CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ANDHRA PRADESH
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Geographical Background:

The geographical unit of the present study is generally taken to be the modern state of Andhra Pradesh which is predominantly inhabited by the Telugu speaking people. It lies in the Eastern Deccan plateau, extending roughly between 12°-20°N lat. and 76°-85°E. long, bounded by the Bay of Bengal on the east, the states of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh on the north, Maharashtra and Karnataka on the West and Karnataka and Tamilnadu on the south. Its total area is approximately 2,77,000 Sq. Kms. Geologically, it is believed, that the Eastern Deccan formed earlier than any other portion of the Peninsular India. The physical set up of Andhra Pradesh constitutes the Krishna-Godavari Delta in the east, Eastern Ghats extending from northeast to southwest and the Telangana and Rayalaseema plateau in the west. River Godavari, the biggest among the rivers of Andhra, flows for more than 900 Kms, with its main tributaries, such as Manjira, Pranahita, Indravathi and Sabari within the state. Next in importance is the river Krishna which enters Andhra in the Mahabub Nagar District and confluences with an equally big tributary Tungabhadra at Sangamesvaram or Kudala Sangam, now submerged in the Srisailam project reservoir and the combined waters flow for a distance of nearly 500 kms. before draining itself in to the Bay of Bengal cutting across Diviseema. Among the minor rivers the Pennar flowing through the districts of Anantapur, Kadapa and Nellore, and Vamsadhara and Nagavali flowing through the Srikakulam district are important. To these natural gifts of rivers and a lengthy sea coast of 960 kms. may be added favourable rainfall and other climatic features which make the land rich in agricultural production establishing trade contacts with other parts of the country since early times (P.V. Parabrahma Sastry 1996) Physiographically, Andhra Pradesh can be broadly divided into three zones, namely, 1) Coastal-plains 2) Eastern-ghats
and 3) Western Peneplains. The coastal plain marks the littoral part extending from the Bay of Bengal to the Eastern Ghat, varying from 75 to 150 k.m. in width. The districts of Nellore, Prakasam, Guntur, Krishna, West Godavari, East Godavari, Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam fall in the coastal belt. Especially in the Coastal districts, Guntur, Krishna and the two Godavari districts constitute the broad central plain of alluvium silted by the rivers of Krishna and Godavari. South to the coastal districts, the plain tapers off into a narrow strip of unfertile sandy plateau, constituting the coastal parts of Prakasam and Nellore districts. Here the river Pennar forms an alluvial delta in Nellore Taluk. The Telangana zone, situated on the North-Western region of the state, occupying a part of the peneplained plateau, is comprised of ten districts, viz., Adilabad, Nizamabad, Karimnagar, Medak, Hyderabad, Rangareddy, Warangal, Khammam, Nalgonda and Mahaboob Nagar. The Rayalaseema zone on the South-Western region of the state is comprised of Anantapur, Kurnool, Cuddapah and Chittoor districts. (S.J. Mangalam. 1986).

The Eastern-gaths are a series of disjuncted hills forming as much a crescentic border of the coastal plain as a convex fortification of the peneplained plateau in the Deccan. The rivers Godavari and Krishna breach this rampart at before entering the coastal belt. The important ranges which constitute the eastern ghats are the Nallamalai, Velikonda, Erramalai, Seshachalam, Palakonda and Nagari which have a number of valleys and river basins. The elevation of the ghats gradually increases towards the north of Godavari and reach up to 1500 M. above M.S.L. A peak at Sankaram in Visakhapatnam district has the height of 1616M above MSL. The peneplained interior zone comprises the entire Telangana and Rayalaseema regions, highly eroded and isolated hillocks break the vast plains. The elevation of the Telangana region varies from 530 M to 660 M and that of Rayalaseema which slopes down from the Mysore Plateau, from 300M to 465M above MSL. The Telangana region is drained off by the river Godavari and its tributaries such as the Manjira, Pranahita, Indravathi, and Sabari. The river systems of the Krishan-
Tungabhadra and Pennar flow down to the Bay of Bengal through the Rayalaseema Region. The Languliya (ancient langulini) rises in the hills of Kalahandi and flows south through the district of Ganjam to empty itself into the Bay of Bengal below Srikakulam.

Of the river systems that drench and drain the state, the Godavari and the Krishna along their tributaries running into the main streams, are the most important ones cutting across the entire latitude of the state. The rivers of Pennar, Tungabhadra confluent of the Krishna and Vamsadhara stand next in importance. These apart, there are also some thirty streams of which Sarada, Varaha, Eleru, Gundlakamma, Musi, Paleru, Manneru, Suvarnamukhi and Upputeru are the major ones. The Pulikat and Kolleru are natural lakes.

The basins of the Godavari and Krishna almost divide the Deccan highlands between them. The basin of the Pennar also includes a part of the plateau. ‘The small streams and rivulets which emerge from the embrace of the eastern slopes of the Ghats, unite to form these rivers as they gradually pursue an unevent course through the shelving flats of the Deccan, pass through districts which are almost monotonously similar in their physical characteristics (Imperial Gazetteers, Vol. I).

The Godavari in Andhra Pradesh is mentioned as a holy river in the Mahabharata. The Brahma Purana devotes about a hundred chapters (70-175) to the Godavari and testifies to its Sanctity. An inscription of the Yadava King Ramachandra (IA Vol. XIV) describes it as the ornament of Seunadesa. It is the largest and the longest river in South India. It rises in the western ghats and then flows in a South-easterly direction below the Vindhyan range on its way to the Bay of Bengal. Crossing the entire plateau of the Deccan cutting across a valley through the Eastern Ghats it reaches the Bay of Bengal in seven branches forming a large delta at the mouth. This is probably the reason why the river is called the Sapta-Godavari. In its course, the river receives ten tributaries on the left and eleven on the right. The most important among these,
are the Puma, Kadam, Pranhita, Indravati, Sabari-Sileru, Sindphana, Manjira, Maner and Kinnarasani, the first five joining the river on the left and rest on the right.

The Krishna, literally ‘of black hue’ apparently derives its name from the black soil, Krishnabhumi, Karenadu, which it moistens with its water (G. Yazdani, 1960). It rises in the Sahyadri (Western Ghats) near Mahabaleswar about forty miles from the Arabian sea. In length, the Krishna is about 800 miles, i.e., about 100 miles less than the Godavari, but the area of its basin, including that of its two famous tributaries the Bhima and Tungabhadra, stretching about 95,000 square miles, compares favourably with the 112,000 square miles of the Godavari. It flows through the Deccan at first in east-south and then south-east directly. Finally, breaking through the Eastern Ghats, it falls into the Bay of Bengal. In its course, the river receives a number of affluents. Near about Athni it is joined by the combined waters of several streams of which the Koina, Varna and Vena or Yenna are well known. The combined stream of the Krishna and Vena is often mentioned as Krishna-Vena or Krishnaveni. Before entering the former state of Hyderabad it receives the Malaprabha on its right bank below Muddebihal. On reaching Hyderabad, the river drops from the table land through which forces its way down to the celebrated doabs of Sholapur and Raichur. The first of this is formed by its junction with the Bhima, which figures prominently as a Sahya river in the Puranas. The Raichur Doab is formed by the confluence of the Krishna with the Tungabhadra, which is formed by the union of the twin streams, the Tunga and Bhadra both of which have their origin in the western ghats. These two streams after meeting each other near Harihar flow in the north-eastern direction under the name Tunga-Bhadra and join the Krishna north of Nandikotkur in the district of Kurnool. Among other important tributaries of the Krishna mention may be made of the Dindi, Peddavagu, Musi-Aler, Paler and Muner. Thus, swollen by many affluents the Krishna runs past a number of important cities.
and flows through the classic land between the cities of Dhanyakataka-Amaravati and Vijayawada to enter the sea forming a wide Delta.

