

PANJAB UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL PUBLICATIONS.

# ASOKA TEXT AND GLOSSARY.

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PART I. INTRODUCTION, TEXT.

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## INTRODUCTION.

### On the Text.

The text of the Inscriptions has been so arranged as to bring together the different versions of the same edict, so that they may be compared without turning the page. Each page is divided into three or four panels, so that two pages facing each other provide six or eight panels for the display of synoptic versions.

The numbering of the lines in each panel is intended only to assist the eye when passing from one version to another. The numbers inserted in the body of the text refer to the lines of the original inscriptions (each number at the *end* of its line) and provide a convenient and permanent method of reference, which is followed throughout in the glossary.

The first series of "synoptic" versions is that of the famous FOURTEEN ROCK EDICTS. These are arranged with the two Northern Kharoshṭī versions (Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā) and the Western (Girnār) version on the upper page, while the Eastern versions are found immediately below, namely the Kālsī Edicts, and then, side by side, those from Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa. For Edict VIII of this series a seventh panel is used for the fragments of another Western version found at Sopārā.

This symmetry is somewhat broken when we come to Edicts XI, XII and XIII. These are not found on the Kalinga rocks (Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa). In their place we find two other special edicts, known as the "KALINGA," "Detached" or "Separate" Edicts. The first of these has been styled "The Provincials' Edict" by Mr. Vincent Smith, who shows it as Edict II; while the second (his Edict I) he called "The Borderers' Edict."\* These two special edicts have been placed in the appropriate Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa panels not required for Edicts XI-XIII, retaining the original order of the inscriptions.

With the XIVth Edict the Kalinga versions come into line again, while the Mānsehrā version, except for one rather doubtful phrase, is missing.†

In the IXth Edict the Girnār version differs somewhat from the two Northern versions, with which Kālsī agrees; so for this edict the Girnār and Kālsī versions have exchanged panels.

The second series is that of the MINOR ROCK EDICTS. This comprises in the upper page three Eastern versions of Edict I ("The Fruit of Exertion") and in the lower page four Southern versions of the same, followed by Edict II ("Summary of the Law of Duty") which is not found in the Eastern

\* Asoka, 3rd edn., p. 194 and p. 191.

† Hultzsch has read a little more.

versions Rūpnāth, etc., or in the newly discovered Southern inscription at Maski. At Bairāt was found also the Bhābrū Edict ("Second Bairāt" or "Bairāt-Bhābrū Edict"), which records Asoka's favourite passages of scripture. This has been printed in the fourth column of the upper page, next to the other Bairāt inscription, but as is obvious, has no relation to the other inscriptions on these two pages.

Next come the PILLAR EDICTS I-VII, of which the last is found only on the Delhi Pillar from Toprā. The first six edicts occur with remarkable consistency on the two Delhi Pillars, the Allahabad Pillar from Kauśāmbī and a group of three pillars (Rādhia, etc.) in Bihar.

Of the MINOR PILLAR EDICTS the Sārnāth Edict is placed first. With the first part of this correspond, more or less, the inscriptions found at Sānchī and the Kosambī Edict on the Allahabad Pillar ("Penalty of Schism"). These are printed side by side with the Sārnāth Edict.

Finally there are a few DEDICATORY inscriptions, which naturally are not repeated. These comprise the Rummindeī and Nigliṃva inscriptions recording visits of Asoka, the "Queen's Edict" found on the Allahabad-Kauśāmbī Pillar and half a dozen cave inscriptions of Asoka and of his grandson Dasaratha.

The following list gives the inscriptions in the order in which they have been printed, with the abbreviations of their names used in this book:—

#### Rock Edicts. I-XIV.

S.=Shāhbāzgarhī.

M.=Mānsehrā.

G.=Girnār.

K.=Kālsī.

D.=Dhaulī. [*D* two special edicts *vice* XI-XIII.]

J.=Jaugada. [*J* two special edicts *vice* XI-XIII.]

Su.=Supāra, Sopāra (part of viii only).

#### Minor Rock Edicts.

ru.=Rūpnāth, I (Fruit of Exertion).

s.=Sahasrām, " " "

b.=Bairāt, " " "

br.=Brahamagiri, I, II (Fruit of Exertion and Summary of Law of Duty).

sd.=Śiddāpur, I, II.

jtr.=Jaṅga Rāmeśvara, I, II.

mk.=Maski (Mhaski), I.

bh.=Bairāt-Bhābrā (Bhābrū). Passages of Scripture.

#### Pillar Edicts.

T.=Delhi-Toprā, I-VII.

Mi.=Delhi-Mīrat, I-VI.

Ksb.=Allahabad-Kauśāmbī, I-VI.

Rdh.=Rādhia (Lauriyā-Ararāj), I-VI.

Mtn.=Mathiā (Lauriyā Nandangarh), I-VI.

Rp.=Rāmpurvā, I-VI.

#### Minor Pillar Edicts.

sn.=Sārnāth. (Penalty of Schism.)

sc.=Sānchī. " " "

kb.=Allahabad-Kauśāmbī (Kauśāmbī Edicts). (Penalty of Schism.)

#### Minor Pillar Dedicatory Inscriptions.

rm.=Rummindeī. (Asoka's visit.)

ng.=Nigliṃva. " " "

kq.=Allahabad-Kauśāmbī (Queen's Edict.)

#### Cave Dedications.

bb.=Barābar. (Asoka's.)

nj.=Nāgārjuni. (Dasaratha's.)

#### Location of Rocks and Pillars.

In Mr. Vincent A. Smith's "Asoka" (Rulers of India series), as also in his

"Early History of India," the student will find a map of India showing the position of the Rock Edicts, Minor Rock Edicts and Pillar Edicts. It is remarkable that the more important Rock Edicts have been found on the edges of Asoka's Empire; sometimes, it seems, near some sacred goal of pilgrimage, sometimes at the headquarters of a provincial governor. The pillars, of which doubtless many have disappeared, are more numerous in the Ganges-Jamnā basin. The following notes may assist the student, who wishes to inspect the inscriptions, or some of them, for himself, and to learn something of the history of their discovery and decipherment.

#### Rock Edicts.

**Shāhbāzgarhī.**—From Naushahra ("Nowshera") on the main N.W. Rly. line between Attock and Peshawar runs a narrow gauge line to Hoti-Mardān. About 7 miles N.E. of Mardān, on the northern road towards Swabi is the village Shāhbāzgarhī. About half a mile to the S.E. of the village is a hill. Here on the west side is a mass of trap rock (24 feet long and 10 feet high). On one side, facing the hill, are inscribed Edicts I to XI in Kharoshṭī. On the other side facing the plain are Edicts XIII and XIV. The Twelfth ("Toleration") Edict is inscribed on a smaller rock about 50 yards away in the direction of Shāhbāzgarhī. South of the main road from Mardān, mentioned above is the ancient road (unmetalled) which runs nearly due east. This road cuts the Makām River, which runs through Shāhbāzgarhī, at a village marked on the maps as Garhai (P.O.

"Ghari Kapūra"). It was by the name of this village on the old road,\* in the form of Kapūr di Garhī that these inscriptions were first known. In Prof. Senart's edition the name appears as *Kapūr di Giri*, a corruption due apparently to Masson. The existence of the inscribed rock was reported in 1836 by M. A. Court, a French officer in the service of Mahārāja Rājīt Singh (J.A.S.B., 1836, pp. 481 and 556). A copy was made by Mr. Masson in 1838, deciphered by Messrs. Dowson and Norris (J.R.A.S., VIII, p. 293), and discussed by Prof. Wilson in 1850, (J.R.A.S., XII, p. 154). The smaller rock with the Toleration Edict was discovered about the end of the century by Captain (afterwards Sir Harold) Deane.

The language resembles that of the Mānsehrā version, but shows more frequently the characteristics of an ancient North-Western dialect.

**Mānsehrā.**—On the main N.W. Rly. line from Rāwalpindi, change at Taxila (formerly "Sarai Kālā") for Haveliān. Drive 9 miles to Abbottabad (D.B.) and another 16 miles on the Kashmir Road to Mānsehrā (D.B.). One mile to the west of the town is the sacred Breri Hill. Two inscribed rocks are near the base of the hill, another is lower down near the stream. Edicts I-VIII are on the middle rock, IX-XII above on two faces of the upper rock and XIII (with a few phrases of XIV) on the lower rock.† The two upper stones were discovered by Captain Leigh.‡ Dr. Burgess made an estampage in March, 1887. Senart described the two upper rocks with plates in 1888 (J.A., XI, p. 508; XII, p. 330.) The readings of the same were discussed by Bühler in 1839 (Z.D.M.G., Vol. 43, p. 273).§ The lower rock was found by the Archæological Department in 1889.

\* Mr. Hargreaves tells me "Along that road, in all probability, passed all the ancient conquerors of India and perhaps the feet of Huiien Tsang pressed its dust beneath their tread." See his translation of Foucher's *Ancient Geography of Gandhara*, Fig. 11 and map.

† Hazāra Gazetteer, 1907, p. 118 (Photographs).

‡ Rodger, *List of Antiquities*.

§ For Senart's and Bühler's main editions see below p. xix. These references are not repeated for each version.

The script is Kharoshti as at Shāhbāzgarhi. The dialect represents the N.W. but in many details reminds us of the Kālsī version.

**Girnār.**—Junāgarh is the capital of an Indian State of the same name, in the Kāthiāwār. (Rly. Station, D.B.) About half a mile to the East of the town, near what was once the edge of the Sudarśana Lake, at the entrance to the valley, which skirts the sacred Girnār mountain is a rounded granite boulder. On the N.E. face of this are inscribed the Fourteen Edicts of Asoka. On the top of it is the inscription of Rudradāman, and on the western face another dating from the reign of Skandagupta, both referring to the bursting of the dam of the lake and its repair at these two periods, separated by three centuries.

Reported by Tod as early as 1822, the inscriptions were copied for the Revd. Dr. John Wilson, who sent a copy to Prinsep in 1837. They were copied again in 1838 by Captain Postans, who found several fragments, two of which had Asokan characters upon them (J.B.A.S., VII, 1838, pp. 871, f.).\* Another copy was published by Prof. Westergaard in the J.B.B.R.A.S. of April, 1843. Two fragments were recovered by Prof. Rhys Davids (J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 339). The inscriptions were published with excellent photographs and plates by James Burgess in 1876.† His readings and interpretations are now in many particulars antiquated, and have been superseded by Bühler's edition in the *Epigraphia Indica*. (Vol. II, p. 447, ff.) The script, as in all except Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsehrā, is Old Brāhmī.

The dialect represents a Western type of language (perhaps that of Ujjain) with a number of "Māgadhisms," i.e., traces of the Eastern official language. This dialect resembles Pāli in many ways.

**Kālsī.**—Kālsī is a village 16 miles from Mussoorie on the road to Chakrāta. About

a mile and a half to the south of the village two terraces overlook the junction of the Tons River with the Jamnā. At the foot of the upper terrace is a white quartz boulder, with the edicts inscribed on its S.E. face. On one side of the boulder is drawn an elephant with the word 'Gajātama.'

The inscription was discovered in 1860 by Mr. Forrest; it was at that time covered with moss and is well preserved. The dialect is of the Eastern type, but has peculiarities of its own. Conspicuous are its tendency to lengthen a final *a* and the frequency with which it uses the cerebral sibilant: e.g., *piyaśa* and *piyaśā* for the usual *piyasa*.

