inscriptions. This is true also in the Ikṣvāku kingdom. Perhaps Crown Prince Vīrapuruṣadatta insisted on his mother's lineage here since it was exceptionally prestigious. Male members of Kṛpaṇaśrī's maternal and paternal families were *mahātalavara*s and the Queen's paternal family were Pūkīyas/Puṣyakandīyas. The Ikṣvākus and Pūkīyas/Puṣyakandīyas were connected through marriage in a closed system structured by the exchange of women. This implied that the two lines were of equal status. This is probably why it was important for Crown Prince Vīrapuruṣadatta to present his mother Queen Kṛpaṇaśrī's lineage in this inscription as part of his public articulation of his claim to the Ikṣvāku throne.

5 Conclusions

Ikṣvāku ruling elites created alliances with Buddhist monastic communities through pious gifts that were recorded in the form of monumental inscriptions. Royal ties of blood and marriage were recorded within these inscriptions. Descent and marriage alliances expressed within Buddhist donative records were crucial in forging, sustaining, and extending political authority in Āndhradeśa. Declarations of ties of blood and marriage on monuments of royal piety were thus political statements. Kinship ties in turn also determined discursive traditions in the Ikṣvāku kingdom, like the royal eulogistic genealogy.

What is especially striking about Ikṣvāku inscriptions is how elite women and men both expressed authority through public declarations of kinship. However, there are some crucial differences in these expressions of authority. Royal women like Cāntisirī are exceptional in being eulogized within donative records. It may also have been that Ikṣvāku princesses as *mahātalavarī*s exercised considerable economic and political autonomy. Yet, it appears that no inscriptional eulogistic genealogy of a *mahātalavarī* was ever composed in the Ikṣvāku domain. I would argue that perhaps none could ever have been crafted. In a context where politics operated through ties of blood, only men were rightful wielders of political authority as king and only kings were fit to be praised through eulogistic genealogies.

6 Appendix: Family Relations of the Ikṣvāku Donors, by Stefan Baums

As a complement to the above discussion by Mekhola Gomes, it seemed worthwhile to compile here all the relevant information in one place and assemble a family tree of the Ikṣvākus and their relations.

TABLE 7.1 Dated inscriptions from the Ikṣvāku realm

King and regnal year	Site	Donor	EIAD
Cāntamūla, year 5	Rentala	Culla-Dhammasiri	2
Cāntamūla, year 13	Kesanapalli	Cullacanda & Mahā-canda	3
Vīrapurisadatta, year 1	Nagarjunakonda, site 9	Relatives of Cāntamūla	30
Vīrapurisadatta, year 6	Nagarjunakonda, site 1	Cāntisirī	4, 6–7, 9, 11, 13–14, 16–19
” ”	” ”	Aḍavi-Cāntisirī	15
” ”	” ”	Culla-Cāntisirī	8
” ”	” ”	Chaṭṭhisirī	12
” ”	” ”	Bapisirī	5
” ”	” ”	Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā	10
Vīrapurisadatta, year 14	Nagarjunakonda, site 43	Bodhisirī	20
Vīrapurisadatta, year 15	Nagarjunakonda, site 1	Cāntisirī	21, 24
Vīrapurisadatta, year 18	” ”	” ”	28
Vīrapurisadatta, year 19	Uppugundur	Saṅghila	29
Vīrapurisadatta, year 20	Jaggayyapeta	Siddhattha	31–33, 90
” ”	Nagarjunakonda, site 57	–	34
Vīrapurisadatta, year ?	Nagarjunakonda, site 1	Cāntisirī	17, 25, 39–40
Ehavala-Cāntamūla, year 2	Nagarjunakonda, site 5	Bhaṭṭidevā	44–46
Ehavala-Cāntamūla, year 8	Nagarjunakonda, site 9	Candasiri & Nāgasiri	47–48
” ”	Alluru	Viṇhusiri	49
Ehavala-Cāntamūla, year 11	Nagarjunakonda, site 99	Eliśrī	50-1-3
” ”	Nagarjunakonda, site 7/8	Koda-Elisirī	51
Ehavala-Cāntamūla, year 13	Nagarjunakonda, site 61	Elī-Ehavaladāsa	52
Ehavala-Cāntamūla, year 16	Nagarjunakonda, site 34	Vīrapurisadatta	53
Ehavala-Cāntamūla, year 24	Nagarjunakonda, site 106	Kumāranandi	54
Ehavala-Cāntamūla, year ?	Nagarjunakonda, site 1	Cāntisirī	58
” ”	Nagarjunakonda, site 127	Khaṇḍuvulā	59
” ”	Patagandigudem	Ehavala-Cāntamūla	55
Ruddapurisadatta, year 11	Nagarjunakonda, site 24	Vammabhaṭṭā	83
Ruddapurisadatta, year 18	Phanigiri	Nandi	104

