

The inscriptions of Piyadasi. Vol. 2, The columnar edicts : the separate edicts, the author and languages of the edicts / by E. Senart ; translated by G.A. Grieson.

Contributors

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THE
INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

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Oxford 1919

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

VOL. II.

THE COLUMNAR EDICTS ; THE SEPARATE EDICTS ; THE AUTHOR
AND LANGUAGES OF THE EDICTS.

BY E. SENART,

MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

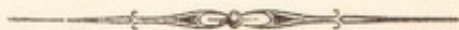
TRANSLATED BY

G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.,

And revised by the Author.



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THE INSCRIPTIONS OF EGYPT

VOL. II

THE TOPICAL INDEX TO THE SEPARATE VOLUMES OF THE WORK

BY F. S. S. S.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF EGYPT

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THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

BY É. SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.¹

CHAPTER II.

THE COLUMNAR EDICTS.

UP to the present date we possess five columns (or *lâts*) on which are engraved edicts emanating from Piyadasi:—

1.—The one which has been longest known, and which is the most important, is the **Dehli column**, commonly known as the **Lât of Firûz Shâh (D)**, because it was that prince who had it removed to Dehli from its original resting-place. This is the one which bears the most complete set of edicts. It is, I think, most convenient to follow the enumeration of the edicts suggested by General Cunningham, and I shall therefore say that this pillar carries seven edicts inscribed in four groups, on each of its sides. An eighth, engraved below, surrounds the shaft in several lines.²

2.—Another pillar exists at **Dehli**, where it was also transported by Firûz (D²). It is the one called by General Cunningham the **Mêrâth (Mîrat) pillar**, from its original site. It only preserves a short fragment of the 1st edict, the whole of the 2nd and 3rd, and portions of the 4th and 5th. The 6th to 8th edicts are altogether missing from it.

3.—The **Allahâbâd column (A)**, comprising edicts I. to VI. Only the two first are complete. One line remains of the 3rd; and of the others, fragments of greater or less extent. It is characterised by the presence of two fragments which we do not find elsewhere, and which are unfortunately in bad condition; one, previously known to Prinsep, has been named by General Cunningham, 'the Queen's edict;' the other, which was reproduced for the first time in the *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. I. Plate xxii., is addressed to the officers of Kausâmbi. They form a necessary appendix in our revision of this class of edicts.

The two last columns were discovered in sites at short distances from each other; and each contains the first six edicts:—

4.—One is that at **Radhiah (R)**, which General Cunningham prefers to call **Lauriya Ararâj**.

5.—The other is the **column of Mathiah (M)**, which has received in the *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* the name of **Lauriya Navandgarh**.

I do not propose to dilate upon the description and history of these monuments. I could only repeat facts already dealt with by Prinsep and General Cunningham, to which I have referred in a general way in the Introduction. It will be sufficient to recall to mind that the **different texts are essentially identical in all common portions**. I have therefore taken, as a basis, the longest and only complete text, that of the **pillar of Firûz Shâh**. This is the text which I transliterate, giving in foot-notes the variations of the other versions when they differ.³

¹ In former volumes (IX. p. 282 ff. and X. pp. 83 ff, 180 ff, 209 ff, 269 ff) of this Journal, there have been published extracts from Chapter I. of M. Senart's very valuable studies of the Piyadasi Inscriptions. We now propose publishing translations of his further studies in the same direction, forming the 2nd volume of his Piyadasi Inscriptions. For this publication the texts have been revised by him with the assistance of the better fac-similes which have become available since the original French edition was issued. For mechanical fac-similes, prepared under the direction of Mr. Fleet, of the edicts on the Lât of Firûz Shâh or the Dehli Siwâlik Pillar, and on the Allahâbâd Pillar, see *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 304 ff.—EDITORS.

² The text of D, and also that of A (see below), seem to have now become, as far as possible, conclusively established by the fac-similes of Mr. Fleet, from which a reading was published by Prof. Bühler, *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 306.

³ The transcription in the original character, and the variants, are omitted in this translation. The latter are no longer necessary, now that the text of D is established.

The orthographical or palæographical peculiarities which this set of inscriptions presents to view are not such as to offer any peculiar difficulties in translation. I therefore neglect them here, and shall revert to them when I examine the philological and grammatical questions as a whole. I may add that I have considered myself authorised, by the experience acquired in the minute analysis of the Fourteen Edicts, to pass over in silence irregularities of detail which can lead to no misunderstanding.

FIRST EDICT.

Prinsep, *J. A. S. B.* 1837, p. 581 (cf. p. 965); Burnouf, *Lotus de la bonne Loi*, p. 654 and ff.

TEXT.

- 1 Dêvânañpiyê Piyadasi lâja hêvañ âhâ [...] saḍvîsati
- 2 vasa abhisitêna¹ mê iyañ dhañmalipi likhâpitâ [...]
- 3 hidatapâlatê dusañpaṭipâdayê² añañata agâyâ dhañmakâmatâyâ
- 4 agâyâ palikhâyâ agâyâ susûsâyâ agêna bhayênâ
- 5 agêna usâhênâ [...] êsa chu khô³ mama anusathiyâ
- 6 dhañmâpêkhâ dhañmakâmatâ châ suvê suvê vaḍhitâ vaḍhîsati chêvâ [...]
- 7 pulisâ pi ca mê ukasâ châ gêvayâ⁴ châ majhimâ châ anuvidhiyañti
- 8 sañpaṭipâdayañti châ alañ chapalañ⁵ samâdapayitavê hêmêvâ añañta
- 9 mahâmâtâ pi [...] êsa pi vidhi yâ iyañ⁶ dhañmêna pâlanâ dhañmêna vidhânê
- 10 dhañmêna sukhiyañâ dhañmêna gôtîti [...]

NOTES.

1. The sign 𑀧 was formerly considered as representing *ḍḍa*; Dr. Kern (*Ind. Stud.* XIV. 394) has rightly identified it as the sign 𑀧 followed by the mark of the *virâma*. No one will hesitate to read, with him, *saḍvîsati*.

2. I have on a former occasion (I. 232) indicated *en passant* what I believe to be the true derivation of the words *hidata* and *pâlata*. Burnouf (p. 655) identifies them with two adverbs; *idhatra* (with double locative suffix) and *paratra*, "used together, by an abuse of language common to popular dialects, as two neuter nouns." We escape from all the difficulties of such a conjecture,—difficulties on which it is needless to insist,—by taking the two members as abstract nouns, derived by the suffix *tâ* from the words *hida* (*idha*) and *para*. The latter word can even be referred to *pâra*, in allusion to the Buddhist expression *pârañ gantun*, 'to cross to the other side.' The two words are here joined in a neuter dvandva, *hidatapâlatañ*. A further process of derivation gives us the adjectives *hidatika*, *pâratika*, which we find at Kapur di Giri (X. 22; XIII. 11) as *paratika* (not *paratrika*); the feminine *pâratikâ* in its turn gives an abstract substantive (cf. *Mahāvastu*, I. 522) exactly equivalent to our *pâratâ*. *Dusañpaṭipâdayê* is certainly the participle, for *°pâdiyê*, *pâdyañ*. This exceptional resolution of *dya* into *daya* is found elsewhere; e.g. *Dhammap.* V. 33, where we have *dunnivârayam* for *durnivâryam* (cf. in this edict itself *gêvaya* for *grâmya*). Moreover, A. evidently read *°pâdiyê*, for it is thus that we must restore the apparent *°pâdayê*. As for the sense, it is important to determine the exact shade of meaning. If, with Burnouf, we translate it 'difficult to obtain,' we run the risk of contradicting the general intention of the edict. Whenever we come across the verb *paṭipâdayati*, *sañpaṭipâdayati* in our inscriptions (cf. e. g. the detached edicts of Dh. and J.) it has the causal meaning indicated by the form. We must therefore translate 'Happiness here below and happiness in the other world are difficult (not to obtain but) to provide.' The king does not address himself to his subjects in general, but, as appears from the sequel, to his officers of all ranks, whom he charges with the moral and religious oversight of his people. It is to them, and to the cares of their office that the qualities next enumerated are indispensable. In fact

this interpretation exactly agrees with the thought and intention manifested at the end of the VIth (rock) edict, in very analogous terms, and it will be recognised that the conditions indicated, *parīkshā* 'alertness in oversight,' *bhaya*, 'fear' of the king (cf. edict VIII. below) apply infinitely better to the officials in question, than to subjects in general.

3. The phrase *chu khô* does not indicate, as Burnouf thought, a consequence, 'also, for.' It indicates, as is shewn by the evidence of the synonym *tu khô* (e.g. G. IX. 5, 7) and the various passages where it is employed (e.g. G. IX. 8, 3, below VIII. 9, &c.), a slight opposition, 'but, now.' The conditions of which the king speaks are necessary and difficult to find; but, thanks to his instructions, they develop from day to day. It is necessary to read *anusathiyā* as one word, as an instrumental. With regard to the use of *suve suve* in the meaning of 'every day,' 'from day to day,' cf. *Dhammap.* V. 229.

4. Burnouf's identification of *gēvayā* with *grāmyā*, appears to me as certain as it is ingenious. The neighbourhood of the epithets *ukasā* and *majjhimā* proves that the word should be taken not in its etymological, but in its secondary sense of 'low, inferior, lowest.' Analogous examples will be found in the dictionaries, and I add the passage of the *Lal. Vist.* (540, 10), where *grāmya* is, in this sense, placed between *hīna* and *pārthagjanika*. Regarding *anuvīdhīyanti*, cf. I. 232.

5. There can be no question of dividing the sentence before *alam*, nor is it necessary to change *samādapayitavē*, as proposed by Burnouf. *Samādapēti* is in Buddhist language used in the sense of 'to convert;' the infinitive is governed by *alam*, and the whole phrase forms a development explanatory of *sampatipādayanti*. From the well-established use of this verb, it follows that *chapalam* cannot be taken as an abstract neuter. It must designate collectively men who are thoughtless, easily lead away (cf. *Dhammap.* V. 33; *chapalam chittam*). It is possible that *anuvīdhīyanti* and *sampatipādayanti* have as an object *anusathim*, understood from the *anusathiyā* of the preceding sentence; but we shall see below, especially in the detached edicts of Dhauli and of Jaugada, *sampatipādayati* or *patipādayati* employed absolutely; so also we shall find the phrase *dhammānupatipattiṃ anupatipajati* (below, VIII. 3), but more usually *patipajati* or *sampatipajati* used absolutely. Hence, the translations 'to be, to walk in the good way,' and for the causal, 'to place, to cause to walk in the good way' appear to me to be those which best render the exact meaning of the verb. As regards *hémévā*, i.e. *ēvam ēva*, which we meet subsequently in other edicts and also in the detached edicts of Dh. and J., cf. *Hémachandra*, Ed. Pischel, I. 271. The parallel versions prohibit us from supposing, with Burnouf, that anything is missing from the end of the line, to be completed as *anta* [*musô*]; moreover this word would not suit the sense. The text is certainly complete here, but this certainty does not relieve us of any difficulty. If we consider the reading as entirely correct, we must consider *antamahāmātrā* as a compound signifying officials stationed at the frontiers; and, as a matter of fact, the Vth of the Fourteen Edicts tells us of *mahāmātras* charged with the duty of watching the border-populations. It is also natural that Piyadasi, always intent on extending his charitable cares beyond his own kingdom, should expressly mention, after the officials of all ranks of the interior, those whose actions extended beyond (cf. Dh. IIInd det. ed.). Nevertheless, I have some doubts about this. The XIIth edict speaks positively of *mahāmātras* charged with the oversight of women, and, according to the Vth, the *dhammamahāmātras* had to busy themselves with the domestic affairs of all the members of the royal family. If we only changed *anta* into *antē*, and the correction is an easy one, we should find an allusion to these 'domestic officials.' The agreement of all the versions in reading *ta* nevertheless compels me to decide in favour of the first interpretation.

6. The phrase *yā iyaṃ* occurs again in the VIIIth edict, l. 7, in the same meaning, i. e. as equivalent to the Pali phrase *yad idam* 'to wit.' Although *iyaṃ* is often employed in our inscriptions as a neuter, I do not think that we are obliged to take *yā iyaṃ* as actually identical with *yad idam*. In the two places where it occurs, the first substantive which follows the

pronoun is feminine, here *pālanā*, below *dayā*, with which it perhaps agrees. It is more difficult to fix with the necessary accuracy, the precise shade of meaning of the word *vidhi*. The word 'règle' (rule) appears to be the most exact equivalent in French. This translation agrees well with the sense properly given by Burnouf to the *vidhāna* which follows.

To sum up, here is the translation which I propose :—

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas :—In the twenty-seventh year from my coronation did I have this edict engraved. Happiness in this world and in the next is difficult to provide, without (on the part of my officials) an extreme zeal for the Religion, a strict oversight, an extreme obedience, a very lively sense of responsibility, an extreme activity. But, owing to my instructions this care of the Religion and this zeal for the Religion increase and will increase [among them] from day to day. And my officials, superiors, subalterns, and those of middle rank, themselves conform to and also direct [the people] in the Good Way, so as to keep steadfast the fickle-minded ; so also, the overseers of the frontier countries. Now the rule is this ; government by the Religion, law by the Religion, progress by the Religion, security by the Religion.

SECOND EDICT.

Prinsep, *l.c.*, p. 582 and ff ; Burnouf, *l.c.*, p. 666 and ff.

TEXT.

- 10 Dēvaṇāmpiyē Piyadasi lājā
 11 hēvaṃ āhā [.] dhammē sādhu [.] kiyam¹ chu dhammē ti [.] apāsinavē bahukayānē
 12 dayā dānē sachē sōchayē cha khu² [.] dānē pi mē bahuvīdhē diṃnē dupada
 13 chatupadēsu pakhiṇālichalēsu vivīdhē mē anugahē kaṭṭe āpāna
 14 dākhināyē³ amnāni pi cha mē bahūni kayānāni kaṭṭāni [.] etāyē mē
 15 aṭṭhāyē iyaṃ dhammalipi likhāpitā hēvaṃ anupaṭipajāntu chilam
 16 thitikā⁴ cha hōtāti ti [.] yē cha hēvaṃ sampāṭipajīsati sē sukaṭam kachhatīti [.]⁵

NOTES.

1. The last facsimile, by Mr. Fleet, gives the reading *kiyam*, not *kāyam*. Even this form I can only analyze as equivalent to *kē iyaṃ*. *Iyam* would be used for the masculine, which is in no way extraordinary in monuments in which the same form is constantly employed both for the feminine and the neuter, and in which the difference between the neuter and the masculine, in the singular, is almost obliterated by the extension of the termination *ē* to the former. This explanation appears to me much more probable than the comparison with the Sanskrit *kiyat*. It is not intended to determine the extension of the dhamma, but to indicate its nature.

2. Burnouf has well explained *apāsinava* in a general way. Only I do not think that we should look upon *āsinava* as a form which is independent of, although synonymous with the ordinary *āsrava*. It would be too isolated an example, and, moreover, the word is easily explained by a simple mechanical process. *Āsrava* can, in our dialect, become *āsilava* as we have in Pāli, *silōka*, *silēsuma*, *silāghati*, *kilēsa*, &c. *Āsilava* can again be changed into *āsinava*, like the Pāli *naṅgala*, *naṅgula*, for the Sanskrit *lāṅgala*, *lāṅgula* (cf. Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Pāli Gram.*, p. 44). The versions of Radhiah and Mathiah help us to correct the word *sōchayē* at the end of the sentence. It is necessarily incorrect, and should be *sōchéyé*, i.e. *śauchéyam*, a normal form. The *iti* of these two versions, comes naturally after an enumeration, but its presence is not

absolutely necessary. In any case, we cannot, like Burnouf, begin the next sentence with *cha khu*, or even with *iti cha khu*. The latter phrase would be, in itself, possible at the beginning of a proposition; but, putting the sandhi of *sôchéyēti* or rather the enclitic form *ti*, which would be inadmissible at the commencement of a sentence, out of the question, the *pi*, which follows *dānē* would no longer be possible after this accumulation of particles. *Cha khu* or *iti cha khu*, finishes and winds up the enumeration; *pi* takes up a new order of ideas; 'Also have I given many alms.'

3. There are two ways of understanding the expression *āpānadākhināyē*, if we take *pāna* as representing in Sanskrit *prāṇa*, or if we take it as representing *pāna*. Burnouf decided in favour of the former, 'Des faveurs leur (aux hommes et aux animaux) ont été accordées par moi, jusqu'au présent de l'existence.' Such a manner of speaking appears to me unnatural. The expression '*jusqu'à*,' 'even to' (*ā*) leads one rather to contemplate the indication of a favour so particular, so unexpected, that it constitutes a refinement of liberality. I would add that the term *anugaha* does not, in fact, appear to declare so bounden a service as the gift of life, but rather some work of supererogation. But above all, according to the context, the benefit must be applicable both to men and beasts (*dupadachatupādēsu*). Now, we shall see that Piyadasi put certain limits to the slaughter of animals, that he pardoned some men condemned to death, but nowhere does he speak of a general abolition of the death-penalty. I hence conclude that the only satisfactory interpretation consists in taking *pāna* in the sense of 'drink,' 'water;' 'even to securing them water;' and that the king alludes to a work which he has several times mentioned with legitimate satisfaction, to the sinking of wells along the road sides (cf. G. 1st Edict). We shall see below (VIII. 2-3) with what visible complaisance the king enlarges on this point. This comparison may perhaps even suggest an altogether different analysis. In this passage, the king boasts of having established many *āpānas*, inns or caravanserais, and *āpāna* can be taken as a word in itself. At the same time, one does not see exactly why the king should mention only this class of benefactions. The former construction has this advantage, that it implies many others, as we should expect from the use of the phrase *vividhē anugahē*. For the meaning of *dākhinā*, which we propose here, we may perhaps compare *arōgadachhinā bhavatu*, of the third line of the Wardak inscription (J.R.A.S., xx., 261ff); this at least, is the reading proposed by Dowson. Unfortunately, the interpretation, and even the deciphering of this monument are too imperfect and too hypothetical, for the comparison to have much weight.

4. With regard to the spelling *°thitīkā* of several versions, compare the analogous orthographies which I have collected in Buddhist Sanskrit, e. g. *Mahāvastu* I., p. 595. I need scarcely remark that we should read *hōtūti*, the *ti* having been erroneously engraved twice.

5. With regard to *kachhati* being equivalent to *karishyati*, cf. Vol. I. p. 123 of the original essays.

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas:—The Religion is excellent. But, it will be asked, what is this Religion? [It consists in committing] the least possible ill; [in doing] much good; [in practising] mercy, charity, truth, and also purity of life. Also have I given alms of every kind; amongst men and four-footed beasts, birds and inhabitants of the water have I performed varied benefits, even so far as securing them drinking water; many other meritorious actions have I also done. It is for this purpose that I have had this edict engraved, in order that men may follow it and walk in The Good Way, and in order that it may long remain in existence. He, who will thus act, will do that which is good.

THIRD EDICT.

Prinsep, *l.c.* p. 584; Burnouf, *l.c.*, pp. 669 and ff.

TEXT.

- 17 Dêvânâmpiyê Piyadasi lâja hêvañ ahâ [...] kayânâññm êva dēkhati¹ iyañ mē
 18 kayânê kaṭēti nō mina² pāpañ dēkhati iyañ mē pāpē kaṭēti iyañ vā
 āsinavē
 19 nāmāti [...] dupaṭivēkhē³ chu khō êsā hêvañ chu khō êsa dēkhiyē imāni
 20 āsinavagāmīni⁴ nāma atha chañḍiyē niṭhūliyē kōdhē mānē [...] isyā
 21 kālanēna va hakañ mā palibhasayisañ ēsa bādha dēkhiyē⁵ iyañ mē
 22 hidatikāyē iyañ ma namē pālatikāyē [...]

NOTES.

1. It matters little whether we should read here, and lower down, *dēkhati* or *dēkhasati*. The subject is indefinite: 'one sees,' 'they see.' And we must consider the form *dakhati* or *dēkhati* as certainly the present and not the future (*cf.* Kern, *J.R.A.S.*, N.S., xii. 389, *note*). See lower down the future participle *dēkhiya*. It is unnecessary to remark that the regular orthography would be *kayānañ* (or *°nam*) *ēva*.

