

BUDDHISM IN THE NORTHERN DECCAN UNDER

THE ŚĀTAVĀHANA RULERS (c. 30 B.C. - 225 A.D.)

by

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ABSTRACT

This study deals with the history of Buddhism in the northern Deccan during the Sātavāhana period. The first chapter examines the evidence relating to the first appearance of Buddhism in this area, its timing and the support by the state and different sections of the population. This is followed by a discussion of the problems surrounding the chronology of the Sātavāhana dynasty and evidence is advanced to support the 'shorter chronology'. In the third chapter the Buddhist monuments attributable to the Sātavāhana period are dated utilising the chronology of the Sātavāhanas provided in the second chapter. The inscriptional evidence provided by these monuments is described in detail. The fourth chapter contains an analysis and description of the sects and sub-sects which constituted the Buddhist Order. Emphasis is placed on the geographical location of these sects and sub-sects. The fifth chapter is devoted to an account of the monastic organisation of the period - the construction of the monasteries, their administration, the means provided for their maintenance and the monks in lay society. In the last chapter the

place of Buddhism in the society of the northern Deccan is described, attention being directed to the relationship between the Saṃgha and the Sātavāhana rulers, the merchant class and other strata of lay society.

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List of Abbreviations

<u>AIU</u>	<u>Age of Imperial Unity</u> (see R.C. Majumdar in Bibliography)
<u>ASI</u>	<u>Archaeological Survey of India</u>
<u>ASI AR</u>	<u>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report</u>
<u>ASSI</u>	<u>Archaeological Survey of South India</u>
<u>ASWI</u>	<u>Archaeological Survey of Western India</u>
<u>BGM</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum</u> (see C. Sivaramamurti in Bibliography)
<u>CCADWK</u>	<u>Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Ksatrapas, the Traikutaka Dynasty and the 'Bodhi' Dynasty</u> (see E.J. Rapson in Bibliography)
<u>CHI</u>	<u>Comprehensive History of India</u> (see K.A.N. Sastri in Bibliography)
<u>DKA</u>	<u>The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age</u> (see F. E. Pargiter in Bibliography)
<u>EHAC</u>	<u>Early History of the Andhra Country</u> (see K. Gopalachari in Bibliography)
<u>EI</u>	<u>Epigraphia Indica</u>
<u>IA</u>	<u>Indian Antiquary</u>
<u>IHQ</u>	<u>Indian Historical Quarterly</u>
<u>JA</u>	<u>Journal Asiatique</u>
<u>JAHRs</u>	<u>Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society</u>
<u>JASB</u>	<u>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</u>
<u>JBBRAS</u>	<u>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</u>
<u>JIH</u>	<u>Journal of Indian History</u>
<u>JNSI</u>	<u>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</u>
<u>JPTS</u>	<u>Journal of the Pali Text Society</u>
<u>JRAS</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</u>
<u>Lüder's List</u>	List of Brāmi inscriptions by H. Lüders, <u>EI</u> , X, 1910, appendix
<u>NS</u>	New Series
<u>NTS</u>	New Imperial Series
<u>OS</u>	Old Series

<u>Periplus</u>	<u>Periplus Maris Erythraei</u> (see Bibliography section 4)
<u>PAHI</u>	<u>Political History of Ancient India</u> (see H.C. Raychaudhuri in Bibliography)
Ptolemy	Claudii Ptolemaei <u>Geographia</u> (see Bibliography section 4)
<u>PTS</u>	Pali Text Society
<u>SABM</u>	<u>Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum</u> (see D. Barrett in Bibliography)
<u>SBE</u>	Sacred Books of the East
<u>SED</u>	<u>A Sanskrit English Dictionary</u> , 1899, (see M. Monier Williams).
<u>SI</u>	<u>Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization</u> (see D.C. Sircar in Bibliography)
Tāranātha	Tāranātha's treatise edited by A. Schiefner (see Tāranātha in Bibliography section 3)
Vasumitra	(see Vasumitra in Bibliography)

INTRODUCTION

This study deals with the history of Buddhism in the northern Deccan under the Sātavāhana rulers. We shall start by defining the three terms used in the title: 'Buddhism', 'the northern Deccan' and 'Sātavāhana'.

'Buddhism' here denotes not merely the doctrinal and ethical systems based on the teachings of Gautama Buddha, but also the socio-economic and institutional framework which developed around those doctrinal and ethical systems. We shall examine the relative importance within our area of the various schools of Buddhist thought, the relationship between Buddhist religious beliefs and practice, and the social and economic structure of the region as well as the relationship between political and religious institutions.

The term 'Deccan' (from dakṣiṇa meaning 'south'),¹ has been used to describe the whole of the Indian Peninsula lying south of the Vindhya-Satpura range.²

1. A.L. Basham, The Wonder that was India, 1971, p. 2.

2. R.C. Majumdar (ed.) The Vedic Age, 1951, p. 95.

In this study we use the term 'northern Deccan' to designate that area between the Vindhya-Satpura mountains in the north and the Pennar and Tungabhadra rivers in the south - the region watered by the Kṛṣṇa and the Godāvari rivers. This area between latitudes 15° and 22° north - the territory of the Sātavāhana rulers - encompasses modern Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and parts of Mysore and Madhya Pradesh.¹

'Sātavāhana' was the name of a dynasty of rulers who exercised authority in this part of India. The origins of this dynasty are obscure. It is however known from inscriptions that they came into prominence in the western part of the northern Deccan (around Nānāghāṭ), where their earliest inscriptions have been found in about the first century B.C., and continued to rule parts of the northern Deccan until the beginning of the third century A.D.

The political history as well as the history of Buddhism in the northern Deccan has been studied by several able scholars. In 1895, R.G. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Dekkan appeared. This work, the

1. The Gazetteer of India, Indian Union I, 1965, p. 7.

first political history of the Deccan, though it discusses the Sātavāhana dynasty in detail, has little to say concerning Buddhism in peninsular India. Bhandarkar's early study was supplemented in 1920 by Jouveau Dubreuil's Ancient History of the Deccan though it too ignores the importance of Buddhism. Of the later contributions by D.C.Sircar,¹ G. Venket Rao,² K.Gopalachari³ and R. Mukherjee,⁴ only the last two deal in any detail with Buddhism during the Sātavāhana period; the other studies, while adding to our knowledge of the Sātavāhana dynasty, pass over the Saṃgha and Buddhist lay society in silence. This study is intended to fill this gap in our knowledge of the history of Indian Buddhism.

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1. D.C. Sircar, 'The Satavahanas and the Chedis', in R. C. Majumdar (ed.) The Age of Imperial Unity, 1951, Chap. XIII.
 2. G. Venket Rao, 'The Pre-Satavahana and Satavahana Periods', in G. Yazdani (ed.) Early History of the Deccan, I, 1960, Chap. II.
 3. K. Gopalachari, Early History of the Andhra Country, 1941; 'The Satavahana Empire' in K.A.N.Sastri (ed.) A Comprehensive History of India, II, 1957.
 4. R. Mukherjee, The History of the Andhra Region c. A.D. 75-350 (Ph. D. Thesis) University of London, 1965.

Buddhism originated in eastern India during the sixth century B.C. Following the Buddha's parinibbāna his disciples carried his teachings westwards up the Gangetic plain. From Magadha and the north it passed south to the Deccan.

The success or the failure of the new religion depended as much on the support provided by groups within the society of the area as on the patronage of the state. We will, therefore, consider the evidence relating to the assistance and support given to the members of the Saṃgha by the different sections of the Deccani society, as well as that provided by the Sātavāhana rulers.

The chronology of the Sātavāhana dynasty is of basic importance for our study as it has aroused much controversy among earlier scholars.

Using our chronology of the Sātavāhanas as a basis, it is possible to date positively those monuments that are associated with specific rulers. From this we can suggest the sequence of the foundation and construction of the major monasteries and Buddhist centres of the Deccan.

The first mention of Buddhist sects and sub-sects among the Saṃgha of the Deccan occurs at the beginning of the Christian era. The exact time of the emergence of these sectarian differences is, however, not known. The Mahāsāṃghīkas flourished in the eastern Deccan (Andhra) and divided after their arrival within the area into numerous sub-sects. The Sthaviravādins who appear to have been numerous in the western Deccan (Maharashtra) were represented by a number of sub-sects.

Very little research work has been done regarding the organization and composition of the Buddhist community of this area and period. In this study we shall place particular emphasis upon the internal structure of the monasteries and upon the relationship between the monks and Buddhist lay society. We shall discuss the importance of royal patronage and shall conclude by attempting to identify those groups within the society of the Deccan which were particularly important in providing support for the Saṃgha. It will be our contention that there was a close connexion

between the followers of local commercial groups and the spread of Buddhism.

Sources

Apart from the secondary works, ~~for~~ which a full list is provided in the bibliography, the primary material is of two types - archaeological and literary. The first includes inscriptions, monuments and coins. The second comprises the Buddhist and non-Buddhist records and the accounts of foreign visitors to India.

We would make the following observations regarding the relative value of our sources.

I. Archaeological Sources

(a) Inscriptions

There are a large number of inscriptions preserved either in full or in part, in both the western and the eastern parts of the northern Deccan. These inscriptions have attracted the attention of scholars from the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1881, Bhagavanlal Indraji and James Burgess published all the inscriptions

from the cave temples available at that time in a work entitled Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India. In 1883, Burgess published the inscriptions at Nāsik and Kārle in the Archaeological Survey of India, Volume ^{Western} IV, while in the same year George Bühler published the Kanherī inscriptions in the Archaeological Survey of India, Volume V. Again in 1902, and in 1905 the inscriptions at Kārle and Nāsik were edited and translated by E. Senart in the Epigraphia Indica, Volume VII and VIII. In 1910, H. Lüders published a full list of references and a summary of the contents of each of these inscriptions (in a list of inscriptions covering the whole of India) in the Epigraphia Indica, Volume X. In 1942, and again in 1965, a selected number of inscriptions were edited by D.C. Sircar in his Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization.

The majority of the inscriptions at Amarāvati were discovered and edited by J. Burgess in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In 1910, H. Lüders included in his list of inscriptions all the Amarāvati inscriptions which had been discovered at that date. In 1919, R.P. Chanda

edited several early Amarāvati inscriptions in the Epigraphia Indica, Volume XV, while in 1942 C. Sivaramamurti edited a copious list of all the Amarāvati inscriptions in the Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum. Since then several Amarāvati inscriptions have been brought to light by the Archaeological Survey of India. These inscriptions are published in the Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy in 1959-60.

The inscriptions at Bhaṭṭiprolu were first systematically edited and published by G. Bühler in 1894 in the Epigraphia Indica, Volume II, They were re-edited by D.C. Sircar in 1942 and in 1965 in his Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization.

The majority of the inscriptions discovered at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa were edited and published by J. Ph. Vogel in the Epigraphia Indica, Volume XX (1929-30).

Apart from these, reference may also be made to some recently discovered inscriptions in this area. Several such inscriptions were found by S.B. Deo and J.P. Joshi in their excavations at Pauni in 1969-70,¹

1. S.B. Deo and J.P. Joshi, Pauni Excavations, 1969-70, 1972.

while one inscription was brought to light by R. Subrahmanyam¹ in 1968 at Guntupally.

These inscriptions provide the most important single group of sources for our study and constitute the most reliable data for the history of Buddhism in the Deccan in our period.

(b) Remains of monuments

The remains of monuments of the Deccan attracted the attention of scholars from the beginnings of the nineteenth century.

The first systematic attempt to describe the rock-cut caves in Maharashtra was made by J. Fergusson in 1843.² This was followed by the publication in 1880 of The Cave Temples of India by J. Fergusson and J. Burgess. In 1883 the latter work was supplemented by Burgess in a report of the Archaeological Survey of India (Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Volume IV, 1883).

Unlike the Buddhist monuments of the western Deccan those in the eastern Deccan are not well preserved. In 1882-84, a list of sites where ruined monuments survived

1. Andhra Pradesh Government Epigraphical Series, no. 3, 1968, pp. 1-7.

2. J. Fergusson, 'On the Rock-cut Temples of India', JRAS, VIII, pp. 30-92.

was published by R. Sewell.

Of these the stūpa that once stood at Amarāvati has attracted the attention of a large number of scholars. The various publications and findings of these scholars are referred to in chapter I. Guntupally, Saṅkaram, Gudivāda, Chinna Gaṅjam, Rāmaredḍipally, Chejrāla, Allūru, Jaggayyapeta, and Ghantaśāla are other such sites.

With the inscriptional data, these Buddhist monuments provide us with reliable evidence regarding the spread of Buddhism to the Deccan. They also enable us to recreate the life of Buddhist monasteries during the Sātavāhana period. At the majority of these sites only stūpas remain. Vihāra remains are found only at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa, Guntupally and Saṅkaram.

(c) Coins

There have been considerable finds of coins belonging to the Sātavāhana rulers and the Śaka rulers. In 1908, a catalogue of such coins was published by E.J. Rapson. More recently several new coin hoards have been discovered. Reference is made in the bibliography (section on coins)

to publications on these coins.

The evidence of coins is largely supplementary to that of inscriptions. Thus, a large number of coins confirms the information contained in inscriptions by mentioning the names of several Sātavāhana and Śaka rulers. The location of hoards of coins provide supplementary evidence for the extent of the area over which a particular ruler exercised authority. Some coins belonging to the Śaka rulers bear dates. The evidence of these coins has been helpful in establishing the chronology of those Śaka rulers who were the Sātavāhana contemporaries.

II. Literary Sources

These consist of Buddhist and non-Buddhist works. There are no Buddhist works which can be dated back to our area and period with certainty. However, reference is made by some Buddhist works to activities of Buddhist monks in the Deccan. The Kathāvatthupparakāra Atthakathā (commentary on the Kathāvatthupparakāra by Buddhagoṣa) makes reference to the Andhaka sects and a discussion of this account will be given in chapter IV. The Ceylonese works - the Dīpavaṃsa, the Samantapāsādikā and the Mahāvaṃsa contain traditions regarding the introduction of Buddhism to some parts of the Deccan. A discussion of these traditions will be given in chapter I.

The Vāyu, Matsya, Bhāgavata, Brahmaṇḍa and the Viṣṇu Purāṇas contain information regarding the 'Āndhra dynasty' (i.e. the Sātavāhanas of the inscriptions). These accounts consist of information on the origin of the Āndhra dynasty and statements regarding the duration of the Āndhra dynasty as a whole.

The Purāṇas, in general, are considered by scholars to have been composed at a much later date than the events they describe. The unreliable nature of the Puranic accounts for the study of the Sātavāhana period will be discussed in chapter II.

Accounts of visitors to India from other parts of the world

Reference is made to two Greek works - the Periplus Maris Erythraei and Ptolemy's Geographia -, to the Chinese accounts of Fa-hien and Hiūan Tsang and to the Tibetan accounts of Vasumitra and Tārānātha.

Of these, the Periplus gives a description of the settlements on the coast of the Indian Ocean, including the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. It describes the condition of trade of its time and mentions a number of contemporary

rulers.

The date of this work has aroused controversy among scholars. While some have dated it to 60-89 A.D.¹ others advocate a later date - the third century A.D.² However, the mention of Malichus, king of the Nabataeans, who has been identified with Malichus II (40-71 A.D.),³ in the Periplus gives us a fixed point in time regarding its date.⁴ Moreover, Mambarus or Nambanus (sec. 41) who has been identified with the king Nahapāna cannot be placed after Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi ^{on} inscriptional and numismatic grounds. Another factor which can be cited in favour of the early date of the Periplus is that the ~~disorderly~~ condition of Scythia mentioned in the section 38 tallies well with the situation prevailing in that region in late first century A.D.⁵

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1. See W.H. Schoff, The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, 1912, p. 8 (60 A.D.); J.W. McCrindle, IA, VIII, 1879, p. 108 (80-89 A.D.).
 2. M.Reinaud, 'On the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea', IA, VIII, 1879, p. 331; J. Pirenne, JA, 1961, pp. 441 ff.
 3. P.K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, 1961, chapter VI.
 4. J. Pirenne who contested the first century ^{theory} contends that the phrase 'king of Nabataeans' is in a later corrective hand. But other scholars have shown that the validity of this argument is not convincing (V. Dehājia, Early Buddhist Rock Temples, 1972, pp. 23-24).
 5. E.J. Rapson (ed.), Cambridge History of India, I, 1922, pp. 584-585.

Ptolemy's Geographia (140-150 A.D.)¹ supplies a long list of places in India and indicates their location with reference to a system of longitudinal and latitudinal degrees. It mentions a few rulers in India and thus provides valuable clues with regard to the chronology of the Sātavāhana dynasty. It also provide some valuable information regarding the commercial activities of the period.

Fa-hien's account (c. 400-411) provides very little information regarding the state of Buddhism in this part of India while Hiūan Tsang (630-644 A.D.), most of whose evidence relates to a period later than the Sātavāhana period, gives a number of legends connected with the Buddhist monuments which he visited. The reliability of these legends is, however, doubtful.

Vasumitra's treatise (c. second century A.D. ?) on the doctrines of different Buddhist schools throws valuable light on the history of the various sects of this area, and Tārānātha's account of the history of Buddhism in India (seventeenth century A.D.) also contains some legends regarding this area and period. The reliability of these

1. It is generally accepted that the Geographia is datable to the middle of the second century A.D.

legends is, however, doubtful.

Early studies of the Buddhist monuments

Investigations into the nature and importance of the monuments of the northern Deccan began as early as the first half of the nineteenth century A.D. C. Mackenzie's report on the monument of Amarāvati⁻¹ and Sewell's reports on the archaeological remains in this area² drew the attention of scholars to the large number of monuments which are excavated in subsequent years. The monuments were more scientifically studied by J. Fergusson and J. Burgess (1880-84). Since then excavations in sites such as at Bhaṭṭiprolu, Guḍivāda, Jaggayyapeta, Guntupally, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Rāmaredḍipally, Allūru etc. were conducted by A. Rea , A.H. Longhurst, T.N. Ramachandran and other scholars. The reports of these scholars on the last mentioned monuments have provided valuable data for historical studies.

Since the time of the above-mentioned scholars, further research has been done by others on the chronology and the architectural development of these monuments.

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1. C. Mackenzie, 'Ruins of Amravutty, Dipauldina and Durnicotta', The Asiatic Journal (OS) , XV, 1823, pp. 464 ff.
 2. B. Sewell, List of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras, 2 Vols. 1882-84.

Thus in 1927 A.K. Coomaraswamy gave a description of the architectural development of the monuments of the northern Deccan in his work entitled The History of Indian and Indonesian Art. In 1951, S.K.Saraswati and N.R. Ray also gave a description of the development of the art and architecture of the same monuments.¹ A valuable contribution to the knowledge of the development of the art and architecture of these monuments was made by P. Brown in his work (undated) entitled Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu while in 1959, B. Rowland also described the art and architecture of the same monuments in his work , The Art and Architecture of India. In 1960, G. Yazdani described the architecture, sculpture and painting of the monuments in the Deccan² while in a recent work entitled Early Buddhist Rock Temples published in 1972, V. Dehejia has traced the chronological sequence and the architectural development of the Buddhist rock cut temples in western India.

1. S. K. Saraswati and N.R. Ray, 'Architecture', chapter XX in R. C. Majumdar (ed.) The Age of Imperial Unity, 1951.

2. G. Yazdani, 'The Fine Arts of the Deccan : Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting', The Early History of the Deccan, parts VII-XI, 1960, pp. 717-774.

In this connexion reference may also be made to the research work on the art and architectural development of the stūpa at Amarāvati. Thus after the initial phase of the discovery and excavations at Amarāvati, several contributions have been made by scholars on the art and architectural developments of the stūpa at Amarāvati.

In this regard, special mention may be made to

C. Sivaramamurti's Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum (Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, IV, 1942), D. Barrett's Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum (1954), and Stern and M. Benisti's Evolution du Style Indien d'Amaravati (1961).

The above-mentioned scholars have dealt exhaustively with the development of art and architecture of the monuments of the northern Deccan. Hence, it is not intended to examine this aspect in our study.

In addition to the research on the monuments, their significance and their architectural development, reference may also be made to studies on the palaeography of the Brāhmī script which have shed light on the many problems regarding the chronology of the monuments. Since the time

of Bühler and Burgess several scholars have advanced our knowledge to a great extent in this regard. Thus, in 1919 R.P. Chanda published a monograph entitled 'Dates of the Votive Inscriptions on the Stūpas at Sāñcī', in the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, I, which modified some of the conclusions of Bühler and Burgess. In 1965, A. H. Dani, in his Indian Palaeography, put forward a chronological scheme that differs in several respects from the conclusions of Bühler, Burgess and Chanda. Our own observations regarding the palaeography of the early Brāhmī inscriptions are mostly in agreement with Dani's conclusions.

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF BUDDHISM IN THE NORTHERN DECCAN

The evidence available for the study of the spread and influence of Buddhism in the northern Deccan during the period which preceded the rise of the Śātavāhanas is very meagre. Although there are legendary accounts of Buddha's¹ visit to this part of India in some Buddhist literary works and in the records of the Chinese monk Hiüan Tsang, who visited India in the seventh century A.D., they cannot be considered historical. There is, however, some probability that this area was visited by Buddhist monks during the reign of Aśoka and in the period which followed his reign. This hypothesis is supported by archaeological evidence from three Buddhist sites, viz. Amarāvati, Pauni and Bhaṭṭiprolu, as

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1. Reference is made in this connexion to the account of (a) the Majjhima Nikāyaṭṭhakathā (Papañcasūdanī), a work of the fifth century A.D., that the Buddha was invited to Sunaparanta (the precise location of this place is not known) which was regarded as a morally backward country notorious for its wicked people where Punna, a disciple of the Buddha, converted a large number of men to Buddhism on an earlier occasion, (b) the account of the Saddharmaratanaṅkaraya, a Ceylonese work of the fifteenth century, which describes the account found in the Majjhima-Nikāyaṭṭhakathā in greater detail (See Papañcasūdanī, Majjhima Nikaya Commentary, II (Aluvihara Series), not dated, pp. 1014 ff.; Saddharmaratanaṅkaraya, edited by Vālivitiye Sorata, 1930, pp. 304-5).

well as by Buddhist tradition as related in the Mahāvamsa, regarding the introduction of Buddhism into this part of India. Using information from these sources, an attempt will be made in the present chapter to describe the initial activities of Buddhist monks in this part of India. First of all, the archaeological evidence has to be discussed.

Amarāvati

The ruins of the stūpa at Amarāvati have attracted the attention of several scholars. The first scholar to visit and investigate the ruins was Colin Mackenzie. In 1823, he wrote an account of his findings at this site.¹ In 1867, James Fergusson wrote another account of the stūpa² and in 1873 he published photographs of most of the Amarāvati sculptures which in the meantime had been brought to England.³ In 1877, Robert Sewell excavated the site of the stūpa and published a report,⁴ while in 1881, James Burgess examined the site once again, publishing his findings in 1887.⁵ The area surrounding the site

1. C. Mackenzie, 'Ruins of Amravutty, Dipauldina and Durnicotta', The Asiatic Journal, (OS), XV, 1823, pp. 464 ff.

2. J. Fergusson, 'Description of Amarāvati Tope in Guntur', JRAS, III, 1868, pp. 132-161.

3. J. Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship, 1873.

4. R. Sewell, Report on the Amarāvati Tope and Excavations on its site in 1877, 1880.

5. J. Burgess, 'The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeta' Archaeological Survey of South India, I, 1887.

was visited by Alexander Rea in 1905-6 and in 1908-9.¹ In 1942 C. Sivaramamurti published a catalogue of Amarāvati² sculptures in the Madras Government Museum, while in 1954 Douglas Barrett brought out a catalogue of sculptures from Amarāvati³ in the British Museum.

Of the large number of inscriptions at Amarāvati⁴, some were edited and translated by Burgess as early as 1882. In 1919-20, R.P. Chanda edited many of the inscriptions⁵ while in 1942 C. Sivaramamurti published a full list of all the inscriptions then discovered.⁶ Since then fresh discoveries of inscriptions have been made by the Archaeological Survey of India. These inscriptions are published in the Annual Report on Indian

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1. A Rea, Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India, 1905-6, 1908-9.
 2. C. Sivaramamurti, 'Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum, BMGM, IV, 1942.
 3. D. Barrett, Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum, 1954.
 4. J. Burgess, 'Notes on the Amaravati Stupa', Archaeological Survey of South India, 1882.
 5. R.P. Chanda, 'Some Unpublished Amaravati Inscriptions', EI, XV, 1919-20.
 6. C. Sivaramamurti, op.cit, pp. 271-315

Epigraphy of 1953-4 and 1959-60. In 1963-64 D.C. Sircar edited one of these inscriptions which appears to be a part of an edict of Aśoka.¹

Although the various research and publications of the above-mentioned scholars have broadened our knowledge of the stūpa at Amarāvati to a considerable extent, its date of construction is still a controversial subject. While some scholars believe that the stūpa was constructed as early as the reign of Aśoka² others advocate a later date in the second century of the Christian era.³ The discovery of fresh inscriptions has, however, shed new light on this problem.

The Amarāvati inscription edited by D.C. Sircar, is important in this regard. It is engraved on a sand stone slab with traces of an original polish. It has been suggested by Sircar, on the similarity of the style of the language of this inscription, that it is a part of an edict of Aśoka. Although this inscription does not make any reference to the construction of the stūpa at Amarāvati, it is significant that an inscription dating from the time of Aśoka (if the inscription was a part of an Aśoka edict) has been found at this site. For it shows Aśoka's connexions with the Amarāvati area.

1. EI, XXXV, 1963-64, pp. 40-43.

2. J. Burgess, ASSI, I, 1887; C. Sivaramamurti, BMGM, IV, 1942.

3. D. Barrett, Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum, 1954.

In this regard, it is also interesting that a tradition, though of a late date (seventh century), relates that Aśoka constructed a stūpa in this part of India. According to this tradition, recorded by Hiūan Tsang, Aśoka erected a stūpa in the An-to-lo (Āndhra) country.¹ This tradition perhaps indicates that the first wave of influence of Buddhism reached this part of India during the reign of Aśoka.

Though not well preserved, several other inscriptions provide valuable palaeographical evidence which help us to determine the date of earliest activity at Amarāvati.

These inscriptions display a script which resembles to a considerable extent the script of the inscriptions of Aśoka. A comparison of the letters of this group (R.P. Chanda 1, 3-20), the inscriptions published in the Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy of the years 1953-54 and 1959-60) with the letters of the Girnar inscriptions of Aśoka shows that there is a great similarity between the style of the script of the two groups. Thus the letter ka (+) with horizontal and vertical strokes of equal length and the letters ga (^) and ta (Λ) showing distinct angularity are almost identical in both the Girnar inscriptions of Aśoka and the earliest inscriptions at

1. T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, 1905, p. 209.

Amarāvati. A difference is noticeable only in the way of writing of ma with rather a flat bottom. (X).

In the light of the above discussion, though it is not possible to date these inscriptions precisely, we would suggest a date between the reign of Aśoka and the beginning of the Christian era.

The inscriptions of the earliest group at Amarāvati are engraved on the various parts of the railing, on pillars, cross bars and coping stones. Donations, in most cases, consisted of the parts of the railing on which the inscriptions are found. Although the inscriptions mention that the parts of the railing concerned were given by various donors, the exact nature of the gift can only be assumed. It seems likely that the person or group of persons in charge of the construction of the railing accepted donations given (in cash ?) for its erection. Thus it appears that once the plan of the monument was decided upon the money needed for its construction was collected from the lay devotees. Donations of this nature may have been made by the visitors to the stūpa even while the construction was in progress.

Two inscriptions record the donation of a cross bar

(for the railing) and a rail pillar by two nigamas. Nigama means a town, city or a market place.¹ One of them mentions the nigama named Dhamnakataka (Damnakatakasa nigamasa i.e. 'of the nigama of Dhamnakataka'). Dhamnakataka has been identified by scholars with Dharanikota. It is also generally believed by scholars that Dhamnakataka was the ancient town which was the seat of government of the eastern part of the Deccan during the Satavahana period. Thus, the inscription mentioning Dhamnakataka, also confirms that nigama meant a town, city or market. Donations by nigamas appear to be collective gifts by the inhabitants of towns, which in turn suggests the existence of some corporative agency, perhaps some form of town council or body of prominent citizens.²

Gifts by members of villages are also mentioned. Thus inscriptions record gifts by Kalavairagāma, Nhāpitagāma (Nahāpitagāma ?) and ... ra ... gāma, which may indicate action by a group of representatives of villages, perhaps by village councils.

One inscription mentions that the donor of a railing was a Samana (śramana), i.e. 'a monk' or 'ascetic'.

1. M. Monier Williams, SED, 1899, p. 545.

2. See appendix, pp. 212, 227 and 229

It would be interesting to examine how monks, who had to obtain even their own food through begging for alms, were able to make donations for the construction of monuments. One explanation which can be suggested in this connexion is that rich laymen, on entering the Order, would have donated their property for the construction of monuments. It is also possible that some monks had access to money which they would have inherited as family property. This explanation presumes that a monk's share of family property was maintained by the other members of the family, and that in such cases monks had access to money. No definite evidence is, however, available in this connexion.

The majority of inscriptions belong to individual lay devotees. In most cases the names of these donors are given. All these inscriptions record donations of parts of the railing surrounding the stūpa.

Pauni

Remains of several stūpas at Pauni, situated in the district of Bhandara in Maharashtra, were brought to light in 1969-70 by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of Nagpur University and the

Archaeological Survey of India in Nāgpur.¹ Of these, the ruins of the stūpa at the hill-site known by the name Jagannātha Tekḍi are considered by S.B. Deo and J.P. Joshi to be the oldest. The diameter of this stūpa was 38.20 meters (124 ft.). According to the archaeological report on the excavations at Pauni objects were discovered at Jagannātha Tekḍi in three layers of earth representing 'Maurya',² 'Maurya-Sunga' and 'Sātavāhana-Kṣatrapa' periods. A large number of inscriptions were discovered in the second and the third layers of earth.

The script of some of these inscriptions display archaic characteristics. The forms of ka, da, and na of some inscriptions are quite similar to those of the Maurya inscription.³ The vertical and horizontal strokes of ka are equal, while da and na show angular features which are also characteristics of Maurya script. Some inscriptions at Pauni contain, however, a script which shows characteristics of a somewhat later style of writing. The vertical strokes of ka of these inscriptions are longer than the horizontal strokes. But curving at the end of the verticals

1. S.B. Deo and J.P. Joshi, Pauni Excavations, 1969-70, 1972.

2. Ibid, pp. 21 ff.

3. Ibid, pl. XLIII, no. 30.

which appeared at a later stage of writing (end of the first century A.D.) is not noticeable in any of the inscriptions at Pauni¹. A comparison of the inscriptions at Pauni¹ with those of the earliest group of inscriptions at Amarāvati² would show that, on the whole, the script of both the groups of inscriptions are very similar and therefore it is reasonable to assume that both Amarāvati and Pauni stūpas were constructed in the same period of time - during or not very long after the reign of Aśoka.

As in the case of Amarāvati, the inscriptions at Pauni also mention several donations by a number of devotees to the Buddhist monks at Pauni. The donations consisted of pillars, cross bars and coping stones of the railing which encircled the stūpa. As has been shown, these donations may have involved the payment of money for the construction of the parts of the railing donated. The words dāmaṃ (gift) and pasādo (gift) are used with reference to the pillars, cross bars and coping stones given as donations.

One inscription mentions a gift by a vaniya (vāṇija) (a merchant) while another refers to a heranika (hiranyaka). The

1. S.B. Deo and J.P. Joshi, Pauni Excavation 1969-70, 1972, plates XXXIII-XLIII, nos. 1-30.

2. See supra, pp. 30-31 for references to the earliest group of inscriptions at Amarāvati.

word heranika or hiranyaka means a person who handles gold and heranika mentioned in the inscription may therefore, be taken to be either a 'goldsmith' or 'one who is in charge of gold'- a treasurer.

Gifts by members of the Order are also mentioned. Thus, pavajita, pavajitā, (male and female mendicants) are mentioned as donors of rail bars.

One inscription mentions the gift by ^a (Mr) Nāga of the five nikāyas (Nāgasa pacanikāyasa Skt. nāgasya pañcanikāyasya) of a rail pillar. Nikāya has the meanings (1) collection, assemblage, class, group (2) a group of members of the Buddhist Order, sect, school. The five sections of the Sutta-Piṭaka are called nikāyas in the former sense. This meaning of the term nikāya suggest that Nāga' of the five nikāyas' was perhaps a 'person who was acquainted with the five sections of the Sutta-Paṭaka.

Bhaṭṭiprolu

The ruins of a stūpa at Bhaṭṭiprolu was first examined by W.R. Norris in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In 1872

1. T.W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede (ed.) The Pali Text Society's Pali English Dictionary, 1925, p. 188.

a report of Norris' findings was submitted to the then Government¹ of Madras. It was published later in the Indian Antiquary.

According to Norris, the height of the stūpa was about 14 ft. and the area about 1700 square yards. Some years later R. Sewell

visited the site and submitted another report on the ruins at²

Bhaṭṭiprolu. According to this report, the mound of Bhaṭṭiprolu,

after removing the debris was between 30 and 40 feet high, of

circular shape like a dome, but ruined at the top. Inside the dome

there was a casket made of stone. In 1872, Alexander Rea visited

Bhaṭṭiprolu and his excavations at the site resulted in the

unearthing of three votive relic caskets containing inner stone

and crystal caskets,³ relics and jewels. It was found in these

excavations that the diameter of the stūpa was 138 ft. Outside the

basement of the stūpa was a brick floor on the edge of which may

have been a marble railing; some brick work and some chips of marble

were the only indications for the existence of such a railing.

Eleven inscriptions (ten on the relic caskets and one on a piece of crystal found inside one of the caskets) were found from the stūpa at Bhaṭṭiprolu.

1. Indian Antiquary, III, 1874, p. 124.

2. Madras Government Order, no. 1620, 1878, pp. 33-34.

3. A. Rea, 'South Indian Buddhist Antiquities', Archaeological Survey of India, (New Imperial Series), XV, 1894.

Scholars have expressed different opinions regarding the date of the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions. On the similarity of the script of these inscriptions to that of the inscriptions of Aśoka Bühler dated them to the second century B.C. at the latest.¹ On the other hand, A.H. Dani has grouped them along with the Nānāghaṭ inscriptions, which he dated to the first century A.D.,² while D.C. Sircar dated them to the end of the second century B.C.³

Besides the new forms of letters da (𑀢) gha (𑀣) bha (𑀤) ma (𑀥) la (𑀦) and sa (𑀧) which are the reverse forms of their regular counterparts (these have been regarded by Dani as mistakes on the part of the person who engraved the inscriptions)⁴ and some altogether new letters such as na (𑀨) la (𑀩) ra (𑀪) and la (𑀫) (according to Dani these were introduced to express new sounds in the language of this area), the script of the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions resemble the script of Aśoka inscriptions to a great extent. Thus, the forms of ka, ca, cha, ta, dha, na, pa, ba, ya, ra, va, sa, and ha of

1. G. Bühler, EI, II, 1894, p. 323 ff.

2. A.H. Dani, Indian Paleography, 1963, pp. 69-72.

3. D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, p. 224.

4. A.H. Dani, op.cit, pp. 69-72.

both Aśoka inscriptions and the Bhaṭṭiprolu casket inscriptions are almost identical. A comparison of the letters of the Bhaṭṭiprolu casket inscriptions with those of the Nānāghaṭ inscriptions reveals that the forms of letters ga, pa, sa, and ha of the former inscriptions are of an earlier style than those of the latter (the Nānāghaṭ inscriptions may, on palaeographical grounds, be dated to the second half of the first century B.C.) Thus, leaving about a half a century for this evolution of script (as seen in the Nānāghaṭ inscriptions), the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions may be assigned to either the end of the second century B.C. or the beginning of the first century B.C. and the construction of the stūpa at Bhaṭṭiprolu dated accordingly.

Ten inscriptions at Bhaṭṭiprolu were found engraved on the relic caskets enshrined in the stūpa while one inscription was discovered on one of the pieces of crystal found deposited inside a casket.

Inscriptions at Bhaṭṭiprolu provide valuable information regarding various donors and their donations.

Thus, according to one inscription engraved on one of the relic caskets, the casket was donated by a goṭhi (goṣṭhi)

headed by a king named Khubiraka (or Kuberaka). The inscription records:

Ṣa gāthi (gothi ?) nigama-putānam
raḥapamukha ṣariraṣa puto Khubirako
raja Ṣiha gāthiya pamukho teṣam
annam ma(juṣam) phaliga ṣamugo
ca paṣaṇa ṣamugo ca¹

This may be translated as:

'The goṣṭhī (assembly or committee of nigamaputras (sons of a town, meaning inhabitants of a town) is headed by a king; king Khubiraka, the son of Ṣarira, is the chief of the Simhagoṣṭhī (Simha assembly or committee). Their (gifts are) the other casket, and the box of crystal and a stone box'.

The implications of this inscription are significant. Firstly, it may be gathered from the inscription that a king named Khubiraka was the leader of an assembly which donated a relic casket to the stūpa at Bhaṭṭiprolu.

Our knowledge of the king Khubiraka is limited to the information of the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions. The important point is, however, that the inscriptions indicate that the Buddhist monks had received patronage from a local ruler at this time (end of the second century and the beginning of the first century B.C.).¹

1. See supra, pp. 40-41.

Secondly, it is important to note that the donation of the casket was made by a gathi (or gothi Skt. Gosthī).

The word gosthī means (1) an abode for cattle,
 cow pen (2) meeting place.¹ G. Bühler interprets this term as 'a committee entrusted with the management of the religious endowments'.² Bhandarkar, who accepts Bühler's interpretation wrote in 1907-8 'the word gosthī no doubt signifies a pañch or committee entrusted with the management of the religious endowments'.³

It would be interesting to investigate the information contained in the Bhattiprolu inscriptions regarding the nature and functions of the gosthis.

The inscription under discussion mentioned that the gosthī consisted of nigamaputras. As has been shown, nigama was probably a town, city or a market place, and nigamaputras can accordingly be taken as 'sons of a town' (literally), meaning 'inhabitants of a town'. Thus it appears that the gosthī which was headed by the king Khubiraka represented an assembly or a committee of a town.

1. M. Monier Williams, SED, 1899, p. 367.

2. EI, I, 1892, p. 190.

3. EI, IX, 1907-8, p. 189.

We also gather from the inscription that the goṣṭhī was named as Sihagoṭhi (Simhagoṣṭhī). Simha means not only a lion but also a 'powerful one', 'a hero or an eminent person' such as a prince or a king.¹ Thus, Simhagoṣṭhī could mean 'the kings assembly or committee'. On the other hand the name may also signify some 'totemistic association of simha, 'lion' with the goṣṭhī. If latter was the case the Simha goṣṭhī would have consisted of people of the tribe who used the lion as their totem (like the Sinhalese).

Further, two other inscriptions mention two goṣṭhis named 'Arahadina goṭhi' and 'Ayasaka goṭhi'.

The text of the inscription mentioning Arahadina goṭhi runs:

'Arahadinānam goṭhiyā majusa ca samugo ca
tena samayena Kubirako raja am(ki)'

This may be translated into English as 'By the goṣṭhī, i.e. assembly or committee of Arahandinas', a casket and a box (have been given). ~~Within that time (by that time)~~ king Kubiraka ~~caused~~ the marking to be done'.

