoḍ District) mentions a temple of Saṅkarshaṇa (Balarāma) and Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa) which dates back to the second century B. C.² That these gods were worshipped in that age is also evident from the opening obeisance to them in the Nāṅeghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā.

The performance of Vedic sacrifices and the worship of Purānic gods prevailed not only in the beginning of the Sātavāhana age, but throughout that period. In this respect the evidence of the recently discovered Mahārā plate is quite clear. As shown elsewhere,³ 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 Munḍa — 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, Rāṣṭra-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

¹ IBBRAS, XXIII, pp. 104 ff.
² EL, XVI, p. 27.
³ 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 Namah Purushottamāya (Obeisance to Purushottama or Vishṇu). So that family was a devotee of Vishṇu. The path of devotion had come into vogue long before. The aforementioned Heliodorus, who erected a stone pillar at Vidiśā calls himself Bhagavata or a devout worshipper of Bhagavat (Vishṇu). As we have shown elsewhere, the Mahābhārata attained its present form as a work containing a lakh of verses (sata-sahāsrī 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 Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi is said to have resembled Rāma, Keśava (Krishṇa), Arjuna and Bhīmasena in valour, and Nābhāga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Paraśurāma and Ambarisha in spirited nature. All these are well-known heroes of Hindu mythology. Common people of that age were well acquainted with their character and achievements.

Purānic Hinduism preaches not only vrataś 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

---

1 LHSI, pp. 3 ff.
2 Inscr. No. 18, line 8.
performance of initiatory rites, vows and sacrifices. Another old Sātavāhana queen of the same type—Gautami Bala-śri—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. One of the ways for acquiring religious merit was to visit a holy place, to bathe there and to make gifts. So Rishabhadatta 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. Rishabhadatta is said to have done all these.

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{प्रतिप्रहादिग्लकर्ष्यं यस्य} \\
\text{नित्यप्रतिर्रथायि हि दीर्घकालः} \\
\text{यस्मे स्वार्च्चितसुन्तुचितमुक्ता} \\
\text{पवात्त्वारा विदिवादश्च}.
\end{align*}
\]

\footnotesize\text{1 Inscr. No. 3, line 5.} \footnotesize\text{2 Inscr. No. 18, line 9.} \footnotesize\text{3 Inscr. No. 43, lines 1-3.} \footnotesize\text{4 Inscr. No. 64, lines 14-17.}
(The Brāhmaṇa Munḍa 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 Raghuvamśa 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 Mahārāṣṭra plates is, of course, a figurative description. What is implied thereby is that though that Brāhmaṇa Munḍa 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. Mahārāṣṭra is not mentioned in the sacred works of Buddhism. The ancient Pāli canon mentions only the following sixteen janapadas (countries)—Aṅga, Magadha, Kāśi, Kosala, Vṛjīṇī, Malla, Chedi, Vatsa, Kuru, Pāñchāla, Mātṛya, Śūrasena, Aśmaka, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kāmboja. All these except Aśmaka are countries of North India. Aśmaka was situated on the bank of the Godāvari 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. 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

---

1 Canto V, verse 29.
2 See Aṅguttara-nikāya (Pāli Text Society), IV, pp. 252 ff.
3 Bhandarkar, Carm. Lect. 1918, pp. 53 ff.
in Magadha, Prasenajit in Kosala, Udayana in Vatsa, and Čanda-Mahāsena in Avanti. They sometimes were friendly and even formed matrimonial alliances and sometimes fought with one another.

Buddhism was introduced into Mahārāṣṭra in the time of Aśoka. The Buddhist historical works Dipavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa were written in Śrī-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 Majjhātika was sent to Kāšmir and Gandhāra, Mahārakkhita to the Yavana country, Majjhima to the Himālayan country, Dharmarakshita to Aparānta (North Koṅkaṇ), Mahādhamarakshita to Mahārāṣṭra, Mahādeva to Mahiṣa-manḍala (Southern part of the former Hyderabad State), Rakshita to Vanavāsi (North Kannada District), Śoṇa and Uttara to Suvarṇabhūmi (Brahmadesa), and Mahendra and his associates to Śrī-Laṅkā. This Buddhist Council was held in the seventeenth year of Aśoka’s reign. So Buddhism seems to have been introduced into Mahārāṣṭra 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), Antekina (Antigonus), Maga (Magas), and Alikasundara (Alexander) — and also Chola, Pāṇḍya, Yavana, Kamboja, NābhaKa, Nābhapankti, Bhoja, Petenika, Andhra, Pulinda — all these are imitating the religious preaching of the Beloved of the Gods.1” Of these the Bhojas are the people of Vidarbha and the Petenikas are those of the region round Pratisṭhāna (modern Paithan). Aparānta (North Koṅkaṇ) is also mentioned in the list. The date of this edict is the twelfth or the thirteenth

1 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 Mahārāṣṭra.

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. 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 Dharmamaḥāmātra of the king. It shows how the doctrine of ahimsā (non-slaughter) was preached in Mahārāṣṭra and other countries during the reign of Aśoka.

How Mahādharmanarakaśhita preached Buddhism in Mahārāṣṭra is described in the following gāthās:—

हरसृढ़्र इसी गत्वा सो महाधर्मरक्षितो
महानारदकस्सपाथं जातकं कथयो तत्त्वं
मन्तरति पापुरिष्मु हनुरासीति सहस्सकि
तेरसि तु सहस्सकि पत्त्वर्धूस तद्यन्ति

[That Sage Mahādharmanarakaśhita went to Mahārāṣṭra 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 Mahādharmanarakaśhita
used that story for propagating Buddhism in Mahārāṣṭra. That Mahānāradakassapa Jātaka is numbered 544 in the Jātaka collection of the Buddhist Tipitaka. The story runs as follows:—

In ancient times a king, Āṅgati by name, ruled in Mithilā, the capital of Videha. He had a very beautiful and religious-minded daughter named Raṅjā. 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 Mahākalpas. 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 Raṅjā 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 Mahāvarāinsa has any basis, Mahādharmarākṣīta 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 Nāradakassapa-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 Mahārāṣṭra 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 Mahārāṣṭra. 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 Mahārāṣṭra. They number nearly a thousand in Mahārāṣṭra. 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-kuṭī, 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. Rishabhadatta and his wife Dakshamitrā got excavated a cave near Nāsik and made it over to the Buddhist monks. Gautamīputra Sātakarni, Pujumāvi, Yajña Sātakarni and some other Sātavāhana kings also got caves excavated and donated them to the monks at Nāsik, Kānheri, Kārle and other places. So did also their feudatories and Zamin-dārs who were known as Mahābhhojas and Mahāraṭhis. For instance, we find mention of Mahābhhoja Skandapālita, son of Mahābhhoji Vijayā, in an inscription at Kuḍā,1 of Kumāra Kāṇabhhoja in that at Mahād,2 of Mahāraṭhi Kaušikiputra in another at Bhājā,3 of Mahābhhoja-bālikā, Mahādevi and Mahāraṭhini Sāmaḍinikā in

1 ICTWI, p. 4.
2 ASWZ, IV, p. 88.
3 Ibid., p. 83.
an epigraph at Bedsā and of Agimitanika 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 Ajañṭā Cave XXVI in this connection:

यावेणकौतिल्यं तावस्त्वर्गगृहं मोक्षे देहि ।
चन्द्राकेकालकल्पा काम निर्महाङ्गां ॥

(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 Bhañḍārā District of Vidarbha. Two stūpas were disclosed in the excavations made there by the Nāgpur University and the Central Archaeological Department. One of them was embossed 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, Pravrājikās or nuns, Brāhmaṇas, Brāhmaṇis, Yavanas, Śakas, their women, gardeners, goldsmiths, ironsmiths, bamboo-workers, workers in bell metal, grihapatīs (house-holders), sārthavāhas (caravan-leaders) hālikas (farmers), their women, Śreshṭhins (money-lenders), perfumers etc.

1 ICTWI, p. 28.
2 See the inscr. in Ajañṭā Cave XXVI, ASIWI, IV, pp. 13-64.
3 Pauni Excavations, pp. 29 ff.
As the hills in Mahārāṣṭra 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:

We learn from it that the Chaitya cave regarded as the best in the Jambu-dvīpa (Bhārata) was got excavated by the Śrēṣṭhin Bhūtapāla of Vaijayanti (Vanavāsi in North Kannada District). This place was the capital of a branch of the Sātavāhana family. When the Śrēṣṭhin 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 Mahārāṣṭra—Karhāda (Karāhāta), Dhenukāka, Śūrparaka (Sopārā), Kaliṇa (Kalyāṇa), Chemula (Chaul), Vasya (Vasai), Sthānaka (Ṭhāne) etc.

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-vaśahārika, Lokottaravāḍa, Aparasailika and Pūrvaśailika. This Mahāsaṅghika Nikāya, which originated in Vaiśāli, first spread in the eastern parts of the country and

---

1 ICTWI, p. 28.
2 Ibid, pp. 28, ff.
then came to South India. Dhānyakaṭaka (modern Dharaṇikōta was the principal centre of the Mahāsaṅghika school. 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 Baudha nikāya, came into being about a century after the Mahāsaṅghika. It had two principal branches, viz., Sarvāstivāda and Haimavata (or Mūlāsthaviravāda). The Sarvāstivāda school spread in North India from Mathurā to Nagarāhāra in the Panjāb, and from Taxilā to Kāshmir. The Bhadāyaniya (or Bhadāvaniya) branch of the Sarvāstivāda school was prominent at Pauni in Vidarbha. Later, it spread to Nāsik and Kānheri. 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 Mahārāṣṭra such as the following:—Dharmottariya at Sopārā, Junnar and Kārle, Saunara, Kārle, Sauvarshaka or Kāśyapīya at Kārle, and Chaityaka and Aparājīta at Junnar.

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.

---

1 2000 Years of Buddhism, pp. 112 ff.
3 From there they repaired to Western Mahārāṣṭra.
4 Inscr. No. 18, line 1.
5 Inscr. No. 28, lines 1-2.
6 ICTWI, p. 32.
7 Inscr. No. 20, line 2.
8 ASI, IV, p. 95.
9 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 Mahāsvā- mika. 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. 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 gilāṇa-bheshaja or medicine for the sick.²

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 ṛtvīnaśā.

The Buddhist monks moved from place to place for preaching the tenets of Buddhism in winter and summer, and spent the rainy season (vasso) 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 Vaiśāli to make this rule less rigid; but it did not

¹ See Appendix VI, Kuśināmula is wrongly inscribed here instead of Kuśalemūla.
² CHI, 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 Kārle records the gift of two sculptures of elephants made by a monk named Āchārya Indradeva. Another states that a monk named Bhadrasena had got a mithuna (couple) carved at his own expense. At Kuḍā Pari-vrājikā (nun) Padminikā is said to have got excavated at her own expense a whole cave together with a water cistern near by. 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 Kuḍā, 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

---

1 ICTWI, p. 29.
2 Ibid. p. 35.
3 ASWI, IV, p. 95.
4 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 Indrāgīrāditattā,1 son of the Yavana Dhammadēva. Yavana means an Ionian Greek. A Kārle epigraph mentions a gift of two Yavanas, Sihadhaya and Dhamma.2 An inscription in Nāsik cave X states that a Śaka woman named Vishnudattā had made a permanent endowment for the supply of medicines to sick mendicants.3 Rishabhadatta and his wife Dakshamitrā donated cells in a cave at Nāsik. Rishabhadatta 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.4 An inscription at Kārle records the gift of a vihāra cave by Haraparāṇa, son of Setaparāṇa of Abulāmā.5 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 Kṛṣṇa 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 Sātakarni to the Buddhist monks at Nāsik. An inscription in Cave No. 13 at Kuḍā records the gift of a Chaitiya cave by the Brāhmaṇa wife named Bhāyilā of a Brāhmaṇa upāsaka Ayitilu.6 The Buddhists were not jealous of gifts made to the followers of the Hindu religion. Hence they apparently did not object to the recording

---

1 ASW7, IV, p. 115.
2 ICTW1, p. 31.
3 CH, IV, p. 3.
4 Inscr. No. 38, lines 1-3.
5 Inscr. No. 20, p. 2.
6 ASW7, 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 disputation, 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. ¹ 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 abhyantarasaiddhikam or abhyantara-siddhyā which occurs in later grants.² 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-dāyda-dāśāparādham, which is used in some later records.

Some scholars have alleged that these donations of villages led to feudalism in the country.³ 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

¹ Inscr. 19, line 3.
² CII, IV, p. 154 n.
³ See C. J. K. Satyanarayana’s A Study in the History and Culture of the Andhras, pp. 257 ff.
Yakshas and Yakshinīs, with their names incised near by. Such images are not noticed on the railing of the Stūpa excavated at Pauni. 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. It was named after the yaksha Ajkālaka (also called Ajakālāpaka). A village in the same locality was known as Sudisanā (Sudarśanā). It was evidently named after the Yakshinī 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 Mahārāṣṭra 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. 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.

---

1 CH, II, ii, pp. 74 and 80.
2 Inschr. No. 11, line 2.
3 Inschr. No. 18, line 2.
4 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-dharmaśūtra. 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 Charaṇavyūha1 states that this branch still exists in the Andhra and other countries on the banks of the Godāvari 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 Mahārāṣṭra and also in the Karnāṭaka, Tamil Nādu, 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 Aṣṭādhhyāyī of Pāṇini no doubt

1 See the following (slightly incorrect) extract from the Charaṇavyūha—

अन्तरिक्षितम्यः आम्हतानागरस्याधिकारिः। कसम्बरेतानागरीयम् आपस्तम्भः प्रविष्टिताः।

शरणापूर्व-भाष्यामयं (१९२४), पृ. ३२३। SBE II, p. xxx.
states in a sūtra the derivation of the word dākṣiṇātya (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.¹ Winternitz also agrees with him.² 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-Saptasati and the Mṛichchhakāṇḍa 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 Ugra³ and Chāṇḍāla.⁴ Later Smṛritis 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 dharmasūtra⁵

¹ SBE. II. p. xiüa.
² HIL., III. p. 339.
³ A.D.S., I. 2, 7, 20.
⁴ Ibid. II. 4, 9, 8.
⁵ बृपालापुराणं जाति उप उपकर्मा वा प्रिषाति। हरादत्त, आ. ध. मृ. 1, 2, 1, 20.
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.¹ These restrictions did not, however, apply to times of adversity. Ordinarily a Brāhmaṇa was not to handle a weapon even for examining it;² 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.³ 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

¹ *A.D.S.* I, 3, 18, 21-23.
² परेकार्यांतः भाद्रां जयतु नात्देव। *A.D.S.* I, 10, 29, 6.
³ शनि दिवानिमंबिनिधारू मध्ये यज्ञसंवृत्त मठिन्निं च वर्गांचिं संप्रदेशे कालकारिता। मनु. ४. ३५८.
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 Manuṣmṛti:

शनकैस्तु कियालोपादिना: शाक्रियज्ञातय: ।
बुधस्तय मता लोके ब्राह्मणवर्णनेन च ॥
पोष्क्रियाधृक्कोड़कविष्ठा: काम्बोजा यवना: शका: ।
पाराशा: पश्वास्विनीना: किराता दरवा: ब्राह्म: ॥

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, Gautamiputra Sātakarni, who was deadly opposed to intermixture of castes (varaṇa-saṅkara), himself got his youngest son Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarni married to the daughter of the Śaka Kshatrapa Rudradāman, and in course of time, she became the Mahādevi (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 Māṭhariputra Virapurushadatta wedded to Rudrabhaṭṭārika, daughter of the (Śaka)
Mahārāja of Ujjainī. A later instance of the same type can also be cited. Karṇa, a famous king of the Kalachuri family, married the Hūṇa princess Āvaladevi. Her son Yaśaṅkara later had no difficulty in acceding the throne—nay, the Hūṇas came to be reckoned among the highest Rājput clans. Śaka Rishabhadatta, 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 Dānyakaṭaka (modern Dharaṇikoṭ in Andhra) to the ports on the western coast such as Kalyāṇa, Śūrparaka and Bharukachha, and to inland cities such as Ujjain via Tagara and Pratisṭhāna. The leaders of mercantile caravans were called Sārthavāhas. Even Brāhmaṇas engaged themselves in that profession and became rich. Chāruḍatta 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.

---

1 HCIF, II, p. 229.
2 CII, IV, p. 293.
3 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 Śudras should dine together and then gives his own opinion that a pious Śudra also should join the party. He also states that either the Āryas or the Śudras under the direction of the Āryas should prepare the food required for the Vaiśvadeva rite. 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. 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-dharmaśūtra 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." This rule was, however, changed later. Āpastamba allows *niyoga* (levirate) in the absence of a natural son.

Like other dharmaśūtras, the Āpastamba-dharmaśūtra 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

---

1 *वेशविधियों स्वत्मः कार्त्तिकानां भोक्तायं शुद्धवंृतिमिलेके। तत्समस्त भ्रमणानत्वः।* आद. ध. मृ. २.२.१८.१९-२०.

2 अन्यथे: प्रकटा वैपपेवेच्छानसकतारेः स्थतः । अपूर्विनिष्ठा ता मूर्तः । आद. ध. मृ. २.२.१८.४.

3 *ALX, II, 6, 13, 1.*

4 *Ibid., II, 6, 13, 10.

5 *सगोत्राश्वानीयों न परेः: समायक्षितः। आद. ध. मृ. 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.  

1 Āpastamba has especially stressed the importance of the Vaiśvadeva rite and the reception of guests.  

2 He says that all including a dog and a Chāṇḍāla should partake of the food prepared for the Vaiśvadeva.  

3 Religious-minded Brāhmaṇas used to perform all these duties as is crystal clear from the Malhārā plates 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 Amāṭya.  

4 In his country none should die of hunger, disease, cold or heat.  

5 There should be no apprehension of a thief in the villages, nay, even in the forests of his realm.  

6 He should not punish any one because of suspicion.  

7 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 Mahārāṣṭra 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

---

1 *ADS*, I, 2, 6, 24-29.  
2 Ibid. I, 2, 4, 11-14.  
3 समर्थविश्वदेवे भागिन: कुवास झूर्माण्यहेमं:। Ibid. II, 4- 9- 5.  
4 See Inscr. 64.  
5 मुखमांसपांश्च नातिजीवेत। आ. भ. मू. २. ९. २५. १०.  
6 न चासम विषयं खुद्या रोमेयं हि मातामणि वासिनोद्वरोकृतिवर्जयं वा कविन्न!। आ. भ. मू. २. ९. २५. ११.  
7 होमकुशेयाण्य यस्य विषयं ब्राह्मणों वा तपस्वरमणं न विषयो। आ. भ. मू. २. ९. २५. १५.  
8 न च सम्बोक्तं दण्डं कुवासं। आ. भ. मू. २. ९. ११. २०.
in this connection. It records the gift of a chaitya-
 griha by Bhāyilā, the Brāhmaṇa wife of a Brāhmaṇa
Upāsaka named Ayitilu. 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 Jainas also.\(^2\)

### 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 Gṛhāstha (the
house-holder), the Vānaprastha (the hermit) and the
Sāmnyāsin (the recluse) have been prevailing since the
Vedic age. They are all described in the Āpastamba-
dharmasūtra also. Āpastamba says that the Sāmnyāsin
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,\(^3\) but he does not agree with this view. For, says

---
\(^1\) I.C.T.W.I., p. 16.
\(^2\) Descriptions of the Śilāhāras (CH. VI), p. 16.
\(^3\) वृद्धेः तस्याग्रामार्गस्तीतिविलक्षणम्। बुद्धेः विद्योमार्गार्थमिहेऽ न दुःखप्रमुखेऽ।
दिति, इति, मू., २.१, 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 Junnar records the gift of a cave made by Nandabālikā, the wife of a rishi (sage) named Mūlasvāmin.1 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.2 In another record in a cave at Kānheri, we find the donor stating his desire that the religious merit of his gift should accrue to his parents and children.3 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. Āpastamba has cited various opinions on this matter. Some people held the view that the eldest son should inherit

1 ASWI, IV, p. 95.
2 Ibid., IV, p. 96.
3 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.¹ His own view seems to be that with the exception of impotent, mad and degraded sons, all other sons should divide their patrimony equally.² 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.³ If the husband goes abroad, the wife has the right to spend for occasional expenses from his property,⁴ 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, sapiṣṭ̐as, 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 (c. AD. 400), is shown by the episode of the merchant Dhanamitra in the Śākuntala.⁵ The daughter, however, was recognised as an heir after the Sapiṣṭ̐as.⁶ Āpastamba says that in the event of there being no heir, the property should escheat to the crown.

¹ A.D.S., II, 6, 14, 1.
² Ibid., II, 6, 14, 11.
³ जीवनमायो विभागोऽविलये। आ. ध. मृ. 2, 3, 33-96.
⁴ न हि पुत्रविहारी नैगिनिः वायु-विविकान्तन। आ. ध. मृ. 2, 9, 94-96.
⁵ 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.
⁶ पुत्रं भागम्: परतत्त्वम्: विविलयः। स्मरित। आ. ध. मृ. 2, 6, 14, 14, 14.
Several inscriptions of the Sātavāhana age record large gifts made by Buddhist nuns (Bhikshunīs). 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 Koṅkaṅ records the excavation of a cave by Dharma-śrī, who was the daughter of an Upāsaka and the wife of Śivadatta, but it does not state how she had obtained the money. Some gifts were made by Parivrājikās (Bhikshunīs). 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), the daughter of the Parivrājikā Nāganikā and the niece of the monks Bhadanta Pātimita and Bhadanta Agimita. The gift consisting of a cave together with a cistern was made to the local Buddhist Community. Some gifts were made by the Bhikshunīs and Upāsikās who collected the money therefor from their rich relatives such as the Mahābhōjas and the Mahāraṭhīs, 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 Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi. The titles Mahāsenāpatini and Mahāraṭhīni of some women were, however, due to their being wives of high dignitaries. Whether the custom of Sāti 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 Gautami Bala-śrī lived the same kind of life. This is stated in inscriptions No. 3 and 18. The Gāthāsaptasati,

---

1 ASWI, IV, p. 89.
2 Ibid., p. 85.
however, refers to the custom of Satī in gāthās Nos. 407 and 633.\(^1\)

**Dress and Ornaments**

The custom of wearing a veil (purdā) was not in vogue. In some panels of the Amarāvatī 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.\(^2\) 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 (phetā). 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 Brahmachārī 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.\(^3\) :

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.\(^4\)

The sikhā (tuft of hair on the head) is regarded as a

---

\(^1\) Gāthās-nāgarī-jātre (ed. by S. A. Jogalekar), Introd. p. 200.
\(^2\) MSGH, I, p. 175.
\(^3\) मात्यालिंगपुरुषः उपलिंगकेशभेदरकोश्य्यकों ब्रैट्स्कुपश्वेणिन्ती काँचकापुपणहै

\(^4\) Harsha’s Rāmaśālī describes how a dwarf took shelter inside the long robe of a Kāñchukin when a monkey ran amuck.
mark of Hinduism. It has been mentioned by Āpastamba. It used to be shaven off at the time of a sacrifice.

Women usually wore a kind of head-garment. A woman is shown with a pointed head-garment 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 Gāthāsaptāśati mentions a bodice.

The Scythian Kshatrapas were differently dressed. They wore a trouser and a coat, with an overcoat on it and a belt at the waist. Yajña Sātakarnī appears with a close fitting cap on his coins. He also wore a jewel on it. Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarnī wore no such cap, but he also wore a jewel in front of his head. Nahapāna appears with a flat pugree on his head on his silver coins.

Men as well as women were fond of wearing ornaments. We have mentioned above the jewels worn on their heads by Yajñaśri and Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarnī. 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. The Buddhists were no doubt advocates of ahiṁsā.

---

1. अघासि ब्रह्मण्युः। रक्तो वा एव अखरिहतो यमुद्रक्ष्यस्यविवरण्य परिव्यति।
   आ. ध. सू. १. ३. १०. ४।

2. सुतेऽयु वननाशपन्त निखाराय। आ. ध. सू. १. ३. १४. ९।

3. MSGH, I, p. 176.


5. See the statue of Chausāna, Pl. XVI, Fig. 24.

6. See his coin, Pl. XIII, Fig. 42.

7. See his coin, Pl. XXIII, Fig. 41.

8. अन्तर्वधार्मकर्मयम्। आ. ध. सू. १. ७. १३. १०।
(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 Mahārāṣṭra.¹ Common people
must be using locally prepared liquor. Liquor was pro-
hibited 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.² A similar prāyaśchittta 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.³ Similar prāyaśchitttas have
been laid down in the case of other offences also.

Festivals

The Samāja was an important means of entertain-
ment. 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.⁴ To divert people from such
Samājas Aśoka had arranged for another type of Samājas
in his Empire. They were religious in character and in-
cluded exhibition of such scenes as heavenly palaces for
meritorious persons and blazing pillars for the sinful.
There were also other modes of entertainment as stro-
ling in public gardens mentioned in the Mṛichchha-
kaṭika.

¹ Patna Excavations, p. 1.
² सुधरेैीससहि भुरा नियः। अत. ध. मु. १, १, २४, ३.
³ सतिवेत्र विदेशी मुखमादाय शाजगी गतवा कर्मीवधुत। तेनेन हृत्याक्षे मिलत।।
अत. ध. मु. १, २, २, ४, ४.
⁴ सतिवेत्र। समाजार्थवान्त। अत. ध. मु. १, २, १३, 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 *Harivamśa*.

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 *Indra-dhvaja*. The festival was in vogue in the Sātavāhana age. It is mentioned in the *Mrichchhakājika*. 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 Nāṅeghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā. The following interesting gāthā occurs in the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhā-bharana*¹:

![Image](https://example.com/image)

(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-trayodaśi (the thirteenth *tithi* of Cupid). On that *tithi* an image

¹See gāthā No. 458 in the *Gāthākāntānta*. 
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 Mālati-Mādhava. From the Mṛichchhakātika we learn that it was in this festival that Chārudatta and Vasantasena 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.¹ The Mṛichchhakātika 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.²

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

¹ A.D.S. II, 9, 25, 12-13.
² मधुरवल्लमणं धारितार्थं धारण्यं दर्शन्यं धारण्यं अर्थम् यथा। धारण्यं तद्विद्यते तद्विद्यते तद्विद्यते। नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृत्यं नृ�
the panels affixed to the Stūpas at Amarāvatī 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 Vasantasena in the fourth Act of the Mṛichchhakātaṭika 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 Vasantasena, his friend Maitreyya comes to Vasantasena’s mansion, where her maid receives him and takes him round showing him the various Courts of it. Vīdūshaka is astounded to see the various activities there.

Vasantasena’s mansion had eight courts. Maitreyya 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 Maitreyya saw the bullocks of Vasantasena’s pravahāṇa, and also a buffalo, a ram, horses, monkeys and an elephant. The court was a sort of a zoo.

When he entered the third court, Maitreyya noticed several seats arranged for people of high ranks, a half-read pothi 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, Maitreyya heard sounds of the tabor, the ringing of cymbals, the sweet notes of the flute and the music of the lute. Some girls were taking lessons in dancing and some others in acting.
SOCIAL CONDITION

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, kabiñjalas, 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. 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 Kṣaotrāpas 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.

1 This description in the Mṛcchekhaṇḍa seems to have been taken from the Brīhatsākuti. See E. P. Marthins’s Budhavāmin’s Brīhatsākuti-līka-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 Mahārāṣṭra and at Pauni in Vidarbha. Of these, those at Brahmapuri, 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. This king is undoubtedly identical with Viḷivāyaκura whose coins have been found there. The name of the capital Hippokura does not, of course, resemble Brahmapuri, the present name of the site, but there is no doubt about the identification of Baleokuros with Viḷivāyaκura. So the site is undoubtedly of the Sātavāhana age.

The houses in the ancient site of Brahmapuri were built on a sound foundation of two or more layers of large pebbles and sticky clay. 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 amphorases with handles on both sides and a pointed bottom, which were imported filled with strong wine. Fragments of such amphorases have been noticed

---

1 CAl, p. 376.
2 JBBRAS, XXVII (No. 5), pp. 99 ff.
in the excavations at Pavnār in Vidarbha also. That Brahmapuri had trade contacts with Rome is also shown by the bronze images of Greek and Roman gods, one of which is that of Poseidon, the Greek god of the sea, who was a younger brother of Zeus.

The excavations at Brahmapuri 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 Brahmapuri. 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 Brahmapuri had four legs, and was 17½ inches in length, 7½ inches in width and 9 inches in height. Its pestle (varavantā) is 11¼ inches in length and 3¼ inches in diameter.

Waste water was carried by pipes to a ring well, 4 to 4½ 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 Mahārāṣṭra. It gives us a glimpse of the common man’s life in those days.

---

1 See Pt. 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, Gautamiputra Sātakarni says in Inscription No. 11, "The field named after Ajakālaka Yaksha, measuring three hundred nivartanas, which was previously owned by Rishabhadatta has now become ours. We are donating it to the mendicants of the Triraśmi hill." 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 Mahārāṣṭra. The State received only the revenue settled in their cases. Inscription No. 43 shows that Rishabhadatta had to purchase a field near the city of Govardhana from its owner Aśvibhūti by paying 4,000 kārshāpanas 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 Gautamiputra could, without doing any injustice, exchange an uncultivated field of 200 nivartanas for another (evidently of a better productivity) measuring only 100 nivartanas.  

Grants and Immunities

Some royal grants were of whole villages. In such cases the owners of lands were not dispossessed of

---

1 Inscr. No. 11, lines 2-3.
2 Inscr. No. 13, lines 3-5.
ECONOMIC CONDITION

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.¹

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.² 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.³

Inscriptions make no mention of the crops produced in the Sātavāhana age; but they were probably the same as now, viz., rice, jawār, bājrā, wheat, sugar-cane, gram, cotton etc. Some of these are incidentally mentioned in the Gāthā-sapta-śati.⁴ In view of the importance of Vedic learning and the long continued and strenuous intellectual labour involved in mastering the sacred works, a Śrotiya (Brāhmaṇa learned in the Vedas) was exempted from the payment of all taxes.⁵

Trade

Trade with inland as well as foreign countries was flourishing in those days. The Periplus states that

¹ See below, p. 22
² Some records state चौराजाण्यकारिद्वजज्ञम् as an exception to this rule. See CII. IV, p. 27.
³ Inscr. 35. See also p. 89, note 3.
⁴ Gāthāsaptasāti (ed. by Jogalekar), pp. 213 ff.
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), Śtrpāraka (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 (Karḥāḍ), Tagar (Ter in the Osmānābād District), Vaija-
yanī (Banavāsi in the North Kannaḍa District), Prati-
shṭhāna (Paṭhāṇ) and others. Residential caves for Buddhist monks were excavated at several places on the western coast and above the ghāṭṣ. They were probably on the trade-routes of those days.

In ancient times trade was usually carried on through the śreṇīs (or guilds). The following guilds are mentioned in inscriptions—dhāṇikas (traders in corn), gandhiṅkas (sellers of perfumes), mālākārās (florists), suvarṇakārās (goldsmiths), selavāḍhakīs (stone-masons), odayantrikas (manufacturers of hydraulic machines), tilapidhakīs (oilmen), kularīkas (potters), kolikās (wea-
vers), vanisaṅkārās (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 endow-
ments and pay monthly interest on them. People had full faith in their honesty and stability. Rishabhadatta was in fact the de facto ruler of Maḥārāṣṭra 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-sahbhās (or town-assemblies) first, and were
then registered in the local Offices. 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. Rishabhadatta 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 Vaiśāli, from which we get varied information about them. No such seals have, however, been found in the excavations in Mahārāṣṭra. So our knowledge about them is very meagre.

Kauṭilya mentions śreṇī-bala or the army of guilds. 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 śreṇī-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 Arthasastra 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. A joint

---

1 Insocr. No. 11, line 5.
2 Kauṭilya, Arthasastra, IX, 2.
3 Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, III, pp. 120 ff.
silver coin of Sātakarnī and Nāganikā has recently come to notice. Such coins must have been issued in commemoration of the Āsvamedha and other great sacrifices performed in that age. In the excavation at Konḍāpur, 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 Rishabhadatta were probably of silver; for his father-in-law Nahapāna is known to have issued thousands of such coins. The Jogaltembhī 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.\(^1\) 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 Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarāt, Kāṭhiāwāḍ and Mājwā. 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.\(^2\)

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

\(^{1}\) Inscr. No. 38, line 5.
\(^{2}\) MSGH, 1, p. 181.
ECONOMIC CONDITION

occurs in Inscription No. 38; but, as shown elsewhere, Kuṣāṇa-mūla is wrongly written there for kuśala-mūla 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, 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 Koṅkān) form the western boundary of the kingdom of Nambānus and also of India. Their eastern boundary was Abīrīā (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 Mahārāṣṭra 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 Gautamiputra Sātakarnī. 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 Sātakarnī, the great-grandfather of Gautamiputra Sātakarnī. This identification is not unlikely chronologically.

---

1 See Appendix VI.

2 Some take this name to be Mombazas.
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 Paitṭhaṇ, Tagara (Ter in the Osmanābād 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.¹ 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, sesame 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 (*kīṭaja-vastra*) and muslin (*sūkṣhma 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.

¹ *JII, 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 Mahāvīra, 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, prolecting the last vowel of his name¹ as in the following:—

अग्रृहायम् भव सम्य शुभमां पृथवीभवनः।

Manu also has given this rule, but he says further:—

यो न वेदस्मिन्नवादस्य विप्र: प्रत्यभवादनम्।

नामिवाय: स विदुषः यथा मूर्तस्तिक्त्वं शः॥ (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

¹ See प्लाक्षकश्च नामोभवादनप्रत्यभवादनेच पूर्वं वर्णानाम्। ADS., I, 2, 5, 17.
verse of the *Manusmriti* shows that even several Brähmanas of that age could not return the salutation of the Brahmachāri properly. Sanskrit had lost its place to Prakrit in that age.

Some early Sātavāhanas performed Vedic sacrifices. Queen Nāganikā’s Nāneghāṭ inscription records that she and her husband King Sātakarnī performed several Vedic sacrifices and donated to the officiating priests thousands of cows and *kārshāpaṇas* and also several elephants, horses and villages as *dakshinā*. 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 Rishabhadatta, though not in pure Sanskrit, show a much greater mixture of Sanskrit words.¹ The Śaka Kṣatrapa Rudradāman’s Junāgadh inscription² is written in elegant and faultless Sanskrit. He is even credited therein with the authorship of *kāvyas* in prose and verse, embellished with *alaṅkāras*. On the other hand, the description of her son Sātakarnī which Gautami Balas̲r̲i caused to be composed in glorification of him, though full of *alaṅkāras*, ³ 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. Rāja-śekhara 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

¹ See Nāsik Cave inscription (No. 43) of Rishabhadatta.
² Inscription No. 31, line 14.
³ See the following adjectives: िवसकरकरिविभाषितकमलविभलसदिवसिनम and वर्षारंभितकमलप्रकाशिनम in Inscription No. 19, lines 3-4.
Gāthā-saptasati or Sattasai. It is a well-known anthology of Prakrit verses composed in that age.

1. The Sattasai and Other Works of Hāla

One of the initial verses in the Sattasai states that King Hāla, a patron of poets, compiled it by selecting seven hundred out of a crore of Prakrit gāthās:\footnote{The numbers of gāthās cited hereafter are as in the Gāthasaptasati, ed. by S. A. Jogalekar. They are identical with those in the edition of the work published by Nirmayanāgar Press in 1911.}

\[\text{sattasai कङ्कन्दुर्लेण कोडिः मग्नारामिः।}\\
\text{हालेन बिराहै सालंकराणि गाहाणि।} (क. २)\]

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:\footnote{Sāhityadarpana, VI, 329.}

\[\text{एवं कङ्कन्दुर्लेण सालंकराणि बिराहै कोशं।}\\
\text{सत्तसाई समस्ति सालंकराणि बिराहै कोशं।} (वि. प्रे. पृ. २०६)\]

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 Sāhityadarpana defines a kośa as follows:\footnote{A kośa is an anthology of mutually unconnected verses.) This gāthā-kośa was compiled by Sālāhāna. Sālāhāna is the Prakrit form of Sātavāhana. As Hāla was a member of the Sātavāhana family, the Sattasai is described in the afore-cited colophon as 'compiled by Sālāhāna.' In his Harshacharita Bāṇa has eulogised this anthology of gāthās in the following verse:—

\[\text{अविनासितम् वायुभरतो सालवाहः।}\\
\text{विशिष्ट्यबोधिम् कोशं रत्नैर्व समापति।} (क. २)\]

(A kośa is an anthology of mutually unconnected verses.) This gāthā-kośa was compiled by Sālāhāna. Sālāhāna is the Prakrit form of Sātavāhana. As Hāla was a member of the Sātavāhana family, the Sattasai is described in the afore-cited colophon as ‘compiled by Sālāhāna.’ In his Harshacharita Bāṇa has eulogised this anthology of gāthās in the following verse:—

\[\text{अविनासितम् वायुभरतो सालवाहः।}\\
\text{विशिष्ट्यबोधिम् कोशं रत्नैर्व समापति।} (क. २)\]
(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 Uddyotanastūri in his Kuvalayamālā:

\[\text{भणिष्कितासविनाः ग्लोकिक्ले ओ करेइ होलिए वि} \]
\[\text{कब्रेण फ़ि पउट्वे हालो हालावियारे व्य} \]

This gāthā says that Hāla, by the charm of his words, makes even the rustic peasants dance as if under the influence of wine.

\[\text{पणिइहि कडइगणू य भमरेमि व जस्स जापणामःहि} \]
\[\text{कमलायरो व्य कोसो विल्हणामाणिं विं हु ण श्रीगृंहो} \]

(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.

---

\(^1\) 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.¹ This is however, a mistaken view as shown before.

The gāthās on the evidence of which Bhandarkar would place the Sattasai 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 Sattasai 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 Sattasai. One cannot be confident about other gāthās.

These gāthās were composed by several poets in the Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit. Originally, each gāthā had its poet’s name coupled with it as stated by the last gāthā in Gaṅgādhara’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 Māhārāṣṭra; for the gāthās mention the mountain Vindhyā and the rivers Revā, Tāpī and Godāvari. 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

¹ 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:

1. King Karṇa of the Sātavāhana family (vv. 55 and 455);
2. Vākṣṭha Prarvasena II (vv. 45, 64, 202, 208 and 236) (Gaṅgādhara); also vv. 146, 156, 203, 209, 341, 506, 567 and 724 (Bhuvanapāla);
3. Vākṣṭha Sarvasena (vv. 502, 503) (Pitāmbara);
4. Māna (Rāṣṭṛkūṭa Mānāṅka) vv. 101-104;
5. Rāṣṭṛkūṭa Devarāja, vv. 138, 239;
6. Āḍhvarāja (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 Vikramādiṭya in the following gāthā:

रंगलेण्यक विक्रमादित्य अयुधियिनिवर्त 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 Vikramādiṭya (who also, being pleased with the victories of his men, places lakhs of coins on their hands).

King Vikramādiṭya mentioned in this gāthā was probably Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty; for such traditions about him are mentioned in later
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 Mahārāṣṭra 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:—

अमितः पाउँकर्माणां पदितं सोंतं अ ज्ञे र आयंति।
कामसा तत्रति रुपितं ते केहूं र लक्ष्यति।

(How do they not feel ashamed who do not know how to read a Prakrit kāvyā 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):—

उषाः चिंचलणिकाया बिस्फोटमंतमेऽऽरुषोऽवलम्बा।
शिम्मलमरम्मवामयाभारितीं संख्युति मयां॥

1 See the following verse eulogising the Rāśtrākūṭa Emperor Amoghavarsha I in the Sanjīna plates (EI., 58, p. 248):—
हल्वा ्भृत्यमेव राजसमहर्षवीय शैवन्तवा लक्ष्मणः कौटिल्यसिद्धिकल कलो दत्ता
स मुक्तामय। भनेतायत्तैं ततुः सरसमस्म महाबलायथे: का कथा हर्षस्मोयस्तरः
राधुपुष्पिकाऽवलेऽति कील्यामाय।
(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 Dhvanikāyva (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.”

In some places, however, a secret meeting place is no doubt suggested as in the following gāthā² :

कि रक्षित ओणमुद्गी धवलानलेगु सालिचलेगु ।
हरिज्ञालमंडिशुमुही नििि ब्य सुरवाहिडा ज्ञान ॥

(“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 :

भृन्म धर्माज मीसल्यो सो सुणभो अन्न मारियो तेघ ।
गोलादिविविक्षुकुंगवाः किरिरसीहेच्च ॥

This is a standard illustration of a dhvani-kāyva 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

¹ Ullāsa 1, verse 8 (ed. by Zalkikar).
² 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 Godâvari."

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 ¹:

कल्लं दिले बरहिहार्दों पवसीतहि गिहोति सुचाई जगामिम।
तह्ह वहहुँ भजवै गिरि जहुँ से कल्लं बिजवः चोऽहँ।

(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 ²—

अज्ञं गरोति अज्ञं गरोति अज्ञं गरोति गणरै।
पहं बिजवः बिजवैः कुःकों रेषाः चितसिहि चितसिहि।

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 ³ :

पांडहिह्यास्स पद्धवी धूति पुत्रे समासूत्तमै।
द्वमण्डुविहिश्वि वि हसों घरीणि ए शेःकन्त्वो।

(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.)

¹ *Gāthā* No. 46.
² *Gāthā* No. 208.
³ *Gāthā* No. 11.
The following gāthā which describes prasūti-vairāgya (aversion on child-birth) is also noteworthy:

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:

(Seeing that her brother-in-law’s attitude towards her was immoral, the respectable woman draws the picture of Lakṣmaṇa (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 Lakṣmaṇa was doing with respect to Sītā).

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:

---

1 Gāthā No. 123.  
2 Gāthā No. 200.  
3 Gāthā No. 241.
(She was indeed a slender girl; but being proud of her unexpectedly obtained coloured sāri, 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 Sattasai, but he wrote several other works also as has recently been shown by Prof. H. C. Bhāyānī. ¹ We give below information about some of them.

Hāla Sātavāhana wrote a work on Prakrit metres, which dealt with the dvipadis in detail.² Besides, he compiled a dictionary of Prakrit words. In his Deśi-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 jambulaṇ madya-bhājanam.³ This shows that the kośa gave Sanskrit equivalents of Prakrit words. It further indicates that the kośa was composed in the Anushtubh metre.

From citations in the Svayambhū-chhandas of the Apabhramśa poet Svayambhū, we learn that Hāla wrote a Prakrit work besides the Sattasai. One of them is about udgiti⁴ and is ascribed to Sālāhana. Another is in the metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita⁵ and is ascribed to Hāla.

¹ Raghavan Felicitations Volume (RFV), pp. 61 ff.
² The Vṛttajāti-samuchchaya of Virabhādaka (c. 880-920) ( mentions Sātavāhana together with Bhuja-gādhipa and Vṛiddhakavi as expositors of dvipadi. See RFV pp. 63 ff.
³ RFV, p. 58.
⁴ See—उपमीया सालाहमस्स—
चण्डकेलिय्ये भरद अ बला लाभण्यसिक्षित्तेऽह।
रमपालवर्मनमव्रोमानविवलरी व्य सिंहे इ।
Ibid., p. 69, n. 18.
⁵ See—अहूः हालस्स—
कामम पुफळधार चहकुमसरं तुषारं भिक्षाहां
सिद्धेः श नुविकल्पे य अस्त्य ते अर्थां कारण।
हेतुवभावं समस्तमिच्छाऽ पात्यताभिकारं
केस्त्रस्तिविनिपध्यं भिः ज एतत्वम् को मल्लो।
स्म्यमीमशस्त्र, १—७४, २.
One more work is also ascribed to Hāla. It is about the Gitikās known as Dhavala. Hemachandra gives much information about the Dhavala 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 Dhavala. 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.\(^1\)

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 Sātakarni murdered his Crowned Queen Malayavati with a pair of scissors,\(^2\) but one cannot vouch for the veracity of it. As for the biruda Chaūrachindha (chatur-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\(^3\) (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, Pādalipita or Śri-Pālita. He was the Chief Poet of Hāla's Court. Abhinanda says in his Rāmcharita \(^4\)—

उद्योतोत्समूपयो कविकृतः श्रीपालितो लालित:।

Uddyototanasūri says that Pālita was the foremost poet in the assembly of Hāla. On account of him, King

---

\(^1\) *RFV*, p. 69.

\(^2\) कर्त्तव्यो कुन्तल: सातकर्णि: सातवाहनो महादेवी महावती | कामसूत्र, p. 131.

\(^3\) *RFV*, p. 77.

\(^4\) *Abhinanda's Rāmcharita*, XXII, 10, 100.
Hāla shone in learned assemblies as one would by means of a (beautiful) pearl necklace.¹

गिन्नमरमणुण गणगकण्ण परमर्मरणसारण्।
पातित्वणू हालो हारणव व सहि गोळ्डीकु।॥

This Pālitta is well known as the author of the kathā Tarangavati, but it has not come down to us. Several gāthās of Pālitta are included in the Sattasai.²

Another famous poet of Hāla Sātavāhana’s Court was Poṭṭisa. He is mentioned together with his contemporary Prakrit poets Harivridhda, Nandivridhda and Hāla in the Karpūramaṇjari of Rājaśekhara.³ The Prakrit work Lilāvai of Koūhala calls him ‘a minister of Hāla.’ Some commentators of the Sattasai have coupled his name with five gāthās.⁴ 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 Kar-pūrmaṇjari of Rājaśekhara, the King sides with the Cheṭi in her wrangle with the Vidūshaka, and praises her. Then the Vidūshaka retorts, “Then why don’t you say straightway that this our Cheṭi surpasses in excellence of poetic talent Harivridhda, Nandivridhda, Hāla and Poṭṭisa?!” In this retort two other main poets of Hāla’s court are mentioned, viz., Harivridhda and Nandivridhda. Harivridhda was an eminent Prakrit poet. In the Sarasvati-kaṇṭhābharana Bhoja quotes the following gāthā⁵ while illustrating the fault of gūḍh-ārtha (obscure meaning):

अम्हारिसा हि कछो कछो हरिव्रिद्धमालिपमुहा वि ।
मंडूकिकंकिका वि हू होंति हरी सपसीहा वि ॥

¹ Kuvakayumāla, Part I, page 3. ² See e. g. Nos. 393, 417, 425 etc. ³ When in the Karpūramaṇjari, Act I, the King refers to the maid as ‘a poet’, the Vidūshaka asks him angrily, ता उक्जुबं जेय कि न मयीवदि अम्हारा चेकिता हरिव्रिद्धमिन्दिवमुहा वि पुरोप मुक्तिलस। ⁴ See e. g. Gūḍhā, No. 89. ⁵ Sarasvatikāntābhāroṇa, I, 123.
(A poet says, "People call us poets. Harivṛddha, Śāli and such others also were 'poets.' The frog, the monkey, the serpent and the lion—all these are designated as harīs.")

Of these, Śāli is evidently Śālāhaṇa or Hāla. Like him, Harivṛddha also was a great poet. In the prosodial work Vṛitta-jāti-samuchchaya, Virahāṅka makes special mention of Bhajagāḍhipa, Sātavāhana and Vṛddhakavi as exponents of the Dwipadi. This Vṛddhakavi is probably Harivṛddha. 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 Nandivṛddha is the author of the Gāthā-lakṣaṇa, 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 Nandivṛddha mentioned in the above-cited passage of the Karpūramaṇjari. His name is connected with the gāthā, No. 392.1

Besides these, there was another great poet at Hāla’s Court. He was Āḍhyaṛāja. He is the renowned author of gāthā, No. 234. Bāna pays a high tribute to his utsāhas in the following verse:

अद्यपराजृतौतसाहीहैदस्ये: समृद्धिपि 
जिज्ञानतः कृत्यमाणं न ककिजिने प्रवर्तते ॥

(When the utsāhas of Āḍhyaṛāja 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 Sarvasvati-kaṇṭha-abharaṇa that in the time of Āḍhyaṛāja all people used to speak in Prakrit.2 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

---

1 RFV., pp. 64-65.
2 See के मुख्यार्थार्थ राज्य राज्य प्राचीनमाणि: । सरस्वती-कण्ठाकरण, 1, 13.
Prakrit. Again, the name Ādhyarāja suggests that he was a king. So some people identify Ādhyarāja and Sātavāhana (Hāla). Bāna, however, has eulogised Sātavāhana and Ādhyarāja in different verses. Bāna flourished earlier than Rājaśekhara and Bhoja. So his testimony must be regarded as more trustworthy. Ādhyarāja, therefore, could not have been identical with Hāla-Sātavāhana.

But what does utsāha mean? It was the name of a Prakrit metre. Svaambha 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 \( \text{\textasciitilde\textasciitilde} \) or as \( \text{\textasciitilde\textasciitilde\textasciitilde\textasciitilde} \). Prakrit prosodists say that the utsāha metre was usually used in the lyrics of Dhavala, Maṅgala and Phulajāka, and that they were usually in Apabhrāṃśa. It seems that Prakrit and Apabhrāṃśa kāvyas in this metre were then current. Among them, Ādhyarāja’s kāvyas in the Utsāha metre was the best.

From the Śrīṅgāra-prākāśa we learn that every section of Ādhyarāja’s kāvyas 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 Kirāṭārjuniya, Śiṣupālavarda, Harivijaya and Setubandha. Ādhyarāja appears to have composed such a Mahākāvyā the last verse of each section of which had the word dhairya inserted in it.

The Chhapaṇṇaya Poets—The Kuvalayamālā of Uddyotnasūri has the following gāthā:  

\[ \text{पालितस्यसालाहुष्णववण्णयंकपत्रम्} \]
\[ \text{संस्कृतमुडिसार्गिः क्षे तत्स्थ पते देस्य} \]

(How can I take any steps, being, like a simple deer, terrified by the roar of the lions, viz., Pālittaya, Sālāhana and Chhapaṇṇaya?)

