

Urbanization and Interactions in the Early Historic Deccan:  
The Sātavāhana, Western Kṣatrapa, and Ikṣvāku Dynasties

Michael C. Skinner

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

University of Washington

2012

Committee:

Dr. Richard Salomon

Dr. Purnima Dhavan

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Asian Languages and Literature

## Table of Contents

List of Figures, iii

Chapter 1: The Early Historic Deccan: The Formation of a Region, 1

- 1.1. Defining the Early Historic Deccan, 1
- 1.2. Regional History of the Early Historic Deccan, 7
- 1.3. Urbanization in the Early Historic Deccan, 9
- 1.4. Sources and Methodology, 14

Chapter 2: The Sātavāhana Dynasty: A History of the Early Historic Deccan, 19

- 2.1. Historical Outline of the Sātavāhana Dynasty, 19
- 2.2. Impact of the Sātavāhana Dynasty on the Early Historic Deccan, 27
  - 2.2.1. Sātavāhana Currency, 28
  - 2.2.2. First Phase of the Sātavāhana Dynasty, 30
  - 2.2.3. Second Phase of the Sātavāhana Dynasty, 33
  - 2.2.4. Sātavāhana Statecraft, 34

Chapter 3: The Ikṣvāku Dynasty: Urbanization in the Early Historic Deccan, 37

- 3.1. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa: An Early Historic City in the Deccan, 38
- 3.2. Historical Outline of the Ikṣvāku Dynasty, 41
- 3.3. The Process of Urbanization in the Early Historic Deccan, 45

Chapter 4: The Western Kṣatrapa Dynasty: Interactions in the Early Historic Deccan, 54

- 4.1. Historical Outline of the Western Kṣatrapas, 54
- 4.2. Interactions between the Western Kṣatrapas and the Satavahana Dynasties, 57
- 4.3. Interactions between the Western Kṣatrapas and the Ikṣvaku Dynasties, 62

Concluding Remarks, 66

Appendix 1: The Purāṇic Genealogy of the ‘Andhra’ Dynasty, 68

Appendix 2: Sātavāhana Chronology Based on Epigraphic and Numismatic Evidence, 69

Appendix 3: A Comparison of Nahapāna and Sātavāhana Silver Royal Portrait Coins, 70

Bibliography, 72

## **Acknowledgements**

I greatly appreciate the time given and patience show by Dr. Richard Salomon and Dr. Purnima Dhavan throughout this thesis writing process. Their comments and suggestions have greatly improved my writing and transformed a collection of drafts into a coherent work. Also, I thank all the professors at the University of Washington, especially in the Department of Asian Languages and Literature, who have contributed to my understanding of South Asia and assisted me in my efforts to communicate in some of the languages of this fascinating region. To my fellow graduate students who I have befriended over the course of my time at the University of Washington, I send my warmest Aloha. And to my wife, thanks for putting up with my late nights and occasional grumpiness.

## List of Figures

1. Principal States of the South Asia (1-250), 2
2. Physiography of the Deccan, 8
3. Sātavāhana Settlements in the Western Deccan, 20
4. Distribution of Sātavāhana Coinage, 29
5. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa City Plan, 38
6. Significant Buddhist Sites in Andhra Pradesh, 41
7. Urban Centers in the Early Historic Deccan, 47
8. Buddhist Monastic Sites along the Western Ghats, 50

## **Chapter 1: The Early Historic Deccan: The Formation of a Region.**

### **1.1. Defining the Early Historic Deccan.**

Between the mid-first century BCE to the early-fourth century CE significant political, economic, and social changes occurred in the Deccan. The emergence of the Sātavāhana (ca. 50 BCE – 225 CE), Western Kṣatrapa (ca. early-first century CE – 415 CE), and Ikṣvāku (ca. 225 CE – 315-25 CE) dynasties signified a new period of Deccan history. The Sātavāhana dynasty ruled the Deccan for approximately two-hundred and seventy-five years and during this period of political consolidation the Deccan transitioned from an aggregate of local nodes of power and production into an interconnected geographic and economic zone. Prior to the Sātavāhana dynasty there is minimal evidence for political consolidation, extensive trade networks, a moneyed economy, and urban centers in early historic Deccan. By the end of the Sātavāhana period, epigraphic and numismatic evidence shows regional interconnections through commercial interactions had developed and archaeological excavations revealed an increase in urban centers throughout the Deccan. After the decline of the Sātavāhana dynasty, the Ikṣvāku dynasty arose in the eastern Deccan along the Krishna River valley and deltaic areas. Their capital was located at the urban center of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and the extent of their kingdom was much more localized than the Sātavāhanas. The Western Kṣatrapas ruled the region of Avanti in western South Asia and the southern parts of Gujarat from their capital at Ujjain. Geographically, Western Kṣatrapa territory was located north of the Deccan, but from the mid-first century CE until the mid-second century CE these rulers competed with the Sātavāhanas for control of land and trade routes in the western Deccan. The following map shows the geo-political features of early historic South Asia. The Deccan comprises the entire swath of central South Asia. The

Ikṣvāku kingdom is not shown, but Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was located about sixty kilometers west of Amarāvati on the Krishna River and their territory included the areas surrounding the eastern stretches of this river. The Western Kṣatrapas are labeled West Sakas on this map.

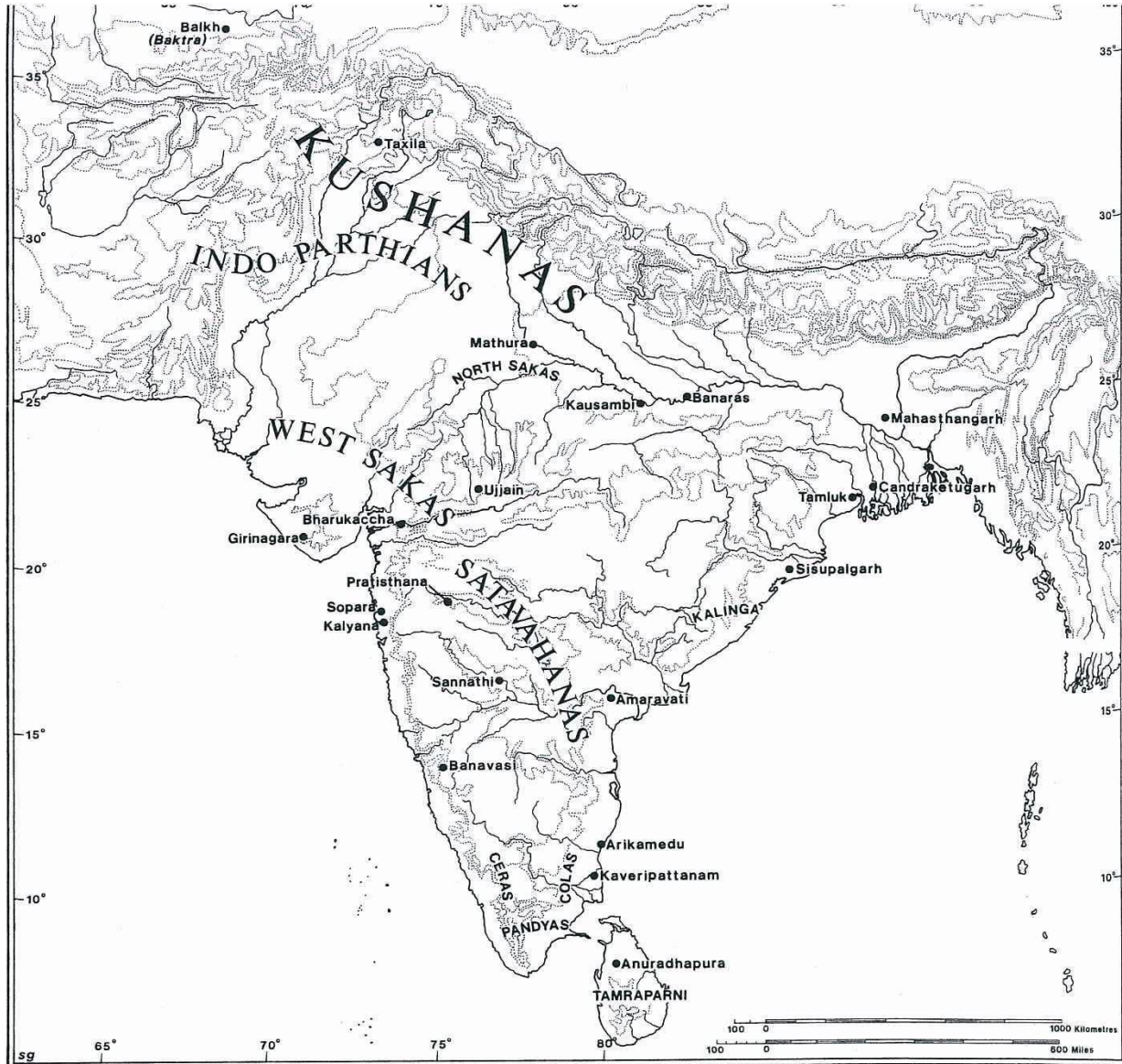


Fig. 12.2. Map of cities and principal states of South Asia (c. AD 1–250).

(Chakrabarti 1995: 276)

The three dynasties that emerged in the Deccan will serve as a framework to view the economic and social transitions that occurred during over these four centuries spanning the rise of the

Sātavāhanas in the mid-first century BCE to the eclipse of the Ikṣvākus in the beginning of the fourth century CE.

The early historic Deccan transformed during this period through a combination of emerging dynasties, prospering commercial connections, and increasing urbanization. The political stability provided by Sātavāhana dynasty enabled commerce to move throughout this region and the implementation of a new coinage system facilitated the standardization of exchange. Urban centers linked locally produced goods with regional and long-distance trade networks and these cities became the focal points of commerce and politics during this period. The pre-existing Buddhist and Brahmanical communities that had migrated to the Deccan prior to the first century BCE were patronized by the political powers that emerged in this region. This dual patronage enhanced the political and social status of these religious institutions in the Deccan. This transformation is evident in the dramatically different political and economic conditions in the Deccan between the emergence of the Sātavāhana dynasty ca. 50 BCE and the formation of the Ikṣvāku dynasty in ca. 225 CE. The only available evidence for political organization in the Deccan prior to the rise of the Sātavāhana period was locally produced punch-marked coins (Parasher-Sen 1993: 93). This lack of political organization meant that the early Sātavāhana rulers had to create their own systems of administration in order to rule over the Deccan. Aśokan edicts found in the southern Deccan near gold and iron deposits and at the long-distance trading port of Sopara in the western Deccan offer evidence for the existence of localized production and trade networks in the Deccan during the reign of Aśoka ca. 268-32 BCE (Thapar 1961; Ray 2008). Localized production and trade networks would have continued to function after the decline of the Mauryan Empire ca. 180 BCE, but commercial relations connecting the entire Deccan were instituted only after the rise of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

The Ikṣvāku dynasty benefited from the transformations in the Deccan that occurred during the almost three hundred years of Sātavāhana suzerainty. These rulers inherited a model of political organization from the Sātavāhana dynasty. *Mahātalavaras*, or subordinate rulers, were employed by Ikṣvāku rulers to administrate their territory, and members of this ruling class married into the Ikṣvāku royal family.<sup>1</sup> Roman coins found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the Ikṣvāku capital, indicate that long-distance and inter-regional trade networks were maintained in the Deccan after the Sātavāhana decline (Sarkar 1972: 56). Moreover, the archaeological remains of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the best documented urban center in the early historic Deccan, illustrate the high degree of urbanization that developed in the Deccan during this period. This early historic urban center was enclosed by fortified walls, and had planned roads and residential neighborhoods surrounding this citadel. Numerous secular and religious remains were unearthed at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa that indicate a thriving society inhabited this city. Bathing ghats and an amphitheater were civic structures constructed at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and the religious remains found at this site were Buddhist *viharas* (monasteries) and *caityas* (stupas) along with Brahmanical temples located on the Krishna River (Chakrabarti 1997: 235-37; Rosen Stone 1994: 9-20). The interval between the start of the Sātavāhana dynasty through the Ikṣvāku period shaped the early historic Deccan.

This thesis will examine these transformations that shaped the early historic Deccan. In order to analyze these transformations I want to focus the topics of urbanization and interactions. Urbanization is the process of villages and localized communities transitioning into more complex multi-functional cities (Smith 2006; Renfrew 1984). Cities functioned as centers of

---

<sup>1</sup> The *Indian Epigraphical Glossary (IEG)* defines a *mahātalavara* as a, “subordinate ruler... police magistrate of a city or the prefect of the city police” (Sircar 1966: 190, 334). Kupaṇasrī, the chief wife of the third Ikṣvāku king Ehaḥala Cāmtamūla, was the daughter (Skt. *duhitṛ*) of the *mahātalavara* Khaṃdahāla (Sircar 1961-2: 19).

production, linkages along trade networks, and seats of power. Increased urbanization in this period created nodes of power and production that facilitated the emergence of dynasties and were integral to the transitions that were taking place in the Deccan. In this thesis, I argue that the political continuity provided by the Sātavāhana dynasty greatly increased the process of urbanization in the Deccan.

As the urban centers developed commercial and dynastic interactions in the Deccan intensified. These two modes of interactions, commercial and dynastic, connected the sub-regions of the Deccan into a consolidated geo-political zone. Commercial interactions were formed by the exchange of locally produced goods along inter-regional trade networks. Increases in local production were concentrated in urban centers and the exchange between cities enhanced inter-regional connections. Trading ports, such as Sopara in the western Deccan, linked the systems of exchange in the Deccan with long-distance trade networks in the Indian Ocean. The continuum of local production, regional exchange, and long distance trade constituted the commercial interactions that were formed in the early historic Deccan (Smith 2002). The development of integrated commercial interactions resulted in dynastic interactions.

Dynastic interactions show that political borders were not fixed in the early historic Deccan. The dynasties that emerged in this region were constantly negotiating claims of authority over territory and access to trade routes. The Sātavāhanas, Western Kṣatrapas, and Ikṣvākus interacted through military competition and by making marriage alliances. In order to establish their authority in the Deccan, the Sātavāhanas and Western Kṣatrapas conducted a series of military confrontations and the victor gained control over the regional and long-distance trading networks in the western Deccan. Over time, these conflicts over territory led to the formation of marriage alliances between these dynasties. After the final confrontation between

the Western Kṣatrapa ruler Rudradāman I and his possible son-in-law Sātakarṇi ca. 150 CE no further hostilities between these dynastic powers were recorded in inscriptions, suggesting that a marriage alliance might have halted further hostilities. Claims of authority and political legitimacy were established through initiating familial relationships between dynasties. The Ikṣvāku and Western Kṣatrapa dynasties did not share a border or engage in military hostilities, but Ikṣvāku rulers married the daughters of Western Kṣatrapa kings. This marriage alliance indicates that there was a mutual recognition of political authority between the Western Kṣatrapas and the Ikṣvākus. Through this dynastic interaction, the Ikṣvāku dynasty legitimized their claim as the sole rulers over the eastern Deccan. This thesis will examine how commercial and dynastic interactions unified the early historic Deccan.

The political and economic transformations in the early historic Deccan will be examined in the following three chapters. Chapter two focuses on the Sātavāhana dynasty in order to provide a regional history of the early historical Deccan and will address the transitions that occurred in the Deccan from the mid-first century BCE to the early-third century CE. Urbanization in the early historic Deccan will be covered in chapter three. This chapter examines the development of urban centers in the Deccan and how connections between urban centers unified the sub-regions of the Deccan. The relationship between urban centers and political authority will be shown through an overview of the Ikṣvāku dynasty and their capital, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Chapter four centers on the Western Kṣatrapa dynasty and interactions in the Deccan, both commercial and dynastic. The enhanced commercial interactions in the Deccan prompted a Western Kṣatrapa invasion of Sātavāhana territory in the western Deccan, and marriage alliances between the Western Kṣatrapas and the Ikṣvākus indicate interactions between the eastern and western Deccan remained intact after the decline of the Sātavāhanas.

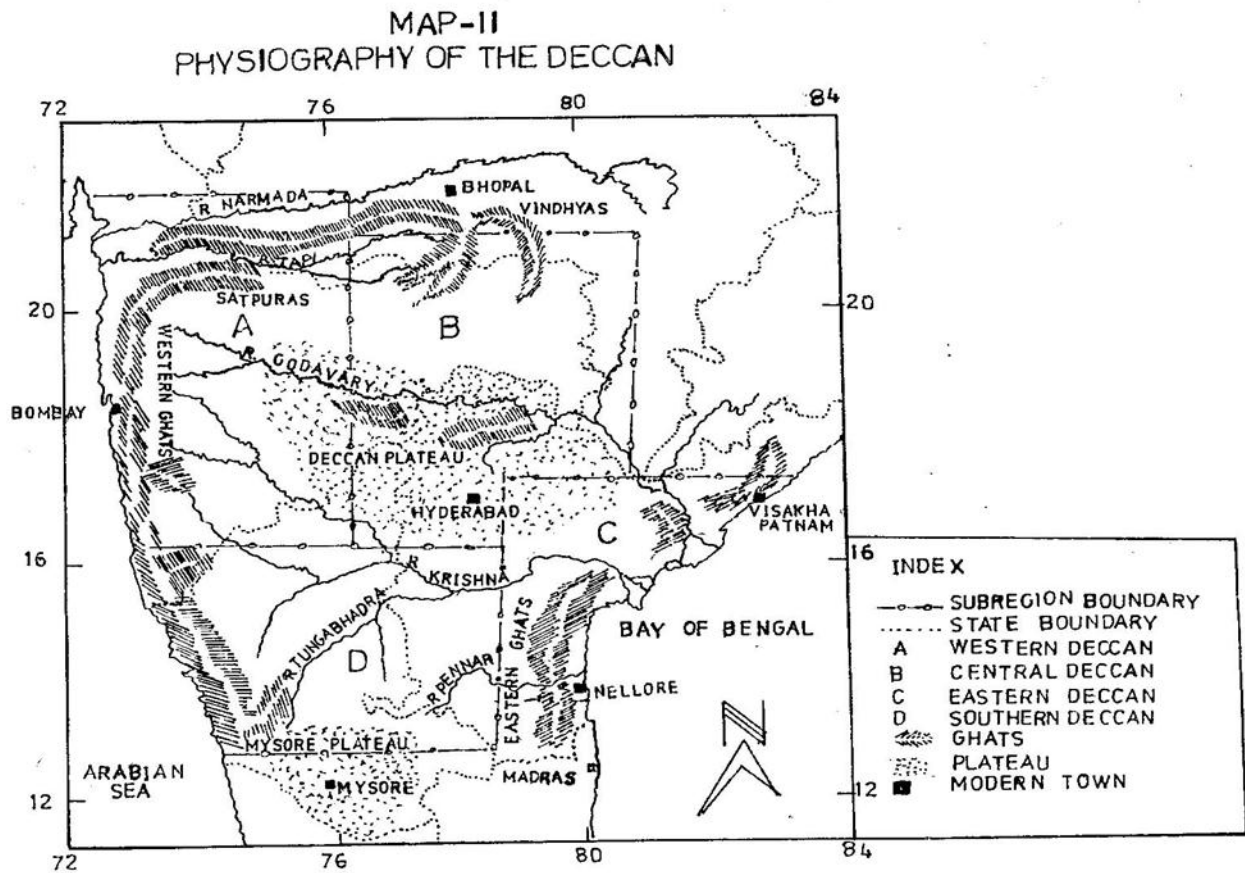
These three chapters, spanning the emergence of the Sātavāhana dynasty in the first century BCE to the waning on the Ikṣvāku dynasty at the beginning of the fourth century CE, will focus on urbanization and interactions in order to provide a regional history of the early historic Deccan.

## **1.2. Regional History of the Early Historic Deccan.**

Regional history is an understudied but important field of early historic South Asia scholarship. These thesis attempts to address this paucity of regionally focused research. A regional focus generates a more comprehensive overview of the socio-economic and political developments that occurred in South Asia during the early historic period (Thapar 2000: 110). One reason more regionally focused studies are needed is due to the emphasis of the northern South Asia in the scholarship on the early historic period. The recent work *Between the Empires: Society in India 300 BCE to 400 CE* is just one example of the Ganga-centric perspective of the early historic period. This collection of articles is an extremely valuable and insightful work that covers a wide range of topics on the often overlooked period between the decline of the Maurya Empire ca. 180 BCE and the rise of the Gupta Empire ca. 320 CE (Olivelle: 2006). However, of the seventeen articles in this volume only Himansu Prabha Ray's article "Inscribed Pots, Emerging Identities: The Social Milieu of Trade" focuses explicitly on peninsular India. The goal of this thesis is to provide a regional perspective of early historic South Asia and to explain the distinct patterns of political, economic, and urban development that occurred in the Deccan.