In the coastal belt the Krishna-Godavari alluvial expanse is occasionally marked by rich Mango-groves, swamps and clusters of tall palm trees, big and small lagoons and low sand dunes near the sea. This alluvial expanse constitutes the agricultural nucleus of the region (Spate O.H.K. 1967). Further up the coast, in the Srikakulam-Visakhapatnam region, there is an occurrence of outcrop of rocks which come close to the sea. The valley floors of this region constitutes of black soil, grade upwards into poorer red soil (Ibid, p. 734). In the extreme south, along the coast that is, in the Nellore region a narrow belt of alluvium intervenes between the rugged interior and the sea. But Nellore generally speaking, is poor land. (Ibid p.738)

The Anantapur - Chittoor basins between the bold scrap of the Palkonda. Range and the higher Mysore levels are isolated and poor, except in the extreme southeast the Nagari Valleys, culturally nearer to Tamilnadu. Below the lateritic apron is a better watered and more fertile piedmont slip, which provides solid belt of paddy and hence major settlements. The Cuddapahs from a crescent -shaped belt traversed by the Krishna and the Tungabhadra in the north and the Pennar in the South, all flowing through such mages as the Erramalais / Seshachalam, Palkonda and Nallamalai. The valley floor though relatively poor, provides some cultivation aided by tank irrigation. North of the Krishna-Tungabhadra valley the Plateau region of Hyderabad – Telangana is rocky and poor, agriculture being largely dependent on whatever hand-made irrigation can achieve.

But these physiographical differences did not prevent the region inhabited by the Andhra People from forming itself into a natural division in a very real sense, somewhat complicated, to be sure, but nevertheless one integrated unit. The lands, and forests, plains and hills are all connected by age-old routes which converge on the two rivers, namely, the Godavari and the
Krishna. Economically too, the division seems to be one unit, its different physiographical region exchanging their produce along common routes. Indeed when one considers the soil and geology, the climate and the language of the region as well as the historic and social situation through the ages, one can hardly help feeling that the Andhra region has a distinct and tangible personality of its own.

The very structure of this natural division seems to have determined the highways of this region. Any physical map of this region would show that there is a large opening along the Krishna Valley, which is still the main line of communication between Maharashtra and the eastern coast through Vidarbha and Hyderabad-Telangana. Here, all along the east the broken chain of the Mahendra-Parvata (hills) separates the coastal strip from the Andhra Plateau. The breaks in the Ghats provide natural routes which connect the two regions, namely the coastal region and the plateau region. Another important pass in the Nallamalai range at Giddaluru links Andhra with Karnataka. Still a third pass through which runs the Madras–Guntakhal railway line, seems to connect the region with Tamilnadu. Indeed, these natural passes seem to have provided the clue to the building of the highways of the region in the protohistoric and historic periods. Besides these natural routes later developed into highways, we have evidence of two other routes which at one time connected Andhra with South Kosala or Mahakosala on the one hand and Kalinga on the other, the first testified by the well-known Allahahad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta and the Itinerary of Hiuen Tsang, for instance (Sircar D.C. 1961, 209-10) and the second, by the existence of early Buddhist sites like that of Salihundam in the Srikakulam district of A.P. (Subramanyam R. 1964, Hyd).

Long ago Jouveau-Dubreuil analysed and showed very convincingly that all important Buddhist establishments in the Andhra region were situated on the highways referred to in the foregoing paragraphs. (Subrahmanym K.R. 1932). It is significant that all these highways pass through the city of Vengipuram, one of the older Capitals of Andhradesa. It is equally meaningful
that this Vengipuram was situated at the very heart of the valley of the Krishna and the Godavari, two rivers which seem to have played an important role in the history of the evolution of civilization in the entire region. Indian Census Reports from the last quarter of the nineteenth century onwards make it clear that of all the physiographical regions of what is now known as the Andhra Pradesh, the Krishna-Godavari valley had highest density of population ("Census. 1961). The agricultural fertility of the soil being the most important determinant in this regard. One can imagine that the situation was not very much different in early historical times. Indeed, this valley was the solid agricultural nucleus around which all other parts of the Andhra region clustered themselves, evidently through a process of crystallization. This process seems to have started even in protohistoric times when agricultural technology was limited presumably to hoe cultivation alone.

Over sixty Buddhist sites of the early historical period have been located in Andhra Pradesh, the maximum concentration being in the Krishna delta, a fertile rice-growing area. An equal number are distributed along the eastern seaboard from Kalingapatnam or Salihundam in the north to Ramatirtham on the Pennar in the South. (H. Sarkar, 1987) Sites are located along arterial routes such as the one passing through Jaggayyapeta, Gajulabanda, Kondapur and Ter. Another Caravan route touched Dhulikatta and Bodhan on the way to Vidisa and Ujjain. A major site enroute from Ter to lower Krishna Valley would have been Sannatti in district Gulbarga on the banks of the Bhima. Exploration brought out a Stupa, a fortified settlement and several inscriptions, some of them being fragmentary (M.S. Nagaraja Rao, 1985). The epigraphs include royal donations and gifts by traders, monks and lay devotees. The last category included a dancer belonging to the Budhasreni.

In the lower Krishna Valley, Amaravati was an important inland port and even today the Krishna is navigable up to this point nearly 120 km from its mouth. Archaeological excavations have been carried out at the neighbouring village of Dharanikota or ancient Dhanyakataka, not to be confused with
Dhenukataka of the Western Deccan inscriptions. These revealed a navigation channel connected with the river, dated between 400 to 100 BC, in addition to the depiction of a harbour on a stele. On the north side of the river are a group of villages long famous for the production of diamonds. (J. Burgess, 1970)

As in the Western Deccan Merchants, monks and nuns figure prominently as donors at Amaravati. The term frequently used for traders is Vanik, a setthi was also the head of a nigama and a Gandhika Vanik, the son of a Vanik. (Luders List No. 1230). The agricultural base of the site is evident from the many donations made by gahapatis (R. Chanda-1919-20). One of the gifts is by a halika or ploughman’s wife Badha who is also referred to in one of the epigraphs at Bhaja. (Ibid. No.56) One of the occupations of the donors, not mentioned in other contemporary records is that of a Cammakara or leather-worker who donated a slab; another is that of a Paniya-Gharika or incharge of water-works. (J. Burges, 1970).

Another early site in Andhra is that of Bhattiprolu which would have been practically on the coast when the Stupa was first built in 200 BC. Ten inscriptions have been found, nine of them incised on three relic caskets and the tenth scratched on a small hexagonal piece of crystal. One of the inscriptions refer to Raja Khubiraka, chief of the Simha Gosthi. Inscription III gives a list of 30 names of persons belonging to a gosthi: a nigama seems to have been a somewhat smaller organization and only 20 names are recorded. Inscription V mentions Kumbha as a Samana or a monk, belonging to a gosthi. In the same record Buba, the son of a gamini or village head man is referred to as a Hiranikara or treasurer. Both the gosthi and the nigama existed at Dhanyakataka and one of the reliefs from the stele at Amaravati refers to the gosthi called Vamda. Another inscription gives the gift of a Dhammakadaka by another nigama. (A Ghosh and H. Sarkar, 1964-65) Indisputable archaeological evidence for the northward trade in pearls comes from Bhattiprolu where 62 pearls were found in a casket (A. Rea-1986).
A few words may be said here with regard to the influence of the ocean upon the life of the Andhra people. The close association with the sea made the inhabitants of the coastal regions fearless and adventurous sailors. The idea of conquering the sea always haunted them and the result was the discovery of a number of places hitherto unknown to them. Going there both as colonists and traders they also widened the geographical horizon of Indian civilization. Levi (Levi 1929) has pointed out that the sea-routes to the East from the ports of Andhra had come into common use many centuries before the Christian era. Trade relations with the west also opened well before the said era. This maritime trade was regulated by the wind currents, better known as the monsoonal wind currents, which are specially important and were perhaps unique in their effects. (Vincent Smith 1807) The monsoon whose regular action was known to the Indian sailors from very early times, was discovered for the west sometime about the middle of the 1st Century AD and since then it had dominated the navigation of the Arabian sea and the Bay of Bengal till the invention of Steamships in the 19th century.

Political Conditions of Early Andhra Desa

Historical Introduction: Satavahana Dynasty

Soon after the Mauryam rule, Peninsular India enjoyed political stability once again under this impressive royal house. The illustratious rulers of this dynasty, according to Puranas endured for nearly four and half centuries, at one time extending their sway from Ajmer in the north and the oceans in the South, East and West. Their political and cultural history bristles with problems. In the absence of an analytical and comprehensive study of the source materials.

