CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. I

INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA
Inscriptions of Asoka

Vol. 1
CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. I

INSCRIPTIONS OF ĀŚOKA

BY

E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

EPIGRAPHIST TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, RETIRED

WITH 55 PLATES

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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 Archæological 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 Shahbazgarhi 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.

Halle,
October, 1922.

E. HULTZSCH.
POSTSCRIPT

THE issuing of this volume was still delayed by the printing of the collotype 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 Shāhbazgarhī 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 Kharoshṭhi 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.
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ABBREVIATIONS

AJP = American Journal of Philology.
ASSI = Archæological Survey of Southern India.
ASWI = Archæological 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 Prakrit-Sprachen (Pischel).
IA = Indian Antiquity.
IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.
Ind. Alt. = Indische Altertumskunde (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.
JBBRAS = 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.
SPAW = 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 Dhauli and Jaugada 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 Kathiāvar Peninsula, 'and at the entry of the dell or gorge which leads into the valley that girdles the mighty and sacred Girnar' 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 Mahākshalrāpa Rundradāman records the restoration of the lake Sudarśana, which had been 'originally constructed by the Vaiśya Pushyangupta, the provincial governor (rādhriyā) of the Maurya king Chandragupta, and subsequently adorned with conduits by the Yavana king Tushāspha for Aśoka the Maurya.' Among local names it mentions Girinagara, i.e. the town of Junāgarh or its ancient representative, and Uṛjayat, i.e. the mountain now called Girnar. The third inscription on the boulder is dated in the reign of the Gupta king Skandagupta and records further repairs of the lake Sudarśana made in A.D. 456-7 by Chakrapālita, the son of Parṇadatta who was governor of Surāśṭra.

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 Girnar 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 Uṛjayat is Ujjayanta. Cf. Hēmachandra's Anukārahasamgraha, III, 279, and his Abhidhānakuntāmāpi, IV, 97; ASWI, 2, 154 ff., and 8, 328 ff.; Tawney's translation of Mēruudāga's Prabandhakuntāmani, Index. Another name of the Girnar mountain is Raiyata or Raiyataka. See e.g. Hēmachandra's two Kōśas, loc. cit.; Mālā's Śīnālalavadha, IV, 1; GN, 1921, 41.
5 Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 57 ff.
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edicts XIII and XIV are placed below V and XII. When Major James Tod visited Girmā in December 1822, the inscription seems to have been intact. Subsequently portions of edicts V and XIII were blasted with gunpowder by the workmen of a pious merchant who constructed a causeway from Junāgārh to Girmā. 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 Brāhma alphabet and, with it, of the Girmā inscription, is due to the learning and ingenuity of James Prinsep. 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. Fresh copies were made by Lieutenant Postans and Captain Lang in 1838, and by Captain (afterwards General) Le Grand Jacob and Professor Westergaard in 1842. These materials were utilized by Mr. E. Norris for drawing up an improved plate of the Girmā 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 Girmā version, viz., Professor Chr. Lassen (Indische Altertumskunde), E. Burnouf (Lotus de la Bonne Loi; Paris, 1852), and Professor H. Kern (Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten en de Gedentstukken van Ačoka den Buddhist ; Amsterdam, 1873).

The first perfectly mechanical estampages of the Girmā edicts were prepared in 1875 by Dr. J. Burgess. These were reproduced by colotype 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 Girmā edicts is included in Senart’s Inscriptions de Piyadasi, vol. 1. An abridged English translation of his work appeared in IA, vols. 9 and 10. In JA (8), 12. 311 ff., Senart added the results of his inspection of the Girmā rock in situ. Bühlcr published a number of corrections and the text of edict XIII in his Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aýoka-Inschriften (ZDMG, vols. 37-48), and the full text of the Girmā 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 Girmā edicts.

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

As regards the Brāhma alphabet of the Girmā inscription I can refer the reader to Bühlcr’s Indian Paleography, edited by Fleet (IA, vol. 33, Appendix), § 16. The chief peculiarity of the Girmā 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 Girmā dialect (below, p. Iviii. f.).

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1 ASWI, 2. 95.
2 JASB, 7 (1898). 219 ff.
3 Id., p. 871 ff.
4 Id., pp. 157, 228, 334, 336.
5 JBBRAS, 1. 257 ff., and 2. 410.
6 They may be identical with two fragments picked up by Lieutenant Postans in 1838; see JASB, 7. 874.

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Cf. JASB, 7. 874.
II. The Kalsi Rock (Text, p. 27).

This set of the fourteen edicts is engraved near Kalsi, a town in the Chakrata tahsil of the Dehra Dun district of the United Provinces. About one and a half miles to the north of Kalsi 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 Mussoorie.

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 \( \frac{53}{2}\) feet at top, which increases towards the bottom to 7 feet 10\( \frac{3}{4}\) inches. The deeper hollows and cracks have been left unincised, 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 olophant 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 Kalsi text in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, was based on Cunningham's eye-copy of the inscription. Buhler published both the text and a translation from a rubbing supplied by Cunningham (ZDMG, vol. 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., Buhler re-edited the Kalsi text, which was accompanied by reproductions of inked estampages by Burgess.

The Kalsi alphabet exhibits the following chief peculiarities. The letter \(kh\) has a loop at the bottom; see Buhler's *Ind. Pal.*, plate 2, No. 10, columns II and III. A similar loop is found occasionally in the centre of \(f\) (id., No. 15, column III) and of \(s\) (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 \(s\) and \(sk\) 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-Kosam pillar, ll. 1 and 4, once on the Sarnath pillar, l. 10, and once at Maski, l. 2. In a few lines of the first part of the Kalsi inscription (29, 33-36, 39) the punctuation mark \(i\), which occurs once in each of ll. 13, 25, 31, is employed many times. The same mark is found in the Sahasram and Maski rock-inscriptions.

III. The Shahrizargarh Rock (Text, p. 50).

While the alphabet of the two preceding sets of the fourteen edicts is the Brahmic, this one is written in those north-western cursive characters running from the right to the left which used to be called Indo-Bactrian or Ariano-Pali, but to which Buhler restored the indigenous name Kharoshti. The honour of the decipherment of this alphabet is divided between Prinsep, Lassen, Norris, and Cunningham.\(^3\) A number

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1 Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 12 f.
2 Also once in each of the Bairat, Maski, and Siddapura rock-inscriptions, and twice at Jatiya-Ramesvara.
of Kharoshthi letters had been already identified from bilingual coins of the Indo-Grecian and Indo-Scythian kings, before the Shâhbâzagâri inscription was discovered.

Shâhbâzagâri is a village on the Makãm river, nine miles from Mardãn, the headquarters of the Yâusufzai subdivision of the Peshâvar 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 Kapurzagâri.¹ 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 Shâhbâzagâri.² The edicts I to XI are on the cast 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 Maharâja Ranjit Singh's service, first notified the existence of a Kharoshthi inscription near Shâhbâzagâri in 1836 and gave a few letters copied by himself. In 1838 Captain Burnes, being at Peshâvar, sent an agent to Shâhbâzagâri, 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.³ His zeal deserves much praise, as at that time a journey through such an unpacified tract involved considerable personal risk. Masson's materials were brought to Europe and examined by Norris, who first read them the word Devanâhpiyasa. 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 Girnâr 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 Shâhbâzagâri rock, accompanied by plates drawn by Norris from Masson's copies (id., 12, 153 ff.). An independent copy of the Shâhbâzagâri 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 Bhagvanlal Indraji furnished transcripts of the Shâhbâzagâri 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 X 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 Shâhbâzagâri 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 Shâhbâzagâri version this set of the fourteen edicts is written in the Kharoshthi alphabet. Mansehra is the head-quarters of a tahsil in the Hazâra 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

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, 203 ff.
the third edicts XIII and XIV. The two first inscribed stones were discovered by Cunningham,¹ and the third in 1889 by a native subordinate of the Panjáb Archaeological Survey.²

Senart was the first to transcribe edict XII (J A (8), 11 (1888), 511 ff.) and, from insufficient materials, portions of edicts I to XI (id., 12, 319 ff.). Bühler edited the whole Mânschhr version first in ZDMG (43, 273 ff., and 44, 702 ff.), and a second time in E I (2, 447 ff.), from estampages by Burgess. J A (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 DHAUULK ROCK (Text, p. 84).

Dhauulk is a village in the Khurdâ subdivision of the Puri district, Orissa, about seven miles south of Bhuvanâšvar. The inscribed rock near the village was discovered in 1837 by Lieutenant Kittoe, who calls it ‘Aswastama.’³ 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.’⁴

While Prinsep was examining a lithograph of Kittoe’s copies, he found that the greater part of the Dhauulk inscription was identical with the Girnar edicts (JASB, 7: 157). He further ascertained that the Dhauulk rock omits edicts XI to XIII of the Girnar 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 Dhauulk 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,⁵ 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.

Cunningham⁶ 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 Jaugâad rock (No. VII, below) where Prinsep’s No. II is actually placed above No. I. But as all editors (besides Kern) have followed

¹ J A (8), 11, 508.
² ZDMG, 44, 702.
³ Can this name be due to a misreading of the word gajatâma (see Text, p. 50), which is engraved below the figure of an elephant on the north face of the Kālâl rock, and which might have been originally engraved on the Dhauulk rock too? See, however, Text, p. 93, n. 1.
⁴ JASB, 7 (1838), 435-7. For a sketch of the elephant see id., plate 35, 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.
⁶ Inscriptions of Asoka, pp. 16, 20.
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 (JRAS, 1880, 379 ff.). Senart's edition of them\(^1\) was based on castampages by Burgess. The same applies to Bühler'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, 1, 114 ff.). His second edition is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 64–66).

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

A duplicate of the Dhauli edicts is engraved at Jagada, a ruined fort in the Berhampur taluka 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.'\(^2\)

'The Jagada 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 swastika symbol at each of the upper corners of the upper inscription, and of the letter m at the upper corners of the lower inscription.'\(^3\)

'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 Shāhābāzgarh, Girmār, and Dhauli.'\(^4\)

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

The two separate edicts of Jagada were edited with those of Dhauli by Profe sor Kern. The first purely mechanical castampages of the rock were prepared by Burgess. On these Senart's edition of the two separate edicts was based.\(^5\) Bühler 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 castampages (IId., 41, 1 ff.).

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1. Inscriptions de Piyadasi, 2, 105 ff., and IA, 19, 82 ff.
3. Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 19 ff. In JPSB, 17, 232 ff., Harit Krishna Deb very ingeniously explains the swastika symbol as a monogram consisting of two Brāhmī ʾs, and the m as the final letter of the sacred syllable ēm.
4. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 18. For further attempts to copy the Jagada 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 Jauagna 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 Bhagvanlal Indraj discovered in 1882 a broken block of basalt bearing about one-third of the eighth rock-edict of Asoka. The existing fragment suggests that a complete set of his edicts must have been engraved near Sopara.

'The stone was found near the Bhatera 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 Museum of the Bombay Asiatic Society.

SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

This term is meant to comprise the Asoka 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 'Kausambi edict', however, are included in the second part, because they are inscribed on the Allahabad-Kosam 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 'Bhimasena's pillar', 'Golden pillar', 'Firoz Shahr's pillar', and 'Delhi-Siwalik pillar'. Shams-i-Siraj, a historian of Firoz Shah (A.D. 1351–88), informs us that it stood originally 'in the village of Tobra, in the district of Salaura and Khizrabad, in the hills'; that Sultan Firoz had it carried to Delhi; and that he erected it again on the top of his palace at Firozabad. From Tobra near Khizrabad, which was ninety kos from Delhi, the column was carried on a truck with forty-two wheels to the bank of the Jamna, whence it was floated down the river to Firozabad (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 Sirsav, eighteen miles to the south of Sadhora, and twenty-two miles to the south-west of Khizrabad. The pillar is standing to the present day on the roof of the three-storied citadel (kotla) of Firoz Shah 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.

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1 JBBRAS, 15, 282.
2 Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 35.
3 Elliot-Dowson's History of India, 3. 350.
4 See a note by Lieutenant Kiltoe, JASB, 6, 796 f., and the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's India.
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The Delhi-Torâ pillar bears seven edicts of Aûkâ, 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 Aûkâ edicts and several minor records of pilgrims and travellers, the pillar bears three short inscriptions of the Châhâmaâna Visalâdevâ of Sâkambâri, son of Annalâdevâ (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-Torâ pillar-inscription is the first record of Aûkâ 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).

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.'

'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 Pollier, and therefore of themselves venerable for their antiquity!' (id., p. 567).\(^2\)

The ingenious manner in which Prinsep succeeded in deciphering the ancient Brâhmi 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, I was struck at their all terminating with the same two letters, श्र. 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 dhvajas 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 u, already set down incontestably as s, before the final word:—now this I had learnt from the Saurashtra coins, deciphered only a day or two before, to be one sign of the genitive case singular, being the sa of the Pali, or sva of the Sanskrit. "Of so and so the gift", must then be the form of each brief sentence; and the vowel a and Anusvara led to the speedy recognition of the word dana (gift), teaching me the very two letters, d and u, 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

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1 See Cunningham's Arch. Reports, 1, 167, and 5, 143 f.
2 See Asiatic Researches, vol. 7, plates 6-10.
3 Cf. Asiatic Researches, 1, 379.
4 Inscriptions from Sanchi, taken in facsimile on paper by Capt. E. Smith, Engineers.
THE PILLAR-EDICTS

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 Staffelling. Senart’s edition and translation of the Delhi-Töprü pillar-edicts in his Inscriptions de Piyadasi (2, 1 ff.) were based on Cunningham’s eye-copies. In 1884, Fleet issued excellent photo-lithographs, to which Büehler added transcripts in the Nāgari 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 Büehler 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.¹ Like the Delhi-Töprü pillar, it was carried to Delhi by Firōz Shāh. Shams-i-Sirāj 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 Firōz Shāh re-erected it at Delhi on a hill in the Kussh-i-Shikār or ‘Hunting-Palace’,² which is known to have been situated on the Ridge.³

The pillar bears, besides some modern scribblings, a more or less damaged version of the first five edicts of the Delhi-Töprü pillar. A lithograph of its inscription was published by Princep in JASB, vol. 6 (1837), plate 42, from impressions forwarded by Major P. L. Pew, 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 Tieffenthaler, 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.⁴

‘There the five pieces remained undisturbed for upwards of a century, when the inscribed portion was sawn off⁵ 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.’⁶

IA, vol. 19 contains a facsimile of the Delhi-Mirath pillar-edicts by Fleet with transcripts by Büehler (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.

¹ The position of the pillar is marked on plate 25 (facing p. 139) of Cunningham’s Arch. Reports, vol. I. See also the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker’s Indien.
² Elliot-Dowson’s History of India, 3: 353.⁴ Cunningham’s Arch. Reports, 1. 168.
³ Cunningham’s Arch. Reports, 1. 164.
⁴ Cunningham’s Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 37.
⁵ Id., 5: 144.
⁶ Cunningham’s Inscriptions of Asoka, 1. 164.
⁷ Cunningham’s Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 37.
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III and IV. THE LAURIYA-ARARAJ AND LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLARS
(Text, pp. 141 and 145).

The inscriptions on these two pillars were already known to Prinsep when he edited the Delhi-Tópá 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 Champáran district, North Bihár, twenty miles NW. of Késariya, while the second is fifteen miles NNW. of Betiya in the same district. Both names are derived from the pillars themselves, which were mistaken by the people for lingas (Hindi lauri). 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 Garuda.

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 Aśoka edicts, the pillar bears a record of the emperor A uranga and a few modern scribblings. It is now worshipped as a symbol of Śiva, and its erection is ascribed to the Pañdava Bhima.

Bühler edited the inscriptions of the Lauriya-Araraj and Lauriya-Nandangarh pillars twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (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. Carley at Rámpurvá in the Champáran district, 32½ miles north of Betiya. The relative positions of Lauriya-Araraj, Lauriya-Nandangarh, and Rámpurvá 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. 124, plate 7.

2 Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 39 ff.


4 Cunningham’s Arch. Reports, 1, 72 ff. For pictures of the pillar see id., plates 22 and 25; vol. 16, plate 27; the frontispiece of V. A. Smith’s Aśoka, sec. ed.; and plate 2 of his History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon.

5 Id., p. 40.

6 Cunningham’s Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 41.

7 Cunningham’s Arch. Reports, 22, 51.
'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. Bühlcr's transcripts of them (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46; EI, 2. 243 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 9½ inches, of which 8 feet 9 inches are left rough-dressed, having originally been buried in the ground. As on the two Lāruṣā 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.'

Habent 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-Toprā pillar;
   (b) the so-called 'Queen's edict' (to the right of 2);
   (c) the so-called 'Kausāmbrī edict' (above 6).

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

3. An interlineation in Nāgāri characters.

4. An inscription of the emperor Jāhāṅgīr.

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 gada or staff of Bhimasena' (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.

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1 See Cunningham's Arch. Reports, vol. 22, plate 7.
2 Id., vol. 16, preface, p. vii. See also plate 28.
3 JRAS, 1908, 1086, and plate 1, fig. 1.
4 See Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India, Eastern Circle, for 1912-1913, p. 36.
5 Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 37.
6 Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3. 105.
7 See Lieutenant Kittoe's note in JASB, 4. 127.
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-Töpra 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 astragalus 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 Jahangir 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, i. 300), looks 'not unlike a stuffed poodle stuck on the top of an inverted flower pot.'

As regards the set of six edicts (1, 0), 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 Jahangir [4].4 IA, vol. 13 contains a facsimile of the six edicts by Fleet and a Nâgârî 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 (1, 0) was already transcribed and translated by Prinsep,5 while the Kauśâmbi edict (1, 0) was first noticed by Cunningham.6 Both were edited by Senart7 and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Bühler (IA, 19. 122 ff.). The Kauśâmbi edict was re-edited by A. M. Boyer.8

The Kauśâmbi edict is addressed to the Mahâmâtras at Kōsambi (Kauśâmbi in Sanskrit). Cunningham concluded from this that the Allahabad pillar must have been originally erected by Asoka at Kauśâmbi,9 which is the modern Kōsān on the left bank of the Jumna, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahabad.10 He further suggested that the removal of the pillar from Kōsān to Allahabad was perhaps due to Firōz Shāh, who is known to have transported the Töpra and Mirâf 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 r�ler may have removed from Kōsān the Allahabad pillar, on which inscriptions of his favourite Birbal12 and of his son Jahangir are engraved. In this case the pillar would have been still standing at Kōsān 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- uchchhritah stambhaḥ, l. 30).

1 JASB, 6 (1837). 566 ff. See also id., p. 965 f.
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. 568 ff. and 966 ff., with a lithograph on plate 36, fig. 1. See also id., vol. 3, plate 4, bottom.
6 Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 38.
7 Inscriptions of Piyadasi, 2. 99 ff., and IA, 18. 308 f.
8 Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 39.
9 See Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 2; also Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 391 ff., and EI, 11. 91 and 141.
11 Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 39.
The Nāgarī 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.'

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

THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSRIPTIONS

I. The Samchi Pillar (Text, p. 160).

Sāṃchi² is an ancient site in the Bhōpāl State, Central India, 5½ miles from Bhilsā and about ½ mile from the Sanchi 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 Sāṃchi Stūpa.³

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 (10), 10, 123 ff. and 141), and re-examined by myself (JRAS, 1911, 167 ff., and 1912, 1055 f.).

II. The Sarnath 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 Isipatana in which he preached his first sermon.⁴ 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.'⁵

The Chinese traveller, Hsiu 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.⁶

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1 Prinsep in JASB, 5. 967. Cf. Cunningham's Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 38 f.
3 Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar informed me that this, and not Sāṃchi, 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. 30.
6 Cunningham's Arch. Reports, 1. 107; SBE, 11. 146, and 13. 92; 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 BRW, 2. 46.
INTRODUCTION

As Oertel (op. cit., p. 69) has calculated the actual height of the Sarnath pillar at about 37 feet above ground, Huen 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 absharas 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 Āśvaghośha which is engraved in continuation of the last line of the Aśoka edict, and a Buddhist inscription in early Gupta characters above the Āśvaghośha epigraph. These three records were first published, with collotypes, by Vogel in EI, 8. 166 ff., and the Aśoka 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 JRAI, 1912. 1053 ff.

III. THE RUMMINDÉI PILLAR (Text, p. 164).

In December 1896 Dr. Führer found a pillar bearing an inscription of Aśoka about thirteen miles south-east of the Nigālī Sāgar pillar (below, No. IV) in the Nepalese Tarai. The pillar stands near the shrine of Rummindēi, about a mile to the north of the village of Pārārīyā, which is about two miles north of Bhagyānpur, the head-quarters of the Nepalese tahsil of that name, and about five miles to the north-east of Dullā in the British district of Basīl.

The new Aśoka 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. The inscription on it was edited, with facsimile, by Bühler in 1898, and records that Aśoka visited the spot and erected the pillar 'because the Buddha Śākyamuni was born here', and that the king exempted the village of Lummimini from taxes.

Both Lummimini and the modern name Rummindēi must be identical with the Lumbini grove, the traditional site of the Buddha’s birth. This identification is confirmed by Huen Tsiang, who mentions a pillar set up by Āśokarāja in the Lumbini garden, and near the pillar the "river of oil", which is now called Tilār-nadi, i.e. apparently the teli’s or oilman’s river. 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 Rummindēi 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; 1

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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 Führer’s Monograph on Buddha Śākyamuni’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 Rummindēi inscription see IA, 43. 17.

4 See the Introduction to the Jātaka, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54. For other forms of the word Lumbini see IA, 43. 18.

5 Beal’s BRWW, 2, 24 ff.

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 Rummindeī 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 Nīgālī Saras Pillar (Text, p. 165).

In March 1895 another Asōka pillar of polished sandstone was discovered by Führer in the Nepalese Tarai on the western bank of a large tank called Nīgālī Saras, about a mile south of Nīglīvā. This village lies about thirteen miles north-west of Rummindeī and belongs to the Nepalese tahsīl of Taullīvā (about seven miles north-west of Piprāvā in the British district of Bāsti). 1

The pillar is now called Nīgālī or 'the smoking-pipe' of Bhīmasāna. 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 mediæval drawings and scribblings. The lower portion is about 10 feet long and bears an inscription of Asōka in four lines; some letters at the beginning of the two last lines are broken away. 3

The inscription was first edited by Bühl in VOJ, 9, 173 ff., and again, with facsimile, in EI, 5, 1 ff. It records that Asōka 'enlarged the Stūpa of the Buddha Kōnākamana to the double (of its original size)', and that later on he visited the spot in person and erected the pillar.

Huien Tsiang seems to mention the Nīgālī 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 Asōkarāja. The Stūpa referred to by Huien 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 Runnath Rock-Inscription (Text, p. 166).

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

The Runnāth 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. 6 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 Nīglīvā and Rummindeī see plate 1 of Mukherji's Antiquities in the Tarai.
2 Id., p. 30, and Führer's Monograph, p. 23.
3 For photographs of the pillar see plates 3, 4, 5 of Führer's Monograph, and for a drawing of it, Mukherji's Antiquitates, plate 16, fig. 1.
4 Beal's BRWW, 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 Rūpnāth, from a līṅga of Śiva which is placed in a narrow cleft of the rocks on the right.’

‘The detached boulder, upon which the edict of Aṣoka 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 Aṣoka 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 4 3/4 feet long and 1 foot broad, and consists of six lines, of which the last has only five letters.’

The Rūpnāth 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 Piyadası (2, 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 Saḥāsrām Rock-Inscription (Text, p. 169).

Saḥāsrām 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 Chāndan-Pir, after a Muhammadan saint, who took up his abode on the top of the hill.’

The edict of Aṣoka is found in an artificial cave a short distance below, which is generally known as the Chālīgalān 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 Saḥāsrām edict was published three times by Bühler and twice by Senart along with the Rūpnāth one (No. 1, above). In editing it 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 Bairat Rock-Inscription (Text, p. 171).

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

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1 Cunningham’s Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 21.
2 Mr. Cousens in Progress Report, ASWI, 1903-4, p. 35.
3 Cunningham’s Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 22.
4 IA, 7, 141 ff., and, with Fleet’s facsimile, id., 22, 299 ff.
6 Cunningham’s Arch. Reports, xi, 132 ff.
7 Cunningham’s Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 20 f.
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of a tahsil in the Jaipur State, Rājputānā, 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-kī-dungri . . . . . . It is inscribed on the eastern face and near the lower end of the rock. 1

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. 2

The inscription was edited by Bühler and Senart along with the Rūpānath 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 Asoke, plate 14, No. x.

IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT 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, 9. 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, 9. 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 Bhābrū, and the latter is twelve miles distant from Bairāt, the finding-place of the block. 3

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 Bējāk-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 Hanūmān below the rock known as tāp or "cannon", on the first or lower platform on the summit of the hill.' 4

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 Rūpānath, Sahasrām, and Bairāt edicts was discovered on January 27, 1915, by Mr. C. Beadon, a gold-mining engineer, in the

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3 Cunningham's Arch. Reports, 6. 98.
4 D. R. Bhandarkar, loc. cit.
neighbourhood of Maski, a village in the Lingsugar 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 Māgī or Maśī; the Brahmin classes call it Maski, and the Muhammadans Masgi. A Chālukya inscription of the time of Jagadekamalla (Śaka 949) calls the place Rājadhānī pīrīya-Mosāngi, i.e. "the royal residence of great Mosāngi". Another inscription of the same king in the village refers to that quarter as the Brahmapuri of Mosāngi. A later record of the Yādava king Śīghāṇa of the thirteenth century calls the place again Rājadhānī pīrīya-Mosāngi. In two other inscriptions of the place belonging to the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya, its name is mentioned as Mosage, the chief town of Mosage-nādu.'

To these remarks we may add that Mosāngi, the ancient form of the name of Maski, suggests its identity with the battle-field of Musāngi, where, according to Tamil records, the Chālukya king Jayasimha II was defeated by Rājendra-Cholā 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 Aśoka,—a name which was hitherto known only from Buddhist literature and from the Purāṇas.

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

These three records, which resemble the Rūpānā, Sahasrām, Bairāt, 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. 11, from which I borrow the following careful description of the localities (Introduction, p. 2 f.). ⁴

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

¹ See South-Ind. Inscriptions, 1. 95 ff.; EI, 9. 230; Fleet in JRAS, 1916. 574.
² Hyderabad Archeological Series, No. 1; The New Asokan Edict of Maski, 1915.
³ Edicts of Aśoka in Mysore, nine pages of foottscap, dated Bangalore, February 1892.
⁴ See also Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909. 997 ff.
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the Molkâlmuru tâluq [of the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State] from west to east. They are all in the neighbourhood of Siddâpura,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 Ganjîganîte-mûle. The boulder was well known throughout the neighbourhood as the Akshara-gundû or “letter-rock”, and was supposed to be endued 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 goatherds 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.

¹ The second inscription is less than a mile to the west of the first, and close to Siddâpura, on a ledge, facing south, some way up a rocky group of hills called Yenamana Timmâyana gundû or “the buffalo-herd Timmaya’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.

¹ The third inscription is on the western summit of the Jâtiṅga-Râmôśvara hill, which is some three miles or 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 Jâtiṅga-Râmôśvara 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 Bâleâgara-gundû 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 Asôka inscriptions by the Mysore Government for their protection, and the headman of the village has the keys as custodian.

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

IX. The Barabar Hill Cave-Inscriptions (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 Gayā in South Bihār. Although Barabar is that by which the cluster is commonly known, each hill has a name of its own, the highest being called “Barabar”, also “Siddhēśvar” from a temple to Mahādeva that once crowned it.1

All of these possess some Buddhistic remains, but the most interesting are the caves of Barabar and Nāgārjuni, which were hewn out of the solid rock upwards of two thousand years ago.2

There are altogether seven caves in these hills, four of which belong to the Barabar or Siddhēśvara group, and three to the Nāgārjuni group.3 Each of the three Nāgārjuni caves contains an inscription of Dashalatha Devānāmpiya, i.e. Asoka’s grandson Daśaratha.4 Among the four Barabar caves, three bear an inscription of king Devānāmpiya, 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 Barabar Hill was Pravaragiri.5

According to the second and third Barabar inscriptions the name of the Barabar Hill was then Khalatika. Both the first and second inscriptions of king Devānāmpiya and the three Nāgārjuni inscriptions of Daśaratha specify as donces the monks of the Ajivika sect. In three cases an attempt has been made to chisel away the word Ajivikehit. This was probably done in the time of the Maukhari Anantavarman, who assigned one of the Barabar caves to Krīṣṇa, and two of the Nāgārjuni ones to Śiva and Parvati.6

The three Barabar inscriptions of king Devānāmpiya were first lithographed and discussed by Captain Kittoe.7 They were examined by Burnouf (Lotus, p. 779 ff.) and edited by Senart8 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 Prakrit forms of which the Sanskrit would be Devānāmpriyāḥ Priyadarśi rājā.9 This full

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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 Barabar caves and for plans of them see id., plates 18 and 19. Cf. also 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 (El, vol. 16, Appendix), Nos. 954-6.
5 See Fleet’s Gupta Inscriptions, p. 222.
6 JASB, 16. 401 ff., and plate 9, figures 4-5.
7 Inscriptions de Piyadasi, 2. 209 ff., and IA, 20. 168 ff.
8 In a few cases (Kalṣi rock-edict I, A; Shāhbazgarh rock-edict II, A; Delhi-Töprä pillar-edict VII, O and X) the word rāja is omitted, and once (Shāhbazgarh, I, A) the word Priyadarśi. Cf. Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 492.
9 See id., Nos. 48-50.
form of his title is shortened into Devānampriyāḥ in section C of the Dhauli and Jaungāda 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-Topra pillar-edict VII, RR. In the two separate rock-edicts at Dhauli and Jaungāda, in the Queen’s pillar-edict, and in the Kauśambī pillar-edict, Devānampriyāḥ alone is found.

Among the records published in the third and fourth parts of this volume, the Rummindēi and Nigālī Sāgār pillars exhibit the full form Devānampriyāḥ Priyadarśi rājā. The Maski rock-inscription opens with the genitive case of Devānampriyāḥ Aśoka. On the Sārnāth pillar and in the Rūpānāth, Sahasrām, Bāirāṭ, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions we have only Devānampriyāḥ. On the Sāṅchī pillar this word is lost; but the contents of the Sāṅchī and Sārnāth pillars are so nearly related to those of the Kauśambī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, that they can be safely referred to the same royal author. The same applies to the rock-inscriptions at Rūpānāth, &c., which remind us of the rock- and pillar-edicts in many significant details.1

There remain the Calcutta-Bāirāṭ rock-inscription and the three Barābār Hill cave-inscriptions. In the former the king styles himself Priyadarśi rājā, and in the three others rājā Priyadarśi. In the Calcutta-Bāirāṭ 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 Saṁboḍhi (rock-edict VIII, C), to Lurāmini (Rummindēi pillar), and to the Śāla of Konākamana (Nigālī Sāgār pillar). We cannot, however, decide with certainty whether the three Barābār 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 Barābār Hill were dedicated to the Ājīvikas when the donor had been ‘ancient 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 Devānampriyāḥ is ‘dear to the gods’. According to Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, and V, 3, 14, this word was used as an honorific like bhavān, ārghyān, and āyushmān. Pāṇini himself does not mention Devānampriyāḥ, 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 (क्ला आचार्य, VI, 3, 21). The Kāśika commentary adduces the two examples पौराणिक, ‘the family of a thief’, and बुज्रक, ‘the family of a low-caste man.’ Kātyāyana affixes to Pāṇini’s Sūtra five Vārttikas, the third of which states that the compound Devānampriyāḥ ought to be added. Neither the Mahābhāṣya nor the Kāśika have the word मूर्द, with the meaning of ‘fool’, which the Siddhāntakaumudi adds to the Vārttika. This secondary meaning of Devānampriyāḥ was already known to Patañjali’s commentator Kalyāṇa,4 while Kātyāyana and Patañjali ignore it, although Patañjali on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, seems to have used Devānampriyāḥ in an ironical sense. In Bāna’s

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1 Cf. the foot-notes on the translation of the Rūpānāth edict, passim, and Bühler, IA, 7. 144 f.
2 Cf. Weber’s Ind. Studien, 13. 337, n. 3.
3 Cf. बुज्रक: in the Kāśika on the next Sūtra. It is worth noting that in the drama Mudrārākṣatras Chānaka uses the term बुज्रक with reference to Chandragupta.
4 Cf. Bālamañjaramā on Pāṇini, VI, 3, 31. Kalyāṇa’s commentary is not accessible to me.
INTRODUCTION

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

In the Dīpavaṃsa, Devanampiya is prefixed to the name of Aśoka’s contemporary, Tissa of Ceylon, and is often used alone to denote him, and in the Nāgarjunī Hill cave-inscriptions it follows the name of Aśoka’s grandson Daśaratha. In a few of the inscriptions published in this volume it is employed as a synonym of rājan, ‘a king’: in the Kāṣi, Shāhābāzgarhi, and Mānschā texts of the rock-edict VIII, A, the king’s predecessors are called Devanampiya and Devanampriya, while the Girnār and Dhauli versions have rājāna and tājāna; and the word Devanampiya 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. xxvii), another epithet of the king to whom the inscriptions published in this volume are due was Priyadarśin, ‘he who glances amiable’. Both Piyyadasti and Piyyadassana, ‘of amiable appearance’, occur repeatedly in the Dīpavaṃsa as equivalents of Aśoka, the name of the great Maurya king. In the drama Muddrākṣikāsa, Piyyadassana is prefixed to Chandasiri, i.e. Chandragupta, the name of Aśoka’s grandfather.

Before discussing Prinsep’s identification of the king Devanampriya Priyadarśin of the inscriptions with the Maurya king Aśoka, 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 Māgadhī 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 Girnār correspond to ‘here and in all the outlying towns’ at Kāṣi, Shāhābāzgarhi, Mānschā, 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 Girnār, Antiyoga at Kāṣi and Mānschā) and the kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoka; and the rock-edict XIII, Q, the Yōna king Antiyoka (Antiyoga at Kāṣi and Mānschā), and beyond him four kings, viz. Turamāya (Tulamaya at Kāṣi), Antiyoka (Antiyaka at Shāhābāzgarhi), Makā (Magā at Girnār), and Alikasudara (Alikasudālī at Kāṣi).

The great decipherer of the old Brāhmi alphabet, James Prinsep, at first ascribed the edicts to Devanampiya Tissa of Ceylon. This is of course impossible because we know now that the author of the edicts calls himself a king of Magadhā, and that he resided at Patāliputra. The discovery of the Nāgarjunī Hill cave-inscriptions of Dashalatha Devanampiya, whom Prinsep at once identified with Daśaratha, the grandson of the Maurya king Aśoka (id., p. 576 ff.), and the fact that Turnour had found Piyyadasti or Piyyadassana used as a surname of Aśoka in the Dīpavaṃsa, induced Prinsep to abandon his original view, and to identify king Devanampriya Priyadarśin with Aśoka himself (id., p. 790 ff.). A limine another member of the Maurya dynasty

1 See Kidhorn in JRAS, 1908, 505.
2 See Pischel’s Grammatik, § 111. Hoernle and Pischel derived the word from Skt. diva + anupriya. Hēmachandra (Abhīshātanacintāmati, III, 17) assigns to Divanampiya the meaning of ‘fool’.
3 See Fleet in JRAS, 1908, 485. 4 IA, 20, 364 f. 5 See the Index to Oldenberg’s edition.
6 Similarly, in the fourth act of the drama Priyadarśika, its heroine is called both Priyadarśikā and Priyadarśana.
7 Hillebrandt’s edition, p. 159, lines 1 and 5; cf. his article on the Kantīlīyāstra (Breisau, 1908), p. 30.
8 JASB, 6 (1837), 472 f., 566 f.
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 Devānāmpriya, and the Mudrarakshasa 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 Devānāmpriya
Aśoka.

In February, 1838, Prinsep published the text and a translation of the second rock-
edict. He found in the Girnär version of it (l. 3) the words Amityaka Yona-rājā, and in
the Dhaulī version (l. 1) Antiyoke nāma Yona-lājā, and identified the Yona king
Antiyaka or Antiyoka with Antiochus III of Syria. 1 In March, 1838, he discovered
in the Girnār edict XIII (l. 8) the names of Turamāya, Antikona, 2 and Maga, whom he
most ingeniously 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 Girnār rock the name of a fifth king, who was mentioned after Maga, is lost.
The Shāhābazgarhī version calls him Alikasudara. Norris recognised that this name
corresponds to the Greek Αλικασύδαρα, 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 Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin confirms in a general way the correctness
of Prinsep’s identification of the latter with Aśoka, 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 Aśoka’s abhīshēka,
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 abhīshēka, when Aśoka 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 Aśoka’s reign within narrower limits, we are thrown back
on what information can be gathered from Indian and classical literature concerning
Aśoka’s grandfather Chandragupta.

1 JASB, 7, 155 ff.
2 In reality Girnār and Kālsī read Antekina, and Shāhābazgarhī Antikini. 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 (1848), 305.
4 Zwei Abhandlungen, translated from the Danish into German by Stenzler (Breslau, 1862),
p. 120 f.
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.
INTRODUCTION

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 Aśoka. The pseudo-prophetic account of the Purāṇas runs thus:

"Kautilya (or Chāṇaka) will establish king Chandragupta in the kingdom. Chandragupta will be king twenty-four years, Bindusāra twenty-five years, and Aśoka thirty-six years."

According to the Dīpavaṃśa, Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years (V, 73, 100), and Bindusāra's son Aśoka thirty-seven years (V, 101).¹

The Mahāvaṃśa states that the Brahmaṇa Chāṇaka 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 Aśoka (V, 19) thirty-seven years (XX, 6).

Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā agrees with the Mahāvaṃśa in allotting twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-eight years to Bindusāra.²

The Burmese tradition assigns twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-seven years to Bindusāra.³

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 Aśoka succeeded his father Bindusāra 214 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa,⁴ and that his anointment took place four years after his father's death, or 218 years after the Nirvāṇa.⁵ The Burmese tradition confirms the two dates 214 and 218.⁶

As, according to the Ceylonese sources, Bindusāra ruled twenty-eight years and Chandragupta twenty-four years, the former would have reigned a. 186–214, and the latter a. 162–186.⁷ 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,⁸ who identified him with Σανδράκος of Παλιζοθρά, the contemporary of Soleous 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

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¹ See Pargiter's Dynasties of the Kali Age (Oxford, 1913), p. 28.
² The length of Bindusāra's reign is not specified in the Dīpavaṃśa; but the period of twenty-eight years is deducible from statements made in chapter XI, verses 5, 12, 13, about king Mutaśiva of Ceylon. See Fleet in JRAS, 1908, 481, and 1909, 25.
³ Vinaya-piṭaka, ed. by Oldenberg, 3, 321.
⁴ Bigandet's Life or Legend of Gaudama, 4th ed., 2, 128.
⁵ Dīpavaṃśa, VI, 20 f.
⁶ Dīpavaṃśa, VI, 1, 21 f.; Mahāvaṃśa, V, 21 f.; Samantapāsādikā, p. 299.
⁷ Bigandet's Life of Gaudama, 2, 128 f.
⁸ According to Bigandet's Life of Gaudama, 2, 128, Chandragupta reigned A. E. 163–187, and Bindusāra 187–214. If, as the Purāṇas assert, Bindusāra reigned only twenty-five years, he would have succeeded Chandragupta in A. E. 189.
⁹ In his Anniversary Discourse, delivered February 28, 1793, and published in 1795 in the Asiatic Researches, vol. 4. The passage is reprinted in his Works (London, 1799), i, 152 f, and in the Centenary Review of the ASB, part 2, p. 85 f.
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 322 B.C., have no practical value, the traditional interval of 218 years between the Nirvāṇa and Aśoka’s abhishēka 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

'[Seleucus] multa in Oriente post divisionem inter socios regni Macedonici bella gessit. Princeptio Babyloniam cepit; inde auctis ex victoria viribus Bactrianos expugnavit. Transitus deinde in Indiam fecit, quae post mortem Alexandri, veluti a cervicibus iugo servitutis excusso, praefectos eius occiderat. Auctor libertatis Sandrocottus fuerat, sed titulum libertatis post victoriam in servitutem vererat; siquidem occupato regno populum, quem ab externa dominatione vindicaverat, ipse servitio premebat. Fuit hic humili quidem genere natus, sed ad regni potestatem maiestate nominis impulsus. Quippe cum proacitate sua Nandrum regem offendisset, interfici a rege iussus salutem pedum celeritate quaesierat. Ex qua fatigatione cum somno captus iaceret, leo ingentis formae ad dormientem accessit sudoremque profuerat lingua ei detersit expergfectumque blande reliquit. Hoc prodigio primum ad spem regni impulsus contractis latronibus Indos ad novitatem regni sollicitavit. Moliensi deinde bellum adversus praefectos Alexandri elephasrus ferus in infinita magnitudinis ulter se obtulit et veluti clamita mansuetudine eum tergo exceptum duexque belli et procliator insignis fuit. Sic adquisito regno Sandrocottus ea tempestate, qua Seleucus futurae magnitudinis fundamenta iaciebat, Indiam possidebat, cum quo facta pactione Seleucus compositisque in Oriente rebus in bellum Antigoni descendit.'

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-pitaka, Chullavagga, beginning of last chapter (XII); Dipavaṃsa, IV, 47, and V, 15 f.; Mahāvaṃsa, IV, 8; Samanatpāsādīka, 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 Mahāvaṃsa, p. 1x 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. 327 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 *Pomaiac*, book *Xυρακ*, chapter 55:

[Seleucus] τὸν Ἰνδὸν περάσας ἐπολέμησεν Ἀνδροκόττῳ βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν Ἰνδῶν, μέχρι φιλίαν αὐτῷ καὶ κήδος συνήθες.

‘[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.’

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. We know from various sources that Megasthenes became the ambassador of Seleucus at Chandragupta’s court. Strabo adds that Deimachus was sent on an embassy to Chandragupta’s son, whom he calls Amitrochades:

Ἐπέφθησαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παλιμβοθρα, καὶ μὲν Μεγασθένης πρὸς Σανθροκότον, ὡς ἐν Ἀντίκχως πρὸς Ἀλλιρραχάδην ἐπολέμησεν τῶν ἱκών υἱὸν κατὰ προσφείαν ἐπομνήματα ἐκ τῆς ἀποδήμιας κατὰ τόπου τοιαῦτα.

‘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’.

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1 According to the *Mudrarakshas*, Chandragupta was a Vrishala, i.e. a member of the Sudra caste; see above, p. xxix, n. 3.
2 This ‘Nandrus’ must be the last king of the Nanda dynasty which, according to Indian tradition, was overthrown by Chandragupta; see A. von Gutschmid, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge*, 12 (1857), 262. Instead of the accusative ‘Nandum’ the older editions read ‘Alexandrum’; cf. Lassen’s *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.), p. 207, n. 3. The original reading might have been ‘Nandum’.
3 Mendelssohn’s edition (Leipzig, 1879), 1, 426.
7 *Geographica*, ed. Müller et Dübner, II, 1. 9 (p. 58 ff.).
8 The subsequent quotation from Athenaeus shows that this is a clerical mistake for Αμιρράχαδην οί Αμιρράχατην.
9 *McCrindle’s translation, IA*, 6. 112.
It may be concluded from this interesting notice that Chandragupta's son and successor Bindusāra had the surname Amitraigāha, 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: 1

'Oditō βί ήσαν περιποδώσατο πάσιν ανθρώποις αἱ λεγάδες . . . . ὥς καὶ Ἀμιτροχάτη τὸν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα γραψάμενον Αὐτίκον ἔξωθε, ἵνα Ἰμπεράτορος, περικότι αὐτῷ γλυκά καὶ ἕξαθασι καὶ νομισμάτων ἐγκαταρτά. καὶ τὸν Αὐτίκον ἀντιγράψατι: ἕξαθασι μὲν καὶ γλυκάν ἀποτελοῦσιν σοι, νομίσματι δὲ ἐν Ἡλλήνω νόμμων πολιτικῶς,'

'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-Amitraigāha, 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-Amitraigāha. 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 Asōka. 2

I now return to the question of Chandragupta's date. Seleucus I Nikator of Syria (b.c. 312–280) arrived in Cappadocia in the autumn of 302 [the year preceding the battle of Ipsus]. The march thereafter 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. 3 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 'Indikā, reached from Pātāna 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 Fleit has proposed. 4 With this starting-point, and if the length of reigns as given in the Mahāvamsa is accepted, Chandragupta would have ruled 320–296, and Bindusāra 296–268. Asōka would have been crowned (four years after his father's death) in b.c. 264. This date is confirmed approximately by Asōka's thirteenth rock-edict, which, as stated above (p. xxxi), cannot be placed earlier than twelve or thirteen years after his abhishēka. 264–12/13 =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 Asōka's coronation depends, can hardly be placed later than b.c. 320. It would follow further that the Antiyōka of edict XIII (and probably also of rock-edict II) was not Antiochus I, but

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1 See P. von Bohlen, dat alte Indien (Königsberg, 1830), i. 92. The word amitroghāta is mentioned by Patanjali 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 Asōka's rock-edicts.
5 Beloch's Griechische Geschichte, vol. 3, part 1, p. 146, n. 3.
6 JRAS, 1906, 985.
INTRODUCTION

Antiochus II (261–246), and that the Alikasudara of edict XIII was not Alexander of Epirus, but Alexander of Corinth (252–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 Asoka'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. 255). The king conquered (the country of) the Kalāngas; rock-edict XIII.

2. Ten years after the coronation (B.C. 254). He went (on a visit) to Saribodhi (i.e. Bodh-Gaya); 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 Stūpa of Kōnakamaṇa to the double (of its size); Nigali 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 Lumbini and the Stūpa of Kōnakamaṇa; Rummindėi and Nigali 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-Topra pillar-edict VII.

CHAPTER III.

ASOKA'S EMPIRE AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

In the preceding chapter it was shown that the king Devānampriya Priyadarśin of the inscriptions can be no other than the Maurya king Asoka of Magadha. 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 Asoka'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 Girkā on the Kāthiavār peninsula and at Sūpārā on the
Bombay coast; in the south in the Raichur district of the Nizam’s Dominions and in the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State; and in the east at Dhauli and Jaugada in the Puré and Ganjam districts. The north-eastern boundary line is marked by the rock-edicts at Shāhābāzgarhā and Mānsehrā in the Peshāvar and Hazāra districts and at Kālsī in the Dehra Dān district, and it is continued by the Nigāli Sāgar and Rumminder pillars in the Nepalese Tarāī and by the Rām purvā pillar in the Champāran district.

The capital of this vast empire was Pāṭaliputra, which, as stated above (p. xxx), is mentioned as such in the fifth rock-edict. The two syllables Pāṭa, 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 Dipavaliṣa (V, 25, &c.) and the Mahāvaniṣa (V, 22) are aware of the fact that Pāṭaliputra was Asōka’s capital. From the Mādhrānākṣaṇa and from classical authors we learn that it had been already the residence of his grandfather Chandragupta. As I have stated before (p. xxxi), we owe to Sir William Jones the identification of Pāṭaliputra with the Ṛaṭapāθra or Ṛaṭipāθra of the Greeks. Megasthenes, who represented Seleucus at Chandragupta’s court, described it as a very large city:1

Kai légeti Megasthénēs, μέσος μὲν ἐπίχειον τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐκατέργη τὴν πλευρὰν ὅπως μακροτάθη αὐτῇ λυτής φέσωτα ἐκ ἑγέρθηκα σταδίου, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐκ πεντακάθεκα τάφρον δὲ περιβεβληθαί τῇ πόλις τὸ ἐφόρος ἔξελθεν τὸ δὲ βάθος τρικάλοια πέντε ὄργους δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πεντακάθεκα ἕκει τὸ πέντε καὶ πέλας τέσσαρας καὶ ἑξάκολα.

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 Pāṭaliputra with the modern Paṭnā is well known to the Hindās.3 The capital belonged to the ancient province of Magadha,4 which is now called South Bihār. In accordance with this, Asōka styles himself Māgadha, i.e. king of Magadha, at the commencement of the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription. In the rock-edict VIII, C, he refers to his visit to another locality which was included in the province of Magadha.5 This is Sāmbodhi, now Bōdh-Gayā to the south of Paṭnā.

The Kauśāmibi edict on the Allahabad-Kosam pillar mentions Kōsambī (Kauśāmibi in Sanskrit), which is the modern Kōsam (see above, p. xx) to the west of the Magadha province. From the fact that Asōka addressed the Kauśāmibi edict to his Mahānābras at Kōsambī, it may be concluded that in his time, just as in later times,6 Kauśāmibi 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., Ujjainī (Ujjayini) and Takāhasilā (Takhasilā). Asōka’s governor of the former was a royal prince (kumāra). In Buddhist tradition Asōka himself is stated to have held the appointment of viceroy at Ujjayini in the life-time of his father Bindusāra.7 Ujjayini, the capital of Avanti, and the ‘Ωῆνη of the Periplus and of Ptolemy, is the modern Ujjain in the Gwalior State. Takhasilā, the Tāḍāla of the

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1 Arrian’s Inde, ed. by Eberhard in Arrian’s Scripta Minora (Leipzig, 1885), X, 6 f. (p. 13).
2 Mr.Crindle’s translation, IA, 5. 131.
4 BRWW, 2. 82 f.; Cunningham’s Ancient Geography of India, p. 452 ff.
5 BRWW, 2. 135.
6 BRWW, I. 235 ff.; EI, 11. 141.
7 Dipavaliṣa, VI, 15; Mahāvaniṣa, V, 39, and XIII, 8.
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Grecks, was identified by Cunningham with Shāhādheri in the Ravalpindi district, Panjāb.¹

From the commencement of the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions we learn that the head-quarters of Aśoka’s southernmost province was a place of the name Suvarṇagiri, and that his representative there, just as at Ujjainī, was a royal prince (āryaputra). Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura belonged to the district of Isila, which was subordinate to the viceroy at Suvarṇagiri. Isila may have been the ancient name of Śiddāpura. Suvarṇagiri is perhaps identical with its synonym Kanakagiri in the Nizam’s Dominions, south of Maski where an edict of Aśoka has been found, and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency.²

At the beginning of the rock-edict XIII, Aśoka informs us that, when he had been anointed eight years, he conquered the country of Kaliṅgā³ on the eastern coast. To this province we have to allot Dhauli and Jaugarā in the Puri and Ganjam 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 Mahānātavas at Tōsali, who were headed by a royal prince (kumāra, sep. ed. II, A). The head-quarters of the district to which the modern Jaugarā belonged was called Samāpā,¹ and the Jaugarā rock had then the name Khāṣṭigala.⁴

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

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).⁵ Several of these are mentioned by name. According to the rock-edict V, J, his western borderers were ‘the Yōnas, Kambōjas, and Gandhāras, the Rāṣṭikas (Ṛṣṭika, which is probably a clerical mistake for Rāṣṭika, at Girnar) and Pitinikas (also spelt Pitēnika or Peṭēnika).’⁶ As I shall show below (p. xxxix), the Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince. The Kambōjas have to be placed in Kābul.⁷ Gandhāra is now included in the North-West Frontier Province; at the time of the Si-yu-ki, its capital was Purushapura, now Peshāvar.⁸ The Rāṣṭikas or Rāṣṭikas (= Rāṣṭrika in Sanskrit) are perhaps the people of Kājhiāvār, whose governor bore the title of Rāṣṭrika.⁹ The Pitinikas or Peṭēnikas¹⁰ have not yet been localized.

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¹ Arch. Reports, 2, 116, and Ancient Geography, p. 113.
² Cf. Text, p. 177, n. 5.
³ In a passage which is based on Megasthenes, Pliny (VI, 19) mentions the ‘island’ of Medogalina, i.e. ‘the three Kaliṅgas’ (from Telugu mūḍu, ‘three’, + Kaliṅga); see IA, 6, 338, and Caldwell’s Comparative Grammar, Introduction, p. 32 f. In another place (VI, 17) he refers to the Maccocalingas or Maccocalingas as a tribe of Brāhmaṇas. Maccocalinga is probably a corruption of Mukkalīṅga, which would be the Tamil form of the Telugu Medugalīṅga. For instances of the synonymous Sanskrit expression Trikalīṅga see Kiehlhorn’s List of Northern Inscriptions (EI, vol. 5, Appendix), p. 117, s. v. The earliest king of Kaliṅga, of whom inscriptions have been preserved, is Khāravēla; see Lüders’ List of Rahmi Inscriptions (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 160 f.
⁴ See the Jaugarā separate edict I, B, and II, B.
⁵ See Rāṃṭhā, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, H.; Brahmagiri and Siddāpura, I.
⁶ See Text, p. 10, n. 1.
⁷ See Beal’s BRWW, I, 97. The Gandhāris are mentioned already in the Rigveda, and Gandār in the inscriptions of Darius; cf. Zimmer’s Altind. Leben, p. 30 f.
⁸ See the Junagārh inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8, 46, n. 7. For other proposed identifications of the word Rāṣṭrika see Text, p. 56, n. 21.
⁹ The identification of Pitēnika with Pratisthāna is phonetically impossible; see Bühl, ZDMG, 37, 262.
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According to the rock-edict XIII, Q, Aśoka's borderers to the south were the Chōdas and Pāṇḍyas, as far as Tāmrabarāṇi. The two former are the two well-known principal dynasties of the Tamil country, and Tāmrabarāṇi is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon. The Chōdas or Chōlas (Śōla in Tamil) were known to Ptolemy, the Pāṇḍya king (Pavōli) to the author of the Periplus as well, and Tāmrabarāṇi (Tampōbān) already to Megasthenes. The rock-edict II, A, inserts between the Pāṇḍyas and Tāmrabarāṇi two other borderers, viz. Satyaputra (Satiyaputta at Kālī) and Kēralaputra. The former has not yet been identified successfully. The latter is the king of Kērala or Malabar, who is called Kēpōbōrop in the Periplus and Kēpōbōrop by Ptolemy.

The two sections in which the Chōdas, the Pāṇḍyas, and Tāmrabarāṇi are referred to (II, A, and XIII, Q), mention, along with them, as Aśoka's borderers, the Yōna king Antiyōka and his four neighbours. The next section of the rock-edict XIII (R) distinguishes them some tribes 'here in the king's territory' (iha rājā-vishaye), viz. the Yōnas and Kambōjas, the Nābhakas and Nābhaṇaṁkiṣ (Nabhīta at Shābhbāgarhi), the Bhōjas and Pitikakas (Pitikika at Kālī), the Andhras and Parindas. The words 'here in the king's territory' distinctly keep the Yōnas of section R apart from the Yōna kings of section Q. Both here and in the rock-edict V, J, they are associated with the Kambōjas and Pitikakas, and in the second place all three of them are stated to have belonged to Aśoka's western borderers. Consequently, these Yōnas 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 Pitikakas 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 (Bhōjaḥkivāja) is mentioned by Kālhaṇa as a contemporary of Šaṅkararavman of Kāśmir. 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 Andarasi, i.e. the Andhras, as a great and powerful race. As the rock-edict XIII, R, couples the Andhras with the Parindas, these too must have been an eastern tribe. The Nābhakas and Nābhaṇaṁkīṣ may have to be placed at the Nepalese frontier of Aśoka's empire.

From the preceding list of geographical names we may derive some information about the scheme of Aśoka'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. Ant., 2 (sec. ed.), 356) identified them with the habitants of the tract of land to the west of the Indus which Seleucus is reported to have ceded to Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta; see above, p. xxxiv.
9 See Rapson's Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, &c., Introduction, p. xv ff.
10 See IA, 6, 339.
11 The variant at Kālī, Pālada, might be the same as the Sanskrit Pārada, but the Pāradas were probably a people in Gṛdosa; see Lassen's Ind. Ant., 1 (sec. ed.). 1028.
12 According to Fa-hian, the mythical Buddha Kurukuchchhanda was believed to have been born at Na-pi-ka near Kapilavastu; see BRWW, i, xlviii. The Brahmajurāna (Aufeicht's Oxford Catalogue, p. 196) assigns Naḥhikapura to the territory of the Uttara-Kurus; see Bühler, ZDMG, 40, 138.
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entrusted to royal princes (kumāra or aryaputra), viz. Ujjayini, Tōsali, and Suvarṇagiri (above, p. xxxvii f.). The two Kumāras were probably sons of the king himself, and the Aryanputra perhaps some other relative of his. The rock-edict V, M., refers to the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives, 'both in Pāṭaliputra 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 throne⁷ is opposed to facts. His sons and 'other queens' sons' are mentioned also in the Delhi-Töprä 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 Kālvāki and was the mother of Tivala.

Another provincial governor was perhaps the Yavana king Tushāspha who was governing Girnār in the time of the Maurya Asoka.⁵ Each provincial governor was assisted by a body of high officers named Mahāmātra,⁶ or, as they seem to be called in one place, Pradēṣika.⁴ 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.⁹ In two places⁴ 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 Kōsamī, the Sārnāth edict perhaps to those at Pāṭaliputra, and the Queen's edict to the Mahāmātras everywhere', i.e. to those of all districts. The technical term āhala (=āhara in Sanskrit), 'a district', occurs in the Rāpnāth edict, L, and in the Sārnāth edict, I, where it is opposed to the 'territories surrounding forts' (kṣaṭa-vishaya in section J), i.e., apparently, tracts which were not yet fully pacified, but were held by military posts, such as the 'forests' (aśāv) mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, M. The Mahāmātras at Tōsali and Samāpā were exercising judicial functions in the city (nagarā-vyavahāraka or nāgaraka).⁷ At the same time they had the control of the king's borderers who were yet unconquered, i.e. they were what is called in the first pillar-edict (section F) Anta-mahāmātras or 'superintendents of the borderers'. A new class of Mahāmātras was created by Asoka when he had been anointed thirteen years, viz. the Dharma-mahāmātras or 'superintendents of morality',⁹ whom he employed for converting his subjects to his moral creed. Other special Mahāmātras had to supervise Buddhists, Brahmanas and Ājīvikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.¹⁰ Even the control of women was entrusted to separate officers (sṛty-adhyakṣa-mahāmātra, rock-edict XII, M.). In Buddhist literature the word Mahāmātra is frequently used in the sense of 'a minister'. In Asoka's edicts it has evidently a wider meaning.¹¹

Another class of high officers were the Rajukas or Lajukas. They were 'placed

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1 Mahāvamsa, V, 19 f.; Samantabāśīdikā, p. 20 f.
2 See the Junāghār rock-inscription of Rudradāman, JI, 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, E, and VI, F.
7 See the first separate edict at Dhauli, A and Y, and at Jaugada, B and Z.
8 See the second separate edict at Dhauli, F, and at Jaugada, G.
9 See the rock-edict V, I, and XII, M.; the Delhi-Töprä 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 Girnār rock-edict III, C.
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in charge of many hundred thousands of men', and 'either rewards or punishments were left to their discretion'. Bühlcr has shown that the two dialectical forms Rājāka and Lajāka are derived from *Rajjūka, and that this is an abbreviation of raja-ghāha, 'rope-holder', which occurs in the Jātaka. The Rajjūka originally 'held the rope' in order to measure the fields of the ryots and to 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 Pradēśika, the rock-edict III, C, mentions the Yutas or 'secretaries', who correspond to the Yuktas of the Kautiliya. The last section (E) of the same edict suggests that they were employed for codifying royal orders in the office of the Mahānāyakas or ministers.

The rock-edict XIII, S, refers to 'those to whom the envoys (dātā) of Devaṁśapriya do not go'. It may be concluded from this that Asoka 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 Asoka's court.

From Indian literature we know that at all times kings used to entertain spies (chāra or gudha-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 Asoka himself, were the 'reporters' (prativedaka), 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 cowpen, 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 Asoka. Horses are mentioned only in the pillar-edict V, K. Section I of the same edict refers to the elephant-park (nāga-pavana) of the king. As Bühlcr (ZDMG, 46. 78) remarked on the authority of Medhatithi, the taming and the sale of elephants used to be a royal monopoly. According to Megasthenes (IA, 6. 239),

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1 See the pillar-edict IV, C and VII, N.
2 See the pillar-edict IV, D and J.
3 See ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.
4 Cf. Hobson-Jobson, s. v. Collector. Megasthenes (IA, 6. 238) speaks of high officers (epseireis) 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.'
5 See Text, p. 5, n. 1.
6 See above, p. xxxv.
7 These are evidently the ἐφοροὶ or ἐπισκόποι of Megasthenes (IA, 5. 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 courtezans of the city, and the latter the courtezans of the camp [cf. Māgha, V, 27]. The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.'
8 See the Gīnār rock-edict VI, D.
9 Cf. SBE, 25. 323, note.
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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 Ashvādyakṣa and Hastādyakṣa of the Kaṇḍālīya (p. 132 ff). The Gṛhītyakṣa of the same work (p. 128 ff) probably corresponds to the Vṛkṣa-bhūmnikas 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 ṭipikara, 'a writer', the formation of which is taught by Pāṇini (III, 2, 21). The three Mysore edicts were drafted by one of this class, who wrote at the end of his signature the instrumental case ṭipikarana in Kharoṣṭhī characters, showing thereby that he had been transferred from North-Western India. The word ṭiṣṭ, 'a rescript or instruction', occurs six times in the rock-edicts. The commentary on the Uṇāḍīśātras (IV, 119) derives ṭiṣṭ from the root ṛṣ, 'to smear'. This is impossible because the two Kharoṣṭhī versions use instead of ṭiṣṭ the form ṭiṣṭi, which is found in the Achaemenian inscriptions. Besides, the participle ṭikhiṭ, ṭekhiṭ, ṭikhāpiṭa are replaced at Śāhābāzgarhī by niṣṭiṣṭa, niṣṭiṣṭa, niṣṭiṣṭa, which cannot be derived from the Sanskrit root niṣṭ-piṣṭ, 'to crush', but must be connected with the Ancient Persian ni-piṣṭ, 'to write'. The words yaś dharma-diṣṭ niṣṭiṣṭa, 'this rescript on morality has been written', at Śāhābāzgarhī, V, O, and XIII, X, remind one most strongly of the cuneiform inscriptions. Thus Darius says at Behistan, column 4, section 15:—

[tu]ram kā ḫrā ṭaṣram imām ṭiṣṭim vairāḥky tyāṁ adam niṣṭiṣṭahāram, 'O thou who shalt see this inscription in the future which I have written'; ⁶ and Xerxes says at Van:—
yanaiy ṭiṣṭim naiy niṣṭiṣṭām akunāus ṭaṣāotre adam niṣṭiṣṭhāyim imām ṭiṣṭim niṣṭiṣṭanaiy, 'where [Darius] did not cause an inscription to be written; afterwards I commanded to write this inscription'. ⁷ The conclusion is irresistible that neither ṭiṣṭi nor niṣṭiṣṭa are genuine Indian words, but that they have been taken over from the Ancient Persian language before Pāṇini's time, when the provinces of Sīndhu and Gandhāra belonged to the Persian empire. ⁸ The Kharoṣṭhī alphabet ⁹ and the Persepolitan capital ¹⁰ came to India from the same source. The preamble of many of Aśoka's edicts: 'king Dēvānāṭiṭiyā Priyadarśīni speaks thus', is evidently a reminiscence and modification of the Achaemenian formula: tāny Dāvayaṇaṇuḥ (Xšayāršā, Artaxēshvarā) xshāyatiyya, 'says Darius (Xerxes, Artaxerxes) the king'. Tushāspa, the name of the Yavana king who was Aśoka's governor of Gīrūrā, ¹¹ seems to be a Persian word like Vīštāspa, Keresāspa, &c., and suggests that Aśoka enlisted Irānians in his service.

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¹ Brahmagiri, l. 13; Śiddāpura, l. 22; Jāṭaṛgā-Rāmēsva, l. 22.
² Bühler, EI, 3. 135.
³ Cf. Westergaard's Zwei Abhandlungen, p. 33 f.
⁴ See JRAS, 1913, 554.
⁵ See id., 1914, 99.
⁶ See Tolman's Ancient Persian Lexicon (Nashville, 1908), p. 28 f.
⁷ See id., p. 53 f.
⁸ The provinces of Sīndhu and Gandhāra are mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius at Persepolis and Naqsh-i-Rustam, and Herodotus (VII, 65 f) names the Yābōi and Yābdērov among the tribes composing the army of Xerxes.
⁹ See Bühler's Ind. Pal., § 8.
¹⁰ 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.
¹¹ See above, p. xl and n. 2.
CHAPTER IV. ASOKA'S CONVERSION

From Buddhist literature we learn that Asoka became a convert to and patron of Buddhism. The Kashmir historian Kalhana also reports that Asoka 'adopted the religion of jina (i.e. Buddha) and built many Stūpas.' According to the Dīpavaṃsa (VI, 55), he became a Buddhist lay-worshipper (upāsaka), and the accounts of the Mahāvaṃsa (V, 72) and of the Samanta-pāsādikā (p. 303) imply the same fact. His conversion took place three full years, i.e. in the fourth year, after his abhisheka. He is believed to have built no less than 84,000 Vihāras in as many towns, besides the Aśokarāma at Pātaliputra, and to have consecrated all these buildings after three years, i.e. in the seventh year of his reign.

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-Bairāt 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.

(2) In the Kauśāmbi, Sāmechi, and Sānāth 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.

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

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

(5) The Nigali Sāgar pillar records that when he had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the Stūpa of the (mythical) Buddha Kōnākamana 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 Kālsi and Dhauli rocks bear the figure of an elephant with the labels 'the best elephant' and 'the white (elephant)'. On the Girnar 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 Rājatarangini, I, 102. According to I, 106, and VIII, 3391, Asoka seems to have had the surname Sāntānasūda.
2 See Dīpavaṃsa, VI, 18, 24; Mahāvaṃsa, V, 34; Samanta-pāsādikā, p. 300.
3 According to the Mahāvaṃsa, V, 209, in his sixth year; but see IA, 20, 233, n. 18.
4 See Text, p. 174, n. 1.
5 See Text, p. 106, n. 5.
6 See Text, p. 59, n. 3, and p. 92, n. 1.
INTRODUCTION

elephant;¹ cf. the Nidānakathā of the Jātaka, vol. 1, p. 50, and the representation of the ‘descent of the Blessed one’ on the Bharaut Stūpa.²

These six references raise a strong presumption in favour of the view that Aśoka had adopted the Buddhist religion in the course of his reign. Further undeniable evidence is supplied by the Rūpānā, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions, which will have now to be considered at some length. These records, or proclamations (śrāvane) as Aśoka calls them himself, were issued ‘two and a half years and somewhat more’ after he had become a Buddhist (Śākyamuni at Rūpānā, Buddhasākyamuni at Maski, section B) or a lay-worshipper (upāsaka, Sahasrām, &c.), and ‘a year and somewhat more’ after he had approached the Sāṅgha (Rūpānā, &c., section D). Section B confirms the statement of the Dipawaniśa that Aśoka became a Buddhist upāsaka (above, p. xiii). In section D the word ‘approached’ (upēta) is ambiguous. Bühlér, 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 adhitisāni at Rūpānā) and one further year to the traditional date of Aśoka’s conversion (three years), he arrived at the conclusion that the Rūpānā edict was issued shortly before his death (IA, 6. 155). After Oldenberg had shown that adhitisāni was a misreading for adhitiyāni, ‘two and a half’,³ Bühlér was obliged to give up the assumption that the statements of the inscription regarding the time of Aśoka’s conversion to Buddhism agree with those of the Buddhist tradition (EI, 3. 137). As Aśoka is known to have reigned thirty-seven years,⁴ Fleet, who followed Bühlér in assigning the Rūpānā 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 Aśoka died destitute of power and possessions, having given everything that he could give to the Buddhist Sāṅgha.⁵ Moreover, an ex-king could not have issued commands (āṇopayaśī, Brahmagiri edict, B) to his former officers. Besides, the Rūpānā and Sahasrām edicts must be considered the earliest of all the Aśoka inscriptions for two reasons:—(1) they speak of inscriptions on rocks and pillars as a task which it was intended to carry out, and not as a fait accompli;⁶ (2) they, and the three Mysore records, contain the first elements of Aśoka’s Dharma, which we find more fully developed in his rock- and pillar-edicts. Bühlér (EI, 3. 141) believed that, as the Rūpānā edict contrasts the words ‘since I have approached the Sāṅgha’ with the words ‘since I am a (Buddhist) lay-worshipper’, the former cannot convey any other meaning but ‘that he had entered the Sāṅgha, and had become, at least nominally, a monk; compare the Sanskrit phrases yajñam, vratam, or brahmachāryam upa-i’. But the only other testimony for such a pabbajjā is that of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who mentions an image of Aśoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk;⁷ 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

¹ See Text, p. 27, n. 2.
² Cunningham’s Stūpa of Bharhut, plate 28, and IA, 21. 235, No. 98; Bhagavato ukrani (read thus instead of okrani and see Bühlér’s Ind. Pal., § 16, section C, No. 6).
³ See Text, p. 157, n. 17.
⁴ See Dipavaniśa, V, 101; Mahāvaniśa, XX, 6.
⁵ Fleet in JRAS, 1913. 657.
⁶ See Senart, IA, 20. 236.
⁷ See Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 456.
form with regard to Buddhist monachism in the ancient period. These considerations induce me to accept the view of Senart, who takes the word upātta in the sense of 'visited' and finds in it a reference to a state visit paid by the king to the Saṅgha.\footnote{See IA, 20, 234, and cf. JA (11), 7, 433 ff.} Aśoka’s first visit to the Saṅgha is placed by the Dipavamsa (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 Rūpniṣṭha and connected edicts with the festival of the consecration of Aśoka’s 84,000 stupas, 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 Saṅgha’.\footnote{Dīpavaṃsas, VII, 3; Mahāvamsas, V, 185; Samantapāsādikā, p. 304.}

As stated above (p. xlv), the Rūpniṣṭha 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 Saṅgha (section D). The word sumi, ‘I am’, in section B of the Rūpniṣṭha, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts proves that the two and a half years of Aśoka’s upātta did not precede the single year which followed his visit to the Saṅgha, but included the second period.\footnote{This point was first recognized by Senart in 1892; see JA (8), 19, 481, and cf. my remarks in JRAS, 1910, 144 ff., and Senart in JA (11), 7, 436.} Instead of section C of the Rūpniṣṭha and Sahasrām edicts, the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpara 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 Saṅgha, showed himself very zealous.\footnote{See Rūpniṣṭha, D; Maski, C; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpara, E.} In section E of the Sahasrām edict he states that, in consequence of his zeal, ‘men in Jambuvīpa (i.e. in India), being during that (i.e. in the preceding) time unmingled 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’ (dvāyāni rāpāni) of the rock-edict 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.\footnote{See JRAS, 1913, 634 ff.} The ‘festive meetings’ (samāja) which were approved of by him in the rock-edict I, E, are probably identical with those religious shows instituted by him.

I now pass to the knottiest problem of all those which the Rūpniṣṭha and cognate edicts propound to posterity, viz. the meaning and application of the word vivāsya at the end of the Rūpniṣṭha edict. This substantive may be expected to be derived from the same root as, and to be connected in meaning with, the verb vivasati in a preceding section (L). The same verb occurs as vivāsayati in section I of the Sārnāth edict. As I have shown elsewhere,\footnote{See Text, p. 163, n. 10, and JRAS, 1912, 1053 ff.} 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 Sārnāth and, along with it, vivasati at Rūpniṣṭha by ‘causing to leave home, causing to start on tour, despatching (messengers)’.\footnote{ Cf. Thomas, JA (10), 15, 518.} Consequently the substantive vivāsya seems to mean ‘staying away from home, remaining on tour’. A comparison of the wording of section M at Rūpniṣṭha with section J at Sānasrām yields the result that the edict was
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 Saṁgha, which he had done more than a year before issuing the Rūpāṇaḥ, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore edicts.

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

(a) Aśoka became a Buddhist upāsaka.
(b) He visited the Saṁgha one year after (a).
(c) He started on tour.
(d) He issued the Rūpāṇaḥ 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>Edict/Significance</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rock-edict XIII</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Conquest of Kaliṅga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Visit to Saṁbodhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Pillar-edict</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Publication of edicts on morality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rock-edict IV</td>
<td></td>
<td>Institution of public shows of edifying subjects.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On p. xlviii I gave two pieces of evidence to show that (d) the Rūpāṇaḥ and cognate edicts must be considered the earliest of all. No. 3 places them twelve years after Aśoka's abhīṣēka, 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 Saṁbodhi 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 Kaliṅga 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'.

From that time he had been known as Chandāśoka (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 Mahāvamsa 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. xlviii). 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 lāti, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of scholars for thirty-three years, is due to Thomas ; see JA (19) 15, 520.
3 This view is confirmed by section E of the Rūpāṇaḥ 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 Devānāmpriya 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 Saṁbodhi (i.e. after his conversion to Buddhism), he commenced to undertake 'tours of morality' (dharma-yātṛā) for 'visiting Brahmānas and Śramaṇas 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-mahātthara thirteen years after the abbhishēka. As the tour during which Asoka issued the Rāpañna 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-yātṛā. 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;\(^1\) but, as I believe I have shown that the Rāpañna 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 Nirvāṇa.\(^2\)

It must still be noted that the Calcutta-Bairā 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 Kauśambi, Sāñchi, and Sarnāth edicts cannot be earlier than the six first pillar-edicts, because the first of them is engraved on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar in a position which shows it to have been a subsequent addition.\(^3\)

**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-srāvāṇa) or 'rescripts on morality' (dharma-lipi) 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, rescripts 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.
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transgressing those (reprints), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.'

As shown above (p. xlv), Aśoka's first proclamations (ṭrāvāya)1 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.2 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 Yakus, the Rājās, and the Prādētikā 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.'3

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 abhishēka, and the seventh pillar-edict at Delhi-Tōpā 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 Hinduś 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 Sāṅkhya, and epigraphical and literary records show that Hindu 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 Hindu he acknowledged the 'debt' (ṛiga) which every king owes to his subjects in return for the revenue (shadbhāga) 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.'6

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, M; Sahasrām, H, J; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I, K.
2 Rūpnāth, J, K; Sahasrām, L, M; Delhi-Tōpā pillar-edict VII, P.
3 Cf. also the Dhauli separate edict I, Z—CC.
4 See the rock-edict VI, I, and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauli, H, and at Jaugāḍa, I. 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.
5 See the first separate edict at Jaugāḍa, F, G, and the second, E, F.
Accordingly he directed his Dharma-mahāmātrās to busy themselves with Brāhmaṇas and Ibbiyas (i.e. Vaishyas, rock-edict V, K), and with ascetics and householders (pillar-edict VII, Y), placed special officers in charge of the Buddhist clergy, of the Ājivikas,1 Nirganthas (i.e. Jains), 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 sects2 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 (samavāya, section I) and the guarding of speech (vachā-gupta, section D).

There is nothing specifically Buddhistic 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.3 The Delhi-Tôpær pillar-edict VII, which was issued twenty-seven years after the abhīshāka, 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 abhīshāka, 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 Lajikas, 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 statu nascendi. ‘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.’4 ‘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 Barābara Hill inscriptions record a grant of caves to the Ājivikas, 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 the by-roads and distances (IA, 6, 238), and of the ‘royal road’ (ādhr āṣāsāya = rajapatha in Sanskrit) leading from the western frontier to the capital Pātaliputra, which has been measured by schoeni (1σχεδον = 40 stadia), and is in length 10,000 stadia (id., p. 126).
4 Senart. IA, 20, 366.
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, Divānāmpriya 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 Śramanās (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 H1, 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) even 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 Dharmapada, though a professedly Buddhist work, does exactly the same. There are, however, two edicts in which Aśoka denounces Brāhmaṇical usage. In the ninth rock-edict he condemns ‘many and various vulgar (“offensive” at Shāhbazgarhi) and useless ceremonies which women are practising during illness, 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

¹ Senart, IA, 20, 26
² Megasthenes mentions the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas as two kinds of φιλόσοφοι; see IA, 6, 243.
³ Cf. the Mangala-sutta (Kuddaka-pātha, V; JRAS, 1870, 312 ff.) or Mahāmangala-sutta (Suttani-pāṭha, 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 (sanyâja, sections C, D), perhaps because some of them, like the Spanish bull-fights, consisted of contests of animals, and substituted another kind of festive meetings (section E), viz. the edifying shows alluded to in the fourth rock-edict and in the Râpâmâth and cognate edicts (above, p. xlv).

Among Asoka'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). From the Delhi-Toprâ pillar-edict VII it appears that this limitation of the general principle of ahimsâ was a concession which Asoka, 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. 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 JJ–NN).

One of the items in the lists of virtues which constituted Asoka's Dharma was liberalitas or charity (dāna). He not only practised it on his 'tours of morality' (above, p. xlvii), but organized the distribution of his own gifts and of those of his relatives through his officers; see the Delhi-Toprâ 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 divers 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, liberalitas, 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, liberalitas, 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:

Sachchâh bhañc na kujheyya dañc appasmi yâchito
etehi tîni thânchhi gachchhi devâna 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:

Sabbaâpâsâ akarañâh kusâlassâh ûpasampadâ
sachittaparyodapanam etac Buddhâna sâsanañâ

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1 See Thomas, JRAS, 1914, 394 ff.
The Buddhist fast-days are mentioned also in the Sârâmâth pillar-edict, H.
3 This, and not 'conversion', seems to be the actual meaning of nisñhati. Cf. Suttanipâta,
II, 8, verses 3 and 7.
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In the fourth rock-edict Asoka remarks that ‘the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct’ (asīlasya, section H), and exhorts his descendants to be ‘abiding by morality (and) by good conduct’ (dharmā stā līsthantakah, F). In the Dhammapada we read in verse 217:

Sila-dassana-sampannaṁ dhammaṁ thāṁ sachchavādinam

and in verse 84:

sa silavā pañīṁaṁ dhammiko siyā

Asoka’s remark: sukamā hi pāpaṁ, ‘for sin is easily committed’ (Girnā edict V, G), reminds us of sukamā asūthāṁ in verse 163 of the Dhammapada, and the words: dupāthokhe chu kho cō, ‘now this (evil deed of mine) is indeed difficult to recognise’ (pillar-edict III, D), of verse 252:

Sudassanā vajjam aṁnasāṁ attano pana duddasaṁ

and of verse 50:

Na paresaṁ vilomāṁ na paresaṁ katākataṁ
attano va avekkheya katāṁ akatāṁ cha

The lists of evil passions (āsinava-gūminā, pillar-edict III, F) and dispositions (jātanā) do not tally with the āsavas and kilesas of the Buddhists. To counteract these dispositions, Asoka 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)’ (Jangaḍa, Q).

This maxim reminds one of verse 168 of the Dhammapada:

Utthiṣṭhe nappamajjeyya dhammaṁ sucharitaṁ chare

Already Asoka’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 Dhammapada recommends uṭṭhāna (verses 24, 25, 280), parakkama (verses 23, 383), and appamāda (verses 21–32). In two of his sermons on ‘zeal’ Asoka appeals to all his subjects, not only to those in high positions, but to those in humble life as well; see the Rūpāṇedīth, 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 Jauḍā, N.
2 See Childers’ Pāli Dictionary.
3 See the first separate edict at Dhaulī, O, and at Jauḍā, P.
4 Rūpāṇa, Sahasraṁ, and Bairat, F–H; Brahmagiri and Siddāpurā, 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' (dhamma-dāna). Senart (IA, 20. 02) compares verse 354 of the Dhammapada:

Sabbadānāṁ dhammadānāṁ jīnāti.

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

virāgo setṭho dhammaṁ dipadānāṁ cha chakkhumā
go.</p>

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

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

Akkodhanaṁ jine kodham asadhunā sadhunā jine jine kadaryaṁ dānena sacchenañci kavādināṁ
go.

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

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

This is the 'conquest by morality' (dharma-vijaya) which Aśoka 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 Aśoka'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 IX, M, N (Kālī); X, C; XI, E; XIII, W, V, 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.:

Chirappavāsim purisam dārato sothim āgataṁ
nātānīṭṭhā suhaṁ cha abhinandanti āgataṁ
tath' eva katapūrṇāṁ pi asma lokā param āgataṁ
puññāṇi patigānāṁ pīyaṁ nātānaṁ āgataṁ

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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. li, n. 3.
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Instead of 'merit in the other world' Asoka often uses the term 'heaven' (svarga). See Rupnath, Sahasram, and Bairat, G.; Brahmagiri and Siddapura, H.; the rock-edict VI, L; IX, K, L (Girnar); the Dhauli separate edict I, S, U; II, L. The Dhammapada (verse 126), however, distinguishes Nirvana from Svarga:

saggarin sugatino yanti parinibbant anasava

* * * *

At the end of this survey of the contents of Asoka'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 Girnar, Kalsi, Shahrbarghi, and Manshehra. These four versions are practically identical, with the exception of the end of edict IX, where the three last of them (Kalsi, &c.) diverge, for reasons which are not apparent, from Girnar, Dhauli, and Jaugada. The words 'in an abridged (form)' may refer to the Rupnathh and cognate edicts, and the words of middle (size) to Dhauli and Jaugada, 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 Jaugada formed part of the newly conquered country of Kalinga and required different treatment and special orders to the administrative officers. It can be shown that the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada were contemporaneous with the thirteenth rock-edict of the other versions: The words 'that Devanampriya 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 fourteenth rock-edict at Shahrbarghi:

'And Devanampriya 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 Devanampriya, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.

Another point of contact exists between the first separate edict and the third rock-edict, which Asoka issued twelve years after his adhisheka, 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 Mahamalas as a measure which he was about to introduce. At the same time triennial tours were instituted in the provinces of Ujjasvini and Takshaśila; see sections AA, BB of the same edict.

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

I. Buddhist Inscriptions.
(1) Calcutta-Bairat rock-inscription.
(2) Rummindeti and Nigali Sagar pillar-inscriptions.
(3) Kausambi, Sanchi, and Sarnath pillar-edicts.

II. Proclamations or 'rescripts on morality'.
(1) Early edicts.
(a) Rupnath, Sahasram, Bairat, and Maski.
(b) Brahmagiri, Siddapura, and Jañiga-Ramesvara.

1 See Text, p. 39, n. 1.  2 See above, p. liii and n. 4.
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(2) Rock-edicts.
   (a) Edicts I–XIV at Girnär, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarh, and Mānschṛā.
   (b) Edicts I–X, XIV, and two separate edicts at Dhaulī and Jaugāda.

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

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

GRAMMAR OF THE GIRNAR ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel a is replaced by u in osūdha (= Skt. anudhava, II, 3). This change is due to the influence of the o in the preceding syllable; cf. udāpāna=Skt. udāpāna in the Magadha dialect.1

The e of cta (= sūtra) seems to be developed from an original i; see Johansson, Skāh, § 21.

As in Pāli, Skt. u is represented by a in gāru (XIII, 6), while the form gur occurs three times. The a may have been introduced from the comparative garīvas and the superlative garīkha; see Michelson, IF, 23, 260, n. 1. In kha (= Skt. khala) the a is lost by syncopation, the l assimilated to the preceding kh, and Skt. u is represented by o. The form khā is used also in Pāli, while the literary Pārśkritis have khū (for *khul, an enclitic form of khala) instead of it.2

In the foreign name Amātyaka=Aμιτυκας, δ is expressed by a. In [A]mātekyma=Aμιτυγονος, e and ι correspond to i and ø, and in Turamāya=Pροδευμας, n and ο to θ and η.

The Gīrḍnā dialect has lost one of the Sanskrit vowels, viz. ri, which became i (after the stress accent) in etārīna, tārīna, jārīna (= Skt. etārīṇa, etc.), and u (after labials) in pariphkē and vata (= vṛttā, X, 2), but generally a:—ānvina (= ānvīna), kacha (= kṛṣṇa), keta, dāvīha, bhata, bhakta, māga, magavā, mdā (= mṛtā, XIII, 1), vistata, vyāpata, suhādaya3 (IX, 7), v[a]dhi (= vrddhi, IV, 11). In vādhi (= vrddhi, XII, 2, 8, 9) and usata4 the ri, which became a, has caused the lingualization of the following dental. In vṛchka (= vṛṣikā, II, 8) the vowel ri is represented by the syllable ra, and in arunāra (XII, 7) by rv through the influence of other forms of the root irn.

Of diphthongs, ai is found only in bhāra, trādasu, and samācakra, the genesis of which will be explained below (p. lviii f.), and au is always changed to o:—āko, parāko, potra, prapaiva, osūdha, apa, and apaia.

Short vowels are lengthened in ānanta rā (= Skt. anantarām, VI, 8), aukhāl (= aukhāl, VI, 7), mādhūrā (= madhurā, XIV, 4), nātsa (= nātsa, IV, 1), abhikāra (= abhikāra, V, 7), abhāramaka (VIII, 2), pātvesiya (= pātvesiya, XI, 3), pāśhāl[ga] (= pāśhāl[ga], XIII, 4), saṃpratipāti (= Skt. saṃpratipāti, IV, 2); also spelt saṃpratipāti and pāṣṭhapāti, viśā = viśā, IX, 2; vijāya (XIII, 10; also vijayā), bākhi (= bākhi, IV, 4), and at the end of words in tatra (XIII, 1), parasrā (VI, 12), sarvatrā (II, 6), etamā (IX, 2), pānākha (II, 8).

Initial ā is shortened in arōpati, and final ā in tatha (= tathā, XII, 6), [Y]a [r]a (= Yona-rājā, XIII, 8) = Yona-rājā (II, 3), and in the enclitic va, which is far more frequent than its original form vā. The three forms arādha, ārādhi (i.e. *ārādha), and aparādha are perhaps to be derived from the root rādhā.

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1 I use the term 'Magadha dialect' for designating the language of the province to which Aśoka's capital belonged. It must not be confused with the Magadhi of the Pārśkritis grammarians; cf. Michelson, AJF, 30, 284.


3 This word is used in the sense of Skt. suhrd, 'a friend.' Cf. suhajja in the Dhammapada.

4 This participle corresponds in form to Skt. uṣṭra, but its meaning agrees with that of Prakrit uṣṭya (Pischel's Grammatik, § 64) = Skt. uṣṭhra. In other words, the Gīrār form seems to be due to a false popular etymology of uṣṭhra from the root sṛ instead of sṛi.

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

6 Käis, Dhauli, and Jangla have atīyāka, Pāli both atīkhāka and atīkhāka (i.e. *atīkhāka).

7 Cf. Böhler's Worinbuch, s.v. vīvāha, and Pān. VI, 3, 122.

8 Cf. arādha-chitta in the Digamākāya, translated by Franke, p. 144, n. 2.
used in the same sense as rādh. The short a of etarīṣam (= etādṛśam), etarīsi (= etādṛśī), dana (= dānem) is probably due to clerical mistakes. Final i is shortened in the nom. sing. of masculine bases in -in:—Priyadasi, kasti.

The initial a of the enclitic api is dropped everywhere except in evamapi (II, 2). The initial i of iti is generally preserved, but it is dropped in nisirito i (V, 8) and in the compound kiviti or kitī.

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Greek χ and γ are expressed by k in Aṅñiyaka = 'Arivāyos and [A]n̄sākṣyena = 'Arivāyos. In upaga and -opaga we seem to have a change of g into y; cf. Franke, VÖJ, 9, 345 ff. Skt. gh has become k in laluka.

In vacha (VI, 3 ; XII, 9), ch corresponds to the j of Skt. vr̥jai; cf. vr̥chānti = Skt. vr̥chanti at Shāhbaḍgarhī.

Skt. n is preserved in kalāṇa (= kālāṇa), gyanā, charana, prakaranā and pakaranā, prāṇa and pāṇa, vanikhamaṇa (from vinīsakramanā), vramana and samaya (= śramana). In terminations, however, dental n is not, as in Sanskrit, linguized after r and nh = -agnā (= agrēna), para-ramaṇa, piturena and pittena, mireṇa, abhirāmaṇa, rūpāni, sahasraṇa, Gauḍhārāmaṇa, guvīna:is, thāvānānā, manumānānā and manumānānī (= manumānānām). On the other hand, lingual n is newly developed after r in prāpnaṇi (from Skt. prāpṇiti), darasaṇa and dasanā (= darśana), saṁśitranā and herukharnā (from tirayat), and without apparent reason in Yona (V, 5), while Yona (with dental n) occurs four times.

As stated above (p. lvi), dentals are linguized after the vowel ri in usāṇa and uāṇi, and d becomes r before an original ri in etārīṇa, &c. Similarly, dh has turned to dh through the influence of the preceding dh in aruṭha (= Skt. aruṣṭha), and t becomes dh in the reposition āṭi (ten times), while the original form prati occurs four times in pratigati and sanapratiṣṭipti. In ṛi ( = ṛeti in Ancient Persian; see above, p. xii) d has become l. In ñāha the Gīrā dialect has preserved the ancient form of Skt. ña; cf. Pischel's Grammatik, § 266.

The labial aspirate bh becomes h in the instrumentalas bahūhi (= bahubhib), tehi (= Vedic tebhī), patteṣyakhi, satiki, and in some forms of the root bhū, viz. hōti (= bhavati), aho (= abhavati), and aubhūs, while dh is preserved in bhavati, bhav, bhāta.

The semivowel y is developed out of i in Aṅñiyaka = 'Arivāyos, and Prōkēyōs becomes Turamāyō. Initial y is lost in ā = Skt. yā (II, 2) and āva = Skt. yāvat. In the dative athē (XI, 9) = Skt. artha the whole syllable ya seems to be dropped. In causatives the characteristic affixes aya and api sometimes remain unchanged. More frequently both are changed to aī (aya by Saṅatrasāraṇa, and aya by the elision of y) and contracted to e. Thus Skt. pratīṣṭāyata becomes pāṭiṣṭātha, while e.g. pāṣjadāna remains unaltered, and Skt. hāparīṣṭā, ārādhyātum, rācāyata, a-vākayātā are converted to hāṣṣati, ārādhetu, lokāṣṭā, a-[a]-lokeṣṭha, while api remains in dasayētā = Skt. dasayetā.

Similarly, Skt. maṣāḥ becomes first *maṣāra and then mora (I, 11). In two instances an original aya is not represented by e, but by aī: *trāyastā ( = Skt. trāyāt) becomes trāyātā (V, 4), and Skt. *samā-chārya, having passed through the intermediate stages *samāchārya and *samakhari, becomes samachāra (XIII, 7) through metathesis.1

Lingual d corresponds to Sanskrit l in mahāḍa, and to Tamīl ḍ in Cōḷa. The l of lokāṣṭā and [a]-lokeṭṭha, which corresponds to Skt. r, is due to the influence of the Magadha dialect; see Text, p. 8, n. 9. Greek k is represented by r in Turamāyō = Prōkēyōs. This word proves that the Gīrā and Shāhbaḍgarhī versions are translations from the Magadha dialect, where the k of the Greek original is preserved (Tulamāya at Kāḷṣ).2 Another instance in which r corresponds to l is *ṛkhaṭa, 1 to kṛl, = Skt. ḍhāṭaḥ; see below, p. lxvi.

The semivowel v is developed out of u in vuma (= Skt. uktā, IX, 6; XIV, 4). As aya to aī and e, ayā is changed by Saṅatrasāraṇa to aī and o. In this way bhavati, abhavati, avarādhana, avarāvātavya become hoiti, aho, oṣṭhāna, oṣṭātavya. The contracted form koi and its original1

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

2 If my explanation of supadāyī at Kāḷṣ, Dhauli, and Jangda (Text, p. 33, n. 3) is right, supadārave at Māmeḷhā would be another wrong translation from the Magadha dialect.
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bhavati, are about equally frequent in the Gîrârî text. In thairâ = Skt. sâhavâra, v is elided and aî contracted to aî.

As in most Prâkritis, the two sibilants ð and ñh have become s throughout: e.g. paśu = Skt. paśu, dośa = dośha.

As in all other Prâkritis, final consonants are dropped. Hence the ablative singular of masculines and neuters in -a ends in -â (= -âh); Skt. tat, tât, yat, and yâvat become ta, eta, ya, and âva; Skt. bhavat, abhavat, vasâyuh become bhau, abhau, vasâyu; and the nom. plur. of masculines in -a and of feminines in -â ends in -âh. But â is shortened in the dative-genitive imâya dhanamânasastyâ (III, 3), in the nom. plur. fem. chhâkka (II, 4), and in the 3. sing. optative ticâya (for *tischâyâ). Finally as generally becomes o (e.g. yaso = Skt. yato, râhö = râjâh, tisâanto = tishkântuck, Devânânpriyō = Dvēnânpriyâh); but in some instances the corresponding Mâgadhâ form in -â is improperly used (e.g. Devânânpriyâ, XII, 1), and in others we have -â (Mâgâ, XII, 8; sâ = Skt. sah, XIII, 10; evâ = ighâh1) or -â ([A]ni[ek]îna, XIII, 8; bhâya = bhâyuh, VIII, 5, and evâ). Final â becomes i in apâchît, râti, hîmi, but i in lîpti, &c.

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. dânam becomes dânaî, and kâruî (XII, 4) is formed from Skt. kârâti on the analogy of Skt. kurvâni. Just as in modern Hindi, Anusvâra is, however, omitted frequently in writing; see ida (XI, 3), katarâya (= Skt. kârtavyam, IX, 6), dana (= dânam, IX, 7), phala, mata (= matam, XIII, 2, and mritam, XIII, 1), mûdava, vinâkham, saka (= lakamyam), ki (IX, 9), kiti and kitî (= kirtim), chhâti (= khântim), vî[â]kî (= vyâkâm), susuvrâta (= suśrûcchram), karu (for karuî), ârâdhyetu (= ârâdhyayutam), evâ (= evam, IX, 1).2

A long nasalized vowel is generally shortened (e.g. ganaîyam, bhatânaî, yeṣâñ, bhûtânaî, gurnâîni, anuvâtârâni); but it is preserved in bhûtânâî (XIII, 7), pûjâî, yâdânâ, anuvâdhiyâtânâ. Anusvâra is omitted in pâ[â] (Skt. pâjâm, XII, 2), mahâdîvâh[â], susrud[nâ], susrusâtâ. The long vowel is shortened and Anusvâra is omitted at the same time in tesâ (= tisâm, XIII, 4) and sanîtârâvâya (loc. sing. of sanîtârvâya, 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-opâya (VIII, 5) and tad-âniñâthâ (XII, 5) the final consonant of the base tad is preserved in composition, and final m remains before an initial vowel in evam-ag (II, 2) and katarânya (IX, 3). Similarly, hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in [a]niñâsa (Skt. anûnâsa, XII, 7) and bhatam-agv (bhrîtārâvchôn, V, 5; cf. Text, p. 10, n. 4).

In the majority of cases a + ã are, as in Sanskrit, contracted into ã; e.g. nārti, dhavanânasanj, prâânârâvho. But the first a is elided before a in dhârîm-agvô (XIII, 1), dhâm-anugaho (IX, 7), dhâm-adhîśâvya (V, 4), etavâm (= *srîvam, VIII, 3); before ē in stîy-eva (III, 3), chhêva (IV, 7; XIV, 5), chhâî (XIII, 4), â[ə]'âta (= tratât, IX, 4), tenvâ (VIII, 3); before ò in m[a]nap-agvân[ã] (II, 5), and ò before o in pas-ôpâgâni (II, 6). The result of a + ã is i in śtîjâkhaâ (= stîy-adhâvâsha, XII, 9).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The Gîrârî dialect has preserved a number of combined consonants which would have been assimilated in the later Prâkritis. 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 Gîrârî alphabet, I subjoin a list of such combinations of consonants.

(a) the (written pt) in ârâbhâtâ, dasayitâ, [a]-lochetpâ, -hitâtâ, tadâepâne(arc), chatârâ, âtpâ.
(b) the (written yo) in evanyanato, yasayanî, yâpatâ, apa-yuyatâ, dîvûñi, mañgâya, katarâya, vatarânyā, prajûhitâvâya, ovâditâvâya, vîjîtâvâya, lochetâvâya, pas[í]veda[v]yanâ.

1 Cf. Text, p. 15, n. 7.
2 It deserves to be noted that in the Rigvēda evâ is used nearly throughout in the sense of evam.
3 Cf. Pischel's Grammatik, § 341.
(e) 7 (written 7s) in anusasti, satta, tiṣṭaṇīte, tīṣṭy, sīṭā, -adhistāṇyā, uṣasta, niṣṭāṇyā.

Although in the words given under (a) 7p is written as 7, their Sanskrit prototypes suggest that we have to pronounce and transcribe 7p. Michelson (JAOS, 31. 235 f.) supports this view by referring to dhātrā = Skt. dhātā (III, 1; IV, 13): 'There is no question but that ḍb represents the correct order of the letters. Now if Indic ḍv becomes ḍvb then Indic tv surely should become tv. Hence gerunds in -7pā (Skt. -7rā) are to be read as such. This settles the reading atpa (Skt. ātpa-) without further arguments.'

The same holds good for (b) ṣv which is written ṣv. Dr. Michelson writes to me:—'It is inconsistent to transcribe divāṃi, yvasanāṃ, but -ṣaya, as the same symbol is used in all cases. yvasanāṃ would be unpronounceable. Bühler's argument from Pāli that ṣv is correct from the analogy of ṣh from Skt. ṣt is useless, as ṣv does not become ṣv but ḍb (or remains) in Pāli.' See also JAOS, 31. 235.

On the same analogy (c) 7s has been transcribed by 7s, although Franke (Gurupājānamudī, p. 26, note) thinks that 7s represents the actual pronunciation.

The fact that the Gītār 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 Indrajit (IA, 10. 106 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 hr, tr, pr, br, and not rk, rt, rp, rb. The symbol rs, however, does duty for both sr and rs, and ṛr for ṣr and ṛv. The former must certainly be read ṛsr in sahasra, śrūdrā, bhū-svata, mūrta, śravāpaka, śravānānti, śrīrā, ṛṣ-pārśvāvara, but it cannot be meant for anything but ṛsr in śrīmāna-darsana (IV, 3) and dastā-vārsaḥ;ī (VII, 2). Likewise the symbol ṛv may be read ṛv in ṛṣvacā (II, 8), but must be intended for ṛv in śravā and śravāta or śravātra. The spelling bhāta-pravā (V, 4; VI, 2) would be, in the opinion of Michelson (JAOS, 31. 228), the result of an erroneous translation of the Mārgaḥ form -pāvā which the writer: found in the original draft of the edicts. I consider it more likely that the writer wanted us to pronounce -pravā, but committed the mistake of connecting the r with the p instead of inserting it before the v; cf. the same spelling in the Shāhkāvyān and Mānasū versions.

A large number of combined consonants are not preserved unchanged, but have been assimilated. In later Pākṣrī inscriptions, as in the British Museum plates of Chārulēvī and in the plates of Vijaya-Dēvavārman (EI, 8. 144, and 9. 57), the double consonant which is the result of such an assimilation is written in full. The inscriptions of Āṣoka and of the Andhra kings, however, express every double consonant by a single letter; e. g. agni = Skt. agni is written aγi, atha = artha becomes atha, laddha = labhā becomes ladha, gābhha = garbhā becomes gābha, and niṣñātā = *niṣñāyā is spel niṣñati. In double nasals both ways of spelling are in use; e. g. dhanuṣa and dhanma = dharma, aṇīa and aṇa = anāya.

At the beginning of words an assimilated group is simplified in all Pākṣrīs; e. g. ṭāṭi = Skt. jāṭi, ṭī = tī, ṭāṇa = prāṇa, bhātra = bhātrā, chhuda = chhudda. Also in the interior of words an assimilated group may be simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened; see kāṣṭi (also kāṣati, i.e. kāṣati) = kāṣṭyati, dhāma (also ḍhāma) = dharma, vāsa (also varṣa) = varsha, chīkākā = chibhītā, rājā (from rajju or ra₂jā; see Text, p. 5, n. 2).

In a few cases a long vowel preceding a group of consonants is shortened; see anusasti = Skt. anusāsti, ayeṣu (i.e. ayeṣu) = āyeṣu, kiti (i.e. kiti) = kīṭi, digha (i.e. digha) = dirgha, pūva (i.e. pūva) = pūva. Even a long vowel preceding a simple consonant may be shortened and the preceding itself doubled; cf. Pischel's Grammatīk, § 90 f. Thus the short vowel in bhaya (= Skt. bhāyaḥ), anuvidyāre and anuvidyāyān (from Skt. anuvidyāyate) suggests that these words have to be read bhāya, anuvidyāre and anuvidyāyān, and that consequently tiṣṭya (VI, 13) may be meant for tiṣṭyā with doubled y and short e, as in the corresponding Pāli form of the 3. sing. opt. act. 1. But, as a rule, a long vowel preceding a group remains unchanged; see asanati(ā)hi (= Skt. asanāpamam), aṣṭāhi(ṛ) (= āṣṭāhakam), aṣṭapati (= āṣṭapati), aṣṭa- (= āṣṭa-, taddāpanae), nāsi, parākrama, brāmachāra and bāṃkha, aṣṭā (also bāṃkha and bāṃkha), bhātra, mahāmaṇa and mahāmāna, mādava (= mārda), mahāthāva (= mahāthāvaka), rāhā

1 Similarly niṣṭā may represent *niṣṭāḥ, into which niṣṭā has been changed on the analogy of uṣṭā; see SPAW, 1914. 644.
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(= rājā, Rājā) stika (= Rākṣikā), sūpāṭhāya (= sūpārthāya), śīkṣīhāka (= stry-adhyakṣa), hiti (= kirtī), t[va] (= tvraḥ), sāmīpa[an] (= sāmīpam).

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is frequently at the end of words (see above, p. lii), in Tāṁbapāṇi (= Skt. Tāmraparṇi) and Devanāgarīya, while Anusvāra is suppressed after a long vowel in atikrāta and atikāta (= atikränta), [a]parātā (= āparāntaka), chhāti (= khaṭti), [a]wātā (= nyāntā), Paḍā (= Pāṇḍyāḥ), bhada (= khuḍa), karo (for *karoṇita, IX, 3), karo (for *karoṇita), pāti (read hiti, for *hītiḥ). In avādāsā (IV, 6) i has taken the place of the inā of viksañā (IV, 1). Conversely in susrūṣā, susrūsā, susrūṣāna the short nasalized vowel uh is substituted for the ū of susrūṣā (III, 4), and in susrūṣā and susrūṣā the Anusvāra of uh is omitted.¹ There are several other instances in which Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel: — magala (IX, 3) = māgala, the two 3. pers. plur. ikhāti (VII, 2) and prāṇāṇī (XIII, 4), saṁhāra (XI, 1) = saṁhāraṇa, sastu (twice) = saṁstuta, saṁhāra (XIV, 5) = saṁkāya, pāsada (twice) = pāsanda, saṃvayu = saṃvaya, saṃvata (also saṃvata) = saṃvarta, kīk[ ] (also kīk[i]) = kīk[i], kīti (also kītiḥ) = kīmīti. 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. pārśada) is a recognised variant of pārśanda (passim); cf. prāshaṇa and prāshaṇa at Shāhbażgarhi. In saṃvaya, which occurs four times, and in saṃvata the nasal may have been assimilated to the following semi-vowel; cf. Pāmini, VIII, 4, 59. The forms kīk[i] and kīti occur again in other Aṣṭaka inscriptions and are perhaps defective spellings for kīk[i] and kīti = *kī+i+chid and *kī+i+chid; see Johansson, Shāhī, § 92.

So far we have seen that the Gīrā dialect always preserves groups of consonants or assimilates them. A third mode of disposing of them is the development of an auxiliary vowel (svarabhati) between two consonants. This vowel is a in garahati and garahā (= Skt. garaḥati and garā), i in pātīsvāya (= prātiśvāya), puṇika (for *puṇika = Skt. punika), samachāra (for *samachāra = Skt. *smachāra), and u after a labial in prāṇāṇī (3, plur. ind. pres. act. of Skt. prāṇāṇī). Similarly, an auxiliary i is prefixed to an initial group in itkī (i.e. itkī, = Skt. itkī).

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

kt becomes t (i.e. tī); abhīṣita, bhati, yuta, vataravīn, vutāni,
by becomes k (i.e. kī) in saka.¹
kr remains in atikrāt[a]yā (VI, 1), parākramāmī, parākramena, but becomes k in atikātamī.
pari[rā]k[a]māte (X, 3).
kī becomes chh in sākhāya (XIV, 5); see Bühler, ZDMG, 40, 142.
kṣ becomes chh in śīkṣīhāka, saṁkṣh[ ]na; chh in ṣṭhāṇā, achhāti, cchhāti, cchhāthan, cchhahāni, cchhākena, vrachāhā.
khl becomes kī in khaḥ = Skt. khalu; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.
šn becomes g in agī.
ṣr becomes g in aga- (= anugaha).
je becomes ṣṇ or ū in katoṁnattyā, rāṇā, rānū, ōṇpayāṁi, ōṇpayisati, ōṇpaitam, ōṇti, ōṇtika.
dy becomes ṣ in Pāḍā (= Skt. Pāṇḍyāḥ).
nv becomes ṣṇ in anuṁnā, kivyanā; ūṇ or ū in apuṁnoṇi and puṁṇi.²
im becomes ṭp in ṭap-. Cf. ṭp = tv, below.
ty becomes chh in [a]chāṭas, ṭhāya[ke], tīlokachas, ekcchā, kachāni, parikṣajītiṭā, prachāṇis.³

Other instances of palatalization are j = dy, jh = dhy, chh = ts, kh, kṣh).

tr remains or becomes t; see e.g. trī and ti, tatra and tata, atātra and avata, sarvatra and sarvata, prana and prata, mitra and mita, māhāmātra and mahāmāta.

tv becomes ṭp in chaṭṭāro, urabhitā, [a]-locheṭā, dasayitā, parikṣajītiṭā, tadātpano(ne), -kitatp.⁴
df. dī = dv in dhālousa.
is becomes chh in chishektā; s in usatena.⁵
tsth becomes st in usataṇa for *st-thāṇa, while the corresponding Sanskrit word is uthāṇa.
dy becomes j in ajā, paripanjethā; y in yāṇesu.⁶

¹ Perhaps susrūṣā is meant for susrūṣā, as bhūya for bhūya; see above, p. lix. Cf. also Geiger’s Pālī, § 6.
² For the epenthesis of i see above, p. lvi, n. 1.
³ See above, p. lvi, n. 4.
⁴ Cf. āstha = Skt. sthāna in Pischel’s Grammatik, § 309.
dr becomes d in chhudaḥ, chhudakena.
dv remains in dترو, dvTro, but becomes dTro in dbōdasa.
dkh becomes jā in itiṣṭhakha, niṣṭhāti, mahamana.
dkhr remains in dhruto, [A*]dhkra.
nr becomes niṇ or n in anuṇa and aṇa, manṇato and maṇate, ṅayāsu. Cf. apuṇṇa = Skt. apunya.
pt becomes ś in gṛuti, niṣṭhāti, asamā[ṇa]ū, samkh yeti[ṇa], Turanāye (= Pattelapaios).
pr becomes pruṣ in prāṇapati (from Skt. prāṇaṭi).
pp becomes p in saṃspā[ṇa].
pr remains or becomes p; see e.g. prabaraṇa and pabaraṇa (IX, 8), prāṇa and pāṇa (IX, 5),
Devānāpiya and Devānāpiya, Priyadasi and Priyadasi, pṛatipati and pāṭipājetha (XIV, 4),
saṃpratipati and saṃpāṭipati (IV, 6).
bdh becomes dh in ladhceu.
br remains in bṛ[ṃ]aṇa (IV, 2) and bṛmhaṇa (IV, 6), but becomes b in bāṃhāṇa and
bāṃhāṇa (IX, 3).
bhāya becomes bh in the passive forms arabhare, arabhisu, arabhisare.
kkṛ becomes bh in bhārτa or bhā[ṇa].
ms remains in samya-.
mr becomes sib (through the intermediate stage *mbr) in Taṁhapaṇṭaṇ.
rī becomes g in sava.
rgh becomes gh in digkṛya.
rī becomes sīn in Taṁhapaṇṭaṇ.
rt becomes t in kalavya, kiti or kiti, anuv[a]ṭare, anuvataraṇi, anuvatiscare; t in saṅivata
or saṇatā.
rdh becomes th in atha.
rd becomes d in mūdavas.
rdh becomes dh in [pra*]avdhayiṇaṇi (IV, 9); dḥ in vaḍhayati (XII, 4), vaḍhayiṣṭati (IV, 7),
vaḍhika. Cf. s for rt in saṅivata.
r̥ḥ becomes bh in gabhāgaranṛ̥ka.
rm becomes sūm or m in khaṇa (= Skt. karman), dhaṇma and dhaṇa.
ry becomes y in ayusu, but is represented by ri in samuṣkairahi, which presupposes the form
*saṃuṣkairahi (= Skt. *sama-charyam); see above, p. lvii.
rv remains or becomes v in sarva or sav. Instead of Skt. pūrva we have pūva in IV, 5,
while praṇa, which is probably meant for pūrva, occurs in two places; see above, p. lxx.
rd becomes rt in vimāṇa-darsaṇa, but s in kasti-das[ṇa]nā, dasaṇa, dasaṭiyā, Priyadasi;
daspanahi (VIII, 4) is probably a clerical mistake for darsanahi.
rak becomes rɔ in varṣa (VIII, 2), but s in vāsa (= Skt. varṣa).
ṣṛḥ becomes s in kāśati, kāśanit, kasa[ṇa]ti.
rk becomes rah in garahati, garahā.
lp becomes p in apa, kāpā.
lv becomes l in kalāṇa.
sv remains in vyanjanato, -vyayata, vyasanam, vyāpana, divyāmi, mañgavyā, and in the affix-
tasva (seven instances), but becomes y in paṭjaya (XII, 4).
svr becomes v in ri[v]y, [pa]vajitāni, vaca (VI, 3; XII, 9) = Skt. vraja.
śk becomes chh in pachhā. Other instances in which a sibilant causes aspiration are kk = sk,
skkr, skk; ch = t, k; kṣ = s̄t.
śy becomes s in paseṭ, but sty in paṭkṣeyhi (XI, 3).
śr becomes sr in sramana, susūḍā, susū[ṛ]jā, susūrātā, bahu-lautā, śravāpkah,
śritō, but s in sramana, susūnā, susūnāra, sesṣa (= Skt. śresṭham).
śv becomes sv in sveto.
skb becomes k in [dun]katah, dukaranih.
shkr becomes kh in vinikhamana.

1 The 3. plur. imper. act. [n]jyātava (III, 3) need not be derived from nīr-yā, but may stand
for nīyāntu; cf. nāyāsu (VIII, 1) from ni-yā used in the sense of nīr-ya.
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sh has becomes st in RI(R)āṣṭika.
shth loses its aspiration and becomes st in sesta, āstya, āstīnuta, nistānata, -adhistānata. Cf.
the Māgadhi forms sari = Skt. ushīṣa and hōṣa = hōṣa = hōṣa (Hemachandra, IV, 292,
and Pischel’s Grammatik, § 303), and at Gīrān stīna = Skt. sītina, usūna = *u-sthāna, RI(R)āṣṭika =
Rāṣṭrika, anuṣṭ汁 = anuṣṭ汁.
shy becomes s in manusa, aṇḍapāysati, and in other futures.
sk becomes kh in agi-kl[a]ihānī.
st remains in an, nāsti, hasti, samstuta, vistāta; it becomes st in anuṣṭ汁.
str becomes th in ithī.
sih becomes th in thāira, st in gharastānī, and st in stītā.
sim becomes mh in the locatives in -amhi.
sy becomes s in the genitives in -asu, and in the optatives asa, asu of root as.
sr remains in sahasra and a[pā]-pariṣrave, but becomes s in pariṣrave (X, 3).
rū remains in svaiga, svaṁkena, svaṁani, but becomes s in sarasaka (XIII, 11).
km becomes mh, as in Prākritic, in bāhūkā and other equivalents of the Sanskrit and Pali word
brahmana.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN -a.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -a.