Geographical characteristics are one major distinction between the Deccan and other areas in South Asia, and these characteristic shaped the development of this region. The epigraphic and numismatic evidence of the Sātavāhana dynasty aligns with the geographical

boundaries of the Deccan, so the political and economic developments that occurred during Sātavāhana period must have radiated throughout this entire region. As seen in the map on page three, the Deccan encompasses central South Asia between the Narmada River and Vindhya Mountains in the north and the Krishna River in the South, bounded by the Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea to the east and west. The geographical features of the Deccan are much different from those of the fertile Ganges and Indus River basins and this region does not support intensive rice cultivation like the more tropical southern peninsula. The specific geographical features of the four sub-regions of the Deccan are shown on the following map.



(Parasher-Sen 1993: vii)

The combination of these physiographic characteristics played a major role in the development of the economic and political systems in the early historic Deccan. Unlike northern South Asia, the Deccan was connected with long distance trading networks in the Indian Ocean and Bay of Bengal through ports on the west and east coasts. Ports located along the western Deccan connected with trade flowing from Arabia and the Mediterranean, and merchants along the eastern coast crossed the Bay of Bengal to conduct trade with Southeast Asia (Parasher-Sen 1993). Trade networks connected these port cities with production centers in the Deccan interior. Parts of the western Deccan and the entire central Deccan were situated on the plateau in the rain shadow of the Sahyadri Mountains. The dependence on annual monsoons inhibited year-round cultivation as was available in the more tropical southern peninsula. The arable land in these regions produced an annual harvest that could be transported to less fertile regions and the soil was suited for the cultivation of cotton, a highly prized trade item (Ray 1987). The fertile deltas of the Godavari and Krishna Rivers were situated in the eastern Deccan, and both these rivers could be navigated by traders moving inland or towards the coastal ports. Gold and iron deposits were found in the southern Deccan and this region formed the boundary between the Sātavāhana dynasty and kingdoms in the southern Peninsula (Parasher-Sen 1999). In each of these sub-regions urban centers developed and the exchange along trade networks connected these sub-regions, transforming the Deccan into an integrated economic zone.

### **1.3. Urbanization in the Early Historic Deccan.**

The study of early historic urbanization in South Asia is comparable to the historical scholarship of this period, in that most of the extensively excavated early historic sites are situated in northern South Asia along the Ganges and Indus River valleys. This Ganga-centric

perspective of early historic urbanization has limited the assessment of regional variables that contributed to the development of urban centers in South Asia. The ecological, economic, and political characteristics of urban centers that emerged in northern South Asia do not coincide with those of the Deccan or southern peninsula, and therefore frameworks of urbanization must be applied on a regional basis. The emphasis on the second period of urbanization, the first being the Indus Valley Civilization, that began in the middle of the first millennium BCE in the northern regions of South Asia in many way predetermined how urban centers were perceived to develop in other regions (Allchin 1995: 123-5). This perspective on the formation of urban centers following the patterns found in the north restricted the overall picture of early historic urbanization in South Asia. A regional focus on urbanization more adequately explains the process of urban development in the early historic Deccan.

The initial archaeological study of early historic South Asian urbanization was dominated by the culture-historical pursuits of identifying urban centers through excavations and quantifying the amassed data. Alexander Cunningham established the Archaeological Survey of India in 1861, which conducted the first systematic studies of early historic urbanization. The goal of this early stage of archaeology was to correlate cities mentioned in South Asian literary sources and the travel accounts of the Chinese travelers Faxian and Xuanzang with physical remains of ancient cities (Chakrabarti 1988: 43; 58-9). The archaeological surveys conducted by early scholars of the Archaeological Survey of India succeeded in identifying numerous early historic urban centers, but there were many limitations to the culture-historical approach based on field surveys, especially in the context of the Deccan.<sup>2</sup> The most glaring limitation of this

---

<sup>2</sup> Some of early leaders in the field of South Asia archaeology were J.D. Beglar who explored the Central Provinces and areas of Bengal and Orissa, A.C.L. Carlleyle who focused on cities in the east in present day Rajasthan, and H.B.W. Garrick who toured the northern regions near Nepal and Bihar (Chakrabarti 1988: 83-94).

first period of archaeological inquiry into South Asian urbanization was that a majority of excavations were situated in the north and were guided by literary references or sites that contained visible antiquities. This resulted in fewer excavations being conducted in the Deccan, which neither played a central role in early Buddhist, Epic, or Purāṇic literature<sup>3</sup> nor possessed an abundance of readily apparent early historic urban centers.<sup>4</sup> This dearth of early historic archaeological research on the Deccan persists to the present day, and significantly limits the understanding of the development of early historic urbanization in this region (Chakrabarti 1997: 228; Sinopoli 2001: 164). The other limitation of these surveys was the type of data collected. Culture-historic archaeology relied on vertical excavations to identify features of urban sites, catalogue changes in ceramic diffusion, and generate a chronological stratigraphy of development, but lacks a theoretical analysis of how and why urban centers emerged (Paddaya 2002: 133-4). The shift from cataloguing physical data to formulating a theory that attempts to explain urbanization provided new opportunities to view the early historic period.

V. Gordon Childe (1950) formulated a theory of urbanization in his article “Urban Revolution” that changed how archaeologists approached the topic of urbanization. Childe proposed ten criteria required for urbanization to develop and in so doing, moved away from culture-historical archaeology based on excavations.<sup>5</sup> Material culture and trade were major

---

<sup>3</sup> In K.T.S. Sarao’s extensive review of urban centers (Sarao 1990: 51, 56, 80, 99) mentioned in Buddhist Vinaya and Piṭaka texts he catalogued eighty urban centers, five of which were located in the Deccan: Amarāvātī (Amara), Bharuch (Bharukaccha/Bhārukaccha), Paiṭhan (Patiṭṭhāna), Sopara (Suppāra/Suppāraka), and Ter (Takkarā). Paiṭhan is referenced in the *Sutta Nipāta*, Bharuch and Sopara are mentioned in the *Jātakas* as important trading centers, and a further reference to Sopara is found in the *Śanti-parva* of the *Mahābhārata* (Ray 1986: 55-60). Additionally, Sopara plays a prominent role in the *Pūrṇa-avadāna* as a long-distance trading port and an early center of Buddhism (Rotman 2008: 71-118). More broadly, the Deccan region is referred to as part of *Dakṣiṇāpatha* trading route, although few cities are specifically mentioned in texts that discuss this trade route (Chakrabarti 2005: 1-17).

<sup>4</sup> Notable early publications on Deccan archaeology are James Burgess’ *Notes on the Antiquities of the Talukas of Parner, Sangamner, Ankole and Kopargaum, with Revised Lists of Remains in the Ahmadnagar, Nasik, Puna, Thana, and Kaladgi Zillas* (1877), *Notes on the Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta, their Paintings and Sculptures, and of the Paintings of the Bagh Caves, Modern Buddha Mythology*, (1879), and *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta* (1882). Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was excavated by H. Longhurst in 1927-8 (1938).

<sup>5</sup> The ten criteria for urbanization as outlined by Childe are: 1) cities must have been more extensive and

factors in this urban revolution as local production spurred specialization and interregional trade resulted in the diffusion of ideas and culture (Childe 1950: 16-7). Scholars immediately took issue with the connotations of a ‘revolution’ in explaining urbanization, as it downplayed the importance of long-term social and economic changes.<sup>6</sup> Further critiques of Childe’s criteria-based urbanization challenged his reliance on social hierarchies as a prerequisite for urban development (Smith 2006: 102-4). The most contentious aspect of Childe’s theory, especially in context of early historic urbanization in South Asia, was his list of ten criteria. Ghosh (1973) attempted to apply these Childean characteristics to archaeological data of early history South Asia, mainly based on sites in the Ganges River valley. He concluded that although the diffusion of Painted Grey Wares and Northern Black Polish Wares demonstrated shared material culture, public architecture in the form of fortifications existed, and political and religious institutions were established in the early historic period, there was limited evidence for all of Childe’s urban characteristics, such as a system of writing, and until the advent of the Maurya Empire (Ghosh 1973: 59-72). Ghosh’s study proved that the archaeological evidence for the development of urban centers in the mid-first millennium BCE in South Asia did not coincide with Childe’s criteria. But although Childe might not have proved that urbanization was in fact a revolution in human history, his attempt to formulate a comprehensive theory to explain urbanization revolutionized how scholars interpreted early historic urbanization.

---

more densely populated than any previous settlements, 2) a division of labor between agricultural producers and specialists, 3) implementation of a system of taxation, 4) construction of public buildings, 5) production of food surplus to support specialists relating to governmental and religious institutions, 6) invention of writing, 7) elaboration of exact and predictive sciences – arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, 8) specialists of artistic expression, 9) expansion of intra-regional and external trade, 10) social identity based on residence in the city versus kinship associations (Childe 1950: 6-19).

<sup>6</sup> The prominent responses to Childe were from R.J. Braidwood, *The Near East and the Foundations for Civilization* (1950), Lewis Mumford, *The City in History* (1961), and R.M. Adams, *The Evolution of Urban Society* (1965).

In the 1960s and 1970s New Archaeology reconsidered the processes of urbanization as an integrated system linked by economic, political, and cultural functions. The urban center was deconstructed into individual components that made up a more complete urban system, and archaeologists investigated the function of these components within this system (Fuller 2002: 172-3). From this theoretical framework, borrowing from General System Theory, early historic urbanization could be analyzed as a multi-functional aggregate composed of social structures, production capacity, resource availability, political integration (or dissolution), infrastructural improvements, and connections with other urban centers through trading networks. New Archaeology viewed the transition to urbanization, not as a revolution, but resulting from the ‘multiplier effect’ wherein changes in the functions of one component would reverberate throughout the entire system (Renfrew 1984: 275-7). For example, a political institution functions as a component of social and economic organization within an urban center. A cohesively functioning political institution could invest in public infrastructure projects and provide security for trade that would enhance the overall system of urbanization. However, a highly integrated political institution could enforce draconic social policies and exploit economic systems that would precipitate a decline in urbanization. Similarly, the introduction of a new technology into the system of urbanization would affect the functionality of individual components. The introduction of iron, for example, brought about the creation of more effective tools for craft and food production, better weapons for offensive or defensive military purposes, and stronger axles for vehicles transporting commodities along trade networks.

An urban center is the composite of these individual components, but the function of one component does not supersede the others. In New Archaeology’s systems theory approach the components of an urban center relate heterarchically rather than hierarchically. A heterarchical

relationship of urban components allows for flexibility between social, economic, and political functions whereas Childe's ten criteria of urbanization were based on a hierarchical model that emphasized the role of the state and elite groups as the main impetus for urban development. (Smith 2006: 106). This shift viewed urbanization as a heterarchy of functions and provided a more systematic approach to the dynamics involved in urban development.

Urbanization in the early historic Deccan can best be evaluated through a heterarchical relationship of urban functions. The lack of political consolidation prior to the Sātavāhana dynasties does not preclude the rise of urban centers, rather trade networks and local production could have initiated the formation of urban centers. In Ray's article in *Between the Empires* on the social milieu of trade in peninsular South Asia, she argues for deprioritizing the role of political organization in the formation of trade networks as the exchange along trade networks of goods, peoples, and ideas transgressed political and cultural boundaries (Ray 2006: 113-4). Political organization was not a prerequisite to commercial interactions or increased urbanization, but rather a by-product of these developments. The emergence of dynasties in the Deccan provided urban centers with an additional function as a seat of power, but the decline of political cohesion did not cause the disintegration of trade networks or the collapse of urban centers.

#### **1.4. Sources and Methodology.**

All scholarship on the early historic period confronts the obstacle of limited sources. For a regional history of the Deccan, the physical artifacts of inscriptions, coins, and archeological relics are the principle sources to study the early historic period. Epigraphic and numismatic evidence of the Sātavāhanas, Western Kṣatrapas, and Ikṣvākus will comprise the political histories covered in this thesis as well as the socio-economic aspects of this study. In addition,

archaeological data will serve as the foundation for examining the process of early historic urbanization and tracing exchange along trade networks. Literary evidence concerning the political history of the Deccan is mostly limited to the ‘Andhra’ genealogy found in the *Purānas* (see appendix 1). Since this body of literature was not intended to record specific events of the past in a linear positivist fashion, *Puranic* accounts provide supplemental evidence rather than substantiated facts. This regional history of the Deccan will draw from this narrow archive in order to examine the transitions that occurred in the early historic Deccan.

This regional history of the Deccan will involve a close examination of the Sātavāhana, Western Kṣatrapa, and Ikṣvāku inscriptions. There are thirty five inscriptions from the Sātavāhana period, including one tax seal of King Sātakarṇi. At least eighty-four inscriptions were composed during the Ikṣvāku period, but no up-to-date collection of Ikṣvāku inscriptions has been published, so that the total number of inscriptions is hard to determine. In addition to these eighty-four inscriptions, the earliest copper plate grant in South Asia was issued by the third Ikṣvāku king Ehavala Cāmtamūla ca. 265-75 – 290-300 CE (Falk 1999/2000). Of the twenty-seven Western Kṣatrapa inscriptions, this thesis will focus only on those that relate to the formation of this dynasty and their interactions in the Deccan. These inscriptions include the Uṣvadāta’s seven inscriptions located in the western Deccan (ca. mid-first century CE), the Andhau pillar inscriptions that reveal the early chronology of the Kārdamaka line of the Western Kṣatrapa (ca. 89-130 CE), and Rudradāman I’s Junāgaḍh inscription (ca. 150 CE).

These inscriptions were recorded in the Brāhmī script. The Brāhmī script of the Sātavāhanas, and more clearly in the Ikṣvāku inscriptions, reflects the more rounded features of southern Brāhmī in comparison with the angular features of the north. The rounded features are most evident in the inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa wherein diacritic vowel markers and the

*akṣaras ka, ra, and la* exhibit calligraphic flourishes that extend above and below the letters (Salomon 1998: 37-8). Sātavāhana and early Ikṣvākus inscriptions were mainly composed in central-western epigraphic Prakrit. After the decline of the Maurya Empire the eastern Aśokan dialect fell out of use as an inscriptional language and was replaced by the central-western dialect that is characterized by nominative singular masculine endings in *-o*, the retention of *r* and *l*, collapsing of three sibilants (*s, ś, ṣ*) to *s*, and simplification of consonant clusters (Salomon 1998: 76-7). After the decline of the Sātavāhanas, the transition from Prakrit to Sanskrit as an epigraphic language is apparent in the Ikṣvāku inscriptions. Many of the Ikṣvāku inscriptions after Vīrapuruṣadatta were composed in Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit (EHS). In general, EHS shows a mixture of Sanskrit orthography and Prakrit syntax and morphology (Salomon 1998: 81). The earliest Ikṣvāku inscriptions, the majority of which were composed during the reign of the second Ikṣvāku ruler Vīrapuruṣadatta (ca. 240-50 – 265-75 CE), were more heavily influenced by Prakrit as seen with the simplification of consonant clusters, the collapsing of the *ś* and *ṣ* to *s*, and the absence of *sandhi*. By the reigns of Ehaḥvala Cāṃtamūla (ca. 265-75 – 290-300 CE) and the last Ikṣvāku king Rudrapuruṣadatta (ca. 290-300 – 315-25 CE), EHS is more prevalent, and a few inscriptions are written in formal Sanskrit (Chabra 1959-60: 147-149; Skilling: 2011). The representation of consonant conjuncts, the retention of the *akṣaras ś* and *ṣ*, and the use of *sandhi*, although sporadic, began to appear in these inscriptions. The common technique in EHS of scribes employing Prakrit for prose and Sanskrit for verse is found in these later Ikṣvāku inscriptions (Salomon 1998: 85). A recently discovered inscription in Phanigiri, about one-hundred kilometers north of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, dated to the sixteenth year of Rudrapuruṣadatta reflects EHS characteristics. This inscription contains a four verse poem expressing Buddha's superiority over Viṣṇu written in mostly correct Sanskrit, with the sections containing the date

and record of the donation composed in Prakrit (Skilling 2011). This distinction between Prakrit as the medium for recording the pragmatic aspects in this inscription and Sanskrit for the poetic sections reflects the transition to Sanskrit as the primary literary language in the early historic period (Pollock 2006: 72-3). Rudradāman I's Junāgaḍh inscription dated to ca. 150 CE was composed in poetic prose that resembled early literary Sanskrit, and is the clearest example of this transition to epigraphic Sanskrit in South Asia (Salomon 1998: 89).

The field of numismatics, like epigraphy, is fundamental in compiling the dynastic chronologies of the early historic period. Royal legends and the stratigraphic location of coins enable numismatists to coordinate the kings who issued these coins with epigraphic and literary evidence. For the early historic Deccan, E. J. Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty, and the "Bodhi" Dynasty* is a seminal work in the political history of this period (Rapson 1908). From a survey of the coins issued during this period, Rapson compiled a highly accurate dynastic genealogy of the Western Kṣatrapas that has been only slightly modified over the century since its publication. Two recent works on Sātavāhana coins by I.K. Sarma (1980) and Mala Dutta (1990) catalogued recent discoveries and offered new insights into the dynastic chronology of these kings. However, generating the political history of these dynasties and compiling new coins were the chief concerns for these scholars. In this regional history, I want to examine how numismatics can assist in identifying commercial interactions that developed during this period. The introduction of a new form of currency by the Sātavāhana kings denotes a significant change in the economic system of the Deccan. Dynastic interactions are also reflected in Sātavāhana coinage as rulers after the Western Kṣatrapa invasion incorporated silver portrait coins that imitated the Western Kṣatrapa style (see Appendix 3).

Literary source material on the early historic Deccan is scarce. The Deccan occurs in early Brahmanical and Buddhist texts as the vaguely defined region to the south, the *dakṣiṇāpatha* (Chakrabarti 2005: 1-17). The *Pūrṇa-avadāna* found in the Buddhist *Divyāvadāna* texts includes references to the long-distance trade at the city of Sūpāraka (Sopara) in the western Deccan (Aparānta) (Rotman 2008: 71-118). Due to the uncertainty in dating these texts, interpreting them as historical documents of the early historic Deccan is cautioned. However, the *Pūrṇa-avadana* conveyed that there was some connection between Sopara and northern South Asia and that merchant activity occurred at this coastal port. Genealogies of the Andhra Dynasty in *Puranic* literature have been used to reconstruct the history of the Sātavāhanas (see Appendix 1). Genealogical lists for the kings of Andhra dynasty are found in the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Bhāgavata*, and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* (Mirashi 1981: 2-3). The dating of the *Purāṇas* remains controversial as the variegated layers of these texts can be attributed to different recensions dating to different historical periods (Rocher 1986). Due to the uncertainty of textual evidence, this regional history will focus on numismatic, epigraphic, and archeological sources.

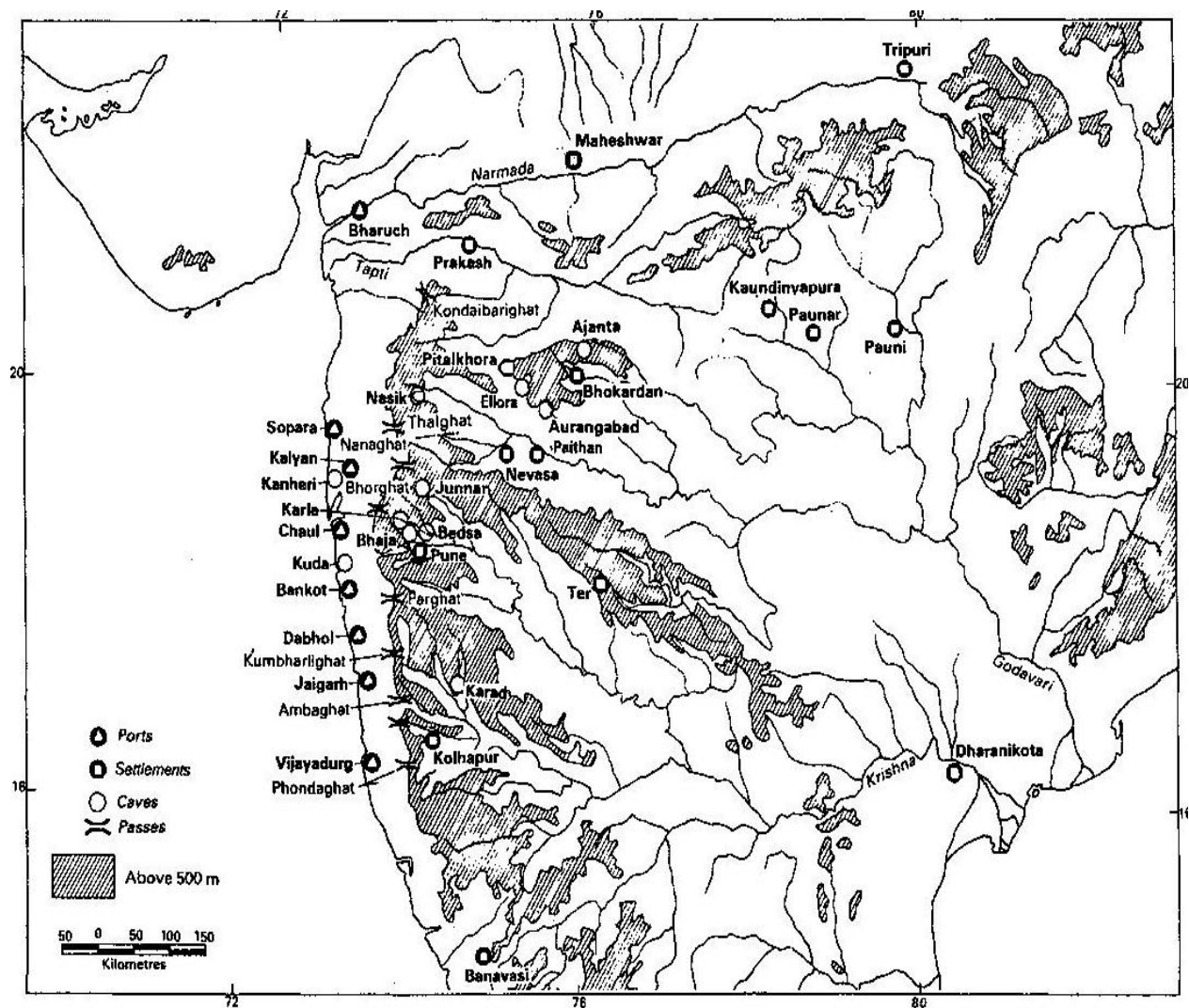
## **Chapter 2: The Sātavāhana Dynasty: A History of the Early Historic Deccan.**

The Sātavāhana dynasty has been reconstructed through the thirty-five inscription composed during this period, the abundance of coins minted by these rulers, and genealogies found in Purāṇic literature (Rapson 1908; Mirashi 1981; Shastri 1998). The history of the early historic Deccan has mainly been viewed from the perspective of the Sātavāhana political history. In this chapter, I want to correlate the names, dates, and events identified in these sources with the transformations that occurred in the Deccan during the Sātavāhana period. During the almost three centuries of Sātavāhana rule, the early historic Deccan transitioned from a region that displayed no political and economic continuity to a geo-political zone interconnected through trade networks, urban centers, and a new currency introduced by the Sātavāhana rulers.