The term arahadina (Pali arahad dinna and Sanskrit arhad datta, meaning 'worthy' and 'given' (from dā).

1. M. Monier Williams, SED, 1899, p. 1213.

may be rendered as 'given by the worthy (people)'. But from the context of the inscription it is clear that arahadina has been used as a proper noun (arahadinānam, genitive plural case ending). If the term Arahadina was a proper name, it would suggest that the members of this particular committee consisted of Arahadinas. The goṣṭhī of the Arahadinas would have therefore signified an assembly or committee of the Arahadina community of people.

'Ayasaka' appears to be a prakrit form of the Sanskrit word āyasa, meaning 'of iron' or 'made of metal'.¹ As the name has been given to a group of people, ayasaka may be taken to mean a group of ironsmiths. The Ayasaka goṣṭhī according to this meaning was perhaps an assembly or committee of ironsmiths. It is also possible that ayasaka may have derived from āyasa,² meaning 'hard working', in which case, the Ayasaka goṣṭhī gained its name 'hard-working goṣṭhī' on account of its occupational nature.

The names of the members of the Simha goṣṭhī are given in one of the inscriptions (this suggestion is based on the fact that reference to the Simha goṣṭhī and the list of names

1. M. Monier Williams, SED, 1899, p. 148.

2. Ibid.

are found in the inscriptions engraved on the same relic casket (casket no. 1). The inscription containing these names is given in a separate appendix.¹ According to this list, one of the members of the gosthi was a samana (śramaṇa), i.e. 'an ascetic'. Thus it appears that some gosthis were represented by laymen as well as members of the Saṃgha.

Thus the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions mentioning gosthis clearly indicate that gosthis were assemblies of some kind. They also show that such gosthis had names of their own. One such gosthi was headed by a king named Khubiraka. One of the gosthis i.e. the Ayasaka gosthi⁻² was perhaps an assembly or a committee which represented iron smiths. This evidence suggests that the gosthis mentioned in the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions were associations of the day which had political as well as economic significance.

It is also important to note that the relic caskets enshrined in the Bhaṭṭiprolu stūpa carry the names of members of

1. See infra pp. 218-232.

2. The reading of this word in the inscription, however, remains doubtful; see infra p. 232, n. 7.

goṣṭhis. This indicates the important place held by the goṣṭhis in supporting the Buddhist monks at Bhaṭṭiprolu, and supports Bühler's suggestion that goṣṭhis were 'committees entrusted with the management of religious endowments'. It should however, be added that the functions of goṣṭhis may not have been purely religious. A name like Ayasaka goṣṭhi shows the occupational nature of the goṣṭhi concerned. The Simha goṣṭhi of the nigamaputras presided by the king Khubiraka may have been an assembly or committee of political and economic importance.

An inscription found on casket no.3 at Bhaṭṭiprolu mentions several names of nēgamas (naigama) who appear to be the donors of the casket. The word nēgama is a secondary formation from nigama, the meaning of which has been discussed by us earlier. Nēgama literally means an 'inhabitant of a town, city or market place' and could have signified a merchant as well.

On the evidence of these inscriptions it may be concluded that the Buddhist monks at Bhaṭṭiprolu enjoyed the patronage of a king and of several assemblies of economic and political importance. Although we have very little evidence regarding the construction of stūpas of the period, the

evidence of the inscriptions at Bhaṭṭiprolu shows how such projects involving the expenditure of large amounts of money were shared by the various corporate bodies of the time.

Having considered the archaeological data showing the influence of Buddhism in this part of India, we may now examine the Pali tradition bearing on the subject.

According to this tradition, contained in the Dīpavaṃsa, Mahāvāṃsa, and the Samantapāsādikā, Buddhist missionaries were sent to Mahisamaṇḍala, Vanavāsa and Mahāraṭṭha by a Buddhist Council (this council is described as the Third Buddhist Council in these sources) convened during the reign of Aśoka.

Earlier scholars have differed in their identification of Mahisamaṇḍala. J. F. Fleet suggested that it was the country round Mahismati(modern Onkar Mandhatā).¹ Other scholars have, however, cited inscriptional evidence to show the existence, about the end of the fifth century A.D., of a tract of land associated with a people or a royal family called Mahisa in the Mysore State.² It has

1. J.F. Fleet, 'Mahishamandala and Mahishmati', JRAS, 1910, pp. 425-44.

2, D.C. Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, 1960, pp. 189-92.

also been suggested that the original name of Mysore was derived from the words Mahiṣa and ur which signified 'the city of the mahiṣas or buffalos'.¹ There has, however, been no definite identification of Mahisamaṇḍala.

The Mahāvamsa account mentions that a monk named Mahādeva was sent by the Buddhist Council to Mahisamaṇḍala. As a result of Mahādeva's activities 40,000 men are said to have entered the Order and a similar number to have become Buddhists.² The figures given in this account are no doubt greatly exaggerated.

Vanavāsa in the Mahāvamsa account is generally identified with the modern town of Bānavāsi in north Kanara district.³

A monk named Rakkhita, according to the Mahāvamsa account, visited this region and converted 60,000 people and gave ordination to 37,000. Moreover, five hundred viḥāras are said to have been built following the missionary activities of Rakkhita in Vanavāsa.⁴

1. D.C. Sircar, op. cit., pp. 189-192.

2. Mahavamsa, edited by W. Geiger, 1908, 31-33, p. 97.

3. Imperial Gazetteer of India, VI, 1908, p. 346.

4. Mahavamsa, op. cit., 31-33, p. 97.

Mahāratṭha in the Mahāvamsa account can be roughly identified with the present Maharashtra.

Mahādhammarakkhita was sent by the Buddhist Council to Mahāratṭha. As a result of his activity in Mahāratṭha 84,000 people are said to have accepted Buddhism while 13,000 entered the Order.¹

The absence of any reference to this Buddhist Council (mentioned in the Ceylon tradition) in the Indian sources has led some scholars to believe that the Third Buddhist Council was not a general council of Buddhists, but one limited to the Sthaviravādins or the Vibhajjavādins.² Lamotte questions the reliability of the Pali account of the Third Buddhist Council at Pāṭalīputra, in which Aśoka is said to have played an important and partial role, and insists that Aśoka, who according to his edicts was impartial to all faiths, could not have supported one sect against another.³ From this he argues that the Pali account of the Council is a complete fabrication. However if we make allowance for the councils chroniclers' natural

1. Mahāvamsa, op. cit., 37-38, p. 97.

2. H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, 1896, p. 110.

3. E. Lamotte, Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien des Origines à l'ère Śaka, 1958, pp. 299-300.

desire to identify its activities with Aśoka, there seems little reason to doubt that a council met, even if it was confined to one section of the Saṃgha. If the Council mentioned in the Ceylon tradition was in ~~fact~~ limited to the Sthaviravādins, the absence of references to it in the sources of the other sects is easily explained. The accounts of the various missionary activities are no doubt greatly exaggerated in the Ceylon tradition, but that they centred round a historical event - the missionary activity of the Sthaviravādins at the time of Aśoka - cannot be altogether ignored.

Taking the Mahāvamsa account together with the evidence of the Buddhist monuments, we suggest that Buddhism was introduced into the Deccan around the time of Aśoka Maurya.

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CHAPTER II

CHRONOLOGY OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA RULERS

We have discussed in the previous chapter the beginnings of Buddhism in the northern Deccan before the Sātavāhana period. We will, in the following chapters study the influence of Buddhism in this area during the Sātavāhana period on the following lines, viz. the Buddhist monuments mainly of the Sātavāhana period; the Buddhist sects of the Sātavāhana period; the Buddhist monastic life and laymen of the Sātavāhana period; and, lastly, the place of Buddhism in the society of the northern Deccan during the Sātavāhana period. As there are serious controversies among scholars regarding the so-called 'Sātavāhana period', we will devote this chapter to a review of Sātavāhana chronology.

Sources.

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 Inscriptions, coins, the Periplus Maris Erythraei,

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1. See under inscriptions in Bibliography.
 2. See under coins in Bibliography.
 3. Edited by H. Frisk, Le Periple de la mer Érythrée. Suivi d' une étude sur la langue, 1927. For an English translation see W.H. Schoff, The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, 1912.

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Ptolemy's Geographia and the Purāṇas are the main sources for our study of Sātavāhana chronology.

Among these sources, inscriptions may be regarded as the most reliable source of information. Some eleven rulers of the Sātavāhana dynasty are mentioned in inscriptions. Their information consists of the names of the rulers concerned, their political or religious activities, and in most cases, their regnal years.

The inscriptions mentioning the early rulers of the Sātavāhana dynasty are, however, relatively fewer in numbers than those mentioning the later rulers. This earlier group consists of the Nānāghaṭ Cave Figure-Label Inscriptions, the Nānāghaṭ Cave Inscription of Nāgaṃnikā(?), the Nāsik Cave Inscription of Kanha, the Hāthīgumpha Inscription of

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1. Edited by Louis Renou, La Géographie de Ptolémée (L'Inde, VII, 1-4), 1925. For a part of the work translated into English see J.W. McCrindle, Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy (edited by S.N. Majumdar Sastri in 1927).
 2. D.C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization, 2nd edn., I, 1965, pp. 190-192.
 3. ibid., pp. 192-197.
 4. ibid., pp. 189-190.

Khāravēla¹ and an inscription at Sāñcī.²

These inscriptions however provide very little information about the early rulers of the Sātavāhana dynasty. Their contents do not help us to date the reigns of any of the early Sātavāhana rulers. We will, therefore, have to resort to palaeography to determine the dates of the reigns of the early rulers mentioned in these inscriptions.

Indian palaeography has drawn the attention of many able scholars. Bühler's Indische Palaeographie (1896), though partly out of date, was one of the most important contributions in a then unexplored field of research. His conclusions were modified to a certain extent in 1919 by R.P. Chanda.³

In 1965, A.H. Dani put forward a chronological scheme that differs in several respects with the conclusions of both Bühler and Chanda.⁴ He placed in the first century of the Christian era many of the inscriptions which Bühler and several

1. D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, pp. 213-221.

2. Lüder's List, no. 346.

3. R.P. Chanda, 'Dates of the Votive Inscriptions on the Stupas at Sanci,' Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, I, 1919, pp. 5ff.

4. A.H. Dani, Indian Palaeography, 1963.

other scholars who followed him had dated back to the second century B.C.¹ Dani writes in this connexion: ' The inscriptions found in these caves (the caves of the north-west Deccan) have been analysed and assessed by Bühler and Burgess in the Archaeological survey of Western India Vols. IV and V.

Unfortunately the chart given by Burgess cannot be relied upon as the drawings are marked rather by good draftsmanship than faithfulness to the original. The chronological scheme built up by these scholars is one of the main obstacles to the solution of many problems in the history of the Deccan.² With the help of numismatic evidence, Dani concludes that most of the so-called early Brāhmī inscriptions of north-west Deccan are to be placed in the first half of the first century A.D.³

It may, however, be added that palaeography has its limitations and that it cannot be used as a yardstick for determining exact dates. Therefore, while accepting Dani's chronological scheme in the main we should leave a margin of about 50 years on either side in our dating of the earliest Brāhmī inscriptions of north-west Deccan, thus placing them from the

1. A.H. Dani, Indian Palaeography, 1963, p. 65.

2. *ibid.*, p. 65.

3. *ibid.*, p. 68.

latter half of the first century B.C. to the end of the first half of the first century A.D.

Several inscriptions provide us with information about the later Sātavāhana rulers (rulers subsequent to Gotamīputa Siri Satakapi). Further, the inscriptions of the Śakas of Mālva and Maharashtra also shed light on Śaka Sātavāhana relations. In addition, there is numismatic evidence as well as the Periplus and Ptolemy's Geographia.

The coins of the Sātavāhanas and the Kṣatrapas have¹ been found in fairly large hoards. Apart from their value as evidence confirming the information of other sources, these coins also provide independent information. On the one hand, the legends, dates (in the case of the Kṣatrapa coins), and portraits engraved on the coins, and their type and fabric, and on the other, the geographical distribution of the coins and the circumstances in which they are found- such as the layer of the earth (in archaeological excavations), whether found in hoards or otherwise, - provide us with important clues with regard to the chronology as well as the political and economic history of the period.

1. See under coins in Bibliography.

The accounts in the Periplus Maris Erythraei and Ptolemy's Geographia also contain some information relevant to our subject. This information provides valuable clues which help us to determine the approximate dates of the reigns of Nahapāna and Vāsithīputa Siri Puḷumāvi.

The Purāṇas

The ¹Matsya, ²Vāyu, ³Bhāgavata, ⁴Brahmaṇḍa and the ⁵Viṣṇu Purāṇas contain accounts of the Āndhra (Sātavāhana) dynasty. These accounts consist of information on the origin of the Āndhra dynasty, lists of names of the rulers of that dynasty and statements as to the duration of the Āndhra dynasty as a whole. Some Purāṇas, such as the Matsya, Vāyu and the Brahmaṇḍa contain, in addition, the lengths of the reigns of individual kings.

The information contained in the above Purāṇas is, however, inconsistent in many respects. The number of

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1. Matsya Purāṇa, edited by Hari Narayana Apte, 1907, chapter, 273, 1-17.
 2. Vāyu Purāṇa, edited by Hari Narayana Apte, 1905, chapter, 99, 345-356.
 3. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, edited by Ganapat Krisṇaḥi, 1889.
 4. Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa, edited by Khemaraj Shrikrishṇādas, 1906.
 5. Viṣṇu Purāṇa, edited by Jivananda Vidyasagara, 1882.

rulers, their names, length of the reign of each ruler (where given) and the duration of the Āndhra dynasty as a whole, given in each of these Purāṇas, does not tally between one Purāṇa and the other. It is important to note in this respect, that some controversy has arisen over the acceptance of one or the other of these contradictory statements in the Purāṇas.

When considering the historical importance of these Purāṇas for the study of ancient Indian history, it is generally accepted by scholars that their accounts are of very little value. The Purāṇas are considered to have been composed at a much later date than the events they describe. Much reliance cannot therefore, be attached to any of the accounts of the Āndhra dynasty as preserved in these sources.

In view of the above assessment of the available sources, our conclusions on the Sātavāhana chronology are to be drawn from the evidence of inscriptions, coins and from the accounts of the Periplus and Ptolemy's Geographia. The Puranic accounts will be considered only when they are supported by other reliable sources.

Although much has been written on the chronology of the Sātavāhanas there is no final agreement on this subject among historians. Some scholars place the beginning of the Sātavāhana dynasty at 271 B.C.¹ while others assign this to c. 73 B.C.² or to c. 30 B.C.³ There is not only disagreement among scholars on the date of the beginning of the Sātavāhana dynasty, but also on the dates and identification of individual rulers of this dynasty.

It is therefore necessary to review the whole problem of the chronology of the Sātavāhana dynasty taking into consideration all the data available and the various theories put forward by scholars.

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1. Advocates of an early date are G. Venket Rao, 'The Pre-Satavahana and Satavahana periods', chapter II in G. Yazdani (ed.) The early History of the Deccan, I, 1960, p. 90, and K. Gopalachari, 'The Satavahana Empire', chapter X in K.A.N. Sastri (ed.) A Comprehensive History of India, II, 1957, p. 295.
 2. R.G. Bhandarkar, Early History of the Dekkan, 1895, p. 34.
 3. Followers of this date are D.C. Sircar, 'The Satavahanas and the Chedis', chapter XIII, in R.C. Majumdar (ed.), The Age of Imperial Unity, 1960, p. 195; H.C. Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, 1932, p. 268; D. Barrett, Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum, 1954, p.14.

The beginnings of the Sātavāhana dynasty and the early Satavahana rulers

The dating of the foundation of the Sātavāhana dynasty has aroused the greatest controversy. As has been mentioned, scholars disagree widely on this point. These disagreements reflect the inadequacy of the data available for the study of this subject.

Thus there is no reliable and positive evidence providing information on the beginning of the Sātavāhana dynasty. Inscriptions provide few indications in this connexion. The most important material is contained in the Nānāghaṭ Cave Figure-Label Inscriptions.¹ These inscriptions are engraved above some bas-reliefs, which as the inscriptions indicate, were representations of some members of the Sātavāhana royal family.²

1. D.C. Sircar SI, I, 1965, pp. 190-192.

2. Some names are incised above the place of the heads of what were relief figures, now entirely destroyed. These names are:

No.1.

1. Rāyā Simuka-Sātavāha

2. no sirimate

No.2.

1. Dēvi-Nayanikāya raño

2. ca siri - Satakanino

No.3.

1. Kumaro bhā

2. ya

No.4.

1. Mahārāṭhi Uanakayiro

No.5.

1. Kumaro Hakusiri

No.6.

1. Kumaro Sātavāhano

Simuka

According to the Label Inscriptions, two of the bas-relief figures represent among others, 'Rāyā Simuka Sātavāhano Sirimāto', i.e. 'king Simuka Sātavāhana, the illustrious one' and 'Raño Siri Sātakani', i.e. 'king Siri Sātakani' (Sātakarpi). The arrangement of the bas-relief figures and the label inscriptions describing them suggest that Simuka was considered the first ruler of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

The contents of the Nānāghaṭ Cave Figure - Label Inscriptions mentioning Simuka do not, however, help us to determine the date of his reign. Therefore, we have to resort to the palaeography of the Nānāghaṭ Cave Figure - Label Inscriptions. This is the most reliable guide in determining the approximate age of the inscriptions which do not mention either historical personages or events.

The Nānāghaṭ Cave Inscriptions (both Nānāghaṭ Cave Figure - Label Inscriptions and the Nānāghaṭ Cave Inscription of Nāgāmnikā (?)) are now generally dated by scholars to a period near the beginning of the Christian
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era. It may, be surmised therefore that Simuka reigned in

1. See D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, p. 189, n. 1; also A.H. Dani, Indian Palaeography, 1963, chapter 5.

the first century before the Christian era, probably in the latter half of the century.

Some scholars have attempted to determine the date of the foundation of the Sātavāhana dynasty with the help of the evidence contained in the Vāyu Purāṇa.¹ But, apart from the fact that the Purāṇas cannot be regarded as reliable sources of information, the Puranic passage concerning the beginnings of the Āndhra (Sātavāhana) dynasty varies between different manuscripts of the same Purāṇa, and also in the different Purāṇas such as the Vāyu, Matsya, Bhāgavata, Brahmāṇḍa and the Viṣṇu.² A comparison of all the different versions of the passage in question has been given by Pargiter in his study of the Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.³ Such a comparison clearly shows the corrupted nature of the Puranic accounts. It may be noted therefore that any attempt to draw conclusions regarding the early history of India, especially on the chronology of Indian history, on the evidence of the corrupt passages of the Purāṇas is, to say the least, unhistorical.

1. R.G. Bhandarkar, Early History of the Dekkan, 1895, p. 31: D.C. Sircar, 'The Satavahana and the Chedis', chapter XIII in R.C. Majumdar (ed.) The Age of Imperial Unity, 1951.
2. See supra p.57 notes 1-5 for references to the Puranic passages.
3. F.G. Pargiter, The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, 1913, p. 38.

Kanha

Kanha, another early ruler of this dynasty, is mentioned in an inscription at Nāsik.¹ According to this inscription, Kanha was a member of the Sātavāhana family. Further, the term 'rājini' the locative case form of 'rāja', indicates that Kanha was a king. But, we know very little about Kanha's reign as the reliable information about him is limited to the above-mentioned inscription at Nāsik. No coins belonging to Kanha's reign have been found.

Kanha's place in the Sātavāhana dynasty cannot be determined with any accuracy. He is not given a place among the Nānāghaṭ bas-relief figures. Some scholars have tried to explain his absence among the Nānāghaṭ bas-reliefs, by arguing (on the evidence of some Purāṇas) that Kanha (Kṛṣṇa of the Matsya and the Vāyu Purāṇa)² was probably a usurper of the Sātavāhana throne. However, the little reliable evidence available does not permit us to draw any definite conclusions about Kanha's reign. As we have already stated, the Purāṇic evidence cannot be considered as reliable. Similarly, the relationship between Simuka, Kanha and Sīri Sātakani has to remain conjectural.

1. D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, p. 189.

2. S.L. Katare, 'Simuka, Sātakarni, Sātavāhana', IHQ, 28, 1952, pp. 68ff.

The Nāsik inscription mentioning Kanha is dated back to the latter half of the first century B.C. on¹ palaeographic grounds. We may conclude therefore that Kanha was an early ruler of the Sātavāhana dynasty, most probably a successor of Simuka. He may have reigned in the latter half of the first century B.C.

Siri Satakani

As we have mentioned, the Nānāghaṭ Cave Figure-Label Inscriptions indicate that one of the bas-reliefs is the figure of Siri Satakani. The inscription records: 'Siri-Sātakanino', i.e., 'of king Siri-Sātakani'. The long inscription on the side walls of the same cave at Nānāghaṭ where the bas-reliefs and label inscriptions were discovered, also appear to refer to Siri-Sātakani's political achievements.²

1. See D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, p. 189 n.I.
2. ibid, pp. 192-197. Owing to the Lacunae in the Nānāghaṭ Cave Inscription of Nagamnika (?) neither the name of its author nor the name of the important ruler mentioned in it can be deciphered. However, it is apparent that the author of the record was a queen; she calls herself 'mother of Kumāra Vedisiri and 'queen of Siri ...'. A comparison of the information of this inscription with the Nānāghaṭ Cave Figure-Label Inscriptions has led some scholars to believe that the author of the present inscription was probably Nayanika of the Nānāghaṭ Cave Figure-Label Inscriptions and the important ruler was Siri Satakani of the same inscription. (see note 2 of p. 60 for Nānāghaṭ Cave Figure-Label Inscription.). This identification presumes that the names Nagamnika (?) and Nayanika referred to one person.

According to this inscription, the important king mentioned in it (who was most probably Siri-Sātakani), performed two asvamedhas, one rājasūya and also a number of other sacrifices. Further, two other inscriptions mention a king by the name of Sātakani. One of them is engraved on the southern gateway of Stūpa I at Sāñcī;¹ the other is the Hāthīgumphā Inscription² of Khāravela.

We do not know for certain whether all these inscriptions refer to one and the same Sātakani. However, it is now generally believed by scholars that the above-mentioned Nānāghaṭ³ inscriptions, the Sāñcī inscription and the Hāthīgumphā inscription belong to the same palaeographical period.

A number of coins of uncertain provenance bearing the legend Siri-Sāta⁴ have also been discovered. E.J. Rapson and

1. Lüders List, No. 346.
2. D.C. Sircar, SI, I, Hāthīgumphā Cave Inscription of Khāravela, p. 213.
3. A.H. Dani, Indian Palaeography, 1963, chapter 5.
4. E.J. Rapson, CCADWK p.1 ; JNSI, IV, p.28; JNSI, VIII, pp. 35ff; JNSI, XII, pp. 94ff; IHQ, XXVIII, 1952, p.73.

other scholars have identified 'Siri-Sāta' of these coins with Siri Sātakani of the above inscriptions. This identification is supported by the palaeography of the letters of the Nānāghaṭ¹ Inscriptions and the coins mentioning Siri-Sāta. Sāta may be taken as an abbreviation for Sātakani.

According to the Vāyu, Brahmaṇḍa, Bhāgavata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇas, Śrī Sātakarṇi was the third member of the Āndhra dynasty; according to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa² there were two Sātakarṇis among the early Āndhra rulers; the third member of this dynasty was Śrī Sātakarṇi and the sixth member also was named Sātakarṇi (but his name is not given as Śrī Sātakarṇi). According to the Matsya Purāṇa, Sātakarṇi was the sixth ruler; Śrī Mallakarṇi, Pūrṇotsanga and Skandhastambhi being Kṛṣṇa's successors. But as we have noticed, the Purāṇic evidence about the Sātavāhana dynasty seems to be inconsistent and contradictory, and therefore is not reliable.

Our knowledge of the Sātavāhana dynasty from the end of the reign of Siri-Sātakarṇi (Śrī Sātakarṇi) to the beginning of the reign of Gotamīputa Siri Sātakarṇi (Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi) is limited to the lists in the Purāṇas. The Vāyu Purāṇa gives

1. See A.H. Dani, Indian Palaeography, chapter V.

2. For references to these Puranic passages see, p.57.

the names of nine kings between Śrī Sātakarpi and Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarpi while the Matsya Purāṇa gives a list of nineteen. In this regard, no inscriptional evidence whatsoever is available to verify the authenticity of the Puranic information. So far, coins of only two kings of this period have been discovered. They bear the legends 'Rāṇo Siva-Sirisapilakasa' and 'Ghasada.'¹ The first-mentioned coin has been attributed to Apilaka while the latter may stand for (Me)ghasada or Meghasvāti.²

Thus, in view of the scarcity of reliable data, it may be concluded that no definite chronology can be established for the period from the end of the reign of Śrī Sātakarpi to the beginning of the reign of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarpi.

Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakapi (Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarpi)

Gotamīputa siri-Sātakapi is mentioned in three inscriptions, viz, the Nāsik Cave Inscription of the regnal year 18 of Gotamī-puta Siri-Sadakani,³ the Nāsik Cave Inscription of the 24th year of Gotamīputa siri-Sātakapi⁴ and the Nāsik Cave Inscription of the 19th year of Vasiṭhiputa Siri-Puḷumāyi.⁵

1. A.S. Altekar, 'The coinage of the Deccan, in G. Yazdani(ed), The Early History of the Deccan', II, 1960, p. 792.

2. ibid.

3. D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, pp. 197-199.

4. ibid., pp. 200-201.

5. ibid., pp. 203-207.

The first mentioned inscription records the grant by Gotamīputa Siri Sadakapi of a field to the monks at Tikirasi (near Nāsik). The inscription reads: Gotamīputo Siri-Sadakapi ānapayati Govaddhane amaca Vi(phu) pālitaṃ gāme Aparakakhaḍi (ye) (ya) khetam Ajakālakiyaṃ Usabhadātena bhūtam. Two translations of this text are possible.

- (1) Gotamīputa Siri-Sadakapi commands Vi(phu) pālita (Viṣṇupālita) the officer at Govardhana (Nāsik) (to donate) the Ajakālakiya field in the village of Aparakakhaḍi enjoyed by Usabhadāta (Ṛṣabhadatta Uṣabhadatta Uṣavadatta).
- (2) Gotamīputa Siri-Sadakapi commands Vi(phu) pālita the officer at Govardhana (to donate) the field in the village of Aparakakhaḍi which had been enjoyed by Uṣabhadāta 'up to the present time'.

It would be useful to determine which of these two translations is the more plausible. According to the first translation, the name of the field that was given is Ajakālakiya. This has been suggested by D.C. Sircar, who derives the meaning from Ajakāla, the name of a ¹ yakṣa. But in view of the fact that in these inscriptions it was not the practice for donors to mention the names of the fields granted by them, it is unlikely that this term refers to a name. On the other hand, as the second translation shows, Ajakālakiyaṃ may be taken as an adjective meaning 'up to the present time', 'of the present time' (Skt. adyakālakiyaṃ).

1. D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, p.199.

The second interpretation is preferable in view of the objections mentioned earlier with regard to the first.

Whichever interpretation is adopted, it is clear that the field was enjoyed by Usabhadāta. This would lend support to the conclusion that Gotamīputa Siri Sadakapi and Usabhadāta were contemporaries and that the former exercised political authority over the latter's territory.

It is important to note in this regard that Uṣavadāta (according to the Nāsik inscriptions) or Usabhadāta (according to one Kārle inscription) was the name of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa Nahapāna's son-in-law. Six inscriptions of the latter have been found at Nāsik and Kārle.¹ While some of these inscriptions provide fragmentary information, the others mention donations made to the Buddhist monks of the cave monasteries at Nāsik and Kārle. They also mention donations by Uṣavadāta to Brahmins. Thus it is most likely that the Usabhadāta mentioned in Gotamīputa Siri-Salakapi's inscription (in connexion with the possession of the Ajakālakiya field) was the same person as the son-in-law of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa Nahapāna.

The Nāsik Cave Inscription of the year 24 of Gotamīputa Siri-Satakapi's reign records an order given by Gotamīputa

1. EI, VIII, 1905-6, Nāsik Inscriptions Nos. 10, 11, 12, 14a, 14b, pp. 78-85; EI, VII, 1902-3, Kārle Inscription No. 13, pp. 57ff.

Siri-Sātakani to Sāmaka (Syāmaka) the officer at Govadhana (Govardhana) (to donate) a field to the (Buddhist monks) at Tiranhu¹ (near Nāsik). This inscription proves that Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani reigned for at least 24 years.

The Nāsik inscription of the year 19 of Vāsīṭhīputa Siri-Pulūmāyi mentions in praśasti style the political achievements of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani.² With regard to the information contained in the inscription, we may restrict our analysis to those sections which throw light on the chronology of the Sātavāhanas. Accordingly, it is important to note that this inscription records that Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani 'uprooted the Khakharāta dynasty', or 'completely destroyed the power of the Khakharātas' (Khakharātavasa niravasesakarasa). Who were the Khakharātas uprooted by Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani?

An inscription of Usabādāta at Kārle mentions that Nahapāna was a Khakharāta.³ A number of inscriptions at Nāsik contain the word 'Kṣaharāta' in the same context.⁴ It is clear that Khaharāta and Kṣaharāta refer to the same dynasty - the dynasty of Nahapāna. 'Khakharāta' appears

1. D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, pp. 200-201.

2. Ibid, pp. 203-207

3. EI, VII, 1902-3, Kārle Inscription no. 13, pp. 57 ff.

4. EI, VIII, 1905-6, Nāsik Inscriptions nos. 10, 11, 12, 14a, 14b, pp. 78-85.

to be another variation of the form Kṣaharāta or Khaharāta. From the similarity of the forms Khaharāta, Kṣaharāta and Khakharāta, it may be assumed that the Khakharāta dynasty which was 'uprooted' by Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani was the same as the Khakharāta or Kṣaharāta dynasty- the dynasty of the Kṣaharāta ruler Nahapāna.

Our sources of information do not specify the name of the Kṣaharāta ruler defeated by Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani, but it can be assumed that whoever Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani defeated would have been the last of the Khakharāta (Kṣaharāta) line. Coins and inscriptions provide information for only two rulers of this line, viz. Bhūmaka and Nahapāna.¹

The Nāsik Inscription of the eighteenth year of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani provides the information that the land granted was enjoyed by Uṣavadāta. It is reasonable to think that the Govardhana district in which the land was situated was under the control of Uṣavadāta at the time it was taken over by Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani. Would this perhaps mean that it was Uṣavadāta who was defeated by Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani ? As one of the inscriptions at Nāsik² of Uṣavadāta clearly states that he was a Śaka (Śakasa Uṣavadātasa), it is certain that Uṣavadāta did not belong to the Kṣatrapa family although he was said to have been the son-in-law of Nahapāna

1. D.C.Sircar, 'The Śaka Satraps of Western India' in R.C. Majumdar (ed.) AIU, 1951, XII, pp. 179-182.

2. EI, VIII, 1905-6, Nāsik Inscription no. 14a, pp. 85-86.

who was a Kṣaharāta. Thus the available evidence leads us to think that Nahapāna was most probably the last Kṣaharāta ruler.

The Jogalthembi hoard of coins shows that Nahapāna's coins were re-struck by Gotamīputa Siri Sātakaṇi.¹ If it is accepted that the re-striking of coins indicate transfer of political authority, the evidence of the Jogalthembi hoard would prove that Gotamīputa Siri Sātakaṇi ruled over areas that had been under Nahapāna's control probably after defeating him. These areas included those granted by Nahapāna's son-in-law Uṣavadāta.

Having considered the Sātavāhana-Kṣaharāta relations, we may now attempt to fix the date of Nahapāna with a view to establishing the probable period of the reign of Gotamīputa Siri Sātakaṇi.

In this respect two sources provide information. These are the inscriptions mentioning the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa ruler Nahapāna and the Periplus.

Inscriptions of Uṣavadāta and Ayama mentioning Nahapāna, contain the dates 41, 42, 45² and 46.³ These dates have been taken to refer to the Vikrama era,⁴ the Śaka era⁵ and to Nahapāna's regnal years⁶ respectively by various scholars. Thus there are three different theories regarding the dates contained in these inscriptions.

The theory attributing the dates of Uṣavadāta's

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1. E.J. Rapson, CCADWK, 1908, p. LXXXIX; JBBRAS, XXII, 1905-8, pp. 223-245.
 2. D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, pp. 164-171.
 3. Ibid, pp. 172-3.
 4. G. Venket Rao, op. cit, pp. 100-101.
 5. M.A.M. Boyer, 'Nahapāna et L'ère Śaka', JA, 1897, pp. 120-51; also see E.J. Rapson, CCADWK, 1908, p. XXVI.
 6. V. Dehejia, Early Buddhist Rock Temples, 1972, p. 23.

inscriptions to the Vikrama era places the rule of Nahapāna in the latter half of the first century B.C. This seems unacceptable as such an early date for Nahapāna would leave a gap of about a century between Nahapāna and Gotamīputa Siri Sātakaṇi, as the synchronism of Vāsīṭhīputa Siri Puḷumāvi and Caṣṭana (c. 130 A.D.) forces us to date the reign of Gotamīputa Siri Sātakaṇi not earlier than the end of the first century A.D. As we have seen, it follows from the Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsīṭhīputa Siri Puḷumāvi (nineteenth regnal year) that Gotamīputa Siri Sātakaṇi 'uprooted the Khakharātas', i.e. Nahapāna, whose coins he overstruck.

The other theory which refers the dates 41-46 of Uṣavadāta's inscriptions to the Śaka era gives Nahapāna's last known date as 124 A.D. However, it has been pointed out by André Maricq that such a theory is based on an arithmetical error.¹ He writes:

'En effet, si Nahapāna date ère Śaka, comme Rudradāman, 26 ans séparent la dernière inscription de Nahapāna (Junnar 46) de l'inscription de Girnār, de Rudradāman. Or, dans cet intervalle, il faut placer, selon Boyer:

L'intervalle entre 46 et la victoire de Gautamīputra sur Nahapāna	0 ans
Les six années, au moins, où Gautamīputra régna après sa victoire	6 ans
Les 24 années, au moins, où régna Puḷumāvi	24 ans
Les huit ans, au moins, que dura le règne de Māḍharīputra	8 ans
Le début ^{du} règne de Caturapana Vāsīṣṭhīputra Sātakaṇi	0 ans

38 ans

Même en déplaçant le règne de Māḍharīputra et en comptant pour moins d'un an la somme de toutes les inconnues, il nous reste 30 ans, alors que nous ne disposons que de 26'.

1. André Maricq, 'La Date de Kanīska, Deux Contributions en Faveur de 78 ap. j-c', in A.L. Basham (ed.) Papers on the Date of Kanīska, 1968, pp. 172-177.

Thus, both the above theories referring the dates contained in the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta to either the Vikrama or the Śaka era are unacceptable.

The conclusion must therefore be that Nahapāna either used an unknown era starting about the middle of the first century A.D. or, more probably used regnal years. Forty six years' of reign is long but would by no means be unique.

It is generally accepted by scholars that 'Nambanos' (Mambaros) mentioned in the Periplus¹ was Nahapāna. However, no definite conclusions can be drawn as to the date of the beginning or the end of Nahapāna's reign from the evidence of the Periplus. Many scholars assign the Periplus² to a date not later than 70 A.D. Accordingly, the Periplus indicates that Nahapāna (if 'Nambanos' was Nahapāna) was ruling parts of the north western Deccan at some time before 70 A.D.

In view of the foregoing discussion, it may be concluded that the end of the Kṣaharāta dynasty occurred during the reign of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani, in or before the 18th regnal year of his reign. The Jogalthembi hoard of coins seems to suggest that Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani

1. Fleet, 'A point in Palaeography', JRAS, 1907, p. 1043;
J.A.B. Palmer, 'The identification of Ptolemy's Douna',
JRAS, 1946, p. 170.

2. W.W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, 1951, p. 148;
also see supra p.22 on the date of the Periplus.

defeated the Kṣaharātas in the person of Nahapāna. The generally accepted date for the Periplus (70 A.D.) would suggest that Nahapāna ruled in the North-west Deccan in the latter half of the first century A.D. and perhaps for a few years at the beginning of the second century A.D.

As Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakapi defeated Nahapāna, the reign of the former may be dated approximately to the first quarter of the second century A.D. It is, however, not possible to arrive at absolute dates with the available data on this subject.

Vāsīthiputa Siri-Puḷumāvi (Vāsīsthiputra Sṛī Puḷumāvi)

There is inscriptional evidence to show that Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakapi's reign was followed by that of Vāsīthiputa Siri-Puḷumāvi. Inscriptions of the latter have been found at Nasik, Kāṛle and at Amarāvati. The Nāsik Inscription of the year 19 of Vāsīthiputa Siri-Puḷumāvi makes it clear that Vāsīthiputa Siri-Puḷumāvi was the grandson of Gotamī Balasiri,¹ the mother of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakapi. The Kāṛle inscription

1. SI, I, 1965, Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsīsthiputra Puḷumāvi - regnal year 19, pp. 203-207. This inscription qualifies Gotamī Balasiri as mahadevi maharājamata maharāja [pi] tamahī, meaning 'the great queen, mother of a maharaya and grandmother of a Maharāja'. The context of the inscription shows clearly that Gotamī Balasiri was the mother of Gotamīputa Siri Satakapi [line 9] and she was therefore the grandmother of Vāsīthiputa Siri-Sātakapi.

of Vāsīṭhi-puta¹ Siri-Puḷumāvi shows that he reigned for at least 24 years, while the Amarāvati inscription mentions the gift of a dharmacaka (dharmacakra), i.e. 'a wheel of the Law' at the west gate of the (Amarāvati) stūpa, in the reign of the king Vā(si)th(i)puta(sa) (Sā)m(i)-siri-Puḷumāvi.²

Ptolemy's Geographia seem to contain a reference to Vāsīṭhīputa Siri-Puḷumāvi. It mentions Baitana(Paithan, Pratiṣṭhāna) as the capital of Siro Polemaios and Ozene (Ujjain) as that of Tiastenes (Caṣṭana).³ This statement of Ptolemy implies that Puḷumāvi was a contemporary of Caṣṭana who may therefore be dated to a time just before the text was written (150 A.D.). Caṣṭana is also mentioned in the Andhau Inscription of the year 52(130 A.D.), where, however, Rudradāman appears as a co-ruler. Caṣṭana's rule in Surāstra may have begun some time before 130 A.D. The Girnar inscription of Rudradāman of the year 72 (150 A.D.) shows that Rudradāman had become the sole ruler of surāstra and Malva in 150 A.D. Caṣṭana's reign may have ended, therefore between 130 A.D. and 150 A.D. The evidence of the Geographia and inscriptions of the Śaka rulers, thus show that Vāsīṭhīputa Siri-Puḷumāvi's reign

1. D. G. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, Kārle Cave Inscription of Vāsīṭhīputa Puḷumāvi - Regnal year 24, pp. 210-211.

2. C. Sivaramamurti, BMGM, IV, 1942, No. 51, p. 283.

3. Geographia, VIII, I, 63.

(which followed the reign of Gotamīputa Siri Sātakaṇi) should be dated in the second quarter of the second century A.D.

