

Early Memorial Stones from the Deccan (up to 300 CE)

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Introduction

In South Asian archaeology, the term “memorial stone” commonly refers to a dressed stone—either with relief images, or inscriptions, or both—set up to commemorate one or more dead person(s).¹ This larger category of “memorial stones” includes memorials of different formats, including what we call in this paper “memorial slabs” and “memorial pillars.” Although typologically similar to funerary monuments in other cultures, South Asian memorial stones are generally commemorative rather than sepulchral, in that they are not associated with remains of the deceased.² In this respect, as well as in their use of images and writing, the memorial stones of the early

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- 1 On memorial stones in South Asia, the most important survey remains the groundbreaking work by Settar & Sontheimer 1982 (including Settar’s survey, “Memorial Stones in South India”). Rajan 2000 offers an updated synthesis from various regions in South India. Most of the research on these artefacts has focused, like the present article, on specific areas: for Andhra, Murthy 1982 and Chandrasekhara Reddy 1994; for Tamil Nadu, Nagaswamy 1974, and Murugaiyan 2004 (further references in Rajan 2000); for Maharashtra, Trinco 2015. This list does not include the publication of individual memorial stones; references to such publications will be found in the aforementioned surveys, and, where relevant to the corpus presented in this study, in the pages below.
- 2 “A memorial stone, in its basic conception, is commemorative in character, raised in memory or honour of the dead and did not form part of the actual practice of the disposal of the dead” (Chandrasekhara Reddy 1994: 21). On funerary practices in ancient (North) India, see Bakker 2007, and the review in Trinco 2015: 39–65. Trinco (2015: 44) defines memorial stones as “a heterogeneous group of non-architectural funerary structures erected to commemorate and, to different degrees, to pay devotion to the deceased to whom the structures themselves are dedicated.”

historic and early medieval periods in South Asia differ from megalithic monuments of the late prehistoric period.³ Because early historic memorial stones appear in a similar geographic distribution to earlier megalithic monuments, and in some cases at the same sites, some scholars have seen memorial stones as a “transformation” or further development of megalithic commemorative practices, although this view is far from universally accepted.⁴

In South India during the early medieval period (ca. 5th to 12th c. CE), and in some subregions long afterwards, memorial stones became extremely popular, the majority serving to commemorate individual men who died in conflict. Such objects are commonly called “hero stones.” Memorial stones have commemorated other types of death as well, including especially *satī*, when a woman immolates herself on her husband’s funeral pyre, and *sallekhanam*, fasting unto death practiced by Jains.⁵ These later memorial stones, in contrast to the early historic memorial stones on which the present study focuses, thus tend to commemorate and remark upon a non-natural death, and indeed this has sometimes taken to be part of the definition of the “memorial stone.”⁶

Several objects discovered at Nagarjunakonda, dating to the end of the 3rd c. CE, have long been recognized as the earliest examples of the phenomenon of erecting “memorial stones.” Yet already in 1994, Elizabeth Rosen Stone noted that the “new Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku sites” that had recently been discovered “throughout Andhra Pradesh [...] and Karnataka States” indicate that the memorials from Nagarjunakonda “were actually part of a broader cultural and artistic complex, extending throughout vast areas of South India and the Deccan [...]”⁷ To our knowledge, a detailed study of this cultural complex has not

3 For megalithic monuments see, for example, Dikshit & Kumar 2014, Gururaja Rao 1972.

4 Namely Rajan (2000). The view was taken earlier by Srinivasan and Sontheimer (see Thapar 2000 [1981]: 681). See also Shimada 2013: 182–183. Soundara Rajan, however, claims that “these hero-stones have no specific or substantial link with the sepulchral megalithic tomb types of the Iron Age in South India (ranging from 800 B.C. to 100. A.D.) either in symbolism or in cultural features” (1982: 60). Similarly skeptical was Settar (1982: 185), who affirmed that “[s]cholars find no link between the *menhirs* and memorial tablets.”

5 Memorials for *satīs* are often called “*satī* stones” (Deo 1982, Sontheimer 1982), and for Jain renunciants, *nisidhis* or *niśidhis* (Upadhye 1982, Settar & Korisettar 1982).

6 Rajan 2000: 105. Trinco (2015: 45) distinguishes “heroic memorials” from “ancestor memorials,” and describes the former as commemorating “extraordinary deaths following the performance of extraordinary deeds.”

7 Stone 1994: 36. There she mentions Sātavāhana and/or Ikṣvāku sites discovered in Tamil Nadu, although we do not know what sites she is referring to.

appeared.⁸ In the present study we aim to assemble the relevant epigraphic and visual material on what we call “early Deccan memorial stones.” We call them “early” because they are the earliest examples of memorial stones so far available: while some artefacts can be securely dated to the 2nd c. CE, others might be dated to the 1st c., or even earlier. Our discussion is based, to the extent possible, on first-hand examination and documentation of this material, much of which remains unpublished. We offer a typological analysis of the memorial stones, of their inscriptions, followed by an attempt at situating the material in the historical context both of later memorial stones and of contemporary practices of memorialization, both in India and elsewhere. As an appendix to this article, we provide an inventory of memorial stones from Northern Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, and Telangana, and a small number of items from adjoining parts of the Deccan, including new readings of 130 inscribed artefacts. While it has been possible to take account of both inscribed and uninscribed objects from Karnataka, all of the objects that could be examined firsthand from Telangana and Andhra Pradesh are inscribed.⁹

1 Geographic and Archaeological Contexts

The majority of the artefacts included in our study were in fact recovered from the two aforementioned complexes of archaeological sites: Kanaganahalli, in Northern Karnataka, and Nagarjunakonda. A much smaller number of similar artefacts are included in this study from other sites in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, as well as from Telangana, Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh. The geographic area we cover in this article thus corresponds to the area traditionally known as the Deccan. Large parts of the Deccan were ruled, in the early centuries of the common era, by the Sātavāhana kings, who called themselves

8 S. Settar, one of the pioneers of the study of memorial stones, put an image of one of these memorial stones, probably our 5, on the cover of *Prākṛta Jagadvalaya* (Settar 2018), but he does not discuss them in any detail in the book.

9 Indeed, we have no knowledge of any uninscribed memorials from Telangana and Andhra Pradesh ever having been identified in the scholarly literature. See also n. 17 below. As we were finalizing our inventory of the EIAD corpus for publication days before this volume went to the press, we uncovered a further four fragmentary memorial stele inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda. Two of these concern fallen soldiers (EIAD 994–995, on which see pp. 183–184 below), one a general (EIAD 997, bearing a text comparable to 45, i.e. EIAD 76), and one (EIAD 996) is too fragmentary to propose an identification. This discovery came in too late to ensure their inclusion in this study, but until these new fragments are published the reader may consult the relevant entries in Griffiths and Tournier’s inventory in volume 1 for further information.

“lords of the Deccan” (*dakkhiṇāpathapati*-), and indeed most of the artefacts we discuss are linked either to the Sātavāhanas or the Ikṣvākus, their successors in the Krishna river valley.¹⁰

The site that we call “Kanaganahalli” is found on the northern shore of the Bhima river in northern Karnataka. Early historic artefacts were first noted here by K. Krishna Rao in 1954, and excavations were first conducted by M. Seshadri in 1964 (Sarma & Varaprasada Rao 1993: 3). Seshadri called the site “Sannathi” (i.e., “Sannati”) after the nearby village. The name “Kanaganahalli” has been current since 1994, when the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) began excavating a large *stūpa* a little more than 2 km east of Sannati, just outside of the small village of Kanaganahalli. The discovery of an edict of Aśoka within the Candralāmbā temple, halfway between Sannati and Kanaganahalli, suggests that the site was settled already in Mauryan times (Sarma & Varaprasada Rao 1993: 24). Most of the material from Kanaganahalli, however, dates from the Sātavāhana period, from the early 1st c. BCE to the early 3rd c. CE, as attested by inscriptions associated with the great *stūpa*, known in its time as the Adhālakamahācetiya (Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: 18–25).

Besides the great *stūpa* (SAN-4, using the codes assigned in Howell 1995; see also Map 3.2), there are at least two smaller *stūpas* further to the north: one was excavated during the field seasons of 1986–1989 (SAN-1), and one still further to the north remains unexcavated. To the west of the great *stūpa* now lies the Candralāmbā temple (SAN-10) and its environs (SAN-6). There is a mound (SAN-8) to the west of the temple, around halfway between the temple and the ancient settlement. This settlement (SAN-5), in the bend of the river Bhima, is encircled by a wall. Within the settlement, close to the bank of the river, there is a citadel (SAN-2), which was excavated in 1986–1988. Bricks, pottery, and coins from the settlement place it, like the great *stūpa*, in the Sātavāhana period (Howell 1995: 28). The modern village of Sannati (SAN-9) lies within the rampart of the ancient settlement, in its northern part. Beyond the wall and to the north there is a mound (SAN-3) that possibly represents a monastic complex.

Kanaganahalli furnishes the largest number of early memorial stones of any archaeological site in South Asia. Memorial stones were among the first artefacts found at Kanaganahalli, and several were published in M. Seshadri’s 1966

10 For the epithet *dakkhiṇāpathapati*-, see 64 in this article, as well as the Naneghat inscription, line 2 of the left wall (Bühler 1883: 60) and the Nasik inscription no. 2 in Senart 1905–1906 (Lüders 1912: no. 1123, Tsukamoto 1996, Nasik 4), line 11 ([*dakhiṇā*] *pathesaro*). It provides the title for Gokhale’s 2008 collection of essays on Sātavāhana coins and inscriptions.

article, although he did not recognize them as such.¹¹ M.S. Nagaraja Rao similarly considered most of the objects we describe as “memorial stones” to be donations of slabs or pillars for the *stūpa*, although he did recognize six as memorials (1, 10, 31, 80, 97, and 187). The beginning of formal excavations in 1986, and the discovery of the inscription of Aśoka in 1989, brought further attention to the site, and in the ensuing years around a dozen additional memorial stones were discovered.

Most of the memorial stones discovered before 1986 (approximately 50) were found in contexts of reuse, within homes, roads, fields, and temples in and around the village of Sannati.¹² It is therefore impossible to determine their original location. The British Society for South Asian Studies excavated the smaller *stūpa* (SAN-1), to the north of the great *stūpa*, between 1986 and 1989, and discovered one memorial stone in an excavated context (30), to the west of the southern platform of the *stūpa*. Howell notes in his excavation report that “in the very centre of the platform was a group of four large cuts” and that “[t]he dimensions of these foundation cuts are very similar to the dimensions of the memorial slabs, commonly found at Sannathi” (1995: 23). This suggests that some memorial stones might have been displayed on structures associated with the *stūpa*. Even the published excavations, however, do not systematically note the find-spot of memorial stones. Howell simply lists the memorial stones that were “recovered during explorations” (i.e., of the surrounding area, 1995: 69). He also noted that “[m]any of the sculpted relief panels, which are now in the State Government Museum in Gulbarga, were recovered from” the main *stūpa* site (SAN-4) (1995: 29). Sometimes this is corroborated in the available publications (see 56), yet it is striking that only one memorial stone (222) was published in Poonacha’s excavation report of the *stūpa* site.¹³ Two of the authors of this article (Ollett and Tournier), as well as Robert Arlt, documented

11 He calls 179 and 57 *āyāga* pillars (perhaps correctly in the latter case, see below §4.6), and interprets several sculpted memorial steles as “scenes from the life of Siddhartha” (Seshadri 1972: pll. 9–10) or “the birth of the Buddha” (pl. 2).

12 These memorials can be found by consulting the concordance, appended to our inventory, for the ARIE entries of 1966–1967 and 1968–1969 (p. 319). In our inventory, the findspots, if known, are reproduced from ARIE. Sarma & Varaprasada Rao (1993: 60) report that “nearly 52 records were known before the discovery of the four Aśokan records” (which they report to have been in 1989).

13 Sundara (1993: 597) said that “the finds such as memorial panels ... are presently displayed in the Archaeological Museum of the Directorate in Gulbarga” after mentioning the Directorate’s excavations at the central part of the settlement site (SAN-2), suggesting that memorial stones were recovered from the citadel itself. But we think Sundara only meant that the finds from the entire archaeological site, going back to the 1960s, were kept in Gulbarga.

several memorial stones near the great *stūpa* between 2017 and 2020, but this is no guarantee that they were found there.¹⁴ In at least one case (67) there is documentation that the memorial was discovered elsewhere (SAN-8) and brought to the *stūpa* site. One of us (Tournier) was told by one of the caretakers of the site, Mr. Basavaraja, that two at least of the memorials now displayed under a shed at the *stūpa* site (65, 197) were found “in a paddy field about 300 m south of the *stūpa*, when construction was being carried out to erect a high voltage pylon.” Several memorial stones, including 225, were used as building materials for a small shrine to Maḥiṣāsūramardīnī just northwest of the *stūpa*, and these are likely to have been recovered from the vicinity of the *stūpa* site. One memorial (92) was apparently discovered at Benagutti (SAN-3).

Most of the memorials for which a findspot was noted, however, were recovered from the mound locally known as Khatal (SAN-8), located between the Candralāmbā temple and the rampart of the ancient settlement (67, 91, 96, 199). Among these is the important memorial of Gotamīputta Siri-Sātakaṇṇi (64), to be discussed in detail below (§ 6.1). This suggests that there was perhaps a necropolis, or some other area specifically devoted to memorializing the dead, outside of the walls of the city. To our knowledge, the archaeologists who have studied the site have not put forward such a proposal.

The documentation of memorials from Kanaganahalli in this article is not complete. Memorial stones from Kanaganahalli are generally found in three places: either at the Gulbarga State Archaeological Museum (for most of the objects discovered before 1986, and documented in ARIE 1966–1967 and 1968–1969, as well as Nagaraja Rao 1985), at the ASI Storehouse in Bidar (for most of the objects discovered during the course of excavations between 1986 and 1989, and documented in Howell 1995 and Sarma and Varaprasada Rao 1993), and on site (mostly objects that have not been previously documented). We have visited the Gulbarga Museum and Kanaganahalli, but not the ASI Storehouse in Bidar, and therefore we have no independent documentation for roughly half of the memorial stones discovered from Kanaganahalli. We have included some of them in our inventory and discussion here, in case there are published photographs and readings of inscriptions, or if images are available from the website of the National Mission on Monuments and Antiquities; thus we include 32 of roughly 84 objects housed in Bidar (to estimate from the list in Howell 1995).

14 Among these, four inscribed pieces had been previously documented by Maiko Nakanishi, and published in Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: V.2,15 (208), VI.2–4 (67, 69, 200). None of these were recognised as memorial stones by previous editors.

Turning now to “Nagarjunakonda,” this name, taken from a hill formerly situated on the right bank of the Krishna river, designates a large archaeological complex that was first discovered in 1926. A brief history of the archaeological exploration of Nagarjunakonda, and of its importance in the reception and reimagining of India’s Buddhist history, was offered by U. Singh in her 2010 article, and her contribution to this volume offers more. It will be sufficient to reiterate here that after its discovery in 1926 by A.R. Saraswati, Telugu Assistant to the Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy (Madras), followed by archaeological operations under supervision of A.H. Longhurst (seasons 1927–1931, see Longhurst 1938) and subsequently of T.N. Ramachandran (1938, see Ramachandran 1953), Nagarjunakonda made history as the focus of the first major salvage excavation ever to be carried out in India. The operations took place in the field seasons 1954–1960, when the site was threatened by impending inundation due to the construction of a dam some kilometers downstream. The Nagarjunasagar, the artificial lake in the Krishna river created by the completion of the dam, through which runs today the boundary between Telangana and Andhra Pradesh, has rendered further excavation of the prehistoric and early historic sites at Nagarjunakonda impossible. Only the eponymous hill, with its medieval fortifications, and some vestiges on the hills that formerly enclosed the Nagarjunakonda valley to the east have remained unsubmerged. The Nagarjunakonda hill has become an island and was selected as location for the ASI’s site museum and its store-rooms, where almost all of the Nagarjunakonda’s inscribed artefacts to be discussed below are still preserved. The salvage excavations are the subject of two thick excavation reports, the first dealing with the prehistoric sites and published soon after the completion of the operations (Subrahmanyam et al. 1975) while the second, dealing with the historical sites, was published decades later (Soundara Rajan 2006) and reflects on every page the unfortunate consequences—probably massive loss of data, as well as shallowness and incoherence of interpretation—of the long lapse between fieldwork and publication. One noteworthy deficiency of this second volume is the absence of a map showing the site numbers that are constantly referred to; another is the virtual absence of any mention of memorial stones and the contexts in which they were excavated.

Any information on the context of the stones, therefore, needs to be triangulated from the publications of the inscriptions, from the relevant *ARIE* volumes, from the excavation report (Soundara Rajan 2006), and from the small but useful site guide written by two scholars directly involved in the archaeological salvage operations just a few years after they had been concluded (Sarkar & Misra 2006, originally published in 1966). None of these sources is able to compensate for the irretrievable loss of archaeological data that must once have

existed but has not made it into any publication—a case in point is the fact that several items were reported in ARIE with reference to a system of excavation grids which itself seems never to have been described in print.¹⁵ From the mentioned sources, we obtain the following correspondences between memorials inventoried in this article and their respective site numbers in the system introduced by H. Sarkar (on which, see Stone 1994: 3) that are shown on Map 3, in the Introduction, volume I.

The only site that has yielded multiple items is 113. What little we know about it is recorded by Sarkar & Misra (2006), who suggest that the memorials found there (50, 51, 52, 53) were associated with some kind of roadside structure called “rest-house” by these archaeologists.¹⁶ The association of 47 (EIAD 63) with site 113 is tentatively proposed here, as none of the published sources are more precise than “[f]rom a field near the palace area.” According to Sarkar & Misra (2006: 44), our 46 from site 36 “occupied the most prominent position by virtue of its location just outside the eastern gate of the citadel, here too associated with a pillared rest-house.” In the excavation report, this structure is called a “pillared hall” and interpreted as “specifically constructed for the purpose of raising the Memorial pillar” (Soundara Rajan 2006: 514). The cluster of sites 36 and 113 has been interpreted as specially dedicated to the memory of soldiers who fell in battle after an Ikṣvāku victory (Sarkar & Misra 2006: 16–17).

Another important cluster of memorial stones at Nagarjunakonda is the area delimited by sites 9, 59, 60, 61, 62, and 63, less than a kilometer due south from site 113. Sarkar & Misra (2006: 44) state that “[t]he area between Sites 9 and 61 yielded ten memorial-pillars raised in honor of *senāpatis* and *mahātavalaras*.” We do not understand how they reach that total, because we can account for

15 See e.g. our 45 (EIAD 76), about which ARIE 1958–1959 (B.83) specifies that it is from “Site No. 60 Sector S IV, Division 189, Trench E.2” or 46 (EIAD 68) said in ARIE 1956–1957 (B.29) to be from “Site No. NK (V)/55” while it is said in ARIE 1959–1960 (B.89) to be from “outside the Eastern gate of the citadel Site No. 36.” Only the plain site numbers 60 and 36 can be matched with any published reference system.

16 See pp. 16–17: “Similarly, the memorial-pillar at Site 36 of Mahāsenāpati Chāṇṭapūla, the Kuṣahaka chief [...], alludes to certain victories. This as well as a group of inscribed memorial pillars (*chhāyā-stambha*) at Site 113 [...], raised in honour of the soldiers who fell in the battle near the citadel, perhaps came into existence only after an Ikṣvāku victory” and pp. 43–44 “memorials, about five in number, were raised also in honour of the dead soldiers and chiefs at Site 113, all of them hailing from the locality called in the epigraphs as Magalaraṇa. The pillars at the last-mentioned site formed part of a wayside rest-house.” The brief mention of site 113 by Soundara Rajan (2006) on p. 201 seems to be a misprint for 114. On p. 614, the site is characterized by the following short sentence: “Memorial pillars within rubble enclosures to north-east of citadel.”

only four memorial stones from this area (45, 63, 99, 220).¹⁷ Of these, a small memorial slab (217) of a type similar to two items from Chandavaram (218, 219) was found in reuse in the vicinity of the small *stūpa* at site 59 (Soundara Rajan 2006: 192, with fig. 56).¹⁸ Fragments of a memorial stone (45) were found at site 60, “a site full of *chhāyā-stambha* scattered all over the area between Stūpa 9 and Site 58” (Soundara Rajan 2006: 604). Again, we see here an insistence from the archaeologists on the quantity of memorials, only some of which we are able to identify. The pillar (99) that represents the memorial of Prince Eli-Ehavūladāsaṇṇaka “came from the vicinity of a pillared house, Site 61, which had two square shrines added to it later on” (Sarkar & Misra 2006: 43–44).¹⁹ The fourth and last item of this cluster is the royal memorial stone (63) found in the area around site 9, hence in association with a “complete monastic unit” comprising a *stūpa*, *caityas*, a three-winged *vihāra* and a *maṇḍapa* (Soundara Rajan 2006: 594). We discuss 63 at length below (§ 6.2), hand in hand with a closely related stone (62) that was found in reuse at the Kārttikeya Temple site 57, situated halfway between site 113 and this cluster.²⁰ It has been suggested that there is a connection between the memorial stones in this cluster and site 63, a megalithic burial place.²¹

17 Although Sarkar & Misra (2006: 43) affirm about memorial stones from Nagarjunakonda that all bear inscriptions, we wonder if the discrepancy may partly be due to uninscribed artefacts having been counted by them while we have only attempted to documents inscribed artefacts at Nagarjunakonda and can hence count only such items. See for instance Stone 1994, figs. 62, 63 (for fig. 61, we have suggested that it might belong to 99, see below n. 88).

18 “An earlier *chāyā-stambha* from a locality close to this area had been pulled down, and used as the base of [a] lime tub near the *stūpa*.” It is confusing that the text affirms that “[t]he diameter of the *stūpa* was 30 ft” whereas the ground plan and scale on fig. 56 suggest a diameter of about 10 ft.

19 In Soundara Rajan (2006: 604–605), we read the following about this site: “A sixteen-pillared *maṇḍapa* with a long room to [the] west is possibly a *dharmaśālā* for pilgrims or a memorial hall as *stūpa* of a *chāyā-stambha* stood on the north of the *maṇḍapa* [...]”. The report goes on: “The whole structure was enclosed by a rubble wall rectangular in plan. To [the] extreme north-west within the same rubble enclosure a *chhāyā-stambha* had been excavated.” We do not know what is meant with the words “as *stūpa* of a *chhāyā-stambha*” and it is unclear to us whether the two mentions of a *chhāyā-stambha* indicate a single or two different pillars. On p. 515 of the same excavation report, confusion is increased still further by the suggestion that this pillar originates from site 24 (“Likewise the memorial of Eli Ehuvaladasa was found in a pillar hall—site No. 24 with later additions also”).

20 See IAR 1967–1968: 52 and ARIE 1967–1968: 2–3, B.22, both sources reporting a “broken pillar used as a step in a well in Site No. 57 of Sector N 111.” This matches with some information about site 57 in the excavation report (Soundara Rajan 2006: 604). Raghunath (2001: 201, no. 18), erroneously assigns the pillar to site 1.

21 Subrahmanyam et al. (1975: 170, with fig. 74) on Megalith IV, i.e. site 63: “This megalith was

Scattered as they are with memorial stones, these areas just east and south-east of the citadel seem analogous to the Khatal mound at Kanaganahalli, outside and indeed to the south-east of the walls of the citadel, which we have interpreted above as a site used for memorializing the dead.²² Besides such traces of continuity in *post mortem* practices from the prehistoric to the early historic periods, another recurring connection is that between Buddhist *stūpa/vihāra* sites and the erection of memorial stones.²³ We have already mentioned number 63, from the cluster just south-east of the citadel. Two other cases, farther removed from the citadel, are 49 from site 14²⁴ (in the middle of the valley, due east from the citadel) and 60 from site 24 (in the far northeast of the valley, by the river). The latter case is particularly interesting, because we have photographic documentation (IAR 1955–1956: 24, with pl. XXXVI A and XXXIX A)²⁵ and an unusually detailed description of the monumental context wherein the pillar was found:²⁶

Opposite the *chaitya-griha*, there was a circular chamber which had a regular *āyaka* projection on its south-eastern side. [...] [T]here was an inner

stratigraphically linked with one of the lime stone pillars on its west which form part of a cluster of memorial pillars datable to the *Iksvāku* period, which are found to be later in date than the megalith.

- 22 This analogy had already been observed by Shimada (2013: 182), who also mentions site 44, another megalithic burial site, which is however not marked by the presence of memorial stones.
- 23 This was also observed, among other scholars, by Chandrasekhara Reddy (1994: 22–23, esp. 23): “The Archaeological evidence of the *chāyāsthambhas* at Nāgārjunakonda, are associated with the *stūpas*.” We cannot, of course, subscribe to the claim if it is put in this way, as a generally valid fact.
- 24 See IAR 1954–1955: 23. Raghunath (2001: 162, no. 46) claims that this pillar was “found in a field near the palace area” (presumably intending site 113). This is an error. IAR is clear about the provenance of this item from “site v,” which can be identified as the site subsequently called 14 through the captions accompanying the identical photographs in IAR 1954–1955 pl. XLIV A and Sarkar 1960, pl. XXXVI. On site 14, see also Soundara Rajan 2006: 172, 596.
- 25 For a general characterization of the site, and a bird’s eye photographic view, see Sarkar & Misra 2006: 37 and pl. VIII.
- 26 Soundara Rajan 2006: 183, with ground plan in fig. 51. On site 24, see also Soundara Rajan 2006: 599, where the structure is described as a “circular platform to hold the memorial pillar for Queen Vammabhaṭṭa.” The sources indeed use rather varying descriptions of the structure which housed the pillar. In IAR 1955–1956: 24, it was called “a votive *stupa-shaped* circular chamber with a *chaya-khambha* in it,” which agrees more or less with the description we have quoted above. But Stone (1994: 77) inaccurately indicated that the pillar was “found in a votive *Stūpa* opposite a *caitya grha*.” The reference to site 27 in Sarkar & Misra 2006: 44 is an error for site 24.

recessing also where some image might have been kept. [...] Inside this chamber, almost to the centre, lying on its side, was found an inscribed memorial pillar [...]. The unique stone-paved, plastered, walled, circular shrine chamber [...] located at the south-west angle of the *vihāra*, was entered in from the north-east through an artistically laid moon-stone and a flight of three slab paved steps, with a side lining and balustrade at the lower steps with its facing on either side beautified by *pūrṇaghaṭa* sculptures in low relief. It is, thus, apparent that it was a place of veneration.

Finally, memorial stone 230, originates from near site 56, “[a] maṇḍapa [...] enshrining an image of Hārīti” (Soundara Rajan 2006: 604), situated at the far eastern end of the Nagarjunakonda valley, high enough to have escaped submersion (Sarkar 1982: 204).

As far as we know, nothing has been published about 48 (EIAD 132), which could be assigned to site 113; most monuments of a similar type (50–53) were discovered at site 113 (perhaps 47 as well), but at least one other (49) was discovered at site 14. We are entirely in the dark about the provenance of 44 (EIAD 133).

2 Overview of the Typology

We now propose a typology of the artefacts discussed in this article. The goal of this typology is simply to organize the material into groups based on their physical characteristics and, where relevant, their sculptural programs. In the case of the less well-defined types (P and S-D) the resemblance of the artefacts may well be accidental.

The principal division in our typology is between “steles” (S, alternatively “slabs”) and “pillars” (P). This distinction is based narrowly on the cross-section of the object. For the purposes of this article, a “pillar” is defined as a three-dimensional object with a roughly cylindrical shape (including octagonal prisms), and a “stele” is defined as a three-dimensional object in the shape of a rectangular prism. In fact, there is a continuum between “steles” and “pillars.” Both are generally taller than they are wide, and erected such that a face of the object is viewed vertically and perpendicular to the ground. The taller and more narrow steles resemble pillars, and indeed we will argue that some objects that fall into our “steles” category are actually reused architectural pillars (§ 4.6 below). Earlier scholarship has generally referred to both “steles” and “pillars” indiscriminately as “pillars.” In part, that is because most of the objects

known to scholarship are identified in their accompanying inscriptions by the label *khambha* or *thambha*, “pillar.” This label is used even for objects that we consider to be steles. One argument for not following the terminology of the inscriptions themselves in our typology is that precisely the same type of object (S-G below) is identified with the label *khambha* “pillar” at Chandavaram (218, 219) and *paṭṭa* “slab” at Nagarjunakonda (220).

What we call “steles” are further subdivided into those that have sculpted panels (S-SP) and those that do not (S-G and S-D); none of what we call “pillars” have sculpted panels (although, once again, the word “pillar” has been used with some adequacy in earlier scholarship for relatively tall and narrow steles that do in fact have sculpted panels).

- **Memorial steles with sculpted panels (S-SP).** We indicate the number of sculpted panels on a stele as a suffix after S-SP. Note that the original number of sculpted panels can only be determined for examples that are relatively well-preserved.
 - **One-paneled memorials (S-SP-1).**
 - **Two-paneled memorials (S-SP-2).** If a memorial has two panels, the top panel represents the deceased, and the bottom panel is one of the following conventional scenes:
 - **Bullock cart (S-SP-2-B).**
 - **Horse and groom (S-SP-2-Hg).**
 - Occasionally the bottom panel combines these motifs (**S-SP-2-B/Hg**).
 - **Three-paneled memorials (S-SP-3).**
 - **Four-paneled memorials (S-SP-4).** Known only from Nagarjunakonda.
 - **Unknown number of panels (S-SP-?).** The majority of memorial stones so far discovered are fragmentary. They are assigned to this group if only one panel, or fragments thereof, survive, and if the panel does not belong to one of the types discussed above. In addition, there are three further types attested from Nagarjunakonda:
 - **Horse with rider (S-SP-?-Hr).** All examples are fragmentary and these might have been two-paneled memorials.
 - **Elephant with rider (S-SP-?-E).** One example.
 - **Soldier memorials (S-SP-?-So).** All examples are fragmentary and these might have been two-paneled memorials.
- **Memorial steles without sculpted panels:**
 - **Gahapati-type memorials (S-G).**
 - **Dressed slabs (S-D).** This includes any memorials made from a dressed slab without a sculpted panel that do not fit into the category of the *gahapati* type.

– **Memorial pillars (P).**

There are a number of other objects that we have been unable to inspect visually (either firsthand or through photographic documentation). In those cases where we consider it likely that the object represents a memorial stone, based on the description of earlier scholars or readings of the accompanying inscription, we have included the object in our inventory with the type “Unknown.”

3 General Features

3.1 *Architectural Elements*

The vast majority of memorial stones with sculpted decoration exhibit architectural motifs. Most of them feature what we will call a “pediment,” that is, a representation of the top of a building at the top of the memorial (figs. 3.1–2). The pediment very often represents a gabled roof with horseshoe-shaped “gable windows,” variously called a *caitya*-window, *gavākṣa*, *candraśālā* or *kūṭu* in the secondary literature (Coomaraswamy 1928: 253–254). On slabs with sculpted images, the gabled roof often appears with two or three such windows. A particularly complete and detailed example is 94 (fig. 3.3), where railings with uprights featuring lotus medallions are depicted along each level of the two-tiered gable, and each window has a screen. Figures representing the deceased in bust are sometimes shown looking out of a central window. In some rare instances, like 5 (fig. 3.4), their entire bodies are represented in the window. In the *gahapati*-type, the gable is suggested with a simple line-drawing of a single window.

M.S. Nagaraja Rao, one of the first scholars to discuss these memorial stones, suggested that “the pavilion represented the heavenly abode of the deceased.”²⁷ In later memorial stones from Karnataka, the top panel clearly represents heaven, with the deceased “sitting before God and offering prayer to Him” (Rajan 2000: 96).

3.2 *The “Symposium”*

The topmost sculpted panel depicts the deceased in a scene of relaxation and enjoyment. We use the term “Symposium” for this scene, because the deceased are often depicted with a drink, and because of its typological sim-

27 Stone 1994: 36, who notes that Nagaraja Rao expanded on this idea in his oral presentation. His published paper (1985) does not contain this identification, but only notes (in connection with 1) that “[t]he oval top depicts three arched *caitya* windows and a couple, probably the donor and his wife, looking out of a *vātāyana*” (1985: 43).

ilarity to symposiastic scenes in the funerary art of the classical Mediterranean world (sometimes called a “Totenmahl” in classical scholarship). Indeed, we will argue below (§ 7.3) that this similarity is a result of cultural borrowing. The key feature of the Symposium, however, is the representation of the deceased. The symposiastic elements described here—attendants, wine glasses, and so on—are found in most of the surviving examples, but a small number omit them entirely while retaining a full-figure representation of the deceased (see below).