**Dhauli.**—Two hundred and seventy-one miles from Calcutta, 18 miles from Cuttack, and about 40 miles N of Puri is the Railway Station of Bhubaneswar. (P.W.D. Bungalow—4 miles N.W. is Khandagiri Rest-house.) Near Khandagiri are Jain and Buddhist caves, including the famous Hāthi Gumphā cave. Bhubaneswar (*Bhuvaneśvara*) was the capital of the Kesari dynasty of Orissa for several centuries and has been a great centre of the Śaivite cult. Here are numerous temples some of which have been described by Fergusson in his *Indian Architecture*. About 4 miles S.W. of Bhubaneswar is the village of Dhauli. Close to the village is the Aswatama rock, on the level of the plain, in front of a low ridge. The Edicts are inscribed on the polished face of this (15 × 10 ft.). Above the inscription is carved an elephant. Originally an emblem of the Buddha, this has become an object of popular Hindu worship. The inscriptions were discovered in 1837 by Mr. Kittoe who was searching for coal. He returned in 1838. In the meantime Mr. Prinsep had discovered the name of Antiochus in the Girnār and Dhauli versions. Mr. Kittoe was requested to recompare his transcript and correct his errors. He arrived "before day-

break and had to wait till it was light; for the two bear cubs which escaped me there last year, when I killed the old bear, were now full grown and disputed the ground," (J.A.S.B., 1838, p. 684). The inscription was first published by James Prinsep (J.A.S.B., 1838, p. 219). Dr. Burgess took impressions in 1882 which were used by Dr. Bühler in *Amarāvati* (A.S.S.I., 1887). The special edicts (replacing XI, XII, XIII), were revised by Senart (translated by Dr. Grierson, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX).

The dialect is of the standard Eastern type. There are difficulties especially in the separate edicts, because owing to the imperfect preservation of the Jaugaḍa version, Dhauli often gives the only available reading. The provincial capital Tosālī mentioned in the separate Edicts was presumably in the neighbourhood, perhaps at Dhauli itself, but its site has not been identified.

**Jaugaḍa.**—Three hundred and fifty-six miles from Calcutta, and 11 miles from the south end of the Chilka lake is Ganjām Railway Station. This is for the old town of Ganjām (near the mouth of the Rushikulīa River), which was formerly the chief town of the Ganjām district, but was given up on account of the severity of the malaria epidemic of 1815. 18 miles W.N.W. of Ganjām, on the north bank of the Rushikulīa River was the ancient fortified town of Jaugaḍa, the ruins of which are 3 miles 1,200 yards to the west of Purushottapuram ("Poorsotapoor" Survey Sheet, 107) and near the village of Naugām. Near the centre of the fort is a group of rocks. On the S.E. face of one of these, "a mass of granitic gneiss" the Edicts are inscribed. They correspond to the Dhauli version, but are not nearly so well preserved.

They were copied by Mr. (afterwards Sir Walter) Elliot in 1850, photographed by Capt. Harington in 1859; and published by Cunningham in 1877, and by Bühler the same

year. (I.A., VI, 149.) The special Edicts were revised by Bühler 1887 and Senart 1890 (see Dhauli).

**Sopāra.**—Thirty-three miles from Bombay on the B.B. and C.I. line to Surāt is Bassein Road Station. 3½ miles N.W. of this is the ancient town Sopāra. (About 3½ miles S.W. of Virār.) Sopāra is said to have been the capital of the Konkan for many centuries, and is identified with *Śūrpāraka* in the *Mahābhārata*. It is referred to in inscriptions under the names Sopāraka, Sopārāya and Śopārāga. 'Ouppara' in the *Periplus* between Broach and Kalyan has suggested a connection with Solomon's Ophir (Imp. Gaz., s.v.). A fragment of the Edict VIII was found on a broken block of basalt by Dr. Bhagwān Lal Indrajī. (J.B.B.R.A.S., 1882, Vol. XV, p. 282.) The stone was found near the Bhātela pond to the east of the town, close to the old landing place. Local stories suggested that the stone had been moved from the brick stūpa, in a mound known as Buruda Rājā cha Kota, about half a mile west of Sopāra.\* The text was published by the discoverer.

#### Minor Rock Edicts.

**Rupnath.**—In the Jabalpur district there is a village Bahuriband, 17 miles N.W. from Sihora road station (E.I.R.) and 18 miles south from Salaiyā station on the Katni Bina branch of the G.I.P. Railway. Three miles from Bahuriband (19 miles from Sihorā Road; 14 miles west from Sleemanabad Railway Station and 35 miles from Jabalpur) is a famous Śiva *lingam*, known as Rūpnāth, in the cleft of a rock where the Bandarchua nāla pours over the Kaimur hills. There are three pools one above the other. The lower one is named Sitakuṇḍ. Just above the west edge of this lies a detached boulder inscribed with Asoka's edict. The place was doubtless a sacred *tīrtha* long before Asoka's time. Discovered first by a servant of Col. Ellis, it was

\* Perhaps those now in Junāgarh Museum.

† Archæol. Survey of Western India. Report on the Antiquities of Kāthiāwād and Kacch, 1876.

\* The stone is now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

rediscovered by Mr. Beglar. (Cunningham *Corpus*, p. 2.) It was published by Cunningham and by Bühler (Ind. Ant., VI, p. 155.) Mr. Cousens gives reasons for supposing the boulder has fallen from its original position. (Progress Rep. A.S.W.I., 1903-04, para. 113.)

**Sahasrām.**—Between Moghal Sarai and Gaya on the Grand Chord line is the town of Sasaram (Sahsarām, Sahasrām-D.B.) in the Shāhābād District (South Bihar), which contains the Mausoleum of the Emperor Sher Shāh. To the east of the town is a hill at the end of a spur of the Kaimur range. On the top of this hill is the tomb of Hazrat Chandan Shahīd. Near the summit is an artificial cave, in which is the inscribed rock. Mr. E. L. Ravenshaw received a copy of the inscription in 1839 from Shāh Kabīruddīn. It was published by Bühler in 1877 (I.A., VI, 155—see also Senart I.A., XX, 1891, p. 155 and Bühler I.A., XXII, p. 299; XXVI, p. 334.)

This rock has the first edict, corresponding to that at Rūpnāth.

**Bairāt.**—Bairāt is an ancient town in Jaipur State (Rajputana), 41 miles north of Jaipur and 25 miles west of Alwar and  $8\frac{1}{2}$  east as the crow flies from Bhābhrū. The town lies in a valley enclosed in concentric lines of hills. One mile N.E. of the town is a pyramid of black rocks, called the "Pāṇḍu's Hill." At the foot of this is an isolated block, a cube "as big as a house." On the southern face of this Mr. Carlieyle in 1872-73 discovered an imperfect version of the first edict known at Rūpnāth and Sahasrām.

Cunningham, who identified Bairāt with the capital of the Matsyas, published the inscription from a transcript made by Dr. Bühler. (Archæological Survey, Vol. VI, 1873—see Bühler I.A., VI, p. 155; XXII, p. 299; XXVI, p. 334; Senart I.A., XX, p. 154.)

Another hill "at the back" of the same town is called Bijak Pahār. On the top of this Capt. Burt discovered in 1840 the second

Bairāt rock with the BHĀBRĀ or BHĀBRŪ edict. The name is derived from a camping station "6 kos." to the west, on the old route from Delhi to Jaipur.

This rock was conveyed to Calcutta down the Jamnā and Ganges and came into the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The edict was first published by Capt. M. Kittoe "with the aid of the learned Pundit Kamala Kanta." (J.A.S.B., 1840, p. 617.) Wilson published it in the J.R.A.S. of 1856. See Kern. (I.A. (1876), p. 257). Facsimile, Burgess. J. Asiatique 1897. Senart I.A., XX, 1891, p. 165. Rhys Davids, J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 639. The edict records Asoka's favourite Passages of Scripture, and differs from the ordinary official Eastern dialect.\*

**Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura and Jātinga Rāmeśvara.**—Holalkere is a station 124 miles from Hubli junction on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway (167 miles from Bangalore). 26 miles to the N.E. is Chitaldrug (D.B.) in Mysore State. (Also a road from Harihar Railway Station.) About 45 miles from Chitaldrug by road *via* Challakere is Molakālmuru, the headquarters of the *tāluka* of the same name. Molakālmuru is 38 miles south of Bellary, (98 miles from Gadag junction) and 5 miles west of Rayadurg Station, the terminus of a branch line from Bellary. Near Molakālmuru on the Bangalore-Bellary road is Hāngal bungalow. About 9 or 10 miles from Hāngal is a village Śiddāpura. Close around this village are the three inscriptions engraved on rocks on either side of the Janaga Halla River. They were discovered in 1891 by Mr. Lewis Rice and edited by him in 1892. He states that one is found on a big boulder at the N.W. foot of Brahmagiri about a mile to the east of Śiddāpura (Siddapura No. 1 in Ep. Ind., iii), one on the Timmanna rocks to the north of Śiddāpura and one on the top of Jātinga Rāmeśvara hill about 3 miles to the north.

\* Further still from the Pāli canon.

These series have the Rūpnāth, etc., Edict with a second edict added. The script resembles that of Gīrnār. The dialect is classed as Southern; it does not replace *r* by *l*—but has the *nom. s. in e.* See Senart J.A., 1892, p. 472; Bühler Ep. Ind., iii, pp. 135-42.

**Maski.**—At Raichur in the Nizam's dominions 443 miles from Bombay the G.I.P. Railway meets the N.W. branch of the Southern Mahratta Railway. The town is the headquarters of the Raichur district (D.B.). In this district is the village of Maski (70 miles S.W. from Raichur *via* Hutti. "Mooski" on the map). Near this village are old gold workings and the inscription is on a boulder at the mouth of a cave. Suvannagiri may have been in the vicinity. The inscription which contains part of the first edict and the name Asoka, was discovered in 1915—by Mr. W. R. C. Beadon, and published in the Hyderabad Archæological Series No. 1, 1915, edited by R. S. H. Krishna Śāstri.

### Pillar Edicts.

**Delhi-Toprā.**—To the S.W. of Delhi, about half a mile from the Delhi Gate, on the left of the road to Purāna Qila is the ruined city of Firozābād. On the summit of the citadel, known as the Kotila of Firoz Shāh this pillar is a conspicuous object. It was transported from Toprā on the Jamnā in the Ambāla district in 1356. This is the pillar described as Delhi Siwalik by Cunningham. (Senart's "D.") The inscription, which is well preserved, comprises edict I-VII in the Eastern dialect with a few traces of local peculiarities.

**Delhi Mirat.**—This is the broken pillar which stands on the "Ridge" to the north of Delhi. (300 yards north of the Mutiny Memorial.) Sultān Firoz brought it from Meerut in 1356. It was re-erected by the Indian Government in 1867. Edicts I-VI mutilated.

**Allahabad-Kausāmbī.**—The pillar stands inside the Allahabad Fort. It was described

by Lieut. T. S. Burt in 1833. (J.A.S.B., 1834, p. 105.) It was re-erected in 1837. One inscription shows that the pillar was removed from Kausāmbī. One Kausāmbī was the Kosam in the Allahabad district on the Jamnā. Mr. V. Smith prefers the Kausāmbī, which was seven day's journey through a great desert waste from Allahabad, i.e., according to him, at or near Barhūt. (J.R.A.S., 1898, pp. 507-19.) It would have been much easier to bring it down the river.\* On this pillar are found edicts I-VI, the Kausāmbī (Minor Pillar) Edict and the Queen's Edict. There is also the famous Allahabad Prasasti of Samudra-gupta.

**Rādhiā and Mathiā.**—Bettiah Rly. Stn. (D.B.) on the Bengal and North-Western Railway, east of the Gandak R., is the headquarters of the Champarān district, formerly in Bengal now in Bihar. About 20 miles to the south of Bettiah, and a similar distance from the Stūpa at Kesariya is the hamlet of Lauriyā. (1 mile N.E. of a temple called Ararāj Mahādeo, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  E.S.E. of Rādhiā or Rahariyā.) At this hamlet is the pillar called "Radhiā" by Senart, LAURIYĀ ARARĀJ by others.

There are second class roads also from Sagauli junction and Motihari.

About 15 miles N.N.W. of Bettiah, 3 miles north of Mathiā is the village LAURIYĀ NANDANGARH.

Less than half a mile to the east of the village is the Asoka pillar crowned by a lion. This is the 'Mathiā' pillar of Senart, also called the Lauriyā Nandangarh pillar. Nandangarh is a mound half a mile S.W. of the village. Both pillars contain Edicts I-VI, well preserved (Bühler Ep. Ind., ii, 245-74).