There are altogether 51 known dated inscriptions from various sites in the Ikṣvāku realm. Table 7.1 provides an overview, giving for each of them the ruler and his regnal year at the time of the establishment, the findspot, the normalized name of the main donor(s) or sponsor(s), and the number of the inscription in the EIAD corpus.

Of the main individuals featuring as donors or sponsors in these inscriptions, besides one king, eleven are members of the Ikṣvāku royal house (Aḍavi-Cāntisirī, Elī-Ehavaladāsa, Khaṇḍuvulā, Cāntisirī, Chaṭṭhisirī, Bapisirī, Bhaṭṭidevā, Vammabhaṭṭā, Vīrapurisadatta, Koda-Elisirī, and possibly Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā); one of these (Koda-Elisirī) was married into the Vanavāsa royal house. Among the non-royal donors, there are three merchants (Cūla-Dhammasiri, Cullacanda, Mahācanda), at least one guild master (Kumāranandin), one head of a workshop (the *āvesani* Siddhattha discussed above, pp. 459–462), one village headman (Viṇhusiri), one *talavara* (Eliśrī), and one physician (Nandi). Two donors are only defined as lay followers (Candasiri, Bodhisirī),[86] and one as the grandson of a "notable" or *gahapati* (Saṅghila). The inscribed objects include *āyāka* pillars, memorial pillars, other pillars, floor slabs, a panel and the pedestal of a Lajjā Gaurī statue, and a set of copper plates.

By combining the relationship information given in individual inscriptions, an overall family tree of the Ikṣvāku royal house can be built up as follows (where more than one inscription provides the information in question, only samples are cited):

1. Cāntisirī has Great King Cāntamūla as her brother (is his *sodarā bhaginī*), King Vīrapurisadatta as her nephew (is his *pituchā*), Great Talavara Kandasiri as her husband (is his *bhariyā*), and Khandasāgara as her son (is his *mātā*): EIAD 4, 6.
2. Cāntisirī has King Vīrapurisadatta not only as her nephew (see no. 1 above), but also as her son-in-law (*jāmatuka*): EIAD 28. Note that if this term is interpreted strictly as 'son-in-law'—i.e., 'daughter's husband'—it implies that Vīrapurisadatta had an unnamed fifth wife in addition to Bapisirī (see no. 6) and Chaṭṭhisirī (see no. 7), through both of whom Vīrapurisadatta was 'sister's daughter's husband' of Cāntisirī, as well as Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā (see no. 8) and Bhaṭṭidevā (see no. 10).

86 It is possible at least that Candasiri, one of the donors of the *maṇḍapa* recorded in EIAD 48–49, was also a merchant. Indeed, the donation is said to have taken place "in the estate of the excellent guild's chief" (*seṭhivaravaḍhamāne*). It is impossible to positively identify Canda with the said *seṭṭhi* (Skt. *śreṣṭhin*), but judging from the way he is described, it is clear he had considerable means. On the higher status of the *seṭṭhi*s, when compared for instance to that of *gahapati*s, see Ollett, Tournier & Griffiths in this volume.