### **2.1. Historical Outline of the Sātavāhana Dynasty.**

Over the approximate three centuries of Sātavāhana suzerainty (ca. mid-first century BCE – to the mid-third century CE) the Deccan transformed into a prosperous and integrated region. The political stability provided by the Sātavāhanas and the introduction of a standardized monetary system stimulated commercial interactions. Commercial interactions connected urban centers through trade networks that extended across the entire Deccan (Ray 1987). The Sātavāhana dynasty most likely emerged in the western Deccan based on the fact that a majority of their inscriptions are found at Nasik, Junnar, Karle, and Naṅghāt, which are all located in this region (Mirashi 1981: [12]; Altekar 1967; Raychaudhuri 1923). Arguments have been made for the Andhra region in the eastern Deccan as the original homeland for the Sātavāhanas. These arguments are based on the *Purāṇic* sources that refer to the Sātavāhanas as the ‘Andhra’ dynasty and the discovery of early Sātavāhana coins in the Andhra region at Koṭalingala (Shastri

1998: 8-12; Burgess 1887; Rapson 1908; Smith 1958). The concentration of Sātavāhana inscriptions in the western Deccan shows a strong correlation between the emergence of this dynasty and the commercial interactions that were forming in the early historic period. Mountain passes linked the trade routes from the interior areas to the trading ports located in the western Deccan. The following map illustrates the correlation between ports, mountain passes, and early Sātavāhana settlements.



*Figure 1* SATAVAHANA settlements in the Western Deccan (courtesy: Oxford University Press).

(Ray 1987: 95)

A royal statue gallery and an inscription that listed the Vedic sacrifices performed by the initial Sātavāhana rulers are located in the Nāṇeghāt pass that connected the Sātavāhana capital Paithan with the trading port of Sopara. The Sātavāhana rulers as well as lay worshipers sponsored the excavation of Buddhist cave monasteries located in these mountain passes along trade networks. The combination of political consolidation, commercial interactions, the development of urban centers, and the establishment of monastic sites contributed to the transformation of the early historic Deccan.

The Sātavāhana dynasty can be divided into two subsets of rulers that have been verified through numismatic and epigraphic evidence (see Appendix 2). The first subset of rulers established Sātavāhana authority in the western Deccan, performed Vedic sacrifices associated with kingship, patronized Buddhist monastic sites, and introduced a new currency into the Deccan. This first phase of Sātavāhana rule lasted for approximately one-hundred years, from the mid-first century BCE until the Western Kṣatrapa invasion of the western Deccan in the mid-first century CE. The dates for the Sātavāhana dynasty have been determined through internal and external evidence pertaining to the Sātavāhana-Western Kṣatrapa conflict. After defeating the Western Kṣatrapas, the second subset of rulers ushered in a period of renewed prosperity in the Deccan. This second phase continued until the decline of the Sātavāhana dynasty in the early-third century CE.

The two epigraphic sources at Nāṇeghāt, the royal statue gallery and the accompanying inscription composed by Nāganikā, the wife of Sātakarṇi and mother of prince Vediśrī, provides a chronology of this first subset of the Sātavāhanas and evidence for the inauguration of a new ruling power in the Deccan. The Nāṇeghāt statue gallery contains the remnants of royal figures with partially legible labels that depict three generations of Sātavāhana rulers: the founder

Simuka (ca. 52-30 BCE), his son Sātakarṇi (10 BCE-45 CE), and three Sātavāhana princes Bhāyala, Hakuśrī, and Sātavāhana (Vediśrī).<sup>7</sup> Kṛṣṇa (ca. 29-11 BCE), the second ruler of the Sātavāhana dynasty and the brother of Simuka according to Purāṇic genealogies, was omitted from the royal statue gallery but his Nasik inscription suggests that he was an early Sātavāhana king.<sup>8</sup> The twenty Vedic sacrifices listed in Nāganikā's Naṅghāt inscription indicate that the Sātavāhana dynasty officially consecrated their authority in the Deccan.<sup>9</sup> The *asvamedha* sacrifice, a Vedic ceremony closely associated with kingship, was listed among the rituals performed by the early Sātavāhana rulers. Furthermore, in this inscription a Sātavāhana king was referred to as a *dakṣiṇāpathapati*, Lord of the Deccan, which indicates that the kings of the first phase of this dynasty considered themselves rulers of the Deccan.<sup>10</sup> The inscriptions of the first subset of Sātavāhana rulers corresponds with some names mentioned in the *Purāṇic* genealogies, but many kings listed in the *Purāṇas* cannot be verified by inscriptional or numismatic evidence (compare Appendix 1 and Appendix 2).

The identification of the first subset of Sātavāhana rulers has been aided by numismatic evidence due to the fact these kings minted coins with royal legends. Simuka is considered the

<sup>7</sup> The figures in the statue gallery are labeled as follows: No. 4 – *rāyā simuka-sātavāhano sirimāto*, “the illustrious King Simuka Sātavāhana”; No. 5 – *devi-nāyanikāya rajño ca siri-sātakanino* “the Queen Nāganikā and King, the illustrious Sātakarṇi”; No. 6 – *kumāro bhāyalo*, “Prince Bhāyala”; No. 7 – *mahāraṭhi tranakayiro*, “Mahāraṭhi Tranakayira”; No. 8 – *kumaro hakusiri* “Prince Haku-śrī”; No. 9 – *kumāro sātavahano*, “Prince Sātavāhana” (Mirashi 1981: 20).

<sup>8</sup> Pkt. *sādavāhanakule kanhe rājani nāsikakena samaṇena mahāmātena leṇa kārita*, “While Kanha [Kṛṣṇa] of the Sādavāhana [Sātavāhana] family is (ruling as) king, this cave has been caused to be made by the mahāmātra Samaṇa” (Mirashi 1981: 2). Mirashi argues that the omission of Kṛṣṇa indicates some level of enmity between this ruler and his grandnephew Vediśrī, and that when Vediśrī made this statue gallery he purposefully omitted Kṛṣṇa (Mirashi 1981: 18-9). Shastri argues that Kṛṣṇa was omitted because only deceased rulers were enshrined in the statue gallery, and the images were carved in two phases. The first phase of the gallery was done by Kṛṣṇa to commemorate his brother Simuka and the second phase was commissioned by Vediśrī to honor his father Sātakarṇi, mother Nāganikā, possibly her father Tranakayira, and his deceased brothers Prince Bhāyala, Hakuśrī, and Sātavāhana (Shastri 1998: 111-2).

<sup>9</sup> The sacrifices performed are as follows: *agnyādheya*, *anvārambhaṇīya*, *aṅgārika*, *rājasūya*, *asvamedha*, *saptadaśātirātra*, *bhagaladaśarātra*, *gargatirātra*, *gavāmayana*, *aptoryāma*, *gavāmayana*, *aṅgirasāmayana*, *śatātirātra*, *aṅgirasatirātra*, *chhandomapavamānatirātra*, *aṅgirasatirātra*, [- ]*tirātra*, *aṅgirasāmayana*, *trayodaśātirātra*, *daśarātra* (Mirashi 1981: 15-6).

<sup>10</sup> Pkt. *[vī]rasa sūrasa apratihatacakasa dakhinā[paṭha]pa[tino]*, “of the heroic, brave and invincible lord of the *dakṣiṇāpathapati*” (Mirashi 1981: 15).

founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty as the earliest Sātavāhana coins bear his name. Three copper coins and one potin coin with the legend Śrī Chimuka Sātavāhana on the obverse and Ujjain symbols, *svastikas*, and elephants on the reverse were discovered at Koṭalingala, near Warangal in modern Andhra Pradesh (Dutta 1990: 27). Along with the coins of Simuka, early coins of this dynasty containing the legend Sātavāhana (Sādavāhana in the central Deccan) on the obverse and similar Ujjain symbols, elephants, and a bull on the reverse were found throughout the Deccan at Nevasa, Kondapur, Aurangabad, and Warangal/Karimnagar.<sup>11</sup> The coins of the third Sātavāhana ruler Sātakarṇi are widely distributed throughout the Deccan.<sup>12</sup> In addition to find spots in the western and central Deccan, coins minted with the Sātakarṇi legend have been found as far south as Kanchipuram near modern Chennai and north of the Narmada River in Malwa and southern Gujarat.<sup>13</sup> The locations of these coins suggest that by the reign of Sātakarṇi, Sātavāhana coinage was used throughout the trade networks in the Deccan. Based on epigraphic and numismatic evidence the first phase of the Sātavāhana dynasty included Simuka, Simuka's brother Kṛṣṇa, Simuka's son Sātakarṇi, and the three princes, who are known only through the Nāṇeghāt statue gallery and Nāganikā's inscription.

The division between the first and second phases of the Sātavāhana dynasty is demarcated by the Western Kṣatrapa invasion of western Deccan in the mid-first century CE, and

---

<sup>11</sup> I.K. Sarma argues that these coins were minted by King Sātavāhana who ruled after Sātakarṇi (Sarma 1980: 78-80). On the basis of these coins, Mirashi argues that King Sātavāhana founded the Sātavāhana dynasty and Simuka was his successor (Mirashi 1981: [16]). Dutta interprets these coins as all belonging to a single king who ruled between Simuka and Sātakarṇi (Dutta 1990: 25-8). Shastri does not believe that there was a ruler bearing the sole title of Sātavāhana and instead attributes these coins to Simuka Sātavāhana (Shastri 1999: 50-1). Shastri and Dutta argue against the possibility that these were minted by prince Sātavāhana mentioned in the Nāṇeghāt inscription as no corresponding record for his rule exists.

<sup>12</sup> I. K. Sarma distinguishes between Sātakarṇi I and Sātakarṇi II, based on Purāṇic genealogy lists, and attributes twelve coins to Sātakarṇi I and sixty coins to Sātakarṇi II (Sarma 1980: 146-51, 169-96). Dutta identifies a single Sātakarṇi ruling after Simuka and attributes thirty coins to this ruler (Dutta 1990: 257-70). Inscriptional evidence supports a single ruler named Sātakarṇi and Dutta only lists coins with a clearly defined Sātakarṇi legend, which explains the discrepancy in the number of coins attributed to Sātakarṇi in these numismatic studies.

<sup>13</sup> For a complete survey of find spots for early Sātavāhana coins see Sarma 1980: 76-94, Dutta 1990: 18-40, and Gupta 1999: 223-77.

internal and external evidence for the Sātavāhana-Western Kṣatrapa conflict provides the only anchor point for the Sātavāhana dynasty. The inscriptions of the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and the son-in-law of the Western Kṣatrapa ruler Nahapāna Uṣavadāta are the internal sources that assist in determining a date for this conflict. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's Nasik Cave III inscription dating to his eighteenth regnal year stated that he granted the village Ajakālaka, which was previously owned by Uṣavadāta, to the monks at Triraśmi.<sup>14</sup> Therefore sometime between his first and eighteenth regnal years, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi regained control of his territory and granted land previously possessed by the Western Kṣatrapas. In conjunction with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's Nasik inscription, three inscriptions of Uṣavadāta are dated to Nahapāna's regnal years forty-one, forty-two, and forty-six.<sup>15</sup> Although Uṣavadāta's inscriptions are silent on the conflict between these two powers, the presence of these inscriptions at Nasik, Junnar, and Karle indicates that the Western Kṣatrapas established a political presence in this region. From these inscriptions the Sātavāhana-Western Kṣatrapa conflict must have taken place prior to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi eighteenth year and after Nahapāna forty-sixth year.

These regnal years can be correlated with the external evidence found in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* in order to establish a date for this conflict and determine the start of the Sātavāhana dynasty. The *Periplus* is a navigational guide for western merchants trading in the Indian Ocean, and has been dated to the mid-first century CE through references in this text to the Nabataean king Malichus II who ruled between ca. 40-70 CE (Casson 1989: 7). A passage in the *Periplus* mentioned a conflict between two neighboring powers in the western Deccan, in which

---

<sup>14</sup> Pkt. *gotamīputo siri-sadakaṇi ānapayati govadhane amaca viṅhupālita gāme aparakakhaḍiye ya khetam ajakālakiyaṃ uṣabhadatena bhūtaṃ nivatanasatāni be 200 eta amhakheta nivatanasatāni be 200 imesa pavajitāna tekirasiṇa virarāma...*, "Gautamīputra Śrī Satakarni commands Viṅhupālita, the officer at Govadhana: The Ajakālakiya field in the village of Western Kakhāḍi, previously enjoyed by Uṣavadāta – two hundred – 200 – nivartanas, - that our field – two hundred – 200 – nivartanas – we confer on those Tekirasi ascetics..." (Senart 1905-6: 71-2).

<sup>15</sup> For the complete inscriptions of Uṣavadāta see Mirashi 1981: 95-105 and Senart 1905-6:78-87.

Nambanos (Nahapāna) directed sea-borne trade to the city of Barygaza (Bharuch) in response to disruptions of trade at the port of Kalliena (Kalyāna) initiated by the elder Sandanes (Sātakarṇi) (Casson 1989: 83). This identification of Nahapāna in the *Periplus* places his rule to the mid-first century CE.<sup>16</sup> Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi defeated the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas by his eighteenth regnal year and Caṣṭana, the founder of the Kārdamaka Kṣatrapa line, came to power in ca. 78 CE, therefore ca. 60 CE (78 – 18) would be an approximate date for the start of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's rule (Shastri 1998: 65). With the date of the Sātavāhana-Western Kṣatrapa conflict fixed to the mid-first century CE, the date of the Naṇeghāt statue gallery and the early Sātavāhanas becomes more certain. Neither the Naṇeghāt royal statue gallery nor Nāganikā's inscription contain dates, but paleographic features place this inscription to the latter half of the first century BCE (Sircar 1965: 189). Since no epigraphic and limited numismatic evidence exists for Sātavāhana rulers between Vediśrī and Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, then only a limited number of years could have elapsed between these two rulers. In assigning an average reign of twenty-five years for the rulers of the preceding four Sātavāhana generations (Vediśrī, Sātakarṇi, Kṛṣṇa, and Simuka) this would place the start of this dynasty in ca. 40 BCE, or the mid-first century BCE that coincides with paleographic evidence.

After defeating the Western Kṣatrapas, the second phase of the Sātavāhana dynasty began with the two long reigns of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (ca. 60-90 CE) and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (ca. 91-118 CE). The relative proliferation of inscriptions left by these rulers indicates that they had effectively reestablished Sātavāhana authority in the Deccan. After the death of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, the Sātavāhana dynasty was ruled by Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi, and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Skanda Sātakarṇi who appear to be Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi's brothers due to their common matronymic (Shastri 1998: 116-27).

---

<sup>16</sup> For a more concise date of the Nahapāna see section 4.2.

Numismatic evidence exists for all three kings, suggesting that they each enjoyed a period of rule over the Sātavāhana kingdom (Sarma 1980: 99-101; Dutta 1990: 52-9). The only epigraphic evidence for this succession of kings is a short two line inscription found on a stone in Banavasi composed by the chief queen of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi, but unfortunately this inscription does not provide a regnal year (Mirashi 1981: 59-62). However, this inscription does suggest that Sātavāhana influence extended into the southern Deccan. Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi (ca. 170-98 CE) was the last significant Sātavāhana ruler who composed multiple inscriptions, spanning twenty-seven regnal years, and issued numerous coins in his name.

The decline of the Sātavāhana dynasty occurred sometime after Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi (ca. 170-98 CE) and before the rise of the Ikṣvāku dynasty in ca. 225 CE. During the last few decades of the Sātavāhana dynasty the material evidence narrows to a few coins and inscriptions concentrated in the eastern Deccan. Only two Sātavāhana rulers, Caṇḍa Sātakarṇi and Puḷumāvi, have both numismatic and inscriptional evidence. The coins of Caṇḍa Sātakarṇi were located in the coastal regions of the eastern Deccan and an undated inscription near Koḍavalī, also in the eastern Deccan, was composed during the rule of Caṇḍasvāti (Pkt. *caṃ[d]sātisa*), who is believed to be Caṇḍa Sātakarṇi (Dutta 1990: 137-8; Mirashi 1981: 82-4).<sup>17</sup> Puḷumāvi is the last Sātavāhana king listed in the *Purāṇic* genealogies. Four of Puḷumāvi's coins were contained in the Tarhala hoard found in the Akola district of Maharashtra and the Adoṇī Rock inscription, located in the Bellārī district of Karnataka was dated to Puḷumāvi's eighth regnal year (Dutta 1990: 131; Mirashi 1981: 85-7). Gautamīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi's Nāgārjunakoṇḍa pillar inscription was dated to his sixth regnal year, but he did not mint coins (Mirashi 1981: 81-2). The short regnal years in all these inscriptions and the paucity of

---

<sup>17</sup> The date on this inscription is damaged but appears to contain two numerical figures. Mirashi takes the first numeral as ten, interprets the second figure as one, and assigns the regnal year eleven for this inscription (Mirashi 1981: 83).

numismatic evidence suggest a brief period of rule for each of these kings. The locations of these later Sātavāhana inscriptions, primarily in the eastern Deccan, suggest that during the Sātavāhana decline their power shifted to the east, perhaps due to a resurgence of power by the Western Kṣatrapas. This evidence led Mirashi to correlate Vijaya Sātakarṇi's pillar inscription at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa with the establishment of a new eastern Sātavāhana capital Vijayapuri, which is an alternate name for Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Mirashi 1981: 81-2). This new center of power was evidently short-lived, because in ca. 225 CE the Ikṣvāku dynasty emerged in the eastern Deccan.

## **2.2. Impact of the Sātavāhana Dynasty on the Early Historic Deccan.**

Sātavāhana rule ushered in a period political consolidation in the early historic Deccan. This political cohesion reflected in Sātavāhana epigraphic and numismatic evidence facilitated the economic and social transitions that took place in the early historic Deccan. The Sātavāhana title *dakṣiṇāpathapati*, Lord of the Deccan, found in inscriptions from both the first and second dynastic phases merged the geographical borders of the early historic Deccan with the political objectives of the Sātavāhanas. This title indicates that the Sātavāhana kings considered themselves rulers over this entire region, but the actual implementation of political control by dynastic powers in the early historic period is difficult to determine (Stein 1998: 80-2). Nevertheless, only the Sātavāhanas claimed the title Lord of the Deccan in the early historic period.

