CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. I

INSRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

BY

Hultzsch
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CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM
VOL. I

INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA
NEW EDITION

BY

E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.
EPIGRAPHER TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, RETIRED

WITH 55 PLATES

PRINTED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD
AND PUBLISHED THROUGH THE OFFICIAL AGENTS
1925
THE printing of this volume was stopped in 1914 by the outbreak of war. In 1920 the Government sanctioned a resumption of printing, and the re-composition of those sheets which had been already struck off, but had become antiquated in the meantime owing to fresh researches. I have tried to sift critically, and to quote, when necessary, whatever has been written by scholars on the subject in the course of nearly a century. The transcripts of the texts are based on mechanical copies furnished by the Archaeological Survey Department under orders of Sir John Marshall. The most perfect among these were contributed by my former assistant, now Government Epigraphist for India, Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. The plates issued with this volume are collotype reproductions of negatives which were prepared under my personal supervision by Mr. Carl Plettner. With the exception of the two Shâh-bâdzgarh edicts VII and XII, the impressions of the two Kharoshthi versions of the fourteen rock-edicts proved unsuitable for reproduction, partly owing to the extreme roughness of the rocks on which these records are engraved, and partly because Sir Aurel Stein's careful estampages of them had become torn and damaged by frequent use. It is a pleasant duty to thank those scholars who have rendered me valuable assistance. Before the war I could avail myself of the ever ready advice of my late friend Dr. J. F. Fleet. To the late Professor Arthur Venis I am indebted for detailed criticisms of my rendering of the Girnar and Kalsi versions. Professor A. A. MacDonell kindly looked at the proof-sheets of portions of the texts and translations. The proofs of the introduction were minutely examined by two old friends, Mr. Robert Sewell and Professor Th. Zachariae.

E. HULTZSCH.

Halle, October, 1922.

Published for the South of India at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1925
POSTSCRIPT

THE issuing of this volume was still delayed by the printing of the colotype plates when I received from Mr. H. HARGREAVES, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Frontier Province, Peshawar, a fresh set of inked estampages of the two north-western versions of the rock-edicts. These estampages have been made with great care and skill, and enable me at the last moment to furnish illustrations of the whole of the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra edicts. The overlapping sections were clipped and pinned together in my presence by Mr. PLETTNER. In this way the creases and slips disfiguring other facsimiles which I had received in a pasted condition were avoided. Although, owing to the rough surface of the rocks, the new estampages are not quite perfect in every detail, they are the first ever made which admit of reproduction by photography, and they will thus allow students to check the transcripts of those valuable ancient records, and to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the whimsical and often ambiguous Kharoshthi characters. Scholars will feel much indebted to Mr. HARGREAVES, who has now supplied this want, and to Sir John MARSHALL, at whose instance the new impressions were prepared by him.

HALLE,
January, 1924.

E. H.
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ABBREVIATIONS

AJP = American Journal of Philology.
ASSI = Archaeological Survey of Southern India.
ASWI = Archaeological Survey of Western India.
BRWW = Buddhist Records of the Western World (Beal).
EI = Epigraphia Indica.
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GN = Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
Grammatik = Grammatik der Präkrit-Sprachen (Pischel).
IA = Indian Antiquary.
IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.
Ind. Alt. = Indische Alterthumskunde (Lassen).
Ind. Pal. = Indian Paleography (Bühler).
JA = Journal Asiatique.
Jaartelling = Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten (Kern).
JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBRRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
KZ = Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.
Lotus = Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi (Burnouf).
Memoirs, ASB = Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
SBE = Sacred Books of the East.
Skt. = Sanskrit.
SPA W = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
VOJ = Vienna Oriental Journal.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I / DESCRIPTION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

The above term is meant to comprise (1) the existing versions of the well-known 'fourteen edicts', and (2) the two 'separate edicts' which the Dhalu and Jauna versions substitute for edicts XI to XIII. It does not include the minor rock-inscriptions, which will be treated in the fourth part.

I. THE GIRNAR ROCK (Text, p. 1).

This famous set of Aśoka's fourteen edicts is found about a mile to the east of Junāgarh, the capital of the Junāgarh State in the Kāthiāwar Peninsula, 'at the entry of the dell or gorge which leads into the valley that girdles the mighty and sacred Girnār mountain. The inscription 'covers considerably over a hundred square feet of the uneven surface of a huge rounded and somewhat conical granite boulder, rising 12 feet above the surface of the ground, and about 75 feet in circumference at the base.' The boulder bears, beside Aśoka's edicts, two other valuable documents: An inscription of the Maḥākṣatrapa Rudradāman records the restoration of the lake Sudārsana, which had been 'originally constructed by the Vaiśya Pusyagupta, the provincial governor (rāṣṭrīya) of the Maurya king Chandragupta, and subsequently adorned with conduits by the Yavana king Tushāpsa for Aśoka the Maurya.' Among local names it mentions Girinagara, i.e. the town of Junāgarh or its ancient representative, and Urjaya, i.e. the mountain now called Girnar. The third inscription on the boulder is dated in the reign of the Gupta king Skanda-gupta and records further repairs of the lake Sudarśana made in A.D. 456–7 by Chakrapālita, the son of Paramadatta who was governor of Surāshțra.

The Aśoka inscription occupies the north-east face of the boulder. The fourteen edicts are arranged in two columns and divided from one another by straight lines. As may be seen on the third of the plates issued with Wilson's article in JRAS, 12, 153 ff., the left column consists of edicts I to V and the right one of edicts VI to XII; and

1 ASWI, 2. 94. The position of the inscribed stone is marked on Lieutenant Postans' sketch of Girnār in JASB, vol. 7, plate 54.
2 ASWI, 2. 97. A photograph of the boulder is given on the plate facing page 94 of the same volume.
4 EI, 8, 42. The later (Prākrit) form of Urjayat is Ukajayanta. Cf. Hēmachandra's Anikārhasaṅgraha, III, 279, and his Abhidhānachintāmaṇī, IV, 97 ; ASWI, 2. 154 ff., and 8. 328 ff.; Tawney's translation of Mēruvuṅga's Probandhacintāmaṇī, Index. Another name of the Girnār mountain is Raivata or Raivataka. See e.g. Hēmachandra's two Kōsas, loc. cit.; Māgga's Śīnpālavarada, IV, 1 ; GN, 1921. 41.
5 Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 57 f.
edicts XIII and XIV are placed below V and XII. When Major James Tod visited
Girnär in December 1822, the inscription seems to have been intact.¹ Subsequently
portions of edicts V and XIII were blasted with gunpowder by the workmen of
a pious merchant who constructed a causeway from Junāgarh to Girnär.² At the
recommendation of the late Dr. Burgess a shed has been specially built to protect the
boulder from the sun and rain.

The first decipherment of the Brāhmi alphabet and, with it, of the Girnär inscription,
is due to the learning and ingenuity of James Prinsep.³ His transcript and translation
were based on tracings on cloth which had been taken in 1835 by Captain Lang for the
Rev. Dr. J. Wilson of Bombay.⁴ Fresh copies were made by Lieutenant Postans and
Captain Lang in 1838,⁵ and by Captain (afterwards General) Le Grand Jacob and
Professor Westergaard in 1842.⁶ These materials were utilized by Mr. E. Norris for
drawing up an improved plate of the Girnär inscription, from which Professor H. H.
Wilson’s transcript and translation in JRAS, vol. 12 (1850), were made. No better
materials were available to three other scholars who examined the Girnär version, viz.
Professor Chr. Lassen (Indische Altertumskunde), E. Burnouf (Lotus de la Bonne Loi ;
Paris, 1852), and Professor H. Kern (Ober de Taartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten
en de Gedenkstukken van Aprea den Buddist; Amsterdam, 1873).

The first perfectly mechanical estampages of the Girnär edicts were prepared
in 1875 by Dr. J. Burgess. These were reproduced by collotype in 1876 in
ASWI, 2. 98 ff., and also in IA, 5. 257 ff., with an English translation of Kern’s
Dutch versions of part of the edicts.

A complete edition of the Girnär edicts is included in Senart’s Inscriptions de Piyadasi,
vol. I. An abridged English translation of his work appeared in IA, vols. 9 and 10.
In JA (8), 12. 31 r ff., Senart added the results of his inspection of the Girnär rock
in situ. Bühhler published a number of corrections and the text of edict XIII in his
Beiträge zur Erklärung der Asoka-Inscriptien (ZDMG, vols. 37–48), and the full text of
the Girnär version in EI, 2. 447 ff. The plates which accompany this article are much
clearer than those issued in 1876, but seem to have been touched up by hand.
A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions printed at Bhavnagar (without
year) contains the text, Sanskrit and English translations, and facsimiles, of the
Girnär edicts.

Two fragments of the lost portion of edict XIII were recovered recently and are
now preserved in the Junāgarh Museum.⁷ Both of them were discussed by Senart
(JRAS, 1900. 335 ff.), and the second of them also by Bühhler (VOJ, 8. 318 ff.). Both
pieces are shown in the plate which accompanies my transcript of edict XIII.

As regards the Brāhmi alphabet of the Girnär inscription I can refer the reader to
Bühhler’s Indian Palæography, edited by Fleet (IA, vol. 33, Appendix), § 16. The chief
peculiarity of the Girnär alphabet is the addition of the horizontal bar, marking the
length of initial ā, at the top of a, while it is elsewhere attached to the middle of the
letter. The formation of groups of consonants, and the peculiar way in which the letter
r is expressed in combination with other consonants, will be discussed in the chapter
on the Girnär dialect (below, p. lviii. f).

¹ ASWI, 2. 95.
² Cf. JASB, 7. 874.
³ JASB, 7 (1838). 219 ff.
⁴ Id., p. 871 ff.
⁵ They may be identical with two fragments picked up by Lieutenant Postans in 1838; see JASB, 7. 874.
⁶ JBBAS, 1. 257 ff., and 2. 410.
⁷ Id., pp. 157, 228, 334, 335.
II. The Kālsī Rock (Text, p. 27).

This set of the fourteen edicts is engraved near Kālsī, a town in the Chakrāta tahsil of the Dehra Dūn district of the United Provinces. About one and a half miles to the north of Kālsī is a huge boulder of quartz on the western bank of the Jumna, just above the junction of the Tons river, and about fifteen miles to the west of Mussooree.

The block is 10 feet long and 10 feet high, and about 8 feet thick at bottom. The southeastern face has been smoothed, but rather unevenly, as it follows the undulations of the original surface. The main inscription is engraved on this smoothed surface, which measures 5 feet in height, with a breadth of 3/5 feet at top, which increases towards the bottom to 7 feet 10½ inches. The deeper hollows and cracks have been left uninscribed, and the lines of letters are undulating and uneven. Towards the bottom, beginning with the tenth edict, the letters increase in size until they become about thrice as large as those of the upper part. Owing either to this enlargement of the letters, or, perhaps, to the latter part of the inscription being of later date, the prepared surface was too small for the whole record, which was therefore completed on the left-hand side of the rock. On the right-hand side an elephant is traced in outline.

When first found by Mr. Forrest early in 1860, the letters of the inscription were hardly visible, the whole surface being encrusted with the dark moss of ages; but on removing this black film, the surface becomes nearly as white as marble.1

Senart's edition of the Kālsī text in his Inscriptions de Piyadasī, vol. I, was based on Cunningham's eye-copy of the inscription. Bühler published both the text and a translation from a rubbing supplied by Cunningham (ZDMG, vols. 37 and 40), and a revised version of the text of edict XIII from an impression prepared by Burgess (id., 43, 162 ff.). A collotype of the first half of Cunningham's rubbing was issued with ZDMG, vol. 39. In EI, 2, 447 ff., Bühler re-edited the Kālsī text, which was accompanied by reproductions of inked stampages by Burgess.

The Kālsī alphabet exhibits the following chief peculiarities. The letter ḡ has a loop at the bottom; see Bühler's Ind. Pal., plate 2, No. 16, columns II and III. A similar loop is found occasionally in the centre of j (id., No. 15, column III) and s (id., No. 39, column VII). The end of an edict is marked by a symbol resembling a crescent. From edict X the characters get larger, and the two letters ज and घ are frequently used. The former of these occurs already twice in edict IV, l. 13,2 and the second twice in the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, l. 1 and 4, once on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 10, and once at Maski, l. 2. In a few lines of the first part of the Kālsī inscription (29, 33–36, 39) the punctuation mark, which occurs once in each of l. 13, 25, 31, is employed many times. The same mark is found in the Sahasrām and Maski rock-inscriptions.

III. The Shahbazgarhi Rock (Text, p. 59).

While the alphabet of the two preceding sets of the fourteen edicts is the Brāhmī, this one is written in those north-western cursive characters running from the right to the left which used to be called Indo-Baektian or Ariano-Pāli, but to which Bühler restored the indigenous name Kharōshthi. The honour of the decipherment of this alphabet is divided between Prinsep, Lassen, Norris, and Cunningham.3 A number

1 Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoha, p. 12 ff.
2 Also once in each of the Bairāti, Maski, and Siddāpura rock-inscriptions, and twice at Jātīnga-Rāmeśvara.
3 JASB, 25, 714; Ind. Pal., § 6.
of Kharōṣṭhī letters had been already identified from bilingual coins of the Indo-Grecian and Indo-Scythian kings, before the Shāḥbāzgarhī inscription was discovered.

Shāḥbāzgarhī is a village on the Makām river, nine miles from Mardān, the head-quarters of the Yusufzai subdivision of the Peshāvar district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is about half a mile distant from this village and two miles from the village of Kapurdagharī. It is engraved on a large shapeless mass of trap rock, lying about 80 feet up the slope of the hill, with its western face looking downwards towards the village of Shāḥbāzgarhī. The edicts I to XI are on the east face (edict VII being entered on the left at the top of the rock), and the edicts XIII and XIV are on the west face. Edict XII is engraved on a separate boulder, which is now enclosed within a wall.

M. (afterwards General) Court, of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh's service, first notified the existence of a Kharōṣṭhī inscription near Shāḥbāzgarhī in 1836 and gave a few letters copied by himself. In 1838 Captain Burnes, being at Peshāvar, sent an agent to Shāḥbāzgarhī, who returned with an imperfect paper impression. In the same year Mr. C. Masson obtained through a young man a partial impression on calico. He then proceeded to the spot himself and prepared fresh copies. His zeal deserves much praise, as at that time a journey through such an unexplored tract involved considerable personal risk. Masson's materials were brought to Europe and examined by Norris, who first read in them the word Devanāhpiyasā. With the help of this discovery, Dowson ascertained that the portion of which a facsimile is given in JRAS, 8 (1846). 303, is a duplicate of edict VII of the Girnar inscription. Norris further found that the front of the rock contained the edicts I to XI, and traced on the back of it portions of edict XIII. He also published the text of edict VII (id., p. 306 f). In 1850 Wilson contributed a tentative transcript of both faces of the Shāḥbāzgarhī rock, accompanied by plates drawn by Norris from Masson's copies (id., 12. 153 ff.). An independent eye-copy of the Shāḥbāzgarhī inscription was prepared by Cunningham (Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 10).

Senart's transcript in his Inscriptions de Piyadasi, vol. I, had still to be based on the same imperfect materials. Pandit Bhagvan Lal Indraji furnished transcripts of the Shāḥbāzgarhī and other versions of edict I (IA, 10. 107) and of edict VIII (JBBRAS, 15. 284). After the return from a trip to India, Senart published the results of his examination of edicts I to XI in situ (JA (8), 11. 521 ff.). The missing edict XII was discovered on a separate boulder by Captain Deane and edited both by Senart (id., p. 511 ff.) and by Bühler (EI, 1. 16 ff.). The latter published the whole Shāḥbāzgarhī version in ZDMG, 43. 128 ff., and a fresh transcript and a translation of it in EI, 2. 447 ff., from estampages by Burgess. The only portions of which mechanical copies have been made public so far are edict VII (ZDMG, vol. 43) and edict XII (EI, 1. 16).

IV. The Mansehra Rock (Text, p. 71).

Like the Shāḥbāzgarhī version this set of the fourteen edicts is written in the Kharōṣṭhī alphabet. Mānsohrā is the head-quarters of a tahsil in the Hazāra district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is found to the north of the village and is engraved on three boulders. Of these, the first bears edicts I to VIII, the second edicts IX to XI on its north face and edict XII on its south face, and

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1 Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 8.
2 Id., p. 9. For a sketch-map of the locality see Cunningham's Arch. Reports, vol. V, plate 3.
3 JRAS, 8. 293 ff.
the third edicts XIII and XIV. The two first inscribed stones were discovered by Cunningham, and the third in 1889 by a native subordinate of the Panjáb Archaeological Survey.

Senart was the first to transcribe edict XII (JA (8), 11 (1888), 511 ff) and, from insufficient materials, portions of edicts I to XI (id., 12, 319 ff). Bühlér edited the whole Mānschrā version first in ZDMG (43, 273 ff., and 44, 702 ff.), and a second time in EI (2, 447 ff), from estampages by Burgess. JA (8), vol. 12 contains three plates reproduced from Cunningham's casts of edicts I to XII. These are so indistinct that they must be pronounced useless.

V. THE DHAULI ROCK (Text, p. 84).

Dhauli is a village in the Khurdā subdivision of the Puri district, Orissa, about seven miles south of Bhuvanēśvar. The inscribed rock near the village was discovered in 1837 by Lieutenant Kittoe, who calls it 'Aswastama.' It is situated on a rocky eminence forming one of a cluster of hills, three in number, on the south bank of the Dyah river.

'The hills before alluded to rise abruptly from the plains and occupy a space of about five furlongs by three; they have a singular appearance from their isolated position, no other hills being nearer than eight or ten miles. They are apparently volcanic, and composed of upheaved breccia with quartzose rock intermixed.'

'The Aswastama is situated on the northern face of the southernmost rock near its summit; the rock has been hewn and polished for a space of fifteen feet long by ten in height, and the inscription deeply cut thereon.'

Immediately above the inscription is a terrace sixteen feet by fourteen, on the right side of which (as you face the inscription) is the fore half of an elephant, four feet high, of superior workmanship; the whole is hewn out of the solid rock.'

While Prinsep was examining a lithograph of Kittoe's copies, he found that the greater part of the Dhauli inscription was identical with the Gimār edicts (JASB, 7, 167). He further ascertained that the Dhauli rock omits edicts XI to XIII of the Gimār version, but compensates for them by two separate edicts (id., p. 219). These two he edited with a tentative translation (id., p. 438 ff), adding Kittoe's lithograph of the whole Dhauli inscription (id., plate 10). As may be seen on this plate, the inscription is arranged in three columns. The middle column contains edicts I to VI, and the right column edicts VII to X and XIV, and below them, within a border of straight lines, the second separate edict, while the first separate edict occupies the whole of the left column.

Cunningham showed that it would be more correct to exchange the two designations 'first and second separate edict': the separate edict engraved in continuation of edict XIV ought to be called No. I, and the one engraved separately on the left No. II. This order is confirmed by the Jaugāda rock (No. VII, below) where Prinsep's No. II is actually placed above No. I. But as all editors (besides Kern) have followed

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1. JA (8), 11, 508.
2. ZDMG, 44, 702.
3. Can this name be due to a misreading of the word gajatane (see Text, p. 50), which is engraved below the figure of an elephant on the north face of the Kāḷiṣī rock, and which might have been originally engraved on the Dhauli rock too? See, however, Text, p. 92, n. 1.
4. JASB, 7 (1838), 435–7. For a sketch of the elephant see id., plate 25, and for a photograph of it, the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's Early History of India.
5. The commencement of each fresh edict is marked by a short horizontal dash.
Prinsep's arrangement, a change of numbers would now lead to much confusion, and it will be sufficient to keep in mind that the separate edict No. I was engraved after No. II.

The two separate edicts were re-edited and translated by Burnouf (Lotus, p. 671 ff.) and, from Cunningham's copies, by Kern (J RAS, 1880, 379 ff.). Senart’s edition of them was based on estampages by Burgess. The same applies to Bühlcr's editions of the Dhauli version. He published the whole of it twice: once in German (ZDMG, 39, 489 ff., and 41, 1 ff.) and once in English (ASSI, I, 114 ff.). His second edition is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 64–65).

VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK (Text, p. 101).

A duplicate of the Dhauli edicts is engraved at Jaugarāḍa, a ruined fort in the Berhampur tālukka of the Ganjam district, Madras, about eighteen miles north-west of Ganjam town, on the northern bank of the Rishikulya river.

The inscribed rock ‘is situated in what appears to have once been an extensive but now deserted town, surrounded by the debris of a lofty wall.'

‘The rock is part of a large mass of rock or rocks, rising to various heights, and covering a large space of ground, I should say many thousand square yards.'

‘The Jaugada inscriptions are written on three different tablets on the vertical face of the rock.'

‘The first tablet contained the first five edicts, but about one-half has been utterly lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

‘The second tablet comprised the next five edicts, namely, 6 to 10, to which was added the 14th or closing edict of the other versions. About one-third of this tablet has been lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

‘The third tablet contained the two separate or additional edicts which are found at Dhauli.'

‘These two additional edicts are enclosed in a frame which separates them from the collected series of Aśoka’s edicts.'

‘The separation of these two edicts is more distinctly marked by the accompaniment of the svastika symbol at each of the upper corners of the upper inscription, and of the letter m at the upper corners of the lower inscription.’

‘Copies of the inscriptions were taken in 1850 by the present Sir Walter Elliot, who was perfectly aware that they contained only another version of Aśoka’s edicts, which had already been found at Sahibzargarī, Girnar, and Dhauli.'

Thanks to orders of the Government of Madras, the rock is now protected by an iron roof and railing.

The two separate edicts of Jaugarāḍa were edited with those of Dhauli by Profe sor Kern. The first purely mechanical estampages of the rock were prepared by Burgess. On these Senart’s edition of the two separate edicts was based. Bühlcr published edicts I to X and XIV from a photograph by Mr. Minchin (ZDMG, vols. 37 and 40) and the two separate edicts from Burgess’s estampages (id., 41, 1 ff.). His

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1 Inscriptions de Piyadasi, 2, 105 ff., and IA, 19, 82 ff.
2 Mr. W. F. Grahame in IA, 1 (1872), 219.
3 Cunningham’s Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 19 f. In J PASB, 17, 232 f., Harit Krishna Deb very ingeniously explains the svastika symbol as a monogram consisting of two Brähmi’s, and the m as the final letter of the sacred syllable om.
4 Cunningham, op. cit., p. 18. For further attempts to copy the Jaugarāḍa inscriptions I may refer to the same page, and to R. Sewell’s Lists of Antiquities, vol. I, p. 4.
5 For references see above, under Dhauli.
second edition of the whole Jaugaṇḍa version (ASSI, i. 114 ff.) is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 67–69).

VII. The Bombay-Sopara Fragment (Text, p. 118).

Sopara is an ancient town in the Bassein taluka of the Thana district, Bombay. There Pandit Bhagvanal Indraji discovered in 1882 a broken block of basalt bearing about one-third of the eighth rock-edict of Aśoka. The existing fragment suggests that a complete set of his edicts must have been engraved near Sopara.

'The stone was found near the Bhātelā pond to the east of the town close to the old landing-place.'

The Pandit published a tracing and transcript of the fragment, along with the text of five other versions of edict VIII. The original stone is now preserved in the Bombay Asiatic Society.

SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

This term is meant to comprise the Aśoka inscriptions on the Delhi-Topra pillar and on the five other pillars which bear six of the seven edicts inscribed on it. The minor pillar-inscriptions will be treated separately in the third part. The 'Queen’s edict' and the 'Kauśāmbi edict', however, are included in the second part, because they are inscribed on the Allahabad-Kōsam column which bears also six of the chief pillar-edicts.

I. The Delhi-Topra Pillar (Text, p. 119).

This famous monument is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone, 42 feet 7 inches in length, of which the upper portion, 35 feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the remainder is left quite rough. It used to be known by the names of 'Bhimāsena's pillar', 'Golden pillar', 'Fīroz Shah's pillar', and 'Delhi-Siwālik pillar'. Shams-ī Sirāj, a historian of Fīroz Shāh (A.D. 1351–88), informs us that it stood originally in the village of Tobra, in the district of Salaura and Khizrābād, in the hills; that Sultan Fīroz had it carried to Delhi; and that he erected it again on the top of his palace at Khizrābād. From Tobra near Khizrābād, which was ninety kōs from Delhi, the column was carried on a truck with forty-two wheels to the bank of the Jamnā, whence it was floated down the river to Khizrābād (Delhi) on a number of large boats.

Cunningham (Arch. Reports, 14. 78 f.) identified the village of Tobra, where the pillar stood originally, with the present Topra, on the direct line between Ambala and Sirsāvā, eighteen miles to the south of Sādhirā, and twenty-two miles to the south-west of Khizrābād. The pillar is standing to the present day on the roof of the three-storied citadel (kōlā) of Fīroz Shāh outside the 'Delhi Gate' to the south-east of modern Delhi. An elevation of the building, with the pillar on the top of it, was published in 1788 in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches, p. 379, and a sketch of it in 1803 in vol. 7, p. 175, plate 4.

1 JBBRAS, 15. 282. 2 Cunningham’s Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 35.
3 Elliot-Dowson’s History of India, 3. 359. 4 See a note by Lieutenant Kittoc, JASB, 6. 795 f., and the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker’s Indian.
INTRODUCTION

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar bears seven edicts of Asoka, of which the last and longest is unique, while other specimens of the first six edicts have been discovered elsewhere. The first six edicts and the eleven first lines of the seventh edict are arranged in four columns on the north, west, south, and east faces of the pillar; the eleven remaining lines of the seventh edict run all round the pillar.

Besides the Asoka edicts and several minor records of pilgrims and travellers,¹ the pillar bears three short inscriptions of the Chāhamāna Visadalāva of Śakambhari, son of Ānalladāva (EI, 9, 67; n. 5), dated A.D. 1164, which have been edited last by Kielhorn from Fleet’s impressions (IA, 19, 215 ff.).

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-inscription is the first record of Asoka that was read and translated in 1837 by Prinsep (JASB, 6, 566 ff.). Facsimiles of this inscription had been in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal since its very foundation, without any successful attempt having been made to decipher them (id., p. 566).

¹ On searching the Society’s portfolio Prinsep “found the five original manuscript plates of Captain Hoare, whence the engravings published in the Researches seem to have been copied.”

² I found also two much larger drawings of the first and last inscription of the series, apparently of the actual dimensions.—These I suppose to have been the originals presented to Sir William Jones by Colonel Polier, and therefore of themselves venerable for their antiquity!” (id., p. 567).

The ingenious manner in which Prinsep succeeded in deciphering the ancient Brāhmi alphabet deserves to be recorded here in his own words:

“In laying open a discovery of this nature, some little explanation is generally expected of the means by which it has been attained. Like most other inventions, when once found it appears extremely simple; and, as in most others, accident, rather than study, has had the merit of solving the enigma which has so long baffled the learned.”

While arranging and lithographing the numerous scraps of facsimiles for Plate XXVII,⁴ I was struck at their all terminating with the same two letters, दत्त. Coupling this circumstance with their extreme brevity and insulated position, which proved that they could not be fragments of a continuous text, it immediately occurred to me that they must record either obituary notices, or more probably the offerings and presents of votaries, as is shown to be the present custom in the Buddhist temples of Ava; where numerous dhavajas or flag-staffs, images, and small chaityas are crowded within the enclosure, surrounding the chief cupola, each bearing the name of the donor. The next point noted was the frequent occurrence of the letter त, already set down incontestably as स, before the final word:—now this I had learnt from the Saurāśṭra coins, deciphered only a day or two before, to be one sign of the genitive case singular, being the ssa of the Pali, or ssa of the Sanskrit. “Of so and so the gift”, must then be the form of each brief sentence; and the vowel ऐ and Anuvāra led to the speedy recognition of the word danaṁ (gift), teaching me the very two letters, ऐ and न, most different from known forms, and which had foiled me most in my former attempts. Since 1834 also my acquaintance with ancient alphabets had become so familiar that most of the remaining letters in the present examples could be named at once on re-inspection. In the course of a few minutes I thus became possessed of the whole

¹ See Cunningham’s Arch. Reports, i. 167, and 5, 143 f.
³ Cf. Asiatic Researches, i. 379.
⁴ Inscriptions from Sanchee, taken in facsimile on paper by Capt. E. Smith, Engineers.
alphabet, which I tested by applying it to the inscription on the Delhi column (id., p. 460 ff.).

The first four edicts were examined by Burnouf in his *Lotus*, and the fourth and sixth by Kern in his *Jaartelling*. Senart’s edition and translation of the Delhi-Topra pillar-edicts in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasa* (2. 1 ff) were based on Cunningham’s eye-copies. In 1884 Fleet issued excellent photo-lithographs, to which Bühler added transcripts in the Nagari character (IA, 13. 306 ff.), and which were utilized in Sir George Grierson’s English translation of Senart’s French article (IA, vols. 17 and 18). Finally Bühler edited and translated the seven pillar-edicts twice, in German (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46) and in English (EI, 2. 245 ff.).

II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR (Text, p. 137).

This pillar now stands on the so-called ‘Ridge’ to the north-west of modern Delhi. Like the Delhi-Topra pillar, it was carried to Delhi by Firuz Shah. Shams-I-Siraj tells us that it stood before in the vicinity of Mirath, now a town and the head-quarters of a district of the United Provinces, and that Firuz Shah re-erected it at Delhi on a hill in the Kuski-Shikar or ‘Hunting-Palace’, which is known to have been situated on the Ridge.

The pillar bears, besides some modern scribblings, a more or less damaged version of the first five edicts of the Delhi-Topra pillar. A lithograph of its inscription was published by Prinsep in JASB, vol. 6 (1837), plate 42, from impressions forwarded by Major P. L. Few, who added the following particulars:

‘This very ancient Hindu pillar was dug out of some ruins near a well, and was probably destroyed by the blowing up of a powder magazine which I understand once existed near the spot. It consists of five pieces.’

‘The pillar is sandstone, and to its perishable nature is to be attributed the imperfect state of the inscriptions’ (id., p. 795).

Padre Tiefenthaler, who visited Delhi towards the middle of the eighteenth century, already saw the same five pieces lying on the top of the Ridge, and also ascribed the destruction of the pillar to gunpowder.

‘There the five pieces remained undisturbed for upwards of a century, when the inscribed portion was ‘sawn off’ and ‘sent down to Calcutta to the Museum of the Asiatic Society. Within the last few years this piece has been returned to Delhi, and the pillar has again been set up in its old position.’

IA, vol. 19 contains a facsimile of the Delhi-Mirath pillar-edicts by Fleet with transcripts by Bühler (p. 122 ff.), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.).

A fragment bearing portions of the two last lines of the sixth edict was offered to the British Museum in 1913. Its dimensions render it very probable that it belonged originally to the Delhi-Mirath pillar.

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1 The position of the pillar is marked on plate 25 (facing p. 132) of Cunningham’s *Arch. Reports*, vol. I. See also the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker’s *Indien*.
2 *Elliott-Dowson’s History of India*, 3. 353.
3 *Cunningham’s Arch. Reports*, 1. 168.
4 Id., 5. 144.
5 *Cunningham’s Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.
6 *Cunningham’s Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.
7 *Cunningham’s Arch. Reports*, 1. 167.
INTRODUCTION

III and IV. THE LAURIYA-ARARAJ AND LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLOWS (Text, pp. 141 and 145).

The inscriptions on these two pillars were already known to Prinsep when he edited the Delhi-Tōpā pillar-edicts in 1837 (JASB, 6. 566 ff.). Both pillars bear the first six edicts, the first four on the east face and the last two on the west face. Mr. B. H. Hodgson had called them the Radhia and Mathiah pillars. Cunningham ascertained that the villages of Radhia and Mathiah are 2½ and three miles distant from them, and proposed to call them the Lauriya-Araraj and Lauriya-Navandgarh pillars. His reasons were the following: Each of the two pillars stands near a village named Lauriya, the former of which is in the Champārañ district, North Bihār, twenty miles NW. of Kesariya, while the second is fifteen miles N.W. of Betiya in the same district. Both names are derived from the pillars themselves, which were mistaken by the people for līngas (Hindi laurā). To distinguish the two different villages of Lauriya, Cunningham combined with the former Araraj, the name of a neighbouring temple of Śiva, and with the second Navandgarh, the name of a ruined fort in its vicinity. V. A. Smith (JRAS, 1902. 153, note) added that ‘Navandgarh’ is a mistake for ‘Nandangarh’.

The Lauriya-Araraj pillar ‘is a single block of polished sandstone, 36½ feet in height above the ground.’ According to V. A. Smith it was originally surmounted by a figure of Gurūda.

The Lauriya-Nandangarh pillar ‘is formed of a single block of polished sandstone, 32 feet 9½ inches in height.’

The capital, which is 6 feet 10 inches in height, is bell-shaped, with a circular abacus supporting the statue of a lion facing the north. The abacus is ornamented with a row of Brahmani geese pecking their food.

Besides the Asoka edicts, the pillar bears a record of the emperor Aurangzib and a few modern scribblings. It is now worshipped as a symbol of Śiva, and its erection is ascribed to the Pândava Bhima.

Bühler edited the inscriptions of the Lauriya-Araraj and Lauriya-Nandangarh pillars twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in El (2. 245 ff.). His second article was accompanied by photo-lithographs of Mr. Garrick’s impressions.

V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR (Text, p. 151).

Another copy of the first six edicts is engraved on a lion-pillar of polished sandstone, which was discovered by Mr. Carleyle at Rampurva in the Champārañ district, 32½ miles north of Betiya. The relative positions of Lauriya-Araraj, Lauriya-Nandangarh, and Rampurva are shown on V. A. Smith’s sketch map in JRAS, 1902. 162, and on plate I of Cunningham’s Arch. Reports, vol. 16.

1 See JASB, 3 (1834). 481 ff., where a drawing of the Mathiah pillar and a lithograph of its inscription are given (plates 27 and 29). The first lithograph of the Radhia pillar appeared in vol. 4 (1835). p. 134, plate 7.
2 Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 39 ff.
3 Id., p. 40.
4 Asoka, sec. ed., p. 147, and ZDMG, 55, 227.
5 Cunningham’s Arch. Reports, 1. 72 f. For pictures of the pillar see id., plates 22 and 25; vol. 16, plate 27; the frontispiece of V. A. Smith’s Asoka, sec. ed.; and plate 2 of his History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon.
6 Cunningham’s Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 41.
7 Cunningham’s Arch. Reports, 22. 51.
THE PILLAR-EDICTS

'The pillar has fallen down, and is now lying partly in water.' The upper part of the lion is gone, but the lower part of the animal, with the bell capital and circular abacus with the well-known geese and conventional flowers, is still in very fair condition. The capital was fixed to the shaft by a massive copper bolt.'

Mr. Garrick prepared impressions of that side of the pillar which could then be reached. Bühler's transcripts of them (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46; EI, 2. 245 ff., with photo-lithograph) show that it contained portions of the first four edicts.

To Sir John Marshall we are indebted for complete impressions of the six edicts and for the discovery of the missing lion-capital. The length of the shaft was found to be 44 feet 9 1/2 inches, of which 8 feet 9 inches are left rough-dressed, having originally been buried in the ground. As on the two Lauḫiyā pillars, the inscription is divided into two columns on opposite faces of the pillar.

The pillar has now been removed some 200 yards from its former position and lies horizontally on a small mound. To protect the inscription from the weather, a small brick shed has been erected over the centre of the pillar.

VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR (Text, p. 155).

This pillar now stands inside the fort at Allahabad. It is a single shaft of polished sandstone 35 feet in length.' Its total length, including the base, is forty-two feet seven inches.'

Habet sua fata columnae! The history of the Allahabad pillar is as chequered and curious as that of the two Delhi pillars. On examination it is found to contain on it four strata of literary records:

(1) The original inscriptions of Aśoka, viz.:
   (a) the first six edicts of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar;
   (b) the so-called 'Queen's edict' (to the right of 2);
   (c) the so-called 'Kauśāmbī edict' (above 6).

(2) An inscription of the Mahārājādhirāja Samudragupta (below 1).

(3) An interlineation in Nāgari characters.

(4) An inscription of the emperor Jaiāṅgīr.

A sketch of the pillar by Captain James Hoare and a rough copy of portions of its inscriptions appeared in 1801 in the Asiatic Researches, vol. 7, plates 13 and 14. In 1834 Lieutenant T. S. Burt published, at Prinsep's request, drawings of the pillar (JASB, vol. 3, plate 3), which was then lying on the ground, having been taken down by Colonel Kyd in 1804. 'The common legend of the natives', he says, 'states the pillar to be the godā or staff of Bhimasēna' (p. 105). Prinsep added a lithograph of Burt's copies of the Aśoka inscriptions and a classified table of letters (plates 4 and 5). Although yet unable to read the alphabet, he very shrewdly guessed the actual value of post-consonantal ā, ē, and Anusvāra.
Six months later he recognised the consonants \( y, v, s \) (p. 485), and three years after he deciphered the six Asoka edicts, together with those of the Delhi-Togrā pillar.\(^1\)

'The capital of the column was no doubt of the usual bell-shape of Asoka's other pillars, but of this there is now no trace. The circular abacus, however, still remains, with its graceful scroll of alternate lotus and honeysuckle, resting on a beaded astragulus of Greek origin. This was once surmounted by the statue of a lion;\(^2\) but the lion must have disappeared many centuries ago, as when the pillar was re-erected by Jahāngīr in A.D. 1605, it was crowned by a globe, surmounted by a cone, as described and sketched by Padre Tiefenthaler in the middle of the next century.\(^3\)

In 1838 the pillar was set up again by Captain Edward Smith and provided with a newly designed lion which, according to Cunningham (Arch. Reports, 1. 300), looks 'not unlike a stuffed poodle stuck on the top of an inverted flower pot.'

As regards the set of six edicts (i, a), 'the present confused appearance of it is due chiefly to the later inscriptions [3] that have been engraved between the original lines of writing. The most serious damage that has been done to it is due to seven entire lines and the greater part of the eighth, line 16, having been entirely destroyed to make room for a circular inscription of Jahāngīr'\(^4\) IA, vol. 13 contains a facsimile of the six edicts by Fleet and a Nāgarāi transcript by Bühler (p. 306 ff.), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.).

The Queen's edict (i, b) was already transcribed and translated by Prinsep,\(^5\) while the Kauśāmbi edict (i, c) was first noticed by Cunningham.\(^6\) Both were edited by Senart\(^7\) and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Bühler (IA, 19, 122 ff.). The Kauśāmbi edict was re-edited by A.-M. Boyer.\(^8\)

The Kauśāmbi edict is addressed to the Mahāmātras at Kōsāmbi (Kauśāmbi in Sanskrit). Cunningham concluded from this that the Allahabad pillar must have been originally erected by Asoka at Kauśāmbi,\(^9\) which is the modern Kōsam on the left bank of the Jamnā, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahabad.\(^10\) He further suggested that the removal of the pillar from Kōsam to Allahabad was perhaps due to Firōz Shāh, who is known to have transported the Togrā and Mirāt pillars to Delhi. But, while Delhi was the capital of Firōz Shāh, Allahabad was founded, or rather refounded, two centuries after him by Akbar.\(^11\) This ruler may have removed from Kōsam the Allahabad pillar, on which inscriptions of his favourite Birbal\(^12\) and of his son Jahāngīr are engraved. In this case the pillar would have been still standing at Kōsam when the inscription of Samudragupta (2) was incised on it. This record was last edited by Fleet in his Gupta Inscriptions, No. 1; it refers to 'this lofty pillar' (ayam uchchhrītaḥ stambhaḥ, l. 30).

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1 JASB, 6 (1837). 566 ff. See also id., p. 965 ff.
2 Cf. JASB, 4. 127.
3 Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 37. For Captain Hoare's sketch of the pillar see Asiatic Researches, vol. 7, plate 13.
4 Fleet in IA, 13. 305.
5 JASB, 6. 508 ff. and 966 ff., with a lithograph on plate 56, fig. 1. See also id., vol. 3, plate 4, bottom.
6 Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 38.
7 Inscriptions de Piyadasi. 2. 99 ff., and IA, 18. 308 f.
8 JA (10), 10. 120 ff. and 141.
9 Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 39.
10 See Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 2; also Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 391 ff., and EI, II. 91 and 141.
12 Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 39.
THE PILLAR-EDICTS

The Nāgari interlineation (3) of the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar 'is merely a series of unconnected scribblings of various dates, cut in most likely by the attendants on the pillar as a pretext for exacting a few rupees from visitors.'

Jahāngīr’s inscription (4) records the names of his ancestors and is dated in A.H. 1014 or A.D. 1605.

THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INScriptions

I. The Sāmchi Pillar (Text, p. 160).

Sāmchi is an ancient site in the Bhopal State, Central India, 5½ miles from Bhilsā and about ½ mile from the Sāmchi railway station. The Aśoka pillar 'is only a fragment of a large polished shaft; but near it there still lies a beautiful broken capital crowned by four lions, which, no doubt, once surmounted it.' It is now lying in the jungle; but apparently it stood originally near the south gate of the great Sāmchi Stūpa.

The beginning of the inscription on the pillar is lost, and the first preserved line is badly damaged. A facsimile was published by Burgess in EI, 2, 369. The record was edited and translated by Bühler (id., p. 366 f) and by Boyer (IA 101, 106, and 141), and re-examined by myself (JRAS, 1911. 167 ff., and 1912. 1055 f).

II. The Sarnāth Pillar (Text, p. 161).

Sārnāth, about 3½ miles to the north of Benares, is believed to be the site of one of the most memorable events in the career of the Buddha: it adjoins the Migadāya (i.e. 'deer-park') at Iśipatana in which he preached his first sermon. Here Mr. F. O. Oertel discovered a broken pillar of polished sandstone which bears an edict of Aśoka. He found also the former capital of the column, which is surmounted by four magnificent lions standing back to back, and in their middle was a large stone wheel, the sacred dharmachakra symbol, of which only fragments remain. 'The lions stand on a drum with four animal figures carved on it, viz. a lion, an elephant, a bull, and a horse, placed between four wheels. The upper part of the capital is supported by an elegantly shaped Persepolitan bell-shaped member.'

In the opinion of a competent judge 'it would be difficult to find in any country an example of ancient animal sculpture superior or even equal to this beautiful work of art, which successfully combines realistic modelling with ideal dignity, and is finished in every detail with perfect accuracy.'

The Chinese traveller, Hsiuen Tsiang, saw on the site of the Migadāya a stone pillar which stood in front of a stūpa built by Aśokarāja, and which was about 70 feet high.

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1 Prinsep in JASB. 6, 967. Cf. Cunningham’s Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 38 f.
2 See Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3, 109, and Prinsep’s note.
3 Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar informed me of this, and not Sāmchi, is the actual pronunciation of the name.
4 Cunningham’s Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 42.
5 See EI, 2, 366, n. 2, and JRAS, 1902. 106.
6 Cunningham’s Arch. Reports, 1, 109; SBE, 11, 146, and 13, 90; Buddhist Birth Stories, 1, 111 f.
8 V. A. Smith’s History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 60. For photographs of the capital see id., plate 13, and Oertel’s article, plate 20.
9 Beal’s BRWW, 2, 46.
As Oertel (op. cit., p. 69) has calculated the actual height of the Sarnath pillar at about 37 feet above ground, Huien Tsiang seems to have overestimated its height, unless he refers to a different pillar.

Unfortunately the three top lines of the inscription are broken away, and the fourth line is badly damaged. But Oertel succeeded in recovering three inscribed fragments which, as Professor Vogel has proved, contain the two first akharas of each of lines 1–3, and the end of lines 3 and 4 (EI, 8. 166 ff.). The remainder of the inscription was found in situ underground, and is in a state of nearly perfect preservation.

The stump of the pillar bears also two short records of a later date: an inscription of king Asvaghosa which is engraved in continuation of the last line of the Asoke edict, and a Buddhist inscription in early Gupta characters above the Asvaghosa epigraph. These three records were first published, with collotypes, by Vogel in EI, 8. 166 ff., and the Asoke edict was re-edited by Boyer (JA 10, 10. 119 ff.), Senart (CR, 1907. 25 ff.), and Venis (JPASB, 3. 1 ff.). See also my remarks in JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR (TEXT, p. 164).

In December 1896 Dr. Fuhrer found a pillar bearing an inscription of Asoka about thirteen miles south-east of the Nigali Sagar pillar (below, No. IV) in the Nepalese Tarai. The pillar stands near the shrine of Rummindei, about a mile to the north of the village of Parariya, which is about two miles north of Bhagvanpur, the head-quarters of the Nepalese tahsil of that name, and about five miles to the north-east of Duhl in the British district of Dasti.1

The new Asoka pillar is a mere stump, but still in situ and surrounded by a brick railing. It is of hard sandstone of the usual yellowish colour, and rises to a height of 21 feet or so.2 The inscription on it was edited, with facsimile, by Bühler in 1898,3 and records that Asoka visited the spot and erected the pillar 'because the Buddha Sakyamuni was born here', and that the king exempted the village of Lumbmini from taxes.

Both Lumbini and the modern name Rummindei must be identical with the Lumbini grove, the traditional site of the Buddha's birth.4 This identification is confirmed by Huien Tsiang, who mentions a pillar set up by Asokaraja in the Lumbini garden, and near the pillar the 'river of oil', which is now called Tilar-nadi, i.e. apparently 'the teli's or oilman's river'.5 He further states that the pillar bore on the top the figure of a horse, and that it had been struck by lightning and broken off in the middle. This agrees with Mukherji's description of the Rummindei pillar (p. 34). He tells us that 'its upper portion is gone, and of what remains the top is split into two halves, the line of fissure coming down to near the middle height. The capital was of the usual bell-shaped form, of which the base, broken into two halves, exists...... The stone horse, which crowned the capital, is gone with the upper portion of the shaft';

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1 See V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1, and cf. plates 18 and 19 of Babu P. C. Mukherji's Antiquities in the Tarai (Calcutta, 1901).
2 Op. cit., p. 34. For a drawing of the pillar see id., plate 20, fig. 3, and for photographs of it, the plate facing p. 27 of Fuhrer's Monograph on Buddha Sakyamuni's Birth-place (Allahabad, 1897) and the plate facing p. 148 of V. A. Smith's Early History of India.
3 EI, 5. 1 ff. For subsequent articles on the Rummindei inscription see IA, 43. 17.
4 See the Introduction to the Jatakas, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54. For other forms of the word Lumbini see IA, 43. 18.
5 Beal's BRWW, 2. 24 f.
6 See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's Antiquities, p. 6.
but it seems to be alluded to in the inscription itself. Finally, the temple of Rummindéi contains an ancient sculpture which represents the nativity of the Buddha (op. cit., plate 24, a). This is an additional piece of evidence in favour of the identity of the locality with the Lumbini-vana.

IV. The Nigalí Sāgar Pillar (Text, p. 165).

In March 1895 another Aśoka pillar of polished sandstone was discovered by Führer in the Nepalese Tarāi on the western bank of a large tank called Nigalí Sāgar, about a mile south of Nigilivā. This village lies about thirteen miles north-west of Rummindéi and belongs to the Nepalese tahsil of Taulivā (about seven miles north-west of Piprāvā in the British district of Basti).¹

The pillar is now called Nigalí or 'the smoking-pipe' of Bīmāsena.² It is not in situ, and only two broken portions of it are preserved. The upper piece is about 14 feet 9½ inches long and bears a few medieaval drawings and scribblings. The lower portion is about 10 feet long and bears an inscription of Aśoka in four lines; some letters at the beginning of the two last lines are broken away.³

The inscription was first edited by Bühlér in VOJ, 9, 175 ff, and again, with facsimile, in EI, 5, 1 ff. It records that Aśoka 'enlarged the Stūpa of the Buddha Kōnakamana to the double (of its original size)', and that later on he visited the spot in person and erected the pillar.

Hsüen Tsiang seems to mention the Nigalí Sāgar pillar.⁴ He states that it stood in front of a Stūpa containing relics of Kanakamuni Buddha, that it was surmounted by a lion, was about 20 feet high (which is less than the length of the two preserved pieces combined), bore an inscription, and had been erected by Aśokarāja. The Stūpa referred to by Hsüen Tsiang cannot be traced near the spot where the two portions of the pillar have been found.⁵

FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INScriptions

I. The Rūpṇāth Rock-Inscription (Text, p. 166).

Rūpṇāth is an out-of-the-way place of pilgrimage in the Central Provinces, fourteen miles west of Sleemanabad railway station⁶ on the line from Jabalpur to Katni.

The Rūpṇāth rock is a single flinty block of dark-red sandstone lying at the foot of the Kaimur range of hills, just below the fertile plateau of Bahuriband.⁷ Here a small stream breaks over the crest of the Kaimur range, and, after three low falls, forms a deep secluded pool at the foot of the scarp. Each of these pools is considered holy, the uppermost being named after Rāma, the next after Lakshmana, and the lowest

¹ For the relative positions of Nigilivā and Rummindéi see plate 1 of Mukherji's Antiquities in the Tarāi.
³ For photographs of the pillar see plates 3, 4, 5 of Führer's Monograph, and for a drawing of it, Mukherji's Antiquities, plate 16, fig. 1.
⁴ Beal's BRW, 2, 19.
⁵ See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's Antiquities, p. 3 ff.
⁷ A small town thirty-two miles to the north of Jabalpur; see Cunningham's Arch. Reports, 9, 39.
after Sītā. The spot, however, is best known by the name of Rūpānāth, from a linga of Śiva which is placed in a narrow cleft of the rocks on the right.  

The detached boulder, upon which the edict of Aśoka is inscribed, lies just above the west margin of the lower pool under a great tree, the inscription being upon its flat top and near one edge. The rock is one of many that have fallen at some time or another from the cliffs above, and it is possible that it has fallen since the inscription was cut upon it.  

The edict of Aśoka is inscribed on the upper surface of the rock, which has been worn quite smooth by people sitting upon it for hundreds of years at the annual fairs. It is now of a very dark dirty-red colour, and the inscription might easily escape observation. The lines follow the undulations of the rock, and are neither straight nor parallel with each other. The inscription is 43 feet long and 1 foot broad, and consists of six lines, of which the last has only five letters.  

The Rūpānāth edict was copied in 1871–2 by Cunningham (Arch. Reports, 7. 59) and published with a facsimile in 1877 by Bühler (IA, 6. 149 ff.), who re-edited it twice afterwards. Senart’s treatment of it is included in his Inscriptions de Piyadasi (1. 165 ff.) and in Sir George Grierson’s translation (IA, 20. 154 ff.). Fresh impressions of the inscription were prepared by the late Dr. Bloch.

II. THE SAHASRĀM ROCK-INSRIPTION (Text, p. 169).

Sahasrām is a town and the head-quarters of a subdivision in the Shāhābād district, South Bihār. About two miles to the east of the town rises one of the last spurs of the Kaimur range of hills called Chandan-Pir, after a Muhammadan saint, who took up his abode on the top of the hill.

The edict of Aśoka is found in an artificial cave a short distance below, which is generally known as the Chirāghdān or ‘lamp’ of the saint. The roof of the cave is formed by a large projecting mass of rock that has most effectually preserved the greater part of the inscription, which is in excellent order, except in three or four places where the rock has peeled off. The entrance, which is only 4 feet high, is to the west between two built walls. By making an opening in one of these walls, my assistant, Mr. Beglar, obtained a good photograph of the inscription.

The Sahasrām edict was published three times by Bühler and twice by Senart along with the Rūpānāth one (No. I, above). In editing the third time (IA, 22. 299), Bühler noted that Beglar’s photograph still shows a number of letters which have since disappeared owing to the disintegration of the rock, and which are already missing in Fleet’s facsimile (loc. cit.). To the kindness of Sir John Marshall I owe a copy of this valuable photograph, which I have utilized for my transcript of the text.

III. THE BAI RAT ROCK-INSRIPTION (Text, p. 171).

A much damaged version of the Rūpānāth-Sahasrām edict was discovered in 1871–2 by Mr. Carleyle about a mile to the north-east of Bairāt, the head-quarters

1 Cunningham’s Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 21.
2 Mr. Cousens in Progress Report, ASWI, 1903–4, p. 35.
3 Cunningham’s Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 22.
4 IA, 7. 141 ff., and, with Fleet’s facsimile, id., 22. 299 ff.
6 Cunningham’s Arch. Reports, 11. 132 f.
7 Cunningham’s Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 20 f.
of a tahsil in the Jaipur State, Rajputana, about forty-two miles north-by-north-east of Jaipur City.

'This edict is engraved on a block lying separately, but immediately below the hill locally known as Bhim-ki-daiunti... It is inscribed on the eastern face and near the lower end of the rock.'

The inscribed block is 17 feet in height by 24 feet in length from east to west, and 15 feet in thickness from north to south.'

The inscription was edited by Bühler and Senart along with the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām ones (Nos. I and II, above). No facsimile of it has yet been published except Cunningham's eye-copy in his Inscriptions of Asoka, plate 14, No. x.

IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRĀT ROCK-INSRIPTION (Text, p. 172).

The block which bears this very interesting and valuable record is now preserved in Calcutta by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was discovered in 1840 by Captain Burt 'upon a hill lying adjacent to Bairāt, the town near which some years later Carleyle found the preceding inscription (No. III). Burt reported that he found the inscription 'on a hard, grey granite block, irregularly shaped, and measuring about two feet in two of its dimensions, and a foot and a half in the third' (JASB, g. 616). His copy of the inscription was lithographed by Captain Kittoe, and transcribed and translated by the same 'with the aid of the learned Pandit Kamala Kanta' (id., p. 617 and plate).


As Burt had stated that Bairāt was six kōs distant from 'Bhabra' (JASB, g. 616), the inscription has been styled generally 'the Bhabra edict'. But this name implies a double mistake: the town from which it is derived is not called 'Bhabra', but Bhabrū, and the latter is twelve miles distant from Bairāt, the finding-place of the block. According to Cunningham (Arch. Reports, 2. 247), 'the hill on which the inscription was found forms a conspicuous object about one mile to the south-west of the town [of Bairāt]. It is about 200 feet high, and is still known by the name of Bījak-Pahār or "inscription hill". It is covered with ruins which Cunningham (id., p. 248) took to be the remains of two Buddhist monasteries.

'The inscription stone originally lay, I am told, near the shrine of Hanūman below the rock known as lēhp or "cannon", on the first or lower platform on the summit of the hill.'

In order to distinguish this inscription from the preceding one (No. III), I propose to call it 'the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription'.

V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSRIPTION (Text, p. 174).

Another, damaged, version of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt edicts was discovered on January 27, 1915, by Mr. C. Beadon, a gold-mining engineer, in the

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2 Cunningham's Arch. Reports, 6. 98.
4 D. R. Bhandarkar, loc. cit.
neighbourhood of Maski, a village in the Lingsugur taluka of the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions, about forty-six miles west-south-west from Raichur. I am indebted to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri for the subjoined note on Maski:

'By enquiries made at the place, I gather that the spelling of the village named Maski is different with different communities. The masses of illiterate agriculturists pronounce it Maśgī or Maśīgī; the Brahmin classes call it Maski, and the Muhammadans Masgī. A Chālukya inscription of the time of Jagadekamallā (Saka 949) calls the place Rājadhānī pīrīya-Mośāngī, i.e. "the royal residence of great Mośāngī". Another inscription of the same king in the village refers to that quarter as the Brahmmapuri of Mośāngī. A later record of the Yādava king Śīṅghana of the thirteenth century calls the place again Rājadhānī pīrīya-Mośāngī. In two other inscriptions of the place belonging to the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sādāśivarāya, its name is mentioned as Mośage, the chief town of Mośage-nādu.'

To these remarks we may add that Mośāngī, the ancient form of the name of Maski, suggests its identity with the battle-field of Muśāngī, where, according to Tamil records, the Chālukya king Jayasimha II was defeated by Rājendra-Chōla I.¹

A careful transcript and translation of the Maski inscription (with plates) was published by H. Krishna Sastri,² who describes the site as follows:

'The cavern in which the inscribed boulder stands is formed of a huge rock resting at various points of its periphery on other smaller ones, some of which are partly buried in the gravelly soil below. The boulder, which is a block of crystalline grey granite of irregular shape, stands at the southern entrance into the cavern, with the writing facing inwards. The surface of the boulder has peeled off at various places, sometimes right up to the depth to which the letters were incised, and measures roughly 8 feet 9 inches by 5 feet.' (p. 2)

In the year 1916, the third of the great war, Fleet drew attention to the new inscription in JRAS, 1916, 572 ff.; Senart examined it in detail in JA (11), 7, 425 ff.; and I, having received a copy of Krishna Sastri's article from my friend Konow, re-published the text in ZDMG, 70, 539 ff.

The chief interest of the Maski inscription consists in the fact that the king is here called not only Devānā pīrīya, but in addition to it Asōka,—a name which was hitherto known only from Buddhist literature and from the Purāṇas.

VI, VII, VIII. ROCK-INSRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE (Text, p. 175).

These three records, which resemble the Rūṇāṭh, Sahasrāṃ, Baiṛat, and Maski edicts, but add to them a second edict, were discovered and edited with lithographs by Mr. B. L. Rice in 1892.³ They were discussed by Senart, who added a transcript and translation of the Brahmagiri version (JA (8), 19, 472 ff.), and by Bühler, who corrected a few details (VOJ, 7, 29 ff.). In 1894 Bühler re-edited the three inscriptions with photo-lithographs prepared from inked estampages (EI, 3, 134 ff.). Transcripts and facsimiles are given also in Rice's Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. II, from which I borrow the following careful description of the localities (Introduction, p. 2 f.).⁴

'The Asōka inscriptions discovered by me were three in number, situated on hills on the right and left banks of the Janagī-halla or Chinna Haggari river, where it crosses

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¹ See South-Ind. Inscriptions, 1, 95 f.; EI, 9, 230; Fleet in JRAS, 1916, 574.
² Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 1; The New Asokan Edict of Maski, 1915.
³ Edicts of Asoka in Mysoor, nine pages of foolscap, dated Bangalore, February 1892.
⁴ See also Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909, 997 f.
the Mokālāmu tāluq [of the Chitaldurga district of the Mysore State] from west to east. They are all in the neighbourhood of Siddāpura,1 between 14° 47’ and 51° north latitude and about 76° 51’ east longitude. The best preserved is the Brahmagiri inscription, engraved on the top of a great boulder of gneiss, at the north-west base of the hill of that name, at a point called the Gajigirīte-māle. The boulder was well known throughout the neighbourhood as the Akshara-gūḍu or “letter-rock”, and was supposed to be enshrined with medicinal virtues. Accordingly, in various ailments of human beings and in diseases of cattle, the stone was washed and the water used for the purpose given to the patient to drink. It was the favourite seat for goatherders in the heat of the day when the flocks were collected into the shade of the surrounding rocks, and for ryots watching the crops in the neighbouring fields. The inscription is cut on the undressed horizontal surface of the rock, which slopes down somewhat at the end of the lines. It consists of thirteen not very regular lines, covering a space of 15° 6” by 11° 6”. Half a dozen letters at the beginning of the 6th and 7th lines have been defaced by lodgment of water in a depression in the stone.

‘The second inscription is less than a mile to the west of the first, and close to Siddāpura, on a ledge, facing south, some way up a rocky group of hills called Yenamana Timmayaṇa gūḍu or “the buffalo-herd Timmayya’s rocks”. It consists of twenty-two lines, covering a space of 13° 6” by 8’, and is engraved in lines of varying length on the sloping and peeling horizontal surface of the rock. A great boulder overhangs the inscription on the north, under the eaves of which the lines end, leaving a very small space between the inscribed floor and the rock above. Considerable portions have been defaced, as the shady ledge on which the inscription is cut formed a favourite shelter for goats and cattle.’

‘The third inscription is on the western summit of the Jāṭīṇa-Rāmēśvara hill, which is some three miles more north by west of Brahmagiri. The inscription is cut on a very irregular slanting horizontal surface of rock, facing north-east, which has been quarried at some period. Overhanging the inscription on the south is an immense boulder, which still shows the marks of the mason’s punches used in splitting off a considerable portion of its northern face. The floor on which the inscription is cut is immediately in front of the stairs leading up to the Jāṭīṇa-Rāmēśvara temple. Consequently all pilgrims to the shrine used to walk right over the inscription, and have no doubt done so for centuries. Moreover, owing to the convenient shadow of the overhanging boulder, the site of the inscription was the favourite resort of the bangle-sellers at the annual festival. Hence the rock is called the Bālāgāra-gūḍu or “bangle-sellers’ rock”, and various holes have been punched in different parts of the rock on which the inscription is cut to receive the posts of the booths or tents erected by them at the annual fair. For the foregoing reasons it is not surprising that the inscription is very greatly defaced, so much so indeed that it is difficult to tell exactly where it begins or where it ends. So far as can be made out, it consists of at least twenty-eight lines, covering a space of 17° 6” by 6° 6”. There is a guiding line engraved in the margin to the left, apparently to show the direction of the lines, but those above this mark do not seem to have been parallel with those below it.’

From a foot-note 2 we are glad to learn that ‘erections have now been put up over this and the other Aśoka inscriptions by the Mysore Government for their protection, and the headman of the village has the keys as custodian’.

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1 According to Krishna Sastri, the actual pronunciation of this name is Siddapura.
INTRODUCTION

IX. THE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS (Text, p. 181).

'The Hills called Barabar are isolated rocks of syenitic granite rising abruptly from the plain about 15 miles north of the city of Gayá in South Bihár. 'Although Barabár is that by which the cluster is commonly known, each hill has a name of its own, the highest being called "Barabár", also "Siddhásvar" from a temple to Mahádeva that once crowned it.'

'All of these possess some Buddhistic remains, but the most interesting are the caves of Barabár and Nagárjuni, which were hewn out of the solid rock upwards of two thousand years ago.'

'There are altogether seven caves in these hills, four of which belong to the Barabár or Siddhásvara group, and three to the Nagárjuni group.' Each of the three Nagárjuni caves contains an inscription of Dashalatha Devánampiyya, i.e. Asoka's grandson Dāsaratha. Among the four Barabár caves, three bear an inscription of king Devanampiyya, and one (the so-called 'Lomaśa Rishi cave') a Vaishnava inscription of the Maukhari Anantavarman, which seems to show that the original name of the Barabár Hill was Pravaragiri.

According to the second and third Barabár inscriptions the name of the Barabár Hill was then Khatalikha. Both the first and second inscriptions of king Devanampiyya and the three Nagárjuni inscriptions of Dāsaratha specify as donors the monks of the Ājīvika sect. In three cases an attempt has been made to chisel away the word Ājivikeha. This was probably done in the time of the Maukhari Anantavarman, who assigned one of the Barabár caves to Krisna, and two of the Nagárjuni ones to Śiva and Parvati.

The three Barabár inscriptions of king Devanampiyya were first lithographed and discussed by Captain Kittoe. They were examined by Burnouf (Lotus, p. 779 ff.) and edited by Senart and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Bühler (IA, 20. 361 ff.).

CHAPTER II. THE AUTHOR OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

The king at whose orders the rock- and pillar-edicts published in the first and second parts of this volume were engraved, gives his name or title in various Prákrit forms of which the Sanskrit would be Devanampriyaḥ Priyadarśi rājā. This full

1 Captain Kittoe in JASB, 16 (1847). 402.
2 Cunningham's Arch. Reports, 1. 40.
3 Id., p. 44. For the modern names of the single Barabár caves and for plans of them see id., plates 18 and 19. Cf. also Ferguson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 1. 130 ff.; Cave Temples of India, p. 37 ff.; V. A. Smith's History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 20.
4 For the bibliography of these inscriptions see Lüders' List of Brāhma Inscriptions (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), Nos. 954–6.
5 See Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 222.
6 See id., Nos. 48–50.
7 JASB, 16. 421 ff., and plate 9, figures 4–5.
8 Inscriptions de Priyadasi, 2. 205 ff., and IA, 20. 168 ff.
9 In a few cases (Kālī rock-edict I, A; Śahbāzgarhi rock-edict II, A; Delhi-Töprä pillar-edict VII, O and X) the word rājā is omitted, and once (Śahbāzgarhi, I, A) the word Priyadarśi. Cf. Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 482.
form of his title is shortened into Devānāmprīyā in section C of the Dhauli and Jaugāḍa rock-edict X, in all texts of the rock-edicts XII and XIII after the opening section, in which the full style is preserved, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, R.R. In the two separate rock-edicts at Dhauli and Jaugāḍa, in the Queen's pillar-edict, and in the Kauśāmbi pillar-edict, Devānāmprīyā alone is found.

Among the records published in the third and fourth parts of this volume, the Rummindë and Nigālī Sāgar pillars exhibit the full form Devānāmprīyā Priyadarśī rājā. The Maski rock-inscription opens with the genitive case of Devānāmprīyā Aśōka. On the Sārnāth pillar and in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions we have only Devānāmprīyā. On the Sānci pillar this word is lost; but the contents of the Sānci and Sārnāth pillars are so nearly related to those of the Kauśāmbi edict on the Allahabad-Kōsām pillar, that they can be safely referred to the same royal author. The same applies to the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c., which remind us of the rock- and pillar-edicts in many significant details.¹

There remain the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription and the three Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions. In the former the king styles himself Priyadarśī rājā, and in the three others rājā Priyadarśī. In the Calcutta-Bairāt record the king shows a strong interest in Buddhism. It would be, therefore, hypercritical not to assign this document to the same sovereign who paid visits to Sarbandhik (rock-edict VIII, C), to Luhmīnī (Rummindë pillar), and to the Stūpa of Kōnakamana (Nigālī Sāgar pillar). We cannot, however, decide with certainty whether the three Barābar Hill inscriptions belong to the same king or to another member of his dynasty. In favour of the former alternative it may perhaps be urged that two of the caves on the Barābar Hill were dedicated to the Ājīvikas when the donor had been 'anointed twelve years'. For, this happens to be the regnal year in which the author of the rock- and pillar-edicts commenced to issue 'rescripts on morality'; see the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The etymological meaning of the term Devānāmprīya is 'dear to the gods'. According to Patanjali's Mahābhāṣyā on Panini, II, 4, 56, and V, 3, 14, this word was used as an honorific like bhaśāṃ, dṛghāśū, and ayuṣkīnā.² Panini himself does not mention Devānāmprīya, but states that the termination of the genitive case is preserved at the end of the first member of compounds if the meaning is abusive (वचन चलनसः, VI, 3, 21). The Kāśīka commentary adduces the two examples चीरक्रम, 'the family of a thief', and गुप्तक्रम, 'the family of a low-caste man'.³ Kātyāyana affixes to Panini's Sūtra śāve Vārtikas, the third of which states that the compound Devānāmprīya ought to be added. Neither the Mahābhāṣya nor the Kāśīka have the word सूक्त, 'with the meaning of "fool"', which the Siddhānta-kumudi adds to the Vārtika. This secondary meaning of Devānāmprīya was already known to Patanjali's commentator Kātyāṭa,⁴ while Kātyāyana and Patanjali ignore it, although Patanjali on Panini, II, 4, 56, seems to have used Devānāmprīya in an ironical sense. In Bāja's

¹ Cf. the foot-notes on the translation of the Rūpnāth edict, passim, and Bühler, IA, 7, 144 f.
³ Cf. गुप्तक्रम: in the Kāśīka on the next Sūtra. It is worth noting that in the drama Mudrārākshata Chāṇakya uses the term गुप्त with reference to Chandragupta.
⁴ Cf. Bālamanavānā on Panini, VI, 3, 31. Kātyāṭa's commentary is not accessible to me.
INTRODUCTION

Harshacharita it is found twice as an honorific. In the same way Devanaṃpiya is employed frequently in Jaina literature.

In the Dipavaṃsa, Devanaṃpiya is prefixed to the name of Asoka's contemporary, Tissa of Ceylon, and is often used alone to denote him, and in the Naṅgārjuni Hill cave-inscriptions it follows the name of Asoka's grandson Daśaratha. In a few of the inscriptions published in this volume it is employed as a synonym of vājan, 'a king': In the Kāläśi, Shāhbazgarhī, and Mānsēhrā texts of the rock-edict VIII, A, the king's predecessors are called Devanaṃpiya and Devanāṃpiya, while the Ginnār and Dhauli versions have rājānu and rājācā; and the word Devanaṃpiya in the second separate edict at Dhauli (twice in section G and thrice in I) corresponds to lājā in the Jaugada text of the same edict (sections H and J).

As stated above (p. xxviii), another epithet of the king to whom the inscriptions published in this volume are due was Priyadarśin, 'he who glances amiably'. Both Piyadassi and Piyadasana, 'of amiable appearance', occur repeatedly in the Dipavaṃsa as equivalents of Asoka, the name of the great Maurya king. In the drama Muddrāvākṣasa, Piyadasana is prefixed to Chandasiri, i.e. Chandragupta, the name of Asoka's grandfather.

Before discussing Prinsep's identification of the king Devanaṃpiya Priyadarśin of the inscriptions with the Maurya king Asoka, it will be advisable to quote from the texts a few details which are of leading importance in this connexion. The opening section of the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription informs us that Priyadarśin was a Māgadha king, i.e. a ruler of Magadha. From the rock-edict V, M, we learn that his capital was Pāṭaliputra; for, the words 'both in Pāṭaliputra and in the outlying [towns]’ at Ginnār correspond to ‘here and in all the outlying towns’ at Kāläśi, Shāhbazgarhī, Mānsēhrā, and Dhauli. In the second and thirteenth rock-edicts the king refers to a number of contemporary Yōna, i.e. Greek, kings: the rock-edict II, A, mentions the Yōna king Antiyoka (Antiyaka at Ginnār, Antiyoga at Kāläśi and Mānsēhrā) and the kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoka; and the rock-edict XIII, Q, ‘the Yōna king Antiyoka (Antiyoga at Kāläśi and Mānsēhrā), and beyond him four kings, viz. Turamaya (Tulamaya at Kāläśi), Antequina (Antikina at Shāhbazgarhī), Makā (Magā at Ginnār), and Alikasudara (Alīkṣavudara at Kāläśi)’.

The great decipherer of the old Brāhmī alphabet, James Prinsep, at first ascribed the edicts to Devanaṃpiya Tissa of Ceylon. This is of course impossible because we know now that the author of the edicts calls himself a king of Magadha, and that he resided at Pāṭaliputra. The discovery of the Naṅgārjuni Hill cave-inscriptions of Dashalatha Devanaṃpiya, whom Prinsep at once identified with Daśaratha, the grandson of the Maurya king Asoka (id., p. 676 ff.), and the fact that Turnour had found Piyadasri or Piyadasana used as a surname of Asoka in the Dipavaṃsa, induced Prinsep to abandon his original view, and to identify king Devanaṃpiya Priyadarśin with Asoka himself (id., p. 790 ff.). A limine, another member of the Maurya dynasty

1 See Kielhorn in JRAS, 1908, 505.
2 See Pischel’s Grammatik, § 111. Hoernle and Pischel derived the word from Skt. deva + antiyā. Hemachandra (Abhidhānachintāmaṇī, III, 17) assigns to Devanaṃpiya the meaning of ‘fool’.
3 See Fleet in JRAS, 1908, 485.
4 IA, 20, 164 f.
5 See the Index to Oldenberg’s edition.
6 Similarly, in the fourth act of the drama Priyadarśikā, its heroine is called both Priyadarśikā and Priyadasana.
7 Hillebrandt’s edition, p. 159, lines 1 and 5; cf. his article on the Kaṭṭhikasāstra (Breslau, 1908), p. 30.
8 JASB, 6 (1837), 472 ff., 566 ff.
might be meant as well; for, as stated above (p. xxx), the eighth rock-edict shows that
the king's predecessors also bore the title Devānāṃpriya, and the Mudrārakshasa applies
the epithet Priyadarśana to Chandragupta. Every such doubt is now set at rest by
the discovery of the Maski edict, in which the king calls himself Devānāṃpriya
Ašūka.

In February, 1838, Prinsep published the text and a translation of the second rock-
edict. He found in the Ginnar version (l. 3) the words Amityaka Yona-rājā, and in
the Dhauli version (I. 1) Amityaka nāma Yona-lājā, and identified the Yona king
Antiyaka or Antiyoka with Antiochus III of Syria. 1 In March, 1838, he discovered
in the Ginnar edict XIII (I. 8) the names of Turamāya, Antikōna, 2 and Magā, whom he
most ingenuously identified with Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt, Antigonus
Gonatas of Macedonia (?), and Magas of Cyrene. At the same time he modified his earlier
theory, and now referred the name Antiyoka to Antiochus I or II of Syria, preferably
the former (id., p. 224 ff.).

On the Ginnar rock the name of a fifth king, who was mentioned after Magā, is lost.
The Shāhībazgarhi version calls him Alikasudara. Norris recognised that this name
corresponds to the Greek Ἀλικασδωρ, and suggested hesitatingly that Alexander of
Epirus, the son of Pyrrhus, might be meant by it. 3 This identification was endorsed by
Westergaard, 4 Lassen, 5 and Senart. 6 But Professor Beloch now thinks that Alexander
of Corinth, the son of Craterus, has a better claim. 7

As will appear in the sequel, the mention of these five contemporaries in the
inscriptions of king Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśa confirms in a general way the correctness
of Prinsep's identification of the latter with Ašūka, the grandson of Chandragupta
whose approximate time we know from Greek and Roman records. Antiochus I Soter of
Syria reigned 280–261 B.C., his son Antiochus II Theos 261–246, Ptolemy II Philadelphus
of Egypt 285–247, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia 276–239, Magas of Cyrene c. 300–
c. 250, Alexander of Epirus 272–c. 255, and Alexander of Corinth 252–c. 244. 8 The
rock-edict XIII cannot be placed earlier than twelve years after Ašūka's abhishēka,
when he commenced publishing 'rescripts on morality'. 9 If we assume that the rock-
edicts are arranged in chronological order, it cannot have been issued earlier than
thirteen years after the abhishēka, when Ašūka appointed 'Mahāmātras of morality' as
he tells us in edict V. If the Alikasudara of edict XIII is Alexander of Epirus, its date
would fall between 272 and 255, and if Alexander of Corinth is meant, between 252 and
250. For fixing the period of Ašūka's reign within narrower limits, we are thrown back
on what information can be gathered from Indian and classical literature concerning
Ašūka's grandfather Chandragupta.

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1 JASB, 7. 156 ff.
2 In reality Ginnar and Kāli read Amtekina, and Shāhībazgarhi Amtekīni. Bühler (ZDMG.
40. 137) justly remarked that these two forms would rather correspond to Antigenes than to
Antigonus. But no king named Antigenes is known to us, although it was the name of one
of the officers of Alexander the Great, who was executed, together with Eumenes, in 316 B.C.,
being then satrap of Susiana.
3 JRAS, 8 (1846). 305.
4 Zwei Abhandlungen, translated from the Danish into German by Stenzler (Breslau, 1862).
p. 120 ff.
5 Ind. Alt. 2 (and ed.). 253 ff.
6 IA, 20. 242.
8 The figures of these reigns are taken from Beloch's Griech. Geschichte, vol. 3.
9 See the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.
The historical tradition of India, Ceylon, and Burma is unanimous in naming as the founder of the **Maurya** dynasty **Chandragupta**, and as his two immediate successors **Bindusāra** and **Āśoka**. The pseudo-prophetic account of the Purāṇas runs thus:

‘Kautilya (or Chāṇakya) will establish king Chandragupta in the kingdom. Chandragupta will be king twenty-four years, Bindusāra twenty-five years, and Āśoka thirty-six years.’

According to the *Dipavānasā*, Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years (V, 73, 100), and Bindusāra’s son Āśoka thirty-seven years (V, 101). The *Mahāvānasā* states that the Brāhmaṇa Chāṇakya anointed the Maurya Chandragupta (V, 16 f.), and that Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years, his son Bindusāra twenty-eight years (V, 18), and Bindusāra’s son Āśoka (V, 19) thirty-seven years (XX, 6).

Buddhaghosha’s *Samanatapāśādīkā* agrees with the *Mahāvānasā* in allotting twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-eight years to Bindusāra.

The Burmese tradition assigns twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-seven years to Bindusāra.

It will be seen that all sources agree in fixing the length of Chandragupta’s reign at twenty-four years. To Bindusāra the Ceylonese chronicles allot twenty-eight years, Bigandet twenty-seven years, and the Purāṇas twenty-five years.

The Ceylonese sources state that Āśoka succeeded his father Bindusāra **24 years** after Buddha’s Nirvāṇa, and that his anointment took place four years after his father’s death, or **28 years** after the Nirvāṇa. The Burmese tradition confirms the two dates **214** and **218**.

As, according to the Ceylonese sources, Bindusāra ruled twenty-eight years and Chandragupta twenty-four years, the former would have reigned A. D. 186–214, and the latter A. D. 162–186. If we deduct the year of Chandragupta’s accession to the throne (162) from the traditional date of the Nirvāṇa, 544 B. C., the result is 382 B. C. This would be about sixty years earlier than the actual accession of Chandragupta as ascertained from Greek sources. For,luckily, the approximate time of king Chandragupta of Pātaliputra has been already settled by one of the great pioneers of Indian research, Sir William Jones, who identified him with Σανδράκους of Παλίβορα, the contemporary of Solon at Nikator.

Various devices were proposed in order to account for this chronological error, until Fleet showed that the Buddha-varsha of 544 B. C. is a comparatively modern fabrication, of the twelfth century, and that the difference of about sixty years is the quite natural
result of accumulated mistakes which were made in rounding off the figures of the regnal years of the kings of Ceylon.1

While thus the alleged date of the Nirvāṇa in 544 B.C., and that of Chandragupta’s accession in 382 B.C., have no practical value, the traditional interval of 218 years between the Nirvāṇa and Aśoka’s abhīṣekha might still be considered authentic. There are, however, two facts which in my opinion render it somewhat suspicious. It includes a period of 100 years between the Nirvāṇa and the Second Council.2 Such a nice round sum as just 100 years looks very much like a clumsy guess and a pure invention.3 Secondly, the traditional figures of the Northern Buddhists are almost totally at variance with those of the Southern Buddhists.4

The leading passage concerning Chandragupta’s date is found in Justin’s Epitoma Pompei Trogi, XV, 4:5


McCrimble translates this as follows:6

‘[Seleucus] waged many wars in the East after the partition of Alexander’s empire among his generals. He first took Babylonia, and then with his forces augmented by victory subjugated the Bactrians. He then passed over into India, which after Alexander’s death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus had been the leader who achieved their freedom, but after his victory he had forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator; for, having ascended the throne, he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thraldom. He was born in humble

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1 JRAS, 1909, 333, 335.
2 Vinaya-পितक, Chulavattha, beginning of last chapter (XII); Dipavamsha, IV, 47, and V, 15 f.; Mahāvamsa, IV, 8; Samantapāśādikā, p. 293.
3 Cf. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg in SBE, 13, xxii: ‘This is no doubt a round number; and the exact year of the date of the Buddha’s death is open to question.’
4 Cf. Geiger’s translation of the Mahāvamsa, p. ix f., where the figures of the Northern Buddhists are specified, and Westergaard’s Zwei Abhandlungen, p. 94 ff.
6 The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great (Westminster, 1893), p. 347 f.
life, but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended king Nandrus, and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he had sought safety by a speedy flight. When he lay down overcome with fatigue and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size approaching the slumberer licked with its tongue the sweat which oozed profusely from his body, and when he awoke quietly took its departure. It was this prodigy which first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so, having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him, and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant received him on to its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. Sandrocottus having thus won the throne was reigning over India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucus, having made a treaty with him and otherwise settled his affairs in the East, returned home to prosecute the war with Antigonus.

The same transactions are referred to in Appian’s *Pompeia*, book Συμμετεχεί, chapter 55:8

[Seleucus] τῶν Ἰνδῶν περάσας ἐπολέμησεν Ἀνδρόκοττο βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν Ἰνδῶν, μέχρι φιλικῶν αὐτῷ καὶ κάτω συνώντων.

[Seleucus] crossed the Indus and waged war on Androcottus, king of the Indians who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him.4

According to Strabo, Seleucus ceded to Sandrocottus a tract of land to the west of the Indus, entering into a matrimonial alliance with him and receiving in exchange five hundred elephants.6 We know from various sources that *Megasthenes* became the ambassador of Seleucus at Chandragupta’s court.7 Strabo adds that Deimachus was sent on an embassy to Chandragupta’s son, whom he calls Amitrochades: 7

Ἐπέρθησαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παλιμβόθρα, ὃ μὲν Μεγασθένης πρὸς Χανδρίκοτον, ὃ δὲ Ἀγιάκοσ πρὸς Ἀλιμπροχάθην ἐπὶ ἑκείνου ὁδὸν κατὰ πρεβείαν ὑπομικταὶ ἐξ ὅπως ἀποδήλας κατέληψαν τοιαύτα.

Megasthenes and Deimachus were sent on an embassy, the former to Sandrocottus at Palimbothra, the other to Amitrochades his son; and they left accounts of their sojourn in the country.7

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1 According to the *Mudrārākshasa*, Chandragupta was a Vrishala, i.e. a member of the Śūdra caste; see above, p. xxix, n. 3.
2 *Antinous* must be the last king of the Nanda dynasty which, according to Indian tradition, was overthrown by Chandragupta; see A. von Gutschmidt, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge*, 12 (1857), 262. Instead of the accusative ‘Nandrum’ the older editions read ‘Alexandrum’; cf. Lassen’s *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.), p. 207, n. 3. The original reading might have been ‘Nandum’.
8 The subsequent quotation from Athenaeus shows that this is a clerical mistake for Ἀμιλροχάθην or Ἀμιλροχάτης. 
9 M. Criddle’s *translation*, *IA*, 6, 115.
It may be concluded from this interesting notice that Chandragupta’s son and successor Bindusāra had the surname Amitrāghātā, i.e. ‘the slayer of enemies’. The same king is referred to as a contemporary of Antiochus (I Soter of Syria) in a curious anecdote preserved by Athenaeus:  

'Otrō ἐὰν περιστροβάντας πάσην ἀνθρώποι αἰ ἱεράδας . . . . ὡς καὶ Αμιτραχάτην τὸν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα γράφει Αντίοχον ἐξογκάτο, ἤφετο. Ηγεσάνδρος, πῶσας αὐτῷ γλυκές καὶ ἱεράδας καὶ σοφιστὴν ἀγαφάστα. καὶ τῶν Αντίοχον ἀντιγράφας ἱεράδας μὲν καὶ γλυκές ἀποστελεθέντες οὗ, σοφιστὴν δὲ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντοις ὑμῖν ποιεῖται.'

‘Dried figs were so eagerly desired by all men . . . . . that even Amitrochates, the king of the Indians, wrote to Antiochus asking him, says Hegesander, to purchase and send him sweet wine, dried figs, and a sophist; and that Antiochus wrote back: “We shall send you dried figs and sweet wine; but it is not lawful in Greece to sell a sophist.”

If this statement of Athenaeus is combined with the preceding one of Strabo, it appears that the friendly intercourse which had existed between Seleucus and Chandragupta, was continued by their respective sons and successors, Antiochus I and Bindusāra-Amitrāghātā, and that Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus at the court of Chandragupta, was succeeded by Deimachus, the ambassador of Antiochus I at the court of Bindusāra-Amitrāghātā. From Pliny  we learn that another Greek potentate, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (b.c. 285–247), sent Dionysius as ambassador to an unnamed Indian king, who may be supposed to have been either Bindusāra or Asoka.

I now return to the question of Chandragupta’s date. Seleucus’ Nikator of Syria (b.c. 312–280) arrived in Cappadocia in the autumn of 302 [the year preceding the battle of Ipsus]. The march thither from India must have required at least two summers. Consequently, the peace with Chandragupta has to be placed about the summer of 304, or at the latest in the next winter.  Thus the coronation of Chandragupta falls between b.c. 323 (Alexander’s death) and 304 (the treaty with Seleucus). As the consolidation of an empire which, as described by Megasthenes in his ‘Indica’, reached from Pañā to the Indus, must have been a matter of many years, I feel inclined to shift the date of Chandragupta’s accession towards the earlier limit and to adopt as a working date the year b.c. 320 which Fleet has proposed.  With this starting-point, and if the length of reigns as given in the Mahāvaṃsa is accepted, Chandragupta would have ruled 320–296, and Bindusāra 296–268. Asoka would have been crowned (four years after his father’s death) in b.c. 254. This date is confirmed approximately by Asoka’s thirteenth rock-edict, which, as stated above (p. xxxi), cannot be placed earlier than twelve or thirteen years after his abhishēka. 254–12/13 =252/251 would be one or two years before the last possible year (b.c. 250) in which all the Greek kings mentioned in that edict were still alive. This synchronism would prove that the date of Chandragupta’s coronation, on which that of Asoka’s coronation depends, can hardly be placed later than b.c. 320. It would follow further that the Antisyoka of edict XIII (and probably also of rock-edict II) was not Antiochus I, but

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1 See P. von Bohlen, das alte Indien (Kölnburg, 1830), r. 92. The word amitrāghātā is mentioned by Patañjali on Pānini, III, 2, 87; cf. JRAS, 1909, 425.
3 Naturalis historia, ed. Mayhoff, VI, 17 (vol. 1, Leipzig, 1906, p. 454 f.).
4 As stated above (p. xxxi), Ptolemy II is mentioned in Asoka’s rock-edicts.
5 Beloch’s Griechische Geschichte, vol. 3, part 1, p. 146, n. 3.
6 JRAS, 1906, 985.
Antiochus II (261–246), and that the Alikasudara of edict XIII was not Alexander of Epirus, but Alexander of Corinth (258–c.244). But we must remember that the above figures rest only on the Ceylonese tradition, while the Purāṇas assign to Bindusāra twenty-five instead of twenty-eight years, and that, accordingly, Chandragupta’s coronation might fall about three years later than b.c. 320. Besides, it must be kept in mind that the upper limit of Chandragupta’s coronation is the death of Alexander the Great in b.c. 323. The working date of b.c. 320 has the advantage of being the mean of the two outside dates 323 and 317.

I now append a list of the regnal dates which are incidentally mentioned in Aśoka’s inscriptions, adding in brackets the year b.c. to which each year of his reign may be supposed to correspond.

1. **Eight years** after the coronation (b.c. 256). The king conquered (the country of) the Kaliṅgas; rock-edict XIII.

2. **Ten years** after the coronation (b.c. 254). He went (on a visit) to Saṁbodhi (i.e. Bodh-Gayā); rock-edict VIII.

3. **Twelve years** after the coronation (b.c. 252):
   
   (1) He ordered his officers to set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years; rock-edict III.
   
   (2) He promoted morality by public shows of edifying subjects; rock-edict IV.
   
   (3) He published rescripts on morality; pillar-edict VI.
   
   (4) He gave two caves to the Ājivikas; two of the Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

4. **Thirteen years** after the coronation (b.c. 251). He appointed superintendents of morality; rock-edict V.

5. **Fourteen years** after the coronation (b.c. 250). He enlarged the Śāpa of Kōnakamana to the double (of its size); Nigālī Sāgar pillar.

6. **Nineteen years** after the coronation (b.c. 245). He gave a cave (to the Ājivikas); the third Barābar Hill cave-inscription.

7. **Twenty years** after the coronation (b.c. 244). He visited the Buddha’s birthplace at Luṇāmini and the Śāpa of Kōnakamana; Rummindēi and Nigālī Sāgar pillars.

8. **Twenty-six years** after the coronation (b.c. 238). He issued the pillar-edicts I, IV, V, VI.

9. **Twenty-seven years** after the coronation (b.c. 237). He issued the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII.

**CHAPTER III.**

ASOKA’S EMPIRE AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

In the preceding chapter it was shown that the king Devanāṃpriya Priyadarśin of the inscriptions can be no other than the Maurya king Aśoka of Magadhā. It will appear from the two next chapters (IV and V) that his edicts are not concerned with public affairs, but are of an almost purely religious character. In spite of this we may glean from them some details of historical importance which are mentioned incidentally.

The extent of Aśoka’s empire may be guessed already from the distribution of his rock-edicts, which it seems were engraved along the very confines of his territories. In the west they are found at Girnār on the Kāṭhīāvar peninsula and at Sōparā on the
Bombay coast; in the south in the Raichur district of the Nizam’s Dominions and in the Chitraldroog district of the Mysore State; and in the east at Dhauli and Jagda in the Purī and Ganjam districts. The north-eastern boundary line is marked by the rock-editics at Shahbazgarhi and Mānschā in the Peshāvar and Hazāra districts and at Kālsī in the Dehra Dūn district, and it is continued by the Nigālī Sāgar and Rummindī pillars in the Nepalese Tarāl and by the Rāmpurvā pillar in the Champāran district.

The capital of this vast empire was Pātaliputra, which, as stated above (p. xxi), is mentioned as such in the fifth rock-editic. The two syllables Pāta, which are preserved at the beginning of the third line of the Sārnāth pillar-inscription, are probably the remainder of the same name. Both the Dīpavaṁsas (V, 25, &c.) and the Mahāvaṁsa (V, 22) are aware of the fact that Pātaliputra was Aśoka’s capital. From the Mudrārākhasas and from classical authors we learn that it had been already the residence of his grandfather Chandragupta. As I have stated before (p. xxii), we owe to Sir William Jones the identification of Pātaliputra with the Pāli Pāṭimba or Pāṭimba of the Greeks. Megasthenes, who represented Seleucus at Chandragupta’s court, described it as a very large city:1

Καὶ λέγει Μεγασθενής, μῆκος μὲν ἐπέχει τῷ τὸ πόλιν καὶ ἐκατέργη τῷ τῆς πλευρῆς ἴσωπον μακροτάτῃ αὐτή ἐστι θόκοις ἐπολύνουσα στάδιον, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐπὶ πεντακοσίακα τάφρων δὲ περιβλέπσας τῇ πόλι τῷ τοῦ θύρου ξεκύλω, τὸ δ’ ἐβάσες τρικοσάπτων πόρων δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πνεύμαντις ἔχειν τὸ τάφρον καὶ πάλαι τίσσαρας καὶ ἠξόγιον.

Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates.2

The identity of Pātaliputra with the modern Pāṭnā is well known to the Hindūs.3 The capital belonged to the ancient province of Magadhā,4 which is now called South Bihār. In accordance with this, Aśoka styles himself Māgadhā, i.e. king of Magadhā, at the commencement of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription. In the rock-editic VIII, C, he refers to his visit to another locality which was included in the province of Magadhā.5 This is Sambodhi, now Bōdhi-Gayā, to the south of Pāṭnā.

The Kausāmbi edict on the Allahabad-Kosām pillar mentions Kōsāmbi (Kauśāmbī in Sanskrit), which is the modern Kōsām (see above, p. xx) to the west of the Magadhā province. From the fact that Aśoka addressed the Kausāmbi edict to his Mahānāmāras at Kosāmī, it may be concluded that in his time, just as in later times, Kausāmbī was the head-quarters of a province.

Two other chief towns of provinces are referred to in the Dhauli separate edict I, AA and BB, viz., Ujjēni (Ujjainī) and Takkhasilā (Takṣaśilā). Aśoka’s governor of the former was a royal prince (kumāra). In Buddhist tradition Aśoka himself is stated to have held the appointment of viceroy at Ujjayinī in the life-time of his father Bindusāra.6 Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti, and the ‘Oχυρ of the Peripius and of Ptolemy, is the modern Ujjain in the Gwalior State. Takṣaśilā, the Tāgīda of the

1 Arrian’s Trókav, ed. by Eberhard in Arriani Scripta Minora (Leipzig, 1885), X, 6 f. (p. 13).
2 M’Crindle’s translation, IA, 6. 131.
4 BRWW, 2. 82 f. ; Cunningham’s Ancient Geography of India, p. 453 f.
5 BRWW, 2. 115.
6 BRWW, 1. 235 f. ; EI, 11. 141.
7 Dīpavaṁsas, VI, 15; Mahāvaṁsa, V, 39, and XIII, 8.
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Greeks, was identified by Cunningham with Shâbdhârî in the Râvalpindi district, Panjâb.\(^1\)

From the commencement of the Brahmagirî and Siddâpura rock-inscriptions we learn that the head-quarters of Aśoka's southernmost province was a place of the name Suvarṇâgirî, and that his representative there, just as at Ujjayini, was a royal prince (âryaputra). Brahmagirî and Siddâpura belonged to the district of Isîla, which was subordinate to the viceroy at Suvarṇâgirî. Isîla may have been the ancient name of Siddâpura. Suvarṇâgirî is perhaps identical with its synonym Kanakagirî in the Nizam's Dominions, south of Mâski where an edict of Aśoka has been found, and north of the ruins of Vîjayanagara in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency.\(^2\)

At the beginning of the rock-edict XII, Aśoka informs us that, when he had been anointed eight years, he conquered the country of Kâliṅga\(^3\) on the eastern coast. To this province we have to allot Dhauli and Jaugâda in the Puri and Ganjâm districts, where copies of the rock-edicts I-X and XIV and of two separate edicts are found. The two separate edicts at Dhauli were addressed to the Mahâ-heavyras at Tôsali, who were headed by a royal prince (kumâra, sep. ed. II, A). The head-quarters of the district to which the modern Jaugâda belonged was called Samâpâ,\(^4\) and the Jaugâda rock had then the name Khēpâinga.\(^5\)

The second and third cave-inscriptions on the Barâbar Hill give the ancient name of this hill as Khalatika. The Rummindaî pillar has preserved the designation of the site of Buddha's birth, viz. Lummînî, or, as it is called in Buddhist works, Lumbînî.

All the geographical names enumerated so far must have been included in Aśoka's empire. Besides them, the king refers to tribes outside his territories, whom he calls his 'borderers' (anta).\(^6\) Several of these are mentioned by name. According to the rock-edict V, J, his western borderers were the Yônas, Kambôjas, and Gandhârás, the Râthikas (Râshika, which is probably a clerical mistake for Râshika, at Girnar) and Pitinikas (also spelt Piṭenîka or Piṭenîka).\(^7\) As I shall show below (p. xxxix), the Yonas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince. The Kambôjas have to be placed in Kâbul.\(^8\) Gandhâra is now included in the North-West Frontier Province; at the time of the Srî-yu-kî, its capital was Puruśahûpa, now Peshâvar.\(^9\) The Râshikas or Râshikas (= Râshtriya in Sanskrit) are perhaps the people of Kâthavâr, whose governor bore the title of Râshtriya.\(^10\) The Pitinikas or Piṭenikas\(^11\) have not yet been localized.

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1 Arch. Reports, 4, 116, and Ancient Geography, p. 111.
2 Cf. Text, p. 177, n. 5.
3 In a passage which is based on Megasthenes, Pliny (VI, 19) mentions the 'island' of Modogalinga, i.e., the three Kaliṅgas\(^1\) (from Telugu muddu, 'three', + Kaliṅka); see IA, 6, 338, and Caldwell's Comparative Grammar, Introduction, p. 32f. In another place (VI, 17) he refers to the Maccoclinga or Maccocalingas as a tribe of Brahmans. Maccocalinga is probably a corruption of Mukkaliṅga, which would be the Tamil form of the Telugu Muddugalânga. For instances of the synonymous Sanskrit expression Trikaliṅga see Kiellhorn's List of Northern Inscriptions (EI, vol. 5, Appendix), p. 177, s. v. The earliest king of Kaliṅga, of whom inscriptions have been preserved, is Khāravēla; see Liuders' List of Brâhma Inscriptions (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 160 f.
4 See the Jaugâda separate edict I, B, and II, B.
5 See the Jaugâda rock-edict I, A.
6 See Râzpâthâ, Sahasrâm, and Bâlrât, H.; Brahmagirî and Siddâpura, I.
7 See Text, p. 10, n. 1.
9 See the Junâgarh inscription of Rudradâman, EI, 8, 46, n. 7. For other proposed identifications of the word Râshtriya see Text, p. 56, n. 21.
10 The identification of Pitinikâ with Pratisvâhâna is phonetically impossible; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 262.
According to the rock-edict XIII, Q, Asoka's borderers to the south were 'the Chōdas and Pandyas, as far as Tāmraparnī.' The two former are the two well-known principal dynasties of the Tamil country, and Tāmraparnī is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon. The Chōdas or Chōjas (Suśa in Tamil) were known to Ptolemy, the Pandya king (Iuvālōm) to the author of the Periplus as well, and Tāmraparnī (Tampōthāra) already to Megasthenes. The rock-edict II, A, inserts between the Pandyas and Tāmraparnī two other borderers, viz. Satiyaputra (Satiyaputra at Kāñsi) and Kēralaputra. The former has not yet been identified successfully. The latter is the king of Kērala or Malabar, who is called Krepbōropos in the Periplus and Krepbōropos by Ptolemy.

The two sections in which the Chōdas, the Pandyas, and Tāmraparnī are referred to (II, A, and XIII, Q), mention, along with them, as Asoka's borderers, the Yōna king Antiyoka and his four neighbours. The next section of the rock-edict XIII (R) distinguishes from them some tribes 'here in the king's territory' (īha rāja-viśaya), viz. 'the Yonas and Kambōjas, the Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis (Nabhiti at Shabhāzgarh), the Bhōjas and Pitinkas (Pitinkiya at Kāñsi), the Andhras and Pārindas.' The words 'here in the king's territory' distinctly keep the Yonas of section R apart from the Yona kings of section Q. Both here and in the rock-edict V, J, they are associated with the Kambōjas and Pitinkas, and in the second place all three of them are stated to have belonged to Asoka's western borderers. Consequently, these Yonas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince; and the Bhōjas, who are coupled with the Pitinkas in the rock-edict XIII, R, will have to be looked for in the west as well. Perhaps they have to be connected with those Bhōjas whose king (Bhōjadhirāja) is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman of Kaśmir. Andhra is the old name of the Telugu people on the eastern coast, and also the designation of an ancient dynasty which ruled over a considerable part of the Deccan after the decline of the Maurya empire. Pliny, who borrowed his information from Megasthenes, mentions the Andarac, i.e. the Andhras, as a great and powerful race. As the rock-edict XIII, R, couples the Andhras with the Pārindas, these too must have been an eastern tribe. The Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis may have to be placed at the Nepalese frontier of Asoka's empire.

From the preceding list of geographical names we may derive some information about the scheme of Asoka's administration. Three of the provinces of his empire were

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1 See Text, p. 3, n. 10.
2 See Caldwell's Comparative Grammar, Introduction, p. 95 f.
3 See Text, p. 3, n. 7.
4 ed. Fabricius (Leipzig, 1883), § 54 (p. 94).
6 See above, p. xxx f.
7 Lassen (Ind. Alt., 2 (sec. ed.) 256) identified them with the inhabitants of the tract of land to the west of the Indus which Seleucus is reported to have ceded to Asoka's grandfather Chandragupta; see above, p. xxxiv.
8 Rājatarangini, V, verse 151; cf. EI, 1, 155. Sr R. Bhandarkar (Early History of the Deccan, sec. ed., p. 11) compares the title Mahābhāja in the cave-inscriptions. See also Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 100, and Senart, EI, 7, 50.
9 See Rapson's Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, &c., Introduction, p. xv ff.
10 See IA, 6, 339.
11 The variant at Kāñsi, Pālada, might be the same as the Sanskrit Pārada, but the Pāradas were probably a people in Gedeonia; see Lassen's Ind. Alt., 1 (sec. ed.), 1028.
12 According to Fa-hian, the mythical Buddha Krakuchchhanda was believed to have been born at Na-pi-ka near Kapilavastu; see ERWW, t, xlviii. The Brahmapurāṇa (Aufeicht's Oxford Catalogue, p. 196) assigns Nabihkapura to the territory of the Uttara-Kurus; see Bühler, ZDMG, 40, 138.
entrusted to royal princes (kumāra or āryaputra), viz. Ujjayini, Tōsali, and Suvarṇagiri (above, p. xxxvii f.). The two Kumāras were probably sons of the king himself, and the Āryaputra perhaps some other relative of his. The rock-edict V, M, refers to the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives, 'both in Pātaliputra and in all the outlying towns', showing thereby that the tradition according to which he had killed all his brothers but one before ascending the throne is opposed to facts. His sons and ‘other queens’ sons’ are mentioned also in the Delhi-Tōpā pillar-edict VII, DD, and his queens in section CC of the same edict. From the Queen’s edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar we learn that his second queen had the name Kāluvākī and was the mother of Tīvāla.

Another provincial governor was perhaps the Yavana king Tushāspha who was governing Giriār in the time of the Maurya Aśoka. Each provincial governor was assisted by a body of high officers named Mahāmātra, or, as they seem to be called in one place, Pradērika. Other Mahāmātras were placed in charge of the districts which were included in each province. Thus the Mahāmātras at Isila were subordinate to the prince and the Mahāmātras at Suvarṇagiri. In two places we hear of a council (parishad) of the Mahāmātras or ‘ministers’, which was responsible only to the king and received its orders directly from him. The Kauśāmbi edict was addressed to the Mahāmātras at Kōsambī, the Sārnath edict perhaps to those at Pātaliputra, and the Queen’s edict to the Mahāmātras everywhere, i.e. to those of all districts. The technical term āhala (= āhāra in Sanskrit), ‘a district’, occurs in the Rūpnāth edict, L, and in the Sārnath edict, I, where it is opposed to the ‘territories surrounding forts’ (kūṭa-viśaya in section J), i.e., apparently, tracts which were not yet fully pacified, but were held by military posts, such as the ‘forests’ (atavi) mentioned in the rock-edict X, M. The Mahāmātras at Tōsali and Samāpā were exercising judicial functions in the city (nagara-vyavahāraka or nāgaraka). At the same time they had the control of the king’s borders who were yet unconquered, i.e. they were what is called in the first pillar-edict (section F) Aṅga-mahāmātras or ‘superintendents of the borderers’. A new class of Mahāmātras was created by Aśoka when he had been anointed thirteen years, viz. the Dharma-mahāmātras or ‘superintendents of morality’, whom he employed for converting his subjects to his moral creed. Other special Mahāmātras had to supervise Buddhists, Brahmans and Ajivikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects. Even the control of women was entrusted to separate officers (stry-adhyaksha-mahāmātra, rock-edict XII, M). In Buddhist literature the word Mahāmātra is frequently used in the sense of ‘a minister’. In Aśoka’s edicts it has evidently a wider meaning.

Another class of high officers were the Rājākas or Lajākas. They were ‘placed

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1 Mahāvamsa, V, 19 f., 33; Samantabhadra, p. 299.
2 See the Junāghar rock-inscription of Rudradaman, EI, 8, 47.
3 See the Dhauli separate edict II, A, and the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions, A.
4 See Text, p. 5 and n. 3.
5 See the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura edicts, section A.
6 See the rock-edict III, 1, and VI, F.
7 See the first separate edict at Dhauli, A and Y, and at Jaugarā, B and Z.
8 See the second separate edict at Dhauli, F, and at Jaugarā, G.
9 See the rock-edict V, I, and XII, M; the Delhi-Tōpā pillar-edict VII, P, Y, AA.
10 See the same pillar-edict, Z.
11 Thomas (JRAS, 1914, 387) suggests the translations ‘official’ or ‘dignitary’.
12 See the Giriār rock-edict III, C.
in charge of many hundred thousands of men, and either rewards or punishments were left to their discretion. Bühlerr has shown that the two dialectical forms Rājāka and Lajāka are derived from *Rajjāka, and that this is an abbreviation of rajju-gāhaka, 'rope-holder', which occurs in the Jātaka. The Rajjāka originally 'held the rope' in order to measure the fields of the ryots and assess the land-tax. Thus the word became the designation of a revenue settlement officer, just as in British India the chief administrative officer of a district is still called 'collector', because his special duty is the collection of the revenue.

Along with the Rājāka and the Prādesīka, the rock-edict III, C, mentions the Yutas or 'secretaries', who correspond to the Yuktas of the Kautiṣkiya. The last section (E) of the same edict suggests that they were employed for codifying royal orders in the office of the Mahāmātras or ministers.

The rock-edict XIII, S, refers to those to whom the envoys (dātu) of Dēvānāpriya do not go. It may be concluded from this that Aśoka maintained ambassadors not only in the frontier states enumerated in section R, but at the foreign courts named in section Q, viz., those of the five Greek kings, the Chōdas and Pāṇḍyas, and the island of Ceylon. Similarly, Dionysius may have been the ambassador of Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt at Aśoka's court.

From Indian literature we know that at all times kings used to entertain spies (chāra or gaḍha-purusha). It seems probable that these are meant by the word Purusha in the pillar-edicts I, IV, and VII, and I have followed V. A. Smith in translating it by 'agents'. These agents were graded into high ones, low ones, and those of middle rank (I, E), were acquainted with the king's wishes, controlled the Lajākas (IV, G), and were placed in charge of many people (VII, M). A similar class of officers, which was created by Aśoka himself, were the 'reporters' (pratiyōdaka), who were posted everywhere, as he says, in order to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, even at the cowpat, in the palanquin, and in the parks. It is worth noting that this list does not include vehicles drawn by horses or bullocks, instead of which palanquins were employed in the time of Aśoka. Horses are mentioned only in the pillar-edict V, K. Section I of the same edict refers to the elephant-park (ūṛga-vana) of the king. As Bühlerr (ZDMG, 46. 78) remarked on the authority of Medhātithi, the taming and the sale of elephants used to be a royal monopoly. According to Megasthenes (IA, 6. 239),

1 See the pillar-edict IV, C, and VII, N.
2 See the pillar-edict IV, D and J.
3 Cf. Hobsom-Johnson, s.v. Collector. Megasthenes (IA, 6. 238) speaks of high officers (ἐξακρομοί) who superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners.
4 See Text, p. 5, n. 1.
5 These are evidently the ἐφαρμοί or ἐπικεφαλικοί of Megasthenes (IA, 6. 124). According to Arrian (id., p. 237) they spy out what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king, and according to Strabo (loc. cit.) some are entrusted with the inspection of the city, and others with that of the army. The former employ as their coadjutors the courtiers of the city, and the latter the courtiers of the camp. The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.
6 See above, p. xxxv.
7 See the Gîrnâr rock-edict VI, D.
8 Cf. SBE, 25. 323, note.
a private person is not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king, and persons are appointed to take care of them.' These officers are the Aśvādhyakṣa and Hastiyadhyakṣa of the Kautilya (p. 132 ff.). The Gōdhyakṣa of the same work (p. 128 ff.) probably corresponds to the Vṛchabhūmikas or 'inspectors of cowpens' in the rock-edict XII, M. The king's cowpen is referred to in the rock-edict VI, D.

At the end of the set of rock-edicts (XIV, E) Aśoka uses the word līpikara, 'a writer', the formation of which is taught by Pāṇini (I, 2, 21). The three Mysore edicts were drafted by one of this class, who wrote at the end of his signature the instrumental case līpikaraṇa in Kārāśa characters, showing thereby that he had been transferred from North-Western India. The word līpi, 'a rescript or inscription', occurs six times in the rock-edicts. The commentary on the Upaniṣāttras (IV, 119) derives līpi from the root līp, 'to smear'. This is impossible because the two Kārāśa versions use instead of līpi the form dipi, which is found in the Achaemenid inscriptions. Besides, the participles līkhitā, lekhita, līkāpita are replaced at Shāhābazgarhi by nīpīta, nīpēta, nīpesapita, which cannot be derived from the Sanskrit root nīsh-pīk, 'to crush', but must be connected with the Ancient Persian nī-pīsē, 'to write'. The words aṣṭi dharma-dipi nipīta, 'this rescript on morality has been written', at Shāhābazgarhi, V, O, and XIII, X, remind one most strongly of the cuneiform inscriptions. Thus Darius says at Behistān, column 4, section 15:—[tum] hā kya aparām imām dipim vaināky tyām adām niyap[sha]m. 'O thou who shall see this inscription in the future which I have written'; and Xerxes says at Van:—yanaī dipim naij nipīslām akunauṣh pāṣaṇa adām niyastālam imām dipim nipīstutānavi, 'where [Darius] did not cause an inscription to be written; afterwards I commanded to write this inscription'. The conclusion is irresistable that neither dipi nor nipīta are genuine Indian words, but that they have been taken over from the Ancient Persian language before Pāṇini's time, when the provinces of Sindhu and Gandhāra belonged to the Persian empire. The Kārāśa alphabet and the Persepolitan capital came to India from the same source. The preamble of many of Aśoka's edicts: 'king Devanāṁpriya Priyadāraśī speaks thus', is evidently a reminiscence and modification of the Achaemenid formula: bātiy Dārayavaush (Xshayārsha, Artaxšastra) xshāyabiya, 'says Darius (Xerxes, Artaxerxes) the king'. Tushāspa, the name of the Yavana king who was Aśoka's governor of Gīrās, seems to be a Persian word like Vishtāspa, Keresāspa, &c., and suggests that Aśoka enlisted Irānians in his service.

1 Bhāmagiri, l. 13; Siddāpura, l. 22; Jātiṅga-Rāmeśvara, l. 22.
2 Bühlér, EI, 3. 155.
3 See JRA, 1913, 654.
4 See id., 1914, 97.
6 See id., p. 28 f.
7 See id., p. 53 f.
8 See Bühlér's Ind. Pal., § 8.
9 See the Indices to Ferguson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 2, 515, and to V. A. Smith's History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 513.
10 For the Indus period, see Lamotte, Der Indus, p. 36.
11 See above, p. 11 and n. 2.
CHAPTER IV. ASOKA’S CONVERSION

From Buddhist literature we learn that Asoka became a convert to and patron of Buddhism. The Kaśmir historian Kalhaṇa also reports that Asoka ‘adopted the religion of Jina (i.e. Buddha)’ and built many Stūpas.\(^1\) According to the Dipavāna (VI, 55), he became a Buddhist lay-worshipper (upāsaka), and the accounts of the Mahāvāna (V, 72) and of the Samantapāśadikā (p. 303) imply the same fact. His conversion took place three full years, i.e. in the fourth year, after his abhiṣēka.\(^3\) He is believed to have built no less than 84,000 Vihāras in as many towns, besides the Asokāvāma at Pātaliputra, and to have consecrated all these buildings after three years, i.e. in the seventh year of his reign.\(^3\)

Asoka’s inscriptions fully corroborate the tradition that he favoured Buddhism, and show that he was intimately acquainted with its tenets, legends, and literature. This will be clear from the subjoined references.

1. In the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription the king pays his respects to the Saṅgha or clergy, gives expression to his reverence to and faith in the Buddha, the Dharma or doctrine, and the Saṅgha, and recommends to monks and nuns, to laymen and to laywomen, the study of seven ‘expositions of the Dharma’ selected by himself. These seven texts have been actually traced in the Buddhist canon.\(^4\)

2. In the Kauśāmbi, Sāñchi, and Sarnath pillar-edicts he orders heretical monks and nuns to be expelled from the Saṅgha. This order of the king is known to the tradition of the Southern Buddhists.\(^5\)

3. The rock-edict VIII, C, states that when he had been anointed ten years, he paid a visit to Sambodhi, i.e. Bodh-Gaya, the place where the Buddha had attained to perfect knowledge. According to the Divyavadāna (p. 393), Asoka visited Bodhi in the company of the Sthavira Upagupta and distributed there 100,000 (gold pieces).

4. The same sum he is said to have spent at Lumbini-vana, the site of Buddha’s birth (id., p. 389 f.). His visit to it is confirmed by the Rummindéi pillar, which was erected by him when, having been anointed twenty years, he came himself to the village of Lumbini and worshipped the spot where the Buddha Śākyamuni was born.

5. The Nigalī Sāgar pillar records that when he had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the Stupa of the (mythical) Buddha Konākamana to the double (of its original size), and that when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped that spot.

6. The Kālṣi and Dhauli rocks bear the figure of an elephant with the labels ‘the best elephant’ and ‘the white (elephant)’.\(^6\) On the Gīṁrār rock the elephant has been destroyed, but the existing label implies that the missing figure represented the Buddha, who is believed to have entered his mother’s womb in the shape of a white

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\(^1\) Rājatarāṅgiṇī, I, 102. According to I, 106, and VIII, 339, Asoka seems to have had the surname Śāntavāsada.

\(^2\) See Dipavāna, VI, 18, 24; Mahāvāna, V, 34; Samantapāśadikā, p. 300.

\(^3\) According to the Mahāvāna, V, 209, in his sixth year; but see IA, 20, 233, n. 18.

\(^4\) See Text, p. 174, n. 1.

\(^5\) See Text, p. 160, n. 5.

\(^6\) See Text, p. 30, n. 3, and p. 92, n. 1.
INTRODUCTION

elephant; cf. the Nidānakathā of the Jātaka, vol. 1, p. 50, and the representation of the ‘descent of the Blessed one’ on the Bharaut Stūpa.

These six references raise a strong presumption in favour of the view that Asoka had adopted the Buddhist religion in the course of his reign. Further undeniable evidence is supplied by the Rūpṇāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions, which will have now to be considered at some length. These records, or proclamations (śrāpana) as Asoka calls them himself, were issued ‘two and a half years and somewhat more’ after he had become a Buddhist (Śākya at Rūpṇāth, Buddha-Śākya at Maski, section B) or a lay-worshipper (upāsaka, Sahasrām, &c.), and ‘a year and somewhat more’ after he had approached the Saṅgha (Rūpṇāth, &c., section D). Section B confirms the statement that Asoka became a Buddhist upāsaka (above, p. xliii). In section D the word ‘approached’ (upēta) is ambiguous. Bühler, who first edited these inscriptions, took it in the sense of ‘entered’; and, by adding thirty-two and a half years (which were derived from the misreading adhitiṣṭāni at Rūpṇāth) and one further year to the traditional date of Asoka’s conversion (three years), he arrived at the conclusion that the Rūpṇāth edict was issued shortly before his death (IA, 6. 153). After Oldenberg had shown that adhitiṣṭāni was a misreading for adhātītum, ‘two and a half’, Bühler was obliged ‘to give up the assumption that the statements of the inscription regarding the time of Asoka’s conversion to Buddhism agree with those of the Buddhist tradition’ (EI, 3. 137). As Asoka is known to have reigned thirty-seven years, Fleet, who followed Bühler in assigning the Rūpṇāth and cognate edicts to the last years of the king’s life, assumed that he abdicated before the end of it in order to turn a Buddhist monk. But literary tradition knows nothing of such an abdication, unless we can find some reminiscence of it in the fact that the Divyāvadāna relates that Asoka died destitute of power and possessions, having given everything that he could give to the Buddhist Saṅgha. Moreover, an ex-king could not have issued commands (ānapayati, Brahmagiri edict, B) to his former officers. Besides, the Rūpṇāth and Sahasrām edicts must be considered the earliest of all the Asoka inscriptions for two reasons:—(1) they speak of inscriptions on the walls and pillars as a task which it was intended to carry out, and not as a fait accompli; (2) they, and the three Mysore records, contain the first elements of Asoka’s Dharma, which we find more fully developed in his rock- and pillar-edicts.

Bühler (EI, 3. 141) believed that, as the Rūpṇāth edict contrasts the words ‘since I have approached the Saṅgha’ with the words ‘since I am a (Buddhist) lay-worshipper’, the former cannot convey any other meaning but ‘that he had entered the Saṅgha, and had become, at least nominally, a monk; compare the Sanskrit phrases yajñam, vratam, or brahmacharyam upa-i’. But the only other testimony for such a pabbajjā is that of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsin, who mentions an image of Asoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk; and the expression saṅgham upa-i for the precise idea of ‘entering into the monastic order’ is, as Senart (IA, 20. 163) reminds us, ‘vague and not sanctioned by the ordinary terminology, necessarily fixed at an early date in such a matter; besides, this situation of a king, who, while preserving his royal prerogatives and his royal life, enters into a religious order, is far removed from the idea which we are accustomed to

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1 See Text, p. 27, n. 2.
2 Cunningham’s Stūpa of Bharhut, plate 28, and IA, 21. 235. No. 98: Bhagavato əkramiti (read thus instead of okaṇṇiti and see Bühler’s Ind. Pal., § 16, section C, No. 6).
3 See Text, p. 167, n. 17.
4 See Dīpanāka, V, 101; Mahāvānsa, XX, 6.
5 Fleet in JRAS, 1915. 637.
6 See Senart, IA, 20. 236.
7 See Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 496.
form with regard to Buddhist monachism in the ancient period." These considerations induce me to accept the view of Senart, who takes the word *upāsa* in the sense of 'visited' and finds in it a reference to a state visit paid by the king to the *Sāṅgha*. The *Sāṅgha*’s first visit to the *Sāṅgha* is placed by the *Dīpavamsa* (VI, 78), *Mahāvamsa* (V, 76), and *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 303) in the very year of his conversion to Buddhism. Senart compares the visit recorded in the Rūpañh and connected edicts with the festival of the consecration of Aśoka’s 84,000 *Stūpas*, which is alleged to have been celebrated three years later, and at which the king is stated to have ‘stood in the midst of the *Sāṅgha*’.

As stated above (p. xlv) the Rūpañh edict informs us that, when issuing it, (1) Aśoka had been a Buddhist for more than two and a half years (section B), and (2) more than a year had passed after his visit to the *Sāṅgha* (section D). The word *sumi*, ‘I am’, in section B of the Rūpañh, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts proves that the two and a half years of Aśoka’s *upāsakatva* did not precede the single year which followed his visit to the *Sāṅgha*, but included the second period. Instead of section C of the Rūpañh and Sahasrām edicts, the Brahmagiri and Siddāpura edicts read: ‘but indeed I had not been very zealous for one year’. This more precise statement implies that the period of somewhat more than two and a half years has to be subdivided into one year with, no doubt, a little more, followed by one year with the balance of the whole period. During this second year, Aśoka, having visited the *Sāṅgha*, showed himself very zealous. In section E of the Sahasrām edict he states that, in consequence of his zeal, ‘men in Jambudvīpa (i.e. in India), being during that (i.e. in the preceding) time unmixed with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods’. This passage has been much discussed and interpreted in various ways. I have suggested that the ‘gods’ (*deva*) may be compared with the ‘divine figures’ (*dvāvāyavī rājā*) of the rock-edicit IV, B, where the king claims to have exhibited ‘representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures’, evidently in order to induce his subjects to lead moral lives and thereby to qualify for heaven. The ‘festive meetings’ (*saṁdhyā*) which were approved of by him in the rock-edicet I, E, are probably identical with those religious shows instituted by him.

I now pass to the knottiest problem of all those which the Rūpañh and cognate edicts propound to posterity, viz. the meaning and application of the word *vivāsa* at the end of the Rūpañh edict. This substantive may be expected to be derived from the same root as, and to be connected in meaning with, the verb *vivāseti* in a preceding section (L). The same verb occurs as *vivāsayati* in section I of the Sārnath edict. As I have shown elsewhere, this section adds nothing new to the king’s order, but contains further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to it, and we have to translate *vivāsayati* at Sārnath and, along with it, *vivāseti* at Rūpañh by ‘causing to leave home, causing to start on tour, despatching (messengers)’. Consequently the substantive *vivāsa* seems to mean ‘staying away from home, remaining on tour’. A comparison of the wording of section M at Rūpañh with section J at Sahasrām yields the result that the edict was

1 See IA, 20. 234, and cf. JA (11), 7. 435 ff.
2 *Dīpavamsa*, VII, 5; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 185; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 304.
3 This point was first recognised by Senart in 1892; see JA (8), 19. 481, and cf. my remarks in *JRAS*, 1910. 144 f., and Senart in JA (11), 7. 435.
4 See Rūpañh, D; Maski, C; Brahmagiri and Siddāpura, E.
5 See *JRAS*, 1913. 652 f.
6 See Text, p. 163, n. 10, and *JRAS*, 1912. 1053 ff.
7 Cf. Thomas, JA (10), 15. 518.
issued by a person on tour, who can be no other but Aśoka himself, when he had spent 256 nights on tour. It follows that Aśoka had started on tour a few months after visiting the Sāṁgha, which he had done more than a year before issuing the Rūpāṇā, Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, Maski, and the three Mysore edicts.

The Rūpāṇā and cognate edicts do not specify the years of Aśoka's reign in which his conversion and his visit to the Sāṁgha took place; but they furnish a few dē ails which enable us to fix their time with great probability, viz.:

(a) Aśoka became a Buddhist upāsaka.
(b) He visited the Sāṁgha one year after (a).
(c) He started on tour.
(d) He issued the Rūpāṇā edict, &c., more than two and a half years after (a), more than one year after (b), and 256 nights after (c).

On p. xxxvi I gave a conspectus of the regnal dates which Aśoka's inscriptions contain. Of these I here repeat the following ones in tabular form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Rock-edict XIII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 years after the abhīshēka</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conquest of Kāliṅga</td>
<td>Visit to Sambōdhi</td>
<td>Publication of inscriptions on morality</td>
<td>Institution of public shows of edifying subjects</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On p. xliv I gave two pieces of evidence to show that (d) the Rūpāṇā and cognate edicts must be considered the earliest of all. No. 3 places them twelve years after Aśoka's abhīshēka, i.e. in the thirteenth year of his reign. If we suppose that they belong to the second half of the thirteenth year, we may combine No. 2 with (a) and assume that Aśoka's visit to Sambōdhi in the eleventh year of his reign was connected with his conversion to Buddhism. In this case (b) would fall in his twelfth year and (c) about the end of the same year. No. 1 explains the conversion by mentioning the circumstances which occasioned it. The king confesses that the Kāliṅga war was the turning-point in his religious career, and that his grief at the enormous loss of human life made him repent of his conquest and aspire henceforth to the 'conquest by morality'.