Singular.

Nom. masc. jana, &c;
Acc. masc. janaḥ, &c;
Instr. janena, &c;
Dat. athaya, &c;
Abl. kapā, hitapā, pachhā;
Gen. janasa, &c;
Loc. (a) athamhi, &c; (b) kāle, &c;

Plural.

Masc. morā, &c.; neut. phalāni, &c;
Masc. yute, athe; neut. diyāni, rūpāni;
pātiveśīhe, sathe.

thairānāni, &c;
thaivesu, &c;

Nom. sing.—In a few neuters the final Anuvāra is missing, viz. phala, māta, māñava (acc.), vinikhamana. In many instances the Māgadha termination -e is used; (a) masculines:—pariṣrave, a[pā]-pariṣrave, Devānahanpye (XII, 1), prādēśike, bhāg[e], rājāke, sakale, sayame; (b) neuters:—
ūchāy[ka], kāmme, -charane, -tārse, dasaye, dāhe, -puve, bahavīthe, maṅgale, -mate, mah[a]-phale,
mahalake, mule, yārse, vadhite, vi[pul]e, seste. The wrong form -pātiveśhāno (VIII, 4) is probably
due to the fact that the clerk who drafted the Gīrān version thoughtlessly replaced the -e of the
Māgadha neuter pātiveśhāne by -o, as in the masculine jene, &c = Māgadha jene, &c. The foreign
name [A]pīṭek[ma] (XIII, 8) has no termination, while Magā lengthens its final a.

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

Loc. sing.—In pravāsāṁhī (IX, 2) the m is doubled. The termination -e occurs also in
pakarane, prakarane, Pāṭalipute, viṣaye, viṣite, sarasake; lādāpāno is a mistake for lādāpāne.

The acc. plur. masc. uses the termination -āni, which, as shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913,
992 ff.), is peculiar to the Ardhamāgadhi dialect, in our instances:—agi-kl[a]ēhāni (IV, 4) and
sava-pāṣaṇānī cha [pā]ajātāni cha gharastāni cha pājāyati (XII, 1).

The acc. plur. neut. has the termination -ā instead of -āni in vimāna-darsanā cha hasti-
desa[sa]nā cha (IV, 3).

Gen. plur.—The long vowel is preserved before Anuvāra in bhūtānāṣi (XIII, 7).
Loc. plur.—The final u is lengthened in pārtheshī (II, 8).

1 In accordance with Vararuchi, IV, 32, and Hemachandra, II, 144. Skt. griha is replaced
by ghara.
2 The corresponding Pali word parisāya is not a neuter, as Childers thought, but a masculine;
see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1004 and n. 5.
3 Cf. -pātiveśhāno for -pātiveśhāne in the nom. sing.
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(2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.
Nom. ickā, &c.
Acc. pūjā, jātā.īn.
Instr. pūjāya, &c.
Loc. gaṇāyāni, parisāyāni.

(a) katā (II, 4); (b) mahiḍāyo.

Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in pū[ jā] (XII, 3), mahāthāvah[ā] (X, 1),
susṛ[ ni]sā (X, 2).

Loc. sing.—In sānātvanāy (VI, 9) the final Anusvāra is omitted, or it may be a genitive
used in the sense of the locative.

Nom. plur.—In chākāchha (II, 4) the long ā of the first of the two different terminations is
shortened. The second termination is identical with -ā in the Prākrit; see Pischel’ s Grammatik,
§ 376.

II. BASES IN -ī.

(1) Masculines in -i.

Nom. plur. tri, ti.
Gen. plur. hātīnaḥ.
Loc. plur. hātīsu.

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

(2) Feminines in -ī and -ī.

Singular.
Nom. ḫīṭi, &c.
Acc. Sānātvanā, &c.
Instr. anuṣṭhīya, bhātīya.
Dat. anuṣṭhīya (with final ā shortened).

Plural.
āṭaṭīya.

Nom. sing.—The final i remains short in apachitī, vati, kini.

Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in kītī (X, 2), kīti (X, 1), cāhāti (XIII, 11),
v[a]dhi (IV, 11).

III. BASES IN -u.

Besides the gen. plur. masc. gurūnaḥ we have three forms of the neuter base bahu, viz. nom.
sing. bahu, nom. and acc. plur. bahūni, and instr. plur. bahūhi. The nom. sing. sādhku is the same
in all three genders.

IV. BASES IN -ṛi.

Instr. sing. masc. pītā (for pītrā), bhārā or bhāṛ[ā].
Loc. sing. pītrī, mātrī and māṛ[ī].

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

As in other Prākrits, bases ending in consonants have a tendency to follow the analogy of the
a-declension. Thus the feminine base parīshad becomes parisā (III, 6) and forms the loc. sing.
parisāyāni (VI, 7). The present participle sat forms the nom. sing. masc. saṇito. Of bases in -an,
pantkān forms the loc. plur. pantkasā, and the neuter karman the Māgadha nom. sing. kaṁme and
the dat. sing. kaṁmāya[a].

The original consonantal declension survives in the subjoined incomplete paradigms.

(1) Present participles in -at.
Nom. sing. masc. karuṇ or karu.
Nom. plur. masc. tiṣṭaṇaṭu.

The nom. sing. karuṇ is derived from the Sanskrit verb karōti. In karu the Anusvāra is
omitted. Two other forms of the same case, karoto (for *karontē) and saṇito (from root as)
follow the analogy of the a-declension.
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(a) Masculines and neuters in -an.

Singular. | Plural.
---|---
Nom. masc. rājā. | rājāno.
Acc. neut. nāma.
Instr. rānā.  
Gen. rānō.

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

(b) Masculines in -in.

Nom. sing. Priyudasi, hasi. 
Instr. sing. Priyudasinā. 
Gen. sing. Priyudasino.

(c) Neuters in -as.

Acc. Sing. yaso, bhuya (= Skt. bhūyah).

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. ahaṁ. 
Instr. sing. maryā. 
Gen. sing. mamā, me.

(a) Base ta.

Singular. | Plural.
---|---
Nom. masc. so | neut. ta. 
Acc. 
Instr. tena. 
Dat. tāya. 
Gen. tasa. 
Loc. tamāhi.

Nom. sing. fem. sā.

In piti-rato sā (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.

(b) Base na.

Acc. plur. masc. me; neut. nāni.

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

(4) Base ēta.

Singular. | Plural.
---|---
Nom. masc. ēsa (X, 3); ētā; neut. ēta, ētān, ēsa. | Masc. ēta.
Acc. neut. ēta (XI, 3). 
Dat. etāya, etakāya. 
Gen. ētāsa. 
Loc. ētamāhi.

Nom. sing. fem. ēsā (VIII, 3).

With the nom. sing. masc. ēsā (VIII, 5); XIII, 4) cf. sā (= Skt. sah, XIII, 10) and Māgā (XIII, 8). The neuter ēta (= Skt. ētat) occurs twice, and ētān once (X, 4), while the masculine

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1 Cf. above, p. lxxii, 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 *sraṇi (= Skt. stachchhāra). Cf. the Māgadhī nom. sing. *sa, which is used both as masculine and as neuter (= Skt. saḥ and tai), and see Pischel's Grammatik, p. 299.

(5) Demonstrative idam.

Singular. | Plural.
---|---
Nom. masc. ayam; neut. idam, ayam. | Masc. ime.
Acc. neut. idam. | Instr. iminā.
Gen. imasa. | Loc. imamhi.
Loc. imamhi.

Nom. sing. fem. iyam, ayami.
Dat. sing. fem. imāya.

The Anusvāra of the neuter idam is omitted in īda (XI, 3). The masculine ayam is employed instead of it three times, and instead of the feminine iyam (I, 1) five times. In Pāli only ayam is used as feminine.

(6) Interrogative Pronoun.

The nom. sing. neut. ki (for kī) occurs in IX, 9, and kām, used as an indefinite, in XIV, 3. Of the indefinite base kīṃchīd we have the nom. sing. masc. koc [XII, 5] and the neuter kīṃchī or kīch[f] (X, 3). The compound kīnī or kī (XII, 2) is used in the sense of ‘that, in order that’.

(7) Relative Pronoun.

Singular. | Plural.
---|---
Nom. masc. yo; neut. ya. | Masc. ye; neut. yaṇi.
Acc. neut. ya, ya[š]. | yasa.
Gen. yaṣa.
Gen. yaṣa.

Nom. plur. fem. yā.

The acc. sing. neut. yā[š] is found only in X, 3, while ya (= Skt. ya) occurs ten times.

(8) Base anya.

Singular. | Plural.
---|---
Nom. masc. aṇūc; neut. aṇ[a], aṇec. | Masc. a[ṇ][h][a], aṇe [neut. aṇāni.
Acc. | Acc.
Dat. aṇāya. |
Gen. [a]hiṃmahāsa.
Loc. aṇāhi.

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

(9) Base sarva.

Singular. | Plural.
---|---
Nom. and acc. sing. neut. sarvah, sarvā. | Masc. save.
Loc. sarve, s[a]ve. | [sa]vesu.

(10) Base ekatara.

Loc. sing. ekataramhi.

(11) Base *khatya.

Nom. plur. masc. ekucā.

1 Cf. above, p. ixii.
2 The corresponding Pāli form is ekachchakhe; see Childers, s.v., and Geiger's Pāli, § 113.
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D.—NUMERALS

One.
Nom. sing. masc. eka.

Two.
Nom. masc. dou; fem. dvo.
These two are the only dual forms preserved in the Girmār dialect.

Three.
Nom. masc. tri, tī.

Four.
Nom. masc. chetapāra.

Five.
Loc. paṁchasa.

Ten, twelve, thirteenth.

dasa, dīśāna, dridāna.

Hundred.
Acc. plur. satāmi; instr. satākhi.

Hundred thousand.
Nom. plur. sata-satāmarāmi.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. Present.

(a) class.

First Sanskrit class.

Root kram: paścakram, paścakram[a]kram. The active form kramati occurs also in the epics, while classical Sanskrit has kramati in the active and kramati in the middle.

Root gūm: gachhayaṃ.

Root gurk: gurahati.

Root dṛś: pasati (i.e. pasati = Skt. paśyati).

Root dhā: bhavnati and huti.

Root lab. The absolutive ārahhitaḥ and the passive forms ārahhare, ārahhis, ārahhire presuppose the present ārahhate, 'to kill' (= Skt. ālakṣaṇa).

Root one: umeyu.

Root vrit: anu[a]tare.

Root sthā: tīṣṭhau.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root as: asti.

Root jā: [a]jāta.

Root has follows the analogy of the ninth class: asaḥaṃti.

Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive praśajñayate presupposes the present jāhata = Pali jāhata (for *jāhata): see Pischel, GGA, 1881. 1324.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root pad: papajñate (= Skt. pratipadajñate).

Root man: muniṣate (= Skt. muniṣati).
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Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root áp follows the ninth class: prapunati (for *sáma). 3

Root ára follows the ninth class and forms the 3. plur. imperative active svarəvça.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root ich: ichchati.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Both bhaj (bhaj[a]mancsa, VI, 3) and yaj (yajvanata, IV, 11) follow the a-conjugation.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root hri: harati.

Root ḍhaka: follows the a-conjugation: ēkhantati.

Tenth Sanskrit class and causatives.

(a) With ąya: pujayati, dacept, ādijaye, ārādhyaņata, uṣṭhayati. The character ąya is contracted into ō in pujasūkṣa, pa[a]kṣa[ś]vata[ś]pam, pujayati, ārādhyaņa, āhāran, [ē]-lōcayaṇa.

(b) With paja: hāṣṭeyati and the derivative āṣṭekha. The long vowel of the root ąja is shortened, as it is optionally in Sanskrit, before paja in āṣṭagajyati. With this agrees the Prāśaṅgī āṣaṇa, while Pāli has āṣṇapati with long ā; cf. Fischel's Grammatik, § 8.

(c) With āpo: lākāhapajanmi, saukhajyaņya (which is, properly speaking, a denominative of subha), and the derivatives bhājpajita, bhāṣṣepita, ākṣepita, paśčapajita. In lākāhapajita the vowel i of the root kā is strengthened by Cau, while in lākāhapajanmi it remains unchanged.

(d) With pāpo: āṣṭapjita.

(c) Mood.

(a) Indicative.

Active.

1. sing. purākhratam, harati, āṣṭakhaņati.

3. sing. guravati, pasati, bhavati and bati, acti, apahámati, ichhati, harati, cehañati, pujyati, vaśṭhayati.

3. plur. bati (read bati, XIII, 6), ichhati (VII, 2), prapunati (XIII, 4). In these three forms we would have expected the termination -act instead of -at.

Middle.

3. sing. par[a]k[a]n[ma]te, maṇdhate or maṇḍate, harote, which follows the analogy of the active harat, while Sanskrit has the weak form harati.

3. plur. harote (IX, 9) for harāvate. The termination is -ve in amun[a]tare (XIII, 9), in the future amunatahare, in the two passives amunatahāre and ārādhane, and in the future passive ārādhane. The same termination is known from Vedic Sanskrit, Prāśānṅa, and Pāli; see Fischel's Grammatik, § 458.

(b) Subjunctive.

Active.

1. sing. saukhajyaņumi (VI, 12), which has the termination of the indicative, but must be explained as a subjunctive because it is co-ordinated with the optative gañchéyaṇa and the imperative ārādhyaņa.

3. sing. maṇdā (XIII, 11) from maṇdhate. Cl. pajañ and many other Vedic forms.

(c) Optative.

Active.

1. sing. gañchéyaṇa.

3. sing. ass (= Pāli aṣa for *aṣapūt from root as), bhava, kṣeyya. Pāli, too, has both the terminations -ṣ and -syya.

1. plur. āṣṭayena.

3. plur. ass (= Pāli aṣa for *aṣapūt), sasya.

3. Cf. the Ardhamāgadhita form pānapati in Fischel's Grammatik, § 304.
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Middle.

3. sing. *patipajetha* (XIV, 4). The termination *-tha (= Skt. -ta)* is the same in Pāli; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 229.

3. plur. *susmisera* (desiderative of śru) with the termination *-ra* for Pāli *-rāṇ* = Skt. *-raṇa*.

(d) Imperative.

Active.

2. plur. *pativedetha* (VI, 3). As in Pārśkṛt and Pāli, the termination of the corresponding person of the indicative is transferred to the imperative.

3. plur. *yujānta, ārādhayaṇita, [n]jātanta* (with *-ta* for *-māṇa*), *srūṣāru* (XII, 7) from *srūṣāti =

Skt. *ṣṛṣāti*. With the termination *-ra* cf. the middle termination *-re* in the indicative, the optative *susmisera*, and the imperative *anuvātaraṇa*.

Middle.

3. sing. *anuvādhikātā* (passive) and *susrusata* (desiderative).

3. plur. *anuvātaraṇa* (VI, 14). Pischel (GGA, 1881. 133) compared the Vedic imperative duhrām. The middle termination *-raṇ* (for *-rāṇa*) corresponds to Skt. *-niham*, as the active termination *-ru* to Skt. *-nu*, and as the indicative middle termination *-re* to Skt. *-nītī*. In the optative middle the Sanskrit termination *-raṇ* agrees with Gīnār and Pāli.

(e) Imperfect.


II. AORIST.

3. plur. act. *haya* (VIII, 1) = Skt. *nyāyasū from root yā* with the preposition *ni* in the sense of *nis*; cf. Michelson, JAOS, 31. 345. The form *ahunis* (VIII, 2) seems to be based on the 3. sing. *ahu* (= Skt. abhāt), as Pāli *āsihu* on āsi (= Skt. āsi). In arabhīsu (I, 9), which must be connected with the passive arabhāre (I, 11) = Skt. ālabhyantā, the bh is a defective spelling for bbb.

III. PERFECT.

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

IV. FUTURE.

Active.

1. sing. *līkāpayisānti* (XIV, 3) has the same termination as in Pārśkṛt and Pāli.

3. sing. *dānapayisati, vaṣṭhayisati, kāpratisati, kāsati (= Pāli kāhāti) from *kharṣyati*.

3. plur. *[pra*]vāddhayisānīti, anusūśisānīti, kāsanīti and kāsa[nīti] from root kri.

Middle.

3. plur. *anuvātisāra* (V, 2). In the passive arabhīsāra (I, 12) the bh is a defective spelling for bbb; cf. the remark on the aorist arabhīsu, above, section II.

V. PASSIVE.

The forms which occur in the Gīnār text are all derived from the two Sanskrit passives alabhītā and anuvādhiyātā;

3. plur. *indicative arabhare, anuvādhiyare* are defective spellings for arabhāre, anuvādhiyāre; see above, p. lix.

3. sing. *imperative anuvādhiyātāṅ*.

3. plur. *aorist arabhīsu*.

3. plur. *future arabhīsāra*.

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

The 3. plur. optative *susmisera* (XII, 7) and the 3. sing. imperative *susrusata* (X, 2) are derived from Skt. *suṣrūṣhata*.
VII. Participles.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root sthā: nom. plur. masc. tistamite.
Root as: nom. sing. masc. sama.to.
Root kri: nom. sing. masc. karoto, karum, karu.

Middle.

Root bhuja: bhuin[a]māna.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In -ta: mata (= Skt. mata, XIII, 2, and = mṛta, XIII, 1), kata (= kriya), vijāpata (= vijāpya), vistata (= vistruta), usata (= uṣṭrata), nisātita (= nisālta), stīta (= sthīta), atibrata (VI, 1) or atikāta (= atikrānta), nata (= nukta), samātā (= samāpta), saṁkhīta (= saṁkṣipta), labha (= labāha), ánapita, &c. The participles vijita and vinita (VI, 4) are used as substantives.

(b) The only participle in -na is prasāhna.

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In -tasya: kātāvya (= Skt. kātavya), vātāvya (= vāktavya), prájñāhitāvya (from *jāhati = Pāli jāvati), ovāditāvya (from Pāli ovdāti), vijētāvya (from vijē), pūjētāvya (= pūjāyitāvya), lochetāvya (= rūchayitāvya), pās[a]vēdētāvya.

(b) In -ya: kāca (= Skt. kṛitya, IX, 8), saka (= takya).

VIII. Infinitive.

(a) Accusative: āraďhetu (= Skt. āraḍhayita).

(b) Dative: cchamita from root kham; cf. Vedic forms like charité, and gentive, &c., in Pāli.

IX. Absolute.

(a) In -spa (= Skt. -stv): āraṇāhitā, paṛīcchajitā (from root taaj), dasāyitā (from causative of drṣi), [ś]-lochētā (= a-vāchayitā).

(b) The only absolute in -ya is saṅkhāya from saṁ-klā (= saṁ-bhāyā).

F.—SUFFIXES

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

(1) Krit suffixes.

(a) -anā: saṁśrānā from Skt. āśrayati.

(b) -iti: niḥnāti = *nīdhāpti, anuṣnāti = Skt. anuśāsti (Böhlenk’s Wörterbuch, 5. 991), while Pāli ansuṣṭi agrees with Skt. anusāti.

(c) -ni: āhni (IV, 11) from root āhā on the analogy of the participle āhna.

The first member of the compound vāchā-yāti (XII, 3) is not a fossilized locative, as Michelson (JAOs, 31. 23c) thinks, but must be connected with Ardhamāgadhī saī or saί = *svāči; see Pischel’s Grammatik, § 413.

(a) Todhītā suffixes.

(a) -ka: rājaka (from rajju; see Text, p. 5, n. 2), and often pleonastic: etaka, a[d]yata[k]a, tāvataka, sarasaka, āśītaka.

(b) -alaka: mahālaka (from Skt. mahāt) = Prākrit mahālaya and mahālāya (Pischel’s Grammatik, pp. 403, 404).

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

(d) -ya: idokacha (XI, 4), skacha (I, 6). The first component of idokacha and idokika is the pronominal base i, from which Skt. itara, itas, and ika (for idha) are derived; see Franke in GN, 1895, 535.

(e) -tara, added to participles and substantives: bāḍhataram, katayataram, kammataram from Skt. karman.

(f) -tavāna: tadāśpam(a); see Text, p. 18, n. 8.
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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 asthātaṁ astaraṇaṁ, "in times past" (IV, 1; V, 3; VI, 1; VIII, 1), the instrumental in bāhūlaśaśaṇasaṭāḥ, "for many hundreds of years" (IV, 4), the dative in dṛṣṭāṇya, "in the distant (future)" (X, 8), and the locative in pañcūcaṃ pañcūcīḥ "every five years" (III, 9), sarvaḥ kāle, "at any time" (VI, 3, 8), and nādiṣeṇaḥ, "at the present time" (XII, 6).

The nominative absolute occurs in XI, 4—so se[a]niḥ bahuḥ, "if one is acting thus", and the genitive absolute in VIII, 3—bhāvajit[a]manurmaḥ, "while I am eating".

The genitive is employed in connexion with bhāvate (IV, 10) and mātī (VII, 3), and instead of the instrumental with kāte (bhāvita, II, 4), sāmī-puta (I, 6), and kāte-pata (VI, 9).

The 3, sing. astī is the predicate of a nominative plural in I, 6, and māti in three places (II, 6; XIII, 1); cf. Pischel's Grammatic, p. 329. In XIV, 1, arī is used as a particle in the sense of vi. In IX, 1, it opens a sentence, as frequently in the Pañcāśadaṇḍa; cf. Speyer's Sanskrit Syntax (Leiden, 1886), p. 324, 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 a becomes i through the influence of a neighbouring y in maṇḍāra (= maṇḍylasā), vaddhi (= vardhaya), vaddhipa, and a after a labial in muta, 2 maṇiṣa (= maṇolīya), nādiṣa. In gāḍaśa (= gāḍakūṭa, XIII, 37) and saṇ[a]pāsa (= uḍapāsa) the vowel of the second syllable is assimilated to the first. In Alakholakudal (XIII, 8) the a is prātha due to a popular etymology deriving the foreign name Alakholakōp from alakha, "the forehead", and sanhita, "beautiful".

The e of keta or keta (= 4) perhaps goes back to an original i; see above, p. lvi. In edisa and lañisa the vowel e corresponds to the i of Skt. śīriṣa. 2

The a of gada corresponds to Skt. a; cf. above, p. lvi. In manisa (II, 6) the a of Skt. manisa has become i through the influence of the palatal y in the next syllable; cf. the form manisa (i.e. manasi) at Śāhīnagari and Mānusū, in which the y has palatalized the preceding sk. 2 In edisi (= Skt. edisi) Skt. a is represented by e; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

As in other Prākrits, the Skt. vowel ri is lost. It becomes a in [a]nārāja (= Skt. anāraja), [a]śalata, keta, dhadha, 4 gadaśa (= gāḍakāṭa, XII, 3), daddati, bhāta, bhātpa, maṇi, vaddhi (= vaddhan, X, 37), vaddhi and vaddha (= vaddha), vaddha, vaddī ṣaṭa ; in edisa and lañisa, śāsa, [a]śisa (= pūḍīsa), kītaṃśa (a) (= kītoṣṭha), gāḍaśa, śāsa, padiṣṭha (= prapāṭhyā), pāṭha, bhandiṇa, nīge, nīgaśa ; in usnīsa, 5 śimaṇ (a), 6 after a labial in a[garaha] (= garaha), pahṣabha, sa[a]asti (= nīrghṛta), usnīsa (= usnīsa, XIII, 31), udhā (= uḍāḍha). It will be observed that in some of these words the original ri has caused the linguafication of the following dentals, and in lañisa=Skt. śīrīsa it has linguafied the preceding e. In [a]lāka (II, 6) the syllable ā corresponds to the syllable vi of Skt. vāṭaḥ; cf. Greek ἀκος = Skt. yātika, and see Wackernagel's Altind.

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1 The same form occurs in Pāli; see Geiger, § 18.
2 Pāli has edisa and edisi, Prākrit edisa and erisa; see Pischel's Grammatic, § 321.
3 Michelon (APJ, 32, 441) thinks that the vocalization of maṇisa may have followed the analogy of Māgadhī puṇisa = Skt. paraśu. But the apparent resemblance of the two words is due chiefly to the defective spelling of maṇisa, which stands for maṇisasa.
4 Cf. Skt. niṅkata (for niṅkata), niṅkata, saṅkata.
5 This Prākrit word is used also in Sanskrit.
6 Cf. the assimilation of the second vowel to the first in sa[a]pāsa = Skt. uḍapāsa.
7 Here the a is due to the analogy of other forms of the root arā.
The Kālsī dialect agrees with the Magadha one in replacing the semivowel ō by ō, and the two nasals ō and ů by dental ō, throughout.

The two gutturals k and g were often palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel ē. This pronunciation is expressed in writing by the groups kh and gh, of which the latter occurs three times in the word Kaligu (Škt. Kalīga), and the former in [n]iṣṭhā[ṛ]a[ṛ]a (XII, 34).

The Kālsī equivalent ārakaṇṭha displaces the tautology in [n]iṣṭhā[ṛ]a[ṛ]a (XII, 34).

The Kālsī equivalent ārakaṇṭha is formed from śāna (pronounced śāṇe), 'a dog', is formed from śāna (pronounced śāṇe), 'a dog'.
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dialect, like the Girmār dialect, furnishes an instance of the development of ṣ from g in -opaga (II, 5) and -op[a]ya (VIII, 23). From the form Kāhyā, which, as stated on p. lxixi, occurs three times at Kālā, it may be inferred that the intermediate stage was *-opagya. Greek y is expressed by k in Anītak[sc] and Makā, and ḥ by g in Anītyagā. Skt. k has become h in lāhu and ḍhaka.

Of palatals, ch has been aspirated in kchha (= Skt. kchha, XII, 32) and kchhi (= *kidh+chid). In vacha (IV, 18; XII, 34) ch corresponds to the j of Skt. vajra. The letter j has become d in patidhitu (X, 28), the absolute of Skt. pariṣṭiyati. Cf. Kuhn (Pāli-Grmatik, p. 36), who quotes from Dhāmatapada, p. 144 [l. 13], the norist pariṣchadhi; E. Müller's Pāli Grammar, p. 25; Pischel's Grammata, § 215.

Dentals are lengthened in dūvādasa; before ṛ in hēdasa; after ṛ in [u]ṣapa and usha, ḍa, duka, kṣita[ra], ḍha, ḍhakha, mu, viha, viyāpha; after rv in the preposition patti ( = Skt. patti). Dental t is palatalized in cīrīt [t]a (IV, 12), the absolute of Prākṛti cīrīthādi ( = Skt. teshatt). It is replaced by d in dōse (VI, 19) and hītaxyā (V, 15). In satāra ( = tadoṣyā at Girmār and Dhaulī) it looks as if if t had taken the place of d. But the first member of the compound might be, not lād, but tata ( = Skt. tata); cf. Senart's Inscriptions de Piyadasā, 1, 194. In hīda ( = idka at Girmār) the d apparently corresponds to an original dh but Johansson (Shābb, § 57) may be right in connecting hīda with Vedic ∂dā, 'now'.

The labial aspirate bh has become h in the instrumental and dative plural in -hi, in koti, kou, aho, huvvy, huvva, and in the participial huta (= Skt. bhuta), while bhuta is used as substantive.

The semivowel y has become j in majūla ( = Skt. majūra, I, 4); v in visava ( = vīsakha, XIII, 9) and vasēy[ma] ( = vasēynā, VII, 21); h in yelhāni (VI, 20). Initial y is lost in asin ( = Skt. yati), asā (= yasya), e (= yah, yah, ye), at[a] (= yat[a]), atā (= yathā), [a]tisa (= yatītā), āvā (= yāvā), avatāhora (XIII, 39). In apavahā ( = apēchā) v was developed out of u.

The syllable yu becomes i in patidhitu, the absolute of Skt. pariṣṭiyati, and in [a]pa-[v]yāyata ( = apya-yaṣyata at Girmār), and vā becomes u in the absolutes in -tu ( = Skt. tū). In Aṛj̥ḍasa ( = tshayada) aya is contracted to a. The causative affixes aya and aya either remain unchanged (in dasaṇyite, 8c.) or are contracted (in pujeti, pujetas[ly]a, 8c.); in vasāyite and vasadāyite the second a is changed to i through the influence of the palatal y which follows it. In the 3. sing. optative nirat[i]ya ( = Skt. niyartaṇya) the e corresponds to an original ary. For aya we have e in olokhana, hōtī, hōtu, aho.

Cases of Cockneyism are hīda ( = Skt. ikh), hēdisa ( = tēśi), hetā ( = *tētā), hevān, and perhaps the conjunction hanche (IX, 26), which is identical in meaning with Pāli saca, 'if'. Johansson (Shābb, 1, 65) derives it from Pāli yānche (Childers, Pāli Dictionary, p. 603, a) through the intermediate form *hanche, while Senart (IA, 21, 88) traces it directly to sache.

In the edicts I–IX the Kālā dialect agrees with the Girmār one in replacing the two sibilants ṣ and sh by h. From edict X the writer employs, besides ṣ, the signs for ṡ and sh. In a few cases, sk is used where Sanskrit would require it; see eske, [v]aṣka ( = varṣa, XIII, 35), pākānda, mam[ā]chātinj, teskāni, yekhāni, atakha ( = antikha), Kasbhoksha, Kāl[i]ga[sh]; nātiṣka, Nābhapānich, Pitiṇikesh[k]a, pitiṇiška, V[ma]nesh[k], ladheshaška, maniška. But in the majority of instances both sk and ṣ are phonetically and etymologically impossible; see e.g. tasa and ṭakha ( = Skt. tasya), dāha and ṭakha ( = dāsa), santhuta and santhutaka ( = sanstutaka), [a]s[ya] and shava ( = sarva), ᵇhā- and ṣh[ā]la ( = sāra), ṭiyāṭi and shiyāti ( = syāt), ṭ[e] and še, shah[a]ja ( = sahasra). To explain this state of matters, we have to suppose that the writer spoke a dialect which knew no sibilant besides ṣ, and that he used the letters ṣ and sh indiscriminately for expressing the same sibilant. In other words, the letters ṣ and sh at Kālā are purely graphical, and in the sequel it is tacitly assumed that every ṣ and sh is a vicarious symbol expressing dental ṣ.

As in the Girmār dialect, all final consonants are dropped. The preceding vowel is sometimes lengthened; see [a]myā- or shamā- ( = Skt. samyak, Pāli samma), palisā ( = Skt. paripatā), puna

1 Cf. Singhalese sittin or khitin, 'to stand', in Geiger's Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen, p. 47, l. 3 f.
2 Cf. below, p. lxxxi and n. 4.
3 For similar forms of the 1. sing. optative see below, p. lxxxii.
4 For similar contracted forms see below, p. lxxxi.
5 But ṣ occurs twice in edict IV, 1, 13 (nita = Skt. varṣa, and Piyadalasā).
6 Cf. Senart's Inscriptions de Piyadā, 1, 37, and Bühler's Ind. Pal., § 14, last section.
and *punah (= punar), *ava, *avo, *avo (= yuvat). It is nasalized in avan (XIII, 8). The termination -as generally becomes -a (e.g. pūřaṇa, but the ā is shortened in a few cases; see below, p. lxxvi).

Final -as becomes -e; e.g. yamé (nom. sing.), nāta (Skt. nātpāra), yājnie (gen. sing.), yājnie (nom. plur.), dhṛtya (= dhṛtya), ne (= nābha), se (= sabha), ye or e, ane, ekā, [p]ule (= Yājñu, Skt. puṣa), m[i]ha[ra], vījāyanāsana[ke]. But o is found instead of e, as at Gānī, in Satyaputaka, Ka[laka]puta, janī, yu, la[n]āme, yasa or yasā, tato; ā in Mahā; a in vadhā (XIII, 36), hīdolabhikinghah (XIII, 17), esha[va] (XIII, 38), va[sa] (XIII, 31).

Sanskrīta words ending in m and n substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals; e.g. dhanamāni, dānāni, and the present participles saivatā and kalvānātan (XII, 32), which correspond to Skt. sa and kurvanā. The Anusvāra is, however, frequently omitted; see kāla[kha] (XI, 30) and kula (XII, 32) for kalvānātan, anata (XI, 30) for anavatā, adītha (= Skt. yadṛṣṭa, XI, 29), pāshānta, pāshānta, and pāṣānta, bālī (XIII, 30), madava (= mārdava, XIII, 4), viṣayā (and viṣaya-deviyya (XIII, 16), [t]ha[va] (= sarva, X, 28), kava (= ca, XII, 32), and the accusatives feminine -ann[u][thi] (XIII, 12), kiti, khanī, vadhī, Saṃbodhī, suḍhī, hini. In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped and a lengthened; see [a]sūta (= Skt. yādṛṣṭa, IV, 10), kām[ma][śaša] (= karmataram, VI, 20), khudā (= kṣudram, IX, 44), dosā (I, 2), nilathiyā (IX, 24), pāṣānta (XII, 32), punah (thrice = punaya), Rukhā (I, 2), maha-phala (= maha-phalā, XIII, 14).

As a rule, the nom. sing. of neuters in -a follows the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine and ends in v; see see, she, ese, ese, ye, e, ahu, sav, sava, s[i]tale, dāne, 8c. The acc. sing. neut. has the same termination in dāne (XII, 31), bādhatale (XII, 32), and in the particles e (XIII, 38), se, she.

Words ending in long nasalized vowels are treated as in three different ways. Long ā is generally shortened; e.g. pāṇiṇa, tāmāni (XIII, 38), tezhām (XIII, 37), nāśa[n]aki (IV, 10), kāṭ̣i[n]āvini (V, 16). In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped; see the genitives plural [b]a[pi]bha[n]āna (XI, 29), nāṭhinā (IV, 9), [b]a[qi]n[a] (V, 16), gulunā (IX, 25), and the accusatives singular pāj (XII, 31), -davatā (XIII, 17), dīshā (XIV, 23), [m]a[h]ādva (X, 27), which is perhaps a clerical mistake for mahāhādva (Skt. mahāhādva). Thirdly, the Anusvāra may be dropped and the long vowel shortened at the same time; see pājāta (Skt. prajāva, V, 15), pājadāna (XII, 31), [m][a]nusāna[n] (XIII, 39), [d][a]vūṣ (a dtam, I, 3).

III. SANDHI.

Final m is preserved before the particle eva in tamēva, [a][n]am-evā[n], [e]vam-evā[n], pālāniṇīva[ma]-evā[n]. Hatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in the two compounds aiknam-anashā (= Skt. anyonyaya, XII, 33) and bhātam-a(ya)nu (V, 15).

a + a are contracted into a in evānāyāye (XII, 34), [ka[j]āj]āle, kavedā (Skt. kāvya), gahagāla, -vasāvikīla, dharmānusāyī (XI, 12) or dharmānusāthi (twice), 8c, but into short a in dharmānusatha (thrice), dharmānyāvye (XII, 35), [a]śva[da]pālahana (XIV, 23), and before an original group of consonants in a[t]a[t]a (twice = Skt. atra yatra), apalanīta (= āparantab, V, 15), tenatā (= tenītra, VIII, 33), diyadhā (= dvikārdha, XIII, 33), nathi (= nasti), supalāyav (= suśāthāya, I, 3).

a + ā becomes ā in paṇāla[n]ābhe (IV, 9) and [m]a[h]ādva (= Skt. mahārtha + āvaḥām (?), X, 27).

a + e becomes a before an original group in [m]a[h]atha (= mahā + artha, X, 27).

a + a becomes a in pa[n]ēdāne[ve], on which see below, p. lxxv, n. 1.

a is elided before i, e, o in hābhhana-thēsā (V, 15), chena, manus-oppaṇi (II, 5), and before n in chu, "but", which corresponds to chā (= cha + a) in Buddhist gāthās.3

i + a are contracted into i in tīkhi[h]ākṣa (= stṛ-adhiyaksikha, XII, 34).

a is elided before o in pas-opaṇi (II, 5).

a is dropped after e in evānī (V, 19), tā[ya]-[n]ā[ve] (VI, 19), etā[ya]-[θ]āyē (VI, 20).

1 For tatopāyā see above, p. lxxii.
2 Michelson (IE, 23, 261) considers chu a contamination of tu and cha.
3 See Kern's translation of the Siddharmaparāṅdikā (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 unachanged are tv, dhr, my, vy, vy. For the two groups ky and gy see above, p. lxxi.

Long ā preceding a group of consonants is generally shortened; see ata- (= Skt. ātman), a[tiyāyīka] (= ātyāyikam),1 anap[a]yāsanī (III, 8), anuṣṭhā (= anuvāstī), asama[ti] (= asamāpīti), aye[ṃ (= āyṛṣṭu), ālāde([= *āvalādham], gādhā (= *gāḍāhā), tadavāyā, pālakāmāṃ, pālakāmāṃ, pāsavāti (= prāsāvyātī), ma[ṃ]ra (= mārga, II, 6), ma[dava (= mārdava, XIII, 4), maḥāmama (= maḥāmāna). But the length is preserved in ānapāyīte and maḥāmāte. Long ā preceding a simple consonant is shortened and the consonant itself is doubled in tīni (= tīri, I, 3). Similarly, bh[ṛ]nte, vedanīya, anuvādīyaśa (read *yūjati) may be meant for bhūyeye, vedanīya, anuvādīyaṣita; cf. above, p. lxxⅰ. Short ā preceding a group is lengthened in ānatā (= aniyitre, XIII, 38), pārājika (= *prārajikā, IV, 11), and shāvā- (= sarva-, XII, 31). In pūrānīka (twice = pārāṣṭrā) the short ā 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. lxⅰii), in atiṣṭānta ( = aṣṭivāntam), kṣaṇīti ( = kṣaṇīti, XIII, 16), Tumbhaṇāni (= Tāṃbraṇāni). Pāṇīṣṭā ( = Pāṇiṣṭā), bākāhāna (= brākāna), bh[ṛ][ṃ]ga (= bh[ṛ][ṃ]ga, III, 8), sa[ṃ]ṣa[viṣyike (= sāṃśaya, IX, 20). In bh[ṛ][ṃ]nā (= bh[ṛ][ṃ]nā, XIII, 37), Devānāyī (twice), and in the third persons plural pāṇuṇāta(ā), pālaṃkā (twice), lechā (XIII, 17), pājī (= vedetā (VI, 18), the Anusvāra is dropped.

As at the end of words (see above, p. lxⅰii), there are many cases in the interior of words where the Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel; see Alāyoge (XIII, 6), aṣṭu (= aṣṭsu), adāna (= adanata), adābāḥ (= adabāhāḥ), abakā ( = ambākā, alabhiḥ yasaḥti (cf. the aorist alasāṣṭi, I, 3). Alāyakudale (= Alaṅgūpam), Kaliyag (= Kaliṅga), pāsāda and pāṣāda (= pāṣādā),4 magala (= magala), vikṣa (= vikṣita), saṃbhudhā (= saṃbhūdhaḥ), sva[ṃ]bha (= svabhavam), sadya (= sādवोbhāg), sayana and sainyama (IX, 25), vahāti (= vaṣante), and māṇu (= manu, 3 pl. 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[ṃ]hate ( = Skt. garhate), galāḥ, Alāyaṣhadale (= Alāyaṣhadaḥ), u before or after labials in kuvāpi, dvave, dvāṣṭaṣva, pUlave (= pAvāre), svāṃika, pāpanātīti; and frequently ā; see lājinā (= rājñā), lājine (= rājñā), the future passive participles in -saṣṭha, -adhiyabhaka (= adhiyaksha), a[ṃ]niya (= amṛniya), apatiya, alabhiḥ yasaḥti. [k]atiya, Pāṇiṣṭā, pativeṣya, madhuṣya (= madhurya), vījanīya, vījavāla (= vījavāt), [samamukha]ya (= *sama-charyya), śineke (= svāhac), sīyā (= sīyā). Similarly, an auxiliary i is prefixed to the group str in iṣṭi (= stri).

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

| kṛ becomes t in Nābhapanti, &c. |
| kṛ becomes kuv in kuvāpi. |
| kṣh becomes kh in -adhiyabhaka, khaṇṭi (= Skt. kṣṇṭi), khudha (= kṣudra), dakhati,5 [la]kha (= sṛṣka), mokha, su[ṃ]sakṛhipa (= saṁsakṛhipa); ch in chhanati. |
| khy becomes kh in šahākṣaye (read saṅkṛṣya). |
| kkl becomes kh in kl and klu in klu (Skt. khalu); see above, p. lxxi. |
| gnr becomes g in ogi. |
| jī becomes n in jītanā[s] (= Skt. jīṣṭajñātā), nāti, ānapoṣite, but jīn in lājinā (= rājñā) and lājine (= rājñā). |

1 atiṣṭāni presupposes an intermediate form *atiṣṭāka, in which the initial ā was shortened before the group ty.
2 Cf. vanika = Skt. vakra, sunika = Skt. śulka, &c., in Pischel's Grammatik, § 74.
3 For these two forms see below, p. lxxii.
4 The form pāṣāda may be derived from Skt. pārṣāda; see above, p. lx.
5 Pischel (Grammatik, § 554) derives this form from *dṛṣṭhāti, which is preserved in sāṭiksha, tāṭiksha, &c.
dy becomes diy in Paññāyā.
ny becomes sūn or n in hāsīna, punā (thrice = Skt. punyam), but niy in [a]numiya (= ārūnya).
sp becomes p in papiṣpadānaye.
1
tm becomes t in ata- (= Skt. ātman).
ty becomes tī in apatiye, [a]tiṣyāke, [a]katyā; ky in mityaun.
tv remains in tadāyāye (X, 27), where the ā of tadā has been shortened before the double consonant of the affix -tāvī; but tv is assimilated in chatāli (= Skt. chatvāri, XIII, 7).
tś becomes s (or ś) in chhisā, chhisākā, [u]hati[e]na] and uskunena.
tśk becomes th in usāni; cf. usānā at Gīrār.
ty becomes y in aya, pātpojetā; y su [x]ānast, nyāma.
tv becomes d in diyādha, but dve in dve, dvedāsā.
dhī becomes jh in m[f]jhati, majhmenā, but dhīy in adhiyakha.
dhr remains in dhruvī (I, 4); but it seems to be assimilated in [Aṭha] (= Andhra, XIII, 10).
ny becomes sūn or in anāna and ana, manasast [i] and manati.
pt becomes t in guṭi, m[i]hoti, asamati, su(saun)bhiṣṇā, nātāl ( = Skt. naptāraḥ), panātiyā.
Tulamaye (= Ṣrōṣaṣṭī).
pn becomes pun in pāpṇātāti.
bdḥ becomes dh in avidā.
bdhy becomes bdh in -ādhesu, but bhīy in alabhī[ya][ti], alabhīyīśu, alabhī[ya][sa][ni][ti].
my remains in [a]myā- or shanyā- (= Skt. samyak).
mr becomes nh in Tāṅhpañāni.
rg becomes g in m[z]ge[e]nu, vageṇa, svageṇa.
rn becomes sin in Tāṅhpañāni.
rt becomes t in kitī, amucatanitī, [a]nunat[au], nivaiteti; ṭ in kaṭaviya, anuvatīsa[ni][ti], 
i[na][tei], nivatī[ay].
rtk becomes tk in atka; tk in atka and nilathiya; see above, p. lxxi and n. 4.
rd becomes d in madāva (= Skt. mardava).
rḍḥ becomes dh in vadhite, vadhīyïati; dh in vadhite, vadhīyati, [pa]d[au]dhayisau[ti].
diyākha.
rbdḥ becomes bdh in gabbhāgālas[ī].
rnm becomes nim or m in kāmama (= Skt. karmān), dhāmāma and dhama.
ry becomes y in ayesu (= Skt. āyēṣu), but liy in anuh[de][e][ya] (= ānantaryu), madhuliya (= madhyura), [šamakha][y]a (= *sama-charya).
rv becomes v in savva, nivātei, niv[u]tiṣyā, but luv in puluva.
rś becomes s in dasana, dasayitī, Piyadasi (also spelt Piyadashi and Piyadāsi).
rsk becomes s in voṣa (also spelt [vo]ṣha and voṣa).
rh becomes lak in go[la]kati, galahā.
lp becomes p in apa, kapānī.
lṭ becomes y in kavyāna.
vy remains in digamī (IV, 10); but it is assimilated in pasavati (= Skt. prasāvyati, IX, 27),
and it becomes viy in vyajñama, vyajñamaṇī, viyṣṭāṣṭi, mtiṣṭāy, and in the affix -tāvīya.
vṛ becomes v in itve, pāv[au]ti[tu][u], ṭaha (VI, 18; XIII, 34) = Skt. vṛjya.
śk becomes ckh in [pa]khādā.
śy becomes sīy in pāṭisvesīyānā.
śk becomes k in dukṣaṇa, dukkala.
śkṛ becomes kh in nikha[m]a[ti], nikhaṃsu, nikhaṃṭhā, vinikhamane.
śkh becomes th in atka (XIII, 33); th in nikhaṃṭhā.
śkṣh becomes th in settre, kṣettreu; th in adhitkṣhāṇyā.
śky becomes s (or σh) in manasa and manuṣka, anap[a][ny]yani and other futures.
śk becomes k in aśi-kṣaṣṭā[a]dau, while Gīrār has aśi-ka[a]dudhi (with kh).
st becomes th in athā, nathi, [ha]khini, saviṣkuta, vikṣaṇaṇā, anuvatī.  

1 Dhauli and Jaugada read ॐdye, Māṇeṣvara ॐdye, but Shāhbazgarhi projāpada, which might correspond to Skt. proṣṭapāda. At Kalsī the locative of utpāda is excluded, because it would end in -asī. For utpāda = Skt. *utpad see Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 431 ff.
INTRODUCTION

str becomes th in itching (= Skt. strī).
istr becomes th in ghathāni, gi[(i)thā, ch[e(la)]-thitika (V, 17), but th in chila-thitika (VI, 20).
ən becomes shin in skinni.
sm becomes s in the locatives in -asi, but ṭh in [la]phā (= Skt. tasmāt, XIII, 35).
sy becomes sty (sty or sty) in styā, styā, styāt, styātī (= Skt. styāt), but s in a[sw] (3. plur. optative of root ar) and in the genitive in -asa.
sv remains in svayaka (VI, 20); but it is assimilated in shayaka (XIII, 16), which seems to be derived from Skt. svayam, and it becomes svo in svāmī (IX, 25).
km becomes nōh in bhambhara. The form bambhama (XIII, 39) is intermediate between *bahunama (= Skt. brāhmaṇa) and *bampaha (bambhaya at Gīrṇār, IX, 5).

B.—DECLENSION

I. Bases in -a.

1. Masculines and neuters in -a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. āna, &amp;c.; neut. dāna, &amp;c.</td>
<td>Masc. puṭa, &amp;c.; neut. phalāni, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. masc. dānamāni, &amp;c.; neut. dānamā, &amp;c.</td>
<td>Masc. pujāni, &amp;c.; neut. divyāni, lopāni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. dānena or dānena, &amp;c.</td>
<td>[su]ahī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. aḥāye, &amp;c.</td>
<td>mahāna[s][i].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. anubadh[(a)], [pa]dha.</td>
<td>pānāna, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. janah[sa] (IV, 10) or janaśa, &amp;c.</td>
<td>vassu, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. dhanamasi, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing. masc. — There are two forms in -a (Satīyaputo and Ka[lala]puto, II, 4), two in a(vadha, XII, 36, and hidalokikya, XIII, 17), and one in -ā (Makā, XIII, 7).

Nom. sing. neut. — In four instances the termination is -ni (ananitam, IX, 26, 27; anusāsanani and kaṇhi[ni], IV, 12). It is -a in adisha (XI, 29), and -ā in [ā]diṣā (IV, 10), kaṇi[ma]lā (VI, 20), punā (thrice = Skt. puṇyam).

Acc. sing. masc. — The Anusvāra is omitted in -pāḍa (four times, XII, 32), -pāḍa and -pā̄kān(a) (XII, 32), [shayama] (XIII, 4), viṣṇa[s] and viṣṇuṣṭava (XIII, 19). The termination -ni is replaced by -ā in a[pāḍā] (XII, 32), vahuk[ā] and diṣā (I, 2).

Acc. sing. neut. — The termination is -a in mādha (XIII, 4); -ā in maha-phala (XIII, 14), khudā and nilatikya (IX, 24); -e in dāne (XII, 31) and bhāṣikala (XII, 33).

Nom. plur. masc. — The final ā is shortened in [na]ṭika (XIII, 38), pāśoda (XIII, 37), -pā̄kān(a) (XII, 34),-[pā̄ṣa]nā (VII, 21), -puṇeva (V, 14), pujeta[v]ya (XII, 32).

Nom. plur. neut. — In hālaṣṭiḥ kha lopaḥtiḥ kā (II, B and C), the termination is -ā instead of -āni. The Sanskrit masculine viṣṭaka is used as neuter: [t]ākhāni (II, 6).²


Acc. plur. neut. — The termination is -ā in viṣṭaka-dasaṇ[ā] (IV, 9).

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

(2) Feminines in -ā.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. icchā, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. pujā, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. pu[ā]ye.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. or loc. san[t]a[n]ye.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing. — In h[i][da]lokiṣka (XIII, 29) the final ā is shortened.

¹ See Text, p. 49, n. 2.
² Cf. ruchkani at Māṇscharā, II, 8.
Acc. sing.—In [yātain] (VIII, 22) the nasal of the original termination -ām seems to be preserved, and the ā to be shortened before it.

Instr. sing.—In vīvidā[ye] (XII, 31) the penultimate ā seems to be shortened.

II. BASES IN -ī.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -ī.

Nom. sing. neut. asamati.
Nom. plur. neut. asadhīn[i], tīni, tīnīni.
Gen. plur. nāti[nāi], nātnā.
Loc. plur. Nābhapātishṭhu.

(2) Feminines in -ī and -ī.

Singular. Plural.
Nom. līpi, &c. \textit{jāni}[yē].\footnote{From Vedic \textit{jani}, 'a wife'.}
Instr. bhātiyā, -aṃsatiyā.
Dat. -aṃsatiyā, vādhiyā.
Abl. ni[v]atiyā, Taṇḍopāniyā.
Gen.
Loc. ayatiye.

III. BASES IN -u.

The nom. sing. sādhu or sūdhru is the same in all three genders.

Nom. and acc. sing. neut. bahu.
Nom. and acc. pler. neut. bahunī.
Instr. plur. ba[h]u[hi].
Gen. plur. gulumā.

IV. MASCUCLINES IN -ṛī.

Nom. plur. nātale (= Skt. nāptarāṭ).
Loc. plur. pitisu or pituśu (= pṛtriku).

The instr. sing. follows the ī-declension: pitiṇā, bhātiṇā.

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

The nom. sing. masc. has a very curious form; it affixes the termination -at, which is evidently derived from Skt. -an, to the strong form of the base: saṁtavā from root as, kalaḥtavā (kala[ṛita], kalata) from root kṛi.

(2) Bases in -vat.

Nom. sing. masc. pājāva (= Skt. pṛjahavān).
Instr. sing. hetvatā.\footnote{In Sanskrit the corresponding base is not kṛtvat, but kṛtvam; cf. Panini, VIII, 2, 9, and Pischel's \textit{Grammatik}, § 601.}

With the nom. sing. cf. Pāli gāvaca = Skt. guṇavān.

\footnote{The Kāsi dialect has mixed up osadhī (= Skt. ṣakadhi, fem.) with osadhī (= Skt. aśkadha, neut.).}
INTRODUCTION

(3) Masculines and neuters in -an.

Singular.
Nom. masc. lāja, lājā, lājā.
Acc. neut. nāma, nāmā.
Instr. lājīna, lājinā.
Gen. lājīnā.

Plural.
lo[ñ]āno, lojānē.

The neuter base karman follows the a-declension: nom. sing. k[an]me or karman[ak], dat. kavismēye.

(4) Masculines in -in.

Nom. sing. Pi[y]ādast (I, 1), Piyadasī, Piyadaski.
Acc. plur. [hā]thīnī (= kathīnī at Dhauili, IV, 2).

The gen. sing. Piyadasīnā follows the analogy of the a-declension. With the acc. plur. masc. [hā]thīnī (i.e. kathīnī), cf. yutānī, &c., in the a-declension (above, p. lxxvi).

(5) Neuters in -as.

Acc. sing. yasā or yasāko, bh[u]ye.

The base va[ča]- (XII, 31) corresponds to Skt. vacas.

(6) Other bases in consonants.

The feminine base diś (or diśā) forms the acc. sing. disā (or dīsā). The two feminine bases *upad and parishad also follow the a-declension: loc. sing. parīpadāne(ye) (see above, p. lxxv, n. 1), parīs[a]ye; nom. plur. parīsā.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.
Nom. hakani.
Instr. mamayā, me (III, 7).
Gen. [mamā], mamā, me.

Plural.
ne (V, 16).

The nom. sing. hakani must be derived from ahakam (= ahaśin in Māhārāṣṭrī); see Pāṇ. V, 3, 71, and Pischel’s Grammatik, § 417.

The Instr. sing. mamayā for Skt. mayā is due to the influence of the genitive mama. Cf. mamāt, Hēmachandra, III, 109.

(2) Base ta.

Singular.
Nom. masc. se, [sē], sē; neut. ta, se, [sē].
Acc. masc. tān; neut. se, sē.
Instr. tenā.
Dat. tā[ye].
Abl. [ta]phā, [t[a]].
Gen. tasa, tashā, tasā, tashā.
Loc. tārī.

Plural.
Masc. te.
tē.[hī].
tesān, tānān.

Nom sing. fem. sā, shā.

As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 592), the abl. sing. [ta]phā goes back to tamha (= Skt. tamhā); cf. aphe and uphe (= Prākrit amhe and umhe) in the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugāda. The abl. [a] is used as conjunction (V, 12); cf. Pischel’s Grammatik, § 425.
### KALSI GRAMMAR

#### (3) Base ṇta.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. [é]ṣta (VIII, 24), [e]ške (X, 28), eš[a] (XIII, 38); neut. ess, eshe.</td>
<td>Neut. e[ṇā].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. etakenā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. etāya (XII, 34), etāye, dka(e)ta[k]ēye.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. etikā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom. sing. fem. [e]š[a] (XIII, 37).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the gen. sing. etikā cf. esika at Slāhābāgārī and Mānehrā.

#### (4) Demonstrative idam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. āyani, īyani; neut. ḯani.</td>
<td>Masc. ime.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. neut. imāni.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. imā[a].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom. sing. fem. ḯani.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. sing. fem. imāya.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nom. masc. āyani is taken from V, 15, where āyani perhaps stands for e+āyani (= Skt. yōyam). The form īyani is used as masculine in V, 15; 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 echu = Skt. eha (nom. sing. masc. eckha) or ech = Skt. ech (nom. and acc. sing. neut. eckhi). As at Gimir, the compounds kiṣṭi (XI, 33) 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, a, o, a.</td>
<td>Masc. ye, e.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. neut. yāni, a, e (XIII, 38).</td>
<td>yēśhaṇi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. yena.</td>
<td>yētsu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. aśa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### (7) Base anya.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. and neut. amēna.</td>
<td>Masc. aṁma, ana; neut. aṁmāni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. aṃnāye.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. aṁmāmanākā.</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. savāni; neut. savēni, shave[n].</td>
<td>s[a]vēvni, shave[n].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Nom. sing. fem. shavā. |                |

#### (9)

Nom. sing. neut. [s]r̥vē, while classical Sanskrit has itarav.

---

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

(10) Base *abhaya.

(11) Base ekatara.
    Loc. sing. ekatalash[ī].

(12) Base *ekatya.
    Nom. plur. masc. [e]katiyaṃ.

D.—NUMERALS

One.
    Nom. sing. masc. eke.

Two.
    Nom. masc. dve.

This form may be used for all genders in all Prākrits; see Pischel's Grammatik, § 437.

Three.
    Nom. neut. eva, evam.

Cf. Prākrit iva; Pischel's Grammatik, §§ 91, 438.

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

Five, six.
    Loc. paṇichasat, shasru (= Prākrit ekhasu).

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.
    aṭha, das[a], duṇḍasa (with lingual d), e[r]dasa.

Hundred.
    Acc. plur. saṭaṇi; instr. [sa]teki; loc. shatesha.

The ordinal is shata (= Skt. šatamāṇa); see XIII, 39.

Thousand.
    The ordinal is shah[a]sha (= Skt. sahasratama), see XIII, 39.

Hundred thousand.
    Nom. sing. shah[a]-shah[a]ṣa.
    Nom. plur. sa[a]-sa[a]-sa[a]sāṇi.

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1 The d has been further changed to r in Prākrit bārasya and bāraha.
KALSI GRAMMAR

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(i) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root garh: ga[la]hati.
Root jī: the participle viṣinamāni and the absolutive viṣin[i]tu (XIII, 36) show that this
root first followed the ninth class (Prākrit jīnādi) and subsequently the a-conjugation (Prākrit
jīnādi).¹

Root dṛṣṭ: dakhāti.²
Root bhū: hoti, huvayu (sixth class).
Root vas: vahati, vas[e]va.
Root vṛt: anuvatati.
Root sihā. The absolutive chiṭhī[su] (IV, 11) presupposes the Prākrit present chiṭhādi.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root ad follows the a-conjugation: adamāna.
Root us: aṭhi.
Root i or yā: yaṇati.
Root yā: ya[hanī]; see below, p. lxxxii.
Root han: up[a]han[su].

Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive puṣhūṭaviṣye (I, 1) is derived from the present puṣhāti, in which the u of puṣhāti
(see above, p. lxvi) is strengthened by Guṇa.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root pad: paṭipajeyā.
Root maṇ: maṇmat[i] and maṇati.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root ṣṛ follows the ninth class: pāpunāti[rī].
Root śru follows the a-conjugation: shume[y]u.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root śīk: ichhāti.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root yuj follows the a-conjugation: yujāntu.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root kṛ. The 3. sing. kaḷeti follows the analogy of the tenth class, but the 3. plur. ka[la]mīti

Root kṣarṇ follows the a-conjugation: kṣhanati.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With yau: dasayi, [diṣṭeṇa, alaḥkāri(yani)tu, a-lokayitu, alochayisu, [pa]v[a]dha-
yiṣan[i]s]. The character yau is changed to yau in vaḍhiyati (XII, 39) and vaḍhiyati (IV,
11) and is contracted to e in puṣjeti, puṣjet[e]ya, lochetu, niṭvatet and ni[yau*]tet, [paṣṭe]vedetu.

¹ See Pischel’s Grammatik, § 473.
² See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.
(b) With āya: sukhr̥yāmi (VI, 20).
(c) With paśya: ṕaśa[ṛ][zat]i, [ānapayā]mi, anapaśuṣṭi, ānapayita, lojita.
(d) With āpaya: lekhāpāmi, śīkhāpita (without Guṇa of the radical vowel), khaṇāpīta, kālāpīta.
(e) With pāpaya: lojāpīta.

(a) Moods.

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the 3. sing. aorist nikkhamitā and the two participles present adamāna and viṣṭamana.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. pālakāmāni [ānapayā]mi.
3. plur. anuvaśānti, vaśānti (= Skt. vaśānti), yaśānti, ka[dti]. In pāpupānāti(ī) the termination -ti (for -nti) is affixed to the strong base of the ninth class (pāpunā); cf. the 3. sing. pāpunāti and the 2. plur. pāpunātha in the first separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugarā.

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. sukhr̥yāmi (with indicative termination).
3. sing. susuchātū (desiderative, with imperative termination).
3. plur. pālakāmātā (with -ṭu for -ntu).

(c) Optative.

1. sing. ye[ko] (for *ye[ko]m) from root yā (VI, 20). Cf. [pa]ṭi[paṭay]kāṁ (or patiṭaṭaykāṁ) and ālakmekāṁ in the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugarā. Senart has noted similar forms in the Mahāvastu (vol. 1 of his edition of this work, p. 403): tīṣṭhēkāhāṁ, abhibhāvetākāhāṁ, gaṇghākāhāṁ.
3. sing. niṣaḍa[y], paṭiṭapāya, siyā, siyā, śiyā, śiyātī, śiyātī. The two last forms (= Skt. śiyā) have the termination of the indicative; cf. Text, p. 71, n. 14. With the contracted form nivaṭe[y] (=Skt. nivaraṭe[y], IX, 26) Senart (Inscriptions de Piyadasi, i. 215) compares Pāli nippatāyeyam (for nippatāyeyām) in the commentary on the Dhammapada, p. 143 [L. 2]. Cf. also choroṣaya for choroṣaya in E. Müller’s Pāli Grammar, p. 110, dāva = Skt. dapāyāḥ and paṭaṭā = Skt. pratigrāhāyāḥ in Pischel’s Grammatik, § 450.
1. plur. [d]iṣgyāmaya.
3. plur. a[stu] (cf. above, p. lxvii), ḫuneyu,1 skun[ṣ][ṣ]u, shushueṣya (desiderative). The y of the optative is replaced by v in var[ṣ][ṣ]u (VII, 21).

(d) Imperative.


(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. aho (from root dhū).

II. Aorist.

3. sing. middle nikkhamītā (from nikk-kram, VIII, 22). In Pāli and Ardhamaṇḍagadha the termination is -āttha and -ātthā; see E. Müller’s Pāli Grammar, p. 115, and Pischel’s Grammatik, § 517.
3. plur. active nikkhamītu, āsu (= akumāsu at Girnār). The two forms manīkhu (XIII, 16) and alaḥayīsu² are used as subjunctives.

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1 Hāmachaṇḍra (IV, 320, 323) quotes kusaya (= Skt. kṣavē) from the Pāṣāḍī dialect.
2 See Text, p. 32, n. 7.
KALSI GRAMMAR

III. PERFECT.
3. sing. āhā, akā (V, 13) = Skt. āha.

IV. FUTURE.
1. sing. kacchāmi, lekhāpeśāmi.
2. sing. kacchati, vadhāryati, hāpo[y]śar[ī].
3. plur. kacchān[i], anuvāṣaṣa[m]ti, anuvāṣaṃvāṃti, anap[a]yāṣaṃti, [pa][a][a]dharāṣaṃvān[i], and the two passives [a]nudhiṣṭāvāna (read *samiti) and alabhā[y]śa[m]ti.

V. PASSIVE.
The terminations are those of the active.
The 3. sing. indicative pasavati (= Skt. pasavyati) occurs three times and is misspelt twice (pasaṣati, IX, 26, and pāṣavati, XI, 39); cf. Text, p. 39, n. 3
3. plur. Indicative anuvādhīyaṇa (read *yamati, = Skt. anuvādhīyaṇe), alabhā[y]ma[i].
3. plur. aorist alamabhīyaṇa.
3. plur. future [a]nudhiṣṭāvāna (read *samiti), alabhā[y]śa[m]ti (cf. the Sanskrit aorist passive alabhī).

VI. DESIDERATIVE.
3. sing. subjunctive sanuṣaṭāu.
3. plur. optative shukshēyu.

VII. PARTICLES.
(1) Present participle.

Active.
Root as: sanātām.
Root krīṭa: kalaṁtān (kala[m]ta), kalata.

Middle.
Root jī: vijnanamaṇa; see above, p. lxxxi.
Root ad: adamanā.

(2) Past passive participle.
(a) In -ta: mata and muta (= mṛita), kāta (= kṛita), viyāpta (= vyāpra), viṭṭa (= vīṣṭīra), [v]kāta and uṭkāta (= uṣṭīra), nisita (= nīśīra), lekhita, lekhāṇita, khamāṇita, hāpaṇita, lapita, lapāṇita, ānaṇyita, huta (= bhūta), atikānta (= atigrānta), su(ma)nākāta (= samkāṣṭa), vudha (= vṛiddha), opaṇugha (= apadha), ladha (= labha), aladhā (= arādha), &c.
(b) In -na: p[a]ṣ[a]hūna, vipaṇa (i.e. *śuna).

(g) Future passive participle.
(a) In -tavya: kaṭaṭavya, vaṭaṭavya, pājohiṭavya (see above, p. lxxxi), viṣayatavya (for Skt. viṣayavya under the influence of the substantive viṣaya), pujatavya[i]ya, pāṭi[vadeta*]vēya.
(b) In -aniya: vandaniya.

1 Johansson (Skāhā, § 76, b) explains this form as a future derived from *kajjati (= *karyati), and compares the Ardhamāgadhi passive kajjāi.
2 The introduction of the nasal is perhaps due to the influence of the Skt. aorist passive alabhī or of the substantive alabhā (III, 8, &c.).
3 This barbarous equivalent of Skt. ājñopita and ājñapita retains the causative character aya of the present ānappayati.
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VIII. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In -tu (= Skt. -tvā) : ālabhītu, politidītu (from root ṝyaj with Saṁprasaṅgana of ya and dentization of j), chiṣṭiṣ[u] (from the Prākrit present chiṣṭhādī), veṣṭin[r]tu (from the present *vi-jina on; see above, p. lxxxii), suṭu (from root ṝtu), dasayītu, a-lochayītu (= a-ṝchayīvī).  
(b) In -ya: shārīkhyē (read saṁhārya) from saṁh-kyā.

F.—SUFFIXES

The pleonastic affix -ka (or -kya) occurs in hakaṁ (= Skt. aham), etaka, aya[ta]ka (from Skt. yārā), āvataka, nātika or nātikya (= Skt. jhātik), panaṭikya (= pranāptik), svuṃmika (= svāmin). The adjective shayakya seems to be formed from Skt. svayam; see Text, p. 49, note 2.

With the affix -alaka or -ālaya is formed maha[la], 'wide' (XIV, 29), 'aged' (V, 16), = Prākrit mahālaya (Pischel's Grammar, p. 402). As suggested in the Text (p. 32, n. 3), supadālaya (V, 14) seems to contain the same affix and to signify 'stepping fast'.

The affixes -tara and -tama are added to substantives in kain[ma]talā (i.e. karnata[ram], VI, 29) and gujatame, 'the best elephant' (Text, p. 50).

CHAPTER VIII.

GRAMMAR OF THE SHAHBĀZGARHI ROCK-EDICTS, 
WITH NOTES ON THE MANSEHRA VERSION

The Shāhbāzgarhi version has received the advantage of a detailed treatment by an accomplished linguist, Professor Johansson:—Der Dialekt der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhi-Redaktion der vierzehn Edikte des Königs Asoka. (Tiré des Actes du 8e Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenus en 1892 à Stockholm et à Christiania). [Part 1.] Leide, 1894. 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.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel a becomes u after a labial in mut[a] (= Skt. mata, XIII, 8) and uchauvcha. In meñati (= manyati, XIII, 11) the change of a into i is perhaps caused by the palatal i.1

If the reading eitra (VI, 15) is correct (the other versions have here iyāv, eshe, 9c.), it would correspond to eta (Girnār) and heta (Kāla) = *eitra; see above, pp. lvi and lxxv. As at Kāla, the vowel e corresponds to Skt. i in divi (= jīvīta).

As in Pāli, Skt. u is represented by a in pāna (VI, 14, 15) = pana (six times, for Skt. punah), and in guruno (IX, 19) = guruno (XIII, 4, for Skt. gūrūṇām). Michelson suggests that the form pāna may be due to vowel-assimilation; see IF, 23, 235, n. 1. In bha (= Skt. bhalu) Skt. u is represented by a; see above, pp. lvi and n. a.

The vowel ri is replaced by (1) a, (2) i, (3) u, (4) ra, (5) ri, (6) ō, (7) ru, causing at the same time the lingualization of a following dental. See (1) uṣṭena, dukaṭaṁ, bhā, bhāṭaka, vacah ( = Skt. vṛddhi), vapajita and viṣajita ( = vyāgita), ananāyaṁ, [da]khati; (2) kīta, [ś]kīta[r], eda, tadā, yadā, pranātika; (3) bases in -ṛ: pitushu, bhṛtuna, spa[c]a[ru]na (= svarūṇām),

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1 With meñati Johansson (p. 19) and Wackernagel (Althind. Grammatik, vol. 1, p. xx) compare Gothic gu-maitasjan and German meinen (English to mean).
and for ri after a labial: agrahānī, viṣṇugata (= vijāpīla), muṣa, vutānī and viṣānī (= vijattāni), nisvāta (= nisvarśita), niṃṣati (= nīrvarśiti), vudhā (= vijādha); (4) grāhātha (= grīhātha); (5) [hr]janā (II, 4), drijha, vīrtrāṇa; (6) kīra (i.e. kirā, = Skt. kīra); (7) for ri after a labial: po[ti]p[ri]ruṣhchha, muṣya, muṣgaya (= muṣgāyā). In śrunyaya (XII, 7) the ru is due to the influence of truta, śrutu, &c.

In a few cases the vowel a, both if it is inherited from Sanskrit and if it is due to dialectal changes (cf. Johansson, § 23), appears to have become i; see dū[i] = dū[ī] at Mānṣhāha for Skt. dū[ī] (II, 4) and dēvau (I, 3), aṣyī for *āṣyī = Skt. āṣyām, anīṣī (VIII, 17) for anīṣe = Skt. anīṣab, Amīṣīnī (nom. sing., XIII, 9), vajānī (nom. plur., XIII, 9).

The two diphthongs ai and au have become e and o, respectively; see nīche (perhaps = Skt. nīchānī, VII, 5), [o]khačha[nī] (II, 5), popotra (XIII, 11), parakha, -opaka and -opaya.

The Kharañji 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 ã, i or ì, u or ù, respectively.

Initial a is dropped in pi (= Skt. pī); i in ti (= tiś) and kīti (= kīd+tiś); e generally in va, while eva is preserved three times through Sandhi. Besides eva, the text often uses the two forms eva (= Vedic ēva), i.e. ēva+u)² and yo, which Johansson (§ 36) derives from Prākrit yeva (= Skt. ēva).³

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The guttural k has become y in nitrāhiya (= nilatihya at Kālṣi) and -opaya (VIII, 17) = -opaka (II, 5), instead of which the remaining versions of the rock-edicts (besides Mānṣhāha) have -opaka. It seems to be dropped altogether in dīdha = dvākardha. Greek χ is represented by k in Amiṣiyāka, and y by the same in Amiṣikini and Maka. Skt. gh has become h in luhu and lahuka.

The palatal j has become y in Kanibhaya, [j]rāyāvatav, samaya (= Skt. samāja, I, 1, 2), reya (= rājā), and is represented by ch in vrachaspī, vrachaka-bhumika (also at Mānṣhāha), and in vrachastī, v[j]achayā; cf. Prākrit vuchchā (for *vrajatī) = Skt. vrajati.

Skt. ṇ is generally preserved, except in kshamanaye, garasa, utravahina, pranatika, Pitunika (= P[ṛ]ṭena at Gīrínār). In terminations, however, dental ṇ is never linguilized after ri, r, or s; see akerena, agrēna, anandariyēna, khudrakena, Devanabhījena, parakramena, putreṇa, vērenā, abhiramām, rupamā, sahasam, Gandharvanām, manmānam, mahaṃtramām, Rājkumān ām, garman, garma, pītāna, bharatina, spāsasāyā. On the other hand, dental ṅ is newly developed after r in prāpunatī (from Skt. prāpnotī), saṁtirṇa (from tṝyati), and wrongly in Devanapṛy[ṛ](I, 1).

Dentals are linguilized after an original ri (see above, p. lxxxiv), after va in the preposition paṭi (eight times) or prati (twice) for pratī (five times), and after ska in [o]khačha[nī] (II, 5), prakshāṇā and prakshāda (for *prākshāṇa and *prākṣhāda = Skt. prākṣhāda). Between vowels i is replaced by d in hapelādi ( = hapelatī at Mānṣhāha) and, as at Kālṣi, in hida-sukhay (V, 12).⁴ Here we have the beginning of the process which, later on, every intervocalic t underwent in the Sāraseni dialect. For hida (five times) = ikha at Gīrínār, see above, p. lxxii.

As in literary Prākrit, the labial b becomes v between vowels in avatrapēya (XIII, 8). Initial ḍ is replaced by p in padhāi (VII, 3) for badhāi (XIII, 3). The aspirate ḍ has turned to ḍ in k hubs (only VIII, section E, for the usual hubs), ḍho, and in the termination -hti (= Skt. -bhikhti of bahuki and satēki).

As at Kālṣi, j becomes j in majura (= Skt. mayūra, I, 3), and v in vīravā (XIII, 9). It is dropped at the beginning of avas (five times) for yavas (IX, 19) = Skt. yavat and of ṣ (XIII, 3) for ye = Skt. yat, and between two vowels in Priṇadāsī (thrice), Devanapriṣaas (four times) or

¹ The spelling kīra suggests that (ṣ) [hr]janā is also meant for kīra. Cf. Johansson, § 27; Michelson, AJP, 31: 57; and below, p. lxxxi.
² See Bühler, ZDMG, 43: 136, according to a suggestion of the late Professor Kirste.
³ Michelson (JASOS, 30: 86, n. 4) identifies yo with the nom. sing. masc. of the relative pronoun.
⁴ At Mānṣhāha (VIII, 35) s is softened also before r in yada (for *yadrā = Skt. yārā) and tenada (= tenātra) in both versions presupposes an intermediate form *tenadra. Cf. adra, padra, mudra in the Wardak vase-inscription; El, 11: 208, n. 3.
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*piasa (I, 2), ekatis (I, 2), viṣeṣāṇa[r]a (XIII, 11). The syllable ya becomes ī in pariṣiṣṭu (= parātiṣṭu) at Kālṣī. The causative affixes oya and oyi either remain unchanged (in anaṇaprami, anaṇapraṇaṁ, &c.) or are contracted (in anaṇapami, anaṇapāṇi, &c.). The same contraction takes place in amunni (XIII, 7). The e of the 3. sing. optative nivatasyati (= Skt. nirvartasyē) corresponds to an original uye, and the o of the numeral tōda (Skt. troyāda) to an original uye.1

The change of r into l in pali[k]o[da] (V, 12), palibhika (V, 13), va[la] (Skt. vāra, XII, 2, 8), l[ek]k[ha] and a-lochāti 2 is a Māgadhism, while, as at Girnār, r corresponds to l in *araḥkati, to kill, (Skt. aḷabhati (see below, p. xciy), and in Turamaya = Prokṣipīyas (XIII, 9). As stated above (p. lvi), this wrong translation of the foreign name Tulumiya (Kālṣī) proves that the Shāhābāṣthrī version is based on a Māgadhī original. In Keraduputro (II, 4) the o corresponds to the lingual i̞ of Tamil Kēratala; the other versions of the rock-edicts have l instead of i̞.

The semivowel r is developed out of u and u in vaṇchati (= Skt. uktiṣṭ, vata (= vata, II, 5), and apavāda (= apāda). As at Kālṣī, the syllable va becomes u in the absolutes in -ati (Skt. -ādi). Contraction of aya into o takes place in evadhana, bhoṭi, hota, atho. Like the Kālṣī version, the Shāhābāṣthrī version distinguishes the three sibilants f, sh, s, but with one important difference. While at Kālṣī these three symbols are used indiscriminately (see above, p. lxiii), the Shāhābāṣthrī text generally employs each of them where it would have been in its proper place in Sanskrit. 3 Thus we find the s in anuśāstī, aśāmanā, edīṣa, nadiṣa, yadiṣa, daśa, deśa, draśāna, drāṣṭavīti, Priyadṛṣṭi, pāṭu, pradeśika [ka], iva, saka (Skt. śāka), sa[tu] (i.e. sila), [silana] (i.e. silana), sūdhī (i.e. sūdhi), saśāyike, prāsviṣaya, niśāla (Skt. niśīrta), śrāvaka, śruṣṭa, śruṣṭu, śruṣṭvam, and the in e, eka, [o]ka[ka]mi, ghoṣa, goṣha, goṣha, pariśha, praiśānta, viṣkara (= viśkara), viṣnusku, in the loc. plur. in -susku, in the gen. plur. teṣṭha[va] and yeska, in the 3. plur. ofriṃṣaṁ, māṇiṣa, l[ek]k[ha], in vasa (Skt. varsha) and kahati (= kahāṣṭi). Exceptions are not frequent: 4 for s in anuṣodhaka, [e]rṣa (= rśṭrṣṭa); s for sh in abhāṣita (abhishekta), yena, u[ha]ṛ[ṛ]ṣa, [arabhī]vāṣa; 5 sh for s in paśupathi and sasākha. In manuska (= manusya) and in the futures in -sati and -esati the s is a defective spelling for ū, in which the original sh had been palatalized through the influence of the following y. In suṣṭhaka, suṣṭhaka, suṣṭhakya the first s (for s) is probably due to dissimilation, and in an[ha][ka]sana, anuṣṭasāntaka the second s (for s) is due to dissimilation.4

Cases of Cockneyism are has̄ka (see above, p. lxiii), hāṣati (twice) for akāti (thrice) = Skt. aha, hida (see above, p. lxiii), kiddalokika. Conversely, ī is dropped at the beginning of aṣṭina = Skt. āsṭina, and between two vowels in maṣu = Prāṣṭē maha (gen. sing. of the pronoun of the first person), ia (= Skt. igha) and ṣāleka. As at Girnār and Kālṣī, all final consonants are dropped. In some cases this applies also to the s of final as; see jana, &c. (below, p. xc), [a] (XIII, 10), ekati (I, 2), aṣṭina (= Skt. āsṭina, IV, 8), vača (XII, 2). But generally final as becomes s, and frequently, as in the Māgadhī dialect, 6 s; see bhūy[ā], chatur, and the nom. sing. masc. ēṣa, [e] (V, 13), ake (XII, 9), jama, &c. (below, p. xc). In aṁśi (VIII, 17), Amśikini (XIII, 9), rajāni (XIII, 9) = rajāna (II, 4), -i has taken the place of -ē.

The Anuśāra 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 want of articulation of the nasal sound. Examples of the omission are praṣṭaya (Skt. prajavān), da (IX, 14) = idāni (XIII, 3), ima (IX, 15) = imaṁ (passim), oye (twice) = ayāṁ (V, 13), [i]s[m] (Skt. idāni), 6 eva (twice) = evaṁ (passim), the acc. sing. masc. ast[ṛ]a, dōṣha, ba[h]ka, the nom. and acc. sing. neut. dana, &c. (below, p. xc), the acc. sing. fem. pāja, &c., and Sābdhā, &c., the gen. plur. nātiṇa, Nābhātiṇa, gurṇa, guruna, bhāṭumā, sas(ā)ṣa, teṣha, yesha, us[b]ha[ṛ]ṣa, abhiratana, &c. (below, p. xc).

As in the Māgadhī dialect, the nom. sing. frequently ends in -ē instead of -ain; see eshe (X, section E), je (VI, section F); IX, F and I; XIII, 1), saure (XII, 5; XIV, 13), [saha]sre
(XIII, 1), dane, &c. (below, p. xc). This barbarism is due to the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine. The termination -сь is found even in the acc. sing. masc. (sayama, VII, 2) and in the particle [ять] (= Skt. yat, XIII, 3). While in the nom. sing. masc. we often have -сь for -о (see above, p. lxxxvi), the -сь of the nom. sing. neut. is replaced by -о in kartvo and three other gerundives (see below, p. xc), and the nom. sing. neut. of the pronoun idam has once the form iyo (XII, 4) for iyam (VIII, section E). The nom. sing. masc. is used for the nom. sing. neut. (XIII, 2) and for the acc. sing. neut. (passim), and the relative ye (X, 21) for the acc. sing. neut. yat. Instead of anusuvasān at Girnār we find anusvāsān (I, 2), and at XII, 6, the acc. sing. of the masculine dhrama is dhramā. Finally it must be noted that aye occurs repeatedly instead of aya and aya (= Skt. ayam and iyam).

III. SANDHI.

Final m is preserved before the particle eva in [ye]vameva and paratv[i]maveva, and hiatus is prevented by m in aham-anasa and bhatam-ayešu.

As the length of ō is not marked in the Kārṣṭāṅgī  alphabet, the result of a+a always appears in writing as short a; see kitabhitkaras, grābhaga, tenada (= Skt. tenāra), nasti, praṣṇavānaka, mahathavānaka, -vāsahhisita, -śrūvahhisita, dhramanuśasti, &c. The hiatus remains in [atha]vāsha[a]kṣita[a] (XIII, 1).

a is elided before i in brahmāśresu; before u in chu (= cha+u) and pāj-udādan e; before e in eva; before o in manaḥ-opakāri and tuṭ-opayān (see above, p. lxxii); and u before o in pāj-opakāri.

i+a are contracted into i in [ṣṭridhi]yaksha (= Skt. stry-adhyaksha).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

As at Girnār (above, p. lxxi), 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

(1) r is combined with the preceding aksarāna
(a) in ṛbh: grābhaga (= grābhāga).
(b) in ṛm: dhrama (i.e. dharama) and dhrāmīma (i.e. dhrāmīma), krama (= Skt. karman) and kramāma (i.e. kramāma).
(c) in ṛv: śrva (= Skt. śrva).
(d) in ṛt: drstama (i.e. dṛṣṭama), drāṣṭitva (= Skt. dṛṣṭavitva), Priyadṛṣṭi.
(e) in ṛk: prasahaṇī and prashadā (from Skt. pārshada).

(2) r is attached to the following consonant
(a) in rγ: vagra (i.e. varga), vagra (= Skt. varga).
(b) in rt: kṛṣa (i.e. kṛṣa, = Skt. kṛṣi), kṛṣi (i.e. kṛṣi).
(c) in ṛk and ṛk: aṭha and aṭhā (= Skt. artha).
(d) in ṛv: saava (i.e. sava) and savastra (i.e. savastra).

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 Anusvārā is often omitted before consonants; see atara and aṅtara, aṅkrāta (= Skt. aṅkrāta), Aṅkṛyaka and Aṅkṛyaka, amata and amata, Aṅkṣadon (= Aṅkṣadon), karatam and karantam, Kāla, Devanāpriya and Devanāprijā, prashada and prasahanī, bhadhava and saṅkāraṇi, mukula and maṅga, vihīna (= Skt. vihīna), saṅsāra, and saṅsāra, Sabodhī, saṃyama and saṃyama, (a[y]uta (= samyukta), saṣṭayīka (= sāṣṭayīka),

¹ Cf. above, pp. lxxii, lxxiii, and Johansson, part 2, p. 47.
² Bühl er, ZDMG, 43. 133. Cf. Johansson, 17, and Michelson, AJP, 30. 289, n. 2.
³ See above, p. lxxiv, n. 4.
Sastuta and sanistuta, and the 3. plur. ha⊗[ti] (IX, section C), prapuṣṭi (XIII, 6), bhogra (XIII, 7), vasati (XIII, 4), nish[r]mathu, mūca[t], arīṛhehu, pāṇvedeta, vṛchojēh.[

Some groups of consonants are avoided by the development of an auxiliary vowel, which is a in garahāti; u before or after a labial in duv[ti], prapuṣṭi; and frequently i, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Śāhābā zgāri will show. Michelson has proved that some of these correspondences are in reality Māgadhi and alien to the Śāhābā zgāri dialect; see his articles in AJP, vols. 30 and 31, and JAOS, vol. 30.

kt becomes t in avahis, &c.
ky becomes k in vahke (= Skt. sakyam).
kr remains in aikraiva, &c.
kṣh remains1 in akṣhāti, [a]dka[ka]ska, [a]ka[ka]stī, kṣhānati, kṣhamaṇaye, kṣhamaṇtivya, no[kṣhhe], saṃkskhitena, but becomes kh in khudākena and [da]kṣhāti.5
kṣy becomes kṣh in vrakṣhamānti.
kṣy becomes kṣh in mukha (= Skt. mukhya, XIII, 8), saṃkṣhay[a] (= saṃkṣhāya).
kṣkl remains kṣh in kṣh (= Skt. kṣhula; see above, p. iv and n. 2.
kr remains in agra, [a]dka[ka]stro (XIII, 5), but the g seems to be aspirated in apaghrathō (XIII, 6).
kṣy becomes kṣh in vahkṣhāti (= Skt. uṣkṣhāti).
īṭ becomes śī in ikṣraṇāta (= Skt. kṛṣṇānāta), śāti, śātika, śaṇā, raṇa, raṅo; Ṛ, as in literary Prākrit, in anapayasmi and anapemī, anapēṣantī, anapīkā.
jy becomes j in jōti (= Skt. jōṭī, IV, 8).
jī becomes mū in vaṃśanato (= Skt. vaṃśanatak).
dy becomes d, as at Girnār, in Paṇḍī (XIII, 9), but di, as at Kāli, in Paṇḍī (II, 4).
jy becomes u in puṣa, hiraṇa, but jī in anunāya (= Skt. anunāya).
ṭp becomes p in paṇpādānē.6
tn becomes t in ata- (= Skt. atmā).
ty becomes tī in ekṣaṇi, but ch in avahika, apacha, chatī.
tr remains in traya, utra, putra, savatra, &c., but becomes t in savata (V, section N) and todā (= Skt. tōḍātāśa, V, 11), and d in tenāda (= Skt. tēnārā, VIII, 17).4
tr remains in vadātātrey, but becomes t in the absolutives in -tī (= Vedic -tvi).
tt becomes s in uṣṭeṣa, chīṣa.
tskh becomes tkh in uṣṭanās [ VI, 15], but tkh in uṣṭanās (ibid.).8
dy becomes j in aja, paṭiṣeṣyati; j in uṣṭa (= Skt. uṣṭeṣa).
tr remains in khudaramānti.
λv becomes d in duv[ti], but b in badaya[ta] (cf. bhādasa at Girnār), and d in diadha.
λh remains in dhruva and Aṁdrāru.
mm becomes m in yamatra (= Skt. yammatrā).
ny becomes nūn or u in anūn and aṁa, mūnati and mūṇati, mūṇiku, hānān[ti], [ka]nūn-
īṣyasya.
piti becomes t in gasti, nijh[k], vuto (= Skt. utpa, II, 5), atamataṁ, saṃkskhitena, nataro (= nāṭārak), pranatika, Turamā (= Πρωμαῖος).
piti becomes pun in pun.
pr remains in Prījadra, Devanaṃpriya, priti (i.e. priti), prakāra[ta] (XII, 3), pṛ[ta]ja and prajāva (V, 13), praja (i.e. praja), pradāṣita, pranatika, prapuṣṭi, prabhava, [pr]avahotave, pr[a]vahotavem, pr[va]vahotavem, pr[a]vahotavem, pr[a]vahotavem (XIII, 5), pratiḥkṣamā, pratiḥkṣem, gavy, pratiṣeṣyena, pṛ[ta]tīdivāhane (XIII, 17), pratiṣeṣyena (VI, 14), but becomes p in Devanaṃpāsa (I, 2), [a]karaṇaḥ (XII, 3), paṇpādān (IX, 18), pāpotra, paṭiṣeṣyati, paṭiṣeṣyati.

1 For the sign which I have transcribed by kṣh, see Text, p. 55, note 5.
2 See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.
3 See above, p. lxxv, n. 1.
4 Mānsehārā has yada (for yadra = Skt. yātra) in the same section.
5 Mānsehārā has uṭhana in both cases.
Shahbazgarhi Grammar

patipati (twice), saṃśatipati (twice), paśividhana (V, 13), paśivedaka, paśivedana, paśiveti, paśivedītava (VI, 13).

bh becomes dh in ladha.

br remains in bramana (= Skt. brahmāna).

bhī becomes bhī in -ibhesku, arabhīsāntī (future passive), but bhī in [arabhī]yis[u] (aorist passive).

bhr remains in bhratana.

my becomes mms (also spelt kmm) in samma- and samma-.

mr becomes mḥ in Tāmghātāni.

ṛg remains in vagra (i.e. varga; see above, p. lxxxi) and sparga (i.e. sparga = Skt. svarga).

rn becomes in in Tāmghātāni.

ṛt becomes t in anuvatātu, but ṛt in kṛtī (i.e. kṛtī = Skt. kṛtī), and t in kaṭava, anuvatātu, anvṛtīsānti, nivṛtī, nivṛtītā.

ṛth remains in athra (i.e. artha, IV, 10), but becomes ṛth in athra (i.e. artha, VI, 14; IX, 19), and ṛh in atha (passim), nirṛtīyān.

rdd becomes dh in vadhātati, vadēti, prāvādṛśa[c]aṇa, vadēti, diṇḍa.

rēh remains in gṛhāgata (i.e. gṛhāgata).

ṛn remains in krama (i.e. karma) and brahma (i.e. krama, III, 6), dhrama (i.e. dhrama).

ṛy becomes y in -ṣyāna (= Skt. āryaḥ), but riy in anāṁtaryāna, madhuryāya, sama[chandra]-

riyām.

ṛv remains in prava (i.e. pṛva = Skt. pṛva), savva (i.e. savva), but becomes v in savva, nivṛtī, nivṛtītā, nivṛtī, nivṛtītya.

ṛś remains in drasana (i.e. darṣana), draśayita (= Skt. darśayitā), Priyādraśi (= ṛdarśi),

but becomes s in dosana (VII, 17).

ṛḥ remains in prakshanda (i.e. *pārshanda) and prakṣaṇa, but becomes sh in vasha,

pāśanda (XII, 3) and pāśaṇa (XII, 9).

ṛhy becomes sh in kāshaṇa, kāsita, kashāṭi.

ṛk becomes r kh in garahati : r in garana (=( Skt. gārāṇa)).

ṛl becomes ṛ in apā, kaṇa.

ṛy becomes r in kāṣaya (=( Skt. kāṣaya)).

ṛy becomes v in vasāhāna, vasāta (twice), apa-vastapā, vasāna, divvani, prasavati, kātava,

paśordeti, [ṛ]ayuktoṭ, vaticu, but vi in viṣṇu-vīja, and vī in vijayapaṇa and vijayapāta (V, 13),

kṣamātīvyā, pujātīvyā.

vr remains in [vṛre], pravajita, vrachamiti, v[ṛ]acheyā, vrakṣhanitā, vrachasi and vrachabhāmika (also at Mānschā).

śc becomes c in kachā (= Skt. kachā), ṣṣa (= pāṣchāt).

śy becomes śy in pratiśeyāna.

śr remains in śrmanaya, śravaka, sasrisha, sasrashatā, sasrashaya, śruta, śruta, but becomes ś in śamanā (IX, 19), niśṭa, and sr in [ṛ]ṛṣṭha (= Skt. śṛṣṭha).

śkh becomes k in dukṣṭaṁ, dukkha.

śkr becomes kr in nikkamanii, nik[ṛ]amata, nikrami, nikramishu.

śkt becomes th in [aṭha] = Skt. aṣṭha (XIII, 1).

śkr becomes th in ṛṣkṣaṇaṁ.

śkṣ becomes th in tiṣṭit, [[ṛ]ṛṣṭha ; tṛḥ in -adhithama.

śhy becomes s (i.e. ś) in manuṣa and in the futures in -isati and -esati.

As at Kāśi, sk becomes s in jati-karmāni.

śt remains in asaṭi, nasti, [a]ṣṭena (= Skt. hāṣṭena), saṁśṭava, saṁśtuta, vistṛṣena, -amśvati.

It occurs also in the Ancient Persian word nipīsta.¹

¹ At Mānschā we find twice (IV, 13 and 16) the defective spelling dhama beside the usual form dhāma.

² This form is a variant of Skt. pārśada (for pārśada) and the origin of Skt. pāśkhaṇḍa; cf. Johansson, §§ 37, 64.

³ See Johansson, § 56, c, and cf. Pāli rassa = Skt. kṛṣaṇa (Geiger, § 49). At Mānschā the reading is garaha (=( Skt. garha)).

⁴ See above, p. xliv.
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sir remains in si[sir], striyaka.
sth becomes th in grahatha, chira-thitu.<br>
sn becomes sis in [si][ne]ho (XIII, 3).<br>
sm becomes sy or s in the locatives singular in -aspi and -asi.<br>
sy becomes siv in rabhasiye, siya, sivasi, sivasu, but s in asu and in the genitives singular in -asu and -asa.<br>
sv remains in parivraje, sacasra, but becomes s in sahasani (I, 2).<br>
sv becomes sp in spa[kap], spaga (= Skt. svarga), spamikena, spasa(su)na (= svasriyam),<br>km becomes m in bramaṇa.<br>

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN -a.

(1) Masculines and neutrals in -a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. jana, &amp;c.; neut. danam, &amp;c.</td>
<td>Masc. putra, &amp;c.; neut. [s]h[a]ni, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. masc. dharamam, &amp;c.; neut. maṅgalam, &amp;c.</td>
<td>Masc. yutani, &amp;c.; neut. divani, ruṣani, sateki.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. putrena, dineṇa, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. apsahe, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. karaṇa (= Skt. karaṇa, III, 6), pačha.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. janasa, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. (a) oreddhamapī, &amp;c.; (b) dhrame, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination -s is dropped in jana (XIV, 13), gosha (IV, 8), pradeś[ka] (III, 6), vadhka (XIII, 3), saṃsā[r]dha (XI, 23), saniyā (VII, 4), Maka (XIII, 9). The Māgadha termination -e is frequent; see jane (X, 21), vīvade (VI, 14, 15), Turamayā (XIII, 9), Devanapriye (X, 21), &c. In Anāthikī (XIII, 9) we have -i instead of -e.

Nom. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in dana, a[cha]yika (VI, 14), anusuchana (XIII, 2), [du]kara (VI, 16), draśana and daśana (VIII, 17), puja (XI, 24), maṅgala (IX, sections D and F), maṭha-phala (IX, F). As in the nom. sing. masc., Māgadha forms in -e are frequent; see dane (VII, 4), draśana (VIII, 17), līkhite (XIV, 13), vijite (XIV, 13), &c. In a few gerundives we have -e instead of -aṁ or -e: katu (IX, 18, 19; XI, 24), pratiśveda (VI, 14) and pratiśveda (VI, 15), vaṭava (IX, 19; XI, 24; XII, 8), lāko (XIII, 7). The Sanskrit masculine bhāga is used as neuter in sahasra-bhāgaṇ (XIII, 7).

Acc. sing. masc.—In ath[r]a (VI, section E), dosha and ba[ḥu]ka (I, 1), the Anusvāra is omitted. There are two irregular forms: dhroma (XII, 6) and saniyā (VII, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in [du]na (XII, 1), karaṇa (XIV, 14), vasana (XIII, 3), and in a few other instances.

Loc. sing.—The group sp of the termination -spi is assimilated in [s]paharana (XII, 3), utthanai (VI, 15), [ga]manasi (I, 7), makana[sam] (I, 2), su[sam]i (V, 13). The termination -e occurs also in anutape, abadhe, avahē, Kaliga, prahara[e], pravate, vijite[e] (XIII, 11), vijite, vivahe, sile.

Nom. plur. masc.—The Sanskrit neuter apatya is used as masculine in [s]e me apacha vṛkṣakānti (V, 11).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is -e instead of -ani in [s]a[ḥ]ani .... haropita cha vuta cha (II, 5).

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. are -kāndhāni, Kalig[a]ni, -praharaṇdani, pravrat[e]ni, grahathāni.

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in abhiratana (XIII, 3), mahamāraṇa (VI, 14), bramana (twice), -āmāṇa (IV, 9).

1 Māṇeśvara reads si[ne]he.
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(2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.
Nom. िस्त, अ. त.
Acc. बुध, अ. त.
Instr. पुज, विविध.
Loc. साम,

Plural.
chik[ī]sa, [kr]p[ta], striyaka.¹

II. BASES IN -ī.

(1) Masculines in -ī.

Nom. plur. व्रयो.
Gen. plur. नित[शी], निदित, नाकिठी.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ē.

Singular.
Nom. धूपि, अ. त.
Acc. साद, अ. त.
Dat. -मिल[शी]ये, वृद्धि.
Abl. निवृत्या, ता[शी]कारिण्[शी]या.
Loc. अयाईया.

Plural.
aśavi.

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

III. BASES IN -u.

The same forms as at Gīrā and Kālā occur, viz. nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. vadhū; nom. and acc. sing. neut. bahu; nom. and acc. plur. neut. bahuni; instr. plur. bahūhi; gen. plur. guruna, guruna.

IV. MASCULINES AND FEMININES IN -rī.

Nom. plur. nataro.
Gen. plur. bhramuna, spasa(tu)ma.²
Loc. plur. pituikā.

The instr. sing. follows the u-declension: pītuna, bhramuna.

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

As at Kālā, we have the two nom. sing. masc. sa[ši]tam (sataṁ) and karanitaṁ (karaṇatāṁ).

(2) Masculine in -vāt.

Nom. sing. praṇava (= Skt. praṇāvān).

(3) Masculines and neuters in -an.

Singular.
Nom. masc. raṇa, raya.
Acc. neut. nana.
Instr. raṇa.
Gen. raho.

Plural.
rojano, rojani.

The neuter base karman follows the a-declension: nom. sing. kramaṇi, dat. kramaṇaye.

¹ The Skt. feminine strī, from which this curious diminutive is formed, occurs at XII, 9 in the form [strī].
² At Mānschrā (V, 24) the reading is spasa[tu]ra.
³ At Mānschrā (V, 24) the reading is spasa[tu]ra.
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(4) Masculines in -iun.
Nom. sing. Priyahraśi.
Acc. plur. [a]stina (asti[ne] at Mānschra).
The gen. sing. follows the analogy of the a-declension.

(5) Neuters in -as.
Acc. Sing. yuṣo, bhny[ci].
The base vacha- (XII, 2) corresponds to Skt. vachas.

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

(7) Feminine in -ād.
The base parisād follows the a-declension: loc. sing. parishaye. The nom. sing. parisha is preserved at Mānschra (III, 11).

C.—PRONOUNS

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

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

(2) Base ta.

Singular.                                      Plural.
Nom. masc. so                        Masc. te.
Acc. masc. tami                     tesha[y], tesha.
Instr. tena.
Dat. taye.
Gen. tasa.
Loc. tasi.

Nom. sing. fem. sa.
Acc. plur. fem. ta (XIII, 7).

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

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

(4) Base etā.

Singular.                                      Plural.
Nom. masc. eshe; neut. etu, etani, etake, eshe     Masc. etu (I, 3).
(X, section E).
Instr. etakena.
Dat. eteye, etakaye.
Gen. etisa (III, 6; XII, 9).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part of Speech</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nom. sing.</strong></td>
<td><strong>m.</strong> aḥū, aḥū; <strong>f.</strong> aḥū</td>
<td><strong>m.</strong> aḥū, aḥū</td>
<td><strong>m.</strong> aḥū</td>
<td><strong>m.</strong> aḥamañaśa</td>
<td><strong>m.</strong> aḥū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acc.</strong></td>
<td><strong>m.</strong> aḥū, aḥū</td>
<td><strong>m.</strong> aḥū, aḥū</td>
<td><strong>m.</strong> aḥū</td>
<td><strong>m.</strong> aḥamañaśa</td>
<td><strong>m.</strong> aḥū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dat.</strong></td>
<td><strong>m.</strong> aḥāya</td>
<td><strong>m.</strong> aḥāya</td>
<td><strong>m.</strong> aḥū</td>
<td><strong>m.</strong> aḥamañaśa</td>
<td><strong>m.</strong> aḥū</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 aḥū at Mānsehā, IV, 15.
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D.—NUMERALS

One.
Acc. sing. neut. [ṛ]kau.

Two.
Nom. masc. and fem. duvar.

Three.
Nom. masc. trayo.

Four.
As in Ardhamāgadhī (Pischel's Grammatik, § 439), the acc. masc. chatur ( = Skt. chātrah) is used in the place of the nom. (XIII, 9).

Five, six.
Loc. paṇchashu, shashu.

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.
[ākha], dasa, badaya(śa), todaśa.

Hundred.
Acc. plur. āstami, instr. āstachi, loc. āsteshu.
The ordinal is tata; see āstaka-bhage, XIII, 7.

The ordinal is sahasra (XIII, 7).

Thousand.

Hundred thousand.
Nom. plur. āsra-sahasra.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. Present.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root garh: garahati.
Root jī: [vī]sana, vijinini; see above, p. lxxxii and n. 1.
Root drī: [da]khaṭi.
Root ut: anunīt.
Root bhu: bheti, höti.
Root labh: the absolutive ara[khitu] and the two passive forms [ara]khi[yu] and ara[khitu]̄ añāvita presuppose the present ara[khaṭi], 'to kill' (= Skt. álabbhāti).
Root vas: vasatī.
Root yrit: anuvatātu, anuvātāvita.
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Root vraj: vrachayati. For Prākrit vachyati (for *vrajyati?) = Skt. vrajati see Hema-
chandra, IV, 25; Pischel’s Grammatik, § 203 and n. 3.
Root sthā. The absolutive sthāti (IV, 10) presupposes the present *sthāti (= Skt. tishṭhati).

Second Sanskrit class.
Root as: asti.
Root han: apaḥaniti.

Third Sanskrit class.
Root bhu. The gerundive [ṛ]ayaktave is formed from the Skt. present jukati.

Fourth Sanskrit class.
Root pad: patipajyati.
Root man: mañati and meñati.

Fifth Sanskrit class.
Root ap follows the ninth class: prapuṇati.
Root āru follows the a-conjugation: śrupāyā.

Sixth Sanskrit class.
Root iṣṭ: iṣhāti.

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

Eighth Sanskrit class.
Root kri: karoti; but the optative apakāryati and the two present participles karāhātāv and
ka[ṛ]a[m]in[o] presuppose the present *karāti, *karāte.
Root kṣaṅ follows the a-conjugation: kṣaṅātāti.

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

Tenth Sanskrit class.
(a) With aya: dipayami, draśayatu, sukhayami. The character aya is contracted into e in
puṣṭi, puṣṭaviṣa, a[ṛ]aḍheti, araḍheti, rocheti, lo[ṛh]e[ṛk]y, a-locheti, pativedetu, pativedetavo,
niveteṭi, vaḍheti.
(b) With pava: anapayami and anapenu, anapēṣānti, anapita, anunījaṭaḥṣaṇeti, haṇḍadi.
(c) With āpaya: likhaṭaḥṣaṇeti, likhaṭāniṭi, khanapita, uṇipita, karoṭpiṭa.

(2) Moods.
The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of
the present participles [va]jinaṇāna, ka[ṛa]mīna, aṣamāna.

(a) Indicative.
1. sing. parakṛamamī, karomi, anapayami and anapenu.
3. sing. paraṇakramati, garaṇati, [da]khati, anuneti, bhoti and koti, asti, upahānti, mañati and
meñati, ichhati, karoṭi, kṣaṅātī, anunījaḥṣaṇeti, puṣṭi, a[ṛa]ḍheti, niveteṭi, vaḍheti.
3. plur. anvocānti, vrachayati, ichhānti. The Anuvāra is missing in bhoti (XIII, 7), vasati,
prapuṇati, karā[ṛ]i (IX, section C).

(b) Subjunctive.
1. sing. dipayami and suṣhayami (with indicative termination).
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(c) Optative.

1. sing. *vṛachēyati (from *vṛachātī = Skt. vṛajati).
2. sing. siya and sìyas ( = Skt. sīla), pāṭipāyati, apakārayati (from Skt. apakārati), nivāte-
    yati ( = Skt. nirvartayit ; cf. above, p. lxxxi). The four last forms have the termination of the
    indicative.
3. plur. avatāreya, vasacyu, śīroreyu, asu ( = Pāli asu) and sīyasu. With the last form cf. the
    optative passive [ka]vīṇeyasu (below, V).

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. bhottu, anaavatatu.
3. plur. parakramantu, yujaṅantu. The Anusvāra is missing in nīk[ṛ]amatu, maññ[a]tu,
    aradhettu, rochetu, paśivudetu.

(e) Imperfect.

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

II. AORIST.

(a) Indicative.

3. sing. nīkrami.
3. plur. nīkrasīkhu. In abhvasu (VIII, 17) the aorist termination -su seems to be affixed to
    abhūvau, the Sanskrit aorist of root bhū ; cf. Johansson, § 30.

(b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. maññishu (from Skt. mānyati), lō[ck][śk]u (alochayin at Kālā and Mānsehra).¹

III. PERFECT.

To the Sanskrit perfect aha, which has the meaning of the present (see Pāpini, III, 4, 34), the
termination of the 3. sing. indicative present is affixed : ahati and hahati.²

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. kashāsu ([ka]sahati at Mānsehra), likha[ṛ]ṣṭami (while Gīrnr has likhāpayīsanu).
3. sing. kashasthi, vaḍhaṣṭiti, ṛapaṣṭiti.
3. plur. kashasthi, an[u]raṭiṣṭi, vaṛkhaṣṭiti (from root urṣa), anulāṣṭiti (from anu-sūr, anupetṣṭiti, pra[va]dhṛṣṭiti (pavahaysaṇīti at Mānsehra).

V. PASSIVE.

3. sing. indicative vuchati ( = Skt. uchyaṭi), prasavati ( = praṣavaṭi).
3. plur. indicative [a]nāvidhyāṣṭi ( = anavidhyāṣṭi), hanteṣṭi ( = hanyante).
3. plur. optative [ka]nāṣyasu (XIII, 8) with aorist termination ; cf. siyasu ( = Skt. sūṇḍ, XII, 7),
and see Johansson, § 140.
3. sing. imperative anu[n]ḍhyayu.
3. plur. future anuvīdhyāṣṭi [a] (from Skt. anuvāyihyāṣṭi), arabhāṣṭi (for *ālabhāṣṭi from
Skt. ālabhyayiṭu).³

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. plur. optative suṣrūṣheyu.
3. sing. imperative suṣrūṣhāniu.

¹ Mānsehra reads nivāpayya.
² See Text, p. 51, n. 7.
³ Cf. Text, p. 52, n. 11.
⁴ Cf. ārabhare, ārabhāsīu, and ārabhīṣare at Gīrnr, where bh is also a defective spelling for bhh.
VII. PARTICLES.

(a) Present participle.

Active.

Root as: sa[ñ]tan (satañ).
Root kri: karañtan (karañih).

Middle.

Root ji: [vi]jimanana; see above, p. lxxxii and n. 1.
Root kri: ka[r]anuna.
Root as: asamanu.

Other participles in -mina or -mina are found in the Māgadhā edicts; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 46, 72, and below, p. cx, and chapters X and XI.

(b) Past passive participle.

(a) In -ta: mata and muta (= Skt. mata, XIII, 8), muta (= mṛta), kiṣa[, kṝ[ṛ]ya], and kṝa (= kṝa), vapaṭa, vṛyaṭa, and vṛyaṭa (= vṛyaṭa, V, 13), vṛṣṭa (= vṛṣṭa), uṣṭa (= uṣṭa), nṛṣṭa (= nṛṣṭa), nipsta (= Ancient Persian nīpistha; see above, p. xlii), nipṣīta, nipṣapta, libhīta, likhaptiṭta, khanapta, harapta, arapta, aṇapta, bhuta (i.e. bhūta), atikrata (= atikranta), [l]aśita, navaṭa (= navaṭita), uṭta (= uṭta), samata (= samāpta), sanvākhta (= sanvākhita), vudha (= vṛddha), apavudha (= apōḍha), laṭha (= laṭaḥa), etc.

(b) In -na: prasana (i.e. prasanna), viśrakina (i.e. viśraka).

(c) Future passive participle.

(a) In -tavya: kṣamitavya, puṃṣaṭavya, viṣeṣaṭavya, kaṭava, vavata, [ṛ]ayuḥotava, paṭiveṭaṭava.

(b) In -autya: [v]r[ṛ]av[a]ntya.

(c) In -ya: [a]nta (= Skt. saktya)

VIII. ABSOLUTE.

(a) In -tu (= Skt. -tvu): aro[ḥ]ti, aparāḥti (from root tvaj with Saṅgīṣṭana of ya), ivrutu, draśayitū.

(b) In -ti (= Vedic -tī): tisṭhitī (from the Skt. present tisṭhati), viṣijīti (from the present viṣijati; see above, p. lxxxii and n. 1), a-lokeṣṭhi.

(c) In -ya: saṃkhy[a] (from saṃ-khyā).

The dialect of the Mānsehrā text is nearly identical with the Shaṅbhāgārī one, but contains some more Māgadhīms.² It will, therefore, be sufficient to draw attention only to those forms at Mānsehrā which differ from the corresponding ones at Shaṅbhāgārī.

The vowel e for a in the second syllable of vasme (VII, 33) may be due to the preceding palatal ṣ, unless it is a clerical error. For the form m[ṛ]ṣṭa (II, 8) see above, p. lxxx. Instead of the vowel ri the Mānsehrā version has (1) a in kāṭa, sukāṭa, [m]a[ṛ]; (2) u in [pṗ][ṛ]uṣha, vapaṭa (= Skt. vṛyaṭa); (3) e in gṛhatha (= gṛihatha); (4) a in vṛyaṭa (V, 24); (5) ar in kaṭra (i.e. kaṭra = Skt. kṛṣa), vaḍhra (i.e. vaṛḍha = Skt. vaṛddhi); (6) ri in nṛ[ṛ]g[a], nṛgaṭvya (= mṛ[ṛ]g[a]yudha; (7) ru in vṛudhi (= vṛddhi); (8) u in vṛudha (i.e. vṛuddha = Skt. vṛddhā). For ruccha = Skt. vaṛṣkha (II, 8) see above, p. lxxx f.

The guttural k becomes ṣ in [di]ṣṭa (XIII, 1). Greek x is represented by g in [A]tyog.

1 Cf. Delbrück’s Althind. Verbum, § 221; Macdonell’s Vedic Grammar, p. 412.
2 Cf. Michelson, AJP, 32, 185 f.
3 The Pāṇḍīrī form gṛha is used for gṛih also in Sanskrit. Another instance of this change is the root ḍhīk = riḍh; see Wackernagel’s Althind. Grammatik, 1, 39.
4 The spelling (5) kara (for karṣa) suggests that (4) viṣyaṭa is meant for viṣyaṭa.
5 The spellings (5) vadhi and (8) vaḍira suggest that (7) vṛudhi is meant for vṛuddhi.
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(II, 6). As at Kālisi, the palatal śk has been aspirated in kekhi (= Skt. kaśchit) and kīchhi (= kṣiṣd + -chā). Dentals are linguialized in duva[dh]a (III, 9) = duva[da]da (IV, 18), tetdoda (V, 21), and after y in kato, sukata, [wak], yopa, viyapra, vṛvā. Sanskrit s is preserved in panaṭha (= pṛṇāṭātika), but is represented by dental s in ti[n] (= triṇi). In ananiṣa (VI, 31) the first s is due to assimilation. The t for dh in satī (VII, 33) is perhaps a clerical error. The bh of the root bhas has become h in hoti, hotu, atya, [a][n]eyu, kusu, hata-prava (twice), but not in bhata-prava (V, 21) and in the substantive bhata (i.e. bhūte). The semivowel y is prefixed to e in yena, while initial y is lost in e, aya (= yat), [a][d]ise (twice), atya (twice = yatra), atha (thrice = yathā). In supadarave (V, 21) we seem to have r for l and v for y; see Text, p. 33, n. 3, and above, p. 11v, n. 2. The first s of sat[ai]yike (IX, 7) is due to assimilation. In the aorists kusu, [arabh]isu, and [a]c[ay][i]su, dental s has taken the place of sk. In āa (VI, 26) = āka (i.e. āka) and a[an] (VI, 30) = akāni (VI, 28), h is elided between vowels.

Final as becomes o only in tato, mukhato (VI, 28), yato, Devanapriyo (VII, 12), niśito (V, 23), but generally e; see kṣ[tu], vi[yanjja]nate, natave (= Skt. nāpta[r], rajine (= rāj[a]), raj[ē]ni (= rajaṇaḥ), Priyadārshī (gen. sing.), Devanapriyo, &c. In viṁś[ē]ramani (XIII, 3) the e is replaced by -i.