The first example of the title *dakṣiṇāpathapati* attributed to a Sātavāhana king was in Queen Nāganikā's Naṇeghāt inscription dated to the latter half of the first century BCE (Mirashi 1981: 11). The second line of this inscription reads, *[vi]rasa sūrasa apratihatacakasa dakṣiṇā[paṭha]pa[tino]*, “of the heroic, brave, and invincible lord of the *dakṣiṇāpathapati*”

(Mirashi 1981: 13-5).<sup>18</sup> The historical context of this inscription, composed at the beginning of Sātavāhana period when their authority appears to be concentrated in the western Deccan suggests that this title was as a ceremonial designation, in view of the minimal corresponding evidence for Sātavāhana control over the entire Deccan. The second occurrence of the title Lord of the Deccan was in the Nasik Cave inscription of Balasiri, the mother of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and paternal grandmother of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, dated to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi's nineteenth year (ca. 110 CE). In this inscription, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi was referred to as a *dakṣiṇāpathesaro* (Skt. *dakṣiṇāpatheśvara*), which also means Lord of the Deccan.<sup>19</sup> In the Naṅeghāt inscription the Sātavāhana kings claimed authority through the performance of Vedic sacrifices, but in Balasiri's inscription the Sātavāhanas earned this title by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's defeat of the Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas, and the Kṣaharāta line of the Western Kṣatrapas.<sup>20</sup> The Sātavāhana self-appointed title of *dakṣiṇāpathapati*, Lord of the Deccan, was supported by the numismatic evidence of the Sātavāhanas found throughout the Deccan.

### 2.2.1 Sātavāhana Currency.

The minting of Sātavāhana coins was a significant transition in the economic system of the early historic Deccan. Localized production of punch-marked coins were found in the Deccan predating the Sātavāhana dynasty, but the proliferation of coins bearing the names Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi (ca. 10 BCE-45 CE) indicates that a change in the economic system of the Deccan occurred in the early Sātavāhana period (Dutta 1990: 225). The following map

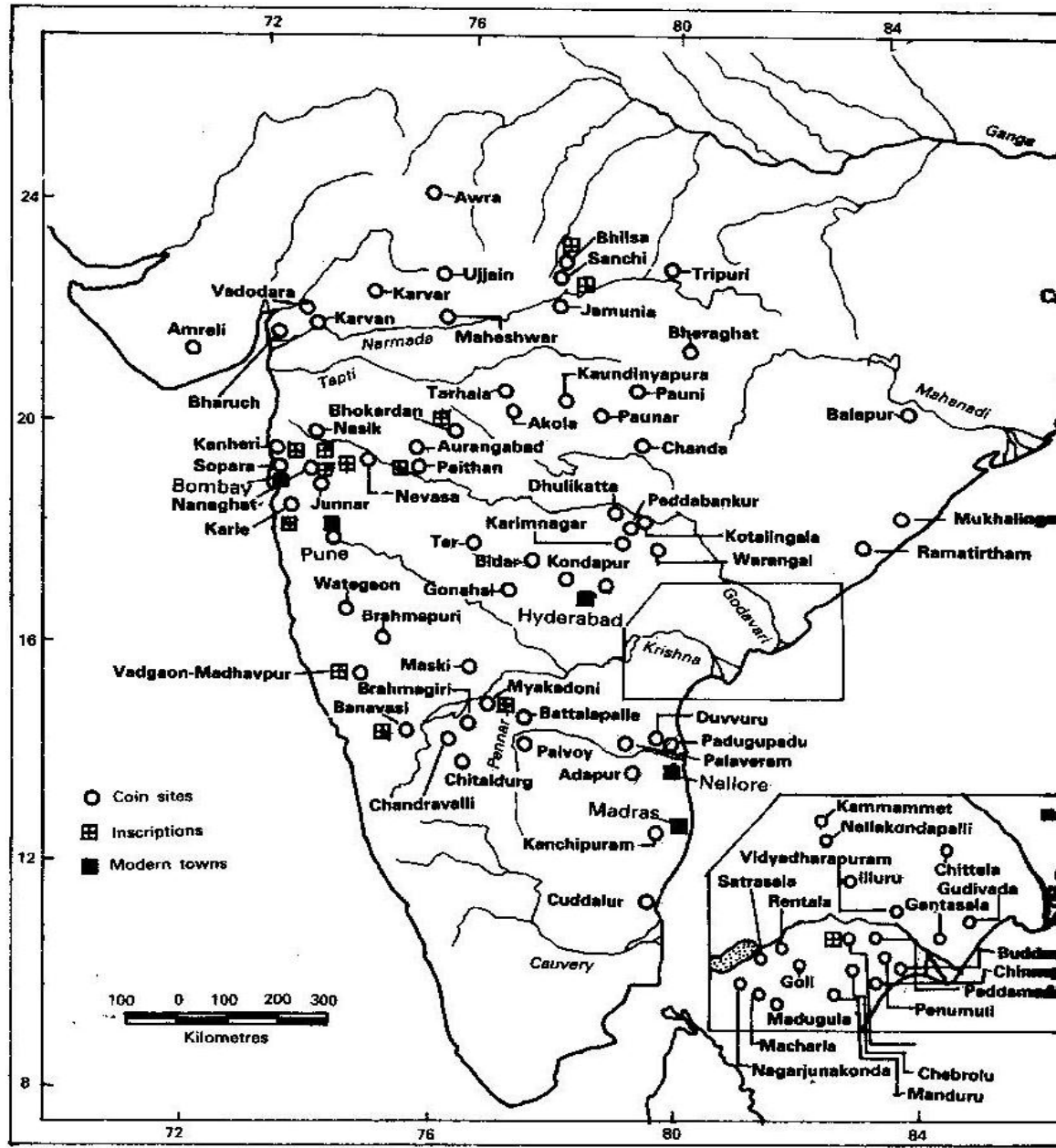
---

<sup>18</sup> Due to damage in the second line of this inscription it is unclear which Sātavāhana king was being referred to as a *dakṣiṇāpathapati*, and all that remains of the second line is the quoted phrase (Mirashi 1981: 13-5).

<sup>19</sup> Due to damage on the rock-face in this part of the inscription, Senart reconstructed this phrase as [*dakṣiṇā*]pathesaro; it actually reads: ...pathesaro (Senart 1905-6: 60-1).

<sup>20</sup> Pkt. *saka-yavana-palhava-nisūdanasa*, "[he] who destroyed the Śakas-Yavanas-Palhavas;" *khakharātavasa-niravasesakarasa*, "[he] who rooted out the Khakharāta race" (Senart 1905-6: 60-1).

shows the distribution of Sātavāhana coinage in the Deccan.



Distribution of Sātavāhana coinage

(Ray 1986: 150)

This state sponsored currency standardized forms exchange throughout this region and this standardization facilitated commercial interactions along inter-regional trade networks. The Sātavāhanas minted lead, potin, copper, and silver coins that suggest a moneyed economy

emerged in the early historic Deccan during this period (Ray 1986: 157). A moneyed economy would allow trade items, both regional and foreign, to be exchanged at a fixed rate over the entire Deccan. The wide distribution of Sātavāhana coins in the Deccan show that this currency was circulating throughout these trade networks.

Coins hoards provide a perspective to the amount of currency circulating in the Deccan during the Sātavāhana period. A coin hoard found at Jogalthembi, near Nasik, contained 13,250 silver coins of Nahapāna, many of which were counter-struck by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. This coin hoard of counter-struck coins supports inscriptional evidence of a Western Kṣatrapa presence in the Sātavāhana territory as well as a Sātavāhana victory over these invaders (Ray 1986: 155). In addition to the Jogalthembi hoard, Sātavāhana coins hoards have been found at Tarhala (1600 potin coins), Chanda (183 potin coins), Wategaon (682 lead coins and 2 cooper coins), Bidar (over 1000 Śrī Sātakarṇi cooper coins), two at Brahmapuri (one containing 1,862 lead coins and 100 cooper coins, and the other containing 600 lead and cooper coins), and Peddabankur (24,345 coins) (Dutta 1990: 127-208; Ray 1986: 157). The large volume of Sātavāhana coins distributed throughout the Deccan illustrates the transformation of the economic system and the increase in commercial interactions that occurred in the early historic period.

### **2.2.2. First Phase of the Sātavāhana Dynasty.**

The emergence of the Sātavāhana dynasty in the first century BCE initiated the transformation of the early historic Deccan. The introduction of a state sponsored currency system spurred commercial interactions in the Deccan. Centers of localized production and trade networks that had existed from the Mauryan Period were enhanced through the stability provided

by this nascent political power. The increase in commercial interactions connected these nodes of production and facilitated the increase in urbanization in the Deccan. The inscriptions of the first subset of Sātavāhana rulers offer a glimpse into the economic, political, and social conditions of the early historic Deccan.

The record of the Vedic sacrifices performed in Nāganikā's Naneghāt inscription reflects the social and economic condition of the Deccan in the early Sātavāhana period. This inscription provided a comprehensive list of the fees (*dakṣiṇā*) paid to Brahmins for conducting these kingship ceremonies: cows, villages, coins, garments, horses, elephants, grain, and silver objects were the fees paid by the Sātavāhanas (Mirashi 1981: 11-6). These fees attest to the flourishing economic conditions in the Deccan during the first phase of the Sātavāhana dynasty as well as the establishment of Brahmanical communities in the Deccan by the first century CE. The garments (Pkt. *paṭa*) mentioned in this inscription were most likely made from cotton produced in the central Deccan (Ray 1987: 69). Silver coins minted by the second subset of Sātavāhana rulers indicates that this metal was available in the Deccan, and the silver objects listed in this inscription were most likely made by local artisans.<sup>21</sup> The *Periplus* states that clothing and silver-wares were items exchanged at the Western Kṣatrapa port city of Barygaza (Baruch) located on the mouth of the Narmada River (Casson 1989: 81). Cows, villages and grain paid to the sacrificial officiants shows the existence of agricultural production in the early historic Deccan that could support larger urban populations. From this inscription, the Sātavāhana military capabilities were expressed in their donations of horses and elephants.

---

<sup>21</sup> The payment of silver pots (*rupāmayiṣya*) is mentioned in line eight of Nāganikā's inscriptions and silver ornaments (*rupālamkāra*) are mentioned in line eleven (Mirashi 1981: 12-3).

Kṛṣṇa's Nāsik inscription records the excavation of a cave by the *mahāmātra* Samaṇa.<sup>22</sup> This is the first recorded Sātavāhana inscription and shows two important features of the early Sātavāhana dynasty. First, Nasik was important Buddhist monastic site in the western Deccan, so Kṛṣṇa's exaction of a cave at this site demonstrates that the early Sātavāhana kings patronized Buddhism as well as performed Brahmanical sacrifices (Trabold 1970). This dual patronage of Buddhist and Brahmins was a common feature of early historic Deccan polity. From Kṛṣṇa and Naganika's inscriptions, it appears that Brahmins were more involved in state institutions through the performance of sacrifices, and that Buddhist monastic sites were supported by political donations. Furthermore, the *mahāmātra* referenced in this inscription indicates that the early Sātavāhana kings developed a bureaucratic form of government comprised of state officials, possibly an adaptation from the Mauryan period whose rulers also employed *mahāmātras* (Thapar 1961: 101-3).

A recently discovered tax seal dated to Sātakarṇi thirtieth year recorded the tax on cotton paid by the *droṇamukha* in the Sarvatobharda district (Falk 2009: 198-200).<sup>23</sup> This seal confirms the cultivation of in the central Deccan referenced in Naganika's inscription and the *Periplus*. This inscription also indicates that the early Sātavāhana rulers had implemented a system of taxation in the central Deccan. State officials, perhaps *mahāmātras*, would be required by the state to collect taxes, which suggest a bureaucratic form of government was implemented by the early Sātavāhana kings. Taxes could only be levied by a recognized political power, and therefore the title *dakṣināpathapati* could possibly be applied to Sātakarṇi.

---

<sup>22</sup> The second line of the inscription reads *samaṇena mahāmātena leṇa kārita*. Senart suggests reading *samaṇena* (inst.sing.mas.) as *samaṇānam* (gen.pl.mas.) and translated this phrase as "this cave has been caused to be made by the officer in charge of the *Śramaṇas*" but admits that this is hypothetical (Senart 1905-6: 93). Mirashi argues that because the reading of *samaṇena* is clear this should be taken as a proper name in apposition to *mahāmāta* and interprets this line as, "the cave has been caused to be made by the *Mahāmātra* Samaṇa" (Mirashi 1981: 2).

<sup>23</sup> The *IEG* defines a *droṇamukha* as "an important city, probably headed by a *droṇāgraka*" (Sircar 1966: 101).

### 2.2.3. Second Phase of the Sātavāhana Dynasty.

The height of Sātavāhana influence in the Deccan occurred in this second phase of this dynasty during the reigns of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, and Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi. Each ruler composed numerous inscriptions and minted a substantial numbers of coins. The resumption of composing inscriptions after the Sātavāhana-Western Kṣatrapa conflict confirmed that the Sātavāhanas reasserted their authority in the Deccan. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is credited with the restoration of Sātavāhana power by defeating the Western Kṣatrapas, and in all three of his inscriptions he resumes donating land to religious sects (Senart 1905-6: 71-5). The Balasiri inscription testifies to the revitalization of Sātavāhana authority in the Deccan by enumerating the territories reclaimed by the Sātavāhanas after the defeat of Nahapāna.<sup>24</sup>

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi composed the most inscriptions of any Sātavāhana ruler, nine out of the thirty-five, indicating this he perpetuated the Sātavāhana revival initiated by his father. The recently published Kanganhalli inscription, located in the southern Deccan along the Bhima River, shows the extent of Sātavāhana influence in the Deccan. The Buddhist stupa at Kanganhalli and nearby Aśokan edicts at Sannati indicates that this was an important site along the Deccan trading networks from the Mauryan Empire up to the Sātavāhana period (Thapar 2008: 249). The inscription itself records the donation of a letter-plate (*ākṣar[i]kapaṭṭa*) and a spreading of coins by the Buddhist nun Dharmasrī in Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi's thirty-fifth year,

---

<sup>24</sup> The locations mentioned in this inscription are as follows: Asika (Adam, Vidarbha), Aśmaka (Ahmadnagar or Nāned-Nizāmābād), Mūlaka (Aurangābād), Surāshṭra (southern Kāthiāwād, Gujarat), Kukura (northern Kāthiāwād), Aparānta (northern Konkaṇa), Anūpa (Indore), Vidarbha, Ākarāvanti (Mālwa); and the mountains that claimed as part of this kingdom are: Vindhya (north of Narmadā), Rikshavat (south of Narmadā), Pāriyātra (Arāvalī range), Sahya (Western Ghats), Kṛishnagiri (Kānherī), Macha (unknown), Śrīstana (Śrīsailam, Andhra Pradesh), Malaya (Nīlgiris), Mahendra (Eastern Ghats), Śvetagiri (hills of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa), Chakora (unknown). In his reconstructed list of these geographic locations Shastri notes that Sātavāhana control over all these locales is most likely exaggerated (Shastri 1998: 68).

which is the longest date of rule for this king.<sup>25</sup> The last significant Sātavāhana ruler, Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi composed four inscriptions and the latest, dated to his twenty-seventh regnal year, was found in the village of Cina on the Andhra coast (Mirashi 1981: 76-7). All three of these Sātavāhana kings enjoyed a long periods of rule and extended Sātavāhana authority over the entire Deccan.

#### 2.2.4. Sātavāhana Statecraft.

Whether Sātavāhana polity resembled a centralized hierarchy controlling the entire Deccan or a decentralized political institution with subordinate kings ruling over localized territory is difficult to determine through the available evidence. However, their inscriptions do provide evidence for the formation of a bureaucratic government during this period, and the increase in urban centers during this period would provide a seat of power from which to administer their rule.

In the first phase of the Sātavāhana period, both Kṛṣṇa and Sātakarṇi's inscriptions identified Sātavāhana officials. A *mahāmātra* was mentioned in Kṛṣṇa's inscriptions, but the exact duties of this official were not specified. An additional official of the early Sātavāhana state was the *āveśanin*, the chief artisan of the king, who was mentioned in the Sāñchī inscription of Sātakarṇi: *rāño sirisātakaṇisa āvesanisa vasiṭhiputasa ānaṃdasa dānaṃ*, "this is a gift of Ānanda, the son of Vāsiṣṭhī, who is the foreman of King Śrī Sātakarṇi" (Mirashi 1981: 4).<sup>26</sup> From this inscription, Ānanda appears to be an intermediary between the state and artisans involved in localized production. This would indicate that the Sātavāhana rulers appointed an

---

<sup>25</sup> Falk compares the word *satharo* in this inscription to *paṭisatharaṇe* found in Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi's Nasik inscription that denotes a spreading out (Skt. *pratisamstarana*). He equates this word with Buddhists texts that refer to Anāthapiṇḍada's spreading out of coins over the Jeta grove in order to purchase the land and establish a monastery. (Falk 2009: 203-4).

<sup>26</sup> The *IEG* defines an *āveśanin* as the chief artisan; the foreman of the artisans (Sircar 1966: 41)

official to oversee production. Although no official is stated in Sātakarṇi's tax seal, some Sātavāhana administrator would have to regulate these taxes. From these inscriptions, the political apparatus in the first phase of the Sātavāhana dynasty consisted of at least two state officials, the *mahāmātra*, and the head of the artisans, the *āveśanin*,

Inscriptions composed in the second phase of the Sātavāhana dynasty mentioned *amātyas* (minister), *mahāsenāpatīs* (generals), and officers who managed land. This increase in the number of officials mentioned in inscriptions during this period might indicate the development of a more complex form of administration during this period. Interestingly, the term *mahāmātra* for a state official was replaced by *amātya* in inscriptions from the second phase of this dynasty. *Amātyas* were referred to inscriptions spanning the second phase of the Sātavāhana dynasty: twice by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, once by Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, and again by Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi (Mirashi 1981: 31, 34, 54, and 69). In addition to *amātyas*, inscriptions from the second phase of the Sātavāhana period included references to military generals, *mahāsenāpatīs*. The title *mahāsenāpati* occurs in Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi's Nasik inscription and in the dedication of a cave at Nasik performed by Vāsu, the wife of the *mahāsenāpati* Bhavagopa, in the seventh year of Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi (Mirashi 1981: 54, 70-71). The *amātya* mentioned in inscriptions of the second phase of the Sātavāhana dynasty might suggest the need for a more complex administrative system during this period expansion and the *mahāsenāpati* would perform the military duties that stemmed from the ongoing confrontation with the Western Kṣatrapas.

Additional evidence for the increased duties of royal officials in the second phase of the Sātavāhana dynasty was found in a phrase accompanying land donations. In the sections concerning the commission of royal land grants, two inscriptions by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and

one by Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi included the phrase: *apāvesa anomasa aloṇakhādaka arāṭhasavinayika savajātapārihārika*, “making it [the monk’s land] not to be entered by royal officers, not to be touched by any of them, not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the district police, [in short] to enjoy all kinds of immunities.”<sup>27</sup> The duties these officials performed were indicated by the restrictions placed on them in these state-granted lands. First, they could enter public lands and, in some capacity, intervene on behalf of the state. Second, the state required officers to control salt production and collect taxes from non-exempt lands. The *mahāmātras*, *amātyas*, *āveśanins*, *mahāsenāpatīs*, and royal officers in charge of land management offer a glimpse into the formation of Sātavāhana statecraft and the political organization in the early historic Deccan.

This chapter examined the history of the historical Deccan over the course of the Sātavāhana dynasty. The Sātavāhanas ruled over this geographical zone for almost three hundred years, and during that time the society and economy of the Deccan changed. The monetary economy introduced by the Sātavāhana kings increased commercial interactions throughout the Deccan and these interconnections integrated this region. These interconnections stimulated the process of urbanization in the early historic Deccan, and the following chapter will examine the process of urbanization in the early historic Deccan.

---

<sup>27</sup> This phrase is in Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi’s Nasik cave II inscription (line 14), Gautamīputra Sātakarnī’s Nasik cave III inscription (line 3), and Gautamīputra Sātakarnī’s Nasik cave III inscription (line 10) Senart 1905-6: 65,71,73. The definition of these terms and their Sanskrit equivalents are found in the *IEG*: *apāveśya* – “prohibits entry by royal agents”; *anavamarśya* – “refers to the freedom of the gift of land from troubles associated with the visit of royal agents”; *alavaṇakhātaka* – “refers to the of the gift of land being dug out or its trees being pierced for salt”; *arāṣṭrasamvinayika* – “refers to the freedom of the gift of land for the administrative control to which the district in which it was situated was subject”; *savajātapārihārika* – “endowed with all kinds of exemptions” (Sircar 1966: 390-2, 403).

### **Chapter 3: The Ikṣvāku Dynasty: Urbanization in the Early Historic Deccan**

Urbanization in the early historic Deccan developed much differently than other areas of South Asia. The physiographic characteristics of the Deccan can be divided into four major sub-regions: the western Deccan, central Deccan, southern Deccan, and eastern Deccan. Each sub-region possessed certain features that facilitated the development of urban centers. The integration of the early historic Deccan during the Sātavāhana period connected these urban centers and catalyzed the process of urbanization by enabling the movement of goods between regions. In the early historic Deccan, cities developed as nodes of exchange along these trade routes, loci of production, seats of political power, and centers of religion. These political, economic, and social components constitute the system that lead to increased urbanization. Urban centers in the early historic Deccan were multi-functional aggregates of these components and developments in one component would affect the entire system, the process Renfrew termed the ‘multiplier effect’ (Renfrew 1984). This chapter will examine this development of urbanization in the early historic Deccan.