The deceased are almost always represented in three-quarter profile (154, on which see fig. 3.26, being a rare exception, representing a woman frontally). Men are either bare-chested or wear a strip-like upper garment (*uttariya*). Women, too, are represented with either no upper garment or a diaphanous upper garment. For a lower garment, men usually have a simple loincloth, while women are depicted with a thin or diaphanous patterned garment, usually with an ornamental girdle (*mekhalā*) around the hips. In one case a pleated cloth hangs from the woman’s waist (17, see fig. 3.5). Besides the *mekhalā*, women wear many ornaments: bangles around their upper arms, wrists, and ankles, necklaces, and earrings. The earrings are most often of the large *ḍamaru* type (17, see fig. 3.5; 57, fig. 3.24; 161, fig. 3.6). Men wearing turbans can be seen in a few examples (54, see fig. 3.2; 65, fig. 3.7), and 57 (see fig. 3.24) and 161 (see fig. 3.6) show a bun-like *uṣṇīṣa*. The men typically wear their hair close-cropped. We have noticed no beards or moustaches. The women wear a variety of hairstyles, sometimes parted (76), and sometimes tied to the side in a bun (54, see fig. 3.2; 159, fig. 3.13). The memorial of Gotamīputta Siri-Sātakaṇṇi (64) shows a number of seated women from behind, and their hair is plaited and falls back loosely, almost to their waists (the *praveṇī* type of Krishna Murthy 1977: 122). Women often wear a headband (*lalāṭapaṭṭa*).

In terms of their **position**, the deceased are always represented as sitting down on a couch (137), a chair with a back (10, see fig. 3.8; 54, fig. 3.2; 103) or a stool (140; 158, see fig. 3.15). The furniture is often depicted with what appear to be carved or turned legs (3, 144). Men tend to be seated in *lalitāsana*, i.e., with one leg bent parallel to the ground on the couch or chair, and the other hanging loosely toward the ground. In a few cases, however, a man is seated with legs crossed. Women are sometimes seated in *lalitāsana* (82, see fig. 3.9), but more commonly seated on a stool or chair with the legs angled to the side, either side-by-side (135, 136, 137, 139), or with one leg crossed over the other (144, 158, 160). The pendant leg often rests on a footrest.

What are the deceased doing? In many cases they are holding either a garland or necklace (10, see fig. 3.8; 79, fig. 3.10; 158, fig. 3.15), lotus flowers (57, see fig. 3.24; 108, fig. 3.11; 129), or wine glasses (3; 57, see fig. 3.24; 65, fig. 3.7; 103;

109; 117, fig. 3.12; 159, fig. 3.13). In one case a man is playing a lute-like instrument (125). When a couple is depicted, they are often holding the same wine glass (65, see fig. 3.7; 76, 139, 144). Women are sometimes depicted with infants on their laps (e.g. 106, see fig. 3.14; 154, fig. 3.26; 160), although sometimes the infants are held by attendants (e.g., 119).

They are generally surrounded by attendants (exceptions include 65, on which see fig. 3.7, and 66, see fig. 3.25); the attendants are usually female, but occasionally male (103). Some attendants are shown with fly-whisks (*cāmara*). Fly-whisks are considered a “prerogative of royalty” at Nagarjunakonda by Krishna Murthy (1977: 45), but they are common in non-royal memorials at Kanaganahalli (e.g. 1). Other attendants bear circular woven fans (82, see fig. 3.9), as also attested in the art of Nagarjunakonda (Krishna Murthy 1977: 46). Some attendants bear what looks like a square banner or pennant attached to a staff (75). Often the attendants are shown carrying a tapering vessel which may be a wine-jar (82, see fig. 3.9); sometimes the attendants bear the wine glass for the deceased (24). In one case a female attendant is depicted with a harp (82), and in another with a flute (133).²⁸ Uniquely for scenes of this type, an attendant carries a sword (79, see fig. 3.10). In one example of the horse-and-groom type from Kanaganahalli, a parasol-bearer is depicted (30); in other cases, however, parasol-bearers are only depicted in proximity to a king (59, see figs. 31–32, 60, 63).

Sometimes there are additional smaller figures around the bottom of the composition, ostensibly representing dwarves and/or hunchbacks (56; 57, see fig. 3.24), who are typical of royal and aristocratic entourages in ancient India, and depicted on the nearby *stūpa* as well.²⁹

As a relatively complete specimen of the Symposium scene, see 158 (see fig. 3.15): here the deceased is a woman, sitting on a stool in the center of the panel, with her legs to one side, and her head turned to the other. She has bangles around her wrists, upper arms, and ankles, and wears only a *mekhalā*, very large earrings, and a thin headband. Her hair falls in a line across her forehead. She holds what appears to be a necklace or garland in her right hand. She is surrounded by eight attendants, four on her right, and four on her left. Most of them appear to wear large earrings. One attendant appears to hold a box out of which she has drawn the necklace; one holds a pennant; one holds a fly-whisk; one holds a jar; and one holds an infant in swaddling cloths. And in the bottom-right corner of the relief there appears to be another miniature figure, either a child or a dwarf. The naturalistic quality of the sculpture is remarkable. Above

28 See Krishna Murthy 1977: 180–184 for further examples of musical instruments, including those much like the harp and *vīṇā* depicted in 81 and 122 respectively.

29 See Shiri 2020: 63, with reference to depictions from the Kanaganahalli *stūpa*.

the sculpted panel there is a pediment, in which the traces of a portrait are evident in a central opening, surrounded by two further portraits in the gable arches.

3.3 *The Inscriptions*

In the vast majority of cases, the inscriptions function as labels identifying the deceased by name. Soldier memorials are the general exception, since these sometimes do not identify the deceased by name, but only by identifying him or them as a soldier who died under the command of someone else. In all of the examples that can be read with confidence, the deceased is named in the genitive case (“of N.N.”). These phrases in the genitive case construe with a phrase in the nominative case meaning “memorial.” The nominative phrase is most commonly left out in the examples from Karnataka, but it is regularly given in the examples from Andhra Pradesh. Just four examples appear to omit “memorial” and label the deceased in the nominative case (33, 40, 89, 98).

A number of expressions for “memorial” are found. All of them consist of a word referring to the physical object, optionally preceded by the word “shade” (*chāyā*), on which see below.

- (*chāya*-)*khaṁbha* or *-thaṁbha* “memorial **pillar**” (Sanskrit *stambha*):
 - at Pauni: 221 (*chāyā-khaṁbho*)
 - at Chandavaram: 218 (*chāyakhaṁbho*), 219 (*chayako kha[m](bho)*)
 - at Gangaperuru: 227 (*chāy[ā]khaṁbh[o]*)
 - at Dharanikota: 59 (*chayathabho*), 61 (*chāyatha[bho]*), 100 (*chāyātha-(bho)*), 101 (*chāyā[tha]«(bho)»*)
 - at Nagarjunakonda: 49 (*chāyāthaṁ(bho)*), 50 (*chāyātha[bho]*), 51 (*[chā]-jākhaṁbho*), 52 (*[chā]yakhaṁbho*), 53 (*cha[yakha](bho)*), 60 (*chāya-khaṁbho*), 63 (*chāyāthabho*), 72 (*chāyātha[bho]*), 99 (*chāyāthabh[o]*), 230 (the reading here is very unclear)
 - at Gotur: 231 (*chayatharṁbho*)
- (*chāya*-)*pathara* or *-thara* “memorial **slab**” (Sanskrit *prastara*, **stara*):
 - at Banavasi: 224 (*cha°āpatharo*)
 - at Kanaganahalli: 4 (*[tha]ro*), 204 (*[tharo]*)
- (*chāya*-)*paṭa* “memorial **slab**” (Sanskrit *paṭṭa*):
 - at Kanaganahalli: 8 (*[pa]ṭo*), 68 (*paṭo*)
 - at Nagarjunakonda: 220 (*chāyapaṭo*)

An inscription from Belvadigi (11, *chayapa///*) might represent *chayapatharo* or *chayapaṭo*. The restoration of the final part of an inscription from Kanaganahalli (80, *chāy[ā]///*) is uncertain.

In one case (229, from Chhattisgarh) the label identifies the object as a *citraṁ* or “image.” The estampage does not show a sculpted image, although there

might have been one below the inscription, or alternatively there might have been a painted image.

The word *chāyā* means both “shadow” and “reflection.”³⁰ It may be the case that *chāyā* specifically refers to the image of the deceased as represented on the stone (Patil 1982: 55). Most, but not all, of the objects bearing a label inscription with this word do in fact contain a sculptural representation of the deceased. None of these compounds with *chāyā* appear to be attested in literary sources, nor indeed do literary sources connect *chāyā* with memorialization in any sense, as far as we are aware. We suggest below that, in this usage, it calques Greek *σικιά*.

When more than one individual is memorialized by a single monument, the genitive phrases may optionally be coordinated with *ca/ya* “and” (68, 74, 80), although sometimes the labels are simply inscribed on different areas of the support (88). The inscription is written above or below the figure to whom it applies. This is suggested, *inter alia*, by 5 and 10, where a masculine name is inscribed above or below the male figure, and a feminine name is inscribed above or below a female figure. In fragmentary memorials, however, it is not always clear to what surviving figure the surviving inscription applies. One example is 81, which has a label inscription in the feminine, but apparently depicts a male figure.

The simplest form of the label is just the name of the deceased in the genitive case (see below, § 5.6, for observations on the names that appear in these inscriptions). In many examples the name is preceded by one of a relatively circumscribed set of titles, which are listed below (§ 5.1). Locations or places of residence are very rarely, if ever, found; exceptions might include 65 and 220.

The placement of the label depends on the type of memorial. In memorials with sculpted panels, it is usually written horizontally, either above the top panel and below the pediment, or below the top panel. In a few cases, however, the label appears to be written along the side of the sculpted panel (77, 89), perpendicular to the ground. In *gahapati* memorials, the orientation of the label differs between the specimens from Karnataka (perpendicular to the ground) and Andhra and Telangana (parallel to the ground).

The **language** of the inscriptions is invariably Middle Indo-Aryan,³¹ and the **script** is always a southern variety of Brāhmī. The writing tends to be relatively informal, although more formal variants—with carefully aligned and spaced letters—are found on the royal memorials (62, 63, 64). In three cases, two from

30 Coomaraswami 1935: 278; Granoff 2004: 342.

31 A single inscription in the corpus under discussion is in verse and composed in Sanskrit. See below, p. 203.

Kanaganahalli (194, 195) and one from Mukkatraopet in Telangana (228), the inscriptions are executed in outline, a rare technique that is also known from a single donative record from Kanaganahalli (KnI 258).³²

4 Specific Features of Each Type

4.1 *Bullock Cart (S-SP-2-B) [1–27], (S-SP-3-B) [28]*

Of the memorials with sculpted panels, the bullock-cart type is the most common in Karnataka (23 from Kanaganahalli, 1 from Belvadigi, and 1 from Jevargi): we have identified 25 specimens, many of which, however, are quite fragmentary. We have assigned fragments to the bullock cart type only if there was evidence of a bullock cart panel; it is likely that some of the fragmentary memorials with sculpted panels (65–175) belonged to this type. So far bullock-cart memorials have not been found outside of Karnataka.

Memorials of this type have two sculpted panels: a Symposium on top, and below, a cart with two unyoked bullocks sitting on the ground, while the driver sits at the front of the cart. The cart is usually on the viewer's right, and the bullocks to the left, although the composition is apparently reversed in one example (15). The cart has two large wheels (only one of which is visible), a tongue with a yoke, and a covered carriage. As Nagaraja Rao (1985: 43) noted, the carts are more or less identical to the miniature carts found in the Kundanagar hoard of Sātavāhana-period metal objects and published by Khandalavala (1960: pl. xx, our fig. 3.18): both the completely covered carriage (8; 28, see fig. 3.16) and the carriage with "windows" (3; 5; 10, see fig. 3.8; 11; 12; 20; 27, see fig. 3.17) are found. The composition of the lower panel is consistent across most of the examples, suggesting that this was indeed a standard type of memorial within the region of northern Karnataka. There are, however, a few variations. The memorial of Kalaka from Belvadigi (11) apparently depicts a horse behind the cart, and the driver also appears to be missing. In one example, there is a person standing to the viewer's left of the sitting bullock (23). Finally, there is, in our entire corpus, one memorial stone with **three** sculpted panels (28, see fig. 3.16). This fragmentary object shows the bottom part of a Symposium, then the typical bullock cart panel, except that in addition to the two bullocks sitting beneath the tongue of the cart, there are also two larger bullocks filling up the space in the background. Below this panel, there is a third panel that depicts

32 For another example of this technique among the potsherd inscriptions from Salihundam (Salo84), see Strauch in this volume, fig. 2.9.

a cow facing the viewer's left being milked; to the right of the cow there are two more cattle, one sitting on the ground; and to the left there appears to be a calf.

The deceased depicted in these memorials include women (3, 4, 18, 24), and couples (1, fig. 3.1; 5, fig. 3.4; 10, fig. 3.8). When only women are depicted, the inscriptions label the women; when couples are depicted, the inscriptions either label the man (1, 11) or both (5, 10). The only titles used in the inscriptions on memorials of this type are *vāṇīya*, "merchant," and the feminine equivalent. Conversely, these titles are only found on memorials of this type. Our hypothesis is that the bullock-cart memorial was used primarily, if not exclusively, by wealthy merchants and their families.³³

The significance of the bullock cart is unclear. Ramesh (1967: 132) suggested that "the cart with the bullocks unyoked may be taken as a symbolic representation of the journey's end, i.e., the end of Kalaka's [the person commemorated by the stone] life."³⁴ It should be mentioned that the cart itself is always covered. The carts depicted are therefore probably modes of conveyance for wealthy people. This use of the bullock-cart features in a scene in the Prakrit poem *Taraṅgalolā*, an abridgement of an earlier poem called *Taraṅgavatī* by Pālitta. The heroine's father, a rich merchant (*seṭṭhī*) in the city of Kauśāmbī, has decided to organize a party for his family in the park outside of the city. The heroine, Taraṅgavatī, says that on the day of the party, she was led outside of her house, where:

There was a driver sitting in the cart (*jāṇaṃ*), skilled in holding the bullocks in check and giving them orders. He called out to me [...]: "Hey, come on, girl! Today the merchant has sent this here cart for you, of unparalleled beauty, a *vimāna* to take you to the garden." With these words, the servant hurried me, and I climbed up into the comfortable cart, where a blanket had been spread out.³⁵

33 A similar conclusion was suggested by J. Varaprasada Rao (Sarma & Varaprasada Rao 1993: 88), who noted in connection with 2 that "[t]he empty cart below indicates that this is a Memorial of a *vaṇīya*."

34 Ramesh's interpretation has been accepted explicitly by Nagaraja Rao (1985: 43) and implicitly by Krishna Murthy (2005: 122).

35 Bhayani 1979, stanzas 210–212: *tattha ya jāṇa-vilaggo bailla-niggahaṇa-coyaṇa-samattho / vāharāi sārāhī maṃ vottūṇa aṇṇo vva ṇovālo (?) / eheha kumāri tumhaṃ saṃdiṭṭhaṃ aṇṇa seṭṭhiṇā tumhaṃ / uvavaṇa-gamaṇa-vimāṇaṃ jāṇaṃ iṇaṃ aṇovama-sirīyaṃ / to evaṃ jaṇpamāṇeṇa teṇa ceḍeṇa toriyā ahayaṃ / suhavaābbhakam (vāhayaṃ?) ārūḍhā taṃ kaṇbala-patthayaṃ jāṇaṃ*.

Pālitta was a Jain monk whom tradition generally associates with the Sātavāhana court. If these traditions are reliable, this passage may be more or less contemporaneous with the memorial stones under discussion.³⁶

4.2 *Horse and Groom (S-sp-2-Hg) [29–43]*

Another major type of memorial stone with two sculpted panels includes those representing, in their lower panel, a caparisoned horse without a rider, being led by a groom. This type has so far only been found at Kanaganahalli. The horse's movement is suggested by its raised front foot. This image bears comparison to the "horse exhibition" (German "Pferdevorführung") of Roman funerary art, discussed below (§ 7.3). The groom sometimes wears a hood (see 32, fig. 3.42) and a tunic that extends to the knees (37). The groom is in some cases accompanied by other figures: in one instance (36, see fig. 3.19), this looks like a porter, holding one sack in one hand and another slung over his back; in another (30) it is a man carrying a parasol; in yet another case (39) the role of the additional figure cannot be determined.

It is difficult to draw conclusions about the social and/or political position of the individuals associated with this type of memorial, since very few inscriptions survive, and the upper panel depicting the deceased has been lost in all but a few memorials (29, 30, 34). Notably, however, all of the surviving inscriptions and sculpted panels, except for 40, identify the deceased as a man. The titles found in the inscriptions on these memorials include *amacaputa* (30). The honorary prefix *araka* (= Sanskrit *āryaka*) appears in at least one case (32) and possibly in a second (34). The title *ahimarikā*, which we understand to be related to *araka*, is possibly found in one example (40; see § 5.2 below for a discussion of these titles). Others probably included a title but it is now lost (31). A few objects combine both the horse-and-groom and bullock-cart scenes in a single panel (40, 41). One of these is the memorial of the *gahapati* Hathika (29).

From 59 (see fig. 3.31), which apparently depicts a court scene and includes a horse, as well as from the use of titles such as *amacaputa*, *araka*, and *ahimarikā* in horse-and-groom memorials that suggest proximity to the court, we infer that this type of memorial was associated with individuals who were directly connected to the royal court.

4.3 *Horse with Rider (S-sp-?-Hr) [44–45]*

Two examples from Nagarjunakonda (44, see fig. 3.44; 45, fig. 3.20) depict a horse *with* a rider, in contrast to the examples from Kanaganahalli that depict

³⁶ For a discussion of Pālitta and his dates, see Ollett 2018.

the horse without a rider. Like the riderless horse, the horse-and-rider type is known in Mediterranean funerary art as well (see below, § 7.3). We cannot comment further on the iconography of this scene because of the fragmentary condition of the memorials. Both examples memorialize officials who held the military titles *mahāsenāpati* and *mahātalavara*, which suggests that this scene was reserved for military men. The possibility that the rider represents the deceased himself is suggested by a related image, discussed immediately below. One of the horse-and-rider memorials (44) is the only memorial stone with a date, apart from those of the Ikṣvāku royal family.

4.4 *Elephant with Rider* (*S-sp-?-E*) [46]

A single example from Nagarjunakonda (46, see fig. 3.21) depicts an elephant with a richly adorned rider, besides whom sits an attendant holding a parasol and a fly-whisk. The background of the panel is furthermore filled with large lotus flowers, which is unparalleled in the corpus under discussion. Like 44 and 45, This example also memorializes a *mahāsenāpati*, and this type could be considered an iconographic variation on the horse-and-rider type, motivated perhaps by the fact that the individual is described as an “elephant-capturer” (*hathigāhaka*). At the same time, it may also be compared to memorials of royal men at Nagarjunakonda (62, 63, 99), discussed below (§ 6.2), where the second panel from the bottom consistently displays an elephant rider. We cite the inscription in full:

- (1) sidhaṁ khaṁdhāvārāṇ[e] ◊ °okhaṁdhakasa °amita-
- (2) janasa dapadamanasa °olabaka[sa]
- (3) hathigāhakasa mahāsenā-
- (4) patisa kuḷahakānaṁ siricaṁta-
- (5) puḷasa chāyathabho [-]

1. khaṁdhāvārāṇ[e] *khaṁdhāvārāna* Sircar.

1. °okhaṁdhakasa Compare *avaskanda-* in the *Arthaśāstra*, where it means “surprise attack” (e.g. 7.6.40, 7.10.29, 10.3.03, and Olivelle et al. 2015: 64).

2. dapadamanasa This epithet is reminiscent of that attributed to the Buddha in the elaborate eulogy opening EIAD 20, *jita-kāma-kodha-bhaya-harisa-tarisa-moha-dosa-sadapita-mārabala-dapa-māna-pasamanakarasa*, “who has conquered desire, anger, fear, joy, thirst, hatred and delusion and who has calmed the haughtiness and pride of Māra’s haughty forces.”

2. °olabaka[sa] °olabaku- Sircar. What we propose to read as [sa] is especially unclear, and the meaning of the term, which we tentatively take as a proper name, is obscure to us.

3. **hathigāhakasa** Probably also a technical term (compare *hastigrahaṇa* in *Arthaśāstra* 7.15.22).

“Success! Memorial pillar of the Great General Siri-Caṁtapuḷa of the Kuḷahakas, launcher of surprise attacks on war-camps, the tamer of the pride of (his) enemies, the seizer of Olabaka’s elephants.”

The name of the deceased, Siri-Caṁtapuḷa, is reminiscent of that of Caṁtamula (i.e. Cāntamūla), the founder of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, and it is possible that his memorial was modelled on that of the Ikṣvāku king (see below). Although not himself a member of the royal family, he belonged to an elite clan, the Kuḷahakas, well-established in the Ikṣvāku political domain.³⁷ This proximity to the royal power and Siri-Caṁtapuḷa’s successful appropriation of his enemies’ elephants might have justified the adoption of a motif otherwise only attested in royal memorials.

4.5 *Soldier Memorials (S-sp-?-So) [47–53]*

We assign the label “soldier memorials” to a number of examples from Nagarjunakonda wherein the inscription identifies the deceased as soldier(s) fighting under a named commander:

magalaraṇavathavasa [...] [NN] *petumaḷi*-bhaḍasa/bhaḍana paḍitasa/
paḍitāna chāyatham̐bho/kham̐bho

“Memorial pillar of the fallen *petumaḷi*-soldier(s) [of?] NN, a resident of Magalaraṇa [, additional titles of NN]”

These inscriptions present two interpretive difficulties. The first is the word *petumaḷi*, which is always prefixed to the word for “soldier,” and for which we currently do not have an interpretation. The second is a discrepancy in grammatical number. In 47, 48 (see fig. 3.45), and 49, we would naturally read this as a memorial for a “fallen soldier” NN. In 50, 51, and 52, however, NN is named

37 EIAID 8 records the participation of Culla-Cāntisiriṇṇikā in the sponsoring of the Great Shrine (*mahācetiya*) at Nagarjunakonda, alongside Cāntisiri and other royal and elite women. The donor is presented as the “child of the Kulahakas” (*kulahakānaṁ bālīkā*) and wife of the *mahātalavara* and *mahāsenāpati* Vāsiṭṭhiputta Khandacalikiremmaṇaka. Furthermore, according to EIAID 20 (l. 3), a “monastery of the Kulaha(ka)s” (*kulahavihāra*) was found near Vijayapurī, where Bodhisiri established a *caityagrha*. This *vihāra* has so far not been positively identified with any of the structures excavated in the valley.

in the singular, while the word for “fallen soldier(s)” is in the plural. This might suggest that the memorial is for NN in addition to the soldiers who fought under his leadership. NN is in all cases a resident (*vathava*) of Magalaraṇa.

The format and iconography of this type is uncertain. We consider it a subcategory of memorial slabs with sculpted panels (S-SP), because a single fragmentary example (49, see fig. 3.22) has a panel apparently representing a seated couple above the inscription. The other examples are either fragmentary, and only show the inscription, or their present location is unknown and only the estampages (which only show the inscription) could be consulted.

These are the earliest memorials for soldiers known to us in the Deccan.

4.6 *Single-Panel Memorials (S-SP-1) [54–61]*

In a handful of cases, a memorial is preserved well enough to show that there was only a single sculpted panel. It may or may not be significant that most of these memorials are all for very high-ranking individuals who were directly connected to a royal court. 54 (see fig. 3.2) and 55 (see fig. 3.23) commemorate royal ministers (including, in the latter case, the minister’s wife), and indeed these are the only memorials for ministers *per se* (inscriptions on 75 and 89 identify the deceased as the wife of a minister, while 30 and 223 are for the sons of ministers). 56 commemorates the wife of a *gāmikumāra*. The *Gāmikumāras* were one of the principal feudatories of the *Sātavāhanas* in the region of Kanaganahalli (see p. 190 below). And the individuals commemorated in 57 bear titles indicating proximity to the court (see the discussion of *ahimarikā* below, § 5.2). The sample size is too small, however, for us to draw any conclusions about single-panel memorials as a coherent type. It is possible, indeed likely, that some of the fragmentary objects we have classified as S-SP-? originally had only one sculpted panel. Moreover, 54 and 55 (see fig. 3.23) appear to be unfinished, the former on account of the roughly hewn rock below the main panel, and the latter on account of the progressively shallower engraving toward the bottom of the object.³⁸

Three of these objects are taller and narrower than most other memorial stones (57, 59, 61). These three objects are rectangular for most of their length, but their top tapers to a prism with eight sides, a shape encountered in many architectural pillars. This suggests that these objects might have been reused pillars. The object from Kanaganahalli (57, see fig. 3.24), commemorating the *ahimarikā* Nāgaṇṇikā and her husband Giridattaṇṇaka, is among the best-

38 See Dehejia & Rockwell 2016 on unfinished stone work in early historic India.

known memorial stones from the site, thanks to its relatively early discovery. It is typologically very similar to the *āyāga* pillars found at the main *stūpa* site, with most of the octagonal elevation truncated.³⁹ Two unpublished pillars from Dharanikota (59, whose panel and inscription will be discussed below [§ 5.5], and 61), are likewise reminiscent of the lower section of *maṇḍapa*-pillars known from several sites of the lower Krishna vallery such as Alluru (EIAD 200, 201) and Guntupalli (EIAD 203–206). As in those pillars, the upper part of the regular section is characteristically decorated by a half-medallion. In 57, 59, and 61, we may thus be dealing with the reuse of pillars as slabs recarved to accommodate a single panel and memorial inscription.

4.7 *Unclassified Memorials with Sculpted Panels* [65–175]

The majority of memorial stones discussed here are fragmentary, and often do not allow us to determine what the format and type of the object originally was. In most cases, we only have a small fragment of a Symposium scene, sometimes accompanied by an inscription. Several fragmentary memorials have already been depicted in the figures above, in the section on the Symposium.

A few of these fragmentary memorials call for special comment, however. One reasonably well-preserved example (66, see fig. 3.25), for a *bhojaka*, simply depicts the deceased in a sitting posture, without the usual surroundings of a Symposium (attendants, wine glasses, furniture, etc.).⁴⁰ The relatively sparse depiction, more in the manner of a portrait, does not seem to be a general characteristic of memorials for *bhojakas* (contrast 88 and 65, although attendants are wanting in the latter case). An example for which the inscription is lost (160) shows a woman depicted with an infant child on her lap, and another figure (perhaps another child) sitting to her side. Here, as well as in a similar object (154, fig. 3.26), the usual features of the Symposium are likewise absent.

4.8 *Gahapati Type (S-G)* [176–220]

The *gahapati* type is represented by 42 examples from Karnataka and 3 examples from Andhra Pradesh. Slabs of the *gahapati* type do not contain a sculptural representation of the deceased. Rather, they contain a simple line-etching

39 See Poonacha 2011: 73, fig. 18. For stimulating considerations on the conceptual continuity between *āyāga* pillars and memorial pillars, see Ahuja 2021, who controversially proposes to understand the famous narrative stele of Phanigiri centred on the *mahābhiniṣkramaṇa* cycle of the Buddha's life as a "hero stone" of sorts.

40 The representation of the deceased on 66 is very similar to that on 120, which however includes a female attendant with a fly-whisk.

of an architectural element, usually a gable window pediment or two columns, and an inscription (e.g. 179, on which see fig. 3.27). In Karnataka, the inscription is written from top to bottom, perpendicular to the ground if the stele is stood upright. In Andhra Pradesh, the inscription is written parallel to the ground, either across the “lintel” of the doorway suggested by the line-etching, or in one case (220) in the doorway itself.

We have called these slabs “*gahapati* memorials” because there is a very strong correlation between this type of memorial and the use of the title *gahapati* (for men) or *ghariṇī* (for women): all the instances of these titles (with the exception of 29) are found on memorials of this type, and these are the only titles that are found on memorials of this type. See § 5.3 below for a discussion of these titles. Of the 28 examples where the gender of the deceased can be identified, 19 (68%) commemorate women, and the remaining 9 (32%) commemorate men. Hence the “*ghariṇī* type” might in fact be a more appropriate label. Because of the close association of *ghariṇī* and *gahapati* with this memorial type, M.S. Nagaraja Rao (1985: 42, no. 9) is probably not right to restore (*ghari*)ṇīya °*ahimarikā*[ya] in 87, since this inscription is on a sculpted panel. Moreover, the title *ahimarikā*, to be discussed below (§ 5.2), generally qualifies aristocratic women, and is not paired with *ghariṇī*.

Notably all three examples from Andhra Pradesh, and none of the examples from Karnataka, contain a word for “memorial pillar” or “memorial slab,” viz. *chāyakhambho* (218, see fig. 3.28), *chayako kha*[ṛṇ](*bho*) (219, see fig. 3.29) or *chāyapaṭo* (220). No other type shows such a clear geographic distinction in the formula for the label inscription.

4.9 Dressed Slabs (S-D) [221–226]

The identification of a dressed slab, with little or no sculptural decoration, as a memorial stone is based exclusively on the accompanying inscription. To this category belongs the memorial stone of the queen of Vāsiṭṭhīputta Sivasiri-Puḷumāvi (224), and the memorial stone of Rupiamma (221), both discussed below (pp. 203–205). But it also includes several whose interpretation as memorial stones is somewhat less secure. One of them, from Kanaganahalli (225), simply mentions the name and title of a woman in the genitive case: Purisadattā, the *ahimarikā*, the noble daughter (*bhaṭibālikā*) of Otika, the *mahāgāmikumāra* of the Muḍas. The same individual is apparently mentioned on a different object from the relatively distant site of Mukkatraopet in Telangana (226, EIAD 670, fig. 3.30). That object is a large rectangular slab and some discoloration at the right end of the stone (from the reader’s perspective) suggests that it may have stood upright. The so-far unpublished inscription reads:

- (1) °ahimar[i]kāna bhaṭibā[l]ikāya mah[i]pūrisadatāya
- (2) °amacaputasa sivavaṭusasa °opaṭhāy[i]k[i]niya cadāya
- (3) rath[i]bālikāya hakusiriya °idāya nāga[s]ir[i]ya gopiya

2. °opaṭhāy[i]k[i]niya For *aupasthāyika*- “attendant” (Olivelle et al. 2015: 111) see especially *Arthaśāstra* 2.32.16. See also Martini 2023: 76, 262.

“Of the [following] *ahimarikās*: the noble daughter Mahīpurisadattā; Candā (Candrā), the attendant (*opaṭhāyikini* = Skt. *aupasthāyikā*) of the *amātya*-son Sivavaṭusa (Śivabaṭu?); Hakusirī, the daughter of a governor (*rathi* = *raṭhi*?); Indā (Indrā); Nāgasirī; Gopī.”

The inscription consists of a list of female names, some of them including titles, all in the oblique case. All of the persons appear to be identified as *ahimarikā*, although it is possible that the first word is a mistake for *ahimarikāya*, and the title only applies to the first woman, Mahīpurisadattā. The inscriptions of both 225 and 226 can be read as label inscriptions for memorial stones. Both objects would be relatively unique memorials, however. First, they are unusual in that they consist simply of dressed slabs with inscriptions and no sculptural decoration. Second, 226 is evidently a group memorial, which has very few parallels in our corpus (but see 47–53). Third, it would be quite unusual for the same person to be memorialized by two objects, especially two objects at such a large distance, even granting that one of them is a group memorial.

What is clear, however, is that both objects are associated with individuals very close to a royal court. The Sanskrit equivalents of *bhaṭṭibālikā* (*bharṭṭ-dārikā* and *bharṭṭduhitṛ*) are almost always used in literature to refer to daughters of a king or prince, and so Purisadattā’s father, Otika, was probably a regional ruler, directly subordinate to the Sātavāhana kings (see below, p. 190, on the title [*mahā*] *gāmikumāra*). And while some of the names present difficulties, Hakusirī is paralleled by Mahāhakusirī, the name of an early Sātavāhana prince attested at Nasik (Tsukamoto 1996, Nasik 20), while Nāgaṇṇikā is of course a very common name, borne, for example, by the chief queen of Sātakaṇṇi, one of the early Sātavāhana kings. These parallels, along with the relatively early appearance of the letters, suggest that this type of memorial may have been in use before memorials with sculpted panels became fashionable (which, as we argue below, § 7.3, might have happened as a result of trade with the Roman empire in the second half of the 1st c. CE). We might therefore date 225 and 226 to the late 1st c. BCE or early 1st c. CE. Other objects in this category, including 223 (which we have not been able to locate), might represent

a continuation of this type, although its interpretation as a memorial stone is uncertain. Uncertain, too, is the interpretation the “*naṭī* inscription” (Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 4, EBIS D6; KnI 419), which we have not included in our inventory. This is a dressed slab containing the names of four or five women, identified as *naṭīs* or “dancers.”