Herewith we may compare the Mahāvaṁsa, V, 189:

'Before, he had been known as Čandrāśoka (i.e. the fierce Aśoka) on account of his evil deeds; afterwards he became known as Dharmāśoka (i.e. the pious Aśoka) on account of his virtuous deeds.'

The Mahāvaṁsa places this change of name and character in the seventh year of Aśoka's reign and his conversion already in the fourth year (above, p. xliii). These dates cannot be reconciled with the epigraphical ones and must be erroneous. But the fact that the Buddhist chronicles agree with the inscriptions in recording a change in Aśoka's policy and principles of government about the time of his conversion proves that their accounts are not purely imaginary, but are based on contemporaneous tradition.

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1 See Text, p. 169, n. 8.
2 The discovery of the word lāṭi, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of scholars for thirty-three years, is due to Thoms; see JA (10), 15, 520.
3 This view is confirmed by section E of the Rūpāṇā edict, which alludes to the same shows as No. 4.
4 See the rock-edict XIII, P and U.
5 The same statement is made in the Divyāvadāna, p. 382.
At the same time they furnish in this manner another piece of evidence in favour of the correctness of Prinsep's identification of Asoka with the Devanānpriya who issued the edicts published in this volume.

A few words have to be added concerning the 256 nights which the king had spent on tour when he published his first religious proclamations. Asoka's tours are referred to and their object specified in the Rock-Edict VIII, in which he states that, after he had gone to Sambodhi (i.e., after his conversion to Buddhism), he commenced to undertake 'tours of morality' (dharma-yātā) for 'visiting Brāhmaṇas and Śramanas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality'. This edict was probably not issued before the Rock-Edict V which records the appointment of Dharma-mahāmaṭras thirteen years after the abhiseka. As the tour during which Asoka issued the Rūpānṭh edict had been undertaken in his twelfth year when he commenced to be 'very zealous', it may be concluded that it was his first dharma-yātā. When he issued his proclamation in the second half of his thirteenth year, he had been in camp 256 nights. The special reason which induced him to acquaint us with this figure is not apparent. Fleet has shown that it does not mark any division or total of subdivisions of the year, either lunar or solar; but, as I believe I have shown that the Rūpānṭh and other records are not the last, but the earliest of the edicts, I am unable to accept his ingenious suggestion that the 256 nights had been spent in worship because they corresponded to an equal number of years which had then elapsed since Buddha's Nirvāna.

It must still be noted that the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription or 'letter to the Saṅgha' seems to be earlier than all the other rock- and pillar-edicts. The references to a few Buddhist tracts in this inscription suggest that after his visit to the Saṅgha, and before starting on tour, he was engaged in studying the sacred literature. This would place the inscription in the twelfth year of his reign.

The Kauśāmbi, Sāṇchi, and Sārnāth edicts cannot be earlier than the six first pillar-edicts, because the first of them is engraved on the Allahabad-Kosam pillar in a position which shows it to have been a subsequent addition.

CHAPTER V. ASOKA'S DHARMA

In the last chapter I trust to have proved that Asoka had already embraced Buddhism when he commenced to issue 'proclamations on morality' (dharma-śravāṇa) or 'rescripts on morality' (dharma-liṅg) in order to convert his subjects. He tells us himself (pillar-edict VII, J-L):

'The following occurred to me: I shall issue proclamations on morality (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given). Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.'

The date of this propaganda is given in the pillar-edict VI, B:

'(When I had been) anointed twelve years, proclamations on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not

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1 JRAS, 1911, 1097.  
2 id., 1910, 1307 f.  
3 See above, p. xix.
transgressing those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects."

As shown above (p. xliv), Aśoka's first proclamations (śrāvamsa) were the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts. When issuing them, he ordered that his views should be made public by inscribing them on rocks and pillars. In the same year he directed his officers to carry on the propaganda on their quinquennial circuit (rock-edict III, C):

'Everywhere in my dominions the Yukta, the Rūjaka, and the Pradēśika shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.'

In the next year of his reign he created special 'Mahāmātras of morality' (Dharma-mahāmātra, rock-edict V, I), whom I have mentioned before (p. xli). A fresh set of six edicts was engraved on pillars twenty-six years after the abhīśka, and the seventh pillar-edict at Delhi-Tōprā was added in the next year.

European analogies might lead us to expect that Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism would have induced him to persecute the votaries of other religions. In reality the Hindūs have been at all times extremely tolerant to other creeds, and have allowed everybody to try to attain salvation in his own fashion. Among the six orthodox schools of philosophy they count the pantheistic Vēdānta and the atheistic Sāṁskhya, and epigraphical and literary records show that Hindū kings considered it their duty to build temples and to make grants to other gods and denominations than their own. The same tolerance was practised by Aśoka. As a pious Hindū he acknowledged the 'debt' (prina) which every king owes to his subjects in return for the revenue (shaśānghāga) levied from them, and which consists in affording them protection (pālana):

'Whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).'

In the same spirit he says:

'All men are my children. As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.'

This principle is further specified in the pillar-edict VI, C-E:

'(Thinking): “thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured), I am directing my attention not only to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that I may lead them to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly. In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes. And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.'

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1 Rūpnāth, H.; Sahasrām, H. J: Brahmagiri und Siddapura, I, K.
2 Rūpnāth, J. K.; Sahasrām, L. M; Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P.
3 Cf. also the Dhauli separate edict I, Z--CC.
4 See the rock-edict VI, L, and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauli, H, and at Jaugada, I.
5 On the other hand, the king reminds the Mahāmātras that they owe him the debt of obedience in return for the salary received from him; see id., L and M, respectively, and the first separate edict, Q and R, U and V, respectively.
6 See the first separate edict at Jaugada, F, G, and the second, E, F.
Accordingly he directed his Dharma-mahāmātras to busy themselves with Brahmans and Ibhyas (i.e. Vaiśyas, rock-edict V, K.), and with ascetics and householders (pillar-edict VII, Y), placed special officers in charge of the Buddhist clergy, of the Ajivikas, Nirgantas (i.e. Jainas), and other sects (id., Z), and permitted all sects to reside in any place they liked (rock-edict VII, A). In the very remarkable rock-edict XII, which does him the greatest credit, he gives expression to his impartial consideration for all sects and entreats them in their own interest to respect each other:

'For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects—all (this) out of devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely' (section H).

Hence the king recommends to all sects concord (samacāya, section I) and the guarding of speech (vachā-gupti, section D).

There is nothing specifically Buddhist in those benefactions to which the second rock-edict refers. Aśoka arranged for medical treatment of men and cattle not only in his own dominions, but among his borderers, and caused medicinal herbs, roots, and fruits to be cultivated. Along the roads he had trees planted and wells dug for the benefit of cattle and men. The Delhi-Tōpā pillar-edict VII, which was issued twenty-seven years after the abhisheka, states that he planted banyan-trees and mango-groves along the roads, that at intervals of eight kōś he had wells dug and flights of steps (for descending into the water) built, and that he established numerous places for the supply of drinking-water to cattle and men (sections R-T). When twenty-six years had elapsed after his abhisheka, he had ordered the release of prisoners twenty-five times (pillar-edict V, L). This suggests that he used to proclaim an amnesty to criminals at almost every anniversary of his coronation. The fourth pillar-edict records that the king left rewards and punishments to the discretion of his Lajukas, in order to ensure impartiality in judicial proceedings, and that he granted three days' respite to prisoners on whom the sentence of capital punishment had been passed. The fifth rock-edict (L) and the first separate edict (Dhauli, J, K, Y; Jaugada, K, L, Z) also testify to his regard for innocent prisoners.

All these measures were certainly prompted by his care for his subjects, but they do not characterize him as a Buddhist reformer. If we turn to an examination of what he tells us about the nature of his Dharma, it appears that the latter is in thorough agreement with the picture of Buddhist morality which is preserved in the beautiful anthology entitled Dhammapada, i.e. 'words of morality'. Here we find Buddhism in stutu nasendī. 'From the definitions or descriptions which the king gives us, it follows that to him Dharma ordinarily implies what we call the sum of moral duties.' The ideas and the language which are brought to light, from a religious point of view, in our inscriptions, cannot be considered as an isolated expression of individual convictions or conceptions. The Dhammapada 'lays before us an equivalent sufficiently exact to allow

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1 The Barābar Hill inscriptions record a grant of caves to the Ajivikas, but it is not absolutely certain whether the donor was identical with Aśoka.
2 Cf. also the pillar-edict VI, E, and VII, Y.
3 Megasthenes speaks of officers who 'construct roads, and at every ten stadia set up a pillar to show by-roads and distances' (IA, 6, 238), and of the 'royal road' (Iddās bari̓kīy = rāja̱ pat̄ha in Sanskrit) leading from the western frontier to the capital Pātaliputra, which has been measured by acheni (1 acheni = 40 stadia), and is in length 10,000 stadia' (id., p. 126).
4 Senart, IA, 20, 260.
us to consider that they correspond to a certain state of Buddhism, earlier than that which has found expression in the majority of the books which have come down to us.\(^1\)

The word *Dharma* is first mentioned in the Maski edict (section E). It is defined thus in the second portion of the Brahmagiri record (sections M–Q):

‘Moreover, *Devānāṃprīya* speaks thus: Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues (*dharma*-guna) must be practised. In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives. This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life. Thus one must act.’

The rock-edicts repeat or amplify the same injunctions:

‘Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas (i.e. Buddhist monks) is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious’ (III, D).

‘Abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged’ (IV, C).

‘Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas’ (IX, G).

‘Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals’ (XI, C).

‘Obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion’ (XIII, G).

Finally, the pillar-edict VII, section HH, speaks of a progress ‘in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, to the poor and distressed, (and) to slaves and servants’.

A noteworthy point in the above extracts is the equal respect which the king paid to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.\(^2\) As Senart (IA, 20, 263) has shown, the *Dhammapada*, though a professedly Buddhist work, does exactly the same. There are, however, two edicts in which Asoka denounces Brāhmaṇical usage. In the ninth rock-edict he condemns ‘many and various vulgar (“offensive” at Shāhbazgarh) and useless ceremonies’ which women are practising ‘during illnesses, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a son, and when setting out on a journey’, and recommends in their stead the practice of morality.\(^3\) Secondly, in the first rock-edict, section B, he directly prohibits the killing of animals at sacrifices. At the end of the same edict, however, he naively confesses that he had not yet been able to carry out fully the ‘abstention from killing animals’ which formed part of his moral code, and that three animals were still being killed daily in his kitchen; but he promises that even this

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\(^1\) Senart, IA, 20, 26

\(^2\) Megasthenes mentions the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Śramaṇa* as two kinds of *philosophi*; see IA, 6. 243.

\(^3\) Cf. the *Maṅgala-sutta* (*Khuddaka-pātha*, V; J.R.A.S., 1870, 312 ff.) or *Mahāmaṅgala-sutta* (*Suttaññapāta*, II, 4), in which the Buddha himself declares what he considers ‘the highest maṅgala’.
slaughter would be discontinued in future. Along with animal sacrifices he prohibited festive meetings (sāmāja, sections C, D), perhaps because some of them, like the Spanish bull-fights, consisted of contests of animals,1 and substituted another kind of festive meetings (section E), viz. the edifying shows alluded to in the fourth rock-edict and in the Rūpāṇthi and cognate edicts (above, p. xliv).

Among Aśoka’s ‘good deeds’ the second pillar-edict (E) gives prominence to various benefits conferred on animals. This statement is explained by the fifth pillar-edict, which contains a detailed list of animals that were declared inviolable either permanently or on certain days, among them the well-known fast-days (posatha).2 From the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII it appears that this limitation of the general principle of ahīṃsa was a concession which Aśoka, though a convinced Buddhist, was obliged to make to the majority of his subjects:

‘Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by instruction.’3 But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by instruction, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably. Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable . . . . By instruction, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings, (and) to abstention from killing animals’ (sections J–NN).

One of the items in the lists of virtues which constituted Aśoka’s Dharma was liberality or charity (dāna). He not only practised it on his ‘tours of morality’ (above, p. xlvi), but organized the distribution of his own gifts and of those of his relatives through his officers; see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, sections CC, DD:

‘Both these and many other chief (officers) are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in diverse ways different worthy recipients of charity both here and in the provinces. And others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens’ sons, in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.’

According to the next section (EE) ‘noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz. compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men’; while the pillar-edict II (B, C) says:—‘What does morality include? (It includes) few sins, many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.’ These two lists remind us of verse 224 of the Dhammapada, where it is stated that the practice of truthfulness, absence of anger, and charity leads to the gods:

Sachchaṁ bhāne na kujjheyya dajja appasmi yāṣhīto
etahi tīni ṭhānehi gachchhe devāna santike

With the words ‘few sins, many virtuous deeds’ in the pillar-edict II, C, Senart (IA, 20. 262) compares verse 183 of the Dhammapada:

Sabbapāpass’ akaranāṁ kusalass’ upasampadā
sachittaparyodapanam etam Buddhāna sāsanam

1 See Thomas, JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.
The Buddhist fast-days are mentioned also in the Sārnāth pillar-edict, H.
3 This, and not ‘conversion’, seems to be the actual meaning of nījhati. Cf. Suttanipāta, II, 8, verses 5 and 7.
In the fourth rock-edict Aśoka remarks that 'the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct' (aśīlaṣya, section H), and exhorts his descendants to be 'abiding by morality (and) by good conduct' (dharmaṁ śīle tisṭhiṁtaṁ, F). In the Dhammapāda we read in verse 217:

Sīla-dassana-sampannāṁ dhammaṭṭhaṁ sachevaṁdīnāṁ

and in verse 84:

sa sīlavā paññaṁva dhammiko sīyā
dānaṁ ṣāṭṭhaṁ sīhaṁ sīyaṁ
duṇḍavaṁ ṣāṭṭhāvaṁ sīyaṁ
dhāruvaṁ ṣāṭṭhāvaṁ sīyaṁ
dānaṁ ṣāṭṭhaṁ sīhaṁ sīyaṁ
duṇḍavaṁ ṣāṭṭhāvaṁ sīyaṁ
dhāruvaṁ ṣāṭṭhāvaṁ sīyaṁ

Aśoka’s remark: sukaṁ hi pāpam, ‘for sin is easily committed’ (Girnar edict V, G), reminds us of sukaṁ asiddhāni in verse 163 of the Dhammapāda, and the words: duṇḍavekhe chev kho ca, ‘now this (evil deed of mine) is indeed difficult to recognise’ (pillar-edict III, D), of verse 252:

Sudassāṁ vajjam aññesaṁ attano pana duddasaṁ

and of verse 50:

Na paresaṁ vilomāni na paresaṁ katākataṁ
attano va aevkkheyya katāni akatāni cha

The lists of evil passions (āsīnava-gāmīni, pillar-edict III, F) and dispositions (jātāni) do not tally with the āsavas and kilesas of the Buddhists. To counteract these dispositions, Aśoka recommends ‘the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry’ and continues:

‘Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice)’ (Jaugadā, Q).

This maxim reminds one of verse 168 of the Dhammapāda:

Uttīṭhe nappamajjeyya dhammaṁ sucharitaṁ chari

Already Aśoka’s earliest proclamations have zeal (parākrama or prakrama) for their subject. He returns to it in the sixth rock-edict, which dwells on the necessity of exertion (uṭṭhāna, sections H, J) or zeal (parākrama, N) in conducting public business. Similarly, the Dhammapāda recommends uṭṭhāna (verses 24, 25, 280), parakkama (verses 23, 383), and appamāda (verses 21–32). In two of his sermons on ‘zeal’ Aśoka appeals to all his subjects, not only to those in high positions, but to those in humble life as well; see the Rūpañāḥ edict, sections G, H:

‘And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous. And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued, (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous.’

Compare with this the rock-edict X, sections E, F:

‘But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim). But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish for a high (person).’

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1 See the first separate edict at Dhaulī, M, and at Jaugadā, N.
2 See Childers’ Pāli Dictionary.
3 See the first separate edict at Dhaulī, O, and at Jaugadā, P.
4 Rūpañāḥ, Sahasrāṁ, and Bairaṭ, F–H; Brahmagiri and Siddāpara, G–I.
A similar sentiment occurs in the seventh rock-edict, section E:

'But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.'

The eleventh rock-edict (B) and the ninth (J) state that 'there is no such gift as the gift of morality' (dharma-dāna). Senart (IA, 20. 62) compares verse 354 of the Dhammapada:

Sabbadānaṁ dhammadānaṁ jināti.

Spiritual insight (chakkhu), which Asoka claims to have spread in many ways,¹ is alluded to in the Dhammapada, verse 273:

virāgo seṭṭho dhammānaṁ dipādanaṁ cha chakkhumā  

According to the thirteenth rock-edict (L) 'Devāṇaṁpriya thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven'.²

This remark reminds us of the noble verse 223 of the Dhammapada:³

Akkodhena jine kodham asādhuna sādhuna jine  
jine kadaryāna dānero sacchenālikavādinaṁ  

The thirteenth rock-edict (sections M–O) continues thus:

'And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of Devāṇaṁpriya, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.⁴ And they are told of the power (to punish them) which Devāṇaṁpriya (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance, in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed. For Devāṇaṁpriya desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.'

This is the 'conquest by morality' (dharma-vijaya) which Asoka substitutes for the conquest by arms, and which he claims to have won even among his neighbours (sections P–U). He requests his descendants that they 'should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that) if a conquest does please them they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest' (section X).

In one important point Asoka's inscriptions differ from, and reflect an earlier stage in the development of Buddhist theology or metaphysics than, the Dhammapada: they do not yet know anything of the doctrine of Nirvāṇa, but presuppose the general Hindu belief that the rewards of the practice of Dharma are happiness in this world and merit in the other world. See the rock-edict 1X, M, N (Kalsi); X, C; XI, E; XIII, W, Y, AA; the Dhauli separate edict I, F; II, E, G, K; the pillar-edict I, C; III, H; IV, E, M, N; VII, PP. Cf. the Dhammapada, verse 219 f.:

Chirappavāśīṁ parisāṁ dūrato sottthim āgataṁ  
ṇātittīṁ suhajja cha abhīnandanti āgataṁ  
Tathā eva kathapuṇṇaṁ pi asmā lokā pariṁ āgataṁ  
puṇṇāni patigānantti piyāṁ nāttva āgataṁ  

¹ See the pillar-edict II, D. ² Cf. the Dhauli separate edict II, G. ³ The same verse occurs both in the Jātaka and in the Mahābhārata; see Rhys Davids, Buddhist Birth Stories, p. xxvii, and Franke, VOJ, 20. 320 ff. ⁴ See above, p. II, n. 3.
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Instead of 'merit in the other world' Aśoka often uses the term 'heaven' (svarga). See Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bāirāṭ, G; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, H; the rock-edict VI, L; IX, K, L (Girnār); the Dhauli separate edict I, S, U; II, L. The Dhammapada (verse 126), however, distinguishes Nirvāṇa from Svarga:

saggarī sugatino yanti parinibbant' anāsaṃvā
dharmapādā (verse 126), however, distinguishes Nirvāṇa from Svarga:

* * * * *

At the end of this survey of the contents of Aśoka's inscriptions we have still to consider the fourteenth rock-edict, in which the author of the preceding edicts states that he caused them to be written 'either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length. For the whole was not suitable everywhere'. The words 'at full length' must apply to the complete sets of fourteen edicts at Girnār, Kālī, Shāhbaẓgarhī, and Mānsāhārā. These four versions are practically identical, with the exception of the end of edict IX, where the three last of them (Kālī, &c.) differ, for reasons which are not apparent, from Girnār, Dhauli, and Jaugāḍā. The words 'in an abridged (form)' may refer to the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts, and the words 'of middle (size)' to Dhauli and Jaugāḍā, where two separate edicts were substituted for the rock-edicts XI–XIII. These, or at least the third of them, were 'not suitable' here because Dhauli and Jaugāḍā formed part of the newly conquered country of Kaliṅga and required different treatment and special orders to the administrative officers. It can be shown that the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugāḍā were contemporaneous with the thirteenth rock-edict of the other versions: The words 'that Devānāmpriya will forgive them (viz. his unconquered borderers) what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world' in section G of the Dhauli separate edict II correspond to sections L and M of the thirteenth rock-edict at Shāhbaẓgarhī:

'And Devānāmpriya thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven. And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of Devānāmpriya, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.'

Another point of contact exists between the first separate edict and the third rock-edict, which Aśoka issued twelve years after his abhīṣeka, and in which he ordered the officers of all districts of his empire to undertake quinquennial tours for inspection and propaganda purposes. The first separate edict at Dhauli must have been drafted in the same year because in its sections Z and CC the king speaks of the quinquennial circuit of the Mahāmāyas as a measure which he was about to introduce. At the same time triennial tours were instituted in the provinces of Ujjayinī and Takshashīlā; see sections AA, BB of the same edict.

I now add a classified list of all the Aśoka inscriptions.

I. Buddhist Inscriptions.

(1) Calcutta-Bāirāṭ rock-inscription.
(2) Rūmnindevi and Nigālī Sāgar pillars.
(3) Kauśāmbī, Sāñchī, and Sārnāth pillar-edicts.

II. Proclamations or 'rescripts on morality'.

(1) Early edicts.
(a) Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bāirāṭ, and Maski.
(b) Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭṭinga-Rāmaṭvara.

1 See Text, p. 39, n. 1.
2 See above, p. liii and n. 4.
(2) Rock-edicts.
   (a) Edicts I–XIV at Girnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsēhra.
   (b) Edicts I–X, XIV, and two separate edicts at Dhaulī and Jaugāḍa.

(3) Pillar-edicts.
   (a) Edicts I–VI at Delhi-Mīrāṭh, &c.
   (b) Edicts I–VII at Delhi-Tōprā.

III. Donative inscriptions.
   (1) Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.
   (2) Queen’s pillar-edict.
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CHAPTER VI.

GRAMMAR OF THE GINNAR ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel e is replaced by u in osudha (=Skt. uṣṭhada, II, 5). This change is due to the influence of the o in the preceding syllable; cf. uṣṭhada =Skt. uṣṭhada in the Māgadha dialect.¹

The e of eta (=śṭra?) seems to be developed from an original i; see Johansson, Shākhā, 21.

As in Pāli, Skt. u is represented by a in gaur (XIII, 6), while the form gaur occurs three times. The a may have been introduced from the comparative gariyas and the superlative garishttha; see Michelson, IF, 23. 265, n. 1. In khe (=Skt. khainu) the a is lost by syncope, the i is assimilated to the preceding kh, and Skt. u is represented by o. The form khe is used also in Pāli, while the literary Prākrits have kha (for khā, an enclitic form of khainu) instead of it.²

In the foreign name Āṅgirika = Āṅgirīcos, ē is expressed by a. In [Ā]hā[ek]ina = Āṅgirīcos, e and i correspond to ē and ə, and in Turamāya = Prakīrti, u and a to ē and ə.

The Ginnar dialect has lost one of the Sanskrit vowels, viz. rī, which became i (after the stress accent) in etārīsa, tārīsa, yārīsa (=Skt. ādārīsa, kāc.), and u (after labials) in parīkāhā and eveta (=vṛītta, X, 2), but generally a—ānaūṇa (=ānī房车, kācaha (=kṛīvya), kattā, dādhā, bhāta, bhīta, mṛṣa, māva, māfyā, mata (=mrīka, XIII, 1), vīṣaṇa, vīṣyata, suvādaya ³ (IX, 7), v[ə]dhi (=vṛīḍīḥ, IV, 11). In vadā (=vṛīḍīḥ, XII, 2, 8, 9) and usāta ⁴ the rī, which became a, has caused the lingualization of the following dental. In vṛākṣa (=vṛākṣa, II, 8) the vowel rī is represented by the syllable ra, and in srunārū (XII, 7) by ru through the influence of other forms of the root sru.

Of diphthongs, ai is found only in thāira, trañasa, and samacchāra, the genesis of which will be explained below (p. lvi f.), and an is always changed to o—ḍvo, ārāloka, potra, pṛaptra, osufha, epaga, and epeya.

Short vowels are lengthened in ānahtarnā (=Skt. anantaraṃ, VI, 8), āchāyī[dek] (=ātyayikam, VI, 7), māddhārā (=madhurā, XIV, 4), nādithi (IV, 1), abhākāra (=abhākāra, V, 7), abhirama (VIII, 2), patiṣeṣa (=pratiṣeṣa, XI, 9), patiṣeṣ[a] (=XIII, 4), santripatī (=Skt. santripatī, IV, 2); also spelt santripati and sanipatī; vīvāha (V, 2), vīvāha (XIII, 10); also vīvāya, bahubha (=bhalbhā, IV, 4), and at the end of words in tatrā (XIII, 1), paratrā (VI, 12), sarvātā (II, 6), etamāt (IX, 2), parthekasū (II, 8).

Initial ā is shortened in aroṣṭaḥ, and final ā in tatha (=tathā, XII, 6). [Vr][u]a-raja (XIII, 8) = vuna-raja (II, 3), and in the enclitic va, which is far more frequent than its original form va. The three forms vṛadha, viḍhā (i.e. əvṛadha), and ṣparadha are perhaps to be derived from the root vṛdhk.

¹ I use the term ‘Māgadha dialect’ for designating the language of the province to which Aśoka’s capital belonged. It must not be confused with the Māgadhī of the Prākrit grammarians; cf. Michelson, AJP, 30. 284.


³ This word is used in the sense of Skt. sukṛd, ‘a friend’. Cf. suhajja in the Dhammapada.

⁴ This participle corresponds in form to Skt. uṣṭita, but its meaning agrees with that of Prākrit uṣṣiya (Pischel’s Grammatik, § 64)=Skt. uṣchhrita. In other words, the Ginnar form seems to be due to a false popular etymology of uṣchhrita from the root uṣrī instead of uṣrī.

⁵ The length of the initial ā may be due to the fact that the word is a translation of the Māgadhī ānāntarīṣa; see the Dhauli and Jaugrāja versions, VI, 4.

⁶ Kāśi, Dhauli, and Jaugrāja have atiṣeṣika, Pāli both atiṣeṣika and atiṣekha (i.e. *atiṣeṣika).

⁷ Cf. Böthe’s Worterbuch, s. v. viṣhūka, and Pān, VI, 3, 122.

⁸ Cf. viḍhā-chitta in the Dīghanikāya, translated by Franke, p. 144, n. 2.
used in the same sense as rādhā. The short å of ātadriśanā (= ātadriśam), ātadriśanī (= ātadriśāmī), dāna (= dānam) is probably due to clerical mistakes. Final i is shortened in the nom. sing. of masculine bases in in--Praiñada, kasti.

The initial å of the enclitic api is dropped everywhere except in evamaśī (II, 2). The initial i of iti is generally preserved, but it is dropped in -nisrīta tī (V, 8) and in the compound kīṣita or kita.

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Greek χ and γ are expressed by k in Avatikāya = 'Aviśekos and [A]ṁekha = 'Avityoros. In -opaga and -epaga we seem to have a change of g into j; cf. Franke, VOJ, 9. 343 ff. Skt. gh has become h in lāhuka.

In vaca (VI, 3; XII, 9), ch corresponds to the j of Skt. vroja; cf. vrahāṇī = Skt. vrojāṇī at Shāhībāzgarhī.

Skt. n is preserved in kalāṇa (= kalayaṇa), gaṇaṇa, charaṇa, prakaraṇa and pakaraṇa, praṇa and pāṇa, vinishkāmaṇa and samana (= śramaṇa). In terminations, however, dental n is not, as in Sanskrit, linguized after r and sh: agena (= agena), parabramena, patrena and palena, mitrena, abhiramakini, rāpāni, sahasrāni, maññicchāna, gurunā, thairānā, manasāṇā and mānusānā (= mānusahānam). On the other hand, lingual n is newly developed after r in prájapati (from Skt. prájapatī), darsana and dasaṇa (= darśana), saṁśrīnā (from śrīyati), and without apparent reason in Yona (V, 5), while Yona (with dental n) occurs four times.

As stated above (p. lvii), dentals are linguized after the vowel ṭi in uta and vakhi, and d becomes r before an original ri in etarī, &c. Similarly, dh has turned to dh through the influence of the preceding sh in osudha (= Skt. asudha), and t becomes r after r in the preposition pati (ten times), while the original prati occurs four times in pratipati and saṁpratipati. In dīpi (= dīpi in Ancient Persian; see above, p. xli) d has become l. In idha the Gīṛa dialect has preserved the ancient form of Skt. iha; cf. Pischel's Grammatik, § 266.

The labial aspirate bh has become h in the instrumentals bahāki (= bahubhāki), tehi (= Vedic tēhī), paṭivesiye, satehi, and in some forms of the root bhī, viz. hoti (= bhavati), aho (abhat), and ahūnu, while bh is preserved in bhavati, bhate, bhūta.

The semivowel y is developed out of i in Avatikāya = 'Aviśekos, and Puruleśā becomes Toramāyo. Initial y is lost in ā = Skt. yā (II, 2) and āvā = Skt. yāvat. In the dative añhā (XII, 9) = Skt. añhāya (the whole syllable yan seems to be dropped). In causatives the characteristic affixes āya and ayyi sometimes remain unchanged. More frequently both are changed to aī (ayya by Saṁprasāranā, and ayyi by the elision of y) and contracted to e. Thus Skt. pratiśoḍaya becomes paṭivedeta, while e.g. paṭayati remains unaltered, and Skt. hāyasyati, urādhyatam, vičayati, a-vācyati are converted to hāpsati, urādhetam, lochatasya, [a]-lochetpā, while ayyi remains in dasyapā = Skt. dasyāyitā. Similarly, Skt. maṇīrā becomes first maṇīrā and then mora (I, 11). In two instances an original ayya is not represented by e, but by aī: *ṭrayadāsa (= Skt. trayaḍāsa) becomes trefada (V, 4), and Skt. saṁ-chaṛya, having passed through the intermediate stages *saṛachariya and saṁachariya becomes saṁachariya (XIII, 7) through metathesis.1

Linguistic d corresponds to Sanskrit l in mahādā, and to Tamil f in Choṭa. The l of lochatasya and [a]-lochetpā, which corresponds to Skt. r, is due to the influence of the Māgadhā dialect; see Text, p. 8, n. 3. Greek λ is represented by r in Toramāyo = Puruleśā. This word proves that the Gīṛa and Shāhībāzgarhī versions are translations from the Māgadhā dialect, where the λ of the Greek original is preserved (Tuśamāye at Kālī).2 Another instance in which r corresponds to l is *ṭrabhatke, ‘to kill’, = Skt. abhakti; see below, p. lxvi.

The semivowel r is developed out of u in uva ( = Skt. ukta, IX, 5; XIV, 4). As ayya to aī and e, ayya is changed by Saṁprasāranā to aī and a. In this way bhavati, abhavat, avarūdhana, *avadditavya become hoti, aho, evadana, ovadditavya. The contracted form hoti and its original,

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1 Cf. Geiger's Pāli, § 27, and puṇa (XI, 4), which goes back to Skt. puṇya and presupposes the intermediate forms *punyam and *punyam.

2 If my explanation of supaddāye at Kālī, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa (Text, p. 33, n. 3) is right, supadarasī at Mānsehra would be another wrong translation from the Māgadhā dialect.
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( = rājñā), Rī(Rā)stika ( = Rākṣistika), sūrāthāya ( = sūrārthāya), itihāskha ( = stry-ādhyaksha), kīti ( = kārtī), τι ( = torah), sāmīp[ani] ( = sāmīpyam).

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is frequently at the end of words (see above, p. lviii), in Tāvānaparṇa (= Skt. Tāmraparṇa) and Devanāpīrya, while Anusvāra is suppressed after a long vowel in atikrāta and atikāta (= atikranta), [ā]parāta ( = āparāntaka), chhāti ( = kāhāni), [ṛ]jītā ( = rījānta), Pāḍā ( = Pāṇḍyā), bāḍa ( = bāṇḍa), koro (for *karotate, IX, 3), karoto (for *karotate), pāñ (read hōtī, for *hōtī). In avāsā (IV, 6) ī has taken the place of the āṅ of sāṅkāṣṭa (IV, 1). Conversely in suṣrūṣā, suṣrūsā, suṣrūṣā the short nasalized vowel uṇī is substituted for the ā of suṣrūsā (III, 4), and in suṣrūṣā and suṣrūṣā the Anusvāra of uṇī is omitted.¹ There are several other instances in which Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel: — magala (IX, 3) = maṅga, the two 3. pers. plur. ichhāti (VII, 2) and prāpṇuṣati (XIII, 4), saṁbhadha (XI, 1) = saṁbhadha, sastu (twice) = saṁstuta, saṁkhāra (XIV, 5) = saṁkhīrya, pāsada (twice) = pāṣadā, saṅyama = saṅhyama, saṅvata (also saṅvata) = saṅvarta, kīcī (= also kīcī) = kīcīkhi, kīti (= also kītī) = kītīti. In the first six of them the omission of Anusvāra may be due either to clerical mistakes or to the faint articulation of the nasal sound. The form pāsada (= Skt. pāśadha) is a recognised variant of pāsama (passim); cf. praṇa and praṇhāda at Shāhāzāghrī. In asyama, which occurs four times, and in saṅvata the nasal may have been assimilated to the following semi-vowel; cf. Fāmī, VIII, 4, 39. The forms kīchī and kīti occur again in other Asoka inscriptions and are perhaps defective spellings for kīchī (for *kīchī) and kīti (= *kīd + ītī; see Johansson, Shāhāzāghrī, § 90.

So far we have seen that the Gāndhārī dialect either preserves groups of consonants or assimilates them. A third mode of disposing of them is the development of an auxiliary vowel (svārābhakti) between two consonants. This vowel is a in garahati and garahā (= Skt. garhaṭi and garhaḥ), i in paṭaṁsya ( = pratiśya), pūriya (for *puruṣya = Skt. puruṣa), saṃchāra (for *saṃchāraya = Skt. *saṃchāra), and u after a labial in prāpṇuṣati (III, plur. ind. pres. act. of Skt. prāpṇuṇī). Similarly, an auxiliary ī is prefixed to an initial group in itī (i.e. itīṣi, = Skt. stṭī).

I now subjoin an alphabetical list of Sanskrit groups with their Gāndhārī equivalents.

kt becomes t (i.e. ti) in abhibhāta, bhati, jīta, vatoṣyaṇā, vutānin.
ky becomes k (i.e. kh) in zaka.
kr remains in atikrāt(a)n (VI, 1), parākramiṇi, parākramena, but becomes k in atikātaṁ, pari(rā)k[ā]mate (X, 3).
kʲ becomes cḥh in saṁkhāra (XIV, 5); see Bühler, ZDMG, 40. 142.
ksh becomes kh in itihāskha, saṁsikh[a]a; cḥh in kaṃcāati, akṣhatiṁ, chhāmatāve, cḥhāti, chhūan, chhūdān, cḥhudevāṇa, svṛchāḥ.
kh becomes kh in khō = Skt. khānu ; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.
gr becomes g in agi.
gr becomes g in agena, anvegahō.
jiḥ becomes niḥ or ū in katrikāṭā, rāṭā, rādo, dānapiyā, dānapisi, diṭṭiti, niṭṭitu, niṭṭikā.
dy becomes d in Pāḍā (= Skt. Pāṇḍyā).
ny becomes ny in ānuyāṇa, hirāṇa ; niḥ or ū in apuniḥāṇa and puñāṇa.²
tm becomes tp in āttaḥ. Cf. tp = te, below.
tr becomes ch in [a]pachā, chāyi[ke], likakhasa, chātā, kacchā, parichajītā, prachajītasa.

Other instances of palatalization are j = dy, jh = dhī, cḥh = ts, ks, kṣh.
tr remains or becomes t; see e.g. trī and tī, iatro and iata, aṅatra and aṅaṭa, sarvatra and sarvata, putra and jata, mitra and miśa, mahāṇāma and mahānāma.
tr becomes ch in chaṭaṭāro, ārābhiṣā, [a]-lokbha, dasaṭiṣṭā, parichajītā, tādāṭpano(ne), -hitāṭpā.

Cf. dū = dv in dhdāsasa.

ts becomes cḥhā in cḥhākha ; s in usafena.³
- tsth becomes st in usṭhāna for *usthāna, while the corresponding Sanskrit word is usṭhāna.
dy becomes j in ajā, patipajēkaḥ; y in vṛyāyena.

¹ Perhaps suṣraṣā is meant for suṣrussā, as bhūya for bhūyāya; see above, p. lix. Cf. also Geiger's Pāḍī, § 6.
² For the open thesis of i see above, p. lvii, n. 1.
³ See above, p. lvi, n. 4.
⁴ Cf. śāṇa = Skt. śāṇa in Fischel's Grammatik, § 329.
 dhavati, are about equally frequent in the Gîrnâr text. In thairâ = Skt. sthâvira, v is elided and at contracted to ai.

As in most Prakrits, the two sibilants i and sh have become s throughout: e.g. pâsu = Skt. pusa, dont = doṣha.

As in all other Prakrits, final consonants are dropped. Hence the ablative singular of masculines and neuters in -a ends in -â (= -â); Skt. tat, yat, and ñavat become ta, ya, and ña; Skt. bhavâ, abhavat, vasâyu become bhaye, ahe, vasëyu; and the nom. plur. of masculines in -a and of feminines in -â ends in -â (= -â). But â is shortened in the dative-genitive imâya dhanamânuṣâya (III, 3), in the nom. plur. fem. cikiksha (II, 4), and in the 3. sing. optative tisteyà (for *tishtiyà). Final a generally becomes o (e.g. yasa = Skt. yatah, riho = rajoḥ, stistinto = tishtantah, Devânâṃpriyo = Dêvânâṃpriyâ); but in some instances the corresponding Mârgadha form in -e is improperly used (e.g. Devânâṃpiyâ, XII, 1), and in others we have -e (Magâ, XII, 8; sâ = Skt. sah, XIII, 10; esâ = ñsah) or -a (e.g. Aññēkâma, XIII, 8, bhuya = bhûyâ, VIII, 5, and esâ). Final ñ is becomes i in apâchkti, rati, hini, but i in ñpî, ñc.

While thus all final consonants are dropped, a word may end not only in a simple vowel, but in a nasalized vowel, i.e. in a vowel + anusvâra, and Sanskrit words ending in m and n substitute Anusvâra for these two nasals; e.g. Skt. dâna becomes dûnaî, and karaû (XII, 4) is formed from Skt. karaû on the analogy of Skt. kuraû. Just as in modern Hindi, Anusvâra is, however, omitted frequently in writing; see ida (XI, 3), kតayà (= Skt. kartavyam, IX, 6), dana (= dûnaî, IX, 7), phala, mataû (= mutam, XIII, 2, and = mritam, XIII, 1), mûdava, vicikhamàna, saka (= sakhya), kî (IX, 9), kîti and kîti (= kiritim), chhâti (= châtanîm), vâdkhî (= vâddhîm), susrusvâra (= sulârâcharà), karaû (for karûnà), ârûkàta (= ârûkhayûnà), ñvà (= ñva, I).4

A long nasalized vowel is generally shortened (e.g. gosanûyàna, thûdânà, yasàni, tûsàiti, gurûnoràni, anuvatarañi); but it is preserved in bhûtanû (XIII, 7), pûjánà, yàdaità, anuvâdhyàtâm. Anusvâra is omitted in pu[ñ] (Skt. pûjám, XII, 2), mahâkâhà [a], susru[v]à, susrusatà. The long vowel is shortened and Anusvâra is omitted at the same time in tesa (= ñtesam, XIII, 4) and sattirândayà (loc. sing. of satirayanà, VI, 9), unless the latter is a genitive used in the sense of the locative.

III. SANDHI.

In the last paragraphs it was shown that at the end of words consonants are as a rule dropped and nasals converted into Anusvâra. In tad-opayà (VIII, 5) and tad-anûñâthà (XII, 5) the final consonant of the base tad is preserved in composition,9 and final m remains before an initial vowel in evamapî (II, 2) and kütayânevatà (IX, 3). Similarly, hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in [a]hâm-anûñasa (= Skt. anyóyàsa, XII, 7) and bhûtam-ayesu (= bhûtaîryëshu, V, 5); cf. Text, p. 10, n. 4.

In the majority of cases, a + â arc, as in Sanskrit, contracted into â; e.g. nàsî, dhanâmûntasanaî, prâpråñëbhû. But the first a is elided before a in dhanîm-avâyo (XIII, 1), dhâm-anugah (IX, 7), dhâm-adhisthitàya (V, 4), etayàin (= ñtir+ayam, VIII, 3); before í in etiyà-mà (III, 3), choëva (IV, 7; XIV, 3), chèsà (XIII, 4), te[te] [a = tatrasat, IX, 4], tenësa (VIII, 3); before o in m[ñ]an-opagà[ñ]í (II, 5); and a before o in ñus-opa[gà]ñí (II, 6). The result of í + o is í in ñkîhahka (= stry-ñkîhyaksha, XII, 9).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The Gîrnâr dialect has preserved a number of combined consonants which would have been assimilated in the later Prakrits. As remarked by Bühler (Ind. Pal., § 16, last section), there are among them some ligatures in which the second consonant is placed first for the sake of convenience in writing. As this point is of importance because it affects the transcription of the Gîrnâr alphabet, I subjoin a list of such combinations of consonants.

(a) ëp (written pñ) in drabhítipà, dattisipà, [a]-lochetpà, [h]-kuṭâpa, tadâpain(u), chatpáro, ñtapa.

(b) ey (written ñy) in sanyamanà, vyasanaî, vyàpatà, apa-ñyâta, dîvîyà, mâtayà, kàrayà, vattayàni, prajähâyàni, evâdîtavyàni, viñjâtyàni, lochetpàyà, ñp[ñ]vedêta[ñ]yāin.

1 Cf. Text. p. 15, n. 7.
2 It deserves to be noted that in the Rigvedâ ñvâ is used nearly throughout in the sense of øam.
3 Cf. Pischel's Grammatik; § 342.
(e) st (written ș) in anusāsti, sese, tītāhīto, tiṣṭyā, stīṣa, -adhistānaya, usāna, niṣṭānka.

Although in the words given under (a) șp is written as șt, their Sanskrit prototypes suggest that we have to pronounce and transcribe ġp. Michelson (JAOS, 31, 233 f.) supports this view by referring to dhādana = Skt. dvedāta (III, 1; IV, 12): ‘There is no question but that dē represents the correct order of the letters. Now if Indic dv becomes dē, then Indic tv surely should become ġp. Hence gerunds in -ṭpa (Skt. -ṛṭa) are to be read as such. This settles the reading āṭpa (Skt. āṭama-) without further arguments.’

The same holds good for (b) vy which is written vy. Dr. Michelson writes to me: ‘It is inconsistent to transcribe devāni, vyasanāni, but -avya, as the same symbol is used in all cases. Vyasanāni would be unpronounceable. Bühler’s argument from Pālī that vy is correct from the analogy of yh from Skt. ky is useless, as vy does not become yv but bh (or remains) in Pālī.’ See also JAOS, 31, 235.

On the same analogy (c) ts has been transcribed by st, although Franke (Gurupajñānakumbhī, p. 26, note) thinks that ts represents the actual pronunciation.

The fact that the Gīrīr ā alphabet marks the letter r in combination with several consonants was discovered independently by Senart (Inscriptions de Piyadasi, 1, 25 f.) and by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajj (IA, 10, 166 and note). Although the r is generally placed at the top of the other consonant, nobody has ever doubted that it was in most cases pronounced after it, and that we must transcribe br, tr, pr, br, and not rr, rt, rp, rb. The symbol rṣ, however, does duty for both sr and rs, and rr for rv and rv. The former must certainly be read sr in sākasra, sruṇā, bahu-ruci, sruṇā, srvalapakā, -sramaṇaya, -nirvīto, āyaparipāva, but it cannot be meant for anything but rs in vimāṇa-darsanā (IV, 3) and dasa-varśābhiṣkot (VIII, 2). Likewise the symbol rv may be read vr in trachā (II, 8), but must be intended for rv in sarva and sarva or sarvatra. The spelling bhātā-pruca (V, 4; VI, 2) would be, in the opinion of Michelson (JAOS, 31, 228), the result of an erroneous translation of the Māgadhi form -puccha which the writer found in the original draft of the edicts. I consider it more likely that the writer wanted us to pronounce -puccha, but committed the mistake of connecting the r with the p instead of inserting it before the r; cf. the same spelling in the Śāhībāzgarhi and Mānehrā versions.

A large number of combined consonants are not preserved unchanged, but have been assimilated. In later Prākrit inscriptions, as in the British Museum plates of Chānādēvi and in the plates of Vijaya-Dēvavaran (E1, 8, 144, and 9, 57), the double consonant which is the result of such an assimilation is written in full. The inscriptions of Aśoka and of the Andhra kings, however, express every double consonant by a single letter; e.g. aṣṭi = Skt. agni is written aṣṭi, attha = attha becomes attha, laddha = laddha becomes ladha, gābha = gābha becomes gābha, and niṣadāti = niṣadāti is spelt niṣadāti. In double nasals both ways of spelling are in use; e.g. dhānāna and dhāna = dhāna, anīna and anī = anī.

At the beginning of words an assimilated group is simplified in all Prākrits; e.g. niṣati = Skt. jīnati, ti = ti, paṇṭa = praṇa, bhāṭra = bhātrā, chudā = cchudā. Also in the interior of words an assimilated group may be simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened; see kāsati (also kastati, i.e. kastati = *karskṣyati, dhamna (also dhanāna) = dharma, vāsa (also varsa) = varsa, chikikhā = cchikā, rājaka (from rajju or rajjus; see Text, p. 5, n. 2).

In a few cases a long vowel preceding a group of consonants is shortened; see anusāski = Skt. anusāasti, ayus (i.e. ayes) = āryaśu, kiti (i.e. kiti) = hiti, diga (i.e. digga) = diga, pusa (i.e. pusa) = pusa. Even a long vowel preceding a simple consonant may be shortened and the consonant itself doubled; cf. Pischel’s Grammatik, § 90 f. Thus the short vowel in bhuja (Skt. bhājya), anuvidhyāya and anuvidhyātaḥ (from Skt. anuvidyātya) suggests that these words have to be read bhuja, anuvidhyāya and anuvidyātaḥ, and that consequently itṣya (VI, 13) may be meant for itṣjya with doubled y and short e, as in the corresponding Pālī form of the 3. sing. opt. act. 1 But, as a rule, a long vowel preceding a group remains unchanged; see asamāśa (i.e. asamāṣam, učkākhe (= ākojyakṣa), uṇapāyāni (= uṇapāyāmi), uṣa (= uṣa), tadāpyamāna, nāsti, parākrama, brāhmaṇa and bāmāṇa (also brahmaṇa and bāmāṇa), bhāṭra, mahāmāna and mahāmātra, mādeva (= mārdava), mahābhāvaka (= mahābhāvaka), rānā

1 Similarly nīchā may represent *nīchā, into which nīchā has been changed on the analogy of nēchā; see SPAW, 1914. 844.
dr becomes ḍ in chhadāni, chhadakena.
dv remains in dv, dvem, but becomes dh in dhādasa.
dhy becomes āh in ithiḥakha, niḥkal, mahāmena.
dhr remains in dhruvo, [A*]udhara.
ny becomes mū or ū in aṃhū and aṇa, mahānate and mahāte, ṛṇyāsu. Cl. apruṣa = Skt. apruṣa.
pt becomes t in guṭi, niḥkal, asanā[a]su, saṃbhī[k]na, Turamāyo (= Πτολεμαίος).
fn becomes pum in prāpañati (from Skt. prāpañīti).
py becomes ṗ in sāṁī[p]iṇi.
pr remains or becomes p; see e.g. prakaraṇa and pakaṇa (IX, 8), prāsa and pāsa (IX, 5),
Devānuḥpriya and Devānuḥpiyā, Priyādasi and Priyādasi, pratipaṭī and pratipaṭētha (XIV, 4),
saṃpratipaṭī and saṃsaṃpratipaṭī (IV, 6).
bdh becomes dh in ladhesu.
br remains in brā[m]hāna (IV, 2) and bramhāna (IV, 6), but becomes ḍ in bāṃhāna and
bhaṃhāna (IX, 5).
bhy becomes bh in the passive forms aṛabhare, aṛabhisu, aṛabhisare.
bhr becomes bh in bhātār or bhā[ṛ]a.
my remains in samya-
mr becomesṁbh (through the intermediate stage *mbr) in Taṁbapaṇuni.
gr becomes g in svaga.
rgṛ becomes gh in dighāya.
rṇ becomes mṛ in Taṁbapaṇuni.
ṛt becomes ṛ in kataṃya, kiti or kiti, amav[a]tare, amavataraḥ, amavatisare; ṛ in saṁvaṭa
or svaṭa.
ṛth becomes th in atha.
ṛd becomes d in mādava.
ṛdh becomes dh in pra[k]aṇḍhaśaṇati (IV, 9); ḍh in vadhayaṭi (XII, 4), vadhayaśati (IV, 7),
vadhita. Cl. ṛ for ṛ in saṁvaṭa.
ṛbh becomes bh in gaḥṭaṃgāraṃki.
ṛm becomes ṅṃ or ṇ in kāḥna (= Skt. karman), dhāṃma and dhama.
ṛy becomes y in ayesu, but is represented by ṛy in samaketariṇī, which presupposes the form
samaketariṇī (= Skt. *sama-charyam); see above, p. lvi.
ṛv remains or becomes v in sarva or savva. Instead of Skt. prava we have puva in IV, 5,
while prava, which is probably meant for purva, occurs in two places; see above, p. lix.
rś becomes rs in vāmāna-darsana, but s in hast-da[sa]ṇ, dasaṇe, dasayēṇa, Priyādasi;
darśanaḥ (VIII, 4) is probably a clerical mistake for darśanaḥ.
rśh becomes rs in varṣa (VIII, 2), but s in vāsa (Skt. varṣa).
rśhya becomes s in kāṣṭi, kāṣṭhi, kāṣṭha[ṃ]ṭ.
rḥ becomes rḥ in garahah, garahah.
lp becomes ṁ in aṇa, kapā.
lṭ becomes ṭ in kalāṇa.
lv remains in vyanjana, -vyaṭṭa, vyasaṭṭa, vyāṭṭa, dīvyaṇi, maṇeṣyā, and in the affix
-taya (seven instances), but becomes y in puṭeṭeṭa (XII, 4).
vr becomes v in ṛ[v]a, [a]vājitaṇi, vavha (VI, 3; XII, 9) = Skt. vṛṣa.
vch becomes vṛṣh in pṛṣṭha. Other instances in which a sibilant causes aspiration are kḥ = sk,
śkṛ, kṣh; cḥ = ṃ, Ṇ, kṣh; ṛḥ = srh.
ity becomes s in pasati, but śṭy in pāstusiyehi (XI, 3).
ir becomes sr in stamaṇa, susṛsatu, susṛṣṭa, susṛṣṭiṣṭa, bhavamrutā, stavaṃbhān,
nirīlo, but ṛ in svasama, sutasuṣṣa, susamisera, sasthe (= Skt. irīḍhaṃ)
śv becomes sv in sveto.
śkk becomes k in [d]akataṇi, ṛukaraṇi.
śkṛ becomes ḍ in vṛṇikhamana.  

¹ The 3. plur. imper. act. [n]jātu (III, 3) need not be derived from nir-ya, but may stand
for niyāntu; cf. ṛṇyāsu (VIII, 1) from ni-ya used in the sense of nir-ya.
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skṛ becomes s in Rī(Rā)ṣṭika.

skṛh loses its aspiration and becomes st in seste, tīsteyā, tissāta, niṣṭānāya,-adhistānāya. Cf.
the Māgadhi forms sūstā = Skt. suskhā and kastagālān = kōsthāgārām (Hēmachandra, IV, 9913,
and Pachel's Grammatik, § 303), and at Girnār stita = Skt. sthāna, usṭāna = *uṭ-sthāṇa, Rī(Rā)ṣṭika = 
Rāṣṭrika, anusāsī = anusāṣṭi.

sky becomes s in manusā, āhāpayisati, and in other futures.

sk becomes kh in āgh-kh[a]khāhāni.

st remains in asti, naśīti, hasti, sahasrā, vistāra; it becomes st in anusāṣī.

str becomes th in ithi.

sth becomes th in thātra, sti in gharastāṇi,1 and st in stūṭa.

sm becomes mh in the locatives in -amhi.

sy becomes s in the genitives in -asa, and in the optatives asa, asu of root as.

sr remains in sahasra and s[a]-parisāvake, but becomes s in parisāve (X, 3).

sv remains in svagā, svāmikāna, svayāhā, but becomes s in sarasake (XIII, 11).

hm becomes mh, as in Prākrit, in banakha and other equivalents of the Sanskrit and Pāli word 
brāhmāṇa.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN -a.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -a.

Singular.

Nom. masc. jana, &c. | Plural.
Acc. masc. janā, &c. | Masc. moṛa, &c.; neut. phalāni, &c.
Instr. janēna, &c. | Masc. yute, aṭhe; neut. divyāṇi, rūpāṇi.
Dat. athāya, &c. | pāṭīvyāhāni, sateki.
Abl. kāpā, -hitatāpā, pachhā.
Gen. janasa, &c.
Loc. (a) athamki, &c.; (b) kāle, &c.

Nom. sing.—In a few neuters the final Anusvāra is missing, viz. phala, mata, māḍava (acc.), 
viniḥkhamāṇa. In many instances the Māgadha termination -e is used; (a) masculines:—parisāve,2 
[a]parisāve, Devānāpiye (XII, 1), prādesike, bhā[ṛ]e, rājukā, sakale, svayām; (b) neuters:—
ācchārī[ṛ]e, kaima, -charaṇe, tūrīte, dasaṇe, dāne, -peve, bhavatīde, maṅgale, -mate, māl[a]-phale, 
maḥālaka, mule, yārīte, vodhite, vīj[w]e, sese. The wrong form -pāṭīvyāhāni (VIII, 4) is probably 
due to the fact that the clerk who drafted the Girnār version thoughtlessly replaced the -e of the 
Māgadha neuter pāṭīvyāhāne by -o, as in the masculine jana, &c. = Māgadha jana, &c. The foreign 
name [A]ḥuk[a]jina (XIII, 8) has no termination, while Māgā lengthens its final a.

Dat. sing.—The form atha (XII, 9) for athāya is found also in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict 

Loc. sing.—In pravāsoṃhi (IX, 2) the m is doubled. The termination -e occurs also in 
pakaraṇe, prakaraṇe, Pāṭalipute, vijaye, vijité, saraśāke; tadāṭpāne is a mistake for tadāṭpāne.3

The acc. plur. masc. uses the termination -āni, which, as shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 
992 ff.), is peculiar to the Ardhamāgadhī dialect, in four instances:—aγi-kh[a]nadhāni (IV, 4) and 
sva-pāṇāhariṇi cha [a]yajitāni cha gharastāni cha pāyeyati (XII, 1).

The acc. plur. neut. has the termination -ā instead of -āni in vimāṇa-dārsanā cha hasti-
da[s]a[n]ā cha (IV, 3).

Gen. plur.—The long vowel is preserved before Anusvāra in bhūtānāni (XIII, 7).

Loc. plur.—The final n is lengthened in paṅgadesā (II, 8).

1 In accordance with Vararuchi, IV, 32, and Hēmachandra, II, 144, Skt. grīha is replaced 
by grha.

2 The corresponding Pāli word parisāvaka is not a neuter, as Childers thought, but a masculine; 
see Lüders, SPAW, 1913, 1004 and n. 5.

3 Cf. -pāṭīvyāhāne for -pāṭīvyāhāne in the nom. sing.
(2) Feminines in -ā.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. ictā, &amp;c.</td>
<td>(a) katā (II, 4); (b) mahādeyā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. pāṭāṁ, yāṭāṁ.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. pāṭāya, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. gāṇāṇāyāṁ, pārisāyāṁ.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in pāṭāṁ (XII, 2), mahāṭāvaḥ (X, 1), susū[r]īṁ (X, 2).
Loc. sing.—In saṁkarāṇāya (VI, 9) the final Anusvāra is omitted, or it may be a genitive used in the sense of the locative.
Nom. plur.—In chitācchha (II, 4) the long ā of the first of the two different terminations is shortened. The second termination is identical with -ao in the Prākṛt; see Pischel’s Grammatik, § 376.

II. BASES IN -ī.

(1) Masculines in -ī.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. plur. tī, ti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. plur. ātiṇaṁ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. plur. ātiṇu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nom. plur. in -ī is common in Prākṛt; see Pischel’s Grammatik, p. 380.

(2) Feminines in -ī and -ī.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. īppī, &amp;c.</td>
<td>āṭāviye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. Sāṁbhodhiṁ, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. -āṇusastīyā, bāṭhiyā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. -āṇusastīya (with final ā shortened).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing.—The final ā remains short in apācchhi, rati, hīni.
Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in kītī (X, 2), kītī (X, 1), ckhāti (XIII, 11), v[r]īḍhi (IV, 11).

III. BASES IN -ū.

Besides the gen. plur. masc. gurūnaṁ we have three forms of the neuter base bahu, viz. nom. sing. bahu, nom. and acc. plur. bāṁu, and instr. plur. bḥāki. The nom. sing. sāḍhu is the same in all three genders.

IV. BASES IN -ṛī.

Instr. sing. masc. pītā (for pītrī), bhāṛīṛa or bhāṛ[a].
Loc. sing. pītri, māṭari and māṛ[i].

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

As in other Prākṛits, bases ending in consonants have a tendency to follow the analogy of the a-declension. Thus the feminine base pariṣad becomes pariṣā (III, 6) and forms the loc. sing. pariṣāyāṁ (VI, 7). The present participle saṁ forms the nom. sing. masc. saṁita. Of bases in -an, panthān forms the loc. plur. panthēsā, and the neuter karman the Māgadhā nom. sing. kāmme and the dat. sing. kānmēy[a].

The original consonantal declension survives in the subjoined incomplete paradigms.

(1) Present participles in -at.

| Nom. sing. masc. karuṁ or karu. |
| Nom. plur. masc. tistānte. |

The nom. sing. karuṁ is derived from the Sanskrit verb karoti. In karu the Anusvāra is omitted. Two other forms of the same case, karolo (for *karōnte) and saṁte (from root ar) follow the analogy of the a-declension.
(2) Masculines and neuters in -an.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. mas. rājā</td>
<td>rājāno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. neut. nāma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. rānā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. rāño</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the nom. sing. masc. [Yena-rājā (XIII, 8) the final ā is shortened, while II, 3 has Yena-rājā.

(3) Masculines in -in.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. sing. Priyadasī, hasti.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Instr. sing. Priyadasinā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. sing. Priyadasino.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Neuters in -as.

| Acc. Sing. yaso, bhuya (= Skt. bhūyaḥ). |

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. sing. ahaṁ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Instr. sing. maṇā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. sing. mama, me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Base ta.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. mas. so } neut. ta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. tena</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. tāya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. tasa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. tamhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing. fem. sā.

In pīti-rase tā (XIII, 10) the nom. sing. masc. ends in -ā. The neuter ta (= Skt. tat) occurs twice (X, 3; XIII, 2) as pronoun and frequently as conjunction. Its Māgadhī equivalent se is taken over unchanged in I, 10.

(3) Base na.

| Acc. plur. masc. ne; neut. nāni |

For this pronoun see Hemachandra, III, 70, 77.

(4) Base ita.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. mas. esa (X, 3),1 esā; neut. eta, etain, esā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. neut. eta (XI, 3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. etāya, etakāya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. etasa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. etamhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing. fem. etā (VIII, 3).

With the nom. sing. masc. esa (VIII, 5);2 XIII, 4) cf. sā (= Skt. saḥ, XIII, 10) and Magā (XIII, 8). The neuter eta (= Skt. ēta) occurs twice, and etain once (X, 4), while the masculine

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1 Cf. above, p. lxii, n. 2.

2 See Text, p. 15, n. 7.
form *esa* is employed three times as neuter and was known as such to Hēmachandra (III, 85), who quotes *esa sīrāḥ* (= Skt. *itāchchīrikāḥ*). Cf. the Māgadhī nom. sing. *se*, which is used both as masculine and as neuter (= Skt. *sah* and *tat*), and see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 299.

(3) Demonstrative *idam.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. <em>ayānī</em>; neut. <em>idānī</em>, <em>ayānī</em></td>
<td>Masc. <em>ime</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. neut. <em>idānī</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. <em>iminā</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. <em>iṇāsā</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. <em>iṇāmhi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing. fem. *iṇānī*, *ayānī*.
Dat. sing. fem. *iṇāya*.

The Anusvāra of the neuter *idānī* is omitted in *ida* (XI, 3). The masculine *ayānī* is employed instead of it three times, and instead of the feminine *iṇānī* (I, 1) five times. In Pāli only *ayānī* is used as feminine.

(6) Interrogative Pronoun.

The nom. sing. neut. *ki* (or *kīnī*) occurs in IX, 9, and *kānī*, used as an indefinite, in XIV, 3. Of the indefinite base *kīnichid* we have the nom. sing. masc. *kōchī* (XII, 5) and the neuter *kīnchi* or *kich[ī] (X, 3). The compound *kīnī* or *kītī* (XII, 2) is used in the sense of 'that, in order that'.

(7) Relative Pronoun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. <em>yo</em>; neut. <em>ya</em></td>
<td>Masc. <em>ye</em>; neut. <em>yānī</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. neut. <em>ya</em>, <em>yo[n̥]i</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. <em>yasa</em></td>
<td>yesaṅi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. plur. fem. *yā*.

The acc. sing. neut. *yo[n̥]i* is found only in X, 3, while *ya (= Skt. yat*) occurs ten times.

(8) Base *anīya*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. <em>anītē</em>; neut. <em>aṅ[a], aṅē</em></td>
<td>Masc. <em>a[n̥]ā[r̥]a[e], aṅē</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>neut. <em>aṅānī</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. <em>aṅāya</em></td>
<td>Acc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. [a]hamaṇiṅnāsa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. <em>aṅāmhi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nom. sing. masc. and neut. *anītē* (VIII, 5) and *aṅē* (IV, 7) are Māgadhī forms, while *aṅ[a]* (IX, 5) is the regular equivalent of Skt. *anyat*.

(9) Base *sarva*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. and acc. sing. neut. <em>sarvānī</em>, <em>sauvānī</em></td>
<td>Masc. <em>sawē</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. <em>sarve</em>, <em>s[a]ev</em></td>
<td>[e]vēsu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10) Base *ekatara*.

Loc. sing. *ekataramhi*.

(11) Base *ekatya*.

Nom. plur. masc. *ekatā*.

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1 Cf. above, p. ixii.
2 The corresponding Pāli form is *ekachhe*; see Childers, s.v., and Geiger's Pāli, § 113.
INTRODUCTION

D.—NUMERALS

One.
Nom. sing. masc. eko.

Two.
Nom. masc. dva; fem. dece.

These two are the only dual forms preserved in the Gîrnâr dialect.

Three.
Nom. masc. trî, tî.

Four.
Nom. masc. chatpâro.

Five.
Loc. panâchasu.

Ten, twelve, thirteen.
dasa, doadasa, traidasa.

Hundred.
Acc. plur. satâni; instr. sateki.

Hundred thousand.
Nom. plur. sata-cahasrâni.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. Present.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root kram: parâbramâni, pari(râ)k[a]mate. The active form kramati occurs also in the epics, while classical Sanskrit has krâmati in the active and kramâti in the middle.

Root gam: gachhayati.
Root garh: garahati.
Root drâti: pasati (i.e. passati = Skt. paîyati).
Root bhu: bhavati and heti.
Root labh. The absolutive árabhêta and the passive forms árabhare, árabhisu, árabhisare presuppose the present *árabhati, *to kill (= Skt. álabhati),

Root vas: vasyu.
Root tatt: ame[a]tare.
Root sthâ: tisteyâ.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root as: asti.
Root yâ: [n]jâtu.
Root hau follows the analogy of the ninth class: upahanâti.

Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive prajihitayam presupposes the present *jukati = Pâli jvchati (for *jukvati); see Pischel, GGA, 1881. 1324.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root pad: paŢipajetha (= Skt. pratipadyâta).
Root man: maniâate (= Skt. manyâtâ).
Fifth Sanskrit class.
Root ṣhp follows the ninth class: prāpunati (for ṝṇamiti).¹
Root śru follows the ninth class and forms the 3. plur. imperative active srūṇāru.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root โส: iḥhati.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Both bhuj (bhun[j]ā)mānasā, VI, 3) and jaj (jajajīntu, IV, 11) follow the a-conjugation.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root ක: karoti.
Root kṣaḥ follows the a-conjugation: khaṇati.

Tenth Sanskrit class and causatives.

(a) With aya: pājaya, dasayitā, dīpayema, ārādhayāntu, vadhayaṭi. The character aya is contracted into e in pativedelha, pāṣ[ē]vedelavīyaṇi, pāṣetē, ārādhētu, lochetēyā, [ē]lochetēpā.
(b) With paya: hāpasati and the derivative ḍāpaka. The long vowel of the root jhā is shortened, as it is optionally in Sanskrit, before paya in āṇapayāmi. With this agrees the Prākrit ṛṆavolī, while Pāli has śnāpati with long ā; cf. Pischel’s Grammatik, § 8.
(c) With āpaya: likhāpayaśaṁ, sukkhāpayaśaṁ (which is, properly speaking, a denominative of sukha), and the derivatives khāṇāpita, lekhāṇāpita, ḍāṇāpita, srūṇāpaka. In lekhāṇāpita the vowel i of the root sikh is strengthened by Guṇa, while in likhāpayaśaṁ it remains unchanged.
(d) With pāpaya: ṛpāpita.

(a) Moods.

(a) Indicative.

Active.
1. sing. parākrāmāni, karonti, āṇapayāmi.
3. sing. garahati, pasati, bhavati and hoti, asti, ṣaḥaṇāti, iḥhati, karoti, khaṇati, pājayaṭi, vadhayaṭi.
3. plur. pāti (read hoti, XIII, 6), iḥhati, (VII, 2), prāpunati (XIII, 4). In these three forms we would have expected the termination -itti instead of -i.

Middle.
3. sing. par[ā]k[ā]mate, maṇiaṭi or maṇaṭe, karote, which follows the analogy of the active karott, while Sanskrit has the weak form kurutt.
3. plur. karote (IX, 3) for karonie. The termination is -re in auv[a]ṭare (XIII, 9), in the future auvattisare, in the two passives auvādiḥyāre and ārabhāre, and in the future passive ārabhisare. The same termination is known from Vēdē Sanskrit, Prākrit, and Pāli; see Pischel’s Grammatik, § 458.

(b) Subjunctive.

Active.
1. sing. sukhāpayaśaṁ (VI, 14), which has the termination of the indicative, but must be explained as a subjunctive because it is co-ordinated with the optative gachheyaṁ and the imperative ārādhayaṁ.
3. sing. maṇiṇā (XIII, 11) from maṇiṇate. Cf. pāṣyāt and many other Vēdic forms.

(c) Optative.

Active.
1. sing. gachheyaṁ.
3. sing. asa (= Pāli asa for *asyāt from root as), bhave, tisteyā. Pāli, too, has both the terminations -e and -eya.
1. plur. dīpayema.
3. plur. asu (= Pāli assa for *asyuh), vasaṇu.

¹ Cf. the Ardhamāgadhī form pāṇanti in Pischel’s Grammatik, § 304.
INTRODUCTION

Middle.

3. sing. patipajetha (XIV, 4). The termination -tha (= Skt. -ta) is the same in Pāli; see Geiger’s Pāli, § 129.

3. plur. susunisera (desiderative of śru) with the termination -ra for Pāli -rau = Skt. -rau.

(d) Imperative.

Active.

2. plur. pativedetha (VI, 5). As in Prākrit and Pāli, the termination of the corresponding person of the indicative is transferred to the imperative.

3. plur. yujjañāt, ārākhyayānāt, [ni]jñātā (with -tu for -mtu), sruṇāru (XII, 7) from *sruṇāti = Skt. śṛṇātī. With the termination -ru cf. the middle termination -re in the indicative, the optative susunisera, and the imperative anuvataraṇa.

Middle.

3. sing. anuviddhiyatā (passive) and susrusatā (desiderative).

3. plur. anuvataraṇa (VI, 14). Pischel (GGA, 1881, 1331) compared the Vedic imperative dākrām. The middle termination -rāṇ (for -rām) corresponds to Skt. -ntām, as the active termination -ru to Skt. -mtu, and as the indicative middle termination -re to Skt. -ntē. In the optative middle the Sanskrit termination -rāṇ agrees with Gīrṇār and Pāli.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. act. aho for *abbhot = Skt. abhovat; see Johansson, Śāhbb., § 30, last section.

II. AORIST.

3. plur. act. āyāsu (VIII, 1) = Skt. *ayāsukṣ from root ya with the preposition ni in the sense of nis; cf. Michelson, JAOS, 31, 245. The form abhumsu (VIII, 2) seems to be based on the 3. sing. aku (= Skt. abhūti), as Pāli āśikṣu on āsī (= Skt. āsīt). In ārabbhīsu (I, 9), which must be connected with the passive ārabbhāre (I, 11) = Skt. ṛābhyānti, the bh is a defective spelling for bh.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. act. āha. The form ayāya (VIII, 2) has been generally explained as an imperfect of root ya. It may be as well a perfect of root i, = Skt. iḍaya, but with modified reduplication.

IV. FUTURE.

Active.

1. sing. likkhopayita (XIV, 3) has the same termination as in Prākrit and Pāli.

3. sing. ānihayisati, vaṭṭhayisati, hāpeṣati, kāṣati (= Pāli kāhoti) from *karṣhyati.

3. plur. [pra*]vaṭṭhayisati, anumaṃsiñhitī, kāṣaniti and kṣa[ṃ]iti from root kri.

Middle.

3. plur. anuvatasa (V, 2). In the passive ārabbhīsare (I, 12) the bh is a defective spelling for bh; cf. the remark on the aorist ārabbhīsu, above, section II.

V. PASSIVE.

The forms which occur in the Gīrṇār text are all derived from the two Sanskrit passives ṛābhāyaṭi and anuvidhiyatā:

3. plur. indicative ārabbhāre, anuvādhiyare are defective spellings for ārabbhāre, anuvādhiyare; see above, p. lxx.

3. sing. imperative anuvādhiyatā.

3. plur. aorist ārabbhīṣu.

3. plur. future ārabbhīsare.

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

The 3. plur. optative susunisera (XII, 7) and the 3. sing. imperative susrusata (X, 2) are derived from Skt. ānārūṣhāṭa.
VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *śita*: nom. plur. masc. *tisthaṇito*.
Root *as*: nom. sing. masc. *sāhita*.
Root *kri*: nom. sing. masc. *karota*, *karunā, karun*.

Middle.

Root *bhuj*: bhunis[a]māna.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In -ta: *mata* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 2, and = *mrta*, XIII, 1), *kata* (= *kṛta*), *vyāpata* (= vyāpṛita), *vistata* (= vistṛita), *usata* (= uśṛita), *nirita* (= *nīśṛita*), *sita* (= *śītā*), *atikrata* (VI, 1) or *atikāta* (= atikṛāṇa), *vata* (= ukta), *samāta* (= saṃāpta), *saṅkhita* (= saṅkṛśita), *ładha* (= ladhā), *ānapita*, &c. The participles *vijita* and *viniṭa* (VI, 4) are used as substantives.

(b) The only participle in -na is *prasanina*.

(3) Future passive participle.


(b) In -ya: *kacha* (= Skt. *kṛiya*, IX, 8), *saka* (= sakyā).

VIII. INFINITIVE.

(a) Accusative: *ārādhetu* (= Skt. *arādhyātum*).

(b) Dative: *ekhāntavo* from root *kham*; cf. Vedic forms like *kharita*, and *gantave*, &c., in Pāli.

IX. ABSOLUTE.

(a) In -pa (= Skt. -te): *ārāhītī, parichājītī* (from root *tyaj*), *dasaytī* (from causative of *dṛś*, [a]-lochetpā (= a-rochāyitā)).

(b) The only absolute in -ya is *sakāhya* from *sahā*kā (= sahā-khyā).

F.—SUFFIXES

Under this heading I note a few remarkable formations which differ from Sanskrit.

(1) Krit suffixes.

(a) -anā: *samtiṇapā* from Skt. *tivyatati*.

(b) -ti: *mikhati* = *niḥkhyāti*, *anuṇasti* = Skt. *anuṇāsti* (Böhtlingk’s Wörterbuch, 5, 991), while Pāli *amisiti* agrees with Skt. *anuṇāsti*.

(c) -tu: *ātri* (IV, 11) from root *kā* on the analogy of the participle *hina*.

The first member of the compound *vacht-guti* (XII, 3) is not a fossilized locative, as Michelson (JAOS, 31, 230) thinks, but must be connected with Ardhamaṇḍadhi *vai* or *vai* = *vāchi*; see Pischel’s Grammatik, § 413.

(2) Tadd bhita suffixes.

(a) -ka: *vājika* (from *vajju*; see Text, p. 5, n. 2), and often pleonastic: *etaka* (pronounced *taka*), *śvata* (a locative), *sarasaka*, *nātika*.

(b) -alaka: *mahālaka* (from Skt. *mahat* = Prākrit *mahālaya* and *mahalaya* (Pischel’s Grammatik, pp. 404, 404).

(c) -ika: *lokika* and *pāralokika* (XIII, 12).

(d) -yā: *lokaka* (XI, 4), *kakha* (I, 5). The first component of *lokaka* and *lokika* is the nominal base *i*, from which Skt. *iṣṭara*, *iṣṭa*, and *iha* (for idha) are derived; see Franke in GN, 1895, 535.

(e) -tara, added to participles and substantives: *bhūtātaraṇ, katayataraṇ, kāmatarāṇ* from Skt. *karman*.

(f) -tana: *tadātpana(ne); see Text, p. 18, n. 8.
INTRODUCTION

G.—SYNTAX

Here also I do not aim at completeness, but note only a few particular constructions.

To denote time, several cases are used: the accusative in aitātara vivartam, 'in times past' (IV, 1; V, 3; VI, 1; VIII, 1), the instrumental in bahūhi sā[sa]-ratelhi, 'for many hundreds of years' (IV, 4), the dative in digēkṣya, 'in the distant (future)' (X, 1), and the locative in parichāsau pānīrvasu, 'every five years' (III, 2), sarve kāle, 'at any time' (VI, 3, 8), and tadāpante, 'at the present time' (X, 1).

The nominative absolute occurs in XI, 4—so itāthā karu, 'if one is acting thus', and the genitive absolute in VI, 3—bhūhujaṁvānasa me, 'while I am eating'.

The genitive is employed in connexion with bhavati (IV, 10) and nāsti (VII, 3), and instead of the instrumental with katu (kṛta, II, 4), sādhu-matā (I, 5 f.), and katavya-nuha (VI, 9).

The 3. sing. asti is the predicate of a nominative plural in I, 6, and nāsti in three places (II, 6, 7; XIII, 5); cf. Pischel's Grammar, p. 250. In XIV, I f., asti is used as a particle in the sense of na. In IX, 1, it opens a sentence, as frequently in the Pančavattra; cf. Spelry's Sanskrit Syntax (Leyden, 1886), p. 234, n. 2. For instances from Prākrit literature see Pischel, op. cit., p. 294.

CHAPTER VII.

GRAMMAR OF THE KALSI ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel α becomes i through the influence of a neighbouring y in majhina (= madhyama), vadhiyati (= varāhyayati), vadhyisati, and u after a labial in muta, muna (= manuṣya), uchāvaha. In gīgh[ṛ]ha (= gṛhastha, XIII, 37) and ud[n]pān (= udāpān) the vowel of the second syllable is assimilated to the first. In Alīkaṇdhade (XIII, 8) the u is perhaps due to a popular etymology deriving the foreign name 'Ālāgāpap from alka, 'the forehead', and sundara, 'beautiful'.

The e of hetā or hetā (< śitra) perhaps goes back to an original i; see above, p. lvi.

In edisa and ṣedīsa the vowel e corresponds to the i of Skt. śdraśa.2

The a of galu corresponds to Skt. u; cf. above, p. lvi. In munisa (II, 6) the u of Skt. munisya has become i through the influence of the palatal y in the next syllable; cf. the form munuśa (i.e. munuṣa) at Śabhāśāpā and Māneshā, in which the y has palatalized the preceding sh.3 In kho (= Skt. khala) Skt. u is represented by o; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

As in other Prākrits, the Skt. vowel ri is lost. It becomes a in [a]maṇiya (= Skt. anāgāra), [u]kṣaṇa, kaṇa, dukaṇa, gahāha (= grahastha, XII, 31), dukhāti, bhāta, bhūta, māte, vātān (= vṛttam, X, 27), vadhi and vadāi (= vṛddhi), vighaṭa, vijagōtā; i in edisa and ṣedīsa, tāṅsa, [a]dīsa (= yāḍṛsa), kiṇānā[ṛ] (kṛtaḥkā), gīgh[ṛ]ha, didha, panāśikya (= *panāgiri), pātiṣu, bhūtāṇa, mighe, migāvya; u in nushta,4 shuna[ṛ]u;5 and after a labial in a[ṛ]gah[ṛ]a[ṛ], palipucaḥ, ni[ṛ]viṭi (= niṃvṛtī), vauṭa (= vṛttam, XIII, 11), vadha (= vṛddha). It will be observed that in some of these words the original ri has caused the lenition of the following dentals, and in āṛṣa—Sk. śdrīsa it has lenited the preceding d. In [u]kṣaṇa (II, 6) the syllable lu corresponds to the syllable vṛi of Skt. kṛvaka; cf. Greek λάκος = Skt. vṛkha, and see Wackernagel's Altind.

1 The same form occurs in Pāli; see Geiger, § 18.
2 Pālī has edisa and erisa, Prākrit ēdīsa and erisa; see Pischel's Grammar, § 121.
3 Michelson (AJP, 32, 441) thinks that the vocalization of munisa may have followed the analogy of Māgadhā pūlīsa = Skt. puruṣa. But the apparent resemblance of the two words is due chiefly to the defective spelling of munisa, which stands for munissa.
4 Cf. Skt. viśa (or viśīra), utṣa, sāṃkṣa.
5 This Prākrit word is used also in Sanskrit.
6 Cf. the assimilation of the second vowel to the first in ud[n]pāna = Skt. udāpāna.
7 Here the u is due to the analogy of other forms of the root śru.
Grammatik, vol. 1, § 184, b). The Girkäri equivalent vrakka disproves the etymology advocated by Pischel (Grammatik, § 320), who derived Prākṛt rukkha from Skt. rukṣa (Ṛgveda, VI, 3, 7), to which Roth (VIIth Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, p. 3) had assigned the meaning 'a tree', although the traditional meaning 'bright' gives a satisfactory sense.

The diphthongs ai and au are both lost. The former becomes ē in ni[chi] (perhaps = Skt. nicaīit, VII, 22) and in the feminine case-termination -e; the second becomes o in papa[tā] (XIII, 15), pa[la]lokika or palalo[kīya], -opa[a] and -opa[xa].

Short a is lengthened in [pja] (Skt. āyamakam), a[vama] (= udāma), lāti (= ratti, VIII, 23), and at the end of a few bases in -a, viz. uchāvahā (VII, 21), kiṣṭā (= krītāja, VII, 22), v[r]a (= vara, III, 8), kāla- or ša[ll]ū (= šāra), śārava- (= sarva, XII, 31), samāma- (= śāma), XII, 29). The lengthening of a is very frequent at the end of words; e.g. ajā (= aṣa), a[tā] (= atva and yatva), anātā (= atvatva), atā (= yata), atva or vā, chā, janāsā, tasa (= tasa, tenā, dāneṣu, nā, nāma, nikhamā, Piyadāsā, pamā, hidā (= hā, hetā (= *ītrā).


Generally, ā is often represented by a. Although in some cases this defective spelling is perhaps due to the negligence of the writer, the subjoined list will not be considered superfluous.

1 At the beginning: akālo[na], anam[le], jen[y], an[n]i[n]yā, apanā, āt[t]ya, apanā[ya], alabhi[ya], alabhi[ri], alabhi[j]i, at[le], a[v][a], ā[he], a[he] (Skt. āka, V, 13).

2 In the interior of words: adisha (yāvdira[i], XI, 29), anathesu (ani[th]esu at Dhauli), opavan (Skt. opav[an]), av[a] (yāvat, IX, 25), a[v][a]v[an], kala (VI, 17), Devam[pi]yam (X, 28), pa[la]lokika or palalo[kīya] (palalo[kīka] in the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jangada), pāsoda (Skt. pāsanda, XII, 31), bādhaka (XII, 32), madhun[s]ya, kojā, lejāne, lejāna, vija[m]ane, v[e]jā[na], vina[a], vey[ap], YV, 15), ev[e]jā[ye], ev[e][b]hage.

3 At the end: a (Skt. a, XIII, 6), anatha (= anyathā), abaka (= ambikā), e[sa]h[a] (XIII, 37), ma (XIII, 16), naka-phala (XIII, 14), mā[n]a[pitiv (III, 8), lāja (IV, 11), va (twice = vā), hi[da]lokika (XIII, 18).

Initial a is dropped in pi (= ap) and hastam (for hastam = ham); i in i (= it) also in kinti (only XII, 33) and biti; e in va (only IX, 26) and va, besides which the full forms eva and evā are also employed.3

II. Simple Consonants.

The Kāliṣi dialect agrees with the Māgadhī one in replacing the semivowel r by l, and the two nasals ŭ and ř by dental n, throughout.

The two gutturals k and g were often palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel i. This pronunciation is expressed in writing by the groups ky and gy, of which the latter occurs three times in the word Kalītya (= Skt. Kalīgya), and the former in [n]zy[ā]y[ā] (XII, 34), Alīyasududale (XIII, 8), and in the affixes -ka and -ika of kalīky[ē], -śhikyā and -śhikyā, nāti[ky], pānāti[ky], pālāni[ky], Pertini[ky], shu[ka], shu[ka], shu[ka], shu[ka], sa[sa], sti[ky], hīlokika and pa[la]lokika (XIII) (XIII, 18). Instead of the two last words we find also the forms hī[da]lokika and palalo[kīya] (XIII, 17f), which suggest that -ika became -iya through the intermediate stage -ikya. In the same way Franke (VOJ 9, 347, n. 2) explains nilāthiya, which corresponds at Kāliṣi (IX, 24) to nirvatha at Girkāri.4 Another instance of the change of k to y after i would be diya[k]a (XIII, 33), which Pischel (Grammatik, § 230) derived from *devārākha. To this may be added the affix -ala-ak or -alaya in mahālaka and supadālaya (V, 14); see below, p. Ixxxv.5

1 Dhauli reads ajāni[da], and Girkāri [a]parātā. Cf. the adjective Aparāntaka in the Kaviṣṭya, p. 81, l. 5.

2 This may be an unreduced perfect, as in the pillar-edicts; see Michelson, IF, 23: 244.

3 Instead of no at XIII, 16, we have perhaps to read yo, as at Shāhābāzgarhī. For yo = Prākṛt yevo see below, p. Ixxxv.

4 Cf. also atu-patya in the pillar-edict IV, and atu-bhāgya on the Rummindē pillar.

5 In Turkish the guttural ă (kyaft) is liable to a similar palatalization and change to y; thus from ăk (Kyōpek), 'a dog', is formed ăk (pronounced kyōpek), 'his dog'.

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1 This reading of apalindū is not accurate, as the particle a is not found in the classic periods of the Indo-European languages.
2 This is a type of marking which was used in Old English to denote the end of a sentence.
3 This is the opposite form of the guttural k in the Kāliṣi dialect.
4 This is a type of palatalization that occurs in the Kāliṣi dialect.
5 This is a type of affixation that occurs in the Kāliṣi dialect.
dialekt, like the Girmär dialect, furnishes an instance of the development of ɣ from g in -opaga (II, 5) and -op[ya] (VIII, 23). From the form Kaligya, which, as stated on p. lxxi, occurs three times at Kalsi, it may be inferred that the intermediate stage was *opaga. Greek γ is expressed by k in Aishtik[a] and Makā, and χ by g in Aishtakya. Skt. gh has become k in laka and lakaṇa.

Of palatals, gh has been aspirated in kkhka (= Skt. kkhcā, XII, 32) and kkhhi (= *khi+chid). In vacha (VI, 18; XII, 34) ch corresponds to the j of Skt. vajja. The letter j has become d in palitititu (X, 28), the absolute of Skt. pariyajati. Cf. Kuhn (Pālī-Grammarik, p. 35), who quotes from Dhammapada, p. 144 [l. 13], the aorist parīkhadā; E. Müller’s Pālī Grammar, p. 25; Pischel’s Grammatik, § 215.

Dentals are linguized in duvādasā; before r in keśīṣa; after r in [ry]hata and ushāta, kata, dukata, kītāndā, bhaṣta, bhāṣaka, māṭa, viśhata, viśvata; after r in the proposition pati (= Skt. pratī). Dental t is palatalized in chitt[i] (IV, 12), the absolute of Prākṛt chitthadū (= Skt. tīkhati). It is replaced by d in dve (VI, 19) and hidā-subhāṣe (V, 15, 2). In tata[ya] (= tadopayā at Girmār and Dhaulī) it looks as if it had taken the place of d. But the first member of the compound might be, not tad, but tata (= Skt. tata); cf. Senart’s Inscriptions de Piyadasi, l. 194. In hidā (= idha at Girmār) the d apparently corresponds to an original dh; but Johansson (Śhūbh., § 57) may be right in connecting hidā with Vedic īddā, ‘now’.

The labial aspirate bh has become h in the instrumental and dative plural in -hi, in heti, hetu, aho, luvah, kusu, and in the participle huta (= Skt. bhūta), while bhūta is used as substantive.

The semivowel ɣ has become j in majūla (= Skt. máyūra, I, 4); v in visava (= visaya, XIII, 9) and vaj[e]n (VII, 21); k in ye[hau] (VI, 20). Initial ɣ is lost in an (= Skt. yat), asā (asā), e (yat, yat, ṣe), a[a] (ya[ra]), athā (yatū), a[di] (yadīśa), ava (yācat), o[a]v[i] (XIII, 39). In apovuṇi (apōgha) v was developed out of ū.

The syllable ya becomes i in palitititu, the absolute of Skt. pariyajati, and in [a]po-[i]ya[ti] (= opa-piyajati at Girmār), and vā becomes u in the absolutes in -tu (= Skt. -tū). In [a]j[i]da (= *trayādaśa) aya is contracted to e. The causative affixes aya and ayi either remain unchanged (in dasayiu, &c.) or are contracted (in pujeti, pujitav[i]ya, &c.); in vaḍayi and vaḍayjati the second a is changed to ī through the influence of the palatal y which follows it. In the 3. sing. optative nivat[ey]a (= Skt. nivartaṭāt) the e corresponds to an original aye. For aya we have u in olodhana, heti, hetu, aho.

Cases of Cockeyism are hida (= Skt. iho), heśa (= śṛṣṭa), keta (= *itva), havaṃ, and perhaps the conjunction hānca (IX, 29), which is identical in meaning with Pāli sahe, ‘if’. Johansson (Śhūbh., i. 69) derives it from Pāli yaṅca (Children, Pāli Dictionary, p. 603, a) through the intermediate form *hānc, while Senart (IA, 21, 88) traces it directly to sahe.

In the edicts I–IX the Kāśi dialect agrees with the Girmār one in replacing the two sibilants st and sh by s. From edict X the writer employs, besides s, the signs for s and sh. In a few cases, sh is used where Sanskrit would require it; see esa, [a]v[sa]hā (= varsha, XIII, 35), pūṣhahā, manu[shā]hā, teṣaṃ, yeqaṃ, atēśhu (= antīṣu), Kanyojeyu, Kār[n]jēgēy, Nāṃkṣeṣu, Nābhōpāṇiṣṭhā, Piṭhāṅy[sh]u, Piṭṭhu, Y[a]vēṣ[h]u, Madhāṣ[kha]u, manuvakh. But in the majority of instances both s and sh are phonetically and etymologically impossible; see e.g. taśa and taśa (= Skt. tasyā), dāṣa and dāṣha (= dāṣa), teṣhūṭa and shahṣhūṭa (= sansthuta), s[ã]v[a] and shava (= sarva), śāṣṭa- and s[ã]v[a]- (= sāra), sīyāti and shīyāti (= syāt); [a] and she, shah[ã]a and shahahṣa (= sahasra).

To explain this state of matters, we have to suppose that the writer spoke a dialect which knew no sibilant besides s, and that he used the letters s and sh indiscriminately for expressing the same sibilant. In other words, the letters s and sh at Kāśi are purely graphical, and in the sequel it is tacitly assumed that every s and sh is a vicarious symbol expressing dental s.

As in the Girmār dialect, all final consonants are dropped. The preceding vowel is sometimes lengthened; see s[ã]mya- or shamyā- (= Skt. samyaḥ, Pāli samma), palīsā (= Skt. parṣadhā, pūna

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1 Cf. Singhalese sitinu or hiṣinu, ‘to stand’, in Geiger’s Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalelen, p. 47, l. 3 ff.
2 Cf. below, p. lxxxv and n. 4.
3 For similar forms of the 1. sing. optative see below, p. lxxxii.
4 For similar contracted forms see below, p. lxxxii.
5 But s occurs twice in edict IV, l. 13 (vasa = Skt. vayaka, and Piyadaśina).
6 Cf. Senart’s Inscriptions de Piyadasi, l. 37, and Bühler’s Ind. Pal., § 14, last section.
and punā (सुनार्) (पुनार्या) एवा, एवा, एवा (यावत्). It is nasalized in avai (XII, 8). The termination -ā generally becomes -a (e.g. putā, but the a is shortened in a few cases; see below, p. lxxvi). Final -as becomes -e; e.g. jīna (nom. sing.), nātāle (स्कृ. nātāraḥ), lājīra (gen. sing.), lājāne (nom. plur.), bhītu [स्कृ. bhītyaḥ], ne (सन्), se (सा), ye or e, ahnē, ektē, [p]ute (स्कृ. puraḥ), [m]u[ŋ]hīne, vījanjana[ye]. But o is found instead of e, as at Giriā, in Sātīṣṭaprākī, K[ka]l[a]nt[i]o, jana [ye], lā[ŋ]hāno, yasa or yasva, tato; aḥ in Mahā; a in vadha (XIII, 36), hīdālōkēya (XIII, 17), et[ā] (XIII, 38), va[cha]- (XII, 31).

Sanskrit words ending in m and n substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals; e.g. dhūnavān, dānā, the two present participles saṁtāti and kalantarā (XII, 33), which correspond to Skt. sān and kārvā. The Anusvāra is, however, frequently omitted; see kala[ntā] (XI, 36) and kalata (XII, 32) for kalantarā, anata (XI, 30) for anantarā, adikā (स्कृ. yādṛṣṭā, XI, 29), pāshānta, pāṣadā, bādha (XIII, 36), madāvō (स्कृ. mārdavām, XIII, 4), viṣayō and viṣayeṣṭīva (XIII, 16), [sa]vā (सर्वात, X, 28), hevo (स्कृ. evam, XII, 32), and the accusatives feminine anus[th]a (XII, 12), kii, khānti, vaddhi, Saṃbodhi, sudhi, hini. In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped and preceding a lengthened; see [ā]disā (स्कृ. yādṛṣṭā, IV, 10), kāni-[ma]talā (स्कृ. hārā, VI, 20), khudā (स्कृ. kshudrām, IX, 24), dasā (I, 2), nīlathāyā (IX, 24), pāṣadā (XII, 32), punā (trice = punyaṁ), bāhuk[2] (I, 2), maha-phalā (स्कृ. maha-phalam, XIII, 14). As a rule, the nom. sing. of neuters in -a follows the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine and ends in -e; see se, she, ese, ese, ye, e, ahnē, save, shave, [sa]vē, dāne, &c. The acc. sing. neuter has the same termination in dāne (XII, 31), bādhaśate (XII, 33), and in the particles e (XIII, 38), se, she.

Words ending in long nasalized vowels are treated in three different ways. Long ā is generally shortened; e.g. pānāvān, tānāv (XIII, 38), teshān (XIII, 37), nātā[ma]vān (IV, 10), bhā[j]īn[ā]v (V, 19). In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped; see the genitives plural [ka]hā[ma]-nānā (XI, 29), nātā (IV, 9), bh[ā]gr[ī]n[ā]v (V, 19), gulnā (IX, 25), and the accusatives singular punā (XII, 31), -dānātā (XIII, 17), dishā (XIV, 23), [ma]hākāśā (X, 27), which is perhaps a clerical mistake for mahahtāvā (स्कृ. mahahtāvāhām). Thirdly, the Anusvāra may be dropped and the long vowel shortened at the same time; see pājāvā (स्कृ. pārajāvān, V, 15), pāsādā (XII, 31), [m]u[ŋ]nāshā[ma] (XIII, 39), [k]ā[ŋ] (स्कृ. tādām, I, 3).

III. Sandhi.

Final m is preserved before the particle eva in tawesa, [d]namev[ā], [e]vanvevā, pālānīkṣanvevā(ṣa). Hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in the two compounds aṁnām-anashā (स्कृ. aṁnām-aṁṣa, XII, 33) and bhātām-ayevā (V, 15).

a + a are contracted into a in etiṣṭhyaya (XII, 34), [ka]tābhīkā[te], kavā (स्कृ. cvā), gabhā-ga (स ः काव)āsati, dhaṁnīnus[th]a (XII, 12) or dhaṁnīnusathī (twice), &c., but into short a in dhaṁmanutsathi (trice), dhaṁma[ŋ]yaye (XII, 35), [ma]pīkālappālāthā (XIV, 23), and before an original group of consonants in a[ŋ] (twice = Skt. yatra yatra), apalaṁtā (स्कृ. yāpāntāḥ, V, 15), tenatā (स्कृ. tāṇḍrā, VIII, 23), diyaḍha (स्कृ. dviṣkārā, XIII, 35), nathi (स्कृ. nāṣṭi), suṣṭhā[ye] (स्कृ. sūpārṣṭhāya, I, 3).

a + a becomes a in pā[ŋ]lānībhē (IV, 9) and [m]a[ŋ]hāthīvā (स्कृ. maha[r]tha + aṭvāhām (?), X, 27).

a + a becomes a before an original group in [ma]hathā (स्कृ. maha[r]tha, X, 27).

a + u becomes o in pājāpānē (yo), on which see below, p. lxxvi, r. 1.

a is elided before i, e, o in kāmbhān-ibhesu (V, 15), ek-eva, maṇu-opāgni (II, 3),1 and before u in chu, "but",2 which corresponds to chō (चा) in Buddhist gāthās.3

i + a are contracted into i in itihdiṣṭhāka (स्कृ. stry-adhyakṣa, XII, 34).

u is elided before o in pā-m-opāgni (II, 3).

a is dropped after e in evai (V, 15), ā[ŋ]yō[ŋ]hā[ŋ]yā (VI, 19), etō[ŋ]the (VI, 20).

1 For tatoṣyā see above, p. lxxii.
2 Michelson (IF, 24, 251) considers chu a contamination of tu and cha.
3 See Kern's translation of the Svaddhamapuṇḍarīka (SBE, vol. 21), Introduction, p. xvii.
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IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

Combined consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed between them. The only groups which occasionally remain unchanged are tv, dhr, my, vy, su. For the two groups ky and gy see above, p. lxxi.

Long a preceding a group of consonants is generally shortened; see ata- (= Skt. ātman), ana[p]a (= atayakha),[a]n[ap][a] (= anapāś), a[nan]asāhī (= anāsāṭī), asamatī (= asamāṇī), ayesa (= āyesa), āndha (= ānāḍham), ā-gāndha, ādasūya, palakamāṇi, palakamātu, palakamau, paścatā (= prāsāvyata), ma[g]a (= mārga), II, 6, madava (= mārvavā, XIII, 4), mahāmata (= mahāmattā).

But the length is preserved in ānapāśīte and mahāmattā. Long i preceding a simple consonant is shortened and the consonant itself doubled in tihi (= tīṇī, I, 3).

Similarly, bh[ī]ya (= vedanya, avvādhiyāna (read *yānīti) may be meant for bhūyay, vedāntya, avvādhiyānta; cf. above, p. lix.

Short a preceding a group is lengthened in anātī (= anāтра, XIII, 38), paṇātiya (= praṇaptirika, IV, 11), and śāvalī (= śara-, XII, 31). In paḷāntika (×twice = pātrativikā) the short a preceding the group tr has been nasalized.2

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is often at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), in atikānātī (= ātikρaṇaṇa), khanāti (= khaṇi, XIII, 16), Tanbhapāsīni (= Tāmravrāṇa, Pāṇi, deśāyā (= Deśāyāva), bāvbhana (= bhāvamaya), ikha[n]i[da] (= bhānda, III, 8), sā[k]i[s]ayike (= sākṣi[s]ayika, IX, 20). In b[ā]bhāni (= XIII, 37), Devāṇāpi (= Devāṇāpi, twice), and in the third persons plural pāṇātāti (= pāḷakamātu,3 locketii (= locketī, XIII, 17), [pāṭk]vedetu (= VI, 18), the Anusvāra is dropped.

As at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), there are many cases in the interior of words where the Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel; see Aṭīya (= XIII, 9), ateshī (= anitēśā), anata (= ananta), anu[bdh]ā (= anubandhā), aboko (= ambolta), alabha[yan]i (= alabha[yan]ī) (cf. the aorist abanabhiyisun, I, 3), Alikyashulade (= Alīkṣaḍulade), Kaliya (= Kaliya), pāskha and pāo[sha] (pāśa[sha],) magicā (= māgāca), vikisé (= vikiniśā), shanbaddha[ś] (= sanibhandhā), skav[ī]kha[ge] (= sanvībhāga, sayama and savayama (IX, 25), vaskati (= vasani), and manatu (3. plur. imperative of root man).

While most groups of consonants are assimilated, others are avoided by developing an auxiliary vowel in the middle of them. This vowel is a in ga[da]hati (= Skt. garhati, galada, Alikyashulade (= Alīkṣaḍulade); n before or after labials in kuvāgi, duve, duvāda, pulava (= ṭurva), suvānika, pāpumalatī; and frequently i; see lājinā (= rājānī), lājinē (= rājānē), the future passive participles in -atiya, -addyakha (= adhyaksha), [a]nāmya (= āniyāya), ahatiye, alabhī[yan]i (= alabhi[yan]ī, [a]katiyā, Pāṇi, pātīsaya, madhniya (= madhurya), viyaniyama, viyāpāta (= viyāpūta), [s]hamachya (= sambhācha), śiśeke (= sūkha), sīya (= sūkha), śīya (= sūkha). Similarly, an auxiliary i is prefixed to the group str in ihi (= strī).

It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups kr, gr, tr, dr, pr, br, bh, sr, sr, which have become k, g, t, d, p, b, bh, s, s, throughout. The remaining groups and their equivalents are given in the subjoined list.

kt becomes t in Nāthapahiti, etc.
kv becomes kev in kvavātī.
kh becomes kk in -addiyakha, kahati (= Skt. kāhāti), khuda (= kshudra), dakhati, [la]kha (= vṛkṣa), nokha, su[s]a[kh]atica (= sanukṣipta); ckh in chhatanī.
kh becomes kk in shankkhyeya (read sanukhyeya).
kkh becomes kk in kkh = Skt. khau; see above, p. lvi and n. a.
gn becomes g in agī.
ji becomes n in kīṭanāṭā (= Skt. kīṭajñātā), nāṭi, ānapayīte, but jin in lājinā (= rājānā) and lājinē (= rājānē).

1 atiyyāka presupposes an intermediate form *atipāśka, in which the initial ā was shortened before the group ty.
2 Cf. vaśika = Skt. vakra, sunika = Skt. śulka, etc, in Pichelia Grāmatik, § 74.
3 For these two forms see below, p. lxxii.
4 The form pāskha may be derived from Skt. pārskha; see above, p. lx.
5 Pichela (Grammatik, § 554) derives this form from *drikshati, which is preserved in idriksha, tādriksha, etc.
dy becomes dy in Paññāyā.
ny becomes nir or n in hañNão, punā (thrice = Skt. punyam), but nīy in [a]naniya (= ānṛinya). 
.tp becomes p in pojopadāne(ya).¹
tn becomes t in ata (= Skt. ātman).
ty becomes tiy in apatiye, [k]aṭiyā (= Skt. katiyā; ky in mickyā).
tu remains in doñatiye (X, 27), where the a of tōtā has been shortened before the double consonant of the affix -tōtā; but tu is assimilated in chatā (= Skt. chaivāri, XIII, 7).
Is becomes s (or sī) in chikāsā, chikāsā, [n]hat[na] and ushūtēna.
th becomes th in uṭhāna; cf. uṭāna at Ginnār.
dy becomes f in ajā, paṭipajāça; y in [a]ānasa, uyāma.
dv becomes d in diyādha, but dvā in dvā, dvādaśa.
abh becomes jh in n[ti]jhati, mañjimandva, but dhīy in adhīyakha.
dhr remains in akhīye (I, 4); but it seems to be assimilated in [Adha] (= Andhra, XIII, 10).
ny becomes in or n in aṁna and anā, mañjimandva and manati.
pt becomes t in guṭi, n[ti]jhati, asamati, su[na]ñkhtēna, natā (= Skt. naptāraḥ), pañāṭikā, Tulañyā (= Ṡroñapaśa).
pu becomes pun in pāñunātāti.
bh becomes dh in ladhā.
abh becomes bh in -ibhasa, but bhīy in alabhī[yaṁti, alabhīkhyīsya, alabhī[ya]sa[m]ti.
my remains in s[a]mya- or shamya- (= Skt. samyuk.
mr becomes ndē in Taññapaññāni.
rγ becomes g in m[a]ge[ti], vagenā, vagnā.
rγ becomes nun in Taññapaññāni.
r∂ becomes t in kiti, anuvataśati, [a]nuvat[ati], nivataśati; t in kaṭāviya, anuvatā[ti]tī, n[a]ṛ[ti]tī, nivatē[ti].
rk becomes tk in atha; tk in atha and nilathiya; see above, p. lxxi and n. 4.
rδ becomes d in madura (= Skt. mādırava).
rδh becomes dh in vadhiye, vadhiyasaṭā; dh in vadhiye, vadhiyati, [pa]c[ti]dha[yasaṭā].
diyādha.
rbh becomes bh in gahgāsāl[ti].
rn becomes vim or m in karima (= Skt. karman), dhaññula and dhama.
ry becomes y in ayayu (= Skt. ayyūkyu), but hy in anam[ti][j]ya (= anantaryā), maññukiya (= maññukyā), [ṣa]m[ṣa]-khyā (= *sama-chārya).
rv becomes v in savā, nivataś, nī[nt]iṣā, but huv in puluva.
rs becomes s in dasana, dasayi, Piyadaśi (also spelts Piyadashī and Piyadaśi).
rsh becomes s in vraṣa (also spelts [va]raṣha and vraṣa).
rh becomes lab in go[l]aṭaha, galāṭa.
lp becomes p in apa, kaṭaṇu.
fy becomes y in kāvya.
vy remains in diyānī (IV, 10); but it is assimilated in pasavati (= Skt. prasāvyata, IX, 27), and it becomes y in viṣayana, viṣayanaṁ, viṣayatā, viṣayati, and in the suffix -tāviya.
vr becomes v in tīve, pav[a]jita[y]u, vacha (VI, 18; XII, 34) = Skt. vṛaja.
sch becomes eh in [ep]eha.
sy becomes iy in pāṭiveseyāṇā.
skh becomes k in dukkata, dukkala.
shīk becomes kh in nikham[ati]m, nikhamisu, nikhamāṭhā, vinikhamanē.
sk becomes th in atha (XIII, 39); th in nikhamāṭhā.
shīk becomes th in śrṣṭai chtik[ti]; th in adhīthā[n]yāye.
shy becomes s (or š) in manusa and manusha, anap[a]risaṭi and other futures.
sk becomes k in aṇi-baññ[ati]ni, while Ginnār has aṇi-kañṇ[ati]ni (with kh).
st becomes th in athi, naṭhi, [ha]khi, saññakha, viññāHEN, anusathi.

¹ Dhauli and Jaugāda read "dāye, Mānsēṛa "daye, but Shāhājgarī pojopadāne, which might correspond to Skt. prajñapadāne. At Kālē the locative of upādana is excluded, because it would end in -asti. For upāda = Skt. *upad see Bhūler, ZDMG, 37. 431 f.
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sīr becomes th in itīḥa (= Skt. strī).
sth becomes th in gahathāni, ghī[ti]thā, chā[ti]-thīthīya (V, 17), but th in chīla-thīthīya (VI, 20).
sn becomes śh in śnīchen.
sm becomes s in the locatives in -asti, but ph in [ta]phā (= Skt. rasmaṭ, XIII, 35).
sy becomes śiy (śiy or śhīy) in śiyā, śiyā, śiyāti, śhīyāṭi (= Skt. syāti), but s in a[su] (3, plur. optative of root as) and in the genitives in -asā.
sv remains in svagam (VI, 20); but it is assimilated in shayaka (XIII, 16), which seems to be derived from Skt. svayam, and it becomes suv in suvāmikā (IX, 25).
sh becomes śh in bauhāna. The form bauhāna (XIII, 39) is intermediate between *bauhāna (= Skt. brāhmanā) and *bauhāna (baubhāna at Mānśhrā, IX, 3).

B. DECLENSION

I. BASES IN -ā.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -ā.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. jāne, &amp;c.; neut. dāne, &amp;c.</td>
<td>Masc. putā, &amp;c.; neut. phalāni, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. masc. dhaninān, &amp;c.; neut. dānanī, &amp;c.</td>
<td>Masc. yutāni, &amp;c.; neut. dīvyāṇi, lūpāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. dānena or dānena, &amp;c.</td>
<td>[sa]uhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. athāye, &amp;c.</td>
<td>māhānla[e]hi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. anubad[ā], [pa]bhā.</td>
<td>pānānā, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. jau[a] (IV, 10) or jauasa, &amp;c.</td>
<td>eutesu, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. dānivāri, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing. masc.—There are two forms in -o (Śrīyaputo and Kṛ[la]puto, II, 4), two in a (nada, XIII, 36, and hidalokkiya, XIII, 17), and one in -ā (Makā, XIII, 7).

Nom. sing. neut.—In four instances the termination is -ani (anañtra, IX, 26, 27, anasūranaṇi and karīma[ni], IV, 12). It is -ā in adīgha (XI, 29), and -ā in [a]dīsā (IV, 10), karīma[j]alā (VI, 22), punā (thrice = Skt. punyam).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvārā is omitted in -pāṣaṇa (four times, XII, 32), -pāṣada and -pāṣanīda (XII, 33), [kayama] (XIII, 4), vijey[a] and vijeyataviya (XIII, 16). The termination -ani is replaced by -ā in atā-pāṣalā (XII, 32), bahub[ā] and dosā (1, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The termination is -ā in madava (XIII, 4); -ā in maha-phalā (XIII, 14), khudā and nilathiyā (IX, 24); - o in dāne (XII, 31) and bhāghtale (XII, 32).

Nom. plur. masc.—The final ā is shortened in [nā]dīkya (XIII, 38), pāśanīda (XIII, 37), -pāṣaṇida (XII, 34), [pāṇā]nida (VII, 21), putvea (V, 14), pujitā[e]ya (XII, 32).

Nom. plur. neut.—In hālāpita cha lopāpiṭa cha (II, B and C), the termination is -ā instead of -āni. The Sanskrit masculine vṛkṣha is used as neuter: [tu]khānī (II, 9).

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. in -āni are -kānḍ[ā]ni (IV, 10), Kalīgyāni (XIII, 35), -pāśaṇ[a]dāni, pa[a]jīta[n], ga[khānī (XII, 31).

Acc. plur. neut.—The termination is -ā in sūm=ṣa-acc[ā] (IV, 9).

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in -pāṣāṇa (XII, 31) and m[a]nushān[a] (XIII, 39). The termination is -ā in [ba]mbhāṇānā (XI, 29).

(2) Feminines in -ā.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. ichhā, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. pujā, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. puja[d]a[ye.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. or loc. sanītt[a]yā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing.—In hā[da]lokika (XIII, 18) the final ā is shortened.

1 See Text, p. 49. n. 2.
2 Cf. ruchhāni at Mānschrā, II, 8.
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Acc. sing.—In [ṛ̱śātāni] (VIII, 22) the nasal of the original termination -̄aṃ seems to be preserved, and the a to be shortened before it.
Instr. sing.—In vividh[aye] (XII, 31) the penultimate a seems to be shortened.

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -i.
Nom. sing. neut. asamati.
Nom. plur. neut. osadhi[f], tini, tividadi.
Gen. plur. nāt[i]ni, nātina.
Loc. plur. Nābhapāniṣīhu.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Singular. Plural.
Nom. lipī, &c. jani[yo].
Acc. Sāhbadhi, &c. &c.
Instr. bhātiya, -aṃṣatiya, &c.
Dat. -aṃṣatiya, vadhiya.
Abl. m[ṣ]utiya, Tāmbhāpāniṣīya, &c.
Loc. ayatiya.

III. BASES IN -u.

The nom. sing. sādhu or sādhu is the same in all three genders.
Nom. and acc. sing. neut. bahu.
Nom. and acc. plur. neut. bahunī.
Instr. plur. ba[h]u[h]ni.
Gen. plur. guluṇā.

IV. MASCUCLINES IN -ṛī.
Nom. plur. natalī (= Skt. nātīvadhī).
Loc. plur. pitiṣu or pitiṣhu (= pitṛikṣu).

The instr. sing. follows the i-declension: pitiṇā, bhāṭinā.

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

The nom. sing. masc. has a very curious form; it affixes the termination -añī, which is evidently derived from Skt. -an, to the strong form of the base: saṅtāni from root as, kalāṅtāni (kalā[ṇīta], kalālaṇa) from root kṛi.

(2) Bases in -vat.

Nom. sing. masc. paṭāva (= Skt. praṭāvān).
Instr. sing. hetuvaratāt.

With the nom. sing. cf. Pāli guravā = Skt. guravān.

1 The Kāsī dialect has mixed up osadhi (= Skt. ēṣadhi, fem.) with osadha (= Skt. aṣadha, neut.).
2 From Vedic jani, ‘a wife’.
3 In Sanskrit the corresponding base is not hetuvaratā, but héṭumati; cf. Pāṇini, VIII, 2, 9, and Pischel’s Grammatik, § 601.
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(3) Masculines and neuters in -au.

Singular.
Nom. masc. lājā, lājā, lājā.
Acc. neut. nāma, nāma.
Instr. lājānā, lājānā.
Gen. lājāne.

The neuter base karman follows the a-declension: nom. sing. kā[ṃ]me or kā[ṃ]m[ṇ], dat. kā[ṃ]nayē.

(4) Masculines in -i.n.

Acc. plur. [ha]thini (= hathini at Dhauli, IV, 2).

The gen. sing. Piyadasisā follows the analogy of the a-declension.
With the acc. plur. masc. [ha]thini (i.e. hathini), cf. yutāni, &c., in the a-declension (above, p. lxxvi).

(5) Neuters in -as.

Acc. sing. yasa or yashe, bh[ṃ]ya.

The base va[cha]- (XII, 31) corresponds to Skt. varhas.

(6) Other bases in consonants.

The feminine base diś (or diśā) forms the acc. sing. diśā (for diśā). The two feminine bases *nipad and parishad also follow the a-declension: loc. sing. pānopadāne (ye) (see above, p. lxxv, n. 1), paliś[ā]ya; nom. plur. palīsā.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.
Nom. hakāhī.
Instr. māmayā, me (III, 7).
Gen. [manā], māmā, me.

The nom. sing. hakāhī must be derived from ākām (= ākaṃ in Māhārāṣṭrī); see Pan. V, 3, 71, and Pischel's Grammatik, § 417.
The instr. sing. māmayā for Skt. māyā is due to the influence of the genitive māma. Cf. māmae, Hēmacandra, III, 109.

(2) Base ta.

Singular.
Nom. masc. se, [s]e, she; neut. ta, se, [sk]e.
Acc. masc. taṣṭi; neut. se, she.
Instr. tenā, tenā.
Dat. tā[ṃ]ya.
Abl. [ta]phā, [s]ā.
Gen. tāsa, tāṣa, tāsā, tāṣā.
Loc. tāṭa.

Nom sing. fem. sā, shā.

As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 592), the abl. sing. [ta]phā goes back to tāmāhā (= Skt. tasmāt); cf. ophe and uphe (= Prakrit omhe and unhe) in the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada. The abl. a[ṃ] is used as conjunction (V, 13); cf. Pischel's Grammatik, § 425.
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(3) Base एता.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. [e]sc (VIII, 23), [e]shc (X, 26), esc[a] (XIII, 30); neut. esc, eshe.</td>
<td>Neut. e[s]you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. esenā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. etāya (XII, 34), etāye, āha(c)tu[k]āye.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. etishā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the gen. sing. etishā cf. etisu at Shāhāzgarhī and Mānsehrā.

(4) Demonstrative idam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. ayan, iyān; neut. iyān.</td>
<td>Masc. ime.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. neut. imaih.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. imas[a].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom. sing. fem. iyān.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. sing. fem. imaih.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nom. masc. ayan is taken from V, 15, where eyah perhaps stands for e+ayah (= Skt. ēyām). The form iyān is used as masculine in V, 16; elsewhere as feminine and neuter.

(5) Interrogative pronoun.

The acc. plur. neut. [kā]ni is used as a demonstrative; see Text, p. 35, n. 12. The indefinite pronoun is formed with chā = Skt. cha (nom. sing. masc. kuchha) or chhi = Skt. chid (nom. and acc. sing. neut. kichhi). As at Gīrā, the compounds kini (XII, 23) and kiti are used in the sense of 'that'.

(6) Relative pronoun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. ye, e; neut. ye, e, o, anh.</td>
<td>Masc. ye, e.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. neut. yo, o, e (XIII, 38).</td>
<td>yeskwā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. yena.</td>
<td>yesu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. aān.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) Base anye.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. and neut. anhne.</td>
<td>Masc. anhne, anh; neut. anhni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. anhnye.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. anhnamanashā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(8) Base sarva.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc. masc. savah; neut. savah, shava[hi].</td>
<td>s[ah]ves[u], shavesku.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom. sing. fem. shavā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(9) Nom. sing. neut. [i]t[ah]le, while classical Sanskrit has i[t]arā.

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1 Cf. above, p. lxiv, n. 2.
2 Cf. id., n. 1.
INTRODUCTION

(10) Base ubhaya.
Gen. plur. ubhay[e]sū.

(11) Base ᳕kata.[a]
Loc. sing. ᳕katalash[f].

(12) Base ᳕katya.
Nom. plur. masc. [ṛ]katīya.

D.—NUMERALS

One.
Nom. sing. masc ekṛ.

Two.
Nom. masc. duve.
This form may be used for all genders in all Prākṛta; see Pischel's Grammatik, § 437.

Three.
Nom. neut. tīni, tinīni.
Cf. Prākṛt tinī; Pischel's Grammatik, §§ 91, 438.

Four.
The nom. neut. chatāli is used with a masculine substantive (XIII, 7). The same irregularity is frequent in Prākṛti; see Pischel's Grammatik, § 439.

Five. six.
Loc. panchas, shashu (= Prākṛti ekhasu).

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.
atha, das[a], duvāda (with lingual ḍ), ṭ[s]dasa.

Hundred.
Acc. plur. satāni; instr. [s]aṭeḥi; loc. skatesu.
The ordinal is shata (= Skt. sūtāma); see XIII, 39.

Thousand.
The ordinal is shak[a]pha (= Skt. sahasratama); see XIII, 39.

Hundred thousand.
Nom. sing. shas[a]-shakesu[f].

1 The ḍ has been further changed to r in Prākṛti bārasa and bāraka.

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E.—Conjugation

I. Present.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root garh: ga[la]hati.

Root ji: the participle viśīnamane and the absolutive vijīn[i]tu (XIII, 36) show that this root first followed the ninth class (Prākrit jaṅadi) and subsequently the a-conjugation (Prākrit jaṅadi).\(^1\)

Root driṣṭ: dakkhati.\(^2\)
Root bhū: hoti, huyeu (sixth class).
Root vas: vashati, vas[e]m.
Root yrit: anuvatātati.

Root sthā. The absolutive chiṣṭ[hi] (IV, 12) presupposes the Prākrit present chiṣṭhadi.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root ad follows the a-conjugation: adāmana.
Root as: athi.
Root i or y: jaṇati.
Root ja: ye[ha]m; see below, p. lxxxii.

Root kan: np[a]kam[iti].

Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive pajīkitavīpe (I, 1) is derived from the present *jokati, in which the a of *jaṅati (see above, p. lxvi) is strengthened by Guṇa.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root pad: patajeyā.

Root man: manmat[ti] and manati.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root āp follows the ninth class: pāpuṇāta[i].

Root śru follows the a-conjugation: shuṇey[ti].

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root ish: ickhati.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root yuj follows the a-conjugation: yujinatu.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root kṛi. The 3. sing. kāleti follows the analogy of the tenth class, but the 3. plur. ka[la]jīti the a-conjugation. Cf. Pischel's Grammatik, § 509.

Root kṣahī follows the a-conjugation: khaṇatī.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With aya: dasayiu, [a]sopayma, aḷūdhyai(ya)v[i]tu, a-lochayiu, aloeayisv, [pa]v[a]dha-yiṣam[n]i. The character aya is changed to iya in vadhiyati (XII, 32) and vadhiysiati (IV, 11) and is contracted to e in pujeti, pujetav[i]ya, lochetu, nivateti and ni[va*]jēti, [pa*]vedetu.

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\(^1\) See Pischel's Grammatik, § 473.

\(^2\) See above, p. lxxxiv, n. 5.
INTRODUCTION

(b) With औya: sukhāyāmi (VI, 20).
(c) With पया: hāp[ə][sat]ī, [ānapayā]mi, anapāya[mi], ānapayī, lohipita.
(d) With औया: Ikṣhūpēśāmi, ikṣhūpita (without Gaṣa of the radical vowel), khanāpita, khalāpita.
(e) With पयाय: palpātīa.

(2) Moods.

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the 3. sing. aorist nikhamiśā and the two participles present adanāna and vijinamana.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. palakamāni, [ānapayā]mi.
3. plur. anuvatati, vaśhāti (= Skt. vasontī), yati, sāvita, kōla[v]i. In pāpūnāti the termination -ti (for -nti) is affixed to the strong base of the ninth class (pāpūnā); cf. the 3. sing. pāpūnāti and the 2. plur. pāpūnāthah in the first separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugada.

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. sukhāyāmi (with indicative termination).
3. sing. jayasātu (desiderative, with imperative termination).
3. plur. palakamātu (with -tu for -ntu).

(c) Optative.

1. sing. yaj[h]i (for *yejav) from root yā (VI, 20). Cf. [pa]ṣa[ti]payaḥ (or patipayaḥ) and dāhkehaḥ in the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada. Senart has noted similar forms in the Mahāvastu (vol. 1 of his edition of this work, p. 439): tānhaḥ, abhīnāh, udhīkhaḥ, gauḍhīkhaḥ. 3. sing. nivat[ā]t, patipayaḥ, sitā, sitā, sityā, sityā, sityā. The two last forms (= Skt. sā) have the termination of the indicative; cf. Text, p. 71, n. 14. With the contracted form nivat[ā] (Skt. nirvartāt) IX, 26) Senart (Inscriptions de Piyadasi, I, 215) compares Pāli nibbatteyya (for nibbatteyya) in the commentary on the Dhāmmapada, p. 143 [l. 2]. Cf. also chereyya for chereyya in E. Müller’s Pāli Grammar, p. 110, dāve = Skt. dāpeyeh and padighe = Skt. prati- grāhāyā in Pischel’s Grammatik, § 360.
1. plur. [a]śāpeyama.
3. plur. aś[va] (cf. above, p. lxvii), kuseyya,1 shune[y]u, skuchuṣeyu (desiderative). The y of the optative is replaced by v in vas[v]u (VII, 21).

(d) Imperative.


(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. aho (from root dhā).

II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle nikhamithā (from nish-kram, VIII, 22). In Pāli and Ardhamāgadhi the termination is -itha and -ithā; see E. Müller’s Pāli Grammar, p. 115, and Pischel’s Grammatik, § 517.
3. plur. active nikhamiṣu, husu (= akhunṣu at Gīrār). The two forms manishu (XIII, 16) and alochayṣu2 are used as subjunctives.