The Ikṣvāku period (ca. 225-315-25) provides a clear example of urbanization in the early historic Deccan. The Ikṣvāku capital, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, is the most well documented urban site of the early historic Deccan, and gives a general idea of the layout of urban centers in the early historic Deccan. The numerous inscriptions composed during the Ikṣvāku period reveals the multi-functionality of early historic cities as centers of powers, trade, and religion. After an examination of the archaeology of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and a brief history of the Ikṣvākus, this chapter will focus on the development of urbanization that resulted in the formation of this city and short but vibrant dynasty.

### 3.1. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa: An Early Historic City in the Deccan

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was located on the Krishna River in the eastern Deccan, modern day Andhra Pradesh. Archaeological excavations at this site, conducted before this valley was flooded by the Nagarjuna Dam project in 1966, revealed both secular and religious remains (Longhurst 1938; Ramachandra 1953). The center of this urban site, called the citadel, was surrounded by an 80 foot-wide fortified wall and covered an area approximately 3000 by two 2000 feet. Stables, barracks, residential buildings, and four-tiered tanks were located within the citadel, which might suggest this was the royal residence of the Ikṣvākus. The following map provides the layout of the citadel and surrounding area.

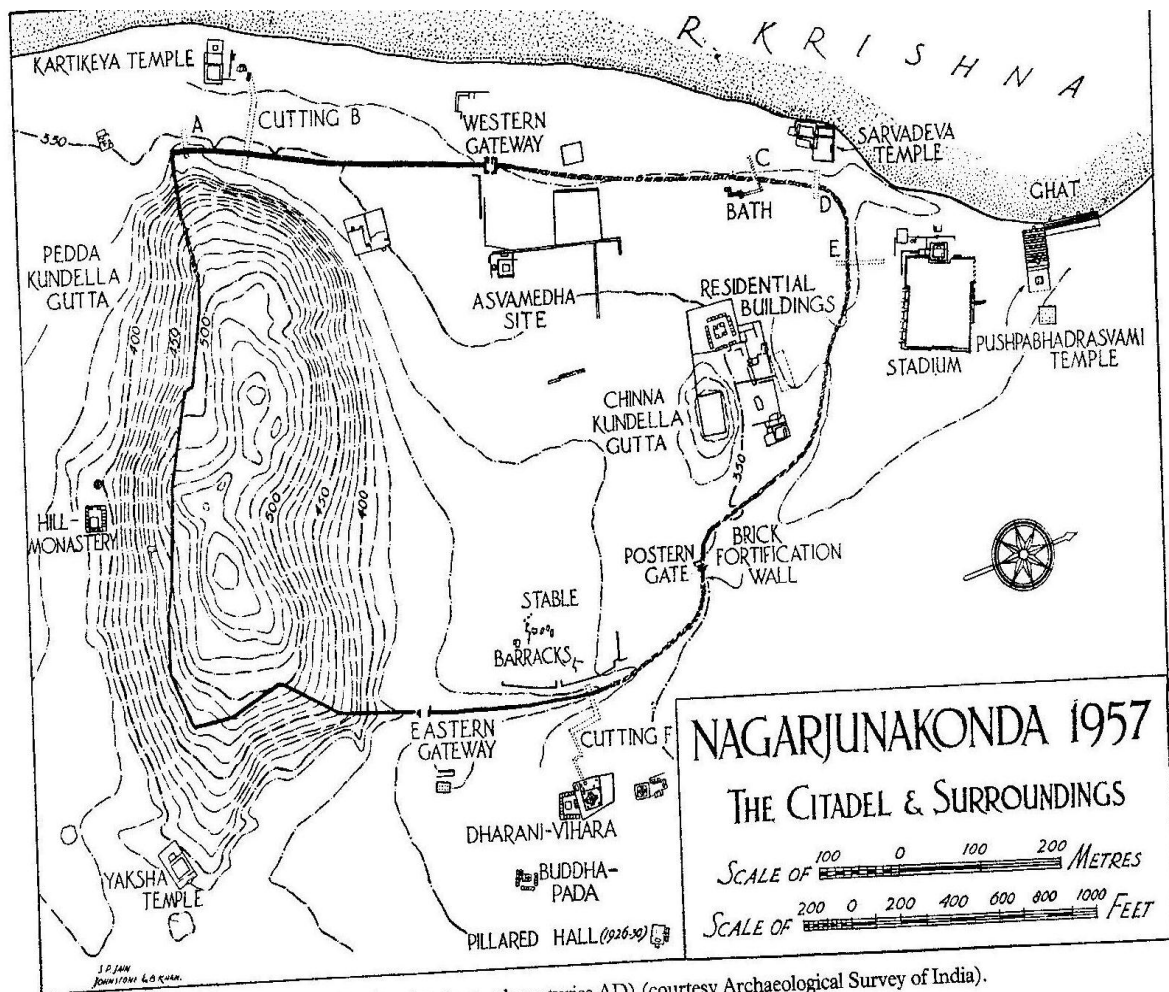


Fig. 12.9. Nagarjunakonda, city plan (c. 2-4th centuries AD) (courtesy Archaeological Survey of India).

A residential sector laid out along planned roads, lanes, and alleys was located to the east of this citadel and terracotta figures, stone weights, and ornaments were found in one building that suggests this building was workshop or artisan quarters (Chakrabarti 1997: 235-6). Additional secular structures at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa included a bathing *ghat* and a stadium, which was possibly modeled on a Roman or Greek archetype (Rosen Stone 1994: 9-11). The religious sites at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa included Brahmanical temples situated along the river and more than thirty Buddhist stūpas and *viharas* were located in the interior valley (Sarkar 1972: 24-42). The *mahācaitya*, or Great Stupa, located approximately an eighth of a mile to the east of the citadel measured 106 feet in diameter and approximately 70-80 feet in height, and was believed to contain a relic of the Buddha (Rosen Stone 1994: 14).<sup>28</sup> The *mahācaitya* was most likely completed by the reign of the second Ikṣvāku king Vīrapuruṣadatta (ca. 240-50 – 265-75 CE) as a number of *āyaka* pillars were erected at this stupa in his sixth regnal year.<sup>29</sup> These numerous Buddhist remains indicate that Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was an important center of Buddhism in the early historic period. From this urban center the Ikṣvāku kings ruled their kingdom.

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa represents a stage in the process of early historic urbanization in the Deccan that began in the Sātavāhana period. Unfortunately, comparable early historic urban sites in the Deccan from which to assess this process of urbanization are not available due to limited excavations. Fortified walls dated to the Sātavāhana period have been found at Adam, Brahmapuri (Kolhapur), and Sannati, indicating the presence of enclosed urban centers similar to the citadel found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. In excavations at Paithan, the capital of the Sātavāhana

---

<sup>28</sup> Longhurst claimed to have found a pot containing a bone in a chamber at the *mahācaitya*, so perhaps this site at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa did contain a relic of the Buddha (Longhurst 1939: 17).

<sup>29</sup> Thirteen of the thirty-two inscriptions attributed to Vīrapuruṣadatta are dated to his sixth regnal year, and all thirteen inscriptions record the establishment of *āyaka* pillars at the *mahācaitya* by female members of the Ikṣvāku royal family or wives of high ranking officers. This corpus of inscriptions indicates that the *mahācaitya* was constructed by at least the sixth year of Vīrapuruṣadatta. These inscriptions are labeled A.3-A.4, B.2-B.5, C.1-C.5, D.1, and X (uncertain location) in Vogel's survey of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions (Vogel 1929-30: 13-4).

dynasty, evidence was found for an urban center that spread over four square kilometers and contained a few early historic settlements, but no citadel complex or evidence of city planning as seen at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Chakrabarti 1995: 306). The dearth of comparable urban sites in the Deccan does not connote an absence of cities in the early historic period, but is more a reflection on the limited archaeological research conducted in this region. For this reason, the archaeological remains at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa present the clearest picture of early historic urbanization in the Deccan.

In archaeological artifacts and sculptural remains at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa continuity is apparent between the Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku periods. A terracotta mould for a silver portrait coin of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi was found in the pre-Ikṣvāku layers at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Vijaya Sātakarṇi erected a pillar at this city. This evidence indicates that the urban center of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa existed prior to the rise of the Ikṣvāku dynasty and Sātavāhana influence extended into this region. Furthermore, the sculptural art that emerged at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was heavily influenced by the Amarāvātī style. Amarāvātī was an important Buddhist center in the eastern Deccan during the Sātavāhana period, and the adaptation of the Amarāvātī styles by the artisans at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa demonstrates continuity in artistic production after the decline of the Sātavāhana dynasty.<sup>30</sup> An example of Amarāvātī influence on Ikṣvāku art was found on the Kumāranandin panel that depicted four scenes from the life of the Buddha. Each scene was centered in a roundel bordered by a *mithuna* couple. This format of depicting scenes of the

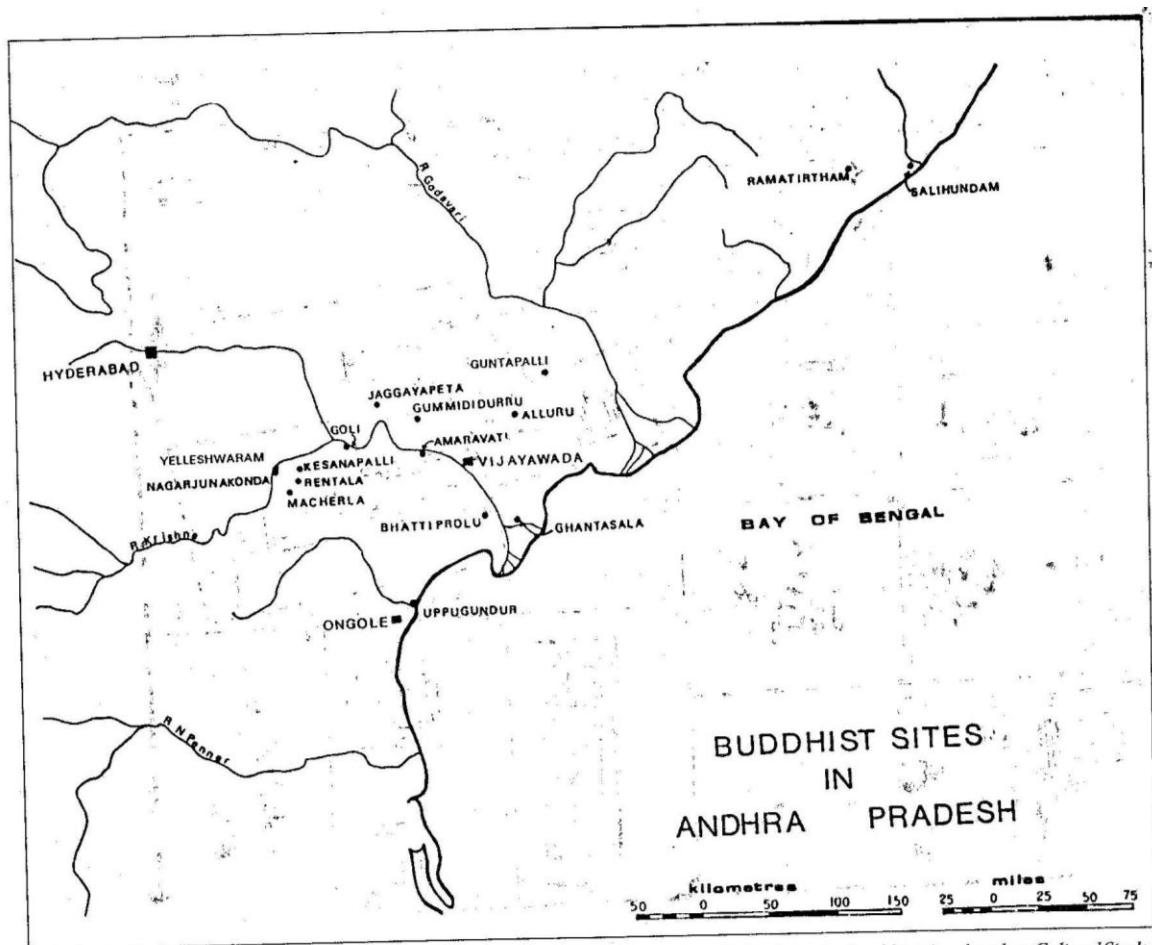
---

<sup>30</sup> Shimada dates the first phase of the railing construction at Amarāvātī from ca. 50 BCE to early first century CE by comparing similarities of relief sculptures at Amarāvātī with the *torāṇa* gateway at Sāñchī. The second phase is dated between the late-first century CE to the early-second century CE based on the relief features that fall between the Karle and Nasik period and Kuṣāṇa art of Mathurā and an inscription Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (ca. 91-118 CE). The railing relief sculptures of the third phase are more developed than the dome slab that bears an inscription of Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi (168-190 CE), which would place the third phase in the third century CE after the reign of Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi. These relief sculptures reflect styles found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and would place the third railing phase in Ikṣvāku period around the mid-third century CE (Shimada 2006: 129-32).

Buddha's life in roundels was a prominent feature on the *mahācaitya* railing at Amarāvātī, and is a clear example of stylistic borrowing by the artisans at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Artistically, frieze panels at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa were not as deeply incised as sculptures at Amarāvātī and the plane of composition was flattened, but these two styles were very similar (Rosen Stone 1994: 58-63).

### 3.2. Historical Outline of the Ikṣvāku Dynasty.

The Ikṣvāku dynasty emerged in the eastern valley of the Krishna River. The following map gives an overview of the Ikṣvāku territory in the eastern Deccan.



1. Map of significant Buddhist sites in Andhra Pradesh (adapted by Swagata Guha from K. Krishna Murthy, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa: a Cultural Study*, Delhi, 1977, fig.1).

The Buddhist center of Phanigiri, the location of Rudrapuruṣadatta's inscription, is not shown on this map but is located about one-hundred and twenty kilometers northwest of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

The Ikṣvāku dynasty was one of several localized power bases that emerged in the Deccan after the decline of the Sātavāhanas.<sup>31</sup> All of these kingdoms benefited from the socio-economic transformations that took place in the Deccan during the previous three centuries of Sātavāhana rule. The Ikṣvāku rulers inherited an integrated land and sea based trading network, models of statecraft, and a developed urban center from which to rule. The collapse of an overarching polity did not trigger the breakdown of trade networks or the demise of urban centers; but rather the Ikṣvākus and other localized powers built upon the socio-economic transitions that had materialized in the early historic Deccan.

The eighty-five Ikṣvāku inscriptions found in the eastern Deccan provide an overall chronology of the Ikṣvāku rulers and the regnal years cited in these inscriptions indicate an approximate length of rule for each king. The exact dates for the reigns of these kings are difficult to determine, and the dates provided by Rosen Stone align with a longer chronology of Ikṣvāku rulers based on regnal years (Rosen Stone 1994: 7). The recent discovery of Rudrapuruṣadatta's Phanigiri inscription dated to his sixteenth year supports a longer chronology for the Ikṣvāku dynasty. The genealogy of the Ikṣvāku kings is found on a memorial pillar commemorating Vaṃmabhaṭāya, the mother of the last Ikṣvāku king Rudrapuruṣadatta (ca. 290-300 – 315-25 CE) (Sircar 1961-2: 20-22). In this inscription she was referred to as the wife of Ehavala Cāṃtamūla (ca. 265-75 – 290-300 CE), daughter-in-law of Vīrapuruṣadatta (ca. 240-50 – 265-75 CE), and grand daughter-in-law of Cāṃtamūla (ca. 225 – 240-50 CE). An inscription that recorded the construction of a Puṣpabhadrasvāmin (Śiva) temple by Rudrapuruṣadatta's brother Prince Vīrapuruṣadatta traced the genealogy of this Prince through these same kings (Sircar 1961-2: 17-20). These two inscriptions confirmed the chronology of this dynasty, and

---

<sup>31</sup> For a comprehensive history of the successor states of the Sātavāhanas that emerged in the Deccan and southern peninsular regions see Sircar: 1939.

subsequent inscriptions dated to Rudrapuruṣadatta's regnal years indicate that he became king after the death of his father Ehavala Cāṃtamūla.

The identity of the Ikṣvākus prior to their rise is unknown, most likely they were a high ranking clan in the eastern Deccan, perhaps *mahātalavaras* who are frequently mentioned in Ikṣvāku inscriptions.<sup>32</sup> Only two inscriptions of Cāṃtamūla, the founder of this dynasty, have been found at Rentala and Kesānapalli about twenty kilometers east of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Raghunath 2001: 69-71). The absence of Cāṃtamūla's inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa supports the theory that the Ikṣvākus were feudatories ruling in the vicinity of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. After the collapse of the Sātavāhana dynasty these regional rulers assumed power at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

The evidence for Cāṃtamūla's establishment of the Ikṣvāku dynasty was well documented. Ikṣvāku *āyaka* and memorial pillar inscriptions eulogized Cāṃtamūla as a *virūpakhapati-mahāsenā-parigahita agihot-āgiṭhoma-vajapey-āsvamedha-yājīn aneka-hirana-koṭi-go-satasahasā-halā-satasahasā-padāyīn...*, “[he who] is favored by Mahāsenā, the lord of Virūpakhas, the offerer of Agnihotra, Agniṣṭhoma, Vājapeya, and Aśvamedha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine [cows], and hundred thousands of ploughs (*of land*)...” (Vogel 1929-30: 21). The performance of these Vedic sacrifices, most significantly the *aśvamedha* sacrifice, signified the establishment of a new dynastic order in the eastern Deccan. In addition to performing Vedic sacrifices, the reference to Mahāsenā, an epitaph of Śiva, indicates a Brahmanical connection with this dynasty. The *āyaka* pillars that contain this Brahmanical epitaph of Cāṃtamūla were erected on platforms situated at the four cardinal directions of the Buddhist *mahācaitya*. All of these *āyaka* pillars, dated to Vīrapuruṣadatta's

---

<sup>32</sup> The *IEG* defines a *mahātalavara* as, “a title of the nobility or of subordinate rulers... the designation of the administrator of a city or of the police officer in charge of a city” (Sircar 1966: 334).

sixth regnal year, were donated by female members of the Ikṣvāku royal family and one pillar was erected by Mahākamḍasiri, the wife of a *mahātalavara*.<sup>33</sup>

Like the Sātavāhana kings, the rulers of the Ikṣvāku dynasty patronized both Brahmins and Buddhist, but in Ikṣvāku inscriptions there was a clear distinction between gender and religious donations. The males primarily donated to Brahmanical institutions and established temples and the females patronized Buddhism and erected pillars at Buddhist sites. This suggests that there was a close association between kingship and Brahmanical institutions, and Ikṣvāku donations to Brahmins by kings would preserve their royal status. Buddhism attracted merchants and artisans, therefore patronage by the women of the Ikṣvāku royal family would strengthen connections with the commercial communities residing at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Through this royal patronage both Brahmanism and Buddhism flourished at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The donations to these religious institutions, either male or female, originated from the same royal treasury and the merit accrued through these donations would be shared by the royal family.

Inscriptions from the Ikṣvāku period and archaeological evidence from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa show that commercial interactions were flourishing during this period. The Kumāranandin panel that depicted the scenes from the life of the Buddha was donated by a Kumāranandin who mentioned his occupation was a *śreṣṭhin*, a banker or merchant (Sircar 1963-4: 13).

Archaeological artifacts of gold and silver ornaments, shell and glass beads, and assorted jewelry have been documented at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Sarkar 1972: 55-8). This evidence for local production and merchants residing in this city suggest Nāgārjunakoṇḍa functioned as a

---

<sup>33</sup> Cāṃtisiri, the co-uterine sister of Cāṃtamūla, erected the majority of *āyaka* pillars at the *mahācaitya* accounting for eleven of the seventeen extent pillars (A.2-A.4, B.3-B.4, C.1, C.3, D.2-D.4, and X (unknown location)). Aḍavi-Cāṃtisiri, the daughter of Cāṃtamūla erected one pillar (B.2). Two daughters, Bapisiriṇikā and Chāṭhisiri, of Haṃmasiriṇikā, another co-uterine sister of Cāṃtamūla erected the pillars C.2 and C.4 respectively. Bapisiriṇikā was also a wife of Vīrapuruṣadatta. Pillar B.5 was erected by a queen named Rudradharabhaṭārikā, a daughter of the *mahārāja* of Ujjain. Mahākamḍasiri, the wife of a *mahātalavara* erected pillar C.5. Pillar B.1 is too damaged to offer a clear reading for the donor (Vogel 1929-30: 13-4).

commercial center in the early historic Deccan. An inscription found at Uppuguṇḍūr, about seventy five miles to the southeast of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa along the Andhra coast, recorded the deed of Saṃghila, a son of the merchant (Pkt. *vāniya*, Skt. *vāṇija*) Vaira (Chabra 1959-60: 191). This inscription suggests that Ikṣvāku authority extended to the coastal areas of the eastern Deccan and maritime trade was being conducted during this period. Lastly, the image on Vaṃmabhaṭāya's memorial pillar erected by her son Rudrapuruṣadatta depicted a toilet scene that Rosen Stone argues was based on the Roman prototype of Venus and cupid. The Roman influence in Ikṣvāku art combined with the Roman or Greek style stadium and Roman amphorae and coins found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa suggests exchange along long-distance trade networks between the Deccan and the west continued through the Ikṣvāku period (Rosen Stone 1985). Nāgārjunakoṇḍa possessed the political, economic, and social components of urbanization and this city represents a multi-functional urban center in early historic Deccan.