2. The syllables *nō mina* are embarrassing, and the more so because the agreement of all the versions compels the greatest caution in making conjectures. Burnouf analyzed it into *nō iminā*, 'not by this,' but I confess that I do not see clearly the sense which he proposes to draw from it, and perceive still less any meaning which would be usefully drawn from such an analysis. One thing is certain, that a negative is wanting. It may be contained in the first syllable, *nō*; but it may also be in the last syllable, *na*. Dr. Kern apparently, so far agreeing with Burnouf, adopts the first explanation when he incidentally quotes this member of the sentence (*J.R.A.S.*, N.S., xii. 389, *note*), and transcribes it as *na punaḥ*: *mina* would therefore represent *punaḥ*. Perhaps the same could be found again in the form *mana* at the end of this edict: *iyañ mana mē*. However, as will be seen in a subsequent note, *punaḥ*, in this latter sentence, is not needed by the necessities of the sense,—quite the contrary. This analogy would not therefore be decisive in favour of an identification which presents so many difficulties. We have met this adverb on several occasions in our inscriptions, but always under the form *puna* or *pana* (*panē*). The change of an initial *p* into *m* is anything but frequent; when, in Prākṛit, we meet with *mia*, *miva*, for *pi va* (*api va*), it is only after a nasal (*cf.* Weber, *Hāla*, index, *s.v.*). Besides this we should have to explain the change of *u* into *i*, a change peculiarly unexpected after a labial. This transcription, therefore, ingenious as it may be, appears to me to be extremely hypothetical. I think it preferable to take refuge in a conjecture, and to read *nāmā* (for *nāma*) *na*. *Nāma* would be placed exactly as it occurs at the end of the sentence, after *āsinavē*; nothing could be more natural, for the two phrases are in antithesis. I may add that, at the end of the edict, I can see no more plausible expedient than to correct *manamē* into *mē nāma*. Burnouf supposed an accidental repetition of the syllable *mē* (*ma*) but we cannot adhere to this explanation; we shall, indeed, see that there is no reason for admitting the presence of the negative for which Burnouf sought. Nor can I follow him further in his translation of the latter portion of this sentence. He commences a new proposition at *iyañ vā āsinavē*, which he translates, 'Et c'est là ce qu'on appelle la corruption du mal.' I scarcely see, in what precedes, to what this observation can refer; *āsinava* is, on the contrary, defined a little lower down. Besides, the *vā* and the final *ti* necessarily range this proposition in order with that which precedes it. We shall establish a perfectly natural and connected sense if we translate: "One does not say 'I have committed such' and such a fault, or such and such an action is a sin.'" There is here no tautology. The first proposition deals with the material fact of the bad action which one does not feel bound to confess, the second deals with the exact appreciation of the value of those actions which one abstains from dwelling upon.

Indeed, the remainder of the edict has for its object: 1st, to inculcate the necessity of self-examination; 2nd, to enlighten the conscience by definition, such as it is, of sin. With regard to *āsinava*, see the preceding edict.

3. The irregular orthography of °*paṭivēkkhē* for °*paṭiyavēkkhē* will be remarked. This anomaly occurs again, e.g. in *paṭivēkkhāmi*, vi. 4, and also in *anuvēkhamāna*, viii. 2. The root *prati-ava-ikksh* is consecrated in Buddhist terminology to the sense of 'examination of the conscience,' 'self-examination.' See, for example, a passage of the *Visuddhimagga*, quoted by Childers (s.v. *pachchavēkkhanam*), which, among five subjects of self-examination, distinguishes those regarding the passions which have been destroyed and those regarding the passions which are yet to be destroyed. These are exactly the two classes of self-examination of which the king speaks here. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the two words *chu khô* mark a double reservation. The first depends on the preceding phrase: One does not render an account of the evil which one commits; *it is true* that this self-examination is difficult. The second depends on this phrase itself: this self-examination is difficult, *yet still* it is necessary to examine oneself. Then follows the tenour of this examination.

4. *Āsinavagāmini* does not mean 'the vices which come from *āsrava*, but 'the actions which come under the category of *āsrava* or of sin.' This is the only translation which agrees at once with the customary use of *gāmin* and with the general sense of the passage. The *hēvaṃ* of the preceding phrase gives us notice that we are about to have an explanation of the self-examination which the king demands. As a matter of fact, the sentence commences with *imāni*, which is in exact parallelism with the *iyam* of the preceding propositions. Moreover, and this is altogether decisive in the matter, the versions of Radhiah and of Mathiah mark off this beginning of the sentence with an *iti*, which emphasises its real purport. The continuation, *yatha*, &c., is an explanatory development, a kind of summary definition intended to explain the nature of *āsrava*, and in what sin consists. *Chāṇḍiya*, the equivalent of the abstract noun *chamḍiya*, does not appear to have been used in the classical language.

5. Hitherto this last sentence of the edict has not been understood. Neither the phrases nor even the words have been properly separated. The new copies, which supply us clearly with the reading *kālanēna*, can leave no doubt as to the construction. On the other hand, as most of the versions give *palibhasayisaṃ* (i.e. *palibhāsayisaṃ*) *ēsa*, it is clear that the *ti* inserted between the two words by two of the versions represents *iti*. It hence follows that this phrase is put in the mouth of a third person, i.e. of the sinner, and that it defines that which it is necessary to watch carefully, with energy (*bādhaṃ dēkhiyē*). Numerous passages (e.g. K. viii. 2; Kh. xii. 32; Sahasārām, I.; *infra*, viii. 1, &c.) leave no doubt as to the force of *bādhaṃ*, which is that of a kind of superlative. The phrase *isyākālanēna*, &c., by itself offers no serious difficulty. *Palibhāsati* in Pāli means to decry, 'to calumniate,' 'to defame.' This is the meaning which we have here, whether the causal should have its full force, 'to cause to calumniate,' or whether, as appears to me more likely, it only conveys the meaning of the simple root. We have already met the form *hakaṃ* as equivalent to *ahaṃ*, and we shall subsequently meet it still oftener. That, therefore, which it is necessary to watch against with care, is the tendency to spread calumnies by reason of, i.e. under the inspiration of, envy. The versions of Radhiah and of Mathiah complete the sentence with a final *iti*, thus clearly shewing that the last phrase, *iyam me*, &c., is also comprised amongst the things which are to be made a subject of consideration. We thus arrive at this perfectly natural interpretation: 'it is necessary to say to oneself, "that (this watchfulness in avoiding calumny and envy) will be to my benefit in this world, that will be to my benefit in the other life."' It is plain that we cannot admit the negative for which Burnouf sought in *manamē*. The king never separates, and above all, never opposes present advantage and future (or, more properly, religious) advantage; and, in any case, if he ever did, the opposition would here be unintelligible. It cannot be supposed that the king should consider watchfulness in avoiding calumny as without effect on one's future destiny. Regarding my conjecture expressed above, according to which I read *iyam me nāma*, I would

point out that the correction of **18** to **18** is particularly easy. As for *punah*, supposing for a moment that it can be represented by a form *mana*, it cannot easily be explained here, where nothing calls for an antithesis.

I therefore translate this edict in the following manner :—

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas :—A man only seeth his good deeds ; he saith unto himself, “ I have done such and such a good deed.” But, on the other hand, he seeth not the evil which he doth commit. He saith not unto himself, “ I have done such and such an evil deed ; such and such a deed is a sin.”

True it is that this self-examination is painful ; yet still should a man watch over himself, and say unto himself, “ such and such deeds, such as rage, cruelty, anger and pride, constitute sins.” A man must watch himself with care, and say, “ I will not yield to envy, nor will I speak evil of anyone ; that will be for my great good here below, and that verily will be for my great good in the world to come.”

FOURTH EDICT.

Prinsep, p. 585 and ff. ; Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.* II. p. 258, n. 2 ; p. 272, n. 1 ; p. 274, n. 1 ; Burnouf, p. 740 and ff. ; Kern, *Iaartelling der zuydelijke Buddhisten*, p. 94 and ff.

TEXT.

- 1 Dêvânampiyê Piyadasi lâja hêvam âhâ [...] saḍḍisativasa
- 2 abhisitêna mê iyam dhammalipi likhâpitâ [...] lajûkâ mê
- 3 bahûsu pânasatasahasêsu janasi âyatâ¹ têsam yê abhihâlê va
- 4 damḍê vâ atapatiyê mê kaṭê² kiṃti lajûkâ asvatha abhitâ
- 5 kaṃmâni pavatayêvû janasa jânapadasâ hitasukham upadahêvû
- 6 anugahinêvu châ³ [...] sukhîyanadukhîyanam jânisaṃti dhammayutêna cha
- 7 viyôvadisamti⁴ janam jânapadam kiṃti hidatam cha pâlatam cha
- 8 âlâdhayêvû ti [...] lajûkâ pi laghamti⁵ paṭichalitavê mam pulisâni pi mê
- 9 chhadamnanî paṭichalisamti tēpi cha kâni viyôvadisamti yēna mam lajûkâ
- 10 chaghamti âlâdhayitavê [...] athâ hi pajam viyatâyê dhâtiyê nisiṇṇu
- 11 asvathê hōti viyatadhâti chaghati mê pajam sukham palihaṭavê⁶
- 12 hêvam mamâ lajûkâ kaṭâ jânapadasa hitasukhâyê [...] yēna êtê abhitâ
- 13 asvatha samtam⁷ avimanâ kaṃmâni pavatayêvûti êtēna mê lajûkânam
- 14 abhihâlê va damḍê vâ atapatiyê kaṭê [...] ichhitaviyê hi êsâ kiṃti⁸
- 15 viyôhâlasamatâ cha siya damḍasamatâ châ [...] ava itê pi cha mê âvuti⁹
- 16 baṃdhanabaddhamnam munisânam tilitadamḍânam¹⁰ patavaddhamnam tinnu divasâni mê
- 17 yôtê diṃnê nâtikâvakâni nijhapayisaṃti jîvitâyê tânam [...]
- 18 nâsamtam vâ nijhapayitâ dânam dâhamti pâlatikam upavâsam va kachhamti [...]
- 19 ichhâ hi mê hêvam niludhasi pi kâlasi¹¹ pâlatam âlâdhayêvûti janasa cha
- 20 vaḍḍhati¹² vividhê dhammachalanê samyamê dânasavibhâgê ti [...]

NOTES.

1. If there is no doubt as to the meaning there is at least some regarding the original form of the word which is here written *âyatâ*. Dr. Kern corrects to *âyutâ*, Sanskrit *âyuktâh*, both the form and meaning of which are satisfactory. It is nevertheless remarkable that lower down (D. viii. 1), in an expression exactly agreeing with that of the present sentence, we again find the same reading, *âyatâ*, in which here all the versions are unanimous. It is the same in the third passage in which the word appears (Dhauḷi, 1st detached Edict, l. 4). On the other hand, when we have certainly before us the substantive *âyukti* (Dh., detached Edict I. 11 ; II. 8 ; and also in line 15 of the present edict) the *u*, so far from being omitted, has acted

on the *y* which precedes it, and has changed it into *v*,—*ávuti*. I doubt, however, whether we should go back to the analysis proposed by Lassen and adopted by Burnouf (*áyattáh*). Even if we call in the aid of the analogy of *samáyatta*, the meaning does not exactly suit. I only see in the orthography here used the trace of some confusion which may have arisen in popular usage between the two participles, in themselves quite distinct, *áyutta*, and *áyatta*.

Lajúka is the ordinary spelling, beside which we have also *lájuka* with the *á* lengthened in compensation. This confirms the opinion of Dr. Jacobi (*Kalpasūtra*, p. 113, and *Gloss.*, s. v. that the etymological form is *rajjúka*. He justly compares the word *rajjú* of the Jaina text which is explained as equivalent to *lélhaka*, 'scribe.' I shall elsewhere deal with these officers. Suffice it to say, at present, that they appear to me to have been men specially invested with a religious character and constituted into colleges of some kind of sacerdotal description.

2. The meaning of *abhihála* is not defined exactly by the ordinary use of the word. The meaning 'offering,' which is that commonly met with in Páli, does not suit the present passage. 'Confiscation,' adopted by Burnouf, and doubtless derived by him from the signification of 'taking,' 'theft,' attested by classical Sanskrit, is very arbitrary. Further on (l. 14-15) we shall see a direct parallelism between *abhihála* and *daṇḍa* on the one side, and *viyóhālasamatá* and *daṇḍasamatá* on the other. It follows that here *abhihála* should have a value very nearly akin to that of *viyóhála*. *Vyavahára* points to a judicial action. I think, therefore, that we cannot do better than agree with Dr. Kern in deducing, for *abhihára*, after the analogy of *abhiyóga*, the meaning of 'pursuit,' 'prosecution' in general, derived from the signification *attack*, of which evidence exists.

Similarly, with regard to *atapatiyé*, I agree with Dr. Kern in analyzing it as *átma-pati*, but I am compelled, by the general sense of the edict to give an altogether different meaning to the word. The sentence is repeated a little lower down, and we cannot separate the explanations of the two passages. In both instances we see that the measures taken by the king have for their end the giving to the *rajjúkas* a feeling of complete security, and the enabling them to attend without fear to the duties of their mission. But the second passage specifies another aim also of the king. The measures taken have their origin in a desire of securing 'uniformity (or equality) in the prosecutions, and uniformity in the punishments.' How could the king secure such a result while abandoning to his officials the arbitrary and uncontrolled right of deciding as to whether prosecutions were to be instituted or not, and as to the nature or extent of the punishments to be inflicted? This, it must be observed, is the meaning to which the translation of the learned Leyden professor leads. All is explained if we take *átman* as referring to the king himself, and, in this agreeing with Burnouf, the prosecutions and the punishments as concerning, not the persons committed to the charge of the *rajjúkas*, but these functionaries themselves. 'I reserve to myself, personally,' says the king, 'the institution of prosecutions against, and the awarding of punishments upon, them.' It is manifest that this is an excellent method for establishing a perfect uniformity in the legal responsibilities of these officers; and it is at the same time a weighty guarantee on behalf of those most interested. They could fulfil their duties without inquietude, knowing that they were responsible to the king alone, and that therefore they escaped the possible intrigues and enmities of any official superiors. I deem it useless to insist on the reasons which render inadmissible the interpretation which Burnouf, misled by a false analysis of *atapatiyé*, proposed for this sentence.

3. There can, I think, be no doubt as to these last words, regarding which the reading *°vachá*, instead of *°vu chá*, has hitherto misled interpreters. *Anugahinévu* is nothing but the optative of *anugrihñáti*, derived and spelled according to all the analogies of Prákṛit, and in particular of the dialect of our inscriptions. The *vu* is for *yu*, as in *upadahévu*, and in many other instances to which attention either has been or will be drawn, the translation is quite simple. The aim of the king is that the *rajjúkas* "should provide for, and favour the welfare and the happiness of, the populations." We have previously shown how familiar the word *anugraha* is to the language of the king. It has almost the appearance of a technical term.

4. In order to understand this member of the sentence, it is indispensable to compare with it the expression of the viiith Col. Ed., l. 2, which refers to it and sums it up. There the king expresses the mission given to *rajjúkas* as follows: *hēvaṃ cha hēvaṃ cha paliyōvadātha janāṃ dhaṇṇmayutaṃ*. This comparison appears to me to condemn the translation proposed by Dr. Kern (cf. again J. R. A. S., N. S., xii. pp. 392 and 393, note). *Ōvadati* has in Buddhist language the exact and ascertained meaning of 'to exhort,' 'to preach.' We have already explained this in discussing the VIth edict. *Viyōvadati* has the same signification, except for the shade of diffusion which, marked here by the prefix *vi*, is in the circular edict given by the prefix *pari*. We have a direct proof of this in Dhauli, vi. ii; *viyōvaditā[vē]* corresponding to *ōvaditaviyaṃ* of the other versions. This meaning is also the only one which suits the following sentence.

On the other hand, the same comparison prevents our taking *yuta* in *dhaṇṇmayutēna* as a neuter, and translating, with Burnouf, 'conformably to law.' I have on a former occasion (I. 78) had occasion to remark that throughout our inscriptions *dhaṇṇmayuta*, or its equivalent, *yuta*, whether in the singular or in the plural, has always the same meaning, and designates the faithful people, the co-religionists of the king. So it is in the xiiith edict, in which the king enjoins his officials to confirm them by their exhortations in their good sentiments; so it is also here. We have, in fact, a very simple means of putting the present passage in complete agreement with the former one: it is to take the instrumental in its meaning, so common and well known, of association. We accordingly translate, 'and with the faithful (at the same time as the faithful) they will exhort all the people.'

We are now in a position to restore all its regularity to the rest of the sentence. We can only, if we follow the usual style of these edicts, refer *ālādhaṇṇēvu* to the people, to those who are set under authority, as the subject. *Kiṇṭi*, in short, always announces the intention attributed to the subject of the proposition; here, to the subject of *viyōvadisaṇṭi*, i.e. to the *rajjúkas*. As we enter, with *kiṇṭi* and *ti*, into the direct style, it would be necessary, if the verb applied to these officials, that it should be in the first person and not in the third. The idea of the king is therefore incontestably this:—'the *rajjúkas* shall preach the gospel to my subjects, in order to provide for their welfare in this world and in the world to come.'

5. There can be little doubt here about the restoration of *laghaṇṭi* to *chaghamti*. The difference between *᳚* and *᳚* is very slight, and the evidence of the other versions seems to be decisive. As to this form, no one has as yet noted its parallel use in Prākṛit, or has determined its prototype in Sanskrit. Dr. Kern compares the Hindustānī *chāhnā*, the meaning of which, 'to desire,' 'to wish,' would be sufficiently suitable. But to explain directly, and without any intermediate form, an expression of the time of Aśōka by Hindustānī, is in itself so desperate an expedient, that it appears to me necessary to search once more in a less distant region. I have only a conjecture to offer. I should propose to take *chagghati* as an alteration of *jāgrati* like *paṭi-jaggati*, which is so continually employed in the Buddhist language in the meaning of 'to take care,' 'to watch.' Pāli presents more than one example of the hardening of a medial into a tenuis (cf. E. Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Pāli Gramm.*, p. 40; Trenckner, *Pāli Miscellany*, 161 and ff.), and the other Prākṛits have even more instances. There are several in our inscriptions; I mention only one,—*kubhā* = *guhā*.

Paṭichalati should be taken purely and simply as an equivalent of *paricharati*, only used in the classical language in the meaning, here very suitable, of 'to serve,' 'to obey.' Examples of the substitution of *paṭi* for *pari* are not wanting in the Prakṛit dialects. I cite only the Pāli *paṭipāṭi* for *paripāṭi*; and the Buddhist Sanskrit *parijāgrati*, beside the Pāli *paṭijaggati* (cf. *Mahāvastu*, I. 435; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 396).

Dr. Kern, as well as Burnouf, corrects *pulisāni* into *pulisānaṃ*, and makes it a genitive dependent on the substantive *chhaṇḍaṇṇāni*. The unanimity of the versions prohibits our considering a correction which is not so easy as it would seem at first, the regular form being *pulisānaṃ* (᳚) and not *pulisānām* (᳚). It only remains for us to take *pulisāni* as a

nominative plural. So great is the confusion amongst the genders in all our texts, and the analogies in the history of the popular languages (I refer above all to Buddhist Sanskrit) are so numerous, that the use of a neuter termination with a masculine noun need not stop us for a moment. It is clear that the sense thus obtained is in every way satisfactory. Throughout the entire edict, the first thought of the king is visibly to connect all his officials directly with his personal action,—to cause *his* orders, *his* wishes, to reign everywhere and immediately. So it is here: 'The *rajjúkas* shall apply themselves to serve *me*, and (under their influence) the officials (designated generally under the term "men of the king") will follow *my* wishes and *my* orders.'

The parallel versions establish the true reading beyond a doubt to be *chhandānāni*, and not *chhandanāni*. There is therefore no need of thinking of a secondary derivative, equivalent in meaning to *chhanda*. Burnouf had already thought of taking *pulisāni* as the masculine, and of analysing *chhandānāni* into *chhandājña*, but he would have made the two words accusatives and the second an epithet of the former. All this construction is irreconcilable with the meaning of *paṭichalisanṭi*. It is, on the contrary, very simple to recognise *chhandānāni* as a Dvandva, compounded of *chhanda* and *ājñā*, 'will and order,' in the accusative case, dependent on *paṭichalati*.

There are, however, three syllables, the analysis of which it is necessary to correct. Hitherto *chakāni* has been considered as one word, the equivalent of the Sanskrit *chakrāṇi* (or, after correction, *chakrāṇān*), and attempts have in turn been made to translate it as 'a body of troops' and as 'a province.' I have already (I. 161) had occasion to indicate that it is necessary to divide it into *cha káni*. I have shown the existence of an adverb *káni* in the language of Piyadasi; it depends on the evidence of the passages in the viith. (l. 6) and viith. (l. 18) edicts, where *káni* is not, as in our other examples, preceded by *cha*. As regards the meaning it remains somewhat undetermined, as indeed might be expected from its origin. The example of the vth. edict (l. 9) might suggest our attributing to it the meaning of 'in general,' 'in a general way'; but it seems to me to be, on the whole, safer, for the reasons given in the passage above referred to, to consider *káni* as almost equivalent to *khalu*, and the phrase *cha káni* to the phrase *cha khu* so commonly met with in this style.