1 Hāmāchandra (IV, 320, 323) quotes kuseyya (= Skt. bhaveti) from the Pāliśāchi dialect.
2 See Text, p. 31, n. 7.
III. PERFECT.

3. sing. āhā, abā (V, 13) = Skt. āha.

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. kacchāmi,1 lekhāpeśāmi.
2. sing. kacchāti, vadhāyisati, hāpō,[y]t[ad]āsar.[k].

V. PASSIVE.

The terminations are those of the active. The 3. sing. indicative pasavati (= Skt. pāsāvata) occurs three times and is misspelt twice (pasavati, IX, 26, and pasavati, XI, 30); cf. Text, p. 39, n. 3.
3. plur. imperative anuvac[dkh]jāy[ti].
3. plur. aorist alamādhāyis[a].2

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. sing. subjunctive susukṣātu.
3. plur. optative shushushaṇu.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root as: sanīta.[n].
Root kri: kalāntaḥ (kalakinta), kalāta.

Middle.

Root ji: vijñamanam; see above, p. lxxxi.
Root ad: adāmaṇa.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In -ṣa: mata and muta (= Skt. mata), mata (= myita), kāta (= krita), viyāpata (= vyāprita), viṭhaba (= bhirita), [w]kāta and sukṣita (= utṣrita), niṣita (= niśrita), lekhiṇa, lekhiṇā, lākhāpita, kālāpita, leśāpita, ānapayita,2 kṣita (= bhuṭa), atikānta (= atikṛantta), su(sam)khīta (= sānkhśipta), viśāla (= vyātādha), apavūṣha (= apanaḥ), labha (= labdha), aśāla (= *ārādha), &c.
(b) In -nā: p[ti][a]n[i]v[i]na, vispakha (i.e. *kina).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In -tayya: kātipiya, vataviya, pujātaviya (see above, p. lxxxii), vijayataviya (for Skt. viśajaya under the influence of the substantive viśaya), pujeta[i]ya, pata[vedetaُ]*viya.
(b) In -āmīya: vedamīya.

1 Johansson (Sidhā, § 76, b) explains this form as a future derived from *kajjati (= *karyati), and compares the Ardhamāgadhī passive kajjat.
2 The introduction of the nasal is perhaps due to the influence of the Skt. aorist passive alāmbha or of the substantive alāmbha (II, 8, &c.).
3 This barbarous equivalent of Skt. ajñāpita and ajñāpita retains the causative character aya of the present ānapayati.
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CHAPTER VIII.

GRAMMAR OF THE SHAHBAGHARI ROCK-EDITES, WITH NOTES ON THE MANSEHRA VERSION

The Shāhbazgarhi version has received the advantage of a detailed treatment by an accomplished linguist, Professor Johansson.—Der Dialekt der sogenannten Shāhbazgarhi-Redaktion der viersehnten Edition des Königs Astāka. (Terz des 6te des 6te des 6te des Orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania). [Part 1.] Leide, 1892. Part 2, Upsala, 1894. In the following pages the results of his investigations are utilized for my own inventory of the language of the text, which I had been able to improve by repeated examination of the fresh impressions.

A.—PHONOETICS

I. Vowels.

The vowel a becomes u after a labial in mura (= Skt. mura, XIII, 8) and uchavuca. In manati (= manaya, XIII, 11) the change of a into ë is perhaps caused by the palatal ë.

If the reading etra (VI, 15) is correct (the other versions have here yoin, esthe, &c.), it would correspond to eti (Girnar) and ete (Kalsi) = ëtara; see above, pp. livi and lxx. As at Kalsi, the vowel ë corresponds to Skt. ë in edita (= idita).

As in Pali, Skt. u is represented by a in pana (VI, 14, 15) = pana (six times, for Skt. puna), and in garuna (IX, 19) = garuna (XIII, 4, for Skt. garunam). Michelson suggests that the form pana may be due to vowel-assimilation; see IF, 23, 258, n. 1. In ke (Skt. kaha) Skt. u is represented by o; see above, p. livi and n. 2.

The vowel ri is replaced by (1) a, (2) i, (3) u, (4) ra, (5) ri, (6) īr, (7) ra, causing at the same time the lingualization of a following dental. See (1) uṣṭena, dukataṁ, bhaṭa, bhaṭa, vaḍhi (= Skt. vṛiddhī), vaṭa and viṣṭaṭa (= vyāṣṭita), ananaṭhā, dájhathi; (2) kita, [šiša], šiša, šiša, praṇati; (3) bases in -ri: pāṭha, bhūrana, spasaṣṭṣa (ṣaṣṭṣā),

1 With manati Johansson (p. 19) and Wackernagel (Altind. Grammatik, vol. I, p. xx) compare Gothic go-mailjan and German meinen (English to mean).
and for ri after a labial: agrabhuti, vibhuta (= vyāpita), núña, vutani and vuntani (= vyuttani), nívuta (= nīyītta), nivuti (= nīryītta), vudhtha (= vīdadhā); (4) grahathā (= grīhastha); (5) [br̥]na sa (II, 4), dvidha, visīṣṭena; (6) kītra (i.e. kītra = Skt. kītra); (7) for ri after a labial: pā[r̥]na[r̥]cha, mūrnga, mūryaya (= mīryayā). In śrūṣyenu (XII, 7) the rṇ is due to the influence of śrūṇa, śrūtna, &c.

In a few cases the vowel e, both if it is inherited from Sanskrit and if it is due to dialectical changes (cf. Johansson, § 23), appears to have become i; see dūv[e] = du[v]e at Māṇeshrā for Skt. iva (II, 4) and dava (I, 3), apī for *ayē = Skt. ayam, aṃī (VIII, 17) for aṃi = Skt. aṃyā; Aṃtikini (nom. sing., XIII, 9), rājana (nom. plur., XIII, 9).

The two diphthongs ai and au have become e and o, respectively; see nička (perhaps = Skt. nīchaka, VII, 5), [śa][ka]ni (I, 3), paraptra (XIII, 11), parakraka, -opaka and -opaya.

The Kharāṣṭrī alphabet does not mark the length of the three vowels a, i, u, and we must always keep in mind that every a, i, u of the text may be meant for a or ā, i or ī, u or ū, respectively.

Initial a is dropped in pi (= Skt. api); i in ti (= iṇī) and kīti (= *kītī + itī); e generally in va, while eva is preserved three times through Sandhi. Besides va, the text often uses the two forms eva (= Vedic ēva, i.e. ēva + u)² and ye, which Johansson (§ 30) derives from Prākrit jevā (= Skt. ēva).³

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The guttural b has become y in nīrathiya (= nilathiya at Kālāi) and -opaya (VIII, 17) = -opaka (II, 5), instead of which the remaining versions of the rock-edicts (besides Māṇeshrā) have -opaga. It seems to be dropped altogether in dīdha = *dīdākāra. Greek k cannot be expressed by k in Aṃtikina, and y by the same in Aṃtikini and Māka. Skt. gh has become h in lāhū and lāhuka.

The palatal j has become y in Kārūnya, [p]pañakotave, samayā (= Skt. samāja, I, 1, 2), raja (= rāja), and is represented by ch in vrachāpi, vrachā-khumika (also at Māṇeshrā), and in vrachānti, cṛ[ṛ]acheyati; cf. Prākrit vacchati (for *vācayati) = Skt. vacayati.

Skt. ŋ is generally preserved, except in kṣhmanaye, garana, aviprahīna, pratikta, Pitikina (= P[ṛ]janika at Gīrā). In terminations, however, dental ŋ is never linguized after ri, r, or th; see akarena, agrena, anitavirīya, khudrakena, Devanāṣāgriya, parakramena, putrena, vagrena, ahiravamani, rupani, sakasani, Gāndharvaman, manvantaram, mahatmaranam, Rāthikana, garuna, garuna, pituna, bharatuna, spaśa(n)ma. On the other hand lingual n is newly developed after r in prāpaniti (from Skt. prāpaniti), vinirāṇa (from tirayati), and wrongly in Devanāṣāgriya (I, 1).

Dentals are lingualized after an original ri (see above, p. lxxvii), after ra in the preposition pati (eight times) or prati (twice) for prati (five times), and after ska in [o][s]a[śda]ni (II, 5), prabhantā and prakṣaṇā (for *pṛabhāṇa and *pṛakṣaṇa = Skt. pārshkā). Between vowels t is replaced by d in khepośati (= khepośati at Māṇeshrā) and, as at Kālāi, in kha-sukhaye (V, 12), ¹ Here we have the beginning of the process, which later, in every intercalar t, undergoes in the Śaurasenī dialect. For kha (five times) = idha at Gīrā, see above, p. lxxii.

As in literary Prākrit, the labial p becomes b between vowels in avatrapśuyu (XIII, 8). Initial b is replaced by p in paḍhāni (VII, 5) for bādhāni (XIII, 3). The aspirate bh has turned to h in kheti (only VIII, section E, for the usual bhāti), aho, and in the termination -hi (= Skt. -bhī) of bahuki and satāki.

As at Kālāi, y becomes j in majura (= Skt. majura, I, 3), and v in viśhava (XIII, 9). It is dropped at the beginning of anu (five times) for yava (IX, 19) = Skt. yāvat and of [e] (XIII, 5) for ye = Skt. yat, and between two vowels in Pāddāraśi (thrice), Devanāśṣa (four times) or

¹ The spelling kītra suggests that (5) [br̥]na sa is also meant for kītra. Cf. Johansson, § 27; Michelson, AJP, 31. 57; and below, p. lxxxvii.
² See Bühler, ZDMG, 43. 136, according to a suggestion of the late Professor Kirste.
³ Michelson (JAOS, 36. 86, n. 4) identifies ye with the nom. sing. masc. of the relative pronoun.
⁴ At Māṇeshrā (VIII, 53) t is softened also before r in yada (for *yadra = Skt. yadrā); and tenada (= tenādrā) in both versions presupposes an intermediate form *tenādra. Cf. adra, prada, midra in the Wardak vase-inscription; EI, 11. 258, n. 3.
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The syllable ya becomes i in paritijitā (= parīti-jītā at Kaśi). The causative affixes aya and ayi either remain unchanged (in avanayami, drasayati, &c.) or are contracted (in avanapi, avapājatiyi, &c.). The same contraction takes place in annaṃte (XIII, 7). The e of the 3. sing. optative niśväytā (= Skt. niśvayatī) corresponds to an original aya, and the o of the numeral todasa (= Skt. trayaḍaśa) to an original aya.

The change of r into l in palī[go]dha (V, 12), palidha (V, 13), soda (= Skt. sāra, XII, 2, 8), lo[gha] [gha] l-ocheti is a Māgadhism, while, as at Ginnār, r corresponds to l in *arabhati, 'to kill', = Skt. abhāt (see below, p. xcvii), and in Turamaye = Itrayapivas (XIII, 9). As stated above (p. lii), this translation of the foreign name Tulamaye (Kaśi) proves that the Śāhābāzgarhi version is based on a Māgadh original. In Kāraṇapītrī (II, 4) the o corresponds to the lingual of Tamil Kērāla; the other versions of the rock-edicts have l instead of o.

The semivowel u is developed out of u and ū in vucatā (= Skt. ucyatā), vata (= upta, II, 5), and āpovitā (= āpāta). As at Kaśi, the syllable va becomes u in the absolutes in -tu (= Skt. -tu). Contraction of aya into e takes place in oradha, bhoji, heti, hotu, aha.

Like the Kaśi version, the Śāhābāzgarhi one distinguishes the three sibilants ś, sh, s, but with one important difference. While at Kaśi these three symbols are used indiscriminately (see above, p. lxiii), the Śāhābāzgarhi text generally employs each of them where it would have been in its proper place in Sanskrit. Thus we find ś in amūṣāsti, aṃśama, edisa, tāṭasa, yātasa, dāsa, dēsa, draś̄ana, draś̄ayata, priyādasā, pāsa, prasēdana, yāso, sāka (= Skt. sākya), sāta, sīla (i.e. śīla), [śīlā] (i.e. śīlā), śudhi (i.e. śudhā), sātasya, pratīvaśya, niśā (i.e. śīṣā), śravaṇa, śrūṭa, śruta, śruta; and śk in esē, esa [k]ehā[gha], ghoṣha, tōṣha, ṭoṣha, pariṣka, prasahana, vishaṃa (= vikhaya), pūṣhna, in the loc. plur. in -esha, in the gen. plur. teṣako[ṁ] and yesha, in the 3. plur. aorist niṣkaramah, māṣasa, lo[gha][k] [gha] n, in vāṣa (= vārsaka) and kahati (= karsaḥyati); Exceptions are not frequent: s for ś in anuvacakha, [k]ṛṣṭa (= śrṣṭa); s for śk in abhisāta (= abhisākta), yesu, u[gha]y[e]sa, [arābh]a[v] [u]; sh for s in pāchākha and shashu. In manuṣa (= manuṣya) and in the futures in -esati and -esati the s is a defective spelling for śi, in which the original ś had been palatalized through the influence of the following y. In subṛṣka, subṛṣkha, subṛṣkheya the first s (for ś) is probably due to dissimilation, and in av[ś]āśa, ānuśamāna, ānusahāstati the second ś (for s) is due to dissimilation.

Cases of Cockeyism are hasthā (see above, p. lxix), kahati (twice) for akati (thrice) = Skt. ākha, hida (see above, p. lxix), hidalokika. Conversely, k is dropped at the beginning of [a]stina = Skt. kastīnāḥ, and between two vowels in maa = Prākrit maha (gen. sing. of the pronoun of the first person), ta (= Skt. tā) and tāloka.

As at Ginnār and Kaśi, all final consonants are dropped. In some cases this applies also to the s of final as; see jana, &c. (below, p. xc), [s] (XII, 3, ecōti i. 2), [a]stina (i.e. Skt. kastināḥ, IV, 8), vacha (XII, 2). But generally final as becomes o, and frequently, as in the Māgadh dialect, e; see bhag[ṛ], cātura, and the nom. sing. masc. eske, yē[ṛ] (V, 19), aīte (XII, 9), jone, &c. (below, p. xc). In anāni (VIII, 17), Amātikini (XIII, 9), rajanī (XIII, 9) = rajana (II, 4), -i has taken the place of -e.

The Ausvāra of words ending in nasal vowels is omitted in many instances. The reason of this deficiency need not be the carelessness of the writer, but may have been as well the faint articulation of the nasal sound. Examples of prajyaana (= Skt. prajñāvanā, iida (IX, 2c) = idā (XIII, 3), ima (IX, 19) = imā (passim), aya (twice) = ayā (V, 13), [i]dani (= Skt. gadāṃ), eva (twice) = evaḥ (passim), the acc. sing. masc. anā[ṛ] [a], doṣha, bo[ḥu]ka, the nom. and acc. sing. neut. dana, &c. (below, p. xc), the acc. sing. fem. pūra, &c., and Savahā, &c., the gen. plur. hatana, Nabhāti, guṇa, guṇa, hṛatana, pahā[ṛ]na, teṣha, yesha, u[ḥa]y[e]sa, abhāratana, &c. (below, p. xc).

As in the Māgadh dialect, the nom. sing. neut. frequently ends in -e instead of -ai; see eske (X, section E), ye (VI, section F; IX F and I; XIII, 3), savē (XII, 2, IV, 13), [eha]rē
(XIII, 1), dane, &c. (below, p. xc). This barbarism is due to the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine. The termination -e is found even in the acc. sing. masc. (sayane, VII, 2) and in the particle [r] (= Skt. yat, XIII, 5). While in the nom. sing. masc. we often have -e for -o (see above, p. lxxxvi), the -e of the nom. sing. neut. is replaced by -o in katuvo and three other gerundives (see below, p. xc), and the nom. sing. neut. of the pronoun idam has once the form iyo (XI, 2) for iyam (VIII, section E). The nom. sing. masc. so is used for the nom. sing. neut. (XIII, 2) and for the acc. sing. neut. (passim), and the relative yo (X, 21) for the acc. sing. neut. yat. Instead of anudivasani at Girnar we find anudivasa (I, 2), and at XII, 6, the acc. sing. of the masculine dhrama is dhramo. Finally it must be noted that aya occurs repeated instead of ayah and aya (= Skt. ayam and iyam).

III. Sandhi.

Final m is preserved before the particle eva in [e]vamaeva and parat[ra]kam-eva, and hiatus is prevented by m in aham-aham and bhagam-ayeshu.

As the length of a is not marked in the Kharoshthi alphabet, the result of a+a always appears in writing as short a; see kita[bh]kara, gr[ahas]gara, tenada (= Skt. tenātra), nasti, pranam[ba], mahathavaha, c-ak[t]ahista, supath[k]ya, dhramavastati, &c. The hiatus remains in [a[a]vah-a[bhis]ta[sa]] (XIII, 1).

a is elided before i in baram-ibhesu; before u in chu (= cha + u) and paz-opadane; before e in cheva; before o in manu[ti]-opakone and sat-opanyah (see above, p. lxxii); and u before o in paz-opakone.

i+a are contracted into i in [stridh]a-yaksha (= Skt. stria-akṣya).

IV. Groups of Consonants.

As at Girnar (above, p. lii), there is some inconsistency in marking the letter r if it is combined with other consonants. The order of the symbols does not conform to the actual pronunciation, but to the convenience of the combinations:

(1) r is combined with the preceding abshara
    (a) in rkh: grabhagara (= garbhāgāra).
    (b) in rm: dhrama (i.e. dharma) and dhramma (i.e. dharmma), krrama (= Skt. krama)
    and kr[rama] (i.e. krama).
    (c) in rv: prusa (= Skt. prusa).
    (d) in r[sa]: d[rasa] (i.e. darsana), d[rajasu] (= Skt. darsa[y]tvā), Priyadra[si).
    (c) in raj: prashad[ra] and prashada (from Skt. pārshada).

(2) r is attached to the next following consonant
    (a) in rg: var[ra] (i.e. vārga), spog[a] (= Skt. svarga).
    (b) in rj: k[ri]ra (i.e. kṛta, kṛta (= Skt. kṛti).
    (c) in r[th] and r[ih]: athra and athra (= Skt. artha).
    (d) in rv: sarva (i.e. sarva) and sarvatra (i.e. sarvatāra).

It must be remembered that, wherever the above-mentioned words occur in the text, the transcript shows the imperfect spelling of the inscription, but not the actual pronunciation.

As at the end of words, the Anusvāra is often omitted before consonants; see atara and ainara, atikra[ta] (= Skt. atikṛta), Atiyoka and A[ti]yoka, anata and ananta, A[k]tanta[ro], karat[a] and karanta[m], Ka[la]ga, Devanapriya and Devana[priya], prashada and prashad[a]da and sa[nta]t, Sabakha, Sayama and sa[ma]yama, s[a]yu[a] (= samyukta), sa[sa]yika (= 삼여타), sa[sa]yika, sa[sa]yika,
sastuta and sanāstuta, and the 3. plur. kar[ti] (IX, section C), prappūnati (XIII, 6), bhoti (XIII, 7), vasati (XIII, 4), n[-]tani[ta], sahā[ti], sarvēkṣaṇu, pāṭipāda[ta], rochteru.

Some groups of consonants are avoided by the development of an auxillary vowel, which is a in garahatī; u before or after a labial in du[ṭ], prappūnati; and frequently t, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Šāhābāzgārī will show. Michelson has proved that some of these correspondences are in reality Māgadhīisms and alien to the Šāhābāzgārī dialect; see his articles in AJP, vols. 30 and 31, and JAOS, vol. 30.

kt becomes t in abhisita, &c.
ky becomes k in śaho (= Skt. sākyam).
kṛ remains in atikrṣata, &c.
kh remains1 in akṣhāti, [aḍhā]yakṣa, [kskāṇṭhi], kṣana, kṣanā, vaṇa, vaṇa; y, as in literary Pāṇīṛīṣṭī, in aṇṇapayāni and aṇṇapeni, aṇṇapāṇita, aṇṇita.
ṣy becomes j in jeta (= Skt. jātī, IV, 8).
ṣṭ becomes ṣṭī in vanaṇanta (= Skt. vaṇāṇantaḥ).
ṣy becomes ṣṭī as at Gāṅā, in Pančā (XIII, 9), but ṣṭy, as at Kālī, in Panḍā (II, 4).
ṣṭ becomes ṣṭī in puṇa, hiraṇa, but niy in anantiya (= Skt. ananīya).
ṣṭ becomes p in pāppadana.2
ṭm becomes t in aśu- (= Skt. aśuman).
ṭy becomes ṭī in ekatī, but ch in achayi, apacha, chati.
tr remains in traya, arha, saatra, &c., but becomes t in savata (V, section N) and todasa (= Skt. tātysāsa, VI, 11), and ṭ in tenada (= Skt. tenāra, VIII, 17).4
ṭv remains in tadvayaye, but becomes t in the absolutes in -ṭi (＝Vēdīc -ṭvī).
ṭt becomes s in sāṭpāna, chātīsā.
ṭṭḥ becomes ṣṭḥ in uṣṭhān[ṛ] (VI, 15), but ṣṭḥ in uṣṭhān (ibid.).5
ḍy becomes j in aja, pāṭīpiṣayati; j in uṣṭha (= Skt. uṣṭhā).
ḍr remains in kharvaka.
ḍv becomes ṣṭu in ṣṭu[ṛ], but b in bādaya[sa] (cf. bādaya at Gāṅā), and ṭ in dīgīka.
ḍvr remains in dhrava and Aśūhra.
ṇm becomes n in yamastra (= Skt. yamastra).
ṇṛ becomes niṇḍ or ṣī in aṇṇīda and aṇṇa, maṇṭati and maṇṭati, maṇīrah, karṇīṣa[nti], [ka]nīyanṣu.
ṛt becomes t in gūt, nīkο[ḥ]r, suta (= Skt. uṣṭa, II, 3), asamata[ṇa, sahāsita, natar (= napatraḥ), pratapika, Turāmya (= Pūrṇapīyata).
ṇṛ becomes pun in prapūnati.
ṣr remains in Prīyadṛī, Devanāṣṭani[ya, priti] (i.e. priti), prakr[ṣ]ṭe (XIII, 3), [r]aja and [r]ajayana (V, 13), [r]ajya (i.e. prajya), pradeś[ṛ], pramāṇa, p[ṛ]ṣapati, p[ṛ]ṣapātra, pr[ṛ]ṣapātra, pr[ṛ]ṣapātra, pr[ṛ]ṣapātra, pr[ṛ]ṣapātra, pr[ṛ]ṣapātra, pr[ṛ]ṣapātra (VIII, 17), prapādastu (VI, 14), but becomes p in Devanāpivas (I, 2), [a]paryakṣa (XII, 3), pāppadana (IX, 18), pāpstrī, pāṭipajiyati,

1 For the sign which I have transcribed by ṣṭḥ, see Text, p. 55, note 5.
2 See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.
3 See above, p. lxxv, n. 1.
4 Māṇeshrī has yada (for ṣpadra = Skt. īḍāra) in the same section.
5 Māṇeshrī has uṣṭhā in both cases.
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paṭipati (twice), saunpaṭipati (twice), paṭivedhana (V, 13), paṭivedaka, paṭivedana, paṭivedetu, paṭivedatavo (VI, 15).

bdh becomes dh in indha.
by becomes bh in bhana (Skt. brāhmaṇa).
bhiy becomes bh in -ibhaci, arabhikānti (future passive), but bhīy in [arabhī]yis[u] (aorist passive).
bhr remains in bratūna.
my becomes mm (also spelt śmma) in sanma- and sanimma-.
mm remains in bhātra.
rm remains in vagra (i.e. varga; see above, p. lxxxvii) and sagra (i.e. sarga = Skt. svarga).
ry becomes riy in Tashbaganī.
rt becomes r in anuvatātu, but rī in kṛtī (i.e. kṛtī = Skt. kriṣṭī), and lī in kaṭava, anuvatānti, an[u]vatānti, rviyatī, rvatī, rvetī, rviyatī.
rth remains in athra (i.e. artha, IV, 10), but becomes rth in athra (i.e. artha, VI, 14; IX, 19), and th in sapta (passim), nirātīyaṁ.
rth becomes dh in vadhāta, vadhati, pravād[hd]iṣvānti, vadhita, diaddha.
rhh remains in garāhāgara (i.e. garbhadāra).
rn remains in krama (i.e. karma) and kraṇa (i.e. krama, III, 6), dhrama (i.e. dharma) and dharmā (i.e. dharma).
ry becomes y in -yagku (Skt. āryaṁ), but riy in anuśṭravyaya, maḍhuryaya, sana[cha]-
ryāṇa.
rv remains in prueca (i.e. prueca = Skt. pūra), savra (i.e. savra), but becomes v in savata, nivatī, nivatīyata, nivatā, nivai.
rē remains in draśvāna (i.e. darśana), draśvayita (Skt. darśanīta), Priyadāśī (= ṛdarśin, but becomes š in dāsana (VII, 17).
rbh remains in prahāṇīga (i.e. ṛpārṇaṇa) and prāṣaṇḍa, but becomes sh in vasha, prahāṇīga (XII, 3) and pāṣaṇḍa (XII, 9).
rsy becomes sh in kashin, kashati, kashānti.
rb becomes rah in garahti: v in gara (Skt. garhaṇa),
šp becomes p in apa, kopa.
ly becomes l in kuṣa (Skt. kuṣayā).
ry becomes v in vauṭava, vapaṭa (twice), apa-vayata, vasana, divani, prasavati, kaṭava, paṭivedeta, [ř]øyakato, vata, but vī in vijeta[r], a, and riy in viyapaṭa and viyapṣa (V, 13), kṣamata, puṣtavāja.
v remains in -tree, pravajita, vracānti, [r]acheyāni, vroṣṭhānti, vroṣṭapī and vroṣṭapī
bhuma (also at Mānsṛhā).
sč becomes ch in kuchi (= Skt. kṣaṣṭi), pachā (= pachā).
sy becomes sīv in pravatīṣyena.
śr remains in āranaṇa, āravaka, suśrisha, suśrakṣat, suśrakṣayu, śruta, śruti, but becomes s in sāmanā (IX, 19), niṣite, and sr in [r]ṣṭha (Skt. śṛṣṭha).
sk becomes k in dukataṁ, dukara.
škhr becomes ê in nikramanāṁ, ni[k]amatu, niharma, nikramishn.u
škt becomes th in [aṣṭha] (Skt. aṣṭaka (XII, 1).
škhr becomes th in Rāthakānāṁ.
škṛ becomes th in tīhiṁ, [r]ṛthāṁ; th in -adhīkana.
šky becomes t (i.e. št) in manuṣa and in the futures in -ēṣati and -ēṣati.
As at Kālī, šk becomes k in joti-kāntaṁ.
št remains in astā, nasti, [r]ṣṭiṇa (Skt. hastināṁ), saṁstata, satīṣṭuta, viśrājena, -anuṣṭasti.
It occurs also in the Ancient Persian word uṣpīta.4

1 At Mānsṛhā we find twice (IV, 13 and 16) the defective spelling dhama beside the usual form dhrama.
2 This form is a variant of Skt. pārshāda (for pārśhada) and the origin of Skt. pāshada; cf.
Johansson, §§ 37, 64.
3 See Johansson, § 56, c, and cf. Pāli ṛasa = Skt. krasva (Geiger, § 49). At Mānsṛhā the reading is garaka (Skt. garhā).
4 See above, p. xlii.
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str remains in [str], striyaka.
sth becomes th in grihattha, chira-thitika.
sn becomes sin in [si][ne']ha (XIII, 5).
sm becomes sp or s in the locatives singular in -aspi and -asi.
ssy becomes ssy in rabhasye, stya, styaśi, styaśu, but s in asu and in the genitives singular in -as and -asu.
sr remains in parivrava, sahasra, but becomes s in sahasani (I, 2).
sv becomes sp in spo[kā], sparga (= Skt. svarga), spamikena, spasa(su)na (= svastīgām).
lm becomes m in bramaṇa.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN -a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc. masc. dharaṇi, &amp;c.; neut. mahagāni, &amp;c.</td>
<td>Masc. yutani, &amp;c.; neut. divani, rupani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. putrena, dānena, &amp;c.</td>
<td>Satchi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. atiha, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. karaṇa (= Skt. kāraṇāt, III, 6), pacha.</td>
<td>pranāna, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. janasa, &amp;c.</td>
<td>vaheshu, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. (a) orodkauṣṭi, &amp;c.; (b) dhrame, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination -a is dropped in jana (XIV, 13), ghoṣa (IV, 8), pradeś[i] (III, 6), vadhā (XIII, 3), saha[ha]dha (XI, 23), sayama (VII, 4). Maka (XIII, 9). The Magadha termination -e is frequent; see jane (X, 21), vivāde (VI, 14, 15), Turamaye (XIII, 9), Dvānapriyaye (X, 21), &c. In Anūtikini (XIII, 9) we have -i instead of -e.

Nom. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in dana, a[ha]yika (VI, 14), anuśaroṣa (XIII, 2), [du]bara (VI, 16), drasana and dālana (VIII, 17), puṣa (XI, 24), māṅgala (IX, sections D and F), maha-phaḷa (IX, F). As in the nom. sing. masc., Magadha forms in -e are frequent; see dane (VII, 4), drāsana (VIII, 17), līkhit (XIV, 13), vijīte (XIV, 13), &c. In a few gerundives we have -o instead of -an or -e: kato (IX, 18, 19; XI, 24), pratiyedetave (VI, 14) and paścimetave (VI, 15), vatave (IX, 19; XI, 24; XII, 9), sako (XIII, 7). The Sanskrit masculine bhāga is used as neuter in sahasra-bhāga (XIII, 7).

Acc. sing. masc.—In ath[a] (VI, section E), dosha and bo[kha]ka (I, 1), the Anusvāra is omitted. There are two irregular forms: dhramo (XII, 6) and sayame (VII, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in [da]na (XII, 1), karana (XIV, 14), vasana (XIII, 5), and in a few other instances.

Loc. sing.—The group sp of the termination -spi is assimilated in [sp]akaranasi (XII, 3), utkaran[i] (VI, 15), [ga]yanasi (III, 7), mahana[sar]i (I, 2), yuj[a]si (V, 13). The termination -e occurs also in anutape, abahhe, ahahe, Kālīke, prakar[a]y[e], pravase, vijaye (XIII, 11), vijite, vivaha, sīle.

Nom. plur. masc.—The Sanskrit neuter apatiya is used as masculine in [y]e mṛ apacha vrakṣaḥ (V, 11).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is -a instead of -ani in [o]sha[ha]ni . . . . harapita cha vata cha (II, 5).

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. are -kāndhani, Kālīga[ni], -prahāṇdani, pravajjin[i], grahaḥkāni.

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in abhiratana (XIII, 5), mahamatraṇa (VI, 14), -bramaṇa (twice), -śrivaṇa (IV, 9).

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1 Mānideha reads si[n]he.
(2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.
Nom. āchha, &c.
Acc. ājya, &c.
Instr. ājyayā, vividhāyā.
Loc. sā[ini]tirānaye.

Plural.
chīk[ī]sa, [kr]ī[sa], strijākā.¹

II. BASES IN -ī.

(1) Masculines in -ī.

Nom. plur. trāyō.
Gen. plur. āatra[īn], āatra, Nābhiṭiṇa.

(2) Feminines in -ī and -ī.

Singular.
Nom. dipi, &c.
Acc. Sabedhi, &c.
Dat. -ānuṣṭśiṣya, vadhiṇa.
Abl. nivātiṇa, Ta[mi]bapān[ni]ya.
Loc. ayatiṇa.

Plural.
āṭāvi.

With the nom. plur. āṭāvi cf. Pāli ratti, nom. plur. of ratti (= Skt. rātri).

III. BASES IN -u.

The same forms as at Gīmār and Kālṣi occur, viz. nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. sadhu; nom. and acc. sing. neut. bahu; nom. and acc. plur. neut. bahuṇi; instr. plur. bahuḷi; gen. plur. gurūna, gurūṇa.

IV. MASCULINES AND FEMININES IN -rī.

Nom. plur. natarō.
Gen. plur. bhraṭuṇa, spasa[sv]na.²
Loc. plur. pituṇa.

The instr. sing. follows the u-declension: pitaṇa, bhraṭuṇa.

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

As at Kālṣi, we have the two nom. sing. masc. sa[m]ṭ̪aṇi (sataṇ) and karvaṇaṭ̪aṇi (karataṇ).

(2) Masculine in -at.

Nom. sing. pragava (= Skt. prajāvān).

(3) Masculines and neuters in -an.

Singular.
Nom. masc. ṛaj, ṛaya.
Acc. neut. namba.
Instr. ṛaṇa.
Gen. ṛaḥo.

Plural.
ṛajana, ṛajani.

The neuter base karman follows the a-declension: nom. sing. kramāṇi, dat. kramāṁyāne.

¹ The Skt. feminine strī, from which this curious diminutive is formed, occurs at XII, 9 in the form r[stre].
² At Mānschā (V, 24) the reading is spasa[sv]na.
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(4) Masculines in -in.
Nom. sing. Priyadraśi.
Instr. sing. Priyadraśīna.
Gen. sing. Priyadraśσē.
Acc. plur. [a]stīna (aṣṭī[na] at Māṇsehṛā).
The gen. sing. follows the analogy of the a-declension.

(5) Neuters in -as.
Acc. Sing. yasa, bhūṣṛ[c].
The base vachā- (XII, 2) corresponds to Skt. vachas.

(6) Neuter in -is.
The base joti- (IV, 8) corresponds to Skt. jyotiś.

(7) Feminine in -d.
The base parishad follows the a-declension: loc. sing. parishaye. The nom. sing. parishu
is preserved at Māṇsehṛā (III, 11).

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.
Nom. sing. atah.
Instr. sing. maya.
Gen. sing. maa, me.

With the gen. maa cf. Prākrit maha, which seems to be derived from the Skt. genitive māna
under the influence of the dative maham; see Michelson, JAOS, 30, 85, n. 2.

(2) Base ta.

Singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. masc. to</th>
<th>neut. tāh, to.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc. masc. tāh</td>
<td>tāh, to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. tēna</td>
<td>tēna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. tāye</td>
<td>tēṣṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. tasa</td>
<td>tēṣṭha[na], tēṣṭa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. tasi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc. te.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. sing. fem. sa.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc. plur. fem. ta (XIII, 7).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In two places (XIII, section T, and V, section H) we have sa for so (nom. masc. and acc. neut.).

(3) Base sha.
The acc. plur. neut. sha (VI, 16) corresponds to she (acc. plur. masc.? at Māṇsehṛā; cf. Text,
p. 59, n. 1.

(4) Base ēta.

Singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. masc. ēshe; neut. ēta, ētāh, ētakē, ēshe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(X, section E).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. etakēnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. etāye, etakēye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. ēṭiśa (III, 6; XII, 9).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc. ētā (I, 3).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. sing. ētāh, ētāh, ētakē, ēshe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
The *i of the gen. sing. *etisa, which is found also at Mānsehrā (XII, 8), is perhaps due to the analogy of the Pāli interrogative *kissa (from base *ki) = *kaisa (from base *ka).

(5) Demonstrative *idam.
Singular.
Acc. neut. *ima.
Gen. *imisa (IV, 10).
Dat. fem. *imisa (III, 6).
With the gen. masc. *imisa cf. *etisa (from *ēta) and the Gīnār and Pāli instrumental *imāṇā.
The dat. fem. *imisa is an imperfect spelling of Pāli *imissā. Cf. the feminine bases *ini, *iti, *iti, *iti, *iti in Prākrit (Pischel’s Grammatik, § 424).

(6) Interrogative pronoun.
The indefinite *kiki (nom. and acc. sing. neut.) forms the nom. sing. masc. *kachi (XII, 5). The compound *kiti is used in the sense of ‘that’.

(7) Relative pronoun.
Singular.
Instr. *yə[na].
Gen. *yasa.
Loc.

Plural.

(8) Base *anya.
Singular.
Nom. masc. *aũe, *aũi; neut. *aũāh.1
Acc.
Dat. *aũaye.
Gen. *aũanaũasa.

Plural.
Masc. *aũiə.

(9) Base *sarva.
Singular.
Loc.

Plural.
Masc. *savə.

(10) Base ubhaya.

(11) Base *katara.
Loc. sing. *katara.

(12) Base *katya.
Nom. sing. masc. *katia.

1 *aũ[ə] at Mānsehrā, IV, 15.
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D.—NUMERALS

One.
Acc. sing. neut. [e*]kahi.

Two.
Nom. masc. and fem. dwiri.

Three.
Nom. masc. trayo.

Four.
As in Ardhamāgarhi (Pischel’s Grammatik, § 439), the acc. masc. chatnre (= Skt. chaturāt) is used in the place of the nom. (XIII, 9).

Five, six.
Loc. pañcasi, shasru.

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.
[atha], daśa, badaya(śa), todasi.

Hundred.
Acc. plur. satarni, instr. šateki, loc. šatešu.
The ordinal is śata; see śata-bhage, XIII, 7.

Thousand.
The ordinal is sahasra (XIII, 7).

Hundred thousand.
Nom. sing. śat[a-saha]śre.
Nom. plur. śata-sahasani.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. Present.

(1) Basis.
First Sanskrit class.

Root kram : parakramati, nik[ry]amatu.
Root gnrh : garahati.
Root ji : [vi]jnanamanyo, vojiniti; sec above, p. lxxxi and n. 1.
Root trup : avatropayu.
Root dris : [da]khati.
Root ni : anneti.
Root bhū : bhoti, hoti.
Root labh : the absolute ara[βhiti] and the two passive forms [araβhiti]yis[ru] and araβhi-
śaritī presuppose the present *araβhati, ‘to kill’ (= Skt. ṛlokhati).
Root vas : vasati.
Root vrit : anuvatatu, anuvatavati.
Root *vraj: vrrkahātī. For Prakrit vachāra (for *vrajati) = Skt. vrajati see Hēma-
chandra, IV, 225; Pischel’s Grammatik, § 202 and n. 3.
Root sēhā. The absolutive tēhāti (IV, 10) presupposes the present *tēhātī (= Skt. tihātī).

Second Sanskrit class.
Root as: astī.
Root han: upahātī.

Third Sanskrit class.
Root hu. The gerundive [p]ravahotāce is formed from the Skt. present juhōti.

Fourth Sanskrit class.
Root pād: pātipājeyati.
Root man: mañātī and meñātī.

Fifth Sanskrit class.
Root āp follows the ninth class: prapunatī.
Root śru follows the a-conjugation: śruncā.

Sixth Sanskrit class.
Root isk: ischhātī.

Seventh Sanskrit class.
Root yuj follows the a-conjugation: yujāntu.

Eighth Sanskrit class.
Root kri: karotī; but the optative apakāryatī and the two present participles karāntavī and
ka[r̥]min[ə] presuppose the present *karati, *karate.
Root kṣhet follows the a-conjugation: kṣhatatī.

Ninth Sanskrit class.
Root as follows the a-conjugation: alamana (part. pres. middle).

Tenth Sanskrit class.
(a) With aya: dipayāmi, drāṣṭāītu, sukhayāmi. The character aya is contracted into e in
pujeti, pujetawī, o[ra]dheti, sāderiu, vrohetu, ko[ρ̥]e[sh]u, a-lecheti, pativedetu, pativedetavo,
niṣaṇeti, vaḍheti.
(b) With pāya: anapayāmi and anapeni, anapati, anupiṭa, anuṣijājhaṇeti, kapecadi.
(c) With ṣāya: likha[ρ̥]eṣami, likhapiṭa(lo), kahanpita, niṣerapiṭa, karaṇita.

(2) Moods.
The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the
present participles [vi]jinamana, ka[r̥]min, alaman.

(a) Indicative.
1. sing. parak[r̥]amami, karomi, anapayāmi and anapeni.
3. sing. parakramati, garahati, [da]khāti, amneti, bhoti and hoti, astī, upahānti, mañāti and
meñāti, ischhāti, karoti, kṣhānti, anuṣijājhaṇeti, pujeti, o[ra]dheti, niṣaṇeti, vaḍheti.
3. plur. anuvaṇanta, vrohanati, ischhānti. The Anuvāra is missing in bhoti (XIII, 7), vacati,
prapunatī, karotī (IX, section C).

(b) Subjunctive.
1. sing. dipayāmi and sukhayāmi (with indicative termination).
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(c) Optative.

1. sing. e[r]achyati (from *vrachhati = Skt. vṛjahati).
2. sing. siyā and siyati (= Skt. syāti, potipajjati, apakareyati (from Skt. apakarni), nivatayati (= Skt. nirvatayeti; cf. above, p. lxxii)). The four last forms have the termination of the indicative.
3. plur. avatrapayu, vaseyu, brugyeyu, asu (= Pāli assu) and siyasu. With the last form cf. the optative passive [a]nīkheyasu (below, V).

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. bhettu, anuvatatu.
3. plur. parakramāntu, yuyāntu. The Anuvāra is missing in nīk[r]amatu, mañca[tu], aradvetu, rochetu, pativedetu.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. aho (= Skt. abhavat).

II. AORIST.

(a) Indicative.

3. sing. nikrami.
3. plur. nikramishu. In abhuvatu (VIII, 17) the aorist termination -su seems to be affixed to abhuvan, the Sanskrit aorist of root bhū; cf. Johansson, § 30.

(b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. mañishu (from Skt. manyata), le[ch]e[sh]u (akshayisu at Kālāti and Mānasrā).²

III. PERFECT.

To the Sanskrit perfect āka, which has the meaning of the present (see Pāṇini, III, 4, 84), the termination of the 3. sing. indicative present is affixed: ahati and kahati.³

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. kashaṇī ([ka]shantī at Mānasrā), likkal[ph]esāmi (while Gānpara has līkhasāsāntī).
3. sing. kashhati, vodhāsati, hapeladi.

V. PASSIVE.

3. sing. indicative vuchati (= Skt. uchiyati), prasavati (= prasāvyati).
3. plur. indicative [a]nāvīdhyaṇanti (= anuvīdhyantati), haṁsaṭā[ti] (= hanyantī).
3. plur. optative [a]nīkheyasu (XIII, 8) with aorist termination; cf. siyasu (= Skt. syāh, XII, 7), and see Johansson, § 140.
3. plur. aorist [arabhīṣyau] (from Skt. ālabhavati).
3. plur. future anuvīdhyaśantī (ti) (from Skt. anuvīdhyaṇati), arabhisaṇiti (for *ālabhyāśanti from Skt. ālabhavati).⁴

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. plur. optative suśrunekṣyau.
3. sing. imperative suśrunkṣatu.

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¹ Mānasrā reads nivatayati.
² See Text, p. 31, n. 7.
³ Cf. Text, p. 52, n. 11.
⁴ Cf. arabhara, ārabhisayu, and ārabhisāre at Gānpara, where bh is also a defective spelling for bhū.
VIII. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In -tu (= Skt. -te) : aradvhitu, patunjitu (from root tyaj with Sampräsāraṇa of ya), śrutu, draśayitu.

(b) In -t (= Vedic -t) : tithiti (from the Skt. present tishṭhati), vijñīti (from the present vi-jināti; see above, p. lxxi and n. 3), a-loketa.

(c) In -ya : sanākhya[a] (from sanā-khyā).

The dialect of the Māneśhra text is nearly identical with the Shāh-bāzgārhi one, but contains some more Māgadhins. It will, therefore, be sufficient to draw attention only to those forms at Māneśhra which differ from the corresponding ones at Shāh-bāzgārhi.

The vowel e for a in the second syllable of satyaṁ (VII, 33) may be due to the preceding palatal y, unless it is a clerical error. For the form muci[ṣva] (II, 8) see above, p. lxx. Instead of the vowel u the Māneśhra version has (1) a in kacca, sukṣa, [ma]ṭra; (2) u in [pa]ṭa[u] puccha, vajrā (Skt. vyāpṛta); (3) e in gehasta (= grihastha); (4) ra in vyāpara (V, 24); (5) ar in kacca (i.e., kacca = Skt. kṛto), vudhra (i.e., vṛddha = Skt. vīrddhi); (6) ri in nṛghi[e]. nirṛaviya (= nrīgavṛ); (7) ri in vruḍhi (= vṛddhi); (8) ur in vudhra (i.e., vṛddha = Skt. vīrddha). For ruccha = Skt. viṣkha (II, 8) see above, p. lxx f.

The guttural k becomes y in [di]ya[ṇa] (XIII, 1). Greek χ is represented by g in [A]vyagge.

1 Cf. Delbrück's Altind. Verbum, § 221; Macdonell's Vedic Grammar, p. 412.
2 Cf. Michelson, AJP, 30, 285 f.
3 The Prākrit form gēha is used for griha also in Sanskrit. Another instance of this change is the root iśk = pith; see Wackernagel's Altind. Grammatik, 1, 39.
4 The spelling (5) katra (for karto) suggests that (4) vyāpara is meant for vyāpāra.
5 The spellings (3) vudhī and (6) vudhra suggest that (7) vruḍhi is meant for vṛddhi.

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INTRODUCTION

(II, 6). As at Kālṣi, the palatal ch has been aspirated in kṣekhi (= Skt. kṣekhita) and kikhi (= *kēkhi + tīch). Dentals are linguized in duvu[dā]sa (III, 9) = duvu[dā]sa (IV, 18), tredaśa (V, 21), and after r in kopa, sukata, [ma]te, vapuṣa, viṣayapraṇa, vrundhi. Sanskrit ū is preserved in pāptika (= prayatpika), but is represented by dental u in r[mi] (= trini). In apanaṃ (VI, 31) the first ū is due to assimilation. The t for dh in śuti (VII, 33) is perhaps a clerical error. The bh of the root bhā has become h in hoti, hotu, ahu, [khu]veyu, hussu, kuta-prave (twice), but not in bhuta-pruva (V, 21) and in the substantive bhata (i.e. bhāta). The semivowel y is prefixed to e in yeva, while initial y is lost in e, an ( = yath), [y]de (twice), atva (twice = yatva), ahva (twice = yathā). In upadaro (V, 21) we seem to have r for l and v for y; see Text, p. 33, n. 3, and above, p. lvi, n. 2. The first s of sa[sa]yikra (IX, 7) is due to assimilation. In the aorists hussu, [ara]bhi[su], and [a]h[ay[su], dental s has taken the place of sh. In aś (VI, 26) = aśa (i.e. āśa) and aśa (VI, 30) = aśu (VI, 28), h is elided between vowels.

Final as becomes e only in ṭatu, mukha (VI, 28), yasa, Devanāpiyu (VII, 32), niśito (V, 25), but generally e; see kē[tu], viyanj[nate], natate (= Skt. nāpiāra), rahine (= rājihā), re[jane] (= rājānē), Priyadhare (gen. sing), Devanāpiyu, &c. In viṃ[k]ramā (XIII, 5) the e is replaced by -i.

The hiatus remains in dhramyaṇa-opalibodhaye (V, 23). a+e becomes e in usāteve (X, 11), and a+u becomes o in praj-opadeye (IX, 2). As at Śāhāsaṅgaṛhi, the letter r is sometimes attached to the next following consonant. Thus nirāthāriya (IX, 3) is meant for nirāthriya, vadhrite and vadhrayiṣati (IV, 15) for vadhrite and vadhrayiṣati. Similarly kātra (= Skt. kṛita, V, 24) stands for karāt, vadhri (= vṛddhi) for vārddhi, vādra (= vṛddha) for vārddha. Anuvāra is omitted before consonants in ata (II, 5), aparata (V, 22), samata (II, 6), [A]jīveṣa, Adha, a[na]ājīveṣa, anarabhē, anubadha, apa-bhe[ata], [a]hāka, asapa[j]iṣati, Gadharaṇa, chhaṇa, para[bra]mate [3-plur], satiraya (VI, 35), hache (for hashe).

kṣ becomes ch in chakṣati and rūkhaṣi.

jū becomes n in kitama ( = Skt. krītaṇāta), but jin in rajina ( = rājīna) and rajine (= rājīnā).

ny becomes ū in pūnā, punanu, apu[ṇu].

tn becomes tno in atno (= Skt. ātman).

ty becomes ity in apatīte, [ka]ṭītya.

tr remains in treda, but becomes t in t[mi] (= Skt. trini), and d in tenada and yada.²

dr becomes dh in khuda and khudakena.


dhy becomes jh in īstrīja[jhakasa].

vy becomes n, as at Kālṣi, in ana[tra] (X, 11); ū in aṣe, anatā (X, 9), anayamāṇa, mayati, man[ishu].

pr remains in prap[o]ra, but becomes p in paptika, pāvadhyājaniṣṭi, vāpahin[ē], pāṭibhogaye, pāṭīviṣṇyena.

br becomes b in branā (IV, 15) = branāṣa (passim).

bhy remains in -ibhyeṣu, but becomes bhī in [a]bh[iyaṁṭi], and bh in [arabh]isu (aorist passive).

bhr becomes bh in bhatat[ta]na (V, 24) = bharatuna (twice).

my remains in samya-

rg becomes g in mo[geshu].

rt becomes t in anuva[natu] and kiti (= Skt. kiti).

rth remains in nirāthāriya (i.e. nirārthāriya).

rth remains in vadhrite (i.e. vardhīte, IV, 15) and vadhrayiṣati (i.e. vardhā²), but becomes dh in vadhite (IV, 12).

ly becomes y in kauya ( = Skt. kalyāṇa).

vy becomes v in pūpāṣa; viy in viṣayapraṇa, vi[yanjinate, mrigaviṣa, kāṭaviṣa, prajōhi]taviṣye, vātaviṣye, pāṭivṛdetaviṣye.


sṛ becomes th in smāthka[r]e.

¹ In viṣayapraṇa (i.e. viṣayapartha = Skt. viṣayapartha) the r is combined with the preceding akṣara.

² Cf. above, p. lxxxv, n. 4.
CHAPTER IX. GRAMMAR OF THE DHAULI AND JAUGADA ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel a is converted to i through the influence of a neighbouring y in majhima (= Skt. madhyama) and likhiyati[ami*]. It becomes u after a labial in munisa (= manushya), ukhāvucha, and is assimilated to the vowel of the first syllable in udapāna (= udāpāna).

The a in the second syllable of pūthēvi, which corresponds to Skt. ā, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel’s Grammatik, § 115. In su = Skt. svid, i has become u through the influence of the preceding v. For e = i and i in heta (= *itra) and edisa, kedisa (= Skt. idṛśa), see above, p. lxx.

Skt. u is represented by a in pana (= punah). In pulisa (= purusha) the i of the second syllable, which corresponds to Skt. u, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel’s Grammatik, § 124. For the i in the second syllable of munisa (= Skt. manushya), see above, p. lxx and n. 3. In kho (= Skt. khalu), Skt. u is represented by o; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

1 This is a diminutive of jānī, ‘a wife’, which occurs at Kālsī.
2 Cf. above, p. lxxxiii, n. 3.
Skt. "a in anā[a] ( = anārika), ānānaya, ānānya, and ānāyo, usāta, ka[i] and katu ( = kriyā), dakhathā, dakhāṇi, [kha]yabha, bhai, vaśāthā, viyātā; (2) e in edisa and haddisa, tādisa, ātūsa ( = yāṣṭita), dhitā, p[ka][i] (Jay., hātā,[h]ā[va]ni, m[ka][i] (= mātrā, Dhau. IV, 4), nīga, [mīga]yā[va] ( = pītri, Dhau. IV, 4), and after labials in [a]na[v]nūt ( = anāyāti), p[ka][i]kā, pūñā ( = pūtri), vahā ( = vāyu), yā (= yādi), (3) i in iṣṭa- ( = pītri, Dhau. IV, 4), and after labials in [a]nā[v]nūt ( = anāyāti), p[ka][i]kā, pūñā ( = pūtri), vahā ( = vāyu), yā ( = yādi), (4) e in dekhāta; (5) ra in rauchen ( = ruci). The syllable "a" is represented by "u in lokha ( = uruksha)."

The diphthongs "ai becomes e in nichī (perhaps = Skt. nīcā), and au becomes o in oṣaga and -[o]yaya, osadāni, mokhya and mokhya, pāpā, pāloko."
is derived by native grammarians from Skt. *nānu*; but in Pischel's opinion (Grammatik, § 130) it goes back to *Skt. nānam*, which would have lost its first syllable.

The labial *p* is aspirated in *apah[na]nu* (Jau. Sep. I, 11), as in Prākrit *phārusa* (= Skt. *parusaka*); see Pischel's Grammatik, § 208. *bh* becomes *k* in the instrumental and dative plural in -hi, in *lakey[a]* and *lakev*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *a[k]p*, *huwanití*, *[k]usyá*, *husveu*, and in the participle *hita*, while *bhāta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* becomes *j* in *majūla* (= Skt. *majūra*), and *k* in the optatives *alabheka*, *yekhā*, *[pa]k[j]vád[a]yān* and *patpáyachámi*. It is replaced by *v* before *n* and *a* at Dhauli, while it remains at Jaugra: see -svutike, *asvaseu*, *alādhyeyeva*, *chalev*, *[p]a[p]unyeu* and *pāpunyeu*, *yapīv* and *yāpyev*, *lakev*, *[va]syeveu*, *husveu* and *huyev*; instead of which Jaugra reads -dvy[nu]ike, &c. But both Dhauli and Jaugra have *nikkamāv* (= II, 2). *y* is prefixed to *e* in *yeuv*, but is dropped at the beginning of *e*, *ena*, *aṇi* (= Skt. *yati*), *ata* (= yata), *atha* and *atha* (= yathā); *aḍa* and *aḍa* (= yāda), *aṣa* (= yasya), *ā* (= yā), *āni*, *ādi*, *iva* (= yāvai). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *apa-vi[y[a]][i][a]", *patijit[ñ]a", *bhāti* (= bhātiyay). The syllables *aya* and *aṇi* are contracted to *e* in *teda-sa*, *Ujensi* (= Ujjaini), *niṣhak[ə][s][v]ye* (= *pati-vadehiya*).

As at Kāśi, *r* becomes *l* throughout. *v* is prefixed to *u* in *s[ə]v[e]la* (= *uktav*). The syllable *va* becomes *m* in *[l]s[a]ya* and *[a]tuland*; *va* becomes *a* in *[k]a[a]ya* (= kṛtva), and *u* in *katu*, amassātta, and other absolutes. The syllables *ava* and *aṇi* become *o* in *amahana*, *viyovado[viyayay]*. *-viyohālaka*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *a[k]p*, and *hosati* (= bhāvilāyaytā). The two sibilants *ś* and *sk* are replaced by *s* throughout. Skt. *ś* is represented by *ch* in *chhāriya* and *chhaghatha*, from root *chah* (= *sak*).

*h* is prefixed in *hita*, *hetā*, *hedasam*, *hekāvā*.

As in other Prākrits, final consonants are dropped. A preceding short vowel is lengthened in *sāvityay* (= Skt. *savyak*), *fl[a]sī[dā* (= *parishat*), *anu[sa][t]*, *alādhyeyov*, &c. (see above, p. c.). Conversely, a preceding long vowel is sometimes shortened; see *sīva* and *sīva* (= *saya*), *dal[khaya* and *dakhl[e]yā*, *anuvad[ə][s]* (= *anuvandhāt*), Dhauv. V, 6, and the nom. plur. masc. *anuvadīna*, &c. (below, p. c.). Final *a* as generally becomes *e*; see *Ujensite*, *kute*, *T[a]ka[a][s][d]ātē*, *dūvālāte*, mukhate, *vīyanjñate*, *heute*, the genitives singulars *atene*, *lējine*, *Piyasasine*, the nom. plur. *lējine*, *da[v]ye*, *bhaye*, *ne*, *jane*, &c. It becomes *o* only in *seto*, *[a]so*, and *man[a]*; *a* in *sāvīpa*[d]āta (7), *sa*, *esa*; *ā* in *[s]a*. Final *ar* becomes *e* in *ainte* (= Prākrit and Pāli *ante* (Skt. *antar*), and *a* in *pana* (= *punara*).

Final *a* and *u* are nasalized in *mamaṇi* (Jau. Sep. II, 7) = *mama* (passim) and *sahastuṇi* (Dhau.) = *sahaseu* (Jau.), while the Anuvāra of words ending in short nasal vowels is omitted in *kudalaba*, *bukusa*, *sochanak[a]*, *[ə][m][t]ik[a]*, &c. (below, p. c.), the acc. sing. fem. *Sanvadt[ñ]i* and *hinni*, *apakha* (= Skt. *asmākha*) and *[a]p[ə][k]h[a][a]*. The Anuvāra is dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened in *kāti*, *vajhāti*, *suhrh*, *kaujavatālā*; *kam[ə]matalā*, *dūvālā*, *[a]ph[a][k][t]*; cf. above, p. c. But the nom. sing. of neutrers in -a generally follows the analogy of the masculines and ends in -e; see below, p. c. Long nasalized vowels are generally shortened; see the genitives plural *bhagīnīnai*, *gulīnai*, *bhāvi[n]a[m]*, *[ə][k]r[n]*, *panīnai*, &c., the acc. sing. fem. *yātaik*, *susīnai*, and the loc. sing. fem. *p[a]lisā[y][a]* (Jau. VI, 4), *Sanampāyai*, *Tosāyai*, *niyai*, *pāthāvaiyai*. The Anuvāra is omitted in *pāliyai* (Dhau. VI, 3); in *tev[a]" and *saṁtilanāya* the long *a* is shortened at the same time.}

III. Sandhi.

Final *d* is preserved in *[a][t][o][p]eṣā*, and final *m* in *hedīsam-eu*. In *hemrava* (= Skt. *ēmat-vrava*) the syllable *va* of *ēvaṇ* is dropped. The final *m* is doubled in *hemavamevā* and *sukhavamevā*. Hiatus is prevented by *m* in *bhak[m][a]-eyam*.

Hiatus remains in *svag[a] ḍaladi* (Jau. Sep.), *mahā-opāya* (Dhau. Sep.) = *mahāpāya*[e] (Jau.

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1 The two last words, although masculine in form, are used as neutrers.
2 But *pāliyai* and *saṁtilanāya* may as well be genitives used in the sense of the locative.
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Sep.), dukhale (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.), pasu-opogāni (Dhau. and Jau.), maṃ[ə]-atiłeke (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.). As a rule, a + a are contracted into ā; see -vasāhista, pānamāhe, etc. But the ā is shortened before a group of consonants; see atata (= Skt. yatata, āpataliḥ (= *āpā- rāsūṭāḥ), [af]a[ma]a (= tenāra), natki (= nāṣṭī), badhāna[ṇ][i]ṭīl[ī] ([= bandhānutikānu], śūpāṭhāye. Final a preceding i, u, e, o is dropped in bāhāh[u][i]-bhī[ye]nu, chu (= chau + u), [ey]j-opādāye, cheva, [a]tasa, manyis-opāgāni. In ev (Jau. Sep. 1, 7) the nasal vowel ain of evain is treated in the same manner before e (= yau). a is elided after e in [e]y[ain] for e+ayaṁ (= Skt. yōyaṁ).

IV. Groups of Consonants.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unchanged are khy, tr, tv, ny, pr, my, sv (which becomes sv), su, sy, sv. Moreover the group rz is preserved at Jauḍa in drasayū (IV, 3) and Pīyadrasīne (I, 3), which are meant for darsayū and Pīyadrasīne; cf. above, p. lxxvii. All other groups of consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed within them.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see alane (= ātmakaḥ), atāvani, atīyāyike (= atīyāyikam), anusatki (= anusāsini), anusathī, āyesu (= ārhasnu), avāsānya, avāsā[n]jya, [a]vasassu, avasaevu, avasamati (= avasāmpti), ādāhi (= *ārādāhi), taddāvaye, f[a]līkā[māni, palakāmane, māg[a] (= mārga), makhamāṭa (Jau. Sep. II, 1), Lōṭāka, sasvātāni, iṣāya (= iṣvesha), tīṣā (= iṣvesha), puluca (= pūrva). But ā remains in aṇāpāyāmi, ā[ṇa][p][e]j[a]s[e]i, makhamāṭa (passim), sasvātāni (Jau. Sep. II, 14). In tinm (= triṣṭi) the i is shortened and the nasal doubled. Similarly, the short vowels i and u in avāsā[n]jya, da[v]iya, and [bhu]j suggest that these three words are meant for avāsānīya, daṇḍiya, and bhujya; cf. above, p. lxxiv.

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants in atīkānītāin, apa-bh[a][h]datā, kīlaṅgha, Devānāpiyā, Paṇiṭyā, bandhāna, while the nasal is dropped and the length retained in bāhāna. In chānāda (Jau. Sep. II, 5, 11) = chānāda (passim), the ain is lengthened although it is followed by a consonant. Anuvāra is omitted after short vowels in kichha (cf. above, p. lx), badhāna (= Skt. bauddha), viśī; after e in kuleti (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2); and before y in anuṣayāṇī, sayama, sayuta (= sanjukta).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is u before or after labials in duve, duvedesa, duveda, puluva, suvāmīka, pūpanṭī; e in anuṇeyavī (Jau. Sep.) = anuṇeyawī (Dhau.); and frequently i, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Dhauli and Jauḍa will show. I need not quote any examples of the groups kr, gr, dr, dhr, br, bhr, śr, sr, which have become k, g, d, dh, b, bh, s, s, respectively.

ḥḥ becomes ḥ (i.e. ḱh) in dūkh[a][u] and dukhiyāti.
kt becomes t in -ty[ti], -tāvike, -tīkāye, etc.
ky becomes ḷ in sākye and chakīye.
sḥ becomes ḱh in khaṇa, khantaviv, khasmāti, [bh]ud[a][h], khudakena, T[a]kh[a][t]i[l]ite, dabhāmi, etc.* nākhatana, mokhāye, luhāni.
skhy becomes khāv in s[a]khana (= Skt. śakṣāya).
skhy becomes gh in chaghataka.
kvhy remains in mokhya (Dhau. Sep.), but becomes khy in mokhya (Jau. Sep.).
kkl becomes ḱh in kko = Skt. khala; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.
gn becomes g in [g]gr, but gin in anuvījina.
jū becomes jin in jājin, jājine; nū in nūjinā (Dhau. Sep.); sin or n in pūzinā (Jau. Sep.), aṇāpyāmi, ā[ṇa][p][e]j[a]s[e]i, aṇā[ṇa][p][e]j[a]t[e], māṭiṣu.
jy becomes j in the passive forms jyaye and j[a]jyeṇa.
jy becomes ḷ in Pāṇiṭyā.
ny becomes ḷ in kānīnus and anāīne, but nī in anāṇeyavī, and ney in ānāveṇa.
sp becomes p in [apur]jopādāye.
tm becomes t in atone and atāmanā.
y becomes iy in aitihyike, apatiye, ekatīyā.
tr remains in s[ā]vata (Jau. II, 4), but becomes t in s[ā]vata (passim), tinhi, &c.
v remains in tattavata.
ls becomes s in usatena and chikāsā.
sth becomes th in uṭhāna, but th in uṭhāy[ā] ; cf. above, p. lxxviii.
dg becomes g in a[gha][khā][cchā].
dy becomes y in uyānasi; j in a[ja], [pa][pipe][ja][i], paṭipajeyā, saṁpaṭipajati, sa[uk] paṭipajan[ī][n][c].
dv becomes v in anuvāpina, but dvv in dvv, dvāvāsa, dvāvāla.
dbh becomes jh in [n]jhati, ni[pih][e][ta] [v]ye, majhanā, majhime[n]a.
ny remains in [anye] (Jau. Sep. I, 3), but becomes nu in ovana (passim) and maniv[ate].
pt becomes t in astmati, nat[ī] and natī (= Skt. nāpataraḥ), [n]jhati.
pn becomes pun in pāpumaṭi, &c.
pr remains in pratīvayati (Jau. VI, 2), but becomes p everywhere else.
ny remains (with the nasal doubled) in saṁnyāsa.
rk becomes kh in akhakha ( = Skt. akarkāsa).
rg becomes g in magesu, voga, voga.
s becomes t in [ani]vatau and anuvatasaṇi; t in vātīvīya, kātīvīya, kītī.
sth becomes th in atha (Jau. Sep. II, 2, 14, 14) ; th in atha (passim) and [nilathi]yamlī.
sth becomes th in vadhati, vadhavis[ā]ti, povadhvisaniṭi.
sth becomes kh in gahagālaśi.
rw becomes kum or m in a[nu]cābdumānāsāi, kāmnā (= Skt. karmā) and kāmāna (= karmāṇā), dhanīma.
ry becomes y in [nyesu], but iy in aṁatiyāi, niṣṭhūliyā, mādhūliyā.
rv remains in pavaṣati and savu, but īv in oruva.
rs becomes s in dasana and Piyadasi, but rs in drasayita (i.e. darsayita, Jau. IV, 3) and Piyadrasine (i.e. 'darsine, Jau. I, 3).
rsb becomes s in vasa.
rsb becomes s in vasa.
lp becomes p in apa and kapatāpī.
lv becomes y in kāyāma.
vīvāmānate, vīvāpata, -vīvahāka.
vy becomes v in vachasi (= Skt. vrojā).  
sch becomes chh in pachhā.  
sī becomes s in s[ka]khīna (= Skt. slaksīna). 
sv becomes s in asvāsanīye, asvās[ā]sā, asvāsā, asvāsā, sāsvātāni and sāsvatāni, but s in seto.  
shk becomes k in dukpaṭi and dukāla.  
shk becomes kh in nikhamāvā, [n]khikī, [n]kha[m]s[n], nikhamāvā, nikhamāvā.  
sy becomes th in Lathika.  
sdh becomes th in [ch][ā][kh][i]tu, niṣṭhūliyā, se[the] ; th in adhīthāna.  
sph becomes ph in naphati.  
shm becomes ph in tuphe, &c.  
sby becomes s in tisa, nmuṣa, hoṣti, etatha (Jau. Sep.), and other futures, but k in ektha (Dhau. Sep.) ; cf. Māhrārāhiti ekhi in Fischel's Grammatik, § 529, and ekhi in Pālī.  
As at Kālaś, sb becomes k in [a]gai-kaihāṇi.  
st becomes th in athi, athi, amāsati, amāsate, vithaṭenā, samākhaṭha, hathā ; th in atki (Jau. Sep. I, 4).  
str becomes th in inā.  
sth becomes gh in chhita-thiṭkā.  
sm remains in akasā, but becomes ph in aphe, &c., and s in the locative singular in -ansi.
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ṣy remains in [ā̄l]a[s][y][e][n]a (Jau. Sep. 1, 6), but becomes siy in ālāṣiyena (Dhau. Sep. I, 11), siyā and [siy[a] (Skt. siyā), and s in the genitive singular in -asa.

so remains in svuga, but becomes svu in svāmikena[na].

īṃ becomes niḥḥ in bāḥhama. In bāḥhama the Anusvāra is omitted, and the long ā of Skt. brāhmaṇa is preserved.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN -a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular.</th>
<th>Plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. jan[a], &amp;c.; neut. dāne, &amp;c.</td>
<td>Masc. put[a], &amp;c.; neut. osahāni, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. masc. dhānmatya, &amp;c.; neut. mahigata, &amp;c.</td>
<td>Masc. kanidhāni, y[a][d][n]i; neut. vosāni, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. putena, &amp;c.</td>
<td>jā[ti]h[i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. eṭhāye, &amp;c.</td>
<td>mahāmatya, samanehi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. anubāndh[a], pachhā.</td>
<td>pāṇimany[a], &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. janasa, &amp;c.</td>
<td>vattasa, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. eṭhāri, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination -s seems to be dropped in [sa]mīṣāṭāda (Dhau. Sep. I, 14). The termination is -o instead of -s in the colophon of Dhauli: seta (Text, p. 91).


Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in hidaloka (Dhau. Sep. II, 9).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in bāḥuka (Jau. Sep. I, 4) and -vachani[k[a] (Jau. Sep. I, 12, II, 1). The form of the nominative is used in anānāe (Dhau. Sep. I, 14).


Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is -ā instead of -āni in lcāpātā and kālāpā (Dhau. II, sections B and C; Jau. II, 4). As at Kāla and Mānehra, the two Sanskrit masculines vrikṣa and prāṇa are used as neuters: lākhāni (Dhau. and Jau. II, 4) and pāṇī (I, 4).

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -i.

Nom. and. acc. plur. neut. tihini.

Loc. plur. nātin.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Nom. sing. anusāthi, ālāthi, līpī, &c.
Acc. sing. Samādhi[ṭ][i], hini.

Instr. sing. anusathīyā, anāvūtiya.
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Dat. sing. anus[sth]by[a], [va]dhiye.
Abl. sing. nipheray[da].
Nom. plur. ilhi
Gen. plur. dhauginuam.

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in anusatki, ál[sth]i, [n]ijhati, lipi, o[a]dhi (Dhau. IV, section I), sudhi (Dhau. VII, section E).
Acc. sing.—The termination is -i in kit, vaqhi (Dhau. IV, J), sudzi (Dhau. and Jau. VII, B).

III. BASES IN -u.
Nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. sadhu, sadhu.
Nom. and acc. plur. neut. bahu.
Instr. plur. bahu.
Gen. plur. gulana.
Loc. plur. bahana.

IV. MASCULINES IN -pi.
Gen. plur. bhpi[ma].
Loc. plur. bpi[i].

The instr. sing. follows the -i-declension: [pi]tinam, bhatinam, likewise the nom. plur. nadisi, nati; cf. Prakrit and Pali aggri (nom. plur. masc).

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

1. Present participles in -at.
The base mahat follows the a-declension: nom. sing. masc. mahatma.


Singular.
Nom. masc. laja, laja (Dhau. Sep. II, 4).
Acc. masc. atama; neut. tama.
Instr. tajina, kah[man], kamana.
Dat. kahma.
Gen. atan, lajine.
The neuter base karman may also follow the a-declension: nom. sing. kahme, acc. kahman, gen. kahmana.

(3) Masculines in -in.
Nom. sing. Pitada.
Gen. sing. Pitadine.
Acc. plur. kahini (= [ka]thini at Kaishi).

(4) Neuters in -as.

(5) Feminine in -d.
The base parishad follows the a-declension: nom. sing. p[a]sic, loc. [p]sicam[an] and palisay.

1 Cf. atovi, above, p. xci.
8 For these two forms see above, p. lxxvii.
C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. hakāni</td>
<td>naye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>aphe, a[t]phi'i.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. mamāyā, mamāye, mamiyāye, me.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. mamate.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>[a[p]hesu], aphe'su.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the forms hakāni and mamāyā see above, p. lxxvii. With the instr. sing. mamāye (Dhau. Sep.), instead of which Jau. Sep. reads mamiyāye, cf. mamā, Hēmāchandra, III, 109. The ablative mamate for Skt. matāh is, like the instrumental mamāyā, due to the influence of the genitive mamā. The nom. plur. naye is derived from Skt. vayaṃ, but influenced by the instr. sing. mayā, and the acc. aphe (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) is formed from the same base as Skt. asmān. The acc. a[t]phi'i (Jau. Sep. II, 10) and the loc. aphe'su follow the analogy of the masculines in -a.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. plur. tupe, phe.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc. plur. tupe, tupeni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. plur. tupeksi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. plur. t[u[p]hab'ə].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. plur. tuphesu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The base *tus'na, from which the nom. and acc. plur. tupe (= Prākrit tunhe) is derived, seems to be a compromise between the Skt. base yus'na and the singular tvaṃ (Prākrit taman). With the form phe (Jau. Sep. I, 2) cf. bhe, Hēmāchandra, III, 91. The three forms tupeni (Jau-Sep.), tupeksi, and tuphesu follow the analogy of the masculines in -a.

(3) Base ta.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. se, te (Dhau. Sep. I, 13).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. neut. tani, se, sa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. tena.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. tasa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. tas.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Dhau. Sep. II, 7, the nom. plur. neut. tan takes the place of the masc. te (Jau. Sep. II, 9).

(4) Base ēta.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. ē[sā] (Dhau. VIII, 3); neut. esa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. masc. and neut. etan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. [e]taka.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. ētaye, etubiye.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. etasa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. etas.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing. fem. eti(ta)kā.


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1 With aphe and tupe cf. the Singhalese nom. plur. api and api. 
DHAULI AND JAUGADA GRAMMAR

(3) Demonstrative idam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular.</th>
<th>Plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. ay[h], iy[h] ; neut. iy[h].</td>
<td>Masc. im[i].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. neut. ima[h].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. ima[h].</td>
<td>ime[i].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. [i]m[a][e]ya.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. imasa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing. fem. iyain.  
Dat. sing. fem. im[a][e]ya.

As at Kālsi, the nom. sing. masc. ayain occurs only in [e]ya [h] ( = Skt. yo-ya[m], Jau. Sep. I, 6).

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

Nom. sing. neut. ki[h]i. The acc. sing. neut. ka[h]i and the acc. plur. neut. ki[h]i are used as demonstratives. The abl. sing. of the same base is preserved in akasma. The indefinite pronoun is formed with cha or chha (nom. sing. masc. kech[ha], [k][e][chha]), and with chhi = Skt. chid (neut. sing. kechh[hi], kichh[hi]); and ki[h]iti is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular.</th>
<th>Plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. ye, e ; neut. e.</td>
<td>Masc. ye, e ; neut. an[i].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. neut. an[i].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. ena.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. ata.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing. fem. yā, ā.

(8) Base anya.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular.</th>
<th>Plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. [anya], a[h]ine ; neut. a[h]ine.</td>
<td>Masc. a[h]ine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>neut. a[h]i[n].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. a[h]i[n]ya.</td>
<td>a[h]inesu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(9) Base sarva.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular.</th>
<th>Plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. neut. sa[ve].</td>
<td>Masc. sa[ve].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. masc. and neut. sa[va[h].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. sa[v]en[a, se[va].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10) Base *ekatya.

Nom. plur. masc. ekati[y].

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. e[k]e ; instr. sing. eke[n], e[k][a][k][e][n](a).

Two, three, five.

Nom. masc. duve (cf. above, p. lxx); nom. and acc. neut. ti[n]i ; loc. pa[n]cha[su].

O 2
INTRODUCTION

Ten, twelve, thirteen.

\( \text{sa}, \text{devāda}sa, \text{tēda}sa. \)

Hundred.

Acc. plur. satānti; instr. satehi.

Thousand.


Literary Prākrit also uses the termination -esu besides -esu; see Pischel's Grammatik, § 371.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. plur. sata-sah[a]nūsi.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. Present.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root kamp: anukanpāti.
Root krav: p[a]lakāmi, nikhamārū.
Root gam: gachhema.
Root chal: chale[y].
Root driś: dakhāmi, drokhāti, dekhāta.
Root bhū: hoti, hrvanti (sixth class).
Roots rabh and labh: ālabhehānu, lāhe[y].
Root var: [va]vāvā.
Root vrīt: [anu]vataru.
Root svās: [r]vāsyyu.
Root sthā: [c]c[ha]iti (from *ch[ha]ti), uthā[y] (from *uthāti).

Second Sanskrit class.

Root as: athi, aṭhi (Jau. Sep. I, 4).
Root i: eiti.
The two roots yā and īsas follow the a-conjugation: yehein, anusāsāmi.

Third Sanskrit class.

Root ku: pājkātaviyā; see above, p. lxxxi.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root pad: pāpd[ha]ti.
Root maun: maun[e].

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root āp follows the ninth class (pāpunāti, pāpunātha) and the a-conjugation (pāpvnuyu).

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root ish: ichhati.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root ynj follows the a-conjugation: yunjā and yunjū, yunjātu, yunjānti.
Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi: kaleti, kalami, kalanti, kalantani; see above, p. lxxxi.

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *jū: jānitu and jānaniitu are formed from the present jānati.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya: atikāmasyati, nikāmasyāmī, dasaya and drasaya (i.e. darasya), pātipāda-
yenā, ālādhayantā, līkhiṣāṁyāmī, alocayāti, vādhaśīr̥ta, veddayati, sukhayaṁī. The character
*aya is contracted into ē in pātivedayāviṃ.
(b) With *paya: kāpayaśati. In ānapayāmi and *nijkap[e]ta[vi]ye the long vowel of the two
roots jū and ąkā is shortened.2
(c) With *apaya: khānāpaitā, likkāpīta, kālāpita.
(d) With *pāpaya: lapāpita.
(e) With *śya: dukhiṣyati (denominative of Skt. dukkha).

(3) Moods.

(a) Indicative.

3. sing. anukampi, *pa[lakama][i], drakhati, hoti, athāti and athāti, *pa[ti[pa][a]o], svapo-
pajati, pāpuñati, icsmati, kar[eti], veddayati, dukhiṣyati. The only middle form is maṇi[ate]
(Dhau. X, i).
2. plur. pāpuñaθa (from the strong base of the ninth class).
3. plur. huvanti, ichhami, kalatī and kaletī (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2).

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. sukhaśāmi with indicative termination; cf. above, p. xciv.

(c) Optative.

3. sing. uga[eka][eka], dakh[e]ya and do[keya], utkāya[ā] (from the indicative *uṭṭhāya=Pāli
uṭṭhāya; cf. Pischel’s Grammatik, § 489), [h]vyā, sīya and [siya] (= Skt. svat), paṭipajey.
1. plur. gachhami, paṭipādayemā and *pa[ti[pādayem][a].
3. plur. chalāy[a] and chalātī, hvayā, huveve and hvavevā, lakhe[a] and lavevā, [va]sevā,
[a]svasevā and avasevā, pāpunavā, *p[a]nuevā and pāpuñevā, [y]f[y][u], yujevā, and yujeyā,
ālādhayev[a] and ālādhayevā.

(d) Imperative.

2. plur. dakhathā (with indicative termination), dekhata.
3. plur. *pa[lakama][i] and *palakama[vu][a], yujantī, ālādhayantī, prativedayantī.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. a[h̥]o.

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1 Cf. the substantive *nijhati (= *niḍhyaṇati) in the rock-edict VI, which is formed from *niḍhaya-
payati, as Skt. oṣṭhi and viṣñapati from jānapayati = jānapayati.
2 But in ānap[ay][a]ta (Dhau. III, i), the long vowel of the root jū is preserved.
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II. Aorist.

(a) Indicative.
3. sing. [n]ākhaṇī; 3. plur. [n]ā[kha][n][r][n].

(b) Subjunctive.
3. plur. alokhyāṣṭu; see Text, p. 31, n. 7.

III. Perfect.
3. sing. ā[ha] (only Jau. Sep. II, 1) and āhā.

IV. Future.
1. sing. hōsāmi and hōsāmi (= Prākṛti hōsāmi), nikhamayiṣāmi, likhiṣāmī.
3. sing. khamisati, khamati, kuchhati; atikhamayisati, ā[ha]j[ay][j][r][n][i], vadhayiṣṭaṇi.
2. plur. ezatha and echatha, echagatha (from root chak = Skt. śak), ālādhayisatha and ālo[ḥa]-
yosa[ḥ].
3. plur. nikhamisanti, amavatisanti, [a]nus[ā]risaṅ[ṇ][i], yunisanti, kuchhasi, jānisanti, pava-
dhoyisanti.

V. Passive.
3. plur. indicative ālo[ḥ]bhyyaṇī. ²
3. plur. optative yuṣya, y[a]ṣyā, yuṣva, y[a]ṣya.[a]
3. plur. aorist ālabhyīsu.

VI. Desiderative.
3. sing. imperative susūsatu.

VII. Participles.

(1) Present participle.
Active.
Root aṣ : sanatana.
Root kri : kalantani.

Middle.

(2) Past passive participle.
(a) In -ṭa : mata, kṣaṭa (= Skt. kṛta), viyāpaṭa (= vyāprita), vithala (= vistrita), usaṭa
(= utṣrita), [n]isita (= *nisrīta), likhita, likhāpita, khaṃpita, kālopi, alāpita, loṣāpita, ānā-

¹ For an explanation of this form see above, p. lxxiii, n. 1.
² Cf. sāghaṣṇi in the Suttanipāta, verse 834.
³ For the probable origin of the nasal within the root, see above, p. lxxiii, n. 3.
DHAULI AND JAUGADA GRAMMAR

CHAPTER X

GRAMMAR OF THE PILLAR-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel a is replaced by i in the second syllable of gihitha (see above, p. lxx), in mafhina (see above, p. xcix), and perhaps in min[a] (Delhi-Mirath) and mina (= Skt. manak?). It becomes u in the second syllable of udapana (see above, p. xcix), and after m in muna (= munshiya). The change of a into e in seyaka (i.e. šeyaka), which is the reading of three versions instead of sayaka (= Skt. šayaka) at Delhi-Toprā, is due to the following palatal y.

Skt. i is represented by a in the first syllable of kagilika (Delhi-Toprā) = kipilikā (Allahabad-Kōsam) and = Skt. pipilikā, and by u after original v in dusīya and dutiya, dupada, kinasa (i.e. kinassu) = Skt. kinnavit; see Text, p. 134, n. 1. e corresponds to Skt. i in hedisa (Sārnāth, ll. 5, 7). i corresponds to Skt. u in the second syllable of pulisa (see above, p. xcix) and of munisa (see above, p. lxx). In kho (= Skt. khala) Skt. u is represented by o; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

ri becomes (1) a in angahineru, apakatha (= Skt. apakṛṣṭa), kaṭa, kappana (= kṛpapa), dānagah⁵ (Queen's edict, l. 3), dhakaseru, vaśīkā and vaśīkāya (= kṛti kā), vaśī, viyāga; (2) i in

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1 Cf. p. lxxxiii, n. 3.

2 Cf. gahatha (= Skt. grīhastha) at Kālīs.
INTRODUCTION

gihitaka (= grihastha), nisijitu (from nisirjati), pitaśu (= pitriku), simaia (= spinata), hēdaśa (= idrīsa); (3) e in dekkhati, &c.

1 corresponds to Skt. e in ika (Sāṁhitā, ll. 6, 7, 8), i.e. *ekka = Prākrit ekka and Skt. eka. Cf. Ardhamārgadhi ikkara (= Skt. ekkara); Fischel’s Grammatik, § 443.
a becomes e in kevata (= Skt. kevarta), and au becomes o in opagāṛi, Kosāvīyaṁ, putapopostike, mokkha.

Initial a is lengthened in anāvāsa (= Sāṁhitā) = anau[au]aśa (= Kauśāmbi and Sāṁhitā). Final a is lengthened frequently; see eva, yeva, va and eva, yeva, vā (= Skt. va), eka and chā, va and nā (in nīmaināta), heta, āha and āha or āha, vaṅkithā, kāha, vīvaksapāyā, [sa]nīmainātha[ā], nāma and nāma (in nāma ti), mana and mana, asava and asava, genasa and genasa, jānapadasa and jānapadasa, Devānaṃpāyā, lokasa and lokasa, usheha and usheha, bhaya and bhaya, v[sa]hāmaṇāḥ.

Interconsonantal i and u are sometimes lengthened; see ganiyati (Queen’s edict, l. 4), -thītka and -thītka (also -thīka and -thīka), (thus Allahabad-Kōsam; ālā in the other versions). devīye (Queen’s edict, l. 2; devīye, id., ll. 4, 5), pavottanaḥ, lākṣī (Instr. plur. of Skt. rājanaḥ, anuśāpaṇaṇaḥ, anupāṣṭepaṇaṇaḥ (also anuṣṭepaṇaṇaḥ), anupāṣṭepaṇaṇaḥ (also anuṣṭepaṇaṇaḥ), anupāṣṭepaṇaṇaḥ (also anuṣṭepaṇaṇaḥ), anuṣṭepaṇaṇaḥ, anuṣṭepaṇaṇaḥ, ākṣā in Allahabad-Kōsam), bahūn (but gulna). Final i and u may be lengthened before ti (= iti) or without it; see anuśāpaṇaḥ, āvaṇāzi ti, kākhaṭti ti, kādiyati ti, ti ti (Delhi-Tōpā, ll. 10), [ha]āṭaviyāni, anuśāpaṇaṇaḥ, ākṣā ti. Final i and u, which stand for original i and u or ur, are treated in the same way; see [gul]’i and goti ti, līpi and līpi, bhikkhu and bhikkhu, Sakaramaṇi ti, sāduḥ and sāduḥ, ādikhyacem and ādikhyacem, ti, and sādukhevan and sādukheva, pavottaviṇa ti.

Initial ē is shortened in āvahāni and āvā in (Delhi-Tōpā) = āvahāni and āva or āvā (in the other versions). Interconsonantal ē is shortened in the Queen’s edict in alama (= Skt. arama) and makamata (= nakamātra). Final ē is often shortened; see ātha and atha (= Skt. yatha), tathā and thatha, vā and va (= Skt. va), apahasta and apahasta, lāja and lāja, atanā and atana, lājina, Piyadvaseva, anuśāpaṇaḥ and anuśāpaṇaḥ, and the nom. sing. fem. esa (pillar edict I, section D), apēkha and apēka, &c. Also final i is sometimes shortened; see Piyadvaseva (Allahabad-Kōsam) and Piyadvaseva, duśti and duśti, dhāti (= Skt. dhātṛi), athamā-paka (Delhi-Tōpā) and athamā-paka, āhānī-paka, ahatānu-paka, āhānī-paka, Luvanemi-gūme. Interconsonantal ē is shortened in duṭiya = duṭiya (Queen’s edict, l. 5) and ē in annupāṣaṇā, thūbe, bhutānam, suṇā (also suṇā). Initial vowels are dropped in ē (Skt. api), laghaṇi (= Skt. arhaṇi), kahan (for akhām = ahom), ti (for tī) and kīni, paṭaṇa (for upavaṣaṅka), va and vā (for eva).

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

As at Kāśi, palatal ṅ and lingual ŋ are replaced by dental n throughout.

The guttural k is palatalized in aṭha- (kṣāvayāni and vaḍīkyā); cf. above, p. lxxi. It is represented by y in aṭha-bhāgya (Rummindel, l. 5), aṭha-bhāgya (Delhi-Tōpā, IV, ll. 4, 14), yiniseyaki (= Skt. nīśīśakha), and perhaps in gaya; see Text, p. 120, n. 4. gh is preserved in laghaṇi (for *laghaṇi = Skt. arhaṇi), but has become h in lāhu.

The palatal ch is softened in samvaya, which is probably connected with Skt. śāṅkacchī, ‘a skate-fish.’ It is aspirated in kēktī (Queen’s edict, l. 4) = kēktī at Kāśi, &c.

Lingual d may become t; see edakā and elaka, edakā and elakā, dūṭ and dūṭi.

Dentals are linguajal after y in kata, bhāpāve, vaḍī, vaḍīkā and vaḍīkā (= *rīkī), in which the t (for t) is softened, and after r in nīvāntka (= Skt. nirvāntika) and in the preposition paṭi, but not in paṭipagamana (= pratipagamana), patyāṣāna and patyāṣāsāna (= pratipagamana). t is elided, a lengthened, and v developed from n in chāvudasa (= Skt. chāvudās), while n is contracted to o in āhānī (= chārānās). d becomes o in āhānī and āhānī (= Skt. pāčhādasi). The original dh of the root nadh (= Skt. nadh)

1 Cf. avā, avā, avāni at Kāśi. Michelson (IF, 23, 239) compares Avestan yava (Skt. yavā).

2 Fischel (Grammatik, § 42) derived Prākrit dudha (sū.), from a supposed Skt. form *dvitiya.

3 In anūb-vaḍiṣya (Delhi-Tōpā, VII, l. 23) = anūb-vaḍiṣya (Queen’s edict, l. 3).

4 Cf. Fischel’s Grammatik, §§ 78 and 443.
is preserved in [sa]hnaṁdhapayiyā and samanbhayitvā. dh becomes h in nigho (= nyagrūḍha), vidhāhāni and spadakev (from dādāhā). For kṣi (= idā at Girnār) see above, p. Ixxii.

p is softened in thūka (= stūya, Nāgīlī Śāgara, l. 2) and tīlī (= Delhi-Tōpra, VII, l. 31, 34) = līpt (passim). It becomes k through dissimilation in kāpitkā and kapitkā = Skt. pippātikā. bh becomes b in [a]kī̄ye, hoti, hetu, kṛvāni, kāvani, kāvani, kṛvāni, heta, heta, and in the instr. plur. in -hi (for -bhī). m becomes p, and the aspiration changes place, in kapha = Skt. kāmata; cf. aphe and tūpe (= Prākṛti amhe and tūnhe) at Dhaulī and Jaujāda, and [a]phā (= Skt. tasmāt) at Kālī.

y is represented by h in abhyavānānyayakāh, and by v in āvati (= śāyūkta), vischavo, vischaya (Skt. vischaya), sochava for sochaya (= sauchya), pāyva (= prāṇa + vā), yava, unugahive, unugahive, upadakeva, paratavya, etc. It is prefixed to e in yena and yeśa (also eva and iva), but is dropped at the beginning of aya (Skt. yate), athā and atha (Skt. yathā), āvā (also yāva, = Skt. yāvāt), āvā, e (also ye), eva (also ye). At the end of etad-athā (Delhi-Tōpra, VII, l. 24) the syllable ya seems to be dropped; cf. above, p. II. It becomes i in nigho (= Skt. nyagrūḍha), pātivekhaṇi, pātivekha, and iva becomes e in jāhāteviye (also jāhāteviye).

v has become l throughout, except in chān [l]a m[a-s]u [l]ı (Sāṁśī, l. 4).

va becomes u in anuvekhamāne; vā becomes the same in the absolutes in tu (= Skt. tvā); ava and avi become o in odā, odāhā, patakt, patyovadātā, pātiyovadātā, viyovadātā, viyovadātā, ho, hoti, ho, ho, ho, ho, ho, ho. The two sibilants s and š have become s throughout. But šh is used in vischava (= Skt. jivahā, Sāṁśī, l. 10), Drvośaṇiṇyakā and see (Queen's edict, l. I and 4). In chaghati, š is represented by ch; cf. above, p. cxi.

b is prefixed in kida, kida, kedisa, kovāni. For kada (Queen's edict, l. 2) see above, p. lxx.

Final consonants are dropped. A preceding vowel may be shortened; see min[a] and mina (= Skt. manakā), pāvotā and pāvota, sīnya and sīnya, avivāma and avivāma, abhīta and abhīta, etc. (below, p. cxvii). Conversely, a preceding short vowel may be lengthened; see ēva and ēva (= yevā), lipī and lipī, śatā and sātā, etc. (above, p. cxvii). Final a generally becomes e; see ut, utā (= ēva), bhava, bhava, āvāpaṇa, āvāpaṇa, etc. But it becomes e in vaya-; a in chandana- and ēna (nom. sing. masc. and neut.); and ē in ēsa (nom. sing. neut.).

The vowel u is nasalized in chūn (Sāṁśī, l. 3) for chu (passim). Final Anuvāra is omitted in bādha (Delhi-Tōpra, III, l. 21), heva (= Skt. evam, Rāmpurā, I, l. 1), and in the acc. sing. vadeki (pillar-edict VI, B). The Anuvāra is dropped, and the preceding vowel is lengthened, in the acc. sing. anuṣṭātāti (Delhi-Tōpra, VII, l. 24) and in the nom. sing. [a]nā (Delhi-Miraṭh, II, l. 2). But the nom. sing. of neuters in -na generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in -e; see below, p. cxvii.

Long nasal vowels are generally shortened; see kiyā (= Skt. kīyā), Bhagavā (= Bhagavā), the gen. plur. in -zn̄, the loc. sing. fem. tiṣayam, tiṣayam, Kosaṭhīyaṇi, pāṇināma, and the acc. sing. min (= mān), mina (= māna), tu (= tama, pillar-edict VI, B), ikān (= ekān), pāmā (= pāmā, dukhiṇāni, chandana, chandana, pāmā, pāmā, kām, kām, kām, kām, kām, kām, kām, kām; also at Delhi-Miraṭh, V, l. 6), and the long ā is shortened at the same time in kiya (Laṛīyā-Nandangār, II, l. 1).

III. SANDHI.

Final d is preserved in etad-athā (Delhi-Tōpra, VII, l. 24), and final m in etam-eva (id., l. 23; Sāṁśī, ll. 8, 9), kāyaṇeva (Allahabad-Kōṣām, III, l. 1), kāyaṇeva (Sāṁśī, l. 7). The final m is doubled in iyaṇamva (= Skt. idam anyat), kāyaṇamva, kāyaṇamva. In hemaeva, hemaeva, hemena, the syllable va of Skt. evam is dropped.

Hāthu remains in -vasa-abhisita at Delhi-Tōpra (six times); while the remaining versions (and Delhi-Tōpra, VII, l. 3) read -vasābhisita. Other instances of a+ā = ā are dhāmnānuṣṭātāti,

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1 Cf. pilandhaīi in E. Müller's Pāli Grammar, p. 344.
2 This Prākṛti form is mentioned already by Pāṇini, III, 3, 221.
3 Cf. Geiger's Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen, § 29, section 1.
4 Cf. above, p. ivii, n. 2, and p. lxix, l. 6 from bottom. 6 Also at Delhi-Miraṭh, V, l. 14.
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dhaunmānasatī, dhaunmāpadāna, dhaunmāpaṁkha, apārinawa. The a which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in saṁghatakai and -apadānathaye (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 25 and 28). The nasal vowel ahi of tūpikāri and upāsakārāri is treated in the same manner before ahiṅkāri in tūpikāri-aṅkāri and upāsakāri-aṅkāri (Sāṁñhat, ll. 6 and 7). In ikke (= Skt. ikkikā), cha (= cha + u), cheva, and ckhāy-opagāni, final a and ā are elided before the initial i, u, e, and e of the next following word.

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain assimilated are khy, khy, tu, dhv, dhv, rshya (which becomes sy), sv (which becomes sv), shy (which becomes sy). For the group khy see also above, p. cxiv and n. 3.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see ata- (= Skt. atam), asvatha (= āsvatha), amasath (= amuḍāṣu), ālotha (= ārūḍāṣu), kiuasu (for kiu+n+su = Skt. svdā), puta (prāpta), mada (= mārga), madova (= manḍa), mahamātra (= mahāmātra, Queen's edict, l. 1), Sāhyamuni, sīya (= śrīkā, su-līyika (for śrītyika), dusa (= dāsakā, pūrṇamāśyayā. But the length remains in āhāyatā, pāpovā (from prāpnoti), mahāmātra (for *mātra), pālkhā (for parīkṣā). While long i is preserved before u in gānti and bhiṁbhiṁti in, it is shortened, and the following nasal is doubled, in tiānti (= tiṣṭi). Similarly, amuṣīhini and devīhini are perhaps defective spellings for amuṣāhini and devīhini. Before y and i the length is preserved in anuvīhāyati, sūkhiyā, kāpilākṣa, but it is shortened (and probably the following consonant is doubled) in anuvīhāyati, sūkhiyā, bhūye, kītikā; cf. above, p. cii. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in āgācha (= āgata), dākkīnā (also dākkīnā, i.e. dākhānā, putāpātoke (for putāpatako), punācassu (for punārcu), kīchhi (for kid+ch, Queen's edict, l. 4), nīlakhiyati (for nīlakāti), nīlakātipiyave (also nīla at Kāmpurā, V, l. 9), vāddhiti (also vāddhisi, i.e. vāddhīssati, sānāpatiyāsati (also jīsati), anupatpiisati, anāgi[t]apāsue (for anurgratī).

A long nasal vowel is shortened before consonants in anivā (= Skt. āma), atibhāntai, Kauṇābhya (= Kautāyabhya), Devānābhya, while the nasal is dropped, and the length is retained, in bābhaya (= bāmha at Gīrnā). Anuvāra is lost after a short vowel in thakha (Rummindēi, l. 3) = thaṅhā (Delhi-Tōprā), in saṁyuce and savibha (also saṁyunc and saṁvibha), in vihāyā (but not in evaṁvāyā), and in savāsati. The nasal vowel iṁ is replaced by a length in vāsati, punāvāsati, and saṅvāsati. Similarly, aṁ seems to be replaced by ā in bā[ā]khi (= Skt. bhānkshyati).

In vīsuvaṅsakīve (Sāṁñhat, ll. 8, 9) the nasal vowel aṁ corresponds to Skt. ā.

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is u before i in duvē, duvaḍasa, saṅvāsati, suve; a in anuṣampatiśāyā, laghaṁtī (for *alaghamātī), sochaye and sochave; and frequently i as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the pillar-edicts. It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups br, gr, tr, pr, br, sr, sr, which have become k, t, ṭ, b, s, r, s, respectively.

kāh becomes k (i.e. kkh) in dukhibhaya,
kt becomes t in abhisita, yuta, vātavīya, vīyata.
by remains in Sāhyamuni (Rummindēi, l. 2).
kgh becomes jh in jhāpayaviye, but k everywhere else.
kṣy becomes khy in nilakhiyati; kh in duṣṭevake and bh[ā]khi; gh in chaghāti.
khy is preserved in mukhya and mokkha, but is assimilated in mukhā (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 27).

1 This word presupposes an intermediate form with short u: *-suryika: cf. above, p. cii, n. 1. In the Māgadha dialect the affix -ika does not, as in Sanskrit, necessarily involve Vṛddhi of the first syllable; see putāpapātiḥ and hidāṣikā, but amūṣīkā. In anītāṭika, adhiḥloṣikā, chaṇḍanamāṇaṣikā we cannot say whether the a preceding the group of consonants in the first syllable was originally long and subsequently shortened. The same applies to the first a of chaṇḍiyā, which was formed from Skt. chanda with the affix -ya. In niśhīṭya and pūrṇamāśyayā the first vowel has remained unchanged, while the corresponding Skt. forms are naśkhyāya and paurṇamāśyāya, with Vṛddhi of the first vowel.
2 The Sāmehi pillar (section C) has putapapāti.
3 The Anusvāra is omitted in Devānā[ṛ]ṣeṇa (Rummindēi, l. 1).
4 Cf. Pischel's Grammātikā, § 322.
GRAMMAR OF THE PILLAR-EDICTS

khī becomes ṭh in hō = Skt. khalu; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.
chī becomes chay or chāv in sochaye and sochave.1
jī becomes jī in lajāna; in ēhāndānnānā and vinīnapayitāvīye; in ānapayati, ānapīta, nāṭkā, nāṭtu.
dy becomes di in chāndīye.
dv becomes dev in saipūṣṭī.
sm becomes ṭin in āśāṁmāsike.
tk becomes ṭ in uktā.
tm becomes t in ate- (= Skt. āṭman).
ty remains in paṭyāśañña, but becomes ṭy in paṭiyāśañña (Delhi-Tōprā), and cḥ in āgācha,
pachupagamane, sahe.
sr becomes s in usapāpīte.
sṣ becomes s in uṣāka.
sty becomes cḥh in machhe.
sḍ becomes b in uhałte.
dy becomes j in ānapatipajñantu, etc. ; diy in khdāyati ; day in dusampatipādaye.
ḍr becomes d in chaśkāda.
dv becomes d in dupaḍa, dufya and duita, but dev in duvchi, dvaḍaḍa.
dhy remains in avadhinya, but becomes dhy in avadhīya, and jh in majhīna, nijhatyā, nijha-
payitave, nijhpayítā, nijhpayitavvnītī.
shr remains in ṭhṛ[ṛ]āvīye (Delhi-Mīraṭh), but becomes ṭh in dhuvāvye and vadhi (pillar-
edict V, D).
ṛv becomes ṭn or n in anma (passim) and ana (pillar-edict III, H).
ṛt becomes t in [guṭ], guṭ (= Skt. ḍvṛpti), nikhītā, nijhatyā, pata (= prāpta), sata (= sāpta, Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31).
ṛṇ becomes p in pāṇoḍā.
ḫh remains in abhyunāmayaḥah and abhyunāmatisati, but becomes hiy in ḍṛ[ṛ]hiye.
ḥhr becomes bḥ in paṭihāsavyānām.
nbh becomes ṭn in Luhmūni- (Rummindel, l. 4).
nṛ becomes ṭḥ (or ṭhr) in aṭhā (= Skt. āṭma).
ṛy becomes ṭy in āvāsāvīye and [s]uṃ̐nānāhāpavāvīya.
ṛg becomes g in megesu and visāga.
ṛgr becomes g in nāgahāsēsu.
ṛgh becomes lagh in laṭhānaśi (for *alaghānāśi).
ṛv becomes ṭn in paṇīna (pillar-edict V, B) and paṇiṇāmāsīyau.
ṛṭ becomes t in pavaṭayevu, but ṭ in kaṭāvāya, koṭa, paṭhāvā, opahatā.
ṛṭh becomes ṭḥ in atva (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, W and OO), but ṭh in atva (passim).
ṛḍ becomes d in chakhdā, choda, chvνdūsā, madave.
ṛdh becomes ṭh in vadhāti, vadhēya, vadhīṭhā, vadhīṣata, vadhīta.
ṛhh becomes bh in gabhīṇā.
ṛmn becomes ṭm in kanmānā, chāṭhūmātri, dhārītana (spelt dhama at Laurjiyā-Araśā, II, l. 3).
ṛy becomes ṭy in nīthkīyā, pāliyovadāḥka and pāliyovadāṭaśi, -suliṣike (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31), but ṭiy in [s]ṛ[ṛ]y[ṛ]ke (Sānichi, l. 4).
ṛl becomes t in nilakhiṭayati and nilakhiṭavīye.
ṛv becomes v in ṭrayorvasana and sava.
ṛī becomes s in Piyādari.
ṛṣh becomes s in uktā and vasa.
ṛsḥy becomes ṭy in isyā.
ṛp becomes p in apa (pillar-edict II, C).
ṛy becomes ṭ in kavyā, sayaka and seyaka (= Skt. sāyaka).

---

1 Three versions of the pillar-edict II, C, read socheye, which Michelson (IF, 23, 241) identifies with Pāli socheyya (= Skt. *sochēya).
The text appears to be a page from a book discussing Sanskrit grammar or linguistics. It contains a table titled "B. DeCLENSION" with sections for "Masculines and neuters in -a." Each section includes singular and plural forms. The text is written in a formal style, typical of academic or scholarly works.

### Table: Masculines and Neuters in -a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masc. pulisā, &amp;c.</td>
<td>Neut. sāvanāni, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masc. pulisāni</td>
<td>akālehi, pulinehi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pānānāni, &amp;c.</td>
<td>aśeṣa, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The final a is lengthened in usāhenā, bhayenā, v[a]chanenā; Devānāpiyashā, lokastā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom. plur. masc.</td>
<td>The final a is shortened in abhita, asvata, ṣvata, kata, pūjita, mahaṁ[a]ta (Kauśāmbī edict, l. 1), ․lajjāka. The Vedic termination -āṣaḥ is preserved in viyāpaṭaṭe (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 25, 27).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom. plur. neut.</td>
<td>The following Sanskrit masculines have the termination of the neuter: thanbhāni, nikāyāni, nighāni, niyāmāni, mokhāni, tiṣṭi divasāni and etāni divasāni (acc.).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 With the compound chilaṁ-thita or chilaṁ-thita ca. Skt. chiraṁjīvin and chirantana.
2 In chila-thita (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 32) and chila-thita (Allahabad-Kōsam, II, l. 3).
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(2) Feminines in -ā.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. ēkā, &amp;c.</td>
<td>vadikā, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. pājā, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. pājāyā and pājāya, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. viśiṣṭāyā, avuśiṣṭāyā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. dākshināyā, dākshināyē.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. duṇiṣṭāyē, duṇiṣṭāyē.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. tiśāyā, tiśāyē, chāvudāsāyē, paunādaśāyē, paṇṭipāḍāyē.</td>
<td>disāśu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing.—The final a is shortened in apekhā, avadhāya, īśya, kāpilika, kālāpīta, jatēka, dayā, pālana, likhāpīta, vadākīta, vyāta, sālika, sukṣhāyāna.

Acc. sing.—The termination is -ā in p[α]ṭipāḍā (Delhi-Mirath, V, l. 5).

Instr. sing.—The termination is -āyā in agāyā, anulāpāyā, -kāmatāyā, paṇṭhāyā, viśvāyā, sukuṇāyāyā, susāyā, while the final a is shortened, as at Gānār, Dhaulī, and Jaṅgāda, in agāyā, -kāmatāyā, paṇṭhāyā, viśvāyā, susāyā.

II. BASES IN -ī.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -ī.

Nom. sing. masc. vidiḥ, Sakyanunī; acc. plur. neut. tīrīṇi; loc. plur. nātiṣu.

The feminine base anusathī forms the nom. and acc. plur. anusathīni with the termination of the neuter.

(2) Feminines in -ī and -ī.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. vāḍhi, dhāti, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. liṭiṇi, vaḍhi (pillar-edict VI, B), anupāṭṭiṇi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. vaṭthāyā, anupāṭṭiṇāyā, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. anupāṭṭiṇiye, dhātiye, deviye.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. Kālūkāyē, deviye and deviye.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in gābhnī, sūkali, duṇi (also duṭi), liṇi (also liśī).

Instr. sing.—The final a is shortened in anusathāyā (also anusathīyā).

III. Masculines and Neuters in -u.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. mas. bhūkha and [bhūk]a, saḍhu and saḍhū, lahu; neut. bahu.</td>
<td>Neut. bahūṇi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>[bhū[']khun]a[ṃ].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. puṇṇāsasune, bahunā.</td>
<td>gulasu, bahāsnu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The loc. sing. is formed from a base in -na.

IV. Masculines and Feminines in -rī.

Nom. sing. apahārī and apahāra, niḍhaṇaṭā.

Gen. sing. māru. |
Loc. plur. pītisu.

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1 As in Pāli, the Skt. feminine pratiṇād has assumed the form pāṭipāḍā. Cf. Hēṃchandra, I, 15.
2 In Sanskrit the corresponding form is tiśrīḥu.
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V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

Nom. sing. masc. sahita, anupasāpajñitaḥ; cf. above, p. cx.

(2) Masculines in -yat and -yat.

Nom. sing. masc. kiyāh and kiya (Lauriśī-Nandangārī, Bhogavati). The base yāvat follows the a-declension: nom. sing. masc. āvate (Sārnāth, I. 5).

(3) Masculines and neuters in -an.

Singular. Plural.
Nom. masc. lājā, lāja. lājānē.
Acc. neut. nāma. kānmānī.
Instr. atanā, atana, lājina. lājīhī.

The instr. plur. follows the i-declension.

(4) Masculines and neuters in -in.


The final / of the nom. sing. masc. is preserved only in the Allahabad-Kōsam version, while all others read Piśadasi.

(5) Masculines and neuters in -as.

Acc. sing. neut. bhuyā.

The masculine chaṁdama- (= Skt. chandraama) and the neuter vayto- occur as first members of compounds. The base avīmanas follows the a-declension: nom. plur. masc. avīmanā and (with shortening of the final /) avīmanā.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Instr. sing. māmāyā and māmīyā, mana and mana, me.
Gen. sing. mana, me.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Nom. plur. tūpha; gen. plur. tūphabetān.

(3) Base ta.

Singular. Plural.
Nom. masc. and neut. se.\(^1\) Masc. te.
Acc. neut. tamin, st. Neut. tīnī.
Instr. tēna.
tēsaṁ, tānāṁ.
Gen. tēnu.
Loc. tēye.

(4) Base na.

Nom. plur. neut. nānī; see Text, p. 127, n. 10.

\(^1\) Moreover, the nom. sing. neut. she occurs in the Queen's edict, l. 4.
GRAMMAR OF THE PILLAR-EDICTS

(5) Base ेता.

Singular. Plural.
Nom. masc. ेसा; neut. ेसा, ेसा.
Acc. neut. ेताह.
Instr. ेतेना.
Dat. ेतेये.
Loc. ेतेस.

Nom. sing. fem. ेसा.

(6) Demonstrative इदम.

Nom. sing. neut. इयह; nom. plur. masc. इने, neut. इनानि; nom. sing. fem. इयह, acc. इमान.

(7) Interrogative pronoun.

The base कि forms the acc. sing. neut. किन (in किनति), किनानि or किहमान (see Text, p. 129, n. 5) and the instrumental *किन (in किनि, i.e.*किनुसू = पाल किनसू and Skt. kīnasit). The base का is used as demonstrative: nom. plur. neut. कानि (in पातको चा कानि; see Text, p. 127, n. 10) and acc. plur. masc. कानि (four times). The indefinite pronoun is formed with पि (= Skt. api) or चि (= Skt. chid); instr. sing. कनपो; nom. plur. neut. क्यानिकी.

(8) Relative pronoun.

Singular. Plural.
Nom. masc. and neut. ये, े. Masc. ये; neut. यानि.
Instr. येन, यना.

Nom. sing. fem. यानि.

(9) Base अन्या.

Singular. Plural.
Nom. masc. अन्ने; neut. [अ]न्ने, अना.
Gen. अन्नानि.
Loc. अन्नेसु.

The gen. plur. अन्नानि follows the analogy of the nouns in -ा (above, p. cxvil); cf. तभान for तभानि (above, pp. lxxviii and cxviii), तानि at Mānsehra, and the dat. sing. fem. ताये (above, p. cxvii), ताया and इमानि at Girnār, Kālsī, and Dhauli, ताया at Mānsehra.

(10) Base सर्वा.

Singular. Plural.
Nom. masc. सर्वे. सर्वे.
Loc. सर्वानि.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. इकी = Skt. इकिपि, fem. इकी; acc. sing. fem. इकानि.

Instr. masc. दुसेहि (from the base दुहि). The base दुहि appears as दु in the ordinal दुस्तिया or दुहिया, and in the compound दुपदा.

Two.

In the ordinary number, the base दोि appears as दो in the ordinal दोस्ति or दोहि, and in the compound दोपदा.

INTRODUCTION

Three, four, six.

Acc. neut. tiṇṇi; loc. fem. tisu. The bases chatur and shash form part of the compounds chatupada and asainmasika.

Twelve, fourteen, fifteen.


Twenty, &c.

visati, paniṇṇaṇasati, saduvāṣati, satavāṣati.

Hundred thousand.

Loc. plur. sata-sahasas.  

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(i) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

ROOT *argh (= Skt. argh): loghaṇti for *alagaṇṭi; cf. Skt. argha and Pāli agghati, and see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 993.

Root ikṣa: patickhaṇī, amcevhamane.

Root dṛśi: dekkhi.

Root bhū: ketti, kuvāti (sixth class).

Root vadd: paliyevadāḥa.

Root vah: avahāni.

Root vrūḥ: vunabhi.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root as: athi.

Root i: eti.

Root yā: yāti.

Root ṭās: anna[d]sāni (subjunitive).

Third Sanskrit class.

Root dhā: vidahāmi, upadahānu (which follows the a-conjugation).

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root pāda: anupatipajanāntu, &c.

Root pusha. The gerundive pusitaśiṣya is formed from the Sanskrit present pushyati.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root āp: pāpeva.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root tsh. The aorist icheśu and the gerundive icheśitāviṣya are formed from the Sanskrit present ichekhati.

Root kship: nikkipāha.

Root srīj: absolutive nisijitu (from the Sanskrit present nisipjati).
Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root grah follows the a-conjugation: amugahineva.

Root jītā. The future jānīsanītī and the infinitive ājānītav are formed from the present jānītī.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With aya: abhyunāmayehantā, saṁpāṇipādayata, pāyaminā (from pāyati = pāyeti; see Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s.v. pāvati), pālihāsayo, (future of the causative of Pāli bhāsati = Skt. bhrātyati; see Michelson, IF, 23. 202), ālādāhayanu, avāsaye, ṛiṇāsaye, viyāsaye, ṛiṇāsaye, pāṭi[vedayaṇītī*], pavatayevū, vāsvarṣayatevū.

(b) With pāya: jhāpayitavīyē and jhāpeteyīyē (from root kshāi). The long vowel of the roots jhā, dā, dhyā is shortened in anapayati, viyāpayitavīyē, samādāpayitavī, nijhapayisanītī, nijhapa-yitā, nijhāpayitave.

(c) With apāya: kālāpiṣṭa, [sa]nuñadhpāpiṣṭa and samariñdhāpayītī (from root *nadh = Skt. nuk, liñhāpiṣṭa, vī[sa]peteyī[ṛ], vīvāsāpayī, sāvāpayāmi.


(e) With āpāya: khānapāpiṣṭa, liñhāpāpiṣṭa.

(f) Denominatives: tālita and tuṭita (from Skt. trīyati), sukhaīta, sukhāyanā, sukhīyanā, dūkhiyan[ā], mukhāyīta.

(a) Moods.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. pātivekhami, vidahāmi.
3. sing. dekkhati, koti, vadoharti, ahi, eti, yāti, anapayati.
3. plur. lāghaññiti, dekhānti, saṁpāṇipādayatī, pāṭi[vedayaṇītī*].

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. āvahāmi, anu[ā]śāmi, sāvāpayāmi.
3. sing. huvātí (Śrāvastī, l. 6).
2. plur. nikkipāṭha, pāliyovadātha, viyāsāyātha, viyāsāpayāthā.

(c) Optative.

1. sing. abhyunāmayahantā; cf. above, pp. lxxxi, cix.
3. sing. siyā and siya, anu[pa]ṭipajaya, pāpya and pāpya (from the strong base prāpya), vaddhyā?
3. plur. jāvan, upadahevan, amugahineva, ālādāhayanu, pavatayevā.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. hetu; 3. plur. anupāṭipajamīntu.

II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle: kha, cādhihā.
3. plur. active: kusu, ichhisu.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. āka, āka, aha, the last of which is unreduplicated; see Michelson, IF, 23. 244.
IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. palībhasayita. Cf. likhāpayasaḥ at Gimbār.

3. sing. abhyunamsa, vadhisasa and vaddhisati, anupatipajiasa (from the present *pajjasati = Skt. padyati), sahajapajiasa and *pajjasati, chaghai (from root chak = Skt. šak), bh[ā]khati (= Skt. bhākṣyati), kachhati (see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1).

3. plur. patikhatisa, vadhisanita, kosanita and kohantita, pelivadisa, nātipanita, patikhatisa, patikhatisa (from root sni), dākanita, chaghai, kachhantita, jānīsanita (from the present jānāti), nījapayisa.

V. PASSIVE.

3. sing. indicative khādiyati, nīlakhiyatī, ganiyati (Queen’s edict, I. 4).

3. plur. indicative anuvādiyanta and *dhiyanta.

VI. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active: santha, anupatipajisanta.

Middle: anuvādihamāne, pēyaminā.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In -ta: mata (Delhi-Topa) and mūta (= Skt. mata), kāha, viyapata, tilita and tilta, maktvita, sukhyāta,1 anapita, kalāpita, sivāpita, lepāpita, khāpāpita, likhāpita, likhpāpita, atikha, ayata (i.e. ayāta), nikkha (= nikṣipta), viyata (= vyākta), yuta (= yuktā), badha (i.e. baddha), niudha (= niruddha), ādha (= *ārddha), pata (= prāpta), apakatha (= apakrishita), avada (= āsvada), &c.

(b) In -na: anāb[a]jīppanata, patiyāsanata and patiyāsanata, dānna (for *dēdīna; see Pischel’s Grammatik, p. 386).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In -tovya: hantovya, vitovya, vatovya, kathovya, ichctovya (from the present ichkhati), pusitovya (from pushyati), viṭāpaya and ḫāpaya (from the causative of khati), vās[ā]tovya. In nīlakhātova (= *nīlakshayatova) the causative character āya is neglected.

(b) In -ya: dekkhiya (from the present dekkhāti), ḫ[a]yīya (from root labh), avadhya and avadhya, dūpāvexha, dīsānupatpadya, ṛvāsaya (for *āvāsaya).2

VII. INFINITIVE.

bhetev (from root bhid), patikhatave, patichaliteve, ājanitave, ālādhatave, visvanisayitave, sanādapayitave, nījapayitave.

VIII. ABSOLUTE.

(a) In -tov: su[tu] (= Skt. srutvā), nisijita (from the present nīrijati), sanānīdhāpayitu.

(b) In -ya: āgācha (= āgatya), [ta]nīmanādhāpayīyā.3

1 In this form the causative character āya of the present subhayati is retained, as in ānapayāte at Kālā, ānapayīle at Mānschārā, and ānap[a]ya[ś]ta at Dhaulli.

2 The correct Sanskrit form would be āvāsaya; cf. the preceding note.

3 Cf. the two last notes and Pāṇini, VI. 4, 57, who allows both prāpya and prāya to be formed from prābāyati.
CHAPTER XI

GRAMMAR OF THE MINOR ROCK-INSRIPTIONS

The language of most of these inscriptions strongly resembles the Māgadha dialect of the pillar-edicts and of the Dhauli and Jaugarā rock-edicts. But, for practical reasons, it appears more convenient to treat the grammar of the minor rock-inscriptions in a separate chapter. The three Mysore edicts (Brahmagiri, Siddāpura, and Jatūgā-Rāmeśvara) exhibit a number of dialectical peculiarities and are therefore considered in a special sub-division.

I. THE FIVE ROCK-INSRIPTIONS AT RUPNATH, ETC., AND THE THREE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS

A.—PHONETICS

(1) VOWELS.

The vowel a becomes u after m in munīśā, and i after y in the future vadhisiti (Rūpnāth and Maski) = vadhatisi (Sahasrām and Bairā); cf. Śaurashṭra bhavissadi, &c., in Hemaçandra, IV, 275, and in the southern manuscripts of Indian dramas. For the e of hetā (Sahasrām) and for the i of munīśā see above, p. lxv. The abstract gālava (= Prākrit and Pāli gārava) presupposes the adjective gāla (= Skt. gūra), in which a corresponds to Skt. u; see above, p. lvi. For e = Skt. u in kha, see ibid. and n. 2. The diphthong au becomes o in moneya.

If becomes (1) a in katā, dakhātavīya, vadāh; (2) u in musā (= Skt. mṛshā), sun[s]yu; (3) i in adhikīcāya (= Skt. adhikītya), disṇā (optative of driṣyate). In adhāṭi[y]a (= Pāli adhāṭiya and Skt. ardhāṭītya) the syllable tri is lost, as in Ardhāmagadhī addhāṣja; see Geiger’s Pāli, § 65, 2, and cf. Pāli adhāṭikha = Skt. ardhāṭaturkha.

Interconsonantal a and i are lengthened in [a]hāta (= i) and chita-sitiṣke. Final a is lengthened in eva and vā (= Skt. eva), chā, hetā, dvā, [ṛkha]yāhā, h[u]nā, etenī, apalaṣkīya, &c. (below, p. cxxiv). Final i and u are lengthened before iti in saṅghastī ti, hisati ti, āsvadī tī, and final u which stands for ur in upadhā[y]aṇa.

Initial ā is shortened in ahā (Rūpnāth); interconsonantal i and u in misīktā (Maski), Jambudīpasī (= *dīpasī at Sahasrām), pāka[m]men[s] (cf. pavakaminnenā at Sahasrām), ekaṇavāsī (Barābara); final ā and i in lājā (Barābara) = lājā (Calcutta-Bairāt), sātā (Rūpnāth) = satā (Sahasrām), Pr[ī]yadas[ī] (Calcutta-Bairāt) = Piyadas[ī] (Barābara).

Initial vowels are dropped in pī (= Skt. api), smī (for *smī = Skt. asmi), kakā (for akhakā = akam), tī (tī, kīthi and kim, dāni (idānī), vu and vā (= eva).

(2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Intervocalic k is softened in adhikāya (Skt. = adhikāya) and appears to have become y in diyaḥkjā (= *dhikārkhya).1 gh is preserved in Lāghula (= Rākhula) and suggests that this name of Buddha’s son is derived from the ancient hero Rāhu. In kubhā (Barābara) = Skt. guhā, ‘a cave’, k and bh at first sight appear to correspond to Skt. g and h. But each of the two words may have a distinct origin. While guhā is connected with the root guh, ‘to hide’, kubhā may be related to kumbha, ‘a pot’ (originally ‘a cavity’), and Greek kōbā, ‘a hollow’ boat.”2

Lingual n is replaced by dental m throughout, but is improperly used at Calcutta-Bairāt in Alīya-vasīki (= Skt. Arīya-vasīki).

1 Cf. diyaḥka and diyaḥka, above, pp. lxxi and lxxxv.
2 The same root has assumed the slightly different meaning of ‘a round projection’ in Ancien Persian kaŋfo, ‘a mountain’, Avestan kaŋfo, ‘a mountain, the hump of a camel’, and Skt. kālubha, ‘a peak’; cf. kātu, ‘a peak, a hump’.
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Dentals are linguized in uḍālu (= Pāli uḍāra and Skt. udāra), dvēḍāsa, and after ṁ in kāṭa, vaṭhi. t is palatalized in adhīgīravya (= Skt. adhikṛtya). dh seems to be preserved in ṣaḍhāla (= idha at Gṛṅār = Skt. nyagrodha). ā becomes h in hutu, hosaṭi, kusu, deveti, ājīvīkēhī.
y is dropped at the beginning of dvēḍa (from Skt. yuvat), aṁ and e (= yat). The syllable ya becomes t in niyogha (= nyagrodha). aya and aye become e in ākāśa, lāt(ī)kāśeṣa, āuḍhēvē (read āuḍhēvatēve) and [ā]lādēkō[vē], abhrōdē[ti]hānī.