The hiatus remains in dhramayuta-opalikohaye (V, 23). a+e becomes e in usatenaeva (X, 11), and a+n becomes o in praj-opadaye (IX, 2).

As at Shāhāgahrī, the letter r is sometimes attached to the next following consonant. Thus nirathriya (IX, 9) is meant for nirathriya, vadkhite and vadhrayatisi (IV, 15) for vardhithe and vardhrayatisi. Similarly katra (= Skt. krita, V, 24) stands for kara; vadhrī (= vṛddha) for vardhrī, vadkra (= vṛddha) for vardkra. Anuvāra is omitted before consonants in ata (II, 5), aparata (V, 22), samata (II, 6), [a]ivyga, Aى, a[na]tāliyena, anarubhe, anubadha, apa-bho[datā], [ab]ka[aa][aa][i]ja[ti], Gadvaramana-chhade, par[kra]mate (3 plur.), satiранa (VI, 30), hache (for kanche).

kṣk becomes ch in ehkāṇati and rukhāni.

jī becomes n in kjanata (= Skt. kṛta[ja]nta), but jīn in rajina (= rāj[a]) and rajine (= rajaṇaḥ).

ny becomes n in puna, punaḥ, apu[ne].

tm becomes tv in atava (= Skt. atman).

ty becomes ti in apatiye, [e][k][i]ya.

tr remains in tretad, but becomes t in t[i]ni (= Skt. triṇi), and d in tenaṇda and yada.

dr becomes d in khuda and khuddhena.


dhy becomes ḍh in istrija[jka]ksa.

ny becomes n, as at Kālisi, in ana[tra] (X, 11); n in aye, atra (X, 9), anamanata, maṇi, maṇ[tišu].

pr remains in prap[e]tra, but becomes p in paṇāṭaka, paḍadhaviṣṇuti, avipakin[ē], paṭikho[ga|ya, paṭikho[ya].

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

bh becomes b in bhata[tn]a (V, 24) = bhakrata (twice).

rg becomes g in ma[ge|ku].

rt becomes t in anuvadatu and kīti (= Skt. kirti).

ṛth remains in nirathriya (i.e. nirārthiṣṭa).

ṛdh remains in vadkhite (i.e. vardhithe, IV, 15) and vadhraṇiṣṭā (i.e. vardhrā), but becomes dh in vadhkite (IV, 12).

ly becomes y in kayana (= Skt. kāyana).

vy becomes v in yopa, viy in viyapra, vi yanjja[nate, mrigavā, kāṭaviya, pra[jhi]tavāye, vaṭa[yā], paṭifveḍaṭavāye.

yy becomes v in [p]ra[va[j]a[na].

sr becomes ṣh in saṁtk[a]va|e.

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1 In viyapra (i.e. vyaparta = Skt. vyāpṛta) the r is combined with the preceding akṣhara.

2 Cf. above, p. xxv, n. 4.
CHAPTER IX. GRAMMAR OF THE DHaulI AND Jaugada Rock-Edicts

A.—PHONETICS

I. Vowels.

The vowel $u$ is converted to $e$ through the influence of a neighbouring $y$ in majhima (= Skt. madhyama) and likhīyas (āmi$^*$. It becomes $u$ after a labial in munısa (= manushya), uchāvucha, and is assimilated to the vowel of the first syllable in udāpyna (= udāpyna).

The $a$ in the second syllable of puṭhavaṇi, which corresponds to Skt. $i$, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Fischel'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 (= *itva) and edisa, hedisā (= Skt. idrisa), see above, p. lxxvi.

Skt. $u$ is represented by $a$ in pana (= punah). In pulisa (= paruska) the $i$ of the second syllable, which corresponds to Skt. $u$, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Fischel's Grammatik, § 124. For the $i$ in the second syllable of munısa (= 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.

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1 Tā is a diminutive of jani, 'a wife', which occurs at Kālṣi.

2 Cf. above, p. lxxxiii, n. 3.
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Skt. pi becomes (1) a in anau[na]a (= anirvānā), ānānīva, ānānīya, and ānānaya, uṣāta, khaṭa, [ka]ṭu and katu (= kṛitvā), dakkhathā, dakkhami, [dha]lakṣa, bhaṭi, udāhi, viśāla, viśālapa; (a) i in edasa and kedisa, tādisa, ādisa (= yātādīsa), dihit, p[ka]/z[i]/nu, khaṭ/a/nari, m[ka]/z[i]/ (= mātvē), Dhauv. IV, 4), miṣa, [miṣe]ṣuviṣ/a; (3) u in pītu- (= pītīr, Dhauv. IV, 4), and after labials in [a]nuḥ[au]aṇi (= aṇuvātīr, p[a]l̄aguḥkha, pūṭhāni (= prithivā), udāhi (= yātādī), (a) e in dakkha; (5) ra in drakkhat (Jau. I, 2). The syllable vṛi is represented by la in lukha (= yātādī).

The diphthong ai becomes e in niche (perhaps = Skt. nimiḥ), and au becomes o in -opaga and -[e]ṣṭaya, osadāmi, mokhyā and mokhyā, pāṣe, pāṭalokika.

Short a, i, u are lengthened in atītyajāte (= Skt. atiyaykam, abhikā[la], cli[la]-shūkā, [yu][vāha], aśvinīyā (Dhauv. Sep.) = [a]n[e]v[a]juti ya (Jau. Sep.), tulana[ya] and a[v[a]l[a]nā (for which Jau. Sep. reads i[al]ya and [a]nula), viṭhulikya, y[ru]jeyū and yuyevū (also yuyeyū and yuyeyū), bāhukā, bāhikā. Final a, i, u may be lengthened either when they are followed by the particle ti (= iti) or without it; see ala[ DFA]jisa[DI]la, ātā (passim) = a[k a] (Jau. Sep. II, 1), chā, kechā, paśpopadiyemā ti, n[a]m[a] ti, vā (twice = Skt. eva), savena (Jau. Sep. II, 3), hosaṃi, apkeṣā ti, alāhayaṇitā ti, [b]a[j a] (Jau. Sep.) = katu (Dhauv. Sep.), paṭalakamā[na] [a] [a], yuṣyattā, [a]d[a]l[a] ti. Final a, i, u, which stand for original om, ti, ur, are treated in the same way; see [aph]ābā ti, avasathā ti, ala[DI]jita, litṛ, v[a]l[a]ki, udhi, atoneyya, alāhāyuyā and alāhāyuyā, chalo[a] ti and chalo[vu], nikhamavū, pāmavāti ti, yuyeyū ti and yuyeyū ti, y[ru]jeyū ti and yuyeyū ti, laheyy[u], [v[a]jru]vā ti, hvuvi tu and hvuvi ti.

The three derivatives gān[a]ku, vagālaka, and vacchanik[a] correspond to Skt. gāmukha, nāgara, and vacchānaka. The ē of mahā is shortened in mahamātā (Jau. Sep. II, 1). Final ē is often shortened; see akha and atāḥ (= Skt. yatāḥ), adā and adā (= yadaḥ), atha and athaḥ, pita and pitaḥ, lāja and lājaḥ, va and vā, kavijana and kamana (= karmayaḥ), [a]n[e]v[a]juti [a] and anuvātiyā, and the nominatives singular feminines ačaḷā, ičhā, likhitā, saturaṇa. Long ē is shortened in niṭiyank (thrice) = niṭ[a]yaṁ (Jau. Sep. I, 7) and in the nom. plur. nati (Dhauv. IV, 5) = nari[k a] (Dhauv. and Jau. V, 2).

Initial vowels are dropped in pi (= apa[ VI]), hokavi (for ahakam = akam), ti (passim) = iti (thrice) and kiṁti, va and vā (= eva). In huyevū (Jau. Sep.) = huvayū (Kālsī and Mānschra), the vowel u seems to be elided.

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

In the separate edicts at Jaugarā the guttural k is softened in palalegāni, hidalog[anī], hidalogika, while Dhaulli reads palalok[a]ku, hidalok[a], hidalokika.1 k is represented by y in [ni]rayan (Dhauv. IX, 2) and supāḍayaya (Dhauv. and Jau. V, 3); g by y in -[e]ṣṭaya (Dhauv. VIII, 3) = ṣṭaya (Dhauv. and Jau. II, 3). In akhakasa (= Skt. akarkasa, Dhauv. Sep. I, 22) the aspiration of the first k is perhaps due to the influence of the second kh, which is a defective spelling of kkh, and which was produced by the assimilation of the group rk.2 Greek χ is expressed by k in Ainītyaka.

The palatal ch is aspirated in [ka][chha] (Dhauv. Sep. I, 7) = kechā (Jau. Sep. I, 4), kiṁchā and kiṁchā. It is softened in [a]l[al]a (Dhauv. Sep. II, 7) = achala (Jau. Sep. II, 9, 11), while j is hardened in Kaniḥoka and vacasi (= Skt. vajjī). The palatal nasal n occurs only in patiniḥda (Dhauv. Sep. I, 6), instead of which the Jaugarā text reads patiniḥa. It is replaced by dental v also in anāpyāmā, d[n][a][v][a][r][a][h], vatiṣu.

As at Kālsī, lingual n is replaced by dental n. But n is used in four stray instances: [ka][na]jā[la] (Dhauv. Sep. II, 10), [va][r][a][j][a] (Jau. Sep. I, 1), palalok[a][ka][nu] (Jau. Sep. II, 4), and savan[n] (Jau. Sep. II, 3).

Dentals are lingualized after ra in the preposition paṭi (also prati in prativedayantu, Jau. VI, 2), and after ri in naṣṭa, kata, [ka]ṭa and kata, pūtahyaṇā, [dha]laka, bhaṭi, udāhi, viśāla, viśālapa, viṭhā. t becomes ch in [ka][a][k][h][t]. In the Jaugarā separate edicts, d is hardened in the following forms of the root gāt: paṭiptāyaḥkau, [pa]l[ṣ]tāyac[ay]a, vipatīṭaṭayaḥkau, [saimi]ṭa[j]y[i]a, saimēṭa[j]y[i]a, saimēṭa[j]y[i]a, while Dhaulli reads [pa]l[ṣ]tāyac[ay]a, &c. For [iṣah] (Dhauv. IV, 8) and hida (passim) see above, p. lxxii. The enclitic particle nāṁ (in huvantā nāṁ, Dhauv. and Jau. VIII, 1)

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1 Both Dhauv. and Jau. have savā-laka-hita and palalokika.
2 For other instances of the aspiration of initial k see Pischel's Grammatik, § 206.
DHAULI AND JAUGADA GRAMMAR

is derived by native grammarians from Skt. namu; but in Pischel's opinion (Grammatik, § 130) it goes back to Skt. nāma, which would have lost its first syllable.

The labial ṣ is aspirated in aphā[ṣa]ni (Jau. Sep. I, 11), as in Prākrit phurusā (≡ Skt. prurṣa); see Pischel's Grammatik, §268. bh becomes h in the instrumental and dative plural -ḥi, in lok[a] and lokve, hoti, hotu, a[h]o, kuvānti, ḍuve, ḍue, and in the particle hātu, while bhāta is used as substantive.

The semivowel ṣ becomes ṣ in majāla (≡ Skt. mayāra), and ḷ in the optatives ālabhehaṁ, yevaṁ, [pāthī pāthiy]kaṇa and pāthiyankhaṇa. It is replaced by v before u and v at Dhauli, while it remains at Jaugada; see -śvatke, aśveṣeṣa, ālabheve, čaevaḥ, [ph]u[ṇ]ceu and pāpuve, yujve, and yu⁺ve, lokve, [u+]eu, kuve, and huve, instead of which Jaugada reads -y[ḥ]i[ke], &c. But both Dhauli and Jaugada have nikhamāv (III, 2). ṣ is prefixed to e in yeve, but is dropped at the beginning of e, ena, anu (≡ Skt. ya), atu (≡ yatra), aṣṭā and aṣṭha (≡ yathā), adā and adu (≡ yaḍā), ava (≡ yāva), ā (≡ yā), onu, ādīte, āvā (≡ yāvat). The syllable ye becomes i in apa⁺va[y]i, pāličiye[n], bhāṭi (≡ bhṛtya). The syllables aya and a[y]i are contracted to e in ṭedasa (= *ṭrayaḍa), ṭen[n], nipu[y]e[🌸]i, pāṭvedanteiy[e].

As at Kālī, r becomes l throughout.

v is prefixed to u in of[a]r (≡ uktama). The syllable va becomes u in [u]dr̥ya and [au]lana; vā becomes ū in [ka]l̥ (≡ kṛtvā), and u in lata, annaṣuṭa, and other absolutes. The syllables ara and avi become o in lalana, vijayvadā[ve]̄, vijayālaka, hoti, hotu, a[h]o, and kosati (≡ bhavaḥkhyā). The two sibilants s and sh are replaced by ś throughout. Skt. ś is represented by ch in chakṣe and chakṣhata, from root ch ab (≡ čaḥ).

h is prefixed in hida, heta, hedisva, ūkṣita.

As in Prajkāśī, final consonants are dropped. A preceding short vowel is lengthened in saṃvṛtā, (≡ Skt. svaṃkā), pā[ṃ]śa (≡ pārśa), anusatikā, śālākave, &c. (see above, p. c). Conversely, a preceding long vowel is sometimes shortened; see sīya and sīya (≡ syāt), da[kheya] and da[k]e [x]e, anusamāhāt, Dhauv. V, 6, and the nom. plur. masc. anusāvina, &c. (below, p. civ). Final an as generally becomes ē; see Ujeneit, kute, T[a]śa [x]e, dvāle, mukha, vijayvanuṭe, keṭte, the genitives singular atane, lājīne, Piyadasine, the nom. plur. lājāne, [da][x]e, [khu][x], ce, jan, &c. It becomes o only in sete, [ya]o, and yau[a]i; a in [sama]ṭpāda (?), sa, eca; a in [e] [x]. Final ar becomes e in anīte = Prākrit and Pāli anto (Skt. antar), and a in puna (= puna).

Final a and u are nasalized in māmā (Jau. Sep. II, 7) = mama (passim) and sahateva (Dhauv. = sahaseva (Jau.), while the Anuvāra of words ending in short nasal vowels is omitted in hitakas, bhakṣa, -vachāka[a], -ān[a]t, &c. (below, p. civ), the acc. sing. fem. Saṁvṛtā[a] and hi[a], āpāka (≡ Skt. asaṃkha) and [u] [ph] e [n]a. The Anuvāra is dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened in kī, vaṛi, svū, kaḷāvatāla, kanaṃta, sūlī, [aḥ]aṭā; cf. above, p. c. But the nom. sing. of neuters in -a generally follows the analogy of the masculines and ends in -e; see below, p. civ.

Long nasalized vowels are generally shortened; see the genitives plural bhagintamāna, gudamāna, bṛgh[ṃ]nāna, [sa][n][m], pānāma, &c., the acc. sing. fem. yāṭiṇa, suṣuṣa, and the loc. sing. fem. pa[l]īsya[ṃ] (Jau. VI, 4), Saṁvṛtā, Toṣāyaṇa, niṭyaśa, puṭṭhavarīṇa. The Anuvāra is omitted in paṭīṣṭha (Dhauv. VI, 3); in ten[a] and saṁvṛtā the long a is shortened at the same time.1

III. SANDHII

Final d is preserved in [s] p[a] y [a] p[a] y [a], and final m in ke[di]smeva. In he[m]eva (= Skt. e[vam]eva) the syllable va of e[vam] is dropped.3 The final m is doubled in ke[di]smeva and su[k]hameva. Hiatus is prevented by m in bha[m] [m]-[e]ye[n].

Hiatus remains in sv[a] [a] dhā (Jau. Sep.), mahā-apāya (Dhauv. Sep.) = mahā-apāya [a] (Jau.

1 The two last words, although masculine in form, are used as neuters.
2 But pa[l]īṣṭha and saṁvṛtā may as well be genitives used in the sense of the locative.
3 Ct. e[m]eva = Skt. e[vam]eva, Hāmchandra, I, 271, and Jau.[k]h, ZDMG, 47. 579.
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Sep.), *duahale* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.), *pasu-opagani* (Dhau. and Jau.), *man[ø]-atike (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.). As a rule, a + å are contracted into å; see *vasadhisata, panaliviha, etc*. But the å is shortened before a group of consonants; see *ataa* (= Skt. yatra yatra), *áša-raññha* (= *áša-ráññha*), *[a][u]ñña* (= *ññha*), *náthi* (= náññiñi), *baddha[añ][hita] = bandhanántikam, sápañna*. Final a preceding i, u, e, o is dropped in *báhha[n]-tthí[yes]*, *chú* (= *cha-n*, *p[a]-upadáyé, c[a]-vá, [a]-sa, muni-opagani*. In *ees* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) the nasal vowel an of evam is treated in the same manner before e (= yahn). a is elided after e in *e[es] [a]ññi* for e + ayan (= Skt. yéyam).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unaltered are *khy, tr, tv, ny, pr, my, vy, šy* (which becomes vo), *sm, sy, sv*. Moreover the group *rv* is preserved at Jaguda in *darsayita* (IV, 3) and *Piyadrásine* (I, 3), which are meant for *darsayina* and *Piyadarśine*; cf. above, p. Ixxvi. 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 *atane* (= átmanah), *atānānī, atiyäyike* (= átyayikam), *anumati (= anumästi), anumätha, [ayese] (= áryesa), asvásasvaye, arvāś[a][nyā][y], [a][usvacev, avascev, asamati (= asamānti), adādi (= *ārāddhi), tadatvāye, [a][lakamantti, palabamanta, maga (= marga), mahamata (Jau. Sep. II, 1), *Lakhba, sahavani, isyā (= *isrīkhyā), kītt (= kīrtmi), pulavva (= pūrvā). 1 But å remains in *anapayami, är[a][y][i][a][r], mañkamāta (passim), sāvatetan* (Jau. Sep. II, 14). In *tinni* (= *tinni* the å is shortened and the nasal doubled. Similarly, the short vowels i and u in *avasān[a][nyā], da[v][i], and [khy][e] suggest that these three words are meant for *avasāniyyā, davāyē, and bhuvye*; cf. above, p. Ixxiv.

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants in *aatikanti, apa-bh[am]datā, kilinata, Devvānanīpiya, Pānīdiyā, bānhanna*, while the nasal is dropped and the length retained in *bāhha*.

In *chānida* (Jau. Sep. II, 5, 11) = *chāhānata* (passim), the an is lengthened although it is followed by a consonant. Anusvāra is omitted after short vowels in *kha[a] (cf. above, p. lx), badhana (= Skt. bandhana), viha[a] ; after e in *kalet* (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2); and before y in *anusayam, sayama, sayuta (= sāmyukta*).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is u before or after labials in *duve, duvūdasa, duvāla, puluva, surāmika, pāpunāti ; e in *ānanevām* (Jau. Sep.) = *ānaniyam* (Dhau.); and frequently i, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Dhauli and Jaguda will show. I need not quote any examples of the groups *kr, gr, dr, dh, br, bhr, ir, or*, which have become h, g, d, dh, b, bh, s, t, respectively.

*kkh becomes bh (i.e. *kkk*) in *dukha[a]* and *dukhiyati*.
*kt becomes t in *ay[a][lhe]-, a-vatike*, &c.
*ky becomes kiy in *kakaye* and *kakhye*.
*kl becomes kl in *kalente, k[a][la-mathena, pañkile]-*.
*ksh becomes kh in *khana, khamañce, khamisati, [a][u][m], khudake, T[a][kh][a]-lāte, dakhāmi, &c.*
*knkata, *khy becomes kh in *khana* (= Skt. slakhana*).
*kshy becomes kkh in *s[a]-khina (= Skt. slakhsna*).
*khv becomes gh in *chaghatha*.
*khy remains in *mohyasa* (Dhau. Sep.), but becomes khy in *mohiya* (Jau. Sep.).
*khl becomes kh in *kha = Skt. khalu* ; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.
*gn becomes g in *s[a]gr*, but gin in *anuvigna*.
*jh becomes jin in *lajina, lājine ; nñ in *patinhñ* (Dhau. Sep.); mnn or n in *pañmnn* (Jau. Sep.).
*anapayami, [a][n][a][y][i][a][r], anapay[a][r] = *naññi.*
*fy becomes j in the passive forms *yey và *j[a][y].
*dy becomes dy in *Pānīdiyā.*
*ny becomes mn in *kalamma* and *ānamme*, but *nīy in *ānaniyam, and *nēy in *ānanevām.*
*tp becomes p in *pa* *jupadāye*.

1 *pulava* presupposes an intermediate form *purva*, in which the å of *purva* was shortened before the group *rv*. The same applies to *atiyäyike*. Cf. above, p. Ixxiv, n. 1.
2 See above, p. Ixxiv and n. 5.
DHAULI AND JAUGADA GRAMMAR

tm becomes i in atane and atānaṁ.

ty becomes ti in atiṣṭiśa, aṭiṣṭiśa, ekatiṣṭa.

tv remains in s[a]atra (Jau. II, 4), but becomes i in s[a]vata (passim), tiṁni, &c.

tv remains in radateśyē.

tv becomes s in saṇṭena and chikśā.

tsth becomes th in uḍhāna, but th in uḍhāy[a]; cf. above, p. lxxxviii.

dg becomes g in ng[a]khā[ca]hā.

dv becomes y in nyānas; j in aja, [pa]ṭip[a][ja]ti, paṭipajyā, saṃpaṭipajati, se[v]a paṭi-
pajam[i]n[a]t.

dv becomes v in anuvigāna, but dvā in dvume, dvādasa, dvāla.

dhy becomes dh in [n]jhati, nyap[a]t [r]ye, majhah, majhāna[na].


pt becomes t in asamati, na[t]i and nati (= Skt. napārādhi), [n]jhati.

pt becomes [p]un in pājñātā, &c.

pr remains in praṭṭidvayāntu (Jau. VI, 2), but becomes p everywhere else.


my remains with the nasal doubled in saṁnyāṣa.

rk becomes kh in akkhaṇasa (= Skt. akarkaṣa).

rg becomes g in magescu, vaga, vagoa.

rt becomes t in [a]n[a]ccatu and anucaṭatī śi; t in vaṭiṭvīya, kaṭavīya, kiṣi.

rth becomes th in atha (Jau. Sep. II, 5, 12, 14); th in atha (passim) and [n]aḷ[ḥhi]ya[n].

rth becomes dh in vaṭhite, vaṭhayeś[a]ṭi, pavaṭhayeṣṭānti.

rth becomes th in gabhagālasi.

rm becomes nme or m in a[n]u[chatunmāsan, kaṁma- (= Skt. karman) and kamana (= kar-
māṇḍ), dhamma-.

ry becomes y in [a]yasyu, but ly in aṇuṇṭalīyāṇu, niṭhūlyena, mādhūlyaye.

ruv becomes v in patalas and sava, but lur in puluva.

rs becomes s in dasana and Piyadasi, but rs in drasayitu (i.e. darsayitu, Jau. IV, 3) and Piyadrasine (i.e. "dorsine, Jau. I, 3)."}

rsk becomes s in vasā.

rsy becomes s in śāṣya.

ls becomes y in apsa and -kapāṇi.

ly becomes y in kṣyāna.


ur becomes v in vaccha (= Skt. vraṣṭā).

ṣc becomes cḥh in pacchā.

ṣl becomes s in sa[k]hina (= Skt. sākṣhīna).

ṣv becomes sv in asvāsanāye, avṣāṣu, [a]svaseyu, avseveu, sāsvatān and sansvatān, but s in seto.

ṣk becomes k in dukaṭāṇi and dukula.

ṣkr becomes kh in nikhamān, v[a]khami, [a][kha]m[u][s][a], nikhamisanti, nikhamayisāmī.

ṣlḥ becomes th in Laṭhīka.

ṣkṭh becomes th in [c]k[h]i[t]u, niṭhūlyena, se[the]; th in aḍkīthāṇa.

ṣhp becomes ph in niṭhati.

ṣhm becomes ph in tūphē, &c.

ṣhṭh becomes s in ṭsī, munīsa, hesati, esatha (Jau. Sep.), and other futures, but h in chatha


As at Kālsī, ṣk becomes k in [a]gī-kaṇḍhānī.

ṣt becomes th in athi, nathi, amisathī, amisathē, viṣṭāṭena, samīṭhūta, kathāni; th in aṣṭi (Jau.

Sep. I, 4)."
INTRODUCTION

sīyā and [sīyā] (= Skt. syāt), and s in the genitive singular in -asa.
sv remains in svaga, but becomes swu in swāṃkā[̄n].
km becomes nīb in kabhaka. In bābhaka the Anusvāra is omitted, and the long ā of Skt.
brāhmaṇa is preserved.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN -a.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -a.

Singular. | Plural.
---|---
Nom. masc. janē, &c.; neut. dāne, &c. | Masc. pūtē, &c.; neut. osahāṇī, &c.
Instr. pūtena, &c. | jā[̄k]ī.
Dat. aṭhāya, &c. | mahāmātehi, samanekī.
Abl. anubhūd[h]a, pachhā. | paṇānāhi, &c.
Gen. janaśa, &c. | vases, &c.
Loc. aḥkāst, &c. |

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination -s seems to be dropped in [savi]ka[̄]pāda (Dhau.
Nom. sing. neut.—The termination is -ani in jīvan (Dhau. and Jau. I, 1) and dvāvala (Jau.
VI, 5), dvāvala (Dhau. Sep. II, 2).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in hida[̄]k (Dhau. Sep. II, 6).
Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in bahuka (Jau. Sep. I, 4) and vachani[k] [a] (Jau. Sep.
I, 12, II, 1). The form of the nominative is used in anuṁne (Dhau. Sep. I, 14).
Nom. plur. masc.—The final ā is shortened in anuvigina (Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 3),
Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is -a instead of -ani in lapāṇī and halāpiṇā (Dhau.
II, sections B and C; Jau. II, 4). As at Kālī and Mānsekhā, the two Sanskrit masculines vyāksa
and prāṇa are used as neuters: luhāṇī (Dhau. and Jau. II, 4) and pāṇāni (I, 4).

(2) Feminines in -ā.

Nom. sing. pājā, &c.
Acc. sing. yāsā, susāsāu.

Nom. sing.—The final ā is shortened in aḥalā, icchā, likhī[t], sotāviṣya.

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -i.

Nom. and. acc. plur. neut. tiṁni.
Loc. plur. nātiṣu.

(2) Feminines in -ī and -ī.

Nom. sing. anusathi, āladi, iṣi, &c.
Acc. sing. Sanīṭadī[f], iṣi.
Instr. sing. anusathīyā, anāvītīya.
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Dat. sing. annuś\{āth\}\{ī\}ya.\{e\}, [va]yāiye.
Abl. sing. nīhatip\{ā\}
Loc. sing. tāsāiyān, nītiyān, pāthāviyān, [a\{j\}a\{į\}ye.
Nom. plur. tāhi.\footnote{1}
Gen. plur. bhūgininān.

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in annuśāthi, ād[ad]\{i\}, [n]\{į\}hāti, lipē, v[a\{s\}dhi (Dhaul. IV, section I), sudi (Dhaul. VII, section E).

Acc. sing.—The termination is -i in kii, vādhi (Dhaul. IV, j), sudi (Dhaul. and Jau. VII, B).

III. Bases in -u.

Nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. sādhū, sādh[ā].
Nom. and acc. plur. neut. bāhūnī.
Instr. plur. bāhūhi.
Gen. plur. gūlānānī.
Loc. plur. bāhūsū.

IV. Masculines in -rī.

Gen. plur. bhārī[\{m\}ānī.
Loc. plur. r[\{i\}rīsū.

The instr. sing. follows the i-declension: [r]\{i\}ānā, bhātānā, likewise the nom. plur. nat[f], nati ; cf. Prākṛit and Pāli  aγgā (nom. plur. masc).

V. Bases in Consonants.

(1) Present participles in -at.

Nom. sing. masc. sāntānī, kālāntānī, vippaṭṭātānāntānī, [sāntāpā]pā[ma\{n\}ī].
The base mahat follows the a-declension: nom. sing. masc. mahanīte.

(2) Masculines and neuters in -au.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc. masc. atānañā; neut. nāma.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. lājānā, kāma[ma{n}ā], kamāna.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. kāmmane.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. atame, lājine.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The neuter base kāman may also follow the a-declension: nom. sing. kāmine, acc. kāmmanu, gen. kāmmana.

(3) Masculines in -im.

Nom. sing. Piyadasī.
Instr. sing. Piyadasinā.
Gen. sing. Piyadasinē.
Acc. plur. kathini (= [ka]\{h\}ini at Kālai).

(4) Neuters in -as.

Acc. sing. [a\{g\}i, dē[\{v\}j]re, [bhu\{y\}]e.

(5) Feminine in -ād.

The base parīshad follows the a-declension: nom. sing. p[a\{s\}]isā, loc. [p]\{a\}isā[anī] and paliśāyā.

\footnote{1} Cf. ateri, above, p. xci. \footnote{2} For these two forms see above, p. lxxvii.
INTRODUCTION

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Singular. Plural.
Nom. kahan. maye.
Acc. aphä, a[ph]ēni.
Instr. mamayā, mamāye, mamayēye, me.
Abl. mamate.
Gen. mama, mamā, mamash, me.
Loc. aphanā, [aph]ākā, ne.
[aphesu], aphesū.

For the forms kahan and mamayā see above, p. lxxviii. With the instr. sing. mamayē (Dhau.
mamate for Skt. mātāḥ is, like the instrumental mamayā, due to the influence of the genitive
mama. The nom. plur. maye is derived from Skt. vayam, but influenced by the instr. sing. mayā,
and the acc. aphä (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) is formed from the same base as Skt. asmān. The acc. a[ph]ēni
(Jau. Sep. II, 10) and the loc. aphesu follow the analogy of the masculines in -a.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Nom. plur. tuphe, phe.
Acc. plur. tuphe, tuphehi.
Instr. plur. tuphehi;
Gen. plur. [tuphehi]
Loc. plur. tuphesu.

The base *tushma, from which the nom. and acc. plur. tuphe (= Pākṣit tumhe) is derived,
seems to be a compromise between the Skt. base yushma and the singular svam (Pākṣit tumahi). With the form phe (Jau. Sep. I, 2) cf. bhe, Hemachandra, III, 91. The three forms tuphehi (Jau-
Sep.), tuphehi, and tuphesu follow the analogy of the masculines in -a.

(3) Base ta.

Singular. Plural.
Acc. neut. tahi, st, sa.
Instr. tana.
Gen. tasa.
Loc. tasi.

[te]sa[ni], ter[sa].

In Dhau. Sep. II, 7, the nom. plur. neut. tani takes the place of the masc. te (Jau. Sep. II, 9).

(4) Base ēta.

Singular. Plural.
Nom. masc. ē[sa] (Dhau. VIII, 3); neut. esa.
Acc. masc. and neut. etaih.
Instr. [eta]kena.
Dat. etāye, etakāye.
Gen. etasa.
Loc. etasi.

Masc. ēte; neut. etani.


In Dhau. Sep. I, 11f, the nom. plur. masc. ēte [jatē] corresponds to the nom. plur. neut. ē[ta]nī,

1 With aphä and tuphe cf. the Singhalese nom. plur. api and api.
## DHAULI AND J AUGADA GRAMMAR

### (5) Demonstrative *idam.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc. neut. <em>imana.</em></td>
<td><em>imeki.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. <em>imena.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. *[r]<em>m</em>[a]*ye.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. <em>imasa.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As at Kālsī, the nom. sing. masc. *aya(na)* occurs only in *[x]*p*[a]*ni ( = Skt. yo-yam, Jau. Sep. 1, 6).

### (6) Interrogative pronoun.

Nom. sing. neut. *ki(n).* The acc. sing. neut. *ka(n)* and the acc. plur. neut. *kani* 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. *ke(na), *[k]*[e]kha), and with *chhi = Skt. chid* (neut. sing. *kinekhi, kicchi*); and *ki(n)i* 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. *ya, e ; neut. e.</td>
<td>Masc. <em>ye, e ; neut. ani.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. neut. <em>ain.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. <em>ena.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. <em>asa.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing. fem. *ya, a.*

### (8) Base *anya.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. <em>[a(n)ya], a(n)na ; neut. a(n)na.</em></td>
<td>Masc. <em>a(n)na</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>neut. <em>a(n)nam.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. <em>a(n)nye.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Loc. | *

### (9) Base *sarva.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc. masc. and neut. <em>savan.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. <em>savana, savanā.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. <em>savasa.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Loc. | *

### (10) Base *ekatya.*

Nom. plur. masc. *ekatiyā.*

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### D.—NUMERALS

**One.**


**Two, three, five.**

Nom. masc. *duve* (cf. above, p. lxxx); nom. and acc. neut. *ti(n)i*; loc. *panchasu.*

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O 2
INTRODUCTION

Ten, twelve, thirteen.
ś[a]sa, dvādasa, teṣas.

Hundred.
Acc. plur. satāśi; instr. satēki.

Thousand.
Loc. plur. sahasra, sahasrāṇi (Dhau. Sep. I, 4).

Literary Prākrit also uses the termination -ṣuṇi besides -esu; see Pischel's Grammatik, § 371.

Hundred thousand.
Nom. plur. sata-sah[a]ṣāṇi.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(i) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root kāmp: anukampati.
Root kram: p[ā]Iakamāmi, nikamāvā.
Root gam: gachhema.
Root chal: chaIey[ā].
Root ḍṛiś: ḍakhami, ḍrakkhati, dekkhata.
Root bhū: hoti, kuvānti (sixth class).
Roots rabh and labh: ḍalabhkāmi, laheIey[ā].
Root vas: [va]sevā.
Root ṛṣi: [ana]vatatu.
Root śvas: [a]svaseyū.
Root sīkā: [ch][ī]t[ā]tu (from *chiddhātri), utkāy[ā] (from *utthāti).

Second Sanskrit class.

Root as: aśī, aṭṭi (Jau. Sep. I, 4).
Root i: eti.
The two roots jā and sās follow the a-conjugation: yehāmi, anusāśāmi.

Third Sanskrit class.

Root hu: pojohitaviye; see above, p. lxxxi.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root man: manīm[ate]:

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root ṅp follows the ninth class (pañcunāti, pāpunātha) and the a-conjugation (pañcunāti).

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root ışk: ickhati.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root yuv follows the a-conjugation: yuvyū and yuvāvā, yuvāntu, yuvāṁti.
Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root क्रि : कलेति, कलूमि, कलानू, कलानाति; see above, p. bxxi.

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root ज़ा : जानितु and जानिनी are formed from the present जानीति.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With या : अतिखामायिति, निखामायिति, दासायितु द्रासायितु (i.e. दरसायितु), पोलिदा-यमाद, अलाध्यायितु, लिखीयित; आलोकयित, वाद्ययितः, वेदायित, उखायित. The character या is contracted into े in प्रतिवेदायि.
(b) With पया : हापयित; इन अनापयित and निजहप[े]ते[व]े the long vowel of the two roots ज़ा and द्या is shortened. 2
(c) With ओया : खामपिति, लिखैपिति, कलूपिता.
(d) With पोया : लोपिता.
(e) With या : दुखियाति (denomitive of Skt. दुख्हा).

(2) Moods.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. त[े]कामाति, दक्खाति, अनापाति, इच्छाति, कलूमि, अनापाति.
3. sing. अनाकानिति, ठ[े]कामार[े]ि, द्रक्खति, होति, ओति and ओति, ओति, ओति, सानपायि-पायि, पापुनाति, इच्छाति, कलूसेि, वेदायि, दुखियाति. The only middle form is मानितेि (Dhau. X, 1).
2. plur. पापुनाति (from the strong base of the ninth class).
3. plur. हुवानिति, इच्छाति, कलूनिति and कलूति (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2).

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. श्याहिि with indicative termination; cf. above, p. xcv.
3. plur. निखमाति with optative termination; cf. Johansson, श्याहि, part a, p. 89, n. 2.

(c) Optative.

1. sing. अलाध्याहिि, येहिि, ठ[े]पायिि, अपायिि; see above, p. bxxii.
3. sing. त[े][े]कामा[े]ि, दक्खियिि, अलाध्यायिि); इन इन अनापायिि (from the indicative *उत्ताति (Pāli उत्ताति; cf. Pischel’s ; Grammar, § 83). आ [ोस्या] इन and [ीता] (= Skt. सति) पापायिि.
1. plur. गाखेमा, पापायितंि and [े]कामायिता.
3. plur. चालू[े]ि and चालूि, चालूि, वालूि and वालूि, लाक्षिि and लाक्षिि, वयितोि, [े]स्तायिि and [े]स्तायिि, पापुनेिि, जैसेिि, पापुनेिि, पापुनेिि, युिि, युिि, तुिि, तुिि, तुिि and तुिि.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. होति, अनुवतति.
2. plur. दक्खाति (with indicative termination), अदक्खाति.
3. plur. ठ[े]कामाति and ठ[े]कामाति, युिति, अलाध्यायिि, प्रतिवेदायिि.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. ओहिि.

1 Cf. the substantive निजहिि (िनिजग्यापिि) in the rock-edict VI, which is formed from *िनिजाप-ियाति, as Skt. इजा-पिति and इजिति from इजापिति = इजापिति.
2 But in अनापायिि (Dhau. III, 3), the long vowel of the root ज़ा is preserved.
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II. AORIST.

(a) Indicative.

3. sing. [n]ekhami; 3. plur. [n][ka]m[ri][n].

(b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. alochayisū; see Text, p. 31, n. 7.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. akha (only Jau. Sep. II, 1) and akha.

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. hosi and hosami (= Prākṛti hōsamī, nikhāmayaśami, līkhīyīśa[mi*].


2. plur. esatha and esatha, chadhatha (from root chak = Skt. śak), aḷaḍhayisatha and aḷaḷaḥ-

yisā[thā].

3. plur. nikhamisantu, anuvatissanti, [a]na[a]siṣaṭ[ī], yujissanti, kachhainī, jānissanti, pava-
dhayissanti.

V. PASSIVE.

3. plur. indicative aḷa[a]khiyaṃsati. ⁵


3. plur. aorist alaḥhiyisu.

3. plur. future aḷa[a]khiyaṃsati and aḷa[a]n[a]khiyisa[a][n]a[ī].

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. sing. imperative susūṣatu.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root as : saṅtaṅ.
Root kṛ : kalaṅṭaṅ.
Causative of pad : viśpaṭātayaṅkunī and [sānāpaṭā]ta[yaṅ]lani (Jau. Sep.).

Middle.

Root pad : sa[a]naṭapajam[a][n][c], and causative : [vi]pa[a]d[a]padoṣaṁe (Dhau. Sep.).

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In -ta : mata, kaṭa (= Skt. kṛta), viśpaṭa (= viḍīrta), vihaṭa (= vāṣṭrīta), usāla (= utṛṣṭa), [n]isita (= *niśrīta), līkhita, līkhāpita, khaṇāpita, hālāpita, lājopita, lepāpita, ānā-

¹ For an explanation of this form see above, p. lxxxi, n. 4.
² Cf. saṅghasi in the Sūtātanā, verse 834.
³ For the probable origin of the nasal within the root, see above, p. lxxxi, n. 4.
DHAULI AND JAUGADA GRAMMAR

§[oy][ta], huta, atikānita, kilanita, āya[ta] (i.e. āyattā), sayuta (= sanāyatana), v[u]ta (= utta), vuo[ha] (= suddha), anusathā (from anusāsana), &c.
(b) In -na: sanigina (= udvigna).

(3) Future passive participle.
(a) In -tavya: etavaya, satavaya, kāfavya, vatavaya, pahjitaavaya, ichhiitatavya and [ichhi]tavya (from the present ichchhātati), chatavasya, samchakalavaya and *tavya, vātavaya, vīyavadi[tiya]*. patiṣedetavya, niṣṭhap[e][ja][v]ya.
(b) In -anīya: aprāsanīya.
(c) In -ya: sakiya and chakiya.

VIII. INFINITIVE.

khamitaiva, alādhayitaeva, sanātpatiḍayitaeva and sanātpatiḍayita[v]e.

IX. ABSOLUTIVE.

katu and [ka]tā (= Skt. kritvā), anusāsita, alabhitu, samchakita, jāniita (from jāniita), palitijit[u] (from root tyaj, [ch][k][h]itu (from *chīkhati), dasayitū and draśayitū (i.e. darsayitū), hāpyita. In vedita, which corresponds to Skt. vedayitā, the causative character ay is neglected.

A few words may be inserted here on the small Bombay-Sāpārā fragment of the eighth rock-edict (Text, p. 118). The preserved forms agree with the Māgadhā dialect of Dhauli and Jaugada. But, as at Girnār, the semivowel r is not changed to l; see hirāmna (= Skt. hīrāyana, l. 7) and [ra]jī (l. 9). In the aorist nikhamitā (l. 5) the lingual is retained, while Kālsi has nikhamithā and the pillar-edicts have huthā and vaḍhithā, with dental th.

CHAPTER X
GRAMMAR OF THE PILLAR-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS.

I. VOWELS.

The vowel a is replaced by i in the second syllable of gitiha (see above, p. lxx), in majhina (see above, p. xcix), and perhaps in min[a] (Delhi-Mirath) and mina (= Skt. manāk?) It becomes u in the second syllable of sudāpana (see above, p. xcix), and after m in muta (= mata), munisa (= mansyā). The change of a into e in sayaka (i.e. sīyaka), which is the reading of three versions instead of sajaka (= Skt. sāyaka) at Delhi-Tīrā, is due to the following palatal y.

Skt. i is represented by a in the first syllable of kaṭṭikā (Delhi-Tīrā) = kipīkā (Allahabad-Kāsām) and = Skt. pipīkā, and by u after original v in duṣyita and duṣyita, dupada, kinasu (i.e. kinnasu) = Skt. kānasīvī; see Text, p. 134, n. 1. e corresponds to Skt. i in kedisa (Sārnāth, l. 6, 7). i corresponds to Skt. u in the second syllable of pulisa (see above, p. xcix) and of munisa (see above, p. lxxx). In kko (= Skt. kha) Skt. u is represented by o; see above, p. lvi and n. 2. ri becomes (1) a in anugahinau, apakahita (= Skt. apakahita, katu, kapana (= kripa), dānagah[ha] (Queen's edict, l. 3); bhaṭakesu, vaḍhā and vaḍhīyā (= vaḍhitā), vaḍhī, viśaya; (2) i in

1 Cf. p. lxxxiii, n. 3. 2 Cf. gakahita (= Skt. grāhastha) at Kālsi.
INTRODUCTION

Cf. Avv. a, avan at Kālsā. Michelson (IF, 23, 236) compares Avestan yovāt (= Skt. yāvat).

1. Pischel (Grammatik, § 82) derived Prākrit dudita, &c., from a supposed Skt. form *dvitya.

2. In anās-avādyā (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 2) = anās-avādyā (Queen’s edict, l. 3).
is preserved in [sa]vinautadāpayya and saññaudāpayyitu.١ dh becomes k in nigho (= nyagrodha), vidhākami and upadakavu (from adhākati). For kida (= idha at Giriñā) see above, p. lxixii. p is softened in tūha (= tūga, Nagālī Sāgar, I, 2) and līhi (Delhi-Tōpār, VII, ll. 31, 32) = līpi (passive). It becomes k through dissimilation in bhaktikā and kāptikā = Skt. bhaktikā.٢ bh becomes k in [sa]kīya, koti, lottu, kwaṭti, hosaṇī, kākāsī, kutkā, husu, and in the instr. plur. in -hi (for -bhīh). m becomes p, and the aspiration changes place, in kapoṭa (= Skt. kamaṭha; cf. aphe and teph (= Prākrit amhe and tumhe) at Dhauli and Jaugada, and [ts]phā (= Skt. tasmāt) at Kālṣṭ. y is represented by h in abhuyiṁnāmyeṣau, and by v in āvuti (= *āvyukti), vishava (Skt. viṣhaya), sochare in sochaya (= *sanchaya, papyrus (सङ्ग्राम + यूत), yava, anuvāna, adhakavu, upadakavu, pavatavu. It is prefixed to e in yeva and yevā (also eva und eva), but is dropped at the beginning of atu (= Skt. yatra), ātu and ātu (= Skt. yathā), āva (also yāva, = Skt. yāvāt), āvate, e (also ye), eva (also yeva). At the end of etad-athā (Delhi-Tōpār, VII, l. 24) the syllable ya seems to be dropped; cf. above, p. lviii. It becomes i in nigho (= Skt. nyagrodha), paṭivakāṭi, duṣṭaṭveṣu, and aṭi becomes e in jñāpateṣu (also jñāpateṣu). r has become t throughout, except in cāndar [a-sū]r[y] [ē] (Sārṇāth, I, 4). sa becomes a in anuvakhamāṇe; sā becomes the same in the absolutes in tu (= Skt. tu); arava and arivi become o in edāta, olodhana, pesathu, paḷiyoḍadā ṭu, paḷiyoḍadāśi, vīyoḍadāśi, vioḍadāśi, koṭi, hosaṇi, koṇaṇi. The two sibilants s and sh have become s throughout. But sh is used in viṣhava (Skt. viṣhaya, Sārṇāth, l. 10), Devānāpyaṭhā and shu (Queen's edict, ll. 1 and 4). In chaghati, š is represented by ch; cf. above, p. ci. h is prefixed in hidā, hidata, hetaṇa, herb. For heta (Queen's edict, l. 2) see above, p. lxx. Final consonants are dropped. A preceding vowel may be shortened; see min[ā] and mina (कशीक), pāvā and pāvā, siyā and sīya, avivāna and avivāna, akkāhā and akkāha, &c. (below, p. cxvi). A preceding short vowel may be lengthened; see āva and āva (जोश), liṭi and liṭi, sūddhā and sūcē, &c. (above, p. cxii). Final as generally becomes e; see ate, sūve (सुव), bhave, lājāne, vīyopāša, jaś, &c. But it becomes o in savao; a in chainama and esa (nom. sing. masc. and neut.); and o in eso (nom. sing. neut.). The vowel a is nasalized in chuh (Sārṇāth, l. 3) for chu (passim). Final Anusvāra is omitted in bādha (Delhi-Tōpār, III, l. 21), ṛeva (= Skt. ṛva), Kūmpurva, I, l. 1), and in the acc. sing. uadhī (pillar-edict VI, B). The Anusvāra is dropped, and the preceding vowel is lengthened, in the acc. sing. uñmaṭpatī (Delhi-Tōpār, VII, l. 24) and in the nom. sing. [ā]d(ā) (Delhi-Miṅaṭh, II, l. 2). But the nom. sing. of neuters in -ā generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in -e; see below, p. cxvi. Long nasal vowels are generally shortened; see kiyaṇ (= Skt. kiyaṇ), Bhagavān (= Bhagavān), the gen. plur. in -a, the loc. sing. fem. tiṣaṇā, tiṣaṇā, Kosaṇabhat, punnamāsyaṇi, and the acc. sing. mara (= mara), inana (= inana), tului (= tuo, pillar-edict VI, B), ikani (= īkāni), patajan (= patajan), duggahana, chovadasa, punnadaṇa, patipadaṇa, hedasaṇa (acc. sing. fem., Sārṇāth, l. 7). But the Anusvāra is omitted in the acc. sing. [a]pada (Delhi-Miṅaṭh, V, l. 6), and the long a is shortened at the same time in kiya (Lauṛja-Nandaṅgaṛ, II, l. 1).

III. SANDHI.

Final d is preserved in etad-athā (Delhi-Tōpār, VII, l. 24), and final m in etavamva (id., l. 25; Sārṇāth, ll. 8, 9), kavyānayaeva (Allahabad-Kosam, III, l. 1), hevamvaeva (Sārṇāth, l. 7). The final m is doubled in iyaṁnana (= Skt. idam anyat), kavyānayaeva, kavyānayaeva. In hevamva, hevavā, hevimvṛta, the syllable va of Skt. evam is dropped.

Hatus remains in -asaḥkīṣita at Delhi-Tōpār (six times), while the remaining versions (and Delhi-Tōpār, VII, l. 31) read -vasākīṣita. Other instances of a + ā = ā are dhairmānupaspaṭa,

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١ Cf. pilandhati &c. in E. Müller's Pati Grammar, p. 34.
٢ This Prākrit form is mentioned already by Pāṇini, III, 2, 21.
٣ Cf. Goiger's Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen, § 29, section 1.
٤ Cf. above, p. lviii, n. 3, and p. lxxxi, l. 6 from bottom.
٥ Also at Delhi-Miṅaṭh, V, l. 14.
INTRODUCTION

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are ky, khy, ty, dhy, dhr, bhy, rshy (which becomes sy), sly (which becomes sv), sky (which becomes sy). For the group ky see also above, p. eixii and n. 3.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see ata- (= Skt. ātma), avastha (= ātvastha), amusthi (= amuṣṭhi), śūla (= śrūḍha), kimnu (for *kimnau), pata (= pṝpta), maga (= maṅga), madava (= mārdava), mahanata (= maṅhamāra, Queen’s edict, l. 1), Sakyanunna, iyā (= iyālā), -sūlyika (for *śūlyika), dusa (= dūṣya), puṇinanāśya. But while the length remains in ānapati, pāpōvā (from prāṇapōtī), maṅhamāta (for māṅmatra), palarī (for parīśti). While long i is preserved before n in -grāmata and dhūl[khun]asvain, it is shortened, and the following nasal is doubled, in titi (= tṛṇī). Similarly, anuvatāni and devinai are perhaps defective spellings for anuvatāni and devinai. Before y and l the length is preserved in avunviḍhyāvati, sukhiṇā, kaṇṭikā, but it is shortened (and probably the following consonant is doubled) in avunviḍhyāvati, sukhiṇā, blaye, kuṭikā; cf. above, p. cii. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in āgūcha (= āgūṭya), dākhina (also dākhīnā, i.e. dākhīnā), pūtāpūtātaka (for pūtarpa), pūnātāsine (for pūnarva), kīchā (for *kīchā, Queen’s edict, l. 4), nilakhīrī (for nilīrī), nilakhītāvī (also nilūra at Rāmpurvā, V, l. 9), vaḍāsita (also vaḍāsita, i.e. vaḍāśiṣita), nāvaṇapājīṣita (also jājīṣita, amuṇapājīṣita, avuṇ[a]jīpāṣine (for avuṇprāt)).

A long nasal vowel is shortened before consonants in aṅkhā (= Skt. āṅkha, atkaṅkha, Kosain-bhāya (= Kauṭāmbikya), Devināṉyaya, while the nasal is dropped, and the length is retained, in bābhuna (= bāmbhaṇa at Girnā). Anuvāra is lost after a short vowel in ṣṭāba (Rummindeī, l. 3) = ṣṭābha (Delhi-Tōprā), in saṇyata and saṇīṣṭha (also saṇyata and saṇīṣṭha), in vālasī (but not in avālasī), and in yatavāsī. The nasal vowel iḥ is replaced by a long length in yiṣṭi, pHAVVAtati, and saṇīṣṭha. Similarly, aḥ seems to be replaced by ā in bh[A]khaṭi (= Skt. bhāṅkhaṭti). In visvāsayaṭīvate (Sārnāth, ll. 8, 9) the nasal vowel aḥ corresponds to Skt. ā.

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is u before v in duvēri, duvōdaśa, saṇīṣṭha, etc.; a in duvānāpīṭaṇiye, laγhānāti (for *laγhānāṭi), etc.; and often 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 kr, gr, tr, pr, br, tr, sr, which have become k, g, t, p, b, s, s, respectively.

kāh becomes kā (i.e. kāh) in dukhiṇani.
kt becomes t in abhāsita, yuta, vīyata, vīyata.
ky remains in Sakyaṇa (Rummindeī, l. 2).
kāh becomes jāh in jāhāpayatiṣaya, but kāh everywhere else.
ksly becomes kṣiy in nilakhīyati; kāh in duhaṇīvēke and bh[a]khati; gh in chaghāti.
kkly is preserved in mkkha and mkkha, but is assimilated in mūkha (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 27).

1 This word presupposes an intermediate form with short n: *-sūryika; 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 putāpupātika and hidātika, but ṣaṅguha. In aṅitālīka, aṅha[k]śiṣya, chaitṛamānuṣḥiṣya 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 chaitṛiya, which was formed from Skt. chaṇḍa with the affix -ya. In nṛtṛiyā and puṇīsāniṣya the first vowel has remained unchanged, while Skt. forms are nṛśālīrya and puṇīsāniṣya, with Vṛddhi of the first vowel.

2 The Śāṅchi pillar (section C) has putāpupotika.

3 The Anuvāra is omitted in Devrāna[pr]yena (Rummindeī, l. 1).

4 Cf. Pischel’s Grammatik, § 326.
GRAMMAR OF THE PILLAR-EDICTS

khi becomes kk in kha = Skt. khaulu; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.
chy becomes chay or chau in sochaye and sochaye.

jī becomes jīn in lājīna; jīn in cchākādāvānā and viṇṇapāyitavāy; n in ānāpayati, ānapita,
nātikā, nātisu.

īch becomes inn in paṇṭiṇāvāyati, paṇṭiṇādāśā and paṇṭiṇāḍāśā, but remains in [pa]nīchā[daśā]
(Allahabad-Kōsām).

dy becomes di in chanṭidy.
dv becomes duv in saṇṭitavāy.

īm becomes īm in āsāvānāśīke.

īh becomes k in ukasā.

īm becomes t in āta (= Skt. ātman).

īy remains in ṣapṭāvānina, but becomes īy in ṣapṭāvānina (Delhi-Tḥprā), and ỹh in āgācha,
paceṇpāganama, etc.

ītr becomes t in usapṭāptē.

īv becomes s in sūha.

īvy becomes ỹh in uschē.

īh becomes b in nhālike.

dy becomes j in amapṭipajānta, &c.; diy in bhādiyā; day in dusāṇṭipādāye.

dv becomes d in chaḷadama.

dv becomes d in ṣudapā, ṣudiyā and ṣudiyā, but duv in dvčhi, dvāḍāśa.

āhy remains in avaḍāya, but becomes ỹhy in avaḍāya, and jḥ in mājḥinā, nijāṭiyā, nijha-
pāyitave, nijhāpāyitave, nijhāpāγanāti.

ḍhr remains in ḍhṛṝavā (Delhi-Mirāth), but becomes ḍh in ānǔvīve and vadhī (pillar-
edict V, D).

nīy becomes nū or n in nīna (passim) and ana (pillar-edict III, H).

īṭ becomes ṣ in [gut]ī, gott (= Skt. ṣòptī), nikkīṭā, nijhāṭiyā, pata (= pṛptā), sata (= saptā,
Delhi-Tḥprā, VII, l. 31).

pṇ becomes ṁ in pāpṛma.

bhy remains in abhyānāmān śhāhau and abhyānānāvāṣati, but becomes bhy in [n]bhīye.

bhī becomes bhī in padāḥṣayāsāni.

nūḥ becomes inn in Lānunīnī (Rummindēi, l. 4).

nvr becomes nbh (for nbr) in nābā (= Skt. ānāra).

īy becomes ỹy in āmatiyē and [n]yināukāṭāyīṇā.

īṛ becomes g in māgasa and vīṣaga.

īyṛ becomes g in nigānūṭha.

īṛḥ becomes lāgh in lāghaṁī (for *ālaṁgaṁī).

īyṛ becomes inn in paṇṭuna (pillar-edict V, B) and paṇṭanāŚtiyāṇā.

īṛ becomes t in pavatayēvu, but t in katāvēya, kevāta, palkhāvant, apahāṭā.

īṛh becomes ṣḥ in atā (Delhi-Tḥprā, VII, W and OO), but ṣḥ in atā (passim).

īṛd becomes d in chāḥudāne, chokasa, chāvānaśa, navāve.

īṛḥ becomes Ṣḥ in vadhāti, vadhēyā, vadhūṭē, vadhūṭīti, vadhēṭa.

īṛh becomes hā in gakhāni.

īnn becomes inn in kāvīnāṁ, chāṭhūnāṁ, dḥarīna (spelt dhāma at Lauṛyā-Araṇāj, II, l. 3).

īṛy becomes ỹy in njīṭāyā, pātyevādāhā and pātyevāṭitvānī. -sultīye (Delhi-Tḥprā, VII,
l. 31), but ỹy in -[ śrī]-[ y]ē (Śāṃchi, l. 4).

īṛ becomes d in nilakhyāti and nilakhyāvīye.

īṛv becomes v in punāvāsane and savā.

īṛ becomes s in Piyādāri.

īṛḥ becomes s in ukasā and vasa.

īṛhy becomes s in ṣyā.

īṛp becomes ṣ in apa (pillar-edict II, C).

īṛy becomes y in kāyāma, sayāka and sayōka (= Skt. sālēya).

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1 Three versions of the pillar-edict II, C, read sochaye, which Michelson (IF, 23, 241) identifies
with Pāli socheyya (= Skt. *sālēya).
INTRODUCTION

vy becomes viy in viyamjauna, viyata, viyopata, viyoanantamti, viyohala, and in the gerundives in -taviya.

we becomes w in paramastanaṃ.

sy becomes s in padhikasayish (future of the causative of Skt. bhraṣṭati).


sw becomes sv in asva, asvatha (= Skt. āśvasta), asvāntayitave (infinitive of āśvāntayati); ssw in ssve (Svat), s in seta.

ski becomes th in vadiṣṭhā and kuthā; th in aṣṭha-bhāgīye, aṣṭhami, apakāthas, tūṣṭhāyatan[ṇ]i, paṭṭivirṣikanā; dh in aḍhka [kos]; kṣyāni and nivas[da] yā.

shk becomes th in niṣṭhitīyā.

skp becomes p in thatapada.

shpr becomes p in dvipativekha.

shy becomes sā in tisyaḥ; sīy in tisyaṃ; s in tisāyē and tisāye, dusāni, puṣṭināya (from Skt. puṣhayati), munasa (= manasāyā), kosaṃ and other futures; k in kohānti.

st becomes th in aṭhari, anusathī, aṣṭavaṃ (= Skt. āśvasta), thanbhāni, thūba (= stūpā), paviḥā-

lisānti.

sth becomes th in stithikā (= Skt. gṛīhastha) and -thithika or -thitiṃ; th in anaththika and

-thithika or -thithika.

sv becomes sin in aśino (from aśi).

sm becomes s in the locative singular in -asi.

sy becomes sīy in sīyā (Skt. sīyā); s in the genitive singular in -asa; k in dakaṃti.

kṛ becomes kṣr in aṃgahinuva.

km becomes kch in bābhatā.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN -a.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -a.

Singular.

Nom. masc. jana, &c.; neut. dana, &c.

Acc. masc. janaṁ, &c.; neut. danaṁ, &c.

Instr. dharmamaṇḍa, &c.

Dat. aṣṭāyā, &c.

Gen. janasa, &c.

Loc. janast, &c.

Plural.

Masc. pulśa, &c. ; neut. sāvauaṇi, &c.

Masc. pulśaṇi

ākāṣi, pulśeni.

pāṇauaṇi, &c.

aṭhesu, &c.

Nom. sing. neut.—In [da]nā (Delhi-Mirath, II, l. 2) the termination is -ā.

Instr. sing.—The final a is lengthened in usāṇā, bhayāṇā, t[ga]khamāṇā.

Gen. sing.—The final a is lengthened in asavaṇ, genasā, jānapaddaṇ, Dvānāṃpiyāṇa, lokasā.

Nom. plur. masc.—The final a is shortened in abhāta, asvaṭṭha, āyata, kaṭa, pājita, mahaṇ[ā]nta (Kauśāmbi edict, l. 1), lajaḷa. The Vedic termination -āṣaḥ is preserved in viṣṇapatiṣe (Delhi-Tōpra, VII, l. 25, 27).

Nom. plur. neut.—The final i is lengthened in [ha]nītyaṇī (Delhi-Mirath, V, l. 8). The following Sanskrit masculines have the termination of the neuter : thanbhāni, nikāyanī, nihogāni, niyaṇāni, mokhāni, tiṣṇi divāstāni et etāni divāstāni (acc).

1 With the compound chalaṇ-ṭhita or chilaṇ-ṭhita cf. Skt. charaṇijīvita and chiranatana.

2 In chila-ṭhite (Delhi-Tōpra, VII, l. 32) and chila-ṭhite (Allahabad-Kosam, II, l. 3).

3 From pulīna = Pāli purīna.
(2) Feminines in -ā.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>Plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ēkkā, &amp;c.</td>
<td>vādīkyā, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pçajām, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pçajāyā and pçajaya, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāhīśyā, arhīśyā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dākkhînāyē, dākhînāyē.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dūtīyā, dūtīyā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tīsāyā, tīsāyē, cāvūdasāyē, paṁmaṇḍasāyē, paṭipādāyē[ṇ].</td>
<td>disānu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing.—The final ā is shortened in āpekha, avadhīya, śīva, kapitika, kālāśita, jatukā, daya, pādana, likkāpi, vadhīta, viyota, sālika, sukēyana.

Acc. sing.—The termination is -ē in p[ā]ṣpadā (Delhi-Mīrāṭh, V, l. 6).

Instr. sing.—The termination is -āyā in agāyā, anudāyā, kāmatāyā, palāhāyā, vīvīdhāyā, sukēyana, susūśāyā, while the final ā is shortened, as at Gīmār, Dhauli, and Jauaγa, in agāyā, kāmatāyā, palāhāyā, vīvīdhāyā, susūśāyā.

II. BASES IN -ī.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -ī.

Nom. sing. masc. vidhi, Sākyamunī; acc. plur. neut. tinī; loc. plur. nātisu.

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>Nom.</th>
<th>Plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vadhī, dhātī, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tīpī, vadhī (pillar-edict VI, B), anupāśpāti.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pçajāyē, anupāśpātyā, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāhīśyā, arhīśyā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dūtīyā, dūtīyē, devīye.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālūvāyē, devīye and devīye.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tīsāyē, tīsāyā, Kosāmīyā, puṁnamāśyā, cātvāmāśyā.</td>
<td>chātvāmāśyā, tīṣu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in gābhāni, sākali, duṣṭi (also duṣṭi), īpī (also īpī).

Instr. sing.—The final ā is shortened in anuṣaṭhīya (also anuṣaṭhīyā).

III. Masculines and Neuters in -u.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc. bhikku and [bhikku]ā, sādhu and sādāh, lahu; neut. bahu.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puṇāvasūne, bahūne.</td>
<td>[bhuk]āhuṇā[ṃ].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The loc. sing. is formed from a base in -na.

IV. Masculines and Feminines in -ri.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apahaṭā and apaṭhaṭa, nihāpāyita.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loc. plur. pātīsu.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 As in Pāli, the Skt. feminine pratīpad has assumed the form paṭīpādā. Cf. Hēmachandra, I, 15.
2 In Sanskrit the corresponding form is tisrīṣu.
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V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.
Nom. sing. masc. saṁstātī, anupaśpājanstātī; cf. above, p. cx.

(2) Masculines in -vat and -vat.
Nom. sing. masc. kīvānī and kīya (Lauriyā-Nandangarh), Bhagavān. The base yāvat follows the a-declension: nom. sing. masc. āvata (Sārnāth, l. 9).

(3) Masculines and neuters in -an.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. lājā, lājā</td>
<td>lājāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. neut. nāma</td>
<td>kāvīmāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. ataṁā, ataṇā, lājīna</td>
<td>lājīki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The instr. plur. follows the ā-declension.

(4) Masculines and neuters in -in.
The final ā of the nom. sing. masc. is preserved only in the Allahabad-Kōsim version, while all others read Piyadasī.

(5) Masculines and neuters in -as.

Acc. sing. neut. bhūye.
The masculine chaṇḍamaṁ (= Skt. chaṇḍramāt) and the neuter sayo- occur as first members of compounds. The base avimanaṁ follows the a-declension: nom. plur. masc. avimanaṇa and (with shortening of the final ā) avimana.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.
Nom. sing. hakaṁ.
Acc. sing. māṁ.
Instr. sing. māmayaṁ and mamiyā, mama and mamā, me.
Gen. sing. mama, me.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.
Nom. plur. tuphe; gen. plur. tūphakaṁ.

(3) Base tu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. masc. and neut. te</td>
<td>Masc. te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. neut. taṁi, st.</td>
<td>Neut. tāṇi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. tena</td>
<td>tesanī, tānāṇi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>tēsū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Acc. sing. fem. tāṁi.
Dat. sing. fem. tāye.

(4) Base na.

Nom. plur. neut. nāmi; see Text, p. 127, n. 10.

1 Moreover, the nom. sing. neut. she occurs in the Queen's edict, l. 4.
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(5) Base ēta.

Singular.
Nom. masc. ēta; neut. ēta, ētā.
Acc. neut. ētāṁ.
Instr. ētēna.
Dat. ētēye.
Loc.

Plural.
Masc. ētē.
Neut. ētāṁi.

Nom. sing. fem. ēta.

(6) Demonstrative idam.

Nom. sing. neut. iyani; nom. plur. masc. ime, neut. imāni; nom. sing. fem. iyani, acc. imāni.

(7) Interrogative pronoun.

The base kā forms the acc. sing. neut. kāni (in kānī), kānāṁ or kānānī (see Text, p. 129, n. 5) and the instrumental kāni 1 (in kānā, i.e. kānasu = Pāli kēnasu and Skt. kēnaviś). The base ka is used as demonstrative: nom. plur. neut. kāni (in potakṣa cha kāni; see Text, p. 127, n. 10) and acc. plur. masc. kāni (four times). The indefinite pronoun is formed with pi (= Skt. api) or chi (= Skt. chid); instr. sing. kena; nom. plur. neut. [k]ānichī.

(8) Relative pronoun.

Singular.
Nom. masc. and neut. ye, e.
Instr. yena, ena.

Plural.
Masc. ye; neut. yāni.

Nom. sing. fem. yā.

(9) Base anya.

Singular.
Nom. masc. āhīne; neut. [a]hīne, āna.

Plural.
Masc. āhīne; neut. āhīnāṁi.
āhīnāṁi.
āhīnesu.

Gen.
Loc.

The gen. plur. āhīnāṁi follows the analogy of the nouns in -a (above, p. cxvi); cf. tānam for tesaṁ (above, pp. lxxvii and cxviii), ta[naṁ] at Māṇḍūkā, and the dat. sing. fem. tāye (above, p. cxviii), īmāya and īmā[y]e at Girnār, Kālaś, and Dhauli, īmaye at Māṇḍūkā.

(10) Base sarva.

Singular.
Nom. masc. sa[vu]e.

Plural.
savesu.

D.—NUMERALS

One.
Nom. sing. masc. ikika (= Skt. ikikā), fem. ikā; acc. sing. fem. ikāṁ.

Two.
Instr. masc. ikika (= the base dva). The base dvi appears as du in the ordinal ā大巴 or ādusya, and in the compound dupada.

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Three, four, six.

Acc. neut. tiḥni; loc. fem. tisu. The bases chatur and shash form part of the compounds chatupada and āḍandāśaka.

Four, twelve, fourteen, fifteen.

duṃḍasa and duṇḍ[a]-[a]; chodasa. The ordinals chāundasa and [pa]ṇḍasa [dasa] (Allahabad-Kosam), paṇṇadasa, paṇṇalasā correspond to Skt. chaturdaśi and paṇḍadaśi.

Twenty, &c.

vatisati, panınivasati, suṇivasati, satiśita.i

Hundred thousand.

Loc. plur. sata-sahasra.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) BASES.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *argh (= Skt. arha): laghaniti for *alahaniti; cf. Skt. argha and Pāli agghati, and see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 993.

Root ṭhik: paṭivekhami, anvekhamāne.

Root dṛiś: dekhati.

Root bhū: hoti, hrvaṭi (sixth class).

Root uḍ: paliyovadātha.

Root ṭhā: āvaḥāmi.

Root yridh: vaḍhati.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root ar: athi.

Root i: eti.

Root yaḥ: yāti.

Root ṭās: anus[a]sāmi (subjunctive).

Third Sanskrit class.

Root dhvā: vidhāami, upadahetu (which follows the a-conjugation).

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root pūd: anupatipajñāntu, &c.

Root pūch. The gerundive pusiṭaviya is formed from the Sanskrit present pusiṭati.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root āp: pāpeva.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root ict. The aorist icchītiu and the gerundive icchitaviye are formed from the Sanskrit present icchhati.

Root kiṣṭ: nikhāpaṭha.

Root sriṣṭ: absolutive nisijitu (from the Sanskrit present nisrijāti).
GRAMMAR OF THE PILLAR-EDICTS

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root grah follows the a-conjugation: anugakirenu.

Root jña. The future jánisanti and the infinitive ájanta are formed from the present jñáti.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With aya: abhyuññāmayān, saṅgatipadaiyanti, pañaminā (from pāyat = pāyeti; see Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s.v. pāti), pañihusayinā (future of the causative of Pāli bhassati = Skt. bhraññati; see Michelson, IF, 23, 263), ālādhayey, āvāsayātha, pañ[vedayanti*], pavatayey, vívāsayayatae.

(b) With pañya: jhāpayitavaye and jhāpetavaye (from root kskā). The long vowel of the roots jā, dā, dhyai is shortened in ānopayati, vihunpayitavaye, samudapayitave, nījapayisanti, nījapayitā, nījapayitave.

(c) With apaya: kālabhita, sa[pañabhāpayyā and sañadhāpayitu (from root *nadh = Skt. nah), likhāptita, va[sā]petavye, vívāsayāthā, sāvāpayyāmi.


(e) With āpāpaya: khānāpāpti, liṅgāpāpti.

(f) Denominatives: śīlita and śīlita (from Skt. śrayati), sukhayite, sukhāyanā, sukhīyanā, dukhiyanā, maññīye.

(a) Moods.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. paññivahāmi, vidahāmi.
3. sing. dekkhi, hoti, vaḍhahi, ati, eti, yati, ānopayati.
3. plur. laghañhi, dekkhañhi, saṅgañipadañhi, pañ[vedayanti*].

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. āvasahāmi, anusā[ā]pāmi, saṅgāpayyāmi.
3. sing. huvāti (Sārnāth, l. 6).
2. plur. nikkhiśiha, paliyuvadātha, vívāsayātha, vívāsāpayāthā.

(c) Optative.

1. sing. abhyuññamayahāmi; cf. above, pp. lxxxi, cix.
3. sing. sīyā and siyā, anusā[pa]pājey, pāpovā and pāpovae (from the strong base prāpna-), vaḍheyā.
3. plur. āvōv, upadahov, anugakirenu, ālādhayey, pavatayeyu.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. hētu; 3. plur. anupañipajantu.

II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle: huthā, vaḍhitā.
3. plur. active: hāsu, ichthītu.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. āka, āhā, aha, the last of which is unreduplicated; see Michelson, IF, 23, 244.
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IV. FUTURE.
1. sing. palibhasayitum. Cf. likhīparyisam at Girmān.
2. sing. abhyānāmasam, vaḍhitisam and vaḍhīhatsam, anupatīpaṣamati (from the present *paṭjatī = Skt. paḍyati), saṃpaṭipājaṭi and *paṭiṣati, chaḥgatitum (from root chak = Skt. šāk), bh[a]khati (= Skt. bhāṅgshyāti), kachāhiti (see above, p. lxxii, n. 1).
3. plur. paṭīčalasiṣṭi, vaḍhitisam, āsanta and kohantisam, paṭīyovadisamisam, viṣvavādaśinti, paṇi-vālaśinti (from root stṛ), dāhantisam, chaḥghantisam, kachhantisam, jānīsanti (from the present jānāti), niṃjapayatisam.

V. PASSIVE.
3. sing. indicative khaḍīyatī, niḍalikhitātī, ganaṭi (Queen's edict, l. 4).
3. plur. indicative anuvādiḥyati and *āḍhyaḥtya.

VI. PARTICLES.
(1) Present participle.
Active: saṁtaḥ, anupatīpaṣamati.
Middle: anuvākhamanē, paṇāmīna.

(a) Past passive participle.
(a) In -ta: mata (Delhi-Tōpra) and muta (= Skt. mata), kaṭa, viyāpaṭa, tīlīta and tīltia, makhita, sukhaṭita,1 anapta, kālīpita, sāvapita, lopaṭita, khaṇapāpita, likḥapita, likhāpita, anukhatita, ṣītita (i.e. ṣāṭita), nikhatita (= nikšiti), viyāta (= vyakta), yuta (= yuktia), baddha (i.e. baddha), niludha (= nirudha), ālādha (= *āraudha), pata (= pṛpta), apakathita (= apakriśṭa), avatka (= āśvasta), &c.
(b) In -na: anūp[a]ṭapāna, paṭīyāsāna and paṭīyāsanāna, dinhāna (for *didhā; see Pischel's Grammatik, p. 386).

(b) Future passive participle.
(a) In -tavya: khaṭāṭita, viketāṭita, vataṭita, kaṭāṭita, ichhiāṭita (from the present ichkihātī), pustāṭita (from puskyati), viṇnapaṭāṭita, jhāpāṭita and jhāpāṭita (from the causative of khaṭi), vālaṭaṭita. In nilaḥkhatita (= *nīlakḥayitavāya) the causative character āya is neglected.
(b) In -va: dekkhīya (from the present dekkhāti), [a]ṭhīya (from root labh), avadhya and avadhīya, dupatikāva, duṇaṇapāṭipādyā, āvāṣaya (for *āvāṣaya).2

VII. INFINITIVE.
bhṛtav (from root bhiḍ), paliḥatav, paṭīchalitav, ajānītav, ālaṃhātav, visvāṃsāyitav, saṃmadapayitav, niṃjapayitav.

VIII. ABSOLUTIVE.
(a) In -tvā: sutu (= Skt. śrutvā), nisijitvā (from the present nisijijita), sanāṭīdāpayitav.
(b) In -ya: āgācha (= āgatyā), [sa]uṇanīdāpayiyya.3

1 In this form the causative character āya of the present sukhaṭitum is retained, as in ānapayitum at Kāši, [anapayitum] at Māṇḍeśhār, and anūp[a]ṭapānā at Dhauli.
2 The correct Sanskrit form would be āvāṣa; cf. the preceding note.
3 Cf. the two last notes and Pāṇini, VI, 4, 57, who allows both prāpya and prāpya to be formed from prāpya.
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 Jagadā 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 Jaṅgā-ṛāmēśvara) 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 n in munisā and i after y in the future vadhīṣṭi (Rūpṇāth and Maskī) = vadhīṣṭi (Sahasrām and Bairāt); cf. Śrasaṇē bhavissiṣṭi, &c., in Hēmāchandra, IV, 275, and in the southern manuscripts of Indian dramas. For the e of hetā (Sahasrām) and for the i of monisā see above, p. lxx. The abstract gālava (= Prākrit and Pāli gārava) presupposes the adjective gula (= Skt. gura), in which a corresponds to Skt. u; see above, p. lvi. For o = Skt. u in kho, see ibid. and n. 2. The diphthong au becomes o in mona.

ī becomes (1) a in katu, dakhitavay, vadhī; (2) u in musā (= Skt. mrīṣhā), sun[e]yu; (3) i in adhigicya (= Skt. adhiṣṭitiya), disciple (optative of dīṣṭa). In adhiti[jy]s (= Pāli adhiṣṭitya and Skt. ardhacārttya) the syllable tī is lost, as in Ardhamāgadhī adhāja; see Geiger’s Pāli, § 65, 2, and cf. Pāli adhājāha = Skt. ardhacārttya.

Interconsonantal a and i are lengthened in -[a]ḥāta (?) and chila-ḥitike. Final a is lengthened in evā and va (= Skt. evā, chā, hetā, əhā, [l]i[khaṭa]jyāṭha, h[a]mā, eitoi(n)ā, apalādiyanā, &c. (below, p. cxxvi). Final i and u are lengthened before ti in saṃghas tī, hosati ti, jānantu ti, and final u which stands for ur in upadhā[ur]vyā.

Initial ā is shortened in akāle (Rūpṇāth); interconsonantal e and a in misibhātu (Maskī), jambudipasi (= *dipasi at Sahasrām), po[ka]man[ə]menā (cf. palakamāmenā at Sahasrām), ekkavārisati (Barārā); final ā and i in lāja (Barārā) = lāja (Calcutta-Bairāt), sata (Rūpṇāth) = sata (Sahasrām), Pr[i]yāda[s]i (Calcutta-Bairāt) = Piyādasī (Barārā).

Initial vowels are dropped in pi (= Skt. āpi), sūmi (for *sūmi = Skt. āmi), hakaśi (for akahām = āhama), ī (i = ī), kiṃti and kīti, dāni (= idānī), va and va (= ēva).

(a) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Intervocalic k is softened in adhigicya (Skt. = adhiṣṭitya) and appears to have become y in diyāḍhya (= *diyāṛdhya).1 gh is preserved in Lāghula (= Rāhula) and suggests that this name of Buddha’s son is derived from the ancient hero Rāghu. In kuhā (Barārā) = 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’, kuhā may be related to kunhā, ‘a pot’ (originally ‘a cavity’), and Greek κύμη, ‘a (hollow) boat’.2

Lingual θ is replaced by dental n throughout, but is improperly used at Calcutta-Bairāt in Aliya-vasāpi (= Skt. Ārya-vānśāy).

1 Cf. diyāḍha and diyāḍha, above, pp. lxxi and lxxxv.
2 The same root has assumed the slightly different meaning of ‘a round projection’ in Ancien Persian kauhā, ‘a mountain’, Avestan kauhā, ‘a mountain, the hump of a camel’, and Skt. kahāh, ‘a peak’; cf. kauhā, ‘a peak, a hump’.

q 2
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Dentals are lingualized in udāla (= Pāli udāra and Skt. udāra), duvvāda, and after ri in karā, vaḍhi. ti is palatalized in adhīgīcīna (= Skt. adhikṛitya). dh seems to be preserved in ḫ[h]idha (= īdha at Gīrār?), but has become h in [nīgha] (= Skt. nyagrūdha).

Intervocalic p becomes v in pā[v]a[la]ne (Sahasrām), the infinitive of *prāpati (= Skt. prāṇāti).

bh becomes h in hetu, hetati, huta, devhi, [a]jve[ki]ki.

y is dropped at the beginning of evāvate (from Skt. yāvat), aṁ and e (= ya). The syllable yo becomes i in [nīgha] (= nyagrūdha), aya and aya become i in lekhāpeta, īñ(i)khāpetavaya, ārodheve (read ārodheva) and [ā]dāḥketa[y], ahahevā[te]tā, naññā.

As in the Māgadha dialect, r becomes f; but it is preserved at Rūpānāth in ārodheve (read ārodheva), chitra-tikite, chha[sa]va[khkare, sāḍh[ra]kekkimi (read sāṭirekkimi), and at Maski in āva, [ā]s[ī]re[ka].

v becomes p in apaladhiyena (Rūpānāth) = avā[a]dhiyena (Sahasrām). It is developed out of u in viṣṇuha (Sahasrām) = vy[va]ha (Rūpānāth). aya and aya become o in ovāde, hetu, hetati.

s and sh have generally become s. But s is preserved at Maski in āvake (= Skt. Śākyah) and is improperly used at Bairāt in svage (= svage at Rūpānāth); sh is preserved at Maski in vashāni.

In [cha]kye and chakiye, s is represented by ch; cf. above, pp. ci and cxii.

h is prefixed in ḫ[h]idha (?), hetā, kevami.

Final consonants are dropped. a (for ā) is shortened in sanīta and deva (Sahasrām, l. 2 f.); as becomes e; see pure (= Skt. purvas), ve (= var), bhikkumiya (nom. plur.), akte, etc. It is represented by ā in ecā (nom. sing. neut.), and by a in -[a]hita (?), ecā (nom. sing. neut.), yovātaka and vālata (Rūpānāth).

Final a is nasalized in ekhan (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 2), while final Anuvāra is omitted in ima, iyā; tupaḥa (for tupehān), diyādhiya (Rūpānāth), prakāsa, [bā]dha, vaḍhi (acc.), viyāla, sa[n]ga[a] (acc.). The nom. sing. of neuters in -a generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in -e; see phale, etc. The termination -aṁ is replaced by -i in bāḍhi (Rūpānāth, l. 1, 2); cf. aṁī for ayaṁ at Shābhāsāgarh.

The long nasal vowel aṁ is shortened in the termination -aṁ of the acc. sing. of feminines in -ā (below, p. cxxvi), and in becomes i in dāṁi (= Skt. ṣāṇīm).

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Final m is preserved and doubled in kheṣākamūvā (Calcutta-Bairāt, I. 8).

a + ā becomes ā in -vasādhisāta, sāṭike, sāḍh[i]ki, a[p][a]kāḥata[an, j[a][a]va[a][s][āgama] (?)]. The ā which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in -[āgama]katā (?), apaladhiyena and avā[a]dhiyena, diyādhiya[n, but the length is preserved in diyādhiyavin (Sahasrām). Final d is elided before n, e, o in chu (= ca + u), ekunavisati, ma[h]anveva, Labhall-ovāde.

GROUPS OF CONSONANTS

The only groups which occasionally remain unasminated are ky, ty (which becomes chy), pr, rv, vy, sr.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in alyā (= Skt. ārīya), pa[la]camita[nta (= parākṛta), palakamanīnta, [palak][a][i]nta, mahata (= mahātman), Šoka and [Sā]d[ē] (= Śakyah), abhikṣhā (= abhikṣhān). But the length remains in p[a][l][a]khe (Sahasrām), p[a][k]eta[ve (from prāpāti), lāti (= rātri), sūte (= sūtram). A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in v[ā]tave (infinitive of vacch).

The long nasal vowel aṁ is shortened in the termination of consonants in [palaka][u][k][e] 2 and Devānampiyā (Rūpānāth and Maski), but remains in Devānampiyā (Sahasrām and Bairāt). In bhānte, a Buddhist term of address which stands perhaps for bhaddānte 4 = Skt. bhaddārī, īṭ, happiness to you', the syllable duṣu is elided. The nasal vowel iṁ is replaced by a length in ekunavisati. Anuvāra is sometimes omitted after ṣ; see the infinitive adhikatave (Maski), aṁā (Rūpānāth) = aṁā (Sahasrām and

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1 The same form is used in Ardhamāgadhī and Pāli. Cf. also [p]ule at Kāśi, I. 1, 3.
2 Also Pāli saddh[i]ni = Skt. sārdham, etc.; see Geiger's Pāli, § 22.
3 The Anuvāra is omitted at the same time in pakate (= Skt. prakāntak).
4 See Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s. v. bhadanta. According to Heimachandra, IV, 287, bhānte is the Māgadhī voc. sing. of bhadanta.
GRAMMAR OF THE RUPNATH EDICT, ETC.

Dāṣṭāṇ, [ḍa]kk[a] (but [ṭa]s[ṭa]khāsī and [ṭa]n[ṭa]kḥāsī), pākṣamatu (3. plur.), [p[a]]kṣamatu (Bairāṭ) = pol[a]kṣamant (Sahasrām), vovajānaṁ (= Skt. vovajānaṁ), Alīya-vovāṃ (= Ārya-vovāṃ), saṅkha (= saṅkhaḥ), chaka[ka]vachēha and sava[ka]khāl (= saṅsvaṭasavak). The final a of the first member of a compound is nasalized at Sahasrām in mśām-ḍeva and amṁam-[ḍe]śa (read amśa). The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is u before labials in duve, duveṣa, suṣa, suva; a in alahāmi, lalā)khāṭetavaya, vovajānena; and frequently i, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the rock-inscriptions at Rūpṇāth, &c.

kr becomes t in abhissā, &c.

ky remains in [ća]kṣaye (Bairāṭ), but becomes kṣī in chakṣīye, sakiye, and k in saka (= Skt. sakyā), Saka, and [śa]kṣ [śa] (= Sāhyāk).

kr becomes k in pākṣamast, pol[a]kṣamast, &c.

kṣ becomes kh in khudaka, bhikku, bhikkunīye, dakkhatiye.¹

kṣy becomes khin in abhīkhiṇīṁ.

khl becomes kh in kko = Skt. khalu ; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gr becomes g in [ṇg]kha (= Skt. nyogṛddha).

jī becomes jin in lājīṁ.

jīch becomes jin in sapainā = Skt. satagāhīṣā; cf. phānnadā, &c., in the pillar-edict V.

jp becomes p in sapainīnā.

th becomes k in samukase.

tm becomes t in mahasta (= Skt. mahātman).

ty becomes shy in adhīgīchya (= Skt. adhīkṣīya).

tr becomes t in tataḥ, lāṇi, śīle, hetā.

tv becomes t in mahatā (= Skt. mahātmatvānt).

ts becomes chh in chh(o)ṣa(ṭa)vachāre and sav[ak]khāl.

ṭṣṭḥ becomes th in [ṛṭhānā]tha.²

dr becomes d in khudaka, bhala[dak].

dv becomes duv in duve, duveṣa; d in Janhūdipasi, diyaḍhīyaṁ.

pn becomes p in p[ṛ]ṭav (from Skt. prāṇāṭ).

pr remains in prabāṣa (Rūpṇāth) and in abhīpṛśaṇ, prāśaṇa Pr[ṛ]ṣadeśa [ṛṣaṇ]a (Calcutta-Bairāṭ), but becomes ṝ in Pāṭhāṣa, &c., and perhaps ṝ in phāṣu = Vedāc ṽāṣu (?) ; see Geiger's Pāli, § 62, 1.

rg becomes g in svage.

rṭk becomes ṝ in atka, and perhaps ṝ in [a]kakṣa (?)

rdd becomes ṝk in cokati[ṛ]dani, vaḍikaṣā and vaḍikṣā.

rdhy becomes ṝhy in apaladhīyenā and avadhīyenā; ṝhy in diyaḍhīyaṁ.

rm becomes sim in dihāṁma (spelt dhama at Māski, l. 5).

ry becomes liy in alīya (= Skt. ārya) and poliyaṁ.

rv remains in sarve (Calcutta-Bairāṭ, l. 3), but becomes v in pavata and pavatītu.

rś becomes s in Pāṭhāṣa.

rṣk becomes ṝkh in vāhā[n]a (Māski, l. 2); s in vasa and samukase.

rh becomes lak in alahāmi.

lp becomes p in ap[a]ṭadhataviṇa.

sv remains in [ṛ]v[ṛ]ṣekān, but becomes viy in dakkhatiye, vataviyā, vavatiṭa[ṛ]vi(ya), and vav in lalā)khāṭetavaya and vovajānena.

śn becomes śn in pasine (= Skt. praśnāḥ).

śy becomes s in the optative passive dīṣyā.

śr becomes s in mīsa and svāmna.

sṛḥ becomes ṝḥ in ṝṛḥ (Rūpṇāth); ṝḥ in vicṣaḥ (Sahasrām).

śhm becomes ṝḥ in tuṣṭaḥ (read perhaps tuṣṭhām, as at Sārnath).

śkṣ becomes ṝkṣ in Upaṭīsa, muniṭa, vaḍikaṣa and vaḍikṣā, kosṭi.

śt becomes ṝṭ in athi and th[ṛ]ka[ka] (Sahasrām); ṝṭ in phaśuṭha (Rūpṇāth).

śtk becomes ṝṭk in chira-thiṭṭhe and chira-thiṭṭhe.

¹ See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

² Cf. above, p. ciii.
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\[ sm \] becomes \textit{sum} in \textit{sumi} (\textit{Skt. asmi}); \textit{s} in the loc. sing. in -\textit{asi}.

\[ sy \] becomes \textit{sī} in \textit{sīy} (\textit{Skt. syā}); \textit{s} in the gen. sing. in -\textit{asa}.

\[ sv \] remains in \textit{sva} (spelt \textit{svage} at Bairāṭ), but becomes \textit{su} in \textit{svag[ε]} (Sahāsārām).

\section*{B.—DECLENSION}

\begin{center}
(1) Masculines and neuters in -\textit{a}.
\end{center}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Instr. \textit{Budhena,} &amp;c.</td>
<td>\textit{[a]jīver[k]ekhi.}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. \textit{kālāya,} \textit{athāya,} \textit{aṭh[ā]ya}.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. \textit{mahatātā}.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. \textit{Budhabhi,} &amp;c.</td>
<td>\textit{pavatesu}.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the nom. sing. masc. \textit{pāvataha} and the nom. sing. neut. \textit{lā(l)i)khāpetavaya, vīvasravav(ov[ə])ya} at Rūpañāth, -\textit{a} is perhaps only a clerical error for -\textit{e}.

In the acc. sing. masc. \textit{sag[ə]} (for \textit{sahighami}) and the acc. sing. neut. \textit{vipula} at Rūpañāth, the final Anuvāra is omitted.

The final -\textit{a} of the instr. sing. is lengthened in \textit{apaladhiyenā, aval(ə)dhīyenā, -ahditāna, pu[ka]mami[s]thenā, palakaminenā, vayajānenā, }\textit{vy\textit{[ə]}thenā}. At Barābar we seem to have a loc. sing. in -\textit{e}: \textit{su[ə]}\textit{[ə]}\textit{[ə]}\textit{e}.

The final -\textit{a} of the nom. plur. masc. is shortened in -\textit{deva} (Sahāsārām, l. 3).

The Sanskrit masculines \textit{paryāya, vaihita, saivovatsara} form the nom. and acc. plur. \textit{palyāyāni, vasāni, [savachalāni]}, with the termination of the neuter. The nom. plur. neut. has the ending -\textit{a} at Sahāsārām (l. 6f.) in \textit{lāṭi-satā vivēsthā}; at Rūpañāth (l. 4f.) we have \textit{sata} instead of \textit{sēta}.

(2) Feminines in -\textit{ā}.


(3) Feminines in -\textit{i} and -\textit{ī}.


(4) Masculines in -\textit{at}.

| Nom. sing. \textit{kalaustān}; instr. sing. \textit{bhagavatā}; nom. plur. \textit{saṅkta} (for either \textit{saṅkta} or \textit{saṁkta}). |

(5) Masculines in -\textit{an}.


(6) Masculine in -\textit{in}.


\section*{C.—PRONOUNS}

(8) Pronoun of the first person.

| Nom. sing. \textit{hkāmī}. |
| Instr. sing. \textit{mama\textit{yā}, hamiyāye, [me].} |
| Gen. sing. \textit{[ə]ma[ma], me}. |

\footnote{The feminine \textit{parvati} (= \textit{parvata}) occurs in the \textit{Taittiriya-Saṅhitā}; see Böhtlingk’s \textit{Wörterbuch}, s. v.}
The genitive $k[a]mā$ is a compromise between the usual form $mama$ or $māmā$ and the nom. $ṣham$ (for Skt. $aham$). With the instr. $hamiṣye$ cf. $mamiṣye$ at Jaugadja.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Dat. plur. $vē$ (= Skt. $vak$), which is used for the nom. at Maski (l. 7); gen. plur. $tupāka$ (Rūpāṇīth), which is probably a clerical error for $tupahāṇu$ (Sārnāth).

(3) Base $ina$.

Nom. sing. masc. and neut. $ṣe$; acc. sing. neut. $te[ni]$, $ṣe$; nom. plur. masc. $te$.

(4) Base $ṛta$.

Nom. sing. neut. $ṛṣa$, $ṛṣā$, $ṛ[ṣ]e$; instr. sing. $[ṛtena]$, $ṛteninā$, $ṛtinā$; dat. sing. $ṛtya$, $ṛtya$; acc. plur. neut. $ṛtini$.

With the forms $etinā$ and $etiṣa$ at Rūpāṇīth cf. the gen. sing. $etisa$ in the two Kharoshthi versions of the rock-edicts, and $etishā$ at Kālāt.

(5) Demonstrative $idam$.

Singular. | Plural.
---|---
Nom. masc. $iṣa[ni]$, $iṣa$; neut. $iṣamī$.
Acc. masc. $iṃa$; neut. $iṃammī$.
Dat. $[r]māya$.

Nom. sing. fem. $iṣamī$.

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

The base $ki$ forms part of the conjunction $kiṇti$ or $kiṭi$, and the base $ka$ of the indefinite $keki$ (nom. sing. neut.).

(7) Relative pronoun.

Nom. sing. masc. and neut. $e$; acc. sing. neut. $ya$, $aṇu$; nom. plur. masc. $yā$, which follows the analogy of the nouns in $-a$, and $[ye]$.

(8) Base $sarva$.

Nom. sing. neut. $sarve$.

D.—NUMERALS

Two: nom. neut. $dvē$.
Twelve: $dvāḍasā$.
Nineteen: $ekamavāsiṇi$.
Fifty-six: $sapaninā$. For $pamā$ = Skt. $pañcāśat$, see Pischel's Grammatik, § 445.
Hundred: $satā$ and $sata$ (nom. plur.).

E.—CONJUGATION

(1) Present.

(a) Indicative.

2. plur. $[līkhapal]yākā$.

(b) Subjunctive.
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(c) Optative.


(d) Imperative.

3. sing. hātu.
2. plur. lekkāpetā, [ikkhāpayatha].
3. plur. pakaminu (for *manit), palakamiṇītu, jānāṇītu.

(e) Aorist: 3. plur. husu.

(f) Perfect: 3. sing. āhā.

(g) Future.

3. sing. hesati, vadhisati and vadhisiti.

5. Participles.

(a) Present Participle.

Active: kalainau, saīta (nom. plur.).
Middle: po[ka]man[i]na, palakamiṇīna.

(b) Past passive participle.

In -ta: kata, pakata (= Skt. prakṛtta), vy[na]tha and vivitha (from vi-var), &c.
In -na: dina (i.e. diuna); see above, p. cxxii.

(c) Future passive participle.

In -tāya: dakhitaviya, vataviya, lāti(kk)hāpetavaya, vivastavāvā(ya)ja.
In -ya: sakiya and saka, [cha]kya and chakiya.

(6) Infinitive.

adhigatave, v[ā]tave (from root vach), p[ā]tave (from Skt. prāpna), pòś[ā]ya (from *prāpati; see Pischel’s Grammatik, § 534), ārodhave (read ārādheta) and [ā]dhetave.

(7) Absolutive.


11. THE THREE ROCK-INSRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE

A.—PHONETICS

(1) Vowels.

For vadhisiti and munisā, see above, p. cxxii. Skt. n is represented by a in garu (= gurum).
For o = Skt. n in kho, see above, p. xvi and n. a. rī becomes (1) i in pakiti (= prakṛtih), pītūṣa (= pūtrikṣu); (2) u in pūtnu; (3) a in drākṣītyavah (from drīhyati); au becomes o in porāṇa.

Interconsonantal a or i are lengthened in aḍhātiya (= Ardhamāgadhī adhaśīja; see above, p. cxxii), upayita (= Skt. upetā), chiva-thitike, Susvāmnagirī, and final i, which stands for is, in pakiti. Initial a and i are lost in āṭ, hakamī, ti.
(2) Simple Consonants.

The three Mysore inscriptions agree with the Gînâr, Shâhâbâgârî, and Mânsehra rock-edicts in retaining the letter ṛ, which has become t in the Mağadha dialect.

Skt. ṛ is preserved in gunā, paka[m] ṛṇa (read pakamamṛṇa), porāṇa, prâna, mahâ-mûtya, ṛ[ṛ]kareṇa, Swârâgârîte, sâvâni, but is replaced by dental n in adhâtyâni, khudâkona, vatsâni. It is used instead of n in Devâgârîya (Brahmagirî and Jatîngâ-Râmâvara) = [Dev]ā[n]âpiyâ (Siddâpura) and corresponds to Skt. ṛ in âṇâpayati.1

k appears to have become y in diyañâpiyâ (= dvikârdhya). bh becomes h in hoti, husain, deevi.
y is developed out of i in upâyâte and becomes u before u in dī[ṛ]kârvuse. aya becomes e in ârâdhatese. ava becomes a in hoti.
i and sk have become s throughout; but s is improperly used for s in [a]cha[i]yâsa (Jatîngâ-Râmâvara) and sa[sa]nim (Siddâpura). h is prefixed in hovain and hovena. Final a as becomes e in Swârâgârîte, aśkâ, etc., but a in esa (nom. sing. neut.). Final Anusvâra is omitted in ṭya and bidhâ.

(3) Sandhi.

Final w is preserved, and the syllable ve is dropped, in hovena (= Skt. evamśeva). Final a is elided before u in chu (= cha + u), and before e in mahâptewâva. i + i become i in huyâni (Brahmagirî, l. 4).

(4) Groups of Consonants.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are kh, tm (which becomes tp), dv, pr, vy, sv, ky.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in ayaputasa, âcharya, avardhîyâ, diydhyâvâ, [a]yâthâyâ, but the length remains in âṇâpayati, dī[ṛ]kârvuse, pâpêteve (from Skt. prâpnôtei), mahââtâma, pâthârâhâni. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in vrûchana.

The long nasal vowel âni is shortened before consonants in [Dev]ā[n]âpiyâ, prakâhîte and pakanîte. Anusvâra is omitted after a in âṭâ and savachharaín.

ki becomes t in vattâyâ.

by remains in sâkyâ (Brahmagirî), but becomes k in sake (Siddâpura).

kr becomes k in pakama, prakâhîte and pakanîte.

kh becomes kh in khudâka.

kkh becomes kh in kho = Skt. khul; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gh becomes g in ârâdhyâni.

jî becomes n in nâtâka; n in âṇâpayati.

As in âta (= Skt. âtan) at Gînâr, tm becomes tp in mahâpa (= mahâman).

ty becomes ch in sacehâni.

ir becomes t in ayaputasa, mahââtâma.

ts becomes chh in savcahchhara.

dr remains in drâhityâvâni, but becomes d in khudâka.

dv becomes d in Jânândipasi and diydhyâvâ.

pn becomes p in pâpêteve (from Skt. prâpnôtei).

pr remains in prakâhîte (Brahmagirî, l. 2), but becomes p in pakanîte, etc.

rg becomes g in stave.

rgkh becomes gh in dī[ṛ]kârvuse.

ry becomes sîn in Savachharaíte.

ri becomes t in pasvatâyâ; t in kâtâvîye.

rth becomes th in âṭhâ.

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1 Cf. Prâkrit ânâvedî, and aṇâpemî, aṇâpita, etc. at Shâhâbâgârî and Mânsehra.
INTRODUCTION

rdh becomes ṝk in aḍhāṭīyaṇi and vaḍhāṣṭi.
ṛdh becomes ṝkī in avaraḍhīya; ṝkī in aḍvāṣṭhīyaṇi.
vr becomes stm in dhaṁma.
ṛy becomes riy in ṛṣṇṛṣṭra; y in ayapulaṃ.
ṛh becomes s in vaṣāṇi.
ṛḥ becomes rāḥ in yaṭkāraḥsaṁ.
ṣy remains in vyūṭhen and draḥyāṣṭtyaṃ, but becomes ṝy in the remaining gerunds in
-tāvyā (= Skt. -tāvyā).
śr becomes s in misa, sāvage, sāvāte, sāvōptiyu, susū[s]tāvyā.
skt becomes th in vyūṭhaṇa.
śky becomes s in munisā and vaḍhāṣṭi.
sīh becomes sḥ in chira-thiṭkī.
sm becomes s in the loc. sing. in -asi.
sy becomes s in the gen. sing. in -asa.
sv remains in svoge.
ṛy remains in draḥyāṣṭtyaṃ.

B.—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neuters in -a.

Singular. | Plural.
---|---
Nom. masc. ṁtke, &c.; neut. phale, &c. | Masc. ṽāṭikā, &c.; neut. vaṣāni, &c.
Acc. masc. ekam, savachihaṃ; neut. ārogī-
yāṃ, &c. | deveki.
Instr. kālma, &c. | mahāmāṭayaṃ.
Dat. aṭhāya. | ṽāṭikasu, prōfesu.
Abl. avaradhīya. |
Gen. ayapulasa, pakamasa. |
Loc. Isilasi, Jambudipasi. |

The termination of the nom. sing. neut. is -aṇi in [likhita]m (Jaṭinga-Rāmeśvara) = likhite
(Brahmagiri), uṣṭavasyaṃ, sachaṇi.

(2) Feminine in -ā: nom. sing. porāṇa.
(3) Feminine in -i: nom. sing. pakiti.
(5) Masculine in -ṛ: loc. plur. pītisu (Brahmagiri) and pītūsu (Jaṭinga-Rāmeśvara).
(6) Masculine in -an. The Sanskrit base mahātman follows the a-declension: instr. sing.
mahāṭpaṃ[ə]; nom. plur. mahāṭpā.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. hakari; instr. maya, me; gen. mai (read me).

(2) Base tu.

Acc. sing. neut. se; nom. plur. masc. sr.

(3) Base etc.

Nom. sing. neut. esa; dat. sing. e[ṛ]ṣva; nom. sing. fem. esā.
GRAMMAR OF THE MYSORE EDICTS

(4) Demonstrative idam.

Singular.
Nom. masc. iyām; neut. iyam, iyā.
Acc. masc. imām.
Instr. imiūḥ.

Plural.
Masc. imca.

(5) Relative pronoun.

Acc. sing. neut. ya, yaḥi.

D.—CONJUGATION

(1) Present.

(a) Indicative: 3. sing. hoti, anapayati.
(b) Optative: 3. plur. pakameyu, jāneyu (which follows the a-conjugation).

(2) Aorist: 1. sing. kunāḥ.

(3) Perfect: 3. sing. āha.

(4) Future: 3. sing. vadhisati.

(5) Participles.

(a) Present middle participle: pakā[m]i . . ya (read pakamanāya), samāna (from root as).
(b) Past passive participle: upayita (from upa-i), prakānita and pahānita (= Skt. prakrānta),
vyūthra (from vi-vsa), &c.
(c) Future passive participle: vâtavīya, kātavīya, drakṣitavīya (from the present ḍṛiḥyati),
pachāyitavīya, pāvatitavīya, susīṣ[ʃ]avīya (from the desiderative of īra).

(6) Infinitive.

pāpate (from Skt. prāpuṇi), ārādheteve.
TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

I. THE GIRNAR ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1. (A) iy[ar]n dhaṁma-līpi Dovānāpriyena
2. Priyadasinā rāṇā lekh[ā]pitā (B) [i]dhā na kim-
3. chi jīvan ārabhitpā prajūhitavyāṃ
4. (C) na cha samājo katavyo (D) bahukaṁ hi dosaṁ
5. samājamhi pasati Devānāmṣriyo Priyadasī rājā1
6. (E) astī pi tu ekacha samājā sādhu-mataḥ Devānām-
7. priyasa Priyadasino rāṇo (P) purā mahānas[amhi]2
8. Devānāmṣriyasa Priy[a]dasino rāṇo anudivaṣaṁ ba-

1 Before rājā a superfluous ra seems to have been struck out by the writer.
2 The first syllable of mahānasā looks almost like me, and sa like se. Originally mahānas 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 ārabhīsu sūpāṭhāya
10 (G) se aja yada ayaṁ dha[m]ma-li婆 likhitā ti eva prā-
11 nā ārabh ā sūpāṭhāya dvo morā eko mago so pi
12 mago na dhruvo1 (H) ete pi tṛi prāṇa pachha na ārabhīsare

· TRANSLATION ·

(A) This rescript on morality9 has been caused to be written by king Dēvānāṃ-
priya Priyadarśin.
(B) Here2 no living being must be killed and sacrificed.
(C) And no festival meeting4 must be held.
(D) For king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin sees much evil in festival meetings.
(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by
king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin.3
(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin many hundred
thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.4
(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) सर्वं विजितं देवानंदिश्यति पियदसिनो राजो
2 एतमप्रपचति यथा चेहा पाडः सतियपुष्पो वेणलपुष्पो खा तथा-
3 पस्यं कृत्वा चंतितस्रो योनिवाजा वे वा यथा चंतितस्रो साधिपण
4 राजान्य सर्वं देवानंदिश्यति पियदसिनो राजो वे विकीर्ष विन्ता

1 dhruvo Senart and Bühler. There are two distinct strokes at the bottom of the dh, one of
which is n, while the upper one is probably r. Cf. the r of [A] jāthaka in the Girnār edict XIII, l. 9,
and of aprakaranahti in edict XII, l. 3.
2 The literal meaning of dharṇa-liṭī (or dhrama-dīṣi in the two Kharoshthi, 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 XII, Q and R, and the Rūpṇāth rock-inscription, K.
4 Bühler (ZDMG, 37, 93 ff.), D. R. Bhandarkar (JBRAS, 21, 395 ff.; IA, 42, 255 ff.), and
Thomas (JRAS, 1914, 39a ff.) have shown by quotations that this is the actual meaning of the
word samāja, which Pachchel (GGA, 1881, 1524 f.) had translated by ‘battue’.
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 (mukhānasa) of king Rānti-deva,
that by doing out meat to his people he attained to incomparable fame.’ Cf. also XII, 29, 127 f.,
and VII, 67, 16-18: ‘On the nights which guests spent with Rānti-deva, the son of Saṅkṛiti, 21,000
kine were killed. Then the cooks, who wore ear-rings of bright jewels, were shouting: “Eat ye
a lot of curry (rūpa)! 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

5 सनुसाचिकीर्षा च पसुचिकीर्षा च (B) सोमुदानि च गानि मनुसोपगानि च
6 पसोपगानि च यत यत नाशि सवेिा हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च
7 (C) मूलानि च फलानि च यत यत नाशि सवेिा हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च
8 (D) पंथेषिू कृपा च शानापिति भविा च रोपापिति परिनेगाय पसुनुसानि

1 (A) sarvata vijitamhi Dēvānāmprīyaśa Piyyadasisino rāño
2 evamapi prachaitisayathā Chōḍad Pādā Satiyaputo Kotālaputo a Taṁba-
3 puṇaṁ Anūṭiyako Yona-rājā ye vā pi tasa Anūṭiy[a]kṣ[a]m [a] rājā
4 raṁjano sarvatra Dēvānāmprīyaśa Piyyadasisino rāño dve chikichhā katā
5 manusa - chikichhā cha pasu - chikichhā cha (B) osuহানি cha yāni
6 m[a]nuśopagān[i] cha
7 (O) mūlāni cha phalāni cha yata yatra a nasti sarvata hārāpitiṇi cha
8 (D) paṁithesu kūpā cha khānāpita vṛchhā cha ropāpit[a] parībhogaṇa pasu-
manusānan

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king Dēvānāmprīya Piyyadarśin, and
likewise among (his) borderers, such as the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputa, the
Kotālapuṭa, even Taṁrāparṇi, the Yona king Anūṭiyaka, and also the

1 Priya Bühler.
2 Thus Senart and Bühler, EI, a 449; Anūṭiyokarā Bühler, ZDMG, 37-95.
3 Bühler (ZDMG, 37-95) would read sāmānā, which he considered to be a clerical error for
sāmaśātā, the reading of the other versions of this edict. It is quite possible that sāmaśātā was
the original reading of the rock, and that it was subsequently changed by the writer into sāmāpānā
(or sāmāpādā).
4 sarvata Senart, sarvatra Bühler.
5 yata Bühler.
6 sarvatra Bühler.
7 Bühler (ZDMG, 37-98 fl.) rejected Kerner’s identification of this term with the Sāpurā range,
and explained it by ‘the king of the Sāvats’, whom he located in Western India. D.R. Bhandarkar
(JBBRAS, 21 395) compares Satiyaputa, for which the Kālsa version reads Satiyaputa, with
Sāputrā, a surname current among the present Marāṭhās. Lüders (ZDMG, 58. 603 f.) has shown
that the Pāli putta (= Skt. putra) at the end of compounds frequently means ‘belonging to a tribe’.
He quotes as examples Anuḥakaunaputta, Videkaputtā, Bhajapattra, Milachaputta, devapattra
(cf. the feminine devadhiṭā, and Skt. ṛajpattra).
8 Kotālapuṭa is perhaps a mistake for the reading of the Māneśhā version: Kātalapuṭa,
i.e. the king of Kērala or Malabar, the Kaprōthos of Ptolemy; see Lassen’s Ind. Alt., vol. I
9 The syllable ŏ cannot be the preposition ō ‘as far as’, because the latter would require after
it the ablative Taṁbapamāṇyd, as at Māneśhā, XIII. 9. Lüders therefore explains it as an
Archamāṇah or form of the Skt. relative ō; see SPAW, 1914. 831.
10 Taṁrāparṇi (Taṁbaparṇi in Pāli) is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon. It
occurs in the Dipavaliṣa, and was known already to Megasthenes in the form Tapaśāṇi; see IA,
6 129 and 344. Besides, Taṁrāparṇi is the name of a river in the Tinnevelly district, which was
known to the author of the Rāmāyaṇa (Bombay edition, IV, 41, 17).
11 Kālsa and Māneśhā read Anūṭiyoga, the remaining versions Anūṭiyokā. Antiochus II Theos
kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyaka—everywhere two (kinds of) medical treatment were established by king Devāṇāṁpriya Priyadarśin, (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: GİRÑAR

1 (A) Devāṇāṁpriya ¹ Piyadasi r[ā]jā evaṁ aha (B) dbādasa-vāsābhīsitena maya idaṁ añ[ā]pitaṁ
2 (C) sarvata vijñate mama yūta cha rājūke cha prādesike cha pāṁchasa pāṁchasu vāsesu anusāṁ-
3 y[ā]nāṁ nāyati etayeva athāya imaṁ dhanamānusastiya yathā añā-
4 ya pi kanmāya[ ] (D) [s]ādhāru maṁtari cha pitari cha susrūsā mitra-sanśtuta-śātinaṁ ⁴ bamhaṅa-
5 samaṇānam sadhu[u] jánam prañānam sādhu anārabhī apas-vayatā apas-bhādatā ⁶ sādhu
6 (E) parisā pi yute añapayisati gāṇanāyaṁ hetuto cha vyaṁjanato cha

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1 For samaṁtā, 'neighbours', and its equivalent samaṁpan, literally 'neighbourhood', see JBBRAS, 21. 398, IA, 34. 245, and AJP, 30. 183 ff. The 'neighbours' of Antiochus II were probably the four kings named in the Kālidā edict XIII, Q.
2 D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398 f.) remarks that chikistā means neither 'hospitals' (Bühler) nor 'remedies' (Senart); he translates it by 'provision or provident arrangement'.
3 priyo Bühler.
4 mitra looks almost like mitā; see EI, 2. 450, n. 47.
6 apabhāṅgatā Senart, apabhāṅgatā Bühler.
THIRD ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmipriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the Yuktas, the Rājūka, and the Prādēśika 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 Mahāmātra) 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) अनिवार्यं अंतरं बहूनि वाससिनानि विष्टि एव प्रायार्यों निविशा च भूतानं भारीसु

2 असंभंततं चाम्हयृश्मतिनां असंभंततेन त च त्रिवं नीवार्यों च त्रिवं देवान्नियुस्न प्रियद्वसिनो राजो

3 धुंधरसेषं भेरीधातो धुंधरसेषं च भर्मां वामसदेशं च हसिदस्यं च

1 For yuta = Sanskrit yukta, ‘an officer’, which occurs in the Kauṭiliya, see Thomas in IA, 37. 41, JRAS, 1909, 467, and 1914, 387 ff, and cf. the terms ayuktaka and vinyuktaka in the Valabhi inscriptions (Fleet’s Gopika Inscrip., p. 169, notes 4 and 5).

2 Bühlcr (ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.) showed that this term means originally ‘a field-measurer’ (from raju, ‘a rope’), and is the designation of a revenue settlement officer. In the Kauṭiliya, the two terms chōra-raju (p. 60) and chōra-rajjuka (p. 232) seem to mean something like ‘police’ and ‘police officer’ respectively. Cf. I. J. Sorabji, Notes on the Arthasastra, p. 10 ff., and Jolly in ZDMG, 71. 228.