### **3.3. The Process of Urbanization in the Early Historic Deccan.**

The process of urbanization in the Deccan began prior to the rise of the Sātavāhana dynasty. Evidence for Neolithic (ca. 2300-1800 BCE), Chalcolithic (ca. 1800-1050 BCE), and Megalithic (ca. 1050-500 BCE) settlements have been found throughout the Deccan. In the pre-Sātavāhana period of the early historic phase (ca. 500 BCE – 400 CE) an increase in pottery shards and iron implements were detected in excavations at early historic urban sites (Parasher-Sen 1993: 104-114; Sankalia 1955: 7). By the third century BCE localized production in the southern Deccan and long distance trade at Sopara drew the interest of the Mauryan Empire based northern South Asia as reflected in the Aśokan edicts found in these areas.

Localized production and the development of trade networks during the Sātavāhana period resulted in increased urbanization in the early historic Deccan. The interconnections forged through trade routes integrated the sub-regions of the Deccan, and urban centers became the hubs of exchange. The political consolidation of the Sātavāhana dynasty was not the cause of urbanization in the early historic period, but one component of the urban system. The introduction of a monetized economy, increase in commercial interactions, and political stability that occurred in the early historic Deccan during the Sātavāhana period greatly accelerated the process of urbanization, which represents the ‘multiplier effect’ of urbanization theorized by Renfrew. Early historic cities in the Deccan functioned as centers of production, bases of political authority, and nodes of trades. The primary urban centers that developed in the early historic Deccan are shown in the following map.



(Sinopoli 2001: 165)

The particular geographic and ecological features of the Deccan sub-regions – the western Deccan the Konkan coast and Sahyadri mountains, the central Deccan of the upper plateau, the southern Deccan comprising the Krishna River basin, and eastern Deccan including the Godavari and Krishna River deltas and Eastern Ghats – shaped the function of these early urban sites (refer to map on page 10). Geographical and ecological features placed certain limitations on the development and function of urban centers that were not experienced by urban centers in the northern and southern areas of South Asia, but this diversity also contributed to interconnections between the sub-regions. The most significant geographical feature was the mountain range that divided the trading ports along the western coast with the centers of production in the Deccan interior. Trade was funneled through mountain passes that connected the western Deccan with the hinterland, creating inter-regional networks that were unique to the Deccan. An overview of the sub-regions in the Deccan will clarify the process of urbanization in the early historic Deccan.

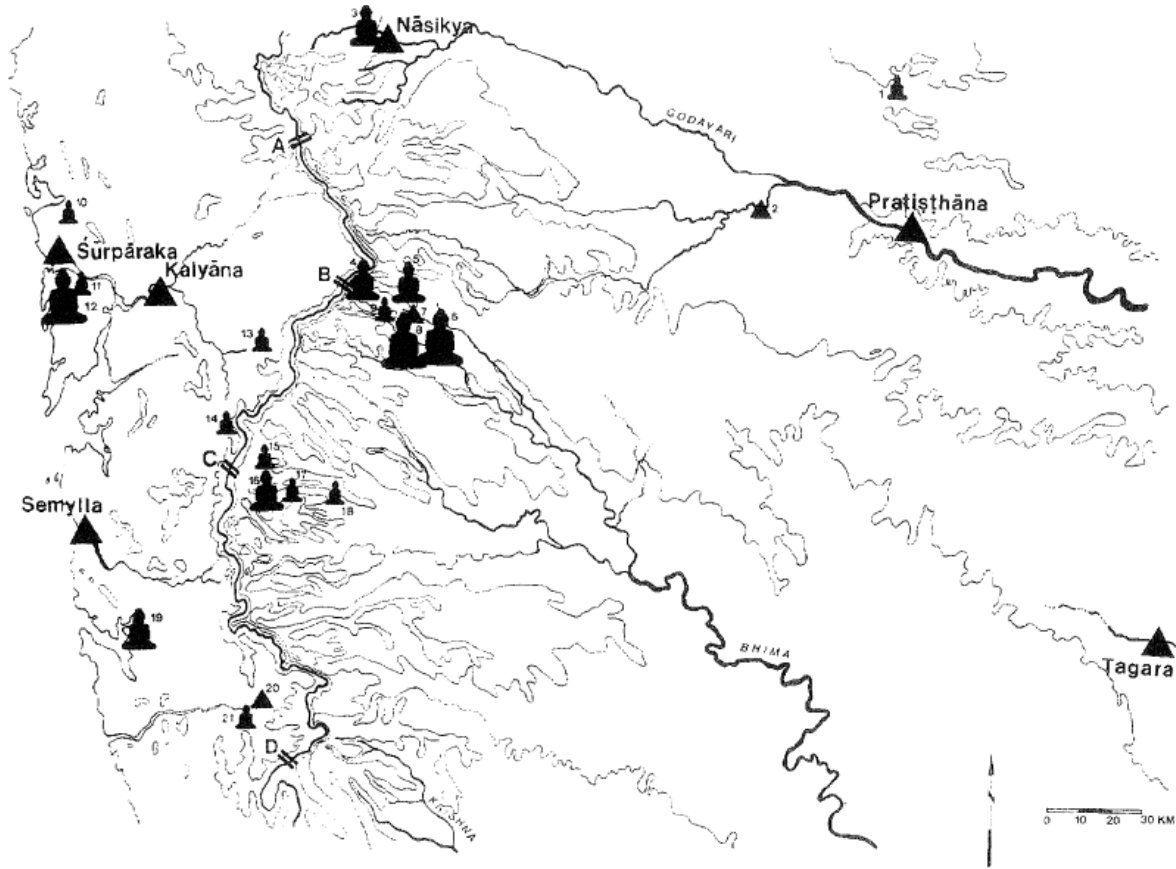
In the western Deccan trade flowed between the coastal trading ports of Sopara and Bharuch and cities in the hinterland. The discovery of Aśokan inscriptions at Sopara and the reference of this site as a port in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* indicate that this city functioned as a trading *entrepôt* from at least the mid-third century BCE up to and most likely past the third century CE. The mountain passes connecting the coast with inland urban centers functioned as conduits of trade. The commodities of exchange that flowed through the Deccan included semi-precious stones (agate, carnelian, red jasper, and onyx), crafted beads, and iron implements. Plants and spices such as spikenard and pepper from the southern peninsula could be transported along these trade routes to eastern and western *entrepôts* (Ray 1986: 125-6). Directly to the east of the ports along the west coast of the Deccan, through the Naneghat pass was the Sātavāhana

capital Paithan. The centralized location of the Paithan was an ideal place from which to establish a center of power (Ray 1986: 31, 69).

The connections between the administrative center at Paithan, the coastal trading port of Sopara, and the cotton producing city at Ter in the central Deccan constituted the primary arteries of trade in the Deccan. Paithan appears to be the Sātavāhana capital as this area contained a largest number of settlements in this period (Ray 1986: 31). Unfortunately, no extensive excavations have been conducted at Paithan to provide conclusive evidence of a palace complex or layout of this urban center. This city was located in the fertile Godavari Valley and served as a gateway for trade moving from the production centers in the central Deccan through the mountain passes to the coastal trading ports in the west. Transportation along the Godavari River allowed for trade from the western and central Deccan to move to ports in the eastern Deccan. In addition, Paithan was located along the northern trade route that passed through Ajanta towards the city of Maheshwar. Maheshwar was a crossing point on the Narmada River for trade moving to the north as well as down-river towards the coastal port of Bharuch. The Periplus states that it took twenty days to travel from Bharuch to Paithan, and from Paithan it took ten days to reach Ter (Casson 1989: 83). The Sopara-Paithan-Ter corridor was the major trade routes in the Deccan and this region also constituted the core area of Sātavāhana power.

The mountain passes of the western Deccan were the transit points of the coastal-hinterland trade and Buddhist centers were established in most of these passes. There is little evidence of urban development at these monastic sites, but they appeared to function as part of the larger Deccan trading network (Morrison 1995: 215-6). Buddhist monks who resided at these sites were not producers but consumers, so dynamics of exchange and distribution were required to support these populations (Morrison 1995: 217). Merchants provided non-

agricultural necessities for these monastic centers and Sātavāhana patronage supported the excavation of caves and provided endowments of land for local cultivation. In return, the monastic sites provided the acquisition of merit through donations and the assurance of a safe place to rest. This map of Buddhist sites in the western Deccan illustrates the connection between monastic sites and trade routes.



*Figure 5* Buddhist monastic sites and settlements along the Western Ghats. Contour intervals are 300 m., except for contour near Paithan (Pratisthana), which is 450 m. elevation. Settlements are indicated by triangles, Buddhist monastic sites by Buddha figures. For figure scale, see text. Key to site numbers: (1) Aurangabad; (2) Nevasa; (3) Nasik; (4) Nanaghat; (5) Ganeshpahar; (6) Manmodi; (7) Junnar; (8) Sivaneri; (9) Tuljalena; (10) Jivdan/Virar; (11) Kondivite; (12) Kanheri; (13) Ambivale; (14) Kondanc; (15) Karle; (16) Bhaja; (17) Bedsa; (18) Shelarwadi; (19) Kuda; (20) Mahad; (21) Kol. Key to Ghat passes: (A) Thalghat; (B) Nanaghat; (C) Bhorghat.

(Morrison 1995: 14)

The Thalghat pass was the most accessible passage for merchant going from Paithan to coastal trading ports to the west. The monastic site of Nasik is located on this pass, and the numerous Sātavāhana and Western Kṣatrapa inscriptions found at this location indicate that this site maintained political and cultural significance for political powers in the Deccan. Directly to the south of Nasik was the Nāṇeghāt pass and Junnar, the largest monastic establishment in the western Deccan. The viability of this monastic site depended on the agricultural production of the adjacent region of the upper Ghod Valley (Ray 1987: 99). Nāṇeghāt is the location of the Nāganikā inscription and the Sātavāhana statue gallery. The statue gallery would remind the merchant who travelled through Nāṇeghāt who was in control of this region. The correlation of Sātavāhana inscriptions near the Buddhist complexes at Nasik and Junnar shows a strong relationship between the state, religious institutions, and trade networks in the early historic Deccan.

The central Deccan functioned as the hub of agricultural and craft production. The central Deccan sub-region is not nearly as fertile as the Gangetic plain but records of agricultural settlements date back to the Savalda culture (ca. 2000 BCE) (Dhavalikar 1988: 7-13). Evidence for the cultivation of staples such as wheat, barley, and millets were found throughout the central Deccan and the number of sites that contained evidence of rice consumption increased in the early historic period, suggesting the possibility of multi-cropping in the winter and summer months (Morrison 1995: 212). The long history of agricultural production would support increased populations that accompanied early historic urbanization. The surplus could be exchanged along trade networks to less productive regions of South Asia, especially those situated along western Deccan coast where the soil does not support intensive agriculture.

In addition to agricultural production, the central Deccan was a center of localized production. The urban site of Ter, situated in the central Deccan between the Godavari and Krishna Rivers, was an important location of cotton cultivation. This city was mentioned as an exporter of cloth in the *Periplus* and dyeing vats have been discovered at this site dating from the early historic period (Ray 1986: 69-70; Huntington 1980: 49). Another example localized production was the large numbers of terracotta figures found in the excavations at Ter. At the nearby early urban center of Bhokardan, both terracotta molds and unfinished semi-precious beads have been unearthed, suggesting an increase of craft specialization in the early historic period (Morrison 1995: 212). This evidence indicates the existence of localized production and cultivation practices that would contribute to early historic urbanization in the Deccan.

The remaining two sub-regions of the eastern and southern Deccan are located along the Krishna river basin, with the southern Deccan encompassing the river's interior and the eastern Deccan situated on its delta. A similar feature of these two regions was the large numbers of megalithic sites located in these respective areas. Megalithic culture, found predominately in the southern peninsula, was typified by burial practices that involved the erection stone monuments and by the extensive use of iron. In the early historic period this culture spread into the Krishna River basin and parts of the central Deccan (Parasher-Sen 1999: 163-4). In contrast, there were no megalithic sites found in the western Deccan, so the iron implements found in the western Deccan might have been transported from megalithic societies in the south (Ray 2006: 117). Aśokan inscriptions were also found in southern Deccan located around known mineral-ore producing sites, attesting to the fact that this region was a long standing producer of raw materials. The areas of the eastern and southern Deccan were connected with other regions in the Deccan, but maintained their own specific functions in relation to the economic development

of early historic urban centers. The southern Deccan produced raw materials for trade, and the eastern Deccan harnessed the agricultural abundance of the deltaic region and possessed coastal trading ports for the transmission of raw materials from the interior. The connection between the physiographic features of the southern and eastern Deccan led to the development of the multifunctional urban center of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

The sub-regional integration in the Deccan served to increase urbanization as economic systems of trade and exchange became more developed, and this was the urban landscape in which the Sātavāhana dynasty emerged. The function of political cohesion introduced by the Sātavāhanas into the Deccan did not supplant the heterarchical socio-economic relationship, but catalyzed the ‘multiplier effect’ within this system to increase urbanization. The socio-economic transitions in the early historic Deccan resulted in development of more complex urban centers. This was an ongoing process, beginning well before the rise of the Sātavāhana dynasty, but the political consolidation of the Sātavāhanas enhanced inter-regional connections through trade networks and stimulated urbanization. The transitions that took place in the Sātavāhana period can be seen in the abundant archaeological remains of the urban center of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

## **Chapter 4: The Western Kṣatrapa Dynasty: Interactions in the Early Historic Deccan**

Commercial and dynastic interactions created links between the sub-regions of the early historic Deccan. Commercial interactions unified the sub-regions of the Deccan into a cohesive economic zone and the relationship between localized production, regional exchange, and long-distance trade crossed political borders and cultural boundaries (Smith 2002; Ray 2006). This economic fluidity resulting from commercial interactions led to dynastic interactions. As people and goods moved along trade networks political powers vied for control over these systems of exchange. Increased urbanization allowed rulers to establish centers of control to exert their authority over larger territories, and dynastic interactions resulted from the negotiations between political powers over authority. The competition between dynasties was resolved by warfare or marriage alliances. Evidence for these two modes of dynastic interactions, military conflict and marriage alliances, are found in Sātavāhana, Western Kṣatrapa, and Ikṣvāku inscriptions. Throughout the early historic period, the Western Kṣatrapas interacted dynastically and commercially with both the Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus.

### **4.1. Historical Outline of the Western Kṣatrapas.**

The Western Kṣatrapas controlled the region of Avanti, located in western South Asia north of the Narmada River. The use of the Greek, Kharoṣṭhī, and Brāhmī scripts on Western Kṣatrapa coins indicates that these rulers originated from the Hellenized areas of Transoxiana. Most likely, the Western Kṣatrapas were a branch of the Indo-Scythian, or Śaka, groups who migrated to western South Asia sometime in the first century BCE, possibly pressured by the increasing power of the Yuezhi tribes. The arrival of the Yuezhi tribes in Bactria and Gandhāra

from the western borderlands of China in the mid-second century BCE accelerated the migration of Indo-Greeks into the Hindukush (Liu 2001: 227). A chief of the Yuezhi tribes, Kujula Kadphises, established the Kuṣāṇa dynasty in the first century CE and his successors expanded into South Asia as far as east as Bihar in the second century CE (Sims-Williams 1995-6). From their capital at Ujjain, the Western Kṣatrapas ruled over western South Asia and the areas of southern Gujarat. Within their territory was the important trading port of Bharuch, located on the mouth of the Narmada River that connected the Western Kṣatrapas with Indian Ocean trading networks. The Western Kṣatrapas controlled this region from the first century CE until their defeat by Chandra Gupta II in the early fifth century CE (Shastri 1998: 166). Directly to the south of Avanti is the Deccan, and the dynasties that emerged in these regions interacted throughout the early historic period.

The Western Kṣatrapas can be divided into two ruling families, the initial Kṣaharāta line and the later Kārdamaka line. The Kṣaharāta line was short-lived and included three rulers: Aubheraka, Bhūmaka, and Nahapāna. Aubheraka and Bhūmaka have only been identified through numismatic evidence. Unfortunately, their coins do not contain dates and there is no accompanying inscriptional evidence for these rulers, making the inauguration of the Western Kṣatrapa dynasty uncertain. The Greek winged victory design in the coins of Aubheraka was almost identical to the coins of the Indo-Parthian ruler Gondophares (ca. 20-45 CE) and suggests these two kings ruled contemporaneously. Indo-Parthian successors of Gondophares counter-stuck coins of Nahapāna, which suggests Nahapāna ruled after the death of Gondophares in ca. 45 CE. If the numismatic evidence parallels the reigns of these kings then, ca. 45 CE could be a probable date for the start of Nahapāna's rule, and Aubheraka and Bhūmaka would have established the Western Kṣatrapa dynasty sometime in the preceding decades (Cribb 1998: 168,

170-1). This date of ca. 45 CE for the beginning of Nahapāna's reign aligns with the textual evidence provided in the *Periplus*, dated to the mid-first century CE, which refers to the Sātavāhana-Western Kṣatrapa conflict.

Nahapāna is the best documented Kṣaharāta ruler, known through both coins and inscriptions. Nahapāna minted copper and silver coins and his silver coins included a royal portrait on the obverse, a style borrowed from Indo-Greek coins. These silver portrait coins became the standard silver coinage for the Western Kṣatrapas and were imitated by the Sātavāhanas in the Deccan (Rapson 1980: cviii-cix). Nahapāna did not compose inscription himself, but his son-in-law Uṣavadāta left seven inscriptions of Western Kṣatrapa activities in the western Deccan. The Kṣaharāta line ended upon the death of Nahapāna, and between the transition of power from the Kṣaharāta line to the Kārdamaka line Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi reasserted Sātavāhana authority in the Deccan and invaded parts of Western Kṣatrapa territory north of the Narmada River.

The first ruler of the Kārdamaka line was Caṣṭana, but the role of the Kārdamakas in Western Kṣatrapa politics before they came to power is uncertain. Caṣṭana minted coins and composed inscriptions that indicate a transition to a new ruling lineage of the Western Kṣatrapas. The silver portrait coins of Caṣṭana closely resembled Nahapāna's coins in weight and style, and Caṣṭana continued to use Greek, Kharoṣṭhī, and Brāhmī scripts in his coin legends. The similarities between the coins of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana suggest a proximate period of rule between these kings. (Cribb 1998: 168).<sup>34</sup> Memorial pillars (*yaṣṭis*) in the village of Andhau, located in western Gujarat, were dated to Caṣṭana's eleventh and fifty-second regnal years (Mirashi 1981: 116,119). These dates are believed to refer to the Śaka era established by

---

<sup>34</sup> For a more complete survey of Caṣṭana coins see Rapson 1908: 71-6 and Goswami 2010: 169-78.

Caṣṭana in 78 CE (Cribb 1998: 168-9). This fixed dating system and the Western Kṣatrapa practice of including detailed genealogies on their coins and inscriptions have allowed scholars to accurately map the chronology of this dynasty. Caṣṭana's long reign (78-130 CE) recorded in the Andhau pillar inscriptions supports the proposed direct inheritance of the Western Kṣatrapa throne by Rudradāman I, Caṣṭana's grandson. Jayadāman, the son of Caṣṭana and father of Rudradāman I was mentioned in inscriptions and coins, but only as a *kṣatrapa* and not as a *mahākṣatrapa* like his immediate relatives (Kielhorn 1905-6: 45). This suggests that Jayadāman did not become a Western Kṣatrapa ruler, possibly dying during the long reign of his father, and that power was passed to his son Rudradāman I (Shastri 1998: 155). Rudradāman's Junāgaḍh rock inscription, dated to the Śaka year 72 (ca. 150 CE), mentioned a renewed conflict with the Sātavāhanas. Rudradāman I and Uṣvadāta's inscriptions show continual interactions between both Western Kṣatrapa lines and the Sātavāhanas in the early historic the Deccan.