As in the Māgadha dialect, r becomes t; but it is preserved at Rūpān̄th in āuḍhēvē (read āuḍhēvatēve), chāra-thēte, chhaṣ[a]vāhārē, sāṭ[a]kēkānī (read sāṭrikēkānī), and at Maski in purē, [sāṭ]īre[vē].
v becomes p in apaladhīnē (Rūpān̄th) = avat[a]dēkēnē (Sahasrām). It is developed out of u in āvēn̄hā (Sahasrām) = vēn̄a[sa] (Rūpān̄th). ava and avē become o in -ovāde, hōn̄, hōsāṭi.
ś and s̄h have generally become s. But ś is preserved at Maski in Sāke (= Skt. Śakyaḥ) and is improperly used at Bairāt in svaga (= svage at Rūpān̄th); s̄h is preserved at Maski in vāṣ[a]nū.
In [chak]ēy and chakīe, t is represented by ch; cf. above, pp. 110 and 133.
k is prefixed in khaḍhēka (t.), hētā, hōvāh.

Final consonants are dropped. a (for ā) is shortened in saūta and -deva (Sahasrām, l. 2 f.).
as becomes e; see pure (= Skt. pūrāṇa), ve (ve = vaṣṭi), bhikṣāvini (nom. plur., atē, etc. It is represented by ā in esā (nom. sing. neut.), and by a in -[a]kēsā (t.), esa (nom. sing. neut.), vyāvataka and vaṅkata (Rūpān̄th).

Final a is nasalized in chāvī (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 2), while final Anusvāra is omitted in ima, iya, tūpaka (lot tūpākānī), ādiyāvē (Rūpān̄th), prakāśa, [bā]jīga, vaṭhī (acc.), vāpula, sogha[a] (acc.). The nom. sing. of neuters in -ā generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in -a; see phale, etc. The termination -aṁ is replaced by -ī in bāḡhī (Rūpān̄th, l. 1, 2); cf. ayī for ayīn in Shāhābārgī. The long nasal vowel āṁ is shortened in the termination (-aṁ) of the acc. sing. of feminines in -ā (below, p. cxvīi), and ima becomes i in dānī (= Skt. idānuṁ).

(3) SANDH.

Final m is preserved and doubled in havāmmeda (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 8).

a + a becomes a in -vaṣṭhēsīta, sāṭike, sāḍka[ke], aṭ[a]jōdāhatanī, jā[m]i[k]ā[s]āgama [t]. The ā which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in -[agama]thōta (t.), apaladhīnē and avat[a]dēkēnē, diyaṭhīyān; but the length is preserved in diyaṭhīyān (Sahasrām). Final ā is elided before u, e, o in chu (= cha-u), ekunāvāṭi, ma[h]aṭa[sa]nēva, Lāṅkū-ovāde.

(4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are ky, ty (which becomes cky), pr, rv, vy, sv.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in aliya (= Skt. aḍāra), paḷa[la]mānāṭu (= parākraśa), palakamānāṭu, paḷako[pi] [t., makara = maḥāmuni, Sāke and [Sa]dē [t.] = Śakyaḥ, abhiḥkīmān (= abhikāmānaya (= Skt. prākraśa), paḷako[pi]vāvē (from prāpūtēva, lāti (= rītrēti, sāte (= sātrētēm). A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in v[a]tēve (infinite of vach).

The long nasal vowel āṁ is shortened before consonants in paḷako[n]i[e] and Devaṁpīya (Rūpān̄th and Maski), but remains in Devān̄mīya (Sahasrām and Bairāt). In bhānī, a Buddhist term of address which stands perhaps for bhudānta (= Skt. bhadrānī tī, 'happiness to you'), the syllable de is elided. The nasal vowel āṁ is replaced by a length in ekunāvāṭi. Anusvāra is sometimes omitted after a; see the infinitive adhīgīravē (Maski), atā (Rūpān̄th) = avatā (Sahasrām and

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1 The same form is used in Ardhamāgadhī and Pāli. Cf. also [p]ule at Kālāsi, I, l. 3.
2 Also Pāli saddhīṁ = Skt. sādham, &c.; see Geiger's Pāli, § 22.
3 The Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in paka (= Skt. prākramāṇa). See Childers, Pāli Dictionaries, s. v. bhudanta. According to Hēmāchandra, IV, 287, bhānte is the Māgadhī voc. sing. of bhudanta.
Bairāt, ṭh[abh]e (but th[a][h]basi and thain[i][kh], pakaṃatu (s. plur.), [pala]kamatu (Bairāt) = po[la]kamaṇstu (Sahasrām), vayajanaṇa (= Skt. vaśajjanena). Aṛya-vasāṇī (= Aṛya-vaśāṇī), sake (= saṅghaḥ), ekha(sa)vachhare and sav[a]chhaie (= saṅghaṣavaraḥ). The final a of the first member of a compound is nasalized at Sahasrām in [wa]ṣani-drova and anahīsa[ṇ]-[de]vā (read amṇa).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is u before labials in duve, dvividasa, s[u]p[ʌ]k[x], sump; a in alahāmi, tālīkāḥkhetāvaya, vayajanaṇa; and frequently i, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the rock-inscriptions at Rūpṇāṭha. &c.

kt becomes t in ahkhita, &c.
ky remains in [chakhye (Bairāt), but becomes kiy in chakīya, sakiye, and k in saka (= Skt. sākyam)). Sāke and [S[a][h]e (= Śākyak). kr becomes k in pakaṃtu, po[la]kamaṇstu, &c.
kh becomes kh in khaḍaka, bhikku, bhikkunye, dakhitaṃya.1
ksh becomes khin in abhiṣikkinaṃ.
kha becomes kh = Skt. khaṇ (see above, p. lvi and n. 2).
gr becomes g in [nigohra] (= Skt. nyagrothah).
ji becomes jin in ḍaṇīnu.
ūch becomes inn in sapainā (= Skt. ṣatpaṇīḥdāsat; cf. paṇṇadasā, &c., in the pillar-edict V.
ṭe becomes ṭ in sapuṇāṃ. 
ṭh becomes k in saṃukṣe.
tu becomes t in mahata (= Skt. mahatman).
ty becomes cḥy in adhiṣṭhāya (= Skt. adhiṅkṛitya).
tr becomes t in tata, lātī, sūte, heta.
ṭv becomes ṭ in mahata (= Skt. mahatmatvāt).
ts becomes chh in ekha(sa)vachhare and sav[a]chhal.
ṭst becomes ṭh in [ṭṭhānānu].
ḍv becomes d in khudaka, bha[dak]e.
dev becomes duv in duve, dvividasa; d in ṭaṇbuddhapaśi, diyadhiyaṇi.
pr becomes p in p[at]eṭav (from Skt. prāṇātī)
pt remains in prabhāsa (Rūpṇāṭha) and in abhipretāna, prasāda, Pr[i]yada[s] (Calcutta-Bairāt), but becomes p in Piyadasi, &c., and perhaps ph in phāṣu = Vedic prāṣu (?); see Geiger’s Pāli, § 63, 1.
ṛg becomes ṣ in svage.
ṛṭh becomes ṭh in atka, and perhaps ṭh in [a]ṭhā (?).
rūḍh becomes dh in adhaṣṭ[y]ni, vadhīsati and vadhīsīti.
rūkhy becomes dhyi in apalāḥdyenā and ava[a]ḍhyenā; dhiy in diyāḥdyayin.
rūm becomes ṭn in dkaṃma (spelt dkaṃ at Maski, l. 5).
rūy becomes dhy in alūya (= Skt. ārya) and paliyāya.
rv remains in sarve (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 5), but becomes v in pavaṇa and pavaṇ[i][u].
rī becomes s in Piyadasī.
rūḥ becomes ṭh in vah[ṛ] (Maski, l. 2); s in vasa and saṃukṣe.
rh becomes lah in alakahī.
lp becomes p in ap[a]ḍhakatāni.
vy remains in vy[u][k]chena, but becomes viy in dakhitaṃya, vataṃya, vivaśtatav[ṛ][u], and vay in tā[v]iḥkhetāvaya and vayajanaṇa.
śn becomes ṣ in pasiṇe (= Skt. prāṇaḥ).
śy becomes s in the optative passive dīṣeyā.
śr becomes s in mīca and sācane.
śṭh becomes ṭh in vy[u][ha (Rūpṇāṭha); ṭh in viṣvutha (Sahasrām).
śhv becomes ph in tupaḥa (read perhaps tūphākar, as at Sārnāth).
śhy becomes s in Upanīta, muniṭa, vaṭhisati and vaṭhisiti, losti.
ṣt becomes ṭh in arhi and thain[i][kh]a (Sahasrām); ṭh in th[a][k]ha (Rūpṇāṭha).
sth becomes ṭh in chira-thātike and chīla-thātike.

1 See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

2 Cf. above, p. clii.
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sm becomes sum in sumi (= Skt. asmi); s in the loc. sing. in -asi.

sv becomes siy in siyā (= Skt. svā); s in the gen. sing. in -asa.

sv remains in svage (spelt svage at Bairāt), but becomes su in s[ə]gu[e] (Sahāsām).

B.—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neuters in -a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. atha, &amp;c.; neut. phala, &amp;c.</td>
<td>Masc. deva, &amp;c.; neut. bhavyāni, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. masc. saṅghāni, &amp;c.; neut. vīpulaśi, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. kālāya, athāya, ath[a]ya.</td>
<td>[ājīr]kehi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. mahatā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. Budhaśi, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the nom. sing. masc. yāvataka and the nom. sing. neut. lā[lī]bhadetavaya, viṅvatavā(vi)[vy] at Rūpānṭh, -a is perhaps only a clerical error for -e.

In the acc. sing. masc. saṅk[a] (for saṅghāni) and the acc. sing. neut. vīpula at Rūpānṭh, the final Anuvāra is omitted.

The final a of the instr. sing. is lengthened in apaladhīyenā, aval[a]dhīyenā, -ahīṣitenā, pa[ka]mam[m]tenā, palakamamtenā, vayajāyenā, vy[u]ṣṭhenā. At Barābara we seem to have a loc. sing. in -e: su[ŋ][e]ṛya. The final o of the nom. plur. masc. is shortened in -deva (Sahāsām, l. 3).

The Sanskrit masculines parṇiṣa, vānasā, saṅvatsara form the nom. and acc. plur. paliṣṭyāni, vasāni, [savasīkhalāṇi] with the termination of the neuter. The nom. plur. neut. has the ending -ā at Sahāsām (l. 6 f.) in lāṭi-śatā vivitāḥ; at Rūpānṭh (l. 5 f.) we have satā instead of satā.

(2) Feminines in -ā.

Nom. sing. kubhā, dinā; acc. sing. ap[a]bāḍukataṁ, phāśu-vihačataṁ; nom. plur. upāśikā, gathā.

(3) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Acc. sing. vaśhī; nom. plur bhikkunīye; loc. plur. povattī[va].¹

(4) Masculines in -at.

Nom. sing. kalaḥitaṁ; instr. sing. bhagavatā; nom. plur. saṅtā (for either saṁtā or saṁte).

(5) Masculines in -an.

Nom. sing. lājā, lāja; instr. sing. lājinā, ma[ха]tan[a].

(6) Masculine in -in.


C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. hakaṁī.

Instr. sing. manavā, hamiyāhe, [mē].

Gen. sing. h[a]maṇa, maṇe.

¹ The feminine parvati (= parvata) occurs in the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā; see Böhtlingk’s Wörterbund, s.v.
The genitive *mā[n]mā is a compromise between the usual form *mama or *mamā and the nom. *ham (for Skt. aham). With the instr. hanjāye cf. māniyāye at Jaugada.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Dat. plur. ve (= Skt. vak), which is used for the nom. at Maski (l. 7); gen. plur. tupakā (Rāpṇāth), which is probably a clerical error for tupākā (Sārnāth).

(3) Base ta.

Nom. sing. masc. and neut. se; acc. sing. neut. ta[n], se; nom. plur. masc. te.

(4) Base etā.

Nom. sing. neut. etā, etā, etā[se]; instr. sing. [etena], etena[n], etinā; dat. sing. etāye, etiyā; acc. plur. neut. etāni.

With the forms etinā and etiyā at Rāpṇāth cf. the gen. sing. etisa in the two Kāborāthī versions of the rock-edicts, and etishā at Kālā.

(5) Demonstrative idam.

Singular. | Plural.
---|---
Nom. masc. iyā[n], iyā; neut. iyāni. | Neut. imāni.
Acc. masc. ima[n]; neut. imāni. | 
Dat. [j]mēyā.

Nom. sing. fem. iyāni.

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

The base hi forms part of the conjunction kiini or kiti, and the base ka of the indefinite kekhi (nom. sing. neut.).

(7) Relative pronoun.

Nom. sing. masc. and neut. e; acc. sing. neut. ya, ahi; nom. plur. masc. yā, which follows the analogy of the nouns in -ā, and [ve]

(8) Base sarva.

Nom. sing. neut. sarva.

D.—NUMERALS

Two: nom. neut. duve.
Twelve: duvedasa.
Nineteen: ekṣaṇa sati.
Fifty-six: sapaṃjñā. For pannā = Skt. pāchāṣat, see Pischel's Grammatik, § 445
Hundred: sattā and sata (nom. plur.).

E.—CONJUGATION

(1) Present.

(a) Indicative.

3. sing. athi.

2. plur. [likhe[pa]yāṭa.

(b) Subjunctive.
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(c) Optative.
3. sing. adkhşach[ṛ]ya, iṣya, disya (passive).

(d) Imperative.
3. sing. horu.
2. plur. lekkhāpetu, [likkñhayatęha].
3. plur. pākamatu (for *māntu), pālakamāntu, jānāntu.

(a) AORIST: 3. plur. huru.
(3) PERFECT: 3. sing. āhā.
(4) FUTURE.
3. sing. kosati, vadhisati and vadhisiti.

(5) PARTICIPLES.
(a) Present Participle.
Active: kalavitaṁ, sañita (nom. plur.).
Middle: pahñam[ṛ]ma, pālamāmāna.

(b) Past passive participle.
In -ta: katu, pākata (= Skt. prakṛta), vy[ṛ]sha and viñtha (from vi-vas), &c.
In -na: dina (i.e. dinna); see above, p. cxxii.

(c) Future passive participle.
In -tvana: dakhitaevan, vatai, tu[ṛ]khapetavaya, vāsvesava[ṛ][va].
In -ya: sabiya and sak[ṛ]ya andachers.[ya.

(6) INFINITIVE.
adhyatava, t[ā]tave (from root vac), p[ā]tare (from Skt. prāpyati), pā[ṛ]m[ṛ]che (from *prāpyati; see Pischel’s Grammatik, § 504); ārodeva (read arādhetava) and [ā]r[ā]dhetava[ṛ].

(7) ABSOLUTIVE.

II. THE THREE ROCK-INScriptions IN THE MYSORE STATE

A.—PHONETICS

(1) VOWELS.

For vadhisiti and munisā, see above, p. cxxii. Skt. u is represented by a in gau (= gau). For o = Skt. u in kho, see above, p. lvi and n. 2. ri becomes (1) i in pakti (= prakṛti), piṣu (= pitrisha); (2) u in piṣu; (3) va in dhravyaḥ (from dṛhyati). au becomes o in poviya.

Interconsonantal a or i are lengthened in adhātiva (= Ardhamāgadhī adhākṛja; see above, p. cxxiii), upāyita (= Skt. upātta), chura-thitaka. Savasvajagirte, and final i, which stands for is, in pakti. Initial a and i are lost in pi, hakaṁ, ti.
(2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The three Mysore inscriptions agree with the Gîrnâr, Shâhbâzgarhî, and Mânsehra rock-edicts in retaining the letter ṛ, which has become i in the Mâgadha dialect.

Skt. ṣ is preserved in guṇa, pako[m]i . niṣa (read pakamaniṣa), pāṇa, ṭrinesu, mahāṅkāma, h[ṛ]kāreka, Suvâmanugirīte, śāvane, but is replaced by dental u in aṭhāṭīyâmi, khudaka, vaśâmi. It is used instead of u in Devâmanipiya (Brahmagirî and Jâtiṅga-Râmeśvara) = [Dev]â[n]īpiya (Sûddâpura) and corresponds to Skt. jî in ânapayati. 1

k appears to have become y in diyaḍhya (= dviyâdhya). bh becomes k in hoti, kusâmi, devēhi.

y is developed out of i in upaṭte and becomes ṣ before u in di[ś]hāvâse. ayt becomes t in ārāḍhāvâse. avu becomes ṣ in hoti.

ś and sh have become ṣ throughout; but ṣ is improperly used for s in [a]char[ś]vâda (Jâtiṅga-Râmeśvara) and sa[char]wi (Sûddâpura). h is prefixed in hevâmi and hevenâmi.

Final s becomes e in Suvâmanugirîte, athe, &c., but a in eṣa (nom. sing. neut.). Final Anusvâra is omitted in iya and bâṣha.

(3) SANDHI.

Final m is preserved, and the syllable va is dropped, in hevâmi (= Skt. ēvâmâvâ). Final a is elided before u in chu (= cha + u), and before e in mahâṭepâva. i + i become i in hîyanâ (Brahmagirî, l. 4).

(4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are ky, tm (which becomes tp), dv, pr, vy, sv, ky.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in ayaputasa, aṭhariya, avaradhâya, diyaḥdiyâmi, e[ś]yāta, but the length remains in ānapayâti, di[ś]hâvâse, pâpataxe (from Skt. prâtpotâ). mahâma, yathârâhāmi. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in cyâṭeva.

The long nasal vowel ân is shortened before consonants in [Dev]â[n]īpiya, prakâṁte and pakoṭte. Anusvâra is omitted after a in atē and savâchārâmi.

kt becomes t in rataviya.

ky remains in sakye (Brahmagirî), but becomes k in sake (Sûddâpura).

kr becomes k in pakama, prakâṁte and pakoṭte.

kṣ becomes bh in khudaka.

klh becomes bh in kko = Skt. khalu; see above, p. ivi and n. a.

gy becomes g in âragyâmi.

jī becomes t in nâṭkâ; ṣ in ānapayâti.

As in âṭa (= Skt. âṭman) at Gîrnâr, tm becomes tp in mahâṭpa (= mahâṭman).

ty becomes ch in sabhāni.

vṛ becomes t in ayaputasa, mahâmanâta.

vs becomes chh in sambhârâma.

dv remains in drakhyâryânti, but becomes d in khudaka.

dv becomes d in jânubâtpas and diyaḥdiyâmi.

pn becomes p in pâpataxe (from Skt. prâtpotâ).

pr remains in prakânta (Brahmagirî, l. 2), but becomes p in pakoṭte, &c.

rg becomes g in svâge.

rgt becomes gh in di[ś]hāvâse.

rû becomes on in Suvâmanugirîte.

vt becomes t in pavâvatâvâya; ṣ in kâtavîya.

vrh becomes th in âṭha.

1 Cf. Prâkrit ânvedi, and anapemi, anapita, &c. at Shâhbâzgarhî and Mânsehra.
INTRODUCTION

rth becomes dh in adhātīyāni and vadhīsiti.
rdhy becomes dhīy in avaradhīyā; dhīy in dyādhiyāni.
rm becomes nhn in dhammad.
ry becomes ry in ācharīya; y in ayaputasa.
rsh becomes s in vasāni.
rvh becomes rah in jathārahana.
vy remains in vyāthena and drakhyātayaḥ, but becomes viy in the remaining gerunds in -teviya (= Skt. -teviya).
śr becomes s in mīsa, sāvane, sāvste, sāvāpite, sūrī[v]teviya.
sht becomes tḥ in vyāthena.
shy becomes s in munīsā and vadhīsiti.
sth becomes ṭh in chira-thāṭke.
sṃ becomes s in the loc. sing. in -asti.
sy becomes s in the gca. sing. in -asa.
sv remains in svage.
hy remains in drakhyātayaḥ.

B.—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neuters in -a.

Singular. | Plural.
---|---
Nom. masc. ēthe, &c.; neut. phale, &c. | Masc. ēthīkā, &c.; neut. vasāni, &c.
Acc. masc. ekah, savahkaraḥ; neut. ārogi-
ṇāṇī, &c. | 
Instr. kālena, &c. | devēhi.
Dat. athēya. | 
Abl. avaradhīyā. | 
Gen. ayaputasa, pākamasā. | 
Loc. Isilasi, janaṇudipasi. | mahāmātāyāni.

The termination of the nom. sing. neut. is -ā in [līkhitā]ni (Jaṭāṅga-Rāmēśvara) = likhite (Brahmagiri), vataviyāni, sachaṇi.

(2) Feminine in -ā: nom. sing. parāyā.
(3) Feminine in -ī: nom. sing. pākīṣā.
(4) Masculine in -u: loc. plur. garṇ[u].
(5) Masculine in -ri: loc. plur. pituṣu (Brahmagiri) and pitusu (Jaṭāṅga-Rāmēśvara).
(6) Masculine in -an: The Sanskrit base mahātman follows the a-declension: instr. sing. mahātप[a]; nom. plur. mahātपā.
(7) Masculine in -in: instr. sing. anītvāsinā.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. hakah; instr. mayā, me; gen. mei (read me).

(2) Base ta.

Acc. sing. neut. se; nom. plur. masc. se.

(3) Base tā.

Nom. sing. neut. esā; dat. sing. e[ṛ]gya; nom. sing. fem. esā.
GRAMMAR OF THE MYSORE EDICTS

Singular.

Nom. masc. iyāṃ; neut. iyāṇi, iyā.
Acc. masc. inākā.
Instr. ininā.

Plural.

Masc. ina.

(5) Relative pronoun.

Acc. sing. neut. ya, yaṅi.

D.—CONJUGATION

(1) Present.

(a) Indicative: 3. sing. kṣiti, ānapayati.
(b) Optative: 3. plur. pākameyu, jāmeyu (which follows the a-conjugation).

(2) Aorist: 1. sing. hucāni.
(3) Perfect: 3. sing. āha.
(4) Future: 3. sing. vañhiditi.

(5) Participles.

(a) Present middle participle: paka[mi]ṇa (read pākamaniṇa), samāṇa (from root ar).
(b) Past passive participle: uṇaṣṭa (from uṇa-), prakāṇṭa and pākaṇṭa (= Skt. prakānta), vyūsha (from vi-vuṣa), &c.
(c) Future passive participle: vataṣṭiṇa, kaṭaṣṭiṇa, mākaṣṭiṇa (from the present drutyaṭi); apakṣaṣṭiṇa, pavaṭtiṣṭiṇa, susțiṣṭiṇa (from the desiderative of trn).

(6) Infinitive.

pāpete (from Skt. prāṉatī), drāḍhateve.
TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

I. THE GIRNAR ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1. (A) इत्य धंतलिपी तेवानंप्रियेन
2. प्रियदसिना राजा लेखायिता (B) इथ न किः
3. चि जीवं आरभिता प्रजीवितभये
4. (C) न च समाजो वतयर (D) कहुंच हि दोसम
5. समाजनः पसानि देवानंमिनो प्रियदसि राजा
6. (E) अति पि हु एकचा समाजा साधुमता देवानं
7. प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजे (F) पुरामहानसि
8. देवानंमिस प्रियदसिनो राजे अनुमिनं व
9. हृति प्राश्मतसहसानि आरभिषु सूपाश्वया
10. (G) से च्रिप यदा अर्थं धंतलिपी लिखिता ती एव या-
11. िा चारंगते सूपाश्वय हो मोरा एले मगो सो पि
12. मगो न धृवे (H) यने पि चि प्राश्व पद्धा न आरपिसे

1. (A) iy[am] dhamma-hiphi Devana[m]priyena
2. Priyadasinā rāṇā lekh[a]pita (B) [i]diha na kri-
3. chi jivam ārabhita pra[j]iitavyam
4. (C) na cha samājō katavyo (D) bahukaṁ hi dosāṁ
5. samājāmhi pasati Devana[m]priyo Priyadasi rājā.¹
6. (E) asti pi tu ekachā samājā sādhv-matā Devana[m]-
7. priyasa Priyadasino rāṇo (F) purā mahānas[amhi]²
8. Devana[m]priyasa Priy[a]dasino rāṇo anudivasām ba-

¹ Before rājā a superfluous ra seems to have been struck out by the writer.
² The first syllable of mahānasäft looks almost like ma, and sa like se. Originally mahānasę may have been written, to which mhi was added subsequently without correcting the se into sa. As noted by Bühler (EI, 2. 449, n. 10), a second mhi was added at the very end of the line.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

9 hūni prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni ārabhisu sūpāthāya
10 (G) se aja yadā ayanī dha[m]na-lip[ī] likhitā ti eva prā-
11 nā ārabhare sūpāthāya dvo morā eko mago so pi
12 mago na dhruvo¹ (E) ete pi trī prāṇa pachhā na ārabhisare

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality² has been caused to be written by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin.
(B) Here³ no living being must be killed and sacrificed.
(C) And no festival meeting⁴ must be held.
(D) For king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin sees much evil in festival meetings.
(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by
king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin.⁵
(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin many hundred
thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.⁶
(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being
killed (daily) for the sake of curry,⁷ (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, (but) even this
der not regularly.
(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) सर्वेऽति विजितत्विधि देवान् प्रियस प्रधानसिनो राजो
2 दशमौचित्सु यथ चेडा पादा सतियनु चेतलपुनो च वस्त्र-ना
3 पलंकी चतुर्विद्दोन्तराणा ये वा धि तस चतुर्विद्दो वस्त्राय
4 राजानो सर्वेऽति देवान् प्रियस प्रधानसिनो राजो वे चिकिण्ड काला

¹ dhruvo Senart and Bühler. There are two distinct strokes at the bottom of the dh, one of
which is u, while the upper one is probably r. Cf. the r of [A] ḭuhrā in the Girnār edict XIII, l. 9,
and of ḍrpaṛaṇaṁki in edict XII, l. 3.
² The literal meaning of dha[m]na-lipi (or dhra[m]na-lipi in the two Kāršīthi versions) is
‘a writing on morality’. To retain the sense of ‘writing’, I use the translation ‘rescript on
morality’ instead of ‘religious edict’ as the term was rendered by Bühler.
³ viz. ‘in my territory’. Cf. the rock-edict XIII, Q and R, and the Rūpniṭh rock-inscription, K.
⁴ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 93 ff.), D. R. Bhandarkar (JBRAS, 21. 395 ff.; IA, 42. 255 ff.), and
Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 394 ff.) have shown by quotations that this is the actual meaning of the
word sanāja, which Fischel (GGA, 1881. 1224 f.) had translated by ‘battie’.
⁵ This remark seems to refer to the representations mentioned in the rock-edict IV, B.
⁶ D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 257) quotes Mahābhārata, III, 208. 8-10, where we are told that
2,000 animals and 2,000 kine were slain every day in the kitchen (mahānāra) of king Rantidēva,
and that by doling out meat to his people he attained to incomparable fame.’ Cf. also XII, 29. 127 ff.,
and VII, 57. 16-18: ‘On the nights which guests spent with Rantidēva, the son of Sankrīti, 21,000
kine were killed. Then the cooks, who wore ear-rings of bright jewels, were shouting: “Eat ye
a lot of curry (śūka)! There is not so much meat to-day, as formerly!”’
⁷ Evidently on behalf of some members of the royal household who refused to turn strict
vegetarians.
SECOND ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king Dévānāmiṣṭha Priyadarśinī, and likewise among (his) borderers, such as the Chódas, the Páṇiyas, the Satiyaputas,7 the Keṭalaputas, even the Tāmrāparṇī,10 the Yōna king Antiyaka,11 and also the

1 Priyā Bühler.  
2 Thus Senart and Bühler, EI, 2, 449; Antiyovakata Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 95.  
3 Bühler (ZDMG, 37, 95) would read sāmināiḥ, which he considered to be a clerical error for sāmaññātā, the reading of the other versions of this edict. It is quite possible that sāmaññātā was the original reading of the rock, and that it was subsequently changed by the writer into sāmipaiś (or sāmī?). 
4 sarvatā Senart, sarvatā Bühler. 
5 yata Bühler.  
6 sarvatā Bühler.  
7 Bühler (ZDMG, 37, 98 ff) rejected Kern’s identification of this term with the Sātpurā range, and explained it by ‘the king of the Satvata’, whom he located in Western India. D.R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21, 398) compares Satiyaputa, for which the Kālṣ version reads Satiyaputa, with Sātpurā, a surname current among the present Marathas. Lüders (ZDMG, 58, 693 f.) has shown that the Pallī putta (= Skt. putra) at the end of compounds frequently means ‘belonging to a tribe’. He quotes as examples Andhakavennputta, Videhapattra, Bhojapattra, Milācautta, devaputta (cf. the feminine devadātā) and Skt. rājaputra.  
8 Keṭalaputa is perhaps a mistake for the reading of the Māṃstrā version: Kēralaputra, i.e. the king of Kērala or Malabar, the Kḥōbolpos of Ptolemy; see Lassen’s Ind. Alt., vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 188, note, and vol. III, p. 193.  
9 The syllable t cannot be the preposition tā, ‘as far as’, because the latter would require after it the ablative Tāmrāpani, as at Māṃstrā, XIII, Q. Lüders therefore explains it as an Ardhamārgadhī form of the Skt. relative yat; see SPAW, 1914, 831.  
10 Tāmrāparṇī (Tambapaṇi in Pāļi) is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon. It occurs in the Dipavānaṇa, and was known already to Megasthenes in the form Ταμποβδρν; see IA, 129 and 348. Besides, Tāmrāparṇī is the name of a river in the Tinnevelly district, which was known to the author of the Rāmdyaṇa (Bombay edition, IV, 41, 17).  
11 Kālṣ and Māṃstrā read Antiyova, the remaining versions Antiyaka. Antiochus II Theos
kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyaka, everywhere two (kinds of) medical treatment were established by king Devānāmpiya Priyadārsin, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) And wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1  (A) Devānāmpiya priyasī rājā evaṁ aha (B) bādāsavaśānāsānāttena mayā idānā aṁ[a]pītaṁ
2  (C) sāraṁ bijāṁ maṁ yutā cha rājāke cha prādaske cha pariḥchasu pariḥchasu
3  vāsesu anusaṁ.
4  yā[ā]na[m n]yāṭu etiyeva athāya imāya dhammānuṣastiya yathā aṁā-
5  ya pi kammay[a] (D) sādhu mātari cha pitari cha susrūṣā mitra-saṁstuta-nāṁnaṁ
6  bāṁhaṇa-
7  samānānāṁ sādhu u dānaṁ prāṇānāṁ sādhu anāraṁbho apa-vyayātā apa-bhādātā
8  sādhu
9  (E) parisa pi yute aṁapayisati gaṇañāyaṁ hetuṁ cha vyāṁjanato cha


1. For sāmanītā, 'neighbours', and its equivalent sāmipān, literally 'neighbourhood', see JBBRAS, 21. 398, IA, 34. 245, and AJP, 30. 185 ff. The 'neighbours' of Antiochus II were probably the four kings named in the Kālāṣ edict XIII, Q.

2. D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398 f.) remarks that chikitta means neither 'hospitals' (Bühlcr) nor 'remedies' (Senart); he translates it by 'provision or provident arrangement'.

3. priyasī Bühlcr.

4. mitra- looks almost like mitā-; see El, 2. 459, n. 47.

5. apabhāṅgata Senart, apabhāṅgata Bühlcr.
THIRD ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarṣin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the Yuktas, the Šrāvakas, and the Pradēśikas shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) The council (of Mahāmātras) also shall order the Yuktas to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) अतिकालां अंतरं चूकि वासस्तात्तै वेहतित्र एव प्राप्तेनस्मी विहिता स भूतानं जातिसु

2 असस्पर्शिती भास्पस्वस्वारमं वसस्पर्शिती (B) त अश्व देवान्ध्रियस्म प्रियदिनिः

3 धा.रणरणेति भेरीपोती अहिः धांमधोसो विद्यासंस्था च हसिदस्या च

1 For yuta = Sāskrit yukta, 'an officer', which occurs in the Kautūlya, see Thomas in IA, 37. 21, JRAS, 1909, 457, and 1914, 387 ff., and cf. the terms śuyuktaka and viniyukta in the Valabhi inscriptions (Fleet's Gupta Inscrip. p. 169, notes 4 and 5).

2 Bühler (ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.) showed that this term means originally 'a field-measurer' (from rājju, 'a rope'), and is the designation of a revenue settlement officer. In the Kautūlya, the two terms chōra-rajjua (p. 60) and chōra-rajjukā (p. 232) seem to mean something like 'police' and 'police officer', respectively. Cf. I. J. Sorabji, Notes on the Arthasāstra, p. 10 ff., and Jolly in ZDMG, 71. 228.

3 Thomas (JRAS, 1914, 383 ff., and 1915, 112) compares this term with pradeśāhī in the Kautūlya, which is, however, a nomen agentis of the verb pradēsati, 'to direct', while pradeśika is derived from the substantive pradeśa. Kern (JRAS, 1886, 393) translated pradeśika by a provincial governor. In Kalhana's Rajatarangini (IV, 126) pradeśikeśvara means 'a provincial chief'. A reference to the first separate edict (Dhauhl, Z-CC; Jaujala, AA-DD) suggests that the Pradeśika of the third rock-edict may have belonged to the class of the Mahāmātras, and that Pradeśika-mahāmātra would mean 'a provincial high officer'.

4 Cf. Fleet in JRAS, 1908, 821.

5 Cf. the Dhauhl separate edict I, CC.

6 This sentence has been successfully explained by Thomas, IA, 37. 20.

7 Bühler translated pariṣad by 'school', and in edict VI by 'committee'. K. Jayaswal (IA, 42, 283) has drawn attention to the occurrence of the term mantri-pariṣad, 'the council of ministers', in the Kautūlya. This meaning fits admirably both here and in the rock-edict VI, F.

8 I follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 839) in the translation of the difficult words gāṇānāyanaḥ hetu cha syaṇjanato cha. For syaṇjana cf. my note on the translation of the Sārnāth pillar-edict, section 1.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

4 

5 

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1 (A) atitśatam ain[a]ram bahūni vāṣa-satāni vañhito eva praṇāraṁbhho vihīṁśa cha bhūtāṇaṁ niḥśi

2 [a][s]aṁpratīpāti bra[m]haṇa-sraṇāṇaṁ asaṁpratīpātī ¹ (B) ta⁴ aja Devānāṁpriyasa Priyadasino² rāño


4 agi-kh[a]'ndhini cha [a]'nāni cha divyāṇī rūpaṁi dasayitpā janaṁ (C) yārisc bahūhi v[as]a-satehi

5 na bhūta-puve tāriṣe aja vaḍhīte Devānāṁpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo dhāṁma-nusāṣṭyaṁ anāraṁ-

6 [b]h[ō] prāṇāṇaṁ avihīśa⁵ bhūtāṇaṁ niḥśiṁrī samāṭipati brahmaṇa-sraṇāṇaṁ samāṭipatiṁ mātāriṁ pitarī

7 [s]ususāsa thiṁra-sususāsa (D) csa aṇe cha bahuvide [dha]jīma-charaṇe va[dhi]te (E) vadhāyōsa cheva Devānāṁpriyō

8 [Pri]*ya[da]sĕ rājā dhāṁma-[cha]raṇān idāni (F) putrā ca [p]otrā ca prapatrā ca Devānāṁpriyasa Priyadasino rāño

¹ The syllable pa was inserted subsequently.
² This syllable was inserted subsequently.
³ The syllable da was inserted subsequently.
⁴ dasanā Senart and Bühler.
⁵ The syllable hi was inserted subsequently.
⁶ The first syllable of lines 8 and 9 (pri and pra) is invisible on my materials and is taken from
the plate facing ASWI, 2. 102.
FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

10 (G) [e]sa hi seste kāṁme ya dhammānusāsanan (H) dharama-charane pi na [bha]yati asīlasa (I) [ta] imamhi athamhi
12 [no] 5 lochetavyā (K) dādasā-vāsābhisītena Devān[a]ṁpriyena Priyadasinā rāḥ[a] idam lekhāpitaṁ

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king Devānāṁpriya

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1 See note 6 on previous page.
2 savaṭa- Bühler.
3 Between thā and ya the rock shows a vacant space which may be due either to a natural fissure or to an erasure.
4 There is a vacant space between hi and ni.
5 Instead of no the plate facing EI, 2, 452 shows the syllable ni, which seems, however, to be due to retouching. Kern (IA, 5, 251 and 262) preferred to read nolochetavyā.
6 For former translations of these words see my remarks in JRAS, 1911, 785 ff. I now adopt the explanation of D. R. Bhandarker (IA, 42, 25), who says: 'The sound of a drum invariably precedes either a battle, a public announcement, or the exhibition of a scene to the people. But since Asoka entered on his career of righteousness, it has ceased to be a summons to fight, but invites people to come and witness certain spectacles; and as those spectacles are of such a character as to generate and develop righteousness, the drum has thus become the proclaimer of righteousness.' Cf. the Girnār edict X, A, and the third note on the translation of it.
7 D. R. Bhandarker (p. 26 f.) suggests that the aerial chariots were exhibited in order to induce people to practise morality and thereby to become qualified for such celestial abodes. The elephants (kathini at Dhauli) he explains as representations of Buddha in the shape of a white elephant; but we may also think of the celestial elephants, which are the usual vehicles of the four Mahārājas or Lokaśalas. In the 'masses of fire' Bhandarker finds an allusion to the fire-pit of the Khadirāṅgāra-jātaka. But according to Childers, Pāli Dictionary, p. 18, aggikkhandhi is 'used figuratively of a person of brilliance and distinction'. To the three quotations which he gives from the commentary on the Dhammapada may he added Mahāvagga, I, 16-18, where the guardians of the four directions, with Indra and Brahmā, are stated to resemble 'great masses of fire' (mahantā aggikkhandhā). Consequently, the expression 'masses of fire' (aggikkhandhi) in the fourth edict has perhaps to be taken in the sense of 'radiant beings of another world'. Thomas (JRAS, 1914, 395) would render agnikkhandhā by 'bonfires'; but this meaning is precluded by the subsequent words 'and other divine figures'. In editing edict IV, Prinsep (JASB, 7, 266) quoted Mahāvagga, XII, 34, where Buddha's sermon on the parable of aggikkhandha (Aṅguttara-nikāya, ed. Hardy; part IV, p. 128 ff.) is referred to. With divyāni rūpāṇi cf. devā in the Rūpniṭh edict, E. See also above, p. 2, n. 5.
Priyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin will promote this practice of morality until the aera of destruction (of the world),1 (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality (and) by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been caused to be written, (viz. in order that) they2 should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that the neglect (of it) should not be approved (by them).3

(K) This was caused to be written by king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: GİRṆAR

1 (A) Devānāmpriyo piyadāsi rājaya evam śāh (B) kalaśaṃ tūkṣaṃ (C) yo śādikāro 
kalaśasāti sō tūkāṃ karoṇiti

2 (D) t maya bha kalaśaṃ kāē (E) t mas puṭa ā pītā ā parā ā teṇā yā sā apāṃ 
śāv sāntakāpa śāntāvatisāṃ api

3 sō muṇkāṃ kāṣāti (F) yā tu āt ūtāṃ pī haṃsāsāti sō tūkāṃ kāṣāti (G) muṇkāṃ 
ḥi pāṃ (H) śāṣṭikāṃ bāṃtāṃ

4 n bhūṣyavā pāmāmāsāmānā tām (I) n maya devṣatāsāmāsīśātanām pāmāmāsānā 
kāē (J) ṭe saṃvāsaṃśādām āpyaṇa śāmā斯塔nāy

5 . . . . . . . . . . . . . pāmāmāsācā bē koṅkāmāgarānāṃ ristākāpiśākānāṃ yā yā 
pī ṭuṣāṃ śāpyaṇā (K) bhāṣāṃśu v


2 Hereby the successors of Áśoka appear to be meant; cf. section F, above.

3 In the rock-edict XIII, section X, lochetū at Kāḷīṣt corresponds to rochetū (from Skt. rōchāyati) at Shāhābāgarhī. Here, however, we find forms of the verb lochetū in all versions. Probably these are pure Māgadhisms at Gīrṇā, Shāhābāgarhī, and Mānsehra, where forms of rochetū would have to be expected. The same applies to section E of the rock-edict XIV, where [a]lochetā at Gīrṇā and alochetī at Shāhābāgarhī correspond to alochayitu at Kāḷīṣt.
6. सुलाय धनमयान अपरिगोधाय आपता ते (L) वधनवस पर्तिकालागय
7. प्रजा कातानीरेतु वा चैरेतु वा आपता ते (M) पार्तिक्यु च चाहिसु च
8. वे वा पि मे ाजे अतिसार सर्वत्र आपता ते (N) यो अर्थ
9. धनमनिषिनी ति च
10. ते धनमहामाना (O) एतान्य एत्य एकन्य धनमलिपि लिखिता

1. (A) D[e]vānaṃpriyo Piyadasi rājā ¹ evaṁ āha (B) kalapaṁ dukaraṁ (C) y[o ādikaro] kalap[a]sa ² so dukaraṅ karoti
2. (D) ta maya bahu kalapaṁ kāṇaṁ (E) [a] mama putā cha pota ³ cha paraṁ cha tena y[a] me [a]rachāṁ āva sarvāṣa-kapā anuvatiṣa tathā
go
3. so sukaṁ kaśati ⁴ (F) yo tu etasān pi hāpesati so [du]kataṁ kaśati (G) sukaraṁ hi pāpā[m] (H) atikataṁ aṁtaraṁ
4. na bhūta - pravya ⁵ dhanīma - mahāmātā nāma (I) ta m[ā]ya traidasavāsābhiṣa[tena] dhanīma[m]-mahāmātā kata (J) te sava-pāsāṃdesu vyāpata dhāmadhistānayya ⁶
go
5. [dha]jīma-yutsaha ca Yona-K[a]mba[ja]-Ganārānām ⁷ Ristikā Pe[ntikānam] ye va pi a[sh]h[a]e a[paratā ⁸ (K) bhatamayesa va
6. [su]khā[ya dhanīma] - yutānām apar[i]guddhāya vyāpata te (L) ba[m]ha-anada-badhasa ⁹ paṭīvidhānaya
go
7. [p]raja ¹⁰ kataśhikāresu va thairesu va vyāpata te (M) Pāṭalipute cha bāhiraṁ ¹¹ cha
8. [y]e va pi me aṁre nātikā sarvata vyāpata te (N) yo ayam dhanīma-nisrito ti va
9. [r]e [dha]jīma-mahāmātā (O) etāya ¹² athāya ayam dhanīma-liṭi likhita
10. ————-

¹ There is a vacant space before and after the syllable rā.
² ye a . . . . . kalāpesa Senart and Bühler.
³ potrā Bühler.
⁴ The Kāśi and Dhauli versions read correctly se sukataṁ kuchhanti. As Michelson (AJP, 32. 441) suggests, the Girnār reading may be a corruption due to the influence of the next sentence.
⁵ Read -pruvāṁ, which is Senart’s reading; -pruvāṁ Bühler.
⁶ The other versions read dhanimādhi⁵. ⁷ Yona- Bühler.
⁸ aparatā Bühler.
⁹ The na of bāhīdhana was inserted subsequently.
¹¹ Read bāhīresu, which is Senart’s and Bühler’s reading.
¹² The syllable ya was inserted subsequently.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadasīn speaks thus.

(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.

(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.

(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.

(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the end of destruction (of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.

(F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.

(G) For sin is easily committed.

(H) In times past (officers) called Mahāmātras of morality (Dharma-mahāmātra), did not exist before.

(I) But Mahāmātras of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.

(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōpas, Kambojās, and Gandhāras, the Risticas and Petēnikas, and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).

(K) They are occupied with servants and masters for the happiness of those who are devoted to morality, and in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money) (if one has) children, or with those who are bewitched (i.e. incurably ill?), or with the aged.

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1 i.e. the Greeks, Kābulis, and north-western Panjābīs; see ASSI, I, 123, n. 1, and, for the Kambojās, Weber, Indische Streifen, 3, 353 ff.; and JRAS, 1911, 801 ff., 1912, 255 ff., 1915, 171.

2 Bühler (ZDMG, 37, 261) identified the Ristikas with the Rāṣṭikas of the Rāmāyaṇa. But Rāṣṭika is probably a clerical mistake for Rāṣṭika; see my note on the translation of the Shāhībāzgarhi edict V, 1. According to Michelson (IF, 24, 52 ff.), Petaṇika stands for *Paitrayanika. Dhuāli reads Piṭinaika, and the two Kharoṣṭhi versions read Piṭinika. The same tribe is mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, P; see my note on the translation of the Kālīsi version of that passage.

3 In Senart's and Bühler's translations the word apara, 'western', is disregarded; but it is noticed by Senart in IA, 20, 240. For ainta see the Kālīsi edict I, 3, and XIII, 1, 6; Rūpānātha, Sahāsārā, and Bairāt, H; Brahmaṇī and Śiddāpura, I; and the second separate edict at Dhuāli and Jaugāda. Later on Aparantā became the designation of a tract of land on the western coast, the capital of which was Sūpārā; cf. EI, II, 220.

4 The m between bhata (Sanskrit bhāṣita) and aya (Sanskrit ārya) is euphonic; see Franke in GN, 1895, 533 ff., and cf. Kuhn's Pāli-Grammatik, p. 63 f., and Windisch, Berichte der Sachsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1893, 240 f.

5 Instead of aparirogadha other versions read aparikvidha, for which see my note on the translation of the corresponding passage at Kālīsi. Thomas has traced the substantive palividha, 'desire', and the participle palividha (= parividha), 'desirous', in Buddhist Sanskrit works; see his valuable article in JRAS, 1915, 99 ff.

6 Cf. bhūśātha-bodhonā muninānāni in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict IV, L, which renders Bühler's translation of this passage very improbable.

7 Cf. hirānaya-pātiśrīhāno in the Girnar edict VIII, E, and Lüders in SPAW, 1914, 840.

8 With kāsibhārā Senart compares abhikṣiptārī, 'female demons who are' bewitchers', and abhināshārīrī, 'devising (against others)', in the Aṣṭāvākṣa. Bühler (EI, 2, 408) translated 'overwhelmed by misfortune'; cf. his remarks in ZDMG, 48, 35.
(M) They are occupied everywhere, both in Paññātipura and in the outlying
...... and whatever other relatives of mine (there are).

(N) These Mahāmātrīs of morality ......... whether one is eager for
morality

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) देवा ............... सि राजा एवं आह (D) अतिकां च कतरं
2 न भूमधुष सि लेजयकने व परिवेदनाचा वा (O) त मया एवं क्षण
3 (D) सवे काले मुंज्यान्ना मे औरोधनिधि गभाराधि चवचि व
4 चिन्तितां च उदाहरणे र सर्व परिवेदका स्तुता अष्टे मे जनन
5 परिवेदके इति (E) सर्व च जनन अष्टे कोपिम (F) य च किंचि मुखो
6 आज्ञपास्यम लंग दापके वा वासात्मके या य वा पुन महामाधिमु
7 आज्ञाचीकरे अरोपित्र अभवति तत्य अज्ञाव विवादी निन्दी च संतो परिसायम
8 आज्ञाने परिवेदकमे सर्व च जनन काले (D) एवं मया ज्ञापितम (H) नासिन हि
9 मे तासो
10 उज्ञानिः अभसंतीर्काः ता (I) कलयमेन हि भे सवलोकित्तत
11 (J) तत्व च पुन एतम मूलेस्व उस्तानाः च अयसंतीर्काः ता (K) नासिन हि कंतरं
12 सवलोकित्तत्म (L) य च किंचि पराक्रमामिः अहं विंचि भूतां अनां गंगेयं
13 इत्यां नान्य शुक्लापास्यम पर्वते च स्वान आराध्यं तु (M) एताय अज्ञाय
14 अभयं धर्मिय्यले लेखापिता विंचि चिंचि निष्ठेय इति तथा च मे पुना पोता च
प्रेमचा च

14 अनुवारं सवलोकित्ततम (N) दुरं तु इतं अज्ञ अग्न भराकरमेन

1 (A) [Dvā] ............... [S]ि राजा एवं आह (B) अतिकां च कतरं
2 na bhūta-prav[.]. [S]ि [V]... [I]... athisa-kaṁme va paṭivedanā va (O) ta mayā
evāṁ katarāṁ
3 (D) s[ajvē kāle bhumi[a]mānasā me orodhanamhi gabhāgāramhi vachamhi va
4 vinitāmi cha uyeśu cha savatra paṭivedakā śṛta athe me [ja]nasa
5 paṭivedetha iti (E) sarvatra cha jananasa athe karomi (F) ya cha kiṁchi mukhato
6 āhāpayami svayaṁ dāpakaṁ va śrāvāpakaṁ va ya va puna mahāmātreṣu
7 āchāy[ke] aropitāṁ bhavati tāya athāya vivādo niḥhati v[a] saṁto parisāyam

1 nisīte = Pāli nissita and Skt. *nīṣṭitah (Senart). For jo ayah cf. my note on the translation
of section L of the Kālṣi version of this edict.
* Read -purva; -puṇa Senart, -purva Bühler.
* Restore saṁte kāte.
* An apparent *-mark is attached to the bottom of ji.
* āchāyika Senart and Bühler.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

8 ānāṃtaram āgni[ya](v)yaṁ me sa[r]vatru sarve kāle (G) evaṁ mayā āñāpitāṁ (H) nāsti 1 hi me to[s]o
9 uṣṭanamhi atha-saṁtiṣṭānaṁ va (I) katavya-mate hi me sa[rva]-loka-hitam
10 (J) tasa cha puna esa nule uṣṭanamhi cha atha-saṁtiṣṭānaḥ cha (K) nāsti hi kahīmatārim
11 sarva-loka-hitapā (L) ya cha kiṁchi parākramāmi abhim kiṁti bhūtānāṁ ānāṁśaṁ gachheyaṁ
12 idha cha nāni sukhāpayāmi paratā cha svagāṁ āradhayam ita 2 (M) etāya athāya
13 ayaṁ dhā[ṇa]mā-līpi lekāhpita kiṁti chiraṁ tiṣṭeya iti tathā cha me putrā pota cha prapotra cha
14 anuvataram 3 sau-loka-hitāya (N) duk̐aram [t]jā idām añaṭra 4 agena parākramena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devanāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.
(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).
(D) Reporters are posted everywhere, (with instructions) to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, even at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the parks.
(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.
(F) And if in the council (of Mahāmātṛa) 8 a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, 9 in connexion with any donation or proclamation 10 which I myself am ordering

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1 An ancient fissure of the rock, which extends from l. 8 to l. 11, must have existed already at the time when the inscription was incised. This would account for the spaces which were left vacant by the engraver after nāsti in l. 8, -loka- in l. 9, kahīmatā in l. 10, and ānāṁśaṁ in l. 11.
2 Read ti.
3 Senart and Bühler correct anuvataram. Pischel (GGA, 1881, 1331) and Bühler read anuvata-rāṁ, which the former considered to be an imperative like duhām in the Atharvaveda. Cf. Johansson’s Śāhābhāṣgarhi, 2, 89 ff. The ra certainly resembles rā; but the same applies to the ra of pātaraṁ in the Gīrīṁ rādīc IX, l. 8, and of samachairāṁ in XIII, l. 7, where the reading rā is impossible.
4 aṅkā Senart and Bühler.
5 Cf. Molesworth’s Marāṭhī Dictionary, s.v. gābhrā.
6 The locative vachamhi (= vrahastī in the two Kharoshṭhī versions) is generally rendered by ‘in the latrine’. But Skt. varikhas does not mean ‘in a latrine’, but ‘ordure’. As, in the rock-edict XII, M, vacha or vratha probably corresponds to Skt. vraja, ‘a cowpen’, it may be taken here in the same sense. Establishments for cattle-breeding are kept up by Kujas and their governments even in the present time.
7 With vinīta cf. Skt. vinosakta and vinosata; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 277.
8 See above, p. 5, n. 7.
9 saha is a nominative singular absolute. Cf. my note on the translation of the Kālīśī rock-edict VI, F.
10 Bühler (ASSI, 1, 123) rendered nighatā by ‘fraud’. This translation seems to be due to an oversight; it would suit the former misreading nikati, but not the actual reading nighati. Lüders (SIW, 1933, 1019 f.) has shown that the Sanskrit equivalent of this word would be nīkhatītī, ‘inducing to meditate’, i.e. in the present case, ‘moving a repeated consideration’.
11 Cf. the Delhi Toprā pillar-edict VII, K and M.
verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the
Mahāmārtras, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz.) that it may last long, and that my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons may conform to this for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) Devānāmpiyō Piyadasi rājā sarvata ichhati save pāsaṁda vasyeyu (B) save te sayamay cha
2 bhāva-sudhiṁ cha ichhati (C) jano tu uchāvachechhaṁdo uchāvacha-rāgo (D) te sarvaṁ va kāsaṁti eka-desam va kasa[m]i
3 (E) vip[u]le tu pi đane yasa nāsti sayame bhāva-sudhitā va kataṁñatā va daḍha-bhati[t]ā cha nichā bāḍham

1 K. Jayaswal (IA, 42: 283) quotes the Kautilya, p. 29, l. 12: चालिकव्य चालिक च मात्रविश्वास्य मार्गविश्वास्य चालिकव्य चालिक च मात्रविश्वास्य मार्गविश्वास्य ‘in the case of an emergent matter the ministers and the council of ministers shall be called and told’.  
2 With atka-sainātraṇā cf. tilitya-dānya in the pillar-edict IV, L.  
3 I adopt Bühler’s explanation of kaṁmataraṇā as a comparative of karman.  
4 Franke (GN, 1895, 537) has shown that both in the Aśoka inscriptions and in literary Pāli kiṁti means ‘that, in order that’. Cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauli separate edict I, B, and the rock-edict XIV, D, where kiṁti at Girnar, Dhauli, and Jaugada corresponds to yena at Kāśi, Shāhbaṅghari, and Māneṣhā.  
5 The form nāṁ occurs again in the pillar-edict V, C, and in the Queen’s edict, l. 4; nā in the Kāśi edict XII, C. The pronoun na may be derived from Skt. ēna, and ska, which corresponds to it in the two Kharoṣṭhī versions, from ēha.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devanâmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) (For) all these desire both self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) Either they will fulfil the whole, or they will fulfil (only) a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.¹

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) अतिकांत अंतरं राजानी विद्यार्थान जयसु (B) एत माग्या चार्जनि च एतार्थीन
2 अभिरामकानि आहिंसु (C) सो देवान्तप्रियो विपदसि राजा दस्तवसाधिनि सति जयाय संवाली
3 (D) तनेशा धनम्याता (E) एतत्त होति बामशसम्यान दस्ति च दाने च चैरान दस्ति च
4 हििरिया विभिधानो जानपदस च जनस दस्तपं धमानुसस्ती च धमापरिपुष्टा च
5 तदया (F) एता भूया रत्न भवति देवान्तप्रियस्म प्रियदर्शिनो राजो भागे अन्त्रे

1 (A) atikātān āhātaraṁ rājāno vihāra-yātāṁ nāyāsu (B) etā magavyā ahaṇi cha etārīṣāni²
2 abhiramakāṇi ahuṁsu (C) so Devānāṁpriyo ² Piyadasī rājā dasa-vāsabhisīto ¹ saṁto ayāya Saṁbodhiṁ
3 (D) tenēsa dharmā-yātā (E) etayaṁ hoti bāṁhāṇa-samaṇaṁ dasaṇe cha dāne cha thairānāṁ dasaṇe cha[a]
4 hirāṁa-paṭiṇādānā cha jānapadasa cha janaśa daspanāṁ dharmāṇus[a]sī cha dhama-paripuṣṭa cha
da
5 tadopayā (F) esā bhūya rati bhavati Devānāṁpiyasa Priyadasino rāṇo bhā[g]e amīne

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past kings used to set out on pleasure-tours.⁷
(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).

¹ The translation of this section follows Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 844. He identifies nīcā with the Vedic adverb nīcā. The variant nīcē at Dhauli and Jaujaeta may correspond to Skt. nīcāth or nīcāh.
² "sāni.
³ "pīya Bühler.
⁴ "vāsā" Senart and Bühler.
⁵ "jānasa" Bühler.
⁶ Read daspanāṁ, which is Senart’s reading; daspaṁ Bühler.
⁷ Michelson (JAC, 31. 245) explains nāyāsu = *nirayaṁuh in the sense of nīrayaṁuh. See also Fleet in JRS, 1908. 488, n. 2.
(C) But when king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years, he went to Śambodhi.1

(D) Therefore these tours of morality (were undertaken).2

(E) On these (tours) the following3 takes place, (viz.) visiting Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold,4 visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).5

(F) This second period6 of the reign of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.7

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) dēvānāmpriyaḥ priyadarśin rashaj ev ś)aḥ (B) ś)aśiti jñani uchāvaṁcām mangalaṁ karoṭe śāvamāgataḥ va

2 śāvamāgataḥ va pucchāmeṣu va pravāsaṁrīṣaḥ va ēvaṁcām ca añgasaḥ ca jñani uchāvaṁcām mangalaṁ karoṭe

3 (C) ēvaḥ tu mahādāyas ca bhūvāṁcām ca bhūvāṁcām ca niśrāṁcām ca mangalaṁ karoṭe (D) taṁ kṣamayate tu mangalaṁ (E) śarpakalant tu ṣo

4 ēvaṁcām mangalaṁ (F) ēvaḥ tu mahādāyas mangalaṁ yā pārmanāgalaṁ (G) tāṁ tāṁ saṁbhavati gṛhāḥ śarpakalant saṁbhavati saṁbhavaṁ
dānam ēvaṁ uchāvaṁ pītā v

1 D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 162) suggests that this word may refer to the sacred spot (at Bōdh-Gayā, south of Pāñcāla) on which the Buddha attained to perfect knowledge. Aśoka’s visit to the bōdhī-tree is described in the Dīpavāśadosa (ed. Cowell and Neil), p. 393. His visit to the Boddha’s birth-place is recorded by himself on the Rumminḍī pillar.

2 The singular esā dāśaṁayātā seems to be used in the sense of the plural, just as vihāra-yātāṁ in section A.

3 Bühler (EI, 2. 457, n. 95) explained etayāṁ by eto ayāṁ. As ayāṁ is used for the neuter idam in the Girnār edict IX, F, and XII, II, it may as well stand for eto ayāṁ; cf. Michelson in JAOS, 31. 238.

4 Cf. above, p. 10, n. 7.

5 With tadopaya Senart compares the Pali words tadupiya and opuyika. Franke (VOJ, 9. 345) connects it with epagga in the rock-edict II, B, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, R. Previous translators (except Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 845) have construed this word with the next section.

6 Hitherto the two words bhāge aṁhe and bhāge aṁhe at Kālṣī and Dhauḷi have been taken as locatives = Pali apara-bhāge. As Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 990) remarks, this is impossible, because in the eastern dialect the two locatives would end in -asi.

7 The word bhya (= bhuye in the remaining versions) is perhaps an adverb, as bhuye in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, KK and NN. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 846) takes bhuya-rati to be a Karmadhāraya compound, which he connects with esā, and bhāge aṁhe to be locatives. But esā need not be a nom. sing. fem., but may be a nom. sing. masc., as in the Girnār edict XIII, I, and may as such be connected with bhāge aṁhe, as [r]eṣe at Kālṣī and eṣe in the two Kharoshthi versions.
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6 पुनः वा भाषा वा स्माकिलेन वा इति साधु इति कत्य नागर्लां भावं तस्म अस्स स्नितःनाय (I) ऋति च यिति विुति

7 साधु इति इति (J) न तु एतां (स्माकिलेन दानं व अन्नन्हो ज भारिकं धम्मदाणं इति (K) तु तु कौ मिशन व सुहद्येन इति

8 जातिको व सहायन व सोवार्तनिं तत्विह तत्तत्विह पकारसे इदं चचं इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति

9 स्वगं आराधेतु इति (L) वि इमिना कत्यातरं यथा स्वगर्धिः

1 (A) Dovānāmpriya Priyadāri rājā eva aha (B) asti jano uchāvachani maṅgalaṁ karote ābāchhesu vā

2 āvāha-vivāhesu vā putra-lābhesu vā pravāsaṁhī vā etamhi cha añ̄amhi cha jano uchāvachani maṅgalaṁ karote

3 (C) etu tu mahi-ciyo bahukam cha bahuvidham cha chhudaṁ cha nīrath[ām] cha maṅgalaṁ karote (D) ta katavyameva tu maṅgalaṁ (E) apa-phaλaṁ tu kho

4 etārisaṁ (F) maṅgalaṁ (G) ayaṁ tu mā[ā]-phaλe maṅgale ya dhārma-maṅgale (G) ta[te]ja (H) dāsa-bhātakamhi samya-pratipati gurūnāṁ apachiti sādhu

5 pānesu sādhu bhūmaṇa-samāpaṇam sādhu dānaṁ (C[a]) cha aṅ[a] cha etārisaṁ dhārma-maṅgalaṁ nāma (I) ta vatavyaṁ pitā vā

6 putena vā bhātra vā svāmikena vā idam sādhu idam katavya (J) maṅgalaṁ āva tasa athasa nistānāya (I) asti cha pi vutah

7 sādhu dāna (J) iti (J) na tu etārisaṁ asta (K) dānaṁ vā ana[ga]ho vā yārisaṁ dhārma-dānaṁ vā dhāmanugahoh (K) ta tu kho mitrena vā suhādayena [v]ā

8 nātikena vā sahāyana vā ovādityaṁ tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe [I] dānaṁ kachāṁ idam sādha (I) iti iminā sak[a] (I)

9 svagam ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha iminā katavyacayan yathā svagāradhi

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dovānāmpriya Priyadāriṁ speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, or at the marriage of a son or a daughter, or at the birth of a son, or when setting out on a journey; on these and other (occasions) men are practising various ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

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1 Read Bühler.
2 Read maṅgalaṁ, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
3 Read etārisaṁ.
4 Read mā[ā]-phaλe.
5 Read sādhu; daraṁ Bühler.
6 Read dānaṁ.
7 Read asti, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
8 Read anugahoh.
9 Read dhāmanugahoh Bühler.
10 Read nāṭaṁ.
11 The syllable ra looks almost like ṛā.
12 sak[a] Bühler.
13 Radhi Bühler.
(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.
(E) But ceremonies like these bear little fruit indeed.
(F) But the following practice bears much fruit, viz. the practice of morality.
(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.
(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say:—'This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained.'
(I) And it has been said also: 'Gifts are meritorious.'
(J) But there is no such gift or benefit as the gift of morality or the benefit of morality.
(K) Therefore a friend, or a well-wisher, or a relative, or a companion should indeed admonish (another) on such and such an occasion:—'This ought to be done; this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.'
(L) And what is more desirable than this, viz. the attainment of heaven?

**TENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR**

1. (A) देवानाम्पियो भ्रमरीमि राजा यसो व कीति व न महाभावहान्य सजते जयत तदाव्यो दियाय च मे जनो
2. धम्मसुसृतं सुसृतं स्त्रयुम्भं च अनुविधियतं (B) एतकाय देवानाम्पियो भ्रमरीमि राजा यसो व कीति व इति
3. (C) यथा तु किचः परिक्रमात्त देवानाम्पियो भ्रमरीमि राजा त सवं परा बिषयः किचः सक्ते अणपरिष्वेन तस्म (D) एता तु परिष्वेन व अणेजः
4. (E) दुकां तु शो एतं छुट्टने च जनेन उसेते व जनार जगेन पराक्षेते सवं परिवर्जिते यह (F) एता तु शो उसेते दुकांर

1. (A) Devāṇāmpiyō Priyadasi rājā yaso va kiti va na mahābhāvahā[ā] mañāte ।
2. añata tadāpāno ' dīghāya cha me [ja]no
3. dhāmma-susrū[ṛ]ṇaḥ susrusaṭaḥ dhāmma-vuṭaṁ cha anuvidhiyataṁ (B) etakāya
4. Devāṇāmpiyō Piyadasi rājā yaso va kiti va i[chha]ti

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1. The word 'sādhna' after 'apachītī, sasotam, and -samaśāna' is missing in the other versions. It seems to have crept into the Girnar text, because the person who drafted the latter had in his mind passages like the rock-edict III, D.
2. Bühler (ZDMG, 48. 57 f.) has traced the two terms 'dhāmma-dāna' and 'dhāmmanuṅgaha' in the Itivuttaka.
3. A number of instances in which a comparative is construed with the instrumental (instead of the ablative) have been collected by Pischel, GGA, 1881. 1332.
4. *priyā* Bühler.
5. An obliterated dr is visible between the syllables st and rā, and an obliterated ṛ between rā and jā.
6. mañāte Bühler.
7. Read, with Kern (Jaartelling, p. 87), tadāpāno.
9. *sattāni* Senart and Bühler.
3 (C) ya[m] tu kich[j]1 parik[a]mate 2 Devanām 3 Priyadasi rājā ta savaṃ pāratrikāya kihit sakale [pa]-parisrave 4 asa (D) esa tu parisrave 5 ya apunānaṃ

4 (E) dukaraṃ tu kho etaṃ chhudakena va janena uṣaṭena va añatra agena parāk[r]amena 6 savaṃ pariṣhijṭā (F) et[a] [j] u kho uṣaṭena dukaraṃ

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṃpiṭha Priyadarsin does not think that either glory or fame 7 conveys much advantage, except (on account of his aim that) in the present time, and in the distant (future), 8 men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality. 9
(B) On this (account) king Dēvānāṃpiṭha Priyadarsin is desiring glory and fame.
(C) But whatever effort king Dēvānāṃpiṭha Priyadarsin is making, all that (is) for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.
(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.
(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim). 10
(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult 11 to accomplish for a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) देविनिंशियो पियदिसि राजा वि शाह (B) नालिस एतारिसं दाँत याः पिरिसं धंमदां प्रथमानवो व धंमसंविबानो व धंमसंवेयो व
2 (C) तत इदे वित्त दास्मक्षिहि सम्यक्षिप्ती माति पिटा साधु मुहुसा मितसम्लक्षिकान्म वाम्हलसम्यखनं साधु दानं
3 प्राणाण ज्ञातरभि साधु (D) इदे यात्वं पिटा व युक्त व भाति व भिंतससुतं जालिकेन व शाव परविेविवशेषः इद साधु इद यात्वं
4 (E) मो तथा करु दलोकलस शायो होिि परत च चलाने रुद्र भविन तेन धंमदानेन

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1 kichi Bühler.
2 Read parākamate; parākamate Senart, parākamate Bühler.
3 Add 'priya.
4 appa- (probably a misprint) Bühler.
5 parisrave Bühler.
6 parākama Senart and Bühler.
7 i.e., as shown by Bühler (ZDMG. 37. 575), glory in this life and fame after death.
8 Instead of tadātmane dighāya cha the Jaugāda version has the synonymous expression tadātmane dyati cha, which occurs also in the Kautilya, p. 248, 1. 9 (tadātmane dyati cha), and p. 249, 1. 2. For numerous examples of abstracts formed with the Prākrit affix -tvana or -stava, see Pischel's Grammatik. p. 405.
9 With this passage cf. the Gimrād edict IX, E, F, and XI, B, and the Shāhībāzgarhī edict XIII, P: 'And this conquest is considered the principal one by Devānāṃpiṭha, viz. the conquest by morality.'
10 I adopt Fleet's translation of the last words in JRAS, 1909. 1014, n. 4. The usual translation, renouncing everything, is improbable because Aśoka nowhere advocates absolute poverty, though he recommends moderation in possessions in the rock-edict III, D.
11 The Jaugāda version reads dukulastate for dukaraṃ.
ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) Devanāmpriyā 1 Piyadasi rājā evaṁ āha (B) nāsti etārsam dānam yārisam dharma-dānam dharma-saṅstavā vā dharma-saṅvibhāgo [vā] 2 dharma-

2 samightho 3 va


4 (D) prāṇānaṁ anāraṁbhavo sādhu 6 etā vatavyam pitā va putrena va bāhā[ṇa] va mita-

5 sastut[ṛ]-nāṭ[i]k[ṛ]ṇa va āva paṭiṇesiyehi 6 ida 7 sādhu ida 7 ka[tṛ]ya[m]

6 (E) so t[a]kha karu 8 ilokachāsa āradho hoti para cha amaṁtiṁ 9 puṁśaṁ 10 bhavati tene dharma-dānena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devanāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, or acquaintance through morality, or the distribution of morality, or kinship through morality. 11

(C) Herein the following are (comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintance, and relatives, to Brahmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals. 12

(D) Concerning this 13 a father, or a son, or a brother, or a friend, an acquaintance, or a relative, (or) even (mere) neighbours, ought to say: ‘This is meritorious. This ought to be done.’ 14

(E) If one is acting thus, 16 the attainment 18 of (happiness) in this world is (secured), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

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1 Read Devanāpiya, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
2 va Bühler.
3 Read -saṅvībhago.
4 Read pitarī, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
5 -samaṇanai Senart and Bühler.
6 paṭi Senart and Bühler.
7 idaṁ Bühler.
8 Read karunī, as in the Girnār edict XII, F.
9 Read anamitaiṇi.
10 puṁśaṁ Senart and Bühler.
11 The two expressions dharma-dāna and dharma-saṅvībhago occur in a passage of the Itivutaka; see Bühler, ZDMG, 48, 57 f.
12 The other versions omit the superfluous word sādhu after pitarā, -samaṇanai, and anā-

13 raṁbhavo; cf. above, p. 17, n. 1.
14 Cf. the Delhi-Topra pillar-edict VII, C, I, and RR.
15 Cf. the Girnār edict IX, H and K.
16 Senart and Bühler take karunī as a nominative absolute. According to Michelson (JAOS, 31, 244) it is a participle formed of a stem which is a compromise between karo- and kuru-

17 In the Girnār version āradho seems to be used as a substantive, just as āradhi in the Girnār
edict IX, L, and alokih in the Dhauhi separate edict I, S, and the Jaugada separate edict I, T. In the other versions of the rock-edict XI the wording is slightly different.

D 2
1. (A) देवानामपिये पियदसि राजा सर्पासंधाने व पबबितानि व वरसानि व 
पूजयति दानेन व विवाधय व पूजय पूजयति ने 

2. (B) न तु तथा दानं व पूजा व देवानामपियो मंजी यथा किन्तु सारवदी अस 
सर्पासंधानं (C) सारवदी तु बहुविधा 

3. (D) तस तु इदु मूलं य विशुगुणी किन्तु आयामपासंध्रूणा व परापासंढरंहा व नो 
भवे इस्करषिः लहुका व अस 

4. तन्न स्थिर क्रियाते (E) पूजयतात्ता तु व वर्षासंढरं तेन तन प्रकरणेः (F) एवं काने 
आयामपासंढ व बहुविध्य व वर्षासंढरं व उपाकरित 

5. (B) तरंजत्रा करोती आयामपासंढ व स्तहिक य स्तहिक परापासंढरं व पि प्रकरणेः (H) षो 
हि कोठिः आयामपासंढ बहुविध्य व वर्षासंढरं व गर्हित 

6. सर्म आयामपासंढसत्तिः किन्तु आयामपासंढ दीपयेम्य इति सो च पुनः तथ्य करतो 
आयामपासंढ वादतर उपनानाति (I) न समवायो च वायु 

7. किन्तु त्रावर्तसं धम्न्य मुखार्ये च सुत्तुरे च (J) एवं हि देवानामपियो इत्य तिति 
सर्पासंढः बहुविधा व असू कलावागाम च असू 

8. (K) ये च च तथ तत प्रस्ताना तेंदु हजरत (L) देवानामपियो नो तथा दानं व पूजा व 
मंजी यथा किन्तु सारवदी अस सर्पासंढानं (M) बहुका च एताय 

9. ऋषाय भावता धनंजयामाता च इधिच्छस्वमहामाता च वच्चूलिका च चुके च 
नितपा (N) गार्भे च तत्तस फलस च आयामपासंढवर्ती च होति धम्नस च 

पीपिये प्रयद[र]सिर राजा सर्पासंढानि च पबबितानि च परसानि च 
पूजयति दानेन च विवाधय च पूजय पूजयति ने 

2. (B) न तु तथा दानं च च च च दानां च पूजा व देवानामपियो मंजी यथा किन्तु सारवदी अस 
सर्पासंढानं (C) सारवदी तु बहुविधा 

3. (D) तस तु इदु मूलं य विशुगुणी किन्तु आयामपासंध्रूणा व परापासंढरंहा व नो 
भवे इस्करषिः लहुका व अस 

4. तन्न स्थिर क्रियाते (E) पूजयतात्ता तु व वर्षासंढरं तेन तन प्रकरणेः (F) एवं काने 
आयामपासंढ व बहुविध्य व वर्षासंढरं व उपाकरित 

5. (B) तरंजत्रा करोती आयामपासंढ व स्तहिक य स्तहिक परापासंढरं व पि प्रकरणेः (H) षो 
हि कोठिः आयामपासंढ बहुविध्य व वर्षासंढरं व गर्हित 

6. सर्म आयामपासंढसत्तिः किन्तु आयामपासंढ दीपयेम्य इति सो च पुनः तथ्य करतो 
आयामपासंढ वादतर उपनानाति (I) न समवायो च वायु 

7. किन्तु त्रावर्तसं धम्न्य मुखार्ये च सुत्तुरे च (J) एवं हि देवानामपियो इत्य तिति 
सर्पासंढः बहुविधा व असू कलावागाम च असू 

8. (K) ये च च तथ तत प्रस्ताना तेंदु हजरत (L) देवानामपियो नो तथा दानं च पूजा व 
मंजी यथा किन्तु सारवदी अस सर्पासंढानं (M) बहुका च एताय 

9. ऋषाय भावता धनंजयामाता च इधिच्छस्वमहामाता च वच्चूलिका च चुके च 
नितपा (N) गार्भे च तत्तस फलस च आयामपासंढवर्ती च होति धम्नस च 

1. Read vividhaya, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler. 
2. The writer had originally written tasa tasa, but he scored out the first sa and the second ta. 
3. The syllable sa in -pasamahä was inserted subsequently. 
4. The syllable praka looks almost like ha; the horizontal stroke attached to pa is probably intended for r. Cf. abhipretaḥ near the end of the Calcutta-Bairat rock-inscription. 
5. Read tena. 
6. pasamahäni Bühler.
TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRRAR

6 savarāṃ ātpa-pāśāṃda-bhatiyeṣaṃ kinti ātpa-pāśāṃdaṃ dipayema iti so cha puna tatha
kārāto ātpa-pāśāṃda[m]ī bāḍhataram upahanāti (I) ta samavāyo eva saḍhu
7 kinti [a]ṃnamāṇāsaṃ dhāmaṃmā śrūnāsaṃ cha susumṣeraṃ cha (J) evam hi
D[ā)vānaṃpīlyaṃ asaṃ kinti sava-pāśāṃdaḥ bahu-srūta cha asu kal[a]māgamā
cha [a]su
8 (K) ye cha tatra tataḥ prasaṃmā tehi vatavyaṃ (L) Devānaṃpīlya no tatha dānaṃ
va pūjāṃ va maṃnate yathā kinti sāra-vācāṃ asa sarva-pāsādānaṃ (M)
bahakā cha etāya
9 athā vyāpatā dhāmaṃ-mahāmātā cha iḥīṣhakha-mahāmātā cha vacha-bhūmikā cha
aṅge cha nikāya (N) ayaṃ cha etasa phala ya ātpa-pāśāṃda-vācāḥ cha hoti
dhāmaṃmā cha dip[a]nā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānaṃpīlya Priyadārsin is honouring all sects; both ascetics and
householders; both with gifts and with honours of various kinds he is honouring them.

(B) But Devānaṃpīlya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as
(this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But a promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one’s) speech, (i.e.) that neither praising
one’s own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or
(that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is both promoting his own sect and benefiting
other sects.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and
wronging other sects as well.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out of
devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting
thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore concord alone is meritorious, (i.e.) that they should both hear and
obey each other’s morals.

(J) For this is the desire of Devānaṃpīlya, (viz.) that all sects should be full
of learning, and should be pure in doctrine.

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1 śāda- Bühler.
2 Read karoto.
3 mahaŚ Senart, aśiṅa Bühler.
4 Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1336) proposed to read semeru. But the form srūnāra is probably an
imperative; see Introduction, chapter VI.
5 susunṣera Senart, susuṣera Bühler.
6 The syllable ti was inserted subsequently.
7 tate Bühler.
8 pūjā Senart and Bühler.
9 Read bahukā.
10 The cha after sava-pāśāṃdāni is superfluous; see Bühler, E.I, 1:19, n. 42. It is missing in
the other versions.
11 Instead of vachi-guti the other versions read vachi-guti. With vachi cf. the Ardhamāgadhī
from vai in Pischel’s Grammatik, § 413.
12 The readings shavae at Kālisi and savae in the two Kharos̱ṭhī versions show that savau at
Girnār is the nom. sing. neut.; see Franke in KZ, 34. 412.
(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects) ought to be spoken to¹ (as follows).

(L) Devānāmpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(M) And many (officers)² are occupied for this purpose,³ (viz.) the Mahāmātras of morality, the Mahāmātras controlling women,⁴ the inspectors of cowpens,⁵ and other classes (of officials).⁶

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) jā kalimga va
vade satyadharmam tathā
haut bhūnavamkalī māna (C) tatha pada śākhasa lalāguru kalimgaśu teviśi pambavāye

2 sacyo devānampriya va
vacho va marśe va
ōpavohi va janaśa te āda dhanam mahuṃ ca devānampiṣaḥ s

3 chāmha śa samśe śa khaśe
sa maṭhī pitarī
surūṇa gṛtānumaṁ śimatamālājatādikṣet tu dāsan
daśa

4 ādibhāṣaḥ ca bhinnakṣaṇa (I) chasem ca p
haya jatikṣa vasyān prāśaśini tāt tāt śo pī tesa upaśyāḥ hātan (I) patibhāgāṁ
cēsa samb

5 kāśiśe nākāya śastra yonēṣu
śrī vaṣa naśī
gāravam anāśamū bhāssdhitī nāma prāśādō(Κ) yaavytō janaśa tāna

6 bāhagayō gahamāsi devān
n y sakā chasitēte
(C) ya ca pī abhātāvātī devānampiṣaḥ pṛjātya pāti

7 cha tesa devānampiṣaḥ
sakāryānāṁ ṛddhiṁ ca
saham ca saṃberiṁ ca mādāv ca

¹ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 586) noted other instances of the dative plural in -ehi at Jaunada (-saman-ehi, III, l. 3, and mahāmātehi; VI, l. 3), and at Kāśi (mahāmātehi; VI, end of l. 18). See also Mānsehrī, VI, l. 28, and XII, I. 7, and dīvīkhehi in the second and third Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

² As pointed out by Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 849), the two words bakukā cha, which previous translators had connected with section L, are in reality the first words of section M.

³ For the dative athā ( = athāya), see the Delhi-Tōpā pillar-edict VII, W, and E. Müller's Pali Grammar, p. 67.

⁴ With iṭhājikhaka cf. ganākādyakṣa, 'the overseer of courtesans', in the Kauṭilya, II, 27.

⁵ Bühler (EL, 2. 410, n. 18) suggested that vvaccha (= vraccha at Mānsehrī) may be a Prākrit form of vrja, 'a cowpen', and compared gavākṣaka, 'the overseer of cows', in the Kāmasūtra, p. 290, I. 1. Cf. also godākṣaka in the Kauṭilya, II, 29. For the abbreviation of j in vraccha cf. vṛčchā and vṛjācchā (from Skt. vṛjātī) at Śahbhāṣgarhi, XI, XI, S, and VI, L.

⁶ The Delhi-Tōpā pillar-edict VII, Z, mentions officers whose special duty it was to attend to Buddhists, Brahmānas, Ajviktas, Nīgrantaḥ, and other sects.
8. लाघो' नमित्य इध सवेशु च...योनराज
9. परं च तेन चन्दरी राजनी तुराशो च भीतिक च मणम च
10. इध राजविस्वयम्भ योनकंबो..धपारिणसु सवत
11. देवानिमित्य धमानसस्ति धमास..अनुसारे (♂) यति पि तृती
12. बिजयो सवष्य पुन विजयो पीतिततो सा (♀) तप्त चा पीती होति धमानीविजयः
13. ‘प्रियो (♂) एताय ध्रुवाय अर्थ धमाल..वं विजयं मा विजेतथं मंगं सरस्ये एव विजये हाति च
14. निको च पार्तोकिको इत्यकिक च पार्तोकिकाच

1. (A) fi Kalininga [v. j.] [v. dhi]e [sa]ta-sahasra-mātram
2. tatā hataṁ bahu-tāvatakaṁ mata (C) tatā pachhā adhu[ṃ]na2 ladhesu Kalingasū [u]j o dharmāvayo
4. apavaho va janasa ta3 bādhahā vedana-mata4 cha g[u]r[u]-mata4 cha Devā[napā]
5. bāmhanā va samana va ahe [sa mātr[ī] pitarī susumā
guru-susumā4 mita-sanātasa-sahāya-nātike[sa]7 dāsa{bhā}
6. abhiratānam va vinikhamana (H) yesam va [p.]
7. .[h]āya
8. nyātiyā vyanamaṃ prapunati tata8 so pi tesa9 [u]paghāto hāti10 (I) paṭībhal[ga]jo
9. chesā [sava]
10. sti ime nikāya aṇatā Yono[sa]11 [mh]i yatramāṃ sti
11. manusanā12 ekataramhi pāsamadhami na misma prasā[d]o (K) y[a]vata[k]o
12. j[ano ta]d[ā]
13. sra-bhāgo va gaur-mata[p]o Devānaṁ
14. na ya saka15 chhamitave (M) ya cha pi aṭāvya D[e]vānapriyasa[sa]11 pijte15 pāti16

1. mataḥ Bührer.
2. adhanā Bührer.
3. taṁ Senart and Bührer.
4. mataḥ Bührer.
5. mataḥ Senart and Bührer; the horizontal stroke on the right of t seems to be intended for r.
6. susūta Bührer.
7. Read -sanistā-, which is Bührer’s reading.
8. tatā Senart; tatra Bührer.
9. tesāḥ Senart and Bührer.
10. Read hōti, which is the reading of Senart and Bührer.
11. yo nesa Senart; Mānehrā reads Yoneshū quite distinctly.
12. maṇa Bührer.
13. sakāν Bührer.
14. Two old fissures of the rock, the first after pi and the second after sa, run on to the next line, where they divide the word samachairāṇi into three parts; ‘priyasa Bührer.
15. Read vijite.
16. Read hōti.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

7  chate te[s]a' kh Devānahāpiyasa  sava-bhūtānām 1  
achtātiṁ 2 cha sayamaṁ cha samachairāṁ 3 ch[a] mādava 4 cha  
[Yō̱na-rāja 5 paraṁ cha tena oṭāpuro rājano Turamāyo cha [A]mt[e]k[ī]na 6  
cha Māgā cha  
9  idha rāja-vi[s]a[y]amhi [Y]o[na]-Kambo  mādha-  
Pāriṇādesu 7 savata Devānahāpiyasa dhamānus[a]ṣṭiṁ anuv[a]kare (S) yata  
pi dūṭi 8  
10  [na]ṁ dhamaṁus[a]ṣṭiṁ cha dhamaṁ anuvādhiyare 9  
[v]ijayo savathā puna vijayo piti-raso sā 10 (U) ladhā sā piti hoti dhamma- 
vijayamhi  
11  ni[p]riyo (X) et[ya athā]ya ayaṁ chaṁma[-]  
[v]alḥi vijayaṁ mā vijetaṁ manānā 11 sarasake eva vijaye cchāti 12 cha  
12  kik[o] ch[a pā][lo]k[ī]k[ko]  ilokikā cha pāralokikā 13 cha  

TRANSLATION

(A) the Kaliṅgas  
(B) one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, (and) many times as many those who died.  
(C) After that, now that (the country of) the Kaliṅgas has been taken, a zealous study of morality 14  
(D) [the repentance] of Dēvānahāpriya  
(E) slaughter, death, and deportation of people, this is considered very painful and deplorable by Dēvānahāpriya.  
(G) Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, [or] other obedience to mother (and) to father, obedience to elders to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, [to] slaves or deportation of (their) beloved ones.  
(H) [companions] and relatives are then incurring misfortune, this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons).  
(I) This is shared [by] all  

1 -bhātānāḥ Bühler.  
3 An old fassure of the rock, between chha and tūṁ, runs on to the two next lines of the edict.  
6 samachairāṁ Senart, samachārāṁ Bühler.  
8 mādavaḥ Bühler.  
9 Aṣṭakāṇa Senart, Aṃtekinā Bühler.  
7 The apparent r-stroke attached to dha is probably meant for r; śidha-Pr[ī]rīṇidesu Bühler.  
9 Read dūṭā.  
10 se Bühler.  
11 mākā Bühler.  
12 cchāṭi[ṇ] Bühler.  
13 Between pāra and lo a rough portion of the rock was left blank by the writer.  
16 Instead of dhānmaṇḍya Shāhībārgahī seems to read dhrama-śalana, the practice, or study, of morality. Hence Senart is probably correct in explaining dhānmaṇḍya by dharmāvāya.
(J) these classes except among the Yōnas.

(K) As many people as at that time part is considered deplorable by Dēvānāḥpriya.

(L) what can be forgiven.

(M) And even the forests which are (included) in the dominions of Dēvānāḥpriya.

(N) They are of Dēvānāṃpriya.

(O) towards all beings abstinence from hurting, self-control, impartiality, and kindness.

(Q) has been won by Dēvānāṃpriya here and among all the Yōna king, and beyond him four kings, (viz.) Turamāya, Antekina, Magā.

(R) here in the king’s territory, among the Yōnas and Kambōjas among the Ajdhras and Pārindas, everywhere (people) are conforming to Dēvānāṃpriya’s instruction in morality.

(S) Even where the envoys and the instruction in morality, are conforming to morality.

(T) this conquest, a conquest (won) in every respect (and) repeatedly, causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) This satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.

(W) Dēvānāṃpriya.

(X) For the following purpose this [rescript] on morality should not think that a [fresh] conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them, mercy.

(Y) in the other world.

(AA) both in this world and in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1. (A) अथवंधमर्मिण्ये देवानिषिणे मियतस्मिना राजा लेखापिता भक्ति एव
2. संस्कृते भक्ति समस्य भक्ति विश्वात (B) न च सर्वे सवेत गहितां
3. (C) महाराजे भि बिजितं वहु च लिखितं लिखिकापकं चेत (D) भक्ति च एतं कं
4. पुनः पुनः बुतं तस तस भायस्य माधृत्ताय किरित जनो तथा निर्देशेष
5. (E) नव यादा लाभमितां लिखितं अस देसं च सहा य कारणं व
6. अलीवेय लिखिकारपथेन व

1. i.e. the Greeks.
2. As remarked by Senart, the last negation of this sentence (ud) is redundant.
3. For the proper names mentioned in this passage see my notes on the translation of the Kālṣi version.
4. Cf. the Kālṣi version, Q.
5. Bühler divided sarasāke into sara-sāke, which he translated by ‘possible by arrows’. The various readings of Kālṣi (śayākashi) and Shāhībāzgarhī (spa[kasper]) induce me to consider it as a Bahuvrhi of svata + rasa.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

1. (A) ayaṁ dhāma-lipi Devānāṁpriyena Priyadasinā [r[a]hā] [e]khāpiṁ āsti eva
   saṁkhiś[c]ja āsti majhamena āsti vistatana
2. (B) na cha sarvam [sa]rvata ghaṭitam
3. (C) mahālakṣaṁ hi viṣitaṁ bahu cha likhitam likhapayīsam cheva
4. (D) asti cha esa kaṁ puna puna vutam tasa tasa athasa savā prānapajetha
5. (E) tatra ekadī asamat[a]ṁ likhit[a]ṁ asa desaṁ va sakhāya [k[a]ranaṁ va
6. [a]lochetpā lipikarśaparadhena va

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by king Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) And the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And some of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) In some instances (some) of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality, or because (my) motive was not liked, or by the fault of the writer.

BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, LEFT SIDE

1. ......... तेष
2. ......... पिपा
1. ......... [t[esha]]
2. ......... [p][p][a]

BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, RIGHT SIDE

...... चेष्वति हस्ति सर्वलोकसुखाहि नाम......
...... rva-sveto hasti sarva-loka-sukhāhara nāma......

1. Read vistatana.
2. The syllable sa was inserted subsequently.
3. The other versions read 'for' instead of 'and'. The Girmār reading would suit Senart's translation of ghaṭitam by 'put together'.
4. The other versions suggest that etu bau must not be joined into one word, but corresponds to atra kīṣeṣṭhit. Cf. also atra k[i]hā in the Kālṣi version, E.
5. The particle cha is inserted at Dhauli and Jaugada.
6. Thus the two separate edicts were substituted at Dhauli and Jaugada for the rock-edicts XI to XIII. Bühler considered sakhāya = saṁkhyeyam, and connected it with kāraṇain; see ZDMG, 40, 142, and 48, 59 f. It seems more natural to take it as a gerund = saṁkhyeya or saṁkhya.
7. Senart translates: 'perhaps that the sense has been misunderstood'. I take locheti = Skt. rochayati; see above, p. 8, n. 3.
8. This word is perhaps a portion of the well-known Buddhist formula hēlaṁ tēśāṁ Tatāgatā pravadatā tēśāṁ cha &c.
9. Bühler (VOJ, 8, 320) suggested that this line may have contained the name of the writer. I feel tempted to conjecture li[p][kareṇa*], which is the last word of the three Mysore edicts.
10. Restore sarva-.
the entirely white elephant bringing indeed happiness to the whole world.

II. THE KALSI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

A.—East Face of Kālsī Rock.

1. (a) इम् धम्मलिपि देवानामपिनया पियदसिना लेखिता (B) हिंदू नौ फिच्छि निवे आलबहि पज़ोहितविये
2. (C) नौ पि चा समाजे काटविये (D) बहुका हि दोसा समाजसा देवानामपिनये पियदसि लाजा दल्लि (E) ऋषि पि चा एकतिया समाजा साधुस्मता देवानामपिनयसा पियदसिना लाजिने
3. (F) पुते महानससि देवानामपिनयसा पियदसिना लाजिने अनुदिवसं बहुनि पातसहस्राणि आलबहियितु सुपारे (G) से इतानि यदा इम् पियदसि लेखिता तदा तिनि चेवा पातानि आलबहियिति
4. दुवेस मनूला एके मिगे से पि चू मिगे नौ धुवे (H) इतानि पि चू तिनि पातानि नौ आलबहियिति

1 (A) iyam dhānim-lipi Devānāmpiyenā Piyadas[i]nā [lekhiṭā] (B) [h]idā no3 kichhi jive alabhi pajoḥitaviye
3 (F) [p]ule mahānasasi Devānāmpiyasā Piyadasisā lāj[i]6 anudivasam bahuni pāta-sahasāni7 alambhiyisu8 supāṭhay[e] (G) se id[ā]ni ya[dā] iya[ṃ] dhānim-lipi lekhita tadā tinni yeva pānāni alabhi[yam]nī9

1 Cf. sabbaseto in Childers's Pāli Dictionary, s.v. sabbo.
2 As stated by Kern (Faartelling, p. 44), Senart (Inscriptions, vol. I, p. 323 f.), and Bühler (ZDMG, 39. 490), the Girnār rock must have borne, like the Kalvī and Dhauli rocks, the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha. This figure was probably destroyed during the construction of a causeway for pilgrims from Junāgarah to Girnār, and along with it those adjacent portions of the fifth and thirteenth edicts which are now missing.
3 nā Bühler.
4 to[m]āna Bühler.
5 There is a fissure in the rock here.
6 lojina Bühler.
7 Sata Senart, pāna- Bühler; read pāna-sata-.
8 alabhī Bühler.
9 alabhī Senart, alabhī Bühler.
10 majal Senart, majalā Bühler.
11 ye Senart, cha Bühler.
12 dhava Senart, dhava Bühler.
13 cha Bühler.
14 alabhī Senart, alabhī Bühler.
TRANSLATION

(A) This inscription on morality has been caused to be written by \textit{Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin}.
(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.
(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.
(D) For \textit{king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin} sees much evil in festival meetings.
(E) And there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by \textit{king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin}.
(F) Formerly in the kitchen of \textit{king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin} many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.
(G) But now, when this inscription on morality is caused to be written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), \textit{(viz. \textit{two peacocks (and) one deer)}, but even this deer not regularly.
(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed (in future).

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

4 (A) सबता विजितस्य देवानाथपिस्या पियदसस्य लाजीने ये च चंता अध्या चोडा पहिया सावित्रीपुत्री केललपुत्री तवस्य
5 वसितियोगे नाम शोनलज्ञा ये च चंते तसा वसितियोगसा सावंता लाजानी सबता देवानाथपिस्या पियदसस्य लाजीने दुवे चिस्तिस्का काट मनुसाचिकिसा चा पशुचिकिसा चा (B) शोस्तिशी मनुसेपगानि चा पशुसेपगानि चा अतता नाथि
6 सबता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (C) चवमेवा बुलानि चा फलानि चा अतता नाथि सबता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (D) मेगुः लुङ्खानि लोपितानि उदयानानि चा खानापितानि परिपीक्षाये पसुपुनिसानि


TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of \textit{king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin} and of those who (are his) borderers, such as the Chōdas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Sātiyaputa, the

1 osadhāni Senart and Bühler.
2 cha Senart and Bühler.
3 There is a fissure in the rock here.
Kēlalaputa,1 Tamraparnī, the Yona king named Antiyoga, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoga,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical men were established by king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle. (B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.  
(C) Likewise, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.  
(D) On the roads trees were planted, and wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

6 (A) De[vā]nāṃpiye Piyaḍasi laja h[e]vān āhā  

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.  
(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.  
(C) Everywhere in my dominions the Yu[ktas, the Lajāka, (and) the Pradeśika shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

1 As the Kāśi dialect replaces r by l, this form is the correct equivalent of Kēlalaputra at Māṇeshrā.  
3 annus[i]a[n] Senart, anus[a]yānān Bühler.  
4 athāye imāy[e] Bühler.  
5 The other versions read 'yutā or 'yata. There is a fissure in the rock here.  
6 cha Senart and Bühler.
(D) ‘Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, and to Brahmānas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.’

(E) And the councils (of Mahāmātratas) also shall order the Yuktas to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

9. (A) अभिन्नचाँदलं चतुर्वय वस्त्रसार्थी वधिते च मानालं च विहिसा च भुतानं नातिना असंपत्तिमात समस्याबन्धनां संपत्तिमात (E) से झ जा देवान्यिप्तसा पियदसिने लाजिने धंशचलने भक्तियोगे बल्योगे तिनदसना

10. हर्मिनिः अगीन्द्राधिक अभिन्नचाँदलं च मानालं च विहिसा च (C) श्रीदिसा बहुविधेय वस्त्रसार्थी नाभुवृत्ते न नांतरसिने जा वधिते देवान्यिप्तसा पियदसिने लाजिने धमस्तितिके अभिन्नचाँदलं नातिना नातिना

11. संपत्तिमात समस्याबन्धनां संपत्तिमात मायामितिसं सुचुसा (D) एसे च अन्ते च बहुविधे धंशचलने वधिते (E) विधियस्य चैव देवान्यिप्तसा पियदसिने लाज इम धंशचलने (F) युना च के नाले च पानात्सा च देवान्यिप्तसा पियदसिने लाजिने

12. पवित्रितिः चैव धंशचलने इम आवकर धंशचलने वस्त्रसार्थी च चिचिदु धमं अस्तुसारसतिः (E) एसे हि सेवे कमं अं धमस्तितिके (H) धंशचलने पी च नो हर्मिनिः असितस (I) से दस्सा श्रृङ्गपा बध अभिन्नचाँदलं च साधू (J) एतांे अधारं नवं निहिते

13. इमसा श्रृङ्गपा वधि सूचणं हिन्न च भा अभिन्नचाँदलं (K) दुवावस्वामिनितिना देवान्यिप्तला पियदसिना लाजिना लेलिता


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1 Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 903ff.) has been the first to remark that in the eastern dialect the accusative plural of masculines ends in -āni. Cf. yuttān in E with yuttā in C, and Kaligānī in XIII, D, with Kaligānī in A; also XII, A, and puṇiśā in the pillar-edict IV, G.
2 Bühlcr (ZDMG, 37-108) explained hetuvata by hētumatta vikyana, i.e. ‘by a syllogism’.
3 nātīnaḥ Bühlcr.
4 There is a fissure in the rock here.
FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI


TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discoursely to relatives, (and) discoursely to Śramaṇaṇas and Brahmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brahmaṇas and Śramaṇaṇas, (and) obedience to mother and father.

(D) Both in this and in many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of morality until the āon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve the neglect of it.

(K) (This rescript) was caused to be written by king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

1 eska Bühler.
2 lāja Bühler.
3 There is a fissure in the rock here.
4 silasi Senart, silasi Bühler.
6 lekkita Bühler.
1 The two syllables cha kaṁ seem to have the same meaning as the simple cha. They occur twice again at Kāls (XI, E, and XIII, Z), once at Shāhābāzgarh (IV, F), three times at Māneśhā, and once at Brahmagiri (I. 11). Cf. kam after niḥ, sū, ṭi in the Rīgveda.
2 See above, p. 8, n. 3. Here, and in three other versions, the augment a- is retained after the particle mā, while Shāhābāzgarh has lo(ch)er shu in accordance with Sanskrit grammar.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

13 (A) देवानामायी पियादसी लाजा झाहा (B) कयाये दुकलें। (C) ए जारिकेले कयामसा
से दुकलं कलेति (D) से ममया चहु कयाये करे (E) ता ममया पुता चा
नताले चा।

14 पतले चा तेछै चे धरतिये मे आवकण तथा अनुवरितित से सुकटे कहति
(F) ए चौ हेता देश मे पियादितित से दुकटे कहति (G) पाती हि नामा सुवदालये
(H) से झारिकेल चलले नो हुतुलुल धनमहामता नामा (I) तेदस-
वसातितितोना ममया धनमहामता कटा (J) ते सवपाटितु सवियापटा

15 धनमधितानाये चा धरमवदिया हिदुसुखाये वा धनमूतसा धोनस्सोजगंध्यालायं ए
वा पि चरे आयामता (K) धरमवसु वहनितामेसु धरमवसु दुखुस्सु वियापटा
वहनुयाये आयामितिहोये वियापटा ते (L) वधनवधसा परिविधानाये
आयामितिहोये मोळाये चा एवं अनुवा भायाव ति चा

16 कटारिकाये ति चा महालिके ति चा भायापटा ते (M) हिदा नाहिलेसु चा
नगलेसु सवेसु झोलिधेसु महति व ने ममयिन्ता ए चा पि चरे नातिके
सवता भायापटा (N) ए एवं धनमधिति ति चा नानसुखे ति चा सवता
विकति ति ममया धनमूतसा भायापटा ते धनमहामता (O) एताये झायाये

17 एवं धनमधिति लेखिता चितितितिका होतु तथा च मे पता अनुवातु

13 (A) देवानामायी पियादसी लाजाहा (B) कयाये दुकलें। (C) ए आडिकेले
कयामाये से दुकलाने कलेति (D) से ममयाये चहुने कते (E) ताये ममयाये पुताये
नताले चा।

14 पतलै चा तेछै चे धरतिये मे आवाकण तथा अनुवरितित से सुकटे कहति
(F) ए चौ हेता देश मे पियादितित से दुकटे कहति (G) पाती हि नामा सुवदालये
(H) से झारिकेल चलले नो हुतुलुल धनमहामता नामा (I) तेदस-
वसातितितोना ममया धनमहामता कटा (J) ते सवपाटितु सवियापटा

15 धनमधितानाये चा धरमवदिया हिदुसुखाये वा धनमूतसा धोनस्सोजगंध्यालायं ए
वा पि चरे आयामता (K) धरमवसु वहनितामेसु धरमवसु दुखुस्सु वियापटा
वहनुयाये आयामितिहोये वियापटा ते (L) वधनवधसा परिविधानाये
आयामितिहोये मोळाये चा एवं अनुवा भायाव ति चा

16 कटारिकाये ति चा महालिके ति चा भायापटा ते (M) हिदा नाहिलेसु चा
नगलेसु सवेसु झोलिधेसु महति व ने ममयिन्ता ए चा पि चरे नातिके
सवता भायापटा (N) ए एवं धनमधिति ति चा नानसुखे ति चा सवता
विकति ति ममया धनमूतसा भायापटा ते धनमहामता (O) एताये झायाये

17 एवं धनमधिति लेखिता चितितितिका होतु तथा च मे पता अनुवातु
FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

17 [i]yāni dhāṁma-lipi lekhita chi[la]-chhityā hotu [tathā] cha me [pa]ją[a] [a]nuva[tu]  

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks (thus).
(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.
(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
(F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
(G) For sin indeed steps fast.
(H) Now, in times past (officers) called Mahāmātras of morality did not exist before.
(I) Mahāmātras of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.
(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yūnas, Kambōjas, and Gandhālas, and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).
(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyaśas, with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality, and in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).
(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.
(M) They are occupied everywhere, here and in all the outlying towns, in the harems of our brothers, of (our) sisters, and of whatever other relatives.

1 mātā Senart and Bühler.  
2 anuvatānātu Senart and Bühler.
3 Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 267) explained supadālaye (for which Mānsehra reads supadaravay) by supadārayam. Ginnār and Shāhbaγgāṛi read instead of it sukaraśī, 'easily committed'. Perhaps padālaya is formed from padā, 'a step', as mukulaka (I. 16) = Prākṛt mukulayā from mukhad.
4 Here and in K the Dhauli version reads hīla instead of hida.
5 Here the remaining versions insert the names of two other tribes.
6 i.e. Vaiśyās; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 269. The readings of the Dhauli and Mānsehra versions, ivism and ivima, show that ibhā at Kālā and Shāhbaγgāṛi is meant for ibrha. The same follows from the Jāṭaka, No. 344, where, as noted by Bühler (VOJ, 12. 79), the compound brāhma-ibrha occurs several times.
7 The reading dhāṁma-yutāye seems to be a mere corruption of that of the Ginnār version, dhāṁma-yutānaṁ.
8 According to Childers's Pāli Dictionary, paibhodha means 'obstacle, hindrance, drawback, impediment'. Lüders (SPA, 1914, 841) has shown that its original meaning was 'fetters, to be fettered'. As its equivalent at Ginnār (parigodha), the word seems to be used here in a metaphorical sense, while it has its original meaning in the next section.
9 Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 269) took evan anubandhā = Skt. etam anubandham in the sense of ētad-artham. But evan may stand for v evan (cf. i evan in section N = ye evan at Ginnār), and anubandhā for the ablative anubandhatā, 'in succession, respectively'.
10 Instead of 'here' the Ginnār version reads 'both in Pāpaliputra'.
11 The Dhauli version inserts 'of myself'.

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THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

(1) These Mahánātrás of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality or properly devoted to charity.

(2) For the following purpose this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

17 (A) देवानांपि ये पियदसि त्याजि हैवं आहा (B) अतिकलं अंगतं नो हुतपुलुवे सवं कलं अठकं च विदेशं वा पतिवेदना वा (C) से मस्मा हेवं करे (D) सवं कालं आदमानसा से

18 आलोधनसि गभागालसि चचसि विनितसि उदानसि सवता पतिवेदका अध जनसा **** वेदन्ते से (E) सवता च जनसा अठ वायामि हुं (F) यं च पि चा चिन्तः सुखसे आनपयामि हुं दायवं च सायवं च ये च पुनः महामायेः

19 आतिशायिके आतोपिते होति तातेभये चिन्तने निन्दिते च संसं पलिसाये अन्तरि लियेना पति **** विचे से सवता संसं कालं (C) हेवं आनपिते मस्मा (D) नष्ट हि से देसे उदानसा आदसनितनाये चा (I) कटविसथुते हि से सवतोवेदिते (J) तसा च पुना ईसे मुले उदाने

20 आदसनितना चा (K) नष्ट हि कंसतला सवतोवेदिते (L) यं च चिन्ति पदरसमाय हुं किति भुतानं अनिनयं चे हं चानि सुखायामि पलता चा स्वर्गं आताधियुतं (M) से एतायेदाये इमं हमालिपि वेदिता चिन्दिका होतु तथा च से पुनाले पदरसमाय सवतोवेदिते

21 (N) दुकले चु इमं अनाता आगेना पदरसमाय


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1. The Dhauli version reads 'on the whole earth'.
2. Other versions insert 'or established in morality'.
3. In the translation of this sentence I differ from Bühler and follow on the whole Senart. Instead of dāna-saṅyute the Māñṣehā version reads dāna-saṅyute, which might mean 'furnished with gifts'. The distribution of gifts was one of the duties of the Dharma-Mahānātras; see the Delhi-Tepā pillar-edict VII, CC and DD.
4. See Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 841 f.
5. kālaṁ Senart and Bühler.
6. adama[n]a[n]a Bühler.
7. Restore paṭive/denitā, which is Bühler's reading.
8. Senart and Bühler omit chā.
SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI


21 (N) dukale ch[u] 7 iyaṁ anat[a] 8 agena palakam[e]nā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, (and) in the park.

(E) And everywhere I shall dispose of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of Mahāmātrās) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the Mahāmātrās, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty 15 (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men. 11

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them 12 happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

1 pitaṁ Bührler.
2 Restore pativedetaviye.
3 Jaugada reads tose ; Bührler adds va.
4 Bührler omits cha.
5 kiche Bührler.
6 Read ālādaḥyāntu.
7 cha Senart and Bührler.
8 swānata Senart, anata Bührler.
9 The form santhānī corresponds to sanāto at Ginnar, and must be a nominative singular, just as in the Kāśi edict VIII, C, and as kalāhitān in XII, H ; see also kala[n]a, XI, E, and kalāta, XII, F and G, and cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauli separate edict I, X.
10 muta for māta occurs also in the Kāśi edict XIII, E (vedaniya-mute gula-mute cha). The change of a to u is due to the preceding labial, as in uchāvacha (Kāśi, VII, C, and IX, B) for uchāvacha (Ginnar).
11 For the use of the instrumental with the comparative see above, p. 17, n. 3.
12 As kāni corresponds to nāni at Ginnar, and to sha or she in the two Kāharshthi versions, it seems to be used as a demonstrative. The same meaning fits in the pillar-edict IV, H and M ; V, C ; VI, C ; and VII, H. The singular kāni occurs in the Jaugada separate edict I C, and II, C.
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(M) Now, for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons and wives ¹ may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.
(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDIT: KALSI

21 (A) देवानंधिपाय पियदसि लाजा सत्यत सत्यपांडि कसेवु (B) सये हि ते सयमं भायसुधि चा इति (C) जने चु उचावुचादि उचावुचात्लाने (D) ते सयें एषैं ते महात्मिति (E) निपुने पय कु दानी तसानि

22 सयमं भायसुधि किनाराता दिहि किनाराता वा निजे वा दान

21 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyanāsī lajā [sacī][a] [c]hitya saha-[pāsa]maḥda vas[e]vu (B) [sa]ye hi te sayama[r]n bhāva-sudhi cha iṣhamit (C) jane [ch]u uchavuca-[c]h[a]ṃde uchavuca-la[g]e (D) te savarn eka-des[a]nī pi k[a]cham[ti] (E) vipule pi chu dān[e]² asā nathi

22 sayame bhā[va]-sudih[i] kitanāt[a]³ d'jīha-bhāhitā cha ni[che] bādham

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāmpīya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.
(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.
(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.
(D) They will fulfill (either) the whole (or) only a portion (of their duties).
(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDIT: KALSI

22 (A) अंतमं अंतलं देवानंधिपाय तिहालयामां नास्मिन निष्मितम् (B) हिदा निगविया अंतानि चा हेदिसाना अभिलामानि हुसु (C) देवानंधिपाय पियदसि लाजा दसावसविशिष्टं संतं निष्मित्या संवीधि

23 (D) तेनां धम्मार रं (E) हेता इस होति समनवस्थानं दसाने च दाने च चुबां दसाने च हिष्टंपंतिविधाने च जानयद्वा जनसं दसाने धम्मवस्थि च धम्मपतिपुष्या च तात्योप (F) एसे मुखे तसानि होति देवानंधिपाय पियदसिस्या लाजिने भागे श्राने

22 (A) atikaṁanta [a]ta[m] Devānāmpīya [vihāla-yataṁ nāma] nikhamisu (B) hidā migavīya aṁnāni cha heḍisānā⁴ abhilamān[I] husu (C) Devānāmpīye Piyanāsī lājā das[a]-vasabhīsita saṁtaṁ nikhamithā⁵ Sarvabodhi

23 (D) tenatā dhamma-yata (E) [h]jetā iyāṁ hoti samana-bambhanānam dasane cha

¹ The other versions read it probable that -dāle is a clerical mistake for -nāṭi', 'grandsons'.
² dān[ani] Bühler.
³ Read 'nāṭa.'
⁴ Read 'sāni, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
⁵ 'mithā Senart and Bühler.
EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI


TRANSLATION

(A) In times past the Devānāmpiyas used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.
(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).
(C) When king Devānāmpiya Priyadasin had been anointed ten years, he went out to Sambodhi.
(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.⁵
(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brahmāṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).
(F) This second period (of the reign) of king Devānāmpiya Priyadasin becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

24 (A) देवानाय्ये पियदिि संताना झाहा (B) जने उचावृं संगंतं कलेति आनाधिपि आनाधिपि निवासिक पोपदशे पवासि रत्ते झानाये चा एविसाये जने बहु मगलं कलेति (C) हेतु च आवाजनियो बहु चा वहुविध चा सुदा चा नितथिया चा संगंतं कलेति.

25 (D) से कटवे चेव लो मगले (E) अपफले चे को ऐसे (F) इय चौ को महाफले चे धममगले (G) हेता इय दासनटकस सम्यापरिपति गुलुना आपकित धमगले संयं समनवमनानान्दे ऐसे ऐसे चा नितथिः। धमगले नामा (H) से वतावे नितिना पि पुनेत पि भातिना पि मुपामकिः पि मितसंजुना खां पितविभिन्नेये पि

26 इयं सत्तु इयं कटरवे माने ज्ञात तसा इपसा नितिविद्या इसे कहानिः ति (I) य दि इले मगले संतायकेः से (J) सिया च ते इले नितिते किया पुना नो (K) हिलोकिके चेव से (L) इय युना धममगले आकारिचे (M) हेचे पि इले इले नितिदि इले इले पलन जातं युना पवासि (N) हेचे पुने इले इले नितिते इले ततो उभयंस।

27 लघे होति हिद चा से इले पलन चा जातं युना पसवति तेना धममगलेना

¹ cha Bühler.
² Read latti.
³ Instead of this title of Aśoka's predecessors the Gînâr and Dhauli versions have the word 'kings'.
⁴ For the form sannâm see above, p. 35, n. 9.
⁵ viz. 'in my territory'; cf. above, p. 2, n. 3. The Gînâr version reads tenâ, but Shâh-bâzgarhî and Mânsehra read tena, which seems to stand for tenatra. Therefore Bühler (ZDMG. 37. 426) was probably right in explaining tenâ at Kâlî and Dhauli by tena abâ.


27 ladhe hoti hida cha se aṭhe palata 22 cha anaṁtaṁ puna 23 pasavati tenā dhaṇṇa-magale[n][a]

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks (thus).
(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child 24 (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.
(C) But in such (cases) mothers and wives 25 are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.
(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.
(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.
(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.
(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, and (and) liberality to Śrāmanas and Brāhmaṇas; such and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.
(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, or even a (mere) neighbour ought to say:—‘This is meritorious. This

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1 This word cannot be correct, because in the Kāli dialect the locative of upadāna would end in -asi. Read therefore (with Dhaul and Jauguḍa) ‘dāye, which is the actual reading of Senart and Bühl. 2 nilathiyāna Senart, nilathiyāna Bühl. 3 Read kātavīye. 4 va Bühl. 5 paṭipadā Bühl. 6 sāyaṇme Senart, sāyaṇe Bühl. 7 Instead of this mark of punctuation Senart and Bühl read taṁ. 8 ‘ken[ę] Bühl. 9 ‘ava Bühl. 10 k[a]h[a]m[t]i Bühl. 11 ivale Bühl. 12 Bühl adds [host]. 13 cha vasa Senart and Bühl. 14 aṭhaṃ Bühl. 15 Read, as at Mānsehāra, nivaṭeti. 16 Read (with Shāhāgārhi) ‘atha. 17 Read punamāna punasati. 18 nākā Senart, puna Bühl. 19 hida Senart and Bühl. 20 ‘ṭa Senart and Bühl. 21 Read punamāna, which is Bühl’s reading. 22 Bühl (ZDMG. 37. 431 f.) derived the locative upadāye from a supposed Skt. feminine *upadā, Shāhāgārhi reads upadane, which either corresponds to Skt. upādānā, or is a mistake for the Mānsehāra reading, upadāye. 23 Bühl (ZDMG. 37. 433) proposed translating ‘nurses and mothers’. Cf. ambika-mādūkakhiṇī in the Mṛchchhakatika, act VIII, verse 19.
practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking):¹ I shall observe this.  
(I) For other ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).  
(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).  
(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.  
(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.  
(M) Even if one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).²  
(N) But if one attains (by it) his object in this (world), the gain⁴ of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object is attained in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

27 (A) देवानन्दपिये पियदशा लजा यशो वा किति वा नो महायासा मनित अन्ततः यज धिय सा वा किति वा इक्षु तद्भवे जायति च जाने धनसुसुश्वा सुसुश्वा न च धनवत्ता वा अनुवत्तयं ति (B) धतकाये देवानान्दपिये पियदशि

28 लजा यशो वा किति वा इक्ष्ठ (C) चु चु किश्च लक्ष्मणि देवानान्दपिये पियदशि लजा त एव पालमिक्याचे वा किति सकले अपपत्ताचे पियात्त्वति (D) एवः पूजस्ये ए प्रयुगे (E) दुकाले चु लो एवः खुसुद्धे वा बंगाला उपार्जन वा अनत्ता अनुपमं रक्षकमं एवं पलक्षितिर्ति (F) हेतु चु लो

29 उपार्जन वा दुकाले

27 (A) Devānāndapīye Pīyādāsa⁵ lajā⁶ y[a]sho va kiti va no [ma]hāhāva⁹ manati an[ā]tā [ya]jh pi yaso va k[i][r][j]i va ichh[ā][r]ji tadatvāye ayatiyā chā jāne dhamma-sususā sususātu me ti dhamma-vatam va anuv[i][d]ya[r][j]u⁸ ti (B) dhata[k]aye⁵ Devānā[r]pīye Pīyādasi

28 lajā yasho va kiti va ichha³⁰ (C) aha ch[a] kichhi lakaṃati¹¹ Devānāndpīye¹² Pīyādasi lajā ta [sha][ja]¹³ pālaṃtiyāye¹⁴ va kiti sakale apa-p[a]lāshave¹⁵ shiyāti ti (D) [e]she chu palisave e apune¹⁶ (E) dukale chu kha eshe khudaikena va vagenā¹⁷ ushutenā va an[ā]tā⁸ agen[a] pa[l]akamenā shava[n] palitiditu (F) [h][e][r]a chu) kha

29 [u]shaṭ[n]a va dukale

¹ From this word to the end of the edict the Kālsī version differs completely from the Girmār one. Dhauili and Jagadā agree with Girmār, but the two Kharoshthi versions with Kālsī.  
² [a]te is the regular equivalent of [a]te at Māneśhā. Shāhāfgarhi reads however etake.  
³ The words pala ta ananta ta punnam punnava pava vat i occur again in N, and in the Kālsī edict XI, E. In these two cases pava vat i is construed with an instrumental, and in the last case it corresponds to bhavati in the Girmār version. Bühler (ZDMG. 37. 58c) was therefore right in explaining it by pava vat i = Sanskrit prasaṣṭratiyatī. ⁴ Cf. above, p. 19, n. 16. ⁵ Read Pīyādashi.  
⁶ lajā Senart, lajā Bühler. ⁷ The Girmār version reads mahāhāvah[ā]. ⁸ ‘pata’ Senart, ‘pata’ Bühler. ⁹ Read etakāya, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler. ¹⁰ Read ichhatī. ¹¹ Read pālaṃpati. ¹² Devānā[r]pīye Senart and Bühler. ¹³ savān Senart, shava[n] Bühler. ¹⁴ ‘pāli’ Senart, ‘pāli’ Bühler. ¹⁵ Read -palishavo. ¹⁶ The syllable ne was entered subsequently; apuṇkā Senart and Bühler. ¹⁷ vagenā Senart and Bühler.
TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, or that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame.

(C) And whatever effort king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.¹

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person² or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other) aim.

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish just for a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

29 (A) देवानाम्प्रिये पियदा र्गा हेम्बा हाव (B) नवी हेदवे दाने ब्रह्मणथेनाने \nधम्मविन्यसि | धम्मविन्यसि | (C) तत्व एवेद राज्यबिन्धी | सम्पादपिपति साताम- \nपिपितिपु | युबु | मित्रासुन्तनासिक्षान्य वनविन्यसिना दाने \n30 पः अनिले (D) एवेद शतविन्य सिदिन्य द्य पुनर्ईत | भानित्यसिदिन्य | शिष्यासिदिन्य | शिष्यासिदिन्य | शिष्यासिदिन्य | (E) तेन तथा विलङ्ग हिंदाकोपक्षे च वभूतिपुरात्ना च वभूति- \nपुनर्ईत तेन धम्मविन्यसिना

29 (A) Devānāmpriyadevi [lājā hevaḥ hā (B) nathi h[e]-dhāsē dāne adisha ³ dha[m]ma-dāne | dhama-shav[i]bhage ² | dhaima-shāhībh[e] | (C) ta[ta] eshe ān ān | hāta-kāshī | shamyā-patipati mātā-pitishu | shushushū | mita-shāmīthutana-nātikyānam samāna-[ba]-hānānā ⁴ [da]ne


¹ The form skyāṭi occurs again in the Kāli edict XII, B, where it is spelt sīyāṭi. Cf. also sīyati in the Shāhīsārgi edict XII, L, and in the Mānsāra edict X, C.
² In Sanskrit the word varga means 'a class'; but here and in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions it corresponds to jana, 'a person', at Girmār. The same is the case in the first separate rock-edict, where Dhaulā (K) reads jana, and Jāmagā (L) [v]a[ge]. See also hradisama varga, 'a person of the same description', in section AA of the same edict at Dhaulā.
³ Read dhā.
⁴ yādasiāti Senart, [ā]dīshāti Bühler.
⁵ dhaima-shāmbhūbhage Bühler.
⁶ samāna-and nānāna Bühler.
⁷ pute Senart and Bühler; the syllable na seems to be entered below the line.
⁸ Read skuvāṃ. The ta of mita- stands below the line; read 'tenā.
⁹ Bühler.
¹⁰ paṭiṣṭha Bühler.
¹¹ śādhu Bühler.
¹² cha Senart and Bühler.
¹³ anamāna Senart, anāna Bühler.
¹⁴ punā Bühler; read anānāna punaṇā.
TRANSLATION

(A) King Dvāvanāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, (and) abstinence from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say:—'This is meritorious. This ought to be done'.