**Rāmpurvā.**—Thirty-two miles north of Bettiah, about 1 mile from Pipariya village, 4 miles from the Sumeshwar Hills and about 3 miles from Gaunaha Railway Station is the hamlet Rāmpurvā. Less than half a mile to the west near the eastern bank of the Harborā stream is the pillar, which was discovered by

\* Compare Toprā and Bhābhrū Pillars.



Mr. Carlleyle in the seventies. He described the base as still standing *in situ*, "but the greater portion of the shaft lies in a swamp some 300 yards to the north, almost entirely under water." Since then it has been raised and now lies clear on level ground. Edicts I-VI are well preserved. When Mr. Garrick's facsimiles were taken (Ep. Ind. Vol. ii) the pillar was half buried in the ground. (A.S.R., XVI, p. 110.)

### Minor Pillar Edicts.

**Sārṇāth.**—About 4 miles north of Benares was the famous Deer Park so prominent in the life of the Buddha. The shaft of the sandstone pillar is broken. The capital is in the Sārṇāth Museum, while the inscribed stump stands *in situ*, where it was excavated by Mr. F. O. Oertel in 1905. The first three lines are mutilated. The Edict deals with the Penalty of Schism, as do the more imperfect inscription on the Kauśāmbī and Sānchī Pillars.

It was published by Dr. Vogel (Ep. Ind., VIII, 166.)

**Sānchī**—Sānchī in Bhopāl State is well-known for its Buddhist monuments. Sānchī is a station on the G. I. P. Railway 408 miles from Delhi, 6 miles from Bhilsa (*see* "Guide to Sanchi" by Sir John Marshall). At the south entrance to the great stūpa stood Asoka's pillar. The edict is on the broken stump. It was published by Bühler. (Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 367.)

**Allahabad Kauśāmbī.**—*See* Pillar Edicts above.

### Pillar Dedications.

**Rummindeī.**—Birth place of the Buddha. From Gorakhpur in the United Provinces a branch line of the B. and N.W.R. runs North to Uska Bazar, and Naugarh. A metalled road from Uska runs to Birdpur (7 miles from Naugarh). Six miles north of Birdpur is the village Piprāwā where the famous relic casket was found. Rummindeī is 9 miles east of

Piprāwā, 4 miles inside the Nepalese frontier, a little west of the Tilar River, 1 mile north of a village Paḍariā, which is 2 miles north of Bhagwānpur in Nepal, and 6 miles N.E. of Dulhā in the Basti district. The pillar is on the west side of ruins 500 ft. north of a large mound.

This pillar was known before, but the inscription was discovered by excavation in 1896 when Dr. Führer and Mr. Ricketts visited the spot. A transcript was published by Dr. Bühler in 1897. (Trans. Vienna—Academy quoted by V. Smith J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 618) and the inscription was edited by him in 1899. (Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 4, *see also* Pischel Prussian Academy, 1903. V. Smith, I.A., 1905, p. 1. Fleet, J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 471.)

The dedication records the visit of Asoka.

**Niglīva.**—This imperfect inscription is incised on a broken pillar now lying on the west bank of an artificial lake, Niglīva (Nigāli) Sāgar, near Niglīva village in the Nepalese Tarai about 13 miles in a north-westerly direction from Rummindeī, and about 12 miles from Chilliā Police Station in the Basti district. (V. Smith.)

The pillar was discovered in 1895 by Dr. Führer. The inscription, which was edited by Bühler (Ep. Ind. Vol. V, p. 4) shows that the pillar has been moved from "the stūpa of Buddha Konākamana" which was enlarged and visited by Asoka.

**Queen's Edict.**—*See* Allahabad-Kauśāmbī above. (Bühler, I.A., XIX, p. 125. Hultsch, J.R.A.S., 1911, p. 1113.)

**Barābar Caves.**—These caves are in hills 16 miles North of Gayā. (Station on Grand Chord, E.I. Railway, 292 miles from Calcutta, 57 miles Patna-Gaya Railway from Bankipur, D.B.) The Barābar hills stretch 6 to 8 miles east of Bela (Station on Patna-Gaya line, D.B.) 13 miles north of Gayā.

*See* Gayā District Gazetteer, 1906, pp. 201-205.

**Nāgārjuni Caves.**—The Nāgārjuni Hills consist of two narrow ridges of granite half a

mile east of the Siddheśvarnāth peak in the Barābar Hills. (*See* above.) The caves are in the southern ridge. (*See* Gaya District Gazetteer, p. 203, which quotes Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. I, p. 45.) The caves were visited by Mr. J. H. Harington in 1785. Mr. Hodges attempted to visit them a few years before, "but was assassinated in his way to it by the followers of one of the rebellious, allies of Chyt Sing." (As. Researches, Vol. Is p. 276.)

Prinsep translated some of the inscriptions in 1837 from very imperfect impressions. (J.B.A.S., 1837, p. 677.) Captain Kittoe visited the caves in 1847 and published copies of the inscriptions. (J.A.S.B., 1847, pp. 401-416, Plate IX.)

General Cunningham's visit in 1861-62 is recorded in the first volume of the Archaeological Survey Reports, and the inscriptions were edited in the Corpus, Vol. I. The standard edition is by Bühler (I.A., XX, p. 361).

### Contents and Titles.

The various edicts have of course no headings or titles in the original texts, they are not even numbered. In Mr. Vincent Smith's *Asoka* a title is assigned to each and it is often convenient to refer to, e.g. the Toleration Edict instead of Rock Edict, No. XII. The following list is given for convenience of reference.

### Rock Edicts.

#### I. The Sacredness of Life.

The crux of this edict has been the meaning of the word *samāja*.

#### II. Comforts for Men and Animals.

*Cikisā* Bühler rendered Hospitals. Mentions Antiochus.

III. Quinquennial circuits. *See anusam-yānam* in Glossary. The last sentence has been very variously explained, from the text of religious services to the orders of the Accounts Department.

#### IV. Practice of the Law.

The King exhibits elephants and bonfires.

#### V. Dhamma-mahāmātā.

Their functions, compare XII and Pillar Edict VII.

#### VI. Prompt Despatch of Business.

The *pativedakā* keep the King informed.

VII. Imperfect fulfilment of the Law, or Mastery over the Senses, *sayamaṃ*.

VIII. Dhammayātā. These tours of religious duty have replaced the pleasure tours of former days.

#### IX. True Ceremonial. *Dhammamamgale*.

#### X. True Glory.

#### XI. True Almsgiving.

#### XII. Toleration of other sects (*Pāsāṃḍa*).

XIII. True Conquest. Refers to conquest of Kalinga and to five Greek Kings.

#### XIV. Epilogue.

### Kalinga ("Separate," "Detached") Edicts.

I. The Provincial's Edict—duties of officials, with regard to carrying out the King's instructions. (V.S., No. II.)\*

II. The Borderers' Edict, addressed to the High Officers of Samāpā (*J*) and to the Prince and High Officers at Tosali (*D*) "All men are my children." As noted above these two edicts are found at Jaugaḍa and Dhauli instead of Edicts, Nos. XI, XII, XIII.

### Minor Rock Edicts.

#### I. Fruit of exertion *pakamasa phale*.

This Edict contains several phrases that have been much discussed. The introductory salutation from the Prince and High Officers at Suvamṇagiri to the High Officers at Isila occurs only in the Mysore versions.

The edict records the King's connection with the *saṃghe*. Very difficult are the phrases associated with the number 256 at the end.

#### II. Summary of Law of Duty.

Occurs only in the Mysore versions.

### Bhābrū Edict.

Asoka's favourite passages of Scripture—*dhammapaliyāyāni*. The King of Magadha addresses the Church.

\* No. II was engraved before No. I, but from Prinsep onwards, the other order has been followed.

**Pillar Edicts.**

I. "Principle of Government," or pre-amble on the importance of *Dhamma*.

II. The Royal Example.

III. Self Examination—*paṭivekhe*.

IV. Powers and Duties of Rājūkā. ("Governors" or "Commissioners.") Uniformity in judicial procedure and in penalties; three days' respite to those under sentence of death.

V. Regulations restricting slaughter and mutilation of animals.

VI. "Necessity for a definite Creed," *atunāpacūpagamane*, or Welfare and Happiness of Mankind, *lokasa hitasukhe*.

VII. (T. only) Asoka's measures for the propagation of Dhamma. In ten sections. (i) failure of former Kings, (ii) Asoka's desire to do better, (iii) instructions in the Law, (iv) *mahāmātā*, (v) comfort of travellers, (vi) duties of *mahāmātā*, (vii) alms, (viii) the royal example, (ix) reflection on the law, *niḥati*, (x) "pillars or tables of stone."

**Minor Pillar Edicts and Dedications.**

Penalty of Schism. White garments and expulsion. Second section (Sārnāth only) enforcement of the decree.

**Queen's Edicts.**

Kāluvākī mother of Tivala.

**Rummindeī.**

Village of Lūmminī where the Buddha was born, visited by Asoka, released from cesses and required to pay only one-eighth as land revenue.

**Nigāva.**

Konākamana *stūpa* visited by Asoka.

**Cave dedications.**

Of Asoka in Barābar Hills and of his grandson Dasaratha in the Nāgārjuni Hills. 6 caves granted to the Ājivikas.

**Scripts.**

As recorded above, the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā inscriptions, and a note by the

scribe Paḍa on the Mysore inscriptions are in KHAROSHṬĪ. This cursive script written from right to left is certainly Semitic in origin, being derived from the Aramaic script which was used by the clerks of Darius the Great for ordinary work as distinct from the monumental cuneiform in which the Great King recorded the achievements of his reign, high up on the rock at Behistun. Kharoshṭī does not mark *long vowels*, a fact which has always to be borne in mind when interpreting an inscription written in this alphabet.

All the other Asoka inscriptions are in OLD BRAHMĪ the parent of the Indian scripts, including Burmese, Tamil and Sinhalese.

This script like all its descendants is written from left to right, like Greek and Latin. Dr. Bühler (Origin of the Indian Alphabet) derived this script also from a Semitic source, and believed that it was introduced from Mesopotamia by traders somewhere about 800 B.C. The modifications assumed to have been made in adopting the script to Indian purposes are considerable, and the connection of Brāhmī with the Semitic prototype proposed is by no means so obvious as the connection of Kharoshṭī and Aramaic. An Indian origin has been suggested and a few fragments of early writing have lent some support to the idea. There is not however enough evidence to demonstrate an Indian source of Brāhmī. More evidence is required to settle the question definitely. It is noteworthy that the Indian ("Arabic") decimal numerals are always written from left to right.

All agree that the alphabet was not invented by Asoka but must have been developing for some centuries before his time. It should be noted that in neither script are doubled consonants generally used. This fact involves the possibility of ambiguity as compared with the later spelling of Pāli and Prākṛit. Thus *mago* may be "a deer" (*mṛgo*) or "a road" (Pāli *maggo* Sanskrit *mārgo*). Consequently the inscriptions supply no evidence as to where the double consonants were pronounced.

Anusvāra before a nasal doubtless indicates that the nasal was long or "double," i.e. *dhamma* = *dhamma*, *anne* = *anne*. A knowledge of the derivation and of the literary Pāli-Prākṛit spelling continually suggests that a single consonant represents a double consonant, i.e., *Tisanakhatena* = *Tissanakhattena*. It may be doubted however whether the pronunciation of every such consonant was really perceptibly long in every syllable and in every dialect. Sir George Grierson has suggested that in the North West the single consonant following a short vowel may have represented the actual pronunciation. Sanskrit *bhaktam* is represented by Apabhraṃsa *bhattu*, Panjābī *bhatt*, and Hindi *bhāt*, where the vowel is lengthened while the consonant is shortened. But in Sindhī we find *bhatu* and in Kāshmirī *bata*.\* In syllables where there was no stress, or at any rate in a grammatical affix which has eventually disappeared, we may reasonably suspect that in actual pronunciation a theoretically double consonant was not longer than a single consonant. The *gen. s. Piṇḍasissā* (K.) pronounced without regard to its derivation may be as near the actual pronunciation as *piṇḍassissā* with both the *ss* doubled. In *Priadrasisa* (S.) we do not know that the second sibilant was any longer than the first.†

There has been some doubt as to the order of the sounds indicated in certain groups, e.g., *dbādasa* (G) was at one time read *bādasa*, similarly the abstract suffix *tpa* (G.) can be read as *pta*.