---

1 Kavyamimāṃsā, p. 50.
2 RFV, pp. 74 ff.
3 SL, IV, p.
4 Kuvalayamālā, p. 3.
This gāthā mentions a poet (or poets) named Chhappannaṇaya along with such great poets of old days like Sālāhaṇa and Pālittaya. The Kuvalayamātā further says about Chhappannaṇaya:

छ्रप्पन्नयाण किवा भण्णाण कहूँजरण भवण्णभिम्।
अण्णो वि क्रेपभण्णो अण्ण वि उवमिर्जए जिए॥

(What need be said about the Chhappannaṇayas, 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 Chhappannaṇaya? So Chhappannaṇaya was not one poet, but a group of poets. The Avantisunda-rikathā probably refers to them in the following verse:

सेनुपणे लिप्लायनलो लोके साहस्तुल्लिज़न।।
प्रणववाणासराणां गता न: कविमुद्राव:॥

This verse tells us that the Chhappannaṇayas 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 shat-paṇḍṭaṣat are synonymous, both meaning ‘fifty-six’ one naturally concludes that they both refer to the same poets. Besides, this verse about shat-paṇḍṭaṣat (fifty-six) poets occurs in the Avantisundari-kathā with reference to some very ancient poets. Chhappannaṇayas 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, which has thrown an altogether different

1 Ibid., p. 3.
2 Avantisundvari-kathā, Introductory verses.
3 JOL, XI, pp. 385 ff.
light on this problem Chhappamāya means shatprajña or 'a connoisseur' (sahridaya). It seems that there was an old anthology of such gāthās current under the name of Chhappamāya gāhā. If this is correct, the afore-cited verse can be amended as follows:—

संस्कृतम् तिलकन्तो लोको सहस्रतुल्यं।

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 Brīhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya

We shall next turn to the Brīhatkathā, another well-known work of the Sātavāhana age.

The three ancient works, viz., the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Brīhatkathā are well-known sources of several Sanskrit and Prakrit poems and plays. Nay, they together constitute one large river flowing in three different streams. Fortunately, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata are still extant, but the Brīhatkathā 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 Brīhatkathā 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 Kāvyādarśa, described it as follows:—

पुनर्भाषायं भाषप्रणुज्यातमं भुकुम्मम्।

which shows that it was written in the dialect of the Piśāchas (goblins). Subandhu also has referred to it in a simile in his Vāsa-vadattā:—

1. भीष्मायण शास्त्रभुकुम्मिन मध्यभ्रमकुम्। विक्रोता यव सरसा सरसवती

2. वासवादता (विनिविलका ed.), pp. 123-24. There is a pun on the word sūlābhaṇjikā which means (1) a statue carved on a pillar etc. and (2) a character in the Brīhatkathā.
In one of the introductory verses of his Harsha-charita Bāṇa says about it:—

समुद्रिक्तकुलाय गृहगोरीप्रमादनः।
हरितोलेव नो कस्य विस्मयाय बुहुल्क्वा॥

This refers to a story about its origin, which we shall discuss later. Bāṇa refers to the work in the expression बुहुल्क्वाकुक्षलेन in his other work, the Kādambarī, also.

Uddyotanasūri (A. D. 778) and Jinasena (ninth cen. A. D.), the authors of the Kuvalayamālā1 and the Ādiśūraṇā respectively, have eulogised it. In his Daśarūpaka (I. 68) Dhanaṇjaya (10th cen. A. D.) advises young poets to study such works as the Rāmāyaṇa and the Brīhatkathā 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 Madananājūṣhā2 in the Brīhatkathā. Trividhramahatā of Vidarbha, who flourished in the same age, says in the following verse that Gunāḍhya, like Bāṇa, has diverted the minds of all people:—

श्वस्वायाक्तिस्मृतयेन समदायाकारणिणा।
धनुषेव गुणाविषेधेन निनिग्यो रक्षितो जनः॥

Somadeva (A. D. 950), the author of the Yaśastilakachampū, has also referred to the Brīhatkathā in his work.

Gunāḍhya’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 praṇāstī of the Cambodian king Yaśovarman3:—

पारद: स्वरूपस्मायो गुणाविष्ठ: प्राकृतप्रियः।
अनीतियां विशालाण्विगृहिणो न्यक्कृतथामिकः॥

1 Kuvalayamālā (Singhi Jaina Works Series), p. 1.
2 Her name appears as Madanañājūṣhā in the Kathasūryālīkṣyur and similar works.
3 ARASÍ, 1912, pp. 35—69.
Gunādhya has been mentioned by means of puns in another inscription there:\footnote{1}:

\textit{गुणाद्ध्यस्िस्तत्त्वम् दूषितो 5पि स्थानापितो येन पुन्मुणादयः ।
गदी 5वयं वाहविभूषणं ह्रत्समुक्तः क्रिमुतामुताशुः । 11}

The Gaṅga king Durvinita (sixth cen. A. D.) is said to have translated the \textit{Bṛihatkathā} into Sanskrit.\footnote{2} 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 \textit{Bṛihatkathā} was written, why it was called Paiśāchī and where it was current. We have to discuss all these problems here.

Three Sanskrit versions\footnote{3} of the \textit{Bṛihatkathā} are now extant. Of them, two, \textit{viz.}, (1) the \textit{Kathāsaritsāgara} of Somadeva (A. D. 1063—1081) and (2) the \textit{Bṛihatkathāmaṇjari} of Kshemendra (A. D. 1000) were produced in Kāśmir. 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 \textit{Bṛihatkathā}. The third version is the \textit{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 Kāśmiri versions mentioned above. It has fewer

\footnote{1} \textit{JA.}, (1885), pp. 397 ff. and (1886), pp. 178 ff.
\footnote{2} \textit{JRAS} (1913), pp. 380—390.
\footnote{3} One other version in Sanskrit is known from Bhoja's \textit{Śūngāraprakāśa}. See V. Raghavan's \textit{Śūngāraprakāśa}, 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-hīndī, in which love stories similar to those of Naravāhana-datta mentioned in the Bṛihatkathā are narrated about Vasudeva, the father of Kṛishṇa.

**Gunāḍhya, the Author of the Bṛihatkathā**

From the various references to the Bṛihatkathā mentioned above, there should be no doubt that the work in the Paiśāchi dialect was extant till the twelfth century A.D., and that Gunāḍhya was well known as its author. There is, however, no unanimity about the life of this poet. The Bṛihatkathāślokasangraha gives no account of his life. The initial chapter of the Kāśmīri versions called Kathā-piṭha-lambaka is not noticed therein. Gunāḍhya is named only in one place in it, and that too only incidentally. In its fourteenth chapter Vehavān, the king of the Vidyādhara, inquires of his envoys how his son Mānasavega was governing his kingdom to which they reply, “Even Gunāḍhya will not be able to describe it.” Except in this one place, Gunāḍhya figures nowhere in the version of Budhasvāmin. For an account of Gunāḍhya’s life we must, therefore, depend entirely on the Kāśmīri versions.

The story of Gunāḍhya’s life occurs in the first section of the Kathāsaritsāgara called Kathāpiṭhalambaka. However, that section was not written by Gunāḍhya, but by King Sātavāhana. See the following verses (VIII, 35—37):

अथ तां गुणाग्रचयवतामादय कथां बृहत्कथां नाम्मा ।
नुपविदग्गासिद्धन्तमर नववाहस्तदचित्तविद्यमयम् ॥
गुणाग्रचयवतामादय कथां तस्य च ती कथायेन विषयोः ।
विनिर्देशस्वरुपवाहानमीषयमायेन संक्रमणे सः ॥
ताप्ष्यां सह च कथां तामावतास्य म सातवाहस्तस्तथाः ।
तद्राष्ट्रयावतारं वक्तुं चक्रे क्षणीयम् ॥
Once upon a time, while Śiva and Pārvatī were engaged in conversation, Pārvatī said to the the God,  
रमण्या काँनिःकथ्या श्रृि देवगच गम नृद्धानाम् । (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 
hers curses. She said, "Pushpadanta, you will become 
Vararuchi, a minister of King Nanda, and later, you 
will meet a Yaksha named Supratika on the Vindhyā 
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 Kauśāmbi, and Mālyavān 
as Guṇāḍhya in that of Supratishṭhita. His tale is as 
follows:—

"There is a town named Supratishṭhita in the 
country of Pratisṭhāna. 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 
Kirtotena, 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 
Pratisṭhāna 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 Brähmaṇa queen said to him, Modakair-
māṁ 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 smil-
ingly said to him:—

राजप्रवसारः को 5 यो मोदकानां जलास्तरे।
उद्वक्तः सिरुव च मा स्वं मामित्युक्तं हि मया तथ।।
सचिवालां न जानाति माणिक्योवक्तः तथ।।
न च प्रकरण वेणिसि मूृखस्वं कथमिवृः।।

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—Gūṇāḍhya
and Śarvavarman—and asked them “How long will
it take for me to learn Sanskrit?” Then Gūṇāḍhya
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 Gūṇāḍhya
vowed, “If you succeed in teaching His Majesty San-
skrīt 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 austeri-
ties 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.1

1Śarvavarman’s Kātantra Vyākaraṇa is much easier to understand than Pāṇini’s
As Śāṣṭāśiyā. 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 (gnolls) there. They were talking among themselves, from which he learned their language Piśāchī. Later, he met the Yaksha Kāṇabhūti, who told him the long narrative of the Vidyādharas in seven sections. He composed it in the Paiśāchī dialect in seven years. In order to guard it from the Vidyādharas, 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) Prakarāṇa of it."

This narrative of Guṇāḍhya occurs in the two Sanskrit versions, the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Bṛihatkathāmaṇḍari, but it is not noticed in the third version the Bṛihatkathāślokasāṅgraha. A somewhat different version of the tale of Guṇāḍhya occurs also in the Nepāla-māhātmya. 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

---

1 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: "Gunaḍhya 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 Sarvavarman. 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 Kāśmirī version. It is further stated that when Gunaḍhya 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, Gunaḍhya 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. Gunaḍhya 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 Gunaḍhya'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 Kāśmirī 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 Gunaḍhya and Sarvavarman flourished at their court. On the other hand, King Madana of Ujjain is unknown to history.

How is it then that the account of Gunaḍhya is not noticed in Budhasvāmin's version? It could not have been interpolated in the Kāśmirī version by Somadeva; for he asserts that he has made no
changes in the original work. See the following verse:

यथा मूलं तथैवम् न मनागम्यतिक्रमः
प्राचीनस्वतंत्रसंस्कृतमास्मि भाषा च भिक्षिते।

(I have narrated in the Kathāsaritsāgara what occurred in the original Paiśāchī Bṛihatkathā. 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 Kāsmīri and Budhasvāmin's versions. He has come to the conclusion that only one-tenth portion of the Kathāsaritsāgara may have occurred in the original Bṛihatkathā. In view of the close agreement of the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Bṛihatkāthamañjīri, these two Sanskrit versions can be traced to one and the same Paiśāchī original, but the latter was not the original Bṛihatkathā. It differed from it considerably.

Now the question arises, ‘Was the tale of Guṇāḍhya included in the original Paiśāchī Bṛihatkathā?’ 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 framework of that tale does not appear to have been very different from that noticed in the Kāsmīri version.

In this connection the statements of Daṇḍin and Bāṇa, who are the oldest authors referring to the Bṛihatkathā, are of utmost importance. In one of the
introductory verses of his Harshacharita Bāṇa describes the Bṛihatkathā as follows:—

समुद्विपिनकस्बस्मृतगौरीप्रसादन।
हरलीलेव नोकस्मयं 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 Gauri (Pārvati). Just as this is surprising, so is the Paisāchi Bṛihatkathā; for that work excites passion by its love-stories and yet by the tales in that very work Śiva won Gauri’s favour.”

This verse clearly implies that the tale about the origin of the Bṛihatkathā which occurs in the Kathā-piṭha-prakarana 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 Harshacharita¹ of Bāṇa and the Udayasundarikathā² of Soddhala. So the Bṛihatkathā may well have commenced with the conversation of Śiva and Pārvati leading ultimately to the cursing of Pushpadanta and Mālyavān.

Let us take next the following verse in the Kāvyadāraṇa of Daṇḍin:—

कथा हि सर्वभाषाभि: संस्कृतेन च बध्यते।
भूतभाषामयी श्राहुरदृढ़तार्थी बृहत्कथयम्॥

¹ It is stated in the first uchchāvara of the Harshacharita that when Sarasvati laughed at the mistakes in the Sāma-singing of the sage Durvāsaas in the Brahmāloka in heaven, the latter cursed her. Bāṇa was born in the Sārasvata family descended from her. This narrative occurs in connection with the early history of Bāṇa.

² In the Udayasundarikathā the heavenly sages Tilaka (Poet Bāṇa) and Tilaka are shown to have been transformed into pillars in a temple of Sarasvati 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 Soddhala.
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 Śātavāhanas. 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 Śātavāhanas 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\(^1\) and Bhoja\(^2\) in their respective rhetorical works. So the incident of a Śātavāhana king misunderstanding the meaning of a simple Sanskrit sentence like *modakair māṁ tādaya* may well have happened in the time of a Śātavāhana king.

Several poets like Pādālīpta, Poṭṭisa, Nandivṛiddha, Harivṛiddha and Ādhyarāja flourished in the Śātavāhana age. They wrote their works in the Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit. From Daṇḍin’s *Kāvyādāraśa*, however, we learn that Guṇāḍhya, who flourished in the same age, wrote his *Bṛihatkathā* not in that dialect but in Paiśāchi, 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 Śravavarman, 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.

---

\(^{1}\) *Kāvyamālyakāndaka*, p. 50.

\(^{2}\) See के ५ भृकुटिचरामर्क काले प्राकृतभाषिणः । सरस्वतीकादामर्कः २, १५।

A commentator explains आइचरामः शालिवाहः ।
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 Śrāvavarman, the easily comprehensible nature of Śrāvavarman’s grammar, the use by Guṇāḍhya of an uncommon dialect like Paśāchī 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 Brīhatkathā-sloka-saṅgraha seems to be this, viz., that it was composed not by Guṇāḍhya but by the Śatavāhana 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 Brīhatkathāmaṇḍīrī says that he was born in Pratishṭhāna (modern Paithan in the Aurangābād District of Mahārāṣṭra).

प्रतिष्ठानपुरे जातो माल्यवान् दक्षिणायथे।
गुणाधिः इति यो लोके किसुतो गुणाधिरात्वाः।

The Kathāsarasītsāgara, on the other hand, mentions the city of Supratisṭhita as his birth-place. See the following:—

अन्धिच्छ माल्यवानविन्न नगरवरे सुप्रतिस्थितस्य सः।
जातो गुणाधिस्यनमाभृवति वयोरेव बुद्धान्तः॥

The conflicting statements can be reconciled by supposing that Guṇāḍhya was born in the city of Supratisṭhita situated in the larger territorial division of Pratishṭhāna. The Petenikas mentioned in Aśoka’s Edicts were probably the inhabitants of this division. Later, Pratishṭhāna became the capital of the Śatavāhanas as shown before. Elsewhere, the Kathāsarasītsāgara
states that after completing his education Guṇāḍhya went to Pratishṭhana 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 Pratishṭhāna with the homonymous place in North India near the confluence of the Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvati; but this is not correct. The city Pratishṭhāna mentioned in the Brihatkathāmañjari was situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. Pratishṭhāna near Allāhābād is not in the Dakshināpatha (South India).

The aforementioned Supratishthīta is also called Supratisththa in some passages in the Kāsmīri version. (See the Suratamañjari-lambaka of the Brihatkathāmañjari). It was the chief town of an āhāra (a large territorial division). This āhāra is mentioned in as many as three grants¹ of the Vākāṭakas. From the boundaries of the donated villages situated in this āhāra, it seems that the division included some portion of the Hiṅgāṅghat 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 Supratisththa phonetically. As the boundaries of Supratisththa 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 Mahārāṣṭra, 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 Brihatkathā it is difficult to say. Bühler placed Guṇāḍhya in the second

¹ See discussion of this in our St., 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 tāḍaya. Besides, he had composed not only kāvyas 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 Sātakrṣṇi to that of the last king, Pulumāvi 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. Uddyotanāsūri's Kuvalayamālā has coupled him with the Prakrit poets Hāla, Pādalipta and Shatprajnā. 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 Brīhatkathā is that of Nara-
vāhanadatta, 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-
mañchukā was the daughter of a courtesan named Kaliṅga-
senā. She attains the position of a kula-vadhā (respectable
woman) ultimately as Vasantasenā does in the *Mṛichchhakāṭika*. Perhaps, Śūdraka has borrowed some ideas and incidents of his play from the *Bṛihatkathā*. We have shown elsewhere\(^1\) that the *Mṛichchhakāṭika* 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*.\(^2\) Bhāsa undoubtedly flourished before Kālidāsa (c. A. D. 400). This also corroborates the aforementioned date of that Paisāchī 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 Kāśmiri works call it Paisāchī. Daṇḍin describes it as the *bhūta-bhāṣā* (the language of the spirits). According to Rājaśekhara’s *Kāvya-mimāṃsā*, it was current in the region of Avanti (Western Mālā), Pāriyātra (Mount Abu), and Daśapura (modern Mandasor):

\[\text{अभावन्य: पारियात्रा: सह दसपुरज्ञूतभाषाः भजते} \]

The main characteristics of this language are thus given in Hemachandra’s *Prākrit-vyākaraṇa*\(^3\):

1. Consonants as a general rule are not dropped; they remain as in Sanskrit.
2. \( \ddot{a} \) is changed to \( \dddot{a} \), \( \dddot{u} \) to \( \dddot{u} \), \( \dddot{a} \) to \( \dddot{a} \), \( \dddot{e} \) and \( \dddot{u} \) to \( \dddot{a} \).

\(^{1}\) See below the section on the *Mṛichchhakāṭika*.

\(^{2}\) Bhāsa has made several changes in the original story. See A. D. Pusalkar, *Bhāsa*: A Study, pp. 226 ff.

\(^{3}\) Hemachandra—*Prākrita-Vyākaraṇa* ed. by P. L. Vaidya.
THE SĀTAVĀHANAS AND THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS

(3) न, न्य and न्य are changed to न्य, न in नाम य is changed to न्याना (नाना); कन्यका (कन्यका); न्युः (न्यु:).

(4) The letters of दम्भ are optionally changed to those of दम्भ. कुद्दुःक्ष्य or कुद्दुःक्ष्य (कुद्दुःक्ष्य).

(5) य in हय्य is changed to य. See हिय्य (हिय्य).

(6) त्वा of the Absolutive is changed to त्व, and त्वा to त्वा or त्वा. मन्त्र (मन्त्र), नवन (नवन), तत्त्व (तत्त्व).

(7) The passive voice is indicated by हय्य. See हिय्य (हिय्य).

(8) The future form is indicated by हय्य. See हिय्य (हिय्य).

(9) The Ablative singular of words ending in न ends in नाणु or नाणी. See तुमाणु, तुमाणी (तुमाणी); ममाणु, ममाणी (ममाणी).

Besides, there are a few other peculiarities, but they need not be discussed here.

The Paisāchī has a sub-dialect called Chulikā-Paisāchī, 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 ल optionally. See नकर (नकर), मक (मक).

Hemachandra has given the following gāthās as illustrations of Chulikā Paisāchī:—

(1) पननय पननयपुष्पितस्योत्सवनमलामक्षतिविद्वं ।
तसु नथतपनेशु एकादशतनुष्यलरूपे ||
[प्रणवत प्रणवप्रकुपित्वा वाराणसिक्यान्तमनस्ततिविद्वां ।
दृज्ञु नथतपनेशु एकादशतनुष्यलरूपे ||]

(2) नम्बन्तस्य य लीलापात्तुश्चेव लिम्बिता बसुधा ।
उज्ज्वलितं समुद्रं सहला निपरिणतं तं हृद्वन प्रमय ||
[नृत्त्वत्त्र लीलापात्तुश्चेव लिम्बिता बसुधा ।
उज्ज्वलितं समुद्रं: शैला निपरिणतं तं हृद्वन प्रमय ||]

1 It may be conjectured that these illustrations were the initial verses of the Brāhma-kathā. The latter was no doubt written in prose as stated by Dvāraṇa, but it is not unlikely that it had some managala-gāthās in the beginning. But these gāthās are in the Chulikā-Paisāchī. Guṇādhyāya is nowhere stated to have composed his work in the Chulikā-Paisāchī. Perhaps, Hemachandra has made some changes in the original gāthās so as to make them illustrations of the Chulikā-Paisāchī.
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 Mahārāṣṭra. 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 Kāfīristān, the Svāt Valley, Chitrāl and Gilgit. As the people of this region were carnivorous, they were known as Piśāchas. The change of e and other soft consonants to a 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 Brīhatkathā, he was in the Vindhya region. So he must have used the dialect of that region in his work.¹ This is a reasonable view, and it has been accepted by Keith² and Sten Konow.³ We have evidence for it in the afore-cited statement of Rāja-śekhara. Paiśāchī is said to resemble the dialect of Mālwā.⁴

¹ The dialect Avantiṇā Prākrita mentioned by Bharata in his Nātyaśāstra (XVII, 40) may be Paiśāchī.
² History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 269.
In certain respects such as the change of ड to ढ, it shows the influence of the Dravidian languages. Paisachi's resemblance to Pali can thus be accounted for. Pali, 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. Asoka's son Mahendra took it to Sri-Lanka. Taranath's statement that Staviravadi Bauddhas read their sacred works in the Piśāchikā language lends support to this view. This Piśāchikā is none other than Paisachi.

Paisachi has very little literature. The Brihatkathā 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 Vyākarana. All other passages cited by him are very short and are in prose. In his Śrīgāra-prakāśa, Bhoja has given a fairly long extract from the Brihatkathā. It is also in prose. We learn from Dandin's Kavyadarśa that the Brihatkathā was written in prose. So the short passages cited by Hemachandra as illustrations of his Sūtras may have been from the Brihatkathā. Lacote has tried to identify their sources in that work. In the Kumārapālacharita, Hemachandra has given six gāthās of Paisachi, and two of Chuliṅkā-Paisachi. Some stotras of Jain Tirthaṅkaras and a few speeches in one or two Sanskrit works are also in Paisachi, but on the whole, the literature in Paisachi is insignificant.

Sanskrit authors are fond of exaggeration. Prakrit authors are no exceptions. The Prakrit grammarian Varruci gives the following long list of countries where the Paisachi dialect was spoken: —

काल्कवर्धीयायामध्ये च पाट्न्यां ग्रामाद्विनम्।
श्राक्षेड दाशित्याय च शौरसनेन च केकयम्।
शाबर्म त्रामिर्म खैवं एकादश पीखाकः।

1 This view has been expressed by Kuhn. See Gume, Introduction to Comparative Philosophy (first ed.), p. 177. The same view is held by Franke.
2 ZDMG., 1910, p. 104.
3 V. Raghavan, Bhoja's Śṛīgāraprakāśa, p. 335. 4 ABORI, XXI, pp. 27 ff.
Had this been true, there would not have been so much dearth of literature in Paiśāchī.

4. The Kātantra Grammar of Sarvavarman

We have given above the legend that Sarvavarman, 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 Pāṇini’s Ashtādhyāyi and making them succinct and faultless. Several successors of Pāṇini composed vārttikas for the purpose. Later, Patañjali, who was a contemporary of the Śunga 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, Sarvavarman seems to have composed his Kātantra Vyākaraṇa. It is the oldest among such Vyākaraṇas.

Sarvavarman’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 Sarvavarman is supposed to have obtained it by the grace of Kumāra or Kār̥tikeya it got the name of Kaumāra. Its third name Kālāpa is derived from the kalāpa (or plumage) of the peacock, the vehicle of Kār̥tikeya.

The existing Vyākaraṇa of Sarvavarman has in all 1383 Sūtras;¹ but some of its prakaraṇas (sections)

¹This number has been given from the Kātantra Vyākaraṇa (edited with the com. Rūpamālā by Hirachandra Nemichandra, Vikrama Sarhvat,
such as kṛit, nipāta, stri-pratyaya and uṇ-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.¹ Tradition says that the section was appended later by Śākaṭāyana or Vararuci.² It is also noteworthy that Durgasimha, who is the oldest commentator of this Vyākaraṇa, has not commented on the sections of the nipātas, stri-pratyayas and uṇ-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 Pañini’s Ashtādhyāyi. 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 Śarvararman succeeded in imparting a general knowledge of Sanskrit to his royal pupil.

Śarvararman 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 Pañini’s Ashtādhyāyi, the Māheśvara Sūtras were necessary. In them, the natural order of letters had to be changed. Śarvararman 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 vartamāṇa (Pañini’s स्त्रृ), hyastani (Pañini’s लध), paroksha (Pañini’s लक्ष्य), śvastani (Pañini’s शूष्ठ) are significant and therefore easily intelligible. He used some new terms which also are quite simple. See निक्रिया (prātipadika), अभिन्न (masculine words ending in short द and ध), पुरुष (consonants except semi-vowels and nasals) etc. He has adopted Pañini’s sūtras which were easy, such as नृते च तुलीयमानसेः। (२००५); व्याकरणप्रमाणेः। (२०२४).

But in cases where Pañini’s sūtras were difficult to understand, he has made them easy by adding the necessary words. See e.g. Pañini’s इत्यद्विधम (६०१६),

¹ Siddha occurs in the first Sūtra of the Kāśāntra Vyākaraṇa. See मित्रो वर्णसमान्यव:।
² Belvālkara, Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, p. 84.
Śravavarman has substituted it by his Sūtra इत्यायः 
कव्यमालकम न भ परे लोपः। Pāṇini has not, in some cases, 
grouped his Sūtras according to topics. So Bhaṭṭojī 
Dikshīt had to change their order in many places. 
Śravavarman 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, Śravavarman 
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 Mahārāṣṭra. It seems to be taught in some Jain 
Pāṭhasālās of Mahārāṣṭra. Our own copy of it con-
tains the commentary Rūpamālā of a Jaina Muni named 
Bhāvasena.¹

The Kātantra Vyākaraṇa seems to have been current 
in Mahārāṣṭra till the time of the Yādavas of Devagiri. 
See the following interesting verse in the Purushottampurī 
plates dated Śaka Samvatsa 1232 (A. D. 1310) of the Yādava 
king Rāmachandra² :

श्रीराम: शैवसमां पदपथमर्यादस्तु रूपमालिन्यं।
वनां सर्वकमण्यं व्यवहरणमपरायत्वं साधितात् ॥
जेता विवक्तुलतो विशुद्धि विद्विध स्वृत्यते नागशङ्के ॥

[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

¹ In this edition Śravavarman is called Jaināchārya.
² El., XXV, p. 211.
affected by censure—is verily Śarvavarman, who noticed an easy way of forming padda, all of whose aphorisms are explained by Durga’s commentary, who derived the intended sense from roots combined with conjugational signs, 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, since not even a boy (who studies his grammar) is tainted by the use of wrong words.]

Both the works discussed above—the Sat-tasaṭ and the Brihatkathā—are in Prakrit. So the question arises, ‘Were not any Sanskrit works produced in that age?’ From the Malharā plates recently discovered in Vidarbhā 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 Nāṣik Cave inscriptions of Rishabhadatta. Rudradāman of the Gujarāt—Mālvā branch is known to have himself composed Sanskrit kāvyas 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 Mrichchhakatika, to which we shall now turn.

5. The Mrichchhakatika of Śūdraka

The Mrichchhakatika is a unique play in Sanskrit dramatic literature. The plots of Sanskrit plays are

1 Vikarana means the conjugational sign affixed to a root before śīrvadhātuka terminations are added to it.
2 While construing the verse with Śarvavarman, the pada-chheda in the fourth quarter will be ‘जन्त्र अतिश्वासकृत्यानाम्’
3 The heavenly personage Rāmāchandra had to suffer calumny on account of the abandonment of Sītā.
generally derived from the two Epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*. Some are based on harem intrigues in the lives of historical kings. See *e.g.* the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kalidāsa and the *Ratnāvalī* and the *Priyadarśikā* of Harsha. The plots of a few plays like the *Mālati-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 *Mrīchchhakāṭika* is, however, concerned with incidents in the lives of persons of a low social status like the hetaira, the masseur, the gambler, the Viṣṇa and the Cheṭā. 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 *Mrīchchhakāṭika* bears close resemblance to another Sanskrit play, the *Chārudatta*, in respect of plot, characters, language etc.1 So it has been a matter of a long-drawn controversy whether the *Chārudatta* is an abridged version of the *Mrīchchhakāṭika* 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.2 Still, we may add here some more instances in support of our view.

In both the *Mrīchchhakāṭika* and the *Chārudatta*, the Sūtradhāra notices great preparations going on in his house for a feast. On his enquiry, the Naṭi 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 Naṭi 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.

---

1 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 Sānetakā in the *Mrīchchhakāṭika*, while it is Sāparakā in the *Chārudatta*. Similarly, the person who had advised the Naṭi to undertake a fast is named Jānivriddha in the *Mrīchchhakāṭika* while he is called Chātraṇagātika in the *Chārudatta*.

2 *ML. III* pp. 355 ff.
Naṭi—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 Naṭi tells the Sūtradhāra that her fast was for obtaining a good husband in the next life, the Sūtradhāra simply says, savam dāva chitṭhadu. (Let it be). This looks unnatural. One feels that something has been omitted here. On the other hand, the speeches in the Mrīchchhakāṭīka appear quite natural. See also the subsequent dialogue in the Chārudatta:—

Sūtradhāra—Who advised you to undertake this fast?
Naṭi—Your revered Chūrṇagoshtiḥa.

Sūtradhāra—Well done! Chūrṇagoshtiḥa! Well done!

This very incident is much better treated in the Mrīchchhakāṭīka. 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 Mrīchchhakāṭīka. 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 Mrīchchhakāṭīka.

We may take another incident, viz., that of the upper garment perfumed with jasmine flowers (jāti-kusuma-vāsita-prāvāraka). The author of the Mrīchchhakāṭīka 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 Mrichchhakaṭīka has made further use of this perfumed garment quite skilfully. We find in the first Act that Vasantasesā, who was pursued by Śakāra, 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 Vasantasesā 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 Vasantasesā 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 Mrichchha-kaṭīka, while they are not noticed at all in the Chārudatta. This is an unmistakable proof that the latter play is an abridgement of the Mrichchhakaṭīka. In the Kerala country where the manuscript of the Chārudatta was found, Sanskrit plays are even now abridged for being put on the boards.  

---

1 As the Chārudatta is an abridged version of the original play for the stage, it does not contain the Bhūmā-sākyam at the end as in other Trivandrum plays.
Prof. G. C. Jhala has drawn attention to an expression in the fourth Act of the Chārudatta which seems to settle this issue.¹ That play is of four Acts (I to IV), the last six Acts having been omitted. In the fourth Act Saijhalaka, 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, फिर ये अनुवंकणाहरु संयुक्तं। Prof. Jhala says that the expression amudārīṅka-nāḍaaṁ 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-mṛḍi-aṅka-nāṭaka means also ‘the play in the Acts of which there is no reference to clay (mṛḍi), i. e. to the clay-cart’.² (So the other sense is, ‘Now this play in which (unlike in the Mṛichchhakaṭṭika) there is no reference to the clay-cart has come to an end.’ In the Mṛichchhakaṭṭika Vasantasenā puts her ornaments in a clay-cart and presents them to Chārudatta’s son Rohasena. Hence the play gets its name Mṛichchhakaṭṭika (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-mṛḍi-aṅka-nāṭaka that his play is an abridgment of the Mṛichchhakaṭṭika. If we agree with Prof. Jhala, this expression clinches the issue. It shows clearly that the Chārudatta is an abridgment of the Mṛichchhakaṭṭika.

Its Critical Examination

But Prof. Jhala’s explanation of the expression is not undeniable. The expression amudārīṅka-nāḍaaṁ

¹ JBBRAS., (New Series), XXVII, pp. 272 f.
² T. Ganapati Śāstri and several other editors of the Chārudatta have given the Sanskrit chhūya of this Prakrit saying as amṛt-ṅṅaṅka-nāṭakaṁ sansārvitaṁ. It should really be a-mṛḍaṅga-nāṭakaṁ sansārvitaṁ as shown later.
saṁvuttaṁ was a popular saying in ancient times. Its Sanskrit form amṛidaṅga nāṭak-āṅkaḥ saṁvṛtttaṁ occurs in the Bhāna Padma-prābhṛitaka recently discovered.¹ 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-nāṭakaṁ saṁvṛtttaṁ means that the event has occurred unexpectedly. This saying occurs in the speech of Vasantasenā’s maid when Sajjalaka departs with Madanikā. Vasantasenā 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 Bhāna Padmaprābhṛitaka, ascribed to Śūdraka. It has not been noticed elsewhere, though some other similar sayings occur in other Bhāṇas.² We shall show later that the Padmaprābhṛitaka belongs to a later age than the Mrichchhakātika. When the author of the Chārudatta abridged the Mrichchhakātika, he introduced it as it occurred in a Bhāna traditionally ascribed to the same author.

So there is no doubt that the Mrichchhakātika 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 Mrichchhakātika also not only mentions Śūdraka as its author but

² A similar saying occurs in the Pādamāḍikā. Ibid., p. 30, n. 22 (2).
gives also much information about him. He was a Brähmaṇa well versed in the Vedas. After performing an Āsvamedha 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 Mṛichchhakāṭika 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 शृणुकादिविचित्रम् प्रकणोपस्य मूम्प्रभाप्रियो द्वारे । (Many instances of this ślesha are noticed in the works of Śūdraka and others). He has cited two passages from the Mṛichchhakāṭika—(1) नूतन ते नाम पुष्पस्याविचारान्त राज्याम् । (Act II) and (2) यतस्त वैलिनेतिर नदुवुदेहलीनाः 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 Mṛichchhakāṭika.

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 Mṛichchhakāṭika 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.1 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 Avantidundari-kathā of Daṇḍin, and (2) its metrical abridgment, the Avanti-
sundari-kathā-sāra, have been found and published in the Dakshīṇa-Bhārati-grantha-mālā. The former of these

1 See his description in the beginning of the Kādambarī.
contains the following verse about Śūdraka:

शुद्रकेयांसुकुण्डलाया स्वभव्यया खेडङ्गधारया।
जग्नूपम्यवत्तानं वाचा स्वरसरितयाय।

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:

“...In his previous birth Śūdraka was a Brāhmaṇa named Śaunaka. After rebirth in the Aśmaka country, he came to be known as Indrāṇīgupta. People called him Śūdraka also. Once he was told by a Brāhmaṇa that he would get Rāja-lakṣmi (royal fortune) after passing through several calamities. He grew up in the company of a prince named Śvāti. 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-oddhāraṇa (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.”

1 Avantisundari-kathā (Dakshiṇa-Bhāratī-Granthamālā, 1924), pp. 1-2.
2 Ibid, pp. 41 ff.
M. Rāmakrishna Kavi, who has edited the Avantisundari-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 Svātī mentioned in the Purāṇas. He fixed the end of Svātī's reign in 56 B.C. and identified Śūdraka with King Vikramāditya,¹ the reputed founder of the Vikrama Samvat.

This theory about the date of Śūdraka is based on a very shaky foundation. The stories in the Avantisundari-kathā-sāra, like those in such Sanskrit works as the Kathā-sarit-sāgara, are purely imaginary, and have no historical basis. Secondly, we have no reason to suppose that this Svātī 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.² 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 Vetalapañchavimśati included in the Kathāsaritśāgara. So these legends about Śūdraka deserve no credence. Though the tales in the Avantisundari-kathā-sāra are imaginary, the order of poets praised in the preliminary verses of the original work, the Avantisundari-kathā, appears to be chronological as we have shown elsewhere from the mention of the Vākāṭaka king Sarvasena and the anthology of the Chhappāṇaya poets.³ 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 Mrichachhakātika, but no other author of that name is known to history.

¹ He is called Vikramāditya in the Vetalpañchavimśati also. See the Kathāsaritśāgara (Nirmayasāgar Press, 1915), p. 466.
² DKA., p. 36.
³ Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas (CII., Vol. V), pp. 29, 49 etc.
The preliminary eulogistic verses in the *Avantisundari-kathā* mention the following authors in this order—(1) Śūdraka; (2) Bhāsa; (3) Sarvasena; (4) Chhappaṇḍayya 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:—

ती शुद्धकृपाकारी वन्धी रामिलसोमिलौ ।
काव्ये पपोङ्ग्योरासीदवर्ताशुमारीयोपभम् ।

This verse states that the *Śūdraka-charita* composed by the two poets Rāmila and Somila appears uniform throughout like the Ardha-nāri-ṇaṭeśvara 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.¹ Sten Konow identifies him with Śivadatta, the father of the Ābhira king Īśvarasena, who started the so-called Kalachuri era in A. D. 249-250.² He overthrew the last Sātavāhana king. This political revolution is reflected in that mentioned in the last Act of the *Mrichchhakatākī*. In that Act

---

¹ Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 131. He takes the *Mrichchhakatākī* to be an enlarged version of the *Chārudatta*.
² 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.\textsuperscript{1} He says merely that the \textit{Mrīchhkaṭaṇīka} is not a very late play. Winternitz,\textsuperscript{2} Oliver\textsuperscript{3} and R. D. Karmarkar,\textsuperscript{4} who accept the view that the \textit{Mrīchhkaṭaṇīka} is an enlarged redaction of the \textit{Chārudatta}, assign Śūdraka to the fifth or the sixth century A. D. This is a mistaken view. The \textit{Mrīchhkaṭaṇīka} 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 \textit{Mrīchhkaṭaṇīka} occurred at the end of the reign of Pālaka, son of Pradyota or Chaṇḍamahāśena, king of Ujjayini. 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 \textit{Mrīchhkaṭaṇīka} 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 Samīvāhaka loses ten gold

\textsuperscript{1} S. K. De, \textit{History of Sanskrit Literature}, p. 242.
\textsuperscript{2} History of Indian Literature (English Tr.), Vol. III, Fasciculus I, I (Cal. Univ.), p. 25.
\textsuperscript{3} The Little Clay Cist., p. 26.
\textsuperscript{4} See his edition of the \textit{Mrīchhkaṭaṇīka}. Macdonell also held the same view. See \textit{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 Chārūdatta, 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 Śramaṇāka (Buddhist Monk). Next, in the eighth Act Śakāra 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 Ujjayini. At the end of the last Act, after the political revolution was over and Chārūdatta was saved from the gallows, Saṁvilaka asks him, “What should we do to this Monk?” Then Chārūdatta replies—पुष्पिण्यं सर्वविहारस्य पुलितकस्य विभिन्ताम्। “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 Śakāra pursuing Vasantasenā in the first Act:

अन्यकारे पलायनाना मायमाग्नेन सूचिता।
केशवने परामृष्टा चाणक्येनेन द्रोपदी।।

The reference to Chāṇakya involves the fault of anachronism. We have seen above that the political

condition intended to be described in the Mṛichchhakāṭika is that of circa 450 B. C., when King Pālaka was ruling in Ujjayini. 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 Śakāra suffers from the fault of anachronism.

Śūdraka seems to have committed the same fault in describing the religious condition in Ujjayini in the Mṛichchhakāṭika. That condition could not have obtained in Ujjayini 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 Dharmamahā-mātrās and Buddhist Missionaries that Buddhism spread far and wide. So the religious condition in the Mṛichchhakāṭika 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 Kuśāvatī on the bank of the river Venā. 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 Ujjayini offers the kingdom of Kuśāvatī on the bank of the Veṇā (modern Vaingaṅgā in the Bhaṇḍārā District) to his friend, it means that his own rule then extended from the country of Ākarāvantī (present Mālwa) in the north to the country of the Vaingaṅgā 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 Kuśāvatī.

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 follows¹:

कोशले�पु कुशं बीरमुतरेरपु तथा लब्धः
अभिविष्क महात्मानावभाषवः कुशीलबो

Rāma gave the Dakshiṇa 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 Śrāvasti, and made it the capital of Lava. Dakshiṇa Kośala corresponds to the modern Chhattisgarh 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 Rāvana, was situated a few miles north of Jabalpur is erroneous.

After making over the country of Dakshiṇa Kośala to Kuśa, Rāma founded the city of Kuśāvatī

¹ Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa (Cr. ed.), Uttarakāraṇa, 97, v. 1.
in his name\(^1\) 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 *Raghuvaṁśa*, Kālidāsa describes that while Kuśa was ruling from Kuśāvatī, he saw one night the presiding deity of Ayodhyā, who described to him 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 Kuśāvatī to Ayodhyā in the sixteenth canto of his *Raghuvaṁśa*. He mentions the Vindhya mountain and the river Revā (*Narmadā*) in this connection. This leaves no doubt that Kuśāvatī was situated to the south of the Narmadā and the Vindhya mountain.

The mention of Kuśāvatī as situated on the bank of the Venā\(^2\) (modern Vaingañgā) helps in the identification of that city. The Venā or the Beṇā is undoubtedly the Vaingañgā, which flows through the Bhanḍārā 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-kajā\(^3\) or Beṇā-kārparabhoga.\(^4\) These names occur in the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Vākātakas. The city of Kuśāvatī 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 Bhanḍārā

\(^{1}\) See—कुशावते नगरी रम्या विन्यमण्डतरंधvig\!

कुशावतीति नागमा या कुशा राष्ट्रेण धीमला II


\(^{2}\) The editors of the *Mrīchehkaṁśa* have not yet been able to identify this Venā. Oliver thinks that it was a tributary of the Gaṅgā and flowed past Ujjayinī and Kuśāvatī. Karmarkar thought that it was a tributary of the Narmadā, and identified Kuśāvatī with Rāmāgara in Bundelkhaṇḍ!

\(^{3}\) See Nāśik Inscription of Gautamiputra, (No. 11).

\(^{4}\) *Inscriptions of the Vākātakas* (CII, V, p.)
District. It is situated on the bank of the Venâ (modern Vaingaṅgā). Several Stūpas dating back to the Maurya-Śunāga period have been discovered there in recent excavations. King Bhagadatta of the Bhāra family, who flourished in the first century A. D. established a Pādukā-pattā there as recorded in a large stone inscription found there. It was probably his capital. The country of Benā-kaṭa has been mentioned in some inscriptions of the second century A.D. in the caves at Nāṣik, which shows that the town was famous in the early centuries of the Christian era. This town must evidently be the ancient Kuṣāvatī. There is no other so ancient a place on the bank of the Vaingaṅgā.

From the description in the Mrichchhakaṇṭaka, 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 Koṅkāṇ, Northern Mahārāṣṭra and Vidarbha in the South. They appointed Kshatrapas (or Provincial Governors) to rule over these provinces. They are known to have appointed Chasṭana over Kachchha and parts of Kāṭhiāwāḍ, and first Bhūmaka and later Nahapāna over Koṅkāṇ and Northern Mahārāṣṭra. 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 Mahākṣatrapa Rupiamma discovered at Pauni itself. These Kshatrapas of Venā-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 Gautamiputra of

---

1 See Nagpur University Report on Pauni Excavations.
2 Eli, XXIV, pp. 11 f.
3 See our article "Beṇā-kaṭa, A famous Buddhist Centre in Vidarbha", VII, XV.
Pratishṭhāna raided Vīrdhava, and annexed the country to his kingdom. He next marched west and exterminated the Kṣaharāṭa race in battles fought near Nāsik and Kārle in Northern Māhārāṣṭra. 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).

Gautamiputra next invaded and occupied 'several countries in Central India such as Saurāṣṭra (Kāṭhāwāḍ), Ākarāvanti (Eastern and Western Mālāw) etc., as stated in a Nāsik Cave inscription of his son Pūjamāvi. But this large empire of Gautamiputra did not last for long. Soon after his death, Rudradāman, the grandson of Chāshaṇa, reconquered some countries of the north like Saurāṣṭra and Ākarāvanti, but he could not extend his rule to Vīrdhava and conquer Vepā-taṭa.¹

The Mṛichchhakaṭīka shows that the kingdom of Kuśāvatī was comprised in the empire of the ruler of Ujjainī. This state of things obtained only in the early period of Kuśāṇa rule, i.e. in the beginning of the second century A.D. If we suppose that Śūdraka has described the political situation in the Mṛichchhakaṭīka 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 Padmaprabhṛitaka ascribed to Śūdraka has been discovered and published. Before closing this subject, we must discuss how far its date agrees with that of the Mṛichchhakaṭīka 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 Vīdagha-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

¹ The Gīrṇār Rock Inscription of Rudradāman mentions Eastern and Western Ākarāvanti as included in his Empire; but it makes no mention of Vīrdhava as comprised therein.
centuries than the *Mrichchhakatika*. 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 (*prābhritaka*) of a lotus (*padma*) given by her. Hence this one-Act play is called *Padmaprābhritaka*. This play is written in a well-developed style, full of long compounds and *alankāras*. While passing by the streets of Ujjayini, 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 pretentions 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 nātak-āṅkāḥ sanāyṛitāḥ* 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 *Mrichchhakatika*. 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 *Padmaprābhritaka*, 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 Āśvaghosha, 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. Kalhana says in the Rājatarangini (I. 173) that Nāgārjuna was the only Bhūmiśvara that flourished in Kāśmīr in the time of Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka. But Kalhana 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 uchchhāvāsa of the Harshacharita Bāna says that Nāgārjuna presented a pearl necklace as an antidote against poison to King Sātvāhana, 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 Sātvāhana king, but in this case too the personal name of the king is not given. Some scholars make Nāgārjuna a protege of Yajña-śri Sātakarni,¹ and others that of Vijaya Sātakarni.² The latter view appears more likely; for his capital Vijayapuri where Nāgārjuna lived for a long time became known as Nāgārjunakonda,³ 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.⁴

¹ Hil., I (Eng. Tr.), p. 348.
² Ibid., I, p. 348, n. 1.
³ Fa Hian says that the king had erected a five-storeyed Sanghārām on the mountain Śrīparvata for Nāgārjuna. That king was probably Vijaya Sātakarni; 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.
⁴ 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 Bhikshu. 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 Bhikshu 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 Akutobhayā is now available only in its Tibetan translation. A Sanskrit commentary called Prasannapadā by Chandrakirti 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\textsuperscript{1} 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 Gaudapādāchārya, 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 Māṇḍukyopanishad:—

\begin{quote}
śāntaṃkāśaṃkṣepena śrāmanīyo gacchadūpamamān \\
śāntāṃbhāṣeṇ sambudhānāṃ bhave dhiṣyadān bhārman.
\end{quote}

Where Gaudapāda did not agree with the Buddha, he has remarked, nālavadūnān bhāṣitaḥ. (This has not been stated by the Buddha.) If the Śūnya-vāda of the Buddhists it thus interpreted, its roots can be traced to the Upanishads, and its culmination in the Māya-vāda of Śaṅkarāchārya. Hence the latter is called Prachchhanna Baudhā.

Several other works of Nāgarjuna are also known. The Yuktiśaṭṭhikā and the Śūnyatā-saptati expound his philosophy mentioned above. The Pratītya-samutpāda-hṛdaya is devoted to the exposition of origination as dependent on the relation of cause and effect (or Causality-dependent origination).\textsuperscript{2} The Mahāyāna-viśisṭaka and the Vigraha-vyāvartani are two other works of Nāgarjuna. Besides these, several other works have been attributed to him.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1} 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.'

\textsuperscript{2} V. V. Gokhale has edited five Pratītya-samutpādakārikās in the V. S. Agnī Commemoration Volume (pp. 62 ff.), published by the Deccan Education Society in 1978.

\textsuperscript{3} HIL., I, p. 348.
Āryadeva, a pupil of Nāgārjuna, also flourished in the Sātavāhana age. His Life also was written in Chinese by Kumārajīva in A.D. 405. His principal work, the Chatuḥ-śataka, like the Mādhyaṃkikā-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.1

In the Chatuḥśatāka 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.2 Such legends were current in the seventh cen. A. D. also. Huien Tsang has mentioned them. Another Nāgārjuna is said to have prepared an edition of Suśruta’s medical work.3

---

1 [I][I][L., I (Eng. Tr.), p. 150, n. 4. 2 Kathāsaritsāgara (Nirṛtyasāgar Press), p. 188. Watters, On Yuan Chwung’s Travels in India, II, p. 201. 3 [H][I][L., 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 vassa-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 Mahārāṣṭra are later. They are larger in size and architecturally more elaborate. They are distributed in several districts of Mahārāṣṭra. They are at Bhājā, Junnar and Kārle in the Poonā District,
Konḍāṇe in the Kolābā District, Pītalḵhorā in the Khān-
desh District and Kānheri in the Thāne 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-
ṇakā), 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 Mahārāṣṭra. 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 Krishṇa, who was the brother and successor of Simuka, the earliest Sātavāhana king mentioned in the Purāṇas.

The cave next in antiquity is the Chaitya1 (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

---

1 CII., pp. 272 ff. Plate facing p. 273 and woodcut Plate XXV.
on the right. It records that the cave was excavated by Bhaṭāpālikā, the grand-daughter of Mahā-Hakuṣrī. 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 Kṛṣhṇa. Later, when the need for a Chaitya was felt, Bhaṭāpālikā, who was connected with the royal family, appears to have got this cave carved. She was the grand-daughter of Mahā-Hakuṣrī. This Hakuṣrī seems to be identical with Kumāra Hakuṣirī of a rilievo figure inscription at Nāṇeghāt. He is also mentioned as Sati-sīri in the inscription of Nāganikā there. He apparently came to the throne in due course; for the coins with the legend Raño siri-Satīsa were probably struck by him. No title like rājan is prefixed to his name in the inscription of Bhaṭāpālikā 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 Bhaṭāpālikā, 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 age1 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 view2 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

---

1 For another instance of the frontage (ghana-mukha) carved after the excavation of a cave, See CTI., p. 293.
2 CHI, I, p. 637.
treatment of the dvārapāla—all bespeak a later date and, therefore, Hakuśri, 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 Mahārāṣṭra. One of the caves excavated in their time is that of Rishabhadatta, son-in-law of Mahākṣatrapa 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. 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, Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi overthrew Nahapāna and established his supremacy in Western Mahārāṣṭra. He then ordered excavation of a cave in the name of his mother Gautami Balaśri, 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 Rishabhadatta. 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.

---

1 CII., Plate XIX (2). See our Plate IX, Fig. 13.
2 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. (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. 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-storied. The upper storey has a large window of the Āsvattha 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. 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.

---

1 CTI, Plate XX. See our Plate X, Fig. 15.
2 Ibid., Fig. 47 facing p. 236. See our Plate XI, Fig. 17.
3 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.¹

बेजायतीतो सैठिणा भूतपालना सेल्धरं परिनिधिप्तं जबुदिविमिह उतम [1°]

[A merchant of Vaijayanti (Vanavāsi in the Kannada District), Bhātāpāla² 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.³ and others to the second century A. D.⁴ In this connection, the statement that it was excavated by a merchant of Vaijayanti quoted above is significant. When we find that a merchant of a far-off place like Vaijayanti (Vanavāsi in the Kannada District) gets a cave excavated at Kārle in Mahārāṣṭra, it sheds important light on the intercourse between the two countries. Such intercourse was established for the first time during the reign of Vāsishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi. We have shown elsewhere that the country of Kuntala was not included in the Sātavāhana empire till the time of Puḷumāvi. In the large hoard of lead coins discovered at Wāṭegaon in the Sāngli District (previously comprised

¹ Lüder⁵ List, No. 1087.
² For the figures of the donor and members of his family, see our Plate XX, Fig. 16.
⁴ HCIP, I, p. 502.
in the Kuntala country), there was not even a single coin of his father Gautamiputra Satakarni. It was Vasishtihputra Pulumavi 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 Vanavasi got this magnificent cave excavated at Karle so distant from his native place of Vanavasi. Hence the Chaitya probably dates about the middle of the second century A.D.