As we have already mentioned, an inscription at Kārle¹ proves that Vāsithīputa Siri-Pulumāyi reigned for at least 24 years. The precise dates of the beginning and end of his reign cannot however be determined with the available evidence.

The list of kings of the Āndhra dynasty in the Matsya Purāṇa gives the name of the successor of Gotamīputa Siri-Sākatakāṇi as² Puloma; according to the same source, he ruled for 28 years. The Vāyu Purāṇa, on the other hand, does not refer to the reign of Vāsithīputa Siri Pulumāvi at all.³

Successors of Vāsithīputa Siri-Pulumāvi

A number of inscriptions mention the names of rulers who were possibly the successors of Vāsithīputa Siri-Pulumāvi. But the information contained in these inscriptions is so meagre that it is of little help to establish the chronology of the period with certainty.

The inscriptions and the information contained in them consist of:

- a) the Kanheri Inscription mentioning (Vā)siṣṭhīputra⁴ Sri Sāta (kaṇṇ)i. It records: '(Vā)siṣṭh(i)putrasya Śrī Sāta(kaṇṇ)

1. See Supra, p. 76 n. 1.

2. Ibid,

3. Ibid.

4. ASWI, V, 1883, no. 11, p. 78.

ī(s)ya devyā(h) Kārdamakarājavamsapra(bha)v(ā)y(ā) mahākṣatra(pa)

Ru ... (p)utry(āh) ... meaning 'of the queen of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarpi decended from the Kārdamaka line of kings (and) who was the daughter of Mahākṣatrāpa Ru(dradāman ?)".

b) the Girnar Inscription of Rudradāman of the year 72¹ (150 A.D.) recording: 'dakṣiṇāpatha-pates Sātakarper dvirapi nīrvyājamavajityāva.jītya sambandhā(vi) dūra(ta)yā anutsādanāt prāptayasasā.' meaning 'because he twice overpowered the sincerity² (?) of Satakarpi, Lord of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, and achieved fame by³ not destroying him on account of his not very distant connexion (to him).

c) the Nānāghaṭ Inscription, dated in the thirteenth regnal year of Vāsaṭhiputa Catarapana Sātakani, mentioning the gift of a water-cistern by a householder named Damaghōṣa⁴ (Dharmaghōṣa).

1. D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, 'Junāgarh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I [Śaka] year 72 (150 A.D.). pp. 175-180.

2. nīrvājam avajitya, vyāja means deceit, treachery, falsehood (SED, p.1036) nīrvāja may, therefore, be taken as the absence of such qualities, i.e., honesty, openmindedness, sincerity. nīrvājam in this context can be construed as the object of avajitya (from ava + √ji to subdue, defeat, overpower, annihilate). The whole phrase may, therefore be rendered as 'overpowered the sincerity'.

3. Sambandhā(vi)dūra(ta)yā. This phrase which has been translated as 'on account of his not very distant connexion' explains why Rudradāman did not destroy Satakarpi. This was a reason, according to the inscription, for Rudradāman's attainment of fame. Avidura(ta)yā has been taken here as instrumental singular of avidurata.

4. JBRAS (68) XV, 1883, p.313.

d) the Amarāvati¹ Inscription mentioning the gift of an official of the king Siri Sivamaka Sada.

e) the Kanheri² Inscription dated in the eighth regnal year of the king Maḍhariputa Svāmi-Śakasena, recording the donation of a cave by a merchant and others.

The rulers mentioned in all the above-mentioned sources may be arranged in a table as follows:

<u>Inscriptions</u>	<u>Coins</u>	<u>Matsya Purāṇa</u>
1. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi ³	Raño Vāsiṣṭhīputasa Siva Siri Sātakamni	Śiva Śrī Śiva Skandha
2. Sātakarṇi (Girnar Inscription)		
3. Vāsaṭhīputa Catarapana Sātakani		
4. Siri Sivamaka Sada		
5. Maḍhariputa Svāmi Śakasena		

It is clear from this table that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi (of the Kanheri Inscription), the husband of the daughter of the Mahākṣatrapa Ru (dradāman ?) was the same ruler as Vāsiṣṭhīputa Siva Siri Sātakamni of the coins and Śiva Śrī of the Matsya Purāṇa list of the Āndhra rulers.

1. ASSI, I, p. 61.

2. ASWI, V, Kanheri Inscription No. 14, p. 79.

3. As noted earlier 1 and 2 are almost certainly the same individual.

As it has already been seen, both Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakarṇi and Vāsisthīputa Siri-Puḷumāvi reigned for at least 48 years, in the first half of the second century A.D. The reign of Vāsisthīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi which appears to have followed that of Vāsisthīputa Siri-Puḷumāvi may therefore, be, placed around 150 A.D.

The Girnar Inscription of Rudradāman also makes reference to a Śaka-Sātavāhana (family) connexion.¹ Sātakarṇi, according to the Girnar Inscription of Rudradāman, was spared by Rudradāman² on account of the closeness of the (family) relationship. It may be possible that this (family) relationship of the Śakas and the Sātavāhanas alluded to in the Girnar Inscription of Rudradāman arose out of the marriage of Rudradāman's daughter to Vāsisthīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi; the marriage of Ru(dradāman's) daughter and Vāsisthīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, as we have noticed is recorded in an inscription at Kanheri.³

The Sātakarṇi mentioned in the Girnar Inscription of Rudradāman has been identified with several rulers of the Sātavāhana dynasty by various scholars: he has been identified with Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakarṇi,⁴ Vāsisthīputa Siri-Puḷumāvi,⁵ Vāsisthīputra (Śiva)

1. Supra, p. 77

2. Supra, p. 78

3. Supra, pp. 77-78.

4. D.C. Sircar, 'The Sātavāhanes and the Chedis', in R.C. Majumdar (ed.) AIU, XIII, p. 202.

5. E.J. Rapson, CCADWK, 1908, p. XXXVIII.

¹Śrī Sātakarpi and ²Yajña Śrī Sātakarpi. However, the identification of Sātakarpi (of the Girnar Inscription of Rudradāman) with Vāsisthīputa Siri-Puḷumāvi seems improbable, as the latter has not been referred to by the name of Sātakarpi in any of the known sources of information. Similarly, according to the chronology suggested by us, Yajña Śrī Sātakarpi's reign cannot be placed before 150 A.D. (the Sātakarpi mentioned in the Girnar Inscription should be dated from a time before 150 A.D, which is the date of the Girnar Inscription). The opinion that Sātakarpi of the Girnar Inscription was Yajña Śrī can therefore, be, eliminated. D.C. Sircar has identified the Sātakarpi of the Girnar Inscription with Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakarpi. He writes:

"This Sātakarpi seems to be no other than Gautamīputra. The closeness of relation between the two rulers is explained by the Kanheri inscription which refers to a Kārdamaka princess as the daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Ru(dra) who is generally identified with Rudradāman, and as the wife of Vāsisthīputra Sātakarpi, apparently a co-uterine brother of Vāsisthīputra Puḷumāvi and a son of Gautamīputra". ³

However, the relationship between Vāsisthīputra Śrī Sātakarpi and Vāsisthīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi, and the relationship of Vāsisthīputra Sātakarpi and Gautamīputra Śrī - Sātakarpi cannot be confirmed from the available sources. D.C. Sircar's

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1. M. Rama Rao, 'The Sātavāhana rival of Rudradāman,' Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1951, pp. 52-56.
 2. Venket Rao, op.cit., p. 108-112.
 3. D.C. Sircar, 'The Sātavāhanas and the Chedis', in R.C. Majumdar (ed.) AIU, XIII, 1951, pp. 183, 203.

identification of the Sātakarṇi of the Girnar Inscription implies that the marriage of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi and Rudradāman's daughter had taken place at least 24 years before Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi ascended the Sātavāhana throne, as it is known from the inscriptions of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi who reigned between Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi reigned for at least 24 years.¹

Lastly, if it was Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi who was the Sātakarṇi defeated by Rudradāman, it implies that Rudradāman had defeated his son-in-law (if the Mahākṣatrapa Ru... mentioned in the Kanherī inscription was Rudradāman).

It is not possible to arrive at any definite conclusions regarding the identification of the Sātakarṇi mentioned in the Girnar Inscription. It may however, be concluded that,

- a) Sātakarṇi of the Girnar Inscription must have reigned before 150 A.D.;
- b) that he was a contemporary and a relation of Rudradāman (the Andhau Inscriptions show that Rudradāman was ruling with Caṣṭana in 130 A.D.² while according to the Girnar Inscription Rudradāman was the Mahākṣatrapa in 150 A.D.³)

1. See supra p.76 n.1.

2. D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, Andhau Stone Inscriptions of the time of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman I (Śaka) year 72 (150 A.D.), pp.174-5

3. See supra pp.77-78

c) that he was defeated in battle by Rudrādaman.

Our knowledge of Vāsathīputa Catarapana Sātakani is limited to the Nānāghāṭ Inscription which mentions a gift of a water cistern to the (Buddhist) monks by a house-holder named Damaghoṣa (Dharmaghoṣa).¹ According to this inscription, the above mentioned gift was made in the thirteenth regnal year of Vāsathīputa Catarapana Sātakani. The name 'Catarapana' seems uncommon, and in fact, this is the only instance when it appears as the name of a Sātavāhana ruler. In trying to explain the meaning of Catarapana, K. Gopalachari has suggested that it may be connected with the term 'Kṣatrapa'.² But whether 'Catarapana' was derived from the term 'Kṣatrapa' is not definitely known. No coins bearing the legend 'Catarapana Sātakani' have been discovered. No do the Purāṇas give any reference to this ruler.

Neither can the Siri Sivamaka Sada (Śrī Sivamaka Sātakarṇi?) mentioned in the Amarāvati Inscription³ be identified with certainty.

Mādhariputa Svāmī Sakasena (of the Kaṇheri Inscription)⁴

1. JBBRAS (OS) XV, 1883, p. 313.

2. K. Gopalachari, EHAC, 1941, p. 67.

3. See supra, p. 79.

4. Ibid.

is mentioned neither in the coins nor in the Puranic lists. His name suggests a Śaka connexion. The Kanherī inscription mentioning Māḍhariputa Sakasena is dated in the eighth year of his reign.

Thus, in view of the above discussion, it should be noted that no definite conclusions can be drawn regarding the succession of the Sātavāhana rulers from Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puṣumāvi to Gautamīputra Svāmī- Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. The available evidence indicates that at least three kings reigned in the time between Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puṣumāvi and Gautamīputra Svāmī-Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. Although no definite dates can be assigned to these rulers, it may be safe to place their rule in the third quarter of the second century A.D. (c. 145-170).

Gotamīputa Sāmī-Siri Yaña Sātakarṇi (Gautamīputra-Svāmī Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi).

Inscriptions at Nāsik, Kanherī and Hinna Ganjam throw light on the reign of Gotamīputa Sāmī Siri Yaña Sātakarṇi.

The Nāsik Inscription concerned mentions the donation of a cave by the Mahāsenāpatini (the wife of the chief general of the king) named Vasu in the seventh regnal year of Gotamīputa Sāmī Siri Yaña Sātakarṇi.¹

1. D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, pp. 211-212.

Two inscriptions at Kanherī refer to Gotamīputa
¹
 Sāmī Siri yaña Sātakapi or Gotamīputa Sāmī Siri Yaña Sotakamni
 (Sātakamni). The first-mentioned inscriptions, dated in the
 sixteenth year of Gotamīputa Sāmī Siri Yaña Sātakapi, mentions
 the donations by an upāsaka named Aparenu and others, of a cave,
 a water-cistern and a sum of money to the (Buddhist) monks of
 the Kanherī caves. The other inscription, which is mutilated,
 mentions the excavation of a Caitya Cave by two merchants named
 Gajasena and Gajamitra.² This inscription is dated in the reign
 of Gotamīputa Sāmī Siri Yaña Sotakamni. But the line mentioning
 the date has been damaged.

The Kinna Ganjam Inscription is dated in the 27th year
³
 of Gotamīputa Siri Yaña Sātakapi.

Gotamīputa Siri Yaña's name also appears in some coins
 found in the Kṛṣṇa-Guntur region.

According to the Matsya Purāṇa, Śiva Skandha was
 succeeded by Yajña Śrī who ruled for 27 years.

Considering all the above-mentioned information regarding
 the reign of Gotamīputa Sāmī Siri Yaña Sātakapi, it is plausible
 to assume that his reign should be dated after the end of the
 reign of the immediate successors of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puṣumāvi.

1. ASWI, V, Kanherī Inscription, No.15, p. 79.

2. Ibid, No. 4, p. 75.

3. EI, I, 1892. 'Kinna Ganjam Inscription of the year 27
 of Gotamīputa Siri Yaña Satakapi,' p. 95.

The last rulers and the end of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

Three inscriptions mention the names of the (Sātavāhana) rulers who were probably the last members of the dynasty. They are:

- a) a mutilated inscription discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, dated in the sixth regnal year of king Gotamīputa Siri-Vijaya Sātakapī.¹ No more of this inscription can be deciphered owing to its mutilated condition.
- b) the Kodāvali Rock-Inscription dated in the second year of the reign of Caṇḍasati mentioning a donation (which is not clearly described in the inscription) to the (Buddhist monks) by the king's amacca,² i.e. minister.
- c) the Myakadoni Inscription dated in the eighth year of the reign of a Puḷumāvi,³ recording the construction of a tank by a house-holder.

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1. EI, XXXVI, 1965-66, 'Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Prākṛit Inscription of Gautamīputra Vijaya Sātakarpi. Year 6. pp. 273-274.
 2. EI, XVIII, 1925-26, 'The Kodāvali Rock-Inscription of Caṇḍasati; the second year of reign', pp. 316-319.
 3. D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, Myakadoni Inscription of Puḷumāvi of the year 8, p. 212.

Coins bearing the legends Vijaya, Siri Caḍa Sati, and Puḷumāvi¹ have also been discovered.

According to the Matsya Purāṇa list of the Āndhra rulers, Yajña Śrī (Siri Yaṇa of inscriptions) was succeeded by Vijaya, Candra Śrī and Puḷumāvi. They reigned for six, ten and seven years respectively, according to the same source.

Thus the reigns of the above-mentioned three rulers following the reign of Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi may be placed at the beginning of the third century of the Christian era.

We have shown in the course of this chapter that the Sātavāhana dynasty ruled parts of the northern Deccan from c. 75-30 B.C. to c. 200-225 A.D, i.e. for about 250 to 300 years. We have also indicated that the chronology of the Sātavāhana rulers from the reign of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi to that of the last known king, i.e. Puḷumāvi can be established with some degree of accuracy.

Our main purpose in discussing the chronology of the Sātavāhana kings is to use it for dating and interpreting the numerous inscriptions which constitute the most reliable basis of any study of the rise and growth of Buddhism in the northern Deccan during the first three centuries of our era. Our discussion has

1. IHQ, XVI, 1940, pp. 503 ff; JNST, II, p. 83; PHIC, VII, p. 104; CCADWK, 1908, pp. 30-31.

therefore been confined to what is strictly indispensable for this purpose.

In the following chapter we will turn our attention to the Buddhist shrines and monasteries in both the western and the eastern parts of the northern Deccan, which were either constructed or enlarged during the Sātavāhana period.

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CHAPTER III

THE BUDDHIST MONUMENTS MAINLY OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA PERIOD

We have seen in the previous chapter that the Sātavāhanas came to power in about the first century before the Christian era and continued to rule parts of the northern Deccan for nearly three centuries. In this chapter we may turn our attention to the Buddhist monuments of the northern Deccan which can be dated back to the above period. Such monuments and inscriptions found in their premises are the main sources of information for our study of the rise and spread of Buddhism in this area and period.

The Buddhist monuments of the northern Deccan can be broadly divided into two groups: viz. those of the western part of the northern Deccan (Maharashtra) and those of the eastern part of the northern Deccan (Andhra Pradesh). The monuments of the former group are excavated in rocks and the remains of some of them can still be seen. The monuments of the latter group were mostly made of brick and stone, and hence they were completely ruined; only their foundations have been discovered by the Archaeological Survey of India.

Buddhist monuments of the western part of the northern Deccan
(Maharashtra)

The first attempt to describe the rock-cut caves¹ in the Maharashtra was made by Fergusson in 1843. This was followed by the publication in 1880 of The Cave² Temples of India by Fergusson and Burgess. In 1883 the latter work was supplemented by Burgess in a Report of the³ Archaeological Survey of India.

Since the time of Fergusson and Burgess much research has been done by several scholars on the dates of excavation and the development of art and architecture of these cave⁴ monuments. The later scholars have generally followed

1. J. Fergusson, 'On the Rock-cut Temples of India', JRAS, VIII, pp. 30-92.
 2. J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, The Cave Temples of India, 1880.
 3. J. Burgess, ASWI, IV, 1883.
 4. Reference is made in this connexion to other works notably A.K. Coomaraswamy, The History of Indian and Indonesian Art, 1927.
- R.S. Wauchape, The Buddhist Cave Temples of India, 1933.
- S. Kramrisch, Indian Sculpture, 1933.
- P. Brown, Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu, Not dated.
- B. Rowland, The Art and Architecture of India, 1959.
- S.K. Saraswati and N.R. Ray 'Art' (chap.XX in History and Culture of the Indian people II, 1951).

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Fergusson and Burgess' conclusions that the period of four hundred years between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. would cover their excavation, and that the cāityas at Bhājā, Kondāne and Pitalkhorā are among the earliest, whereas Kārle and Kanherī belong to a later stage.

There is, however, considerable divergence of opinion among scholars on the matter of absolute dates. Thus some scholars place the entire group, with the exception of Kanherī, in the two centuries preceding the Christian era while the others place the earliest caves in the first century B.C.

The main criteria applied by Fergusson and Burgess and also by the above-mentioned other scholars to date the Buddhist monuments concerned were 1) inscriptional evidence 2) the architectural styles and techniques.

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1. The Cave Temples of India, op.cit, pp. 181-186.
 2. G. Yazdani, Early History of the Deccan, II, 1960, p. 725; P. Brown, Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu, undated, p. 26.
 3. W.M. Spink, 'On the Development of Early Buddhist Art in India', Art Bulletin, XL, 1958, p. 103.

The inscriptional evidence consists of palaeographical clues and references to historical rulers of the Sātavāhana and the Śaka dynasties. With reference to the palaeographical evidence it may be noted that the dates suggested for the early inscriptions, found in the cave monuments of Maharashtra, by Fergusson and Burgess and the scholars who followed them, should be reconsidered in the light of later research on the palaeography of the Brāhmī inscriptions. In this connexion reference is made to the study of Brāhmī inscriptions by A.H.¹ Dani and also the study of inscriptions of the early Buddhist caves by V. Dehejia.² Where inscriptions make references to Sātavāhana or Śaka rulers, the approximate dates of excavation of monuments with which the inscriptions are connected can be determined with more certainty.

The evidence for the study of architectural styles and techniques is provided by the rock-cut caityas or Buddhist halls of worship, and viḥāras, which were the residential halls for the monks.

1. A.H. Dani, 'The Provincial Brāhmī scripts to the middle of the first century A.D. (chap.5), Indian Palaeography, 1963.

2. V. Dehejia, Inscriptions from the Early Buddhist Caves (chap.3), Early Buddhist Rock Temples, 1972.

The earliest rock-cut caityas - the Sudama and Lomas R̥ṣi caves in the Barābar hills of Bihar - were excavated during the time of Aśoka. They consist of a rectangular chamber in which worshippers could congregate, and a small circular room beyond, with a domed roof which housed the object of worship - probably a ¹ stūpa. These rock-cut caityas closely followed and were modelled on the technique of structural architecture in wood, thatch and bamboo.

Art historians hold the common opinion that the caityas of the western Deccan may have evolved from the Sudama and Lomas R̥ṣi caves of Bihar. As we have already mentioned, scholars like Fergusson and Burgess dated the caityas in the western Deccan, which appear to be nearest in style to the Sudama and Lomas R̥ṣi caves, back to 200 B.C. ² allowing a time gap of about 50 years from the date of excavation of the Barābar caves, which may be dated within the reign of Aśoka. Similarly the chronological significance of architectural styles was elaborated also by Percy Brown. His criteria included the extent to which wooden constructions were copied, the shape of the caitya arch, the elongation of the stūpa, the elaboration of the

1. In both the Sudama and Lomas R̥ṣi caves the inner chambers are quite empty. It seems likely that a structural stūpa of some sort occupied the chamber.

2. J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, The Cave Temples of India, 1880, p. 182.

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façade and the replacement of wood by stone.

The architectural style of the vihāras was very simple. The vihāras consisted of one or more cells containing a raised rock-cut bed and a little niche. These cells were usually grouped around a central hall with an open veranda in front. The earliest vihāras in the western Deccan are quadrangular in form. A typical example of the vihāra consists of a narrow pillared veranda, leading into a small square hall with cells opening out from its sides.

We may however add that no definite conclusions can be drawn regarding the dates of excavation of the caves of the western Deccan on the evidence of architectural styles and techniques alone. This evidence may help us considerably to arrive at a sequence of excavations. Our aim in this regard is not so much to fix the exact dates of excavation of cave monuments, as to described those that mainly belonged to the sātavāhana period.

Bhājā

The Buddhist remains at Bhājā consists of sixteen vihāras one caitya and a number of stūpas.

1. P. Brown, op.cit, chapters V and VI.

Several inscriptions have been discovered in connection with the Buddhist remains at Bhājā¹. They do not, however, provide us with any direct information regarding the date of excavation of the caves. Five of these inscriptions mention donations made to the Buddhist monks at Bhājā by some lay devotees whose names are given while three inscriptions engraved on the stūpas mention the names of the sthaviras i.e. "Elders" whose bodily remains were enshrined in the stūpas.

Palaeographic considerations show that the inscription No.1², as well as the inscriptions engraved on wood³, from the Bhājā caitya may be regarded as belonging to the earliest category of inscriptions of the western Deccan. These inscriptions exhibit an archaic form of writing. The letters ga, da, da and na⁴ are angular and resemble those of the inscriptions of Aśoka. However, the forms of letters bha and ma point to a later date. A

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1. J. Burgess, ASWI, IV, 1883, pp. 82-83; M.N. Deshpande, 'Important Epigraphical Records from the Caitya Cave, Bhājā', Lalit Kala, 6, 1959, pp. 30-32.
 2. J. Burgess, ASWI, IV, 1883, p.82
 3. M.N. Deshpande, 'Important Epigraphical Records from the Caitya Cave, Bhājā', Lalit Kala, 6, 1959, pp. 30-32.
 4. A.H. Dani, Indian Palaeography, 1963, plates IIIa, IIIb, IVa, IVb (Aśokan Brahmi) and plates VIa, VIb, VIIa, VIIb (Inscriptions of the Deccan); Also, ASWI, IV, 1883, pl.XLIV, Bhājā inscriptions 1-7.

comparison of the letters ga, da, ma and ya of the above-mentioned inscriptions of the Bhājā caves with similar letters of the Nānāghaṭ¹ inscriptions suggests that the former inscriptions may be dated back to a time slightly earlier than the Nānāghaṭ inscriptions. As we have shown in chapter II, the Nānāghaṭ inscriptions have been dated to a period near the beginning of the Christian era by several scholars,²

We may, therefore, assign the earliest inscriptions at Bhājā to the first century B.C. and accordingly date the excavation of the caves at Bhājā to the same century. It is, however, not possible to give a more definite date to these caves from the evidence available.

According to art historians the caitya at Bhājā belongs to an early stage of architectural development in Maharashtra. The caitya at Bhājā is a simple cave, approximately 59 X 27 ft. divided into a nave and side aisles by a row of pillars which follows the apsidal plan around the stūpa. Below the caitya arch, which is carved from stone, the façade is now completely open. This would originally have been filled in with a wooden screen containing a doorway leading to the interior. The numerous

1. A.H. Dani op.cit., plates VIa, VIb, VIIa, and VIIb; also, ASW, IV 1883, pl. 11, Nānāghaṭ inscriptions 1-9.

2. Chap. II, pp. 54-56.

pinholes in the fronton of the arch indicate further wooden additions of some nature. The vaulted ceiling of the nave still retains its original wooden ribs. The pillars are plain octagonal columns exhibiting a marked inward slope of five inches toward their upper end.

Although the caitya at Bhājā may be considered among the earliest group of Caityas of the western Deccan on account of its architectural similarity to the Sudama and Lomas Ṛṣi caves in Barābar hills, this evidence does not permit us to measure the exact lapse of time between the caves of the two groups. Hence, it may be noted that the evidence of architectural style only allows us to determine a sequence of excavations which should be supported by other independent evidence such as that of inscriptions.

The vihāras at Bhājā are of the quadrangular type. Thus, vihāra XIX, which is relatively well preserved, consists of a hall 17 ft. square with two cells in two of its walls. An additional cell opens out from the right wall of the narrow pillared veranda in front. The design of these vihāras has been regarded by Fergusson and Burgess and several other scholars who share their opinions, as the earliest vihāra plan in this part of India. But, as in the case of the caityas the precise date of these vihāras cannot be determined on the evidence of the

1. See p. 13 in this connexion.

architectural style alone. It is, however, important to note that the viḥāras at Bhājā provide a standard example of the earliest class of viḥāras in this part of India.

Kondāne

One caitya and three viḥāras have been discovered at Kondāne.

Only one inscription has been discovered at Kondāne.¹ It records the charitable act of a devotee named Balaka. The letters a, ka, na, ta, na,² and ha of this inscription are similar to those of the Aśoka inscriptions and therefore it may also be listed along with the earliest inscriptions of the western Deccan. Accordingly the Kondāne inscription may be assigned to the first century B.C.³

The Kondāne caitya measuring roughly 66 X 27 ft., is quite similar to Bhājā caitya in its plan, pillars, ceilings and in the treatment of its façade; the only distinction being the absence of pinholes on the fronton of the caitya arch and the more definite and stronger curve of the arch.

1. J. Burgess, ASWI, IV, 1883, p.83.

2. See Supra, p.74 note 4; also ASWI, IV, 1883, plate XLIV, Kondane inscription.

3. See Supra, pp. 54-56.

One of the viḥāras at Kondāne differs from the others of the earliest group in having pillars. The flat roof of this viḥāra is panelled imitation of woodwork. According to V. Dehejia, this pillared viḥāra appears to provide an early variation on the quadrangular plan.¹

Pitalkhorā

The remains of nine viḥāras and four caityas have been found at Pitalkhorā.

There are seven inscriptions at Pitalkhorā mentioning various gifts to the Buddhist monks at Pitalkhorā made by a number of devotees. Although the names of these donors are mentioned, they cannot be identified with any known historical personages.

The Pitalkhorā inscriptions No. 1 and 2 may be counted among the earliest inscriptions of the western Deccan. The forms of the letters ka, ga, ṭa, ḍa, dha, na, pa, ma, ra and sa of these inscriptions, very much resemble similar forms of the Maurya inscriptions and also those of the earliest inscriptions at Bhājā and the Kondāne inscription. The rest of the inscriptions at Pitalkhorā show developed features. The forms of cha, ḍa, pa, and ha are such examples.³ These inscriptions may be therefore listed

1. V. Dehejia, Early Buddhist Rock Temples, 1972, p.92.

2. J. Burgess, ASWI, IV, 1883, pp. 83-84.

3. See Supra p.94, note 4; also ASWI, IV, 1883, pl. XLIV, Pitalkhorā ins. 1 and 2.

along with those of Nānāghaṭ and Beḍṣā.

Architectural evidence indicates that the caitya III at Pitalkhorā belongs to the same period as the Bhājā caitya. The façade of this cave has completely broken away and even the caitya arch is non-existent. However, its simple apsidal plan, and its plain octagonal columns with a distinct inward rake, place this caitya in the same category as the caityas at Bhājā and Kondāne. The caitya X, which is a simple apsidal pillarless caitya has a stone façade; this would indicate that the caitya X belongs to a period somewhat later than the caitya III. The caityas XII and XIII also have a simple apsidal plan; they may be, therefore, assigned to the same time as caitya III.

The vihāras at Pitalkhorā have followed the same plan as those at Bhājā and Kondāne. Vihāra IV is similar to one of the vihāras at Kondāne; it is a pillared vihāra with a flat roof panelled in imitation of woodwork.

Ajantā

The cave monuments at Ajantā belong to two phases; the caves of the later phase were excavated from the fifth century A.D. It is only the caves of the early phase which fall within our period of study.

The caves at Ajantā belonging to the early phase consist of two caityas and two vihāras.

Four inscriptions have been found in the caves of the

¹
early phase at Ajantā. They record donations of devotees to the Buddhist monks who resided in the Ajantā caves.

²
The forms of letters da, na, pa, ma, va, and sa of Ajantā inscriptions are similar to those of the Aśoka inscriptions. They may be, therefore, categorised along with those of the earliest inscriptions at Bhājā, Kondāne Pitalkhorā. Thus, on the evidence of palaeography, the caves of the early phase at Ajantā may be assigned to the first century B.C.

The caityas X at Ajantā, measuring 95 X 41 ft. is quite similar in plan and treatment of pillars to those of the Bhājā Kondāne and the Pitalkhorā caityas. The ceiling of this cave is quite similar to that of Pitalkhorā III, with wooden ribs in the nave and stone ribs in the side aisles.

The caitya IX with its stone façade appear to belong to a slightly later stage of development.

The vihāras XII and XXX at Ajantā are of the simple quadrangular form and belong to the early category of vihāras as those at Bhājā, Kondāne and Pitalkhorā.

Beḍṣā

The Buddhist monuments at Beḍṣā consist of a vihāra and a caitya.

There are three inscriptions in the caves at Beḍṣā. Two of

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1. J. Burgess, ASW, IV, 1883, p.116; A. Ghosh, 'Two Early Brāhmī Records from Ajantā, EI, XXXVII, VI, 1968, pp. 241-244.
 2. J. Burgess, op.cit., pl. LVI, 1-2; EI, XXXVII, VI, plate facing p. 244, A.B.

these record donations to the Buddhist monks who lived at Beḍṣā¹ while the third is a commemorative inscription; it mentions the construction by a pupil of a stūpa in memory of his teacher.

The letters of the inscriptions at Beḍṣā show some developed features from those of the earliest inscriptions at Bhājā. Thus the form of ta is definitely rounded, and a tendency towards the later bha is to be seen. The va and the lower half of the ma are distinctly triangular, and complete² equalisation of the verticals of ha has been achieved. These inscriptions may be therefore assigned to a period slightly later than that of the earliest inscriptions of Bhājā.

The architectural style of the caityas at Beḍṣā also shows some developed features. Thus the apsidal caitya measuring 45 X 21 ft. has been elaborated by the addition of a veranda. A single doorway and two windows open into the caitya. This arrangement of the caitya which is different from those at Bhājā and Kondāne suggests that the Beḍṣā caitya was sometime later in date than the former caityas. The style of the pillars in the veranda of the Beḍṣā caitya also supports this suggestion. They are tall elegant shafts, reaching a height of 25 ft. entirely perpendicular, rising out of a ghaṭa and terminating in an elaborate capital.

1. J. Burgess, ASW, IV, 1883, pp. 89-90

2. ibid., pl. XLVII, Beḍṣa ins. 1-3.

The vihāra at Beḍṣā is different from the usual quadrangular plan. It has an apsidal plan, eleven cells opening out from its walls. Its vaulted ceiling is similar to that of a caitya. No conclusions regarding the date of excavation of this vihāra may be, therefore, drawn from the evidence of the architectural styles and techniques.

Nāsik

The Buddhist caves at Nāsik consist of one caitya and more than 20 vihāras.

The earliest inscription at Nāsik has been found in vihāra XIX. This inscription mentions that it was engraved in the reign of the Sātavāhana king Kanha.¹ As we have shown in chapter II, the reign of Kanha may be dated in the latter half of the first century B.C.²

The forms of letters ka, na, da, pa, ma, va, sa, and ha³ of the above-mentioned inscription at Nāsik are on the whole similar to those of the earliest inscriptions at Bhājā, Kondāne and Pitalkhorā.

1. D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, p.189.

2. Chapter II, pp 63-64

3. J. Burgess, ASWI, IV, 1883, pl. Ll. Nāsik No.1.

It may be suggested therefore that Nāsik vihāra XIX belongs to the earliest group of caves in the western Deccan which may be assigned to the first century B.C.

The Nāsik inscription no. 2 and 3¹ exhibit slightly more developed characters than those of the inscription no. 1. The rounded form of the letter ga² of inscription no. 2 is similar to that of Nānāghāṭ inscriptions which may be assigned to a date close to the beginning of the Christian era.

Several inscriptions mention donations to the Buddhist monks at Nāsik by Uṣavadāta (Uṣavadatta), the son-in-law of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa ruler Nahapāna; inscription no. 10 specifically states that the cave (no. X) was (caused to be) made by Uṣavadāta.³ As we have shown in chapter II, Nahapāna may have ruled in the north-western Deccan towards the latter half of the first century A.D., and also a few years at the beginning of the second century A.D.⁴

Thus on the evidence of the above-mentioned inscriptions it may be concluded that Cave X at Nāsik was excavated in the latter half of the first century A.D.

1. ASWI, IV, 1883, pp. 98-99.

2. Ibid, pl. LI, Nāsik ins. no. 2.

3. EI, VIII, 1905-6, pp. 78-81.

4. See supra, p.75

In Cave III there are two sets of inscriptions mentioning donations by the Sātavāhanas to the Buddhist monks at Nāsik. The first inscription of the first set mentions an order given to viṇḍupālita (Viṣṇupālita) the royal officer at Govadhana (Govardana) (Nāsik) by Gotamīputa Sirisadakapi (Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarpi)¹, regarding the donation to the Buddhist monks at Nāsik of a field in the village of Aparakakhaḍi. The second inscription, a supplementary grant by the same king in association with his mother (Gotamī-Balasiri) mentions the granting to the monks at Nāsik, of an alternative field as the field which was given earlier had been left uncultivated.²

The second set of inscriptions also refers to two grants; the first inscription, dated in the nineteenth regnal year of Vasiṣṭhīputa Siri Puṣumāyi (Vasiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puṣumāyi or Vasiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puṣumāvi), mentions the dedication of a cave to the monks of the Bhadrāvanīya (Bhadrāyaniya) sect, by Gotamī Balasiri (Gautamī Balasri), the mother of Gotamīputa Siri Sātakapi and the grandmother of Vasiṣṭhīputa siri Puṣumāyi.³ It further records the grant by Vasiṣṭhīputa Siri Puṣumāyi of a neighbouring village for the support of the same monks.

1. EI, VIII, 1905-6, pp. 71-72.

2. EI, VIII, 1905-6, pp. 73-74.

3. ibid, pp. 60-65.

The second inscription, engraved in continuation of the first, contains an order by Vāsīṭhīputa Siri Puḷumāvi to Sivakhadila, the officer at Govadhana (Govardhana) (Nāsik), regarding the donation of the village named Samalipada, situated on the eastern road in the Govadhana district, to the monks of the Bhadrāyaniya (Bhadrāyaniya) sect who lived in the devīlena, i.e. 'Queen's Cave', in exchange for the village named Sudasana (Sudarsana), which was situated on the southern road in the Govadhana district.¹

The above-mentioned information proves that Cave III at Nāsik was excavated in the first half of the second century A.D. according to our chronology of the Sātavāhanas given in chapter II.

In the vihāra XX there is an inscription which is dated in the seventh year of the reign of Sāmī-Siriyaṇa-Sātakapi.² It mentions that the vihāra (No. XX) had been left for many years in a neglected state, before it was completed by Vasu, the wife of Bhavagopa who was the king's mahā-sepapati, the commander-in-chief. With the help of this inscription, the Nāsik vihāra XX can be dated to the latter half of the second century A.D.

The caitya at Nāsik with its stone façade seems to belong to a phase later than the caityas at Bhājā, Kondāne, Pitalkhorā III, and Ajantā X, which had wooden façades.

1. ibid, pp. 65-71

2. EI, VIII, 1905-6, p. 94.

Thus excavation of caves at Nāsik seems to have extended over a long period of time. The vihāra XIV, which contains an inscription engraved in the reign of the Sātavāhana king Kanha, was probably the earliest of the group. The caitya at Nāsik with its stone façade may have been excavated at a time slightly later than vihāra XIX. The vihāra X was excavated in the latter half of the first century A.D. while the vihāra III was excavated in the first half of the second century A.D. Vihāra XX was completed in the latter half of the second century A.D. Thus we may safely conclude that the group of caves at Nāsik mainly belongs to the Sātavavāhana period.

Kārle (or Kārli)

The Buddhist caves at Kārle consist of a large caitya and several vihāras, some of which are badly ruined. The caitya at Kārle is one of the largest and finest as well as the best preserved among the caityas of the northern Deccan.

There are a number of inscriptions in the caitya at Kārle. Among these, three inscriptions may be considered as the earliest of the Kārle group. They are: 1) the inscription of Bhūtapala from Vējyantī reporting the completion of the Selaghara (śailagrha), i.e. 'the rock-mansion', 2) the inscription of

1. ASWI, IV, 1883, kārle ins.1, p.90. The meaning of the term selaghara is generally taken to indicate the Kārle caitya as a whole. However, D.D. Kosambi is of the opinion that Selaghara refers to the five-storeyed relief mansion in the veranda. (JASB, XXX, 1955, p.63.)

Indadeva (Indradeva), mentioning the donation of a
veyikā (vedikā) and the elephant figures in the veranda,¹
 3) the inscription of the Mahārāṭhi (Mahārāstrin)² Agnimitrapaka,
 recounting the erection of a sīhathabha, i.e. 'a pillar
 containing the figure of a lion.³ A comparison of the script
 of these three inscriptions with those of the earliest
 inscriptions at Bhājā, Kondāne, Ajantā and Pitalkhorā on the
 one hand and with those of the inscriptions mentioning
 Nahapāna on the other, reveals that the script of the Kārle
 records are definitely more advanced than the earliest
 inscriptions at Bhājā etc. without, however, reaching the stage
 of development of the script of the records mentioning Nahapāna.⁴
 The advancement of the scripts is marked by the angularity of
 letters pa, ha, and la. There is also a lengthening of the

1. Ibid., ins. 3, p.90.

2. A chief of a rāstra (a territorial division) (D.C. Sircar,) Indian Palaeographical Glossary, 1966, p.186.

3. ASWI, IV, 1883, ins. 2, p.90.

4. Ibid., pl. XLVII, Kārle ins. 1-3; pl. XLIV, inscriptions at Bhājā, Kondāne and Pitalkhorā and Pl. LII, Nasik ins. 5-7; Pl. LIII, Nasik ins. 6a.

vertical of ka and an equalisation of the verticals of ha. Thus, the evidence of palaeography suggests that the excavations of caves at Kārle may have begun later than the caves at Bhājā, but before the time of Nahapāna.

There are also inscriptions at Kārle mentioning Śaka and Sātavāhana rulers. One such inscription records the names Nahapāna and Uṣabhadāta (Rṣabhadatta). It records the donation by Uṣabhadāta of the revenue of some land to the Buddhist monks who lived in the caves at Kārle.¹ Thus the evidence of this inscription makes it clear that at least some of the Buddhist caves at Kārle were in existence during the days of Uṣavadāta (the identification of Uṣabhadāta and Uṣavadāta has been discussed in chapter II) and Nahapāna (towards the latter half of the first century A.D. and also some years at the beginning of the second century A.D.)²

There are three inscriptions at Kārle which mention Sātavāhana rulers. They are 1) the mutilated Kārle inscription recording the command of a Sātavāhana king (whose name cannot be deciphered, owing to the mutilated condition of the inscription) to the officer at Māmāla,³

1. D.C. Sircar, SI I, 1965, pp. 171-172.

2. See supra, p.75

3. Māmāla has been identified with Māval (Maul), the name of the tract along the Ghāt range (see ASWI, IV, 1883, p. 113, n.4).

