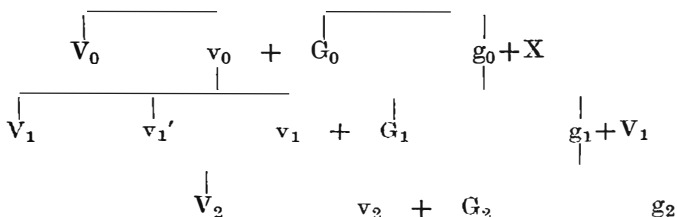


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**Śātakarṇi Succession and Marriage Rules.**

*By* K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

In the latest edition of his work on early history of India, Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has raised certain objections <sup>1</sup> to my theory of Śātakarṇi succession and marriage rules.<sup>2</sup> The summary he has given of my arguments is however extremely inadequate, and in some places, wrong. I had argued from certain facts that there were two lines of kings, who followed matrilineal succession. Also, as the patrilineal *kula* was continued to be transmitted, in spite of matrilineal descent, some form of kin-marriage must have taken place. I postulated cross-cousin marriage, the simplest type of such a marital rule; and indicated a certain amount of evidence in support of this suggestion. I pointed out that the metronymics Vāsiṣṭhiputra and Gautamīputra alternated among the later Śātakarṇis and drew up a genealogical table indicating how matrilineal succession and cross-cousin marriage probably worked. It was of course schematic, and did not indicate certain complexities which are inevitable. Cross-cousin marriage may diagrammatically be represented as follows, using V, G as symbols of two matrilineal families, the capitals denoting men while minors stand for women:—



If  $v_1$  marries  $G_1$ , or  $g_1$  marries  $V_1$ , it will be cross-cousin marriage. If the families are of royal rulers and succession is matrilineal,  $V_0$  will be succeeded by  $V_1$  and then by  $V_2$ . Similarly  $G_0$  will be succeeded by  $G_1$ , and then  $G_2$ . If the two types of cross-

<sup>1</sup> *Political History of Ancient India*, by Hema Chandra Ray Chaudhuri, (4th edition), Calcutta, 1938, footnote pages 341-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Social Organization of the Śātakarṇis and Suṅgas*, by K. P. Chattopadhyay. *Journ. and Proc. Asiat. Soc. Ben*



cousin marriage are both in operation  $V_1, V_2 \dots$  will be sons of  $G_0, G_1 \dots$  and  $G_1, G_2 \dots$  will be sons of  $V_0, V_1 \dots$  respectively. But it may happen that a particular heiress  $v_1$  has no children or at least no daughter. Then the heiress will be  $v_1'$  or her daughter. The princess  $v_1'$  may have married in a different *kula* (of patrilineal descent) and the son will not be the offspring of  $G_1$ . Again, there may be no nearly related heiress of the royal family of this gotra or mother's social group. In that case the succession may pass to another group of kin and a new metronymic may be introduced. Similarly,  $G_0$  may not have a son and some other kinsman may marry  $g_1$ . Or  $g_0$  may not have a daughter; and a distant heiress may take her place.

My suggestions did not therefore go to the extent of stating that all the predecessors of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi or all his successors were of the same mother clan. I restricted my observation to the next two generations and postulated cross-cousin marriage to explain it. In actual fact, I pointed out a big break in the line of the rulers of the northerly realm, termed by me the Q kingdom, to avoid introducing implications of exact limits to it. It is therefore not correct on the part of Prof. Ray Chaudhuri to say that according to my views the Matsya Purāṇa contained the full list of Gautamīputras and Vāsiṣṭhīputras, but the revised list in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas contain only the names of the Gautamīputras. What I stated was that barring certain exceptions, explained separately, the revised list contained only names of kings of the ancestral R kingdom, among whom succession was matrilineal.

Again I made it clear in this connection that in matrilineal inheritance and succession, it is often permissible and usual for a father to hand over acquired property to a son. For a king, acquisition of property usually means conquest of a kingdom or obtaining it by political alliance. A king's son can therefore succeed to a conquered kingdom even among a matrilineal people. The stress laid by the Śātakarṇis on their patrilineal *kula* and its preservation shows that their social organisation, though based on mother-right, was mixed with father-right in certain respects. Such a mixed people generally result from the union of two sets of people, one observing father-right and the other, mother-right. The traditions of origin of the Śātakarṇis point to mixed descent.<sup>1</sup> There would be nothing surprising in the succession of a son to a kingdom (acquired kingdom) under

<sup>1</sup> According to the Kathāsaritsāgara, claiming to be based on the Bṛhat-kathā, the first Śātavāhana was born of a Yakṣa father and a woman who was the daughter of a Rṣi. See verse 88 ff. (edition of Durgāprasād, revised by Kāśināth Sarmā: Bombay Śaka 1811-1889 A.D.)

A different and later tradition makes him the son of a Nāga father and Brāhman mother. See Vikrama's Adventures (Vikrama Carita) edited by F. Edgerton, Oxford University Press, 1926, page 18, etc.

the circumstances noted, notwithstanding the rule of matrilineal succession. This last rule would however apply even in that acquired realm in the next generation, since the kingdom would then have become inherited property. Again, by cross-cousin marriage a son's son is the same as the sister's son of a sister's son; for the son marries the sister's daughter. The occurrence of succession of a grandson to the throne is therefore expected in such a social group and does not form an exception. These points have not been noted in the summary by my critic, and several of the objections raised by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri have been made overlooking these elucidations in my paper.

Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has also objected in general—

- (a) that certain names of kings or connected facts which have been stated by me as recorded in the Purāṇas, in a certain way, are not so recorded in a few versions (out of a large number);
- (b) that the association which I have indicated between the use of metronymics and the regal title by kings, in their inscriptions and coins have some exceptions.

Before discussing the objections in detail, it is desirable to consider certain general principles with regard to treatment of data.

In any scientific experiment or observation, readings may be taken by different observers. These readings may be of different degrees of accuracy for various reasons. Further, in every observation certain corrections have to be applied. In general, the observers who take the same precautions with the same care will tend to arrive at closely agreeing results. Other observers may not however take equal precaution or apply necessary corrections. Their results will differ from those of the first group, and generally also among themselves. Again even among the careful observers, there will be a small number of readings distributed at some distance from the central or approximately central reading. So long as the range of deviation is not large compared to the total magnitude of the readings, the observations may be treated as accurate. It is not permissible however to consider together with such closely agreeing observations, records of other experimenters which diverge very widely, or disclose internal evidence of oversight of some important precaution or precautions. If it can be shown or presumed that some precaution or correction has been overlooked, such wide divergence may be held as not unexpected. Such data cannot however be compared with other data noted with care. If however it is held that it is not possible to ascertain in the case of any of the different sets of readings whether proper precautions were taken, the entire data should be rejected. A

set of readings cannot be termed unreliable and at the same time be used in opposition to reliable data.