The Shorter (H.C. Roy Chawdhary, 1953) (30 BC to AD 200) and longer (V.A. Smith, 1957) (C.270 BC to AD 200) chronologies proposed by the various scholars in the recent past makes it vexed reading. This is essentially because of the gaps in the source materials, lack of problem-
oriented research and perspective and dogmatic reliance on one or the other sources. Hardly 16-out of the 30-kings mentioned in the puranic literature as Andhras or Andhra-Bhrityas are known to have issued coins and inscriptions. Even here, not all of them issued coins and such of these whose coins are remarkable were never known as independent rulers. Puranic accounts no doubt, provide a general narrative of the events connected with the rulers and ruled but the individual details and intrinsic facts that are required for a factual historical reconstruction, lacked consistency and correlative authenticity. A large number of coins in lead, copper and subsequently of silver have been found since last century. Creating awareness among the scholars of the great potentiality of this evidence for writing the political and economic history of the times.

The pioneering work of E.J. Rapson is a model of its kind and continues to serve as a reference book on the subject. After this various scholars notably (late) K. Gopalachari and Altekar, V.V.Mirashi, Gurti Venkata Rao, D.C. Sircar, M. Rama Rao, S.B. Dev, K.D. Bajpai, P.L. Gupta, O. Ramachandraiah and A.M. Shastri have contributed several papers on the subject majority in the journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Excavation Reports, catalogues, etc. M. Rama Rao published a king-and-type-wise list of satavahana coins in 1959 (JNSI, XX). Again the same author prepared two catalogues including the huge collections in the Government Museums at Madras and Hyderabad respectively (Rama Rao, 1961) or (BMGM, 1959 pp.1-26).

He has also discussed the importance and significance of the coin types in his Sankarparvati endowment lectures delivered at Madras University (JMU, 1959) in the year 1959. These catalogues and notices suffered from various defects. (Hurmuz Kaus 1971). However a useful recent addition on the subject is the seminar papers published by Nagpur University in which the M. Rama Rao had made an elaborate stock-taking of the distribution, typology, chronology and historical significance of the Satavahana coinage and a king-wise coin types, then known, were tabulated at the end with published references. (I.K. Sharma, 1985).
Original Home and Rise to Power

In puranas they were termed as Andhra Jativah (Yazdani 1960) (by tribal affiliation and Andhra brityah by their subordinate status), under Mauryas but never as Satavahanas. In inscriptions they were clearly known to have belonged to the Kula (family) designated as Satavahana, and later on popularly as Satakarnis. In Asokan Edicts II, V and XII. Andhras (K.A.N. Sastri, 1957) figure as people occupying the outlying provinces along with Rashtrakutas and Bhojas. During the time of Megasthenese they were a prominent military power occupying the Godavari-Krishna regions with “thirty walled towns” Asmaka, Mulaka territories divided by Godavari were mentioned as a republican state during the 6th century BC. It is perhaps their subordinate status for a considerable period and at various intervals also, that justified the much later puranic appellation Andhra brityah in a very casual way even after their attaining an imperial status. The Andhras contributed a separate tribe (Jati) with a distinct linguistic -geographic set up by the Mauryan times itself. Aitareya Brahmana (5th Century BC) mentioned Andhras as a people and in the inscriptions of 3rd century AD. A specific mention of Amdhapatha or Andhrapatha, (D.C. Sircar 1965) here means the Andhra Country under the control of the Government stationed at Dhanakada. V.S. Suktankar, some time back held that Bellary region was the original habitat to the Satavahanas. It was common practice to name the country after its early inhabitants; ‘Satavahanihara’ (Epigraphia Indica XIV) was so named. Gopalachari (K.A.N.Sastri, 1957, opcit) held that Western Deccan was the ‘Land of their adoption’, but it is quite probable that Satavahanavamsa sprang up from Western Deccan itself, out of the Andhrrajati settled long back in that part of the land. Pauranikas mentioned the Andhra Kings in the larger contexts of tribal affinity and Andhras were perhaps ancient inhabitants of Vindhya country and rose to prominence in the Western and Central Deccan during the Mauryan period. The scene of their political activity as well as the land of their birth, was somewhat within the ancient Asmaka-Mulaka territories. (Indian Antiquity XLII) M. Rama Rao thinks that Satavahanas began their rule in Telangana (Rama Rao, 1961). But it would be more appropriate to say that Telangana region of the present Andhra Pradesh was in the heart of the Satavahana empire right from its very inception and an important home province at that.
Till date neither epigraphic nor numismatic data proves that coastal Andhra regions or Southern Deccan i.e., Karnataka regions- were under any pre-Gautami Putra rulers (Yazdani, 1960) and think in terms of Rapson, Smith, Venkata Rao, R.G. Bhandarker, O.RamaChandraiah and R.Subrahmanyam (Archaeological Series No.3, 1968). On the other hand, explicit evidence (studies in Indian epigraphy, 1978) is accumulating to prove that the early group of Satavahana kings belonged and rose to power in the Northern and Western Deccan and these Pratyanta- Andhra- Karnataka territories came under the grip of Satavahanas only from the time of Gautami Putra Satakarni (K.A.N. Sastri opcit) the great Dakshinapathapati.... and Trisamudra- Toya Pitavahana. Even the problem - oriented stratified excavations conducted both at Amaravati (studies in Indian epigraphy, 1974). Stupa and Dharanikota, (IAR 1962-63, 1963-64, 1964-65). In recent years it is failed to yield even a scrap to evidence, either epigraphic or numismatic pertaining to the Satavhanas prior to Gautamiputra. However, the later Satavahana coins are ubiquitously found, as also their inscriptions. Even in respect of Gautamiputra Satakarni, it has to be noted that not a single coin or record ascribable to him was found so far, in stratified contexts in any sites of coastal Andhra and Karnataka territoris, although we accept his rule in these areas is accepted.

Puranic Sequence: Reconsideration

The historical part of the puranas professes to give the succession of all the princes who have ruled over India from the beginning. The earlier portion, relating to the avowed past, closes with the Great War and is purely mythical. The rest purports to be a prophetic narrative of what will take place subsequent to that event. This part begins by stating that seven dynasties will reign over the kingdom of Magadha, of which the last and the longest is that of the Andhras. The fourth is the well-known race of the Mauryas, the epoch of which has been fixed by the identification of its founder Chandragupta with the Sandracottus or Sandracoptas, who was the ally of Seleucus Nicator. An approximate date is thus obtained from which to calculate the era of those that follow.
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<th>ANDHRA DYNASTY ACCORDING TO THE PURANAS</th>
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<th>MATSYA PURANA</th>
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The double names are variant readings from other MSS. Wilford interposes another name Vataka, between Chakora and Sivaswati
The results so obtained, as will be seen hereafter, do not synchronize with calculations based on other more reliable data, and there is also reason for discrediting the list of princes as they stand in the several Puranas on account of the irreconcilable differences they exhibit, as may be seen by the accompanying comparative tabular statement. (Sir Walter Elliot, 1970)

From this table it will be seen that none of the lists agree absolutely with each other, either as to the succession of the names, or in the specific duration of the reigns. Neither do any of them establish conclusively that the dynasty contained thirty princes, nor that it lasted for the fixed period of 456 or 460 years. One name may probably have dropped out of the Matsya list, which if recovered would easily make up the full nominal tale.

Scholars Opinions:

Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya (S.Chattopadhyaya 1974) has put forth some interesting suggestions after carefully reconciling the puranic accounts. He says that the puranic versions regarding the rule of the dynasty as 277/380 years or 411/448/460 years and correspondingly the number of different kings 17, 19 or 30 have to be cautiously studied, taking together all the evidences. As pointed out by this scholar Vayu and Brahmanda lists seem to be authentic for the early rulers, while for the period from Gautami Putra Satakarni on wards Matsya account is more satisfactory. In the list of the kings detailed 30 kings are shown. Skandasthambi, 5th of the Matsya list is omitted as no Puranic or other sources testify to his rule, but Karl Khandalvala assigns him C.175-157 BC (JIH, LII, p.294). The King number 25 VPS omitted by the Puranic lists accepted Brahmanda for he was a collateral. But there is no doubt about his imperial status and rule over the entire Satavahana dominions; hence he finds a place in the list. We do not agree with Karl Khandalvala (JIH, LII, p.296) who takes him as identical with Yajnasri Satakarni, because of explicit coin evidences, including portrait types and backed by inscriptions. The non-mention of Rudra-Saka, Karna-Kumbha, in the Puranic lists, does, in no way,
deny their rule or issue of the coinage. It has not shown them in the tabulated list here but assigned a period extending from 211-220 AD.