In the Kharoshṭī edicts such forms as *dhrama*, *krama*, *mrugo* may be only another way of writing—*dharmā*, *karmā*, *murgō*. (See Mehlsn., J.Am.O.S., 1910-82, n.)

A nasal preceding another consonant is regularly written with *anusvāra*. This happens

not only before semi-vowels, sibilants and *h* where *anusvāra* is expected, but also before other consonants e.g. *paṃkiti*, *maṃgale*, *paṃca*, *okapimḍe*, *laghamṭi*, *caṃdama*, *Gaṃdhāra*, *thambāni*. There is no reason to suppose that this is anything but very convenient graphical economy. The pronunciation was *pañca*, *Gandhāra*, etc.

**Decipherment and Interpretation.**

The Kharoshṭī script ceased to be used even in the North after the second or third century A.D. A cursive script of this kind so very different from the dominant Brāhmī was probably forgotten in a single generation. The Brāhmī continued in use and gradually developed into the forms found in the Gupta inscriptions, and thence into the more modern scripts. Hence the Brāhmī inscriptions may have remained legible, at any rate to the intelligent reader down to Gupta times. However that may be, all knowledge of both scripts had been completely lost long before the inscriptions aroused the curiosity of Mr. James Prinsep and others in the first-half of the nineteenth century.

The key to both scripts was found in bilingual coins giving the names of Kings in Greek and Indian letters. The coins furnished the enquirers with a knowledge, necessarily imperfect of the two scripts, they called "Bactrian" and "Pāli" which are now known as Kharoshṭī and Brāhmī. It was then found that the conspicuous Pillars of Delhi and Allahabad were inscribed in "Pāli," i.e., Brāhmī characters. In 1837 and 1838 it was realized that the Gīrnār and Dhauli edicts were in the same character and largely the same in contents. From this point really begins the comparative study of the Asokan documents which has continued up to the present day. Some parti-

\* L.S.I., Vol. VIII, Pt. I, p. 238.

† A normal consonant following a short vowel is *relatively* longer than one following a long vowel: hence the practice in e.g. English and German of writing a double consonant after a short vowel, but the consonant is not really longer, and actually not double. When a consonant is really prolonged as is many Italian and Panjābī words the on-glide and off-glide give the effect of two sounds, especially if the consonant be a mute.



culars of the discovery and first publications of the Rock and Pillar Edict, have been given above. Among the more important events have been—

- 1845, Shāhbāzgarhī (deciphered).
- 1859, Jaugada.
- 1860, Kālsī.
- 1892, Mysore inscriptions.
- 1895, Rummindeī, Niglivā.
- 1905, Sarnāth.
- 1915, Maski.

#### Editions.

- 1876, Burgess. Kāthiawād and Kachh. (G).
- 1877, Cunningham. Corpus, Vol. I.
- 1881, SENART Les Inscriptions de Piya-dasi. Vol. I (2nd volume, 1888).
- 1887, BÜHLER. Kalinga Edicts in Burgess' Amarāvati and many subsequent contributions especially.
- 1894, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II.\*

The comparative study of the inscriptions both linguistic and historical belongs rather to the present century—Besides Professor Senart, who remains the veteran in this field, may be mentioned O. Franke, V. A. Smith, Fleet, F. W. Thomas, Hultsch, Michelson, D. R. Bhandarkar, and Lüders.†

#### Dialects.

The language of the inscriptions was at first believed to be Pāli. The Gīrnār version fitted in best with this supposition, and this notion led to many misreadings, e.g., in Pāli *r* following a consonant is always assimilated, so the possibility of a form like *putrā* (G.) was not suspected. It was soon found however that the language of Dhāuli and the Pillars differed from Gīrnār—especially in having a *nom.s.m.* in *-e* instead of *-o* and in replacing *r* with *l* e.g., *lājā* 'the king.' These are peculiarities of Māgadhi Prākṛit, hence this language has

been called "Māgadhi," which was all the more appropriate because Asoka was king of Magadha.

The Shāhbāzgarhī, and later the Mānsehrā versions introduced other features some of which resembled Sanskrit rather than Pāli, e.g., *priya*, *putra*. At first it was thought that these were Sanskritisms due to the scribe's knowledge of Sanskrit. A similar explanation could be applied to such forms in the Gīrnār version as *putrā*, *potrā*, *prapotrā*, when these were recognized.

This hypothesis was gradually given up, and such forms are now regarded as due to the local language in each case, which was in certain particulars more archaic and therefore more like Sanskrit, than either Pāli or the "Māgadhi" of the Eastern inscriptions. The detailed systematic study of all the forms with regard to grammar and phonetics has led to the adoption of the view, that the original version of every edict was in the Eastern dialect (the language of Asoka's court), and was translated into, or adapted to, the current language of outlying Provinces more or less accurately; or in some cases copied with a few variations due to the local speech. Thus so far from regarding Gīrnār *priya* as a Sanskritism, the authorities now regard Gīrnār *piya* as a Māgadhism. Of course it is impossible to be always quite sure whether a particular "Māgadhism" is due to the inaccuracy of the translator, who copied an Eastern form; or whether the Eastern form was also current among officers of the Government, if not more generally. The form "Piyadasi" may often have been heard even in provinces, where the correct local form was Priyadasi, or Priyadrasi, just as nowadays a Bengali name may be quoted in other provinces more or less modified in accordance with local phonetics.

After making allowances for such "Māgadhisms" it is found that the dialectic variations

of the inscriptions fall into two main divisions, Eastern and Western. The WESTERN dialect is represented by Gīrnār. Here we have *nom. s.* in *o*, the use of *r*, *pr*, *tr* and *loc. s.* in *-amhi*, to mention the most salient features.

To be classed with Gīrnār rather than with "Māgadhi" is the N.W. dialect of Shāhbāzgarhī, but this variety has peculiarities of its own, some of which resemble those of Dardic languages of today. In Mānsehrā the same dialect appears to be more mixed with Eastern forms.

The EASTERN dialect represented by Dhāuli, Jaugada and most of the Pillar Edicts, has *nom. s.* in *-e*, *l* for *r*, conjuncts assimilated and *loc. s.* is *asi*.

Kālsī is peculiar in its treatment of sibilants, and its fondness for lengthening final *a*. This latter feature is found in the Delhi Toprā Pillar also, as is the use of forms in *-kya-* for *-ka-*. The Mysore inscriptions do not replace *r* with *l* (we even find *pr* preserved). Maski has apparently *sātireke* and *pure*, but *uḍālake* and *kalamtam*. In the South we find the palatal and cerebral nasals (*ñātika*, *prāṇesu*). It is clear then that Asoka's inscriptions do not furnish us with a series of authentic records of the local dialects. We have rather one series in the Eastern official language showing here and there slight variations due to local speech especially at Kālsī and Mysore. Then there is the Western language, probably of Ujjain, represented by Gīrnār and the Sopāra fragment. Allied to this, but strongly influenced by Northern phonetics, is the dialect of Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā, of which the latter is more akin to Kālsī, and may represent the official language of Taxila.

If we use the name MĀGADHĪ for Asoka's language, it must be remembered that it does not coincide with the Māgadhi Prākṛit of the drama and grammarians. In particular Asoka's "Māgadhi" like Śaurasenī had only the dental sibilant, e.g. *susūsā* 'obedience' (K. has *ṣusūsā*, *susūsā*, *susūsā*) whereas a marked feature of Māgadhi Prākṛit is that it has only

the palatal sibilant (*śusūsā*). There are other features of Māgadhi according to the Grammarians which are not found in Asoka's language, e.g., *dy* → *yy* but K.D.J. have *aḥa* for Skt. *adya*. *ny* → *ññ* but K.D.J.T., etc., *aṇna-* for *anya-* (M. *aṇa-*, S *aṇa-*). *śc* occurs instead of *cch*, but Asokan *ichāmi*, etc. A sibilant is retained at the beginning of a group *haste* or *haste* = 'hand,' but a form like *asti* S.M.G. never occurs in the Eastern dialect.

Having regard to the retention of *sa* and other particulars, Professor Lüders is inclined to regard Eastern Asokan as OLD ARDHA MĀGADHĪ. Of course the language does not coincide with the Ardha-Māgadhi of the Jain Scriptures, which seems to have come into contact with Māhārāshṭrī *Lājā* 'king' (*gen. lājine*) is very different from A.Mg. *rāyā* (*ranno*). Many of the common characteristics of A.Mg. are absent or occur very rarely.

It may appear strange that some features of the later Māgadhi should appear in the North-West rather than in Magadha. We must remember that dramatic Māgadhi is assigned to people of the lower classes and sometimes to foreigners; it may represent an exaggeration (or a reduction to formulæ) of certain peculiarities of rustic or low-class Māgadhi. Similarly a Panjābi dramatist of today might introduce a *sāis* and make him talk a conventional *Purbiā* dialect very different from natural Bhojpūrī of either the lower or the upper classes.

Again a court language is frequently not identical with the local vernacular, and a *lingua franca*, or language used for general purposes over a wide area, rarely if ever retains all the peculiarities of its original home. We know little of the linguistic history of the various kingdoms in the Ganges valley previous to the Mauryan Empire, but we may conjecture that the official language of the Mauryan court and administration would not be the "broad" Māgadhi of the day, but a 'refined' form much influenced by the court languages of neighbouring kingdoms, now

\* Add now 1923. Hultsch. New Edition of Corpus, Vol. I.

† A useful Bibliographical Note will be found in Vincent Smith's *Asoka*, 3rd edition, 1920, pp. 227-230.

absorbed. A modified Māgadhi of this kind could be called Ardha-Māgadhi, though the language of the extant Ardha-Māgadhi texts is made up of a somewhat different mixture of ingredients.

An enumeration of all the phonetic and grammatical peculiarities of each group of inscriptions may be to a certain extent misleading. We have already seen that the occurrence of an Eastern form in the West or North may be a "Māgadhism." The vocabulary and bulk of the inscriptions is limited, so that a phonetic equation may be illustrated by a single word, or by words of which the reading is not quite clear, or the interpretation disputed. The student of philology will find

it safer to give weight only to that evidence which is witnessed to by several reliable examples. Looking through the successive interpretations of the inscriptions one notices that the more remarkable abnormalities as well as the more ingenious and wonderful explanations and derivations tend to disappear. The better Asoka's language is known, the plainer and simpler his meaning becomes. The meaning has often become clearer by assuming that the forms found are regular both in grammar and in dialect, than by allowing ingenuity to account for exceptions. The following table illustrates some of the outstanding differences of the dialects.\*

\* For statements of the phonetic equations the student may consult Senart's second volume (trans. in I.A. 1890), O. Franke's Pali and Sanskrit, 1902, Indo-German Forsch., and Michelson's studies, (Amer. J. of Philol., 1909-1910, 1910-1911, J.A.O.S., 1911). Add now the separate Grammars in Hultzsch's Introduction.

Table of Typical Asokan Forms.