(in connexion with) the donation of the village named Karajaka¹ to the monks who lived in the Valūraka (Kārle)² caves. 2) the Kārle Inscription dated in the seventh regnal year of Vāsīṭhiputa Siri Puḷumāvi, recording the bestowal of a village (the name of the village is not given) to the monks of the Valūraka (Kārle) caves by the Mahārāṭhi Somadeva³. 3) the Kārle Inscription dated in the 24th regnal year of Vāsīṭhiputa Siri Puḷumāvi, recording the gift of a nine-celled hall to the community of Mahāsāṃghikas, by the lay devotee named Harapharana⁴.

Thus the palaeographic evidence and the information provided by some inscriptions show that the excavation of caves at Kārle may have begun some time later than the earliest caves at Bhājā, Kondāne, and Piṭalkhorā. Additions to the initial caves have been made in the latter half of the first century A.D. and in the early half of the second century as well.

The early half of the second century was also the time of the reigns of the two important Sātavāhana rulers- Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi and Vāsīṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi⁵.

1. Valuraka is the name of the village where the Kārle Caves are situated (EI, VII, 1902-3, p.62).

2. EI, VIII, 1902-3, No.19., pp. 64-71.

3. EI, VIII, 1902-3, No.14, pp. 61-62.

4. D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, p.210.

5. Chapter II, pp. 67-77.

Junnār

The caves at Junnār consist of nearly 200 excavations distributed in four groups: 1) the caves on the Mānmodi hill to the south of Junnār town, 2) the caves on the Śivaneri hill to the south west of Junnār town, 3) the caves known as the Tuljālena group of caves to the west of Junnār town, 4) the caves known as the Ganesh Lena group of caves, situated on the Sulaiman hills to the north of Junnār town, and, another group of caves, situated about a mile to the east of the last mentioned caves, on the same hill.

No inscriptions exhibiting a script similar to that of the earliest inscriptions at Bhājā, Kondāne, and Pitalkhorā have been found at Junnār. The script of all the inscriptions discovered at Junnār show that it belongs to a more developed stage of writing. In general, the script of the inscriptions at Junnār display a curve¹ of the lower ends of the verticals. On grounds of palaeography, the inscriptions at Junnār may be categorised along with those of the² later inscriptions at Nāsik mentioning Nahapāna and Uṣavadāta.

One of the cells in the Nānmodi hills contains an inscription which mentions the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa ruler Nahapāna. It records the

1. J. Burgess, ASWĪ, IV, 1883, pl. XLVIII, Junnār ins. 1-34.

2. Ibid Pl. LII, Nāsik ins. 5,7; pl. LIII, Nāsik ins. 6a.

gift by Ayama, the minister of Kṣaharāta, Kṣatrapa Nahapāna¹
 of a maṭapa (maṇḍapa) and a poḍhi (prahi).²

On the evidence of this inscription it may be concluded that the cave on Mānmodi hill in question was excavated in the latter half of the first century A.D.

The Amba Ambika caitya on the Mānmodi hill at Junnār is of typical apsidal plan and has a small veranda in front. The columns of this caitya show signs of a more developed style terminating in a rounded inverted ghaṭa. Similar pillars may be seen in the Bhīma Shankar caitya, also on the Mānmodi hill at Junnār. In some of the vihāras of the Gaṇesh Lena group of caves also pillars of the same style have been used.

On the evidence of both palaeography of inscriptions and architectural styles which show characteristics of development the group of caves at Junnār may be placed in the latter half of the first century A.D.

1. J. Burgess, ASW, IV, 1883, ins. No.11, p. 103.

2. See appendix IV, p. 248.

Kuḍā

The caves at Kuḍā consist of three caityas and nineteen viḥāras.

The caves contain some 23 inscriptions mentioning gifts of various kinds to the monks who lived in the caves at Kuḍā.

The inscriptions at Kuḍā exhibit a script of an advanced stage in the development of writing. This is indicated by the curved shape of the lower ends of the verticals. However, these inscriptions have preserved the early forms of ya, na, pa, and da.¹ A comparison of letters of these inscriptions with those of the time of Nahapāna shows that they can be classified in the same group as those of the latter. The caves at Kuḍā may therefore be dated back to the latter half of the first century A.D. approximately.

Architectural evidence also gives us a few clues as to the dates of the caityas at Kuḍā. Thus, the caityas are all flat-roofed, rectangular structures. The plan of those caityas is similar to that of Nāsik. We have dated the Nāsik caitya back to a time slightly later than that of the caityas at Bhājā, Kondāne and Pitalkhorā. The pillars of caitya IX have a 'bell-shaped' capital; this is an indication that caitya XX at Kuḍā was somewhat later in construction than the earliest category of caityas.

1. J. Burgess, ASW, IV, 1883, pls. XLV and XLVI, Kuḍā ins. 1-28.

Mahad

There are several caityas and nearly 30 vihāras at Mahad.

Two donatory inscriptions have been found in the caves¹ at Mahad. On the similarity of script, they may be grouped along with the inscriptions at Kuḍā.

The caityas at Mahad belong to the type of flat-roofed caityas. As it has been noticed earlier, this type of caityas appeared at Nāsik, Kuḍā and at Junnār at a comparatively later date than that of Bhājā, Kondāne and Pitalkhorā.

Karādh

Several caityas and nearly 50 vihāras have been found at Karādh.

Only one, rather defaced, inscription, remains in one of the caves and it seems to belong to the same group of inscriptions as those of Kuḍā.

The large number of the caityas at Karādh are of the rectangular flat-roofed variety, and as we have already seen, the caityas of this type should be dated to a comparatively later date than that of the caityas at Bhājā, Kondanē and Pitalkhorā.

1. J. Burgess, ASWI, IV, 1883, pl. XLVI, Mahad ins. No. 1-2.

Kaṇherī

There are nearly a hundred caves at Kaṇherī. This group includes also a large caitya.

No inscriptions belonging to the earliest category of caves have been found in the caves at Kaṇherī. The script¹ of the large number of inscriptions in the caves at Kaṇherī is similar to that of the Nāsik inscriptions of the Sātavāhana rulers from Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi to Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi.² Thus the elongated forms of ka with curved endings and the rounded ga agree to a considerable extent with similar letters in the inscriptions of the above-mentioned Sātavāhana rulers. Further, the forms of letters ma, ya, ca, ha, and sa are other examples which greatly resemble in both Kaṇherī inscriptions and the inscriptions of the Sātavāhana rulers concerned.

A mutilated inscription found in the caitya at Kaṇherī records that it was erected by two merchants named Gajasena and Gajamitra in the reign of the king Gotamīputa Sāmī-SiriYaña Sotakarṇi (Gautamīputra Svāmī Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi).³ Another inscription in Cave LXXXI is also dated in the sixteenth year

1. J. Burgess, ASWI, V, 1883, pl. Ll, ins. 1-15.

2. J. Burgess, ASWI, IV, 1883, pl. LII, Nos. 18, 19.; pl. LIII, Nos. 13, 14; pl. LV, No.22.

3. J. Burgess, ASWI, V, 1883, ins. No.4, p. 75.

of Gotamīputa Sāmī-SiriYāña-Sātakapi. The inscription mentions the donations of a cave, hall, and an endowment of money to the monks at Kaṇherī by a merchant and his family.¹

On the evidence of inscriptions at Kaṇherī, it may be concluded that all the caves at Kaṇherī are somewhat later in date. Thus, they may be assigned to the second century of the Christian era.

As has been shown by some scholars, the final stage in the development of the apsidal caitya is to be seen in the caitya at Kaṇherī.² The interior of this caitya measures roughly 86 X 40 ft. Three doorways lead to the interior of the cave. The pillars exhibit a developed style. While their bases have a stepped platform and a ghaṭa they also terminate in a rounded inverted ghaṭa.

Thus, regarding the cave monuments of the western Deccan, it may be concluded that the earliest examples belong to the first century B.C. while the relatively later caves are datable to the first and the second centuries of the Christian era. This shows that, on the whole, the cave monuments of the western Deccan are assignable to the Sātavāhana period.

1. Ibid., ins. No.15, p.79.

2. V. Dehejia, Early Buddhist Rock Temples, 1972, p. 91.

The Buddhist monasteries of the eastern part of the
northern Deccan (Āndhra Pradesh)

The Buddhist monuments of the eastern part of the Deccan, unlike those in the western Deccan, have been found in a completely ruined state. A list of places where such ruins were noticed was compiled in 1882-84 by Robert Sewell.¹ Excavations conducted in these places by the Archeological Survey of India have brought to light the remains of several stūpas, caityas and viḥāras. These remains show that the eastern Deccan also once possessed a fairly large number of Buddhist centres some of which may be dated back to the Sātavāhana period. We shall examine in the following pages the places in the eastern part of the Deccan where the remains of such Buddhist centres have been discovered.

Amarāvati

As it has already been mentioned in chapter I, the establishment of the Buddhist centre at Amarāvati may be dated back to a time between the reign of Aśoka and the beginning of the Sātavāhana period. The evidence available for further Buddhist activities at Amarāvati during the subsequent period may now be examined.

Two inscriptions provide valuable information regarding Buddhist activities at Amarāvati during the Sātavāhana period.

1. R. Sewell, List of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras, 2 vols, 1882-84.

One of them mentions the gift of a dhamacaka (dharmacakra), i.e. 'a wheel of the Law' at the west gate of the stūpa in an unspecified year of the reign of the king Vā(sī)ṭh(ī)puta(sā)m(i) Siri Puḷumāvi (Vasiṣṭhīputra Svāmī Śrī Puḷumāvi).¹ This inscription proves that at least the west gate of the vedikā (railing) existed in the reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi. The other inscription mentions a donation by an officer² of king Siri Sivamaka Sada. As we have shown in chapter II, this king may be considered a successor of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi; thus the latter inscription shows that some parts of the railing which encircled the Amarāvati stūpa were built during the reign of Siri Sivamaka Sada.

Several scholars have made attempts to determine the relative dates of the sculptural phases of the railing which surrounded the stūpa, as well as the date of construction of the stūpa itself, with the help of the information provided by the³ above-mentioned two inscriptions. Thus, the scholars who accept a 'long chronology' for the Sātavāhana rulers have dated the kings mentioned in those inscriptions and the sculptured slabs

1. C. Sivaramamurti, 'Amarāvati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum, BMGM., IV, 1942, no. 51, p. 283.

2. J. Burgess, ASSI, I, 1887, p. 61.

3. See Sivaramamurti op.cit., pp. 26 ff.; J. Burgess, op.cit., p. 112; D. Barrett, Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum, 1954, p. 50; also Barrett, 'The Early phase at Amaravati', British Museum Quarterly, XXXII, nos. 1-2, 1967, pp. 35 ff.

on which the inscriptions are engraved, to a time around 200 B.C.¹ Other scholars advocating a 'short chronology' for the Sātavāhanas have dated the same kings, and therefore the sculptured slabs on which the inscriptions are engraved, to a relatively later² period of time - the second half of the second century A.D. The chronology of the Sātavāhana rulers given in chapter II, shows that the opinion of the latter scholars is to be preferred. It may however, be noted that the evidence of the inscriptions only indicates the date of construction of the railing round the stūpa. No definite evidence regarding the construction of the stūpa has been found so far.

In its final form, the Amarāvati stūpa of the Sātavāhana period seems to have been a monument of large proportions. Its railing, which was most elaborately decorated with sculptured marble, measured 192 feet in diameter and was pierced by gates at the four cardinal points. Within the railing lay the processional path (pradakṣiṇāpatha), thirteen feet wide. The drum of the stūpa was 162 feet in diameter. Its exact height is not definitely known.

1. C. Sivaramamurti, op.cit., pp. 26-27; J. Burgess, op.cit., p. 112.

2. D. Barrett, op.cit., pp. 35 ff.

The considerable size and the profuse sculptural decorations show that the stūpa at Amarāvati would have marked a very important Buddhist centre in the eastern Deccan. Although the date of its construction is not definitely known, it is evident from the inscriptions already mentioned, that the major part of the railing of the stūpa was erected during the second half of the second century A.D.

Guntupally

The ruins of Guntupally consist of a series of rock-cut cells, a number of stūpas and a caitya.

A donatory inscription which was found at the site of Guntupally and edited recently by R. Subrahmanyam¹ provides palaeographical evidence regarding the time when the monastery at Guntupally was in use as a residence by Buddhist monks.

The letter ma of this inscription has been written in an archaic fashion, similar to those in the inscriptions of Aśoka. But the letters ka, ga, ta, da, and ha² resemble those in inscriptions at Bhājā, Kondāne and Pitalkhorā.

1. Andhra Pradesh Government Epigraphical Series, no.3, Hyderabad, 1968, pp. 1-7 and plate.

2. Ibid, plate showing the inscription (not numbered).

On the whole the script of the Guntupally inscription is similar to that of the Nānāghaṭ inscriptions. Thus the Buddhist monuments at Guntupally may be dated approximately to the first century B.C.

The group of cells discovered at Guntupally was in a badly ruined condition; the upper part of the cells having¹ been completely destroyed. The remaining parts of these cells, however, exhibit some architectural features which may be compared with those of the similar caves of the western Deccan. Thus, the cells are small and simple in their excavation with doors and windows decorated on top with horse-shoe shaped designs. The caitya-cave is a small circular chamber with a façade of the earliest type such as those of Bhājā, Beḍṣā and Kondāne. The roof is vaulted; it has followed the style of a wooden construction having ribs and rafters. Further, this wood like style is seen in the façade in which the projecting ends of the rafters are noticeable. Some scholars have compared the style of construction of the caitya at Guntupally with the earliest caityas² on the Barābar hills in Bihar.

We may therefore conclude on the evidence of the palaeography and architectural style of the cells and the

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1. A.H. Longhurst, Annual Report of the Archaeological Department (southern Circle), 1916-17, pp. 30ff.
 2. K.R. Sirinivasan, 'Art and Architecture-Southern India' Chapter XXIII in K.A.N. Sastri edited A Comprehensive History of India II, 1956, pp. 738-39.

caitya that the Buddhist monastery at Guntupally belongs to the group of monasteries in the northern Deccan of the first century B.C.

Rāmatīrtham

Ruins of several cells, five caityas and a stūpa have been found at Rāmatīrtham (in the district of Vizagapatam) by the Archaeological Survey of India.

Some information regarding the Rāmatīrtham monastery is supplied by a seal discovered at the site. This seal contains the inscription: Siri S(i)va(maka) Vijayaraja s(e)lasaghasa ¹ i.e. 'the Śailasaṃgha (the community of monks belonging to the monastery on the hill, or the community of monks belonging to the Śaila (Pūrvaśaila or Aparāśaila) sect) of (patronised by ?) the king Siri Sivamaka Vijaya. In view of the discussion in chapter II, ² this king may be identified with Vijaya of the Sātavāhana dynasty, who reigned at the beginning of the third century A.D. If this identification is acceptable, it may be concluded that the monastery at Rāmatīrtham was in use by Buddhist monks in the reign of Vijaya of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

The cells were made of brick and were arranged in long rows. In their size and style, - small and simple rectangular compartments- they resembled the rock-cut cave cells of the western part

1. A. Rea, 'Buddhist Monasteries on the Gurubhaktakoṇḍa and Durga Koṇḍa Hills at Rāmatīrtham, ASIAR, 1910-11, 1914, p.85.

2. Chapter II, p.85

of the Deccan. ~~the Deccan.~~

The caityas were built in various dimensions; they had barrel-shaped brick roofs, and stūpas at the apsidal end. In their plan and style, the caityas at Rāmatīrtham very much resembled the earliest group of caityas in the western Deccan.

Thus, on the evidence of inscriptions and architectural styles it may ^{be} concluded that the Buddhist monastery at Rāmatīrtham belonged to the Sātavāhana period.

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa

Excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have brought to light the remains of several caityas, stūpas vihāras, and the ruins of other monastic buildings. The large number of inscriptions discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa belong to the period of the Īkṣvākus, the successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Āndhra region. There is, however, a single inscription at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa which belongs to our period.

This inscription mentions a king named Gotamīputa Siri¹ Vijaya Sātakani. Although the inscription is incomplete, its Buddhist association is indicated by the phrases '(na) mo bhagavato agapogalasa' (Pāli: namo Bhagavato aggapuggalassa)

1. EI, XXXVI, 1965-66, pp. 273-74.

meaning 'adoration to the Lord, the best of beings' (the Buddha ?) and vesākha pūṇima (Skt: Vaisākhi pūrṇimā). Agga puggala (Skt. agrya puṅgala) is one of the epithets of the Buddha, and Vaisākhi pūrṇimā is traditionally associated with the day of the Buddha's birth, enlightenment, and decease. It may therefore, be suggested that the object of the inscription is to record the gift of the pillar bearing the inscription to a Buddhist monument which might have been situated near the place where the inscription was discovered.

Thus, the evidence of at least one inscription indicates that some Buddhist monuments at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa had existed during the last part of the Sātavāhana period. Definite identification, however, of the monuments at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa of the Sātavāhana period, is not possible.

Other Buddhist monuments of the eastern part of the Deccan which may be approximately dated within the Sātavāhana period.

Besides the above-mentioned Buddhist monuments there are a large number of places in the eastern part of the Deccan where ruins of Buddhist monuments were discovered. But these sites have not provided definite information regarding their exact chronological position. The Buddhist

remains at Sankarā¹m, Guḍivāda², Chinna Ganjam³, Pedda Ganjam⁴,
 Rāmaredḍipalli⁵, Chejrala⁶, Allūru⁷, and Ghanṭasāla⁸ belong to
 this group. An inscription discovered at Allūru has on, palaeogra-
 phical considerations been dated to the second century of the
 Christian era by scholars.⁹ The evidence of this inscription permits
 us to date the Buddhist monuments at Allūru at least to the Second
 century A.D.

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1. A. Rea, 'A Buddhist Monastery on the Sankaram Hills,
 Vizagapatam District', ASIAR, 1907-8, 1911, pp. 150-180.
 2. A. Rea, 'South Indian Buddhist Antiquities, Archaeological
 Survey of India, New Imperial Series, XV, 1894-, pp. 21ff.
 3. Annual Report of the Archaeological Department (Southern Circle).
 1888, pp. 8-10.
 4. ibid, pp. 2-11; 1889, pp. 2-12.
 5. Annual Report of Epigraphy, 1924, p. 3-4.
 6. Annual Report of the Archaeological Department (Southern Circle),
 1888, pp. 12-18.
 7. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1924, pp. 3, 97.
 8. A. Rea, op.cit, pp. 32ff.
 9. D.C. Sircar, The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan,
 1939, Appendix II.

In the course of this chapter, an attempt has been made to describe those Buddhist monuments which can be dated to the Sātavāhana period. This was necessary in view of the fact that the remains of the Buddhist monuments themselves and the inscriptions they contain provide the bulk of the data concerning the monastic life and the place of Buddhism in the society of the northern Deccan during the Sātavāhana period.

CHAPTER IV

THE BUDDHIST SECTS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA PERIOD

Having identified the Buddhist monuments which can be dated to the Sātavāhana period we can now describe the Order of Buddhist monks. A characteristic feature of the Buddhist Order is that it was divided, from early times, into a number of sects.¹ In the course of this chapter we will try to identify the various sects which constituted the Buddhist Order of the Deccan and also try to show their relative importance during the Sātavāhana period.

The emergence of sects

2

According to Sinhalese tradition the first schism in Buddhism occurred at the time of the Vaiśālī Council. Earlier scholars have suggested that the Vaiśālī Council met to decide upon a question of discipline.³ All sources agree that the Council took place between

/ one hundred and

1. We have used 'sect' to denote those groups within the Buddhist Order formed on the basis of doctrinal and liturgical differences, which grew in importance from c. 110-150 years after the parinibbāna of the Buddha.
2. By 'schism' is meant the Sanskrit term samghabheda (split of the community). This, as we know, was not due to a contest of authority but to acceptance by certain followers of different interpretations of the teachings of the Buddha (Andre Bareau, Les Sects Bouddhiques du Petit Vehicule, pp. 7-8).
3. Having studied all the Canonical and non-Canonical accounts on the subject, Hofinger has shown that the Vaiśālī Council has not entailed any schism, and that there must have been a considerable lapse of time between the Vaiśālī Council and the Mahāsāṃghika schism. (M. Hofinger, Étude sur le Concile de Vaiśālī, 1946).

ONE hundred and ten years after the parinibbāna of the Buddha.¹
 The evidence relating to the Mahāsāṃghika schism is, however,
 connected with the name of Mahādeva by several sources from the
 north-west India.² According to these sources, the Mahāsāṃghika
 schism took place as a consequence of the five propositions
 propounded by Mahādeva.³ The Mahādeva controversy and the schism
 which followed it have been dated, in the north-west Indian sources,
 to about a generation after the Vaiśālī Council.⁴ Such a view would
 reconcile all the facts known at present on this subject. We may
 therefore attribute the origin of the Mahāsāṃghika schism to causes

1. See Hofinger, op.cit, Chapter III, on the date of the Council.
2. See under Vasumitra, Bhavya, Vinītadeva, and Tārānātha in the appendix III, pp. 235-239.
3. According to Vasumitra, followed by Bhavya and Vinītadeva, the five points of Mahādeva are:

The Arhats 1. are subject to temptation.
 2. may have a residue of ignorance.
 3. may have doubts regarding certain matters.
 4. gain knowledge through others help.
 and, 5. the 'Path' may be attained by an exclamation such as 'aho'.

4. It should be noted here that this information is mainly provided by the work of Tārānātha which is as late as the sixteenth century A.D. (see Schiefner, Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien aus dem Tibetischen, 1869, pp. 50-51). According to Taranatha, Mahādeva lived in the reign of Surasena who was succeeded by the Manda kings. N. Dutt thinks that this Sūrasena could be a son of Kālāsoka (N. Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism, 1945, p. 25).

other than those for which the Vaiśālī Council was convened, and place the date of its occurrence about a generation after the time of the Vaiśālī Council, i.e. about 140 years after the parinibbāna of the Buddha.

The Mahāsāṃghikas

It is important at this point to examine those areas in which Mahāsāṃghika influence was strongest in the years immediately following the sect's appearance.

From all the sources dealing with the schism provoked by Mahādeva it appears that Mahāsāṃghika doctrine first took hold in eastern India, especially in Magadha. Hofinger who tries to give a geographical explanation for the origin of Buddhist sects writes:

'Toutes les sources qui racontent la formation des sectes Bouddhiques la font commencer par le schisme des Mahāsāṃghika et celui-ci ne signifie pas autre chose qu'une certaine séparation entre l'Est, où demeuraient les Mahāsāṃghika, et l'Ouest, séjour des autres groupes!'

Hofinger's opinion is supported by the fact that adherents of the Sthaviravāda and its sub-sects appear to have lived mainly in western and north-western India while those of the Mahāsāṃghika and its sub-sects predominated in the East (near Pāṭaliputra) and,

1. M. Hofinger, op.cit, p. 184.

subsequently, in the southern regions (Kṛṣṇā-Guntur area)¹. Only two inscriptional references to the Mahāsāṃghikas have been found in the north-west India. These references are contained in two inscriptions²—The Mathura Lion Capital Inscription and the inscription engraved³ on a vase discovered in the district of Wardak. On the otherhand there are 18 references to the Mahāsāṃghika sect and its subjects in the inscriptions of the northern Deccan during the Sātavāhana⁴ period.

Two cave inscriptions at Kārle prove the presence of the Mahāsāṃghikas in the western Deccan. One of these mentions the gift by (Gotamīputa Siri Sātakaṇi?) of a village named Karajaka to the monks of the Mahāsāṃghika sect;⁵ the other, belonging to the reign of Śrī Puṣpamāvi, records the gift by a devotee of a nine-celled hall to⁶ the monks of the same sect. These inscriptions prove that there was

1. Having collected all the references contained in inscriptions Lamotte has prepared a list showing the geographical distribution of the Buddhist sects in India. (see. E. Lamotte, Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien des Origines à l'ère Śaka, 1967, pp. 578-581).

2. EI, IX, 1907-8, pp. 139-146.

3. EI, XI, 1911-12, pp. 202 ff.

4. See table given on p. 233

5. EI, VII, 1902-3, pp. 64 ff, no. 19.

6. Ibid, pp. 71-72, no. 20.

a Mahāsāṃghika centre at Kārle during the reign of Gotamīputa Siri Sātakani and his successor Vāsīṭhīputa Siri Pulumāvi (first half of the second century A.D.). With reference to the Mahāsāṃghika centre at Kārle, N. Dutt writes:

'Though the Mahāsāṃghikas did not receive much attention from the Buddhist writers and donors, the Kārle caves show that the school commanded a great popularity in that part of the Bombay Presidency (this area is in the present Maharashtra state) where the caves exist; for otherwise the cave temples could not have been so richly decorated with such fine specimens of sculptural and architectural beauty by a series of donors through centuries anxious to express their religious devotion and zeal in the best way that their resources could command'.¹

There is no specific reference to the Mahāsāṃghika sect in the inscriptions of the eastern part of the northern Deccan. The terms 'Haṃghi' and 'Ayira-haghana' are mentioned in two inscriptions at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.² N. Dutt thinks that 'Haṃghi' and 'Ayira-haghana' may refer to the Mahāsāṃghika sect.³ This identification has not, however, been well established.

1. N. Dutt, Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and Buddhist Schools, 1925, pp. 242-243.

2. ASSI, I, 1887, p. 105; EI, XX, 1933, pp. 17 ff.

3. N. Dutt, 'Notes on Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Inscriptions', IHQ, VII, 1931, pp. 633-653.

The two inscriptions at Kārle referring to the Mahāsāṃghīkas should be dated to the first half of the second century A.D.¹ The precise time when the Mahāsāṃghīkas first appeared in this part of India is not definitely known.

The Mahāsāṃghīka sub-sects.

After the initial schism in the Saṃgha there followed further subdivisions. There are two independent traditions relating to these subdivisions, one preserved in the Ceylonese accounts, i.e. the chronicles of Ceylon,² the Kathāvatthupparakaraṇa³ and the Nikāya Saṃgrahaya,⁴ and the other in the treatises of Vasumitra,⁵ Bhavya and Vinītadeva.⁶ Though there are slight differences in the order of succession of sects, these two traditions agree substantially. They show that during the period following the birth of the Mahāsāṃghīkas new subdivisions came into

1. Chapter II, pp. 67-77.

2. The Dīpavamsa, edited by H. Oldenberg, 1879, V, 30-54 ;
The Mahāvamsa, edited by W. Gieger, 1908, V, 1-13.

3. Kathāvatthupparakaraṇa, edited by J.P. Minayeff, JPTS, 1889.

4. Nikāya Saṃgrahaya, edited by Wickramasinghe, 1890.

5. J. Masuda, 'Origin and doctrines of early Indian Buddhist schools' Asia Major II, 1925, pp. 1-78.

6. W.W. Rockhill, The life of the Buddha, 1907, pp. 182-196.

being, with the result that as many as eighteen sects (or more) appeared out of the original two groups, i.e. the Sthaviravāda and the Mahāsāṃghikas.

There is evidence for the presence of a number of these subsequent sub-sects in the references to them in the inscriptions of this area. Many of these sub-sects appear to be unique to this area, there being little evidence of their presence in other regions of India. Hence their particular importance.

Caitiya or Caitika sect.

Vasumitra gives the following account of the appearance of the Caitiya or Caitika sect:

'Towards the close of the second century (after the parinibbāna of the Buddha) there was a heretic priest who returned to the right (doctrine) discarding his heretical (views). He, too, was called Mahādeva. Becoming a monk and receiving his full ordination in the Mahāsāṃghika Order, he was learned and diligent. He dwelt on the Caitya hill and discussed again in detail with the priests of his school the five points propounded by the first Mahādeva, whereupon on account of dissensions the Saṃgha (which belonged to the Mahāsāṃghikas) was spilt up into three schools, i.e. the Caityaśaila, the Aparāśaila and the Uttaraśaila'.

1

1. J. Masuda, Asia Major II, op. cit., p. 15.

According to Paramārtha, the commentator on Vasumitra, this (second) Mahādeva who was excommunicated by the Mahāsāṃghikas for sowing trouble and for false ordination, took shelter in the mountains together with his followers. These followers of Mahādeva later split into Caityaśailas and¹ Uttaraśailas. Vasumitra's work was written about four centuries after the events which it describes; hence its reliability is not beyond doubt. The exact location during the sub-sects' early years cannot be ascertained from the available evidence. It can only be hazarded that they may first have appeared in the northern Deccan. The absence of evidence for their influence in other parts of India and the fact that there is concrete evidence of their presence in the northern Deccan at the beginning of the Christian era suggests this tentative conclusion.

The presence of the Caitīyas at Junnār, Nāsik, and Amarāvati is attested by inscriptional references. Two inscriptions at Junnār and Nāsik make reference to Caitīyas.² The former refers to a monk who belonged to the Caitīya sect

1. Demieville, *L'Origine des Sects Bouddhiques d'après Paramartha*, 1932, pp. 22, 51 and 52.

2. *ASWI*, IV, 1883, p. 95, no. 17.

while the latter records the gift of a cave by a person named¹ Mugudāsa, a member of the lay community of the Caitikas¹ (Caitīyas). This inscription shows that laymen followed the members of the Saṃgha in identifying themselves with particular sects. Some slab inscriptions at Amarāvati (Āndhra area) contain the terms, Cetika,² Cetikīya,³ and Caityavādaka,⁴ These appear to be variants of a single form, i.e. Caitīya or Caitika alluded to in the literary sources.⁵

The Amarāvati inscription of the time of Vāsiṭhīputa Sirī Puṣumāvi suggests that the mahāsthūpa (the Great Stūpa) at Amarāvati belonged to the Caitīya sect. If this was the case, it shows not only that the Caitīyas were present in this area but also that they were flourishing, if we are to judge by the immensity and richness of sculptural decorations of the Amarāvati stūpa.

1. BE, VIII, 1905-6, p. 77, no. 9.

2. Lüder's List, no. 1250.

3. ASSI, I, 1887, p. 100.

4. Ibid, p. 101.

5. A complete list of all the sources which shed light on the formation of different Buddhist sects is given in a separate appendix on pp. 235-239.

The Aparasāila and the Pūrvasāila sects.

The presence of the Pūrvasāilas and of the Aparasāilas, two later sub-sects of the Mahāsāṃghikas, is also evident from inscriptional data. The Dharanikoṭa Dharmacakra Pillar Inscription records the erection of a pillar, surmounted by a dharmacakra, at the eastern gate of the Mahāvihāra at Dhanakaṭaka¹ (Dhānyakaṭaka) which belonged to the Pūrvasāilas. The Allūru inscription mentions a gift by an officer, his wife, son and daughter-in-law to the monks of the Pūrvasāilas.² The presence of the Aparasāilas has been established at Kanherī also by M.J. Dikshit, according to whom a reference to the Aparasāilas is found in an inscription discovered at Kanherī.³

The Sāriputrapariprocchāsūtra⁴ and Vasumitra's account group these two sects along with the Caityasāilas. According to Vasumitra and his commentators K'oueiki⁶ and Paramārtha,⁷ the Pūrvasāilas

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1. EI, XXIV, 1937-38, p. 256.
 2. R. Shamasastri, Calcutta Review, XVI, 1925, p. 48. According to Shamasastri this inscription may be paleographically assigned to the second century A.D.
 3. M.J. Dikshit, 'A new Buddhist sect in Kanheri', IHQ, 18, 1942, pp. 60-63.
 4. Edition of Taisho Issaikyo, 1465, p. 900.
 5. J. Masuda, op.cit, pp. 1-73.
 6. Y. Oyama, pou tsong louen louen chou ki fa jen, 1891, K. ouei-ki, I, p. 45.
 7. Demieville, L'Origine des Sects Bouddhiques d'après Paramārtha, I, 1932, pp. 22, 51.

appeared at the beginning of the third century after the parinibbāna of the Buddha.

As in the case of the Caitīyas, the presence of the Pūrvaśailas and the Aparāśailas is not evident from inscriptions in north India. On the contrary, all the available evidence seems to suggest that these two sub-sects of the Mahāsāṃghīkas probably originated in the Deccan, where they remained. Some light in this connexion is thrown by the ¹ Kathāvatthuppakarana-Atthakathā of Buddhaghoṣa.

The Kathāvatthuppakarana-Atthakathā collectively names the Pūrvaśaila, Aparāśaila, Rājagiriya and the Siddhārthikas as the 'Andhakas', which appears to be a generic name for the foregoing sects of the Āndhra country, and it attributes 72 theses in common ² to them. Some of these theses attributed to 'Andhakas' by ³ Buddhaghoṣa belong equally to their mother-sect, the Caitīya. Thus it would appear that just as the Caitīyas followed the Mahāsāṃghīkas, the Andhakas followed the Caitīyas ^{The supposition} ~~that~~ ^{that} these sects followed each other chronologically ~~is supported by the survival~~

1. Kathāvatthuppakarana-Atthakathā, edited by Minayeff, JPTS, 1888-9, p. 72.

2. Ibid.

3. Bareau, op.cit, p. 89.

of two of the four Andhaka sects to Hiüan Tsang's time. Buddhaghosa¹ in his Sāmantapāsādikā — a commentary on the Sthaviravāda Vinaya Pitaka — moreover, refers to the Andhakatthakathā, and alludes to certain expositions of the vinaya which were based on conditions then prevailing in the Āndhra country, and were therefore not of general application.² This suggests that the term 'Andhaka' signified the group of sects which was predominant in the Āndhra area during the time of the writings of Buddhaghosa.

Although the name 'Āndhra' has³ since 1956 been that of a state in eastern Deccan, there is evidence for its association with parts of the present Āndhra Pradesh for several centuries. Concrete evidence showing that the Kṛṣṇa-Guntur area was known by the term 'amdhāpata' (Āndhrapatha) is furnished by the Mayidavolu inscription of the Pallava prince Sivaskandhavarman, assignable to about the second half of the fourth century A.D. This inscription contains an order addressed to a local officer stationed at Dhanakaḍa (Dhanyakataka) regarding the grant of a village in Amdhāpata.³ On the evidence of this inscription it can be asserted that the Kṛṣṇa-Guntur region has been known as Āndhra at least from the second half of the fourth

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1. Sāmantapāsādikā, edited by J. Takakusu, PTS, 1-7, 1924-1947.
 2. Ibid., pp. 646, 647, 697, 970, 1055, 1069.
 3. E. Hultzsch, EI, VI, 1900-1, pp. 84-87.

century A.D. Thus, the evidence showing that the Pūrvaśailas and Aparāśailas had established themselves in the Kṛṣṇa-Guntur area, Buddhaghōṣa's reference to them by the common name 'Andhaka', and the fact that there is evidence to show that the Kṛṣṇa-Guntur area was known by the name 'Āndhra' from a very early time - all suggest that the 'Andhakas' of Buddhaghōṣa were those sects which flourished in the Āndhra area during the time of Buddhaghōṣa.

We have noticed at the beginning of this chapter that between the first and the second centuries after the parinibbāna of the Buddha his followers were divided into two main groups - the Sthaviravāda and the Mahāsāṃgha. Although during the first centuries of the Christian era the followers of the Mahāsāṃgha and its sub-sects were predominant in the northern Deccan, there is also evidence for the presence in that region of some Sthaviravādin sub-sects. It is also significant that members of the Mahāsāṃghika and the Sthaviravādin sects frequently lived side by side within the same monastery, as is evident from inscriptions attesting the presence of both. The caves of Kārle, Nāsik, Kanherī, ^{and} Junnār, provide examples in this regard.

It is clear that there was no real hostility between the followers of the different sects who often lived in perfect harmony under the same roof, a fact which Hiüan Tsang mentions repeatedly.

The Bhadrayānīyas or Bhadrāyanīyas.

The presence at Nāsik and Kanherī of the Bhadrayānīyas is proved by inscriptional evidence. Gotamī Balasiri, the mother of Gotamīputa Sīri Sātakaṇi granted them a cave on the Triraśmi¹ mountain. Her grandson Vāsiṭhīputa Sīri Puḷumāvi granted them the village of Pisājipādaka to the south-west of the Triraśmi mountain and also the village of Samalipada, in exchange for the village Sudasana (Sudarsaṇa) which had been donated on an earlier² occasion. The inscriptions at Kanherī record the donation of a cave and a water cistern and the building of a caitya, in both³ instances the donees being Bhadrayānīyas.

The Bhadrayānīyas were affiliated to the Sthaviravāda⁴ group of sects, as is attested by all the sources. On the evidence of accounts from north-west India, it is generally

1. EI, VIII, 1905-6, pp. 60 ff, no. 2,

2. Ibid.

3. ASWI, V, 1883, p. 85, no. 27, and p. 75 f, no. 4.

4. See appendix III, pp. 235-239 for reference.

accepted by scholars that this sect made its appearance about two and a half centuries after the Buddha's parinibbāna.¹

The inscriptions at Nāsik and Kanherī establish beyond¹ doubt that the Bhādrayānīyas, too, occupied an important place in the Saṃgha of the northern Deccan. According to the evidence available we can conclude that they were present in the Maharashtra region after the reign of Gotamīputa Sīri Sātakaṇi. Bareau thinks that Mahāgiri, where, the Bhādrayānīyas lived according to the tradition of the Saṃmāitīyas as related by Bhavya,² may have been situated in the Deccan. However this identification is not conclusive. The absence of evidence for the presence of the Bhādrayānīyas in any region other than the Deccan suggests that the latter area was an important Bhādrayānīya centre, if not the most important one, during the period under consideration.

The Dharmottariyas

The presence of the Dharmottariyas at Kārle, Sopāra, and Junnār can be inferred from inscriptional information. The inscriptions at Kārle which record gifts of pillars by a bhāṇaka (reciting monk) of the Dharmottariyas from Sopāraka (Sūrpāraka)

1. Bareau, op.cit., p. 128.

2. Ibid.

indicate the sects presence at Sopāra as well as at Kārle,¹ while an inscription at Junnār recording the dedication by a lay devotee of a cave, a cistern and a nunnery to the Dhammuttariyas² (Dharmottariyas) attest their existence in the latter area.

According to all the sources on the Buddhist sects, the Dharmottariya was the first sub-sect to break away from the Vātsīputriyas (Vajjiputtakas). According to the sources of the north-west India they appeared two and a half centuries after the parinibbāna of the Buddha. According to Bhavya they resided³ on the Mahāgiri mountains along with the Bhādrayaniyas. If Bareau's⁴ identification of Mahāgiri with the Western Ghats of northern Mahāraṣṭra is acceptable, this part of the northern Deccan can be said to have played a very important role during the Satāvāhana period, having a number of monasteries in which dwelt monks of Sthaviravāda and of the Mahāsāṃghika sect.