3 Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 383 ff., and 1915. 112) compares this term with pradēshi in the Kauṭiliya, which is, however, a nomen agentis of the verb pradita, ‘to direct’, while pradēśika is derived from the substantive pradēśa. Kern (JRAS, 1886. 393) translated pradēśika by ‘a provincial governor’. In Kalhana’s Rājatarāgini (IV, 125) pradēśikēśvarā means ‘a provincial chief’. A reference to the first separate edict (Dhauili, Z-CC; Jaugaḍa, AA-DD) suggests that the Pradēśika of the third rock-edict may have belonged to the class of the Mahāmātra, and that Pradēśika-mahāmātra would mean ‘a provincial high officer’.

4 Cf. Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 821.

5 Cf. the Dhauili separate edict I, CC.

6 This sentence has been successfully explained by Thomas, IA, 37. 20.

7 Bühlcr translated paurīṣa 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 Kaunṭiliya. This meaning fits admirably both here and in the rock-edict VI, F.

8 I follow Lüders (SFAS, 1914. 839) in the translation of the difficult words ganaṇayavan ketuto cha svayājanato cha. For svayājana cf. my note on the translation of the Sārnāṭ pillar-edict, section I.
4 अगिबधानि च अर्ज्यानि च दिव्यानि दयानि दस्यिरिया जनि (C) वारिसे वृन्दि वाससतेङ्गि
5 न भूतुपूर्वे तारिसे धरे विध्वे देवानंप्रियस प्रियस्तिनियो राजो धम्मानुसारी धराणि-
6 भो प्राणदान बाध्विसो मानतान जातीन संपेनी संपुष्टती वसहसमवान संपुष्टिपली सातरिपितरि
7 सुसुसा कैसुसुसा (D) तस चरे च बहुविशे धम्मचरसे विध्वे (E) वहयिसिते चेव देवानंप्रियसे
8 प्रियदसिरि राजा धम्मचरसि इदि (F) पुष्ठा च पोढ़ा च प्रयोपा च देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो
9 प्रभाविसिती इदि धम्मचरसि धाव सवटकप कन्हमित सीतिकिस्तीती धरि राजसीसिष्ठि
10 (G) एस हि खेस्टे केमे य धम्मानुसासन (H) धम्मचरसि प्र सन्ति स्मृति धम्म धार्मिकसिष्ठि
11 वधी च ध्यानी च साधु (J) यताय धार्मिक स्वेतेस सतां लेखापितं इसय धार्मिक वधि युहं हीनि च
12 नो तोलेचय (K) दासवासासिष्ठि देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिना राजा इदि लेखापितं

1 (A) अतिकारिति अर्ज्याच बहुनि वसा-सतानि वहानि एव प्राणादिब्धो विहींसा चा भूततानि नातिसु
2 अस्मिग्रामानि ब्राह्मण-स्रामणानि अस्मिग्रामानि (B) तस अर्ज्याच देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो वाणो
3 धार्मिक-चारचन्द्र (D) भीषो अहो धार्मिक-घोसो विमान-दारणा (C) वहानि वाहि
4 अगिकानि चाहीनि चाहीनि चा दिव्यि रुपांि दसा-टिपा जानि (C) यारि बहुनि
5 वा मातानि च दसा-सति
6 [bh]ो प्राणामि अविलितथा कुत्तामि नातिनि सामप्रासहि ब्राह्मणा-स्रामणामि
7 सामप्रासहि मातारि पितारि
8 [Pr]ो चारि सुरसि (D) एस अनि चा बहुर्वीचि [धा]नि-चारि वानि [dhi] चे
9 (E) वहयिसिते चेव देवानंप्रियि
10 [Pr]ो दानि राजा धार्मिक-चारि रानि इदि (F) पुत्रा च चा प्रपौत्रा च चा प्रपौत्रा चा देवानंप्रियसा प्रियदसिनो राणो

2 The syllable pa was inserted subsequently.
3 This syllable was inserted subsequently.
4 The syllable da was inserted subsequently.
5 दासुङा Senart and Bühler.
6 The syllable hit was inserted subsequently.
7 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.
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 Devānāmpriya Priyardarśin, 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 Devānāmpriya

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1 See note 6 on previous page.
2 saṁvata- Bühler.
3 Between thā and ya the rock shows a vacant space which may be due either to a natural fissure or to an erosion.
4 There is a vacant space between thā and ni.
5 Instead of no the plate facing EF, 2. 452 shows the syllable mā, which seems, however, to be due to retouching. Kern (IA, 5. 261 and 262) preferred to read nālochetavyā.
6 For former translations of these words see my remarks in JRAS, 1911. 785 ff. I now adopt the explanation of D. R. Bhandarkar (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 Aśoka 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. Bhandarkar (p. 26 f.) suggests that the aerial chariots were exhibited in order to induce people to practice morality and thereby to become qualified for such celestial abodes. The elephants (kaliṭṭhi 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 Lokaśālas. In the 'masses of fire' Bhandarkar finds an allusion to the fire-pit of the Khadirāṅgīra-jātaka. But according to Childers, Patr Dictionary, p. 18, aggikkhandha is 'used figuratively of a person of brilliancy and distinction'. To the three quotations which he gives from the commentary on the Dhammapada he may be added Mahāvagga, I, 16–18, where the guardians of the four directions, with Indra and Brahmā, are stated to resemble 'great masses of fire' (makāvattā aggikkhandhā). Consequently, the expression 'masses of fire' (aggikkhandhā) in the fourth edict has perhaps to be taken in the sense of 'radiant beings of another world'. Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 392) would render āgūsikkhandhā by 'bonfires'; but this meaning is precluded by the subsequent words 'and other divine figures'. In editing edict IV, Prinsep (JASB, 7. 266) quoted Mahāvamsa, XII, 34, where Buddha's sermon on the parable of āgūsikkhandhā (Āṅguttara-nikāya, ed. Hardy, part IV, p. 128 ff.) is referred to. With divyāni rūpāni cf. devā in the Rūpānāth edict, E. See also above, p. 2, n. 5.
Priyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brähmaṇas 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 Dēvāṇāmpriya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Dēvāṇāmpriya Priyadarśin will promote this practice of morality until the æon 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) they ² 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 Dēvāṇāmpriya Priyadarśin (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

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**FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR**

1  (A) देवानामप्रियो मियदेसि राजा एवं झाल (B) कलार्या दुर्कर (C) यो भादिक रे कलार्यां सो दुर्कर करोति

2  (D) त मया बघु कलार्यां कान (E) त सम पुना च पोता च परं च तेन य मे भरचं झाल संवर्तका आनुवंतिसे तथा

3  सो मुक्तां कासित (F) यो तु एत देसस य हापेसि सो हुकां कासित (G) सुकरं हि पार्थ (H) श्रातिकां अंतरे

4  न भूतपुर्वं धम्ममहामाता नाम (I) त मया चैदवसामिसितेन धम्ममहामाता क्षति (J) ते सवापाइंदसु यापता धामधिस्तानाय

5  ----------------- धम्मरुतस च यशोवंशोजगंधारानं रिस्तक्षेप्तेशिकानं ये वा धि बंधे आपराता (K) नतम्येतु व

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² Hereby the successors of Aśoka appear to be meant; cf. section F, above.

³ In the rock-edict XIII, section X, lochetu at Kāli corresponds to rochetu (from Skt. rōkhatī) at Shāhbazgarh. Here, however, we find forms of the verb locheti in all versions. Probably these are pure Māgadhisms at Girnār, Shāhbazgarhi, and Mānehrā, where forms of rocheti would have to be expected. The same applies to section E of the rock-edict XIV, where [su]lochetā at Girnār and alocheti at Shāhbazgarhi correspond to alochayitu at Kāli.
FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

6...सुखाय यंम्बुङ्गानं झापिरेपय आयतात् (L) वंधनवधस परिभिधानाय

7...प्रजा नतामीकारसु वा जैसु वा आयितात् (M) पारितिपुिे वाबिरतु व

8...जे वा ति मे ज्ञाने जानिका सर्वे आयितात् (N) यो ज्ञाने धम्मनिकोतो ति व

9...ते धम्ममहामाता (O) रतय ज्ञाय ज्ञाने धम्मिलिपि तिलिलिता

10...

1 (A) D[o]vānalampriyo Piyadasi rājā 1 evaṁ aha (B) kālanām dukaraṁ (C) y[9 ādikaro] kālan[a]sa 2 so dukaraṁ karoti

2 (D) ta mayā bahu kālanāṁ kataṁ (E) t[a] mama putā cha potā 3 cha paraṁ cha tena ya[ma] me [a]pachāṁ āva samvāja-kaśa anuvatisa tathā

3 so su̲k̲a̲t̲a̲m̲ kāsaṭi 4 (F) yo tu eta desaṁ pi āha̲p̲e̲s̲a̲t̲i so [du]kataṁ kāsaṭi (G) su̲k̲a̲t̲a̲m̲ hi pā̲p̲a[m] (H) atikataṁ am̲t̲a̲r̲a̲m̲

4 na bhūta-pruvain 5 dhaṁma-mahāmātā nama (I) ta m[a]ya traidasa-vāsābh[i]s[i]tena dhaṁma[m]a-mahāmātā kata (J) te sava-pāsaṁcēsu vyāpata dhammadhistanāya 6


6 ...........[su]kh[a]ya dhāmmana- yutanaṁ apar[i]godhāya vyāpata te (L) b[a]h[a]na-badhasa 9 patividdhānyā

7 .............[p]raja 10 kataḥbhikāresu vā dhairesu vā vyāpata te (M) Pāṭalipute cha bāhiraśu 11 cha

8 .............[y]e va pi me afe nātikā sarvata vyāpata te (N) yo ayaṁ dhāmmanisriti ti va

9 .............[t]e dha[х]jına-mahāmātā (O) etāya 12 athāya ayaṁ dhārīma-āpi likhitā

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1 There is a vacant space before and after the syllable rā.
2 ye a...kālanesa Senart and Bühler.
3 potrā Bühler.
4 The Kāsi and Dhauli versions read correctly se sukataṁ bachhaṁiti. As Michelson (AJP, 32. 441) suggests, the Girnār reading may be a corruption due to the influence of the next sentence.
5 Read pruvain, which is Senart's reading; pruvain Bühler.
6 The other versions read dhānimādhiḥ. Yona- Bühler. aparātā Bühler.
7 The su of bānidhana- was inserted subsequently.
8 [z]raja looks exactly like [p]raja. Cf. the r of traidasa- in line 4, and above, p. 4, n. 4.
9 Read bāhiresu, which is Senart's and Bühler's reading.
10 The syllable ya was inserted subsequently.
TRANSLATION

(A) King Devanāṃpriya 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 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 Yōnas, Kambōjas, and Gandhāras, the Ristikas and Pētenikas, 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 Kambōjas, Weber, Indische Streifen, 3, 353 ff., and JRAS, 1911, 801 ff., 1912, 255 ff., 1915, 171.

2 Bühhler (ZDMG, 37, 261) identified the Ristikas with the Ristikas of the Kāmagutta. But Ristika is probably a clerical mistake for Rāṣṭikā; see my note on the translation of the Shāhābāzgarhi edict V, 1. According to Michaelis (IF, 24, 52 ff.), Pētenika stands for *Pārītrayorikā. Dhauli reads *Piṇṭika, and the two Kāhorāshī versions read Piṇṭika. The same tribe is mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, R.; see my note on the translation of the Kāḷšī version of that passage.

3 In Senart’s and Bühhler’s translations the word āparā, ‘western’, is disregarded; but it is noticed by Senart in IA, 20, 240. For aṅka see the Kāḷšī edict II, l. 1, and XIII, l. 6; Rūpañ, Sahasrām, and Bārāt, I; Brahmagiri and Sīḍdāpura, I; and the second separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugarā. Later on Aparānta became the designation of a tract of land on the western coast, the capital of which was Sōpārā; cf. EI, 11, 220.

4 The m between bhāta (Sanskrit bhīta) and aya (Sanskrit ārva) is euphonic; see Franke in GN, 1895, 533 ff., and cf. Kuhn’s Pāli-Grammatik, p. 63 ff., and Windisch, Berichte der Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1893, 240 ff.

5 Instead of aparamadhā other versions read aparīrddhā, for which see my note on the translation of the corresponding passage at Kāḷšī. Thomas has traced the substantive paḷīrddha, ‘desire’, and the participle paḷīrddhika (= paḷīrddhika), ‘desirous’, in Buddhist Sanskrit works; see his valuable article in JRAS, 1915, 99 ff.

6 Cf. kauśāma-baddhāna-muniyāna in the Delhi-Tōpā-pillar-edict IV, l, which renders Bühhler’s translation of this passage very improbable.

7 Cf. kārīnas-ātiyādha in the Girnar edict VIII, E, and Lūders in SPAW, 1914, 840.

8 With kaṭabhikārā Senart compares abhikṣaparipā, ‘female demons who are bewitches’, and abhikṣābhikāra, ‘devising (against others)’, in the Atharvaveda. Bühhler (EI, 2, 468) translated ‘overwhelmed by misfortune’; cf. his remarks in ZDMG, 48, 55.
FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

(M) They are occupied everywhere, both in Pañaliputra and in the outlying
and whatever other relatives of mine (there are).
(N) These Mahamatras 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 . . . . . . . . . सिर राजा एवं स्वाह (B) कितिका त घनरें
2 त ल अथवा ज या व परिवेदना वा (C) त मया एवं कलं
3 (D) सनके काले भुजाबल में कृपोधनिमित्त मधुहाराभिमि वचनिमि व
4 विनात्मिहि मुखयंकि अथवा ज स्वाभिके परिमेरका गुरुपि अधिष्ठा मे नाजस
5 परिवेदक उति (E) सर्वेच न नाजस अधिष्ठा करोमि (F) व विकिंच सुखोत
6 रागसासि स्वयं दापने या सातापर्क ता व वा पुन महामहेसि
7 राजायिके भरीपिन्य विषय मया अथाय विवादी निर्देश व संती परिसारि
8 रानतंतर परिवेदिनि वा सर्वेच सर्वेच कले (G) एवं मया राजापि (H) नारिच हि
मे तोसो
9 उस्तानि अथसंसीरणाय व (I) कलयमि त हि मे सर्वलोकाहिं
10 (J) तसं च पुन रा मुि उस्तानि अथसंसीरणाय च (K) नारिच हि चनंतरे
11 सर्वलोकाहित्य (L) व विकिंच रामकामिभ अथ धिनि मृतान्ति रानि विि
12 तथ नामि सुखासिमि परचा च ग्यंग अरामंि त (M) रताय अथाय
13 तथ अभ्यमि लेखापिन्य धिति चिरे निर्देश उति तथा च मे पुिा मोिा च
प्रपोिा च
14 अनुवितर सर्वलोकाहित्य (N) दुके द ए र अर्ध अर्गे न पराक्रमेि

1 (A) [Devā] . . . . . . . . . . . . [s]राजावाणि एह (B) तिक्त [a] म अंतराम [m]
2 ना भुताप्रुव [v] [s] [v] [l] अथा-निमि वा पातिवेदना वा (C) ता मयाद
पाति वानि
3 (D) [s] ये कै से भुताम [a]मानसा मे ओरोधानामि गाभहागरामि वाचमि वा
4 विनिमि चा उयानेसु चा जात्रा पातिवेदकृ तिा मे [j] नासा
5 पातिवेदेथा इति (E) सर्वत्रा चा जानासा आथे कारोमि (F) चा चा किंचि मुकहातो
6 आनपायांमि स्वयांमि दापकांमि वा स्रावपाकांमि वा वा पुआ भारामात्रवसु
7 अचार्यके [ke] अरोपितमि भववति साया विवायो न्यिजाति वा सायंतो पारिसायमि

1 nisrita = Pali nissita and Skt. *nisrita (Senart). For ye ayaṁ cf. my note on the translation
section L of the Kālsī version of this edict.
2 Read -purva; -puru Senart; -puru Bühler.
3 Restore sove kāle.
4 An apparent k-mark is attached to the bottom of ti.
5 achāyikā Senart and Bühler.
6 āropitaḥ Bühler.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

8 anûmārām pa[ti]veda[v]yām me sa[r]vatra sarve kāle (G) evaṁ mayā āṇapitam (H) nāsti 1 hi me to[s]o
9 uṣṭānamhi atha-saṁśiṣṭaṁ va (I) katavya-mate hi me sa[r]va-loka-hitaṁ
10 (J) tasa cha puna esa mūle uṣṭānaṁ cha atha-saṁśiṣṭā cha (K) nāsti hi kaṁmataraṁ
11 sarva-loka-hitaṭpā (L) ya cha kīṁchi parākramāmi ahaṁ kīṁti bhūtānaṁ anāmāṁ gachheyaṁ
12 idha cha nāṇi sukhāpayāmi paratrā cha svagaṁ ārādhayaṁtu ta 2 (M) etāya athāya-
13 ayaṁ dhā[r]ma- życiu lekhāpitā kīṁti chiraṁ tiṣṭeya iti tathā cha me putrā potā cha
prapotrā cha
14 anuvataraṁ 3 sa−loka−hitāya (N) dukaraṁ [c]u idaṁ aṇatra 4 agena parākramaṁ

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṁpriya 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, especially 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 Mahāmātras) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I myself am ordering

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, kaṁmatā in l. 10, and āṇaṁgaṁ in l. 11.
2 Read ti.
3 Senart and Bühler correct anuvataram. Fischel (GGA, 1881. 1331) and Bühler read anuvatarāṁ, which the former considered to be an imperative like dukrāṁ in the Atharvaveda. Cf. Johansson's Shāhāzārī, 2. 89. The ra certainly resembles ra; but the same applies to the ra of pākaraya in the Gīnśī edict IX, l. 8, and of saṁchārāṁ in XIII, l. 7, where the reading ra is impossible.
4 aṁśita Senart and Bühler.
6 The locative vachānki (= vrachasthi in the two Kharšī versions) is generally rendered by ‘in the latrine’. But Skt. vṛcchās does not mean ‘a latrine’, but ‘ordure’. As, in the rock-edict XII, M, vachā or vrachā probably corresponds to Skt. vṛcchā, ‘a cowpen’; it may be taken here in the same sense. Establishments for cattle-breeding are kept up by Rajas and their governments even in the present-time.
7 With visita cf. Skt. viṣītaka and vāṃcītaka; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 277.
8 See above, p. 5. n. 7.
9 saṁitā is a nominative singular absolute. Cf. my note on the translation of the Kālṣi rock-edict VI, F.
10 Bühler (ASSI, 1. 123) rendered niḥkati by ‘fraud’. This translation seems to be due to an oversight; it would suit the former misreading nikati, but not the actual reading niḥkati. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1019 f.) has shown that the Sanskrit equivalent of this word would be niḥkṛṣṭa, ‘inducing to meditate’, i. e. in the present case, ‘moving a repeated consideration’.
11 Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, K and M.
verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the Mahāmātrīs,

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) Deva-aṃpiyo Piyaḍasi rāja sarvata icious chi save pāsaṁda vasyeu (B) save te sayamari cha

2 bhava-sudhim cha ichhatic (C) jano tu uchāvacha-chhaṁda uchāvacha-rāgo (D) te sarvarānā kāsarānā eka-desarānā va kasa[ñ]ti

3 (E) vipsul[le] tu pī dāne yasa nāsti sayame bhāva-sudhitā va katarāni ṭa va daḍha-bhāṭi[ṛ]a cha nichā bāḏhani

1 K. Jayaswal (IA, 42. 283) quotes the Kaupiya, p. 39, l. 12: चावापिते बाँचे मिति भास्यते चावापि ख्याति 'in the case of an emergent matter the ministers and the council of ministers shall be called and told'.

2 With atka-saṁhīraṇā cf. ṛḷita-danida in the pillar-edict IV, L.

3 I adopt Bühler's explanation of kavaṁatarāṇa as a comparative of karaṇa.

4 Franke (GN, 1895. 537) has shown that both in the Ashoka inscriptions and in literary Pali kīhti means 'that, in order that'. Cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauhil separate edict I, B, and the rock-edict XIV, D, where kīhti at Girnār, Dhauhil, and Jaugāḍa corresponds to yena at Kāśi, Shāhābāgṛhi, and Mānschārā.

5 The form nāṛ 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 shale, which corresponds to it in the two Kharoṣṭhī versions, from ēha.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśī 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: GĪRNAR

1. (A) ऋतिकां च अन्तरं राजानो विहारयातां जयासु (B) यत मग्या ऋजानि च एतारिसि
2. ऋवीरसकानि जाहुसु (C) सो देवानन्मियो पियदसि राजा दसवसांनिसति संतो जयास संतिर्पि
3. (D) तेनेसा धमयाता (E) एतरं होति वाम्हससमणां दसशे च दाने च वैराणं दसशे च
4. हिरण्यपरिवधानो च जानसद स च जनस दसानं धमानुसस्ते च धम्मपरिशुचा च
5. तदोपया (F) एसा भूय रति भवति देवानन्हिस्य प्रियदसिनो राजे भागे चांजे

1. (A) atikātāṁ arṭaraṁ rājāno vihāra-yātaṁ nāyāsū (B) eta magavyā añāni cha etārisi
2. abhiramakānि ahurisu (C) so Dēvānāṁpriyao 3 Piyadasī rājā dasa-varsābhisi 4 saṁtō ayāya Sambodhibhū
d. tenesa dhanma-yata (E) etayaṁ hoti bāṁhaṇa-samanānaṁ dasaṅe cha dāne cha thairānaṁ dasaṅe ch[a]
3. hiramp-paṭividhāno cha jānapadasa cha janaśa 5 daspanāṁ 6 dhanmānus[a]sti cha dhama-paripuchā cha
tadopaya (F) esā bhuya rati bhavati Dēvānāṁpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo bhā[ṛ]jē arhiñe

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 nīchā with the Vedic adverb nīchā. The variant nīče at Dhauli and Jaugada may correspond to Skt. nīcaṁ or nīchā.
2 Read “tāni.
3 “piyo Bühler.
4 -sas S Senart and Bühler.
5 “jānasa Bühler.
6 Read darsānaṁ, which is Senart’s reading; dasanaṁ Bühler.
7 Michelson (JAOS, 31. 242) explains nāyās = *nīyāṁ in the sense of nirāyāṁ. See also Fleet in JRASt, 1908. 488, n. 2.
EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

(C) But when king Dēvānāmṛtiya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years, he went to Sāṃbodhi.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 Dēvānāmṛtiya Priyadarśin becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.7

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) देवानाम्रीतियो भ्रमरसि राजा एव ब्रह (B) अविभ जनो उचावच संगलं करोते अवमेयसु वा
2 जनाधि वाहतेसु वा पुजाकिलेसु वा श्रवसतिष्ठु वा एताची च अवमेय च जनो उचावच संगलं करोते
3 (C) एत तु महिदायो बहुके च बहुविधा च लुटे च निर्याच च संगलं करोते (D) त जनाधि लेसु तु मर्ग वा (E) अःपालें तु बो
4 एतरसं संगलं (F) चर्च्यु तु महापालें लेसु व धंमसंगले (G) ततेत दासमतवस्मा अत्यन्तित् गुणं अस्यसु वक्षकिति साधु
5 पावेसु सध्यो साधु वाहश्चायतायां साधु दानं एत च ब्रह्म च एतरसं धंमसंगलं नाम (H) त वर्षं पिता च

1 D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42, 160) suggests that this word may refer to the sacred spot (at Bōdh-Gayā, south of Patna) on which the Buddha attained to perfect knowledge. Aśoka's visit to the bōdhi-tree is described in the Divyavādanā (ed. Cowell and Neil), p. 393. His visit to the Buddha's birth-place is recorded by himself on the Rummīndeh pillar.
2 The singular ēśa dhanumāsātu seems to be used in the sense of the plural, just as vibhāra-yātāṁ in section A.
3 Bühl (El, 2, 457, n. 95) explained etayāṁ by etā iyaṁ. As iyaṁ is used for the neuter idam in the Gīrṇār edict IX, F, and XII, N, it may as well stand for etā iyaṁ; cf. Michelson in JAOS, 31, 238.
4 Cf. above, p. 10, n. 7.
5 With tadojaya Senart compares the Pāli words taddiṭṭhya and opāyika. Franke (VOJ, 9, 345) connects it with opāya in the rock-edict II, B, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, R. Previous translators (except Lüders in SPAW, 1914, 843) have construed this word with the next section.
6 Hitherto the two words bhāga anīnē and bhāga aninmē at Kālī and Dhauli have been taken as locatives = Pāli aparṇa-bhāga. As Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 990) remarks, this is impossible, because in the eastern dialect the two locatives would end in -ati.
7 The word bhūya (= bhūye in the remaining versions) is perhaps an adverb, as bhūye in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, KK and NN. Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 849) takes bhūya-rati to be a Karmadhāraya compound, which he connects with ēśa, and bhāge anīnē to be locatives. But ēśa need not be a nom. sing. fem., but may be a nom. sing. masc., as in the Gīrṇār edict XIII, 1, and may as such be connected with bhāge anīnē, as [r]e at Kālī and eshe in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions.
6. युग्मन वा भाषा वा स्वभाषित वा इडं सापु इडं हजार मंगलं हाय तस रूपस निस्तानाय (क) शरीर च द्विजु वां
7. सापु द्वारा इदी (ज) न तु एतरिसां अल्का दानं व अनन्यो व यारिसं धन्यादात्व व धमनुगाहो व (क) न तु खो मिचेन व सहायत्वं वा
8. अतिरिक्त ह सहाययं व बौद्धिकविश्व तथ्य तस्मि निमित्त पकारे इदं कचं इदं साप्र स्वर्गिना सक
9. स्वर्गां ज्ञातोमिति इदिन (ल) किम च हिमाना कस्यसिसयं वष्णु रघुराशी

1. (A) Devānāṃpiyo Priyadāsī rājā eva3 āha (B) asti jano uchāvachām maṅgalaṁ karote abādhesu vā
2. avāha-vivāhesu vā putra-lābheshu vā pravāsaṁīmhi vā etamhi cha anāmhi cha jano uchāvachām maṅgalaṁ karote
3. (C) ca tu mahījayo bahukaṁ cha bahuvividhaṁ cha chhudaṁ cha nirath[āṁ] cha maṅgalaṁ karote (D) ta katavyāneva tu maṅgalaṁ (E) apa-phalāṁ tu kho
4. etarīsāṁ maṅgalaṁ (F) ayaṁ tu mahā-phale maṅgale ya dhamma-maṅgale (G) ta[te]ja4 dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-pratipati gurūnāṁ apachitī sādhu
5. pānesu sayamo sādhu bamhaṇa-saṅgāṇaṁ sādhu dānāṁ et[a] cha aṁ[a] cha etarīsāṁ dhamma-maṅgalaṁ nāma (H) ta katvyāṁ pitā vā
6. putena vā bhāṭrā vā svāmikena vā idaṁ sādhu idaṁ katavyāmaṁ maṅgalaṁ āva tasa athasa nisjānaya (I) asti cha pi vutāṁ
7. sādhu danaṁ iti (J) na tu etarīsāṁ astaṁ dānāṁ vā anagahaḥ vā yārīsah dhamma-dānaṁ vā dhammanugasah vā (K) ta tu kho mitrena vā suhadayena [v]ā
8. nātikena10 vā sahaōana11 vā ovādityāṁ tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe12 [i]daṁ kachāṁ idaṁ sādha11 iti imīnā sak[a]14
9. svagāṁ ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha imīnā katavyataraṁ yathā svagāradhī15

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāṃpiya Priyadāsī speaks thus.
(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, or at the marriage of a son or a daughter,18 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 evaṁ Bühler.
2 Read māṅgalaṁ, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
3 Read etārisāṁ.
4 tata Senart and Bühler; but the te can be clearly distinguished on the back of the estampage, and is supported by the other versions.
5 katavyāṁ Bühler.
6 Read dānāṁ; dānāṁ Bühler.
7 Read asti, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
8 Read anugaha.
9 Read dhammanugasah Bühler.
10 Read ātā
tā.
11 Read yena.
12 The syllable ra looks almost like rā.
13 Read sādhu.
14 sakān Bühler.
15 sādhī Bühler.
NINTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

(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 (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) देवानामपियो प्रियदसि राजा यसो व कीति व न महाभावहा मन्ते ऋग्व तदाय च भे जनो
2 धर्मासुरासु सुसुरसता धर्मासुरासु च अनुविधायतान (B) एतकाय देवानामपियो प्रियदसि
राजा यसो व कीति व इवादित
3 (C) येन देवानामपियो रीत्वान्निमित्ताचाराय त सर्वं पाराधिकार येत तस्रे
अपारिष्टे अस (D) एत हु परिष्टे य भ्रुपुरुष
4 (E) दुर्लक्तु तु सो एत हुसुरुन्तु एत रति अहेन दुर्लक्तु यसुस्ते य अहेन रात्रेन परिष्टे
परिष्टिज्याय (F) एत हु तु सो उस्ते दुर्लक्तु

1 (A) Devānāmapiyo Priyadasi rājāya yaso va kiti va na mahāthāvah [a] mañate a
anata tadātpane dighāya cha mc jaño
2 dhamma-susru[ŋ]a susrusatā dhamma-vutaih cha anuvidhiyatām (B) etakāya
Devānāmapiyo Priyadasi rājāya yaso va kiti va i[cha]li

1 The word sūduha after apachitī, saṣame, and -samaṇāṇā is missing in the other versions. It seems to have crept into the Gīrṇār 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 dhamma-dāna and dhamma-vutaka in the Itivuttaka.
3 *priyā Bühler.
4 An obliterated de is visible between the syllables si and ra, and an obliterated va between ra and ja.
5 mañate Bühler.
6 Read, with Korn (Faartelling, p. 87), tadātpane.
7 susrusā Senart, -susrusā Bühler.
8 *sattuk Senart and Bühler.
3. (C) ya[m] tu kich[i]1 parik[a]mate6 Devānām 3 Priyadarasi rājā ta savarñ pāratrikāya kinti sakale [pa]-parisāve4 asa (D) esa tu parisave8 ya apumānim.

4. (E) dukaraṁ tu kho etaṁ chhudakena va janena usātena va añatra agena parāk[r]jamen6 savarñ parihaïtāpā (F) et[a] t[u] kho usātena dukaraṁ

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin 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 Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame.

(C) But whatever effort king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin 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) Teivinṇaṁriye piyadīsa rājā eva āha (B) naśīl uetaṁtaṁ dhanam maṁrīsa phandāntā phamsāṅkarō va phamsāṅkabāgo va phamsāṅkake v

2. (C) tat id bhavati aśambhavatam aśampiṁṇapati māttarī pitarā saṁcetumāṁśatukānāṁ vamhaśyaśmānānāṁ dhanam

3. Bhārānāṁ aṁgaṁ phānī (D) eva vaiasya phāta v puveṇe v bhāta v phāsānutāṁvatānāṁ v ācāv phātīvāsīvahē v iṣṭe phānu id phaṭh

4. (E) so tathā kah eva vāheva phāta hūni pāta v ṛṇāntaṁ puṭhe bhavati teṇ phāndānān

1 kīṅki Bühler. 6 Read parākamate; parākāmate Senart, parākamate Bühler.
2 Add 'priyo. 7 Probably a misprint) Bühler.
3 parirṣave Bühler. 8 phāsānutāṁ Senart and Bühler.
4 i.e., as shown by Bühler (ZDMG. 37: 375), glory in this life and fame after death.
8 Instead of tadāpāntaṁ dīghāṅya cha the Jayagala version has the synonymous expression tadāpāntaṁ āyatiyā cha, which occurs also in the Kautūhala, p. 248, l. 9 (tadāpāntaṁ āyatiya cha), and p. 240, l. 2. For numerous examples of abstracts formed with the Prākrit affix -touna or -tāṇa, see Fischel’s Grammatik, p. 405.

7 With this passage cf. the Girnār edict IX, E, F, and XI, B, and the Shāhībāgsarhi edict XIII, F: ‘And this conquest is considered the principal one by Devānāmpriya, viz. the conquest by morality’.

10 I adopt Flecs translation of the last words in JRAS, 1909, 1014, n. 4. The usual translation, ‘renouncing everything’, is improbable because Asoka nowhere advocates absolute poverty, though he recommends ‘moderation in possessions’ in the rock-edict III, D.

11 The Jayagala version reads dukalatale for dukaraṁ.
ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) Devinaṃpriya⁠¹ Piyadasi rājā ev[a]ṁ āha (B) nāsti etārisāṁ dānaṁ yārisāṁ dhaṁma-dānaṁ dhaṁma-saṁstavo va dhaṁma-saṁvibhāga [vā]⁡² dhaṁma-saṁbadho³ va

2 (C) tata idāṁ bhavati dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-pr[ati]tipati mātari pitarā⁣⁴ sādhu sus[ṛ]uṣa mita-[s]astuta-ṇāṭikānaṁ bāṁhaṇa-[s]rāmaṇa[ṇaḥ]⁵ sādhu da[naḥ]

3 prāṇanāṁ anāraṇīho sādhu (D) eta vatavyāṁ pitā va putrena va bhāt[ṛ]a va mīta-sasturt[a]-ṇāṭ[i][k]e[n]a va āva paṭivesiyehi⁶ ida⁷ sādhu ida⁷ ka[t]av[ya][n]

4 (E) so ẓṭ[a]hā kāru⁰ ilokachāsa āradho hoti parata cha anāraṇiṁ⁹ puṇ[a]ṁ⁹ bhavati tena dhaṁma-dānena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devināmpriya Priyadarśīn 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.

(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 Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this, a father, or a son, or a brother, or a friend, an acquaintance, or a relative, (or) even (mercy) neighbours, ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done.'

(E) If one is acting thus, the attainment 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 Devāṇaṁ, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
² va Bühler.
³ Read -saṁraṇīho.
⁴ Read pitarā, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
⁵ -sa[m]anaṇaṁ Senart and Bühler.
⁶ paṭeva Senart and Bühler.
⁷ idāṁ Bühler.
⁸ Read karuṇa, as in the Girnār edict XII, F.
⁹ Read anāraṇiṁ.
¹⁰ puṇ[a]ṁ Senart and Bühler.
¹¹ The two expressions dhamma-dāna and dhamma-saṁvibhāga occur in a passage of the Itivuttaka; see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 57 f.
¹² The other versions omit the superfluous word sādhu after pitarā, -sa[m]anaṇaṁ, and anāraṇīho; cf. above, p. 17, n. 1.
¹³ Cf. the Delhi-Teppā pillar-edict VII, C, I, and RR.
¹⁴ Cf. the Girnār edict IX, H and K.
¹⁵ Senart and Bühler take karuṇa as a nominative absolute. According to Michelson (JAOS, 31, 244) it is a participle formed of a stem which is a compromise between kar - and kuru.
¹⁶ In the Girnār version āradho seems to be used as a substantive, just as āradhi in the Girnār edict IX, L, and ādēhi in the Dhauli separate edict I, S, and the Jagada separate edict I, T. In the other versions of the rock-edict XI the wording is slightly different.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOCA

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR


2. (B) na tu tatha dānain va pū[ja] va D[e]vānampiyo marināte yathā kiti sāra-vaṭḍhi asa sa[va-pa]sainānām (O) sār[a]-vaḍhi tu bahuvighā

3. (D) tasa tu idāṁ mulaṁ ya vachi-guti kiṁti āṭpa-pāsamid-puṭa va para-pāsamid-garagha va no bhava aprakaraṇamāhī lahuva va asa

4. tamhi tamhi prakaraṇe (E) pūjetāy tu eva para-pāsamidānī tana pракaraṇena (F) evam karun āṭpa-pāsamidān cha vaḍhayati para-pāsamidasa cha upakaroti

5. (G) tad-arināthā karoto āṭpa-pāsaḍānī cha čet haṇati para-pāsamidasa cha pi apakaroti (H) yo hi kochi āṭpa-pāsamidān pūjayati para-pāsamidān v[a] garahati

1 Read vivādhya, 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 saṁ of -pāsaṁdā was inserted subsequently.
4 The syllable pra looks almost like ha; the horizontal stroke attached to pa is probably intended for r. Cf. abhipretāḥ near the end of the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription.
5 Read tena.
6 -pāsamidān Bühler.
7 na Bühler.
6 savāṁ ātpa-pāsaṁda-bhātiyā 1 kiṁti ātpa-pāsaṁdaṁ dipayema iti so cha puna tatha karatō 2 ātpa-pāsaṁda[m] bādhataranī upahanāti (I) ta samavāyo eva sādhu
7 kiṁti [a]ṭamānaṁsa 2 dhammaṁ srūṇāru 4 cha susuniserā 2 cha (J) evaṁ hi D[e]vānāmpiyasa ichhā kiṁti 6 savā-pāsaṁda bahu-srūtā cha asu kal[a]pāgamā cha [a]su
8 (K) ye cha tatra tatā 7 prasaṁna tehi vatavyaṁ (L) Devānāmpiyo no tathā dānaṁ va pūjānī 8 va mānīnate yathā kiṁti sāra-vadhi asa sarva-pāsaṁdham (M) bahakā 2 cha etāya
9 athā vyapata dhamma-mahāmātā cha uthihakha-mahāmātā cha vacha-bhumikā cha aṅce cha nikāyā (N) ayaṁ cha etasa phala ya ātpa-pāsaṁda-vadhi cha hoti dhammasa cha dip[a]nā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarātin is honouring all sects; 10 both ascetics and householders; both with gifts and with honours of various kinds he is honouring them.

(B) But Dēvānāmpriya 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, 11 (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) 12 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 Dēvānāmpriya, (viz.) that all sects should be full of learning, and should be pure in doctrine.

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1 -pāsaṁda: Bühler. 2 Read kareto. 3 maṇo Senart, aṁīna Bühler.
4 Pischel (GGA, 188, 1336) proposed to read srūṇaru. But the form srūṇaru is probably an imperative; see Introduction, chapter VI.
5 susuniserā Senart, susunera Bühler.
6 The syllable ti was inserted subsequently.
7 tate Bühler.
8 pūjā Senart and Bühler.
9 Read bahunā.
10 The cha after savā-pāsaṁdāni is superfluous; see Bühler, EI, i, 19, n. 42. It is missing in the other versions.
11 Instead of vachī-guti the other versions read vachā-guti. With vachī cf. the Ardhamāgadhī from vai in Pischel's Grammatik, § 413.
12 The readings shave at Kālī and savre in the two Kharoshthī versions show that savāṁ at Girnār is the nom. sing. neut.; see Franke in K.Z, 34, 422.
(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects) ought to be spoken to (as follows).

(L) Dvānāṃpriya 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, and 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: GIRNAR

1. (A) जो कालिंगा वज्ह च वेष सतसहस्रांता तता हन्न वहुतावरके मत (C) तता पदा अछुन्ना लपेशु कालिंगेशु तीव्रो धंभवायो
2. सयो देवानपिसं वज्ह व्यो व मरघं व अपवाहो व जनस त वार वेदनमत च गुहमत च देवानपिं सः
3. बाम्हा व समशा व छोरे सा मात्र धिंतिरि सुसुंसा गुहसुंसा मिनस्यंसतासहायतांविकेलि दासः
4. अरविन्दान्त व विनिघमण (II) उक्त वा प हायआजातिका यसं ग्रापुषुरु तत सो पि तेस उपदानो हाति (I) पतिपाणो वैसा सः
5. फिर इन निकाया अजन योनेषु पिह यह नासित मानसां एकरामहिः पायडिनिः न नाम प्राचारी (E) यावकि जनो तदा
6. सभागो व गहमो देवान न य सक छमितवे (M) वा च पि छाटवियो देवानपिसं पिसें पालि
7. चलो तेस से देवानपिसं सकृतानां अज्ञिन च सयमं च समवेंरं च मादवं च

1 Bühler (ZDMG, 37, 586) noted other instances of the dative plural in -ekhi at Jaugaca (-sama-neki, III, l. 3, and mahamatheki, VI, l. 3), and at Kālsī (mahamatheki, VI, end of l. 18). See also Mānehrā, VI, l. 28, and XII, l. 7, and ājīvikā in the second and third Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

2 As pointed out by Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 849), the two words bahuḥa 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-Tōpār pillar-edict VII, W, and E. Müller’s Pāli Grammar, p. 67.

4 With tihikakha cf. gaṇikādhyaksha, ‘the overseer of courtiers’, in the Kauṭilīya, II, 27.

5 Bühler (E1, 2, 470, n. 18) suggested that vṛचa (= vṛchā at Mānehrā) may be a Prākrit form of vṛjā, ‘a cowpen’, and compared gavādhyaksha, ‘the overseer of cows’, in the Kāmasūtra, p. 250, l. 1. Cf. also gāḍhakṣa in the Kauṭilīya, II, 29. For the hardening of ā in vṛchā cf. vṛuchānti and ef.]lakṣeśvara (from Skt. vṛcāṭi) at Shāhābāzgarhī, XIII, S, and VI, L.

6 The Delhi-Tōpār pillar-edict VII, Z, mentions officers whose special duty it was to attend to Buddhists, Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas, Nirgranthis, and other sects.
8 लाक्षणि नम्ब्रक इड सवेसू च येनरज़ परं च तेन चस्यारे राजानी तुमसायी च अतिकिन च सगा च
9 इड राजविलसयम्ह योनबनी
10 अबारिदिसु सबसा देवान्पियस धमानुससरित्त अकानवरे (८) यति पि हृति
11 नं धमानुससरित्त च धमं अनुविधियरे
12 विजयो सर्वा पुन विजयो रीतिसो सा (१०) लुधा सा रीती हृति धमवीरयम्हि
13 'प्रियो (३) एताय इषया जविर धमं धमल वं विजयं मा विजेत्यं संजा सरसे एव विजये हाँति च

14 निवैत च पार्लोकिको च इलोकिका च पार्लोकिका च

(A) निवैत क्रिङ्ग [v. j.]. [v. dh]c [sa]a-sahasra-mātṛah tatra hataṁ bahu-tāvatakām mata (C) tata pachhā adh[u]nā śa ladhesu Kāliṅgesa tu[v]o dhammavayo
2 [sa]a Devānāmpriyaś [v. j.]. [v]a[hi]o va māraṇī va apavahō va janaśa taḥ bādhāni vedana-mata ca g[u]r[u]-mata ca Devā[maṇ]pi.[sa]
4 abhirātanāṁ va vinikhaṇaṇa (H) yesairī va [p.]. [h]āya- nātikā vyasanāṁ prāpnaṁ tataḥ so pi tesa [u]paghāto hāti (I) paṭibhā[ga]r chesā śava.
5 sti ime nikāyā añatra Yone[sa] [mh]i yatra nāsti mānuśaṁarṁ ekataramhi pāsādmamhi na nāma prasa[d]ko (K) y[ga]vata[k]o j[ano ta]:[a]
6 sra-hāgo va guru-maṭo Devānāṁ na ya saka chhamitave (M) ya cha pi aṭaviyo D[ə]vnāmrapya[sa] pijite pāti

1 mataṁ Bühler. 9 adhanā Bühler.
2 tati Senart and Bühler. 10 mataṁ Bühler.
3 mātā Senart and Bühler; the horizontal stroke on the right of t seems to be intended for r. 11 mataṁ Bühler.
4 susūsa Bühler. 12 Read sanistata, which is Bühler’s reading.
5 tātā Senart, tatra Bühler. 13 Read hōti, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
6 lesa Senart and Bühler. 14 Read hōti, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
7 Read yosesa Senart; Münchá reads Yonesu quite distinctly.
8 manu Senart. 15 sakam Bühler.
9 Read vijite. 16 Read hōti.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

7 ............. chate te[sa]ni Devānāmpiyasa ............... sava-bhūtānāṁ ¹ 
achhatiṁ ² cha sayamaṁ cha samachāraṁ ³ ch[a] mādava ⁴ cha 
9 ............. idha rāja-v[sa]yamhi [Yo][na]-Kambo ⁹ ubsaha ⁸ 
ndhra-Pārīṃdesu ⁷ savata Devānāmpiyasa dharāmnās[a]stiṁ anuv[a]lare (S) yata pi dūti ¹ 
10 ........... [na]ṁ dhamānusastiṁ cha dhamām anuvidhiyare ¹ 
[v]jayao savatthā puna vijayo piti-raso sā ¹⁰ (U) laḏhā sā piti hoti dharāmnā- 
vijayamhi 
11 ............ m[priyo (X) et[ya athā]ya ayaṁ dharāma-[I] ¹¹ 
[va]ṁ vijayaṁ mā vijetavyaṁ mahāṁ ¹² sarasake eva vijaye chhāti ¹³ cha 
12 ........... kik[o] ch[ā pā][alo]k[ko] ............. ilokīkā cha pāralokīkā ¹⁴ 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 Dēvānāmpriya 
(E) .............. slaughter, death, and deportation of people, this is considered 
very painful and deplorable by Dēvānāmpriya. 
(G) ............. Brāhmaṇas or Śramanās, [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 -bhūtānāṁ Bühler. 
² An old fissure of the rock, between ohha and tiin, runs on to the two next lines of the edict. 
³ samachēraṁ Senart, samacheraih Bühler. 
⁴ māsalaih Bühler. 
⁵ -rāj Bühler. 
⁶ Aṅkataṁ Senart, Aṅkataṁ Bühler. 
⁷ The apparent e-stroke attached to dha is probably meant for r; ṭhā-P[i]rūdesu Bühler. 
⁸ Read datā. 
⁹ dhama Senart; anuv[i]dha[i]lare Bühler. 
¹⁰ so Bühler. 
¹¹ mahā Bühler. 
¹² chhāti[ni] Bühler. 
¹³ Between pāra and ṭo a rough portion of the rock was left blank by the writer. 
¹⁴ Instead of dhānāmaṇāya Shīhībzarghī seems to read dhrama-āśīna, 'the practice, or study, 
of morality'. Hence Senart is probably correct in explaining dhānāmaṇāya by dharmāṇaṇāya.
THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

(J) these classes except among the Yonas

(K) As many people as at that time part is considered deplorable by Devānām priya.

(L) what can be forgiven.

(M) And even the forests which are (included) in the dominions of Devānām priya.

(N) They are [told] of Devānāṃpriya.

(O) towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, impartiality, and kindness.

(Q) has been won by Devānāṃpriya here and among all the Yona king, and beyond him four kings, (viz.) Turamaya, Antekina, Magā.

(R) here in the king’s territory, [among] the Yonas and Kambōjas among the Aṇdhras and Pārindas, everywhere (people) are conforming to Devānāṃpriya’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) Devānāṃpriya.

(X) For the following purpose this [redaction] 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) ऋषय धममिलय देवानामिलय प्रियदिसय राजा लेखापिता ऋति एव
2 सैकितेण ऋति मम्मेण ऋति विस्तत (B) न च सावै सर्वै घंटित
3 (C) महालके हि विचित्रं वहु च निर्मितं निर्मायिन्यंस तेषां (D) ऋति च एत एं?
4 पुन ऋति वेतं तस सत्यस साधृपक्रताच विरितं जनो तथा परिप्रेय
5 (E) ततः एकाद अस्तमान निर्मितं अस्तं देसं च सहायं कारंसं च
6 ऋतीस्या निर्मितकारपत्येन एव

1 i.e. the Greeks.
2 As remarked by Senart, the last negation of this sentence (na) is redundant.
3 For the proper names mentioned in this passage see my notes on the translation of the Kālī version.
4 Cf. the Kālī version, Q.
5 Bühler divided sarasaka into sara-sake, which he translated by ‘possible by arrows’. The various readings of Kālī (shayakashi) and Shāhībāgarhi (spa[kaspi]) induce me to consider it as a Bahuvarli of vra+raza.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

1 (A) ayāṁ dhamma-liṇḍivāda Priyadasānaṁ r[a]nā [r]khāṇipita asti eva
2 saṁkhitaṁ na asti maṁjamena asti vistatana. (B) na cha sarvaṁ [sa]rvata ghaṭitaṁ
3 (C) maṁlahake hi vijitaṁ bahu cha lkhitaṁ lkhāpayisaṁ cheva (D) asti cha etā kaṁ
4 puna puna vutaṁ tasa tasa athasa mādhūratāya kiṁti jano tathā pāṭipajetha
5 (E) tatra ekadā asamāt[a]n lkhita[n] asa dēsaṁ va sakhāya [k]raṇiṁ va
6 [a]lochetaṁ lipikarāparadhena va

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by king Devanāmpriya Priyadarśān 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 
2 

BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, RIGHT SIDE

1 [esha]ś 
2 [p][p]ā

1 Read vistatana.
2 The syllable sa was inserted subsequently.
3 The other versions read 'for' instead of 'and'. The Girnar reading would suit Senart's translation of ghaṭitaṁ by 'put together'.
4 The other versions suggest that esa kāṇī must not be joined into one word, but corresponds to atra kinekt. Cf. also esa k[f]chhi in the Kālī version, E.
5 The particle cha is inserted at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. Thus the two separate edicts were substituted at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa for the rock-edicts XI to XIII. Bühlcr considered sakhāya = saṅkhāyā, and connected it with kāraṇa; see ZDMG, 40, 143, and 48, 59 f. It seems more natural to take it as a gerund = saṅkhāya or saṅkhāyā.
6 Senart translates: 'perhaps that the sense has been misunderstood'. I take locheti = Skt. rōkaśaśi'; see above, p. 8, n. 3.
7 This word is perhaps a portion of the well-known Buddhist formula hūṁ vṛtāṁ tēṣāṁ Tatāgaṁ bhunādaṁ tēṣāṁ cha &c.
8 Bühlcr (V0J, 8, 320) suggested that this line may have contained the name of the writer. I feel tempted to conjecture hūṁ[karēṇa9], which is the last word of the three Mysore edicts.
9 Restore sarva-.
BRANDT FRIEDRICH

TRANSLATION

the entirely white elephant bringing indeed happiness to the whole world.

II. THE KALSI ROCK

A.—East Face of Kalsi Rock.

1 (A) इम घरमलिपि देवानापियाना पियदसिस्ना लेखिता (B) हिता नो किछँ जिने आलभित्त पवोहितिविभे

2 (C) नो पि चा समाजे कटविये (D) बहुका हि दोसा समाजसा देवानापिये पियदसी लाजिते द्रव्यति (E) अथि पि चा एकतिया समाजा साधुता देवानापियसा पियदसिसा लाजिजिने

3 (F) पुले महानतिस देवानापियसा पियदसिसा लाजिजिने अनूदिवसं बहुनि पातसहसनि आलभिकिसु सुपठिते (G) से इदानि यठा इम घरमलिपि लेखिता तथा तिदि येवा पानानिन्यालभित्तित

4 दुवे नुजुला एवे मिगे से पि चु मिगे ते दुबे (H) एतानि पि चु तिदि पानानि नी आलभिकिसित

1 (A) iyaṁ dhaṁma-liṣṭa Devānapīyaśa Piyadāsī[na] (lekhiṭā (B) [h]idā no kichhi jive ālabhītā pajoḥita vīvī vīvī

2 (C) no pi cha samajā kaṭavīya (D) bahukā hi dosā samajasa Devānapīyaśa Pīya[da]śa lājā dakhati (E) athi pi cha e[ka]ṭiya samajā sadh[u]-matā Devānapīyaśa Piyadasī[ra] lājīne

3 (F) [p]ule mahānāsa Devānapīyaśa Piyadasī[sa] lājīn(e) anudīvasaṁ bahuni pāṭa-saṃsānaṁ a[la]mbhiyisu[sa] supāṭhāy[e] (G) se i[d]āṇi ya[d]ā iyaṁ dhaṁma-liṣṭa lekhīta tāda tiṁi yeva pānānī ālabhiyyaṁ[ti]


1 Cf. sahaśaco in Childers’s Pāli Dictionary, s. v. sabba.

2 As stated by Kern (Saurattelling, p. 44a), Senart (Inscriptions, vol. I, p. 323 f.), and Bührer (ZDMG, 39. 490), the Girnar rock must have borne, like the Kālā and Dhauli rocks, the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha. This figure may have been destroyed during the construction of a causeway for pilgrims from Junagadh to Girnar, and along with it those adjacent portions of the fifth and thirteenth edicts which are now missing.

Each senart, ālabhi Bührer.

There is a fissure in the rock here.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by Dēvānāmaṇḍriya Priyadarśin.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.

(D) For king Dēvānāmaṇḍriya Priyadarśin sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) And there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king Dēvānāmaṇḍriya Priyadarśin.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Dēvānāmaṇḍriya Priyadarśin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is caused to be written, then 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: KALSI

4 (A) स्वतता विजितेऽसि देवानांप्रियसासि पियदिसीसा लाजिने ये च छाता खचा चोडा पंडिया सातीयुगाः केलालपुरी तंबपिनति

5 अतिनिवो नाम ते लाजात ये च छातने तसा अतिनिवोगसा सामंता लाजानो सवत्ता देवानांप्रियसासि पियदिसीसा लाजिने दुवे चिकिसका कता मनुसचिकिसा चा पसुचिकिसा चा (B) छसीपीण मनुसोपागाणि चा पसोपागाणि चा छतंता नाथि

6 सवत्ता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (C) छसेविन मुसानि चा फलानि चा छतंता नाथि सवत्ता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (D) मंगेसु लुउानि लोपिपानि उद्यापानि चा खानापिपानि पांखिनेगाये पसुमुसिसानि


TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king Dēvānāmaṇḍriya Priyadarśin and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the Choḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Sātiyaputs, the

1 osadhiṇi Senart and Bühler.
2 cha Senart and Bühler.
3 There is a fissure in the rock here.
SECOND ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

Kōlalaputa, Tāmrarāṇī, the Yōna king named Antiyoga, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoga,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical men were established by king Devānāṃpiya Priyadārśin, (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[va]naṃpiya Piyaḍasi lajḥ[e]vaṁ añhā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāṃpiya Priyadārśin speaks thus.
(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.
(C) Everywhere in my dominions the Yuktas, the Lajhaka, (and) the Prādēśikū 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.

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1 As the Kalši dialect replaces r by ɻ, this form is the correct equivalent of Kēralaputra at Māṇeṣārah.
2 Ḭajha Senart, Ḭajhke Bühler.
3 anus[y]aññān Senart, anus[a]yaññān Bühler.
4 aṁ[th]āyey im[e]yā Bühler.
5 The other versions read "yata" 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 Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.’

(E) And the councils (of Mahāmātris) also shall order the Yuktas\(^1\) to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons\(^2\) and according to the letter.

**FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI**

9 (A) अति अति अति वहनि वसस्तानि बचि वा पानालम्बे बिहिसा चा भुतानि नातिना असंपतियाति असमते मातरानिं तिथिर पियसलि लारिने धम्मचलनो नेलियोसे अस्य धम्मोर्थे विनदसेना

10 हरिहिनि अग्निकथानि अस्तानि वा दिवानि लुपानि दस्तियु जनस (C) अतिसा वहनि वसस्तेहि न हुतपुले तोरसि हरिज बिहिने देवानिः पियसलि लारिने धम्ममुर्थिये अस्तानिे पानाए अविहिसा भुतानि नातिने

11 संपर्यायिति वंचनसम्मानं संपर्यायिति मातापिलियो सुपसा (D) एसे चा अन्ये चा वहनिे धम्मचलने बचि (E) वधिविन्यिे वेचि देवानिः पियसलि लाज इसं धम्मचलनं (F) पुता च भे नतारे चा पनालिका चा देवानिः पियसलि लारिने

12 पवित्रिस्ति चेच धम्मचलनं इसं अवकरमं धम्मस सीलिसि चा विनदु धम्म अनुप्लास्ति (G) एसे हि इसे एम अणं धम्ममुर्थसंसभि (H) धम्मचलने पि चा नो हेति अस्तिति (I) से उससाः अथसा विधि अहिनि चा साधु (J) एताये अवाये इये लिखिवे

13 इससा अथसा विधि युज्यु डिति व चा अलोकचित्ति (K) तुच्छस्वशासंसथिे न वेदानिः पियससिया लारिने लेखिला

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1 Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 993 ff.) has been the first to remark that in the eastern dialect the accusative plural of masculines ends in -अनि. Cf. युनि in E with युना in C, and Kaligāni in XIII, D, with Kaligā in A; also XII, A, and pulisā in the pillar-edict IV, G.

2 Bühler (2DMG, 37. 108) explained hettvātā by kētumātā vākyena, i.e. ‘by a syllogism’.

The other versions read hettvā or hetvā.

3 nātinaḥ Bühler.

4 There is a fissure in the rock here.

5 aditisv Senart, adīśr Bühler.

6 nātisv Senart, nāṭ̣̣i[ṃ] Bühler.
FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI


TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had 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 Devānāmpriya 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 Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) obedience to mother and father.

(D) Both in this and in 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 ever promote this practice of morality until the end (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 Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

1 cika Bührer.  
2 lāja Bührer.  
3 There is a fissure in the rock here.  
4 silasi Senart, silasi Bührer.  
6 lekhitoṇ Bührer.  
6 The two syllables cha kāni seem to have the same meaning as the simple cha. They occur twice again at Kāli (XI, E, and XIII, Z), once at Śāhābāzgarhi (IV, F), three times at Mānehra, and once at Brahmāgiri (l. 11). Cf. kāni after ni, su, kṛ in the Rīgveda.

7 See above, p. 8, n. 3. Here, and in three other versions, the augment a- is retained after the particle ni, while Śāhābāzgarhi has lāj[a]v[si]ja in accordance with Sanskrit grammar.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

13 (A) देवाणिप्ये पितादीसि ताजा छहा (B) कयाने दुक्कले। (C) ए आदिकैः कयानसा से दुक्कल कलित (D) से समया वहु कयाने कटे (E) ता समया पुता चा नताले चा

14 पर्ले चा तेहि ये शापति ये से आवप्रण तथा अतुबतिसि से मुक्ते कलित (F) ए चु हेता देसं पि हापतिसि से दुक्कल कलित (G) पापे हि नामा सुपदालये (H) से आतिरेव अतार्ले नो हुत्सपुलुच धम्महामता ना (I) तेदस-वसाभिनित्वा समया धम्महामता कटा (J) ते सत्यपाण्डितु वियाप्ता

15 धम्माधिपाये चा धम्माध्ययितु हिदुसुखये चा धम्मुतसा योक्तिबोजगांधलान्त ए चा पि छने शापतिते (K) भटखेयसु चंबनिभसु अनेयसु लुबेसु हिदुसुखते धम्मुतये शापतिबोजये वियाप्ता ते (L) धण्डवसमा परिप्रेक्षायाये आपतिबोजाये सोलाये चा एवं अतुबधा पञ्चाय ता चा

16 कटाभिनालेचा तिचा समाकले तिचा वियाप्ता ते (M) हिदा वाहिलेचा नागलेसु सवेसु चोलीनेसु भानिनाच च ने भगिनाच ए चा पि छने नालक्ये सत्ता वियाप्ता (N) ए इं धम्मसिनति ती चा धानसुधु ती चा सत्ता विजिनिति समया धम्मुतस सित्ता वियाप्ता ते धम्महामता (O) एतासे सटाये

17 इं धम्मलिपि लेखिता विद्विदित्वका हीतु तथा च से पता अतुबधु

13 (A) Dovānaṇāpiye Piyadasā lājā aha (B) kayaśe dukale 1 (C) e adikale kay[ā]naśe se dukalaṃ kaleti (D) se mamāya bahu kayaśe ka[c] (E) t[ā] mā[j][ā] putaḥ ch[ā] naṭa[ā]le chi


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1 Senart and Bühler omit this sign, which marks the end of the section.
2 G. Senart and Bühler.
3 "kāṇ" Senart and Bühler.
4 "nāma Senart and Bühler.
5 "mahāmātā Senart and Bühler.
6 "vi Senart, chā Bühler.
7 "nāma Bühler.
8 "nāma Bühler.
9 "vi Senart, chā Bühler.
10 "nāma Bühler.
11 "nāma Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṁpriya 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 acon (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.\(^3\)
(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\(^4\) of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōnas, Kambōjas, and Gandhālas,\(^5\) and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).
(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibyas,\(^6\) with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,\(^7\) (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).\(^8\)
(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.\(^9\)
(M) They are occupied everywhere, here\(^10\) and in all the outlying towns, in the harems\(^11\) of our brothers, of (our) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of ours there are).

\(^1\) "mahā" Senart and Bühler.
\(^2\) annuvataḥ śūna Senart and Bühler.
\(^3\) Bühler (ZDMG, 37, 267) explained supadālaya (for which Māṇesrā reads supadarave) by supradārṇam. Girnā and Shāhānghaṇī read instead of it sukaṇaṁ, ‘easily committed’. Perhaps padalaye is formed from pada, ‘a step’, as mahālaka (I. 16) = Prākrit mahālaya from mahat.
\(^4\) Here and in K the Dhauli version reads hita- instead of hida.
\(^5\) Here the remaining versions insert the names of two other tribes.
\(^6\) i.e. Vaiśyas; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 269. The readings of the Dhauli and Māṇesrā versions, itīya and ibrhya, show that itīya at Kālṣ and Shāhānghaṇī is meant for ibhā. The same follows from the Jātaka, No. 544, where, as noted by Bühler (VOJ, 12, 76), the compound brāhmā-iḥkā occurs several times.
\(^7\) The reading dhahaṃya-yutāyā seems to be a mere corruption of that of the Girnār version, dhahaṃsa-yutānā.
\(^8\) According to Childers’s Pāli Dictionary, paśīdha means ‘obstacle, hindrance, drawback, impediment’. Ādikes (SFAW, 1914, 841) has shown that its original meaning was ‘fetters, to be fettered’. As its equivalent at Girnār (parīguddha), 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 cyain annadāḥaḥ = Skt. etam annandham in the sense of itad-artham. But cyain may stand for ē ayau (cf. ē cyain in section N = 30 ayau at Girnār), and annadāḥaḥ for the ablative anuḥandhāḥ, ‘in succession, respectively’.
\(^10\) Instead of ‘here’ the Girnār version reads ‘both in Pātaḷiputra’.
\(^11\) The Dhauli version inserts ‘of myself’.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

(N) 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 properly devoted to charity.

(O) 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 descendants may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDIT: KALSI

17 (A) देवानंपिये वियदलि लाजा हेव छाहा (B) अतिरंज अंतरं नो हुपुलु पुरुष सवं कालं अन्तरं चा परिवर्तना चा (C) से समया हेवं कों (D) सवं कालं अदानासाम मे

18 श्रोलोपसनस गभागालसि वचसि विनितिसि उपायसि सवंता परिवर्तन्ता छांत जनला अदितू मे (E) सवंता चा जनला छांत कदाहि हांन (F) चं पि चा विनिस मुख्ते आनापयामि हांन दापके चा सावंता चा चा पि चा पुना महात्मिहें

19 अतिरंजिये श्रोलोपिये होती तातेढाये विवादे निम्नि चा सवं पलिसाये आनंदवियने पटि विवीने मे सवंता सवं कालं (G) हेवं आनापयिं समया (H) नवि हि मे दोसे उदानसा अदानंतितं नाये (I) दक्षिणयुगु हि मे सवलोकितात (J) तसा चा पुना ऐसं मुले उदाने

20 अदानंतितं चा (K) नवि हि कंटंता सवलोकितात (L) चं च किंकि पलिकमासि हांन किंकि मुहांत आनानिं के हंदर च चा चा सुखायामि पलित चा स्वरं आतापयिं (M) से एतादेढाये इसं धर्मसिं निरनिरिताचित-विदिकासि हीतु तथा च मे पुनादाचं पलिकमासि सवलोकितात्ये

21 (N) दुकडे चु उं यं अदान अगोिना पलिकमासि

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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 Bühlcr and follow on the whole Senart. Instead of dana-sagyate the Māṇeṣhṛ version reads dana-saṅgyate, which might mean 'furnished with gifts'. The distribution of gifts was one of the duties of the Dharma-Mahāmātras; see the Delhi-Tōpā pillar-edict VII, CC and DD.
4 See Lüders in SPAW, 1914, 341 f.
5 kālaś Senar and Bühler.
6 adāma[n]past Bühler.
7 Restore pātivedekhtu, which is Bühler's reading.
8 Senart and Bühler omit čā.
TRANSLATION

(A) King Dévānasūrpiya 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 Mahâmatras) 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 Mahâmatras, 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).

\(^{1}\) pitaḥ Bühler. \(^{2}\) Restore *paśīṇaśāriya.*

\(^{3}\) Jaugåda reads *toṣa*; Bühler adds va. \(^{4}\) Bühler omits chā.

\(^{5}\) Peabody. \(^{6}\) Bühler in *alâdhâyati.*

\(^{7}\) (ma)nañâta Senart and Bühler.

\(^{8}\) The form *svāntani* corresponds to *svānta* at Girnar, and must be a nominative singular, just as in the Kâlî edict VIII, C, and as *kalânâtâ* in XII, H; see also *kâlânâta,* XI, E, and *kalata,* XII, F and G, and cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauli separate edict I, X.

\(^{9}\) *muta* for *mata* occurs also in the Kâlî edict XIII, E (vedâniya-mute gula-mute chā). The change of *a* to *u* is due to the preceding labial, as in *uchâvâcha* (Kâlî, VII, C, and IX, B) for *uchâvâcha* (Gîrñār).

\(^{10}\) For the use of the instrumental with the comparative see above, p. 17, n. 3.

\(^{11}\) As kâni corresponds to *mâni* at Girñār, and to *sha* or *sca* in the two Kharâbthi 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 kâni occurs in the Jaugâda 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 wives¹ may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

21 (A) DeVānāmpriya 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.

TRANSLATION

21 (A) King DeVānāmpriya 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: KALSI

22 (A) DeVānāmpriya [vihāla-yatam nāma] nikhamisu (B) hida migaviva [vihīla-vatam nāma] nikhamisu (C) DeVānāmpriya 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.

TRANSLATION

22 (A) atikārāmn a[n]a[la[ā] DeVānāmpriya [vihāla-yatam nāma] nikhamisu (B) hida migaviva [vihīla-vatam nāma] nikhamisu (C) DeVānāmpriya 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.

1 The other versions render it probable that -dāle is a clerical mistake for -nātāle, 'grandsons'.
² dān[ain] Bühler.
³ Read "nātā.
⁴ Read "sānti, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
⁵ "nīthā Senart and Bühler.
TRANSLATION

(A) In times past the Dēvānāṃpriyas used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.
(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).
(C) When king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years, he went out to Saṁbōdhi.

(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.
(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas 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 Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

24. (A) देवानानम्प्रियेः पियदसि लावता झार (B) जने उचावृं तंगलं कलेवति ज्ञानाधिक ऋषिन्स विवाहितिः पनसांसितं तत्तायं छ्नं तत्तायं इस्यं वनत्तायं जने च भो मगलं कलेवति (C) हेतु च श्रवक्षानियं यथा च वाहुविध च चुदा च निनियंया चा मगलं कलेवति

25. (D) से जरवी चेव चों मांगले (E) अपिते चु ची एसे (F) इस चु ची महाफले ये धनमगले (G) हेता इस्यं दातवत्वायं समयस्फतिः गुलुना अतिविद्धप पानां संधे समतानां दाने एसे चीन चा हेड़से। धनमगले नामा (H) से वानविये पितिना पिय पुत्रेन पिय भातिना पिय मुतसामकेय पिय मितसंघुतेना चाव पतिवेसियेना पिय

26. इस्यं सापु इस्यं जरवीये मगले छाव तसा अपसा निवुनिया इस्यं काभासी ति (I) ए हि इस्यं मगले संसाधिये से (J) सिया बं जर मितिस्पिया सिया पुना नो (K) दिलोकितिके चेव से (L) इस्यं पुना धनमगले बालिकेय (M) हंचे पिय तं जंट नो निरालित हिदं जर मतत मनतं पुना पवसति (N) हंचे पुना तं जर मितिस्पिया हिदा ततां उन्नेन्स

27. तल्पे हेऱ्ठि हिदं चा से अधे पलत चा आनंद पुना पवसति तेना धनमगलेना

1 cha Bühler.
2 Read lati.
3 Instead of this title of Aśoka's predecessors the Gírñar and Dhauli versions have the word 'kings'.
4 For the form sattattia see above, p. 35, n. 9.
5 viz. "in my territory"; cf. above, p. 2, n. 3. The Gírñar version reads tenātā, but Shāh-bāzārghí and Mānehrá read tenada, which seems to stand for tenatra. Therefore Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 426) was probably right in explaining tenātā at Kālā and Dhauli by tena atā.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA


27 ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata 20 chā anāṁtāṁ puna 21 pasavati tenā dhāmma-magalen[ā]

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāṃpiya 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, 23 (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 23 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) liberality to Śrāmanas and Brāhmaṇas; and these 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 Kāśi dialect the locative of upādana would end in -asti. Read therefore (with Dhauli and Jaungada) sāye, which is the actual reading of Senart and Bühler. 2 niṣṭikṣayin Senart, niṣṭikṣayin Bühler. 3 Read kaṭavīye. 4 va Bühler. 5 paṭipāti Bühler. 6 sāyaśīme Senart, toṣayme Bühler. 7 Instead of this mark of punctuation Senart and Bühler read taṁ. 8 ‘ken[a]’ Bühler. 9 āva Bühler. 10 ka[tha]miti Bühler. 11 ivale Bühler. 12 Bühler adds (hoti). 13 cha vae Senart and Bühler. 14 aṭhasa Bühler. 15 Read, as at Māneśhri, nivaṭeti. 16 Read with Śāhābāgariṅī atha. 17 Read punicaśak pasavati. 18 sukā Senart, puna Bühler. 19 hida Senart and Bühler. 20 ‘ta’ Senart and Bühler. 21 Read punicaśak, which is Bühler’s reading. 22 Bühler (ZDMG, 37, 431 f.) derived the locative upādiye from a supposed Skt. feminine *utpad-. Śāhābāgariṅī reads upadāne, which either corresponds to Skt. utpadane, or is a mistake for the Māneśhri reading, upādiye.

23 Bühler (ZDMG, 37, 433 f.) proposed translating ‘nurses and mothers’. Cf. ambika-mādhukhimi in the Mṛchhakatika, act VIII, verse 79.
practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking):¹ I shall observe this².

(I) For other ² 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 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: KALSI**

27 (A) देवानानिपिे पियदधिक लज्जा यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्ता ये पि यसी वा बिना वा नो महानता नरति जलन्त (A) Devānāniṣṭhe piyadāsa ¹ lajā¹ yajho vā kiti vā na [ma]ṭhathava ⁷ manatī an[a]jā [ja]h pi yaso vā k[i]j vā ichh[a]jī tādāvyā ayatiye cha jane dhamma-susushā susushāte me ti dhamma-vatam vā anuv[i][d]h[y][a][m]tu ⁸ ti (B) dhat[k]a[j]e ⁹ Devāna[m]ṭhe piyadāsa ¹ Devanān[ṭhe] piyadāsa

28 lajā yasho vā kiti vā ichha ¹⁰ (C) am ch[a]j kichhi lakamati ¹¹ Devanān[ṭhe] ¹² Piyadāsi lajā ta [sha]v[am] ¹³ palanṭikyāye ¹⁴ vā kiti sakale apa-[p[a]l]laphave ¹⁵ shiyati ti (D) [e]she chu palisave e apune ¹⁶ (E) dukale chu khe eshe khudakena vā vagena ¹⁷ uṣṭhena vā ana[t]a agen[a] pa[l]akamena shava[m] palitiditu (F) [h][e][a] chu khe

29 uṣṭhena vā dukale

¹ From this word to the end of the edict the Kālṣ version differs completely from the Gīrānā one. Dhauli and Jaugada agree with Gīrānā, but the two Kārābhūṭī versions with Kālṣī.

² If [a]t[a] is the regular equivalent of [ʃa] at Mānsinghā. Shāhābāzgarhi reads however etk[e].

³ The words palata anavatam puninai paiyavati occurring in N, and in the Kālṣī edict XI, K. In these two cases paiyavati is construed with an instrumental, and in the last case it corresponds to bhasati in the Gīrānā version. Bühler (ZDMG, 37: 580) was therefore right in explaining by paiyavati = Sanskrit prasēyati.

⁴ Īlē above, p. 19, n. 16.

⁵ Read Piyadāsi.

⁶ lajā Senart, lajā Bühler.

⁷ The Gīrānā version reads maṭhathava[ʃa].

⁸ yata Senart, yata Bühler.

⁹ Read etk[e], which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

¹⁰ Read ichhiyē.

¹¹ Read palakamati.

¹² Devanān[ṭhe] Senart and Bühler.

¹³ savan Senart, shavan Bühler.

¹⁴ palisi Senart, palati Bühler.

¹⁵ Read -palishave.

¹⁶ The syllable -e was entered subsequently; opune Senart and Bühler.

¹⁷ vagena Senart and Bühler.
TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāṃpriya 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 Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame.

(C) And whatever effort king Devānāṃpriya 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 person⁸ 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) Devānāṃp[i]ya Piyadasi [I]ājā hevaṁ hā.⁶ (B) nathī h[e]dishe dāne adisha⁴ dhā[m]na-dāne i dhama-shav[i]bhage i dhāṁma-shāṁbhadi[č] i (C) ta[ta] eshe dāsha-bhaṭakāshi i shamyā-paṭipati māṭa-pitishu i shushūṣhā i mita-shāṁthuta-nāṭikyaṁana samanā-[ba] sbhānāna⁸ [dā]ne


¹ The form shiyāti occurs again in the Kāsi edict XII, B, where it is spelt siyāti. Cf. also siyati in the Śahābārghāṭi edict XII, L, and in the Mānseryā edict X, C.

² In Sanskrit the word varga means 'a class'; but here and in the two Kharāṣṭrī versions it corresponds to āṇa, 'a person', at Girnār. The same is the case in the first separate rock-edict, where Dhauli (K) reads janā, and Jaugra (L) [sa]ge. See also hēdisēva vagaṁ, 'a person of the same description', in section AA of the same edict at Dhauli.

³ Read āhā.

⁴ yādiśaḥ Senart, [ā]ditkami Bühler.

⁵ dhāṁma-shāṁbhage Bühler.

⁶ samanā- and 'nānāk Bühler.

⁷ pute Senart and Bühler; the syllable na seems to be entered below the line.

⁸ Read shudvāṁ.

⁹ The ta of māṭa- stands below the line; read 'tenā.

¹⁰ pasvēṣu" Bühler.

¹¹ śādhu Bühler.

¹² cha Senart and Bühler.

¹³ anvana Senart, anahta Bühler.

¹⁴ puṁsā Bühler; read aṇaṁtāṁ puṁsāh.
ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṃpriya 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) 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,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) Ṛtvanāpiyē pīydarśi

31 laja ḍhāvapāṇḍhāṅci pāvajitāṁ gahānti vo puṇēti dāneṁ vitvībhī ye ch. pūjāye (B) tō ṇu tāthā dāne vā pūja vā Ṛtvanāpiyē mānati śrīma khit śālāvāḍi śiyātāṁ gāpāsāḥān (C) śālāvāḍi nā jāvijā (D) tāv śṛ aśma ṇuśma vā cāvagūti khitāṁ tī śrātapād vā pūja vā pātalotpāṣṭhgaḥ v nā saḥya

32 śrātapādṛṣi ṛhaka vā śiyā tāni tāni pātalotpādṛṣi (E) puṇētāṁ vṛt kāntāṁ śrātapāṣād vṛnt vādītāṁ pātalotpād śi vā upkānteśi (G) tāva śrānapādṛṣi vā śrānapād vā kānteśi pātalotpād śi vā apkānteśi (H) yē hi keś śrātapāṣād pūnaṁ

33 pātalotpād vā gālānti. vēvē śrānapāṇḍhāṁvīya vā khitāṁ. śrānapāṇḍ. Ṛtvanāpiyē dīpam yē vā pūna tatha. kāntant. vādānt. upahānti. śrānapāṇḍhī. (I) pumāvēye vṛt padāpu khitāṁ. śrānapāṇḍh. pumāvēye vā tāṁ. (J) yēvē hi Ṛtvanāpiyē vṛt khitāṁ

34 śrānapāṇḍ. vṛt pumā vā kāṇnāga vā. pumāvēye tā. (K) vṛt tatha tatha. pumāvēye tēhē vartvēye. (L) Ṛtvanāpiyē nē tatha. dāne vā vā pūja vā mānati. śrīma khitāṁ śālāvāḍi śiyā. śrānapāṇḍhī. (M) vṛt pumā vā. kāṇnāga vē. vādānt. pumāvēye. pumāvēye pumāvēye. śrānapāṇḍhī. pumāvēye. śrānapāṇḍhī. pumāvēye. śrānapāṇḍhī. vā vā nākāya

35 (N) vṛt tā bāntā vē. pūjā vē śrānapāṇḍhā vā vē. khitāṁ śrānapāṇḍh vē dīpānā !

¹ For the form kalāvītabhī see above, p. 35, n. 9 ;
² For cha kāntē see above, p. 31, n. 6.
³ See above, p. 39, n. 3.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

30 (A) [D]evānāpiye [P]iyadās[ī]


33 pala-pāśaṇḍa vā ga[la]nati vā shave atapaśaṇḍa 27 vā kiti vā atapaśaṇḍa [d]ē payema she cha punā tathā 1 kalantri 1 baḍhātale up[ā]hānt[i] 1 atapaśaṇḍaśi 1 (I) shamaṇya 28 vu 29 shādhu kiti 1 ammānamasha dāhanma 1 shune[y]u cha 1 shushusheyu cha ti 1 (J) hevāni hi Devānāpiyāsā 1 ichha kimē 30

34 sava-pāśaṇḍa 1 baha-shutta 31 cha kāyanāgā 32 cha 1 huveyu ti 1 (K) e [cha] 33 tata t[i][a] 34 p[a]sh[a]man 34 te[hi va]taviye 1 (L) Devānāpiyle no tathā 1 dānānī vā pūja vā 1 maṁna[i] 1 athā kiti sh[a]jā-v[a]dhī 28 śīyā vā shava-pāśaṇḍatīn 21

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1 Read shava-; shava pāśaṇḍatān Bühler.
2 vividhāya Senart, vividhāna Bühler.
3 Bühler omits this sign. 4 Read kiti.
5 śāla- Senart and Bühler.
6 The syllable na (maṅ Bühler) was inserted subsequently.
7 śāla- Bühler. 8 The other versions read tu.
9 The syllable vi was inserted subsequently.
10 Read iyaṁ, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
11 ta Senart and Bühler.
12 The syllable ta of ata- is entered above the line; -pāśaṇḍa Senart, -pāśaṇḍe Bühler.
13 Cancel vā.
14 The words pala-pāśaṇḍa-galāhā va are entered above the line; below them the words ti upakalihā vā are struck out.
15 Read iyaṁ. 16 Read lahukā.
17 Read tasi, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
18 Read akālma. 19 hevāni Senart and Bühler.
20 -pāśaṇḍa Bühler.
21 baḍhāni Senart and Bühler.
22 pī is entered above the line.
23 The syllable dā is entered above the line.
24 annātā Bühler; read tad-anātha.
25 The syllable pā is entered above the line; -pāśaṇḍa Bühler.
26 pujāti Senart, futati Bühler; read probably pujeti.
27 One feels tempted to read -pāśaṇḍaṁ. But the point after da stands much lower than an Anavāra, and a similar point occurs quite below the da in three other cases: atapaśaṇḍa in G, sava-pāśaṇḍa in J, and shava-pāśaṇḍatīn in L.
28 sama- Bühler. 29 Read chu; va Senart and Bühler.
30 kiti Bühler.
31 Read baḥu-, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
32 Read nāgaṇā. 33 va Senart and Bühler.
33 Read nāyanā. 34 va Senart and Bühler.
35 tātā Senart and Bühler. 36 pāhanum Bühler.
37 Read "dānāni."
TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALISI

(M) bahukā eh[a] | etayāṭhāye | viyāpaṭa | dhā[ḥ]ma-mahāmāta | ithidhiyakha-

35 (N) iyaḥ cha etishā | phale | yam ata-pāshaṅda-vaḍhi cha | hoti chaṁmasha | cha dipanā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin is honouring all sects: ascetics or householders, 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.  

(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, 5 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 Mahānātras of morality, the Mahamantrās 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) śravita- | bhigita- | ya devānāṁpīyas ācṛddhībhay | tārīkhe | kālīṇya

1 nīkhye Senart, nihā[yā] Bührler.  
2 For śāyāti see above, p. 46, n. 1.  
3 dhāmasha Bührler.  
4 For the pronoun nā see above, p. 13, n. 5.  
5 For the form kalāntiṁ ṣa see above, p. 35, n. 9.
36 धम्मनाथसः धम्मानुसङ्गः च देवानिष्ठाः । अत्र अनुसः देवानिष्ठाः विनिधितम् कालिग्नानः । अत्र अविनिधित स्वः विनिधितमाः । य ततः वध चा मल्ल्या चा इवपि चा जनया । चे चाह चे केतुम्युदाः गुलुमयुर चा देवानिष्ठाः । (F) इवं पि चु । ततो गुलुमानले । देवानिष्ठाः ।

37 (G) य तता वचनामान । चम वा अने चा । पाण्डु मिनिष्ठाः चा वेशु विनिधिता एव अग्रमुखियुर्युर मातासिनिः युर्युर गुलुमयुर मितान्युर्युर अनालीको दार्शनता क्षयसङ्गिरिष्ट ददमानता तेस्य तता होति उपयोगा चा वे चा अन्याल्कान चा विनिधितमाः ।

38 (H) तताः चा पि सुविनिधिताः हिन्देह स प्रजापिनाः इत्यं तताः हिन्दान्युर्युर उपयोगाः होति (I) पारंभागे चा एव प्रयागुर्युर गुलुमयुर चा देवानिष्ठाः (J) नान्य चा चा जनये चा तता नान्य इते निकाया अन्याला चैनेदु ।

39 विष्ठ्याः चा विष्ठ्याः चा नान्य चा कृतापि जनयदिव यता नान्य मन्नानाः । एकातल्लित पि । पाण्डु । तो नाम यापि । (K) चे यावनके जने । तदा कालिन्दिकु । लोकुरु ही चा नान्य चा । शापवुद्रे चा । ततो धो काँगे चा । भवानानास । अन्य गुलुमयुर । देवानिष्ठाः ।

B.—South Face of Kālī Rock.
14 वि (V) लछुका वृ तो सा पित्ति (W) पार्तिनिलकमेवे महकला मननं देवनीपने
15 (X) एवरने च चाराये एवं धमनलिप्तिनलिबता संकि पुना पपौता मे असु
16 नवं विजय से विवाहनाथिण माति पवसक नो विजयनि कृति चा ल। हुः
17 देवता च लोकेशु तमेव च विज्ञ सनमते वे धमनविज्ञ (X) वे हिदलोकिका
पलली
18 किर (X) यचरा च नलिति होतु उत्तां मननं (AA) च वि हिदलोकिका
palalka

35 (A) atha-[va]shā-1 bhaṭhitā-1 shā [De]vānāmпиynaḥ śa Paṣadashine īlātne
Kalīygā vijita (B) diyaṭa-mite 2 pāna-shat[a]-shāha[ś]e ye [ta]śah āpavudhe [ś]
śa[t]-shāha-śaṭite 2 tata hāte bahu-tāvatake 2 vā maṛte (C) taś[ō] pa[ś]cāhā
adhumā ladhesa 8 Kalīgyaśu 4 tive ṣaḥām[a][vāye]
36 dhaṃmā-[k[a]matā 1 dhaṃmānusthathā chā Devānāmypiynaḥ (D) sh[c] athi
anushaye Devānāmypiynaḥ shā 2 vijin[i]ku 7 Kalīgyaṇi (E) avijitaṁ hi
vijnaṇamaṇe ē tata vadhā 2 vā malace vā āpavac [vā] ā jan[a]śa 1 sh[je]
bādhā vedaṇya-mute [g[u][u]-mut[e] chā Devānāmypiynaḥ (F) iyaṁ pi
chu ē tato ālu-matatale D[ō]vānāmypiynaḥ 9
37 (G) [ya] tata 10 vassati b[a]bhanā 11 vā saṁa 12 vā ānge vā pāṣanā ca ghiḥ[ṛ]ha ē
yesu vihitā [e]-sh[a]-[gahura]i]-shushuśa 12 m[a]-piti-shushuśa 14 ālu-shushuśa 14
mita-śamaththuṣa-śahāya-naṭikshu dāsā-bhā[ta]kash[ī] 16 śah[m][y]-paṭipati diyaḥ-
bhaktā teshār tata hoti [u[p]aḥ]ʻāthe vā vadhā vā abhilātanām vā vinikhamane
38 (H) yesanā ca pū shuddhi-[tā]nāṃ 17 shinechina apavahine e tānā ca śa[m]-iḥ[ṃ]u-ta-
sha[h]-ā[ṃ]tiṣṭa 18 vijnashāmā 19 pāpunāta 20 tata 21 she [p[i] [a]nyme[ś]a 22
upagha[t[e] hoti (I) paṭībhāge chā esha[a] sh[a]ya-manu[shanā]h gir[u][u]-ma[a]ke
chā Devāna[m]ipiynaḥ (J) n[a]thisi chā she jan[a]pade yatā nāthi ime nikāyā
anātā 23 [Y]o[ṃ]mēṣ[ṭ][u] 24
39 baṃhmane ch[a] shamanā chā nathī chā kuvāpi jan[a]padashī [ya]t[a] n[a]̊[a]shi
m[a]-nuṭāsh[a] 23 ekatalaṣṭi [p]i pāṣadashī 11 no n[a]ma pashāde (K) she
av[a][a][a][a] jan[e] [t[a]da Kalī[ṃ]goṣṭhū 27 [ladesha hu]te ch[a] 18 ma[e] chā
[apavuḍhe chā] i tato 37 shat[e] bhāge vā Śāḥ[a]-bhāge vā aya ālu-mate
vā Devāna[m]ipiynaḥ

1 bhīṣitā- Bühler. 2 m[a]te Bühler. 3 tāvāntake Bühler.
4 tatā Senart and Bühler. 5 Read ladhesu, which is Bühler’s reading.
6 This word may be read also vijimit, as both an t and a u are affixed to the last consonant.
7 vudhane Bühler. 8 Bühler adds l.
9 Read ye tata in accordance with the Śahābāgārhi version, which reads ye tatra; savyatā
Senart and Bühler, who adds l.
10 babhānā Senart and Bühler.
11 ag[a][h[a][u]a] Bühler. 12 Read shamanā.
13 Read shamanā. 14 matā- Bühler.
15 -shuṭha Bühler; read -shuṭhusha. 16 -bho[ta] hadi Bühler.
17 [ṣaṇa]vīṣhikānāh Bühler. 18 The syllable nā seems to be entered above the line.
19 viyathane Bühler. 20 Read pāpunāt, which is Bühler’s reading.
21 tata Bühler. 22 mna Bühler. 23 anātā Senart and Bühler.
24 yena Bühler. 25 shānaṁ Bühler. 26 avotake Bühler.
27 Bühler omits l.
28 chā 1 Bühler.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

B.—South Face of Kālsī Rock.

1 Restored ikkhati.
2 Restore -bhutānāni.
3 Read chu.
4 Read pīyasā. 
5 Restore pīyasā hida cha.
6 There is a fissure in the rock between yogana and shatashu.
7 Restore -lājā.
8 hevamvī Bühler.
9 [H]a-lājā Viśa-Vaiji- Bühler.
10 Nābhaku- Senart, Nābhaka Bühler.
11 "pīnyā Senart, "pīnyāniya Bühler; read "pīyasā.
12 Read yānītī, which is Bühler's reading.
13 Read svānti, which is Bühler's reading.
14 This word is entered above the line.
15 Read chu.
16 Read pālamitiyamaka-mahā-phalāma-mannāti Devānāmīpiye.
17 vijayatabhāva Bühler.
18 Read perhaps yo (= Prākrit yova), as at Shāhbāsgarh.
19 There is a fissure in the rock here.
20 Cancel the sign of punctuation and join lāhu.
21 ki. ye Bühler.
22 Bühler omits ka; read kahu and see above, p. 31, n. 6.
THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

TRANSLATION

(A) When king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the Kaliṅyas 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 Kaliṅyas has been taken, Dēvānāmpriya (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 Dēvānāmpriya on account of his conquest of (the country of) the Kaliṅyas.

(E) For, this is considered very painful and deplorable by Dēvānāmpriya, 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 Dēvānāmpriya.

(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 injury 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) There is no country where these (two) classes, (viz.) the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas, do not exist, except among the Yānas; and there is no (place) in any country where men are not indeed attached to some sect.

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people

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1 For muta = mata sec above, p. 35, n. 10.
2 viśīnamane 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-Tōsprā pillar-edict VII, Y.
4 Bühlcr (ZDMG, 37, 592 f.) took agrah hutī = agrajanman, 'a member of a higher caste' or 'a Brāhmaṇa'; but the various reading in the two Kharoṣṭhī versions, agrah hutī, suggests that the second member of the compound is Skt. bhūti.
5 pāramanī is used in the same way in the Dhauli separate edict I, J, and the Jaugāda separate edict I, K.
6 For this meaning of śrutika see Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s. v. vidahuti.
7 The correct construction of this section is due to Lüders, who showed that etānani must be divided into etānani; see SPAW, 1914, 850.
8 i.e., 'a share of this falls upon all men'; see Thomas in V. A. Smith's Asoka, sec. ed., p. 173, n. 1.
9 The cāḥ after guhu-mate corresponds to the preceding cāḥ after patibhage. In the same way the double nathi cāḥ in the next section co-ordinates the two sentences.
10 See above, p. 35, n. 2.
who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time when (the country of) the Kaliningas was taken, (would) now be considered very deplorable by Dévānāmpriya. (O) . . . . . . . . . desires towards all beings . . . . . . . . . self-control, impartiality, (and) kindness.

(P) But this . . . . . . . . by Dévānāmpriya, viz. the conquest by morality.

(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by Dévānāmpriya both [here]¹ and among all (his) borderers, even as far as (the distance of) six hundred yojanas, where the Yōna king named Antiyoga,² (is ruling), and beyond this Antiyoga, (where) four—4—kings (are ruling), (viz. the king) named Tulamaya,³ (the king) named Antekina,⁴ (the king) named Makā,⁴ (and the king) named Alikyashudala,⁵ (and) likewise towards the south,⁶ (where) the Chōdas and Pāṇḍyas (are ruling), as far as Tāmrarpani.

(R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the Yōnas and Kambójas,⁷ among the Nābhakas and Nābhapatkins,⁸ among the Bhojas ¹ⁱ and Pitinkyas,¹² among the Andhras¹³ and Pāladas,¹⁴—everywhere (people) are conforming to Dévānāmpriya's instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of Dévānāmpriya do not go, having heard of the duties of morality,¹⁶ the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of Dévānāmpriya, 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) Firm¹⁶ becomes this satisfaction; (viz.) the satisfaction at the conquest by morality.

¹ viz. 'in thy territory'; see section R below, and cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.
² The Shāhbāzgārī version reads Antiyoga. For Antiochus II of Syria see above, p. 3, n. 1v.
³ The Girma version reads Turamaya, and the Shāhbāzgārī version Turamaya.
⁴ The Shāhbāzgārī version reads Antikini. ⁵ The Girma version reads Magā.
⁶ The two Kharoshthi versions read Alīkṣudarā. The four kings are Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (B.C. 285-247), Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (276-239), Magas of Cyrene (c. 300-230), and either Alexander of Epirus (272-255) or, more probably, Alexander of Corinth (252-244); see Lassen's Ind. Alt., vol. II, p. 255, and Beloch's Griechische Geschichte, p. 212.
⁷ The two Kharoshthi versions omit this word.
⁸ This is Senart's rendering of nīchāvat (i.e. nīchāvar). Bühler (ZDMG, 40, 137) added that the Rgveda uses its synonym nyāk in the same sense.
⁹ See above, p. 10, n. 1.
¹⁰ As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 40, 138), Prakrit pānti = Skt. pānta.
¹¹ Bühler (ZDMG, 40, 138) connected the Bhojas with the city of Bhójalaṭa in East Berar, which is mentioned in a Vakāṭaka grant (Gupta Insers., p. 241) and in the Bharut inscriptions (IA, 21, 240). But it is, in the rock-edict V, J, the Pitinkyas appear among Asōca's western borderers, the Bhojas, who are coupled with them here, will have to be looked for in the west as well.
¹² The Pitinkyas are identical with the Pēśīgakas in the Girma edict V; see above, p. 10, n. 1.
¹³ The Shāhbāzgārī and Māñsehrī versions read Pitīniaka.
¹⁴ Andhra is the old name of the Telugu country and people.
¹⁵ The Girma version reads Pārīvand, and the Shāhbāzgārī one Pālida. Bühler (ZDMG, 40, 138) identified this word with Pārīvand and noted that the Andhras and Pālindas are mentioned together already in the Aṣṭariya-Brāhmaṇa, VII, 18. But the variants at Girma and Kalsi render this identification very improbable. Pārīvand reminds us of the Sanskrit pāṇi, 'a lion'.
¹⁶ Cf. Dharmā-vutthi ca anuvādiṣyatiḥ in the Girma edict X, A.
THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

(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
(ÅÅ) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

19 (A) Iṣṭam dhamā-lipi Devānāmp[ī]ya[ṇ]jā [Pa]yadasinā ⁵ lajīnā likhāpītā athī yeva sukhi-
20 tenā ⁶ [a]khi majhimenā athī vitthaṭenā (B) no hi savatā save [g]ha[t]i⁷ te (C) mahālakē hi vi-
21 jite bahu cha likhite lekhāpeśāmi cheva nikyaṁ (D) athi cha heta puna pun[ā]⁸ la[pi]-
22 t[e] tasha tashā athashā madhuliya ye na jene jana tathā paṭipajeyā (E) she shaśā⁹ ata k[i]ehhi a-
23 samātī likhīte dishā vā cāmbēye kāṭṭan vā āločvyiśānu līpiyakalapādhene vā

¹ mahā-phala is perhaps a Karmadhāraya, while it may be a Bahuvrihi in the rock-edict IX, F. Cf. the first separate rock-edict, where mahā-apāye (Dhauili, R) or mahāpāyar[ē] (Jaugāra, S) must be a Karmadhāraya, as it forms the predicative of the feminine asamipāṭipati; the preceding word mahā-phala may be a Bahuvrihi at Dhauili, but a Karmadhāraya at Jaugāra.
² skhayaka may be an adjective formed of svayam, and having the same meaning as spec[a] (= Skt. svakā) at Shāhābāzgarhi, and as sarasa[ka] at Girnār, for which see above, p. 25, n. 5.
³ For lechetu see above, p. 8, n. 3.
⁴ upāna is synonymous with utthāna and parākrama in the rock-edicts VI and X.
⁵ “dasthānī Bühler.
⁶ Girnār reads sankhītena.
⁷ The syllable te was entered subsequently.
⁸ punaḥ puna Bühler.
⁹ Read śāgya, which is Bühler’s reading. The syllable śa is entered above the line.
¹⁰ Read probably śaṅkhāya in accordance with the Girnār version (sochāya) and the Shāh-

bāzgarhi one (saṅkhāy[ə]).
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by king Devanāṃ-
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 Shāhbaẓgarhī Rock.

1 (A) ज्ञय प्रमदिपम देवनिप्रभस रनो प्रभुधितम (B) हिद नो निकच निज्ये चारभिरु
प्रभुतितम (C) नो पिच च समज कठव (D) वहुन हि टोष समयस्य देवनिप्रभे
प्रभुधितम रय दशति

2 (E) असि पि चु एकत्रिया समये समुद्रे देवनिप्रभस प्रभुधितिस रनो (F) पुर
महनससि देवनिप्रभस प्रभुधितिस रनो अनुदिपसो वहुन प्राणपतसहस्रि
अर्थाधेये सुपदे (G) सो इत्य यद ज्ञय

3 प्रमदिपम लिखित तद चयो वी प्रया ह्येंति महुर दूढ़ि २ मुगो २ सो पि मुगो नो
धुतं (H) रत पि प्रया चयो पर्व न अर्यभिर्नति

¹ Senart and Bühler consider nīkya as a dialectical variant of nītāya.
² dī is used in the sense of dēla, unless dīkā is simply a clerical mistake for the Girnār reading
dēta.
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. 3.
FIRST ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

1 (A) [aya]\(^1\) dhrama-dipi Devanapriasa raño likhapitu\(^2\) (B) hida no kich[i] jive ara[bhita p]rayuhotave (C) no pi ch[a] sama[ja] kaṭava (D) ba[huka] [hi] dosha sa[maya]p[i] Devanapri[e]\(^3\) Priadrāśi ray[a da]khai
2 (E) [a]ṣtī pi chu ekatia\(^4\) samaye susu-mate\(^5\) Devanapīasa\(^6\) Priadrāśi sa raño (F) pcca mahana[sas]\(^7\) [Devana][p]ra[j]asa\(^8\) Priadrāśi sa raño anudivaso bahuni pra[ṇa]-śata-sahasani\(^9\) [arabhistis[us] supaṭhay[e] (G) s[o i]dani yada aya
3 dhrama-dipi likhita tada trayo vo praṇa haṁṇaṁ[t]i majura du[v][i] 2 mrugo 1 so pi mrugo no dhruva[m] (H) eta pi praṇa trayo pacha na arabhīṣaṁṭi

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by king Dēvānāṁpriya.
(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.
(C) And also no festival meetings must be held.
(D) For king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadasāsin sees much evil in festival meetings.
(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadasāsin.
(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadasāsin 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—two—peacocks (and) I deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.
(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

3 (A) svaca viṣṇu te devnāṁprasād prīyāṅkṣaḥ ča yāṁ bhū ca
4 pailaḥ satīmasṃa karuṇac ca bhaṅgac ca nanuṃraṃ vāa va ca yāṁ ca ca bhaṅgac ca satīmasṃa samsā ca svaca devnāṁprasād prīyāṅkṣaḥ ṛjāḥ duva ca vikṣā ca mantraḥ caṇḍikṣaḥ.\(^10\)
5 (B) jahāṇa manuṣyaḥ ca pālōcakṣaḥ ca yāṁ yāṁ naṃ ṣaṅcaḥ dharmāḥ ca ṛjāḥ ca (C) kūp ca ṣaṅcaḥ pratiṣṭhāṇe vayam manuṣyaṁ

4 Paññiya Satyaputo Keraḍaputo\(^9\) Taṁbapaiṇi.\(^10\) Aṃtiyoc ca nama Yona-raja ye ca aṃṭhe tasma Aṃtiyocasa samaṇa raṇa. saṅkrama Devanāṁ-

priyasa Priyāṅkṣaḥ raño du[v][i] 2 chik[i] sa [krj][tai]\(^11\) manuṣa-chikisa .
5 (B) o[k]ha[ca]ni\(^12\) maṇuṣopakana ca paśopakana ca yat[r]a yatra nasi savatra haṁpi,\(^13\) ca vuta cha (C) kupa cha khanapita pratiḥb[ō]gaye pāsu-manuṣanaah

\(^1\) [aya] from Bühler.
\(^2\) Read probably likhapita, as at Mansehra.
\(^3\) doshaḥ sama . . sa Devanapri[e] Bühler.
\(^4\) cha ekatu Bühler.
\(^5\) Read sudhu-. . sresta-mati Bühler.
\(^6\) prias Bühler.
\(^7\) Devanampris Bühler.
\(^8\) [sa]kar[r]ani Bühler.
\(^9\) Satyaputra Keralaputra Bühler.
\(^10\) panini Bühler.
\(^11\) kr[ra] Bühler.
\(^12\) koshkhanis Bühler.
\(^13\) har[ō]pitā Bühler.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of Devanāmpriya Priyadarśin, and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the Chōdas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satīsputra, the Kāra. aputra, Tāmraparṇi, the Yona king named Antiyoka, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoka,—everywhere two—2—(kinds of) medical treatment were established by king Devanāmpriya 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-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

5 (A) Devanāmpriya Priyadarśi raja ahati (B) badaya-vashabh[i]si[tan]a [a]napitari [s]avatra m[a]a


7 apa-vayata apa-bhaṅūlita sadhu (E) pari [p]i yutani [ga]nanasi aṇapeśanti hetuto cha vaiṁañato cha

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devanāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks (thus).

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, [the following] was ordered [by me].

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the Yuktas, the Rajuka, (and) the Pradesika shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five—5—years

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1 With Bühler and Johansson (§ 54) I believe that the writer wanted to write badaya-. On the Wardak vase the symbols for y and t are often confused; see Pargiter’s remarks in EI, 11. 227 f., and ZDMG, 73. 227.

2 Bühler omitted this word.

3 Bühler omitted māa.

4 prādesi[k] Bühler.

5 Read yatha; dhraṁmanuṣṭi yatha Bühler.

6 kramaye Bühler.

7 Bühler omitted the end of this line.

8 Read parīka.

9 There is a vacant space between ga and ya.

10 vaiṁañato Bühler.

11 Bühler wrote aha ti in two words. But the barbarous form ahati or kakati is guaranteed by the edicts V, &c., where it is preceded by evam, and where consequently ti 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 Brahmans and Sramanases [is meritorious]. Abstinence from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) The councils of Mahamatras also shall order the Yuktis to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

7 (A) ज्ञानकान्त अंचलं चुरु सशतनि वसितो वो भक्ष्यसे विहिस च भूतनं ज्ञानि असंपर्दितित्ति भमश्रमश्चन्त्य असंपर्दिति (E) सो च ज देवनिमित्तम मियद्रशिसर रजो

8 ध्यमरप्तो हरिप्रेम ज्ञानि भ्यमो निर्माणं दशंि ज्ञानि ज्ञानकान्त के स दिव्य संपर्दिति दशंिजयस (C) बदियं वहुसं वशसंहि न भृतमुिे तदििे ज्ञान वसिते देवनिमित्तम दशरिश रजो भमसमश्रमश्चन्त्य ज्ञानकान्त प्रशस्तं ज्ञानकान्त भूतनं ज्ञानि असंपर्दिति भमरप्तो

9 भमरप्तो आङ्गियन संपर्दिति मातस्य चुरु सशतनि (D) एत ज जाषि च वहुसंहि भ्यमरप्तो वसिते (E) वशसंहि च च देवनिमित्तम मियद्रशिसर रजो भ्यमरप्तो इमें (F) वुन च पि च दििे ति च ज्ञानकान्त च देवनिमित्तम मियद्रशिसर रजो ज्ञानकान्त ज्ञानि असंपर्दिति भमरप्तो इमें आङ्गियन ध्यमरप्तो श्लिष्टे च

10 विदिति भर्म अनूथ्रिप्रिशकति (G) एत हि श्रेष्ठ कर्मं यं भमसमश्रमश्चन्त्य (H) भ्यमरप्तो च ज च न भोिि अनूथ्रिप्रिशकति (I) सो इमिस च्युसंहि चाहि च न तु (J) एते एते इमें निपिले इमिस च्युसंहि चाहि इमें तु हिनि च म लोचिय (K) वद्यवधरमसितेन देवनिमित्तम मियद्रशिसर रज ज्ञानि आङ्गियन निपिलेिति

7 (A) atikrataṁ aṁtaṁ bahuni vasha-śatani vaḍhito vo praṇaṇaṁ bhūsa cha bhuta[n]maṁ āṭatinaṁ saṁpati-patiṁ śrāmaṇa-brahmaṇa[m] a[sam]paṭi-patiṁ (B) [so aja Devana]mupriyasa Priyadraśīsa [raño]


9 śrāmaṇa[m] saṁpaṭi-patiṁ mata-piṣuṣu vaḍhana[m] suṣrūṣa (D) e[ta] aṇāṁ cha bahuviḍhaṁ dhrama-chaṇaṁ vaḍhitaṁ (E) vaḍhiṣṭati cha yo Devanamupriyasa Priyadraśīsa raño dhrama-chaṇaṁ ima[m] (F) pūra pī cha kaṁ[.] nataro
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

10 tīghita 4 dhramaṁ anuṣaśaṇī (G) eta Ni sṛṣṭham kṛmama[m] yaṁ dhramaṁ[ū]śaṇa[m] (H) dhrama-charaṇa[m] pi cha na bhoti aśīlasa (I) so imisa athrasa vaḍhi ahini cha sadhu (J) etaye aṭhaye ima[m] nipistam 6 imisa aṭhasa vaḍhi yujaṁtu hini cha ma l(e)ṣ([sh]u) (K) badaya-vəshahəntena 6 Devanaṃpriyena Priyadrāśiṇa rañño añāṁ hi[da] nipesitam 7

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 Devaṇāṃpriya 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 Devaṇāṃpriya 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 Devaṇāṃpriya Priyadarśin.

(F) And also the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Devaṇāṃpriya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of morality until the xon (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 (fāna) was caused to be written here by king Devaṇāṃpriya Priyadarśin (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

1 ra[n]o vaḍheśaṇiti Bührler.  2 Bührler omitted yo.  3-[kapaṁ] Bührler.  4 tiśiṭi Bührler.
5 dipista Bührler.  6 Read badese-, and cf. above, p. 53, n. 1.
7 raṣa [iṣṭaṁ ... nān] disp[ṛ]ṣaṇi Bührler. The da of hida looks like dāṁ, as it does frequently at Māñesāra.
8 For cha kaṁ see above, p. 31, n. 6. Māñesāra has once cha kaṁ (XI, 14) and twice cha ka (IV, 36; XIII, 13).
9 The participles nipistam and nipesitam in J and K, which correspond to līkhiṭa and lākhiṭā at Kālṣa, must be derived from ni-śiṣṭ, 'to write', which is used in the inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings of Persia, and which is preserved in the modern Persian verb. Cf. the Russian mënski 'to write'.
10 See above, p. 8, n. 3.
FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

11 (A) देवतामित्रो भिमद्रशि यय एवं हहति (B) कल्यं दुर्बर (C) यो नाथिकरे कल्याण सो दुर्बर करौति (D) तो मया वहु कालं किर्टि (E) तं मया पुष्प च नालोरे च परे च तेन ये मे अपच मदांची फ्रावकयं तथा ये अनुसंधानानि ते सुकिन्त कपर्ण (F) मो चु चतो के कि है येशादि तो दुर्बर कपर्ण (G) यथां ति सुरवरं (H) स नाथाकारं चतारं नो भूतस्वर भ्रमंमोक नम (I) तो नीत्रवस्मितिसेन

12 मया भ्रमंमोक नक्त (J) ते समामफिदु वपरां प्रभावित्यये च भ्रमविव विद्वातृष्णे च भ्रममोक गोविन्दायण्गपरसंर रतिकन्त पनिनिनित्ये ते च विय भ्रमरं (K) भट्टमयेषु भ्रमविवेभु भ्रमयेषु वृद्धु हितसुधे भ्रममयेषु अपलिनौग वपरां ते

13 (L) वधनवहस परिविधये अपलिनौधे भ्रमयेषु अण्य अणुति ... प्रजव गितिकरेरे च महत्त्वे च विवस्रति ते (M) इत्य वहिदेशु च नगरेरे सश्वे जीवितेरे भूतति च मे स्सनाः च ये च विय भ्रमो नारस्त सवन विवस्रति (N) ये वधनवहस परिविधये ति च भ्रमिष्यने ति च दस्सुधे ति च सवन धर्माने मया भ्रमंमोक विवस्रति ते भ्रमंमोक (O) एवं भ्रमयेषु अण्य भ्रमीपि निफलिफ चिहःविनितो भूति तथा च मे प्रज अणुति


12 maya dhrama-mahamatra kīta ¹⁴ (J) te savra-prashamdeah[u] vapaṭa dhrama-madhīthanaye ¹⁵ cha dhrama-vadhiya ¹⁶ hida-sukhaye cha dhrama-yutasā Yona-Karhouna-Ganḍharanam ¹⁷ Raṭhikanam ¹⁸ Pitinikanam ¹⁹ ye

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¹ aha ti Bühlerv.
² Read kalanām.
³ ma[Na] Bühlerv.
⁴ [ya] Bühlerv.
⁵ [a]chhaṁtā Bühlerv. In JA (10), 17, 422 ff. Boyer has shown that the Kharoshthi uses a special form of chhu in all those cases where it corresponds to Sanskrit kṣh. In order to distinguish this sign from the real chhu, I transcribe it by kṣh, but do not want to imply thereby that it was actually pronounced like that.
⁶ tathā Bühlerv.; but what he took for an Anuvāra is probably the horizontal bottom-line which is frequent at Māṇsācāra.
⁷ vatiśaṁti Bühlerv.
⁸ suk[ī]vān Bühlerv.
⁹ Restore perhaps cakom; the other versions read desaṁ or deṣa.
¹⁰ hapesadi Bühlerv.
¹¹ so atik[ra[m]a[n] aṅtarvān na Bühlerv.
¹² dhrama- Bühlerv.
¹³ [sidala]- Bühlerv.
¹⁴ kī[ra]n Bühlerv.
¹⁵ dhrama'- Bühlerv.
¹⁶ -vadhī[na] Bühlerv.
¹⁷ The rock has a hole here.
¹⁸ Raṭhikanam Bühlerv. The ṣh is expressed by the first of the two different forms noted by Boyer in JA (10), 17, 429, note.
va pi aparanta (K) bhaṭamayeshu bramaṇībheshu anatheshu vudheshu [hit]-sukhayce [dhran]ma-yutasa 1 apalig[e]dha 2 vapa[a]ṭa te

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devanāmpriyā Priyadarśī 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 13 after them until the age (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 Mahāmatrās of morality did not exist before.
(I) But Mahāmatrās 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 10 of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōnas, Kambiyas, and Gandharas, among the Raṭhikas, among the Pitinikas, 21 and whatever (other) western borderers (of mine there are).

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1 [dhr]ama: Bühler.
2 [godha]: Bühler; read *godha* (=godha at Girnir).
3 bauṭkana: Bühler.
4 maḥalaka: Bühler.
5 bhratunav: Bühler.
6 y[i]a[na]i y[am]: Bühler.
7 Bühler omitted tr.
8 niśite: Bühler.
9 spasana: spasanaḥ Bühler.
10 ma[ka]: Bühler.
11 There is a vacant space here.
12 ay[i]a[ṃ]: Bühler.
13 dit[pa][ḥ]: Bühler.
14 This and the last four words of the edict were entered above the line.
15 Bühler omitted me.
16 vrakṣhata in the future of vrakṣati which occurs twice at Śāhābigarhi (VI, I, and XIII, S).
17 For Prākrit vrahata=Skt. vrajati see Hemachandra, IV, 325.
18 Cf. above, p. 33, n. 4.
19 For Raṭhika and Pitinika Girirā reads Raṣṭika and Peṭeṣṭika. As Lāṭhika at Dhaulī agrees with Raṭhika at Śāḥābigarhi and Māṇesrā, Raṣṭika at Girnir may be a clerical mistake for Raṣṭika, just as parīkmatas for parīkmatas in X, I, 3, Devaini for Devāṇi in XI, I, 1, and duṭṭi for duṭṭi in XIII, I, 9. Conversely, astā is written for astī in IX, I, 7, pitarā for pitarī in XI, I, 2.
20 and vīvādhyā for vīvādhyā in XII, I. 1. The Sanskrit original of Raṣṭika would be Raṣṭrikā. The identifications of this name with Sarāṣṭra (Senart, Inscriptions de Piyasadi, vol. I, p. 116) or Lāṭa (Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 137, n. 4) are improbable because these two provinces were included in Akāśa's empire; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 261.
21 Sir R. Bhandarkar (Early History of the Dehkan, sec. ed., p. 11 f.) connects Raṣṭrikā with Mahārāṣṭra, the Pāli form of which, Mahārāṭha, occurs in the Dipavamsa and Mahāvamsa. Could the Raṣṭrikās be identical with the Aṇāṭhas of the Panjar (Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. III, p. 75) and with the Aṇāṭhas who are mentioned in the Periplus (§ 47) together with the Ἀραγόνιαι and Ταυράποι?
FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARI

(E) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brähmanas and Ibbiyas, 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

(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 my brothers, of (my) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of mine there are).