Yēna, in the twelfth line, means 'in order that,' but this is not the only meaning which the word can have: that of 'because' is not less common. If we adopt this latter meaning here (l. 9), and refer *tē*, as would be natural, to the '*pulisas*,' we get a satisfactory explanation of the whole sentence. 'Let the *rajjúkas* conform to my views, and all my officers carry out my wishes. They also (the officers) will spread my religious teaching far and wide, if the *rajjúkas* take pains to satisfy me.' In other words, the king entrusts the *rajjúkas* with a mission of superintendence over his officers in general, which, if properly conducted, should ensure their joint action in helping forward his religious intentions.

6. It is unnecessary to discuss again infinitive forms like *parihaṭavé* for *parihartavé*. The meaning of *pariharati* is quite fixed by the custom of Buddhist language, in which it signifies 'to busy oneself,' 'to take care of' (cf. e.g. *Mahāvastu*, I. 403). All the rest of the sentence has been ingeniously explained by Burnouf. Dr. Kern has improved his analysis with regard to the word *viyata*, which he transcribes, not by *vyākṭa*, but by *vyakta*.

7. With Dr. Kern, I consider *saṅtām* as not equivalent to *sāntām*, but as representing the nominative plural *santah*. I have already (K. xiii. 11) drawn attention to the nominative *ayō* for *ayaṇ*; and this would be the exact converse, if the final *ō* were not transformed into *ē* in this dialect; but the frequent changes in it of nominatives neuter (*aṇ*) into nominatives masculine (*ō*) would furnish a ready foundation for a confusion of this nature. *Sāntām* in this position will not construe. Regarding the rest of this sentence, see note 2. It is hardly necessary to draw attention to the close correlation which the words *yēna*, *ētēna*, 'in order that,' 'for this purpose,' establish between the two members of the sentence. With a form slightly different, the sense is exactly the same as in lines 3-5.

8. I cannot agree with previous commentators in taking *kiñti* as = *kīrtiḥ*. It must be the particle *kiñti*, so common in our inscriptions. The termination of *ichhitaviyē*, which is the same in all versions, and above all a comparison with Bhabra, l. 6, and with Dh., detached edict i, 3, 9-11, &c., appear to me to be absolutely decisive. *Ésā*, as happens elsewhere (e.g. l. 19 of the preceding edict), and *ichhitaviyē*, represent neuters.

I have already stated the meaning in which I take *samatā*. I know of no authority, either in Sanskrit or Buddhistic usage, for turning the word from its proper signification, which is not 'impartiality' (Burnouf), or 'equity' (the *œquitas* of Dr. Kern), but 'equality' or 'uniformity.' It is this last meaning, too, which leads us to a correct understanding of the whole idea.

9. The transcription of *āvṛitti* (Burnouf's *āvṛiti* is an obvious misprint) for *āvṛiti* is admissible; but the meaning 'change of resolution' is unexpected and entirely arbitrary. I have intimated above (note 1) that I transcribe it as *āyukti*. The change of *y* to *v* under such conditions is so common that it need not cause us to hesitate for a moment. This transcription is, moreover, the only possible one in the *désāvutiké* of the 2nd detached edict of Dhauḷi (l. 8), as Dr. Kern has already recognised. So also in *anāvutiyā* (1st detached edict, l. 11), as we shall see later on. The meaning suits exactly, 'from henceforth, this is my injunction, my decision.'

10. I have already (I. 158) had occasion to fix the true signification of *tīlita* (*tīrita*). *Tirēti* refers especially to the *completion*, to the *judgment* of a case, and *tīlitadaṇḍa* signifies 'those men whose sentence of punishment has been delivered.' *Yōtē* appears to me to have been perfectly explained by Dr. Kern, through its connection with the Sanskrit *yautaka*, and gives the sense, first suggested by Burnouf, of 'respite.'

The revision of the different versions of the Corpus confirms the original reading *jīvitāyē tānaṃ* throughout. It is on this (and not on *tiñnam*) that our interpretation must be founded, Dr. Kern's conjecture (*jīvitāyēti nānāsaṅgaṃ*, &c.) must be condemned by one fact alone, that in our text *tānaṃ* ends a line; and that hence, to judge from the constant practice of the texts which avoid the division of a word between two lines, the syllable *naṃ* could not be separated from the syllable which precedes it, to be joined to those which follow. *Tānaṃ* suits the sense admirably. It is simply the well-known genitive plural of the pronoun *tad*. It can clearly only apply to the condemned persons who have just been named. It is also certain that these same persons are the subjects of the verbs which follow, *dāhaṃti* and *kachhaṃti*; and from this I draw several conclusions. First, that *tānaṃ* belongs to the sentence of which the verb is *nijhapayisaṃti*. It must, moreover, be the last word of that sentence, for *va* cannot commence a new one, and *nijhapayitā* requires an object. It further follows that the condemned, under consideration, cannot be the subject of *nijhapayisaṃti*. This is the more important, as this verb has much puzzled interpreters, and no satisfactory explanation has as yet been offered for it. *Jhap* has been derived from *kshap*, the causal of *kshi*, and from a phonetic point of view, no objection can be taken to this. But, putting out of the question the fact that this verb is used nowhere else with the particle *ni*, this analysis leads to most complicated and unsatisfactory constructions. We find in Pāli the verb *nijjhāpēti* (cf. Childers, s. v.), the regular causal of the Sanskrit *ni-dhyai*, with the perfectly legitimate meaning of 'to cause to know,' 'to turn the attention towards.' We have here, it is true, the shortened form, *nijhapēti*; but this occurs under the same influences as those which have produced *thapēti* from *sthāpayati* and other similar examples. Nothing, therefore, prevents us from identifying this verb as occurring here. The subject of the verb must necessarily either be indefinite, as often happens in our inscriptions (cf. *dēkhaṃti* above in the 1st edict), or, which will come to the same thing, the officials, these *purushas* and *rajjūkas*, of whom mention has just been made.

A very easy explanation now unfolds itself for the phrase which commences with *nātikāvakāni*. I grant, says the king, a respite of three days to those condemned to death before the

execution of their punishment; 'they will bring them face to face with neither more nor less,' or, in other words, they will explain to them that a space of three days and no more is all the delay accorded to them to live. This translation agrees exactly with the *nijhapayitā* of the following sentence. Hitherto a participle absolute has been sought for in this word; but in that case the use of the form *nisijitu*, a few lines above, would have led us to expect *nijhapayitu*. It is really a plural participle with which we are dealing, °*payitā* being for °*pitā*, just as we find *védayitam* in Pāli and in Buddhist Sanskrit, and *sukhayita* below (viii. 3). Burnouf, I may add, took the word as a participle, although he analysed the root in an altogether different manner. The meaning is, therefore, 'he who has had his attention drawn to,' 'who is warned of.' The object can only be *nāsantam*, which, as Lassen suggests, can well be referred back to *nāsantam*, 'the term' or 'limit of their execution.'

Vā is *vai*, or rather, as we so often meet it, *éva*.

It is unnecessary to refer again to the adjective *pālatika*, or to the futures *dāhanāti* and *kachhanāti*.

11. The phrase *niludhasi kālasi* is the last in this inscription which offers any difficulty. Both Burnouf and Dr. Kern suggest a reading *niludhasāpi kālasi*, 'during the time of their imprisonment.' If this translation is to be retained, the correction is indispensable. It would nevertheless, in the face of the agreement of all the facsimiles and versions, be better to avoid it if possible. To this consideration must be added others which are, I admit, less decisive. In the first place, we should have rather expected *nilōdhasa*, as both Burnouf and Dr. Kern have perceived. In the second, the use of *kāla* to denote the time which elapses, or 'period,' does not appear to me to be in accord with the custom of the language. I propose to avoid these various difficulties by taking *kālasi* as the locative of *kārā*, 'prison.' The change of gender need not surprise us after so many analogous examples: at any rate, it is not so astonishing to meet the masculine locative *kārasi* of *kārā*, as to meet a feminine locative *kālāyaṁ* of *kāla*, at Rūpnāth (I. 2). *Niludhasi* would then appear in its proper position as a participle, and the locative would mean, 'even in a closed dungeon'; 'even when shut up in a dungeon.' This interpretation appears to me to render more striking, at least in form, the evidently intentional antithesis between this phrase and *pālatam*.

12. This last portion represents, as indicated by the final *iti*, either a wish or an intention of the king. It appears as if a potential were needed. Perhaps we have here, if we take *vadhāti* as being for *vadhāti*, one of those traces of the subjunctive to which we have more than once drawn attention both in Pāli and in Buddhist Sanskrit (cf. *Mahāvastu*, I. 499, &c.).

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas:—In the twenty-seventh year of my coronation, I have had this edict engraved. Amongst many hundreds of thousands of inhabitants have I set over the people *rajjūkas*. I have kept in my own hands the ordering of all prosecutions against, and of all punishments upon, them, in order that these *rajjūkas* may attend to their duties in security and without fear, and that they may establish and develop the happiness and prosperity of the population of my dominions. They will make themselves acquainted with their good and evil plight, and, together with the Faithful, they will exhort the (entire) population of my dominions so as to secure their welfare both in this world and in the world to come. The *rajjūkas* will set themselves to obey me, and so will my *purushas* also obey my wishes and my orders. They will exhort far and wide, if the *rajjūkas* set themselves to satisfy me. Just as, after confiding a child to a skilful nurse, a man feels secure, saying to himself, "a skilful nurse sets herself to take care of my child," so have I appointed these *rajjūkas* for the happiness and prosperity of my subjects. In order that they may attend to their duties in security and free from disturbing thoughts, I have kept in my own hands the ordering of prosecutions against, and of all punishments upon, them. For it

is desirable that uniformity should exist, both in the prosecutions and in the punishments. From this day (I pass the following) rule :—To prisoners who have been judged and have been condemned to death, I grant a respite of three days (before execution). (My officers) will warn them that they have neither more nor less to live. Warned thus as to the limit of their existence, they may give alms in view of their future life, or may give themselves up to fasting. I desire that even those who are shut in the prisonhouse may secure (their happiness in) the world to come, and I wish to see developing the various practices of the Religion, the bringing of the senses under subjection, and the distribution of alms.

FIFTH EDICT.

Prinsep, *l.c.* pp. 590 ff. (cf. p. 965).

TEXT.

- 1 Dêvânampiyê Piyadasi lâja hêvañ ahâ [...] saḍvīsativasa
- 2 abhisitēna mē imāni jātāni¹ avadhiyāni kaṭāni sēyatha
- 3 sukē sālikā alunē² chakavākē hañsē nañḍimukhē gēlātē
- 4 jatūkā ambākapilikā daḍi anathikamachhē vēdavēyakē
- 5 gaṃgāpuputakē saṃkujamachhē kaphaṭasayakē pañnasasē simalē
- 6 saṃḍakē ōkapimḍē palasatē sētakapōtē gāmakapōtē
- 7 savē chatupadē yē paṭibhōgañ nō ēti³ na cha khādiyati [...] ajakanā-i⁴
- 8 ēḍakā chā sūkali chā gabhinī va pāyamīnā va avadhāya pātaka(?)
- 9 pi cha kāni āsañmāsikē [...] vadhikukutē⁵ nō kaṭaviyē [...] tusē(?) sañjivē⁶
- 10 nō jhāpētaviyē [...] dāvē anathāyē vā vihisāyē⁷ vā nō jhāpētaviyē [...]
- 11 jīvēna jivē nō pusitaviyē [...] tisu chātummasīsu⁸ tisāyañ puñnamāsiyañ
- 12 timni divasāni chāvudasāñ pañnaḍasāñ paṭipadāyē dhuvāyē chā
- 13 anupōsatham machhē avadhiyē nō pi vikētaviyē [...] ētāni yēvā divasāni
- 14 nāgavanasi kēvaṭabhōgasi⁹ yāni aṃnāni pi jīvanikāyāni
- 15 nō hañtaviyāni [...] aṭhamāpakhāyē chāvudasāyē pañnaḍasāyē tisāyē
- 16 pañāvasunē tāsū chātummasīsu sudivasāyē gōnē nō nīlakhitaviyē¹⁰
- 17 ajakē ēḍakē sūkālē ēvāpi aṃnē nīlakhiyati nō nīlakhitaviyē [...]
- 18 tisāyē puñāvasunē chātummasīyē chātummasīpakhāyē asvasā gōnasā
- 19 lakhanē nō kaṭaviyē [...] yāva saḍviñsativasaabhisitēna mē ētāyē
- 20 aṃtalikāyē pañnavīsati bañdhanamōkhāni¹¹ kaṭāni [...]

NOTES.

1. The neuter *jātāni* can only be taken here in the meaning of *jāti*, 'race,' 'species,' of animals. I have drawn attention elsewhere to another example of this use of the word (*Mahāvastu*, I. 593). *Avadhiyāni kaṭāni*, 'have been established, specified' as not to be slain.

2. This enumeration of names of animals constitutes one of the principal difficulties of the present edict. Several words for which lexicographers provide us with no Sanskrit equivalents remain obscure, and, as we are dealing with technical terms, etymology, even when it does appear with probable clearness, cannot lend us assistance. Fortunately this ignorance, much though it may be regretted, does not interfere with the general comprehension of the passage; the more exact identification of some of the animals to which we cannot assign names, would be of small importance to us. The future, as it extends the range of our knowledge, will doubtless fill up many of these *lacunæ*. What we are now certain of is that the enumeration which commences with *sēyathā* includes the words *savē chatupadē—khādiyati*. It is there only that the general prohibition ceases. What follow are temporary or special interdicts, and accordingly the first word of the next sentence can only be *ajakā*. We thus find classed under the general heading not only aquatic animals and birds, but also terrestrial animals, quadrupeds. The *ūka* and *śārika* are well known; and it is with *aluna*, i.e. *aruna*, that our doubts commence.

I do not know what connection Prinsep (p. 965) claims to exist between *aruṇa*, the mythical half-bird charioteer of the Aurora, and the species of crane known to Anglo-Indians as *the adjutant bird*; but I am willingly disposed to admit that his Paṇḍits saw correctly in identifying our *aluna* with this bird. The St. Petersburg Dictionary only so far recognizes *aruṇa* as an animal, by describing it (after Suśruta) as 'a little poisonous animal.' The names on each side of *aluna* here scarcely allow us to imagine such a meaning, but refer us to some kind of bird. *Nandimukha*, according to Suśruta, appears to be applied to an aquatic bird; I have no means for determining the real name. *Gēlāṭa* is altogether uncertain, the identification with *grīdhra*, allowed by Prinsep's paṇḍits, cannot be upheld. The origin of the word, however, does not appear to be particularly obscure. Sanskrit has many names of birds into the formation of which *āṭa* appears as a second member. Such are *vyāghrāṭa*, *dhāmyāṭa*; and we have in this word probably a new example, which I would transcribe as *gairāṭa*, from *giri*, 'a mountain.' *Jatūkā* 'a bat,' offers no difficulties. This word appears to wind up for the present the enumeration of birds; not because the word *ambākapilikā* (*kipilika*, at Allāhābād) is clear, but because the Pāli *kipillika*, the Sanskrit *pipilikā*, seems to give us the key to the second member of the compound. With regard to the first member, I cannot agree with Prinsep either in recognising the Sanskrit *ambā*, or in adopting, for the whole compound, the meaning "mother-ant," i.e. "Queen-ant;" The legislative specification would become, through its minuteness, too difficult to grasp. I am hence driven to choose between *āmra*, 'a mango-tree' (which we shall, by the way, meet subsequently under the feminine form *āmbā*), and *ambu*, 'water.' In the latter case, the termination would be a cause of surprise, but the inexactitude of the vocalic notation in our texts gives us some margin, and, subject to correction, I imagine that what is here alluded to is some animal designated by the periphrase 'water-ant.' From one point of view the conjecture is satisfactory, for the name appropriately heads a series of aquatic animals. Thus, the word which immediately follows, and of which the correct form (cf. M. and A.) is *duḍi*, means "a small species of tortoise." We next have certainly to deal with a fish, *machha*, i.e. *matsya*; as for the former part of the compound I would not take it, with Prinsep, as corresponding to *anarthika*, but as the equivalent of *anasthika*. The fish in question is named as "the boneless one," perhaps figuratively, and on account, for example, of its extreme suppleness. The cerebral *ṭh* appears to me to recommend this etymology. I learn from Mr. Grierson that, at the present day, in Magadha, the *prawn* is said to have no bones. It is not eaten by Vaishṇavas. I can imagine only one possible transcription for *vēdavyāka*,—*vaidarvāka*. *Darvi* means the expanded hood of a snake, and we can suppose that *vidarvi*, or, which comes to the same thing, its patronymic form *vaidarvāka*, might allude to some fish as resembling a snake 'less the hood.' It could thus, for example, mean "an eel;" but this is a pure hypothesis, for I do not meet the word in the Sanskrit dictionaries. From the sense of 'swelling' given for *puppūṭa*, it is natural to think that *gaṇḍāpuppūṭaka* is applied to a particular fish of the Ganges, remarkable for some protuberance. The *saṅkujamachha* should be the same as the *śaṅkuchi*, or 'skate-fish' of Sanskrit lexicographers. There is only between them a shade of pronunciation, which is sufficiently explained by the Prākṛit weakening of *ch* into *j*. The next word heads the list of terrestrial animals—at least it does so in its second half, *sayaka*, which is, I think, in Sanskrit *śalyaka*, 'the porcupine.' The first member is doubtful. We, however, meet in Yājñavalkya, I. 177, the porcupine (under the form *śallaka*) associated with the tortoise (*kachchhapa*), and one is strongly tempted to search for a similar association here, and to take *kaphaṭa* as equivalent to the Sanskrit *kamaṭha*. I admit that the phonetic transition is the reverse of regular, but the objection would not be absolute, especially for a kind of proper name, which was in frequent use, and which, even under its classical form, bears all the characteristics of a popular origin. Moreover, these two animals are mentioned in the verse of the Dharmaśāstra above quoted, as being allowed to be eaten, and it is therefore natural that they should not be included here in the final category of *śavē chatupadē*, &c. The same verse speaks of the hare, *śaśa*, which we also meet in our *pañṇasasē*, whether the latter word is a mere equivalent of *śaśa*, or whether the addition of *parṇa* marks a particular species.

For *simala*, I cannot discover any Sanskrit equivalent, the correspondence of which would be either phonetically regular, or at least justifiable. *Samḍaka* is the Sanskrit *shaṇḍa*, and means a bull living at liberty. For *ōkapinḍa* I cannot offer a certain translation. At least the form and the existence of the word are vouched for, for we meet it elsewhere in Pāli. In *Mahāvagga*, vi. 17, 6, it is narrated how the Bhikshus leave outside the monasteries the provisions which have been brought to them, and *ukkapinḍakāpi khādanti chōrāpi haranti*; 'the *ukkapinḍakas* eat them, the thieves carry them off.' The two last items in the list, *sētakapōta* and *gāmakapōta*, which admit of no hesitation, and evidently referring to two species of pigeons, appear to authorise the restoration of *palasatē* to *palapatē*, i.e. 'turtle-dove.' The correction of 𑀧 into 𑀨 is very easy, and, no matter how well these inscriptions are engraved, in our reproductions there is no want of clear instances in which corrections are necessary. If the new revisions definitely guaranteed the reading *palasatē*, we should be driven to recognize the Pāli *parasatō*, and to translate it by 'rhinoceros' (cf. Trenckner, *Pāli Miscell.*, I. 50), which would look very singular here.

3. Prinsep, while construing the sentence wrongly, correctly recognized the meaning of the expression *paṭibhōgaṃ ēti*, 'to enter into, to serve for consumption.' The king, who wished to restrain as much as possible the slaughter of animals, naturally forbade in general terms the killing of all those which did not serve for urgent needs, and of which therefore the slaughter was not indispensable. I suppose that *paṭibhōga* does not refer exclusively to nourishment, but in general to all the needs which dead animals could serve to satisfy. If it were otherwise, *na cha khādiyati* would only repeat the idea without adding anything new.

4. After the general and absolute prohibitions come those which are accidental and temporary. *Ajakanāni* gives no sense. We require a feminine singular, and there is no place here for a neuter plural. The slight correction of 𑀧 to 𑀨 gives the reading *ajakā kāni* equivalent to *ajakā kku*, which is completely satisfactory (cf. I. 161). The particle *kāni* reappears in the next phrase. The paṇḍits of Prinsep, warned by the neighbouring *gabhinī*, hit upon the true meaning of the following adjective. We cannot, however, transcribe it as *payasvini*, but prefer to read *pīyamānā*, which easily gives the meaning of 'in milk, suckling.' We should also read *avadhiyā* and not *avadhāya*, and, with R. and M., *pōtaka* instead of *pātaka*. *Āsaṃmāsika* is necessarily formed from *ā-shaḍ-māsa*; and it is therefore, in short, forbidden to slaughter the mothers (goats, ewes, and sows) when they are with young, or when they are suckling, and their young when they are less than six months old.