(E) If one is acting thus,¹ (happiness) in this world is attained,² and endless merit is produced³ in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

30 (A) देवानादिपि विषयदिपि

31 लाजा धारापांशित यथंतरतिह गहशानव च तुभेति दानेन विविधेऽऽय ।

पुजाये (B) तो च तथा दाने वा पुजा वा देवानादिपे मन्ति ऋष्या किंत शालाविध शिष्यालिति शवपार्शवाः (C) शालाविध ना वहुविधा (D) तथ चु इन मुले छ वचन्गुति किंति ति अत्तपाश्च वा पुजा वा पत्लपाश्चगतना च नो शर्या

32 अपकलननिति लहका वा श्रीया तिंग तिंग पकलननिति (E) पुजेतविह चु

पत्लपाश्च तेन तेन अकालन (F) हेव कलङ्क अत्तपाश्च च च विषयादि

पत्लपाश्च पि वा अपवेली (G) तदा अण्य कलङ्क अत्तपाश्च च छन्ति

पत्लपाश्च पि वा अपवेली (H) ये हि रेण्य अत्तपाश्च पुनानि

33 पत्लपाश्च वा गतहिति । चवे अत्तपाश्चभित्ति च चिति। अत्तपाश्च। दिप्येंगे

वे पुजा तथा । कलङ्क हालने। उपविति। अत्तपाश्चवि। (I) धम्मवये चु

पाधु किति। स्नातमणो धेरं । चुतेनु चा । चुनुसेयु चा ति। (J) हेव हि

देवानादिपे इत्यं किति

34 सबपाश्च। दहुपुता चा कयानागा च । कुपेरुि ति। (K) ि च तत तत। पत्नवा।

तेहि वतविभे। (L) देवानाविचि नो तथा। दाने वा। पुजा वा। मन्ति

ऋष्या किति शालाविध शिष्या। शवपार्शवाः। (M) वहुका चा। यतायाये।

वियाप्ता। धममहामाता। इविश्यासमहामाता। वचभुमीका। छने वा

नित्याः

35 (N) इयं च शैलिः। फले। यं अत्तपाश्ववि चा। हेति धंसण चा दिप्ना।

¹ For the form kalahavattas see above, p. 35, n. 9.
² For cha kavis see above, p. 31, n. 6.
³ See above, p. 39, n. 3.
30 (A) [D]evāṇāpiye [P]iyadash[i]
33 pala-paśaṇḍa vā g[a]la[ha]ni shave at[a]-paśha[da][da]-bhatiya vā kiti vā at[a]-paśaṇḍa 27 1 [d]ipayema she cha puna tathā kalantāni baḍhatale i up[a]ha[n[i] vā at[a]-paśaṇḍa[shi] i (I) shama[vāye] 28 v[i] 29 shādhu kiti vā annamaṇaḥ sahānaṃ i shune[y]a cha vā shushushey cha ti vā (J) heva[ni hi Devānampiyāṣa] ichhā kiṇīti 30

1 Read shava; shava pāshhaṇḍaṇi Būhler.
2 vātādhaya Senart, vātādhena Būhler.
3 Būhler omits this sign. 4 Read kiti.
5 śala- Senart and Būhler.
6 The syllable na (nān Būhler) was inserted subsequently.
7 śala- Būhler. 8 The other versions read tu.
9 The syllable ti was inserted subsequently.
10 Read iyan, which is the reading of Senart and Būhler.
11 at Senart and Būhler.
12 The syllable ta of ata- is entered above the line; -paśaṇa Senart, -paśaṇde Būhler.
13 Cancel vā.
14 The words pala-paśaṇḍa-galāhā vā are entered above the line; below them the words ti apakalalāhā vā are struck out.
15 Read śiyā.
16 Read laṅkā.
17 Read tāsi, which is the reading of Senart and Būhler.
18 Read āḥāṭena. 19 hevam Senart and Būhler.
20 -paśaṇā Būhler.
21 baḍhāni Senart and Būhler.
22 pi is entered above the line.
23 The syllable da is entered above the line.
24 annathā Būhler; read taḍ-anatha.
25 The syllable pa is entered above the line; -paśaṇa Būhler.
26 pūṣṭi Senart, punati Būhler; read probably pujiti.
27 One feels tempted to read -paśhaṇḍain. But the point after da stands much lower than an Anusvāra, and a similar point occurs quite below the da in three other cases: ata-paśaṇa in G, sava-paśaṇḍa in J, and shava-paśaṇḍatīni in L.
28 sama Būhler. 29 Read chu; va Senart and Būhler.
30 Read bahu-, which is the reading of Senart and Būhler.
31 Read "nāvñāna. 32 va Senart and Būhler.
33 tāti Senart and Būhler. 34 pashhina Būhler.
35 shāla- Būhler. 36 Read 'dānani ti,
TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

(M) bahuca cha[ṇa] | etayahaye | viyapat[ā] | dha[ṇa]ma-maḥāmātā | ithidhiyakha-
mahāmātā | vacha-bhua[ni]mikyā | ane vā [n]i[ky]ā[yā] 1

35 (N) iyañ ca etisathā | phale | yān ata-paśhamca-vañhi chā | hoti dhañmasha 2 chā
dipanā 1

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin is honouring all sects: ascetics or house-
holders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But Dēvānāṁpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as
(this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.3

(C) This 4 promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i.e.) that neither praising
one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or
(that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is promoting his own sect considerably and is
benefiting other sects as well.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and
wronging other sects as well.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out
of pure devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if
he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) But concord is meritorious, (i.e.) that they should both hear and obey each
other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of Dēvānāṁpriya, (viz.) that all sects should be both
full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to
(as follows).

(L) Dēvānāṁpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this),
(viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the Mahāmātras
of morality, the Mahāmātras controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, or other
classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect
takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

35 (A) ॠठनम् | भिवित | वा देवानांधिपियय पियदिदानें | लाजिते | कल्लिग्या
विजिता | (B) दियिदिदानें | पानितपायहेः | ये तता अयुष्ये | शतपहितपिते |
तत हते | बहुतावहेः | वा मते (O) ततो पदा | अयुना लघु। | कल्लिग्ये |
तिनेन न्यमनायेः

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1 nikāye Senart, nikā[ṇa] Bühler.
2 dhamsha Bühler.
3 For sīyati see above, p. 40, n. 1.
4 For the pronoun nā see above, p. 13, n. 5.
5 For the form kalanitāṁ see above, p. 35, n. 9.
36 धन्मकामना। धन्मनुष्यि चा। देवान्धप्यिया। (D) ये श्राधं श्राधुष्यि। देवान्ध-
प्यिया। विशिष्टिन्हु। कल्याणि। (E) श्रामिन्तं हि। विशिष्टिन्हने। ए
तता। वध वा। मल्लवे वा। अरणहेणे वा। जनना। वे वाद। वेदविन्हः। गुलुमुने चा। देवान्धप्यिया। (P) इयं रँ चु। ततो। गलुःमल्लवे। देवान्धप्यिया।

37 (O) य तता चित्ति वांनावा व धम वा श्याने वा पाशंकिसिन्हा वा शङु चित्तिन्हा
एष्य हस्मुभिलिः पुरसिन्हा मातापितिसुः पुरसिन्हा हस्मुभिलिः मतिस्वरसाठवावायामानातिकिः
दाशकहारी चक्ष्यामाभिप्रति रिद्वामतिः नेन् तता होती उप्याते वा बधे वा
अभिलासात्वा वा विनिर्माणे।

38 (E) वेष्यं वा घि पुविन्हितानां विनेन्हे अविभाषिः ए तानं मित्रसंयुक्तहायामानातिका
विवयनं पापूणात् तता वे घि तानमेवा उप्याते होति (१) परिभागे वा
एष्य धममेत्तान्क गुलिसमे वा देवान्धप्यिया। (J) नथि चा। वे जनपदे यता
नाथि इसे निकाया जान्ता योके।

39 बैश्यने चा घमणे चा नाथि चा कुवाधी जनपदृष्टि यता नाथि मनुष्यान। एकलाभिः
घि। यायशिः। नी नाम पवादे। (K) वे आयतं कल्याणे।
लघेदु होते चा मेते। अपवुहे वा। ततो शते भागे वा। पहयमारे वा।
अश्स गुलिसमे वा। देवान्धप्यिया।

B.—South Face of Kālsī Rock.

1

2

3 नेचु। (O) इयं

4 धमम धममचिठवं श्यान घि (P) इयं चु मु

5 देवान्धप्यिया चे धममालवे। (Q) वे च पुना। तदे देवान्धप

6 चेनि। चेनि। आयशी। चु। योजनपादु। चतु आयियो! नाम योनल।" गह।

7 शान्तिवेगेना चतुसति क तवाणे तुलमेये नाम शान्तिके नाम मका नाम

8 धम आयिक्युहुर्दा नाम निर्धं चोरियिह। चतु त्यंपितिहा त्यं एवमि

9 हिन्दा लाजविषविध। योनकोजे। नामकनामपितिः भोजविनिकेषु

10 अधाकारे। वचना देवान्धप्यिया। धममानुष्यि अनुवारिन्ति (S) यत घि दुरा

11 देवान्धप्यिया। नी यशे वे घि सुधु देवान्धपनं धममुखु सिद्घि

12 धममानुष्यि धमम अनुविनिधवक्ष। लुकविनिधिविश्र। चा (T) ये से लघे

13 इतकं होती सवता विजये विनिमित्वसे से (U) गाधा सा होती घित घित

धमविजयः
14 (v) लहुका चु खो सा पिति (w) पालिनिक्षेपवे महफळा मनाति देवेनिपने
15 (x) एताये चा अचारे इवं धमालिपि फळिता किंति चु ता पोगाते ये असु
16 नवं विजय स विजयतिविय मनिवृ धनकविल नो विजयवृ निति चा ल। हु
17 दंडता चा लोचेतु तमेव चा विजयं मनतु चे धमाविजये (v) ये हिंदोलिक्षिक
पपलीका
18 किये (f) बरा च न निति होतु उत्यमलित (aa) या हि हिंदोलिक्षिक
पपलीकाका

35 (a) atha-[vajah]a- l brihita-1 shā [De]vānapiyaṣa Piyadashine l lājine l Kaligya vijita l (b) diya-ja-mite 1 pāna-shat[ā]a-shat[ā]e l ye [ta] pha apavadhe l sa[ta]-shat[ā]a-shat[ā]-mite 3 l tata hāte 1 bahu-tavatake 4 l va mate (c) tati[0 ] pā[jh]a l ahduna ladheshā 4 l Kaligyesu l tive l dhaṃma[vay]c

1 bhīṣita- Bührer. 2 m[a]du Bührer. 3 -māte Bührer. 4 -tāvanta-take Bührer.
5 tata Senart and Bührer. 6 Read ladheshu, which is Bührer's reading.
7 This word may be read also vijinī as both an i and a u are affixed to the last consonant.
8 vadinā Sen and Bührer. 9 Bührer adds 1.
10 Read ye tata in accordance with the Shabhāgaṇṭa version, which reads ye tatra; savatāa Senart and Bührer, who adds 1.
11 baṇhmānā Senart and Bührer.
12 Read shamanā.
13 ag[a]ph[sta]- Bührer.
14 -māt- Bührer.
15 -shussūshā; read -shussūshā.
17 The syllable nā seems to be entered above the line.
18 viyashane Bührer. 20 Read pāpunāti, which is Bührer's reading.
21 tata Bührer. 22 "mēna Bührer. 23 ānānā Sen and Bührer.
24 yenesha Bührer. 25 shānāna Bührer. 26 avatake Bührer. 27 Bührer omits 1.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOCA

B.—South Face of Kâlsë Rock.

1. .
2. .
3. [neyu (O) ichha].
5. Devānapipiyeshā ye dha[rin]ma-viṣaya (Q) sh[e] cha punā ladhe Devāna[rin-
p]i . cha .
6. shaveshu cha ateshu a shashu pi [yo]jana-shateshu at[a] Aṭiyogo nām[a] Yo[nā-
8. ma Alīyashudale nāma nichān Choḍa-Paṇḍiyā avan Tamābapaṁniyā hevaneś[vā] (R) hevanevā.
9. [hī]dā lā[ja]-vīśavashi Yona-Kaṁbojiṣṭha Nābhak[a]-Nābhapaṁtishu Bhoja-
Pitnikye[shu].
13. etakenā hori savata v[i]jāye piti-lace se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhām[a]-
vijaya-
15. (X) etaye cha atṭāya iyam dha[rin]ma-lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā me a[su]
17. dāṁqata [cha] lochetu tameva cha viṣayam manatu ye dhāmma-viṣaya (Y) she
hindolokiya palalo-
18. kiyē (Z) shavā cha ka niati hot[u] uyaṁ-lati (AA) šā hi hi[da]lokika
pa[l]a lokikya.

1. Restore ichhati.
2. Restore -bhutānānī.
3. Read chu.
4. Read 'piyasa.
5. Restore 'piyasa hidda cha.
6. There is a fissure in the rock between yo[jana] and shateshu.
7. Restore -lājā.
8. hevamena Bühler.
11. 'piiyasa Senart, 'piyaṇya Bühler; read 'piyasa.
12. Read 'yaṁti, which is Bühler's reading.
13. Read 'yaṁti, which is Bühler's reading.
14. This word is entered above the line.
15. Read chu.
16. Read pālāntikyanem a maha-phala māmnān Devānapipiyē.
17. pāṭṭē Senart and Bühler.
18. viṣayataviṣya Bühler.
19. Read perhaps yo (= Prākrit yeva), as at Šāhābāṣgarhi.
20. There is a fissure in the rock here.
21. Cancel the sign of punctuation and join lāhu.
22. ki ye Bühler.
23. Bühler omits ka; read kān and see above, p. 31, n. 6.
TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the Kaliṅgāyas was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the Kaliṅgāyas has been taken, Dēvānāṃpriya is devoted to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

(D) This is the repentance of Dēvānāṃpriya on account of his conquest of (the country of) the Kaliṅgāyas.

(E) For, this is considered⁴ very painful and deplorable by Dēvānāṃpriya, that, while one is conquering an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by Dēvānāṃpriya.

(G) (To) the Brahmāṇas or Śramaṇas, or other sects or householders,⁵ who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay,⁶ obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion,—to these then happen injury or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) Or if there are then incurring misfortune⁷ the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for,⁸ this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.⁹

(I) This is shared by all men⁸ and is considered deplorable by Dēvānāṃpriya.

(J) There is no country where these (two) classes, (viz.) the Brahmāṇas and the Śramaṇas, do not exist, except among the Yōnas; and there is no (place) in any country where men are not indeed attached to some sect.¹⁰

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people

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¹ For muta = mata see above, p. 35. n. 10.
² vijñānam is a nominative singular absolute; see my note on the translation of the Dhauli separate edict I, S.
³ Cf. the rock-edict XII, A, and the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, Y.
⁴ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 592 f.) took agarbhuti=agarajmanam, ‘a member of a higher caste’ or ‘a Brahmāṇa’; but the various reading in the two Kharāshṭrī versions, agarbhuti, suggests that the second member of the compound is Skt. bhrati.
⁵ pāpunāti is used in the same way in the Dhauli separate edict I, J, and the Jāgada separate edict I, K.
⁶ For this meaning of svōkīta see Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s.v. vidahati.
⁷ The correct construction of this section is due to Lüders, who showed that etānas must be divided into e tānāni; see SPAW, 1914. 859.
⁸ I.e. ‘a share of this falls upon all men’; see Thomas in V. A. Smith’s Asoka, sec. ed., p. 175, n. 1.
⁹ The chá after gulu-mate corresponds to the preceding chá after paṭīhāge. In the same way the double nathī chá in the next section co-ordinates the two sentences.
¹⁰ See above, p. 25, n. 2.
who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time when (the country of) the Kalîngas was taken, (would) now be considered very deplorable by Dévānā♠priya.

(Q) The other desires towards all beings . . . . . . . . self-control, impartiality, (and) kindness.

(P) But this . . . . . . . by Dévānā♠priya, viz. the conquest by morality.

(R) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by Dévānā♠priya both [here] and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred yojanas, where the Yôna king named Antiyoga (is ruling), and beyond this Antiyoga, (where) four—forty—kings (are ruling), (viz. the king) named Tulamaya, (the king) named Antekina, (the king) named Makå, (and) the king named Alikyashudala, (likewise towards the south, (where) the Chôdas and Pândyas (are ruling), as far as Tâmraparâṇi.

(B) Likewise here in the king’s territory, among the Yônas and Kambôjas, among the Nabhakas and Nabhapaṅktis, among the Bhôjas and Pitînîkayas, among the Andiras and Pâladas,—everywhere (people) are conforming to Dévānā♠priya's instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of Dévānā♠priya do not go, having heard of the duties of morality, the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of Dévānā♠priya, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it).

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere, causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) Firm becomes this satisfaction, (viz.) the satisfaction at the conquest by morality.

1 viz. ‘in my territory’; see section R below, and cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.
2 The Shâhâbâzgârî version reads Antiyoka. For Antiochus II see above, p. 3, n. 11.
3 The Gîrâr version reads Tûramâya, and the Shâhâbâzgârî one Tûramaya.
4 The Shâhâbâzgârî version reads Antikini.
5 The Gîrâr version reads Magâ.
6 The two Kharôshṭhî versions read Alikasudara. The four kings are Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (c. 285–247), Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (276–239), Magas of Cyrene (c. 300–250), and either Alexander of Epirus (272–255) or, more probably, Alexander of Corinth (253–244); see Lassen’s Ind. Alt., vol. II, p. 255, and Beloch’s Griechische Geschichte, 3, 2, 165.
7 The two Kharôshṭhî versions omit this word.
8 This is Senart’s rendering of nickain (c. nickain). Bühlér (ZDMG, 40, 137) added that the Rigveda uses its synonym nyak in the same sense.
9 See above, p. 10, n. 1.
10 As remarked by Bühlér (ZDMG, 40, 138), Prâkrit pauti=Skt. pankti.
11 Bühlér (ZDMG, 40, 138) connected the Bhôjas with the city of Bhôjakata in East Berar, which is mentioned in a Vâlîkata grant (Gupta Insers., p. 241) and in the Bharut inscriptions (IA, 21, 240). But as, in the rock-edict V, the Pitînikayas appear among Asôka’s western borderers, the Bhôjas, who are coupled with them here, will have to be looked for in the west as well.
12 The Pitînikayas are identical with the Pâtînikas in the Gîrâr edict V; see above, p. 10, n. 2.
13 The Shâhâbâzgârî and Mânšhrâ versions read Pitînika.
14 Andira is the old name of the Telugu country and people.
15 The Gîrâr version seems to read Pârînda, and the Shâhâbâzgârî one Pâlida. Bühlér (ZDMG, 40, 138) identified this word with Pâlinda and noted that the Andiras and Pâlindas are mentioned together already in the Aśṭarîśya-Brahmanyas, VII, 18. But the variants at Gîrâr and Kâlâ render this identification very improbable. Pârînda reminds us of the Sanskrit pârînda, ‘a lion’.
16 Cf. dharmam-sautam cha annuvilagatam in the Gîrâr edict X, A.
17 As suggested by Bühlér (ZDMG, 40, 138), gâdha (instead of which two other versions read ladhâ or ladha) may represent ‘gâḍhâ, from Pâl Gâḍhâti, ‘to stand fast.’
(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).
(W) Devānāmpriya thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great
(value).¹
(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.)
in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not
think that a fresh conquest ought to be made; (that), if a conquest does please them,²
they should take pleasure³ in mercy and light punishments; and (that) they should
regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.
(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.
(Z) And let all (their) pleasure be the pleasure in exertion.⁴
(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

FORTIETH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

19 (A) ∆yং ধৰ্ম্মলিপি দেবানিষেষনা পিযসিনা লাজিনা লিখাপিতা ধর্ষি
চেয়া সুখি-
20 তেনা ধর্ষি মহিষন্না ধর্ষি চিপটেনা (B) ধৰি হি সসতা সবে পরিতে (C) মহালাকে
বি-
21 জিতে বহু চ লিখিতে লিখিতে দেয়। দিনাভাষমে চেয় নিক্ষ ক্ষশ্যম (D) ধর্ষি চা হেতা যুন পুন লাজিন-
22 তে তথা ধার্ষিমা মহুচিন্ত্যয়ে পান জনে তথা পরিম্ভেয়া (E) চে যায় ছাত
কিন্ত লাজ-
23 সম্পতি লিখিতে দিয়া চ পঞ্চেয়ে কালনা চ আতীচিন্ত্য লিখিতাপলাজিন বা

19 (A) iyaḥ dhama-lipi Devānāmp[ya]n[a] [P]iyasina lajina likhaapita athi
yeva sukhi-
tena [a]khā majhimenā athi vithaßenā (B) no hi savata save [gha]tīte (C) mahālaka
hi vi-
jite bahu cha likhite lekhāpēsāmi chaṭya nikyaṁ (D) athi cha heta puna pun[a] la[pi]-
t[c] tasha tashā aṭhāṣa madhuliya yeña jane tatha paṭipajeyā (E) she śāya
ata k[i]chhi a-
23 samati likhite disha vā šāmkhaye¹⁰ kalanam vā alochayitu li[p]i kalapalādheṇa vā

¹ mahā-phala is perhaps a Karmadhāra, while it may be a Bahuvarhi in the rock-edic:
IX, F. Cf. the first separate rock-edict, where mahā-apāye (Dhau lil, R) or mahāpāy[e] (Jogaḍa, S)
must be a Karmadhāra, as it forms the predicate of the feminine asavatāparāti; the preceding word
mahā-phala may be a Bahuvarhi at Dhauil, but a Karmadhāra at Jogaḍa.
² chaṭya may be an adjective formed of svayam, and having the same meaning as spa[ka]
(=Skt. svaka) at Shāhbadgarhi, and as sarasaka at Gīrnr, for which see above, p. 25, n. 5.
³ For lochet see above, p. 8, n. 3.
⁴ uṣṭa is synonymous with uṣṭhāna and parākrama in the rock-edicts VI and X.
⁵ dāśāṇā Bühler. Gīrnr reads saṅkṣhītena.
⁶ The syllable te was entered subsequently.
⁷ punaṁ puna Bühler.
⁸ Read śiṣyā, which is Bühler's reading. The syllable sū is entered above the line.
⁹ Read probably śaṅkhāya in accordance with the Gīrnr version (sacchaśya) and the Shāh-
badgarhi one (saṁkhāya[a]).
TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by king Dēvānām-priya Priyadarśin either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall constantly¹ cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,² or because (my) motive was not liked, or by the fault of the writer.

BELOW THE FIGURE OF AN ELEPHANT ON THE NORTH FACE OF THE KALSI ROCK

गजतमे

gajatame

TRANSLATION

The best elephant.³

III. THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

A.—East Face of Shāhbazgarhi Rock.

1 (A) अय धर्मदिपि देवनिम्बासः रजो उल्लिखितो (B) हित नौ जिवि जिवे शिरतु प्रवृत्तोस्वयः (C) तो पि च समज कावय (D) बहुक इ दीप समस्यिः देवशिल्प्ये मिष्ठद्रविः रघु द्वारिः

2 (E) अस्ति पि चु एकत्रित समये समुदाये देवनिम्बासः मिष्ठद्रविः रजो (F) पुर महंससिः देवनिम्बासः मिष्ठद्रविः रजो अनुदित्तस्वय बहुनि प्रश्नलसहस्नि अरिन्यु सुपद्ये (G) सो इदनि यद अय

3 धर्मदिपि दिनिकथी तद चयों वो प्रश्न हैन्ति मज्जूर द्विक २ सुगो १ सो पि सुगो नो सुवं (H) एतं पि प्रश्न चयों पच न अरिन्युः

¹ Senart and Bühler consider nikiyā a dialectical variant of nityam.
² di is used in the sense of dēśa, unless dishā is simply a clerical mistake for the Girnār reading desāṁ.
³ Cf. the similar labels at Girnār (below edict XIII) and at Dhauli (at the end of edict VI), and see above, p. 27, n. 2.
FIRST ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI


2. (E) [a]ṣṭi pi chu ekatia samaye saṣu-mate Devanapriasa Priadraśī rañī (F) pura mahana[sas] [Devanapriya] Priadraśī rañī anudivaso bahuni pra[n]-ṣā-ṣahasani [arabhi]yis[u] supaṭhay[e] (G) s[o] jindani yada aya
dhrama-dipī likhita tada trayo vo praṇa harināṁ[ṛ]i majura duv[i] 2 mrugo 1 so pi mrugo no dhruv[a]n (H) eta pi praṇa trayo pacha na arabhiṣaṁti

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by king Devanāṁpriya.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meetings must be held.

(D) For king Devanāṁpriya Priyadarśin sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king Devanāṁpriya Priyadarśin.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Devanāṁpriya Priyadarśin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two—2—peacocks (and) 1 deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

3. (A) सवच विजिले देवनामप्रियस त्रिययनिष्ठस वे च अति वन्न चोट।

4. पंडित सतियपुत्री केळ्लपुत्री तन्वपिणी अत्योक्ती नन्म योनर्ज वे च अति तस अत्योक्ति सर्वं रजनों सवच देवनामप्रियस त्रिययनिष्ठस राजो दुष्ट्री २ प्रियद्रासिस च।

5. (B) शोधनि मनुष्यप्रकरणि च पाशपकरणि च यथ यथ नलि सवच हरिपति च श्रुति च (C) कुप च कचिनिव प्रियद्रासिस यथमनुष्यन।


5. (B) [o]sha[da]ni manuṣopakani cha paśopakani cha yat[r]a yatra nasti savatra harapita cha vuta cha (C) kupa cha khapanita prati[bh][o]gaye paśu-manuṣanaṁ

1. [a]ya [a] Bührer.
2. Read probably likhapita, as at Mārṣehrā.
3. dosha sa[m] sa Devanapriya[e] Bührer.
4. cha ekati Bührer.
5. Read sadhu-; svrsta-mati Bührer.
7. Devanaṁpri Dührer.
8. [s]a[j]has[i] M. Bührer.
11. [k][r][a] M. Bührer.
13. [h] [e] M. Bührer.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of देवानंप्रियः Priyadarśin, and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the चोदस, the पाण्ड्यस, the सतियपुत्र, the केरा अपुत्र, the तम्रपार्श्व, the योना king named अतियोका, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this अतियोका, everywhere two—2—(kinds of) medical treatment were established by किंग देवानंप्रियः Priyadarśin, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and planted.

(C) And wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDIT: SHAHBAZGARHI

5 (A) \text{देवानंप्रियः Priyadarsin} राज अहति (B) \text{बदयवशाभिसेत्} [tena] \text{सतवा माहा} (C) \text{सतवा माहा}

6 \text{विजिते युत राजप्रेधी} पंचशु पंचशु \text{वशेष्य} \text{अनुसयं} निर्दमतु एतिस जो करण इमित अंतप\text{लिप्य} \text{ये अहते पि कर्मे} (D) \text{सधु} \text{मातिपति} सुधुप \text{निक्षंतु} \text{तत्रितक} \text{कर्मसंस्कार} \text{गयते} \text{अहते} \text{सधु}

7 \text{अहतं अहतं सधु} (E) \text{पि युतनि ग्यतनि} \text{आहतेषु} \text{हेतु} \text{च वासनानां} च

5 (A) देवानंप्रियः Priyadarsin राज अहति (B) \text{बदयवशाभि} \text{सतवा माहा} (C) \text{सतवा माहा}

6 \text{विजिते युत राजप्रेधी} पंचशु पंचशु \text{वशेष्य} \text{अनुसयं} निर्दमतु एतिस जो करण इमित अंतप\text{लिप्य} \text{ये अहते पि कर्मे} (D) \text{सधु} \text{मातिपति} सुधुप \text{निक्षंतु} \text{तत्रितक} \text{कर्मसंस्कार} \text{गयते} \text{अहते} \text{सधु}

7 \text{अहतं अहतं सधु} (E) \text{पि युतनि ग्यतनि} \text{आहतेषु} \text{हेतु} \text{च वासनानां} च

TRANSLATION

(A) \text{King देवानंप्रियः Priyadarśin} speaks \text{(thus)}.

(B) \text{When I had been} \text{anointed twelve years}, [the following] was ordered [by me].

(C) \text{Everywhere in my dominions the \text{र्यक्ता} or \text{रयक्ता}, (and) the \text{र्यादः} shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five—5—years

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1 With Bühlcr and Johansson (§ 52) I believe that the writer wanted to write \text{बदयव}. On the Wardak vase the symbols for \text{y} and \text{f} are often confused; see Pargiter's remarks in EI, 11. 203 f., and ZDMG, 73. 327.

2 Bühlcr omitted this word.

3 Bühlcr omitted \text{माहा}.

4 \text{pradesīṭha} Bühlcr.

5 \text{मातिपति} Bühlcr.

6 \text{कर्मसंस्कार} Bühlcr.

7 Bühlcr omitted the end of this line.

8 \text{पारिशा}.

9 There is a vacant space between \text{गो} \text{and} \text{पा}.

10 \text{वासनानां} Bühlcr.

11 Bühlcr wrote \text{हाति} \text{in two words}. But the barbarous form \text{हाति} \text{or} \text{कहाति} is guaranteed by the ediects V, &c., where it is preceded by \text{वाहन}, and where consequently \text{it} cannot have the meaning 'thus'.
for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. [Liberality] to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas [is meritorious]. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) The councils (of Mahāmātras) also shall order the Yuktas to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

7 (A) अतिकरण अतिरंग वहि वयश्निति वहि यो प्रशारी विहित च भुतानं सतित्व प्रशारे विमानाना असंपत्तिर्यिता (B) सो त्रान्क देवनालिपि प्रयद्धिश्च रजो

8 यो वरस्रायिक भीषणः प्रशारे विमाननां दृष्ट्यं भुजित चोपकै वहित च दिवि विन दृष्ट्यं जनस (C) वदिं वघरि वयश्नद्विन न भुताने तत्तदे वहि तेनालिपि प्रयद्धिश्च रजो धर्मनुशासिकः अनालिन वरस्रायिक भुजित सतित्व असंपत्तिर्यिता व्रमः-

9 यो वरस्रायिक संपत्तिर्यिता सतित्वविन दृष्ट्यं सुशुधिः (D) यत त्रान्क च वरस्रायिक वरस्रायिक वहि यो तेनालिपि प्रयद्धिश्च रजो धर्मनुशासिकः इम (E) पुत्र विचि च नारो च नास्तिक च देवनालिपि प्रयद्धिश्च रजो प्रवेदितः यो त्रान्क इम अवक्र प्रयो जिधि च

10 नितिन्त्र धर अनुशासिकः (G) यत विन्दे करः यह धर्मनुशासिकः (H) धर्मनुशासिकः पुत्र च न भोती अशिल्भ (I) सो इम इम च त्रान्क च त्रान्क (J) यते शुद्धे इम निपिता इम इम च न लोके (K) वद्य्विधिश्चितेन देवनालिपिण प्रयद्धिश्च रज अनं हिंदु निलेविनः


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1 nāṭima Bühler.
2 asaṃpatipaṭi Bühler.
3 [a]jīta Bühler.
4 saṃpatipaṭi Bühler.
5 bhuta[rh] Bühler.
6 śramaṇana[nt] Bühler.
7 ka Bühler.
TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king Devānāṃpiya Priyadarśin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of light, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king Devānāṃpiya Priyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother and father, (and) to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And this practice of morality will be ever promoted by king Devānāṃpiya Priyadarśin.

(F) And also the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Devānāṃpiya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of morality until the aeon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve the neglect of it.

(K) (This) conception (jñāna) was caused to be written here by king Devānāṃpiya Priyadarśin (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

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1. ro[va var]amajñati Bühler.
2. Bühler omitted yo.
3. ṭisiti Bühler.
4. dīpiṣṭa Bühler.
5. Kṛṣṇa.
8. For cha kau see above, p. 31, n. 6. Mānsrā has once cha kau (XI, 14) and twice cha ka (IV, 16; XIII, 13).
9. The partikles nipistānti and nipisetānti in J and K, which correspond to likhisthe and lekhstathe at Kāśi, must be derived from n-ṭiṣṭh, 'to write', which is used in the inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings of Persia, and which is preserved in the modern Persian verb 'to write'. Cf. the Russian mean to write'.
10. See above, p. 8, n. 3.
FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI


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1 aha ti Bühler.
2 Read kalanah.
3 ma[ha] Bühler.
4 [yo] Bühler.
5 [a]chhanatī Bühler. In JA (10), 1742 ff. Boyer has shown that the Kharoṣṭhī uses a special form of cḥh in all those cases where it corresponds to Sanskrit kṣh. In order to distinguish this sign from the real cḥh, I transcribe it by kṣh, but do not want to imply thereby that it was actually pronounced like that.
6 tathā Bühler; but what he took for an Anusvāra is probably the horizontal bottom-line which is frequent at Mānschra.
7 vatiṣkāntī Bühler.
8 sūkṣr[i]taṇi Bühler.
9 Restore perhaps ekah; the other versions read desaṇi or deśa.
10 [hapa[k]ati] Bühler.
11 so atik[r]a[m] tani avastanah na Bühler.
12 dhrama- Bühler.
13 [tidaśa]- Bühler.
14 k[i]ṣr[a] Bühler.
15 dhrama* Bühler.
16 -vahdi[ye] Bühler.
17 The rock has a hole here.
18 Raṭhikaṇaṁ Bühler. The ṭe is expressed by the first of the two different forms noted by Boyer in JA (10), 17429, note.
va pi aparanta (K) bhātamayeshu bramanibheshu anatheshu vudhesu [hita] sukhaye [dhra\textsuperscript{1}]-ma-yutas\textsuperscript{2} apalig[\textsuperscript{o}]-dha\textsuperscript{3} vap[a]-te

13 (L) badhana-badhasa\textsuperscript{4} patividhanay[e] apalibodhaye ma[kshaye] ayi anubha... pra\textsuperscript{4} prajata kitabhi\textsuperscript{5} va mahalak\textsuperscript{6} va viyapata\textsuperscript{7} [i\textsuperscript{6}]- (M) ia bahlire\textsuperscript{8} cha nagesh\textsuperscript{9} savreshu oor\textsuperscript{10} dha[bhata\textsuperscript{11}]; cha me spasana\textsuperscript{12} cha ye va pi an\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{13}} hatika savatra viyapata\textsuperscript{14} (N) y[e]\textsuperscript{15} aya\textsuperscript{16}. dh[\textsuperscript{17}]ama-nisite\textsuperscript{18} ti vi dhra[m[\textsuperscript{19}]-[\textsuperscript{h]ita\textsuperscript{20}] ne ti va dana-s[\textsuperscript{21}]-yute ti va savata\textsuperscript{22} vijite maa\textsuperscript{23} dhrama-yu[a]\textsuperscript{24} viyapata te dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye a\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{25}} hat\textsuperscript{26} a[\textsuperscript{27}]; y\textsuperscript{28} dhrama-dipi nipista\textsuperscript{29} cho[\textsuperscript{30}]-rita-thitika bho[\textsuperscript{31}]-tu[\textsuperscript{32}]-tha\textsuperscript{33}; cha [m]\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{34} p[r]aja anuvatatu

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.
(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants who shall come\textsuperscript{35} after them until the aon (of destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
(F) But he who will neglect even one (portion) of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
(G) For sin is easily committed.
(H) Now, in times past (officers) called Mahāmātras of morality did not exist before.
(I) But Mahāmātras of morality were appointed by me (when I had been)

anointed thirteen years.

(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness\textsuperscript{36} of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōnas, Kambôyas, and Gandhâras, among the Rāthikas, among the Pitīnikas,\textsuperscript{37} and whatever (other) western borderers (of mine there are).

\textsuperscript{[1]} [dhra\textsuperscript{1}]-ma- Bühler.
\textsuperscript{2} "h[\textsuperscript{2}]-da\textsuperscript{3}]-ma Bühler; read "godhaye (=godhäuser at Girnār).
\textsuperscript{3} Restore anubadha; iy\textsuperscript{o} ah[\textsuperscript{5}]-[\textsuperscript{d]k]h\textsuperscript{7}]-ma Bühler.
\textsuperscript{4} viyapata\textsuperscript{7} Bühler.
\textsuperscript{5} Bühler omitted te.
\textsuperscript{6} Read spasana; spasana\textsuperscript{9} Bühler.
\textsuperscript{7} ni\textsuperscript{11} rit-r Bühler.
\textsuperscript{8} There is a vacant space here.
\textsuperscript{9} dipist[a] Bühler.
\textsuperscript{10} This and the last four words of the edict were entered above the line.
\textsuperscript{11} Bühler omitted me.

\textsuperscript{19} vrakshati is the future of vrachati which occurs twice at Shāhābāghā (VI, L, and XIII, S). For Pā\textsuperscript{19} kṣit vachchati = Skt. evajati see Hemachandra, IV, 225.
\textsuperscript{20} Cf. above, p. 33, n. 4.
\textsuperscript{21} For Rathika and Pitinika Girnār reads Rāthika and Pēṭika. As Rathika at Dhauli agrees with Rathika at Shāhābāghā and Māṇḍhāra, Rāthika at Girnār may be a clerical mistake for Rāṣṭika, just as parikamate for parākamate in X, l. 3, Devanāri for Devānāri in XI, l. 1, and diṇi for dāta in XIII, l. 9. Conversely, astā is written for asti in IX, l. 7, pitarā for pitarī in XI, l. 2, and vividhāya for vividhāya in XII, l. 1. The Sanskrit origin of this name would be Rāṣṭrikā. The identifications of this name with Surāṣṭra (Senart, Inscriptions de Piyadari, vol. I, p. 126) or Lāṭā (Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 137, n. 4) are improbable because these two provinces were included in Aśoka’s empire; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 261. Sir R. Bhandarkar (Early History of the Dikkan, sec. ed., p. 11 ff.) connects Rāṣṭrikā with Mahāraṣṭra, the Pāli form of which, Mahāraṭṭha, occurs in the Dipavaṇīsa and Mahāvaṇīsa. Could the Rāṣṭrikās be identical with the Arattas of the Panjāb (Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. III, p. 76) and with the Ṛpārī[1] and Apan[2] who are mentioned in the Periplus (§ 47) together with the Ḫρασσός and Ταυδάριος?
FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brâhmaṇas and Iḥyāyas, with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).¹

They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, (and) in setting (them) free, (if) one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

They are occupied everywhere, here and in all the outlying towns, in the harems of my brothers, of (my) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of mine there are).

These Mahāmātrās of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.²

For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

14 (A) देवनामिंशो प्रियद्रशि रय एव जहि (B) ज्ञातकां जातर न भुमावं सवं कलं अखकमं व परिवेदनं व (C) तं मयं एवं किर (D) सवं कलं अखमसं में अरोधनाशकय भगरस्य वत्सिस्य विनिशिस्य उदनस्य सवं परिवेदक जातं जनसं परिवेदतु में (E) सवं च जातं कार्मधे (F) मं पि च चिरिः मुख्रों अस्मात्यभ महामहात्म हेतु दपकं व अवकं व ये व पन महमहाद्वं अवस्यात्म अस्मात्म हेतु ये चाठे विवेदे निर्र्ति व सतं परिषये अर्नात्यरें परिवेदोऽनि में

15 (E) सवं च जातं कार्मधे (F) मं पि च चिरिः मुख्रों अस्मात्यभ महामहात्म हेतु दपकं व अवकं व ये व पन महमहाद्वं अवस्यात्म अस्मात्म हेतु ये चाठे विवेदे सतं निर्र्ति व परिषये अर्नात्यरें परिवेदोऽनि में सवं सवं कलं (C) एव अस्मात्म मयं (H) निर्र्ति हि में तोयो उलासं अर्नसंतिषये च (I) कल्वमयं हि में समूक्रहितं (J) तसं च मुलं एव उलतं अर्नसंतिषयं च (K) निर्र्ति हि कमत्तरं

16 सवलोकहितं (L) यं च चिरिः परकसमि किति भुमावं अस्तिषयं प्रबेदं इत्यं च य भुमावं परं च स्वं अरपेतु (M) एतं च अरपेतु अस्य धम निपिन्ति चविनिशिः भोतु तथं च में पुष्च नारों परकसं त वसलोकहितं (N) तुकु तु सो इमं अस्तं भ्रमे परकमेन

14 (A) Devanāmpriyo Priyadāsī raya eva³ ahati (B) atikratāṁ ainirata⁴ na bhuta-pruvaṁ savan[mi]⁵ kala[mi] agha-krama⁶ va pātivedana va (C) ta[mi] maya eva[mi] kita[mi] (D) svaram kalarāṁ asamanasa me orodhanaspi grhalagaraspi vrachaspi vinitaspi uyanaspi savatra pātivedaka⁷ aśhari janaspa pātivedetu⁸

¹ pātigodha is a Māgadha form of parigodha, for which see above, p. 10, n. 5.
² See above, p. 34, n. 3. ³ eva[mi] Bühler. ⁴ ainiratāṁ Bühler. ⁵ svaram Bühler. ⁶ agha- Bühler. ⁷ savatra patri Bühler. ⁸ pāt [mi] Bühler.


TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadārśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palaquin, (and) in the park.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of Mahāmātras) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the Mahāmātras, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) And the root of that (consists) in this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge

1 [da]pakri Bührer.
2 śravakṣaṇi Bührer.
3 yānī Bührer.
4 trāpani Bührer, who added v[ṣ]a.
5 There is a fissure between a and cha.
6 Bührer added va.
7 santha ni Bührer.
8 E and F (besides the last three words of the latter) were repeated by mistake.
9 There is a vacant space between a and thaṁ.
10 There is a fissure between ki and chi.
11 ya Bührer.
12 Read niḥaṭi, which is Bührer’s reading.
13 priṭṛ Bührer.
14 sav[ṛ]aṇi Bührer.
15 evaṁ Bührer.
16 There is a hole between ma and laṁi.
17 sav[ṛ]a- Bührer.
18 sapgaṇi Bührer.
19 dhr̥ama-dipī Bührer.
20 Read aṃhātra Bührer.
21 Read ṣaḍra-
22 Read agreṇa.
the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this [rescript on] morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is indeed difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

1 (A) देवानंप्रियो मिल्यविश रज सत्वा इवति सम-
2 प्रतेषेप च सते विम (B) सवे विम ते सयमे भवशुधि च इवति
3 [(C) वजै च पुष्पकुटिलो उचवुचरगी (D) ते सवे च एकदेशं च]
4 पिथ कार्यां (E) विपुले पिथ पुष्प दने वस्त्र नसिन सयम भवा-
5 शुभि कित्रज्ज चिन्तनित निचे पदे

(A) Devanāṁpriyō Priyaśi  raja savatram ichhati savra-
(B) rashānaṁ vasayu (B) savvī hi te sayame bhava-sūdhi cha ichhaṁti
(C) jano chu uchaucca-chaṁilo uchauuca-rago (D) te savaram va eka-dēsam va
4 pi kashahanti (E) vipule pi chu dane yasa nasti sayama bhava-
5 śudhi kiraṁata dridha-bhātita  niche paṁham

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devanāṁpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) They will fulfil either the whole or only a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, (and) firm devotion, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

A. — East Face of Shāhbāzgarhī Rock (continued).

17 (A) अमितं तत्पति देवानंप्रिय बिहारवन नस निकृःसियुः (B) खच सृगय अग्नि
2 एदिशिनि अभिरमनि अभुतसु (C) सो देवानंप्रियो मिल्यविश रज
3 दशवन्धिसियासो सति निकृःसिय सरोधि (E) इव इव हृदि
4 अभं बनसे इनाम बुद्र दशन हिमवानासि मान जनयसि जनसि
5 दशन अधन्तसि धोधिपिरुिच च ततोपयं (E) यथे भुष्ये रति भोजि देवानंप्रियम
6 मिल्यविश्व रजो भगो अंगि

1 skh (she at Mānehrā) corresponds to, and must have the same meaning as, nāni at Girnār
2 This edict is engraved on the left of the east face, at the top of the rock. The lines are therefore numbered separately.
3 Read Priyadarśi.
4 savvī Bühler.
5 sayama Bühler.
6 didhā Bühler.
17 (A) atikrataṁ ataram. Devanāmpriya vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (B) atra mṛgaya añani cha edaṁasti abhiramani abhuvasa (C) so Devanāmpriyam Priyadraśī raja daśa-vashabhisito satam (D) nikrami Sabodhi (E) tenada dhramma-yatra (F) atra iyaṁ hoti śramaṇa-bramaṇanam draśane danam vudhana[r] daśana hiraṇa-π[π]atīvīdhane cha [jana]padasa janasa draśana dhramanaśasti dhrama-π[r]π[ru]chha cha tatopayaṁ (F) eshe bhuy[e ra] ki bhoṭi Devanāmpriyam Priyadraśīsa raṇo bhago amni

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past the Devanāmpriyas used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.
(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).
(C) But when king Dēvānām tipriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years, he went out to Sāṁbodhi.
(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.
(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and (and) making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).
(F) This second period (of the reign) of king Dēvānām tipriya Priyadarśin becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARH

18 (A) tevanāmpīryanā miyadruṣi rau ekaṁ ahaṁ (B) jano ucbuca mṛgala karoti ahaṁ āravaṁ vihāre pahupadne prasaṁ ahaṁ āravaṁ e deśikīre jano v mṛgala karoti (C) āhau tu sīyam vaḥ vabhuvaḥ vad vadhivaḥ v kṣatik v niśaṭadhīr v mṛgala karoti (D) sofa keruva v v κa mṛgala (E) aṣṭakanta tu κa yam (F) aṁ tu κa sāhastra v saṁgala

19 (G) āhau aṁ dasmabhak samvapatiṁ gaṇaṁ aṣṭakantaṁ prasāṇaṁ saktinaṁ samabhadraṁ dhaṇya śat ca ṣat ca prasamagalaṁ nasa (H) so vahāṇaṁ pitūtaṁ pituṇaṁ pi puhunaṁ āhau pitaṁ sāmikēlaṁ pitaṁ sāmakṣunēna ahaṁ pratiṣṭhitaṁ āhaṁ saṁ pùhuna ca nāma saṁgalaṁ eva taṁ śṛdrus śāhastaṇaṁ niśvītām viṇmūrtīm v puṇa

20 aṁ caṁ (I) vhibhā ṣat ca mṛgalaṁ sāṣṭikīre tāṁ (J) sūyā ṣaṁ tāṁ ahaṁ niḥkṣetraṁ sūyā puṇa ṣaṁ (K) ikālaikāḥ ca vi ṣaṁ tāṁ (L) ida puṇa aṁ saṁsaṁgaḥ ahaṁ saṁgam (M) yah puṇa ca ṣaṁ nāḥeṣṭe idaḥ śāḥ pārame śāhaṁ caṁ puṇaṁ puṇaṁ prasāṭitaṁ (N) hvaṁ puṇa ca tāṁ niḥkṣetraṁ taṁ taṁ uṣṭhaṁ taḥ śāhastaṇaṁ śruḥ śaṁ caṁ śo śrāh ṣaṁ pārame caṁ śaṁsaṁgaḥ puṇaṁ prasāṭitaṁ teṇa prasāṭitaṁ

1 atikrataṁ aśantarāṁ Bühler. 6 sate Bühler. 11 dhrama- Bühler. 2 [k]editions Bühler. 7 draṣane Bühler. 3 abhuvasa Bühler. 8 draṣane Bühler. 9 -paṭīvīdha[na] Bühler. 10 draṣanāṁ Bühler. 11 ṣa[r]ṇaḥ Bühler. 12 cbh[a] Bühler. 12 ṣa[r]ṇaḥ Bühler. 13 ṣa[t] Bühler. 13 bhag[a] Bühler. 15 See above, p. 37, n. 5.
18 (A) Devanâṃpriyo Priyadarśi r[a]ya evaṁ ahati (B) jano uchavuchaṁ maṅgalaṁ karotī abadhe avahe vivahe pajuçadane pravase ataye¹ añaive cha edîśiy[e]² jano ba³ maṅgalaṁ karotī (C) atra tu striyaka bahu cha bahuvidhaṁ cha putika⁴ cha niraṇṭhiyam⁶ cha maṅgalaṁ karo[t]i⁶ (D) so kaṭavō cha [va]⁷ kho maṅgala (E) apa-phala[m] tu kho eta⁸ (F) imaṁ [r]u kho maha-phala ye ma-maṅgala⁹

19 (G) [a]ra ima dasa-bhaṭakasa samma-patipati¹⁰ garuna apachiti praṇanāṁ sa[m]yamo¹¹ śamaṇa-bramaṇa¹² dana etañ aṭhaṁ cha dhrama maṅgala[ma]ṁ nava (H) [s]o vatavo pituṇa pi putrena pi bhṛatana¹⁵ pi spamik[c]na pi mitra-sastutena¹⁴ ava prativesiśyena imaṁ sadhu [imaṁ]¹⁵ kaṭa[vo] maṅgala[m] yava tasa aṭhrasa¹⁶ nivuṭiṣya nivuṭasi va [p]u[n]a¹⁷

20 imaṁ kashaṁ¹⁸ (I) ye hi etake¹⁹ magale saśayike²⁰ taṁ (J) siya vo taṁ aṭhaṁ nivāṭeyati siya puna²¹ no²² (K) ialoka cha²³ vo taṁ²⁴ (L) ida²⁵ puna dhrama maṅgalaṁ akalikaṁ (M) yadi puna taṁ aṭhaṁ na niva[e]²⁶ iša²⁷ atha paratra anaṁtāṁ pūṇaṁ prasavati (N) haṁche puna taṁ ṭham²⁸ nivāṭeti tato u[bha]y[e]ja²⁹ ladhaṁ bhoti ia³⁰ cha so aṭho paratra cha anaṁtāṁ pūṇaṁ prasavati tena dhrama maṅgalaṁ³¹

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,³⁴ (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.
(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various offensive³⁵ and useless ceremonies.
(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.
(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.
(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.
(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other (virtues) are called the practice of morality.
(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour ought to say: ‘This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking): After it is actually attained, I shall observe this again’.

¹ Read etaye, which is Bühler’s reading.
² Read probably edīsyaye, as at Māṇschrā.
³ Read bahu.
⁴ putika[n] Bühler.
⁵ niraṭhiyam Bühler.
⁶ kā[raṭe] Bühler.
⁷ Bühler omitted va.
⁸ etañ Bühler.
⁹ Read dhrama-; maṅgala[m] Bühler.
¹⁰ pratipati Bühler.
¹¹ saśayana Bühler.
¹² śramaṇa- Bühler.
¹³ Read bhratuna, which is Bühler’s reading.
¹⁴ sastutena Bühler.
¹⁵ There is a vacant space here.
¹⁶ atkasa Bühler.
¹⁷ pana Bühler.
¹⁸ ka[sha] Bühler.
¹⁹ es[ra]ke Bühler.
²⁰ sa[m]yayike Bühler.
²¹ pana Bühler.
²² Bühler omitted no.
²³ ialokach[c] Bühler.
²⁴ tiṭhe Bühler.
²⁵ iya Bühler.
²⁶ Read nivāṭeti, as at Māṇschrā.
²⁷ [A]ḍa Bühler.
²⁸ Read taṁ aṭhaṁ; Bühler read [e]ḍaṁ for taṁ ṭham.
²⁹ ubhayaspa Bühler.
³⁰ ṭha Bühler.
³¹ Read dhrama maṅgalena.
³² For pajupadane see above, p. 38, n. 22.
³³ Instead of putika, ‘soul’, all other versions read kshudra, ‘vulgar’.
(I) For such ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(I) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).

(IX) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) But if one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object (in this world), the gain of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

21 (A) देवनार्यो द्रम्यनि रय यशो व किः त्रि व नो महतवह मषजि डांढ यो भि

यशो किः त्रि व डांढि तदलये खःति य जाने धर्मसुचर्य सुचुद्यते मे ति

धर्ममुत् च अनुवभिर्यत (B) एनकथे देवनार्यो द्रम्यनि रय यशो किः त्रि व

22 डांढि (C) यं तू किः परक्षमि देवनार्यो द्रम्यनि रय तं संव परिचिये व

किः तको अपरिस्त्व सिंवि य (D) एवे तू परिस्त्व यं अपुव्यूं (E) दुकोे तू

खो एवे बुद्रकेत च्यलेन उस्तेन व डांढ ग्येन परक्षमेन संव परितिशितु

(F) डांढ चे उस्तेदी . . .

21 (A) Devanapriyo Priyadarsī raya yaśo va kṛti va no mahaṭhavaha maṇi
dhātra yo pi yaśo kṛti va ichhati tādattaye ayatiya cha jāne dhṛamā-suśraha
suṣrashatu me ti dhṛiṁma-vuṭaṁ cha anuvādhiya (B) etakaye Devanapriyo
Priyadarsī raya yaśo v kṛti va

22 ichhati (C) ya[m] tu kichī parakramati Devanānāpriyo Priyadarsī raya taṁ
cav[r]am parakramaye va kītimakale aparīṣrave siyati (D) eshe tu parīṣrave yaṁ
apūνām (E) dukare [tu] khe eshe khudrakena vagrena usateva va aṅatra
agreṇa parakramena sava[m] paritijū (F) at[e]v cha usate . . . .

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānānāpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or
fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of
his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced)
by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of
morality.

(B) On this (account) king Dēvānānāpriya Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame.

(C) But whatever effort king Dēvānānāpriya Priyadarśin is making, all that
(is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may
be free of danger.

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

1 Instead of 'but if', two other versions read 'even if', which is preferable.
2 tādattaye Bühler; but see his Ind. Pal., § 11, C.
3 Read -suṣrashai. 4 Devanānāpriya Bühler.
5 Bühler added va.
6 dukarāṁ Bühler. 7 etaj (which is also possible) Bühler.
(E) But it is indeed difficult for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two)..............a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

23 (A) Devana[m]priyo Priyadārśi raya evam hahati ¹ (B) nasti ed[i]sāṃ danamān yadiśāṃ dhrama-dana ² dhrama-sārāstv[e] dh[r]ama-sārāvibhago dh[r]ama-sāra[b]a[k]a[i]ha ³ (C) tatra etai dasa-bhāṭakanaṃ sāmman-patipati ⁴ mātā-pitushu suśrūsha mi[t]ra-sārāsttā-sātikanaṃ śramaṇa-bramaṇana ⁵

24 dana praṇāna ⁶ anara[m]bhjo (D) etai vatavo putana pi putrena pi bhratuna pi [spa]mikena ⁷ pi mitra-samstutana ⁸ ava pratiśeṣyena [i]ma[m] ⁹ sadhu imaṅ kaṭavo (E) so tatha karata[n]i ialo[k]a ¹⁰ cha a[r]aḥkheti paratra cha anata[m] puṇa ¹¹ prasavati

25 [te]na dhrama-danena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadārśin speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, acquaintance through morality, the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say: ‘This is meritorious. This ought to be done’.

(E) If one is acting thus, he attains (happiness in) this world, and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

¹ aha ti Bühler.
² -danamān Bühler.
³ -sāhbarātha Bühler.
⁴ samman-pratipati Bühler.
⁵ -brahmaṇanaś Bühler.
⁶ danaik prasanaśi Bühler.
⁷ [sa]mikena Bühler.
⁸ Read -samstutena, which is Bühler’s reading.
⁹ There is a fissure in the rock here.
¹⁰ karantaṁ ialo[k]a[n] Bühler.
¹¹ puṇan Bühler.
THE INScriptions OF ASoka

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBazGARHl

B.—On a separate boulder.

1. (A) देवनाधिप्यो प्रवाण्डि रय सतवण्डनि प्रमत्तति महजि च यूजि द्वेन विविधेहि च पुज्ये (B) नो चु तथ दन च पुज च
2. देवनाधिप्यो सताति यथा किति सतवण्डि सिय उतप्रण्डनि (C) सतवण्डि तु बहुविधि
3. तस्य त्व इयो मलयं वच्चति
4. किति द्वाप्रण्डि धर रतप्रण्डि च तसिय अर्पकराति लहुः च सिय तसि
5. तसि प्रकारेण (E) पुजेतविघ्व च च परम्पर- त
6. द तेन तेन अधरेण (F) एवं करंत द्वाप्रण्डि वेदिति परम्परेष्ठ सि च उपकरोगि
7. द्वाप्रण्डि तसि प्रकारिति (G) तत्त्र अर्जु करानि अर्धप्रण्डि
8. रतप्रण्डि च अर्पकराति (H) यो हि किति द्वाप्रण्डि यूजिति परम्परेष्ठ
9. गराहि सि उत्तप्रण्डमिति च किति
10. उत्तप्रण्डि दिप्यसि ति सि च पुजन तथ वारंसि सि च पुजन तथ वारंसि वादतरं
11. उपहराति द्वाप्रण्डि (I) सि सयमो वो सयमो ति अर्षास्म अमो
12. प्रसन्त तेन वतनि (J) देवनाधिप्यो न तथ दन्त च पुज च सताति यथा किति
13. सताति सिय तसि प्रकारेण (K) च चरि तब
14. चपार ट्रामहसिम इक्षुभिश्नामहसिम व्यष्टिमिक छ्रेजे च निकये (N) इम च एतिस
15. द्वारं च उपकराति भोगि

1. (A) Devanâmprîyo Priyaâdraśi raya savra-prashanîdjanî pravrajita[ni]1 grahathanî2 cha pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye (B) no chu tatha [da]na3 va pujya va
2. Devanâmprîyo marâti yatha kiti sa[la]-vâdhi siya savra-prashanîdanâm (C) sala-vâdhi tu bahunidha (D) tasa tu iyo mula yam vacha-guti
3. kiti ata-prashanîda-pujya va pa[ra]-pashanidâ-garana, va no siya [a]pakaraṇasi4 lahuka va siya tasi tasi prakara[n]e (E) pujetaviya va chu para-prash[ma]-
4. [da] tena tena akarea (F) e[v]arn karatam5 ata-t[ra]-pashanidînâ vañëhi para-prashanîdînâa6 pi cha upakaroti (G) tada aînathâ7 ka[ra]min[o]8 ata-t[ra-]pashanidînâa9

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1 This word was entered above the line: pravrajita Bühlert.
2 grahatha[ni] Bühlert.
3 dana[ni] Bühlert.
4 prakaraṇasi Bühlert.
5 karâ[ni] Bühlert.
6 Read "dasa", which is Bühlert's reading.
7 Read tâd-aînathâ.
8 ka[ra]châ Bühlert.
9 prashanîdîn Buddha.
SEVENTH AND TWELFTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI

Scale One-fourth

See Page 59

Scale One-sixth
TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

6 ata-praṣadāṁ dipayami ti so cha puna tatha karamataṁ so cha puna tatha karamataṁ[4] ba[dhata]rāṁ upahaṁti ata-praṣadāṁ (I) so sayamo vo sadhu kiti añamaṁsa dharmo
7 śrṇeyu cha-su[rusheyu cha ti (J) evaṁ hi Devanāṁpriyasa ichha kiti savra-praṣhadā bahu-sruta ch[a] kal[a]p[a]gama cha siyasa (K) ye cha tatra tatra
10 dhramasa cha d[i]pana

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devanāṁpriya Priyadarsin is honouring all sects: (both) ascetics and householders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But Devanāṁpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But the promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i.e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is promoting his own sect and is benefiting other sects as well.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is hurting his own sect and wronging other sects.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect (or) blames other sects,—all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore self-control[4] alone is meritorious, (i.e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of Devanāṁpriya, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows).

(L) Devanāṁpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.[9]

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1. prashaṇḍasa Bühler.
2. k[ś]ci Bühler.
4. Cancel the five preceding words, which were repeated by mistake.
5. Restore athaya.
6. vṛṣa- Bühler.
7. -prashaṇḍa- Bühler.
8. Instead of 'self-control' the other versions read 'concord'.
9. For siyati see above, p. 40, n. 1.
(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the Mahâmátrás of morality, the Mahâmátrás controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, and other classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

C.—West face of Shahbazgarh rock.

1 (A) अङ्गवशस्याभिमित्तस्य देवनंप्रिस्य मिश्रवदिग्निः रजोऽकल्पितं विभिन्न (B) दिशाबद्धस्य प्रवश्याभिमित्तस्य ये ततो श्रयुपेदे श्यामाहस्याभिमित्तस्य तन्म हस्ते कहतवत्तके व मुटे

2 (C) ततो प श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्यामाहस्याभिमित्तस्य तन्म हस्ते कहतवत्तके व मुटे विभिन्न श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्यामाहस्याभिमित्तस्य तन्म हस्ते कहतवत्तके व मुटे

3 (D) श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे

4 (E) श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे

5 (F) श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे कहतवत्तके व मुटे विभिन्न श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे

6 (G) श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे कहतवत्तके व मुटे विभिन्न श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे

7 (H) श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे कहतवत्तके व मुटे विभिन्न श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे

8 (I) श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे कहतवत्तके व मुटे विभिन्न श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे

9 (J) श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे कहतवत्तके व मुटे विभिन्न श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे श्रयुपेदे
10 नौजपितिनितेन त्रांगपितितेन सत्व देवनिमित्त धमनुशश्च अनुपन्तित (S) यथा पि देवनिमित्त दुः न वर्षति ति पि श्रुति देवनिमित्त धमवृत्त विधानं धमनुशश्च अनुपपितित्य अनुपपितित्य श्च (T) यो द स तथे एतकेन नौजिति सत्व विजयो सत्व पुनः

11 विजयो मिति रसि श (U) तथ नौजि प्रिि धमवितियिष्क (V) लदुकः तु यो स प्रिि (W) परत्वमेव सहदत मेजिते देवनिमित्त (X) यथात् च अयि प्रमदिपिन निपित कितु नुष पपोषः मेन ऋषु नव विजयेन म विजेतिविष्क मन्दिष्य सत्कस्यो तो स तो विजयेन किि च लहुरुद्दत च रोषेन तं च यो विजय इत्यतु

12 यो धमवितियिष्क (Y) सो िहिदलोकिको परलोकिको (Z) सचतितिरि भोिु य प्रमरिि (AA) स हि हिदलोकिक परलोकिक


7 śaṭa-bhage va saḥsra-bbhage va [a]ja guru-maṭaṁ v[o] Devanaṁpriyasya (L) yo pi cha apakahreyati ksahitaviyaṁ-mate va Devanaṁpriyasya (r)yaṁ sako kshanaye (M) y pi cha aṭavi Devanaṁpriyasya vijite bhooti ta pi anuneti anunipeti (N) anuta[e] pi cha prabhava

1 a[sta]- Bührer. 2 [aṭha]- Bührer. 3 Bührer omitted va.
4 [pa]c[ka]- Bührer. 5 Ka[liga]- Bührer. 6 [a].wik[ka]- Bührer.
7 [a]nihe- Bührer. 8 priyasya vijini[ti Ka]la[nga]- Bührer.
8 [a]nihe- Bührer. 9 ma[na]- Bührer. 10 vadh[a]- Bührer.
13 vasi[nti Bührer. 14 guruṇa[na]- Bührer.
15 [a]nihe- Bührer. 16 [a]nihe- Bührer.
17 [a]nihe- Bührer. 18 [a]nihe- Bührer.
19 tatra[na] for ye tatra Bührer. 20 vadh[a]- Bührer.
21 vadh[a]- Bührer. 22 vadh[a]- Bührer.
23 vadh[a]- Bührer. 24 vadh[a]- Bührer.
25 vadh[a]- Bührer. 26 vadh[a]- Bührer.
8 Devanāmpriyasa vuchati tesha kiti avatrapeya na cha [ha] añeyasu (O) icchati hi D[e]yanāmpriyoy savra-bhutana akshati sa[m]yamaṁ sama[cha]riyam rabbasiye (P) ayi 1 cha mukha-mut[a] 2 vijaye Devanāmpriyasa[sa] yo dhrama-vijayo (Q) so cha puna ladho Devanāmpriyasa iha cha saveshu 3 cha anteshu
9 [a] shashu pi yojana-ša[c]eshu yatra Aṇṭiyoko nama Y[ō]na-raja paraṁ cha tena Aṭiyoka na 4 chature 4 rajani Turamaye nama Aṇṭikini nama Maka nama Alikasudaro nama nica Chaṭḍa-Paṇḍa avas Ta[m]bapan[i]ya 6 (R) [c]vameva [hi]da raja-viśavaspi 8 Yona-Ka[m]bueshu Nabhaka-Nabhitina 7
12 yo dhrama-vijayo (Y) so hidalokiko paralokiko (Z) savã-chatã-rati 17 bhotu ya [dh]raham-rati 18 (AA) sa hi hidalokiko paralokika

TRANSLATION
(A) When king Dēvānapriyā Priyadarśin had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the Kaliṅgas was conquered by (him).
(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many who died.
(C) After that, now that (the country of) the Kaliṅgas has been taken, Dēvānapriyā (is devoted to) a zealous study of morality, 19 to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.
(D) This is the repentance of Dēvānapriyā on account of his conquest of (the country of) the Kaliṅgas.
(E) For, this is considered very painful and deplorable by Dēvānapriyā, that, while one is conquering an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.
(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by Dēvānapriyā.

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1 eshe Bühler. 2 -mute Bühler. 3 sa[ve]khu Bühler. 4 Aṇṭiyokena Bühler.
5 pahiṇiya Bühler. 6 Viśka-Vajri- Bühler. 7 Nabhaka Na[bh]ītina Bühler.
8 Pul[de]khu Bühler. 9 vidhaṇaṁ Bühler. 10 [cha] Bühler.
14 dān[da]śaṇk Bühler. 15 taṁ [sa] Bühler. 16 Read vijayaṁ, as at Kāṣi.
17 savra cha nirati Bühler. 18 [j]rama- Bühler.
19 dhrama-śilana (= Skt. dharma-śilana) is the equivalent of dhanmaṇḍya at Girnār; see above, p. 24, n. 14.
THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI
LEFT HALF

Scale One-ninth
THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI

RIGHT HALF

SCALE ONE-NINTH
(G) (To) the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, or other sects or householders, who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion,—to these then happen injury¹ or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) Or, if there are then incurring misfortune the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for, this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.

(I) This is shared by all men and is considered deplorable by Dēvānāmpriya.

(J) And there is no (place where men) are not indeed attached to some sect.²

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time in Kalinga, (would) now be considered very deplorable by Dēvānāmpriya.

(L) And Dēvānāmpriya thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven.

(M) And even (the inhabitants of) the forests³ which are (included) in the dominions of Dēvānāmpriya, even those he pacifies (and) converts.⁴

(N) And they are told of the power (to punish them) which Dēvānāmpriya (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance,⁵ in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed.

(O) For Dēvānāmpriya desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.⁶

(P) And this conquest is considered the principal one⁷ by Dēvānāmpriya, viz. the conquest by morality.

¹ The meaning of apagratho is fixed by the various readings upaghāte (Kāśi) and upaghāto (Girnār). It has to be noted (to which Fischel draws my attention) that some Kōṣa gives for grathita the meaning hau, hīnsa; see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s.v. granth.'—Bühler, ZDMG, 43, 174.
² 'By the fault of the writer' (as the rock-edict XIV, E, expresses it), most of this section is omitted in the Śahābāzgarhī version.
³ As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 43, 174 f.), the nom. plur. api is used in the sense of ātavikāḥ, Indian rhetoricians call such a figurative expression lakṣhāṇā. One of the examples given in the Tarkasaṅgrahadīpikā, § 59, is स्थान: क्रांतिकार, 'the tribunes (i.e. the occupants of the tribunes) are shouting.'
⁴ Literally, 'induces to meditate'. Cf. niṣāhapāyanaṇī and niṣāhapāyita (or niṣāhapāyave) in the pillar-edict IV, M, niṣāhapāyava in the Jágaḍa separate edict I, R, and niṣāhita in the rock-edict VI, F, and in the Delhi-Tōpā pillar-edict VII, JJ to NN; also the second separate edict at Dhauli and Jágaḍa, where Aśoka declares that he wishes to induce his borderers to practise morality.
⁵ Bühler (E I, 2, 471) rendered anuṭāpe prabhāve (i.e. anuṭāpe prabhāve) by 'power to torment (them)'. But the meaning which he assigned to anuṭāpe is unusual, and this word is a synonym of anuṣāya or anuṣāhana in section D of this edict. Thomas takes prabhāve = Skt. prabhāva; see V. A. Smith's Aśoka, sec. ed., p. 173, n. 4. But at Śahābāzgarhī the 3. sing. opt. ends in -ṣati; cf. my note on the translation of edict XIV, D.
⁶ I adopt Lübke's rendering of the last two words of this section; see SPAW, 1914, 851. The Girnār and Kāśi versions replace the locative rābhase ( = Skt. rābhase) by the accusative mādava or madava ( = Skt. mārdanam, 'kindness').
⁷ mukha-muta (also at Māneṣhā, XIII, 1, 9) is the same as mukhya-muta in the Lārāyaṇa-Arārāj and Allahabad-Kōṣa pillar-edicts, VI, F.
(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by Dēvāṇāmpriya both here and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred yōjanas, where the Yōna king named Antiyoka (is ruling), and beyond this Antiyoka, (where) four—4—kings (are ruling), (viz. the king) named Turamaya, (the king) named Antikini, (the king) named Maka, (and the king) named Alikasudara, (and) towards the south, (where) the Chōdas and Pāṇḍyas (are ruling), as far as Tamraparnī.

(R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the Yōnas and Kambōyas, among the Nabhakas and Nabhits,1 among the Bhōjas and Pitinikas, among the Andhras and Palidas, 2—everywhere (people) are conforming to Dēvāṇāmpriya’s instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of Dēvāṇāmpriya do not go, having heard of the duties of morality, the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of Dēvāṇāmpriya, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it).

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere,—a conquest (won) everywhere (and) repeatedly,—causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) Satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.

(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) Dēvāṇāmpriya thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them,4 they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let there be (to them) pleasure in the abandonment of all (other aims),4 which is pleasure in morality.

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

13 (A) अधि भ्रमरप्रिय देवनामप्रिय प्रियिन रज निपेसपियं अलिस चो संबिनिन अलिस चो विकोष्टिन (B) न हि सवच सस्ये गतिते (C) महलके हि निलिपि बहु च निलिपि लिपिबंगेदिम चैव (D) अलिस चु अलिस युऽ युऽ लघितं तत स्वस्म भ्रस्म मुपिरिये शेन जन तथा

14 परिमेज्यति (E) सो तिय च अलिस चिकेच्व अससम्य निकिलितं देश च संसक्य करध च अलोच्चित दिपिकाम व अपरधेन

1 The Kāśi version reads Nābhapaiti for Nabhitī.
3 Cf. above, p. 49, n. 2.
4 Cf. above, p. 18, n. 10. The wording of Kāśi and Mānsehā differs here. Unless the Shāhbazgari reading is merely due to a clerical mistake, it would contain a Prākṛt substantive catta = Skt. *tyakti in the sense of ṭāga.
FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

13 (A) ayi\(^1\) dhrama-di\(^2\) Devanāṃpriyena Prīśi[na]\(^3\) raśa nipesapita\(^4\) asti vo
śāmkshitena\(^5\) asti yo vistriṇena (B) na hi savatra\(^6\) sasavre\(^7\) gātite\(^8\) (C) mahalake
hi vijite bahu cha likhite likha[p]esami cheva (D) asti chu\(^9\) atra puna puna
14 paṭipajeyati\(^10\) (E) so siya va atra kiche\(^11\) asamatam likhitam deśam va saṁkhya\[^{a}^{2}\]
karāṇa va alocheti dipikarasa va aparadhena

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written\(^{13}\) by king
Dīvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin either in an abridged (form) or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause
still (more) to be written.

(D) But (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm
of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.\(^{14}\)

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of
the locality, or because (my) motive was not liked,\(^{15}\) or by the fault of the writer.

IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

A.—First Inscribed Rock.

1 (A) अयिः प्रमदिः देवनंदिः मियन्ध्रिः रजिन निखिपिं (B) हिंद नो किंतु
जिवे आरभित्त मन्त्रिखि–
2 तत्विं (C) नो पि च समवे दरविं (D) वहुक हि दौष समवेन देवनंदिः
मियन्ध्रि रजु त्रिः (B) श्रामिः पि च
3 अंकतिः समव महमुल देवनंदिः मियन्ध्रिः रजिन (F) पुर महानसभ
देवनंदिः मियन्ध्रिः रजु–
4 जिने अनुदिः बहुति प्रमक्षेतसहस्ति आरभित्तु सुपश्यिः (G) से
अयिः प्रमदिः निखिपि तद तिनि येव प्रमक्षि आरखंस्ति दुवे ॥ मद्य–
5 र एके भिंगे से पि चु मिंगे नो धुंचि (B) एतति पि चु तिनि प्रमक्षि पत्च नो
आरभि ॥

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\(^1\) ayi: See above, p. 8, n. 3.
\(^2\) There is a vacant space between ma and di.
\(^3\) Read Priyadrāśina.
\(^4\) dipātita Bühler.
\(^5\) savākṣitena Bühler.
\(^6\) saṃvātra Bühler.
\(^7\) Read saṃvre; [se] saṃvre Bühler.
\(^8\) Read ghaṣāte; ghaṣāti Bühler.
\(^9\) cha Bühler.
\(^10\) prati: Bühler.
\(^11\) Read kiche, which is Bühler’s reading.
\(^12\) saṃkhya: Bühler.
\(^13\) With the optative paṭipajeyati (= “यति at Dhauli and Jaugada) cf. apakarejati (XIII, l. 7),
nīvatejati (IX, l. 20), and siyati (= “यति or sīyati at Kālṣ): see above, p. 40, n. 1.
\(^14\) With the optative paṭipajeyati; see above, p. 8, n. 3.
SECOND ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

5 (A) सच विजयितस देवनामिष्य प्रियद्रशिस्य रजिने ये च चात्र अक
6 चोड़ पदिय तसियुद भलपुच तवनपणी असियों गंग सोनर ये च चा अक
7 दुः कहिकर मनुष्यविकस च पुष्यविक्षत च (B) ऋषिविन मनु अक
8 (C) रवेवल सुनच च फलिन च चात्र अक नसिस सच भरपित च रोपिणि च

5 (A) sa[vatra v]ijitasi Devanapriyasya Priyadrasisa rajino ye cha ata atha

3 pra[ya]hāvī Bühl.,
4 samā[ja] kaṭavīya Bühl.
5 priyadras[a] Bühl.
6 Bühl inserted the figure 'ī'.
7 anīta Bühl.
8 putr[e] Bühl.
9 tiṣṭe Bühl.
10 samānta Bühl.
11 osha[chi]ni Bühl.
12 [y]atra yatra Bühl.
13 rucḥha Bühl.
14 The next symbol (read [ku] by Bühl) may be the first letter (u) of udāpanāni.
15 -m[a]nānā Bühl.
THIRD ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

9 (A) टेवनमिये मियृत्रि रज एव छाय (B) दुविदवव्यवितिसति मे द्युय अशापिते (C) सुवच विजितसि . . . . . त रजु . . . . . . प्रदेशिके पंचछु पंचछु पच्छु पच्छु । । ।
10 अनुसंग निकमल एतये च अथॅये टमये भ्रमनुसृति यष अथाये पि क्रमबो (D) सधु मातितुधु सुधुध स्वतंत्रता

11 जतिंकन च भ्रमनुसृति सधु दने प्रणाल अनाने सधु अन्यवयन अपनात सधु (E) परिष पि च भ्रम निर गणनसि अशापिति एतु ते च वियाजः

12 नाते च

9 (A) Dovalapriyo Priyadraśī raja eva a[ha] (B) duva[ . a]śa-vaśabhisetena । me iyā|m [ anapayit]c (C) savrat[ra] vijitasi . . . . ta] । ra[ju . pradeśike [par]chashu par[ì]chashu] । 5 yashesh[u]
10 anusa[gh]yana[gh] nkritamatu । etaye va । athrāya imaye dhramanusāṣṭiye ya[gh]a ।
[anapayāyāśa[ti] he[tute] cha vi[yānaj]

12 nate cha

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

12 (A) अतिकरं अतरं बहुत व्रणसनि वधिते जो प्रश्नभे विद्वि च भुतन जति

13 (B) से अज देवनप्रय ग्रियातिले रजिने भ्रमचचमन भरणोऽथैः श्रीः धमथोऽथैः

14 (C) अर्थेभि बहुि वरणसनि न हुमुङे तरिशे अज बिधि ग्रियातिले भ्रमचचमन रजिने

15 संपतिप्रय भ्रममाससं कर्मविद्वि भ्रमचचमन भुतन जति (D) एते अजे

16 प्रीयातिले रज भ्रमचचम इमं (E) पुष पि च न नते च प्रणालिक देवनप्रय

प्रीयातिले रजिने प्रवद्भिति यो भ्रमचचम इमं अवक्य भ्रमे शिले च

1 Read "bhishitena.  2 anap Bührler.  3 [me] ta Bührler.  4 nikrama[gh]tu Bührler.
5 vana Bührler.  What he took for an Anusvāra, is the optional horizontal (sometimes curved)
6 bottom-line which he has noted in ja (ZDMG, 43: 275), and which the Māneśa version uses also
7 in da (XIII, 10), dha (VII, 33; XII, 6; XIII, 1), ta of mata (l, 3; IV, 15; XIII, 4), tha (II, 5; V, 20, 25; XII, 4; cf. above, p. 55, n. 6), and ja (XII, 5).
8 ya an Bührler.  9 anaye Bührler.  10 krama Bührler.  11 -śramaṇanām Bührler.
FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

19 (A) देवनामिन्ये मियादसिंह सर एवं ऋषि (B) कलरं दुर्कर (C) ये अदिकरे कायस से दुःखर करोति (D) तं संय वहुः कास्ये कटे (E) तं मया पुच्छ च

20 नारे च पर च तन ये अपनिये से आवक्ष तथ अनुवितिशिति से सुकट कसति (F) ये चु चरूः देश य धैर्यासिति से दुःखर कसति

21 (G) यथे ये नम सुपदरवे (H) से अतिक्रं बंते न मुक्तमुश्र सरसमहतः नम (I) से वेंदरविभितित्व ययो स्मयमहतः कट (J) ते सरसपदेत

22 बसुत्र धनिष्ठनये च सरस्विन्युद्धिःसुकृ च सरस्युद्ध योनिकेतिजगधरः रविकृतिरितितकले ये च पि चरे अपरत (K) भरतये-
23 पु भर्मरिन्देशु ऋषिशु वुद्धु हिंदुस्ताय भ्रम्युत्तदापिरनीयाय विषय | विदनवदन परितिविधनाय आपिरनीयाय मोक्दराय | च इ | 

24 अनुवध ज्ञात ति व कार्तिका ति व महत्तुम ति व विवाह ते (M) हिंदु विरदेशु 
च अगोद्व सबल ऋषिशु मनान च समुन च | 

25 ये व पि आनन्दिक सवद्रु प्रया (N) ए इयन भ्रम्युत्तीलो ति व भ्रम्युगचन नि
ति व टनस्युने ति व सवद्रु विजितति मत्र भ्रम्युत्ति चिरे वे | 

26 भ्रमस्थग्र (O) एते आनन्द विरयाय भ्रम्युदिपि लिखित चिरितितिक हेतु तथ च मे 
प्रज अनुवादतु | 

19 (A) De[vanam]priyona 1 Priyadraśi raja eva[m] aha (B) kālaṇā[m] dukara[m] 
(O) ye adikare kāyaṇasa se dukaraṇi karoti (D) tāh maya bahu [ka]yane 
[ka]tē (E) [ta]mś [m] putra [cha] | 

20 nataś[ca] cha 2 para 3 cha [c]na ye apatīye me [a]va-[ka]pāṇi tatha anuvatiṣati 4 
se sukaṇa ka[ša]tī (F) ye [chu] atra dēṣa pi hapeṣati se dukātā kashati | 

21 (O) pape hi nama supadarave 5 (H) [e] atikrata[m] a[m]tara[m] na bhuta-pruva 
 dhrama-[ma]hamatra nama (I) se tredaśa-va[śa]bhīṣitaṇa maya dhrama-
 mahamatra kāta (J) te savra-[pa]kṣeṣa 6 | 

22 vāpūṭa dhramadhitḥa[na]ye cha dhrama-vadhriya hida-sukhaye cha dh[r]aṃ-yutasa 
Yona-Karhoja-Gadharana 7 Raṭhika-Pitinikana 8 ye va pi aṇe aparata (K) 
bha[ra]maye | 

23 shu bramanibhyeshu anatheshu vudhreshu hida-sukhaye 9 dhrama-yutasa 
apalibodhaye viya[p]uṣa te (L) badhana-badh[a]sa paṭīv[ci]hanaye apalibodhayya 
mokṣhaye cha iyaṇi | 

24 anubadha p[r]aja 10 [i] va katrabhikara ti va mahalake ti va viyapraṣa te (M) 
hida 11 bahireshu cha nagares[u] savreshu [o]rodhanesu bhatana 12 cha 
spas[na] [cha] | 

25 ye va pi aṇe niśate savratra viyapata (N) [e] iyaṇ dharma-niśito to 13 va 
dhramadhitthane ti va dana-saṁyute ti va savratra vijitas ti maa dhrama-yutasi 
vāpūṭa [te] | 

26 dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye athrāye ayi dhrama-dipī likhita chira-thiti khotu 
tatha 14 cha me praja anuvātatu | 

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1 Read "priy", which is Bühler's reading. 
2 Bühler omitted cha. 
3 paṇi Bühler. 
4 tathāu anuvā[ci]ṣiṣati Bühler. 
5 supadaravo[a] Bühler. 
6Read "deshu", which is Bühler's reading. 
7 Ga[ma]dharanam Bühler. 
8 Raṭhrika- Bühler. The second symbol (ṭhi) resembles the corresponding one at Shāhbab, 
garhi, but the vertical line connecting the right ends of the two horizontal bars is omitted here. 
The third symbol looks like kāni; but the apparent Anusāra is the optional bottom-line of the letter. 
Cf. the ka of chira-thiti, VI, 31, and above, p. 73, n. 5. 
9 hidaka Bühler. 
10 paja Bühler; ja looks like ju. 
11 Read bhatuna. 
12 -niṣiṣṭi ti Bühler; read it for to. 
13 hidāu Bühler. 
14 tathāu Bühler.
SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

26 (A) Devanāpiṭhe Miprakṣhī ra[a] (B) atikratam ataraṁ
27 na huta-prve [sa]vraṁ kāla athra-[krama] va [pa]tivedana va (C) ta maya evāṁ kīṭhāṁ (D) savra kālaṁ ṣatasā ma orodhane grabhagarasi vṛchhaspi vinitaspi uyanaspi savrata pa[i] [ve]ka[ka] athra janasa
28 paṭivedetu me (E) savratay cha janasa athra kar[o]mi ahaṁ (F) yaṁ pi cha kīchhi4 mukhato1 anapemi ahaṁ dāpakaṁ va śravakaṁ va ye5 va puna mahamatrei achayike aropite6 hoti
taye athrave vivade niṇaṭ16 va sansa pa[kh]a[y]e a[na]tāliyena paṭivedetaviye 11 me savratay savra kāla (G) evaṁ anapita maya (H) nasti hi me toshe [uṭhanasi] ath[r]a-sa[ṃ]tiraṁyē cha
30 (I) kaṭavya-mate hi me savra-loka-h[i]te (J) [ta]sa chu puna eshe mule uṭhane athra-satiraṇa cha (K) nasti hi kramatara savra-loka-hitena (L) ya[i] cha [kīchhi15 pa[rakra]nami ahaṁ13 k[i]ha[y]i bh[i]n]tanaṁ
anānihin14 ye[ha[ni]] īa cha she15 sukhayami paratra cha spagra18 a[ra]dhetu ti
SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

32 (A) देवनाम्यो भ्रमर्णि राज सत्र इख्तित सवपडः वसेष्य (B) सवेह रिः ते सयन
भवणुषिः च

33 इक्तित (C) जने चु उच्चुच्चुष्ठे उच्चुच्चुष्ठे (D) ते सत्र रक्तेश्व च रि कांति (E)
विपुले रि चु दने यह नाश सवेहे भवणुषि फिटन दिवाुमि ति

34 निवे बढ़े

32 (A) Devanapriyo 6 Priyadāśi raja savatra ichehati savra-pashaṇa vaseyu (B)
savre hi te sa[ya]ma [bha]va-su[dh]i [cha]

33 [ichehantat]i (C) jane chu uchavucha-chhide 9 uchavucha-rage (D) te savraṁ eka-deṣaṁ
va pi kashati (E) [v]ipule pi ch[u] dane yasa nasti sayeme7 bhava-suti 8
kīṭanata driḍhā-bhatita 9 cha

34 nīche badham

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

34 (A) अतिक्तम शतरं देवनाम्य विहरण नम निक्रमिषु (B) इश्व मिरावय श्रानि
च एदिनानि आभिरस्त्तिः हुसु (C) से देवनाम्ये भ्रमर्णि

35 रज द्वाष्ठयमिति संसं निक्रमि सवीधि (D) तेनद भ्रमयद्व (E) श्रां होति
शनिक्तमणि द्राणे दने च तुष्ण द्राणे च हिष्णपदिविधि च

36 जनयदस जनस द्राणे भ्रमतुष्ठि त्र भ्रमपरिपुच ततोपय (F) एषे भुये रति
होति देवनाम्यस भ्रमर्णि

37 राजने भो भ्रानि

34 (A) a[t]ikratam ataraṁ10 Devanapri[ya] viharache yatra nama nikramishu (B) ia11
mrigaviya añani cha eciśani abhiramani husu (C) s[e] Devanap[r]ly[e]
P[r]iyadāśi

35 raja daśa-vaśabhāhisate saṁta[m] nikrami Sabodhī18 (D) tenada dhrama-yada13
NINTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

B.—North Face of Second Rock.

1 (A) Devanapriyo Priyadarsī raja evanī aha (B) jane uchavucha[m] mahala[m] karoti
3 bahu maṅga[laṁ] ka[ra]t[i] (C) atra tu abaka-jaṇika 4 bahu cha bahuvirdha cha khuda cha nīrathriya cha margaṁ karoti (D) se ka[śavye ch]eva 5 k̐ho
4 magale (E) apa-phaele chu [kho e]she (F) iyam chu kho maha-phaele ye dhrama-magale 6 (G) atra iyam dasa-bhātakaśi samya-patipati guruṇa [k]apati[]
6 mitra-sa[m]ṣutena [a]va paṭivesiyeṇa p[i] iyāṁ sadhu iyāṁ kaṭaṣvīye magale ava tasa athṛasa nivuṭiṣya nivuṭasya va puna ima [ka]shami ti 8 (I) e hi [i]tare 9 maga[le]

1 śramaṇa—Bühler.
2 vadhraṇa—Bühler.
3 cha for [Cha]eva Bühler.
4 maṅga—Bühler.
5 [e]śk[a]miti Bühler.
6 Read hiṇaṇa—
7 —maṅgaṇe Bühler.
8 [a]ṣṭakra—Bühler.
TENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

9. (A) देवनमियेन्ये मियाम्यिर रज यशो व फिरि व नो महूर्वहें भजति अखचय घं वि यशो व फिरि व इचि तद्व्ये अयतिय च जने भमसुरुच सब्रुपु मे ति
10. भमसुण च अनुविविधुता ति (B) एतकेये देवनमियेन्ये मियाम्यिर रज यशो व फिरि व इचि (C) ... किचि परकसमि देवनमियेन्ये मियाम्यिर रज न च सब्र परकि रे व फिरि
11. सकते अयापिसने सियति ति (D) एवे चु परसने ए अयुक्ते (E) दुकरे चु लो एवे खुदकेन व चोपेन उस्तेन व अचन अयेन परकसन सब्र परितिजिव व (F) अच हु चु उस्तेन दुकरे

9. (A) [Devana]priye Priyadrasi raja yaśo va kiti va no maha[rava]haṁ maṁat
10. dhrama-vutan cha anuvihayatu ti (B) etake Devana[priye Priya][dra]si

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

12. (A) देवनमियेन्ये मियाम्यिर रज एवं चाह (B) सूक्त एदिशे लें आदिशे भमदने भमसंध्ये भमसंबिनग्न भमसंबंधे (C) तत्र एवे दसभटकास संयतिपित मतपिन्यु सुबुध

2. na Bühler.
3. an[an]tāṁ puṇāṁ Bühler.
4. [a] ra Bühler.
5. tate looks almost like tati.
6. ubhayasa [va la]dhe Bühler.
7. Read dhrama-magalena. The same mistake is found in the Shahbajāgarhi version.
8. n[a] Bühler.
9. taddattaye Bühler; but see above, p. 62, n. 2.
10. The syllable śru is engraved in a deep round hole which must have existed already at
the time of the inscription.
11. Bühler omitted eha.
12. [apu][a][ni] Bühler.
13. e tu kichi Bühler.
14. tu Bühler.
15. dukarana Bühler.
17. khudakena Bühler.
13 मिच्छस्तु ज्ञात्व अश्वमार्गाय द्वे प्रजान अति (D) एवं वति ये यत्वन 
पि पुष्मन पि अन्तुि पि स्थिति पि मिच्छस्तु ज्ञाति अश्व धैवधिनिये 
14 इस्य सुपु इस्य कतवि (E) से तथा क्षरन्त हितलोकः के व अर्थे होति परल 
चरणों पुर्णा प्रसांति तेन प्रमाने 
12 (A) Devanapriyaye Priyadraśī raja evain aha (B) nasti edise dane [a]diše 
dhrāma-dane dhrāma-sarvah[ye] dhrāma-sarvabihaga
(C) tatra este dasa-bhāṣa[kasi] samyapati 
13 mitra-saṁ[stuta]-nātikana śramaṇa-bramaṇa daṇ[e] prāṇana [ana]rabbe 
(e) she vataviye pituna pi putrena pi bhṛatunā pi spāmi ke[na] pi mitra-
saṁ[stu]c[n]a ava paśiveśiyena 

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

C.—South Face of Second Rock.

1 (A) devaṇaṇyaṃ priyaṇya raja saṃvapadāni prabhājathāni gheṣhāni 
ch puṣṭi dana 
2 vāvibhye ch puṣṭe (B) no chū tath dana v puṣṭe 
3 devaṇaṇyaṃ mājati añē kīti saṃvapadāni sāya saṃvapadān āī (O) 
4 saṃnādaḥ tu 
5 bhuviv (D) tatra chū omamas ca āṃ vāphgaritā 
6 kīti añē saṃvapadānā ve paryapadānā v no sāya añē 
7 paryapadānā tathā ca sāya tattā tattā pākapāpita (E) 
8 paryapadānā ve ca paryapadānā tāte 
9 añē paryapadānā vāvibhye ca puṣṭi paryapadā vāvibhye 
10 ca paryapadānā tāte 
11 añē paryapadānā vāvibhye ca puṣṭi paryapadā vāvibhye 
12 ca paryapadānā tāte 
13 añē paryapadānā vāvibhye ca puṣṭi paryapadā vāvibhye 
14 ca paryapadānā tāte 
15 paryapadānā vāvibhye ca puṣṭi paryapadā vāvibhye 
16 ca paryapadānā tāte

1 bhage Bühler. 2 [bha]ta . sa sa[mya]-samātipati Bühler. 3 anaraṇābhe Bühler. 4 bhāṭumā Bühler. 5 kṛṣṭi Bühler. 6 karaṇītām kīda . ka Bühler. 7 [ku7] Bühler in foot-note 10. 8 arashe . i Bühler.
TWELFTH ROCK-EDIT: MANSEHRA

1 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja savra-pashadani [p]ravajj/[i]tani gehathani¹ cha pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye² (B) no chu tatha dana va puja va
2 [De]v[a]na[n]priye mañati atha kiti sala-vâcchi siya savra-pashdanâ ti (C) sala-vrûdhî t[i] [u] bahuvadhaha (D) tasa chu iyañ mule anu vachâ-guti
3 kiti ata-prashaḍa-puja va para-pashaḍa-garaha va no siya apakaraṇasi lahuka va siya tasi tasi pakaraṇasi (E) pujetaviya va chu para-pa[r]ashaḍa tena tena
4 akarana (F) evain karatān atva-pashaḍa ⁵ baḍham vadhayati para-pashaḍaasi pi cha upakaroti (G) tad-aññathâ ⁴ karatâna atva-pashaḍa ⁵ cha chhanaṭi para-pashaḍasa pi cha
5 apakaroti (H) ye hi kechhi⁶ atva-pashaḍa pujeti para-pashaḍa va garahati savre atva-pashaḍa-bhatiya va kiti atva-pashaḍa dipayama ti ... puna tatha karatān
6 badhataraṁ⁷ upahamiti⁸ atva-pashaḍa [da] (I) se samavaye vo⁹ sadhu k[i] [t]i anamanṣa dhramaṁ śrû[ç][ly] [u] cha] suśrushe[yu] cha ti (J) evain hi Devanapriyeṣa¹⁰ ichha kiti savra-pashaḍa [b]ahu-śrûta cha
7 kayanagama cha [hûe[vu]¹¹ ti (K) e cha tatra tatra prasana tehi vataviye (L) Devanapriye no tatha danaṁ va puja[n] va mañati ati kiti sala-vâcchi siya savra-pashaḍan̄a]
8 (M) [b]a[ç]ukha cha eṭaye athraye vapuja dhrama-mahamatra istrijaksha-mahamatra¹² vraca-bb[u]mika aśe cha nikay[e]¹³ (N) iyañ cha etisa phale
9 yañ atva-pashaḍa-vâçhi cha bh[o] [i] dhramaṁa cha [di]pana

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDIT: MANSEHRA

D.—Third Inscribed Rock.

1 (A) Ṛṣāvasthānismos teṣanāpiṇas Ṛṣyāśramaṁ sahit Raja naulag uṣhitarām (B) dīvaṁbāre
   pāṣaṇas
2 mṛte (C) tato pcḥ [a] Ṛṣhaṇa laṅge[ç]u naulagūṇa nīvē Ṛṣībāre
   pāṣaṇuṇāsī ca teṣanāpiṇa
3 sarṣe ve Ṛṣahēve ve janasa se ve Ṛṣehīnumāṁ gusmatē ca teṣanāpiṇas (F) dvē pī
   ču tato
4 īpū vishhīṁ Ṛṣa Ṛṣyaṇātyūvabuḥ nātnīvūca suçaḥ suçau sañcenāncu

¹ prasataṇi pravajjitani gahathani Bühler.
² pujaya Bühler.
³ Here, and in five other places of the same edict, Bühler read atma- for atu-. The second syllable of this word is identical in shape with the tua of tadātaye in edict X, L 9. I therefore read atua-, following Konow (SPAW, 1916, 864, n. 7), who quotes in support Pischel's Grammatik, § 277.
⁴ tadañaṭhāni Bühler. The wavy line at the bottom of da need not be an Anusvāra, but may be a portion of da itself; see above, p. 77, n. 13.
⁵ atma- Bühler.
⁶ kechhi Bühler.
⁷ sañciti looks like a[n]ti; [ḳa]na[t]i Bühler.
⁸ [e] [a] Bühler.
⁹ Devanapriyeṣa Bühler.
¹⁰ hoveyu Bühler.
¹¹ Read istrijaksha-.
¹² nikaya Bühler.
¹³ Read istrijaksha-.
5  वघे व श्यततन्तः च विनिविहितः (M) वेंच्छ च विसुविहितः स्विनेहे श्रविधिते ए
7  न नम प्रस्दे (K) से युवतेे जने नद कलिके होते च  अपुरुषे च
9  शतमाने च सहस्रापे च खजु गुहाते च देवनर्मिस (I)
11  येच विन्दु देवनिमिस न चति ते विसुविहितः धर्मविधित्वार्यात् अनुविधित्वार्यात् च (J) वे से लघु एति
13  तिबियो न योनि जागर

1  (A) [aṭha]-vashabhisita[sa] De[va]na[priyasa] Priyadraśino rajine [Kali]ga
2  [ma]je (C) [tato] pachā' adhuna la[dhe]shu Kaligesu t[iv]e dhrama[va]yē
3  [maranve va apavah av janasa] se [badhai] vedaniya-mate guru-mate [cha

1 pachha Bühler. In this edict I am noting only verbal differences from Bühler's text, but not the numerous passages which he omitted because he was unable to make them out from the materials at his disposal.
THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA


6 (I) [esha] savra-manunānī guru-mate cha Devanampriya[sa] (J) nasti cha se jānapade yatra nāsti ime ni[ka]ya a[ṇā]tra Yon[eshu] [bramane] [cha] sra[mane] [pi] [jānapada] kī ya[r]a


13 (Y) hidoloke paralokike (Z) saya cha [ka] nirati hotu ya dhrama-rati (A) sa hi [i]alok[ka] paralok[ka]

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

13 (A) इव भ्रमणिय मेवनिषयेन मियम्म जिन तिलकित
14 तिलकित तिलकेश्म चेच्च चित्रितं नदिरं श्रवणिक चित्रितं नदिरं वाच्यम मुरुणिये चेच्च चित्रितं नदिरं परिपेययितं (B) से सिय अधिक तिलकित व संस्करन्त
V. THE DHAVULI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: DHAVULI

1 (A) ........................... सि पवत्सि देवानिपय .......................... ना लाजिना लखा ........................... रिव आलिभिरु वज्रोह

2 (C) पू व पिच समाजे समाज ट ........................... (E) ........................... पिच चु ........................... फिया समाजा साधुसंहा देख

3 पियदासिने लाजिने (F) ........................... मह ........................... पिच ........................... नि पारसत ........................... आलिभिरु सुप्रथाये

4 (G) से चज शदा इस पंमलिभी लखिता ति ........................... आलिभिरु ........................... 互联互通 पानान नौ आलिभिरुसंहत

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: DHAVULI


¹ Of this edict Bühler has read only the two words [Devanāprijena Priyodraśino]; see ZDMG, 44. 754.
² The actual reading was perhaps nikāni, which would correspond to niktyān at Kalis.
³ The name of the hill on which the Dhauli record is engraved is lost. It cannot have been Khepiṅgala as believed (and traced on his plate IX) by Cunningham, because this was the original name of the Jaugada rock; see the Jaugada edict I, A.

S抵抗

2 ए वा पिं नस भुरिणोकस सामांता लाजिने सच देवानिपयै नियदिसिना सा च प्रस्थितिकसा च (B) ........................... धानि
SECOND ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

3 आनि मुनिसोपपानि पक्षोपपानि च तत्रत निति सत्रत हालापिता च लोपापिता च (C) मूल...वत हालापिता च
4 लोपापिता च (D) संगु उदयानानि तानापितानि तुलानानि च लोपापितानि एव तथापितानि नरते।

1 (A) [sa:vata [v]i[tasi [D]e[v]ānāmīpyasa Piyadasin[ne 1]........... [atha]
[tyoko nāma Yo[na]-lājā
P[iyadasina]...........[s]ā cha p[asu-chi][k]is[ā] cha (B)........... dhāni
[cha] (C) mū[ti]...........v[a][k][a] hālāpita [cha]
4 lo[pāpita cha (D) ma[g]c[su ud]upānāni khānāpītāni lukhāni cha lopā[p]itāni
[p[a]ki]bhogāye...........[na]rīn

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) देवानामपये पियदसी लाजा हेवं श्राहा (B) दुवदससामसिद्दिने ने इयं आनायि
(C) त्विजित्सि मे युता लघुके
2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुमयान नियमश्रु अध्य श्रीनाय विसंने हेवं इयाये
रिमनासित्यवर (D) साधु मातापिल्लु सुसुरासि
3 नातिसु च विमसानसङ्गेहि साधु दाने जीवमु श्रानानले साधु धार्मिकता अयमंजता
साधु (E) पालिसा पि च नसि युतानि आनामसिद्धि हेवुले च
वियंजः

1 (A) Devānāmipyasa Piyadasī lājā hevaṁ āhā (B) duvādasa-vasābhisitena me
iy[a]ti a[nāp[ay]jī... (C).... [ta v]ijit[a]si m[e] yut[a] la[j]i[k]e........
2 pariçhasu pariçhasu vasesu anusayānaṁ nikhamavā athā aṁnaye p[i]k[a]jina[na]ne
m].
3 nātisu cha bāmbhana-samanchi sādhu dāne jīvesu anālamāhe sādhu apa-viy[a][t[a]
[hec]:u[c][ch[a] vi[ya]jā].....

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) श्राविनं अंतं बहुनि वस्तसानि विलि व पानालेन विहिसा च भूतानि
नातिसु असबविपि समवावनमु असतभिनि
2 (B) से श्राव देवानायमान पियदसने लाजिने पन्थवल्ले मेधिश्चासं छोरो
पन्थवशसं विमार्दासं व्योमी आगिश्चासं श्रानानि च दिवियानि

1 ānapa. i Bühler. 2 opāvyati Senart and Bühler.
3. तूपानि दसायु मुनिसां (C) श्रद्धे बहुः सस्ततेः नौ हृतपुलवे तातिसे
श्रज वन्दिते देवानिपियस पव्यदिने लाजिने धामानुसारिया
4. अनाल्मे पनानि सतिसा भूतानि नातिकु सांपतियित सामनबनेकु सांपतियि
मानिपियुसासु उद्वृत्तुसासु (D) एस अन्ते च बहुरिते
5. पंमचलने वन्दिते (B) वहितसयिते च देवानिपिये पविदसी लाजा ।
(च) पुता पि चु नति पनति...... च देवानिपियस पव्यदिने लाजिने
6. पविदसयिते च देव धामचलने इम अजीति मानसि सीलिति च चित्तितु धदं
अनुसारिति (G) एस हि सेते कन्ये या धामानुसासना (II) धामचलने
पि चु
7. नो हैनि चस्तीलो (I) से इमस धदस वदी शहीति च सापू (J) एताये धदासे
इये निखििे इमस धदस वदी युजू हैनि च मा चलोिचसीलुिू
8. (B) दुवाहिे वसानि आभिसिती देवानिपियस पव्यदिने लाजिने ये इि निखििे

1. (A) atikaṁtari aṁtaṁ bahnī vasa-satāṁ vadhīte va pānā[la]mbe vihisa cha
bhūtānaṁ nātisu asaṁpiṭapi saṁmana-bābha[ne]su asaṁpiṭapi
2. (B) se aja Devānapiyasa Piyadasine lājine dhaṁma-chalanena bheli-ghosāṁ
a[h]'o dhaṁma[-gho]saiṁ viṁāna-dasanaiṁ hathiṁ [a]gi-kaśidhāni aṁnāni cha
[di]vi[y]āni
3. lūpān[i] dasayiutu munisānāṁ (C) ṛd[ī]se b[a]'hūṁ vasa-sā[i]te[hi] no hūta-puluve tadidse
aja va[chihte De]vānapiyasa P[iy][a]dasine lājine[ō] dhāṁ[m]anuś[a]'hiyā
4. an[a]mbhe pānānāṁ avihisa bhūtānāṁ nātisu saṁpiṭipati samaṁ[na-b[a]'hau]sē 
 saṁpiṭipati m[a]'[i]-pitu-susūsā v[du]ha-susūsā (D) esa amne cha ba[h]'uvidhe
dh[a]'ṁma-chalan vadhīte (E) vadhāyisaiti cheva Devānapiyape Piyada[si]i [a]'jā 
dhaṁma-chalanāṁ āmān (F) putā pi chu 2 nati [panati]... [cha] Devānapiyasa Piyadasine lājine
5. pavaṇḍhyāsahiti yeva dhaṁma-chalanāṁ āmān a-k[ap]aṁ dhaṁma[si]s[i]a[si] ch[a
ch][h]tu dhaṁmaṁ[na a]j[u]n[a]'sissaiṁ[ī] (G) esa b[i] se[the kaiṁjne yā
dhaṁmaṁsusānā (H) dhaṁma-chalanē pi chu
6. no hoti asīlāsa (I) se imasa athasa va[i]'hī [h]i 4 aṁnī ch[a] s[a]'hū [J] ef[ay]e [aṭhay]e
iyaṁ likhite imasa aṭhase va[hi yujaṁtū hini] cha mā alochaśiū 6
7. (K) duvādāsa vasāni abhisitasa Devānapi[y]sa Piyadasine lājine yaṁ 7 [idha]
likhite

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1. (A) देवानिपिये पविदसी लाजा हेवे झाहा (B) कथाे दुकले (C) .........
क्यामके से दुकले कलेति (D) से मे बहुके कथावे कटे (E) ते ये मे पुन च
2 नरि च च तेन च ए अन्यति ये मे यावक्तं तथा अनुविरतिति से मुक्तं कहति (F) ए हेत देसे धि हापियसति से दुक्तं कहति (G) पाये हि नाम
3 सुपाराण्यं (H) से अन्तिकं अंतं नो हृदातु प्रवा धम्माहामा नाम (I) से तेदसा मामितिसति मे धम्माहामा नाम तता (J) ते सवपारितिसु
4 वियाप्ता धम्माधियानाद्ये धम्मव्रिक्ये हिन्दुशाये च धम्मसुता शैवन्तेश्वरातोगालिेपूर्वकभीनितिमृत्त्रे ए च च च (K) अर्थिमिष्ये
5 अन्तिकिष्ये अन्तिमेवू धम्मान्वेशे च हिन्दुशाये धम्मसुताये धम्मक्रौधाये वियाप्ता से (L) धम्मव्रिक्ये परिविधानाये धम्मनेत्रोधाये मीताये च
6 यद्य अनुवंच पजा तिचं कार्तान्ताले तिचं महातेके तिचं वियाप्तारे (M) हिरं च वाहिनेशे च नगलेशे सवेशे सवेशे जोतियोग्या च ए च वि मातीने च भगीनिन्ये च
7 अन्ति च नाति च सवर्तिति वियाप्ता (N) ए यद्य धम्मनिसेपि तिचं धम्माधियानेति तिचं दानस्तूये च सवपुरदिविशे धम्मसुति वियाप्ता इमे धम्माहामा नाम (O) इमाये चढ़ाये च
8 इमे धम्मरिपी चित्तितितीका होतु तथा च ने पजा अनुवंचतु

1 (A) [Dev]ānaṃpiye Piyadasī lāja h[evā]n āhā (B) kayāne dukale (C) . . .
2 k[a]j[y][a][n][a]sa s[c] dukalaṁ k[=][c][i] (D) se me h[=][a][h] juke kayāne kațē (E) tah ye me [p][u][a] va
3 n[a]t[i] va . . . n cha t[e]na ye apatiye me āva-kapaṁ tathā anuvatisaṁti s[e] sukaṭām kacho[ta]ni [i] (F) e heta d[esa]ṁ pi hāpayisat[i] se dukataṁ kachhati (G) p[=][a][=][c]e hi [nāma]
3 supalaṭaye (H) s[e] at[i]kanṭām aṁtaṁ no hūta-puluvā dhanma-mahāmātā nāma (I) se tedasa-vat[sā]bhisitena me dhanma-mahāmātā nāma kaṭā (J) te sava-pāsaṁde[=][su]
4 v[i][y][a] [a]pañā dhanmādhiḥtanā[=][y]e dhanma-[va]-dhiye hita-sukhāye [cha] dhanma-yaṭas[=][a] Yona-Kainbocha-Gaimdhalosu Laṭṭika-[P]toniṇkesu e va pi aṁhe āpalaratī (K) bhaṭṭat[=][m]yesu]

1 nar[i] Bührler.
2 āpalaratī Bührler.
3 Here, and at the end of section L, Franke (VOL. 9, 349 f.) joins viyāpataśe into one word, and takes it as an equivalent of the Vedic nominative plural in -āṣaḥ. In the pillar-edict VII, Y (twice) and CC, viyāpataśe actually occurs. But, as pointed out by Michelson (AJP, 32. 442 f.), the case may after all be different at Dhauli, because the other versions have te in the place of se.
4 pu[j]a Bührler.
5 bhaṭṭat[=][n]aṁ Bührler.
SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) देवानिये विषदसी लाजा हें भाषा (B) अतिरंगत संततं नो हृतपुलबे सवं कालं चारखे के परिवेदना च (C) से समया कोट (D) सवं कालं • • • मानस मे

2 अति चौगाँधस संतततबि तबस सिनीतस संयांति सं सवं परिवेदना जनम शीर परिवेदनि मे ति (E) सवं च जनस शीर कलामि हरि

3 (F) अति च बिकिंद मुकिे आनान्यांसमि तापकि वा सतबकि वा य वा महामायि हि अतियाचिे आलोपिे होिि तिि आपि सिवादे व निषिि वा सवं पलिमासा

4 आनान्यिि परिवेदनि मे ति सवं सवं कालं (G) हें मे अनाबिे (H) नवि हि मे तोिे सवानि संततीलनाय च (I) ककवियिि हि मे सवालोकिििे

5 (J) तस च पन हें मूले उििे च सवं सवं सवं च (K) नवि हि बंित • • सवालोकिििे (L) अति च बिकिंद पलामामि हरि हििि भूतानि आनानििे वेंहे ति

6 हिद च कालि मुखिामि पलति च सवं आलाधयं हि (M) एतिे आलाधिे हें मं कंिििी नितििा चितलिििा होिि तथा च युिा यपोिा मे पलामामि

7 सवालोकिििे (N) दुिकिे चु हें चि संतत अगिे पलामििे


4 anāma[n]taliyaṁ paṭi[ve]ḍeta[v]i[y][e] me ti savata saṁvāṁ kālāṁ (G) heva[r]ṁ me anuṣaṭhe (H) nath[i hi m]e [tos]e u[ṭhān]asi aṭhā-samtiṇaṁyā cha (I) kaṭaviya-m[ā]te hi me savā-loka-hite

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1 [mā[n]asa Bühler.
2 palisāya Bühler.
SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) देवानंदिये यियदसी लाजा सरसक इति सवपासंदा वसेजू ति (B) संवे हि ने सयम भावसुपी च इति (C) मुनिसा च

2 उचालु चंद्रदा उचालुवस्तागा (D) ते सवं वा एकडेसं च कांति (E) िपुरुले िप चा दाने बस निब सयम भावसुपी च नीचे बाहर

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) अतिरिक्तं कंतं लाजाने विवाहयांत नाम निविष्किसु (B) ’’ त निमागवि य नानानि च एविसाना अभििलामाणि हुवंति न (C) से देवानंदिये

2 यियदसी लाजा दससमाविसिनि निश्चि सयौधि (D) तेनि धमण्याता (E) तत्सि होति समतबानानि दसने च दाने च वुझान दसने च

3 हिरंिनशतिविखाने च जानपदस जनस दसने च धमानुसपी च · · · · · · · पुछा च नाबीया (F) रसा भृि अभििलामे होति देवानंदियस पियदसने लाजिने भागे जाने

1 *मत्स सेरिय, मैरित ब्वेलर.
2 चौ ब्वेलर; दी पिलिक चौ इसम भौली, बलिएक, क्योंकि दी जागुड़ा वेन्या वसने "चौ"
3 सायब्बोधी ब्वेलर.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA


NINTH ROCK-EDIT: DHAULI

1 (A) देवानान्तिये पियदसी लाजी हें जाह र (B) चार्थ जने उचाकुरं मंगलं कलेति जायार् 3 बीवाह... 4 जुपदार्ये पवससि

2 एताये झानाये च हेंदिसाये जने वहुकं मंगलं क... (C) ... 5 चु इसी बहुकं च बहुविधं च लुदं च लतिलियं च मंगलं कलेति

3 (D) से कार्यवे चेच खो मंगले (E) श्रकले चु खो एस हेंदिसे मंग... (F) ... 6 चु खो महाकले ए धमंमंगले (G) तत्से दसभटकस संक्यापिति

4 गुलूर्म चप 7 मे समनवामनां दाने एस खीने च 8 धमंमंगले नाम (H) से वतविये पिनिया पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि

5 सुवासिकं पि 9 ले आव तस नास निपितिया (I) चार्थ च हेंव 10 युते दाने साधु हि (J) से नाथि 11 अनुगाहे वा

6 आदिसे धमदले धमानुर्गेहे ' (K) 12 सि 13 तिकन सहायवे पि विषयोदित 14 ति तसि पदातनसि इति

7 लाधवियते [(L)] 15 टव 16 स्वगस जालधि


3 (D) se ka[t[a]v]iye che[va kh]o ma[a]ṅgale (E) [a]pa-phale [chu] kho esa [e]disa maṅga[ga]... (F) ... [ya]m [a] [ju] 7 kho maḥ[a]p[a]le e [dha]ṁma-ṅgale (G) [a] [sa]da[s]a-bhatakas) saṁnaya-pati[p]a[i]

4 [gulu]naṁ a[pa] ... . . . . . . . . [me] samana-bābhān[ā]naṁ dāne esa aṁne ch[a] ... . . . . . . [dharmin]-maṅgale nāma (H) [se] 8 vata[viye p]i[na] pi pute[na] pi bhātinā pi

5 suvāmike[na p]i. ... . . . . . [.e] [ā]va tasa aṭhas[ā] niphatiya[a] (I) [a]hi [cha 9 heva]m v[a]ni te dāne s[a]dh[hi] ni (J) [s]e [na]khi . . . . . . . . . [anu][ga[h]e v[a]

6 [ad][si dha]ṁma-dāne dharini[m]aṅgaha[e] 10 ... (K) ... [mi] ... . . . . . . [t][k]ena saha[ye]na pī viyovadita 11 ... . . . . . [tasi] pak[alana]si [iya]m

7 . . . . . . . . [l]adhav[ite] [(L)] . . . . . . . . [pav]a ... . . . . . . . . . [svagasa] [a][dhi]
TENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदी लाजायः सो वा किती वा न 
   हं मंतने 
   र यसो वा किती वा इहाति तदनाये चा 
   जने 
2 सूरसूरसुतु मे धम्र 
   मे (B) एतकाये यसो वा किती वा 
   इ 
   पत्तनतिति देवानंपिये पालतितकाये 
3 किति सकले ओधपतिःसवे हुवेगा ति (D) पाल्म स 
   त आगेन 
   न संव च पाल्मतितिजु हु 
4 सुदकेन वा उसतेन वा (F) उसतेन चु दुककलङ्गे 

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) इयं धमा० लशी देवानंपिये पियदीसवा लाजिना लिखा 
   वषय महिमेन 
   ह सवे सनत घते 
2 (C) महे ति हि भिज़े वहुकुः च लिखिते लिखितिसव 
   बुले तस 
   यथे 
3 किति च जने तथा परिपरेरया ति (E) ए धि चु हेतु आसमति लिखिते सं च 
   लोचितिजु 
   ति 

AT THE END OF THE SIXTH DHAULI ROCK-EDICT

seto

1 Restore likhiyasami.
2 Or paṭṭipajjoyati may be one word, as suggested above, p. 71, n. 14.
3 sanu Senart and Bühler.
TRANSLATION
The white one.¹

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDIT: DHAU LI

1 (A) देवान्निपयस सचने तोसलिंग महामात नगलिवेशोहाल्का
2 वतिविय (B) छ फिक्किः दा किंम हंगं त इसाम लिंतिं कंमन पतिपादेहं
3 दुवाल्ने च आलामेह (C) एस च मे माह्यमत दुवाल्न एतसिं धारतसिं छं तुसेछु
4 अनुसमि (D) तुचे हि बहसु पानसहसेसु दारफत पतन्न गेमस सु सुनिसां (E) सगे
5 सुगलसे पजा समा (F) द्वारा पजारे इसाम हंसे किंति संबेन हिंदुपुलेन
  हंदलिनके-
6 पालोफिने युनेबू ति तथा ...... सुनिसहु लि इसाम हंसे (O) नो च
  पापुनाय अवगन-
7 मुके इसे अधे (H) बेह च एकपुलिते ...... नाति एन से य देरे नो सवं (I)
  देखत हि तुचे एने
8 सुविहिता लि (J) नितिम एकपुलिते रि दारचि ये बंधन च पलितिले से चा
  पापुनाति (X) तत होति
9 अद्यान्ते तेन वदानित अने च ...... हु जने दबिये दुवाल्नि (L) तत
  इशितिलये
10 तुसेह किंति सम्म पतिपादेमा ति (M) इमेिह चु जातेि नो संपतिपिजि
11 इछुलोखन तोलनाय अनावृत्तिय जलसिंहिय विल्मवेन (N) से इशितिलये
  फिंति एने
12 जात नो हुवेचु समा ति (O) एस च सवस्स मूले अनासुलोपे अनूलना च
  (P) नितियं ए तिलंते लिया
13 से उगां संचिनतितिये तु वसितितिये एतितिये चा (Q) हेवं ई दबिये तुसेह एम
  तेन वतिलये
14 आन्ते दरक हेवेँ च हेवें च देवान्निपयस अनुसमि (B) से महाफले ए तम
  संपतिपाद
15 महावापाये असंपतिपादि (G) विपतिपादयीमीहा हि एन नति मगस आलधि नो
  लाजालधि

¹ As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 39: 490), this word refers to the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha, which is carved at the top of the Dhauli rock. Cf. the similar labels at Girmār and Kālī, above, pp. 26 f. and 30.
16 (T) दुस्त्राहैते हि इससं कमस से कुले मनोक्षणतिलके (U) संपरिसमणीते चुएं अस्त्राएं
17 आलापावग्यम श्रम च श्राननिष्ठ यह (V) संपरिसमणीते सोतंविया
18 (W) श्रायता पिच निसेन खनसि खनसि येकें पिच सोतंविय (X) हेवं च
कलात्रां तुफे
19 वश्रार संपरिसमणीते (Y) दताभे अठाये इयं तिप्रय तिलिसित हिरे यन
20 नगलवियोहाता तक सस्त्र समय यूकेवृ ति तत्ततत नस श्राकसरा पत्रिनारधे ब
21 श्राकसरा परिशिष्टेरे ब नो पिचय ति (Z) दताभे च अठाये हरे तत्ततत नसे
पिटान्तु पिटान्तु वरे
22 सुनिश्चितमन्त्रान य अस्ततसे अवधी सखिनार्तमे होसाइ एतं अस्त जानात
23 तथा
24 कल्याणं अथ सम अनुसत्व ति (AA) उजोनिते पिच चुए कुमारे दताभे ब अठाये
निश्चितमण
25 हेत्तसे उगे बो च अलिकानामथित : सिनि बसानि (BB) हेत्तसे तत्सिताने
पिच (CC) अस्त्र अस्त
26 ते महामाना निश्चित अनुसत्वान तदा अहायथित अतः कमं एतं पिच
जानाति

1 (A) [Devāṇa]ḥ[(p) yasa vachanena Tosaliyāṃ ma[hā]mātā [naga]la-
[(v)](yo)hālak[a]
2 [va]taviya (B) [āṁ kichhi dakhā]mi hakaṁ taṁ ickham k[i]m[t]i kar[ma]n
[pāday]hārin 1
3 duvālante cha alābehaṃ (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata dūvā[la etasi atha]si aṁ
tuph[esu]
4 anusathi (D) tuphe hi bahāsu pāṇa-sahasesurū [a[yata] p[a]na[yam go]chh[e]ma
su munisānaṇ (E) save
5 munise paja mama (F) ath[a] paja ickhami h[a]ka[rin kiṁi sa]ve[na hi]ca-sukhena
hidalo[kika]-
6 pālalokike[na] y[ūjev]̄[t]i [t̄i [tathā . . . mun]isesu pi [i]chhami [h[a]ka[rin] (G) no
cha pāpunaṭha av[a]-ga-
7 [m]ul[k]e [i]yaṁ athe (H) [k]e[chha] v[a] eka-pul[s]e . . . nati e[ta]ṁ se pi
desam no savam (I) de[ka]ḥ[a hi t]e[phe] cetāṁ
pāpunaṭi (K) tata hoti

1 pūtiveda Senart and Bühler.
2 iyatā Senart and Bühler.
3 Restore sava-munisesu.
4 Read pāpunāit, as at Jaugada.
akasmā tena badhanā[m] tik[a] amne cha ....... hu jane da[v] ye dukhiyati (L) tata ichhitaviye
tupheki kimti m[a] jham pa[i]padayemā ti (M) ime[i] chu [jāteh'j] no sa[m]pa[i]pajati isāya āsulopena
ni[thi]'liyena2 tūlānā[ya] anāvutiya ālasiyena k[i] lamathena (N) se ichhitaviye kitim1 ete
[jātā no] huvevu ma[m]ā ti (O) etasa cha sav[a] māle anāsulope a[tu][a]hā cha (F) niti[ya]ın e kilante siyā
ānāmine6 dekhata hevan cha heav[a]ni cha [D]ovānāmpiyasa anusatī (R) se mah[ā]-pa[le]c [c] t[a]sa [sa[m]apa][t]ipāda
mahā-apāye asa[m]pa[ti]pati (S) [v]i[pa]pādayamne hi7 etam nathī svagasa [a]'[a]'dhi no la[j]ā[a]dhi
jīda ena
[a][k][a]sma pali[k][i][e][s] eva no siyā ti (Z) etaye cha aṭhāye haka[m] ...... mate16
p[a]machasu pamchasu [va]se-
su [n]i[kha]may[i]samī e akakha[e]sa [chaṁ][d][e] s[a]'khina[lam]bhe hosai etai
aṭhān jānutu ....... [ta]cha
kala[n]ṭi atha mama anusatī ti (AA) Ujeneṭe pi chu kumāle etaye v[a] aṭhāye [m]kha[m[a]yisa] .......
hedisameva17 vagam no cha atikāmayisati tiṃni vasāni (BB) hemeva T[a]kha'[a][l]ānte
pi (CC) [a]ḍa a .........
te mahāmāta nikhamisanti anusayānām tādā ahāpayuti atane kari[m]ān etai ni jānsaṇī
tam pi ta[th]ā kalai[nti a][tha] lājine anusatī ti

1 banākha Senart and Bühler.
2 nitiḥāni Senart and Bühler.
3 Read kimti, which is Senart's reading; kitī Bühler.
4 Read ugaḥche.
5 dakhīya Senart and Bühler.
6 āhnām ne Senart and Bühler.
7 Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 10, n. 1) has shown that ā must be a separate word on the analogy of section U, below, and of the Jaugada separate editic I, T, Senart and Bühler read amnehi.
8 mama- Senart, mane- Bühler.
9 for mama cha Senart, [a] ....... Bühler.
10 iti Bühler.
11 "viya Senart, "viya Bühler.
12 [eī] Bühler.
13 aṭhāye Senart and Bühler.
14 yujeva Senart and Bühler.
15 Restore eva janasa; nagala-janasa Senart and Bühler, which is visible (evidently owing to retouching) on Burgess' plate, but not on my materials.
16 Read mahāmāta; dharmate Senart and Bühler.
17 kādīcānāmen Senart and Bühler.
TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of Dōvānāhprīya, the Mahāmātras at Tōsali, (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(D) For you are occupied with many thousands of men, with the object of gaining the affection of men.

(E) All men are my children.

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, the same I desire also on behalf of [all] men.

(G) And you do not learn how far this (my) object reaches.