Chattopadhyaya accepts the beginning of the rule of the Satavahana dynasty to the middle of third century BC and places the Puranic Simuka as a restore of the fortunes and independence of the dynasty, some time in Circa 30 BC (S. Chattopadhyaya 1974). Earlier to this Simuka (note the variants of the name Sisuka, Sindhuka, Sipraka, Chismaka etc) nearly 12-kings ruled and the dynasty suffered a set back due to the rise of the powerful Sungas (184-124 BC) and later on Kanvas. After Simuka, 19 (Mastya) or 17 - Kings (Vayu) ruled for nearly 272 years beginning from Circa 40 BC. The pauranika were drafting these incidents after several centuries and hence some confusion arose. But the Brahmanda Purana’s statement concluding the account of the Kanvas clearly echoes the revival of Satavahana Power under Simuka, Perhaps not a too distant epoch.

Kanvayanas- tu-Chatvaras-Chatvarim
Sacha Panha Cha
Sama Bhokshyanti Prithvim Punarh
Andhran gamishyati

(Journal of Indian History, XLIV (1966))

Punah here may mean once more, as well as afterwards. “The Kanvas will rule the earth for forty-five years; then it will again go to the Andhras” O. Rama Chandraiah, (1959) also reconciles with this and credits Pulumavi (1) of Matsya list as the slayer of the last Kana Susarman. The Matsya deems “As to the Andhras, they are pulomas” and all the lists are most complete from this Pulomavi (1) onwards. This name, next to Satakarni, appears to be coveted among the Satavahana Kings. We deem this Pulumavi (1) as an immediate successor of Raya Chhimuka Satavahana, the reviver of the glory of the Satavahanas and the issuer of the Kotilingala coins. Though short-rule, his great achievement over the Kanvas and consolidation lead to the stability of his successor Pulumavi (1) who ruled for 24 years, while according to Matsya his
rule extends 36 years. Similarly, the regional periods of Purindrasena (19) varied from 5 to 21 years. Inspite of these varying accounts, the statement of 272 years of satavahana rule after chhimuka (14) is tentatively accepted. Prior to this siri chhimuka, almost 200 years of rule as indicated. There are several discrepancies between the actual periods and the rule attested in inscriptions visa-a-vis the puranic statements and the explicit coin evidences. Such kings are Gautamiputra Satakarni (23) vasishti putra-satakarni (25), etc. are fully conscious of the lacunae in this ‘sequence of kings’ but there is no hesitation to say that this is the best up to date exercise that could be made amidst a medley of conflicting theories.

Be that as it may, it is of some interest to cite that Vishnu Purana names the dynasty as Andhrabhritya, evidently meaning Andhras who were once servants.

Surely so, the rulers immediately preceding the puranic simuka, remained perhaps as bhriya under the powerful sungas (Numismatic Diget P.L. Gupta) after some initial success in the warring period of the Mauryan rule in the Deccan. The unanimous puranic statements that the last Kanvayana ruler susarman was overthrown by this later Chimuka (11) could thus have taken place some time in circa 40 BC. But this is no way, be a point to dispute the foundation of the dynasty (A.M. Sastri 1978) to the middle of 3rd century B.C. The Puranic Simukha had issued coins also and in the legends, the name is spelt as chhimuka. They have come to light in 1978 from Kotilingal in the district of Karimnagar (Bharati 1978) of A.P. The palaeography of the legends and symbolism on these coins clearly place them at the end of 1st century B.C. But this chhimuka was different and a distant successor of Raya simuka, the first of the puranas, Srirnan of the Satavahanakula and also the first among the Naneghat labeled relievo figures. These unique figures, though mutilated, bear clear label inscriptions assignable to the middle of the 3rd century B.C. in an orderly way and help us to fix the beginning of the Satavahana rule, their art style etc. closely on the heels of the Mauryan traditions. This is amply
corroborated by the other material remains and standing monuments at such sites like Nevasa, Pauni, vidisa, Tripuri, Paithan, etc. More apparently quite a large number of coins, both lead and copper, among the early series presented here reveal unmistakable identity both in technique (like the punch-marked, die-struck and cast) and symbolism to the Indian series of both punch-marked and cost coins from such sites as Eran, Ujjaini, Vidisa and Kosambi. Not only in art, architecture and sculptural styles, (Vidya Dehejia 1972).

But also in the matters of administration, Satavahana rulers were the true successors of the Mauryans. This facile historical framework cannot be broken by coinleading to the theories of shrunken rule and shorter chronology (Gupta O.p. Cit). The overwhelming numismatic evidence further strengthens our stand that the kernel in puranic accounts should be carefully shifted again and again and examined with the help of an assiduously built archaeological, art-historical chronological sequence.

**HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SATAVAHANAS**

Satavahanas could have risen to power only after the end of Ashoka’s rule. Andhras like Rathikas and Bhojakas formed an integral part of the Asokan empire and had subordinate status. Small independent principalities must have cropped up after the down fall of the Mauryan empire and notable among them were Satavahanas in Rishikasmaka- Mulaka; Sadakana rulers around Chandravalli; Kuras at Kolhapur; Maharathis in the bordering areas of Andhra-Karnataka- Kuntala and finally the Kotilingala region was under the Karim Nagar, Adilabad chiefs like Gobhada and Samagopa; and the Warangal tract under some Mahatalavara Siva Sada (Polakonda) presently known only through some coins. (P.L. Gupta 1978 December).

The first king who was expressly stated as Raya Simuka Satavahana, the Sriman of the Satavahana-kula outset a few of these chiefs and succeeded in laying the foundations on independent dynasty and strengthened it by forging
Matrimonial links as well (Maharathis) 1. K. Sharma opined 230 BC as the initial date of this ruler and so also the beginning of the rule of the Satavahanas. The stratigraphical evidence, of the coins at the important excavated sites like Nevasa, Nasik, Paithan, Kaundinyapura, Tripuri and Pauni, confirms the above date. There are no coins of Simuka nor any inscriptions of his reign have come down to us so far. However, from a later record we know clearly that he was the first ruler and the puranas assign him a rule of 23 years i.e., 230-207 BC. The reported Kotilingala coins bearing the legend Chhimuka Satavahana cannot be assigned to this first ruler but to a distant successor of his, who held the same name like Satakarni and Pulumavi of the dynasty. He was succeeded by his brother, Krishna, who is known to us from an ivory seal at Nevasa and an inscription at Nasik both belonging to his reign. Again, I.K. Sharma points out here that this king Krishna, might have been depicted next to Maharathi Tranakayiro in the Naneghat relievo figures. Krishna ruled for 18 years according to the puranic lists; that is between 207 and 189 B.C. He was succeeded by his son, Satakarni- I (C 189-179 BC) who seemed to be a powerful monarch for he was described in the Naneghat record as Vira, Sura, Apratihata-chakra and Dakshanapatha-pati. His coins, although only a single type is known, occurred in the earliest deposits of period IV at Nevasa datable is no case later than the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. The same type of the coins occur in the regions of Medak (Kondapur) and Hyderabad which shows that this ruler might have annexed these regions to the Satavahana empire not long ago, as the few specimens indicate. It appears that Satakarni- I extended his sphere towards north, i.e., Vidarbha and countries above. Although this is purely a conjecture now, it can be substantiated it from the ubiquitaus coins of his immediate successors. The earliest capital city of the Satavahanas seems to be Pratishtana as the early coins from Paithan, Nevasa-Nasik and Aurangabad regions testify. The Puranas variously give 10 and 18 years of rule to this Monarch. But the subsequent inscriptional evidences point out a period of gloom-queen Nagamanika (K. Sharma 1978) with the help of her paternal side
comes to the forefront, the royal kumaras being minors. The eldest of them appears to be Vedasiri, the rightful incumbent to the throne.

Satakarni(1) V/S Kharavela.

All was not well with the ambitiously rising Satavahana power. An equally ambitious Mahameghavahana Maharaja Kharavela appears to have forged into the Vidarbha territory of the Satavahanas. In the second Year of Reign Kharavela sent huge armies to the west without thinking of Satakarni (1) (SII, p.225). The armies reached Kanhabemna and stormed the city of Musikanagara (Sankaranarayanan 1977). It is difficult exactly locate to Musikanagara, but the river Kanhabemna or Kanhavena (SII. P.213) appears to be a tributary of Wainaganga past the village of Khapa and Tahalghat and Musikanagara may be somewhere in this area or slightly west of this. D.C. Sircar held it as Asikanagaram on Krishna whereas others found it to be Muski, in district Raichur of Asokan edicts fame. Again in the 4th fourth year of his reign Kharavela subdued the Bhojakas (Berar) i.e., South Vidarbha and Rathikas (Khandesh- Ahmednagar). Thus, it appears that Kharavela (R.Subramnyam 1968). Checked the rising power of Satakarni 1 and his allies considerably and combined them to Mulaka (Western Maharashtra), their original territory, for at least four years. This caused a great initial set back to the Satavahanas but soon they recovered. This time queen Nagamanika, acting as a regent to her eldest son Vedisiri and with the help of Maharathis retrieved the fortunes of the dynasty.