5. *Vadhri* means 'a eunuch,' and *vadhi-kukkuṭa* can only be taken as a compound signifying 'capon.'

6. *Tusē sajivē* has an exact counterpart in the expression *sajivāni prāṇakāni* of *Mahāvastu*, I. 22, 5, 'one may not roast alive any living thing.'

7. This *vihinsā* refers to the destruction of game brought about by burning down the forest in which it lives.

8. We have here, at the conclusion of the edict, three series of dates, the accurate explanation of which offers more than one difficulty. We shall consider them together. We must first compare them with two parallel indications taken from the detached edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada. Shown in a tabular form these series are :—

A	B	C
<i>tisu chātumāsīsū</i>	<i>aṭhamāpakhāyē</i>	<i>tisāyē</i>
<i>tisāyaṃ puṇṇamāsīyaṃ</i>	<i>chāvudāsāyē</i>	<i>puṇḍavasunē</i>
<i>tiṇṇi divasāni—</i>	<i>paṇṇaḍāsāyē</i>	<i>chātumāsīye</i>
<i>chāvudasaṃ</i>	<i>tisāyē</i>	<i>chātumāsīpakhāyē</i>
<i>paṇṇaḍasaṃ</i>	<i>puṇḍavasunē</i>	
<i>paṭipadāyē</i>	<i>tisu chātumāsīsū</i>	
<i>dhuvāyē chā anupōsatham</i>	<i>sudivasāyē</i>	

With which compare the following in the Detached Edicts :—

I.	II.
<i>anuchātuṃmāsāṃ tisēna nakhatēna</i> (Dh.)	<i>tisanakhatēna</i> (Dh.)
<i>anuchātuṃmāsāṃ tisēnaṃ</i> (J.)	<i>anutisāṃ</i> (J.)

I must first warn my readers that, in spite of the analogy of the words, the passages in the Detached Edicts do not appear to me to have an exact similarity with those in the above Table. I do not consider that in the two cases the meanings are the same, and, moreover, the forms used differ. But if we begin by comparing between each other the expressions of the two Detached Edicts, we shall find that the second omits the word *anuchātuṃmāsāṃ*. As both instances refer to the public recitation of the edicts themselves, it is impossible to imagine any reason for suggesting an intentional difference between the two passages. It appears to me to be indisputable that the *tisanakhatēna* or *anutisāṃ* of the second means exactly the same as the more developed phrase of the first. I first, therefore, conclude that *anuchātuṃmāsāṃ* does not restrict the sense, but merely calls attention to the particulars defined by the simple expression *tisēna nakhatēna*. The relation between the two expressions cannot be the same as that which ought to exist here between the first two in our list A, for, as a matter of fact, if the thematic elements are the same in each case, the grammatical forms used are very different. The feminines *chātuṃmāsī* and *tisā* can only, conformably to usage, mean 'the full-moon corresponding to each of the festivals called *chāturmāsya*s (four-monthly)' and 'the full-moon in conjunction with the *nakshatra* Tishya' (cf. the formation of *Śrāvaṇā*, according to Pāṇini, IV. 2, 5); while, on the other hand, *tisēna nakhatēna* cannot mean 'the full moon of Tishya,' but signifies literally 'under the *nakshatra* Tishya.' Again, *anuchātuṃmāsāṃ* cannot be analysed as *anuchaturmāsāṃ*, and translated 'every four months' for the *ā*, in this hypothesis, would be unexplainable. The only possible transcription is *anuchāturmāsyaṃ*, 'at each of the festivals called *chāturmāsya*s,' and so in fact we find the same *anu* actually combined with the name of an undoubted festival in *anupōsatham*, 'at each *upōsatha*.' After this analogy, and being given the fact that *anutisāṃ* (J.) and *tisanakhatēna* are equivalent terms, we must render all these expressions, *tisēna nakhatēna*, *tisēna*, &c., as 'at the festival of Tishya.' The addition of *anuchātuṃmāsāṃ* proves, in short, that a festival, corresponding in date to that of the three annual sacrifices of the Brāhmanas, is referred to; and it is clear that the dates of these sacrifices, being fixed by the occurrences of three definite full-moons, could not regularly, in accordance with astronomical rules, correspond with one and the same *nakshatra*. My two-fold conclusion is therefore: (1) that the quotations from the Detached Edicts must be translated 'at the festival of Tishya' and 'at the festival of Tishya, which is celebrated at each of the *chāturmāsya* festivals'; and (2) that these data are without importance in regard to our present passage, in the interpretation of which they cannot help us. It is this interpretation which principally interests us at present.

In the series A, a group at first separates itself off by its syntactic form. This is the words *tinṇi divasāni*, &c., that is to say, 'three days, the fourteenth, the fifteenth (of the month), and the *pratipad* (or first day of the following half month).' It is evident that this indication must depend on what precedes for the necessary specification of what particular month or months is or are referred to; and regarding this the only doubt which can be raised is whether it depends only on *tisāyaṃ puṇṇamāsīyaṃ* (I accept this reading provisionally) or whether also on *tisu chātuṃmāsīsu*. If we depended merely on grammar, we might hesitate, but the data following, *dhuvāyē chā anupōsatham*, settle the question. These words can only be translated by 'and on the fixed day, each *upōsatha*,' or, in other words, 'and, generally, on each day of *upōsatha*.' The use of *dhruva* in the first of the fourteen (rock) Edicts may be compared with this. Now, as each day of the full-moon is necessarily a day of *upōsatha*, to separately mention the three full-moons of the months in which the festival called *chāturmāsya* is celebrated, would be merely superfluous, and we must therefore look upon the whole of the first part of the sentence down to *dhuvāyē* as a single compound, and translate 'Besides the

full-moons of the months in which the festival *châturmāsya* is celebrated, and the full-moon of Tishya, the fourteenth and fifteenth days, and the day following.' I admit that hitherto the reading *puṇnamāsiyam* has been considered as certain, but I must confess that I am very far myself from thinking it to be so. I shall have more to say about this, after having explained the two last series.

Of these, the third presents scarcely any uncertainty. It includes 'the full-moon in conjunction with Tishya, the full-moon in conjunction with Punarvasū, and the full-moon which corresponds to each of the *châturmāsya* sacrifices.' As for the last term, *chātumāsīpakṣāyē*, *châturmāsīpakṣa* means, according to custom, the half-lunation which follows the full-moon (each full-moon) called *châturmāsī*; and, as here one day in particular is referred to, the feminine *chātumāsīpakṣā* (which, of course, is to be construed with *tithi* understood) certainly represents the first day of this half-lunation. It is thus exactly equivalent to the *paṭipadāyē* of the first list, inasmuch as this word depends on *tisu chātumāsīsu*. I may add that the difference of form between the singular *chātumāsīyē*, which we have here to designate each of the *châturmāsī* full moons, and the plural *tisu chātumāsīsu* of series A, would naturally (if it were necessary) add confirmation to the explanation which I have just given of the latter phrase. It establishes an intentional distinction between the two cases, and, the sense being certain in the present enumeration, we are left no alternative except to adopt for the phrase in series A the interpretation, which for independent reasons we have already adopted.

The three first terms of series B give no room for doubt. *Aṭṭhamīpakṣā* is the equivalent, in a slightly irregular form of construction, of *pakṣāṣṭamī*, "the eighth day of the half lunation" (cf. e.g. *Dhammap.*, p. 404: *chātuddasī pañchadasī yāva pakṣhassa aṭṭhamī*), that is to say, of each lunation. To this the Sinhalese expression *atawaka (aṣṭapakṣa)* (Sp. Hardy, *East. Monach.*, p. 236) exactly corresponds. But it is doubtful if the 14 and the 15 refer only to the 14th and 15th of the month, i.e. of the first half, thus corresponding to the full-moon, or whether they apply also to the second fortnight of each month. To judge from modern customs (cf. Sp. Hardy, *loc. cit.*), one would be inclined to the first solution; but, as the idea of a triple *upōsatha* in each half lunation is expressly borne witness to by the *Mahāvagga* (II. 4, 2), I have no hesitation in considering that such is also the intention of the king in this passage. It is true that great uncertainty appears to have prevailed in the tradition about the *upōsatha*. The same work, a little further on (II. 14, 1) only admits 'two *upōsathas*, those of the 14th and of the 15th,' but, on the other hand, another passage (II. 34, 3—4) speaks expressly of the *pāṭipada upōsatha*, that is to say, that which corresponds to the first day of the month (the *amawaka* of Sinhalese terminology). I do not doubt, however, that Piyadasi considered this day as hallowed by a religious consecration. It is on this one day that the difference between the generic expression, *dhuvāyē anupōsatham*, of series A, and our series B, depends; if this more concise expression is not repeated here, it must necessarily be so in order to exclude some element which it contains, and that element can only be the *pratipad*. With regard to the rest of the list, I would refer to what has been said about series A and the plural *tisu chātumāsīsu*; here again all the full-moons being comprised in the dates *chāvudāsāyē* and *pañnadāsāyē*, the terms *tisāyē* and *chātumāsīsu* have no use except as determinatives of the last word, *sudivasāyē*. I regret that this last term is obscure to me, for I know of no parallel examples of the technical use of the word. We evidently want here something different from a vague astrological expression corresponding, I suppose, to the Vêdic *sudinatrē ahnām* (cf. Weber, *Die Vêd. Nachrichten von den Naksh.* II. 315). A comparison with the other lists ought to guide us. We shall subsequently see that the acts successively forbidden by the king necessarily constitute a series of decreasing gravity. It is therefore *à priori* more than probable that the lists of reserved days (admitting the fact that there is a distinction) should be reduced in parallel lines: the second should contain less than the first; and the third less again than the second; but all the days excepted in the two last should be included in the first. In a general fashion, this conjecture is at first

sight justified. Between list B. and list C. it is verified in detail, provided that *chāturmāsīpakṣā* can be included under the last head of B.—*tīsu chāturmāsīsū sudivasā*, for the full-moons of Tishya, Punarvasū and the *chāturmāsya*s are included under the two first terms *chāoudasā* and *pāṇṇadasā*. On the other hand, to establish an analogy between A. and B. the last portion of B., *tisāyē to sudivasā* must be included in A., either in the last term, *dhuvāyē chā ānupōsathān*, or in the last but one, *tīsu—paṭipadāyē*. In the first case, the three first terms of B. include all the days of *upōsatha* except the *pāṭipadā upōsatha*, and *sudivasā* ought to designate the first of the month, the first of the light half (of the month of which the full-moon is in conjunction with Tishya, or Punarvasū, or one of the three months of *chāturmāsya*). In the second case, it would designate the first of the dark half which follows (the full-moons in question). To sum up, therefore, C. appears to require that *sudivasā* should designate the 16th of the months above referred, and A. permits this interpretation. The conclusion follows that we are driven to admit that B. practically had in view 'the days which come after the full moons in conjunction with Tishya and with Punarvasū, and after the full moons of the months of *chāturmāsya*.' It may seem, perhaps, somewhat surprising that the name *sudivasa*, 'lucky day' should be applied to the first of the dark half for in general it is the light half, which is considered as particularly auspicious; but the scruple must necessarily vanish before the positive fact, witnessed by the perfectly clear testimony of our first list, that the day in question, at least in the lunations specified, was considered as having a religious consecration.

This necessary agreement between our three lists upon which I have just insisted, leads us to one last remark. The expression *tisāyaṇ puṇṇamāsīyaṇ* of A. should surprise the reader: *tisāyaṇ* alone would be sufficient, as all the following lists attest. We should rather expect to find *puṇṇamāsī* added to *tīsu chāturmāsīsū*, the first full-moons indicated, if it were added anywhere. On the other hand, the full-moon in conjunction with Punarvasū plays so important a part in the subsequent lists that it is out of the question that it should not be here also. How could it be permissible to slaughter animals on a day on which it was not permissible even to mark them? I have therefore no hesitation in maintaining that, instead of *puṇṇamāsīyaṇ*, *puṇāvasūyaṇ* should stand here. I do not deny that such a correction may appear bold, in the face of the agreement, which, at least apparently, exists between different versions dispersed in different places; but nevertheless, whatever the difficulties may be; whether this agreement actually exists; or whether it is less real than the eyes of explorers, led away by a first reading, in appearance very simple, of the Dehli pillar, believed; to whatever medium, to whatever accident it may be due, I cannot prevent myself from seeing in *puṇṇamāsīyaṇ* a certain error for *puṇāvasūyaṇ*. This last word, it may be added, has itself had a very unlucky fate. In the two following lists, our facsimiles give *vasunē*. The first reproduction in the *Asiatic Researches* is the only one which indicates, at least in the second instance, the true reading, and gives *puṇāvapuyē* for *puṇāvasuyē*. If need be, the form *puṇāvasunē* could be explained, but it would be with difficulty; and considering the close resemblance which exists between the signs $\perp$ and $\perp$, I have little doubt but that we ought to restore the only normal form, *-vasuyē*.

9. The two words *nāgavana* and *kēvaṭabhōga* offer some difficulty. The derivation is clear (*kaivartabhōga*), but neither appears to be used in the literature known to us. They might without violence be treated as proper names, but why should the king mention particularly two specified localities, in the vicinity, for instance, of his capital, in edicts intended to be published over his whole empire? This conjecture is therefore improbable. What does appear to me to be certain is that of these two terms the former relates to hunting, and the latter to fishing. A passage, which is unfortunately corrupt, in the *Mahāvastu* (I. 24 and notes) leads me to think of the kinds of parks in which game was preserved either to protect it from theft or for gradual consumption: *nāgavana* "elephant park," might refer to an enclosure of this description; and *kēvaṭabhōga* might mean a fish-pond, such as exists in all countries. The king would prohibit the slaughter, on certain specified days, of any kind of animal whatever,

whether quadrupeds or fishes, even those which their dwelling-place destines to an early death.

10. The only obscure word here is the verb *nīlakhiyati*. Prinsep naturally thought of the verb *raksh*, but I do not see how it is possible to explain a *nīrakshati*, nor, if we elude this difficulty, how to draw any reasonable sense from it. We must try the verb *laksh*. There can be no doubt that the next sentence turns on the prohibition of *lakshana*, which is used in a well-known *sūtra* of Pāṇini (VI. 3, 115) to mean the marks, *svastika*, *maṇi*, &c., which, as the scholiast explains, they make on the ears of cattle to distinguish the owner of each. This meaning exactly suits our word *lakhana*, for bullocks and horses are, in fact, domestic animals, and consequently fitted for receiving marks of this kind. But what are we to do with *nīlakhati* in the present sentence? It is natural to look again for the Sanskrit *laksh* in the root *lakh*; but, on the other hand, it is evident that there is a considerable difference between the two operations successively enumerated. This follows not only from the difference in the terms used, in the prefix added in the first case, and omitted in the second, but also from the circumstance that in both, partly at least, the same animals, bullocks (*gōnasa*), are dealt with. The long *ī*, which occurs almost consistently throughout all the versions, of *nīlakhiyati*, shows that the true transcription can only be *nīrlaksh*, and this analysis does, in fact, admit of a very simple translation. If we refer to a recognized meaning of *lakshana*, 'the sexual parts,' a denominative *nīrlakshay* would mean 'to cut,' 'to castrate,' and, as a matter of fact, all the animals mentioned, being domestic ones, are of that class which could be so mutilated. I believe that I can identify the same meaning in *nīrlakshana* as opposed to *lakshanavānt* in a passage in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Gorr., II. 118, 5) which is quoted by the St. Petersburg Dictionary, but interpreted, wrongly as I think, in a much vaguer fashion. It will now be seen why I spoke above of a decreasing gradation in the series of cases dealt with by our edict. The first prohibitions deal with the slaughter of animals; the second series interdicts their castration; and the third, the infliction upon them of a much lighter suffering, which might consist, for example, in slitting the ear.

11. The meaning of this last sentence has, I think, been well defined by Lassen (II.² 272, n.), although I do not adopt the meaning of 'execution' which he claims directly for *bandhana*. *Bandhanamōkka* means literally 'deliverance from bonds,' 'setting at liberty,' but if the king only spoke of setting at liberty twenty-five prisoners in twenty-five years, the royal clemency would appear but moderate, while, on the other hand, the repetition of twenty-five general amnesties in as many years would be equivalent to the suppression of all punishment. I consider, therefore, remembering the connection in the fourth edict between the words *bandhanabadha* and *patavadha* while they are nevertheless not synonyms, that Piyadasi here speaks only of important prisoners, and that, as in the last edict, this qualification is here applied exclusively to those condemned to death. This is indeed, also, the only interpretation which would justify the presence of this declaration in this place, at the end of an edict consecrated to recommending a general respect of life.

The following translation results from the preceding observations :—

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas :—In the twenty-seventh year after my coronation have I forbidden the slaughter of any of the animals belonging to the following tribes; that is to say,—parrots, *mainas*, *aruṇas*, *chakravākas*, flamingos, *nandīmukhas*, *gairāṭas*, bats, water-ants(?), the tortoises called *duḍi*, the fishes called *anasthikas*, *vaidarvēyakas*, *puppuṭas* of the Ganges, the fishes called *śaṅkuja*, turtles and porcupines, *parṇaśaśas* (?), *śimalas* (?), bulls which wander at liberty, foxes (?), turtle-doves, white pigeons, village pigeons, and all kinds of quadrupeds which do not enter into consumption and which are not articles of food. As for she-goats, ewes, and sows, they may not be slaughtered when they are with young or are in milk, nor their offspring when less than six months old. Caponing fowls is prohibited, nor

is it allowed to roast alive any living being. It is forbidden to set fire to a forest either in malice or in order to kill the animals which dwell therein. It is forbidden to make use of living beings in order to feed living beings. At the three full-moons of the *châturmāsya*s, at the full-moon which is in conjunction with the *nakshatra* Tishya, at that which is in conjunction with the *nakshatra* Punarvasû, on the 14th and the 15th and on the day which follows the full-moon, and generally on each day of *upôsatha*, it is forbidden either to kill fish or to offer them for sale. On the same days it is forbidden to kill either animals confined in gameparks or in fishponds or any other kind of living being. On the 8th, the 14th, and the 15th of each lunar fortnight, and on the days which follow the full-moons of Tishya, of Punarvasû, and of the three *châturmāsya*s, it is forbidden to castrate ox, he-goat, ram, boar, or any other animal, which is usually castrated. On the day of the full-moon of Tishya, of Punarvasû, of the *châturmāsya*s, and on the first day of the fortnight which follows the full-moon of a *châturmāsya*, it is forbidden to mark either ox or horse. In the course of the twenty-six years which have elapsed since my coronation, I have set at liberty twenty-five [men condemned to death].

SIXTH EDICT.

Prinsep, *l. c.* pp. 596 ff.; Kern, p. 92 ff.

TEXT.

- 1 Dêvânâmpiyê piyadasi lâja hêvañ ahâ [.] duvâḍasa
- 2 vasa-abhisitêna mê dhammalipi¹ likhâpitâ lôkasâ
- 3 hitasukhâyê [.] sê tam² apahatâ tañtam dhammavaḍhi pâpôvâ
- 4 hêvañ lôkasâ hitasukhêti paṭivêkhâmi atha iyañ
- 5 nâtisu hêvañ patiyâsamnêsu hêvañ apakathêsu
- 6 kimam kâni³ sukham avahâmiti tatha cha vidahâmi [.] hêmêvâ
- 7 savanikâyêsu⁴ paṭivêkhâmi [.] savapâsamḍâ pi mê pûjitâ
- 8 vividhâya pûjâyâ [.] ê chu iyañ atanâ pachûpagamanê⁵
- 9 sê mê môkhyamatê [.] saḍvîsativasa abhisitêna mê
- 10 iyañ dhammalipi likhâpitâ [.]

NOTES.