The Stupa at Pauni

The Chaityas and Viharas discussed so far were cut in rocks. They were also structural i.e., built of stones and bricks. Recently, the remains of two structural Stupas have been exposed in the excavations carried on by the Nagpur University and the Central Archaeological Department at Pauni in the Bhandara District. Pauni is a very ancient place situated on the bank of the Vainganga. From the description in the Ramayana and the Raghuvaani, it appears to be identical with the ancient capital Kushavati of Kuasa, the elder son of Rama.\(^1\) Inscriptions dating from the Maurya age have been found there and in the surrounding territory. In the Satavahana age, it was for some time included in the Kushana empire. An inscription recently discovered at Pauni records the erection there of a chhaya-khambha (a sculptured memorial pillar) of the Mahakshatrapa Rupiama.\(^2\) Gautamiputra Satakarni defeated the Kshatrapa of this place before he marched against Nahapana of Western Maharshta. He has referred to himself as Benakaataka-svami\(^3\) in the order which he issued immediately after his victory over Nahapana atGovardhana near Nasik. Pauni was the chief place of this Benakaata (or the Vainganga District). Its monks used to go to far-off places like Nasik and Kanheri for

---

\(^1\) Chapter VI (Literature), pp. [227] ff.
\(^2\) Inscription No. 67.
\(^3\) Sankhodhana-muktavali, 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 Pauni in the Maurya-Śungra 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 pradakšiṇā-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 pradakšiṇā-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.1

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. Pauni was the ancient capital of Vidarbha. As shown elsewhere,

---

1 Pauni Excavations, pp. 25 ff.
coins of King Sātakarṇi I have been found there.¹ The Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela also shows that it was under the rule of that king.² Thereafter, it seems to have come under the rule of the Bhāra king Bhagadatta, who installed there a pādukā-pattā of some divinity. As stated before, there was at the place a chhāyā-khambha (sculptured memorial pillar) erected in memory of the Mahā-kṣatrapa 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, Kānheri and other places. The space round about this Stūpa at Pauni 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 Vākāṭakas when there was a revival of Hinduism in Vīdarbha as in other parts of the country.

Sculpture

The caves of the Sātavāhana period in Mahārāṣṭra 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,

¹ Coins of Sātakarṇi I have since been found there. See Chapter VII.
² 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 Yakshiṇīs 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 Pauni. 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 (Kharā-mukha\(^1\)) standing full front was found in the excavations at Pauni.\(^2\) 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 Pauni, viz., that of Muchalinda Nāga, represented by a person with the sepent’s hood.\(^3\) 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.

\(^1\) Pauni Excavations, Plate XXV (2).
\(^2\) Ibid., Plate XXV (1).
\(^3\) Ibid., Plate XXII.
The Sculptures At Bhājā

One of these is of a warrior. 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 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.

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. Usually, the Sun’s chariot has seven horses yoked to it, but in ancient sculptures his chariot has only four horses. So there can be no objection to this interpretation on this ground.

1 See our Plate XIII, Fig. 21.
2 See our Plate XIV, Fig. 22.
3 See our Plate XV, Fig. 23.
4 Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 25.
5 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 Nāṅgehāṭ 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. Gyanī has shown that these panels refer to the story of King Māṇḍhātā.¹ V. S. Agrawal also has subscribed to the same view.² The Mahābhārata,³ the Buddhist Jātakas and the Divyāvadāna describe the country of Uttara Kuru (North Kuru) as inhabited by prosperous, happy, art-conscious and amorous people.⁴ After conquering Videha and other countries on the earth, King Māṇḍhātā 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).⁵ 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

¹ Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, I, pp. 18 ff.
² Indian Art, pp. 191-92.
³ Mahābhārata (Chitraśālā Press), Bhishma-parvan, adhyāya 7, vv. 1 — 11.
⁴ 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 Māṇḍhātā 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.
⁵ महाभारतकालमें देवेन वा देवकुली वा सहस्रकालसापड़ हस्ते प्राप्यक्षितः । । ।
चन्द्रविघ्नाराजसबुधः । । चन्द्रविघ्नाराजाभमाघनवस्तु सेनवत्तीर्मिण्यापाकः । । ।
चन्द्रविघ्नपुरुषः । । मधुरावघवाकामवरीपिपतम् । । ।
मृत्युः कृतानांतः हृद्यः \ प्रासादः । । ।
⁶ Ibid., p. 137.
they desire to have them. This is shown in the scenes in bas relief in the background of the second panel. The first panel shows King Mándhātā 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.¹ The Divyāvadana says that he entered the heavenly assembly called Sudharmā after winning a victory over the Asuras.

The story of King Mándhātā 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.² The story of Mándhātā 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 Mándhātā. This appears to be the correct interpretation of these panels.

In the Sātavāhana and Kṣatrapa age, full-size statues of royal personages were erected to commemorate them. In a cave at Nāneghāṭ 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 Trana-kayira, and princes Bhāyila, [Vedi-śrī], Hakuśrī, and Sātavāhana.³ Their names were incised at the top. But these statues are now completely damaged. In North India a statue of Chashtana, the founder of the Kṣatrapa kingdom of Mālwā and Kāthiawād, was installed in the Statue Gallery (Deva-kula) at

¹ Rāja Mūryātasa, स्वेदयत्सुत्सवमण्डलमुन्मन्तलिकाः। प्राणंलोकत्वो विशेषतः। पश्चात् सुरास:। काल्पनिक—क एपोसमक्रमणमुन्मन्तलिकाः। पश्चात् सर्वत्र विधिलोकस्वतः।।।
² जिता भगवं: परारि: परापृष्ठिताः आसुरी पूरी प्रबन्धाः।।१ इबि, प. १३८,
³ मुठ्ठातासा मान्तन्न, Mārdhātā was another name of Mándhātā.
⁴ Amarāvatī Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum, p. 293.
⁵ Inscription No. 4.
Māṭ near Mathurā. It has been found in the form of a head-less torso.¹ Therein Chashtana 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 (Tiastenes) is engraved in front in the lower part of the coat.² Chashtana was probably related to the Kushāna Emperor Kanishka, and so his statue was included in the Gallery. We know that he was placed in charge of the Kachchha-Kāṭhiawāḍ territory when he was quite young. This also suggests his relationship to the royal family.

The Stūpa at Amarāvatī

There are five famous shrines of Śiva in Andhra, viz., Bhimārāma, Kumārārāma, Drākshārāma, Kshirārāma and Amarārāma. The place of the last of these is known as Amarāvatī and lies on the southern bank of the Krishṇā in the Guṇṭur 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 Dipa-dinne (the Hill of Lamps). Later, when Vasu Reddi, the Zamindār of Chintāpalli in Andhra, decided to stay at Amarāvatī, 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 Dipa-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 Śivāgangā. Some other slabs were used in the

¹ See our Plate XVI, Fig. 24.
² The name there is read as Shastana. It evidently stands for Chashtana.
construction of a local mosque after scraping off human figures carved thereon.¹

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 Dharaṇikot), 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.²

A small fragment of an Aśoka pillar has recently come to notice at Amrāvati.³ 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 Gautamiputra 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 Peḍā-bankūr and Koṇḍāpur.⁴ Sātavāhana inscriptions also have been discovered in Andhra from the time of Puḷumāvi 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

¹ ASI, pp. 1 ff.
² See Chapter 1 (Political History), above, p. [9].
³ EI., XXXV, pp. 40 ff.
⁴ See the Chapter on Coins.
there.\textsuperscript{1} Coins of Pułumāvi’s brother Vāsishthiputra 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.\textsuperscript{2} An epigraph of Yajña Sātakarṇi has come to notice at Chin on the seashore near Amārāvatī. He issued lead coins with the design of a double-masted ship indicative of his control over the Coromandel coast.\textsuperscript{4}

After the reign of Māthariputra Śakasena or Śaka Sātakarṇi, the large Sātavāhana empire was divided into two parts. His successor in Andhra, Vijaya Sātakarṇi founded the city of Vijayapuri\textsuperscript{3} 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.\textsuperscript{6} At his instance the king encased the Stūpa at Amrāvatī with sculptured marble slabs. Tārānātha’s statement that Nāgārjuna provided the Stūpa at Amrāvatī with a railing does not seem to be correct; for the railing there had been erected earlier during the reign of Pułumāvi I as evidenced by the aforementioned inscription. Nāgārjuna flourished much later. Besides, Pułumāvi’s capital was at Pratishṭhāna in Mahārāṣṭra as stated by Ptolemy. He does not seem to have taken much interest in the Stūpa at Amrāvatī. On the other hand, Vijaya Sātakarṇi was ruling at Vijayapuri (Nāgārjunakoṇḍ) not far from Amrāvatī. Nāgārjuna seems to have passed his later days at his capital, It is therefore,

\textsuperscript{1} Incription No. 21, line 2.
\textsuperscript{2} See Chapter on Coins.
\textsuperscript{3} Incription No. 29.
\textsuperscript{4} See Chapter on Coins.
\textsuperscript{5} Incription No. 32.
\textsuperscript{6} 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 Sātakarnī 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, Tārāṇāth 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.1 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 lioneses. 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 toraṇas as in the case of the Stūpa at Sāñchi. The base of the Stūpa was 162 ft. 7 in. in diameter and 6 ft. in height. It was

1 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 Bhārhat, this one also has now disappeared completely. Its description given above is based on the sculptured slabs which decorated it¹ and the remains discovered in excavations.

During the age of the Ikṣvākus 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.² 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 Mahārāṣṭra. Neither is it seen in any of the fragments of this first period at Amarāvati. The figures in the sculptures

¹ See our Plate XII, Fig. 19.
² ASMG., 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 Mahāśāṅghika Branch of Buddhism spread to Andhra in this period. It had several off-shoots or sub-branches there such as Chaityaka, Lokottaravādin, Purvaśailika and Aparasailika. They were more reformative. 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 Mahābhīnīshkramaṇa 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 Amarāvatī art. It falls in the reign of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puḷumāvi, 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 pradakshīnāpātha 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.1

1 Amarāvatī, 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’.¹ The voluptuousness is, however, not tainted by indecency. The artist loves life and attempts to enjoy it to the full. Bachofen says, “A passionate sense for everything terrestrial manifests itself as if Indian art had taken leave of this world with a tumultuous feast before deliberately entering the cold-fields of spirituality.”²

How skilfully the Amarāvati sculptor could portray a scene can be illustrated with the medallion of the

---

¹ Coomaraswamy, p. 71.
² Amarāvati, p. 41.
subjugation of the elephant Nalagiri. 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:

(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 away, from which Roman influence may have penetrated into Amarāvati. There was brisk trade with Rome in that age. Roman amphoras of wine have

---

1 See our Plate XII, Fig. 22.
2 *Amarāvatī*, pp. 37 ff.

17—A
been found in excavations at some places such as Pavnār in Vidarbha and Brahmāpuri in Western Mahārāṣṭra. The aforementioned motifs may have been borrowed from Roman art, but they are all decorative. The soul of the Amārāvatī 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 Sāñchī.¹

**Painting**

Ajanta 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 kūṇḍa, 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.

¹ 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 incised on the left of the Chaitya window:

1 वासिष्ठप्रियस कर्ते
2 हुदिनो धरमुबु
3 दानं [1*]

The inscription records that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Kaṭa-hādi got the frontage of the Cave excavated and presented it to the Buddhist Community. Burgess identified this Vāsiṣṭhīputra with the well-known Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi of the Sātavāhana family and so dated the cave in the first cen. A. D. This dating is undoubtedly wrong. Had this Vāsiṣṭhīputra been of that royal family, there would have been the title rāṇo 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 Vāsiṣṭhīputras. The Hinayāna caves at Ajaṇṭā 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. 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 Sāņchi and other places. So the Caves IX and X probably date back to the second century B. C.4

---

1 ASWL., IV, p. 116.
2 CTI., p. 295. Also, ASWL., IV, p. 45.
3 ASWL., IV, Plate LVI (No. 1).
4 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 Ajanṭā. 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-anākas) 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.¹

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.² Most of the caves at Ajanṭā 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 Ajanṭā paintings, but they are outside the scope of the present work. Those in Cave IX and X are rarely illustrated.³

**Painting in Ajanṭā Cave X**

We found a Jātaka tale illustrated in a painting of Cave No. X. Its painted plate was not available to

¹ *CTI.*, p. 292.
² Ajanṭā, p. 26. According to Balasaheb Panta Pratinidhi, the paintings at Ajanṭā are not of the fresco type but of the sco ro type.
³ The works on Ajanṭā 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.\(^1\) It will give the reader some idea of Ajañṭā art in this early period.\(^2\)

This picture illustrates the *Shad-danta Jātaka* (The story of the six-tusked elephant, *Jātaka* No. 514). It runs as follows\(^3\):—

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.\(^4\) 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.

---

\(^1\) *ASI*, IV, Plate XVI.

\(^2\) See our Plate XVII, Fig. 23.

\(^3\) *Jātakas*, No. 514. This *Jātaka* is illustrated with paintings in other caves also at Ajanṭā.

\(^4\) 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 Nāñeghāṭ inscription of Nāgānikā records gifts of thousands of kārshāpaṇas as dakshinās to the officiating priests of several sacrifices. These kārshāpaṇas were probably of copper, perhaps of lead.¹

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 Auraṅgābād, 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.² — 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

¹ The Kārshāpaṇa coins were also of silver. See the discussion in Kane’s HD, III, pp. 123 ff.
² 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.¹ — 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.² — 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 reliveau 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.³

¹ Sī. pp. 3 ff. Our Plate XIX, Fig. 29.
² Sankalia, From History to Pre-history at Nevāsā, p. 172. Our Plate XIX, Fig. 30.
³ 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. Srivatsa symbol above. Complete legend—Raño siri Chhinuka Sātavahanasa.
Reverse—Ujjain symbol with svastika between its orbs.

(3) Coins of Sātakarni I:
(A) A Coin of Lead.¹—Find-spot—Hyderābād;
Obverse—Bull to right. Circular legend above—Raño siri-Sātakarnisa.
Reverse—Tree of five leaves in the centre, with the Srivatsa 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 Sātakarni, and may therefore be ascribed to Sātakarni I.

(B) A Coin of Potin.²—Find-spot—Pauni 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-Sātakarni—.
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 Sātakarni I. Another coin of this Sātakarni has also been found on the ground at Pauni. These coins show that

¹ JI, III, pp. 10 ff. See our Plate XIX, Fig. 31.
² JNSI, XXXV, pp. 106 ff. Our Plate XIX, Fig. 32.
his power extended to Paunī on the Vaiṅgānā. He was probably the Sātakarṇī mentioned in the Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela.

(C) A Coin of Bronze.¹ — 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-Sātakaṇḍa.

Palaeographical evidence shows that this coin is of Sātakarṇī I. It is noteworthy that it was found in an old site at Tripuri. It is apparently of the time when Sātakarṇī I had conquered some part of Central India extending up to Sānci near Vidiśā, and occupied it for some time.

(D) A Joint Silver Coin of Sātakarṇī I and Nāganikā.² — 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 Sātakarṇī I and testifies to her prestige in the administration.

(4) A Copper Coin of Saktī.³ — 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-Satīsa.

¹Janoi, XXI, pp. 110 ff.
²Ibid. XXXVI, pp. 6 ff. Our Plate XX, Fig. 33. This is in an enlarged size of its plastic cast.
³Seminar, p. 27. Our Plate XX, Fig. 34.
COINS OF SĀTAVĀHANAS AND THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS [267]

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 Sātakarṇī; but we do not find royal names so abbreviated elsewhere. These coins appear to be of Sati-siri (Śri-Śakti) mentioned in the Nāneghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā. He is called Śakti-Kumāra in Jaina works. One of the relievo figure inscriptions in the Nāneghāṭ Cave mentions Kumāra Hakusiri, who seems to be this Śakti-sūri. 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 Śātanikoṭa in Karnul District of Andhra Pradesh. The coin has the legend Kumāra siri-Satīsa 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.


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 Purānic list. In this coin he mentions the biruda Śiva-sūri. The Sātavāhanas mentioned this epithet optionally. This coin indicates that Sātavāhana power had extended up to the eastern limit of Chhattisgarh in his reign.

¹ Num. Suppl. XLVII, pp. 93 ff. See our Plate XX, Fig. 35.
(6) Coins of Gautamiputra Sātakarnī—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. 1

(A) A Potin Coin of Gautamiputra Sātakarnī. 2—Find-spot—Tarhāḷā in Vidarbha. Shape—round, 8 in. in diameter. Weight—60.5 grains.
Obverse—Elephant with trunk uplifted to right.
Legend—Sirī-Sātakaṇīsa.
Reverse—Ujjain symbol.
His coins numbered 573 in the Tarhāḷā 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 Konḍāpur excavations, and also in those at Peḍābankur. 3 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 Gautamiputra Sātakarnī. 4—Find-spot—Bālpur (Chhattisgarh). 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, arahaṇaṣa (of the king).
This is the only silver coin of Gautamiputra Sātakarnī known so far.

(C) Silver Coins (of Nahapāna) re-struck by Gautamiputra. 5—After his memorable victory over Nahapāna, Gautamiputra 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.

2 JNSI, III, p. 38. Our Plate XXI, Figg. 1 to 7, 11 and 12.
3 Rama Rao, Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum, pp. 34—37.
4 JNSI, XXI, pp. 106 ff. Our Plate XXII, Fig. 36.
5 JB BRAS, 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-Sātakaṇīsa.

Reverse—Ujjain symbol with or without pellet, with or without crescent.

(7) Coins of Vāśishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi.—His potin coins have been found in Vidarbha and lead coins in Western Mahārāṣṭra and Andhra.


Obverse—Elephant with uplifted trunk to right.

Legend—Raṅā siri-Puḷumā[visa].

Reverse—Ujjain symbol.

Some coins in this hoard have the legend Raṅā 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. ²—Find-spot—Wāṭegaon in the Sāngli District of Western Mahārāṣṭra. Shape—round. Diameter—1·2 cm. Weight—8·60 grammes.

Obverse—Elephant with uplifted trunk to right.

Legend encircling it—Raño Vāśiśhi-putasa Siva-siri-Puḷumāvisa.

Reverse—Ujjain symbol.


Obverse—Bust of king to right; curly hair on head; ear-rings; a large jewel indicative of royal position on forehead. Legend—encircling—Raño Vāśiśhi-putasa siri-Puḷumāvisa.

¹ JNSI, III, pp. 39-40. See our Plate XXI, Fig. 8—14.
² LHSI, p. 170. See our Plate XXII, Fig. 37.
³ 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—
Arahañasha Vahiit-马云asha tiru-Puñmavisha
(This coin is of the illustrious king Väsiśthiputra Puñumävi).

(8) Coins of Väsiśthiputra Skanda Sätakarni. — His coins have been found in Vidarbha and Western Mahäräśtra. They have not, however, been found in Andhra so far.

(A) A Potin Coin of Skanda Sätakarni.¹ — Find-spot—Tarhälā (Vidarbha). Shape—round. Diameter—0.65 in. Weight—65 grains.
Obverse—Elephant with trunk uplifted. Legend—
[Rañä] siri-Khada-Sätakañisa.
Reverse—Ujjain symbol.

(B) A Lead Coin of Väsiśthiputra Skanda Sätakarni.² — Find-spot—Wätageon in Sängli District. Shape—round. Diameter—1·1 cm. Weight—4·380 grammes.
Obverse—Elephant with uplifted trunk, with the encircling legend—Rañä Väsiśhiputasā siri-Khada-Sätakañisa.

From the metronymic of this king, it is clear that he was a uterine brother of Puñumävi and Vijaya Sätakarni.

(C) A Silver Portrait Coin of Väsiśthiputra Skanda Sätakarni.³ — Find-spot—Näsik. 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—[Rañö] . . . . siri-Khada-Sätakañisa.
Reverse—Ujjain symbol; hill of six arches, with sun to right, river below. Legend—. . . . Sätakañisa.

The legend on the reverse does not appear to be Dravidian. His coins have not been found in Andhra.

¹ Ibid., III, pp. 41 ff. Our Plate XXI, Figs. 15-16.
² LHSF, p. 171. Our Plate XXIII, Fig. 39.
³ See Vidarbha Satishodhana Manjul Värshaka, 1977, p. 115. Our Plate XXIII, Fig. 40.
(9) Coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇī:

(A) Potin Coins — Find-spots — Chāndā and Tarhāḷa in Vidarbha.

Two potin coins of this king were found in Chāndā long ago. Some more were found in the Tarhāḷa hoard.¹

Obverse — Elephant with uplifted trunk to right.
Legend — [ja]ya Sāṭakaṇīṣa.
Reverse — Ujjain symbol.

(B) Silver portrait Coin.² — Recently a silver portrait coin of this king mentioning the metronymic Vāsiṣṭhīputra 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 — Vasathi-putasa Sa. . .
Reverse — Ujjain symbol; hill of six arches with the sun and the moon above, and a river below.
Legend — Ara . . Vasathi-putasha hiri — Vijaya Hata[kaṇīsha].

The portrait on this coin differs from that on the coin No. 10 B. So this Vāsiṣṭhīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇī was different from Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇī of No. 10 B. He was his uterine brother, being a son of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇī. He was also different from Gautamiputra Vijaya Sātakarṇī of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍ inscription (No. 32).

(10) (A) A Lead Coin of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇī.

Obverse — Hill of three arches with river below.
Legend encircling — Raṅo Vāsiṣṭhiputara Sivasiri-Sāṭakaṇīṣa.

¹ SI: III: pp. 42. ff.
² Vidarbha Sanahshodhana Mandal Varshika, 1979, pp. 153 ff. Our Plate XXIII, Fig. 41 (A).
Revers—Ujjain symbol of two orbs one inside the other with a pellet.


Obverse—King’s bust to right; curly hair on head; jewel on forehead; earrings. Encircling legend—Raṅo Vāsithiputasa siri-Sātakaṇīṣa.

Revers—Ujjain symbol and hill of five arches with crescent on top in the centre. Sun between. Encircling legend—Arahaṇasha Vāhiṣṭi-mākaṇāsha tiru-Hātyakaṇīsha (This coin is of King Vāsishṭhiputra siri-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 Mahārāṣṭra, Vidarbha and Gujarāt. They are of various metals such as potin, lead, copper and silver.


Obverse—Elephant with trunk uplifted to right. Legend encircling it—Raṅo siri-Yaṅa [Sātakaṇīṣa].

Revers—Ujjain symbol.

(B) A Lead Coin of Yajña Sātakarṇi.—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—Raṅo sāmisa siri-Yaṅa-Sātakaṇīṣa.

(C) A Silver Portrait Coin of Yajña Sātakarṇi.—Find-spot—Saurāśṭra. King’s bust to right; helmet on head; jewel indicative of royalty on forehead; ear-rings. Encircling legend—Raṅo Gotamiputasa siri-Yaṅa-Sātakaṇīṣa.
Reverse — Ujjain symbol and hill of six arches in the middle, with crescent over both; Sun between and river below hill. Encircling legend — [Arrāha]-
yasha Gotamiputasha hiru-Yañā-Hātakaṇiša.

(12) Coins of [Māṭhariputra] Saka Sātakārṇi —
(A) A Potin Coin of Saka Sātakārṇi. ¹ — Find-spot —
Tarhāḷā in Vidarbha. Shape — round. Diameter — .7 in.,
Weight — 34 grains.
Obverse — Elephant with uplifted trunk to right.
Legend — Sakasa Sā[taṇaṇs].
Reverse — Ujjain symbol.
The inscriptions of Māṭhariputra Saka-sena are found
in the Caves at Kānheri. These coins may be his.
(B) A Copper Coin of Māṭhariputra [Śakasena]² —
Find-spot — Penḍābankur District of Andhra. Shape —
round. Diameter — .50 in. Weight — 23.5 grains.
Obverse — Elephant with trunk hanging down to right.
Legend — Raṇo Māḍhara-.
Reverse — Ujjain symbol.
His coins found in Andhra are very small in size. They
show only the metronymic Māḍhara — of the king. But he is
not likely to be any one else than Māṭhariputra Śakasena.

(13) A Lead Coin of Vāsīṣṭhiputra Chandrasvātī³ —
Provenance — Kṛishṇā-Godāvari districts in Andhra.
Obverse — Hill of three arches with river below.
Encircling legend — Raṇo Vāsīṣṭhiputsa siri-
Chada-Sattisa.
Reverse — Ujjain symbol of two orbs, one inside the
other, with a pellet.

(14) Coins of Pulumavī III ⁴ — Find-spot — Tarhāḷā (in
Vidarbha). Shape — round. Diameter — .65 in. Weight —
40.5 grains.

¹ SI, III, p. 44. See our Plate XXI, Fig. 29.
² Rama Rao, Sātavāhanas Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum,
No. 311.
³ BMC (Andhras), pp. 30-31.
⁴ SI, III, p. 45. See our Plate XXI, Fig. 31.
Obverse—Elephant with uplifted trunk to right.
Encircling legend—. . . Puluhāmavi-

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 Tarhāḷa hoard had, besides, the potin coins of Kumbha Sātakarṇi and Karna Sātakarṇi. Their coins have not been found elsewhere.

Besides the above, a coin of King Sebaka 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-siva-Sebaka 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 Brahmapuri, a suburb of Kolhāpur, at the time of the construction of the bridge on the Pañchangāṅgā 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. Vāśishṭhiputra Viṅīvāyakura.
2. Māṭhāriputra Śivalakura.

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 Gautamiputra of the third king

mentioned above, Rapson identified him with the homonymous Sātavāhana king, but the names of the other two rulers do not agree. From the title Mahāraṭhi held by Māṭhariputra 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 (Paiṭhaṇ), and Bāleokuras at Hippokura. The former is undoubtedly Puḷumāvi II. Hippokura cannot now be identified, but Bāleokuras is undoubtedly Viḷivāyakura. It seems, therefore, that Viḷivāyakura (II) was ruling at Kollāpur 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 Vāsishthiputra Viḷivāyakura\(^1\) —
Obverse — Hill of four arches; crescent above; tree in railing on left; svastika above.
Reverse — Bow with arrow pointing upward. Encircling legend — Raṇo Vāsīṣhīputasa Viḷivāyakurasā.

(16) (A) A Lead Coin of Māṭhariputra Śivalakura\(^2\) —
Shape and diameter — as above; Legend on the reverse —
Raṇo Māḍhariputasa Śivalakurasā.
(B) Same as above, published by Kundangar\(^3\) —
Find-spot — Kollāpur; Legend on the reverse —
Mahāraṭhīsa Māḍhariputasa Śivalakurasā.

(17) A Lead Coin of Gautamiputra Viḷivāyakura\(^4\) —
Obverse and Reverse types as above. Legend — Raṇo Gotamiputasa Viḷivāyakurasā.
He was a contemporary of Puḷumāvi II of Pratishṭhāna.

\(^{1}\) BMC (Andhara), p. 5.  
\(^{2}\) Ibid. in p. 2. See our Plate XXIV, Fig. 45.  
\(^{3}\) Plate XXIV, Fig. 45.  
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 Hyderabad State. One of them is described here—

(A) A Lead Coin of Mahāsenāpati Śaka Māna, son of Bhāradvāja
Obverse—A large Svastika in the centre. Encircling legend—Mahāsenāpatisa Bharadāja-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 Kshatrapa 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 Sātakarni, 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 Pulumāvi II.

(B) Two Copper Coins of Śaka Māna, King of the Mahisha Country. These are from the cabinet of Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad.

(B) (i) 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 is of the same type as above, but smaller and thicker. Rectangular—.95 in. × .75 in.

1 SI, III, pp. 65 ff. See our Plate XXV, Fig. 46.  
2 SI, III, pp. 56 ff.  
3 Ibid. III, pp. 56 ff. See our Plate XXV, Fig. 47.  
4 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 :

शक्मानोभवान्द्रा महिपाणां महोपाति ॥


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.


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 Chuṭukulānanda³ — Find-spot — Kārwār. This coin is of King Chuṭukulānanda of the North Kannada District. As shown above, the Śaka King Māna had assumed the biruda Chuṭukula. This king was probably his feudatory.

¹St, III, pp. 72 ff.
²Ibid. III, pp. 74 ff.
[ 278 ] THE SĀTAVĀHANAS AND THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS


Obverse—Hill of seven arches. Large arch round it. Legend [Ra]ño Chuṭukulānaṇḍasa.

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 Kshaharāṭa Kshatrapas


Obverse—Arrow pointing upward and thunderbolt, with a pellet between. Encircling legend in Khzroshthi—Chhaharāṭasa Chhatrapasa Bhūmakaṣa.


Unlike Nahapāna, he does not seem to have assumed the title Rājan.


Obverse—Bust of King to right. Encircling legend in Kharoṣṭhī—Raño Chhaharāṭasa Nahapānasa.

Reverse—Arrow pointing downwards and thunderbolt, with a pellet between. Encircling Brāhmi legend — Rājñio Kshahrāṭasa Nahapānasa.

A large hoard of 13,250 silver coins of Nahapāna was found at Jogaltembhi in the Nāsik District. More than two-thirds of them were restruck by Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi. The busts on these coins were dissimilar, but it would be wrong to infer from them

1 BMC (Andhras), p. 63.
2 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. 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 Chasṛṭana — 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 Yśāmotika-pitrasa . . . . Some of his silver coins show his title Mahā-kshatrapa. Some others have the royal name Chasṛṭana in Kharaśṭhī also. A copper coin of Chasṛṭana 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 Jivaladāman, son of Dāmajadaśī, 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 Mahākšatrapa Iśvaradatta issued in the first and second regnal years have been found in some hoards of Kšatrapa 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

---

1 *BMC (Atthivas)*, p. 67.
2 *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 Traikūjaka (later known as the Kalachurī-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 Sarvāṇiā hoard of Kshatrapa coins that there was no gap then also. As Īśvaradatta assumed the title of Mahākṣatrapa, 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 dviṭīye 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—


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.

[Maṭha] kṣatrapasa 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 Śātavāhana rule in the Deccan.

Chashtana’s family continued to rule till the end of the reign of Viśvasena (last known date Śaka 226 — A. D. 304). Thereafter, Svāmi Rudradāman, son

1 Maratvāśā Srisīsodhana Mandāal Varshika, 1976. See our Plate XXVI, Fig. 51.
of Svāmī Jivadaman, came to the throne. His last known successor Svāmī 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 Kāṭhiāwāḍ were long in circulation. As the Ābhīras 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 Mahārāṣṭra 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 Kshatapa coins has come to notice at Rānjāngaon 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 Mahāvīra, 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 tirtha 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:—

ङट्टका-अंग्नालिया च गतोस्म स्यारातु मालयेणि सथे उत्तमाद्रे
मोक्षितु च [1*] तेष मालया प्रनादेषे ५.पवता उत्तमाद्रकान च
क्षतिवान सवे दिशाय व्रुत्ता [1*] ततोस्म गतो पोषराने [1*]
तत्र च मया अभिमेरी कुते दीषे च गोभ्राह्नानि दतानि गामो व [1*].

These words are in a mixed dialect of Sanskrit and Prakrit.

The Kshatrapas of Mālā and Kāthiāwād 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 Sātakarnī. He donated Aparānta which he had conquered from the Sātavāhanas to his son-in-law. The inscription in a Kānheri cave which records a gift by an Amātya of his daughter is almost wholly in Sanskrit. The only incorrect form in it is Śrī-Sātakarnīśya. Several inscriptions recording the setting up of memorial stones (yashās) by the people of Mālā and Kāthiāwād in those days have been discovered, most of which are in Sanskrit. Only one or two words in them are in Prakrit. The form generally used to denote the status of the contemporary ruler in Sātavāhana inscriptions and coins is raṇī, rarely raṇo, but it is invariably rājñ̥o 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 śrīmān) and mahimāvatānam (for

*See Inscriptions Nos. 52, 55, 56, 61 etc.*
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—Vināpālīta, 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. As a matter of fact, double consonants, are also noticed in some rare cases. See Hāritī-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 Sātavāhanas 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. We give here only a few instances.

\(^1\) Such double consonants are not noticed even in the records of the Ikṣvākus who followed the Sātavāhanas. See EI, XX, pp. 16 ff. But they are found in the Prakrit portion of the Bāsim plates of the Vākaṭakas. CII, v. pp. 96 ff.

\(^2\) M. A. Mehendale, Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits, pp. 46 ff.
SANDHI

In Prakrit, vowels are not combined though they come together. See e.g. महाराजेन No. 19, line 3. Api and iti are exceptions. When these come immediately after a vowel-ending word, they drop their initial vowel. See किल्लापर्वते दिति, चरित्रबीर्यानि.

PHONOLOGY

(1) Change in vowel—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel in Sanskrit</th>
<th>Vowel in Prakrit</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क्ष</td>
<td>ओ</td>
<td>कुता &gt; कटा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>इ</td>
<td>सू</td>
<td>सद्दु &gt; सदिस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उ</td>
<td>ध्र</td>
<td>ध्रुवकाले &gt; उनुकाले</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Elision]</td>
<td>[Elision]</td>
<td>[Elision]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>जेल &gt; सेल—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ</td>
<td>ओ</td>
<td>गोमिक &gt; गोमिक</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आ</td>
<td>आ</td>
<td>अनुवर्यम् &gt; अनुवांस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ</td>
<td>ओ</td>
<td>मुद्यग्ना &gt; मुदिसणा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ष</td>
<td>ष</td>
<td>इंद्रस्य &gt; इंदस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध</td>
<td>ध</td>
<td>ध्विधु &gt; ध्वछुप</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ष</td>
<td>ष</td>
<td>ष्विष्वनन्दिनि &gt; ष्विष्वनंदिस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ळ</td>
<td>ळ</td>
<td>पिषाचिप्पत्रक &gt; पिषाचिप्पदक</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ</td>
<td>ओ</td>
<td>भूक्त &gt; भूत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ</td>
<td>ओ</td>
<td>ध्विधु &gt; ध्विधु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ</td>
<td>ओ</td>
<td>पुष्करस्य &gt; पुष्करानि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

This change occurs before a simplified conjunct consonant.

This change occurs before an assimilated conjunct consonant.
(2) Change of consonant—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant in Sanskrit</th>
<th>Consonant in Prakrit</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कु</td>
<td>य</td>
<td>नालिकेय &gt; नालिकेर-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्र</td>
<td>ज्ञ</td>
<td>नागमिकाय &gt; नागमिकाय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्र</td>
<td>ज्ञ</td>
<td>विजातीपद्रक &gt; विजातीपद्रक</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्र</td>
<td>ज्ञ</td>
<td>राजामत्य &gt; रायामच</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कु</td>
<td>ज्ञ</td>
<td>कुष्टिविन्य &gt; कुष्टिविन्य</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कु</td>
<td>ज्ञ</td>
<td>माधौपुत्रस्य &gt; माधौपुत्रस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>र</td>
<td>र</td>
<td>गहड &gt; गहड</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>र</td>
<td>र</td>
<td>वर्ण &gt; वर्ण</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लातवाहनन &gt; सादवाहनन</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्रण &gt; पुवा</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षुपभद्रासन &gt; उपवदासन</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भार्याया &gt; भरिजाय</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षुद्रसातकरण &gt; क्षुद्रसातकरण</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>यद्वि &gt; यद्वि</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वास्तव्य &gt; वाथव</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अमालयन &gt; अमालयन</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वसमगोलस्य &gt; वस्मगोलस्य</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षथवयन &gt; क्षथवयन</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>दिशण &gt; दिशण</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>श्री &gt; सिरिर</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>यज &gt; यज्र</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आधिज्ञम &gt; आनत</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुबंधेम &gt; सुवंदेम</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विगु &gt; वेगु</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुण &gt; कुण</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अर्धकम्ब्र &gt; अर्धकम्ब्र</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 This and the following changes up to य becoming ज्ञ occur in the case of consonants between vowels.
Morphology

Masculine nouns in अ—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>असो</td>
<td>असा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>अमच्छ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>समणेन</td>
<td>यन्नेहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>सपाय</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ब्याह्यारा</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>उभासकसम</td>
<td>सुभस्तांन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>जंदृधपिन्धि</td>
<td>नेत्रपेमु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Neuter Nouns—
Nominative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>लेण, लेणं</td>
<td>निवतनसातानि</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kussumulë</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Feminine Nouns—
(1) Nouns in आ—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>दबिणाय</td>
<td>दबिणायो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>वालिकाय, लोटाय</td>
<td>मुण्हाहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>पूजायें</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>वणसायम</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>मेनाइये</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Nouns in इ—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>महादेवी</td>
<td>कुभियो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>कुभविजीय</td>
<td>अतेवासिनिहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>वेजविजीय</td>
<td>गाबीण, अतेवासिनिण</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>नदीये</td>
<td>कब्रावीरु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pronouns

(1) The Demonstrative Pronouns इम्, एकस्, यत् and तत् omit their last consonant and are declined like words in आ. इम is substituted for इम् and has forms like इम्, and इन्मि. Its Nom. singular form इम occurs in No. 14, line 3.
(2) **Personal Pronouns**—First personal pronoun, insr. plural—अग्न्यहि. Genitive plural optional forms in न and म (Sanskrit नि.) are noteworthy.

(3) **Cardinal Numerals**—

पावण (स.- पावणम्), त्रिजी (स.- त्रिजीणि), वारसक (स.- वारसक),
तेरस (स.- तेरसक), पनरस (स.- पनरसक), पंचविभस (पंचविभस्क) are noteworthy.

(4) **Ordinal Numerals**—

पत्रम (स.- पत्रमे), मित्य (स.- मित्ये), तस्म (स.- तस्म), पत्रमे,
छात्र (स.- छात्रे), सातम (स.- सातम), तेरस (स.- तेरसे), पनरस (पनरसे) occur in the present records.

**Conjugation**

The forms कपति, विद्यम of the first conjugation and द्वाति, वदम 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 भूते being very rare. Not a single form of preterite occurs here, its sense being conveyed by past participles like *data* (dattam), *āṅgata* (āṅgaptam), and *bhūta* (bhuktam). The future third person singular भवति is taken from Sanskrit by making a slight change. Very few forms of roots in the present tense passive occur, only two व्याप (स.- व्याप्ते) and आव (स.- आव्य) being noticed in these records.

In Sanskrit causatives are formed by adding अर्थ (or आर्ग) to roots. The corresponding affix is आर्ग (आर्ग) in Prakrit. No. 39 has the form आर्गान्विता. It seems to be the instrumental singular of the causative present participle from the root भूत.

**Imperative Mood**—Imperative singular form विभौर्षि and plural form विभूर्ति occur in these inscriptions. The forms विभूर्ति and विभूति are similar ones in the causal sense.
THE LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

[ 289 ]

Participles

Present Participles—The Sanskrit present participle form in अन्त्र् becomes vowel-ending by adding अ at the end. See प्रतिवततां (Sanskrit प्रतिवतताम्). In some forms the original nasal is noticed. See वस्त्रान (सं. वस्त्राम्).

Present Passive Participles end in मानं. The passive affix य is not noticed in मुन्मान.

The form अनुरििधार्मान 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 य to the root as in Sanskrit. The form दित from the root द्र occurs in one place instead of दद. The termination is changed to त in क्ष. The causative affix is आति. See कंधारित.

Potential Passive Participles—These are formed by adding दच्छ, अन्न and य as in Sanskrit. See वर्तो (सं. बक्षस्), दुर्दर्पिच्छ—(सं. दुर्दर्पिच्छ), and देवीस्य. The absolutes in क्ष and त्या noticed in Sanskrit occur also in Prakrit. See क्षा (सं. क्षा), उदीस (सं. उदीस).

We shall next notice some peculiarities of the Prakrit language. The names of villages and seasons are used in the plural. See गामे कक्षिष्मु (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 तालिसम्म गातो पंचारतामि.

The names of the seasons are similarly used in the plural. See वर्गानप ग्याखो (वर्गाखो प्याखें) (13-7), हेमद्रत मव (सं. हेमद्रतश्च प्याखें), (14-2) and निम्नानप ग्याखो (सं. निम्नानप ग्याखें) (98.1).

In Prakrit, adjectives and connected words are often placed after those they qualify or refer to. See सेनाये बिज्जिलिये (of the victorious army), बिज्जिलाहावार ग्रोवाज्ञास (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 ग्रोवाज्ञास with the following बेणासर्व and thought that Benākaṭaka was situated in Govardhana. As a matter of fact, it is the name of the region on both the banks of the river Beṇā (Waingangā) in the Bhaṇḍārā District of Vidarbha.
THE SÂTAVÂHANAS AND THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS

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 Mahārāṣṭra, they are supposed to have been in the Māhārāṣṭri 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—Māgadhī, Āvantikā (that of Ujjain), Prāchhyā, Śauraseni, Ardhamāgadhī, Bālhikā and Dākṣiṇātīya. Among these, that called Dākṣiṇātīya (Southern) seems to be the Prākrit of the Sātavāhana country, but it is not called Māhārāṣṭri in that work. Besides, the rule that Māhārāṣṭri should be used in verses does not occur therein. On the other hand, the Nāṭyaśāstra states that the Śauraseni Prakrit should be used in the kāvyas:

शौरसेनी समाधित्व भाषा काव्य योजनें।
अयवः छन्दः काव्यी देशभाषा प्रयोजनैः॥

Bharata’s date is uncertain, but his Nāṭyaśāstra is believed to have attained the present form in the third century A. D.1

Vararuchi is the earliest known grammarian of Prakrit. He has referred to Māhārāṣṭri only in one place. In the

1 Āvantikā (Āvantikā) probably stands for the Paisāché Prakrit.
4 Kane, Introduction to the Sāhityadarpana, p. 22.
first nine sections of his Prākrit-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 Paisāchi, Māgadhī and Śauraseni, and in his last sūtra he says — जेष्ठ माहराष्ट्रिकू। (In other respects these dialects follow the rules of the Māhārāṣṭri dialect). From this, it is supposed that the rules in the first nine sections of his work are of Māhāraṣṭri. 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 $i$ to $d$ and of $ih$ to $dh$ is the main characteristic of Śauraseni, but we see it in the inscriptions of Mahāraṣṭra and in the Mṛichehhakatika, which we have shown to be a work of the Sātavāhana period. See e. g., गौतमपुत्रो महिष्कर्कष मत्रानुसार in inscription No. 11, line 1, and the following verse taken at random from the Mṛichehhakatika:

\[
\text{मा दुग्धो लि परिष्फो जातिक कः स दुग्धो शान}.
\]

This verse has the form दुग्धो which belongs to Śauraseni. That play does not use Śauraseni forms also throughout; for we find the form भृत्य characteristic of Mahāraṣṭri 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 Māhāraṣṭri was then current in Mahāraṣṭra.

After the age of the Sātavāhaṇas, the four Prakrit dialects, Māhāraṣṭri, Śauraseni, Māgadhī and Paisāchi, were differentiated and became known by their respective names. The revised edition of Vararuchi’s Prākrit-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.

\[\text{Its Sanskrit rendering would be as follows:—}
\]

\[
\text{मा दुग्धो इति परिष्फो जातिक कः स दुग्धो शान}.
\]

\[
\text{भृत्य विष्णु आद्यांपि च दुग्धो महिष्कन}.
\]
His date is probably the fourth or the fifth century A. D. Māhārāṣṭrā had then become well known by the literature produced in it. Daṇḍin says—

महाराष्ट्रस्य भाषा प्रकृत्ति प्राप्ति निद्र; ।

So in his days these other Prakrits also must have become differentiated and known by their separate names.

In Māhārāṣṭrā and Sauraseni, the nominative singular form of nouns in अ ends in ऋ, while in Māgadhī, it ends in ऋ. Vararuchi says that the single letters र, ऱ, ड, ढ, त, ठ, द, छ, श, ष and य between vowels are generally omitted केवलत्यानि ग्रामो ग्रामात्। (प्र. प्र. २.३) See मुक्तम् > मुक्तम्, नग्रं > नग्रं etc.¹ Though this rule is stated in regard to all Prakrits, it is observed specially in Māhārāṣṭrā. Hence, the large scale elision of single consonants between vowels has become a special characteristic of Māhārāṣṭrā. In Sauraseni t becomes d, and th becomes dh. Garuda is changed to Garufa in Māhārāṣṭrā, while it remains unchanged in Sauraseni. In Māgadhī s becomes ś and r becomes I 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 Māhārāṣṭrā; for they do not show the large scale elision of single consonants between vowels, which is the main characteristic of Māhārāṣṭrā. See the following forms—agapogalasa (32.1); amachasa (13.1); Ujeniya (40.4); khatiya (18.5); nikāyas (12.2) etc.

Some scholars say that the language of these inscriptions is not Māhārāṣṭrā. Māhārāṣṭrā Prakrit was originally not current in the country now known as Mahārāṣṭra. Turner says that the original home of Māhārāṣṭrā in the time of Aśoka lay much further in the north than what

¹ Some examples of this rule occur in some records included in the present collection. See e.g. नायनिकाय > नायनिकाय > नायनिकाय (Inscr. No. 3). In the last example there is yarjṛuti, which is also noticed in the following form—रायमणस (सं. रायमणस) (10.5).
we now call Mahārāṣṭra. As the ancestors of the Gujarāti-speaking people began to throng in that country, the Māhārāṣṭri-speaking people were pushed southward. According to Turner, Mahārāṣṭra 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.¹

In the old Buddhist work Mahāvanīsa Mahārāṣṭra is, however, used in the sense now current. In the reign of Aśoka, Mogaliputta Tissa sent Mahādharmarākshita for preaching Buddhism in Mahārāṣṭra. It is generally believed that the first use of that territorial term occurs in the Aihoṭe 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 Eruṇ commemorating the death of Nāga soldiers in a battle fought there.² The memorial pillar was set up there by Satyanāga who is described as Māhārāṣṭraka 'a resident of Mahārāṣṭra.' This record is not dated, but on the evidence of another epigraph found at Kānākheḍa near Sāṇchi, it can be referred to the second century A. D.³ So the territorial name Mahārāṣṭra is at least as old as the second century A. D.

In literature the territorial name Mahārāṣṭra occurs in the Kāvyādāraśa of Daṇḍin (sixth century A. D.). It is besides noteworthy that it is with reference to the Māhārāṣṭri Prakrit.

महाराष्ट्राध्याय भाषां प्रकृतें प्रकृतं विदु : ।
सामरण: नृक्षितुर्वलानां संयुक्तव्राह्दि यन्मयः ॥

(The language current in Mahārāṣṭra is regarded as Prakrit par excellence. In it works like the

¹ IRAS. 1921, p. 332.
² CH, IV, p. 610.
³ See Śrīkṛṣṇarāvarman’s stone inscription, CH, IV, pp. 13 ff. We previously referred the date of the record to the Ahhira 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. Śrīkṛṣṇarāvarman was evidently a Kshatrapa of the Kushānas like Chāshpiṇa, Nahapāna and Rupiṇna.)
Setubandha\(^1\) 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 Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit as stated by Daṇḍin. Another work Lilāvaī was also written in the same Prakrit. It was the spoken language of Māhārāṣṭrī (Marhaṭṭha-desi-bhāṣā) as expressly stated therein.\(^2\) Hāla’s Saptaśati is also written in the same Prakrit; for it shows the large-scale elision of single consonants between vowels.\(^3\) Its author Hāla flourished six generations before Gautamiputra Sātakarnī (second century A. D.). So the language of the inscriptions of that king and his successors is undoubtedly Māhārāṣṭrī.

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 Gautamiputra Sātakarnī and his Queen-mother (Inscription No. 13). As shown above, Inscription No. 43 (lines 2-5) gives the very words of Rishabhadhatta. 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 Vindhyaśaktī II. In literature, however, duplication and elision of consonants were shown from early times. Hence they are noticed in the Gāthā-saptaśati.

\(^1\) In this work the intervocalics \(d\) has been changed to \(d\) as in Sāuraseni. In that age too the rule was not followed strictly. See Setubandha tr. by Handiqui, Introd., p. 132.

\(^2\) Lilāvaī (ed. by A. N. Upadhye), gāthā 1330.

\(^3\) See the gāthās from it cited in the Chapter on Literature.
THE LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

Usually, the grammar of any language is written after some literary works are composed in it. So Vararuchi’s Prākrita-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 Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit grew in importance when Hāla, Pālitta, Nandivṛiddha and other poets of the Sātavāhana age wrote their works in it. Hence the rule was made that it should be exclusively used in Kāvyas. It came to be regarded as Prakrit par excellence as stated by Dāṇḍin, 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 Prākrita-prakāśa. Turner’s view that Māhārāṣṭrī was first current north of the Vindhya and was later introduced in the Deccan when the people of Kāṭhānwaḍ 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
अखरवनिविष्कर्त(अखरवनिविष्कर्त) ६८.१.
अखरवनिविष्कर्त(अखरवनिविष्कर्त) ६९.२;
२७.१०.
अखरवनिविशिष्ट(अखरवनिविशिष्ट) ६९.३.

अखरवनिविष्कर्त(अखरवनिविष्कर्त) ६८.८.
अघोग(अघोग) ३२.१.
अघोगविशिष्ट(अघोगविशिष्ट) ३२.५.
अघोगविशिष्ट(अघोगविशिष्ट) ३२.२.
अघितभक्षण(अघितभक्षण) १०.२.