1. EI, VII, 1902, p. 54, no.8, p. 55, no.9.

2. ASWI, IV, 1883, p. 95, no. 17.

3. W.W. Rockhill, The Life of the Buddha, 1907, pp. 182-196.

4. Bareau, op.cit, p. 121.

We have shown that only eight out of the many Sthaviravāda and Mahāsāṃghika sub-sects given in the traditional lists were present in the Deccan during the Sātavāhana period. These sub-sects were the Mahāsāṃghikas, Caitīya or Caitikas, Pūrvaśailas, Aparāśailas, Rājagiriya, Siddhārthikas, Bhadrāyānīyas, and the Dharmottariyas. The majority of these sects belong to the Mahāsāṃghika group. The number of references in inscriptions in this area to the respective groups of sub-sects also, confirms such a supposition. Out of 29 references to sects in seven Buddhist centres in this area 18 are to the Mahāsāṃghikas and its sub-sects as against ~~eleven~~ references to subsects which were mainly affiliated with the Sthaviravādins¹. Thus we may conclude that the Mahāsāṃghika sect and its subdivisions occupied a significant position in the Deccan during this period.

1. See p. 233.

CHAPTER VTHE MONKS AND MONASTERIES

The main sources of information for the study of the Buddhist organization in the northern Deccan during the Sātavāhana period consist of the remains of the monasteries themselves, and the numerous votive inscriptions which shed valuable light on the character of the monastic communities. Some of these monasteries, such as the cave monasteries of the western Deccan, are still intact, while the sites of others discovered and excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India give a fair picture of the type of monastery which existed during this period. The inscriptions give details of the donors, donees, the nature and purpose of donations etc. thus throwing light on the construction and maintenance of the monasteries, the life of the monks and the role of Buddhist laymen under the monastic system.

The monasteries served a dual purpose, providing, on the one hand, a quiet residence for the monks for study and meditation and, on the other, a place where they could be easily accessible to their lay followers. They are, therefore, generally to be found outside villages ^{or} on the outskirts of towns. A monastery, as a rule, consisted of a residence for monks, a caitya

or a place of worship, where a cult object was kept, and one or more stūpas.

A

The Situation of monasteries.

As shown in chapter II examples of monasteries of the Sātavāhana period to which dates can be attributed are to be seen at Nāsik, Kārle, Junnār and ~~Kanherī~~ ^{the} in present ~~Mahārāstra~~ state and at Rāmatīrtham and Sankaram in the Andhra area. In the latter region, the remains of a number of stūpas belonging to this period have been discovered at Amarāvati, Gudivāda, Chinna Ganjam Pedda Ganjam, Chejrāla, Allūru, and Ghantasāla. The complete disappearance of the residential buildings of the monasteries which must have existed on these sites leads us to assume that they were built of perishable materials - sun-dried brick or wood.

The monasteries at Nāsik are situated on an isolated hill called in the inscriptions Triraśmi which is found about five miles ¹ from the present Nāsik town. Similarly, the monasteries at Junnār were

1. Nāsik is an ancient town, situated on both banks of the Godāvari river. The earliest well-authenticated mention of Nāsik is by Patañjali (Patañjali Mahābhāṣya, edited by Nandakishore Sāstri, 1938, 6, p. 585) a grammarian who lived in c. the middle of the second century B.C. According to him, the town of 'Nasikya' is referred to in the commentary of Kātyāyana, to an aphorism of Pāṇini. It may suffice here to note that Nāsik existed as a town for nearly 2000 years. This pre-eminent position it held, probably because it lies on the route between Central India and the West coast.

excavated from the hills surrounding the present town of Junnār.¹

We do not know anything about the state of Kārle or Kanherī during the early centuries of the Christian era. It can only be assumed that prosperous villages or towns existed at these places and were connected by trade routes to the important ports and markets of the time. The Buddhist monasteries marked by the ruins at Kārle and Kanherī were probably situated in the vicinity of such prosperous areas.

The geographical position of the archaeological remains of Buddhist monasteries in the Andhra area, too, suggests that they were situated along the trade routes of the time. According to G. Jouveau Dubreuil, these Buddhist sites were situated along five trade routes² which converged at the town of Vengi.

1. It is possible that Junnār like Nāsik occupies the site of an ancient town. However, there is no definite evidence in this connexion.

2. See Jouveau Debreuil's introduction to Buddhist Remains in Andhra by K.R. Subramanian, pp. V-VIII, and map. Dubreuil has grouped the Buddhist monasteries of the Andhra area along five lines:

1. On the road to Kalinga: Vengi, Arugolanu, Pithāpuram, Kodavalli, Anakapalli, Sankaram, Dhārapalem, Rāmatīrtham, and Sālihundam.
2. On the road to the South: Gudivāḍa, Ghantāsālā, Bhaṭṭiprolu, Buddhahāni, Chinna and Pedda Gañjam and Kanupārti.
3. On the road to Karnatic: Bezvāḍa, Peddamaddūr, Amarāvati, Garūikapādu, Goli and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.
4. On the road to Mahārāṣṭra: Allūru, Rāmaredḍipalli and Jaggayyapeta.
5. At the beginning of the road to Kosala: Guntupally.

Thus it is reasonable to assume that these Buddhist sites were accessible from different parts of the Āndhra region. This is also supported by the references, in epigraphic sources of the early Christian era, to persons of different regions visiting monasteries, or making gifts to them. Thus, among the donors at the mahācetiya (Great caitya) at Amarāvati, there are names of individuals coming from Pāṭalīputra, Kaṇṭakaśaila, Kuṇḍura, Kavrura, Vijayapura, Dhanagiri, Nekhavana etc. Of these names, Kuṇḍura, Kaṇṭakaśaila, and Vijayapura may be identified respectively with the modern village of Guḍuru, in the Kṛṣṇa district, with Chaṇḍasāla, and with a part or the whole of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley.

These monasteries seem to have been constructed over long periods of time. As far as the rock-cut caves of the western Deccan are concerned, it is clear that sections of the monasteries were excavated at different points in time. This may be due to the fact that the original caves had to be extended as the number of monks living in the monasteries increased. Thus, there are 27 caves at Nāsik, more than 130 caves at Junnār and 86 caves at Kaṇherī, many of which appear to have been excavated at different

1. C. Sivaramamurti, op.cit., pp. 276, 280, 297, 300, 301.

times. From the present ruined state of the caves at Kārle, one cannot, however, ascertain their full number. But, judging by the magnificent caitya there may well have been a large number of viḥāras, though no trace of ~~these~~ survives today. If the extent of monastic remains is any indication of the relative importance of the monasteries of the Sātavāhana period, then it is clear that the area of Junnār far surpassed all others in importance as a centre of Buddhism in the northern Deccan. The Buddhist monasteries at Kanherī seem to have been second in importance, the number of cave excavations being 86. But, if size and elegance of style are taken into account then the caves at Nāsik and the caitya at Kārle appear superior to all other remains.

This relative superiority of size and style of the Nāsik and Kārle monasteries may also have reflected the economic prosperity of the region and a general change of emphasis in monastic life. The simple and functional dwelling places protecting the monks from the inclemencies of the weather of the early sites, ~~appear to have been~~ gradually replaced by more elaborate and magnificent structures.

In the Āndhra region no examples of monasteries belonging to this period have survived intact. Some sites of monasteries retain only the remains of stūpas. With the exception of the group

of caves at Guntupally which are fairly well preserved and probably belong to the Sātavāhana¹ period, there are only two other rock-cut monasteries which can be dated with any certainty to our period.² These two are at Rāmatīrtham and Sankaram (Sanghārāma).³ At the former place, remains of a stūpa, five caityas and ruins of vihāras have been discovered, while a large number of rock-cut stūpas, vihāras, and brick caityas have been found at the latter. However, the remains of the monasteries at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, which belong to the time of the Ikṣvākus, the immediate successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Āndhra area, give a clear picture of the constructional type of monasteries of the Āndhra area. Each monastic establishment at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa contained a vihāra or a monastery proper, a caitya and a stūpa.⁴

B

Donors and donations.

These monasteries were excavated or constructed by a variety of donors as ^{is} shown by the evidence from inscriptions. The donors consisted of rulers and members of the royal family, nobles,

1. See supra, pp. 119-121.

2. ARASI, 1910-11, pp. 78 ff.

3. ARASI, 1907-8, pp. 149-80.

4. A.H. Longhurst, 'The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa', MAI, 1938, no. 54, pp. 1-67.

merchants, corporate bodies, ordinary men and women, and members of the Saṃgha. The following table prepared from the inscriptional data of those monuments which can be dated to the period gives a general picture of the donors and donations. A fuller analysis of these donations is given in a separate appendix.¹

Table showing the category of donors and their donations (towards the construction of monasteries) in the northern Deccan.

Category of donors	Total number of donations
Sātavāhana kings	-
Members of the Sātavāhana royal family and officers	6
Śaka rulers, members of their family, and Śaka officers	5
Corporate bodies	1
Merchants	13
Laymen and Laywomen	27
Members of the Saṃgha	11 TOTAL 63

1. See appendix IV, pp. 240-284.

It would be interesting to analyse the position of these donors and the nature of their donations. The Sātavāhana kings do not seem to have directly participated in the construction of even a single cave monastery. Members of the royal family are however ~~been~~ mentioned in inscriptions. The members of the Sātavāhana royal family and the Sātavāhana nobles gave their patronage to the excavation of four vihāras, one caitya, and a stambha or a pillar. Uśvadatta, the son-in-law of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa ruler Nahapāna, provided for the excavation of one vihāra while the members of his family and the Śaka officers donated a cave, a pillar and a hall to the monastery.

The largest contribution towards the excavation of vihāras and caityas came from the merchant class, ordinary men and women and from members of the Saṃgha itself.

Monasteries grew organically. From modest beginnings they expanded to meet the needs of a growing population of monks and as resources—both financial and of material and labour — became¹ available. Donations were made in cash, in materials for construction and in the form of support for the craftsmen engaged in the work. Labour may have been supplied by the devout laymen in place of gifts in cash or kind.

1. It is reasonable to assume that where a gift consists of a pillar, a door or part of a railing etc. the gift took the form of cash for the purchase or construction of the item rather than of the item itself.

Plan and layout of monasteries

Monasteries appear to have been constructed according to a standard design. Each monastery consisted of vihāras, caityas and stūpas. Each vihāra comprised a rectangular central hall, entered through a doorway, which opened out onto a veranda. Surrounding the central hall were cells opening into it; these supplied the monks living quarters. The caityas were large vaulted halls, with an apse at one end containing a stūpa approached down the nave of the hall, which was separated longitudinally by two colonnades from flanking aisles. In some monasteries larger stūpas were erected in the open air and stood in courtyards alongside the vihāras.

Of the numerous rock-cut caves, the majority are vihāras. However, the presence of at least one caitya in each group of caves shows that the latter occupied an essential place in a monastery. The original plan of these monasteries seems to have been for a few vihāras to be situated close to a caitya, but, as the number of monks increased, more living accommodation was required and vihāras were constructed further afield. This observation is supported by the dispersed nature of construction in the arrangement of vihāras, and the caityas.

Typical examples of a vihāra and a caitya are the Nāsik vihāra no. III and the Kārle caitya.

The Nāsik vihāra no. III is a large cave excavation. Its central hall which is entered from a pillared veranda, is 46 feet long and 41 feet wide and has a bench along three of its sides. There are 20 cells around the main hall, 18 of which are entered from the inside of the hall and two from the veranda. Most of these cells have beds hewn out of stone. The dimensions and the number of cells of the other vihāras vary. However, the basic plan of vihāras, i.e. a main hall surrounded by cells, can be observed in all the vihāra caves.

The Kārle caitya is the most impressive of all the caityas in this area. It is 124 feet long, 46 feet wide and 45 feet high. Fifteen pillars on each side separate the nave from the aisles. The roof is semi-circular in shape and is ornamented with a series of ribs. In the apse is placed a stūpa which is hewn out of rock. The entrance of the caitya consists of three doorways under a gallery, one leading to the centre and one to each of the side aisles. Over the gallery, the whole end of the hall is open, forming one great window, through which light is admitted. This

great window is in the shape of a horse-shoe, and exactly resembles those, used as ornaments, on the façade of this cave as well as on those of Nāsik, Junnār, Kaṇherī etc. The basic features of the Kārle caitya are to be seen in all the other examples of caityas of this area and period.

Stūpas, both those in caityas and those standing in the open, occupied a very important place in the monasteries of the Āndhra area. The remains of the stūpas at Bhaṭṭiprolu, Amarāvati, Guḍivāda, Chinna Ganjam, Pedda Ganjam, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa etc. show that more attention was given to constructing larger stūpas in the Āndhra area.

The chief function of the stūpas was that of enshrining the relics of the Buddha or of Buddhist saints, which were placed in a reliquary and deposited in a stone coffer, over which the stūpa was built. Some stūpas, however, contained no relics but merely commemorated important events in the life of the Buddha. When it contained relics, the shrine was called a dhātugarbha (relic chamber) and most stūpas were erected over relics.

The stūpas of the Āndhra area were built of large bricks (of about twenty inches by ten inches by three inches) laid in

mud mortar. When complete, they were covered with plaster from top to bottom and most of the exterior decoration was executed in that material. The dome rested on a drum or circular platform from three to five feet in height, according to the size of the stūpa. At the cardinal points, a rectangular platform of the same height as the drum, projected outwards; it probably served as an altar or table for the floral offerings presented to the shrine by the worshippers. This appears to be a very important and characteristic feature of the Āndhra stūpas and is unknown in north India.

An inscription at Amarāvati refers to these¹ pillars, placed on the projections as āyaka khambha (āyaka stūpambha ?). Several inscriptions at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa also mention the erection of āyaka khambhas. Though not identical, the similar structure of the Abhayagiri stūpa in Ceylon has been referred to as ayaka (āyaka)² in a third century A.D. inscription found there.

The term ayaka i.e. āryaka³ denotes any one (or thing) honourable, noble or respectful. This meaning of the term

1. ASSI, 1887, p. 110.

2. EZ, 1904, p. 255.

3. M. Monier Williams, SED, 1899, p. 152.

indicates that the projection where pillars were placed was a place for honour and veneration. The implication of the number of pillars on each projection is, however, not clear. Longhurst suggests that they represent the five great incidents (nativity, renunciation, enlightenment, turning of the wheel and great demise¹) of the life of the Buddha. This explanation is not altogether unlikely as the bases of the projecting structures have been noticed to bear panels illustrating one or the other² of the great events of the life of the Buddha.

The larger stūpas were encircled by railings with gateways. These railings were of carved wood and they stood on brick foundations. The purpose of the railing was to enclose the processional path which encircled the base of the stūpa. In important stūpas, such as that of Amarāvati, the path was usually paved with stone and within railed enclosure a number of small shrines and images were kept.

D

Maintenance of monasteries. Inscriptions also contain information which helps us understand how the monasteries were maintained. They refer to donations of villages, fields, money etc. by kings, members of the royal family, nobles, merchants and individuals of

1. A.H. Longhurst, MAI, 1937-38, no. 54, p. 16.

2. Ibid, p. 14.

all ranks in society to the monks living in monasteries.

An inscription at Nāsik records that Uṣavadāta (Uṣavadatta) donated a field for the supply of food for the monks living in one of the caves at Nāsik.¹ Another inscription at Nāsik records an endowment of money to the monks of a monastery at Nāsik by Uṣavadāta.² According to the latter inscription the money was given in order to meet the expenditure for clothes of monks living in the monastery concerned.

An inscription at Kārle mentions that Uṣavadāta granted the village of Karajūka to the monks living in one of the cave viharas at Kārle.³

Several inscriptions at Nāsik show that fields, land and villages were donated to monasteries at Nāsik during and after the reign of Gotamīputa Siri Sātakaṇi. Thus, an inscription at Nāsik records the gift of the village of Pisājipādaka by the grandson of Gotamī Balasiri for the embellishment of the cave which was constructed earlier for the monks living on the Triraśmi mountain.⁴ Another inscription at Nāsik of Vāsīṭhīputa Siri Puḷumāvi

1. EI, VIII, 1905-6, pp. 78-79, no. 10.

2. EI, VIII, 1905-6, p. 82, no. 12.

3. EI, VII, 1902-3, pp. 57 ff, no. 13.

4. EI, VIII, 1905-6, pp. 60 ff, no. 2.

mentions the gift of the village of Samalipada in the Govardhana district at Nāsik to the monks of the Bhādrayānīya sect dwelling in the 'Queen's Cave'.¹ This donation was effected in exchange for the village of Sudarśana in the Govardhana district formerly given to the same monks for repairs to the cave. An inscription at Kārle records an order by Vāsīṭhīputa Siri Puḷumāvi to an officer regarding the gift of the village named Karajaka in the Māmāla district, to the monks living in the Kārle caves.²

Similarly, nobles and rich lay devotees also made grants of land and money to the monks. Thus, an inscription at Kārle records the gift by mahārāṭhi (mahārāṣṭrin)³ Somadeva of a village to the monks of the Kārle caves. The term mahārāṭhi seems to denote a local ruler - a ruler of a raṭṭha (a territorial division).⁴

Several inscriptions at Nāsik supply information regarding donations to the monks by lay devotees. One of these records the gift by a person named Dharmanandin of a field, the income from which was to be used to provide robes

1. EI, VIII, 1905-6, pp. 65 ff, no.3.

2. ASWI, IV, 1883, pp. 112-3, no.20.

3. EI, VII, 1902-3, pp. 61 ff. no. 14.

4. D.C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary, 1966, p. 186.

for the monks living in a cave at Nāsik.¹ Another records an endowment of money by a female lay devotee named Viṣṇudattā² to the monks living in the monastery on the Triraśmi mountain.

An inscription at Kanherī, dated in the reign of Gotamīputa Sīri Yajña Sātakaṇi records the gift of a cave and an endowment of money and a field by a lay devotee, named Apareṇu,³ while another records an endowment of a field for the support of a monk and repairs of a maṇḍapa or a pavilion.⁴

These records show that donations were made for the general support of the monks, for the planting of trees or for repairs and additions to the monasteries themselves. The inscriptions of the Śātavāhana kings mentioning donations of villages specifically state^{that} these villages should not be entered by royal troops, molested by government officials, or interfered with by the district police.⁵ This implies that the villages concerned were given to the monks as unhindered and perpetual means of support.

1. EI, VIII, 1905-6, p.77, no.9.
2. EI, VIII, 1905-6, p.88, no.15.
3. ASWI, V, 1883, pp.79 ff, no.15.
4. Ibid, pp. 81 ff, no.18.
5. EI, VIII, 1905-6, pp. 65 ff. no.3.

It seems reasonable to suggest that the grants made to the monks consisted of the right to the states, share in the produce of the soil, for while the monks are assured of non-interference by state officials there is no suggestion that the monks themselves were given the right to interfere with or displace the cultivators and occupants of the villages granted.

Donations of money were often entrusted to guilds, as we gather from the information of the inscriptions.¹ An inscription at Nāsik mentioning an endowment of money for the community of monks at the vihāra on the Triraśmi mountain by the lay devotee Viṣṇudatta, records that the money was invested with three śrēṇis (guilds).² Similarly, two inscriptions in the Junnār cave refer to guilds, one with reference to a donor who was a member of a śrēṇi,³ and the other apparently mentioning an endowment of money deposited with two śrēṇis.⁴ It may be presumed, on the basis of the testimony of the inscriptions, that during this period donors frequently deposited money with trade guilds and that the interest from these endowments was used to support meritorious acts. We can suggest that the donors' deposits were used by the

1. EI, VIII, 1905-6, pp. 82 ff. no.12.

2. Ibid, pp. 88 ff, no.15.

3. ASWI, IV, 1883, p. 96, no.24.

4. Ibid, p. 97, no.27.

members of the śreṇis in their own concerns and that they provided for the needs of the monks from the proceeds.

Two records from the western Deccan indicate that the details of endowments were proclaimed and registered in the nigama-sabha or the city council or assembly.¹ It was probably the duty of this body to look after the proper execution of trusts and endowments. If this explanation is acceptable, it would follow that, if the guilds failed to perform the duties entrusted to them, the city council saw to the execution of the trust concerned.

The vast number of inscriptions at Amarāvati in the Āndhra area also show that monastic buildings were constructed and maintained by lay Buddhist devotees. They refer to donations of carved slabs, coping-stones (unīsa), foot-prints (pātukā), rail-bars (sūci) etc.² However, reference to donations of land and sources of income to the monasteries in this area are rare.³ Such donations are referred to only by the Allūru inscription recording a gift by a mahātalavara (administrator of a city or prefect of the city police)⁴ of land, cows, bullocks, and carts, men-servants, and women-servants. Nevertheless, it is unlikely

1. EI, VII, 1902-3, pp. 82, 88.

2. See Appendix IV, pp. 240 f.

3. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1923-24, p. 97, no. 331 of Appendix c; Calcutta Review, XVI, 1925, pp. 48 ff.

4. D.C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary, 1966, p. 333.

that the princely and other donors who contributed to the construction of great monasteries in this area would have left them without proper support. The nature of this support is evident from the Allūru inscription and we may, therefore, suppose that the other monasteries were similarly maintained.

The needs of the monks were few, matching the austerity of the monastic buildings. Their day-to-day requirements for food and clothing were probably met from the gifts of laymen. For the monasteries did not just house the monks, but provided centres to which came those seeking advice, education or religious instruction.

E

Administration of monasteries.

The monasteries served both as places of residence for monks and as centres for the spread of Buddhism. Monks old and young, guests from other monasteries and novices attached to them for training generally resided in the monasteries.

The regular functioning of the monasteries demanded the maintenance of order and discipline among the inmates, the day-to-day supply of food, clothing and medicine, the instruction and disciplining of novices, and the provision to the lay public

of instruction and guidance.

The constitution of the Saṃgha was democratic, lacking a rigid hierarchy of authority. The pātimokkha, or code of rules, guided the conduct of all the members of the monastic community. All, with the exception of the novices, were considered equal, though it is likely that deference and respect were accorded to age, piety, wisdom and knowledge of the scriptures.

Two inscriptions from Amarāvati¹ and Nāsik² throw some light in this connexion by referring to a mahāthera and a mahāsāmiya. The term thera implies age and seniority and the prefix mahā may be taken as 'the chief', in other words, 'the most senior monk'. Sāmiya appears to be a Prākṛit form of svāmi meaning 'lord' or 'master' and this term shows that there was a chief monk in at least one of the monasteries at Nāsik. However, we do not know the exact duties and functions of either the mahāthera or the mahāsāmiya from the inscriptions which refer to them. It can only be assumed that the senior monks known by the terms mahāthera and mahāsāmiya were elected to or given their position, in consideration of their age, seniority and knowledge of the scriptures.

1. ASSI, I, 1887, p. 91, no. 35.

2. EI, VIII, 1905-6, pp. 71 ff, no. 4.

The constitution of the Buddhist Saṃgha enjoins a life of discipline and simplicity. The monks' day-to-day necessities * food, clothes, and medicine - were given as alms by the lay devotees. These items may have been brought to the monastery by the lay devotees or given to the monks on their alms-rounds. The reference to a donation of a bhōjanacatusālā (a quadrangular dining-hall) in an inscription at Kanherī¹ shows that some monasteries had dining halls as a part of the monastery buildings. Most probably these dining halls were utilised for keeping and serving the food which was brought to the monastery either by the monks as alms or by lay devotees. We do not know whether there were office-bearers for the distribution of food in the monasteries of our area and period as was customary in north Indian monasteries.²

The supply of robes to the monks was the responsibility of the lay devotees. An inscription at Nāsik records the gift of twelve kahāpanas to provide robes for the monk living in the cave.³ Another inscription in the same locality mentions the

1. ASWI, 1883, V, pp. 80 ff, no. 16.

2. Buddhist literature refers to office-bearers who attended to the distribution of food among the members of saṃgha of monasteries. Bhattuddēsaka (superintendent of meals), Ṣalākagāhāpaka (meal ticket issuer) are such offices. See, Cullavagga, edited by H. Oldenberg, PTS, 1880, pp. 176-177 in this connexion.

3. EI, VIII, 1905-6, p. 90, no. 17.

gift of a field by a person named Dharmanandin (the income from which was) to provide robes for a monk who was living¹ in one of the caves.

F

Training of novices.

The monasteries were not only the residences of monks but also training centres for novices. According to the vinaya injunctions, novices were required to be dependent on a teacher for training. Such novices had to undergo training for at least ten years and prove themselves eligible for² membership of the Saṃgha before ordination. Thus the relationship between some members of the monasteries was that of teacher and pupil.

This teacher-pupil relationship of resident monks of monasteries is attested by a number of donatory inscriptions of this period. They mention thēra, upajjhāya, and ācārya with reference to monk-donors who are mentioned in the inscriptions as antevāsikas (antevāsika) and śiṣyas.³ By the term thera an elder or a senior monk is denoted. The terms

1. EI, VIII, 1905-6, p. 77, no.9.

2. Mahāvagga I, edited by H. Oldenberg, PTS, 1879, 32, 1.

3. See Appendix IV, pp. 254-261.

upajjhāya (upādhyaṃ) and ācārya denote two types of teachers under¹ whom a novice monk had to learn the tripiṭaka. The term thēra in our inscriptions referring to teacher-monks may thus mean either of the above types of teachers. There are also references to upajjhāyini (female-teacher) and amtevasini (girl-pupil).² However, these references are comparatively few and suggest that the training of girl-pupils was limited.

Teaching and learning the Buddhist tripiṭaka may have been the basis of studies in these monasteries. Reference to vinayadhara³ and mahāvinayadhara in some Amarāvati inscriptions indicate that some monks had specialised in the study of sections of the tripiṭaka. The references to the presence of vinayadharas suggest that there may have been other monks who were competent in the other sections of the tripiṭaka as well. Another reference which may be noted in this connexion is to bhāṇakas or reciting monks. An inscription at Kārle refers to a donation by a bhāṇaka.⁴ As stated by Adikaram, bhāṇakas were the reciting monks who were entrusted with the

1. See Cullavagga, edited by H. Oldenberg, VIII, 13-14, p. 231.

2. See C. Sivaramamurti, BMGM, IV, 1942, p. 291, no. 70; p. 294, no. 83.

3. C. Sivaramamurti, BMGM, IV, 1942, p. 289, no. 25 and p. 291, no. 70.

4. EI, VII, pp. 54 ff no. 8.

preservation of different sections of the tripiṭaka by
¹
 constant recitation. The reference to bhāṇakas in the
 Kārle inscription probably indicates that there were bhāṇakas
 of all the sections of the tripiṭaka in the monasteries of
 this area who passed on their knowledge and tradition to the
 novices. Thus, the upādhyāyas, ācāryas and bhāṇakas were
 specialists in the teaching of different aspects of Buddhist
 lore.

G

Upkeep of monasteries.

Once the monasteries were constructed their upkeep,
 repair and extension required constant attention. One of
 the officers appointed to oversee this work was the navakammika.
 The literal meaning of the term is 'doing anew'. It indicates
 the nature and duties of this office.

Several inscriptions from our area refer to navakammikas.
 Thus, two inscriptions at Amarāvati mention a navakammikapadhāna
 and a mahānavakammika.
²
 The suffix padhāna (pradhāna) and the
 prefix mahā both meaning 'chief' may indicate different grades
 in the post of navakammika. An inscription at Kanherī also

1. E.W. Adikaram, Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, 1953, p. 24.

2. C. Sivaramamurti, op.cit, p. 275, no. 11, and p. 278, no. 33.

records a list of names of monks who were navakammikas to the building of a caitya at Kaṇherī.¹

An inscription at Kaṇherī also refer to another office, that of the uparakkhita (uparaksita).² The meaning of the term rakkhita (from Pāli rakkhati) is 'to protect'.³ Uparakkhita may accordingly mean a 'care-taker' or 'a guardian' of a monastery. This office, unlike that of the navakammika, is not mentioned in the Buddhist literature, and hence it appears that the office of uparakkhita may have carried a local significance in the Deccān. The inscription does not supply details about the exact functions of an uparakkhita. However, it is probable that the duties of this office were concerned with the maintenance and supervision of the monasteries.

The list of donations given in the appendix⁴ shows that besides viḥāras, caityas and stūpas the donations included other items such as pillars, doors, rails etc. It is unlikely that the donors themselves attended to the execution of these constructions. Most probably, the money or the material needed for the intended gift was supplied by the donor to the monk who was in charge of the construction and maintenance of monastery buildings. In

1. ASWI, V, 1883, pp. 75 ff.

2. Ibid.

3. T.W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, The Pali Text Society's Pali - English Dictionary, 1925, p. 78.

4. See appendix, pp 240-284.

connexion with the construction of great monuments like the Amarāvati stūpa, constant control and supervision by a monk who had specialised knowledge in the field would have been essential, and hence it is reasonable to assume that donations of money and material were given by the visitors to the person in charge of the construction, who would then have carried out the operation according to the donor's wish.

Another office which is mentioned in the inscriptions of our area is that of gandhakutibhārika.¹ By the term gandhakuti the living room of the Buddha was originally meant. Hence it was customary to have a gandhakuti or an 'Inner Sanctuary' in all the monasteries as a place of worship. Gandhakutibhārika thus indicates a monk who was in charge of the gandhakuti of the monastery. The inscription concerned does not give details of the duties of the gandhakutibhārika. However, it can be assumed that the gandhakutibhārika was a monk in charge of a sanctuary room who kept it clean and made arrangements for the daily worship.

H

Monasteries as public institutions.

The co-operation of the lay devotees was essential for

1. ASWI, V, 1883, p. 77, no.6.

the smooth functioning of the monasteries, and hence the relationship between the monks and the lay devotees was one of interdependence. While the lay devotees were enjoined to supply the members of the Saṃgha with necessities, they were given the hope that they would have long life, happiness and strength as¹ a result of this act on their part.

Some of the inscriptions specifically mention the purpose for which the donation was made. An inscription at Nāsik records that one of the water cisterns donated to the monks at Nāsik by Saka Damacika Vudhika was on behalf of his father and mother, suggesting that the donation was made for the merit² of his parents. An inscription at Kanherī also records that a caitya was erected by the merchants Gajasēna and Gajamitra in honour of their deceased parents. This inscription further mentions that after securing a most excellent share (of the merit) for their wives, sons, daughters, stepbrother, a large number of their sister's sons, and a multitude (of their blood relations, also) the merit was for the well-being and happiness of all sentient³ beings.

1. Anguttara Nikāya, II, edited by Rev. R. Morris, PTS, 1888, p. 66.

2. EI, VIII, 1905-6, p. 95, no. 26.

3. ASWI, V, 1883, p. 75, no. 4.

The magnificence of the caityas and stūpas, like those at Kārle, and Amarāvati respectively, indicates not only generous patronage from the donors but equally great popularity with the lay devotees.

The monastery was thus as much a concern of the lay devotees as that of the monks. In return for the services both in kind and cash of the lay devotees, the monks gave them education, advice and other assistance.

There is a reference in one of the Amarāvati inscriptions to a dharmakathika¹ (preacher of religion) and this reference indicates that there were monks who were noted for their ability in preaching. It is reasonable to assume that lay devotees gathered in the monastery to listen to sermons delivered by the dharmakathikas.

Supported by the public which they served, the monasteries of the Deccan in the Sātavāhana period seem to have complied with the injunction of the Buddha - caratha bhikkhave cārikaṃ bahujaṇa hitāya bahujaṇasukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ.²

1. C. Sivaramamurti, op.cit, p. 274, no. 10, also, p. 275, no. 11.

2. H. Oldenberg, Vinaya Piṭaka, I, 1879, p. 21, translated it means 'Ye monks, practise compassion, visit all parts of the country for the good, benefit and happiness of gods and men'.

CHAPTER VITHE PLACE OF BUDDHISM IN SOCIETY DURING THE SĀTAVĀHANA PERIODBuddhism and the Sātavāhana rulers:

In the foregoing chapters we have studied the chronology of the Sātavāhana kings and related it with the help of the inscriptional data, to the Buddhist monasteries established during their reigns. We have also studied the structure of the Saṃgha and the monastic organisation as it appears in the monumental and epigraphical data. We are now in a position to draw a general picture of the state of Buddhism in the northern Deccan under the Sātavāhanas.

As shown in the first chapter, Buddhism was established in the northern Deccan as early as the reign of Aśoka. But the history of this area from the end of Aśoka's reign until the beginning of the Sātavāhana rule cannot be traced from the available sources. All that can be deduced from the location of, and information contained in, the Aśoka inscriptions from south of the Vindhya mountains is that the region between the mountains and the Godāvarī came under the influence of the Maurya empire.

This period, during which parts of the northern Deccan were for a time under the influence of North Indian rulers, was a remarkable era in the history of Buddhism in India in general and in

North India in particular. Following the stimulus received during the time of Aśoka, the rise of Buddhism seems to have been uninterrupted. The stūpas of Sāñcī and Bhārhut bear witness to this expansion of Buddhism. Buddhism was equally popular in the north-west, where Greek kings like Menander, and Kuṣāṇa kings like Kanishka, supported its cause. All these examples suggest that Buddhism had become a popular movement in India during and after the reign of Aśoka and that the direct effect of this movement would have been felt in the northern Deccan during the time when the political influence of the North began to be felt in this part of India.

Archaeological and epigraphical data show that Buddhism flourished to a great extent during the Sātavāhana period in the northern Deccan. It received the patronage of kings, members of the royal family, nobles and merchants and the devotion of considerable numbers of the common people.

There is no evidence, however, to show that the Sātavāhana rulers were Buddhists. On the contrary, they were probably followers of the Hindu religion. The Nānāghāṭ inscription which records a number of sacrifices by Siri Sātakani and his gifts of cows, elephants and money as dakṣiṇā to the Brāhmins lends support

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to this presumption. The names of some of the later members of this dynasty, such as Yajñāsri, Śivaśri and Śivaskandha, also indicate a Hindu connexion.

However, there is evidence to show that a number of Sātavāhana rulers extended their patronage to the Buddhists.

Thus an inscription at Nāsik shows that during the reign of Kanha a minister at Nāsik excavated a cave (for the use of monks at Nāsik).² This would indicate that the policy of the king was favourable towards Buddhism.

From the reign of Kṛṣṇa to that of Gotamīputa Siri Satakani there is no evidence of the relationship between the ruler and the Buddhist monks. Siri Satakani, about whom there is more information from the Nānāghaṭ inscription, was perhaps a

1. D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, pp. 192-197.

2. The inscription records:
Sātavāhanakule Kanhe rājini Nāsikakena
Samapena mahamatena leṇa karita.

This has been translated by E. Senart as:

'Under king Kṛṣṇa of the Sātavāhana family this cave has been caused to be made by the officer in charge of the śramas at Nāsik (EI, VIII, 1905-6, p. 93)

However, Senart's translation seems to be unwarranted as the terms Nāsika and Samapa qualify mahāmātra, and hence the mahāmātra mentioned in the inscription should be taken as the same person as the Samapa. Thus it is likely that Samapa was the name of the mahāmātra.

follower of the Hindu religion. However, there is no evidence to show that Buddhism was less favoured during his reign.

There is clear evidence to show that Buddhist monks were supported by Gotamīputa Sīri Sātakapi. This is proved by the evidence of two inscriptions discovered at Nāsik. One of these inscriptions records Gotamīputa Sīri Sātakani's order to Viṣṇupālita, who was the officer at Govardhana, to donate a field to the monks living on the Triraśmi mountain.¹ The other records an order by the same king together with his mother Gotamī Balasirī, addressed to Syāmaka, another officer at Govardhana, to grant a field within the boundaries of the town² to the monks living in the cave on the Triraśmi mountain.

An inscription at Kārle also, recording an order to Pariguta (Parigupta ?), the officer at Mamāda, regarding the gift of the village of Karajāka in the Mamāda district to the monks dwelling in the cave at Kārle may probably be dated to the reign of Gotamīputa Sīri Sātakapi.³

1. D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, pp. 197-199.

2. Ibid, pp. 200-201.

3. The name of the king in this inscription is not clear. According to the opinion of scholars who have edited it, this king could be either Gotamīputa Sīri Sātakapi or his successor. See J. Burgess, ASWI, IV, 1883; p. 111, no.20.

The successor of Gotamīputa Siri Sātakapi, Vāsithīputa Siri Puḷumāvi, also extended his patronage to the Buddhist monks, as is evident from several inscriptions. An inscription at Nāsik of Gotamī Balasiri the mother of Gotamīputa Siri Sātakapi, and the grandmother of Vāsithīputa Siri Puḷumāvi, records the donation of a cave at Nāsik to the Bhādrayānīya monks during the reign of the latter king.¹ The same inscription mentions that Vāsithīputa Siri Puḷumāvi also granted the village of Pisājipādaka² as a source of income for the embellishment of the cave. Yet another inscription engraved in continuation of the former, records an order of Vāsithīputa Siri Puḷumāvi to Sivakhadila (Sivaskandhila ?), an officer at Govardhana, regarding the gift of the village of Samalipada (Sāmrālīpādra ?) on the eastern road in the Govardhana district, to the monks of the Bhādrayānīya sect living in the dēvilena (queen's cave), in exchange for the village³ of Sudarsāna, on the southern road in the Govardhana district.

Although there is no clear evidence to show that the successors of Vāsithīputa Siri Puḷumāvi continued to extend their patronage to the Buddhist monks, the large number of Buddhist

1. D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, pp. 203-207.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., pp. 207-209.

monasteries which may be assigned to the time of these rulers,¹ especially to that of Siri Yaña Sātakani,¹ indicates that the policy adopted by these kings was also favourable towards Buddhism.

A later member of this dynasty, who is referred to in a seal as Siri S(i)va(maka) Vijaya² and who probably ruled in the first quarter of the third century A.D.,³ also seems to have supported the Buddhist monks who lived at Rāmatīrthaṃ, as the inscription concerned alludes to the monks at Rāmatīrthaṃ monastery as 'Siri S(i)va(maka) Vijayaraja s(e)lasagha' or the community of the Buddhist monks belonging to the monastery on the hill patronised by Siri S(i)va(maka) Vijaya.

It is striking that all the inscriptions, except the Rāmatīrthaṃ seal, mention royal patronage towards the Buddhists monks who lived in the western Deccan. On the other hand, the eastern Deccan or (the area covered by the Āndhra Pradesh) is not mentioned as having received royal patronage by important Sātavāhana kings such as Gotamīputa Siri Sātakani, Vāsīṭhīputa

1. See chapter III, pp. 114-15

2. Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1909-10, pp. 78 ff; also Annual Report of the Archaeological Department (Southern Circle), 1909-10, p. 20. For identification of this king see, chapter II.

3. See chapter II, p. 86; chapter III, p. 121.

Siri Puḷumāvi and Siri Yaṇa Sātakapi. Does this mean that no references to these rulers have survived, although records of donations by meachants and common people exist or did the Sātavāhana rulers have a preference for the West, where their capital was situated, as against the East ?. One cannot show any valid reasons for such a partiality. However, it must be mentioned that if we take the semi-legendary accounts into consideration, we find in the legends concerning Nāgārjuna, references to the construction of viḥāras by the Sātavāhana rulers in the Āndhra area. Because there is insufficient reason to believe that the Sātavāhana kings did not patronize Buddhism in the Āndhra area, we may have to accept the evidence given in these accounts.