1. Misled by the following sentence, the meaning of which he completely failed to grasp, Prinsep interpreted the absence of the pronoun *iyañ* from beside *dhammalipi*, as indicating that the edict of the thirteenth year must have been conceived in terms opposed to those of the present one, and inspired by doctrines which the king now repudiates. Lassen (*II*² 276 n. 2) adopts this strange idea with some reserve. The text in no way authorises such an explanation. Translated literally, the sentence gives this meaning and no other:—‘It was in the thirteenth year after my coronation that I had an edict engraved for the welfare and happiness of the people,’ that is to say, plainly, ‘I had engraved *for the first time*.’ Such an idea being aimed at, can alone explain the introduction of the sentence here. We shall see that this very simple observation has a conclusion at once extremely unexpected, and very important. It will be remembered that the concluding words of the 12th (Rock) edict are immediately followed at Khâlsi by characters which I have been able to correct with certainty into *añhavāsābhīsitasā*, the certain equivalent of which, though greatly altered, reappears at Kapur-di-Giri (I. 253). Deceived by the divisions introduced into the reproductions of the *Corpus*, which I supposed to depend on positive traces preserved by the rock itself, I connected these words with the 12th edict; but a kind communication from Dr. Kern allows me to rectify this passage so as to leave no further doubt. We must, according to his ingenious conjecture, separate

the words in question from the 12th edict and transfer them to the commencement of the 13th, the genitive *-abhisitasa*, being in agreement with *Piyadasisa*. The words in brackets should therefore be struck out from the end of my translation of the 12th (Rock) edict, and the commencement of the 13th should be modified in the following manner:—‘In the ninth year of his coronation, the king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas, conquered the immense territory of Kalinga.’ Now, it will have been seen from my translation, that it was to this conquest, and to the horrors of which it had been the occasion, that the king attributes his religious conversion. We have, therefore, two facts:—(1) that the conversion of the king dated from the ninth year of his coronation, and (2) that he only commenced to have the edicts which were inspired by his new opinions engraved in the thirteenth. This, I may add, very well agrees with the statement in the 5th edict of Gīrnār, according to which the creation of *Dharmamahāmātras* dates from his fourteenth year. Now let us compare the commencement of the edicts of Sahasrām and of Rūpnāth with these two facts. According to the version of this passage, as corrected by Dr. Oldenberg (*Mahāvagga*, I. p. xxxviii. note, *Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, xxxv., 473) the king, who speaks, declares that he had passed ‘more than two years and a half after his conversion without showing his zeal actively, but that, at the moment when he was speaking, he had manifested such zeal a year ago.’ If we add these figures together, we find, on the one hand, that Piyadasi passed eight years and a fraction, say eight years and a half, after his coronation, before he was converted; and that he was then more than two years and a half, say two years and three-quarters, before giving effective proofs of his religious zeal. This makes an approximate total of eleven years, plus a fraction, of religious coldness: and it was accordingly only in the twelfth or thirteenth year of his reign that his zeal became outwardly manifest. It is exactly at this period that his evidence in the present passage fixes his first religious edicts. This is a coincidence which no one could consider to be accidental, and there follows this important conclusion that, contrary to the doubts expressed in various quarters and to the theory so ably upheld by Dr. Oldenberg (*Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, loc. cit.) the author of the inscriptions of Sahasrām and of Rūpnāth was indisputably the same Piyadasi as he who published the rock tables of Gīrnār, and the Columnar edicts, and that, in dealing with these inscriptions, we are certainly on Buddhist ground. It follows, moreover, that the edicts of Sahasrām and of Rūpnāth, belonging, as they do, to the thirteenth year after his coronation, are certainly amongst the first which he had engraved, and probably the very same as those to which he makes allusion in the passage before us.

2. This phrase contains two difficult words. One is *pāpōvā*, which has been definitely explained by Dr. Kern as equivalent to *prāpnuyāt*. With regard to the first, *apahatā*, I think that the learned Leyden professor has been less happy in his suggestions. He takes it as equivalent to *a-prahartā*, from the verbal noun *prahartar*, with *tañ* for its direct object. But, besides such a construction, awkward enough under any circumstances, being repugnant to the style of our monuments, it does not give a very satisfactory sense. Not mutilating these edicts is too small a thing to cause one to acquire, as the sequel shows, various virtues. In the first place, I think that the phrase runs down to *-sukhēti*. The *cha*, which in line 6 follows *tatha*, proves that the entire sentence is to be divided into two parallel halves, the former part of each forming the thoughts of the king, marked and completed by an *iti*, the latter being the two verbs *paṭivēkhāmi*, and *tatha vidahāmi*. This construction makes the explanation of the initial *sē* more simple. It refers necessarily to *lōkē* understood from the preceding *lōkasa*. This being settled, the general sense to be expected from the entire proposition is something to the effect that, by instructing themselves by these edicts, men will practise certain virtues, and will be happier and better. It appears to me that we shall easily arrive at this translation by taking *apahatā* as the participle absolute, for *apahritya* or even *apahrivā* (we might venture to correct the reading to *apahāti*, cf. above I. 53, or even to *apahatu*). The meaning ‘to carry off for one’s own appropriation,’ which *apa-har* exactly expresses, could, it appears to me, be applied without too great boldness in the king’s ideas to the fact that passers-by might carry away in their memories some scraps of his exhortations, and would improve in such and such a

way. (The distributive idiom *tañ-tañ* will be noticed). In this manner the meaning appears to me to be much more natural.

3. To *atha iyañ* corresponds exactly the Pāli idiom *yathayidañ*, which is also known in Buddhist Sanskrit. For the characters *kimañkāni*, it is unnecessary to have recourse to the really desperate correction *kāmakālī*. The conjunction *kāni* is now familiar to us, and the next edict (l. 18) affords another instance of its association with an interrogative pronoun; *kimañ* may remain. As observe, on a former occasion (l. 18-19) we are authorised to understand it as *kim u*, a common strongly interrogative formula. If we reject this reading, the only other alternative which I see, is to admit that *kim*, degraded to the rôle of a simple particle, has in some way doubled its final letter by the addition of a neuter adverbial termination, so that we obtain *kimañ*, very much as the Pāli has *sudañ* for *svidañ*, i.e. *svid*. I must avow my reference for the former solution.

4. A comparison with the 12th (Rock) edict appears to me to fix the meaning of *nikāya* for the present passage, where it is, as in the other, closely connected with *pāsanda*. *Nikāyas* form the body of functionaries or royal officers over whom Piyadasi exercises a supervision, the personal character of which we have just seen the 4th (Columnar) edict emphasizing.

5. The 12th (Rock) edict again helps us to arrive at the exact meaning of this last phrase. The obscurity consists in the words *atanā pachupagamanā*, although the substantive *pachupagamana* does not lend itself to much uncertainty. It can hardly mean anything except the action of approaching with respect, and while we admit that *prati* adds a distributive or individual shade of meaning, it can easily be translated as 'personal adherence to.' But what is the relation between the two words? Dr. Kern transcribes the first word as *atana* and sees in it a genitive. In that case we should except *atanā*, but if we pass over this difficulty, the translation which he proposes, 'my own belief' (*mijne eigene belijdenis*) supposes a very peculiar meaning for *pachupagamana*, which is a bold deviation from the etymological sense in a word for which we have no proof of any technical use. In the 12th (Rock) edict, we have a thought altogether analogous to the passage under review:—'Piyadasi . . . honours all sects . . . by honours of different kinds.' Then follows a sentence which the particle *tu* at first sight places in a certain antithesis to what precedes:—'But less importance is attached to that than to the desire of seeing their essence (the virtues which constitute their essentials) reign.' Now, here also, the particle *chu* gives a shade of antithesis to the second member of the sentence. If we take the form *atanā* as correct, and translate literally, we get, 'but it is the personal adherence (to the sects) which I consider as the essential requisite.' The deliberate personal adherence to the doctrines of the various religions is evidently the necessary condition of their *sāravadhī*, as the 12th edict expresses it. This explanation, therefore, without touching the text as handed down to us, leads us directly and without violence to a thought which makes a fitting supplement to the idea of the 12th edict. This consideration appears to me to be of such a nature as strongly to recommend it, above all in a text which, like ours, is far from avoiding repetitions, as we shall be better able to judge in dealing with the 8th edict.

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas:—In the thirteenth year after my coronation did I [for the first time] have edicts engraved for the welfare and happiness of the people. I trust that they will carry away something from them, and thus, in such and such respects, will make progress in the religion, so that this will be for the welfare and happiness of the people. I also make such arrangements as I believe suited to provide for happiness, whether amongst my distant subjects or amongst those who are near to me and amongst my relations. Hence it is I who watch over the whole body of my officers. All sects receive from me honours of different kinds, but it is the personal adherence [to their doctrines which] I consider to be the essential requisite. In the twenty-seventh year after my coronation had I this edict engraved.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH EDICTS.

(Formerly a seventh and an eighth edict were distinguished, the latter being engraved circularly round the base of the column. Really, as Dr. Bühler has pointed out, these two form only one, and it is convenient to reunite them in a continuous text. A separate enumeration, 1, 2, &c., is however retained for the lines which go round the pillar.)

Prinsep, pp. 597 ff.; pp. 602 ff. — Lassen (p. 270, n. 1; p. 275, n. 3) and Burnouf (p. 749 ff.) have only commented upon or given new translations of short fragments.

TEXT.

- 11 Dêvânâmpiyê Piyadasi lâjâ hêvañ âhâ [...] yê atikañtañ
 12 añtalañ lâjânê husu¹ hêvañ ichhisu kathañ janê
 13 dhañmavaḍhiyâ vaḍhêyâ nô chu janê anulupâyâ dhañmavaḍhiyâ
 14 vaḍhithâ [...] êtañ² dêvânâmpiyê Piyadasi lâjâ hêvañ âhâ [...] êsa mē
 15 huthâ atikañtañ cha³ añtalañ hêvañ ichhisu lâjânê kathañ janê
 16 anulupâyâ dhañmavaḍhiyâ vaḍhêyâti nô cha janê anulupâyâ
 17 dhañmavaḍhiyâ vaḍhithâ [...] sê kina su⁴ janê anupaṭipajêyâ
 18 kina su janê anulupâyâ dhañmavaḍhiyâ vaḍhêyâti kina su kâni
 19 abhyuññamâyêhañ⁵ dhañmavaḍhiyâti [...] êtañ dêvânâmpiyê Piyadasi lâjâ hêvañ
 20 âhâ [...] êsa mē huthâ dhañmasâvanâni⁶ sâvâpayâmi dhañmâñusathini.
 21 anusisâmi êtañ janê sutu anupaṭipajisati abhyuññamisati
- 1 (a) dhañmavaḍhiyâ cha bāḍhañ vaḍhisati [...] êtâyê mē aṭhâyê dhañmasâvanâni
 sâvâpitâni dhañmâñusathini vividhâni âñapitâni [...] yathatiyipâ⁷ pi bahunê
 janasi âyatâ êtê paliyôvadisamti pi pavithalisamti pi [...] lajûkâ pi
 bahukêsu pâñasatasahasêsu âyatâ tē pi mē âñapitâ hêvañ cha hêvañ cha
 paliyôvadâtha
- 2 janam dhañmayutañ⁸ [...] dêvânâmpiyê Piyadasi hêvañ âhâ [...] êtamêva mē
 anuvêkhamânê⁹ dhañmathambhâni kaṭâni dhañmamahâmâtâ kaṭâ dhañma
 . . . kaṭê [...] dêvânâmpiyê Piyadasi lâjâ hêvañ âhâ [...] magêsu pi mē
 nigôhâni lôpâpitâni chhâyôpagâni¹⁰ hôsamti pasumunisânañ ambâvaḍikâ
 lopâpitâ aḍhakôsikâni pi mē udupânâni
- 3 khânâpâpitâni nimsi — ḍhayâ¹¹ cha kâlâpitâ âpânâni mē bahukâni tata tata
 kâlâpitâni paṭibhōgâyê pasumunisânañ [...] sa — êsa paṭibhōgê nâma¹² [...]
 vividhâyâ hi sukhâyanâyâ pulimêhi pi lâjîhi mamayâ cha sukhayitê lôkê
 imañ chu dhañmânupaṭipati anupaṭipajamtu tâ êtadathâ mē
- 4 êsa kaṭê [...] dêvânâmpiyê Piyadasi hêvañ âhâ [...] dhañmamahâmâtâ pi mē
 ta¹³ bahuvidhêsu aṭhêsu âñugahikêsu viyâpaṭâ sê pavajjâtânañ chêva
 gihithânañ cha sava . . . ḍêsu pi cha viyâpaṭâ sê¹⁴ [...] sañghaṭhasi pi
 mē¹⁵ kaṭê¹⁵ imê viyâpaṭâ hôhamti ti [...] hêmêva bâbhanêsu âjivikêsu
 pi mē kaṭê
- 5 imê viyâpaṭâ hôhamti ti [...] nighamthêsu pi mē kaṭê imê viyâpaṭâ hôhamti
 [...] nânâpâsamḍêsu pi mē kaṭê imê viyâpaṭâ hôhamti ti [...] nânâpâsam-
 ḍêsu pi mē kaṭê imê viyâpaṭâ hôhamti ti [...] paṭivisitham paṭivisitham
 têsû têsû tē tē mahâmâtâ¹⁶ dhañmamahâmâtâ chu mē êtêsu chêva
 viyâpaṭâ savêsu cha amñêsu pâsamḍêsu [...] dêvânâmpiyê Piyadasi lâjâ
 hêvañ âhâ [...]
- 6 êtê cha amñê cha bahukâ mukhâ¹⁷ dânavisagasi viyâpaṭâ sê mama chêva
 dēvinam cha [...] savasi cha mē ôlôdhanasi tē bahuvidhêna â . lēna¹⁸ tâni

(a) Here commences the so-called viiith Edict.

(b) The *m* here has both the signs for the vowel *e* and for the vowel *u*.

- tâni tuṭhâyatanâni paṭi . . . [.] hida chēva disāsu cha dālakānam¹⁰ pi cha
mē kaṭē amnānam cha dēvikumālānam imē dānavisagēsu viyāpatā
hōhamti ti
- 7 dhammāpadānāthāyē dhammānupaṭipatiyē [.] ēsa hi dhammāpadānē dhamma-
paṭipati cha yā iyaṃ²⁰ dayā dānē sachē sōchavē madavē sādhavē cha
lōkasa hēvaṃ vaḍhisati ti [.] dēvānāmpiyē . . . lājā hēvaṃ āhā [.]
yāni hi kāni chi mamiyā sādhavāni kaṭāni tam lōkē anupaṭipamne
tam cha anuvidhiyamti tēna vaḍhitā cha
- 8 vaḍhisanti cha mātāpitisu sususāyā gulusu sususāyā vayōmahalakānam anupaṭi-
patiyā bābhanasamanēsu kapanavalākēsu āvadāsabhakēsu saṃpaṭipatiyā²¹ [.]
dēvānāmpiy . . . dasi lājā hēvaṃ āhā [.] munisānam chu²² yā iyaṃ
dhammavaḍhi vaḍhitā dūvēhi yēva ākālēhi dhammaniyamēna cha nijhatiyi
cha [.]
- 9 tata chu laku sē dhammaniyamē nijhatiyā va bhuyē [.] dhammaniyamē chu
khō ēsa yē mē iyaṃ kaṭē imāni cha imāni jātāni avadhiyāni amnāni
pi chu bahu . . dhammaniyamāni²³ yāni mē kaṭāni [.] nijhatiyā va
chu bhuyē munisānam dhammavaḍhi vaḍhitā avihimsāyē bhutānam
- 10 anālambhāyē pānānam [.] sē ētāyē athāyē iyaṃ kaṭē putāpapōtikē chaṇḍama-
suliyaṃ hōtu ti tathā cha anupaṭipajamtu ti [.] hēvaṃ hi anupaṭi-
pajamtam hidatapalatē āladhi²⁴ hōti [.] satavisativasābhisitēna²⁵ mē iyaṃ
dhammalibi likhāpāpitā ti [.] ētam dēvānāmpiyē āhā [.] iyaṃ
- 11 dhammalibi ata²⁶ athi silāthambhāni vā silāphalakāni vā tata kaṭaviyā ēna
ēsa chilāḥhitikē siyā [.]

NOTES.

1. The correct form would be *huṃsu*. We have already met the two spellings *huṃsān* (Kh. viii. l. 22) and *ahūṃsu* (G. viii. l. 2), and we shall subsequently come across *husān* (S. l. 2.) and *husu* (R. l. 2). This word is the form which corresponds to the *abhāṃsu* or *abhuṃsu* of Buddhist Sanskrit. With regard to third persons in *thā*, like *vaḍhithā*, and in the next sentence *huthā*, cf. *Mahāvastu*, I. p. 378. It is plain that we must supply an *iti* after *vaḍhēyā*, as we see is done when the sentence is repeated lower down, the phrase expressing the intention of these ancient kings. *Anulāpa*, 'conformable,' appears to refer to the wishes of the kings.

2. I strongly doubt if *ētān* should be taken as a pronoun, either here or when the sentence is repeated in line 19. A stereotyped formula, such as we have here, would scarcely be modified, and least of all by an addition of so little meaning. In dealing with Gīrnār (viii. l. 3) and Khāsi (viii. l. 23), I have mentioned examples of *ēta* representing *atra* (Pāli *ēttha*); I believe that we have here another case of the same use (*ētān*, as we have at Kh. *ētā*, and as we have had *savataṃ*, &c.), and that in both the sentences the word would be exactly represented by our 'now.'

3. The repetition here gives a singularly embarrassed and clumsy turn to the whole idea of the passage. The two formulas *dēvānāmpiyē . . . āhā* are, so to say, on different levels. The first simply introduces the observations made by the king; the second, the practical solutions and the decisions to which he comes regarding them; for this is the drift of *ēsa mē huthā*, 'I have taken this resolution,' as its repetition in line 20 shows. The *cha* which appears in this connection, corresponds to the one which follows in *nō cha janē*.

4. It is *kinassu* which we should understand here; for the exact form of this instrumental is *kinā*, see *Hémachandra*, III. 69. It is the Pāli *kēnassu*, in Sanskrit *kēna* *svit*. The phrase is shortly afterwards completed by the addition of *kāni*, which particle I have already explained in dealing with a former edict.

5. The active form *abhyunnamati* is, as we see from line 21, used here in the sense of 'to rise up,' which in Pāli (*Lotus*, p. 456) is applied to *unnamati*, and which we should only expect

to find in the passive. *Abhyunnāmayati* therefore signifies 'to cause to go forward.' We have several times had occasion to refer to the potential in *ēham*, for *ēyam*.

6. With regard to *sāvana*, cf. l. 1 of the circular part. We shall again come across it at Rūpnāth (l. 5), and at Sahasrām, where it is erroneously written *savané*. The *ā* must be long, for the word refers to causing to hear, to the promulgation, the preaching of the religion. It is hardly necessary to point out that *anusisāmi*, is a false reading for *anusāsāmi*.

7. This word must be very much defaced on the original stone. The first *facsimile*, 𑀧𑀺𑀧𑀺𑀧, read *yajayapāpi*, marking the first three letters as not clearly apparent. General Cunningham gives 𑀧𑀺𑀧𑀺𑀧𑀺𑀧, *yathatipāpi*, but in the transcription he places the first four characters in brackets, thus signifying that he has not read them with certainty. Anyhow, both the divergence of the two readings and the fact that neither of them gives a satisfactory interpretation, prove that the text is here very doubtful. We are thus compelled to have recourse to conjecture. From the detached edicts of Dhauli and of Jaugada we see, and this is also implied elsewhere by the very nature of the circumstances, that the king had, with the view to the moral and religious surveillance which so much occupied his attention, distributed over the country his various orders of functionaries by towns or by provinces. I would therefore prefer to read 𑀧𑀺𑀧𑀺𑀧𑀺𑀧 *yathāvisayā pi*,—'several officers have been commissioned, *district y district*.' *A priori* this restoration would not appear violent, but it is clear that only and attentive revision of the original stone would enable us to judge of the degree of probability which it may possess. Regarding *āyatā*, see above, Edict IV. note 1. *Pavithalati* indicates that the officers should orally 'develop' the advice, which the king, in his inscriptions, can only give in abstract.

8. Regarding this phrase see above, Edict IV. note 4. As for the form of the Imperative in *ātha*, it is known in Pāli, cf. also *Mahāvastu* I. 499.

9. Regarding the orthography of *anuvēkhamāna*, see above, Edict III. note 3. Between *dhamma* and *kaṭṭhē* there is a lacuna of about three *aksharas*, happily without any serious influence on the general sense. We might suggest that the stone, in its integrity, originally bore the words *dhammasāvanē kaṭṭhē*. I must, however, state that General Cunningham, in his transcription, writes a *kha* in brackets after *dhamma*. I conclude that this reading is far from clear. If it is really the true one, I confess that I can think of no expedient for completing the word.