1 See— श्रीरामनी प्रसूनवत् ताद्यनां ग मभिरतम्।
आसमेव तु मात्रमल माहराज्याः प्रमोज्यते।
पाहियत्तग, ६७.१२. 
अ—contd.
अगस्तीकुलबध्विन स (अगस्तीकुलबध्विनस)
3.2.
अन्धरसातितरो (अन्धरसातितरो)
3.15 - 3.16.
अन्धकारम (अन्धकारम)
3.3.
अंचलं (अंचलं)
18.8.
असङ्कालिक्यं (असङ्कालिक्यं)
3.2.
अयुन (अयुन)
18.8.
अत्त्वारित्यान्य (अत्त्वारित्यान्य)
43.3.
अठ (अठ)
38.4.
अठभायापदेन (अठभायापदेन)
39.3.
अण्गानां (अण्गानां)
19.4.
अण्गव्या (अण्गव्या)
27.3.4.
अन्धकारम (अन्धकारम)
37.5.
अन्तुमयाः (अन्तुमयाः)
3.14.
अन्तेवासिनिनाम (अन्तेवासिनिनाम)
15.2.
अन्तेवासिनिनहि (अन्तेवासिनिनहि)
15.5.
अी (अस्मात्च)
38.3.
अधिष्ठानस (अधिष्ठानस)
18.7.
अधिष्ठापिता (अधिष्ठापिता)
40.7.
अनामनीयो (अनामनीयो)
3.11.
अनुगामिनहि (अनुगामिनहि)
40.4.
अनुप (अनुप)
4.2.
अनुवास (अनुवास)
39.3.
अन्तो (अन्तो)
28.4.
अन्तोस (अन्तोस)
19.4.
अपविदात्ता (अपविदात्ता)
38.3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>अ—contd.</th>
<th>अवासो (अवास:) २६.४.</th>
<th>अवचेतिनिस (अवचेतिनिस:) २२.२.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>अवियन (वचनेन:) ११.५; १२.५; १३.६.</td>
<td>अविष्मिनिस (अविष्मिनिस:) ४.३४.</td>
<td>अन (अन:) १४.४.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अविष्मिनिस (अविष्मिनिस:) ४.३४.</td>
<td>असक— (असक—:) १८.२.</td>
<td>इ (इ:) ४५.४.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>असमेषो (असमेष:) ३०.१.</td>
<td>असायस (असायस:) १८.७.</td>
<td>इदम (इदम:) ३७.३.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अससरो (अससर:) ३०.१.</td>
<td>असास (असास:) ३०.१.</td>
<td>इदम (इदम:) ३७.३.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>असिक— (असिक—:) १८.२.</td>
<td>असिस (असिस:) ३१.२; ३२.१२.</td>
<td>इदम (इदम:) ५६.३.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>असिस (असिस:) ३१.२; ३२.१२.</td>
<td>अबिसानिनिताय (अबिसानिनिताय:) २८.९.</td>
<td>इदम (इदम:) ५६.३.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अबिसानिनिताय (अबिसानिनिताय:) २८.९.</td>
<td>अबिसानिनिताय (अबिसानिनिताय:) २८.९.</td>
<td>इदम (इदम:) ६०.४.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अबिसानिनिताय (अबिसानिनिताय:) २८.९.</td>
<td>अबिसानिनिताय (अबिसानिनिताय:) २८.९.</td>
<td>उ (उ:) २८.१.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अबिसानिनिताय (अबिसानिनिताय:) २८.९.</td>
<td>अबिसानिनिताय (अबिसानिनिताय:) २८.९.</td>
<td>उजविनिय (उजविपाय:) ४०.४.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अबिनिय (उजविपाय:) २८.९.</td>
<td>अबिनिय (उजविपाय:) २८.९.</td>
<td>उतममद्रान (उतममद्रान:) ४३.४.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अबिनिय (उजविपाय:) २८.९.</td>
<td>अबिनिय (उजविपाय:) २८.९.</td>
<td>उतममद्रान (उतममद्रान:) ४३.४.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अबिनिय (उजविपाय:) २८.९.</td>
<td>अबिनिय (उजविपाय:) २८.९.</td>
<td>उतममद्रान (उतममद्रान:) ४३.४.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अबिनिय (उजविपाय:) २८.९.</td>
<td>अबिनिय (उजविपाय:) २८.९.</td>
<td>उतममद्रान (उतममद्रान:) ४३.४.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE SĀTAVĀHANAS AND THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS

उ—contd.

उपासक (उपासक:) २८४.८.
उपासिकाय (उपासिकाय:) २०४.
उपवदात्स (उपवदात्स:) ४०२; ४२२.
उपवदात्सन (उपवदात्सन:) ३८१;
४००; ४३२.
उसभदे (उसभदे:) २२२.
उसभदे (उसभदे:) २८२.
उसभाय (उसभाय:) २५५.

श्री

उपमेदेव (उपमेदेव:) ४७५;
४९३.

ए

एककुस (एककुस:) १८७.
एकनुभरस (एकनुभरस:) १८७.
एकमहणस (एकमहणस:) १८७.
एबिसेस (एबिसेस:) २०३.
एकसस (एकसस:) १८७.
एकीकस (एकीकस:) ३८३.
एक्कबिसेस (एक्कबिसेस:) १८१.
एठ (एठ:) २७१.
एत (एत:) ११२; १२२; १४२.
१८०; १९३; १९४; ३८४.
एतस (एतस:) ११२; १२२; ३८४.
२७१.
एताय (एताय:) १७२; ३०२.
एतिय (एतिय:) १२०; २९३.
एति (एति:) ११५.
एतस (एतस:) १२३.
एतस (एतस:) १२३.

अर

अरोजकियान (अरोजकियान:) १७२.
अरोजन (अरोजन:) १९३.
अरोजतिसोलस (अरोजतिसोलस:) ४६३; ४६४.
अरोजपिया, अरोजपिया (अरोजपिया) १२३; १९३.
अरोजको (अरोजको:) ४१२; ४२२.

क

कर्कट कर्कट (कर्कट:) १३३.
कट (कट:) १३३; १३३.
१३३; १३३.
किसिधिलम (किसिधिलम:) २८२.
कष्णिगर (कष्णिगर:) १८२.
कर्कट (कर्कट:) १३३; ४४३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
कस (कस:) १३३.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>क—contd.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कवियांकस (कावियांकस) 30.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कालसे (क्लस्ये) 13.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कालिकरुप्ले (कालिकरुप्ले) 38.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कामदस (कामदस) 9.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कायावांकसवाटस (कायावांकसवाटस) 34.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कागापसहस्वादिन (कागापसहस्वादिन) 38.1-2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कागापसहस्वेहि (कागापसहस्वेहि) 43.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कागापना (कागापना) 38.2; 38.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कागापनानि (कागापनानि) 37.10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कागापना (कागापना) 3.10; 3.11; 3.12; 3.14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कितपाराग (कितपाराग) 18.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>किलिन (किलिन) 18.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कोणिता (कोणिता) 43.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कूटकविविकस (कूटकविविकस) 18.5-6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कूटकविकेन (कूटकविकेन) 43.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कूटकविकेनिये (कूटकविकेनिये) 38.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कूटकवित्स (कूटकवित्स) 28.12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कूटकवित्स (कूटकवित्स) 27.5; 41.3; 42.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुमारदस (कुमारदस) 34.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुमारसदस (कुमारसदस) 3.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुमारस (कुमारस) 62.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुमार (कुमार) 6.1; 8.1; 9.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुलपुरस (कुलपुरस) 18.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुलशामल (कुलशामल) 38.3-4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुलशामलु (कुलशामलु) 38.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुटा (कुटा) 38.5.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| कृता (कृता:) 43.4.                                                 |
| केसव (केसव-) 18.8.                                               |
| कोरिकस (कोरिकस) 26.2.                                         |
| कोरिकिपुरस (कोरिकिपुरस)                                       |
| कोरिकिपुरस (कोरिकिपुरस)                                       97.2. |
| कोरिक (कोरिक) 27.8.                                            |
| कोरिकां (कोरिकां) 34.3.                                          |
| कोरिकिमोत्स (कोरिकिमोत्स)                                     35.3. |
| क्रत्व (क्रत्व) 38.1; 40.1; 41.1; 42.1; 45.1.                         |
| क्रत्वां (क्रत्वां) 43.4.                                             |
| क्रत्वां (क्रत्वां) 38.1; 40.1; 41.1; 42.1.                            |

| ख                                                   |
| खरतवस (खरतवस-) 18.6.                                |
| खरतस (खरतस) 39.1.                                   |
| खरिय (खरिय-) 18.5.                                   |
| खरियां (खरियां) 28.2.                                 |
| खरियां (खरियां) 36.3.                                 |
| खरियां (खरियां) 28.2; 23. [ख] साक्षात (साक्षात:) 23.1.   |
| खरियां (खरियां) 23.1.                                 |
| खरियां (खरियां) 37.2.                                 |
| खरियां (खरियां) 34.2.                                 |
| खरियां (खरियां) 18.9.                                 |
| खरियां (खरियां) 92.5.                                 |
| खरियां (खरियां) 11.5; 13.6.                             |
| खरियां (खरियां) 11.2; 13.5.                             |
| खरियां (खरियां) 13.3.                                 |
| खरियां (खरियां) 27.12.                                 |
| खरियां (खरियां) 60.3.                                 |
G
Gajamile (Gajamile) 28.7.
Gatosem (Gatosem) 43.3.
Ganagan (Ganagan) 18.8.
Ganit (Ganit) 31.10.
Ganita (Ganita) 18.8.
Ganitayana (Ganitayana) 3.14.
Ganapita (Ganapita) 23.1; 30.4.
Ganapitiken (Ganapitiken) 21.1; 34.3.
Gaman (Gaman) 18.11.
Gama (Gama) 19.3.
Gama (Gama) 12.3; 12.4.
Gama (Gama) 19.4.
Gama (Gama) 11.2; 13.3; 27.12; 34.3; 38.4.
Gama (Gama) 3.11; 33.4.
Gama (Gama) 3.1; 39.5; 43.4.
Gama (Gama) 3.1; 31.1.
Gama (Gama) 3.6; 3.7.
Gama (Gama) 3.12; 3.14; 3.15.
Gama (Gama) 3.17; 3.18.
Gigii (Gigii) 6.2-3.
Gigii (Gigii) 35.3.
Gigii (Gigii) 16.2; 17.1; 28.2-3.
Gigii (Gigii) 13.7; 18.1.
Gigii (Gigii) 23.2.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 13.2.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 28.1; 26.1; 19.2-3; 33.2.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 11.1.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 13.1.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
Gatamputum (Gatamputum) 34.3.
| भ — contd. | जिनवरस (जिनवरस्य) | १९·३. |
| पातसास (पातसास्य) | जिवपुताय (जीवपुतायाः) | ३७·१. |
| ४६·१; ४७·१; ४८·१; ४९·१ | जीवसुताय (जीवसुतायाः) | १३·२. |
| ५०·२ | जुवारिनिकाय (जुवारिनिकायः) | २७·५. |
| चिंत्रानिपित (चिंत्रानिपितम्) | जेग्ध्वीरायेः (जेग्ध्वीरायाः) | ४६·२. |
| १८·११. | आयते (आयते) | ४०·११. |
| चिंतक (चिंतकम्) | ठाणं (स्थानम्) | ३५·२. |
| २७·१७; २८·३; ३८·२; ३८·३. | च | ३५·५. |
| व्युक्तकालावसातात्क्रिया (चुक्तक्लाव- न्दसाताक्रिया:) | त (तत्) | १३·३. |
| ३७·१. | ततित्वे (ततित्वे) | २०·२; २६·१. |
| वेंचिन्याः (वेंचिन्याः) | ततो (तत:) | १३·२. |
| ४०·३. | ततो (ततात:) | १३·४. |
| बैतिक- (बैतिक- ) | तप- (तप- ) | १६·२. |
| २८·८. | तर (तयोदश) | २८·२. |
| बैतिकपरं (बैतिकपरः) | तस (तस:) | १३·५; ४०·२. |
| १०·३. | तत्तवं (तत्तवः) | ३४·४. |
| बैत्रयुस्मादं (बैत्रयुस्मादं) | तिरुरास्वत— (तिरुरास्वत— ) | १८·१०. |
| १३·३. | तिरुगोस्त्वसहस्त्तिं (तिरुगोस्त्वसहस्त्तिं) | ३१·१२. |
| छ | तिरुहुष्मन्तस (तिरुहुष्मन्तस) | १८·११. |
| २२·२. | तिरुहुष्मन्तस (तिरुहुष्मन्तस) | १३·३. |
| छेत्र (छेत्रे) | १६·१. | १९·२. |
त—cond.
तिसमुद— (तिसमुद—) १८.३.
tula-prakramya (tula-prakramya) १८.४.
tetarasiya (tetrasiya) १२.१.
tetarshuka (tetrashuka) २२.४.
tetarshukasa (tetrashukasa) १३.१.
tetarshu (tetrashu) १८.१.
Bhaveshana (Bhaveshana) २२.३.
Bhaveshana (Bhaveshana) २२.४.
Bhaveshana (Bhaveshana) २२.५.
Bhaveshana (Bhaveshana) २२.६.
Bhaveshana (Bhaveshana) २२.७.
Bhaveshana (Bhaveshana) २२.८.
### Glossary of Prakrit Words in the Inscriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prakrit Word</th>
<th>Sanskrit Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ध्रमचक्र (ध्रमचक्र)</td>
<td>ध्रमचक्रम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रमदान (ध्रमदान)</td>
<td>ध्रमदान</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रमपाला (ध्रमपाला)</td>
<td>ध्रमपाला</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रमसेतु (ध्रमसेतु)</td>
<td>ध्रमसेतु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रमसंस्थान (ध्रमसंस्थान)</td>
<td>ध्रमसंस्थान</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रमसंस्थान (ध्रमसंस्थान)</td>
<td>ध्रमसंस्थान</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रमोपजित (ध्रमोपजित-)</td>
<td>ध्रमोपजित-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रमदेव (ध्रमदेव)</td>
<td>ध्रमदेव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रिलित (ध्रिलित)</td>
<td>48.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध्रुपणमुग्ध (ध्रुपणमुग्ध)</td>
<td>ध्रुपणमुग्ध</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 

| 
| न (न.). |
| न (न.) | 12.4, 13.6, 19.4 |
| न (न.) | 11.4 |
| नवतं (नवतं-) | 28.9 |
| नागरसीमाय (नागरसीमाय) | 43.4 |
| नागरसीमे (नागरसीमे) | 13.4 |
| नमिया (नमिया) | 39.2 |
| नदीय (नदीय) | 40.10 |
| नम (नम.) | 19.3 |
| नम (नम.) | 29.1, 32.1 |
| नवकरिम्या (नवकरिम्या) | 28.15-16 |
| नवनाम (नवनाम) | 20.3 |
| नवनगरसामी (नवनगरसामी) | 19.1 |
| नहसानस (नहसानस) | 38.1 |
| नहसानस | 39.1, 40.1, 41.1-2 |
| नहसानस | 42.1, 44.1 |
| नहस (नहस) | 18.8 |
| नागमुलिनिकाय (नागमुलिनिकाय) | 36.3 |
| नागवरस्त्र (नागवरस्त्र) | 18.9 |
| नागवरस्त्र (नागवरस्त्र) | 25.1 |
न—contd.

| पख (पक्ष:) | २३·२; २७·१.  |
| पख (पक्ष:) | २९·३.  |

| पख (पक्ष:) | १३·३; १४·२; १८·१;  |
| पख (पक्ष:) | २२·१.  |

| पव (पक्ष:) | ३७·१.  |
| पव (पक्ष:) | ३७·१.  |

| पवम (पक्षम:) | १३·७; १६·२;  |
| पवम (पक्षम:) | १६·१; २३·२;  |

| पवित्रसाक (पवित्रसाकस्) | ३२·५.  |
| पवित्रसाक (पवित्रसाकस्) | ३२·५.  |

| पवास (पवास:) | ५०·१४.  |
| पवास (पवास:) | ५०·१४.  |

| पवातितास (पवातितास:) | २१·२; २५·२;  |
| पवातितास (पवातितास:) | २१·२; २५·२;  |

| पवातितास (पवातितास:) | ३८·४.  |
| पवातितास (पवातितास:) | ३८·४.  |

| पवातितास (पवातितास:) | ३८·४.  |
| पवातितास (पवातितास:) | ३८·४.  |

| पवातितास (पवातितास:) | २१·२; २५·२;  |
| पवातितास (पवातितास:) | २१·२; २५·२;  |

| पवातितास (पवातितास:) | ३८·४.  |
| पवातितास (पवातितास:) | ३८·४.  |

<p>| पवातितास (पवातितास:) | ३८·४.  |
| पवातितास (पवातितास:) | ३८·४.  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Glossary of Prakrit Words in the Inscriptions** [205]
THE SATAVAHANAS AND THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS

P—contd.

Pātrāṇi (Pātrāṇī) 44-4.
Pā瘦身 (Pāśāni) 44-3.
Pā瘦身 (Pāśāni) 44-3.
Pā瘦身 (Pāśāni) 44-3.
Pā瘦身 (Pāśāni) 44-3.
Pā瘦身 (Pāśāni) 44-3.
Pā瘦身 (Pāśāni) 44-3.

Q

Kāpyā (Kāpyā) 48-2.
Kāpyā (Kāpyā) 48-2.
Kāpyā (Kāpyā) 48-2.
Kāpyā (Kāpyā) 48-2.

R

Bhāṣa (Bhāṣa) 19-4.
Bhāṣa (Bhāṣa) 19-4.
Bhāṣa (Bhāṣa) 19-4.
Bhāṣa (Bhāṣa) 19-4.
Bhāṣa (Bhāṣa) 19-4.
Bhāṣa (Bhāṣa) 19-4.
Bhāṣa (Bhāṣa) 19-4.
Bhāṣa (Bhāṣa) 19-4.
Bhāṣa (Bhāṣa) 19-4.
Bhāṣa (Bhāṣa) 19-4.
Bhāṣa (Bhāṣa) 19-4.
Bhāṣa (Bhāṣa) 19-4.
Bhāṣa (Bhāṣa) 19-4.
Bhāṣa (Bhāṣa) 19-4.
Bhāṣa (Bhāṣa) 19-4.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>म—contd.</th>
<th>म</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>मंदेय (मंदाक) 28.17.</td>
<td>मंगलेव (मंगलावल) 27.12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 19.2.</td>
<td>मंजर (मंजर:) 18.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.3.</td>
<td>मटण (मटण:) 48.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंडण (मंडण:) 20.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदल- (मंदल-) 18.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 19.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 61.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 62.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 29.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 3.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 52.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 39.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 50.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 53.1; 53.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 48.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 39.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 29.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 3.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 52.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 39.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 50.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 53.1; 53.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 48.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 39.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 29.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 3.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 52.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 39.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 50.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 53.1; 53.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 48.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 39.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 29.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 3.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 52.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 39.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 50.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 53.1; 53.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 48.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 39.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 29.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 3.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 52.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 39.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 50.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:)</td>
<td>मंदायसिरि (मंदायसिरि:) 53.1; 53.2.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE SÄTAVĀHANAS AND THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS

[308]

य—contd.

Mahāsena-patītas (Mahāsena-patīta):
26-2; 34-2.
Mahāsena-patītanāya (Mahāsena-patīta-patīta):
26-2.
Mahākukṣika (Akaikukṣika):
101-12.
Mahidēkha (Mahādēkha):
18-10.
Mahī (Mahī-1):
18-2.
Mahima-sthāna (Mahima-sthāna):
31-1.
Mahāgōpā (Mahāgōpā):
35-1.
Mahāśata (Mahāśatā):
30-1;
31-1.
Mahā (Mahā):
20-4.
Mahāśūkra (Mahāśūkra):
27-72.
36-5.
Mahāśūkra (Mahāśūkra):
20-1; 20-1.
Mahāśūkra (Mahāśūkra):
14-5.
Mahā (Mahā):
23-4.
Mahā (Mahā):
3-4.18-1; 30-6.
Mahākula (Mahākula):
45-2.
Mahābala (Mahābala):
35-1.
Mahāśūkra (Mahāśūkra):
12-1.
Mahāśūkra (Mahāśūkra):
43-4.
Mahāśūkra (Mahāśūkra):
3-4.
Mahāśūkra (Mahāśūkra):
18-2.

मिथं (मिथं):
28-3.
Mithyā (Mithyā):
43-5.
Mithyā (Mithyā):
38-4.
Mithyā (Mithyā):
43-4.
Mithyā (Mithyā):
18-2.

र—

Rākṣas—(Rākṣas—):
18-8.
Rākṣas (Rākṣas):
3-1; 34-1; 36-1;
37-1; 38-1; 39-1; 41-1;
22-1; 24-1; 26-1; 27-1;
28-1; 29-1; 30-1; 31-1;
32-1; 34-1; 36-1; 39-1;
40-1; 44-1.
GLOSSARY OF PRAKRT WORDS IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

र—contd.
रण (राजः) 23.1.
राजक (राजकीयम्) 13.4.
राजामत्य (राजामत्य) 13.2.
राजय (राजय) 18.1.
राजसिस (राजसिस) 18.10.
राजसद (राजसद) 18.7.
राजसूयप्रथ (राजसूयप्रथ) 3.10.
राजाणित (राजाणित) 13.1.
राजिन (राजिन) 1.1.
राजस (राजस) 2.1; 33.1; 38.1.
राजस (राजस) 42.1.
राजस (राजस) 3.6.
राधा (राधा) 4.1.
राघुमुखस (राघुमुखस) 10.1.
राघुमुखस (राघुमुखस) 10.2.
राजो (राजः) 46.1; 50.1;
47.1; 48.1; 49.1; 50.1; 52.1; 53.1; 53.2.
संधामुखस (संधामुखस) 53.1-2.
संधामस (संधामस) 46.1;
47.1; 48.1; 49.1.
संधिभ (संधिभ) 53.2-3.
संधि (संधि) 43.3.
संपाधिय (संपाधिय) 3.8.
संपालाकर (संपालाकर) 3.1.
3.11.
संपालाकस (संपालाकस) 62.2.

ललित (ललित:) 46.3; 47.8;
48.3; 49.41.
लष्प (लष्प:) 49.4.
व——contd.
वलुकसवस (वलुकसवस्य) १७.३.
वलुकसू (वलुकसू) ३१.४.
वसिष्ठपुत्र (वाषिष्ठपुत्रस्य) २३.१.
वसातान (वसाताम) ४३.५.
वससातान (वससाताम) ३८.३.
वससति (उपयो) १३.४.
वसस्वातान (वर्षवासत्वानाम्) ३८.३.
वससताय (वप्पशायाम्) २९.२.
३७.२.
वससतान (वससताम) ३८.२.
वसेस (वसेः) ३८.१; ३८.३; ४४.१.
६०.१; ६३.२.
वसेस (वसेः) ६०.२.
वाणिजकेंद्री (वाणिजकेंद्री) २८.४.
वाणिज्यानाम (वाणिज्यानाम) १२.१.
वाणिज्यासप्त (वाणिज्यासप्त) ४३.४.
वाणिज्यसेन (वाणिज्यसेन) १२.१.
वाणिज्य (वाणिज्य) ६०.३.
वाणिज्यसप्तान (वाणिज्यसप्तान) ३.८.
वाणिज्यासप्तानान (वाणिज्यासप्तानान) १५.९.
वाणिज्यार्याम (वाणिज्यार्याम) १३.७.
वाणिज्यपुत्र (वाणिज्यपुत्र) २.२.
१४.१; १७.१; १८.१; २०.१.
२४.१.
वाणिज्यपुत्रेण (वाणिज्यपुत्रेण) १७.३.
वाणिज्यपुत्रो (वाणिज्यपुत्रो) १९.२.
वाणिज्यपुत्रस (वाणिज्यपुत्रस) २३.१.
वाणिज्य (वाणिज्य) २६.२.
विकाम्य (विकाम्य) १८.४.
विकामयावास (विकामयावास) १५.२.
विकामयावासाय (विकामयावासाय) १५.२.
श —
शस्त्र (शस्त्र) १०.२.
शस्त्रस्वामित्व (शस्त्रस्वामित्व) ५०.२६.
शास्त्रेय (शास्त्रेय) ४७.२.
श—contd.
श्लेषकमोतान (श्लेषकमोतान): 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान (श्लेषकमोतान): 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
श्लेषकमोतान श्लेषकमोतान: 18.9.
स——contd.
सिवस्मृतिसेन (सिवस्मृतिसेन) १२:६.
सिवस्मृतिसेनानि (सिवस्मृतिसेनानि) ३७:२.
सिवस्मृतिविद्य (सिवस्मृतिविद्य) १५:२.
सिवश्रोतेन (सिवश्रोतेन) १९:५.
सिवस्मृतिसेनास (सिवस्मृतिसेनास) २४:१.
सिवस्मृतिसेनासिरसिद्धिप्रमाणस (सिवस्मृतिसेनासिरसिद्धिप्रमाणस) २२:१-२.
सिवस्मृतिसेनासिर (सिवस्मृतिसेनासिर) २८:२०.
सिवालिक (सिवालिक) ३७:३.
सिवालिक (सिवालिक) ४३:६.
सिवालिक (सिवालिक) ४५:२.
सीघ (सीघ) ४२:५.
सीघालिक्ष्युस्त (सीघालिक्ष्युस्त) ४५:६.
सीघालिक्ष्युस्तात्मितिः (सीघालिक्ष्युस्तात्मितिः) ४२:२.
सीघालिक्ष्युस्तात्मितिः (सीघालिक्ष्युस्तात्मितिः) ४२:२.
मृगमन (मृगमन) २६:३.
मृगमन (मृगमन) २३:७.
मृगमन (मृगमन) २३:७.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
मृगभ्रुतस (मृगभ्रुतस) २८:४.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ह — contd.</th>
<th>हेमत— (हेमत—)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>हारिदिपुत्र (हारिदिपुत्र)</td>
<td>२५.१.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हितसुखस्वतेय (हितसुखस्वतेय)</td>
<td>२०.२.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हितसुखम (हितसुखार्यम्)</td>
<td>२७.६.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हिमवत (हिमवत्)</td>
<td>१८.१.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हेमताण (हेमताण)</td>
<td>२५.१; १५.१.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हेमताण (हेमताण)</td>
<td>२०.१; ३७.१.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हेमलस्य (हेमलस्य)</td>
<td>१४.२.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हेमलस्य (हेमलस्य)</td>
<td>२९.३.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART II

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS

AND

THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS
Section I—Inscriptions of the Sātavāhānas

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 Indrajii 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.¹ It is edited here from the same plate.

This is the oldest Sātavāhana inscription so far discovered. Its characters are of the Brāhmi 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

¹ Lüders’ List, No. 1144.
appointed a Buddhist monk to the high office of a Mahā-
mātra. In favour of this interpretation Senart says, “Samaṇena ought really to be read as samaṇānam, 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. Mahāmātēna 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.

### Text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>सातवाहनकुले कन्हे राजिनि नानिनकरेन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>समजेन महामात्र लेग कारति¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Translation

While Kṛishṇa of the Sātavāhana family is (ruling as) King, this cave has been caused to be made by the Mahā-
mātra Samaṇa.

¹ This word is followed by a svastika and a taurine symbol.

II—1-8
Sāñchi Inscription of Sātakarnī I

This inscription is incised on the top architrave of the South Gate facing the Great Stūpa at Sāñchi 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, Bühlcr and Rapson. Marshall and Foucher have given its reading and translation in their Monuments of Sāñchi, 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 Vāsishthiputra Ānanda, the foreman (āvesānī) of the king, the illustrious Sātakarnī.

Scholars have expressed different opinions about the identification of King Sātakarnī whose foreman Vāsishthiputra Ānanda donated the architrave. Bühlcr was of the opinion that the characters of the present inscription resembled those of the Nāneghāt inscription of Nāganikā, and identified the king Sātakarnī mentioned in it with the homonymous son of Simuka. He placed him in 150 B.C. Jayaswal and Rakhalda Banerji agreed with him. But Ramaprasad Chanda identified him with Sātakarnī II on palaeographic grounds. He referred him to the period 75-20 B.C. Marshall and Foucher have supported the same view. Rapson also has expressed the same opinion. He suggested that the engraver committed a mistake in incising this record. “As Vāsishthiputra is so commonly found as a metronymic of the Sātakarnīs,” says he, “it

---

1 See the references in Lüders’ List, No. 346.
2 Hemachandra’s Abhidhammāchintamāṇī explains āvesāna as sīlpiśālā.
3 EI, VI, p. 83; Indian Palaeography (Eng. Tr...), p. 39.
4 EI, XX, p. 74.
5 Mem. ASI, I, pp. 7 and 10 ff.; IHQ, 1929, pp. 600 ff.
6 BMC (Andhras 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—"Rāṇo Vāsishṭhiputra sa-vī-Sātakanāsa etc."
This view, however, is absolutely baseless. Metronymics like Vāsishṭhiputra were commonly used not only in the case of royal personages but also in that of commoners.\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) 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 Nāpeghat inscription of Queen Nāganikā. The Purāṇas have assigned a period of only ten years to the reign of Sātakarṇi I.\(^3\) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>राज्यं सिरिसातकरणस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>आवेसनिष् वार्षिस्तिपुतस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>आनंदस दासं [1*]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Translation**

This is a gift of Ānanda, son of Vāsishṭhi, who is a foreman of the king, the illustrious Sātakarṇi.

---

\(^1\) See *Kosihiputana Mita-deva*, No. 17, line 2.

\(^2\) See No. 25, line 1.

\(^3\) *DKA*, p. 39.
No. 3

Nāneghāt Cave Inscription of Nāganikā

This inscription is incised on the left and right side walls of a large cave in Nāneghāt, 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.¹ 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 Gupta² and we³ also have discussed it.

Bühler says, "The Nāneghāt 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 Nāneghāt 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

¹ Lüders' *List*, No. 1112.
² *Studies in Epigraphy*, II, pp. 91 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 Sātakarni whose wife caused the Nāneghāṭ inscriptions to be incised is the Sātakarni whom the Purāṇas call the son of Kṛṣṇa and the third Andhra King.  

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-mātuyā, 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 Vedi-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 maṅgalācharana. 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-brāhmarchariyā)". Such behaviour befits a widow only, not a wife whose husband is living... Hence it seems that the two epithets gaha-tāpasā and charita-brāhmacharhiyā 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 Vedi-śri, follows from the namaskāra addressed to him." Rapson did not accept Bühler's view that the inscription

1 ASWI, V, p. 67.
mentions an obeisance to the minor prince Vedi-śrī. So he suggested that the word *nāmo* should be construed not with the word which follows but with that which precedes it (e. g. with *Yama-Varuna-Kubera-Vāsavanaṃ*). But, like Bührler, 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. In ancient records *nāmo* is invariably connected with the word that follows. So *nāmo* in the present record has to be construed with *Kumāravararasa*, 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. 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 Bührler 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

---

1 *BMC (Andhras)*, p. xlv.
3 See (1) *Namo Amrhautan* (Hāthigumphā inscription), *E.I.* xx, p. 79.
4 The name of the ruling king and the date are usually mentioned in the beginning of an inscription. See the Tummalagudjām plates of Vīṣṇu kuṇḍin Govindavarman II, line 13. *Ep. Andhras.* II, p. 10.
daughter-in-law (vadhū)\(^1\) of a lord of Dakṣināpatha (Deccan) who was ‘a brave and invincible warrior’, then as the daughter of one born in the Aṅgiya 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 śri and who was the greatest among the great and, finally, as the mother of King Vedi-śrī who performed charitable works (pūrtas),\(^2\) who bestowed wealth (on suppliants), 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 kārṣṭhā-paṇa coins donated on the occasions:—Agnyādheya, Anvār-ambhaṇīya, [Aṅgā]rika, Rājasūya, two Aśvamedhas, Bhagalaṇḍaṇa, Gargatirātra, Gavāmayana, Aptoryāma, Aṅgirasāmayana, Śatātirātra, Aṅgirasātirātra, and Chhandomapavamānātirātra. These sacrifices were performed by her as the consort of her husband. Besides these, she performed the following herself\(^3\) (svayam), evidently

---

\(^1\) The aksaḥra ya in line 3 is a remnant of the word nadvāya (by the daughter-in-law). So the preceding lines 2 and 3 must have contained the description of her father-in-law Śimuka Sātavāhana. Bühler read kṣaṇa and took it as the remnant of bālāya. He connected it with the following word Mahāṛaṇa; but such a construction is unlikely as shown by—āsīva bālāya in line 4. Raspon thought that kṣaṇa was a remnant of Kājākāya, because some coins of Sadakāya Kājākāya Mahāraṇe have been found. Both these emendations are unconvincing.

\(^2\) Bühler took putadasa in the sense of putrāsaya and thought that Vedi-śrī was described here as ‘one who gives sons’. But how can a king or a prince bestow sons? So putadasa must be understood in the sense of pūrtasaya (of one who performed charitable works like the digging of wells etc.).

\(^3\) The Apanambha Dhammasūtra (II, 7, 15-17) says महर्षिकां ज्युहुमाट्स्य and denies the right of performing sacrifices to women. Nāguṇika 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—Angirsāmayana, Trayodaśātirātra, 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. Sātāvāhana) 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 Mahāraṭhi Tranakayīra 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 Sātakarni 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-sri who was then reigning and his younger brother Śakti-sri.

As all names of royal personages except those of Vedi-sri and Śakti-sri are now lost, Parameswarilal 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 Mahāraṭhi and the daughter of a powerful king who was the lord of the Dakshiṇāpatha. As Gautamiputra Sātakarni, the twenty-third king mentioned in the Purāṇic list, is known from inscriptions as the first king who assumed the title of Dakshiṇāpathapati, 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 Dakshiṇāpathapati before the time of Gautamiputra Sātakarni because it is not seen in any previous record is an argumentum ex silentio.\(^1\) It is not reliable; for we have not got all records of his predecessors. Besides, if Vedi-śri had been a son of a Mahārāṣṭri, he would not have been called Deva and Rājan in the present inscription; for Mahārāṣṭris were feudatories, not independent rulers. So the queen described in the present inscription was undoubtedly identical with the queen of Sātakarni, the third king mentioned in the Purāṇic list of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) kings, known also from a label over a figure in relief in the Nāñeghāt 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 Sātakarni and Nāganikā. They include two Aśvamedhas and one Rājasūya. This points to the age after the death of Aśoka. In North India Pushyamitra Śunga, who rose to power by overthrowing the last Maurya king Brahmāratha, removed all restrictions on the performance of Vedic sacrifices, and himself celebrated two Aśvamedhas\(^2\) 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 kārshāpacas. 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 Sātakarni I.

---

\(^1\) As a matter of fact, Gautamiputra was not Dakshiṇāpathapati or Dakshiṇāpātheśvara as he had not conquered Kuntala. The term Dakshiṇāpathapati is applied in No. 18 not to Gautamiputra but to his son Puṣjāmāvi. 

\(^2\) *EI*. XX, pp. 67 ff.
This view has recently been unexpectedly corroborated by the find of a joint silver coin of Sātakarnī and Nāganikā discovered at Junnar near Nāneghāṭ and published by P. J. Chinmulpund. 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 Chinmulpund 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 Sātakarnī 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.

---

1 See the figure of this coin in Plate XX.
2 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.
3 Bührer read chandis-vitāman, but this reading is evidently incorrect.
4 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 Tummaluguern plates, Ep. Andhra, II, p. 10.
5 This appears to be the description of Simukuka. These adjectives qualifying Simukuka (now lost) are connected with [vadhī]*ya in line 3. See a similar description of Gautami Bala śrī in No. 18. Here only one akṣara ya is left over. Bührer and Ranson, however, read —āya. The former takes it to be the remnant of bākāya, which he connects with mahārañchīno in line 3. But such construction is not likely. See the wordings in śīra bhārīya in line 4. Ranson takes them to be the remnant of Kārakāya, but that name is not likely to have occurred here.

11 धंजळिनिन्तसयुन्तः सप्तोः १ असोः १ असरयोः १ गावऽनं १०० [+] [+] १ असेयोः वितियोः [पिथो] विनानयो [विठ] ना असोः श्वालः [का] रोः १ सुबंत [हि] नि १० [+] [+] २ विन्य दिना काहापनाः १०००० [++] ४००० गावऽः १ हि [हि] .

12 गावऽः सक्तं धंजळिनिन्तसयुन्तः वायोः यंत्रोः देवुः वाय सतरसः

13 १० [+] [+] ७ अब . पस्याको दिनोः .

१० [+] [+] २ [अ] सोः स्वः [लंका] रोः १ विन्य अहापनाः [ना] १०००० २४

1 Read गामबरोः.
3 This is not the name (Dhanayaka) of the supposed capital of the Sātavāhanas. It means 'mountain-like heaps of grains.'
3 The numerical symbol here is indistinct. Bhagvanlal took it as signifying 60,000.
4 Some numerical symbols after that denoting 10,000 have become indistinct.
14 

\[ \text{गिर्या} \text{[वो]} \]

\[ \text{गिर्या} \text{[ढो]} \text{ दिखना दिना गायो 10000} \]

\[ (+)1 \text{ गतिर्भलो ज्ञो मिठो} \text{[दिखना]} \]

\[ पसपको पठा 300[+1] \text{ ग[वा]मयन ज्ञो मिठो} \]

\[ गायो 1000[+1]100 [+1]1 \]

\[ गायो 1000[+1]200 पसपको काहापना 100[+1]1 पठा 100 \]

\[ अनुयामो ज्ञो \]

15 

\[ गवामयन ज्ञो दिखना दिना गायो 1000[+1]100[+1]1 \text{ अंगिरस[सा]मयन ज्ञो मिठो} \text{[दिखना]} \]


\[ गायो 1000[+1]100 अंगिरस[ति]रतो ज्ञो मिठो \text{[दिखना] ना [गायो]} \]

16 

\[ गायो 1000[+1]2 \text{ छठोमिनामा-} \text{[नतिर्लो]] दिखना गायो 1000[+1]1 \text{ आं[गि]रत[तिर्लो]] ज्ञो} \text{[ढो] दिखना दिना} \]

\[ ज्ञो मिठो दिखना दिना गायो 1000[+1]1 \]

17 

\[ न [सर्फ दिखना दिना गायो] \]

\[ \text{[अं]गि[रत]] मयन छवस} \]

\[ [दिख] ना दिना गायो 1000 \]

\[ दिना गायो 1000[+1]1 \text{ [तेरस]} \]

18 

\[ ग दिखना दिना गायो] \]

\[ \text{[अं]गि[रत]] मयन} \text{ दिना} \]

\[ गायो 1000[+1]1 \text{ उ} \]

\[ गायो 1000[+1]1 \text{ उ} \]

19 

\[ दिखना [दिना] \]

\[ \text{[ज्ञो]} \]

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 Āsvamedha (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 kārshāpaṇas, 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 kārshāpaṇa...... 20,000 cows; the Bhagoladasarātra sacrifice was performed (and) the (following sacrificial fee) was given 10,001 kārshāpaṇas; the Gargatrātra 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 Aptyāma 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 Chhandomapavamānātirātra 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...... Trayodasātirātra...... 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......
Nos. 4—9

Nāneghāṭ Cave Statue Inscriptions

These inscriptions are incised on the top of the statues carved in the back wall of a large cave at Nāneghāṭ. 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,1 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 Sātagarṇi. 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.2 The sixth, which is 2’ 5” from the fifth, was the statue of Vir, the champion and saviour of the Marāṭhās.3 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 Šykes in 1837.4 Thereafter they were discussed by Prinsep, Stevenson,

---

1 Really the statue was of King Śimuka. Sātavāhana was his family name.
2 The statue here was evidently of Prince Vedīśri, who later succeeded his father Sātagarṇi. He was reigning when the large Nāneghāṭ inscription of Nāyanikā was incised.
3 The correct name of the statue was Mahārāṣṭri Tränakāyiṣṭra.
4 See Lüders’ List, Nos. 1111—1118.

II—2-A.
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 Sātakarni; (4) Kumāra Bhāyala; (5) Name lost; (6) Mahāraṭhi Tranakayira; (7) Kumāra Haku-śrī; (8) Kumāra Sātavāhana. Of these, Simuka is evidently identical with Śisuka mentioned in the Purānic list of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) kings. His Sanskrit name may have been Śrimukha. The Purāṇas mention Kṛishṇa as his younger brother and successor. It seems that when Simuka died, his son Sātakarni 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;¹ for Sātakarni was the son of Simuka, not of Kṛishṇa as wrongly stated in the Purāṇas. The next double statue was of Queen Nāganikā and King Sātakarni. The former was of the Nāga race as shown by her name.² As she is carved first in the double statue, Kataré conjectured that she was the mother, not the wife, of Sātakarni; 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 Bhāyala. He was probably the eldest son of Sātakarni 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

¹ Perhaps, Kṛishṇa had usurped the throne after his brother Simuka’s death during the minority of the latter’s son Sātakarni, or he may have tried to keep out his nephew Sātakarni even after he came of age as the Chālukya Mangalesa and the Yādava Mahādeva are known to have done. This may be the reason why his statue was not carved in the Cave.

² Nīkā denotes ‘a woman.’ See Śakanikā used in the Nāsik Cave inscriptions of Iśvarāsena. CII, IV, p. 3.
Mahāraṭhi Tranakayira. He seems to be the father of Queen Nāganikā. The last two statues were of Kumāra Haku-śri and Kumāra Sātavāhana. These were evidently the younger sons of Sātakarni and Nāganikā. Of these, Haku-śri is probably identical with Kumāra Śakti-śri¹ mentioned in the large Nāṇeghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā.

The order in which these statues were carved seems perplexing; for we have here, after the royal couple Nāganikā and Sātakarni, first, two sons of Nāganikā, viz., Bhāyala and Vedi-śri, then the father of Nāganikā, viz., Mahāraṭhi Tranakayira, and then again two other sons of the same queen, viz., Haku-śri 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 Sātakarni’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-śri, and lastly of his father-in-law Mahāraṭhi Tranakayira. Some time thereafter Nāganikā had two more sons, viz., Haku-śri and Sātavāhana.² 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 Sātakarni. So the latter was succeeded by Vedi-śri mentioned as the reigning king in the large Nāṇeghāṭ inscription. That record names only two sons of Nāganikā, viz., the reigning king Vedi-śri and the prince Śakti-śri. The latter is evidently identical with Kumāra Haku-śri 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 Nāṇeghāṭ inscription mentions only Vedi-śri and Hāku-śri, Kumāra Sātavāhana

¹ Prakrit Haku-śri cannot be derived from Sanskrit Śakti-śri. Perhaps, Haku-śri was a pet name of the prince.
² Prince Sātavāhana bore the name of the progenitor of the royal family. For similar instances, see the name Sīndha of a later member of the Sīndha family in the Tīguṇḍi plates of Śaka 1004 and the name Sātakarni (of Vasiṣṭhīputra Sātakarni) 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 Nāneghāṭ Cave. It shows that the opinion of some scholars that the coins with the legend Rañlo sirī-Sātavāhanasa belong to this Kumāra Sātavāhana, and not to the progenitor of the royal family is incorrect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. 4</td>
<td>राया सिमुकसातवाहनाः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 नी सिरिमालो [1*]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 5</td>
<td>देवी-नायनिकाय रञ्जो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 च सिरि-सातकिनिनो [1*]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 6</td>
<td>कुमारो भा-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 य[लो*] [1*]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 7</td>
<td>महारथि त्रनकिवरो [1*]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 8</td>
<td>कुमारो हुकुसिरि [1*]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 9</td>
<td>कुमारो सातवाहनो [1*]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.—Maharathi Tranakayira.
No. 8.—Prince Haku-śri.
No. 9.—Prince Sātavāhana.

1 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 1847.¹ Thereafter, it was discussed by Stevenson - Brett, Edward and Arthur West, R. G. Bhandarkar, Bühler, Bhagvanlal Indrajit, 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 Tiraṅghi hill, where it is incised, was excavated by Bhaṭapālikā. She is described in it as the daughter of the Rājāmāta (Royal Minister) Arahalaẏa of the place Chalisilaṇa, grand-daughter of Mahā-Haku-srī, wife of the Bhāṇḍāgārika (Treasurer) and Rājāmātya Agitaṇaka, and mother of Kapaṇaṇaka.

 Scholars have held diverse views on the question whether Haku-srī mentioned in the present record is identical with or different from Kumāra Haku-srī mentioned in a relievo figure inscription in the Nānēghāṭ 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'²—all indicated a date of about the beginning of the Christian era.³ He identified this Haku-srī with Kumāra Haku-srī of a Nānēghāṭ inscription and dated

¹ Lüders' List, No. 1141. See the other references there.
² See Plate 8, Figure 12.
³ CHI, I, p. 637. See also CTH, 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.¹ Neither of these views is quite correct. Mahā-Haku-siri of the present inscription is no doubt identical with Kumāra Haku-siri of the Nāneghāṭ record. He is mentioned in the large inscription of Nāganikā as Sati-siri. He must have come to the throne after Vedi-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 Sātakarni² in No. 29. Senart’s observation that the characters of the present inscription are later by one or two generations than those of the Nāneghāṭ 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.³

Localities—Chalisilaṇaṭaka and Dhambhika do not exist now in the Nāsik District. Tiraṇhū (Sanskrit, Tri-raṣṭmi) is the name of the hill where the record is carved.

¹ MSG, History, I, p. 82.
² No. 29, line 2.
³ Though the present inscription has niṭṭhapāṭha (excavated), such caves were not generally completed in one generation. See No. 13.
Nāsik Inscription of Gautamiputra: Year 18

Line Text
1 रायाचेः-अर्हत्य(य) चृतिविलक्षणस्यैः पुत्रां न प्राप्तसि--
2 [रि].. यः चैत्यालिकाय रायाचेः अभिविलक्षणसिः संधाकरकेऽ--
3 यस भारिष्ठायः कपणप्रमाणाय चैत्यायां विकलेः--
4 तिरस्त्विति निष्पालित [िः]

Translation

Bhatapālikā, daughter of the Rājāmātya Arahalaya, [grand-daughter] of Haku-siri, wife of the Rājāmātya and Bhāndāgārika Agiyatanaka and mother of Kapanaṇaka, has excavated this Chaitya Cave on the Trirāsmi hill.

No. 11; Plate I

Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamiputra 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. Later, it was discussed by Edward and Arthur West, R. G. Bhandarkar, Bühler, Bhagvanlal Indraji, Pischel, Franke, Hultzsch and Ranson. Bühler has edited it in the Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. IV, pp. 104 ff. and plate, and Senart

---

1 From EL, VIII, Plate III. For another instance of the frontage of a cave (gharamukha) carved later, see the inscription in a cave at Ajanṭā, ASWI, IV, p. 116.
2 Bhagvanlal separated cha from Liṣīṇakasa.
3 Bhagvanlal read Mahāhakustirīḍaya, and Bühler Mahāhakustirīṣaya, Senart has shown that two aksāharas are lost between ri and ya, and has suggested the reading natiya (of the grand-daughter) here.
4 Bhagvanlal read satāriyāya here and took it to mean `by Satāriyā.' This is not likely.
5 See references in Lüders' List, No. 1125; EL, 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 Gautamiputra Sātakarni, the lord of Benākṣṭaka, 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 Kakhađi which had been owned (before) by Ushavadāta (Rishabhadatta).” 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 Šivagupta. 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 Gautamiputra Sātakarni from his victorious camp at Govardhana evidently after his memorable victory over Nahapāna. It describes his army as vaijayanti, 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 Vaijayanti'.” Neither of these interpretations is acceptable. We have shown elsewhere that Gautamiputra’s power did not spread to the North Kannada District where Vaijayanti (modern Vānavāsi) is situated. Besides, the army was then encamped not at Vaijayanti, but at Govardhana near Nāsik. Vaijayanti means ‘triumphant’. The same sense is conveyed by the expression Vijya-khadhāvārā. These adjectives suggest the memorable victory which Gautamiputra had won over Nahapāna before he made the donation recorded in the present inscription.

The epithet Benākaṭaka-svāmi applied to Gautamiputra has also been interpreted variously. Bühler read Benākaṭaka, 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 Vaiṅgaṅga.’ In ancient times, the names of districts ended in kaṭa or kaṭaka. See Varadākaṭa (Varhāḍ, modern Berār), Nāndikāṭa (modern Nāned) and Karahākaṭa (modern Karhāḍ). The reason why Gautamiputra did not designate himself as Mūlaka-svāmi after his native country, or as Pratisṭhāna-svāmi after his capital, and why he called himself Benākaṭaka-svāmi can be easily conjectured. He had conquered the country of Beṇākaṭaka² (the territory on both the banks of the river Beṇā or Vaiṅgaṅga, i.e. in the vicinity of Pauni in the Bhanḍārā District of Vidarbha), before he won his memorable victory over Nahapāna in Western Mahārāṣṭra. He

¹ Mirashi, Literary and Historical Studies in Indology, pp. 167 ff.
² A pillar inscription of Mahākṣhtraṇa Kumāra Rupiamma has been discovered at Pauni. See No. 62.
wanted to assure the Buddhist monks in Nāśik that he would treat them as liberally as he had done those in Beṇākaṭaka which he had conquered just before.¹

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 Sātavāhanaś. 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 Mahārāṣṭra including Vidarbha. It is noticed in the recently discovered Thāḷner plates of the last Vākāṭaka king Harisheṇa.² As against this, all inscriptions of the contemporary Western Kṣatrapas 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 Sātavāhanaś is sanivatsara as against varsha which is invariably noticed in the inscriptions of the Western Kṣatrapas.

Localities—Govardhana still retains its ancient name and is situated on the right bank of the Godāvari, about seven miles west of Nāśik. It was the chief place of the āhāra (territorial division) of the same name. Nāśik was then known only as a holy place. Apara-Kakhaḍī (Western Kakhaḍī) does not now exist in the Nāśik District. Tekirasi is the same as Tri-rašmi, the three-peaked hill near Nāśik.

---

¹ See the section 'the Kṣatrapas of Vidarbha' above.
² See the Journal of the Rajavatula Research Society (Marathi), Vol. XLVIII, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 20 ff.
³ From the plate in JEL, VIII.
⁴ Vejayatīya (Būh.).
⁵ Beṇākaṭakā svamī (Bh. and Būh.).
⁶ Vīgaspālitaḥ (Bh. and Būh.).
⁷ Kakaṭatiyaṃ yās (Bh.).
⁸ Ushabhadātēna (Bh.).
3 सताधि बे २०० एत अम्हं ब्रूत निवंतनसताधि बे २०० इमेस पवजिनान तेकिरसमा ¹ वितारण [i. ¹] एता बस खेतस परिहार
4 वितारण अवयेव ² अटागाम अलोणखाक अरसावनात्म तावजात- पारिहारिक बे [i. ¹] एतोहं ने परिहारेतोहं परिहर्ष [रें] हि ³ [i. ¹]
5 एवं बस खेतपरिहर्ष [रें] ⁴ च एवं निवायरि हि [i. ¹] अविःयें ⁵ आणां [i. ¹] अम्हेश सिवगुणें छतो [i. ¹] महासाम्येव हि उपरि हि [i. ¹]
6 दत्तेण पाणिका सबहे १०[+²] ८ वासपखे २ दिवसे १ [i. ¹] तापसेन कटा [i. ¹]

Translation

Success! From the victorious camp of the triumphant army in Govardhana, the illustrious Gautamiputra Sātakarni, the lord of Benākaṭaka⁶, issues the (following) order to Amātya Vīshṇupālītā in Govardhana:—The field of two hundred—200—nivartanas (known as that) of Ajakālaka (yaksha)⁷ in the village of Western Kakhaḍī, which was (previously) owned by Rishabhadatta—that our field of two hundred—200—nivartanas We give to these mendicant monks of the Trīrasmi⁸ (Caves)

---

¹ Tekirasina (Bh.).
² apāvesa (Bh.).
³ pārtharhi (Bh.); pārtharhi (Būh.).
⁴ pārthāra (Se.)
⁵ avyayena (Būh.); avyayena (Bh.).
⁶ Senart’s translation ‘the lord of Benākaṭaka in Govardhana’ has been shown to be incorrect.
⁷ Bühler and Bhagvanlal have taken ajakālakīya in the sense of adyakalika “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 Ajakālakīya 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 caryed near the Stūpa of Bhāhrut. For another similar instance, see Sudisāṇa, the name of a village. Sudisāṇa was a Yakshi. See No. 19, line 2.
⁸ Tekirasipya appears to have been written here wrongly for Terasikānān (Trīrasimikānān).
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.\(^1\) Its paṭṭikā\(^2\) was given (on the following date)—the year 18, the rainy season fortnight 2, (and) the day 1. (It was) prepared by Tāpasa.\(^3\)

No. 12
Kārle Cave Inscription [Of Gautamiputra Satakarni]:
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 Poona 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 Indrajji, Pischel, Franke, Hultzsch, Senart and Rapson.\(^4\) 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 stamapage, but not its transcript nor its translation. Bühler and Senart have given both.