These considerations are necessary, as the dynastic lists in the different Purāṇas with regard to the Śātakarnis vary a good deal, and introduce certain chronological difficulties. The different Purāṇas which furnish information with regard to this dynasty were carefully examined by Pargiter,<sup>1</sup> using a large number of manuscripts and editions. Pargiter examined twenty or more versions each of the Matsya, Bhāgavata, the Vāyu,<sup>2</sup> the Bombay edition of the Brahmāṇḍa which was based on several MSS., and twelve versions of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. All these seventy and more versions agree on certain points and disagree on other matters.

Thus, the Matsya MSS., except one, state that the total duration of the Andhras was 460 years. The Vāyu, Bhāgavata, Brahmāṇḍa, and Viṣṇu agree that it was 456 years. The discrepancy is negligible as being less than one per cent. The total of the reigns of all Andhra kings is therefore a point on which all the Purāṇas agree. Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has stressed the solitary exception in a Matsya MSS., but such stress is not justified. He has also referred to a Vāyu passage that the Andhras ruled 300 years. But the passage does not occur in any version with reference to the Andhra kings considered here. It is used in connection with the rule of their servants (teṣām bhṛtyānvayā nṛpāh) who were also Andhras or descendants (vaṁśāh) who were not a dynasty of paramount kings.<sup>3</sup> The Matsya calls them Śrīpārvatīyāḥ Āndhrāh. The reference to years does not probably even mean 300 but is a misreading, as a comparison with the closely similar line in Matsya shows.

Next we may consider the number of kings said to have ruled in this dynasty. The Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata state that there were thirty kings. The Matsya notes that there were only 19 kings but the different versions name a number of kings varying from 20 to 30. The Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa name usually 18 or 17 kings.<sup>4</sup> The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata name usually 24 and 23 kings. The actual distributions are as follows (excluding versions which have no lists):—

<sup>1</sup> The Purāṇa Text of the dynasties of the Kali age, by F. E. Pargiter, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> I have counted as separate versions only those MSS. which are said to note variants. They represent independent opinions or observers.

<sup>3</sup> Pargiter, *ibid.*, p. 45. The references will be shown hereafter merely as (P) and in the text.

<sup>4</sup> It is printed on p. 36 that the Vāyu included kings 6-8 but the hyphen is a misprint for a comma, as the footnote No. 43, p. 39, shows. Another misprint is 20 for 30 in the group 15-20 in the statement of kings shown in Bhāgavata.

Purāṇa.	No. of Versions.	No. of kings named.
Matsya	2	30
	1	29
	4	28
	7	27
	1	25
	1	24
	1	21
Vāyu	1	20
	7	18
	10	17
	2	16
	1	25
Viṣṇu	9	24
	1	23
	2	22
Bhāgavata	19	23
Brahmāṇḍa	....	17

The fact that the four Purāṇas in all their versions (practically) agree that there were thirty kings proves that there was a tradition of this number of kings. These four Purāṇas agree about the total regnal period of this set of 30 kings. The Matsya also agrees about the duration, thereby indirectly supporting the tradition of thirty kings. It supports it also directly by naming 30 kings in two versions. The wide variation in number and names in the other versions shows that these editors were of opinion that some of these thirty kings indicated by exclusion, each in his own edition, were not entitled to have their names preserved in the dynastic lists. The Matsya Purāṇas generally, notwithstanding the divergence in number named, have noted a tradition of only nineteen kings being entitled to have their names included in the list (of paramount rulers). The diminished number in some manuscripts of the Matsya indicates that an attempt was made to cut down the names to near about nineteen. The Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa versions agree very closely regarding the number and names of kings. The only MSS. which deviates sharply shows a hopeless confusion in the arrangement of names and may be rejected as representing records of an inaccurate and careless observer. Pargiter states that its diction is 'rather illiterate' (P. III). The only difference between the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa versions is with regard to king Cakora who is said to have ruled only six months. Two Vāyu MSS. include his name. Clearly there was doubt whether this short reign was of a kind to justify inclusion. There is therefore a close agreement between the tradition of 19 kings in the Matsya versions, and the 17 or 18 kings found in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa in their numerous versions.

The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata agree about 30 kings and their regnal period with the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, but include, in addition to the names in the two last-named records, six or seven other kings. Obviously the number of kings does not fit in with either of the two traditions preserved. But the different versions agree quite well. We may therefore conclude that there must have been a certain uniform failure to apply a correction or a uniform source of error in the case of these two Purāṇas.

From a study of the language, errors in spelling, and grammar of the different versions, Pargiter has concluded 'that the Sanskrit account as it stands in the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmāṇḍa is a Sanskritized version of the older Prakrit ślokaś' . . . but the main portions of the Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu are held to 'consist almost entirely of a condensed redaction'. The Viṣṇu account is held to have been composed on the basis of the same sources as the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmāṇḍa. But 'the Bhāgavata account . . . . . is evidently a later redaction', and was probably composed several centuries after the other accounts. There are indications that 'it must have been composed directly in Sanskrit' (APP., I, P). We know that the writers of the Purāṇas were definitely patrilineal, and they were looking for patrilineal genealogies. Let us imagine such editors of dynastic lists with the Matsya, and Vāyu or Brahmāṇḍa versions or the records which led to the drawing up of those editions before them. The Matsya version may be imagined to have been one with the full list of thirty names and the Vāyu the usual version with 18 names. In other words we consider our imaginary editor of Viṣṇu for example as examining the two distinct traditions of thirty kings and nineteen kings, with practically their full lists. He may try to supplement the list with references from literature and other tradition current in his time. If he finds that certain names not noted in the revised Vāyu list are of sons of kings shown in it, or of their father, he will conclude that they ought to come in, for he will be expecting them to occur there in patrilineal succession. Let us see how far we can explain the intermediate number of kings in the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata on such a view.

The thirty kings in the order in which they are named generally, on the basis of the different versions, are as follows:—

- |                    |                        |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Simuka.         | 11. Skandasvāti.       |
| 2. Kṛṣṇa.          | 12. Mrgendra.          |
| 3. Śrī Śātakarṇi.  | 13. Kuntala.           |
| 4. Pūrṇotsaṅga.    | 14. Svātiv (= K)arṇa.  |
| 5. Skandhastambhi. | 15. Pulomāvi.          |
| 6. Śātakarṇi.      | 16. Ariṣṭakarṇa.       |
| 7. Lambodara.      | 17. Hāla.              |
| 8. Āpilaka.        | 18. Mantalaka.         |
| 9. Meghasvāti.     | 19. Purīndrasena.      |
| 10. Svāti.         | 20. Sundara Śātakarṇi. |

- |                   |                  |
|-------------------|------------------|
| 21. Cakora.       | 26. Śivaskandha. |
| 22. Śivasvāti.    | 27. Yajñaśrī.    |
| 23. Gautamīputra. | 28. Vijaya.      |
| 24. Pulomā.       | 29. Caṇḍaśrī.    |
| 25. Śivaśrī.      | 30. Pulomāvi.    |

The Vāyu list of 18 names include kings 1-3, 6, 8, 15-23, and 27-30. The Brahmāṇḍa leaves out 21, which is excluded in 11 Vāyu MSS., while two other Vāyu MSS. exclude Āpilaka and one also No. 30, Pulomāvi. The Viṣṇu mentions 1-4, 6-9, 15-30 generally; but one MSS. leaves out 4, 6, another 21 and a third 28, 29. We may neglect these cases as minor accidental variations. The Bhāgavata names 1-4, 7-9 and 15-30 (wrongly printed as 15-20 in Pargiter's book). As it is a later redaction, clearly it is following the Viṣṇu or at least the original version on which the Viṣṇu was based.