(N) These Mahāmatras 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

(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: SHAHBAZGARI

14. (A) Devanāḥpripayo Priyadāraśi rayya eva³ ahati (B) ātikrataṁ aṁtara⁴ na bhuta-pruvarn sava[m]⁵ kala[m] aṁtha-kramaṁ⁶ va paṁvedana va (C) tā[m] maya eva[m] ki[m] (D) savra[m] kala[m] aśamanasa me orodhanaspi garbhagāraspi vrachoṣpi vinitaspi uyanaspi savatra paṁvedaka⁷ aṁtha janasa paṁvedetu⁸

¹ pālgedha is a Māgadha form of pārīgṛdha, for which see above, p. 10, n. 5.
² See above, p. 34, n. 3. ³ eva[m] Bühler. ⁴ aṁtara[m] Bühler.
⁵ savra[m] Bühler. ⁶ aṁtha- Bühler. ⁷ savrātra paṭrī Bühler. ⁸ paṭrī Bühler.

15 (E) 8 savatra cha aṭṭham 1 janasa karomi a[hant] (F) ya[m] cha kichi 10 mukhato ana[pem]i aha[m] dap[a][ka][n] va śravaka va ye 11 va pana mahamatranami acha[y][k]am aropita[n] bhoti t[a]y[e aṭṭhaye [v]i[vade sa[m]taṁ nijati 12 va parishaye ana[mātiriyena 13 pra[t]ivedetavo 14 me savatra sava[t] 15 kala[m] (G) eva 16 anapita[m] maya (E) [n]a[st]i hi me tosho uṭhanas[i] aṭṭh-a-sa[m]taṁ iṭira[n]aye [cha] (I) ka[t]ava-mata[m] 17 hi me sava-loka-hita[m] 17 (J) ta[s]a cha mulam etra uṭhanam aṭṭha-sa[m]ta[m]cha (K) na[st]i hi k[r]a[m]a[m]a[r]a[m]


TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvanāṃpīya 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 to the people 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 am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of Mahāmātra) 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 Mahāmātra, 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]pakam Bühler. 2 śravakaś Bühler. 3 yah Bühler.
4 ṭravanām Bühler, who added v[ao]. 5 There is a fissure between a and cha.
6 Bühler added va. 7 saṁhitam Bühler.
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 chaṁ.
10 There is a fissure between ki and chi.
11 ya Bühler. 11 Read niḥhati, which is Bühler’s reading.
12 pṝṭi Bühler. 13 so[va]ra[m] Bühler. 14 evam Bühler.
15 There is a hole between ma and tain. 17 so[vra] Bühler. 18 s[r]ava- Bühler.
19 spagam Bühler. 20 Read dhṛma-dāpī. 21 dipista Bühler.
22 [d]ukara[n] Bühler. 23 aṇaṃṭra Bühler. 24 Read agren.
the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them 1 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.

(M) But it is indeed difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

1. (A) देवनांप्रियो मित्रयि रज सवभ इहोति सब- ।
2. प्रथंद वसेि (B) सवे हि ते सवमे भवभूधि च इहोति ।
3. (C) जनो चु उचवञ्चांदो उचवञ्चांगो (D) ते सवव च एकदेशं व ।
4. पि कर्षि (E) निपुि पि चु दूने यस नसि सयम् भव- ।
5. शुधि कितज्ञत दिलिभिति नितिे पदर ।

1 (A) Devananāpriya Priyadārśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.
2 (p)rashanīda vaseyu (B) save hi te sayame bhavaśudhi cha ichharhity
3 (C) jano chu uchavuca-chhāndo uchavuca-rago (D) te savrān va eka-deśa va
4 pi kashāri (E) vipule pi chu dāne yasa nasti sayama bhava-
5 śudhi kītraṇata drīḍha-bhatita nīche paḍhain

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devanāpriya 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 Sāhbāzgarhi Rock (continued).

17. (A) अनिधि कं शतां देवनाम विभृत्य नम निक्रिमितु (B) च सुगम आजनि च यादश्यि अभिरक्षि अरुपयु (C) सो देवनामिर्यो मित्रद्रिय रज दशभष्टिसि सति निक्रिमि सतोधि (D) तेन्द्र अससय (E) लोध हि समस अभयारण्यां द्वारे द्वितीय द्वै द्वारा द्वितीय हिर्जनमनविधाये च जनमय श्वास दशेन अभयारण्य भामपिरिपुष्य च तत्त्वोपये (F) यथे भुवे रति भोि देवनामिर्यस्त 

1 sha.(she at Māsēhā) corresponds to, and must have the same meaning as, nāmi at Girnār and kāni at Kāli, Dhauli, and Jaugada. Bührer (ZDMG, 43, 149) derived it from Skt. āśām, and translated it by ' (some) of them'.

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 Priyadraśi.

4 savre Bührer.

5 sayama Bührer.

6 didha- Bührer.
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17. (A) atikratāṁ atarāṁ  Devanaṁpriya vihara-yatra nama nirkamishu (B) atra 
       mrgaya añāni cha edhāni  abhiramani abhuvasu  (C) so Devanaṁpriyo 
       Priyadārśi raja daśa-vasahbhasita satāṁ  nikrami Sabdhi  (D) tenada  
       dhraṁma-yatra  (E) atra iyaṁ hoti so maṇḍapa-brahmapaṇaṁ draśaṇe 
       dhramanuṣasti dhraṁ-па[ṛ]s[ru]cha  cha tatopayaṁ (F) eshe  bhuy[e ra]ti 
       bhoti  Devanaṁpriyasa Priyadārśasa raño bhago  amiti

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past the Devanāṃpriyas used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours. 
(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed). 
(C) But when king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years, 
       he went out to Sambōdhi. 
(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here. 
(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and 
       Brāhmaṇas (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 Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAGZARHI

18. (A) deveraniyo māyadrasi rham eva kramiti (B) jātāṁ ucyavun maṅgalaṁ kroiti krami ḍāvhe 
       nivaḥ pañcavadā maṅgaṁ kroiti (C) keśaṁ tu sīavya máhau cha ṛṣiṣṭaṁvā cha Pūṇikā cha 
       nīrtaṁvā cha maṅgalaṁ kroiti (D) so kātvā ca ca kūmā maṅgala (E) āpakaṁ tu siṁ ca 
       mat (F) ēvaṃ tu siṁ mahāpā ca maṅgala

19. (G) keśaṁ ēva dharmaṁ ṛṣṭavātmika samāptipāti gahān āpaṁvita pravarāṁ sanyāso 
       Śramaṇasākṣaṁ tvam eva kramam āpaṁvita pravarāṁ sanyāso (G) so tvam eva piśuṁvā 
       pi bhūtvā pi śaṁsajñān pi niścayitvān āpaṁvita bhūtvā tvam eva kramam āpaṁvita pravarāṁ 
       sanyāso ēvaṁ tu siṁ ca maṅgalaṁ yāvān tām āpaṁvita niścayitvā ca maṅgala

20. (H) ēvaṁ kṛtyā (I) ca hī etu maṅgalaṁ svarāyaṁ ca tām (J) śāya ca ca krami nīvēṇāmat 
       śāya pūn nāś (K) dharmaḥ kramam āpaṁvita pravarāṁ sanyāso (M) yāvān pūnā ca 
       kramim evaśāya ca (N) ēvaṁ tu siṁ ca maṅgalaṁ yāvān pūnā āpaṁvita pravarāṁ sanyāso 
       ēvaṁ tu siṁ ca maṅgalaṁ yāvān pūnā āpaṁvita pravarāṁ sanyāso ēvaṁ tu siṁ maṅgalaṁ

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

18 (A) Devanāṃpriyo Priyadrāśī [aˈya evaṁ ahaṭi (B) jano uchavuchāṁ maṅgalaṁ karoti abadhē avahē pajupadane pravase ataye⁴ ataye cha edīṣī[ei]² jano ba⁵ maṅgalaṁ karoti (C) atra tu striyaka bahu cha bahuvīdhaṁ cha putika⁶ cha niraṭhiyaṁ⁸ cha maṅgalaṁ karot[ī]
⁶ (D) so kāṭavo cha [va]⁷ kho maṅgala (E) apa-phala[n] tu kho etā⁸ (F) imaṁ [r]u kho maha-phala ye ma-maṅgala⁹


20 imaṁ kashāṁ¹¹ (I) ye hi etake¹³ maγale saśayike¹⁵ tai[ṁ] (J) siya vo tāṁ ahaṁ nivāṭeyatī siya puna¹¹ no²² (K) i aloka cha²² vo tāṁ²⁴ (L) i da²⁵ puna dhrama-maṅgalaṁ akalikaṁ (M) yadi puna tāṁ ahaṁ na nivāṭ[ei]¹⁶ ia²⁷ ahaḥ paraṭra anāṁtaṁ puṇāṁ prasavati (N) haṁche puna tāṁ thāṁ²⁸ nivāṭeti tato uḥ[bra]ṣa[ei]sa²⁹ ladham bhoti ia³⁰ cha so aṭha paraṭra cha anāṁtaṁ puṇāṁ prasavati tena dhramamaṅgalena³¹

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, and when setting out on a journey; on these and other (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various offensive 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 edīṣīye, as at Māneṣhā.
3 Bühler omitted va.
4 Read bahu.
5 putika[ei] Bühler.
6 niraṭhiyaṁ Bühler.
7 k[vo] Bühler.
8 etāṁ Bühler.
9 Read dhrama-; maṅgala[n] Bühler.
10 -pati[pi] Bühler.
11 saṃyama Bühler.
12 Read bhratana, which is Bühler's reading.
13 There is a vacant space here.
14 saṃstutena Bühler.
15 k[a]sa Bühler.
16 aṭhasa Bühler.
17 pana Bühler.
18 i[a]sa Bühler.
19 sa[n]yasiye Bühler.
20 pana Bühler.
21 Bühler omitted no.
22 i aloka[ei] Bühler.
23 titke Bühler.
24 iya Bühler.
25 Read nivāṭeti, as at Māneṣhā.
26 [a]śa Bühler.
27 Read tāṁ ahaṁ; Bühler read [a]haṁ for tāṁ thāṁ.
28 uḥkayaṁ Bühler.
29 uḥkayaṁ Bühler.
30 s[ha] Bühler.
31 Read dhrama-maṅgalaṁ.
32 For pajupadane see above, p. 36, n. 22.
33 Instead of putika, 'foul!', all other versions read kṣudra, 'vulgar'.
(I) For such 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) 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) Devanamiṣṭha rasa yaśo vā kṛiti vā no māhāthava maññati aṣṭha yo pi yaśo kṛiti vā iṣṭhita netalaye aṣṭhita vā jāne nāmātama suṣrūṭaṃ sāme ti nāmātamaṃ aṣṭuṇādiyaṃ (B) etakāye Devanamiṣṭha rasa yaśo kṛiti vā

22 iṣṭhita (C) ya[ṃ] tu kṛiti parakramati Devanamiṣṭha rasa yaśaṃ tāṃ sav[r]āṃ parakramaye vā kṛiti sakale aparsārave siṣṭāṃ (D) eshe tu parisrave yaṁ apuṇāḥ (E) dukare [t]u kho eshe khudrakena vagreṇa uṣṭeṇa va aṣṭha agreṇa parakramena sava[ṃ] paritijita (F) at[r]aṃ chu uṣate . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṃṣṭha 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 Dēvānāṃṣṭha Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame.

(C) But whatever effort king Dēvānāṃṣṭha 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 tadaṭṭhaṇ Bühler; but see his Ind. Pali., § 11, C.
3 Read -suṣrūṭhāṇ. 4 Devanamiṣṭha Bühler. 5 Bühler added va.
6 dukaraṇu Bühler. 7 etāṁ (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) देवनामप्रियो विनिमय रच एवं हृदि (B) नखित एविय दत्त विदिन भ्रमदन प्रमसंरचे भ्रमसंकिंगो प्रमसंवंध (C) तत् एतं दसनत्तणं संप्यापरिपति मति पियु सुभु मनिसस्वुल्लतिणं भ्रमशामस्मान
24 दत् प्रश्न वारने (D) एतं बततो पितुन ष्रु पुनेच पि भुल ष्रु समिक्रं पि मिनिसस्वुल्लत ष्रु प्रतिविश्वेषेन इसं सतु इसं करतो (E) सो तत् करतं इत्यादिच च अर्यपति परशं क बतनं पुनं प्रस्वति
25 तन प्रमदनेन

23 (A) Devana[m]priyo Priyadarśaś raya evair hahati1 (B) nasti ed[.]ṣaṁ danaṁ yadiṣaṁ dhrama-dana2 dhrama-saṁstava7 dh[r]ama-saṁvibhago dh[r]ama-saṁba[m]dha.3 (C) tatra etain dasa-bhaṭakanaṁ saṁmama-paṭipati4 mata-pitushu suśrushi miṣ[.]ra-saṁstuta-ṇātikanaṁ śramaṇa-bramaṇana.5
24 dana praṇaṇa6 anara[m]bho (D) etain vatavo pituna pi bhratuna pi [spa]mikena7 pi mitra-saṁstutana9 ava prativeśiyena [i]ma[m]9 sadhu imāṁ kaṭavo (E) so tatha karata[m] ialoka10 cha a[r]aḥheti paratra cha anama puṇa11 prasavati
25 [te]na dhrama-danena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṅgupriya Priyadarśin 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’.

(F) 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 -danaṁ Bühler.
3 -saṁbanaḥdho Bühler.
4 saṁma-pratipati Bühler.
5 bramaṇanam Bühler.
6 danaṁ prananaṁ Bühler.
7 [sa]mikena Bühler.
8 Read -saṁstutena, which is Bühler’s reading.
9 There is a fissure in the rock here.
10 karaṇataṁ tālokā[j] Bühler.
11 puṇiṇi Bühler.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

B.—On a separate boulder.

1 (A) देवनंपियो यथाविधिः रघु सम्बन्धिनिः मतकस्ति महदायिनि च पुत्रजि द्येन विविधे च पुनः (B) नौ चु तथ द्वन च पुज च।
2 देवनंपियो समुदित यथ प्रीति सल्वधि सिधं सम्प्रवेंद्रन (C) सल्वधि तु वधुविधि (D) तसं तु इयो सुल चं वधवति।
3 वैति अतप्रवेंदुपुजु व परमवेंदगतं च नौ सियं ज्ञापणभिसं लघुक च सियं तसं तसि महदायिनि (E) पुलजितविध व च परमवें।
4 द तैन तैन अक्रेन (F) द्वारं करतं अतप्रवेंद तद्धेति परमवेंदसं पिं च उपकरेऽति (G) तद सन्धे करिनो अतप्रवें।
5 त्वञ्जाति परमवेंदसं च अयकरेिति (H) यो हि ऊष्चसि अतप्रवेंद पुिेिति परमवें गदाहि तस्ये अत्मवनम्भिति च वैति।
6 अतप्रवेंददिमहमि ति सों च पुनि तथ करतं सों च पुनि तथ करतं बदतरं उपहिति अतप्रवेंद (I) सों समयों चो सधु वैिति अत्मवनम्भि धो।
7 चुयो च सुयो व च ति (J) एवं हि देवनंपियो इति वैिति सम्बन्धेन लघुकु च त्रत्तियेताच च सियमु (E) चे च तथ तथ।
8 प्रसन तैं च वतयो (L) देवनंपियो न तथ द्वन च पुज च महदायिनि च प्रीति सल्वधि सिधं सियं सम्प्रवेंदन (M) चुल च एवते अत्।
9 वपति भुसरमाच इछवियसरमाच वधवुलिक धों च सियो (N) इमं च एवंिस चतुरं चं अतप्रवेंदविष मोिि।

10 (A) देवनंपियो प्रियारासं राया सावरः-प्रशाहिन्दानि प्रवरजिता[ni] ग्रहातनि [da] चि पूजेंि दानेना विविध्ये चि पूज्ये (B) नो चु तथा तथा [da] ना [vi] चि पुजा व।
2 देवनंपियो मानति यथा किति सा[la]-वाची सिया सावरः-प्रशाहिन्दानि (C) साल-वाची तु बाहुविधा (D) तसा तु यो मुला याँ वचा-गुटि।
3 किति अता-प्रशाहिन्दा-पुिा वि पा[ra]-प्रशाहिन्दा-गरारा वि नो सिया [a] पाकरानि लहुकावि वि सिया तसी तसी प्रकारातु [c] (E) पुलतिविधि वि चु परा-प्रशा[ni]।
4 [da] तें तें अकरेन (F) e[y]ामि करारामि [a] अता-परा-प्रशाहिन्दा-वाचेति तसी प्रकारातु [c] पिं च उपकरेऽति (G) तस्य तस्य अतप्रवेंदविष मोिि।

1 This word was entered above the line; pravrajita Bühler.
2 graha[sha]ni Bühler.
3 dana[ni] Bühler.
4 oprakaranai Bühler.
5 kara[ni]tam Bühler.
6 Read 'daa, which is Bühler's reading.
7 Read tad-aanatha.
8 ka[vata cha] Bühler.
9 -prashamindam Bühler.
TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

5 kṣaṇaṭi para-[pra]śhadāsa¹ cha apakaroti (H) yo hi kachi² ata-prashaḍaṁ pujeti [para]-p[r]ashaḍa[m]³ garañhah savre ata-prashaḍa-bhaṭiya va kiti
6 ata-prashaḍaṁ dipayami ti so cha puna tatha karaṁtan so cha puna tatha karaṁtan⁴ ba[dhata]rāṁ upahāṁati ata-prashaḍaṁ (I) so sayamo vo sadhu kiti aṁmañhāsa dharmo
7 śruṇeyu cha suśrushedu cha ti (J) evam hi Devaṇaṁpriyasa ichha kiti savra-prashamāda bahu-śruta ch[a] kal[a]na]gama cha siyasu (K) ye cha tatra tatra
10 dhramasa cha di[p]ana

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devaṇāṁpriya Priyadārśin is honouring all sects: (both) ascetics and householders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But Devaṇāṁpriya 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-control⁸ alone is meritorious, (i.e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of Devaṇāṁpriya, (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) Devaṇāṁpriya 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 prashaṇhāsa: Bühler.
² [a]chi: Bühler.
³ prasha[n]a: Bühler.
⁴ Cancel the five preceding words, which were repeated by mistake.
⁵ Restore aṭhaye.
⁶ vauca-: Bühler.
⁷ prasha[n]a: Bühler.
⁸ Instead of 'self-control' the other versions read 'concord'.
⁹ For siyati see above, p. 40, n. 1.
(III) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the Mahāmātrās of morality, the Mahāmātrās controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, and other classes (of officials).

(IV) 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: SHAHBAZGARHII

C.—West face of Shahbāzgarhī rock.

1 (A) ऋषिवध्यक्षान्निसतः देवनिःनिभिस्मात्रिज्ञ रजो कालिग विजितं (B) दिशामचे प्रशाखांसहस्रे ये ततो अपवहे शतसहस्राश्रे ततं हते वहुततंके व मुरे

2 (C) ततो यथ ग्रामु मन पल्पे कालिगेशु तथेऽ प्रभासित्यु प्रभासाश्रे अनुसरित रोमानुसारे देवनिःनिभिस्मात्रिज्ञानुविजिति कालिगानि

3 (E) आविषिष्कित प्रिविजितमसि यो ततं वध व मरणं व अपवहे व जनसं सं वद वेदनिःनिभिस्मात्रिज्ञ च देवनिःनिभिस्मात्रिज्ञ (F) दसि चु ततो गुरुस्मततावरे देवनिःनिभिस्मात्रिज्ञ (G) ये ततं

4 वसिति ग्रामसं च मारणं व श्रंजि च प्रकटं वध्यं व बहु विहितं यथा ज्युस्तिसुधस्यु परम्परतु सुधहु गुरेन सुपुषु मित्रसंस्ताःसहस्यके

5 अतिक्रिया समस्तकोटि समस्तप्रस्तापं सदामतिर्थि सति ततं भोजि समापणे व वयो व ज्युस्तिसुध समस्तप्रस्तापं (H) श्रष च ध्य प्रश्रितं सिफो अविश्वाहितो ए श्रेष श्रिभसानुसारन्नात्स्यसंवति तस्मि

6 प्रपुस्तित तद्नं ध्य प्रश्रितं दो अनुप्रस्तापं भोजि (I) प्रत्यक्षं च एतं सम्बन्धलं गुरुस्मत च देवनिःनिभिस्मात्रिज्ञ (J) लक्ष्यं च एकते ध्य प्रश्रितं न नमम प्रस्तोत (K) श्रो वनस्पो ज्यो तद्नं कापिलं हतो च मुरे च अपवहे च ततो

7 शतक्ष्रो च सहस्राश्रे च ज्युस्तिसभुनं व ज्युस्तिसमयं व देवनिःनिभिस्मात्रिज्ञ (L) च ध्य प्रकारेवाति ज्युस्तिसमयमयं च देवनिःनिभिस्मात्रिज्ञ यथो वनस्पो (M) च ध्य प्रकारेवाति ज्युस्तिसमयमयं विजिते भोजि तं ध्य प्रपुस्तित आनुप्रस्तापं (N) अनुपाते ध्य प्रकारे

8 देवनिःनिभिस्मात्रिज्ञ तये ध्य प्रस्तापं च हि न पशुस्य (O) इश्य देवनिःनिभिस्मात्रयं सम्बन्धलं श्राद्धं संयं सम्पर्विंगं रघुसिंगं (P) श्रावं च सुगुरुस्यु विजिते देवनिःनिभिस्मात्रिज्ञानुप्रस्तापं (Q) सो च गुरुस्मत देवनिःनिभिस्मात्रिज्ञ यस च सवेशु च श्राद्धु

9 ग्रामु प्रारं योजनकेशु यथ श्राद्धिन्यं नम लोकरज परं च तेन श्राद्धिन्यं च तटरू च रजनि तुरं नम श्राद्धिन्यं नम मक मक मक श्राद्धिन्यं नम निष चोथपां च तश्वत्तिश्वर (R) एवेष्ठं हिदु राजविषविश्व योनिकोपेशु नमकर्मिनयमित
10 भोजितिसिनिकेषु संप्रचलितेऽव सत्वं देवनिमियस ध्रमनुशस्त्र अनुवर्तित (8) वष वि देवनिमियस दुःत न व्रजिते ते वि तुदु देवनिमियस ध्रमवृत्तं विरव्य ध्रमनुशस्त्र ध्रमं अनुविचित्रित अनुविचित्रितार्धितेऽव ष (1) यो स लधे षक्तेन भोजिति सत्वं विन्धयो सत्वं युन

11 विन्धयो विनिर्मितो सी (U) लधे भोजिति विनिर्मिति प्रभविजयिनि (V) लधुक्त त यो स विनिर्मिति (W) परिवर्तनेव महणै वेदिति देवनिमियस (X) एतद्व्र व जन्ते वि प्रतिदीप्ति निर्विवेक व्यवहार युवम प्रोक्ते से असु नवं विनिर्मिति म विनिर्मिति मनुष्य सुक्षिः यो विन्धयो श्याति लधुक्त त रोकितु त च यो विन्धयो मनुष्य

12 यो प्रभविजयिनि (Y) सी हिन्दुलैकिको पर्मलैकिको (Z) सत्वनिर्मिति भोजिति य ध्रमर्गि (AA) से ही हिन्दुलैकिक पर्मलैकिक


4 vasati 13 bramaṇa va śramaṇa va a[ṃ]jye va prashamnā ṣr[a]hcha va ye[va vi]hiha 14 va[ṃ]bhūtī-sūrṣrāḥ mata-piṭusu sūrṣrāḥ gurunā 14 sūrṣrāḥ mitra-saṁstuta-saḥya-


6 prapunati [t]a[t]r tām pi tesa va apaghratho 15 bhoti (I) pratibhagam cha [c]aṁ savvau-maṇusamāṃ 30 guru-mata[m]a cha Devanaprīya[sa] (J) nasti cha ekata 21 pi prashadaspi 26 na na[ma prasada (K) so yamato [ja]no tada Kalige [ha]no cha mu[v]o cha apavaṇḍha 28 cha tato


1 a[sta]- Bührer. 8 [diyadh]- Bührer. 8 Bührer omitted va.
4 [pa]cha Bührer. 5 [Kalingesu]- Bührer. 5 -[pakamani]- Bührer.
7 [ma]- Bührer. 9 priyasa vijini u Kalinge[n]- Bührer.
9 [man]- ye [Bührer. 10 va[dh]- Bührer.
11 tatra [r] for ye tatra Bührer. 11 vasani Bührer. 11 gurunani Bührer.
13 didha- Bührer. 16 tatham Bührer. 17 sakas Bührer.
18 Read sinhe; [ve]lo Bührer. 19 Read apagrathe, which is Bührer's reading.
20 savam manu'- Bührer. 21 ekataraṃspi Bührer. 22 prashatadaspi Bührer.
45 Read 'nīkapatī, which is Bührer's reading.
8 Devanāṃpriyaṣa vuchati teshā kiti avatrapayu na cha [ha]ṃṇeyasu (O) ichhati
hi D[ā]vamāṃpriyo savra-bhutana akshati sa[m]yamaṃ sama[cha]riyam
rabhāsiye (P) ayī̀ cha mukha-mut[a]̀ viyaye Devanāṃpriya[sa] yo
dhrama-vijayo (Q) so cha puna ladhō Devanāṃpriyaśa īha cha saveshu
cha amteshu
9 [a] shashu pi yojana-śa[ṛ]ṣeṇu yatra Aṃtiyoko nama Y[o]na-raja paraṃ cha tena
Aṭiyoko[ṛ]na 4 chature 4 rajani Turamayo nama Aṃtiṅkini nama Maka
nama Alīkasudaro nama nicha Choḍa-Paṇḍa avya Ta[m]bapāra[n]ya² (R)
[e]yameva [hi]ja raja-vishvaspi 6 Yona-Ka[m]boyeshu Nabhaka-Nabhitina
10 Bhōja-Pitinkesu Aṃdra-Palideshu 8 savatra Devanāṃpriyaśa
dhramanusāti anuvaṇānti (8) yatra pi Devanāṃpriyaśa duta na vrachānti
tc pi śruta Devanāṃpriyaśa dhrama-vuṭṭham vidh[a]ṇaṁ 9 dhramanusāti
dhramaṇ [a]nuvidhiyaṇāṃ anuvidhiyiṣṭa[n]i cha (T) yo [sa]¹⁶ ladhe etakena
11 vijayo priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaśi (V) lahuca tu kha
sa priti (W) parātri[k]aṃeva maha-phala meṇāti Devana[m]priyo (X) etaye cha
aṭhaye ayī̀ dhrama-dīpi nip[ita] 12 kiti putra papotra me asu navaṁ vijayaṁ
ma vijētav[a] 13 maniśhu spa[k]aspi yo vijay[e] kshaṃ[ti] cha labh-du[m]data 14
cha rocheta taṁ cha yo 16 vija 16 maṇ[a]tu
12 yo dhrama-vijayo (Y) so ḍhidalokika paralokiko (Z) sava-chati-rati 17 bhotu ya
[chh]rāṁma-rati 18 (AA) sa hi ḍidalokika paralokika

TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed eight years,
the country of the Kalingas 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 as those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the Kalingas has been taken, Dvānāṃpriya
is devoted to a zealous study of morality, 10 to the love of morality, and
to the instruction of (people) in morality.

(D) This is the repentance of Dvānāṃpriya on account of his conquest of (the
country of) the Kalingas.

(E) For, this is considered very painful and deplorable by Dvānāṃpriya, 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
Dvānāṃpriya.

1 eske Bühler. 2 nute Bühler. 3 sa[vr]ṣhu Bühler. 4 Aṃtiyokena Bühler.
5 paṇiṣṭha Bühler. 6 Vīkṣa-Varūṇ Bühler. 7 Nabhake Naḥbhītina Bühler.
8 Pūla[de]ṣhu Bühler. 9 vidkenaṃ Bühler. 10 [cha] Bühler.
14 ḍaḥa[da]ṭasu Bühler. 15 taṁ e[pa] Bühler. 16 Read vijayaṁ, as at Kālī।
17 svora cha niraṇi Bühler. 18 [r]ama Bühler.
13 dhrama-śilana (= Skt. dharmā-śilana) is the equivalent of dhāmānavyō at Girmār; see above,
THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI

LEFT 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 injury 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.

(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 Kaliṅga, (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 forests which are (included) in the dominions of Dēvānāmpriya, even those he pacifies (and) converts.

(N) And they are told of the power (to punish them) which Dēvānāmpriya possesses in spite of (his) repentance, in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed.

(O) For Dēvānāmpriya desires towards all beings abstinence from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.

(P) And this conquest is considered the principal one by Dēvānāmpriya, viz. the conquest by morality.

1 'The meaning of āpygṛhitṛa is fixed by the various readings upghāṭe (Kāśi) and upghāto (Girnār). It has to be noted (to which Pischel draws my attention) that some Kōsas give for grathita the meaning hata, kāvīsita; see Böthingk and Roth's Dictionary, s. v. granthī.—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 Shāhbazgarhi version.

3 As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 43, 174 f.), the nom. plur. atavi is used in the sense of atavikā. Indian rhetoricians call such a figurative expression lakshaṇā. One of the examples given in the Tarkasamgrahadipikā, § 59, is मुखा: योगाल, 'the tribunes (i.e. the occupants of the tribunes) are shouting.'

4 Literally, 'induces to meditate'. Cf. niṣkṣaṇavīṣanti and niṣkṣaṇayāti (or niṣkṣaṇayitavā) in the pillar-edict IV, M, niṣkṣaṇavīṣanti in the Jaugāda separate edict I, R, and niṣkṣaṇati in the rock-edict VI, F, and in the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, JJ to NN; also the second separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugāda, where Asoka declares that he wishes to induce his borderers to practise morality.

5 Bühler (EI, 2, 471) rendered anutapa prabhāve (i.e. anutapa prabhāve) by 'power to torment (them)'. But the meaning which he assigned to anutapa is unusual, and this word is a synonym of anulaya or anulākshanā in section D of this edict. Thomas takes prabhāve = Skt. prabhāve; see V. A. Smith's Asoka, sec. ed., p. 173, n. 4. But at Shāhbazgarhi the 3, sing. opt. ends in -ṛati; cf. my note on the translation of edict XIV, D.

6 I adopt Lüders' rendering of the last two words of this section; see SPAW, 1914, 85f. The Girnār and Kāśi versions replace the locative ṛabhasīye (= Skt. ṛabhāsīye) by the accusative mādava or madava (= Skt. mārdavam, 'kindness').

7 mukha-muta (also at Mānehrā, XIII, 1, 9) is the same as mukhya-muta in the Lauriyā-Arāṣāj and Allahabad-Kōsam pillar-edicts, VI, F.
(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by Devanāmpriya both here and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred yojanas, where the Yona 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 Chōchas and Pāṇḍyas (are ruling), as far as Tāmraparni.

(R) Likewise here in the king’s territory, among the Yonas and Kambōyas, among the Nabhexas and Nabhitī,¹ among the Bhōjas and Pitinikas, among the Andhras and Paliḍas,²—everywhere (people) are conforming to Devanāmpriya’s instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of Devanāmpriya do not go, having heard of the duties of morality, the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of Devanāmpriya, 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) Devanāmpriya 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,³ 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-EDIT : SHAHBAZGARHI

13. (A) शाही भ्रमरदिप देवनांम्पियन प्रिणित रज तिपेक्षित अल्क यो संक्षिप्तेन अलक यो विचित्रेन (B) न हि सत्व सत्वे गति (C) महत्ते हि विचित्रे बहु च निख्रिते लिखितेप्रशसिः च (D) अलक चु च्यु पुनः पुनः लिपित तस तस अतस मभृतिर्यं शेष जन तथा

14. पतिप्रेमाणि (E) हो तिव च शाह चिक चिन्त शास्त्रं तिलिथितं देशं च संस्कारं करणं च शालोचितं दिपक्षकरं च अपरेनेन

¹ The Kālī version reads Nabhapāti for Nabhitī.
³ Cf. above, p. 49, n. 2.
⁴ Cf. above, p. 48, n. 10. The wording of Kālī and Māṇṣchārā differs here. Unless the Shahbazgarhi reading is merely due to a clerical mistake, it would contain a Prākrit substantive chatti = Skt. ṛtyākā in the sense of ṛṣya.
FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

13 (A) aye⁴ dhrama-dipi⁴ Devanāmpryiena Priś[na]⁴ raña nipesapita⁴ asti vo sankhitenā² asti yo vistriṣena (B) na hi savatra⁶ sasavre⁷ gatite⁹ (C) mahalakhe hi vijite bahu cha likhite likha[p]esami cheva (D) asti chu⁹ atra puna puna [lā]pitaḥ tasa tasa [a]thasa madhuriyaye ye[na] jana tatha

14 patipajeyati¹⁰ (E) so siya va atra kiche¹¹ asamataṁ likhitam deśam va samkhay[a]¹² karana va alocheti dipikarasa va aparadhena

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written¹² by king Dēvānāṃpryīa 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,¹⁶ or by the fault of the writer.

IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

(A).—First Inscribed Rock.

1. (A) abhi ṣvamṛtipi devanāṃpiyēn paṃḍūrīṣaṃ ṛṣijñ na itkātipit (B) hīṃ nī kīchī jaite aṃbhitū prajāhī-

2. tāvāvē (C) no pī c samjē jatavē (D) mahā hī dētā sāmujē ṛṣijaṃ ṛṣijñē (E) prati pī chu

3. evākjē samjē sāvahūtā ṛṣijēnāsā ṛṣijēnā (F) pūr mahanasē ṛṣijēnāsā paṃḍūrīṣaṃ rā-

4. jīnē śaṃcēnus vahīn śaṃcēnusahāvān śaṃcēnusu sūpamūkē (G) se ̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱°
SECOND ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

5 (A) सत्व विविजजसि देवनप्रिय निधिद्रिष्टा रजिजने ये च चात अन्तः
6 चोह परिवर्तियतै जन्मार्वथा सत्य निधियोगे सम योहार्ज ये च चात... स

...... गास समत रजने सब्च
...... प्रियया प्रियद्रासी रजिने
7 [duve 2] चिकिस कठ मनुष्यविक च पशुविकिस कठ (B) ओष्ठदत्त मनु
...... कनित
चोह...
...... कनित च श्राप अन्तः निधि सब्च हरिपित च रोषिपित च
8 (C) यवेज सुलिन च फलित च अन्तः अन्तः सब्च हरिपित च रोषिपित च
(D) समेधु रखित रोषिपितानि ...... फिरनि पवित्रोगे पशुपुरिन्दन

5 [A] स[ayatra vi]jjitasi Devanapriyasa Priyadra[si]sa rajine ye cha ata...atha
nama Yona-[raja] ye cha [a]... sa...[gasa] samata ra[jane sa]yatra
...... priyasa Priyadra[si]sa rajine
ropa[pira] cha
patibhogayce paśu-m[uni]śanām 15

1 [De]joua[pri]yena Bühler.
3 samatja kaṭapya Bühler.
4 Bühler inserted the figure '1'.
6 Bühler inserted the figure '3'.
7 a[n]ta Bühler.
8 o[pra] Bühler.
9 tiyoge Bühler.
10 samanta Bühler.
11 o[sha[ha]ni Bühler.
12 [ya]tra yatra Bühler.
13 ra[chha] Bühler.
14 The next symbol (read [ha] by Bühler) may be the first letter (u) of udupanani.
15 -m[a]nutana Bühler.
THIRD ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

9. (A) देवनामिथे दिविदेशि रज्जा झा (B) हुड़वड़वविदित्तते ते व्रज आशापिणि
   (C) समवान विजितते तेय रज्जा प्रेक्षिते वधिणि पंचमु वधिणि व वधिणि

10. अनुस्मरि नित्यमत तत्त व अभिरे इस्में भ्रमरुलिथि यष्ट मारे पि भ्रमरे
    (D) सादु मातिलु मुरुकु भ्रमप्रयति

11. अतिरीक्ष व ब्राह्मणशयन धने मणि भ्रमरे सादु भ्रमवयि भ्रमहति सादु
    (E) परिश पि च तत्तिनि गर्वनिसि भ्रमपिणिति हेरति च विन्यति

12. नाते च

9. (A) Devanapriya Priyadāśi raja eva [ha] (B) duva[.a]śa-vāṇaḥ-bhīṣitaena 1
   me iyār 2 [anapāyē] (C) savra[r]a vijita . . . . ta 3 [ra]jū prādesike
   [paṁ]chashu [paṁchashu] 5 vāshēsh[u]

    aṇāyē 6 pi krama[na] 7 (D) [sadhū māta] pi[tu]shu [s]u [śrussa mitra]-sa[na] stūta-

    apa-[va]yata apa-bha[dat] sadhū (E) parisha pi cha yutani ga[na]nasi
    [anapa]yīśā[na] hē[tut]e cha vi[yanj]a-

12. nate cha

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

12. (A) अतिकर्ष खेत हुणि ववषाति वविति यो प्रणवर्धे विहिः च भुतं वतिन जतिनि
    भ्रमपिणित भ्रमववषाति भ्रमपिणित

13. (B) से झाज देवनवियस प्यिद्रिशि रजिने भ्रमवर्धोन भरियोशि झानो भ्रमवर्धो
    पिन्यद्रणि शस्त्रि अर्हीतनि जति च विविनि न्युति द्रविति जनस

14. (C) झिपि भुहु ववषाति वहुतुवपि तिति झान बिविति देवनविस प्यिद्रिशि
    रजिने भ्रमनुपिशि अनमिने प्रणान भ्रमविः भुतं जतिनि

15. संपिणिति भ्रमववषाति संपिणिति मातिलु मुरुकु भ्रमववषाति (D) श्रे झाने
    च बहुविधि भ्रमवर्धो विति (E) व्यवहिति च देवनियसे

16. प्रयति रज भ्रमवर्धो इसे (F) नुम पि च च नतरे च प्यिद्रिशि देवनविस
    पिणि रजिने पाण्डरिलिनि यो भ्रमवर्धो इसे जनविक ह्रे शिले च

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1. Read "bhīṣitaena." 2. yamanī Bhāl. 3. [me]... ta Bhāl. 4. nikramav[ā]tu Bhāl.
5. vasī Bhāl. What he took for an Anuvāra, is the optional horizontal (sometimes curved)
   bottom-line which he has noted in ja (ZDMG, 43: 275); and which the Mānṣhāra version uses also
   in āa (XIII, 10), ākha (VII, 33; XII, 6; XIII, 1), in of māta (I, 3; IV, 15; XIII, 4), tha (II, 5; V, 20, 26; XII, 4; cf. above, p. 55, n. 6), and pa (XII, 5).
FIFTH ROCK-EDIT: MANSEHRA

19 (A) Devanāpriqueṇa Vyādāśīne sangraḥaṇaṇaṁ (B) karitraṁ dukkare (C) avē dhātaṁ kāpapāṅ (D) vina sa ilāyam kareṇa (E) maṁ putraṁ vakrapaṁ (F) maṁ saḷaṁ pitaṁ (G) maṁ pitaṁ mātāṁ mātāṁ (H) maṁ (I) maṁ (J) maṁ (K) maṁ

20 naṁyaṁ putrāṁ (B) maṁ putrāṁ (C) maṁ putrāṁ (D) maṁ putrāṁ (E) maṁ putrāṁ (F) maṁ putrāṁ (G) maṁ putrāṁ (H) maṁ putrāṁ (I) maṁ putrāṁ (J) maṁ putrāṁ (K) maṁ putrāṁ

21 (G) yuṇaṁ (B) yuṇaṁ (C) yuṇaṁ (D) yuṇaṁ (E) yuṇaṁ (F) yuṇaṁ (G) yuṇaṁ (H) yuṇaṁ (I) yuṇaṁ (J) yuṇaṁ (K) yuṇaṁ

22 (A) Bhāratavāsakṣaṁ (B) Bhāratavāsakṣaṁ (C) Bhāratavāsakṣaṁ (D) Bhāratavāsakṣaṁ (E) Bhāratavāsakṣaṁ (F) Bhāratavāsakṣaṁ (G) Bhāratavāsakṣaṁ (H) Bhāratavāsakṣaṁ (I) Bhāratavāsakṣaṁ (J) Bhāratavāsakṣaṁ (K) Bhāratavāsakṣaṁ

1 a[ghan] Bühler. 2 vadhīte yam Bühler. 3 -brahmanāca Bühler. 4 prāṇam Bühler. 5 dhrāma- Bühler. 6 khaśhe Bühler. 7 maṭa- Bühler. 8 ima Bühler. 9 ku Bühler. 10 Devanāpriqueṇa Vyādāśīne Bühler. 11 [a]ṭeti Bühler. 12 [ima] Bühler. 13 Read vadhrī.
23 यु भारतायेदुर्जुनाच्छ बुद्धस्वरूप हिंदुस्तानये भर्मुत्तरालिङ्गये विभूति ते (L) विधवा वल्लभ परिवर्तितये अपलिङ्गये मोक्षये च इयं

24 जयु रु संजय जय जय सहस्रे जय विद्यार्थ से (M) हिंद यशोरे च नगरीः सर्वंहृते शारोपनेशु भान्ति च सम्पुन्त च

25 ये र नीं जाजे जाजे सवल विद्यार्थ (M) इयं भ्रम निशितो तो व भ्रम निशितो ति च सवल विनितसं च भ्रमुत्तरं प्रति ते

26 भ्रमुत्तरं (O) एतते आग्रहे आग्रे भांभद्रिपि निशित विनितसं होते तथा च से प्राप्तायं

19 (A) Deśvanain|prijen.1 Priyadrasī raja eva[m] aha (B) kalaśa[m] dukara[m] (O) ye adikare kanyāsa se dukarai̯ karoi̯ (D) ta ṇ̃ maya bahu [ka]yaṇe [ka]te (E) [ta]hīn ma[a] putra [cha]

20 natari[c]a cha 2 para 3 cha ti[c]na ye apatiye me [a]va-[ka]pā in tatha anuvātiṣati 4 se sukaṭa ka[sha]ti (F) ye [chu] atra deśa pi hapeṣati se dukaṭa kash̄ati

21 (G)(((p) pe hi nama suṣadāravę 5 (H) s[c]e atikrata[m] a[m] tar[a][m] na bhuta-prava dhrama-[ma]hāmatra nama (I) se tretāsa-v[a][sha]bhīṣitena maya dhrama-mahāmatra kaṭa (J) te savra-pa[sha]desha 6

22 vapaṭa dhramadhih[na]ye cha dhrama-vadhṛiḥyā hida-sukhaye cha dh[ra]ma-yutasa Yona-Kaṁboja-Gadharana 7 Raṭhikā-Pittinikā 8 ye va pi aṇe aparata (K) bha[ṭa]maye-


25 ye va pi ađe śaṭike savratra viyapaṭa (N) [e] iyaṁ dhrama-niśīto to 13 va dhramadhithe ti va dana-saṇhyute ti va savratra vijitaśi maa dhrama-yutasī vapaṭa [te]

26 dhrama-mahāmatra (O) etaye athraye ayi dhrama-dipī likhita chira-ṭhīṭaka hotu tatha 14 cha me praja anuvatatu

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1 Read 'priye, which is Bühler’s reading.
2 Bühler omitted cha.
3 paraṁ Bühler.
4 tathāṁ anuvoc[ci]kati Bühler.
5 supadarave [a] Bühler.
6 Read 'deshu, which is Bühler's reading.
7 -Ga[m]dharamān Bühler.
8 Raṭhakra - Bühler. The second symbol (ṭh) resembles the corresponding one at Shāhīnsarhi, but the vertical line connecting the right ends of the two horizontal bars is omitted here. The third symbol looks like kṣaḥ; but the apparent Anuvāra is the optional bottom-line of the letter. Cf. the ka of chira-ṭhīṭaka, VI, 31, and above, p. 73, n. 5.
9 hidaṁ Bühler.
10 paja Bühler; ja looks like ju.
11 hidaṁ Bühler.
12 Read bhatuna.
13 niśīti ti Bühler; read ti for to.
14 tathāṁ Bühler.
26 (A) Devanapriye 1 Priyadri: raja [c]va[hat]aa 2 (B) atikrata: ataram 3
27 na 4 huta-pruve [sa]vra[m] kala athra-[krama] va [pa]jivedana va (C) ta maya evam kītā[n] (D) savra kalaṁ añata: me orodhane grābhagārasi vrachaspi vinitaspi uyanaspi savratha pa[t]ū[day]a[ka] athra janasa
28 pa[jivedetu me (E) savratha cha janasa athra kar[om] ahā:ṃ (F) yañi pi cha 4 kichhi 4 mukhate 5 anapemī ahān dapākam va śravakaṃ va ye 6 va puna mahāmatreḥi achayike aparote 8 hoti
30 (I) kātavīya:mate hi me savra-loka-[h]i[ke (J) ta]sa chu puna eshe uṭhane athra-satira:na cha (K) nasti hi kramatara savra-loka-hitena (L) ya[ha] cha [kichhi] 13 pa[rakram]a[m]a[am 15 k[tΙ][tΙ] b[h][u]r[anam
31 anāpiyam 14 ye[ha]n] i[cha] cha she 18 sukhayami paratra: cha spagra 18 a[r]a dahet ti

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1 Devanapriye Bühler.  
2 aha Bühler.  
3 atikrata: ataram Bühler.  
4 n[a] Bühler.  
5 Bühler omitted cha.  
6 kichhi Bühler.  
7 mukhate looks almost like mukhati, which is Bühler’s reading.  
8 yani Bühler.  
9 aparote Bühler.  
10 Read niṣhasti, which is Bühler’s reading.  
11 anāpiyam Bühler.  
12 ahaim Bühler.  
13 spagra Bühler.
SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

32 (A) देवनाम्यो मियद्रशि रज सन्ध इश्यति सवपश्च वसेयु (B) सन्ध हि ते सयम 
भवयुधि च ।
33 इश्यति (C) जने यु उचुच्चछदे उचुच्चरो (D) ते सयं एकदेशं च पि कवयति (E) 
विपुले धी चु दने यस नक्ष सधे सये भवयुधि कितनत दिकनित च ।
34 निते बदुि

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

34 (A) अतिक्रमं ज्ञातं देवनाम्य विहर्यम नम निक्रमिणु (B) इझ विगाविय अश्चि 
च एदिशिन अस्मिन जुहु (C) से देवनाम्यो मियद्रशि
35 रज दशवयभिन्ते सतं निक्रम सवोधि (D) तेनंद भ्रमयद (E) ज्ञ इध होति 
शमशम्मण दलने दने च दुधन दशने च धिनपघिणने च ।
36 जनपदस जनस दशने भ्रमुघिलि च भ्रमपघिपु च तसेप (F) एवेभुवे रति 
होति देवनाम्यस मियद्रशिस ।
37 रजिने भेगे भाषी

34 (A) a[t]krata[an] atara[ tại Devanapri[ya] vihara-yatra nama nikrāmishu (B) ia "mrigavīya añāni cha ediñāni abhiramāni husu (C) s[c] Devanap[r]iy[e] F[r]yadrāśī
35 raja dāsa-vashabhīsitē saṁta[r] ni[khrami Sabodhi 12 (D) tenada dhrama-yada 13

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1. phitikaṃ Bühler.
2. satkāṃ Bühler.
3. mānīte Bühler.
4. ekā Bühler.
5. "prijē Bühler.
6. chade Bühler.
7. sajāte Bühler.
8. Read -śudhi.
9. dhrīgra- Bühler.
10. ahirām Bühler.
11. i[ha] Bühler.
12. sambodhi Bühler.
13. tenad[an] dhrama-yada Bühler. What looks like an Anuvāra or Rēpha, is probably the optional bottom-line of āra, which occurs also in V, 23, 24; VIII, 36; IX, 8 (twice); X, 9; XIII, 3, 7, 9, 10, 13. Cf. above, p. 54, n. 7.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

(E) atra iya hoti šamaṇa-brahmaṇana¹ dra[ša]ne dane cha vudhrana² dra[ša]ne [cha hi|ha-pa|pti|dhane³ cha]
36 janapadasa janasa dra|sane dhrama|u|na|sasti cha dhrama-[pa]t[il]pu|cha cha tatopaya
(F) eshe bhuye rati hoti Devanapriyasa Priyadrāsīsa
37 ra|jine bhage aṇe

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

B.—North Face of Second Rock.

1 (A) Devanapriyaye Priyadrāsī raja evaṁ aha (B) jane uchavucha[m] gama[ri] karoti
3 bahu maṅga[i]a]n k[a]ro[t[i] (C) atra tu abaka-janika⁴ bahu cha bahuvridha cha khuda cha nirathriya cha magalaḥ karoti (D) se ka[z]aviye ch[eva]⁵ kha
4 magale (E) apa-phale chu [kho e]she (F) iyai chu kho maha-phale ye dhrama-magale (G) atra iya|m ca|sa|bha|ka]sai samya-pa|t|]a|]a|]u|na a[p]a|]t|ak]i

¹ śramaṇa- Bühler.
² vudhrana Bühler.
³ Read kīraṇa-
⁴ abakha for abaka- Bühler.
⁵ k[e]ha[m]i] Bühler.
⁶ maṅgaule Bühler.
⁷ a]raka Bühler.
NINTH ROCK-EDIT: MANSEHRA

7 sa'[sa\]yike se (J) s[i]ya va ta\n atm ari\n niva\n teya s[i]ya pana no (K) hidal[0]kike cheva se (L) iyam puna dhrama-magale akalike (M) [ha]khe pi ta\n atm ari\n no 8 niva\n teeti [hi]kda a[tha] para\n tra

8 anata pu\n a 3 prasavati (N) hache puna ta[tha] atm ari\n 4 niva\n te[ghi] ti hida tato 5 ubhayesari\n a[ra]khe 8 hoti hida cha se athre para\n tra cha anata 7 pu\n a\n ini prasavati tena dhramagalena 8

TENTH ROCK-EDIT: MANSEHRA

9 (A) devanaprin\n ye priyadra\n i raja ya\n so va ki\n ti va no 9 mahathrava\n han ma\n nati anatra ya\n h pi ya[so va] ki\n ti va ichha\n ti tadatvaye 14 ayatiya cha jane [dhra]ma-su\n risha su\n rushat\n nu 11 me ti

10 dhrama-[vuta\n ma] 11 anuvichi\n yati ti (B) et\n takye dovana\n priye priya[dra]kki raja ya\n so va ki\n ti va [chha] ki (C) . . . k[jchhi 12 parak[r]ama[ti] dovana\n priye priyadra\n i raja ta\n in sa\n ra\n h parat[i]kay[e va k][ti]

11 sa[kale apa]-pa[r]i\n sav[e] siya\n ti (D) eshe chu 14 pa[r]i\n save e apu[ne] 15 (E) duka\n re 18 chu kho eshe khuada\n kena 17 [va va][r][c[n]a [u]sa\n tena va an[tra] 18 a[gre]na para[krame]na sa\n rakh pari\n ji\n ti (F) atra 19 tu [kho] usa\n teneva du[ka]re 20

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDIT: MANSEHRA

12 (A) devanaprin\n ye priyadra\n i raja r\n b\n ah (B) na\n bh k\n di\n e d\n a\n di\n e pr\n matr\n av\n v pr\n sam\n bh\n ag pr\n sam\n bh\n e (C) ta\n n es\n de d\n tah\n kar d\n si\n sam\n para di\n ti ma\n pripu\n tu su\n khu

1 [ka][cha][ja][lok[cha] vate Bühlerv. 8 na Bühlerv. 13 a[an]v[i]tai pu\n ka\n Bühlerv.

2 sa Bühlerv. 9 tato looks almost like tati. 14 ubhayasa [va la]khe Bühlerv.

3 a[ne][etik Bühlerv. 10 tado\n tise Bühlerv; but see above, p. 65, n. 2.

4 a[etik Bühlerv. 11 The syllable [ru is engraved in a deep round hole which must have existed already at

5 Bühlerv omitted cha. 12 [rub] kick Bühlerv.

6 [apu][ka][ni] Bühlerv. 13 dukar\n Bühlerv.

7 a[ka][tra Bühlerv. 16 e . Bühlerv.

8 Read dhrama-magalena. The same mistake is found in the Shāhbaṣṣaṛī version.

9 a[etik Bühlerv. 17 [hu dra\n kena Bühlerv.

10 a[etik Bühlerv. 18 [ho] usatena ve du[ka]re 20
TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

C.—South Face of Second Rock.

1. (A) देवनिमिये मियदृशी न द व्यवस्थितं च ज्ञाति विषयं च पुजैति दने विदिषे य युजये (B) नो च तथ च दन च योज च

2. देवनिमिये ज्ञाति श्राय किंति साधविर सिय संवयस्ति लित (C) सादुर्धिन लु वहूविध (D) तस च ये चर्म मुले चं वचणीति

3. किंति श्रायस्ति पुज्ञ च परयस्ति य नो सिय श्रायस्ति लहुःक च सिय तस तस परसवासि (E) पुजेति तिन मुर्षक तेन तेन

4. श्वेतो येषां (F) एवं कारं श्रायस्ति वल्म वन्यति परयस्ति लित च उपरकोरति (G) तदनन्त कारं श्रायस्ति च श्रायस्ति परयस्ति लित च

5. श्रायस्ति येषां (H) एवं हि केवलिं श्रायस्ति पुजेति परयस्ति च गरहति सवे श्रायस्ति वन्यति य नििति श्रायस्ति दिप्यम् लित च... पुनः तथ करनं

6. चर्मं अयोहं श्रायस्ति श्रायस्ति (I) से समवे चो सभुः किंति श्रायस्ति च नुहुःक च श्रायस्ति च नििति (J) एवं हि देवनिमिये डल किंति सादुर्धिन वहूविध च

7. श्रायस्ति च नुहुःक लित (K) एव च तथ तथ प्रस्तन तेसिं वतिरिहे (L) देवनिमिये नो तथ दने च पुज्ञ च मन्यति श्राय किंति सादुर्धिन सिय सादुर्धिन

8. (M) बहुक च एते ब्रह्मणे वापुर धम्ममहम्मं इतवमहम्मं वृद्धिमुखिं श्राये च निकृहे (N) इवैं च रतिः फले

9. चं श्रायस्ति दिप्यम् च मन्यति धम्मस्त च दिप्य

NINTH TO ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICTS: MANSEHRA

Scale One-seventh
TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

1. (A) Devanapriye Priyadharši raja savra-pashaḍāni [p]rava[ji]tani gehathani cha, puñeti danena vividhayatye cha pujaṛye (B) no chu tatha dana va puja va

2. [Devana[m]priye] mañati atha kiti sala-vadhi siya savra-pashaḍāna ti (C) sala-vrūdhhi [t]u[;] bahuvvidha (D) tasa cha iyaṁ mule aṁ vachā-guti

3. kiti ata-prashaḍa-puja va para-pashaḍa-gara hạ va no siya apa-karaṇaṣas la-huka va siya tasi tasi paka-ṛaṇaṣi (E) pujaṭa-viṣya va chu para-p[r]aṣaḍa tena tena

4. akareṇa (F) evaṁ karataṁ atya-pashaḍa 7 baṭhaṁ vaḍhayati para-pashaḍa-sa pi cha upaka[ro]t (G) tad-anṛṇatha 4 karataṁ ata-pashaḍa 8 cha chhañati para-pashaḍa pi cha

5. apaka[ro]t (H) ye hi kechhi 4 atva-pashaḍa puñeti para-pashaḍa va garahati savre atva-pashaḍa-bhaṭiya va kiti atva-pashaḍa dipayama ti ... puna tatha karataṁ

6. baḍhaṭtarasi 7 upahaṇti 8 atva-pasha[da] (I) se samavaye vo 9 sadhu ki[ti] aṇa-maṇaṣa dhramaṁ śrū[n]ey[u] cha suśrūṣ[e] [y[u] cha ti (J) evaṁ hi Devanapriyaśa 10 icha kiti savra-pashaḍa bahu-śruta cha

7. kayanagrama cha [h]u[v]eyu 11 ti (K) e cha tatra tatra prasaṇa tehi vataviye (L) Devanapriye no tatha danaṁ va puja[m]i va maṇati atha kiti sala-vadhi siya savra-pashaḍa[n]a


9. yati atva-pashaḍa-vadhi cha bh[o][t]i dhramasa cha [di]pāna

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

D.—Third Inscribed Rock.

1. (A) Ṛṣṭayaṁbhāṁsinatam Deśapriyam Prayāṭiṇe Ṛṣjine Kalinga Viṣhitam (B) Dīyaṁbhe Prāṇaṁtaṁ 

2. Sate (C) taye pach Ādheṣu laṣṭiṇe Kalingeṣu tīte Bhaṁvaṁ ye ... 

3. Nāreśe v Aṣṭadeśe v Janaḥ se vah Vedaṁyamāte Gūṃmāte v Deśapriyam (F) Ṛṣyam Pī 

4. Yesi Viṣhitam Ṛṣy Āryavīrīṣṭubhur Vatipitum Sṛṣṭubh Gūṃtubh Bhūvaṅkṣaṇu
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5 वगळे व श्रीभरतन क विनिंकशक्ष देवनामिन्य (E) वेय्य व पि सुविशिष्टानि सिनवेहेव श्रीप्रमाशे ए तनं मिसः

6 (1) यव सवमनुिनि गुहसे न देवनमिन्यस (J) नलि च से जनवोदे वच नलि इसे निकिय ाचार योणेख वसमे च अमशे पि जनपदसि वच

7 न नम प्रसवे (K) से यवतेि जने तद कलिगेशु हले च ापुवे च ततो शतभेि व सहसभेि व ाच गुहसे च देवनमिन्यस (L) यवः शितवि

8 (M) पि च श्वारव देवनमिन्यस विजिति होति न पि ानुिन्य ानुिन्यवीरणि (N) ानुिन्ये पि च प्रभिे देवनमिन्यस वुचिि तेव कि

9 (O) न्य सुविशिष्टानि सिनवेहेव (P) से च पुि लघे देवनमिन्यस हिद च सबेखु च ांतुि ाशु पि योजनाशेखु नियोिेि नम् योनराज

10 विनि नम मवि नम ालिकशुवेि नम निलि भोपांि ा तंगविशि (R) यवमेि हिद राजविसविि योडेबोिेखु नभवनमविि भोजपितिनिक्षु ाधाप

11 (S) यव पि तुह देवनमिन्यस न विनि ले पि ाशु देवनमिन्यस भरनुि विधिि भरनुिशि भरने ानुिनःशिि ानुिनःशिि यव (T) वे से लघे गातकेि होती सवम बिजिेि

12 (W) यविकेिि महाफल मनविि देवनमिन्यस (X) यतिेि च ाहुिे यति मः भरनिपि विसिति वति पुलि प्रपोिेि वे ाशु नवं वि

13 (Y) ..हितातेिे परवलोकिे (Z) सवं च व निरसि हतूि य ानसिि (AA) स हि ाश्लोकिे परवलोकिे

1 (A) [اثर]-वाक्यावस्था देव[वा]ना[प्रावसा] प्रियाद्रास्वे राजिे [कालिा व]जिता [B] [ध्य]ा[ध्य]ा-मात्र{े प्रा[स-सा] . . . . . . . .


3 [मरावे वा अपवाहे वा जनासा] से [बढ्ह] वेदानिा-मटे गुरु-मटे [चा देवनाप्रियाया] [P] [यन [पि] चु तातो ... . . . . . . . .

4 [ये] [विहिता] इषा [क्ष्राहु]‘[।]्सुरुषसा राति-पि[त]्सुर]्सा गुरु-सुरुषसा मित्र[शा-सा]चु [यु]... . . . . . . . .

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-manusānaṁ 4 guru-mate cha Devanampriyasa (J) nasti cha se jana padade yatra nasti ime ni[ka]ya a[śaṭa]tra Yon(esha) [brāmane] cha sra[maṇe]...

7 na nam prasade (K) se yavatāke jāne tada Kalīg[ha] nahu cha... apavudhe cha ta[to] šatā-bhage vahsahra-bhage va aja guru-ma[te va] Devanampriyasa (L)...


9 (P) [mukha]-mute v[i]jaye D[e]vanampriyasa 16 ye dhrama-vijaye (Q) se cha [puna] la[dhe] (Deva)napri[y]a[Ba] 17 hīda cha sa[vṛ]ṣehu cha aṁteshu a shashu pi y[o]j[na]-sa[k][e]shu... tiyo[ge] 18 nama Yo[n]-raja...


13 (Y) hidaloke paralokike (Z) sava 36 cha [ka] 36 nirati hotu ya dhrama-ṛati 42 (AA) sa hi [f]alok[ka] 43 paralok[ka]

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

13 (A) [त्] ध्रुवनिर्दिष्टि द्विगतिके भूमि श्रीमानि निरळिपि...

14 लिखिते लिखेषेष्मि चेव नियः (D) श्रीमानि च चरण पुनः पुनः लिखिते तस्स तस्स आङ्गुिस सुपुरितयेव चेत जने तत विपदेयन्ति (E) से सियम चिन्हि...

तिन लिखित... व संस्कर

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1 "maṇe Bühler.
2 saṅgīrś Bühler.
3 aviprali[ne] Bühler.
4 savraṇa manuś Bühler.
5 katu looks like aruṇa.
6 sarvesa [bhramana] Bühler.
7 [tata] Bühler.
8 "paye ti Bühler.
9 Devanampriye Bühler.
10 "yama Bühler.
11 [Vaś]-Bühler.
12 nava Bühler.
13 Vīśa-Va[ṣṭi]- Bühler.
14 [Nabha]-ke[Na]-bhā Bühler.
15 [Vr]-Bühler.
16 [saṃhita] Bühler.
17 "pul-packages Bühler.
18 Bühler omitted this word.
19 Bühler omitted ka.
20 [hida]loś Bühler.
21 Bühler omitted ka.
22 Bühler omitted wa.
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13 (A) [i]yaṁ dhrama-dipi De[va]napriyena Pri[ya] 1 ......... [jina likhapita]


V. THE DHAULI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) ......... sī pabhastī devānāpiya ......... na lājina

2 (C) no pi cha samajê ......... samaj dê ......... (E) ......... pi chu ......... tiya samajā saṃpūrṇata dēv

3 pīyasijānē lajijānē (D) ......... sah ......... piy ..... nī pañasa ......... ālaṁbhijānu suṣṭa[vē]

4 (G) se cāj chāda ēmāṃ pāṭihāpī niṃtiā ti ......... ālaṁbhijānī samajānī pānāni pahā ē sa}[ā]laṁbhijānīsamajānī

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI


1 Of this edict Bühler has read only the two words [Devanāpiyēna Priyadraśīna]; see ZDMG, 44. 704.
2 The actual reading was perhaps nikāṁ, which would correspond to nikayana at Kālī.
3 The name of the hill on which the Dhauli record was engraved is lost. It cannot have been Kēpiṇgala as believed (and traced on his plate IX) by Cunningham, because this was the original name of the Juṣṭaka rock; see the Juṣṭaka edict I, A.
4 ē[la]hī Sūrā, ē[la]hī Bühler.
SECOND ROCK-EDICT: DHAWLI

3 ज्ञानिमुनिसोपगणिनि पसुखोपगणि च ज्ञातं नयि सवत्त हालापियतं च लोपापियतं
च (O) सुतं ................................ वत हालापियतं च
4 लोपापियतं च (D) मनेसु उद्युच्यानि शानापियतानि लुक्षानि च लोपापियतानि
परिभोगावे ........................

P[1]radasi[ta] ............ [s]ā cha p(asu-ch)[k][s][ā] cha (B) ... dhāni
t[cha] (C) mū[1] ............ v[a][k][a] hālāpi[t [cha]
4 lo[p]pāpita cha (D) ma[g][c]su udu[p]ānāni khaṇāpītanā luhānā cha lopa[p]ītāni
p[a]jībhogāye .............. [na]ṃ

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: DHAWLI

1 (A) ḍevānampiyē piyāsī lajā heṃ Ṣaḥa (B) duvādasa-vasābhatisena me ity
ānaphiye ' (O) ' t vibhitatisa me yuta labhē
e
2 pāņaṃ pāṇaṃ bāṃsāṃ ṣaṅkūcāryē vinmahāyā Ṣaṭha ānārayē pī kāmēṃ heṃ Ṣaṭhayē
gānūmpiyē (D) saṃputā mahāapipītaṃ suṣūta ma
3 nāṭitiṃ u kṣaṇamacahē hi saṃputē śaṭhānēṃ saṃputa śūpivaṇṇa śūpivē
saṃputa (E) pāṭipasa pī c ... nāt hi yuṭaṃ śūpivāsitaṃ āṭhēṃ pī c
viyāṇa ......

1 (A) Devānampiyē Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āha (B) duvādasa-vasābhatisena me iy[a]n ānap[ay]ē: (O) ... [t]a vē [j][i][a]si m[e] yu[a] la[i]u[k][k]ē ............
2 pariṃchasa pariṃchasa vēsaṃ anayaṇāni nikhamavā aṭhā aṛṇaye p[i] [ka]m[ma]he
hevaṃ im[a][y][e][dhaṃ]nānu[sa]th[a] [iy][e] (D) [s]ādh[ū] māt[a]-p[i][i]-[i]su [s][s][a]
m[>Loading..]
3 nāṭita cha babhita-samanēhi sādhu dānce jīvesa analāṃbhē sādhu āpa-viṣya[a]ṭ[a]ē
āpa-bh[i]u[ma][l][a]tā sādhu (E) [p[a]l]īsā pi cha ... [nas]i y[ū]l[ān]ī ā[na]p[a][y][i][a][t[i]
[he]tu[e] ch[a] vi[y][a]ṃja ......

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAWLI

1 (A) śāṃkāṃsāمتازं वहृतिः वसस्तानि वहिते व पानापेते शिष्यो च भूतानं
नास्तिपु आसंपरिपति समवाचमेत्सु आसंपरिपति
2 (B) से वहृत देवानिधियस पियासिन्ने लाजिने धंकस्वलके वस्तिनेः आसंपरिपति विमानदस्यं हर्षिन्न आगळाधानं अन्नानि च दिरियानि

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1 ānapa: i Bühler.
2 apaviyati Senart and Bühler.
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3. लूपानि दस्तिहि सुनिसानैः (C) आदिसे वहृहि वससतेहि नो हटतमुल्ये तादिसे त्रो त्वतः देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धमानुसारिया
4. आनिः भानां शाबिस्ता भूतां नातिसु संपितिपति समनावानेः सुपितिपति मातिसिद्धस्वसा वुढ्डस्वसा (D) एस अते च बहुव्यधि
5. धंमचलने वडिः (E) वहितससि चेव देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा धंमचलने इम (F) पुता पि चु नाति पननि ' च देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने
6. पवित्रससि चेव धंमचलने इम आकां धमसि सिद्धां च चित्रित धमसि आनासससि (G) एस हि क्रेते क्रेते या धमानुसासाना (II) धंमचलने पि चु
7. नो होति आसीलस (I) से इमस धाता वधी आहीनि च साधू (J) एताये इमये लिहिति इमस धाता वधी धुज्जू होमि च मा आहोइमिसू
8. (K) दुवादस वसानि आभिसित्त देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने ए स पि लिखिति

1. (A) आतिकार्यं आतलानि बहुनि वासा-साति वाढि वा पानी[ला]हिः वीहिः चा भुतानाम् नातिसु आसांपितपति समाग-बाह्यसा आसांपितपति
2. (B) से अमा देवानंपियसा दियदासीने धाँमा-चालाने भेली-गोसामि अ[ह]ो धाँमा-[गो]साम विनाव-दसानी हाथनि [अ]गि-काष्ठिल्लि आनानि चा[दिव]ि[ब्य]ि[नि]
3. लपानि[क] दसयितु मुनिसाना (C) अदि[ी]बा[ति]हुहि वासा-साति हि नो हुता-पुलवे ताइसे अत वाढि ही देवानंपियसा पीयसा दासीने लाजने (E) धाँमा-मानस[अ] च[दिव]ि[ब्य]ि[नि]
4. अन[अ]लि[इ]हि पानानि आविहिः भुतानाम् नातिसु आसांपितपति/ समाज-ला-बन्हसू मातिसिद्ध मातिसिद्ध आनानि (D) एस आहुने चा बाँ[ह]ि[विड]ि
5. धा[ला]सा-चालान वाढिते (E) वादहिसा[क] तिं चेवा देवानंपिये पीयदास[स] ली[ज]ी धाँमा-चालानाम इमाम (F) पुता पि चु नति [पानाति]... (G) चा देवानंपियसा पीयदासीने लाजिने
6. पावदहिसानु येवा धाँमा-चालानाम इमाम अ-क[अ]पात धामामसी [स]लसी चा[च]ि[ह]ि[तु] [धामामामा आ]नुस[स]िसाम[ति] (G) एस हि [से] ते[हे] काम्ये या धामामामसिना (H) धामामा-चालाने पि [चु]
7. नो होति आसीलस (I) से इमसा अथासा व[अ]धि इमी चा स[ध]ि (J) [ए]ं[ए] [अ]धाये [ए]ं[ए] इय क्रेते इसमा अथासा वाढि युजवति हि हि चा मा आहोईमिसू
8. (K) दुवादसा वसानि आहिसित्त देवानंपिये पीयदासीने लाजिने या [दिव] इयि

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1. (A) रेतानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हैवं आहा (B) कमाने दुवाने (C) ............. क्यानस से दुवाने कलेज्जं (D) से मे वहु ने क्याने रूटे (E) ने ये मे पुता च
2 नती व च तेन ये छापतिये मे छावकयं तथा छानवतितिं ते सुकट कहठि
(F) य हे ते सि पि हापिगसि से दुकट कहठि (G) पयि हि नाम
3 सुपदलये (H) से छात्तिकं अंतसं तो हुतुपुल्लाया धनमहामाता नाम (I) से
वेदसवसहतितिः से धनमहामाता नाम कता (J) ते सवपुल्लिंसु
4 वियपा त्रधामापिए धनमवधिये हितुपुल्लाये च धनमुसस सेनकनोरचन्तालेसु
लटोकप्रितनेकिु च बि पि जनस्य चापलंता (K) नवनरसेकीु
5 नाभनिनसंगु नानेपये महालक्षये च हितुल्लाये धनमुसस च अप्लियोपये
वियपा त्र र्त (L) धनवधिस पश्विद्वाराये अनिच्छोपये गोकाये च
6 इस्य जनुवंच पञ्जा ति व कटरीकाले ति व महालक्षे ति व वियपा त्र (M)
हि च नालिखे च नगलेसु सवेसु सवेसु चोलिन्तेे च ा वि पि भालीं
मे से भागीनिे व
7 अवनिे व नालिखु सवत वियपा (N) य इस्य किनितिः ति व धन्मापिए ति
व दलमयिे व सवपुलिंवियं धनमुसस तिवियपा इस्ये धनमहामाता (O)
इमाये छाये च
8 इस्य धन्मापिए तिलितिः चितलितिः होतू तथा च मे पञ्जा अनुवनिु

1 (A) [Dev]jānaphipīrye Piṅḍasī lājā h[eva]n āhā (B) kayaṇe dukale (C) . . . . . . . . .

k[a]h[a]-[a]sa-s[e] dukalān k[a]h[e]ti (D) se me b[a]h[ute kayaṇe kāṭ (E) taṁ ye

me [p]u[ti] va

2 [n]a[n] [va] . . . . . . . m cha t[e]na ye apatiye me āva-kapaṁ tathā anuvatisaiṇi s[e]

sukaṭaṁ kach[a]-[a]n (P) c heta d[e][s]aḥ pi ṛp[a]-[a]sai[I] se duk[a]-[a]n kach[ha] (G)

phabet [nāma]

3 supadālaye (H) s[e] ai[ikaṁ]yiṁ aṁtalan no hūtā-pulunvā dhaṁmā-mahāmātā nāma

(I) se te[dsas]-va[s]bhisiteya me dhaṁmā-mahāmātā nāma kaṭā (J) te

sava-pāśaṁ[esu]

4 v[I]-[apata] dhaṁmā-mahāhīṁn[a]-[a]ye dhaṁmā-[va]-[h]iye [sukha]-[a]ya [cha] dhaṁmā-
yutasa[y]a Yona-Kaṁbochā-Gaṁdhaḷeṣu Laṁthik-[P]-[i]te[n]ikesu e vā pi arīne

apalaṁta [K] bha[ti][mayesu]

5 bābha[n]-[bhi]-[ys]-[s]-aṁaḥ sa m[a]-[a]-kesu cha h[I]-[a]-[a]-sukha-ye [ch]a dhaṁmā-
yutaye-[a]-[pa]-lībhāye viy[a]-[pa]-[a] se [I] bar[madhana-[ba]-dhas[a] p[a]-[i]-v[īdhān]-[a]ye

apali[a]-[o]-[d]-[h]-[e]-y[e] mokhaye cha

6 iya[m] anubandha[p]-[a]-[i]-[a] [va] ka[t]-[a]-bhik[a]-le ti va mhaḷake ti va viy[a]-[a]

se (M) hida cha bhāhileśu cha nagaleśu savesu s[a]-vesu olodhanes[u] me č e vā pi

bhāṭ[i]-[i]-nam [me bhaginīnaṁ va

1 na[s] Bühler.
2 apalamita Bühler.
3 Here, and at the end of section L, Franke (VOF. q. 349 f.) joins viyāpata into one word,
and takes it as an equivalent of the Vedic nominative plural in -āsā. In the pillar-edict VII,
Y (twice) and CC, viyāpata actually occurs. But, as pointed out by Michelson (AJP. 32. 444 f.),
the case may after all be different at Dhauli, because the other versions have te in the place of se.
4 po[j]a Bühler.
5 bhāṭinam Bühler.
SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) तेवानाँपि विवदस्य लाजा हेवं शाल (B) अतिक्तियं शतमव नी हुतुपुलुके सवं कालं भाष्करे व परिवेदना व (C) से ममया केलं (D) संवं कालं

2 अंते शेषौपनसि भागालक्षि वचसि विचारक उपायासि च सवंत परिबेदना जस्तस कां परिवेदनं ते ति (E) सवंत च जनस्तु कलामाः हकं

3 (F) जो पि च बिने नुसि लानपायि दापवं च साववं वा या वा महामात्रों

4 अतिक्तियं रंगिते देशिवेत्वे मे ति सवंत संवं कालं (G) हेवं म अनुमास्ते (H) नयी ति भी में तोसि उदात्तसि अस्तसंतिसिलानाय च (I) कटवियमि ति में सवलकोकि

5 (J) तस्स च पन हंस मुरे उदाने च अस्तसंतिसिलाना च (K) नयी ति हिं जनात ्

6 हिं दे वानि सुखपायि नालत च संवं अलाभमं ति (M) एताये अताये

7 सर्वलोकवस्थि (N) दुकले चु ऐंत अंत अग्रेन परमेन

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1 [ma]nasa Bühler.
2 palitāya Bühler.
SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

5 (J) tasa cha pana iyain mule [u]'hān[e cha a]cha-sārān[.]l[a][n][a] cha (K) nathi hi kaimanta . . . [sa]ya-lo[.]ka-hiten[.]a (L) [arn] ch[a kichhi] p[.]lakamāmi hakaṁ-
kiṇti bhūtānaṁ [a]na[yia]n yeha[m] ti

6 [h]i[.]da cha [k]ān[.]i sukhayām[.]i pa[.]l[a] cha svag[.]aṁ ā[.]bhadhaṁ[.]ti (M) et[.]y[e] a[.]aṭhāye iyain dharm[a]-līpī likhitā ch[.]l[a]-th[.]i[.]tika hotu ta[.]th[a] cha putā papaṁ-
me palakama[.]m[.]t[.]a1

7 [sava-loka]-hitaye (N) dukale chu iyain archna[.]a a[.]g[.]n[a pa]lakamena

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) देवानांपि ये पियदसी लाजा सत्य सदिष्टिः सवधानं धरे (B) सवे हिः ते सवेम भासुधी च हदिष्टिः (C) सुनिता च

2 उचायुवंदं दुष्कलाचन (D) ते सवं वा एकदेवं च कक्ष्टिः (E) बिपुले यिः चि दाने अस नणिः सवमे भासुधी च नीचे बाधं

1 (A) [D]e[.]vānāṁ[p]iye Piya[a]dasi lājā savata iche[i] sav[a-p]isas[.]dā va[.]sevū ti (B) save h[.]t[e s]ya[m]a[.][bh]āv[a]-sudhi cha icheiṁ[.]i mun[i]sa s[.]a

2 [u]ch[a][y[u]cha-[chha]n[d]ā uchāvuch-lāgā (D) te savami vā ek[a]-de[sam] va kachhaṁ[.]ti (E) vipu[.]c[.]e chā dāne asa n[.]athe sa[y]ame [bh]āv-a-sudhi cha

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) शिवकिं छन तथां लजाने वीहलयनं नाम निष्कमितु (B) संविविय शिवनी च विदिशानि श्विभतानानि हुवंति च (C) से देवानांपि

2 पियदसी लाजा दसवामनि निष्कव सबोधि (D) तेनता धामयाता (E) तलेः होरी सत्वावानि दसने च दाने च बुदाने दसने च

3 हितानर्तिविदाने च जानस्वद जनस दसने च धामानुसवि च ••••• पुष्कर च तदेष्या (F) एसा भुवे श्वितानि होरी देवानांपिः पियदसि ने लाजिने

1 (A) [atika]i[t[a]m a[n][a][l][a]m laj[.]a]n[e] v[i]h[a]la-yātāṁ nāma [n]i[kha]m[i]s[.]u (B)

2 [ta miga]vi[.]a[.]m]ā[.]n]ā[.]i ch[a] edisāni a[.]bh[i][.]]māni huvānti nām (C) se Devānāmpīy

F(i[j[a]dasi lājā d[a]s[a]-vas[a]-bhāsī[.]k]o [.]n]i]khāmi Sambhodbh[i] (D) [t]i[.]c[.]n[a] dhā[.]n[.]m[a]-yātā] (E) [tau]esa [ho]jī samana-bābhānанि d[a]s[a][.]a[.]n[e] ch[a] d[.]ā[.]c

cha v[i]hā[.]n[.]d]asane cha

1 *mātu* Senart, *manitu* Bühler.
2 cha Bühler ; the reading *chu* is also possible, but less probable, because the Jaugāḍa version has *chā*.
3 *sambodhi* Bühler.
NINTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) रेवानाधिरथिये पमार्दी ताजा हेवं आहा (B) अणि जने उचावुचं चंगलं कलेत आवाह ्
2 एताये तानाधि च हेदीसाये जने बहुः मंगलं ज ्
3 (D) से कर्तव्ये चेव सो मंगले (E) जपकले चु भी यह एस हेदिसे मंग ्
4 गुल्लर्न आय ् से समन्वयानार्न दाने एस अने च
5 सुवामिकेन पि़ ् ले आव तस जगत निपातिया (I) अणि च हेवं
6 आदिदे मान्दार्ने मान्नुगहे (K) ्
7 ताधिनितरे (L) ् स्कास तर

सारथी

1 (A) देवानाथिये पियाडासी लाजा येवः आहा (B) [अथि जा] र ऊचावुच र मांगलार्ल
2 कि कहि [द्वाधि ्]
3 एताये कर्तव्ये चेव सो मंगले (E) जपकले चु भी यह एस हेदिसे मंग ्
4 गुल्लर्न आय ् से समन्वयानार्न दाने एस अने च
5 सुवामिकेन पि़ ् ले आव तस जगत निपातिया (I) अणि च हेवं
6 आदिदे मान्दार्ने मान्नुगहे (K) ्
7 ताधिनितरे (L) ् स्कास तर

1 हितकृषि से नाय एवं बुध से च, भासके मांगलार्ल
2 नन्दिक हृदि ऊचावुच के मान्नुगहे (E) चेव सो मंगले (E) जपकले चु भी यह एस हेदिसे मंग ्
3 गुल्लर्न आय ् से समन्वयानार्न दाने एस अने च
4 सुवामिकेन पि़ ् ले आव तस जगत निपातिया (I) अणि च हेवं
5 आदिदे मान्दार्ने मांमानुगहे (K) ्
6 ताधिनितरे (L) ् स्कास तर
TENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHauli

1. (A) देवानांपि यथिवसी लाजा यसो वा किंती वा न हे मंतै ।

2. सूसे सुसूसा से धम्मे (B) अताकै यसो वा किंती

3. किंत कले श्रावप्रसवे हुवेता ति (D) पलिस

4. हूदकेन वा असेन वा (F) असेन पु दुकलाते

FIFTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHauli

1. (A) हे धम्ममिति देवानिपियन यथिवसी लाजना गिथः

2. किंत कले श्रावप्रसवे हुवेता ति (D) पलिस

3. हूदकेन वा असेन वा (F) असेन पु दुकलाते

AT THE END OF THE SIXTH DHauli ROCK-EDICT

seto

1. Restore likhiyāti. 2. Or paṭipajeyāti may be one word, as suggested above, p. 71, n. 14.

3. sam Senart and Bühler.
FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAROULI

1 (A) देवानिधिस्स चचनेन तीस्रियि महामात मात्रनिवेषालका
2 वाति भ (B) सं किंति दक्षि हस्ते त इकामि किंति कमन पतिव्यायेन
3 दुर्भागी च आलिमः (C) एस च मे मोक्षम दुर्भाग्य एतसि अग्निसि च च हुमिसुः
4 अनुसरि (D) हुके हि बहुनु पानससहेतु शायत पनमं गहिमं सु मुहिसान (E) सवे
5 सुनिते पदा ममा (F) अशि पनावे इकामि हस्ते किंति सवने हिमसुखेन
6 हितेलिकान-
7 पालिकिकेयु यूजेवी ति तथा "... सुनिसेसु यि इकामि हस्ते (G) नो च
8 पापनाय आयागां
9 मुके इस्य ब्रह्म (H) केक व एकुड़ीसि... नाति एतं से हि देविसे नो सवं (I)
10 देशत हि तुफे एतं
11 सुविधिषा यि (J) नितिति एकुड़ीसि हि अशि ये बंधनं वा पालिकिलेसि वा पापनायिति (K) तत होति
12 अक्षमा तेन वधानिक ब्रह्मि च "... हु जने दविये हुषियिति (L) तत
13 इधितिविे
14 हुफेि हिंिि महं पतिव्यायेमा हि (M) इभेंहि चु जातेहि नो संपतिपवाति इति आयलेपिन
15 दुर्भागिन तूलनाय अनावृत्तिक आलिम्येन फिदमिनेन (N) से इधितिविे
16 किंति एते
17 जाता नो हुबेसु ममा हि (O) एतास च सवस मुहे अनामुलीय अहूलना च
18 (P) नितितियं ए फिदमे सिया
19 ने उगह संविचित्तिविये तु विदितिविये नारिये वा (Q) हेरवेसे ए देशे तुफाक
20 तेन वतियिे
21 अनुसरि देशत हेवं च हेवं च देवानिधिस्स अनुसरि (R) से महाफ़िले ए तस
22 संपतिपाद
23 महाध्यापे क्षणपातयिि (S) विकराणपादयमेनि हि एतं नन्दि खगस आतिि नो
24 लाजालिधि

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 Girnar and Kalsi, above, pp. 26 f. and 50.
FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHauli

16 (र) दुहारहेले हि इसस कंसत मे बुले मनोशानिलोके (उ) संपतिप्रजामीने चु यत सङ्ग

17 आलाधिविषय मम च आनिनं श्रेय (ए) इयं च विलय तिनलोलेन सौतिविषय

18 (ए) आंतवा चि तिसन खनिज खनिज एकेन च सौतिविषय (ए) इयं च फूरेन तुफेन

19 चचवं संपतिपादितवे (ए) इतायरे गर्ताये इयं च विलय तिलित हित एन

20 नगरविश्वास्तका स्थलं समयं युजेते ति ्््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््ठा

22 सु निलासमिसर्ने- श्रद्धसे आचरे सचिनालंके होसवन यत अधे जानितु

23 कलरि रेव मम आनुसरने ति (AA) उजनिते यि चु कमाले शताये च श्रीरे निलासमिसर्ने

24 हेदिसवेन वग नो च तातिकलाबिनति तिजि वसान (BB) हेदेव तसीलाई

25 ते महमाता निलासलिंग्न आनुसरन तदा श्रीपंचितु चाले कंम्य यतं यि

26 तं यि तथा कलरि रेव लाजिने आनुसरणी ति

1 (A) [Devāṇa][ḥ][pi][ra][a][a] vacha]oena Tosalīyāḥ ma[hā]māta [naga][la- [v][y][a][n][a]la[ka]


3 duvalate cha alābhēhaṁ (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā[la etasi aṭha]si aṁ
tuph[esu]

4 anusathī (D) tu[phe] hi bahūsu pāna-sahasesurāḥ a[yata] a p[a]ma[yān ga]kh[e]ma su munisānaṁ (E) save

5 munise pājā mamā (F) ath[ā] pājāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[ṁ kuṁti sa]y[e]na hi]ta-sukhena

6 palalok[ke]na[1] y[ājev]u [c[i] [tathā . . . muni]sesu p[i] [i]chhāmi [ha]ka[m] (G) no

7 cha papunathā av[ā]ga-

8 suv[hi]la pi (J) [n]itiyāhā eka-puli[se] . . . nāti e[tā]n se pi
desaṁ no savaṁ (I) de[kha][a hi t]a[phe] ātē

9 suv[hi]la pi (J) [n]itiyāhā eka-puli[se] [pi athi] y[c] barindhanam va p[a]likilesam va

pāpunā (K) tata hoti

1 āyata: Senart and Bühler.
2 1āyata: Senart and Bühler.
3 ōdesu Senart and Bühler.
4 āyata: Senart and Bühler.
5 Restore savu-munisesu.
6 Read pāpunāti, as at Jauaga.
akasmā tena badhāna[rh]āk[a]1 aṁhe cha ....... hu jāne dā[ν]iye dukhiyati (L) tata ichhitaviye

10 4 tuhehi kiniṭ m[a]jhāṁ paṭipādayemā ti (M) ime[i] chu [jāte]ī no sampaṭipajati isāya āsulopena

11 ni[ṭu]ṇāya[na] anāvutiya ālāsiyena k[ṛ]lamathena (N) se ichhitaviye kiniṭ 2 etc.

12 [jātā no] huvevu ma[m]ā ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mule anāsulope a[tu]n[a]hā cha (F) nī[ṛ]yāh e kilaniṭe siyā


15 mahā-apāye asampātipati (S) [wi]paṭ[ti]paṇayamine hi 7 etam nathi svagasa [a]n[a]dhī no lai[a]l[dhī]


18 (W) an[nta][la] 1 p[i] cha [t[i][s][n] 12 kha[ناس]i kha[ناس]i ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevan cha kalantarām tupe

19 chaghatha sampa[ti]pād[a][a]y[i]tave (Y) [e][ā][y]e atṭāye 12 iyā[m] 1[i][p]i likhit[a] hīda ena


21 [a][k][a][s[m]ā pa[liki][l][s[e] va nō siyā ti (Z) etāye cha atṭāye haka[m] .... mate 14 p[a][ni]chasụ pari[n]chasuv [va]se

22 su [n][kha[may][i][sami e akhakhase a[cha]n[d][e] s[a]khinālambhe hosati etam atṭāṁ jānitu ......... [t]a[thā]


24 hedisameva 17 vagām no cha atikāmāyisati tinnī vasānibbb hemeva T[o]kha[s][l]āto pi (CO) [a]dā a ....

25 te mahāmātā nikhamisanti anusayānam tāda aḥāpayitum atane kaṁmāṁ etam pi jānəsanti

26 tāṁ pi ta[θ]ā kalantarī a[tha] lājine anusathi ti

1 bosnāh Senart and Bühler.
3 Ever kinit, which is Senart's reading; kiti Bühler.
4 Read uga.chhe.
5 dakhīye Senart and Bühler.
6 aṁnam ne Senart and Bühler.
7 Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 1013, n. 1) has shown that hi must be a separate word on the analogy of section U, below, and of the Jaŋgaḍa separate edict I, T: Senart and Bühler read "mīneki.
8 mana- Senart, mane- Bühler.
9 t ......... for mama cha Senart, [ta] ....... Bühler.
10 ipī Bühler.
11 "viya[n] Senart, "viya Bühler.
12 [ni]vē Senart.
13 athāye Senart and Bühler.
14 yu.jēva 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 mahāmātā; akhāmate Senart and Bühler.
17 hedisameva Senart and Bühler.
TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of Devanāṃpriya, 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. Frinscp (IASB, 7, 449) identified Tōsali with the Tōsali of Ptolemy: but the latter is stated to have been situated beyond the Ganges. See Lassen, Ind. Alt., 2 (sec. ed.), 452, n. 2; Burnouf, Lotus, p. 673; Kern, JRAS, 1880, 384 f.; IA, 13, 382.

2 With nāgala-vīyokhāika cf. paurā-vyāvahārika in the Kautūlīya, 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-Balūth rock-inscription, E.

4 Here, and in the pillar-edicts (IV, G; VII, M, N), the participle āyata (= Skt. āyata) seems to be used in the sense of āyati. Cf. the rock-edict V, J to N, and the pillar-edict VII, Y to AA.

5 Previous translators took sūnūmāśānān 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 sū = Skt. svit; see SPAW, 1914, 856, and cf. sū in the Dhaulī separate edict II, F.

6 Cf. Aśva-gosha’s Buddhakaśārika, II, 35: सकाय यथाव तदव वेल प्रवाह: गिर्यवस्य; ‘as for his own children, even so (king Śuddhodana) desired welfare for all (his) subjects.’

7 Bühler rendered pūpanaḥ 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 Jaugasī separate edict I, K.

8 Bühler translated avadūrakale āyam api 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. avadūrakale śācam ane in the Delhi-Tōpā pillar-edict IV, l. 15.

9 This seems to refer to the judge who happens to decide an individual case. Senart compared eva-putulaks (= eva-mūnisa at Jaugasī) with the Buddhist term prathāgatana (see Childers, s.v. prathugata), and Bühler rendered it by ‘a private person’; see ZDMG, 41, 15. The expression eva-putulaks or eva-mūnisa, ‘a single person’, occurs again in section J (= K at Jaugasī), where it is opposed to ‘many other people’ in section K (= L at Jaugasī). 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 Cf. the rock-edict V, F, and VII, D.

11 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 Dévanaänpréiya.'

(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

¹ As recognized by Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 859), nité is here = dāṇḍa-níti. I connect the locative nítyám with astī; at Jauagā it is replaced by bahuka, 'frequently'.

² Bühler translated paliikesa by 'trouble'. Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 841, n. 1, and 857) render it by 'torture'. But in the Kauntiya the technical term for 'torture' is karaṇam, and parīkṣayatah, which occurs on p. 223, l. 16, cannot have the same meaning as karaṇa kārayaḥ in the next preceding line.

³ The correct explanation of baḥ[s]dhanamikita and daṇīya 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 prátyam.

⁵ As Senart remarks, this unusual meaning of jātānī is justified by etymology; see IA, 19. 86.

⁶ For ánoloqa, 'anger' (literally: 'quick inflatation'), see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 60 f.

⁷ With Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16) I take āvṛtī (Dhauili) or āvṛtī (Jauagā) = Skt. āvṛttī, 'repetition'. In the pillar-edict IV, L, āvṛtī corresponds to Skt. āvṛkti, 'an order'.

⁸ Hitherto the construction and bearing of this sentence have been misunderstood. The relative ᵇ correspondes 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 anināne, which they divided into aninān ne = Skt. ajñān naḥ (Senart and Bühler) or anyat + naḥ (Lüders).

¹⁰ Both at Dhauili and at Jauagā, the predicate is a masculine or neuter, although the subject is a feminine. Cf. above, p. 49, n. 1.

¹¹ As vapiṣṭādāyantive corresponds to vapiṣṭādāyantam at Jauagā, it must be a nominative singular absolute. The same applies to sampatiṣṭhāyamane in section U, below, to annenevahānāne in the Delhi-Toppā pillar-edict VII, F, and to viṣṇamanāne in the Kālī edict XIII, E. Cf. below, p. 97, n. 3, and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1011 ff.

¹² For aladi (="brūdāhā) see above, p. 19, n. 16.

¹³ In the translation of this difficult passage I follow Franke, GN, 1895. 537 f., but explain dvaḥakte 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 fulfill (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 Mahāmatra] 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 Takshaśila also.

(CC) When . . . . these Mahāmatras 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) देवानिप्यस वचनेन नेरशियों कुमाले महामात्रा च बत्तीय (B) चं विषि दशासिं हतं हि . . . . . . .

2 दुवाले च आसमें (C) एस च में मोक्षमत दुवाला रतिसि छर्दिसि चं लेफु . . . . . . . मम

---

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 kalanitā (here and in II, L and P), pādayantā (Jaugada separate edict I, S and T), sanātā (II, Q, and pillar-edict IV, I), nāsānātā (pillar-edict IV, M), and pājantā (Delhi-Tōpra pillar-edict VII, FP) are nominatives singular absolute. Cf. above, p. 35, n. 9.
4 Franke (VOJ, 9. 340 ff.) has shown that choghais is the future of chak, a variant of the root šak. Cf. chakye in the Dhauli separate edict II, l. 5, in the Sahasrām rock-inscription, l. 3, and in the Bairāt rock-inscription, l. 5; also chakye, ibid., l. 6.
5 In the translation of sasvatām samayānī 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:
   akakkasāṁ viññāpanīṁ giraṁ sachchāṁ udhayeye
   yāyaṁ nabhisaṁ kaṁchi tam atiṁ brūni brāhmaṇāṁ

9 The context shows that these are meant here, and that the Mahāmatras were directed by the king to control them; see SPAW, 1914. 865 f.
10 See above, p. 40, n. 2.
3 (B) अथ यज्ञे रहस्यम हन्ते किन्तु स्त्रेदं हिन्तुसुखेन हिदलोकिकपालोकिकायेः

4 (P) सिया आंतान्त्रिकविनाकारं किष्कीदी सु लास छफेनु ’’(G) ’’...

5 हुवेवु तित छसरेवु च सुसमवेच लढेवु ममते नो दुखं हुवेवु...

6 हिदलोक पतलोवर्म च आलापयवें (M) एतसि आदिति हन्ते अनुसारामि तुफे

7 अथ एतसेव तुहे अनुसारामि इवं वेदितु आ हि पिति परित्यः

8 तथा (L) से हेवं कहु कंमे चलितविषे आस्थाः ...

9 हिदलोकिकपालोकिकायेः (L) हेवं च तरंगं तुके स्वर्ग आलापमित्रसम सम

10 हिदलोकिकपालोकिकायेः (L) हेवं च तरंगं आलापमित्रसम सम

11 हिदलोकिकपालोकिकायेः (L) हेवं च तरंगं आलापमित्रसम सम

12 हिदलोकिकपालोकिकायेः (L) हेवं च तरंगं आलापमित्रसम सम

13 (A) Devānaṁpiyas[a] vachanena Tosaliyaṁ kumāle mahāmātā cha vataviya (B) anī kichhi dakhāṁ[i] b[akaṁ tain i] ........................

14 duvālatē cha ālabhehaṁ (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi aṭhasi anī
tupe[s]u ........................

15 (E) ath[a] pajaśe ichhāmi hakaṁ ki[m]ti savēna h[ta-sukhe]na hidalokikā-
pālalokikāye 1 yujevū ti h[e]v[am] ........................

16 (P) siyā aṁtānāṁ avijñānāṁ ki-chha[mdc] su laja [aphesu] ... (G) ........................

17 ichha mama aṁteṣu .... i 2 [p]a[p]unvecu te iti Devānaṁpi[y] ........................

18 [anu]v[i]g[ina] mamāye

19 huvevū ti asvasevā cha sukharṇmeva lahevu mamat[e] no dukha[r]n h[e]va[r]

---

1 Read -pālalokikena, as in the first separate edict, F.
2 marv Bühler; read perhaps kevameva.
3 Restore kīvīti.
SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

... un[e]vā iti khamisati ne Devānapāyiya [aph]āka ti e chakiye khamitave mama nimitam [va] cha dhāṁmaṁ chalevū
7 [a]jala (I) s[c] hevaṁ kaṭu kaṁme chal[i][a]v[i]ye asv[asa] ... [cha] tānī ena pāpunevū iti atha pitā tatha Devānapāyiya [a]nukaṁpatis aphe
9 hidalokika-pālalo[kil]kāye (L) hevaṁ cha kalānthaṁ tuphe svagati alāchā[yi]ṃsatha mama ch[a]ānaniyaṁ ehati. (M) etāye cha aṭhāye iyaṁ lipi likhitā hida eṣa maḥāmātā svasaṭ[ra]n sa[m]a
11 [so]javiya (P) hevaṁ kala[n]i[ā]n]i[]uphe chaghatha samputpādayitave

TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of Devānapāyiya, the prince (governor) and the Mahādāras at Tōsali 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 to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask): 'What does the king desire with reference to us?'

(G) [This] alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, that they may learn that Devānapāyiya ... that they may not be afraid of me, but may have

1 Restore pāpunevā.
2 aphākām Senart and Bühler.
3 Senart and Bühler omit va.
4 Restore asvāsaniyāni.
5 The syllable sa is entered above the line.
6 The syllable nam is entered above the line.
7 paja Bühler.
8 athāye Senart and Bühler.
9 Read sasvataṁ samayāṁ.
10 cha Senart and Bühler.
11 The syllable si is entered above the line.
12 Lüders showed that siyā is not the last word of section E, as previous translators thought, but opens section F, and is used in the same way as kuhā in the Delhi-Tóprā 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. 866 ff.
13 Cf. the Kāśi rock-edict II, A; V, J; XIII, Q.
14 Kern (JRAS, 1880. 381) explained su by Skt. svit. Cf. gachhema su in the Dhauli separate edict I, D, and kinasu in the Delhi-Tóprā pillar-edict VII, F, G, H.
confidence (in me); that they may obtain only happiness from me, ¹ not misery; that they may [learn] this, that Dēvānāmpriya will forgive them ² what can be forgiven; ³ 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) ⁴ by this, that I instruct (you) and inform (you) of (my) will, i.e. my unshakable ⁵ resolution and vow.

(I) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfill (your) duty and must inspire confidence to them, ⁶ in order that they may learn that Dēvānāmpriya is to them like a father, that Dēvānāmpriya loves them like himself, and that they are to Dēvānāmpriya 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 ⁷ 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 ⁸ on (the day of) the constellation Tishya. ⁹

(O) But if desired, it may be listened to even by a single (person) ¹⁰ also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(P) If (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

¹ Here and at Jaungā, Senart and Bühler wrongly read mama te (in two words) instead of mamate, which, as Kern recognized, corresponds to the Prākrit ablative mamatto. See JRAS, 1880: 386, 383, 383; SPAW, 1914: 868; Pischel's Grammatik, § 415 f.
² As Bühler (ASSI, i. 128, n. 24) remarked, either ne or aphāka is superfluous.
³ Cf. the Shīhābāzgāhī rock-edict XIII, L. For chabīye see above, p. 97, n. 4.
⁴ Cf. the rock-edict VI, L.
⁵ ajala corresponds to achala at Jaungā, as lokes (Jaungā separate edict II, ll. 7 and 13) to loka, līhi (Delhi-Tōrā pillar-edict VII, QQ and SS) to līpi, kīla (Kālsi, V, J and K) to kīta, and dase (Kālsi, VI, II) to tose. The neuter šīyi is improperly used for the masculine te, which is the reading of the Jaungā version.
⁶ Kern (JRAS, 1880: 384) translated: ‘I will entrust the country to your care.’ For the difficult term desvāvīta (Dhauli) or [saka]la-desā-dy utika (Jaungā) see Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 28), who took ānī = Skt. ānykti, ‘an official’. Cf. ānī = Skt. ānykti, ‘an order’, in the pillar-edict, 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 Pātaliputra, Ujjayini, and Takṣaśāla; see the four last sections of the Dhauli separate edict I.
⁷ Cf. chā̃tunāmāsi in the Delhi-Tōrā pillar-edict V, ll. 11, 16, 18.
⁸ Cf. the Dhauli separate edict I, V.
⁹ See above, p. 95, n. 9.
VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

(A) This inscription on a rock has been caused to be written on the Khépingala mountain by king Dvánámpryapa Priyadarśin.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.

(D) For king Dvánámpryapa Priyadarśin sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king Dvánámpryapa Priyadarśin.

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1 Khépingala Bühler, but the e of khe is perfectly distinct.
2 samájas 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; dakhāti Senart and Bühler.
4 Priyadasine Senart and Bühler. The curve at the bottom of da is probably intended for r.
5 álabhiyanti 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 Devanāṃpriya Priyadarśin many hundred thousands 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)  सवत्  विजितसि  देवानंपियसा  पियदसिने  लाजिने  ए  वा  पि  चांता  चाशा  
 चोदा  पांड्याय  सतियपुरे  चांत्योक्ते  खान  चांत्योक्ते  नाम  

2 बोनलाजा  ए  वा  पि  तस  चांत्योक्ता  सामाता  लाजाने  सवत  देवानंपियसा  
 पियदसिना  लाजि  चांत्योक्ता  चिकिसा  च  

3 पसुचिकिसा  च (B)  ओसपाणि  चा  च सुनिषोपाणि  पसुसुपाणि  च चांत  
 चांत  नाथि  सवत  च चांत  च नाथि  

4 सवच  हालापिता  च  लोपापिता  च (D)  सगेशु  उदपाणि  चांतापितानि  
 लुकानि  च  

1 (A) savatā vijītasi Devanāṃpiyasā Piyadasīnē lājine e va pi ahta atha Choḍā  
 Pāṇḍya Satyapūṛē ... 1 Āantiyakē namā  

2 Yona-lāja [e] va pi tasa Āntiyakasa sāmāntā lājāne savata Devanāṃpiyasa  
 Piyadasīnē lāji ... [ch]ikīsā cha  

3 pasu-chikīsā cha (B) osadhāni āni munisopagāni pasu-opagāni cha atata nathi  
 sava[t]a ... cha atata nathi  

4 s[ā]vatra¹ halkāpītā cha lopāpiṭā cha (D) magesu udupānāni khānapīṭāni lukhānī  
 cha 

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king Devanāṃpriya Priyadarśin, and also (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the Choḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputa, 

.... the Yona king named Āntiyoka, and also the kings who are the neighbours of this Āntiyoka,—everywhere [two (kinds of) medical treatment were 
established] by king Devanāṃpriya 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 savatā Sernart, savatu Bühler.

² The last words of this section are missing at Jaugaṇa, 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-edicts.
THIRD ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देवानांप्रि वियद्धि लङ्का हेवं झाहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिषितने मे इंग्रंग झा ।............................................... च पादिसिमे च
2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु एनसुरनन निलं माहु झापा झानाये पि कंमने ।.................................
       सा मितसंधुसेस
3 नातिसु च भंजनमननिह साधु दाने जिनेसु झानाल्रे साधु ।...............................
       पि ।
4 हेतुते च विवंजःनते च

1 (A) Devā[na]ḥpiye Piyāṭasa lājā hevan āhā (B) dūvādasa-vasābhīṣitena me
       iyām [a] ।........................ cha pāḍ[ē]ṣike cha
2 paṇīchaśu paṇīchaśu vasesu anusayānaṁ nikhamāvū athā arināye pi kāṁha[n]e
       .................. [s]ā mita-sānithute[s]...
3 nātisu ch[a] barbhana-samanehi sādhu dāne jīvesu [a]nālābhē sādhu
       [y]i ।
4 hetute cha viyāṃjanate cha

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāṃprīya Priyādāśīn 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 Prādēśika 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) 'Meritorous is obedience to mother and father, to friends and acquaintances,
       and to relatives. Liberality to Brāhmanas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention
       from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in
       possessions are meritorious.'

(E) And the council (of Mahāmātrās) 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) अतिवेंत झानाल्ल वहूनि वसतानार्थ वहिने च पानाल्रे ।............................
2 (B) से झास देवानांप्रिस पियासने लाजिने धम्मचत्रने भेल ।.............................
3 दिविवानि तूपानि दरसिकु सुनिसां (C) लाजिसे वहूनि वसताने ।............................
4 धम्माभिषिक्यो झानाल्रे पानान अविहिसा भूतान नातिसु संप ।............................
5 (D) यस झाले च बहुविधे धम्मचत्रने वहिने (E) वहिनि ।............................
6 पियासने लाजिने पवतविसमि पि च धम्मचल ।............................
7 (H) धम्मचलने पि च नो होिनि ।............................
8 हैनि च मा झालोविच
1 (A) a[.]ikaṁtaṁ āṅkataṁ bahūṁi vasa-satāṁ vaṁṣhīte va pāṇāṁhībhe
2 (B) se aja Devāṇāmpriya Priyadāsine lājine dhāṁma-chalanena bhe[.]]
3 div[.]yāni lūpāni drasayitvā munisāṁaram (C) ādiṣe bahūṁi vasa-sate
4 dhāṁmānusathīya anālambdaṁbhē pānānaṁ avihisā bhūtānaṁ nātisu [sampa].
5 (D) esa anime cha bahuvidhe dhāṁma-chalane vaṁṣhīte (E) va[.]dhayi
6 Priyadāsine lājine pavad[.]hayi[sam]ā[i] [i] [y]c[.]va] dhāṁma-cha[.]la.
7 (H) dhāṁma-chalane pi chu no hcf[i]i.
8 [hi]ni cha má aloc[.]ayi

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 Brāhmacāras.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king
Devāṇāmpriya 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 Devāṇāmp-
triya Priyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living
beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmacāras, 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 Devāṇāmpriya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of
morality.

(F) But also the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Devāṇāmpriya
Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of morality until the aon (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 Devāṇāmpriya Priyadarśin (when he
had been) anointed twelve years.

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1 dasayitu Senart, dasayitu Bühler.
2 See above, p. 31, n. 7.
FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1. (A) देवानंप्रिये पियद
2. नाती ब पतलं च ते
3. सुपदालये (H) से [a]
4. पंमाविषपाना
5. "भनिभि"
6. सोलंघे
7. र वा
8.

1. (A) Devā[na]mpriye Piya[da]
2. na[t]1 va palam cha te
3. [s]u[p]adalaye (H) se [a]
4. [dha]m[m]a[dt]t[th]ānā
5. bhanibhi
6. mokhāye
7. e [v]ā
8.

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya 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.2
(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 thirteenth 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 Piteṅikas, and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).
(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibyyas.

1. nānti Senart, nati Bühler.
2. 10thānā Bühler.
3. See above, p. 33. n. 3.
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, 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 Mahamatras 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) .... Nāṇiyakṣye viṣṭadasi lājā heṁ bhāha (B) śrātikṣāt śāntānā nā heṁphulube svar kālaṁ āḍhunāme pāṭvedaṁ vi (O) se mamāya kate (D) svar kālaṁ

2. ....... śu ne śāne śālīgharaṁ saṁgharaṁ viśisṭi viśisṭi uḍānāśa ṣe svar pāṭvedaṁ vajrā āḍhunāme vi (B) svar ā jānasa

3. ......... kā (M) śu pā ṣe kāṭi śuṣṭa śānayaṁ viśāhā pāṭvedaṁ va saṁjanaṁ va ṣe va mahāmātāṁ śrātikṣāḥ viśrātikṣāḥ hoṁe niśa śrātikṣā viśrātikṣā viṁāde viṁāde

4. ......... līṁsārāḥ śārṇātānāṁ pāṭvedaṁ viśrātikṣāṁ vi (G) ānena ne śānenā (H) nāṇī ṣe teśāṁ uḍānāśa śārṇātānāṁ viṁānaṁ

5. (I) ......... svar lokākāhāṁ (J) tās ca pān ānāṁ mūle ṣe pāṭvedaṁ viṁānaṁ vi (K) nāṇī vi śāmbiṣā svar lokākāhāṁ (L) ṣu se kāṭi pāṭvedaṁ viṁānaṁ

6. ......... niśrā bhā ṣe niśrā śānāṁ viśāhā pāṭvedaṁ ca svarā śānayaṁ vi (M) ṣaṁve ṣe niśrāṁ viṁānaṁ viśāhā pāṭvedaṁ viṁānaṁ

7. ......... sya ne pāṭvedaṁ viṁānaṁ viśrātikṣāḥ (N) ṣuṇāre ṣu ānāṁ caṁānā pāṭvedaṁ

1. (A) .... [na]māpiye Piyaḍaṁ lājā hevaṁ śāha (B) atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ no hūta-puluve savaṁ kālaṁ aṭha-karm[e] pāṭvedaṁ va (O) se mamāya kaṭe (D) savaṁ kālaṁ

2. ......... [sa m]e ante olodhanasī gabhāgālasī vachasī vinitas[v] uyunāsī cha savata pāṭvedaṁ janasā aṭhaṁ pratiṣeṣāṇaṁ tu me ti (B) savata cha janasā

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1 See above, p. 33, n. 7.
2 See above, p. 33, n. 8.
3 The ṛ is expressed by a horizontal stroke before pa, which therefore looks like pe; peṣa

Senart and Bühler.
TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAGUDA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya 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 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 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 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.

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1 śāya Senart and Bühler.
2 hotā Bühler.
3 On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, a portion of the syllable pe is visible before ṣā.
4 The preposition ante, 'within', is used with the locative, just as anto in Pāli; see Childers, Pāli Dictionary, p. 39 b.
SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1. (A) दसी लाइ नाम सबव इतरत सबवांसा बसे ्यो ति (B) सवे हि
    ते सपौं भावसुधी ब इतरत (C) सुनिसा ब उचचवचक्षी उचचवलगा

2. (D) सं ब इतरत (E) बिपुले पि चा दाने ्यो धी
     च नीचे बाँधे

1. (A) da[s]1 lājā savata iĉhati sa[a]v[ā]saṁdā va[s]e .. [t]̄ (B) [sav]e
    hi te sa[yama]ṁ bhāva-[su]dhi cha iĉhamti (C) munisa cha uĉavucha-ĉhamdā
    uĉavuch[a]-lagā

2. (D) [sa]s[ṁ] va kachhamiti (E) [v][pul]e [p]i cha 3 [d][a][ne] ...........
       [dhir] cha niĉe [b]ādham

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśan 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. विया चांनि च शुदि ्यो माणि इतरत नं (C) से
    देवानामिये

2. विय ्यो दस ति (E) ततस होति स
    च दाने च वुदान दाने च

3. हिलानमपरिबधाने च धामपलिपुषाच ्यो चिलामे
    होति देवानामियस

4. पियदसने लाजने भागे च

1. [v][y][a] a]māni cha e[d]̄i ........... [m]āni huvaraṁ tari naf (C) se
    Dēvānāṃpiye

    dāne4 cha vuḍhānāṁ dasane cha

    ilāme hoti De[v]ānāṁpiyasa

4. Piyadasine lājine bhāge [a]...

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1. On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, the two syllables [Piya] are visible before dast.
2. The same plate reads [sa] eka-desām.
3. cha Senart and Bühler.
4. At the beginning of this line, plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, reads [a][t] āinkān aṁtalaiś lājā.
5. The same plate reads Piyadasi [l]ajā dasa.
6. cha looks almost like chu, and dāne like dāno.
7. -pāl Senart and Bühler.
JAUGADA ROCK; SECOND COLUMN

SCALE ONE-SEVENTH
EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

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 Devänâmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years,
he went out to Sarbâdhi.
(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.
(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramanas and
Brâhmanas 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 Devänâmpriya Priyadarśin
becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देवांमप्रिये पियदसी लाजा .......... पत्तुपदाये धवासि रताये
मनाये च
2 हेदिसाये जने वहुके .......... च मंगलं वलिति (D) से करववे चेव
तो मंगले
3 (E) अप्फले चु यो इस हेदिसे म .......... (F) इस चु .......... समरासिस
संयातपिपि गुलिनं अपचिति पानेतु सयमें
4 समनवानानां दाने यस अने .......... पितिना पि पुर्णी पि भातिना
पि सुवालिकेन पि इस साँघ इस करववे
5 .......... से दाने आनुगाच वा आदिसे धंरदाने धंमानुगाच च (K) से चु
तो मिलेन
6 .......... य साँघ इमेन सरक्ये लगे आलाजवितवे (L) विं हि इमेन
करवियतलान
7 ..........