Firstly this is borne out by the fact that among the Naneghat relieve figures, Maharathi Tranakayiro preceded the King’s father, Rajan Krishna, who was no more and secondly it is clear that Kharavela worsted the Bhojakas and Maharathis too. It is therefore, quite likely that all the aggrieved joined together, avenged on the Chedi king and got back the lost territories. This was befittingly commemorated by the performance of an Asvamedha and the relieve figures perhaps belonged to this period i.e., slightly earlier than the
larger Naneghat record which commemorates many other sacrifices when Vedasiri was the ruler. The Maharathis whose large lead coins were found in Chitaldurg (Karnataka) and recently at Virapuram, District Kurnool (A.P.) clearly indicate that these regions were not under the direct control of Satavahanas, but under the Maharathis. It can not be said, it is sure on that on the point that during this period, the Maharathis, related as they were with the Satavahanas, were subordinate rulers or independent kings, but the possibility of their being independent rulers allied to the rising Satavahanakula is explicit and as D.C. Sircar held that Maharathis, particularly the Satikaputas, i.e., the Sadakana Kalalaya Maharathis of Chitaldurg coins. (E.P. Ind. XXXV, p. 73) were mentioned by Asoka in his Girnar and Erragudi versions (511, pp.17, 549). She appears to have got performed on behalf of her late illustrious husband Satakarni-1 the Rajasuya and a second Asvamedha and numerous other sacrifices. The relieve figures might have been caused to be put during the first Asvamedha sacrifice when her illustrious husband was perhaps alive. Chinmulgund (J.N.SI. XXXVIII) Connects the silver portrait type recently found by him at Junnar to this Satakarni (1) Naganika and credit it to be an Asvamedha type having a wt. standard of a double Karshapana. But the very assignment and its Satavahana origin is questioned R.S. Gupta (1962) held that Junnar was the first capital where king Satakarni-(1) performed an Asvamedha sacrifice. But could it not have acquired this name due to Gautami Putra Yajnasri-Katari’s opinion that Nagamanika was a widow can be agreed (J.N.SI. XVI and XXXII). The sacrifices listed in the larger Naneghat record as mentioned in line 5 are Agnyadheya and Anvarambhiya. These are followed by several other minor danas and sacrifices whose names are lost in lines 7 to 9 in line 10 it is mentioned that a Rajasuya followed by a second Asvamedha in line II. Thus it is clear that this record does not mention the first Asvamedha sacrifice.

Nagamanika had four sons. The first was Vedisiri, the eldest who succeeded to the imperial throne. He bore a title name Purnotsanga, Purnam
Utkrantah Sungari, after routing the sungas. The second Satisri. The third was Mahattakusri and the last Kumara Satavahana.

There are no coins so far attributable to Vedisiri but the larger Naneghat Inscriptions clearly show that he was a ruling king and powerful ruler at that time. The record was put up in the region of Kumaravara Vedisiri. The date portion after this is lost inline. Again in line 6 after Rayasa it could only be filled as Vedisiri.

He was perhaps assisted by his two brothers, Kumara Hakusri and Siri Satavahana at his capital. However, there are no coins of Hakusri and it appears that this prince remained in his brother’s service. An interesting record in the Nasik Cave (E.P. Ind VIII) mentions the building of a Chaityagriha by a daughter of Maha Hakusri, a royal officer.

But the two rajakumaras (princes), Sirisati and Siri Satavahana were the most powerful among the princes of the royal line and seem to have greatly consolidated and extended the empire, firstly under their beloved mother, Nagamanika and later on under the elder brother, king Vedisiri. Vedisiri appears to have put them in charge of the most important northern and eastern territories of the Satavahana empire. It appears clearly that Sirisati and Sirisatavahana were vested with power to issue coins, in their respective territories. It is significant to note the distribution pattern of their coinages in two different localities, never commingle; a numismatic evidence speaks volumes on the Satavahana administration. (Chi. K.A.N. Sastri, 1957). Satisri apparently in charge of Vidarbha, his city could be Musikanagara on Kanhabemna, also perhaps, famous as Benakataka in later times. Rapson E.J.(1908) regards him as Hakusri and Buhler thinks that he might have been the historical original of the Sakti Kumara of the legend. This prince appears to have annexed Anupa, the prestigious Malwa (Ujjain) and Akara (Vidisa). His coins, a unique type by themselves, incorporated the earlier local coin symbolism and clearly depicted the dynamic spirit of this monarch who every
inch justified the name Satisri i.e., Saptisri. Undoubtedly, it was due to him that the power of the Satavahanas extended northwards beyond the Vindhyas. Pushyamitra Sunga (184-148 BC) might have suffered defeat at the hands of Satisri and Akara and Avanti might have been annexed to the Satavahana empire. His coins closely resemble those of Malwa fabric. (K.A.N. Sastri 1957, Op. Cit) But it is quite possible that after Satisri, Pushyamitra again recovered the region as Malva was under his son (Ibid).

On the other hand Sirisatavahana (C179-161 BC) was wielding power from the capital under the very nose of his brother king Vedisiri to start with at Pratishtana, and was later in charge of Mulaka, Asika and Asmaka territories. He issued a coinage in close correspondence with the earlier issues of his father Satakarni (1). S.B. Deo (J.N. SI. XXII) has observed, no coin of king Satavahana is reported so far outside the region covered by Nevasa-Aurangabad, Hyderabad-Karim Nagar-Warangal areas. King Satavahana appears to have checked substantially the Sunga expansion in the Mulaka & Asmaka Territories. The coin evidence from Kotilingala, the copper ones bearing the legends Samagopa and Gobhadra in 2nd century B.C. Characters, stand witness to the rule of Sungas in this part of Andhra Pradesh. But this Sungas dominance was effectively put to a close by the prince Satavahana, while his brother Satisri simultaneously worsted the Pushyamitra Sunga in the Vidisa region. That king Satavahana of the Nevasa issues was the ruler of these regions immediately after Satakarni (1) is established beyond doubt by his coinage that soon followed in the home province. Besides issuing the bull type of his father, he added the elephant for the first time and this is, may it be stressed, not without significance, V.V. Mirashi would like to believe that he was the founder king and initiator of the Satavahana coinage. But Altekar observed (JNSI, XXXII). That king is Kumara Satavahana, son of Sata-Karni-Nagamanika. Again the name of the Kula was due to the name of the family deity and not due to a personal name of the king. It is just the reverse.
But strangely enough, it is found that no mention of Vedisiri nor of any of these three brothers in the Puranic lists is made. It can be justified that we can justify the non-mention of Maha-Hakusri Satisiri and Kumara Satavahana as they were only rajakumaras holding charge of the provinces. The non-mention of Vedisiri is something inexplicable and needs to be reasoned out. A clue is, however, forthcoming. As suggested by Chattopadhyaya, the Vayu and Brahmanda lists can be taken as more reliable than others for the early group of Satavahana Kings. The Vayu does not specify the regnal period of Satakarni (I) the Brahmanda gives 18 years and the Matsya only 10 years. As regards his successor, the Brahmanda mentions Purnotsanga and assigns him 18 years of rule. It appears that the Puranakaras were not clear as to who succeeded king Satakarni (I). The Vayu does not, therefore, give even the regnal period of Satakarni (I). From this it can be deduced that after the tenth regnal year of Satakarni, the Satavahanakula faced distress and his sons ruled with the uncertainty. Following this period, three of his powerful sons simultaneously ruled in various territories and the later Puranakaras got confused as to who should be shown in succession and therefore, the Vayu omits mention of these rulers, whereas the Brahmanda, Vishnu and Bhagavata give the name of Purnotsunguna and assign him 18 years. This king could have well been king Vedisri (161-105 BC) of the inscriptions whose title was perhaps Purnotsanga.