A comparison of the Viṣṇu list with the Vāyu list shows that the former includes the following additional kings:—

- 4, 7, 9, 24, 25, 26.

As No. 4 was successor to No. 3 who was a son of No. 2, and the latter an agnatic kin of No. 1, the editor might include him, considering it possible to treat him as also an agnate. But this would not apply to No. 5 who was not succeeded or preceded by a king known definitely to be a son or brother of a king. Again Lambodara No. 7 is said to have been a son of Śātakarṇi No. 6, and Āpilaka No. 8, of Lambodara No. 7. The Viṣṇu editor may therefore have left out No. 5, considering that Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 are related or likely to be related according to his known ideas of patrilineal kinship and after them also 6, 7, 8. This would seem to justify our editor in such revision. Again, the king immediately after Āpilaka may justly be included, as he might be an agnatic kin after all, but other unrelated names further down will be considered doubtful. No other kings before 15 are noted as sons or brothers in any version. Since all our editor's predecessors including those with longer as well as shorter lists agree in naming kings 15-23, the Viṣṇu editor will accept these names. King No. 24 is however a famous king, and noted as a son of No. 23 in the longer list. So his name will be added; No. 26 is said to be a son of a king and will therefore be held as worthy of inclusion. But this cannot be done without including his father No. 25. The rest 27-30 are again given in all the earlier Purāṇas. We can therefore explain the addition of six kings to the Vāyu list on the view that our later Purāṇa editors had a patrilineal bias and were seeking to fit the lists into patrilineal succession. The Bhāgavata which follows the Viṣṇu revision has one obvious weakness. The king Lambodara is said to be the son of Śātakarṇi and not of Pūrṇotsaṅga. But the revision makes Lambodara son of Pūrṇotsaṅga as the

Bhāgavata leaves out Śātakarṇi altogether. But it adds tat-sutaḥ and similar phrases in a number of new cases not found in any of the other Purāṇas. Such an extension of patrilineal succession is logical to the Bhāgavata editor. For, if sons were following fathers as kings, there was no harm in mentioning this relationship even in cases where earlier versions did not mention it. Thus he adds tat-sutaḥ to the successor of Śivaskandha No. 26 and also to the next king Yajñaśrī, and his successor Vijaya, obtaining a patrilineal succession in this way for five generations. Similar additions are made for Pūrṇotsaṅga and also Hāla. None of the other Purāṇas support these relationships.

Although it is not possible to offer any direct proof of the reasons for the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata versions in the absence of any explanatory notes left by the editors of those versions, it can be shown that the Bhāgavata is wrong in its addition of the relationship clause in the solitary case where there is an inscription of such a king. It has also wrongly shown the relationship of Lambodara.

The Nanaghat cave inscription<sup>1</sup> of the lord of dakṣiṇāpatha identified with Śrī Śātakarṇi of the Purāṇas (No. 3) and *Siri Sātakani* of the legend under the relievos in the same cave definitely stated that he (or his queen) had two sons Vediśrī and Śaktiśrī. Śrī Śātakarṇi was already dead at the time; but there is no mention of any king Pūrṇotsaṅga among his sons, or in any inscription under any image. Some scholars have expressed the opinion that this difficulty is not serious as Pūrṇotsaṅga may have been a *biruda*. But a comparison of the names of kings in the Purāṇas and the inscriptions and coins does not permit this assumption. If we allow for changes due to conversion of a spelling in Prakrit to Sanskrit, the two sets of names agree extremely well. The deviations that occur are obvious misreadings and do not support a *biruda* hypothesis.

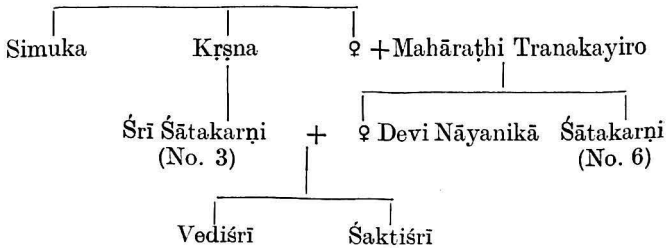
<i>Name in Purāṇa</i> (with recognisable variants).	..	..	<i>Name in inscription or coin</i> <sup>2</sup> .
Śiśuka } ..			Simuka.
Sindhuka } ..			
Kṛṣṇa ..			Kaṇha.
Śrī Śātakarṇi ..			Siri Sātakani.
Gautamīputra ..			Gotamīputa.
Pulomā ..			Puḷumāvi.
Yajñaśrī ..			Siri Yaña.
Śivaśrī ..			Siva Siri.
Caṇḍaśrī or Candraśrī ..			Siri Caḍa, or Siri Cada.

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. V, London, 1883, Chap. XII. The Nanaghat Inscriptions, by Prof. G. Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> Most of these will be found noted in the *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, by E. J. Rapson, London, 1908. Detailed references will be found in my earlier paper. Rapson's work will be referred to as BMC in future.



Such a close agreement debars us from assuming that Pūrṇotsaṅga of the Purāṇas was really Vediśrī. As Bühler suggests, it is more probable that the two princes never came to the throne but died before succession. A reference to my table of cross-cousin marriage and matrilineal succession in my previous paper will show that this is expected from the Purāṇa list. I have shown in the list that the sister's son of Śātakarṇi No. 6 never came to the throne; but this king was succeeded by the next heir, the sister's daughter's son, who was also the son's son, Āpilaka. But Śātakarṇi (No. 6) is shown in my table as sister's son of Simuka and Kṛṣṇa and therefore a cross-cousin, of No. 3 Śrī-Śātakarṇi, father of Vediśrī. The sister of No. 6 would therefore be wife of No. 3, Śrī Śātakarṇi, while No. 6 would marry the sister of No. 3 and have Lambodara as son.



Therefore the sons of No. 3 Śrī Śātakarṇi, i.e. Vediśrī and Śaktiśrī, would be the heirs of No. 6 Śātakarṇi. But I concluded from the relationship of the successor of No. 6 (Śātakarṇi) to the same king, that they had died before the end of his reign (which was very long) and hence been succeeded by the heir of next generation. The evidence of the inscription and of the Purāṇas therefore fit in and verify my genealogical and successional table unexpectedly.<sup>1</sup> The regency of queen Nāyanikā suggested by Bühler supports my hypothesis of matrilineal succession indirectly. Her son was going to rule over her kingdom, which had been managed, i.e. ruled by her brother according to the usual practice among mother-right people. This case is comparable to Gautamī Bālaśrī's mention of making gifts in her own royal right. It further proves my conclusion with regard to the Bhāgavata revision and addition of spurious kinship notes. It is established therefore, as far as historical facts can be established, that a new factor, i.e. bias towards patrilineal succession, in these records—satisfactorily explains the odd revision resulting in a total of kings definite in number but intermediate between

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Ray Chaudhury has for unknown reasons held that Śrī Śātakarṇi and Devi Nāyanikā were not cross-cousins. I have discussed this point later. The genealogy postulated here by me is subject to the limitations regarding cross-cousins previously noted.