5 Titles, Occupations, and Onomastics

5.1 Overview of the Titles

Many titles (political, social, and occupational) occur in our corpus. Before giving the list, we can introduce our principles of organization and translation.

First, a number of titles are found with a prefixed *mahā-*, indicating “great” (or more idiomatically “chief”). In several cases *only* the prefixed form is found in our corpus (*mahākammika*, *mahākhattava*, *mahāgāmika*, *mahādevī*, *mahāsattavāha*, *mahāsenāpati*), although we know that the unprefixed form was also used. In one case we observe what appear to be prefixed and unprefixed forms of the same title (*raṭṭhika*/*mahāraṭṭhi*). Other titles are not found prefixed with *mahā* in this corpus, although we know in some cases (e.g., *akṣapaṭalika*) that the prefixed form was also used. We list titles in Sanskrit alphabetical order, without the prefix *mahā-*.

Second, most of these titles do not exclusively refer to the title-holder himself or herself, but to the title-holder’s family. Titles of nobility and high office were used in both genders, hence *bhojaka* and *bhojikinī*, roughly equivalent to “baron” and “baroness.” As a general rule we translate the feminine as *x-wife*. Individuals could also be identified by their relation to a title-holder, especially *x-putta* (*x-son*); *x-kumāra* (*id.*) or *x-kumārī* (*x-daughter*) might also refer to a second generation of title-holders (although see below); *x-bhātu* (*x-brother*) is also found. *Bhaṭṭibālīkā* “noble daughter” is a special case, applied to the daughter of a *mahāgāmi-kumāra*.

Gotra-names are rarely used, and generally indicate a Brahmin *gotra* (e.g., *bhāradāyasa* 79, *maḍharasago[ta]sa* 59). One exception might be 227, where one Sivadāsa is said to belong to the Nārada *gotra*.

We list the titles in their reconstructed Middle Indo-Aryan form (if different from what is written in the orthography of the inscriptions) and the equivalent Sanskrit form, then give all of the attestations.

- **akkhapaṭalika* [Skt. *akṣapaṭalika*] “record-keeper.” The term *akṣapaṭala* is attested in the *Arthaśāstra* 2.4.10, to refer to the building where accounts are kept. See Olivelle et al. 2015: 5; Martini 2023: 261.
- *akhapaṭalikasa* (77).

- **amacca* [Skt. *amātya*] “advisor”
 - *amacasa* (54, 229), *rājāmacasa/rāyāmacasa* (55, 235)
 - f. *amacīya* (75), *amaci* (89 [bis]), *amacabhariyāya* (100) “a.-wife”
 - *amacaputasa* (30, 223, 226) “a.-son”
- **arraka* [Skt. *āryaka*] “noble”
 - *araka-* (as a prefix) (32, 34?, 98)
 - *arika-bhātuno* (57 [-*bhātu*]) “a.-brother-in-law”
 - f. *ahimarikā* (40), *ahimarikāya* (57, 87, 225, 226) (see below)
- *ahimarikā* see under **arraka*
- *āvesani* [Skt. *āveśanin*] “master artisan”; “A small businessman who owned and operated workshops (*āveśana*)” (Olivelle 2013: 540); see *Arthaśāstra* 2.14.1; Martini 2023: 262.
 - *āvesanikasa* (220), *āesanisa* (69)
- (*mahā*)*kammika* [Skt. *(*mahā*)*kārmika*] “chief field officer.” While *mahākārmika* is unattested, *kārmika* is used in the *Arthaśāstra* 2.7.10–11 to refer to a “field officer” (Olivelle 2013: 518; Martini 2023: 262). See also CPD, s.v. *kammika*: (2.a) “a government officer, e.g., a minister or a customs clerk.”
 - *mahākārmikaputasa* (231)
- (*mahā*)*koḍumbika* [Skt. (*mahā*)*kauṭumbika*], “landholder” (see below)
 - *kuḍūbikamahatarakasa* see *mahatara* below
 - *mahakoḍuvika* (45) “chief *k*.”
- (*mahā*)*khattava* [Skt. (*mahā*)*kṣatrapa*] “(chief) *kṣatrapa*”
 - *mahākhattavakumārāsa* “chief-*k*-son” (221)
- *gahapati* [Skt. *gr̥hapati*] see below
 - *gahapatisa* (29, 179) *gahapati-* (176)
 - f. *ghariṇīya* or *ghariniya* (177, 178, 180, 181, 198, 200, 212, 213, 216, 217, 219)
- (*mahā*)*gāmika-* [Skt. (*mahā*)*grāmika*] see below
 - *mahāgāmikasa* (59)
- (*mahā*)*gāmikumāra* [Skt. (*mahā*)*grāmikumāra*] see below
 - *mahāgāmikumārāsa* (225) “chief-*g*.”
 - f. *gāmikumārīya* (56), “*g*-wife”
- (*mahā*)*devī* [Skt. id.] “(chief) queen”
 - *mahādēviya* (224)
- *bhojaka* [Skt. id.] see below
 - *bhojakasa* (66, 88, 97)
 - f. *bhojikiniya* (88)
- **bhaṭṭibālīkā* [Skt. **bhartṛbālīkā*] “noble daughter”
 - *bhaṭṭibālīkāya* (225, 226)

- **mahattaraka* [Skt. *mahattaraka*] “chief”
 - *kuḍūbikamahatarakasa* (79) “chief among *k*.”
- *(*mahā*)*raṭṭhi* [Skt. *(*mahā*)*rāṣṭrin*], “governor,” see below
 - *raṭhikasa* (50)
 - *mahāraṭhiputasa* (90) “*r*.-son”
 - *rath[i]bālikāya* (226) “*r*.-daughter”
 - *mahā[r](a)[ṭhi]bālikāya* (61) “*r*.-daughter”
- *(*mahā*)*satthavāha* [Skt. (*mahā*)*sāṛthavāha*] “(chief) caravan-trader”
 - *mahāsathavāhasa* (79)
- (*mahā*)*senāpati* [Skt. id.] “(chief) general” (attested from the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* and described in the *Arthaśāstra*, 2.33.9–11)
 - *mahāsenāpatisa* (44, 45, 46, 99)
- *lekhaka* [Skt. id.] “scribe”
 - *lekhakaputasa* (88) “*l*.-son”
- *vāṇiya* [Skt. *vāṇija*] “merchant”
 - *vāṇiyasa* (1, 2) *vāṇiasa* (10)
 - f. *v[ā]ṇiṇī* (10) “*v*.-wife”
- **vejja* [Skt. *vaidya*] “physician”
 - *vejaputasa* (85) “*v*.-son”

The titles (*mahā*)*gāmika* (and *-kumāra/-kumārī*), *bhojaka*, and *mahāraṭṭhi* call for special comment. *Gāmika* designates the head of a village in the *Arthaśāstra*, and *mahāgāmika* designates the head of a cluster or group of villages (*mahāgrāma*).⁴¹ It would appear, however, that this administrative office had become a hereditary title in the Sātavāhana realm, or rather two hereditary titles. One is *mahāgāmika*, found on coins (Bhandare 1999: 334); the other takes the form *gāmikumāra* or *gāmikumārī*. In the case of the one example of *mahāgāmika* in our corpus (59), discussed below, it still appears to be an administrative office. By contrast, (*mahā*)*gāmikumāra* appears to have been used as a title for local rulers, both in this area and in Karhad and Kondapur (Bhandare 1999: 340; this volume, p. 4); it also occurs, in the feminine, on an ivory seal from Dhulikatta (EIAD 196). Its use with a word in the genitive plural in 225 (*muḍāṇa*) might suggest that the ruler came from this particular group of people.

Bhojaka, too, seems to designate a subordinate ruler, and the title-holder is sometimes construed with a word in the genitive plural as well (97). Its etymological meaning may refer to the region of which the title-holder had

41 *Arthaśāstra* 3.10.16, 3.10.18 (we thank Kelsey Martini for the references) and Sircar 1966: 176–177.

usufruct or tax-collecting privileges ($\sqrt{bhuj}$), if it does not derive from a local ethnonym (cf. *kam-boja*, *bhoja*).⁴² The local rulers at Kuḍā were called *mahā-bhoja* or *mahābhōji* (Tsukamoto 1996: Kuḍā 1, 7, 16, 18).

The title of Mahārāṭṭhi was used throughout the Deccan, as attested in both inscriptions (Tsukamoto 1996: Beḍsā 2, Bhājā 6, Nānāghāt 5) and coins (Bhandare 1999: 334), and indeed the Sātavāhana kings themselves started as Mahārāṭṭhis. It probably first referred to a military leader responsible for a given territory (*rāṣṭra*).

5.2 On Ahimarikā

The word *ahimarikā* occurs several times in the inscriptions from Kanaganahalli (40, 57, 87, 225), as well as one inscription from Mukkatraopet (226) in Telangana, discussed in detail above (§ 4.9). It is always feminine.⁴³ Desai (1968: 163) understood it to be a proper name, but Seshadri (1972: 170), Nagaraja Rao (1985: 42), and Sarma & Varaprasada Rao (1993: 93) took it as a place name.

In our interpretation *ahimarikā* is a title. First, as noted above, place names almost never figure in the inscriptions of early memorial stones. Second, in two inscriptions, an *ahimarikā* is named alongside other individuals, and they are invariably given titles: in 57, the *ahimarikā* Nāgaṇṇikā is apparently the spouse of the *arikābhātu* Giridattaṇṇaka, and the latter's title can be straightforwardly analyzed as "brother of the noblewoman" (Sanskrit *āryikā-bhrātr*); in 226, both the "noble daughter" (*bhaṭṭibālikā*) Mahipurisadattā and the "governor's daughter" (*rath[i]bālikāya*) Hakusirī, among others, are given the title *ahimarikā*. More circumstantial evidence for interpreting *ahimarikā* as a courtly title comes from the fact that it occurs on memorial types that are otherwise reserved for highly notable individuals: 40 combines the horse-and-groom and bullock-cart motifs, and 57, as noted above, is a single-panel memorial that may be a reused architectural pillar.

From the above it would appear that *ahimarikā* is a title that indicates some connection with the court. It does not merely indicate that the person so named is the daughter of a notable, because in that case it would be redundant with *bhaṭṭibālikā*. Nor does it seem to be just the feminine equivalent of *araka* "noble" (Sanskrit *āryaka*), because the expected form, *arikā-*, is attested (57). It would appear to distinguish the holder from other noble women. Hence

42 See Goodall 2019: 24 for data from ca.-7th-c. Sanskrit sources on the implications of the term *bhojaka* in that period, and Lévi 1923: 53–54 (1929: 120–121) for speculations on the etymology of the ethnonym and title *bhoja*.

43 But compare the expression °a + [ma]rakena in line 4 of EIAD 407, a pillar inscription from Amaravati, which may represent *adhimarakena* or *ahimarakena*.

we very tentatively propose the etymology **adhima-āryikā*, where the first element, **adhima*, is an adjectival derivative from the indeclinable adverb *adhi* “above,” formed like *para-ma*, *adha-ma*, *madhya-ma*, etc. The title might therefore mean “higher noble woman.” Neither **adhima* nor **adhimāryikā*, however, occur in any sources known to us, either in Sanskrit or in Middle Indo-Aryan.

5.3 *On Gahapati/Gharinī and Vāṇiya/Vāṇiṇī*

The titles *gahapati* (masc., Sanskrit *gṛhapati*) and *gharinī* (fem., Sanskrit *gṛhiṇī*) etymologically mean “householder,” but they have undergone semantic developments that have been studied in detail by Chakravarti (1996) and Jamison (2025).⁴⁴ Chakravarti shows that in Pali texts *gahapati* refers not to a “householder” but a householder of a specific type, namely those “who were the owners and controllers of the primary means of production in the form of land” (p. 86). Over time, *gahapati* became a status term (or as Jamison suggests, a “courtesy title”) and term of address, identifying the addressee as a member of the landed gentry. The traditional English usage of the titles “esquire” and “esquiness” is therefore a loose equivalent.

The word *gahapati* and *gharinī* are clearly status terms in the memorial stones discussed here. Their memorials are rather modest in format, suggesting that they were lower in status than those who were memorialized by figural panels. It is perhaps no surprise that those with political or courtly titles (such as ministers, administrators, and feudatories) are, by this criterion, higher in status than private landowners. But it is somewhat surprising that merchants (*vāṇia*), and not members of the landed gentry, were entitled to be memorialized with figural panels, given that both appear to have been categories of private individuals engaged in economic activity. This suggests that merchants occupied a very high position indeed in the age of the Sātavāhanas.

5.4 *On Kuṭumbika/Koḍubika*

The memorial of Aggisamma (79, see fig. 3.10) furnishes two additional titles. One, *mahāsathavāha*, apparently refers to his occupation, i.e., a “great caravan-trader” (Sanskrit *mahāsārthavāha*). The other is *kuḍūbikamahataraka*. The term *kuṭumbika* or *kauṭumbika*, also attested in 45 (*koḍuvika*), is derived from the word for “household” (*kuṭumba*), but at least in later inscriptions, it has the additional sense of a “landholder” (Ritschl & Schetelich 1976; Griffiths 2018:

44 See Visvanathan 2011: 248–252 and Tournier 2020: 868 n. 28 for further references, as well as the contributions gathered in Olivelle 2019. With reference to the Kanaganahalli inscriptions, Poonacha (2011) translates the title as “householder,” and von Hinüber (in Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014) as “banker,” neither of which is satisfactory.

52 n. 11), and it may already have this sense at this early period. Certainly von Hinüber is right to understand its feminine form, in an inscription associated with the Kanaganahalli *stūpa*, as “more than simply a ‘house-wife’” (Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: 64).⁴⁵ The term *mahattara(ka)*, literally “one who is rather important,” serves to distinguish landed magnates who held positions of social and political importance from other landholders (*kuṭumbin*) in land-sale grants of Bengal in the 5th through 7th centuries (Furui 2020: 48–50, 91–92; Furui & Griffiths 2020: 110). We suggest that *kuḍūbikamahataraka* and *mahākoḍuvika* designate their referents as landed magnates in the same way.

5.5 Memorials for Brahmins

There is relatively little evidence from Kanaganahalli for the memorialization of Brahmins. We know that the *kuṭumbikamahattaraka* Aggisamma (79) is a Brahmin only because he is identified with a Brahmin *gotra*. Just possibly he is depicted with a sacred thread, although this might be the hem of his upper garment. It is possible that Brahmins avoided the use of sculpted memorials. Yet there is another remarkable memorial from Dharanikota, close to Amaravati, that unambiguously identifies its subject as a Brahmin, both in the text of the inscription and in the accompanying relief sculpture (59, EIAD 568, figs. 3.31–32). Because it has, to our knowledge, not been published, we give a full edition and translation here:

- (1) bamhaṇasa °ahitagisa yaṇaya°isa °ekaba[mha]-
- (2) na[ṇ]ānigapiyasa °ap[ā]pasa maḍharasago[ta]-
- (3) sa ta[m](i)lasa ma[hā]gāmikasa sāmāput[asa]
- (4) kaṇ[h]asa chayathabho

1–2. °ekaba[mha]na[ṇ]ānigapiyasa We tentatively understand this compound as corresponding to Skt. *eka-brāhmaṇa-jñāni-priya*.

3. ta[m](i)lasa This reading appears to be supported by another, possibly coeval, inscription from Amaravati, EIAD 297. There, we read: (1) [ḍ]amilakanhasa *bhātuṇaṇ ca culakanhasa nākhāya ca j(i)namahāce*(2) *tiyapādamūle udharin-*

45 Sircar (1966: 191) gives “head of a family or community.” The feminine *kuḍubini/koḍubini* (Skt. *kuṭumbini*) occurs in two donative inscriptions from the Great Shrine of Kanaganahalli. See the inscription on an upright slab (*pāyaka*) KnI 83. Although not noticed by the previous editors of KnI 117, a *kuḍubini* also appears as one of the two donors of a Buddha image: ... (3) [°i]ṇdagopiya (4) [du]hasenakumārasa kuḍu[m̐b]i[n](iya) (5) *kār(i)[t](ā)[saval](o)[ka]°hitasu[ghā]ya*. Compare Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: 80.

paṭo “The upright slab [placed] against the Great Shrine of the Jina: [the gift of] Kanha-the-Tamilian and his siblings, Kanha-the-minor and Nākhā.” It seems possible that the very same Tamilian called Kanha is in question. The ethnonym spelt here *tamila* and *ḍamila* in EIAD 297 is spelt *damila* in EIAD 20, l. 1.

“Memorial pillar of Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa), son of Sāmā (Śyāmā), *mahāgāmika*, a Tamil, of the Māṭhara *gotra*, a Brahmin who had set up the (three Vedic) fires, who had performed worship, who was the one friend of Brahmins and learned people (?), (and) who was without sin.”

This memorial is one of only five memorials known to us from the Amara-vati area, and the only one we were able to read from the stone (but see also 61, 100, and 101).⁴⁶ In terms of the length of the inscription, it is much closer to those from Nagarjunakonda than those from Kanaganahalli. The deceased, Kaṇha, is identified first by a series of words indicating his status as a Brahmin, in terms of birth (in the Māṭhara *gotra*), ritual practice, and conduct. But he is subsequently identified by his ethnicity (*tamila*), by his political office (*mahāgāmika*), and by his matriline (*sāmāputa*).

The accompanying relief sculpture (see fig. 3.31) is unique in that it apparently shows Kaṇha standing in the audience of a king: the king sits in *lalitāsana* to the viewer’s left surrounded by female attendants;⁴⁷ Kaṇha stands before him, on the viewer’s right, slightly hunched over. Kaṇha is favored to receive the shade of the royal parasol here. Behind him stands a horse, possibly led by a groom, with its left leg raised. This element connects it to the horse-and-groom type at Kanaganahalli. This scene almost certainly represents his service, as *mahāgāmika*, to the reigning king, who is not mentioned.

Returning to Karnataka, a very curious object was discovered, in 1941–1942, by R.S. Panchamukhi in Vadgaon-Madhavapur, just east of Belgaum. The inscribed pillar, broken into two pieces (73.6 cm in width and 251.4 cm

46 The discovery of an inscribed memorial “pillar” from Dharanikota is reported in IAR 1994–1995: 90 (3). No visual documentation seems however to have been published and the current whereabouts of this object is unknown. From the minimal description of the object, we cannot identify to which memorial type this piece belonged. From the published reading of the two-line inscription (EIAD 625), we can only deduce that it ended in *chāyāthabo* or the like.

47 The representation of the king is similar to one object that we did not include in our inventory because the inscription it appears to be later than the 3rd c. CE: that is object number 234 (written in black) at the State Archaeological Museum in Gulbarga, evidently also depicting a king.

in height), bears a 16-line inscription, published by S. Sankaranarayanan.⁴⁸ The paleography suggests a date not much later than the 1st c. CE. Several aspects of the record remain mysterious, and the decoration of the pillar is likewise unclear.⁴⁹ If this is indeed a memorial, it was typologically different from all of the other material from the Deccan discussed in this article, and its redocumentation is a necessary step to allow for an in-depth reassessment of both the object as its inscription. According to Sankaranarayanan, the record would be remarkable for displaying both the usual left-to-right as well as the unusual right-to-left direction of Brāhmī writing. The inscription appears to identify the object as “the pillar of Somayaśas” (*somayasasa khaṇḍbhaḥ*), a Brahmin of the Kāśyapa *gotra*, erected by “a group of his closest relatives” (*molabhadavage[na]*).⁵⁰ Somayaśas is celebrated as someone who “performed eighty elective sacrifices, including the Vājapeya” (*asitivājapeyakāyakatuyā-yīśya*) and “covered the sky with the smoke from his many sacrificial offerings” (*anekayañahomadhūma[gāhi]tadisā[bhāga]sa*). The contents of this record therefore partly echoes that of 59, which likewise insists on Kaṇha’s accomplishment of his sacrificial duties. At Kanaganahalli, the fragmentary memorial 94 likewise presents the deceased as a “performer of the Agnihotra” (*agihotika*, Skt. *āgñihotrika*).

Finally, the fragmentary memorial 67 from Kanaganahalli might potentially have been for a Brahmin, if our reading of *mahānasa kava* /// as “Of the Brahmin (*mahāna*) Kava-” is correct; for the form, compare Prakrit/Ardhamagadhi *māhaṇa*.

5.6 Onomastics

Close to a hundred complete names are attested in the inventory. While quite a few of them have so far resisted our attempts at analysis and etymology (e.g., *siba*, *nāsama*, *mudaṇa*), many of them fit into well-known patterns of naming. First, all names are made up of a single word, which however may be a com-

48 Sankaranarayanan 1971–1972, on which our discussion is based. The published estampage does not allow us to improve on his readings, or in most cases even to verify them.

49 For instance, Sankaranarayanan read the final line as containing a date given in days (10,082) of an unnamed era, but this strikes us as quite unlikely. Concerning the decoration, Sankaranarayanan observes (p. 183) that “[i]n the middle of the stone one the face in the proper right of the inscription there seems to be a *Śivaliṅga* faintly carved in a panel,” but in the absence of documentation of this face it is impossible to determine if this interpretation is correct.

50 Sankaranarayanan understands *mola* to refer to “aboriginal” inhabitants of the Belgaum area, to whom Somayaśas became related through marriage, in contrast to Somayaśas himself, whom Sankaranarayanan understands to have come from Śāketa in the north.

pound. Most compound names have a double interpretation: on the one hand, they can be taken as “real” compounds (e.g., *aggisamma* = *agniśarman*, “one whose protection is Agni”); on the other hand, they can be seen as functionally comprised of one “general” element that is conventionally used for members of a certain group (in this case, *śarman* for Brahmins) and another element, usually theophoric, that is more distinctive. Moreover, non-compound names can in many cases be interpreted as short (“hypocoristic”) versions of a compound name, with or without the addition of a suffix. Hence the same individual might be referred to as Rudrapāla, Rudra, or Rudrila.⁵¹ In what follows we will distinguish between the “general” element (e.g., *-pāla*) and the “particular” element (e.g., *rudra-*) in personal names.

It is notable that almost all of the names attested from Andhra Pradesh are compound names, whereas comparatively few of the names attested from Karnataka are. This might suggest a local tendency to use the hypocoristic version of the name in most contexts. See for instance the name *mittā* (*mitrā*, 217), which only makes sense as a hypocoristic version of X-*mitrā*. The name *Can-damukha* (“one whose face is like the moon”) is attested in our corpus from one inscription at Dharanikota in Andhra (101) and is otherwise well-attested in Āndhra (see below, p. 293), but does not fit neatly into the compound name pattern.

The “general” elements found in inscriptions on memorial stones include: *rakkhita* (*rakṣita*, 176, 183), *pālita* (31, 75), *pāla* (93, 194), and *samma* (*śarman*, 79), all effectively “protected by”; *datta* (30, 57, 225, 226), “given by”; *bhūti* (45) “wealth”; *dāsa* (99, 182, 223, 227), “servant of,” and possibly *deva*, if this is what underlies *reva* (95, 218). It is impossible to know whether the strictures of the *Dharmaśāstras*, which prescribe certain general elements for members of certain castes (e.g., *datta* for Kṣatriyas, *deva* for Brahmins, etc.), are observed, although we do note that the one individual who has the element *samma* in his name, Aggisamma, identifies with a Brahmin *gotra* (79) as expected. The names of women, especially high-ranking ones, are often suffixed with the word *siri/sirī* (*śrī*, 55, 56, 63, 226).

The naming patterns of kings are different. In our inventory, and generally in the period of the Sātavāhanas and their successors, they are identified first with a metronymic based on their mother’s *gotra* (e.g., *vāsiṭṭhī-putta*, *gotamī-putta*, *māḍharī-putta*, etc.), and then secondly with a personal name that invariably begins with an honorific prefix (*siri*, *siva-siri*, etc.). Very few individuals besides kings are accorded this honorific prefix, one of whom is *siri-carīṇtapuḷa* (46),

51 See Hilka 1910: 55 (referring to *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.3.78).

a high-ranking general whose memorial, we noted above (§ 4.4), reflects the appropriation of royal iconography as well as onomastics.

The theophoric elements that are most common are, in order of occurrence: *nāga* (6, 57, 91, 95, 216, 219, 226, 228), *śiva* (*śiva*, 84, 218, 227, 226, 233), *kaṇha* (*kṛṣṇa*, 1, 59, 88, 223), *yakkha* (*yakṣa*, 89, 212), *lacchī* (*lakṣmī*, 74, 81), *rāma* (55), *ruddā* (*rudra*, 93), *use* (*ṛṣi*? 176),⁵² *aggi* (*agni*, 79), *inda* (*indra*, 226), and *canda* (*candra*, 226). Unambiguously Buddhist elements are largely absent, with the possible exception of the term *saṅgha*, if this is how the names *saghanī* (5) and *saghanikā* (89) are to be interpreted (a derivation from *ślāghya* seems possible as well). However, we find the Buddhist elements *bodhi* in *nāgabodhiṇṇikā* (216) and *ghosa* in *somaghosaṇṇikā* “gentle-voiced” (= *saumya-ghoṣā*, 73; cf. the names Aśvaghōṣa and Buddhaghōṣa, and *ghosakayasa* in KnI 80). This contrasts with the naming pattern observable in the donative record at Kanaganahalli: in that corpus, names in *nāga*, *yakkha*, and *kaṇha* are likewise especially common, but alongside those we do find names in *bodhi*, *buddha*, *dhamma* (*dharma*) and *sagha/hagha* (*saṅgha*), even among non-monastic individuals.⁵³ A few theophoric elements call for special comment. The name *vīra* (10) might point to a hero cult (cf. also *vīraṇṇikā* in KnI 98, 100). In this connection we can note that a high-ranking woman in the Sātavāhana kingdom was named *purisadattā* (225, 226), and several Ikṣvāku kings bore the masculine version of this name (*vīra-puruṣadatta* and *rudra-puruṣadatta*), suggesting some continuity in elite naming practices. *Sulasa* (179) appears to be an archaic theonym found in early Buddhist and Jain literature.⁵⁴ The appearance of *gopī* in several names (70, 226, 228, possibly 202) suggests that it is used as a theonym, perhaps with Vaiṣṇava associations.

Words indicating “elder” or “younger,” presumably used to differentiate individuals who shared the same name, are rare but attested. The Dravidian prefix *per* or *pera* (“the elder”) is found in 48 and 63, and just possibly in 9. Much more speculatively, 88 also can be read as containing a Dravidian prefix (*mugura* perhaps being from **mu* “old, aged, elder”). The names *khulaka* (2) and *khulaka* (33) likely derive from *kṣudraka* (“the younger”) used as a proper name. The form *cula*, derived from the same word, is found in other inscriptions from Kanaganahalli (KnI 249) and the lower Krishna river valley (e.g. EIAD 2, ll. 7–8; EIAD 8, l. 5; EIAD 81).

52 Note that the expected form of Sanskrit *ṛṣi* is *īśi*, as attested by the contemporary inscriptions from the Kanaganahalli *stūpa* (KnI 62, 70, 71, 76, 209, 233).

53 See, for instance, KnI 71, 96, 109, 111, 190, 196–198, 235 for names whose first element is *bodhi*.

54 See Jātaka 419 (*Sulasājātaka*) in Fausbøll 1883: 435–439 and *Kalpasūtra* 137 (Jacobi 1879: 66).

Pleonastic suffixes are very common with names. The most commonly used suffix is *-aṇṇaka* (masc.) and *-aṇṇikā* (fem.). We have rendered names with this suffix with a doubled retroflex nasal, although it is often written with a single dental nasal, in view of later parallels where double consonants are written. In principle these might represent suffixed versions of the Dravidian kinship terms *aṇṇan* “elder brother” and *aṇṇai* “elder sister,” but we note that these suffixes are not limited to South India, and when added to stems in *-ī-*, the result is *-iṇṇikā*. These are therefore likely to be Indo-Aryan pleonastic suffixes specialized for use with personal names. Simple *-ka-* is also used (e.g. *hathika*, 29), as is *-ila-* (*setila*, 63; *magila*, 185, 231). A detailed study of onomastics in the early epigraphic corpus of the Deccan remains a desideratum.

6 Pillars and Steles Dedicated to Royalty

6.1 *The Sātavāhanas*

One large fragmentary object (64) recovered from the “Khatal” mound (SAN-8) bears an inscription that mentions Gotamīputta Siri-Sātakaṇṇi (r. ca. 60–84 CE). We will argue that this is a “memorial stone,” albeit a unique one, and that its conception and phraseology influenced the memorials of the Ikṣvāku royal family, discussed below.

Three fragments of this memorial, which we designate 64a, 64b, and 64c, have so far been unearthed. The first fragment to be discovered was 64a (see fig. 3.33), documented first by Nagaraja Rao (1985: pll. 68–69). He described this only as a sculpture of “female attendants with foreign hairdo, probably Roman” (1985: 43). We argue that this is in fact the top-right portion of a larger panel that was discovered by Varaprasada Rao in a field near the Khatal mound in 1989 (Sarma & Varaprasada Rao 1993: 63). That object, 64b (see fig. 3.34), preserves the lower part of a panel sculpted in low relief and delimited by plain bands. The border below the relief bears two lines of text (KnI 406) in an ornamental variety of Brāhmī script consistent with a dating to the late 1st–early 2nd c. CE. The inscription consists in a list of epithets in the genitive singular, qualifying Gotamīputta Siri-Sātakaṇṇi. The sculpted panel represents richly adorned women, many of whom sit on cushions, while three at the center and towards the left of the scene may be represented as dancing.

The stylistic similarity between 64a and 64b, as well as the octagonal pillar on both of their right sides, suggest that they are fragments of the same object. The women in 64a look toward the center of the panel, in attendance upon a central figure, now lost, sitting on a lion-throne. (One of the seven women

depicted looks, by contrast, into a round mirror to her proper left.) Varaprasada Rao, who did not connect **64a** and **64b**, interpreted the scene in **64b** as the mourning of a king by the women of his inner apartments. He comments: “[w]e are reminded of certain early customs where women express their grief in sundry ways, also by dance and music.”⁵⁵ Halder (2017: 162) voiced skepticism about this interpretation of **64b**, although she too did not take **64a** into account.⁵⁶ In view of the fact that **64a** represents women in attendance upon a central figure, and also in view of parallels from Nagarjunakonda to be discussed below (**62**, **63**), it seems much more likely to us that **64a** + **64b** represent the living king Gotamīputta Siri-Sātakaṇṇi being entertained in his inner apartments.

Varaprasada Rao found another fragmentary object in the same place in late 1992 (Varaprasada Rao 1995: 165–166). This object, **64c**, preserves the right part of a slab that depicts, in relief, a caparisoned elephant, mounted by a mahout, with an attendant to the left of the elephant bearing a fly-whisk. To the right of the panel, according to Varaprasada Rao, is found a single-line inscription (KnI 440), engraved in the same script as **64b**. While the longer inscription is composed in Middle Indo-Aryan prose, this shorter inscription preserves nearly three *pādas* of a *vasantatilaka* stanza, composed in Sanskrit. Varaprasada Rao (1995: 165) proposed to see in both sculpted panels the elements of a massive “memorial stele.” While we cannot be sure, given the absence of measurements for fragment **64c**, that they did indeed belong to the same memorial stele, both the iconography and the content of the inscriptions make this hypothesis plausible.

These three fragments thus represent, in our view, a single memorial stone, which would also be the largest, and features both the most ambitious sculptural program and the longest inscription, of all of the memorials found at Kanaganahalli. It is also the only memorial stone yet discovered dedicated to a Sātavāhana king, namely Gotamīputta Siri-Sātakaṇṇi, and, if **64c** does in fact form part of it, the only one surveyed in this paper to have an accompanying inscription in Sanskrit. Given the importance of this object, we take the opportunity here to offer an edition and translation of the surviving inscriptions. First, of **64b** (KnI 406):⁵⁷

55 Sarma & Varaprasada Rao 1993: 63–64; the same interpretation is repeated by Krishna Murthy 2005: 131.

56 Halder 2017: 162 suggests it represents “the return of the illustrious king Gautamīputra Sātakaṇṇi from several battles.”