(H) Some single person only learns this, (and) even he (only) a portion, (but) not the whole.

(I) Now you must pay attention to this, although you are well provided for.

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1 Two copper-plate inscriptions from the Cuttack district, Orissa, mention the two districts of Northern and Southern Tōsali; see EI, 9: 286, and 15: 1. Prinsep (JASB, 7: 449) identified Tōsali with the Tōsālai μηρόδος of Ptolemy; but the latter is stated to have been situated beyond the Ganges. See Lassen, Ind. All., 2 (sec. ed.), 252, n. 2; Burnouf, Lotus, p. 673; Kern, JRAS, 1880, 384, f.; IA, 13: 382.

2 With nagala-vyāhāraka cf. paurava-vyāhāraka in the Kaṇḍilīya, p. 20, l. 13; see SPAW, 1914: 855.

3 The correct translation of this section is due to Senart; see Franke, GN, 1895: 537, and cf. a quite similar construction in the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription, E.

4 Here, and in the pillar-edicts (IV, C; VII, M, N), the participle āyata (= Skt. āyata) seems to be used in the sense of vāyātrā. Cf. the rock-edict V, J to N, and the pillar-edict VII, Y to AA.

5 Previous translators took summānānānā to be one word: 'of good men'. As, however, in the two next sections the king is concerned with 'all men', Lüders is no doubt right in explaining sv = Skt. svāti; see SPAW, 1914: 856, and cf. svu in the Dhaulī separate edict II, F.

6 Of Áśvaghōsa's Buddhādaṇḍa, II, 35: साध्विणि प्रभवति छन्दो वर्धितम: विभक्तमिवसिः; as for his own children, even so (king Śuddhādaṇḍa) desired welfare for all (his) subjects.'

7 Bühler rendered pātanātha by 'understand', and Lüders (SPAW, 1914: 857) more closely by 'learn'. The verb has the same meaning three times in the second separate edict. In section J of the first edict it means 'to suffer'; see my note on the Jaugāda separate edict I, K.

8 Bühler translated āsā-gamukhe āyam othe by 'all that the sense (of these words) implies', and Lüders by 'how far this matter reaches', i.e. 'how far this matter is attended to'. Cf. eva ite pi cha me ātunci in the Delhi-Tōpā pillar-edict IV, I: 15.

9 This seems to refer to the judge who happens to decide an individual case. Senart compared ekā-pulise (= ekā-mūnisate at Jaugāda) with the Buddhist term prathāgatana (see Childers, s.v. prathāgatana), and Bühler rendered it by 'a private person'; see ZDMG, 41: 15. The expression ekā-pulise or ekā-mūnisate, 'a single person', occurs again in section J (= K at Jaugāda), where it is opposed to 'many other people' in section K (= L at Jaugāda). In section W 'a single (person)' is contrasted with the whole body of officers in section V; see also the second separate edict, N and O.

10 See above, p. 47, n. 6.
(J) It happens in the administration (of justice)¹ that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment.²

(K) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment³ is (obtained) by him⁴ accidentally, while [many] other people continue to suffer.

(L) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(M) But one fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions:⁵ envy, anger,⁶ cruelty, hurry, want of practice,⁷ laziness, (and) fatigue.

(N) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise to you.

(O) And the root of all this is the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

(P) He who is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will not rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance.

(Q) He who will pay attention to this, must tell you:⁸ 'See that (you) discharge the debt (which you owe to the king);'⁹ such and such is the instruction of Dēvānāṃpriya.'

(R) The observance of this produces great fruit, (but its) non-observance (becomes) a great evil.¹⁰

(S) For if one fails to observe this,¹¹ there will be neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.¹²

(T) For how (could) my mind be pleased if one badly fulfils this duty?¹³

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¹ As recognized by Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 859), niti is here = dāṇḍa-niti. I connect the locative nityām with asti; at Jauagado it is replaced by bahūka, 'frequently'.

² Bühler translated palikilena by 'trouble'. Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 841, n. 1, and 857) render it by 'torture'. But in the Kauśītya the technical term for 'torture' is karman, and parikliśayataḥ, which occurs on p. 223, l. 16, cannot have the same meaning as karma kārayatāḥ in the next preceding line.

³ The correct explanation of ba[pā]*dhanaṃtika and daviye is due to Lüders; see SPAW, 1914, 861 f.

⁴ As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 41, 16), one would expect tasa for tena. He proposed to supply prātipām.

⁵ As Senart remarks, this unusual meaning of jātāsi is justified by etymology; see IA, 19, 89.

⁶ For āsūlopa, 'anger' (literally: 'quick infatuation'), see Bühler, ZDMG, 48, 60 f.

⁷ With Bühler (ZDMG, 41, 16) I take āvāti (Dhau lí) or āvati (Jauagado) as Skt. āvṛtti, 'repetition'. In the pillar-edict IV, L, āvāti corresponds to Skt. āvykti, 'an order'.

⁸ Hitherto the construction and bearing of this sentence have been misunderstood. The relative ɛ corresponds to the demonstrative tena, and the subject is probably one of the controlling officers who are mentioned at the end of the edict.

⁹ Cf. below, section U. Previous translators failed to make out the actual meaning of this sentence because they read anīnamune, which they divided into anīnaś nune = Skt. āṇīnā nāḥ (Senart and Bühler) or anyat + nāḥ (Lüders).

¹⁰ Both at Dhau lí and at Jauagado, the predicate is a masculine or neuter, although the subject is a feminine. Cf. above, p. 49, n. 1.

¹¹ As vipatiśpadayamunē corresponds to vipatiśpadayatamam at Jauagado, it must be a nominative singular absolute. The same applies to saṁpatiśpadayamānē in section U, below, to anvasekhamānē in the Delhi-Téprā pillar-edict VII, P, and to vijināmanē in the Kulēś edict XIII, E. Cf. below, p. 97, n. 3, and Lüders, SPAW, 1913, 1011 ff.

¹² For ālakī (= pārāddha) see above, p. 19, n. 16.

¹³ In the translation of this difficult passage I follow Franke, GN, 1895, 537 f., but explain duākale as a nominative absolute, because in the Magadha dialect the locative would end in -asi.
FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

(U) But if (you) observe this, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(V) And this edict must be listened to (by all) on (every day of) the constellation Tishya.

(W) And it may be listened to even by a single (person) also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(X) And if (you) act thus, you will be able to fulfil (this duty).

(Y) For the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the judicial officers of the city may strive at all times (for this), [that] neither undeserved fettering nor undeserved harsh treatment are happening to [men].

(Z) And for the following purpose I shall send out every five years [a Mahāmātra] who will be neither harsh nor fierce, (but) of gentle actions, (viz. in order to ascertain) whether (the judicial officers), paying attention to this object, . . . are acting thus, as my instruction (implies).

(AA) But from Ujjayini also the prince (governor) will send out for the same purpose . . . a person of the same description, and he will not allow (more than) three years to pass (without such a deputation).

(BB) In the same way (an officer will be deputed) from Takshaśilā also.

(CC) When . . . these Mahāmātras will set out on tour, then, without neglecting their own duties, they will ascertain this as well, (viz.) whether (the judicial officers) are carrying out this also thus, as the instruction of the king (implies).

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) देवान्निपिताः च तव तौस्मिन्यं कुमारे महामाता च लवण्यं (B) अं किष्ठि

2 दुवाले च शालमें (C) एस च मे मोक्षम मनुष्यासि श्रादिति श्रे

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1 Cf. the Dhauli separate edict II, L.
2 i.e. three times per year; see the Dhauli separate edict II, N.
3 The forms kalaṇṭā (here and in II, L and P), pātayāntenā (Jauγaḍa separate edict I, S and T), sāvasta (II, Q, and pillar-edict IV, I), nāsāvasta (pillar-edict IV, M), and pājāvasta (Delhi-Tērā pillar-edict VII, PP) are nominatives singular absolute. Cf. above, p. 35, n. 9.
4 Franke (VOJ, 9, 340 ff.) has shown that chaghati is the futuro of chak, a variant of the root šak.
5 In the translation of sasaṃtāsamayak śak I follow Kern (JRAS, 1880. 391) and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 864).
6 See above, p. 33, n. 8.
7 Cf. the rock-edict III, C.
8 Cf. Dhammapada, verse 408:

   akakkasanā viñāpaniṇī giraṁ stachcaṁ udārāye
tās yāyaṁ nābhisaṁ kācchā tam ahaṁ brāhiṁ brāhmaṇāṁ

9 The context shows that these are meant here, and that the Mahāmātras were directed by the king to control them; see SPAW, 1914. 865 ff.
10 See above, p. 40, n. 2.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

3 (E) आश पञ्चाये इकासिः हस्ते किंतु लच निनिकििपाललेकििवे बुजेहू ति हेवं... 

4 (F) सिया अंतान्य अथिविजयान्य अनंती तु मलाम अफेहु (G) पव इयं मम अलेयु... रे पापुनेजु ते इति देशानिमय... अनुविजिन ममाये 

5 हुवेहू ति अलसेवु च मुरमेव तदेहु ममते नो हुवं हेवं... हुवेहू इति खसिकि ने देशानिमये आफाका ति ए बचिये सामातेय मम निमिन च च धमं चतेहु 

6 हिदलोक पललोकं च आलापक्षेवू (H) यतसिः अदसिः हस्ते अनुसासिमतु तुफक हस्तो एतकेव हस्तं अनुसासितु चंदे च बेदितु आ हि खिरं पलिन्या च ममाय 

7 खरला (I) से हेवं कड़ु कंमे चलितविये आस्तास... रे च तानि एन पापुनेजु इति आश खिनता तथ देशानिमि आफाक खया च अंतान्य हेवं देशानिमि आनुजकित दफळ 

8 आशाच पञ्चाये हेवं मधे देशानिमिर (J) से हेवं अनुसासितु चंदे च बेदितु तुफळ देशानिमि ने अनुमान आत्रे ये अजोक ये (K) पलिवला हि हुफळ आशानिमिये हिनिकििपाललेकििवे च हेव 

9 हिदलोकिकपाललेकिकाये (L) हेवं च कलंते तुफक खया आलापात्सच सम्म च ज्ञानिन्यं एन (M) आत्रे च अजोक इयं हिपी लिखिता हिज एन महामाता आस्तास सम 

10 निजिसित आशानिमिये धम्मचलनायेच तेस अंतान्य (N) इयं च लिपी अनु- चालुमायं नित्य नलन सोइविया (O) काँम चु खणसिः खणसिः अंताला निथि नित्य एनकेन नि 

11 सोइविया (P) हेवं कलंते तुफक चधमं संपरिपादित ये 

1. (A) Devañānapīyasa[a] vachanena Tosiya[a] kumāle mahāmātā cha vatavīya (B) anī kichhi dakhān[i] h[akaĩ] taĩ i]... 

2. Duvalate cha ālabhehaĩ (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvalā etasi aṭhasi anī tups[e]u]... 

3. (E) ath[a] pajāye ichahi hakaĩ ki[m]īti savena hi[tasukhe]na hidalokikā- pālalokikāye1 yujevũ ti h[c]v[a|m]|... 

4. (F) siyā ārātīnaĩ avijitānāĩ ki-chha[nde] su lāja [aphes[a]... (G) ... m[a]va 2 ichehama arhtesu ... i3 [p]α[p]umevũ te iti Devañānap[iy]... [anuv[i]g[ina] mamāye 

5. huvevũ ti avsapevu cha sukhamineva lahevu mamah[e] no dukha[m] h[e]va[m] 

1 Read -pālalokikena, as in the first separate edict, F. 
2 move Bühler; read perhaps kevameva. 
3 Restore kiṅti.
SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

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TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of Devānāmpriya, the prince (governor) and the Mahāmātras at Tāsali have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that . . . . . . . and to accomplish by (various) means.

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. . . . . . . to you.

(D) . . . . . . . my . . . . .

(E) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, thus . . . . . . .

(F) It might occur 13 to (my) unconquered borderers 13 (to ask): 'What does the king desire 14 with reference to us?'

(G) [This] alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, that they may learn that Devānāmpriya . . . . . that they may not be afraid of me, but may have

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1 Restore pāpunevū.
2 The syllable sa is entered above the line.
3 aphakām Senart and Bühler.
4 Senart and Bühler omit va.
5 Restore asvāsanāyāni.
6 The syllable nañ is entered above the line.
7 paja Bühler.
8 athāye Senart and Bühler.
9 Read sasvatane samayāni.
10 The syllable si is entered above the line.
11 Lüders showed that siya is not the last word of section E, as previous translators thought, but opens section F, and is used in the same way as kuthā in the Delhi-Tōpā pillar-edict VII, D and J. He also pointed out the correct construction of sections F and G, which had been curiously misunderstood; see SPAW, 1914. 856 ff.
12 Cf. the Kāśi rock-edict H, A; V, J; XIII, Q.
13 Kern (JRAS, 1886. 381) explained su by Skt. svāt. Cf. gachhena su in the Dhauli separate edict I, D, and kinañ in the Delhi-Tōpā pillar-edict VII, F, G, H.
confidence (in me); that they may obtain only happiness from me, not misery; that they may [learn] this, that Devanāṃpriya will forgive them what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; and that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world.

(H) For the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them) by this, that I instruct (you) and inform (you) of (my) will, i.e. my unshakable resolution and vow.

(I) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfill (your) duty and must inspire confidence to them, in order that they may learn that Devanāṃpriya is to them like a father, that Devanāṃpriya loves them like himself, and that they are to Devanāṃpriya like (his own) children.

(J) Therefore, having instructed (you), and having informed you of (my) will, I shall have (i.e. entertain) officers in (all) provinces for this object.

(K) For you are able to inspire confidence to those (borderers) and (to secure) their welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(L) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(M) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the Mahāmātras may strive at all times to inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(N) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months on the day of the constellation Tishya.

(O) But if desired, it may be listened to even by a single (person) also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(P) If (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

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1. Here and at Jaugada, Senart and Bühler wrongly read mama te (in two words) instead of manam, which, as Kern recognized, corresponds to the Prākrit ablative manam. See JRAS, 1880, 380, 382, 383; SPAW, 1914, 868; Fischel's Grammatik, § 415 f.
2. As Bühler (ASSI, 1, 128, n. 24) remarked, either ne or aphāka is superfluous.
3. Cf. the Shāhābāgṛhi rock-edict XIII, L. For chakṣya see above, p. 97, n. 4.
4. Cf. the rock-edict VI, L.
5. ajala corresponds to euchala at Jaugada, as loga (Jaugada separate edict II, ll. 7 and 13) to loka, lībi (Delhi-Tōpā pillar-edict VII, QQ and SS) to līpi, hida (Kālsī, V, J and K) to kīsa, and dosa (Kālsī, VI, H) to tose.
6. The neuter tāni is improperly used for the masculine te, which is the reading of the Jaugada version.
7. Kern (JRAS, 1880, 384) translated: 'I will entrust the country to your care.' For the difficult term desavātika (Dhaulī) or [sa]la-desa-āy[ā]rīka (Jaugada) see Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 28), who took āyuti = Skt. āyukti, 'an official'. Cf. āvuti = Skt. āyukti, 'an order', in the pillar-edict IV, L. The provincial officers who are here referred to, are perhaps identical with the Mahāmātras whom Aśoka ordered to be deputed on inspection duty from Pataliputra, Ujjayinī, and Takshasāla; see the four last sections of the Dhauli separate edict I.
9. Cf. the Dhauli separate edict I, V.
10. See above, p. 95, n. 9.
VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) इयं धम्मितिपी लेखिगतसि पवतसि देवानिपियेण लियदसिना लाजु́निया लिखिताय (B) हिद नी किन्तो जीवं आलिनित पवोहितसि

2 (C) नी पि च समाजे काटविये (D) बहुतं हि दोसं समाजस द्रविति देवानिपियेण पवित्रसि लाजु (E) अयच पि चु एकतिया समाजा साधुसमा देवानिपियस

3 पवित्रसि लाजुनि (F) पुत्रुः विहानसि देवानिपियु पवित्रसि लाजुनि अनुदिकसं बहुसि पानससससि आलिनितसि सुपार्ये

4 (G) से जान जादा इयं धम्मितिपी लिखिताति तिनि येब पानानि आलिनितसि दुवे मजुला एचे फिगे से पि चु फिगे नो पुंवं (H) एतानि पि चु तिनि पानानि

5 पद्ध नो आलिनितसि

1 (A) iyaṇa dhamma-liṅga Ḫepiṇa[ṅ]gaḷaśi pavatasi Devānāmipiyena Piyaḍasini lājīṇā likhāpitā (B) hīda no kichhi jīvaṇi ālabhi[ṛ] jī pajarotiviye

2 (C) no pi cha samāje kātaviye (D) bahukaṁ hi dosam samājasa [2] drakhati [3] Devānāmipye Piyaḍasi lājā (E) athi pi chu ekatiyā samāja śāchu-matā Devānāmipyaśa

3 Piyaḍrāsine lājine (F) pulvaṇi maḥā[nasa]ṣi Devānāmipyaśa Piyaḍasine lājine anudivasaṁ bah[u]ni pāna-sat-sah[a]ṣaṇi ālabhiṣisup[ṭh]aye

4 (G) se aja adā iyaṇa dhamma-liṅga likhita tiṃṇi yeva pāṇāṇī āla[m]bhiyaṁti [5] duve majūḷa eke mige se pi chu mige no dhuvaṇi (H) etāni pi chu tiṃṇi pāṇāṇī

5 pachhā no āla[h]bhiyaṁtā

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written on the Khōpiṇgala mountain by king Devānāmipriya Priyadarśin.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.

(D) For king Devānāmipriya Priyadarśin sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king Devānāmipriya Priyadarśin.

1 Khōpiṇgalaśi Bühler, but the s of khe is perfectly distinct.
2 samājasi Bühler.
3 A horizontal stroke, which may be meant for r, seems to be attached both at the top and at the bottom of da; dakhati Senart and Bühler.
4 Piyaḍasine Senart and Bühler. The curve at the bottom of da is probably intended for r.
5 ālabhiyaṁtī Senart and Bühler.
6 The etymological meaning of this name is: ' (which appears) brown in the air'; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 92.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin many hundreds of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) सबत विजितसिद्ध देवानामपियस चियासिनेलाजिने र वा पि चाता चाया चोटा पंडिया सतियापुते । चाँदियोके नाम ।
2 योनलाजा र वा पि तस चातियोकस सामंता लाजाने सबत देवानामपियेन पियासिनेलाजि । चिकिसा च ।
3 पसुचिकिसा च (B) चोसपानि चायानि मुनिसोपागानि पसुश्रोपागानि च चाता नाथि सवत । चाता नाथि ।
4 सवत तपापिता च तोपापिता च (D) सगेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि लुहानि च ।

1 (A) savata vijitasi Devānāmpiyasa Piyadasine lājine e vā pi arīta athā Choḍā Pāṇḍyā Satiyapūte । चाँदियोके नाम ।
2 Yoṇa-lājā [e] vā pi tasa Aratiyokasā samarthā lājāne savata Devānāmpiyena Piyadasinē lājī । [ch]ikisā cha ।
3 pasu-chikisā cha (B) osadhāni āni munispapāni pasu-opapāni cha atata nathi savatā sā । चाता नाथी ।
4 s[ā]vatra1 hālapitā cha lapāpitā cha (D) magesu udupānānī khanāpitānī lukhāni cha ।

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin, and also (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the Choḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputu, the Yoṇa king named Aratiyoka, and also the kings who are the neighbours of this Aratiyoka,—everywhere [two (kinds of) medical treatment were established] by king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin, (viz.) medical treatment [for men] and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.2

(C) Wherever there were no roots and [fruits], everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of [cattle and men].

1 śāvatu Senart, savatu Bühler.
2 The last words of this section are missing at Jaugada, but are preserved at Dhauli. Henceforth I shall use straight brackets in the translation only if words are lost in both of these versions of the rock-edicits.
THIRD ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देवानामप्रिये पियदसी तलाजा हें लाहा (B) दुवादसवासानिन्ति मे एवं एवः पारितिः एक
2 पंचसु पंचसु वालसु अनुसारानन्ति निकहावू त्राशा अनाये पि कूंणे सां मितसन्तुणेः
3 नातसु च बंबनसम ने साधु दाने जीविसु जानांमें साधु 
4 हेतुते च विचरतने च

1 (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyaḍāsi lājā hevaṁ āha (B) duvādasa-vasābhīśeṇa me iyāṁ [ā] . . . . . . . cha pād[e]sike cha
2 paṁcāhās paṁcāhās vasesu anusayānaṁ nikhāmvu athā anānaye pi kaṁma[n]e . . . . . . . . [sā mita-samithute[s] . .
3 nātisu ch[a] bimbhāna-samanchi sādhā dāne jīvesu [a]nālamībhe sādhā . . . . . . . . . . [y]i . . . .
4 hetute cha viyaṛjanate cha

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Devānāṃprīya Priyadārśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) [Everywhere] in my dominions the Yuktaś, the Lajuka, and the Prādētika shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years, just as for other business, even so for the following instruction in morality.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father, to friends and acquaintances, and to relatives. Liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) And the council (of Mahāmatras) also shall order the Yuktaś to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) अतिक्रमं अतिरं वहूः वससतानि वहिते व पानालंभे 
2 (B) सो अवता परिप्रस्विते त्यजिते धम्मचलने मेल 
3 दिवि शानि त्रूपानि इम्सितु सुसानि (C) आति बहूः वससते 
4 धमानुसताया ज्ञानांमें पानां अविभिसा भृतान्य नातिसु संय 
5 (D) एस अने च वहूः वससताने वहिते (E) वहूः 
6 पियदसिने त्यजिते पवदसति चेव धम्मचल 
7 (B) धम्मचलने पि च चु नो होिति 
8 होिन च मा छालोचि
TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, obedience to mother and father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) But also the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) But the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve the neglect (of it).

(K) This has been written here by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

1 dasayitu Senart, dasayitu Bühler.
2 See above, p. 31, n. 7.
FIFTH ROCK-EDIT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देशान्यथे पियद
2 नाति व पल्ल च ते
3 सुपदालाये (H) से झा
4 थीमाधिपाण न
5 भणिनि
6 मोलाये
7 ए जा

1 (A) Devā[na]ṁpiye Piya[da]
2 na[t][1] va palam cha te
3 [s[u]pādālaye (H) se [a]
4 [dha]ṁ[m][p][dh][th]ānā[2]
5 . bhanibhi
6 mokhāye
7 e [v]ā

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvāṇāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
(C) He [who starts performing] victorious deeds accomplishes something difficult.
(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of the destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
(F) He who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
(G) For sin indeed steps fast.
(H) Now in times past, (officers) called Mahāmātras of morality did not exist before.
(I) But (the officers) called Mahāmātras of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.
(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōnas, Kambōchas, and Gandhālas, among the Lāṭhikas and Pīṭēnikas, and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).
(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas,

1 navī[ti Senart, nati Bühl].
2 ṑthānā Bühl.
3 See above, p. 35, n. 3.
with the destitute, and with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,¹ (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).²

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if (one has) children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, both here and in all the outlying towns, in all the harems of myself, of my brothers, and of (my) sisters, and with (my) other relatives.

(N) These Mahâmátras of morality are occupied on the whole earth with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) ..... नंपिये पितछी लाजा हेवं ज्ञाहा (B) तृतिकांत नंतरं नो हृतपुलुवे सवं कालं अर्थकेमे परिवेदना च (C) से समया करे (D) सवं काले

2 ..... से ये संहे अर्थोधिनतिः सम्बलालसि वचनसि विनीतिः तियानसि च सवं परिवेदना जनस अर्थ प्रदिवेद्यंतु मे ति (E) सवं च च जनस

3 ..... को (F) अं पि च तिर्थि सुक्ते त्यानि स्वामि दायकं च सावे स या महामाति हि तियानिः सहिते होति तसि अर्थसि विवादे च

4 ..... लियां संहे अर्थं सम्बलितां परिवेद्यते विषे मे ति सवं सवं काले (G) हेवं मे अनुसरं (H) नंपि हि मे तेसि उदानसि अर्थस्तीलनाय च

5 (I) ..... मे सवंहोकिते (J) तस स च पन इसे सोळे उठाने च अर्थास्तिलना च (K) नंपि हि तेमताला सवंहोकितेन (L) अं च तिर्थि पवलकमामि हसं

6 ..... नियं ये ति हिंद च ज्ञान शुम्खायसि पवल च इसे त्यां अर्थार्थाद्वें ति (M) इत्याये अर्थार्थाद्वें इमे भस्माद्विः तिर्थि चित्तितेन चित्तितेन हस्तु

7 ..... तां मे पवलकमातु सवंहोकितायें (N) दुक्ले च इसे अर्थार्थ अर्गेन पवलकमेन

1 (A) [नामि]पिये पियादसी लाजा हेवः ज्ञाता (B) अतिकरितम अतितालम नो हृतपुलुवे सवण कालम अथाकर्तिम[०] पाथवेडाणवा व (C) से समया काले (D) सवण कालम

2 [सा] मे अन्ते औदनसी गाभागालसि वचनसि विनीतिः तियानसि च सवण परिवेदना जनस अर्थ प्रदिवेद्यंतु मे ति (E) सवण च जनस

¹ See above, p. 33, n. 7.
² See above, p. 33, n. 8.
³ The र is expressed by a horizontal stroke before pa, which therefore looks like pa; pāṣṭa
Senart and Bühler.
SIXTH ROCK-EDICT:JAUGADA


4. ...liśāya[āṃ 1 a]na[vu]liyaṃ pāṭivedetaviye me ti savata savam kālaṃ (G) hevaṃ me anusathe (H) nathi hi me tose uṭhānasi aṭha-sarītīla[āṃ]y[a] cha

5. (I) ...me sava-loka-hitae (J) tasa cha pama iya[āṃ mule uṭhāne cha aṭha-sarītīlanā cha (K) nathi hi k[āṃ]matalā sava-loka-hitena (L) aṃ cha kichhi p[a]lakamāmi hakaṃ


7. ...[t]ā[ā] me [pa]lakamāmi sava-loka-hitaye (N) dukale chu i[ya]āṃ aṇnata ageta palakamena

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at all times did exist before.

(C) But I have made (the following arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am [eating], within 4 the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the park.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of Mahānātras) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the Mahānātras, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never satisfied in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) great-grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

1 Sāṇa Senart and Bühler.
2 hotā Bühler.
3 On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, a portion of the syllable pe is visible before tā.
4 The preposition ante, ‘within’, is used with the locative, just as anta in Pāli; see Childers, Pāli Dictionary, p. 39 b.
SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) ............... दसी लाजा सवत इक्ष्ति सवपांसि बसे " " ति (B) सवे हि
ते सवयं भवमुवि इ इक्ष्ति (C) मुनिसा इ उचाहुचवा उचाहुचवलागा
2 (D) ............... सं व कहक्षि (E) विकुले पि चा दाने................. धी
च नीचे वाहे

1 (A)............. da[sl]¹ lājā savata ichhati sa va[sa]... [t]i (B) [sav]e
hi te sa[yama]n bhava[vu]dhi cha ichhamti (C) munisā cha uchāvucha-chharindā
uchāvuch[a]lāgā
2 (D).............. [sa]h² va kachhamti (E) [v][pu]le [p]i cha³ [d]a[ne].............
dhi cha niche [b]ādhārin

TRANSLATION (DAHLI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.
(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.
(C) And men possess various desires (and) various passions.
(D) They will fulfil either the whole or (only) a portion (of their duties).
(E) And even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-
control and purity of mind, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 ............... विपां अनानि च छादि' .............. मानि हुवति नं (C) से
देवानिये
2 विपां...... ता (E) ततेः होति स
3 हिन्दूस्तनिया न च ........................................... देवानिया
4 विपादमिसे लाजुने भागे अ'...

1 ............... [v][y]a[a]hāni cha e[d]¹ ......... [m]āni huvati nari (C) se
Devānāṃpiye
2 [Piya]........ [dasa]², ......... [ta] (E) [ta]ksa hoti [sa] ............ cha
dāne³ cha vṛtānām dasane cha
ilāma hoti De[v]ānāṃpiyas
4 Piyasadine lājine bhāge [a]...

¹ On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, the two syllables [Piya] are visible before dasi.
² The same plate reads [va] eka-dasām.
³ cha Senart and Bühler.
4 At the beginning of this line, plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, reads [a²][t]a[k]sim avisthāni läjā.
5 The same plate reads Piyasadis [v]ājā dasa.
6 cha looks almost like chu, and dāne like dāno.
7 -pāli" Senart and Bühler.
TRANSLATION (DHauli AND Jaugada)

(A) In times past, kings used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.
(B) On these tours hunting and other such pleasures were enjoyed.¹
(C) But when king Devanâmpriya Priyadasin had been anointed ten years, he went out to Saññoñi.

(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.

(E) On these tours the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brahmans and making gifts to them, visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).

(F) This second period (of the reign) of king Devanâmpriya Priyadasin becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) Devânapîyê pîyadsî là[ñâ] .............. pûvupaṭyê pâvâsini étâyê ànâyê cha
2 hêdîsâyê jâne chùkù ....... ch màṅgâlûm kataît (D) se kaṭâvîye chêv kho màṅgâlê
3 (E) apâ[pha]le chu khâ[sa] hè[d]îse ma ........ (F) ëyù chù ........ sambhâkî sâmâṇapîṭhāpûnmûmrû̄n āyaṇîitī pâñêsu sañmûse
4 sâmânâvânânān dañê ès chàne ........ pîtîna pî pûçêna pî bhâtîna pî súvâsîkîm pî ëyù sâmûd âyù kàṭâvîye
5 se dañê ëçûgûhê va âçâîdî sâmâduñê sâmânuñgûhê (F) se chù kho sîteñ
6 yù sâmû mëmên sâkîye sthûgê âlāṭapîtê (F) tûn hî mëmên kàṭâvîyalâ

7

1 (A) Devânapâmîyê Pîyadasî là[ñâ] .............. [pa]jupâdâye pâvâsasi etâye ànâyê cha
2 hêdîsâyê jêna [ba]hu[ka]ñh ................... [cha ma]ñ[ga]ñh k[a]ñcti (D) se kaṭâviye cheva kho marîgale

¹ With huvamati nan cf. etekh na in the Kârî and Nâsik inscriptions (EI, 7, 64, text l. 4; 8, 65, text l. 14; 71, text l. 4; 73, text l. 11). In the Jainâ Prâkrit, nan is used as an enclitic particle, and in Saurasenî, according to the grammarians, in the sense of num. Fischel (Grammatik, § 150) derives it from Skt. nînâm.
² These two words are invisible on plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAGADA)

(A) King Devanāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness at the marriage of a daughter, at the birth of a child, and when setting out on a journey; on these and other such occasions men are practising many ceremonies.
(C) But women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.
(D) Now ceremonies should certainly be practised.
(E) But such ceremonies as these bear little fruit indeed.
(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.
(G) Herein the following (are comprised), viz. proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, and liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other virtues are called the practice of morality.
(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say:—This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the desired object is attained.
(I) And it has been said thus:—Gifts are meritorious.
(J) But there is no gift or benefit as the gift of morality and the benefit of morality.
(K) Therefore a friend and a companion should indeed admonish another on such and such an occasion:—This is meritorious. By this practice it is possible to attain heaven.
(L) For what is more desirable than this, viz. the attainment of heaven?

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAGADA

1 (A) .................. यसो व जिती वा इद्दति तदव्यायं आयतिवेच जने स्मसुपूर्व सुसूक्ष्मु से

2 .................. तिर देवानंपिये पालतिकाए वा जितिक सकलो अपापतिस्वेह

3 (D) .................. लिलितजितू सुदेकन वा उस्तेन वा (F) उस्तेन कु दुकलठते

1 (A) .................. [ya]so vā kī[t]i vā ichh[a]ti tadatvāye a[y]atiye cha jane dharmasusāsan susūsatu me

2 .................. [t]i Devānāmpiyē pālatikāye vā ki[m]ti [sa]kale apa-palisave [h]uveyā ti

3 (D) .................. [l]itijit[u] khudakena [v]a u[sa]kena vā (F) usatena chu dukalatāle

1 For pajaśpadāya see above, p. 38, n. 22.
TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame [conveys much advantage, except whatever] glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim that) at the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality .......... morality.

(B) On this (account) [he is desiring] glory and fame.

(C) [Whatever] effort Dēvānāmpriya is making, (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) The danger .......... difficult to accomplish either for a lowly (person) or for a high one [without] great [zeal] and (without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But it is more difficult to accomplish for a high (person).

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) .......... समापेन प्राथम विप्रेत (B) नो हि सवेव सबत पाठिने (C) महते हि विलये  
2 .......... स माधुलियये किति च जने तथा पाठिपया ति (E) ए पि चु हेत  
3 ..........

1 (A) .......... [ma]hime[na] ath[i] vithātena (B) [no] hi save savata ghaṭite (C) mahannte hi vijaye  
2 .......... [sa] mādhulyāye kiṃ[ti] cha jāne tathā paṭipajeyā ti (E) e pi chu heta  
3 ..........

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) These rescripts on morality [have been caused] to be written by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin .......... or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, [and I] shall cause [still] (more) to be written.

(D) has been stated .......... because of the charm of [certain topics], and in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But whatever of this is written incompletely .......... 

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देवानिवये हेवं श्राव (B) समापयं महामया नगरविवयालख हेवं चलिता (C) धृ तिशं द्वारमेव हेवं तं उच्चास्माति किंचि कं क्षम पाठिपयायें  
2 द्वारलेवं च शालोऽहेवं (D) एस च मे बोधियत द्वारलो अं हतेवेल श्रावसमिध (E) फे हि बहूसू पानसहसेसू श्रावं पतनं गदेन सु मुहितां (F) समुहाना मे
3 पञ्जा (a) थथ पञ्जाय खाल्मि खिंति में स्वच्छ हिंदुस्थान यूजे (b) ति हिंदुस्थान-पालक-पालिकिल हेभेव में ई (b) सवसनिसेसु (c) नो चु तुफे एत्त पामुनाय आय्रगुकुड़े

4 इध्य चढ़े (d) केवल एकमनिसेस नामपामानित में जिन्हें नो सवर (d) दक्ष रि तुषे रि सुविखिंति रि (d) चढ़ा रि दि एतिएकमनिसेस बंधन परिलकिलेस मि पामुनाय रि (e) तति हौति दक्ष

5 समा रि तेन वधानतिक अन्ये था बंधे बंधुके बेदयति (f) तति तुषे रिजिमने रिकिंति सके परिपालिने (g) इमेिि रि जातेहि नो परिपालिने इसयार आय्रुनपने निरूिलिने

6 हूलाय खाल्मिरस्त आल्मेन किलमेन (h) हेबे इकिंदिबे खिंति में अभानि जातेहि नो हेिरू रि (i) लवस चु चिं रि मूले अनासुलोपे आरुलना च (j) निमिति एंग्ये रि जिलिंगे सिय

7 सृविितु उदनया सृविितु रि हूलािवि रि एतिबि रि नीकस्ति (k) एंग्ये दिेिया आरुलने रिकिंदिबि एंग्ये हेबे रि देिवानियस रिसुस्ति रि (l) एंग्ये सर्पिपालिने-

8 तन महाफिे हौति एनलस्टिनि एनाहे हौति (m) विपिपालिने नो स्वगलालधि नो लाजाधि (n) दुझेले एस कंसम स मे कुिे मनो- अहििले (o) एंग्ये सर्पिपालिने नम

9 च आरुलने एस ब्यान च आलाकशिस्या (p) इं चा रि लिपि अनुसतिसे लितिवि (q) अना रि बलके सोतिलि एकुने रि (r) रिििे चबाहे

10 तबे (s) एसाहे च एसाहे इसे रिकिंदिबि लिपि एन महामाता नगराख सर्वता समय एंग्ये तुषे रि एन मुरिनाने च ने पालिकि

11 पंचसु पंचसु बलसु अनुसतिसाने निधानगिसिरि महामाता चबाइं चाफलसु त पि कुिले रि त ति ति ति ति राेिे

12 वर्तनाक चर अनुसतिसाने निधानगिसिरि आरुलने कमंगि पििु ति पिि तथा कालिति अधिष्ठा

1 (A) Dev[i]nampiyo he[va]in [a]ha (B) Sam[a]pyam mahamata [na]gala-
viohalaka he[vam vaj[tav[i[y[a]] (C) ahi kichhi dakhami ha[ka]in [tah] ichham[i] k[imt[i] kam 1 kamana 2 p[jipataye paranormal

1 Senart and Bühlere omit kain. Cf. the Jaugada separate edict II, end of line 1, and see above,
p. 35 n. 12.
2 [kain]mana Bühlere.
FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDIT: JAUGADA


6 [u]l[ā]ya 16 [a]n[a][y]jet[i]ya 17 [ā]la[s][y]e[na ka][l]amath[e[na] (O) hevān ichhī[ṣ][a]v[ī][y]e kinti me et[ā]ni jāt[ā]ni no hveyū 18 ti (P) savasa chu 19 iyaṁ mū[ka] a[n][ā][s][u][o][c] e atulāna cha (Q) ni[i]tiya[ji]m[e][y][a][m] k[i][li][a]{[a][n][t]c}[siya] ... 7


8 taṁ maḥā-phaṇe hoṭi asaṁpaṭipati maḥāpāye[ṛ] hoṭi (T) viṣaṇṭayyantam no svag[la]-aladhi no lājādi 24 (U) d[u]a[na]hele etasa [ka)i]msa sa me k[u][e] ma[n]a[a]ot[ī][c]e 26 (V) [eta]m saṁpaṭipajamine mama-


r[m]e 26 ch[aghatha] .........


1 Read -muniśe ma; -muniṣe Senart and Bühler.
2 cha Bühler.
3 āva- Bühler; -gaṇake Senart and Bühler.
4 -puṣe Senart and Bühler.
5 hi Bühler.
6 aṭhi Bühler.
7 Senart and Bühler omit ti.
8 Bühler omitted this word.
9 saṁpaṭipā Senart, sanīta Senart.
10 niścē Senart, nītṛu Bühler.
11 īye Senart and Bühler.
12 cha Senart and Bühler.
13 dekkey Senart and Bühler.
14 niśa Senart and Bühler.
15 Read lājādhi.
16 [ma]ne Bühler.
17 Read āntala.
18 mana Bühler.
19 Restore abasna bānākha palikite.
20 ānta Bühler.
21 Senāṇa Senart and Bühler.
22 Bühler adds . . . vakamite; perhaps sakhinaṁānham is intended, as in the corresponding passage at Dhauli.
23 va Bühler.
24 This is probably a remnant of Takhasilāte.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

[yitu][pi][tathā] kalahiti [athā] ........

TRANSLATION

(A) Dēvānāṁpriya speaks thus.
(B) The Mahāmātras at Samāpā, (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to
be told this.
(C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to
accomplish by (various) means.
(D) And this is considered by me the principal means, viz. (to give) instruction
to you.
(E) For you are occupied with many thousands of men, with the object of gaining
the affection of men.
(F) All men are my children.
(G) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me
with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is
my desire on behalf of all men.
(H) But you do not learn this, (viz.) how far this (my) object reaches.
(I) Some single person (only) learns (this), (and) even he (only) a portion, (but)
not the whole.
(J) Now you must also pay attention (to this), although you are in prosperous
circumstances.6
(K) It happens frequently that a single person undergoes imprisonment and suffers
harsh treatment.5
(L) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him
accidentally, while many other people (continue to) suffer.
(M) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.
(N) One fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions: envy, anger,
cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness, (and) fatigue.
(O) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise in you.
(P) But the root of all is this: the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.
(Q) Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise;
but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice).
(R) He who will pay attention to this,7 must exhort (you) to discharge (your)
debt (to the king), (by telling you): 'Such and such is the instruction of Dēvānāṁpriya.'

1 javasēna Senart, ājovasēna Bühler; cf. lōja-vasāhuṇik[ē] in the Jaugada separate edict II, B.
2 lada Senart, adā Bühler.
3 əsak[y]nāṁ Senart and Bühler.
4 For sveda see Bühlingk and Roth's Dictionary. Dhauli has the synonym swabhita.
5 Lüders (SPAW P1914. 862) renders the Dhauli version of this section: 'There is also a single
officer who hears of imprisonment or torture'; but, in order to vindicate this translation, he is
obliged to change ēti in the Jaugada version to ēta (p. 856, n. 17), which gives no sense. The verb
pājunaṭī has the same meaning as here in the rock-edict XIII; cf. above, p. 47, n. 5.
6 For sveda = əjvi see above, p. 40, n. 2.
7 As eva da[khē]ya corresponds to hevanāmeva e da[khēya] at Dhauli, it seems to represent
vain e dakheya.
8 For niśkheṣṭi see above, p. 69, n. 4.
If one observes this, great gain results, (but its) non-observance becomes a great evil.

If one fails to observe (this), (there will be) neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.

How could my mind be pleased if one fulfils this duty badly?

If (you) observe this, you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me, and you will attain heaven.

And this rescript must be listened to (by all) on every (day of) Tishya.

It may be listened to even by a single (person) also on (other) occasions between (the days of Tishya).

you will be able to

And for the following purpose has this rescript been written, (viz.) in order that the Mahamatras (who are) city-judges may strive at all times for this, that to men [undeserved imprisonment or harsh treatment].

I shall send out every five years on a complete tour (throughout his charge) a Mahamatra who is neither fierce nor harsh.

also the prince (governor) [will send out]

from Takshashila.

When, at the word [of the king], they will set out on tour, (then), [without neglecting] their own duties, (they will ascertain) whether the judicial officers are carrying out this also just, as

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देवानांपिते हेवं जाह (B) समापतं महतता लचन।व चकिन्द (C) चं फिंत। दिशाधि हरवं नं दिशाधिधि हवं फिंतं के काम

2 पतिपिते हेवं जाह (D) एस च मे मोक्षयमं हुवाल एतस (E) सवमुनि

3 सा मे पजा (F) आच पजाये दिशाधि फिंत मे सवेशा हितसुधेन युजेयू आच पजाये दिशाधि फिंत मे सवेशा हितसुधे

4 बेन युजेयू ति हिदलोगिष्कपाल्लोकिष्क हेवंमेव मे उड़ सवमुनि (G) सिया बंतानं आविनिता

5 नं विंद्येर सु लाजा वक्षपुरा ति (H) एकाका वा मे उढ़ अंतिसु पापुनेयु लाजा हेवं दिशाधि अनुविगित हेवयू

6 ममियाये आससुईं च मे सुभमेव च लाजेयू मभसे नो खं हेवं च पापुनेयु बनभिस्ति ने लाजा

7 ए सकिये बनभिस्ति नमं निशिमं च धंं चलेयू ति हिदलोगं च पलोगं च आलायेयू (I) एताये

1 See above, p. 5, n. 4.
2 See below, p. 117, n. 10.
3 The word janasanita seems to be omitted at Jaugada, but is required by the context; see the Dhauli version, CC.
8 च चापाये हरं तुषोिन अनुसारासि • अनने अककेन हरं तुषोिन अनुसारसि 13े • च वेदि- 9 तु वा नम धिति परिंति च अचल (II) स हैं व • कूठ गंते चिदिनििे 13सायिा च ने एन ते पापुिे- 10 सु सय पित हैं ने त्वाजा ति वि 13य चताति अनुसक्ति हैं तुषोिन अनुसक्ति 13य वा नीि ते है- 11 वं मये लाजिे (K) तुषोिन हरं अनुसारसि 3ांद च वेदिि वा सम धिति 13ति परिंति च अचल सकल- 12 देसापासुनि कहोििि एििि एििि अचसि (J) अलि ति तुषे असायिा चे हिनिुिारिे च तेसं 3िद- 13 लोरिकालोरिकाये (M) हैं च कलंि सयं च अलायििसखु मस च 13िानेि एसख (N) र- 14 तामे च चापाये हयं 3िपी 3िनििि हितए एन महाजाति सांखुि संम युिे• 13सायिा च 15 धमचलििये च अंिांि (O) हयं च 3िपी अनुसारामसि सोिििा तिसेिे (P) 13संता पि च सोिििा 16 13रि संतं एकि पि सोिििा (R) हैं च कलंि चशथ संपितििायििििे

1 (A) Devānāmipiyō hevaṁ añ[a] (B) Samāpayaṁ mahamatā lāja-vachani[k][a]
$vataviya$ (C) arī kicchi dakh[a]mi hakaṁ taṁ [chh]āmi hakaṁ k[ī]ni ti kan kamana
2 paṭipātehaṁ duva[l]a te cha ālabhchaṁ (D) esa cha.me mokhiya-ma[ta] [a] duvā[ta]
etasa [tha]ṣa a[m] [u]ph]ēsu anusa[thi][E] sava-muni-
3 sā me paja (F) atha paja[y][c] ichhāmi kin[i] me savenā hita-su[kh]ēna yu[j]ē yu[j]ē
[a]cha paja[y]e ichhāmi kin[i] [m] [c] savena hita-su-
4 kh[e]na yuyeyi[a] ti hidalogika-pālaloki[k] [na] hevaṁmeva me ichha sav-
muninesu (G) siyā aṁtānar na[v]ājvījā-
5 naṁ kin-chhāndec su lajā apheṣu ti (H) etākā [v] me ichha [a]ṁtesu pāpuneu
lajā hevaṁ ich[a]ti anu[v] [k]ENA hye[yu][I]
hevaṁ cha pāpuneu kha[m]/[s]a ti ne lajā
7 e s[a]kiye 9 khamite va maṁ ni[m]tān cha dhāmā[rm] [10] chaley[ū] ti hidalog[ara]
cha palalogar cha alādhayey[ū] [11] (I) etāyē
TRANSLATION

(A) Devānāṃpriya speaks thus.

(B) The Mahāmātrās at Samāpā have to be told (this) at the word of the king.16

(C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds and to accomplish by (various) means.

(D) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(E) All men are my children.

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.

(G) It might occur to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask): 'What does the king desire with reference to us?'

(H) This alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, (that) they may learn (that) the king desires this, (that) they may not be afraid of me, but may have confidence in me; (that) they may obtain only happiness from me, not misery; (that) they may learn this, (that) the king will forgive them what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; and (that) they may attain (happiness) both (in) this world and (in) the other world.

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1 katu Senart and Bühler.
2 Read "sāsti", which is Bühler's reading.
3 chhānḍanī Senart and Bühler.
4 Read vedītu; vedāttā Senart, vedītu[ə] Bühler.
5 Senart and Bühler omit ā.
6 Read desāyūtīke.
7 likhitā Senart and Bühler.
8 sāsvataiā Senart and Bühler.
9 Read saṃayān. 
10 The derivative [tā]ja-vachanik[a] seems to convey the same meaning as the two words Devānāṃpyasa vachanena at the beginning of each of the two separate edicts at Dhauāli, and of the Queen's pillar-edict at Allahabad. Cf. also the opening phrase of the Brahmagiri and Siddāpurā rock-inscriptions.
(I) And for the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them) by this, that I instruct you and inform (you) of (my) will, i.e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow.

(J) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire them with confidence¹ in order that they may learn that the king is to them like a father, (that) he loves them as he loves himself, (and that) they are to the king like (his own) children.

(K) Having instructed you and having informed (you) of (my) will, i.e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow, I shall have (i.e. maintain) officers in all provinces for this object.

(L) For you are able to inspire those (borderers) with confidence and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(M) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(N) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the Mahamatras may strive at all times to inspire (my) borderers with confidence and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(O) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months on (the day of) Tishya.

(P) And it may be listened to also between (the days of Tishya).

(Q) It may be listened to even by a single (person) when an occasion offers.²

(R) And if (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

5 निक्खमित सः

6 (E) हेत इयं होति चंभ

7 वुढानं दस्तनेच विरिपपितिबधाने च

8 धम्मालुसयि धंस

9 ये रति होति दे

10 नै भागे छः

5 nikhamitha Sa²

6 (E) heta iyan [ho]i ba[n][bha]

7 vudha[n] dasane [cha] hirai[na]-paṭividhāne cha

8 [dha²]nimānus[thi]² dharīma

9 ye [ra]ti² hoti De

10 n[e] bhāge am...

¹ With avāsa[yā] ca cf. visvamānyitave on the Sārnāth pillar, ll. 8 and 9.
² The two words ḍhane sanātana are nominatives absolute; cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.
³ nikhamitha sa n Bhagvanlal Indrajit.
⁴ These two words are entered above the line.
⁵ satthi Bh. I.
⁶ rati Bh. I.
BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

Scale One-third
SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

1. (A) तेिानुमिये पियदसि लाज हेवं शाहा (B) सहुबीसिति-
2. वसाभिसिते से इंगे धमलिपि लिखापिता
3. (C) हिदतपालारे दुसापियापादे अनंत आगाया धममायाता
4. आगाय पलीयाया चाहा बुधाया चर्य्य भेजा
5. चर्य उसहीना (D) एस चु खी मम अनुसिषिया
6. धमापेता धममायाता चा मुवे सवे वडाटा बधीसिते चेिा
7. (E) पुलिसा पि चे मे उकला चा नेदा चा नक्षिना चा अनुविधीणि
8. संपियायानिर्ति चा शांवे चपलें समापियादिि (F) हेतेवा जांत-
9. महामाता पि (G) एस हि विध्य या इंगे धममन पालना धममन विधििे
10. धममन सुखियाना धममन गोती ति

1. (A) Devānāmpriyē Priyadasē Iāja hevān āhā (B) saçuvisati-
2. vasa-abhisenē me iyaś dhanma-lipi likhāpitā
3. (C) hidata-pālate dusāmpatipādaye arināta agāyā dhanma-kāmatāyā
4. agāya palikhāyā agāya su[sū]jyēya agena bhayēna
5. agena usāhenē (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiē
6. dhanmāpekāhā dhanma-kāmatā chā suve suve vadhītā vadhēsi chevā
7. (E) puliśa pi cha me ukasā chā gevāyā chā majhīmā chā anuvidhyānti
8. saṁpatipādayānti chā alāni chapalaṁ samādāpayitave (F) hemevā arīnta-
9. mahāmātā pi (G) esa ¹ hi ² vidhi ya iyaś dhanmna pālānā dhanmna vidhinē
10. dhanmna sukhiyāna dhanmna goti ti

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānām Priyadarśīn speaks thus.
(B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been)
anointed twenty-six years.
(C) (Happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world)² is difficult to secure

¹ ess Bühler.
² fi Senart and Bühler; hi is quite distinct on the inked estampages.
³ With the base pālāna, which is derived from the Sanskrit adverb parātra, cf. parātriika at
Girnār (= pālāntika at Kālsi, and pālatika elsewhere).
without great love of morality, careful examination, great obedience, great fear (of sin), (and) great energy.

(D) But indeed by my instruction this regard for morality and love of morality have been promoted day by day and will progress still more.

(E) And my agents also, both the high ones and the low ones, and those of middle rank, are conforming to and practising (morality), (and are thus) able to stir up fickle (persons).

(F) In the same way the Mahamattas of the borderers also (are acting).

(G) For (their) instruction (is) this, viz. to protect according to morality, to dispose according to morality, to cause pleasure according to morality, (and) to guard (their speech) according to morality.

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

10 (A) देवानांपि प्रयद्वितलाज
11 हेवं शाहा (B) पंसे साधू चिक्यं च धंसे ति (C) ज्ञापनसचैव बहुः कयाने
12 दया दाने सचे सोचे (D) चक्कूदाने पिर सेव चूहैसे दिने (E) दुपुडः
13 चतुर्देशु पशिबालिचर्चेभु विविष्ये मे चतुर्गाहे कोट शा पाने
14 दातिनां (F) शानानि पिर च मे चूहै शानानि जतान (G) एताथे मे
15 शानानि इवं धम्मलिपि लीलापिना हेवं शुभपितपितु चिचले-
16 शिष्ठिका च होणू तीमि ति (E) ये च हेवं संपत्तिष्ठीसति से सुकटं कलन्ति ति

10 (A) Devānāmipyā Piyadasi lāja
11 hevaṁ āhā (B) dhanāme sādhū kīyāṁ chu dhanāme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayaṁe
12 dayā ēANE sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dānē pi mc bahuvidhive diṁne (E) dupada-

1 For suve suve = Skt. svah svah (literally: 'to-morrow to-morrow'), see Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s.v. suve.
2 I adopt V. A. Smith's translation of pulisa; see his Asoka, sec. ed., p. 182, n. 3. Cf. the pillar-edict IV, G, and VII, M.
3 ukasa (= utkarsha) is used in the sense of utkṛṣṭa.
4 This meaning of gevaya is evident from the context. Bühlcr (ZDMG, 48. 62) derived gevaya (for *gēvaka) from the root gē, to which the Dhatupatha attributes the meaning of śev, 'to serve'. For the change of k to y cf. supadāya, above, p. 33. n. 3. But the existence of the root gē as far from certain; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 991 and n. 1.
5 For samādapti see Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s.v. samādiyati.
6 Cf. the separate edict II at Dhauli (M) and at Jangāda (N).
7 For this meaning of yā tyan see Senart, 1A, 17. 305, who compares with it the Pāli expression yad idam.
8 Cf. the pillar-edict IV, E, and VII, V.
9 Cf. the rock-edict XII, D.
10 ēANE Senart and Bühlcr.
11 A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of uc.
12 A vertical stroke is attached to the bottom of me.
SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśinī speaks thus.
(B) (To practise) morality is meritorious; but what does morality include?²
(C) (It includes) few sins,⁴ many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.
(D) The gift of spiritual insight⁵ also has been bestowed by me in many ways.
(E) On bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic animals various benefits have been conferred by me, (even) to the boon of life.⁶
(F) And many other virtuous deeds also have been performed by me.⁷
(G) For the following purpose was this rescript on morality caused to be written by me, (viz.) in order that (men) might conform to it, and that it might be of long duration.
(H) And he who will act thus will perform good deeds.⁸

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

17 (A) देवानंप्रिये पियदसि लाज हैं ऋहा (B) क्यानंभी देखति इम मे
18 क्याने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पाप देखति इम मे पापे कटे ति इम वा जासिनवे
19 नामा ति (D) हुँचिवेले चु चो एसा (E) हे चु चो एस देखिवे (F) इमानि
20 जासिनवगामीति नाम श्रय चंदिवे निदुलिवे कोई माने इथ्या
21 बालकन व इसा मा परिबंधसिंख (G) एस वाह देखिवे (H) इम मे
22 हितितिकाये इयान्म मे पालितिकाये

¹ The remaining versions read hotā ti. Three verses of Manu in which it is doubled are quoted in Bühttingk and Roth's Wörterbuch, I, p. 790, l. 18. Cf. also kiti [i] at Kāsi, XII, D.
² An apparent Anusvāra after ka is probably accidental.
³ Burnouf (Lotus, p. 667) explained kṣiti = Skt. kṣitā.
⁴ aśānu is a dialectic variety of the Jaina term anākaya which is derived from ā+smu; see Weber's Ind. Studien, 16. 325, n. 7, and Michelson, IP, 23. 267 l. The corresponding Pāli term is āśāva, which is Sanskritized by ārava or āsāva. See Burnouf, Lotus, p. 822 l.; Sarvāravasā, translated by Cowell and Gough, p. 53 l.; ZDMG, 73. 149. With the compound apaśāvanā cf. apa-vyayātā, apa-phañja, and apa-parivraja in the Gīrṇār edict III, l. 5, IX, l. 3, and X, l. 3, respectively.
⁵ Literally: 'the gift of the eye'. According to the Itivuttaka (ed. by Windisch, p. 52), the three chakkhus are mahiśa-chakkhu, diṁba-chakkhu, and pāhiṁ-chakkhu; see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 62.
⁶ For details of these regulations see the pillar-edict V.
⁷ Cf. the rock-edict V, D.
⁸ Cf. the same edict, E.
17 (A) Devānāṃpiye Priyadasi lāja hevaṁ ahā (B) kayānāṁmeva dekhati iyaṁ me
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpam d[e]khati iyaṁ me pape kaṭe ti iyaṁ va āśinaive
nāma ti (D) duptaivukhe chu kho essā (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni
āśinava-gāmīni nāma atha chāndīye nīthūliye kodhe māne iṣyā
kalāne va hakaṁ mā palibhasayisāra (G) esa bādha dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me
hidatkāye iyaṁmana me pālatikāye

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (Men) regard only (their) virtuous deeds, (thinking): ‘This virtuous deed has
been performed by me.’

(C) They do not at all regard (their) evil deeds, (thinking): ‘This evil deed
has been performed by me; this very (act) is called a sin.’

(D) Now this is indeed difficult to recognize.

(E) But indeed this ought to be regarded thus:

(F) ‘These (passions), viz. fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride, envy, are called
sinful.’ Let me not ruin (myself) by (these) very (passions).

(G) The following ought to be specially regarded:

(H) ‘This (action conduces) to my (happiness) in this (world), that other (action)
to my (happiness) in the other (world).’

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

West Face of Pillar.

1 (A) ṃvatāniphī yāvhitā līja ṣeva ḍhāha (B) sūvīsāvisvaks-
2 sāmasāneva me eva dharmadhipi līkṣāpi (C) lājūka ma
3 bhūtā añcānātābhumānātā yāyata (D) nayem ye añnāhāte va
4 dende va añnātāpiye me kante vijāti lājūka abhāsya añnīta

1 Michelson (IF, 23, 236 f.) dissolves nominā into no amina, and identifies amina with the Pāli
aminā, to which he attributes the meaning ‘also;’ but this word rather means ‘hereby’. Bühl er
(EI, 2, 251, n. 21) seems to be right in taking no mina = Skt. na maṇāk. For the change of a to i

2 For āśinava see above, p. 131, n. 4.

3 With the compound āśinava-gāminī cf. āvā-gāmuka In the first separate edict at Dhauli (G)
and Jaugāda (H).

4 See Michelson, IF, 23, 262. To the reasons adduced by him against taking mā to be the
accusative of the pronoun maḥ, we may add that, if mā were the object of palibhasayisā, it would
be an unidiomatic substitute of Skt. ātmānam.

5 Michelson (IF, 23, 237 f.) connects maṇa with Skt. maṇāk, and Bühler translated it by ‘at
least’. The adverb maṇa does occur in the Jātaka, vol. I, p. 405, verse 97, where it means
‘nearly’. I suspect that ātmānam represents Skt. idam avyata. For the Sanchi cf. kāyanāṁ
meva in line 17; ṛkṣaraṇa (or ‘va’) in the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar-edict VI, D, the Dhauli
separate edict I, l. 13, the Jaugāda separate edict II, l. 4, and the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription, F;
sukhaṁmeva in the Dhauli separate edict II, l. 5, and the Jaugāda separate edict II, l. 6.
कंभानि परि एवं जनस जानपदसा हितसुल्तं उपदेशे

अञुग्रहिरेव च यथा (B) मुक्तिवन्दनि जानिंति धौम्युलेन च

वियोविासंति जनां जानपदे किंति हिंदुं च पालन च

आलापयेवै ति (F) लजोका पि लम्बरि परिचितलिखाेवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे

हंदनानि परिचितलिखि (H) ते पि च कालि वियोविासंति चेति मे लजोका

चर्चेऽ आलापयितिेवे (I) ऋषि हि यें वियताये धातिये निपिजितु

अस्थे हेििि वियति धाति चर्च्छिे मे पर्यं सुल्तं पलिहैदे

हेंव समा लजोका कदा जानपदसा हििसुकारे (J) चेति येति जानिाता

अस्थं संदे ऋव्यिनमा कंभानि परि एवं एतिे मे लजोकां

अंबिहाले च इंदे च ज्ञात्सतथे हिे (K) इंदितिविये हिे यसा किंति

वियोविाल्समता च मिये इंदितिमा चा (L) ऋषि हेििि पि च मे आबुिि

संत्वितवधिा मुनिसानि तीर्थिनदिां पतनवधिा मिनि दिवसानि मे

बोधऽे रिंदिे (M) नातिका बि कालि निक्षपिसति जैवितिे तानि

नासंिं वि निक्षपितिा दान दाहििि पालितिे उपििि वि कानिि

(न) इंदे हिे एले इंदितिसि पि कालिि सातििऽ आलापयितिे लि (O) जनस च

बढििि विविधे धमसंहले रंगिे दानसविमानिे लि

1 (A) Devanāmaipiyo Piyadāsī 1[ā]jīa hevaṁ āhā (B) sauvāsati-vasa-
2 abhisitena me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (O) lajukā me
3 bahūsu pāna-satsa-sahase su janasi ayatā (D) tesah ye abhīhale va
4 dāndē va ata-patiye me kate kimi lajukā asvathā abhītā
5 kahmāni pavatayeve janasa jānappadā sah-sukhaṁ upadahevū
6 anugahinevū chā (E) sukhiyana-dukhiyanaṁ jānisamti dhamma-yutena cha
7 viyovadisaṁti janaṁ jānapadāṁ kimi hidataṁ cha pālataṁ cha
8 ālādhayevevū ti (F) lajukā pī laghaṁti pātichalitave maṁ (O) pulisāni pī me
9 chhārandaṁni pātichalitave (H) te pī chā kāni viyovadisaṁti yena maṁ lajukā
10 chahāṁti ālādhayītave (I) aṭhā hi pajaṁ viyataṁ dhātīye nisijutu
11 asvathe hoṭi viyata dhātī chahāṁti me pajaṁ sukhaṁ palihaṭave
12 hevaṁ mamo lajukā katā jānapadāsa hita-sukhaye (J) yena ete abhītā
13 asvathe saṁtaṁ avimānaḥ kahmāṁi pavatayeve vī etena me lajukānaṁ
14 abhi[1]hale 1 va dāndē va ata-patiye kate (K) ichhitavye [h]e esā kiṁti
15 viyohāla-samataṁ cha siya dānda-samatā cha (L) avā ite pī cha me avuti
16 bārīkhana-badhānaṁ munisānaṁ till[ā]ta-dāndaṁ 2 pata-vadhānaṁ tinni
divasā[ñ] me
17 yote dhīne (M) nātiṅa va kāni nihapayishaṁti jivitaṁ tānāṁ
18 nāsaṁtaṁ va nihapayitā dānāṁ dāhantā pātalikāṁ upavāsāṁ va kachhantā
19 (N) ichhā hi me hevaṁ niludhasi pī kalasi pālataṁ ālādhayevevū ti (O) janasa cha
20 vadhāti vividhe dhamma-chalane samyāme dāna-savibhāge ti

1 abhīhāle Bühlōr.
2 tīta. Senart and Bühlōr.
(A) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadasāṅhin speaks thus.
(B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been)
anointed twenty-six years.
(C) My Lajākṣas are occupied with the people, with many hundred thousands
of men.¹
(D) I have ordered that either rewards² or punishments are left to their
discretion,³ in order that the Lajākṣas should perform (their) duties confidently (and)
fearlessly, that they should bestow welfare and happiness on the people of the country,
and that they should confer benefits (on them).
(E) They will know how to cause pleasure⁴ and to cause pain (to them), and will
exhort the people of the country through those who are devoted to morality,⁵ in order
that they may attain (happiness) both in this (world) and in the other (world).
(F) The Lajākṣas also must obey me.⁶
(G) They will also obey the agents ⁷ who know (my) wishes.
(H) And these (agents) will also exhort those (people),⁸ in order that the Lajākṣas
may be able to please me.⁹
(I) For, as one feels confident after having entrusted (his) child to an intelligent¹¹
nurse, (thinking): ‘The intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well’, so the
Lajākṣas were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people.¹²

(J) In order that they should perform (their) duties, being fearless, confident, (and)
unperturbed,¹³ for this (purpose) I have ordered that either rewards or punishments are
left to the discretion of the Lajākṣas.

¹ For Lajāka or Rājāka see above, p. 5, n. 2.
² For iyata cf. above, p. 95, n. 4.
³ In the Jātaka the word abhikāra has the meaning of ‘a present, an offering’; see Bühler,
ZDMG, 49, 539 f., and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 991 f.
⁴ As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 990 f.), ata-patiya is an adjective formed of ātman + pati
with the affix -ya, which seems to stand for -ka; see Franke, VOJ, 1. 347. Cf. nīlāśīya in the Kālsi
rock-edict IX, C, and atka-bhāgya on the Rannimā pillar, C.
⁵ Cf. subhikṣya in the pillar-edict I, I. 10, and subhikṣaya, VII, V.
⁶ Bühler translated dhamma-yutena by ‘in accordance with the principles of the sacred law’.
In the pillar-edict VII, N, dhamma-yuta[ta]ni is an adjective qualifying janan, ‘the people who are
devoted to morality’. The same translation suits dhamma-yute[na] at Masiki, I, 5, and the substantives
dhrama-yutasa and dhrama-yutasi in the Shhibāzqari rock-edict V (J, K, N), which, as the variant
dhamma-yutāṇi at Gīrār (V, K) shows, are used (just as here) in a collective sense. V. A. Smith
(Asoka, sec. ed., p. 185) and Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992) understand the word dhamma-yutaka to be
the collective designation of certain officials.
⁷ Kern (faartelling, p. 90) compared laṅghaniti with Skt. arhanti.
⁸ Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992 f.) has shown that pulisāṇi is the accusative of pulisā, which occurs
in the pillar-edict I, E, and VII, M; cf. above, p. 30, n. 1.
⁹ For kāni see above, p. 35, n. 12.
¹⁰ For chaṅghāti = Skt. sākyatī see above, p. 97, n. 4.
¹¹ Kern (faartelling, p. 99) first identified iyata with Skt. tyākta, which, according to the
Amarakōśa, has also the meaning of prajā, and which is used with this meaning in Buddhist
Sanskrit; see Bohlig’s Abridged Dictionary, s. v. त्यास and Aśvaghosha’s Saundarananda, II, 38.
¹² I follow Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1009 f.) in making this section end here.
¹³ saṅkta is a nominative singular absolute. See Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1010 f., and cf. above,
p. 97, n. 3.
(K) For the following is to be desired, (viz.) that there should be both impartiality in judicial proceedings and impartiality in punishments.

(L) And my order (reaches) even so far (that) a respite of three days is granted by me to persons lying in prison on whom punishment has been passed, (and) who have been condemned to death.

(M) (In this way) either (their) relatives will persuade those (Lajukas) to (grant) their life, or, if there is none who persuades (them), they will bestow gifts or will undergo fasts in order to (attain happiness) in the other (world).

(N) For my desire is this, that, even when the time (of respite) has expired, they should attain (happiness) in the other (world).

(O) And various moral practices, self-control, (and) the distribution of gifts are (thus) promoted among the people.

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

South Face of Pillar.

1 (A) देवानांपिये पियदसि त्वाः हैं ब्रह्मा (B) सहवीसतितवास-
2 अनुजनितम मे इमानि जातानि अजैधियानि कातानि सेयणा
3 सुंदिर सालिका अलुने चकवाने हंसे नंदीमुखे गे तान्ते
4 गजूका क्रोवयोगिका दही अजैधिमण्डे वैदिकके
5 गंगायुपपके संकुजामण्डे कफसपके पंतससे सिंमले
6 संडके अरुप्तमेन पतससे जेतापूमेन गामरूपे
7 सवे चतुर्भद्धे ये पपनोंग नो एवि न च खादिति (C) ........................

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1 With अवति = अवकि (Senart) cf. -अवकि in the Dhauli separate edict II, l. 8 = -अ[९]कि at Jaugada, II, l. 2; श्वाता at Sarnath (l. 10), Shāhbazgarhi, and Mānschā, and श्वाता at Kālī = श्वाता at Gīrān, XIII, R; supadarave at Mānschā = supādālaye at Kālī, Dhauli, and Jaugada, V, G; sochave in the Delhi-Topra pillar-edict VII, l. 28 = sochaye in edict II, l. 12. I follow Bühler’s rendering (EI, 2. 254), and compare अव-गमूल[क]े in the first separate edict at Dhauli (G) and Jaugada (H). Michelson (IF, 43. 236) compares अव with Avestan जसत, and अव, the reading of three other versions of this edict, with Ancient Persian अस्त.

2 Senart (IA, 18. 9) translated अव ई (२३. जयव ई) by ‘from this day’. I follow Bühler’s rendering (EI, 2. 254), and compare अव-गमूल[क]े in the first separate edict at Dhauli (G) and Jaugada (H). Michelson (IF, 43. 236) compares अव with Avestan जसत, and अव, the reading of three other versions of this edict, with Ancient Persian अस्त.

3 With श्वाता-श्वातं cf. श्वातं (कार्यम्), Main, IX, 233, and अश्वासंसर्याद at Gīrān, VI, II, 9, 10.

4 Literally: ‘will induce to meditate or consider’. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1022 f.) quotes नमो धनुस्या नमो धनुस्या from the Sūtra. The means of ‘persuasion’ was evidently the payment of ransom; cf. the Kautūlya, p. 145, last line: पुरबोज्या: सन्दाहुनवा शा दोषाकार्यां

5 Three other versions read: ‘if there is none to persuade them’. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1023) has explained नासुदितानु as the nominative singular absolute of the participle present of नास्ति (Skt. नासक). As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1024 f.), the prisoners themselves are the subject of the last sentence.

6 As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1024 f.), the prisoners themselves are the subject of the last sentence.

7 Bühler (EI, 2. 254, n. 28) took niruddha as the sense of nirūdhā-का ‘ϕι, ‘even during (their) imprisonment’. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1026) translates: ‘even in limited time’, and Thomas (JRA, 1916. 123): ‘though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed’. In favour of my rendering I may quote Childers, s.v. niruddha.
8 एका चा सूक्ली चा गमिनी व पायमीना व अविधय-पतत्त्वे 
9 पि च कानि आतमसिति (D) वधीकुवर्ते नी जटविये (E) तुये सजीवे 
10 नो कापेतविये (F) दाये अनश्ये वा विहिसाये वा नो कापेतविये 
11 (G) जीवन जीवे नो युसितविये (H) नीसु चातुर्मात्रिसु गुस्ति ध्वणासिय 
12 तिनि दिवसानि चावुदस पंडसं पदययासे धुवाये चा 
13 आनुपोसं स्त्रे अविध्ये नो पि विवेतविये (I) अतानि वेवा दिवसानि 
14 नागवनः केतवभोगिति चानि अनानि पि जीवनिकायानि 
15 न हंतवियानि (J) अठमीपालि चावुदसाये पंडसाये तिसाये 
16 पुनाधुते नीसु चातुर्मात्रिसु मुदिविसाये गोने नो नीलवितविय 
17 ज्ञाने एडे मूकते ए वा पि अंदे नीलशयिति नो नीलवितविय 
18 (K) तिसाये पुनुपाने चातुर्मात्रिये चातुर्मात्रिपालि अस्सा गोनस 
19 लक्षने नो कटविये (L) यावसुद्वीसितिवस्तब्धिसिति भे एताय 
20 अंतिलियाये पंववसिति वंधमासिति कतानि 

1 (A) Devänāmpīye Piyādasi làṣa hevaṁ ahā (B) saḍuvisati-vasa- 
2 abhisīttena me imāni jātani avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyathā 
3 suke sālikā alune chakavāke harīne nirād suchi gela 
4 jātāka aṁbā-kaḷilīka dali1 anāṭhika-machhe vedaveyake 
5 Gaṅgā-puṇapāke saṃkujama-machhe kaphat[a]-sayake paṃsena-same simale 
6 saṃdake okapīṁde palasate seta-kapote gāna-kapote 
7 save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khaṭiyati2 (C) . . . . . . . . . . . . i3 
8 [e]lakā4 chā sūkali chā gahini va pāyaminā va avadhī[冻结] p . tājke5 
9 pi cha kāni asāmāsike (D) vadhi-kuke no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajive 
10 no jhāpetaviye (F) dāve anāṭhaye va vīhīrāye va no jhāpetaviye 
11 (G) jīvena jive no pūsaviyaye (H) tisu chaṭumāsīs isīṣiyan poṃnamāsīyan 
12 tīmni divvasāni chaḍvudasāni paṃnasāna paṭipadāye[c] dhuvāye cha 
13 anuṣoṣathāni machhe avadhiye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva6 divvasāni 
14 nāga-vaṇasi kevaṭa-bhogasī yāni anānī pi jiva-nilāṇī 
15 no haṃtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhyāe chaḍvudasāye paṃnasāye tīṣyāe 
16 punāvasune tisu chaṭumāsīs sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviy 
17 ajake edake sūkale e va pi aṇne nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviy 
18 (K) tīṣaye punāvasune chaṭumāsīsyaye chaṭumāsīsyaye avasāga gonas 
19 lākhaṇe no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisītāna mc etāye 
20 antaliśāye paṁnasāvisi bāṁdhanā-mokhāni kaṭāni 

1 daśī Bühler; but see his Ind. Pal., § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911, 1088. Three other versions read dute, and the Allahabad-Kosām pillar daśī. 
2 khaṭiyati Bühler. 
3 Three other versions read ajaṭā nānī. 
4 Restore avadhityā potake. 
5 aḷakā Bühler. 
6 yeva Bühler.
FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, the following animals were declared by me inviolable, viz.: parrots, mainas, the aruṇa, ruddy geese, wild geese, the naṁśūkha, the galāṭa, bats, queen-ants, terrapins, boneless fish, the vedaveyaka, the Gaṅgā-pupṭulaka, skate-fish, and porcupines, squirrels (?), the eśvarā, bulls set at liberty, iguanas (?), the rhinoceros, white doves, domestic doves, (and) all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible.

(C) Those [she-goats], ears, and sows (which are) either with young or in milk, are inviolable, and also those (of their) young ones (which are) less than six months old.

(D) Cocks must not be caponed.

(E) Husks containing living animals must not be burnt.

(F) Forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy (living beings).

1 seyyāṭā = Pali seyyāṭā and Skt. tadyāṭā.
2 Michelson (IF, 23, 266 f.) dissolves音响kālī into *amabhā (an adjective formed of ambā) and *pīlīkā (for pīlīkā) by haplography. But it seems easier to divide the word into ambā and kālīkā = Pali kipīlīkā. Skt. pīlīkā has been changed to kālīkā, &c. through dissimilation; cf. Trencekner's Pāli Miscellany, p. 59.
3 Monmohan Chakravarti (Memoirs, ASB, i. 358) takes dūlā in the sense of 'the female tortoise'. But tortoises are mentioned separately in the sequel.
4 With sanskrita Senart (IA, 18, 75) compares Skt. sānkuṭha or sānkuṭhi, which may be derived from sānkūṭa, 'to contract'.
5 The identification of kāpāta with Skt. kauṭa is due to Senart; see IA, 18, 75.
6 This doubtful explanation of parṇa-saka was proposed by Bühler; see IF, 2, 266.
7 This animal is mentioned in the Kaṇḍāyaṇa, p. 100, l. 12.
8 C. M. Mulvany (IA, 37, 211) remarks that this translation of sansākāra is improbable because 'Hindus would hardly kill a bull'; but matters may have been different in Aśoka's time. Cf. the reference in Kālidāsa's Mahābhārata (v. 45) to king Rañḍīrā, who, according to the Mahābhārata (v. 4, 5, 12, 29, 123, 13, 66, 42 f.), sacrificed so many cows that their blood formed the river Charmanya. According to the Śatapatha-Bṛāhmaṇa (III, 1, 2, 21), Yaśāvākya was fond of tender beef. At the beginning of the fourth act of Bhavabhūti's Uttararāmachariya it is stated that a heifer (sātakaśri) was slaughtered by Vālmiki in honour of Vaisiṣṭhā's visit to his hermitage. According to Pāṇini, III, 4, 73, gṛghna means 'a guest' because a cow is killed for him. Pāṇiṣa (I, 3, 27) specifies the verse which had to be recited at the killing of the cow. Aparānta (Grihyasūtra, I, 3, 9) permits a cow at the death of a guest, at the worship of the manes, and at the celebration of a marriage; cf. Manu, V, 41. For a description of the śālagava or 'split-off' offered to Rudra, see Hilfbrandt's Ritual-Literatur, p. 83 f. The Buddhist Sūtras mention beef butchers; see Neumann's translation of the Dighaṇkārya, vol. II, p. 448, n. 5. Cf. also Memoirs, ASB, i. 373; Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Sutras, vol. II, p. 145; Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, article 'cow' by Jacobi.
9 According to Trencekner's Pāli Miscellany, p. 38, n. 6, palasaṭa (=Vedic parasava) is the original of Pāli palasāda, 'a rhinoceros', and the latter, which means literally 'eating leaves', is an etymologizing corruption of the former. The form palasāda occurs in the Yātaka, V, p. 406, v. 267, and palasatā ibid., VI, 277, v. 1205; see Kern's Teoogoselen op 't Woordenboek van Childers (Amsterdam, 1919), II, p. 13.
10 For the pronoun nānā see above, p. 13, n. 5. Lüders (SPAW, 1913-998, n. 9) has refused a suggestion of Franke (VOJ, 9, 343), who wanted to join ajahānanā into one word, and to consider it a Prākṛta form of ajahā. Just as the nom. plur. neut. nānā is connected here with the nom. sing. fem. ajahā, and with the nom. sing. neut. she in the Queen's edict, i. 4, kānā is combined with the nom. sing. masc. poṭake in i. 9; see Lüders, p. 997, and cf. above, p. 35, n. 12.
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(G) Living animals must not be fed with (other) living animals.
+ (H) Fish are inviolable, and must not be sold, on the three Chāтраmāsī 1 (and) on the Tishyā full-moon 2 during three days, (viz.) the fourteenth, the fifteenth, (and) the first (tithi), and invariably on every fast-day. 3
(I) And during these same days also no other classes of animals which are in the elephant-park 4 (and) in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.
(J) On the eighth (tithi) of (every) fortnight, 5 on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on Tishyā, on Panarvasu, on the three Chāтраmāsīs, (and) on festivals, 6 bulls 7 must not be castrated, (and) he-goats, rams, boars, and whatever other (animals) are castrated (otherwise), must not be castrated (then).
(K) On Tishyā, on Panarvasu, on the Chā Trafford (and) during the fortnight of (every) Chātra, horses (and) bullocks must not be branded.
(L) Until (I had been) anointed twenty-six years, in this period the release of prisoners was ordered by me twenty-five (times). 4

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

East Face of Pillar.

1 (A) देवानंथपिये पियतिि राज हेवं ऋहा (B) दुवास- वस्त्रविभिन्न ने धर्ममलिपि दिकारिपा लोकसा
2 हितसुखबे से तं ऋहदा तं तं धर्मविवि पारोिा
3 (C) हेवं लोकसा हितसुखे ति पैर्सियाति अध इं
4 नातिसु हेवं पैरिपन्नले हेवं ऋकषु

1 i.e. certain full-moon days of each of the three seasons (summer, rains, and winter); see Bühler, EI, 2. 261 ff., and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauli (N) and Jaugada (O).
2 tisā (i.e. tishyā), instead of which three other versions read tisi (i.e. *tishti), is the full-moon of the month Taisha or Pausha; see EI, 2. 264.
3 With the words dhāvaya cha anupasatḥan ca dhāvaya on the Sāmāth pillar, l. 8.
4 For nāga-sana see the Dhammapada, verse 344, and the Kauṭilya, p. 56.
5 In the compound aṅkami-pākha the usual order of the two members is reversed. Similar expressions were quoted by Bühler, EI, 2. 266, and by Franke in KZ, 34. 434.
6 According to the Kauṭilya, p. 407, l. 9 f., the king’s birthday and local festivals are meant; see below, n. 8.
7 For gona, the Prākṛit and Pāli equivalent of Skt. gò, ‘an ox’, see Pischel’s Grammatik, § 393.
8 The occasions on which it was customary to release prisoners are enumerated in the Kauṭilya, p. 146 f. Cf also Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 93 f., and Zacharine, VOJ, 27. 406. With sections C, H, J, and L of this edict cf. the Kauṭilya, p. 407:
9 [विशिष्टप्रथमाधिकारन्तर्पियंतिि द राजेन्द्रज्ञजयमेवि रामसेवानिि धनियासंगध धुःसबबादनिि न विविधिकरिि: ‘[having acquired a new territory, the conqueror] shall order all prisoners to be released . . . . . . . and the slaughter (of animals) to be avoided on the Chātra in half a month, on full-moon days during four nights, on the king’s birthday and on local festivals during one night, (and) shall prohibit the slaughter of females and (their) young ones and the castration of males (on the same occasions).']
(A) *Devānāṃpriya* Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) **anointed** twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not transgressing those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.

(C) (Thinking): 'Thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured), I am directing my attention not only to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that I may lead them to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly.

(D) In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes.

(E) And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.

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1 A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of 'v'; cf. above, p. 120, n. 11.

2 *atanā* Bühlcr; but see Fleet's note, IA, 13: 310.

3 Kern (Jaarteling, p. 92 f.) explained *apahaṭā* by *a-prahāṭā*, and translated it by 'leaving untouched'. Franke (VOJ, 5: 344, n. 2) suggested two slight modifications: *apahaṭā* may correspond as well to *a-prahāṭīya* (Skt. *a-prahāṭīya*), and *prāhāṛī* may be taken in the sense of 'transgressing'. I adopt this translation, but believe that Kern found the correct Sanskrit equivalent. The gerund in *-tvā* would be without parallel in the earlier dialect; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913.

4 With *atha iyāni* and *yathayidam, 'just as', in Children's Pāli Dictionary.

5 *kimaṇi* (or *kimaṇaṃ* as three other versions read) appears to be used in the sense of *kiṃti*, and to be an enlarged form of Skt. *kiṃ* as Fäll *swādhī* of Skt. *swa*. See the remarks of Senart in IA, 18: 103, and those of Franke in KZ, 34: 435. Bühlcr (EI, 2: 269) preferred to derive it from *kimuṇa* = *kimīva*.

6 See above, p. 35, n. 12.

7 Cf. the rock-edict XIII, f.

8 Cf. the rock-edict XII, A.
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(F) But this is considered by me (my) principal (duty); viz. visiting (the people) personally.

(G) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, this rescript on morality was caused to be written by me.

SEVENTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

A.—East Face of Pillar.

11 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं झा (B) ये चातिकंत।
12 चंतलं लाजाने हुसु हेवं इक्षिसु कुष्य जने।
13 धंधविधया बेदेया तो चु जने झाँनुधापया धंधविधया।
14 बविष्या (C) एवं देवानंपिये धंधसि लाजा हेवं झा (D) एस मे।
15 हुया (E) चातिकंत च चंतलं हेवं इक्षिसु लाजाने कुष्य जने।
16 झाँनुधापया धंधविधया बेदेया ति नो च जने झाँनुधापया।
17 धंधविधया बविष्या (F) से सिन्हु जने झाँनुधापिजेया।
18 (G) किन्नु सु जने झाँनुधापया धंधविधया बेदेया ति (H) किन्नु कानिन।
19 झाँनुधापिये धंधविधया ति (I) एवं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं।
20 झा (J) एस मे हुया (K) धंधसावनानि सावापिमानि धंधानुधापिनि।
21 झाँनुधापिनि (L) एवं जने झुटु झाँनुधापिजीसति झाँनुधापिमिति।

B.—Round the Pillar.

22 धंधविधया च वां चापिसति (M) एताये में झाराे धंधसावनानि सावापितानि
धंधानुधापिनि विविधानि झारपितानि य एसर सा पि बहुने जनसि
झारया ए ने पातिकियविसति पि पविपितिसंसति पि (N) लहुका पि बहुषे पानसतसहसेतु झारया ते पि मे सावापिता हेवं च हेवं च पातिनिवदाय
23 जनं धंधसुं (O) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं झा (P) एताये मे झाँनुधापियाने
धंधयानुधापि कार्ति धंधसावनानि कटि धंधमं तरं ठमं। (Q) केले (Q) देवानंपिये
पियदसि लाजा हेवं झा (R) मेने पि मे निगोहानि लोपापितानि
झाँनुधापिनि हीसति पसुनुनिसानि घंघविधया लोपापिता (S) झाँनुधापिकानि पि मे झुनुहानि。
24 झांनुधापितानि निंबित्या च कालापिता (T) झारपितानि मे बहुकानि तत
tतत कालापितानि पटीभोगाये पसुनुनिसानि (U) ला। 

1 Cf. the Shaḥbāzgarhi rock-edict XIII, P.
2 Cf. above, p. 130, n. 7.
3 Cf. the rock-edict VIII, E, and atana ōgācha on the Rummindel and Nigālī Sāgar pillars.
Senart (IA, 18. 107 f) translated atana pachāpamgām by 'the personal adherence (to the sects)',
and Bühler (EI, 2. 268) by 'the approach through one's own free will'.

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नाम (V) विषिद्या हि सुखायाना पुलिमेहि पि लानीहि ममया च
सुखिणे लोके (W) इसं जु धर्मानुपायपाती अनुपट्टीपश्चा ति एतदया मे

dds कटे (X) देवानाचंपि विपवदि हैं जाहा (R) धर्मसामाधामा पि मे ते
वहुकिषें श्रवेद्या शाकुणागिककिः विषाणपासे पवधीतां च चेव गिहिणां च
सव... हेसु पि च विषाणपासे (Z) संचरिणि पि मे कटे इसे विषाणपासे
होहि ति हेमेव वायवलें आदिविषें पि मे कटे

dmsे विषाणपासे होहि ति निगेति हेषु पि मे कटे इसे विषाणपासे होहि ति नानापालितिः
पि मे कटे इसे विषाणपासे होहि ति पतिविषीं परीविषीं तेसु तेसु
ते..... माता (AA) धर्मसामाधामा चु मे बेनेमु चेव विषाणपासे सवेसु च
वायवलें पालितिः (BB) देवानाचंपि विपवदि लाजा हेवं जाहा

dmsे च अंचे च वहुका मुखा दानविजसां विषाणपासे मम चेव देविन च
सवसिं च मे आदिविषें ते वहुकिषें आकलेन तानि तानि
तुरायतनानि परी... हिद चेव दिसामु च (DD) दलकारि चि
मे कटे अन्तानि च देविकुमारानि इसे दानविजसें विषाणपासे होहि ति

धर्मानुपायपाते धर्मानुपायपाते (EE) इस हि धर्मादाने धर्मानुपायपाते च या
इंद दया दाने सवे नोचे मदरे साधे च लोके हेवं विपवदि ति (FF)
देवानाचंपि पि..... म लाजा हेवं जाहा (GG) यानि हि जान्विचिं
मनिया साधवानि कटानि तं लोके अनुपट्टीपिंदे तं च अनुविषित्यि (HI)
तेन विज्ञि च

वदिसंति च मातापरिति चु मुश्ताया सुयुक्त चु मुष्टाया वशोमहालकान्य अनुपट्टी-
परिति वायवसमानेतु कपनवलकिः श्रव्य दलबककें विषाणपातिया (II)
देवानाचिपि... यदिि लाजा हेवं जाहा (JJ) सुनिसानि चु या इं धर्मसहि
विदि कुखेह हेव आकलेनहि धर्मसहिनियेन च निषिद्यि च

(IN) तत चु लघु से धर्मसहिने निषिद्यि च भूषे (LL) धर्मसहिने चु या इं
दिे मे इं जाए च इसानि जातानि अविषित्यि (MM) अन्तानि चिरु या
हुका... धर्मसहिनयानि यानि मे कटानि (NN) निषिद्यि च भूषयु सुनिसानि
धर्मवदि विदि आविषिंसाये मुनांनि

अनारंभाये यानि (OO) से एताहे ज्ञाते इं कटे पुनःपोषिके चंद्रसुलिन्यिे
होतु ति तथा च अनुपट्टीपश्चा ति (PP) हेवं हि अनुपट्टीपश्चा हिदवितालेने
आले होति (QQ) सातसर्विवसानिति इं इं धर्मसंतं लिखापाति
ति (RR) एत देवानाचंपि जाहा (SS) इं

धर्मसंति च अर्थ सिलापंभानि चा सिलापलकानि चा तत कटानि एन
एस चिलामलिसे तिया
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

A.—East Face of ASOKA

11. (A) Devânâmipyê Piyadasi lâjâ hevañ ahâ (B) ye atikañtañ
12. amtañ lâjâne husu hevañ ichhisu katañ jane
13. dhañma-vadhiyâ vaçheñyâ no jane anulûpaysa dhañma-vadhiyâ
14. vadhihâ (C) etam Devânâmipyê Piyadasi lâjâ hevañ ahâ (D) esa me
15. huthâ (E) atikañtañ cha amtañ[a]ñ 1 hevañ ichhisu lâjâne katañ jane
16. anulûpaysa dhañma-vadhiyâ vaçheñyâ ti no jane anulûpaysa
17. dhañma-vadhiyâ vaçheñyâ (F) se kinasu jane anul[p]ajjajyâ 2
18. (G) kinasu jane anulûpaysa dhañma-vadhiyâ vaçheñyâ ti (H) k[i]nasu kâní
19. abhyûnâmâyâchañ dhañma-vadhiyâ ti (I) etam Devânâmipyê Piyadasi lâjâ
   hevañ
20. ahâ (J) esa me huthâ (K) dhañma-sâvaññâ savûpâyâmi dhañma-mûnusathînî
21. anu[sa][s]àmi (L) etam jane sutu anupañjajisati abhyûnâmîsati

B.—Round the Pillar.

22. dhañma-vadhiyâ cha bâdhañ vadhisat[i] (M) etaye me aðhâye dhañma-sâvanâñi
   savûpâyâmi dhañma-mûnusatîni vividhâni anapitatî [ya] .... [is]a 3 pi bahune
   janasi ayatâ e te 4 paiyovadisañti pi pavithalisañti pi (N) lajukâ pi bahukesa
   pâna-sata-sahasesu ayatâ te pi me anapita hevañ cha hevañ cha paiyovadâtha
23. janañ dhañma-yuñ[a]ñ (O) [Devânâmipyê Piyadasi] hevañ ahâ (P) etameva me
   anuvecâmânêc dhañma-thambhâni kâññi dhañma-mahañmatâ kâta dhañma[ma]
   a ... e 5 kâñçe (Q) Devânâmipyê Piyadasi lâjâ hevañ ahâ (R) magesu pi
   me nigohânî lopapitâni chhâjopagânî hosañti pasu-mûnisânñi ambā-vaçîkyâ
   lopapita (S) aðhâ[ka-s]jyânî pi me udupanâñi
24. khânâpatitâni nins[i]haḻyâ 6 cha kâlâpita (T) âpânáni me bah[î]ukâni tata tata
   k[a]lûpitâni pañpbhâgc p[a]su-mûnisânñi (U) [la] .... ... 7 esa pañpbhoge nâmâ
   (V) vividhâya hi sukhâyanâya pulimehi pi lâjihn mamâyâ cha sukhayëse loke
   (W) iman chu dhañma-nûpapajjajî anupañjajisati tu etadâtha me
25. esa kâñçe (X) Devânâmipyê Piyadasi hevañ ahâ (Y) dhañma-mahañmatâ pi me
   te bahuvîdhese athesu ânugâhikese viyapätase pavajitânâm cha eva gihîtâhân
   cha sava .... [c]esu 8 pi cha viyapätase (Z) sañghâphasì me kâñçe ime
   viyapâta hoñanî ti hemeva bâbhanese â[j]ivikese pi me kâñçe
26. ime viyapâta hoñanî ti niganthese pi me kâñçe ime viyapâta hoñanî nânâ-
   pásarîññesu pi 9 me [kaj]e ime viyapâta hoñanî ti pâtiñvisatn pañvisatn
   tesu tesu [te] .... ... mätâ 10 (AA) dhañma-mahañmatâ chu me etesu cheva
   viyâ[pa]jà savesa cha aðhnesu pásarîññesu (BB) Devânâmipyê Piyadasi lâjâ
   hevañ ahâ

1. Read anâtalanî, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
2. The pa of pâjegà is inserted above the line.
3. Restore yathâ puñcà. 4. etc (in one word) Senart and Bühler.
5. Restore dhañma-sâvanâ. 6. niñshthiûò Bühler.
7. Restore sañâ-pásarîññesu. 8. pà looks almost like ghi.
9. Restore te te mahâmatâ. When Fleet's plate (IA, 13, 310) was prepared, the missing letters
   were still visible.
TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) The kings who were in times past, had this desire, that men might (be made to) progress by the promotion of morality; but men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

(C) Concerning this, king Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(D) The following occurred to me.

(E) On one hand, in times past kings had this desire, that men might (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality; (but) on the other hand, men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

1 Bühler (EI, 2, 274, note k) restored pātīpādayaṁvati, which he translated by ‘they point out’. I suspect that the actual reading of the pillar was pātīvadeyanti; cf. pātīvadeyanti in the Jauĝaḏa rock-edict VI, D.

2 Restore Piyadasi.

3 Restore pīye Piyadasi.

4 Restore bhākāṁi.

5 Bühler.

6 The late Dr. Fleet drew my attention to the fact that a peculiar mark is attached to the top of the de of Devānāṁpīye, and that there is a corresponding mark above the word a[tk]āye in section OO. This double kākāpāda or caret (cf. Kalhaṇa’s Rājatarangini, IV, 117) suggests that the writer wanted us to place sections RR and SS before section OO.

7 Francke (GN, 1893, 337) attributes to kathā the meaning of ‘that’. Bühler translated it by ‘in some way’.

8 Cf. the Shāhbazgarhī rock-edict XI, D.
(F) How then might men (be made to) conform to (morality)?
(G) How might men (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality?
(H) How could I elevate them by the promotion of morality?
(I) Concerning this, king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadārśin speaks thus.
(J) The following occurred to me.
(K) I shall issue proclamations on morality, and shall order instruction in morality (to be given).
(L) Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.
(M) For this purpose proclamations on morality were issued by me, (and) manifold instruction in morality was ordered (to be given), [in order that those agents] (of mine) too, who are occupied with many people, will exhort (them) and will explain (morality to them) in detail.
(N) The Lajūkas also, who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men, these too were ordered by me: 'In such and such a manner exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality'.

(O) Dēvānāmpriya Priyadārśin speaks thus.
(P) Having in view this very (matter), I have set up pillars of morality, appointed Mahāmātras of morality, (and) issued [proclamations] on morality.
(Q) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadārśin speaks thus.
(R) On the roads banyan-trees were caused to be planted by me, (in order that) they might afford shade to cattle and men, and mango-groves were caused to be planted.

2 With the optative nāmayeham cf. [pu]d[āy]eham and ādabheham in the Dhauli separate edict I, B, and yēham in four versions of the rock-edict VI, L.
3 See above, p. 35, n. 12.
4 Bühler translated: 'Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached'. With the meaning which I assign to sāvāpāyani, cf. iyōn saśvā śāvyāte at Brahmagiri (L. 5), for which the Śiddāpura edict (l. 11) reads [jȳ]o saśvā śāvyāte, and the Rūpānā edict (l. 3) saśvā kate. These three records and the Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and Ḫaṭṭa Śāmśvāra rock-inscriptions are actual specimens of the dharmā-tāvāndi to which Asoka is alluding here.
5 See above, p. 126, n. 2.
6 See above, p. 95, n. 4.
7 With the locative bāhune Bühler (EI, 2. 270, n. 68) compared punāvasume in the pillar-edict V, II. 16 and 18, which, however, might be a dative.
8 See above, p. 124, n. 1.
9 Cf. the Dhauli separate edict I, l. 12.
10 anusvikhamane is a nominative singular absolute. See above, p. 96, n. 11, and Lüders.

SPAW, 1913: 1013.

11 As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 90), this is a reference to the pillars bearing the six first edicts.
12 Cf. the rock-edict II, D.
13 In anābā-vudikāya and adha-[kasikya (below, section S) the k of the two affixes -kah and -ika is palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel i, as frequently at Kāli; see there nātikya, pālānīkya, &c. The form anābā-vudikā occurs in the Queen's pillar-edict, l. 3. The first member of this compound, anābā (for the Sanskrit masculine ānra), seems to be used as feminine; cf. ṛbhikā-bhātta (=rāmikā-bhrīt) at Junnar (ASW, 4, 97, No. 26). The second member, vudikā, is the regular Pāñcīśī equivalent of Skt. *vṛtikā (≡ vṛti, 'a hedge'), while its usual Sanskrit synonym, vātikā, presupposes the form *vartikā; cf. Wackernagel's Altind. Grammatik, 1, p. 168.
(S) And (at intervals) of eight kōs 1 wells were caused to be dug by me, and flights of steps (for descending into the water) 2 were caused to be built.

(T) Numerous drinking-places 3 were caused to be established by me, here and there, for the enjoyment of cattle and men.

(V) [But] this so-called enjoyment (is) [of little consequence].

(W) For with various comforts have the people been blessed both by former kings and by myself.

(X) Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(Y) Those 4 my Mahāmatras of morality too are occupied 5 with affairs of many kinds which are beneficial to ascetics as well as to householders, and they are occupied also with all sects.

1 Fleet (JRAS, 1906. 401 ff) showed that adha here represents Skt. ashtan, and not ardha. According to Huen-Tsiang, Bāraṇa, and Kautilya (JRAS, 1912. 239), one yojana = eight kōs = nine miles was considered a day's march of an army, while it would have been unnecessarily lavish and unpractical to sink wells and build rest-houses at distances of but little more than half a mile.

2 Bühl er read niśāsādhiyā, which he rendered by 'rest-houses', connecting it with niśāśādhiya (from Skt. niśādhiya) in the Nāgarjuna Hill cave-inscriptions; cf. also Ardhaha-nīśāsādhiya-sānta in the Hāthigumpha inscription of Khārvāla, l. 15. Liddell (SPAW, 1914. 852) compares it with the Ardhamāgadhī scadh = Skt. *nīshāsādhiya. As scadh is synonymous with Skt. śrēṣṭi, he attributes to niśāsādhiya the sense of Skt. nīsāsādhiya, 'a ladder, a flight of steps'. This meaning would fit the text admirably, but the actual reading of the pillar is niśāsādhiya, which would correspond to Skt. *niśāśādhiya. For the change of dī to dīs see Pischel's Grammatik, § 74, and for dī original kī, cf. adha = ashta- at the beginning of section S.

3 With abhāna cf. prāpa in the Nāsik cave-inscription No. 10, l. 3 (EI, 8. 78), and in the Palītāna plates of Simhādiva (EI, 11. 18; text l. 12). I cannot refrain from quoting the following description from F. Drew's charming work, The Northern Barrier of India (London, 1877), p. 99: 'At this time of the year the ground is dry, and all the way from Akhnūr the road has been hot and thirst-bringing. A good charitable custom of the Hindus brings relief to the traveller. On many a spot in the hottest part, perhaps at the summit of one of the steep rises of the uneven road, will be found a hut where cool water kept in clean porous vessels is at the service of any who may ask for it. The man in charge is probably a Brahman, so that people of every caste can take water from his hands; he may have been placed there by some well-to-do Hindu, whose piety prompts him to this good work. It is the Brahman's business to bring the water from the nearest stream, which may be a long walk off, and distribute it to wayfarers. When the rains come, and water is to be found in every pool and little stream, the establishment will be no longer kept up.' The same charitable arrangement is evidently alluded to in the text of Asoka's pillar-edict. The Hindus are wonderfully conservative; e.g. the bullock-cart and the carrying-pole (Hindi bāhanga), Dravidian bāvṛndi) figured at Bharaut (Cunningham's Strāpa of Bharaut, plate 57; 41, fig. 1; 42, fig. 7; 45, fig. 3; 46, fig. 8) do not differ from those one sees at the present day.

4 A similar phrase occurs in the Kāli and Šāhākbāzgarh edict XIII, V, and below, section KK.

5 For adha = abhāna see above, p. 22, n. 3. Although in the dialect of the pillar-edicts Skt. artha is generally represented by atha, the form athata (with dental th) occurs also in section OO of the edict VII. Michelson's explanation of etadathā (IV, 23. 224 ff) appears to me 'too bold', as he confesses himself.

6 The pronoun te seems to refer to section P, above.

7 Franke (VOJ, 9. 349 ff) has pointed out that evyāppatāsa, which occurs twice in this section and once in CC, below, is the Prākṛt equivalent of the Vedic nominative plural in -asa. Cf. above, p. 87, n. 3.
(Z) Some (Mahamātratas) were ordered by me to busy themselves with the affairs of the Saṅgha; likewise others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Brāhmaṇas (and) Ājīvikas; others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Nirgranthas; others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with various (other) sects; (thus) different Mahamātratas (are busy ing themselves) specially with different (congregations).

(AA) But my Mahamātratas of morality are occupied with these (congregations) as well as with all other sects.

(BB) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(CC) Both these and many other chief (officers) are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity both here and in the provinces.

(DD) And others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons, in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.

(EE) For noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz. compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men.

(FF) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(GG) Whosoever good deeds have been performed by me, those the people have imitated, and to those they are conforming.

(HH) Thereby they have been made to progress and will (be made to) progress in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants.

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1 Literally: 'it has been made by me that these will be occupied'. In the subsequent sentences I have translated 'me' by 'others'.
2 i.e. the Buddhist clergy.
3 For the Ājīvika sect see my last note on the first Barābar Hill cave-inscription.
4 i.e. the Jaina monks.
5 As remarked by Senart (IA, 18, 305), the officers mentioned in this section are distinct from the Dharmamahamātratas of sections Y and AA.
6 As at Shāhibāzgarhi (XIII, 8) and Mānschrā (XIII, 9), mukha corresponds to Skt. mukhya. Michelson (IF, 23, 263 ff.) prefers to identify it with Skt. mukha, because in mukha (= Skt. mukhya, Delhi-Tērā pillar-edict VI, 1. 9) the group ḫya is not assimilated. But Skt. mukha is always neuter, and the masculine mukha seems to be a fiction of the Kośas. Thomas renders balukā mukhā by 'many departments'; see JRAS, 1915, 99.
7 Kern and Bühler (E1, 2, 274) explained tushāyata[s]ī by tushī-āyatana, 'sources of contentment', i.e. 'opportunities for charity'. I adopt this suggestion, but prefer to take āyatana as a synonym of pāṭa or tirtha, and follow Lüders (SPAW, 1916, 853) in considering the first member of the compound to be tusha in the sense of tushī.
8 viz. in Pāṭaliputra. Cf. above, p. 33, n. 10.
9 Literally: 'these'. Cf. above, n. 7.
10 Cf. the Kāśi edict V, M, where Asōka mentions the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives.
11 See above, p. 120, n. 7. Before jā iyānī we may have to supply dhāvinne, which includes the virtues that are enumerated after it; cf. the pillar-edict II. C. I differ here slightly from Lüders, SPAW, 1916, 854.
(II) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarāsin speaks thus.

(JJ) Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in
two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by conversion.¹

(KK) But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence;
by conversion, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably.

(LL) Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that)
certain animals are inviolable.⁶

(MM) But there are also many other moral restrictions which have been imposed
by me.

(NN) By conversion, however, the progress of morality among men has been
promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings
(and) to abstention from killing animals.

(OO) Now for the following purpose has this been ordered, that it may last as long
as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign and) as long as the moon and the sun
(shall shine),² and in order that (men) may conform to it.

(PP) For if one conforms to this,³ (happiness) in this (world) and in the other
(world) will be attained.

(QQ) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been)
anointed twenty-seven years.

(RR) Concerning this, Dēvānāmpriya says.⁵

(SS) This rescript on morality must be engraved there, where either stone pillars
or stone slabs are (available), in order that,⁴ this may be of long duration.

II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ ✟ boost

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 (A) देवानांपिये विशदसि झाँझ हेति झा ... (B) धम्मे साधु किंवयैं ... मे ति
2 (C) आपासिवे नेक तु याने देया दाने सचे सीचये (D) चढ़लाग्ना पि मे

¹ Literally: 'by inducing to meditate'. Cf. above, p. 69, n. 4. Thomas (JRAS, 1916. 122)
has shown that in Buddhist Sanskrit works nādiyātī has the meaning 'reflection'.
² See the pillar-edic V.
³ Cf. puṣṭa-puṇṭotike chaṇḍāma-sūryīke on the Sāṅchī pillar, C, a-chaṇḍāma-shūlikan in the
three Nāgarjunā Hill cave-inscriptions (IA, 20. 304 f.), and a-chaṇḍrārka in Sanskrit inscriptions.
⁴ See above, p. 97, n. 3.
⁵ This section and the next one may have to be placed before section OO; see above,
p. 133, n. 6.
⁶ ēma is used in the same way in the Dhami separate edict I, Y, and II, I and M.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

1 (A) De[vā][n][a]hpiye Piyadasi lāja [hevaṁ ā]... (B) dha[raṁ]mc s[ā]dh[u] k[īy]aṁ in ... [m]e ti
2 (C) o[pā]sinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) [chakhu-dā]nā [pi me]
3 bahuvidhe diṁne (E) du[pā]da-ch[a]tu[pā]desu pakhi-valīchale[su viv] [dhe me anu]-
4 gahe kaṭe a pānā-dakhinaye (F) a[r]n[nā]ni pi cha me bah[ūni] kayān[nā]
5 kaṭāni (G) etaye me aṭhaye iyaṁ dhamaṇa-li[pi] khāpita]...
6 anupatipajantū chill[ain-th]itikā cha hot[ā] ti (H) ye [cha]...
7 [sa] āti se sukaṭāṁ ka[chha]jī ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 (A) ḍevāṇāṁ ṛṣiye Puyadasi lāja [hevaṁ ā]... (B) kavyānāṁ [evad]... ...
2 kavyāne kaṭe ti (C) no mīna pāṁ deshati iyaṁ me pāṁ kaṭe ti iyaṁ va
3 aśinaṁ nāma ti (D) [du]paṭivekhi chu kho esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho [esa de] [khiye
5 māne isya kalanena [va] hakam mā palībra[sa]y[sa]h (G) bā [chaṁ]
6 dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me [hi]da[tī]kaye iyaṁ me pālaṁ

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1
2
3
4
5

vā karṇita ālaṁāyaṁ

4 ti Bühler.
5 pāpanī Bühler.
Scale One-fourth
DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR; WEST FACE

Scale One-fourth
FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

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6 स्त्राक से पतेन ति शुनेन मे
7 लङ्कावान्त शतपतिये को
8 (व) इछिति हालसमता च सिया
9 देसम से आवृति वंधनवानान
10 सुनिशान वधान तिनि दिस्यानि मे
11 योने दिने (व) पयिण्यरी जीविताये तान
12 नासां का नि ति पालितके
13 उपवासा वा क इत्यनि निलुच्चास पि कालसि
14 पालन आलाध्ये वहसि विविधे रघुवानाने
15 संबन्धे दान

1

2 [ka]¹ chagh runi [ä]ādha[they][tave]
3 tu asvathe ² ho[k]i
4 vi[yen] a [l]h[lt]ave hev[a]m mam[ā]
5 [ka]¹ uk[a]² ye (j) yen[a] ete a[bh]ītā
8 (व) ichhitavi [h]ala samatā ch[a] siyā
darin-da-sa[m] a [me] avuti [ba]jñhāna-[badh]āna[m]
10 munisā[na]m avadhānaṁ tinmi dī[va]sāni [m]e
11 y[o]te dinne (व) payisa[n]i j[i]v[i]taye tāna[m]
12 nāsañtaṁ [v]a ni ti pañatikāṁ
13 [u]pa[v]āsāṁ vā k[a] hevaṁ niludhāsa pi [k]alasi
14 pā[la]tam ālādha[y]e vaiḥhati vividhe dhañṭama-chal[a]ne
15 saṁyame dā[na]

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 पोले धि च कानि
2 के (व) विपुकुटे नो कस्तक्षे (व) हुसे सजीवे
3 ताविखे (च) दान चन्द्राये च विनिगाहये च नो
4 सपतितविखे (च) जीवित जीवे नो पुनिनिविखे (व) तीतु चाॅमासीसु
5 रसि चुनमासियं तिनि दिवसानि चावुस्यं चन्द्रायें
6 परिपट धुवाये च ज्ञाॅमिश्यं संधि अविधये नो धि
7 निक्षेपिखे (च) धानि ने च दिवसानि नागविनसि केवलोगि
8 यानि चन्द्रानि धि जीविनिखानि नो हंतवियानि

¹ [la]jukā Bühler. ² aṣva[he] Bühler. ³ laj[b]ā Bühler.
SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1. 'प्रमाणे मे मे मृत्यमέ (Θ) सदु
2. 'निलेतने मे इयं धमालुपि दिन

1. 'upagamane se me mokhya-mate (Θ) sadu
2. isitena me iyaṁ dhairma-li[pi] li

1 On Flect's plate (IA, 19, 124), portions of the preceding word avadhiyā are also visible.
3 chātuvīye. Bühler.
4 yāṇi Bühler.
5 astham[ī]- Bühler.
6 ajake Bühler; but see Lüders, J.R.A.S., 1911. 1288.
III. THE LAURIYA ARARAJ-PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

A.—East Face of Pillar.

1. (A) देवानांपि येपि गदिस लाज हेवं ज्ञाह (B) सहुव्यसंबाहिसिते सेवदेहि
2. लिखापि (C) हिदतपालने दुस्रंपिपादये भ्रान्त ज्ञात धर्मकामताय ज्ञात पञ्चीकाया
3. ज्ञात सुभुमाय ब्रह्म भवेय ब्रह्म उसाहेन (D) एस चु शो मम ज्ञातसिंही धर्मशेते
4. धर्मकामताय च संब्रह्मो च संविदा च ज्ञातस्य च महिमा च ज्ञातविजुंति
5. संपिपादयंति च ज्ञात चयं पञ्चिष्यिते (F) हेमेव ज्ञातमहामाताय पि (G)
6. ज्ञेन विधाने ज्ञेन सुखीथि ज्ञेन गोति ति

1. (A) Devānāmpiyē Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ aha (B) sauvvisati-vasābhisitaṁ me
yāni dhaṁma-lī[p]ī
dhā[an]
2. likhāpita (C) hidata-pālāte dusarṇātīpādaye aśūnat agra agra dharmama-kāmatāya agra
   palikha[a]
3. agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusatiṣya
   dharmānepkha[
4. dharmama-kāmatā cha suve suve vaṭhita vaṭhīṣati cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukaśa cha
gevaīya cha majhima cha anuvīddhiyaṁti
5. saṁpaṭipādayānti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādāpayitaṁ (F) hemeva aṁtha-mahāṁatā
   pi (G) esa hi vichi yā iyaṁ dharmanena pālana
6. dharmanena vidhāne dharmanena sukh[l]yana dharmanena goti ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

1. (A) देवानांपि येपि गदिस लाज हेवं ज्ञाह (B) धभे साधु किंयं चु धभे ति (C)
   ज्ञापानवे चु हु बघणे धय दासे सर्वे
2. सर्वे ति (D) चचुदान चेवे मे नहजवे दिने (E) दुन्दद्वमुद्देसु पश्विनिलिच्छे
   विविधे मे ज्ञातुगे को

1 dharmaprakha Bühler.
2 vaṭhita Bühler.
3. ज्ञा यान्त्रिकाये (F) अचान्ति यिव च भूलि ज्ञानानि करानि (G) एताये च में ज्ञानाये संपादित (F) द्विवलिपिक लिखित्वित हैं
4. अनुपालितं चितरिष्टितका च होतू तिः (H) चेत हैं संपादितप्रजिति से सुकटे करति तिः

1. (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ aha (B) chaṁme sadhu kiyari chukha chaṁme te (C) apāsivane bahū buddve daya dāne sache
2. socheye te (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvikhe dimne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-valichalesu vividhe me anugahē kāte
3. a pānā-dakhīnaye (F) al[n]āndi pi cha me bahūni kāyānāni kaṭānā (G) etāye me āthāye iyān chama-lipi likhāpati hevaṁ
4. anupaṭipajāntu chilān-thītikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṁ saṃpaṭipajjisati se sukataṁ kacchhati ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

1. (A) devānāṃpiye māyapsaṁ ṭhāj इंचन्त (B) kāyaṃsice देशंत इंचं मे कायाने कठे ति (C) ना सिन पार्थ देशंत इंचं मे पार्थ कठे ति
2. इंचं च ज्ञासनवे नामाति (D) दुपरिपवेचे चु शो एस (E) हेंचु सो एस देखिये (F) इमालन ज्ञासनवगममीति नामाति इंचं चं देखिये
3. निरूपिये कौथे माने इव्य कालमेन व हृंि मा पलिमसपियं तिः (G) एस नान्द देखिये (H) इंचं मे हिततिकाये इव्यमन मे पालतिकाये ति

1. (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ aha (B) kayānāmmeva dekhaṁti iyān me kayāne kate ti (C) no mina pāpe dekhaṁti iyān me pāpe kate ti
2. iyān va āśinaṁ nāmā ti (D) dupeṣṭi ke chu khe esa (E) hevaṁ chu khe esa dekhiye (F) īmāni āśina-gāmīṁ nāmā ti atha chāniye
3. niṭṭhīye kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṁ mā palībaṣayiṣiṁ ti (G) esa bādhaṁ dekhiye (H) iyān me hidatiyāy āryamana me pālatākāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

1. (A) devānāṃpiye paridīsī lājā हें स्वभाव (B) सङ्ख्यासङ्ख्यासायित्वानि मे इंचं धम्मलिपि दिखायित (C) लज्जुका मे चहसु पानसस्तरत्वसस्तरत्व
2. जनसि ज्ञायत (D) तेसं च ज्ञानहालं व देवं च ज्ञानपति ये में कठे बिति लज्जुका श्लोक ज्ञानहालं कंमानि पवत्तेयूँ तिः जनस जानपदस
3. हितसंख्य उपहेतु अनुमाबिति (E) सुल्भेशुदारूणेन ज्ञानसंख्य धम्मशतन्त्र च विबोधिते ज्ञान जानपद संक्तित हिदंताः च
4. पालंति च ज्ञानधेयेव (F) लज्जुका पिर लघुंति परिचितत्वे में (G) चुल्लिसारि पिर मे हेंदेवानि परिचितिसंख्यां (H) ते पिर च ज्ञान विक्रोदितसंख्यां वेत्ति में
FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

5 लजसं चर्यानं ज्ञाताधिकतावं (क) ज्ञानं हि पंजं विवेकाये नितिते निलोकं अखांशे होतं बिवक्षितं धारितं चर्यातं मे पंजं सूक्ष्म पतिन्प्रगंवे नि
6 हे तं मम लजसं भुज जान्यतसं हितमुक्तियां (ज) वेन एने वर्धितं ज्ञानं संत्तं ज्ञानं कारिनं पवतार्येव तिर्यं मे लजसं अविरं केष्ये व
7 दंडे व चर्यानं केषे (क) इच्छाव्रते हि एस चिंतित विशोधीतसमतम च सिय रंगसमतम च (ल) ज्ञानं हि दते पि च मे अविरं विशीतवाणं
8 सुनिसानं तीर्थिता दे नत्तवानं तिनं दिवसानं मे योते दिने (म) नातिका व कारिनं विनर्यश्चितेश्वरिये तानं नासितं व
9 निर्माखिते दानं व दाहिति निर्माकितं उपजावं च कश्यति (न) झिस्य हि मे हे हि निर्माखिति पि कालिसं पालमं ज्ञानाधिकेव नि
10 (O) जनसं व दाहिति विवेके प्रमखतं सयं मे दानसंविभागे नि

1 (A) Devānāpiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṁ aha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhaisitena me īyaṁ dhanāma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajukā me bahūsu pāṇa-sata-sahasasau
2 janasi āyata (D) tesaṁ ye abhihāle va cṛjaṁde va ata-patiye me kaṭe kīṁti lajukā avastha abhita kairanārā pavatayeve ti janasa jānapada
3 hita-sukhām upadahevu anugahineva cha (E) sukhiyana-dukhīyanaṁ jānisaṁti dhanāma-yutena cha viyovadisaṁti janaṁ jānapadaṁ kīṁti hiddarām cha
4 pālataṁ cha ālādhayeve (F) lajukā pi laghadāti paṭijjhaṭaṁ maṁ (G) puliśānī pi me chhaṁdaṁmaṇi paṭijjaṭaṁsaṁti (H) te pī cha kāṇi viyovadisaṁti yena maṁ
5 lajukā chaghaṁti ālādhayitaṁ (I) athā hi pājam viyataṁ dhāṭyaṁ nisijātī avasthā hoti viyata dhāti chaghatā me pāñjarāṁ (I) sukhaṁ paliḥaṭaṁ ti
6 hevaṁ mama lajukā kaṭa jānapadaṁ hītā-sukhāyē (J) yena ete abhita avasthā saṁtaṁ ačchihānaṁ (K) karunānī pavatayeve ti etena me lajukānaṁ abhihāle va
7 daṁde va ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichchāvāje hi esa kīṁti viyohāla-samātā cha siya daṁde-samataḥ cha (L) āvā ite pī cha me āvutī baṁdāna-badhānaṁ
8 munisaṁnaṁ tiṣṭa-dāṁcaṁnaṁ pata-vadhānaṁ tīrṇāṁ dīvasāṁ me yote dirhe me (M) nāṭikaṁ kāṇi niṇjaḥapisaṁti jīvitaṁ tānāṁ nāsaṁtaṁ va
9 niṇjaḥapī[ta]ve dānam dāhānti pālatikaṁ upavaśaṁ va kachchaṁti (N) ichhāḥ hi me hevaṁ-niladhiṁ pi kalavaṁ ālādhayeve ti
10 (O) janasa cha va[c]haṁ tī vividhe dha[m]ma-chalane sayame dāna-sarīvibhāge ti

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

B.—West Face of Pillar.

1 (A) Ṛvaṇāṁpye pipyakṣo lājā hevaṁ śaḥ (B) saḍuvisatisaṁsānattasaṁsāsaṁsāsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāṁsaṁsāं
3 haṁ avimana.

1 Read pajaṁ.
9 Read avimana.
पंनससे सिमले संदके जोकिये पत्सते सेतकपीते गामकपीते सवे चतुर्दे
वे पतियोंग मो एति नी च खादियाँ (C) छाजका नानि एकका च सुकली च
गमनी च पायतीना व
धारथ पोतके च कानि खासमासिके (D) धिकुकुटे तो कटविये (E) तुसे सनीवे
नो खायितविये (F) दवे
अननाये च यिहसाये व नो खायितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H)
नीसु चातुमासिसु लिस्य
पुनसिसिवं तितं दिवसावि चावुसरं पन्नसः पटिवं धुवावेच अनुपसर्य
सन्देष तरवे नो पि
विकेतविये (I) एतानि चेच दिवसां नागवनसी केन्तोगसा यानि अननानि
पि जीतिकायानि
नो इतवियाँ (J) अटमिपेसे चावुसेये पनिडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने नीसु
चातुमासिसु
सुदिवसाये गोंे नो नीलिखितविये जवे एठके सुकले ए वा वि जने
नीलिखितविये नो नीलिखितविये
(9) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुसिसिवे चातुसिसिपेये खास सोना लखने
ने कटविये
(13) (L) याकसूवीतिवन्तसानितितसे मे एताये अंतङ्किताये पन्नसिताये बंधन-
मोखानि कादानि

1 (A) Devānāmipīye Piyadasi Iāja hevarī āha (B) sauvīsati-vasābhīsītasa me
imānī pi jatānī avadhīyānī
2 kaṭānī seyatha suke salika alune chakavāke harise naṣādīmukhe gelate jatūka
3 anbhā-kaplika duļi [1] anāthiika-machhe vedaveyake Gaṅgā-pupuṭake samkul-a-machhe
kaphta-seyake
4 parinā-sase simale saṁdake okapherde palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save
chatupade
5 ye paṭipogari [2] no eti no cha khādiy[al]i (C) ajakā nāni edakā cha sūkali cha
gabhnīva pāyamāna va
6 avadhya potake cha kānī āsāmaśāke (D) vadhi-kukute no kaṭāviye (E) tuse sajive
no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve
7 anāṭhye va vihīsaye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jivena jive no pusītaviye (H) tisu
chānutmaṃśīs wasiyānī
8 punamaśiṣyān tinni divasāni chāvudasaṁ paṃnālasaṁ [3] paṭipadaṁ dhūvāva cha
anuṣposathānī machhe avadhīye no pi
9 viketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni annāni pi
jiva-nik[al]yāni

1 duṭi Bühler; but see his Ind. Pal., § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1917, 1087.
2 Read paṭiḥbhogam.
3 punamaśaṁ Dühler.
FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

11 sudivas:aye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake elake 1 sukale e va p: a r:ine nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye
13 (L) yava-saduvisati-vasabhisitasa me etaye a:m:talikaye parinavisati ba:nidhanamokha:n ka:tani

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

1 (A) devanampiyi piyadasa laga heven saha (B) duvadaksasamisiten me dharmalipi tilhastapita lokas
2 hitasukhaye se n samapadap passo:pa (C) heven lokas hitasukhe ti patichekham
3 suha:da imy natasi heven phalasante:se heven apakale su:k:ap:am kain su:ban saha:hami ti
  thasa ca vidhaham
4 (D) hema:va sangnakayasi patichekham (E) sangaparantaupil me prajita vidhiyam
5 se me mukha:mu:te (G) saduvisati-vasabhisitena me iya:nh dhamalipi tilhastapita

IV. THE LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

A.—East Face of Pillar.