---

1 These Mahāsvāmikas were probably the chief Bhikahus who were in charge of the cave.
2 These Paṭṭikas were of cloth and were used like the paper slips of the modern times.
3 This Tāpasa may have been the executor of the grant like the dītaka mentioned for the same purpose in copper-plate grants. The name Tāpasa recalls that of Samaṇa mentioned in No. 1.
4 See the references in Lüders’ List, No. 1105.
Characters and language—The characters of the present inscription are of the Brāhmi alphabet, and the language Prakrit.

The object of the present inscription was to record the donation of the village Karajika as bhikshu-hala 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 Amārya [Pārgupta] of Māmāda. 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 was granted by the Śaka Rishabhadatta for the maintenance of the bhikshus of Valuraka. It is probably identical with that mentioned in the present inscription. So it seems that the same village was again granted by Gautamiputra Sātakarni after his defeat of Nahapāna, the overlord of Rishabhadatta. The year mentioned in the present inscription is not clear. Bühler doubtfully read it as 14. 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 Kārle 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. This testimony surely indicates that the present
edict also was issued by Gautamiputra Śrī-Sātakarni 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 śīva 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 Gautamiputra Sātakarni 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 Māvala. Valuraka was the ancient name of Kārle, which is included in the division of Māvala. Karajagaon, which lies about 5 miles to the north-east of Kārle is the modern representative of Karajagrāma.

Line 1
1. . . . . . . . . . . [आनपयति] [•] मामाडे7 अमच परगत. ममू3 एव लेनत बालुरकेस4 बावभान
2 पयजितान भिलान निकायस महास[घि]यान यधनय एव मामालाहरे उतरे ममे5 [मामे] करजके[मु*] 6

1 Bhagvanlal has published only an estampage of this inscription. Bühler and Rapson have given its reading, translation and notes.
2 Bühler read Māmāle, but the akṣara ए is quite clear.
3 Rapson has suggested the reading Purugupta as on the Bhūtārī seal of Kumāragupta. The correct reading of the royal name is, however, Pārugaṇa.
4 Read Lenesa Valurakesu.
5 Read utara-mage.
6 In Prakrit the names of villages are used in the plural number.
Translation

issues the (following) order to Amātya [Purugupta]:—We have given as bhikshu-
hala the village Karajaka lying on the northern way in the dāhāra (territorial division) of Māmāda for the mainte-
nance 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.¹

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.

¹Senart says that bhikshu-hala was to be incised, but as he was lost in a
cleft, he was incised again.
²Bühler's reading gīme Karajakus appears to be preferable. The above
reading is given by Senart as more likely.
³Read the lost letters as anonyma as in No. 13, line 5.
⁴Read gīme Karajakus.
⁵Read vijayau-khadabandu. See No. 11, line 1.
⁶Read the rath (Bhūh).
⁷Bühler 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.
⁸Hui tachi showed that aṣapāpehi is Imperative second person singular.
Senart accepted it.
Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamiputra 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 Indrajii, Pischel, Franke, Hultsch, Senart and Rapson. 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 Brāhmī 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 Gautamiputra 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 Kakhadji as our pious gift to the mendicant monks dwelling in the cave on the Trirāśmi 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 Trirāśmi 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 Sujīvin 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.

1 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 Sātakarnī in issuing this order. But she is called his mother. She was evidently Gautami Bala-śrī known from No. 18. She is described here as jīva-sutā (one whose son is living). From the age of the Rīgveda¹ to have a living son was regarded as a sign of good fortune. Besides, Gautami had then as her son the illustrious Sātakarnī 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 Sātakarnī 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 Sātakarnī.

The field gifted by the order in No. 11 was situated in the village Kakhaḍī, whereas that donated by the order recorded in the present inscription lay in that named West Kakhaḍī (Apara Kakhaḍī). 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 Sātakarnī 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.

¹ See Rīgveda, X, 2, 6, 9. Also Mahābhārata, V, 144, 9; and Rāmāyaṇa, IV, 19, 11.
1 सिः [ I* ] गोवधि अनेन सामस्य स्त्राव रागधिष्ठो [ I* ]
2 रज्जो गोतितित्वत सारत्किणिस महाद्विविं च जोतिमुताय राजामातुय विकयय गोवधि अम [ I* ] चो सामको अरोग वत्वो [ I* ] ततो एव च
3 बलाभ्य एव अमृष्ठि पतूं तिरिकुर्माः अति ध्रमपादेन लेये पवित्रसंधि पवित्रतानि दिव्यहृदय ध्रुवे ध्रृते बति [ I* ] त च ध्रृति
4 [ न* ] कस्ते सो च गामो न बसति [ I* ] एवं सति य द्राधि एव नागसम्मे राजक खेंट अमुसत्तन सती एलैस पवित्रतानि दिव्यहृदये
5 ते ते सगतंतरसं 100 [ I* ] तत्स च खेंटस परिहार वितारण [ I* ] अव्ययेस अनोम्यस अलोणशावक अर्थसंविनिय लवजात-पारिपारिक्यां च [ I* ]
6 एतेरीन परिहारेँह परिहारेँह [ I* ] एत स खेंटपरीहारनेव एव निवापेक्ष [ I* ] अविसेन आगाह [ I* ] पतिद्विशिष्य [ I* ] लोडदय छो लेखो [ I* ] सबछरे 20[+*]*
7 वासान प्ले ४ विऱ्से प्लब पें ५ मुखितव चट [ I* ] निवडो निवडो सबछरे 20[+*]* गम्भीरच प्लेः २ विऱ्से १० [ I* ]

Translation

Success! (This) order should be communicated to Amātya Śāmaka (Śyāmaka) in Govardhana:—By the order of King Gautamiputra Sātakārpī and his blessed Queen-mother, the Mahādevi, the Amātya Śyāmaka in Govardhana shall be informed of (Our) well-being and shall then be told (as follows):—"We had previously given a field

---

1 From the plate in EL, VIII.
2 Senart has suggested the reading dayā rāj-dupati.
3 Read paṭiihāra-rakhya.
4 Nibaddho is unnecessarily repeated.
5 D. C. Sircar has added the following note on jiva-mulā: "The word jiva-mulā 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.
6 Senart translates Śāmaka araga ratavo as 'Śāmaka should be addressed with the usual civility'. This is incorrect. The dravya is of Gautamiputra and Bala śī, not of Śāmaka. See the word kudali or the expression kudalina guṇapravāya which occurs in a similar context in copper-plate grants.

II—3-B.
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 Sujīva 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.1 It is edited here from the plate accompanying Senart’s article.

Characters and language—The characters of the inscription are of the Brāhmi alphabet, and its language Prakrit. The pronominal form ina 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 Dhanama got the cave excavated for

1 Lüders’ List No. 1147. Senart has edited it in Et. VIII, pp. 94 ff., with a plate.
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 Vāsiṣṭhiputra Svāmī illustrious Pulumāvī.

Line 1
1 सिंह [ ३४ ] रजो वासिष्ठिपुत्रसारिसिंहूः
2 भायस संवर्तेऽर्हेमतरणूः परे ४ विवर्तै [ ७ ]
3 वेदियसुदार्यमुदार्यकालद्विष्यमिय
4 कारित सह [ माला । ] विवर्त हि सह [ भिगिे ]

Translation
Success! In the (regnal) year 2, the fortnight 4 of winter (and) the day [8] of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Svāmī illustrious Pulumāvī, on the aforementioned [tithi], the farmer Dhaṇāma, together with his father and mother and (also) his sister, got this (cave) excavated.

No. 15
Kārle Cave Inscription [of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvī]: 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 Indrajit, Bühler-Burgess and Senart. 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.

---

2 From the plate facing p. 94 in E.F. VIII.
3 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.
4 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 varṣhe, not by samvatsare as appears in the present case. The year cited here cannot also be of the reign of Gautami-putra Sātakarni; for he is known to have conquered Western Mahārāṣṭra in his eighteenth regnal year. So this date is probably of Pulumāvi’s reign; for a record dated only two years later in his reign has been found at Kārle itself.

\[\begin{array}{ll}
1 & \text{[स्वर्त्]} \text{रे} \text{ ५ घरम्यत्वा थ[खे]*] . . . . . . . . . . . . .} \\
& \text{[एत्ता]*य पुवच च[चे]*} \text{पत—} \\
2 & \text{रिंग अवलंशिनिण लेंव भग[ने]*} \text{ साविकान सविमा—} \\
3 & \text{[धमु*] काले पवित्रान सङ्ग ख[धाम*] च [वे*]} \text{— धम पोशि} \\
4 & \text{[परिबारेर्ण उपय] . . . . . .} \\
5 & \text{अवलंशिनि हस्तबाधए [१*]} \\
\end{array}\]

**Translation**

In the year 5, the fortnight . . . of winter—on this aforementioned [titthi], the female disciples of Bhāṅkanta . . . [got this cave excavated] and
their śrāvikā sisters 1 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 Rishabhā 2 . . .

No. 16

Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi : 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. 3 It is edited here from the plate accompanying Senart’s article.

Characters and language—The characters of the present inscription are of the Brāhma 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) Vāsishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi, the fifth fortnight of summer, the . . . day. The numerical symbol denoting the day is now lost. 4 As the inscription is very much mutilated, its object cannot be ascertained.

Line Text

1 शिंग्व [११२] रत्नो बासिंशीपुतस सिरिपुष्माविस संवधारे छडे ६
गिर्ध्यपरे पत्रे ५ हिस्ते [४] . . . . .

1 “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 Jaina.” —Senart.

2 As the inscription is very much mutilated in this part, it does not admit of any coherent meaning.

3 See the references in Lüders’ List, No. 1122. See also the plate facing p. 59 in E.I. VIII.

4 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

Kārle Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi : Year 7

This inscription is incised on the upper frieze to the left of the central door of the Chaitiya Cave at Kārle. 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. ¹ 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 Mahāraṭhi Vāsishṭhiputra Somadeva, the son of Mahāraṭhi Kauśikiputra Mitradeva of (the place) Okhaṇakiya, 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 taxes² and those paid in kind or coin.

¹ See the references in Lüders’ List, No. 1100.
² The epithet sakurukaro was interpreted as ‘together with the expenses for the repairs of the caves at Valuraka’ by Bhagvanlal and Bühler. But Valurakalemīna is to be construed with Valuraka-sahāna which precedes it. Several instances of such construction can be cited from these inscriptions. Sakurukaro appears to have been used in the same sense as sodravīghaḥ and soparitarah which are noticed in later records.

Senart’s explanation of sudaya-murya 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 murya 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 (CII. IV, pp. 82 ff.)
The date of the present inscription is stated as the regnal year 7 of Vāsisṭhīputra Svāmī illustrious Pulumāvi, 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 Okhala kiya may have become Ukhaḷi or Ukhalgaon 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, Okhala kiya need not have been situated in the Poonā District, but it cannot be definitely identified in the absence of the specification of its boundaries.

Translation

Success! In the (regnal) year seventh -7- of King Vāsisṭhīputra Svāmī illustrious Pulumāvi, the fifth -5- fortnight of summer, the first -1- day, on the aforementioned tithi, Mahāraṇī Vāsisṭhīputra Somadeva, the son of Mahāraṇī Kausikiputra Mittradeva of (the village)

1 From Plate 3 in E.I.VII.
2 Expressed by a symbol: Bhagvanlal, Bühler and Senart have not noticed it.
3 Bhagvanlal read Mahāraṇī, but the akṣara has a clear dot signifying thit. Besides, Mahāraṇī occurs in line 3.
4 Valuraka-leṣaṇa (Büh.).
5 Bhagvanlal read, sa-kariṣṭaṇa saṅgyumeyo, and interpreted it as 'together with the expenses of the repairs of the caves'. Bühler read sukkedvākārosa and interpreted it in the same manner. Senart's interpretation given here is much better.
Okhaḷakiya has donated (this) village, 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.

Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāśishṭhiputra 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. 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 Dakshiṇāpatheśvara (the lord of the Deccan), donated the village Piśāchipadraka situated south-west of the Trirāśmi hill, together with all rights of its enjoyment, as his pious gift to the Bhadāvaniya Buddhist Community for the embellishment of the cave excavated by his grandmother Mahādevi Gautami Bala-śri on the Trirāśmi hill and for the acquisition of religious merit by his father (Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi). In the beginning the present inscription contains the date—the (regnal) year 19 of Vāśishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi, the summer fortnight 2 and the day 1.

Cave III, where this inscription has been incised, had

---

1 The name of the village is omitted here inadvertently.
2 See the references in Lüders' List, No. 1123.
been excavated by Mahādevī (Great Queen) Gautami Bala-sri, the mother of Gautamiputra Sātakarni, and had been donated by her to the aforementioned Community of Buddhist monks. In the present inscription she is mentioned with three titles, viz., Mahādevi, 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 Sātakarni also was a Mahārāja; for he was the lord of a large kingdom in Central and Southern India. Her grandson Puḷumāvi, 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.

Mahādevi Gautami was rightly proud of her brave and righteous son Sātakarni. 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 Gautamiputra Sātakarni as the ruler of Asika (Rīṣīka), Asaka (Aśmaka), Kukura, Aparānta (North Koṅkaṇ), Vidarbha, Anūpa and Akarāvantī (East and West Māļwā). Next, the extent of his kingdom is indicated by the mention of the following mountains comprised in it—Vindhyā, Rīkshavat, Pāriyātra, Sahya, Krīṣṇagiri, 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 Gautamiputra Sātakarni resembled the full moon (of the paurṇimā); 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-lakṣhmi, 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 Kshaharatā 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 Gautami Bala-śrī through her great son Sātakarni. So it was known as Devi-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 Pujumāvi, her grandson, arranged for its embellishment with sculptures etc. by donating the village Piśāchipadraka for the purpose.

Localities—Dakshināpatha signifies the region south of the Narmada. Another definition of the term is that it lies beyond Māhishmati (modern Maheśvar in the former Indore State). Asika is Sanskrit Rishika. From the references to it in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, it seems that this country lay in the vicinity of Anūpa (Nemāḍ and Indore districts of Madhya Pradesh), Vidarbha and Aṣmaka. Such a country can only be modern Khāṇḍesh. Ašaka (Aṣmaka) lay to the south of the Godāvari as appears clear from the references to it in the Suttani-pāta. It evidently comprised the modern districts of Ahmednagar and Bīḍa. Mūlaka corresponded to the present Aurangābād District. Its capital was Pratishṭhāna (modern
Paithan) on the Godavari as stated in the Pali literature. The exact location of Kukura is not known. Varahamihira places it in the Madhya Desha, which suggests that it lay to the north of the Narmadā. Aparanta is well known as the ancient name of North Konkan. Anipā corresponded to the modern Nemāḍ and Indore districts of Madhya Pradesh. Its capital Māhishmati is identical with modern Maheśvar on the Narmadā. Vidarbha is too well known to need identification. In ancient times, it extended from the Narmadā in the north to the Godāvari in the south. Ākaravanti comprised Eastern and Western Mālwa corresponding to its divisions of Pūrva and Apara, both of which are mentioned in the Junagadh inscription of Rudrādāman. 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. Rikshavat is now known as Sātpuḍā. Pārīyātra is probably the old name of Mt. Abu. Kanphagiri is the modern Kānheri hill. Macha (Sanskrit, Maṅcha) is identified by Bhagvanlal Indrajit with Rāmaśeja hill. The location of Sirīṭana (Sanskrit, Śrī-stana) is uncertain. Some identify it with Śrī-Śaila, Setagiri (Sanskrit, Śvetagiri) is identified by some with a hill near Nāgārjunakoṇḍ. It is mentioned in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍ inscription of Vasušeṇa. According to others, it was identical with the hill of Nāṅeghāṭ. Mahendra is the well-known name of the eastern range of hills in Andhra. Chakora cannot be identified now. No village corresponding to Pisāchipadraka can now be identified in the Nāsik District.

Line 1: 
Text 5

1 Sattanipata, Pārāyaṇavaggo Varthagāthā, V. 2.
2 In the inscriptions at Maheśvar, the place is mentioned as Māhishmati. See Potdar Comm. Vol., p. 319.
3 Nāsik District Gazetteer (old ed.), p. 32.
4 See Satagara-pavate in No. 23.
5 From the plate facing p. 60 in EL. VIII.
6 Elsewhere its Prakrit form siddhaṅ is used.
7 Vāsīṭkupatasa (Bh. and Būḥ.).
8 Saṁvachhara (Būḥ.).
10[ +* ]9 गृहाणि
4 विाते वित्ये २ विसे तेरूसे १०[ +* ] ३ राजेशी मोतिमुगु दिन्वय[५]मे —
2 मंदरयतसम्बाससस्य अंसकामसककातरककुकुरपारसे २ अनुवादपत्र — भाकर वागमिरापारकान्त विवाहतपाचारीतू समकृति परमसिरकलिति —
3 सेतुगिरिविरबपततीस सवराज [लोक] महल्फतमंहोतसासनस विवकर [क] राविवोधत्ककिमलिखितविसवनस तिसमुदायोपितवाहुस पड़ [गु] जनवम्भलसारकरक —
4 पिसाससत बरवारणविकवाकाविकम भुजगपतिमोगोनवाद ४ विपल-नृथववर [५*] भस्त अलोकबदालकिलिननिपभकरस अधिकनामाभ-मुनुदासकर सुकिनवतिकथासकालस —
5 पोरजननिकिससमकुकुकुकुकुकुकुस सवतियादमानससम ५ सक्करवलस्वबिन- गुलनस धनोपितजतकरविनयपरकर कितापराप ए प सतुजाय अपाल- हिसाबिवलित बिनवयुकुकुकुकुविध —
6 नस बखरासत ५ निर्माणस्तोत्र साबताहनकुकुलसपरक्षाप ५ करस समांदलायवबिविच [५*] नस विनिविततबलगृषुकवकरस अनेकसमरा- बनितसलुधबस अपराजितविजयपाकसनुजनवसाधनीय —
7 पुल्बसस कुलपिरसपरिपालिपुलजससब आगमान निलावस तुरिशन असपस सिरिये अधिदानस उपचारान ८ पमवस एकुकसस एकुकुदाशय एकुसूरस एक्षम्मुज्ञस राम —
8 कोजावनबलोनकुलसपरकमस ५ छण्यासव १० समाजकारकस नामाग ११ नहुसमेजसपरकरपालिरामबोकरसमतेजस अपरितमहयमचित्र- महसु १६ वनमुगुसिध्यचकनवकाजारससूमा वज्लवराच —
9 बखराकारबक्षतमुक्षिणसमसरससस सिरिरमुकुकुकुकुकुकुकुकुकुस नागव १२ खाया गनतन्तमभागस कुलपिरससिरकरस सिरसातकेण मातृय महार- श्रीयेवी मोतियंबि बलसिरोय सबम्बनवानवमाहिसारितयात तप्वत्निय —

1 Girhāṇa (Bh. a: d Bhū).  
2 parītas (Bhū).  
3 Puratiśa (Bhū).  
4 pānca-naga— (Bhū. and Bhū.).  
5 Reuš — chhumasa.  
6 vānasa (Bhū.).  
7 patiśhāpas (Bhū.).  
8 upachārānāt (Bhū.).  
9 purāna (Bhū.).  
10 chhuma-runa (Bhū.): Chhuma ghamana— (Bhū.). Perhaps dhamana is intended.  
11 Nīhabīga— (Bhū.).  
12 — mabhuṭia (Bhū.).  
13 — naga-nara— (Bhū.): naga—nara (Bhū.).
Success! In the nineteenth—19—(regnal) year of the King, the illustrious Vásishthiputra Puṣumávi, in the second—2—fortnight of summer, on the thirteenth—13—day, the Mahādevi (Great Queen) Gautami 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 Gautamiputra Sātakarni, who in strength was equal to the mountains Himavat, Meru (and) Mandāra; who was the king of Rishika, Aśmaka, Mūla-ka, Sūrāśṭra, Kukura, Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidarbha and Akarāvanti; who was the lord of Vindhya, Rikshavat, Pāriyātra, Sahya, Krishṇagiri, 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 f olds of a lordly serpent; whose fearless hand used to become wet by the water poured out in granting protection; who (always) waited upon

---

1 vadhū-sada — (Būh.).
2 chitam—(Būh.).
3 Śevākāmo (Bh.).
4 Dakṣinapathisaro (Būh.).
5 Pīśāchā — (Būh.).
his blessed 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 Šakas, 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 Bhimasena; who held festive assemblies of archery; who in lustre resembled Nābhaga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma and Ambarisha; 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

1 Bh. takes avipanna- as an adjective of mātus and interprets it as 'who served his mother even when she is free from illness.' Other people use 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 jīvaśaśā used elsewhere. It suggests that Gautamī was fortunate or blessed.

2 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' (Būh.); ' liberal on festive days in uneasing festivities and assemblies' (Sc.).
(with his lustre),¹ who secured a great fortune for his own family—[Mahādevi Gautami Balaśri] has caused to be excavated as her pious gift this precious Cave resembling a heavenly palace² on the top of the Trirāśmi hill which looks like a peak of the Kailāśa mountain. This Cave the Mahādevi (Great Queen), who is the mother of a Maharāja and grandmother of (another) Mahārāja, donates to the Bhadāvaniya Community of Buddhist monks.³

(Line 11) For the embellishment⁴ of this Cave, her grandson, the lord of the Dakshināpatha, 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 merit⁵ of his father.

¹ Bhagvanal and Bühler read naga-vara-khuddha—. 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 nāga-vara-skandha-, and nāga 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.

² Vāmadeva has been taken by Bhagvanal in the sense of 'a celestial chariot', but it is evidently used here in the sense of a pādaḍa (a temple).

³ Bühler has taken chitāna-nimittas in the sense 'in order to allow this cave to be (duly) taken care of', evidently understanding chitāna in the sense of 'chistana'. Bhagvanal translated it as 'for painting the cave'. But the Cave has no paintings. Bhagvanal 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. Pujumāvi made this donation for embellishing the cave with sculptures. We have shown elsewhere that there are several śilpa-pattas 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.

⁴ Bhagvanal takes Dhammaṣetu 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, enbles a person to cross the ocean of saṃsāra.

⁵ Pujumāvi cannot be interpreted satisfactorily. Bh. connected it with Dakshināpathesaro and understood it in the sense of 'hereditary'. Bühler connected it with dharmasetas 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, "Putti in the Buddhist Pali, i.e. pradāti, is a technical term denoting the applicaition to another of the merit acquired by good works, by a gift, or by a foundation. (See Childer, x. v.)." He, therefore, translates the expression as 'making over the merit of the gift to his father.' This is a much better interpretation. Pujumāvi's mother was living at the time. So he has mentioned only his father in this connection. For a similar instance, see the Tiele plates of Vākātaka Pravarasena II. CIL., 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 Pisächipadraka situated to the south-west of the Trirâśmi hill, renouncing all his right to its enjoyment.

No. 19

Nâsik Cave Inscription of Vâsishthiputra Pułumâvi : Years 19 and 22

This inscription is incised on the back wall of the veranda in Cave III at Nâsâk in continuation of inscription No. 18, from which it is separated by a svastîka. 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. 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 Brâhmi alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

The order recorded in the present inscription was issued by Pułumâvi, the lord (Swâmi) of Navanagara. It says, “In the year 19, in the fortnight 2 of summer, on the day 13, We had given the village Sudarśanâ on the southern road in the āhāra (territorial division) of Govardhana for the purpose of creating a permanent

---

1 See the references in Lâders’ List, No. 1124 ; E. I. VIII, p. 65.
2 Navanâra-vañâmi was written and engraved by a mistake of the writer and the engraver. A similar mistake occurred in writing and engraving Bhuvattivarman in place of Bhuvadevavarma, which was corrected later when the king’s coins were found. This Navanagara was evidently founded and named so by Pułumâvi, as the previous capital of Nahaplana was named Januar (Jirga-nagara). Its exact location is not known, but Pułumâvi had not transferred his capital there. This is shown by Priyam’s state in circa A. D. 140 that he was ruling from Pratishtâtha.

II—4 A.
endowment (akshaya-nivi) for the up-keep of the Cave at the request of the mendicant monks of the Bhadāyaniya. 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.” 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 Medhuma and has been kept in safe custody by the resident monks of Beṇākaṭa. The paṭṭikā (deed) of this order was prepared by [Sātakarnī]. 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

---

1 This Sect is named as Bhadāvaniya in No. 18.
2 Bhagvanali took mahā-altaka in the sense of Mahā-dehāya. Bühhler thought that Pułumāvi 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 Gautamiputra Sātakarnī in the name of his mother, and so it came to be known by the name Devi-lya (Queen's Cave). So Mahā-altaka (the Great Āryaka) mentioned here is none but Gautamiputra Sātakarnī.
3 The monks residing in the Nāsike caves had come from Beṇākaṭa (the territory on the banks of the Vaingangā), and were in power at the Nāsike caves. So the paṭṭikā recording the donation of the village was made over to them.
4 The letters are almost completely lost here, but from their traces left, the name appears to be Sātakarnī. Senart, however, remarked, “It is most improbable that we have to read Sātakarnō, 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 Dītuka in later inscriptions. Even persons from the royal family are seen mentioned as Dītakar. Sātakarnī mentioned here may, therefore, have been the king's younger brother Vāsiśthiputra Sātakarnī. The execution of the present order may have been entrusted to him.

II—4-B.
inscription (No. 18). On the basis of this, Bühler identified the villages Piśāchipadra and Sudarśanā. 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 Piśāchipadra 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 Śāmalipadra 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 Gautamiputra] at the request of the monks of Beṇākaṭa is noteworthy. Previous editors had read Dhanakata-samanehi in place of Beṇākaṭa-samanehi and identified Dhanakata with Dhaṇakata (modern Dharaṇikōṭ in Andhra). But the monks of Dhanakata were of the Mahāsaṅghika Sect, which belonged to the Mahāyāna. The Bhadāyanīya Bhikshus to whom the Cave was donated belonged to the Sthaviravāda. Why should the Mahāsaṅghikas of Dhanakata make a request to Gautamiputra for the donation of a cave to the adherents of a rival Śākha? Hence the reading Beṇākaṭa-samanehi adopted by Senart is in all probability the correct one. Beṇākaṭa is mentioned again in line 4 of the present inscription, which supports Senart’s reading in line 2. His remarks supporting Beṇākaṭa-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,
however, that considering the general similarity of \( b \) and \( dh \), it seems very tempting to suppose that our Dhanakaṭa is not different from the Benakaṭa in the following epigraph. Of the two, the reading Benakaṭa seems to me the better secured one." Senart thought that this Benakaṭa was situated in the Nāsik District; but no place of that name can be traced in that district. Benakaṭa denoted the territory on the banks of the Beṇa or Vaṅgaṅga. There was a famous Buddhist centre at Paunī on the bank of that river in the Bhāndārā District of Vidarbha as revealed by the excavations of the Nāgpur University and the Central Archaeological Department in recent years. The monks of that place were of the Bhadāyaniya Sect. They are mentioned in the Kānherī inscriptions also.

**Localities**—The location of Navanagara and Sudarsanā 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 tālukā 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**

| 1 | सिंह [१०] नवनरसायनो 4 वासिसंदिग्द्विति सिन्धुधर्मि आनपरि गोवर्धने आयम | 1 | सिंह [१०] नवनरसायनो 4 वासिसंदिग्द्विति सिन्धुधर्मि आनपरि गोवर्धने आयम |
| 2 | सिववंदित्य अन्ष्टृति सव १० [९] गिं प २ विष १० [९] 3 | सिववंदित्य अन्ष्टृति सव १० [९] गिं प २ विष १० [९] 3 |

---

1 *E.I., VII, p. 72.
2 At Paunī on the bank of the Vaṅgaṅga in the Bhāndārā 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.
3 From the plate in *E.I., VIII*.
4 Read *Navanagara-svānti*.
5 Eh. and Büh. had read *Dhanakaṭa-samanvhitī*, but Senart has suggested the reading given above. It is undoubtedly the correct one.
Translation

Success! Vāśishṭhiputra illustrious Puḷumāvi, the Lord of Navanāgara, issues the (following) order to Śivakhadila,11 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

---

1 Here some aksaurus like parivaranāna bhikkhuna are lost.
2 Suddhāna (Bh.); Sudanā (Būh.).
3 Read: apāsīnena.
4 Read: sutamaitreya.
5 Samalaykṣaṇa (Būh.).
6 Ānato (Bh.).
7 Binukapamūrtikā (Bh.).
8 Sā. kāmama (Būh.).
9 Phusakarajā (Bh.); phusakarajā (Būh.).
10 bhapuṣumānu pratisaptāpa (Bh.). Senart has taken this in the sense of abhydṛṣṭatam-papupātho-puṇḍaptasya.
11 His name in Sanskrit will be Śiva-Skandilā. The prefix Śiva is noticed in several personal names of the time. Skandilā 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 of the monks of Beṅākaṭa dwelling in the caves on the Trirāśmi hill. In exchange for that village We are granting the village Śālmalipadra on the eastern road in the āhāra of Govardhana. You shall deliver (that) village Śālmalipadra 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 of the Cave donated by Our revered Sire 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 Śālmalipadra 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 Śālmalipadra (and) also the village Sudarṣānā.

The Officers who registered the previous gift of the village Sudarṣānā have noted this order. The Mahāsenāpati Medhuna has written down this royal

1 This has been supplied conjecturally.
2 Bhagvanlal and Bühler had read Dhamakāsa-samunehi, but since ba and du were similar in shape in that age, Senart suggested the reading Beṅākaṭa-samunehi, which, on other evidence also, appears to be the correct one. This question has been discussed before.

3 Pratīṣṭhānāraṇa (Sanskrit, pratīṣṭhānāraṇa) 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”.

* Maha-ātrakena odana has been interpreted differently by different editors. Senart has understood aṭraka (Sanskrit, aṭraka) in the sense of a religious personage. So Mahā-Āraka would be “the Chief Bhikhu”. Bühler, took it as referring to Puḷumāvi. This term occurs in the order issued by Puḷumāvi. So by Miyā-Āraka (the great Ārya), he seems to refer to his father Gautamiputra Sātakarmi. He had donated the Cave as his odana (Sanskrit, avadana) or a pious gift in the name of his mother. Bühler has understood odana 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 Beṇākaṭa. The *paṭṭikā* was issued in the *(regnal)* year 22, in the fortnight of summer, on the day 7. It was prepared by [Śātakarni].

(Line 4) For the well-being of the residents of Govardhana, Vishṇupāla has issued the *(following)* description of the Lord*²* :—“Salutation to the Buddha, the foremost among the Jinas, whose pre-emminence and majesty are exalted.”*³

No. 20

*Kārle Cave Inscription of the Reign of Vāsishtihputra Pulummāvi: 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 Kārle in the Poonā District. This record was first brought to notice by Bird in 1847.¹ 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.

¹ Śātakarni is not clear; but Senart read *takacanā*, from which it seems to be the intended reading. But this Śātakarni was not an engraver as Senart supposed, Copper-plate grants usually mention a Dātsaka or an Executor of the particular grant. Even princes of the royal family are sometimes mentioned in this capacity. So is Śātakarni mentioned here. He was a uterine brother of Pulummāvi.

² Bhagvanlal and Bühler have taken *Sāhni* as referring to Pulummāvi. Bhagvanlal has translated this sentence as follows :—“The description of the lord (King) has been given by Vishṇupāla for imparting pleasure to the inhabitants of Govardhana.” But what follows is not a description of Pulummāvi. Bühler’s translation of this sentence is as follows :—“Vishṇupāla 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, Vishṇupāla seems to be some officer at Govardhana. (Is he not identical with Vishṇupālita 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.

³ Bhagvanlal read *aparipatipasa* *(aparipatipasya)* and understood that adjective of *Buddhama* in the sense of “one who has no rival.” Bühler read *paripatapasa* and understood it in the sense of “one who has attained the glory of Arhatship.” The readings and translation given above follow Senart’s.

⁴ 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 ekaśiva, 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 Harapharana, the son of Setapharana, 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 Buddhakṣhita 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 Buddhakṣhita 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 Harapharana and Setapharana are Persian.¹ The former resembles Greco-Persian Horopharnes or Holophernes. Pharaṇa at the end of it means ‘the lord’ in Persian. Seta may be a corruption of Persian kṣaeta. A S W I. 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.¹

¹ A S W I. IV, p. 112.
KÄRLE INSCRIPTION OF PUĻUMĀVĪ: YEAR 24

Line 1 Text
1 सिद्ध [1[*] राजा [2 बासिष्ठगुप्तस तिरिकूळाविन सवट्टे चतुर्विसे 20( +[*]) [हृण्डतान ] पक्षे तत्तये 3 [दिनसे दि 3

Text 2 तिये 2 उपासकस हृफर्णसं सत्तषगुप्तस्तथो सो[व] सक्ष्यव अबलम [द] माय वववद क म[ड] [०] [०]

3 नलमन महासंघियांन परिःपरो सचे चतुर्विसे चिद बालसिद्धिनुं पुजः [ऽौ [*] सक्ष्यवात शितूळास्वत्त्वे [१[१] एक्बिसे गृह 1

4 कवरे नित्तिती [१[*] सत्तश श में दुष बुधरितले मातर चत्स्व [उ] पारसिकय [१]*] बुधरितले मात्रू वेदवंशं पाठो अनो [१*]

Translation
Success! In the twenty-fourth—24—year of the King Vāsishthiputra illustrious Puḷumāvī, 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 Mahāsanghikas by the Upāsaka Harapharanā, the son of Setapharaṇa, who belongs to the Sauvarṣhaka (or Kāṣyapīya) 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 (regnal) year. Buddhakshita and his Upāsikā mother have rendered assistance to me. There is another pious gift of the mother of Buddhakshita behind (this Cave).13

1 From the plate in E.I. VII.
2 Rāju (Bāh.), but the plate shows Rako clearly.
3 Hematana (Bāh. and Bāh.). But the reading given above is clear in the plate.
4 maṇḍapa (Bāh. and Bāh.). But the second akṣara of this is not clear.
5 Dūna (Bāh.)
6 Pātho (Bāh.).
7 Bühler reads eka-śye, but the reading eka-śye given by Bhagavanlal and Senart appears to be correct.
8 Bühler has suggested the reading māṇarakhāś.
9 Pātho (Bāh.).
10 Saṁavak (Sanskr., Sauvarshaka) means a follower of the Savarsha or Kāṣyapīya Saṅgha (Bāh.).
11 Bühler reads eka-śye, but as the expression here mentions the date when the maṇḍapa had been completed, that reading is not admissible.
12 Bühler supposed that Māṇarakhāś (Saṁskr., māṇarakhāśā) was her name.
13 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 (prākṣha), the intended meaning may be "There is another (maṇḍapa) behind (this)."
Amarāvati Stūpa Inscription of the Reign of Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi

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. Šivarāmamurti also has given its reading and translation.

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 Vāsishṭhiputra Svāmi illustrious Pulumāvi, but it has now been lost. The object of the inscription was to record that the Grihapati Kahutara and Isili (Ṛṣhila), the son of the Grihapati 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 Grihapati Isili and his wife Nakānikā 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 Pulumāvi. 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.

---

1 Lüders' List, No. 1248.
Line | Text
---|---
1 | [सिः] [१०] र [शो] या[सिठ]पुल[स] [सा]मिसिरि- पुल्लाखिस ... पिंडगुरियां एकटर - गहपतत्स पुरि - गहपति च पुल्ल इसिलिस समानुकस
2 | स[चिमिकस भयार च सनाकानिकाय नया [स] ... [तो] महुवेंतिमहेंतिकियां निका [यो] स परिगहूँ अपरदारे ध्रमवक्षं बंग[भ्य] घारित [१०]

Translation
Success! [In the year . . . .] of King Vāsiṣṭhī-putra Svāmi illustrious Pulumāvi, 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 Chetikīya Sect of the Mahā-Chaitya.

No. 22; Plate II

Vanavāsi Stone Inscription of Vāsiṣṭhī-putra Pulumāvi

This inscription was discovered recently while clearing the courtyard in front of the temple of Madhukesvara at Vanavāsi. “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.”

Characters and language—The characters of the inscription are of the Brāhmi 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 Vāsisṭhīputra Śiva-Śrī Puḷumāvi. The previous editors of this inscription stated that Vāsisṭhīputra Puḷumāvi was succeeded by Sātakarṇī, and the latter by Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi. He was also known as Sātakarṇī. The present inscription is of his reign. So the genealogy of these kings will be as follows:—

Gautamiputra Sātakarṇī

Vāsisṭhīputra Puḷumāvi

Śrī-Sātakarṇī

Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi

(Also known as Sātakarṇī)

This is a confused genealogy. The Sātavāhanas sometimes prefixed Śivaśrī to their names and sometimes they did not do so. The Tarhāḷa hoard contained coins of both the types. We learn from No. 18 that Vāsisṭhīputra Puḷumāvi was a son of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇī. From a fragmentary inscription at Kānheri, we know that Vāsisṭhīputra Sātakarṇī was the son-in-law of Rudradāman of the Kārdamaka family. This Rudradāman is undoubtedly the Śaka Mahā-kṣatrapa Rudradāman of the Junāgaḍh inscription. Two other Vāsisṭhīputras have become known from their lead coins in the Wātegaon hoard and silver portrait coins, viz., Vāsisṭhīputra Skanda Sātakarṇī and Vāsisṭhī putra Vijaya Sātakarṇī. These four kings were uterine brothers, all of them being sons of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇī and a queen of the Vāsisṭhā gotra.

1 See inscription No. 25.
From No. 18, we learn that the following countries in South India were included in the kingdom of Gautamiputra Sātakarni—(1) Asika (Rishika or modern Khāndesh); (2) Asaka (Āmaka) (modern Ahmadnagar and Bīdā Districts); (3) Mūjaka (modern Aurangābād District with its capital at Pratishṭāhāna), and (4) Vidarbha. Kuntala (modern Sātārā, Kolhāpur, Belgaon, Dhārwād and Kannada districts) was probably not comprised in his kingdom. So the Wātegaon hoard found in the Kuntala country did not contain a single coin of Gautamiputra Sātakarni. Puḷumāvi seems to have annexed that country for the first time. So his present Vanavāsi 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 Vanavāsi. 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-nāṭaka of Bhāsa. Such an image-inscription has been found on a pillar at Nāgārjunakonda.\(^1\) Another was recently discovered at Pauni in the Bhaṇḍāra District of Vidarbha.\(^2\) Such stone slabs and pillars probably had images carved on them such as are noticed on the aforementioned pillar discovered at Nāgārjunakonda; but no such figure was noticed on the memorial stones discovered at Vanavāsi and Pauni. Puḷumāvi’s Chief Queen was probably a princess of Vanavāsi. Hence her memorial stone has been discovered at Vanavāsi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>सिंह [ 1° ] रघु वासिष्ठिपुत्र सिवसिरि —</td>
<td>2 पुञमाविस महावेभिं छाफ़यवरो [ 1° ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) EL, XXXIV, p. 27.
\(^2\) See inscription No. 62.
Translation

Success! This is the image-slab of the Chief Queen of King Vāsishṭhiputra Śiva-śri Puḷumāvi.

No. 23

Nāṇeghāṭ Inscription of the Reign of [Skanda] Sātakarṇi:
Year 13

This inscription is incised above a cistern at Nāṇeghāṭ. Bhagvanlal Indraji edited it in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XV, pp. 315 ff. ¹ 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. Pandeyya, Superintending Archaeologist, Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, and Dr. Jamkhedkar, Director of Archaeology, Mahārāṣṭra State, sent their Epigraphical Assistants to Nāṇeghāṭ to copy the inscription, but neither of them could trace it there. Since then it has been located at Nāṇeghāṭ, 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 Sātavāhana inscriptions, they must have been of the Brāhmi 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, Gṛihapati Damaghosha of Kāmavāna 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.

¹ JBBRAS, XV, p. 314.
Bhagvanlal read the name of the Vāsishṭhiputra 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 Purānic dynasty of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) kings. But Bhagvanlal read it on a silver coin of Yajña-śrī Sātakarni, 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 Sātakarni. 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-śrī. 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 Nāṃghāṭ inscription resemble those of the time of Yajña-śrī. As Chatarapana is called Vāsishṭhiputra in it, he seems to have been a younger brother of Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi. As Yajña-śrī's Sopārā coin is of the same type as the coins of Kshatrapa Rudra-dāman, he must have been his contemporary. He was evidently the Sātakarni who was defeated twice by Rudra-dāman and then released as stated in his Junagadh 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 Indrāji. 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.¹ So there

¹ The silver portrait coins of Yajña Sātakarni have the legend Rauh Gotamī-putasa śrī-Varaha-Sātakarnasa on the obverse and Arhanyasha Gotamī-putasa hiru-Yajña-Hirakarnasa on the reverse.
is no mention of Chatarapana on any coin of Yajña-śri. Even according to Bhagvanlal, Chatarapana was Vāsishṭhiputra, i.e., a son of a queen of the Vāsishṭha gotra.

From inscriptions at Nāsik and Kānheri, and coins found at Wātegaon and elsewhere, we know of four Vāsishṭhiputras, viz. (1) Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvī, (2) Vāsishṭhiputra Skanda Sātakarni, (3) Vāsishṭhiputra Vijaya Sātakarni, and (4) Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarni. All of them were uterine brothers and sons of Gautamiputra Sātakarni. They all ruled in Mahārāṣṭra. So the Vāsishṭhiputra mentioned in the present inscription must be one of them. Of these, Vijaya Sātakarni 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 Sātakarni have been found in Western Mahārāṣṭra and his silver portrait coin has no Telugu words in its legend. So Skanda Sātakarni may have been ruling in Western Mahārāṣṭra.

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 Vāsiṣṭhiputasa siri-Khada-Sātakaṇaṇa. This Khada Sātakarni is the same as Skanda Sātakarni, mentioned in the Purāṇas. He was not, however, the son of Pulumāvī as stated in the Purāṇas. He was his brother. Pargiter has given the relevant line in the constituted text as follows:—

शिवस्कन्ध: सातकर्णिप्रसार्याितम: समात: ।

But this line is defective as it does not mention his regnal period. A MS. of the Vāyu purāṇa gives the line as follows:—

शिवस्कन्ध: सातकर्णिप्रविष्टि समास्थ्रय: ।

1 The Wātegaon hoard contained lead coins of Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvī and Vāsishṭhiputra Skanda Sātakarni.
2 No. 25 mentions Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarni.
3 D.K.A., p. 42.
But it gives him a very short reign-period of only three years. From several coins of this Skanda Sātakarnī in the Wātegaon hoard where the legend commences at different points,\(^1\) 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 Vāsishṭhiputra Skanda Sātakarnī. He issued coins of both potin and lead.\(^2\) The Tarhāḷā hoard contained his coins of potin, and the Wātegaon hoard those of lead. Recently, a silver portrait coin of him has been discovered.\(^3\) 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 Saptagiri as its Sanskrit form, and held that it was the ancient name of the hill near Jinnar. Alternatively, he suggested the reading deya-dhamasa Tagara-pavate in line 4 and took Tagara-parvata to be the name of the hill near Jinnar. He concluded on the basis of this evidence that Jinnar was the ancient city of Tagara.\(^4\) Both these conclusions are wrong. Satagara may be identical with Seta girī mentioned in No. 18 as a mountain in the kingdom of Gautamiputra Sātakarnī.\(^5\) He is described therein as its Svāmī (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 Jinnar has since been proved to be erroneous. Tagara is now correctly taken

---

\(^1\) The legend on his lead coins in the Wātegaon hoard commences at different places on the obverse. So they must have been issued in different years.

\(^2\) See the Section on the coins of the Sāttavāhanas.

\(^3\) Loc. cit.

\(^4\) JBRAS. XV, p. 313.

\(^5\) An inscription at Nīlagirijunakaṇḍ also mentions Seta girī. It seems to have been the name of a local hill.
to be identical with Ter in the Osmanābād District on the undisputable evidence of excavations.

**Line**

1. सिध्ध [ि०] रमो वस्तिपुत्रस [बदू] सातकर्णिस
2. मवथर तर १०[ि०] ३ हन्तर पश्च पञ्चमे दिवसे १०
3. कमचन्तस गहुपतस दमघसस वेययाम
4. पनियमुका वेययाम सतलयमले एव [ि०]

**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, Hultsch and Rapson discussed it. Sivarāmamurty also has published his reading and translation of it. They are adopted here.

**Characters and language**—The characters of this record are of the Brāhma alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

The inscription consists of only one line, which also is very much mutilated. Its object cannot, therefore, be

---

1 From Bhagvanlal’s article in JBBR. XV, p. 31).
2 Bhagvanlal read Chatarapana here and also on the silver coins of Yajña-āri Śatākarni 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 Chatarapana here is also probably wrong. The name here must have been Khada. All the four sons of Gautami putra were called Vāsishṭhī-putra in inscriptions and coins. The eldest of them, viz., Pułumāvi could not have been intended here; for he never bore the name of Sātākarni. Vijaya Sātākarni was ruling in Viharbhā and perhaps in Adhira too. The youngest also could not have been mentioned here; for inscriptions and coins he is generally named Sātākarni only, without any additional personal name. See No. 25. So the Vāsishṭhiputra Sātākarni in the present inscription must have been Skanda Sātākarni.
3 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 Sātakārṇi. 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 (Sātakārṇi), known also as Vāśishṭhiputra Sātakārṇi, as suggested by Rapson.1 His coins have been found in Andhra. It seems that the Sātavāhana kingdom was divided between the two brothers, Skanda Sātakārṇi and Vāśishṭhiputra Sātakārṇi, after the death of Puḷumāvi. Skanda obtained Mahārāṣṭra including Vidarbha, and Sātakārṇi Andhra. After the former's death, Vijaya Sātakārṇi began to rule in Vidarbha. He may have held some part of Andhra also. Later, Sātakārṇi, the youngest brother, obtained Mahārāṣṭra 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

रजर सिरि - सिवमक - सदा पनियिघरिकूः प । . . . .

Translation

[This pious gift is of] the Superintendent of Water Works of the King, illustrious Śiva-maka-Sada (the venerable Śiva-Sātakārṇi).

2 ASMG, p. 291
Kānherī Cave Inscription of the Time of Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarnī

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. It is edited from the facsimile published with Bühler’s article.

Characters and language—The characters are of the Brāhmi 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 Sātakarnī, who was the daughter of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudra - and was born in the Kārdamaka family, donated as his pious gift the water cistern where the inscription is engraved. This Mahākṣatrapa Rudra - is none other than Mahākṣatrapa Rudra-dāman, who ruled over Māḻwā and Kāṭhīāwāḍ, about the middle of the second century A. D. He is known to have promoted Sanskrit learning and himself composed kāvyas in prose and verse. The use of almost correct Sanskrit in the present inscription of his daughter’s Amātya is indicative of the same atmosphere at the court of his son-in-law, Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarnī.

The name Kārdamaka of Rudradāman’s family is known from this inscription only. That he had given his daughter to the Sātavāhana prince, Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarnī is also known only from this record. It is, therefore, of great historical importance.

We have shown before from the preceding inscription that Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarnī was ruling over Andhra after the death of Puḻumāvī. Later, his rule seems to have

---

1 See the references in Lüders’ Lst, No. 994.
2 The only wrong form used in the present inscription is Śri-Sātakarnīśaya for Śri- Sātakarnīḥ.
3 It is not unlikely that Kārdamaka was the name of the Queen’s mother’s family. See Rapson, BMC. (Andhras), p. ciii.
extended to Mahārāṣṭra. Perhaps, Rudradāman had earlier annexed Aparānta (North Koṅkan) 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.1 After conquering Aparānta from Puḷumāvi, Rudradāman may have given it to his son-in-law Vāsishthiputra Sātakarṇi. Hence, this inscription of the latter’s queen’s Amātya has been found at Kānheri.

Line Text
1 . . . . वासिष्ठपुरस्य श्रीसात्याक्षणिकाबधकांगितमक्-राजवंशांतः महाक्ष्यान्तति . . . . . . .
2 . . . . [स्या: ] . . . . [विद्वत्यायस्य अमात्यस्य शतेकरकः] . . . .

Translation
This water-cistern is a pious gift of the faithful Amātya Śateraka of . . . . . . the queen of the illustrious Vāsishthiputra Sātakarṇi, who is born in the Kārdamaka royal family, and is the daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Rudra . . . .

No. 26

Nāsik Cave Inscription of the Reign of Yajñā
Sātakarṇi : Year 7

This inscription is incised on the back wall of the veranda of Cave XX at Nāsik. Stevenson and Brett

1 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).
2 From the facsimile published with Bühler’s article. ASWT., V, Plate LI (11).
3 The words ‘राज:’ may have been incised here.
4 He is evidently Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman.
5 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. 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 Mahāsenāpatini Vāsu, the wife of the Mahāsenāpati Bhavagopa of the Kausika 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 Gautamiputra Svāmi illustrious Yajña Sātakarni.

The inscription shows that the wife of a Mahāsenāpati took pride in calling hereself Mahāsenāpatini.

Line  

Text

1 सिद्धि [ 1° ] रजो मोक्षिपुतस सामिसिरियमसातलकिस संवधि सातम्य ७ हेमनाथ पक्षे तत्तिये ३
2 दिवसे पयपे कौसिकस महासेवापिस भवोपेय भविषजय महासेवा-पतियम् ३ बालुय लेभ
3 बोपक्यितिमुगमां ४ अपयवसितसामाने बुधकाणि विशिष्टिणि उकुले ५ पयवसित नित्यो बालुचि—
4 सस च भमुस्कपु आवासे वतो ति [ 1° ]

Translation

Success! In the (regnal) seventh—7—year, in the third—3—fortnight of winter, on the first day the

---

1 See the references in Lüders’ List, No. 1146 and EI, VIII, pp. 93 ff.
2 From the plate facing p. 60 in EI, VIII.
3 Mahāsenāpatiniya (Büh.).
4 Suśamunasa pāyavasita (Bh. and Büh.). Senart’s reading given above is better.
   The letters a and au were alike in the alphabet of that period.
5 Utkuta (Sanskrit, utkṛṣṭa) is used here in the sense of ‘excavated’.
Mahāsenāpatini 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 commenced¹ by the ascetic (yati) Bopaki, and dedicated it to the Community of Buddhist monks from (all) the four quarters for their residence.