10. For the commencement of this sentence, compare Girnar, II., l. 5, and following. I have elsewhere given my reasons for considering the sign 𑀧 in the words *ambāvadikā* and *adhakōsikāni* to be a simple variant in form of 𑀧. We actually meet the former word again in the Queen's Edict, under the usual form *ambāvadikā*. This word, indeed, puzzles me more as regards its derivation,—at least, as regards the derivation of its second term. The first, *amba* = *āmra*, gives no room for doubt. Burnouf, following the example of Prinsep, translates the whole compound by 'plantations de manguiers,' without stopping for a detailed explanation. It is, I presume, by a simple inadvertence that he applies the epithet *adhakōsikāni* to it. The paṇḍits of Prinsep translate the compound by 'mango-trees,' transcribing it on one occasion as *āmraṇṇikā* which is inadmissible, and another time as *āmraṇṇikāḥ*, from which I can draw no meaning. An analysis into *āmra* + *āvali*, would give 'lines' or 'rows of mango-trees,' but this is excluded by the spelling *vadikā* common to the two passages. The word might be taken as a popular spelling for *vaṭikā*, *vaṭi*, (as we have *libi* = *lipi*) being equivalent to *vaṭa*, the whole meaning 'mango, and fig trees.' But then we fall into a new difficulty; for in the Queen's Edict this translation does not fit properly into the sentence; there the word being co-ordinated with *ālāmē*, *ārāmāḥ*, could scarcely be anything but a singular with a collective meaning. On the other hand, an inscription at Junnar (Burgess and Indrajī, *Cave Temple Inscriptions*, p. 47, No. 15) has *āvikābhati*, which must be compared with, in the neighbouring inscriptions, *jābubhati* (p. 46, No. 14) and *karajabhati* (p. 48, No. 17). The last two expressions are rendered by Burgess and Bühler as 'plantation of *jambus*,' and 'plantation of *karanjas*,' respectively (*Archæological Survey West*,

Ind., Vol. IV., p. 97); and for the first Burgess and Indrajī suggest 'mango-field.' I suppose that, in either case, it is the transcription *bhṛīti* which is thought of. Although, at least so far as I am aware, the word is not commonly used in such a meaning, still this translation is possible from its etymology. But, however tempting the apparent connection between *ābikābhāti* and *ambāvadikā* may be, it seems to me to be difficult to admit their complete identity. Such an orthography as *vādī* for *bhṛīti*, beside the usual one of *bhāti*, could hardly occur on our monuments; and hence this analogy, if it has appeared to me to be sufficiently curious to demand attention, does not bring our perplexity to a close. On the whole, it appears to me to be almost certain that we must explain *ambāvadikā* as a feminine substantive meaning some such thing 'as a mango plantation' or 'mango grove,' and that most probably we must seek in *vādikā* for *vādikā* a popular spelling of *vātā*, *vāṭī*, in its sense of 'enclosure' and hence 'park' or 'orchard.'

11. Although General Cunningham marks no lacuna between *si* and *dha* in his transcription, and although the line immediately above shows a fault in the rock which existed previously to the engraving, it appears to me to be indubitable that several characters are missing here. The reading as given *nimsīdhayā* gives no meaning; but it is the more difficult to complete the imperfect word or words with likelihood, as, owing to the fault in the stone, we are unable to calculate the exact number of missing letters. One single point appears to me to be extremely probable, that the characters *dhayā* ought to be read *dhayé*, or *dhiyé*, and would form the concluding syllables of the word [*pō*]*dhiyé* or [*pō*]*dhayé*. This form *pōdhi*, equivalent to the Sanskrit *prahi*, continually reappears in the cave inscriptions; it is sufficient to refer the reader in general terms to the work cited in the preceding note. These 'springs' are exactly what *a priori* we should expect here. As for the former portion of the word I have nothing positively convincing to propose. Before going further, we must know with more precision the exact condition of the stone. I do not know whether the characters read as *nimsi* are subject to doubt or not. If it is allowable to correct them, the expression *sinānapōdhi*, equivalent to *snānaprahi*, which an inscription (*Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, p. 16, No. 21) appears to use, is suggested to us. In that case we might restore it here as *nahā[napō]dhiyé*, and tanks would be here referred to. A future revision of the monument will decide as to the lot which this provisional hypothesis deserves.

12. As far as *pasumunisānam* the phrase develops with entire clearness. Thereafter the lacuna which follows *sa* throws us into uncertainty. About one thing there can be no doubt,—that hitherto the following words have been wrongly divided into phrases. Following Prinsep and Lassen, Burnouf connects *ésa paṭibhōgé nāma* with the succeeding proposition; but the *hi* which accompanies *vividhāyā* proves that a new sentence begins with this word. This sentence stands by itself, the particles *pi* and *cha* being correlatives, and means, 'in fact, former kings, as much as I myself, have favoured the happiness of their subjects in various ways.' The rest, *imaṃ chu*, &c., is marked by the particle *chu* as forming a kind of antithesis with the former portion of the sentence, such as would ensue from the following translation, 'but the great wish, which has inspired me, has been the desire of developing the practice of the Religion.' It hence follows, on the one hand, that one sentence is completed by *pasumunisānam*, and, on the other, that another, equally complete, commences with *vividhāyā*. The words *sa...ésa paṭibhōgé nāma* must therefore, for their part, form a complete proposition. One of the turns of style most commonly employed by the king consists, as we have seen from several examples, in taking up a term, which has just been used in an ordinary and familiar sense, in order to transfer it by some addition or allusion into the domain of morals and religion, *e. g.* 'traditional practices are a very good thing, but the great object is the practice of the Religion' (G. 9); the giving of 'alms is very praiseworthy, but his true alms are the alms of religious exhortation' (*ibid.*); 'there is only one conquest which is worthy of the name, the conquest of souls to the Religion, only one real pleasure, the pleasure found in practising and favouring the Religion' (13th Edict), &c. Here we have a similar rhetorical figure. The king has just been speaking of 'enjoyment' (*paṭibhōga*) in a material

and physical sense, as in the 2nd Edict; and immediately he goes on,—‘but this is the true enjoyment’ (*paṭibhōga nāma*), to do that which I do, in regard to the Religion and its progress among the people. At the same time, as this enjoyment does not fall to the lot of everyone, I presume that here the king opposes his peculiar form of enjoyment to the vulgar enjoyments of beings in general (*pasumunisānaṃ*), and I would be willing to admit that the lacuna ought to be filled up as *sa [tu mama] ēsa* or some such phrase. Whatever be the value of this suggestion, the way in which the sentences should be divided, and the meaning of the whole, appear to me to be sufficiently certain. We should, of course, read *sukkhīyaṇāya*. On a former occasion (Vol. I., 135, 136) I have referred to the instrumental *mamayā*, which we meet again lower down in line 7 as *mamiyā*. We must certainly take *étadathā* as equivalent to *étadatham*, and *anupaṭī-paṭī* as equivalent to *anupaṭipatiṃ*. If the reading of the facsimiles were less plain, we might be tempted to return to the analogy of most of the passages where this phrase occurs, and read *étadathāyē ēsa°*, but I do not consider the change indispensable.

13. As we have the text delivered to us, we can only consider the words *dhammamahā-mātā pi mé* as forming a complete sentence, and correct the *ta* following into *tē*. But it is curious that the king does not return here to his usual phraseology which would be *°mé kaṭā*, and all the more so because the pronoun *tē* is repeated in its equivalent *sē* which follows *vyāpaṭā*. We have previously met this phrase *vyāpaṭasē*, and I have already (Vol. I. 131), given reasons which scarcely allow us to take *sē* as anything but a parallel form of *tē*. These reasons are strengthened by a fact which we can remark here, where we see *imē vyāpaṭā* and *vyāpaṭā sē* used as interchangeable, and supplementing each other. Under such circumstances, the concurrence of *tē* and *sē* in the same sentence would be hardly probable.

14. For the second member of the sentence, see G. V. l. 4, which allows us to fill it up with certainty as *sava[pāsam]dēsu*.

15. We could easily construe the locative *saṃghaṭhasi* with *kaṭa*, and in the sense ‘with regard to, looking to, the interests of the saṃgha.’ But this construction becomes less probable on the phrase which follows, for *nigamṭhēsu*, &c., and is altogether inadmissible in line 6 for *dālakānaṃ*. Besides, everywhere here, *vyāpaṭa* necessarily requires an object. I therefore conclude that, in this series of propositions the words *mē kaṭē* represent a kind of parenthesis, and the *kṛita* is hence to be taken, as we have seen *kichcha* at Gīrnār (IX. 9), in the sense of ‘thinking,’ ‘desiring,’—‘they will occupy themselves, such is my thought, such is my aim, in the interests of the saṃgha, &c.’ With regard to this duty of surveillance over the clergy entrusted by the king to his officers, compare Gīrnār VI., l. 7-8.

16. The letter which follows *tē* appears to have been still legible at the time when the first fac-simile was taken. At any rate we cannot hesitate to read, with it, *tē tē*, a distributive repetition corresponding to *tēsu tēsu*, each *mahāmātra* finding himself thus charged with some special sect (*paṭivisiṭham*). Moreover, a distinction is made between the *mahāmātras* charged each with one of the particular sects who have just been mentioned, and the *dhammamahāmātras* to whom a general surveillance, both over these corporations and over all others, is entrusted.

17. I do not think that there can be any doubt as to the division of the words *bahukā mukhā*. The figurative sense of *mukha*, ‘means,’ seems sufficient to warrant the only interpretation which is possible, that of ‘agent,’ ‘intermediary.’ We may, in a manner, compare the use of *dvāra* (*duvāla*) in the detached edicts of Dhauli, i. 3; ii. 2. ‘These, with many others, are my agents. Their duties will be to distribute the alms which come from me and also those which come from the queens.’ As to what comes from the latter we have an express allusion to their intervention in the fragment of the Allahābād Edict.

18. It is certain that we must complete to *ā[kā]lēna*. *Tuṭhāyatanāni* gives no admissible sense, and the word is certainly incorrect. I think that it is easy to suggest the remedy, and to read *yathāyatanāni*: 𑀅 for 𑀇 is a very easy correction. The verb is unfortunately incomplete, but whatever it was in its integrity, whether *paṭivēkhamāti*, or *paṭijaggamāti*, or what not,

there is no doubt about its general meaning. The officers put in charge by the king of the interior of his palace (cf. the fifth of the Fourteen Edicts) 'are each to supervise the rooms to which he is detailed.' *Ayatana* designates a portion of the *óródhana*, the inner apartments taken as a whole.

19. I confess that I have some difficulty in ascertaining the exact shade of meaning which separates *dálaka* from *dévikumára*. The first designates, in general terms, 'the children' of the king. As for *dévikumára*, as we have just above been dealing with the subject of the alms of the queens (*dévināṃ cha*), it is extremely probable that we should take the compound, not as a *dvandva*, but as a *tatpurusha*. On the other hand, if we translate literally, 'our children and the other princes, sons of the queens,' it will become necessary to admit that the *darakas* form a special category among the *dévikumáras*; but this is just the opposite of what we should expect; the sons of the recognised queens should form a particular and privileged class amid the offspring of the king. I only see one way out of the difficulty,—to admit here for *anya* the same appositional use which we find in Greek (*οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι*, the others, that is to say, the allies); *dálaka* would mean specially those sons of the king who were not assured an official title by the rank of their mothers, while *dévikumára* would be those who had the rank of princes. I have remarked above that the genitive *dálakānam*, substituted here for the locative which appears in the earlier phrases can only be construed with *dānavisagésu*. In *dhanūmāpadāna*, I take *apadāna*, in its Pāli sense of 'action,' 'noble deed,' and as equivalent to the Sanskrit *avadāna*. Even in Sanskrit *apadāna* is sometimes met in this sense (*St. Petersburg Dict. s. v.*). The meaning would therefore 'be in the interests of religious practices.'

20. For *yā iyaṃ*, equivalent to *yad idaṃ*, see above, Edict I., note 6. As for the enumeration which follows, it strongly recalls that in the 2nd Edict, l. 12. We must read *sôchévé*, for *sôchéyé*, instead of *sôchavé*. We have already (Kh. xiii. 2) met *mādava*, i.e. *mārdavanā*, in an analogous meaning. We should of course read *sādhavé* not *sādhanmē*; especially as the first facsimile indicated the letter read as 8 by dots only, thus showing that the reading was already then indistinct and hypothetical.

21. The whole of this sentence has been perfectly explained by Burnouf; he has made a mistake about one word only. He translates *kapanavalákésu*, 'the poor and children,' as if he had before him *bálakésu*, but this transcription is inadmissible. We must here substitute the Sanskrit *kripanavarákéshu*, the exact form supposed by our text, i.e. 'the poor and the miserable.'

22. The particle *chu* can very well commence the sentence: we have seen (I. note 3) that it implies slight opposition, 'but,' 'now,' a statement which is immediately verified once more in the following sentence. The only difficulty which exists, is in the words *dhanūmaniyama* and *nijhati*. The first is sufficiently defined by the sequel. It means the 'rules, the prohibitions inspired by the Religion,' such as the forbidding the slaughter of such and such animals. *Nijhati* is less clear. However, after what has been said above (IV. note 10) about the verb *nijhapayati*, I think that we need not hesitate to derive from it the substantive *nijhatti*, as we do *vijñapti* from *vijñāpayati*. It would, in that case, mean 'the action of calling the attention, reflexion.' If this is correct, the two conditions of progress which the king distinguishes would be, on the one hand, positive prohibitions, duly enumerated, and on the other, the personal feelings awakened by the prohibitions, and, in general, by religious instruction. It seems to me that what follows confirms this interpretation. Twice does Piyadasi warn us that it is the *nijhati* which alone gives all its importance and all its development to the *niyama*, which by itself is but a small thing. Regarding the meaning thus given to *lahu*, *laghu*, we may compare not only *lahuká* in the sense of 'contempt' in the 12th edict of Girnār, but especially the adjective *lahuká* in the 13th edict of Khālsi, l. 12, note *w*. The meaning appears to me to be very clear: it is natural that the king should attach less importance to the material observance of a few necessarily limited rules, than to the spirit which he would propagate among his people and which would inspire them, for example, with a still wider and more absolute respect for life (*avikimsāyē bhūtānam anālambhāyē pānānam*).

23. It is doubtful how many characters are here missing. At first sight one would be inclined to read *bahu*[*vidhāni*]; but the facsimile of the *Corpus* appears to have traces of a horizontal mark which hardly belong to anything but a +, so that an almost certain restitution would be *bahu*[*kāni*], which has, however, the same meaning.

24. The construction here is extremely awkward; it exactly corresponds to a difficulty which has already been considered in the 11th (Rock) Edict; I refer to what I have said there (Vol. I. 245-47). If we had not this precedent, we should be tempted to take the accusative *paṭipajantaṃ* as governed by the verbal idea contained in the substantive *āladha*. But in the other passage, neither the form *karu* at G., nor the pronoun *sō* at Kh. and at K., allow us to have recourse to this. We must therefore take it here either as an accusative absolute (cf. Trenckner, *Pāli Miscellany*, I. 67 note) equivalent to the nominative absolute, as I have concluded above, or take the spelling *paṭipajam'āṇ*, as equivalent to *paṭipajam'tē* (cf. Edict IV. note 7; *saṃtaṇ* = *saṃtē*, *santaḥ*) and as consequently representing a nominative. I incline rather to the second solution.

25. At the time of the first *facsimile*, the correct reading *°vasābhisitēna* was still distinct.

26. It is unnecessary to remark that *ata* represents *yatra* and not *atra*, and that it has its correlative in the *tata* following. *Silāthaṃbhāni vā silāphalakāni vā* is in 'apposition to, and explains, *dharmmalibhi*, and comes to this 'these edicts, whether they are carved on pillars, or inscribed on rocks.' We see, I may remark, here, in *iyam dharmmalibhi, ēsa chilathitike*, what confusion reigns in the use and application of the genders.

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas:—Kings who ruled in the past did have this wish,—How can we secure that men shall make progress in the Religion? But men did not make progress in the Religion according [to their desires]. Now, thus saith the king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas:—Thus have been my thoughts,—because kings who ruled in the past did have this wish,—how can we secure that men shall make progress in the Religion? and because men did not make progress in the Religion according [to their desires], my what means can I bring men to walk in the Good Way? By what means can I secure the men shall make progress in the Religion according [to my desires]? By what means can I cause them to advance in the Religion? Now, thus saith the king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas:—Thus have I resolved; I will spread abroad religious exhortations, and I will publish religious teachings. So, when they hear [these words], will men walk in the Good Way, will advance [in welfare], (*Circular edict commences*) and will make rapid progress in the Religion. It is for this reason that I have promulgated religious exhortations, and that I have given various directions in regard to the Religion. I have appointed numerous [officers] over the people, each having his own jurisdiction, that they may spread abroad my instructions, and develop [my wishes]. I have also appointed *rajjūkas* over hundreds of thousands of living beings, and they have been ordered by me to instruct the faithful.

Thus saith Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas:—It is with this object alone that I have erected columns, [covered with] religious [inscriptions], instituted overseers of the Religion, and spread abroad religious exhortations (?).

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas:—Along the roads have I planted *nyagrōdhas*, that they may give shade to men and animals; I have planted mango-orchards; at every half-*krōśa* have I sunk wells; I have had tanks (?) dug; I have had many inns built for the enjoyment of men and animals. But to me the true enjoyment is this, that, while former kings and I myself have contributed to the welfare of men by various benefits, they should also be led to walk in the path of the Religion. It is to this end, therefore, that I direct my actions.

Thus saith Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas:—I have also appointed overseers of the Religion whose duty it is to busy themselves with all matters of charity, and their duties will also extend to all the sectaries, whether those of monks or of householders. I have also borne in

mind the interests of those in holy orders, with whom the duties of these officers will lie ; the interests of the *brâhmanas* and religious ascetics, with whom their duties will lie ; the interests of the *nirgranthas*, with whom their duties will lie ; and the interests of all the sectaries, with whom their duties will also lie. The *mahâmâtras* will deal with only one or other of these, each to each body, but the overseers of the Religion will occupy themselves in a general manner both with these sectaries, and with all others.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas : — These and many other officials are my agents, and it will be their duty to distribute my alms and those of the queens. In my entire palace they [will employ themselves] in various ways, each according to the apartments confided to him. I purpose that, both here and in the provinces, they should employ themselves on the distribution of the alms of my children, and especially of those of the royal princes, so as to encourage the Religion, and devotion to the practice of the Religion. For devotion to the Religion means practice of the Religion, mercy, charity, truth, purity of life, gentleness, and goodness.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas : — Now, whatever acts of goodness have been performed by me, so in these the people follow after me, these they take as their examples. Therefore have they grown up, and will they grow up, in obedience to their parents, in obedience to their teachers, in reverence to those advanced in age, in consideration towards *brâhmanas*, *śramanas*, the poor, the miserable, and even to slaves and servants.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas : — But this progress of the Religion among men is promoted in two ways ; by positive rules, and by the sentiments under which they are practised. Of these the positive rules have only a moderate importance, and it is the sentiments under which they are practised which give them a high value. The positive rules are such as when I forbid the slaughter of such and such kinds of animals, and the other religious prescripts which I have issued in great numbers. But it is only by the change of personal sentiments that the progress of the Religion really takes place, in the [general] respect for life, and in the exercise of care not to kill any living being. It is with this object that I have set up this inscription, for my sons and for my grandsons, to endure as long as the sun and moon, that they may follow my instructions ; for by so doing they will obtain happiness both here below and in the world to come. I have had this edict engraved in the twenty-eighth year of my coronation.

Thus saith the [King], dear unto the Dêvas : — Where this edict exists, whether on columns of stone or on walls of rock, there care must be taken that it may long endure.

THE QUEEN'S EDICT AT ALLAHABAD.

Prinsep, p. 966 and ff.

TEXT.

- 1 Dêvânampiyasa vachanêna savata mahâmatâ
- 2 vataviyâ [.] ê hêta dutiyâyê dêviyê dâ[?]nê
- 3 ambâvadikâ vâ âlamê va dâna ê hêvâ êtasi amnê
- 4 kichhi ganîyati tâyê dêviyê sê nâni sava
- 5 dutiyâyê dêviyê ti tîvalamâta kâluvâniyê

NOTES.

Although General Cunningham does not express himself on this point with all the clearness which one would desire, it appears to me to be certain, as Prinsep practically admitted, that these five lines preserve for us the commencement only of an inscription which the detrition of the stone interrupts from the sixth line. Has this detrition made itself felt in the fifth line ? We shall at least see that, according to my opinion, and so far as one can judge from a single portion of a sentence, the reading of the last few words require much more correction than the

rest of the fragment. On the other hand, I see no necessity for assuming that the lines which have come down to us are themselves incomplete, as Prinsep supposed with regard to the fourth. In any case, there can be no hope here of a really certain translation, but there are at least some details which can be rectified with confidence, and the Queen Kichhigani, for example, re-enters into that non-existence, from which she should never have emerged.