#### **4.2. Interactions between the Western Kṣatrapa and the Sātavāhana Dynasties.**

Dynastic interactions between the Sātavāhanas and Western Kṣatrapas resulted from the commercial interactions that were taking place in the early historic Deccan. The emergence of the Sātavāhana dynasty (ca. mid-first century BCE) in the western Deccan positioned this dynasty on the trade corridor between the coastal ports and localized production in the central Deccan. The Western Kṣatrapas (ca. early first century CE) came to power in Avanti, just to the north of this region. These neighboring powers shared a border as well as controlled the competing coastal trading ports of Sopara and Bharuch. The control of maritime trade meant access to the lucrative Indian Ocean trading networks that were flourishing during this period (Margabandhu 1965). The *Periplus* account of this Sātavāhana-Western Kṣatrapa conflict clearly stated that commercial interactions were the motives for this confrontation:

The local ports [sc. of Dachinabadês (the Deccan)] , lying in a row, are Akabaru, Suppara, and the city of Kalliena; the last, in time of the elder Saraganos (Sātakarṇi), was a port of trade where everything went according to law. [Sc. It is so no longer] for, after Sandanês occupied it, there has been much hindrance [sc. to trade]. For the Greek ships that by chance come into these places are brought under guard to Barygaza (Casson 1989: 83).

From this account Saraganos (Sātakarṇi) appeared to be the aggressor in this conflict, but the Western Kṣatrapa port of Barygaza (Bharuch) definitely benefitted from this redirection of trade.

Western Kṣatrapa and Sātavāhana inscriptions recorded the interactions between these political powers that began in the first century CE and continued until the decline of Sātavāhana dynasty. These interactions can be divided into four stages: the Kṣaharāta incursions into the Deccan, the Sātavāhana resurgence, the Kārdamaka reclamation of territory, and the marriage alliances forged between the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kṣatrapas. These four stages show that dynastic powers in the Deccan did not exist in isolation, defined by strict boundaries, but were constantly interacting within the geopolitical orbit of the Deccan. Furthermore, the modes of interaction changed over time, as direct military confrontations led to marriage alliances between these dynasties. The inscriptional evidence of these two dynasties reflects the changes in these dynastic interactions.

Had Uṣavadāta composed an inscription stating that in regnal year X his father-in-law Nahapāna defeated the Sātavāhana king Y, many uncertainties about the history of this period would be clarified. As is most often the case, inscriptions rarely provide the precise information essential for reconstructing the history and chronology of a given dynastic period. The lack of specifics requires reading between the lines to uncover details concerning the events that transpired and the actions that were performed by these historical actors. In Uṣavadāta's seven

inscriptions at Nasik, Karle, and Junnar, spanning Nahapāna's regnal years forty-one through forty-six, he never overtly mentioned a conflict with the Sātavāhana dynasty.<sup>35</sup>

The locations of these inscriptions fell within the Sātavāhana sphere of influence, suggesting that the Western Kṣatrapas had moved into Sātavāhana territory. The seven years' duration of these inscriptions indicates that Uṣavadāta either resided in this region or made frequent trips to the western Deccan on behalf of his father-in-law. The actions performed by Uṣavadāta recorded in his inscriptions were political in nature. Uṣavadāta's inscriptions recorded the donations of land<sup>36</sup> and money<sup>37</sup> to Buddhists and Brahmin communities. The donation of villages required control over the land and showed that the Western Kṣatrapas had replaced the Sātavāhanas as the political authority in this region. In Uṣavadāta's Nasik and Karle inscriptions, he pledged to have one hundred thousand Brahmins fed for a year (*anuvārṣaṃ brāhmaṇa-śatasāhasrī-bhojāpayitrā*).<sup>38</sup> This pious deed indicates that a permanent community of Brahmins resided in the western Deccan in the first century CE. Furthermore, Uṣavadāta's year-long-term commitment suggests that the Western Kṣatrapas were not mere visitors to this region but had the political influence to provide the financial support and harness the resources required to accomplish this endeavor. In addition to the donations to religious communities, Uṣavadāta claimed to have performed public works projects. He constructed wells, tanks, and gardens (*ārāma-taḍaga-udapāna-kareṇa*) as well as established state sponsored ferries at river crossings

---

<sup>35</sup> For complete list of Uṣavadāta's five Nasik inscriptions see Senart 1905-6: 78-8 and for his single inscriptions at Karle and Junnar see Mirashi 1981: 100-2, 113-4.

<sup>36</sup> Gifts of land were recorded in four inscriptions at Nasik Cave 5 and once in the Karle cave inscription (Mirashi 1981: 99-112).

<sup>37</sup> Uṣavadāta's inscriptions recorded the donation of a large number of coins (Pkt. *kāhāpaṇas*, Skt. *kārṣāpaṇa*) to religious communities in the Deccan. Nahapāna's counter-struck coins found in the Jogalthembi hoard shows that Western Kṣatrapa coins were circulating through trade networks in the Deccan and would support this inscriptional evidence of a large donation of coins.

<sup>38</sup> This pledge occurs in both the Karle inscription and the Sanskrit reproduction of the opening lines of this inscription at Nasik. The passage above is taken from the Sanskrit text at Nasik (Senart 1905-6: 78-9).

(*nāvā-puṇyatara-kareṇa*) (Senart 1905-6: 78-9). The free ferries would increase mobility in the Deccan by facilitating the movement of merchants, goods, and people along defined trade routes.

While Uṣavadāta's inscriptions provided the Western Kṣatrapa perspective on the conflict with the Sātavāhanas, later Sātavāhana inscriptions supplied their account of this event.

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi were responsible for the Sātavāhana resurgence in the Deccan, and evidence from their inscriptions confirms that the incursion of the Western Kṣatrapas was a military campaign for control of the western Deccan. In Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's Nasik inscription, dated to his eighteenth regnal year, the king ordered land previously owned (Pkt. *khetam bhūtam*, Skt. *kṣetram bhuktaṃ*) by Uṣavadāta to be donated to the monks at Tiraśmi. This change of land ownership indicates that the Sātavāhanas had reclaimed their territory by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's eighteenth year. The inscription of Queen Balasiri, composed in Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi's nineteenth regnal year, provides the clearest evidence for the resurgence of the Sātavāhanas in the Deccan. Included in the long list of epithets of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi were, "the one who destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas (*saka-yavana-palhava-nisūdana*), the one who rooted out the Khakharāta (Kṣaharāta) race (*khakharāta-vasa-niravasesa-kara*), and the one who restored the glory of the Sātavāhana family (*sātavāhana-kula-yasa-patithāpana-kara*)" (Senart 1905-6: 60-1). The information conveyed in this inscription concerned the military activities of the Sātavāhanas, and does not require reading between the lines. This inscription leaves little doubt that there was a conflict between Sātavāhanas and the Western Kṣatrapas in the first century CE.

Rudradāman I's Junāgaḍh inscription shows a change in the dynastic interactions between the Western Kṣatrapas and the Sātavāhanas. In addition to noting protracted hostilities, this inscription provided evidence for a marriage alliance between these two dynastic powers.

As in Balasiri's inscription, Rudradāman I listed the territories that he reconquered. The locations of pūrva-apara-Ākarāvanti, (eastern and western Malwa), Anūpa (Indore and Nemad district), Surāṣṭra (southern Katiawad), Kukura (northern Katiawad), and Aparānta (northern Koṅkan) coincided with territories mentioned in Balasiri's inscription, which the Sātavāhanas had conquered (Kielhorn 1905-6: 44-7). The correspondence between these places located north of the Deccan suggests that Rudradāman I's military efforts were designed to reclaim Western Kṣatrapa lands lost to the Sātavāhanas (Shastri 1998: 157). Furthermore, in this inscription Rudradāman claimed to have "obtained a good report because he, in spite of having twice in a fair fight completely defeated Sātakarṇi, the lord of the *dakṣiṇāpatha*, on account of the nearness of their connection did not destroy him."<sup>39</sup> This passage clearly states that there was a second confrontation between the Western Kṣatrapas and the Sātavāhanas.

The nearness of connection (*saṃbandh-āvidūrayā*) mentioned by Rudradāman signifies a shift in dynastic interactions in the Deccan, as this phrase referred to the supposed marriage alliance between the Western Kṣatrapas and the Sātavāhanas. Evidence for a marriage alliance was found in Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi's Kānherī cave inscription that recorded a gift of a cistern by his wife, born in the Kārdamaka family.<sup>40</sup> Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi is believed to be the brother of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi who assumed power after his brother's death. The dates of his rule (ca. 119-47 CE) are directly before Rudradāman I had his inscription composed in ca. 150 CE. Rudradāman I stated that he defeated the *dakṣiṇāpathapati* Sātakarṇi, and if this refers to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi he would have been attacking his own son-in-law.

---

<sup>39</sup> Skt. *daṣkināpathapates=sātakarṇer=dvir=api nirvyajam=avajīty-āvajītya saṃbandh-āvidūrayā anutsādanāt=prāpta-yaśasā* ,”(Kielhorn 1905-6: 47).

<sup>40</sup> The section of the inscription that alludes to the marriage alliance between Sātavāhanas and the Western Kṣatrapas reads: *vāsiṣṭhīputrasya śrīsāta[karṇi]sya devyā[h] kārdamaka-rājavamśa pra[bh]vāyā mahākṣatrapa ru[dra]...* (Mirashi 1981: 69).

The information in Rudradāman I's Junāgaḍh inscription reflected a long period of dynastic interactions between the Western Kṣatrapas and the Sātavāhanas. For close to a hundred years, from the mid-first century CE until the mid-second century CE, these two dynasties vied for power in the Deccan and forged a familial relationship through marriage. Neither Sātavāhana nor Western Kṣatrapa inscriptions mention any further dynastic interactions after this period. The last rulers of the Sātavāhana dynasty appear to have shifted to the eastern Deccan, which might indicate their influence declined in the west. However, there is no evidence that the Western Kṣatrapas expanded into the western Deccan after the decline of the Sātavāhanas. Evidence for continued Western Kṣatrapas dynastic interactions in the post-Sātavāhana Deccan can be seen in Ikṣvāku inscriptions.

#### **4.3. Interactions between the Western Kṣatrapa and the Ikṣvāku Dynasties.**

The interactions between the Ikṣvākus and the Western Kṣatrapas were not as complex as those between the Western Kṣatrapas and the Sātavāhanas. The geographic distance between the Western Kṣatrapas in western South Asia and the Ikṣvākus in the eastern Deccan mitigated competition over territory or control of trade routes. The primary mode of interaction between these two dynasties was the creation of marriage alliances rather than direct military confrontation. The marriage alliances between the Western Kṣatrapas and Ikṣvākus indicate that interactions were maintained between political powers in the early historic Deccan after the decline of the Sātavāhana dynasty. Commercial interactions between the eastern and western Deccan would have informed the Western Kṣatrapas of the emerging regional power in the eastern Deccan. The marriage of Western Kṣatrapa rulers' daughters into the Ikṣvāku royal family indicates that the Ikṣvākus were recognized by the Western Kṣatrapas as a legitimate authority in the eastern Deccan. On a regional level, these marriage alliances with a distant

dynastic power must have strengthened the political position of the Ikṣvāku rulers in the eastern Deccan.

The discovery of the Peṭlūripālem coin hoard suggests that commercial interactions were maintained between the western and eastern Deccan after the decline of the Sātavāhana dynasty. The village of Peṭlūripālem is located in the coastal district of Guntur, Andhra Pradesh approximately one hundred kilometers southeast of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, and the coin hoard found in this village contained 238 silver coins of Western Kṣatrapa rulers ranging in date from 234 CE (Vīradāman) to 332 CE (Yaśodāman II). The presence of later Western Kṣatrapa coins in this hoard suggests that these coins were buried after the decline of the Ikṣvāku dynasty. This large concentration of Western Kṣatrapa coins was brought to the eastern Deccan either by a local merchant who conducted business in the west or a western trader travelling to the east (Sircar 1968: 150-203). This coin hoard along with Roman artifacts found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa indicates that commercial interactions connected the eastern and western Deccan throughout the Ikṣvāku period.

Rudradharabhaṭārikā's *āyaka* pillar inscription located at the *mahācaitya* in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was the first evidence of a marriage alliance between the Ikṣvākus and Western Kṣatrapas. In this inscription, dated to Virapurūṣadatta's sixth regnal year, Rudradharabhaṭārikā was identified as the queen (*mahādevī*) of Virapurūṣadatta and a daughter of the king of Ujjain (*ujanikā mahārabalikā*).<sup>41</sup> The daughter of the king of Ujjain was a direct reference to the Western Kṣatrapas, but it is uncertain which Western Kṣatrapa ruler is referenced to (Vogel 1929-30: 19). Either Cāntamūla or Virapurūṣadatta set up a marriage alliance with the Western

---

<sup>41</sup> The complete passage reads, *ujanikā mahārabalikā mahādevī Rudradharabhaṭ[ā]rikā*. Vogel takes *mahārabalikā* as an error for *maharaja-bālikā* (Vogel 1929-30: 19).

Kṣatrapas, so the corresponding dates for the betrothal of Rudradharabhaṭārikā to Vīrapuruṣadatta would have to fall within the reign of Cāṃtamūla (ca. 225-240-50 CE) and prior to the sixth year of Vīrapuruṣadatta (ca. 246-56 CE). Dāmasena ruled from 223-36 CE (Śaka years 145-58) and would have been a contemporary of Cāṃtamūla, so an alliance could have been made between these two rulers as they planned their lines of succession. After the death of Dāmasena his four sons, Vīradāman, Yaśodāman I, Vijayasena, and Dāmajadaśrī, ruled between 236 and 254 CE. The close succession of these rulers makes it difficult to accurately determine which king of Ujjain married their daughter Rudradharabhaṭārikā to Vīrapuruṣadatta. However, this inscription clearly indicates a dynastic interaction between these two powers occurred in the initial period of Ikṣvāku consolidation.

The second reference to a connection between the Ikṣvākus and the Western Kṣatrapas was found of the Vaṃmabhaṭā's memorial pillar dated in Rudrapuruṣadatta's eleventh regnal year. This inscription recorded the erection of an image pillar for the deceased queen Vaṃmabhaṭā, the mother of Rudrapuruṣadatta, wife of Ehavala Cāṃtamūla, and daughter of a *mahākṣatrapa* (Sircar 1961-2: 22). This inscription reveals that two generations of Ikṣvāku kings, Vīrapuruṣadatta and Ehavala Cāṃtamūla, maintained marriage alliances with the Western Kṣatrapas. Ehavala Cāṃtamūla ruled between ca. 265-75 – 290-300 CE, which would overlap with the reigns of Rudrasena II (ca. 254-74 CE) and his sons Viśvasiṃha (ca. 277-9 CE) and Bhartṛdāman (ca. 279-95 CE) (Rapson 1908: cxxxviii-cxl). Only the coins of Rudrasena II and Bhartṛdāman contained the title *mahākṣatrapa* suggesting that Vaṃmabhaṭā was the daughter of one of these two Western Kṣatrapa rulers.

The interactions between the Western Kṣatrapa and Ikṣvāku dynasties forged a familial and economic connection between the eastern and western Deccan. These interactions in the

Deccan relate to larger interactions in early historic South Asia. From their location in Avanti, the Western Kṣatrapas most likely had commercial connections with political powers in the north, in the Ganges River Valley and northwest South Asia. In turn, the rulers and merchants of these regions interacted with their neighbors. These interactions, both dynastic and commercial, connected the Ikṣvāku dynasty from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa located on the banks of the Krishna River in the eastern Deccan with the larger South Asian world.

## Concluding Remarks

This thesis has approached the early historic Deccan from a regional perspective in an effort to evaluate the economic, political, and social transitions that occurred in this region from the mid-first century BCE to the early-fourth century CE. The surveys of the Sātavāhana, Western Kṣatrapa, and Ikṣvāku dynasties provide a spatial and temporal context for these transitions, but these political formations were only one aspect of the larger changes that were occurring in the early historic Deccan. The increase in urbanization and interconnections through trade were two significant developments in this period that transformed the Deccan into an integrated geopolitical zone. Commercial and dynastic interactions transgressed political boundaries and connected the peoples inhabiting the Deccan with other regions in South Asia, and ultimately across oceans to the west and east. My intention in this thesis was to show the dynamism of the early historical Deccan and convey the need for regional approaches to the study of South Asia.

The dynamism of this period is reflected in the transitions between the emergence of the Sātavāhana dynasty and the decline of the Ikṣvāku dynasty. Prior to the Sātavāhana dynasty the Deccan was divided into sub-regions that displayed minimal interconnections. The epigraphic and numismatic evidence of the Sātavāhana period found throughout the Deccan indicates that the influence of these rulers encompassed this entire geographical region. The trade networks that prospered through this political consolidation and the advent of a moneyed economy catalyzed urbanization in coastal trading ports and production centers in the interior. Urban centers became multifunctional nodes of economic production, political power, and religious institutions. These transformations that occurred in the Deccan did not end with the decline of the Sātavāhana dynasty but were maintained on a local level by regional powers that emerged in the Deccan. The Ikṣvāku dynasty and their capital city of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa illustrates the

perpetuation of these commercial, urban, and political transformations that took place in the early historic Deccan.

Although this thesis covered a number of topics, there are numerous questions that still remain about the early historic Deccan. The chronology of the Sātavāhana dynasty is somewhat clear, but new epigraphic or numismatic discoveries could assist in clarifying genealogical relationships between these rulers. Similarly, further archaeological excavations are required to adequately examine the process of urbanization in the early historic period. These excavations would reveal the infrastructure of these early cities as well as provided a clearer picture of interactions between sub-regions through a study of items exchanged between areas. A review of the inscriptions of this period, from the perspective of social history rather political history could assist in expanding our understanding of the cultural formations of the early historic Deccan. I hope the topics that have been covered in this thesis in some way contributes to the scholarship of the early historic Deccan.

## Appendix 1: The Purāṇic Genealogy of the 'Andhra' Dynasty.

### ANDHRAS

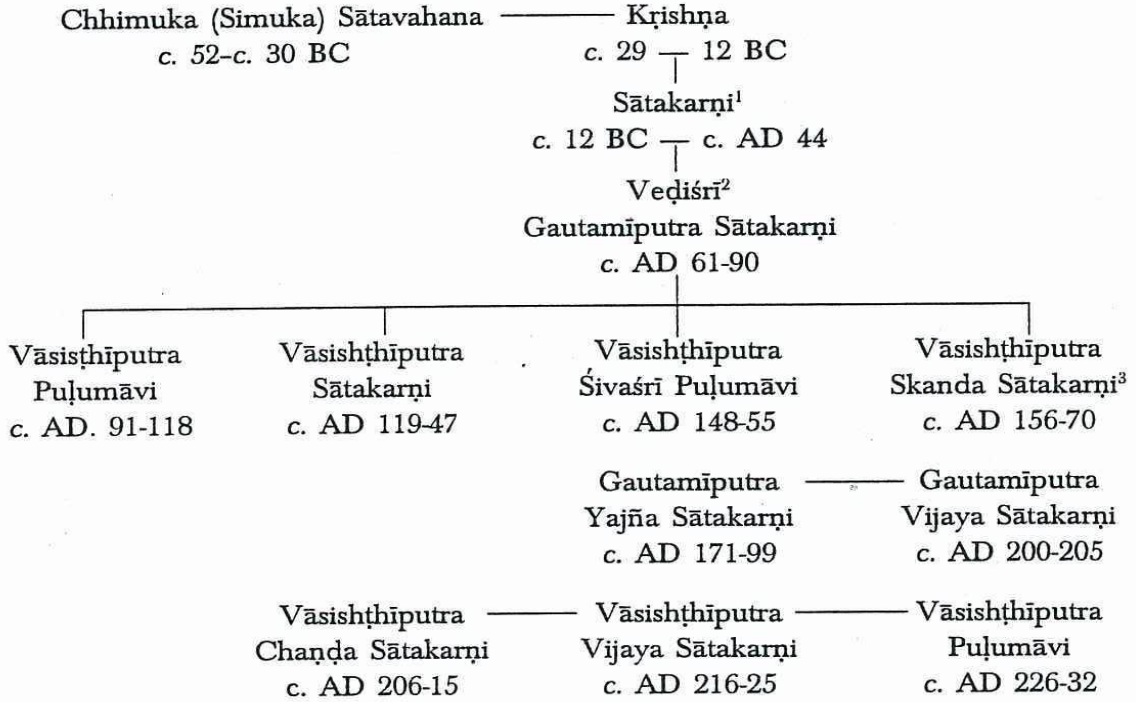
The Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Bhāgavata, and Viṣṇu all say there were 30 kings, though they do not give 30 names. The Vā MSS name only 17, 18, or 19, and eVā which is the fullest names only 25; Brahmāṇḍa only 17; Bhāgavata 23; and Viṣṇu 24, or 22 and 23 in two MSS. The Matsys says there were 19 kings, but 3 MSS (*dgn*) actually name 30, and the others vary from 28 to 21. Before noticing the differences in them and the other authorities, it will be convenient to set out the list of the kings, of whom 30 are clearly named; and 30 is not doubt the correct number.