19 and 30. We may therefore consider the curious Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata versions as satisfactorily accounted for. Also, the kinship between one king and another as noted in Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata cannot be accepted unless at least some reliable version of Matsya, Vāyu or Brahmāṇḍa corroborates it.<sup>1</sup> We may now proceed with the hypothesis, which satisfactorily fits into the traditions of all the Purāṇas, that there were 30 kings who ruled for 456-60 years; but that only 19 were entitled to have their names shown in the list of paramount kings.

In my previous paper I have discussed this point and considered thereafter the reasons for inclusion or exclusion of names of kings in the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas. The Andhra list, like that of the Śuṅgas and the Mauryas is of a sovereign power, acknowledged to be such in their time. The evidence that such supreme position was the reason for inclusion of particular dynasties in separate lists in succession to one another, was noted. A single great king in a dynasty, followed by failure to maintain the supremacy later on, against the challenge of a rival dynasty did not entitle a line of kings to a separate place in such order. Such dynasties which gave an occasional great king are generally shown in the Purāṇas together with their rivals as contemporary rulers. Such an era, when no single dynasty could claim continued supremacy, occurred after the fall of the Śātakarṇi emperors and is so indicated in the Purāṇas.

According to the statement, which occurs in the Purāṇas along with certain lists of sovereign powers that 'in this connection, the genealogical verse was sung by ancient Brahmanas',<sup>2</sup> it follows that the thirty Andhra kings were held to be related, as well as bound by succession. As pointed out here and in my earlier paper, the principal dynastic lists appear to have been drawn up showing the genealogy as well as succession of sovereign kings. The kings retained in the revised list therefore fitted into the genealogy as well as succession, while those excluded must have failed to satisfy at least one of these conditions. As the versions at first included all the kings (to get the total of 30), it is probable that the genealogical connection was present. But the exclusion shows that the other factor, succession, was probably absent. Since genealogy to the Purāṇa writers implied patrilineal descent, it suggests that the succession did not agree with such descent. In other words it was probably matrilineal. I have discussed this point in detail in my earlier paper which may be consulted in this connection.

<sup>1</sup> The different Matsya versions disagree among themselves too greatly to permit of any attempt at finding out the possible reason for error. Even the 7 versions with 27 names disagree among themselves. The different MSS. between them exclude Nos. 1, 2, 5, 7-13, 15, 18-25 and 29. We can only conclude that different editors proceeded on different principles and none hit on the right explanation

<sup>2</sup> Pargiter, *ibid.*, Text pages 8, 12 and also 66 and 67.

Let us examine the lists to see what kings actually have their kinship stated with regard to other kings in the earlier reliable versions, and how they fare under the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa revision. I have already noted reasons for not considering kinship statements (of patrilineal descent) in the Bhāgavata when not corroborated by the earlier versions. I shall therefore treat as later and unsupported the addition of kinship relations in the cases of Pūrṇotsaṅga (No. 4), Mantalaka (No. 18), Yajñaśrī (No. 27), and Vijaya (No. 28). The Bhāgavata makes No. 3, No. 17, No. 26 and No. 27, the respective fathers of these kings. At least three of them, Nos. 3, 17 and 27, were famous rulers, known as great kings; and if any of them had really been succeeded by sons or if Yajñaśrī had succeeded his father that fact would have been recorded in the earlier versions which were composed within two centuries of Śātakarṇi rule and one of which was probably composed in Yajñaśrī's time. This is not however the case. As noted before, the Bhāgavata was composed much later; and it has carried forward the extension of patrilineal succession under a bias in its version.

The instances of kinship, noted in the earlier versions, or corroborated by two Purāṇas are as follows:—

Serial No.	Name.	Kinship.	To king.	No.
2	Kṛṣṇa ..	Brother	Simuka ..	1
3	Śrī Śātakarṇi ..	Son	Kṛṣṇa ..	2
7	Lambodara ..	Son	Śātakarṇi ..	6
8	Āpīlaka ..	Son	Lambodara ..	7
24	Pulomā ..	Son	Gautamīputra	23
26	Śivaskandha ..	Son	Śivaśrī ..	25
29	Caṇḍaśrī ..	Son	Vijaya ..	28

The line which refers to No. 26 as the son of No. 25 is not found in a large number of Matsya MSS. in that form.

The succession of Kṛṣṇa to Simuka is not debarred on patrilineal succession but fits in equally well or better in matrilineal succession. Śrī Śātakarṇi was a great king who carved out a kingdom for himself and performed the aśvamedha ceremony. He was therefore entitled to mention in the Purāṇa lists as he was a paramount ruler and also genealogically connected to his predecessor. He is however merely mentioned as a great king, and no regnal period is given in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, although this is clearly stated in the Matsya. This may be held as partial exclusion.

The king Lambodara is not shown in the revised list. Āpīlaka as the son's son of Śātakarṇi is entitled to rule over the ancestral kingdom as already explained in the preliminary note on cross-cousin marriage and matrilineal succession. Agreeable to this fact, we find that his name is not excluded in the revised version.

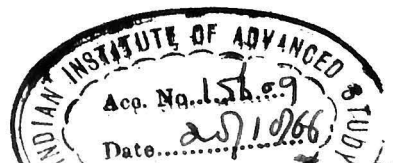
Pulomā was a great king and son of Gautamīputra who was even better known. But he is nevertheless excluded from the revised list.

So far the exclusions and inclusions of kings related as sons fit in excellently with matrilineal succession and do not agree with patrilineal succession. After the successor of Pulomāvi, i.e. after Śivaśrī, the son of the latter succeeded according to the Matsya versions; this is followed by Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu. The revised version excludes both, thereby confirming that Śivaskandha did not succeed to the later Q kingdom. I have pointed out that regular succession of a son of a king of one kingdom to the throne of the other kingdom depends on cross-cousin marriage. The exclusion of No. 26 from the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa lists therefore suggests that Śivaśrī did not marry his cross-cousin, the heiress of the older kingdom. If we can show that this probably occurred, then the apparent exception would turn out to be an additional support of my hypothesis. We know from inscriptions<sup>1</sup> that a daughter of a Mahākṣatrapa Ru . . . . ., probably Rudradāman, was the queen (devī) of a Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi; and that Rudradāman has referred to a Śātakarṇi, lord of dakṣiṇāpatha, who cannot be other than Pulumāvi, referring to non-remoteness of his relationship with him. The expression used by the Mahākṣatrapa shows that the lord of dakṣiṇāpatha was not his son-in-law. Further, Pulumāvi has styled himself as Siri Puḷumāvi and never as Śātakarṇi in any of his coins or inscriptions. It is not reasonable to think that his queen of all persons should name him wrongly, although Rudradāman might refer to him as Śātakarṇi on account of his dynastic name. The probability is that the Śaka princess was married to his heir apparent Śivaśrī who is styled in Viṣṇu Purāṇa as Śivaśrī Śātakarṇi, a designation supported by coins. The Nanaghat cistern inscription may also refer to him. The use of the term *chatarpana* would suggest that he was under Śaka influence. The son of this Śaka queen of Śivaśrī would not in any case succeed to the R kingdom as I have termed the ancestral kingdom of Gautamīputra. We do not know where he ruled, as there are no coins or undoubted inscriptions. The Śātakarṇis would not support him against a rightful heir. The powerful Śaka Mahākṣatrapas may however have put him on the throne of the Q kingdom as I have styled the other realm, where he is said to have ruled a year, or if the emendation of Pargiter is accepted, three years. Normally, according to my simplified diagram of cross-cousin marriage, Vijaya would be the son of Pulumāvi or classed as such, and Caṇḍaśrī would come into the class of Pulumāvi's patrilineal grandson. He ought to