No. 27

Kānheri Cave Inscription of the Reign of Yajña Sātakarni: Year 16.

This inscription is incised on the left-hand side wall outside the veranda of Cave No. LXXXI at Kānheri. Bird first brought it to notice in 1847. Thereafter, Stevenson-Brett, West, Bhagvanlal Indrajī, Bühler and Franke discussed it.² It is edited here from the plate published with Bühler's article.

Characters and language—The characters of the inscription are of the Brāhmī alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

This inscription is dated in the sixteenth (regnal) year of King Gautamiputra Svāmi illustrious Sātakarni, 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 Kālayāṇa, together with all members of the family, got excavated this cave and the assembly hall in the hill Kṛṣṇagiri 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 kārṣāpaṇas 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 kārṣāpaṇas were to be given to the Bhikshus for their clothing and one

¹ Bühler's rendering ' which had been destroyed for many years ' is not correct.
² See the references in Lüders' Lst., No. 1024.
karshapaṇa to each monk in every month of the rainy season (for their medicine).

Such an arrangement was also made by Rishabhadatta 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 karshapaṇas at the rate one per cent per month would amount to 24 karshapaṇas. Some more karshapaṇas 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 karshapaṇa 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 kuṣaṇa-mūla used in this connection is a mistake for kuśala-mūla,¹ 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 Țhâne District, famous as a port from ancient times. Magalathâna is probably identical with Māgâṭhaṇe in the same district.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text⁴</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 सिङ्ग ॥</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 रञ्जों गोतिमुखस सार्कियियसतकणिस स[ल]खेरे⁵ १०[++]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>६ मि ।</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 म्हाण पख १ विभस ५ कालयाणवाठवस नेममस अण ।</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ See the Note on Kuṣaṇa-mūla in Appendix VI.
² From the plate published with Bühler’s article.
³ Read savachhare.
4 दयुस उत्स(या)सकत अपरेनूस स[व]रिवरस सहार
5 कलेबिनिम आनवदलु [शु]वारिष्काय सहा वालकेन अपनेन
6 सह च मु[शा]हि आण हँ . सिषे [ब] धामवरिय
7 सह च ... बेंच अहु[वै]अपण महताजितरो [रण] उद्दिस
8 पावते कण्ठसेले लेंण कोर्ड बेंचयाच [मण] चालुविस्व
9 भिक्षुपेके पाटिहे सावास [ता]ण फिर्मुजय [1°]
10 एतस च अख्यानिव बलात जातापानम सतानि वे २००
11 सधतय बेळी पट्टके ततेएठ च आधरण —
12 बौद्धस वेल गामे मगधियाने बोज्यापति एतो
13 संपेन बातावं चित्तिर कोठसक पट्टको च मासे उदुकाले [ 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 Kālayāna, together with his relatives, together with Juvārīṇīkā, the mother of of Ānanda, together with his son Ānanda, together with his daughters-in-law... together with Dhāmadevi... caused to be excavated (this) cave and an assembly-hall on the Krīṣṇapā Nālī (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—kārṣṭaṇas at the interest of (one) kārṣṭaṇa per hundred kārṣṭaṇas. 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 kārṣṭaṇas for clothing and a kārṣṭaṇa² per month in the rainy season.

² The akṣaras here are indistinct. Bühler has suggested the reading puṁsāpeṇa.
² Sénart 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 gate-post of the Chaitya Cave at Kānherī. Several akṣharas 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 Bühlcr discussed it.¹ Bühlcr 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 Brāhmi alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

This inscription bore a date of Gautamiputra 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 Sīhavīra Achala, Bhadanta Gāhala, Bhadanta Vijayamitra, Bhadanta Bodhi, Bhadanta Dharmapāla and Upāśka Apareṇuka.² Bhadanta Bodhika supervised the work.

### Line | Text
---|---
1 | रज्जो गोतमिः [पुत्र सामिसिरियः - *]  

¹See the references in Lüders' List, No. 987. ASWJ. V, p. 75.  
²Apareṇu has been mentioned in No. 27 also.
In the year . . . of King Gautamiputra (Svāmi illustrious Yajña Sātakarni), 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,1 Bhadanta Gāhala, Bhadanta Vijayamitra, Bhadanta Bodhika, Bhadanta Dhammapāla, Upāsaka Merchant Apareṇuka,2 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, Kadhhichakas 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 Kṛishṇa near the sea-shore at the village China in Andhra. It is now preserved in the Madras Government Museum. Several akṣaras 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. 305.3 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 Āryaka4 (Lord) Yajña Sātakarṇi, in the fourth fortnight of winter, on the

---

1 The text has some of these names used in the plural to show reverence for the Bhikshus.
2 He is mentioned in No. 27, line 4.
3 See the references in Lüders’ List, No. 1340.
4 Araka (Śaksit, Āryaka) means ‘venerable’. Mahā-āraka in line 3 of No. 19 therefore, refers to Gautamiputra, the father of Pujumāvi, 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 Sātakarni. So the regnal year mentioned in the present inscription does not conflict with it.

The present inscription shows that the rule of Yajña Sātakarni 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 मुदूस अरककिरियमसातकरणमस वससताय संवधर सत [वि] —</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 से २०[ +० ] ७ हृदमातं पवः चतुर्थं ṣ वि [वसं] [पंच।] मं ५ एतिय</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 मुद्राय अरकमहतरकम महा . . . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 याजिना महाश . . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 धाय . . . . [ 1° ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Translation**

Success! Obeisance to the Bhagavat! In the **twenty-seventh**—27—**year** of the reign of a hundred years¹ of King Gautamiputra illustrious lord Yajña Sātakarni, 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.

¹ Vasa-satāya which occurs in line 2 has been variously interpreted by scholars. Bhagvanadal Indrajit took it to mean varsha-śatāyam (in the course of a century), but it does not suit the context. This word occurs also in an inscription at Vanavasi (No. 37). Bühler took it as equivalent to varsha-sattāyam (during the reign of the family). See *EI*, I, p. 96. D.C. Sircar has shown that the expressions vasa-satāya and varsha-sahasaśatāya 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 kupa-phalī (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 Maṭhāriputra 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 Indrajī, Bühler, R. G. Bhandarkar and Rapson. It is edited here from the plate published with Bühler's article. Its characters are of the Brāhmi alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

The inscription mentions in the beginning the date, the 8th regnal year of Maṭhāriputra Svāmi 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 Tarhāḷā hoard were of Śaka Sātakarni, who seems to be none other than this Śaksena. He seems to have been ruling in Mahārāṣṭra including Aparānta (North Koṅkan) and Vidarbha. Some copper coins with the fragmentary legend Maṭhāripuṭa have been found at Peḍābankur, 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 Vishṇunandi, his mother Bodhisamā, his brother — hasti and the whole merchant community (of the place).

**Locality — Kaliyaṇa** is the only place named in this inscription. It is identical with modern Kalyāṇ in the

---

1 See the references in Lüders' *List*, No. 1001, *ASWt.*, V p. 79
2 See the Section on Coins.
3 This place is named Kālāyana in No. 27.
Thané District. It was a well-known port in ancient times.

Line    Text
1 सिंध [ १० ] रजो म(गा)दिरिगुंस स्वामिसकसेनस
2 सबछूरे ८ गि प ५ विव १० एताय पुबाय क
3 विनयकस नेकमस वेषुनबिव पूतस नेग
4 मस गहपतिस ... तिस लेण पतिठापि
5 त सहा आय्यरकेन , सेन सहा पितुणा वेषुन
6 बिना सहा मालुय बोधिसमय सहा भा
7 [दुना .. ]हिना सहा [स]बेन [निकायेनेति] [१० ]

Translation
Success! In the year 7, in the 5th fortnight, of summer, on the 10th day (of the reign of) King Māṭhariputra Svāmī Śakasena, on this aforementioned tithi, the merchant Grihapati... the son of the merchant Vīshṇunandi of Kaliyana, together with the venerable1... together with his father Vīshṇunandi, 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
Kānheri Cave Fragmentary Inscription of the Reign of Māṭhariputra Śakasena

This inscription is incised outside the veranda of Cave No. XXXVI at Kānheri, 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.2 Bühler’s reading is given here.

1 Āyuṣaka means ‘venerable,’ the same as aiṭraka used elsewhere. Here it probably refers to the grandfather of Vīṣṇunandi. Maha-aiṭraka is used to denote the great King Gautamiputra Sātakarni in No. 19.
2See the references in Lüders’ List, No. 1002. ASW7, V, p.82.
Characters and language—The characters of the inscription are of the Brāhmi 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 Māthariputra 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 Halaṇikā, the wife of ... son of Vishṇunandi 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 vatāvēya 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 Ṭhāne District as shown before.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>सच् [ि०] र[े०] म(मा) [हरिपुत्त स्वामि] — सकसे —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>[ना०] . . . . . . . . . [र०] वा १० एता[्य]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>. . . . . . . . . . . कर्जय वेणुविनिवुष</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>[स०] . . . . . . . स भजाय हालणिका ले —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>[ष पौतीपित स०] हा आय्यकेन ला . . . स . . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>. . . . . धामये . . . . . . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>. . . . . वुद्धकेन सहा वि . . . .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Translation

Success! [In the year.] of King Māthariputra Svāmī Śakasena . . . . on the day 10—on this (tithi) Halaṇikā, the wife of . . . . . . . the son of Vishṇunandi, 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 Kṛṣṇā 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 Brāhmi 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 agryapudgala (the best of beings) Buddha. It then records the date—the (regnal) year 6 of Gautamiputra 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 Tarhāḷa hoards, but from his silver coin1 recently discovered it seems that he was different from this king; for he was Vāsishṭhiputra, while this king was Gautamiputra. 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,2 who also ruled from there. This Vijaya Sātakarṇi was probably the Sātavāhana king who transferred the seat of his government from Pratishṭāna

---

1 The silver coin of Vijaya Sātakarṇi mentions his metronymic Vāsishṭhiputra which shows that he was a son of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi. His namesake mentioned here was Gautamiputra and ruled in a later period.

2 D. C. Sircar’s conjecture, based on the mention of only one saṁvatsara, viz., Vijaya in the inscriptions of the Ikshvākus, that the Ikshvāku capital Vijayapuri was founded in that saṁvatsara, and so the sixty-year cycle of saṁvatsara commences therewith, has been disproved by the present inscription. See our Literary and Historical Studies in Indology, pp. 103 ff.
in Western Mahārāṣṭra to Vijayapuri in Andhra. 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 Mahārāṣṭra, where their earliest inscriptions and coins have been found.

This Vijaya Sātakarni is mentioned in the Purāṇas as the successor of Yajña-śri. The line in Pargiter's constituted text runs as follows:—

विडेव प्रिविता तत्समाद् विजयस्तु समा नूपः।

Some Purāṇas give the readings विडेवे . . . . समा वश। 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>[न]मो भगवते अग्निचिह्नस [१०]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>रज्जो गोत्तमजयस सिरिविजयस —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>तक्षणस संव ६ गि प ४ विय बेसा —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ख्युणिम [१०].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Translation

Obeisance to the Bhagavat, who is the foremost Being!

In the year 6 of the illustrious King Gautamiputra Vijaya Sātakarni, 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

---

1 This is also corroborated by the fact that the Sātavāhana king Śaka-sena who succeeded Yajña-śri in Western Mahārāṣṭra is not mentioned in the Puranic list of Andhra (Sātavāhana) kings, whereas it mentions Vijaya and the last Puṣumāli, 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 Pithāpuram in Andhra. The present inscription is incised on a rock nearby. Sten Konow edited it first in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morganlandischen Gasellschaft, 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 Vāsishṭhiputra Svāmi illustrious Chaṇḍāsvāti. 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 Chaṇḍāsvāti, the second fortnight of winter, and the second day.

The object of the present inscription was probably to record a pious gift of the Amāṭya Sasamikhagu. Krishna Sastri could not interpret this record satisfactorily. Sten Konow read Amacha bhūmi-veṣa dhama ṭhāipita and took it to mean that an Amāṭya 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 Amāṭya and (2) bhūmi-veṣa has the palatal śa, but the inscription has changed it to the dental sa in siri.

The coins of Chaṇḍā-śri have been found in the Kṛishnā and Godāvari 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 Chaṇḍa-śri and Chanda-śri.
According to them, he ruled after Vijaya Satakarni; but Rapson places him before Yajna-śri. 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 Śaka Satakarni have been found in Vidarbha but not those of Gautamiputra Vijaya Satakarni and Chaṇḍa Satakarni. So the rule of these Sātavāhanas seems to have been confined to Andhra after the reign of Māṭhariputra Śaka Satakarni.

Localities—Krishna Sastri read Khaḍḍavali 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
--- | ---
1  | सिंध [ i* ] राजो बालिटी –
2  | पुरस सामि मिरि –
3  | चै[ड]सतिस’ [सबड]रेः
4  | [१०] [ +* ] १ हे प २ विवस २
5  | अमच ससंभिखु ⁵ धम
6  | बापित [ i* ]

Translation

Success! In the (regnal) year [11], in the fortnight 2

---

1 From the plate facing p. 318 in E.I. XVIII.
2 The second akṣhara in this royal name is not clear now, but both Sten Konow and Krishna Sastri have read it as ध. The former read Chañḍasatīsa, and the latter Chaṇḍasatīsa. The curve denoting medial i is clear in the facsimile. Coins give the reading Chaṇḍasatīsa. See B M C. (Andhras), pp. 32-33. On some coins Rapson has read Chañḍasatīsa.
3 Krishna Sastri read rāji-nachhare 2, but the number of the regnal year must have occurred in the beginning of the next line.
4 The first numerical symbol here is indistinct now. Sten Konow read it as १०[+*] ३ (?).
5 Krishna Sastri read di 1 Khaḍḍavali; but no sign of i appears between di and kha. The next akṣhara is va, not kha. See va in Viśottih—. So in divāna resembles that in sūti. Sten Konow also has not accepted the reading Khaḍḍavali.
6 Sten Konow’s reading amachana bhumī-veṣa and his interpretation of it as ‘the earthen house of the Aṁśṭya’ are inadmissible. The Aṁśṭya who caused this to be engraved would surely have inserted his own name therein. The correct reading seems to be as given above. Sasamīkhyaṇa seems to be a personal name.
of winter, on the day 2—on this day, the Amātya Sasamikhagu established (here) (his) pious gift.¹

No. 34

Adoni Rock Inscription of the Reign of Puḷumāvi (III) : Year 8

This inscription is engraved on a reddish rock lying between the two villages Myacḍoni and Chinnakaḍabūru in the Adoni taluka of the Bellāri District of Karnāṭaka. 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 Brāhmi 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 Gṛihapati Sāmba excavated a tank near the place of the rock inscription in the village of Vepuraka of the Military Officer Kumāradatta situated in the Jāgir of Sātavāhanīhāra 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 Puḷumāvi.

The mention of the Sātavāhana family of the reigning king Puḷumāvi 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 Puḷumāvi 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

¹ The form of the pious gift is not mentioned.
that he must be Vāsishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi, the son of Gautamiputra Sātakarni, who had a long reign of 28 years. He cannot be the last mentioned Puḷumāvi of the Purāṇic list as he had a reign of only seven years¹ 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.² His coins were noticed in the Tarhāḷa 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 Sātavāhanidhāra recalls that of Sātāhanirattha mentioned in the Hirahadagallī plates of the Pallava king Śivakandavarman. 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.

---

¹DKA., p. 43.
²The Purāṇas mention Śīvārī Puḷumāvi as different from Puḷumāvi. In that case he would be Puḷumāvi IV; but the Purāṇic statement is wrong. Śīvārī was optionally prefixed to their own names by several kings of the ancient period. So there were only three Puḷumāvis in the Sātavāhana family.
Maḷavallī Pillar Inscription of Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇī: 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 Maḷavallī 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 Carnatica, Vol. VII, with a translation and a plate. It is edited here from the same plate.

Characters and language—The characters of the record are of the Brāhmi alphabet, and the language Prakrit.

The inscription opens with the proclamation of the victory of the God Maḷapaḷi. Thereafter the following order of Hāritiputra Viṅhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇī, who belonged to the Mānavaya gotra and ruled

---

1 See the references in Lüders' List, No. 1195.
from Vaijayantipura is communicated to the Rajjuka Mahāvallabha: "We have given together with all immunities the village Sahalātavi to Koṇḍamāna, the son of Hāritiputra Tākīnīchi, 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 Śātavāhana age. In that period Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi, King of Vanaśī, established himself in Karnāṭaka in the south, and soon extended his rule to North Koṅkan as shown by the next inscription (No. 36). The epithets Hāritiputra, Mānava-sagotrā and Chuṭukulānanda of the king are noteworthy. The biruda Chuṭukulānanda seems to have been borrowed from the successors of the Śaka king Māna. Viṅhukaḍa may have been the home province of this family in Karnāṭaka. The birudas Mānava-sagotrā and Hāritiputra were later adopted by the Kadambas and the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. Hāritiputra occurs in a grant of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsāgulma also.¹

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. Vaijayanti was then the capital of this Sātakarṇi. It is now known by the name of Vanaśī in the North Kannada District.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>सिद्धम्।। जयति भगवान् मठपिठंदेवो [١٠] चैवमलम्पुरराजा मानवभयस्मोत्रो हारितिपुरो विषुकुकड़पुरकुलानम्बसाताकरण आणपयति महावल्कर रक्षुकः [١٠]।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>आयुधद्विद्विदिध संक्षेपेण सुभाष्यं गामाहारसहलातों।। मठपिठंदेवतामुः महातुरण ठाण्ड आत्मरस्वाय सक्वपिरिहरण चौरास्स अभ्रण्यं तास्विकरम्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ C I L, V, p. 99.
Success! Victorious is the God Maḷapaḷi! Hāritīputra Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukulānandaka Sātakarṇi, who is of the Mānavya gotra and King of Vaijayantīpura, issues the following order to the Rajjuka Mahāvallabha:—The āhāra of the Sahalāṭavi village,¹ 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 obstructions² and from the entrance of all royal servants, but inclusive of the right to adjudicate disputes,³ as a brahma-dāya to Kondamāna, the son of Hāritīputra Tākiṇchi, of the Kauṇḍinīya 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

Kānheri 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 Kānheri. It was brought to notice by Bird in the Historical Researches in 1847. Thereafter, West published its eye-copy in the

---
¹ Gāmīṭhāvā-Sahulīṭavā cannot be interpreted satisfactorily. Elsewhere, āhāra is used in the sense of a large territorial division.
² Viṭāḍanā (Sanskrit, viṭāḍanā) seems to be used in the sense of bāḍhā-ruḥīṭām used elsewhere.
³ Saṅśīṭhākātām is used here in the same sense as abhyantara-saṅśīṭhākām, which occurs elsewhere. See C.I.I. IV, pp. 251, and 253. 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. 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 Sīri Pujumāvi as the name of the then ruling king. But an inscription containing similar personal names and epithets as here has been discovered at Vanvāsi. Hence, Rapson’s conjecture that the ruling king’s name in this inscription was Viṅhukaḍa Chūṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi appears probable.

The object of this inscription was to record that Mahābhōji Nāga-mulanikā, who was the daughter of a Mahārāja and the wife of a Mahāraṭhi, the mother of Skandānāga Sātaka, and the sister of Mahābhōja Dhaṇasena, 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 Śivaskandānāga-śrī in the inscription dated in the 12th regnal year of King Hāritīputra Viṣṇukada Chūṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi (No. 37). She too is described therein as the wife of a Mahābhōja 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

---

1 See the references in Lüders’ List, No. 1021.
2 Bühler has taken this inscription as of the time of Viśāhṭihputra Pujumāvi.
3 See No. 37.
4 BMC. (Andhra), p. 111.
Rapson and it has been accepted by Lüders too in his List. This appears to be the correct conclusion.

This Chutukulānanda Sātakarni flourished long after Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi, whose Chief Queen's memorial stone pillar was set up at Vanavāśi. (See No. 32.) He seems to have named his family Chutukulānanda with reference to the Chuṭukula of the Śaka king Māna who ruled over the Māhishaka country. He, therefore, seems to have flourished at the end of the Sātavāhana period. Though Bühler conjecturally ascribed the present inscription to Pulumāvi, he drew attention to the later forms of certain letters. This lends support to Rapson's view stated above.

Line 1  . . . . . s . . . . . [kuḷa] . . . . . s 9 [ ? ] हेम
2  . . . s आर्येश्वर एताय पुवाय महाराजवालिकाय म[हामोही]य
3 भाकाको महाराजिणियां आवनागसतकमातुय महा[भे]जस
[अहि – ]
4 [जस] ✺ धन्यकाव[? ] भगविणिय नामसलनियां लेन वेयः

Translation

In the (regnal) year [9] of of winter, on the tenth (tithi)—on this afore-mentioned tithi, Mahābhoji young Nāgamulanikā, the daughter of a Mahārāja, the wife of a Mahāraṭhi, who is the mother of Skandanāga-Sātaka and the sister of the Mahābhoja Dhanasena of the Nāga race, established this cave . . . . as her pious gift to the Community of the (Buddhist) Monks, in the name of her parents . . .

1 Lüders’ List, No. 1021.
2 Studies in Indology, III, pp. 68—70.
3 ASW I, V, p. 86.
4 The royal name here has been lost. Bühler conjectured it as Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi. But Rapson has shown that it is probably Chutukulānanda Sātakarni on the evidence of No. 37, below.
No. 37

Vanavāsi Stone Inscription of Chūṭukulānanda Sātakarṇī : 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 Madhukeshvara temple at Vanavāsi in the North Kannada 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. 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 Brāhmi 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\(^2\) of King Hāritiputra Vishṇukaḍa Chūṭukulānanda Sātakarṇī, the seventh fortnight of winter and the first day. On this day Sīva-Skanda-Nāga-Śri, the Mahābhūvi (i. e. Mahābhōji), blessed\(^3\) 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

---

\(^1\) See the references in *El*, XXXIV, pp. 238 ff.

\(^2\) *Vasa-satīya* has been variously interpreted by scholars. Bühler first took it in the sense of *vasa-satīyāḥ* (in the particular year of the government of the family), but later he modified it into *vēśa-satūkṛtyāḥ* 'in the year of the world government'. This sense has been accepted by Gai. In a similar context *varsha-satāsṛtyāḥ* occurs in the Jamāgadh inscription of Radradāman. 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.

\(^3\) *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 inscrip-
tion 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-
Śataka. 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-sirīya. As we have shown else-
where, 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-sirī (Śri-
Skanda-Nāga) is not different from Khada-Nāga-Śataka
(Skanda-Nāga-Śataka) 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.¹
Really speaking, the writer had to write Sivakhadanāga-sirīsa
yuvarājasa mātuya, but he wrongly wrote yuvarāja-mātuya
Sivakhadanāga-sirīya instead.² Even if he had written
Sivakhadanāga-sirīsa yuvarāja-mātuya, it could have
been understood in the sense of Sivakhadanāga-sirīsa
yuvarājasa mātuya according to the dictum sāpekshate-pi
gamakatvāt samāsah. So the correct meaning of the expres-
sion used in the present inscription is—‘by (Nāgamula-
nikā), the mother of the yuvarāja Śiva-Skanda-Nāga-śrī’.

The present inscription has used the expressions
Vishnuakaśa and Chutukulānanda as epithets of Hāritiputra
Śatakarni 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

¹ Śrī occurs indeed at the end of the names of females also. See Bala sirīya
in No. 18, line 6. But Śiva-śrī does not occur at the end of the name of
any female.
² Several mistakes committed by writers and engravers have remained un-
corrected. See e. g. Nīva-nava-vudāni in No. 18, line 1.
at the end of the Sātavāhana period; for in an inscription on a pillar at Maḷavallī, a village granted by Hāritī-putra Śivaskandavarman of Vanavāsi was regranted later by a Kadamba king. So these Chūṭukulānanda 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 (Saṅjayantī) seems to be the ancient name of Vanavāsi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>सिपं [ ['<em>'] ] रजो हारितिपुत्रस विष्णुकड़ुकुलानम्बरसातकरित्य बसातलय सब्बरे १० [ ['</em>'] ] २ हृदतान यखो ७ दिबस १ महापुढम महाराज-बालिकाय विवक्ताय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>दमोरकस सिरेन नटक्स नागो को [ ['*'] ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Translation

Success! In the year 12 of the century-long reign of King Hāritīputra Vishnukaḍa Chūṭukulānanda Satakarna, in the fortnight 7 of winter (and) on the day 1 — on this day . . . 2 who is Mahābhuvi (Mahābhoojī), the daughter of a Mahārāja, the blessed mother of the Yuvarāja Śiva-Skanda-Nāga-sīrī, caused a Nāga to be dug, 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.

1 EC. VII, p. 252.
2 Her name Nāgamukunīkā 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 Rishabhadatta: 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, 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. Bühler, Bhagvanlal Indrajji and Senart have edited it with a translation. It is edited here from the plate published with Senart’s article.

---

1 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.
2 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 tīthī. Again, the word introducing the date is saṁvatsara 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\(^1\) of the [Śaka] year 42, Rishabhadatta, son of Dinika and son-in-law of the Kshaharaṇa 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 nīvis (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 paḍika\(^2\) (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 paḍika (per month). The interest on it (amounting to 90 kārshāpaṇas) was

---
\(^1\) This donation must have been given on the full-moon tīthī of Vaisākha, which is regarded as very holy in Buddhism; see the birth, enlightenment and parinirvāṇa of the Buddha occurred on this very tīthī.

\(^2\) Paḍika means ‘a kārshāpaṇa’.
to be utilised for the *kuśala-mūla* (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* (town-assembly) of Govardhana before they were registered in the local Registration Office.

Then commences an appendix of the inscription. It records that in the [Śaka] year 41, on the fifteenth *tithi*

---

1 *Kuśama-mūla*, as read by previous editors, is a mistake for *Kusala-mūla*. Buddhist monks needed three things while living in a *vihāra*—(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 *kārshāpaṇas* each, out of the interest on a permanent endowment of 2,000 *kārshāpaṇas* invested in a local guild. Now remained *kuśala-mūla* (or medicines). For that he invested 1,000 *kārshāpaṇas* in another local guild to form a permanent endowment, which yielded an interest of three quarters of a *kārshāpaṇa* per cent (*per month*) i.e. 90 *Kārshāpaṇas* in a year. As one could not say which Bhikshus 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 Hvarasena*, *CII.*, IV, p. 3. *Kuśama-mūla* is a mistake for *kuśala-mūla*. The latter term occurs in several Kharoshṭh 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 i, pp. 149, 158 and 170. Also see the *Tummulghirā* plates of the Vīshṇukundins, *E.A.*, II, pp. 4 ff.

2 Senart has translated *Nigama-sabhā* as "the Town-hall". Had that been the intended sense, *nīgama-sabhā-grihē* would have been used.

3 Bhugvanial has translated *phulakṣa-vide 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". Senart understands it in the sense "at the Record Office according to custom". Just as some gifts were written on *pajīkās* (of cloth), others may have been recorded on wooden boards.
of the bright fortnight of Kārttika Rishabhadatta had (mentally) donated 7,000 kārṣṇapānas to gods and Brāhmaṇas. This donation he actually gave in the form of two thousand gold coins at the rate of one gold coin for thirty-five (silver) kārṣṇapānas 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 Vyāra in the Surat District. Chikhalapadra is probably Chikhli in the same district.

Line | Text
--- | ---
1 विधि [ १० ] बसे ४०[ +० ]२ बेतावङ्—मसे राज्ये शहरातस्क शवस्त्र नाहीनास जामातारा दीनोकपुण्येन उपवसते सर्वसत्ते बालुविसस इम्म लेश निराकरिः [ १० ] वद चालेन अश्वयंचित्व काहापनसस्थः —
2 नि विन रूस० संघस पालुविसस य इम्मिं लेश वसंतां ४ भविसस \( p \) बिवरिक कृत्स्नमूले ३ च [ १० ] एते च काहापना प्रज्ञा गोक्षन-
3 ये २००० बृहि पायूप ६ पविकस्त [ १० ] एते च काहापना अगविवातवा बधिमोजा [ १० ] एतो बिवरिक—सहस्त्रार्क वे २००० ये पविकस सले [ १० ] एतो मम लेश वसवयान्य मिहुम वीताय एहोकस बिवरिक वाराक चार्स [ १० ] यां सहस प्रज्ञा पायूपपविकस सले अतो कृत्स्नान् —

1 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 Rishabhadatta. The gifts to gods must have been made over to the temple-priests.
2 These gold coins must have been of the Kuśāṇa Emperors.
3 From the plate published with Senart’s article in El.
4 vasādānam (Bh. and Būh.).
5 Kuśāṇa-mañḍala (Bh.)
6 košikā— (Būh.).
7 Patyāna— (Bh. and Būh.).
8 yān (Bh. and Būh.).
9 Kuśāna— (Senart), but his plate shows Kuśāna clearly.

II—7-B.
Success! In the year 42, in the month of Vaiśākha, a Rishabhadatta, son of Dinika and son-in-law of the Kshaharāta Kshatrāpa Rājan Nahapāna, dedicated this cave to the (Buddhist) Community of the four quarters. Besides, he gave a permanent endowment of three thousand — 3000 — kārśhāpanaṣ to the (Buddhist) Community of the four quarters. It will be utilised for the expenses of the clothing and the medicines of the Bhikshus living in this cave.

(Line 2) And these kārśhāpanaṣ have been invested in the guilds at Govardhana — one of them of 2000 kārśhāpanaṣ being invested in a guild of weavers at the interest of one paḍika (kārśhāpana) (per month), and the other of 1000 kārśhāpanaṣ being invested in another guild at the interest of three-fourths of a kārśhāpana (per month). These kārśhāpanaṣ are not to be paid back. Only their interest is to be utilised.

---

*a* mulā (Bh.), *b* saiva (Būh.).

3 The tiehi has not been inscribed here inadvertently, but it must have been that of the full-moon.

4 Kuduma-mūla has been variously interpreted by scholars. Bhagvanlal has suggested three different meanings of it. “It comes from ku-dana, that is ‘coarse food given to mendicants’; or it may mean ‘a mat’ (Sk. kudaya, a Rishi’s seat); or it may be kudaya ‘the mendicant’s drinking vessel’. Bühlner 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 *kriṭ-anma* (minor food). D. R. Bhandarkar thought that it denoted ‘a coin of the Kshahāpas’. Kuduma-mūla seems to have been wrongly written for kudala-mūla and denotes ‘medicine required for good health’. See gilāna-bheshaja in the Nāvik inscription of Īvārasena, *CII. IV,* p. 3.

6 Paṭika (Sanskrit, pratika) seems to be used in the sense of ‘a kārśhāpana’.
(Line 3) From the interest on the two thousand—
2000—kārshāpaṇas invested at the rate of one padika (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 padika (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 tablets¹ according to custom.

(Line 4) Again,² 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 delivered³ in the form of two⁴ thousand gold coins at the rate of one gold coin for thirty-five (silver) kārshāpaṇas on the fifteenth day³ of Kārttika in the year 45. (This has been recorded) on wooden tablets according to custom.

No. 39

Kārle Cave Inscription of Rishabhadatta

This inscription is incised on the upper frieze to the right of the central door of the Chaitya Cave at Kārle. Stevenson and Brett first brought it to notice in 1854. Later, Franke and Rapson discussed it.

¹ Vāre has been taken by Bhagvanlal in the sense of dvāre ‘on the door’ and by Senart in that of ‘a registration office.’
² The following portion is written in slightly smaller letters, but the last words phalakavāde charitrato ti are again written in bold letters as in the first part
³ Niyutam means delivered actually.
⁴ Dīna 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.
⁵ The fortnight has not been specified here.
Bhagvanlal, Bühler and Senart have edited it with a translation. 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 Rajan Kshatrapa Nahapâna of the Kshaharâta family, donated the village Karajika for the maintenance of the Buddhist monks of all quarters dwelling in the caves at Valûraka 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 Brâhmaṇas); he gave (as dakshinâ) gold coins and built a ghât (a flight of steps) at the river Bârṇâsâ; he donated sixteen villages to gods and Brâhmaṇas; he got eight Brâhmaṇas married at the holy place of Prabhâsa and fed a thousand Brâhmaṇas 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 Kshaharâta Kshatrapas are of the Śaka era.

Localities—Valûraka was the ancient name of Kârle. Karajika is probably identical with Karajgaon, about 5 miles north-east of Kârle. Inscription No. 12 names it as Karajaka. The Bârṇâsâ is the modern Banâs, which flows through Eastern Râjputâna and joins the Chambal.

---

1 See the references in Lüders’ List, No. 1099.
2 Tithakaram has been interpreted by Bhagvanlal as ‘being a visitor to the tirtha at the Banasa river’ (JCTL, 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 Nâuk District Gazetteer, p. 371.
Success! Rishabhadatta, son of [Dinika] and son-in-law of Rājan and Kshatrappa Nahapāna of the Kshaharāṭa family—who made three gifts of a lakh cows (each), who donated gold (coins) and constructed a ghāṭ on the Bāṁśā, 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 dwelling in the caves of Valūraka in the rainy season.

No. 40

Nāsik Cave Inscription of Rishabhadatta

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 akṣharas in the first eleven lines have now been

---

1 From the plate in El., VIII.
2 Rāpo (Būh.).
3 Pāṁśa-tītha (Būh.).
4 Gāyanāpi tri-sata-sahasrānaḥ (Bh.); (Aṇuvāhana ph ev saha-sahasrān̄. (Būh.)
5 No. 43 gives its extended reading as mālyām Bāṁśāvyayaṁ svarpa-dāna-tīrtha-kāryaṁ.
6 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 akṣharas 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 akṣharas 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 akṣharas 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.¹ It is edited here from the plate published with Senart’s article.

Characters and language—The characters of this inscription are of the Brāhmi alphabet, and its language Prakrit.

This inscription is of Śaka Rishabhadatta, son of Dinika and son-in-law of Rājan and Kshatrapa Nahapāṇa [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, Chechināṇa, Dāhanākānagara, Kekāpura, Bharukachchha, Anugāmi, Ujjaini and Śākhā. He had donated a hundred thousand cows for the religious merit of Nahapāṇa on the full-moon titthi of Chaitra. He had donated gold (coins) and built a ghāt on the bank of the Bārṇāsā.

¹ 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 (kārṣṭṭṣāpaṇas) to Brāhmaṇa, and constructed a ghātī at some river; but this portion has been very much damaged.

Localities—Sopārāga is modern Sopārā in the Thāne District. Dāhanūkā is the chief place of the modern Dāhanū tāluḵā of the same district. Chechinīṅa may be Chinchani-Tārāpur, about 8 miles north of Bombay. Bharukachchha is Broach. Ujjaini is well known. Anugāmi, Kekāpura and Sākhā cannot be identified.

---

1 From the plate accompanying Senart's article.
2 Vṛcchlīṅa (Būh.).
3 -nāgare (Bh. and Būh.).
4 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.
5 Perhaps Bāṁḍākya tīṣṭhe was intended.
Success! In the ever continuing pious works of Śaka Rishabhadatta, (son of Dinika) and son-in-law of [Rājan Kshaharāta] Kshatrapa Nahapāna, a hundred thousand Brāhmaṇas are fed throughout the year at Śorpāraca, Chechiminā, Dāhanukānagara, Kekāpura, .... Bharukachchha, Anugāmi, Ujjaini (and) Sākhā. He has given three hundred thousand cows to the revered Brāhmaṇas. He has donated [sixteen villages to the revered gods and Brāhmaṇas]. Rishabhadatta 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 Bāṛṇāsā river ...... He donated fifty thousand — 50000 — cows to revered Brāhmaṇas. On the ghāṭ of (the river Bāṛṇāsā) ......

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.1 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 Rishabhadatta, son of Dinika, 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.

1 See the references in Lüders’ List, No. 1154.
The present inscription bears no date, but Daksha- 
mitrā must evidently have dedicated the cell only after 
the Cave was completely excavated in the (Śaka) Year 
42 by her husband Rishabhadatta.

Line Text
1 तिथं [ 1° ] राजो शहरातस क्षत्रपस नाह्मान —
2 स शीतित्व बीनीकपुष्टं उदवदत्स
3 कुकुञ्जिनिय ॥ वस्मिन्नाय देयथमं ओवरको [ 1° ]

Translation
Success! (This) cell is the pious gift of Daksha- 
mitrā, the wife of Rishabhadatta, 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. There- 
after, Stevenson-Brett, Edward and Arthur West, R.G. 
Bhandarkar and Franke discussed it. 3 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 Brāhmi alphabet, and its langu- 
age Prakrit.

The object of the present inscription was to record 
that Dakshamitrā, the wife of Rishabhadatta, son of 
Dinika, and the daughter of Rājan and Kshatrapa 
Nahapāna of the Kshaharāta family dedicated the cell

1 From the plate published with Senart’s article in El. VIII.
2 Kaṭūrkhōnti (Bh.).
3 See the references in Lüder’s 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      Text¹
  1 सीढ़िः² [I°] राजसो³ शहरातस्तः क्षत्रपस नहःपानस दीपः—
  2 तु वैनोकुशः उष्णावातस् क्षुद्रविनिय वेषरित्राय⁴ देशरां ओवरको [I°]

Translation

Success! This cell is the pious gift of Dakshamitā, the wife of Rishabhadatta, son of Dīnīka, and the daughter of Rājan and Kshatrapa Nahapāna of the Kshaharo 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 42⁵

---

¹ From Plate VII in EJ. VIII.
² सीढ़िः (Bh. and Būh.).
³ राजसो् (Bh.). राजसो् (Būh.). Elsewhere, the form is generally राो्.
⁴ दक्षामित्राय (Būh.).
⁵ 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 Rishabhadatta. Next, the second appendix is incised in still smaller letters. It mentions Rishabhadatta’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. 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 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 Trirāśmi hill near Govardhana, and also the cistern nearby. The description of Rishabhadatta 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 Bāṃśā; 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 Prabhāṣa; he gave gifts of quadrangular residential houses at Bharukachchha, Daśapura, Govardhana, and Śūpāraka; he made gardens, tanks and wells; he established, for charitable purposes, free

*See the references in Lüders’ Lüt, No. 1131.*
ferries for crossing the rivers Ibā, Pāradā, Damaṇa, Tāpī, Karabene, 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, Śorpara, and Rāmatirtha, thirty-two thousand coconut trees. All these were given to the followers of the Vedic religion and for the benefit of the common people.

Rishabhadatta is called dharmanāman in the present inscription, from which Senart inferred that he must have been converted to Buddhism before this inscription was engraved. 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 Rishabhadatta states that as ordered by the Bhaṭṭāraka (his lord Nahapāna) he marched for the rescue of the Uttamahadra Kshatriyas who were besieged by the Mālayas. He says, "At the noise of my march the Mālayas began to take to their heels. So I captured them and handed them over

---

8 *EJ.* VIII, p. 80. It is natural to call the person who makes a gift dharmanāman.

It is used as an epithet of even a Yavana in a Nāṣik inscription. See Nāṣik Cave Inscription No. 18, in the Nāṣik District Gazetteer (old ed.), p. 587.

9 Bühler identified the Mālayas as the residents of the Malaya mountain (*AWLI* IV, p. 100, n. 4). But this identification is wrong. After defeating the Mālayas, Rishabhadatta went to the holy place of Pushkara near Ajmer to bathe. This leaves no doubt that the Mālayas were the Mālayas of North India. This Mālava ganga was well known in ancient times. The commentary Kāśikā on Pāṇini (V. 3.1.14) mentions it as a military organisation (āyudha-jīvi-saṅgha). Greek historians of Alexander's campaigns also have mentioned them. They call them Malāa. They were then living in the Panjāb. When the Greeks, Sakas and other foreign tribes invaded the north-west parts of India, the Mālayas 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 Ākardvantī. See No. 18, line 2, and No. 51, line 11.
to the Uttamabhadras. 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 gaṇa. 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 Rishabhadatta 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 Indraji has suggested the identification of most of them. Bārnāsā is probably the river Banās which, flowing through Pālanpur in Gujarāt, joins the gulf of Kachchha. Iba may be the river Ambikā, which rises in the Bānsādā hill in Gujarāt and joins the Arabian Sea about ten miles north of Balsād. The Pāradā is now known as the Pār which flows near the village Pārdi, about twelve miles north of Daman. The Tāpi has retained its ancient name. The Damaṇa is the modern Damaṇagāṅga. Karabeṣhā, mentioned as the Kalāveni in the Kumārapālacharita, may be the Kāveri which joins the river Ambikā. Dāhanukā may be the creek near the village of Dāhanānū, about 70 miles north of Bombay.

Prabhāsa is the famous holy place in Kāthiawād. Bharukachchha is Broach, and Daśapura Mandasor. Śorpāraga also called Śūrpāraka, the ancient capital of North Koṅkaṇ, is now known as Sopārā. Pinḍitakāvāṇa

---

3 Uttamabhadrā has been used in the plural. So it indicates a republican or an oligarchic tribe. The Uttamabhadrās were then probably occupying the region near Udaipur. The present Mālava was then comprised in the dominion of Nihapāṇa. 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 kūnda 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. 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. Nāmarīgola cannot be identified.

1. From the plate published with Senart's article.
2. There is a sign of smatika inscribed here.
3. The sign for the medial ā in this akṣara has an unnecessary sign of medial u attached to it on the right.
4. The inscription commencing here is in smaller letters.
5. The akṣara anh seems to have been engraved subsequently between ka and ṝā.
6. Three or four letters appear to have been cancelled between ye and hl.
7. Utamabhādvarṇa (Būh.).
8. Utamabhādvarṇakāma (Būh.).
9. Tatamī gate (Būh.).
10. Tatamī gate (Būh.).
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) Śrīparāga; 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, Karabēṇā, 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 Nāmaṅgola to the assemblies of the Charaka (recluses) of Piḍitakāvaḍa, Govardhana, Suvarṇamukha, Śrīparaka and Rāmatirtha—the pious Ṛishabhadatta has excavated this Cave in the Trīrasmi 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 Uttamabhada Kshatriyas.

1 Tāpī (Būh.).
2 The next inscription has been written in still smaller letters after leaving space for 8-10 letters.
3 Daśa cha nena (Bh.).
4 mālēṇa (Būh. 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 Aśvībhūti, 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 Mānmoḍi Hill near Junnar. Stevenson and Brett first brought it to notice in 1854. Later, Burgess, Bhagvanlal Indrajli, Bühler, Franke and Rapson discussed it. 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 Brāhmi 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 Rīshabhadatta’s inscriptions have been found at Nāsik and Kārle. His capital was

---

1 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 Mahākṣhtrapa. In all previous inscriptions he bears the lower title kṣhtrapa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>महाक्षतपस सारसिनहपानस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>आमात्यस बहुस्योतस अयमस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>यद्यम च योड मध्यम च पुनःर्वय बते ४०{+50} ६ कतो {10}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Translation**

Aryaman of the Vatsa gotra, Amātya of Rājan and Mahākṣhtrapa 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 Yashṭi Inscription of the Reign of Chashtana : Year 11

This inscription was discovered at the village of Andhau, 24 km. south-east of Khāvdā 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 Brāhmi 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 yashṭi¹ (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 sanvatsara which is noticed in other inscriptions not dated in the Śaka era.

¹ The custom of erecting a yashṭi or memorial stone is very ancient. The Manusmṛti (II, 285), lays down punishment for causing damage to a yashṭi. Several such yashṭis are known to have been raised in the district of Kachchha. See Nos. 46 etc.
The Kushāṇa Emperor Kanishka seems to have appointed Chasṭana to govern Kachchha and perhaps some part of Kāthiāwād when he was in his teens;¹ 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 Bharat, and some part of Kāthiāwād 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 Chasṭana and Rudradāman.

Line Text²
1 [सिंध अ*] [च] थल व्यासोतिकुपुरस्
2 . . . स' वर्षाये १०[+०]*१ पालितकनः¹
3 . . . पुपस माधुकानि जातः
4 . . . ५ लिपि पुपसहि उच्चापित [१०]

Translation
Success! In the 11th year of Kshatrapa [Chāṣṭana], son of Ysāmotika, the sons of Mādhukāna, son of Pālītaka . . . raised (this) yasṭi (memorial stone).

Nos. 46—49

Andhau Yasṭi Inscriptions of the Reign of Chasṭana and Rudradāman I : Year 52.

The memorial stones with these four inscriptions were found erected on a hill at the village Andhau in Kachchha. Ranachhodhbai Udairam, the Dewan of the Bhūj State, removed them to Bhūj. D. R. Bhandarkar, who noticed them there, first drew attention to

¹ The Daulatpur inscription mentions a still earlier regnal year (viz. 6) of Chasṭana. See No. 63.
² From the plate in JAIH., II.
³ The first three akṣaras in this line were plainly Chasṭana .
⁴ Pālītaka may have been an administrative term denoting 'Protector'.
⁵ Here three akṣaras 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 Chāṣṭana, 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 Chāṣṭanasa, or the writer who drafted these records did not know the relation of Rudradāman to Chāṣṭana as he was ruling in far-off Ujjain. But this view is inadmissible. Chāṣṭana was not ruling from Ujjain at this time. Till A.D. 124 Ujjain was in the occupation of Nahapāna; 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 Chāṣṭana 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 Chāṣṭana and Rudradāman have the title Rājan prefixed to their names. So it seems that Chāṣṭana 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 Aupsāṭi gotra, in memory of (1) his sister and Sihila’s daughter Jyesṭhavirā, (2) his brother and Sihila’s son Rishabhadeva, and (3) his own wife and daughter of Sihamitra of the Šrenika gotra. The fourth yashṭi was erected by Śrāmaṇera Treshṭhadatta of the Aupsāṭi gotra in memory of his son Rishabhadeva.

No. 46

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>[राजो चाहक्तज्यसा] वस्मादभिन्नकाहसा राजो छ्वासान्त जयवामकाहसा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>[ब]ः [ढी]ः [पि]ः [बामो] ज्योतिष्य वा 1 २ मध्यनौ सौहिलपुश्चन भूमिति ये चक्वोराये</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>सौहिलिन्धित औपसतितसोधाये लिड्ट उपालित [1*]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Translation

In the year fifty-two—52—on the second—2—day of the dark fortnight of Phālguna during the reign of Rājan Chāśthana, son of Ysāmotika, and Rājan Rudra-dāman, son of Jayadāman, Madana, son of Sihila, raised (this) yashṭi (in memory) of his sister Jyesṭhavirā, daughter of Sihila, who is of the Aupsāṭi gotra.

No. 47

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>राजो चाहक्तनस्मादभिन्नकाहसा राजो छ्वासान्त जयवामकाहसा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>[बु]ः राजो [ह]ः स्मादभिन्नकाहसा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>जयवामकाहसा वर्षः ढीः (पः) 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>[चा]ः [ज्योतिष्य वा 1 छ्वासान्त जयवामकाहसा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>सौहिलिन्धित औपसतितसोधाये लिड्ट उपालित [1*]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Banerji read ‘वा 2’ and took it to mean ‘the second tithi of the dark fortnight’. But the ekahara is clearly वा and stands for उच्चार. 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 Chāṣṭana, son of Yṣāmotika, (and) of Rājan Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman, Madana, son of Sihila of the Aupaśati gotra, erected (this) yāṣṭi in memory of his brother Rishabhadeva, son of Sihila.

No. 48

Line Text
1 राजो चाष्ठनस ध्वामोतिकपुष्म ५०[++] २ फहुगुलस द्वितियम् वा २ यश्वताये सोह्मितेदिता सेनिकस्योत्राये
2 महेने सोहिलपुष्म कुटुबिनिये [लक्ष्य] उपासित [1*]

Translation
In the year fifty-two—52—on the second—2—day of the dark fortnight of Phālguna during the reign of Rājan Chāṣṭana, son of Yṣāmotika (and) Rājan Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman, Madana, son of Sihila, erected (this) yāṣṭi in memory of his wife Śrāmaṇeri Yaśodattā of Śreṇika gotra who was a daughter of Sihamita.

No. 49

Line Text
1 राजो चाष्ठनस ध्वामोतिकपुष्म [च] स [राजो] ५०[++] [व] फहुगुलस द्वितियम् वा २
2 पुज[स] कवः ५०[++] २ फहुगुलस द्वितियम् वा २
3 अष्रमबेक्स ब्रेद्वलपुष्म सेनिकस्योत्राये
4 पिन्ना ब्रेद्वलस ध्वामेनेन लक्ष्य उपासित [1*]

Translation
In the year 52, on the second—2—day of the dark fortnight of Phālguna, during the reign of Rājan Chāṣṭana, son of Yṣāmotika, (and) Rājan Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman, Śrāmaṇera Treshṭhadatta, father of Rishabhadeva, son of Treshṭhadatta of the Aupaśati gotra, erected (this) yāṣṭi (in memory of his son).
No. 50

Khāvā Yasthi 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 Khāvā 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 yashṭi of Srāmaṇēra . . . son of Śatrūṣasa, 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 Svāmi Rudradāman, son of Rājan Svāmi Jayadāman, who was son of Mahākṣhattrapa Svāmi Chāṣṭhana, son of Yṣāmoṭika. It is noteworthy that Chāṣṭhana is called Mahākṣhattrapa 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 Chāṣṭhana and Rudradāman were then ruling jointly. So it seems to have been inscribed after the death of Chāṣṭhana and before his grandson Rudradāman acquired the title of Mahākṣhattrapa by his victories.1 The present inscription must, therefore, be referred to the period after the (Saka) year 52, when

---

1 In the Junāγadīh rock inscription of the (Saka) year 72, Rudradāman is stated to have acquired the title of Mahākṣhattrapa by his own prowess.
Chashțana and Rudradāman were ruling jointly, and before the (Saka) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>राजो महाशत्रपस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>व्स(व्सा)भोतिकपुत्रस स्वामिच्छ[व्सा] -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>नस पुत्रस राजो स्वामिज[यदा]मस पुत्रस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>राजो स्वामिजवामस [व्सा] , ३ धारणास</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>अ , कस सृसुलुहु -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>वस धारणास[स] , . गोत्रस पुत्रे -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>व धनचवेने य[व्सा]अ धिश्चापिता [व्सा]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Translation

In the year [63] of Rājan Svāmi Rudradāman, the son of Rājan Svāmi Jayadāman, (who was) the son of Rājan Mahākshtrapā Svāmi Chāshṭana, son of Ysāmotika, on the day . . . of Śrāvāna, this yashū of Śrāmaṇera of the gotra . . . . . , son of Śatrūmsaha, was erected by (his) son Dhanadeva.