- |                                   |                               |                  |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Simuka                         | 11. Skandasvāti               | 21. Cakora       |
| 2. Kṛṣṇa                          | 12. Mṛgendra                  | 22. Śivasvāti    |
| 3. Sri-Śātakarṇi<br>(Śri-Mallak°) | 13. Kuntala                   | 23. Gautamiputra |
| 4. Pūrṇotsaṅga                    | 14. Svātivarṇa                | 24. Pulomā       |
| 5. Śkandhastambhi                 | 15. Pulomāvi (Padumān)        | 24a. Śātkarṇi    |
| 6. Śātkarṇi                       | 16. Ariṣṭakarṇa               | 25. Sivaśri      |
| 7. Lambodara                      | 17. Hāla                      | 26. Śivaskandha  |
| 8. Āpilaka (Divilaka)             | 18. Mantalaka or<br>Pattalaka | 27. Yajñāśri     |
| 9. Meghasvāti                     | 19. Purindrasena              | 28. Vijay        |
| 10. Svāti                         | 20. Sundara Śātakarṇi         | 29. Caṇḍāśri     |
|                                   |                               | 30. Pulomāvi     |

(Shastri 1999: 37)

## Appendix 2: Sātavāhana Chronology Based on Epigraphic and Numismatic Evidence.

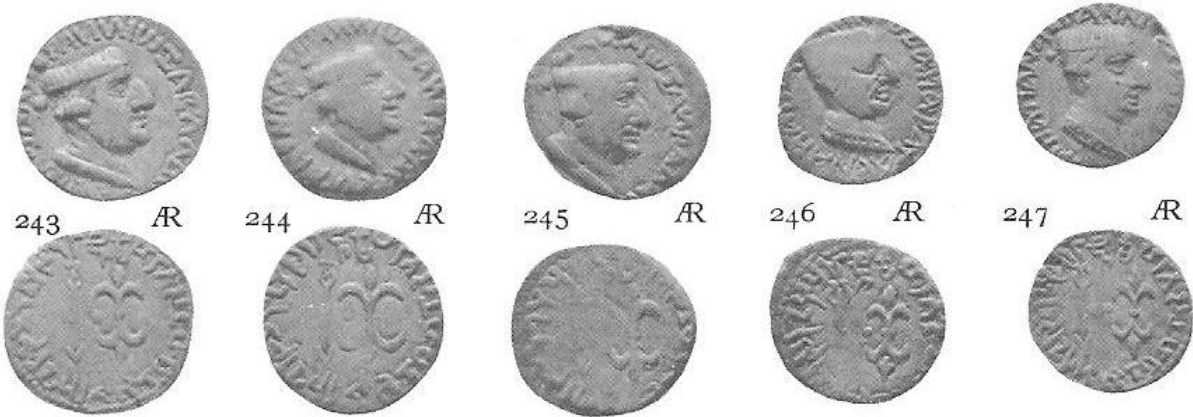
### SĀTAVĀHANAS : CHRONOLGY AND ORDER OF SUCCESSION



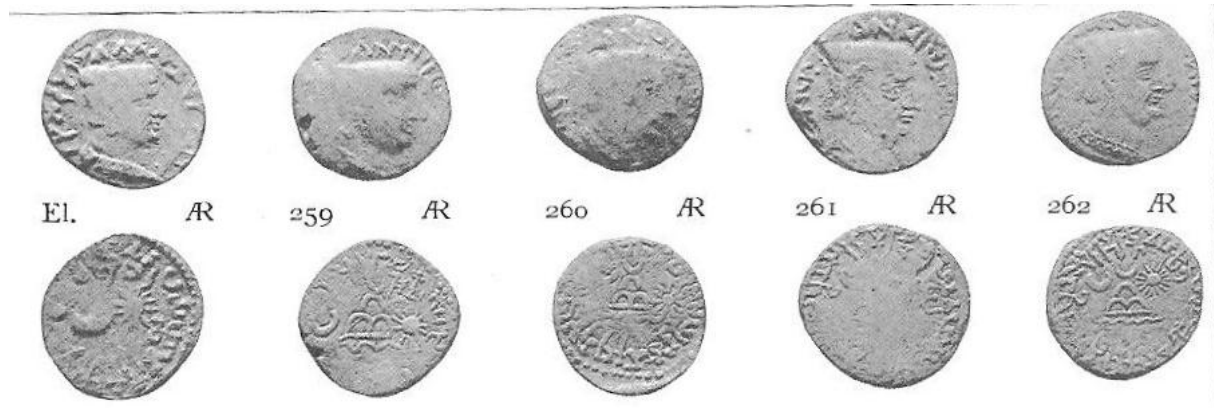
1. We do not believe in the existence of two kings named Sātakarṇi.
2. He is known only from the larger Nāṇeghāṭ inscription and there is nothing to determine the length of his reign. Between Sātakarṇi and Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi the Purāṇas mention several kings including Lambodara, Āpilaka, Meghasvāti, Svāti, Skandasvāti, Mṛigendra, Kuntala, Svātikarṇa, Pulomāvi, Arishṭakarṇa, Hāla, Mantalaka or Pattalaka, Purīndrasena, Sundara Sātakarṇi, Chakora and Śivasvāti. Of these, some of the kings were purely local in character and existence of only a few can be proved otherwise.
3. Basing on the common metronymic it is commonly supposed that these were uterine brothers; but other explanations are also possible.

(Shastri 1999: 35)

**Appendix 3: A Comparison of Western Kṣatrapa and Sātavāhana Silver Royal Portrait Coins.**



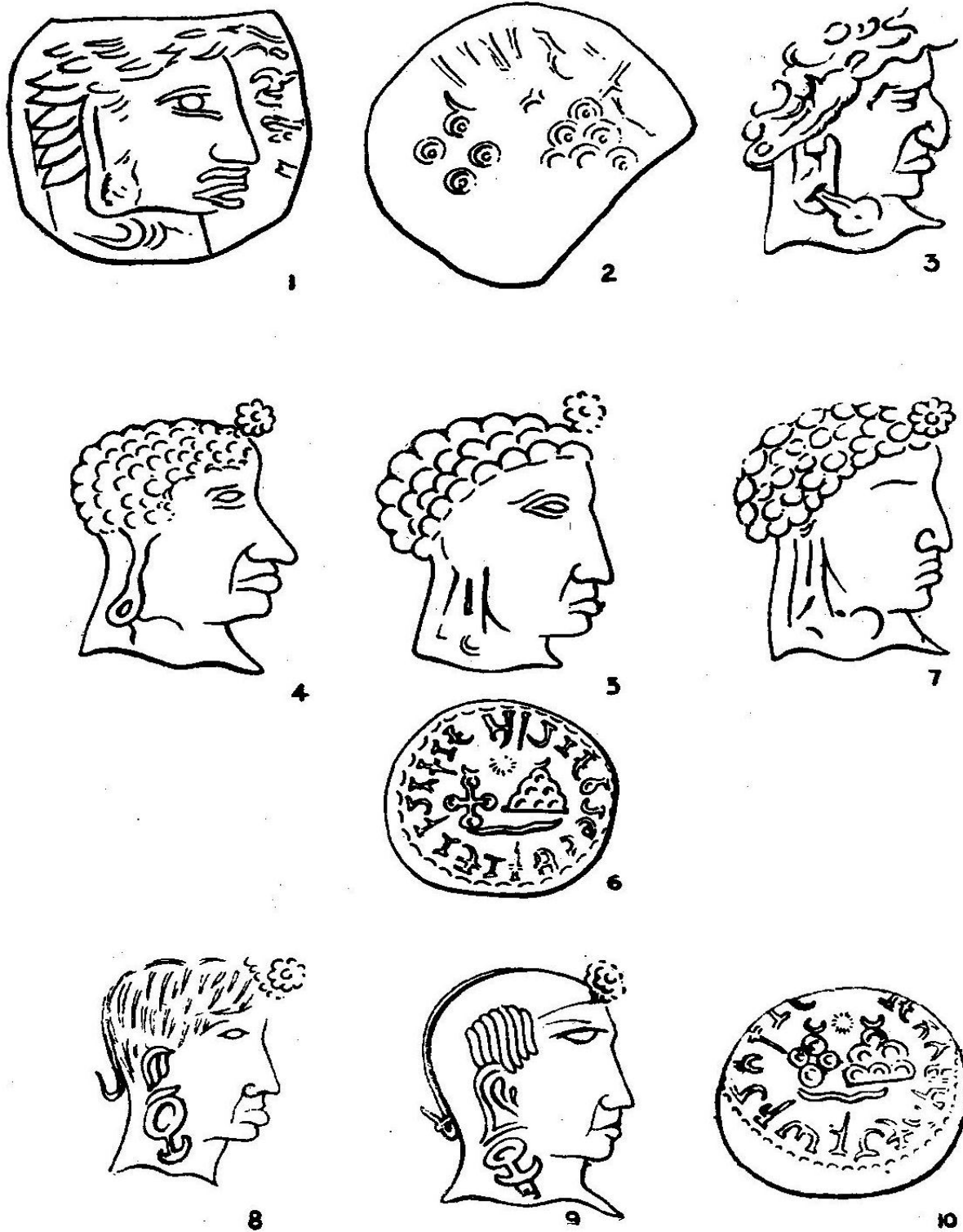
Silver royal portrait coins issued by Nahapāna (Rapson 1908: plate IX).



Silver royal portrait coins issued by Caṣṭana (Rapson 1908: plate X).



Silver royal portrait coins issued by Rudradāman I (Rapson 1908: plate X).



XVIII. Portraits on Silver Coins : GPS, 1-2; VPP, 3; VPS, 4-7 and GPYS, 8-10.

GPS=Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi; VPP=Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi; VPS=Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi; GPYS=Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi (Sarma 1980: plate XVIII).

## Bibliography

- Allchin, F.R. 1995. "Early Cities and States Beyond the Ganges Valley." In F.R. Allchin ed., *The Archaeology of Early Historic South Asia: The Emergence of Cities and States*, pp. 123-51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Burgess, James. 1887. *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*. Varanasi: Indological Book House.
- Burgess, James and Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. 1881. *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*. Delhi: Indian India.
- Casson, Lionel. 1989. *The Periplus Maris Erythraei: Text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Chakrabarti, Dillip K. 1995. "Post-Mauryan States of Mainland South Asia (c. BC 185-AD 320)." In F.R. Allchin ed., *The Archaeology of Early Historic South Asia: The Emergence of Cities and States*, pp. 274-326. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1997. *The Archaeology of Ancient Indian Cities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2005. *The Archaeology of the Deccan Routes: Ancient Routes from the Ganga Plain to the Deccan*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers.
- . 2010. *The Geopolitical Orbits of Ancient India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Childe, Gordon V. 1950. "The Urban Revolution." *The Town Planning Review* 21: 3-17.
- Chabra, B. C. 1959-60. "Nagarjunakonda Inscription of Ehalasri's Time, Year 11." *Epigraphia Indica* 33: 147-49.
- . 1959-60. "Uppugundur Inscription of Virapurisadata's Time, Year 19." *Epigraphia Indica* 33: 189-91.
- Cribb, Joe. 1998. "Western Satraps and Satavahanas: Old and New Ideas of Chronology." In Amal Kumar Jha and Sanjay Garg eds., *Ex Moneta: Essays on Numismatics, History and Archaeology in Honor of Dr. David W. MacDowall*, vol. I, pp. 167-82. New Delhi: Harman Publishing House
- Cox, Whitney. 2010. "Scribe and Script in the Cālukya West Deccan." *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 47: 1-28.
- Dhavalikar, M. K. 1988. *The First Farmers of the Deccan*. Pune: Ravish Publishers.
- Dutta, Mala. 1990. *A Study of the Satavahana Coinage*. New Delhi: Harman Publishing House.

- Falk, Harry. 2006. "The Tidal Waves of Indian History: Between the Empires and Beyond." In Patrick Olivelle, ed., *Between the Empires: Society in India 300 BCE to 400 CE*, pp. 145-66. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2006. *Aśokan Sites and Artifacts: A Source-Book with Bibliography*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- . 2009. "Two Dated Sātavāhana Epigraphs." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 52: 197–206.
- Fuller, Dorian Q. and Nicole Boivin. 2002. "Beyond Description and Diffusion: A History of Processual Theory in the Archaeology of South Asia." In S. Settar and Ravi Korisettar eds., *Archaeology and Historiography: History, Theory, and Method*, pp. 159-90. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Ghosh, A. 1973. *The City in Early Historical India*. Simla: Institute of Advanced Study.
- Gupta, Parmeshwari Lal. 1999. "Sātavāhana Coins in Archaeological Excavations." In Ajay Mitra Shastri ed., *The Age of the Sātavāhanas*, vol. II, pp. 223-79. New Delhi: Aryan Books International.
- Henige, David P. 1975. "Some Phantom Dynasties of Early and Medieval India: Epigraphic Evidence and the Abhorrence of a Vacuum." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38: 525-49.
- Huntington, G.W.B. 1980. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1980.
- Keilhorn, F. 1905-6. "Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman; the year 72." *Epigraphia Indica* 8: 36-148.
- Longhurst, A. H. 1938. *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Madras Presidency*. Delhi: Manager of Publications.
- Lüders, H. 1912. *A List of Brahmi Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about A.D. 400 with the Exception of those of Asoka*. Varanasi: Indological Book House.
- Lui, Xinru. 2001. "Migration and Settlement of the Yuezhi-Kushan: Interaction and Interdependence of Nomadic and Sedentary Societies." *Journal of World History* 12: 261-92.
- Margabandhu, C. 1965. "Trade Contacts between Western India and the Graeco-Roman World in the Early Centuries of the Christian Era." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 8: 316-22.
- Mirashi, Vasudeva Vishnu. 1981. *The History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas*. Bombay: Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture.

- Morrison, Kathleen D. 1995. "Trade, Urbanism, and Agricultural Expansion: Buddhist Monastic Institutions and the State in the Early Historic Western Deccan." *World Archaeology* 27, Buddhist Archaeology: 203-21.
- Paddayya, K. 2002. "A Review of Theoretical Perspectives in Indian Archaeology." In S. Settar and Ravi Korisettar eds., *Archaeology and Historiography: History, Theory, and Method*, pp. 117-58. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Parasher-Sen, Aloka. 1993. *Social and Economic History of Early Deccan: Some Interpretations*. New Delhi: Manohar.
- . 1999. "Urban Settlements in the Deccan and Sātavāhana History." In Ajay Mitra Shastri ed., *The Age of the Sātavāhanas*, vol. I, pp. 159-89. New Delhi: Aryans Books International, 1999.
- . 2009. "Perceptions of Time, Cultural Boundaries, and 'Region' in Early Indian Texts." *Indian Historical Review* 36: 183-208.
- Pargiter, F. E. 1913. *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*. London: Oxford University Press.
- . 1922. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Pollock, Sheldon. 2006. *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Raghunath, K. 2001. *The Ikṣvākus of Vijayapuri: A Study of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Inscriptions*. Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers.
- Rao, Rama M. 1959. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Government Museum, Madras*. Chennai: Government Museum.
- Rapson, E. J. 1908. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynsty, and the "Bodhi" Dynstaty*. Oxford: Trustees of the British Museum.
- Ray, Himanshu Prabha. 1986. *Monastery and Guild: Commerce under the Sātavāhanas*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1987. "Early Historical Urbanization: The Case of the Western Deccan." *World Archaeology* 19: 94-104.
- . 2006. "Inscribed Pots, Emerging Identities: The Social Milieu of Trade." In Patrick Olivelle, ed., *Between the Empires: Society in India 300 BCE to 400 CE*, pp. 113-43. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- . 2008. “Interpreting the Mauryan Empire: Centralized State of Multiple Centers of Control.” In Grant Parker and Carla M. Sinopoli, eds., *Ancient India in Its Wider World*, pp.13-51. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Raychaudhuri, Hemchandra. 1996. *Political History of Ancient India*. Revised ed. with commentary by B. N. Mukherjee. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Renfrew, Colin. 1984. *Approaches to Social Archaeology*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Rosen, Elizabeth. 1985. “A Dated Memorial Pillar from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.” In Frederick M. Asher and G.S. Gai eds., *Indian Epigraphy: Its bearing on the History of Art*, pp. 36-40. Oxford: American Institute of Indian Studies.
- Rosen Stone, Elizabeth. 1994. *The Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt., Ltd.
- Rotman, Andy. 2008. *Divine Stories: Divyāvadāna, Part I*. Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, Inc.
- Rocher, Ludo. 1986. *The Purāṇas*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Sarkar, H. and B. N. Mishra. 1972. *Nagarjunakonda*. New Delhi: Director General, Archaeological Survey of India.
- Salomon, Richard. 1986. “The Inscription of Senavarma, King of Oḍi.” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 29: 261-293.
- . 1998. *Indian Epigraphy: A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the Other Indo-Aryan Languages*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sankalia, H.D. and S.B. Deo. 1955. *Report on the Excavations at Nasik and Jorwe 1950-1951*. Poona: Deccan College.
- Sarma, I. K. 1970. “Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa’s Inscription at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.” *Indica* 7: 1-18.
- . 1973. “A Coin Mould-Piece from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Excavations: New Light of the Silver Coinage of the Sātavāhanas.” *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 16: 89-106.
- . 1980. *Coinage of the Satavahana Empire*. Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.
- Sarao, K.T.S. 1990. *Urban Centers and Urbanisation as Reflected in the Pāli Vinaya and Sutta Piṭakas*. Delhi: Vidyanidhi Oriental Publishers.
- Senart, E. 1905-6. “The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik.” *Epigraphia Indica* 8: 59-289.

- Shastri, Ajay Mitra. 1998. *The Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas: A Historical Framework*. Nagpur: Dattsons.
- . 1999. “The Purāṇas on the Sātavāhanas: An Archaeological-Historical Perspective.” In Ajay Mitra Shastri, ed., *The Age of the Sātavāhanas*, vol. I. pp. 3-72. New Delhi: Aryan Books International.
- Shimada, Akira. 2006. “The Great Railing at Amarāvātī: An Architectural and Chronological Reconstruction.” *Artibus Asiae* 16: 89-141.
- Sinopoli, Carla M. 2001. “On the Edge of Empire: Form and Substance in the Sātavāhana Dynasty.” In Susan E. Alcock, Terence N. D’Altroy, Kathleen Morrison, Carla M. Sinopoli, eds., *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, pp. 155-78. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sircar, D. C. 1934. “A Note on the Name of the Last Great Sātavāhana King.” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 3: 560-1.
- . 1939. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press.
- . 1961-2. “Nagarjunakonda Inscription of the Time of Abhira Vasuṣeṇa, Year 30.” *Epigraphia Indica* 34: 197-204
- . 1963-4. “Inscription of the time of Ehuṅvula Chāntamūla, Year 24.” *Epigraphia Indica* 35: 11-13.
- . 1965. *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, vol. I. Calcutta: Calcutta University Press.
- . 1966. *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- . 1968. *Studies in Indian Coins*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- . 1968. “The Deccan After the Sātavāhanas.” In R. C. Majumdar ed., *History and Culture of the Indian People: The Age of Imperial Unity*, vol. 2. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.
- Sircar, D. C. and A.N. Lahiri. 1959-60. “Footprint Slab Inscription from Nagarjunakonda.” *Epigraphia Indica* 33: 247-50.
- Sircar, D. C. and K.G. Krishnan. 1961-2. “Inscription of the Time of Rudrapurisadatta, Year 11.” *Epigraphia Indica* 34: 20-2.
- Skilling, Peter and Oskar von Hinuber. 2011. “An Epigraphical Buddhist Poem from Phanigiri (Andhrapradesh) from the Time of Rudrapuruṣadatta.” *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology* 14: 7-12.

- Smith, Monica L. 2002. "The Role of Local Trade Networks in the Indian Subcontinent during the Early Historic Period." *Man and Environment* 27: 139-151.
- . 2005. "Networks, Territories, and the Cartography of Ancient States." *Annals of the Associations of American Geographers* 95: 832-849.
- . 2006. "The Archaeology of South Asian Cities." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 14: 97-142.
- Stein, Burton. 1998. *A History of India*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Subrahmanyam, R. 1962. *A Catalogue of the Ikshvaku Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*. Hyderabad: The Government of Andhra Pradesh.
- Suryavanshi, Bhagwansingh. 1962. *The Abhiras: Their History and Culture*. Baroda: Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda.
- Thapar, Romila. 1961. *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2000. "Regional History with Reference to the Konkan." In *Cultural Pasts: Essays in Early Indian History*, pp. 109-22. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2002. *The Penguin History of Early India: From the Origins to AD 1300*. New Delhi: Penguin Books, Ltd.
- . 2008. "Rāyā Asoko from Kanaganahalli: Some Thoughts." In R. Kalaikkovan et. al., *Airāvati: Felicitation Volume in Honor of Iravatham Mahadeva*, pp. 249-63. Chennai: Varalaaru.com.
- Trabold, Jeanne L. 1970. "A Chronology of Indian Sculpture: The Sātavāhana Chronology at Nāsik." *Artibus Asiae* 32: 49-88.
- Vogel, J. Ph. 1929-30. "Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist Site at Nagarjunakonda." *Epigraphia Indica* 20: 1-36.