1 (A) Devän[āmpriya Piyadayi lā[jā] .......... [pa]jupadāyē pavasāsi etāye
arñāye cha
2 hedisāye janne [ba]hu[ka]m ............ [cha ma]n[gala]n k[a]leti (D) se kataviye
cheva kho maṅgale
[sa-bha]jakaśi sammyā-patipati gulīnaṁ apachīti pānese say[a]me
4 saman[a]-bābhā[n]a[n]am d[ī]n[je] [esa a]m[n]e .......... [pi]ṭīnā pī pūtena pi
bhātinā pī suvāmi[k]e[n]a pī iyaṁ sādhū iyaṁ kataviye

1 With luvaṇi nānī cf. ete[hi] na in the Kārī and Nāṣik inscriptions (EL, 7, 64, text l. 4;
8. 65, text l. 14; 71, text l. 4; 73, text l. 11). In the Jaina Prakrit, nānī is used as an enclitic
particle, and in Saurastā, according to the grammarian, in the sense of nanu. Pischel ('Grammatik,
§ 150) derives it from Skt. nānam.

2 These two words are invisible on plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

5. ........... [s]e dāne anugah[e] vā adī[ś]e dhaṁma-dāne dhaṁmaṁugahē cha (K)
se chu kho mitena

6. ........... yah sādh[u] imena sakiye svage ālādhayitave (L) kim hi imena
kāṭavyatāla

7. ...........

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāṁpriya 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 Śramaṇa
and Brāhmaṇa; 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 thus:—'Gifts are meritorious.'

(J) But there is no [such] gift or benefit as the gift of morality and the benefit
of morality.

(K) Therefore a friend ........... [a relative], and a companion should indeed
admonish (another) on such and such an occasion:—'This ........... 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: JAUGADA

1. (A) ............. yasti śi ṛkī vā ṛkītī taddhye śāyānīye ḍh jānē dharmasūśtos
susūṣṭu mē

2. ............. tī dēvānāṃpiye pālātīkāye vā ṛkītī sākā ṛyāpālīsāvē
hāvyā vē

3. (D) ............. ṛhitadīyatā sūkṣmē vā uṣṭene vā (F) uṣṭene chū dūkātāle

1 For pājupadāye see above, p. 38, n. 22.
TENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dévánāṃpriya Priyadārśin 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 Dévánāṃpriya 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 ...........

(E) ............... 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) .......................... वृष्णेन त्रिद्विभन्न (B) नो हि साहेत तथापतिते (C)
महते हि विजये

2 ................. स माधुलियेये किंति च जने तथा परिप्रेयाया ति (E) ए पि
चु हेत

3 .................

1 (A) ............. [mα]jhim[na] ath[i] vithatena (B) [no] hi save savata gha[ṭi]
(C) maharnte hi vijaye

2 ............. [sa] mādhuliyāye kiṃti[ṛ] cha jane 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 Dévánāṃpriya Priyadārśin ........... 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) देवानंपिते हेवं जाहां (B) समापावं महामाता नागल्पिंयोहालस्य हेवं
बतसिया (C) या किंद्रि दुःकामी हेवं त महामाता किंति के कमन परिप्रेयायें

2 दुःखान्ते च जाहेहि (D) एस च मे मोहिशयं दुःखान्ते च मे हृतसु ज्ञातसिष्य (E)
के हि बहुचु पानसहस्य ज्ञायत पति गंगेय सु महिशास्त्र (F) सप्तमुना मे
3 पञ्जा (G) अथ पञ्जाये इगतिम भिन्न से सबै विनिमेये मुखुषू ति हिन्दुलोगिक-पाललोगिक हैवेव मे इछ सतईनसेतु (H) नो बुँदे एतै पापुनाक्षाय आभार्यमके
4 इसं भलटे (I) केका एकसुनिसे पापुनाति से पि देटे सो सवं (J) द्वाघ हि बुँदे पि सुविला पि (K) बुलक भलटे एतै एकसुनिसे चंघन तलिकिले ए्म पि पापुनाति (L) तत होती अक-क्र
5 स्वा ति तेन विधानतिक अग्ने च ब्रो बुँदे वेद्यत पि (M) तत तुषहि इकलिये भिन्न मथा पौरीलयेम (N) इस्वे हि जागिध नो पोथिवई इसाय आसुलोपैन नियूलियेन
6 हुलाय अनावुलिय आलसेल फिलमेन (O) हे इकलिये भिन्न से एतानि जागिध नो हेहू ति (P) स्वस चु इम मूले अनामालोपी अहुलना च (Q) निषिंग एने एकिमंते सिया ....
7 संचलितु उपाया संचलिते हु विनिलिय पि एताबि पि नीतिंग (R) एने दकेया जानने एक्वेलिते हे हें हें च देवानियस अनुसंधि ति (S) एतं संपरिमयाय ...
8 तं जहानले होति असंपरिमयति महापाये होति (T) विपरिमयाययं नो स्वाबालिति नो लाजाधि (U) दुकाहले एतस कंपस से मे कुले मनो-अनितिरेके (V) एतं संपरिमयायमने सम
9 च जाननेरे एतस स्कांग च आलसेलिसिसिया (W) इस्वे चा लिमी अनुसिंस सोतिविया (X) जाला पि केने सोतिविया एक्वेलित पि (Y) ....
10 मीने चबछ ...
11 तरे (Z) एताबि च अधरे इमे दिलिकिता लिमी एत महामाता नगलक सस्थं समवं एत हुङ्गूति ति एत सुनिसान च ... ने पालिकि ...
12 प्रस्तु प्रस्तु बसेतु अनुसवान निखामिसानि महामान जारं झांडे झांडुसे ति (K) बुमाले वि 'त' त ....
13 लालते ...
14 ......... बत्ति तं वि त्या कलिंगति अणा ....

1 (A) Dev[a] nombre ye [e]va]^2[ā]
2 (B) Sam[a] pāyaṁ mahāmātya [na]gala-viyāhālaka [e]va[n]a tava[1]y[a] (C) ain kichhi dakhāmi ha[ka][m] [ta[m] ichhām[i k]i[n] [k]a[m] 1 karnab 2 pa]pātyeychaṁ

1 Senart and Bühler omit kāṁ. Cf. the Jaugada separate edict II, end of line 1, and see above, p. 35, n. 12.
2 [karn]man Bühler.
FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDIT: JAU"GADĀ

2 duvālāte cha ālabhecaṁ (D) es[α] cha me mokhiya-mata duvālaṁ a[m] tushesu anusati (E) phe hi bahiṣu pāna-sahaseṣu [ā]ya[t]a p[a]na[yam] gachhema [su] m[u]s[ν]ī[ς]a[na[m] (F) sava-mu[n]ā me 1
3 paja (G) atha pa[j]āye ichhām[i kiṁ][i] me savena hita-sukhexa y[u]jeyū ti hi[dal][g][k][a]-palalokikena [he]meva me ichha savan-munise[ṣ]u (H) no chu 2 tu[phe etam] [p]a[punathā avagam[κ]e 3
m[']e 29 ch[aghatha] . . . . . .
10 tave (Z) etaye cha ath[a]ye iyaṁ [li][khita [I]pi ena mahāmaṁ nagalako sa[s]vata[m] sama[y]a[n] [etam] yu[j]ey [u] [t]i ena [muni][s]ā[na]m [a] . . . . . . ne [pal][k] 29 . . . . . . ye
11 [pa]mchhusa panchchusva [sesu] anu[s]ya[m]ānām 30 nikhamā[y]i[s]āmī 32 mahāma[m]ā[m] acharā[m]a[m] aphal[usa][m] 33 ta 34 . . . . . . . pi kumālē [v]j 35 . . . . ta
m[ay]i 36 [l]a[m][e] 38 . . . . . .

1 Read -muniśa me; -muniṣe Senart and Bühler.
2 cha Bühler.
3 puśis Senart and Bühler.
4 hi Bühler.
5 athi Bühler.
6 Senart and Bühler omit it.
7 Bühler omitted this word.
8 sampaṭi Senart, sanhaṭ Bühler.
9 nithu Senart, nithu Bühler.
10 iya Senart and Bühler.
11 ch Senart and Bühler.
12 dekhe[i] Senart and Bühler.
13 nikaṭa Senart and Bühler.
14 Read lāji[di].
15 [me]e Bühler.
16 cha Senart and Bühler.
[yitu ta[m] pi tathā] kalarnti [tathā].

TRANSLATION

(A) Dēvānāmpriya speaks thus.
(B) The Mahāmātras at Samantā, (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.
(K) It happens frequently that a single person undergoes imprisonment and suffers
harsh treatment.
(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, must exhort (you) to discharge (your)
debt (to the king), (by telling you): 'Such and such is the instruction of Dēvānāmpriya.'

1 javacha = Senart, ājavacha = Bühler; cf. f[a]ja-vač sanīk[a] in the Jaungāsa separate edict II, B.
2 tada Senart, ada Bühler.
3 sanīkānām Senart and Bühler.
4 For svauta see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary. Dhauli has the synonym svāhitā.
5 Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 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 eti in the Jaungāsa version to etu (p. 856, n. 17), which gives no sense. The verb
pātunāti has the same meaning as here in the rock-edict XIII; cf. above, p. 47, n. 5.
6 For vare = jau see above, p. 40, n. 2.
7 As eva dakhiṇāya corresponds to kevanimeva e da[kheya] at Dhauli, it seems to represent
esāv e ḍakheyā.
8 For niṣhapati see above, p. 69, n. 4.
FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

(S) If one observes this, great gain results, (but its) non-observance becomes a great evil.
(T) If one fails to observe (this), (there will be) neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.
(U) How (could) my mind be pleased if one fulfills this duty badly?
(V) If (you) observe this, you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me, and you will attain heaven.
(W) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) on every (day of) Tishya.
(X) It may be listened to even by a single (person) also on (other) occasions between (the days of Tishya).
(Y) .............. you will be able to ..............
(Z) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written, (viz.) in order that the Mahâmâtras (who are) city-judges may strive at all times for this, that to men [undeserved imprisonment or harsh treatment]..............
(AA) .............. I shall send out every five years on a complete tour (throughout his charge)\(^1\) a Mahâmâtra who is neither fierce nor harsh ..............
(BB) .............. also the prince (governor) [will send out] ..............
(CC) .............. from [Takshaśila].
(DD) When, at the word [of the king],\(^2\) they will set out on tour, (then), [without neglecting] their own duties, (they will ascertain)\(^3\) whether the judicial officers are carrying out this also just, as ..............

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देवानांपिये हेवं झाह (B) समापायं महमता लातवचनिक चतविया (C) कं फिंडौ दहामि हेवं तं इक्षामि हेवं विन्ति बं किमन
2 परिपालिये हेवं दुवाले च आलमेह (D) एस च मे मोदियमत दुवाल एतस जसप च हिमहं जुतमिय (B) सखुमि-
3 सा मे पिमा (F) जस पिमादे इक्षामि विन्ति मे समेहा हितसुबें चुजेयू जस पिमादे इक्षामि विन्ति मे सवें हितसु-
4 से चुजेयू ति हिदलोविगापापालिकिकेय वेंमेव मे इस सखुमिनिसेय (C) सिमा विंतान आविरिष्ठा-
5 नं फिंडरि सु लाजा चवेसू ति (B) एताका चा मे इस वितसु पापुनेय लाजा हेवं इक्षामि अनुविगिन हेयू
6 ममियाचे चवासेय च मे सुमवेय च लहेयू ममते तो बं हेवं च पापुनेय खमिसते ने लाजा
7 ए सकिये निमित्ते मसं निमित्ते व धंभं चलेयू ति हिदलोग ए पतलोग ए झालापयेय (B) एताये

\(^1\) See above, p. 5, n. 4.
\(^2\) See below, p. 117, n. 10.
\(^3\) The word जानसमिति seems to be omitted at Jaugada, but is required by the context; see the Dhauli version, CC.
8. च अग्रास्वेत ्हं तुषीनिः अनुसासामिः अनन्ने एकेन हंसं तुषीनिः अनुसासितुः चंदे च वेदित- 
9. नु त्म। मम पिति परिना च ज्ञातन (J) स हेवं कृत् कंमे चलिनितविये अस्वासनिया च ते यन् ते पापुषे- 
10. यु द्वारा पित मेवं ने त्याजा ति म्यु अर्तानं अनुकम्पित हेवं तुषीनिः अनुकम्पित म्यु प्रजा हेत- 
11. हं महे लालिने (K) तुषीनिः हंसं अनुसासित हंदे च वेदित त्म। मम पिति परिना च ज्ञातन सकल- 
12. दैशालिनिवेकिः होसानी एतसं वशसि (L) जां ति दुष्ये अस्वासनाये हितसुबाये च तेनं हिद- 
13. लोगिकरालोकिकाये (M) हेवं च कलंकं त्सं च आलालाप्यिसपं मम च अननेनेय एसपं (N) ए- 
14. तामे च अशाये हृं चित्ती निजिन्त हिदं यन महामाता सास्तं समं युवेवू अस्वासनाये च 
15. घनयमवलनाये च अंतानं (O) द्वं च चित्ती अनुतानं मासं सोतिविया मिसेन (P) अंताना पि च सोतिविया 
16. (Q) सने संतं रकेन पि सोतिविया (R) हेवं च कलंकं चर्चं संपरिपालित्वते 

1. (A) Devānāmpiye hevaṃ ।[ha]। (B) Samāpyaṃ mahamatā ।[a]a-vachani[k(a)]। vataviya ।(C) ah kimhi dakh[a]mi haka[m] tu[m] ।[chh]ami haka[m] k[im] te kamin kamana 
2. paṭipātayehaṃ duṅ[a]j[se cha ālaḥaḥchaṃ (D) esa cha me mokhinya-ma[ta]। duṅ[a] ] etasa a[tha]sa a[na] [u[p]h]esu anusa[shi] (E) savi-muni-
3. sa me paja[|] (F) aha paja[y[e] ichhami kirti me sahe-su[kh]ena yu[j[e]yū [a]tha paja[y echhami kam[i] ti m[e] savena hita-su-
4. kh[e]na yuyeyū । ti hidalogika-palaloki[k]c[na]। hevaṃmeva me ichha savas-
munisesu (G) siyā ati[na[a]](a[vijiti]-
5. naṃ kim-chhamde । su laja aphesu tu (H) etaka ।[v]a me ichha [a]ntesu pāpumnuy lajha hevaṃ ichha[a]ti anu[v]g[ena hve[yū]।
6. mamiyaye [a]svasey cha me sukham[m]ey[v[a] cha lahey[|] mamate [n]o kha[m] ] hevaṃ cha pāpumnuy kha[m] [s[a]ti ne laja 
7. c e[a]kiyey | khamitaye mamā niimidān cha dhāinma[m] । o cha ley[yű] ti hidalog[am] cha palaloga[m] cha alādhaye[yū|] (I) etiye 

1. lāja- Senart and Bühler. 8. -mata Senart, -matam Bühler.  
2. Cancel the eight last words ([a]tha to yuyeyū), which the writer has repeated by mistake.  
3. kena Senart and Bühler. 9. -chhamde Senart and Bühler.  
4. Read etaka, as proposed by Lüders, SPAW, 1914. 867. 10. Read dukham.  
5. keyu Senart and Bühler. 11. Read dukham.  
6. chha kīye Senart, chakīye Bühler. 12. The Anuvātra of maḥ stands above the line; dhānma Senart and Bühler. 
7. yeyu Senart and Bühler.
BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

Scale One-third
SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDIT: JAUGADA

8 cha aṭhāye hakaṁ tupheni anusāsāṁi ana[ne cta]kena [ha]kaṁ tupheni a[nu]sāsitu chhaṁdaṁ[ān cha] vedi-
10 yu a[th]a pita [h]evaṁ [n]e lāja ti atha [a]𝜏aṁnaṁ anukaṁpat[ī he]vam a[ph]enī anuka[m]pīnaḥ ti athā pajaḥ he-
12 desā ay[u]jike h[osāṁi et[a]si [a]thaś[a] (L) [a]laṁ [h]i tūphie avsaṁ[a]ye h[i]ta]-
sukkhaye [cha te]sa[ṃ]n hida-
14 tāye cha a[tha]ye i[y]aṁ līpi li[k]a[t]a hi]da c[na ma]h[a]nātā sāsvataṁ s samaṁ yuṣeṣa avsaṇāyē cha

TRANSLATION

(A) Dvānāṁpriya speaks thus.
(B) The Mahāmatras at Samāpā have to be told (this) at the word of the king.19
(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.

1 katu Senart and Bühler.
2 Read "sāsitu, which is Bühler’s reading.
3 chhaṁdām Senart and Bühler.
4 Senart and Bühler omit ā.
5 sāvataṁ Senart and Bühler.
6 Read desaṇyutiḥ.
7 The derivative [a]ja-vachani[ka] seems to convey the same meaning as the two words Dvānāṁpriyas vachanena at the beginning of each of the two separate edicts at Dhauli, and of the Queen’s pillar-edict at Allahabad. Cf. also the opening phrase of the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpara rock-inscriptions.

The year of the reign of Ashoka 

19 The text of this verse appears to be corrupt; it is understood by Dr. Senart and Mr. Bühler to mean, 'The Mahāmatras at Barmā have to be spoken of (this) at the word of the king.'
(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 confidence, 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 Mahānāmas 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.

(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

\[
\begin{align*}
5 & \text{निक्षिमित स} \quad \ldots \ldots \\
6 & \text{(E) हेत इसं होति झं} \quad \ldots \ldots \\
7 & \text{बुधान दसने च हरिनपीतिवधाने च} \quad \ldots \ldots \\
8 & \text{थंगानुसथि घं} \quad \ldots \ldots \\
9 & \text{ये रति होति दे} \quad \ldots \ldots \\
10 & \text{ने भागे ब्र} \quad \ldots \ldots \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
5 & \text{nikhamitha. Sa} \quad \ldots \ldots \\
6 & \text{(E) heta iya[]i ba[m][h][a]} \quad \ldots \ldots \\
7 & \text{vuphan[ai] dasane[ ] cha hiranma-pa[ti]dhan[ae]} \quad \ldots \ldots \\
8 & \text{[da][ni]manu[sa][thi] cha[}] \quad \ldots \ldots \\
9 & \text{ye[ ][ra][ti] ho[ti De]} \quad \ldots \ldots \\
10 & \text{n[e] bhage ar[ } \quad \ldots \ldots \\
\end{align*}
\]

1 With aráśa[x]jáy cfr. visvamāsāyate on the Sārnāth pillar, ll. 8 and 9.
2 The two words khane samatān are nominatives absolute; cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.
3 nikhamithā sam Bhagvanlal Indrajit.
4 These two words are entered above the line.
5 *sathi Bh. I.
6 *rati Bh. I.
SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

1. (A) Devānāmpriya Piyadasī lāja hevaṁ āhā (B) saṅguvisati-
2. vasa-abhisitena me iyaṁ dharma-lipi likhāpita
3. (C) hidata-pālate dusampāṭipādaye amnata agāya dhārma-kāmatāya
4. agāya pālkhāyā agāya suṣūjāyā aṣṭaṇa bhayena
5. agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
6. dhāṁmāpekhā dhārma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhāsati cheva
7. (E) puliṣa pi cha me ukasa cha geva ya cha majhimā cha anuvidiyaṁti
8. sampāṭipādayantī cha alaṁ chapaḷāṁ samadapayitave (F) hemeva amta-
9. mahāmatā pi (G) esa 1 hi 2 vidhi ya īyai dhārmaṃ pālana dhārmaṇa vidhāne
10. dhārmaṇa sukhiyaṇā dhārmaṇa goti ti

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānapriya Priyadarśin 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) 3 is difficult to secure

1 ca Bühler.
2 pī Senart and Bühler; hi is quite distinct on the inked estampages.
3 With the base pālata, which is derived from the Sanskrit adverb paratra, cf. parārika at
Girnār (= pālantikya at Kālsī, and pālata 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 day¹ and will progress still (more).

(E) And my agents² also, both the high ones³ and the low ones,⁴ and those of middle rank, are conforming to and practising (morality), (and are thus) able to stir up⁵ field (persons).

(F) In the same way the Mahàmàtras of the borderers⁶ also (are acting).

(G) For (their) instruction (is) this, viz.⁷ to protect according to morality, to dispose according to morality, to cause pleasure⁸ according to morality, and to guard (their speech)⁹ according to morality.

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

19 (A) Devànaññiyaññi Piyadasi lâjá ¹⁰
11 hevarî ahâ (B) dhañmme sàdhù kiyaññi chu dhañmme ti (C) apàsinave ¹¹ bahù kayâne
12 dayâ dâne sache sochaye (D) chaku-dâne pi me ¹² bahûvidhe diîmme (E) dupada-

¹ For SWAG SWAG = Skt. svakf svakf (literally: ‘to-morrow to-morrow’), see Childers, Pâli Dictionary, s.v. SWAK.
² I adopt V. A. Smith’s translation of pulisa; see his ASOKA, sec. ed., p. 184, n. 3. Cf. the pillar-edict IV, G, and VII, M.
³ ukasa (= uktarsha) is used in the sense of uktirsha.
⁴ This meaning of gavayà is evident from the context. Bühler (ZDMG, 48, 62) derived gavaya (for gavaca) from the root gav, to which the Dhàtupàtha attributes the meaning of sêv, ‘to servc’. For the change of k to g cf. supadâlaya, above, p. 33, n. 3. But the existence of the root gav is far from certain; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 991 and n. 1.
⁵ For samûdejeti see Childers, Pâli Dictionary, s.v. samûdiyati.
⁶ Cf. the separate edict II at Dhauli (M) and at Jaunâda (N).
⁷ For this meaning of yà ñaññi see Senart, IA, 17. 305, who compares with it the Pâli expression yad idam.
⁸ Cf. the pillar-edict IV, E, and VII, V.
⁹ Cf. the rock-edict XII, D.
¹⁰ lâjá Senart and Bühler.
¹¹ A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of w.
¹² A vertical stroke is attached to the bottom of me.
SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

13 chatupadesu pakhi-vālīchalesu vividhē me anugahe käte ā pāna-
14 dākhīnāyē (F) annān ī pi cha me bhūtīnī kāyānāni kātāni (G) etāye me
15 aṭṭhāye iyaṁ dhārmā-lipī likhāpītā hevami anupāśīpajāntu chilāṁ-
16 thitikā cha hotū ti ti (H) ye cha hevami satpāṭapajāsitā se sūkaṭāṁ kachhati ti

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyādarśīn speaks thus.
(B) (To practise) morality is meritorious; but what does morality include?³
(C) (It includes) few sins,⁴ many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness,
(and) purity.
(D) The gift of spiritual insight⁶ 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.⁸
(F) And many other virtuous deeds also have been performed by me.⁹
(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.⁴¹

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

17 (A) देवानामपि य पियदसि लाज हेवं चहाः (B) कवान्मेव देशतिः इयं मे
18 कमाने कंटि तिः (C) नास नित पायं देशतिः इयं मे पायं कटे तिः इयं बा ज्ञात्यावे
19 नामा तिः (D) तुम हिसहेलो च दो यह (E) हेवं चु दो एस देखिये (F) इसानि
20 ज्ञात्यावे नाम्य चान्दुष्टि दितूनिये कीदेये साने इस्या
21 कालवेन च हंस मा पलिम्यातियसं (G) एस बाढ देखिये (H) इयं मे
22 हिसहराये इयमि मे पालिताये

¹ The remaining versions read hotā ti. Three verses of Manu in which iti is doubled are quoted
in Böhtlingk and Roth's Wörterbuch, I, p. 790, l. 28. Cf. also kiti [?] at Kalāt, XII, D.
² An apparent Anuvāra after ka is probably accidental.
³ Burnouf (Lotus, p. 667) explained kiyāṁ = Skt. kiyān.
⁴ āsānava is a dialectic variety of the jaina term āsūrā which is derived from ā + rusu; see
Weber's Ind. Studien, 16. 335, n. 7, and Michelson, IF, 23. 367 f. The corresponding Pāli term is
āsrav, which is Sanskritized by āsrava or āsrava. See Burnouf, Lotus, p. 822 f.; Sarvadārṣa-
saṅgraha, translated by Cowell and Gough, p. 53 f.; ZDMG, 72. 149. With the compound
āpāsānava cf. āpa-vyayātā, āpa-phañā, and āpa-parāsānava in the Gimbār 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 chakkhūni are mañca-chakkhu, dība-chakkhu, and paññā-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.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

17 (A) Devānāmpīya Priyadāsā lāja hevān aha (B) kayaṇāmmeva dekhati iyaṁ me
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpam [d[e]khāti iyaṁ me pāp ca kaṭe ti iyaṁ va āsīnave
nāmā ti (D) duṣṭāveheke chu kho esā (E) hevān chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni
āsīnava-gāminī nāma atha charīṇīy niṣṭhāyīy kodhe māne isya
21 kalanena va hakaṁ mā palībhasayīsān (G) esa bāḍha dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me
hidatikāye iyānāmana me pālatikāye

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāmpīya Priyadarāin speaks thus.

(B) (Men) regard only (their) virtuous deeds, (thinking): ‘This virtuous deed has
been performed by me.’

(C) They do not at all 1 regard (their) evil deeds, (thinking): ‘This evil deed
has been performed by me; this very (act) is called a sin.’ 2

(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. 3 Let me not 4 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) 3
to my (happiness) in the other (world).’

FOURTH PILLAR-EDIT: DELHI-TOPRA

West Face of Pillar.

1 (A) Devānāmpīya piyāṭtis lāj āve saha (B) santavātivās-
2 ābhīṣitam me amānām pālaśīvītā (C) lānāka me
3 bhūs mānamsaśām sajñāsāmā yāyata (D) tenses ye ābhīhālē ye
4 āve ye ābhīsāmītā eva mānītā lāna māna abhīyā

1 Michelson (IF, 23, 236 f.) dissolves nośina into no amīna, and identifies amīna with the Pāli
amīna, to which he attributes the meaning ‘also;’ but this word rather means ‘hereby’. Bühler
(EL, 2, 251, n. 21) seems to be right in taking no amīna = Skt. na manāk. For the change of a to i
2 For āsīnava see above, p. 121, n. 4.
3 With the compound āsīnava-gāminī cf. āva-gāmuba 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 mād, we may add that, if mā were the object of palībhasayīsān, it would
be an unidiomatic substitute of Skt. ātmānam.

Michelson (IF, 23, 237 f.) connects mana with Skt. manāk, and Bühler translated it by ‘at
least’. The adverb mana does occur in the Jātaka, vol. I, p. 405, verse 92, where it means
‘nearly’. I suspect that iyāmmana represents Skt. idam anyat. For the Sandhi cf. kavyānām-
meva in line 17; hevānmeva (or ‘ed’ 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.
FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

1. (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyadasi I[ā]ja hevaṁ āhā (B) sa ṣadvīṣasti-vasa-
2. abhīṣitena me iyaḥ dharma-liṇī likhātipī (C) lajūkā me
3. bahūsu pāṇa-sata-sahasesu janasi āyatā (D) tesam ye abhīhāle vā
4. dāṅde vā ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūkā avsatha abhītā
5. kālmāni pavaṭayevaḥ janasa jānapadaśa hita-sukhaṁ upadāheva
6. anugahīneva cha (E) sukhīyana-dukhīyanaṁ jānisaṁti dharma-yutena cha
7. viyovadisaṁti janam jānapadaṁ kiṃti hidaṭaṁ cha pāḷataṁ cha
8. ālādhayaṁvā ti (F) lajūkā pi laghaṁti paṭichalitave marī (G) pulisāni pi me
9. chhaṁḍamānānī paṭichalisaṁti (H) te pi cha kāṇi viyovadisaṁti yena maṁ lajūkā
10. chhaṁḍaṁti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajaṁ viyataṁ dhātiye niṣijita
11. avasathē hoti viyata dhāti chhaṁḍi me pajaṁ sukhīn paliḥatave
12. hevaṁ māma lajūkā kaṭa jānapadaṁ hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhītā
13. avasatha saṁtaṁ avimāna kāmāṇāni pavaṭayevas ti etena me lajūkāmaṁ
14. abhi[h]āle 1 vā dāṅde vā ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitave[v] [h]ī esā kiṃti
15. viyohāla-samāta cha siya daṇḍa-samataḥ cha (L) ava ite pi cha me āvutī
16. baṁḍhana-baḍhānāṁ munīsānāṁ til[ṛ]ta-dāṁḍanāṁ 2 pata-vadhānāṁ tinī
divasā[n]ī me
17. yote chinna (M) nātikā vā kāni niḥhapayisaṁti jīvitaye tānaṁ
18. niṣantaṁ vā niḥhapayita dānaṁ daṁṭhāni pāḷataṁ upavāsaṁ vā kachhāṁti
19. (N) ichhā hi me hevaṁ nīlucchasi pi kālaṁ pāḷataṁ ālādhayaṁvā ti (O) janasa cha
20. vadhāti vividhe dharma-chalane saṁyame dāna-savībhage ti

1 abhihāte Bühler.
2 stīṭa- Senart and Bühler.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) This inscription on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) 
anointed twenty-six years.

(C) My Lajukas1 are occupied with the people, with many hundred thousands of men.3

(D) I have ordered that either rewards2 or punishments are left to their 
discretion,4 in order that the Lajukas 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 pleasure5 and to cause pain (to them), and will 
exhort the people of the country through those who are devoted to morality,6 in order 
that they may attain (happiness) both in this (world) and in the other (world).

(F) The Lajukas also must obey me.7

(G) They will also obey the agents8 who know (my) wishes.

(H) And these (agents) will also exhort those (people),9 in order that the Lajukas 
may be able to please me.10

(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 
Lajukas 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 Lajukas.

1 For Lajuka or Rājuka see above, p. 5, n. 2.
2 For āyata cf. above, p. 95, n. 4.
3 In the Jātaka the word abhikāra has the meaning of ‘a present, an offering’; see Bühler, 
ZDMG, 46, 539 ff., and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 991 f.
4 As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 990 f), ata-patiya is an adjective formed of atman+pati 
with the affix -ya, which seems to stand for -ka; see Franke, VOJ, 9, 347. Cf. nilatiya in the Kāsi 
rock-edict IX, C, and atha-bhāgya on the Rummindet pillar, C.
5 Cf. sukhiyana in the pillar-edict I, l. 10, and sukhiyana, VII, V.
6 Bühler translated dhamma-yutena by ‘in accordance with the principles of the sacred law’. 
In the pillar-edict VII, N, dhamma-yutta is an adjective qualifying janani, ‘the people who are 
devoted to morality’. The same translation suits dhamma-yutta at Maski, l. 5, and the substantives 
dhrama-yutasa and dhrama-yutasi in the Shāh-bāgari rock-edict V (J, K, N), which, as the variant 
dhamma-yutana at Ginnar (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 dharma-yukta to be 
the collective designation of certain officials.
7 Kern (Jaartelling, p. 96) compared laghañati with Skt. arhanti.
8 Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992 ff) has shown that pulisani is the accusative of pulisa, which occurs 
in the pillar-edict I, E, and VII, M; cf. above, p. 30, n. 1.
9 For kṣati see above, p. 35, n. 12.
10 For chagatā = Skt. sākṣayati see above, p. 97, n. 4.
11 Kern (Jaartelling, p. 99) first identified viyata with Skt. vyakta, which, according to the 
Amarakosa, has also the meaning of prajya, and which is used with this meaning in Buddhist 
Sanskrit; see Bühling’s Abridged Dictionary, s. v. ज्ञय; and Asvaghosha’s Saundarananda, II, 38.
12 I follow Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1009 f.) in making this section end here.
13 svasti 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) देवानांपि विद्वद्वस्त िति हेि कहाँ (B) सहुऽसितिवस- 2 अभिभितन ि महानि नातानि अवधिपानि कहाँ सेवाः 3 सुके सातिका अल्ले चकवके हेि नंदुऽसुि सेिराते 4 जतुऽहा अन्वापििवसति दौल्हा अन्तितिविषा एतेव्रेिके 5 गंगापुष्के संकुऽहेि कपडःसबे पनससे सिमले 6 संबाये द्रोकेविे पलसे सेवितिे गामकपिे 7 संदे चतुऽहेि वे परिभौगिे नि रति न च तान्यातिी (C) ......... ती

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1 With avuti = āuyuki (Senart) cf. -āvutike in the Dhaulai separate edict II, l. 8 = -āy[u]jike at Jaugada, II, l. 12; vishava at Sarnath (l. 10), Shāhābāghi, and Māṇsehrā, and višava at Kaśi = vi[s]ya at Gaṇaṁ, XIII, R.; supadārave at Māṇsehrā = supadālave at Kaśi, Dhauli, and Jaugada, V, G; sochave in the Delhi-Topra pillar-edict VII, l. 28 = sochaye in edict II, l. 12.

2 Senart (IA, 18, g) translated asa śte (= Skt. yāvat ātah) by 'from this day'. I follow Bühler's rendering (EI, 2, 254), and compare avo-gamak[e] in the first separate edict at Dhauli (G) and Jaugada (H). Michelson (IF, 23, 236) compares avo with Avestan yavat, and avad, the reading of three other versions of this edict, with Ancient Persian yāvā.

3 With ṭita-daṁça cf. ṭitaṁ (kāryam), Manu, IX, 233, and atha-saṁśrīyā at Gaṇaṁ, VI, 11, 9, 10.

4 Literally: 'will induce to meditate or consider'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1022 f.) quotes mahākumā nissahapānā parantā from the Fātahā. The means of 'persuasion' was evidently the payment of ransom; cf. the Kaṭṭilīya, p. 146, last line: युक्तप्रार्थी: कस्मातः कथा दोषमिशुचे [बन्धनन्तः] दुः। Three other versions read: 'if there is none to persuade (them)'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1023) has explained nāsamānī as the nominative singular absolute of the participle present of nāthi (Skt. nātī).

5 As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1024 f.), the prisoners themselves are the subject of the last sentence.

6 Bühler (EI, 2, 254, n. 28) took niruddha 'pi kālī in the sense of niruddha-kālī 'pi, 'even during (their) imprisonment'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1026) translates: 'even in limited time'; and Thomas (JRAS, 1926, 143): 'though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed'. In favour of my rendering I may quote Childers, s.v. niruddha.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

8 एठुका चा सूकली चा गभीरी व पायमीना व श्रविद्या- पाने के
9 प्रि च आगि आसंसमसिकें (D) वध्वकुशों नौ फटवित्व (E) हूँ वीजी-के
10 नौ भावतित्विये (F) दारे अनवले वा बिविसाहे बा नौ भावतित्विये
11 (G) जीवन जीवे नौ पूरनतिज़िवे (H) तीसु चावतुमाससळु तिसाम पुनमसिकियं
12 तिस दि-वसान चावदुसं पंडवसं परिपतिशे पूरवदे चा
13 अनुपोशकः मे से ब्रविधि नौ प्रि विक्षितित्व (I) एतानि बेतां दिवसानि
14 नागवन्ति केवलबन्धिगि शानि अनानि प्रि जीवनिवायणि
15 न हैतिश्यानि (J) अढ़मीपशाये चावदुसाये पंडवसाये तिसाये
16 पुनावसुरुः नौ चावतुमाससळु सुरितसाये गोने नौ नीलिविनित्विये
17 अरे एके सुकले न वा प्रि जीवे नीपितित्व नौ नीलिविनित्विये
18 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुरुः चावतुमासिके चावतुमासिपशाये अससि गोनसा
19 लखने नौ कटवित्व (L) वाससहुक्रान्वितसहस्रमदित्विन मे एताये
20 अन्तिलिके जा पंचवीसिति चेष्ठमोक्षानि कटानि

1 (A) Devanārāmi-pyle Piyādasi lāja hevam ahā (B) sauvīsa-vasas-
2 abhīsātana me imani jatāni avadhīyāni kaṭāni seyatha
3 suke sālikā alune chakavāke samse namidimukhe gelate
4 jatukā aṁbā-kaṭailika dalī (C) anathika-machhe vedaveyake
5 Gaṅga-pupitake satikuja-machhe kapha[a]-sayake paṁna-sase simale
6 samākae okapināde palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote
7 save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyati (D) . . . . . . . , i
8 [e]jaka chā sūkali chā gabhini va pāyaminā va avadh[ī y . p. t: ak]ke
9 pī cha kānī asamānikī (D) vadhī-kukute no kaṭavīye (E) tuse sajīve
10 no jhāpetavīye (F) dāve anathāye vā vihīsāye vā no jhāpetavīye
11 (G) jivena jive no pusitavīye (H) tisu chāutumāśīsī tīsāyiṁ paṁnāmāśīyam
12 tīsīmīn divasāni chāvudasaṁ paṁnañāsāṁ paṭipadāya[c] dhuvaśe cha
13 anupassatāṁ machhe avadhīye no pī viketavīye (I) etāni yeva 5 divasāni
14 nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṁnāni pī jīva-nikāyāni
15 no haṁtavīyaṁ (J) aṁhāri-pākhāye chāvudasaṁ paṁnañāsāye tīsāye
16 punavasunē tisu chātumāśīsī sudivasāye gone no nilakhitavīye
17 ajake edake sūkale e vā pī aṁnē nilakhyati no nilakhitavīye
18 (K) tīsāye punavasunē chātumāśīye chātumāśī-pankhyāye avasaṁ gonaśa
19 lakhanē no kaṭavīye (L) yeva-saufvīsa-vas-abhīsātana me etaye
20 aṁtalikaye paṁnaviṣati bāndhāna-mohkāni kaṭāni

1 daḍi Bühler; but see his Ind. Pal., § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911, 1088. Three other versions read duṭṭi, and the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar duṭṭi.
2 khādiyati Bühler.
3 Three other versions read ajaṅkā nāni.
4 edakā Bühler.
5 Restore avadhīya potake.
6 yeva Bühler.
FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśi speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, the following animals were declared by me inviolable, viz. 1 parrots, mainas, the aruṇa, ruddy geese, wild geese, the nandimukha, the gelāta, bats, queen-ants, 2 terrapins, 3 boneless fish, the vadavayaka, the Ganga-pāputaka, skatc-fish, 4 tortoises 5 and porcupines, squirrels (?), 6 the srimara, 7 bulls set at liberty, 8 iguanas (?), the rhinoceros, 8 white doves, domestic doves, (and) all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible.

(C) Those [she-goats], 10 ewes, 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 seyyāṭa = Pāli sīyyāṭa and Skt. tadyāṭa.
2 Michelson (IP, 23, 206 f.) dissolves anūkākapīṭikā into anūkāka (an adjective formed of anūka) and pīṭikā (for pīṭikā by haplology). But it seems easier to divide the word into anūka and kapīṭikā = Pāli kāpīṭikā. The Allahabad-Kōsaṃ pillar actually reads anūkā-kapīṭikā. Skt. pīṭikā has been changed to kapīṭikā, etc. through dissimilation; cf. Trenckner’s Pāli Miscellany, p. 59.
3 Monmohan Chakravarti (Memoirs, ASB, 1, 368) takes dū[Ja] in the sense of ‘the female tortoise’. But tortoises are mentioned separately in the sequel.
4 With sanākṣaṇa Senart (IA, 18, 75) compares Skt. śānkucī or śānkūcī, which may be derived from sanākṣaṇa, ‘to contract’.
5 The identification of kaphata with Skt. kamaśa is due to Senart; see IA, 18, 75.
6 This doubtful explanation of paurṇa-lata was proposed by Bühler; see EI, 2, 200.
7 This animal is mentioned in the Kuśāṇya, p. 100, l. 12.
8 C. M. Mulvaney (IA, 37, 211) remarks that this translation of sanākṣa is improbable because ‘Hindus would hardly kill a bull’; but matters may have been different in Asoka’s time. Cf. the reference in Kālidāsa’s Meghadūta (v. 45) to king Rāntilēva who, according to the Mahābhārata (7, 67, 5; 12, 29, 123; 13, 66, 42 f.), sacrificed so many cows that their blood formed the river Chāmaṇvatī. According to the Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa (III, 1, 2, 21), Yājñavalkya was fond of tender beef. At the beginning of the fourth act of Bhavabhūti’s Uttararāmācarita it is stated that a heifer (vatāruti) was slaughtered by Vālmiki in honour of Vasiṣṭha’s visit to his hermitage. According to Pāṇini, III, 4, 73, gogāna means ‘a guest’ because a cow is killed for him. Pāraskara (I, 3, 27) specifies the verse which had to be recited at the killing of the cow. Āpastamba (Grīhyasūtras, I, 3, 9) permits the slaughter of a cow at the reception 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 ālāgavana or ‘spit-ox’ offered to Rudra, see Hillebrandt’s Ritual-Litteratur, p. 83 f. The Buddhist Sutta mention beef-butchers; see Nūmann’s translation of the Digha Nikāya, vol. II, p. 448, n. 5. Cf. also Memoirs, ASB, l. 373; Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, vol. II, p. 145; Hastings’s Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, article ‘cow’ by Jacobis.
9 According to Trenckner’s Pāli Miscellany, p. 58, n. 6, paśûsata (=Vedic pāravat) is the original of Pāli paḷāsāda, ‘a rhinoceros’, and the latter, which means literally ‘eating leaves’, is an etymologizing corruption of the former. The form paḷāsāda occurs in the Jātaka, V, p. 406, v. 267, and paṭāsata ibid., VI, p. 277, v. 1205; see Kern’s Vorworte des 1. Woordenboek van Childers (Amsterdam, 1916), II, p. 13.
10 For the pronoun nāti see above, p. 13, n. 5. Lüders (SPAW, 1912, 998, n. 1) has refuted a suggestion of Franke (VÖJ, 9, 343), who wanted to join ojahānāti into one word, and to consider it a Pāḍṛī form of ajakahā. Just as the nom. plur. neut. nāti is connected here with the nom. sing. fem. ajakahā, and with the nom. sing. neut. śke in the Queen’s edict, I, 4, kānī is combined with the nom. sing. masc. pātāke in l. 9; see Lüders, p. 997, and cf. above, p. 35, n. 12.
The Inscriptions of Asoka

(G) Living animals must not be fed with (other) living animals.

(H) Fish are inviolable, and must not be sold, on the three Chāturmāsīs (and) on the Tisyā full-moon during three days, (viz.) the fourteenth, the fifteenth, (and) the first (tisā), and invariably on every fast-day.

(J) And during these same days also no other classes of animals which are in the elephant-park and in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.

(J) On the eighth (tisā) of (every) fortnight, on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on Tisyā, on Punarvasu, on the three Chāturmāsīs, (and) on festivals, bulls must not be castrated, (and) he-goats, rams, boars, and whatever other (animals) are castrated (otherwise), must not be castrated (then).

(K) On Tisyā, on Punarvasu, on the Chāturmāsīs, (and) during the fortnight of (every) Chāturmāsī, 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).

Sixth Pillar-Edict: Delhi-Topra

East Face of Pillar.

1 (A) देवानाथिये विपदीस ताज हेंग चाहा (B) दुराहस-

2 वसंभिसिनेत वे धमतिप विन्कामिया लोकसा

3 हितहुवेये से तं अष्ठरता तं तं धमतिहि पापोवा

4 (C) हेंग लोकसा हितहुवेये नत परिवेक्षानि रूप द्रय

5 नातिसु हेंग पतियास्सनेतु हेंग अष्ठरतासु

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. tisāyā), instead of which three other versions read tisī (i.e. *tisī), is the full-moon of the month Taisa or Fausha; see EI, 2. 264.

3 With the words dhvānye chā amugisatham or amugisatham chā dhwānye on the Sānāth pillar, I. 8.

4 For nāga-vana see the Dharmapada, verse 324, and the Kautūlaya, p. 50.

5 In the compound aṭhama-pakka 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 Kautūlaya, p. 407, l. 9 f., the king’s birthday and local festivals are meant; see below, n. 8.

7 For gono, the Prākrit and Pāli equivalent of Skt. gā, ‘an ox’, see Pischel’s Grammatik, § 393.

8 The occasions on which it was customary to release prisoners are enumerated in the Kautūlaya, p. 146 f. Cf. also Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 63 f., and Zachariae, VOJ, 27. 406. With sections C, H, J, and L of this edict cf. the Kautūlaya, p. 407: [विविद्विशेषमविशृष्ट पवन] बाससारविशेषमविशृष्ट विका।

9 The occasions on which it was customary to release prisoners are enumerated in the Kautūlaya, p. 146 f. Cf. also Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 63 f., and Zachariae, VOJ, 27. 406. With sections C, H, J, and L of this edict cf. the Kautūlaya, p. 407: [विविद्विशेषमविशृष्ट पवन] बाससारविशेषमविशृष्ट विका।

10 [‘Having acquired a new territory, the conqueror] shall order all prisoners to be released and the slaughter (of animals) to be avoided on the Chāturmāsīs during 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).]
SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

6 फिर कानी सुख ज्ञानां से तथ्य च विद्वानि (D) हेमेवा
7 सत्वनिर्मृयु पद्वक्षासि (E) सत्वपांसड़ा भि मे पूजिता
8 विरिधाय गुजारा (P) ए चु इन्य ज्ञाना पच्चुगमने
9 से मे मोक्षमेते (G) सहजीसतिकसग्रहमितेन मे
10 इं धार्मिक िलिहापति

1 (A) Devānāmpriya Priyadāsi lāja hevaṁ ahā (B) duvādaśa-
2 vasa-abhīṣitena me dharma-lijī likhāpita lokā
dhī
3 hita-sukhāye se taṁ apahāta taṁ taṁ dharma-vadhi pāpovā
4 (C) hevaṁ lokāsa hita-[sukhe] ti pativekhāmi atha iyaṁ
5 nātiṣu hevaṁ patiyāsamānesu hevaṁ apaκaṭhēsu
6 kīmā nā sukhārī aavahāmi ti tatha cha vidhāmi (D) hemēvā
7 sava-nikāyesu pativekhāmi (E) sava-pāsminā pi me pūjitā
8 vividhāya pūjāya (P) e chu iyaṁ at[ā]nā[2] pachūpagamane
9 se me mokhya-mate (G) saḍuvisati-vasa-abhīṣitena me
10 iyaṁ dharma-lijī likhāpita

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadaršin 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 transgressing⁴ 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 only⁶ to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that⁵ I may lead them⁶ to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly.

(D) In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes.⁷

(E) And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.⁸

⁴ A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of ve; cf. above, p. 120, n. 11.
⁵ ātirat Bühler; but see Fleet's note, IA, 13. 310.
⁶ Kern (下面是, p. 92 f) explained apahāta by a-prahātā, and translated it by 'leaving untouched'. Franke (VOJ, 9. 344. n. 2) suggested two slight modifications: apahāta may correspond as well to a-prahārī (Skt. a-prahārī), and pra-hrī 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. 1024, n. 1. Cf. also the nominative singular niśhāsavaita in the pillar-edict IV, M.
⁷ With attha iyaṁ cf. yathayodham, 'just as', in Childers' Pāli Dictionary.
⁸ kīmā (or kikmaś as three other versions read) appears to be used in the sense of kīmā, and to be an enlarged form of Skt. kīm, as Pāli sudān in Skt. svād. See the remarks of Senart in IA, 18. 107, and those of Franke in KZ, 34. 430. Bühler (EI, 2. 269) preferred to derive it from *kīmā = kīmā.
⁹ See above, p. 35, n. 12.
⁰ Cf. the rock-edict XIII, J. ³⁰⁹⁵
ⁱ 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) देवानन्दपिये पियदसि लाजा हें (B) ये अनि कंत
12 अंगत लाजाने हुसु हें इहिसु कंथ जने
13 धंमवडिया बड़े नै बृह जने अनूलुपाया धंमवडिया
14 वदिया (C) एत्त देवानन्दपिये पियदसि लाजा हें (D) एत मे
15 हुसा (E) अनि कंत अंगत हें इहिसु लाजाने कथ जने
16 अनूलुपाया धंमवडिया बड़े ति नै जने अनूलुपाया
17 धंमवडिया वदिया (F) से किनसु जने अनुपदिया
18 (G) किनसु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवडिया बड़े ति (H) किनसु कानि
19 अनुसुनामिहैं धंमवडिया ति (I) एत्त देवानन्दपिये पियदसि लाजा हें
20 अन्ना (J) एत मे हुसा (K) धंमसाजनानि सावागायणि धंमानुसिपिन
21 अनुसामि (L) एत जने शुदु अनुपदीपजीसति अन्नसुनमिति

B.—Round the Pillar.

22 धंमवडिया च वाल बुनिहत (M) एताये मे जाते धंमसाजनानि सावागायणि धंमानुसिपिन विविधानि शान्तिपिनि य\\ldots\\ldots रिसा रि बहुने जनसि आयत ए ते परिवर्तितंसति रि परिवर्तितंसति रि (N) लाजुरि रि बहुकेशु पाषाणसकेशु आयता ते रि मे शान्तिपिनि हें च हें च परिवर्तितादि
23 जन धंमवूदु (O) देवानन्दपिये पियदसि हें (P) एतमेक से अनुसुनामानि धंमसाजनानि कदानि धंमसाजनानि जाता धंम\\ldots\\ldots बाटे (Q) देवानन्दपिये पियदसि लाजा हें (R) अनुसुन रि मे निग्रहित लोकपितिनि होसति पसुनुसिसानि अंवायकितानि लोकपितिनि (S) त्योकोरित्विनि रि मे उद्धुपनानि
24 अनुसायितनि निसिद्धा च कालापिति (T) लोकपिता मे बहुकानि तत तत कालापिति निद्रोगागे पसुनुसिसानि (U) लि \ldots\ldots एस परीनोगे

1 Cf. the Shāhānghārī rock-edict XIII, P. 2 Cf. above, p. 130, n. 7.
3 Cf. the rock-edict VIII, E, and atana agīthka on the Rummīndet and Nīgālī Sāgar pillars. Senart (IA, 18, 107 f.) translated atana packāpamane by 'the personal adherence (to the sects)', and Bühler (EI, a. 268) by 'the approach through one's own free will'.

नाम (V) विविधाया हि सुवायानाया। पुरिमेहि यि ताजिहि समया। च सुखिने लोके (W) हि सु धंधानुपरीपायी। अनुपपरीपायात्ति हि: एतदया। यि

25 एस कटे (X) देवानीपिये यि विषयिति हिते। श्राहा (Y) धन्महाकामाता। यि। ये वहुविशेष। चोते। आनुपपरीपाया। यि। विषयात्ते सरजीतानं। चे। गिरियानं। च। लय। एस। यि। च। विषयात्ते। (Z) संपदसि। यि। ये। कटे। ये। विषयात्ते। होिहि। यि। हेस। वालानेतु। खाजिहितानु। यि। ये। कटे। 

26 इते। यि। विषयात्ते। होिहि। यि। निगदित। यि। ये। कटे। इते। विषयात्ते। होिहि। नानापायित्रिे। यि। ये। कटे। इते। विषयात्ते। होिहि। यि। परिविषिति। परिविषिति। नेतु। तेतु। ये। 

27 (CC) यि। अने। च। बहुक। मुक्ता। दानवियसलयी। विषयात्ते। मंम। चे। चेविनं। च। साविति। च। ये।। खाजिहि। चाकालेन। तान। तातिव। तुपायवतनान। पाठी। हि। चे। दिसासु। च। (DD)। दारायान। यि। च। ये। कटे। अंतनं। च। देविकुमालानं। इते। दातिविसेदु। विषयात्ते। होिहि। यि। 

28। धंधानुपरीपात्ते। (EE)। एस। हि। धंधानुपरी। धंधानुपरी। च। या।। इते। दया। दाने। सचे। सीयेव। मदये। साधी। च। लोक। हित। विनियम। यि। (FP)। देवानीपिये। प। 

29। इते। लय। हित। (GG)। यान। हि। कातिच। ममिया। साधवान। कतान। ते। लोक। अनुपपरी। ते। च। अनुपपरीपित। यि। (HH)। तेन। विनियम। च। 

30। (KK)। तत। च। लय। से। धंधिये। निकिति। या। सु। (LL)। धंधिये। च। हि। एस।। ये। ये। इते। दय। दय। यि। यि। यि। इते। एस।। (MM)। धंधिय। यि। च। बहुक। यि। यि। यि। यि। धंधियममिय। यान। ये। कटान। 

31। अनावत्ते। पालात। (OO)। एस।। एस।। (PP)। हि। एस।। अनुपपरीपात्ते। हि। श्राहा। (QQ)। सरजित। साधवान। इते। इते। धंधिय। तिकित्तापायात। 

32। धंधिय। यि। कल। सिद्धान्ताकन। या। सिद्धान्ताकन। ए। चित्रितितिक। सिद्धान्ताकन। या। तत। कटिया। ए।
A.—East Face of Pillar.

11 (A) Devānamāpiye Piyaśadati lājā hevaṁ āhā (B) ye atiṣṭaṁ
12 aṁtālaṁ lājāne husu hevaṁ ichhisu kathāṁ jāne
13 dhaṁma-vadhīyā vadheyaṁ no cha jane anulupāyā dhaṁma-vadhīyā
14 vadhiṁhā (C) etaithe Devānamāpiye Piyaśadati lājā hevaṁ āhā (D) esa me
15 huthā (E) atiṣṭaṁ cha aṁtālaṁ[a]ṁ jān 1 hevaṁ ichhisu lājāne kathāṁ jāne
16 anulupāyā dhaṁma-vadhīyā vadheyaṁ ti no cha jane anulupāyā
dhaṁma-vadhīyā vadhiṁhā (F) se kinasu jane anu[pā]ṭīpajeyā 2
18 (G) kinasu jane anulupāyā dhaṁma-vadhīyā vadheyaṁ ti (H) k[j]nasu kāni
19 abhyuṁmānayeṇaṁ dhaṁma-vadhīyā ti (I) etaithe Devānamāpiye Piyaśadati lājā
hevaṁ
20 āhā (J) esa me huthā (K) dhaṁma-sāvanāni sāvapayāmi dhaṁmānusathini
21 anuṣ[a]lāṃi (L) etaithe jane sute anupāṭīpajisati abhyuṁmānatisatī

B.—Round the Pillar.

22 dhaṁma-vadhīyā cha bāḍhaṁ vadhisat[i] (M) etāye me aṭhāye dhaṁma-sāvanāni
sāvapitāṇi dhaṁmaṇusathini vividhāni ānapitāni [ya] ... [is]ā 3 pi bahune
janaṁ āyatā e te 4 paliyovadimantī pi pavithrasantī pi (N) lajūkā pi bahukus
pāna-sata-sahasases āyatā te pi me ānapitā hevaṁ cha hevaṁ cha paliyovadāthe
23 janaṁ dhaṁma-yu[t[a]ṁ (O) [Devānamāpiye Piyaśadati] hevaṁ āhā (P) etameva me
anuvakhamānāc dhaṁma-thāṁbhānī kaṭāṇi dhaṁma-mahāmātā kaṭā dhar[m]a
... e 5 kaṭe (Q) Devānamāpiye Piyaśadati lājā hevaṁ āhā (R) magesu pi me
nighāni lopaṭipiti ειναυτον χαθαπατην ρυθυται πασο-μουσιαν καμβά-ναδίκη
lopaṭītā (S) adha-[kos]ikyāni pi me udapānāni
24 khānāpāpitāni nimis[dhajā]ā 6 cha kālāpitā (T) āpānāni me ba[h]ukāni tata tata
k[a]lāpitāni paṭibhogāye p[a]su-munisānaṁ (U) [ia] ... 7 esa paṭibhoge nāma
(V) vividhāyan hi sukhayanay aulemhi pi lājhi mamayā cha sukhayite leke
(W) imanu cha dhaṁmānupatipajjantu anupāṭiṣaṁjatu ti etalathā me
25 esa kaṭe (X) Devānamāpiye Piyaśadati hevaṁ āhā (Y) dhaṁma-mahāmātā pi me
te bahuvidhesu aṭhesu anugahikesu viyapaṭṭase pavajitāṇaṁ cheva ghiṁhanān
cha savā ... [i]esu 8 pi cha viyapaṭṭase (Z) saṁghāṭhasi pi me kaṭe ime
vīyāpata hohantī ti hemeva bābhanesu a[j]vijesu pi me kaṭe
26 ime vīyāpata hohantī ti nigaṁṭheshu pi me kaṭe ime vīyāpata hohantī nānā-
pāsaṁdesu pi 9 me [ka]ṭe ime vīyāpata hohantī ti paṭivisitham paṭivisitham
tesu tesu [te] ... mātā 10 (AA) dhaṁma-mahāmātā cha me etesu cheva
viya[p]a[sa]nta savesu cha aṁnesu pāsaṁdc u (BB) Devānamāpiye Piyaśadati lājā
hevaṁ āhā

1 Read aṁtalaṁ, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
2 The Ṛ of ṛṣe is inserted above the line.
3 Restore yathā pulāstā. 4 ete (in one word) Senart and Bühler.
5 Restore dhaṁma-sāvane.
6 nimis[dhajā] Bühler. 7 Restore lahkue cha.
7 Restore sav-aṁsaṁdesu. 8 Ī looks almost like īhī.
9 Restore te te mahāmātā. When Fleet's plate (IA, t3 310) was prepared, the missing letters
were still visible.
SEVENTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

27 (CC) ete cha arıne cha bahukā mukhā dāna-visagasi viyāpaṭaṣe mama cheva devinaḥ cha savasī cha me olodhanasi te bahuvidhena ā[k]a[.]laṇa tāni tāni tuṭhāya[ṇa]hi paṭi ........... 1 hida cheva disa cha (DD) dālakānaḥ pi cha me kac aṁtānān cha devi-kumālaṇaṁ ime dāna-visagesu viyāpaṭa hoharīti ti

28 dhāraṇmāpadaṇāṭya dhāraṇmānupatiṭyu (EE) esa hi dhāraṇmāpadaṇe dhāmaṇ-paṭipati cha yā iyān dayā dāne sache sochave madave sādha[v]e cha lokasa hevān vadhisa ti (FF) Devānāmipy[e] [P .... s. 1]lājā hevān āha (GG) yāni hi [k]āνiḥi mamiṣā sādhvānī kāṇāni tāni loke anūp[a]ṭipāṭhu tāni cha anuvadiyaṁti (HH) tena vadhita cha


30 (KK) tata chu lahu se dharma-nyāme niḥjātiya va bhuye (LL) dharma-nyāme chu kha ese ye me iyān kac īmāni cha īmāni jātān āvadhīyaṁ (MM) arināni pi chu bahu[k] ... 4 dharma-nyāmāni yāni me kāṇāni (NN) niḥjātyiya va chu bhuye munisānaṁ dharma-vadhā vadhita avihināsye bhūtānaṁ


32 dharma-libi ata athi silā-thāṁbhāīī vā sīlā-phalakāṇī vā tāta kāṭaviyā ena esa chila-thāṭhike siyā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarāśīn 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,9 King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarāśīn 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 paṭipādayaṇaṁti, which he translated by 'they point out'. I suspect that the actual reading of the pillar was paṭivedayaṇaṁti; cf. prativedayaṇu in the Jaugada rock-edict VI, 6.

2 Restore Piyadarī.

3 Restore pīya Piyadasi.

4 Restore bhukāṇī.

5 athāya Bühler.

6 The late Dr. Flect drew my attention to the fact that a peculiar mark is attached to the top of the ē of Devānāmpiy[e], and that there is a corresponding mark above the word a[k]āya in section OO. This double kākāpada or caret (cf. Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgaṇī, IV, 117) suggests that the writer wanted us to place sections RR and SS before section OO.

7 Franke (GN, 1895, 537) attributes to kathā the meaning of 'that'. Bühler translated it by 'in some way'.

8 Cf. the Shāhbadgarāīi rock-edict XI, 6.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

(P) 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 Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin 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 Lațākas 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) Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(P) Having in view this very (matter), I have set up pillars of morality, appointed Maṭhamatrās of morality, (and) issued [proclamations] on morality.

(Q) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin 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.

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1 Senart (IA, 18, 303) explains kinasu = Pāli kenasu and Skt. kina-vitt ; cf. Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s. v. assu. For su = vitt see above, p. 99, n. 14.

2 With the optative *nāmyekehanī cf. [pa][pādavaj]ekehanī and ēlabhekehanī in the Dhauli separate edict I, B, and yekehanī 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 sāvāpyāṃmi, cf. svaśāvagāvite at Brnambahiri (l. 5), for which the Śiḍḍhapura edict (l. 11) reads [sva]śāvagāvite, and the Rūpānath edict (l. 3) sāvagan kate. These three records and the Sahasrām, Bairaṭ, Maski, and Jaṭīgā-Rāmesvara rock-inscriptions are actual specimens of the dhamma-sāvāpanī to which Asoka is alluding here.

5 See above, p. 120, n. 2.

6 See above, p. 95, n. 4.

7 With the locative bahuna Bühler (EI, 2, 270, n. 68) compared punāvasune in the pillar-edict V, ll. 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 anuṣekhamāne is a nominative singular absolute. See above, p. 96, n. 11, and Lüders, SPAW, 1913, 1019.

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 avidā-vaṭikā and aṭha-[ko]arāya (below, section S) the k of the two affixes -kā and -ika is palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel i, as frequently at Kāśi; see there nāṭikya, pālamāntikya, &c. The form avidā-vaṭikā occurs in the Queen's pillar-edict, l. 3. The first member of this compound, avidā (for the Sanskrit masculine āmra), seems to be used as feminine; cf. ābikā-bhati (=āmraḥ-bhṛtī) at Junnar (ASWI, 4, 97, No. 26). The second member, vaṭikā, is the regular Prākṛti equivalent of Skt. *vaṭiti (=vṛtī, 'a hedge'), while its usual Sanskrit synonym, vaṭiḥa, presupposes the form *vaṭiḥa; cf. Wackernagel's Altind. Grammatik, I, p. 168.
(S) And (at intervals) of eight kōs wells were caused to be dug by me, and flights of steps (for descending into the water) were caused to be built.

(T) Numerous drinking-places were caused to be established by me, here and there, for the enjoyment of cattle and men.

(U) [But] this so-called enjoyment (is) [of little consequence].

(V) For with various comforts the people have been blessed both by former kings and by myself.

(W) But by me this has been done for the following purpose: that they might conform to that practice of morality.

(X) Dēvānāmpriyā Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(Y) Those my Mahāmatras of morality too are occupied with affairs of many kinds which are beneficial to ascetics as well as to householders, and they are occupied also with all sects.

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1 Fleet (JRAS, 1906. 424 ff) showed that adha here represents Skt. ashta, and not artha. According to Huen Tsang, Bāca, and Kauṭilya (JRAS, 1912. 239), one pārśu = 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 Bühler read niśsidhiyā, which he rendered by 'rest-houses', connecting it with niśkṣidyā (from Skt. niśkṣidati) in the Nāgarjuna Hill cave-inscriptions; cf. also Aruḥata-nisāḍiyā-tampe in the Hāṭhigumphā inscription of Kāñcāne, l. 15. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 852) compares with it the Ardhamagadhi sedhi = Skt. śṛṇghī. As śṛṇghī is synonymous with Skt. śṛṇgha, he attributes to niśsidhiyā the sense of Skt. niśāḍ CENT, 'a ladder, a flight of steps'. This meaning would fit the text admirably, but the actual reading of the pillar is niśāḍāya, which would correspond to Skt. niśāḍhabā. For the change of ni to ñs see Pischel's Grammatik, § 74, and for dh = original shr cf. adha = ashta at the beginning of section S.

3 With āpāna cf. propa in the Nāsik cave-inscription No. 10, l. 3 (EI, 8. 78), and in the Palitāna plates of Śrīhārdita (EI, i. 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 Aṅkūr 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 Aśoka's pillar-edict. The Hindus are wonderfully conservative; e.g. the bullock-cart and the carrying-pole (Hindu bhaṅgāt, Dravidian bāvadi) figured at Bharut (Cunningham's Stepā of Bharhut, plate 37; 44, fig. 1; 44, fig. 7; 45, fig. 5; 46, fig. 8) do not differ from those one sees at the present day.

4 A similar phrase occurs in the Kāśi and Śrīhārdita edict XIII, V, and below, section KK.

5 For atā = atibha see above, p. 23, n. 3. Although in the dialect of the pillar-edicts Skt. artha is generally represented by aptha, the form ata (with dental ā) occurs also in section OO of the edict VII. Mignucki's explanation of etadatā (IF, 23. 448 ff) appears to me 'too bold', as he confuses himself.

6 The pronoun te seems to refer to section P, above.

7 Franko (VOJ, 9. 349 ff.) has pointed out that ṣīyāpatāre, which occurs twice in this section and once in CC, below, is the Pāñcakīrī equivalent of the Vedic nominative plural in -ātāh. Cf. above, p. 87, n. 3.
(2) Some (Makāmātras) were ordered by me to busy themselves\(^1\) with the affairs of the Sangha;\(^2\) likewise others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Brāhmaṇas (and) Ajivikas;\(^3\) others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Nirgranthas;\(^4\) others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with various (other) sects; (thus) different Makāmātras (are busyings themselves) specially with different (congregations).\(^5\)

(AA) But my Makāmātras of morality are occupied with these (congregations) as well as with all other sects.

(BB) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadārśin speaks thus.

(CC) Both these and many other chief (officers)\(^6\) 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\(^7\) both here\(^8\) and in the provinces.

(DD) And others\(^9\) were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons,\(^10\) 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.\(^11\) compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men.

(FF) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadārśin speaks thus.

(GG) Whatsoever 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 *ime* by 'others'.

\(^{2}\) i.e. the Buddhist clergy.

\(^{3}\) For the Ajivika 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 Dharmahmaṭiras of sections Y and AA.

\(^{6}\) As at Shāhbazgaṛhi (XIII, 8) and Mānsehra (XIII, 9), mukha corresponds to Skt. mukhya. Michelson (IF, 23. 263 f.) prefers to identify it with Skt. mukha, because in mokhya (= Skt. mukhya, Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VI, l. 9) the group mhy is not assimilated. But Skt. mukha is always neuter, and the masculine mukha seems to be a fiction of the Köṣas. Thomas renders bahukā mukhā by 'many departments'; see JRAS, 1915. 99.

\(^{7}\) Kern and Bühler (EI, 2. 274) explained tathāyaṇāyaṇa by tushṭa-ayatanāni, 'sources of contentment', i.e. 'opportunities for charity'. I adopt this suggestion, but prefer to take ayatanā as a synonym of pātra or tirtha, and follow Lüders (SPA, 1914. 853) in considering the first member of the compound to be tushṭa in the sense of tushṭi.

\(^{8}\) viz. in Pāṭaliputra. Cf. above, p. 33, n. 10.

\(^{9}\) Literally: 'these'. Cf. above, n. 1.

\(^{10}\) Cf. the Kāśi edict V, M, where Aśoka mentions the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives.

\(^{11}\) See above, p. 120, n. 7. Before pā iyaṇa we may have to supply dhaśāme, which includes the virtues that are enumerated after it; cf. the pillar-edict II, C. I differ here slightly from Lüders, SPAW, 1914. 854.
(II) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin 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.²

(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),³ and in order that (men) may conform to it.

(PP) For if one conforms to this,⁴ (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, Devānāmpriya says.⁵

(SS) This rescript on morality must be engraved there, where either stone pillars or stone slabs are (available), in order that this may be of long duration.

II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 ........................... न चमेन विघाने
2 धमे ........................

2 cha[me] .............

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 (A) देवानामपिये पियदसि त्याज हेवं श्र्य ् (B) धमे साधु किंये । ति
2 (C) श्र्यासिनवे भु हु कयाने तया दाने सवे सोचवे (D) चश्वदाना दिवे

¹ Literally: ‘by inducing to meditate’. Cf. above, p. 69, n. 4. Thomas (JRAS, 1916, 122) has shown that in Buddhist Sanskrit works nidānyapī has the meaning ‘reflection’.

² See the pillar-edict V.


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 esa is used in the same way in the Dhauli separate edict I, Y, and II, I and M.

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1. Devānapīya Piyadasi lājaḥ [hevaṁ a]... (B) dh[āṁ]m[ca] dh[ā]m[ca] ḫiyaṁm

2. Devānapīya Piyadasi lājaḥ [hevaṁ a]... (B) dh[āṁ]m[ca] dh[ā]m[ca] ḫiyaṁm

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1. Devānapīya Piyadasi lājaḥ [hevaṁ a]... (B) kayānam[ca]... eva de...

2. Devānapīya Piyadasi lājaḥ [hevaṁ a]... (B) kayānam[ca]... eva de...

3. Devānapīya Piyadasi lājaḥ [hevaṁ a]... (B) kayānam[ca]... eva de...

4. Devānapīya Piyadasi lājaḥ [hevaṁ a]... (B) kayānam[ca]... eva de...

5. Devānapīya Piyadasi lājaḥ [hevaṁ a]... (B) kayānam[ca]... eva de...

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1. Devānapīya Piyadasi lājaḥ [hevaṁ a]... (B) kayānam[ca]... eva de...

2. Devānapīya Piyadasi lājaḥ [hevaṁ a]... (B) kayānam[ca]... eva de...

3. Devānapīya Piyadasi lājaḥ [hevaṁ a]... (B) kayānam[ca]... eva de...

4. Devānapīya Piyadasi lājaḥ [hevaṁ a]... (B) kayānam[ca]... eva de...

5. Devānapīya Piyadasi lājaḥ [hevaṁ a]... (B) kayānam[ca]... eva de...

6. Devānapīya Piyadasi lājaḥ [hevaṁ a]... (B) kayānam[ca]... eva de...

7. Devānapīya Piyadasi lājaḥ [hevaṁ a]... (B) kayānam[ca]... eva de...

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1 laīa Bühler. 3 [dā]nav Bühler.
2 laīa Bühler. 4 ti Bühler.
3 laīa Bühler. 5 pāpaṁ Bühler.
4 ... sa Bühler.
FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

6 उत्साह से पवजायवृ ति एतने मे
7 देवानं आवातपवथे के
8 (क) इक्किति हालसमता च सिया
9 देवसनि मे आवुश बच्चनवधानि
10 सुनितानि बधां निनि दिवसानि ते
11 वैते रनि (म) पवित्रति जीविताये तानि
12 वासति ति पालतिष्के
13 उपवासं ता व हेव निननुशि पि कालुसि
14 पालति आलापणे बटति विविधे परस्परलानि
15 सब्ये दान

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 पोळ्ये पि च आनि
2 के (०) वधिकुःते नो कालिते (०) तुसे सजीवे
3 तविघ्ये (०) दाने चन्द्राये च विशिष्टाये च नो
4 छापेविघ्ये (०) जीवन जीवे नो पुष्टिविघ्ये (०) तीसु चालामालीसु
5 तिसयं पुनासियं तिनि दिवसानि चाँददसं पंढरसं
6 पतिददां दुराये च चतुरसरसं मदे चविथिये नो पि
7 विपितविघ्ये (१) एतनि येव दिवसानि नागवतसि बेबतोगसि
8 आनि चानानि पि जीवनकायानि नं हसतवायानि

1 [lajākā] Bühler.  
2 asv[a]th[ə] Bühler.  
3 lajāk[ə] Bühler.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

9 (J) ऋठिमिपसाये चाबुदसाये पंडलसाये तिसाये
10 पुनावस्ये लिसु चाहसासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने
11 नो नीलेक्षितसत्रे ध्रुवे रुक्ते १ ५ ३ वा धि
12 ब्रह्मेन नीलेक्षिती नौ नीलेक्षितसत्रे (K) तिसाये पुनावस्ये
13 चाहसासीसत्रे चाहसासिपसाये ध्रुस्ता गोन्सा लबने
14 नो पि... विधे (L) यावसुवीसीतिसवसाभिसितेन में एताये
15 अंतिनिपाये पंनेरीसी संधनमोङ्कायन कदानि

1 .......... [potake १ pi cha] k[a]n[i]
2 .......... [ke (D) [vadh]i-kukute no kaṭaviye (E) tuse saj[i][ve]
3 .......... ta[v]ye (E) dāve [a]ṇaṭhayē va vihīsaye vā no
6 p[a]tipadā dh[r]jūvaye ३ cha anuṣopathan mahche avadhīye no pi
7 viketav[i]ye (I) etān[i] yeva divaśāni n[ā]ga-van[a]sī kevāta-bhogasi
8 yāni arṣa[ṇ]i] pī jiva-nikāyān[i] no [ha]ṁtaviyāni ४
9 (J) aṭham[i]-pakha[ye] ५ [cha]vudasiye parisna]dasiye tisāye
10 puṇāvasune tisu chaṭumāśniisu sudivasaṃ gone
11 no nilakhitav[i]ye ajake elake ६ stikale e vā pi
13 chaṭumāsiye chaṭu[ṛ]n]māsi-pakhāye avasaṃ gonasā lakhanē
14 no... [v]ye (L) yā[va]-saḍuvisati-[va]sa-abhisitona me etāye
15 a[n]alikāye paṃnavisati bandhāna-mokhāni kaṭaṇi

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 .................
2 .................

1 ........... ूपागमने से मेमोक्षम (G) सदु...........
2 ............. सिसेतने में इमं संस्करित सि

1 ........... upagamanay sme me mokhyama-te (G) sadu...........
2 ............ isitena me iyan dhamma-li[pi] li ...........

1 On Fleet's plate (IA, 19. 134), portions of the preceding word avadhīya are also visible.
4 yāni Bühler.
5 aṭham[I]. Bühler.
6 elake Bühler; but see Lüders, JRAS, 1921. 1088.
III. THE LAURIYA ARARAJ-PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

A.—East Face of Pillar.

1 (A) देवानांपि चिमन्दक तथा हेवं श्राह (B) सदृशीतिकर्ममात्सितेन मेवं धन्मार्चित
2 लिखापित (C) हिक्षपालने दुस्सन्तिपादये वाणल अगाय पंक्तामाता अगाय पलीखय
3 अगाय सुरसाय अगाय भयेन अगाय उसाहेन (D) एस चु शी मम अनुसारिय
पंक्तामेष
4 पंक्तामता च सुचे शुरे विहिसति वेच (E) पुलिसा पिने उकसा च गेचवा च महिमा च अनुविश्विति
5 संस्कृतिपादर्थयि च वर्तम चपलन सामाकिष्ठवे (F) हेमेव आमच्छामाता पि (G) एस ति विषयि यि इव पंक्तेन पालन
6 पंक्तेन विधाने पंक्तेन सुविधय धन्मेन गोती ति

1 (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasī lāja hevarā añā (B) saudhirasātivasābhāsitena me
2 likhāpita (C) hidata-pālante dusamāpāpādaye arināta agāya dharīma-kāmatāya agāya
palikhāya
3 agāya susisāya agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
dharīmadeke.¹
4 dharīma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita² vadhishati cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha
gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvādhiyānti
5 sanātipādayānti cha alanī chapālaṁ samādapayitave (F) hemeva anīta-mahāmātā
pi (G) esa hi vidhi yā iyaṁ dhanīmena pālan
6 dhanīmena vidhāne dhanīmena sukh[!]yana dhanīmena goti ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

1 (A) देवानांपि चिमन्दक तथा हेवं श्राह (B) धमे सापु किमं चु धमे ति (C)
धारणिनवे वहु कसाने दय दाने सची
2 सोचे ति (D) चफुदाने पि मेवे चहुविसे दिने (E) दुर्दशंपदेसु पाबविनसिमलेसु
विविधे मेवे अनुगढे कोटे

¹ dharinmāpekha Bühler.
² vadhita Bühler.
3 श्रा पालिविशिष्टेः (E) अनानि व च मे वृहति व्यानानि कावनि (C) तनावे मे ज्ञाते इव धमालिपि लिखापित हेतुं
4 अनुपादित्यान्त किलंपितीका च होतु ति (H) च हेतुं संपर्कितिःसति से सुकृत काहारति ति

1 (A) देवानामप्ये पियदसि लाजा श्रावि अहा (B) धारीमे साधु कियरि चु धारीन्ति ति (C) अपसिनावे बहु कयावे दया दाने धरे
2 सोचे ये (D) चक्षु-धाने पि मे बहुविद्वे दिन्मे (E) दुपादा-चन्दपदेसु पाखिवालितेसु विंनिदे मे नुगारे कामे
3 ए पाना-दाशिनाये (F) अर्जुनानि पि च मे बहुनि कयानि कावनि (G) एते ये मे अथाये यारि धमालि-पिनि लिखापित श्रा
4 अनुपापित्यान्तु चिलानि-थितिका च होतु ति (H) ची च हेतुं संपर्कितिःसति से सुकृत काहारति ति

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

1 (A) देवानामप्ये पियदसि लाजा हेतु श्राह च (B) कयानेिन्तिच देश्वति इव मे कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापे देश्वति इव मे पापे कटे ति
2 इव व श्रासितवे नामि ति (D) दुपादितेसे चु यो यस (B) हेतुं चु यो एस देशिवे (F) इमानि श्रासितनस्माती नामि ति एस चंडिवे
3 लिवलिये कोगे याने इव कालनेव च एवं मा पलिंधसातसं ति (G) एस चार्ट देशिवे (H) इव मे हिंदितकाये इवमेन मे पलिंधकाये ति

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

1 (A) देवानामप्ये पियदसि लाजा हेतु श्राह (B) सदुविशिष्टिनिसति नेमे इव धमालिपि लिखापित (D) लज्जुका मे वहुरु पानसतसहसरु
2 जगसि श्राधा (D) तेसे मे भावहिंिति च दौंि च श्राधितिवे मे कटे किनि लज्जुक अस्य जानानि कमानि च दुपादितेवू ति जनस जानादस
3 हिंदुसू सुधेेवेनु श्रामागहिनेतु च (E) दुस्मनसदुसिधितवे जानिनति धमालिते च विमेवदितिःसति जन मे जानादस किनि हिंदुसू च
4 पालतंच श्रालापदेवेवु (F) लज्जुका पि धमानि परिभलितवे में (G) पुलिसानिफि मे छंदसानि परिभलितवे में (H) ते पि च श्रा विमेवदितिःसति श्रेण में
FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

5. लज्जुक चपित आराध्यते (I) छा ठि पञ्ज विपतायते धारियते निसिनितु।
6. ठें अत्तरतिये फटे (E) इश्नालिये ठि एस धिति विद्वाहसमता च सिय
7. वें छ तांतिये टांगे (L) उज्ज्वलाते ठि एस आरुदू वंधनभागाश्
8. मुनिसान्त तीलितदंशन पत्वारण तिनि दिवसानि मे योते दिने (M) नातिनाद
9. वान निलापिते लाते धाहित्म पालिति करीति (N) ठा ठि मे यें
10. निलापिते पि वालिते पालित आराध्यदेवः

1. (A) Devānaṃapih Pyādasi lāja hevān āhyā (B) sauvāvasi-vasābhisātena me
2. janasi ayata (D) teṣarī ye abhihale va (C) jinde va ata-patiyē me kate kiini lajūka
3. asvatha abhita kānīmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa
dhanav-yutena cha viyovadisānti janaṁ jānapadāṁ kini āhitač ca
4. pālātari cha aśādhyavu (P) lajūka pi laghaṁti paśichaltavē marī (G) pulisāni pi
5. me chhairādānaṁī paśichalisaṁti (H) te pi cha kani viyovadisāntī yena marī
aljūka chaghāṁti aśādhyātavē (I) athā hi pajāṁ viyatāye dhaṭiye nīṣijatu asvathe
6. hoti viyata dhati chaghāti me parihaṁ 1 sukhān paḷihaṭavē ti
7. hevān mama lajūka katha jānapadasa hita-sukhāyē (J) yena ete abhita asvāthā
8. saṁtaṁ aśchimana 2 kānīmāni pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkañāṁ abhihale va
9. daṁaṭe va ata-patiyē kate (E) ichhitaṁviye hi esa kiini viyohā-samātā cha siya
darinda-samātā cha (L) āvē ite pi cha me āvuti bandhuna-bandhānān
10. munisānaṁ ti laṭa-darindaṁ pata-vadhānāṁ tirhīni divasāni me yote dinne (M)
11. nātikā va kāni niyapādanaṁ ājīvitaṁ ānāṁ nāsāntaṁ va
12. niyapāyaṭe dānāṁ dāhantā pālatikāṁ upavāṣāṁ va kāchhānti (N) ichhī hiti me
13. hevān nīludhāsi pi kālaṁ pālahāṁ aśādhyāvēvū ti

(O) janasa cha va[dha]ṭi vīvidhī dha[n]ma-chalane sayame dāna-ṣaṅvībhāge ti

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

B.—West Face of Pillar.

1. (A) Tevānaṁyē pyātām laṭa hēve śāh (B) sauvāsātīvāsābhisātāmes me jāmanī
2. pi jāmanāḥ āvahā
3. kastaṁ seṣapta śūkṛā śāntik śāhūreṇa chakākāhe hēve nāḍīkūre gataṁ ēva
4. sāntiḥ śāntikākā teṣaṁyē garāṇāpyare śūkṛānaṁ kāptakāye

1 Read pajarī.
2 Read avimana.
4. धनस्ये सिमाये संख्ये धौरायिणि पालस्ये संरक्षिणि गामकयि स्ये चातुर्ये
5. वे पाठीयाण नौ एति नौ च श्रास्तियित (स) श्राक्या नारि रक्षा च सूक्ष्मी च
6. श्रावणि पोषके च कालि श्रासंस्मासिके (द) वधिकुकुटे नौ कटविये (ेण) तुसे सजीवे
7. नौ श्रापवियि ये (स) धावि नौ श्रापवियि (द) जीवेन जीवे नौ पुसतियि (ेण)
8. नीसु चातुर्मासिलु निस्यं
9. पुन्नमासिन तिनि दिस्यानि चावुदसं पंनृसं परिपदं धुवाये च श्रानुपोषििं मध्ये श्रावणे नौ पि
10. तिति (ए) नारि तेव दिस्यानि नागननसि केवलनोगसि बाणि श्रानानि
11. पि जीविनियालयनिः
12. नौ हंसतियाल (स) अतिमिपस्ये चावुदस्ये पंनृस्ये निस्याये पुनावसुने नीसु
13. चातुर्मासिलु
14. सुदृढ़स्ये गोिे नौ नीलस्तितिविये श्राबणे रक्षके सूक्षे य वा पि अिे
15. नीलस्तितिविये नौ नीलस्तितिविये
16. (ेण) निस्याये पुनावसुने चातुर्मासिये चातुर्मासिये क्षास गोिे लखने नौ कटविये
17. (स) चावुदसुवैसतिवससिसितस से लताये अतितियाने पंनवीििं चंपनी
18. मोिानि कटानिः

1. (ए) Dovanaupiyie Pyradasi laja heva ni aha (देश) sauvisasati-vasabhigita me
2. Imani pi jatani avadhya
3. Kaati seyatha sure salika alune chakavake haanse narindumukhe gelaite jatuka
4. Antha-kapiilika duji anaithika-machhe vedaveyake Gainga-puputake saikuja-machhe
5. Kapata-seyake
6. Paivna-saise simale sandale okcimnde palasate seta-kapote gama-kapote save
7. Chatupade.
8. Ye patipagin no eti no cha khadi[aj]i (स) ajak sindi edak chia sukali cha
9. Gabhini va payamin va
10. Avadhya potake cha kani asaunmasske (द) vadhikukute no kataviye (न) tuse saivve
11. No jhapayatiyive (प) dave
12. Anathaaye va vihisaye va no jhapayatiyive (स) jivena jive va positaviye (स) dhuve
13. Tisu chaturmassi tiyaish
14. Punnamasiyain tiiri diivasai chavudasain parinausalain patipadain dhuviye cha
15. Anposartham machhe avadhaye no pi
16. Viketiavive (ए) etani yeva diivasai naga-vasani keva-bhogasi yani amnani pi
17. Jiva-nik[aj]i

1. dufti Bueller; but see his Ind. Pal., § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911, 1080.
2. Read patibhagin.
3. parinaulasam Bueller.
FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

10 no harhavivayi (J) athami-pakhaye chadvadasaye pariinaasaysye tisyaye punavasune tisu chatuunmisaasu
11 sudivasaaye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake elake\footnote{1} sükale e vā pi arhive nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye
12 (E) tisyaye punavasune chatuunmisaaye chatuunmisa-pakhaye avasa ganasa lakhane no kataviye
13 (L) yava-saavuvisati-vasabhisita me etaye aintalikaye pariinavisati baridhana-mokhahi kataani

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

1 (A) Devanaamipaye piyadași laāa hevani aha (B) duvā[da]savasabhisitena me dharmalipi likhapita lokasa
2 hita-sukhaye se taṁ apahāya taṁ taṁ dhaṁma-vāqhi pāpova (C) hevani lohaka hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhami
3 athā iyaṁ nātisu hevani paṭyāsaṁnisme hevani apakaṭhesu kihmaṁ kāṁ sukham ivaṁvāhi ti tathā cha vidahāmi
4 (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhami (E) sava-pāśahālā pi me puṭīta vividhāya pūjaya (F) e chu iyaṁ atana pachupagamane
5 se me muḥkya-mute\footnote{2} (G) saavuvisati-vasabhisitena me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhapita

IV. THE LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

A.—East Face of Pillar.

1 (A) Devanaamipaye piyadași laāa hevani aha (B) sahuvisabhisitena me ibh
2 dharmalipi likhapita (C) hita-paṭivādaye dvupahādye dvanat brahmā yaman dvanakamata
3 brahmā pābhikaṁ brahmā sasurasvar brahṇa bhren brahṇa usahāṁ (D) aṁ sūlo sma

\footnote{1} edakte Bühler. \footnote{2} See above, p. 35, n. 10.
SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

1. (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyadasi lajā hevaṁ aḥa (B) dharmo sādhu kiṣṭaḥ cha dharme ti (C) āparāsinave caḥ kāyaṁe
2. cha dharme (D) chakhu-dāne pī me caḥubhūte đīte (E) dviperapadeśu paṁśi- 
   vālipadēśu niviveśe me ānuṣṭhāte cha ānāyāntara (F) ānāyāni pī ca me 
   bhūtā kṣaṇāntaṁ
3. kaṭāntaṁ (G) etānte me ātānte ānavo ānuṣṭhāte pī caḥ suṣṭhe ti (C) 
   cha bhūtā kṣaṇāntaṁ
4. (B) hevaṁ evaṃ sāparāsītāṁ ca suktāṁ kṣaṇaṁ

1. (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyadasi lajā hevaṁ aḥa (B) dharmo sādhu kiṣṭaḥ cha dharme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kāyaṁe
2. daya dāne sache sochēye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pī me bahuvidhe dimne (E) dupada- 
   chatupadesu pakhi- 
3. vālichalesu viviḥhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhināye (F) aṁnāni pī cha me bhūhi 
   kayāṁe

1 kiṣṭaṁ Bühler.
SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

4 kaṭāni (G) etaye me aṭhāye icchān dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita hevān anupaṭiptajānita chilān-thīṅkā cha hotu ti
5 (H) ye cha hevān sāṃpaṭipajāsatī se sukataṁ kachhati

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

1 (A) deveṇāṃpiye piyaḍaśi lāja ṣvāy (B) kṣaṇāṃ≡ev devaṃti ṣvāy me kāyaṇe kaṭe ti (C) te miṣṭa ṣaṅya
2 devaṃti ṣvāy me paṃpe kaṭe ti (D) ṣvāy te āśinēvē nāma ti (E) ṣvāy te ṣvāy asu ṣeṣa
3 (F) āśinēv āśinēvāgamāmi nāma ti navant chāndyē niḍūṭbhāye koḍey māne ṣvāy kalanēvān ev ṣe
4 āśa piṭaṃśaṃsaṃti ti (G) eva ṣvāya dēśēvē (H) ṣvāy me hitaṭikāvē ṣvāyavē mē pāḷatikāvē ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

1 (A) deveṇāṃpiye pipyāvatī lāja ṣvāy (B) ṣuḍvēśatiṃvabhāśiṃvēn me ṣvāy ṣvāyaṃśiṃvā uśāśāśiṃvā (C) ṣvāyaṃśe mē
e dvāsūm pāṇasatuṃsēvēnu āṇāṃ āyaṇē (D) teṛṣē me ābhāgāya v ṣvāya v ṣvāyaṃ śaṣṭhaṭtiṃ mē ke ṣa ṣvāya ṣvāya ṣvāya
2 ābhēti āṇāṃ pāṇasatuṃsēvēnu ti yamā jānapadh hīṃśam evaḥvēṇāḥ vānuḥ ṣvāyaṃśe āṇāṃśe āṇāṃśaḥ (E) ṣvāyaṃśa
3 ābhēti āṃśaṃ pāṇasatuṃsēvēnu ti jīmaṇ jānapadh hīṃśam evaḥvēṇāḥ vānuḥ ṣvāyaṃśe āṇāṃśaḥ (E) ṣvāyaṃśa
4 jānaṃśaṃ śvamsatē vā bhikṣvaditeṣaḥ jīmaṇ jānapadh śaṣṭhaṭti hīṃśam evaḥ pāḷaṃ evaḥ śaṣṭhaṭtiṃvē ṣvāy (F) ṣvāyaṃśa piṇa ṣvāyaṃśa
5 pāṭaṃśaṃsēn evam (G) āṭhāya śiṃvē vēn me ṣvāyaṃśa piṇa ṣvāyaṃśaṃvē (H) ti piṇa evaṃ kāṇaṃ bhikṣvaditeṣaḥ vēn me ṣvāyaṃśa niṣṭaṃni ṣvāyaṃśa

1 āśinēvē Bühler.
6 (I) चणा हि पञ्ज वितताये धातिये निमितिशु चस्त्रे होति वियत पाति चाॅति ने पञ्ज सुङ्गे पलिहतवे हि
7 हेवं मम लजुक कर जानपदस हितसुबाये (J) बेन रते चारीत चस्त्रा सांतं चविस्त वेंसारी पवतवेयू हि
8 शेने मे लजुकांत हकिनाळे व देहे च चातपाये के (K) इलितविये हि यस बिन्ति वियोहातसमातं च सियं दंसमातं च
9 (L) झूता झे पि च मे आवृति चंधतवधानं सुनिसां तीरितहतंद्रवं पतवधानं
10 तृतियां दिवसानं मे रैते दिने (M) नातिका व कानि
11 निसपिबसंति जीविताये तानं नासं व निसवितवे दानं दाहिति पातिकं
12 उपवासं व कृतिति (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं
13 निलायसि पि चालिसि पालतं चालायमेवू हि (O) जनसं च वदति विविषे
14 धंसतचलने सकसे दानाविषां ति

1 (A) Devānāṁpiye Piyadaśi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhīsitena me
2 bahūsu pāṇa-saṭa-sahasesa janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhīhāle va dāṃde va
3 atapatiye me kaṭe kīnti lajūka asvatha
4 abhita kaṁmāni pavatayevu ti janasa jānapadasa hita-sukhaṁ upadahcvaṁ
5 anugahineva cha (E) sukkhiyana-dukkhiyanaṁ
6 jānisaṁti dhammas-yutena cha vyovadisaṁti janasa jānapadasaṁ kīnti hidataṁ cha
7 pālaṁ cha ālāḍhāvētā ti (F) lajūka pī laghaṁati
8 pāṭchālītave maṁ (G) pulis[a]ni pī me chhaṁdaṁnāni pāṭchālaṁsānti (H) tc pī
9 cha kaṁi vyovadisaṁti yena maṁ lajūka chaghaṁti ālāḍhayitave
10 (I) atha hi pājaṁ viyataye dhatīye nisijītu asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me
11 pājaṁ sukhaṁ palihaṁtave ti
12 hevaṁ mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhaṁ (J) yena ete abhita asvatthā
13 saṁtaṁ avimana kaṁmāni pavatayevu ti
14 etena me lajūkāṁ [a]bhīhāle va dāṃde va atapatiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa
15 kīnti vyohāla-samatā cha sīva dāṃda-samatā cha
16 (L) āvā ite pī cha me ṣvuti baṁdhana-b dhānam munisānam tilita-dāṃdānam
17 pata-vadhaṁnāṁ tīṁ dīvasāṁ me [yo]te diṁne (M) nātiṅka va kāni
18 njhapaṁsāṁti jivitaṁ tānaṁ nāsantaṁ va njhapaṁ[tv]e dānaṁ dāhaṁti
19 pālitaṁ upavāsaṁ va kachhaṁti (N) ichhā hi me hevaṁ
20 niludhasi pī [kālas] pālaṁ ālāḍhayevu (T) (O) janasa cha vadhāti vividhe
daṁma-chalaṁ sayame dāna-savibhāge ti
FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

B.—West Face of Pillar.

1 (A) देवानाम्पि पियदसि लाज हेवः शाह (B) सदुविसति-वसभिषितस्य में श्वानि पि
2 नामानि शब्दाचारी कारण स्त्रया सूः सार्वोक्त्रु सायु सूः चकाराके हेंसे
3 नानदितुषे गेळाए जनार शब्दाचापिल्लक हृदृढ़ शब्दाकिल्लके वेदवेयके
4 गांगापुपुरके संकुजमके कारणके पंतसे सिमले संडके चोकापिल्ले
5 प्रलमे सेतुकपोति गामकपोति सते वचुपूर्वे ने पाठिकोण्ड नो एष्टि न च खाद्यायति
6 (C) अज्ञा नांनि एकर च सूक्ति च गमिनी च पाबनी मिन च खाद्य पोतके
7 च अनायिनिका (D) वथिकुके नो कटिचे (E) हुसे सजीवे नो श्रापितावि (F)
8 राजा अनायिनि व
9 विशिष्ये व नो श्रापितावि (G) जीवन जीवे नो पुशिचे (H) नींसु
10 चाँगुमासी निःस् निःसि
11 शुन्मासिंहं विवासिनि चावुसं संकलसं परिपाण्ड धृवाया च श्रापिसंयं
12 में श्वाये
13 नो च श्वानि (I) राजान संवानि नागवानि स्वार्ढोभिषितं यानि
14 अनायिनि पि
15 जीवनीत्वानि नो हृदिवानि (J) अग्नीपलाये चावुसाये श्रापिसाये
16 तिसाये पुनाबसुने
17 नींसु चाँगुमासी शुन्मासिङ्गे गोिने नो नीलसिवि जाके एकसे सूक्ते शा
18 च च चि चि
19 नीलसिवि नो नीलसिवि (K) तिसाये पुनाबसुने चाँगुमासिये चाँगुमासी-
20 पलाये जस्रस गोिनि
21 तथने नो कटिचे (L) श्रापिसतिसत्यासिलेन में एथाये अंतिलिकाये
22 पंचवीति
23 विपन्नेश्वरानि कारण

1 (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyadasī lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhīṣitassā me
2 imāni pī
3 jātāni avadhāṇī kaṭāṇi seyaṭ[a] suke sālikā alune chakavāke harṣe
4 nānindimukhe gelāte jatūka aṁbā-kapilika duḷī1 anātha-machhe vedaveyake
5 Gaṁgā-pupuṭake sarikuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyaakte parīna-sase simale sarīḍake
6 okapiṇide

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1 duṣṭ Bühler; but see his Ind. Pal., § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1087.
5 palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogamī no eti na cha khadiyati
6 (C) ajakā nāni ejakā cha sūkāli cha gabhinī va pāyaminā va avadhya potake cha kāni
7 āsāṁmāśike (D) vadhī-kukute no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve anāthaye va
8 vihīsāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jivena jive no pusitaviye (H) tisu chāturmāśisu tisīyaṁ
9 puṇṇamāsiyaṁ tīṁni divasāni chāvudasaṁ paṁnaḷasaṁ1 paṭipadaṁ dhuvaṁye cha anuposathāṁ machhe avadhye
10 no pi viketaviye (I) etāṁ yeva divasāni nāga-vaṇasaṁ kevaṭa-bhogasi yāṁ aṁnāṁi pi
11 jiva-nikāyāṁ no hanṭavīyāṁ (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye paṁnaḷasāye2 tisāye puṇṇavasane
12 tisu chāturmāśisu sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake ejake3 sukale e va pi amne
13 nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye puṇṇavasane chāturmāśi-pakhāye avasasa gonasa
14 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍūvisati-vasābhīsitena me etāye aṁtalikāye paṁnavisati
15 barindhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

1 (A) Devānāmpiyaye piyodasa lāja hevaṁ śráh (B) duvādhaṁvavasāṁsāṁsāṁ me dhanaṁlipi
   likhāpita
2 lokāsa hita-sukhaṁ ye taṁ āpahāta taṁ taṁ dharmā-vadhi pāpova (C) hevaṁ lokasa
3 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhhāṁ athā iyaṁ nātisva hevaṁ paṭyāśaṁmesu hevaṁ apakaṭhesu
4 kimmaṁ kāni sukhaṁ avahāṁ ti tathā cha vidahāṁ (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhhāṁ
5 (E) sava-pāsambāpi me pūjitā vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṁ atana pachūpaga
6 gane se me mokhya-mute (G) saḍūvisati-vaśābhīsitena me iyaṁ dhanaṁ-lipi likhāpita

1 paṁnaḷasaṁ Bühler. 2 paṁnaḷasāye Bühler. 3 edake Bühler.
V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

A.—North Face of Pillar.

1 (A) देशानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेव चाह (B) सहवीससिवसाभसितेन में इवं धम्मिलिपि लिखापित (C) हिदत्दालते
2 हुंसपरिपाडळे अंकत चागाय धमकामताय चागाय पलिकाय चागाय सुसूसाय चागेन भेयेन चागेन उसाहेन
3 (D) एस चु लो समं चानुससिव पलिमेश धमकामता च सुबे सुबे बविद बविदिति चेव (E) दृष्टसा रङे में उक्सा च
4 गेवया च महिमा च चानुसीवियिंग संतपपरियिंग च सांत चपल समादमिति चे (F) हेैज संतमहामता रङेन (G) एसा हि विधि
5 या इवं धमेन पालन धमेन विधाने धमेन सुकायन धमेन गोति ति

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

1 (A) Devañamsi P[iyadasi lāja heva1 aha (B) sauvisati-vasābhisitena me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidat-palate
2 dusaṁpaṭipādaye aṁnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena
3 (D) esa chu kho mama anusatiya dhammaepa ke dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhitā vadhisa cheva (E) pulisa pi me ukasā cha
4 gevayā cha majhima cha anuvidiyaati samapaṭipādayaati cha alam chapalam samādapayaive (F) hemeva arīta-mahāmati pī (G) esa hi vidhi
5 yā iyaṁ dhammena pālana dhammena vidhāne dha[rijn[en]u sukhiyana dhammena goti ti

1 hevaṁ Bühler.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

2 bahuvidhe dhāme (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe a pana-dakhināye (F) annāni pi cha me bahūni kāyanāni kaṭāni

3 (G) etaye me aṭhaye iyaṁ dhāma-liplī likhāpita hevaṁ anupātipajāritu chilam-thithikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṁ saṁpaṭipajisati se sukaṭaṁ kachhāti ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

1 (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyaṇāsī lāja hevaṁ āha (B) kāyānāmaeva dekhānti iyaṁ me kāyane kaṭe ti (C) no mina pápaṁ dekhānti iyaṁ me pāpe kaṭe ti

2 iyaṁ va āśānavē nāmā ti (D) duṇṭhikēṣe ānāko eṣe (E) āhuṁ ānāko eṣe āpāntiwē (F) iṣṭāni āśāsinavgāmīni nāma ti āśā āśāntiyo nātthiyo

3 koipy māne ēka kālanēnā va ēhaṁ mā paḷībhastikān (G) eṣe bānta āpāntiwē (H) ēhaṁ se hīṇātikāye iṣṭamāṇa mā palatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

1 (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyaṇāsī lañcā ēvaṇ āha (B) sahaṅguṇātīvatsāsānaṁśeṇa me ēvaṁ dhammaṇīpi hīṃsaṇī (C) laṅkāṁ me bhūmo paṇasasahesānu

2 jānaṁs āśāyā (D) taṁs ye āshāhāte va dhiḥ ā āśāpāntiye me kore āśā āśāsthum āśānti kāmantā pravartayēvū tī janaṁ jañaptdep

3 hiṁsārūpa upaḥēvā laṅkāṅgihēvā (E) suṭāyādūṭējēvā jānantīṁ saṁsaṁśetāṁ pravarteyē vā kavāvādāsamātā tājānputā tān tānputā tā

4 āśādāśiyo tī (F) laṅkā tī prāpāntipāṭhitēye ma (G) prastānaṁ pī vē khāntiṇāḥ prāpāntipāṭhitēye vēnā ma laṅkā

5 cārvānti āśādāśiyo (I) āśā hī pāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bāpyāṁ bाप्तिकायेत


FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

8 तिनि दिवसानि मे योते दिने (A) नातिका व कानि निर्दुःपिणि सति जीतियाये तानि नासंति व निर्दुःपिणिवेन वाय दाहिनि पालिकं उपवासं व कहिः

9 (N) इहा हि मे हेवे निर्दुःखि पि कालसि पालनं आलाध्येश् हि (O) जनस च वरा विविधे धम्मवले सये दानसिकवागे ति

1 (A) Devānampiyo Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ aha (B) sađuvisati-vasābhīsitona me iyam dhārīna-lipi ikhāpotha (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahāsesu

2 janasi āyata (D) tesaṁ ye abhihale व dándē va ata-patiye me káte kiṁti lajūkā asvathā abhīta kaṁmāni pavaatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa

3 hita-sukhaṁ upadhahevu anugahinevha cha (E) sukhiyana-dukhyaṇam jānisaṁti dhārīna-yutena cha viyovadisaṁti janaṁ jānapadam kiṁti hitataṁ cha pālataṁ cha

4 ālādhaye vū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghaṁti pāṭīchali tāve marī (G) pullisāni pi me chaḥāṁdūṁnmāṇi pāṭīchaṁsaṁti (H) te pi cha kāmī viyovadisaṁti yena marī lajūkā

5 chhaṁsāti ālādhyaṁtāve (I) aṭha hi pajaṁ viyateye dhātiye nisijju asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chhaṁtā me pajaṁ sukhaṁ palihaṭaye ti hevaṁ mama lajūkā kaṭa

6 jānapadasa hita-sukhaṁ (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā saṁtāṁ avimana kaṁmāṁ pavaatayevū ti etena me lajukāṇāṁ abhihāle va daṁde va ata-patiye kaçe

7 (K) iekhīvivye hi esa kiṁni śri viyohāla-samata cha siya daṁda-samata cha (L) āva ite pi cha me avata baṁdhana-badhāṁaṁ munisāṁnaṁ tīlita-dāṁdāṁ naṁ pata-vadhāṁnaṁ

8 tinnī divasāni me yātte dhīnne (M) nātikā va kāṁ niyapayisaṁti jivitaṁ tānaṁ nāsaṁtāṁ va niyapayaṁtāva dānāṁ dāhāṁti pālatikāṁ upaṁsāṁ va kacchāṁti

9 (N) iehā hi me hevaṁ nulūñsaḥ pi kalasi pālataṁ ālādhaye vū ti (O) janasa cha vadhaṁ viividhe dhaṁma-chaḷaṁ saye dāna-savibhe ti

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

B.—South Face of Pillar.

1 (A) Devānampiye piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āh (B) saḥvīvasatāvamamisātanam me iṣṭāni pi jātāni avadāṇanī kātaṁ svayam

2 śūke śālīśa vajnaṁ vajnaṁ vajnaṁ heṁ nandānāṁ gataṁ iṣṭu kāṁbikamāṁ dūkṣa kāṁbikamāṁ vajnaṁ svayam

3 gaggāpūtke संगुजनिः कफतसेयके पंसससे सिरसे संडङे ऋकपिणे पत्तसे सेतकपति

4 gāmBKpate svaro bhurpurve ye pitiṁoṁ no eṣaṁ n ca śādhiṁ ca (O) aṁkā nāṁ amkā ca śūkāni ca gāmāni ca

1 Read abhihale.

2 krit Bührler.
5. பாய்மீனா வ சாமத்யா போதத்ச வ காணி ஆசமாசிகை (D) வினேகுகோடை நோ காட்பியே (E) துண்டு பினே நில கணித்துப்பியே

6. (F) தைவே நாட்டேப வ விளிப்பாய்வே வ நில கணித்துப்பியே (G) சீவே ஜீவே நோ புனிப்பியே (H) தேசு சாவுமாசிதேபு நில்வாசியே

7. தினி தித்தானிசில் காங்கிரு பண்டதே பாதிப்பு புகே வ அன்றுபோபே மகே சாமத்யா நோ பின கிளிக்கே (I) பேது நேமே

8. தித்தானிசில் நாகவேனிகே கேட்டியேசிகே காணி ஆசானிசில் பின சீவேகையே நில இத்திக்கே (J) சாகியப்புகே சாவுஸ்தேப பண்டேபாய்வே

9. பண்டேபாய்வே நிளாயேபே யுனாதனே தேசு சாவுமாசிதேபு குல்லே நோ பின இத்திக்கே (K) சாகியப்பு குல்லே

10. எ பின நில கணித்துப்பியே நில கணித்துப்பியே (K) தித்தானிசில் யுனாதனே சாவுமாசிதேபு சாவுஸ்தேப குல்லே கைவே

11. லக்ஹே நில காட்பியே (L) யாவுசோவிசில்வாசியேசியியே எறும்பு அந்தித்கேப பண்டேசில் சாமாசியே

1. (A) Dovānāmāpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) sađuvisi-[va]sābhāsitena me imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyatha

2. suke sālika alune chakavāke haññē nañdimukhe gelāte jatukā aṁbā-kapiliuka duli anañtha-machhe vedāveya

3. Gaṅgā-puṇṭakā sarikūja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake parṁna-sashe simale sarīdāke okāpinde palasate seti-kapote

4. gāma-kapote save chatumade ye paṭibhojarā no eti na ca khādiyati (C) ajāka nānī elakā ca sukāli ca gabhīnī va

5. pāyaminā va avadhya potake cha kāni āśānimāse (D) vadhi-kukute no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajive no ṇhāpayitaviye

6. (F) dāve anāthāye va vihīsāye va no ṇhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jive no puṣṭitaviye (H) tisu chātuṁmapās[s]su tisyam puṁnamāsiyām

7. tiṁni divāsāni chāvuḍānaṃ parṁnaḍaṃ paṭipadām dhuvāye cha anuposāgasñām machhe avadhye no pi viketavīye (I) etāni yeva

8. divāsāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogase yāni aṁnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni no haritavīyāni (J) aṭhāmi-pakhāye chāvudasa

9. parṁnaḍaśāye tisye punāvasune tisu chātuṁmaśisu sudāvāse gone no nilakhitaviye ajake elake sūkale

10. e va pi arīne nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisye punāvasune chātummasiye chātuṁmaśi-pakhāye avasa gonasa

11. lakhanvo kaṭaviye (L) yāva-sađuvisi-[va]sābhāsitena me etāye arīntilāy ca parṇavāsa bāṇḍhāna-koṭhāni kaṭāni
VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR

A. THE SIX FIRST PILLAR-EDICTS

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1 (A) देवानाधिकर्षे विज्ञापन स्ताय एव आह (B) सादुविज्ञापित साहित्य सन्धिक्रिया को शरणालिपि विशेषाधिकर्षे विज्ञापन स्ताय एव आह
2 वर्ण जीवन शास्त्री (C) देवानाधिकर्षे विज्ञापन साहित्य सन्धिक्रिया को शरणालिपि विशेषाधिकर्षे विज्ञापन स्ताय एव आह
3 अन्त मधुकर एव विषय (D) देवानाधिकर्षे विज्ञापन साहित्य सन्धिक्रिया को शरणालिपि विशेषाधिकर्षे विज्ञापन स्ताय एव आह
4 अन्त मधुकर एव विषय (D) देवानाधिकर्षे विज्ञापन साहित्य सन्धिक्रिया को शरणालिपि विशेषाधिकर्षे विज्ञापन स्ताय एव आह
5 अन्त मधुकर एव विषय (D) देवानाधिकर्षे विज्ञापन साहित्य सन्धिक्रिया को शरणालिपि विशेषाधिकर्षे विज्ञापन स्ताय एव आह
SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1. (A) देवानाम्येये पियद्व लाजा हेव ज्ञाह (B) धने साधु किंय चु धने ति (C) धार्मिकवेव बहु कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चक्खुदाने पि मे।
2. बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपादा-चतुर्पदेः पातिवान्तिचलेसु विविधे मे श्रावनं हेव श्रावनं देहेवे (F) अनंतानि पि म व बहुति कयानानि कथानि।
3. (G) एत्ये मे श्रावणं देलं धमिलिय तिखानितं हेवं अनुपातं शिले चिनितका च होतूँ ति (H) चे म हेवं संपटियजिसति से सुलटे कहति ति।

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1. (A) Devānapāpyē Piyadāsi lājā hevāṁ āhā (B) dhārame sādhū kiyāṁ chū dhārāṁ tē (C) apāsānaye bahu kayaṅē dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne pī me?
2. bahuvilde dhinnē (E) dupāda-chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalcsu vividhe me anugahē kaṭe a pāna-dakhināye (F) aṁnānē pī cha me bahūni kāṭāni?
3. (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyāṁ dhamāmā-liyākā-hevāṁ anupaṭipajāṁtu cilā-tithikā cha hotū tē (H) ye cha hevāṁ sampaṭipajisati se sukaṭāṁ kachhati tē

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1. hemeva Bühler.
2. As remarked by Fleet (IA, 13. 310, note), the vowel ṣ is attached before, not after the t.
3. chū Bührer.
4. The apparent Anuvāra after da of dupada- is probably accidental.
5. bahūni Bührer.
ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR; UPPER HALF
FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1. কান্ত আভিষেক হবে যা দেব বা অতপন সেই কোট (ক) ইঙ্গিতিতে হন নির্দেশ করিতে

2. তথায় যা দেব যাকে যা মানুষবা বংশধরং ত্রিসমাত চ (ল) আবুতি এই বিষয়ে নিঃশ্লেষিত বিষয়ে নিঃশ্লেষিত করিতে দিনের কারণে করিতে নিঃশ্লেষিত করিতে নিঃশ্লেষিত করিতে নিঃশ্লেষিত করিতে নিঃশ্লেষিত করিতে নিঃশ্লেষিত করিতে নিঃশ্লেষিত করিতে নিঃশ্লেষিত করিতে নিঃশ্লেষিত করিতে নিঃশ্লেষিত করিতে নিঃশ্লেষিত 

3. কা ক কাজী নিঃশ্লেষিত জীবিতাশী নানা নারতি না নিঃশ্লেষিত নানা নারতি না নিঃশ্লেষিত নানা নারতি না নিঃশ্লেষিত নানা নারতি না নিঃশ্লেষিত নানা নারতি না নিঃশ্লেষিত 

4. হি যা হবে নির্দিষ্ট স্থি কালস্ব পাঠন আলাখায়ে বিদাস্ব বিদাস্ব বিদাস্ব বিদাস্ব বিদাস্ব বিদাস্ব বিদাস্ব বিদাস্ব বিদাস্ব বিদাস্ব বিদাস্ব বিদাস্ব বিদাস্ব 

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1. পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে পিয়ে 

2. নস্ত নস্ত নস্ত নস্ত নস্ত নস্ত নস্ত নস্ত নস্ত নস্ত নস্ত নস্ত 

3. তথাপে গামকগুলো সেই চুপ যে পথ নিতে না 

4. সকলে নায়ক নায়ক 

5. নিতে নায়ক 

6. নায়ক 

7. 