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. V. See also *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. X. Ludor's list of Brahmi inscriptions : No. 994. This list will in future be referred to as L only, in the text.

succeed to the Q realm, after Śivaśrī No. 25, who would stand to him in the relation of a mother's brother (actual or classificatory near kin). But if the son of Śivaśrī, backed by his Śaka relations, occupied these dominions, Caṇḍasrī might lose his ancestral (maternal) throne. As this Vāsiṣṭhīputra was the heir of Śivaśrī, his rule would fall within the long reign of Yajñaśrī. This king, Yajñaśrī apparently, reconquered from Śakas, Aparānta and adjacent areas. He ruled also in Andhradeśa. Caṇḍasrī must therefore have lost his ancestral throne, but the dominions were reconquered as they are found ruled over by Yajñaśrī. The short reigns of Śivaskandha (1 or 3 years) and Caṇḍasrī (2 years) agree with their rule in very difficult circumstances and fit in with this view. In my earlier paper I was not able to explain why the revised versions did not exclude the name of the king Caṇḍasrī from their list. I fell into the error of ascribing it to oversight on the part of the editors. But the close agreement of the revised versions precludes such an explanation. A detailed examination of the coins of this king in addition to the data of the Purāṇas however throws some light on this matter. The coins of the king Gautamīputra, and those of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī Śātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Caṇḍa of fabric A resemble closely in type. The coins of Nahapāna restruck by Gautamīputra,<sup>1</sup> all bear on the obverse a *Caitya* of three arches, having in some cases a pellet within each or a crescent above the *Caitya*, and a waved line below it all. On the reverse is the Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent (BMC 253-258). The coins of Pulumāvi in the Andhra deśa show on the obverse a *Caitya* of three arches, with a waved line below; and on the reverse, the Ujjain symbol (BMC 88, 89). The coins of Śivaśrī have also these types and symbols on the obverse and reverse as noted (BMC 115-116). This is also the case with the coins of Śrī-Caṇḍa (BMC 117-24) which bear the metronymic. The coins are all of lead, similarly shaped and of the same (A) fabric. Rapson concluded that the close similarity in the coins pointed to close succession of the three last-named kings. As however the Purāṇas put the third of them, Caṇḍasrī after Yajñaśrī and Vijaya, while Śivaśrī came after Pulumāvi he was faced with a difficulty. It is obvious that this discrepancy disappears on my hypothesis, and the coins uphold my view that all the three Vāsiṣṭhīputras followed each other on the same throne. The close relationship in rule between Gautamīputra and Pulumāvi is revealed in the coin symbol of the former. The successor of Gautamīputra, the powerful king Yajñaśrī, had the earlier part of his rule in the ancestral R kingdom concurrent (according to the chronology based on my hypothesis) with

<sup>1</sup> The comparison is legitimate as the types mentioned are of Gautamīputra and not of Nahapāna.



Pulumāvi's rule in the Q kingdom, while the middle of Yajñaśrī's reign was covered by the rules of Śivaśrī, Caṇḍaśrī, and Śivaskandha in the same Q realm. Some of the coins of Yajñaśrī, of fabric A, made of lead, have the same symbols as those just described (BMC 135-38). There are other coins with different symbols. One variant has a *Caitya* of six arches with a crescent above it and a waved line below. The reverse is as in the other coins previously described (BMC 139-145). Rapson has concluded from a study of these coins that they are of later date than the first type. There is another class of coins of Yajñaśrī, of a different fabric termed B by Rapson, and these have the elephant symbol (BMC 164). Rapson considers that they belong to 'the latter part of the reign of Śrī Yajña' (BMC lxxiv). Again Yajñaśrī had issued coins of Fabric B, with the symbol of a horse standing, on the obverse, and the usual Ujjain symbol on the reverse (BMC 148-63). There are coins of Caṇḍaśrī with the legend Raño Siri-Cada-Sātisa, without the metronymic but with the regal title (BMC 125-131). They have the symbol 'horse standing r, in front of an altar', on the obverse. The reverse shows the usual Ujjain symbol of this group of kings. These coins of Caṇḍaśrī or Śrī Candra show that he ruled in the latter part of or even after the reign of Yajñaśrī. Now the Purāṇas agree in all their versions that Caṇḍaśrī ruled in the old ancestral kingdom after Vijaya. Again, according to my hypothesis, based on data of the Purāṇas, this king should come after Śivaśrī in the Q kingdom. Also if any coins were issued by him when ruling over this Q kingdom which was his by inheritance they should bear the metronymic and regal title together. The earlier coins of Caṇḍaśrī, with the legend Vāsiṣṭhīputra and *raño*, strongly support by their fabric, symbol, and execution the view of his succession to this kingdom after Śivaśrī. Hence this part of my hypothesis regarding Caṇḍaśrī may be said to be proved. But it is necessary to explain the issue of the other coins and the evidence of the Purāṇas about succession to the R kingdom. The old ancestral kingdom could not come to Caṇḍaśrī through his mother. If it came to him as stated in the revised versions, it must have come from his father Vijaya or by conquest. In such a case we cannot expect to find his mother's name on his coins with the regal title. These coins of later times in fact do not show the metronymic. They support the view that this king ruled twice, once in matrilineal succession in the Q kingdom, and again much later on, in the father's ancestral (matrilineal in the case of the father) kingdom. There is one bit of evidence in the Purāṇas which support such a view and therefore the evidence of the coins. The king Caṇḍaśrī is said to have ruled *ten years* in the Matsya Purāṇa but only three years in the revised version. In other words his rule over the ancestral kingdom of Yajñaśrī was only three years. Hence he must have ruled for seven years elsewhere as a paramount king.

We know from the coins that he ruled in the Q kingdom after Śivaśrī. This rule of seven years was therefore in the Q kingdom. The objection that there are other instances of discrepancies of regnal periods in the two versions is not valid. Most of them are obvious misreadings, as for example *saumyo bhaviṣyati* for *so'pyekaviṁśati*, (P. 41) 'smād daśa for aṣṭādaśa (P. 39) and *ekonaviṁśati* for *ekonatriṁśati*. The remaining discrepancies are only two and cannot be explained in this way. They represent genuine difference of opinion about the regnal period. None of them however occur in the case of a king succeeding patrilineally, i.e. anomalously like Caṇḍaśrī.