57 Only the different readings by von Hinüber are systematically recorded here. The most recent treatment of the inscription by Halder (2017) ignores von Hinüber’s edition and is

- (1) {2–4 *akṣaras*} (gotami)///[p](u)[t](a)[sa s]irisātakaṇisa ◊
 samuditabalavāhanasa ◊^oabhagavāhanasa sātavāhanasa ◊
 beṇākataṭavidabha◊^ouparigirāpar[a]ta◊^oasakamuḷakasajaya[t]īcako-
 ravalaraṭhadakhi[ṇ](ā)/// (path). {10–12 *akṣaras*}
- (2) (°avipanamātusu)///sūsakasa ◊ pitusatuveraniyātakasa ◊ °anekasaṁgā-
 mavijitavijayasa khakharatakulughātakasa °anekarājamathakapati-
 gah[ī]tasapad[āna]sāsanasa °ekakusasa °ekadhan[u]dha///(rasa)
 {10–12 *akṣaras*}

1. (gotami)///[p](u)[t](a)[sa] (*vāsethi*)///[p](u)[t](a)[sa] vH. The restoration (*vāsethi*)putasa should be corrected to (*gotami*)putasa, in light of the parallel text from Nasik. See Tsukamoto 1996, Nasik 4, l. 1. See also Halder 2017: 165. This word would then have been separated from the beginning of the inscription by no more than *raño* or *rājaraño* as in the Nasik parallel.

1. -°uparigirāpar[a]ta- -°uparigirapar[ā]ta- vH. Cf. Tsukamoto 1996, Nasik 4, l. 1: -kukurāpamānta.

1. -dakhi[ṇ](ā)/// (path.) In light of the Nasik parallel, it is tempting to further reconstruct this compound as *dakhi[ṇ](āpathesarasa)*. See Tsukamoto 1996, Nasik 4, l. 11: (*dakhiṇā*)pathesaro.

1. -°asakamuḷaka- -asakamūḍaka- vH. The same spelling is found in Tsukamoto 1996, Nasik 4, l. 2.

1. -sajaya[t]ī- *sajayavi* vH. The reading of the last *akṣara* as *vi*, taken over by von Hinüber from Sarma & Varaprasada Rao, seems impossible, as does Halder's reading *rttī* (2017: 164). On this place name, see below.

2. (°avipanamātusu)///sūsakasa (*su*)///sūsakasa vH. This reconstruction is supported by comparison with Tsukamoto 1996, Nasik 4, l. 4.

2. *khakharatakulughātakasa khakharatakulaghātakasa* vH. Cf. Tsukamoto 1996, Nasik 4, l. 7: *khakharatavasaniravasesakarasa*.

2. -patigah[ī]tasapad[āna]sāsanasa -patigahitasa padanasāsanasa vH. Both Sarma & Varaprasada Rao and von Hinüber see the conclusion of a first compound after -patigahitasa. Comparison with the parallel expression *savarājaloka-maṇḍalapatigahitasāsanasa* in Tsukamoto 1996, Nasik 4, l. 3 makes it clear that we are dealing with a single compound, where *sāsana* depends on *patigahita*. The expression used here finds another close parallel on 62 (E1AD 34), to be discussed below, where the construction -*sirasā saṁpaṭichitasāsanasa* is used. As a

mentioned only when relevant. Indeed, it contains several unfortunate misreadings and misinterpretations and does not obviously improve upon Sarma & Varaprasada Rao's *editio princeps*.

result, *sapadāna* must correspond to Sanskrit *sampradāna*, *contra* Sarma & Varaprasada Rao who saw in what they read *padana* an equivalent to Skt. *pradhāna*. 2. °*ekadhan*[u]dha///(*rasa*) Cf. Tsukamoto 1996, Nasik 4, l. 7. In the Nasik parallel, *ekakusasa* and *ekadhanudharasa* are followed by *ekasūrasa* with which they form a triad of related meaning. In this light, and considering the likelihood that the record concluded with a nominative identifying the object as a memorial, one may speculatively restore the remaining lacuna of 10–12 *akṣaras* as (°*ekasūrasa* ♦ *cha*°*āpatharo*). The latter form is used on the other known Sātavāhana royal memorial to be discussed below (224).

“[The memorial stele?] of ... [King Gotamī]putta Siri-Sātakaṇṇi, whose forces and mounts were ascendant, whose mounts were never destroyed, the Sātavāhana, [the lord] of Beṇākaṭa, Vidarbha, Uparigiri, Aparānta, Aśmaka, Mūlaka, Saṁjayantī, Cakora, Valarāṣṭra, and[, in sum,] the Deccan ... of [unwavering?] obedience [to his mother], the destroyer of his father’s enemies, who gained victory in many battles, the uprooter of the Kṣaharāta family, whose gifts and commands are received on the head by many kings, the unique elephant-goad, the unique archer, [the unique hero?].”

This record, which was probably composed shortly after the death of Gotamīputta Siri-Sātakaṇṇi around 84 CE, anticipates by a couple of decades the full-fledged *praśasti* owed to the ruler’s mother Gotamī Balasirī at Nasik (Tsukamoto 1996, Nasik 4), which may date to ca. 103 CE.⁵⁸ Much of the content of 64b can be understood by comparison with the well-known Nasik inscription. Among the place-names that do not appear in the longer record, however, *sajayati* (Saṁjayantī), deserves some clarification, as it was misread by previous editors. An allusion to this same place may be found in an inscription from the reign of the somewhat later, “lesser Sātavāhana” king Viṇhukada-Cuṭukulānanda-Sātakaṇṇi, recovered in Banavasi (Tsukamoto 1996, Banavāsi 1).⁵⁹ The craftsman who engraved the *nāga* slab was the pupil of a master

58 On the possible date for the Nasik inscription, see Ollett 2017: 35 with n. 36.

59 On these “lesser Sātavāhanas” from Banavasi, see Bhandare in this volume. Note that the toponym Saṁjayapurī occurs in the Nagarjunakonda inscription from the reign of the Ābhira king Vasuṣeṇa (EIA 65, l. 2), which interestingly also mentions a king Sātakaṇṇi from Vanavāsa, named Viṣṇurudraśivalānanda. Depending on the interpretation of this record’s complex syntax, this Saṁjayapurī might be identical with Saṁjayantī (see Salomon 2013: 408–410), or might instead stand for Vijayapurī, i.e. Nagarjunakonda, as tentatively proposed in the new edition of that record published in the online EIA database.

who is described as *sajayam̐taka*, i.e. “from Sa(ṁ)jayantī.” This place, which is said in KnI 406 to have been part of Gotamīputta’s territory, reminds us of Vejayantī mentioned in relation to the victory camp (*vijayakhadāvārā*) from where the king issued a land grant benefitting the monastic community of Nasik (Tsukamoto 1996, Nasik 2, l. 1).⁶⁰ Vaijayantī is otherwise known as the capital city of Viṇhukada-Cuṭukulānanda-Sātakāṇṇi (Mirashi 1981: 87–89), and has generally been identified with Banavasi.⁶¹ The only other memorial stone associated with the Sātavāhana royal family (224), discussed below, was in fact discovered at Banavasi. Saṁjayantī, on the other hand, is mentioned in the *Digvijayaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (2.28.47) in conjunction with a “heretic” from Karahāṭa, generally identified with modern Karhad in the Satara district of Southern Maharashtra (Bühler 1885: 333; Salomon 2013: 409). Unlike Banavasi, this would have fallen within the known territory of Gotamīputta (Bhandare 1999: 275–285).

Von Hinüber was probably misled by the similarity of 64b to the Nasik inscription of Balasiri in guessing that “this inscription commemorates a gift [...] by some high ranking person” (Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: 18–19), implying thereby that there was a third line of text that is now lost. The slabs under discussion, however, were recovered from a mound alongside other memorial stones and no object bearing donative records. Moreover, the fact that the Nasik inscription is donative does not guarantee that this parallel inscription from Kanaganahalli is also donative. Similarly-phrased eulogies of King Cāntamūla at Nagarjunakonda, for example, are found in both memorial stones and donative records issued by courtiers.⁶² Finally, close observation of the reproduction of the text-bearing object makes it clear that there is no trace of a third line of text, and that most of the inscription is in fact preserved.⁶³ The space remaining at the end of line 2 is consistent with the

60 Mirashi (1981: 24–25) argued against taking this expression as indicating a toponym, but proposed instead to see in it an epithet qualifying his army as “triumphant.” The dedicatory inscription of the large *caityagṛha* at Karle unambiguously credits the completion of the monument to the *śreṣṭhin* Bhūtapāla from Vejayantī (*vejayam̐tito*). See Senart 1902–1903: 48–49; Tsukamoto 1996, Karli 1. Senart was already tempted by the identification of both toponyms, and suggested that one might in fact want to read *vejayam̐taka*- instead of *sajayam̐taka*- in the Banavasi inscription. Yet the reading of the latter record is unambiguous.

61 See, for instance, Senart 1902–1903: 49; Bhandare 1999: 100.

62 On the eulogies to King Cāntamūla, see Gomes in this volume.

63 Judging from the width of the bands framing the panel, there cannot have been more than ten missing *aṣṭaras* to the left of the first preserved *aṣṭara*, and fifteen *aṣṭaras* missing to the right of the last preserved *aṣṭara* of each line.

hypothesis that this was a memorial inscription, while it would be insufficient for a detailed donative record. We thus read the inscription as a more elaborate version of the formula characteristic of memorial inscriptions (see above, p. 177): a phrase in the genitive singular providing the name of the deceased—here accompanied by a string of epithets stressing his eminence—followed by an expression in the nominative singular identifying the object as a memorial.

The motif of Gotamīputta Siri-Sātakappa's military prowess, which is the dominant theme of the Middle Indo-Aryan inscription of 64b, appears to be reflected the Sanskrit inscription found on fragment 64c. The inscription (KnI 440), the earliest known example of epigraphic verse in Sanskrit from South India, may be read as follows:⁶⁴

- (1) yas svarggatas sam[a]vasṛjya narendralakṣmīn
 puttrottame sutasahasrasamā[na]sāre ◊
 rājñā[n ku]lakṣayakaraḥ kula /// - ◊ - -
 - - ◊ - ◊ ◊ - ◊ ◊ - ◊ - -

“He who went to heaven after transferring [his] royal might to his excellent son, who had the strength of a thousand sons; [he who] was the destroyer of the families of [rival] kings, ... family ...”

The only other memorial stone associated with the Sātavāhana royal family *per se* (224) was discovered during renovations at the Madhukeśvara temple at Banavasi and published by Narasimha Murthy & Bhat in 1975.⁶⁵ It has no

64 In the corpus of Kanaganahalli inscriptions, we know of only one other item composed in verse, the so-far unpublished KnI 415, but the language there is Middle Indo-Aryan. Here we give a revised reading of the inscription published by Varaprasada Rao (1995), based on the plate accompanying that article. We felt it unnecessary to cite the previous editor's different readings. We thank Oskar von Hinüber for his suggestions regarding this inscription.

65 In connection with Banavasi—although not with the Sātavāhana royal family—we might mention one inscription recently published by Uthara Suvrathan (2013), which she found “carved onto a large outcrop located on the Varada river bed ... at a bend in the channel of the river” (2013: 247). The inscription, though very worn, may be read as follows on the basis of the published documentation:

(1) ///devasa thabho ◊ [goya]
 (2) /// ? t[u]///

“The pillar of -deva ...”

If the inscription was once associated with a memorial pillar, it is now lost. The paleography indicates a date slightly earlier than 224, perhaps in the 1st c. CE.

sculpture, apart from what Bhat called a partly preserved “*caitya* motif” (i.e. gable window) at the top. A tenon at the bottom suggests it was meant to be fixed into another stone, and hence may have been part of a larger memorial. The inscription reads:

- (1) *sidhaṃ* ◊ *raño vāsiṭṭhīputasa sivasiri-*
- (2) *puḷumāvisa* ◊ *mahādeviya cha^oāpatharo*

“*Siddham*. The memorial slab of the queen of King Vāsiṭṭhīputta Sivasiri-Puḷumāvi.”

Vāsiṭṭhīputtasa Sivasiri-Puḷumāvi can be dated to the middle of the 2nd c. CE, and we know he was active at Kanaganahalli.⁶⁶ This memorial stone may suggest that the ruler’s unnamed queen originated from Banavasi, and this may explain the emergence of a *vānavāsaka* branch of the Sātavāhanas in later centuries.⁶⁷

In this connection, we must mention another memorial stone, discovered at Pauni in northeastern Maharashtra, that commemorates “Rupiamma, the son of a Mahākṣatrapa” (221). The reading may be found in the appendix. Only a handful of rulers claimed the title of Mahākṣatrapa in the 1st and 2nd c. CE, and of them, only Nahapāna was active south of the Vindhya mountains. This suggested to Mirashi that the Mahākṣatrapa mentioned in the inscription was Nahapāna, who was overthrown by Gotamīputta Siri-Sātakaṇṇi. Shastri (2002) concurred that “[i]t is quite likely that Rupiamma was very closely connected with, if not the son of, Nahapāna himself.” Although “it is not possible to say whether it originally contained any sculpture” (Mirashi 1965: 53), it is strikingly similar to the Banavasi memorial: both are unsculpted apart from a simple decorative motif (a gable window in one case, and a palmette in the other), both begin with the auspicious word *sidhaṃ*, and both use the term *chāyā-patharo/khambho*. The immediately preceding Sātavāhana king, Vāsiṭṭhīputta Siri-Sātakaṇṇi—likely the elder brother of Vāsiṭṭhīputta Sivasiri-Puḷumāvi—

66 The dates given in Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: 23 are 148–154 CE (Ajay Mitra Shastri’s dating) and 152–160 CE (Shailendra Bhandare’s dating). Two inscriptions from Kanaganahalli contain fragments of an ordinance by the ruler addressed to a presumably non-Buddhist ascetic community. See Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: 20–21, no. C–D (= KnI 416–417).

67 For this hypothesis, see Bhandare in this volume. Evidence of connection between Kanaganahalli and Banavasi may be found in the fragmentary KnI 243, recording the gifting of a drum slab by a female donor characterised as *vānavāsikā*.

is known to have married the daughter of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman.⁶⁸ These two objects (221 and 224) might therefore represent a rarely-attested type of memorial employed for members of the royal family. If so, it would be curious that they should be unsculpted, but we can offer two hypotheses: either they were attached to sculpted panels which are no longer extant, or they represent an earlier form of memorialization with text but without image, as in several examples discussed above (228, see fig. 3.46; 225; 226, fig. 3.30).

6.2 *The Ikṣvākus*

Inventory nos. 62 and 63 (resp. EIAD 34 and 30), two large limestone slabs with relief sculpture and inscriptions, are the earliest datable examples of this type from Nagarjunakonda. They both mention Cāntamūla, the founder of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, and it has been suggested that the combination of text and image allows classifying both as memorial pillars (Stone 1994: 35). We shall see below that this idea needs to be nuanced for the case of 62.

Only 63 (see fig. 3.35) is intact, measuring h. 262 × w. 37 × d. 28 cm. It was found at Site 9. The text was edited by Vogel (1931–1932); corrections to Vogel's edition were proposed by Sircar (1963–1964: 1–4, no. 1.A). Having been served by two competent epigraphists, the edition of EIAD 30 can only be marginally improved, and may be found in the appendix to this article. The pillar's iconographic program, consisting in four panels topped by a pediment, was already analyzed by Stone (1994: 33–34). She argued that the same iconographic program is represented on another pillar, namely 62.

Only fragments of this second pillar (bearing EIAD 34) have been recovered, three in number, at site 57.⁶⁹ The central part of the first line of the inscription is found on the middle fragment (see fig. 3.36), where the two lowest panels are preserved. Stone (1994: 35, with fig. 60) has suggested—on stylistic grounds and by comparison of the iconographic sequence of 63 to that of 62—that another fragment showing the top two panels and part of the pediment form part of the same pillar.⁷⁰ Benefitting from our new photographs of the two lower panels of 62—which bring out a few details that Stone could not detect—and from the comparison allowed by the rich corpus of Kanaganahalli, we are able

68 According to the Kanheri inscription of the woman herself, whose name is unfortunately lost (Tsukamoto 1996, Kanheri 16).

69 See above, n. 20.

70 During their fieldwork in 2016 and 2017, two of us (Griffiths and Tournier) were unable to document that other fragment, and hence we lack the measurements for it that might have allowed us more conclusively to demonstrate the plausibility of this reconstruction.

to reevaluate the iconographic program common to the two pillars, and to capture the details in which they differ.

- *Pediment*: in 63, a domed structure “which echoes the curve of the top of the pillar” (Stone 1994: 33); at the centre of the structure, in a square window or doorway below a gable window, is an object visible only in old photographs, and there too indistinctly, in the place where other memorials tend to include a portrait of the deceased.⁷¹ The pediment is only partly preserved in 62.
- *First panel*: a corpulent man sits in *lalitāsana* at the center of the panel, flanked by two seated female figures, with two female attendants standing behind them. This scene clearly echoes the Symposium scenes at Kanaganahalli.
- *Second panel*: a corpulent man, seated in a similar posture but now at the top right of the panel, leaning to his right, apparently to watch two female attendants. At the feet of this figure, seated on low cushions, are three females holding musical instruments. Their posture is strongly reminiscent of those facing the viewer in the lower fragment from Kanaganahalli (64b), and the right figure appears to be dancing.
- *Third panel*: a corpulent man rides an elephant, holding an *arikuśa* in his left hand. A second, thinner, male figure rides the elephant behind the man, and holds a fly-whisk in his right hand. He may be identical to the princely figure holding a ewer in the fourth panel in 62. The group is surrounded by attendants, one bearing a parasol, another one, in the upper left corner, carrying a stool, and a third one in the bottom left corner carrying a pot. In 62, immediately to the left of the central figure, is a bodyguard with a sword.⁷² This is therefore a processional scene, which is best compared in Ikṣvāku-period sculpture to a low relief engraved on an architrave from the Phanigiri *torāṇa*.⁷³ It can also be compared to the scene represented in fragment 64c discussed above.
- *Fourth panel*: In 63 we see a corpulent man, again protected by a parasol, standing at the right end of a row of seven figures facing a mound, his right hand holding a ewer. This scene can be straightforwardly identified as a donation. In 63, the other figures, presumably the recipients, seem to

71 While Sastri (1929–1930: 165) proposed to interpret the central object as a reliquary containing a relic of the Buddha, Stone (1994: 33) suggested instead to identify it as a small *liṅga*. Neither interpretation seems fully convincing.

72 Several of the details discussed below were not visible in the photos used by Stone (1994) and therefore not described by her.

73 See Dhar 2021: 180, with fig. 6.10. See also fig. 6.24.

hold their right hands over the conical pile of coin-shaped offerings, which is waist-height here and may be piled on a mat. By contrast, in 62, the mound, spherical in shape, is not even knee-high; the offerings are outlined by wavy lines and seem to be placed on a flat receptacle, suggested by two bands running parallel to the ground. In that panel, the four recipients wear long robes; the contents of the ewer seem to be poured out over their right hands, while their left hand holds onto their robes by the left shoulder. Most notably, in 62, the central figure is not the corpulent man—Cāntamūla—but rather a figure wearing an *uttariya* and a turban, who also places his hand to the ewer as the donation is made.

Stone analyzed this scene in 63 in the light of the accompanying inscription as “a representation of Cāntamūla I preparing to donate the mound of gold before him.”⁷⁴ The scene is reminiscent of that representing King Sātakaṇṇi donating silver flowers to two Buddhist monks at Kanaganahalli, and the receptacle of 62 may be similar to the spherical plate holding the flowers there.⁷⁵ In light of this precedent, one wonders whether the recipients of the gift, in 62 at least, could be Buddhist monks, but in the inscriptions known to us the two first Ikṣvāku kings never act as donors to the *saṅgha*. In any case, what is clear is that we are dealing with stereotypical scenes of royal generosity—as the upper registers are stereotypical scenes—rather than an attempt at visually representing a specific gift of Cāntamūla.

We now turn to the inscription on 62 (EIAD 34, see fig. 3.37). The primary focus of this so-far neglected record is in fact *not* the commemoration of Cāntamūla. Except for one word from the first line of the text, which is found at the very bottom of the pillar’s middle fragment, the rest of the inscription is found on its third and lowest fragment, and was documented by the ASI in 1967–1968; it was not published before its inclusion in Raghunath’s collection of Ikṣvāku inscriptions (2001: no. 18, pp. 121 and 201).⁷⁶ The reliability of this edition being low, a fresh treatment of this important record is warranted.

- (1) (mahā)[r](āja)[sa] °asamedhayā[j](isa) (°anekahi)-
- (2) [ra]ṇak[o]ṭ(igosatasahasahalasatasahasapa)-

74 Stone 1994: 34, who follows a suggestion of Rama Rao 1967: 29–30.

75 For this panel, see, for instance, Ollett 2017: fig. 3; Zin 2018: 123 and pl. 25; Tournier 2021–2022: 6–7 and fig. 1.

76 Hence, Stone, who reproduces a photograph of this fragment from the ASI (1994: fig. 57), was unaware of the rest of the inscription. After noticing that the term *asamedha-* to be seen in the middle fragment “is a clear reference to one of Cāntamūla’s major epithets, i.e., *asamedhayāji*” (Stone 1994: 35), she observes: “Unfortunately, this is all of the inscription that is legible, the rest having been long since destroyed.”

- (3) d[ā]y[i]sa sirica[r̥n]tamu[la](sa putasa vāna)-
 (4) vāsakaniveḍha[ka]sa kim[i]l[ā] ? + + + + (to)-
 (5) salakosalapaṭuma[gha]dhi[si]ra[sā] (saṃpaṭi)-
 (6) chitasāsanasa vijha[selava]sa + + + +
 (7) siripavatādhipatisa ba[hu]sa[ma](rav)[i](jaya)-
 (8) ladhapatāpasa maṭhariputasa (sirivira)-
 (9) purisadatasa ◊ savachara 20 [hepa satamaṃ] 7
 (10) divasa 7 thap(i)tā pat(i)mā

(1) (mahā)///[r](āja)[sa] ... Raghunath. Reconstruction based on similar formulas, occurring for instance in EIAD 40.

(1–3) °anekahi[ra]ṇak[o]t̥t///(igosatasahasahalasatasahasapa)d[ā]yisa [ra]ṇakoṭi ...[dā]yisa Raghunath. Reconstruction based on analogy with EIAD 40.

(3) sirica[r̥n]tamu[la](sa putasa) *siricamtamū[la]* ... Raghunath. Reconstruction supported by analogy with EIAD 30.

(3–4) (vāna)vāsakaniveḍha[ka]sa kim[i]l[ā] ? vāsakatīvadantasa kamalaka Raghunath. The term *kimilā* seems to be the first element of a long compound running through most of l. 5. It is also rather obscure, although it is tempting to connect it to P. *kim(b)ilā* and Skt. *kṛmilā* in Bihar, on which see Sircar 1971: 248–255.

(4–5) (to)salakosalapaṭuma[gha]dhisira[sā] *salakosala patsaumayadhi [siri]* Raghunath. The first two of these four place names form a pair commonly encountered in literary sources. They are discussed at length in Lévi 1923: 1–11 (= 1929: 63–72). The third toponym, *paṭu*, is more obscure, but the *pāṭavas* or people of Paṭu feature in Purāṇic lists of people living in the Vindhyas (cf. Sircar 1971: 44). Their location is uncertain. Finally, *maghadhi* seems to point to the inhabitants of Magadha, the aspiration of the third consonant apparently having been imposed also on the second one. The form *maghada* with full inversion of aspiration is encountered in the manuscript tradition of the *Śaktisaṅgamatantra*, as noted in Sircar 1971: 85.

(5–6) (saṃpaṭi)chitasāsanasa ... *chitasāsanasa* Raghunath. Our reconstruction here is informed by the occurrence of the phrase *sirasā saṃpaṭicchitasāsana*, meaning “whose rule/teaching has been accepted by [the bowing of] the head” in Pali commentarial literature. See *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāṭikā* (ed. De Silva 1970) III 158.4–5: *gahetabbavacano sirasā sampāṭicchitasāsano; Itivuttakaṭṭhakathā* (ed. Bose 1934–1936) I 78.8–10: *evaṃ mahānubhāvo ti cakkaratanādisamannāgamaṇa kassaci pi pīlaṃ akaronto va sabbarājūhi sirasā sampāṭicchitasāsanavehāsagamanādīhi evaṃ mahānubhāvo*.

(6–7) vijha[selava]sa + + + + siripavatādhipatisa *siripavatādhipatisa* Raghunath. Read or emend *vinjha*-. The reading [selava] is very uncertain, and admittedly not supported by the parallels cited below, n. 80.

(7–8) *ba[hu]sa[ma](ra)[vi](jaya)[la]dhapatāpasa bapusa ... ladhapatapasa* Raghunath. Our restitution is tentative, but in whichever way we reconstruct this compound, it is clear that it offers an interesting antecedent to royal epithets borne by Viṣṇukuṇḍin rulers and Pṛthiviśrīmūla. See, for instance, EIAD 181, l. 5: *cānekacāturddantasamaraśatasahasrasaṅghaṭṭavijayī*; 186, st. 11: *bahusamarajayopāttonnataśrīr*; 189, ll. 7–9: *°asaḥṛdanekaniśitanistrimśasahasrasamkulātibhīmasaṅgrāmbhūmipratilabdhavijayī*. A similar epithet is also found in the Kadamba corpus. See Gai 1996: 149 (no. 39; Sirsi Plates of Kṛṣṇavarman II), ll. 5–6: *bahusamaravijayasamadhiगतयाśorāj<y>āśrī<h>*.

(8) *maṭhariputasa māṭhariputasa* Raghunath.

(9) 20 [hepa satamaṇi] 7 20 [4] ... Raghunath.

(10) *thap(i)tā pat(i)mā thāpitā patimā* Raghunath.

“On the 7th day of the seventh 7th fortnight of the cold season in year 20 of Māṭharīputta Siri-Vīrapurīsadatta, son of the Great King Siri-Cāntamūla—sacrificer of the Aśvamedha, giver of many tens of millions of [pieces of] gold, (hundreds of thousands of cows and hundreds of thousands of plows of land)—who has encircled the Vānavāsakas, whose commands are received on the head by [the people of] Kimilā, ... Tosala, Kosala, Paṭu, and Magadha, the overlord of the Vindhya mountain, of ..., and of Śrīparvata, who has obtained splendor from victory in many battles—this image has been established.”

Despite the strong similarities in the iconography and style of 62 and 63, their inscriptions differ considerably in both structure and contents: 63 (EIAD 30) starts with a dating formula, situating the dedication in an unnumbered “victorious year” (*saṁvacharam vijayam*) of Vīrapurīsadatta (ll. 1–3). The interpretation of this dating formula has been much debated, but it can plausibly be equated, following Vidyadhara Rao (1969), with the first regnal year of Cāntamūla’s son.⁷⁷ The rest of the record (ll. 3–13) is a single phrase marking the dedication of an object explicitly called the “memorial pillar” (*chāyāṭhabha*) of King Cāntamūla by a long list of thirty-one uterine sisters (*sahodarā*), mothers (*mātā*), queens (*mahādevī*), and “intimate friends” (*abhatarikā* = *ābhyantarikā*). That phrase starts with a lengthy eulogy of Cāntamūla (ll. 3–6), which appears to have served as a model for later records presenting a genealogy of the Ikṣvāku family.⁷⁸ The first epithet, however, is unique to this record, and

77 For the possibility of the term *vijaya* pointing to Jupiter’s sixty-year cycle, see Sircar 1963–1964: 2 and its criticism in Mirashi 1969b.

78 On the eulogies dedicated to the founder of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, see Gomes in this volume.

marks the ruler as “gone to heaven” (*saggagata*), i.e. dead, reminiscent of the first *pāda* of 64c discussed above.⁷⁹ By contrast, 62 (EIAD 34) consists of a single phrase, opening—if our reconstruction of the end of l. 3 is correct—with a shorter list of epithets of Cāntamūla (ll. 1–3), before focusing at length on the achievements of his son (ll. 3–9), and concluding with a dating formula and identification of the object dedicated (ll. 9–10; see below).

In the central part of the inscription, Vīrapurisadatta is characterized in terms that are unique to Ikṣvāku inscriptions, which make 62 all the more important as a historical document. Reading it after the above discussion of Gotamīputta’s memorial and his eulogy at Nasik, one cannot but imagine that Sātavāhana political propaganda must have exercised considerable influence on their Ikṣvāku successors in Āndhra. 62 shares with its antecedents the tendency to list a series of countries who accepted the dominion (*sāsana*) of the ruler. The fragmentary passage ll. 6–7 starting with *vijha-* and ending with *-siri-pavatādhīpatisa* may represent a single compound listing all the mountains controlled by the king, and in so doing it clearly draws inspiration from the Nasik *praśasti*, which praises Gotamīputta as “the lord of the Mountains Vindhya, Chavata, Pārijāta, Sahya, Kṛṣṇagiri, Maca, Siriṭana, Malaya, Mahendra, Seṭagiri, and Cakora.”⁸⁰ While we have no evidence supporting the ruler’s claim to have exercised his power as far as Magadha, the first epithet of the king, “who has encircled the Vānavāsakas” is especially interesting, and consistent with the epithet immediately preceding the king’s name, praising him “who has obtained splendor from victory in many battles.” Indeed, the allusion to the king’s victory over the Vānavāsakas may be connected to EIAD 51, a donative record dating from the 11th year of Ehavala-Cāntamūla, Vīrapurisadatta’s son and successor. This records the foundation of a *caitya* and a monastery by Koda-Elisiri, daughter of Vīrapurisadatta, who is also presented as “chief wife of the great king from Vanavāsa” (*vanavāsakamahārājamahādevī*). One

79 See also the memorial pillar of the granddaughter-in-law of Cāntamūla (60), whose inscription reads (EIAD 83, ll. 7–9): ... *sirivanmabhaṭāya* [...] *sag[e]gatāya chāyakhambho*.

80 Tsukamoto 1996, Nasik 4, ll. 2–3: ... *vijha-chavata-pāricāta-sahya-kṛṣṇagiri-maca-siriṭana-mahida-seṭagiri-cakora-pavatādhīpatisa* Several mountains, left in Middle Indo-Aryan in the text above, remain unidentified. It may be worth noting that, while the two lists of mountains obviously differed, the places that frame both lists have striking similarities. Besides the Vindhya opening both lists, Seṭagiri/Seḍagiri is probably to be located in the Nagarjunakonda area (and hence Śrīparvata). This is suggested by EIAD 65, ll. 3–4. The Vindhya and Śrīparvata interestingly also combine to frame a list of mountains, corresponding in part to that of the Nasik inscription, in chapter 17 of Rājaśekhara’s *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (ed. Dalal & Sastry 1934: 93–94): *vindhya-dakṣiṇapāda-mahendra-malaya-mekala-pāla-maṇjara-sahya-śrīparvatādāyāḥ parvatāḥ*.

can infer from the above that Vīrapurisadatta might have entered into a matrimonial alliance with the above-mentioned “lesser Sātavāhana” dynasty to exert his influence in the area, perhaps following a military campaign. Although no allusion to the domain of the Mahākṣatrapas is found in EIAD 34, we know from the famous memorial inscription of Vammabhaṭṭā (60; EIAD 83) that she was the daughter of an unnamed Mahākṣatrapa and had married Vīrapurisadatta’s son Ehavala-Cāntamūla.⁸¹

Our reading of 62 puts the establishment of the slab in the 20th year of Vīrapurisadatta, his last known regnal year.⁸² The inscription identifies the object only as an “image” (*paṭimā*). This alone does not disqualify 62 from having been conceived as a memorial, for there is at least one other object, from Malhar in Chhattisgarh (229), which we understand as a memorial although the inscription marks it, with remarkable terminological similarity, as an “image” (*citra*). But the only evidence that points at 62 being a “memorial” is the fact that its iconographic program is closely similar to that of 63.⁸³ Both seem to represent Cāntamūla as the corpulent figure present in all four panels, in which case the princely figure accompanying him in the third and fourth panels might be identified with Vīrapurisadatta. As we have just highlighted, the main function of 62 is to praise the military prowess and ascendancy of the latter, and so it does not belong to the genre of memorial inscriptions. We would thus suggest that the visual and the textual discourses had distinct and complementary functions in 62: the sculpted panels foreground the figure of Cāntamūla, the founder of the dynasty, and remind viewers of his accomplishments, while perhaps gesturing at the continuity of the line in the form of the young prince; for its part, the inscription foregrounds the figure of Vīrapurisadatta, adding his own accomplishments, while gesturing toward the power and charisma of his father.