No. 51

Junāgadh 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 Junāgadh in Kāthiāwād. 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

---

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 बृ 5, but that reading too is not convincing.
in 1838. Later, Lassen, Jacob-Westergaard, H. H. Wilson, Bhuau Daji, Eggling, Bhagvanlal Indraji and Bühler discussed it. 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 *sphuta*, *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 *Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman I*, the Śudarśana lake was devastated by the floods of the rivers *Suvarṇasikā* and *Paḷāsīni* 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 *Rāṣṭriya* (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 Kshatrapa *Rudradāman* during whose reign the embankment of the lake was repaired. He was grandson of *Mahākshatrapa Svāmī Chasṭana* and son [of *Kshatrapa Jayadāman*]. He had himself

---

1 See the references in Lüders’ *List*, No. 965.
acquired the title of Mahākshatrapa. His kingdom comprised the following and other countries:—Eastern and Western Ākaraṇanti, the Anūpa country, Ānarta, Surāṣṭra, Śvabhra, Marudeśa, Kachehha, Sindhu-Sauvira, Kukura, Aparānta and Nishāda. He had forcibly exterminated the Yaudheyas, who had become very powerful and arrogant. Though he defeated King Sātakarnī,¹ the lord of the Dakshināpatha, 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 swayāhivaras. 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 kāvyas 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 Surāṣṭra, 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 Mārgaśīrṣha in the expired Śaka year 72 was intercalary. So the date of the present

¹ This Sātakarnī is Vāsinabhīputra Pulumāvi 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—Urjayat was the ancient name of the Girnar mountain. The river Suvamakata rising from it is now known as Sonarekhâ.\(^1\) It bears the name Svarārekha in the Skandapurâna. The other river Palâśini, which also rose from Urjayat, cannot be identified now. Ākarāvantī was the name of the entire Mālvā. Its eastern part was known as Ākara, from which the Agarvâl 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 Māhishmati, now known as Mahēśvar. Śurāṣṭra was the ancient name of Kāthiāwāḍ. Śvabhara may be the country through which flows the river Śvabhramati (modern Sābarmati). Maru is modern Mārwāḍ. 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-Sauvira is used, it signifies the region on the Western and the Eastern bank of the river Indus.\(^2\) Sindhu denoted the territory now known as Derjât, and Sauvira 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. Aparânta signified North Koṅkaṇ. Nishāda may have been the country of the aborigines in Gujarāt and Rājputâna.

---

\(^{1}\) Purâṇa, XIV, p. 15.
\(^{2}\) ABORI, LVII, pp. 81—93.
\(^{3}\) From the plate in EI, VIII.
\(^{4}\) sahâkari (Bûh.).
[नला] [मृत्ति] 
कोपलिबिष्टारमोक्षीयम् संविद्धतुद्धारसंभवातीत्वाय 

2 वप्रविस्मितद्विसिद्ध[वर्ण*] 

[व] जातेनाख्यातिमणि
संतुकवंरोपणां सुप्रातिविक्षिप्तपरोपार्थवाह

3 मोक्षिकान्त च तिस्क[ग्रां] 

नाविन्निवर्तुप्रहमंहुपुपपधे बस्तेते [1*] तववं राजो महाशक्तिः सुगुणी

4 तनाम्नः स्वामीवज्ञनसय पोज[स्य]

2 पुरस्य राजः महाशक्तिः 

नुष्मिरतमित्तानां हर्वरमेन च चवं हिस्सति तत्तमे ७०[+*]२

5 मार्गः श्रीवेभुक्तप्रति[पव*] 

सार्वविन्दना 

प्रभुवेयं एकाव्येभुतानामि पौरविधया 

कुतां ग्रिनेन्द्रे: 

मुष्मार्गिकता

6 पलाशीनोप्रभृतीवं नढीनों अविन्वितोऽन्नवें: सेतु[म] 

यस्मातः 

नूप्रभृतीकारसंपी 

गिरिग्निरहस्तरद्वाः दे वर्गोऽरश्वेयव्यवह्व्यविच्छिन्ना 

7 वर्मोऽब्रेयमेन वायुना प्रभुमहतसलिनिक्षिप्तसइहरोरिकुताब

[वर][शण]

कित्तासम्बक्षुमिऱ्टमतप्रताना आ नवो- 

तत्साहिदुप्रमासितानेन्द्रियाः [1*] चत्तारी हस्तसतानि बीसुकुटराजायास्य

एवावेयं विनियोजन

8 पंवातसतिहस्तसतानामादेव मेनेन 

निर्तस्तवेत्योऽ मर्दनकल्यात्मतेन भूहँ

[स्य] 

स्यायं मौर्येश्वर राजः चंगुः [लश्य*] 

राविवेयं ब्रह्म मुद्गुमेन कारिं अशोकस्य मौर्येश्वर 

[ह*] ते 

यव्यारम्रेन दुब्धपराधिष्ठाय

9 प्रणवीश्वरलंकं तत्कारितं राजानुपक्षतविधायनया तस्मि [स्मनु] 

चेवेकृत्य प्राप्ताया विस्तृति तत्तू: 

अ गर्भाभिमय्यविवेशसुमुक्षिताराजसम्मिलहीराणाग्नितस्वरं विश्वेणिसंग्रमे 

रक्षणायं पतियें कूमेन आ प्राणोपप्यासा तुष्ठयमचिन्तितन्

1 Read विरतिकर- (Bhū.)
2 Read the kosa aksharas here as रेज्य्यख क्षत्रपुश्यसयो सुग्रीत्ता-नाम्नाह् Svāmi 

3 Read निलाहु-ृक्तं
4 Read दुरुद्युनिनम-स्तित.
5 Read अभिगृहयु.
126 INSCRIPTIONS OF THE WESTERN KSHATRAPS

10 सत्यप्रतितिः अन्यत्र संप्राणेष्वभिमुखाणात्वंशसमायः प्रतिवर्णणात्माकश्चिमः-\n\n11 जनपदानां स्वविष्णुजितानामनुरकसांस्बुद्धानेत्रनुपुस्तसदपत्तनानिगमः -
\n12 वैरोशमलिपिदानां योधायानां प्रत्येकोवऽस्वास्त्रो इशिकायापते: \nसातक्रणविद्विदिन निर्यायामोहितवर्धित्य संवेदानिविरुध्वत्य अनुसार-

13 चक्षुजितात्मानानुरागेन(ण) शर्षात्मसाभाग्यायावाणां विद्यानां \nमहत्तिनां पारणाधारप्रदिष्टानांप्रयोगानातिकिलकोतितिः \n\n14 व्यायमसालनीको योधानांत्वानाबिवित्वास्वातानां व् \n\n15 परमकार्यविविधानीको नवानीकरणेकत्वात् श्रुतानां वर्ष-\n\n16 प्रणयत्वाभि: परोज्जानवं जनो स्वस्तमतोहो[तु तु \nमहता धनोधेन अन्तिति महता व कालेन तिम्यावुढ़ृततिरभिराजायम् तेतु विधाय सर्वकर्तरे \n\n17 महाकाव्यपरि। \n\n18 पद्धवेन कुलपुरेष्वसामायमेन सुविषालेन वधावविकेर्मक्षणहारकारे-\n\n1 Read yathāvrat-prāpta- dharm— drunken.
2 Read paryuk.
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 Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman, whose name is repeated (again and again) by venerable persons; who is the son of . . . and grandson of Rājan and Mahākṣatrapa Swāmi Chashtana; whose name is auspiciously uttered—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 Suvarṇasikāta, the Palāśini and other rivers rising from the Urjayat 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

---

1 See नुवासिकाता स्वर्णसिकाता: रथवर्तिक: I He whose name is (auspiciously) uttered by wise people in the morning is called sugrihitam-nāmā.
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) Asoka, 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 Ākaravanti, the Anūpa country, Ānarta, Surāshṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sindhau-Sauvīra, Kukura, Apa-rānta, 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 Sātakarnī, the Lord of Dakṣipathya, 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 lazuli (and) other jewels by means of rightly levied, taxes and dues; who [has composed Sanskrit kāvyas] 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) Mahākṣatrapa; who has obtained garlands in the svayaṁvaras of several princesses—(that Rudradāman) has made this lake Sudarsana 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 Mahākṣatrapa, 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 Surāśṭra 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 Kathiāwād 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.¹ 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 Brāhmi alphabet, and its language is Prakrit, mixed with Sanskrit.

The record opens with the following genealogy of the then reigning king *Kshatrapa Svāmī Rudrasimha I*. He was the great-grandson of Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmī Chāṣṭana, the grandson of Rājan Kshatrapa Svāmī Jayadāman and son of Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmī 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 Aśvini. 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

¹ See the references in Lāhurī’s *List*, No. 953.
Mahākṣatrapa from Śaka 103 to 110, then as Kṣatrapa from Śaka 110 to 112, and finally as Mahākṣatrapa 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 लिः [ःं] [ःः] राजो महाश्रवण्य स्वामिचाषणप्रमीतःस्य राजो श्रवण्य स्वामिजयदामपीतःस्य</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 राजो महाश्रवण्य स्वामिश्रवणपुत्रस्य राजो श्रवण्य स्वामिश्रवण-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 सोहत्य [ः][ः] पुत्रस्य १००[ःः]* ३ वेलाघुढ़े पंचमिध्य</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 तिती सोहिरीगला[ः]* —</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 मुहुर्तः आरोग्य सेनापतिवाष्टकस्य सुक्ष्मरे सेनापतिह[ः]भूतिना</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 [ः]सिये का[ःः]* [ः]ति[ःः] [ः]धारितिवर्ष सवसंश्वानां हि।-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Translation**

Success! In the year one hundred and three—103—, at the auspicious moment of the constellation of Rohinī, on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha, (during the reign) of Rājan Kṣatrapa Svāmī Rudrasimha, son of Rājan Mahākṣatrapa Svāmī Rudradāman, grandson of Rājan Kṣatrapa Svāmī Jayadāman and great-grandson of Rājan Mahākṣatrapa Svāmī Chāṣṭhana, Senāpati Rudrābhūti, son of Ābhīra 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 Māṇḍāvī talukā of the Kachchhha 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 Mahākṣhatrapa Svāmi Rudrasimha, son of Rājan Mahākṣhatrapa 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 Mahākṣhatrapa Rudradāman I. Before he came to the throne, his nephew Jivadāman was reigning as Mahākṣhatrapa. Bhagvanlal read the (Śaka) year 100 on one of his coins. His portrait on that coin was also different from that on his other coins. So it is believed that Jivadāman ruled for some time as Mahākṣhatrapa. 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 Mahākṣhatrapa. Subsequently he had to work as Kṣatrapa under his nephew from Śaka 110 to 112. From the traces left

---

1 BMC. (Andhra), p. cxxiv.
2 Ibid., p. cxxv.
in the present inscription, it seems that his title Mahākṣhattrapa was mentioned therein. So its date is probably Śaka 110; for in the following year he was again reduced to the position of Kṣhattrapa.

The inscription may have recorded the erection of a yashti, but by whom and for what purpose cannot be stated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>राजा महा[क्ष्वपस] स्वामित्ववामपुर्ण -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>स [रा*][श्रो महा] [क्ष्वप+]* स्वामित्ववामसीह -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>स वरिष्ठे १००[+*]१० . . . नियत्ते ताह</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>अर्धःस्वामित्व . . . ग्रहण . . मु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>व[क्षमोध च . . बिज रत्न धापित</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>केशदीतित्वित [1*].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Translation

[As the inscription on this yashti is very much mutilated, it does admit of a coherent meaning. It appears to mention the year 110 of the reign of Mahākṣhattrapa 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 Bhuj 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. ¹ His reading is given here as no clear estampage of it was available.

¹ Sambodhi, III., p. 46.
Characters and language—The characters are of the Brāhmi alphabet, and the language Prakrit.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Rājan Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi Rudrasimha I, son of Rājan Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi Rudradāman, grandson of Rājan Kṣatrapa Jayadāman, and great-grandson of Rājan Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi Chashtana. The (Šaka) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>[सिद्धम्]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>[प्र*]पोखरय राजो व्यक्ति [जय ]—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>शामपोखरय राजो महाशक्त्र—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>स्य स्वामिमहाशामपुकृतय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>[रा]जो महाशक्त्रपस्वामिदेशत—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>हस्य वर्ष १००[++]१०[++]४ श्वेष्ठम्[लीय]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>[शु]ढ द्रार्दितयमित्व प्रतिष्ठापेः . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>आभोपुत्र कु . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>बुधंक्रमस्तरस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>नवकहर्षे उपापित [ ++ ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Translation

Success ! In the year 114, on the twelfth tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Jyesṭhāmāliya, during the reign of Rājan Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi Rudrasimha, son of Rājan Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi Rudradāman, grandson of Rājan Kṣatrapa Jayadāman (and) great-grandson [of Rājan Mahākṣatrapa Chashtana],

1 Jayadāman was acting as Kṣatrapa during the reign of his father Chashtana. He predeceased his father. So the epithet Mahākṣatrapa has not been applied to him.

2 Read dradāsyaṃ.
this *yashṭi* was erected at the hands of Nandaka in memory of . . . . the son of . . . . of the Dūshenika *gotra*, the son of an Ābhira.

No. 55

Jūnāgaḍh 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 Jūnāgaḍh 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. 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 *Mahākṣatrapa* who was a grandson of Jayadāman. The latter had two grandsons—(1) Dāmajada and (2) Rūdrasimha. 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

---

1 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 Junāgadh.

Line \hspace{1cm} Text
1 \hspace{1cm} स्त्थान गुरुग[ण] \hspace{1cm} ... क्षणां प्रथम ... 
2 \hspace{1cm} चाष्टनस्थय प्र[पी]वशय राज्य\hspace{0.5cm}श[व]पशय स्वामिः जयवाम्यवशय राजी [महा] — \hspace{1cm} ... [वे]वसुक्लम विभवे पंचमे ५ [ह] गिरिनगरे बेवागुर्द्रगय[श]रा[श]ह ... 
4 \hspace{1cm} च[व]रंगव ... केवलितानसं ... नां ... 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 ... Chāṣṭana ... on the fifth—5—day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra. ... here (this) Girinagara ... the gods, Asuras, Nāgas, Yakshas and Rākshasas ...-kevali-śāna ... 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

* From the plate in EI. XVI.
ten miles to the north-east of Dvārakā, a well-known holy place in Kāthiāwād. It was later removed to the public library there. It was first noticed by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraiji 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 Indraiji and Rapson. 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 Svāmi 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). 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 Vānijaka 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 is not correct; for, as stated before, we find a clear reference to such *yashṭis* in the *Manusmṛti*, IX. 285, which lays down punishment for the person who damages a *yashṭi*.

---

1 See the references in Lüders’ *List*, No. 962.
2 B M C (Jandhar), p. 96.
3 D. R. Bhandarkar *Volume*, p. 175.
In the year 122 of (the reign of) Rājan Mahā-kshatrapa 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 Indrajit, Rapson and D. R. Bhandarkar discussed it.¹ 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 127,² the fifth tithi of the dark fortnight

¹ See the references in Lüders’ List, No. 967.
² The unit sign of this date is not certain. It may denote 6. See the aforementioned reference in Lüders’ List.
of Bhādrapada during the reign of the Western Kshattrapa Rudrasena. He is described as great-great-grandson of Mahākṣhattrapa Bhadramukha Svāmi Chāshṭana, great-grandson of Rājan Kshattrapa Svāmi Jayādāman, grandson of Rājan Mahākṣhattrapa Bhadramukha Svāmi Rudradāman and son of Rājan Mahākṣhattrapa Bhadramukha Svāmi Rudrasinīha. It will be noticed that the epithet Bhadramukha (of blessed appearance) is applied to all dead Mahākṣhattrapa forefathers of the reigning king. Kālidāsa has used that adjective in the speech of a female hermit of the hermitage of Māricha 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 Khararpattah, son of Pratāśaka, set up a śatra\(^1\) in his memory. The record seems to have closed with the prayer that Khararpattah may go to heaven; but all words of this prayer except svarga (heaven) are now lost in the last line.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>महामुखस स्वमधवमपुत्रपौलस्य राजो क[व]पस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>स्वामिजयदमुखपौलस्य राजो महालखस्य भद्रमुखस्य</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>स्व[व] महावामपौलस्य राजो मह[व*]पय महामुखस्य स्वम-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>क्षरसीह[ङ*]ह्य राजो महालखस्य स्वामिजयदस्तेनस्य [ङ*] इव श्रव खरपौलस्य प्र[ता]सक्षमुखस्य स्फातरभिधि: उत्ववि[तं] स्व[म*]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>मानसपौलस्य प्र[ता]सक्षमुखस्य स्फातरभिधि: उत्ववि[तं] स्व[म*]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>. . . . .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) śatra has been variously interpreted by scholars. Bhaù Daji 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 uttharatitham (raised). The sense of "a memorial stone" would suit it best. Such a memorial is now called chhatrī in Marathi. Several other inscriptions from Kālākhāvīd also 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 Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi Rudrasena, (who is) great-great-grandson of a son of Rājan Mahākṣatrapa Bhadramukha Svāmi Chashtaṇa, great-grandson of a son of Rājan Kṣatrapa Svāmi Jayadāman, grandson of Rājan, Mahākṣatrapa Bhadramukha Svāmi Rudradāman, (and) son of Rājan Mahākṣatrapa Bhadramukha Svāmi Rudrasimha, this śatra has been set up by the brothers of Khararpattha, son of Pratāśaka, of the Mānasā gotra.

. . . . . to heaven!

No. 58

Īṅṭwā Clay Sealing of Mahārāja Rudrasena [1]

This clay sealing was found during excavation by G. V. Acharya at the site of Īṅṭwā situated on a hill in the midst of a thick jungle, about three miles from Junāgaḍh in Kāṭhiawād. 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 Vaiśāli, Rājagṛha, 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 Īrāvā 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

Lāṭhi Stone Inscription of the Western Kshatrapas

The stone bearing this inscription was found at the village of Lāṭhi in Kāṭhiāwāḍ. It is now deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Its facsimile plate was published in the *Chronology of Gujarāt* (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 *Mahākṣatrapasa [Śvāmi] Rudra*—and the second only one *akṣhara sa*.

**Characters and language**—The characters of the present inscription are of the Brāhma 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,¹ it can be restored as **Vijayasena**, this Kshatrapa was ruling in the period Šaka 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 **Sīnhasena**.² The record ends with the prayer in Sanskrit that the religious merit of the pious action may be augmented.

¹ Jamindar read the numerical symbols of the date as 100 (+) 5, but this number does not agree with the expression **vasye dvamadhunare sukame** (Sanskrit, *dvḥ-shunke-rūtare jātātame*) used in the record. See the table in Bühler’s German edition of *Indian Palaeography* for the form of the numerical symbol of 60.

² Jamindar thinks that this Sīnhasena was of the dynasty of the Western Kshatrapas, but there was only one Sīnhasena in that line, and he flourished in Šaka 304. He cannot be this Sīnhasena.
Success! In the year one hundred and sixty-two—162—of (the reign of) Mahâkshatrapa [Vijayasena] ... got a well dug in a field of ... of the son of Śīnhasena for the well-being and happiness of all creatures. May the fruit (of this pious deed) be augmented.

No. 61; Plate XXX

Mewāsā Yāshti Inscription of the Reign of Bhārtṛdāman:
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 Jaimindar, 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 dṛi and śṭāṁ, and the symbol seems to be an auspicious lamp-stand between them. Drisṭāṁ 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 akṣara 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-praputraśya, 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 đauhitṛasya, line 5, which is the usual way noticed in other records. The curve denoting ṛ in the conjunct ṛṇa 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 yasti, line 6.

The object of the inscription was to record that a yasti (memorial stone) was set up by Vasurāka, an Ābhīra of the Harishvaka gotra, who was son of Vapa, grandson of Svasana and daughter’s son (dauhītra) of [Gugana], on the 7th day of Kārttika in a particular year (discussed below) in memory of his master (bharti) 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 yasti 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 yasti 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-praputra 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-praputra. 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 Bhartridāman, 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 Bhartridāman in a novel manner. He referred it to the Ābhīra era and took it as corresponding to A. D. 352. In that year Bhartridāman’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) Chasštana is named because he was the founder of the family, and (2) Bhartridāman 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 Chasštana, 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 Cāshāna it looks surprising that it does not name him. Besides, some other inscriptions of the Āhīras in the kingdom of the Western Kṣhatrapas are dated not in the Āhīra era but in the Śaka era.¹ 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,² This is an instance of the same type. The correct transcript of the initial portion of the present inscription will be as follows:—

राजसः महाशास्त्रस्य स्वामिनिर्मितस्य पुत्रप्रपुत्रस्य राजसः महाशास्त्रस्य प्रतिप्रस्य तर्कात्[इये] ्युतारके

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 viśesya of tryuttarake. Some right-hand portion of the stone has evidently been broken away and lost.³ 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.⁴ 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

¹ See, for instance, the date Śaka 103 in the Gundā inscription of Rudrasimha I and Śaka 114 in the Aṇḍhāna inscription also of the same king—both being records of the Āhīras dated in the Śaka era.
² See e.g. the expression Śīva-khada-nīga-sūra in No. 37, and kudaga-mūle in No. 38. The mistakes in both were due to the inadvertence of the respective writers.
³ See the stampe of the yuṣṭi in Plate XXX.
⁴ 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 yasṭī 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

1 सिद्ध[1*]राजो महाश्रय(व)पश्य स्वामिस्थम[स्य*]♀
2 पुत्रमुखव्य राजो महाश्रयवस्थ भवितम[स्य*]♂
3 पुत्रमुखव्य राजो महाश्रयवस्थ वर्यलत[स्य*]♀
4 वि-उक्ते (पुनर्रे) कपुरव्य स्वातपुरव्य आविर्वस्य
5 हरिधोक्षरकशृंकत्व स्वमुराकल्वि मुतवीहितस्य♀
6 काति(िति)कस(स्य)मु वि ७ राजयेष्वरस्य [ह][म*] मयः यष्टि प्रष्टातपि—
7 ता♂  . . . . . . . . . एसं भवनं ज[1*]

Translation

Success! In the year [two] hundred and three, on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, (during the reign) of Rājan Mahākṣatrapa Bhadidama (Bhartṛidāman)², who is the great-great-grandson of Rājan Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi Chāshaṇa, 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) yasṭī in memory of his lord Rājyeśvara . . . and a house also.

1 The Plate shows at the top the akṣhara six and shūm with an auspicious sign of a lamp-stand between them.
2 The complete word was -Chāshaṇasya as shown by the preceding adjective Mahākṣapra(trā) pasya.
3 This akṣhara has been lost owing to the breaking away of a part of the stone at this edge.
4 The mutilated letter d here shows that the original completes word here was - dhaṇya.
5 Dīspkarka read Gātthājādītmasya.
6 Read Bhartṛ-yasṭiḥ pratishthāpitā.
7 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 Bhandara district of Vidarbha in 1957. We edited the record in the *Epigraphia Indica* a Vol. XXXVII, pp. 201 ff. It is now preserved in the Central Museum at Nagpur.

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 Brāhmi alphabet. The first two lines are 29 cm. and the third only 9 cm. in length.

Characters and language—The characters are of the Brāhmi 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 Chashṭana, appointed by the contemporary Kushāṇa King to govern Vidarbha. His title *Kumāra* resembles that applied to *Mahāsenāpati* Eli Ehavaladāsa 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 Kushāṇas was not confined to Western Mahārāṣṭra and Koṅkana in South India, as was supposed before, but included Vidarbha also. In fact large hoards of
Kushāna coins have been found in Chhattisgarh also,\(^1\) indicating that that region also was included in the Kushāna Empire.

The pillar set up in memory of Mahākshatrapa Rupiamma is called Chhāyā-khaṁbhō (Sanskrit, Chhāyā-skambhah). This is the earliest instance of the use this word. Later, we notice it in several records. Two inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍ record the erection of chhāyā-stambhas in memory of Eli Ehaivaladāsa 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.\(^2\) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>सिद्धम् ([1^*] महाक्षत्रप-कुमारस)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>शिफ़िस्सस छाया –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>खांसी ([1^*])</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Translation**

Success! (This) is a sculptured pillar of Mahākṣhataipa Kumāra Rupiamma.

---

\(^1\) *JNSL*, XXXIII, pp. 1 ff.
\(^2\) *EI*, XXXIV, pp. 20 ff.
Some Additional Inscriptions

No. 62 (A)

Amarāvati Inscription of the Reign of Gautamiputra 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 Mahārāṣṭra.

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 Gautamiputra 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 Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi long before the time of Yajña-śri Sātakarṇi, whose inscriptions and coins also have been found there. 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 Amarāvatī 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 Amarāvatī begin to show signs of decline in the age of Yajña-śri. 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 Ujjayini. The former is now known as Dharaṇikoṭ. It lies near Amarāvatī. Ujjayini needs no identification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>तिघ्रः? [1*] राजी गोतमी[ः] कोष्टः[ः] भीयतः[ः] तत्क्रियाय संबल्करः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>जयिलेन... महाजैतिये... कारित्य...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>... धनकुटचेतिय... [1*]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 upāṣaka of Ujjayini, caused (this sculptured slab) to be made ... of the Great Chaitya (Stūpa) at Dhanakaṭa.

---

*This word is incised in the margin on the left of the first two lines.*
Daulatpur Yāṣṭi Inscription of the Reign of Chāṣṭana:
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 Bhuj 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 the 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 Chāṣṭana’s reign. The akṣhara ta has no knot, but na has it. See Pṛiti-svāmine in line 6. Ya is tripartite. See gotrāya, line 5. Va has a longish form and a round bottom. See Varahadeva–, 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 akṣharas nasya of utmost importance for the interpretation of the record. They are evidently
the remnants of the word Chashtanasya. Chashtana was the founder of the line of the Western Kshatrapas of Saurashtra and Mala. So his name is invariably mentioned in all records of the family. The correct reading of the next three (2-4) lines is rājye vasa 6 gi[mha] ditiya māsa dasa vāsare-tri(tr)ā rājye, meaning 'In his (i.e. Chashtana'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 Kushana 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. In later records the date is mentioned by citing the year, lunar month, fortnight and titthi.

The object of the present inscription was to record that the Ābhira (Regareśvaradeva), son of Varāhadeva and grandson of Jaitraka, erected the yashtī in memory of Pritisvāmi of the Vasu gotra, son of Sudotaka, for the well-being of the whole family.

This is the second inscription of Chashtana to be discovered in recent years. No. 45, also of the reign of Chashtana, was dated in the eleventh year. The present inscription takes Chashtana'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 Kushana emperor sent Chashtana to govern his southern provinces after the extermination of Nahapāna by the Śātavāhana king Gautamiputra Sātakarni some time after Śaka 46 (A. D. 124). That view now needs to be revised. It seems that Kanishka appointed Chashtana to govern Kachchha and a part of

1 The aksaras lost in the first three lines have been conjecturally restored.
2 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 titthi, which is noticed in all their later records.
3 The reading of this personal name is not quite certain.
4 Mrs. Gokhale's readings and interpretations cannot be accepted. See JOI, XXVIII, 6, pp. 34 ff.
DAULATPUR INSCRIPTION OF CHASHTANA

Saurāśṭra after he conquered these provinces in the beginning of his reign. Chāshana 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.

Chāshana 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 Kājhiwāḍ was added to the territory under him. A Nāsik inscription of Rishabhadatta shows that at least a part of Saurāśṭra 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>नरथ*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>राज्ये वसे 6 [गि] -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>मुद्ध दितिय मास [व] -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>स बालराय(व) राज्ये व-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>मुद्धोत्राय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>प्रिसिस्वामिने , व-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>मुद्धोत्राय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>अभिमन्यू [वें] -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ब्राह्मीपत्य व-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>राज्ये पुरुषराय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>राज्ये पुरुषराय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>गोविन्दहताय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>[लठिय] उपाधिपति [११]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\* See No. 43.
\* Read Chashmana. The previous lost portion may have been *मि*। मामोत्तकः
\* Read Abhiraya.
\* The reading of this name is not certain.
Translation

During the reign of Chashṭana,¹ 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 Ābhira Regarśvaradeva, son of Varāhiæeæva, grandson of Jaitraæa, [in memory of] Pritisvæmi, son of Vasudotaka of the Vasu gottra, 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 Amraot 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 Vidarbhā 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 Sātavāahanas, 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

¹ In the portion lost in line 1, there must have been mention of Yāmōtika, the father of Chashṭana, and the latter’s title Kshetraja.
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 Vākāṭaka grants. 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 Vākāṭaka 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 Aṅkisṭhā to some Brāhmaṇas. The plates were issued from Vānakheta. The villages donated were as follows:—Mahāgrāma, Chikkhalīkā comprising two villages, Āmrakagārtikā, Lauhaśalakā, Chiṅchapallikā, Niggoṇḍijjhāra, Daharakapāṭatā, Āmravāṭaka, Śrīṇasapāḍikā, and Buṭṭāṭaka. The grant was communicated to the following officials—Uparīka, Kumārāmāya, Daṇḍapāśika,

1 This indicates that this grant is of the pre-Vākāṭaka 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. 279)—7.0″ × 3.4″.
   (2) Bāsim plates of Vindhyadākta II (c. A. D. 392)—6.1″ × 3.4″.
   (3) Poornā plates of Prabhāvati-gupta (c. A. D. 413)—9.25″ × 5.75″.
   (4) Śivāṁśi plates of Pravarasena II (c. A. D. 438)—8.19″ × 4.50″.
   (5) Nagadhana plates of Śvāmīśikā (c. A. D. 573)—7.9″ × 4.1″.
   (6) Mahālī plates of Nandarajā (c. A. D. 709)—7.9″ × 3.9″.

2 These terms of official designation are noticed in several ancient grants, but scholars are not agreed about their exact signification. From the Dāmodāpur plates of the time of Kumāragupta we learn that an Uparīka used to appoint a Kumārāmāya. So he was a superior officer of the status of a provincial Governor. The Bhāṣāpurati-sūrito mentions him. The Bhāṣāpurī commentary of the Vīśṇudīśa-sūrito (I. 307) states his qualifications in the following words—dākṣāṣṭraya-chātra-raḵaham-ārthāḥ adhisthāna-sandīgha-vivekaṅkṛit. So he appears to have been entrusted with judicial work also (E. XXIV, p. 134). Chāṭas and bhūtas correspond to the policemen and soldiers of modern times. Vogel says, "These officials are noticed even now in the Chambā State. Chāṭa is the head of a pargāṇ, and bhūta is his assistant." Antiquities of Chambā, part i, pp. 130 ff.
chāṭa, bhāṭa, kāśṭhika, Dūtapreṣṭhika, and Viṇīyuktaka. The Brāhmaṇas to whom the grant was made were as follows:—Mātulasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja gotra, Bhaṭṭasvāmin, Agnisvāmin, Dītyāsvāmin, Dronasvāmin, Nannasvāmin, Sūryasvāmin, Kāliśarman 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 Namah Purushottama (Obeisance to Purushottama). Then follows the genealogy of the donor. There was, in the family of Munḍa 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 fee conceited. 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 Munḍa, 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 Munḍa 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

\[vāṇamaṇya\] denotes 'pride' or 'conceit' here. See the following remark of Durgadhana about Krishna in Bhaṭṭa's Dīvānikya (Act I): अनीमलसः विनिधानहरे अमिनिधिं रेखः.
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 Rāśṭramahārāja, who is said to have acquired a royal title (rāja-sabda) 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 Rājakulamahārāja, 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 Munḍa family flourished. That it belonged to an early age is indicated by the following:—(1) The family is described as Aśvamedha-yājī. 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 Vishṇukunḍins, the Kalachuris and the Chāluṅgas of Bādami in close succession. The Munḍa family, therefore, has no place in the post-Vākāṭaka age.¹ It must have, therefore, flourished in the pre-Vākāṭaka age.

¹ A. M. Shastri has suggested that this Munḍa family may have been ruling in Vidarbha before the time of the Chāluṅgas of Bādami; but this is not likely. After the death of Vākāṭaka Hariśeṇa, Vishṇukunḍin Mādhavavarman I extended his power to Vidarbha. He died in A. D. 526. Then Kalachuri Krishṇarāja conquered Western Mahārāṣṭra in A. D. 533. He must have extended his rule to Vidarbha by A. D. 540. His frudatory Śvāmīrāja was ruling in Vidarbha in the Ābhira year 322 (A. D. 573). The Munḍa 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 Pulakesin II; for in that case, it could not have recorded the date of the Malḥāra plates in the regnal years. Like the date of the Nagardhan plates, it would have been recorded in the Ābhira era. There is not a single inscription of this period in which its date is recorded in a regnal year. So the Munḍa 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 of the Vākāṭakas are recorded in such season-dates. All other inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas, like those of other dynasties which flourished in that period, are dated in a lunar month like Chaitra, a fortnight and a tithi. The Malhärā 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-Vākāṭaka age.

But it may be asked, if the present grant belongs to a pre-Vākāṭaka age, how is it that such technical official terms as Uparika, Kumārāmātya, Daṇḍapāšika, Dūtapreshāṅkika 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 Hirahadagāḷḷi plates of Śivaskandavarman. The latter mention such terms as Rājakumāra, Senāpati, Rāṣṭrika, Deśādhiṅkṛta 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

---

1 These records are—(1) the Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, (2) the Dūdiya plates of Pravarasena II, (3) the Māṇḍhil plates of Prithivivahana II (years 2 and 10). A season-date is recorded in the Thālner plates of Huṣīpaṇa. It is also noticed in the Pindhurṣuṅga plates of Pravarasena II, but they are spurious.
used such terms as *Uparika, Kumārāṃtīya* 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 Āśoka. 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 *Manuṣmṛiti* 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 Rāśṭra-mahārāja; for he had come forward for the protection of the rāśṭra. His successor Rājakula-mahārāja seems to have obtained great victories in battles. It was probably he who performed the Āśvamedha 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 Vindhyāśakti I, invaded Vidarbha from the south, vanquished Ādityarāja and established his kingdom in Vidarbha.¹ We have shown elsewhere that this occurred in *circa* A. D. 270.

**Localities—Vānakeṭa** from where the plates were issued may have been the capital of Ādityarāja, since

---

¹ All copper-plate grants of the Elder Branch of the Vākāṭakas mention Pravarasena I as the founder of Vākāṭaka rule in Vidarbha.
no word like vāsakāṭ 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 Bulḍhānā 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 Amraoti District. Chikkhallikā is clearly Chikhli in the Amraoti taluka. Lauhaśalakā seems to be identical with Lohagaon in the Amraoti tālukā. Chiṅchapallikā 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 Niggonḍijhāra, Daharakapattā and Āmrakavāṭaka can now be traced in Vidarbha. The Āṅkishtā-bhoga, in which the donated villages were situated, may be identical with the region round Akōṭ, a fairly large town in the Akolā District.¹

---

¹ For a fuller discussion of this grant, see our Samahadana-mukhavati, VII pp. 50-56.
² From the original plates.
³ Expressed by a symbol.
⁴ Metre—Amshapabh.
Second Plate: First Side

7 तस्य पुक्तप्रदायनुष्ठापत: स्वविशेष (बंग) —
8 कर्णेन कर्णेन (मो) नाम ॥ यमनियम —
9 रक्षमायण्यूलिः: कृतम —
10 शिविरीयता तपस्विरता ॥[१०] ॥
11 अभ्यस्वदितिसुनुकर र्थुः तस्य —

Second Plate: Second Side

12 प्रतिमित्वमायण्यूलिः॥र्थुः संबंध ॥ [२१॥५] ॥
13 तस्य पुक्तप्रदायनुष्ठापत: अप्रतित —
14 प्राहुको पुष्क: ॥ प्रतिप्राया विधं —
15 कर्ण्य यथा ॥ विस्वस्वादयापि र्थुः —
16 वीरितस्य ॥ येन वस्वविवसायस्य मुखः (भट्ट) मुखः ॥
17 परार्थ धारा निःशिवायानलयः ॥ [३१॥५] ॥

Third Plate: First Side

18 भुजः शोकविवोचणां मुक्षस्यकर्म (स्त) मंलिक्षायस्य —
19 वर्धा ॥ श्लाघाः रक्षितिव प्रजाशहुदमें वदेन (बंग) प्रतित —
20 धाककर्म[१६] हस्यालापि वर्णित नाम कुलजा विद्यु —
21 प्रकासं मुखः भोकसं स्मृतिग्रं इवोर्ष्टत —
22 वर्णः प्रक्षालितं मुंडङ्गः ॥ [४१॥५] तस्य पुष्कः (भ) —
23 श्लाघानुष्ठापत: स्वविवसायस्य मुखाय —
24 सम्य: भोराजपुलमहाराजः: [१०] तस्य पुष्कः —

Third Plate: Second Side

25 तपस्वायस्य भोराजपुलमहाराजः:
26 येन कुलसदुलसवाले भेयारणिकमोऽवर्ष्टते ॥
27 वशीलामध्यिकाराणां हृदायायौधिः
28 संपुष्ये ॥ [३१॥५] तपस्वायस्य मकर कंपकंडकः —

* Metres—Pānahpāhayāk.
* Metres—Uṣarpata.
Fourth Plate : First Side

29 राजशाही: काव्या शसीव जगतो नयनाभि—
30 राम:[1*]रामावरोभसारत्राणंत्रमार्गार्थः।
31 आयुर्वराज इति किन्नूर्वतामिश्रयः[ : 11,11*] यत[ रा ]वानुत[ तैः*]
32 स आयुर्वराज इ कुशली।। आयुर्विधानेषवासिने।
33 समुन्तामुन्तामुनिक्तुवामारामावण्डशाशिक—
34 चान्दनकाशी(विष्णु) कूड़ामयणिकवनिमुखका—
35 वैद्य सम्बोध्यते उब[ : ] संबिधितम[1*]
36 रामदासगोपाल भागवतशास्त्री—
37 भृत्राध्ययमिनि वास्मिनिविश्ववास्मिनि व्रम्बाध्यमि—

Fourth Plate : Second Side

38 नरस्वामिमु(सु) यवस्वामिसालिसाम्प्रभ—
39 तिथ्यशङ्क्यागमेमः भृगुप्रामः विकालिः—
40 काठमु आचरणात्वात्वा लोकस्—
41 लक्ष। विकालिका। निगोचिटज्ञारम्।
42 वहँकपतता।। आ(आ) चतात्वक।। शिश्व।(शिश)।—
43 याविका। बुधाठकयान्त।। मातापि। [ँ : ]

Fifth Plate

44 आयुर्वराज पृथ्वीरोचिवृद्धे। उदेर्युः—
45 श्रात्मा बसा।। वहुचित्रमुखा मुक्ता।
46 राजस्वामिसालिसाम्प्रभ:[1*] प्रथम प्रथय पदा।
47 भृत्रस्वामिः तत्व तत्र फलम्[2*]।। [711*]पस्य—
48 वर्णंव्रमिः। वहमो नोपथि भृमिः[1*]
49 आयुर्वराज वायुमुख्या च तमायेव नरके वसे[तैः]।। [811*]
50 सर्व २ नम्मं प २ विश २०[६*][५*]।।

Translation

(Lines 1—4) Success ! Obeisance to Purushottama : 
(Formerly) there (was), in the family of the descendants of Munḍa who performed an Aṣvamedha

1 Metre—Vasantatilakā.
2 Metre of this and the following verse—Aṇuḥpūḍh.
sacrifice, (a Brāhmaṇa named) Soma who belonged to the Bhāradyāja 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 praiseworthy 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 Rāṣṭra-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 Kumārāṃdāyas, the Daṇḍapāsikas the chaṭās, bhaṭas, the kāśṭhikas (*staff-bearers*), the Dūtapreshāṇikas, the Viniyuktakas and others who reside in the bhoga (*territorial division*) of Aṅkisṭhā 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, Chīnpallikā, Niggoṇḍijjhāra, Daharakapataṭtā, Āmravatāka, Śimśapādikā and Bujjatāka to the (*following*) Brāhmaṇas, (*viz.*) Mātulasvāmin of the Bhāradvaja gotra, Bhaṭṭasvāmin, Agnīsvāmin, Dītyasvāmin, Droṇasvāmin, Nannasvāmin, Śūryasvāmin, Kālīśarman, 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.
Devnī—Mori Casket Inscription of the Reign of Rudrasena: [Ābhira] Year 127.

A circular relic casket, 7 in. in diameter and 5 in. in height, was discovered inside a large Stūpa during excavations at Devnī-Mori near the village Sāmliji in the Sābarkāṁṭhā District of Gujarat, conducted by the Archaeological Department of the Mahārāja Sayājirao 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. 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 Chashṭana. 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 Agnīvarman and Sudarśana constructed a Mahā-Stūpa near Mahā-Vihāra. Its construction was supervised by the Buddhist Bhikshus Pāśāntika and Paḍḍa. The stone casket containing the relics of the Buddha was deposited under the paved floor of the Stūpa by Varāha,

---

1 JIF. XII, p. 174.
2 Sircar has read this name as Pul̄ja. Srinivasan has read the name as here.
the son of Sena. The famous Bhikshu Mahāsenā, 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 Chāshṭana. 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 Pārdi plates of the Trāikūṭa king Dahrasena, dated in the Ābhira Saṃvat 207 (A. D. 456-57).1 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 Kṣatrapa or Mahākṣatrapa would have been mentioned in it. Further, the family name Kāthika of the ruling king Rudrasena precludes the possibility of his being a descendant of Chāshṭana, who is known to have been of the Kārṇamakā 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 Ābhiras succeeded the Andhras (i.e. the Sātavāhanas). Ten Ābhira kings ruled for 167 years. This Rudrasena was probably of the Ābhira family. Like the Western Kshatrapas, the Ābhiras also had names ending in -senā. An inscription in Cave X at Nāsik mentions the Ābhira king Iśvarasena, son of

---

1 *CII. IV*, pp. 22 ff.
Śivadatta.\(^1\) The Ābhiras conquered Western Mahārāṣṭra, 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 Sābarakāmṭhā District which includes Devni-Mori lies just to the north of the Ahmedābad and Panchmahāl districts where inscriptions dated in the Ābhira era have been discovered.\(^2\) If Ābhira Rudrasena was ruling in these parts of Gujarāt, it is not unlikely that he had spread his power to the Sābarakāmṭhā District also some time before the Ābhira 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 Ābhira 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 pālli (village) named Pāśāntika near Kārma, and that it was the ancient name of Sāmlājī; but these readings and interpretations are wrong. There is no place mentioned in the present inscription.

Line

Text\(^3\)

(On the drum of the casket)

1 नमस्त्रांस्नात्तिय ॥ ताननमक्ष्याकावल्यांप्रभावविषये नमः \(11^*\) सम्प्रद-\(\text{संबुद्धस्वर्यविषये}^4 \] सन्तानविषयविशिष्टे\(\text{संबुद्धस्वर्यविषये}^4 \] सन्तानविषयविशिष्टे\(\text{संबुद्धस्वर्यविषये}^4 \] सन्तानविषयविशिष्टे \(11^*\) \]

2 म(प)द्रप्तप्रश्वरमिन्ने नूतो वीरविसेवने च \(9 \] िर्त्य \(11211^*\) कुम\(\text{र्त्य} \)मवनिन-\(\text{र्त्य} \)

---

\(^1\) CII. IV, p. 3.
\(^2\) Ibid. IV, pp. 17 ff.
\(^3\) From the plate opposite pp. 68-69 in EL. XXXVII.
\(^4\) Metre—Amśukāthā.
\(^5\) Run ṣūsu-śivārya-adhika which would be the correct form. It has been changed due to the exigencies of the metre.
\(^6\) Metre of verses 2 to 6—Amśukāthā.

Kṛtā and mahā-sātipaḥ which would be the correct forms have been changed matria cause.
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.

(Verse 2-3) When the year one hundred increased by twenty-seven of the Kathika kings had commenced, on the fifth day of Bhādrapāda, during the reign of the King, the illustrious Rudrasena, (this) Great Śūpā 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 Paṭḍa.

(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 Śūpā) 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.

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

\* The correct name was probably Mahāsena. It has been changed maiores ossia.
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 (Rishabhadatta) dated in the years 41, 42 and 45 in Cave No. X at Nāsik. The passages are given below for ready reference :—

Lines 1 and 2 : वह चाननं अश्वयनिनि काव्यापलातसहस्रानि विनि ३००० संध्या चालुक्तस्य वै इमसम लेणे कस्तानं भविष्यति निवरित [३००० कुशणमूले च]

Line 3 : एतो विवरित-सहस्रानि वै २००० ये पक्षे सते [२०००] एतो मम लेणे वस्त्रायण मिश्रणं वैसाक एक्तिका चिवरिक वारसक [२०००] या सहस्र प्रयुक्त पञ्चायन पक्षे सते अत्ति कुशणमूल [२०००]

In this inscription Ushavadāta tells us that he had invested 3,000 kārshāpaṇas (in the guilds at Govardhana) for supplying chivaras (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 chivaras at the interest of one pāṭika per hundred (per month). Out of the interest (amounting to 240 pāṭikas 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.

---

1 E.L., VIII, 82 f.
2 Smart's transcript shows kušana - at the end of the third line, but there also the correct reading is kuśana—
3 As Smart has shown, the interest mentioned is to be understood as monthly. See the Mimamsaśāstra, VIII, 142.
at the rate of three quarters of a paḍika per cent (per month), from the interest (amounting to 90 paḍikas\(^1\) or kārshāpaṇas) on which, kuśāṇa-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 kuśāṇa-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 kuśāṇa: (1) ku-asana, 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\(^2\) of the period which provided for the supply of twelve kārshāpaṇas to each monk for his chīvaras (clothing) and one more during a season (ṛitu-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.’\(^3\) 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

---

\(^1\) 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. Bhundarkar has given it correctly.

\(^2\) Nos. 15, 18, 21 and 23, ASWT., V.

\(^3\) 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 kūśāṇa-mūla i.e. the value of kūśāṇas. Looking, however, to the similar phraseology used in other cave inscriptions of the period, I have shown elsewhere that kūṣaṇa of this must correspond to paṭika (pratika) of other cave epigraphs, and must denote a specific coin. And I have further ventured to express the view that kūṣaṇa in particular denotes the silver coinage of Nahapāna and was so called because he issued it for his Kūṣaṇa 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 kūṣaṇa for every one of the four months of the rainy season. Evidently, therefore, 80 kūṣaṇas 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 kūṣaṇa was to be given to each monk. Besides, the inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna use only two terms, kārshāpaṇa and suvarṇa,¹ the former evidently for his own silver coins and the latter for the gold coins of the Kūṣaṇas which must have been in circulation in his realm. Kūṣaṇa, as a coin, is nowhere used in any of his inscriptions.

D. C. Sircar understands kūṣaṇa in the sense of kṛṣṭāṇa (minor food).² Ushavadāta had already provided for the chief food of monks living in his cave. See El., VIII p. 78.—एतो मम लेगे वस्ताने चानुप्रीसस भिक्षुस्थवस

¹ El., VIII, p. 82.
²Sircar, Select inscriptions, (first ed.), p. 159.
There is no point in providing for minor food again.

Since no explanation offered so far is satisfactory, we propose a new one. Kuśana-mūla is probably a mistake for kuśala-mūla. 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 kārṣṭāpanas 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 Ābhira king Isvarasena, for instance, records that a pious Śaka female lay-worshipper named Vīṣṇudattā made some permanent endowments in the guilds at Nāsik for the supply of medicines to sick monks (gīlāna-bheshaj-ārthān). Ushavadātā also seems to have provided for a similar purpose out of the interest on the second investment of 1,000 kārṣṭāpanas at the rate of three quarters of a paṭāka (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

1 See e.g. Navas-para-vanit in the Nāsik Cave Inscriptions of Pułumāvi (No. 19), which is plainly a mistake for Nova-narasa-vanit. It cannot mean 'the new lord'; for the inscription is of Pułumāvi's 22nd regnal year. It has remained uncorrected like kuśana-mūla. Another instance is the royal name Bhavatīva-arman of a Nāla king occurring in the Rāthpur plates (EI., XIX, pp. 100 ff.). It was supposed to be the correct name of the king until we showed from the Edunga hoard of Nāla coins that the correct name was Bhavadumāva-man. See JNES., I, 29 ff.

2 CII., IV, p. 3.
intended word. It was written as kuśaṇa-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 Kharoshṭhi Inscriptions edited by Sten Konow, the word kuśala-mūla occurs in three passages,. 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 कुः
   9: शलमुलेन कुशेहि च वच्चेहि च
   10: समं सद महत
   11: भग्नर स्वर्भुविन्दस [ı*]

Translation—Through this root of bliss, together with the Buddhhas and Śrāvakas, may it for ever be for the principal share of (my) brother Svarabuddhi!

(II) Hitā Inscription of the Year 28 (CII, II, i, p. 158).

Line 2: एतेन कुशलमुलेन तेष धर्मं अभिचल्लति तेष धर्मं भवे जस्व देवसत्व निर्मल संभरेय भवतु रजस अग्रभ्रं चारे ।

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 कुशलमुलेन महरजरजिरज—हुविष्कृत अयथायएभवतु [ı*]

Translation—Through this root of bliss, may it be for the principal lot of Mahārāja-Rājātīrāja Huvishka.

1 CII. II, i.
In all these places Sten Konow has translated kuśalamaṇḍa 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 Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. We have recently noticed it in the Tummalagudem plates of the Vishṇukaṇḍin king Govindavarman. ¹ See the following passage (Ep. Andhr., II, p. 11)—Lines 21—23—

Line 21: स्वर्या अप्र- 
² Line 22: महिष्या परमहार्देव्या विहारस्य दीपकूकनाथपुणयमेव- पाण्डोजनणयानानम्भान- 
² Line 23: मैपधःपञ्जकपञ्चक्षणसंस्काराधिकुकलमूलानान्तः- दार्ष्येु मु. . . . .

Here the expression पाण्डोजनणयानानम्भानमैर्ष्य- 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.

¹ 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. = Brahmana; Bu. = Buddhist; ca. = capital; ci. = city; co. = country; com. = commentator; dy. = dynasty; ep. = epithet; f. = female; fam. = family; fra. = fraternity; gen. = general; k. = king; ksh. = Kshatriya; lo. = locality; m. = man; mts. = 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; tm. = town; vi. = village; w. = wife; wk. = work.