Sanskrit.	Pāli.	West Asokan.	North-West.	East Asokan.	Māgadhi.	Ardha-Māgadhi.
1 dharmah	.. dhammo	.. dhammo	.. dharmo	.. dhamme	.. dhamme	.. dhamme
2 mīgaḥ	.. migo, mago	.. mago	.. mige .. mrugo	.. mige	.. mige*	.. mige
3 priyasya	.. piyassa	.. priyasa and .. piyasa.	.. priyasa and .. piyasa.	.. piyasa (piyasa K.)	.. piyassa	.. piyassa
4 arthāya	.. ..	.. athāya	.. athāye	.. athāye	.. ..	.. athāe
5 arthe	.. atthe	.. athamhi	.. athre*	.. athasi, athasi	.. aste, astāhim*	.. atthamsi
6 avarodhane	.. orodhane	.. orodhanamhi	.. orodhanaspi (S.) .. orodhane (M.)	.. olodhanasi	.. olodhane*	.. olodhanamsi*
7 utthāne	.. utthāne	.. utthānamhi*	.. utthānasi and .. utthāne.	.. utthānasi	.. ustāne*	.. utthānamsi*
8 śīle	.. sile	.. silamhi	.. śīle	.. silasi	.. śīle	.. silamsi
9 mayūrāḥ	.. morā	.. morā	.. majura	.. majulā	.. molā, maulā	.. morā, maurā
10 vṛkṣāḥ	.. rukkhā	.. vrachā	.. rucha	.. lukhani	.. lukkhā, luskā(?)	.. rukkhā†
11 hastinah (acc.)	.. hatthi	.. hastino*	.. hastino (S.) .. hastine (M.)	.. hathini	.. hastine	.. hatthi
12 rājā	.. rājā, rājina	.. rājā (rājina su.)	.. raṇa	.. lājina	.. laṇṇā	.. rannā, rannā
13 anyeṣu	.. añṇesu	.. añṇesu, añṇesu	.. añṇesu (S.) .. añṇesu (M.)	.. amnesu (K also .. anesu).	.. añṇesu	.. annesu
14 kaudraka-	.. khuddaka- (chuddho.)	.. chudaka	.. khudraka-	.. khudaka- (K.)	.. khuddaa*	.. khuddaga-

\* Theoretical forms not verified.

† Pischel (Gr. § 320).

TABLE OF TYPICAL ASOKAN FORMS.

	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	West Asokan.	North-West.	East Asokan.	Magadhī.	Archa-Māgadhī.	
15	yad	yaṃ	ya ..	yaṃ, am	am and yaṃ	yaṃ	jaṃ	15
16	iha	idha	idha	ia, hida	ida, hida	idha	iha	16
17	karoti	karoti	karoti	karoti	kaleti	kaledi	karei	17
18	asti	atthi	asti	asti	athi	asti	atthi	18
19	bhavati	bhavati	hoti, bhavati	bhoti	hoti	bhodi	hoi, (b)havai	19
20	*karsyati	kassati, kāṣati	kāṣati	kāṣati	kachati	(kalissadi)	kāhii (karissai)	20
21	vaseyuh	vaseyyu(m)	vaseyu	vaseyu	vasevū	...	vasejjā†	21
22	sthitvā	thatvā	....	tistitu (M.) (S.)	ciṭhitu	ciṭṭhiṇa*	ciṭṭhittā	22
23	parityajitya	paricajitvā	paricajitpā	paritijitu	palitijitu (-tiditu K.)	?	paricaittā	23
24	kartavyam	kattabbam	kataavyam	katava	kaṭaviye	kāḍavvaṃ	kāyavvam	24
25	ārādhayitum	ārādhētum	ārādhetu	....	ālādhayitave (ālādhētave b.)	ālādhedum*	ārādhettāe*	25
26	kṣamitum	khamitum	chamitave	(chamanaye)	khamitave	khamidum*	khamittae	26

\* Theoretical forms.

† Singular.

OUTLINE OF ASOKAN GRAMMAR.

§ 1. In the second volume of Senart's "Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi" (translated in the Indian Antiquary\*) there are *précis* of the grammatical forms found in different groups of inscriptions. Since then further progress has been made in decipherment and interpretation. Special studies of the Asoka dialects and their relations to each other, as those of Michelson and Franke have mainly emphasized the phonetic variations of the edicts or versions scattered over India. This was natural, because it is mainly on the phonetic differences alone that we can base a distinction of dialects. The morphology of all these dialects is practically one and the same. Of the few striking differences in grammar, those most frequently occurring are essentially phonetic, or relate to phonetic changes in associated groups of words.

Some of the forms that are most difficult to classify with certainty, depend on readings not entirely free from doubt, or on interpretations by no means obvious. Discussion has tended to concentrate on these difficult points, several of which occur only once or twice in the whole range of Asoka's inscriptions.

The student, however, should not begin with the discussion of doubtful exceptions, but with a foundation of the normal grammar of the language in which the inscriptions seem to have been drafted, the "Magadhan" official language of Pāṭaliputra. For this he will read the Pillar Edicts, the Dhauli and Jaugada Edicts, Sārnāth Edict, minor Pillar Inscriptions, Sahasrām and Bairāt minor Rock Edicts.

Passing then to the Southern group of minor Rock Edicts he will find these are grammatically in the same language. Taking next the Kālsī edict the student will notice the abundance of sibilants, and the fondness for long final vowels: otherwise there are but few "exceptions" to the Patna scheme.

Next come the Kharoshthī versions, Mānsehrā and Shāhbāzgarhī. Here we have to bear in mind the difference of script, especially the lack of any notation for long vowels. Phonetic differences are more frequent, and we find, especially in the Mānsehrā version a mixing of the Patna language with something else. Finally in the Gīrnār version we find the Western dialect most sharply distinguished from the Eastern, and with few traces of contamination by it. Even here however we shall find that a greater part of the grammar is in common with the Eastern scheme. The Gīrnār version is on the whole well preserved, it is the most clearly legible of the famous Rock Edicts, its dialect is the most familiar in appearance to students of Sanskrit and Pāli: hence most people begin with this, and observe the variations in other versions and the Pillar edicts. For a grasp of Asoka's language, and its relation

\* I.A., 1888, 1889, 1891. Add Corpus. I. I, Vol. I. Hultzsch Introd., pp. lvi-cxxii.

to the provincialised versions, the reverse order may be recommended as indicated above.

In the following outline the Eastern dialect is taken as the standard, and the provincial variations are noted:—

#### DECLENSION.—NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

§ 2. Masculine and Neuter in *-a*, e.g. M. *piya-dhamma*- N. *pāpa*-.

Sing. Nom. *piye dhamme*.

Acc. *piyaṃ dhammam*.

Ins. *piyena dhammena*.

Dat. (*aṭhāye*) *dhammāye*.

Gen. *piyasa dhammasa*.

Abl. *dhammate*.

Loc. *dhammasi*.

Neut. S. Nom. *pāpe*.

Acc. *pāpaṃ*.

- (1) The nom. s.m. in *-e* agrees with *Māgadhi* and *Ardha-Māgadhi* against Sanskrit, Pāli and other Prakrits, which have *-o* as is found (with a few exceptions) in *Shāhbāzgarhi* and *Girnār*.

This *-e* for *-o* must represent an ancient phonetic tendency of some dialects in Eastern India. Similarly we have—

Eastern.	Western.
mukha-te	mukha-to
lājāne	rājāno
lājine	rājño
-dasine	-dasino
nātāle	nataro (S.)
ne	no
kaleti	karoti

- (2) The nom. s. neut. in *-e* has simply been fused with the masc. The acc. shows the original form, but coincides with the masc. In the mixed versions a slight confusion gives us *-e* in the neut. acc. also.
- (3) The dat. sing. in *-āye* is replaced by the classical *-āya* in the West. (Missing in Pāli).
- (4) The old ablative in *-āt* survives in *pachā* (*paścāt*), but otherwise has been replaced by the ending *-tas* which becomes Eastern *-te*; Western *-to*.
- (5) In the loc. s. the pronominal declension has invaded the noun. Old Indian *tasmin* appears as *tasi* in the East, *tamhi* in the West. The old ending of *-e* was the more readily dispensed with in the East as being ambiguous. It survives however in the West and North side by side with the pronominal form, as in *tamhi tamhi prakaraṇe* (G.) *viṇite* and *viṇitamhi* (G.). *Shāhbāzgarhi* has the old loc. as in *viṇite*, the Eastern pronominal form as in *mahanasi*, and a peculiar Northern form as in *-garaspi* "in the house."

§ 3. Examples:

Nom. s. masc. *akhakase*, *acamde*, *ajake*, *analambe*, *anāsulope*, *anugahe*, *anuṣaye* (K.), *apapalisave*, *apavahe* (K.), *abhihāle*, *avipahine*, *asvathe*, *ācariye* (br.), *ālame*, *āvāgama-ke*, *uṭhāne*, *upaghāte* (K.), *upāsake*, *eḍake*, *kaṭe*, *kapote*, *kimchamde*, *kilamte*, *kukuṭe*.

*kumāle*, *kodhe*, *gāme*, *gelāte*, *gone*, *ghoṣe* (K.), *cakavāke*, *catupade*, *jane*, *jāte*, *tose*, *tuse*, *thabe*, *thube*, *damde*, *dupaṭivekhe*, *dhamme*, *nātikye* (K.), *paṭibhoge*, *palikilese*, *palibodhe*, *pasāde*, *pādesike*, *pitilase* (K.), *piye*, *bambhane* (K.), *Budhe*, *mache*, *mahālake* (K.), *māne*, *mige*, *yavatake* (M.), *lajūke*, *lahuke*, *loke*, *vage*, *vadhe* (K.), *vijaye* (K.), *vivāde*, *vividhe*, *ṣatebhage* \* (K.), *ṣamane* (K.), *ṣinehe* (K.), *saṃvibhāge*, *sakale*, *sakhināmbhe* *saṃghe*, *saṃḍake*, *saṃaje*, *sayame*, *savachale*, *save*, *simale*, *suke*, *sūkale*, *svage*, *hamse*.

Ending in *-a*. M. *kartabhikara*, ru. *yāvataka* S., *ghoṣa*, *jana*, *sayama*, may be errors.

See also *pradeśika*, *vadha*, *saṃbamdha*.

S. has regularly *-o* as *apavaho*, *Aṃtiyoko*, *kiṭabhikaro*, *-chamdo*, *jano*, *toso*, *pranarambho*, *priyo*, *mrugo*, *rago*, *rajuko*, *vaḍhito*, *vaḍho*, *saṃvibhago*; (doubtful exception of Northern type, *likhapitu*.) "Magadhisms":—*jane*, *priye*, *vivade*, *pradeśike*, *viṣaye*, *saṃstave*, *ekatie samaye*-\* (with *i* for *e* *srestamati*, *bhagi amñi* † *aṃtikini*).

In G. *-o* is regular; *saṃajo*, *eko*, *mago*, *prānārambho*, *priyo*, etc., "Magadhisms" *rājūke*, *prādesike*, *sayame*, *sakale*, *appaparisrave*,\* *bhāge amne* (?).

K. has in *-o* only *Satiyaputo*, *Kelalaputo*.

§ 4. Nom. s. neut. (In the East there was no distinction, and forms are classified here because they are neuter elsewhere), *adhithāne*, *apaphale*, *abhihāne*, *anusathe*, *āsinave*, *kaṭe*, *kayāne*, *camḍiye*, *calane*, *dasane*, *dāne*, *dimne*, *dukale*, *niṭhūliye*, *pacūpagamane*, *pāne*, *pāpake*, *phale*, *bahuvidhe*, *maṃgale*, *māḍave*, *mūle*, *mokhyamate*, *yote*, *lakhane*, *vidhāne*, *saṃyute*, *sace*, *sādhave*, *sāvane*, *socaye*, *hidatapālate*.

In *aṃ*: *sacam* (br. jtr.), *duvalam* S., and in K. *anamtam* *ādisam*,\* *kaṃmam*, *lekhitam*,\* *anusāsanam*. In *ā*: *punā* (K.), *kaṃmatalā* (K.J.), *dānā* (Mi.), *duvalā* (D.).

M. has the following, sometimes omitting the *anusvāra*: *añapita*, *athrakrama*, *apuñam*, *kalanam*, *kiṭam*, *kramatara*, *dukara(m)*, *sasana*.