This discussion of the succession of Caṇḍaśrī has brought out one point which in a sense weakens my hypothesis, but is really not inconsistent with it. The traditional origin of the Sātavāhanas shows that they were of mixed origin. One element was definitely patrilineal, as the stress on the *Kula* indicates. The matrilineal inheritance is therefore to be ascribed to the other element, which apparently held the dominant position, in as much as it was able to impose its institutions on the patrilineal group. Once the practices were accepted, vested interests would continue them. But the patrilineal traditions were not abandoned; on the contrary, they were sought to be maintained (as indicated) even in the midst of matrilineal customs. Hence we may safely assume that in the original home land of the patrilineal group, they did not observe matrilineal practices. If any coins or inscriptions are found of these people in that area, we should expect to find the regal title without the metronymic. Again if the factors and circumstances which supported the dominance of the matrilineal element, and thus brought about the matrilineal succession to kingdoms, disappeared, or greatly changed, the submerged patrilineal customs might come to the top and replace them. I would suggest that this, in fact, is what occurred in the case of Caṇḍaśrī. As soon as the empire with the dual kingdoms was broken up, and matrilineal succession rendered inoperative, the alternative practice of patrilineal succession took its place. The successors of Caṇḍaśrī may on this view be expected not to use the metronymic in association with the regal title, either in their coins or in their inscriptions. The Purāṇas mention only one king, Pulumāvi after Caṇḍaśrī, in the imperial line. But there were other Andhras who continued to rule in outlying areas. We are acquainted with the names of kings Śrī-Rudra (BMC 179), Śrī-Kṛṣṇa II (BMC 180), Śrī Śātakarṇi (171-4), and others from coins found in the Chanda district. The types of the entire series are almost identical, and the metals used are the same. All the coins show on the obverse an elephant with trunk upraised, standing r, and on the reverse the Ujjain symbol, each orb of which is represented by a pellet with a surrounding

circle. Two kings—Pulumāvi (BMC Nos. 90–93) and Śrī-Yajña (BMC Nos. 165–70)—have also a crescent surmounting this symbol. None of these kings use the metronymic. It may be that the home land of the patrilineal element was in the neighbourhood where these kings ruled. Two widely separated areas have been suggested as the original home of the Sātavāhanas.<sup>1</sup> Both views may be reconciled if the two areas are held to be the homes of the two distinct elements which merged to form the mixed group.

I may note here an objection which has been raised by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri regarding the revised list of 18 kings. He states that since three Matsya MSS. leave out actually the great Gautamīputra (No. 23) in their revised list, the hypothesis of revision put forward by me is contradicted. It has been pointed out by me in a footnote on p. 326 that the Matsya MSS. exclude among themselves 20 kings. Three editions exclude 2, 5, 15; four MSS. exclude 5, 15; one 9, 20, 22; another, 2, 5, 20; a third 2, 5, 20, 23, 24; a fourth 24, 25, 29; a fifth 5, 7, 8, 18, 19, 29; a sixth 5, 9–11, 20–23 and 29; a seventh 2, 5, 9, 12, 13, 20–24; an eighth 1, 2, 5; and a ninth, 20. Such a remarkable variability in the number as well as names excluded point clearly to the fact that the observations were extremely inaccurate. The editors were clearly fumbling in the dark, and proceeding on different principles in a haphazard manner. Even the three versions which exclude No. 23, Gautamīputra, show totals of 25, 21, and 20 names, and do not agree also in excluding five common names among themselves. The value of the lists in such versions is therefore nil so far as the factor involved, i.e. revision is concerned. The exclusion of the name of Gautamīputra in these three Matsya MSS. cannot be seriously considered as evidence against numerous and closely agreeing versions of the Vāyu, and Brahmāṇḍa or the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata. The fundamental canons for discrimination of statistical data do not permit of such use of these three Matsya versions.

Before passing on to other objections, it is necessary to dispose of an alternative hypothesis put forward by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri to explain the discrepancies in the dynastic lists. He has stated that the evidence of inscriptions and references in literature point to the existence of lines of subordinate Śātakarṇi kings in Kuntala, and three of the names of kings in the Purāṇa list, according to him, are found to be associated with Kuntala. Therefore, he states, it is 'fair to conclude that the Matsya MSS. which mention 30 Sātavāhana kings include not only the main group of kings but also the Kuntala kings'. In support of his hypothesis, he refers to the following pieces of evidence:—

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the different views, see Prof. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri's book on Political History of Ancient India, pp. 342-3, referred to before.



(a) The inscriptions of the Baṇavāsi Śātakarṇis which consist of two inscriptions of Haritī-putra Viṣṇukaḍa-cuṭu-Kulā-nanda Śātakarṇi and his daughter. (L. 1186), (L. 1195).

A prince Skanda-nāga Śātaka mentioned in one of these inscriptions is identified with Skandsvāti of the Purāṇas. No reasons are ascribed by Prof. Ray Chaudhury for this identification beyond the resemblance in name. There is no evidence that Skandanāga Śātaka ever even came to the throne. Prof. Ray Chaudhuri himself has (rightly) rejected Rapson's identification of this prince with the Haritīputra Śivaskandavarman referred to in the Malavalli pillar inscription of the Kadamba king who succeeded the Cuṭu Kula Śātakarṇis. Again the Śātakarṇis of the Purāṇas, so far as we know, were Śātavāhanas. This prince was not stated to be of that *Kula*. The identification is therefore not based on facts. If such identifications on mere resemblance of names were permissible the Kṛṣṇa Śātakarṇi of the coins (BMC No. 180) obviously of later date would have to be identified with the king of this name, the brother of Simuka; and the Purāṇas condemned for placing his name so early. Fortunately the inscription of the time of Kṛṣṇa Śātavāhana at Kanheri (L. 1144) has prevented such a conclusion. It is true Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has supported a similar view of alleged misplacement of names in the dynastic lists, relying on Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit's identification of a copper coin found recently, as that of Āpīlaka.<sup>1</sup> But, the metal, shape, stamping as well as inscription of the coin all disagree with known coins of Śātakarṇis in the area where it was found and the identification is not justified. The coin is of copper, round in shape, and shows an elephant standing right on the obverse, with the inscription Rāno Sivasirisāpīlakasa. The reverse is blank. As Mr. Dikshit himself states, the only copper coins of the Andhras are the square coins found in Western India (BMC 7, 8, 87). They are inscribed on both sides. The only round copper coins apparently of this period are of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa Bhūmaka (BMC 237-42). But they also are found in Western India; nor are they stamped on one face only. Mr. Dikshit tries to get over these difficulties by stating that 'Āpīlaka must have followed some local prototype'. No such local prototype is known or indicated by Mr. Dikshit.

Mr. Dikshit has laid great stress on the elephant symbol on the coin. But this type of symbol is found also on certain copper coins of Jaydāmaṇ, son of Caṣṭana (BMC 269), and also in the potin coins of Śaka era 131 (= 209 A.C.), probably issued by Mahākṣatrapa Rudra Siṃha, and also a later king (BMC 374-6 and 402-18). It may be conceded that there are additional symbols in the last-mentioned group of coins. This

<sup>1</sup> *A New Andhra Coin*, by K. N. Dikshit. *Journ. Royal Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. III, 1937, issued October, 1938.

however agrees with their later date. Let us now examine the legend. The coins of Andhra kings always have the regal title spelt raño, but here it is spelt rāno. Again the name of a king never has the form 'Sirisa' before it, in the Andhra coins. It is always in the form Siri-Yañā, Siri-Cada, and so forth.