Satakarni (II) (C, 161-105 BC) we shall now pass on to Satakarni II, the most powerful king mentioned in all the Puranas, except the Bhagavata, and was assigned the longest rule of 56 years. As regards the coin evidence, it is not only explicit but extensive and in addition imbibed the features of the coins of the conquered territories of his time, particularly those of the local rulers of Kausambi and Ujjain. Of his period, There is only one inscription so far at Sanchi, as clearly as his long rule witnessed great artistic achievements. Bhilsa (Vidisa) the capital of the province of East Malwa (A Kara) was in the possession of the early Satavahana, is proved by abundant numismatic evidences from that very place in stratified contexts.
It is during this Monarch’s regime that we get the coins as far as Awra, Vidisa, Avanti in the north, Kolhapur (Brahmapuri) in the South-West, Kaundinyapura and Pauni in Vidarbha, Hyderabad in Deccan and Balpur in the east are got. Again we get, for the first time, Satavahana coins in Kathiawad and Gujarat during this Monarch’s period onwards are found. It is surprising that there is no literary or much epigraphical data about this most powerful ruler. The ubiquitous coins of his period speak of his great prowess. They are undoubtedly master pieces among the Satavahana issues. After him, the coinage virtually declined and became poorer in weight standard, depictions and artistic examination. These remarks, however, do not pertain to the silver portrait issues, a later introduction in to the Satavahana series after the Saka Kshatrapas.

After Satakarni (II)

The paucity of coins attributable to this early period is due to several factors. At the outset, it is regretted to say that no serious and systematic attempt has been made to study the Satavahana Coinage typologically or stylistically, particularly in such cases where the legends are partial and ill-preserved. It is felt that some of the unascribable coins of the early group may fill this gap, but a detailed personal observational study is required to assign these doubtful issues which are numerous in every published coin catalogue and museums containing the Satavahana coins. Adding to this, many coin collections are lying unreported or ill-reported with the excavators and explorers.

Other reasons that can be made out are – the rulers following Satakarni II appears to be weaklings and Satavahana’s power was dwindling. It is also quite possible that none among these were politically and economically sound enough to issue fresh coinage and contented with the circulation of older issues. This is supported by the excavated evidence of Nevasa, a site situated almost in the heart of the early Satavahana country.
Lambodara has not been mentioned at all by the Vayu, although other lists consistently assign him 18 years of rule. No coins of this King are available so far. The Vayu refers only to Apilaka (C. 87-75 BC) after Satakarni (II) and assigns him 12 years of rule. There is a single coin of this ruler from Chhattisgarh region, the eastern most border of the Satavahana empire. After him one can get straight away to Putumavi in the Vayu list avoiding the Kings 9 to 14 of the Matsya and Brahmanda lists. Meghasvati, however, finds mention after Apilaka in all the Puranic lists except the Vayu, and Rapson E.J. (1908. opcit) has attributed one doubtful coin of lead to this Monarch. This is accepted by all scholars. This coin came from coastal Andhra region. It is not convinced of the attribution and felt that the coin does not belong to the Satavahanas, not to talk of the early group of Kings. The legend, its paleography, etc prove to be non-Satavahana and no conjecture is necessary to assign this exotic specimen to an early Satavahana ruler. The coin may belong to some other ruler of Andhra of 1st Century A.D. After Apilaka and before Pulumavi I There is a gap in the coin evidence for a period extending from C 75-41 B.C calculated backwards from the initial date of Gautami Putra Satakarni.

**Chhimuka Satavahana (C 40 BC)**

The Kotilingala square issues are fitted in here and this king appears to be the exterminator of the last of the Kanvas from their supremacy over the Satavahana regions. There is only a single type of this ruler and the legend ‘Ramo Siri Chhimuka Satavahano’, clearly shows him as an independent ruler. This king virtually appears to have reestablished the Satavahana dynasty on a firmer basis in the home province after a period of uncertainty for nearly half a century, giving a final blow to the Kanva Susarman. Like the Simuka who routed the Sungas, this Chhimuka was also renowned for the revival of the Satavahana fortunes. Puranakaras remembered this Chhimuka more intimately,
while they reduced these incidents to writing some time during 4\textsuperscript{th}-5\textsuperscript{th} Century, A.D.

\textbf{Pulumavi (I) (C 40-16 BC)}

Pulumavi (I) or Putumavi is referred to by all the Puranic lists except the Brahmanda. The Vayu statement of 24 years of rule as authentic and this ruler appears to be reviver of the Satavahana Power, although presently no other data is except numismatic is available. There are for the first time, assigned a few coins of Three-arched Hill type to this Monarch. Following him, and till the time of Sivasvati (C 26-54 AD) no evidence is forthcoming of any powerful ruler and the empire weakened much as can be seen from the quick succession of Kings within a short duration.

Sivasvati finds mention in all the Puranas except the Brahmanda and ruled for 28 years, indeed a much longer time. Although no coins or inscriptions of this ruler are so far known, a study of the political conditions prior to Gautamiputra’s accession provides a glimpse of this Monarch’s regime.

\textbf{Kshaharata House:}

Among the foreign chiefs occupying the northern regions the Kshaharata house appears to have built up a strong principality in the Gujarat-Kathiawad, Ajmer and Western Malwa regions, as the coins of Kshaharata Bhumaka reveal. (K.A.N. Sastri 1957 opcit). His successor, Nahapana extended his influence Southwards along the Western Coast, held Aparanta and adjoining parts of Mulaka territory, perhaps upto Vaijayanti in the Kuntala Country, as the various Nasik inscriptions of his son-in-law (Ibid) reveal. It would follow then that Nahapana inflicted a crushing defeat on the predecessor possibly the father of Gauthami Putra, perhaps captured the Satavahana capital Pratishtana (Nasik-Poona) as a result of which it is found that Gautami Putra addressing
himself as Benakatakaswami having got crowned at this new capital. Infact, the prideful claim of Gautamiputra as a Satavahanakula- Yasah- Pratishtpanakara appears thus justified in every sense of the term, particularly when the background prior to or at the time of his coming to the throne is observed. It took Gautamiputra a long time, say 17 years, to consolidate his power at home and then he embarked upon a huge military campaign. He recovered in his 18th regnal year the Nasik –Poona region, Aparanta and Kuntala, sent a fleet to Vaijayanti (Senaye Vaijayantiye) soon after this success, further proceeded to north (Avanti and Akara) and killed the Kshaharata Nahapana, thus avenging the atrocities committed by Nahapana on the Satavahana-Vamsa earlier. He not only restruck the silver currency of Kshaharata Nahapana with his royal symbols, as at Jogalthembi but also did not spare even the copper issues.

Gautamiputra Satakarni (C. AD 54-88) Gautamiputra issued copper as well as silver (non-portrait) coins for Ujjain and Akara and his coins are also found in Dakshina Kosala. In this northerly campaign he also crushed temporarily the Saka-Yavana-Pahlva (DC. Sircar J.A.I.H) chieftains who were holding the northern regions of Kachcha- Surashtra, Kukura-Maru and Svabhra regions at this time. Coins of Gautamiputra from Saurashtra, Southern Gujarat (Lata) and Western India corroborate the epigraphical evidence. Cutus, Kuras and Maharathis were possibly ruling the Kuntala and contiguous Andhra territories. The recent coin evidence from Veerapuram or Virapuram (B.R. Subrahmanyam 1979) excavations (District Kurnool) shows that a Maharathi Sivakhada was ruling in the area during this period. As many as 13-coins were reported from the digs all lead, with elephant, walking to left, trunk hanging with the reverse containing the usual Ujjain symbol. Another coin, a lead circular one from Satanikota (I.K. Sharma 1979) excavations is topologically closer to the Cura or Maharathi specimens, has on the observations a Nandipada (Centre spread) Svastika above and a legend partly reading-Siri-Vi Kumararasa along the flan. The reverse side. has a multi-branched tree with fruits or leaves dropping, set in a square frame and wavy line in a rectangular bond.
below. These coin types apparently non-imperial Satavahana issues indicate the rule by certain smaller local kings, who were subdued by the Gautamiputra Satakarni and the empire extended further south by this process. Some of these smaller chieftains could be even related earlier to the Imperial house but enjoying independent status. GPS appears to have consolidated these bordering principalities by putting an end to their independent status and thus it is found that his son and successor VPP (Vasishtti Putra Pulumavi) comfortably placed in the bordering southern territories of Satavahana empire and establishing even a provincial.