In S. *-am* is regular, but there are numerous "Magadhisms" (often found in groups together), e.g. *adhithane*, *etrake*, *ialokac(e)*, *apavudhe*, *tadiṣe*, *dane*, *draṣane*, *-niṣrite*,\* *parisrave*,\* *bhutapruve*, *magale*, *-matre*, *mahālake*, *mute*, *likhite*, *vaḍhite*, *viṇite*, *vipule*, *saṃṣayike*, *savre*, *sahasre*, *hate* (*o* for *aṃ* *kaṭavo*, *paṭivedetavo*, *vavavo*, *śako*).

In G. *aṃ* is regular and Magadhisms are not quite so numerous, but we find:—*añe*, *kaṃme*, *katavyamate*, *tārise*, *dasane*, *dāne*, *dhammacaraṇe*, *parisrave*,\* *bahuvidhe*, *bhūtapuve*, *maṃgale*, *mahāphale*, *mahālake*, *mūle*, *yārise*, *vaḍhite*, *vipule*, *seṣte*.

§ 5. Acc. s. masc. *acamdam*, *upavāsam*, *ekadesam*, *janam*, *jānapadam*, *ghosam*, *desam*, *dosam*, *dhammam*, *patibhogam*, *panayam*, *palikilesam*, *mahāmātam*, *saṃgham*, *sayamam*, *savam* *kālam*, *hidalokam*, etc.

This is the regular form throughout. *Anusvāra* sometimes dropped: S.M.K.D. ru. †

§ 6. Acc. s. neut. *ānaneyam*, *ārogiyam* (br.), *khudakam*, *calanam*, *jivam*, *dasanam*, *dānam*, *dāpakam*, *dukaṭam*, *dukalam*, *dukham*, *dukhiyanam*, *niṭhūliyam*, *pāpam*, *pālatam*, *baṃdhanam*, *bahuvidham*, *maṃgalam*, *sāvakam*, *sāsanam*, *sukam*, *sukatam*, *hitasukham*, *hidatam*, etc. *Anusvāra* sometimes dropped, S.M.K.J. §

In *-e* (nom.) we find *jive* K.S.M. (possibly *nom*), *dāne* (K. xii. 31, probably *nom*), 'the king thinks' parenthetical). See also *ānamne* \* and *bādhatale*.

\* But see glossary.

† Cf. Central Asian dialects, but see gloss.

‡ See *atapāśaḍā*, *bahukā*, *dosā* K.

K. has *mahaphalā*, *khudā*, *nilathiyā*.

Acc. S. used adverbially always *-am*, e.g., atikaṃtam, aṃtalam, anuposatham, ānaṃtaliyaṃ, dhuvaṃ (K. dhuve. *nom. s. masc.*) nimitaṃ, dutiyaṃ, paṭivisithaṃ, puluvaṃ, vipulaṃ, sukhaṃ (pule K. = Skt *purah*) (S. *-o* for *am*: anudivaso).

§ 7. *Ins. s. masc. and neut.* (Part of the Eastern area has a preference for a long final) agena, abhisitena, ākalena, usāhenā, kālanena, jīvena, dhammena, niyamenā, bhayenā, yutena, piyenā K.

§ 8. *Dat. s. m. neut.* aṭhāye (aṭhāya ru.), athraye M. anāṭhāye, analaṃbhāye, apalibodhāye, asvāsanāye, calanāye, chamanāye S., jīvītāye (jīvītāya Rp.) patibhogāye, patividhāye, pālatikāye, posathāye, madhuliyāye, mokhāye, -yutāye, hitasukhāye, -hitāye, hidatikāye.

G. has *-āya*. sūpāthāya, kammāya, athāya, aparigodhāya, etc.

§ 9. *Gen. s. m. neut.* aṭhasa (aṭhaṣā K.), asīlasa, asvasā, gonasā, janasa, jānapadasā, piyasa (piyasā K.), lokasā, etc.

§ 10. *Abl. s. m. neut.* duvālate, dhammate, mukhate, viyaṃjanate. S.M.G. have *-to* mukhato, vaṇanato (S.), vyamjanato (G.).

§ 11. *Loc. s. m. neut.* aṭhasi, ābādhasi K., āvāhasi K., uṭhānasi, uyānasi, ekatalaṣi K., olodhanasi, kālasi, khanasi, gabhāgāṣi, gananasī, janasi, thambasi, dīpaṣi, dhammasi, nāgavanasi, niludhasi, pakalanasi, pavatasī, pavāsasi, pāśādaṣi K., -bhogasi, mahānasasi, vacasi, vinītasi, vivāhasi, visagasi, vijitasi, saṃghasi, saṃsalanasi, savasi, silasi, etc.

M. has usually *-asi* but orodhane, uyanaspi, vinitaspi, vracaspi (all in one sentence with grabhagarasi), pravasaspi.

S. has all these three forms: in *e*: abadhe, avahe, dhrame, pajupadane, prakaraṇe, pravase, vijite, vivahe, śile:

in *-aspi*:—ekataraspi, orodhanaspi, -garaspi, uyanaspi, nivuṭaspi, praśaṃḍaspi, vijayaspi, vinitaspi, viśavaspi, vracaspi:

in *-asi* uṭhānasi, aprakaraṇasi,\* gaṇanasī, tasi, mahanasasi -yutasi.

In G. the regular form is *-amhi*: athamhi, dhammamhi, vijitamhi, etc.

Exceptions in *-e* vijite, pakaraṇe, Pāṭalipute.

§ 12. Masculine and Neuter in *-a*. *Plural.*

Plur. Nom. piyā/ devā.  
Acc. pulisāni.  
Ins. devehi.  
Dat. ....  
Gen. devānaṃ.  
Abl. ....  
Loc. aṭhesu.

Neut. Nom. } mūlāni  
Acc. }

(1) The *acc.* in *-āni* has been absorbed from the neuter.

G. has yute.

In the neuter the *nom.* has occasionally *-ā* so as to coincide with the *masc. nom. ā* *acc. āni*, but generally the *nom. pl.* is in *-āni*.

(2) No forms are found for the *dat.* or *abl.*, but the *ins.* occurs with a *dat.* meaning.

\* See glossary.

§ 13. Examples:

*Nom. plur. masc.* aṃtā, anuviginā, abhītā, amisā, avimanā, asvathā, ukasā, ucāva-calāgā, udālā, upāsakā, kaṭā, Kaligyā K, khudakā, gevayā, (-guṇā br.), (ñātikā jtr.), dūtā K., devā, nātikā, nikāyā K., paṭivedakā, paṭibalā, papotā, pāsamḍā, putā, pulisā (praṇa S.), bakukā (majura S.), majulā, majhimā, mahāmātā, mukhā, munisā (ruḥa M.), lajūkā, vijitā K., viyāpatā,\* samājā, sādhumatā: (S. samaye. nikaye, attracted to *pronom. decl.*). Final vowel sometimes short: K.D.J.T. ru.

§ 14. *Acc. plur. masc.* agikaṃdhāni, chaṃdamnāni, pulisāni (-pāsamḍāni K.) pavajitāni K.G. (pravrajitāni M.), gahathāni K. (gharastāni G.), Kaligyāni K., yutāni (if *masc.*)

§ 15. *Nom. pl. neut.* abhilāmāni, āpānāni, udupānāni, kaṭāni, kayānāni, chayopagāni, jātāni, thambāni, divasāni, nikāyāni?, nigohāni, pānāni, phalakāni, bahukāni, mūlāni, -mokhāni, lukhāni, lopāpitāni, vividhāni, sahasrāni, sādhanāni, -sāvanāni, haṃta-viyāni.

In *-ā* jāta† hālāpitā, lopāpitā (harapita S.M., ropapita M., vuta S.). Coincides with the masculine.†

§ 16. *Acc. pl. neut.* tuṭhāyatanāni, diviyāni, dusāni, lupāni, vasāni, -sāvanāni. (G. vimāna-darsanā see gloss.)

§ 17. *Ins. pl. masc. neut.* ākālehi, Ājivikehi (*dat. sense*), jātehi, devehi, pulimehi, samanehi, matamatrehi M. (*dat. sense*).

§ 18. *Gen. pl. masc. neut.* abhilitānaṃ K. kumālānaṃ, gihithānaṃ, dālākānaṃ, devānaṃ, patavadhānaṃ, pavijitānaṃ, pānānaṃ, -badhānaṃ, bābhanānaṃ, bhūtānaṃ, mahāmātānaṃ, munisānaṃ, lajūkānaṃ, vuḍhānaṃ, vayo-mahālākānaṃ.

§ 19. *Loc. pl. masc. neut.* aṭhesu, anāthesu, apakaṭhesu, Ājivikesu, ānugahikesu, olodhanesu, koṭa-visavesu, catupadesu (ñātikesu br. sd.), nagalesu, Nigamthesu, nikāyesu, paṭiyāsamnesu, pavatesu (pavatisu ru.), pāsamḍesu (prāṇesu br.), bahilesu, bahukesu, bahavidhesu, bābhanibhiyesu, bābhanesu, bhaṭamayesu, magalesu, magesu, mahālakkesu (ladhesu K.), valicalesu, vāsesu, valākesu, visagesu, samanesu, sahasesu, savesu.

§ 20. *Feminine in -ā.*

Sing.	Nom. pajā	Plur. Nom. lopāpitā
	Acc. pajam	Acc. (?)
	Ins. pūjāyā	Ins. (-āhi)
	Dat. pajāye	Dat. ....
	Abl. Takhasilā-te	Abl. ....
	Gen. dutiyāye	Gen. (-ānaṃ)
	Loc. tisāyaṃ, tisāye, palisāya	Loc. disāsu

(1) *Acc. s.* Coincides with *masc.* and *neut.*; sometimes written with *-a*. G. has *-ām*.

(2) *-āya* in *Ins.* and *Loc.*; in Pāli extended to *Abl.* and *Gen.* also. *-āye* in *Dat. Gen. Loc.* and (K.) *Ins.*

§ 21. Examples:

*Nom. s.f.* atulanā, apabhamḍatā, ambāvaḍikā, avihisā, ikā, ichā, isyā, eḍakā, -kāmatā, kiṭanātā K., kubhā, garuta (br.), cikisā, cilamthitikā, jatūkā, dayā, damḍatā (K.), diḍhabhatitā (K.), dipanā K. (dī-G.), dhammapekhā, pajā, paṭimā, paṭivedanā, pali-

\* See viyāpatāse.

† ete jātā

‡ See satā, vivuthā.

puchā, palisā, pālanā, porānā, migaviyā, likhāpitā, viyata, -saṃtilanā, -samatā, sālikā, silā, suvihitā, susūsā, hedisā.

§ 22. *Acc. s.f.* amnam, ikam, pajam, puja (M.), puja (K.), vihāla-yātam, samacaliyam (K.), susūsam, hedisam (G., pūjam, yātām).

§ 23. *Ins. s.f.* agāyā, anulupāyā, isāya, -kāmātāya, kālāya, tūlanāya, palikhāyā, pūjāyā (K. pujāye), vividhāya, sukhāyanāyā, susūsāyā.

So in G. madhuratāya. M. pujaya, but S. pujaye. S.M.K. vividhaye.

§ 24. *Dat. s.f.* avihimsāye, āpānadākhināye, viyatāye, vihisāye, vaṣaṇisidiyāye (nj.).

§ 25. *Gen. s.f.* dutiyāye.

§ 26. *Abl. s.f.* Takhasilā-te.

§ 27. *Loc. s.f.* cāvudasāye, tisāyam, tisāye, pakhāye, pajāye, pajopadāye, paṃnadasāye, palisāya(m), palisāye (K.) (S.M. pariṣaya), -saṃtilanāya (K. -saṃtilanāye, S. -saṃti-  
raṇaye), Samāpāyam.

G. has gaṇanāyam, parisāyam, -saṃtiraṇāya.

§ 28. *Nom. pl. f.* ambāvaḍikya, upāsikā, -gāthā, cikisā (cikisa D.), palisā, lopāpitā.  
G. has mahidāyo, but also katā.

§ 29. Masculine and Neuter in -i.