The entire evidence furnished by the coin is therefore definitely against its identification as of Āpilaka of the Andhra dynasty of the Purāṇas. Its obvious later date, therefore, does not on that account require any revision in the list of Andhra kings in the Purāṇas.

(b) Kuntala Śātakarṇi is stated by the commentator of the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana to have been so named from his birth in Kuntala country.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the possibility that the explanation may have been a speculative guess on the part of the commentator who wrote several centuries later, does it prove that this king was of 'the Kuntala lines'? If we accept the derivation as correct we can logically infer only that his mother was in the Kuntala country when the prince was born. We can further conjecture that the Kuntala country probably formed part of the domains of his father, or mother's father, or mother's brother, or some such close relation. We know from one of the inscriptions of Gautamīputra (L. 1125) that Kuntala or strictly speaking Banavāsi was included in his dominions and administered by a royal officer. I may note that according to my hypothesis, Kuntala ruled over the Q kingdom. Hence his father should be a king or prince of the older kingdom which in later times was ruled over by the Gautamīputra and his successors. Kuntala could therefore have been born in the place after which he is said to be named. This bit of evidence of a Kuntala line brought out by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri does not therefore support his hypothesis at all, but fits in easily with my views.

(c) Hāla is associated with Kuntala in a verse quoted from the introduction to Gathāsapta-Śatī. But if Hāla were a king of the subsidiary Kuntala line postulated by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri, his name should be excluded from the final revised list. But none of the Purāṇas except one MSS. exclude his name. The solitary exception is one Vāyu manuscript (the 'e' Vāyu) which begins the dynastic list with 11, 18, 21, comes back to 12-15, adds a Śātakarṇi here and then goes on to 25-30. Finally it records 1-4 and 6-10. The extraordinary confusion in the order of names and the total which is neither thirty nor near nineteen shows this version to be untrustworthy. It is on this solitary version that Prof. Ray Chaudhuri relies for support of his theory ignoring the unanimous inclusion of Hāla's name in all other versions and Purāṇas.

Prof. Ray Chaudhuri's inference that the Matsya versions include in their list the Kuntala (more appropriately Banavāsi)

<sup>1</sup> Kāmasūtra: Note on II-7-28 (Benares, Chowkhamba Series, 1912).

Śātakarṇi is therefore untenable. A far more important point to be noted in this connection is that the Kuntala hypothesis would place the excluded kings in succession to the included line as Prof. Ray Chaudhuri does not agree with the view of two kingdoms with matrilineal succession and cross-cousin marriage. The impossibility of conjoint rule of father and son combined with patrilineal succession has already been pointed out in my previous paper. Prof. Ray Chaudhuri's view would therefore make the arrangement of the Andhras in the dynastic list wholly wrong except perhaps in a few cases. But if in such an important matter as the arrangement of successions, over seventy out of seventy-five versions of Purāṇas are unreliable, how can we trust the lists with regard to any order at all? So far as inscriptions show, the order of kings is not wrong in the Purāṇas. Is it then permissible to characterize the Purāṇas wrong to support a theory which is not supported by facts and which does not fit in with the traditional data? Prof. Ray Chaudhuri may reply as he has done in another connection that the Purāṇas are not always right and they state Kṛṣṇa (No. 2) to be the father of (No. 3) Śrī Śātakarṇi, but this he considers erroneous in view of the records in the Nanaghat cave (p. 7 of Prof. Ray Chaudhuri's book referred to before). An examination of the Nanaghat cave inscription however does not reveal a single line stating Śrī Śātakarṇi to be the son of Simuka. There are a number of reliefs which have been broken and have practically disappeared. Under some of these there are inscriptions. One is said to be of 'Rāya Simuka Sātavāhana Sirimāto' and another of 'Devi Nāyanikāya Rano Cha Siri Sātakanino'.

It is an inference of Bühler and others that Simuka was father of the Śrī Śātakarṇi of this inscription. I have suggested that Śrī Śātakarṇi carved out a kingdom for himself and founded a new line. It may be that his father's brother Simuka had no son and placed his nephew in charge of his distant and conquered dominions as a ruler owing to his military talents. (The Purāṇas mention that Simuka was helped by his kinsfolk.) It was not in the line of succession to the ancestral kingdom. This went in fact to Kṛṣṇa the brother of Simuka and then to the matrilineal heir. A record of combined genealogical and royal succession may therefore validly leave out Kṛṣṇa's name in the case of Śrī Śātakarṇi. The inferences of Bühler and others would have been justified only for a patrilineal people recording patrilineal succession.

(d) There is a reference to a king Sātavāhana of Kuntala in the Kāvya Mimāṃsā.<sup>1</sup> It does not prove that the king

<sup>1</sup> Kāvya-mimāṃsā of Rājaśekhara: Gaekwad's Oriental Series: Baroda 1934: pp. 50 and 55. The notes in pages 197 and 205 quote other verses referring to Sātavāhanas, including Hāla. The date of Kāvya-mimāṃsā is said to lie between the 9th and 10th centuries A.D.

ruled only over Kuntala but that it was his headquarter, for there are other kings referred to in this work, similarly mentioning only the well-known parts of their dominions. Also, it throws no light on any identification of the kings named in the Purānas. Kuntala, as stated, was in the Sātavāhana dominion. It is also not impossible that it may have formed the stronghold of the Śātakarṇi and an important province of the ancestral kingdom, since some Śātakarṇi kings kept hold over it even after the overthrow of the paramount Andhra kings. A reference to my earlier paper will show that my views lead to a chronology according to which the king Hāla ruled in the ancestral kingdom about 77 A.C., when the Śaka Kṣatrapas were overthrowing Śātakarṇi rule in Dakṣiṇāpatha. Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has suggested that the reference to king Sātavāhana in Kuntala may be to Hāla. Such an identification does not go against my hypothesis. When the imperial domains of the Śātakarṇis had shrunk for the time being, the reference to the stronghold or headquarters would become apposite. The tradition of that time may have been preserved in later records.

I may now consider the other objections raised by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri to my views.

I have stated in the earlier paper that in the inscriptions of the Śātakarṇi kings, the regal title and the metronymic occurs and disappears together, except among the earlier kings who founded the kingdoms and did not inherit them through the mothers. Prof. Ray Chudhuri refers to the Myakdoni inscription<sup>1</sup> and states that it furnishes an exception. He has overlooked the fact that the inscription is not by any royal ruler, nor any royal officer. It is by a villager who himself does not use any metronymic. Further the regal title is not here used in relation to the king as in other cases. If the inscription had run as *raño Pulumāvisa* 'of King Pulumāvi' it might have been called an exception to the usual practice, though it would not have gone against my hypothesis for the reasons stated. Actually it runs *Raño Sātavahananam S(i) ri Pulum(ā)visa sava 8*, etc. 'In the eighth year of Siri Pulumāvi king of the Sātavāhanas'. The term *raño* is here used, not as a form of royal address but as a descriptive word. Hence his objection is not valid.