The first phrase is clear enough: it closely follows the commencement of the detached Edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada. Of what follows, we have only the beginning. The verb is missing, so that we cannot construe the sentence. However, as far as *tivalamāta*, &c., the functions of the different sub-phrases appear to be pretty clear. We have two relative propositions: *é hēta*, &c., and *é hēvā*, &c., but is the *sé* of *sé nāni*, &c., their antecedent, so that the *iti* refers back to the whole of this first portion of the sentence? I think not. The meaning hardly lends itself to this construction; for then the thought attributed to the ideal interlocutor, rendered indeterminate by the mutilation of the stone, would come to something like this: 'All the alms given by the second queen belong to the second queen' or 'come from the second queen,' an observation the purport of which it is not easy to discover. I have therefore no hesitation in considering that the two relative propositions, contain the subject of the principal proposition, the verb of which has been lost, and that the *iti* refers only to the proposition *sé nāni*, &c. This admitted, the division of the words presents no exceptional difficulties. *Hēta* is for *ēttha*, *atra*. In the last word of the second line, read *dāné* by Prinsep, the first character is curiously wanting in clearness. It looks something like a 𑀧 , and the reading *dāné* suits the meaning well. We have discussed *ambāvadikā* (Ed. VIII. 1. 2) above; and this word gives a useful basis for the correction of *ālamé* to *ālmé*, 'garden, grove.' There can be no doubt about the words which follow: *é anné kichhi*, which must certainly be transcribed *yadanyat kiñchit*, and *ganīyati*, which is the passive of the verb *ganayati*, in the meaning of 'to prize,' 'to esteem.' *Ētasi* is doubtless to be taken adverbially, and gives a meaning equivalent to the *ētarahi* of Pāli, and the *ētarhi*, *etarahim* of Buddhist Sanskrit. Instead of seeking for an imaginary general in *sénāni*, we can remind ourselves that we have already had twice to correct *nāni* into *kāni*, so as to restore a particle hitherto always misunderstood, and we shall thus write *sé kāni*, that is to say, in Sanskrit, *tat khalu*. The last words, — those which follow *ti*, — are unfortunately obscure. Although Prinsep's attempted interpretation requires no formal refutation, it is by no means easy to substitute anything which would be accepted as probable. I can only offer a conjecture. The first word appears to be *tīva*, which we have already met (G. XIII. 1; Kh. XIII. 35) as marking the activity of the religious zeal. This comparison leads me to suggest the correction of *lamā* to *dhamā*, 𑀧 to 𑀢 . In the following characters there is a variant between the two facsimiles; that of Prinsep has clearly *kiyē*, while that of the *Corpus* has *niyē*. It seems most probable that we have here the feminine termination of some adjective agreeing, for instance, with *dēviyē*, and I therefore read *kālunikāyē*, from *kārunikā*, 'full of compassion.' The correction of 𑀧 to 𑀢 is sufficiently easy. When we have once adopted this division of words, the correction of the character *ta* necessarily follows. The first word must be, like the second, an epithet of the queen, and I complete it by reading *-dhamāya*, or, more accurately, *-dhamāyē*. I cannot bring together these observations into a kind of translation, without conjecturally supplying a word on which *tāyē dēviyē*—*kālunikāyē* can depend. I need hardly say that this restitution is entirely hypothetical, and is only an outline taken at hazard, to bring together the disjointed fragments.

TRANSLATION.

Here followeth the order directed by command of the [king] dear unto the Dēvas to the Mahāmātras of all localities: — For every gift made by the second queen, a gift of a mango-orchard, of a garden, as well as of every article of value found therein, [it is right to do honour] to the queen, whose religious zeal and charitable spirit will be recognised, while one says, — 'all this comes from the second queen * * *.'

KAUSAMBI EDICT.

This fragment is so designated by General Cunningham, because it is addressed to the Mahāmātras of Kausāmbī. This is the only positive fact which we are entitled to draw from it. I can make nothing of the remainder of the transcription, which is too incomplete, and too imperfect to serve as a basis for useful conjectures. I only reproduce it here, as given in the *Corpus*, for the sake of completeness.

TEXT.

- 1 Dêvānāpiyê ānapayati Kôsāmbiya mahāmata
- 2 ———ramari (?) . . saṅghasi nilahiyô
- 3 i thatibhiti . bhānti nita . . chi
- 4 ba pinam dhapayita ata saṭha amvasayi.

CHAPTER III.

THE DETACHED ROCK EDICTS.

1. THE EDICTS OF DHAULI AND OF JAUGADA.¹

No part of our inscriptions has, I think, profited so much by the publication of the *Corpus*, as the two edicts which I now propose to study. Not only does it render the version of Jaugada for the first time accessible, but in a great many instances it rectifies readings given by Prinsep for Dhauli. Dr. Kern has also again taken up the interpretation of both the inscriptions, and has published a new transcription and a new translation in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. I need hardly say that he has thoroughly improved the version of Burnouf. Nevertheless, our present knowledge of these monuments is still at a stage when the last word is not yet said, with regard either to the reading or to the interpretation. I owe to the inexhaustible kindness of Mr. Burgess the communication of new rubbings of both the rocks; and it is very doubtful if, after so experienced and skilled a hand has passed over them, further examination will bring us more light in the future. Unfortunately the preservation of the rock is very imperfect, especially at Jaugada, where it seems to have undergone intentional mutilation. At any rate, these rubbings have permitted me, as we shall see, to correct General Cunningham in the reading of several passages, and to submit to

¹ Since the work, here translated, was published, these two inscriptions have been studied anew by Prof. Bühler (*Journ. Ger. Orient. Society*, XL., 1, and ff.). It would lead me too far, should I undertake to introduce here into my commentary and translation the various changes which are necessary, either to embody the progress, which my learned friend has not failed more than once to make towards realizing the exact meaning of the text, or to uphold such of my interpretations as still appear to me to have been unduly rejected. I, besides, consider it necessary that my essay should keep its chronological place in a study which at some future period will certainly be taken up again. I therefore content myself with entering below my original text, line by line, the readings of Prof. Bühler, whenever they differ from mine. No doubt, his revision, founded as it is upon a more recent attempt and upon better documents, will in most cases prove more trustworthy than all previous decipherments. Of course, the differences bear generally on minute details, and the cases are few where these variants are such as to modify the palaeographical basis on which my explanations had to rest.—THE AUTHOR.

a decisive test the correctness of various conjectures of my predecessors. Even when they do not introduce new elements to our consideration, the experienced reader will understand how much security the direct inspection of these immediate and necessarily accurate reproductions gives to the commentator. They bring us, I consider, sensibly nearer a definite understanding of the two texts, and all Indian scholars will share my gratitude to Mr. Burgess.

The order according to which the two edicts are numbered has only a secondary importance. It is simplest to preserve that which has been introduced by Prinsep, and which, adhered to by Burnouf, has become in a manner traditional. It is moreover recommended by a further reason which was not noticed by the earliest interpreters; the two edicts, while resembling each other in their general tone, differ essentially in the fact that one refers only to the subjects of the king, and the other to the frontier populations not incorporated in his Empire. It is natural to arrange them in the order which the two interests ought to have occupied in the thoughts of Piyadasi.

FIRST EDICT.

Prinsep, *J. A. S. B.*, 1838, pp. 434 and ff.; Burnouf, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 671 and ff.; Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.*, I. p. 268, n. 1-5; Kern, *Jaart. der zuyd. Buddh.*, pp. 101 and ff.; *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., XII., pp. 384 and ff.

TEXT.²

DHAULI.

(1) Dêvânâmpiyasa vachanêna
tôsaliyañ mahâmâta naga-
laviyôhâlaka (2) vataviyañ¹ [·]
am kichhi dakhâmi hakam
tam ichhâmi kimti kam . na
paṭivêdayêham (3) duvâlatê
cha âlabhêham² [·] êsa cha mê
môkhiyamata duvâlê êtasi a-
ṭhasi am tuphêsu (4) anu-

JAUGADA.

Dêvânâmpiyê hêvañ âhâ [·]
samâpâyañ mahâmâta naga-
laviyôhâlaka hê . vataviyâ [·]
am kichhi dakhâmi hakam
tam ichhâmi kimti . kamana
paṭipâtayêham²⁹ (2) duvâlatê
cha âlabhêham [·] êsa cha mê
môkhiyamata duvâlam
am tuphêsu ann-

² Professor Bühler's readings :—

FIRST EDICT.

DHAULI.

1. 1. °hâlakâ.
1. 2. . . vataviyâ°; °kañmana°.
1. 5. °athâ°.
1. 6. °ti tathâ . . muni°.
1. 7. °iyañ aṭhê kô°; °dêkhatê hi°.
1. 8. °hôtî.
1. 9. °cha . . bahujanê°.
1. 11. °siyêna kilamathêna°.
1. 12. jâtâ°.
1. 13. °ugachh. sam°.

1. 14. °sâmpatipâda.
1. 16. °manêatilêkê°; °mîmê chu ê°.
1. 17. °satha ta ananiyañ°; °sôtaviya.
1. 18. °tisê khanasi khanasi°.
1. 19. °likhita hi°.
1. 20. nagalaviyôhâlakâ°; °palibôdhê va.
1. 21. °aṭhâyê°.
1. 23. kalamti°; °pi chu kumâlê°.
1. 24. °timni°; °takhasilâtê°.
1. 25. °ahâpayitu°.

JAUGADA.

1. 1. °hê . m va°; °kañmana°
1. 2. °âyata pa°; °savamunisê.
1. 3. °pâlâlôkikêna hê°; °sêsu nô cha taphê êtam pâpu-
nâtha âvâgamakê.
1. 4. °aṭhê°; °mauâtî°; dêsam nê sa°; °phê hisavitâ°;
°bahuka athi vê°; °lêsam hi pâ°; °tata hôtî aka.
1. 5. °bandhanamitika . . cha°; °vêdayati°; °hi ichhi°;
°isâyê°.
1. 6. °anâvutiyê âlasyêna°; °niti ê yañ°.

1. 7. °uthâyê sam°; °vajitaviya pi°; °yê hêvañ hêvañ
cha°; °sa anusathi.
1. 8. °kutê manea — .
1. 9. °alâpi kha. na s. taviyâ êk . . pi . . va— manê
cha —
1. 10. °aṭhâyê°; °lipi ê°; °yañ yu . yu ti.nê hi—
1. 11. °nikhâmayaissâm°; °achamdam aphalahata . vachanêlê
— i . mâlêvâ—
1. 12. — âjavachauka ada°; °kañmanê . ni pi . n —

sathi³ [·] tuphê hi bahuśu
 pânasahasêsu âyatâ paṇayam
 gachhêma sumunisânâ⁴ [·]
 savê (5) munisê pajâ mamâ [·]
 atha pajâyê ichhâmi ha-
 kam kinti savêna hita-
 sukhêna hidalôkika (6)-
 pâlalôkikâyê yujêvûti . . .⁵ muni-
 sêsu pi ichhâmi hakam [·]
 nô cha pâpunâtha âvâga - (7)
 makê⁶ [·] iyam atha kêchha
 va êkapulisê manâti êtam sê
 pi dêsam nô savam⁷ [·] dê-
 khatê hi tuphê êtam (8)
 suvihitâpi niti⁸ [·] iyam êka-
 pulisê pi athi yê baṇḍha-
 nam vâ palikilêsam⁹ vâ pâpu-
 nâti [·] tata hôta (9) akasmâ
 tēna¹⁰ baṇḍhanamtika [·]
 amnê cha . . . hujânê daviyê¹¹
 dukhiyati [·] tata ichhitaviyê
 (10) tuphêhi kinti majham
 paṭipâdayemâti¹² [·] imêhi
 chu jâtêhi¹³ nô sampaṭipajati
 isâya âsulôpēna (11) nithu-
 liyēna tulanāya anāvûtiya
 âlasiyēna kâlathamhēna [·]
 sê ichhitaviyê kinti êtê (12)
 jâtâ nô huvêvu mamâti [·]
 êtasa¹⁴ cha savasa mûlê anâsu-
 lôpê atulanâ cha nitiyam [·]
 ê kilam̐tê¹⁵ siyâ (13) na sê
 ugachha samchalitaviyê tu
 vajitaviyê êtaviyê vâ [·] hê-
 vam̐mēva ê dakhiyê tuphâ-
 ka¹⁶ [·] tēna vataviyê (14) am-
 nam nê dēkhata¹⁷ hēvam̐ cha
 hēvam̐ cha dēvānampiyasa anu-
 sathi [·] sê mahâ . lē¹⁸ êtasa
 sampaṭipādê (15) mahâ-
 apâyê asampaṭipati [·] vipa-
 ṭipâdayam̐nēhi¹⁹ êtam nathi
 svagasa âladhi nô lâjâladhi
 [·] (16) duâhalê²⁰ hi imasa
 kam̐masa mē kutê mana-
 atilêkê [·] sampaṭipajam̐nē
 cha êtam svagam̐ (17) âlâ-
 dhayisatha t naniyam̐
 êbatha²¹ [·] iyam̐ cha lipi tisana-
 khatēna²² so . viyam̐ (18) am-
 talâpi cha tisēna khanasi kha . .
 si êkēna pi sôtaṇiya [·] hēvam̐

sathi [·] phê³⁰ hi bahuśu
 pânasahasêsu â . . . pana .
 gachhêma sumunisânâ [·]
 savê munisê (3) pajâ [·]
 atha pajâyê ichhâmi
 kim̐timê³¹ savēna hita-
 sukhêna yujêyûti hidalôgika-
 pâlalôkikâyê hēmēva mē
 ichha savamunisêsu [·] . . .
 . . . pâpunâtha âvaga-
 makê [·] (4) iyam̐ aṭha kêchâ
 êkapulisê pi manati sê
 pi dêsam nê savam̐ [·] da-
 khatha hi tuphê
 pisuvitâpi³² [·] bahukê aṭhi
 yê³³ êti êkamunisê baṇḍha-
 nam̐ palikilêsam̐ pi pâpu-
 nâti [·] tata . ta aka (5) smâ
 tēna baṇḍha

— cha vagê ba-
 hukê vêdayam̐ti [·] tata tuphê-
 hi . chhitayê kinti majham̐
 paṭipâtayēma [·] imêhi
 jâtêhi nô sampaṭipajati
 isâya âsulôpēna nithu-
 liyēna (6) tulâyê anāvûtiyê
 âlasiyēna kilamathēna [·]
 hēvam̐ ichhitaviyê kinti mē
 êtâni jâtâni nô hēyûti [·]
 savasa cha iyam̐ mûlê anâsu-
 lôpê atulanâ cha niti iyam̐³⁴ [·]
 ê kilam̐tê siyâ na (7) sam-
 chalitū uthi³⁵ . samchalitaviyê tu
 vajitaviyê pi êtaviyê pi [·]
 nitiyam̐ ê vê dēkhēyi³⁶ [·]
 am̐na nê
 nijhapêtaṇiya hēvam̐ .
 . . cha dēvānampiya . . nu-
 sathi [·] — (8) tam̐ mahâphalê
 hôti asampaṭipati
 mahâpâyê hôti [·] vipa-
 ṭipâtayam̐tam̐ nô³⁷
 svagaâladhi nô . lâjâdhi
 [·] duâhalê êtasa
 kamasa sam̐³⁸ kutê ma
 — mâ . nê
 (9) cha ânanēyam̐ êsatha
 svagam̐ cha âlâdhayi-
 sathâ [·] iyam̐ cha lipi anutisam̐
 sôtaṇiyâ a-
 lâpi va . nasâtatilâ ê . ka . pi³⁹

cha kalamātaṃ tūphē (19) cha-
ghatha²³ saṃpaṭipādayitavē
[.] êtāyē athāyē iyaṃ lipi
likhitā hida ēna (20) naga-
laviyôpālakā sasvataṃ sa-
mayam yujēvūti nagalajana-
sa akasmāpalibôdha²⁴ va
(21) akasmāpalikilēsē va nō
siyāti [.] êtāyē cha athāyē
hakaṃ dhammatē pañchasa
pañchasa vasē-(22)-su²⁵ nikhā-
mayisāmi ē akhahasē acham-
ḍa sakhinālambbhē hōsati [.]
êtaṃ aṭham jānitu tathā (23)
kalati atha mama anu-
sathīti²⁶ [.] ujēnitē pi cha ku-
mālē etāyē va aṭhāyē ni-
khāmayisati (24) hēdisamm
ēva vagam²⁷ nō cha atikā-
mayisati tini vasāni [.] hēmē
va tākhasilātē pi [.] adā
a . . . (25) tē mahāmātā ni-
khamisānti anusayānam²⁸ ta-
dā ahāpayita atanē kam-
mam êtaṃ pi jānisānti (26)
taṃ pi tathā kalamānti atha
lājīnē anusathīti [.]

— (10) tavē
[.] êtāyē cha athāyē iyaṃ . khi-
tā lipi ēna mahāmātā
nagalaka sasvataṃ sa-
mayam . . ka . ya . ēnā

— (11) pañchasa
pañchasa vasēsu anusamyānam
nikhāmayisāmi mahāmātā acham-
ḍam phalahata
vāchēnēlē

ujēniku
mālē vi . tasatē

(12) — javachanika⁴⁰ tada
anusamyānam nikhamisānti
atanē kammam

NOTES.

DHAULI.

1. *Vataviyam* for *vataviyā*. Comparison with Jaugada leaves no doubt as to the plural, contrary to the opinion of Burnouf.

2. The difficulty of this sentence resides in the words which follow *kiṃti*. The reading *anīnam* given by the facsimile of the *Corpus* is not tenable, and there is no room at Dhauli for the four letters supposed by the conjecture *anīnam ēna* of Dr. Kern. Unfortunately the parallel passages are either incomplete (at Dhauli in the 2nd Edict) or (at Jaugada) are not particularly clear, and moreover both contain one character too many. I have, however, little hesitation as to the correct reading. Trusting to the first and third letters (which are very distinct in Mr. Burgess's *facsimile*), I complete the word as *kam[mē]na*. Jaugada lends itself well to this restoration, so far as regards the three last characters. As regards the first, which is certainly *ka* in the 2nd Edict, and probably also in the first, our only resource is to consider it as an erroneous repetition. We shall see lower down, how the Jaugada text presents to us enough examples of very similar pieces of carelessness to justify this conjecture, especially with the evidence of Dhauli, which certainly had only three letters. On the other hand, Jaugada suggests a useful correction for the next word; for, if following the reading *paṭipā-tayēham* (cf. lower down, line 5, where *paṭipātayēma* corresponds to *paṭipādayēma* of Dhauli), we correct the Dhauli reading to *paṭipādayēham*, we obtain a translation very consistent with *kammēna*; 'All the views which I entertain, I desire to have brought into practice,' literally, 'to have them practised in fact,' — a very natural antithesis between, on one side, the thought, and, on the other, the action. *Dakkh*, therefore, takes here a special shade of meaning; it is

to see in the sense of *recognising, believing*. We may compare the common use in Buddhist language of *drishti* to mean 'theory,' 'doctrine,' and thence, in particular, 'a doctrine which is peculiar, heretical.' Dr. Kern has well explained *duvāla* by the Sanskrit *dvāra*, which we must take in its figurative sense of 'means.'

3. Dr. Kern has rendered an essential service to the understanding of the whole of this passage, by recognising in the base *tupha*, the Prākṛit *tumha* (cf. *Hémachandra*, Ed. Pischel, III. 31, &c.), instead of the *stūpa*, which misled Prinsep, Lassen and Burnouf alike in interpreting the whole edict (cf. *Jaartell. der zuyd. Buddh.*, p. 102). We shall see, lower down, that our rubbings permit us to add a new form to those which he has recognised. Here they establish a perfect harmony between the two passages, by giving us the reading *tuphēsu*; while as regards the analogous forms, *aphākam*, *aphēsu*, for the pronoun of the first person, see below in the 2nd det. edict. We may take *aṁ* as a neuter and refer it to *dvāraṁ*, or we may consider it as another spelling of the feminine *yā*, and connect it with *anusathi*; in either case, the sense remains the same. The principal means of action, according to Piyadasi, are the instructions which he imposes upon his officers.

4. Regarding *āyatā*, see above Col. Ed. VIII. 1.; IV. 3 and note. With regard to what follows, repeated examinations of the rubbings have convinced me of the correctness of the reading *panayam*, which, with *gachhēma* (the word is perfectly clear), gives a very natural construction. The only matter of doubt, and it is not of great importance, is as to what is the subject of *gachhēma*. It would seem most natural that it should be the king himself, who is speaking; 'I have appointed you that I may gain the affection of good men.' But Piyadasi rarely speaks of himself except in the singular, and besides, it seems to me that *panaya* 'affection,' is too modest and familiar a term to be used with reference to the king. I think, therefore, that the verb has for its subject the *mahāmātras* themselves. We should, strictly, expect an *iti* at the end of the sentence, which however is often wanting in analogous cases; and I understand that the king appointed these officers with the intention that they should set themselves to gaining the affection, the confidence, of good men. This view explains the importance attached by the king to the instructions which he delivers to them. The source of their authority is the very confidence which they succeed in inspiring.

5. As a whole this sentence is quite clear. Traces which are apparent on the rubbing leave me little hesitation in restoring it as *-vūti tathā savamuni-*. *Tathā* corresponds well with the *hémēva* of Jaugada; both are correlatives of the *yathā* which precedes. We need not divide the sentence after *iti*, it goes on down to *hakam* inclusive.