These legendary accounts are found in the Sīhalavatthupp-
¹akarana, a Ceylonese work which is generally ascribed to around
²the fifth century A.D. ³in Hiüan Tsang's ⁴and I-tsing's records

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1. Sīhalavatthuppakarana, edited by A.P. Buddhadatta, 1959, pp. 119-120.
 2. See Introduction to the Sīhalavatthupakarana.
 3. S. Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, 1884, pp. 209-217;
 T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, II, 1905 pp. 200 ff.
 4. J. Takakusu, A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago, 1896, pp. 158-59.

of their travels in India, in the Chinese translation of the
 biography of Nāgārjuna¹ and in Tibetan sources.²

The legendary account contained in the Sīhalavatthuppakarana refers to a Sātavāhana king who was converted to Buddhism by a monk named Tambasumana who visited the Sātavāhana kingdom from Ceylon.³ However, this story does not give any details which would help one to identify the Sātavāhana king concerned. As it is mentioned in the Sīhalavatthuppakarana itself that the author Dhammanandin was a native of Kantakasolapattana,⁴ while it appears from many other stories of the Sīhalavatthuppakarana, that they are based on the country of Surāṣṭra or Girnar, it may be assumed that the stories contained

1. This is an Indian biography which exists in a Chinese translation made by Kumarajīva in 405 A.D. See Nanjio's Catalogue, no. 1461. Also see Hirth Anniversary Volume, pp. 426 ff, for an English translation of the relevant sections of this work.
2. The Tibetan records consist of Grub-thob brgyad-cu-rtsa-bshihi rnam-thar, translated into German by A. Grunwedel under the title Die Geschichte der 84 Zanberer (Mahasiddhas), and the writings of Taranatha, i.e. rgya-gar-chos-byun (History of Buddhism in India), For an English translation of the latter see Taranatha's History of Buddhism in India edited by D. Chattopadhyaya, 1970.
3. Sīhalavatthuppakarana, op.cit, pp. 119-120.
4. An Amarāvati inscription (Lüders list 1000) also, mentions a place called Kantakasola. This evidently was the same as Kantakasolapattana of Sīhalavatthuppakarana. With the help of Ptolemy's reference to an emporium named Kantakassula (Geographia, VII, I, 15) which he places immediately after the river Maisolos in the land of Maisolia, Kantakasola of the Amarāvati inscription has been identified with the town of Ghantāsāla which lies between the villages of Gudduru and the mouth of the Kṛṣṇa river. These references suggest that Kantakasola can be identified with the town of Ghantāsāla.

in this work are not purely fictitious, but may have been based on legends which were prevalent among the Buddhist monks who lived in the Sātavāhana territory. If this assumption is acceptable we have in this story from the Sihalavatthuppakaraṇa an example of a Sātavāhana king who had close relations with Buddhist monks.

According to the legend related by the Chinese pilgrims Hiūan Tsang and I-Tsing, in the Chinese translation of the biography of Nāgārjuna and in the Tibetan works, one of the Sātavāhana kings was a close friend of Nāgārjuna.¹

Nāgārjuna is one of the most enigmatic and also one of the most important personalities in Buddhist history. Numerous Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese works give us information on the life and works of Nāgārjuna, but their information verges on the supernatural and seems to refer to several Nāgārjunas of different dates and origins who appear and reappear in many different legends. These were analysed by M. Walleser² and were summarised by M. Winternitz.³ Commenting on these sources, E. Lamotte⁴ observes that the literary and archaeological data that one can collect on Nāgārjuna are so vast, and so scattered

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1. For references to these legends see supra, pp. 171-172, 178-179, 1, 2.
 2. M. Walleser, 'The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources', Hirth Anniversary Volume, Asia Major, 1923, pp. 421-455.
 3. M. Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, II, 1933, pp. 341-351.
 4. E. Lamotte, Le Traite de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nagarjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra), 1944, pp. X-XIV.

in many different regions of India, that it would be wrong to consider them as evidence for writing a biography of Nāgārjuna. He adds that in so far as the person of Nāgārjuna is concerned, they have only a limited historical value, if any at all, but these are documents of a preeminent interest if, one does not regard them as evidence for Nāgārjuna's biography, but as simple albeit sincere evidence of the religious movement with a reforming mission, with which Nāgārjuna's name is associated. Hence we should consider these legends from this point of view.

These sources abound in stories concerning Nāgārjuna's dabbling in alchemy and his relationship with a king of the Sātavāhana dynasty, who has not been identified. There also exists another cycle of legends connecting Nāgārjuna and the Kushāna king, Kanishka in the Chinese and Tibetan records. These suggest, and this interpretation is supported by S. Levi,¹ that a Sātavāhana king and Kanishka were both known to Nāgārjuna.

According to the Tibetan historians,² Nāgārjuna would have passed the last part of his life in Āndhra. We are told that

1. S. Levi, 'Kanishka et Sātavāhana', Journal Asiatique, 1936. pp. 107-110.

2. D. Chattopadhyaya, Tāranatha's History of Buddhism in India, 1970, pp. 106-119. However, it may be noted that Taranatha's work is as late as the 17th century and its historical value as a source for the study of the Sātavāhana period is very little.

Nāgārjuna built the sanctuary of Dpal-Idan-bras-spuns¹ (Sṛīdhanyakataka); he ~~surrounded~~ ^{surrounded} it with a wall, and constructed 108 cells inside the wall. The same source states that Nāgārjuna resided at Śrīparvata, a monastery situated on a rock overlooking the Kṛṣṇa river, which the Śātavāhana king had had excavated and built.

However problematic the material derived from these sources, at all events it is clear that a ruler of the Śātavāhana, dynasty played an important role in Nāgārjuna's life and that he was closely associated with the religious movement with which Nāgārjuna's name is so intimately connected.

As we have pointed out in an earlier chapter, the construction of enormous stūpas at Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Jaggayyapeta etc. would have been impossible without the assistance of the ruler. No satisfactory explanation can be given as to why inscriptions recording donations of Śātavāhana kings have not come to light in Āndhradesa whereas a number of such inscriptions are found in the Mahārāṣṭra area. As we know from the inscriptions of the western Deccan that the Buddhist monks received patronage during the reign of Gotamīputa Siri

1. D. Chattopadhyaya, Tāranatha's History of Buddhism in India, 1970, p. 107.

Sātakani and his successors, in whose kingdom Āndhradesa was also included, we may assume that the monks of Āndhradesa as well as those in Maharashtra would have received the rulers' patronage. The legends describing benefactory activities of Sātavāhana kings thus cannot be completely discarded, although they cannot be accepted in detail. The absence of inscriptions in Āndhra might be explained by the Sātavāhana rulers lavishing the bulk of their generosity on areas near their capital or by the late acquisition of the Āndhra area and its subsequent rule by viceroys or feudatories.

In conclusion, it would be interesting to analyse the reasons which led the Sātavāhana kings to look favourably on Buddhism. These appear to be both political and personal.

First, it would be pointed out that Buddhism was already accepted by a fairly large number of people in the northern Deccan well before the Sātavāhanas came to power. During the Sātavāhana period Buddhism expanded further as appears from the inscriptions and monuments datable to this period. These inscriptions show that there were not only individuals who were Buddhists but also corporate bodies, i.e. śrenis and sabhās (guilds). For instance, some Nāsik and Junnar inscriptions mention guilds of kulārikas¹ (potters),

1. EI, VIII, 1905, p. 88, no.15.

¹damnikas (corn chandlers), ²vasakāras (weavers) and ³kasākāra (braziers).

These guilds must have possessed considerable influence in the economic life of the region; influence which would have increased once they began to act as trustees for donations and endowments made for the support of monasteries. No Sātavāhana ruler could have afforded to ignore the guilds nor would they have been likely to interfere too deeply with the religion of the guild members. Moreover Buddhism spread peacefully and had won the support of important north Indian rulers, Aśoka and Kaniṣka, its greatest patrons, and it seems likely that the Sātavāhana rulers though not converts themselves would have followed the example of the northern kings in patronizing so influential a movement.

Furthermore, as the inscriptions show, a considerable number of Śaka and Yavana settlers in the coastal trading centres of the northern Deccan appears to have been Buddhists. Uṣavadatta's donations to the Buddhist monks also indicate that a policy of religious tolerance was adopted by the Śaka rulers. When

1. ASWI, IV, p. 94, no.10.

2. Ibid, p. 97, no. 27.

3. Ibid,

Gotamīputa Siri Sātakapi conquered the western parts of the northern Deccan from Nahapāna, the father-in-law of Uṣavadatta, he also followed the same religious policy as Uṣavadatta had done by making new land grants to the Buddhist monks. It is possible that Gotamīputa Siri Sātakapi's religious policy was guided by political ends. As the north-western Deccan was constantly threatened by Śaka inroads, the loyalty of all sections of the population in that area as well as of all the subjects of the northern Deccan would have been essential to ensure the stability of the Sātavāhana kingdom.

Secondly, some Sātavāhana kings may have extended their patronage to the Buddhist monks out of personal sympathies. It is mentioned in one of the Nāsik inscriptions that a village was donated to the monks by Vāsīṭhīputa Siri Puḷumāvi, in order that the merit from this gift might be enjoyed by his father, (Gotamīputa Siri Sātakapi).¹ This inscription concludes with the statement savajatabhoganirathi meaning detachment from enjoyment of every kind, and thus indicates that Vāsīṭhīputra Siri Puḷumāvi had some personal knowledge of Buddhism. One of the inscriptions on the railings of the Amarāvati stūpas² is dated during the reign of Vāsīṭhīputa Siri Puḷumāvi and proves that at least part

1. D.C. Sircar, SI, I, 1965, pp. 203-207.

2. C. Sivaramamurti, BMGM, IV, 1942, p. 283, no.51.

of the railing of the Amarāvati stūpa was constructed during the reign of this king. It is possible that either Vāsīṭhīputa Siri Puḷumāvi or Gotamīputa Siri Sātakapi, both of whom were associated with the eastern Deccan, was the Sātavāhana king mentioned in the Nāgārjuna legends.

Buddhism and the merchant class:

The sites of monasteries and the information contained in a large number of inscriptions show that the Buddhist monasteries were generally established in the vicinity of trading centres or along trade routes.¹ They were excavated or constructed, maintained and supported mainly by merchants and by the local inhabitants of trading centres. Should this evidence be taken to show that the advance of Buddhism in our area was closely connected with the prosperity of commerce ?

According to Buddhist literature, members of the commercial class played a significant role in Buddhism from the time of the Buddha. The setṭhis or 'financiers or money lenders', such as Anāthapiṇḍika setṭhi and Rājagaha setṭhi are mentioned in the Buddhist literature as great supporters of Buddhist monks. These setṭhis were no doubt members of the commercial class. Tapassu and Bhalluka, the first two lay disciples of the Buddha,

1. See map on p.287

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are also mentioned as being merchants.

Several reasons can be given to explain the popularity of Buddhism among the merchant class.

Firstly, merchants were among those who travelled regularly across the country; hence it is not surprising that merchants from various parts of India came into contact with Buddhism at its earliest stage of expansion. It is natural that those merchants who were impressed by the teachings of the Buddha would have spread the news of this new religion among other merchants. Hence the large number of merchant lay devotees.

Secondly, there is little doubt that the early missionaries would have followed the trade routes used by the merchants, whom they may often have accompanied and it was probably from the merchants travelling in various parts of the country that the monks received first-hand knowledge about distant cities of India. The missionary monks may have accompanied merchants in their travels to distant cities.

1. H. Oldenberg, Vinaya Piṭaka, I, 3 f.; Anguttara Nikāya, PTS edn., I, 26; According to Theragatha Commentary, (I, 48 f.), Tapassu and Bhalluka were brothers, sons of a caravan leader of Pokkharavati.

Thirdly, since merchants and tradesmen were among the wealthier members of society they could afford to spend large sums of money on charitable acts. This accounts for the large number of donations by merchants and trade guilds.

Finally we can suggest that the merchants, who occupied the third position in the Hindu society, would have been among those that felt strongly attracted to the heterodox religions and sects that gave them greater sense of dignity.

Thus after the rulers and members of the royal family, the merchants and tradesmen were the most important patrons of Buddhism. In fact, while the rulers may have made donations in part because a large section of their subjects followed Buddhism, the merchants, who formed the middle-class of the society, donated of their own free will either because they themselves were followers of the Buddha or because they wanted to be on good terms with the general public. The part played by the merchant class is therefore of great importance in the spread of Buddhism.

It is striking that in our area most of the Buddhist monasteries were situated near the trading ports and markets or along the trade routes which are supposed to have existed in former times. This follows from an analysis of the information concerning

trading ports and markets in the Periplus¹ and the Geographia² on the one hand and the information contained in the donatory inscriptions found in the various Buddhist monasteries of our area and period on the other.

The Periplus records that the western and the eastern parts of the Deccan were densely populated and prosperous and that along the west borderland of the Deccan plateau there were a number of merchant towns, viz. Barygasa (Bharukasca or Bhrgukaccha), Soupāra (Suppāraka or Sūrparaka), Calliena (Kalyāni), Symilla and Byzantium.³ The original Indian names of the last two places are obscure, but some scholars identify these two places with Cemula and Vaijayanti of the inscriptions or with the modern Chaul and Banavāsi respectively.⁴

1. Periplus Maris Erythraei, edited by H. Frisk, 1927. For an English translation see W.H. Schoff, The Periplus of the Erythraen Sea, 1912.
2. Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia, edited by C.F.A. Nobbe, 3 Vols, 1843; L. Renou, La Geographie de Ptolemée (L'Inde, VII, 1-4, 1925. For an English translation of a part of Geographia see J.W. McCrindle, Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy, edited by S.N. Majumdar Sastri, 1927.
3. Periplus, op.cit., sec. 50.
4. See Schoff, op. cit., p. 100; also see infra p.193 for identification of Vaijayanti with Banavāsi.

In the eastern part of the northern Deccan, an important trading centre according to the Periplus was Maisolia.¹ According to Ptolemy, the region of Maisoloi, which was no doubt the same as the Maisolia of the Periplus, had several markets.² The discovery of Roman coins of the period 68-217 A.D. at Vinukonda in the Guntur district and in the Nellore and Cuddapah district confirms that sea-borne trade flourished in the Kṛṣṇa-Guntur area in the early centuries of the Christian era.³

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1. Periplus, op. cit., sec. 62, In the coastal area of Maisolia Ptolemy places the mouth of the river Maisolos, which he states lay between the country of Arouarnoi and Kantakassyla (Geographia, VII, I, 15 and 16). Arouarnoi of Ptolemy has been connected with Aruvanāḍu (district of Aruva) mentioned in early Tamil literature and inscriptions, and placed between the rivers Pālār and the southern Pennar in the state of Madras (R. Gopalan, History of the Pallavas of Kanchi, 1928, pp. XI-XII) and Kantakassyla with Kanṭakasela mentioned in an inscription at Nāgārjunakonda (J. Ph. Vogel, EI, XX, 1929-30, pp. 9, 22). The only notable river between the suggested limits, i.e. Aruvanāḍu and Kanṭakasela or Ghanṭasala, is the Kṛṣṇa. Hence the Kṛṣṇa river and the area watered by it can be taken as the Maisolos of the Periplus and Geographia.
 2. Geographia, VII, I, 15 and 93; McCrindle, op. cit., VII, I, 15 and 93.
 3. R.Sewell, 'Roman Coins found in India', JRAS, 1904, pp. 599 ff.

There is little doubt that there were trade routes connecting the various trading centres. Unfortunately we do not know much about these routes. Fleet points out that in this part of India there were two great trade routes, one starting from Masulipatam and the other starting from Vinukonda. These two roads, according to his account, converged at a point about 26 miles to the South-east of modern Hyderabad, and from that junction the single road ran to Barygaza (Bharukacca).¹ Thus, this road would have passed through Pratiṣṭhāna which was the political centre during the time of the early Śātavāhana rulers (until the reign of Vasiṣṭhīputa Siri Puṣumāvi and also probably during the reign of Siri Yaña Śātakani).

A comparison between the sites of the important ports, and markets in the northern Deccan referred to by the Periplus and by Ptolemy on the one hand and the sites of the Buddhist monasteries on the other shows that the latter were built in the vicinity of populous towns or along the trade routes of the period.

As shown earlier in this chapter, the reasons for setting up monasteries near populated areas were obvious. Although the development of commerce was not the only reason which encouraged

1. J.F. Fleet, 'Tagara; Tēr', JRAS, 1901, p. 548.

the monks to come to these areas, it would no doubt have provided an additional incentive.

Information contained in the inscriptions also shows that most donations to the Buddhist establishments were made either by merchants and craftsman or by the inhabitants of trading centres like Bharukacca, Suppāraka, Kalyānī, Cemula, and Vaijayanti.

Thus two inscriptions at Nāsik record donations by
¹merchants of two caves. A fragmentary inscription at Junnār
²indicates that the donation mentioned was made by a merchant. A number of inscriptions at Kanheri also refer to donations by merchants. The Caitya Cave at Kanherī was excavated by the
³merchants Gajasena and Gajamitra; a water-cistern, benches and a (circumambulatory) path were donated by the merchants Dhama
⁴(Dharma); a cave, a water-cistern and a field were donated by
⁵a merchant's son, named Isipāla (Ṛsipāla); and lastly, a cave

1. EI, VIII, 1905-6, p. 90, no.17 and p. 75, no.6. The former inscription records the gift by a merchant named Ramanaka of a cave while the latter records the gift by a merchant named Vira of a four-celled cave.

2. ASWI, IV, 1883, p. 98, no. 34.

3. ASWI, IV, 1883, p. 78, no. 12.

4. Ibid, p. 80, no. 16.

5. Ibid, p. 81, no. 18.

and a hall were donated by another merchant's son named Aparenu.¹

Donations by inhabitants of the trading centres of the period are referred to in the inscriptions at Junnār, Kaṇherī, Kārle and Nānāghaṭ.

An inscription at Junnār, records that the two donors Buddhamitra and Buddhapālita were inhabitants of Bharukaccha or Broach.² Two inscriptions at Kaṇherī record the gifts by people of Sopara; one of them refers to the gift of a water cistern by the merchant Samika (Svāmika ?)³ and the other to a gift of a cave by a jeweller named Nāgapālita.⁴ The Nānāghaṭ cistern inscription and an inscription at Kārle also mention gifts by a lay devotee named Govindadāsa and a monk named Sātimata, both inhabitants of Sopara, of a water cistern and of some pillars.⁵ Two inscriptions at Kaṇherī record gifts by a goldsmith named Sāmidata (Svāmidatta ?) and a blacksmith named Nada (Nāda), both inhabitants of Kalyānī.⁶ Also, two inscriptions at Junnār refer

1. ASWI, V, 1883, p. 79, no.15.

2. ASWI, IV, 1883, p. 96. no. 19.

3. Lüder's list, no. 995.

4. Ibid, no. 1005.

5. Ibid, nos.1094, 1095.

6. Ibid, nos.986, 1032.

to two other inhabitants of Kalyānī; one of them mentions a gift by Sulasadatta of a cistern and the other a gift by a goldsmith named Saghaka.¹ An inscription at Kanherī records a gift by Sulasadatta, a resident of Cemūla, of a cistern,² while another inscription at Kanherī records a gift by Dhammanaka, also a resident of Cemūla, of a (circumambulatory) path.³ Cemūla in these two inscriptions can be identified with 'Symilla' of the Periplus and the Geographia, and has been identified by scholars with Chaul off the present time.⁴ Lastly, an inscription at Kārle records that the caitya at Kārle was constructed by the setthi named Bhūtapāla, who was a resident of Vāijayanti.⁵ Vāijayanti is generally identified with Banavāsī on the north-west border of Mysore.⁶

Thus it appears from the sites of the monasteries of our area and period as well as the information contained in a large number of inscriptions that the monasteries were situated in the

1. Lüder's list, no. 1177.

2. Ibid, no. 996.

3. Ibid, no. 1033.

4. W.H. Schoff, op.cit, p. 100.

5. EI, VII, 1902-3, p. 48, no. 1.

6. See J. Burgess, ASWI, IV, 1883, p. 23 note 2. Burgess writes: 'Surab copper plates of Saka 614, mention Vaijayanti as an early Kadamba capital, and it was evidently the same as Banavāsī, which is also called Jayantipura in inscriptions of the middle ages'.

vicinity of flourishing trading centres and also that the rich merchants and tradesmen of the day contributed to the monastic establishment and their upkeep.

As stated earlier in this chapter, the merchants of our area may have learnt about Buddhism in other parts of India, and those merchants who were impressed by the new religion would have encouraged the monks to visit their own cities. Those merchants who took to Buddhism would thus have provided residences for the monks and attended to their needs.

In conclusion therefore we may state that traders and craftsmen were attracted to Buddhism from its beginnings; that their travels and contacts all over the country brought them into ~~contact~~ with Buddhist communities in areas other than their own; that they invited monks to visit their native towns, and, finally, that they contributed to the construction and maintenance of manasteries. In this manner merchants and craftsmen played a significant role in the spread and prosperity of Buddhism in the northern Deccan.

Buddhism and the people:

When considering the influence of Buddhism on common people, two general features which seem to have acted in favour of

Buddhism may be noted.

Ancient Buddhism provided a rigid ethical system obligatory only for those of its adherents who adopted the monastic way. For the mass of its lay followers it offered merely a standard of behaviour complementing and modifying rather than contradicting existing social norms. Buddhist laymen were expected to observe the rules against murder, theft, lust, falsehood, and consumption of fermented drinks. Generosity was to be their chief virtue. They could attain greater dignity if they enhanced the fundamental virtues by fasting six days every month, during which they took one meal a day, before midday, and devoted these days to the recitation of the general rules of the fraternity, the reading of the scriptures and the attendance of the sermons.

As far as the northern Deccan in the beginning of the Christian era is concerned, there is no clear evidence which would enable us to determine the main features of the culture and beliefs of the people when they came into contact with Buddhism. It can only be assumed that the population of this area generally consisted of Indo-Aryans, and tribal people together with a few Śakas and Yavanas.

By 'Indo-Aryans' are understood the descendants of the Indo-Aryan tribes which settled down in South Asia in the latter half of the second millennium B.C. These people were adherents of ^{the} Vedic religion, i.e. early Brahmanism, and their influence in the Deccan shows that Brahmanism must already have ~~been~~ existed in our area to a certain extent before Buddhism was introduced.

By the 'tribal people' are meant the descendants of those tribes who were already inhabitants of India at the time of the Indo-Aryan invasion. To what racial group they belonged and what religious practices they followed is uncertain. However, it has been suggested that these people adhered to various beliefs and practices such as snake and tree worship, as well as the worship of other spirits and various other animistic beliefs.

The Śakas and the Yavanas came as invaders and as merchants. Although they seem to have had their own gods, they were often attracted to Buddhism.

The influence of Buddhism on these different sections of the society of the northern Deccan can now be examined.

First, the relationship between the Brahmanic class and the Buddhists appears to have been harmonious. As stated earlier in this chapter, there is evidence to show that though a number of Sātavāhana rulers were followers of Hinduism the progress of Buddhism was unimpeded under their rule.

Second, the response of the tribal people, i.e. the earlier settled population, was favourable towards Buddhism. This was true of all areas into which Buddhism spread. Buddhism was catholic and so long as its ethical code was accepted did not exclude existing non-Buddhist cult practices. The worship of nāgas, yakkhas and other deities was tolerated, facilitating the conversion of tribal peoples.

Thirdly, many of the Śaka and the Yavana settlers in the northern Deccan, seem to have been attracted towards Buddhism (and other non-Brahmanic sects). This can be deduced from the large number of donations by Śaka kings, nobles and merchants to Buddhist cave temples, as has been pointed out in the third chapter.

The votive inscriptions show that commoners and laymen, other than merchants, of this area and period contributed much to

the excavation and construction of Buddhist monasteries. These inscriptions also prove that these classes played a major role in maintaining the monasteries and in supporting the monks. The prosperity of Buddhism, as evident from the remains of the monasteries, indicates that Buddhism may have commanded a considerable following in the society of the period. However, no detailed accounts of the relationship which existed between the lay devotees and monks are available for our area. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that the same kind of relationship of monks and lay devotees which existed in parts of North India,¹ and which is described in the Buddhist scriptures, prevailed in all these areas into which Buddhism spread.

The Buddhist literature makes it clear that the Buddhist Sangha needs the presence of a community of lay devotees for its existence, as without the support of pious laymen the members of the Sangha would not obtain even the bare necessities of life. Such laymen would naturally have received special attention from the Sangha. The members of these supporting families were called upāsakas and upāsikās, i.e. men and women lay-devotees. These lay

1. See N. Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism, II, 1945, pp. 207-238; N. Dutt, 'Place of laity in Early Buddhism', IHQ, XXI, no. 4, 1945, pp. 163-183.

devotees looked after the needs of the Saṃgha. The close relationship between the Saṃgha and its lay followers encouraged the development of cult practices, a process which had started during the time of the Buddha. Buddhist scriptures show that these rites consisted of observing pañcasīla or the five precepts, listening to religious discourses on uposatha days, observing the aṣṭhasīla or eight precepts occasionally, offering robes to the monks on certain occasion, such as the end of the rainy season retreat and worshipping the stūpas.

We also gather from the Buddhist scriptures that Buddhist lay devotees were required to observe certain moral duties which were classified under five heads, viz. saddhā, sīla, cāga, suta and paññā (pragñā)¹. These five practices are fully described in the Gahapativagga.² Accordingly, saddhā meant firm faith in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṃgha. Sīla implied abstention from killing, stealing, committing adultery, speaking falsehood and indulging in drinking and merrymaking. Cāga implied generosity - open-handedness. By suta was meant listening to religious discourses and moral

1. The Majjhima Nikāya, I, edited by V. Trenckner, PTS, 1888, pp. 462 ff; III, p. 99.

2. The Aṅguttara Nikāya, IV, edited by E. Hardy, PTS, 1899, pp. 208 ff.

teaching imparted by the monks. Finally, pañña meant the understanding of the origin and decay of worldly things, including the four truths and the law of causation.

The Samyutta Nikāya enumerates the gains obtained by a lay devotee for observing the sīlas. These gains are wealth, fame, death with consciousness up to the last moment, heavenly existence etc.¹ It is also explained in the Aṅguttara Nikāya that gifts to the Saṃgha of robes, food, residence and medical requisites would ensure the donors long life, good appearance, happiness and strength in the life to come.²

Some form of education was also imparted by the monks to the lay devotees, as appear from the Buddhist scriptures. In delivering discourses to laymen, the Buddha and his disciples emphasised first dānakatham (stories illustrating the merits of gifts), then sīlakatham (stories on observing moral precepts), followed by saggakatham (stories on heavenly existence), kāmānaṃ ādinavaṃ (evils of enjoying worldly pleasures), and nekkamme ānisaṃsaṃ (merits of retirement from the world).

The relations between monks and lay devotees, described in the Buddhist texts, are illustrated by some inscriptional

1. Samyutta Nikāya, IV, edited by M. Leon Feer, PTS, 1884, p. 246.

2. Aṅguttara Nikāya, II, edited by Rev. R. Morris, PTS, 1888, pp. 64-66.

references. As shown in chapter V, there are a vast number of inscriptions in our area recording gifts to monks by lay devotees of residences to monk, means of subsistence and robes. Donations to the monks are usually included in the term deyadharma meaning 'appropriate religious gift'. The purpose of donations was the accumulation of merit for one's self, one's parents, relations, etc. Some inscriptions specifically mention this purpose while others do not. As was also shown in chapter V, the remains of monasteries in our area indicate that they were not only residences for monks but also places for the congregation of laymen and laywomen. Places where they could listen to religious discourses etc. Hence there is no doubt that the relationship between monks and laymen, as expressed in Buddhist literature, was practised by the Buddhist community of the northern Deccan also.

Cult practices were adopted in the monasteries of our area. The most popular among these may have been the worship of stūpas.

Remains of stūpas are invariably present in all the Buddhist monasteries. The stūpas of cave monasteries in the western Deccan are small in size whereas those of the

monasteries in the Āndhradesa are of large proportions.

The Amarāvati stūpa of this period and the stūpas of Nāgarjunakoṇḍa, some of which probably belong to this period or slightly later, indicate that stūpa worship occupied an important place in Buddhism in this area.

Sculptural slabs of the Āndhradesa which adorn the dome and the railings of the Amarāvati stūpa show that the worship of Buddha images, devas, yakṣas, nāgas and trees was also practised in our area and period. These popular cults were no doubt tolerated in deference to popular demand. All these forms of worship indicate that many followers of Buddhism ^{sub} subscribed to the popular aspects of the religion, rather than its doctrinal or canonical aspects.

The sculptural slabs of Amarāvati also show the popularity of the Jātakas. These sculptural decorations bear witness to the popular aspect of Sātavāhana Buddhism. This popularity, of scenes from the Jātakas in sculptural decorations, indicates that they served to illustrate the instructions on moral precepts given by the monks.

1. See descriptions of sculptured slabs by C. Sivaramamurti and D. Barrett (C. Sivaramamurti, BMGM, IV, 1942; D. Barrett, Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum, 1954).

The relationship between the community of lay devotees and monks was a close and continuous one in other respects too. For it was from among the families of lay devotees that the novices were recruited to the community of monks. This may have resulted in a large number of families having relatives within the Saṃgha; hence some lay devotees must have had closer relationship and greater attachment to the Saṃgha itself. We have already seen in a previous chapter how novices were trained in the monastery and later admitted to the Order of monks. Thus, the new monks came from among the people of the northern Deccan sharing their culture, their language and their traditions. This in turn strengthened the popularity of Buddhism among the local people of the area.

According to Hiüan Tsang there were 35000 Buddhist monks in his time when Buddhism was already declining in the northern Deccan.¹ Judging by this figure, it would seem that the number of Buddhist monks during the heyday of Buddhism in the northern Deccan may have been even greater. If Hiüan Tsang's figures are accepted it follows that there must have been a fairly strong

1. An interesting analysis of the various figures of monks who lived in different parts of India as given by Hiüan Tsang, has been done by A. Bareau (See Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule, 1955, p. 298).

community of Buddhist lay devotees to support such a great multitude of monks. Thus it appears that the community of Buddhist lay devotees in the northern Deccan, was quite large and significant, and may have constituted a major part, possibly even the majority, of the population.

We have noted in the course of this chapter that Buddhism had already gained considerable following in the northern Deccan before the time of the Sātavāhanas; that during their rule it enjoyed the patronage not only of the Sātavāhana rulers and their noblemen but also of rich merchants and of ordinary people. This general interest and patronage resulted in a great spread of Buddhism, which even in the seventh century when Hiüan Tsang visited this area contained a large community of monks. It is not, therefore, surprising that the northern Deccan both in its western and eastern parts contained the largest number of, and the most beautiful, cave-temples and monasteries to be found in any part of India. Without doubt the region ~~watered by the Krishna~~ and the Godavari during the Sātavāhana dynasty witnessed one of the most brilliant episodes in the history of Indian Buddhism. Under Sātavāhana rule Buddhism became a distinct,

respected and flourishing religion with many followers, lay and monastic, drawn from all classes of the population of the northern Deccan.

* * *

CONCLUSION

The foregoing study has described the role of Buddhism in the northern Deccan during the Sātavāhana period.

There is archaeological as also literary evidence that Buddhism was introduced to this part of India even before the Sātavāhanas came to power. The dating of the Amārāvati, Pauni and Bhaṭṭiprolu monuments has thus enabled us to suggest that Buddhism may have first reached the Deccan not very long after the reign of Aśoka or, perhaps even during his reign.

From a consideration of the numerous inscriptions relating to the Sātavāhana dynasty we have seen that the first Sātavāhana rulers could not have reigned before the first century B.C. Starting from this date we have established the chronology of the Sātavāhana rulers which has enabled us to provide dates for the foundation and construction of the major Buddhist monuments and monasteries in the northern Deccan.

By analysing the distribution of these monasteries and settlements in the Deccan and by relating this

analysis to the inscriptional and literary evidence in the Kathāvatthupparakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā and other texts, we have discovered that the Mahāsāṃghika sect flourished in these parts, and its sub-sects such as Caitiyyas, Pūrvasāṃghikas, Aparasāṃghikas, Rājagiriyyas and the Siddhārthikas were also largely confined to the same area. We have also suggested that the Mahāsāṃghika Buddhists reached the Deccan from Magadha and that subsequently they split into a number of sub-sects. Other sub-sects, chiefly of Sthaviravada origin were also to be found in this region, but those of the Mahāsāṃghikas predominated.

We have described the structure and organisation of the monasteries in some detail and have emphasised the important part played by the Saṃgha in the life of the community as a whole. We have also seen that the Buddhist monasteries were by no means separated from society, but provided education and other facilities and acted as centres of religious life for laymen and monks alike. The monasteries could not have survived without this constant contact with lay society, dependent as they were on gifts and offerings for both their daily sustenance

and their future development.

The rapid growth of the Saṃgha and the Buddhist lay community was an outstanding feature of the Sātavāhana period, reaching its zenith towards the end of that period. We have inferred that there was a close connexion between the general prosperity of the period, the growth of sea-borne trade, the existence of a flourishing mercantile community on the one hand and expansion of Buddhism on the other. The distribution of the major monasteries is thus significant, lying as they did close to major trade routes and ports. The śrenis and gosthīs mentioned in inscriptions at important sites like Junnār, Nāsik and Bhaṭṭiprolu were corporations commanding considerable wealth, and the support given to Buddhism by such bodies was an important factor in its success.

Themselves Hindus, the Sātavāhana patronised Buddhist monks. Individual Sātavāhana rulers may have inclined towards Buddhism, but, in general, this patronage reflected the growing importance of that religion and its hold on large sections of society.

Consequently, the culture of the Deccan was greatly influenced by Buddhism. Architecture, sculpture and

painting all bear its mark. The best examples of this influence are to be seen at Kārle (caitya) and at Amarāvātī (stūpa) . Buddhist monasteries^{were} also important educational and religious centres, but there is no Buddhist literature which can be attributed with certainty to the Deccan in the Sātavāhana period. Therefore, the extent of Buddhist literary influence and the contribution of the monks of the Deccan to Buddhist literature cannot be estimated.

The reason for the decline of Buddhism in the Deccan remains a puzzle. Although Buddhism prospered until the end of the Sātavāhana period, Hiūan Tsang states that its fortunes in the eastern Deccan were in decline at the time when he visited that region. The circumstances of this transformation require investigation, but lie beyond the scope of this thesis.

* * * * *

Amarāvatī Inscriptions:
of the early phase

The Amarāvatī inscriptions belonging to the earliest group are about 50 in number. Some of them have been edited by R.P. Chanda ('Some Unpublished Amaravati Inscriptions', EI, XV, 1919-20, inscriptions 1, 3-20), and C. Sivaramamurti ('Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum', BMGM, IV, 1942). Since then other inscriptions belonging to this group have been discovered by the Archaeological Survey of India. They are published in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1953-54, and 59-60. The earliest inscription discovered at Amaravatī has been edited by D.C. Sircar in 1963-64 ('Fragmentary Pillar Inscription from Amaravati', EI, 35, 1963-64, pp. 40-43).

The Fragmentary Pillar from Amarāvatī

This inscription has been engraved on the side-face of a sand-stone slab, which is stated to have been a surface find and was found in the home of an inhabitant of the area near the stupa at Amarāvatī. The inscription records:

Para(r)ta(tra)abh(isa) ¹	'In the future world anointed'
(dha)kho likhite(m)e ²	'(Indeed it) has been written here by me'
jano bahūnī	'the people ... many'
anusuyamti ³ sa	'they regret' (or hear)
ra chijiti vijaye	'conquests have been broken
(pi ca)mam(e)pi	(abandoned) by me'
(pi tata ta)	

1. Abhiṣikta past participle form of abhiṣeka, meaning 'to anoint'.

2. Idha khalu likhite mayā

3. Anusocanti (to regret) or anusrūyanti (to hear)

Analysis of the contents of the other inscriptions of the earliest group at Amaravati

Donor	Donation
Gōpiyā	(rail pillar on which the inscription is engraved)
L(i)khita (fragmentary)	<u>thambha</u> (stambha), pillar.
<u>Dharmakāṭakasa nigamasa</u> 'of the [inhabitants of the] town of Dhanyakāṭaka (Dharaṇīkota)'	(the pillar on which the inscription is engraved)
Reti, an inhabitant of (wife of?) Malamāvuka.	(the rail pillar on which the inscription is engraved)
Ṭhabaka kula, the Ṭhabaka family.	(the rail pillar on which the inscription is engraved).
Pākotakas	(the rail pillar on which the inscription is engraved)
Apakū kamma	(<u>tha</u>) <u>bho</u> , a rail bar
Revata, of the Paḍipuḍiniya (community?)	(the rail pillar on which the inscription is engraved)

Donor	Donation
Sa(m) ghala samanasa, 'of the ascetic Samghala'	(the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)
Somadattā, the wife of Bala, the royal scribe	(the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)
Utā, the mother of (Dha)n(a)mala	(the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)
Ga	(the rail pillar on which the inscription is engraved)
(ni)gamasa, of the town	(the rail pillar on which the inscription is engraved)
Kumbā, the mother of Utika	<u>sūci</u> , rail bar.
.....	<u>tini suciya</u> , three rail bars.
(ha)rela putasa, of the son of (ha)rela	<u>suci</u> , rail bar.
Ga	<u>suci</u> , rail bar.

Donor

Donation

.....	<u>thabho</u> (<u>stambha</u>), pillar
Kalavairagāmasa, of the village named Kalavaira	<u>thabho</u> (<u>stambha</u>)
.... ka jāyāya ka wife of...	(the cross-bar on which the inscription is engraved)
Vākāṭakānam, of Vakatakas	(the cross-bar on which the inscription is engraved)
Pākotakānam Cūlasa, Cūla of the Pākotaka (community or family?)	(the cross-bar on which the inscription is engraved)
Nhāpita gāmasa Vitapalanam, Vitapalas of the village named Nhāpita (Nahapita?)	<u>sūci</u> , rail bar
.... gutasa jāyāya, by the wife of .. guta	(the cross bar on which the inscription is engraved)
.... ra-gāmasa, of the village ra	<u>sūci</u> , rail bar

Donor

Donation

.. khakaṣa Yakhaṣa (the name of the donor seems to be Yakṣa)	<u>thabha</u> (<u>sthambha</u>), a pillar.
Nigohasa Khala-putasa, Khala-puta of Nigoha or Nigoha Khalaputa	<u>sūci</u> , rail bar.
Kumārasa Avatakamasa, of the prince Avataka ma	... <u>tha</u> (<u>stha</u> (<u>mbha</u> ?)
Maghavadatena nama kara by Magavada (Maghava datta?)	(the upright stone on which the inscription is engraved)

Pauni Inscriptions

Upasikā (upāsikā) Visamitā, the female devotee Visamita (Visvamitrā?)	<u>dānam</u> (the gift of the coping stone on which the inscription is engraved)
Visamitā (Visvamitrā?)	(gift of the coping stone on which the inscription is engraved) also records, <u>dānam sukhaya hotu sava</u> <u>satanam</u> , meaning, 'for the benefit of all beings'.