A

Abhidhammakhajamani, wk. 3. [138].
Abhinandana, au. [138].
Abhira era, 159 n., 168, [51], [53], [111].
Abhira, r. 130, 131, 134, 145-147 n., 148, 144, 154, 168, 174, [223].
Abhirā, dy. [75], [280].
Abhyutamukhānī, [148].
Abhīrī, co. [175].
Abudāmā, kn., 56, 57.
Achala, monk, 74, 75.
Akhārya, tīrī, 94.
Ādhyakṣa, r. a. Śākayāhana, k. [28] n.
Ādhyāyakṣa, au. [190], [191], [203].
Ādityarāja, wk. [194].
Ādityarājika, Māndā k. 156-160. [120].
Advaita-Śvetānta [234].
Agamita, monk, [160].
Agīyatanaka, min. 21, 23.
Agimipura, r. [89].
Aginnākhaśā, Br. 138.
Agiravadana, monk, 167, 190.
Agniśudhaya, sa. 8, 15.
Agrimavāla, V. S. [248].
Agrya - padgala, 'best of beings' 81.
āhūra, t. d. [120].
Aṅkikiṅa, kn. [90].
Aṅkālaka, Yūkha, 24, 27 and n.
Aṅkālikāki, tiṭṭā, [121], [149].
Aṅkāeka, co. 42, 44, 46, 109 n., 123, 124, 128, [32], [70], [71], [105], [122].
Aṅkūbāhāya, Commentary, [233].
Aṅkūṣṭānsi, [234].
Āḷberuni, au. [98].
Aṅkūṣṭānama, Greek k. [137].
Aṅkūszā, A. S., 22, [61], [62], [66], [65], n. [73], [79] - [82], [92], [101], [105].
Aṅkaṇakṣā, nr. [250].
Aṅkāyika, off. 24, 27, 30, m. 31, 68, 69, 83, 84, n. 85, 113, 114.
Aṅkūṣṭaka, Rishiprapāṭha k. [183].

A—contd.

Āmrakagārtikā, vi. 157, 162, 166.
Āmravatāka, vi. 157, 162, 166.
Ānanda, foreman', 3, 4, [21].
Ānanda, m. 71, 73, 76.
Ānarta, co. 123, 128, 129, [71].
Andhra, dy. [137].
Andhra-lakṣham, poetess, [181].
Āṭu, co. [136].
Āṭugīa, family 8, 9, 15, [20].
Āṅgirasākhyayana, sa. 8, 9, 16, [23], [25].
Āṅgirasādītātra, sa. 8, 16, [23].
Āṅkīsātibābha, t. d. 157, 162.
Antekīṇa, Greek k. [137].
Antialcidas, Greek k. [21], [89], [133].
Antiyoga, Greek k. [132].
Antgāmi, lo. 103, 105.
Antilakshmi, poetess, [181].
Anuloma marriage system [155].
Anūpa, co. 42, 44, 46, 61, 123, 124, 128, [32], [70], [71], [92], [106].
Anurādhā, poetess, [181].
Anuśāsanaparvan, wk. [49].
Anvārambhaṇya, sa. 8, 15, [23].
Apaṃbhrasīla, dialect [188], [191].
Apara-Kakhaṭi, vi. 24, 26, 27.
Aparaṇāta, co. 42, 44, 46, 123, 124, 128, [32].
Aparaśailikā, Bu. sect. [143].
Apareṇu, m. 71, 73.
Apareṇuka, m. 74 — 76.
Āparastamba, au. [127], [129], [154].
āśara, [156, [157], [159], [165], [177].
Āparastamba-dharmasūtra, wk. 8 n., [135], [150], [152].
Āpīlaka, Sākāyana k. [5], [27].
Apolloidotus, Greek k. 112.
Aptoryāma, sa. 8, 16, [23].
Arahālaya, min. 21, 23.
Ariake, co. 101, 175.
Arjukāyana, erīve [71].
Arjukādāna, wk. [173].
A

Āryadeva, au. [231], [235].
āryaka (s. a. araka) ep. 2276.
Āryaman, off. 113.
Āryāvarta, co. [81].
Āsaka (s. a. Aśmaka) 42, 43, 46, 61, 92.
Āśādhhasena, k. [88].
Asdhādyāyi, wk. [212].
Asika (s. a. Bishika) co. [92].
Asikanagara, m. [12], [91].
Aśmaka, co. [136].
Aśoka, Maurya k. 2, 5, 10, 42, 43, 46, 61, 121, 122, 128, 160, [1], [5], [7], [8], [10], [16], [18], [88], [94], [95], [99], [137], [143] k. [177], [236], [251], [253], [254], [292].
Āśrāmas, duties of [157] — [158].
Āśvaghoṣa, au. [231].
Āśvamedha, sū. 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, 110, 113, 158, 164, [23], [54] - [56], [59], [80], [95].
Āśvamedha coin [23].
Āśvinī, m. [170].
Āśvinī, constellation, 130.
Augustus, Roman k. [167].
Aupaśati, gotera 118, 119.
Avanti, co. [136].
Avantisundārī-kaṭhā, wk. [192], [220] — [222].
Āveśanika, fireman, [21].
Ayitilu, Br. [147], [157].
Āyaka platform [254].
Azes II, Saka k. 101, [61].

B

Bahalārīkā, commentary, 157 m.
Bāla-śīlā, Gautamī, q. 33, 41-43, 46, 51m.
Balekunāras, feu. [47], [169], [274].
Bāpā, au. 140, [28], [179], [190], [191], [194], [201], [202], [231].
Banerji, R. D. 3, 117, 118 m., 130, 135, 138, 139, [87], [91], [92].
Bāpāka, m. 130, 131.
Baras [91].
Barygaza, [172], [175].
Bēṣa, s. a. Vaingāgā, 25.
Bēṣa-kārpara-bhoga, r. d. [228].
Bēṇākata, Bēṇākata, r. d. 2, 4, 25, 27, 50 and m., 51, 52, 54, 55, [124], [228].
C.—contd.

Charana-vyāha, wk. [150].

Chārūdatta, wk. [215], [219].

Chashṭana, Chāshṭana, ksh. [115] — [119], [120] — [122], [127], 130, 131, 134, 137, 140, 145 — [149], 154, 155, 156, 167, [29], [30], [35], [36], [63], [68] — [71], [80], [100], [103], [105], [110] — [113], [118], [229], [249], [250]; his statue at Māt [69].

Chāta, 'Policeman' [157 n.], [126].

Chatarapāna (? Sāvāhāna k. 63, 64, [41].

Chatub-lataka, wk. [235].

Chaudhari, S. N. 167, 169.

Chātra-śindha, Sāvāhāna k. [188].

Checchini, lo. [103] — 105.

Chedi, co. [136].

Chedi Sarnath [111].

Chetkiya, Bu. Secr, 158, 159.

Cheula, port [121].

Chhabra, B. Ch. 140.

Chhaharātā, a. a. Kahaharāta, dy. [61].

Chhandomapavamanātrirātra, as. 8, 16, [23].

Chhappanaya, poets, [191] — [193], [223].

Chhappanayagāhā, wk. [192].

Chhāyā-kharibbho, 'Sculptured pillar' 145, 150, [84], [245].

Chhāyā-prastara, 'Sculptured stone' 60, 61, [36].

Chikhalaputra, vi. 97, 98, 100, [64], [121].

Chikhalilka, vi. 157, 162, 166.

Chimuka, a. a. Simuka, [17].

Chhibapaliikā, vi. 157, 162, 166.

Chimulgunj, P. G. 11.

Chivara, 'clothing' 97, 171.

Chola, dy. [137].

Chōlik-Paisākhi, diacrit. [208], [210].

Chutukula, fam. 91, [48], [49].

Chutukula Sātakarni, Sāvāhāna k. [12], [42].

Chutukulānanda, &. 87, 94, [46], [50]. [121].

Clay sealings 140, [173].

Coins of —
— copper [173].
— gold [174].
— lead [174].
— potins [174].
— silver [174].

D — of (1) Chetukulānanda [277].

(2) the Kāshtrakas: Āvaradatta [279].

[280], Bhūmaka [278], Chāshṭana [278], [279], Dāmaraja [278].

Nahapāna [278], Rudrāshinha [280].

(3) the Kusa Kings [274].

(4) the Mahishā Kings [48 L], [273], [276].

(5) the Sāvāhānas-Āḷśikas [267], Chandrāsāiva ti [273], Gauamgputra Sātakarni [267], [268], Karpī Sātakarni [273], Kumhibha Sātakarni [273], Pulūmāvi II [273], Ṛktri Kamar [266], [267], Sātakarni I [23], [265], [266], Sātakarni I and Nāgamāla [266], Sāvāhāna [253], [254], Simuka [265], Śikandha Sātakarni [269], Vijaya Sātakarni [270], Vīśha Sātakarni [42], [272].

(6) the Siμkhas [273].

Coomarasvamy [247], [256].

Cunningham 3, [110], [113].

D — Dāsaka (Dāsaka-parshu) 'Śītas' [141].

Dāhanukā, vi. 109, 110, 112, [64].

Dāhanukāngara, ms. 103—105.

Dāmarakapāṭ赌gh, vi. 159, 162, 166.

Dahalama, Trāikītaka k. 168.

Dakhaharika, w. of Sāhshotra, 105—107, [141], [147], [249].

Dakshidāpati, co. 9, 15, 43, 48, 119, 123, 128, [49], [107].

Dakshīnāpathapati, tīr. 9, 10, [17], [21]. [36], [119].

Dakshināpathapati, tī. 41, 42.

Dingnghosha, ms. 66.

Dumgahuddha, ksh. [47].

Dummaraja, ksh. [135].

Dummaraja-śīri I, ksh. [239].

Dummaraja-śīri II, ksh. [77], [78].

Dumma, vi. 109, 110, 112, [64].

Dummasena, ksh. [55], [78].

Dumapāṭīka, of. [126].

Dudīris, co. 193, [203], [208], [210], [227], [292], [293], [295].

Dudkumādeśavṛkha, wk. [92].

Dūṣyapura, ms. 108, 118, 132, [65].

Dūṣyapura, Māraṣcāni k. 5, 10, [5].

Dūṣyapura, ms. 125.

Dūṣyapura, wk. 134.
INDEX

G—contd.

85, 117, 154, [4]r., [15], [31]—[35], [47], [48], [63], [67], [70], [85], [92], [93], [101], [103], [104], [110], [111], [114], [116]—[118], [122], [124], [128], [134], [141], [147], [153], [170], [175], [206], [229], [240], [243], [251], [278], [294].

Gavāmayaṇa, sa. 8, 16.

Girinagara, m. 127, 736, [121].

Gokhale, Shobhana, 115, 153, 154 n., [50], [51], [75].

Gokhale, V. V., [234] n., [14].

Gopala, q. v. [88].

Gokardhana, in., 24—27, 32, 34, 49, 51, 52, 55—56, 96, 97, 99, 106, 107, [112], [113], [117].

Grāmānti, ‘headman of village’ [12].

Gramaṇa-patra, village headman’s son [127].

Greek, q. v. [59].

Grierson, [209].

Grīhapati, “a householder”, 58, 59, 62, 78, 85, [127], [142].

Guganā, m. 145, 148.

Guilis, 96, 98, [172].

Guṇḍāṭha, sa. [193]—[200], [205], [206].

Gupta, dy. [7], [57], [82].

Gupta, k.[13].

Gupta, P. L. S., 51.

Gupta Sārinvat, 111.

H

Haimavata, Bœ. Sect. [144].

Hakura, Sāturāḥana k. 17—22, [6], [19], [20] aad n., [26], [249].

Hāla, Sāturāḥana k. [28], [29], [178], [179], [206], [294], [295].

Hālanjikā, f. 80.

Haradattā, com. [151].

Harapharaga, m. 56, 57, [147].

Haraprasad Śastri, [235].

Harilovaka, goitra, 145, 148.

Harishena, Vākāṭaka k., 26, 169.

Hārikātigatra, birūda, 87—90, 92-94, [45].

Hāritāvijaya, wk. [191].

Harivīrdevadha, sa. [189], [190], [203].

Harsha, k. 140, [29], [215].

Harshhacharin, wk. 28, 140, [179], [181], [194], [202] n., [230].

H—contd.

Heliodora, s. a. Heliodorus, eff. [146].

Heliodorus, eff. [5], [89], [133].

Hermaphroditus, m. 3, [187], [188].

Hermaphroditus, m. 3, [187], [188].

Hermaphroditus, m. 3, [187], [207], [208], [210].

Herodotus, m. [176].

Hiravat, m. 46.

Hiravāṇa, Bœ. Sect. [116], [144], [243].

Hippoklēa, dy. [47]—[168], [274].

Hirarandha Śastri, [137].

Hiraṇyadātu, Pilgrim, [231], [232], [235].

Hirerla, 106, 138, 139.

Hollākā, festival, [163].

Holtzahn, 23, 28, 31, 32, 49, 58, 66.

Hūrea, dy. [153], [154].

Hushka, k., [232].

Huvahanka, Kāthāsa k., 153, [175], [63], [103], [113].

I

Ikk, r., 109, 110, 112, [64].

Idamor, s. a. Indamaugazaka, 94.

Ikohvika, dy. [14], [17], [56], [77], [153], [254].

Indradeva, munī, [146].

Indrāśvaja, festival, [164].

Indrāṅgasadatta, m. [147].

Indrāṅgāvāra, m. [89].

Inheritance, [158].

Interest, rate of, [173].

Iru, m. [251].

Iruka, m. 38, 39.

Ivaramadha, m. 18n., 97m., [3], [43], [50]—[52], [73], [76].

Ivaramadha, Abhidra k., 168, [53].

J

Jacob, 222.

Jaitzaka, m. 154, 156.

Jambudvīpa, co. [143].

Jainindravarṇa, 122, 133, 142 and m., 143.

Janashīdhran, 62.

Janapuda, ‘Country’, [120].

Jātakas, wk. [255].

Jauvākam, m. 117—119, 120—122, [130], 131, 134 and m., 135, 139, 140, [76], [100], [131]; his coins [78].

Jayamāda, k., [97] n., [98], [91], [92].

Jayula, m. 131, 152.

Jhula, C. C., [218].

Jimunam, m. [194].
INDEX

J—contd.

Jayasimhan, ksh. 132, [74], [77], [80],
[210].

Jay—med., op. 32, 33,

Joss Family System, [158].

Jouvesdu Dubetul, [110].

Junnar, ce. of Nalapadna, [64].

Javika, k. [212].

Jav Kiranik, f. 73.

Jyoshthandilika, constellation, 118.

Jyeshthavirka, f. 118.

K

Kachchh, ce. 123, 124, 126.

Kadambo, dy. 87, 88, [37], [45].

[152].

Kalambo, wk. [194], [220], [231].

Kadphises I, Kasthama k. 173.

KAltata, m. 58, 59, [251].

Kalkhid, wk. 32, 33, 35.

Kalkuchi, dy. 159, [55], [154].

Kalkuchi, Etu. [114], [223], [279].

Kalkukshikrika, Munu, 60.

Kalsupharya-Kalsupikara, wk. [60].

Kalipa, Vyaikara, wk. [211].

Kalpyatama, ka. 71, 72, 73, 786. [172].

Kalhama, ce. [232].

Kalikukka, m. 215, [83], [90], [136].

[139], [194], [223], [228].

Kaltingalhipati, unt. [49].

Kalinarman, br. 158, 166.

Kalipana, ka. 78, 80.

Kamsumka, wk. [19].

Karnavara, wk. 62, 66.

Kambilga, ce. [136], [137].

Kangadhiprakosa, Karnrika, [141].

Kashu (Krishna), Snavahama k. 3.

Kanhu—Vrushali, s. a. Vrushali, [11], [27],
[91], [93].

Kanikshas, Kasthama k. 115, 154, [29].

[31], [64], [63], [68], [198].

[109], [113], [114], [229], [232], [230].

Kavaya, dy. [21], [89], [90], [152].

Karpanakara, m. 21, 23.

Karpati, 75n.

Karpara, ka. 97, 98, 100.

Kapudhikara, e. d. [120].

Karnabenik, wk. 109, 110, 112, [64].

Karahanikara, e. d. [121].

Karana, m., [172].

Karajika, x. a. Karajika, 29, 101, 102,
[121].

Kardamana, fam. 68, 69, 115, 168, [67],
[68].

Karmanjotika, "Superintendent" [125].

Karmarkar, R. D. [228].

Karmancharya, Ex. off. [124], [107].

Karosa, Sastsavara k. [15], [46], [182].

Karosa, Kalsavara k. [154].

Karupamarana, wk. [49].

Karuparamalika, wk. [189], [190].

Karihappana, coin, 8, 16, 76, 76, 97
and m. 99, 102, 103, 105, 108, 110,
112, 132, 171, 172, [23], [101], [147],
[173], [178].

Kalyapaliya, Bsl. Sect, 55, [144].

Kalshtika, "staff-bearer" 158, 166, [126].

Kali, holy tn. [136].

Kalsambara Vyaikara, wk. [203], [211].

Katare, 18.

Kalsambara Vyaikara, wk. [13], [28], [193].

[196], [199], [200], [204], [222],
[235].

Kali, dy. 167, 168, 170.

Kaltyanana, m. [291].

Kamalara Vyaikara, wk. [211].

Kausambi, ce. [207].

Kausikiputra, m. 39, 40.

Kausikiputra Satakarna, k. [15], [45],
[107].

Kausika gotra, 70.

Kausikya, m. [173].

Keryudhika, wk. [193], [202], [203],
[210], [293].

Keryumudangika, wk. [28], m. [207].

Keith [180], [223].

Kekapura, ka. 103—105.

Keva—dina, 135.

Khada—Satakarna, x. a. Skanda Satakarna,
k. 64.

Khada—sati, x. a. Skanda Sati, off. 54.

Khr Верns, m. 139, 140.

Khuravela, k. of Kalina [5]. [10].

[12], [22], [23], [49], [87], [89].

[245].

Kiellhorn 122, [104] and m.

Kiri—parjanya, wk. [191].

Kolikas, "wonderer" [172].

Kondamahika, m. 88, 89.

Kosha, "anthology" [28], [29], [179],
[180].

Kosala, ce. [136].
K—contd.

Kosikiputa, m. [14].
Kosikiputa Mitadeva, m. [122].
Ko’hala, au. [189].
Krishna, ‘incarnation of Vishnu’ [14].
Krishna, Sātavahana k. [1, 2, 5, 18, [16].
[18], [19], [26], [93], [147].
Krishnagiri, mo. [42, 44, 46, 65—71, 73.
[32].
Krishnarūja, Kālacuri k. [159]. [55].
Krishna Sāstri 83, 84 and n.
Kahaharata, jan. 43, 47, 96, 105—108,
112, [32], [47], [100], [280].
Kshatrapa, ‘Governor’ [96, 107, 112, 116,
122, 130, 131, 168, [29], [59], [62].
[75], [109].
Kshatrapāvan, ‘Provincial Governor’ [59].
Kshemendra, au. [195].
Kshirabām, tr. [250].
Kshudrakas, a gana [122].
Kuberan, k. [10].
Kukura, co. [42, 44, 46, 123 124, 128,
[32], [70].
Kulaiipa, m. [123, 129, [71].
Kularikas, ‘potters’ [172].
Kumāra, tit. 149, 150, [19].
Kumāradatta, off. 83, [18].
Kumārajiva, au. [232], [233], [235].
Kumāralāta, au. [232], [235].
Kumārāmāya, off, 150, 157 and n. 160,
166, [126].
Kumārapālaścharita, wk. [210].
Kumārārāma, te. [250].
Kumāravarana, s. a. Kārtinkeya [25] and n.
Kumbha Sātakarni, Sātavahana k. [15],
[24].
Kundangara, [274].
Kuntala, co. 61, [33], [36], [93].
Kuntala Sātakarni, Sātavahana k. [10].
Kura, dy. [46], [136], [168].
Kusumamāla (for Kusalamāla) 72, 97, 99
and n., 171, 176, [67].
Kusalamāla, 174—176.
Kushāvati, co. [226], [227], [243].
Kushaṅga, dy. [149, 611, [771], [84], [229].
Kushulaka, ksh. [61].
Kutumbin, ‘a farmer’ [127].
Kvañayamāla, wk. [180], [191], [194],
[206].

L.

Lacote [201], [206], [210].
Lambodara, Sātavahana k. [?], [27].

Language—

Prakrit, 1, 3, 6, 18, 21, 24, 29, 32, 35, 36,
39, 41, 49, 56, 60, 62, 66, 70, 71, 75,
76, 78, 80, 81, 83, 85, 87, 90, 92, 96,
101, 103, 105, 106, 108, 113, 115,
120, 132, 134, 137, 138, 141, 142,
149, 151.
Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit, 153, [283].
Laohulalakā, vī. 157, 162, 166.
Lilājīnl, wk. [29], [189].
Lokeśvaravarāṇa, Bu. Sect. [143].
Lotā f. door-keeper 32, 35, [160].
Lūdres, 1m., 3m., 12m., 21m., 23m., 28m.,
32m., 35m., 36m., 38m., 39m., 40m., 41m.,
49m., 55m., 58m., 62m., 66m., 68q., 70m.,
71m., 74m., 76m., 78m., 79m., 87m., 90m.,
95m., 100m., 103m., 105m., 106m., 108m.,
113m., 122m., 130m., 135 and n., 137m.,
138m., [87].

M.

Machā, mo. 42, 44, 46.
Maczenai, [251].
Madana, m. 118, 119.
Madana Festival, [164], [165].
Madanānīdhrakā, q. [206].
Mādhavavaruna, Vīshṇukumāra k. 159,
[53].
Mādhavā, porters [181].
Mādhukāna, m. 113, 116.
Mādhurāmīka-kārtikā, wk. [233], [235].
Mādhurāmīka Systems [233].
Magp, k. [137].
Magudha, co. [136].
Magulathōna, ko. 71, 72.
Maha-afareka, "Great Lord", 50m.
Makhā-Ārakya, s. a. above 54 n.
Makhāhāra, wk. [49], [92], [134],
[141], [193], [235].
Makhāhārana, m. [141].
Makhāhāri, bhū. [120], [141].
Makhāhuvi, s. a. Makhāhāri 94.
Makhā-Chaitika, Śīkṣa at Amarnāta 58,
59, 151.
Mahādeva, Vāmana k. 88, [19].
Mahādeva, Bu. munk. [137].
Mahādeva, nī. 32, 34, 43, 42, 48, [30],
[141].
Mahādhamarakahūta, Bu. munk. [137],
[293].
INDEX

M—contd.

Mall, co. [136].
Māmūja, t. d. 30.
Māndāla, t. d. 29 and n. 30, 31.
Mārapārabha, t. d. [120].
Mambārus, [65] n.
Mammatā, au. [184].
Māna, Śaka k., 90, [32], [47], [50], [105], [182]; his coins, [105].
Mānava, jotra, [87]—[89].
Mandara, mo. 46, [248], [249].
Māṇḍākyopaniṣad, wik. [234].
Māṇḍaka, lyric, [191].
Māṇḍala-sūtra, ko. 73.
Māṇḍarala, Ćalukya k. [18].
Māṇḍalaka, Sātvāhāma k. [29].
Manu, m. [153], [157], [177].
Manusmṛti, wik. 115n., 137, 161, [177], [178].
Marga-bandhau, 144, 153.
Marshall, 3, 21, 22, [6], [239].
Maru-deśa, co. 124, 128.
Māthariputra, me. 78—80, [42], [47], [153].
Māthariputra Śakasena, Sātvāhāma k. 78—80.
Masti-sūtsa, mūn. [124].
Matsya, co. [136].
Matsya-parājjas, wik. [3], [4].
Māntakāsā, Br. 158, 166.
Māras, k. [66], [122, 128.
Mauya, dy. 122, 128, [59], [96], [99], [244].
Mākāvāla, [234].
Medhuma, off. 50, 54.
Meghasvāti, Sātvāhāma k. [27], [28].
Mehraudale, M. A., [284].
Mehta, R. N., 167, 169.
Menander, Greek k., [112].
Meru, m. 46.
Minnagura, cap. 101.
Mītardeva, m. 4n.
Mitchel, 28, 32.
Mitra-deva, m. 39, 40.
Mogali-potta, m. [14].
Mogali-putta Tissa, m. [137], [293].
Mother Goddess, [149].
Mūrāchchakarika, wik. [123], [163], [164], [166], [207], [214].
Mūrjendrā Sātakara-pā, Sātvāhāma k. [107].
Mudāmāna, k. [46].
Mukhrījoe, B. N. 143, 146, 147.
INDEX

M—contd.

Mulaka, co. 43, 46, 61. [32].
Mulasrama, m. [158].
Muley, P. M. 156.
Muoda, Br. 158, 165. [54], [123]. [136].
Muoda, dy. 161, 164. [13]. [13]. [120].
Musikanagara, m. [22]. [91].

N

Näbhākā, lb. [137].
Nabhapāntki, lb. [137].
Nāga, race, 18, [14]. [89]. [90].
Nāgamulānīkā, princess, 90, 91, 93, 94n.
[45].
Nāganiṅka, Sāvatthu, q. 3. — 16, 17
and n., 19, 20, [5], [6], [8], [13] —
[17], [19], [20], [23] — [26], [46],
[96] Jr. [121], [133], [134], [160],
[166], [178], [249].
Nagarch, B. C. 144, 153.
Nāgarjuna, 58, [144], [231], [232].
[234], [238], [251].
Nahapāna, K. K. 24, 25, 29, 30, 96, 99,
101, 102, 105 — 108, 112 — 114, 116,
117, 149, 154, [18], [30] and n., [31].
[48], [61] — [68], [84], [85], [100] —
[111], [113], [117], [175], [229],
[240], [243], [285], his coins, [67],
[278].
Nākāṅka, f. 58, 59.
Namāṁsa, k. 51n. 101, [175].
Nāmanighola, lb. 111, 112, [64].
Namavati, G. N. 120, 121.n.
Nanda, dy. [97] — [99], [226].
Nanda era [98].
Nandana, m. 134.
Nandapāntki, f. [138].
Nandivīriddha, anu. [189]. [190], [203].
[295].
Nandiyādhu, anu. [190].
Nannarāja, Rāṣṭrakūṭa k. 157.
Nannasvāmin, Br. 155, 166.
Narasirha Murthy, 59.
Narasvāhana, k. [66].
Narasvāhanadatta, k. [206].
Narseha, Sasanian k. [79].
Nāṣika, lb. 1, 2, [121], [172].
Nāṭaka, m. 94.
Nāyika, Sāvatthu, an. [290].
Navanagara, m. 49, 52, 53, [121].
Nāyaniṅka, s. a. Nāganīṅka, 17, 18.
Nepalā-mahāśīrṣya, anu. [199]. [205].

N—contd.

Nāgams-aṅghā, 97, and n. [127], [172],
[173].
Nāgacandhiṅka, ni. 157, 162, 166.
Nāvāna, 175.
Nāvāka, co. 123, 126, 128.
Nāvīravas, land-measure, 24, 27, 32, 33.

O

Odayantrika, ‘manufacturer of hydraulic
machines’, [172].
Okalākṣya, lb. 39, 40.
Oldenberg, [113].
Oliver, [228] Jr.
O’Reilly, 21, 95, 103, 105, 108.

P

Paṇḍja, m. n., 167, 170.
Paṇḍja, s. a. Kūrśāya, coin, 96, 99
and n., 171, 172.
Paṇḍravīśhiṅka, anu. [219], [230].
Paṇḍravīśhiṅka, m. [146].
Paṇḍravīśhiṅka, m. [160].
Pahāra, tribe, 43, 47, 123, 128, [36],
[37], [120], [177].
Paiṅakti, ‘Ajanț Caves, [260], [261].
Paiṅakṣa dialect, [199], [204], 209, 210.
Paṅktini, ni. 122, 124, 127.
Paṅkti, m. 115, 116.
Paṅkti, s. a. Pāṇḍravīśhiṅka, anu. [181],
[188].
[189], [192], [203], [295].
Paṅkti, co. [136].
Panchamukhi, 92.
Panchahāya System, [127].
Pandey, G. 62.
Pandiya, dy. [197].
Pāṇḍina, anu. [203]. [211], [211].
Pāṇḍiyarāja, office, [67], [125].
Pāṇḍrāja, ni. 109, 113, [64].
Pāṇḍravīśhiṅka, tit. [125].
Pāṇḍravīśhiṅka, title, [234].
Pāṇḍravīśhiṅka, title, [125].
Pāṇḍravīśhiṅka, m. [160].
Pāṇḍravīśhiṅka, s. a. Pāṇḍravīśhiṅka
and n., 31, 38.
Pāṇḍravīśhiṅka, tribe, [39].
Pāṇḍravīśhiṅka, m. 167, 170.
Pāṇḍravīśhiṅka, ni. 103.
Pāṇḍravīśhiṅka, m. [160].
Pāṇḍravīśhiṅka, s. a. Pāṇḍravīśhiṅka
and n., 31, 38.

P
INDEX

R—contd.

Rāmakṛṣṇa, Šākta, 27, 29, 72, 95—
113, 155, [ 30 ], [ 64 ], [ 65 ]—
[ 67 ], 109, [ 124 ], [ 129 ], [ 131 ], [ 135 ],
[ 141 ], [ 147 ], [ 154 ], [ 170 ], [ 172 ],
[ 178 ], [ 214 ], [ 240 ], [ 282 ], [ 294 ].
Rāshbhādeva, m., 118, 119.
Rāshkika, co., [ 11 ], [ 32 ].
Rode, V. P., 156.
Rohini, constellation, 111.
Roman Amphora, [ 115 ].
Roman Art, influence of, [ 287 ].
Royal duties, [ 128 ].
Rudra Śātkarkṣa, Śāṃśālāma k., [ 44 ],
[ 45 ].
Rudrābhūti, aff., 130, 131.
Rudrādāman II, ksh., 146, [ 81 ], [ 280 ],
[ 283 ].
Rudrasena I, ksh., 137—142, 167, 168,
170, [ 77 ], [ 81 ].
Rudrasena II, ksh., [ 78 ], [ 79 ].
Rudrasena III, ksh., [ 80 ]—n., [ 82 ].
Rudrasena IV, ksh., [ 82 ].
Rudrasena, Aśvāra k., 169.
Rudrasena II, ksh., 130—135, 137—140,
142, 155, [ 74 ], [ 75 ]; his coin, [ 76 ].
Rudrasena II, ksh., [ 80 ].
Rudrasena III, ksh., 146, [ 81 ], [ 280 ].
Rupīṣṭa, m., 149, 150, [ 30 ], [ 84 ],
[ 85 ], [ 113 ], [ 229 ], [ 243 ].
Rāshtra-mahārāja, Maṇḍhara k., 159, 161,
165, [ 3 ], [ 54 ], [ 56 ], [ 133 ].
Rāṣṭrika, aff., [ 120 ].
Rāṣṭrika, off., 122.
Rasopadārac, vi., 130, 131.
Rathika, fem., [ 1 ], [ 7 ], [ 93 ].
Ratnāvali, w., [ 29 ], [ 215 ].
Raychaudhuri, [ 98 ].
Receives, 95, 106, 108.
Regarēvaradāva, m., 154, 156.
Reva, poetress, [ 181 ].
Rice, 87.
Rigveda, w., 33.
Rikṣhavat, m., 42, 44, 46, [ 32 ].
Rishabhā, f., 38.
Rishabhadatta, Šākta, 27, 29, 72, 95—
113, 155, [ 30 ], [ 64 ], [ 65 ]—
[ 67 ], 109, [ 124 ], [ 129 ], [ 131 ], [ 135 ],
[ 141 ], [ 147 ], [ 154 ], [ 170 ], [ 172 ],
[ 178 ], [ 214 ], [ 240 ], [ 282 ], [ 294 ].
Rishabhadeva, m., 118, 119.
Rishkika, co., [ 11 ], [ 32 ].
Rōde, V. P., 156.
Rohini, constellation, 111.
Roman Amphora, [ 115 ].
Roman Art, influence of, [ 287 ].
Royal duties, [ 128 ].
Rudra Śātkarkṣa, Śāṃśālāma k., [ 44 ],
[ 45 ].
Rudrābhūti, aff., 130, 131.
Rudrādāman I, Šākta ksh., 4, 6, 63, 68, 69
and n., 115, 116—132, 134, 137, [ 35 ],
[ 36 ], [ 39 ], [ 41 ], [ 46 ], [ 66 ], [ 68 ],
[ 70 ], [ 72 ], [ 74 ], [ 100 ], [ 102 ],
[ 103 ], [ 104 ], [ 105 ], [ 118 ], [ 120 ],
[ 128 ], [ 153 ], [ 178 ], [ 214 ], [ 230 ].

Sāha, aff., [ 82 ].
Sadda, r. a., Śākta kṣara, Śāṃśālāma k., 67.
Sada, k., of Kalāśa, [ 49 ].
Sadakāga Kalāśa, fem., 8m., [ 46 ], [ 120 ].
Sadukāga-dāšāvarādhana, [ 148 ].
Sāhāliṣə, vi., 89, 89.
Sāhāya, m., 42, 44, 46.
Sāhāyakrī, m., [ 32 ].
Sajayata, h., 94.
Sākapas, Śāṃśālāma k., [ 42 ], [ 43 ].
Sāku, rau, tribe, 103, 105, [ 14 ], [ 32 ],
[ 48 ], [ 59 ], [ 77 ], [ 177 ], [ 178 ].
Sāka, dynasty, [ 153 ].
Sāka, era, [ 62 ], [ 68 ], [ 100 ], [ 109 ],
[ 111 ].
Sāka, Śāṃśālāma k., 84.
Sākapāṇī, Šāka woman," 186.
Sākapātaka, 186.
Sāka-sīna, [ 79 ].
Sākapāṭaka, m., [ 122 ].
Śakti, r. a., Haku-ārṇa, Śāṃśālāma k., 9, 16,
19—22, [ 20 ], [ 21 ], [ 25 ].
Śakti-ārṇa, Śāṃśālāma pr., [ 25 ].
Śakka, h., 103—109.
Sākunaka, w., 139, [ 190 ].
Śālikṣa, r. a., Śīla, Šālikṣa, m., [ 190 ].
Śāli, r. a., Śīla, Šālikṣa, m., [ 190 ].
Śālikṣa, r. a., Śāṃśālāma, [ 15 ].
Śālikṣa, Šāṃśālāma, r. a., [ 15 ].
Śālikṣapade, m., 50—52, 54, 521.
Śālikṣamadabhiṣa, f., [ 141 ].
Śāmaka, f., [ 163 ].
Śāmkaka, Šāmkaka, aff., 32, 34.
Śāmaka, Šāmaka, Šāmaka, aff., 1, 2, [ 18 ].
Śāmha, m., 85, 87.
INDEX

S—contd.

Samoschagupta, Guppa k. [81], [82], [90].
Sandales, k. [175].
Sanghadäman, ksh. [77], [78].
Sankasañkhyāya, Philosopher, [234].
Śāntamūla, Iksākūla k. [56], [153].
Śaptaśadakśātākṣha, su. 16.
Śaragasa, Elider, k. [175].
Śarvasvatā-kṣaṭhāhāraṇa: wk. [28] n., [164] n, [178], [189], [190].
Sarkar, H. 81, 151.
Śārthavanā, "a casvan leader," [154].
Śarvasaṃsāra, Viśākha k. [182], [223].
Śarvāṅgivāda, Bu. School, [144].
Śarvasvarūpa, au. [198], [203], [204].
    [210].
Śāṃsārībhūga, off. 83, 85.
Śāśvādikām, [148].
Śāntanāma, dy. [79], [80].
Śatagura, s. a. Śvetāgarī, mv., 65 and n., 66.
Śātikhanaraṇa, t. d. 86, [10], [120].
Śātakarṇī, s. a. Pūruravī, k., 123 and n. 128, [107].
Śātakarnī, s. a. Gautamiputra Śātakarnī, 42.
Śātakarnī, s. a. Viśottīhīputra Śātakarnī, 4, 19 n., 53 n., 60, 64 n., 67—69.
Śātakarnī I, Śātāväha k. I, 3, 4, 9—11, 15 n., 17 and n., 18—20, [4]—[6].
    [11], [12], [15], [16], [18], [21]—
    [24], [27], [36], [37], [97], [91]—
    [95].
    [132], [178], [249].
Śātakarnī, Śātāvāhana k. 3, [4] n., [27].
Śātakarnī-kula, [24].
Śātikṣetra, su. 8, 16, [23].
Śātāvāhana, Proponent of Śātāvähana family, [7], [13], [16], [61], [123].
    [203].
Śātāvāhana, pr. 17—20, [8], [249].
    [254].
Śātāvāhana dy. [1]—[13], 22, 26, 43, 47, 70, 85, 168, [24], [37], [64], [76].
    [101], [152], [222], [228], [252].
Śātāvāhana, s. a. Hāla [192].
Śātāvāhana, k. [196].
Śātāvāhanahāra, t. d. 85—87, [19], [144].
Śatikṣa, off. 68, 69.
Śaiva, custom of, [180].
Śaiva, "a memorial stone," 139, 140.
Śaivamahā, su. 120, 127.
Śaivam, wk. [179]—[187], [295].

INDEX

S—contd.

Śatyaśīla, gen. [293].
Śatyasīla, ksh. [182].
Śaumīla, au. [223].
Śauvarṣhaka, Bu. sect, [144].
Śculptures at Amara-vati, [253].—
    [257], at Bhājak [247], [249]; at
    Nāgeghāt [249]; at Māt, [250].
Ścythians, [59].
Śeason-dates, 26, 160 and n.
Śebaka, k. [46].
Śena, m. 168, 170.
Śemāpati, 'General," 130, 160, [7], [59].
    [75].
Śenarti, 1, 2, 21, 22, 23 and n., 27n, 28, 29, 31n, 32, 34n, 35, 36 and n., 38, and
    n., 39 and n., 40n, 41, 47n, 49, 50n,
    51, 53n, 54n, 55 and n., 70 and n.,
    71, 73n, 95, 97n, 98n, 100, and n.,
    101n, 103, 105, 106, 108, 109, 117n,
    172 and n.
Śestertii, coin, [167].
Śetāgarī, s. a. Śvetāgarī, 65, 66.
Śetapharana, m., 56, 57, [147].
Śera, wk. [192].
Śerubandha, wk. [294].
Śeula, Bu. Aśhīrya, 76.
Śhastri, A. M. 156, 159n.
Śhastri, H. G. 120, 121n.
Śhatprajā, au. [206].
Śūddha-Hemachandra, wk., [190].
Śīhadhyāya, m. [147].
Śīhala, m. 118, 119.
Śīhamitra, m., 118, 119.
Śīhhasena, m., 142, 143.
Śīlamahā, k. of Śīhhalā-dvīpa, [29].
Śīhhasena, ksh. [82].
Śīhapadeśikā, vi. 157, 166.
Śīmuka Śātāvāhana, Śītāvāhana k., 3,
    8, 9, 11n, 15n, 17n, 18—20, [17].
    [3], [4], [15]—[17], [19], [21].
    [95].
Śinda, k. 19.
Śindhaka, s. a., Śīmuka, [10].
Śindhuka, Bu. Supravira, co, 123, 124, 128, [71].
Śiecz, D. C. 77n, 92 and n., 97n, 173.
Śīnuka, s. a. Śīmuka, [11], [15].
Śītāvāhavāha, wk. [191].
Śivadatta, Aśṭhā, m. 169, [53], [75],
    [160].
Śivagupta, off. 24, 28.
Śeulakṣa, fand. [47].
Śivakandagupta, off. 29, 30.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S—contd.</th>
<th>S—contd.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Śivakhadilā, off. 53 and n.</td>
<td>Sujvit, m., 32, 35.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śivala, Māhīśhaka k., [50].</td>
<td>Sukthankar, V. S., 130, 135, 138, [10], [44].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śiva-maka-sada, Śātavāhana k., 66—67.</td>
<td>Sundara Sātakarni, Śātavāhana k., [29], [107].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śivaramamurti, 58, 66.</td>
<td>Śūngga, dy. 10, [3], [8], [21], [88]—[90], [159], [244].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śivaskanda, Śātavāhana k., [102].</td>
<td>Śūnya-vāda [234].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śiva-Skandagupta, off. 29—31.</td>
<td>Śūryasūkla-rapati, uk., [234].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śiva-Skanda-Śāhuvarman, Pulavar k., 86, 87, 103, 160, [37], [120].</td>
<td>Suprabhāshita, vī., [197].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śiva-Śā, ep. 61, 62, [27], [37], [39].</td>
<td>Suprabhāshita, vī., [197], [204].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savasatī, Śātavāhana k., 42, [30].</td>
<td>Sudhaśtri, ev., 46, 123, 124, 128, 129, [32], [70], [71], [106].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[116]—[118].</td>
<td>Śūrpaśravaka, m., [121], [172].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skanda Sātakarni, Śātavāhana k., 60, 64, 65, 66n., 67, [24], [36], [39], [41].</td>
<td>Śūravanśa, Bh., 150, 166.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[124].</td>
<td>Sudarman, Kalyāna k., [3].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skandagupta, Gupta k., 121n.</td>
<td>Suttamipāta, ev., [136].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skandana, off. 83, 87, 94.</td>
<td>Suvarna, <em>a gold coin,</em> [10].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skandanaśāktaka pr., 90, 91, 94.</td>
<td>Suvarna-bhūmi, ev., [60], [137].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skandapālita, m., [141].</td>
<td>Suvanapuṣṭa, ev., 109, 111, 112.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skandarakī, m., 76.</td>
<td>Suvanāraśikātikā, ev., 122, 124, 127.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skandastambha, k., [15].</td>
<td>Suvanśaha, Bh. Soot, 56, 57.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Vincent, [9].</td>
<td>Suvāsakha, ev., 123, 129, [73].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soddhala, au., [202].</td>
<td>Suvāsika, ev., 123, 124, 128.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soma, Br., 158, 164, 165, [54], [133].</td>
<td>Śrīmīte, tīk., 50, 123, 123, 127, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somadeva, au., [194], [195].</td>
<td>Śrītenirūjya, fem., 157n., 159n., [53].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somadeva, m., 39, 40.</td>
<td>Śrīyavatśāhaka, uk., [207].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śona, monk., [137].</td>
<td>Śrāvaṇa, k., [222].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soparikāra, 39n.</td>
<td>Śrāvyabhāmā, au., [187], [191].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śorparāgā (s. a. Sorparaka), m., 103—105, 108, 109, 112.</td>
<td>Śrāvyabhāmā-Chandra, uk., [187].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorparakāhāra, au., [120].</td>
<td>Śvetagirī, ev., 42, 44, [34].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spalirises, Saṅka k., [61], [101].</td>
<td>Śyāken, 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrāmapāla, monk., [16].</td>
<td>Tadvatīśa words, [284].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrāmaprājya, ev., 118-121.</td>
<td>Tagara, m., [172].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrāvakā, 175.</td>
<td>Tākāśā, m., 89, 89.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrenji-bala, [173].</td>
<td>Tanasariya, place, [87], [57].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīharavarman, k., [102].</td>
<td>Tāpti, ev., 105, 110, 112.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīgirisupradāsa, uk., [191]. [195 pr., [210].</td>
<td>Tīrākāra, ev., 252, 253, [233].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīnivasa, P. R., 120, 132.</td>
<td>Tārāṇīya-gupta, ev., [189].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subandhū, au., [193].</td>
<td>Tātata words, [284].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudarśana, monk., 167, 170.</td>
<td>Tekirāni, n. a. Triśatāni, 24, 26, 27n., Tekonipura Bhāgavata, 8., [88].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudarśanka, ev., 27n., 49, 50, 51 and m., 52, 53, [122].</td>
<td>Tilapi, m., 21, 22.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudisvan, ev., [149].</td>
<td>Titasā words, [284].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śūdraka, au., [207], [219]—[231].</td>
<td>Tekirāni, n. a. Triśatāni, 24, 26, 27n., Tekonipura Bhāgavata, 8., [88].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

V—contd.

Veṣa, rī., 85-87, [226].
Veṭalapaṭṭhachavīraśati, wk., [222].
Vidgadha-jana-vallabhā, wk., [230].
Vidarbha, co., 42, 44, 46, 61. [32]. [92].
Vidhushhekharā Bhattacharyya [233].
Vīgarahavyāvatara, wk., [234].
Vīhāra, "a monastic hall," [141].
Vijāyā, f., [141].
Vijaya Sātakarnī (Gautamiputra), k., 81, 82, 84, [12]. and n., [43] [43], [232]. [233]. [252]. [233].
Vijaya Sātakarnī (Vāsishthiputra) k., 64, 66n., 67. [12] n., [36]. [39] [41].
Vijayamitra, monk, 74, 75.
Vijayapuri, co., [12]. [44]. [56].
Vijayasena, k.sh., 42-143, [51]. [78]. [79].
Vikrama Saṃvat, [60]. [62]. [100].
Vikramāditya, k., [60]. [181]. [182].
Vikramāditya VI, Later Chalukya k., [98] and n.
Vilīvāyakura, Gautamiputra, feu., [47].
Vilīvāyakura, Vāsishthiputra, feu., [47].
Vindhyasakti I, Vākāṭaka k., 161. [56].
Vindhyasakti II, Vākāṭaka k., 157 n., 160 and n., [103]. [234].
Vinbukāda, bīrula, 87-90, 92-94, [50].
Vinbukakṣa, "a servant," 158 n., 166.
Viraḍāman, ksha., [78].
Virabhāṅka, as., [150].
Virapuroshadatta, Bṛhadākṣa k., [77]. [153].
Virasena, ksh., 168.
Vinayaka, t. d., [120].
Vinbudatiḥ, f., [147].
Vinbukāda, s. a. Vinbukāda, bīrula, [45].
Vinbukakṣa, dy., 159, 176, [55].
Vinbunandi, m., 78-80.
Vinbupāla, m., 50, 55 and n.
Vinbupālita, m., 24, 27.
Vinbupurāṇa, wk., [2]. [3].

V—contd.

Vīśvasena, k.sh., [28]. [79].
Vonones, k., [109].
Vṛṣṭi, co., [136].
Vṛṛṣťajñātamuṇameṣa, wk., [190].
Vṛṇabhāra-raśyā, [234].

W

Watson, 110.
Weber, [180].
Wema Kasδphines, Kauhāṇa k., [63].
West, Edward, 1, 21, 23, 32, 35, 38, 41, 49, 64, 70, 71, 74, 78, 79, 89, 95, 103, 105, 106, 108.
Westergaard, 122.
Wilson, H. E. N. 28.
Winternitz, [151].

Y

Yādava, dy., [19]. [213].
Yajña Śatākarnī, Śaivasāktas, k., 22, 63 and n., 69-77, 84, 151, 152, [42].
Yajñavalkya-smriti, wk., [159].
Yaksha worship, [148]. [149].
Yāsa, Māhiḥśaka k., [50].
Yāsāhkarṣa, Kālēchhari k., [154].
Yassasthakāpacchāya, wk., [194].
Yashtī, "a memorial pillar," 115-118, 120, 130, 134, 136, 137, 143, 147n., 148, 156.
Yasodāman III, ksh., [78]. [80]. [81].
Yasodarāk, f., 119.
Yasodharā, cons., [119].
Yasovarman k., [184].
Yaudhāyan, Republican tribe, 123, 124, 128, [72]. [122].
Yavanaka, Greek, 43, 47, [32]. [157].
Yavanna, [177].
Yavanna, dy., [119].
Yavanna-sūkta, Greek k., 122, 128.
Yāvamukti, m., 115-121, [69].
Yuktanaśatākhyā, wk., [234].
Fig. 1—Nāsik Cave Inscriptions (Nos. 11 and 13) of Gautampurā Śrīkarni
Fig. 3—Pauni Stone Pillar Inscription of Rupiamma
Plate IV
MALHĀRA PLATES OF ĀDITYARĀJA

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 VII
Malhārā Plates of Adityarāja

Fig. 10—Fourth Plate: Second Side

Fig. 11—Fifth Plate
Fig. 12—Nāsik Chaitya Cave of Bhaṭapālīkā
PLATE IX

Fig. 13—Nāsik Vihāra Cave of Rishabhadatta

Fig. 14—Queen’s Cave of Gautamiputra Sātakarni at Nāsik
Fig. 15—Door-way of the Queen’s Cave at Nālaik

Fig. 16—Kārle Chaitya Cave. Figures of Dōness
Fig. 17—Kārle Chaitya Cave—Front View

Fig. 18—Kārle Chaitya Cave—Inside View
Fig. 21—King Māndhātā (Bhājā Cave)
Fig. 22—King Māndhātā invading Uttara Kuru (Bhāja Cave)
Plate XV

Fig. 35—King Māndhāti in the Garden of Uttara Kuru (Bhāja Cave)
Fig. 24 - Statue of Chashtana at Māt (Mathura Museum)
Fig. 25—Ajantā Cave X—Painting of the Shakti-danta-jātaka
Fig. 37. Green God (Poonch) (Brahmapuri Excavations)

Fig. 36. Mother Goddess (Brahmapuri Excavations)
PLATE XIX
COINS

Figs. 28 & 29—Sātavāhana

Fig. 30—Sātakarni I

Fig. 31—Sātavāhana

Fig. 32—Sātakarni I
PLATE XX
COINS

Fig. 33—Sātakarnī I and Nāganikā

Fig. 34—Śakti

Fig. 35—Āpolaka
Plate XXII

Fig. 36—Gautamiputra Satakarni (Portrait Coin)

Fig. 37—Vāsishthiputra Śivāsaśi Puṣumāvi

Fig. 38—Vāsishthiputra Puṣumāvi (Portrait Coin)
Fig. 39—Vāsishṭhiputra Skanda Sātakarni

Fig. 40—Vāsishṭhiputra Skanda Sātakarni (Portrait Coin)

Fig. 41—Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarni (Portrait Coin)

Fig. 41-A—Vāsishṭhiputra Vijaya Sātakarni (Portrait Coin)

Fig. 42—Gautamiputra Yajña Sātakarni (Portrait Coin)
Plate XXIV

Fig. 43—Ship-type Coin of Yajña Sātakarna

Fig. 44—Gautamiputra Vithavakura

Fig. 45—Mahārāṣṭrī Śrīhariputra Śivalakura
PLATE XXV
COINS

Fig. 46—Mahāsenāpati Bharadvāja-putra Śaka Māna Mahisha

Figs. 47 & 48—Rājan Śaka Māna Mahisha
PLATE XXVI
COINS

Fig. 49—Nahapāna

Fig. 50—Chashtana

Fig. 51—Evaradatta: Year 154
Fig. 53—Daulatpur Stone Inscription of the Reign of Chashana : Year 6
Fig 54—Andhau Stone Inscription of the Reign of Chashana: Year 11
Fig. 55—Mewāsā 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.

The present work contains a comprehensive history of the Sātavāhanas, the first known historical dynasty of Mahārāṣṭra, and of the Western Kṣatrapas who were their contemporaries and ruled over parts of Mahārāṣṭra, Saurāṣṭra 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 Kṣatrapas 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 Kṣatrapas. 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 Mahārāṣṭra. 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.