1 (A) devanampiyi piyadasa laga heven saha (B) saduvisatvasabhisiten me dvam
2 dharmalipi tilhastapita (C) hitatapata:se daksaparadap anant saha:gham dhammakamata
  kha: lo ma:

1 e.wke Buhler.
2 See above, p. 35, n. 10.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

4 अनुसारिय धर्मापेश धर्मकामता च सुबे सुबे वदित वदिसित च चेत (E) पूर्लिसा थि मे
5 उकसा च गेवा च संक्ष्मा च अनुविधीवति संपतिपादयति च चालं चपलं संसादपितवे
6 (F) हेमेव चात्तमहामाता थि (G) रसा हि विधि या इनं धर्ममेन पालन धर्ममेन विधाने धर्ममेन सुवीहि
7 धर्ममेन सुवीहि थि

1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevarī āha (B) sañuvisati-vasābhisitena me ियार
2 dhanma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusamṣṭipādaye arīnata agāya dhanma-
3 kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena uṣāhena (D) esa chu
4 kho mama anusathiyā dhammāpekha dhanma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhīsati cheva
5 (E) pulīsa pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvighīyanti sampāṭipādayaṁti cha alam
6 (F) hemeva ainta-mahāmaṭā pi (G) esā hi vidhi ya iva irāni dharinmena pālana dharinmena
7 vedhāne dharinmena sukhīyana
dharinmena gotī ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

1 (A) Devānaṃpiye pishvādita lāj hēvaṁ āha (B) धर्ममेन साधू जिय चु धर्मेन थि (C)
2 अपासिनवेत बहु कयाने अपासिनवेत बहु कयाने
3 दय राने सच सावै वि (D) chaubāne pi me bhūbāne dīnē (E) dupadchāpā nelu pañ-
4 chaubāne bhāltesu bhūbāne me anugāhe kāte ā pānabānaṁti (F) āhārānaṁ थि च मे
5 बहुतिन कयानाति
6 कटानि (G) रसाये मे च रसाये इनं धर्मलिपि धःसापित हेंवं आनुपतिपजतु
7 चिलामितीका च होती थि
8 (H) थे थे हेंवं संपर्याविपीतेमि से सुकट कबहति

1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevarī āha (B) dhamme sādhhu kiya' 1 chu dhamme
2 ti (C) aparāmeche bahu kayāne
daya dāne sache sochye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahūvirdhe dimne (E) dupad-
3 chatupadeśu pakhi-
4 válchalesu vividhe me anugāhe kāte ā pāna-dakhināye (F) arhnāni pi cha me bahūni
5 kayānāni

1 kiyāni Bühler.
SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

4 kaṭāni (G) etāye mē aṭhāyē iyaṁ dhārīma--lipi likhāpita hevaṁ anupaṭipajāmaṁ chilāṁ-thitikā cha hotu ti
5 (H) ye cha hevaṁ sarpaṭipajīsati se sukataṁ kachhati

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

1 (A) ḍevaṇāṁpiye piyadaśi laja hevaṁ āha (B) kayānāṁmeva dekhamti iyaṁ me kayānc kaṭe ti (O) no mina pāpaṁ
2 dekhamti iyaṁ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṁ va āsinaṁ naṁā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho ēsa (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye
3 (F) iṁāni āsinava-gāmini1 naṁā ti atha charāniya niṁhāliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṁ
4 mā palibhasayiṣaṁ ti (G) ēsa bāḍhāṁ dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me hidātikaye iyaṁmaṇa me palatikaye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

1 (A) ḍevaṇāṁpiye piyadaśi laja hevaṁ āha (B) sāhuśkāśīvānśārākṣitena me ḍaṁ ṇāmalaṁpi liṅkāpita (O) lājukā me
2 bhuṣu pāṇaṁsasāṁsau jānsi śāyānt (D) tesaṁ ye jā bipolarve ḍaṁ dēte ḍaṁ ḍaṭaptīye me kote kṁita lājukā sālāpa
3 sāhuśkā kāmānīṁ pavaṇeṣu tā pāṇa jānapādāṁ hīṃsāṁ upadēṣe aṁtaḥśeṣu c (E) mukhīyena-sūnāve
4 jānāṃśiti ṇaṁmāne c viyodeśāṅśiti jānā jānapāde kṁita hīṃte ḍaṁ pālaṁ c aṅkāraṁ ḍaṁ (F) lājukā pī ṇaṁtarita
5 palitarānte me (G) Śaṁkṣāśā ni pī me śrēṇānāti pataṇāṅśiti (H) tē pī c kānī viyodeśāṅśiti bėṇ me lājukā cāṅtaṁ śaṅkṣāśāṁti bėṇe
6 (I) छाया हि जयं विश्वाये धातिये निमित्ति छायायें होति विश्व धाति चयनि मे पञ्च सुंहु पालिहटवे ति
7 हेंवं मम लज्जूक कत्ज जनपदस हितसुखायें (J) वेन एते अभीत छायायें सत्तं ज्ञानिन केमानिन पवनवेदू ति
8 तत्त्रेव मे लज्जूकानं छन्निमाले ५ दंढ़े व अनपतये कते (K) इतरतिवे हि एस किनि वियोहालसमतं च सिय देषसमतां च
9 (L) ज्ञावा इते पि च में आतुरि बंधनवधानं सुमिसानं तीलितसदं लन्तवधानं तिनि दिवसानि मे योगे दिले (M) नातिका व कानि
10 निम्नपिति जीविताये ततां नासं च निद्धयतावे दां दाहंति पालितकं उपवासं च काेहीं (N) इति हि मे हेंव
11 नित्यधि पि कालसं पालं आलाधवेदू ति (O) जनसं च वदति बिधि धमसचलने सयसं दानसविनाथे ति

1 (A) Devanāhpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ aha (B) sauvuvisati-vasābhīhitena me iyaṁ dhārīma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajukā me
2 bhūsu pāṇa-sata-sahasesu janasi ayata (D) tesaṁ ye abhihāle va daṁde va ata-patiye va kaṭe kiṁti lajukā avsatha
3 abhita kaṁmāni pavatayevu ti janasā jānapadasa hita-sukhaṁ upadah евu anugahinēvuhu cha (E) sukkhyana-dukkhyanāṁ
4 jānisaṁti dharma-yutena cha viyovadisaṁti janaṁ jānapadamaṁ kiṁti hidataṁ cha pālataṁ cha alādhayevū ti (F) lajukā pi laghaṁti
5 pāṭichalitave mam (G) puliśa[h]i pi me chhandaṁmaṁi patiĉhalsariti (H) te pi cha kāṁi viyovadisaṁti yena maṁ lajukā chaghaṁti alādhayitave
6 (I) atāḥ hi pajaṁ viyatāye ḍhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti viyata chāti chaghati me pajaṁ sukaṁ paliḥatave ti
7 hevaṁ mama lajukā kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhaye (J) yena ete abhita avsathā saṁtaṁ avimana kaṁmāni pavatayevu ti
8 etena me lajukānaṁ [a]bhihāle va daṁde va ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa kiṁti viyoḥāla-samatā cha siya daṁda-samata cha
9 (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti bāndhana-badhānaṁ munisānaṁ tilita-darñḍānaṁ pata-vadhānaṁ tiṁni divasāni me [yo]te dīṁne (M) nātikā va kāṁi
10 nijhapayisaṁti jivitāye tānaṁ nāsaṁtaṁ va nijhay[tav]e dānaṁ dāhaṁti pālītikān upavāsaṁ va kachhaṁti (N) ichhā hi me hevaṁ
11 niludhasi pi [kālas]ī pālataṁ alādhayevu [t]i (O) janasa cha vaḍhati vividhe dharmma-chalanē sayame dāna-savibhāge ti
FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

B.—West Face of Pillar.

1. (A) देवानामिपिये पियदसि लाज हें छाह (B) सदुविसीतिवसाभिसितस मे इष्ठानि पि
2. जातानि अच्यायानि कटानि सेमथा सुके सालिक अस्तुने चकवाके हेंसे नंदीसुके गेलते जतुक अनाकपिलिक हुििि अनस्तिकम्जें बेदवेयकें गंगापुष्पके संकुजम्जें कपिलवके पनससे सिमाले संक्ते आसिििये
3. पलसे सेतकपिते गामकपिते सवे चतुपदे जे परिभोगी नो एति न च खाद्यसति
4. (C) जनका नानि एडका च सूकली च गभिनि व पायमीना व अवथा पोके च कानि
5. आसमासिके (D) धिकुकुटे नो कटविचे (E) तुसे सजीवे नो ग्रापितिविचे (F) दावे अनमारिे व
6. जिविसारे च नो ग्रापितिविचे (G) जीविति जीवे नो गुसिसिमिविचे (H) तीसु चामुनमासीमु तितिनि
7. पुणमासिं तितिनि दियसानि चावुसि च पन्नसस परिकारि पुषावे च अनुलोकिष मंळे अवथे
8. नो पि विकेतिविचे (I) एतानि भें दियसानि नागवनसि क्रियस्य सा यानि ब्राह्मणि पि
9. जीवनिकायानि नो हंसिविचि (J) अच्यायाबे चावुसि च पन्नसि तिसाये पुणाभुिे
10. तीसु चामुनमासीमु सुदिससे गोिे नो नीलिकितिविचे हजके एके सूकले ए च वि ज्ञे
11. नीलिकिति नो नीलिकितिविचे (K) तिसाये पुणाभुिे चामुनमासिये चामुनमासि-पिलबे अवथि गोिस
12. लखे नो कटिचे (L) आसदुविसीतिवसाभिसितिे मे एताये अंतितिकाये पनविसििे
13. वचनमोख़ानि कटानि

1. (A) Devānāṃpiyē Piyadasi ṇāya hevaiā ḋha (B) sa-duvisati-vasābhisitasa me imāni pi
2. jātāni avadhāyāni kāṭāni seyath[a] suke sālika alune chakavāke harīse
3. naṁdimukhe gelaṭe jatūka abhā-kapilika duḷi anāṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
4. Ganga-pupūtaṇa saṁkujḫa-machhe kaphata-seyake pārīna-sasc simale samāde okapirde

1 duṣṭi Bühler; but see his Ind. Pat., § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1087.
palasate seta-kapote gama-kapote save chatupade ye patibhogahin no eti na cha khadhyati
(C) ajakā nāni edakā cha sūkali cha gabhini va pāyaminā va avadhya potake cha kāni
āśarhmāsike (D) vadhi-kukute no kātaviye (E) tuse sajie no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve
anāthaye va
vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jivena jive no pusitaviye (H) tisu chātrumāsīsu
tisīyāṁ
puṁnamsāyaṁ tiṁni divasāṁi chāvudasaṁi paṁnaḷasaṁi 1 paṁpicaṁ dhuvāye
cha anuposathaṁ machhe avadhye
no pi viketaviye (I) etāṁ yeva divasāṁi nāga-vaṇaṇi kevaṭa-bhogyasi yāṁ
aṁnāni pi
jīva-nikāyāṁi no haṁtvāyāṁi (J) athaṁi-pahkāye chāvudāsāye paṁnaḷaye 2 tisāye
punāvasunē
tīsu chātrumāsīsu sūdvāsāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake 3 sūkale e vā pi anīc
nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune chāttoṁmāsi- pahkāye avasa gonaṇa
lakhane no kātaviye (L) yāva-sāduvisati-vasābhīsitena me etāye aṁtalikāye
paṁnavisatī
baṁdhana-mokhaṁi kaṭāṁi

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

1 (A) devaṁnaṁiphe pīyadhitā lajā hevāṁ śāh (B) duvādaspasaṁvisinēnē me ṃhamliṁ
vilāśitaṁ
2 lōkas hindusāyaṁ se tāṁ ṣaptah tāṁ ṃhamvātīr pāyaṁ (C) hevāṁ 4 lōkah
3 hindusē tā pātikāvyaṁ ṣahā 5 ṃvāṁ nātisū hevāṁ pāyasaṁneṛu hevāṁ ṣaṁkāraṇu
4 kimē kāṁ bhūṁ ṣaṁbhāṁi tā tathā ca ṣaṁbhāḥ (D) heveṁ saṭyaṁ saṁsaṁbāṁ
pātikāvyaṁ
5 (E) saṁprāṣāṁtā pī me pūṣjita viśivāya pūjaṁ (E) e ca ṃvāṁ ṣaṁvat pachupagamane
6 se me mokhaṁu (G) sauvisatisaṁvisisitaṁ me ṃvāṁ ṃhamliṁ vilāśitaṁ

1 (A) Devaṁnaṁiphe Piyadasī lāja hevaṁ āha (B) duvā[la]s[a-va]sābhīsitena, 4
me dhaṁma-liṁ likhāpa
2 lokasa hita-sukhāye se taṁ apahaṭa taṁ taṁ dhaṁma-vadhi pāpova (C) hevaṁ
lokasa
3 hita-sukhe ti paṭiṁkeṁaṁ athā iyaṁ nātisū hevaṁ paṭyāsarhaṁesu hevaṁ apaṁkaḥaṁesu
4 kimēman kāṁ suṁkaṁ avihaṁta ti tathā ca vidoḷaṁ (D) heveva sava-nikāyeṁu
paṭiṁkeṁaṁ
5 (E) sava-pāsaṁdā pī me pūjita vīdhiṁya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṁ atana pachupag-
 ganane
6 se me mokhaṁ-mute (G) sauvisatisa-[va]sābhīsitena me iyaṁ dhaṁma-liṁ likhāpa-
V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

A.—North Face of Pillar.

1 (A) देवानामिये पियदसि लाज हेव भाव (B) सहवीसतिवसामिलितेन मे इहं धनालिपि लिखापित (C) हिदतमालाते

2 दुसंपटिपादे आनंद भास्य धनकामात्तय भास्य पलीखाय भास्य सुपसाय भागेन भोनें भागेन उसाहें

3 (D) रस चूं लो भान्नुसाधिय धमापेश धनकामता च सुवे सुचे बद्धत बहिष्ति चेव (E) पुलिसा री मे उकसा च

4 गेवया च महिमा च अनुविवियंचं संपटिपादंति च ज्ञाने चपलं समादपति च (F) हेमें चांतमहामाता री (G) रसाहि विधि

5 या इहं धमेन पालन धमेन विधाने धमेन सुलीयन धमेन गोदी री

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

1 (A) देवानामिये पियदसि लाज हेव भाव (B) धमे साधु किवं चू धंमे री (C) धारासप्तके च धया दाने सचे सोचे री (D) चखुटाने री मे

2 बहुविषे दिने (E) दुपदुपङ्कङ्कु पकिवावलिचलेसु विविधे मे आनुगाहे कटे च चा पानदसिकेये (F) अनानि री मे वहू न कयानि कटानि

3 (G) रत्ने मे आताये इहं धनालिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपंजु चिलिंथितिका च हैतु री (H) रे हेवं संपटिपादंति मे सुकट कटली री

1 (A) देवानामिये पियदसि लाज हेव ना (B) धान्मे साधु कियां चु धान्मे री (C) अपसिनें बहु कयाने दाने सचे सोचे री (D) चक्कुदाने री मे

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1 hevani Bühler.
THIRD PILLAR-EDIT: RAMPURVA

1. (A) देवानापिते पियदसि लाल हें शाह (B) कामानेन्ति देशिति इयं मे कपाने कठे ति (C) नो भिन पाप देशिति इयं मे पापे कठे ति
2. इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेचे चू जो एस (E) हें चू जो एस देखि ये (F) इमान आसिनवामामीन्ति नामा ति अध चंढे निवृत्तिये
3. कोप याने इस्य कालनेन व हं मा पलिभस्तिश्च (G) एस वाि देखि ये (H) इयं मे हिदतिकाये इथमान मे पालितिकाये ति

FOURTH PILLAR-EDIT: RAMPURVA

1. (A) देवानापिते पियदसि लाल हें शाह (B) सहवीसिषिकाभिसिलेन मे इयं यंगलिपि निशालिपि (C) लज्राफ मे नरसु पानसमसयसि
2. जनसि आयत (D) तेने बो आसिने व दौऱे व अतिवि ने मे कठे बिति लज्राफ अस्थाि न्यािन क्षमाि पवतियेवू ति जनस जानपाद
3. हितसुखऱ्यं उपवेश्वर अनुगहिते च (E) सुभीमनुभीयान्ति जानिति धंभालेन च वियोदितिसि जन जानपाद बिति हिन्द च पालाजन च
4. आलगाथेवू ति (F) लज्राफ धि लचि बिति पवतियिति मे (G) पुलिसाि धि मे बंदनानि पवतितिसि (H) ते धि बो आशि वियोदितिसि चेन मे लज्राफ
5. चर्चि आलाधिति (I) आशि हि पत्ने विययाने धािि नंतिजिचु अस्ति होि वियति धािि चचिि मे पत्ने सुिि पवतियिति ति हें मम लज्राफ कठ
6. जानपादं हितसुखानि (J) चेन एवे शािनि अस्ति धािि सांि शािमि क्षमाि पवतियेवू ति एन ने लज्राफानि आपिति व दौऱे व अतिवि ने कठे
7. (K) इख्तितिवे हि एस बिति बियोदितिसि च सिि दंडसमता च (L) आशि हि धि च मे आलाधि वंघनवधानं मुनिसानि सतिसतईं धािि शािमि पुत्रशानि
FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

B.—South Face of Pillar.

1. (A) देवानंपिये तिरप्पुरसि लाज हेवे झाह (B) सुदवीसविसाभिसितेः से इमाति पि जातानि अववाति कानि संयष
2. सुके सालिक जलदुने चकवाके हेसे तंदीमुबे गेलारे जतूक अंवाकपिलिक दुख अनिस्वकमें वेदवंके
3. गंगापुलेन संज्ञेन नरसेने सदसे संदे आकिर्धे पालसे सेतकमें
4. गामविले चेवे चुपदे वे पालोने ने शंनि न च दायिति (O) झाका नाति एक्का च मूकलि च गभिनि व

1 Read abhīhae.
2 kāti Bühler.
1. (A) Devānapīyā Piyadasi lāja hevarī āha (B) sadvvisati-[va]sābhhisitenā me imāni pi jātāni avadhyanā kaṭāni seyatha
2. suke sālika alune chakavake hathe narindimukhe gelāte jatāka amhā-kapilika dulī anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
3. Gaṅgā-pupuṭake samkuja-machhe kaphata-seyake páhna-sasr̥ samale sāndake okapiṇḍe palasate seta-kapote
4. gāma-kapote save chatupade ye pāṭhahgāmī no eti na cha khādiyati (C) ajakā nānī elakā cha sākali cha gahbhī va
5. pāyaṁinā va avadhya potake cha kāni āsāṁmāśi (D) vadhhi-kukute no kaṭāviye (E) tuse sajive no jhāpaitiyeviye
6. (F) dāve anaṭhaye va vihiseye va no jhāpaitiyeviye (G) jivina jive no pusitaviye (H) tisu chāṭhurmāśi[śi] tisayān pūrṇamāśiyān
7. tirhini divasāni chāvudasāṇi pāṇṇadasāṇi pāṭipadāṇi dhuvāye cha anuposathāni machhe avadhye no pi viketaviye (I) etānī yeva
8. divasāni nāg-vaṇaṇa kevāṭa-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi jiva-nikāyāni no haṁtaviyāni (J) athami-pakhaye chāvudāṣye
9. pāṇṇadasāye tisaye punāvasune tisu chāṭhurmāśiśu sudivasāye gone no nilakhatiye ajake sākale
10. e va pi amne nilakhiyanī no nilakhitiyeviye (K) tisaye punāvasune chāṭhurmāśiye chāṭhurmāśi-pakhaye avasa gone
11. lakhanā no kaṭāviye (L) yaṁva-sadvvisati-vasābhhisitenā me etāye aṁtalikāye pāṁṇavisati bāṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni
SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

1. (A) देवानामपपे पियदसी लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाडस-वसाहितिनें में धर्मलिपि दिखापित लोकस रित्सुकाये से तै रामप्पह
2. तै तै धर्ममोऽद पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितसुके तित परिवेशामि श्रध्य इवं नातिसु हेवं पवासनेतु हेवं रामपटेसु किंतं कानि
3. सुंस्क जावाहरी ति तथा च बिद्धामि (D) हेमेर सबविकायेमु परिवेशामि (E) सववासनेर दि ने गृहित विविधाय पुजाया (F) ए चु इवं
4. घातन पचुपगने से मे मोक्षायु (G) सदुविसात[1]-वसाहितिनें में इवं धर्मलिपि दिखापित

VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR

A. THE SIX FIRST PILLAR-EDICTS

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1. (A) देवानामपपे पियदसी लाज हेवं आह (B) सदुविसातसाहितिनें में इवं धर्मलिपि दिखापित (C) हिर्दतपालने मुसंपादियादे
2. रंगत आगाय धंसकमाताय आगाय पतिुसाय आगाय सुमुसाय आगेन भेगन आगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु बो मम आनुसतिया
3. धमापेशा धंसकमाता च सुंब सुंब बहिता बहितारी चिमा (E) गृहिता पि में उक्सा च गेमा च महिसा च अनुविष्ययत इंपंदियापंति च
4. चांज चपल समादपियते (F) हेमेर अंतसहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विदिया या इयं धमेन पातला धमेन बिध्या धमेन सुतिया धमेन गृहि हि च

1. (A) Devānāmpiye Piyadasī lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvīsāti-vasābhīsitena me iyāṁ dhārīṁa-lipi liṅkhāpiṭā (C) hidata-pālāte dusāṁpaṭīpāda[y]e
2. anānata agāya dhārīṁa-kāmatāya agāya palīkhāya agāya susūsāyā agenā bhayena a[ɡj]ena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathī[y]ā
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

3 dharimāpekhā dharimma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhītā vaḍhisatī ch[e]vā (E) pulisā pi me ukasa cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvidihiyaṁti samapaṭipādayaṁti cha
4 alam chapalain samādapayitave (F) hemmeva1 amita-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi vā [i]yair dharimma pālāna dharimma vidhāne dharimma suṣkhīyanā dharimma [gutjś] [ti 2 ] cha.3

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1 (A) Devānāṃpiye piyaddī lajā hēvān āhā (B) dhanme sāchu kiyaṁ chu dhanme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sāche sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne pi me
2 bahuvidhe diṁne (E) dupada-chatupadesu4 pakhi-vālīchalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe a pāna-dakhināye (F) amānī pi cha me bahūnī5 kayānī kaṭāni
3 (G) etaye me aṣṭāye iyān dharimma-lipi likhāpitā hevān anupaṭipajaṁtu chila-thitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevān samapaṭipajisati se sukaṭāṁ kachhāti ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1 (A) Devānāṃpiye piyaddī lajā hēvān āhā (B) kayānameva dekhāti ēyān me kāmanyā kate ti (C) no mīna pāpakaṁ dekhāti ēyān me pāpakaṁ kate ti ēyān vā āsaminave nāma ti

1 hemeva Bührer.
2 As remarked by Fleet (IA, 13. 31c, note), the vowel i is attached before, not after the t.
3 cha Bührer.
4 The apparent Anusvāra after da of dupada- is probably accidental.
5 bahūnī Bührer.
FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1. कान छान्हिले ए देने का खातपतिये कटे (K) इछितविये हि एस विनि

2. लसमता छ सिया दंसमता छ (L) आव इले पिच थे आवुति विधान थवासां मुहिसान असीतितर्कां पतवासां तिन दिवसानि योिे दिनिे

3. का व कानि निमिलसांसि जीविताये तान नासां वा लक्ष्यपाया दान दाशिि पाल्याऎ उपवासां वा कांिि

4. हि मे वें निलुक्षि पि जालि पालत आलाध्यते (O) जानस च विलिनि विविवै धमंचलने सयसे दानातविभागे

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1. पिये पियली लाजा हेव आहा (B) महवीसिबसायसमितिे मे इमानि जातानि आबधियानि कटानि सेिय भुि सालिका अलुने चकवाके

2. नंदीने गेलिे जतुका वांचितिका हुिी जिनितिके वेदविके गंगापुरके संकुलमिे कस्ते के रोमसे सिमिे मंडे नि

3. तंकयेिे गामकपैिे सवे चुंपदे वे परिमोि ने नि.................पायसे...

4. सजीिे नो भाप .............

5. नि चावुद्यं पंचद .............

6. नि ..................................

7. ..................................

8. लश्नेन नो कटविये (L) या

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1 Bühler omitted this line.  
2 chā Bühler.  
3 ava Bühler.
1 (A) ... [p]iyə Piyadasi lajā hevaṁ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhishītena me imāni jātiṁ avadhityāni kaṭāni seyatha suce sālikā alun chaka[v]āke  
3 ... [ta]-kapote gāma-kapote sa[v]e chatu[p]a[de] ye paṭ[i]h[og]̣aṁ [no] ... nā ... [p]a[y]a[m]i ...  
4 ... sajive no jhā[pa] ...  
5 ... [n]i cha[v]u[d]a[sa]m [pa]m[cha][da] ...  
6 ... [n] ...  
7 ...  
8 [lakha]n[e no kaṭaviye] (L) [y]ā ... 

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1 (A) ... pīye pīyadasi la ... [t]e pā ...  
(C) hevaṁ lokasa  
2 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi ṣaḷ ḍīyā ... vṃ paṭaṁsaṇa ṭe hene ṭapakheṣu ... kīmāṁ kāni ... vīdhaṁ (D) ṭevaṁ eva svam ... kāyeṣu paṭivekhāmi  
3 (E) saṭpaśaṅga ṭi ṭe puṣṭiṁ viṣaṇīyau pūṣāya (E) e ḍu ḍīyā ṭaṭaṇa paṭuṇgaṇe ... sene ṭe sukaṁsu (C) ... ṭiṁpi naḷassita ti  

B. QUEEN'S PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1 (A) ... [p]iyə [P]iyada[s]ī l[ā] ... [aṁ] ... [d]h[j]i [p]a ...  
(C) heva[m] lokasa  
3 (E) [sa]va-pāsanidā ṭi me puṣṭiṁ vividhāya [pu]ya(E) e chu iy[a]n atana pachupagamane ... me muḥkha-mute (G) ... lipi, likhāpita ti  

1 jatīke Bühler.  
2 daṭi Bühler.  
3 anathika- Bühler.  
4 lipi Bühler.
QUEEN'S EDICT

KAUSAMBI EDICT

Scale One-fifth
QUEEN'S PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1 (A) Devānāṁpiyā v[a]chanena savata mahamata 1
2 vataviyā (B) e hetā 2 dutiyāye deviyā dāne
3 aṁba-vadikā vā alame va dāna-[gah]e [va] 3 e vā pi a[jh]ne
4 kichhi ganiyati tāye deviyā she nāni (C) [he]vah ... [na] ... 4
5 dutiyāye deviyā ti Tīvala-mātu Kāluvākiye

TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of Devānāṁpiyā, the Mahāmātras everywhere have to be told (this).
(B) What gifts (have been made) here by the second queen, (viz.) either mango-groves, 6 or gardens, or alms-houses, or whatever else, these 6 (shall) be registered 7 (in the name of) that queen.
(C) This (is) [the request] of the second queen, the mother of Tīvala, 8 the Kāluvāki. 9

C. KAUSAMBI PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1 (A) Devānāṁpiyā anapayati (B) Kosahbiyam 10 maham[ta] 11
2 ... ... ... ... ... (D) s[amar][kg[a][e][c][e] sa[n]gh[a][a][a][a]i no 12 [a]hiye 13
3 ... ... ... ... ... [saṃghaṁ bhā[kh]a]ti 14 bhik[hu] v[a] 15 bhik[hu]ni 16 vā [se pi] cha 17

1 mahamata Senart and Bühler.
2 hetā Senart and Bühler.
3 vā Bühler.
4 Restore perhaps vinati (= Skt. vijñapti); see J.R.A.S., 1911. 1113.
6 For the pronoun nāni see above, p. 127, n. 10.
7 With ganiyati cf. goṣṭhāna or goṣṭhā in the rock-edict III, E.
8 Bühler (IA, 19. 124) noted that Tīvara occurs (a thousand years after Aśoka) as the name of a king of Kosāla; see Fleet's Gupta Insers., p. 293. and El. 7. 103.
9 As stated by Bühler (IA, 19. 123), this is probably the name of the queen's family, and it may be connected with the Vedic goṣṭra of the Kārus.
10 o[p]chā Boyer; Bühler and Boyer add o at the end of the line.
11 mahamatta Bühler and Boyer.
12 na Bühler and Boyer.
13 chi ye Bühler.
14 bhokhati Bühler and Boyer.
15 va Bühler.
16 bhukha[nt] Bühler.
17 [po]kā Boyer; Bühler and Boyer add o at the end of the line.
18 The syllable dū is missing in my materials, but is visible on the plate in IA, 19. 125.
19 a[n][p]sa Bühler, andovasi Boyer.
20 avā Boyer.
TRANSLATION

(A) [Devānāṃ]priya commands (thus).
(B) The Mahāmatras at Kōsambl.
(C) ............ is made united.  
(D) ............ should not be received into the Saṅgha.
(E) And also that monk or nun [who] shall break up the Saṅgha, should be caused to put on white robes and to reside in a non-residence.

THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSRIPTIONS

I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR

1 ................
2 ....[ya] bhe[ta] ... (C) ...[gh]e ...... mage kaṭe
3 bhūta ch bhūtinīn cha ti pūyap-
4 pātākik deṣmatuṣṭirvive (D) ye śāṅg
dhāntāti śāṅgata chādāta-
6 ni duṣāṇaśa samākāyamitru śāṅgā-
7 saṃsāra ṣaṅgaṇātikṣhe (E) ṣaṅga ṣiṃ-
8 ti ṣaṃgā chalāvātikṣe śaṅgā ti
9 ................

1 This ancient city (Kauṭāmbi in Sanskrit) corresponds to the modern Kōsam; see Fleet’s Gupta Inscrs., p. 2, and EI, II, 141.
2 Cf. the Sānchī pillar, C.
3 lāhiye may be derived from the root labh; cf. the gerundive āvāsayīe in l. 4 of this inscription, and in l. 5 of the Sārnāth pillar. Boyer (JA (10), 101. 121) connects lāhiye with the root rah.
4 Venis (JPASB, 3, 3) has identified bhākharī with Skt. bhākharīyiti.
5 Boyer (p. 130) quotes a passage from Buddhaghōsa’s Samantapārśikā, in which Aśoka is stated to have given white robes (setakāni vāṭkānā) to the heretical monks whom he expelled; see Vinaya-piṭaka, ed. by Oldenberg, vol. III, p. 312, with which Bigandet’s Life or Legend of Gaudama (4th ed., 2, 139) agrees, and cf. Dipavāna, VII, 53, and Mahāvāna, V, 270. The proper colour of the robes of a Buddhist monk is yellow.
6 āvāsayīe is a gerundive formed from the causative āvāsayati, and corresponds to Skt. āvāṣayā. Senart (CR, 1907, 28) appears to consider it an optative passive.
7 i.e. a residence unfit for members of the Saṅgha. Venis (JPASB, 3, 3) quoted Buddhaghōsa’s explanation of the term awāsā; see SBE, 17, 388, n. 1.
8 [y]āvī] Bühler.
9 bhe[ta] Boyer. Restore perhaps bheta, as on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 3.
10 The syllable ghe is almost certain; restore sanighāe.
11 Restore samage, as in l. 8.
II. THE SARNATH PILLAR

1. (A) देवा

2. ए ल

3. पार

4. भिक्षू वा भिक्खु वा संघ भाषित से छोटानाँ दुखानि संसाधपियं व्यासिस

5. आवासिये (B) हेवं इत्य सासने भिक्खुसंपसि च भिक्खुनिसंपसि च विनं

6. (F) हेवं देवानैचि ए ए (G) हेदिसा च इका लियी तुफाक्तिकं हुआति संसाधनम निझिता

7. इकं च लियी हेदिसेव उपासकानितं निझिताप (H) ते पि च उपासका अनुपोसघं नातु

8. एनेव सासने विसांतयित्वेइ अनुपोसघं च धुषाये इकंके महामाते पोसयाये

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1. See JRAS, 1911. 167 f.
2. bhikkhati Bühlcr and Boyer.
3. bhikkhā Boyer.
4. saṅghassa mage Bühlcr and Boyer; see JRAS, 1911. 168.
5. Cf. the Sarnāth pillar, C.
6. Cf. pitā-papetteke ckaṇčāma-suijike hoto ti in the Delhi-Törprā pillar-edict VII, l. 31. Other instances of the Prākrit affix -ika are vadhanike and vijayike in two Pallava inscriptions and in the Kondamudi plates. See EI, i. 6, text l. 9; 6. 87, text l. 5 f.; 6. 317, text, l. 8 f.
8. Cf. samaggo hi saṅgho . . . phāsm viharatī in the Pātimokkha, JRAS, 1876. 75, §10; sukkā saṅghassa samaggi samagganī tapo sukho in the Dhammapada, verse 194; saṅgho samaggo kutukāna tadākkāsi uposathan in the Mahāvamsa, V, 274.

1111

Y
9 yaça ēnmev sasa na viṣvāṃśayitavā ājānātavā c (I) āvate c tulākāṁ āhārāte
10 nava viwasayāya tupe ētanā vāyojñanān (J) ēmēva saṃsū koṭavishāvē su ētanā
11 vāyojñanān viwāsāpyāyā
d(1) (A) Devā .... ........
2 cl............
3 Pāta ........ ye" kenapi saṅghe bhetave (D) e chūṃ kho
4 [bhikha] [va bhikha] vi śaṅghāṁ bhi[ākha][i]" s[e] odatāni dus[ān]:
   [sa]nānādāpayiya ānāvāsasi 4
5 avāsāyīya (E) hevan iyaśaṃ sasaṃ bhikhu-saṅghāsi cha bhikhuni-saṅghāsi cha
   viṇnāpayitaviye
6 (F) hevanā Devānāmpiyā ahā (G) hedisā cha ikā lipi tūphākaṁtikam huvāti
   saṃśaṇaṃ nāhītā
7 ikaṃ cha lipīrī hēdūsā eva upāsakānaṁtikam nīkhipāthā (H) te pi cha upāsakā
   anuṣpūtām yāyu
8 etameva sāsanām viśvasaṃyitavā anupūtāṁ cha dhuvāye ikike mahāmāte
   posathāye
9 yati etameva sāsanām viśvasaṃyitavā ājāṇītave cha (I) āvate cha tūphākām
   āhāle
10 savata viṇṇāṣayāthā tūpe etena viyāmjanena (J) hēmeva sāvesu koṭa-vishāvesu 6
   etena
11 viyāmjanena viṇṇāṣayāthā

TRANSLATION

(A) Devānāmpiyā .... .... 
(B) ........ Pāta [liputra] 7 
(C) .... the Saṁgha [cannot] be divided by any one. 8 
(D) But indeed that monk or nun who shall break up the Saṃgha, should be
   caused to put on 9 white robes and to reside 10 in a non-residence. 11

1 These are the two first syllables of the title Devānāmpiyā.
2 These are probably the two first syllables of the name Pātaliputra.
3 Boyer ingeniously restores na sakya.
4 The correct reading of this word is due to Venis. Vogel and Senart read bhikhati, and Boyer
   bhokhati.
5 The Sāṃchā and Kauśāmib edicts read anāvāsastī.
6 Venis justly remarked that the second syllable of this word differs from sa, and is probably
   meant for sāka.
7 This is the ancient name of the city of Patnā, the capital of Chandragupta and Asūkā. It is
   mentioned also in the Gīṟāṅgar edict V. M. The Sāṃchā edict was probably addressed by the king
   to the Mahāmātṛas at Pātaliputra, as the Kauśāmib edict to the Mahāmātṛas at Kauśāmib.
8 With saṅghe bhetave cf. saṅgham bhindati, 'to cause divisions among the priesthood', in
   Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s.v. bhindati; saṅgham bhinditvā in the Tālaka, vol. IV, p. 200, l. 6;
   samagrasa saṅghāsas bhedāya in the Pātimekkha, JRAS, 1876. 75. § 10; Buddha-vachananām
   bhinditvāna in the Dipavānasas, VII, 54.
9 [sa]nānādāpayiya, instead of which the Sāṃchā and Kauśāmib edicts read sānānādāpayita,
   corresponds to Skt. saṃnādāca; cf. Senart, CR, 1907. 28.
10 For avāṣayīya see above, p. 160, n. 6.
11 See above, p. 160, n. 7.
(E) Thus this edict must be submitted both to the Sāṅgha of monks and to the Sāṅgha of nuns.

(F) Thus speaks Dēvānāṃpriya:

(G) Let one copy of this (edict) remain with you deposited in (your) office, and deposit ye another copy of this very (edict) with the lay-worshippers.

(H) These lay-worshippers may come on every fast-day (posathā) in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict, and invariably on every fast-day, every Mahāmātra (will) come to the fast-day (service) in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict and to understand (it).

(I) And as far as your district (extends), dispatch ye (an officer) everywhere according to the letter of this (edict).

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1 Literally: ‘one writing of this description.’

2 Senart (CR, 1907. 30) explains huvati as a subjunctive.

3 As remarked by Vogel (El, 8. 170), tūphākāntikam stands for tūphākānti avātikam, and upāsakānāntikam in l. 7 for upāsakānānti avātikam. Cf. E. Müller's Pali Grammar, p. 64, and Geiger's Pali, § 71.

4 Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated ni-kship by ‘inscribing’. Cf. the Rāghuvaṃśa, VII, 65, where Mallinātha explains nikṣēpi ta by līkhi, and nikkhiita-vaṇṇān in the Sākuntala, ed. by Cappeller, p. 32, l. 16. But as the word nikhiita is placed after saṅsolana, and nikkhipāta in the next sentence after upāsakānāntikam, it is more natural to take ni-kship in the sense of ‘depositing’.

5 Senart (CR. 1907. 30 ff.) is probably right in considering saṅsolana (= Skt. saṅsārāṇā) the designation of some locality. Venis (JPASB, 3. 4) translated it by ‘place of assembly’.

6 As remarked by Senart (CR, 1907. 30), the double cha in kādi cha ikā āsīt and ikān cha liepin hēdimēva co-ordinates the two sentences. The same is the case in the next section, where the cha after te ūr corresponds to the cha after amposathā in l. 8. Cf. also above, p. 47, n. 9.

7 In the form posathā, which occurs also in the Jātaka (ZDMG, 48. 63), the initial n of Skt. upavasatha has been dropped. Cf. posāha in Pischel's Grammatik, § 141, and the artificial form pōṣadha (Böhltingk's two dictionaries, s.v.) in the language of the Northern Buddhists.

8 With visvānāyitavo cf. arvāda[n]iyā in the Jāgāda separate edict II, section J.

9 Cf. above, p. 128, n. 3.

10 Sections E to H do not add anything new to the king's order, of which two other specimens are preserved at Sārāchā and Allahabad, but provide merely for the proper circulation of the edict among all the parties concerned. This the king tries to ensure (1) by communicating his edict to the monks and nuns, whom it chiefly concerns, and (2) by ordering that one copy of it should be retained by the Mahāmātras and another by the lay-worshippers, to be studied by both of them respectively at the fast-day services. The two last sections of the inscription contain further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to the king's edict. The preceding paragraphs had arranged for its publicity among the citizens of Pāṭaliputra. In sections I and J the king orders the Mahāmātras of Pāṭaliputra to make it known in the district surrounding Pāṭaliputra and in the jungle tracts beyond this district.

11 Kern pointed out that ahāla (spelt ahāla at Rūpānā) corresponds to the well-known territorial term ahāra, 'a district'; see El, 8. 170. The meaning ‘food’ is excluded here, because the words tūphākānti ahāla are contrasted with saṅsva koṭa-vāsahviya in the next section. For other ancient inscriptions in which the word ahāra, 'a district', occurs, see Lüders' List of Brāhmi Inscriptions (El, 10. Appendic), p. 214. s.v.

12 As Thomas states (JA, 10. 155), the usual Pāli equivalent of vivasaṭi is vipṭavaṭati; see Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s.v. The verb vivāsayaṭi (vivasaṭi in the Rūpānā edict, l. 5) is the causative, and vivāsayaṭi in section J a double causative, of vivasaṭi. Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated vivāsayaṭi by ‘making known’; but this meaning is not supported by other instances. Thomas (JRA, 1915. 112) renders it by ‘expelling’. But it would be hazardous to assign to it a different meaning from vivasaṭaṭviya at Rūpānā. I supply the missing object of the verb from the first separate rock-edict (Dhauālī, ZZ-CC; Jāgāda, AA-DD), viz. mahāmātraṃ.

13 Literally: ‘by this letter’. The word vīśaṭi is used in Buddhist literature in the sense of
III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR

1. (A) Devānāpiyena Piyadasina lājina visati vasābhisitenena
2. atana āgācha mahiyite hida Budhe jāte Sākyamuni ti
3. (B) sīla vigadabhi cha kalāpita sīla-thabhe cha usapāpite
4. hida Bhagavain jāte ti (C) Luṃmini-gāme ubalike kāte
5. ātha-bhāgiye cha

TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dēvānām priya Priyadarśin had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot), because the Buddha Sākyamuni was born here.

(B) (He) both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse (?) and caused a stone pillar to be set up, (in order to show) that the Blessed one was born here.

'letter' as opposed to 'sense' (attha); see Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s. v. vayañjanani. In the rock-edict III, E, it is coupled with hetu, 'reason'. A number of Pāli sentences in which it occurs, were collected by the late Dr. Neumann (ZDMG, 67: 345 f.), who rendered it by 'specification'. Senart (CR, 1907: 36) translates: 'with the text of my instructions', i.e. he takes the instrumentalas etna viyañjanena in the sense of the sociative; cf. Speyer's Sanskrit Syntax (Leiden, 1886), § 59.

1 This seems to refer to outlying jungle tracts (perhaps in the Nepalese Tarāl) which were not fully pacified, but were held by means of military posts, such as the 'forests' mentioned in the Śāihábsagiri edict XIII, M.

2 In the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta (JRAS, 1876: 341), the Buddha himself is reported to have said: āgamisanti kho Aganna sādakkā bhikkhu-bhikkhunīyo upāsaka-upāsikāyo idha Tathāgato jāte ti. In accordance with this quotation I connect the words from hida to ti with section A, while Fleet (JRAS, 1908: 486) joined them to B.

3 This is Charpentier's explanation of the obscure and much-discussed word vigadabhi; see IA, 43: 19f. The syllable -bhi might certainly represent Skt. -bhri; but, that vigada means 'a horse', remains to be proved by more substantial evidence. Sir R. Bhandarkar (JBRAS, 20: 366, n. 14) and Fleet (JRAS, 1908: 477, 823) joined bhūtā into one word, and explained it by Skt. *bhūtikā, 'a wall'. As, according to Fischel's Grammatik, §§ 49, 219, vigada is an Ardhamāgadhī form of Skt. viśita, sīla-vigada bhūtā might mean 'a (brick) wall decorated with stone'. But, as Charpentier (IA, 43: 17) remarks, the change of *bhūtikā to bhūtā is wholly improbable from a linguistic point of view, as consonants were not dropped to such an extent at that early stage of Prākrit dialects.

4 With the words hida Bhagavain jāte cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 389: 'asmin mahārāja pradīpi Bhagavān jāteh'.
IV. THE NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR

1. (A) देवानंपियन पियदसिन लाजिन चोदस्वसाधिसितेन
2. चुपस सोकाकामासिन चुवे दुतियय वधिते
3. (B) साधिसितेन च चत्रत आगाच महीपिते
4. पापिले

1. (A) Devānāmpiya Piyadasina lājina ohodasa-vasā[bh]i[s]i[ṭ]e[a]
2. Budhasa Konākamanasa thube dutiyaḥ vadhite
3. (B) sābhīsitena cha atana āgācha mahīyite
4. pāpīte.

TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dēvānā mpiya Priyadarśin had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the Stūpa of the Buddha Konākamana to the double (of its original size).

(B) And when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot) [and] caused [a stone pillar to be set up].

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1. In the Nidānakathā (Jātaka, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54), the site of the Buddha's birth is called Lumbini-vana. For other forms of the name see Charpentier in IA, 43, 18. The word Lumbini survives in the modern designation Rumindeī; see V. A. Smith in IA, 34, 1.
2. For ubalika = Skt. *ubalika see Barth, Journal des Savants, 1897, p. 73, n. 2; Bühler, EI, 5, 5; Fleit, JRAS, 1908, 478 f.; Sir Charles Lyall, id. 859 f.; and Thomas (id. 1909, 465 f.), who quotes the similar term uchchhulka from the Kautalya.
3. The Divyāvadāna (p. 390) reports that Aśoka spent at Lumbini-vana 100,000 (gold pieces). In accordance with this legend, Barth (loc. cit.), Bühler (EI, 5, 5), and Neumann (ZDMG, 68, 721 f.) took atha = Skt. artha and translated atha-bhāgya by 'partaking of riches'. Fleit (JRAS, 1908, 479 f.) explained atha-bhāga by Skt. aska-bhāga, 'an eighth share', which the king is permitted by Manu (VII, 130) to levy on grains. In the Kautalya (p. 117, l. 4, from bottom) chaturtha-pāchā-bhāgika is actually used with the meaning 'paying a fourth or a fifth share (of the produce). I therefore agree with Thomas (JRAS, 1914, 391 f.) in believing that -bhāgya must mean 'paying a share', and not, as Fleit thought, 'entitled to a share'. In the case of the village of Lumbini, bureaucracy prevailed against charity. For the affix -iva (= Skt. -iṣa) see above, p. 124, n. 4.
4. Bühler restored visati-vahśhitena, as on the Rumindeī pillar, l. 1.
5. Bühler restored sała-thathā cha usarpāpte on the strength of l. 3 of the same inscription.
6. This mythical Buddha is called Kōpāgamana by the Southern Buddhists (Kōpāgamana at Bharut; IA, 21, 239, No. 32), and Kanakamuni or Konākamuni by the Northern ones; see Kern's Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 64.
7. With dutiyaḥ vadhite cf. diyadhāyi va adhistati (or vadhīsite) at Sahasrām, section I, and in the corresponding sections of the other minor rock-edicts. Previous translators rendered dutiyaḥ by 'for the second time'.

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1. Lūmbini
2. Lūmbini
3. Lūmbini
4. Lūmbini
FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSRIPTIONS

I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSRIPTION

1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवा आहा (B) सातिरकेकानि आहितियानि य सुमि प्रकास सके (C) नो चु वाढि पकाले (D) सातिरकेक चु लवहरे य सुमि हलं सच अने

2 वाढि च पकाले (E) या इसाय कालाय जंबुदिपसी आमसा देवा हुसु ने दानि मिसा कटा (F) पकामति हि एस फले (G) नो च एसा महतता पापोले खुदखेन

3 पि पकामतनेना सकि य पिलुले पि खचे आरोधिवे (H) एलन अताय च साके केले खड़का च उदाला च पकामति ति आता पि च जाननु हय पकारा व

4 किंति चिरतिते किया (I) इय हि अशे वाढि बहिसिति पिलुल च बहिसिति अपल्लिथेना दिल्लिहु बहिसत (J) इय च अशे पवनिमु लेखापेत चालत (K) हप च अति

5 सालाये सिलाकभसि लासापेतवय त (L) एलना च वयनेना यातक हुपक अहाले सवर विसेतवय ति (M) खुदेना साबने केले (N) २०० ५० ६ स-.

6 त विवासा त

1 (A) Devānampaṭhe hevā[m] aha (B) saṭi[r]a[k]ekāni¹ adhat[i]yāni va² ya sumi prakāsa [Sa[k]e]³ (C) no chu baḍhi pakate (D) saṭileko chu ohhavachhare⁴ ya sumi haka[r]ni sagh[a] up[e]te

2 baḍhi ch[a]⁵ pakate (E) ya⁶ [i]māya kālāya Jamundipasi aminā deva hushu te dāni m[i][s][a] katā (F) pakamasi⁷ hi [e]lsa phale (G) no cha esa mahatata p[a]potave khudakena⁸

¹ saṭi[le]kāni Senart and Bühler; read saṭirekāni.
² This seems to be an abbreviation for vasāni, which is the reading of the Bairat, Brahmagiri, and Śiddāpurā rock-inscriptions.
³ The first akṣara of prakāsa looks like pā; but cf. above, p. 9, l. 10. There is a vacant space after this word. Bühler read pākā (which he considered a mistake for haka, i.e., hakān) [sa[v]e]te.
⁴ The reading [Sa[k]e] was suggested to me by the new Maṇki rock-inscription, which reads bā[da]-
⁵ Saṁkara.
⁶ As the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpurā versions prove, this is a clerical mistake for savachharet
see IA, 37, 23, and JRAI, 1910, 145 f.
⁷ chu Bühler.
⁸ Three other versions of this edict read pakamasa.
LEFT HALF

RIGHT HALF

Scale One-fourth
TRANSLATION

(A) Dēvānāṃpriya speaks thus.
(B) Two and a half years\(^{17}\) and somewhat more (have passed) since I am openly a Śākya.\(^{18}\)
(C) But (I had)\(^{19}\) not been very zealous.\(^{26}\)
(D) But a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited\(^{21}\) the Sangha\(^{12}\) and have been very zealous.

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\(^{1}\) paramaniyena Bühler.
\(^{2}\) Read vipule.
\(^{3}\) Read pī, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
\(^{4}\) ārodhavē Bühler; read ārodha[ta*]vē.
\(^{5}\) pakamaṇitu Senart and Bühler.
\(^{6}\) iyā Senart and Bühler.
\(^{7}\) Senart proposes to read pakam; cf. the Siddāpurā and Sahāsrāṃ rock-inscriptions.
\(^{8}\) Read vaṭhisiti.
\(^{9}\) Bühler and Senart correct hāḍha. Instead of it, the context seems to require yāta (= Skt. yatrot); but this change would be so violent that it cannot be seriously entertained.
\(^{10}\) Read silā, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler; -ṭukhe Bühler.
\(^{11}\) Read likhā.
\(^{12}\) Read ti.
\(^{13}\) Read perhaps tapāḥkān, as on the Sārṇāth pillar, l. 9.
\(^{14}\) Read savata, as on the Sārṇāth pillar, l. 10.
\(^{15}\) Viṣṇu Senart, ṭav[ṣu] Bühler; read vīvāṣṭavīṣ and cf. vīvāṣṭayāhā at Sārṇāth, l. 10.
\(^{16}\) Read ti.

\(^{17}\) As was first remarked by Oldenberg (Vivāṣṭa-la, Introduction, p. xxxvii, note, and ZDMG, 35: 474, note), adhatiya is the Pāli adhatiya, ‘two and a half’.
\(^{18}\) Instead of this, the Sahāsram and Bārāt, and Siddāpurā versions read upāsake, ‘a lay-worshipper’, but the Maski version reads Bā[ṭa]-Śāke. On the Rummindei pillar the Buddha himself receives his well-known epithet Sākyamuni. Vārāhamihira uses the tribal name Śākya in the sense of ‘a Buddhist’; see Böhtlingk and Roth’s Dictionary, s.v. In the Kauṭīya the word Śākya has the same meaning; see Shama Sastrī’s Translation, p. 251, n. 2. As Professor Jolly kindly informs me, the Munich MS. reads शाक्याचर्चार्दिन, which is meant for शाक्याशिर्षार्दिन, the editio princeps (p. 109, l. 3 f.) has शाब: जीवाकारिन.

\(^{19}\) The word kusāni is inserted in the Mysore versions.

\(^{20}\) The Mysore versions add ‘for one year’. Thomas (JA 15), 515 f.) and Sylvain Lévi (id. 17. 121 f.) take pakamaṇi in the sense of ‘travelling about’. But the various readings of the Sahāsram and Bārāt edicts suggest that pakamaṇi has to be understood as a synonym of pala-kamati, ‘to exert oneself, to be zealous’; see Fleet’s remarks in JRAS, 1909, 993, and cf. the rock-edict VI, L and N, and X, C and E. In section G the participle pak[ka]mam[ṣ]enā (Rūnpāth) or pala-kamam[na] (Sahāsram) corresponds to dhana-rute[nā], ‘devoted to morality’, at Maski, E.

\(^{21}\) Bühler translated up[ṣ]ty by ‘entered’; see IA, 6. 156, and EI, 3. 140. I adopt Senart’s very cautious rendering, which is more natural and supported by Buddhist tradition; see IA, 20. 234.

\(^{22}\) I.e. the Buddhist clergy.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

(B) Those gods who during that time had been unmingle G (with men) in Jambudvīpa, have now been made (by me) mingled (with them).

(F) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(G) And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank (alone), but even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.

(H) And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued, (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers may know (it), (and) that this same zeal may be of long duration.

(I) For, this matter will (be made by me) to progress, and will (be made to) progress considerably; it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half.

1 Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17. 124 f.) first showed that misā represents Skt. mīrāk; but his translation of deva by ‘kings’ is inadmissible. The word deva is not used anywhere else in the Aśoka edicts except in the title Devānāmpriya, where it certainly does not mean ‘a king’, for which the word rāja is regularly employed; see JRAS, 1911. 1114. Senart (JA (11), 7. 438 ff.) still upholds Bühler’s view that misā stands for Skt. mṛikā, which is represented by mūs in Pāli, in Ardhamaṅgalika (Pielchel’s Grammatik, §. 78), and in the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription, i. 6. Granted that this explanation might account for the curious compounds misaṇi-deva and avahis-patha at Sahasrām,—the nasalized final occurring also in the Ardhamaṅgalika form musai,—it would create two serious difficulties: (1) the compound misbhūtā at Maski would offend against the Vārttika on Paññāli, VII, 4, 32, which prohibits the change of the final ā of indeclinables to ā (cf. Mahābhāṣya on I, 1, 41), and (2) it forces Senart (loc. cit., p. 441) to render the words misā devo, ‘mingled with the gods’, in the Mysore edicts, by ‘ont été (réduits à apparaître comme) faussement (mis au nombre) des dieux’, and to consider the instrumental devo as an ablative partitive (?) 2. i.e. in India.

2 As I have shown in JRAS, 1913. 652 f., this enigmatical sentence can be explained by comparing a similar, but more explicit statement in the fourth rock-edict. It refers to certain religious shows at which Aśoka had exhibited to his subjects in effigie the gods whose abodes they would be able to reach by the zealous practice of Dharma. The word deva corresponds to dīvaṇī rūpāṇi in the Girnār edict IV, B.

3 As the Brahmagiri version suggests, mahatātā corresponds to Skt. mahatmatvat.

4 Cf. the parallel passage in the rock-edict X, E.

5 Flett (JRAS, 1909. 104) and Thomas (JA (10), 17. 510) were of opinion that the few following words: ‘let both the lowly and the exalted be zealous’ represent the text of an address delivered by Aśoka himself on a previous occasion, and quoted succinctly by him here. But a glance at the parallel passages collected by Thomas himself on the next page (510) will suffice to show that Senart was right in believing that the following words are rather referred to by etiya atiyā, and that here, as well as in section M, the word ‘proclamation’ refers to the whole of the Rūpāṇi edict itself.

6 According to the Kāli and Shāhbāzgarhi rock-edict XIII, Q, these borderers were Antiochus II of Syria and four other Greek kings (in the west), and the Chōdas and Pāṇḍyas in the south. Cf. also the rock-edict II, A, and V, J.

7 i.e. apparently the subject-matter or contents of Aśoka’s proclamation, viz. the Buddhist propaganda; see section J.

8 With vaṣṭhiniṣṭa vaṣṭhiti cf. dharmavatva-vadhi vaṣṭhita in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, JJ and NN.

9 Cf. above, p. 165, n. 7.
(J) And cause ye this matter to be engraved on rocks where an occasion presents itself.

(K) And (wherever) there are stone pillars here, it must be caused to be engraved on stone pillars.

(L) And according to the letter of this (proclamation) (you) must dispatch (an officer) everywhere, as far as your district (extends).

(M) (This) proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.

(N) 256 (nights) (had then been) spent on tour.

II. THE SAHASRAM ROCK-INSRIPTION

1. (A) देवानांपि इंद्र आ गयनि संवल्लानि । ते उपासके सुमि । (C) न च बाल्य पतलेने

2. (D) सत्यासन साधके । ते (E) एलान च आत्मने । कंबुदीपसि । कामिनदेवा । संत

1 Instead of the nominative iya cha aṣhe we should have expected the accusative ima cha aṭhan, as at Sahasram, l. 7. The nominative would be in its proper place if we adopt Senart's conjecture lekhāpattiviśat for lekhaṃpatā vālata; but this change is so extensive that it must be pronounced doubtful.

2 Literally: 'in consequence of an occasion' (vāratah); see JRAS, 1911, 1116.

3 viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.

4 Cf. the Delhi-Topra pillar-edict VII, SS.


6 See above, p. 1063, n. 12. Fleet (JRAS, 1911, 1166) translated vīvasetī by 'spending a night in worship'. I have shown that this meaning is rendered improbable by the context of the corresponding passage of the Sarnath edict; see JRAS, 1912, 1053 ff.

7 Cf. above, p. 163, n. 11.

8 Cf. the rock-edict VIII. For the two terms vyūtha and vīvāsa, which have greatly exercised all earlier interpreters, see now Thomas, JA (10), 15. 512 ff. The instrumental vy[uh]tenā, which depends on sāvane kate, must refer to Aśoka himself, because the preceding text of the proclamation shows the latter to have been the edict of a king to his officers, who are addressed in the second person plural (tupaka, l. 5); see JRAS, 1909, 729. I therefore follow Thomas (IB, 37. 22) in supplying mayā.

9 The three figures '256' were explained by Bühler as a date after the Nirvāna of the Buddha. Other scholars interpreted them in different ways (see Fleet, JRAS, 1908, 817), until in 1910 (JA (10), 15. 507 ff.) Thomas showed that the Sahasram version of the Rūpṇāth edict combines with them the word lāti = Skt. rātri, 'a night'. On the (redundant) word sata, 'a hundred', see Thomas, ibid., p. 521, and Fleet, JRAS, 1911, 1104, n. 2. Since the publication of Thomas' discovery of the word lāti at Sahasram, the '256 nights' have been discussed by Fleet (JRAS, 1910, 1301 ff., 1911, 1091 ff., and 1913, 635 ff.), Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17. 119 ff.), D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 41. 170 ff.), Neumann (translation of the Dīgha-nikāya, 3. 225 ff., and R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti, 22. 695 ff.), Thomas himself (JRAS, 1916, 113 ff.), and Senart (JA (11), 7. 434 ff.), who takes lāti = Skt. rati, as at Kālī, VIII, F.

10 In JRAS, 1910, 1309, I interpreted the word vīvāsā, which corresponds to vīvuthā at Sahasram, as an ablative singular. But it seems more natural to follow Thomas, who considers it a nominative plural.
The letters enclosed in double brackets are now broken away, but are still visible on an old photograph of the rock which I owe to the kindness of Sir John Marshall.

2. The top of *va* is damaged by a slanting cross-line, and there happens to be a faint vertical stroke behind it which gave rise to the imaginary syllable *v* in Cunningham's copy. A later idea of Bühler's (IA, 22, 399), the group *devā*, is equally non-existent; as stated by Fleet (JRAS, 1910, 147), it is already impossible because the *deva* would then have to stand on the level of the line, but not above it, and the *va* would have to be entered below, but not on the level of the line. These tedious details have to be noted here because the fanciful reading *sadvachhale*, combined with the actual blunder *chakavahare* at Rānpāth, is the starting-point of a now exploded theory which has obscured the chronology of Aśoka's inscriptions for a long time.

3. Read *amisani*.

4. Read *sadvahā* Bühler.

5. Read *svāvat*.

6. *palakane* Senart and Bühler.

7. *ṛ̥ṭiya* Bühler.

8. *yātā* Bühler.
SAHASRAM ROCK-INSCRIPTION

TRANSLATION

(A) Dōvānāmśripīya [speaks] thus.
(B) ............ years since I am a lay-worshipper (upāsaka).
(C) But (I had) not been very zealous.
(D) A year and somewhat more (has passed) since ............
(E) And men in Jambudvīpa, being during that time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods.
(F) [For] this is the fruit [of zeal].
(G) ...... cannot 1 be reached by (persons of) high rank alone, (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.
(H) Now, for the following purpose (has) this proclamation (been issued), (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers may know (it), and (that this) zeal may be of long duration.
(I) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will (be made to) progress to one and a half, to at least one and a half.
(J) And this proclamation (was issued by me) on tour.
(K) Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent on tour,3—(in figures) 258.5
(L) And cause ye this matter to be engraved on rocks.
(M) And where there are stone pillars here (in my dominions), there also cause (it) to be engraved.

III. THE Bairat ROCK-INSCRIPTION

1 (A) देवानांपिपे भा (B) सादि खित्ति
2 शसानि य हृक्के उपासके (C) नो च बा बट्टि
3 बो माया सये उपासां बो बाब बट्टि
4 जंगोदत्ति रामम्म म देवेहि .... सि ....... कमस एस ... ले
5 (G) न दे हि एसे महता सिर्वके ......... कसिङ्गणा
6 विकुपासे पि खो चक्ये आलाइष्ठे (H) ......... च उड़ाला चा पलकामतु ति

1 For chah, a variant of the root šah, see above, p. 97, n. 4.
2 Thomas (JA 10), 15. 520, note compares the word vìṇṇadh (corresponding to vivāsa at Rūpānag) with víṇṇatam, a division of time which is mentioned in the Kaṇṭhāya, p. 60, l. 3 from bottom. His suggestion that the latter may have the sense of víṇṇhīmīrṇam, 'a night and a day', is perhaps correct. At any rate, in Aśoka's time both vīṇṇadh and vīṇṇa apparently meant 'a civil day spent in travelling, an absence of twenty-four hours from headquarters'.
3 The actual purport of this important passage was cleared up by Thomas (JA 10), 15. 520, who discovered in it the word ētā, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of his predecessors for thirty-three years. He pointed out, at the same time, that panna is a recognized Prākrit form of pañcaśat, and that expressions like de śhatapaniśate rātri-katu are used in archaic Sanskrit as well. Cf. ekāśi ratiśe vippavasati, 'to spend a night away from home', in Childers' Pāli Dictionary, p. 581.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSRIPTION

1 (A) मियदसि लाजा मागवे संघ ऋषिवदेतून ज्ञाहा ऋषायापि र्ष फ्युज़- 

2 (B) बिद्विते ने भीते ज्ञावके हृमा वुप्सि धमसि संपस्ती ति गालवे च प्रसादे च 

3 भगवा बुषेन भासिते सर्वे से सुभासिते वा (B) ए चु शो भीते ह्रमियारे दिसेया 

4 चित्तिरिक्ष हीती ति अलहासि हस्ति त वालवे (B) इसमानि भीते धम- 

5 ज्ञालियवसाौध ज्ञानाधुरानि भुरिगाथा मोनेयनसूते उपतिससिने ए चा 

6 वादे सुसावादे अतिविषय भगवा बुषेन भासिते एतानि भीते धमपलितायानि 

7 बिन्ते चहुँके भिलिकृये चा भिलिकृये चा बिलिकृयन चुसेनुः चा उपाधिपूयः चा 

8 (B) हेवंत्रेश उपासिका चा उपासिका चा (G) एतानि भीते इसम लिखायानि 


2 (B) vidite v[e] bharante āvatake h[a]ma Budhāsi dharmmasi sārṅghasi ti gālave cha prastāde cha (O) e kečhi bharante

1 haka Bühler. 4 the syllable mi was entered above the line.
2 sa[r].čhe Bühler. 5 dipasi Bühler.
3 a[v]. Bühler. 6 cha Bühler.
7 Māgadhāni Senart; but the c of dhi is quite distinct, and what has been taken for an
8 abhivādanāni Senart; but see JRAS, 1909, 727,
9 gālava Senart. 10 pasāte Senart.
11 kečchi Senart.
3 bhagavata Budhe[na] bhāsīte sarve⁵ se subhāsīte vā (D) e chu kho bhārnte
hamiyāye diseyā hevaṁ sadhaṁme
4 chill[a-thi]uke hosatū tī alahāmi hakaṁ ta[m] v[a]kave⁶ (E) imāni bhārntec chaṁha-
paliyāyāni Vinaya-samukase
5 Āliya-vasānī⁷ Anāgata-bhayāni Muni-gāthā Moneya-sūte Upatisa-pasine e cha
Lāghulo-
6 vāde musa-vādaṁ adhigichya⁸ bhagavatā Budhena bhāsīte etāni⁹ bhārnte
dhanma-paliyāyāni ichhāmi
7 kiṁti bahuke bhikh-[p]āye cha bhikkhuniye⁶ ch[ā] bhikkhinaṁ sun[e]yu⁷ cha
upadhā[na]yeyū⁸ cha
8 (F) hevamneva upāsakā cha upāsikā cha (G) eteni⁹ bhārnte imaṁ likha[pa]yāmi
abhipretam¹⁰ me jánaṁtū¹¹ ti

TRANSLATION

(A) The Māgadha king Priyadarśin,¹² having saluted the Saṅgha,¹³ hopes they
are both well and comfortable.¹⁴
(B) It is known to you, Sirs, how great is my reverence and faith in the Buddha,
the Dharma,¹⁵ (and) the Saṅgha.¹⁶
(C) Whatsoever, Sirs, has been spoken by the blessed Buddha, all that is quite
well spoken.
(D) But, Sirs, what would indeed appear to me¹⁷ (to be referred to by the words
of the scripture) ; 'thus the true Dharma will be of long duration',¹⁸ that I feel bound
to declare.
(E) The following expositions of the Dharma, Sirs, (viz.) (1) the Vinaya-samukasa,
(2) the Aliya-vasas,¹⁹ (3) the Anāgata-bhayas, (4) the Muni-gāthās, (5) the Moneya-vāla,

¹ save Senart.
² vatave Senart.
³ -vasānī Senart.
⁴ This word is quite distinct, and the reading adhigichya proposed by Michelson (IF, 27. 194 f.)
is impossible.
⁵ etāna Senart.
⁶ bhakkuniye Senart.
⁷ sunayu Senart.
⁸ Read etenū.
⁹ abhiketaṁ Senart; but the horizontal stroke attached to pa is probably intended for r. Cf.
opakaranamati in the Girnar edict XII. 1. 3.
¹⁰ ma jánaṁtū Senart.
¹¹ Cf. e.g. rājā Māgadho Seniya Bimbisāro in the Vinaya-piṭaka (passim); rājā Māgadho
Ajātasaṭṭu at the beginning of the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta (JRAS, 1875. 49); and rājā Pasenagi,
¹² i.e. the Buddhist clergy.
¹³ Literally : 'pronounces both (their) being in good health and (their) being (in the enjoyment)
of pleasant life'. Cf. at the beginning of the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta: appābhāduḥ appābhakam
lakṣaṇāhānaṁ balanā phāṇa-cihārāṁ pucchhā; and see Neumann's translations of the Majjhima-
nikāya (2. 617, note) and Dīgha-nikāya (2. 216, n. 3).
¹⁴ i.e. the Buddhist doctrine.
¹⁵ These are the so-called 'three jewels'; see Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s. v. raṭanam.
¹⁶ Kern (IA, 5. 257) explained disya as the optative of the Pāli dissati = Skt. dṛṣṭatyāt; cf.
JRAS, 1900. 728.
¹⁷ As suggested by the late Professor Hardy (JRAS, 1901. 314), these words seem to contain a
quotation from the Buddhist scriptures.
¹⁸ vasa is a defective spelling for vaṣa; see IA, 41. 39.
(6) the Upanisa-pasina, and (7) the Łaghu-lovada which was spoken by the blessed Buddha concerning falsehood,¹— I desire, Sirs, that many groups of monks and (many) nuns may repeatedly listen to these expositions of the Dharma, and may reflect (on them).

(F) In the same way both laymen and laywomen (should act).

(G) For the following (purpose), Sirs, am I causing this to be written, (viz.) in order that they may know my intention.

V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSRIPTION

1 (A) देवानामित्य ग्रेसंकस ब्रह्मी-  
2 "मिवतमणि श्री सुमी बुधपक्षे (C) तिरि-  
3 "मिवणं उपगते उर " मिव उपगते (D) पुरे नहु-  
4 "मि श्रीम्भर से ब्रह्मिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि भिनिमुन्ता (E) इस अंते बुद्ध-  
5 कैल पि धम्मुपक्षे सके अन्तिपति (F) न हेवं दशिनितहि उदाखा-  
6 इसे ब्रह्मिसा विन्य पि धम्मुपक्षे ब्रह्मिसा विन्य च ब्रह्माके च वदानि-  
7 विन्य पि धम्मुपक्षे सके अन्तिपति (E) इसे ब्रह्मिसा विन्य पि धम्मुपक्षे ब्रह्मिसा विन्य च ब्रह्माके च वदानि-  
8 सिन च दशिणमि हेवं ति निदितियाँ हेवं ति

1 (A) Devāna[ma]na[ma]piyaš Asoka[sa] ... .2 [a]dh[a]t[i]-
2 .ni 3 vashā[ni] an[i] sum[i] B[ha][Sa]-Sa[ke] 3 (C) ... [t]re ...  
3 ... [m] 4 [s]aṅgha[ṛ] u[p]alga[t]e [uṭh] ... m[i] [p]alga[t]e (D) pure Jambu-  
4 ... s[i] ye amisa deva huṣa] te [da]ni misibhuta (E) iya a[the khu]da-

¹ For identifications of these texts see Oldenberg, Vinaya-pitaka, Introduction, p. xli, n. 1; Sylvain Lévi, JA (9), 7. 475 ff.; Neumann, VOF, 11. 159 ff.; Rhys Davids, JRAS, 1898. 639 ff.; Oldenberg, ZDMG, 53. 634 ff.; Bloch, id., 63. 325 ff. As the late lamented Mr. V. A. Smith kindly informed me, No. 1, Vinaya-samhāka, is identified by A. J. Edmunds (Buddhist Bibliography, San Francisco, 1904) with Buddha's First Sermon. According to Dharmamandala Kosambi (IA, 41. 40), Nos. 2 and 3 occur in the Aṅguttara-nikāya, Nos. 4-6 in the Sutta-nipāta, and No. 7 in the Majjhima-nikāya.

² Senart fills up this break by vachanena adhikāni. As the instrumental vachanena would require a verb, for which there is no room on the stone, I suggest reading sāvane (or sāvāne) (B) adhikāni.

³ Restore adhātiyāni.


⁵ būdh[ā]pālaka K.S. The point after būḍa does resemble an Anuvāra, but it stands on a higher level than the other Anuvāras of this inscription. Besides, an Anuvāra would make no sense here. Krishna Sastri remarks that the letter āḍa appears to have been corrected from some other, and Senart (JA (11), 7. 428) suggests that the writer may have wavered between upāsake and Buddha-pāla. I agree with him in believing that the writer originally wanted to write upāsake, which is the reading of Sahasrā, Bairāta, and Siddāpura. On second thoughts he changed upā to Buddha and added Sa[ke] which corresponds to [Sa]ke] at Rūpānāth. The abnormal shape of the dha of Buddha is due to its having been corrected from pā.

⁶ Restore sātīreke an[i] sumi and, before these three words, perhaps saivvaśhā.

⁷ Restore perhaps utāhañca cha sa ṣva upagate, which would convey the same meaning as the corresponding passage at Brahmagiri: bādhana cha me pakhane. Krishna Sastri and Senart restore bāḍhaṁ cha [ṣva] upagate.

⁸ Restore ṇūndāpūṣa. Of the four first words faint traces are visible.
VI. THE BRAHMAGIRI ROCK-INSRIPTION

1. सुनमुखिगिरिति अयःपूतस महामातापृः च वचनेन इतिलसि महामाता आरोगियं वतविया हे व वतविया (B) देवांशिपिये आश्पायति

2. (C) अनिभारिति श्वासतियानि चकानि य हुँस के (D) नो तु नौ वारं प्रकोप हुसं एक स्वादर (E) सातिरिके तु ली संवदर

3. च मया संचे उपद्यै वारं च मे पक्ते (F) दिमाना चु कालेन आर्मिसा समाना मुनिसा संधुसिपसि

4. दिमाना देवेहि (G) अक्षम हि इयं फले (II) नो हीयं सक्रे महायातेव पायोत्वे कारं तु नौ बलेके पि

5. पक्ते ** भेच विपुले सक्रे सक्रे आराधेत्वे (I) एतायात्त म्यं साते सावाति

6. ** ** ** महात्या च इयं पक्तेयु ति भ्रंता च मे जानेयु विरितिता के च इयं

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1. h[i] K. S.
2. [the ti] K. S.
3. Restore perhaps se ati the chira-ghotke.
4. diya[h]iya h[esati] K. S.
6. Instead of this, the other versions of the short edicts read 'if he is zealous'. This correspondence is valuable, because it confirms indirectly the meanings which I have assigned to pra-kram or para-kram and to dharma-yukta; cf. above, p. 167, n. 20, and p. 124, n. 6.
7. For the nominative singular absolute kalātātan see above, p. 35, n. 9. Its subject, ve (= Skt. vah), is originally an oblique case of the plural.
7 पञ्च ० ० ० ० (3) इत्य च छोटे बहिसिति बिपुलं पिष्क च बहिसिति श्रवणिया
दिविकयिं
8 बहिसिति (K) इत्य च सात्वने सावापिते वृणेन (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) से हेवं
देवादापिे
9 जीह (N) मातापितिस्व सुधितादत्वयेण हेमेव गामुष्म प्रायेशु दृष्टिततया सावरं
वदविण्य से हेमे धम्मुग्रां पवतितिति (O) हेमेव चलवासिनि
10 जारीशे आप्चारिततवये गाणिकेन च के य ' ' रहू पवतितितिे
11 (F) यसा पीराशा पख्ती दीशासु च रस (G) हेवं एस कटिविये
12 (B) चापेन लिलिमे लिपिकेिें

1 (A) [Ś]v[ar]a[ḥ]nagiritte ayaputasa mahāmātāṃ sa vacha[ṇa] Isilasi
mahāmātā ārogyam vutvaivya hevaṃ cha vataivya (B) Devāñampaio
ānapayati
2 (C) adhikānī aḍāhitāyāni v[a]jānī ya hakaṃ ... sa[ke] (D) no tu ko
bādhmaḥ prakānte1 husām ekāma savakkharan (E) sātireke tu ko
saṅvachharem
3 yaḥ maṇaḥ sanāghe upayīte bādhmaḥ cha me pakānte (F) iminā cha kālena amisa
samāna munisa Jāmbudipasi
4 mi[ṣa] devehi (G) pakamas a hi iyaṁ pha[č] (H) no hiyaṁ sakya mahātpeneva
pāpotave kāmanī tu ko khudakena pi
5 pakā[m]ī ... nena4 vipule svage sakya arādhētave (I) c[ī]yāṭhāya iyaṁ sāvane
sāvapite
6 ... ... ... ... ... mahā[p]a cha imaiḥ pakame[yu t′j] aṁtā cha mai7 jāneya chu-
thitike cha iyaṁ
7 [pakā] ... ... ... (3) iyaṁ cha aṭhe vadhvisi vipulāṇi pi cha vadhvisi avaradhīya
diyadhiyam
8 [vadhi]ṣīti (K) iyaṁ cha savaṇ[e] sav[ā]pi[e] vȳuthena (L) 200 50 8 (M) se hevaṁ
Devāñampaio
9 aha (N) maṭa-pitṣus susū[ṣ]i[taviye hemeva garu[su]9 prānesu dhrayitavyam
sachān
10 vataivyaṁ se ime dharmma-guṇa pavaṭitavya (O) hemeva antevāsānā
11 āchariye apachāḥyātītavye nātikese cha [ka]m10 ya ... rahām11 pavaṭitavye

1 This word looks almost like Suveṣṇya8, but the Śiddāpura version reads Suvaṇguṇa8
distinctly.
2 Restore upāsake, as at Śiddāpura.
3 pakānte Bühler.
4 Read savāvachhari; sa[ṇ]vāvachhari[ṇa] Bührler.
5 pakā[m]īna[ṇa] Bührler; read pakāmamāṇa and cf. the Sahasram edict, l. 3 f.
6 The Śiddāpura version reads yathā khv[dakā cha].
7 Read me.
8 The Śiddāpura version reads pakame ṛoti (koti at Sahasram).
9 garu[ṇa] Bührler.
10 ṛ[ṇa] Bührler; see above, p. 31, n. 6.
11 Restore yathārahaṁ and cf. the Śiddāpura version, l. 20, and the Jaṭāṅga-Rāmśvara
version, l. 18.
BRAHMAGIRI ROCK-INSRIPTION

12 (P) esā porāṇa pa[k]iti dīghanāvuse cha esa (Q) hevain esa kāṭviye

13 (R) Chapadene likhite l[p]karenā

TRANSLATION

(A) From Suvarṇagiri, the word of the prince (āryaputra) and of the Mahāmātras, the Mahāmātras at Isila must be wished good health and be told this:

(B) Dēvānāinpriya commands (as follows).

(C) More than two and a half years (have passed) since I (am) a lay-worshipper (upāsaka).

(D) But indeed I had not been very zealous for one year.

(E) But indeed a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited the Saṅgha and I have been very zealous.

(F) But men in Jambudvīpa, being during that time unmixed, are now mingled with the gods.

(G) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(H) For this cannot be reached by (a person) of high rank alone, but indeed even a lowly (person) can at liberty attain the great heaven if he is zealous.

(I) For the following purpose has this proclamation been issued, [that both the lowly] and those of high rank may be zealous in this manner, and (that even) my borderers may know (it), and (that) this zeal may be of long duration.

(J) And this matter will be made by me to progress, and will be made (to) progress even considerably; it will be (made to) progress to at least one and a half.

(K) And this proclamation was issued by me on tour.

1 dīghanāvuse Bühler.
2 Read kāṭviye.
3 l[p]karenā Bühler.
4 This word is written in Khārōṣṭhī characters.
5 This place seems to have been the capital of the province administered by the Āryaputra and his Mahāmātras. Bühler (EI, 3. 137) compared the second separate edict at Dhauli, according to which a Kumāra and his Mahāmātras resided at Tōsali. The separate edicts of Dhauli and Jaugra were addressed by the king to the local authorities themselves, while in the Mysore edicts the king commands the authorities of the Suvarṇagiri province to communicate his orders to their subordinates at Isila. In Fleet’s opinion the Mysore edicts were issued from Suvarṇagiri by Asūka himself; and he identified this place with one of the hills, still known as Sōnagiri, near Rājagraha in Bihār; see JRAS, 1909, 998. H. Krishna Sastri connects Suvarṇagiri, i.e. ‘the gold mountain’, with the country around Maski, which abounds in ancient gold-workings; see his remarks on the Maski edict, p. 1. Perhaps it may be identified with its synonym Kanakagiri, south of Maski and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara; see Constable’s Hand-Atlas of India, plate 34, C, b.
6 Bühler (VOJ, 12. 75 f) traced the word āryaputta, ‘a prince’, in the Jātaka, vol. VI, p. 146 f.
7 Cf. the preambles of the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription.
8 The word suni is added in the Rūpāṇāth, Sahasrāṃ, and Maski edicts.
9 The words for one year are missing at Rūpāṇāth and Sahasrāṃ. As Senart (JA (8), 19. 481 f) has shown, they are of great importance for the chronology of the Asūka inscriptions, because they imply that the period of more than two and a half years, for which, at the time of the Sahasrāṃ, Bairāṭ, and Siddāpura edicts, Asūka had been an upāsaka (or Śākya, as the Rūpāṇāth and Maski edicts read), must be subdivided into two shorter periods, viz. (1) one year (with, no doubt, a little more) during which he had not been very zealous, and (2) a year with the balance of the whole period, during which he displayed great zeal, and which commenced from his visit to the Saṅgha. Cf. chapter IV of the Introduction.
10 For the meaning of this section see above, p. 168, n. 3.
(L) 256 (nights had then been spent on tour).  
(M) Moreover, Devânâmpriya speaks thus.  
(N) Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues must be practised.  
(O) In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives.  
(P) This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life.  
(Q) Thus one must act.  
(R) Written by Capića the writer.

VII. THE SIDDAPURA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

1. (A) सुविचारिणी श्रवयुक्त महामाता-  
2. यच चतुरस्त्र इतिहास महामाता  
3. चारोगियं वतविया (B) देवानंपिरये हे  
4. चाह (C) यथार्थवाद चहातिहास वसानि  
5. य हंसे उपासके (D) नो तु खो वाद पकते हुसै एवं सवह  
6. (E) सातीये तु खो सवहरे यं मयासंपे उपायति वाद  
7. च मे पकते (F) हिन्मना चु जातेन चारासा समाना मु  
8. हृद्युद (G) मिसा देवेहि हिकमस हिइं फले (H) नो हि  
9. य सके में नेव पायथवे काम सु खो शुदकेन  
10. पि य न विपुले स्वगे सके आधिपतवे  
11. (I) से यं इं सायेहि सायिते यथा मु-  
12. द्रुकः च महाया च इंसकषेपुत निः चारा च  
13. चिन्तितीके च इंस कषेप हृदि  
14. (J) विधिसिति विपुलं पि च विधिसिति च  
15. यथर्रियं विधिसिति (K) इंस च सायेः  
16. (L) २०० ५० ए (M) मां सायिते  
17. द्र्रितक्ष चच वत 'यं इंस कषेप  
18. (N) हेमेब्र चं आचरिये आपचायितवे मु  
19. (O) नम चायदासे च (P) हेमेब्रः  

"वैधिसिति च"

20. आचरिये चारं वयतितव  
21. स तथा कषेपः (B) च  
22. द्र खु
VIII. THE JATINGA-RAMESVARA ROCK-INSRIPTION

1 (A) सुवाम्नगिर्दे यस्वातमाहममाता नात्त च वतायस्वातमाहममाता
2 (B) देवमायनमाहममाता शोभामाहममाता
3 यस्वातमाहममाता वसितमाहममाता
4 यस्वातमाहममाता वसितमाहममाता
5 यस्वातमाहममाता वसितमाहममाता
6 यस्वातमाहममाता वसितमाहममाता
7 यस्वातमाहममाता वसितमाहममाता
8 यस्वातमाहममाता वसितमाहममाता
9 यस्वातमाहममाता वसितमाहममाता
10 यस्वातमाहममाता वसितमाहममाता
11 यस्वातमाहममाता वसितमाहममाता
12 (K) इ सावेणि चेन (L) 200 50 6 (M) हेमेव
मातापितसुरि सतिस्विये हेमेव न रेसु
"बिमयं संचं वतथवियं से हसे"
हेवं पवतितिविया (N) चक्षं न ते सतवस
तविय हेमेव जावरिये भ्रितवासिना
राष्ट्र पक्ती सतिविया विश्वे
चरिये च जावरियाम जातिका ते गणारं पव-
ततिविये (O) यसा पोराष्र पक्ती दीया
च (P) हेमेव च 2 च 2 च य वतितिविया (Q) हेवं धामे देवाशिप्य
वं कतिविये (R) देन तिलिंगं
पिकरे णाः

1 (A) [t]āna [cha va]
2 Isि [v]i[yya] (B) Dev[a]n[a]
3 . . . . . . ya hakaṁ
4 kho bādha (E) . ti[r]oko
5 [ya]ṁ [ya]
6 [na]
7 [hi] [i]yam
8 .
9 .
10 . . . . . . [cha] . . . . [dhi]'s
11 . . [p]ulan pi . . . . [ya]dhiyānī
12 (K) i . . . . s[avaṇe] . . . . [th]e[na] (L) 200 50 6 (M) heme]va
14 . . hy[iya][y]aṃ sachāṃ vatableyaṃ [se]'[me]
15 hevaṃ pa[va]tāvīya (N) [svaa]'hṃ na s . . t . va[s]
16 taviya 6 hema[va] achar[i]'ye aruntevasin[a]
18 . . . . . . . [a]char[i]'yaśa nāti[kā] te . . ya[tha]raha}'[m] [pava]-
19 titaviye (O) cā[po]r[a]'nā pa[kīt]i . . . . d[gh]'a . . . cha (P) he'[me]'[va] ša . . . e . . ā .
20 [cha] yā . . . . . vate[tav]iye (Q) hevaṃ [dha]mm'e 6 Devāṇāṃpiy 6
21 . . . . [va]'h kātaviye (R) . . . . dēna [likhi]'h
22 . . [pika]'reṇa 6

1 6 Bühler.
2 I am unable to make out the meaning of the opening words of this section.
3 6 Bühler.
4 anī Bühler.
5 pakhī Bühler.
6 hēvaṃ [m]e Bühler.
7 pā[pi] Bühler. Restore 'phāsya.
8 This word is written in Kharoṣṭhī characters.
IX. THE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INScriptions

FIRST CAVE-INSRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

1. लाजिना पियददिन सा दुध्वासतसाननमितुः
2. इयं जिनहकूच्वा दिना चाजितिकहि
3. [iyam Nigonta]-kubhā dibhā ajivikehi
4. lājīnā Piyadāsinā duvādāsa-[vasābhīsitē]

By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this Danyak-cave was given to the Ājivikas.

SECOND CAVE-INSRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

1. लाजिना पियददिन सा दुध्वासतसाननमितुः
2. इयं जिनहकूच्वा दिना चाजितिकहि
3. कुना खल्लित्रुप्रतसिन्दा
4. दिना चाजितिकहि
5. lājīnā Piyadāsinā duvā-
6. dasa-vasābhīsitē iyaṁ
7. kubhā Khalatika-pavatasi
8. dinā [ajivi]kehi

By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this cave in the Khalatika mountain was given to the Ājivikas.

1 The bracketed letters are more or less injured. Evidently an attempt has been made to efface them.
2 This seems to have been the name of the cave. Cf. the other names of caves at the beginning of the three cave-inscriptions of Daśāratha (IA, 20. 364f.).
3 The Ājivika sect was founded by Gōśāla, a contemporary of both Gautama and Mahāvīra. Kern, with whom Bühler sided, considered the Ājivikas to have been a Vaishṇava sect; see IA, 20. 361f. This view was combated by D. R. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS, 21. 399 ff., and IA, 41. 90, 286 ff. Cf. Neumann’s translation of the Digha-nikāya, 2. 248, n. 139, and Charpentier in JERAS, 1913, 669 ff. For full information see the late Dr. Hoernle’s learned article ‘Ājivikas’ in Hastings’ Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
4 The bracketed letters are effaced; cf. above, n. 1. In the first of the three Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions of Daśāratha also an attempt has been made to chisel away the word ajivi kehi; see the plate in IA, 20. 365 D.
THIRD CAVE-INSRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

1 lāja Piyadasi ekunavi-
2 sati-vasā[bh]is[t]e ja[lagh]o-
3 [sāgama]bhāta [me] i[yan kubha]
4 su[p][y]e Kha ............₁ [di]-
5 nā ²

TRANSLATION

When King Priyadarsin had been anointed nineteen years, this cave in the very pleasant Kha[latika mountain] was given by me ³ for (shelter during) the rainy season.⁴

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₁ Restore Khalatika-pavataśi in accordance with the second inscription on p. 181, above.
₂ The end of the inscription is marked by a svastika and a dagger, and by a fish below them.
₃ This pronoun may refer to an unnamed donor or, with a clumsy change in the construction, to the king himself. In either case the words lāja to ²sita are nominatives absolute.
₄ Literally: 'for the sake (abhaśa = Skt.arthakaḥ in the sense of arthāya?) of the approach of the roar of waters'. Cf. vāsha-nishīdiyāre, 'for a dwelling during the rainy season', in the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20. 304 f., and EI, 2. 274).
APPENDIX:
SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

I. THE FOURTEEN ROCK-EDICTS

FIRST ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A) iy[ən] dhāṃma-lipi Devāṇaṃpriyena
Kal. (A) iy[ən] dhāṃma-lipi Devāṇaṃpriyenā
Shāh. (A) [iya] dhrama-dipi Devanapirasa
Mān. (A) ayī dhra[ma]-dip[i] Devāṇaṃ[prīya]ṇa
Dhau. (A) . . . . . . . . . . [si pava]tasi [D]e[y]a[na]mp[y]
Jau. (A) iyāṃ dhāṃma-lipi Khepi[n]galasi pavatasi Devāṇaṃpiyena

Gir. Priyadasinā rāṇā lekh[a]pita (B) [r]dha na kimchi jīvaṁ arabhitpā
Kal. Priyadas[i]nā [lekhita] (B) [k]lidā no kichhi jīve ālabhitu
Shāh. raṇo likhapita (B) hida no kich[i] jīve ara[bhītu]
Dhau. . . . . . . . . . [nā lājinā] [kāhā] . . . . . . . . [j]ivaṁ ālabhitu
Jau. Priyadasinā lājinā likhapita (B) hida no kichhi jīvaṁ ālabhit[ti]

Gir. praṭīhitavyaṁ (C) na cha samājo katavya (D) bahukhaṁ hi dosaṁ
Kal. pajoḥitaviye (C) no pi ch[ā] samāje kaṭaviye (D) bahuk[ā] hi dosā
Shāh. [p]rayuhotave (C) no pi ch[a] samaj[a] kaṭava (D) bahuka[kα] hi dosha
Mān. pajoḥitaviye (C) no pi cha samaj[e] kaṭaviye (D) bahu[ka] hi [dosha]
Dhau. pajo[h] . . . . (C) [no pi cha samaj[e]c] . .
Jau. pajoḥitaviye (C) no pi cha samāje kaṭaviye (D) bahukaṁ hi dosaṁ

Gir. samajamhi pasati Devāṇaṃpriyio Priyadasi rājā (E) asti
Kal. samājasā Devaṇ[aṃ]priye Pi[ya]dasi lājā dakhati (E) athi
Shāh. sa[maya]spi Devaṇapriye[c] Priadraśī ray[a] da[k]hāti (E) [a]sti
Jau. samajasa drakhai Devaṇaṃpiyasa Piyadasi lājā (E) athi

Gir. pi tu ekachā samajā śādhu-matā Devaṇaṃpriyasa
Kal. pi ch[ā] e[k]atitiyā samajā śādh[u]-matā Devaṇaṃpiyasa
Shāh. pi chu ekatia samaye sa[du]-matā Devanapirasa
Mān. [pi chu eka]titiyā samajā Devanapirasa
Dhau. [pi chu] . . . [t]yā [samaj[a]s] adva[dhu]-matā Dev...
Jau. pi chu ekatiyā samajā śādhu-matā Devaṇaṃpiyasa
| Gir. | Priyadasino | ṛaño | (F) purā | mahānasam[amhi] | Devānāṃpriyasa |
| Kāl. | Piyadasis[ā] | lājine | (F) [p]ule | mahānassasi | Devānāṃpiyasyā |
| Dhaus. | Piyadasine | lāj[i]ine | (F) | | | |
| Jau. | Piyadrasine | lājine | (F) puluvaḥ | maha[n]asi | Devanāṃpiyasa |

| Gir. | Priya[a]dasino | ṛaño | anuvāsāṁ | bahuni | prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni |
| Kāl. | Piyadasisā | lājīn[e] | anuvāsāṁ | bahuni | pāta-sahasāni |
| Shāh. | Priadraśisa | ṛaño | anuvāsdo | bahuni | prāṇa-sata-sahasani |
| Dhaus. | Piy[a] | .. | .. | .. | .. |

| Gir. | arabhīsū | stūpāṭhāya | (G) se aja | yadā | ayaṁ | dha[r]ma-līpi[1] |
| Kāl. | alabhīhīsu | sūpāṭhāy[e] | (G) se iḍāni | ya[ḍā] | iyāṁ | dhaṁma-līpi |
| Shāh. | [arabhījīs]u | sūpāṭhāy[e] | (G) s[ō] iḍāni | yada | aya | dhrama-dīpi |
| Mān. | [arabhīj]su | sūp[a]ṭh[ā]ye | (G) s[e] | [da] | ayi | dhrama-dīpi |
| Dhaus. | [ā]labhīhīsu | sūpāṭhāy[e] | (G) se a[j]a | adā | iyāṁ | dha[r]ma[m]a-līpi |
| Jau. | alabhīhīsu | sūp[a]ṭh[ā] ye | (G) se a[j]a | adā | iyāṁ | dha[m]ma-līpi |

| Gir. | likhitā | ti eva | prāṇā | arabhāre | sūpāṭhāya | dvo |
| Kāl. | lekhītā tada | tiṁni | yeva | pānāni | alabhī[ṛ]hīti | duve |
| Shāh. | likhitā tada | trayo | vo | prāṇa | haṁhaṁhit[ī] | majūra |
| Dhaus. | likhitā | tim | | | | |
| Jau. | likhitā | tiṁni | yeva | pānāni | alabhī[bhi]yānti | duve |

| Gir. | morā | eko | mago | so pi | mago | na | dhrūvo |
| Kāl. | majūḷ[a] | eke | mige | se pi | [c]hu | mige | no | dhrūve |
| Shāh. | dūr[ī] | 2 | mṛu[go] | so pi | mṛu[go] | no | dhrūva[r] |
| Mān. | majura | [e]k[e] | m[r][j][ē] | s[e] | [c]h[i] | mrig[e] | no | dhrūva[r] |
| Dhaus. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Jau. | majulā | eke | mige | se pi | [c]hu | mige | no | dhrūva[m] |

| Gir. | (H) ete pi | tri | prāṇā | pachhā | na | arabhīsare |
| Shāh. | (H) eta pi | prāṇa | trayo | pachh | na | arabhīsaṁti |
| Mān. | (H) et[a]ni pi | chu | tini | prāṇāni | pachh | no | ara[bhi] |
| Dhaus. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Jau. | (H) etāni pi | chu | tiṁni | pānāni | pachh | no | alabhī[y]īsa[r]nti |

**SECOND ROCK-EDICT**

| Gir. | (A) sarvata | vijitamhi | Devānāṃpriyasa |
| Kāl. | (A) sav[a]tā | vijītasi | Devānāṃpiyasya[a] |
| Shāh. | (A) sav[r]atra | vijīte | [De]va[naḥ]priyasya |
| Mān. | (A) sa[va]tra | vijītasi | Devanāṃpiyasa |
| Dhaus. | (A) [sa]vata | vij[i]tasi | [De]va[naḥ]nāṃpiyasya |
| Jau. | (A) savata | vijītasi | Devanāṃpiyasa |

| Gir. | Piyadasino | rāño |
| Kāl. | Piyadasis[ā] | lājine |
| Shāh. | Priyadrasisā | lājine |
| Mān. | Priyadrāśīsa | rajine |
| Dhaus. | Piyadāsine | lājine |
SECOND ROCK-EDICT

Gir. evamapi pracharntesu yathā Choḍā Pāḍā Satiyaputo
Kāl. ye cha aṁti [a]ṁ Choḍā Paṁdiyā Satiyaputo
Shāh. y[c] cha [a]ṁhta yathā [Choḍā] Paṁdiyā Satiyaputo
Mān. ye cha ata atha [Choḍa] Paṁdiyā Sa[t]ya[p][u][tra]
Dhaun. e vā pi aṁti atha Choḍā Paṁdiyā Satiyaputo
Jau. ....

Gir. Ketalaputo ā TAMBAPAMANI Antarīyako Yona-raja ye vā pi
Shāh. Keraṭapuro TAMBAPAMANI Antarīyo[k]o nama Yona-raja ye cha amne
Mān. Keralaputra [TAMBAPAMI Antarīyoge nama Yona-raja] ye cha [a]...
Dhaun. .... [k]yoke nāma Yo[n]-lājā [e] vā [p]jī
ejau. .... i Antarīyoge nāma Yona-lājā [e] vā pi

Gir. tasa Antarīy[a]kas[a] sāṁi[p][a]n rājāno sarvatra Devānampriyasa
Kāl. taśā Antarīyogasā sā[m]āṁtā lā[j]ano [sa]vratā Devānamprīyasa
Shāh. tasa Antarīyokasa sāṁantā rājano sarvatra Devānamprīyasa
Mān. ...[gas]a samata ra[jane sa]vratra .... priyasa
Jau. tasa Antarīyokasa sāṁantā lājane savata Devānamprīyena

Gir. Priyadasino raṇo dve chikīchha katā manusā-chikīchha cha
Kāl. Priyadasiśa lajīne duve chikīsaka kaṭa manusā-chikīsā cha
Shāh. Priyadrāśisa raṇo du[v]i 2 chikī[sa] [kr][ja] manusā-chikīsā ..
Dhaun. P[i]yadasinā .... [a]jā cha
Jau. Priyadasinā laji .... [ch]ikīsā cha

Gir. pasu-chikīchhā cha (B) osudhānī cha yāni m[a]nusopagān[i] cha
Kāl. pasu-chikīsā cha (B) osadhān[i] manusopagānī cha
Shāh. pasu-chikīsā cha (B) osadhān[i] manusopakāni cha
Mān. ... pa ... kani cha atra atra nasti savatra ... ka[ni cha]
Dhaun. pasu-opagan[i] cha atata ... dhāni anjī m[u]nisopagānī
ejau. pasu-chikīsā cha (B) osadhānī anī munisopagānī

Gir. paso[p][a]gāni cha yata yata nāstī savatra hārapitānī cha
Kāl. pasopagānī cha [a][t]ā [n][a][th][i] savatā [h]ālapita cha
Shāh. pasopakānī cha yat[r]a yatra nāstī savatra harapita cha
Mān. pa ...[k]ani cha atra atra nasti savatra [h]ārapita cha
Dhaun. pasu-opagan[i] cha atata na[th]i savata [h]ālapita[a] cha
Jau. pasu-opagānī cha atata nathī savat[ta] ..

Gir. ropāpitānī cha (C) mulāni cha phalāni cha yata yatra
Kāl. lo[pa]pita[a] cha (C) [e]vamevā mulāni cha phalāni cha a[ta][a]
Shāh. vuta cha
Mān. ropapita cha (C) [va]meva mulani [cha] phalani [cha] a[tra a]tra
Dhaun. lo[pa]pita[a] cha (C) [m]ū[li] ..
ejau. .. .. ch ā tata

b b
SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

Gir. nāsti sarvata hārāpītāni cha rop[a]pitāni cha (D) pariṇthesū kūpā
Kāl. nathi savatā hālāp[ī]tā cha lopāpitā [ch]ā (D) ma[g]e[s]u [lu]khāni
Shāh. Mān. (na)ṣti [savr]a harapita cha rop[pa]pita cha (D) ma[geshu] ruchhāni
Dhau. ........ v[a][a] hālāpita [cha] lop[p]pitā cha (D) ma[g]e[su udu]pānāni
Jāu. nathi s[ai]vatra hālāpita cha lopāpītā cha (D) magesu udupānāni

Gir. cha khānāpītā vrachā cha ropāpi[c]a pariḥbhogaḥ pasu-muṇasānaṁ
Kāl. lopītāni ud[ā]pānā[n]i cha khānāpītāni paṭibhogāye pasu-munis[a]naṁ
Shāh. (C) kupa cha khānāpīta pratiḥbh[c]ayā pasu-muṇasānaṁ
Dhau. khānāpītāni luhāni cha lopā[p]i[ta]ni p[a]ṭibhogāye ....... [na]m
Jāu. khānāpītāni luhāni cha .......

THIRD ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A) Devānaṁpiyo Piyadasi r[a]ja evaṁ aha (B) dbādasā-
Kāl. (A) De[v]aṁpiye Piyadasi lāja h[e]vaṁ aha (B) du[v]ādasā-
Shāh. (A) Devānaṁpiyo Priyadraśi raja aha[ti] (B) bādaya-
Mān. (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja eva a[ha] (B) du[va]ṁ[a]a-
Dhau. (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevarī aha (B) duādasa-
Jāu. (A) Dev[a]ṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevarī aha (B) duādasa-

Gir. vāsamḥisitaena mayā idaṁ a[ha]pi[ta]ni (C) sarvata vijīte mama
Kāl. v[a]sambhispitena me iyam ānapayite (C) savatā vijītasi [mama]
Shāh. vashabh[is]tena ... ... ... [a]napi[ta]ni (C) savatra ma[a] vijite
Mān. vashabhisitena me iyam [ānapayit]e (C) savrah[ra] vijītasi ...
Dhau. vashabhisitena me iy[a]ṁ ānapay[ay]i ... ... ... [ta v]ej[ai]s[is] m[e]
Jāu. vashabhisitena me iy[a]ṁ ...

Gir. yutā cha rājūke cha pradesike cha pariḥchasu pariḥchasu vāsesu
Shāh. yuta rājuko pradesī[ka] pariḥchasu 5 vāsheshu
Mān. ... ta [r]a[j]u ... pradesī[ke] [par]in[cha]s hara pariḥcchasu 5 vāshesh[u]
Dhau. yut[a] la[j]a[k]e ... pariḥchasu vāsesu
Jāu. cha pāde[s]ike cha pariḥchasu pariḥchasu vāsesu

Gir. anusāry[a]na[m] nīyātu etāyevā athāya imāya dharmamūnasastiya
Kāl. [a]nusā[m]yāna[m] nikham[an]tu etāye va a[th]āya imāya dharmamūnasastīya
Shāh. anusārṇyananāṃ nik[r]amatu etisa vo karaṇa imisa dharmamūnasastiye
Mān. anusā[r]yanan[ā]ṃ nikramatam etaye va athraye imaye dhramanuṣastiye
Dhau. anusayāna[m] nikhamāvā
Jāu. anusayāna[m] nikhamāvā

Gir. yathā aṅāya pi kāṁmāya[a]
Kāl. yathā aṅ[n]āye pi kāṁmāyē
Shāh. [tha] aṅāye pi kāṁmāyē
Mān. ya[tha] aṅāye pi krama[ne]
Jāu. athā aṅnāye pi kāṁma[n]e
THIRD ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (D) [s]ādhu mātari cha pitari cha susrūṣa mitra-sanistuta-nātiṃnaḥ
Kāl. (D) sādhu māt-pītus kususā mitra-sanistu-thā-nātiṃnaḥ[āṇ] chā
Shāh. (D) sādhu mata-pitushu susrūsha mitra-sanist[u]tā-ṇaṃ kususā mitra-sanistu-thā-nātiṃnaḥ cha

Gir. bāmhaṇa-saṃpanānī sādhu[du] ājānāni prājanānī sādhu anārambhō
Kāl. bāmhaṇa-saṃpanānī [chā] sādhu [c[a]ne pānānī anārambhō<e>
Mān. bra[m[a]ṛa-ṣramaṇa[na]ṃ sādhu dāne praṇana [anara]bhe
Dhau. bāmhaṇa-saṃpanēḥ sādhu dāne jivesu anālambe
Jau. bāmhaṇa-saṃpanēḥ sādhu dāne jivesu [a]nālambe

Gir. apa-vayyata apa-bhādatā sādhu (E) pariṣa pi yute
Kāl. sādhu [a]pa-v[a]jyata [a]pa-bhādatā sādhu (E) pariṣa pi cha yutāni
Shāh. sādhu apa-vayyata apa-bhādatā sādhu (E) pari [pi] yutani
Mān. sādhu apa-[v]a[jyata apa-bhā[du]tā sādhu (E) pariṣa pi cha yutani
Dhau. sādhu apa-v[i]jyata apa-bhā[du]tā sādhu (E) pariṣa pi cha [nas]i
Jau. sādhu

Gir. aṇapayisati gaṇanāyain hetuto cha viyājanato cha
Kāl. [ga]nānasi anap[a]yisānti hetuvata cha viyājanat[e] cha
Shāh. [ga]nānasi anapesaṃnti hetuto cha varnājanato cha
Jau. [y]i hetute cha viyājanate cha

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A) atikātariṇ [a]n[a]la [r]aḥ bhūṇī vāsa-satāni vaḍhito eva
Shāh. (A) atikāntariṇ [a]n[a]la[r]aḥ bhūṇī vāsha-satāni vaḍhito vo
Mān. (A) atika[nt]a[r]iṇ bhūṇī vāsha-sa[t]aṛiṇi vaḍhite vo
Dhau. (A) atika[nt]a[r]iṇ bhūṇī vāsa-satāni vaḍhite va
Jau. (A) atika[nt]aiṇ bhūṇī vāsa-satāni vaḍhite va

Gir. prānaṇaṁbhō vihīṁsā cha bhūtānāṁ nātisu a[<s]āṃpratipati
Kāl. paṇ[a]nāmbe vihīṁsā cha bhūtānāṁ nātina asān[a]p[<t]iṇ[<a]t[<i]
Mān. prānaṇaṁbhō vihīṁsa cha bhūt[an]ā[na]ṁ nātina asānap[t]ipati
Dhau. pāṇ[a]mbe vihīṁsā cha bhūtānāṁ nātisu asānap[pt]ipati
Jau. pāṇālaṁbhē
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gir.</td>
<td>Priyadāsino raño dhaṁma-charanena [bhe]ri-ghoso aho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>Priyadāsine lājine dhaṁma-[a]-chā[an]eṇa bheli-ghose aho</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shāh.</td>
<td>Priyadrāśisa [raño] dharma-charanena bheri-ghosha aho</td>
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<td>Dhu.</td>
<td>Priyadāsine lājine dhaṁma-chalanena bheli-gosha a[h]o</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gir.</td>
<td>dhaṁma-ghoso vimāna-darsaṇa cha haṣti-dasa[na] cha agi-ka[na]mādhāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>dhaṁma-ghose vimana-dasaṇ[a] [ha]khini agi-kaṁḍha[ṇ]i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh.</td>
<td>dharma-ghosha vimana[m] draśaṇa[ṃ] joti-karaṁdhāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>dhaṁma-ghosha vimana-draśana asti[ne] agi-kaṁḍhān[i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhu.</td>
<td>dhaṁma-[g]osam vimāna-dasaṇa[ṃ] hathini [a]gī-kaṁḍhānī</td>
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<tr>
<td>Žau.</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gir.</td>
<td>cha [a]nāni cha divyāni rupāni dasayitā janaṇa (C) yārisce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>aṁnāni cha divyāṇi lupaṇi dasayitu janaṇa[s]a (C) [a]kīṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh.</td>
<td>aṇāni cha divāni rupāni draśayitu janaṇa (C) yādiśaṁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>aṇā[ṇ]i cha div[ā]ni rupāni draśetj janasa (C) [a]diśe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhu.</td>
<td>aṇāna[ṇ]i cha [di]vā[ṇ]i lupaṇ[i] dasayitu munisānaṁ (C) ad[i]sce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žau.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gir.</td>
<td>bahūhi [v]āsa-satehi na bhūta-pruve tārisa aja vaḍhīte</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shāh.</td>
<td>bahūhi vāsha-satehi na bhūta-pruva tādiśe aja vaḍhīte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhu.</td>
<td>b[a]hūhi vāsa-[tehi] no hūta-pruva tādisa aja vaḍhīte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žau.</td>
<td>bahūhi vāsha-sate ...</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gir.</td>
<td>Devanāṃpiyasa Priyadāsino raño dhaṁma-nusastiya anāraṁ[bh]jo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>Devanāṃpiyasa Priyadāsine [l]ājine dhaṁmanusastiyahe anāraṁbhē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh.</td>
<td>Devanāṃpiyasa Priyadrāśisa raño dhaṁmanusastiya anāraṁbhō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>Devanāṃpiyasa Priyadrāśīna raṇjne dhramanusastiya anārṛbhē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žau.</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>Gir.</td>
<td>prāṇānaṁ aviḥiṣa bhūtānaṁ nātīnaṁ saṁpaṭipati brahma[na]-samāṇaṁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>prāṇānaṁ aviḥiṣa bhūtānaṁ nātīnaṁ saṁpaṭipati bṛha[na-sa]-manāṇaṁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh.</td>
<td>prāṇa[na]ṁ aviḥiṣa bhūtānaṁ nātīna[ṃ] saṁpaṭipati [brane]-ṛmaṇa-śraṇaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>praṇa aviḥiṣa bhūta naḥti saṁpaṭipati bamaṇa-śraṇaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhu.</td>
<td>praṇānaṁ aviḥiṣa bhūtānaṁ nātiṣu saṁpaṭipati [sama]-na-[h]a-b[ḥ]anesu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žau.</td>
<td>praṇānaṁ aviḥiṣa bhūtānaṁ nātiṣu [saman]a</td>
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<td>Gir.</td>
<td>saṁpaṭipati māṭa pitari [sa]suraṁ thāira-susrusā (D) esa aṇe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>saṁpaṭipati māṭa-koṭi sususā (D) ese chā arīne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh.</td>
<td>saṁpaṭipati mata-pitushu vudhaṇa[m] susrusha (D) [e]ta aṇaṁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>sa[m]aṭipati mata-pitushu susru[sha] vudhrana [s]usrusha (D) ese aṇe [e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhu.</td>
<td>saṁpaṭipati m[a]ḥi-pitu-sususā vud[h]a-[s]ususā (D) esa arīne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žau.</td>
<td>(D) esa arīne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FOURTH ROCK-EDICT

Kal. cha ba[h]ividhe dhrama-chara[n]e vadh[i]te (E) va[dhayisati] cheva
Shāh. cha bahuvidhān dhrama-chara[n]e vadhita[m] (E) va[dhayisati] cha yo
Mān. cha bahuvidehe dhrama-chara[n]e vadhrite (E) va[dhayisati] yeva
Dhau. cha ba[h]ividideh dh[a]rm[a]-chara[n]e vadhite (E) va[dhayisati] cheva
Jau. cha bahuvidehe dhrama-chara[n]e vadhite (E) va[dhay]i

Gir. Devānāṁpriyo [Pirya]ya[da]si rāja dhārm[a]-chara[n]e ida[m]
Kal. Devānāṁpi[e] Priyadasi lāja ima[m] dhā[m]ma-chara[n]e
Shāh. Devanaṁpriyasha Priyadāśi rāja dhrama-chara[n]e ima[m]
Mān. Devanaṁpriye Priyadāśi rāja dhama-chara[n]e ima[m]
Dhau. Devanaṁpire Piya[a]ri l[a]jā dhārm[a]-chara[n]e ima[m]
Jau. ...

Gir. (F) putrā cha [p]otrā cha prapottā cha Devanaṁpriyasa
Kal. (F) putā cha kam natale cha panatīkyā ch[a] Devanaṁpiyasa
Shāh. (F) putra pi cha kam nataro cha pranatika cha Devanaṁpriyasa[sa]
Mān. (F) putra pi cha ka natre cha panatika Dev[va]npriyasa
Dhau. (F) puta pi chu nati [panati] cha Devanaṁpiyasa
Jau. ...

Dhau. Priyadasīnē lājē pava[dh]yisanti yeva dhārm[a]-chara[n]e

Gir. āva sa[v]a-kapā dhārmamahī silambhi tistanto [dha]rm[a]-mahī
Kal. īma[m] āva-kapa[n] dhārmama s[i]lasī cha chīthit[u] dhārm[a]
Shāh. ima[m] ava-kapā dhrame śile cha tithiti dhrama[n]
Mān. ima[m] [a]va-kapān dhrame śile cha [ch]ithitu dhram[a]
Jau. ...

Gir. anusāsīsānti (G) [c]sa hi seste kānme ya dhārmānuśaśana[n]
Kal. anusāsānti (G) ese hi sethe kān[m]a[n] aṁ dhārmānuśaśana[n]
Shāh. anusāśiśānti (G) ete hi sṛ[re]thān k[r]ama[n] an dharam[a]nuśaśana[n]
Mān. anu[s]aśāśiśānti (G) ese hi sṛ[tre]thā a[r]n dhārnānuśaśana
Dhau. [a][nu][s]aśiśāntī (G) esa hi[s]e[the] kānme ya dhārmānuśaśana
Jau. ...

Gir. (H) dhārm[a]-chara[n]e pi na [bha]vati asilasa (I) [ta] imamhi
Kal. (H) dhārm[a]-chara[n]e pi cha no hoti asilasa (I) se im[a]sa
Shāh. (H) dhrama-chara[n]e pi cha na bhoti asilasa (I) so imisa
Mān. (H) dhrama-cha[r]a[n]e pi [cha] na hoti asil[a]sa (I) se imasa
Dhau. (H) dhārm[a]-chara[n]e pi chu no hoti asilasa (I) se imasa
Jau. (H) dhārm[a]-chara[n]e pi chu no ho[i]
SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

**FIFTH ROCK-EDIT**

Gir. dukaraṁ (C) y[o adikaro] kaḷaṇ[a]sa so dukaraṁ karoti (D) ta
Kāl. dukale (C) e adikale kaḷ[a]nasā se dukalaṁ kaleti (D) se
Shāh. dukaraṁ (C) y[ō dikaro] kaḷaṇ[i]asa so duk[ā]raṁ karoti (D) so
Mān. dukaraṁ (C) e adikare ka[y]aṇasa se dukaraṁ karoti (D) taṁ
Dhau. dukale (C) k[a]n[a]s[e] dukaraṁ ka[e]ti (D) se

Gir. mayā bahu kalāṇaṁ kataṁ (E) t[a] mama putā cha potā
Kāl. mamayā bahu kayāne ka[t][e] (E) t[a] ma[m] putā cha[a] na[t][e]le
Shāh. maya bahu kalarṁ k[i]rām (E) taṁ maa putra cha nataro
Mān. maya bahu ka[jyane] ka[t][e] (E) t[a]m[a] putra [cha] natar[e]
Dhau. me b[ah]jūke kayāne kāte (E) taṁ ye me [p]ut[a] va n[a][i]

Gir. athamhi [va]khi cha ahīni cha sādhu (F) e[t]āya athāya iva[ṁ]
Kāl. [a]thasa [v[a]khi ahīni cha sādhu (F) etaye [a]thāye iyāṁ
Shāh. athrasa vadhi ahīni cha sādhu (F) etaye athaye ima[ṁ]
Mān. athrasa vadhri ahīni cha sadhu (F) etaye athraye ima[ṁ]
Dhau. athasa [v[a]khi ahīni cha] sā[ḍhū] (F) et[e]ye athaye iyāṁ

Gir. lekhāpitam imasa atha[sa] [v[a]khi yujaṁtu hīni cha[ṁ] no] lochetavyā
Shāh. nipsitaṁ imisa thasa yujaṁtu hīni cha ma lō[ch][e]sh[u]
Dhau. likhite imasa atha yujaṁtu hīni cha ma alochayisu

Gir. (K) dbāda[vasābhιsita]na Devān[a]ṁpiyena Priyadasinā raṁ[ā]
Kāl. (K) duv[ā]s[vā]-vasābhιsita Dev[a]nampiyena Dev[a]rasinā lājīna
Shāh. (K) badaya-vasābhιsita Dev[a]nampiyena Priyadasinā raṁa
Mān. (K) duv[a]-s[vā]-vasābhιsita Dev[a]nampiyena Priyadasinā raṁa
Dhau. (K) duvāda[vasā]nībhisita Dev[a]nampiyena Priyadasinē lājīne

Gir. idaṁ lekhāpitam
Kāl. lekhitā
Shāh. nanaṁ hi[da] nipesitaṁ
Mān. iy[a][ṁ] likhāpīte
Dhau. yaṁ [idha] likhite

Jau.
Gir. cha paraṁ cha tena [a] me[a]pacharī ava saṁvata-kapā
Kāl. [chā] palaṁ [chā] tehi [ye] aпatiye [m]e ava-kapān
Shāh. cha para[rī] cha [tena] ye me apacha vrakšaṁti ava-kapān
Mān. cha para cha te[na] ye apatiye me [a]va-[ka]pān
Dhau. [va] ... ri cha te[e]na ye apatiye me ava-kapān
Jau. va 'palaṁ cha te

Gir. anuvatisare tathā so sukaṁ kāṣṭi (F) yo tu eta desan
Kāl. tathā anuvatīsa[m]i ti s[e] s[u]kaṁ kachhā[m]i (F) e chu heta[sa] desan
Shāh. tatha ye an[u]vatīsānti te s[u]kīt[a]m kashānti (F) ye chu ato kaṁ
Mān. tatha anuvatīsānti se sukaṁ kash[ā]nti (F) ye [chu] atra desa
Dhau. tatha anuvatīsānti s[e] sukaṁ kachha[m]i (F) e heta [esa]n
Jau...

Gir. pi hapesati so [clu]kaṁ kāṣṭi (G) sukaraṁ hi papa[rī]
Kāl. pi hāp[a][s]at[li] s[e] duktaṁ kachhi (G) p[a]pe hi nāma supadālaye
Shāh. pi ha[p]esadī so duktaṁ kashati (G) papa[m] hi[s] sukaraṁ
Mān. pi hapesadī so duktaṁ kashati (G) pape hi nāma supadaraye
Dhau. pi hāpayisad[i] se duktaṁ kachhati (G) p[a]pe hi nāma supadālaye
Jau...

Gir. (H) atikātaṁ aṁtarāṁ na bhūta-pruvam dhāṁma-mahāmaṁśa
Kāl. (H) se atikātaṁ aṁtarāṁ no bhūta-pulūva dhāṁma[ma]-mahāmaṁśa
Shāh. (H) atikātaṁ aṁtarāṁ no bhūta-pruvam dhāṁma[ma]-mahāmaṁśa
Mān. (H) s[e] atikāta[m] se aṁtarāṁ no bhūta-pruvam dhāṁma[ma]-mahāmaṁśa
Dhau. (H) s[e] atikāta[m] se aṁtarāṁ no bhūta-pulūva dhāṁma-mahāmaṁśa
Jau. (H) se [a]...

Gir. (I) ta m[a]ya traidasa-vāśābhī[si]tena dhāṁma[m]-mahāmaṁśa
Kāl. (I) tē m[a]ya traidasa-vāśābhī[si]tena dhāṁma[m]-mahāmaṁśa
Shāh. (I) so tādaśa-vāshābhī[si]tena dhāraham-mahāmaṁśa
Mān. (I) se tādaśa-vāśābhī[si]tena dhāraham-mahāmaṁśa
Dhau. (I) se tādaśa-vāśābhī[si]tena dhāraham-mahāmaṁśa
Jau...

Gir. (F) te savā-paśaṁdeśu viyāpata dhāmaṁdhiṣṭānaya
Kāl. (F) te savā-paśaṁdeś[u] viyā[pa]tā dhāṁma[ma]-dhiṣṭānaya
Shāh. (F) te savā-praśaṁdeś[u] viyā[pa]tā dhāmaṁdhiṣṭānaya
dhāmaṁdhiṣṭānaya
Mān. (F) te savā-pa[sha]kṛṣaṁ dhāmaṁdhiṣṭānaya
Dhau. (F) te savā-paśaṁdeś[u] viyā[pa]tā dhāmaṁdhiṣṭānaya
Jau...

Gir. vadhīyā hī[da]-sukhye dhāṁma-yutasa cha Yoṣa-K[a]mb[a]ja-
Kāl. vadhīyā hī[da]-sukhye dhāṁma-yutasa cha Yoṣa-Kaṁb[a]ja-
Shāh. vadhīyā hī[da]-sukhye dhāma-yutasa Yoṣa-Kaṁboya-
Mān. vadhīyā hī[da]-sukhye dhāma-yutasa Yoṣa-Kaṁboya-
Dhau. [va]dhiye hī[da]-sukhye dhāṁma-yutasa Yoṣa-Kaṁboya-
Gir. गाँधभारानम्  रिष्टिका-प्रेषणिकानां  ये वा पि अ[न]ि[े]  ए अपराधात्
Kāl. गाँधभारानम्  राथिकानाम् पितिनिकानां  ये वा पि अरामना  अपराधात्
Shāh. गाँधहरानम्  राथिकानां पितिनिकानां  ये वा पि अरामना  अपराधात्
Mān. गधरानम्  राथिका-पितिनिका  ये वा पि अरामना  अपराधात्
Dhau. गाँधहारेसु  लाथिका-पितिनिकेसु  ये वा पि अरामना  अपराधात्
Jau. 

Gir. (K) भतामयेशु  वा  बर्मभनिब्हेशु अनाथेसु  [व]धेशु  हिदा-
Kāl. (K) भतामयेशु  बर्मानिब्हेशु अनाथेशु  वुधेशु  [हिदा]-
Shāh. (K) भतामयेशु  बर्मानिब्हेशु अनाथेशु  वुधेशु  हिदा-
Mān. (K) भा[ता]मयेशु  बर्मानिब्हेशु अनाथेशु  वुधेशु  हिदा-
Dhau. (K) भताशयेशु  बर्मानिब्हेशु अनाथेशु  माहालकेशु  छा हित[ा]-
Jau.  बहनिभी

Gir. [सु]क्हाया धानिमा-युतानी अपर[ी]धाया वियापतात्  ते (L) बा[म]धान-
Kāl. सुक्ष्ये धानिमा-युताये अपालिबधाये वियापतात्  ते (L) बाइल्हश[ा]न-
Shāh. सुक्ष्ये [ध्राम]ि-मा-युताता पालिब[क]िहा वादताता  ते (L) बाइल्हशा-
Mān. सु[क्ष्ये] ह्रामयुताता अपालिबधाये वियापुताता  ते (L) बाइल्हशा-
Dhau. सुक्ष्ये धानिमा-युताये अ[प]लिबधाये वियापुताता  ते (L) बाइल्हशा-
Jau. 