Donor

Donation

Pusaguta (Pusyagupta) and Vaciya	<u>pasādo</u> , gift (of the coping stone on which the inscription is engraved)
.... <u>samikāya</u>	(the gift of the coping stone on which the inscription is engraved)
<u>Pavajita</u> (<u>pravrajita</u>) Utaraka Utaraka (Uttara) the mendicant	(the gift of the railing on which the inscription is engraved)
<u>Heranikānam</u> (<u>hiranyakānam</u>), of the goldsmiths? or treasurers (named) Utarabhatana and Budhadeva	(the gift of the railing pillar on which the inscription is engraved)
<u>Pavajita</u> (<u>pravrajita</u>) Utaraguta (Uttaragupta?) the mendicant Utaraguta	<u>dānam</u> , the gift of the rail pillar on which the inscription is engraved)
<u>Nāgasa</u> <u>pacanikāyasa</u> (Nagasya <u>pancāṇikayasya</u>)	(the gift of the rail pillar on which the inscription is engraved)
<u>Mahāyasa</u> <u>amtevasiniya</u> , the female-pupil named Mahāyasā	<u>dānam</u> (the gift of the railing on which the inscription is engraved)

Donor	Donation
Yakhadināya <u>pavajitāya</u> the <u>pavakita</u> (<u>pravra-</u> <u>jita</u>) named Yakhadina (Yakṣadinna).	<u>dānam</u> (the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)
Usa <u>mitāya</u> <u>pavajitāya</u> (<u>pravrajitāya</u>) the female mendicant named Usa mita.	(the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)
.... heliya(?) <u>bhichuni</u> (bhikṣuni), the nun	(the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)
.... mitasa Budharakhita (...mitra Buddhrakṣita)	(the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)
<u>da ya vasa mahaya ca ..</u> of (descending from the lineage of?) mahaya and ...	(the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)
.... lasa	<u>pasādo</u> (<u>prasāda</u>) (the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)
Māṭhiya	<u>pasādo</u> (<u>prasāda</u>) (the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)
Tavaruna	(the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)

Donor

Donation

Satikā	<u>dānam</u> , (the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)
Gohaya <u>am̐tēvā</u> (<u>sika</u> ?), the pupil of Gohaya	(the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)
Tika	<u>pasādo</u> (<u>prasādo</u>), (the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)
Kiya	<u>dānam</u> , (the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)
Kana Peripa	(the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)
Agidevā (Agnidevā?)	(the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)
Samiyā (syamiyā?)	(the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)
... ya	<u>pasādo</u> (<u>prasāda</u>) (the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)
da ta ya (?)	(the rail bar on which the inscription is engraved)

Bhaṭṭiprolu Inscriptions

These inscriptions are found on relic caskets which were discovered on the site of Bhaṭṭiprolu in the Kṛṣṇa-Guntur district of the Āndhra area. The caskets were first noticed by Alexander Rea who published his observations in the annual report of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1894.¹ He published the photographs of the inscriptions but did not read or translate them. George Bühler was the first to read these inscriptions and translate them.² Nearly fifty years later Dines Chandra Sircar published the text of these inscriptions together with their Sanskrit parallels in 1942.³ Sircar did not provide an English translation.

We have attempted to read these inscriptions afresh and to translate their contents into English. In this attempt we have sometimes had to depart from the readings by Bühler and Sircar and the English translations given by Bühler.

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1. A. Rea, 'South Indian Buddhist Antiquities', Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, XV, 1894.
 2. EI, II, 1894, pp. 326-329.
 3. D.C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization, 1942; a second edition of this work was issued in 1965.

We give here our reading of the text along with a tentative translation wherever and in so far as this has been possible. The translation follows the text in each case.

All these inscriptions were found in three caskets except one which was engraved on ^apiece of crystal which had been placed inside the stone box wherein was located the casket. The inscriptions have been arranged as follows for the convenience of study.

Casket I Inscription	A
" "	B
" "	C
Casket II Inscription	A
" "	B
" "	C
" "	D
" "	E
Casket III Inscription	A
" "	B
Crystal Inscription	

Casket I Inscription A

Kurapituno ca Kuramātu ca Kuraṣa ca¹ Sivaṣa ca
mājusaṃ paṇati² phaligaṣaṃugaṃ ca Budhasarirānaṃ³
niketu⁴

' (This is) the casket and the crystal (relic) box
 to deposit Buddha relics, offered by Kura's father,
 Kura's mother, Kura and Siva'.

-
1. Both Bühler and Sircar have omitted this letter which is very clearly indicated in the plate (reference is made in this connexion to the photographs of the inscriptions published by Bühler in the Epigraphia Indica, II, 1894, pp. 326-329).
 2. This word has been taken by D.C. Sircar as corresponding to the Sanskrit term praṇita meaning 1. led forwards, advanced, brought, offered, conveyed 2. performed, executed, finished, made, prepared 3. established, instituted, taught, said, written (Monier Williams, SED, 1899, p. 660). It could also be connected with the Sanskrit word prajñapti, meaning 1. teaching, information, instruction 2. appointment, agreement, engagement (Monier Williams, op. cit., p. 659). Of these meanings, the most suitable one in the context of the inscription seems to be 'offered'.
 3. The anusvāra sign (ṁ) in this word is clearly written although Sircar has omitted it. Bühler, however, has noticed it.
 4. Regarding the usage of this term two alternative interpretations could be suggested. a) as an irregular infinitive ending in -u corresponding to Sanskrit -um which Sircar has proposed. b) as a genitive expressing purpose, an example being gavāṃ śatasahasrasya hantuḥ (see IA, 5, 1876, p. 52). Whatever construction adopted the meaning seems to be 'to place', 'to enshrine', 'to deposit' and niketu may correspond to the Sanskrit term nikṣeptum = ni + √kṣip (Pali nikkhittum, meaning 1. to lay down (carefully), to put down 2. to lay aside, to put away 3. eliminate, get rid of 4. to give in charge, to deposit, entrust (PTS Dictionary, p. 189); also see Monier Williams op. cit., p. 545 where the meaning of nikṣipati is given as 'to throw or cast or put or lay down', 'to give or hand over', 'to deposit'.

Casket I Inscription B¹

Banavaputaṣa Kuraṣa sapitukaṣa² mājuṣa³

' By Kura, the son of Banava, associated with his parents (has been given) the casket'.

-
1. This inscription is evidently a continuation of inscription A (which is followed by C) all of which are engraved on the rim of the lower stone of the casket. Its subject matter concerns the gift of a casket by Kura, the son of Banava.
 2. We have taken this as the equivalent of the Sanskrit term sapitrkasya, the genitive singular form of sapitrka meaning 'associated with the parents', 'together with the parents' where the meaning parents is suggested by the reference to both the father and mother of Kura in the earlier inscription. In the context this interpretation is preferable to that of 'associated with the father' where the meaning sapitrka would be restricted to a single parent.
 3. Both Bühler and Sircar have read this as mājuṣa. The long stroke in the first letter is very clear and accordingly we have adopted the reading mājuṣa.

Casket I Inscription C ¹

Utaro Pigahaputo kãñiþho

'Utara, the youngest son of Pigaha'.

-
1. This text is identical with that of Bühler and Sircar;
the translation is the same as that of Bühler.

Casket II Inscription A

1. Goṭhi¹
2. Hirañavaghavā²
3. V(u)gāḷako Kālaho
4. Visako Thorasisi
5. Samano³ Odalo
6. Apaka . Ṣamudo
7. Anugaho Kuro
8. Satugho Jetako (Je)to Ālinaka
9. Varuno Piga(la)ko Koṣako
10. Suto (Pā)po Kabhero (Ma)gā(lā)ko
11. Samāṇa(dā)ṣo Bharado
12. Odālo Thoratiso Tiso
13. Gīlāno Jambho
14. Pu(ta)ra (Ā)bho
15. Gālava... Janako
16. Gosālakānaṃ Kuro
17. Uposathaputo Utaro
18. Kārahaputo

-
1. Skt. gosthi meaning
 1. abode for cattle, cow-pen
 2. meeting place (see monier Williams, SED, 1899, p. 367). This may also mean a committee. For discussion see supra, pp. 41-47.
 2. This word has been taken as the first name in a list of members belonging to the committee whose names have been mentioned in the inscription. This is the only word in the inscription which ends in -ā, except the word Ālinaka in line 8 which Bühler reads as Ālinakā. This has been construed as connected with hiranyavyāghrapād meaning 'golden tiger footed'. It is not impossible that the word could be an adjective in the feminine gender having the same meaning. In that case it would

Contd/

Contd.

Casket II Inscription A

' The Committee (consisted^{of}) Hirañavaghava,
V(u)gālaka, Kālaha, Visaka, Thorasisi, samaṇa Odala,³
Apaka . , Śamuda, Anugaha, Kura, Satugha, Jetaka,
(Je)ta, Ālinaka, Varuṇa, Piga(la)ka, Koṣaka, Suta,
(Pā)pa, Kabhera, (Ma)gā(la)ka, Samaṇa(dā)sa, Bharada,
Odala, Thoratisa, Tisa, Gilāna, Jambha, Pu(ta)ra,
(Ā)bha, Gālava ... , Janaka, Kura of the Gosālakas,⁴
Upoṣathaputa Utara⁵ and Kārahaputa'.

qualify goṣṭhi.

3. This may be a śramaṇa (an ascetic) whose name appears to be Odala.
4. In this case the individual Kura has been described with reference to a group to which he belonged - the group of Gosālakas (the name Gosālaka cannot be identified with certainty).
5. Upoṣatha means 1. a day of retreat, a weekly sacred day 2. the ceremony of a layman taking upon himself the eight śīlas (see PTS Dictionary, p. 151). Upoṣatha in this context appears to have signified a person who was in charge of uposatha arrangements.

Casket II Inscription B

Sama(. dā)sato hita(na..ta) Budaṣa sarirāni
mahiyānukamma(ni)¹

' The Buddha relics from Sama(. dā)sa..... '

-
1. There is no possibility of reading this as mahiyānu(ni) (ṣaṁ) māṣa as Sircar has done. This word seems to be in grammatical agreement with sarirāni but no meaning could be assigned to it.

Casket II Inscription CGothisamaṇo ¹ KuboHiraṇakāragāmaṇiputo Būbo

(This is the gift of) Kuba, the ascetic of the committee
(and) Būba, the son of Hiraṇakāragāmaṇi'. ²

-
1. We have taken this to mean śramaṇa (ascetic) of the committee, i.e. the ascetic who was a member of the committee.
 2. Hiraṇakāra in this compound refers to the same person as gāmaṇi. Būba appears to be the son of Hiraṇakāragāmaṇi. Hiraṇakāra means a 'goldsmith' while gāmaṇi denotes 'a village chief'. Bühler's translation appears to suggest that Hiraṇakara was the name of the village chief. We may suggest another possibility that Hiraṇakāra could mean, in the context of the inscription, 'a chief' of a village of goldsmiths'.

Casket II Inscription D

Ṣa goṭhi¹ nigama²putānaṃ rājapamukhā
Ṣāriraṣaputo Khubirako rājā Ṣihagoṭhiyā pāmugo²
tesaṃ aṃnaṃ majusa(ṃ) phaligaṣamugo ca pāsanaṣamugo ca

' The committee of nigama³putras is headed by the king; king Khubiraka, the son of Ṣārira, is the chief of the Ṣiha Committee. Their (gifts are) the other casket, a box of crystal and a stone box'.

1. Bühler reads this as Ṣagaṭhi while Sircar reads it as two separate words ṣa gaṭhi. But the letter go can be clearly seen in the inscription.
2. Both Bühler and Sircar have read this as pāmukho, but the symbol 7\ (go) is clearly seen in the inscription.
3. nigama³putras were residents or inhabitants of nigamas. The word nigama in Pali means a meeting place or market, a small town or a market town (PTS Dictionary, p. 190). For discussion see supra, p.34.

Casket II Inscription E

Samano Caghañaputo Utaro Ārāmutara¹(dha?)ta

' The śramaṇa (ascetic) Caghañaputa (the son of Caghaña),²
Utara Ārāmutara(dha?)ta'.

-
1. Bühler reads only Ārāmutara while Sircar has read two more letters Ārāmutara(pu)ta. No meaning can be however given to this term.
 2. Caghañaputa seems to be the name of the śramaṇa cf. Sāriputta, Moggalīputta etc.

Casket III Inscription A¹Negamā²Vacho CagoJeto Jāmbho TisoReto Acino SabhikoA(kha)gho Kelo Keso MāhoSeṭo Chadiko(ga or ha) KhabūloSoṇutaro samanoSamanādāsa Sāmako(Ki or Ṣi)muko³ Cītako

' The negamā (inhabitants of the town) (are) Vacha, Caga, Jeta, Jāmbha, Tisa, Reta, Acina, Sabhika, Akhaga, Kela, Kesa, Māha, Seṭa, Chadika(?), Khabūla, Soṇutara the śramaṇa (ascetic), Samanadāsa, Sāmaka, (Kī or Ṣi)muka and Cītaka'.

-
1. This inscription gives a list of names of the members of the nigama. All of these, except samana appear to be personal names. Sabhika, meaning 'a member of a sabha (assembly), would also seem to be an exception.
 2. From nigama, meaning ' a city, town or a market place' (Monier Williams, SED, 1899, p. 545). Negama in this context may mean 'inhabitants of a town, city or a market place' (see PTS Dictionary, p. 213).
 3. This has been read as Kāmuko by both Bühler and Sircar. The first letter of this word (line 9) is not ka, but may be either ki or ṣi (its i sign is very clear) in which case the name is Kimuka or Ṣimukha.

Casket III Inscription B

Arahadinānaṃ goṭhiyā¹ majūsa ca ṣamugo ca tena (ṣa)mayena²
Kubirako rājā aṃki

' By the committee of Arahadinas (were given) a casket and a box. Within that time (by that time) king Kubiraka caused the marking to be done'.

1. Bühler translates this as 'by the committee of the venerable Arahadina' while Sircar suggests the Sanskrit version Arahadattānaṃ goṣṭyā . The precise meaning of the word Arahadina is not clear. Whatever the meaning of the word may be, it is obvious from the context of the inscription that it qualifies goṭhiyā, and may be, therefore, translated as the 'goṣṭhi of Arahadinas'.

2. Both Bühler and Sircar read this phrase as kama yena, but we have read ṣa instead of ka . Our translation of this inscription is, therefore, different from that of Bühler.

Crystal Inscription*

1. Mātugāmasa¹ (Naṃ)dapurāhi²
2. Suvaṇamāhā³
3. śamaṇudeśānaṃ⁴ ca
4. Gilāṇakaresa⁵ Ayasaka⁶
5. (?)ṭhiya⁷
6. goḥiyā⁸ a. ga dānaṃ

' This treasure is the excellent gift of the lady from (Naṃ)dapura and the novices from Suvaṇamāhā for (on behalf of) the Ayasaka (goṣṭhi) of Gilānakara'.

* This is the only inscription in this series that is inscribed on a crystal; as such it belongs to a category of its own.

1. We have interpreted this word to mean 'of the lady' taking mātugāma to mean 'lady', 'woman'. Mātugāma in Pali means 'a woman', often used to refer to females in the Buddhist Vinaya (T.W. Rhys Davids, and W. Stede, PTS Dictionary, 1925, p. 152). In the context, the reference appears to be to an important female personage who was one of the joint donors of this gift.
2. (Naṃ)dapurā+hi 'from (Naṃ)dapura' -abative singular form of (Naṃ)dapura which has been taken as the name of a place with which the lady seems to have been connected with. hi is an expletive particle. One cannot account for the rather unusual order of words in line one, the normal prose form of which should have been '(Naṃ)dapurāhi mātugāmasa'. It is possible that the writer wished to stress the fact that the lady was an important participant in this donation.

Contd.

3. Suṇamāhā 'from Suṇamāha', abletive singular like (Nām)dapura above. The novices referred to in this inscription (see also note 4) came from this place.
4. Samanuddesānaṁ is the genitive plural form of samanuddesa = sāmaṇera, 'a novice' (PTS Dictionary, p. 141). The novices referred to here have joined the distinguished lady in this donation. It is very likely that both parties to this donation belonged to the same goṣṭhi.
5. Gilānakara, 'of Gilānakara'. This too has been taken as a place name.
6. This appears to be a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word ayasa, meaning 'of iron' or 'made of metal' (Monier Williams, SED, 1899, p. 148). It is also possible that ayasaka may have derived from āyasa, meaning 'hard working' (Monier Williams, op.cit., p. 148).
7. The missing letter here can be variously read. It could be read as sa (saṭhiya, no meaning can be given to the word thus formed) or ya (yathiya, 'a pole', but it is difficult to connect the word so formed with the other inscriptions) and may be a scribal error for go (see D.C. Sircar, op. cit.). Thus the conjectural reading would be goṭhiya. One reason for reading it as go is that the legible part of the word is .ṭhiya. If it is so read, it would be in the dative singular and would mean 'to or for the goṣṭhi'. Gifts made by one party on behalf of another are not uncommon in early inscriptions.
8. This word occurs nowhere else in this series of inscriptions. Its interpretation is problematic. Sircar takes it as gohika and connects it with the Sanskrit words grāham and guhā. But neither of these meanings is acceptable in the context. The gift made here does not appear to be either a house or a cave, but a crystal. Accordingly we suggest that gohiyā is a reference to the crystal object donated and hence we have translated it as 'treasure'. This is in keeping with the description of this as 'the excellent gift' (a.gadānaṁ)

Table showing inscriptional references
to various Buddhist sects of the northern
Deccan.

Place	Sect	Number of references
Kārlē	Mahāsāṃghikas	2
"	Dharmottariyas	2
Nāsik	Caitīya	1
"	Bhadrāyānīyas	2
Junnār	Dharmottariyas	2
"	Caitīya	1
Kanherī	Bhadrāyānīyas	2
"	Aparaśaila	1
Amarāvātī	Caitīyas	6
"	Pūrvaśaila	1
"	Mahāvanaseliyas	2
"	Haṃgha	1
Allūru	Pūrvaśaila	1
Nāgārjunakoṇḍa	Mahīsāsaka	1
"	Ayira-hagha	
"	(Mahāsāṃghikas?)	2
"	Bahusrutīyas	2
7	8	29

Table showing the geographical
distribution of sects.

The group of sects which mainly flourished in the western, north-western and south-western India.	The group of sects which mainly flourished in the eastern and south-eastern India.
<p>Sthaviravāda Sarvāstivāda Haimavata Vātsīputrīya Mahāsaka Kāśyapīya Sautrantika Dharmottarīya Bhadrāyānīya Sammattīya</p> <p><u>Mahāsāṃghika group of sects in this area.</u></p> <p>Mahāsāṃghika Bahusrutīya</p>	<p>Mahāsāṃghika Caitīya Pūrvaśaila Aparaśaila Rājagiriya Siddhārthika Bahusrutīya</p> <p><u>Sthaviravāda group of sects in this area.</u></p> <p>Mahāsaka Sthaviravāda</p>

cf. Lamotte's list of inscriptional references showing the geographical distribution of sects: E. Lamotte, Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien des Origines à l'ère Śaka, 1967, pp. 578-581. Also the table prepared by Hofinger showing the dispersion of sects between the East (Magadha) and West (Avanti) and North-West (Kashmir). M. Hofinger, Etude Sur le Concile de Vaiśālī, 1946, pp. 191, 194.

Appendix III

1 Sources on the Second Council.

The problem connected with the appearance of the Mahāsāṃghikas is complicated by the fact that the latter event has been related with the Second Buddhist Council by the Ceylon chronicles. In order to disentangle this complication one must critically analyse all the available sources throwing light on the subject. These sources are:

A The Canonical Sources.

The accounts of the Second Council preserved in the Vinaya Pitaka of various Buddhist sects.

1. Mo-ho-seng ch'i-lü (Vinaya of the Mahasāṃghikas), Taisho, 1425, chüan, 33, pp. 493a 21-499a 17. The Sanskrit original of this book of discipline was found at Pāṭalīputra. It was translated into Chinese in 416 A.D. by Buddhabhadra and Fa-hien, then lost.
2. Ken-pen shuo i-ch'ieh-yu pu p'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih (Vinaya of the Mulasarvastivādin), Taisho 1451, chüan 40, pp. 407c 21-414b 11. The Mulasarvastivādin Vinaya has been translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by I-tsing in 710 A.D. and preserved only in translation.
3. Dulva, XI, p. 323-331. The account we find in the Dulva is the Tibetan version of the same Mulasarvastivādin account. For an English translation see W.W. Rockhill, The life of the Buddha, 1884, pp. 171-180.

4. The account of Ssu-fen lü (Vinaya in four parts), Taisho 1428, chuan 54, pp. 966a 12-971c 3. The Vinaya in four parts is of the Dharmaguptaka school. The Sanskrit original, now lost, was translated by Buddhayasas and Tchou-Fo-nien at the beginning of the fifth century A.D.
5. Mi-sha-se pu ho hsi wu-fen lü (Vinaya in five parts of the Mahisasakas), Taisho 1421, chuan 30, pp. 190c 10-194b 28. Buddhajiva from Kashmir in 423-424 A.D. directed the translation of this work into Chinese.
6. The account of the Council in the Pāli language. XIIth khandhaka of the Cullavagga. Edited by H. Oldenberg, The Vinaya Pitaka II, PTS, 1930, pp. 294-308. For an English translation see T.W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, Vinaya Texts translated from the Pāli, III, SBE XX, 1885, pp. 386-414.
7. The account of the Shih-sung lü (Vinaya in ten recitals), Taisho 1435, chuan 60, pp. 450a 27, chuan 61, pp. 456b 8. This is the Vinaya of the Sarvastivadin sect. It's Chinese translation begun in 404 A.D. was made successively by Puṇyatrāta Kumārajīva and Vimalākṣa.
8. The account of P'i-ni-mu ching (Vinayamātrkā-Sūtra), Taisho 1463, chuan 4, pp. 818c 24-825a 12. This work of the Haimavata sect is also preserved only in its Chinese translation. It dates from the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D.

B. The non-Cononical Sources.

A. The Pali Sources:

1. Samantapāsādikā (Buddhaghosa's commentary to the Pali Vinaya-Pitaka), PTS edn., H. Oldenberg, The Vinaya Pitaka, III, 1881, pp. 294 ff.
2. Dīpavamsa IV, 47-53 and V, 16-31. Edited and translated into English by H. Oldenberg, The Dīpavamsa, an Ancient Buddhist Historical Record, 1879, Text pp. 33-36 translation pp. 137-140.
3. Mahāvamsa. Edited and translated by W. Geiger, The Mahāvamsa, PTS edn. 1908, pp. 21-27. English translation: The Mahāvamsa or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon, PTS, edn, 1934, pp. 18-25.

B. Tibetan Sources:

1. Bu-ston: Translated by E. Obermiller, History of Buddhism by Bu-ston, II The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet, translated from Tibetan, Materialen Zur Kunde des Buddhismus, Heft 19, 1932, pp. 91-96.
2. Tāranātha: Translated by A. Schiefner, Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, aus dem Tibetischen, ueberzett, 1869, pp. 40-42. Taranatha's work was finished in 1608.

C. Chinese Sources:

The account of Hsüan Tsang, Ta-T'ang hsi-yu-chi Taisho 2087, chüan I, pp. 868c 1-875b 7. For a translation in French see St. Julien, Voyages des Pelerins Bouddhistes, 1, Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen T'sang et de Ses Voyages dans l'Inde, 1853; For an English translation see S. Beal, Si-Yu-Ki Buddhist Records of the Western World, Translated From the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629), II, 1884, pp. 74-75; also see T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, II, 1905, pp. 73-77.

2. Sources on the secession of sects.

1. The Ceylonese tradition: This is mainly represented by the accounts given in the Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa to which references have been made in section I.
2. The Sammatīya tradition: This tradition is found in the account of Bhavya. For a translation in French see A. Bareau, 'Trois Traités Sur Les Sectes Bouddhiques dus à Vasumitra, Bhavya et Vinitadeva', Journal Asiatique, 1954, 1-2. For a translation in English see W.W. Rockhill, The Life of the Buddha, 1907, pp. 182-196.

3. The Kashmir translation:

1. She-li-fo wen-ching (Sāriputrapariprechāsūtra), Taisho 1465, p. 900bc. This is a work of Mahāsaṃghika origin, and has been translated into Chinese between 317 and 420 A.D.

2. The Samayabhedoparacanacakra of Vasumitra.
There are one Tibetan and three Chinese translations for this work. For an English translation of the Chinese version see J. Masuda, 'origin and doctrines of early Indian Buddhist schools', Asia Major, II, 1925, pp. 1-78. For a French translation of the Tibetan version see A. Bareau, 'Trois Traites Sur Les Sectes Bouddhiques dus a Vasumitra, Bhavya et Vinitadeva', Journal Asiatique, 1954, p. 235 ff.

Appendix IV

It should be noted that,

a) only those inscriptions, which have survived undamaged, and which can be dated with some certainty to the Sattavahana period have been classified in this appendix.

b) The inscriptions are classified by place, donor, the nature of donation, and its purpose, when specified.

Donations of Sātavahana kings and members of the royal family

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Nāsik Cave, no.3	Gotamīputa Sirī- Satakarnī (Gautamīputra Sirī- Satakarnī)	<u>khetam</u> (<u>ksetram</u>), a field	(for the maintenance of monks)	<u>El</u> , VIII, 1905-6, pp. 71-72, no.4
Nāsik Cave, no.3	Gotamīputa Satakarnī (Gautamīputra Satakarnī)	<u>khetam</u> (<u>ksetram</u>), a field	(for the maintenance of monks)	<u>Ibid</u> , pp. 73-74, no.5
Nāsik Cave, no.3	Gotamī Balasirī (Gautamī Balasrī)	<u>lepa</u> (<u>layana</u>), a cave	(residence for monks)	<u>Ibid</u> , pp. 60 ff, no.2
Nāsik Cave, no.3	Vasīthīputa Sirī- Pulūmavi	The village of Pisāji- padaka at Nāsik	(for the embellish- ment of (cave.no.3)	<u>Ibid</u> , pp. 66 ff, no.2

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Nāsik Cave, no.3	Vāsithīputa Siri Puḷumavi (Vasiṣṭhiputra Sri Puḷumavi)	The village of Samalipada	(for the maintenance of monks)	Ibid, pp. 65 ff, no.3
Kārle caitya	(king's names is missing)	The village of Karajaka	(for the maintenance of monks)	EI, VII, 1902-3, p. 64, no.19.

Donations of royal officers and their relatives

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Nāsik Cave, no.18	Bhatapālīkā, the wife of the <u>rayamaca bhaṇḍa</u> <u>karika (rajamatya bhaṇḍagarika)</u> , royal treasurer.	<u>cetiyaaghara (caityagṛha)</u> , Caitya Cave.		<u>EI</u> , VIII, 1905-6, pp. 91 ff, no.19.
Nāsik Cave, no.19	<u>mahamata (mahamatya)</u> , a chief minister	<u>leṇa</u> , a cave	(residence for monks)	<u>Ibid</u> , p. 93, no.22
Nāsik Cave, no.20	<u>mahasenāpatinī</u> , Vasu, the wife of chief general or commander-in-chief, named Vasu.	<u>leṇa</u> , a cave	(residence for monks)	<u>Ibid</u> , pp. 93 ff, no.24
Amarāvati	<u>senagopa</u> , 1 (general?) named Mudukuta	<u>thabha (stambha)</u> , 2 a pillar		<u>BMG</u> , p. 276, no.18

1. D.C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary, 1966, p. 308.

2. Ibid, p. 314.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of Donation	Reference
Amarāvati	Somadatta (Somadatta), the wife of the <u>raja</u> lekha, 1 royal scribe named Bala.	(not mentioned)		<u>BMG</u> , p. 277, no. 26
Amarāvati	<u>rano sirisivamaka</u> <u>sadasa paniyagha-</u> <u>rika</u> , the superinten- 2 dent of water houses of king Siri Sivamaka- sada	(gift)		<u>BMG</u> , p. 291, no. 72
Karle	<u>meharathi</u> , a ruler of a <u>rastra</u> (a district or subdivision or a 3 group of villages), (named) Somadeva	<u>gama</u> , a village	(for support of monks)	<u>EI</u> , VII, 1902-3, pp. 61 f, no. 14

1. C. Sivaramamurti, BMG, IV, 1942, p. 277.

2. Ibid, p. 291.

3. D.C. Sircar, op.cit, p. 186.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Kanherī Cave, no. 77	<u>Nāgamulanika</u> (<u>Nāgamulanika</u>), the <u>maharathini</u> , the wife of <u>maharasttrin</u> , a 1 ruler of a <u>rastra</u>	<u>lepa</u> , cave	(residence for monks)	<u>ASWI</u> , V, 1883, p. 86, no. 29.
Karle	<u>Agimitranaka</u> (<u>Agimitranaga</u> ?), the <u>maharathi</u> , (<u>maharasttrin</u>), ruler of a <u>rastra</u> .	<u>thabha</u> (<u>stambha</u>), a pillar		<u>FI</u> , VII, 1902-3 pp. 49 f, no. 2
Bedsa, engraved on a rock near the <u>caitya</u>	<u>Samadhinika</u> , the <u>mahadevi</u> , the <u>mahara-</u> <u>thinī</u> , (wife of <u>maharathi</u>) named <u>Apadevanaka</u>	<u>devadhema</u> (<u>devadhama</u>), meritorious ² gift.		<u>ASWI</u> , IV, 1883, p. 90.

1. See n. 3 on p. 244

2. Devadhama or devadhama means a pious religious gift (see D.C. Sircar, op.cit, p. 90).

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Pitalkhora	<u>Rājaveja</u> Vacīputa Magila, the royal physician, son of Vacī, Magila.	<u>dānam</u> , a gift		<u>ASWI</u> , IV, 1883, p. 84.
Pitalkhora	Dātā, the daughter of the <u>rājaveja</u> (royal physician) (named) Vacīputa Magila.	<u>dānam</u> , a gift		<u>Ibid.</u>
Pitalkhora	Dataka, the son of the <u>rājaveja</u> (royal physician) (named) Vacīputa Magila.	<u>dānam</u> , a gift		<u>Ibid.</u>

Donations of Śaka rulers, their family members and their officers.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Nāsik Cave, no.10	Uṣavadāta (Uṣavadatta, Rṣavadatta, Rṣbhādatta)	leṇa, a cave	(residence for monks)	EI, VIII, pp. 82 ff, no. 12.
Nāsik Cave, no.10	Uṣavadāta	endowment of 3000 <u>kahapaṇas</u> (<u>kaṇṣapaṇa</u>)	(for the support of monks)	Ibid, pp. 82 ff, no. 12.
Nāsik Cave, no.10 on the doorway of the left-cell.	Uṣavadāta	A. <u>leṇam</u> , a cave. B. <u>podhi</u> (<u>prahi</u>), a water- ¹ cistern. C. <u>kṣetra</u> , a field.	(for residence and for supplying food for the monks living in the cave)	Ibid, pp. 78 ff, no. 10.

1. D.C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary, 1966, p. 252. The term podhi is used in our inscriptions to denote a water-cistern. Sircar's identification of the Prakrit term podhi with the Sanskrit word prahi seems, therefore, likely. The word prahi denotes a well in Sanskrit (Monier Williams, SED, 1899, p. 701).

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Karle, in the <u>ceitya</u>	Uṣavadāta	village of Karajaka	(for the support of monks)	EI, VII, 1902-3, pp. 57 ff, no. 13.
Nasik Cave, no. 10	Dakhamita (Dakṣamitra), the wife of Uṣavadāta	ovaraka (apavaraka), ¹ a cell.		EI, VIII, 1905-6, pp. 81 ff, no. 11.
Junnar 4th cave on the eastern side of the Manmodi hill.	amātya, minister, Ayama	maṭapa (maṇḍapa), a 2 pavilion.		ASWI, IV, 1883, p. 103, no. 11.

1. D.C. Sircar, op.cit., p. 25.

2. D.R. Bhandarkar, EI, XIX-XXIII, 1927-36, appendix, nos. 294, 488.

Donations of merchants

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Nāsik Cave, no. 6	Vīra, the <u>myegama</u> (<u>naigama</u>), an inhabitant of a town, ¹ and others.	<u>catugabha-lepa</u> (<u>caturgarbha layana</u>), a cave with four cells	(residence for monks)	EI, 1905-6, VIII, p. 75, no. 6.
Nāsik Cave, no. 12	nekama (<u>naigama</u>), an inhabitant of a town.	<u>lepa</u> , a cave	(residence for monks)	Ibid, p. 90, no. 17.
Kanherī <u>caitya</u> no. 3	<u>vāniyaka</u> (<u>vāṇijaka</u>), 2 a merchant	<u>cetiya</u> (<u>caitya</u>), a <u>caitya</u> or a <u>Caitya</u> Cave.		<u>ASWI</u> , V, 1883, pp. 75 ff, no. 4.
Kanherī Cave, no. 29	<u>negama</u> (<u>naigama</u>), an inhabitant of a town, (named) Isipala (<u>Ṛsipāla</u>)	<u>lepa</u> , a cave	(residence for monks)	Ibid, pp. 81 f, no. 18.

1. D.C. Sircar, op.cit, p. 210. Several variants of this word are seen in our inscriptions. Naigama, which literally means 'an inhabitant of town' could also mean merchant. See p. 47 for discussion of the meaning of this term.

2. D.C. Sircar, op.cit, p. 362.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Kanherī Cave, no. 39	<u>maṇikāra</u> (jeweller) Nagapālita	A. <u>lepa</u> , a cave B. <u>poḍhi</u> (<u>prahī</u>), ¹ a water-cistern C. <u>akṣayanivī</u> (<u>akṣaya-</u> <u>nivī</u>), a permanent ² endowment. D. <u>kheta</u> (<u>kṣetra</u>), a field.	(residence and means of support for monks)	<u>ASWI</u> , V, 1883, p. 82, no. 20.
Kārla in the <u>caitya</u>	<u>gandhika</u> (<u>gandhika</u>), a perfumer.	<u>gharamugha</u> (<u>gr̥ha-mukha</u>), a cave door		<u>EI</u> , VII, 1902-3, p. 52, no. 4.
Amarāvati	<u>vaniya</u> (<u>vaṇija</u>) Kūta, the mer- chant (named) Kūṭa	(pillar)		<u>BMGM</u> , IV, 1942, p. 283, no. 50.

1. See n. 1 on p. 247.

2. This term seems to stand for the Sanskrit word akṣayanivī, also called akṣayamivī-dharma, meaning a perpetual endowment (see Monier Williams, SED, 1899, p. 3).

3. D.C. Sircar, op.cit, p. 122.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Amarāvati	The wife of the merchant Samudra and others	unisa (<u>uṣṇīṣa</u>), ¹ a coping stone		BMGM, IV, 1942, p. 298, no. 102.
Amarāvati	merchant's wife Hagha (Sagha?)	(a gift)		Ibid, p. 298, no. 103.
Amarāvati	merchant's wife Nagacampaka and others.	unisa (<u>uṣṇīṣa</u>), a coping stone		Ibid, p. 299, no. 108.
Amarāvati	merchant's wife Siddhi	unisa (<u>uṣṇīṣa</u>), a coping stone		Ibid, p. 300, no. 111.
Amarāvati	merchant Dha (ma) rakhita (Dharmarakṣita) and others.	padhanama(da)vo (<u>prādhanaṃaḍḍava</u>), a main pavilion.		Ibid, pp. 303-4, no. 124.

1. D.C. Sircar, op.cit, p. 354.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Amarāvati	Nakha, wife of a merchant and others	(a gift)		<u>BMGM</u> , IV, 1942, p. 296, no. 97.
Kanheri	Apareṇu, son of <u>negama (naigama)</u> , an inhabitant of a town and others	A. <u>lenam</u> , cave B. <u>koḍhi (koṭhi)</u> , a hall C. <u>akhayanivi</u> (<u>akṣayanivi</u>) of 200 <u>kahapaṇas</u> (<u>karṣāpanas</u>), a permanent endowment of 200 <u>karṣāpanas</u>	(residence, and means of support for monks)	<u>ASWI</u> , V, 1883, pp. 79-80, no. 15.
Kuḍā	<u>sethi</u> (<u>sreṣṭhi</u>), a financier	<u>deyadhammam</u> <u>leṇa</u> , meritorious gift of a cave.		<u>ASWI</u> , IV, 1883, p. 87, no. 19.

1. See p. 47.

2. D.C. Sircar, op.cit, p. 160.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Kūḍa	Sethi (sreṣṭhi), a financier	ḍeyadhammam (ḍeyadharma) leṇa, meritorious gift of a cave.		ASWI, IV, 1883, p. 88, no. 25.

Donations by monks and nuns

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Kārlē in the <u>caitya</u>	<u>thera</u> , <u>Imlādeva</u> (Indradeva), the elder monk (named) Imlādeva	<u>veyikā</u> (<u>vedika</u>) danam, a gift, of a railing		<u>EI</u> , VII, 1902-3, pp. 51 f, no. 3.
Kārlē in the <u>caitya</u>	<u>bhānaka</u> , a 2 reciting monk Satimita (Svātimitra?)	<u>thabha</u> (<u>stambha</u>) <u>dana</u> , a gift of a pillar		<u>Ibid</u> , pp. 54 f, no. 8.
Kārlē in the <u>caitya</u>	<u>bhikhuni</u> (<u>bhikṣuṇī</u>), Asadhamita, the nun (named) Asadhamita.	<u>dāna</u> , a gift (not specified).		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 56, no. 12.
Kārlē in the <u>caitya</u>	<u>bhikhuni</u> (<u>bhikṣyṇī</u>), a nun.	<u>veyikā</u> (<u>vedika</u>) danam, a gift of a rail.		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 64, no. 18.

1. D.C. Sircar, op.cit, p. 368-69.

2. E.W. Adikaram, Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, 1953, p. 24).

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Karle in the <u>caitya</u>	paveta (<u>pravrajita</u>) Buddharakhita (<u>Buddharakṣita</u>), the wandering ascetic. 1	(not mentioned)		<u>EI</u> , VII, 1902-3, p. 74, no. 22.
Nāsik Cave, no. 7	<u>pavajita</u> (<u>pravrajita</u>), a wandering ascetic.	<u>lepa</u> , cave	(residence for monks)	<u>EI</u> , VIII, 1905-6, p. 76, no. 7.
Kanherī Cave no. 19	<u>pavajita</u> (<u>pravrajita</u>) Ananda (Ānanda), the wandering ascetic (named) Ānanda.	lepa cave and an <u>akhayanivī</u> (<u>akṣayanivī</u>), a permanent endow- ment of money. 2	(residence for monks and money for supplying robes)	<u>ASWI</u> , V, 1883, p. 81, no. 17.

1. There are several Prakrit variants of this word in our inscriptions - paveta, pavaita, pavajita etc. These appear to be etymologically connected with the Sanskrit word pravrajita (pra+vraj, 'to wander', 'to go about') meaning 'a wandering ascetic'.

2. See n. 2 on p. 250

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Kanherī Cave, no. 70	<u>bhikhuni</u> (<u>bhikṣuṇī</u>) Dāmīla, the nun (named) Dāmīla.	<u>leṇa</u> , cave	(residence for monks)	ASWI, V, 1883, p. 84, no. 25.
Kanherī Cave, no. 68.	<u>pavajita</u> (<u>pravrajita</u>), a wandering ascetic.	<u>leṇa</u> , a cave, an <u>akḥayanivī</u> (<u>akṣayanivī</u>), a permanent endowment of money. ¹	(residence for monks and an endowment of money, probably for the support of monks living in the cave)	<u>Ibid</u> , p. 84, no. 26.
Kanherī Cave, no. 76.	<u>pavaitika</u> , Sapa (Sarpa?), the wandering female ascetic (named) Sapa.	<u>leṇa</u> , cave <u>akḥayanivī</u> (<u>akṣayanivī</u>), a permanent endowment of money.	(residence for monks and an endowment of money, for supplying robes and for the support of monks living in the cave.	<u>Ibid</u> , pp. 85 ff, no. 28.