With regard to coins the exceptions are Śrī Śātakarṇi who built up his own title to royal dignity and did not inherit his kingdom from the mother; Caṇḍaśrī (No. 29); and certain later kings. I have already disposed of these objections.

Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has also stated that my hypothesis of cross-cousin marriage is disproved by the known fact that:—

- (a) Śrī Śātakarṇi's wife was Devi Nāyanikā.
- (b) A Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi married a Śaka princess.

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XIV.

Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has not given any proof that Devi Nāyanikā was not a cross-cousin of her husband. All that we know is that her father was a Mahārāṭhi, of Aṃgiya Kula. The husband of Nāyanikā did not inherit his kingdom through his mother, nor was he managing it on behalf of his wife. Hence no metronymic could be mentioned when the husband's name of his queen was recorded. Earlier in this note I have stated that very probably her father married the sister of Śātakarṇi's father. There is absolutely no evidence proving that this was not the case. As regards the marriage of a king Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi to a Śaka princess, Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has failed to realize that marriage to a cross-cousin does not exclude marriages for political or other purposes with princesses of other realms. As I have pointed out matrilineal succession cannot be combined with continuity of patrilineal *kula* unless there is cross-cousin marriage. As a number of the Śātakarṇi kings, named in the Purāṇas, are Sātavāhanas, I concluded that they must have practised this type of marriage. It does not mean however that all queens of all kings were cross-cousins. Nor that all the royal princes and princesses married cross-cousins. Kings are polygamous and there may have been other queens besides the cross-cousin. Again a cross-cousin may have been lacking through death, or there having been no children of a brother or a sister. I have discussed some of the complications which may arise, earlier in this note and shall not repeat them.

In support of the various possibilities which I have referred to, I shall note some facts from a set of inscriptions of patrilineal kings of the same area whose ruling period followed that of the Śātakarṇis very closely in time. The inscriptions at Nāgārjuni Koṇḍa<sup>1</sup> show that the king Māḍharīputa Siri Vira Purisadata married the daughters of the sister or sisters (actual sister) of his father king Vāsiṣṭhiputa Siri Chāmtamūla, who performed an aśvamedha sacrifice. He had also other queens apart from two of his cross-cousins, who are named as his Mahādevis in inscriptions of the same date. One of these other queens Mahādevī Bhaṭidevā was the mother of the royal heir, Vāseṭhīputra Siri Ehuvaḷa Chātamūla. She may or may not have been a cross-cousin, although the particular metronymic and the fact that another paternal aunt (father's sister) who is a Vāsiṣṭhī calls the king Sirivira-Purisadata as her son-in-law (after stating he is her brother's son) suggests it. There is a fourth Mahādevī, Rudradhara-bhaṭārikā, who is a Maharaja's daughter from *Ujjeni*. As the inscription was in the reign of Siri Vira Purisadata and the queen was associated with the aunt of the king in a work of piety, and is called mahādevī, her husband must have been

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XX, (Delhi 1933). Prakrit Inscriptions from . . . Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, by Prof. J. Vogel.

the reigning king.<sup>1</sup> So we have definite evidence of cross-cousin marriage and polygyny including marriage with an unrelated princess in a royal dynasty that followed closely upon the Śātakarnis, in their rule of the Andhra country. I have not been able to give such a direct proof for the matriliney of the Śātakarnis. But Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has ignored the Pabhosa inscriptions (L. 904 and 905) which show that royal dynasties closely related to Śuṅgas followed matrilineal descent. The inscription shows that a patrilineal royal ancestor had a different gotra, and that a mother and sister in that line had the same gotra. I have pointed this out in my earlier paper and also the fact that the Śuṅgas use metronymics like Śātakarnis. The evidence quoted is incontrovertible. I may further note that matrilineal descent and succession to royalty can be proved to have been prevalent in later times in the area where the Śātakarnis had their headquarters. A king who ruled in Tulu, Konkan, and adjacent areas in the sixteenth century<sup>2</sup> was succeeded first by his younger brothers and then by his sister's son Devarāya. The same mode of succession to sister's son was followed in the case of Deva Rāya. Even now, matrilineal descent is common in this area, and there are ruling princes a little further south in Cochin, who follow matrilineal succession. I had also mentioned in my earlier paper the fact that the prevalence of cross-cousin marriage in this area shortly before the time of Śātakarnis and shortly after it, is noted in authoritative works of these periods. It is a matter of surprise to me that so many definite pieces of evidences should be disregarded and two instances of royal marriage which do not at all go against the hypothesis of cross-cousin marriage seriously put forward as evidence of its non-existence. I may note that even the expression 'prevalence of cross-cousin marriage' among a people does not mean that a hundred marriages out of a hundred are between cross-cousins. Thus the Hill Marias of Bastar practise this form of marriage. Actual statistics collected for a certain area by Grigson showed that 'such unions formed 54 per cent of the Hill Maria marriages' into which he enquired.<sup>3</sup> This is in fact quite a high frequency.

Another objection which has been raised by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri is that it is not correct to speak of separate kingdoms for the two lines. Thus, according to him, Gautamīputra

<sup>1</sup> Another point of interest in these inscriptions is that these patrilineal kings have their mother's gotra stated as an indication of the individual meant; but often in the same inscription the regal title Mahārāja is later used without the metronymic, showing that the two were not associated as among Śātakarnis.

<sup>2</sup> EpCar. (Vol. VIII, Part II), Sagar Taluq Inscription 55 (page 190 text), Bangalore, 1904.

Inscription No. 163 refers to 'descent in the female line', i.e. matrilineal descent (p. 123, translation).

<sup>3</sup> The Maria Gonds of Bastar, by W. V. Grigson, 1938.

is stated to have been king over provinces or places quite close to Paiṭhan and over areas which fell in Dakṣiṇāpatha. He forgets that the Dakṣiṇāpatha kingdom had earlier ceased to exist under the onslaught of the Śakas, and it was Gautamīputra who reconquered the territory. His son may have helped him, and succeeded to this kingdom as much by ancestral right through the mother as by favour of his royal father. It may be noted that the place names are set out in a panegyric of the victories of Gautamīputra, set out by his mother in the reign of his son. Gautamīputra is termed the king of kings, and it may even be that the son, king Puḷumāvi, acknowledged his suzerainty during his father's life time. The fact that these kings of the Q realm were excluded from the Purāṇas in spite of their genealogical connection, shows that the ancestral line was looked upon as the suzerain or paramount power which alone could find place in the dynastic list. A Q king however who could claim to be paramount might find mention. One such case was of Śrī-Śātakarṇi (No. 3). An examination of the inscriptions show that both Gautamīputra and Śrī Yajña Gautamīputra had to reconquer the lost Dakṣiṇāpatha dominions; and Puḷumāvi was the last really powerful lord of the Q line.

My conclusions are not affected by reconquests of a lost dominion and fresh rights acquired by military prowess. They apply to inherited realms.