Our interpretation of 62 implies that 63, the earliest royal memorial of the Ikṣvākus, is a major model for visual political discourse at Vijayapurī. While

81 On the iconography of this unique single-panel memorial, likely representing Vammabhaṭṭā at her toilet holding a mirror, and its possible Roman models, see Stone 1985; 1994: 77–81.

82 On the basis of the preliminary assessment of the contents of 62 published in *Indian Archaeology—A Review* (1967–1968: 52), Stone, discussing the chronology of the Ikṣvākus, stated that “[t]he latest known date of Vīrapurisadatta is 24th regnal year” (1994: 6). It is on this basis alone that she allows for a minimum window of 25 years in her proposed chronology (1994: 7). The 20th year of Vīrapurisadatta also appears in the group of inscriptions engraved on *āyāga* pillars at Jaggaṃyapeta (EIAD 31–33), and remains his last recorded regnal year.

83 We would not go as far as Stone, who claims that the two pillars may be the work of a single artist (admittedly she was unaware that 62 bears a dated record).

directly inspired by Sātavahāna antecedents, it itself exerted a considerable influence on the iconography of memorial steles and related objects at the site. As discussed above, 46 already testifies to this influence on the Ikṣvāku elite. The iconography of 99 (see fig. 3.38), a memorial slab dedicated to prince Eḷi-Ehavūladāsaṇṇaka, son of a queen of Virapurisadatta and half-brother of his successor Ehavala-Cāntamūla, further confirms the lasting influence of this model. Only the lower panel and the lower part of a second panel above it are preserved. Its inscription (EIAD 52) was competently edited by Sircar, but the reliefs have (as far as we know) not been published so far and deserve to be briefly discussed to elaborate our point. The fully preserved panel represents a princely figure in *lalitāsana* surrounded by four female attendants. To his right, a woman with raised arms is represented dancing, with the three other attendants holding musical instruments. This is therefore clearly modelled on the second panel from the top in 63, and it ultimately echoes 64ab, the lower panel of Gotamīputta Sātakaṇṇi's memorial. Of the upper panel of 99, only parts of four elephant legs are preserved. This, however, is sufficient to identify the processional scene, featuring on the third panel in 62 and 63 (and ultimately in 64c). Finally, it is possible that a further fragment published by Stone, which preserves the pediment and the upper panel of a memorial, belonged to the same memorial.⁸⁴ The pediment shows a domed structure very similar to that of 63, while the panel below shows a typical Symposium scene, which is stylistically very similar to the representation of the royal figure in his inner apartments in the lower panel. While it is impossible to determine the original number of panels of 99, the continuity of what is preserved with the memorial of Cāntamūla, Ehavūladāsaṇṇaka's grandfather, is especially striking.

7 Historical Analysis

The identification of memorial stones at Kanaganahalli was soon followed by the appreciation that they belonged to a "larger cultural complex" of memorialization in the words of H.P. Ray (2003: 141), which extended from the Bhima river in Karnataka to the Krishna valley in Andhra. This paper represents the first detailed study of these objects, including their characteristic forms, their geographic distribution, and their visual and inscriptional languages. In order

84 Stone 1994: 36 and fig. 61. Stone interprets the fragment as "perhaps a third memorial to Cāntamūla 1." As with 62, we were unable to document and take measurements of this upper fragment, which could have further supported its belonging to 99.

to situate the memorial stones of the Deccan in a more robust historical and interpretive framework, we conclude by briefly surveying types of memorials that are adjacent either in time, space, or format to the memorial stones discussed here.

7.1 *Megaliths*

The megalithic cultures of peninsular India are named for their large stone structures, which archaeologists understand to be memorials for the dead, either with evidence of an associated burial (“sepulchral”) or without (“non-sepulchral”).⁸⁵ They can take many forms, some being below ground (pits, caves, or rock-cut chambers) and others above ground (menhirs, dolmens, cairns, “umbrella stones” [*kudakkal*], or “hat stones” [*topikkal*]).

Megalithic memorials do not have sculptural decoration, though the stones themselves may have anthropomorphic shapes. Up until recently, there were no examples of inscribed megalithic memorials, either. That has changed with the discovery of stones bearing Tamil Brāhmī inscriptions from Pulimāṅkōmpai, Tātappaṭṭi, and Putukkōṭṭai.⁸⁶ These appear to name the deceased, and in one case (from Pulimāṅkōmpai), indicate that he died during a cattle raid. Whether they stood vertically, as menhirs, or served as stone coverings for a buried funerary urn, is difficult to say. The dates of these inscriptions are controversial.⁸⁷

Tallying the archaeological evidence with literary evidence from the early Tamil anthologies (the so-called “Caṅkam” poems) is a fraught task. But the Tamil poems do refer to a number of different funerary and memorialization practices, which have been discussed by Hart (1975: 82–86) and Rajan (2000: 24, 2016: 312–314). Rajan argues that the poems evince a development from cairn circles and cists (*patukkai*) to menhirs (*naṭukal*), which in later poems are said to be inscribed (*eḷuttuṭai*) with the name of a dead soldier (*peyam payam*

85 For a thorough bibliographic survey on megalithic archaeology up to 1997, see Mohanty & Selvakumar 2002. For general overviews of the megalithic cultures of South India, see Gururaja Rao 1972 and Dikshit & Kumar 2014. The distinction between sepulchral and non-sepulchral was introduced by Moorti; see Mohanty & Selvakumar 2002: 321.

86 Rajan, Yatheeskumar & Selvakumar 2007, Rajan & Yatheeskumar 2013; Trinco 2015: 63 (referring to <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/tamil-nadu/stonecommemoratimg-heroic-act-with-tamilbrahmi-inscriptionfound/article3662994.ece>).

87 The conventionally accepted dating of Tamil Brāhmī inscriptions is based on Mahadevan’s survey, according to which the earliest inscriptions date to the 2nd c. BCE (2014: 7). Rajan & Yatheeskumar have, however, reported radiocarbon dates for inscribed objects in excavated contexts in the 5th c. BCE (2013: 292).

paṭara tōṇra kuyil eḷuttu).⁸⁸ In the absence of an independently-established chronology for the poems it is difficult to be confident about such a development, but they do clearly point to the existence of engraved memorials such as those found at Pulimāṅkōmpai and Tātappaṭṭi.⁸⁹

The continuity of megalithic burials with later memorial stones has often been broached in research on the topic. Some researchers, like Soundara Rajan (1982: 60), remain skeptical, while others consider the connection to be “clear” (Hart 1975: 84). K. Rajan (2000, 2016) has argued at length that sculpted and inscribed memorial stones developed out of earlier megalithic menhirs. A *prima facie* case for continuity is suggested by the temporal sequence: sculpted memorial stones begin to appear in Tamil Nadu and Kerala around the 5th c. CE, soon after the latest megalithic memorials in South India (ca. 4th and 5th c. CE).⁹⁰ Megalithic memorials are also distributed across peninsular India, but concentrated in the Deccan and South India, where there is similarly a high concentration of later sculpted memorials (Brubaker 2000–2001: 254). No less than fifteen megaliths were excavated at Nagarjunakonda, and a cluster of later memorial stones was found on the same site as one of them.⁹¹ Nevertheless there is a stark visual difference between megalithic memorials and sculpted memorials. Moreover, there is likely a gap of several centuries between the latest megalithic memorials and the earliest sculpted memorials in many regions, even if the gap can be shortened in Tamil Nadu.⁹²

Thus, on the one hand, there was a longstanding tradition of memorializing the dead with freestanding stones (menhirs or *naṭukal*) associated with the megalithic cultures of peninsular India, and there is some evidence, both literary and archaeological, that these stones might have been inscribed with the name of the deceased. The *gahapati* type of memorial, at Kanaganahalli and Chandavaram, could possibly be a continuation of these earlier practices.

88 See *Akanāṇūru* (ed. Irākavaiyaṅkāṛ Svāmikaḷ 1923) 314; Rajan 2016: 313.

89 Rajan 2000: 24, 2016: 312 (see discussion of *Akanāṇūru* 269.6–7, 53.11, 297.7–8, 343.5–7, 352.1–2, 109.7–8, 157.5, 215.10, 231.6, 67.9–15, and *Puraṇāṇūru* 3.21 and 264). As Rajan himself notes, different commemorative practices were associated with different social groups, and therefore might not be arranged into a linear chronological sequence. See also the references in Soundara Rajan 1982: 66–71.

90 For the dates for sculpted memorials in Tamil Nadu, see Rajan 2000: 23 and Settā 1982: 186; for the end of the megalithic period in South India, see Mohanty & Selvakumar 2002: 320.

91 See n. 21 above.

92 We rely on the C¹⁴ dating of Kadebakele (Morrison, Lycett & Trivedi 2016: 247, giving latest dates in the 4th c. BCE or thereabout). As far as we are aware, the megalithic remains of Nagarjunakonda have not been assigned absolute dates.

On the other hand, there would appear to be no precursors whatsoever in megalithic memorials for sculpted memorial panels, and certainly not in the form that we see at Kanaganahalli and Nagarjunakonda.

7.2 *Memorial Pillars (Yaṣṭis)*

About a dozen “*yaṣṭi* inscriptions” have been discovered in Gujarat, so called because the text of the inscription usually refers to the support on which it is inscribed as a *yaṣṭi* (alternate spellings: *laṣṭi*, *yaṭhi*), that is, a staff or pillar.⁹³ There is no sculptural decoration on the pillar, but only an inscription, in the “Epigraphic Hybrid Sanskrit” characteristic of Kṣatrapa records, which records that someone had a pillar set up for someone else on a certain date in the reign of a Kṣatrapa king. Because they are dated, we know that these memorials were erected for almost the entire duration of the dynasty of the Kardamaka Kṣatrapas: the earliest is dated to year 6 (84 CE), and the latest is dated to year 203 (281 CE). The deceased may be a man or woman, but the person who had the pillar set up is always a male family member of the deceased (Visvanathan 2014: 254). No political or occupational titles are mentioned, although the deceased and their family members are often identified by the *gotra* to which they belong, and a few individuals are described as novice renunciants (*śrāmaṇera/śrāmaṇerī*). Many of the inscriptions identify either the deceased or the family member as an Ābhīra, leading Visvanathan to suggest (2014: 256) that the “raising of *yaṣṭis* may have been practiced by the Ābhīras as a group.”⁹⁴

The *yaṣṭi* memorials differ in format from the memorial stones of the Deccan, and there is no *a priori* reason to think they are connected in any direct way. Nevertheless, they represent a practice of memorialization prevalent under the Kṣatrapa kings, and we know that the Kṣatrapas had close relations with the Sātavāhanas, their neighbors to the south. It is just possible that the memorials for Rupiamma (221) and the queen of Vāsiṭṭhiputta Sivasiri-Puḷumāvi (224), as well as the memorial to one Nāgagopiṇṇikā at Mukkatraopet (228), are linked in some way to the *yaṣṭi* type, since they are pillar-shaped and inscribed but unsculpted. But it seems more likely to us that both these memorials and the

93 The most recent and comprehensive study of these objects is Visvanathan 2014: 226–266; see also Patil 1982: 52–55, Shelat 2006: 192–194, von Hinüber 2009: 41–43, and Chattopadhyay & Basu Majumdar 2022: 43–45.

94 One controversial Kharoṣṭhī inscription from Sui Vihar (CKI 147; Konow 1929: LXXIV [138–141]), in year 11 of Kaniṣka (probably ca. 138 CE) has been understood to refer to a *yaṣṭi* memorial (e.g., by Damsteegt 1978: 188), but probably refers, instead, to a donation of a pole (*yaṣṭi*) associated with the *stūpa* (Visvanathan 2014: 237).

yaṣṭi type developed independently out of earlier practices of memorialization. We do not find support for Hiranand Sastri's claim (1940: 174) that "the custom of erecting [memorial] stones was borrowed by the Hindus from foreigners such as the Śakas who had settled in India during early ages."

7.3 *Mediterranean Memorial Steles*

It seems obvious to us that the sculpted memorial stones discussed in this paper are closest, in terms of their format, conventions, and typical scenes, not to any known Indian precedents but to the memorial steles of the ancient Mediterranean world, especially those of the 1st c. CE. Based on a comparison between the Indian and Mediterranean objects, we argue that Indian craftsmen began to produce sculpted memorials on the basis of Mediterranean exemplars in the late 1st c. CE.

By way of background, we should state that trade between India and the Mediterranean was highly organized in the 1st and 2nd c. CE, as argued in more than one recent book (Evers 2017, Cobb 2019, de Romanis 2020). We have no quantitative data from the Indian side, but it would appear that, in this period, trade with Rome made up a large and important part of the economy in the Deccan (Ray 1986: 147). There is now an abundance of evidence for influence of Mediterranean art upon Indian art, "not just in Gandhāra," to quote the title of a recent paper by Monika Zin, but in the Deccan as well, including the sculpture of Kanaganahalli, Amaravati, and Nagarjunakonda. This influence ranges from scene types and the rendering of human figures (Zin 2015, 2020) to compositional techniques (Stone 2005). Zin (2015: 182) and Evers (2017: 47) have, moreover, pointed to the appearance of "Roman" furniture styles in the art of Kanaganahalli and Amaravati, especially the use of lion's paws, and in some cases upright lions, on the legs of tables and couches.⁹⁵ We might more properly say, following the important work of Evers, that similar furniture styles developed in both Rome and India, characterized by the use of local woods with sculpted fittings made of Indian ivory. The furniture depicted in the memorial stones looks relatively ornate, but we have not encountered any examples that specifically point to Roman fashions.

We have described the scene depicted in the top panel of sculpted memorial stones as a Symposium. A "meal," as classical scholarship typically designates the scene (often in German terms such as Totenmahl, Familienmahl, and Mahlrelief), is the most commonly depicted scene in the funerary art of

95 In fact the table with three animal-styled legs is very often attested in Mediterranean funerary steles; see Pfuhl & Möbius 1977: 363.

the ancient Mediterranean.⁹⁶ The scene, probably based on near eastern models, appeared in Greek art around the 7th c. BCE (Thönges-Stringaris 1965: 6, 13). In this early period, it was used almost exclusively for votive reliefs for heroes; starting in the 5th c. BCE, and especially in Western Anatolia under the Achaemenids, the image came to be strongly associated with sculptured grave steles (Draycott 2016: 220; see also Stewart 2009: 255 and Pfuhl & Möbius 1977: 353). By the time of the Roman empire it had become strongly associated with the Roman provinces, especially *Germania Inferiora*, along the bank of the Rhine (Stewart 2009: 257). The scene is attested with many variations, over many centuries, and across a geographical range from Germany to Syria. Its defining feature, however, is that the deceased is represented lying on a couch, often holding a cup. Very often the deceased is attended by servants, including a cupbearer. The reclining figure is usually a male, although female figures are sometimes depicted sitting to the viewer's left, either on a separate chair or on the same couch as the male figure. In the earliest examples, the seated female can be identified as a goddess, but in Hellenistic and Roman memorials such figures are identified by the accompanying inscriptions as wives or sisters of the deceased (Thönges-Stringaris 1965: 54–55; Noelke 1998: 406–407).

The top panel of the memorial stones discussed here can be considered a local variation on the Symposium scene. The general format is the same: the deceased sits on a couch or chair, often holding a cup, usually surrounded by attendants. But there are, in addition, a number of very specific correspondences between the two groups of objects. Female family members are depicted as seated to the viewer's left, facing the male figure. In a number of cases the female figure holds a child in her lap (cf. Pfuhl & Möbius nos. 1747–1750, table 254). The attendants are depicted in miniature along the bottom of the panel in some Mediterranean examples; in the Indian examples, these figures, similarly miniaturized, are recognizable as dwarves and hunchbacks. In one example from Kanaganahalli (111), a dog appears to lie beneath the couch, and this motif is found in Mediterranean examples as well (Thönges-Stringaris 1965: 19).

There are a number of significant differences, of course. Nobody *reclines* in the Indian memorials; all of the subjects are sitting. The attendants in the background (in contrast to the dwarves and hunchbacks below) are usually the same size as, or just slightly smaller than, the deceased, and in contrast to the Mediterranean examples, they are almost always female. And while some of the

96 See Noelke (2000: 60) on type types typically distinguished in scholarship, the Totenmahl and the Familienmahl, for which he uses the cover-term Mahrelief.

objects they carry are also found in Mediterranean examples (e.g., cups, small boxes), others are not (e.g., fly-whisks). The deceased, for their part, often hold cups as in the Mediterranean examples, but are also seen to be holding other objects, including flowers and garlands. Regarding the hair, dress, and ornamentation of the figures, no obvious Mediterranean influence is seen, although scholars have sometimes interpreted some of the female hairstyles as Roman (Nagaraja Rao 1985: 43).

Two more general features of Mediterranean memorials bear mention here. The first is that the top of the memorial, above the sculpted relief, very often takes the form of a pediment. The sculpted memorials from India, especially those from Kanaganahalli, similarly depict architectural elements in this space, and most commonly the top part of a building, as indicated by gable windows. Secondly, many Mediterranean memorials depict the deceased in bust in a register above the Symposium relief. The Indian examples also commonly depict the deceased—sometimes in bust, sometimes in full figure—in a doorway framed by gable windows on the top part of the memorial. It seems very likely that these conventions are related, especially in view of the scarcity of busts in early Indian art.

The variations noted above make it difficult to relate the Indian Symposium itself to any one of the many local types of meal scenes that were found throughout the Mediterranean world between the 1st c. BCE and the 2nd c. CE, which is when the memorials from Kanaganahalli can be dated. Fortunately, the Symposium is found in combination with a small number of other stereotyped scenes. One is the unyoked bullock cart. This has no direct parallel in Mediterranean funerary art, but there are two similar scenes. In a number of 5th-c. BCE memorials from Persian Anatolia, a procession or convoy, where a cart is pulled by horses, is depicted on the lower register underneath a Symposium scene; this has been interpreted either as a funeral procession or as a military convoy (Draycott 2016: 258–259). A number of later (1st c. BCE and later) memorials from the same region (Bithynia and Mysia in what is now northwestern Turkey) depict, in a register beneath the Symposium, yoked oxen pulling a plough (see fig. 3.39, 3rd century CE).⁹⁷

The other scene found in combination with the Symposium in the memorials of Kanaganahalli is a riderless horse being led by a groom. This scene, too, is found in memorials from northwestern Turkey (see fig. 3.40).⁹⁸ The closest parallel to our memorials, however, seems to be the program of memorials

97 See Cremer 1992: 84 and B16–17, B19–20, B22 (our fig. 3.39), B23 and B41; Pfuhl & Möbius nos. 1141, 1147 and 1157 (Tafel 173).

98 See Cremer 1991: Tafel 8; Otroia 01.

for Roman cavalrymen along the Rhine in the later 1st c. CE (Noelke 2000; see fig. 3.41, 1st c. CE). These are memorials with two registers, of which the top depicts a Symposium, and the bottom depicts a “horse exhibition” (Pferdevorführung). Noelke distinguishes two types of this scene: one wherein the groom leads the horse from behind, and another where the groom walks in front of the horse (1998: 405). The scene depicted in the horse memorials from Kanaganahalli matches the second type almost exactly, down to the dress of the groom, who tends to wear a tunic and sometimes a hood in both Roman and Indian examples (see fig. 3.42).⁹⁹ In the early examples from Roman Germany, this type of memorial was only used for cavalrymen who died in service.

The obvious similarity between the memorials from the lower Rhine and the upper Bhima raises very difficult questions: how, when, and why could a complex sculptural program have come to be borrowed, with certain adaptations, across enormous distances? Yet this would not be the first time that such questions of “dislocation” of motifs were raised (Noelke 1998: 416). As noted above, the lower Rhine memorials are not the earliest to combine the motifs of the Symposium and the horse exhibition in two registers; those appear to be the memorials from northwestern Asia Minor and the southern Balkans (see fig. 3.40).¹⁰⁰ Noelke suggested that the motif was brought to the lower Rhine in the later 1st c. CE by auxiliary soldiers from Thrace, and as a further example of such “dislocation” pointed to the subsequent adoption of the program in the memorials of the emperor’s elite horse guard, the *equites singulares*, in the city of Rome.¹⁰¹

The horse exhibition has a longer history in the Mediterranean, possibly extending as far back as the Achaemenid period.¹⁰² But the typology of the scene at Kanaganahalli seems to find its most specific analogies in the German memorials of the 1st c. CE, and their immediate models in Anatolia and the Balkans. We would suggest, as a hypothesis, that Indian traders, working

99 Mattern (2003: 298) argues that the depiction is of a particular training exercise and that the person leading the horse is the rider himself; this seems incompatible with the earlier examples discussed below, wherein a groom is depicted side-by-side with a man holding a sword, who putatively represents the rider himself.

100 Noelke 1998: 416; the closest parallels to the German (and Indian) examples, depicting a riderless horse on the bottom register, are Pfuhl & Möbius 1452 [T. 211] (1st c. BCE, Kyzikos); 1399 [T. 203] (1st c. BCE, Miletopolis); 1429 [T. 208] (2nd c. BCE, Daskyleion); 1142 [Tafel 172] (2nd c. CE, “ostgriechisch”).

101 Noelke 1998: 416; see also Stewart 2009: 256. For the *equites singulares*, see also Speidel 1994: 4; and Mattern 2003: 291, 304.

102 Mattern 2003: 291; she refers to Calmeyer 1974: 66 for an Iranian tradition of representing a riderless horse.

along the trade routes between the ports of the Mediterranean and the ports of India's west coast, encountered dual-register memorials in their travels, and brought the idea back with them to inland centers such as Kanaganahalli. As for the time frame of this exchange, we would hypothesize that it happened during the 60s and 70s CE. This is when the Indo-Roman trade began to pick up in volume, likely occasioning a war between the Sātavāhanas and Kṣatrapas for control over the major ports and trade routes. And it is also when the Symposium and horse exhibition were "exported" from the eastern Mediterranean, where they were apparently popular, to the German provinces; they may well have been "exported" eastward at the same time.

Up until very recently, scholars have had little reason to believe that the trade between India and the Mediterranean world, consisting of commodities and luxury goods, could have had, as a "side effect," the transfer of larger sculptural forms over very long distances. After all, memorial steles are large, heavy objects that would probably not have been transferred by ship. The discoveries at Berenike, on the coast of the Red Sea in Egypt, in March 2022 have challenged, if not refuted, those presuppositions. Excavators found large sculptural objects, of local manufacture, that are clearly based on Indian models and probably involved Indian craftsmen, most notably three statues of a Buddha in the round, as well as a Sanskrit inscription made by a resident Indian; these objects can be dated between 130 and 250 CE.¹⁰³ The monsoon winds allowed large-scale trade between India and the Mediterranean, but their seasonality meant that traders would have had to stay "abroad" for a season before returning home. The Berenike discoveries confirm that Indians did stay in Berenike for the season, where they commissioned and likely actually produced large sculptures. This means that it is not *a priori* impossible for the sculptors at Kanaganahalli to have been exposed to Mediterranean memorials, if they were Indian, or indeed for a few of them to have been seasonally-resident Mediterranean artists themselves.

Finally, as noted above, the very word *chāyā* might suggest a connection with the Mediterranean world, if it is a calque on the Greek σκιά (with which it is etymologically related) or Latin *umbra*. We are not familiar with the use of the word *chāyā* to designate the "shade" of a deceased person from other inscriptional or literary corpora.

103 See Sidebotham et al. 2022 and the preliminary presentation by Marianne Bergmann, Martina Stoye, and Shailendra Bhandare on March 23, 2022 at the International Workshop on "Gandharan Art in its Buddhist Context" (available at <https://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/GandharaConnections/webcasts>) and "Garum Masala" by William Dalrymple in the *New York Review of Books* (April 20, 2023).

7.4 *Hero Stones*

One memorial stone from Kanaganahalli (see fig. 3.43), set up outside of the Candralāmbā temple, appears to be later than the rest discussed in this paper. It shows a *yogī* sitting in *padmāsana* in the top panel, giving a blessing. Still, it has several features of early memorial stones, such as female attendants with fly-whisks. This object might thus represent a transition between the early memorial stones surveyed here and those that are attested later, starting in the later 5th c., of which the prototypical type is the “hero stone.”

Settar & Sontheimer’s monumental volume, *Memorial Stones* (1982), could offer little besides speculation on the origin of the phenomenon.¹⁰⁴ The material from Kanaganahalli was not yet taken into account, and only a few memorial stones from Nagarjunakonda were considered. It is now quite clear that the objects surveyed in this paper represent the earliest attested stage of development of memorial stones as a subcontinental phenomenon. In particular, the soldier memorials from Nagarjunakonda (47–53) and a memorial from Gangaperuru of a man who died in a cattle raid (227) anticipate the later hero stones. And of course the format of later memorial stones, with one or more panels sculpted in relief on a freestanding slab, has its origin, as far as we can tell, in the memorials of Kanaganahalli.

The location of later memorial stones also suggests that the phenomenon originated from Karnataka, which Settar called “the heartland of hero-stones” (1982: 192). Karnataka probably has the highest concentration of memorial stones anywhere in India. The highest concentration of hero stones in Tamil Nadu is in the northwest, close to the border with Karnataka, which Settar again takes as evidence for an origin in Karnataka (1982: 195). This is consistent with what we observe in this article, namely that sculpted memorials traveled from northern Karnataka to Andhra Pradesh.

The geographic distribution of the different types of memorial stones in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh corroborates such a supposition. The memorials at Mukkatraopet, in Telangana, and Chandavaram, in Andhra Pradesh, are all unsculpted. They also date to the time of the Sātavāhana dynasty, even if Chandavaram did not lay within the Sātavāhana kingdom. This suggests that unsculpted memorials were already somewhat widely distributed in the Deccan during the Sātavāhana period. By contrast, all of the sculpted memorials are associated with the post-Sātavāhana period, either at Nagarjunakonda or at Amaravati. (Although Amaravati as a site predates the Sātavāhanas, it seems likely to us that the only memorial found there for which a documentation is available dates from the 3rd c. CE.) This suggests to us that the sculpted

104 See also Thapar 2000 [1981]: 681–682 for a general description of hero stones.

memorials within the Sātavāhana kingdom are a phenomenon of the late 1st and 2nd c. CE, which also coincides with the renovation of the great *stūpa* at Kanaganahalli. During this time, however, sculpted memorial stones are almost entirely confined to the Upper Bhima region. After the collapse of Sātavāhana power here, sculpted memorials appear to have been deliberately “revived” by the Ikṣvākus, probably by directly invoking the memorial of Gotamīputta Siri-Sātakaṇṇi as a model. Future discoveries will almost certainly allow the scenario presented here to be nuanced or revised.

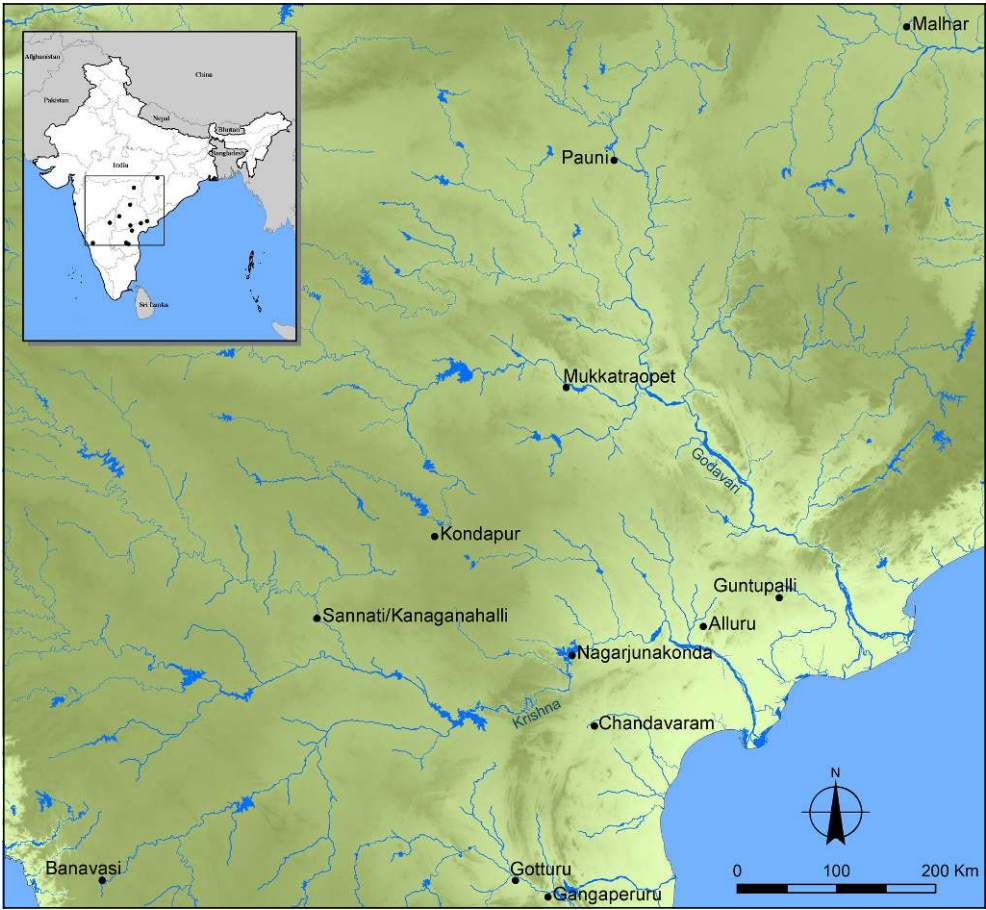
What remains puzzling, however, is the gap between the objects discussed here, which date to the early 4th c. at the latest, and the earliest subsequent appearance of memorial stones in the archaeological record. The earliest examples in Karnataka date to the 5th c. or perhaps later (Settar 1982: 193), those in Tamil Nadu to the later 5th (Soundara Rajan 1982: 71–72; Rajan 2000: 46) and those in Andhra to the 7th (Chandrasekhara Reddy 1994: 24, 78).¹⁰⁵ The Gangaperuru memorial (227) is likely one of many “missing links” in this development.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Monika Zin for making her photographs of the memorial stones kept at Gulbarga available to us. This article owes much to her generosity and encouragement. Thanks are also due to Robert Arlt for sharing further images from Kanaganahalli, and to Kelsey Martini for comments on a draft of the article, with very useful references to the *Arthaśāstra*. We are also grateful to the staff, including Mr. Shivaprasad, at the State Archaeological Museum in Gulbarga, Mr. Nazeem Sahib and Mr. Basavaraja at the Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site, and the staff led by Dr. Suryaprasad at Nagarjunakonda for their assistance during our documentation and study. Further, we are grateful to the Gulbarga office of the Archaeological Survey of India, and to Dr. Muni Rathnam, the Director of Epigraphy at the Archaeological Survey of India, for their support. We also wish to thank Ingo Strauch and Stefan Baums for their input on the editions of the inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda discussed here, Akira Shimada and Lisa Owen for useful comments on particular objects, and Uthara Suvrathan for fruitful correspondence.

¹⁰⁵ See above, § 7.1, for references to memorials in Tamil literature. While it is impossible to determine the precise kind of memorial to which the texts refer (although references to sculpture, painting, and inscription are found), it seems possible that some refer to free-standing steles with sculpted panels, and hence would reflect the introduction of this type into northwestern Tamil Nadu after the 2nd c. CE or so.