1. See n. 2 on p. 250

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Amarāvati	Samanika (<u>sramanika</u>) (Sa) ghamitā (Sanghamittrā) the female ascetic (named) Saghāmītā, and others.	<u>dānam</u> , a gift, (not specified)		<u>BGM</u> , IV, 1942, p. 293, no. 80.
Amarāvati	atevāsini (<u>antevasini</u>), Dhama (Dharma), girl-pupil, (named), Dhama.	<u>dānam</u> , a gift (not specified)		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 296, no. 93.
Amarāvati	Budha (<u>Buddha</u>) (the nun Buddha?)	(not mentioned)		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 296, no. 96.
Amarāvati	daharabhikhu (<u>daharabhikṣu</u>) Vidhika, the young monk (named) Vidhika, and others.	<u>paṭa dāna</u> (<u>paṭṭa-dāna</u>), gift of a slab.		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 297, no. 99.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Amarāvati	bhi(khu) (bhikṣu), likhita, the monk (named) Likhita.	thabha (stambha), a pillar.		BMGM, IV, 1942, p. 276, no. 19.
Amarāvati	pavajitike Sagharakhita (Sangharakṣita), and others.	devadhama (devadharmā or devadharmā) (of) upaṭṭa (urdhavapatta?) ¹ , ² meritorious gift of an upright slab.		Ibid, pp. 277-8, no. 31.
Amarāvati	mahanavakamaka ³ (mahanavakarmika) Budharakhita (Buddharakṣita) and others.	udhapamanapata ⁴ (urdhavapatta?), an upright slab.		Ibid, p. 278, no. 33.

1. A number of variations of this term is seen in the inscriptions, of our area. Sivaramamurti has rendered this term as 'upright slab' (BMGM, pp. 277-78, nos. 31, 33).

2. See n. 2 on p. 245.

3. D.C. Sircar, op.cit, p. 213, 'superintendent of work (possibly of repairs) of monastery buildings:

4. R.P. Chanda, 'some-unpublished Amaravati inscriptions', EI, XV, 1919-20, p. 274, no. 55. Chanda reads this term as udhapamanapata.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Amarāvati	at(e)v(a)sika (amtevasika) pindapatika ¹ (pindapatika), Pasama, mendicant pupil monk (named) Pasama, and Haṅgha (Saṅgha?)	deyadhama udhapata (devadhama) of (urdhavapatika), 2 meritorious gift of an upright slab		BMGM, IV, 1942, p. 279, no. 34.
Amarāvati	samana (sramana) Sāghala, the ascetic (named) Sāghala.	(not mentioned)		Ibid, p. 277, no. 34.
Amarāvati	pavacita (pravrajita), a wandering female ³ ascetic	deyadhama (devadhama), a meritorious gift, (not specified)		Ibid, p. 289, no. 62.

1. Pindapatika means a monk living on alms. In this context pindapatika means 'a mendicant monk'.

2. See n. 2 on p. 245.

3. See n. 1 on p. 255.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Amaravatī	<u>atevasika</u> <u>pavaci(ta)</u> (<u>antevasika</u> <u>pravrajita</u>), pupil wandering ascetic.	(not mentioned)		<u>BGM</u> , IV, 1942, p. 289, no. 63.
Amaravatī	<u>bhikhuni</u> (<u>bhikṣuṇī</u>) Budharakhita (<u>Buddharakṣita</u>), the nun (named) Buharakhita	<u>danam</u> or a gift, (not specified)		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 290, no. 69.
Amaravatī	<u>atevasini</u> (<u>antevasini</u>), Mala, the girl- pupil (named) Mala.	<u>peṇḍaka (dā) ha</u> , ¹ a gift of a slab?		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 291, no. 70.

1. C. Sivaramamurti, op.cit, p. 291, no. 70.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of Donation	Reference
Amarāvati	bhikhuni (<u>bhikṣuṇī</u>), Roha, the nun (named) Rohā.	<u>dā</u> (na), gift, (not specified)		BMGM, IV, 1942, p. 292, no. 74.
Ajantā Cave X (<u>caitya</u>)	Dhamadeva (Dhammadeva), (a mendicant)	<u>paśāḍa</u> <u>dānam</u> , a gift		EI, XXXVII,, 1968, part VI, pp. 241-244

Donations of common people

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Kanherī Cave no. 48	Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa)	A. <u>lenam</u> , a cave B. <u>poḍhi</u> (<u>prahi</u>), a water- cistern ¹ C. <u>koḍhi</u> (<u>kosthi</u>), 2 a hall D. <u>akhayanivi</u> (<u>akṣayanivi</u>), a permanent ³ endowment	(for residence and for support of monks)	<u>ASW</u> , V, 1883, p. 83, no. 22.
Kanherī Cave no. 59	Dāmilā	A. <u>lenam</u> , a cave B. (<u>po</u>) <u>ḍhi</u> (<u>prahi</u>), a water-cistern		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 83,

1. See n. 1 an p. 247.

2. See n. 2 an p. 252.

3. See n. 2 an p. 250.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Kārlē	<u>vadhaki</u> , <u>Sami</u> (Svāmi), the carpenter (named) Sami.	<u>gharamugha</u> <u>gharamukha</u> , a cave door.		<u>EI</u> , VII, 1902-3, p. 53, no. 6.
Nāsik Cave no. 8	<u>dāsaka</u> ¹ <u>Mugudasa</u> and others.	<u>deyadhamma</u> (<u>deyadharmā</u>) <u>leṇa</u> , a meritor- ious gift of a 2 cave		<u>EI</u> , VIII, 1905-6, pp. 76 ff. no. 8.
Nāsik Cave no. 11	<u>lekhaṇaputa</u> (<u>lekhaṇaputra</u>) Ramanaka, son of a writer (named) Ramanaka.	<u>deyadhamma</u> (<u>deyadharmā</u>) <u>leṇa</u> , a meritor- ious gift of a cave		<u>Ibid</u> , pp. 89 f, no. 16.

1. E. Senart identifies this term with dāsaka and gives its meaning as 'fisherman' (EI, VIII, 1905-6, pp. 76 ff. no. 8). However, it can also mean a slave or a servant (cf Monier Williams, SED, 1899, p. 411).

2. See n. 2 dn p. 245.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Nāsik Cave no. 17	Īdāgnidatta (Indragnidatta)	A. <u>lenam</u> , a cave B. <u>cetiayaghara</u> (<u>caityagṛha</u>), a Caitya Cave C. <u>podhi</u> (<u>prahi</u>), a water- 1 cistern		<u>EI</u> , VIII, 1905-6, pp. 90 f no. 18
Nāsik Cave no. 3. <u>caitya</u>	Nadāsiri	A. <u>Veikā</u> , a rail B. <u>yakho</u> , (a figure) of a <u>yakṣa</u>		<u>ASW</u> , IV, 1883, p. 99, no. 3.
Nāsik Cave no. 18	Nadāsiri (Nandasri)	A. <u>veikā</u> (<u>vedikā</u>), a rail B. <u>yakho</u> (<u>yakṣa</u>), a figure of a <u>yakṣa</u>		<u>EI</u> , VIII, 1905-6, p. 93, no. 21.

1. See n. 1 dn p. 247.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Nāsik Cave no. 20	<u>upāsika</u> Mamma, the lay devotee Mamma.	deyadharmā <u>layana</u> , a meritorious gift of a cave. ¹		<u>RI</u> , VIII, 1905-6, p. 93, no. 23.
Nāsik Cave no. 23.	<u>kuṭumbika</u> Dhanama, ² the householder (named) Dhanama.	(cave)		<u>Ibid</u> , pp. 94, f, no. 25.
Nāsik Cave no. 24	<u>lekha</u> , Saka Dāmacika Vudhika, the writer (named) Saka Dāmacika Vudhika.	<u>lena</u> , a cave two <u>poḍhis</u> (<u>prahi</u>), ³ 2 water-cisterns.		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 95, no. 26.

1. See n. 2 in p. 245.

2. D.C. Sircar, op.cit, p. 169.

3. See n. 1 in p. 247.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Nāsik Cave no. 8	upāsakaputa (<u>upasakaputra</u>) Dhamanāṃdi (Dharmanandin), the son of the lay devotee (named) Dharmanandin.	gift of a <u>kheta</u> (<u>ksetra</u>), a field.	(the income from which was for providing for <u>cīvara</u> or robes for the monks living in the cave.)	EI, VIII, 1905-6, p. 77, no. 9.
Junnār Cave no. 26 in the Sivaneri hill.	Mala (Malla) and Ānada Ānanda)	deyadhama (<u>deyadhama</u>) <u>upathana</u> 1 (<u>upasthana</u>), a meritorious gift of an <u>upasthana</u> .		ASWI, IV, 1883, pp. 92 f no. 2.

1. The general meaning of the term upasthana is to 'attend on', especially a person, and upasthana sala in a monastery may mean a room where guest-monks were entertained. Upasthana in this inscription, therefore, could be taken as a shortened form of upasthana sala. Burgess renders this term as 'a reception room' (ASWI, IV, 1883, pp. 92 ff).

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Junnar Cave no. 42 in the Sivaneri hill.	Patibadhaka Giribhūti Sakhuyaru	A. <u>lena</u> , a cave B. <u>podhi</u> (<u>prahi</u>), ¹ a water-cistern C. <u>akhayanivi</u> , a permanent endowment of ² money	(residence for monks and means for their support)	<u>ASWI</u> , IV, 1883, p. 93, no.3.
Junnar (engraved on a water cistern in the Sivaneri hill)(no.56)	Patibadhaka Giribhūti and his-wife (named) Sivapalanika	A. <u>deyadhama</u> ³ <u>deyadhama</u> (of) a <u>podhi</u> (<u>prahi</u>), a water- cistern B. a <u>lena</u> , a cave C. <u>akhayanivi</u> (<u>akṣayanivi</u>), a permanent endowment	(residence for monks and means for their support)	<u>Ibid</u> , p. 93, no.6.

1. See n. 1 an p. 247.

2. See n. 2 an p. 250.

3. See n. 2 an p. 245.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Junnar caitya, no. 2 in the Mānmodi hill	yavana Canda (Candra), a Greek or Persian (named) Canda	deyadhama (deyadhama) (of a) gābhāda(ra) (garbha-dvara), a meritorious gift of a hall-front ¹		ASW, IV, 1883, p. 95, no. 16.
Junnar Cave no. 21 in the Mānmodi hill	two brothers, the sons of a gahapati (gṛhapati), a householder	deyadhama (of) a paṇḍagabha (pañca-garbha), a five-celled cave	(residence for monks)	Ibid, p. 98, no. 31
Junnar Cave no. 13 in the Mānmodi hill	Budhamita (Buddhamitra) Budharakhita (Buddharakṣita)	deyadhama (of) bigabha (dvi-garbha), a meritorious gift of a two-celled cave	(residence for monks)	Ibid, p. 96, no. 19.

1. D.C. Sircar, op.cit., p. 112.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Junnār Cave no. 27 in the Sulaiman hills	Sivabhūti (Sivabhūti)	<u>devadhama</u> (of) a <u>lena</u> , (cave), a meritorious ¹ gift	(residence for monks)	<u>ASWI</u> , IV, 1883, p. 95, no. 15.
Junnār <u>caitya</u> no. 15 in the Sulaiman hills	Ānada (Ānanda)	<u>ceityaghara</u> (<u>caityagr̥ha</u>), a Caitya Cave		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 94, no. 12.
Junnār <u>caitya</u> no. 6 in the Sulaiman hills	Sulasadatta (Sulasadatta)	<u>devadhama</u> (<u>devadhama</u>) <u>cetiya</u> (<u>caityagr̥ha</u>), a meritorious gift of a <u>caityagr̥ha</u> , a Caitya Cave		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 94, no. 11.

1. See n. 2 in p. 245.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Junnār Cave no. 67 in the Sivaneri hill	yavana, Cita, a Greek or Persian (named) Cita.	deyadhama (deyadhama) <u>bhojanamatapa</u> (<u>bhojanamandapa</u>), ¹ a meritorious gift of a dining hall.		ASMI, IV, 1883, p. 94, no.8.
Junnār (in the large unfinished caitya in the Manmodi hill)	Palapā	deyadhama (deyadhama) (of) 15 <u>nivatana</u> ² (<u>nivartana</u>) (of land)	(for the support of monks)	Ibid, p. 96, no.20
Junnār (in the large unfinished caitya in the Manmodi hill)	uvasako (<u>upasaka</u>), Āduthuma, a lay devotee (named) Āduthuma.	(a gift of) 20 and 9 <u>nivatana</u> (<u>nivartana</u>) (of land)	(for planting Karanja and 3 banyan trees)	Ibid, p. 96, no.24.

1. See n.2 on p.245.

2. A measure of land (200 cubits square), Monier Williams, op.cit, p. 560.

3. Lüder's List, no. 1162.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Amarāvati	gahapati (<u>gr̥hapati</u>), a householder, (named) Gamalika	(not specified)		BMG, IV, 1942, p. 278, no. 32.
Amarāvati	the wife of Hāṃgha (Saṃgha?) and others	devadhama (<u>devadhama</u>) (of) <u>abadhamālā</u> , a meritorious, gift of a frieze decorated with flowers? 2		Ibid, p. 279, no. 35.
Amarāvati	upāsaka (a lay devotee) (named) Buddharakkhita (Buddharakṣita) and others	udhapata (<u>urdhavapaṭṭa</u>), 3 upright slab		Ibid, p. 279 f, no. 36.

1. See n.2 in p. 245.

2. Explained as a kind of sculptured slab (Lüder's List, op.cit.). According to D.C. Sircar, the exact meaning of this term is doubtful (see D.C. Sircar, op.cit., p. 1.)

3. See n.1 in p. 258.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Amarāvati	<u>upāsaka</u> (lay devotee) (named) Uttara and others	(not specified)		<u>BMG</u> , IV, 1942, . p. 280, no. 37.
Amarāvati	Pusekalika and others	<u>udhapata</u> (<u>urdhavapatta</u>), 1 an upright slab		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 280, no. 39.
Amarāvati	<u>camakara</u> (<u>carmakara</u>) a leather-worker, (named) Vidhika and others	<u>punaghatakapaṭa</u> (<u>purnaghatakapaṭa</u>), a slab with an overflowing vase		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 281, no. 41.
Amarāvati	Damila Kaṇha (<u>kṛṣṇa</u> from the Tamil country?) and others	<u>udhampata</u> (<u>urdhavapatta</u>), an upright slab		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 281, no. 40.

1. See n. i in p. 258.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Amarāvati	<u>gahapati</u> (<u>gr̥hapati</u>), a householder, (named) Paga and others	(slab with a) <u>kalasa</u> , a pot or a vase		<u>BMGM</u> , IV, 1942, p. 282, no. 45
Amarāvati	Caka and others	(slab with) <u>sothikapata</u> (<u>svastikapatta?</u>) and <u>abatamala</u> ¹ a frieze decorated with <u>svastika</u> figure and flowers		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 282, no. 46
Amarāvati	Makabudhi (<u>Mṛgabuddhi?</u>) and others	<u>deyadharmā</u> , a meritorious gift of two <u>paricaka</u> <u>suciya</u> (<u>paricakra</u>) ² <u>suci</u> , cross-bars with circular panels?		<u>Ibid</u> , 289, no. 64

1. See n. 2 on p. 271

2. D. Barnett, op. cit., 1954, p. 31.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Amarāvati	Cadā (Candrā)	(gift of) six <u>sucis</u> (cross-bars)		BGM, IV, 1942, p. 289, no. 65.
Amarāvati	Viśāghanikā (Viśakhanikā?) and Yāga (Yājña?)	<u>uniśa</u> (<u>uṣṇiśa</u>), 1 a coping slab		Ibid, p. 289, no. 66
Amarāvati	<u>upāsikā</u> , lay a female lay devotee (named) Kama and others	(not specified)		Ibid, p. 290, no. 67
Amarāvati	Koja	<u>cakrapaṭa</u> (<u>dā</u>)na (<u>cakrapaṭṭa</u> dana), a slab with engraved <u>cakra</u> or wheel		Ibid, p. 291, no. 71

1. See n. i on p. 251

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Amarāvati	Kaliga (Kalinga)	unisa dāna (<u>usnise dāna</u> , a gift of a coping stone ¹		BWGM, IV, 1942, p. 291, no. 73
Amarāvati	Mahācatu	unisa (<u>usnise</u>), a coping stone		Ibid, p. 292, no. 75
Amarāvati	gahapati (<u>gr̥hapati</u>) (named) Kuhutara and Isili (Rsila?)	dedhama (<u>deyadhama</u>), ² a meritorious gift of a damacaka <u>dharmacakra</u> , i.e., a wheel of the Law		Ibid, pp. 283-4, no. 51

1. See n.1 dn p.251.

2. See n.2 dn p.245.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Amarāvati	<u>gahepati</u> (<u>gr̥hapati</u>), a householder and his family members	divāḍho hātho (<u>dyvārḍha hasta?</u>), a cubit and a half (of the rail enclosure)		BMGm, IV, 1942, p. 284, no. 52
Amarāvati	Dhanajana, her friends and relatives	<u>Vetikāya cha</u> <u>hātho</u> (<u>vedikayam</u> <u>ṣaḍ hastaḥ</u>), six cubits for the rail enclosure		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 284, no. 54
Amarāvati	<u>gahepati</u> (<u>gr̥hapati</u>), a householder	<u>deyadha</u> (<u>na</u>) (<u>deyadharmā</u>), a meritorious gift (not specified)		<u>Ibid</u> , pp. 284-5, no. 55
Amarāvati	Himala and others	<u>dāna</u> , a gift(of) a <u>thabha</u> (<u>stambha</u>), a pillar		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 285, no. 59

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Amarāvati	gharani (gṛhīnī), a housewife (named) Budhā (Buddhā?)	suji dānam (suci dānam), a ¹ gift of a cross-bar		BMGM, IV, 1942, p. 294, no. 85
Amarāvati	Tika	suci dānam (suci dānam), a gift of a cross-bar		Ibid, p. 295, no. 88
Amarāvati	Ajaka	Unisa deyadhammam (uṣṇisa deyadharma), a meritorious gift of ² a coping stone		Ibid, p. 295, no. 90
Amarāvati	Haṅghī (Saṅghī?)	pendaka ³ (a slab)		Ibid, p. 297, no. 100

1. See n. 2 in p. 113.

2. See n. 1 in p. 251.

3. C. Sivaramamurti, op.cit., p. 297.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Amarāvati	Cadā (Candrā) and others	chata (chatra), an umbrella, for the caitya		BGM, IV, 1942, p. 295, no. 92.
Amarāvati	Mahānāga	pata dāna (paṭṭa dāna), a gift of a slab		Ibid, p. 296, no. 96
Amarāvati	Tukā and others	pata (paṭṭa), a slab		Ibid, pp. 298-299, no. 104
Amarāvati	Haghada (Saṃghada?) and others	umnisa (uṣṇiṣa), a coping stone		Ibid, pp. 299-300, no. 109

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Amarāvati	(a sister of a monk)	(not mentioned)		<u>BMG</u> , IV, 1942, p. 300, no. 110.
Amarāvati	Nakabudha(nikā) (Nāgebuddhanikā?)	(not mentioned)		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 301, no. 117.
Amarāvati	Khada (Skandha?) and others	(a pillar)		<u>Ibid</u> , pp. 301-2, no. 118.
Amarāvati	Nada (Nanda)	(a gift)		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 302, no. 119.
Amarāvati	the grandsons of (Ka)ma	(a pillar)		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 302, no. 120.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Amarāvati	Papā	suci dana (suci dana), a gift of a cross-bar		BMGM, IV, 1942, p. 293, no. 79.
Kārlē (in the caitya)	yavana, the Greek or Persian (named) Sihadhaya (Siṃhadvaja?)	thambha (stambha), a pillar		EL, VII, 1902-3, p. 53, no. 7.
Kārlē (in the caitya)	upāsaka, a lay devotee, (named) Harapharaṇa	navagbha (navagarbha) a nine-celled cave or a 'new cave' (and a) maḍapa (maḍapa), a pavilion		Ibid, pp. 71 ff. no. 20.
Kārlē (on the seventh pillar of the caitya)	Mitadevanaka	thabha (stambha), danam, a gift of a pillar		Ibid, p. 56, no. 11.

1. See n.24n p.273.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Ajanta	Vasiṭhiputa (Vāsiṣṭhiputra) Kaṭahadi	garamukha (<u>gṛhamukha</u>), danam, a gift of a cave facade		ASW, IV, 1883, p. 116, no. 1.
Ajanta Cave X (<u>caitya</u>)	Kanhaka	danam, a gift	bhiti(<u>bhitti</u>), a wall	BI, XXXVII, 1968, part VI, pp. 241-244.
Pitalkhora	Mitadēva (Mitrādēva)	thabo (<u>stambha</u>) danam, a gift of a pillar		ASW, IV, 1883, pp. 83-84. no. 1
Pitalkhora	sons of Sagaka (Sanghaka)	thabh (<u>stambha</u>) danam, a gift of a pillar.		Ibid, no. 2.

Contd.

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Kondane	Balaka, pupil of Kanha.	(probably the Caitya Cave)		<u>ASWI</u> , IV, 1883, p. 83
Bedśa	Pusaṇaka (Puṣyanaga?)	<u>devadhama</u> , a meritorious gift		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 89, no. 1.
Bhājā	Nādasava	<u>gabho</u> , a cell		<u>Ibid</u> , pp. 82-83, no. 1.
Bhājā	Bādha	<u>dānam</u> , a gift		<u>Ibid</u> , no. 6.
Bhājā	Vinhudata (Viṣṇudatta)	<u>deyadhama</u> (<u>deyadhama</u>) <u>poḍhi</u> , (<u>prahi</u>), 1 a meritorious gift 2 of a water-cistern		<u>Ibid</u> , no. 7.

1. See n. 2 on p. 245.

2. See n. 1 on p. 247.

Donations of corporate bodies

Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Junnār Cave no. 67 (in the Sivaneri hill)	<u>seni</u> , a guild, of corn-dealers	<u>satagabha</u> (<u>septa garbha</u>), a seven-celled cave <u>poḍhi</u> (<u>prahi</u>), a 1 water-cistern		<u>ASWI</u> , IV, 1883, p. 94, no. 10.
Amarāvati	<u>nigama</u> , (<u>town</u>) (of) Danakaṭaka, (group of people from Danakaṭaka town)	(a gift)		<u>BMGM</u> , IV, 1942, p. 285, no. 58.
Amarāvati	<u>sethipamukha</u> <u>nigama</u> (townsfolk, headed by financiers)	<u>suci</u> (<u>suci</u>), 2 a cross-bar		<u>Ibid</u> , p. 294, no. 87.

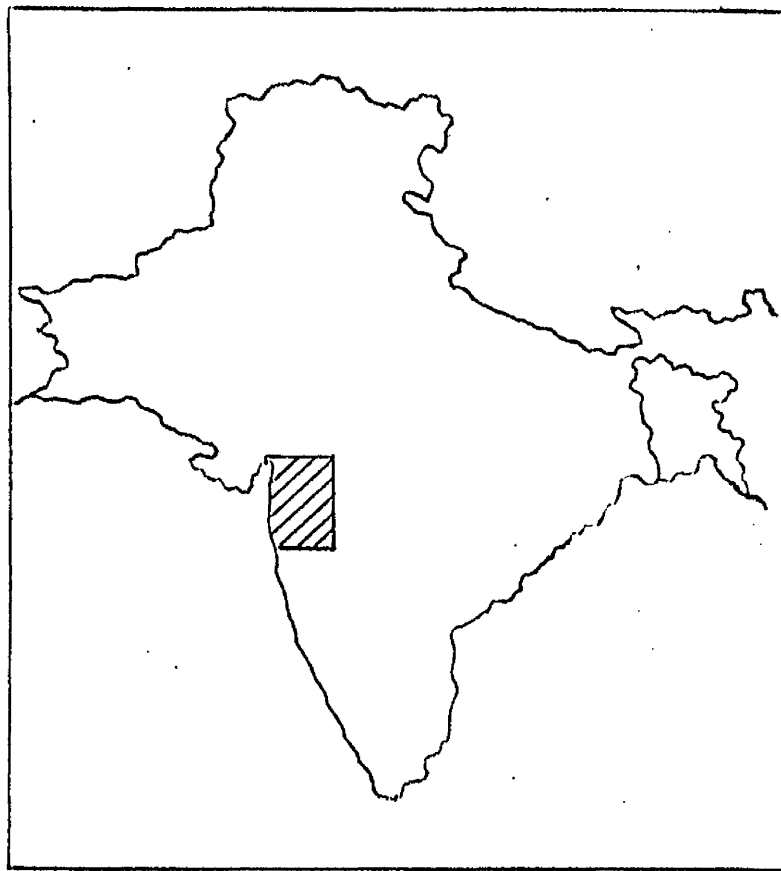
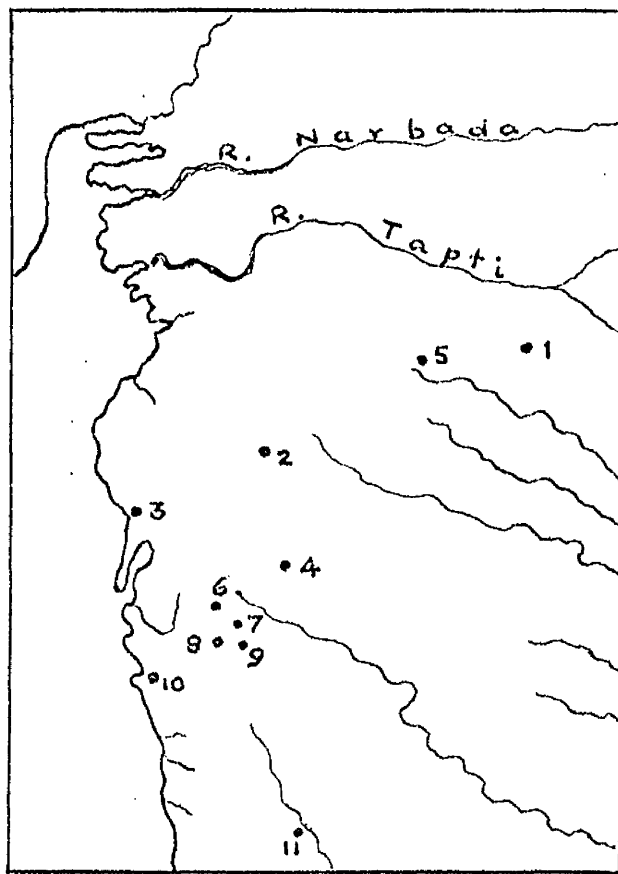
1. See n. 1 on p. 247.

2. See n. 2 on p. 273.

Contd.

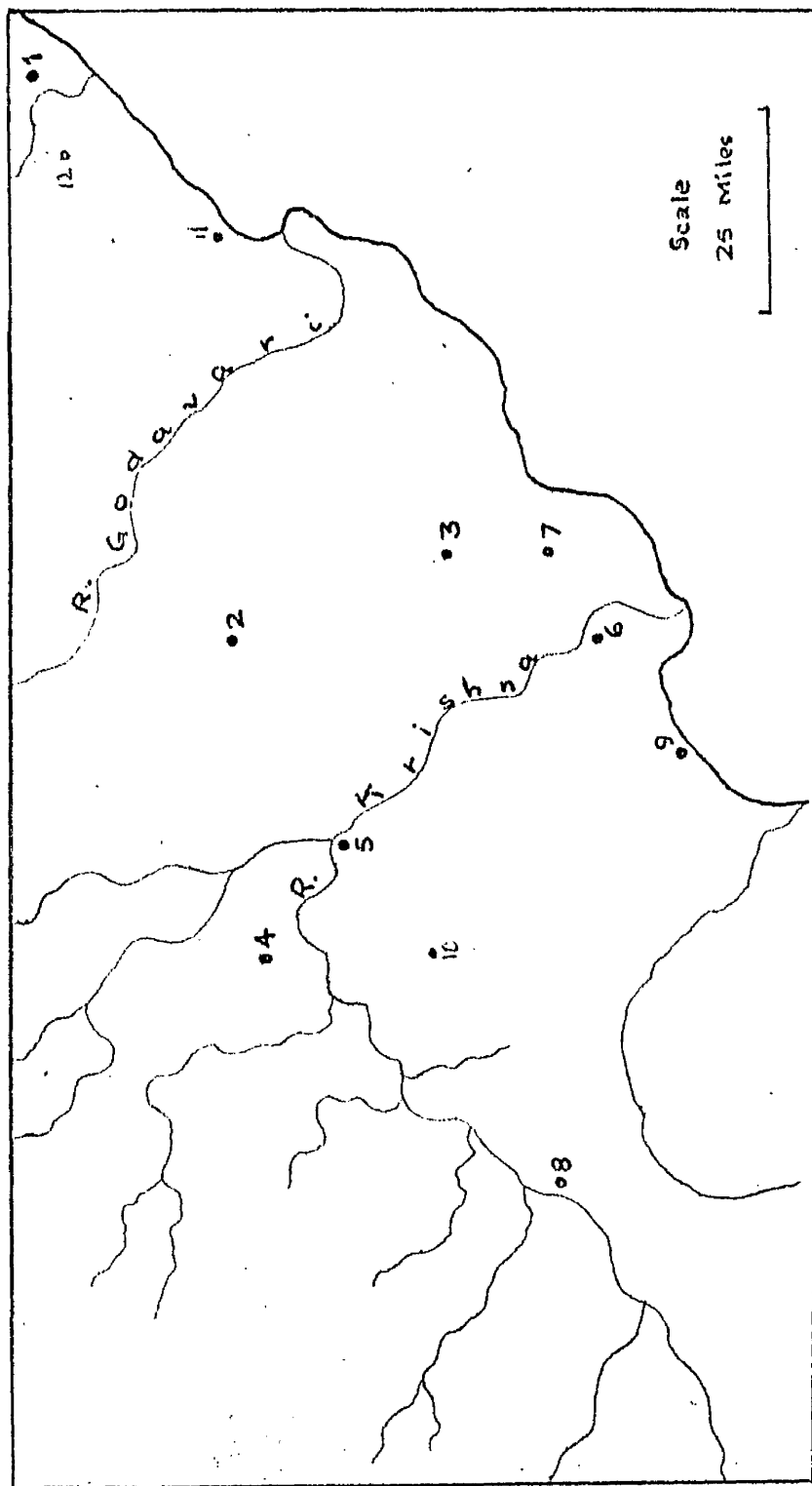
Place	Donor	Donation	Purpose of donation	Reference
Junnar, (in the large unfinished <u>caitya</u> in the Manmodi hill)	Vāhata Vaceḍuka	two nivatanas (<u>nivartanas</u>) (of land) ¹	(for planting mango trees)	ASWI, IV, 1942, p. 97, no. 26.
Nāsik <u>caitya</u>	Dhambhikagama (inhabitants of) the village of Dhambhika	<u>dānam</u> , a gift	(the facade of the <u>caitya</u> ?)	Ibid, p. 98, no. 2.

1. See n.24n p.270.



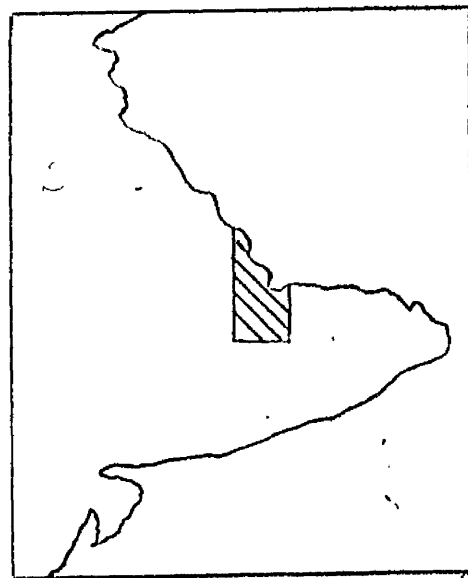
0 50 100 Miles

1. Ajantā
2. Nāsik
3. Kanherī
4. Junnār
5. Pitalkhorā
6. Kondāne
7. Kārle
8. Bhājā
9. Beḍsā
10. Kudā
11. Karādh

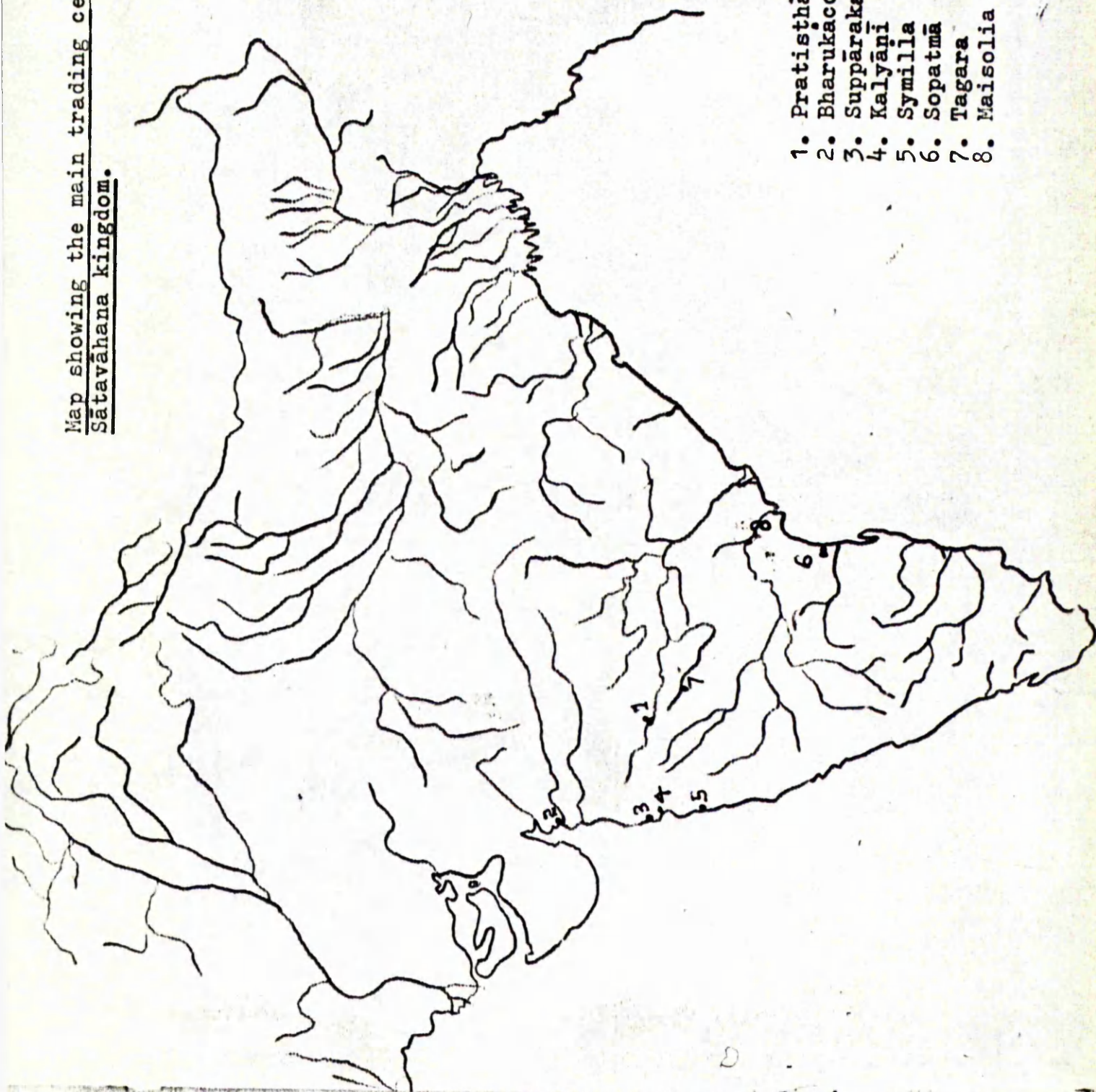


Map showing the locations of Buddhist sites in the eastern part of the northern Deccan.

1. Anakapalle
2. Guntapally
3. Gudivāda
4. Caggayyapeta
5. Amarāvati
6. Bhaṭṭiprolu
7. Ghantāsāla
8. Nāgarjunakoṇḍa
9. Reḍḍa Ganjaṃ
10. Okejāla
11. Pītāpuraṃ
12. Rāma-kīrthana



Map showing the main trading centres in the
Sātavāhana kingdom.



1. Pratisthāna
2. Bharukaccha
3. Suppāraka
4. Kalyāṇi
5. Symilla
6. Sopatmā
7. Tagara
8. Maisolia (region)

Scale 300 miles

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pp. 189-190

Nānāghāt Cave Figure-Label Inscriptions of
the time of Śātakani SI, I, 1965,
pp. 190-192

Nānāghāt Cave Inscription of Nāgāmnikā(?) SI, I, 1965,
pp. 192-197

Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gotamīputa Siri-Sadakani
- regnal year 18 SI, I, 1965,
pp. 197-199

Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gotamīputa (Siri)
Sātakarṇi - regnal year 24

SI, I, 1965,
pp. 220-201

Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsīṭhīputa
Siri-Pūṣumāyi- regnal year 19

SI, I, 1965,
pp. 203-207

Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsīṭhi-puta
Siri-Pūṣumāvi regnal year 22

SI, I, 1965,
pp. 207-209

Kārle Cave Inscription of Vāsīṭhīputa
Sāmi-Siri-(Pūṣumāvi)- regnal year 7

SI, I, 1965,
pp. 202

Kārle Cave Inscription of Vāsīṭhi-puta
Siri-Pūṣumāvi-regnal year 24

SI, I, 1965,
pp. 210-211

Nānāghāt Inscription of Vāsāṭhīputa
Catarapana Sāstakarṇi - regnal year 13

JBBRAS, (OS), XV, 1883,
p. 313

Kanheri Inscription of the reign of
Vāsīṭhīputra Sīrī Sātakarṇi

ASWI, V, 1883,
p. 78

Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gotamīputa
Sāmi-Siri-yana-Sātakarṇi- regnal year 7

SI, I, 1965,
pp. 211-212

Myakadoni Rock Inscription of Pūṣumāvi
- regnal year 8

SI, I, 1965,
pp. 212-213

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Amarāvati Inscription of the reign of
Vāsīṭhīputra Sīrī Pūṣumāvi

BMGH, IV, 1942,
pp. 283-284

Amarāvati Inscription of the reign of
Siri Sivamaka Sada

ASSI, I, 1883,
p. 61

Rāmatīrtham seal inscription of Siri
Sivamaka Vijaya

ARASI, (SC),
1910-11, p. 14

Cinna Ganjam Inscription of the
regnal year 27 of Gotamīputa
Siriyana Satakarni

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Kodavali Rock Inscription of
Vasiṭhīputa Camṣasati regnal year

EI, XVIII, 1925-26,
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Nāgarjunakopṇa Inscription of
Gotamīputa Siri Vijaya Satakarni-
regnal year 6

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the time of Kuberaka

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of Nahapāna

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of Nahapāna - year 46

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