Gir. बधासः पातिविधानयः
Kāl. [बध]ासः पातिविधानयः पालिवधाये मोक्षाये छा यावि  अनुबधः
Shāh. बधासः पातिविधानयः पालिवधाये मोक्षाये यियि  अनुबा
Mān. बधासः पातिविधानयः पालिवधाये मोक्षाये छा यावि  अनुबधा
Dhau. बधासः पातिविधानयः पालिवधाये मोक्षाये छा यावि  अनुबधा
Jau. 

Gir. [प]राजः कताब्हिकारेन वा थायेन वा वियापतात्  ते
Kāl. [प]राजः कथाहिकारो वा महालके वा वियापता  [वियापता]  ते
Shāh. प्रजावि वचः कताब्हिकारो वा महालके वा वियापता
Mān. प्रजावि [वचः] कताब्हिकारो वा महालके वा वियापता
Dhau. प्रजावि [वचः] कताब्हिकारो वा महालके वा वियापता
Jau. 

Gir. (M) पाटिलिपते चा बाहिरसु चा
Kāl. (M) हिदः बाहिरेसु चा नागाश्रेष्ठेः स[व]ि[े]  विदोधा[श]े
Shāh. (M) ता बाहिरेशु चा नागश्रेष्ठेः सवश्रेष्ठेः औरोधाश्रेष्ठेः
Mān. (M) हिदा बाहिरेशु चा नागाश्रेष्ठेः सवश्रेष्ठेः [ि]ोरोधाश्रेष्ठेः
Dhau. (M) हिदा बाहिरेशु चा नागाश्रेष्ठेः सवश्रेष्ठेः औरोधाश्रेष्ठेः
Jau. 

Gir.  
Kāl. भातिनि छा ने भहििनि ना  ए वा [पि] अरुिनि
Shāh. भ्रातुि छा ये स्पासि छा ये वा पि अरुिनि
Mān. भट्टा छा स्पासि छा ये वा पि अरुिनि
Dhau. [मे] वा पि भहििि छा ये वा पि अरुिनि
Jau.  [व्य]ि
FIFTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. nātīkā sarvata vyāpātī te (A) yo ayaṁ dhāṁma-nisrito ti va
Kāl. nātīkye savatā viyapātā (A) e iyaṁ dhāṁma-nisite ti vā
Shāh. nātīka savatra viyapūṭa (A) y[e] ayaṁ dh[r]ama-niśite ti vā
Mān. nātike savattra viyapaṭa (A) y[e] iyaṁ dhrama-niśito to vā
Dhau. [nāṭ][s]a sav[ā][s]a [v]i[j]āpaṭa (A) e iyaṁ dharm[a-n]isite ti vā
Jau. .....

Gir. .....
Kāl. dāna-su-yute ti [v[j]ā sav[a][k]ā vi[j]itas[i] mamā [dhaʃnma-
Shāh. dhrama[dhtha]he ti va dāna-s[a]yute ti va savata vijite maa dhrama-
Mān. dhramadhiṭhane ti va dāna-sa[nyute ti va savatra vijitasī maa dhrama-
Dhau. dharma-mahādhāṃti v[ā] dāna-sa[yute va sava-puṭhaviyaṁ dha[ʃn]ma-
Jau. .....

Gir. .....
Kāl. yutasi viyapāṭa te dharmā-ṃ[a][haṃ[a][r][a]ḥ (O) etaye athāye ayaṁ dharmā-
Shāh. y[ta][s]i viyapaṭa te dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye athāye [a]yi dhrama-
Mān. yutasi vapor[a] te[dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye athraye ay[i dhrama-
Dhau. yutasi viyapāṭa ime dharmā-mahāṃ[a][r][a]ḥ (O) [r]i[a]ye athāye iyaṁ dharma-
Jau. .....

Gir. .....
Kāl. liṣi likhita .....
Shāh. dipi nipta ch[i][r]-thitikā hotu [tathā] cha me [pa]jā [a]nuva[tā]tu
Mān. dipi likhita chira-thitika hotu tatha cha me pra[a]jā anuvattatu
Dhau. li[i][k][h][r]a chila-thitikā hotu [tatha] cha me pa[jā] anuvattatu
Jau. .....

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A) [Devā] .....
Shāh. (A) Devanaṁpiro Priyadṛṣṭa raya eva aha[ti] (B) atikraṭaṁ aṁtaraṁ
Mān. (A) Devanapriye Priyadṛṣṭa ra[j]a [c]ya[̯]n a[â] (B) atikraṭaṁ ataraṁ
Dhau. (A) Dev[ā]naṁpiye Pi[yada]sī lāja [heva]mi aha (B) atikaṁtaṁ aṁtaraṁ
Jau. (A) .....

Gir. .....
Kāl. no huta-puluv[e] [s] [v] .....
Shāh. na huta-pruvaṁ sava[m] kala[m] aṭha-karaṁm[e] [v]ā [pa]jā [v]eda[na]nā va
Mān. no huta-pruve [sa]vṛ[am] kala athira-kramaṇa va paṭivedana va
Dhau. no [h]u[t]a-puluv[e] [s]av[ā]m kalaṁ aṭha-k[a][r][m]e va paṭivedanānā va
Jau. no huta-puluv[e] sav[ā]m kalaṁ aṭha-kāṁ[m]e paṭivedana va

Gir. (C) ta mayā evaṁ kaṭaṁ (D) s[α]ve kāle bhun[ā]mānasam me
Kāl. (C) s[e] ma[my]ā hevaṁ kaṭa (D) [sa]vāṁ kālaṁ adāmānas[a] me
Shāh. (C) ta[n] mayā eva[n] kita[n] (D) savrāṁ kālaṁ aṣamana sa me
Mān. (C) ta mayā evaṁ kitaṁ (D) sa[k]aṁ kālaṁ aṣatasa me
Dhau. (C) se mamayā kaṭe (D) sa[va]n[k] kālaṁ .....
Jau. (C) se mamayā kaṭe (D) sav[ā]m kālaṁ .....

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Gir. orodhanamhi gabhāgarāṃhī vachamhi va vinītamhi cha uyānesu
Kāl. olodhanasi gabhāgalas[i] va[chas]i vin[i]tas u[y]āṇasi
Shāh. orodhanaspī gabhāgaraspi vrachaspī vinītaspi uyānaspī
Jāu. aintie olodhanasī gabhāgalāsi vachasi vinītāsi[y] aynāsi

Gir. cha savatra paṭivedakā stītā athe me [ja]nasa paṭivedetha
Kāl. [sava][k]a paṭive[k]akā aṭha[r]nā janaśa ... vedetu
Shāh. savatra paṭivedakā aṭha[r]nā janaśa paṭivedetu
Mān. savatra pa[n][r]a[ka] aṭha[r]nā janaśa paṭive[d]etu
Jau. me ti [ra] savata paṭivedakā janaśa aṭha[r]n[a] prāṭivedayāntu

Gir. iti (E) sarvatra cha janaśa athe karomi
Kāl. [m]e [s]a[va][t]ā [ch]ā [ja]nasā aṭha[r]nā kāṛhāmi hakaṁ
Shāh. me (E) savatra cha [ga]nā[sa] aṭha[r]nā karomi
Mān. me (E) savatra cha janaśa aṭhα[r]nα karomi
Jau. me ti (E) savata cha janaśa ...

Gir. (F) ya cha kiṁchi mukhato aṇapayāmi svayaṁ dāpakaṁ vā
Kāl. (F) yaṁ pi ch[a] k[i]cht[hi m[u][kha]n[e aṇapayāmi[ha]kα m[e d[paṇa]n v[a]
Shāh. (F) ya[m]n pi cha k[i]cht[hi mukhato aṇapayāmi a[haṁ] cara[kα] v[α]
Mān. (F) yaṁ pi cha kichhī mukhato aṇapemī ahaṁ dāpākan vā
Dhau. (F) aṁ pi cha k[i]n[chi] mukh[a]te aṇapay[ā]mi dāpaṇ [v[a]
Jau. (F) aṁ pi cha kircchii mukhate amapayāmi dāpakaṁ vā

Gir. srāvapakaṁ vā ya vā pūna mahāmātreṣu ṛcchāy[i]ke] aroptam thavati
Mān. sravakaṁ va ye va puna mahamatrehi achayike arope hoti
Dhau. [sāv[a]k]aṁ vā e vā mahām[āte]hi aṭtayike alopote hoti
Jau. sāvakaṁ vā e v[a] mabh[m]ātehi a[j]yike[a]lhopote hoti

Gir. tāya athāya vivādo niḫhati v[a] s[a]hāto parīsayaṁ anaiṁtaraṁ
Shāh. taye athayaye viva[dc] niḫhati v[a] sataṁ parīshaye anaiṁtariyaṇena
Mān. taye athraye vivade niḫati va sanita pariṣṭha[e]ya where[na]taliiyaṇena
Dhau. tasi aṭhasi v[i]ya[de] va ni[k][hati va sanitaṁ palisaya anaiṁtaliiyaṇa
Jau. tasi aṭhasi vivade va ...

Gir. p[a][i]vedeta[v]yaṁ me sa[r][vatra sarve kāle (G) evaṁ mayā
Kāl. p[a][i] ... viye me sav[a][r]a saiva kālaṁ (G) hevaṁ anapayīte
Shāh. prāṭivedetavo me1 savatra saiva kālaṁ[G] eva anapita[na]
Mān. prāṭivedetaviye me saivatra saiva kāla (G) evaṁ anapīta
Dhau. p[a][i]vedetav[i]ya[eq] me ti savata saiva kālaṁ (G) hevaṁ me
Jau. p[a][i]vedetaviye me ti savata saiva kālaṁ (G) hevaṁ me

1 The preceding passage from section E is repeated thus: (E) savatra cha aṭham janasā karomi
a[haṁ][F] yaṁ cha kichi mukhato anapemī ahan dāpakaṁ[v] va śravaṇa va ye va pūna mahā-
SIXTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. अन्नपिताम (H) नृस्म hi me to[s]o ustānāmhi atha-saṁtirāṇāya va
Kāl. m[ñ]mayā (H) nathi hi me dose usthān[a]sā atha-sarñī[a]nāye cha
Śāh. maya (H) na[sth]i hi me tosho uṭhānas[i] atha-sa[m]tiranaye [cha]
Mān. maya (H) nasti hi me tosh [uṭhānas]i ath[r][a]-s[am]tiranaye cha
Dhau. anusathe (H) nathi hi m[e] [tos]e uṭhāna[si] atha-saṁtaliana [a]ya cha
Jau. anusathe (H) nathi hi me tosc uṭhānas i atha-saṁtalian[a]ya cha

Gir. (I) katavya-mate hi me sa[rva]-loka-hitarṇ (Y) tasa cha puna
Kāl. (I) kaṭ[a]viya-mute hi me s[a]va-loka-hite (Y) t[asa] cha [p]a[n]a
Śāh. (I) kaṭava-matāh hi me sa[va]-loka-hitarṇ (Y) ta[s]a cha
Mān. (I) kaṭavya-mate hi me sa[r]-loka-h[ite] (Y) [ta]sa cha puna
Dhau. (I) kaṭavy[a]-m[ata]e hi me sava-loka-hite (Y) tasa cha pana
Jau. (I) me sa[va]-loka-hite (Y) tasa cha pana

Gir. es[a] mule usthānam cha atha-saṁtirāṇā cha (K) nasti hi
Kāl. es[e] mule uṭhāne [a]tha-saṁtirāṇā cha (K) [na] hi cha
Śāh. mulaṁ etra uṭhaaṇam atha-saṁtirāṇa cha (K) na[stu] hi
Mān. es[e] mule uṭhāne attha-saṁtirāna cha (K) nasti hi
Dhau. iyam mule [u]ṭhāne [a]tha-saṁtirāṇa[na][a] cha (K) nathi hi
Jau. iyam mule uṭhāne cha atha-saṁtirāṇa [a] cha (K) nathi hi

Gir. kaṁmataraṁ sarva-loka-hitaptā (L) ya sa k[am] cha kichhi pari[kramā]mi
Kāl. kaṁ[ma]kalā sava-loka-hitenā (L) yaṁ cha k[am] cha kichhi pari[kramā]mi
Śāh. k[ramatara]ṁ sava-loka-hitenā (L) yaṁ cha k[am] cha kichhi pari[kram]a
Mān. kramatara sava-loka-hitenā (L) yaṁ cha k[am] cha kichhi pari[kram]ami
Dhau. kaṁmataraṁ saiva-loka-hitenā (L) yaṁ cha k[am] cha kichhi pari[kram]ami
Jau. kaṁ[mata]ṁ sava-loka-hitenā (L) yaṁ cha k[am] cha kichhi pari[kram]ami

Gir. ahaṁ kiṁti bhūtānam ānaṁmaṁ gachhayaṁ idha cha nāni
Kāl. hakaṁ kiṁ bhūtānam [a]niyaṁ yhaṁ hi[da] cha [k]a[n]
Śāh. kiṁ bhūtānam anañiyaṁ vi[r]a[chy]aṁ ya[na]ṁ cha sha
Dhau. hakaṁ kiṁti bhūtānam [n][a]niyaṁ ycha[n]m ti [h][da] cha [k]a[n]i
Jau. hakaṁ . . . . . . [n]iyaṁ ycha[m] ti hida cha kāni

Gir. sukhāpayāṁi puratā cha svagaṁ ā[rdhayan]āntu (M) ta
Kāl. sukhāyāṁi palata cha svagaṁ alādhayanītuy (M) se[c]
Śāh. sukhāyāṁi puratā cha spagra a[r]a[rdh]etu (M)
Mān. sukhāyāṁi palata cha spagra a[r]a[rdh]etu (M) se
Dhau. sukhāyāṁi palata cha svagaṁ alā[rdha]yanītuy (M)
Jau. su[kha]yāṁi palata cha svagaṁ alā[rdha]yanītuy (M)


1 On p. 12 above, I. 7, place ta after (M), and cancel foot-note 2. On p. 13, I. 11, read ' (M)
Now, for the following purpose', &c.
SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

Gir. etāya athāya ayam dha[r]ma-liṣṭa lekhāpitā kṁhi chirāṁ tisteyā
Kāl. et[ṇ]yēṭhāye iyaṁ dharma-liṣṭa lekhāṅ chila-thitikā hotu
Shāh. etayc aṭhāye ayi dhrama nipista chira-thitika bhotu
Mān. etayc aṭhāye ayi dhrama-dipī likhitā chira-thitika hotu
Jau. etayē aṭhāye i[y]aṁ dhanāma-liṣṭa likhitā chila-thitika hotu

Gir. iti thamā cha me putrā potā cha prapatrā cha anuvataram
Kāl. thamā cha me putra-dāle palakamatu
Shāh. thatha cha me pura nataro para[kra]mate
Mān. ta[tha cha] me pu[tra nata]re para[kra]mate
Dhau. ta[th]ā cha me putā papotā me palakama[n]ā[ṛ]
Jau. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [ṭ]ā me [p]alakamatu

Gir. sava-loka-hitāya (N) dukarām [ṭ]ū iḍañ aṇat[a]
Kāl. sava-loka-hitāye (N) dukale ch[u] iyaṁ aṇat[a]
Shāh. sava-loka-hitāye (N) [ḍu]kara tu [kh]o imaṁ aṇat[a]
Mān. sa[vra-lo]ka-hitāye (N) dukare cha kho [a]ṇatra
Dhau. [sav]a-loka-hitāye (N) dukale chu iyaṁ aṇat[a]
Jau. sava-loka-hitāye (N) dukale chu [ya]ṁ aṇat[a]

Gir. agena parākramena
Kāl. agena palakama[n]ā
Shāh. agre parakrama
Mān. a[g]rena para[kra]mena
Dhau. a[g]rena pa]lakamena
Jau. agena palakamena

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A) Devāṇampiyio Piyadasi rājā sarvata ichhāti save pāsaṁdā
Kāl. (A) Devāṇampiyē Piyadasi lājā [savat]i [i]chhāti sava[p]asāṁdā
Shāh. (A) Devaṇampiyio Priyaśi raja savatra ichhāti savra[p]raśaṁdā
Mān. (A) Devaṇampiyio Priyadasi raja savatra ichhāti savra-paśaṁdā
Jau. (A) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . da[s]i lājā savata ichhāti sava[p]aśaṁdi

Gir. vasyeye (B) save te sayamaṁ cha bhāva-sudhīṁ
Kāl. vas[e]yu (B) [sa]ye hi te sayamaṁ[ṛ] bhāva-sudhīṁ
Shāh. vasyeye (B) save hi te sayame bhāva-sudhīṁ
Mān. vasyeye (B) savre hi te sa[y]ama bh[a]va-sudhīṁ
Dhau. [va]sevū tī (B) save hi[ṛ] te sa[y]amaṁ [bh]āva[sa]-sudhīṁ
Jau. va[s]e . . . [ṭ]ī (B) [sav]e hi te sa[y]amaṁ bhāva-sudhīṁ

Gir. cha ichhāti (C) jano tu uchāvachha-chimpāndo
Kāl. cha ichhaṁti (C) jane [č]u uchāvucha-čh[ā]inde
Shāh. cha ichhaṁti (C) jano chu uchavucha-chhipāndo
Mān. [cha ichhaṁ]ti (C) jane chu uchavucha-chhadē
Dhau. cha ichhaṁti (C) munijā cha u[čh[ā]m[ā]cha-[čh[ā]m[ā]]
Jau. cha ichhaṁti (C) munisā cha uchāvucha-chhipāndo
SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. uchāvachā-ṛāgo (D) te sarvam va kāśāntāṁ eka-desaṁ va kasa[m]ī
Kāl. uchāvachā-lāg[e] (D) te sarvam eka-des[a]ṁ pi k[a]chāṁ[č]i
Sāh. uchāvachā-ṛāgo (D) te sarvam va eka-desaṁ va pi kāśāntī
Mān. uchāvachā-rage (D) te sarvam eka-desaṁ va pi kashānti
Dhau. uchāvachā-lāgā (D) te sarvam vā ek[a]-de[sa]ṁ va kachāntī[τ]
Jau. uchāvuch[a]-lāgā (D) . . . . . . . [sa]ṁ va kachānti

Gir. (E) vip[ul[e] tu pi dānc yasa nāstī sayame bhāva-sudhitā
Kāl. (E) vipule pi chu dān[e] asā nathī sayame bhā[va]-sudhī[τ]
Sāh. (E) vipule pi chu dane yasa nāstī sayama bhava-sūti
Mān. (E) [vipule] pi ch[u] dane yasa nāstī sayema bhava-sūti
Dhau. (E) vipul[e] pi chā dane asa n[athī] sa[yame] bhā[va]-sudhi
Jau. (E) [v][pul[e] pi chā [d][a]nc]

Gir. va kathamātā va dadha-bhāti[č]a cha niche bāḍhaṁ
Sāh. kītraṇata dīṛḍha-bhāti[č]a niche paḍhaṁ
Mān. kītaṇata dīṛḍha-bhātita cha niche bāḍhaṁ
Dhau. cha niche bāḍhaṁ
Jau. cha niche [b]āḍhaṁ

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A) atikatāṁ aṁtaraṁ rājñō vihāra-yatāṁ
Kāl. (A) atikantaṁ aṁ[ta]ṁ Devanampiya [vihāra-yatāṁ nāma]
Sāh. (A) atikataṁ ataraṁ Devanampiya vihara-yatra nama
Mān. (A) a[t]karaṁ ataraṁ Devanapri[ya] vihara-yatra nama
Jau. . . .
Sōp. . . .

Gir. nāyāsu (B) eta magavyā aṁnāi cha etārisaṁi
Kāl. nikhamsu (B) hidā migaviya aṁnāi cha heṭiśaṁi
Sāh. nikramishu (B) atra mrugaya aṁnāi cha edaśaṁi
Mān. nikramishu (B) ia mrigaviya aṁnāi cha edaśaṁi
Dhau. [ṛ][kha]ṁ[s[u] (B) . . . . [ta miga]viya[č] aṁnāi cha[e] edaśaṁi
Jau. . . . . . [v][y]ā [a]ṁnāi cha e[č]i
Sōp. . . .

Gir. abhiramakānī ahuṁsu (C) so Devanampriyo Piyadasi
Kāl. abhilāmān[i] husu (C) Devanampiye Piyadasi
Sāh. abhiramani abhuvasu (C) so Devanampiya Priyadrāsi
Mān. abhiramani husu (C) s[e] Devanapriye [Pr]yadrāsi
Dhau. [a][h]jāmānī huvaṁti nāṁ (C) se Devanampiye P[i]yāklaśi
Jau. . . . . [m]ānī huvaṁti nāṁ (C) se Devanampiye P[i]ya . . .
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gir.</th>
<th>rajā dasa-varṣabhīsitō</th>
<th>saṁtīto ayāya</th>
<th>Sānabodhiṁ (D) tenesā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>lajā dasa[sa]-varṣabhīsite</td>
<td>saṅkarāṁ</td>
<td>Sānabodhi (D) tenaṭā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh.</td>
<td>rajā dasa-vashabhīsitō</td>
<td>sāraṁ</td>
<td>Sāboḍhi (D) tenada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>rajā dasa-vashabhīsitō</td>
<td>saṅta[th]ī</td>
<td>Sāboḍhi (D) tenada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jau.</td>
<td>[dasa]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōp.</td>
<td></td>
<td>nikhamiṁtha</td>
<td>Sā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gir.</th>
<th>dharimā-yātā</th>
<th>(E) etayāṁ</th>
<th>hoti bāṁhaṇa-saṁaṇaṁ dasane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>dhārīma-yātā</td>
<td>(E) [h]etā</td>
<td>iyaṁ hoti saṃmaṇa-baṁbhanaṁ dasane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh.</td>
<td>dhārīma-yātra</td>
<td>(E) atra</td>
<td>iyaṁ hoti śramaṇa-brahmaṇaṁ draśane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>dhrama-yada</td>
<td>(E) atra</td>
<td>iya hoti saṃmaṇa-brahmaṇa dra[sa]ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhan.</td>
<td>dhārīma-yātā</td>
<td>(E) [t]ēsa</td>
<td>[ho]ṭi saṃmaṇa-baṁbhanaṁ dasane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jau.</td>
<td>[tā]</td>
<td>(E) [t]ēsa</td>
<td>hoti [sa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōp.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(E) heta</td>
<td>iyaṁ [ho]ṭi baṁ[bha]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gir.</th>
<th>chā dāne cha thairānāṁ dasane</th>
<th>ch[a] hirāṁa-pāti[v]idhāno</th>
<th>cha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shāh.</td>
<td>danaṁ vudhana[n]e dasana</td>
<td>hiraṇa-[p]āti[v]idhāne</td>
<td>cha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhan.</td>
<td>[k[a]] d[ā]ne</td>
<td>cha v[ū]dhaṇaṁ dasane</td>
<td>cha h[ī]na[m]a-pāti[v]idhāne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jau.</td>
<td>chā dāne cha vudhaṇaṁ dasane</td>
<td>cha hilaṁna-pāti[v]idhāne</td>
<td>cha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōp.</td>
<td>vudhaṇaṁ dasane</td>
<td>cha hirāṁa-pāti[v]idhāne</td>
<td>cha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shāh.</td>
<td>jana[n]apada[s]a</td>
<td>jana[n]a draśane</td>
<td>dhārīma[n]a[s]a[n]e</td>
<td>cha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>jana[n]apada[s]a</td>
<td>jana[n]a draśane</td>
<td>dhārīma[n]a[s]a[n]e</td>
<td>cha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōp.</td>
<td></td>
<td>[dha]*[h]mā[n]a[thi]</td>
<td>cha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gir.</th>
<th>dhama-[pi]rupaḥ</th>
<th>cha tado[p]ayā</th>
<th>(E) esa bhuya</th>
<th>rati</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>dhama-[pi]rupaḥ</td>
<td>cha tato[p]a[yā]</td>
<td>(E) [c]e bhui[y]e</td>
<td>lāti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōp.</td>
<td>dharīma</td>
<td></td>
<td>ye [ra[ji]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gir.</th>
<th>bhavati Devānampiyasā</th>
<th>Priyadasino raṇo</th>
<th>bha[γ]e</th>
<th>aṁ[e]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shāh.</td>
<td>bhoti Devānampiyasā</td>
<td>Priyadraśisa</td>
<td>raṇo</td>
<td>bhago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>hoti Devānampiyasā</td>
<td>Priyadraśisa</td>
<td>ra[j]ine</td>
<td>bhage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhan.</td>
<td>hoti Devānampiyasā</td>
<td>Priyada[ś]ine</td>
<td>la[j]ine</td>
<td>bhage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jau.</td>
<td>hoti De[v]ānampiyasā</td>
<td>Priyadasine</td>
<td>la[j]ine</td>
<td>bhage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōp.</td>
<td>hoti De</td>
<td>n[e]</td>
<td>bhage</td>
<td>aṁ[e]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NINTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir.  (A) Devānampiyo Priyadasi rājā eva āha (B) asti jano
Kāl.  (A) Devānampiye Piya[a]kā[a][s] la[ja] āhā (B) jan[e]
Shaḥ. (A) Devanāmpriyo Priyadraśī r[a]ya evam ahati (B) jano
Mā.  (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśī rāja evam āha (B) jane
Dhau. (A) Devānampiye Priyadasi lājā hevam āha (B) [aṭhī jā]he
Jau.  (A) Devān[a]m̐piye Priyadasi la[ja]

Gir.  uchāvachāṁ maṅgalaṁ karote ābādhesu vā avāha-vivāhesu
Kāl.  uch[a]vuchāṁ maṅgalaṁ k[a][e]ti ābāchāsi av[a]haśi vivahāsī
Shaḥ. uchavuchāṁ maṅgalaṁ karoti abhadhe avāhe vivāhe
Mā.  uchavuchaṁ maṅgalaṁ kara[ti] abadhāsi a[v][a]hasi v[va]hasi
Dhau. uchavuchāṁ maṅgalaṁ k[a][e]ti [a]b[ā]dha . . . . . . . . . . . [v][vāha]
Jau. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

Gir.  vā putra-lābhesu vā pravāsaṁhmi vā etamhi cha aṇamhi cha
Kāl.  pajopadāne pavāsasi e[tā]ye aṁnāye cha
Shaḥ. pajupadāne pravase ataye aṁaye cha
Mā.  prajopadāye pravasa[si] etaye aṁaye [cha]
Dhau. . . [ju]p[adāye pavās[a]si etaye aṁnāye cha[a]
Jau. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

Gir.  edisāye jano uchāvachāṁ maṅgalaṁ karote (C) eta tu
Kāl.  edisāye jano bahu maṅgalaṁ k[a]leti (C) heta [cu]
Shaḥ. edisāye jano bahu maṅgalaṁ karoti (C) atra tu
Mā.  edisāye jano bahu maṅgalaṁ k[a]ro[ti] (C) atra tu
Dhau. hesisāye [a][h][e] bahu[kā]ṁ maṅgalaṁ [k][a] . . . . (C) . . . . [ch]
Jau. hesisāye jane [b][h][u][ka][ni] . . . . . . . . . . .

Gir.  mahidāyo bahu[kā]ṁ cha bahuvidhaṁ cha chhudāṁ cha
Kāl.  abaka-jan[yo] bahu cha bahuvidhaṁ cha khuḍā [ch]ā
Shaḥ. striyaka bahu cha bahuvidhaṁ cha putika cha
Mā.  abaka-janika bahu cha bahuvidha cha khuḍa cha
Dhau. ithi bh[ahuka]ṁ cha [b][h][u][v][j̐id][a][m] [ch][a] kh[ud][a]ṁ cha
Jau. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

Gir.  nirath[a]ṁ cha maṅgalaṁ karote (D) ta katavyameva tu
Kāl.  nilathiya cha maṅgalaṁ ka[l]a[ti]iti (D) se katavi cheva kho
Shaḥ. nirathiyān cha maṅgalaṁ karoti (D) so katavo cha [va] kho
Mā.  nirathiya cha maṅgalaṁ karoti (D) se kataviye chev[va] kho
Dhau. [nilaṭhi]yaṁ cha maṅgalaṁ kaleti (D) se kat[a]yiye che[va] kho
Jau. . . . . . [cha maṅgalaṁ ka][e]ti (D) se kataviye cheva kho

Gir.  maṅgalaṁ (E) apa-phaḷaṁ tu kho etarisaṁ maṅgalaṁ
Kāl.  maṅgale (E) apa-phaḷe [ch][u] kho [e][s][e]
Shaḥ. maṅgale (E) apa-phaḷe [h] tu kho eta
Mā.  maṅgale (E) apa-phaḷe chu [kho e]she
Dhau. maṅgale (E) apa-phaḷe chu khe esa [e]dis[e] maṅgale
Jau. maṅgale (E) apa-[pha]le chu [kho e]sa [he][d]is[e] ma . . . . .
SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

Gir. (F) ayāṁ tu mahā-phale maṅgale ya dhamma-maṅgale
Kāḷ. (F) [i]yaṁ chu kha mahā-phale ye dhamma-magale
Shāh. (F) imaṁ [t]u kha mahā-phale ye ma-maṅgala
Mān. (F) iyaṁ chu kha mahā-phale ye dhrama-magale
Dhan. (F) [ya]ṁ [c]hu kha mahā-phale ye [c]ha ma-maṅgale
Jau. (F) [y]aṁ [c]hu...

Gir. (G) t[ō]ta dāsa-bhaṭakasi samya-pratipati gurūnaṁ apachiti
Kāḷ. (G) h[ō]ta iyaṁ dāsa-bhaṭakasi s[ā]mya-pratipati guṇānaṁ apachiti
Shāh. (G) a[tra ima] dāsa-bhaṭakasi sāmya-paṭipati garuna apachiti
Mān. (G) atra iyaṁ dāsa-bhaṭakasi sāmya-paṭipati guṇa a[pachiti]
Dhan. (G) t[ō]sa dāsa-bhaṭakasi sāmya-paṭipati guṇaṁ apachiti
Jau....

Gir. sādhu paṇesu sayamo sādhu bamhaṇa-saṃpannānaṁ sādhu
Shāh. praṇaṁ[ā] na[sa]yamo śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa
Mān. dana esan aṁnaṁ cha dhrama-maṅgale[n]aṁ
Dhan. dana esa aṁnaṁ cha dhrama-maṅge[n]a
Jau. [d]ā[n]e esa a[m]n[ē]...

Gir. (H) ta vatavayāṁ pīta va putena vā bhātrā vā svāmīkena
Kāḷ. (H) se vata[va]ye pītinā pi putena pi bhā[a]tina pi svāmik[a]
Shāh. (H) [s]o vatavo pītunā pi putena pi bhṛatana pi svāmik[e]na
Mān. (H) se vatavīye pītunā pi putena pi bhṛatana pi svāmikena
Dhan. (H) [s]e vata[va]ye pītunā pi putena pi bhātinā pi svāmik[e]na
Jau. ...

Gir. vā
Kāḷ. pi mita-saṁsthuten[a] ava paṭivesiyena [p]i iyaṁ sādhu iyaṁ
Shāh. pi mitra-saṁstutena ava prativesiyena iṁarn sadhu [iṁarn]
Mān. pi mitra-saṁ[s]tuten[a]va paṭivesiyena pi iyaṁ sadhu iyaṁ
Dhan. [p]i
Jau. pi

Gir. katavya maṅgalaṁ āva tasa aṭhasa nīṣṭāṇāya (/) asti
Mān. kaṭaviye maṅgale āva tasa aṭhasa ni[v]utiya ni[v]utaspa
Dhan. .....
Jau. kaṭaviye
Gir. cha pi vutāṁ sādhu dana iti (Y) na tu etārisāṁ astā
Kāl. imāṁ kacchāṁ ti (L) e hi i[t]e magale
Shāh. va p[u]na imaṁ kashāṁ (L) ye hi etake magale
Mān. va puna ima[k]a]shami ti (L) e hi [i]tare mag[a]le

Gir. dānaṁ va ana[ga]ho va yārisāṁ dharāṁma-dānaṁ va dhāmanugahō va
Kāl. sa[ñ]sayikye se (Y) siyā va tāṁ aṭhaṁ niva[ṭ]ey[a] siyā punā no
Shāh. sa[sayike] tāṁ (Y) siyā vo tāṁ aṭhaṁ nivaṭeyati siyā punā no
Mān. śa[sayike] se (Y) s[i]ya va tāṁ aṭhaṁ nivaṭeyā s[i]ya pana no
Jau. . . . . dāne anugah[e] vā ādi[s]c dhaṁma-dāne dhaṁ[m]anugahē cha

Gir. (K) ta tu kho mitrena va suhadyayena [v]ā ṇātikena va sāhāyaṇa va
Kāl. (K) hi[da]lokike cheva[a] se (L) iyāṁ puna dharāṁma-magale akālīk[e]
Shāh. (K) i[aloka] cha vo tāṁ (L) i[y]a puna dhrāma-magalaṁ akalikām
Mān. (K) hid[a][o]kike cheva se (L) iyāṁ puna dhrāma-magale akalike
Dhau. (K) . . . . [m][i] . . . . . . . . . . . . [t][i][k]ena sāhāye[na p][i]
Jau. . . . . se kho mitena

Gir. ovāditavyāṁ tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe [i]daṁ kacchaṁ idaṁ sādhī iti
Kāl. (M) haṁche pi tāṁ aṭhaṁ no niṇeti hida aṭhaṁ palata anaṁtaṁ
Shāh. (M) yadi puna tāṁ aṭhaṁ na niva[ṭ]e i[a] atha paratra anaṁtaṁ
Mān. (M) [ha] che pi tāṁ aṭhaṁ no nivaṭeti [h]i[k]a a[tha] paratra ana
Dhau. viyovadita . . . i [tasi] pak[alana]ṣi [iya]ṁn . . . . . . . . . . . . yāṁ sādh[ū]

Gir. iminā sak[a] svagāṁ ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha iminā katavyataram
Kāl. punā pavaṣati (M) haṁche puna tāṁ aṭhaṁ nivaṭeti hida tato
Shāh. puṇāṁ prasavati (L) haṁche puna tāṁ aṭhaṁ nivaṭeti tato
Mān. punna prasavati (L) haṁche puna tāṁ aṭhaṁ nivaṭeti tato
Dhau. . . . . [l]ādhaỹitave (L) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ta[v]
Jau. . . . . imena sakiye svage alaḍhaỹitave (L) kiṁ hi imena kaṭaḥvyatalā

Gir. yathā svagāradhī
Kāl. ubhay[a][sa]ṁ ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata chā anaṁtaṁ
Shāh. u[bha]y[e][sa] ladhaṁ bhoti ia cha so aṭhe paratra chā anaṁtaṁ
Mān. ubhayesāṁ [ar]a]dhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe paratra chā ana
Dhau. . . . . [svagasa] al[adh]i
Jau. . . . .

Kāl. punā pavaṣati tenā dharāṁma-magales[a]
Shāh. puṇāṁ prasavati tenā dhramaṁgalena
Mān. puṇāṁ prasavati tenā dhramaṁgalena
Gir. (A) Devānaṁpiyo Priyadasi rājā yasō va kiti va na
Kāl. (A) Deva[nāṁ]piye Piya[a]dashā lajā y[a]sho vā kiti vā no
Stāh. (A) Devanapiye Priyadraśi raya yasō va kiti vā no
Mān. (A) [Devana]priye Priyadraśi raja yasō va kiti vā no
Jaun.

Gir. mahāthaḥvahā[ā] maññate anāta
Kāl. [ma]nathāvā manati an[a]tā [ya]h pi yasō vā k[i]ṭi vā
Stāh. mahāthaḥvahā maññati anātra yo pi yaso va kṛiti va
Mān. maññathraḥvahā maññati anātra yam pi ya[s]o va kīṭi vā
Dhau. [ha]ṁ maññate itha yasō vā k[i]ṭi vā
Jaun.

Gir. tadātpano dighāya cha me [ja]hīo dharma-susru[m]śā
Kāl. ichh[ā]ṭi tadatvaye ayatiyā cha jāne dharma-susruḥ
Stāh. ichhathī tadatvaye ayatiyā cha jāne dharma-susruṣa
Mān. ichhathī tadatvaye ayatiyā cha jāne [dhra]ma-susruṣa
Dhau. ichh[ā]ṭi tadatvaye [ā] ...
Jaun. ichh[ā]ṭi tadatvaye [ā]yatiyā cha jāne dharma-susruṣa

Gir. susrusatu dharma-vutam cha anuvīdhiyatām
Kāl. susruṣhatu me ti dharma-vutam vā anuv[ī]ya[m]ṭa ti
Stāh. susruṣhatu mc ti dharma-vutam cha anuv[ī]ya[m]ṭa ti
Mān. susruṣhatu me ti dhrama-[vutam] cha anuvīdhiyatām ti
Dhau. [susṛ]ṣ[a]ṭu [m]e dharma ...
Jaun. susrusatu me ...

Gir. (B) etakāya Devānaṁpiyo Priyadasi rājā yasō va kiti va
Kāl. (B) dhata[k]āye Devaṇā[m]piye Priyadasi lajā yasho vā kiti vā
Stāh. (B) etakaye Devanapiye Priyadraśi raya yaso va kṛiti vā
Mān. (B) etakaye Devanapiye Priya[d]aśi raja yasō va kiti vā
Dhau. (B) etakaye ...
Jaun.

Gir. [ichh]aṭi (C) y[a]ṁ tu kich[i] parik[a]mate Devānaṁ Priyadasi
Kāl. ichha (C) aṁ ch[a] kichhi lakamati Devaṇāmpiyē Priyadashi
Stāh. ichhathi (C) ya[m] tu kichi parakramati Devaṇāmpiyē Priyadraśi
Mān. [ichha]ṭi (C) ...
Dhau. i ...
Jaun. ...

Gir. rājā ta savāṁ pārātrikāya kīṭi sakale a[p]a-parisrave
Kāl. lajā ta [sha]ya pālāṇikāya vā kīṭi sakale apa-p[a]ḷāshave
Stāh. raya taṁ sav[r]aṁ pārātrikāya vā kīṭi sakale aparisrave
Mān. raja taṁ savāṁ pārātrikāya[v]e vā k[ti] sa[kale apa-p[a]ḷaśave
Dhau. pālāṭikā[y]e .. kīṭi sakā[le apa-pa]ḷaśave
Jaun. pālāṭikāye vā k[i]ṭi sa[kale apa-pa]ḷaśave
TENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. asa (D) esa tu parisave ya apunānā (E) dukarānī
Kāl. shiyātī ti (D) [e]she chu palisave e apune (E) dukale
Shāh. siyātī (D) ese tu parisave yarān apunānā (E) dukare
Mān. siyātī ti (D) ese chu pa[r]i save e apu[ne] (E) dukare
Dhau. [hu]v[eyā t]jī (D) pa[l]isa
Jau. [h]juveyā ti (D).

Gir. tu kho etān chhudakena va janena usatena va añātra
Kāl. chu kho ese khudakena va vagena ushuṭena vā ana[t]a
Shāh. [tu] kho ese khudakena vagena usatena va añātra
Mān. chu kho ese khudakena [va va]g[e]na [u]sahṭena va añātra
Dhau. [a] agena
Jau. [na sa]vān chā

Gir. agena parā[k]ramena savaṁ parichajitpā (F) et[a] t[u] kho
Kāl. agen[a] pa[l]akamenā shava[m]nā palitiditu (F) [h]e[ta] chu kho
Shāh. agrena parakramena sav[m]nā paritijitu (F) at[r]a chu
Mān. at[gren]a para[krame]nā sav[ram]nā parit[i]jitu (F) atra tu [kho]
Dhau. palī[j]|[j]|tu khudakena v[a] usatena vā (F)
Jau. [j]ti[j]|[u] khudakena [v]ā u[sa]ṭena vā (F)

Gir. usatena dukaranī
Kāl. [u]shate[na] vā dukale
Shāh. usate
Mān. usateneva du[kα]re
Dhau. u[saṭena] chu [dulakalale]
Jau. usatena chu dukalkalam

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A) Deva[ma]priyo Priyadasi rājā ev[a]hñh aha (B) nāsti etārisaṁ
Kāl. (A) Deva[ma]priye Priyadashi [r]ājā hevaṁ hā (B) nathi h[e]d[i]sī
Shāh. (A) Devana[ma]priyo Priyadrasī rayā evaṁ hahati (B) nāsti ed[i]sāṁ
Mān. (A) Devanapr[y]ye Priyadrasī raja evaṁ aha (B) nāsti ed[i]sī

Gir. dānaṁ yarīsaṁ dharmma-dānaṁ dharmma-saṁstava vā dharmma-
Kāl. dāne adisha dhara[m]ma-dāne dharmma-
Shāh. dānaṁ yadisaṁ dhrama-dana dhrama-saṁstava[ε] dh[rama]-
Mān. dāne [a]diśe dhrama-dane dhrama-saṁtha[v]c dhrama-

Gir. sarinhibbāgo [vā] dharmma-saṁbadho va (C) tata idaṁ bhavati
Kāl. shav[i]bhage dharmma-shambadh[e] (C) t[a]t[e] eshe
Shāh. sarinhibbago dh[r]ama-samba[m]ha (C) tatra etān
Mān. sarinhibbaga dhrama-sa[m]ba[m]hi dh[e] (C) tatra eshe

Gir. dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-p[r]ātipati mātārī pitarā sādhu sus[r]ṣa
Kāl. dāsha-bhatakasih shamyā-paṭipati mātā-pitishu su[r]ushinga
Shāh. dasa-bhatakanam saṁma-paṭipati mata-pitushu su[r]usha
Mān. dasa-bhata[ka]si samya-paṭipati mata-[pitu]shu su[r]ushinga
SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

Gir. mita-[sa]stuta-ṇāṭikānaṁ bāṃhya-ṛamaṇā[naṁ] sādhu dac[naṁ]
Kāl. mita-shaṁhūtā-ṇāṭikīyāṇaṁ samanā-[ba]hānānā dana
Shāh. mī[sa]ra-saṁhūtā-ṇāṭikānaṁ śrāmaṇa-brahmaṇa dan[c]
Mān. mitra-saṁ[sa]ra-ṇāṭikana śrāmaṇa-brahmaṇa dan[c]

Gir. prāṇānaṁ anāraṁbhō sādhu (D) cta vatavyām pīṭā va putrena
Kāl. pāṇānaṁ anāl[āṁ]bhō (D) eshe vatav[j]ye p[i]tinā pi pute[n]a
Shāh. prāṇana anāra[m]bhō (D) etāṁ vatavo pītuna pi putrena
Mān. prāṇana [ana]rabhe (D) [e]she vataviye pītuna pi putrena

Gir. va bhā[t]a va mita-saṁstu[sa]-ṇās[ī]k[e]na va āva
Kāl. pi bhā[t]inā pi ś[ha]ya[m]k[ey]na pi mita-śaṁhūṭoṇānā avā
Shāh. pi bhratuna pi [spa]mikena pi mitra-saṁstutana av[a]
Mān. pi bhratuna pi spamikena pi mitra-saṁ[stu][e]na av[a]

Gir. paṭi-vesiyehi ida sādhu ida ka[t]ya[ra][n] (E) so t[a]tha
Kāl. [śa]ḷiveshiyen[ā] iya[ra]h śādhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye (E) [s]e tatha
Shāh. pratīvesiyeṇa [śa][m]adhu imaṁ kaṭavo (E) so tatha
Mān. paṭīvesiyeṇa iyaṁ sa[dhu] iyaṁ kaṭaviye (E) se tatha

Gir. karu ilokachasa āraḍho hoti parata cha annaṁraṁ
Kāl. kala[m]ta hidalokike cha kaṁ ṣalchhe hoti parata cha [a]na ata
Shāh. karat[r]i ilocks cha a[r]a[a]dheit paratra cha annaṁ

Gir. puṇaṁ bhavati tena chaṁma-dānena
Kāl. punā paśavati tenā chaṁma-dānenā
Shāh. puṇa prasavati [te]na dhrama-danena
Mān. puṇaṁ p[r]asavati te[n]a dhroma-danena

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT

Shāh. (A) Devanampiyo Priyadraṣi raya savra-prasah[nd]i
Mān. (A) Devanampiye Priyadraṣi raja savra-pa[nd]i

Gir. [pā]vajit[i]ni cha gharast[i]ni cha pūjayati d[ha]nena cha vivādhāy[ya]
Kāl. pav[jita][ni] gahasthi vā pujeti dānena vividh[aye]
Shāh. pravrajita[n]i grahasthi cha pujeti danena
Mān. [p]ra[va][it]i[ti]ni grahasthi cha pujeti danena

Gir. cha pūjaya pūjaya te (B) na tu tathā dānaṁ va pu[j]a
Kāl. cha puj[a]ye (B) u[o] ch[u] tathā dānec vā pu[j]a
Shāh. cha pujaye (B) no chu tatha [da]na va pu[j]a
Mān. cha pujaye (B) no chu tatha dana va pu[j]a
TWELFTH ROCK-EDIT

Gir. va D[e]vānapāpiyo manānte yathā kiti sāra-vadhī asa
Kāl. vā Devānapāpiye m[a]nāti athā k[i]ta śa[a]-v[a]-dhi śiyāti
Shāh. va Devānapāpiyo manāti yatha kiti sa[la]-vadhī siya
Mān. va [De]vānapāpiye manāti athā kiti sala-vadhī siya

Gir. sa[v-a-pāsa]ndānām (C) sā[r-a]-vadhī tu bahuvīdha (D) tasa tu idaṁ
Kāl. ə[a]-vā-pāśādana (C) śāla-vadhī nā bahuvīdha (D) tasa chu inaṁ
Shāh. savra-praśaṅgāndānām (C) sala-vadhī tu bahuvīdha (D) tasa tu iyo
Mān. savra-paśaṇḍana ti (C) sala-vṛudhī t[u] bahuvīdha (D) tasa chu iyaṁ

Gir. mūlaṁ ya vachi-guti kiti āṭpa-pāśaṇḍa-pūjā va para-
Kāl. mule a va[ca]-guti kiti t[i] ata-pāṣada-[vā] puja vā pala-
Shāh. mula yāṁ vacha-guti kiti ata-praśaṅga-puja va pa[ra]-
Mān. mule aṁ vach-guti kiti ata-praśaṇḍa-puja va para-

Gir. pāṣaṇḍa-garāha va no bhave aprakaraṇamhi lhukā va asa
Kāl. pāṣaṇḍa-galahā va no [śa]ya ap[a]k[a][a]naṁhi lhukā vā siyā
data
Shāh. pashānda-garana va no siya [a]pakaṇāṇaṇi lhukā va, siya
Mān. pashāda-garana va no siya apākaraṇaṇi lhukā va siya

Gir. tamhi tamhi prakaraṇa (E) pujetaya tu eva para-pāṣaṇḍa
Kāl. [t[a]g]i tasi pakalaṇ[a][i] (E) pujetaviya cha p[a]la-p[a]-[śa]da
Shāh. tasi tasi prakara[n]je (E) pujetaviya va cha para-praśaṇḍa
Mān. tasi tasi pakaṇaṇi (E) pujetaviya va cha para-praśaṇḍa

Gir. tena tana prakaraṇena (F) evaṁ karuṁ āṭpa-pāṣaṇḍaṁ cha
Kāl. tena tana akālana (F) heva kalata ata-pāṣada badhaṁ
Shāh. tena tana akareṇa (F) [e[v]-]ari karatāṁ ata-[p]rashāvaṇḍaṁ
Mān. tena tana akareṇa (F) evaṁ karatāṁ atva-paśaṇḍa badhaṁ

Gir. vadhiyati para-pāṣaṇḍasa cha upakaroti (G) tad-aṁnātha
Kāl. vadhiyati pala-pāṣaṇḍa pi vā upakaleti (G) tadā anatha
Shāh. vadheti para-praśaṇḍahānaṁ pi cha upakaroti (G) tada anatha
Mān. vadhiyati para-paśaṇḍasa pi cha upakaroti (G) tada anatha

Gir. karoto āṭpa-pāṣaṇḍaṁ cha chhanati para-pāṣaṇḍaṁ cha pi
Kāl. kalata ata-pāṣada cha chhanati pala-pāṣaṇḍa pi vā
data
Shāh. ka[ra]min[o] ata-praśaṇḍaṁ kṣhanati para-praśaṇḍaṁ cha
Mān. karatāṁ ata-paśaṇḍaṁ cha chhanati para-paśaṇḍaṁ pi cha

Gir. apakaroti (H) yo hi kochi āṭpa-pāṣaṇḍaṁ pujayati para-pāṣaṇḍaṁ
Kāl. apakaleti (H) ye [h]i kechha [a]ka-pāṣaṇḍa punāti pala-paśaṇḍa
Shāh. apakaroti (H) yo hi kochi ata-praśaṇḍaṁ pujeti [para]-[p]rashāvaṇḍa[m]
Mān. apakaroti (H) ye hi kechhi atva-paśaṇḍa pujeti para-paśaṇḍa

Gir. v[a] garahati savarī āṭpa-pāṣaṇḍa-bhātiya kiti āṭpa-pāṣaṇḍaṁ
Kāl. vā ga[l]a[h]ati shave ata-paśaṇḍa[b]hātiya vā kiti, ata-paśaṇḍaḥ
data
Shāh. garahati savre ata-praśaṇḍa-bhātiya va kiti ata-praśaṇḍaṁ
Mān. va garahati savre atva-paśaṇḍa-bhātiya va kiti atva-paśaṇḍa


Gir. dipayema iti so cha puna tatha karāto ātpa-pāsaṁda[ān] bādhatarāṁ
Kāl. [d]ipayema she cha puna tatha kalamāṁ bādhata[n] up[a]harṇ[i]
Śāh. dipayami ti so cha puna tatha karāṁ bādhata[n] upahāṁti
Mān. dipayama ti . . . puna tatha karāṁ bādhatarāṁ upahāṁti

    Gir. upahanāti (l) ta samāvāyo eva saṁcito kiṁti [a]nāmaṁnaṁsa
    Kāl. ata-paśhaṁdashā [1] (l) shamanāye vu saṁcito kiṁ ti aṁnaṁaṁsha
    Śāh. ata-prāshaṁda (l) so sayamo vo saṁcito kiṁ ti aṁnaṁaṁsa
    Mān. atva-paśha[da] (l) se samayave vo saṁcito ki[ti] aṁnaṁaṁsa

    Gir. dharmamāṁ srūnārcha susuṁsīrcha cha [y] evaṁ hi
    Śāh. dhramo srūneyu cha susrūshcyu cha ti [y] evaṁ hi
    Mān. dhramamāṁ srūn[e][u] cha [y] susrūshcyu cha ti [y] evaṁ hi

    Gir. D[e]vāmāṇpiyasa ichha kiṁti sava-pāsaṁda bahu-srūta cha asun
    Kāl. Devānāmāṇpiyashā ichha kiṁti sava-paśhaṁda bahu-sruta cha
    Śāh. Devānāmāṇpiyasa ichha kiṁti savra-praśhaṁda bahu-sruta cha[a]
    Mān. Devanāmāṇpiyasa ichha kiṁti savra-paśha[n]a bahu-sruta cha

    Gir. ka[l]aḥgama cha [a]su (K) ye cha tatra tata prasaṁna
    Kāl. kaya[n]ā cha huveyu ti1 (K) e cha tata [t[a]][a]1 p[a]sh[a]māṇa
    Śāh. kalaṇ[ga]ma cha siyasu (K) ye cha tatra tatra prasana
    Mān. kayaṇagama cha huveyu ti (K) e cha tatra tatra prasana

    Gir. tehi vatavyāṁ (L) Devānāmāṇpiyo no tathā dānāṁ va pūjāṁ
    Kāl. te[hi] va[uviye] (L) Devānāpiyē no tathā dānāṁ va pūjā
    Mān. tehi vatiyē (L) Devanāpiyē no tathā dānāṁ va pūjā[r]n

    Gir. va maṇiṇaṁ yathā kiṁti sara-vadhi asa sarvāśa-pāsadānaṁ
    Kāl. vā maṇin[i] 1 athā kiṁ ti sha[l]a-v[a]hi siyā 1 shava-paśhaṁdaṁ 1
    Śāh. va maṇiṭi ya[tha] kiṁti sala-vadhī siyati savra-praśhaḍanaṁ
    Mān. va maṇiṭi athā kiṁti sala-vadhī siyati savra-paśha[n]a

    Gir. (M) bahaka cha etaya athā vyāpatā dhaṁma-mahāmata cha
    Kāl. (M) bahakā cha[ā] etayātihāye viyāpatā dha[m]a mahāmata
    Mān. (M) [b]ahaka cha etaye athraye vapiṣṭha dhrāma-mahāmatra

    Gir. itihijhakha-mahāmata cha vacha-bhumika cha a.he cha nīkāya
    Kāl. itihidhiyakha-mahāmata vacha-bh[ā]mīkā ya a.n vā [n][k]ya[ā]
    Śāh. [s]tri[dihi]yaksha-ma[ha]matra vr[i]ca-bhumika a.n i.e cha nīkāye
    Mān. istrijaksha-mahamatra vr[ca]-bh[ā]mīka a.n cha nīkāy[e]

1 The five last words are repeated thus: so cha puna tatha karāṁti.
TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A) ayām cha etasa phala ya ātapa-pāsaunīca-vadhī cha hotī
Kāl. (A) iyaṁ cha etishā phale yam ata-pāshaunīca-vadhī cha hotī
Shāh. (A) imāṁ cha etisa [phal]am yam ata-pashaunīca-vadhī [bh]h[i]
Mān. (A) iyām cha etisa phale yam atva-pashaunīca-vadhī cha bh[ō] [i]

Gir. dhanamsa cha [dī]na
Kāl. dhanamasa cha dipa[nā]
Shāh. dhramasa cha [dī]pa[nā]
Mān. dhramasa cha [dī]pa[nā]

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A)
Kāl. (A) atha-[va]shā-1 bhishita-1 shā [De]vānampiyasha Piyadashinc lājīne
Shāh. (A) [atha]-vasha-[a]bhis[ta]sa Devanajpri[a]sa Pri[a]draśīsa ra[nō]
Mān. (A) [atha]-vashabhis[ta]sa De[v[a]najpriyasa Priyadraśīne ra[jīne

Gir. Kalinca [v . j ] . (B)
Kāl. Kaligya vijita i (B) diya[thdha-mite] pāna-saha[a]-shaha[s]e i ye
Shāh. Kaliga vijita (B) diya[thdha-mite] prana-s[hata-sa]sre ye
Mān. [Kaliga vijita (B) [dī]ya[thdha-mite] prana-[shata-sa]

Gir. [v . dh]e [sa]ta-sahasra-mātram tatra hatam bahu-tāvatakarī
tālo ma[te] (C) tato pachhā adh[hu]nā ladhesu Kalingesu
Kāl. va mat[e] (C) tato pa[chi]hā adhunā ladhesa Kalingeshu
Shāh. [va] m[i]te (C) tato [p]cha a[dhu]na ladh[e]shu [Kaligeshu]
Mān. [mat[e] (C) tato pacha adhuna la[dhe]shu Kaligeshu

Gir. t[i]v[Yo] dhanmavāyo
Kāl. tive [dhanma[vāy]e dhanma-[ka]matā [dhanmanushati cha
Shāh. tive dhrama-nilana dhrma-[ka]matā dhramanutasti cha

Gir. Devanampiyashā (D) sb[c] athi anushaye Devanampiyash[Ś]a
Kāl. Devanampiyasa (D) so [a]sti anusochana Devanap[ri]a
tālo Man. [De]vānampiyasa

Gir. (V . j .) [va]dho
Kāl. vijita[ī]nu Kaligyāni (E) avijitaṁ hi vijinamane e tataṁ vadha
Shāh. vijiniti Kaliga[nu] (E) avijitaṁ [hi vijinamano yo tat[r]a vadha
Mān.
Gir. va maraṇāṁ va apavaha va janasa ta bāḥdhāṁ
Kāl. va malane va apavaha [vā] jan[a]śāḥ [sh]e bāḍha ।
Shāh. va maraṇāṁ va apavaha va janasa tam bāḍhaḥ ।
Māṁ. [maraṇe] va apavaha va janasa] se [bāḍhaḥ] ।

Gir. vedana-mata cha g[ur]u[m]-mata cha Deva[n]aḥpiṣ[sa] (F) ।
Kāl. vedaniya-mute g[ur]u[m]-mata[cy] cha Deva[ṇ]aḥpiṣ[sa] (F) iyam ।
Shāh. v[e]daniya-mata[cy] cha Deva[ṇ]aḥpiṣ[sa] (F) idam ।
Māṁ. vedaniya-mate cha Deva[ṇ]aḥpiṣ[sa] (F) iyam ।

Gir. pi chu tato galu-matatale D[e]ṇaḥpiṣ[sa] (G) [ya] tatā ।
Shāh. pi chu [tato] guru-matatarāṁ [Devaa[ṇ]aḥpiṣ[sa] (G) ye tattra ।
Māṁ. [pi] chu tato ।

Gir. bāṃhana va samaṇa va aṇe ।
Kāl. vashati b[ā]bhāna va shama va ane va pāṣaṇḍa gih[ā]tha ।
Shāh. vasati bṛamaṇa va śramaṇa va a[n]he va prasahaṁ gra[ṇ]tha ।
Māṁ. ।

Kāl. va yeṣu vhitā esha agrabhuṣuṣhruṣa mata-pitṛuṣa ।
Shāh. va yeṣu vhitā esa agrabhuṣuṣhruṣa mata-pitṛuṣa ।

Gir. susūṁsa guru-susūṁsa mitra-saṁstata-sahāya-ṭātike[ṣ]a [su] dāsa- ।
Kāl. shuṣhruṣa galu-shuṣhā mitra-saṁstata-sahāya-ṭātike[ṣ]u dāsa- ।
Shāh. suṣhruṣa guruna suṣhruṣa mitra-saṁstata-sahāya-ṭātike[ṣ]u dāsa- ।

Gir. [bhā] ।
Kāl. bh[ā]kasi śa[m]y-paṭipati dioṣha-bhatita teshāṁ tatā hoti ।
Shāh. bhāṭakarnāṁ samma-pratipaṭi dioṣha-bhatita teshāṁ tatra bhoti ।
Māṁ. ।

Gir. va abhiratānaṁ va vinikhamāṇa (H) yesam ।
Kāl. [upa]ghāte va vadhē va abhiratānaṁ va vinikhamāṇa (H) yesam ।
Shāh. [a]pag[r]atho va vadhō va abhiratanaṁ va nikramanāṁ (H) yesam ।
Māṁ. [va]dh[e] va abhiratanaṁ va vinikramāṇa (H) yesha[r] ।

Gir. va [p.] ।
Kāl. vā pi shuvih[ī]k[ā]nam shinehe avipahine e tānam mitra-saṁstha[u]ta- ।
Shāh. va pi suvihitaniṁ [s[ī]ho aviprahino [e] tēṣa mitra-saṁstuta- ।
Māṁ. va pi s[u]vihitaniṁ s[ī]nc[ē]he avipahine e ta[n]iṁ mitra-[sāṁ] ।

Gir. [h]aya-ṭātikā vyasanaṁ prāpunaṁ tata so pi tesa ।
Kāl. sha[h]aya-ṭātikā vyasanaṁ pāpunaṁ tata she [p][i] t[a]namev[ā] ।
Shāh. sahaya-ṭātikā vasanaṁ prāpunaṁ [t[a]tra tām pi tesaḥ vo ।
Māṁ. ।
THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. [u]paghāto hāti (I) paṭibhā[?]o chesā s[ava]...
Kāl. upaghāde hoti (I) paṭibhāge chā esha[a] sh[a]va-manu[shā]iṇi
Shāh. apaghraho bhoti (I) pratibhagān cha [e]tān savra-manuṣaṇāṁ
Mān. ...

Gir. ...
Kāl. guḷ[u]-m[a]te chā Devān[ī]m[piyashā (Y) n[a]hi chā she jan[ā]cade yatā
Shāh. guru-mataṁ cha Devanampriya[sa (Y) nasti cha
Mān. guru-mate cha Devanampriyaṣa (Y) nasti cha se janapade yatra
Gir. sti ime nikāyā añatra Yone[sv]
Kāl. nathi ime nikāyā ānata Y[ō]nesh[u] bāṁhmane ch[ā] shamanē chā
Gir. ...
Kāl. [mhi] yatra nasti manuṣaṇāṁ ekaṭarāṁḥi
Mān. ekaṭare
Gir. ...
Kāl. pāsaṁdhamhi na nāma prasa[ḍ]o (K) y[ā]vata[k]o j[ano]
Shāh. pi prashaḍaspi na nāma prasad (K) so yaṁatṛo [j]a[ho]
Mān. na nāma prasade (K) se yaṁatake jane
Gir. [ta]ṭ[ā]
Shāh. tada Kalige [ha]nte cha mu[r]o cha apavuḍha]
Mān. tada Kaligesh[u] hante cha apavuḍhe
Gir. ...
Shāh. cha tato śata-bhage vā sahasra-bhagaṁ vā [a]ja guru-mataṁ
Mān. cha t[a[to] śata-bhage vā sahasra-bhage vā aja guru-ma[te]
Gir. Devānaṁ
Kāl. vā [Devāna[ī]m[piyashā]
Shāh. v[ō] Devanampriyaṣa (L) yo pi cha apaṁkṛyati khamitaviya-mate vā
Mān. [va] Devanampriya[sa (L) pa[ka] [mīlavi]
Gir. ...
Kāl. na ya saka chhamitave (M) yā cha pi aṭāviyo
Shāh. Devanamp[ū]iyasa yam śako kshamanaye (M) ya pi cha aṭāvi
Mān. ...
Gir. D[e]vānaṁpiya[sa] pījite pāti
Kāl. ...
Shāh. Devanampriyaṣa vijite bhoti ta pi anuneti anunijapeti
Gir. chate te śa)m Devānampiyasa

Kāl.  

Shāh. (N) anutape pi cha prabhava Devanāmpriyasa vuchati tesha kitī
Mān. (N) [anu]tape pi cha prabhava Devanāmpriyasa vuchati [te]śha [ki].

Gir. sava-
Kāl. [ney]u (O) ichha  
Shāh. avatrapeyu na cha [ha]mneyasu (O) ichhati hi D[e]vānampriyo savr-
Mān. (O) chha vanapri[y].

Gir. bhūtānām achhatiṁ cha sayamaṁ  
Kāl. [bhu]  
Shāh. bhutana akshati sa[r]iyanāṁ sama[ca]riyaṁ rabhasiye  
Mān.  

Gir. (P) 
Kāl. (P) iyam vu mu  
Shāh. (P) ayi cha mukha-mut[a] vijaye Devanāmpriya[sa] yo dhrama-
Mān.  

Gir. [la]čh[o]  
Kāl. vijaye (O) sh[e] cha punā ladhe  
Shāh. vijayo (O) so cha puna ladho Devanāmpriyasa iha cha  
Mān. vijaye (O) se cha [puna] la[dh]e [Deva]napri[y]asa hida cha

Gir. [sa]yesu [ch.]  
Kāl. shaveshu cha ateshu a shashu pi [yo]jana-shateshu at[a]  
Shāh. saveshu cha aṃteshu [a] shashu pi yo[jana]-śa[t]eshu yatra  

Gir. [Yo]na-rāja paraih cha tena  
Shāh. Aṃtiyoko nama [Yo]na-raja paraih cha tena Atyok[e]na  
Mān. tiyo[ge] nama Yo[ja]-raja  

Gir. chatpāro rājāno Turamāyo cha  
Kāl. chatāli 4 lajāne Tulamaye [nā]m[a] Aṃteki[ne] nāma Makā  
Shāh. chature 4 rajāṇi Turamaye nama Aṃti[ke] nama Maka  
Mān.  

Gir. cha  
Kāl. nāma Aliyashudale nāma nīcāni Chōda-Parmāya avam  
Shāh. nama Alikasudaro nama nīcha Chōda-Parmāa avam  
Mān. nā[m]a Alikasudare nama nīcha Chōda-Parmāya a

Gir.  
Kāl. Tambapārṇiya hevam[ā] (R) hevameva [hi]dā lā[ja]-viśavas[hi]  
Shāh. Ta[r]n[bapārṇi]ya (R) [c]evameva [hi]dā raja-viṣavas[i]  
THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. [Y]o[na]-Kambo
Kāl. Yona-Kambojeshu Nabha[ka]-Nabhapanthiṣu Bhoja-Pitinikya[sh]u
Shāh. Yona-Ka[m]bojeshu Nabha[ka]-Nabhitiṇa Bhoja-Pitinikeshu

Gir. rṇḍhara-Parimdeṣu savata Devāṇaṃpiyasa dhāṃmaṇuṣ[a]ṣṭiṃ
Shāh. Anūḍhara-Pālideshu savatra Devanaṃpiyasa dhramanuṣasti
Mān. Adha-[Pa]

Gir. anuv[a]lare (S) yata pi diṭi
Kāl. anuvataṇṭi (S) y[a]lta pi dūta Devāṇaṃpiyasa no yaṛti t[e] pi
Shāh. anuvaṭaṇṭi (S) yatra pi Devanaṃpiyasa dūta na vṛcchaṇti te pi
Mān. (S) yatra pi duṭa [De]vanaṃpiyasa na yaṛti te pi

Gir. sutu Devāṇaṃpiyasa [n]m dhāṃmaṇuṣastiṃ
Shāh. dhramaṇ[ṇ] anuvidihiyaṇṭi anuvidihiyiṣaṇṭiṭi cha (T) yo [sa]
Mān. dhrama[n]m[a]ṃ anuvidihiyaṇṭi [a]nuvidihiyiṣaṇṭi cha (T) ye se

Gir. cha dhamaṇ anuvidihiya
Kāl. dhama[n]m[a]ṃ anuvidihiyaṃ [a]nuvidihiyaṃ [a]nuvidihiyaṃ [ch]ā (T) ye se
Shāh. dhramaṇ[ṇ] anuvidihiyaṇṭi anuvidihiyiṣaṇṭiṭi cha (T) yo [sa]
Mān. dhrama[n]m[a]ṃ anuvidihiyaṇṭi [a]nuvidihiyiṣaṇṭi cha (T) ye se

Gir. [v]ijayo savathā puṇa vijayo
Kāl. [la]dhe etakena hoti savatā vijayo ye

Gir. piti-raso sā (U) ladhā sā piti hoti dhāṃma-vijayamhi
Kāl. piti-lasc se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhāṃma[a]-vijayashi
Shāh. piti-raso sā (U) ladha bhō[ti] piti dhrama-vijayaspi
Mān.

Gir. (V) lahu ka [u] kho sā piti (W) pālaṇṭāvyameva maha-phala
Shāh. (V) lahu ka tu kho sa piti (W) paratṛ[ka]meva maha-phala
Mān. (W) paratṛkameva maha-phala

Gir. [m]p[riyo (X) etā[ya athā]ya ayaṃ dhāṃma-
Kāl. māṇḍi[m]ti Dev[e]nari[pi]he (X) etāye cha aṭhāye iyaṃ dhā[m]ma-
Shāh. meñati Devana[n]m[riyo (X) etāye cha aṭhāye aıy dhrama-
Mān. [ma]nati De[v]anapri[ye (X) etāye cha s[a]khray[e iyaṃ dhrama-

Gir. [I] viṇ[vijayaṇ mā
Kāl. līpi likhitā kiti putā papotā me [a]su[va] nava[m] viṇ[vijay[a] ma
Shāh. līpi nip[sta] kiti putra papotra me asu nava[m] viṇ[vijaya[m] ma
Mān. līp[li]ka kiti putra prap[o]tra me a[su] nava[m] viṇ[vijaye]
SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

Gir. vijëtavyaṁ maṁśa sarasake eva vijaye cha... 
Kāl. vijayataviya manishu shayakashi no vijayaṁ yashi khaṁti cha laḥu... 
Skāh. vijetavyaṁ maṁśhu spā[kaspi] yo vijayaṁ kshaṁti cha laḥu... 
Mān. ...[tavijëyam maṁśhu saya]...

Gir. 
Kāl. daṁdatā [cha] lochetu tameva cha vijayaṁ manatu ye 
Skāh. da[m]iata cha rochetu tāṁ cha yo vija maṁś[ta] yo
Mān. 

Gir. 
Kāl. dhamma-vijaye (Y) she hidalokikya palalokiye (Z) shava 
Skāh. dhrama-vijayo (Y) so hidalokiko paralokiko (Z) sava 
Mān. (Y) hidaloke paralokiκe (Z) sava

Gir. 
Kāl. cha ka nilati hot[u] uyāma-latī (AA) sha hi 
Skāh. chati-rati bhotu ya [dh]raṁma-rati (AA) sa hi 
Mān. cha [ka] nirati hotu ya dhrama-rati (AA) sa hi

Gir. ilokikā cha pāralokikā cha 
Kāl. hil[da]lokika pā[la]lokikya 
Skāh. hidalokika paralokika 
Mān. [i]lokiki[ka] paralokiki[ka]

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A) ayaṁ dhamma-lipi Devānāmpriyena Priyadasinā r[a]ja
Kāl. (A) iyaṁ dhama-lipi Dev[nāmp]ī[ya] Priyadasinā lajina
Skāh. (A) ayi dhrama-dipi Devanāmpriyena Pri[n]a raḥa 
Mān. (A) [i]yaṁ dhrama-dipi De[va]napriyena Pri[ya]... [jīna] 
Dhau. (A) iyaṁ dhamma-lipi De[v]jaṁnapriyena Piyada[śin]a lā[jīna]
Jau. 

Gir. [e]khāpitā asti eva saṁkhit[c]na asti majhamena asti vistatana 
Kāl. likhāpitā athi yeva sukhiten [a]thi majhinena athi viṭhajena 
Skāh. nipesapita asti vo saṁkshitenā asti yo 
Mān. [likhāpitα] 
Dhaus. [likha] 
Jau. 

Gir. (B) na cha sarvaṁ [sa]rvata ghāṭitaṁ (C) mahālaka hi viṣṭitaṁ 
Kāl. (B) no hi savatā save [ghaṭite] (C) mahālaka hi viṣṭe 
Skāh. (B) na hi savatra sasāvrc gaṭite (C) mahālaka hi viṣṭe 
Mān. 
Dhau. (B) [h]i save sav[a]ta ghāṭite (C) mahāṁte hi viṣṭay e 
Jau. (B) [no] hi save savata ghāṭite (C) mahāṁte hi viṣṭay e
II. THE TWO SEPARATE ROCK-EDICTS

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

Dhau. (A) [Devāṇa]m[pi]y[asa] vachanena Tosaliyaṁ ma[hā]māta
Jau. (A) Dev[ā]nāmpīye he[va]m [a]hā (B) Sam[ā]pāyaṁ mahāmāta

Dhau. [naga]l[y][yo]hālakā va[taviya (E) [am kichhi dakhā]mi
Jau. [nag]al-viyoḥhālaka he[va]m va[taviya] (A) am kichhi dakhāmi

Dhau. hakaṃi ta[n] ichhāmi k[im][t]ī kām[ma]na pa[t]i[pādaye]هام
Dhau. duvâlata cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvâ[la]
Jau. duvâlata cha ālabheham (D) es[a] cha me mokhya-mata duvâlari

Dhau. [etasi aṭha]si am tuph[esu] anusathi (D) tuphe hi bahûsu pâna-
Jau. am a[r] tuhehu anusathi (E) phe hi bahûsu pâna-

Dhau. sahasesurūn [āyata] p[a]na[yañ ha]n gachhe[n]a su munisānari

Dhau. (E) save munise pâja mamā (F) ath[a] pâjaye ichhāmī h[a]ka[ml]
Jau. (F) sava-mu[n]ā me pâja (G) atha pâjaye ichhām[ī]

Jau. [kiṁ]ti me savena hita-sukhena y[ū]jeyū ti hi[dal]g[li]k[a] pâlalokikena

Dhau. [t]i [tathā] . . . . . muni[esu] pi [i]khhāmi [ha]ka[mr] (G) no cha
Jau. [he]rneva me ichha sava-munis[e]su (H) no chu tu[phe]

Dhau. pâpunātha av[a]-ga[m]u[k]ē [iyān aṭhe] (H) [k]ē[chha] v[a] eka-
Jau. [e]tari [p][p]u[m]ānātha avā-gar[n][k]ē [i]yār[th][e] (I) kechā eka-

Dhau. puli[se] . . . . nāti [ta]ṁ se pi desaṁ no savan[ī] (J) de[kha][ta] hi

Dhau. [t]u[phe] etari suv[i]h[i]ā pi (F) [n]itiyāṁ eka-pulise [pi aṭhi] y[e]
Jau. [tuphe] pi suvītā [p]i (K) bahuka aṭhi ye eti eka-munise

Dhau. barindhanam vā [p]aliklesam vā pâpunāti (K) tata hoti akasma
Jau. ba[m]dhanaṁ pali[kilesam] [p]i pâpunāti (L) tata [ho][ki aka]s[m]ā

Dhau. tena badhana[m]tik[a] amne cha . . . . . hu jāne da[v]ye

Dhau. dukhiyati (L) tata ichhidaviye tuphehi kinti m[a]jam paṭipādayemā
Jau. vedayati (M) tata tuphe[hi] ichhi]taye kinti majham [pa]ṭipātayem[a]

Dhau. t(M) imeh[i] chu [jāṭe]hi no saṁpaṭipajati iśāya āsulopena

Dhau. [n]hi [h]āliyena tulan[a]ya anāvatiya ālasiyena k[i]lamathena

Dhau. (N) se ichhidaviye kitiṁ ete [jāṭa] no huvevu ma[m]a
Jau. (O) hevaṁ ichhi[a]v[i]ye kinti me et[a]ni jāṭa[ni] no hveyū

Dhau. (P) eva cha mule anāsulope a[t][n]ānā cha

Dhau. (P) niti[ya]m e kilarite siyā [na] te uga[chha]
Jau. (Q) niti[ya]m [e]y[am k]il[ain]c [siya] . . . samchalitu uthāy[a]
SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

Dhau. (A) Devānāmpiyas[ā] vachanena Tosaliyaṁ kumūle mahāmātā cha
Jau. (A) Devānāmpīye hevan [a]ha] (B) Samāpāyaṁ mahamatā

Dhau. vataviya (E) aṁ kichhi dakhāṁ[i] h[akam taṁ i] ..... 
Jau. [a]ja-vachanik[a] vataviyā (C) aṁ kichhi dakh[a]mi hakam ti [chhi]mi

Dhau. duvālte cha ālābbhehaṁ (C) esa 
Jau. hakam k[i]m ti kam̄ kamañ patiपatiyerhaṁ duvāl[te] cha ālābbheha (L) esa

Dhau. cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi aṁhāri aṁ tupeh[s]u ..... 
Jau. cha me mokhya-mat[a] duvā[la] etasa [tha]sa [a][m] [uphe]su anusa[thi]

Dhau. mama (E) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi hakaṁ k[i][m]ti 
Jau. (E) sava-munisa me paja [F] atha pajā[y]e ichhāmi kiṁ ti me

Dhau. savena hi[takakhe]ha hidalakika-pālalokikāye yuvēvū ti 
Jau. savena hita-su[k]hen ya[ye]vū ti hidalakika-pālalokik[e][na]

Dhau. h[e]va[a] ..... (F) siyā aṁtānaṁ avijitānaṁ 
Jau. hevaṁmeve me ichha sava-munisesu (G) siyā aṁtānaṁ [a]vijitānaṁ

Dhau. ki-chande su laja [aphesu] ..... (G) ..... ma[va]ya ichha mama aṁtesu 
Jau. kiṁ-channde su laja apheresu ti (H) etaka [va] me ichha [a]ṁtesu

Dhau. i [p]a[p]unve te iti Devānāmp[īy] ..... [anu]v[i][g][ina] mamāye 
Jau. pāpuneyo laja hevan ichha[ti] anu[v][g][ina] hevyvū

Dhau. hūvēvū ti asvasevū cha sukhaṁmeva lahevu mama[e] 
Jau. mamiyāye [a]svasevyo cha me sukha[m]̄ev[a] cha laheyy[ū] mamate

Dhau. no dukha[m] h[e]va[m] ..... un[c]vū iti khamisati ne 
Jau. [n]o kh[a][m] hevan cha pāpuneyo kh[am]̄[sa]ti ne

1 The last eight words are repeated thus: [a]tha pajāye ichhāmi kiṁ[ti] m[ē] savena hita- sukhe[na] yuvēvū.
Dhanu. Devānapiye [ṣap]ākā ti e chakiye hhamitave mama nimitaṃ [va]
Jau. lājā e s[ā]kiye hhamitave mamaṃ nimitaṃ

Dhanu. cha dhammaṃ chalevu hidaloka palaloka[ṃ] cha
Jau. cha dharmam[ṇ] chaaley[ū] ti hidalog[am] cha palalogam cha

Dhanu. ālādhayeyu (H) etasi aṭhasi hakaṃ[ṃ] anusaśāmi tuphe
Jau. ālādhayeyu[ṇ] (I) etaye cha aṭhāye hakaṃ tupheni anusaśāmi

Dhanu. ana[n]e [e]takena hakaṃ anusaśātu chhamḍam cha veditu

Dhanu. a [hi], dhīṭ[i]jī pāṭimnā cha mamā [a]jaḷa (I) s[e] hevaṃ katu
Jau. a mama dhiti pāṭimnā cha aṣṭhā [ṣ] sa hevaṃ [ka]ṭu

Dhanu. kaṁhe cha[ī][a][v][ṭ]ye asv[a][ṣa] ... ... i [cha] tāni ena

Dhanu. pāpunevū iti atha pita tatha Devānapiye[ṛ] apāka atha cha

Dhanu. atānaṃ hevaṃ Devānapiye [a]nukaṃpāti aphe athā cha pājā

Dhanu. hevaṃ may[e] D[e]vyānapiyeṣa (Y) se hakaṃ anusaśitu [chha]ṃd[a]ṃ
Jau. hevaṃ [may]ye l[a]nie (K) tupheni hakaṃ anusaśita [chh]ṃdama

Dhanu. ch[a] veditu tu[p]hāk[a] desāvutiike

Dhanu. hosāmi etāye aṭhāye (K) paṭibalā hi tuphe[ṣ] asvāsanaye hita-

Dhanu. sukhāye cha [tesa] hidalokika-pālalo[k]i[k]āye (L) hevaṃ cha

Dhanu. kalarāṭam tuphe svagaṃ ālādha[y]ṣatha mama cha[ḥ]a ānaniyāṁ

Dhanu. ehatha (M) etāye cha aṭhāye iyaṃ lipi likhitā hida e[na]

Dhanu. [ma]ḥāmatā svasata[ṃ] sa[ma yajjasaṃtī as[v]a[ṃ]ḥaye dharmma-
Jau. [ma]ḥ[ ili]matā sāsvata[ṃ] saman yujyā avasannaṃ cha dharmma-

Dhanu. chala[n]āye cha tes[ṣ] amṭānāṃ (N) iyaṃ cha lipi [anu]ḥatunmāsaṃ

Dhanu. tiṣenā nakhatena sostviyā (O) kāmarī cha [ka]nāṣa[ṣ]i khanasi
Jau. s[ota] viyā tiṣenā (P) amṭa[l] āpi cha sostviyā
III. THE SIX PILLAR-EDICTS

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT

Töp. (A) Devanāmiyake Piyadasi laja hevan ähā (B) sajualisati-vasa-abhisitenā
Ar. (A) Devanāmiyake Piyadasi laja hevan aha (B) sajualisati-vasabhisitenā
Nand. (A) Devanāmiyake Piyadasi laja hevan äha (B) sajualisati-vasabhisitenā
Rām. (A) Devanāmiyake Piyadasi laja hevan aha (B) sajualisati-vasabhisitenā
All. (A) Devanāmiyake Piyadasi laja hevan aha (B) sajualisati-vasabhisitenā

Töp. me iyän dhañma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusañmatipādaye
Ar. me iyän dhañma-li[p]i likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusañmatipādaye
Nand. me iyän dhañma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusañmatipādaye
Rām. me iyän dhañma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusañmatipādaye
All. me iyän dhañma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusañmatipādaye

Töp. annata agāyā dhañma-kāmatāyā agāyā palikhāyā agāyā susāyā
Ar. annata agāyā dhañma-kāmatāyā agāyā palikhāy[a] agāyā susūšyā
Nand. annata agāyā dhañma-kāmatāyā agāyā palikhāyā agāyā susūsāyā
Rām. annata agāyā dhañma-kāmatāyā agāyā palikhāyā agāyā susūsāyā
All. annata agāyā dhañma-kāmatāyā agāyā palikhāyā agāyā susūsāyā

Töp. agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
Ar. agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
Nand. agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
Rām. agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
All. agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya

Töp. dhañma-pekhā dhañma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhatisati cheva
Ar. dhañma-pekhā dhañma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhatisati cheva
Nand. dhañma-pekhā dhañma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhatisati cheva
Rām. dhañma-pekhā dhañma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhatisati cheva
All. dhañma-pekhā dhañma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhatisati cheva

Töp. (E) pulisma pi cha me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhima cha
Ar. (E) pulisma pi cha me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhima cha
Nand. (E) pulisma pi cha me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhima cha
Rām. (E) pulisma pi cha me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhima cha
All. (E) pulisma pi cha me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhima cha

Töp. anuvidihiyanu sampatipādayaṃti cha alanā chapalam samapayitate
Ar. anuvidihiyanu sampatipādayaṃti cha alanā chapalam samapayitate
Nand. anuvidihiyanu sampatipādayaṃti cha alanā chapalam samapayitate
Rām. anuvidihiyanu sampatipādayaṃti cha alanā chapalam samapayitate
All. anuvidihiyanu sampatipādayaṃti cha alanā chapalam samapayitate
SECOND PILLAR-EDICT

Tâp. (A) Devânaḍâpiye Piyadasi lâja hevan aha (B) dharîme sâchû
Mir. (A) De[vâ]na[a]ḍâpiye Piyadasi lâja [hevan ā].. (B) dh[arî]me s[a]dh[û]
Ar. (A) Devânaḍâpiye Piyadasi lâja hevan aha (B) dharîme sâchû
Nand. (A) Devânaḍâpiye Piyadasi lâja hevan aha (B) dharîme sâchû
Râm. (A) Devânaḍâpiye Piyadasi lâja hevan aha (B) dharîme sâchû
All. (A) Devânaḍâpiye Piyadasi lâja hevan aha (B) dharîme sâchû

Tâp. kiyaṁ chu dharîme ti (C) apâsinave bahu kayâne dayâ dâne sache
Mir. kiyaṁ [...m[e ti (C) a[pâ]sinave bahu kayâne dayâ dâne sache
Ar. kiyaṁ chu dharîme ti (C) apâsinave bahu kayâne dayâ dâne sache
Nand. kiya chu dharîme ti (C) apâsinave bahu kayâne dayâ dâne sache
Râm. kiyaṁ chu dharîme ti (C) apâsinave bahu kayâne dayâ dâne sache
All. kiyaṁ chu dharîme ti (C) apâsinave bahu kayâne dayâ dâne sache

Tâp. sochaye (D) chakhu-dâne pi me bahuvidhe dîrîne (E) dupada-
Mir. sochaye (D) chakhu-dâna [pi me] bahuvidhe dîrîne (E) du[pà]da-
Ar. socheye ti (D) chakhu-dâne pi me bahuvidhe dîrîne (E) dupada-
Nand. socheye ti (D) chakhu-dâne pi me bahuvidhe dîrîne (E) dupada-
Râm. socheye ti (D) chakhu-dâne pi me bahuvidhe dîrîne (E) dupada-
All. sochaye (D) chakhu-dâne pi me bahuvidhe dîrîne (E) dupada-

Tâp. chatupadesu pakhi-vâlichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-
Mir. cha[tu]p[â]desu pakhi-vâlichalesu viv[i]dhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-
Ar. chatupadesu pakhi-vâlichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-
Nand. chatupadesu pakhi-vâlichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-
Râm. chatupadesu pakhi-vâlichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-
All. chatupadesu pakhi-vâlichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-
THIRD PILLAR-EDICT

Tēp. (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ahā (B) kāyānāmmeva dekhati
Mīr. (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ahā (B) kāyānāmmeva de [ ]
Ar. (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ahā (B) kāyānāmmeva dekhanti
Nand. (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ahā (B) kāyānāmmeva dekhanti
Rām. (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ahā (B) kāyānāmmeva dekhanti
All. (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ahā (B) kāyānāmmeva dekhati

Tēp. iyaṁ me kāyaṁ keṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṁ d[e]khati iyaṁ me
Mīr. ........ kāyaṁ keṭe ti (C) no min[ ] pāpaṁ dekhati iyaṁ me
Ar. iyaṁ me kāyaṁ keṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṁ dekhanti iyaṁ me
Nand. iyaṁ me kāyaṁ keṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṁ dekhanti iyaṁ me
Rām. iyaṁ me, kāyaṁ keṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṁ dekhanti iyaṁ me
All. iyaṁ me kāyaṁ keṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṁ dekhanti iyaṁ me

Tēp. pāpe keṭe ti iyaṁ vā āśīnave nāmā ti (D) dūpaṭivekhe chu kho
Mīr. pāp[e keṭe ti iyaṁ va] āśīnave nāmā ti (D) [du]paṭivekhe chu kho
Ar. pāpe keṭe ti iyaṁ va āśīnave nāmā ti (D) dūpaṭivekhe chu kho
Nand. pāpe keṭe ti iyaṁ va āśīnave nāmā ti (D) dūpaṭivekhe chu kho
Rām. pāpe keṭe ti iyaṁ va āśīnave nāmā ti (D) dūpaṭivekhe chu kho
All. pāpake keṭe ti iyaṁ vā āśīnave nāmā ti ........
THIRD PILLAR-EDICT

Tōp. esā (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāma
Mīr. esā (E) hevaṁ chu kho [esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni] nāma
Ar. esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāma
Nand. esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāma
Rām. esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāma

Tōp. atha chaṁdiye niḥūliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va
Ar. ti atha chaṁdiye niḥūliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va
Nand. ti atha chaṁdiye niḥūliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va
Rām. ti atha chaṁdiye niḥūliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va

Tōp. hakari mā palibhasayisam (G) esa bādha dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me
Mīr. hakari mā palibha[sa]y[sa]ṁ (G) b[a][dhaṁ] dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me
Ar. hakari mā palibhasayisam ti (G) esa bā[tha]ṁ dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me
Nand. hakari mā palibhasayisam ti (G) esa bā[tha]ṁ dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me
Rām. hakari mā palibhasayisam (G) esa bā[tha]ṁ dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me

Tōp. hidatikāye iyaṁmana me pālatikāye
Mīr. [hi]dat[ī]kāye iyaṁ me pālatikāye
Ar. hidatikāye iyaṁmana me pālatikāye ti
Nand. hidatikāye iyaṁmana me pālatikāye ti
Rām. hidatikāye iyaṁmana me pālatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT

Tōp. (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi [ā]ja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena
Ar. (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena
Nand. (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena
Rām. (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena

Tōp. me iyaṁ dhaṁma-liṇī likhāpitā (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu
Ar. me iyaṁ dhaṁma-liṇī likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu
Nand. me iyaṁ dhaṁma-liṇī likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu
Rām. me iyaṁ dhaṁma-liṇī likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu

Tōp. janasi āyatā (D) tesāṁ ye abhihāle va dārīde va ata-patīye me
Ar. janasi āyatā (D) tesāṁ ye abhihāle va d[a]ṁde va ata-patīye me
Nand. janasi āyatā (D) tesāṁ ye abhihāle va dārīde va ata-patīye me
Rām. janasi āyatā (D) tesāṁ ye abhihāle va dārīde va ata-patīye me

Tōp. kaṭe kinti lajūkā asvatha abhītā karīṃmā pavatayevū janasa
Ar. kaṭe kinti lajūkā asvatha abhīta karīṃmī pavatayevū ti janasa
Nand. kaṭe kinti lajūkā asvatha abhīta karīṃmā pavatayevū ti janasa
Rām. kaṭe kinti lajūkā asvatha abhīta karīṃmī pavatayevū ti janasa
राम. सुखियाना ज्यानपादसा हिता-सुक्हानि उपहागहुः अनुगहीनेवः च (E) सुखियाना-

अर. दुधियाना ज्यानपादसा हिता-सुक्हानि उपहागहुः अनुगहीनेवः च (E) सुखियाना-

नान्द. दुधियाना ज्यानपादसा हिता-सुक्हानि उपहागहुः अनुगहीनेवः च (E) सुखियाना-

अर. किंती हिदतासचा पालतासचा अलाधयेण्य ति (F) लजुका पि लगहरण्टी

नान्द. किंती हिदतासचा पालतासचा अलाधयेण्य (F) लजुका पि लगहरण्टी

राम. किंती हिदतासचा पालतासचा अलाधयेण्य (F) लजुका पि लगहरण्टी

राम. पाँचिचालितवे मान (G) पुलिसानी पि मे चहर्दामन्नानि पाँचिचालिसांती

अर. पाँचिचालितवे मान (G) पुलिसानी पि मे चहर्दामन्नानि पाँचिचालिसांती

नान्द. पाँचिचालितवे मान (G) पुलिसानी पि मे चहर्दामन्नानि पाँचिचालिसांती

राम. पाँचिचालितवे मान (G) पुलिसानी पि मे चहर्दामन्नानि पाँचिचालिसांती

राम. (H) ते पि चा कानि वियोविदांसितं येनामानि लजुका चहरान्टी

अर. (H) ते पि चा कानि वियोविदांसितं येनामानि लजुका चहरान्टी

नान्द. (H) ते पि चा कानि वियोविदांसितं येनामानि लजुका चहरान्टी

राम. (H) ते पि चा कानि वियोविदांसितं येनामानि लजुका चहरान्टी

राम. अलाधयितावे (F) अथ्ह हि पाजानि वियात्ये धातिये निसिज्यु असवात्ये

अर. अलाधयितावे (F) अथ्ह हि पाजानि वियात्ये धातिये निसिज्यु असवात्ये

नान्द. अलाधयितावे (F) अथ्ह हि पाजानि वियात्ये धातिये निसिज्यु असवात्ये

राम. अलाधयितावे (F) अथ्ह हि पाजानि वियात्ये धातिये निसिज्यु असवात्ये

राम. हौति वियात्ये धाति चाघातिमे पाजानि सुक्हामि पालिहात्ये हेवामि

अर. हौति वियात्ये धाति चाघातिमे पाजानि सुक्हामि पालिहात्ये ति हेवामि

थान. हौति वियात्ये धाति चाघातिमे पाजानि सुक्हामि पालिहात्ये ति हेवामि

थान. हौति वियात्ये धाति चाघातिमे पाजानि सुक्हामि पालिहात्ये ति हेवामि

मूर्त. मान्य लजुका काता ज्यानपादसा हिता-सुक्हाये (F) येना एति अभिदाि

मूर्त. मान्य (la)य्युक्ता (F) येना एति अभिदाि

अर. मान्य (la)य्युक्ता काता ज्यानपादसा हिता-सुक्हाये (F) येना एति अभिदाि

नान्द. मान्य (la)य्युक्ता काता ज्यानपादसा हिता-सुक्हाये (F) येना एति अभिदाि

थान. मान्य (la)य्युक्ता काता ज्यानपादसा हिता-सुक्हाये (F) येना एति अभिदाि

राम. मान्य (la)य्युक्ता काता ज्यानपादसा हिता-सुक्हाये (F) येना एति अभिदाि

मूर्त. अस्वात्यासंतान अविमान वार्मानि पवतायेवृ ति एतेनां

मूर्त. अस्वात्यासंतान अविमान वार्मानि पवतायेवृ ति एतेनां

अर. अस्वात्यासंतान अविमान वार्मानि पवतायेवृ ति एतेनां

नान्द. अस्वात्यासंतान अविमान वार्मानि पवतायेवृ ति एतेनां

थान. अस्वात्यासंतान अविमान वार्मानि पवतायेवृ ति एतेनां
### FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top.</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>lajkūkānāṁ</th>
<th>abhihāle va daṁde va ata-patiye kāte</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mir.</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>[laj][k][a][h][a][m]</td>
<td>ata-patiye kāṭ[e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar.</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>lajkūkānāṁ</td>
<td>abhihāle va daṁde va ata-patiye kāte</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nand.</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>lajkūkānāṁ</td>
<td>abhihāle va daṁde va ata-patiye kāte</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rām.</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>lajkūkānāṁ</td>
<td>abhihāle va daṁde va ata-patiye kāte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>[kānāṁ] abhihāle va daṁde va ata-patiye kāte</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top.</th>
<th>(K)</th>
<th>ichhitaviye</th>
<th>[h]i esa kiṁti viyohāla-samatā cha siya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mir.</td>
<td>(K)</td>
<td>ichhitavi</td>
<td>[h]ala-samatā cha[a] siya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar.</td>
<td>(K)</td>
<td>ichhitaviye</td>
<td>hi esa kiṁti viyohāla-samatā cha siya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nand.</td>
<td>(K)</td>
<td>ichhitaviye</td>
<td>hi esa kiṁti viyohāla-samatā cha siya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām.</td>
<td>(K)</td>
<td>ichhitaviye</td>
<td>hi esa kiṁti viyohāla-samatā cha siya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All.</td>
<td>(K)</td>
<td>[i]chh[i][a][y][c]</td>
<td>[i] c[a] k[i̯][i̯][a] la-samatā[ī] cha siya</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top.</th>
<th>dāndā-samatā cha</th>
<th>(L) avā ite pi cha me āvuti bārīdhana-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mir.</td>
<td>dāndā-sa[m]a</td>
<td>[m] āvutī [bārīdhana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar.</td>
<td>dāndā-samatā cha</td>
<td>(L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti bārīdhana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nand.</td>
<td>dāndā-samatā cha</td>
<td>(L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti bārīdhana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām.</td>
<td>dāndā-samatā cha</td>
<td>(L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti bārīdhana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All.</td>
<td>dā[n]da-samatā cha</td>
<td>(L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti bārīdhana-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top.</th>
<th>badhānāṁ munisānāṁ</th>
<th>tilla[da]-dāndānāṁ pata-vadhānāṁ tiṁni divasa[n̞]i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mir.</td>
<td>[badh][a]nāṁ munisā[n̞]aṁ</td>
<td>vasvadhānāṁ tiṁni divasa[n̞]i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar.</td>
<td>badhānāṁ munisā[n̞]aṁ</td>
<td>tilla-dāndānāṁ pata-vadhānāṁ tiṁni divasa[n̞]i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nand.</td>
<td>badhānāṁ munisānāṁ</td>
<td>tilla-dāndānāṁ pata-vadhānāṁ tiṁni divasa[n̞]i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām.</td>
<td>badhānāṁ munisānāṁ</td>
<td>tilla-dāndānāṁ pata-vadhānāṁ tiṁni divasa[n̞]i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All.</td>
<td>badhānāṁ munisānāṁ</td>
<td>tilla-dāndānāṁ pata-vadhānāṁ tiṁni divasa[n̞]i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top.</th>
<th>me yote dinne (M) nātikā va kāni nihapayisaṁti jīvītaye</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mir.</td>
<td>[m]e y[ote] dinne (M) payisa[n̞]ti j[i̯][i̯]v[i̯]taye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar.</td>
<td>me yote dinne (M) nātikā va kāni nihapayisaṁti jīvītaye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nand.</td>
<td>me [yote] dinne (M) nātikā va kāni nihapayisaṁti jīvītaye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām.</td>
<td>me [yote] dinne (M) nātikā va kāni nihapayisaṁti jīvītaye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All.</td>
<td>yote dinne (M) [k]ā va kāni nihapayisaṁti jīvītaye</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top.</th>
<th>tānaṁ nāsāriṁtaṁ vā nihapayitā dānaṁ dāhānti pālātikam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mir.</td>
<td>tānaṁ nāsāriṁtaṁ [v]ā ni pālātikam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar.</td>
<td>tānaṁ nāsāriṁtaṁ nihapayitave dānaṁ dāhānti pālātikam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nand.</td>
<td>tānaṁ nāsāriṁtaṁ nihapayitave dānaṁ dāhānti pālātikam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām.</td>
<td>tānaṁ nāsāriṁtaṁ nihapayitave dānaṁ dāhānti pālātikam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All.</td>
<td>tānaṁ nāsāriṁtaṁ nihapayitave dānaṁ dāhānti pālātikam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top.</th>
<th>upavāsaṁ va kachhānti (N) ichhā hi me hevaṁ niludhasi pi</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mir.</td>
<td>upavāsaṁ va [k]ā [N] hevaṁ niludhasi pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar.</td>
<td>upavāsaṁ va kachhānti (N) ichhā hi me hevaṁ niludhasi pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nand.</td>
<td>upavāsaṁ va kachhānti (N) ichhā hi me hevaṁ niludhasi pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām.</td>
<td>upavāsaṁ va kachhānti (N) ichhā hi me hevaṁ niludhasi pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All.</td>
<td>upavāsaṁ va [k]ācchha[m]i (N) [h]i me hevaṁ niludhasi pi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT

Tōp. (A) Devānampiye Piṣayasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvīṣati-vasa-abhīṣitena
Ar. (A) Devānampiye Piṣayasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvīṣati-vasa-bhīṣitasa
Naud. (A) Devānampiye Piṣayasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvīṣati-vasa-bhīṣitasa
Rām. (A) Devānampiye Piṣayasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvīṣati-[va]bha-bhīṣitena
All. (A) . . . . . . [p]iṣayasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvīṣati-vasa-bhīṣitena

Tōp. me imāni jatāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyathā suke salikā alune
Ar. me imāni pi jatāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyathā suke salikā alune
Naud. me imāni pi jatāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyath[ā] suke salikā alune
Rām. me imāni pi jatāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyathā suke salikā alune
All. me imāni jatāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyathā suke salikā alune

Tōp. chakavāke hanse naṃdīmuṅhe gelaṭe jatukā ambā-kapilika duṇi
Ar. chakavāke hanse naṃdīmuṅhe gelaṭe jatukā ambā-kapilika duṇi
Naud. chakavāke hanse naṃdīmuṅhe gelaṭe jatukā ambā-kapilika duṇi
Rām. chakavāke hanse naṃdīmuṅhe gelaṭe jatukā ambā-kapilika duṇi
All. chaka[v]āke . . . . [naṃdī]m[u]ṅhe gelaṭe jatuk[ā] ambā-kipilika duṇi

Tōp. anāthika-machhe vedavayeke Gaṅga-puṭuka samkuṇja-machhe kapha[t[a]-
Ar. anāthika-machhe vedavayeke Gaṅga-puṭuka samkuṇja-machhe kaphaṭa-
Naud. anāthika-machhe vedavayeke Gaṅga-puṭuka samkuṇja-machhe kaphaṭa-
Rām. anāthika-machhe vedavayeke Gaṅga-puṭuka samkuṇja-machhe kaphaṭa-
All. anāthika-machhe vedavayeke Gaṅga-puṭuka samkuṇja-machhe kaphaṭa-

Tōp. sayake paṭīna-sasc simale saṅḍaka okapimde palasate seta-kapote
Ar. sayake paṭīna-sasc simale saṅḍaka okapimde palasate seta-kapote
Naud. sayake paṭīna-sasc simale saṅḍaka okapimde palasate seta-kapote
Rām. sayake paṭīna-sasc simale saṅḍaka okapimde palasate seta-kapote
All. . . . . . . [k[e] pūrīna-sasc ‘simale saṅḍa . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [ta]-kapote

Tōp. gāma-kapote save chatuṇḍe ye paṭībhogam no eti na cha
Ar. gāma-kapote save chatuṇḍe ye paṭīpogam no eti no cha
Naud. gāma-kapote save chatuṇḍe ye paṭībhogam no eti na cha
Rām. gāma-kapote save chatuṇḍe ye paṭībhogam no eti na cha
FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT

Top. khādiyati (C) ........ i [e]jakā cha sūkali cha gabhīni va pāyāminā
Ar. khādiy[ā]ti (C) ajakā nānī edakā cha sukali cha gabhīni va pāyāminā
Nānd. khādiyati (C) ajakā nānī edakā cha sūkali cha gabhīni va pāyāminā
Rām. khādiyati (C) ajakā nānī edakā cha sūkali cha gabhīni va pāyāminā
All. .... nā .......... [p]ā[ya]ni

Top. va avadhī[;y. p.[ta]ke pi cha kāni āśāmāsike (D) vadhī-kuкуte
Mitr. [potake pi cha] k[ā]n[i] ... ke (D) vadhī[k]-kuкуte
Ar. va avadhīya potake cha kāni āśāmāsike (D) vadhī-kuкуte
Nānd. va avadhīya potake cha kāni āśāmāsike (D) vadhī-kuкуte
Rām. va avadhīya potake cha kāni āśāmāsike (D) vadhī-kuкуte

Top. no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpetaviye (F) dāve anāthāye vā
Mitr. no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajī[ve] ... ta[v]jīve (F) dāve [a]nāthāye vā
Ar. no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve anāthāye vā
Nānd. no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve anāthāye vā
Rām. no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve anāthāye vā
All. .... sajīve no jhā[pa]

Top. vihīsāye vā no jhāpetaviye (G) jivena jīve no pusītaviye
Ar. vihīsāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jivena jīve no pusītaviye
Nānd. vihīsāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jivena jīve no pusīta iye
Rām. vihīsāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jivena jīve no pusītaviye

Top. (H) tisu chātumāsīsu tisāyaṁ puṁnamāsiyaṁ tiṁni divasāni
Mitr. (H) tisu chātumāsīsu [t]isāyaṁ puṁnaṁāsiyaṁ tiṁni divasāni
Ar. (H) tisu chātumāsīsu tisāyaṁ puṁnamāsiyaṁ tiṁni divasāni
Nānd. (H) tisu chātumāsīsu tisāyaṁ puṁnamāsiyaṁ tiṁni divasāni
Rām. (H) tisu chātumā[s]sīsu tisāyaṁ puṁnamāsiyaṁ tiṁni divasāni
All. .... .... .... [n]ī

Top. chāvudaśaṁ paṁnaḍaśaṁ paṭi[pa]dāy[e] dhuvāye cha anupoṣaṭhaṁ
Mitr. chāvudaśaṁ paṁnaḍaśaṁ paṭi[p]dā dh[ṛ]uvāye cha anupoṣaṭhaṁ
Ar. chāvudaśaṁ paṁnaḍaśaṁ paṭi[pa]dān dhuvāye cha anupoṣaṭhaṁ
Nānd. chāvudaśaṁ paṁnaḍaśaṁ paṭi[p]dān dhuvāye cha anupoṣaṭhaṁ
Rām. chāvudaśaṁ paṁnaḍaśaṁ paṭi[p]dān dhuvāye cha anupoṣaṭhaṁ

Top. machhe avadhiye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yevā divasāni nāga-
Mitr. machhe avadhiye no pi viketaviye (I) etā[ni] yevā divasāni n[ā]ga-
Ar. machhe avadhīye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yevā divasāni nāga-
Nānd. machhe avadhīye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yevā divasāni nāga-
Rām. machhe avadhīye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yevā divasāni nāga-

Top. vanasi kevāṭa-bhogasi yāni armnāni pi jiva-nikāyāni no harātaviyāni
Mitr. van[a]si kevāṭa-bhogasi yāni armnāni pi jiva-nikāyāni[ ] no [ha]rātaviyāni
Ar. vanasi kevāṭa-bhogasi yāni armnāni pi jiva-nikā[ā]yāni no harātaviyāni
Nānd. vanasi kevāṭa-bhogasi yāni armnāni pi jiva-nikāyāni no harātaviyāni
Rām. vanasi kevāṭa-bhogasi yāni armnāni pi jiva-nikāyāni no harātaviyāni
SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

T. op. (7) athami-pakhaye chāvudasāye paṁnadāsāye tisāye punāvasune tisu
Mir. (7) athami[pakhaye] chāvudasāye paṁna[da]sāye tisāye punāvasune tisu
Ar. (7) athami-pakhaye chāvudasāye paṁna[da]sāye tisāye punāvasune tisu
Nand. (7) athami-pakhaye chāvudasāye paṁna[da]sāye tisāye punāvasune tisu
Rām. (7) athami-pakhaye chāvudasāye paṁna[da]sāye tisāye punāvasune tisu

T. op. chāturmāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake edake sūkale
Mir. chāturmāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nilakhitavi[ye] ajake edake sūkale
Ar. chāturmāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake edake sūkale
Nand. chāturmāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake edake sūkale
Rām. chāturmāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake edake sūkale

T. op. e vā pi aṁne nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye (K') tisāye punāvasune
Mir. e vā pi aṁ[ne] nilakah[iyati] [no] nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune[e]
Ar. e vā pi aṁne nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune
Nand. e vā pi aṁne nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune
Rām. e vā pi aṁne nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune

T. op. chāturmāśiye chāturmāśi-pakhaye asvasā gonaṣa lakahane no kaṭaviye
Mir. chāturmāśiye chāturmāśi-pakhaye asvasā gonaṣa lakahane no ....[v]iye
Ar. chāturmāśiye chāturmāśi-pakhaye asvasa gonaṣa lakahane no kaṭaviye
Nand. chāturmāśiye chāturmāśi-pakhaye asvasa gonaṣa lakahane no kaṭaviye
Rām. chāturmāśiye chāturmāśi-pakhaye asvasa gonaṣa lakahane no kaṭaviye
All. ... [lakha][e no kaṭaviye]

T. op. (L) yaśa-saduvīsati-vasa-abbhisitena me etaye antalikāye paṁnavisati
Mir. (L) yaśa-saduvīsati-vaṣa-abbhisitena me etaye aṁtalikāye paṁnavisati
Ar. (L) yaśa-saduvīsati-vasābhisitasa me etaye antalikāye paṁnavisati
Nand. (L) yaśa-saduvīsati-vasābhisitena me etaye antalikāye paṁnavisati
Rām. (L) yaśa-saduvīsati-vasābhisitena me etaye antalikāye paṁnavisati
All. (L) [y]a

T. op. bārṇdhana-mokkāni kaṭāni
Mir. bārṇdhana-mokkāni kaṭāni
Ar. bārṇdhana-mokkāni kaṭāni
Nand. bārṇdhana-mokkāni kaṭāni
Rām. bārṇdhana-mokkāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT

T. op. (A) Devāṇampiye Piyadosi lāja hevaṁ ahā (B) duvādasas-
Mir. (A) Devāṇampiye Piyadosi lāja hevaṁ ahā (B) duvā[da]sas-
Ar. (A) Devāṇampiye Piyadosi lāja hevaṁ ahā (B) duvā[a]s-
Nand. (A) Devāṇampiye Piyadosi lāja hevaṁ ahā (B) duvā[a]s-
Rām. (A) Devāṇampiye Piyadosi lāja hevaṁ ahā (B) duvādas-
All. (A) ...... [p]iye [P]iyada[s] [Ia] .

T. op. vasa-abbhisitena me dharman-liqupitā lokasā hita-sukhaye se tam
Mir. vasa-abbhisitena me dharman-liqupitā lokasā hita-sukhaye se tam
Ar. vasa-abbhisitena me dharman-liqupitā lokasā hita-sukhaye se tam
Nand. (va)sa-abbhisitena me dharman-liqupitā lokasā hita-sukhaye se tam
Rām. vasa-abbhisitena me dharman-liqupitā lokasā hita-sukhaye se tam
### IV. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSRIPTION AND COGNATE INSCRIPTIONS

| Rūp. | (A) Devānāmpiyē | heva[r̥]ā āhā | (B) satti[ra]kekāni aḍhati[y]āni |
| Sah. | (A) Devānāmpiyē | h[va]m ā | ... | [iyāni] |
| Bār. | (A) Devānāmpiyē | āh[ā] | (B) sā[t]i | ... |
| Brah. | (B) Devānāmpiyē | ānāpayati | (C) adhikāni | adhātīyāni |
| Śidd. | (B) [Dev'a]na[ṁ]piyē | hevanī āhā | (C) adhikāni | aḍ[y]āni |
| Jāṭ. | (B) Dev[a]n[a] | ... |

| Rūp. | va | ya sumi prakāsa | [Sa]k[e] | (C) no chu | bāḍhi |
| Sah. | [savachhalanī] | a[ṁ] upāsake | sumi | (C) na chu | bāḍhānī |
| Bār. | vasā[n]i | ya hakaṁ | upāsake | (C) [no chu] | bāḍhānī |
| Mās. | vasha[n]i | am sum[n]i | Bu[dha]-Śake |
| Brah. | v[a]'sāni | ya hakaṁ | sa[ke] | (D) no tu kho | bāḍhānī |
| Śidd. | vasāni | ya ha[ka]ṁ | u[pāsake] | (D) no tu kho | bāḍha |
| Jāṭ. | ... | ya hakaṁ | ... | (D) | kho bāḍha |

| Rūp. | pakate |
| Sah. | [palaka]m[r]e | (D) sātileke | chu |
| Bār. | ... | (D) sav[a]chhale |
| Mās. | ... | ... |
| Brah. | prakarnte | husāṁ ekāṁ savachharāṁ | (E) sātireke | tu kho |
| Śidd. | pakarnte | husāṁ ek[aṁ] sa[vachha] | (E) [sātire]ke | tu kho |
| Jāṭ. | ... | (E) [tīr]eke |

| Rūp. | chhavachhare | ya sumi haka[r̥] | sagh[a] | up[e]te | bāḍhi | ch[a] |
| Sah. | sāḍhi[ke] | aṁ | mamayā | saghe | [u]payate | [ba]dha cha |
| Bār. | ... | am | mamayā | saghe | [u]payate | [u]hh |
| Mās. | [m[i] | [s]amgha[r̥] | [u]pa[g]ate | ... |
| Brah. | saṁvachharcīn | yaṁ | mayā | samgha | upayite | bāḍhān cha |
| Śidd. | saṁvachhare | [yaṁ] | mayā | samgha | upayite | bāḍhān [cha] |
| Jāṭ. | ... | [yaṁ] | [ā] |

| Rūp. | pakate | (E) yā | [i]māya | kāḷāya | Jāṁbudipasi |
| Sah. | [te] | (E) [etena] cha | anṭ[a]ṭena | ... | Jāṁbudipasi |
| Bār. | ... | ... | ... | ... | Jāṁbudipasi |
| Mās. | m[i] | [u]pa[g]ate | (D) pure | ... | Jāṁbu ... [s]i |
| Brah. | me | pakarnte | (F) iminā | chu | kālenā | amisā samāna |
| Śidd. | [me] | pakarnte | (F) [i]m[ā]nā | chu | kālenā | [a]misā samāna |
| Jāṭ. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
Rūp. amīśā devā hūṣu te dānī miṣāḥ kaṭāḥ
Sah. arūmisāṁ [de]vā sāhita munīsā [ma]sīṁ-deva kaṭāḥ
Bair. amīśā na devehi ... [rnj] ... 
Mas. [ye amīśā devā hūṣu] te [dānī] misibhūtā
Brah. munīsā Jāṁbūdi-pāsā miṣāṁ devehi
Śidd. mu ... Jāṁbū[ṛ] ... [miṣā] devehi
Yāt ...

Rūp. (F) pakamasi hi [c]a phale (G) no cha esā mahatattā
Sah. (F) [pala] ... [iyaṁ phale] (G) [no] ... [yaṁ] mahatattā va
Bair. (F) ... [kajmasa] esa ... [c] (G) [no] hi el s[e] ma ha taneva
Mas. (E) iya a[the]
Brah. (G) pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale (H) no hiyaṁ sakye
Śidd. (G) pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale (H) no [h]i iya sak[e]
Yāt. (G) ... [hi] iyaṁ ... 

Yāt.

Rūp. p[ā]potave khudakena pi
Sah. chakiye pā[ṛ]a[ṛ]a[ye]t khudakena pi
Bair. chakiye ...
Mas. [khu]dake[na] pi
Brah. maḥātpeneva pāpotave kāmāṁ tu kho khudakena pi
Śidd. [ma ... [ne]va pāpo[ṛ]a[ye] kāmāṁ tu kho khudakena pi
Yāt ...

Rūp. pa[k]amam[ṛ]nenā sakīye pīpule pā svage ārodheva
Sah. palakamāmīnenā vipule pī s[ū]ja ... [k]īye [āl]a ... [ve]l
Bair. ... kamamīnenā vipule pī svage [cha]jīye [ā]lācheta[v]e
Mas. dhama-yute[na] sake adhigatave (F) na hevaṁ dakhitaviye
Brah. pakam[ṛ]mī ... neva vipule svage sakye ārāchetauve
Śidd. [pa ...] na [v]ipule svage sak[e] ārāchetauve
Yāt ...

Rūp. (H) etiya ṛṭhāya cha ṣāvane kāte kh[u]dakā cha
Sah. (H) se etaye ṛṭhāye iyaṁ ṣāvane kḥudakā cha
Bair. (H) ...
Mas. [udā]lakē va ima adhigachch[e]yā ti (G) [kḥudak]e [cha]
Brah. (I) ef[ṛ]yaṭhāya iyaṁ ṣāvane śāvāpīte ...
Śidd. (I) [s]e ... ya [iyaṁ] śāvane śāvīte yathā khu[dakā cha]
Yāt ...

Rūp. udālā cha pakamatu ti atā pi cha jānanitū
Sah. udālā cha pala[kamān]itū aṁtā pi cha [a] jānanitū
Bair. [u][k][a][ṛ]a cha [pala]kamātu [t]i aṁtā pi cha jānanitū ti
Mas. [udā]lakē cha vatiyyā hevaṁ ve karaṇitāṁ bha[dak]e
Śidd. [maḥāṭp]a cha imaṁ [pa]kameyu ti atā cha
Yāt ...
Rāp. iya paka[rā va] kiti chira-thitike siyā (I) iya hi aṭhe
Bair. [ch]ila-thit
Mas. [se a] t[i]k[e] cha
Brah. chira-thitike cha iyaṁ [paka] (Y) iyaṁ cha aṭhe
Śidd. [chira]-thi[t]k[e] cha iyaṁ pakame hoti (Y)
Yāṭ. [cha]

Rāp. vaḍhi vaḍhisiti vipula cha vaḍhisiti
Sah. vaḍhisati vipulaṁ pi cha vaḍhisati diyaḍhiyaṁ
Bair. laṁ pi vaḍhisati
Mas. va[ḍhi]siti cha diya[ḍhi]yaṁ
Brah. vaḍhisiti vipulaṁ pi cha vaḍhisiti
Śidd. va[ḍhi]siti vipulaṁ pi cha vaḍhisiti
Yāṭ. [ḍh] [p]ulaṁ pi

Rāp. apalaḍhiyaṇa diyaḍhiya vaḍhisata (Y) iya cha aṭhe pavati[su]
Sah. aval[a]dihiyaṇa diya[a]dihiyaṁ vaḍhisati (L) ima cha aṭhaṁ pavatesu
Bair. diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhi[s]aṁ
Mas. he[v]aṁ ti
Brah. avaraḍhiya diyaḍhiyaṁ [vaḍhi]siti
Śidd. [a] [vaḍhiya]ṁ vaḍhisiti
Yāṭ. [ya]ḥyaṁ

Rāp. lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha cha aṭhi saḷa-th[abh]e sīla-

Rāp. tha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta (L) etinā cha vayajanena yāvataka
Sah. pi [li]khāpayatha tji (L) āvate
Sār. cha tupsaṁ ahale savara vivasetava[y] ti

Rāp. (M) vy[u]thenā sa[va]ne kaṭe
Sah. (Y) iyaṁ [cha sa]va ne [v]yuthena (K) duve sapa[ṇ]a
Brah. (K) iyaṁ [cha savaṇa]e [va]p[i]le vyuthena
Śidd. (K) [ya]ṁ [cha] sa[va]ne
Yāṭ. (K) [sa]va[ne]

Rāp. (N) 200 50 6 sata vivāsā ta
Sah. lati-satā vivutha ti 200 50 6
Brah. (L) 200 50 6
Śidd. (L) [200] 50 6
Yāṭ. (L) 200 50 6
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This index contains every word of Aśoka's inscriptions, with the exception of a few particles (cha, pi, rā, etc.). Of the six pillar-edicts, only the Delhi-Tōprā version is quoted; but one of the five other copies of these edicts is referred to if the reading of one or more of them differs from the standard text. The following abbreviations are employed:

Gir. = Girnār.
Kāl. = Kālā.
Shāh. = Shāh-bāzārgāhī.
Mān. = Mānsehrā.
Dhau. = Dhaukī.
Sep. = Separate edicts (of Dhaukī and Jaugadā).
Sōp. = Sōpārā.
Tōp. = Delhi-Tōprā.
Mr. = Delhi-Mirāb.
Ar. = Lāuriyā-Ararāj.
Nand. = Lāuriyā-Nandangār.
Rām. = Rāmpūrvā.
All. = Alahabad-Koṣām.
Qu. = Queen's edict.
Kān. = Kānṣāmbī edict.
Sāth. = Sāthchī.
Sāḥ. = Sāṁārāth.
Rum. = Rummindēt.
Nig. = Nigālī Sāgar.
Rūp. = Rūmāth.
Sah. = Sahāsārām.
Bair. = Bairāt.
Calc. = Calcutta-Bairāt.
Mas. = Maskī.
Brah. = Brahmāgiri.
Śīk. = Śīdāpurā.
Jat. = Jattāga-Rāmēśvara.
Bar. = Barībar.

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CORRIGENDA

Introduction, pages xliv-xlvi. — Since I wrote chapter IV of the Introduction, I have lost my belief in the correctness of the meaning 'on tour', assigned to evushta, and am now convinced that this past participle has to be taken in the same sense as e.g. in the Bandhāyana-Dharmasūtra, IV, 5, 30, viz. 'having spent the night (in prayer)'. Cf. JRAS, 1904. 364 f. (Kielhorn); 1911. 1106 (Fleet); 1916. 113 ff. (Thomas). I would now translate sections J–K of the Sahasrām edict (Text, p. 171) as follows: 'And this proclamation (was issued) by (me after I had) spent the night (in prayer). Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent (in prayer).’ The translations of the corresponding portions of the Rūpānāth and Brahmagiri edicts (Text, pp. 169 and 177 f.) have to be modified in a similar way. But vivāśayātha at Sārnāth (section I, p. 162) and vivāsetavā[ya] (read vivāsetaviye) at Rūpānāth (section L, p. 167) probably mean nothing but 'expel ye (schismatic monks or nuns)'; and vivāśāpayātha at Sārnāth (section J, p. 162) would mean 'issue ye orders to expel (schismatic monks or nuns)'. See Thomas, JRAS, 1915. 111 f.

Introduction, page li, lines 14, 15, 17. For instruction read exhortation.

Introduction, page lxxvi, line 13 from bottom. Read as follows: The two Sanskrit masculines prāna and vriksa are used as neuters: pāṇini (I, 3, 4) and [bh]kāni (II, 6).

Page 2, note 6. Add: According to the Suttanipāta, II, 7, verse 25, king Okkaka sacrificed many times 100,000 cows.

Page 12, Roman text, line 12. For ta (M) etāya read (M) ta etāya.

Cancel note 2.

13, section (M). For: For the following purpose read: Now for the following purpose.

15, note 7, line 4. For XIII, 1 read XIII, 1. 4.

56, note 21. For the Rāṣṭrīkās see the Introduction, p. xxxviii, line 2 from bottom.

69, section (M). For converts read exhorts.

note 3. Add: See also Kavyaprakāśa, sec. ed., p. 57. महा हस्ति occurs already in the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇ. IV, 1, 48, Vārttika 3.

73, Roman text, line 9. For duva[.]aṣa- read duva[da]ṣa.

95, line 3. For (thus) read (this).

96, section (N). For arise to you read arise in you.

(T). For badly fulfils this duty read fulfils this duty badly.

(V). For edict read rescript.

(CC), line 3. For thus, as read just as.

99, Translation, section (A). For (thus) read (this).

(E), line 2. For thus read so.

100, section (I). For inspire confidence to them read inspire them with confidence.
Page 100, section (J). *For entertain* read maintain.

" " (K). *For inspire confidence to those* (borderers) read *inspire those* (borderers) with confidence.

100, section (M). *For inspire confidence to those* borderers (of mine) read *inspire those* borderers (of mine) with confidence.

119, Nāgārī text, line 4. *For अफ्नाजया* read अफ्नाजया.

" Roman text, line 4. *For su[su]āyā read su[su]āyā.

133, note 6, line 3. *For काकापाद अ* read काकापादा.

137, sections (JJ), (KK), and (NN). *For conversion* read exhortation.

142, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 4. *For suikaṭaṁ* read sukaṭaṁ.

145, Sixth Pillar-Edict, Nāgārī text, line 3. *For हेव* read हेव.

147, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 5. *For suikaṭaṁ* read sukaṭaṁ.


184, line 23. *For tīṁ* read tīṁ.

235, second column, line 22 from bottom. *For [al]as[y]e[na]* read [alas[y]e[na].
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