Maps



MAP 3.1 Main findspots of memorial stones in the Deccan and related sites

Figures



FIGURE 3.1 Inscribed memorial stele with sculpted panels from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (MS 1; Knl 372), Gulbarga Museum, acc. nos. 30B, 198WOB



FIGURE 3.2 Inscribed memorial stele with sculpted panel from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (MS 54; KnI 376), Gulbarga Museum, acc. no. 203B



FIGURE 3.3 Inscribed memorial stele with sculpted panel(s) (MS 94; KnI 407), recovered by the side of the bathing *ghāṭ* of the Candralāmbā temple, Sannati; Gulbarga Museum, acc. nos. 35B, 31W, 35WOB



FIGURE 3.4 Detail of an inscribed memorial stele with sculpted panels from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (MS 5; Knl 371), Gulbarga Museum (no acc. no)



FIGURE 3.5 Memorial stele with sculpted panels from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (MS 17), Gulbarga Museum, acc. nos. 63B, 63WOB



FIGURE 3.6 Memorial stele with sculpted panel(s) from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (MS 161), Government Museum, Bangalore



FIGURE 3.7
Inscribed memorial stele with
sculpted panel(s) (MS 65; KnI 317),
found ca. 300 m south of the
Kanaganahalli *stūpa*, and kept
at the *stūpa* site



FIGURE 3.8 Inscribed memorial stele with sculpted panels from Jevargi (MS 10), Gulbarga Museum, acc. no. 98B



FIGURE 3.9 Inscribed memorial stele with sculpted panel(s) (MS 82; Knl 353), found at the Devamma temple, Sannati, Gulbarga Museum, acc. no. 41WOB



FIGURE 3.10 Inscribed memorial stele with sculpted panel(s) from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (MS 79; KnI 350), Gulbarga Museum, acc. no. 52WOB



FIGURE 3.11 Memorial stele with sculpted panel(s) from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (MS 108), Gulbarga Museum, acc. nos. 49B, 69W, 49WOB



FIGURE 3.12 Memorial stele with sculpted panel(s) from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (MS 117), Gulbarga Museum, acc. nos. 76B, 76WOB



FIGURE 3.13 Memorial stele with sculpted panel(s) from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (MS 159), Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site



FIGURE 3.14 Memorial stele with sculpted panel(s) from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (MS 106), Gulbarga Museum, acc. nos. 43B, 47W

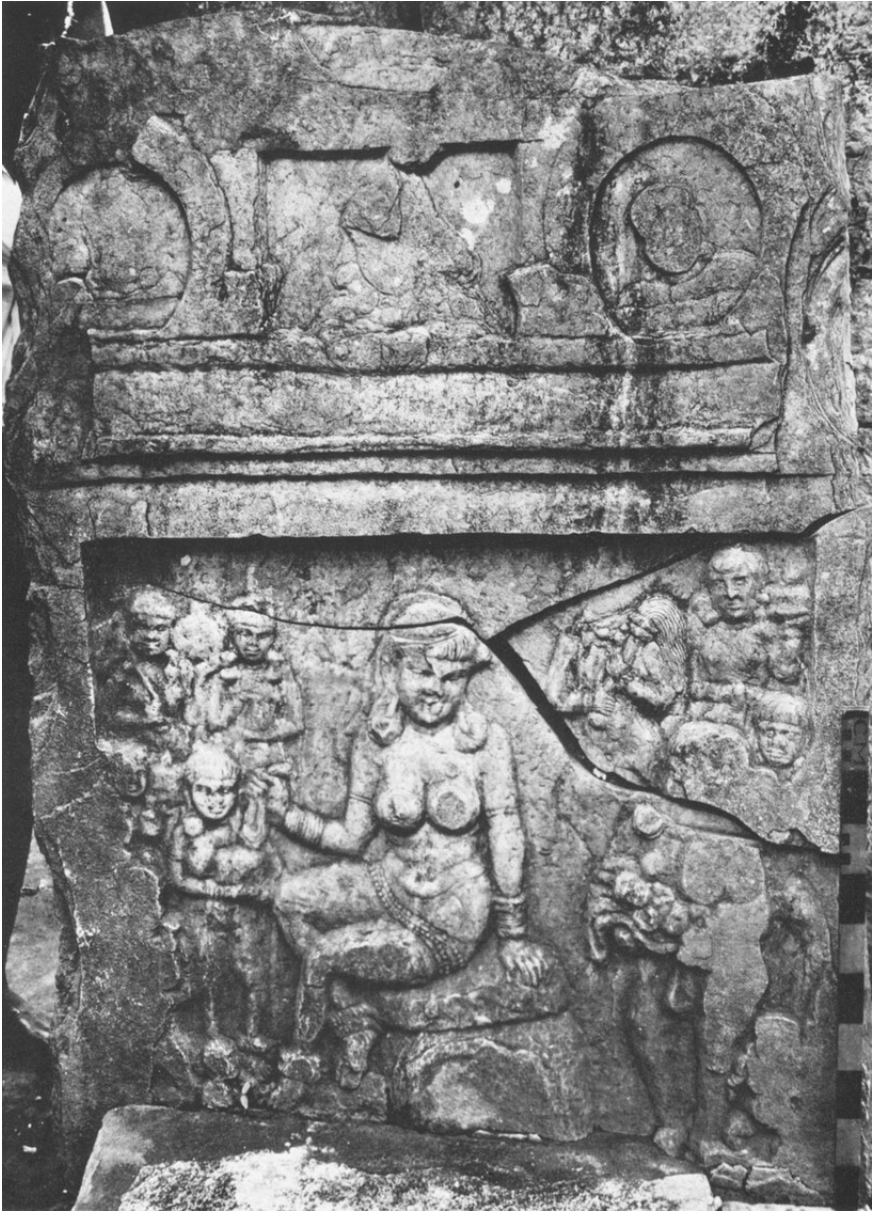


FIGURE 3.15 Memorial stele with sculpted panel(s) from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (MS 158), Gulbarga Museum, acc. no. 25B



FIGURE 3.16 Memorial stele with sculpted panels from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (MS 28), Gulbarga Museum, acc. no. 130B



FIGURE 3.17 Memorial stele with sculpted panels from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (MS 27), Government Museum, Bengaluru



FIGURE 3.18 Metal toy cart from Brahmapuri



FIGURE 3.19 Memorial stele with sculpted panels from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (MS 36), Gulbarga Museum, acc. nos. 53B, 53WOB



FIGURE 3.20
Inscribed memorial stele
with sculpted panel(s)
from Site 6o, Nagarju-
nakonda (MS 45; EIAD 76),
Nagarjunakonda Archae-
ological Museum, fortifi-
cation enclosure (no acc.
no.)



FIGURE 3.21 Inscribed memorial stele with sculpted panel(s) from Site 36, Nagarjunakonda (MS 46; EIAD 68), Nagarjunakonda Archaeological Museum, acc. no. 81



FIGURE 3.22 Inscribed memorial stele with sculpted panel(s) from Site 14, Nagarjunakonda (MS 49; EIAD 64), Nagarjunakonda Archaeological Museum, Reserve Collection, acc. no. 204



FIGURE 3.23 Inscribed memorial stele with sculpted panel from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (MS 55; Knl 377), Gulbarga Museum, acc. no. 29B



FIGURE 3.24
Inscribed memorial stele with sculpted panel, found in
a field between the Candralāmbā and Durgā temples
(MS 57; KnI 379), Government Museum, Bangalore



FIGURE 3.25 Inscribed memorial stele with sculpted panel(s) from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (ms 66; Knl 323), kept at the *stūpa* site



FIGURE 3.26 Memorial stele with sculpted panel(s) from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (MS 154), Gulbarga Museum, acc. nos. 196B, 209W, 196WOB



FIGURE 3.27
Inscribed memorial stele of the *gahapati* type from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (MS 179; KnI 386), Gulbarga Museum, acc. nos. 39W, 90O



FIGURE 3.28
Inscribed memorial stele of
the *gahapati* type from Chan-
davaram (MS 218; EIAD 239),
storage in Chandavaram vil-
lage

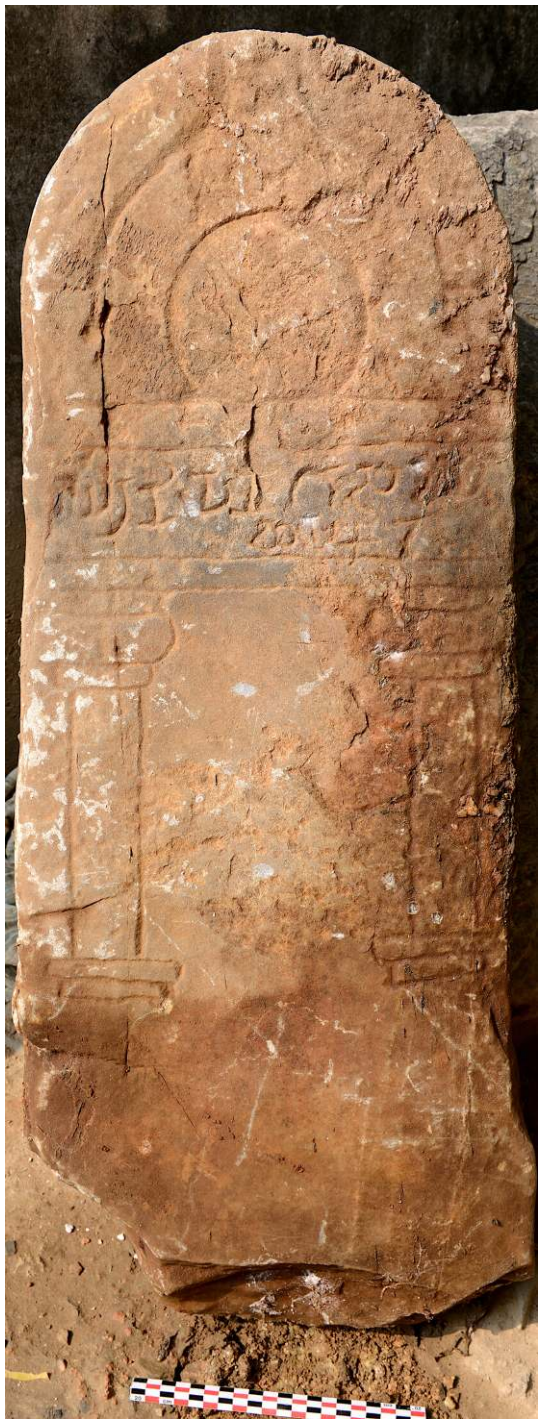


FIGURE 3.29
Inscribed memorial stele of
the *gahapati* type from Chan-
davaram (MS 219; EIAD 240),
storage in Chandavaram village



FIGURE 3.30 Inscribed memorial stele from Mukkatraopet (MS 226; EIAD 670), Karimnagar Museum



FIGURE 3.31 Inscribed stele with sculpted panel from Dharanikota (MS 59; EIAD 568), Amaravati Site Museum, acc. no. 1069

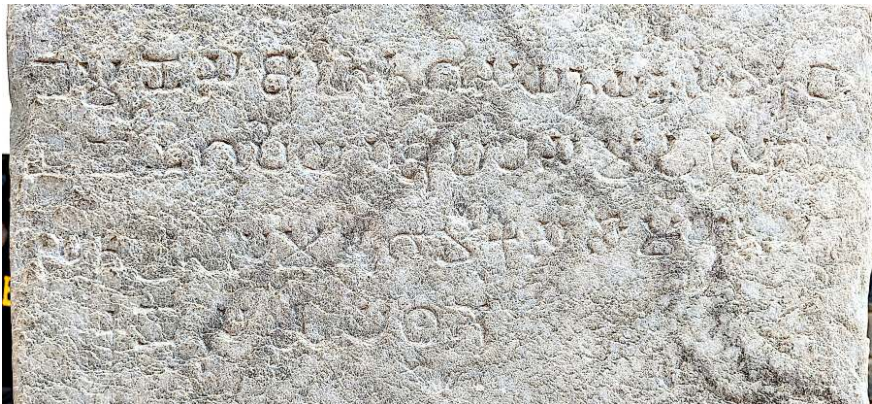


FIGURE 3.32 Inscription on the stele from Dharanikota (MS 59; EIAD 568), Amaravati Site Museum, acc. no. 1069



FIGURE 3.33 Fragment of the memorial stela of Gotamīputta Siri-Sātakanni from Site SAN-8 (MS 64; KnI 406), Sannati, present whereabouts unknown



FIGURE 3.34 Inscribed fragment of the memorial stela of Gotamīputta Siri-Sātakanni from Site SAN-8 (MS 64), Sannati, present whereabouts unknown. From the exhibition at the Archaeological Survey of India, Epigraphy Branch, Mysore



FIGURE 3.35
Inscribed memorial stele with sculpted panels from Site 9, Nagarjunakonda (MS 63; EIAD 30), Nagarjunakonda Archeological Museum, acc. no. 73



FIGURE 3.36
Middle fragment of an inscribed
memorial stele with sculpted panels
from Site 57 Nagarjunakonda (MS 62;
EIAD 34), Nagarjunakonda Archeolog-
ical Museum, Reserve Collection (no
acc. no.)

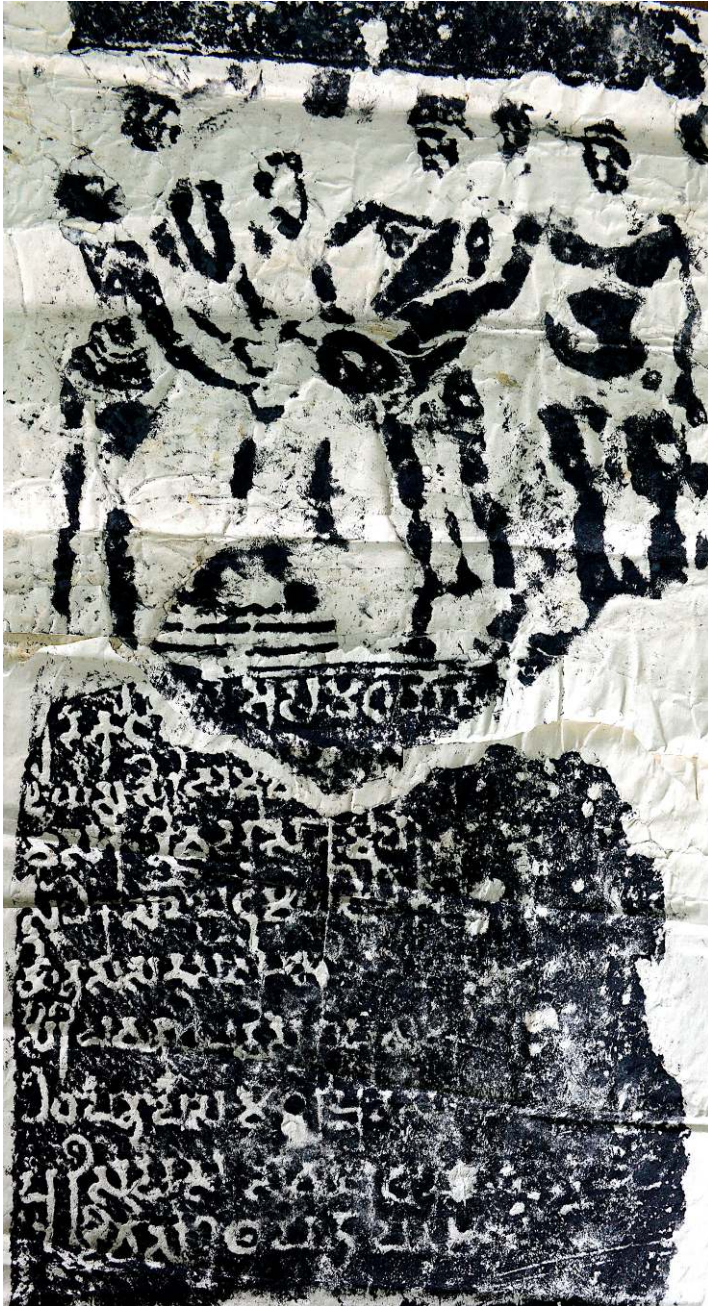


FIGURE 3.37 Estampage of two fragments of an inscribed memorial stele with sculpted panels from Site 57 Nagarjunakonda (MS 62; EIAD 34), ASI Epigraphy Branch, Mysore



FIGURE 3.38
Inscribed memorial stele with
sculpted panel(s) from Site 61,
Nagarjunakonda (MS 99; EIAD 52),
Nagarjunakonda Archeological
Museum, Reserve Collection, acc.
no. 295

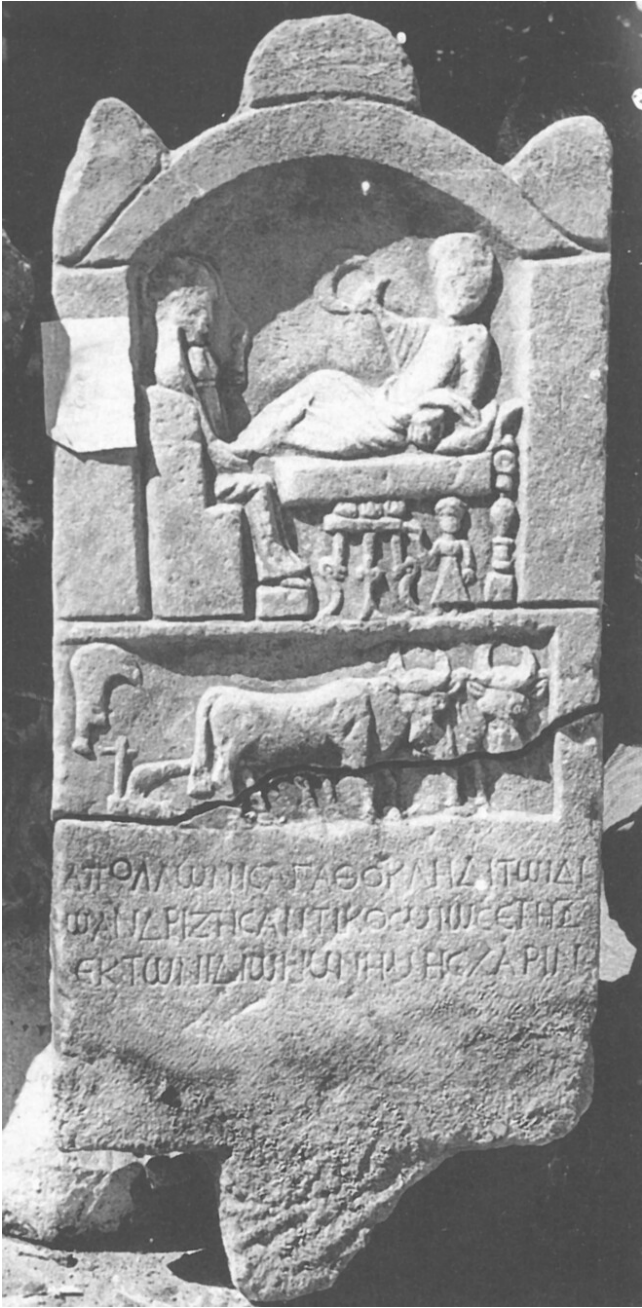


FIGURE 3.39 3rd-century CE stele of Agathokles, found at Kestel (ancient Bithynia), Bursa Museum

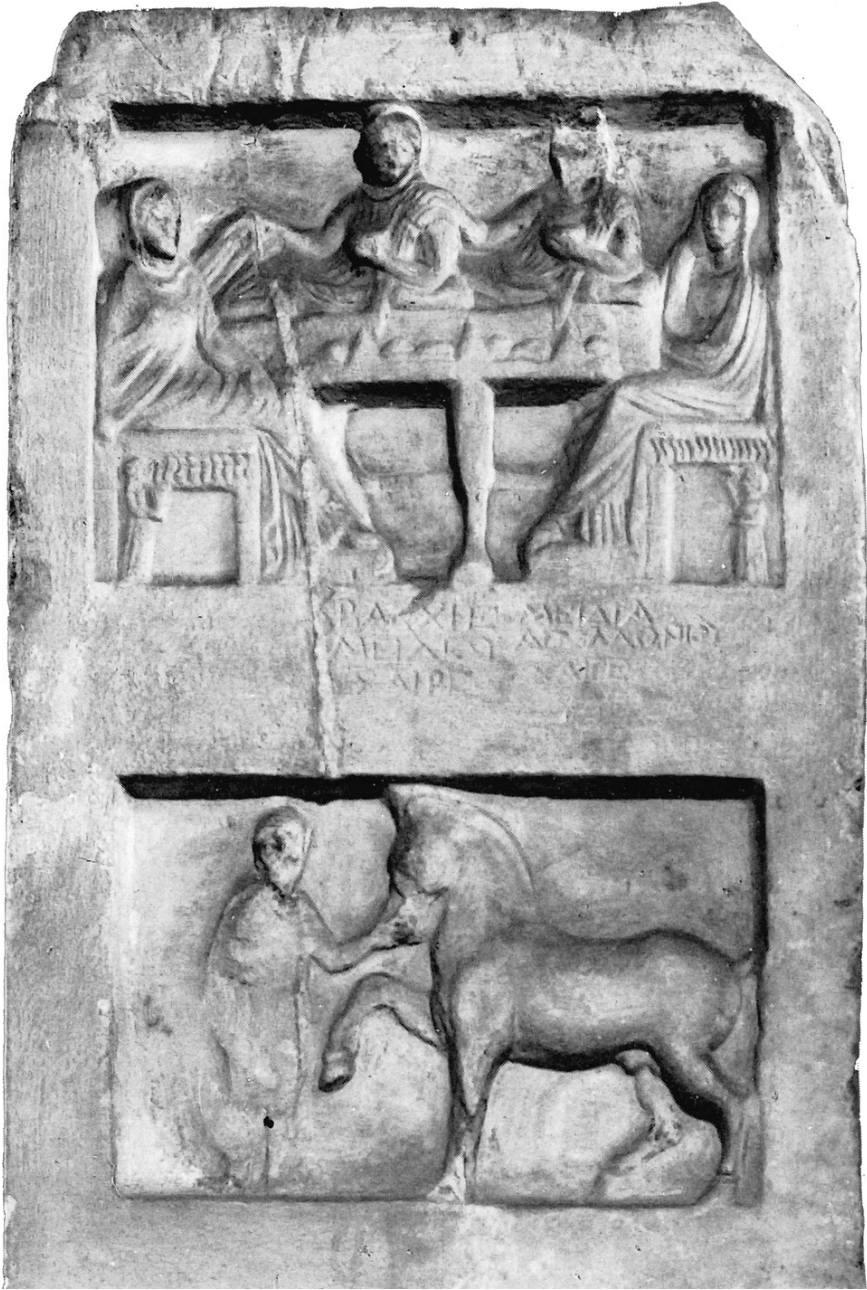


FIGURE 3.40 1st-century BCE stele from Kyzikos (ancient Mysia)



FIGURE 3.41 Late 1st-century relief from the memorial of Longinus Biarta, discovered near Cologne, in Romisch-Germanisches Museum Cologne



FIGURE 3.42 Inscribed memorial stele with sculpted panels from Kanaganahalli/Sannati (MS 32; KnI 349), Gulbarga Museum, acc. nos. 92W, 78BOW



FIGURE 3.43 Later memorial stele with sculpted panels kept outside of the Candralāmbā Temple, Sannati

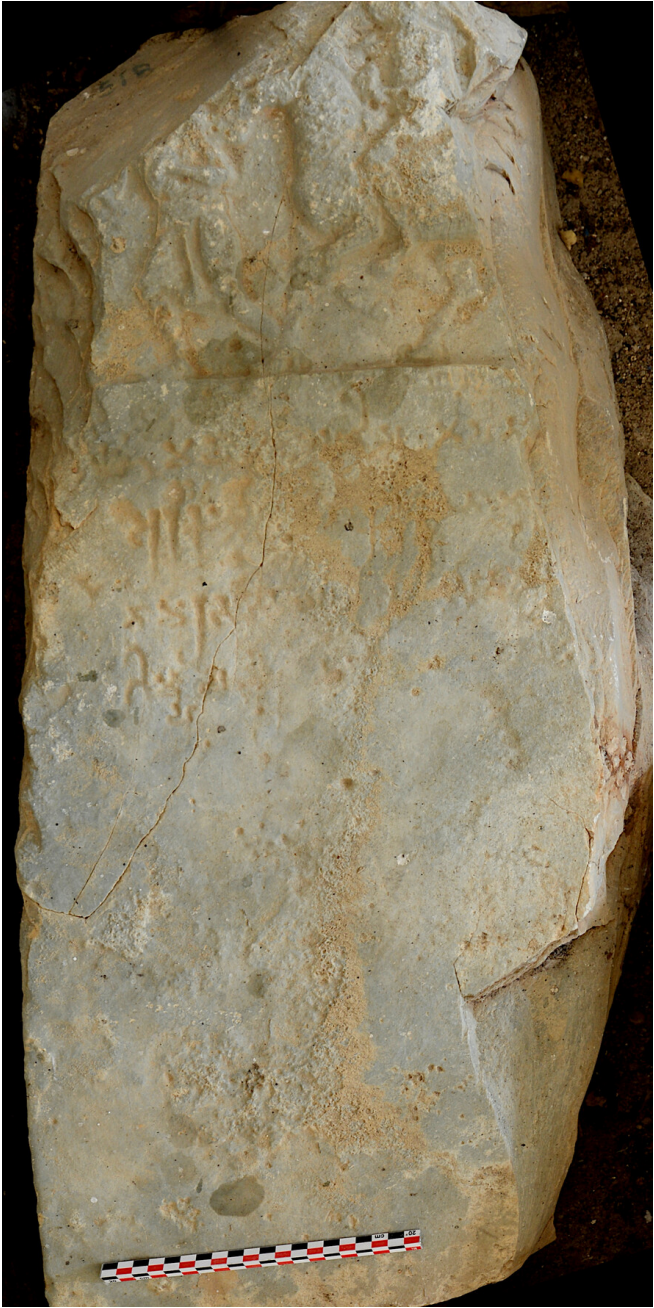


FIGURE 3.44 Inscribed memorial stele with sculpted panels from Site 9, Nagarjunakonda (MS 44; EIAD 133), Nagarjunakonda Archeological Museum acc. no. 518



FIGURE 3.45 Inscribed memorial stele from Nagarjunakonda (MS 48; EIAD 132), Nagarjunakonda Archeological Museum, acc. no. 513



FIGURE 3.46 Inscribed memorial pillar from Mukkatraopet (MS 228; EIAD 647), Karimnagar Museum.

Inventory of Memorial Stones

Conventions

These conventions are the same as those used in the *Early Inscriptions of Āndhradeśa* Project:

- °V independent vowel sign.
- [] reading would be uncertain if element occurred in isolation (whether due to damage or not)
- () editorial restoration of lost text
- < > editorial addition of omitted text
- « » scribal insertion
- { } editorial deletion of redundant text
- {{ }} scribal deletion
- . lost part of an akṣara
- ... indeterminate number of akṣaras missing
- ? illegible akṣara
- + lost akṣara
- /// textual loss at left or right edge of support
- ◇ punctuation space

For names, we give in our translation a rendering in Middle Indo-Aryan followed by our best guess at a Sanskrit equivalent, if applicable, in parentheses. Square brackets in the translation indicate words supplied by us.

Repositories and Inventory Numbers

The memorial stones found at Kanaganahalli have, with some exceptions noted below, been removed to other locations. We have attempted to provide the present location of all of the memorials discussed here. In a few cases, however, that has proven impossible. When we say that the present location of a memorial is “unknown,” that does not mean that it is lost, but only that we have no certain information about its current whereabouts. Measurements of the object are given only where available.

The National Mission on Monuments and Antiquities has recently listed some of the objects from Kanaganahalli that are currently stored at the Archaeological Survey of India storehouse in Bidar on its website, and in what follows we refer to the serial number provided there.¹⁰⁶ Most of the objects from Kanaganahalli, however, were taken to the State Archaeological Museum in

106 <http://nmma.nic.in/nmma/exploreMuseum.do?museum=SS-SSG> (we thank Robert Arlt for pointing this out to us).

Gulbarga, where they are displayed in one of the two *gumbaz* of the museum, and where Andrew Ollett was able to document them on August 13, 2017. There they are labelled according to at least *five* different numbering systems. In what follows, when we give a number from “Gulbarga Museum” (short for the State Archaeological Museum in Gulbarga) it is followed by one of the following codes: B (meaning that the number is written in black paint); W (white paint); BOW (black paint on a white background); WOB (white paint on a black background); and O (orange paint).

Howell (1995: 69–77), referred to here as ES, lists roughly 85 memorial stones that were discovered in the course of the joint excavations of the Archaeological Survey of India and the Society for South Asian Studies between 1986 and 1989. As noted above, all of those have been removed to Bidar, and we have not yet been able to consult them. Accordingly we include only those objects for which some visual documentation has been provided, either in ES or otherwise. We identify objects in our inventory with objects described in ES only in those cases where the documentation (either in a figure, photograph, a reading of the inscription, or a sufficiently detailed description of the object) allows a reasonably certain identification.

The availability of visual documentation in a reference is noted either with a reference to a plate or an image, or with an asterisk (*). For numbers 217 and 232–237, we have not been able to consult the object ourselves, and we have no visual documentation, so we give the reading of previous editors; we give a translation only when we are reasonably confident in the reading.

Objects

1 (KnI 372), see fig. 3.1.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (30B, 198WOB).

Type: S-SP-2-B. **Measurements:** 105 × 140+ × 20 cm.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B229; Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 14 / pl. 66; EBIS C14*

(1) vāṇiyasa se⟨ṭa⟩[k]aṇhasa

“Of the merchant Setakanḥa (Śreṣṭhakṛṣṇa or Śvetakṛṣṇa?).”

2 (KnI 369).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (SAN-6, terrace wall of Candralāmbā Temple), discovered by J. Varaprasada Rao. **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse (SS-SSG-KR-142867).

Type: S-SP-2-B. **Measurements:** 43 × 24 × 11 cm (from ES).

References: ARIE 1996–1997: B12; EBIS C5*; ES acc. 371 (pl. XXII.B)

(1) /// v[ā]ṇiyasa kh[u]ḷaka[sa]

“Of the merchant Khuḷḷaka (Kṣudraka).”

3 (KnI 326).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-SP-2-B.

References: EBIS E33*

(1) patha°in[i]kāya

“Of Pathāinikā (Prārthakiṇṇikā?).”

4 (KnI 370).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati, on a slab in the Basavanna temple. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (64WOB).

Type: S-SP-2-B. **Measurements:** 66 × 81 × 17 cm.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B216; EBIS E20

(1) °abh[a]vārikiṇiya [thar]o

“Stone of Abhavārikiṇṇī.”

5 (KnI 371), see fig. 3.4.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (no number).

Type: S-SP-2-B.

References: unpublished

(1) nāsamasa ◇ [sa]ghaniya

“Of Nāsama. Of Saghanī.”

6 (KnI 373).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (no number).

Type: S-SP-2-B.

References: unpublished

(1) ///nāganikā[ya]

“Of Nāgaṇṇikā.”

7 (KnI 336).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-SP-2-B.

References: unpublished

(1) /// s. dha ? ///

8 (KnI 375).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: S-SP-2-B. The top panel is not visible in the published documentation.

References: EBIS D8b*

(1) ///gu^oā[ḍa]sa [pa]to

“Slab of -guāḍa.”

9 (KnI 374).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar.

Type: S-SP-2-B.

References: Desai 1968: fig. 8; EBIS D8a*; AIIS image no. 054130

(1) pemanusa

“Of Pemanu (*Per-manu, ‘Big Manu?’).”

10 (see fig. 3.8).

Findspot: Jevargi. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (98B).

Type: S-SP-2-B. **Measurements:** 31 cm × 168 cm × 17 cm.

References: Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 14; EBIS D8c*

(1) vāṇi^oasa virasa vaṇi^oiṇiyā ṇa^oaṇiya

“Of the merchant Vīra. Of the merchant-wife Naaṇī (Nāgaṇī?).”

11.

Findspot: Belvadigi. **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: S-SP-2-B.

References: Ramesh 1967*

(1) kalakasa chayapa///

1. chayapa/// restore *chayapa(to)* or *chayapa(tharo)*.

“Memorial stone of Kalaka.”

12.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (38B).

Type: S-SP-2-B.

13.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (51W, 32O).

Type: S-SP-2-B.

14.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (52W).

Type: S-SP-2-B.

15.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (53W, 8O, 274WOB).

Type: S-SP-2-B.

16.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (57B, 57WOB).

Type: S-SP-2-B.

17 (see fig. 3.5).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (63B, 63WOB).

Type: S-SP-2-B.

18.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (129B, 198WOB).

Type: S-SP-2-B.

19.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** ASI Storehouse, Bidar?

Type: S-SP-2-B.

References: ES acc. 273; fig. 18 and pl. XXII.A (showing only the bottom fragment)

20.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (132B).

Type: S-SP-2-B.

21.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (225B).

Type: S-SP-2-B. **Measurements:** $37 \times 23 \times 17$ cm.

22.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (260B).

Type: S-SP-2-B. **Measurements:** $46 \times 40 \times 10$ cm.

23.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (356W).

Type: S-SP-2-B. **Measurements:** $37 \times 23 \times 15$ cm.

24.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (28B).

Type: S-SP-2-B. **Measurements:** $61 \text{ cm} \times 89 \text{ cm} \times 15 \text{ cm}$.

References: ES acc. 279?; AIIS image no. 054200

25.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-SP-2-B.

26.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse (SS-SSG-KR-146834).

Type: S-SP-2-B.

References: ES acc. 283 (fig. 21).

27 (see fig. 3.17).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (?). **Current location:** Government Museum, Bangalore.

Type: S-SP-2-B.

References: Seshadri 1972: pl. 13

28 (see fig. 3.16).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (130B).