3. Culla-Cāntisirī (whose name on its own suggests that she is a younger relative of Cāntisirī) has Great Talavara Khandacalikikamma as her husband (is his *bhayā*): EIAD 8.
4. Aḍavi-Cāntisirī (whose name suggests that she is a less important relative of Cāntisirī) has Great King Cāntamūla as her father (is his *duhutā*), King Vīrapurisadatta as her brother (is his *bhaginī*), and Great Talavara Khandavisākha as her husband (is his *bhayā*): EIAD 15.
5. Bapisirī has Great King Cāntamūla as her uncle (is the *bālikā* of his *sodarā bhaginī*), Hammasirī as her mother (*mātā*, is her *bālikā*), and King Vīrapurisadatta as her husband (is his *bhayā*): EIAD 5.
6. Chaṭṭhisirī has Great King Cāntamūla as her uncle (is the *bālikā* of his *sodarā bhaginī*), Hammasirī as her mother (*mātā*, is her *bālikā*), and Great King Vīrapurisadatta as her husband (is his *bhayā*): EIAD 12.
7. Great Queen Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā (presumably of the current king Vīrapurisadatta) is from Ujjayinī (*ujanikā*) and the daughter (*bālikā*) of an unnamed great king (presumably of Ujjayinī): EIAD 10.
8. In a memorial pillar for King Cāntamūla from the reign of Vīrapurisadatta, the following females are listed as sisters (*sahodarā*), mothers (*mātā*) and Great Queens (*mahādevī*): Anantasirī, Khandasirī, Viñjha-Bodhisirī, Mittasirī, Samusirī, Nāgavasusirī, Maṅgusirī, Khandakoṭisirī, Mahisarasirī, Kondamatisirī, Mulasirī, Ayakoṭusirī, Maduvisirī, Nāgasirī, Ramasirī, Golasirī, Velisirī, Bodhisirī, Khandasirī, Setilasirī, Perajatisirī, Paṇḍitasirī, Sivanāgasirī, Samuddasirī, Bapisirī, Nandisirī, Ayyasirī, Kaṇhasirī, Sivanāgasirī: EIAD 30. It remains somewhat unclear which of these relations each of them held to which members of the royal family. Given her importance in the records connected to site 1, the absence of Cāntisirī from this list is remarkable. Note also that the names Khandasirī and Sivanāgasirī each occur twice in the list, whether by mistake or with reference to different persons.
9. Great Queen Bhaṭṭidevā has Great King Cāntamūla as her father-in-law (was his *sunhā*), Great King Vīrapurisadatta as her husband (was his *bhayā*), and Great King Ehavala-Cāntamūla as her son (was his *mātā*): EIAD 44.
10. Koda-Elisirī has Great King Cāntamūla as her grandfather (is his *nattī*), Great King Vīrapurisadatta as her father (was his *dhūtu*), Great King Ehavala-Cāntamūla as her brother (was his *bhaginī*), and the unnamed Great King of Vanavāsa as her husband (is his *mahādevī*): EIAD 51.
11. Elī-Ehavaladāsa has Yakhīlī, who is the greatly beloved wife (*mahāvallabhikā*; rather than from Mahāvallabhī, Sircar 1963–1964: 11, 34) and the great queen (*mahisī*) of King Vīrapurisadatta, as his mother, and

hence Vīrapurisadatta as her mother's husband (though not necessarily father): EIAD 52.

12. Great Prince Vīrapuruṣadatta has Great King Ehavala-Cāntamūla as his father (is his *putra*), Great King Vīrapuruṣadatta as his grandfather and namesake (is his *pautra*), Great King Cāntamūla as his great-grandfather (is his *prapautra*), Great Queen Kṛpaṇaśrī as his mother (is her *putra*), Uttara as his mother's maternal uncle (is his *bhāgineyī*), Sesebamāgūraka as his mother's grandfather (is his *dauhitrī*), Great Talavara Khandahāla as his mother's father (is his *duhitṛ*), Skandagopa as his mother's paternal grandfather (she is his *naptrī*): EIAD 53.
13. Great Queen Khaṇḍuvulā has Great King Ehavala-Cāntamūla as her husband (is his *pattī*), and has an unnamed living son (is *jīvaputtā*): EIAD 59. This latter designation is also known from first-century-CE Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Apraca and Oḍi royal houses in Gandhāra (CKI 241, 242, 249, 257, and 265 in Baums & Glass 2002–).
14. Vammabhaṭṭā is from the Bṛhatphalagotra (*bahaphalasagottā*), has an unnamed Great Satrap as her father (is a *mahākhattapadhūtū*), King Ruddapurisadatta as her son (is his *mātā*), Great King Ehavala-Cāntamūla as her husband (is his *pattī*), Great King Vīrapurisadatta as her father-in-law (is his *sunhā*), and Great King Cāntamūla as her father-in-law's father (is his *pasunhā*): EIAD 83.