Capital at Dhanyakataka in Andhrapatha. His southern expedition is placed much later perhaps after the 24th regnal year. It was a digvijaya in the wake of his tremendous victories in the north. Gautamiputra seems to have performed an Asvamedha sacrifice and issued the unique horse type which was specially under circulation in Coastal Andhra. As a fitting finale of his digvijaya and as a mark of his overlordship of the 10 territories he appears to have struck the 10-arched hill coinage, again for circulation in the newly acquired territories. Thus for the first time in their history, the Satavahanas extended their sway towards the long coastal belts. Prior to Gautamiputra, the illustrious Satakarni II had perhaps the privilege of tasting the waters of the Sacred Ganges but it was left to Gautami Putra to own the title Trisamudra-Toya-Pitavahana. From then onwards, Satavahana coins are found throughout the long eastern coastal belt of Andhra, the Southern Deccan, Western Karnataka and the Aparanta Country. Infact, atleast two (east and west) if not the third, seas remained with the Satavahanas till the end of the dynasty.

**Saka Threat (C. AD. 78-88)**

Gautamiputra’s absence in the north proved a boon. The Satha-Yavana-Pahlva chiefs joined under the Kshatrapa Chasthana who was at this time a Kshatrapa in Surashtra and Rajputana regions. He appears to have successfully broken the Satavahana superiority and captured the entire northern regions.
Akara, Avanti, Kukura, Svabhra, Maru, Kachcha and Surashtra were recovered from the Satavahanas. Thus Chashthana inflicted a crushing blow upon Gautamiputra, now an aged monarch, and the great Dakshinapathapati who, as the fate would have it, saw the decline of his empire during his own lifetime. Chashthana commemorated his great victory with the heralding of the Saka era (A.D. 78) and by transferring the seat of his expanded power to the prestigious Ujjaini, a centrally located city for his dominions. Thus the foundation of the famous Saka era must be linked with the Sakas, Satavahanas and Ujjaini. The rechristening of the Saka era as Salivahana (a later and corrupt form of Satavahana) era very much enshrined in tradition and literature is linked with Gautamiputra Yajna Sri Satakarni who gave a death blow to the Sakas again and revived the glory of the Satavahanas and recovered Ujjaini.

The Brahmanda Purana states that Gautamiputra ruled for 34 years and in fact there is inscriptional evidence up to his 24th regnal year and quite reasonably this king might have ruled for 10 more years after this Nasik record although this decade proved to be most unfortunate for him.

Pulumavi II (C. A.D.88-116). Following the death of Gautamiputra by about A.D. 88, his eldest son Vasisthiputra Pulumavi II succeeded to the throne. Ptolemy clearly refers to Ozene, a place in Larike as the royal residence of Tiastenes, his contemporary ruler at Baithana being Siripolomaios. This then surely indicates that Pulumavi shifted to Pratishtana, the original capital, perhaps the same as the Navanagara of the Nasik record of the year 22 some time after Gautamiputra’s death. This shifting appears to have been necessitated due to the threatening power of Chashthana now in collaboration with his young grandson Rudradaman. The ubiquitous coin issues of Vasishthi Putra Pulumavi found in Coastal Andhra, Southern Deccan and Western Coast (Aparanta) not to speak of the Asmaka, Mulaka and Vidarbha territories, clearly point out a drift of Satavahana power towards the two coastal belts. Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda specially became prominent seats and in fact VPP appears to have consolidated these newly annexed territories under
Dhanyakataka, hence the title Dhanakatakasaminehi. All the early Buddhist establishments in the Andhra Country, were enriched during this long period of Satavahana rule and more so the fabulously rich Amaravati Stupa underwent the most sensuous Satavahana touch and attained envious position in the annals of art and sculpture of the Deccan.

Satavahana appears to have lost interest in the northern territories. Coins of Pulumavi’s period are absent in Avanti-Anupa, Lata-Surashtra-Kathiawad regions. However, a few coins from Bhilsa and Tripuri reveal the hold of VPP on the Akara and Dahala regions. Pulumavi was undoubtedly a ruler of great capabilities and looked to the larger interests of the Satavahana empire which swan economic prosperity under him. Sea-trade appears to have gained significance as revealed by his ship type coins. VPP assisted by his dear younger brother, had to face often the powerful Sakas, Chashthana and Rudradaman. Chashthana continued to rule as a Mahakshatrapa up to A.D. 130 assisted by his grandson Rudradaman (Epigraphia Indica XXXVIII, P.III).

Rudradaman appears to have been, during his long rule, in conflict with two Satakarnis. The first one was perhaps Vasishtiputra Satakarni, the brother of Pulumavi (II). This relates to the earliest conflict when Rudradaman was a Kshatrapa under his grandfather. This ended perhaps in a temporary setback to Vasishtiputra Satakarni who acted under his brother’s command. A sort of patching up was made between the two royal houses by a marriage alliance (Rudradaman’s daughter was married to Satakarni) (JIH, LII 1974) and soon Vasishtiputra Satakarni come to the imperial throne. This must have taken place prior to the Junagadh record some time in A.D. 140. Khandalvala doubts this close relationship (A.S.W.I, V). An epigraph from Sannati mentioning the name Vasishtiputasa Siri Sata confirms the extent of VPS rule in Karnataka as well. But Nasik and Paithan regions were, however, never gone back to Sakas as the continuity of silver portrait types from this very place indicate.
Vasishtiputra Satakarni (C. A.D. 116-145)

Satakarni (IV) thus succeeded to the throne by force of circumstances, setting aside the main line of Pulumavi. The Puranas therefore, do not generally mention this collateral except the Brahmanda which again strangely enough omits VPP. That VPP was an imperial ruler and ruled for 29 years is clear from the evidence of coins also which were found almost throughout the vast empire like those of Pulumavi. Infact, he continued to issue all the types of his brother including the rare silver portrait currency. His coins have been found as far south as Nellore- Anantapur region in Andhra, Chandravalli in Mysore and Brahmapuri, Ter, etc in Southern Maharashtra.

Sivasri Pulumavi (A.D. 145-152)

He is the Siva Sri of the Vishnu Purana manuscript reconstituted by Pargiter and Mirashi. The latter scholar has recently revised his stand and held that Siva Sri and VPP and identical (Mirashi 1975) does not recognize him as an imperial ruler and holds that the coronation name of VPS was Siva Sri. The later discovered memorial stone inscription of Banavasi (SIE, I) issued by king himself in memory of his dead queen and in the light of the silver portrait coin of this king from Dhulikatta with an unmistakably varying portrait of the king on its obverse. There is no hesitation to reject Mirashi’s (Archaeological Studies, Mysore) equation of this king to VPP and his statement that the Siva Prefix was only optional. The coin of Siva Sri were found in Coastal Andhra, Kuntala and Vidarbha. He succeeded VPS and ruled for 7 years and has been replaced by his cousin Siva Khada Satakarni, son of VPS. The wategaon hoard which contains the issues of both these rulers confirms their close successive rule. It is this king who came in conflict with Sakakshatrapa Rudradaman for the second time and about whom Rudradaman speaks that he did not destroy him because of nearness of relationship.
Sivaskanda Satakarni (C, A.D. 152-165)

He was the Siri Khada Satakarni of the coins as pointed out by Mirashi and appears to be the son of VPS and not the brother as argued by Khandalvala (JiH, 1974). V.V.Mirashi (Archaeological Studies, Mysore) amended the reading of the Naneghat record of year -13. In place of Chatrapana, he read Siri Khada and assigned the record to this ruler, which is taken as valid. He is referred by all Puranas except Vayu. His coins, very few indeed were found in Coastal Andhra, Mulaka-Asmaka and Vidarbha and Western Indian territories. It appears from this, that during this period the Saka dominance continued unabated and Satavahana power virtually reduced to the minimum although the conquered southern territories seem to have remained under the firm hold of the imperial authority. His coins with clear matrynomics and closely following the type of his predecessor Siva Siri Pulumavi alike found in identical places and regions point to the fact of their independent rule in close succession. This ruler also issued a portrait silver type of his own and the same was found at Nasik.

Gautami Putra Yajna Sri Satakarni (C.A.D. 165-194)

He came to the throne soon after the power of Saka ruler Rudradaman waned. The Western Kshatrapa territories were once again merged in to the Satavahana empire under this powerful ruler, who appears to have revenged the Sakas, crippled their power for few generations (E.J. Rapson -1908, opcit). captured the prestigious Ujjaini (Avanti) and Surashtra again. Thus the territories knocked away by Chashthana from his great grand predecessor Gautami Putra Satakarni were now fully restored and Saka-era had then been replaced virtually by a Salivahana era in the real sense of the term.