Type: S-SP-3-B (2nd panel: bullock cart; 3rd panel: cattle). **Measurements:** 48×84×18 cm.

29 (Knl 363).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (134B, 147W).

Type: S-SP-2-Hg (with cart). **Measurements:** 51×170×18 cm.

(1) ga[ha]patisa ha[th]ikasa

“Of the gr̥hapati Hatthika (Hastika).”

30 (Knl 364).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (context no. 131 of ASI/SSAS excavations at SAN-1), discovered by J. Varaprasada Rao. **Current location:** ASI Storehouse, Bidar?

Type: S-SP-2-Hg. **Measurements:** 58×107×20 cm (from ES)

References: EBIS B1*; ARIE 1996–1997: B2; ES acc. 420 (on p. 77 they note that acc. 421, which we have not seen, probably represents the bottom portion of this memorial)

(1) /// °amacaputasa ◇ piyadatasa

“Of the *amātya*-son Piyadatta (Priyadatta).”

31 (KnI 365).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (247WOB).

Type: S-SP-2-Hg. **Measurements:** 38 × 50 × 17 cm.

References: Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 22 / pl. 77; EBIS C11*

(1) (ve)///ṇhupālītisa khāraveja///(sa)

“Of Veṇhupālita (Viṣṇupālita). Of Khāraveja (Kṣāravaidya?).”

32 (KnI 349), see fig. 3.42.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (92W, 78BOW).

Type: S-SP-2-Hg. **Measurements:** 20 × 48 × 18 cm.

References: Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 17 / pl. 72; EBIS E31

(1) °arakav[e]///(jasa)

“Of Araka Vejja (Āryaka Vaidya).”

33 (KnI 367).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (79O).

Type: S-SP-2-Hg. **Measurements:** 15 cm × 32 cm × 18 cm.

(1) /// ◊ khuḍako ◊ ///

“Khuḍaka (Kṣudraka).”

34 (KnI 368).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: S-SP-2-Hg.

References: Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 19 / pl. 74; EBIS E2*

(1) ///kasakapasa

“Of [Araka?] Sakapa (Saṃkalpa?).”

35.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site (Maḥiṣāsūramardinī temple).

Type: S-SP-2-Hg.

36 (see fig. 3.19).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (53B, 53WOB).

Type: S-SP-2-Hg. **Measurements:** 71 × 61 × 11 cm.

References: AIIS image no. 054179

37.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (215BOW).

Type: S-SP-2-Hg. **Measurements:** 37 × 22 × 14 cm.

38.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (246B, 246WOB).

Type: S-SP-2-Hg. **Measurements:** 48 × 36 × 10 cm.

39.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (196W, 237BOW).

Type: S-SP-2-Hg?. **Measurements:** 48 × 25 × 20 cm.

40 (KnI 435).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (on the path to the bathing ghat near the Candralāmbā Temple). **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (199B).

Type: S-SP-2-Hg (with cart).

References: ARIE 1968–1969: B94; EBIS E30; AIIS image no. 054172

(1) (°a)///[h](i)marikā khaḍakā

“The *ahimarikā* Khaḍakā.”

41.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-SP-2-Hg (with cart).

42.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Unknown.**Type:** S-SP-2-Hg.**References:** Desai 1968 no. 4; Seshadri 1972: pl. 9; EBIS D9 (reads *mājana*, but we cannot confirm based on the published photographs)

43.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** ASI Storehouse, Bidar (SS-SSG-KR-145936).**Type:** S-SP-2-Hg.**References:** ES acc. no. 317?

44 (EIAD 133), see fig. 3.44.

Findspot: Nagarjunakonda (site unknown). **Current location:** Nagarjunakonda Museum (acc. no. 518).**Type:** S-SP-?-Hr (with rider). **Measurements:** 93 cm × 39 cm × 17 cm.**References:** unpublished.

- (1) (si)dham—mah[āsenāpa]tisa ◇ mahāta[la]////(varasa)
- (2) °arika ? + + + + + tā mā[ra] ///
- (3) tāmarasa ? + + + [sa]m[vachara](m) ///
- (4) gimhapa[kha] + + + + + ? ? ///

“Success! ..., in the ... fortnight of summer, in the (...) year. Of the Great General, the Great Talavara, Arika (...)”

45 (EIAD 76), see fig. 3.20.

Findspot: Nagarjunakonda Site 60. **Current location:** Nagarjunakonda Museum (in fortification enclosure).**Type:** S-SP-?-Hr (with rider). **Measurements:** 125 × 36 × 24 cm.**References:** ARIE 1958–1959: B83; Sircar 1963–1964: 16–17 (6.C.11).

- (1) (si)[dham]—mahāse[nāpa]tisa ◇ mahāta[la](va)[ra](sa)
- (2) °a[r](i)[kama]ha[ko]ḍuv[i]kasa ◇ °aya[bhuti]sa
- (3) chāy[akhabh]o []

“Success! Memorial pillar of the Great General, the Great Talavara, the Arika, landed magnate [named] Ayabhūti (Āryabhūti).”

46 (EIAD 68), see fig. 3.21.

Findspot: Nagarjunakonda Site 36. **Current location:** Nagarjunakonda Museum (acc. no. 81).

Type: S-SP-?-E. **Measurements:** 82+ × 41 × 15 cm.

References: ARIE 1959–1960: B89; Sircar 1963–1964: 13–14 (6.A).

See reading and discussion above, pp. 182–183.

47 (EIAD 63).

Findspot: Nagarjunakonda Site 113? **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: S-SP-?-So.

References: ARIE 1954–1955: B8; Sircar 1961–1962: 209 (1)*.

(1) (petu)///[ma]l[i]bha[ḍasa] ///

(2) /// ch[ā]yāthambho

1. (petu)[ma]l[i]bha[ḍasa] We restore after the parallel in 49 (EIAD 64).

“Memorial pillar of ..., ... *petumaḷi*-soldier ...”

48 (EIAD 132), see fig. 3.45.

Findspot: Nagarjunakonda (findspot unknown, but perhaps site 113 or site 14; see p. 172 above). **Current location:** Nagarjunakonda Museum (acc. no. 513).

Type: S-SP-?-So. **Measurements:** 93 × 39 × 17 cm.

References: unpublished

(1) ++ ? + + + + + + + + + + + + + + ///

(2) [ga]tasa ◇ peragaṇhasa ◇ petum[a]l(i)bha[ḍa](sa)

(3) paḍitasa ◇ chāy[ā]thabho

2. petum[a]l(i)bha[ḍ]a(sa) Compare the parallel in 49 (EIAD 64), l. 4, where *petumaḷibhaḍasa* is followed by *paḍitasa* in l. 5. A vestige of the same sequence is also preserved in 47 (EIAD 63), l. 1.

“Memorial pillar of Peragaṇha (Pera-kṛṣṇa, “K. the elder”), a fallen *petumaḷi*-soldier, gone to ...”

49 (EIAD 64), see fig. 3.22.

Findspot: Nagarjunakonda Site 14. **Current location:** Nagarjunakonda Museum (acc. no. 204).

Type: S-SP-?-So. **Measurements:** 102 × 28 × 16 cm.

References: ARIE 1954–1955: B9; Sircar 1961–1962: 209–210 (11)*.

- (1) (magala)raṇavathavasa kulaputa[sa]
- (2) ? rabāṇa r[ā]jamiḍsir[i]ka[la] ?
- (3) [gā]masama[ka]sa ḍ puta[sa]
- (4) s[i]basa ḍ petumaḷibhaḍa(sa)
- (5) paḍitasa ḍ chāyātham(bho)

“Memorial pillar of Siba, a fallen *petumaḷi*-soldier, resident of Magalaraṇa, son of a noble family (*kulaputra*), son of ... of the ... -rabas.”

50 (EIAD 70).

Findspot: Nagarjunakonda Site 113. **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: S-SP-?-So.

References: ARIE 1956–1957: B34; Sircar 1963–1964: 15 (6.B.1).

- (1) maga[la]raṇavathavasa + + +
- (2) raṭhikasa bhatasa p[e](tumaḷi)-
- (3) bhaḍaṇa padita[na]m chāyātha[bho]

3. **padita[na]m** In all of the other examples that can be read, this word is written with a retroflex stop (*paḍita-*), as is normal in Prakrit. The “spontaneous retroflexion” of *t/d* in this word might be explained by the influence of the Dravidian word **paṭu* “perish, die, lie down.”

“Memorial pillar of the fallen *petumaḷi*-soldiers of the governor (*raṭhika*) ... Bhata, resident of Magalaraṇa.”

51 (EIAD 71).

Findspot: Nagarjunakonda Site 113. **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: S-SP-?-So.

References: ARIE 1956–1957: B32; Sircar 1963–1964: 15 (6.B.11).

- (1) magalaraṇava[tha]va[sa] ḍ se[nā]pat(i)[sa] ///
- (2) ? ṭapuṭasa p[e]tu[mali]bhaḍanaṃ pa ? ///
- (3) [chā]jākhambho

2. In light of 50 (EIAD 70) and 52 (EIAD 72), one should reconstruct *pa(ditanarī)* or *pa(ḍitanarī)* at the end of l. 2.

“Memorial pillar of the (fallen) *petumaḷi*-soldiers of the General ...
-ṭapuṭa, resident of Magalaraṇa.”

52 (EIAD 72).

Findspot: Nagarjunakonda Site 113. **Current location:** Nagarjunakonda Museum (in fortification enclosure).

Type: S-SP-?-So. **Measurements:** 107 × 36~40 × 20 cm.

References: ARIE 1956–1957: B31; Sircar 1963–1964: 15 (6.B.III).

- (1) [ma]va[la]raṇaḍvathava[sa] [se]nāpat[i]-
- (2) (sa) karadaruḍkumārasa ḍ (petumaḷi)bha[ḍa]narī
- (3) paḍitana[m] [chā]yākhambho

“Memorial pillar of the fallen *petumaḷi*-soldiers of the General Karadaru-
kumāra, resident of Mavalaraṇa (= Magalaraṇa).”

53 (EIAD 73).

Findspot: Nagarjunakonda Site 113. **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: S-SP-?-So.

References: ARIE 1956–1957: B33; Sircar 1963–1964: 15 (6.B.IV).

- (1) magalaraṇavathavasa ḍ raṭhikasa
- (2) [putasa] ? [petuma](ḷi)[bhaḍa] ?
- (3) ?? [ma] ?????????
- (4) cha[yakha](bho)

“Memorial pillar of the *petumaḷi*-soldier(s) of the governor (*raṭhika*)
Putasa (?).”

54 (Knl 376), see fig. 3.2.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (203B).

Type: S-SP-1. **Measurements:** 24 × 43 × 13 cm.

References: EBIS E32*

- (1) °amacasa [la]masa

1. [la]masa Compare the name Lāmakāyana, one of Udayana's ministers in the play *Tāpasavatsarāja*.

“Of the advisor Lama.”

55 (KnI 377), see fig. 3.23.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (29B).

Type: S-SP-1. **Measurements:** 71 × 114 × 15 cm.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B228; Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 3 / pl. 57; EBIS B2*

(1) rājāmacasa gaganakasa bhāriyāya rājāmac[i]ya rāmasiriya

“Of the royal advisor’s wife Rāmasirī (Rāmaśrī), wife of the royal advisor Gaganaka (Gargaṇṇaka).”

56 (KnI 378).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (SAN-4, near the site of the great *stūpa*), discovered by J. Varaprasada Rao. **Current location:** ASI Storehouse, Bidar?

Type: S-SP-1. **Measurements:** 90 × 63 × 11 cm (from ES).

References: ARIE 1996–1997: B3; EBIS C3*; ES acc. 272 (p. 81, pl. XXI.B)

(1) gāmikumāriya ◇ padamasirikāya

“Of the *grāmikumāra*-wife Padamasirikā (Padmaśrīkā).”

57 (KnI 379), see fig. 3.24.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (in a field midway between the Candralāmbā and Durgā temples). **Current location:** Government Museum, Bangalore.

Type: S-SP-1.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B225; Seshadri 1966*; Desai 1968: fig. 9; Seshadri 1972: pl. 8a, 19; Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 8 / pl. 62; EBIS D1*; AIIS images 054349, 054354, 054353, 054350, 054351

(1) °ahimarikāya nāganikāya

(2) °arikābhātuno giridattaṇakasa

“Of the *ahimarikā* Nāgaṇṇikā. Of the *arikā*-brother, Giridattaṇṇaka.”

58.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** ASI Storehouse, Bidar?**Type:** S-SP-1.**References:** ES acc. 275 (fig. 19, pl. XXI.A)

59 (EIAD 568), figs. 3.31–32.

Findspot: Dharanikota. **Current location:** Amaravati Site Museum (acc. no. 1069).**Type:** S-SP-1. **Measurements:** 290 × 40 × 27 cm.**References:** ARIE 1995–1996, B1; unpublished.

See reading and discussion above, pp. 193–194.

60 (EIAD 83).

Findspot: Nagarjunakonda Site 24. **Current location:** Nagarjunakonda Museum (acc. no. 74).**Type:** S-SP-1. **Measurements:** 157 × 29.5 × 24.5 cm.**References:** ARIE 1956–1957: B26; Sircar & Krishnan 1960–1961: 20–22; Stone 1985.

- (1) mahārājasa ◊ °asamedha[yā]jisa ◊ °anekahiraṁnakodigosa-
- (2) tasahasahalasatasahasapadāyisa ◊ svāmisiricaṁtamūlasa
- (3) pasunhāya ◊ mah[ā]rājasa ◊ [svām]isirivīrapuri[sa](datasa)
- (4) su[m]nhāya ◊ mahārājasa ◊ [svāmi]siri°ehavalacaṁtamūlasa
- (5) pattīya ◊ raño ◊ vāsiṭhī□puttasa ◊ °ikhākunaṁ ◊ siriruda-
- (6) purisadatasa mātūya ◊ mahādevīya ◊ mahākhatapadhūtuyam ba[ha]-
- (7) phalasagotāya ◊ sirivaṁmabhaṭāya ◊ saṁvacharaṁ °ekkāraṁ 10 1
- (8) vāsāpakhaṁ pathamaṁ 1 divasaṁ °aṭhamaṁ 8 ◊ sag[e]gatāya chāya-
- (9) khaṁbho:–

“Memorial pillar of Great Queen Siri-Vammabhaṭṭā of the Bṛhatphalagotra, daughter of a Mahākṣatrapa—granddaughter-in-law of Great King Lord Siri-Cāntamūla, sacrificer of the Āśvamedha, giver of many ten million (pieces of) gold, of a hundred thousand cows and a hundred thousand plows (of land) mother of King Vāsiṭṭhīputta Siri-Ruddapurisadatta of the Ikṣvākus, wife of Great King Lord (*svāmin*) Ehavalacaṁtamūla, daughter-in-law of Great King Lord Siri-Vīrapurisadatta,—who died (lit. went to the heavens, *svargagata*) in the eleventh—11th—year, in the first—1st—fortnight of the rainy season, on the eighth—8th—day.”

61 (EIAD 622)**Findspot:** Dharanikota. **Current location:** Unknown?.**Type:** S-SP-1. Single panel carved in the support's half-medallion, representing an aristocratic lady sitting on a chair, surrounded by two attendants.**References:** Unpublished; preliminary reading based on images circulated by the director of ASI epigraphy branch.

- (1) paputarakāna mahā[r](a)[ṭhi]bālikāya
- (2) hātanaviniyā chāyātha[bho]

“Memorial pillar of Hātanavinī, the *mahāraṭṭhi*’s daughter, of the Paputarakas.”

62 (EIAD 34), see figs. 3.36–37.**Findspot:** Nagarjunakonda Site 57. **Current location:** Nagarjunakonda Museum (in store, without acc. no.).**Type:** S-SP-4. **Measurements:** 142 × 37 × 19 cm.**References:** ARIE 1967–1968: B22; Raghunath 2001: 121 (18), 201; Stone 1994: 35.

See reading and discussion above, § 6.2.

63 (EIAD 30), fig. 3.35.**Findspot:** Nagarjunakonda Site 9. **Current location:** Nagarjunakonda Museum (acc. no. 73).**Type:** S-SP-4. **Measurements:** h. 262 × w. 37 × d. 28 cm.**References:** ARIE 1959–1960: B93; Vogel 1931–1932: 63–64 (L); Sircar 1963–1964: 1–4 (1.A); Stone 1985; Stone 1994: 35.

- (1) sidhaṁ—mahār[ā]jasa °asam[e]dhayājisa °anekahirana[ko]ṭi[padā]yisa
- (2) siricaṁtamūlasa putasa raṁṇo mā(ḍha)riputasa °ikhākūṇa sirivira-purisa data(sa)
- (3) vasasat[ā]ya savacharaṁ vijaya(ṁ) vāsapakhaṁ prathamāṁ 1 divasa(ṁ) bitiyaṁ sagagata
- (4) raṁṇo °agihotāgiṭh(o) mavājapeyasame[dha]yājisa hiraṇakoṭigosatasa-hasa-
- (5) halasatasahasapadāyisa savathesu °a(pa)tihatasaṁkapasa v(ās)i(ṭh)iputasa
- (6) °ikhākusa [sā]misirica(ṁ) tamulasa sah(o)darāhi matāhi mah(ā)d(e)vihi °anatasiriya

- (7) khaṁdasiriya ◇ vijhab[o]dhisiriya ◇ mi[tasi]riya • samusiriya • nāgava-
susiriya •
- (8) maṅgusiriya • khaṁdakoṭisiriya ◇ mahisarasiriya ◇ k[o]ndamatisiriya (•) mula[s]iriya
- (9) °ayakoṭusiriya • maduvisiriya • nāgasiriya • rāmasiriya golasiriya •
- (10) velisiriya (•) [bo]dhisiriya ◇ khadasiri[ya] ◇ setilasiriya perajatisiriya
- (11) paṁḍitasiriya ◇ sivanāgasiriya ◇ samudasiriya • bapisiriya • nadisiriya
- (12) °ayasiriya ◇ kaṁnhasiriya ◇ si[va]nāgasiriya ◇ °abhatarikāhi ca
- (13) sarasikāya ◇ kusumalatāye ca chāyāthabho—

“(1–3) Success! In the victorious year of king Māṭharīputta Siri-Vīrapurisa-datta of the Ikṣvāku—may he live one hundred years!—son of Great King Siri-Cāntamūla, sacrificer of the Aśvamedha, giver of many tens of millions of (pieces of) gold, in the first—1st—fortnight of the rainy season, on the second day.

(3–13) (This is) the memorial pillar for the King Vāsīṭṭhīputta Lord Siri-Cāntamūla the Ikṣvāku, who has gone to the heavens, sacrificer of the Agnihotra, the Agniṣṭoma, the Vājapeya and the Aśvamedha, giver of tens of millions of (pieces of) gold, hundreds of thousands of cows, hundreds of thousands of plows (of land), whose resolve was unimpeded, (established) by (his) uterine sisters, mothers, (and) queens Anatasirī, Khandasirī, Vijhab(o)dhisirī, Mitasirī, Samusirī, Nāgavasusirī, Maṅgusirī, Khandakoṭisirī, Mahisarasirī, Kondamatisirī, Mūlasirī, Ayakoṭusirī, Manduvisirī, Nāgasirī, Rāmasirī, Golasirī, Velisirī, Bodhisirī, Khadasirī, Setilasirī, Perajatisirī, Paṁḍitasirī, Sivanāgasirī, Samudasirī, Bāpisirī, Nadisirī, Ayasirī, Kaṇhasirī, Sivanāgasirī, and the intimate friends (*ābhyantarikā*) Sarasikā and Kusumalatā.”

64a, 64b, 64c (KnI 406, 440), see figs. 3.33–34.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (SAN-8). **Current location:** Unknown (according to Krishna Murthy 2005: 131, **63b** is kept in the Hyderabad Archaeological Museum; none of the authors could verify this on their visits).

Type: S-SP-?-?. **Measurements:** **64a:** unknown; **64b:** 155 × 83 × 32 cm; **64c:** unknown.

References: **64a:** Seshadri 1972: pl. 12; Nagaraja Rao 1985: pll. 68–69; AIIS no. 054184; **64b:** EBIS A1*; N&vH A; Halder 2017: pll. 1, 4, 5; **64c:** Varaprasada Rao 1995; Halder 2017: pl. 2.

See reading and discussion above, § 6.1.

65 (KnI 317), see fig. 3.7.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati, “found a few years back in a paddy field about 300 m south of the *stūpa*” (Mr. Basavaraja). **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-SP-?-?.

(1) bhojakatakasa saḍakiyasa sa///

“Of Saḍakiya from Bhojakaṭa ...”

66 (KnI 323), see fig. 3.25.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-SP-?-?.

(1) rājar(ā)jakasa bhojakasa rājaka[kha]///

1. rājar(ā)jakasa We propose to interpret this epithet as a synonym of *rājarāja*, used as an epithet of King Gotamīputta Siri-Sātakappa in Tsukamoto 1996, Nasik 4, l. 1: *rājaraño gotamīputasa* ...

“Of the *rājaka* Kha-, the *bhojaka* of the king of kings.”

67 (KnI 325).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (SAN-8). **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-SP-?-?.

References: EBIS E5*; N&vH VI.2; ES p. 84

(1) mahānasa kava///

“Of the Brahmin (*mahāna*-, cf. Prakrit/Ardhamagadhi *māhaṇa*-) Kava- ...”

68 (KnI 328).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-SP-?-?.

(1) /// ? pati°a ca paṭo

“The stone of ... and of -pati.”

69 (KnI 330).**Findspot:** Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.**Type:** S-SP-?-?.**References:** N&vH VI.3

(1) [°ā]°esanisa///

“Of the master artisan ...”

70 (KnI 333).**Findspot:** Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.**Type:** S-SP-?-?.

(1) + ? ? sa[ba]la[nasa] ◇ g[o]pi[ni]k[ā]ya

“Of -sabalana. Of Gopiṇṇikā.”

71 (KnI 337).**Findspot:** Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site
(for documentation of this fragment we thank Robert Arlt).**Type:** S-SP-?-?.

(1) saj[ī]tak[i]ya sasoba[v]u[ḍhi]///

“Of Saṃjitakī, with beauty and increase (?) ...”

72 (KnI 343).**Findspot:** Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.**Type:** S-SP-?-?.**References:** ARIE 1966–1967: B226?

(1) svasti śrī°a[c]usu .ya///

(2) + + ḍi + ? + ? + + ///

73 (KnI 344).**Findspot:** Kanaganahalli/Sannati (near Segiyappa’s house in Sannati village).**Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (81W).**Type:** S-SP-?-?.**References:** ARIE 1966–1967: B203; Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 18 / pl. 73; EBIS C13*

- (1) somaghosanikāya

“Of Somaghosaṇṇikā (Somaghoṣaṇṇikā).”

74 (KnI 345).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum
(316BOW, 50O).

Type: S-SP-?-?. **Measurements:** 43 cm × 25 cm × 14 cm.

References: unpublished

- (1) /// + ? rasa lichiya ca

“Of -ra and of Lacchī (Lakṣmī).”

75 (KnI 346).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum
(245WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?.

References: unpublished

- (1) /// .i.i ? ◇ °amaciya ◇ samanikāya

“Of the *amātya*-wife Samaṇṇikā (Śramaṇṇikā?).”

76 (KnI 347).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum
(75B).

Type: S-SP-?-?. **Measurements:** 28 × 43 × 17 cm.

References: unpublished

- (1) ///niyasa ◇ s[o]pālīta

“Of -niya. Of Sopālīta.”

77 (KnI 348).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum
(221W).

Type: S-SP-?-?. **Measurements:** 28 × 33 × 18 cm.

References: ARIE 1967–1968: B96; Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 25 / pl. 80; EBIS E3*

(1) °akhapaṭalika[sa]///

“Of the record-keeper ...”

78 (KnI 366).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (227W?, 227BOW).

Type: S-SP-?-?. **Measurements:** 57 × 43 × 11 cm.

References: Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 20 / pl. 75; EBIS E4*

(1) muḍan[a]sa

“Of Muḍana.”

79 (KnI 350), see fig. 3.10.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (52WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?. **Measurements:** 66 cm × 48 cm × 10 cm.

References: ARIE 1968–1969: B97; EBIS A4*; AIIS image no. 054180

(1) ///n[h]asa [bhā]radāyasa ◇ kuḍūbikamahatarakasa ◇ mahāsathavāhasa
°agisamasa

“Of -nha, belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, the landed magnate, the great caravan-merchant, Aggisamma (Agniśarman).”

80 (KnI 351).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (210B, 221W, 219BOW).

Type: S-SP-?-?. **Measurements:** 28 × 36 × 13 cm.

References: Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 21 / pl. 76; EBIS C12*

(1) ///? [gi]bhatasa ◇ putasa ya ◇ chāy[ā]///

“Memorial (stone) of (A)ggibhatta and his son.”

81 (KnI 352).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (loose slab in the Candrālāmbā Temple).

Current location: Gulbarga Museum (213W, 200WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?. **Measurements:** 24 × 43 × 13 cm.

References: ARIE 1968–1969: B89; EBIS E27

(1) /// lichinikāya

“Of Lacchiṇṇikā (Lakṣmiṇṇikā)”

82 (KnI 353), see fig. 3.9.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (against the wall of the temple of Devamma). **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (41WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?. **Measurements:** 64 × 71 × 18 cm.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B208; Seshadri 1972: pl. 11; EBIS E14; AIIS image no. 054201

(1) m[u]dasiriya

“Of Mudasirī (Mudaśrī)”

83 (KnI 354).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (by the side of the bathing ghāt of the Candralāmbā temple). **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (89B, 89BOW).

Type: S-SP-?-?. **Measurements:** 33 × 41 × 18 cm.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B220; EBIS E24

(1) somanami

84 (KnI 355).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (135B).

Type: S-SP-?-?. **Measurements:** 48 × 76 × 18 cm.

(1) sivagatasa

“Of Sivagata (Śivadatta?)”

85 (KnI 356).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (230B).

Type: S-SP-?-?.

- (1) /// vejaputasa ◇ s[e]ta[sa] ?

“Of the *vaidya*-son Seta (Śveta).”

86 (KnI 357).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (no number).

Type: S-SP-?-?.

- (1) golāya ///
 (2) sāmakasu///
 (3) dhamāya ///

“Of Golā (Godā). Of Sāmakasudhammā (Śyāmaka-sudharmā).”

87 (KnI 358).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum.

Type: S-SP-?-?.

References: Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 9 / pl. 63; EBIS D3*

- (1) ///niya °ahimarikā[ya]///

“Of the ... the *ahimarikā* ...”

88 (KnI 359).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (Bīrappa Temple). **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: S-SP-?-?.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B205; EBIS B8*

- (1) bhojakasa mugurakoṇhasa ◇ bhojikiniya kāmāya
 (2) lekhakaputasa ◇ [ka]ṇ[ha]koṭavasa

“Of the *bhojaka* Mugurakoṇha (= Mudaka-kṛṣṇa, “Kṛṣṇa the elder”?). Of the *bhojaka*-wife Kāmā. Of the scribe-son Kaṇhakoṭava (= Kṛṣṇa-kotṭavan, “given by Kṛṣṇa”?).”

89 (KnI 360).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: S-SP-?-?.

References: Desai 1968; Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 15 / pl. 70; EBIS B6*

- (1) (°a)///maci yakhanikā ◊ °amaci saghanikā

“The *amātya*-wife Yakkhaṇṇikā (Yakṣaṇṇikā). The *amātya*-wife Saṅghaṇṇikā (Saṅghaṇṇikā).”

90 (KnI 361).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: S-SP-?-?.

References: Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 2 / pl. 56; EBIS B7*

- (1) mahāraṭhiputasa ///

“Of the *mahāraṭṭhi*’s son ...”

91 (KnI 362).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (SAN-8), discovered by J. Varaprasada Rao.

Current location: ASI Storehouse, Bidar (SS-SSG-KR-146845).

Type: S-SP-?-?. **Measurements:** 50 × 32 × 15 cm (from ES).

References: EBIS C1*; ARIE 1996–1997: B10; ES acc. 395 (pl. XXIII.B)

- (1) nā[gi]ya ◊ sirikhiriya ◊ kapaḷarasa

“Of Nāgī, of Sirikhirī, of Kapaḷara.”

92 (KnI 402).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (SAN-3), discovered by J. Varaprasada Rao.

Current location: ASI Storehouse, Bidar?

Type: S-SP-?-?. **Measurements:** 50 × 36 × 19 cm (from ES)

References: EBIS C6*; ES acc. 376 (pl. XXIII.A)

- (1) [dha]ramaha[sa]

93 (KnI 404).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse (SS-SSG-KR-82906).

Type: S-SP-?-?.

References: EBIS E8*, ES p. 83

(1) rudapā[1]///(asa)

“Of Ruddapāla (Rudrapāla).”

94 (KnI 407), see fig. 3.3.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (by the side of the bathing ghāt of the Candralāmbā temple). **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (35B, 31W, 35WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B221; EBIS E25; AIIS image no. 054195

(1) ///? asa ◇ °agihotika///(sa)

“Of ... performer of the Agnihotra.”

95 (KnI 413).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: S-SP-?-?.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B232; Seshadri 1972: pl. 21; Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 6 / pl. 60; EBIS E6*

(1) ///? [ṭha]kārasa nāgareva[sa]///

“Of the *-kāra* Nāgareva (Nāgadeva?).”

96 (KnI 401).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (SAN-8), discovered by J. Varaprasada Rao.

Current location: ASI Storehouse, Bidar?

Type: S-SP-?-?. **Measurements:** 43 × 48 × 11 cm (from ES).

References: EBIS C4*; ARIE 1996–1997: B9; ES acc. 394 (pl. XXIV.A)

(1) /// dāsa[da]makasa

“Of *-dāsadamaka*.”

97.

Findspot: Hippargi. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (99B, 99WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?.

References: Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 24 / pl. 79.

- (1) mah[ā]kulākiyānaṁ bhojakasa rakhasa

“Of the *bhojaka* of the Mahākulākiyas, Rakkha (Rakṣa).”

98.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: S-SP-?-?.

References: EBIS E9*, ES p. 83

- (1) °arakachatako

“The *araka* Chataka.”

99 (EIAD 52), see fig. 3.38.

Findspot: Nagarjunakonda Site 61. **Current location:** Nagarjunakonda Museum (acc. no. 295).

Type: S-SP-?-?. **Measurements:** 111 cm × 28 cm × 18–24 cm.

References: ARIE 1958–1959: B79; Sircar 1963–1964: 10–11 (3).

- (1) sidham· – s[ā]misa rā[ñō] [vā]se[ṭhipu]tasa °ikhāku[sa]
 (2) siri°ehavula[ca]tam[ū]lasa [savacha]ra t[e]rasa[ma]
 (3) gim[ha]ṇaṁ pakha paṁcama 5 divasa sa[ta]ma 7 ra[ñō]
 (4) māḍharipūta °ikhākuṇaṁ s[i]rivirapūr[i]sadatasa
 (5) mahisija mahavalabhikāya yakhilīnikāya pu-
 (6) tasa mahāsenapatiṣa kum[ā]rasa °elī°ehavū-
 (7) ladāsaṁṇakasa chāyāthabh[o] thāpito: –

“(1–3) Success! In the thirteenth year of the Lord King Vāsiṭṭhiputta Siri-Ehavulacāntamūla the Ikṣvāku, in the fifth—5th—fortnight of summer, on the seventh—7th—day.

(3–7) The memorial pillar of the Great General, Prince Elī Ehavūladāsaṁṇaka, son of Mahāvallabhikā Yakhilīṇṇikā—chief queen of the King Māṭharīputta Siri-Vīrapurisadatta of the Ikṣvākus—was erected.”

100 (EIAD 564).

Findspot: A field east of Dharanikota. **Current location:** unknown.

Type: S-SP-?-?. **Measurements:** 24 cm × 12.5 cm × 40.4 cm.

References: ARIE 1992–1993: B4; Prasad 1993.

- (1) °amacabhariyāya ?///

(2) chāyātha///(bho)

“Memorial pillar of the Amātya-wife ...”

101 (EIAD 586).

Findspot: Dharanikota. **Current location:** unknown.

Type: S-SP-?-?.

References: Unpublished. Preliminary reading based on images circulated by the director of ASI epigraphy branch.