8. লাখনে না ক্ষতিগ্রহণ (ল) যা 

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1. Bühler omitted this line.
2. cha Bühler.
3. ava Bühler.
1 (A) .... [pj]ye Piya'das[ä] lājā hevaṁ āhā (B) sačuvisatī-vasābhīsitena me imāni jātāni avadhīyāni kaṭāni seyatha suke sālikā alune chakā[vā]ke
sase simale sanāda...
......... nā ............ [p]ā[y]a[m]i nā
4 ............ sajive no jāh[pa]
6 ............ [n]i .......... 
7 ............ 
8 [lakha]n[e no kaṭaviye] (L) [y]ā .......... 

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHabad-KOSAM

1 (A) .... 'pīye pīyastī lā .............. t ............. 'dhī pa ........
........ (C) īevā lōkā
2 hiṁsūśe ti pātivekāsīm āry īṁ ... ....... ṃ pāyaṁsaṁe lū īevā āpatikeśu
  jīmē jānī ......... viṭṭhasi (D) īevēmē saṃ 'āmēsū
  pātivekāsam
3 (E) saṃyālindā pī me puījita viṣyāyā pūjāya (E) ī chu īṁ ātana pucahmamā
  se me suṣaṁnute (O) .......... līpyi līkṣāpiṭa ti

........ (C) heva[m.in lokasa]
  ...... [k]āvesu pātivekāmi
3 (E) [sa]va-pāsamandā pī me puījita viṣyāyā [p]ūjīyā (E) ī chu iy[a]ṁ atana
  pachupagamane se me mukhyā-mute (O) .......... lipī4 likhāpīti ti

B. QUEEN'S PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHabad-KOSAM

1 (A) īevaṇapīyā vaceṇānā rāmā maṃmāta
2 vataviya (B) ī īeva ṇītiyāyē deviyē dānē
3 śauvavedika vā śaulē v dānāhē v ī vā pī ānē
4 kīśī caṁīyati tāyē deviyē ye nānī (C) īevē 'n
5 ṇītiyāyē deviyē ti tiśveḷmaḷu kālubākṣyē

1 jatākē Būhler. 2 daṅī Būhler. 3 anāthika- Būhler. 4 lipī Būhler.
QUEEN'S PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1 (A) Devānamāpriya v[a]chanenā savata mahamāta
2 vataviyā (B) e hetā dutiyaye deviye dāne
3 anihā-vadikā vā alame va dana-[gah]e [va 4 e vā pi a]jane
4 kichhi ganityati tāye deviye she nāni (C) [he]vaṁ . . . [na] . .
5 dutiyaye deviye ti Tivala-mātū Kāluvākiye

TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of Devānamāpriya, the Mahāmātras everywhere have to be told (this).

(B) What gifts (have been made) here by the second queen, (viz.) either mango-
groves, or gardens, or alms-houses, or whatever else, these (shall) be registered (in the name) of that queen.

(C) This (is) [the request] of the second queen, the mother of Tivala, the Kāluvāki.

C. KAUSAMBI PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1 (A) देवानामप्रिय अनापयि (B) कोसाम्बीयां महामा
2 समेट केवल (D) संघित नो लिखिये
3 सेंव माखिति मिनु बा मिलुनचि बा से पि चा
4 शोदातानि दुसानि संज्ञायितु अलावासिति ज्ञावासियि

1 (A) [Devānamā*]p[i]ye ānapayati (B) Kosambiyām 10 maha[m[a]ta 11
2 . . . . . . . [sa]mage ka[d][e] (D) sa[m]gh[a]si no 12 [a]hiye 13

1 mahamata Senart and Bühler.
2 vā Bühler.
3 Restore perhaps vinati (= Skt. viññāpti); see JRAS, 1911. 1113.
5 For the pronoun nāni see above, p. 127, n. 10.
6 With ganiyati cf. gana and gana in the rock-edict III, E.
7 Bühler (IA, 19. 124) noted that Tivara occurs (a thousand years after Asoka) as the name of a king of Kōsala; see Fleet's Gupta Inscrip., p. 293, and EI, 7. 103.
8 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 gōtra of the Kāraus.
9 bhi Bühler and Boyer.
10 e Bühler and Boyer.
11 mahamata Bühler and Boyer.
12 na Bühler and Boyer.
13 chi ye Bühler.
14 bhokhati Bühler and Boyer.
15 vā Bühler.
16 bih khu ni Bühler.
17 [pa]chā Boyer; Bühler and Boyer add e at the end of the line.
18 The syllable dā is missing in my materials, but is visible on the plate in IA, 19. 125.
19 āna[je]sa Bühler, ānāvusasi Boyer.
20 avā Boyer.
TRANSLATION

(A) [Devanāma]Priya commands (thus).
(B) The Mahāmātras at Kōsambī.
(C) ............... is made united.
(D) ............... should not be received into the Sangha.
(E) And also that monk or nun [who] shall break up the Sangha, should be caused to put on white robes and to reside in a non-residence.

THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INScriptions

I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR

1
2 "ya bhet" (C) "pekhe" sone kete
3 bhiseun 2 bhiseunīn 2 cha 2 ti 2 pukap 2
4 parihiča pahučihiči rep (D) sone
5 bhāśit bhise bhiseun bhiseunī bhaoḍa-Cal
6 nī dūsanī saranapabhiču apana-Cal
7 satis wassanāti-biye (E) ikka hī me bik-
8 ti sone sone bhāśihičihiči hiya ti

1 This ancient city (Kauśāmbī in Sanskrit) corresponds to the modern Kōsāṁbi; see Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 2, and EI, 11. 141.
2 Cf. the Sānchi pillar, C.
3 lahiya may be derived from the root loh; cf. the gerundive āvāsanīya in l. 4 of this inscription, and in l. 5 of the Sārnāth pillar. Boyer (JA 19, 10. 121) connects lahiya with the root rah.
4 Venia (JPASB, 3. 3) has identified bhākhati with Skt. bhākhati.
5 Boyer (p. 130) quotes a passage from Buddhaghōṣa's Samantapāsādikā, in which Aśoka is stated to have given white robes (setakāni ratthāni) 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. Dipavamsa, VII, 33, and Mahāvamsa, V, 270. The proper colour of the robes of a Buddhist monk is yellow.
6 āvāsanīya is a gerundive formed from the causative āvāsyati, and corresponds to Skt. āvasya. Scnart (CR, 1907. 28) appears to consider it an optative passive.
7 i.e. a residence unit for members of the Sangha. Venia (JPASB, 3. 3) quoted Buddhaghōṣa's explanation of the term anāvāsa; see SBE, 17. 388, n. 1.
8 [mā] Bühler.
9 bheda[da] Boyer. Restore perhaps bheda, as on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 3.
10 The syllable ghe is almost certain; restore sanghe.
11 Restore samage, as in l. 8.
12 [vā] Bühler.
Scale One-third
9 याति एतमेव सासां विसंसतयितवे आचारितवे च (I) आचारे च तुपाकं आहाले
10 सवत विवासयाप तुफे एन वियंजनेन (J) हेमेव सवेतु कोटविषवेतु एनेन
11 वियंजनेन विवासयापः

1 (A) Devā
2 e
3 Pāta
te kenapi saṅghe bhetave (D) e cunh kho
5 saṁnaṁdhāpayiyā anāvāsasi
6 avāsaviye (E) hevam iyam sāsane bhikhu-saṅghasmi cha bhikhuni-saṅghasmi cha
7 viṁnapayayite
8 (F) hevam Devānāmpiya aha (G) hedisā cha ikā lipi tuphākaraṁtkam huvāti
9 saṁsaḷanasi nikhitā
10 ikām cha lipin hedisameva upāsākāraṁtkam nikhipātha (H) te pi cha upāsakā
11 anuposathaṁ yāvu
12 etameva saśanaṁ visvaṁsāyitave anuposathaṁ cha dhuvāye ikike mahāmāte
13 posathāye
14 yāti etameva saśanaṁ visvaṁsāyitave ājānītave cha (I) āvate cha tupaṁkam
15 ahāle
16 savata visvāsāyātha tuphe etena viyamjanena (J) hemeva save su koṭa-viśhavesu
17 etena
18 viyamjanena visvāsāpāthā

**TRANSLATION**

(A) Dēvā[nāmpriya]............
(B)............. Pāṭalīputra]?
(C)....... the Saṁgha [cannot] be divided by any one.
(D) But indeed that monk or nun who shall break up the Saṁgha, should be
19 caused to put on white robes and to reside in a non-residence.

1 These are the two first syllables of the title Devānāmpiya.
2 These are probably the two first syllables of the name Pāṭalīputra.
3 Boyer ingeniously restores na saṁkhyā.
4 The correct reading of this word is due to Venis. Vogel and Senart read bhikhati, and Boyer bhikkhati.
5 The Sāṅchī and Kauśāmbi edicts read anāvāsasi.
6 Venis justly remarked that the second syllable of this word differs from sa, and is probably meant for cha.
7 This is the ancient name of the city of Paṭākā, the capital of Chandragupta and Aśoka. It is mentioned also in the Gīrā edict V, M. The Sārnāth edict was probably addressed by the king to the Mahāmātras at Pāṭalīputra, as the Kauśāmbi edict to the Mahāmātras at Kauśāmbi.
8 With saṅghe bhetave cf. saṅgham bhāṇḍati, 'to cause divisions among the priesthood', in Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s.v. bhāṇḍati; saṅgham bhāṇḍita in the Jātaka, vol. IV, p. 200, l. 6; saṅgghasam saṅghasam bhāṇḍita in the Pāṭinikka, JRAS, 1875, 75, § 10; Buddha-vachanām bhāṇḍita in the Dīpavaṃsa, VII, 54.
9 [sa]maṁdhāpayiyā, instead of which the Sāṅchī and Kauśāmby edicts read saṁnaṁdhāpayitu, corresponds to Sīkt. saṁnaṁḥāgyā; cf. Senart, CR, 1907, 28.
10 For viṁnapayayīe see above, p. 160, n. 6.
11 See above, p. 160, n. 7.
(E) Thus this edict must be submitted both to the Saṅgha of monks and to the Saṅgha 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 (posaṅka) in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict; and invariably on every fast-day, the 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).

---

1 Literally: 'one writing of this description.'
2 Senart (CR, 1907, 30) explains ṭhavati as a subjunctive.
3 As remarked by Vogel (EI, 8, 170), ṭuphañānīkika stands for ṭuphañā anitikāh, and upāsakānīkika in l. 7 for upāsakān anitikāh. Cf. E. Müller's Pāli Grammar, p. 54, and Geiger's Pāli, § 71.
4 Venis (JPASB, 3. 4) translated ni-kṣip by 'inscribing'. Cf. the Raghavamita, VII, 55, where Mallinātha explains nīkṣipta by lēkhit, and nīkkhita-vannāh in the Sākuntala, ed. by Cappeller, p. 32, l. 16. But as the word nīkkhitā is placed after saṁsālana, and nīkhipāh in the next sentence after upāsakānīkikā, it is more natural to take ni-kṣip in the sense of 'depositing'.
5 Senart (CR, 1907, 30 f.) is probably right in considering saṁsālana (= Skt. saṁsāraṇa) 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 heta cha ḍha ḍha pi and ḍha ḍha ḍha in the last two sentences co-ordinates the two sentences. The same is the case in the next section, where the cha after te pi corresponds to the cha after anuposathikāh in l. 8. Cf. also above, p. 47, n. 9.
7 In the form posaṅka, which occurs also in the Jātaka (ZDMG, 48, 63), the initial u of Skt. upoṣaṅkāḥ has been dropped. Cf. poṣaṅka in Pischel's Grammar, § 141, and the artificial form poṣhāda (Böhlung's two dictionaries, a. v.), in the language of the Northern Buddhists.
8 With vivaññiyatāve cf. avaññeyatā in the Jaṅgāḍa 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 Sāñchi 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 Pātāliputra. In sections I and J the king orders the Mahāmātras of Pātāliputra to make it known in the district surrounding Pātāliputra and in the jungle tracts beyond this district.
11 Kern pointed out that ahāra (spelt ahāra at Rūpānā) corresponds to the well-known territorial term ahāra, 'a district'; see EI, 8, 170. The meaning 'food' is excluded here, because the words tunhañā ahāra are contrasted with saññ̄a kāsa-viśaḥavesa in the next section. For other ancient inscriptions in which the word ahāra, 'a district', occurs, see Lüders' List of Brāhma Inscriptions (EI, 10, Appendix), p. 214, s. v.
12 As Thomas states (JA, 1905, 15, 517), the usual Pāli equivalent of viñasati is viippasati; see Chiklers, Pāli Dictionary, s. v. The verb viñasati (viñasati in the Pāññā edict, l. 5) is the causative, and viñasatāyati in section J a double causative, of viñasati. Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated viñasatāyati by 'making known'; but this meaning is not supported by other instances. Thomas (JRAI, 1915, 112) renders it by 'expelling'. But it would be hazardous to assign to it a different meaning from viñasatāyati at Rūpānā. I supply the missing object of the verb from the first separate rock-edict (Dhauili, Z–CC; Jaṅgāḍa, AA–DD), viz. mahānāmaṃvām.
13 Literally: 'by this letter'. The word vajjha is used in Buddhist literature in the sense of
(J) In the same way cause (your subordinates) to dispatch (an officer) according to the letter of this (edict) in all the territories (surrounding) forts.\(^1\)

### III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR

1. (A) Dēvānapīyena Piyadasīna lājina visati. vasābhīsitena
2. atana āgācha mahiyite hida Budhe jāte Sākyamuni ti
3. (B) sīla vigajābhī cha kālapita sīla-thabhī cha usapāpite
4. hida Bhagavām jāte ti (C) Lūmmini-gāme ubalike kāte
5. aṭha-bhāgiye cha

#### TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dēvānapīyena Priyadasīn had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot), because the Buddha Sākyamuni was born here.\(^2\)

(B) (He) both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse (?)\(^3\) and caused a stone pillar to be set up, (in order to show) that the Blessed one was born here.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) 'letter' as opposed to 'sense' (attha); see Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s. v. vyanjanam. 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 ff.), who rendered it by 'specification'. Senart (CR, 1907, 36) translates: 'with the text of my instructions', i.e. he takes the instrumental etena vyanjanam in the sense of the sociative; cf. Speyer’s Sanskrit Syntax (Leiden, 1886), § 59.

\(^2\) This seems to refer to outlying jungle tracts (perhaps in the Nepalese Tarāi) which were not fully pacified, but were held by means of military posts, such as the 'foresta' mentioned in the Shāhābāsghāri edict XIII, M.

\(^3\) In the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta (JRAS, 1876, 341), the Buddha himself is reported to have said: 'āgamissanti kho Ananda saddhā bhikkhu-bhikkhuniyo 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.

\(^4\) This is Charpentier's explanation of the obscure and much-discussed word vigajābhī; see IA, 43. 19 f. The syllable -bhī might certainly represent Skt. -bhṛtī; but, that vigada means 'a horse', remains to be proved by more substantial evidence. Sir R. Bhandarkar (JBRAS, 20, 356, n. 14) and Fleet (JRAS, 1908, 477, 823) joined bhичhā into one word, and explained it by Skt. *bhittikā, 'a wall'. As, according to Pischel's Grammatik, §§ 49, 219, vigada is an Ardhamāgadhī form of Skt. vikṛta, sīla-vigada bhichā might mean 'a (brick) wall decorated with stone'. But, as Charpentier (IA, 43. 17) remarks, the change of *bhittikā to bhicchā 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 Bhagavān jāte cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 389: 'asmin mahārāja pradīpī Bhagavān jāte.'
(C) (He) made the village of Lumbini free of taxes, and paying (only) an eighth share (of the produce).

IV. THE NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR

1. (A) Devanāmpriya Priyadarśin
2. Budhase Konākamana
3. (B) Sābhīsītena cha atana āgācha mahīyite
4. Pāhide

TRANSLATION

(A) When king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the Stupa 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].

---

1 In the Nidānakathā (Jātaka, vol. I, pp. 53 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 Rummindī; see V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1.
2 For bhāhīka = Skt. uṭhāhīka see Barth, Journal des Savants, 1897, p. 73, n. 2; Bühler, EI, 5. 5; Fleet, JRAS, 1908, 478 f.; Sir Charles Lyall, id. 850 f.; and Thomas (id. 1909, 466 f.), who quotes the similar term uṭhāhīka from the Kautiliya.
3 The Divyavadāna (p. 300) reports that Asūka spent at Lumbīnī-vana 100,000 (gold pieces). In accordance with this legend, Barth (loc. cit.), Bühler (EI, 5. 5), and Neumann (ZDMG, 68, 721 f.) took aṭha = Skt. artha and translated asa-bhāgīya by 'partaking of riches'. Fleet (JRAS, 1908, 479 f.) explained aṭha-bhāgā as Skt. ashta-bhāgā, 'an eighth share', which the king is permitted by Manu (VII, 130) to levy on grains. In the Kautilya (p. 116, I. 2 from bottom) chaturtha-pācha-bhāgika is actually used with the meaning 'paying a fourth or a fifth share (of the produce)'. I therefore agree with Thomas (JRAS, 1914, 301 f.) in believing that -bhāgīya must mean 'paying a share', and not, as Fleet thought, 'entitled to a share'. In the case of the village of Luminini, bureaucracy prevailed against charity. For the affix -iya (= Skt. -ika) see above, p. 124, n. 4.
4 Bühler restored viśati-vāsābhīsītena, as on the Rummindī pillar, I. i.
5 Bühler restored sila-thabhe cha usopāpīte on the strength of I. 3 of the same inscription.
6 This mythical Buddha is called Koṇāgamana by the Southern Buddhists (Koṇāgamana at Bharut; IA, 21, 229, No. 30), and Kanakamuni or Koṇākamuni by the Northern ones; see Kern's Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 64.
7 With dutiyaṁ vaṭhite cf. diyaṁkṣīyaṁ vaṭhisitī (or vaṭhisiti) at Sahasrāṁ, section I, and in the corresponding sections of the other minor rock-edicts. Previous translators rendered dutiyaṁ by 'for the second time'.

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FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSRIPTIONS

I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSRIPTION

1 (A) देवानांपिण्ये हेवं श्राहा (B) सातिरक्कासे श्राहितवासı व युः सुभि प्रकाश
सके (C) नो चु वाधि पकले (D) सातिरक्के चु वंतवरे य सुभि हर्ष
सघ उच्छे

2 वाधि च पकले (E) या इमाय कालाय जंबुदीपसि आनसा देवा हुसु ने
दानि मित्रा कटा (F) पकमसि हि एस फले (G) नो च एसा महत्ता
पायोनेये खुदने

3 यि पकममणेना सके चिपुले चा स्वगे आपि (H) एत्य श्राहय च
साववे कटे खुदका च उहाला च पकमतु ति आता यि च जानतु इय
पकरा व

4 जिति बरसिनिके सिया (I) इय हि अरे वाधि बरसिनि विवुल च बरसिनि
आपलभ्येना दियविय विभिस (J) इय च अरे पवतिसु लेसपेत बालत
(K) हथ च आयि

5 सालावे सिलाररमसि तेघात्ववव त (L) एतिना च चवजनेना यावत
तुपक आहारे तवर विवसेत्ववव ति (M) खुदने साववे कटे (N) 200
50 ए स-

6 त विवासा त

1 (A) Devānāṁpiye heva[m] ahā (B) sātira[ra]kēkāni 1 aḍhati[y]āni va 2 ya sumi
prakāsa[Sa][k][e] 3 (C) no chū bāḍhi pakate (D) sātīlōke chū oḥhavachhare 4
ya sumi haka[m] sagn[ha] up[e]nte

2 bāḍhi ch[ha] 5 pakate (E) ya 6 [I]māya kālāya Jambudīpasī amisā deva husu te dāni
m[ra][k]aṭa (F) pakamasi 7 hi [e]sa phale (G) no chū esā mahatātā p[ā]potave
khudakena 8

1 sātira[kē]nī Senart and Bühler; read sātīrekhānī.
2 This seems to be an abbreviation for vasāní, which is the reading of the Bālīt, Brahmagiri,
and Śiddāpura 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. hakanī) [sava]kē.
The reading [Sa][k][e] was suggested to me by the new Maskī rock-inscription, which reads Bu[ds]ha-
Sakē.
4 As the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura versions prove, this is a clerical mistake for savachhare;
see IA, 57, 23, and JRAS, 1910, 145 f.
5 chū Bühler.
6 [I] Bühler.
7 Three other versions of this edict read pakamasā.
8 Senart and Bühler add the two syllables hi ka. I believe these are in reality meaningless
scratches, beyond the proper area of the inscription.
TRANSLATION

(A) Dēvānāṃpiya speaks thus.

(B) Two and a half years and somewhat more (have passed) since I am openly a Śākyya.

(C) But (I had) not been very zealous.

(D) But a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited the Sangha and have been very zealous.

1) parumānīnena Bühler.
2) Read śīlapule.
3) Read pī, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
4) ārodhāve Bühler; read ārodh[ta]ev. Senart and Bühler.
5) iyain Senart and Bühler.
6) Senart proposes to read pakamaṇītu; cf. the Śiddāpura and Sahaśrām rock-inscriptions.
7) Read vadhīṣṭi.
8) Bühler and Senart correct hidha. Instead of it, the context seems to require yata (= Skt. yatcro); but this change would be so violent that it cannot be seriously entertained.
9) Read sila-, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler; -thubhe Bühler.
10) Read līkha.
11) Read perhaps tukhikain, as on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 9.
12) Read saṇava, as on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 10.
13) eyiya Senart, -ey[ya] Bühler; read viivāṣṭeṣṭiveṇā and cf. viivāṣayathā at Sārnāth, l. 10.
14) Read ti.
15) As was first remarked by Oldenberg (Vinaya-piṭaka, Introduction, p. xxxviii, note, and ZDMG, 35. 474, note), adhātiya is the Pāli adhātiya, ‘two and a half’.
16) Instead of this, the Sahāsram, Bārāṭ, and Śiddāpura versions read upāsa, ‘a lay-worshipper’, but the Maski version reads Bhiṣṭha-Śake. On the Rummindēl pillar the Buddha himself receives his well-known epithet Śākyamuni. Varāhamihira uses the tribal name Śākya in the sense of ‘a Buddhist’; see Böhtlingk and Roth’s Dictionary, s.v. In the Kauṭilya the word Śākya has the same meaning; see Shama Sastri’s Translation, p. 251, n. 2. As Professor Jolly kindly informs me, the Munich M.S. reads शक्यासिद्धार्थ, which is meant for शक्याशिवार्धी; the editio princeps (p. 199, l. 3 f.) has शक्याशिवार्धी.
17) The word husari is inserted in the Mysore versions.
18) The Mysore versions add ‘for one year’. Thomas (J.A (10), 15. 515 f.) and Sylvain Lévi (id. 17. 121 f.) take pakamaṇī in the sense of ‘travelling about’. But the various readings of the Sahāsram and Bārāṭ edicts suggest that pakamaṇī has to be understood as a synonym of pala-kamati, ‘to exert one’s self, 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 po[ka]n[m]unē (Rūpānā) or pakamaṇīnena (Sahāsram) corresponds to dhama-yute[n], ‘devoted to morality’, at Maski, E.
19) Bühler translated up[e]tē 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.
20) i.e. the Buddhist clergy.
(E) Those gods who during that time had been unmixed (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.

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1 Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17, 144 ff) first showed that misa represents Skt. miskā; 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 Devasainpriya, where it certainly does not mean 'a king', for which
the word raja is regularly employed; see JRAS, 1917. 1114. Senart (JA (11), 7, 438 ff.) still
upholds Bühler's view that misa stands for Skt. mṛskā, which is represented by musā in Pāli,
in Ardhamāgadhi (Fischel's Grammatik, § 78), and in the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, l. 6.
 Granted that this explanation might account for the curious compounds misā-deva and anāmisā-
deva at Sahasrān, the nasalized final occurring also in the Ardhamāgadhi form musā, it would
create two serious difficulties: (1) the compound misā-hāṇa at Maski would refer against the
Śārīṭaka on Pāṇini, 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
devehi, '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 devehi an ablative
partitive (?).

2 i.e. in India.

3 As I have shown in JRAS, 1913, 654 ff, 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 devi
rāpāni in the Girnar edict IV, B.

4 As the Brahmagiri version suggests, mahatātā corresponds to Skt. mahaṁmatvāt.

5 Cf. the parallel passage in the rock-edict X, E.

6 Fleet (JRAS, 1909, 1014) and Thomas (JA (10), 15, 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 (511) will
suffice to show that Senart was right in believing that the following words are rather referred to by
ecyā athāya, and that here, as well as in section M, the word 'proclamation' refers to the whole of
the Rūpānāth edict itself.

7 According to the Kāṣā and Śāhlbāzgaṛhi rock-edict XIII, Q, these borderers were
Antiochus II of Syria and four other Greek kings (in the west), and the Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas
in the south. Cf. also the rock-edict II, A, and V, J.

8 i.e. apparently the subject-matter or contents of Aśoka's proclamation, viz. the Buddhist
propaganda; sec section J.

9 With vaśaḥ[iv] vaśhitisī cf. daṁsa-vaśaḥ vaśhītā in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, JJ
and NN.

10 Cf. above, p. 165, n. 7.
SAHASRAM ROCK-INSRIPTION

FROM MR. BEGLAR'S PHOTOGRAPH

FROM AN INKED ESTAMPAGE

Scale One-fourth
II. THE SAHASRAM ROCK-INSRIPTION

1 (A) देहानांपि येवं ज्ञा ............... राहती सवलानि । च उपासके सुमि ।
       (B) न चु चार्द पल्लवनि

2 (D) सवलाने साधिनि । च ............... ते (E) एशन च अन्तलेन । गंभीरुपि ।
       अमित्तिदिवा । संत

1 Instead of the nominative ija cha athe we should have expected the accusative imā cha apanām, as at Sahasrām, i. 7. The nominative would be in its proper place if we adopt Senart's conjecture tekkāpeta-vāsita for lekhāpeta-vālata; but this change is too extensive that it must be pronounced doubtful.
2 Literally: 'in consequence of an occasion' (vārataḥ); see JRAS, 1911, 1116.
3 viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.
4 Cf. the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, SS.
5 See above, p. 163, n. 15.
6 See above, p. 163, n. 14. Fleet (JRAS, 1911, 1106) translated vivasati by, 'spending a night in worship'. I have shown that this meaning is rendered improbable by the context of the corresponding passage of the Sārnāth 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 vivāsa, which have greatly exercised all earlier interpreters, see now Thomas, JA (10), 15, 512 ff. The instrumental vyā[k]aṭina, which depends on sāvane kate, must refer to Adhika 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, i. 3); see JRAS, 1909, 729. I therefore follow Thomas (IA, 37, 23) in supplying mayā.
9 The three figures '256' were explained by Bühler as a date after the Nirvāṇa 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 Sahasrām version of the Rūpnāth edict combines with them the word lāti = Skt. rātri, 'a night'. On the (redundant) word sata, 'a hundred', see Thomas, ibid., p. 531, and Fleet, JRAS, 1911, 1104, n. 2. Since the publication of Thomas' discovery of the word lāti at Sahasrām, the '256 nights' have been discussed by Fleet (JRAS, 1910, 1307 ff., 1911, 1091 ff., and 1913, 655 ff.), Sylvain Lévi (JA, 10, 17, 119 ff.), D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 41, 170 ff.), Neumann (translation of the Dīgka-nikāya, 2, 325 ff., and R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti, 22, 695 ff.), Thomas himself (JRAS, 1916, 115 ff.), and Senart (JA (11), 7, 434 f.), who takes lāti = Skt. rātri, as at Kālsi, VIII, F.
10 In JRAS, 1910, 1309, I interpreted the word vivāsa, which corresponds to vivātha at Sahasrām, as an ablative singular. But it seems more natural to follow Thomas, who considers it a nominative plural.
3 सुनिसा नस्त्येष त्वा । (F) पत्ते । ............ इसम फले (G) नो । ........... ये महनति च चकिये पावते । शुद्धिति पि पत्ते ।
4 क्षमिनि विवृति पि सुन्दम् । किंये ग्रामा । ............ वे । (H) से शताये ग्रामे इये सावने । शुद्धा च उदाला चा पा ।
5 लक्षसुत राष्टि पि च जानु । चिल्लितीकि च पलाके होतु । (I) इये च छटे विवृति । विवृति पि च विवृति ।
6 दियाॅदियं चाललयने दियादियं विवृति । (J) इये च सवने विवृति न (K) दुखे सुपना लाति ।
7 सना विवृति ति २०० ५० ६ (L) इस च छटे पन्तेसु लिखापणाचा (M) ये । ..
8 वि हेता सिलासं तत वि लिखापणां ति ।

1 (A) Dovānāmpīyo he[vaṁ]· [[ə]'] ............ [iyn̥i savaohhalā][ni]· a[j]n[ upāsake sumi] · (G) na chu bādhām [palaka]hm[te]·
2 (D) sav[a]chhalā ə sādhi[ko]· [[a]n]· ............ [te]· (E) [etc][na cha aṃta][l]ena·
3 Jambudipasi· aṃmisän[de]vā' · saṃta·
4 munisā· [m]sān-deva· [kaṭā · (F) pala·] ............ [iyn̥i phale (G) [n[o]· ...
5 [iyn̥i)] mahatāta va chākiśe pāv[a][l]ye · khudakena p[i]·
6 kamamīnānē vīpule p[i]· [s[u]sag ... [k]iye' · [a[l]a]]  ....... [ve]· [i]· (H) se etāye
7 aṭh[a]ye iyaṁ sāvāne' · khudakā cha udāla cha pa-
8 [a]kamaṃstu aṃta p[i]· ch[ā] jāmar'tu · chila-thit'ike' · cha p[a][l]kame' hotu · (I)
9 iya[in] cha [aṭhe] vaḍhisati · vīpula p[i] · cha vaḍhisati·
10 diyāḥiyan'Ava[a]dhīyena diyā[a]dhīyaṃ vaḍhisati · (J) iya[m] [cha savane]·
11 [v]juvānena (K) duve sapānā lāti-
12 satā vivuthā ti २०० ५० ६ (L) ima cha aṭhanām pavatesu [l][ikha][r]ayatha (M)
13 ya . . [vā] a-
14 th[i] heta silā-tha[n][bh]a tata p[i]· [likhāpayatha ṭ]j̣

1 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 sva 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 viṁ in Cunningham's copy. A later idea of Bühler's (IA, 22: 899), the group sva, is equally non-existent; as stated by Fleet (JRAS, 1910.
3 147), it is already impossible because the da would then have to stand on the level of the line, but not above it, and the sva 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 savaohhale, combined with the actual blunder chhavachhāre at Rānpāth, is the starting-point of a (now exploded) theory which has obscured the chronology of Aśoka's inscriptions for a long time.
4 Read amisva-.
5 Read sán(q)a Bühler.
6 Restore suage chakiye.
7 Read sāvan.
8 -[k]išitk. Bühler.
9 Read yata.
10 palakama Senart and Bühler.
TRANSLATION

(A) Dēvānāṃpriya [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,2—in figures 256.3
(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-INSRIPTION

1 (A) देवानांपि ये श्राहा (B) सानि  ........................
2 वसानि य हेकं उपासके (C) नो चु वाठ  ........................
3 श्री ममया सचे उपासां वान च  ........................
4 चंद्रदृष्टि वासिनि न देवेेहि  ........................ मिः  ........................ कमस एस ले
5 (C) नो हि एसे महतेन चकिले  ........................ कमसिले
6 विपुले पि चणे चक्षे आशाधेतीहे (B)  ........................ का च उडाला चा

1 For chak, a variant of the root šak, see above, p. 97, n. 4.
2 Thomas (JA (10), 15. 520, note) compares the word vivutha (corresponding to vivāsî at Rūpānī) with vivakam, a division of time which is mentioned in the Kanṭilīṭa, p. 60, l. 3 from bottom. His suggestion that the latter may have the sense of vīvārata, 'a night and a day', is perhaps correct. At any rate, in Aśoka's time both vivatha and vivāsa 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 lāti, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of his predecessors for thirty-three years. He pointed out, at the same time, that pannā is a recognized Prākrit form of panna, and that expressions like dvē shatpānchādā vātri-sātē are used in archaic Sanskrit as well. Cf. ekān rattiṇi vāppavasati, 'to spend a night away from home', in Childers' Pāli Dictionary, p. 581.
IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSRIPTION

2. (B) vidita [v] cha bhārī< a[t]mā Budhāsa chaṃhāsa ti gālave cha prasāde cha (O) cha kech[1] bharīte

---

1. ha[ka] Bühler.  
2. sa[ti] Bühler.  
3. dāpasi Bühler.  
4. fūp Senart.  
5. Māgadhī Senart; but the e of dā is quite distinct, and what has been taken for an Anusvāra is in reality a horizontal dash.  
6. abhivādana[1] Senart; but see JRAI, 1926. 717.  
7. gālāve Senart.  
8. Pasāde Senart.  
9. kech< Senart.
3 bhagavatā Budhe[na] bhāsite sarve¹ se subhāsitā vā (D) e chu kho bharante
hamiyāe diseya hevaṁ sadhaṁme
4 chil[a-th]itke hosati ti alahāmi hakaṁ ta[r]n v[a]tave² (E) imāni bharante dhaṁma-paliyāṇi Vinaya-samukase
5 Aliya-vasañi³ Anāgata-bhayāṇi Muni-gāthā Moneya-sūte Upatissa-pasine e chā Lāghulo-
6 vāde musā-vādah adhigichya⁴ bhagavata Budhena bhāsite etāni⁵ bharante
dhaṁma-paliyāṇi icchāmi
7 kimī bahuke bhikhu-[p]āye chā bhikkhuniye⁶ chā[ā] abhikhinaṁ sun[e]y⁷ chā upadhā[r]āyeyā⁸ chā
8 (F) hevarimena upāsaka chā upāsikā chā (G) eteni⁹ bharante imaṁ likha[pa]yāmi abhipretam¹⁰ me jānantu¹¹ ti

TRANSLATION

(A) The Māgadha king Priyadarśin,¹² having saluted the Samgha,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,¹⁶ (and) the Samgha.¹⁵

(C) Whatever, 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-sūta,

¹ save Senart. ² vatave Senart. ³ -vasañi Senart.
⁴ This word is quite distinct, and the reading adhigichha proposed by Michelson (IF, 27, 194 f.) is impossible.
⁵ etānī Senart. ⁶ bhikkhuniye Senart. ⁷ sunayu Senart.
⁸ upādādecyu Senart. ⁹ Read etēnā.
¹⁰ abhikhetani Senart; but the horizontal stroke attached to pa is probably intended for r. Cf. aprakāravyamahi in the Gimir edict XII, l. 3.
¹¹ ma jānatha Senart.
¹² Cf. e.g. rāja Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro in the Vinaya-piṭaka (passim); rāja Māgadho Ajatasattu at the beginning of the Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta (JRAS, 1875, 49); and rāja Pasenadi Kosalava in a Bharaut inscription (IA, 21, 232, No. 58).
¹³ i.e. the Buddhist clergy.
¹⁴ Literally : 'pronounces both (their) being in good health and (their) being (in the enjoyment) of pleasant life'. Cf. at the beginning of the Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta : 'appāsādham appāraṇkāni
lahūtuṇhānaḥ baltu phūsu-vāhānu puchchha', and see Neumann's translations of the Majjhima-nikāya (2. 617, note) and Dīgha-nikāya (2. 216, n. 3).
¹⁵ i.e. the Buddhist doctrine.
¹⁶ These are the so-called 'three jewels'; see Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s. v. ratanaṁ.
¹⁷ Kern (IA, 5. 257) explained disiyā as the optative of the Pāli dissāti = Skt. dṛṣṭya; cf. JRAS, 1909, 718.
¹⁸ As suggested by the late Professor Hardy (JRAS, 1901, 314), these words seem to contain a quotation from the Buddhist scriptures.
¹⁹ vasa is a defective spelling for vasita; see IA, 41. 39.
(6) the Upatisa-pasina, and (7) the Lāghulovāda which was spoken by the blessed Buddha concerning falsehood,—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-INSCRIPTION

1 (A) देवानंपियस असोकाः ........................ जबहि-
2 " " नि सिंचात । वे सुमित चुधानेट (O) ........................ लिरे । .
3 " " नि संगं उपातगे उठ ........................ नि उपातगे (D) पुरे जङ्गु-.
4 " " सि रे श्रीमता देवा हुसेन ते दानि निमिस्मुटा (B) इय छठे खुद--
5 केन रि धमरुनें सकि ओधिगतेष्वे (F) न हें दलितवर्णे उड़ा-
6 नारे व रि ओधिकेरे ति (G) खुदे के च उड़ले के च वन-
7 नारे हें रे ये कलेन भरे से ख ........................ लिरे च वलट-
8 सिनि चा दियाद्वं खेंव ति

1 (A) Devānāṃpiyasa Asoka sa ........................ a[a]dh[a][a][a] [1]-
3 । m[i] [a] sāṃgha[m] u[pagate [uth] । । m[i] u[pagate । (D) pure Jambu-
4 । [[1] ye amīśa devā hsu] te [dā][n][i] mīsibhūta (E) iya a[the khu]da-

1 For identifications of these texts see Oldenberg, Vinaya-piṭaka, Introduction, p. xli, n. 1; Sylvain Lévi, JA (9), 7 425 ff.; Neumann, VOJ, II. 159 f.; Rhys Davids, JRAS, 1898, 639 ff.; Oldenberg, ZDMG, 5a. 694 ff.; Blob, id., 63. 325 ff. As the late lamented Mr. V. A. Smith kindly informed me, No. 1, Vinaya-samhāra, is identified by A. J. Edmunds (Buddhist Bibliography, San Francisco, 1904) with Buddha's First Sermon. According to Dhammananda Kosambi (IA, 41, 40), Nos. 2 and 3 occur in the Āṅguttara-nikāya, Nos. 4 6 in the Sutta-nipāta, and No. 7 in the Majjhima-nikāya.

2 Senart fills up this break by vachanena aukikāni. As the instrumental vachanena would require a verb, for which there is no room on the stone, I suggest reading sāvane (or sāsane) (B) aukikāni.

3 Restore aḍhātyāni.

4 vasāni [a]nā anī Krishna Sastri.

6 bu[pā]jate K.S. The point after pu does resemble an Anusvāra, but it stands on a higher level than the other Anusvāras of this inscription. Besides, an Anusvāra would make no sense here. Krishna Sastri remarks that the letter pā appears to have been corrected from some other', and Senart (JA (11), 7. 428) suggests that the writer may have wavered between upāsaka and Budhupāsaka. I agree with him in believing that the writer originally wanted to write upāsaka, which is the reading of Sahasrā, Bairāt, and Śiddāpura. On second thoughts he changed upā to Budha and added Sake, which corresponds to [Sakṣ]er at Rūpānāth. The abnormal shape of the dha of Budha is due to its having been corrected from pā.

8 Restore sāvane na sumi and, before these three words, perhaps saivachhare.

7 Restore perhaps utkānāna cha sumi upagate, which would convey the same meaning as the corresponding passage at Brahmagiri: bādhain cha me pakānte. Krishna Sastri and Senart restore bādhaṅga cha sumi upagate.

8 Restore Jambudīpasi. Of the four next words faint traces are visible.
TRANSLATION

(A) [A proclamation] of Devanāṃpriya Aśoka.

(B) Two and a half years [and somewhat more] (have passed) since I am a Buddha-Sākya.  

(C) [A year and] somewhat more (has passed) [since] I have visited the Sāṅgha and have shown zeal.

(D) Those gods who formerly had been unmixed (with men) in Jambudvīpa, have now become mingled (with them).

(E) This object can be reached even by a lowly (person) who is devoted to morality.

(F) One must not think thus,—(viz.) that only an exalted (person) may reach this.

(G) Both the lowly and the exalted must be told: 'If you act thus,' this matter (will be) prosperous and of long duration, and will thus progress to one and a half'.

VI. THE BRAHMAGIRI ROCK-inscription

1. (A) सुचरणिवर्तति अन्यप्रस भरतात्सवं च वचनेन इतितति महामात्र चारोगिनं जगतिया हद्यं च वदविया (B) देवाणि इत्य थाय

2. (C) धर्माधरण धर्माधरण वसानि य हंकरात् सके (D) नो तु धी बाँध प्रकटे तुसं एवं सावधारं (E) सारिन्ते तु धी सावधारं

3. यो मया संसे उपयोगाते बांध च मे पक्षे (F) इमिना तु कालेन धर्मस समाना सुसानसात जलादिनास

4. मिसादेवहि (G) पक्षस्त्र है यथ्यहे फले (H) नो हीयं सर्वे महामन्वने वापोते जामें तु धी गुरुवेहि पि

5. पक्षम... शेष विज्ञापते सर्वे चारोगिने (I) यथायथ इसं सावथे सारिन्ते

6. संस्कर्ष्यं महामा च इसं पक्षमुति ब्राह्मणा च मे जानेवु चिरानांति कि च हंयं

---

1. h[̐] K.S.  
2. [the ti] K.S.  
3. Restore perhaps as ake chiva-thātika.  
4. diyādhiya h[̐]satī 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 parā-kram and to dharmya-yuksa; cf. above, p. 167, n. 20, and p. 124, n. 6.  
7. For the nominative singular absolute kulanītusak see above, p. 35, n. 9. Its subject, ev (= Skt. va), is originally an oblique case of the plural.
7 यद्य च छते बलिसिति बिपुलं पि च बलिसिति अवरथिया दियविषयं
8 बलिसिति (R) यद्य च सावष्टे सावशिष्ये अभ्येन (L) 200 50 ए (M) से हेवं देवाःपिये
9 श्राह (N) मातापिसिद्ध सुसुमिनितिविये हेमेव गहसु गृहेण्युद्धर्तवं सचं
10 वतिवियं से इसे धमरुणा पवतितिविया (O) हेमेव श्रीवासिनि
11 श्राहिर्ये ज्यापप्पाछियिः आतीकेयु च एं य 'र्ये पवतितिविये
12 (P) रसा पोराणा प्रक्षि दीपाःपुसे च रस (Q) हेवं रस कयिविये
13 (B) चप्यङ्क लिखिते लिपिकरेकेः

1 (A) [S]uv[a]jñanagīrito¹ ayaputasama mahāmaṭāpaṇa cha vachan[e]ma Isilasi
mahāmātā śrīgiriyam vatavīyā hevaṁ cha vatavīyā (B) Devānapīyo
ानपयाति
2 (C) adhitkānī adhāṭiyāṇi v[a]sāṇi ya hakaṁ ... sa[ke]² (D) no tu kho
bādham prakarite³ husam ekāṁ savakhharah (E) sātiṣe ke tu kho
saṁvachharah⁴
3 yam mayā samghhe upayite bādham cha me pakarite (F) iminā cha kalena amisā
saṁānā munīṣa Jāmbudīpasī
4 m[ṇ]a devehi (G) pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale (H) no hiyaṁ sakye mahātpeneva
pāpottave kāmaṁ tu kho khudakena pi
5 paka[m]i . . . neṇa⁵ vipule svage sakye ārādhetave (I) e[c]yaṭhaya iyaṁ sāvanē
sāvapite
6 ......²⁴ mahā[p]ā cha imaṁ pakame[yu t]i arṁtā cha mai⁷ jāneyu chira-
śthitke cha iyaṁ
7 [paka] . . . .⁵ (J) iyaṁ cha aṭhe vaśhisiti vipulaṁ pi cha vaśhisiti avaradhiyā
diyadjhiyām
8 [vaśhīṣi]ṇi (K) iyaṁ cha savān[e] sāv[a]ipi te vyūthena (L) 200 50 6 (M) se hevaṁ
Devānapīyo
9 aha (N) mātā-śānita susūn[i]taviye hemeva gara[su]³ prāncu drahyitavyāṁ
sachāni
10 vatavīyaṁ se ime dhāmam-guṇā pavatitaviya (O) hemeva antevāsinā
dhāmanī
11 āchariye apachāyitaviye śāntikesu cha [ka]ḥ¹⁰ ya . . rahāṁ¹¹ pavatitaviye

¹ This word looks almost like Suvarṇa⁶, but the Śiddāpura version reads Suvarṇa⁸ distinctly.
² Restore upasaka, as at Śiddāpura.
³ pakarite Bühler.
⁴ Read saṁvachhar ; sa[m]vachhar[a]ni Bühler.
⁵ paka[m]i]neṇa Bühler; read pakamameneṇa and cf. the Sahasrām edict, l. 3 f.
⁶ The Śiddāpura version reads yatā bhu[daḥ cha].
⁷ Read me.
⁸ The Śiddāpura version reads pakame hoti (hotu at Sahasrām).
⁹ gara[su] Bühler.
¹⁰ a[ḥ?] Bühler; see above, p. 31, n. 6.
¹¹ Restore yathārahaṁ and cf. the Śiddāpura version, l. 20, and the Jaṭāṅga-Rāmesvara
version, l. 18.
CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION 173

3 bhagavatā ḅuddha[na] bhāṣite sarveḥ se subhāṣite vā (D) e chu kho bhamte hamyāye diseya hevām sadhāimē

4 chil[a-th]-tiikhe hosati ti alahāmi hakain ta[rin] v[a]-tave (E) imāni bharānea dha]-ḥama-paliyāyāni Vinaya-samukase

5 Aliya-vasāni * Anāgata-bhayāni Muni-gāthā Moneya-sūte Upatisa-passi e chā Lāghulo-

6 vāde musā-vādaṁ adhigichhya bhagavatā ḅuddhena bhāṣite etāṃ bhāmte dharma-paliyāyāni ichhāmi

7 kiṃti bahuke bhikhu-[p]āye chā bhikhuniye ch[ā] abhikhaṁ sun[cyu] chā upadhā[a]-yeyū * chā

8 (F) hevaṁmeva upāsakā chā upāsika chā (G) eteni bhāmte imāṁ līkha[pa]-yāmi abhipretaṁ me jānaṁtī ti

TRANSLATION

(A) The Māgadhā king Priyadarśinī,12 having saluted the Samgha,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 Samgha.16

(C) Whatevver, 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-samukase, (2) the Aliya-vasas,19 (3) the Anāgala-bhayas, (4) the Muni-gāthās, (5) the Moneya-sūta,

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3 savā Senart. 2 vasāṇī Senart.
4 This word is quite distinct, and the reading adhigīhyā proposed by Michelson (IF, 27, 194 f.) is impossible.
5 ēnā Senart. 6 bhikhuṇye Senart.
8 upadhā[a]-yeyū Senart. 9 Senart.
10 abhikhaṁ Senart; but the horizontal stroke attached to pa is probably intended for r. Cf. aprakaranaṇhi in the Girnār edict XII, l. 3.
11 ma jānαnta Senart.
12 Cf. e.g. rājā Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro in the Vinaya-piṭaka (passim); rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu at the beginning of the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta (JRAS, 1875, 49); and rājā Pasenadi Kasale in a Bharat inscription (IA, 41, 244, No. 58).
13 I.e. the Buddhist clergy.
14 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: 'appābādhāṃ appādānaṁ lākhāṭkānike balaṁ phāsu-dhāvāṁ phuĉkha', and see Neumann's translations of the Majjhima-nikāya (3. 617, note) and Dīgha-nikāya (2. 216, n. 3).
15 I.e. the Buddhist doctrine.
16 These are the so-called 'three jewels'; see Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s.v. ratanaṁ.
17 Kern (IA, 5, 257) explained diseya as the optative of the Pāli dīsuṣati = Skt. drīṣyati; cf. JRAS, 1909, 728.
18 As suggested by the late Professor Hardy (JRAS, 1901, 314), these words seem to contain a quotation from the Buddhist scriptures.
19 vasa is a defective spelling for vāhana; see IA, 41, 39.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

(6) the *U补水asapasina*, and (7) the *Lभhulovada* which was spoken by the blessed *Buddha* concerning falsehood. — 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).

(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) देवनामिपियस असिक्षस ..... चानितन-
2 *ति चानितन् ति चुन्नि वुधशुके (C) ..... तिरे ..... *
3 *ति संप्रं उपगाने उड़ ..... * ति उपगाने (D) पुरे जन्मु-
4 *ि दे ज्ञानस्त देशा हुस ने दानि निमित्तृता (E) इस राज़े शुद्-
5 केन ि पूमूढान सके इमिषान्तिते (F) न हेत् दिलातित्रे उड़ा-
6 तराके व इस इमिषान्तिता ि (G) बुढ़ते च उड़तके च बत--
7 वियाहे दे च कांतान्त भद्रेके से चा ..... तिके च ब्रह्दी-
8 सिति चा दियवढ़िये हें ति

1 (A) Dev[a]na[m]piyasa Asok[a]sa .............[a]dh[a]ri[i]-
2 ni vash[ā]ni | an i sum[i] Bu[tha]-Saker (C) ............ [r]re ........
3 [m] [s]an/gha[m] u[p]a[ga]te [uth] ........ m[i] u[p]a[ga]te (D) pure Jaibm-
4 .... [i2 ye amisā deva hushu] te [dāhni] misibhūtā (E) iya a[the khu]da-

1 For identifications of these texts see Oldenberg, *Vineyapitaka*, Introduction, p. xi, n. i.; Sylvain Lévi, JA (g), 7. 475 ff.; Neumann, VOJ, 11. 159 ff.; Rhys Davids, JRAS, 1898. 639 f.; Oldenberg, ZDMG, 55. 634 ff.; Bloch, id., 65. 325 ff. As the late lamented Mr. V. A. Smith kindly informed me, No. 1, *Vineyapitaka*, is identified by A. J. Edmunds (Buddhist Bibliography, San Francisco, 1904) with Buddha’s First Sermon. According to Dhammananda Kosambi, JA, 41. 40), Nos. 2 and 3 occur in the *Anguttara-nikāya*, Nos. 4-6 in the *Sutta-nipāta*, and No. 7 in the *Mahānāma-nikāya*.

2 Senart fills up this break by vachanena adhikāṇi. As the instrumental vachanena would require a verb, for which there is no room on the stone, I suggest reading sāvama (or sāsana) (B) adhikāṇi.

3 Restore adhatījānī.

4 vasaṁ [ya] ni aṁ [Krishna Sastri].

5 tāk [p]aṅkā K.S. The point after bu 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 ṭa appears to have been corrected from some other’, and Senart (JA (11), 7. 448) suggests that the writer may have wavered between upāsaka and Budhupāsaka. I agree with him in believing that the writer originally wanted to write upāsaka, which is the reading of Sahasrā, Bāraṭā, and Śīlāpura. On second thoughts he changed ṭa to Budha and added Sakē, which corresponds to [Sa]ḍ[ca] at Rūnpāth. The abnormal shape of the dha of Budha is due to its having been corrected from ṭa.

6 Restore sāsireka aṁ sumi and, before these three words, perhaps sanvakhare.

7 Restore perhaps upaṁnah cha sumi upagata, which would convey the same meaning as the corresponding passage at Brahmagiri: bādhan̄ cha me pukatāte. Krishna Sastri and Senart restore bādhan̄ cha sumi upagata.

8 Restore Jambudīpasi. Of the four next words faint traces are visible.
TRANSLATION

(A) [A proclamation] of Dēvānāhpriya Aśoka.
(B) Two and a half years [and somewhat more] (have passed) since I am a Buddha-Śākya.
(C) [A year and] somewhat more (has passed) [since] I have visited the Sāṅgha and have shown zeal.
(D) Those gods who formerly had been unmingleed (with men) in Jambudvīpa, have now become mingled (with them).
(E) This object can be reached even by a lowly (person) who is devoted to morality.
(F) One must not think thus,—(viz.) that only an exalted (person) may reach this.
(G) Both the lowly and the exalted must be told: ‘If you act thus,’ this matter (will be) prosperous and of long duration, and will thus progress to one and a half”.

VI. THE BRAHMAGIRI ROCK-INSRIPTION

1 (A) सुविधागति का रुपमेव समावक्तां च वचनेन इतिहमसि समावक्ता ग्रामविन्यम
     वतबिया हेत्रं च वतविया (B) देवाविशे ग्रामपतित
2 (C) श्रीधार्मिक श्रीशायदिव्य वसानि य हर्षं देवि सक्स (D) नी तु यो भार्य
     प्रकाश दृष्टेद दृष्टेद सवर्णेश्वरे (E) सा विरहे तु दे सवर्णेश्वरे
3 यं मयं संभू उपयोगां भार्य च सः पक्षे (E) इभिना चु कालेन ग्रामसा समाना
     सुविधा जन्मुद्रादेविनि
4 मिसा देविवि (C) पक्षे हि इन्द्र फले (E) नो हीयो सक्स महायोवेव पापोवेचे
     कार्य तु दे सुधे सिद्धे पि
5 पक्षे... खो विषुले स्त्रे सक्स त्रायोते (C) नताराहु इं सवर्णे
     सावर्णे
6...... महायो च इम्न पक्षेयु ति ऊत्त च मै जानेयु चिरित्तौदे
     च इदीं

1 [t] K. S.  2 [the it] K. S.
3 Restore perhaps se ashe chira-thitika.  4 diyadhya h[r]sati K. S.
5 Cf. above, p. 167, n. 16.
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 dharama-yukta; cf. above, p. 167, n. 20, and p. 124, n. 6.
7 For the nominative singular absolute kalaabhāna see above, p. 35, n. 9. Its subject, ve (= Skt. vañ), is originally an oblique case of the plural.
7 पक्की (J) इं म घर कार्यक गिलोलप सि च मर्मसित सान्तिक चिनःन्ति 
8 निशिन इं म सानो चामर्केत सानापिल ज्ञान (L) 200 50 6 (M) से हेवं 
9 देवानपिले 
10 ज्ञान (N) भाषापिस्तु सुसमातृतिक्षिप्ने हेवेव गल्ला मान्यो द्रव्यक्तिवत् सचं 
11 ज्ञानिकी भावार्थमिलितापि ज्ञानिकेत च के व " " रहें पवित्तितवति 
12 (F) एसा पाराशा प्रकी दीयादुसे च एस (Q) हेवं एस रिचिवे 
13 (B) पासहे तिनिते तिनिकोष
TRANSLATION

(A) From Suvarṇagiri, 4 at the word of the prince (aryaputra) 6 and of the Mahāmātraras, the Mahāmātraras at Isila must be wished good health 7 and be told this:

(B) Dēvānāśipriya commands (as follows).

(C) More than two and a half years (have passed) since I (am) 8 a lay-worshipper (upāsaka).

(D) But indeed I had not been very zealous for one year. 9

(E) But indeed a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited the Sāṅgīka and have been very zealous.

(F) But men in Jambudvīpa, being during that time unmixed, (are now) mingled with the gods. 10

(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, 11 [that both the lowly] and those of high rank may be zealous in this manner, 12 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.

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1 d[īy]āvus Bühler.
2 Read kaśāviye.
3 h[āh]r[āh] Bühler.
4 This place seems to have been the capital of the province administrated by the Āryaputra and his Mahāmātraras. Bühler (EI, 3, 137) compared the second separate edict at Dhauli, according to which a Kumāra and his Mahāmātraras resided at Tosāli. The separate edicts of Dhauli and Jaugāḍa 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 Picit's opinion the Mysore edicts were issued from Suvarṇagiri by Aśoka himself; and he identified this place with one of the hills, still known as Sōnagiri, near Rāja-griha 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.
5 Bühler (VOJ, 14, 75 f.) traced the word ayyaputta, 'a prince', in the Jātaka, vol. VI, p. 146 f.
6 Cf. the preamble of the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription.
7 The word suṇi is added in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts.
8 The words 'for one year' are missing at Rūpnāth and Sahasrām. As Senart (JA (8), 19, 481 f.) has shown, they are of great importance for the chronology of the Aśoka inscriptions, because they imply the period of 'more than two and a half years', for which, at the time of the Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, and Siddāpurā edicts, Aśoka had been an upāsaka (or Śākya, as the Rūpnāth 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 Sāṅgīka. Cf. chapter IV of the Introduction.
9 For the meaning of this section see above, p. 168, n. 3.
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(L) 256 (nights had then been spent on tour). 1
(M) Moreover, Dēvānāmpriya speaks thus. 2
(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. 3
(R) Written by Chapaḍa the writer.

VII. THE SIDDAPURA ROCK-INSRIPTION

1 (A) सुवंशगिरीते चायपुतस महामाता-
2 यस च चचनेन इच्छालसि महामाता
3 आरोगियं बतनिया (B) देवानांपि गेहं
4 आह (C) आधिकारिण्य आरान्तियानि वसानि
5 य हकेज उवासके (D) नो तु यो चाद पक्षके सुसं एकं सवहः..
6 (E) सतिरके तु यो संबर्द्धे यं मया संधे उपयोगिते चार्द
7 च यम पक्ष (E) द्विजन चु कालेन अनिन्दा समाना मु
8 ……… चंबुद (E) देवेहि (G) पक्षस फ़ि इंगे पले (H) नो हि हि
9 य यसे म नेव पापोवा काम तु यो सुखके
10 पि म …………… न विपुले स्त्रं संगे आरापेतवे
11 (I) से …………… य इसे सावशे सावशे यथा खु-
12 दुका च महामाता च इसम पक्षभुषु तित वता च
13 …………… चिरनितके च इंग पक्षे होति
14 (J) …………… विगिणि चिनुले पि च विगिणित वा
15 …………… वृंचित चिनुले पि च विगिणित चा
16 …………… (L) २०० जो (M) मा …………… सितिविये
17 …………… नियन्ति वर्ण वता यं इसे धर्मगु
18 …………… (N) हेमव चँ …………… आचरिये अचाचितविभे सु
19 …………… (O) एसा धोराश्च विही द्वारवृेच (P) हेमव …
20 …………… तेश्विने च
21 …………… जाचरिये …………… धारणं पवितितर च च च च
22 …………… स तथा कालविशे (R) चय …………… खा

1 Cf. section J of the Sahasrām edict.
2 This section is omitted in the Siddāpura and Jātiṅa-Rāmeśvara versions.
3 At the beginning of this section, the Jātiṅa-Rāmeśvara version inserts: 'This is the morality of Dēvānāmpriya'.
VIII. THE JATINGA-RAMESVARA ROCK-INSRIPTION

1 (A) Suvaṁgaṁgirte ayaputasā mahāmātā-
2 nāṁ cha vachanena Ṛśīlasā mahāmātā
3 arogīyam vata[v]ya) (B) [Devʃa]nāµpiye hevaṁ
4 aha (C) adhibhiñi a[ḍhā]y[i][y]añi vasāni
5 ya ha[kāṁ u]pāsaka (D) no tu kho bādha pakaṁte husaṁ ek[aṁ] sa[vachha] –
6 (E) sātrīke tu kho saṁvaḥhare [yaṁ maśa saṁ]ghe upayye bādhaṁ
7 [cha me] p[akaṁ]ke (F) i[ṃ]jinā chu kālena [a]ṁisā samā[ṇa] mu
8 . . . . Jawbu[d] . . . . . . [mi]sā devahi (G) pakamaṁ hi iyāṁ phale (H) no [h]i i-
9 ya sake [ma] . . . . [ne]va pāpo[t]ve kāmaṁ tu kho khudakena
11 (I) [e] . . . . . . ya [iya]ṁ sāvane sāvite yatha khu-
12 [dakā cha ma]ḥatpā cha imaṁ [pa]kameyu ti atā² cha
13 . . . . [chira]-th[ti][k]e² cha iyāṁ pakame hoti²
15 . . . . . . . . [yadhiya]ṁ vadhisi (K) [i]ya.ṁ [cha] sā[va]aye
16 . . . . . . . (L) [200] 50 6 (M) [mā] . . . . . . . . . [si]taviye
18 . . . . . . . (N) [heme]va [a]ṁ . . . . . . [ācha]riye apachāyati vīye su
    . . . . . . [m]e[visine]² cha
20 acharī[e] . . . . . . tharaṁ pavatitav . . . . . . m . . .
21 . . . . . . . . . sa³ [ta]kha katavīye (B) Chapa . .
22 . . . . . . . . . [na]³

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¹ sakvva … Bühler.
² ‑ thitke Bühler.
³ Bühler omitted i-.
⁴ anīṭā Bühler.
⁵ hō[ya] Bühler.
⁶ [le]vāsine Bühler. Read avṅtevāisme.
⁷ esa Bühler.
⁸ This syllable is in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet.
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12 (K) इ... सावं..... चेन (L) २०० ५० ॥ (M) हेमेव
13 मातापितु... सत्तविषे हेमेव... न रेषु
14... रितयं सचं वतःविषे से हे... 
15 हेवं वशस्तिदिवा (N) सचं न ते सतवस...
16 तत्विष्य हेमेव आचरिये धीवासिनाः
17... राशा पक्षी... सत्तविष्य... विवे
18... चरिये... आचरियश धा... यथार्थं पव...
19 सत्तविषे (O) एसा मोराणा पक्षी दीपा... च (P) हेमेव श... तः...
20... च... वतितविषे (Q) हेवं धमे देवा... विय... विवे
21... वं कटिविषे (R)... हेवं नसिन्त
22... पिकारेष

1 (A) ............ [?]a na [cha va]...
2 Isl. ............ [vi]ya (B) Dev[â]n[a]...
3 ... ya hakam ...
4 kho bâdha ............ (E) ti[rey[e]...
5 [ya]h... [ya]...
6 [na] ...
7 [h]i [yam]...
8 ...
9 ...
10 ............ [cha] ....... [dhi]s ...
11 ... [p]ulam pi ... [ya]hiya...
12 (K) i ... [s]ava[n]e ... [th][na] (L) 200 50 8 (M) [heme]va
13 [ma]h[a]...-pitusu ... [s]i[tav[i]y[e]... [h][m]e[va] ... [na]e... [es][u]
14 ... hy[tav[i]y]am cacham vataviya [s]e1 [ime]...
15 heva[na] pa[v]a[va]kitaviya (N) [sva]h[na te s. t. va[sa]...
16 taviya ² hemeva āchari[ye] aṁtevāsin[ā]...
17 ... [r]a[n]a pak[ti] ... siti[v]y[a]...
18 ... chari[ye] a² ... [ā]char[ī]ya[sa] ṇāṭi[ka] ... ya[thārā]a[na] [pava]-
19 titavîye (O) esā [po]r[a]na pa[kiti] a [d]agh[ā] ... cha (P) [he][me][va] 6a ... c. ā...
20 [cha] ya .......... va[t]av[ violate] (Q) heva[na] [dha[śat]a] Devāṇāṭhīpiy... ?
21 ... [va]h[ka]tavîye (R) ... dōna [lik[t]ita]ṁ
22 ... [pika]rēṇa ³

¹ e Bühler.
² I am unable to make out the meaning of the opening words of this section.
³ [AY]e Bühler.
⁴ aśh Bühler.
⁵ [sak]iṭi Bühler.
⁶ hevan [m]e Bühler.
⁷ p[ey]e Bühler. Restore ⁸ pīyasa.
⁸ This word is written in Kharoshthi characters.
12 (P) esā pora[ṇa] pa[k]iti d[īsīh] jāvuse ¹ cha esa (Q) hevarī esa kaṭiviye ²
13 (R) Chapaṇḍena likhite ³ li[p]i[karn]a ⁴

TRANSLATION

(A) From Suvarṇagiri,⁵ at the word of the prince (aryaputra)⁶ and of the Mahāmatras, the Mahāmatras at Isila must be wished good health ⁷ and be told this:

(B) Dévānāṃpiya commands (as follows).

(C) More than two and a half years (have passed) since I (am)⁸ a lay-worshipper (upāsaka).

(D) But indeed I had not been very zealous for one year.⁹

(E) But indeed a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited the Sangīka and have been very zealous.

(F) But men in Jambudvīpa, being during that time unmingle, (are now) mingled with the gods.¹⁰

(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,¹¹ [that both the lowly] and those of high rank may be zealous in this manner,¹² 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 d[īsīh] jāvuse Bühlcr.
² Read kaṭiviye.
⁴ This word is written in Kharāṣṭrī characters.
⁵ This place seems to have been the capital of the province administrated by the Aryaputra and his Mahāmatras. Bühlcr (EI, 3. 137) compared the second separate edict at Dhauli, according to which a Kumāra and his Mahāmatras 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 Flee's opinion the Mysore edicts were issued from Suvarṇagiri by Asōka himself; and he identified this place with one of the hills, still known as Sūnagiri, near Rājagriha in Bhār; see JRAS, 1909. 98. H. Krishna Sastri connects Suvarṇagiri, i.e. 'the gold mountain', with the country around Maski, which abounds in ancient graveyards; 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 Vijayanagar; see Constable's Hand-Atlas of India, plate 34, C, b.
⁶ Bühlcr (VOJ, 12. 75 ff) traced the word ayyaputta, 'a prince', in the Jātaka, vol. VI, p. 146 f.
⁷ Cf. the preamble of the Calkutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription.
⁸ The word suṇi is added in the Rūpāṇā, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts.
⁹ The words 'for one year' are missing at Rūpāṇāth and Sahasrām. As Senart (JA (8), 19. 481 ff) has shown, they are of great importance for the chronology of the Asōka inscriptions, because they imply the period of 'more than two and a half years', for which, at the time of the Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, and Siddāpura edicts, Asōka had been an upāsaka (or Sākya, 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 Sangīka. Cf. chapter IV of the Introduction.
¹⁰ For the meaning of this section see above, p. 168, n. 3.
¹² With inah supply pokamam; cf. vādhaś (in) vādhisitī in the Rūpāṇāth edict, section I, and above, p. 168, n. 9.
(L) 256 (nights had then been spent on tour).1
(M) Moreover, Dēvānāmpriya speaks thus.2
(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.3
(B) Written by Chapaṭa the writer.

VII. THE SIDDAPURA ROCK-INSRIPTION

1 (A) सुवंशगिरीते श्रयुपमस महामाता-
2 खं च चचनेन इसिलसि महामाता
3 आरोग्यां वत्तविष (B) देवानंपिवेहैं
4 छाह (C) श्राधिवानि श्राहलितावानि वसाानि
5 यह हर्षं उपासके (D) नो तु श्रो वाह पक्ते हुसं एवं सहवानं.
6 (E) सात्रिके तु को सान्यां यं महा संपे उपायीत वार्तं
7 च से पक्ते (F) द्रमिना चु कालेन ज्ञानसा समाना सु
8 ऋबुद्ध निष्ठा देवनेहि (G) पक्मम्हि इयं पल्ने हि इँ-...
9 यं सके सो नेव पापोत्रे कामं तु श्रो पुनेशन
10 पी तु न विपुलं खरे सके आरापेतवे
11 (I) से न नवे यं सावेन्इ शारिबे यणं बु-
12 टुका च महाखरा च इयं पक्मेवु ति चत्ता च
13 चरितीके च इयं पक्मे होति
14 (J) चरितसणि पिंपुलं पिं च चविस्ति चर
15 बिंदियं विविविरिनि (K) इयं च सावेने
16 (L) 200 50 ए (M) मा ......... सितिविधि
17 बिशार्यं शरं बति यं इयं धर्ममु
18 ......... (N) हेमेव यं ......... चाचरिये श्रयकाचायतविनणि भु
19 ......... (O) एसा परारा खं जिती दीघावुसे च (P) हेमेव.......

-तेरितिनेचे ...
20 चाचरिये ......... खारसं पविततव ......... स
21 ......... स तथा कटविधि (B) चय .........
22 ......... श्रा

---
1 Cf. section J of the Sahasrām edict.
2 This section is omitted in the Siddarpura and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara versions.
3 At the beginning of this section, the Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara version inserts: 'This is the morality of Dēvānāmpriya'.
VIII. THE JATINGA-RAMESVARA ROCK-INSRIPTION

1 (A) ........................................... TAN CHA ...........................................
2 इसि ........................................... बिया (B) देवनान ..............................
3 .................................................. य हवं ........................................
4 खो बाड ........................................... (E) तिरेके ................................
5 ये .............................................
6 आ .............................................
7 हि हवं ........................................
8 ..................................................
9 ..................................................
10 ................................................
11 ................................................

1 saivya ... Bühler.
2 = Bühler.
3 ... Bühler.
4 ... Bühler.
5 Bühler omitted i-.
6 = Bühler.
7 = Bühler.
8 This syllable is in the Kharoshthi alphabet.
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

12 (K) इ "साबोः" शेन (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) हेमेव
13 मातापिन्दुः "सितविये हेमेव " न रैसु
14 "स्वात्तं सबं वतवियं से इसे"
15 हेऽं पवतवियं (N) स्वातं न ते सतवस
16 तविये हेमेव आचरिये आतवासिना
17 "राशा पंकती " सितविया " विचे
18 "चारिये आ " आचरियश जातिका ते " यथार्थं पव-
19 तितविये (O) एसा पोराशा पंकती दीघा " (P) हेमेव श २ १
20 च य " वरतितविये (Q) हेऽं धमे देवायण्यिम"
21 "वं करतिये (R) " देन तिचित्त
22 "पिकरेका"

1 (A) .......... [t]a[na [cha va] ..
2 Isi .......... [vi]ya (B) Dev[a]n[a] ..
3 .. y[na haka]n ..
4 kho b[a]chha .......... (E) ti[roke] ..
5 [ya]m .. [ya] ..
6 [na] ..
7 [hi]i [yam] ..
8 ..
9 ..
10 ..
11 .. (p)ulain pi ........ [ya]ki[yama]n ..
12 (E) i ..... s[avane] .......... [th]e[na] (L) 200 50 6 (M) [heme]va
13 [m]a[na]pita... .. [s]iti[v]i[v]e [he[m]e[va] .. [na] .. [e] [u]
14 .. hy[ite]v[y]an sacha[am vataviyam [se] [i] [me] ..
15 heva[n pa[v]a]titi[v]a (N) [svaa]m na te s t [va[s] ..
19 tita[mi]ye (O) esa [po]ra[na] pa[k]iti 5 d[igh]a .. cha (P) [he]me[va] sa .. e 6 ..
21 .. [va]n ka[t]a[v]iye (R) .. [de]na [likhita]m
22 .. [pika]repa 8

1 e Bühler. 5 I am unable to make out the meaning of the opening words of this section.
2 f[v]e Bühler. 6 cha Bühler.
3 [pa]k[i]t Bühler. 7 hevam [m]e Bühler.
4 [p]i[v]e Bühler. Restore "piyasa." 8 This word is written in Kharâshṭrī characters.
IX. THE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INScriptions

FIRST CAVE-INSRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

1 लाॅजिना पियदित्ता दुवादच्यामखित्ते
2 इयं तिगोहकुभा दिना श्राजीवीकेहि

1 lājñā Piyadasīnā duvādasa-[vasābhisetenā] ¹
2 [iyaṁ Nigohā]-kubha¹ di[nā ājivikehi] ¹

TRANSLATION

By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this Banyan-cave ² was given to the Ājivikas.³

SECOND CAVE-INSRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

1 लाॅजिना पियदित्ता हुवा-
2 हसवामखित्ते इयं
3 कुभा खलातिकपवतसि
4 दिना श्राजीवीकेहि

1 lājñā Piyadasīnā duvā-
2 ḍasa-vasābhisetenā iyaṁ
cubha Khalatika-pavatasi
4 dinā [ājivi]kehi ⁴

TRANSLATION

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 Daśaratha (IA, 20, 364 f).
³ The Ājivika sect was founded by Gōšāla, a contemporary of both Gautama and Mahāvīra. Kern, with whom Bühler sided, considered the Ājivikas to have been a Vaishāvaya sect; see IA, 20, 361 f. This view was combated by D. R. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS, 21, 399 ff., and IA, 41, 90, 285 ff. Cf. Neumann's translation of the Dīgha-nikāya, 2, 248, n. 139, and Charpentier in JRAS, 1913, 669 ff. For full information see the late Dr. Hoernle's learned article 'Ājivikas' in Hastings' Encyclopedia 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 Daśaratha also an attempt has been made to chisel away the word ājivikehi; see the plate in IA, 20, 365, D.
THIRD CAVE-INSRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

1 लाज पियदसी एकनवि-
2 सातिसाभिसिते जिल्लपी-
3 सागमाणात मे इबे कुमा
4 सुपिष्ये ल . . . . . . . . दि-
5 ना

1 lája Piyadasi ekunavi-
2 sati-vasā[bh]'isi[t]e ja[lagh]o-
3 [sāgama]hāta [me] iyain kubhā]
4 su[p]i[y]c Kha ............ 1 [di]-
5 nā ²

TRANSLATION

When king Priyadarśin 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

---

¹ Restore Khatativa-pavatasi in accordance with the second inscription on p. 181, above.
² The end of the inscription is marked by a rutilika 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 lája to ”sie are nominatives absolute.
⁴ Literally: 'for the sake (arthāla = Skt. arthatah in the sense of arthāya?) of the approach of the roar of waters'. Cf. vāsha-nishidiyēṣe, 'for a dwelling during the rainy season', in the three cave inscriptions of Daśāratha (1A, 20. 364 f., and EI, 2. 274).
APPENDIX: SYNOPtical TEXTS

I. THE FOURTEEN ROCK-EDICTS

FIRST ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A) iy[am] dhaṁma-lipi  Devānāmpriyena
Kāl. (A) iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi  Devānāmpriyena
Stāh. (A) [aya] dhrama-dipi  Devanapliasā
Mān. (A) ayī dhra[m]a-dip[i]  Devanāmpriyena
Jau. (A) iyāṁ dhaṁma-lipi Khepi[r]i[...]galasi pavatasi Devanāmpriyena

Gir. Priyadasinā rāṇā lekh[a]pitā (B) [i]dha na kīmchi jivaṁ ārābhītā
Kāl. Piyadas[ī]nā [lekhīṭā] (B) [i]dha no kīchhi jive ālabhitu
Stāh. raṇo likhāpitu (B) hida no kīchhi jive ara[bhītā]
Dhau. . . . . . . . . . . . . . [nā] lajīna [ū]kha . . . . . . . . [i]yaṁ ālabhitu
Jau. Piyadasinā lajīna likhāpitā (B) hida no kīchhi jivaṁ ālabhī[t]u

Gir. prajūhitavāṁ (C) na cha samājyo katavyo (D) bahukāṁ hi dosāṁ
Kāl. pajohitavīye (C) no pi ch[a] samāje kāṭāvīye (D) bahukāḥ hi dosā
Stāh. [pr]ayuhotave (C) no pi ch[a] sama[ja] katavya (D) ba[huka] ka [hi] dosha
Mān. pra[jo]hitavīye (C) no pi cha samaj[e] katavye (D) bahuk[a] ka hi [dosha]
Dhau. pajo[h] . . . . . . (C) no pi cha samaj[e] . . . . . . . .
Jau. pajohitavīye (C) no pi cha samāje katāvīye (D) bahukāṁ hi dosāṁ

Gir. samājamhi pasatī Devānāmpriyo Priyadasi rājā (E) astī
Kāl. samājasā Devān[a]m[pi]ye Pī[yadasi] lājā dakhati (E) athī
Stāh. sa[maya]spi Devanāmpriy[e] Priyadnāsī ray[a dakhati (E) a]stī
Dhau. samājja . [d] . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . (E) . . .
Jau. samajasa drakhati Devanāmpiyē Priyadasi lājā (E) athī

Gir. pi tu ekachā samāja sādhū-matā Devānāmpriyasā
Kāl. pi ch[ā] ekataiyā samāja sādh[u]-matā Devanapīyasā
Stāh. pi chu ecu[ti]ya samaye sasu-mate Devanāsā
Mān. [pi chu] ekatiya samajā sa[dhu]-mata Devanapriyasa
Jau. pi chu ekatiya samajā sādhū-matā Devanāmpriyasa
### SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gir.</th>
<th>Priyadasino</th>
<th>raño</th>
<th>(F) purā</th>
<th>mahānasam[amhi]</th>
<th>Devānāṃpriyasa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>Piyadasis[a]</td>
<td>lájine</td>
<td>(F) [p]ūlc</td>
<td>mahānasasi</td>
<td>Devānāṃpiyasa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shāh.</td>
<td>Priyadrāśisa</td>
<td>raño</td>
<td>(F) pura</td>
<td>mahana[sās]</td>
<td>[Devana]pr[ī]lasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhau.</td>
<td>[Piyadasis]</td>
<td>lā[j][inc]</td>
<td>(F)</td>
<td>[mah]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jau.</td>
<td>Piyadrasine</td>
<td>lájine</td>
<td>(F) puluvam</td>
<td>mahā[nasa]ṣi</td>
<td>Devānāṃpiyasa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gir.</th>
<th>Priy[a]dasino</th>
<th>raño</th>
<th>anudivasāṃ</th>
<th>bahunī</th>
<th>prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni</th>
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<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
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<td>lájin[e]</td>
<td>anudivasāṃ</td>
<td>bahunī</td>
<td>pāta-sahasāni</td>
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<td>Priyadrāśisa</td>
<td>raño</td>
<td>anudivaso</td>
<td>bahunī</td>
<td>pra[na]ṣata-sahasani</td>
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<td>Mān.</td>
<td>Priyadrāšisa[s]</td>
<td>rajine</td>
<td>anudiva[sa]</td>
<td>bahunī</td>
<td>pra[na]-ṣata-sahasani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhau.</td>
<td>Piy[a]</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<th>Gir.</th>
<th>ārahabhṣu</th>
<th>sūpāṭhāya</th>
<th>(G) se</th>
<th>aja</th>
<th>yadā</th>
<th>ayaṇ ma[ṇ]ma-li[p[i]</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>alabhhiyisu</td>
<td>supāṭhāy[e]</td>
<td>(G) se</td>
<td>[c]āni</td>
<td>ya[da]</td>
<td>iyam dhāma-li[p]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shāh.</td>
<td>[ara]bhhiyisu[s]</td>
<td>supāṭhay[e]</td>
<td>(G) s[o] f[di]ani</td>
<td>yada</td>
<td>aya</td>
<td>dhrama-di[p]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>[ara]bhhiyisu</td>
<td>supa[th]ya[e]c</td>
<td>(G) s[e]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[da]</td>
<td>ayi dhrama-di[p]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dhau.</td>
<td>[ā]labhiyisu</td>
<td>supāṭhay[e]</td>
<td>(G) se</td>
<td>a[j]a</td>
<td>adā</td>
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<th>ti</th>
<th>eva</th>
<th>prāṇa</th>
<th>ārahabare</th>
<th>sūpāṭhāya dvo</th>
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<td>tadā</td>
<td>tīhni</td>
<td>yevā</td>
<td>pānāni</td>
<td>alabh[iy]u[i]</td>
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<tr>
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<td>likhitā</td>
<td>tada</td>
<td>trayo</td>
<td>vo.</td>
<td>pranā</td>
<td>haṃ[ma][ṭ[i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhau.</td>
<td>likhitā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jau.</td>
<td>likhitā</td>
<td>tīhni</td>
<td>yevā</td>
<td>pānāni</td>
<td>āla[m]biyai[mti]</td>
<td>duve</td>
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<table>
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<th>eko</th>
<th>mago</th>
<th>so</th>
<th>pi</th>
<th>mago</th>
<th>na</th>
<th>dhruvo</th>
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<td>majul[a]</td>
<td>eke</td>
<td>mige</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>[ch[u]</td>
<td>mige</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh.</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>mrugo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>mrugo</td>
<td>no</td>
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<td>Mān.</td>
<td>majura</td>
<td>[e][k][e]</td>
<td>m[r][j][e]</td>
<td>s[e]</td>
<td>[pi]</td>
<td>chu</td>
<td>mrig[e]</td>
<td>no</td>
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<td>Dhau.</td>
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<td>eke</td>
<td>mige</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>chu</td>
<td>mige</td>
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<th>(H)</th>
<th>ete</th>
<th>pi</th>
<th>tṛi</th>
<th>prāṇa</th>
<th>pachhā</th>
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<td>Kāl.</td>
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<td>pi</td>
<td>praṇa</td>
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<td>pacha</td>
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<td>pi</td>
<td>chu</td>
<td>[tini]</td>
<td>praṇanī</td>
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<td>Dhau.</td>
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<td>pi</td>
<td>chu</td>
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### SECOND ROCK-EDICT

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<tr>
<th>Gir.</th>
<th>(A)</th>
<th>sarvata</th>
<th>vijitamhi</th>
<th>Devānāṃpriyasa</th>
<th>Piyadasino</th>
<th>raño</th>
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<td>vijitasi</td>
<td>Devānāṃpiyas[a]</td>
<td>Piyadasis[a]</td>
<td>lájine</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shāh.</td>
<td>(A)</td>
<td>sav[r]atra</td>
<td>vijite</td>
<td>[De]v[a]nam'[piyas]a</td>
<td>Priyadrašisa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>(A)</td>
<td>sa[vatra]</td>
<td>vijitasi</td>
<td>Devanapriyasa</td>
<td>Priyadrašisa</td>
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<td>Dhau.</td>
<td>(A)</td>
<td>[s]a[vata]</td>
<td>[v][j][i]tasi</td>
<td>[De]v[a]nāṃpiyas[a]</td>
<td>Piyadasi[ne]</td>
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<td>vijitasi</td>
<td>Devānāṃpiyasa</td>
<td>Piyadasisine</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
SECOND ROCK-EDICT

Gir. evamapi prachāṁśteṣu yathā Chodā Paḍa Śatiyaputo
Kāl. ye cha anūta [a]cha Chodā Paṁ[di]ya Śatiyaputo
Shāh. ye cha [a]ṇīta yathā Chodā Paṁḍiya Śatiyaputo
Dhaus. e vā pi anūta athā Chodā Paṁḍiya Śatiyaputo [je]
Jau. tasa Aṁtiyo[k]a[sa]nīta rājano sarvatra Devānaṃpriyasa
Gir. Keralaputo ā Tamba[p]aṇ[i]ni Aṁtiyako Yona-raja ye vā pi
Dhaus. [sa]sa samata ra[jane] salvatra ṛājana sarvatra Devānaṃpriyasa
Jau. tasa Aṁtiyo[k]a[sa]nīta rājano sarvatra Devānaṃpriyasa

Gir. Priyadasiṇa rāno dve chikichha kata manusā-chikichha cha
Kāl. Priyadasiṇa lājīne duve chikisakah kata manusā-chikisah cha
Dhaus. [sa]sa samata lājane savata Devānaṃpiyena
Jau. tasa Aṁtiyo[k]a[sa]nīta lājane savata Devānaṃpiyena

Gir. pasu-chikichhā cha (B) osūdhāni cha yāni ma[na]sūdpagan[i] cha
Kāl. pasu-chikisa cha (B) osadhāni manaśopagan cha
Shāh. pa[su-ch][k]isa [cha] (B) [o]sha[dha]ni manusopakani cha
Mān. pasu-[ch][k]isa cha (B) osha[dhana]ni manu . . . ka[n]i cha
Dhaus. pasu-chikisa [cha] (B) . . . chāni an[ì] ma[n]sūdpagan ti
Jau. pasu-chikisa [cha] (B) oosadhāni an[ì] munsūdpagan ti

Gir. pasopa[sa]nī cha yata yata nāsti sarvatā hārāpitān cha
Kāl. pasopaganī cha a[t]a[sa] ni a[sa]vata hālāpita cha
Shāh. pasopakani cha yat[ra] yatra nāsti savatra harapita cha
Dhaus. pasu-opagāni cha atata naf[thi] savata hālāpita[ta] cha
Jau. pasu-opargāni cha atata nathī savata [sa]vata . . .

Gir. ropāpitān cha (C) mulāni cha phalāni cha yata yatra
Kāl. lo[p]āpita[ta] cha (C) [a]vamevā mulāni cha phalāni cha a[t]a[k]ā
Shāh. vuta cha
Mān. ropapita cha (C) [a]vamevā mulāni cha phalāni cha a[tra] a[tra]
Dhaus. [lo]pāpita[ta] cha (C) mù[ta] . . . . cha atata
SYNOPSIS OF TEXTS

Gir. nāsti sarvata hārāpitāni cha rop[ā]pitāni cha (D) paṁthesū kūpā
Kāl. nathi savatā hālāp[ī]ti cha lopāpitā [ch]ā (D) ma[g]k[ṣ]u [lu]khāni
Dhau. ...... v[a]k[a] bālapitā [cha] lop[ā]pitā cha (D) ma[g]ke[su udu]pānāni
Jāu. nathi s[a]vatra hālāpita cha lopāpitā cha (D) magesu udāpānāni

Gir. cha khānāpitā vrachhā cha ropāpitā[ō] parībhoğāya pasu-manusānāṁ
Kāl. lopāpitāni ud[u]pān[a]ni cha khānāpitāni paṭībhōgāye pasu-mūnis[a]nāṁ
Shāh. (C) kūpa cha khanapita prattībho[ō]gaye pasu-manusānāṁ
Jāu. khānāpitāni lukhāni cha ........

THIRD ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A) Devaṇāmipiyo Piyaḍasi [r]ā[j]ā evaṁ āha (B) dbādasā-
Kāl. (A) De[vā]nāmipiye Piyaḍasi la[j]ā h[c]vaṁ āha (B) du[v]ādasā-
Shāh. Devaṇāmipiyo Priyādrāśī raja aha ti (B) badaya-
Mān. (A) Devaṇāmipiye Priyādrāśī raja eva a[ha] (B) duva[ra]n-
Dhau. (A) Devaṇāmipiye Piyaḍasi la[j]ā hevaṁ āha (B) duvaḍa-
Jāu. (A) Devaṇāmipiye Piyaḍasi la[j]ā hevaṁ āha (B) duvaḍa-

Gir. vasaḥbiṣiteṇa mayā idam ān[a]piraṁ (C) sarvata vijiṁte [mama]
Kāl. v[a]sāsbiṣiteṇa me iyān anapayite (C) savatā vijiṁti [mama]
Shāh. vasaḥbiṣiteṇa me [a]nap[taiṇ] (C) savatra ma[a] vijiṁte
Mān. vasaḥbiṣiteṇa me iyān anapayite (C) savat[a]r[a] vijiṁti ........
Dhau. vasaḥbiṣiteṇa me iy[a]jīn anap[a]y[i] (C) ........ [a v][j][j][a]si m[e]
Jāu. vasaḥbiṣiteṇa me iyān [a] ........

Gir. yuttā cha rājūke cha prādesike cha paṁchasu paṁchasu vāsesu
Kāl. yuttā la[j]ū[k]c[e] pādesike pa[m]cha[a]s[u] paṁchasu vāsesu
Shāh. yuttā raju ko pradeśīka paṁchas[u] paṁchasu 5 vāshēsu
Mān. .. ta [ra]ju .. pradeśāke [pa[m]cha[u] pa[m]cha[u] 5 vāshēsu
Dhau. yutt[a] la[j]ū[k]e .......... paṁchasu paṁchasu vāsesu
Jāu. ........ cha pādeśike cha paṁchasu paṁchasu vāsesu

Gir. anusāny[a]na[m] niyātu etayeva athāya imāya dhāvaṁnusāṣṭiṣṭa
Kāl. [a]nus[a]m[y]yānuṁ nikha[m]aṁtu etaye vā al[th]āye imāya dhāvaṁnusāṣṭiṣṭa
Shāh. anusānyānaṁ nikṛ[ʒ]amatu etiṣa ve karāṇa imīsa dhrājanmanuṣaṣṭiṣṭa
Mān. anus[a]m[y]an[a]m nikramatu etaye v. athraye imaye dhāvaṁnusāṣṭiṣṭa
Dhau. anusāyaṁni nikhamāvū
Jāu. anusāyaṁni nikhamāvū

Gir. yathā aṇāya pi kaṁmāy[a]
Kāl. yathā aṃ[ṇāye] pi kaṁmāye
Shāh. [tha] aṇāye pi kaṁmāye
Mān. ya[tha] aṇāye pi kramā[ṇε]
Dhau. athā aṃnāye pi ka[ṁ][m]n[a]he hevaṁ imā[y]e [dhāva]m[ānu]ṣ[ā]ṣṭi[y][e]
Jāu. athā aṃnāye pi kaṁmā[ṇε]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gir.</th>
<th>Priyadasino</th>
<th>râno</th>
<th>dhaâmâ-charanâna</th>
<th>[bhe]ri-ghose</th>
<th>aho</th>
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<tr>
<td>Kâl.</td>
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<td>lâjine</td>
<td>dhaâm[ā]-châl[an]nâ</td>
<td>bhelî-ghose</td>
<td>aho</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shâh.</td>
<td>Priyadrâśisa</td>
<td>râno</td>
<td>dhraama-charanâna</td>
<td>bherî-ghosha</td>
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<td>Piyadasine</td>
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<td>Kâl.</td>
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<td>[ha]hini</td>
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<td>[a]sitina</td>
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<td>vimâna-dasanâm</td>
<td>hâthinî</td>
<td>[a]gî-kihâhâni</td>
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<td>Jau.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gir.</td>
<td>cha [a]hâni cha</td>
<td>divyâni rûpâni</td>
<td>dasayîtpâ jana[m]</td>
<td>(C) yârise</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kâl.</td>
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<td>divyâni lûpâni</td>
<td>dasayiu jana[s]</td>
<td>(C) [a]disâ,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shâh.</td>
<td>anâni cha</td>
<td>divani rûpâni</td>
<td>draśayiu jana[s]</td>
<td>(C) yâdisâm</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mûn.</td>
<td>anâ[ni cha]</td>
<td>dif[vanî] rûpâni</td>
<td>draśeti jana[s]</td>
<td>(C) [a]dise</td>
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<td>dasayiu munisânâm</td>
<td>(C) â[a]se</td>
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<td>Jau.</td>
<td>ahmâni cha</td>
<td>[div]yâni rûpâni</td>
<td>draśayiu munisânâm</td>
<td>(C) â[a]se</td>
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</table>

| Gir. | Devânampriyasa | Priyadasino | râno          | dhaîmmanusatiyâ      | anârâ[â]mbh   |
| Kâl. | Devânânapriyasa | Piyadasine | [l]âjine        | dhaîmmanusatiyâ    | a[a]lambhâ    |
| Shâh. | Devânânapriyasa | Priyadrâśisa | râno          | dhraîmanusâsti[ya] | anaraîmbho    |
| Mûn. | [De]yânampriyasa | Priyadrâśine | rajine        | dhramaunusatiyâ    | anarâbhe      |
| Jau. |                |               |              | dhaîmmanusatiyâ      | anâlarbhe     |

| Gir. | prânâmâm | avihisã | bhûtânâm | nâtînâm | samâpâ[î]patî | brâmha-śâmanânâm   |
| Mûn. | prânâna | avihisã | bhûtânâm | nâtîna | samâpâ[î]patî | bâmanâ-śrâmanâna   |
| Jau. | pânânam | avihisã | bhûtânâm | nâtisû | samâpâ[î]patî | [sampa]   |

| Gir. | samâpâ[î]patî | mâtârî pîtài [s]rsra | thâira-srsra | (D) esa | a[â]ne |
| Kâl. | samâpâ[î]patî | mâtâ-pîtis susûsã | (D) ese | chã | a[m]ne |
| Dhaou.| samâpâ[î]patî | m[â]l[i]-pîtî-susûsã | v[cha]-susûsã | (D) esa | a[m]ne |
| Jau. |                |                |                | (D) esa | a[m]ne |
FOURTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. cha bahuvidhe dharmā-chañāne va[hi]te (E) va[hi]yeisati cheva
Kāl. cha ba[hi]judhe dharmā-chañāne va[hi]te (E) va[hi]yeisati chevā
Shāh. cha bahuvidhiṁ dhrama-chañānum va[hi]te (E) va[hi]yeisati cha yo
Mān. cha bahuvidhe dhrama-chañāne va[hi]me (E) va[hi]yeisati yeva
Dhau. cha ba[hi]judhe dh[a]nima-chañāne va[hi]me (E) va[hi]yeisati cheva
Jau. cha bahuvidhe dhana[mi]-chañāne va[hi]me (E) va[hi]yeisati chevā

Gir. (E) putra cha [p]otra cha prapatra cha Devanāmrpriya[sa]
Kāl. (E) putā cha kaṁ natāla cha ānāṭikya ch[a] Devanāmrpriya[sa]
Shāh. (E) putra pi cha kaṁ nataro cha [a]naṭika cha Devanāmrpriya[sa]
Mān. (E) [putra] pi cha ka naṭaro cha [a]naṭikaDev[ya]nrpriya[sa]
Dhau. (E) putā pi chu naṭi [anati]... [cha] Devanāmrpriya[sa]
Jau. ...

Gir. Priyadaśa[sa]nra[no] [pra*]vadhaiyasanti idam [dha]nima-chañānum
Kāl. Priyadaśinalejine [pa[va]lha]dhaiyasanti [ch][ev[a]
Shāh. Priyadraśisa ra[no] pr[a]va[ll][e]sati [yo]
Mān. Priyadaśinarejine pavadhaiyasanti yo dhrama-chañānum
Dhau. Priyadaśinalejine pavadhaiyasanti yevo dhrama-chañānum
Jau. Priyadaśinalejine pavadhai[sa]n[ti] [y][e]v[a] dhana[mi]-cha[la]

Gir. āva sav[a]-kapā dhāninnamhi silamhi tisṭanti [dha]nimaṁ
Kāl. āva-kapā[ni] dhahṃasi s[t]lasi cha chithit[n] dhana[miṃ]
Shāh. ima[ṃ] ar[a]-kapā dhrame šile cha ta[ti] dhana[miṃ]
Mān. ima[ṃ] [a]ra-kapā[nm] dhrame šile cha [ch][h]it[u] dhrama[ṃ]
Jau. ...

Gir. anusāsaṁt[i] (G) [e]sa hi s[e]ste kah̄me ya chaḥmaṁūjānasamān
Kāl. anusāsaṁt[i] (G) ese hi s[e]the kah̄m[a]n an chaḥmaṁūjānasamān
Mān. anu[s][a]sāsamt[i] (G) ese hi sre[th]e a[ṃ] dhramanuṣāsaṇa
Dhau. [a]nusāsam[ti] (G) esa h[i] se[the kah̄m]e ya chaḥmaṁūjānasamān
Jau. ...

Gir. (H) dhana[mi]-chañānum pi na [bh]vati asilasa (I) [ta] imamhi
Kāl. (H) chaṁa-chañānum pi cha na hoti asilasa (I) se ima[a][ṃ]
Shāh. (H) dhrama-chañānum pi cha na bhoti asilasa (I) so imasa
Mān. (H) dhrama[−cha^[a]n]e pi [cha] na hoti as ila[sa] (I) se ima[sa]
Dhau. (H) chaṁa-chañānum pi chu no hoti asilasa (I) se ima[sa]
Jau. (H) chaṁa-chañānum pi chu no hoti [t]...
### SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

| Gir. | athamhi | [va]dhi cha ahini cha sādhu | (ṛ) c[tāya | athāya ida[ín] |
| Kāl. | [a]thasā | v[a]dhi ahini chā sādhu | (ṛ) etāye | [a]thāye iyaṁ |
| Śāh. | athrasa | vadhī ahini cha sādhu | (ṛ) etaye athaye ima[r]n |
| Mān. | athrasa | vadhī ahini cha sādhu | (ṛ) etaye athraye [yam] |
| Dhaus. | athasa | v[a]dhi ahini ch[a] sā[adh]u | (ṛ) ct[āy]c | athāye iyaṁ |

| Gir. | lekhāpitam imasa athā[s]a] v[a]dhi yujamtu hini ch[a no] lochetavyā |
| Kāl. | likhite imas[a] a[tha][a] vadhī yujamtu hini ch[a] mā alochayisyu |
| Śāh. | nipistān imisa athasa vadhī yujamtu hini cha ma lo[ch][e]sh[u] |
| Dhaus. | likhite imasa athasa vadhī yujamtu hini cha mā alochayisū |

| Gir. | (K) dbāsasa-vāsābbhisitena Devān[a]priyena Priyadasīnā rā[a] |
| Kāl. | (K) duv[a]d[a]-vās[a]bhhisitēnā Devān[a]nāmp[i]yena Priyadasīnā lājīnā |
| Śāh. | (K) badaya-vāsābbhisitēna Devanaṇpiarinya Priyadasīnā rājīna |
| Mān. | (K) duv[a]d[a]-sābbhhisitēna Devanaṇpiarinya Priyadasīnā rājīna |
| Dhaus. | (K) dūvāsā vāsāni abhīṣita Devānāṃpi[ya]sa Priyadasīnē lājīne |

| Gir. | idaṁ lekhāpitam |
| Kāl. | lekhīta |
| Śāh. | ūnāṁ ki[da] nipesītaṁ |
| Mān. | iya[r]n likhāpite |
| Dhaus. | yam [idha] likhite |

### FIFTH ROCK-EDICT

| Gir. | (A) D[e]vaṇaṃpiyo Piyadasī rājā evārīn āha (B) kalāṇaṁ |
| Kāl. | (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyadasī lājā āhā (B) kayāne |
| Śāh. | (A) Devanaṃpiyo Priyadraśī raya eva[r]n hahati (B) ka[l]aṇ[a]m |
| Mān. | (A) Dev[a]nāṃpiya Priyadraśī raya eva[r]n āha (B) kalāṇ[a]m |
| Dhaus. | (A) [De]vaṇaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā h[e]va[r]n āhā (B) kayāne |

| Gir. | dukaraṁ (C) y[o] adikarō kalāṇ[a]sa so dukaraṁ karoti (D) ta |
| Kāl. | dukale (C) e adikale kay[a]nasa so dukalama kaleti (D) se |
| Śāh. | dukara[n] (C) yo a[dikaro kal[a]nasa so duk[a]raṁ karoti (D) so |
| Mān. | dukara[n] (C) ye adikare kaya[nasa so dukaraṁ karoti (D) ta[n] |
| Dhaus. | dukale (C) k[a]y[a]n[a]sa s[e] dukalama kal[ei]t (D) se |

| Gir. | mayā bahu kalāṇaṁ kāram (E) t[a] mama putā cha potā |
| Kāl. | mamayā bahu kayāne kā[ti] [E] t[a] ma[m]a putā ch[ā] nāt[a]le |
| Śāh. | maya bahu kalāṇ k[i]t[ra]ṁ (E) tāṁ maa putra cha nataro |
| Mān. | maya bahu [k]a[y]a[n]e [k]a[k]e (E) tāṁ m[a]a] putra [cha] natar[e] |
| Dhaus. | me b[ah]uke kayāne kate (E) tāṁ ye me [p]u[t[a] va n[a][t]i |

| Gir. | ......... 
| Kāl. | ......... 
| Śāh. | ......... 
| Mān. | ......... 
| Dhaus. | ......... 

| Gir. | ......... 
| Kāl. | ......... 
| Śāh. | ......... 
| Mān. | ......... 
| Dhaus. | ......... 

| Gir. | ......... 
| Kāl. | ......... 
| Śāh. | ......... 
| Mān. | ......... 
| Dhaus. | .........
FIFTH ROCK-EDICT 191

Gir. cha \[çha\] para[m] cha tena \[ya\] me[a]pacham \[ma\]äva sa-mvätaka-pa
Kål. \[chä\] pala[m] \[chä\] tehi \[ye\] apatiye \[ma\]äva-kapa
Shāh. cha para[n] cha \[tena\] ye me apacha vrakshānti \[ava\]kapa
Mān. cha para cha \[te\]na ya ye apatiye me[a]ya[kapa][a]
Dhau. \[va\] \[ma\]n \[va\] palam cha te
Jau. va \[ma\]n \[va\] palam cha te

Gir. anuvatisare tathā so sukata ni käati (F) yo tu eta desan
Kål. tathā anuvāsa[m]ti se \[se\] suka\[ma\]ni kachhā[ti] (F) e chu het[a] desan
Shāh. tatha ye an\[u]vāsiṣānti tc se \[su\] kita[n] kashanti (F) yo chu ato .. ka
Mān. tatha anuvāsiṣānti se suka\[ta\] ka[sha]tc (F) ye \[chu\]atra deśa
Dhau. tathā anuvāsiṣānti se \[se\] suka\[ta\]ni kachhā[ti] (F) e heta \[desa]\[ma\]ni
Jau. ..

Gir. pi hāpesati so \[du]\[kata\]ni käati (G) sukarāni hi pāpa[n]
Kål. pi hāpa[y][sat]i se \[se\] dukata ni kachha (G) \[pa\]pc hi ni mān supada\[la\]ye
Shāh. pi hāpesādi so dukata ni kashati (G) papa\[n] hi ji sukarāni
Mān. pi hāpesāti so dukata kashati (G) pa\[pe\] hi ni mān supadarave
Dhau. pi hāpayi\[sa\]ti se dukata ni kachha (G) \[pa\][p]e hi ni mān supada\[la\]ye
Jau. ..

Gir. (H) atikāta ni anitāma ni bhūta-pru\[va\]ni dharmamahāmātā nāma
Kål. (H) se atikara ni anitā\[ma\]ni no bhūta-pulu\[va\] dharmamahāmātā nāma
Shāh. (H) sa atikarat\[ta\] ni no bhūta-pru\[va\] dharmamahāmātrā nāma
Mān. (H) se [c] atikara[n] a[m]tara[n] ni bhūta-pru\[va\] dharmamahāmātrā nāma
Dhau. (H) se [c] atikara ni anitā\[ma\]ni no bhūta-pulu\[va\] dharmamahāmātā nāma
Jau. (H) se \[a\] ..

Gir. (F) \[ma\]ni\[ya\] turīta ni vāsadabhi[\[s\]]ni tena dharm[a] ma\[m]ahāma\[ta\] katā
Kål. (F) te \[te\]sa\[v\]a\[v\]a va mā\[m]ahāma\[ta\] ka\[k\][a]
Shāh. (F) so \\[ma\]sa\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a sītenā mā\[ma\]yā dharmma-mahāmātā\[a\] ka\[k\][a]
Mān. (F) se tre\[sa\]\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\]a\[v\] a
Gir. Garindharanaṁ Rishṭika-P[e]tenikānam ye vā pi a[r]hi[ne] aparata
Kāl. Garindhālanāṁ e vā [pi] amna aparānta
Śāh. Garindharanaṁ Raṭhikanaṁ Pitinikanaṁ ye vā pi aparānta
Mān. Gadhārana Raṭhika-Pitinikana ye vā pi a[e] aparata
Dhau. Garindhālesu Lathika-[P]itenikēsu e vā pi amna aparānta
Jau.

Gir. (K) bhatamayesu va
Kāl. (K) bhāta[m]ayesu bāṁbhani[bh]esu anāthesu [v]udhesu hida-
Śāh. (K) bhājamyēṣu bṛamaṁbhēṣu anāthesu vudhesu [hita]-
Mān. (K) bha[ta]m[ay]esu bṛamaṁbhi[y]esu anāthesu vudhresu hida-
Jau.

Gir. [su]kha(ya dhammad)-yutānāṁ apar[i]goddhāya vyāpatā te (L) ba[r]ihana-
Kāl. sukhāye dhammad-yutāye apalibhādyā viyapāta te (L) baṁḥda[na]-
Śāh. sukhāye [dhraṁ]ma-yutasa apali[go]dha va[p]a[ta] te (L) badhana-
Mān. su[kh]aya dhrama-yuta apalibhādyā viy[a]pta te (L) badhana-
Dhau. sukhāye dhammad-yutāye [a][pa]lībodhāyā viy[a]pta se (L) baṁḥdana-
Jau.

Gir. badhasa pāṭivihāṇāya
Kāl. [badha]sā pāṭivihānay[e] apalibhādyā mokhäuserē cē cyaṁ anubad[ha]
Śāh. badhasa pāṭivihānay[e] apalibhādyā mokha[y]a ayi anuba...
Jau. mokha[y]ē

Gir. [p]raja katābhikāresu vā thairesu vā vyāpatā te
Śāh. prajuvena kīṭabhi[ka]ro va mahalake va viyapāta [t]e
Dhau. [ϕ]raj[a] [t]i [k[a]ṭabhi[ka]le] ti va māhālāke ti va viyapāta se
Jau.

Gir. (M) Pāṭalipute cha bahīrasu cha
Śāh. (M) ia bahīreshu cha nāgareshu savreshu orodhānesu
Mān. (M) hida bahīreshu cha nāgares[u] savreshu [o]rodhānesu
Dhau. (M) hida cha bahīlesu cha nāgalesu savesu s[a]vesu olodhanes[u]
Jau.

Gir. bhātinah cha ne bh[agn]a[n] e vā [pi] amna[e]
Śāh. bhatuna cha me spasana cha ye vā pi amna[e]
Mān. bhata[na] cha spas[u]na [cha] ye vā pi a[e]
Dhau. [me] e vā pi bhag[inh]an me bhagininaṁ va amnesu
Jau. e [vā]
FIFTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. नातिका sarvata vyāpatā te (N) yo ayaṁ dhaṁma-nisrito ti va
Kal. नातिक्ये savatā viya[pa]jā (N) e iyaṁ dhaṁma-nisite ti vā
Slāh. नातिका savatra viyaputa (N) y[e] ayaṁ dh[r]ama-niśite ti vā
Mān. नातिके savatra viyapaṭa (N) [e] iyaṁ dhrama-niśito to vā
Dhau. [nāt][e]su sav[a][a] v[i]jyapata (N) e iyaṁ dhaṁma[n[a]n]isite ti vā
Jau.

Gir.
Kal.
Slāh. dhrama[chitha]nte vi dana-s[ā]yute ti va savata vijīte maa dhrama-
Mān. dhramadhithane ti va dana-saṁyute ti va savatra vijītasī maa dhrama-
Dhau. dhaṁmādhithāne ti va dana-saṁyute va sama-puṭhaviyain dha[r]na-ma-
Jau.

Gir.
Kal. [t]e [dha]nma-mahāmātā (O) etāya athāya ayaṁ dhaṁma-
Slāh. yu[t]si viyapaṭa te dhaṁma-ma[n]hām[ā]jā (O) etāye athāyē [i]yaṁ dhaṁma-
Mān. yu[t]si vacapuṭa [te] dhaṁma-mahāmatra (O) etaye athaye [a]yi dhrama-
Dhau. yu[t]si viyapaṭa ime dhaṁma-mahām[a]jā (O) [i]m[ā]ye athāyē iyaṁ dhaṁma-
Jau.

Gir.
Kal. līpi likhitā
Slāh. līpi lekhita chi[la]-thitikeya hotu [tathā] cha me [pa][a] [a]nuva[t]a[ta]u
Mān. līpi likhitā chi-ra-thitikeya bhotu [t][a] cha [m]e [p][a]ja anuvātatu
Jau.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A) [Deva] ...... [s] [j]a[j]a evam aha (B) atikrat[as]aṁ anıtarana[m]
Kal. (A) Dev[a]m[pi]ye Priyadasi[l]a[ay]ā[va]ni aha (B) atikratanta arthalaṁ
Slāh. (A) Devana[p]iyo Priyadrasi [raya eva] aha[ti] (B) atikratanta arthalaṁ
Mān. (A) Devana[pi]ye Priyadrasi [raya] [e]va[ri] a[ay]ā (B) atikratanta atra[n]aṁ
Dhau. (A) Dev[a]m[pi]ye Priyadasi [li]a[ay]ā hevan aha (B) atikratanta arthalaṁ
Jau. (A) [na]m[pi]ye Priyadasi lā[ay]ā hevan aha (B) atikratanta arthalaṁ

Gir. na bhūta-pr牟[v]. [s] [v] ... [l] atha-kaṁme va paṭivedana va
Slāh. no bhūta-pru[ve] sa[va]ṁ kalaṁ atha-kra[m]aṁ va paṭivedana va
Mān. no bhūta-prute [sa]vaṁ kala atha[kra[m]a]ṁ va [pa]ṭivedana va
Jau. no bhūta-puluv[e] sa[a]vaṁ kalaṁ atha-ka[n]m[e] paṭivedana va

Gir. (C) ta mayā evam katum (D) s[a]ve kāle bhun[a]mānasa me
Kal. (C) s[e] ma[may]a hevaṁ kaṭe (D) s[a]vaṁ kālaṁ adhamānasa me
Slāh. (C) ta[r]n maya eva[n] कित[र]n (D) savarn kālaṁ asamanasa me
Mān. (C) ta maya evaṁ keṭam (D) savar kālaṁ aśatas me
Dhau. (C) se namayā kaṭe (D) sa[v]a[r]n kālaṁ .... [mān]a[sa] me
Jau. (C) se namayā kaṭe (D) savarn kālaṁ .... [sa m]e
Gir. orodhanamham gabhāgāramhī vachamhi va vinītamhi cha uyanesu
Kāl. oloḍhanasi gabhāgalas[ī] va[chasī] vinītasi u[y][ānasi]
Shāk. orodhanaspi gabhāgaraspi vrachaspi vinitaspi uyanaṣpi
Mān. orodhāne gabhāgarasi vrachaspi vinitaspi uyanaṣpi
Dhau. ṣaṇḍe oloḍ[a]nasī v[a]chasī vinitasī [u][y][a]n[ānasi]
Jaṅ. ṣaṇḍe oloḍhanasi gabhāgalasi vachasi vinitasī uyanaṣī
giṃ. cha savattra paṭivedakā stītā athie me [ja]nasa paṭivedetha
Kāl. [sava][tā] paṭive[j]dakā atha[r]n janasa . . . . . . . . . . . . . videtu
Shāk. savattra paṭivedakā athair janasa paṭivedetha
Mān. savattra pa[ti][ve]ka[ka] athra janasa paṭivedetha
Jaṅ. cha savattra paṭivedakā janasa athair prativedayamantu

Gir. iti (E) sarvatra cha janasa athi karomi
Kāl. [m]e (E) sa[va]tā chā j[a]nasa aṭhair kachhāmi hakaṇa
Shāk. me (E) savattra cha j[a]naṣa aṭhair karomi
Mān. me (E) savattra cha janasa athra kar[o]mi ahaṃ
dhau. me (E) sa[vat]ra ch[a] j[a]nasa aṭhair kālaṃ h[a]kaṇa
jaṅ. me (E) savattra cha janasa . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

Gir. (/ay) yah cha kīhī mukhato ānapayāmi svayaṃ dāpakān vā
dhau. (ay) yah cha kīhī mukhato ānapayāmi dāpakān vā
jaṅ. (ay) yah cha kīhī mukhato ānapayāmi dāpakān vā

Gir. svāpakaṃ vā vā puna mahāmatresu āchāy[a]ke aropitaṃ bhavati
Kāl. [sāvakai] nā ye vā punā mahāmat[e]hi a[tīyaye] a[loπite] hi[o][tī]
Shāk. śravakā vā ye va va [P[a]ha mahamatraṇa a[ch[a yika a[ro]pitam bhoti
Mān. śravakān vā ye va puna mahamatrehi acharīyake arōpithe hoti
Dhau. [sā][v]a[ka]m vā vā mahām[ate]hi atiyaye a[loπite] hoti
Jaṅ. sāvakān vā v[a] mahām[ate]hi a[tī[y]a]ke [a]loπite hoti

Gir. taya athaye vivāde niḥatī v[a] sā[nto parisāya]ma anāntaraṇi
Kāl. tā[ye]ṭh[a] [ye] vivāde niḥatī v[a] saṃtaṃ pa[liṣṭaye anānta[ta] [a]ya]yaena
Shāk. taye athaye viva[dc] niḥatī va[] saṃtaṃ pariṣṭaye anāntaryaṇa
Mān. taye athraye vivāde niḥati va saṃta par[fiṣṭa]yae a[n]a[tali]yaṇa
Dhau. tasi athsī v[a]ḥ[vāde va niḥatī vā saṃtaṃ pa[lisīya anā[n][tali]yaṇa
Jaṅ. tasi athsī vivāde va . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

Gir. paṭ[i]vedet[α]yaṃ me sa[ra]vitra sarvā kāle (G) evaṁ mayā
Kāl. paṭ[i] . . . . . . . . . viye me sa[v]a[ta] sarvā kālaṃ (G) hevaṁ anāpayite
Shāk. pratiṣvedetavo me1 savattra savān kāla[n] (G) eva anapita[n]
Mān. pratiṣvedetviye me savattra savāra kala (G) eva anapita
Dhau. pratiṣvedet[α]yaṃ[e] me ti savata savān kālaṃ (G) heva[m] me
Jaṅ. pratiṣvedetviye me ti savata savān kālaṃ (G) heva[m] me

1 The preceding passage from section E is repeated thus: (E) savattra cha aṭhair janasa karomi a[kāṁ] (F) yah cha kīhī mukhato anapemī ahaṁ dāpakāṁ vā śravaka vā ye va puna mahā-
Sixth Rock-Edict

Gir.
āṇapitam (H) nāsti hi me to(s)ō uṣṭānamhi atha-saṁtirāṇāya va

Kal.
m[a]maya (H) nathī hi me dose uṭṭhān[a]sā atha-saṁtīla[n]āya cha

Shāh.
maya (H) [n]a[si] hi me tosho uṭṭhānas[i] atha-saṁtīraṇaye [cha]

Mān.
maya (H) nasti hi me toshē [uṭṭhānas] atha[r]a-saṁtīraṇaye cha

Dhau.
anusathe (H) nathi hi me [tos]ē uṭṭhān[a]si atha-saṁtīlanāya cha

Jau.
anusathe (H) nathi hi me tose uṭṭhānasi atha-saṁtīlan[ā]ya cha

Gir.
(k) katavya-mate hi me sa[rva]-loka-hitaṁ (Y) tasa cha puna

Kal.
(k) ka[a]viya-mute hi me s[a]va-loka-hit[e] (Y) tasa cha [p][u][n][a]

Shāh.
kaṭava-matam hi me sava-loka-hitaṁ (Y) ta[sa] cha

Mān.
kaṭavya-mate hi me savra-loka-h[i]te (Y) ta[sa] cha puna

Dhau.
kaṭaviya-mate hi me sava-loka-hite (Y) tasa cha pana

Jau.
..................... me sava-loka-hite (Y) tasa cha pana

Gir.
esa mule uṭṭānāṁ cha atha-saṁtirāṇā cha (K) nāsti hi

Kal.
es[e] mule uṭṭān[e] [a]tha-saṁtīlanā cha (K) na[thi] hi

Shāh.
mulaṁ etra uṭṭhānāṁ atha-saṁtirāṇa cha (K) na[thi] hi

Mān.
eshe mule uṭṭhāne atha-saṁtirāṇa cha (K) nasti hi

Dhau.
iyān mule [u]ṭṭhān[e] cha a[tha]-saṁtīla[n]ā cha (K) nathi hi

Jau.
iyān mule uṭṭhāne cha atha-saṁtīlanā cha (K) nathi hi

Gir.
kaṁmataram sarva-loka-hitṛpa (L) ya cha kimci parākramāmi

Kal.
ka[a]matala sarva-loka-hitenā (L) ya[n] cha kichi palakamāmi

Shāh.
k[r]amataram sarva-loka-hitenā (L) ya[n] cha kichi parak[r]amāmi

Mān.
kramataram sarvā-loka-hitenā (L) ya[r]n cha [k]ichi pakra[m]āmi

Dhau.
kaṁmataram [s]a[a]lo-[k]a-hitenā (L) [a][n]n cha [k]ichi [p][a][m]āmi

Jau.
k[am]matala sarva-loka-hitenā (L) a[n] cha kichi [p][a][m]āmi

Gir.
ahaṁ kiṁti bhūtānah ānaṁnas gacchheyam idha cha nāni

Kal.
haham kiṁti bhūtānah [a]niyam yē[ham] hik[a] cha [k][ā]ni

Shāh.
kīti bhūtānah anaparīyaṁ v[r]acheyam ia cha sha

Mān.
ahaṁ k[fi]bhūtānah anaparīyaṁ yē[hari] ia cha she

Dhau.
haham kiṁti bhūtānah ā[na]niyam yhec[r]n ti [hr][da] cha [k][ā]ni

Jau.
haham .................. [n]iyam yecam ti hida cha kāni

Gir.
sukhāpayami paratṛa cha svagāṁ ārādhayāntu (M) ta

Kal.
sukhāyam palala cha svagāṁ alādhayitu (M) se[e]

Shāh.
sukhayami paratṛa cha spagraṁ aradhethu (M)

Mān.
sukhayami paratṛa cha spagra a[r]ahethu ti (M) se

Dhau.
sukhayami pal[a]la cha svagāṁ alākhayāntu ti (M)

Jau.
sukhayami palata cha svagāṁ alākhayāntu ti (M)

matranam achay[k]a[m aropita[m] bhoti fa[ye aphpa ye[vade s[a[m]aṁ mijat[v pariṣkaye anuṣṭhāpya paṭrāvatave me.