Using this information (with the exception of the vague no. 8), the resulting family tree of the Ikṣvāku royal house is as in fig. 7.3. Three systemic relationship properties are noteworthy: (1) The founder of the house, Great King Cāntamūla, remained the revered genealogical reference point for all his successors down three generations. (2) At least the first three of the Ikṣvāku kings practised polygamy: Vīrapurisadatta's wives, for instance, included Bhaṭṭidevā—the mother of his successor—as well as Chaṭṭhisirī, Bapisirī, Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā, Yakhīlī, and at least one further unnamed wife, who was Cāntisirī's mother; Ehavala-Cāntamūla's wives included Vammabhaṭṭā (Ruddapurisadatta's mother) as well as Kṛpaṇaśrī and Khaṇḍuvulā. (3) Members of the family are further categorized by transecting systems of pan-Indian metronymics (Māṭharīputra: Vīrapurisadatta; Vāsiṣṭhīputra: Kandasiri and Ruddapurisadatta; Haritīputra: Prince Vīrapuruṣadatta) and local family or clan designations given in the genitive plural (Ikṣvāku, reserved for the kings themselves: Cāntamūla, Vīrapurisadatta, Ehavala-Cāntamūla, Ruddapurisadatta; Kulahaka: Culla-Cāntisirī; Dhanaka: Khandavisākha; Pūkīya/Puṣyakandīya: Kandasiri; Skandagopa; Hiraññaka: Khandacalikikamma). With the latter can be compared *sakiyanaṁ* 'of the Śākyas' in the Piprahwa vase inscription (Fleet 1907: 106).

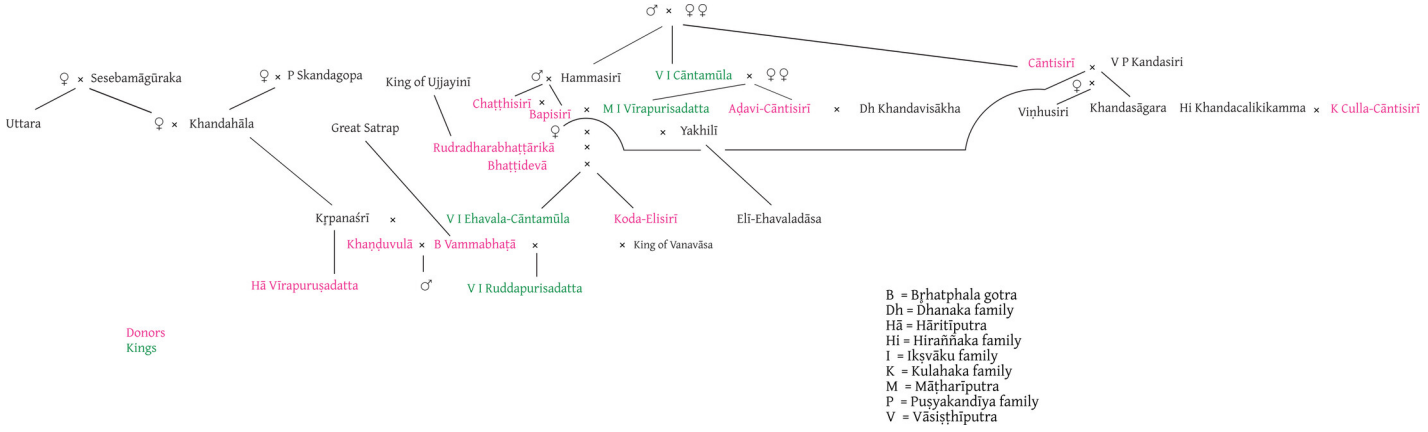

FIGURE 7.3 Family tree of the Ikṣvāku dynasty

The epigraphic record from the Ikṣvāku kingdom also sheds light on the family relations of various non-royal donors that will not be discussed in detail here. They include the Talavara Eliśrī (EIAD 50-1-3), the Buddhist monk Dhammasena (EIAD 105), the lay follower Candasiri and his brother Nāgasiri (EIAD 48), the merchant Culla-Dhammasiri (EIAD 2), the sailor's wife Uttaradattā Siddhatthamittā (EIAD 124), and the artisan Siddhattha (EIAD 31).

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