Nouns with original -i (*agni*, etc.) have almost coalesced with nouns in -in (*hastin-*  
*nom. s. -hastī*) also partially with *r*-stems.

Sing.	Nom. piyadasi	Plur.	Nom.
	Acc. ....		Acc. hathini
	Ins. -dasinā		Ins. (-ihi), cf. lājihi
	Dat. -dasine		
	Gen. ,,		Gen. (ñātinaṃ G.)
	Abl. -girite		
	Loc. ....		Loc. nātisu

§ 30. Examples :

*Nom. s.m.* asampātipati, -munī (ti), vidhi. (K. Piyadasi, -sī, -si.)

*ins. s.* amtevasinā (draṣina M.), cf. pitinā, § 41, but *gen. -dasiā* K. (draṣiā S.M.)

*Nom. s. neut.* asamati K.

*Nom. pl. neut.* -gāmini.

*acc. pl.m.* hathini (but hastino S. hastine M.).\*

§ 31. Feminine in ī.

Sing.	Nom. }	Plur.	Nom. nimsidhiyā
	Acc. } vadhi, vadhi		Acc. -anusathini
	Ins. vadhiyā		Ins. ....
	Dat. vadhiye		Dat. ....
	Abl. Ujenite (nivutiyā)*		Abl. ....
	Gen. devīye		Gen. devinaṃ, bhagininaṃ.
	Loc. Tosaliyam		Loc. catummāsīsu †

§ 32. Examples :

*Nom. s.* anusathi, apaciti, apaviyati (?), ahini, āladhi, āvuti, ithi, gabhini, guti, goti, dhāti, dhiti, nijhatī, niti, paṃkiti, paṭipati, piti K., bhāvasudhi, bhikhuni, lati, lāti (K.), lipi, vadhi, vigaḍabhi (?), vidhi, vudhi, sūkali.

\* But see glossary. Also nipathiyā.

† See pavatisu.

§ 33. *Acc. s.* anupaṭipati, anusathi, kiṭi, kiti (K.G.), khamti (K.) (chamti S.), vadhi, sam-  
bodhi, -sudhi, hini. G. has -im, anusastim, chāti(m), -sudhim, but also kiti, vadhi.

§ 34. *Ins. s.* anāvūtiya anupaṭipatiyā, anusathiyā (anusastiya S.M., anusastiyā G.), nijha-  
tiyā, bhatiyā K.G., vadhiyā, sampātipatiyā.

§ 35. *Dat. s.* anupaṭipatiye, anusathiye (K. -yā), anusastiye M. dhātiye, vadhiye (K.  
vadhiyā, M. vadhriya).

§ 36. *Loc. s.* Kosambiyam, Tisiyam, Tosaliyam, nitiyam, puṃnamāsiyam (cātummāsīye  
*dat. form. loc. meaning, cf. tisāye, paṃnadasāye*).\*

§ 37. *Nom. pl.* abakajani(yo) K., nimsidhiyā (aṭaviyo G.).†

§ 38. Masculine and Neuters in u.

*Sing. nom. masc.* sādhu, bhikhu, lahu, *neut.* bahu.

*abl.* hetute (hetuto S.G.).

*loc.* punāvasune, bahuṇe (from the *dat. gen.*).

*Plural nom. neut.* bahūni, *ins.* bahūhi.

*gen.* gulūnaṃ, gurūnaṃ G., guruna(m) S.  
(K. gulunā. M. guruna.)

*loc.* bahūsu, gulusu (garusu br.).

§ 39. Masculine and Neuters -an stems.

*lājā, atā.*

Sing.	Plural.
Nom. lājā, lāja, rājā G.	lājāne (mahātpā, br. sd.).
Acc. atānaṃ, nāma	
Ins. lājinā (G. rāñā, S. rañā)	lājihi
atanā (atunā ?)	
Dat. } lājine (G. rāño, S. raño)	
Gen. } atane.	

The N. and W. retain rāñā, rāño from Skt. *rājñā, rājñāh.*

Phonetic variants of lājāne are G. rājāno (S. rajane) and the hybrids K. lājāno and M.  
rajane. Mahātpā, like *ins. s.* mahātpena follows -a type.

The neuter approaches the -a type but differs in *ins.* and *dat. sing.*

*Sing. nom.* kamme (K. kamam, *acc.* kamam), *ins.* kammana, *dat.* kammane (K.  
kammaye, G. kammayā), *gen.* kammasa. But nāma remains.

*Plural acc.* kammani.

§ 40. Stems in -ant, -mant -vant.

*Nom. s.* Bhagavam, *ins.* Bhagavatā, *gen.* asatasa M., see also Present Participle :  
saṃtam, etc.

*Plural nom.* tiṣṭanto. G., *voc.* bhamte, *ins.* bhadamtehi.

§ 41. The *r* stems have partly coalesced with the *i*-, *u*- types.

*Sing. nom.* pitā but nati, panati.‡

*ins.* pitinā, bhātinā, (M.S. pitunā, S. bhratuna and M. bhatuna), whereas G. still has  
pitā, bhātrā, bhātā.

*gen.* mātu.

*loc.* G. matari, pitari.

\* See ayatiye.

† See ithi, aṭavi, bhikhuniye.

‡ See apahatā, nijhapayitā.



*Plural nom.* natale (K.) (S. nataro, M. natore).

*gen.* nātinam, nātinam (G.), nātina (M.), nātinam (S.).

bhātinam (S. bhratunam, M. bhatana).

(S. spasunam, M. spasuna.)

*loc.* pitisu (S. pituṣu), nātisu, nātisu (G.).

§ 42. From stems in -s we find *nom. s. neut.* (ya)so J. (yaso) D., yaṣo K., yaṣo M. But bhuye.

*dat. s.* dighāvuse.

## PRONOUNS.

§ 43. 1st Person.

Sing.

*Nom.* hakam (aham\* S.M.G.), see ham

*Acc.* mam

*Ins.* me, mayā br. G. (maya S.M.); mamayā, mamiyā, mamāye, mamiyāye, hamiyāye bh. (?)

*Gen.* me, mama, mamā, mamam (S.M. maa\*), hamā bh. (?)

*Abl.* mamate

Plural.

*Nom.* maye

*Acc.* aphe, apheni, ne

*Gen.* aphākam, ne

*Loc.* apheni

§ 44. 2nd Person.

Plural.

*Nom.* tuphe

*Acc.* tuphe, tupheni, ve

*Dat.* ve

*Gen.* tūphākam (tupaka ru.)

*Loc.* tūphesu

§ 45. *Demonstrative Pronoun.* ta-, eta-

Sing.

Masc.

Neut.

Fem.

*Nom.* se (so S.G.)                      se † (etam S.) ese esa  
ese (eṣe K.S.)

*Acc.* etam, tam                      etam, tam, se                      tam

*Ins.* etena, (etinā ru) tena

*Dat.* etāye, (etiya ru) taye (etāya, tāya G.)                      tāye

*Gen.* etasa, (etisa S.), tasa (taṣa taṣā. K.)

*Loc.* tasi, (etamhi tamhi G., tasi. K.)

Plural.

Masc.

Neut.

Fem.

*Nom.* se te ete                      etāni tāni                      eṣā tā (eṣa)

*Ins.* tehi

*Gen.* etānam, tesam (teṣam S.) tānam

*Loc.* etesu, tesu

\* Hlz.

† So S. adv.

§ 46. *Demonstrative Pronoun.* ayam ima, etc.

Sing.

Masc.

Neut.

Fem.

*Nom.†*

iyam

iyam (iya S.M. iyo S.)

iyam, ayam S.G.,

ayi S.M.

ayo ? S., ayam G.

imam, idam S.G.

*Acc.* imam

imam, iyam, idam

imam

*Ins.* imena (iminā G. br.

sd.)

*Dat.* imāye, imāya

imāye, imāya

*Gen.* imasa (imisa S.)

*Loc.* (imamhi G.)

imasi

Plural.

Masc.

Neut.

*Nom.* ime

imāni

*Ins.* imehi

§ 47. *Relative Pronoun.*

The Eastern dialect partially, especially in Kalinga, drops the initial consonant.

Sing.

Masc.

Neut.

Fem.

*Nom.* ye, e (yo S.G.)

ye, e, yam (ya)

yā (ā ?)

*Acc.* \*yam

also am

yam

*Ins.* yena, ena

*Gen.* yasa, asa (asā K.)

Plural.

*Nom.* ye, e

yāni, āni

yā G.

*Gen.* yesam (yeṣam K.)

*Loc.* yesu (yeṣu K.)

## NUMERALS.

§ 48.

1. adha.

1. eke (ikam sn.).

1½. diyadha-, etc.

2. duve (duvi S. dvo dve G.).

2½. adhātīyāni.

3. timni (trayo S. tri G.).

4. catu-catāli (cature S. catpāro G.).

5. paṃcasu (loc.).

6. ṣaṣu S.M.K. (loc.).

8. aṭha- (asta S.).

10. dasa (daṣa S.M.).

12. duvāḍasa, duvādasa (dbādasa G.

hadaya S.).

13. tedasa (tredaṣa M., etc.).

14. cāvudasaṃ (codasa ng.).

15. paṃnaḍasa, paṃcadasaṃ.

19. ekunavīsati.

20. vīsati.

25. paṃnavīsati.

26. saḍuvīsati.

27. satavisati.

56. sapamṇā- (?).

100. sata- (śata S.M.).

1000. sahasāni (śaḥaṣa K. sahasra S.M.G.).

## THE VERB.

§ 49. *Present Indicative.*

*Singular, 1st person.* anusāsāmi, avahāmi, ichāmi, kalāmi (karomi S.M.G.), dakhāmi, paṭivekhāmi, palakamāmi, parākramāmi G., vidahāmi, sukhayāmi.

† Classification by genders sometimes doubtful. See glossary.

3rd person. anukampati, anunayati M., anuneti S., ichati, galahati (garahati), caghati, chanaṭi (chaṇaṭi S.M.G.), dakhati, dekhati, pasavati, pasati G., bhokhati ?, vadhati.

From 2nd class. eti (yāti sn.), upahamti (upahanati M. upahanāti, G.).

4th class. mamnati K. (mañati S.M. also manati K. etc.).

5th class. kaleti (karoti S.M.G.).

9th class. manāti (?), pāpunāti K. (prāpunāti G.), punāti K.

10th class. aradheti, see *causatives*.

Ātmanepadam. mamnatē G., parākamate G., karote G.

Plural, 2nd person. dakhatha (D. dekhata) pāpunātha.

3rd person. anuvataṃti K., anuvīdhyaṃti, ichaṃti, kalaṃti, caghaṃti, dekhaṃti, yaṃti K., laghaṃti, vasaṃti, vracāṃti S., ātm. anuvatare G.

#### § 50. Imperative.

Singular, 3rd person. anuvīdhiyatu, niyātu G., palakamātu K., manatu K., locetu K., susūsatu (susūsātu K.), ātm. susrusatām G.

Plural, 2nd person. caghatha, nikhipātha, paliyovadātha paṭivedetha, G. lekha-payāthā, vivāsāpayāthā, vivāsayaṭha (? dekhata see gloss.).

3rd person. anupaṭipajāṃtu, anuvataṃtu, ālādhayaṃtu, ārādhayaṃtu G. jānaṃtu, nikhamāṃtu, pakamaṃtu, paṭivedayaṃtu, patakama(m)tu, parakramaṃtu S., yujaṃtu : paṭivedeṃtu K.

Apparently omitting the *anusvāra* aradhetu M.S., paṭivedetu M., paṭrivedetu S., manatu K., locetu K., rocetu S.

#### § 51. Optative.

Singular, 1st person. abhyuṇnamayehaṃ, ālabhehaṃ, paṭipātayeṃ, paṭivedayeṃ, yehaṃ K.D.J.M., gacheyaṃ G., vraceyam S.

Ālabhehaṃ, etc., have been divided as ālabhe'haṃ, cf. upite'haṃ (ru. I. i.); but Senart and Lüders take them as single words. cf. yehaṃ. See glossary haṃ, ālabhe, etc.