1 On p. 12 above, l. 7, place ta after (M), and cancel foot-note 2. On p. 13, l. 11, read ' (M)
Now, for the following purpose', &c.
SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A) Devanāmpiy:yo Piyañadasi rājā sarvata ichhati save pāsāniṃḍā
Shāk. (A) Devanāmpiy:yo Priyañasi raja savatra ichhati savra-[p]rañhamaṇḍā
Mān. (A) Devanāpī:yo Priyañdraṣī raja savatra ichhati savra-paṣhada
Jāu. (A) . . . . . . . . . . . . . da[f]i lājā savata ichhati sava-[p]aṣam[da]

Gir. vaseyu (B) save te sayamān cha bhāva-sudhim
Kāl. vas[e]ru (B) [s]ave hi te sayama[n] bhāva-sudhi
Shāk. vaseyu (B) save hi te sayame bhāva-sudhi
Mān. vaseyu (B) savre hi te sa[ya]ma[na] [bh]a[va-su[dh]i
Dhau. [va]sevū tī (B) save h[i] t[e] sa[yama]n bhāva-[su]dhī
tu uchāvacha-chhaṇḍa
cha uchāvuchá-chhaṇḍa

Gir. cha ichhati (C) jano tu uchāvacha-chhaṇḍa
Kāl. cha ichhaṃti (C) jane [ch]u uchāvuchá-chhaṇḍa
Shāk. cha ichhaṃti (C) jano chu uchāvuchá-chhaṇḍa
Mān. [cha ichhaṃti] (C) jane chu uchāvuchá-chhaṇḍa
Dhau. cha ichhaṃti (C) mun[ti]sā [ch]a uchāvuchá-chhaṇḍa
Jāu. cha ichhaṃti (C) munisā cha uchāvuchá-chhaṇḍa
SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. uchāvachara-ṛaṇga (D) te sarvāṃ va kāṣaṣṭi eka-desāṃ va kasa[r]ṭi
Kāl. uchāvucharā-la[j][e] (D) te savaṇi eka-desaṇi pi k[a]ṭaḥ[ə]nh[i]
Shāh. uchāvuchara-ṛaṇga (D) te savaṇi va eka-desaṇi va pi kāṣṭha
Man. uchāvuchara-ṛaṇga (D) te savaṇi eka-desaṇi va pi kāṣṭha
Dhau. uchāvucharā-la[ṃ]a (D) te savaṇi va ek[a]-ca[śaṃ]ni va kāṣṭha[r]ni
Fau. uchāvucra[ṃ]a-la[ṃ]a (D) va sa[r]ni va kāṣṭha[r]ni

Gir. (E) vi[pul]e tu pi dāṇe yasa nāṣti sayame bhāva-sudhīta
Kāl. (E) viti[pul]e pi chu dāṇ[e] asa nathi sayame bhā[va]-sudh[ī]
Shāh. (E) viti[pul]e pi chu dāṇe yasa nasti sayama bhava-suṭī
ti
Man. (E) viti[pul]e pi ch[u] dāṇe yasa nasti sayeme bhava-suṭi
ti
Fau. (E) viti[pul]e pi chā [d]a[n]e... [dhi]

Gir. va katarīnata Va dada-bhati[t]a cha nichā bāḍhān
Kāl. kitanatā [d]đa-bhatita cha nich[che] bāḍhān
Shāh. kitanatā drīḍha-bhātita nicha paḍhān
Man. kitanata drīḍha-bhātita cha nicha bāḍhān
Dhau.
Fau.
Sōp.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A) atikāṭarīn anītarāṭi rājano vihāra-yaṭāṁ
Kāl. (A) atikartārīn a[ṃ] talaṃ Devānampiya[v] [vihāra-yaṭaṃ nāma]
Shāh. (A) atikartārīn atarāṭi Devānampriya vihara-yatra nāma
Man. (A) a[tik]artarīn atarāṭi Devanap[ri]ya vihara-yatra nāma
Dhau. (A) [atika]n[ta]n anītala[m] laj[a[n][e] v[i]h[a]-yaṭārīn nāma
Fau.
Sōp.

Gir. niyāsū (B) cta magavyā añāṇi cha etārisaṇi
Kāl. nikhamisū (B) lidā migaviyā añāṇi cha heṛisāṇa
Shāh. nikramishū (B) atra mūrgaya añāṇi cha ediśaṇi
Man. nikramishū (B) la migaviyā añāṇi cha ediśaṇi
Dhau. [n][kha][m][i][s][u] (B) [ta migaviy[a]] añāṇi cha edaśaṇi
Fau. [v][y]a [a]nnāṇi cha e[d]i...
Sōp.

Gir. abhiramakāni ahurisū (C) so Devānampriyo Piyadasi
Kāl. abhilāmān[ə] huṣu (C) Devānampyge Piyadasi
Shāh. abhiramani abhuvasu (C) so Devānampriyo Priyadraśi
Man. abhiramani huṣu (C) s[e] Devanap[r]y[e] P[riy]adrośi
Dhau. a[bh][i]lāmāni huvaṇṭi naṁ (C) se Devānampyge P[riy]adrośi
Fau. [m]āṇi huvaṇṭi naṁ (C) se Devānampyge [Piyā]...
Sōp.
Gir. rājā dasa-varsābhisito sarito ayāya Sarbodhiṁ (D) tenesā
Kāl. lājā das[a]-varsābhisite santraṁ nikhamithā Sarbodhi (D) tenatā
Śāh. raja dasa-vashabhisito satāṁ nikrami Sabodhi (D) tenada
Mān. raja dasa-vashabhisite Santra[m] nikrami Sabodhi (D) tenada
Jaun. [tā] [dasa] nikhā miṭha Sa
Sop. nikhā miṭha Sa

Gir. dhāmāma-yātā (E) etayāṁ hoti bāṃhaṇa-samanānanām dasaṇe
Kāl. dhāmāma-yātā (E) [hā]-tā iyaṁ hoti samana-baṃbaḥbhaṇanān dasaṇe
Śāh. dhāmāma-yatā (E) atra iyaṁ hoti śraṃaṇa-braḥmaṇanān draṣaṇe
Mān. dhāmāma-yada (E) [hā]-tā iya hoti samana-braḥmaṇa dra[sa]ne
Dhua. dhā[ma]-yātā (E) [t]esa [ho]tī samana-baṃbaḥbhaṇanān d[a][sa]je[
Jaun. [tā] (E) [t]esa [ho]tī [sa]
Sop. (E) heta iyaṁ [ho]tī baḥ[bha]

Gir. cha dāne cha thairāṇam dasaṇe ch[a] hiraṃṇa-paṭividhāno cha
Kāl. cha dāne cha vudh[a]naḥ dasaṇe[ne] ch[a] hiraṃṇa-paṭividhāne chaḥ
Śāh. danaḥ vudh[a]naḥ dasaṇa hiraṇa-paṭividhāne cha
Mān. danaḥ vudh[a]naḥ dra[sa]ne[ne] [cha hi]rā[n]a-paṭividhāne cha
Dhua. ch[a] dāne cha v[i]hānaḥ dasaṇa cha hi[sa]ma-paṭividhāne[ne] cha
Jaun. cha dāne cha vudhāṇaḥ dasaṇa cha hiraṃṇa-paṭividhāne[ne] cha
Sop. cha vudhāṇaḥ dasaṇa cha hiraṃṇa-paṭividhāne cha

Gir. jānapadaṇaḥ cha janasa dasaṇaḥ daiḥmāṇus[a]ṣṭi cha
Śāh. [jen]apadaṇaḥ janasa draṣaṇa dhramanusathi
Mān. janapadaṇaḥ janasa draṣaṇe dhramanusathi
Dhua. [aja]napadaṇaḥ janasa [dasa]jne cha daṁhmanu[s]athī [cha]
Jaun. [dha]apadaṇaḥ janasa [dasa]jne cha dhaṁmanu[s]athī [cha]
Sop. [dha*]māṇus[thi]

Gir. dhama-paripucaḥ cha tadopayaḥ (E) esa bhuya rati
Kāl. dhama-paripucaḥ chā tata[p]ya[ḥ] (E) [c]e bhuy[e] lāti
Jaun. [dha]hama-paripucaḥ cha tadopayā ilame
Sop. dhama

Gir. bhavatī Devaṇaṁpiyasa Priyadasino raño bhā[ga]jne aṁne
Kāl. hotī Devaṇaṁpiyāsā Priyadas[i]sā lājine bhā[ga]jne aṁne
Śāh. bhoti Devanaṁpiyasa Priyadrasīsa raño bhago aṁṇi
Mān. hoti Devanaṁpiyasa Priyadrasīsa rajine bhage aṇe
Dhua. hoti Devanaṁpiyasa Priyad[a]sine lājine bhage [a]m[ne]
Jaun. hoti De[va]naniṁpiyasa Priyadasine lājine bhage [a]
Sop. hoti De
NINTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A) Devānampiyō Priyadasi rājā eva āha (B) asti jano.
Kāl. (A) Devānampiyē Pīy[ā]draśī la[ja] āha (B) jan[e].
Skabh. (A) Devānampiryo Priyadraśī r[ā]ya evaṁ ahāti (B) jano.
Mān. (A) Devānampirye Priyadraśī raja evaṁ āha (B) jano.
Dhau. (A) Devānampiyē Priyadasi lājā hevaṁ āhā (B) [arthi jā]ne.
Jau. (A) Devān[āma]piye Priyadasi la[ja].

Gir.  ucchāvachāṁ maṅgalaṁ karote ābādhesu vā avāha-vivāhesu
Skabh. uchapava]na ma]ngala[ṃ] karoti abadhe avaha vivehe
Jau.  ...

Gir.  vā putra-lābhesu vā pravāsāṁmhi vā etamhi cha añāmhi cha
Kāl.  pa[ ]jpadaye pava[ ]si e[ta] ye annāye cha
Skabh.  pa[ju]padaye prava[ ]sa etaye annāye cha
Mān.  pa[ju]padaye prava[ ]sa etaye annāye cha
Dhau.  ...[ju]padye pava[ ]sa etaye annāye cha[ ]
Jau.  ...

Gir.  jano ucbavachat maṅgalaṁ karo[ ] (C) eta tu
Kāl.  edisāye jane bahu magala[t] k[a]leti (C) het[ ]u [ch]u
Skabh.  edis[ ]y[e] jane ba maṅgalaṁ karoti (C) atra tu
Mān.  [ed]isāye jane bahu maṅgalaṁ ka[ro]c[t] (C) atra tu
Dhau.  hedisāye [a]n[ch]e bahukam maṅgalaṁ k[a]... (C) [chu]
Jau.  hedisāye jane [ba]hu[ka]n

Gir.  mahidāyo bahukam cha bahūvīdaṁ cha chhudaṁ cha
Kāl.  abaka-jan[ ]yo bahu cha bahūvīdaṁ cha khuda [ch]ā
Skabh.  sriyaka bahu cha bahūvīdaṁ cha putika cha
Mān.  abaka-janika bahu cha bahūvīda cha khuda cha
Dhau.  ithi b[ahu]ka]ni cha [b]hu[va]t[ ]t[ ]h[a]m ch[ ]h[ ]ud[ ]am cha
Jau.  ...

Gir.  nirath[ ]am cha maṅgalaṁ karote (D) ta katavyameva tu
Kāl.  nilathiya cha maṅgalaṁ ka[la]hti (D) se kaṭavi cheva kho
Skabh.  nirathiyam cha maṅgalaṁ karō[ ] (D) so kaṭavao cha [va] kho
Mān.  nirathriya cha maṅgalaṁ karoti (D) se kaṭaviye cheva kho
Dhau.  [nila]thiyan]m cha maṅgalaṁ kaleti (D) se ka[ ]av]iye che[va] k'h)p
Jau.  ...[cha ma]ṅgalaṁ k[ ]leti (D) se kaṭaviye cheva kho

Gir.  magalaṁ (E) apa-phalaṁ tu kho etarisaṁ maṅgalaṁ
Kāl.  maṅgale (E) apa-phale [ch]u kho [c][e]c
Skabh.  maṅgala (E) apa-phala[m] tu kho eta
Mān.  maṅgale (E) apa-phale chu [kho] e[ ]she
Dhau.  maṅgale (E) [a] [p]p]hale chu kho esa h[e]dis[e] maṅg[ ]a
Gir. (F) ayāṁ tu mah[a]-phale maṅgale ya dharñma-maṅgale
Kāl. (F) [i]yaṁ chu kho mah[a]-ph[a]le ye dharñma-maṅgale
Shāh. (F) imāṁ [t]u kho maha-phala ye maṅgala
Mān. (F) iyaṁ chu kho maha-phale ye dhrama-maṅgale
Dhau. (F) [y]aṁ [ch]u kho mah[a]-ph[a]le e [t]aḥma-maṅgale
Jau. (F) [y]aṁ [ch]u ...

Gir. (G) ta[tc]a dāsa-bhātakami samya-pratipati gurunāḥ apachiti
Kāl. (G) he[t]ā iyaṁ dāsa-bhātakasi s[a]mya-paṭip[a]ti gulaṇa apachiti
Shāh. (G) [a]tra ima dāsa-bhātakasa samma-paṭipati garuna āpachiti
Mān. (G) atra iyaṁ dāsa-bhātakasi samya-paṭipati guruna a[p]achiti
Dhau. (G) [tu]c[sa] d[a]s[a]-bhātakas[i] samyā-paṭipati[ɪ] gulaṇaḥ a[pa]...
Jau. ...

Gir. sādhū pāṇesu saya[m]o sādhū bāmhaṇa-samaṇaṁ nāṁ sādhū
Shāh. praṇapaṇi sa[m]yamo saṁaṇa-braṇaṇa
Mān. pra[na]na [sa]yame śramaṇa-braṇaṇa
Dhau. dāna esa [m]e [in]e samana-bābhana[a]n[ā]n[ā]

Gir. dānaṁ et[ɑ] cha a[ɑ] cha etārisaṁ dharñma-maṅgalaṁ nāma
Kāl. dāna e saɪne cha āḥedīe dharñma-maṅgale nāma
Shāh. dana etāni a[n]i cha dhrama-maṅgale[ɪn] nāma
Mān. [dane] eshe a[n]e cha edīe dhrama-maṅgale nāma
Dhau. dāna esa a[n]e ch[ɑ] ...

Gir. (H) ta vatavyaym pītā va putena va bhatra va svāmikeṇa
Kāl. (H) se vata[y]iye pitinā pi putena pi bh[ɑ]kina pi svāmikeṇa[ɑ]
Shāh. (H) [s]o vato pītuna pi putrena pi bhṛtana pi spamik[e]ha
Mān. (H) se vataviye [p]i[t]a[na] pi putrena pi bhṛtana pi spamikena
Dhau. (H) [s]e vata[y[ie] p[i]tinā pi p[te]na pi bhātinā pi svāmike[na]
Jau. ...

Gir. vā pi mita-saṁḥthuten[a] ava paṭivesiyeṇā [p]i iyam sādhū iyam
Kāl. pi mita-saṇṭuten[a] ava prātiṣeṣiyeṇa iyaṁ sadhu iyaṁ
Shāh. pi mita-saṇṭuteṇa ava prātiṣeṣiyeṇa imam sadhu [imam]
Dhau. [p]i ...
Jau. pi ...

Gir. katavya m-aṅgalaṁ āva tasa athasa nisāññya (l) asti
Shāh. kaṭṭa[v]o maṅgala[r]ṁ yeva τasa athrasa nivuṭṭiya
Mān. kaṭṭiye maṅga[e] āva tasa athrasa nivuṭṭiya
Dhau. ...
Jau. kaṭṭiye
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<td><strong>Gir.</strong></td>
<td>(A) Devānapāpiyo Priyadāsi rājā yaso va kitī va na</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Kāl.</strong></td>
<td>(A) Devā[na]piye Priy[a]dasā laja y[a]sho vā kitī vā no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shāh.</strong></td>
<td>(A) Devanāpapiye Priyadrāsi raya yaso va kitīra va no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mān.</strong></td>
<td>(A) [Devana]papiye Priyadrāsi raja yaso va kitī va no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dhau.</strong></td>
<td>(A) [Devānaṁ]pīye Piyad[ā]śi laja yaso vā [k]ṭi vā n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jau.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Gir.**          | mahāthāvah[ā] mañate añata |
| **Kāl.**          | [ma]hāhāva manati a[n]aṭa [ya]m pi yaso vā kit[i] vā |
| **Shāh.**         | mahāthāvahā mañati añatra yo pi yaso kitri vā |
| **Mān.**          | mahāthāvahāṁ mañātī añatra yāṁ pi ya[so] va kitī vā |
| **Dhau.**         | [ha]ṁ māṁ[ate] i [yaso] vā ki[i] [v]ā |
| **Jau.**          |                  |

| **Gir.**          | tadātpano dighāya cha [ja]no dhamma-susu[m]sā |
| **Kāl.**          | ichh[ati] tadavāye ayatiye cha jane dhamma-susuśaḥ |
| **Shāh.**         | ichhāti tadavāye ayatiya cha jane dharma-suṣrāṣaḥ |
| **Mān.**          | ichhāti tadavāye ayatiya cha jane [d hacking]suṣrāsha |
| **Dhau.**         | [sus]a[ati] [m]e dhamma |
| **Jau.**          | susuṣatā vā dhamma-susām |
| **Gir.**          | susuṣatā me dhamma-vatān cha anuvdihiyatām |
| **Kāl.**          | susuṣhātu me ti dhamma-vatān vā anuvdihiya[m]tu ti |
| **Shāh.**         | susuṣhātu me ti dhamma-vatān cha anuvdihiyatāu |
| **Mān.**          | susuṣhātu me ti dharma-[vatān] cha anuvdihiyatāu |
| **Dhau.**         | [sus]u[a] [m]e dhamma |
| **Jau.**          | susuṣatā me |

| **Gir.**          | (B) etakāya Devānapāpiyo Piyadāsi rājā yaso va kitī va |
| **Kāl.**          | (B) dhata[k]āye Devanā[pi]ye Piyadāsi laja yasho vā kitī vā |
| **Shāh.**         | (B) etakaye Devanāpāpiye Priyadrāsi raya yaso kitīra vā |
| **Mān.**          | (B) etakaye Devanāpāpiye Priyad[ra]śi raja yaso va kitī vā |
| **Dhau.**         | (B) etakaye [yaso va kitī vā] |

| **Gir.**          | [i]chha[i] (C) ya[r] tu ki[i] parik[a]m at Devānaṁ Priyadāsi |
| **Kāl.**          | ichha (C) an i ch[a] ki[i]hī lakamati Devanāpiye Priyadāshi |
| **Shāh.**         | ichhati (C) ya[r] tu k[i]hi paraśramati Devanāpiyo Priyadrāśi |
| **Mān.**          | [i]chha[i] (C) [k]i[i]hī paraśr[ama][ti] Devanāpāpiye Priyadrāśi |
| **Dhau.**         | i [pa]lakama[ṛ] j Devanāpāpiye |
| **Jau.**          | [i] Devanāpāpiye |

| **Gir.**          | raja ta savāṁ pāratrikāya kiṇṭi sakal[e a[p-a]parisrave |
| **Kāl.**          | laja ta [sha]ya pālamātiyāya vā k[i]ti sakal[e apa-p[a]laśhāve |
| **Shāh.**         | raya taṁ sav[r]aṁ pāratrikāya vā k[i]ti sakal[e apa-parisrave |
| **Mān.**          | raja taṁ savrāṁ parat[r]k[ay[e vā k[i]ṭi sa[kal[e apa-p[a]risav[e |
| **Dhau.**         | pā[ntik][a]y[e kiṇṭi sakal[e apa-p[a]risav[e |
| **Jau.**          | pā[ntik][a]y[e kiṇṭi sakal[e apa-p[a]risav[e |
TENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. asa (D) esa tu parisave ya apuñāṃ (E) dukarañān
Kal. shiyāti ti (D) [e]she chu palisave e apuñe (E) dukale
Sk. shiyati (D) eshe tu parisrave yain apuñāṃ (E) dukare
Mān. shiyati ti (D) eshe chu pa[r]i]save e apu[ne] (E) dukare
Dhau. [hu]meye t[i] (D) pa[l]isa
Jau. [h]uvrva ti (D)

Gir. tu kho etam chhudakena va janena usatena va ana[tra]
Kal. chu kho eshe khudakena va vagenā ushutenā va ana[ta]
Sk. [tu] kho eshe khudakena vagnena usatena va anatra
Mān. chu kho eshe khudakena [va va]gre[na] [u]satena va anatra
Dhau. [a] agena
Jau. [na sa]vaṃ cha

Gir. agena parāk[r]amena savaṃ parichajātpa (F) et[a] [tu] kho
Kal. agen[a] pa]lakamena shava[r]paliṣṭitu (F) [h]ta Chu) kho
Sk. agrena parakramena sava[r] pariṣṭhitu (F) at[r]a chu
Mān. a[gre]na para[kr]amena sav[r] pariṣṭhitu (F) atra tu [kho]
Dhau. paliṣṭitu[tu] khudakena [v]a usatena va (F)
Jau. [il]iti[i]tu khudakena [v]a usatena va (F)

Gir. usatena dukarañān
Kal. [u]shaṭena va dukale
Sk. usate
Mān. usateneva du[ka]re
Dhau. usatena chu dukalatale
Jau. usatena chu dukalatale

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A) Devinaṃprīyo Piyaḍasi rājā ev[a]ṃ āha (B) nāsti etārīsaṃ
Kal. (A) Devāṃprīye Piyaḍasi [t]ājā hevāṃ hā (B) nathi he[e]dīshe
Sk. (A) Devanaḥ[ṃ]prīyo Priyadṛṣṭi raya evaṃ hahati (B) nasti ed[t]eśaṃ
Mān. (A) Devanapriye Priyadṛṣṭi raja evaṃ āha (B) nasti esīṣe

Gir. dānaṃ yāraṇī dhanma-dānaṃ dhanma-saṁstavā vā dhanma-
Kal. dāne adisha dha[ṃ]ma-dānā vā dharmā dhanma-
Sk. dānaṃ yadiṣaṃ dhrama-dana dhrama-saṁstavā[ṃ] dh[r]ama-
Mān. dāne [a]diṣe dhrama-dane dhrama-saṁsthā[ṃ] dhrama-

Gir. saṁvihāga [vā] dhanma-saṁbadho va (C) tata idāṃ bhavati
Kal. shav[i]bhage (C) tatt[ta] eshe
Sk. saṁvihāga dh[r]ama-saṁba[ṃ]dha (C) tatra etam
Mān. saṁvihāga dhrama-sa[ṃ]ba[ṃ]dh[e] (C) tatra eshe

Gir. dasa-bhatakamhi samya-p[r]atipati mātari pitarā śadhu sus[ṛ] usa
Kal. dasa-bhatakasi shamyā-patiṣṭa mātā-pitishu shushushā
ta
Sk. dasa-bhaṭa kanaṁ saṁmima-patiṣṭa mata-pitushu suṣrūsha

nd 2
SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

**Gir.** mita-[s]tuta-ñātikānāṁ bāmhaṇa-[s]rjamanā[na]ṁ sādhu dā[na]ṁ

**Kāl.** mita-śaṁthūta-ñātikyānāṁ samanā-[ba]mbhanānā [dā]ne

**Shāh.** m[t]r-a-saṁstuta-ñātikanāṁ śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa dana

**Mān.** mitra-saṁ[stuta]-ñātikana śramaṇa-brāmaṇa dan[e]

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**Gir.** prāṇānaṁ anāraṁbho sādhu (D) eta vatavyam pita va putrena

**Kāl.** panṭanaṁ anā[am]bhe (D) eshe vata[v]iye pī[t]inā pi pute[na]

**Shāh.** prāṇanaṁ anaraṁbho (D) etāṁ vatavo pituna pi putrena

**Mān.** prāṇānaṁ [ana]rbhe (D) [e]she vataviye pituna pi putrena

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**Gir.** va bhā[p]a va mita-sastu[a]-ñāt[i]k[ena] va āva

**Kāl.** pi bhā[t]inā pi sh[a]vām[i]kyena pi mita-saṁthutanā avā

**Shāh.** pi bhratuna pi [spa]mikena pi mitra-saṁstutana āva

**Mān.** pi bhratuna pi spanike[na] pi mitra-saṁ[stu]l[e]ha āva

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**Gir.** paṭivesiyehi ida sādhu ida k[tav]ya[m]n (E) so t[a]tha

**Kāl.** [p[a]ṭivesiyen[ā] iy[a]m shādhu iyāṁ kāṭaviye (E) [s]e tathā

**Shāh.** prativeṣiyena [i]nī[ṇ]aṁ sādhu īmaṁ kātavo (E) so tathā

**Mān.** paṭivesiyenā iyaṁ sa[du]ṁ īyāṁ kāṭaviye (E) se tathā

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**Gir.** karu ilokaṣaṁ āradho hoti parata cha ammāṁtāṁ

**Kāl.** kala[ṛta] hidalokikye cha kāṁ ālade hoti palata cha[ā] ānata

**Shāh.** karata[n] i aloka cha a[r]adheti paratra cha ānataṁ


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**Gir.** puṇiṁ bhavati tena dhaśma-dānena

**Kāl.** puṇā paśavati tenā dhaśma-dānena

**Shāh.** puṇā prasavati [te]na dhrama-dānena

**Mān.** puṇaṁ p[r]ūsavati te[na] dhrama-dānena

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**TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT**

**Gir.** (A) Devānampiyē

**Kāl.** (A) [D]evānampiyē

**Shāh.** (A) Devānāmpiyō

**Mān.** (A) Devānāmpiyē

**Gir.** [pa]vajitāṇi cha gharastāṇi cha pūjayati d[a]hena cha vivāhdāya

**Kāl.** pav[a]jītā[n]ī gāhathāṇi va pujeti dānena vividh[a]ye

**Shāh.** pravrajita[n]ī grahamati cha pujeti dānena vividhaye

**Mān.** [p]raja[ji]tani gehathani cha pujeti dānena vividhaye

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**Gir.** [cha] pūjaya pūjaya[ti] ne (B) na tu tathā dāanaṁ va pūj[a]

**Kāl.** cha [p]ūj[a]ye (B) n[o] ch[u] tathā dāne va puja

**Shāh.** cha pūjaye (B) no chu tatha [da]na va puja

**Mān.** cha pūjaye (B) no chu tatha dana va puja
TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. va D[etc]yanapiyo māṁaste yathā kitī sā-ra-vadhi asa
Kāl. vā Devan[m]piye m[a]nati atha k[i]ta sā[a]-v[a]dhi sīyati
Shāh. va Devanampiyo māṇati yathā kitī sa[la]-vadhi siya
Mān. va [Devanam[p]iye māṇati atha kitī sala-vadhi siya

Gir. sa[vapā]sāndhānaṁ (C) sār[a]-vadhi tu bahuvihārā (D) tasa tu idāṁ
Kāl. s[a]va-pāśaḍāna (C) śālā-vadhi nā bahuvihārā (D) tasa chu ināṁ
Shāh. savra-praśahāndanaṁ (C) sala-vadhi tu bahuvihārā (D) tasa tu iyo
Mān. savra-paśaḍana ti (C) sala-vrudhī t[ū] bahuvihārā (D) tasa chu iyāṁ

Gir. mulaṁ ya vachi-guti kinti ātpa-pāśaṁḍa-pūjā va para-
Kāl. mule a va[cha]-guti kitī t[i] ata-paśa[da]-v[a] puja va pada-
Shāh. mula yaṁ vacha-guti kitī ata-praśahānd/a-puja va pa[r]a-
Mān. mule aṁ vacha-guti kitī ata-praśahā-puja va para-

Gir. pāśaṁḍa-garaḥa va no bhava aprakaraṇaṁbhī lahukā va asa
Kāl. pāśaṁḍa-galarha va no [sā]yā ap[a][a][a][a]na[i] lahaka va siyā
Shāh. pashānda-garaṇa va no siya [a]pakaṇaṇaṁ lahuka va siyā
Mān. pashada-garaḥa va no siya apakaṇaṇaṁ lahuka va siyā

Gir. tamhi tamhi prakarane (E) pujętyā tu eva para-pāśaṁḍa
Kāl. ta[k]i tasi pakalan[a][i] (E) pujęty[i]ya chu p[a]la-paśa[k]i
dūr
Shāh. tasi tasi prakarane (E) pujetyāva chu para-prashaṁḍa
Mān. tasi tasi pakaṇaṇa (E) pujetyāva chu para-p[ra]shadā

Gir. tena tana prakaraṇena (F) evam karunā āṭpa-paśaṁḍam cha
Kāl. tena tana a[k]alana (F) heva kalata ata-paśaḍa badhaṁ
Shāh. tena tana akarena (F) evaṁ karatam ata-p[ra]shadām
Mān. tena tana akarena (F) evam karatam atva-paśaḍa badhaṁ

Gir. vaḍhayati para-paśaṁḍasa cha upakaroṭi (G) tad-amāṇaṁ
Kāl. vaḍhiyaṭi pala-paśada pi va upakaroṭi (G) tada anātha
Shāh. vaḍheta para-praśaṁḍamsa pi cha upakaroṭi (G) tada anātha
Mān. vaḍhayati para-paśadāsa pi cha upakaroṭi (G) tad-amāṇaṁ

Gir. karoto āṭpa-paśaḍam cha chanatati para-paśaṁḍasa cha pi
Kāl. kalata ata-paśaḍa cha chanatati pala-paśāda pi vā
Shāh. k[a][r][a]min[o] ata-praśaṁḍa kshanatī para-praśhadasa cha
Mān. karatam ata-paśaḍa cha chanatati para-paśadāsa pi cha

Gir. upakaroṭi (H) yo hi kochi āṭpa-paśaṁḍam pujayati para-paśaṁḍam
Kāl. apakaḷeṭi (H) ye [hi] kechha [a]ta-paśada punāti pala-paśada
Shāh. upakaroṭi (H) yo hi kochi ata-praśahāḍum pujeti [para]-p[ra]shad[am]
Mān. upakaroṭi (H) ye hi kechhi atva-paśada pujeti para-paśaḍa

Gir. v[a] garaḥati savam āṭpa-paśaṁḍa-bhatiya kiṁti āṭpa-paśaṁḍam
Kāl. v[a] ga[la]hāti shave ata-paśaṁḍ[a]-bhatiya vā kitī ata-paśaṇḍa
Shāh. garaḥati savre ata-praśadha-bhatiya va kitī ata-praśahāndam
Mān. v[a] garaḥati savre atva-paśaḍa-bhatiya va kitī atvapaśaḍa
Gir. dipayema iti so cha puna tatha karāto ātpa-pāśaṁdaṁ bāḍhatarāṁ
Kāl. [d']ipayema she cha punā tatha kalarātāṁ bāḍhataleṁ upa[hariṁ[i]
Shāh. dipayami ti so cha puna tatha karaṁtiṁ bo[ghata]raṁ upa[ hariṁ 
Mān. dipayama ti ... puna tatha karāṁti bāḍhatarāṁ upa[ hariṁ 

Gir. upa[ anāṁti (I) ta samavāyo eva sādhu kīṁti [a]namāniṇāsa 
Kāl. ata-pāshaṁda[i] (I) shamaṇyāye vu sādhu kīti aṁmaṁanaṁśa 
Shāh. ata-prashada[ṁ (I) so sayamo vo sādhu kīti aṁmaṁanaṁśa 
Mān. atva-pasha[da] (I) se samavāye vo sādhu kī[t]i aṁmaṁanaṁśa 

Gir. dhaṁmaṁi srūñā ru cha susuṁsre cha (γ) evaṁ hi 
Kāl. dhaṁman[i] shune[y]u chāi shushusheyu cha ti (γ) hevaṁ hi 
Shāh. dhramo śrūṇeyu cha susṛusheyu cha ti (γ) evaṁ hi 
Mān. dhraman[ś] u[y]u cha [u] susṛusheyu cha ti (γ) evaṁ hi 

Gir. D[e]vānapהיyāsa ichha kīṁti sava-pāśaṁḍa bahu-srutā cha asu 
Kāl. Devānapהיyāshā ichha kīṁti sava-pāśaṁḍa bahu-srutā chā 
Shāh. Devānapהיyāsyā ichha kīti savra-prashardha bahu-srutu ch[a] 
Mān. Devānapהיyāsyā ichha kīti savra-puṣaḥda bahu-sruta chā 

Gir. kal[a]nāgaṁ cha [a]su (K) yca cha tatrā tatra prasamānā 
Kāl. kayanāga cha huyeveyu ti (K) e [cha] tatrā tatrā p[a]śaṁnaṁ
Shāh. kal[a]nāgaṁ cha sīyasu (K) ye cha tatrā tatra prasana 
Mān. kayanāgaṁ cha [hu]uyeveyu ti (K) e cha tatrā tatra prasana 

Gir. tehi vatavyam (L) Devanapהיyyo no tathā dānām va pujaṁ 
Kāl. te[h]i va[t]āvīye (L) Devanapהיyye no tathā dānām va puja 
Shāh. tesa[ṇ]i vatavo (L) Devanapהיyyi[o] na [tathā dānaṇi va] [p[u]ja 
Mān. tehi vatavye (L) Devanapהיyyi no tathā dānām va puju[ṇ] 

Gir. va maṇṇate yathā kīṁtiśa-vaḍhi asa sarva-pāsudānaṁ 
Kāl. va maṇṇañ[i]i athā kīti sh[a]śa-s[a]dhī siya shava-pāshaṁdaṁ 
Shāh. va maṇṇi ya[tha]i kīti sala-vaḍhi siyati savra-prashadānaṁ 
Mān. va maṇṇi athā kīti sala-vaḍhi siya savra-puṣaḥda[na] ṭa 

Gir. (M) bahukā cha etaye athā vyāpaṛta dhaṁma-mahāmātā cha 
Kāl. (M) baḥukā cha [a] etaye[ḥa]ye viyāpaṛta dhaṁma-mahāmātā 
Shāh. (M) baḥuka cha etaye a[tha] .. va[p[a]ta dh[a]ma-ma[ha]matra 
Mān. (M) baḥuka cha etaye athaye va[puṭa dhrama-mahāmatra 

Gir. ithijhakha-mahāmātā cha vachha-bhūmikā cha aṁe cha nikāya 
Kāl. ithiḍhiyakha-mahāmātā vaccha-bh[u]mbiḥyā aṁe va [n]i[ḥa]ya [s]a 
Shāh. [i]stridhiyaksha-ma[ha]matra [v[a]cha-bhumika aṁe cha nikaya 
Mān. istrijaksha-mahāmatra vṛcha-bh[u]mbiḥyā aṁe cha nikāya 

1 The five last words are repeated thus: so cha puna tatha karatāṁ.
TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (N) ayañ cha etasa phala ya ātpa-pāśarīṅda-vadhī cha hoti
Kāl. (N) iyañ cha etishā phale yañ āta-pāśarīṅda-vadhī cha hoti
Shāh. (N) imañ cha etisa [pha]lām yañ āta-pāśha-da-vadhī ḫ[bo][ti]
Mān. (N) iyañ cha etisa phale yañ avta-pāśha-da-vadhī cha ḫ[b][o][ti]

Gir. dhāṁmasa cha dī[panā]
Kāl. dhāṁmasa cha dī[panā]
Shāh. dhāṁmasa cha dī[panā]
Mān. dhāṁmasa cha dī[panā]

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A)
Kāl. (A) atha-[vajṣa]-bhishita-shā [De]vānāmipriyasa
Shāh. (A) [atha]-vāsha-[a]bhīṣitaṣa Devana[pr[a]ṣa]
Mān. (A) [atha]-vāsha-bhīṣitaṣa Dev[a]na[pr[i]ṣa]

Gir. Kaliṅga [v. j. ] (B) pāna-sat[a]-shāha[ś]e ye
Kāl. Kaliṅga vijjitā (B) diyadhva-mate pāna-sata[saha]śere y[e]
Shāh. [Ka][l]īgā [vijjita] (B) di[jh]a[dha]-mat[re] pāna-[sata]-sa
Mān. [Ka][l]īgā [vijjita] (B) [di[jh]a[dha]-mat[re] pāna-[sata]-sa

Gir. [v. dh]e [sa]ta-sahasra-mātraṇa tatā hatam bahu-tāvatakam
Kāl. [ta]phā apavudhe [sh]a[sa]-shā-hasha-mite tata hate bahu-tāvatakam
Shāh. tato apavudhe sa-sahasra-matre tata hate bahu-tavat[ke]
Mān.

Gir. mata (C) tata pachha adha[n]a labheṣā Kaliṃgesu
Kāl. vā maṇe (C) tato pa[chha] adhunā labheṣā Kaliṃgesu
Mān. [maṭe] (C) tato pachha la[dhu] la[dhe]shu Kaligesu

Gir. ti[v]o dhāṁmavāyo dhāṁma-k[a]matā dhāṁmā[n]uṣṭhathī cha
Shāh. ti[vre] dhrama-[silāna] dhra[mako]mat[a] [dhra]{manu}[ṣa]sti [cha]
Mān. ti[vre] dhram[avaye] .........

Gir. [v. j. ] [sa]yo Devānāmipriyasa
Kāl. Devānāmipriyashā (D) sh[e] athi anushaye Devānāmipyas[sh]ā
Shāh. Devana[priyasa] (D) so [a]sti anusochna Devanap[ri]ṣa
Mān. [Devana[pr]i] (D)

Gir. [v. j. ] [va]dho
Kāl. [vijin][jhu] Kaliṅgāni (E) avijitaṃ hi vijīnasame e tata vadhā
Shāh. vijiniti Kaliṅgāni (E) avijitaṃ hi vijīnamane yo tai[r]a vadhā
Mān. .........
SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

Gir. va maranāṁ va apavaḥo va janasa ta bādhāṁ
Kāl. vā malane vā apavaha [vā] jan[a]'shā [sh]e bādhā i
Śāk. va maranāṁ va apavaha va janasa tāṁ bādhāṁ
Mān. ... [maraṇe va apaveha va janaṇa] se [bāḍhaṁ]

Gir. vedanā-mata cha g[u]'[u]-mata cha Deva[nam].[sa] (F) ... 
Kāl. vedaniya-mute g[u]'[u]-mut[e] cha Devānāṁ[p]i'yashā (F) iyāṁ 
Śāk. v[e]dah[ya]-ma[tarñ] guru-mata[m] cha Devanāṁpriyasa (F) idam 
Mān. vedaniya-mate guru-mate [cha Devanapriyasa] (F) [i]yāṁ

Gir. ... bāṁhaṇā va savaṇā va aṁe ... 
Kāl. vaṣhaṭi b[a]'hāṇā va shama vā aṁe vā pāsaṇja gīh[i]'hā 
Śāk. vaṣati bramaṇa va śramaṇa va aṁ[ī]'he va prashaṇaṁ gra[ha]'tha 
Mān. ... 

Gir. va yesu vihitā [e]sh[a] a[gbahu][i]-shushuṣṇā m[a]'a]-piti
Śāk. va yesu vihitā esha agrabhuṣuṣṭraha mata-pituṣu
Mān. ... [ye]su [vihi]'t:a esha [a]grabhu[i]-suṣṭraha mata-pi[tu]sh[u]

Gir. susuraḥa guru-susurṣa mita-saṁstata-saḥāya-ṇātike[su] dāsa
Kāl. shushuṣṭa galu-shuṣṭa mita-shaṁsthuta-shaḥāya-ṇātikeshu dāsa 
Śāk. suṣṭraha guruṇa suṣṭraha mitra-sanṣṭuta-saḥāya-ṇātikeshu dāsa 
Mān. su[sṛu]'sha guru-suṣṭraha mitra[sa][m] suṣṭu ... 

Gir. ... [bha]. 
Kāl. bha[n]a[kha] sh[a]m[y]-paṭipati didha-bhātitā tesham tatta hoti 
Śāk. bhaṭṭakanaṁ samma-praṭipati[ti] dṛḍha-bhātitā tessa tatta bhoti 
Mān. ... 

Gir. ... abhiratānam va vinikhamana (H) yesam ... 
Kāl. [u]pa[ṛ]ghate va vadhate va abhilatānam va vinikhamane (H) yesam 
Śāk. [a]pa[ṛ]g[ṛ]atho va vadh[o] va abhiratana va nikanamnah (H) yesam 
Mān. ... [va]dhe va abh[iratanam] va vin[k]raman[ḥ] (H) yesam[r]m ... 

Gir. vā [p-] 
Kāl. va pi shuvih[i]-janaṁ shinehe avipahine e tānaṁ mita-śaṁsth[u]-ta-
Śāk. va pi suvihitaṁ [ṣi]ho aviprahino [e te]ṣaṁ mitra-sanṣṭuta-
Mān. va pi s[u]'vih[īʔanaṁ] s[ne]he avipahine e ta[naṁ] mitra-[saṁ] ... 

Gir. ... [hāya-ṇātikā] vyasanam prapunati tata so pi tesa 
Kāl. sha[h]'hāya-ṇākikya vyashanam pāpunata tata she [p]iṭā[na]mev[ā] 
Śāk. sahaya-ṇātika vasana prapunati [ta]tra taṁ pi tesaḥ vo 
Mān. ...
THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. [u]paghāto hāti (l) paṭibhāga chasā s[ava].
Shāh. apaghāroh bhoti (l) prati bhāgaṁ cha [e] [ta]n sa[va] manuśaṇaṁ.
Mān. [e] [sha] sa[va] manuśaṇaṁ.

Shāh. guru-mataṁ chā Devaṇāṁpriya[sa] (ṛ) nastī cha.
Mān. guru-mate chā Devaṇāṁpriyaśa (ṛ) nastī cha se janapade yatra.

Gir. sti ime niṅkāya añatra Yone[su].
Shāh. Mān. nastī ime n[i]ka[y]a [a] [ṇa]tra Yoneshu [b] [r] [m]a [n] c [a] ša [r] a [m] an c [e].

Gir. [m]hi yatra nastī manuśaṇaṁ ekata rahmi.

Gir. pāsāṁdhamhi na nāma prasā[d]o (K) y[a]vata[k]o ja[no]
Kāl. [p]i pāśha[d]hi no n[a]ma pashāde (K) she ava[t]ke jāne
Shāh. pi prasha[d]aspi na nāma prasado (K) so yamatro j[a]no
Mān. na nāma prasade (K) se yavatake jāne.

Gir. [ta]d[a]
Shāh. tada Kalige [h]ate manu[ṭ]o chā pavu[udh]
Mān. tada Kaligesh[u] hate cha apavu[ci]

Gir. sra-bhāgo va guru-[m]a[t]o
Kāl. [ch]i tato saṭe bhāge va shah[a]sa-bhāge va aja guru-mate
Shāh. cha tato šaṭa-bhāge va sahasra-bhāgaṁ va aja guru-mataṁ
Mān. cha ta[to] šaṭa-bhāge va sahasra-bhāge va aja guru-ma[ṭ]

Gir. Devānaṁ
Kāl. va Devānaṁ[p[i]yāsha
Shāh. v[o] Devaṇāṁpriyaśa (L) yo pi cha apakareyati kshamitaviya-mate va
Mān. [va] Devaṇāṁpriyaśa (L) pa [ka] [m]i [t] hi

Gir. na ya saka chhamitave (M) yā cha pi atavīyo Kāl.
Shāh. Devaṇāṁ[p[i]yāsa yaṁ sako kshamanaye (M) ya pi cha atavi
Mān. (M) [pi cha] atavi-

Gir. D[e]vānaṁpriyaśa [s]a pījite pāti Kāl.
Shāh. Devaṇāṁpriyaśa vijīte bhoti ta pi anunet anunjapeti
Gir. chate tc[sa]m Devānampiyasa
Kāl. 
Shāh. (N) anutape pi cha prabhve Devānampiyasa vuchati teshā kiti
Mān. (N) anutape pi cha prabhve Devanapriyasa vuchat[te]sha [ki]

Gir. sava-
Kāl. (neyu) (O) ichha sha[va]
Shāh. avatrapeyuy na cha [ha]\[n]eyasus (O) ichhā hi D[e]vanampriyā savra
Mān. (O) , ichha . vanapri[y]

Gir. bhūtānām achatāni cha sayamaṁ cha vaśe achatāriṁ ch[a] mādava cha
Kāl. [bhu] . [shayama] shamachā[liya[m] maḍava ti
Shāh. bhutana aksahni sa[t]ryarhāṁ sama[cha]riyāṁ raubhāsiye
Mān. 

Gir. (P)
Kāl. (P) iyaṁ vu mu Devānampiyeshā ye dharm[ma]
Shāh. (P) aya cha mukha-muta[a] vijaye Devanampriyasa[sa] yo dhroma-
Mān. [mukha]-mule y[i]yaye D[e]vanapriyasa ye dhrama-

Gir. [la]dh[O] namāpiyasa idha
Kāl. vijaye (Q) sh[e] cha punā ladhe Devān[mp]i cha
Shāh. vijayo (Q) so cha puna ladbo Devanampiyasa iha cha
Mān. vijaye (Q) se cha [puna] la[dh]e [Devanapri[ya]sa hida cha

Gir. [ch.]
Kāl. shaveshu cha atheshu a shashu pi [yo]jana-shateshu a[t[a]
Shāh. saveshu cha arnteshu [a] shashu pi yo[jana-śa]t[es]hu yatra

Gir. [Yo]na-raja barrati cha tena
Shāh. Aṭitiyoκo nām Y[ō]na-raja barrati cha tenā Aṭiyok[a]na
Mān. tiyo[ge] nām Yo[n[a]-raja]

Gir. charapāro rajano Turamāya cha [A]ni[ek]ina cha Magā
Kāl. chatāli 4 lajāne Tulamaye [nā]m[a] Aṃteki[ne nā]ma Maka
Shāh. chature 4 rajani Turamaye nāma Aṃti[ni] nāma Maka
Mān. Aṃ[te] . . . [nāma M]ka

Gir. cha 
Kāl. nāma Alikyashudale nāma nichām Chōda-Paṇḍiyā avam
Shāh. nama Alikasudaro nama nīcha Chōda-Paṇḍiḍa ava
Mān. na[ma] Alikasudare nama nīcha Chōda-Paṇḍiṇḍa a

Gir. idha raj-a[v]sa]yamhi
Kāl. Tambapariṇīya hevamev[a] (R) hevameva [hi]dā la[ja]-viśavashi
Shāh. Ta[m]bapari[n]ya (R) [c]vaneva [hi]da raja-vishaνa[si]
Mān. Tambapa[m]niya (R) evameva [hida] raja-visha[si]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gir.</th>
<th>[Y]ka\text{-}Kambo</th>
<th>Nabha\text{-}Nabhapartishu</th>
<th>Bhoja\text{-}Pitnikyeshu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>Yona\text{-}Kambojeshu</td>
<td>Nabha\text{-}Nabhakina</td>
<td>Bhoja\text{-}Pitnikeshu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh.</td>
<td>Yona\text{-}Kai\text{	ext{-}}</td>
<td>Nabha\text{ka\text{-}Kai}</td>
<td>Bhoja\text{-}Pitnikeshu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>[Y\text{-}Kambojeshu]</td>
<td>Nabha\text{ka\text{-}Kambojeshu}</td>
<td>[Bh\text{-}ja\text{-}Pitnikyeshu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ūdhra\text{-}Pārimdesu</td>
<td>savata</td>
<td>Devānampiyasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>[Adha\text{-}Pālimde\text{-}sh]</td>
<td>[sha]vātā</td>
<td>dharmanuṣa\text{[a]sthami}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh.</td>
<td>ūdhra\text{-}Pālimdesu</td>
<td>savatra</td>
<td>Devānampiyasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>Adha\text{-}[Pa]</td>
<td></td>
<td>dharmanuṣasti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Gir.     | anuv\text{[a]tarc (S)} yata | pi dūti                          | Devānampiyasa                    |
| Kāl.    | anuvata\text{[a]titi (S) y[a]ta} | pi duta                         | dharmanuṣa\text{[a]sthami}       |
| Shāh.   | anuvata\text{[a]titi (S) yatra} | pi Devānampiyasa               | dharmanuṣasti                     |
| Mān.    | (S) yatra                      | pi duta [Devānampiyasa]         | dharmanuṣasti                     |

| Gir.     | sutu Devā\text{[a]māppin\text{-}yāya} | dhrama\text{-}vūtām               | [naḥ]ṁ dharmanuṣa\text{ṣa\text{[i]ṃ}} |
| Kāl.    | šrutu Devānampiyasa             | dhrama\text{-}vūtām               | [naḥ]ṁ dharmanuṣa\text{ṣa\text{[i]ṃ}} |
| Shāh.   | šrutu Devānampiyasa             | dhrama\text{-}vūtām               | [naḥ]ṁ dharmanuṣa\text{ṣa\text{[i]ṃ}} |
| Mān.    | šrutu Devānampiyasa             | dhrama\text{-}vūtām               | [naḥ]ṁ dharmanuṣa\text{ṣa\text{[i]ṃ}} |

| Gir.     | cha dhamaṁ                     | anuvividhiyare                   | [vi]jaya savathā puna vijayo       |
| Kāl.    | dhamaṁ maṁ [r]                  | anuvividhiyāṁa                  | [chā (T) ye se]                    |
| Shāh.   | dhramaṁ                         | anuvividhiyāṁi                  | [chā (T) ye se]                    |
| Mān.    | dhamaṁ maṁ                      | anuvividhiyāṁi                  | [chā (T) ye se]                    |

| Gir.     | [la]dhe etakenā                | hoti savatā                       | vija\text{[i]}ye                   |
| Kāl.    | [la]dhe etakenā                | hoti savatā                       | vija\text{[i]}ye                   |
| Shāh.   | ladhe etakenā                  | bho[t] savatā                    | vijaya savata[tra pu[na] vijayo     |
| Mān.    | ladhe etakenā                  | bho[t] savatā                    | vijaya savata[tra pu[na] vijayo     |

| Gir.     | piti-raso sā (U) ladha sā piti | hoti dharma-vijayamhi              |
| Kāl.    | piti-lase se (U) gadha sā hoti piti | dharma-vijayamhi                  |
| Shāh.   | piti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] piti | dharma-vijayaspī                  |
| Mān.    |                                  |                                  |

| Gir.     | (V) lahuṅka v[u]                | kho sā piti (W) pālamāntikyameve   |
| Kāl.    | (V) lahuṅka tu                 | kho sā piti (W) pāramīrka meva maha-phala |
| Shāh.   | (V) lahuṅka tu                 | kho sā piti (W) pāramīrka meva maha-phala |
| Mān.    |                                  | (W) pāramīrka maha-phala           |

| Gir.     | [m]priyo (X) etā[ya athā]ya    | ayaṁ dharma-                      |
| Kāl.    | manāmaṁ [ti] Dev[ei]nāmaṁ priye (X) etāye cha athāye | ayaṁ dharma-                      |
| Shāh.   | meānti Devanaṁ priye (X) etāye cha aṭhaye | ayaṁ dharma-                      |
| Mān.    | [ma]nti De[va]napriye (X) etāye cha aṭhaye | ayaṁ dharma-                      |

| Gir.     | [l]                 | [va]m vijayaṁ mā                   |
| Shāh.   | li[p]ināya           | kiti putā papota me asu nava[n] vijayaṁ ma |
### SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gir.</td>
<td>vijatavyam mañña sarasake eva vijaye chhāti cha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>vijayataviya maniṣhu shayakashi no vija]yashī khaṇṭi cha laḥu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāk.</td>
<td>vijatav[ī]a maṇiṣhu spa[kaspi] yo vijaye kshaṃṭi cha laḥu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>[tav]iyaṁ man[iṣhu saya]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gir.</td>
<td>daṇḍatā [chā lochetu tameva cha vijayaṁ manatu ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>da[m]data cha rochetu tame cha yo vijaya maṇ[ā]tu yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāk.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td></td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gir.</td>
<td>kik[o] ch[a pā]l[al]ki[ko]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>dhāṁma-vijaye (Y) she hidalokikya palalokiyē (Z) shava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāk.</td>
<td>dhrama-vijayo (Y) so hidalokiko paralokiko (Z) sava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>(Y) hidaloke paralokike (Z) sava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gir.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>cha ka nilati hot[u] uyāma-lati (A A) shā hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāk.</td>
<td>chati-rati bhotu ya [ch]ramma-rati (A A) sa hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>cha [ka] nirati hotu ya dhrama-rati (A A) sa hi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gir.</td>
<td>ilokikā cha pāralokikā cha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>hi[da]lokika pā[la]lokikyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāk.</td>
<td>hidalokika paralokika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>[k]alok[ka] paralok[ka]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gir.</td>
<td>(A) ayaṁ dhāṁma-lipi Devānāṃpriyena Priyadasinā r[ā]nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>(A) iyaṁ dhama-lipi De[vānāṃ]ry[ye[n]a] [P]iyadasinā lajina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāk.</td>
<td>(A) ayi dhrama-dipi Devanāṃpriyena Priśi[n]a raña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>(A) [i]yaṁ dhrama-dipi De[vānapriyena Priya] [jina]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhaus.</td>
<td>(A) iyaṁ dhāṁma-lipi De[vānām]priyena Priyada[sin]ā lajina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gir.</td>
<td>[c]khāpitā asti eva samkhit[e]na asti maḥhamena asti vistatana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>likhāpitā athi yeva sukhitenā [a]hi maḥīmena athi vīṭaṇṭe nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāk.</td>
<td>nipesaṃpitā asti vo saṃkṣheṭaṇa asti yo vistṛiṇe na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>[k]hapita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhaus.</td>
<td>[k]hā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jau.</td>
<td>at i maḥīmena</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gir.</td>
<td>(B) na cha sarvaṁ [sa]rvata ghaṭitan (C) mahālaṇe hi vijitam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāl.</td>
<td>(B) no hi savata save [g]haṭite (C) mahālaṇe hi vijite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāk.</td>
<td>(B) na hi savatra sasavre gāṭite (C) mahālaṇe hi vijite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhaus.</td>
<td>(B) [h]i save sav[a]ta ghaṭite (C) maḥānte hi vijaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jau.</td>
<td>(B) [no] hi save savata ghaṭite (C) maḥānte hi vijaye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. bahū cha likhitāṃ likhāpayisāṁ cheva (D) asti cha
Kāl. bahū cha likhite lekhāpeśāmi cheva nikiyāṁ (D) athi cha
Shāh. bahū cha likhite likhā[p]esāmi cheva (D) asti chu
Mān. [likhit[e] che[va] che[va] che[va] na] (D) [asti chu]
Dhaun. bahū[ke] cha likhit[c] likhiyis (D) [a]thi

Gir. etā kaṁ puna puna vutam tasa tasa athasa madhūrataya
Kāl. hetā puna punā [ā] la[pi]tā[na] tasa tasa athasa madhūriyaye

I. THE TWO SEPARATE ROCK-EDICTS

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

Dhaun. (A) [Devānā]na[pī]yasa vacha[ha]nena Tosalīyaṁ ma[hā]māta

Dhaun. [naga]la[v][yo]hālakā va[taviya] (B) am kichhi dakhā[mi]
Jau. [nag]as[li]vohālaka he[va]m va[taviya] (C) am kichhi dakhā[mi]

Dhaun. hakaṁ taṁ ichhāmi k[i]ṁ[t][i] kam[man] pa[pāday]eham

II. THE TWO SEPARATE ROCK-EDICTS
SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

Dhau. duvālate cha ālābherham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvāla[la]
Jau. duvālate cha ālābherham (D) es[a] cha me mokhya-mata duvālaṁ

Dhau. [etasi aṭha]si aṁ tu[phe]su anusathā (D) tuphe hi bahūsu pānā-
Jau. a[ṛ]n] tu[phe]su anusathā (E) phe hi bahūsu pānā-


Dhau. (E) save munise pajā mamā (F) athā[ā] pajāye ichhāṁ h[a]ka[ṁ]
Jau. (F) sava-mu[n]ā me pajā (G) atha pa[jā]ye ichhāṁ[i]


Dhau. [t]t[a]n ... munīs[esu] n[ī]c[h]hāṁ [h[a]ka[ṛ] (G) no cha
Jau. [he]nceva me ichha savamunīse[esu] (H) no chu tu[phe]

Dhau. pāpunāṭha ā[v]a-gā[m]m[ṛ]k[e] [i]yam ath[ē] (H) k[e]chha[v]a [v[a] eka-
Jau. [e]taṁ [p][p]unāṭha āva-gamu[k]k[e] [i]yam ath[e] (I) kecha eka-

Dhau. pul[se] ... nāti e[ta]hi se pi desam no savam (I) def[ka]j[a]h[a]
Jau. [mun]i[se] p[ā]nuniṭi se pi desam no savam (J) dakhṭa hi

Jau. [ruphe] pi suvita [p[j] (K) bahuca athye cti eka-munise

Dhau. bāṁ[da]nāṁ vā [p]a[li]kilesam vā pāpunāṭi (K) tata hoti aksamā

Dhau. tena badhana[m]tik[a] aṁne cha ... hu jane da[v]i ye
Jau. ti ten[a] badhana[m]ti ka[ka] anye cha [va]ge bahukena

Dhau. dukhiyati (L) tata ichhitaviye tu[phehi kiṁti m[a]jhaṁ paṭipādayemā
Jau. veda[yati] (M) tata tu[phehi ichhi]taye kiṁti m[a]jhaṁ [pa]ṭipaṭayem[a]

Dhau. ti (M) imehi[i] chu [jātehi] no saṁ[paṭipajati iṣāya āsusopena


Dhau. (N) se ichhitaviye kiṁti etc [jāṭa no] huvevu ma[m]ā
Jau. (O) hevaṁ ichhir[a]v[e]y[e] kiṁti me et[a]ni jāṭa[ni n]o hveye

Dhau. ti (O) e[tasa] cha sav[a]sa mule anāsulope a[t]ū[ṛ]a[n]ā cha
Jau. ti (P) savasa cha iyaṁ mule [a[n]ā[s]u]lo[p]e atulanā cha

Dhau. (P) nit[ṛ]ya[n] e kilant[e siyā [n]a te uga[chha]
Jau. (Q) nit[ṛ]ya[n] e kilant[e [s]iyan ... sāmchālita uthāy[a]
Dhau. sāruchalitaviya[e] tu va[r]ita[v]jy[e] etaviye va (Q) hevaṁmeva
Jau. sāruchalitaye tu v[a]r]ita[i]ya [pi] etaviye pi ni[i]yaṁ (R) eva

Dhau. e da[kheyə] t[u]phāk[a] tena vataviye ānamne dekhata

Dhau. hevaṁ cha hev[a]nī cha [D]vānanpiyasa anusathī (R) se

Dhau. mah[a]-phal[e] [e] t[a]sa [sampa]tipāda mahā-apāye asampatipta

Dhau. (S) [vi]patt[i]pādayamine hi etām nathi svagasa [a][a]khi no lāj[a]la[di]jī
Jau. (7) viʃ̢aṭpādayamantam no svag[a]-ālādhī no lājādhi

Dhau. (T) du[ha]le hi i[ma]sa kān[m]asa m[e] kute man[o]-atileke

Jau. (V) [eta]m sampātipāplapamje mama] cha ānanyair esatha


Jau. so[t]a[i]viy[a] (X) [a]l[a] [p] i khe[n]a sota[v]i[yā]

Dhau. ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevaṁ cha kalaṁtam tuphe chaghatha
Jau. ek[a]k[c]na pi (V) ... m[ī]ne ch[aghatha]

Jau. ... tave (Z) etaye cha aṭṭ[ā]ye iya[m] [l]h[j]itā [l]pi ena

Dhau. nagala-vi[y]o[h]kālakā sa[s]vātam samayaṁ yuvēvū [t]i ...

Jau. [muni]i[a]nta[ml] [a] ... ne [p]al[k]jī

Dhau. ti (Z) etaye cha aṭṭhaye haka[r]n ... mate [a]nchasa paṃchasa
Jau. ... ye paṃchasa paṃchasa

Jau. va[s]su anu[s]a[y]ānaṁ nikhāma[y]sāmī mahāmātā[r]n achaṁ[a][n]

Dhau. s[a]khiṃālambhe hosati etām aṭṭham jānita ... [ta]cha kala[r]nti
Jau. apha[l]sa[t]a[nta ta ...]

Dhau. atha mama anusathī ti (AA) Ujente pi chu kumāle etāye v[a]
Jau. ... pi kumāle [v] ...
SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

Dhau. (A) Devañāpiyas[a] vachanena Tosaliyaṁ kumāle mahāmātā cha
Jau. (A) Devañāpiye hevaṁ ā[ha] (B) Samāpāyaṁ mahamātā

Dhau. vavātaviya (B) aṁ kichhi dakhāṁ[i] ḍakaṁ tāṁ tī...
Jau. [a]va-vachanik[a] vavātaviyā (C) aṁ kichhi dakh[ā]mi haṁ tāṁ [chh]āmi

Dhau. duvālate cha ālabhehaṁ (C) esa
Jau. haṁ kāṁ [t]ī kaṁ kamana paṭi-paṭayahehaṁ duvā[la]te cha ālabhehaṁ (D) esa

Dhau. cha me mokhya-mata duvāl etaṁ aṭhaṁ aṁ tupahe[s]u...

Dhau. mama (E) ath[ā] paţāye ichāmi haṁ kī[m]ti
Jau. (E) sava-muniṣa me paţā (F) athā paţāye[c] ichāmi kimti me

Dhau. savena hi[ta-sukhe]na hidalokika-paḷalokikāye yuvēu ti
Jau. savenā hita-su[kh]ena yu[je]yū t i hidalokika-paḷalokī[ka]nā

Dhau. h[ce][aṁ]
Jau. hevaṁmeva me ichha sava-munisesu (G) siyā anitānam [a]vijitānam

Dhau. ki-chhaṁde sa laja [aphesu] . (G) . . . m[a]va ichha mama aṁtesu
Jau. kim-chhaṁde sa laja apheṣā ti (H) etākā [vā] me ichha [a]ṁtesu

Dhau. . . i [p]a[p]unevu te iti Devañāṁp[ī]y... [anu]v[i]g[i]na mamāye
Jau. pāpuneyu laja hevaṁ ichh[a]ti anu[va]g[na] hve[yu]

Dhau. huvēu ti asvasevu cha sukhammeva laheva mamā[e]
Jau. mamiyaye[a]vaseyu cha me sukhain[m]ev[a] cha lahe[yu] mamate

Dhau. no dukha[m] b[e]va[m] ... un[e]vu iti khamisati ne
Jau. [n]o khā[m] hevaṁ cha pāpuneyu kha[m][sa]ti ne

1 The last eight words are repeated thus: [a]ha paţāye ichhāmi kim[t]i m[e] savena hita-
sukhe[na] yuvēu.
SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

Dhau. Devānāṃpiye [aph]āka ti e chakiye khamitatev mama nimitam [va]
Jau. lajā e s[a]kiye khamitatev mamāṃ nimitam

Dhau. cha cha nāṃma[i] chalevū hidaloka palalokā[r]n cha
Jau. cha cha nāṃma[r] chalev[ū] ti hidalog[a]n cha palalogän cha

Dhau. alādhaíeyu (H) etasi athasi haka[r]n anusāsāmi tuphe
Jau. alādhaíey[ū] (f) etāye cha athāye haka[r]n tupheni anusāsāmi

Dhau. ana[n]e [e]kakena haka[r]n anusāsit evhāmda[r] cha vedītu

Dhau. a [hi] dhīl[ti] paṭiṁniḥ cha mamā [a]jala (f) s[e] hevaṁ kaṭu
Jau. a mama dhiti paṭiṁniḥ cha achala (f) sa hevaṁ [ka]ṭū


Dhau. pāpunevu iti atha putā tatha Devānāṃpiye[e] apahāka atā cha

Dhau. atānām hevaṁ Devānāṃpiye [a]hunaṁpati aphe atā cha paja

Dhau. hevaṁ may[e] D[e]vānāṃpiyasā (f) se haka[r]n anusāsit [chh]a]mda[r]

Dhau. ch[a] vedītu tu[p]hak[a]

Dhau. hosāmi etāye athāye (K) paṭiṁbalā hi tuphe[e] asvāsānaye hita-
Jau. hosāmi et[as]i [a]h[a]sa[r] (L) [a]tām [h]i tuphe asvāsā[n]aye hi[tas]

Dhau. sukhāye cha [təs]a hidalokik-palalo[k]i[k]āyē (L) hevaṁ cha
Jau. sukhāye cha [təs]a[h]idualokik-palalo[k]i[k]āyē (M) hevaṁ cha

Dhau. kalāṁtaṁ tuphe svagarālādha[yi]satha mama ch[a] ananiyaṁ
Jau. kalāṁtāṁ svagarān cha alādha[yi]satha mama cha ana[n]eyān

Dhau. chatha (M) etāye cha athāye iyām lipi likhitā hida e[na]
Jau. es[a]tha (N) etāye cha a[th]āyē iyā[m] lipi li[khi]ṭa hida e[na]

Jau. [ma]h[a]mātā sāsvatām samaṃ yujeyū asvāsānaye cha dhāma-ra

Dhau. chala[n]ayā cha tes[a] arītanām (N) iyām cha lipi anu[kh]atunmaṣaṁ

Dhau. tisena nakhatena sotaviyā (O) kāmān chu [kha]naś[i] khanasi
Jau. s[ot]aviyā tisena (P) arīta[l]a[pi] cha sotaviyā
III. THE SIX PILLAR-EDICTS

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT

Töp. (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyaḍasi laja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena
Ar. (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyaḍasi laja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena
Nand. (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyaḍasi laja hevaṁ ā[ha] (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena
Rām. (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyaḍasi laja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena
All. (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyaḍasi laja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena

Töp. me iyaṁ dharmama-śīpi likhāpiṭa (C) hidata-pālata dusamantapādaya
Ar. me iyaṁ dharmama-śīpi likhāpiṭa (C) hidata-pālata dusamantapādaya
Nand. me iyaṁ dharmama-śīpi likhāpiṭa (C) hidata-pālata dusamantapādaya
Rām. me iyaṁ dharmama-śīpi likhāpiṭa (C) hidata-pālata dusamantapādaya
All. me iyaṁ dharmama-śīpi likhāpiṭa (C) hidata-pālata dusamantapādaya

Töp. aṁnata agaṣā dharmama-kāmatāya agaṣā palikhaṭā agaṣā susaṣāya
Ar. aṁnata agaṣā dharmama-kāmatāya agaṣā palikhaṭa[a] agaṣā susaṣāya
Nand. aṁnata agaṣā dharmama-kāmatāya agaṣā palikhaṭa agaṣā susaṣāya
Rām. aṁnata agaṣā dharmama-kāmatāya agaṣā palikhaṭa agaṣā susaṣāya
All. aṁnata agaṣā dharmama-kāmatāya agaṣā palikhaṭa agaṣā susaṣāya

Töp. agraṇa bhayaṇa agraṇa usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiyā
Ar. agraṇa bhayaṇa agraṇa usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiyā
Nand. agraṇa bhayaṇa agraṇa usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiyā
Rām. agraṇa bhayaṇa agraṇa usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiyā
All. agraṇa bhayaṇa agraṇa usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiyā

Töp. dharmamekha dharmama-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhīsati cheva
Ar. dharmamekha dharmama-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhīsati cheva
Nand. dharmamekha dharmama-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhīsati cheva
Rām. dharmamekha dharmama-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhīsati cheva
All. dharmamekha dharmama-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhīsati cheva

Töp. (E) pulisā pi cha me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhima cha
Ar. (E) pulisā pi cha me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhima cha
Nand. (E) pulisā pi cha me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhima cha
Rām. (E) pulisā pi cha me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhima cha
All. (E) pulisā pi cha me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhima cha

Töp. anuvidhiyānti samantapādayantī cha alam cha chalām samādaipayitave
Ar. anuvidhiyānti samantapādayantī cha alam cha chalām samādaipayitave
Nand. anuvidhiyānti samantapādayantī cha alam cha chalām samādaipayitave
Rām. anuvidhiyānti samantapādayantī cha alam cha chalām samādaipayitave
All. anuvidhiyānti samantapādayantī cha alam cha chalām samādaipayitave
FIRST PILLAR-EDICT

Töp. (F) hemeva ainta-mahāmātā pi (G) esa hi vidhi yā iyaih dhanmēna

Mir. ...

Ar. (F) hemeva ainta-mahāmātā pi (G) esa hi vidhi yā iyaih dhanmēna

Nand. (F) hemeva ainta-mahāmātā pi (G) esa hi vidhi yā iyaih dhanmēna

Rām. (F) hemeva ainta-mahāmātā pi (G) csā hi vidhi yā iyaih dhanmēna

All. (F) h enimeva ainta-mahāmātā pi (G) esa hi vidhi yā [I]yaih dhanmēna

Töp. pālanā dhāmnena vidhiāne dhāmnena sukhiyāna dhāmnena

Mir. ...

Ar. pālana dhāmnena vidhiāne dhāmnena sukhiyāna dhāmnena

Nand. pālana dhāmnena vidhiāne dhāmnena sukhiyāna dhāmnena

Rām. pālana dhāmnena vidhiāne dhā[m]nena sukhiyāna dhāmnena

All. pālana dhāmnena vidhiāne dhāmnena sukhiyāna dhāmnena

Töp. goti ti

Mir. ...

Ar. goti ti

Nand. goti ti

Rām. goti ti

All. [gut:ti] [ti cha]

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT

Töp. (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ahā (B) dhāṁme sādhū

Mir. (A) De[va]ṃpiye Piyadasi lāja [hevaṁ ā:]. (B) dh[am]me s[ā]dh[u]

Ar. (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ahā (B) dhāṁme sādhū

Nand. (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ahā (B) dhāṁme sādhū

Rām. (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ahā (B) dhāṁme sādhū

All. (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ahā (B) dhāṁme sādhū

Töp. kiyaṁ chu dhāṁme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache

Mir. k[fiya]ṁ ... [m]e ti (C) a[pā]sinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache

Ar. kiyaṁ chu dhāṁme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache

Nand. kiya chu dhāṁme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache

Rām. kiyaṁ chu dhāṁme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache

All. kiyaṁ chu dhāṁme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache

Töp. sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe diṁne (E) dupada-

Mir. sochaye (D) [chakhu-dā]nā [pi me] bahuvidhe diṁne (E) du[pā]da-

Ar. socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe diṁne (E) dupada-

Nand. socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe diṁne (E) dupada-

Rām. socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe diṁne (E) dupada-

All. socheye (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe diṁne (E) dupada-

Töp. chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahē kāte ā pāna-

Mir. ch[au]padesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahē kāte ā pāna-

Ar. chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahē kāte ā pāna-

Nand. chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahē kāte ā pāna-

Rām. chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahē kāte ā pāna-

All. chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahē kāte ā pāna-
SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

Tōp. dākhānaye (F) āmnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭānī (G) etāye
Mitr. dākhānaye (F) ā[m]nāni pi cha me bah[uni kayānāni] kaṭānī (G) etāye
Ar. dākhānaye (F) ā[m]nāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭānī (G) etāye
Nand. dākhānaye (F) āmnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭānī (G) etāye
Rām. dākhānaye (F) āmnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭānī (G) etāye
All. dākhānaye (F) āmnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭānī (G) etāye

Tōp. me, aṭhāye iyāṁ dharma-lipi likhāpita hevaṁ anupaṭipadaṁtu chilāṁ-
Mitr. me aṭhāye iyāṁ dharma-lipi i[k]hāpita . . . . anupaṭipadatātu chīla[m]-
Ar. me aṭhāye iyāṁ dharma-lipi likhāpita hevaṁ anupaṭipadaṁtu chilāṁ-
Nand. me aṭhāye iyāṁ dharma-lipi likhāpita hevaṁ anupaṭipadaṁtu chilāṁ-
Rām. me aṭhāye iyāṁ dharma-lipi likhāpita hevaṁ anupaṭipadaṁtu chilāṁ-
All. me aṭhāye iyāṁ dharma-lipi likhāpita hevaṁ anupaṭipadaṁtu chilāṁ-

Tōp. thithikā cha hotū ti ti (H) ye cha hevaṁ sampāṭipajāsatī se
Mitr. [th]ithikā cha hotū ti (H) ye [cha] . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [ṣāṭi] se
Ar. thithikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṁ sampāṭipajāsatī se
Nand. thithikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṁ sampāṭipajāsatī se
Rām. thithikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṁ sampāṭipajāsatī se
All. thithikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṁ sampāṭipajāsatī se

Tōp. sukaṭaṁ kachhati ti
Mitr. sukaṭaṁ ka[cha]ṭi ti
Ar. sukaṭaṁ kachhati ti
Nand. sukaṭaṁ kachhati
Rām. sukaṭaṁ kachhati ti
All. sukaṭaṁ kachhati ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT

Tōp. (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ aha (B) kayānāmmeva dekhati
Mitr. (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ aha (B) kayānāmmeva de . . . .
Ar. (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ aha (B) kayānāmmeva dekhati
Nand. (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ aha (B) kayānāmmeva dekhati
Rām. (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ aha (B) kayānāmmeva dekhati
All. (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ aha (B) kayānāmmeva dekhati

Tōp. iyāṁ me kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpam c[e]khāti iyāṁ me
Mitr. . . . . kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no min[ā] pāpam dekhati iyāṁ me
Ar. iyāṁ me kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpam dekhaṁti iyāṁ me
Nand. iyāṁ me kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpam dekhaṁti iyāṁ me
Rām. iyāṁ me kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpam dekhaṁti iyāṁ me
All. iyāṁ me kayāne-kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpam dekhaṁti iyāṁ me

Tōp. pāpe kaṭe ti iyāṁ vā āsānaṁ nāmā ti (D) dūpāṭivekhe chu kho
Mitr. pāpe kaṭe ti iyāṁ vā āsānaṁ nāmā ti (D) dūpāṭivekhe chu kho
Ar. pāpe kaṭe ti iyāṁ vā āsānaṁ nāmā ti (D) dūpāṭivekhe chu kho
Nand. pāpe kaṭe ti iyāṁ vā āsānaṁ nāmā ti (D) dūpāṭivekhe chu kho
Rām. pāpe kaṭe ti iyāṁ vā āsānaṁ nāmā ti (D) dūpāṭivekhe chu kho
All. pāpake kaṭe ti iyāṁ vā āsānaṁ nāmā ti
THIRD PILLAR-EDICT

Tōp. esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīnī nāma
Mīr. esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho [esa dc]khiye (F) imāni āsinav[a-gāmīnī] nāma
Ar. esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīnī nāmā
Nand. esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīnī nāmā
Rām. esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīnī nāmā

Tōp. atha chaṁdiye niḻhūliye kodhe māne isyā kālanena va
Mīr. atha chaṁdiye ni[thū]ll[y]e k[ō]dhе māne isyā kālanena [va]
Ar. ti atha chaṁdiye niḻhūliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va
Nand. ti atha chaṁdiye niḻhūliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va
Rām. ti atha chaṁdiye niḻhūliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va

Tōp. hakari mā palibhasayisaṁ (G) esa bādha dekhiye (H) iyam me
Mīr. hakari mā palibha[a)sal[a]n (G) ... bā[dhān] dekhiye (H) iyam me
Ar. hakari mā palibhasayisaṁ ti (G) esa bādhaṁ dekhiye (H) iyam me
Nand. hakari mā palibhasayisaṁ ti (G) esa bādhaṁ dekhiye (H) iyam me
Rām. hakari mā palibhasayisaṁ (G) esa bādhaṁ dekhiye (H) iyam me

Tōp. hidatikāye iyaṁmana me palatikāye
Mīr. [hi]dat[ī]kāye iyaṁ me palatikāye
Ar. hidatikāye iyaṁmana me palatikāye ti
Nand. hidatikāye iyaṁmana me palatikāye ti
Rām. hidatikāye iyaṁmana me palatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT

Tōp. (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadāsi [ā]ja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvisatī-vasa-abhisitena
Ar. (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadāsi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvisatī-vasābhisitena
Nand. (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadāsi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvisatī-vasābhisitena
Rām. (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadāsi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvisatī-vasābhisitena

Tōp. me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpitā (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu
Ar. me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpitā (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu
Nand. me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpitā (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu
Rām. me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpitā (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu

Tōp. janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhīhale va daṁḍe va ata-patiye me
Ar. janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhīhale va daṁḍe va ata-patiye me
Nand. janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhīhale va daṁḍe va ata-patiye me
Rām. janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhīhale va daṁḍe va ata-patiye me

Tōp. kaṭe kiṁti lajūkā asvatha abhītā kaṁmāni pavatayevū janasa
Ar. kaṭe kiṁti lajūkā asvatha abhītā kaṁmāni pavatayevū ti janasa
Nand. kaṭe kiṁti lajūkā asvatha abhītā kaṁmāni pavatayevū ti janasa
Rām. kaṭe kiṁti lajūkā asvatha abhītā kaṁmāni pavatayevū ti janasa
SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

Tōp. jānapadassā hita-sukhaṁ upadahevū anugahinevu cha (E) sukhiyana-
Ar. jānapadasa hita-sukhaṁ upadahevū anugahinevu cha (E) sukhiyana-
Nand. jānapadasa hita-sukhaṁ upadahevū anugahinevu cha (E) sukhiyana-
Rām. jānapadasa hita-sukhaṁ upadahevū anugahinevu cha (E) sukhiyana-

Tōp. dukhiyanaṁ jānisanti dharmā-yutena cha viyovadisaṁti janaṁ jānapadāṁ
Ar. dukhiyanaṁ jānisanti dharmā-yutena cha viyovadisaṁti janaṁ jānapadāṁ
Nand. dukhiyanaṁ jānisanti dharmā-yutena cha viyovadisaṁti janaṁ jānapadāṁ
Rām. dukhiyanaṁ jānisanti dharmā-yutena cha viyovadisaṁti janaṁ jānapadāṁ

Tōp. kiṁti hidataṁ cha pālataṁ cha ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghaṁti
Ar. kiṁti hidataṁ cha pālataṁ cha ālādhayevu (F) lajūkā pi laghaṁti
Nand. kiṁti hidataṁ cha pālataṁ cha ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghaṁti
Rām. kiṁti hidataṁ cha pālataṁ cha ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghaṁti

Tōp. paṭichalitave main (G) pulisāni pi me chhamdānnā pi paṭichalisaṁti
Ar. paṭichalitave main (G) pulisāni pi me chhamdānnā pi paṭichalisaṁti
Nand. paṭichalitave main (G) pulisāni pi me chhamdānnā pi paṭichalisaṁti
Rām. paṭichalitave main (G) pulisāni pi me chhamdānnā pi paṭichalisaṁti

Tōp. (H) te pi cha kānī viyovadisaṁti yena main lajūkā chaghaṁti
Ar. (H) te pi cha kānī viyovadisaṁti yena main lajūkā chaghaṁti
Nand. (H) te pi cha kānī viyovadisaṁti yena main lajūkā chaghaṁti
Rām. (H) te pi cha kānī viyovadisaṁti yena main lajūkā chaghaṁti

Tōp. alādhayitave (I) athā hi pajaṁ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvatthe
Ar. alādhayitave (I) athā hi pajaṁ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvatthe
Nand. alādhayitave (I) athā hi pajaṁ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvatthe
Rām. alādhayitave (I) athā hi pajaṁ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvatthe

Tōp. hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pajaṁ sukhaṁ palihaṭaveti hevanī
Ar. hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pajaṁ sukhaṁ palihaṭaveti hevanī
Nand. hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pajaṁ sukhaṁ palihaṭaveti hevanī
Rām. hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pajaṁ sukhaṁ palihaṭaveti hevanī

Tōp. mamā lajūkā kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (F) yena ete abhiṭā
Ar. mamā lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (F) yena ete abhiṭā
Nand. mamā lajūkā kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (F) yena ete abhiṭā
Rām. mamā lajūkā kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (F) yena ete abhiṭā

Tōp. asvatha samāṁ avimana kammāni pavatayevedu ti etena
Ar. asvatha saṁ ti (pa)vatayevedu ti (c)te(na)
Nand. asvatha samāṁ avimana kammāni pavatayevedu ti etena
Rām. asvatha samāṁ avimana kammāni pavatayevedu ti etena
### FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tōp.</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>lajūkānām</th>
<th>abh[i]hāle va daṁde va ata-patiye kaṭe</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mtr.</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>[la][j][a][k][a][n]</td>
<td>ata-patiye kaṭe[e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar.</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>lajūkānām</td>
<td>abhīhāle va daṁde va ata-patiye kaṭe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naund.</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>lajūkānām</td>
<td>abhīhāle va daṁde va ata-patiye kaṭe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām.</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>lajūkānām</td>
<td>abhīhāle va daṁde va ata-patiye kaṭe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>[kānām]</td>
<td>abhīhāle va daṁde va ata-patiye kaṭe[e]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tōp.</th>
<th>(K) ichhitaviye</th>
<th>[h]i esā kiṃti viyohāla-samatā cha siya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mtr.</td>
<td>(K) ichhitavi</td>
<td>[h]i la-samatā cha[a] siya[ā]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar.</td>
<td>(K) ichhitaviye</td>
<td>hi esa kiṃti viyohāla-samatā cha siya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naund.</td>
<td>(K) ichhitaviye</td>
<td>hi esa kiṃti viyohāla-samatā cha siya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām.</td>
<td>(K) ichhitaviye</td>
<td>hi esa kiṃti viyohāla-samatā cha siya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All.</td>
<td>(K) [i]eh[i][a][v][i][e]</td>
<td>... la-samā[k]ā cha siya[ō]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tōp.</th>
<th>daṁda-samatā cha (L) ava ite pi cha me āvuti baṁdhana-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mtr.</td>
<td>daṁda-sa[ma]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar.</td>
<td>daṁda-samatā cha (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṁdhana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naund.</td>
<td>daṁda-samatā cha (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṁdhana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām.</td>
<td>daṁda-samatā cha (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṁdhana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All.</td>
<td>da[m][a]-samatā cha (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṁdhana-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tōp.</th>
<th>badhānaṁ munisānāṁ tīl[i]ta-dāṁdānāṁ pata-vadhānaṁ tīn[i] divasā[n]i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mtr.</td>
<td>badhānaṁ munisānāṁ tīl[i]ta-dāṁdānāṁ pata-vadhānaṁ tīn[i] divasān[i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar.</td>
<td>badhānaṁ munisānāṁ tīl[i]ta-dāṁdānāṁ pata-vadhānaṁ tīn[i] divasān[i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naund.</td>
<td>badhānaṁ munisānāṁ tīl[i]ta-dāṁdānāṁ pata-vadhānaṁ tīn[i] divasān[i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām.</td>
<td>badhānaṁ munisānāṁ tīl[i]ta-dāṁdānāṁ pata-vadhānaṁ tīn[i] divasān[i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All.</td>
<td>badhānaṁ munisānāṁ tīl[i]ta-dāṁdānāṁ pata-vadhānaṁ tīn[i] divasān[i]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tōp.</th>
<th>me yote diṁne (M) nāṭikā va kāṇi nījhapayisānti jivitāye</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mtr.</td>
<td>[m]e y[o]te diṁne (M) ... payisā[r]ti j[i]ti[j]e[j]ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar.</td>
<td>me yote diṁne (M) nāṭikā va kāṇi nījhapayisānti jivitāye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naund.</td>
<td>me [y]ote diṁne (M) nāṭikā va kāṇi nījhapayisānti jivitāye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām.</td>
<td>me [y]ote diṁne (M) nāṭikā va kāṇi nījhapayisānti jivitāye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All.</td>
<td>yote diṁne (M) ... [k]ā va kāṇi nījhapayisānti jivitāye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tōp.</th>
<th>tānaṁ nāsāntaṁ va nījhapayitā dānaṁ dāhaṁti pālatikāṁ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mtr.</td>
<td>tānaṁ[n] nāsāntaṁ [v]ā ni ... [k]ā ... ti pālatikāṁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar.</td>
<td>tānaṁ nāsāntaṁ va nījhapayit[ɑ]ye dānaṁ dāhaṁti pālatikāṁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naund.</td>
<td>tānaṁ nāsāntaṁ va nījhapayit[ɑ]ye dānaṁ dāhaṁti pālatikāṁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām.</td>
<td>tānaṁ nāsāntaṁ va nījhapayitave dānaṁ dāhaṁti pālatikāṁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All.</td>
<td>tānaṁ nāsāntaṁ va nījhapayitā dānaṁ dāhaṁti pālatikāṁ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tōp.</th>
<th>upavāsaṁ va kachhaṁti (N) ichhā hi me hevaṁ niludhasi pi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mtr.</td>
<td>up[a]vāsaṁ va [k][a] ... (N) hevaṁ niludhasi pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar.</td>
<td>upavāsaṁ va kachhaṁti (N) ichhā hi me hevaṁ niludhasi pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naund.</td>
<td>upavāsaṁ va kachhaṁti (N) ichhā hi me hevaṁ niludhasi pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām.</td>
<td>upavāsaṁ va kachhaṁti (N) ichhā hi me hevaṁ niludhasi pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All.</td>
<td>upavāsaṁ va [k][a]chha[m]ti (N) ... [h]i me hevaṁ niludhasi pi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

Tōp. kālasī pālataṁ ālādha evū ti (O) janasa cha vadhati vividhe
Mtr. [k]ālasī pā[la]kān ālādha[ye] ....... vadhati vividhe
Ar. kālasī pālataṁ ālādha evū ti (O) janasa cha va[dha]ti vividhe
Nand. [kālas]i pālataṁ ālādha evū f[i] (O) janasa cha vadhati vividhe
Rām. kālasī pālataṁ ālādha evū ti (O) janasa cha vadhati vividhe
All. kālasī pālataṁ ālādha evū[ù] (O) janasa cha vadhati vividhe

Tōp. dhārma-chalane sāniyame dāna-savībhāge ti
Mtr. dhārma-chal[a]ne sāniyame dā[na] ..........
Ar. dhārn[a]ma-chalane sayame dāna-savībhāge ti
Nand. dhārma-chalane sayame dāna-savībhāge ti
Rām. dhārma-chalane sayame dāna-savībhāge ti
All. dhārma-chalane sayame dāna-savībhāge

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT

Tōp. (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āhā (B) sāduvisati-vasa-abhisitena
Ar. (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āhā (B) sāduvisati-vasābbhitisasa
Nand. (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āhā (B) sāduvisati-vasābhitisasa
Rām. (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āhā (B) sāduvisati-[va]sābbhitisena
All. (A) ......... [p]yye Piyadasi lāja hevam āhā (B) sāduvisati-vasābhitisena

Tōp. me imāni jātāni avadvhiyāni kaṭāni seyathā suke sālikā alune
Ar. me imāni pi jātāni avadvhiyāni kaṭāni seyatha suke sālikā alune
Nand. me imāni pi jātāni avadvhiyāni kaṭāni seyath[ā] suke sālikā alune
Rām. me imāni pi jātāni avadvhiyāni kaṭāni seyatha suke sālikā alune
All. me imāni jātāni avadvhiyāni kaṭāni seyatha suke sālikā alune

Tōp. chakavake harne naṁdimukhe gelaṭe jatūkā ambhā-kapilika dali
Ar. chakavake harne naṁdimukhe gelaṭe jatūkā ambhā-kapilika dali
Nand. chakavake harne naṁdimukhe gelaṭe jatūkā ambhā-kapilika dali
Rām. chakavake harne naṁdimukhe gelaṭe jatūkā ambhā-kapilika dali
All. chakav[ak]e .... [nāhīd][m][u]khe gelaṭe jatūk[ā] ambhā-kapilika dali

Tōp. anathikā-machhe vedaveyake Gaṅgā-puputake sanīkuja-machhe kaphats[a]-
Ar. anathikā-machhe vedaveyake Gaṅgā-puputake sanīkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-
Nand. anathikā-machhe vedaveyake Gaṅgā-puputake sarīkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-
Rām. anathikā-machhe vedaveyake Gaṅgā-puputake sanīkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-
All. anathikā-machhe vedaveyake Gaṅgā-[p][u]kake sanīkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-

Tōp. sayake paṁṇa-sase simale saṃdake okapiṁde palasate seta-kapote
Ar. sayake paṁṇa-sase simale saṃdake okapiṁde palasate seta-kapote
Nand. sayake paṁṇa-sase simale saṃdake okapiṁde palasate seta-kapote
Rām. sayake paṁṇa-sase simale saṃdake okapiṁde palasate seta-kapote
All. .... [k][e] p[a]jhaṇa-sase simale saṃdā ....... [ta]-kapote

Tōp. gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogami no eti na cha
Ar. gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭipogaṁ no eti no cha
Nand. gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogāṁ no eti na cha
Rām. gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogāṁ no eti na cha
FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT

Töp. khädiyati (C) i [e]láká chá sükali chá gabhini va pâyaminá
Ar. khádiy[a]ti (C) ajáká náni edáká cha sukali cha gabhini va pâyaminá
Nand. khádiyati (C) ajáká náni edáká cha sükali cha gabhini va pâyaminá
Rám. khádiyati (C) ajáká náni eláká cha sükali cha gabhini va pâyaminá
All. ná [p]á[y]a[mí]...

Töp. va avadh[y] p. ta[k]ke pi cha káni ásámmásike (D) vadhí-kukúte
Mír. [potake pi cha] k[a]n[i] ke (D) vadhí-kukúte
Ar. va avadhíya potake cha káni ásámmásike (D) vadhí-kukúte
Nand. va avadhíya potake cha káni ásámmásike (D) vadhí-kukúte
Rám. va avadhíya potake cha káni ásámmásike (D) vadhí-kukúte

Töp. no kaṭa[v]yie (E) tuse sajíve no jhápataviye (F) dāve anātháye va
Mír. no kaṭa[v]yie (E) tuse sajíve te [a]nátháye va
Ar. no kaṭa[v]yie (E) tuse sajíve no jhápyati[v]yie (F) dāve anātháye va
Nand. no kaṭa[v]yie (E) tuse sajíve no jhápyati[v]yie (F) dāve anātháye va
Rám. no kaṭa[v]yie (E) tuse sajíve no jhápyati[v]yie (F) dāve anātháye va
All. sajíve no jhá[pá]...

Töp. vihíšaye vā no jhápyati[v]yie (G) jívena jíve no pusita[v]yie
Ar. vihíšaye vā no jhápyati[v]yie (G) jívena jíve no pusita[v]yie
Nand. vihíšaye vā no jhápyati[v]yie (G) jívena jíve no pusita[v]yie
Rám. vihíšaye vā no jhápyati[v]yie (G) jívena jíve no pusita[v]yie

Töp. (H) tisú cátamu[má[s]isu tisyá[m] pu[r]namá[s]yá[m] ti[ní ni divásáni
Mír. (H) tisú cátamu[má[s]isu [t]í[sáya[ní pu[r]ná[má[s]yá[m] ti[ní ni divásáni
Ar. (H) tisú cátamu[má[s]isu tisyá[m] pu[r]namá[s]yá[m] ti[ní ni divásáni
Nand. (H) tisú cátamu[má[s]isu tisyá[m] pu[r]namá[s]yá[m] ti[ní ni divásáni
Rám. (H) tisú cátamu[má[s]isu tisyá[m] pu[r]namá[s]yá[m] ti[ní ni divásáni
All. ...

Töp. chávdasa[m] párnapá[s]a[m] pátípadá[c] dhu[vá[y]e chá anupos[th]am
Ar. chávdasa[m] párnapá[s]a[m] pátípadá dhu[vá[y]e cha anupos[th]am
Nand. chávdasa[m] párnapá[s]a[m] pátípadá dhu[vá[y]e cha anupos[th]am
Rám. chávdasa[m] párnapá[s]a[m] pátípadá dhu[vá[y]e cha anupos[th]am
All. chá[v]u[das]a[m] [p]álncha[da]

Töp. machhe avadhíye no pi viketáviye (f) etá[ní yevá divásáni nágá-
Mír. machhe avadhíye no pi viketáviye (f) etá[ní yevá divásáni ná[gá-
Ar. machhe avadhíye no pi viketáviye (f) etá[ní yevá divásáni nágá-
Nand. machhe avadhíye no pi viketáviye (f) etá[ní yevá divásáni nágá-
Rám. machhe avadhíye no pi viketáviye (f) etá[ní yevá divásáni nágá-

Töp. vanasi keváta-bhogási yáni a[m]ná[ní pi jíva-niká[y]á[ní no ha[m]ta[v]i[y]á[ní
Mír. van[a]sí keváta-bhogási yáni a[m]ná[ní pi jíva-niká[y]á[ní no ha[m]ta[v]i[y]á[ní
Ar. vanasi keváta-bhogási yáni a[m]ná[ní pi jíva-niká[y]á[ní no ha[m]ta[v]i[y]á[ní
Nand. vanasi keváta-bhogási yáni a[m]ná[ní pi jíva-niká[y]á[ní no ha[m]ta[v]i[y]á[ní
Rám. vanasi keváta-bhogási yáni a[m]ná[ní pi jíva-niká[y]á[ní no ha[m]ta[v]i[y]á[ní
SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT

Tōp. (A) Devānampaśe Piyadasi lāje hevaṁ aha (B) duvādāsa-
Ar. (A) Devānampaśe Piyadasi lāje hevaṁ aha (B) duvā[da][s]-
Nand. (A) Devānampaśe Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ aha (B) duvā[la][s]-
Rām. (A) Devānampaśe Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ aha (B) duvādāsa-

Tōp. vasa-abhīṣitaṁ me dhamma-liṭi likhāpitā lokasa hita-sukhāye se tāṁ
Ar. vasābhīṣitaṁ me dhamma-liṭi likhāpitā lokasa hita-sukhāye se tāṁ
Nand. [va]sābhīṣitaṁ me dhamma-liṭi likhāpitā lokasa hita-sukhāye se tāṁ
Rām. vasābhīṣitaṁ me dhamma-liṭi likhāpitā lokasa hita-sukhāye se tāṁ
Tōp. apahaṭā taṁ taṁ dharma-vadhi pāpovā (C) hevarī lokasā hita-
Ar. apahaṭa taṁ taṁ dharma-vadhi pāpovā (C) hevarī lokasa hita-
Nand. apahaṭa taṁ taṁ dharma-vadhi pāpovā (C) hevarī lokasa hita-
Rām. apahaṭa taṁ taṁ dharma-vadhi pāpovā (C) hevarī lok[a]sa hita-
All. ... t[ān] ... [ḍh] [pā] ... (C) hevarī lokasa hita-

Tōp. [sukhe] ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṁ nātiṣu hevarī paṭiyāsaṁnesu
Ar. sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi athā iyaṁ nātiṣu hevarī paṭiyāsaṁnesu
Nand. sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi athā iyaṁ nātiṣu hevarī paṭiyāsaṁnesu
Rām. sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṁ nātiṣu hevarī paṭiyāsaṁnesu
All. sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha [iya]ṁ ... [va]ṁ [paṭyāsa[r]h]ne[su]

Tōp. hevaṁ apakaṭhesu kīmāṁ kāni sukhaṁ āvahāmi ti tatha cha
Ar. hevaṁ apakaṭhesu kīmāṁ kāni sukhaṁ āvahāmi ti tatha cha
Nand. heyaṁ apakaṭhesu kīmāṁ kāni sukhaṁ āvahāmi ti tatha cha
Rām. hevaṁ apakaṭhesu kīmāṁ kāni sukhaṁ āvahāmi ti tatha cha
All. [heva]ṁ apaka[th][su] kīmāṁ [kā[n]i]

Tōp. vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsaṁda.
Ar. vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsaṁda
Nand. vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-n[i]kāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsaṁda
Rām. vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-n[i]kāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsaṁda
All. [v][dah]āmi (D) hevaṁmeva [sa]va.[k]āyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) [sa]va-pāsaṁda

Tōp. pi me pūjitā vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṁ at[a]nā pachūpagamane
Mīr. ... ... ... ... ... upagamane
Ar. pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṁ atana pachūpagamane
Nand. pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṁ atana pachūpagamane
Rām. pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṁ atana pachūpagamane
All. pi me pūjita vividhāya [pūj]āya (F) e chu iy[a]n atana pachūpagamane

Tōp. se me mokhya-mate (G) saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena me iyaṁ dharmma-
Mīr. se me mokhya-mate (G) saḍu ... isitena me iyaṁ dharmma-
Ar. se me mukhya-mute (G) saḍuvīsati-vasābhīsitena me iyaṁ dharmma-
Nand. se me mokhya-mute (G) saḍuvīsati-v[a]sābhīsitena me iyaṁ dharmma-
Rām. se me mokhya-mute (G) saḍuvīsati[v]asābhīsitena me iyaṁ dharmma-
All. se me mukhya-mute (G)

Tōp. lipi likhāpitā
Mīr. lipi[pi] li ... ... Ar. lipi likhāpita
Nand. lipi likhāpita
Rām. lipi likhāpita
All. lipi likhāpita ti
IV. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSRIPTION AND COGNATE INSRIPTIONS

Rāp. (A) Devānāmipye heva[m] āhā (B) sāt[ra]kekāni adhat[i]yānī
dvānāmipye he[va]m a (C) [yānī]

Sah. (A) Devānāmipye [a]h[ā] (B) s[a]a (C) ni

Bair. (A) Devānāmipye asok[sa] (B) adhitānyāni

Mas. (A) [Dev]a[n][m]piyasa aha (B) adhitānyāni

Brah. (B) Devānāmipye ōnapayati (C) adhitānyāni

Śidd. (B) [Dev]a[n][m]piyasa āha (C) adhitānyāni

[t]a (B) Dev[ā]n[a].

Rāp. va ya sumi prakāsā [Saka]c (C) no chu bādhī
dvānāmipye upāsake sumi (C) na chu bādhām

Sah. [savachhalī] a[ha]n upāsake (C) no chu bādhām

Bair. v[a]n[i] ya hakaṁ upāsake (C) [no chu] bādhām

Mas. v[a]n[i] aṁ sam[i] Bu[dha]-Sake

Brah. v[a]n[i] ya hakaṁ (D) no tu kho bādhām

Śidd. v[a]n[i] ya h[ka]n u[pāsake] (D) no tu kho bādhā

[t]a (B) Dev[ā]n[a].

Rāp. pakate (D) sātileke chu
dvānāmipye (D) sav[a]chhale

Sah. [palaka]n[te]

Bair. (C)

Mas. (C)

Brah. prakānte husam ekam savachharam (E) sātireke tu kho

Śidd. pakānte husam ek[an] sa[vachha] (E) sātireke tu kho

[t]a (B) Dev[ā]n[a].

Rāp. chhavachhare ya sumi haka[m] sagh[a] up[ās]te bādhām ch[a]
dvānāmipye

Sah. sādhi[ke] a[ha]

Bair. aṁ mamaya saghe [u]payate [ba]dha cha

Mas. [m]i [s'anga[m] u[p]gaye [u]b

Brah. saṁvachhareṁ yaṁ mayā s[nghe upayite bādhām cha

Śidd. saṁvachhareṁ yaṁ mayā saṁnghe upayite bādhām (cha)

[t]a (B) Dev[ā]n[a].

Rāp. pakate (E) ya [i]māya kalāya Jambudipasi

Sah. [te] (E) [etena cha anita]ena Jambudipasi

Bair. (E) [etena cha anita]ena Jambudipasi

Mas. [m]i up[gaye] (D) pure Jambu... [Si]

Brah. me pakānte (F) iminā chu kālena amīṣa samānā

Śidd. [me] p[akānte] (F) [i][m]nā chu kālena [a]misā samānā

[t]a (B) Dev[ā]n[a].
Rup. amisa deva husu te dani m[j][a] kaṭa
Sah. aṁmisha[t[de]]-vai sahita munisa [m]isam-deva [kaṭa i]
Bair. amisā na devehi ....... [m]i
Mas. [ye amisā devā husu] te [da]n[.]i misibhiṭā
Brah. munisa Jainbūdipasi m[j]sā devehi
Sidd. mu ... Jainbu[c] ... [m]isā devehi
Jaṭ....

Rup. (F) pakamasi hi [e]sa phale (G) no cha esā mahatata
Sah. (F) [pala] ... [iyān phale] (G) [no] ... [iyān] mahatata va
Bair. (F) [ka]masa esa .. l[e] (G) [no] hi e[s]e ma[ha]tānceva
Mas. (E) iya a[the]
Brah. (G) pakamasa hi iyān phale (H) no hiyaṃ sakye
Sidd. (G) pakamasa hi iyān phale (H) no [h]i iya saka
Jaṭ. (G) .... [h]i [iyān]

Rup. p[a]potave khudakena pi
Sah. chakiye pāv[a]l[a]vei khudakena pi
Bair. chakiye .........
Mas. [khu]daki[na] pi
Brah. mahāṭpeneva pāpotave kāmaṁ tu kho khudakena pi
Sidd. [ma]...[ne]va pāpo[t]ave kāmaṁ tu kho khudakena pi
Jaṭ....

Rup. pa[ka]mam[i]nenā sakiye pipule pā svage ārodheve
Sah. palakamaminenā vipule pi s[u]l[ag] ...[k]j[e] [alā] ... [ve i]
Bair. ... kamaminenā vipule pi svage [cha]k[e] [a]lācheta[v]e
Mas. dhama-[yu]te[na] sake adhigatave (F) na hevami dakhita[ve]
Brah. paka[n]t[na] lena vipule svage sakye āradhetavc
Jaṭ....

Rup. (H) etiya aṭhāya cha sāvane kate kh[u]dak[ka] cha
Sah. (H) se etāye aṭhāye iyān sāvane; khudakā cha
Bair. (H) ......... kā cha
Mas. [u]dā]lake va ima adhigach[en]ā ti (G) [khudak]e [cha]
Brah. (I) e[.]yaṭhāya iyān sāvane sāvpite
Sidd. (I) [s]e ... ya [iyā]in sāvane sāvire yathā khu[dak]a cha
Jaṭ....

Rup. udalā cha pakamato ti atā pi cha jānāntu
Sah. udalā cha pa[la]kamantu aṅtā pi cha [a] jānāntu
Bair. [u][a]l[la] cha. [palakamatu] [t]i [a]ntā pi cha jānāntu ti
Mas. [ud]alake cha vataviya hevarik ve kalantraṃ bha[dak]e
Jaṭ....
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This index contains every word of Aśoka’s inscriptions, with the exception of a few particles (cha, pi, vā, ḫā). 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. = Kālṣi.
Shāh. = Shāhābāgharh.
Mān. = Mānehrā.
Dhau. = Dhuāli.
Sep. = Separate edicts (of Dhuāli and Jangada).
Sōp. = Sōpārā.
Tōp. = Delhi-Tōprā.
Mtr. = Delhi-Mirāh.
Ar. = Lautrāi-Arārā.
Nand. = Lautrāi-Nandangārā.
Rām. = Rāmpūrā.
All. = Allahabad-Kōsan.
Qu. = Queen’s edict.
Kaus. = Kauśāmbi edict.
Sāh. = Sāhrābuddīsāhā.
Sār. = Sārnāth.
Rum. = Rummindīā.
Nig. = Nigālī Sāgar.
Rūp. = Rūmpūrā.
Sah. = Sahasrārā.
Bair. = Bairāṭā.
Calc. = Čeṭah-īndia-Bairatā.
Mas. = Maski.
Brah. = Brahmānīrā.
Śidd. = Śiddāpurā.
Bār. = Barābrā.

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(a = ya) Kāl. XIII, 3.
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shushushū Kāl. XII, 33.
shushushēy Kāl. XII, 33.
sh Kāl. XII, 33, XIII, 36, 39.
sh Kāl. XII, 27, 32, 36, 41, 42, 43.
sh Kāl. X, 17.
shāmāna Kāl. IV, 15.
shāmāna[n]a[ ]Sāh. III, 6; Mān. XIII, 11.
shāmāna-bamānā Kāl. XI, 23.
shāmāna-bamānām Kāl. IV, 15.
shāmāna-bamānām Kāl. IV, 15.
shāmāna-bhamānā Kāl. IV, 15.
shāmāna-bhamānām Kāl. IV, 15.
shāmāna-bhamānām Kāl. IV, 15.
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shāvā Kāl. XVI, 14.
shāvā Kāl. VI, 29; Sāh. XIII, 42.
shāvā Kāl. VI, 29; Sāh. XIII, 42.
shāvā Kāl. VI, 29; Sāh. XIII, 42.
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shāvā Kāl. VI, 29; Sāh. XIII, 42.
Introduction, pages xlv-xlivi.—Since I wrote chapter IV of the Introduction, I have lost my belief in the correctness of the meaning 'on tour', assigned to vyuṣṭa, and am now convinced that this past participle has to be taken in the same sense as e.g. in the Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra, IV, 5, 30, viz. 'having spent the night (in prayer)'. Cf. JRAS, 1904. 364 f. (Kielhorn); 1911. 1166 (Fleet); 1916. 113 ff. (Thomas). I would now translate sections J–K of the Sahasrāṃ 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 Rūpāntha and Brahmagiri edicts (Text, pp. 169 and 177 f.) have to be modified in a similar way. But vivāṣayātha at Sārnāth (section I, p. 162) and vivāṣāsavyāya (read vivāṣās conse) at Rūpāntha (section L, p. 167) probably mean nothing but 'expel ye (schismatic monks or nuns)'; and vivāṣāpayātha 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 pṛṇa and uṛiksa are used as neuters: pāṇa (I, 3, 4) and [d]ukṣa (II, 6).

Page 2, note 6. Add: According to the Suttanipāта, II, 7, verse 25, king Okkāka 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.


56, note 21. For the Raṣṭhrak sees the Introduction, p. xxxviii, line 2 from bottom.

69, section (M). For converts read exhortation.

Note 3. Add: See also Kaṇiaprabhāsā, sec. ed., p. 57. भविष्य भवति occurs already in the Mahābhāṣṭya on Pāṇ. IV, 48, Vārttika 3.

73, Roman text, line 9. For duva[a]sā read duva[d]sā.

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.

97, (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, Nagari text, line 4. For सुकास्या read सुकास्या.

Roman text, line 4. For सु[स्]याया read सु[स्]याया.

133, note 6, line 3. For काकपादा read काकपादा.

137, sections (J), (KK), and (NN). For conversion read exhortation.

142, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 4. For sukaṭaṁ read sukaṭaṁ.

145, Sixth Pillar-Edict, Nagari text, line 3. For तत्तेन तत्तेन.

147, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 5. For sukaṭaṁ read sukaṭaṁ.

179, line 19. For ... [k[i]tṛ read ... [k[i]tṛ.

184, line 23. For tim read tim.

235, second column, line 22 from bottom. For [āl]as[ya][e][na] read [āl]as[ya][e][na]
"A book that is shut is but a block."

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