(1) °akhasoputasa ca

(2) caṁdamūghasa ca chāyā[tha]«bho»

-
1. °akhasoputasa It is unclear to us at present whether *akhaso* is a name or a title.
 2. caṁdamūghasa This name corresponding to Skt. Candramukha is very common in the Āndhra corpus. At Amaravati, it is attested in an early label inscription as the name of a *yakṣa* (EIAD 261, l. 1: *yakho cadamukho vakunivāsi*), and in early donative inscriptions from the same site (EIAD 265, l. 1: *cadamughasa*; EIAD 392, l. 1: *turuḥuravathavasa cadamukhagahapatisa ...*; EIAD 552, l. 1: [gaha]patisa ◊ *cadamukhasa*). It also occurs in early donative records from Chandavaram (in EIAD 241, l. 1: *cadam[u]ghasa*) and Tripuranthakam (EIAD 630, l. 2: *cadamūghasa*), and in the later period it is also attested in the Nagarjunakonda corpus. See, in particular, EIAD 20, ll. 2–3: *caṁdamukhanasa ... mahā-caṁdamukhaculacaṁdamukhānaṁ* ◊ *bhāgineyānaṁ ca* ◊ ... *caṁdamukhaṭherena ca*; EIAD 79, l. 2: ... *cadamukhasa* ...

“Memorial pillar of Akhasoputa (?) and Candamukha.”

102.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (68B).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male and female with one bust in pediment.

103.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (23B, 12W, 23WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated female with male and female attendants.

104.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (24B).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male.

105.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (44B, 42W).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male and female with child. **Measurements:**

43 × 30 × 15 cm.

106 (see fig. 3.14).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (43B, 47W).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated female with child.

107.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (25B, 48WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male and two females with attendants. **Measurements:**

48 × 30 × 11 cm.

108 (see fig. 3.11).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (49B, 69W, 49WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male and female with attendant.

109.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (50B, 50BOW).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated female with attendants. **Measurements:** 66 × 30 × 18 cm.

110.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (58W).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male with attendant.

111.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (60W).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated female with dog. **Measurements:** 61 × 25 × 10 cm.

112.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (69B, 83W, 69WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male and two females with attendants. **Measurements:** 66 × 28 × 19 cm.

113.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (70B, 84W).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male and female with attendant.

114.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (20B).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Male heads. **Measurements:** 33 × 30 × 15 cm.

115.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (72B, 107W).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated female with attendants. **Measurements:** 41 × 38 × 18 cm.

116.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (74O).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated female. **Measurements:** 33 × 56 × 10 cm.

117 (see fig. 3.12).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (76B, 76WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male and female with attendants. **Measurements:** 48 × 53 × 18 cm.

118.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (83B).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Female with attendants. **Measurements:** 30 × 30 × 10 cm.

119.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (85B, 97W).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated female with five attendants, one holding a child. **Measurements:** $51 \times 36 \times 23$ cm.

120.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (86B).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male with attendant bearing fly-whisk. **Measurements:** $46 \times 39 \times 15$ cm.

121.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (87BOW).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Female head. **Measurements:** $25 \times 18 \times 14$ cm.

122.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (88B, 88BOW).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Female head with attendant. **Measurements:** $28 \times 33 \times 13$ cm.

123.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (91B, 91W, 91BOW).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated female with attendants. **Measurements:** $36 \times 33 \times 18$ cm.

124.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (107W).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Female head.

125.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (197B, 207WOB, 21O).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male playing a *vīṇā*.

References: AIIS image no. 054192

126.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (214B, 214BOW).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Male head with attendant. **Measurements:** $43 \times 20 \times 14$ cm.

127.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (216B).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male with attendants. **Measurements:** $36 \times 38 \times 13$ cm.

128.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (218BOW).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated female with attendant. **Measurements:** $28 \times 30 \times 10$ cm.

129.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (222BOW).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male holding a lotus with attendant. **Measurements:** $28 \times 25 \times 11$ cm.

130.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (224BOW).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Pediment, with fragment of a lower register scene with a head. **Measurements:** $28 \times 51 \times 14$ cm.

131.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (226B, 226BOW).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Female head with attendant. **Measurements:** $46 \times 23 \times 13$ cm.

132.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (228BOW).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated female with attendant. **Measurements:** $46 \times 33 \times 10$ cm.

133.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (867B, 229BOW).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male; an attendant plays a flute. **Measurements:** $23 \times 33 \times 13$ cm.

134.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (231BOW).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male with attendant. **Measurements:** 28 × 38 × 10 cm.

135.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (235B, 235WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male and female.

136.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (254BOW).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male and female. **Measurements:** 51 × 18 × 17 cm.

137.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (255BOW).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated female. **Measurements:** 30 × 30 × 13 cm.

138.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (268WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male. **Measurements:** 46 × 46 × 13 cm.

139.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (284WOB, 180).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male holding a wine glass and seated female with child with attendant. **Measurements:** 56 × 40 × 17 cm.

140.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (228BOW, 288WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated female with attendant.

141.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (289WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male with attendants.

142.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (304WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Attendants. **Measurements:** 40 × 40 × 15 cm.

143.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (312W).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male. **Measurements:** 20 × 23 × 15 cm.

144.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (320WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male and female. **Measurements:** 30 × 30 × 9 cm.

145.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (324WOB, 58O).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Pediment with female figure? **Measurements:** 19 × 114 × 14 cm.

146.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (325WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Female or attendant? **Measurements:** 28 × 25 × 13 cm.

147.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (333WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male. **Measurements:** 33 × 28 × 13 cm.

148.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (335WOB, 69O).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male. **Measurements:** 33 × 33 × 11 cm.

149.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (336WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male and female. **Measurements:** 25 × 25 × 10 cm.

150.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (346WOB, 80O).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated female with attendant or child.

151.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (35W).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Male attendant? **Measurements:** $28 \times 30 \times 20$ cm.

152.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (65B).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated female. **Measurements:** $28 \times 25 \times 18$ cm.

153.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (72B, 86W, 72BOW).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male. **Measurements:** $25 \times 33 \times 13$ cm.

154 (see fig. 3.26).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (196B, 209W, 196WOB).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated woman with child and attendant. **Measurements:** $30 \times 44 \times 15$ cm.

155.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (210B).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated woman.

156.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (352WOB, 86O).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Pediment with face.

157.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (50W).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male and female.

158 (see fig. 3.15).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (25B).

Type: S-SP-?-?. **Measurements:** $86 \times 122 \times 15$ cm.

References: Seshadri 1972, pl. 2.

159 (see fig. 3.13).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male and three females, one with child, with one attendant.

160.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (62B).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated female with child and attendant. **Measurements:**
51×38×14 cm.

161 (see fig. 3.6).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Government Museum, Bangalore.

Type: S-SP-?-?.

References: Seshadri 1972: pl. 10; AIIS image no. 054355.

162.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse (SS-SSG-KR-82736).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated female.

163.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse (SS-SSG-KR-146863).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Frontal portrait, probably from the pediment.

References: ES acc. 290 (fig. 22)

164.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse (SS-SSG-KR-82916).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated female.

165.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse (SS-SSG-KR-82865).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male and female with child, with pediment.

References: ES acc. 271 (fig. 19)

166.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse
(SS-SSG-KR-146857)

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated female with child and attendants.

References: ES acc. 269 (fig. 18)

167.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse
(SS-SSG-KR-169844).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male.

168.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse
(SS-SSG-KR-146833).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Pediment.

169.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse
(SS-SSG-KR-223954).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Pediment.

170.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse
(SS-SSG-KR-146835).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Pediment.

171.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse
(SS-SSG-KR-146837).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Pediment.

172.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse
(SS-SSG-KR-146853).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Two abraded figures.

173.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse
(SS-SSG-KR-146870).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male and female.

174.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse (SS-SSG-KR-146840).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Pediment.

References: ES acc. 276 (fig. 18)

175.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse (SS-SSG-KR-142869).

Type: S-SP-?-?. Seated male.

176 (KnI 383).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (54WOB).

Type: S-G.

References: unpublished

(1) (gaha)///pati °userakhita///(sa)

“Of the *grhapati* Userakkhita (R̥sirakṣita?).”

177 (KnI 384).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (59B, 59WOB).

Type: S-G. **Measurements:** 38 × 30 × 10 cm.

References: ARIE 1967–1968: B95; Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 16 / pl. 71; EBIS D2*

(1) (gha)///riṇiya sihaḷiya

(2) ///[h].manamḍāya

“Of the *grhapati*-wife Sihaḷī (Simhaḷī). Of -manandā.”

178 (KnI 385).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (299WOB).

Type: S-G.

References: unpublished

- (1) gharinīya °avatiya

“Of the *grhapati*-wife Avatī (Avantī).”

179 (KnI 386), see fig. 3.27.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (39W, 90O).

Type: S-G. **Measurements:** 38 × 114 + × 13 cm.

References: Seshadri 1966*; Seshadri 1972: pl. 18; ARIE 1966–1967: B231; Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 13 / pl. 65; EBIS D4*

- (1) gahapatisa sulasasa

“Of the *grhapati* Sulasa.”

180 (KnI 387).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (loose slab in the Candralāmbā temple).

Current location: Gulbarga Museum (258BOW).

Type: S-G. **Measurements:** 33 × 23 × 10 cm.

References: ARIE 1968–1969: B91; Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 11; EBIS (not numbered, but mentioned under D5)

- (1) ghariniya sa[m]aya

“Of the *grhapati*-wife Samā.”

181 (KnI 388).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (220BOW).

Type: S-G. **Measurements:** 27 × 30 × 10 cm.

References: unpublished

- (1) gharini///(ya)

“Of the *grhapati*-wife ...”

182 (KnI 389).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (269WOB).

Type: S-G. **Measurements:** 40 × 36 × 13 cm.

References: unpublished

(1) (ve)///[ṇhu]dāsaya

“Of Veṇhudāsā (Viṣṇudāsā).”

183 (KnI 390).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (in the compound wall of Mallayanagūḍi).

Current location: Gulbarga Museum (306WOB).

Type: S-G. **Measurements:** 43 × 28 × 10 cm.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B207; EBIS E13

(1) ///rakhitasa

“Of -rakkhita (-rakṣita).”

184 (KnI 391).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (239B).

Type: S-G.

References: unpublished

(1) khadakasa

“Of Khadaka (Skandaka).”

185 (KnI 392).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (240WOB).

Type: S-G. **Measurements:** 56 × 46 × 10 cm.

References: unpublished

(1) /// ? magilasa

1. For the name compare 231.

“Of -magila.”

186 (KnI 393).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum.

Type: S-G.

References: unpublished

(1) /// [s]. masa ///

“Of -sama (-śarma?).”

187 (KnI 403).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (36B).

Type: S-G.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B230; Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 23 / pl. 78*;
EBIS C9*

(1) selaṇṇakasa

“Of Selaṇṇaka (Śailaṇṇaka?).”

188 (KnI 433).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (loose slab in the Candralāmbā temple).

Current location: Gulbarga Museum (77BOW).

Type: S-G.

References: ARIE 1968–1969: B88; EBIS E26

(1) /// [ko]mariya [v].///

“Of -komarī.”

189 (KnI 441).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (37B).

Type: S-G.

References: unpublished (but cf. Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 11, which we identify with 177)

(1) ///.iya samāya ///

“Of ... Samā.”

190 (KnI 439).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (43W).

Type: S-G.

References: unpublished

(1) /// ? datari ///

“Of -datari-.”

191 (KnI 428).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (in the lane in front of Rajanna’s house).

Current location: Gulbarga Museum (321W).

Type: S-G.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B215; EBIS E19

(1) /// ṇaka[sa] ///

192 (KnI 411).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum.

Type: S-G.

References: ARIE 1996–1997: B11

(1) [sa]///

193 (KnI 380).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (SAN-6, terrace wall of Candralāmbā Temple). **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse (SS-SSG-KR-82894).

Type: S-G. **Measurements:** 33 × 27 × 13 cm (from ES).

References: ARIE 1996–1997: B5; EBIS E10*; ES acc. 285 (pl. XXV.A)

(1) ///[sā]malokikāya

(2) /// bāmhiya

“Of Sāmalokikā (Śyāmalokikā?). Of Bāmhi (Brāhmī).”

194 (KnI 381).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (SAN-6, terrace wall of Candralāmbā Temple). **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse (SS-SSG-KR-146844).

Type: S-G. **Measurements:** 94 × 33 × 12 cm (from ES).

References: ARIE 1996–1997: B4; EBIS C8*; ES acc. 353 (pl. XXVI.B)

(1) siyapāleya

195 (KnI 382).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (SAN-6, terrace wall of Candralāmbā Temple). **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse (SS-SSG-KR-169837).

Type: S-G. **Measurements:** 31 × 21 × 11 cm.

References: EBIS C7*; ES acc. 482

(1) /// ? ḍilāya

(2) /// ? sa

196 (KnI 398).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Bidar, ASI Storehouse (SS-SSG-KR-146836).

Type: S-G.

References: unpublished

(1) ta ? ///

(2) go[!].///

197 (KnI 318).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati, “found a few years back in a paddy field about 300 m south of the *stūpa*” (Mr. Basavaraja). **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-G.

References: unpublished

(1) sã///

198 (KnI 319).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-G.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B233; Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 12; EBIS D10

(1) gharini///(ya)

“Of the *gr̥hapati*-wife ...”

199 (KnI 320).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (SAN-8). **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-G.

References: EBIS E12*

- (1) ///[la]kasa bhadapaḍa ///
- (2) /// [sa]manakasa///

“Of -laka Bhadapaḍa- (Bhadra-?) ... of -samannaka (-śarmaṇṇaka).”

200 (KnI 321).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-G.

References: N&vH VI.4

- (1) (gha)///ra[ni]ya sa///

“Of the *grhapati*-wife Sa-.”

201 (KnI 322).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-G.

References: unpublished

- (1) /// dharaga ///

202 (KnI 324).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-G.

References: unpublished

- (1) (go)///[p]iṇikāya

“Of [Go]piṇṇikā.”

203 (KnI 327).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-G.

References: unpublished

- (1) nāḍe///

204 (KnI 329).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-G.

References: unpublished

(1) ///? [tharo]

“Slab ...”

205 (KnI 331).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-G.

References: unpublished

(1) daḷhasāya

“Of Daḷhasā (Dṛdhāsā).”

206 (KnI 332).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site. Other stones are currently stacked against this one, hiding part of the reading.

Type: S-G.

References: unpublished

(1) /// ṇa ...

207 (KnI 334).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-G.

References: unpublished

(1) /// [s]i

208 (KnI 335).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-G.

References: N&vH v.2,15

(1) banikasa rayā[k].

“Of the writer (*banika* = *vārṇika*-?) Rayāk-.”

209 (KnI 338).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-G.

References: unpublished

(1) /// ta ///

210 (KnI 339).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-G.

References: unpublished

(1) /// [th]. [r]. [°a] ? .ā ? [chili] ?

211 (KnI 340).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-G.

References: unpublished

(1) /// yay[i]tāya

212 (KnI 394).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (on the floor of Md. Ali's house). **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: S-G.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B204; Seshadri 1972: pl. 24; EBIS D7*

(1) yakhāghariniya

“Of the *gr̥hapati*-wife Yakkhā (Yakṣā).”

213 (KnI 395).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Gulbarga Museum (34B+37B).

Type: S-G.

References: Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 10 / pl. 64; EBIS D5*

(1) ghariṇiya sam[ā]ya

“Of the *grhapati*-wife Samā.”

214 (KnI 396).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (SAN-6, terrace wall of Candralāmbā Temple). **Current location:** ASI Storehouse, Bidar?

Type: S-G. **Measurements:** 45 × 36 × 10 cm (from ES).

References: ARIE 1996–1997: B6; EBIS E7*; ES acc. 278 (pl. XXVI.A)

(1) s[ā]manikāya

“Of Sāmaṇṇikā (Śyāmaṇṇikā).”

215 (KnI 397).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (SAN-6, terrace wall of Candralāmbā Temple). **Current location:** ASI Storehouse, Bidar?

Type: S-G. **Measurements:** 28 × 36 × 12 cm (from ES).

References: ARIE 1996–1997: B7; EBIS E11*; ES acc. 280

(1) ///māya

216 (KnI 399).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (SAN-6, terrace wall of Candralāmbā Temple), discovered by J. Varaprasada Rao. **Current location:** ASI Storehouse, Bidar?

Type: S-G. **Measurements:** 58 × 47 × 15 cm (from ES).

References: EBIS C2*; ES acc. 282 (pl. XXV.B)

(1) /// [ya] ◇ nāgabodhinikāya

“Of Nāgabodhiṇṇikā.”

217 (KnI 424).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (in the debris of the wall of the Candralāmbā Temple). **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: S-G (uncertain).

References: ARIE 1968–1969: B92; EBIS D11

- (1) (gha)///riṇiya mitāya

“Of the *grhapati*-wife Mittā (Mitrā).”

218 (EIAD 239), see fig. 3.28.

Findspot: Chandavaram. **Current location:** Chandavaram.

Type: S-G. **Measurements:** 87.5 × 33~39 × 6.5 cm.

References: unpublished

- (1) sivarevāya chāyakhambho

“Memorial pillar of Sivarevā.”

219 (EIAD 240), see fig. 3.29.

Findspot: Chandavaram. **Current location:** Chandavaram.

Type: S-G. **Measurements:** 83 × 29.5~34 × 6.5~9.5 cm.

References: Hanumantha Rao et al. 1998: 123 (no. 2)

- (1) gharāṇiya nāgāsakh[ā]ya

- (2) chayako kha[m](bho)

“Memorial pillar of the *grhapati*-wife Nāgasakhā.”

220 (EIAD 75).

Findspot: Nagarjunakonda Site 59. **Current location:** Nagarjunakonda Museum.

Type: S-G. **Measurements:** 122 × 43 × 12 cm.

References: ARIE 1958–1959: B82; Sircar 1963–1964: 16 (6.C.1).

- (1) °urutoyanakasa

- (2) °āvesanikasa

- (3) tamaloyakarasa

- (4) m[ū]labhuta

- (5) chāyapaṭo

“Memorial slab of the *tamalo*ya-maker (?) Mūlabhuta, artisan (*āvesanika*) from (?) Urutoyana.”

221.

Findspot: Pauni (in a field). **Current location:** Nagpur Central Museum.

Type: S-D.

References: Mirashi 1965*, 1969a*

- (1) sidhaṁ mahākhattavakumārasa
- (2) rupi^oaṁmasa chāyā-
- (3) khaṁbho

“Success! Memorial pillar of Rupiamma, son of the Mahākṣatrapa.”

222 (KnI 341).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati. **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site.

Type: S-D.

References: MASI 263*

- (1) kama[sa]kh[i]ya

223 (KnI 400).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (foundation of the Kālī Temple in the Candralāmbā Complex). **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: S-D.

References: EBIS B4*

- (1) °amacaputasa °anekakātuyājisa
- (2) [kaṇha]dāsasa

“Of the *amātya*-son, who performed many sacrifices, Kaṇhadāsa (Kṛṣṇadāsa).”

224.

Findspot: Banavasi (Madhukeśvara temple). **Current location:** Banavasi, Madhukeśvara temple.

Type: S-D. **Measurements:** 142 × 33 × 15 cm.

References: Narasimha Murthy & Bhat 1975*.

See the text and translation in the body of the article, p. 204.

225 (KnI 342).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (Durgā temple = Mahiṣāsūramardinī shrine at the *stūpa* site SAN-1). **Current location:** Kanaganahalli *stūpa* site (Mahiṣāsūramardinī shrine). Only the first line is currently visible, the rest of the stone having been buried.

Type: S-D.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B223; Nagaraja Rao 1985: no. 7 / pl. 61; EBIS B5*

- (1) muḍāṇa mahāgāmiku-
- (2) mārasa °otikasa
- (3) bhaṭṭibālikāya
- (4) °ahimarikāya
- (5) purisadatāya

“Of Purisadattā (Puruṣadattā), the *ahimarikā* and the noble daughter (*bhaṭṭibālikā*) of Otika, the *mahāgāmikumāra* of the Muḍas.”

226 (EIAD 670), see fig. 3.30.

Findspot: Mukkatraopet. **Current location:** Karimnagar Museum.

Type: S-D. **Measurements:** 288 × 53 × 55 cm.

References: Noted in Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: 18; ARIE 2019–2020: B.384.

See the text edition in the body of the article, p. 187.

227 (EIAD 78).

Findspot: Gangaperuru, Vontinimitta Mndl., Cuddapah Dt. **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: P. **Measurements:** Unavailable. Inscribed area: 21.5 × 33.5 cm.

References: ARIE 1939–1940: B17; Srinivasan 1965–1966*; Parabrahma Sastry 1977: 1 (1).

- (1) + ? r. °ācariyana[ṁ] ◇ putasa
- (2) [n]aradasagotasa sivadā[sa]⟨sa⟩ gogahaṇa-
- (3) sagām[e] sagaga[ta]sa chāy[ā]khambh[o]

1. It is possible that what precedes *ācariyanan*, here in the pluralis majestatis, was a toponym, and one could indeed read [pu]r[i], which would characterise Sivadāsa's father? See, for instance KnI 18: ... *koruḡalakāna* °ācari°āna bhay-atasatikana °atevāsin(i)ya bhikhuniya dhamarakhitiya ...

Memorial pillar of Sivadāsa who died (lit. went to the heavens, *svargagata*) in battle (on the occasion of) a cattle raid, of the Nārada *gotra*, son of master....

228 (EIAD 647), see fig. 3.46.

Findspot: Mukkatraopet (in a paddy field). **Current location:** Karimnagar Museum.

Type: P. **Measurements:** 257 × 37 × 31 cm.

References: unpublished.

(1) nāgagopinikāya

“Of Nāgagopiṇṇikā.”

229.

Findspot: Malhar, Bilaspur Dt. Chhattisgarh. **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: Unknown. Read from ASI estampage.

References: ARIE 1977–1978: B146.

(1) [sidham̐] vagāsakasa ◊ °amacasa ◊ dhutugōtreṇa ? ?

(2) ? vik[u]māratrāṇikāye citram̐

“Success! The image (*citrām̐*) of [De]vī Kumāratrāṇṇikā, daughter (*dhutu*) by gotra (*gotreṇa?*) of the advisor Vagāsaka.”

230 (EIAD 57).

Findspot: Nagarjunakonda Site 56. **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: Unknown.

References: ARIE 1959–1960: B90; Sircar 1963–1964: 13 (5); Sarkar 1982: 204; Raghunath 2001: 155 (39), 160 (44)

(1) [raño] siri [°e]havalacāntamūl[a]sa [sa] ? ? ? ?

(2) hepa ? diva ? °ar[a]kabham̐[ḍ]arakasa ? ? ?

(3) ? .i ? [ve] ? rakhadhikatasa koṇḍa ? ?

(4) [chā] ? [kham̐] ?

“In the ... year of King Siri-Ehavalacāntamūla ... fortnight of winter, ... day. The memorial pillar of Koṇḍa ..., treasurer of the noble ones (?), in charge of protecting (*rakṣādhiḥkṛta*) ...”

231 (EIAD 617).

Findspot: Gotur / Gotturu, Kadapa Mandalam, Kadapa Dt. **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: Unknown.

References: ARIE 2013–2014: B17 (pl. IV*)

- (1) magilānaṁ mahakaṁmikaputasa bapaṇaṇasa
- (2) chayathambo

1. **bapaṇaṇasa** While *bapa-* and *bapi-* are fairly common names in the inscriptions of Āndhra, we cannot make sense of the second part of the name at present. Considering the numerous names ending in *-aṇaka*, it is tempting to understand the second <ṇa> as a mistake of the lapicide for <ka>.

“Memorial pillar of Bapaṇṇaka (?), chief-field-officer-son of the Magilas.”

For the name *magila-* see 185.

232 (KnI 431).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (built into the floor at the Candralāmbā temple). **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: Unknown.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B218; EBIS E22

- (1) ///kāya

233 (KnI 427).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (in teacher Dhoolappa’s house). **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: Unknown.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B214; EBIS E18

- (1) sivatanakasa gaṇakasa

“Of Sivatanaka (Siva<da>ttannaka?) Gaṇaka.”

234 (KnI 425).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (in Lingasāṇappa’s house). **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: Unknown.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B211; EBIS E16

(1) [sa]mbasamadāsasa

235 (KnI 429).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (by the side of the bathing ghāt of the Candralāmbā temple). **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: Unknown.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B222; EBIS B10

(1) (rā)///[yā]macasa sīhadharasa

1. (rā)[yā]macasa This reconstruction is supported by comparison to 55, reading *rājāmacasa*.

“Of the [royal] advisor Sīhadhara.”

236.

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (in front of one of the houses in the village).

Current location: Unknown.

Type: Unknown.

References: EBIS C16; ES p. 84

(1) nānasa yārāya

“Of Nāna. Of Yārā (?).”

237 (KnI 414).

Findspot: Kanaganahalli/Sannati (in front of the Hanuman temple). **Current location:** Unknown.

Type: Unknown.

References: ARIE 1966–1967: B209; Seshadri 1972: pl. 23; EBIS E15

(1) ///māhiselakasa

1. For the name compare 187.

“Of -māhiselaka.”

Concordances

ARIE 1966–1967 (23 items)

B203 = 73	B215 = 191	B226 = 72 (?)
B204 = 212	B216 = 4	B228 = 55
B205 = 88	B218 = 232	B229 = 1
B207 = 183	B220 = 83	B230 = 187
B208 = 82	B221 = 94	B231 = 179
B209 = 237	B222 = 235	B232 = 95
B211 = 234	B223 = 225	B233 = 198
B214 = 233	B225 = 57	

Among these, the following were excluded, because we either have no positive reason to think they are memorial stones, or positive evidence to think they are not: B206 (uncertain), B210, B212, B213 (the *naṭī* inscription), B217, B219, B224.

ARIE 1968–1969 (8 items)

B88 = 188	B92 = 217	B96 = 77
B89 = 81	B94 = 40	B97 = 79
B91 = 180	B95 = 177	

Excluded: B87 (EBIS A2, Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: 19–20, no. B), B90, B93.

ARIE 1996–1997 (9 items)

All of these are also documented in ES, where their findspots and measurements are given.

B2 = 30	B5 = 193	B9 = 96
B3 = 56	B6 = 214	B10 = 91
B4 = 194	B7 = 215	B12 = 2

Excluded: B1 (EBIS A3, Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: 20, no. C), B8, B11.

Nagaraja Rao (1985) (22 items)

2 = 90	7 = 225	10 = 213
3 = 55	8 = 57	11 = 180
6 = 95	9 = 87	12 = 198

13 = 179	18 = 73	23 = 187
14 = 1, 10	19 = 34	24 = 97
15 = 89	20 = 78	25 = 77
16 = 177	21 = 80	
17 = 32	22 = 31	

Excluded: 1 (EBIS A2, Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: 19–20, no. B), 4 (the *naṭī* inscription), 5, 26.

EBIS (Sarma and Varaprasada Rao 1993) (63 items)

A1 = 64	C13 = 73	E8 = 93
A4 = 79	C14 = 1	E9 = 98
B1 = 30	C16 = 236	E10 = 193
B2 = 55	D1 = 57	E11 = 215
B4 = 223	D2 = 177	E12 = 199
B5 = 225	D3 = 87	E13 = 183
B6 = 89	D4 = 179	E14 = 82
B7 = 90	D5 = 213, 180	E15 = 237
B8 = 88	D7 = 212	E16 = 234
B10 = 235	D8a = 9	E18 = 233
C1 = 91	D8b = 8	E19 = 191
C2 = 216	D8c = 10	E20 = 4
C3 = 56	D9 = 42	E22 = 232
C4 = 96	D10 = 198	E24 = 83
C5 = 2	D11 = 217	E25 = 94
C6 = 92	E2 = 34	E26 = 188
C7 = 195	E3 = 77	E27 = 81
C8 = 194	E4 = 78	E30 = 40
C9 = 187	E5 = 67	E31 = 32
C11 = 31	E6 = 95	E32 = 54
C12 = 80	E7 = 214	E33 = 3

Excluded: B3, B9, C10, C15, D6 (the *naṭī* inscription), E1, E17, E21, E23, E28 (ARIE 1968–1968: B.90), and E29.

ES (Howell 1995) accession numbers (25 items)

The grounds for identification is given in the parentheses. Note that the references to the plates in the text are incorrect; the correct plate numbers are given

here. For acc. nos. 273 and 275, no grounds for identification is given, because the object has been included in our inventory (as 19 and 57 respectively) solely on the basis of the visual documentation provided in ES. All of the inscribed objects from this publication are included in our inventory. As noted above, the **majority** of uninscribed memorial stones documented in this publication are not included, because we have so far not accessed them at the ASI Storehouse in Bidar.

269 = 166 (fig. 18)	280 = 215 (inscription)	[XXII.B])
271 = 165 (fig. 19)	282 = 216 (inscription	376 = 92 (inscription
272 = 56 (inscription	and photograph	and photograph
and photograph	[XXV.B])	[XXIII.A])
[XXI.B])	283 = 26 (fig. 21)	394 = 96 (inscription
273 = 19 (fig. 18 and	285 = 193 (inscription	and photograph
photograph	and photograph	[XXIV.A])
[XXII.A])	[XXV.A])	395 = 91 (inscription
275 = 58 (fig. 19 and	290 = 163 (fig. 22)	and photograph
photograph [XXI.A])	317 = 43? (description)	[XXIII.B])
276 = 174 (fig. 18)	353 = 194 (inscription	420–421 = 30 (inscrip-
278 = 214 (inscription	and photograph	tion)
and photograph	[XXVI.B])	482 = 195 (inscription)
[XXVI.A])	371 = 2 (inscription	
279 = 24? (description)	and photograph	

93 and 98 are noted without accession numbers on p. 83, and 67 and 236 on p. 84.

Excluded: Acc. 529 (EBIS A3, Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: 20, no. C). Acc. 267 (fig. 20), a fragmentary relief featuring a female head with a *pūrṇaghaṭa* in the background (currently in the ASI Storehouse in Bidar, SS-SSG-KR-82809), is probably not a memorial stone, because the *pūrṇaghaṭa* is not otherwise found in Symposium scenes.

Abbreviations

- ARIE *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy.*
 EBIS *Early Brāhmī Inscriptions from Sannati* = Sarma & Varaprasada Rao 1993.
 CKI *Catalog of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions* = Baums & Glass 2002–.
 CPD A Critical Pāli Dictionary, begun by V. Trenckner, ed. by Dines Andersen et al., 3 vols. Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy, 1924–2011. Online: <https://cpd.uni-koeln.de>

- EIAD *Early Inscriptions of Āndhradeśa* = Griffiths & Tournier 2017–.
 IAR *Indian Archaeology—A Review*.
 ES *Excavations at Sannati* = Howell 1995.
 KnI *Kanaganahalli Inscriptions* = Tournier 2025.

***Non-memorial Inscriptions of the Corpus of Kanaganahalli
 Inscriptions (KnI) Referred To***

NB: Only the printed editions considered to be the best available so far of given inscriptions feature in the following list. For a new online edition of these inscriptions, see Tournier 2025.

- 18 *āyāka* frieze, Kanaganahalli *mahācaitya*; Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: no. II.1,4.
 62 *puphagahani*, Kanaganahalli *mahācaitya*; Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: no. II.2,47.
 70 drum slab, Kanaganahalli *mahācaitya*; Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: no. II.3,8.
 71 upright slab (*pāyaka*), Kanaganahalli *mahācaitya*; Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: no. II.4,1.
 76 *pāyaka*, Kanaganahalli *mahācaitya*; Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: no. II.4,6.
 80 *pāyaka*, Kanaganahalli *mahācaitya*; Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: no. II.4,10.
 83 *pāyaka*, Kanaganahalli *mahācaitya*; Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: no. II.4,13.
 96 umbrella shaft, Kanaganahalli *mahācaitya*; Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: no. II.5,4.
 98 umbrella shaft, Kanaganahalli *mahācaitya*; Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: no. II.5,6.
 100 fragment of an octagonal pillar, Kanaganahalli *mahācaitya*; Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: no. II.5,8.
 109 Buddha image, Kanaganahalli *mahācaitya*; Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: no. II.7,1.
 111 Buddha image, Kanaganahalli *mahācaitya*; Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: no. II.7,3.
 117 Buddha image, Kanaganahalli *mahācaitya*; Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: no. II.7,9.
 190 drum slab, Kanaganahalli *mahācaitya*; Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: no. IV.10 + previously undocumented fragment.
 196 drum slab, Kanaganahalli *mahācaitya*; Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: no. V.2,1.

- 197 drum slab, Kanaganahalli *mahācaitya*; Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: no. V.2,2.
- 198 drum slab, Kanaganahalli *mahācaitya*; Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: nos. V.2,3–4.
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- 235 *ālam̐bana*, Kanaganahalli *mahācaitya*; Poonacha 2011: no. 175.
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- 416 slab, Sannati; Nakanishi & von Hinüber 2014: 20–21, no. C.
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