3rd person. abhigacheyā, anupaṭipajeya, apakareya M.S., tiṣṭeya G., nivāṭeya K.M.S., paṭipajeya, vadheyā, huveyā : correspond to Pāli labheyya. pāpovā differs from Pāli pappuyya (Skt. prāpnuyāt), cf. 3rd plural in -vu. vase K.M., tithē S., bhavē G., correspond to Pāli labhe. Ātmanepadam. paṭipajetha G., cf. Pāli labhetha.

Plural, 1st person. gachema, dipayema K., dipayema G., paṭipādayema, paṭipātayema.

3rd person. anugahineyu, asvasevu (asvasevu J.), ālādhayevū (ālādhayeyū J.), upadahevū, calevū (caleyū J.), nikhamāvu, pavatayevū, pāpunevu (pāpunevu J.), yāvu, yūjevū (yūjeyu J.), lahevu (laheyu J.), vasevū J.D.K., vivasetavāyu, huvevu. The Jaugada forms in -eyu correspond with Pāli labheyyu, as do the following : avatrapeyu S., jāneyu br., pakameyu br. sd., vaseyu M.S.G., suneyu K. (sunayu bh.), śruṇeyu M.S., śuṣuṣeyu K., suśruṣeyu M.S., haṃneyu K., haveyu M., huveyu K.

Ātmanepadam. sususera G., sruṇāru (?), see gloss.

Passive, haṃneyasu S. An aorist form, but compare siyasu, asu.

#### § 52. Aorist.

Singular, 1st person. husaṃ.

3rd person. nikhami, nikrami, M.S. ātm : nikhamithā Su, vadhithā, huthā cf. A.Mg. forms in -ittā (Pischel. Gr. § 517).

Plural, 3rd person. abhavasū S., ahumsū G., alocayisu, ichisu, nikhamisu, niyāsū G., mañīṣu S., mañīṣu K., loceṣu S., husu.

ātm : ?, see mañā (sara) G.

#### § 53. Future.

Singular, 1st person. This as in Pāli ends in either -āmi or am. nikhāmayisāmi, palibhasayisaṃ, likhiyisāmi, likhāpayisaṃ G. (lekhaṭisāmi K. likhaṭisāmi S.), hosāmi-, kachāmi K., kaṣaṃ S., kaṣami M.

The other forms are conjugated like the Present Indicative.

The following are classified according to the formation of the future :—

(a) Corresponding to Sanskrit *iṣyati*, like Pāli *karissati* :— anupaṭipajisati, anuvatisaṃti, anusāsisaṃti, abhyuṇnamisati, ālādhayisatha, khamisati, jānisati, nikhamisaṃti, paliyovadisati, pavithalisati, yujisaṃti, vadhisati, viyovadisati, sampaṭipajisati.

(Causative) :—atikāmayisati, ānapayisati, nikhāmayisati, niḥapayisaṃti, pavadhayisaṃti, vadhiyisati, \* vadhayisati K., hāpayisaṃti—Like Pāli *kathessati* vadheṣaṃti S., hāpesati G., hapeṣati M.

(Passive) :—ālabhiyisaṃti (arabhisati M.S.), Ātm. 3 pl., anuvatisare G., Pass. : arabhisare G.

(b) Corresponding to Sanskrit *-syati*, after a consonant, like Pāli *kassati kāsati* (\**karsyati*) kachāmi, kachati, † kachamti, kaṣaṃ S., kaṣami M., kāsati G., kaṣati S.M., after a vowel, like Pāli *anubhossati* : hosati, hosamti, hohamti, dahāmi or by the influence of forms like Pāli *essati* (skt. *esyati*), *kathessati* : hesati mk. (cf. Pāli. *hessati*); esatha D., ehatha J.

§ 54. Perfect. Besides the stereotyped āhā, there is only ayāya G.

#### § 55. Passive.

Present Indicative.

3rd person, sing. khādiyati, ganīyati, dukhiyati, nilakhiyati. vucate G., vucati S. (cf. Pāli *vuccati* Skt. *ucyate*).

3rd person, plur. ālabhiyanti; (ārabhare G., cf. Pāli ātm. *labhare*) haṃñamti S. (cf. Pāli *haññati* Skt. *hanyate*).

Optative. 3rd person, plur. haṃneyu S., haṃneyasu S.†

Aorist. 3rd person, plur. ālabhiyisu (ārabhisu G., arabhisu M.)

Future. 3rd person, plur. ārabhisare G.

NOTE.—Except for aorist forms like vadhithā, huthā, Ātmanepadam forms are found only in the Girnār version.

#### § 56. Causative.

Corresponding to Sanskrit *vardhayati*, *pādayati* : paṭipādayamti, ? sampaṭi-pādayamti, pūjayati G. (pūjeti K.), vadhayati G.M. (vadhiyati K. Pass. form. vadheti S.) : with the contraction *e* for *aya-* cf. Pāli *vadḍheti* :— pūjeti K. pūjeti M.S. vadheti S. paṭivedeṃtu K. paṭivedetu M.S., 3 pl., opt.

Corresponding to Sanskrit *dāpayati*, ānapayāmi, ānapayāmi G. (anapemi M.), ānapayati

\* Passive in form.

† By analogy with forms like Pāli *lacchati* (*lapsyati*) *vacchati* (*vatsyati*).

‡ Confused with the aorist. See below.

§ Limited in Sanskrit to roots in -ā.

br., nijhapayisaṃti (*fut.*), vivāsāpayāthā, sāvāpayāmi : with the contraction *e* for *aya*.  
anapemi M., anunijhapeti S.

§ 57. *Participles.*

*Present Active.*

*Singular. nom.* anupaṭipajamtaṃ, kalamtaṃ (kalamta, kalata K., karatam M.),  
nāsamtaṃ, vipaṭipātayamtaṃ, samtaṃ (samto G., sato S.).

G. has karoto, karāto (Pāli *karoto* is genitive) also karum, *see gloss. gen. aśatasa* M.

*Plural.* tiṣṭamto G.

§ 58. *Ātmanepadam.*

In *-māna* adamānasa (*gen.*), bhumjamānasa G. (*gen.*), samānā (*nom. pl.*), cf. Pāli *samāno*.

In *-mīna*, cf. A.Mg. *-mīna*. pakamaminenā, palakamaminenā (*ins.*), pāyamīnā (*fem.*),  
vipaṭipādayamīnehi, sampaṭipajamīne.

*Present Passive.*

anuvehkamāne, vijinamane K.

§ 59. *Past Participles.*

(a) Formed with *-i. ta-* :

tilīta-, pūjīta, mahīyite, lapite K., lekhitā K., likhitā, vadhite, vadhitā, vijitā K.

(b) Formed with *-ta-* after a root ending in a vowel :

apahata, upagate,\* upayāte, upayite, kaṭe, mate, maṭe K., viyāpatā, vistrīta S.,  
stīta G., hate K., hūta.

(c) Formed with *-ta* after a consonant : *t* remaining ;

abhisita (*sic*), āyatā (*yat*), kilamte (*klam*), nikhitā (*kṣip*), pakamte, palakamte (*kram*),  
yutam (*yuj*), *t* assimilated : apavudhe (*vah*), āladhe (āradho G.) ?, *see gloss.*, niṣiṭhā (*śās*).

(d) Formed with *na* :

dimne, dinā br., anūpaṭipamne (*pad*).

§ 60. *Past Participles Causative.*

(a) From type *pādayati* :

sukhayite, sāvite.

(b) From type *dāpayati* :

ānapayite, ānāpitāni, ānāpitam G., ālopite, nijhapayitā, likhāpitā, lekhāpitā G.

(c) From double causatives (cf. Pāli *kārāpeti thapāpeti*) :

usapāpite, kālāpitā, khānāpitāni, sāvāpite, sāvāpitāni, hālāpitāni (triple), khā-  
nāpāpitāni.

§ 61. *Future Participles Passive or (Gerundives).*

(a) From *tavyam* :

(i) *taviye-*, nom. S. masc. and neut. apacāyitaviye, ichitaviye, etaviye, kaṭaviye,  
calitaviye, chamitaviya- M.S., dakhitaviye mk, nilakhitaviye, pajohitaviye, pava-  
titaviye, pusitaviye, vajitaviye, vataviye (vataviyam br.), viketaviye, vijayam-  
taviya (*acc.*), samcalitaviye, susūsātaviye, sotaviyā (*fem.*), hamtaviyāni (*neut. pl.*).

*Causative:* jhāpetaviye, nijhapetaviye, paṭivedetaviye, lekhāpetaviye, vāsāpetaviye.

\* Nasal dropped.

(ii) *-tavyam*. This is the usual form in G., e.g., ovāditavyam, katavyo, paṭivedetav-  
yam, prajūhitavyam, locetavyā, drahitavyam br.

(iii) *-tave, tavam-* (cf. Pāli *-tabba-*) katava S., prayuhotave S., vimnapayitave sn.

(b) From *-anīya-* : asvāsaniyā.

(c) From *-ya-* :

kacam g. (*kṛtyam*), dusampaṭipādaye (*-pādyam*) dekhiye (dakhiye D.), cakiye, (sakyē,  
*etc.*) *see gloss.*, āvāsaiye (?).

G. also has pūjetayā. cf. Pāli forms in *-tāya* Geiger Gr. § 203.

§ 62. *Infinitive.*

The Infinitive is a dative form *-tave, -i-tave*, as found in Vedic and old Pāli.

ājānitave, ālādhayitave (ālādhētave ?, ārādhētave ?) khamitave, chamitave, nijhapayi-  
tave, paṭicalitave (-ṭa-*T.*), visvamsayitave, samādapayitave, sampatipādayitave ;  
adhigatave mk, palihaṭave, pāpotave ru br.

From accusative *-tum* G. has ārādhētu.

§ 63. *Gerund.*

The Gerund regularly ends in *tu*. This appears to be not the Sanskrit *-tvā* but  
rather *-tum*.

The dative of the verbal noun *-tave* having been adopted for the Infinitive, the accusa-  
tive forms were available for another purpose. Ardha- Māgadhī similarly use *-tum*  
forms as a gerund, so that kām means *kṛtvā*. for the omission of the anusvāra com-  
pare ālabhitu, arabhitu M.S. with ārādhētu G. an infinitive.

Examples : kaṭu, sutu (śrutu M.), anusāsitu, alocayitu, ahāpayitu, ālabhitu (arabhitu,  
M.S.), ciṭhītu (tistitu M.), jānītu, dasayitu, nisijitu, palitijitu palitiditu K., paritijitu  
S., vijīnītu, veditu, samnamdhāpayitu.

In G. a form derived from *-tvā* appears with *-tpa\** : ārabhitpā, dasayitpā, alocetpā, pari-  
cajitpā.

In S. (and more rarely M.) occurs in addition to *-tu*, a form in *-ti*, derived from Vedic  
*tvī* : tistiti, oloceti, draṣeti M.

Hultzsch reads abhivādetūnam in the Bhābru edict.†

This resembles A.Mg. *-(t) ūṇa*, but is not found elsewhere in the Asokan inscriptions.

There are few forms derived from *-ya, -tya* : āgaca, adhigicya, apahatā (?), *see gloss.*

\* Can be read *ptā*, but the metathesis is thought improbable, cf. dbādasa, *see* Mehlsn. (Am. 11, 235.) A weakening of *d* produced *b* as in modern *bārah*; similarly a weakening of *t* would give *p*. and *ātpa* would become *āp*. In the long run the labial element has predominated and ousted the dental (as the labials of Greek *bous* and *hippos* have ousted the gutturals of Skt *gaus*, Latin *equos*).

† Senart's suggestion of a flaw in the stone or an erasure is not convincing. (a.87(9.)'500. abhivād [......]nam is obvious -ūnam nearly clear while *et-* is easily supplied. A formal phrase of greeting to the Church might contain a form not used in the ordinary official dialect. There are several peculiarities in the Bhābru edict.