Satavahana coins are found at Sopara, amreli, Baroda, Besnagar, Tripuri etc. The coin and inscriptional evidences of this Monarch corroborate very well. His elephant types from the excavated trenches at Nagarjunakonda, in early historical/ mounds at Padugupadu (District Nellore). Palvoy (District Anantapur) do substantiate the view that these regions were under Satavahana rule. His coins are found as far south as cuddalore in Tamilnadu. He was the last powerful ruler of
the Imperial Satavahana house and indeed an Arka Sri, or Yajna Sri and Dakshanapathapati. That this king was a stanch bhakta of Vishnu and Sri is clear from the symbolic depictions on his coins –Chaitya, Horse and Ship types which contain the Sankha, Padma, Fish and Srivatsa Sri.

Vijaya Satakarni (C, A.D. 194-200)

Arka Sri Yajna was succeeded by Vijaya according to Puranas. He ruled for six years but no other source exists to verify his relationship with GPYS. Coins issued by him were known to from Tarhala-Chanda hoards only but this extreme paucity of coin data need not be taken to doubt his rule over the other areas as a unique silver portrait issue from Nasik would confirm. But one thing is clear. The Satavahana rulers were losing hold over the northern territories after Yajna Sri. The power drifted to South and East but there is no doubt that Vijaya was an imperial ruler and held Maharashtra and Andhra, though the Northern provinces were lost to Saka-Kshatrapas.

Chandra Satakarni (C, A.D. 200-203)

This king appears to have ruled for 3 years. An inscription dated in his 2nd regnal year is reported from Kodavalu near Pithapuram in the East Godavari District. This, in the light of the coins from Pyna and Mukhalingam (Srikakulam), Guntur-Krishna-Nellore districts prove that he ruled over the entire Coastal Andhra. His coins were not found in any other territories and a small lead coin from Tripuri assigned by M.G. Dixit to this ruler in a non-Satavahana issue (J.N.SI, XVI)

Pulumavi (IV) (C, A.D. 203-210)

The coins of this king, the last of the Puranic list were found only in the Tarhala hoard and it is felt that this king was truly the last ruler, and the four rulers not mentioned in the Puranic lists, but available from the numismatic evidence, may be assigned to a date later or at best contemporary to this ruler. The Myakadoni record has been reassigned to VPP and this king has not extended his rule to any other parts.
**Others (C, A.D. 210-220)**

Rudra and Saka seem to have ruled over considerably big territory extending the entire Coastal Andhra regions up to Kanchipuram in the South and Chandatarhala, Hyderabad regions in Central Deccan.

Karna and Kumbha lingered as local rulers for some times to come, and their coins were known only from Vidarbh.

It was now the turn of the early Pallavas in the extreme South, Ikshvakus in Andhapatha, Kadambas in Karnataka, Abhiras in Mulaka, Sakas-Yavanans in Northern territories and Vidarba to devour slowly and steadily the Satavahana empire. But the tradition established by this great power continued all through the centuries. The coin types specially the standard Elephant X Ujjain symbol, the humped Bull, Tree and Lion types served as models for many later dynasties, like the illustratious Ikshvaku rulers of Sripurata Vijayapuri (R. Subrahmanyam, 1962) Vishnukundis early Pallavas and to some early rulers of Tamil Nadu (T.V. Mahalingam 1978) too. A dated coin of Abhira, (Marathwada Sam Sadhan 1976) Isvaradatta from Indore, bearing Saka era 154 (AD 232) equated to his 4th reginal year (V.V. Mirashi- Journal Epigraphic Society of India, 1979).

**Social Conditions**

The varna structure has been referred to in several texts compiled during the centuries around the Christian era. Kautilya in his Arthasastra maintains a four-fold division of caste and ascribes agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade to the Vaisya together with injunctions to bestow gifts, offer scarifices and to study-duties which are common on the dvijas (1.3.7) (Kangle-1963). The Sudra on the other hand, should engage himself in economic activities and in the professions of the artisan and the actor apart from the prescribed task of ‘dvijati susrusa’ or the service of the twice-born castes (1.3.8). A little later in the same section, Kautilya praises the beneficial qualities of agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade and stipulates that the king should encourage these. The Manusmrti (Beuhler 1964) (1.88-91)
follows the Arthasastra in this division, the only difference is that it allows the vaisya to lend money, but prescribes only one occupation to the Sudra; to serve meekly. The activities of artisans are listed by Manu among the occupations of mixed varnas. Inspite of the injunctions to the Brahmanas and Kshatriyas warning against the practice of agriculture, it states that learning mechanical arts, work for wages, service, rearing cattle, agriculture, receiving interest on money and alms are the modes of subsistence permitted to all men in times of distress (X.116).

The Bhattiprolu, Amaravati and Western cave inscriptions give an insight into the social organization of the Deccan from the 2nd Century B.C. to 3rd Century A.D. and from the Amaravati sculptures give a vivid picture of life in the Andhradesa. The four-fold division of society- the caste system-prevailed we hear of Usavadatta’s charities and gifts to numerous Brahmans. Gautamiputra Siri Satakarni boasts of having prevented the contamination of the four castes and of having been the true supporter of Brahmans. Yet one of his descendants took his wife from the Saka Satrapal family and the Sakas were looked upon as degraded Kshatriyas. It is doubtful whether Buddhism toned down the caste system even to the extent to which these foreign elements in society did (Gopalachari 1976). At Kuda an Upasaka Ayitilu calls himself Bammhana (A.SWI, Vol. IV). His wife is called Bammani. Mahadevanaka of a Karle Inscription who would seem to be Aritilu’s son bears the title of Gahata. In the Sarman ending in the names of Buddhists, Monks and Laymen, there is probably one of the Brahmanial Vestiges in the Buddhist Communities. (ASWI, Vol. IV, Jnnar No.19). Kshatriyas would sometimes seem to have followed the profession of the Vaisya Caste. In a Kanheri inscription Gajasena and Gajami (ta) the Kshatriya brothers, follow the profession of Vanijakas. (ASWI, Vol.V). Unfortunately the lacunae before Khatiyaṣa, makes the meaning of the word not quite certain. The sub-castes met with in inscriptions are those of the halaka or halika (El, Vol. XV) Murdhaka a branch of Kshatriyas, and golika (herdsman) (ASWI, Vo, IV, No.2).

Most of these arts and crafts were organized into ‘guilds of which the following are mentioned : (1) weavers (Luders, Nasik, 1133), (2) Potters (Kularika) (Lud, Nasik, 1137), (3) Oil Millers (Tilapitika), (ibid, p.37) (4) Bamboo

**Yavanas and Sakas in Andhra**

Of Yavanas in the early Andhra Country nothing was heard it is however certain that Graeco-Roman influences played a great part in the fashioning of the Amaravati tope, and as will be shown below the inscription from Alluru. (IA.Vol. XL) is another piece of evidence for Greek influence. Of the Sakas something was heard. An Amaravati inscription of the second century A.D. mentions a Saka-guri not as akagiri as read by Chanda, or pi (si?) giri as read by F.W. Thomas) (E.I. Vol. XV) Another mentions a .... Ratika Nekhavana' and Nekhavana curiously reminds us of the person's name Nahapana (Ibid)

More Sakas would seem to have entered early Andhra in the wake of the marriage of Virupurushadata with the daughter of a Western Ksatrapa. A Nagarjunakonda epigraph (E.I. Vol.XX) mentioned a saka ‘Joy’ and his Buddhist sister Budhi. Among the Sculptures excavated by Mr. Longhurst at Nagarjunakonda there are two showing a warrior in Scythian dress.
Semi-nude, Helenestic Figure earring a Horn
From Nagarjuna Konda

Retainer in Scythian Dress, Nagarjuna Konda
Scholars Opinions

Stein argues that from a social point of view 'Yavanas' whoever they might have been were absorbed by Indian society and it is unlikely that Greek colonies existed around the beginning of the Christian era (Stein 1934). Kosambi has, however, opposed this view and suggested that Deogadh on the opposite curve of hills from Karle be identified as Dhenukataka and that a Greek settlement may have been situated at the site (Kosambi-1955). He has also read one donor's name as Milinda the Physician instead of Mitidasa and suggests that he may also have been a Yavana (ibid) Sircar (Sircar 1976) has pointed out that Dhenukataka should not be confused with Dhanyakataka, the ancient name of Amaravati.
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