6. This is the passage in the edict which leaves me in the greatest uncertainty. Unfortunately Jaugada has a lacuna here; but the text certainly contained several characters, whether one word or two, more than that of Dhauli. The reading, *dukam*, of the *Corpus* is condemned by the rubbings which have clearly *hakam*. The sentence therefore only commences with *nō*. With regard to the verb *pāpunātha*, Dr. Kern seeks in it a third person singular. All analogies are contrary to this interpretation; it can only be a second person plural. Thus not only does the supposed object (*dukam* corrected to *dukham*) disappear, but we are compelled to admit another subject. I believe that Jaugada in the indistinct characters at the beginning of the sentence gives us both. The reading *nō cha tuphē* appears to me to be almost certain. I dare not be so positive as to the two following characters. It is very probable that the second was a *t*; and the former one can in that case hardly be anything but an *é*. It is certain, at any rate, that the traces on the stone do not prohibit this suggestion. We are thus driven to translate the first words, 'and you will not obtain that.' It becomes at the same time clear, without our being compelled to assume any material error of the engraver, why the text of Dhauli omits the words *tuphē* and *étam*. The second person implies of itself that the king here addresses, as above, his officers, and an object so vague as *étam*, which only refers in a general way to the idea which the king has just expressed, can be omitted without too great

obscurity. A little lower down we shall meet the inverse case, when *étan̄* as an object, after *dékhata*, is expressed at Dhauli and omitted at Jaugada. There remains *áva* (or *vā*) *gamaké*, which Dr. Kern understands as the Sanskrit *yāvad gāmyakam*, *yāvadgamyam*, 'as much as possible.' I must confess that I have many doubts as to this interpretation. This pleonastic use of the suffix *ka*, though common enough in Prākṛit, is rare in the language of our inscriptions. But I have nothing better to propose, and moreover this explanation agrees excellently with my general translation of the whole sentence, and allows me to distinguish more accurately the general purport of the phrase. *Gam* and *práp* are, as used here, essentially synonyms. The king accordingly says to his officers, 'I desire the welfare of all men; and in this matter, you are not yet attaining to all the results which are obtainable.' Hence the new and more precise instructions which he immediately gives. We may join *iyam̄* to this sentence without materially changing the meaning, but I prefer to connect it with what follows for two reasons; first, because this arrangement establishes between the two next sentences, *iyam̄ athi kēcha*; *iyam̄ ékapulisé pi athi*, a formal parallelism which exists also in their ideas; and second, because it is improbable, supposing that I have deciphered Jaugada correctly, that the same object should, in the same sentence, at a distance of only two words, be referred to at one time by *étan̄*, and at another by *idan̄*. There is no more difficulty in taking *iyam̄* as a representative of the masculine *ayam̄*, than in considering it as equivalent to the neuter *idan̄*; for everywhere here the distinction between masculine and neuter is completely obliterated (cf. above, Col. Ed. II. note 1).

7. In order to understand this sentence and the following ones, it is important to note the general purport. A very instructive symmetry, between entire periods, rules the whole passage. We have successively three propositions: *iyam̄ athi — ékapulisé*, *iyam̄ ékapulisé athi*, *añne cha bahujané*, which are all counterparts of each other. Each points out a fact which is a matter of regret to the king, and is followed by another proposition, in which he indicates to his officers how they ought to cure the evil: *dékhata hi tuphé*, *tata hōta*, *tata ichhitaviyé*. It will be seen how clearly the formal parallelism manifests itself. The first sentence, which immediately claims our attention, requires only one correction, viz. *aṭha* into *athī* or *athī* (to judge from the rubbings, the difference between ☉ and ○ is in the whole of this passage hardly distinguishable): a comparison with *athī* in the sentence *iyam̄ ékapulisé pi athi* leaves no doubt in the matter. For the general meaning of the whole passage, the 7th of the fourteen edicts gives us a valuable parallel: *té* (i.e. *jana*, men) *sarvañ vá kāsanti ékadésam̄ vá kāsanti* (G. I. 2). The objects, *sarvañ*, *ékadésam̄*, on the one side, and *étan̄ dēsañ*, *savañ* on the other, of themselves challenge comparison. Dr. Kern ingeniously refers *ékapurusha* to *ékavīra*, recalling the sense in which the latter is used in a passage of the *Mṛichchhakatī*. He takes both in the meaning of a 'bad, culpable man,' 'a rogue;' but as *ékavīra* has the accepted meaning of 'hero,' the passage cited in the play can only be employed in this way ironically. The quotation deals with 'heroes, valiant when pillaging the houses of others, but trembling before the police.' Nothing authorises us to admit for *ékapurusha* the translation which we reject for *ékavīra*. We shall see that the next sentence excludes this interpretation, for the word is used for men who have been imprisoned *without reason*. It is on the contrary, natural to attribute to it a value analogous to that of the Buddhist *prithagjana* and to that of our 'individual.' This fits in excellently with the whole sentence. Closely related to the indeterminate *jana* of the 7th edict above quoted, it completes the resemblance between the two passages. The verb alone is different, but *manāti* may with confidence be explained by the meaning of 'to devote oneself to,' 'to pay attention to,' that is to say 'to respect' the orders and instructions. I believe, therefore, that in the notes on the 7th edict, I have not accurately defined the value of *dēsa*. I derived its meaning from the customary sense of the Sanskrit *dēśa*. This translation only with difficulty suits the two other passages where the word occurs, in the 5th of the Fourteen Edicts (G. I. 3) and in the second detached edict of Dhauli and Jaugada in *dēsāyutika*. In the first instance the king, after declaring that those who follow his instructions will

prosper, adds, 'yô tu étam dēsaṃ pihāpēsati sô dukataṃ kāsati.' There is no room here for any restriction, and we have been led to take *dēsa* in a sense more general than would suit the passage of the 7th edict. It would, of course, be preferable to adopt a translation which could be maintained uniformly throughout all the instances in which the word occurs. This meaning appears to me to be that of 'order,' 'commandment,' *dēsa* being equivalent to *saṃdēsa*. *Ēkaḍēsa* in the 7th edict will therefore mean 'one order in particular,' and here we can translate *étam dēsaṃ* by 'such and such an order,' which comes practically to the same thing. There remains *dēsāyutika*, of the next edict, in the sentence *tuphākaṃ dēsāyutiké hōsāmi*. We shall see that there can be no doubt about the general purport; the king says to his officers: 'It is thanks to you that I shall put my orders into practice.' The meaning which we are led to attribute to *dēsa* in the present passage is therefore again verified. The literal translation would be: 'I shall be having from you application to my orders.' Besides this interpretation, one other only is possible: it consists in taking *dēsa* in a meaning analogous to its use in Sanskrit, and to translate, 'I shall have you for substitutes, for lieutenants.' But not only would such a use of *dēsa* be very vague, and give an extremely embarrassed turn to the phrase, but we should be thus compelled to state for the word, in that one case, a meaning different from that which is required in the other passages just cited. The former method avoids every difficulty.

8. The reading *dēkhaté* is probably founded merely on a fissure in the rock. Jaugada shows, and the pronoun *tuphé* makes it certain, that we have here a second person plural. The only difference is that Jaugada has *dakhatha*, that is to say, the new Pāli-Prākṛit termination, while Dhaulī preserves the regular orthography of the classic imperative. We have no more sure check for our interpretations than the facility with which they establish a complete harmony between the two versions. It will have been remarked that wherever our rubbings give us new lessons, they tend to render more perfect the agreement between the two texts. Here, nevertheless, they differ in the close of the sentence; but this is only due to a material error in the original. The text of Jaugada is altered and cut short: *pisuvitā* should probably be read *hisuvitā*, for *suvihitā*; while, as for the words *niti iyaṃ*, or simply *niti*, which is sufficient, they have been carelessly omitted by the engraver. The reading of Jaugada appears actually to be unintelligible, while that of Dhaulī lends itself to a satisfactory translation. It is sufficient to supply, as is done so commonly, the verb substantive *siyā* or *hōsati*, 'look to that,' says the king, 'and may the rule of conduct be well established,' 'well directed.' I would refer here to a passage of the 3rd (rock) edict (G. note f, and K. note g); where I believe that I have established, both at Dhaulī and Kapur-di-giri, in passages which are unfortunately uncertain as fragmentary, the phrase *anunāti*. If my conjecture is verified, *nīti* would appear to be applied, exactly as here, to the sum total of moral duties. At any rate, we shall again find this use a little lower down, and it is moreover in entire accord with the classic usage of the word. I may add that Dr. Kern's conjecture, *kinīti* is altogether set aside by the rubbing.

9. The sentence is sufficiently cleared up by what has been said above in notes 6 and 7. Dr. Kern, misled by his general interpretation of the passage, translates *pariklēsa* by 'chastisement.' I need hardly observe that the word does not necessarily imply this shade of meaning, and signifies generally 'suffering,' 'torture.'

10. This is cleared up by a comparison with a passage further on (l. 20-21). The king declares that the aim of this edict is to secure by the zeal of the *nagaravyavahāra*kas, that is to say of the same officers as those he is here addressing, that there should be neither imprisonment nor torture without valid motive (*akasmā*). Here we can only look for the same meaning. Thanks to the reading *baṇḍhananātika*, simply corrected to *baṇḍhananātikā*, with the sign of the plural, the construction is clear, and the only difficulty has reference to *tēna*. The instrumental *tēna* lends itself to no explanation. Some correction or other is unavoidable. At Jaugada the two characters appear with a clearness which excludes all uncertainty as to the reading; but, on the other hand, mistakes of the engraver,

especially in the notation of vowels, are frequent enough to authorise us to use some liberty. *Sānaṃ* might be suggested; the plural would refer to the collective singular of the preceding sentence, — to the people put in prison. But in that case *akasmā baṇḍhanaṇṭika*, *akasmā* being separated from, instead of being connected with, what follows in a compound, could only be translated 'who without motive deliver from prison,' which would be exactly the opposite of the meaning we require, which is 'who delivers from a prison without motive, from an imprisonment which has no motive.' For my part, I see no other expedient (the translation of the whole sentence leaving no room for doubt) than to read in one single word *akasmātanabaṇḍhanaṇṭika*, and to admit an adjective *akasmātana*, formed from *akasmā*, like *chirantana* from *chiraṇ*, and *sanātana* from *sanā*. I do not forget the difficulty that such long compounds are scarcely consonant with the usages of the language of our monuments; but the present instance is one of extreme simplicity and transparency.

11. *Daviyē*, I think, requires correction. Dr. Kern, it is true, recognises in it the Sanskrit *davīya*; and although I entirely differ from him in the general interpretation of the whole passage, the meaning which he proposes for the word, 'moreover,' 'besides,' is not necessarily inconsistent with my analysis of the sentence. But, not only does this figurative meaning appear to me to be unacceptable for *dūra*, above all in a style so level as ours, but the very form, the comparative in *īyaṃs* instead of *dūratara*, would be, to my mind, an archaism *à priori* little likely in this language. Unfortunately Jaugada has here an altogether different expression, and, as it represents *daviyē dukhiyati* by *vēdayati*, cannot help us by checking the reading. One point is sure, — that we cannot be positive about the vowel which accompanies the *v* at Dhauli. The stone has just at this place suffered injury, so that it is by no means out of the way to propose to read *davāyē*. As regards the use of the Buddhist *davā*, we have the explicit witness of the scholiast cited by Burnouf (Lotus, p. 649), who defines it thus *kichchhādhippāyēna kiriyā*. The nearest meaning is therefore 'violence,' which is confirmed by the Sanskrit denominative *dravasyati*, in the meaning of 'to suffer' (*paritāpa*). The king, after referring to the acts of violence and injustice committed under the shadows of administrative and legal authority, now turns his attention to acts of violence performed by private persons on private persons. So far as regards the form, there need be no serious difficulty, even if the reading *daviyē* is ever definitely verified, in admitting a base *davī* alongside of *davā*, especially as the feminine *davā* is itself a new formation if compared with the bases *drava* and *dravas* of classical Sanskrit.

12. The form *majhaṃ* need not surprise us. It is a secondary base formed upon the analogy of the oblique case *majjha* (*Hémachandra*, III. 113), nearly as the forms *tuphē*, *aphē* are drawn from oblique cases like *yushmē*, *asmē*. The object is not expressed, being understood from the neighbouring nominative *bahujanē*.

13. I have previously (1st Col. Ed., 12, 3) insisted on the exact meaning of the particle *chu*, which is slightly adversative; 'but,' 'now.' The use of *jāta*, which we find here, is, so far as I know, entirely new. The only explanation for it which I can see is to assume that the neuter *jātaṃ* is employed, not, as above, to signify 'kind,' 'species,' but rather in the sense justified by etymology, of 'native disposition,' 'inclination.' The nature of the terms comprised under this head appear, as we shall see, to justify this conjecture. After having pointed out the evil and the conduct by which he expects his officers to remedy it, the king now enumerates the qualities necessary to render their action efficacious. Hitherto the terms which follow have been assumed to be vices and imperfections with which the king would reproach men in general; but that is, I think, a mistake which would spoil the sense of the whole passage. I find a twofold proof of this. First, the way in which *samapāṭipajati* and *paṭipādayēma* (the concluding word of the last sentence) are brought close together, is evidently intentional. In each case the verb must be expected to refer to the action of the same persons, that is to say, both here and above, to the officers of the king. Secondly, the manifest

parallelism between the commencement of the following sentence, *sē ichhitaviyē*, &c., and the commencement of the preceding one, *tata ichhitaviyē tūphēhi*, indicates that both concern the same subject, — the officers of the king. Moreover, the proposition set forth in the direct style, which winds up with *mama*, can scarcely be placed in the mouth of any one but these officers, whom alone the king addresses in this proclamation. I conclude, therefore, that the defects enumerated here are those against which Piyadasi warns his representatives when employed in carrying out his mandates. 'You must,' he tells them, 'desire to set men in the Good Way. But there are certain imperfections which will prevent your succeeding, and of which you should endeavour to free yourselves (*ētē jātā nō hucēvu mamāti*).' Amongst these defects, there are several terms of which the meaning has been misconceived. The reading *āsulōpa*, which is certainly correct, as may be judged from its repetition in several passages, excludes at once both Burnouf's translation 'le retranchement de la vie,' 'le meurtre,' (which, not to mention other difficulties, would presuppose a spelling *asulōpa*) and the conjecture *āsulōsa*, i.e. *āsurośha*, of Dr. Kern. *Āsulōpa* lends itself, in fact, to a very suitable translation; *lōpa* ordinarily means 'interruption,' 'giving up'; *āsulōpa* can therefore be translated 'precipitate giving up,' and, consequently, 'readiness to be discouraged.' It seems to me that the following sentence indirectly confirms this analysis. All this enumeration is in a manner summed up in the two terms *āsulōpa* and *tūlanā*. Every one agrees in recognising in the second of these an equivalent of the Sanskrit *tvarena*, with the meaning of 'hurry.' To this excess of zeal it is very natural to oppose the opposite excess, — feebleness and discouragement; and the sentence thus brings together, as the two poles of these defects, various others against which the king wished to take precautions. Burnouf derived *anāvuti* from *āvritti*, and translated it 'absence de profession, de travail'; but this meaning, which belongs to *vritti*, is not used for *āvritti*. Dr. Kern transcribes it *anāvriti*, and translates 'unheedfulness.' I have already remarked (see above, IV., notes 1 and 9) that the transcription *āyukti* is the only suitable one in the case of the Columnar Edicts, and even in the present edict, a little lower down, it appears to be guaranteed by the evidence of Jaugada. This is a very strong reason for believing that here, again, the same spelling represents the same word. *Anāyukti* can be well translated by 'want of application,' and is naturally connected with *ālasiya*. It is unnecessary to recall how frequent in these texts is the use of the verb *yuj* to signify 'to apply oneself,' 'to make an effort.' The last term of the series belongs to the same order of ideas, and it is surprising that its form has not been previously rectified. We must read *kilamatha* at Dhauli, as we have it at Jaugada; that is to say, as in Pāli, 'fatigue,' 'indolence.' We must without hesitation abandon the ingenious, but arbitrary and really unsatisfactory analysis of the paṇḍits of Prinsep. The rubbing of Jaugada does away with all uncertainty. The participle *kilamta* should have set previous interpreters in the right direction.

14. It is clear that *ēta*, as is frequently the case, sums up the idea implied in what precedes, — the being exempt from the various defects just enumerated. I have some little hesitation regarding the last word of the sentence. Dr. Kern has already conjecturally corrected the reading *nitichham* of the *Corpus* to *nitiyam*. *Nitiyam*, i.e. *nītyām*, suits the passage very well. We have seen above (note 8) that *nīti* is employed in several instances with reference to the duties of the *mahāmātras*, and it is therefore natural that the king should direct them to avoid, in their 'moral propaganda,' both the discouragement and the excess of zeal. But Jaugada reads *nīti iyaṃ*. We are hence compelled to assume either that the disjunction is due to a mistake of the engraver, or that *nītiyam* ought, as a matter of fact, to be split up into *nīti iyaṃ*. In this latter case the two words must form an independent proposition. We must translate, 'the essential in all this, is to avoid both discouragement and excess of zeal: that is [that which constitutes] the [true] method of conduct.' I prefer, however, the former hypothesis. It supplies a more natural and more simple construction; and at the same time allows us to state here for *nīti* a sense more exactly in agreement with that which the earlier passages assign to it. On the other hand Jaugada has, further on, *nītiyam* which corresponds to

nothing in Dhauli, or rather which cannot represent the meaning of the phrase *hēvamēvaṃ*, which we meet instead of it at Dhauli. I conclude therefore that this *nītiyaṃ* is only an erroneous repetition of the stone cutter, and that, hence, his original had really *nītiyaṃ* (and not *nīti iyaṃ*) in the only instance in which it could find a legitimate entry into our text.

15. In this instance, our new rubbings improve the old readings, both at Dhauli and Jaugada in important particulars. The construction is clear. The phrase, as shown by the *hēvamēva* at the beginning of the next sentence, contains a comparison, and *kilamāta*, which in a general manner applies to every one who is fatigued, contains an allusion to *kilamatha*, 'indolence,' or perhaps also to the exhaustion caused by an intemperate zeal, by *tūlanā*. The only word which requires some explanation is *ugachha* in Dhauli, Jaugada, in this instance, having a different reading. We have in the one case *ugachh*, and in the other *sañchalitu uthi*, and I do not hesitate to read *ugachhē* and *sañchalitum uthihē*, two potentials, the second of which warrants for the first the meaning which, while quite intelligible, is not altogether ordinary, of 'to raise oneself,' 'to set oneself in motion.' The repetition of *api*, at Jaugada well expresses the insistence with which the king urges activity, 'and still it is necessary to bestir oneself, to move forward, to go on.' On the other hand, the final *vā* is not admissible, at least unless the king intended to express a particular difference of meaning which I must own I am unable to detect between *vrajitavyaṃ* and *ētavyaṃ*. I suppose that we should read *chā*, a correction which appears to be borne out by Mr. Burgess's facsimile.

16. The construction is here somewhat condensed, though there does not seem to be any doubt about the meaning. We have just had *dēkh* or *dakh* used with reference to the supervision of the *mahāmātras*. We may therefore translate, 'So also with regard to the supervision which you have to exercise;' in it also it is necessary to bestir oneself, to move forward.

17. We might consider the *tēna* as correlative to the *ya* which precedes, but several reasons lead me to reject this explanation. In the first place *tēna vataviyē* is a locution frequently used by the king at the beginning of a sentence and without any syntactic connection with what precedes. Besides this, one feels that a close connexion between the two propositions would impart to the sentence a turn neither clearer nor more convenient. Finally, the words *tēna vataviyē* do not occur in Jaugada, and this leads one to conclude that they are not essential to the construction of the sentence, the words which precede being, so far as meaning goes, identical. This being settled, there are two ways of understanding *vataviyā*; viz. as we supply *mayā* or *tuphēhi* to complete the sentence. 'For this reason I must tell you,' or 'you must tell (the people).' In the first case *nē*, of the sentence following, would refer to Piyadasi; in the second to his officers. Jaugada does not lend itself to this equivocal meaning. *Nijhapētaviyā* is already sufficiently known to us from the 4th Columnar Edict (l. 17-18) where we have had *nijhapayisanti* and *nijhapayitā* (see note 10). According to precedent we must translate the passage in Jaugada thus, 'you must bring (the people) face to face with my orders (and will say to them), "such and such are the instructions of the king dear unto the Dēvas."' It appears that this comparison must be decisive in favour of the former of the two constructions for Dhauli also. One feels nevertheless tempted, to seek, in the phrase *vataviyā* &c., for an equivalent to the causal verb of Jaugada. To make this possible, we must try an altogether different analysis for the words *amnam* and *nē*. The first would be the Sanskrit *anyad*, the second would be equivalent to *nō*, and we should then translate 'bring them face to face with nothing else (but only this), "such and such are the intentions of the king dear unto the Dēvas."' But we have hitherto met only a single example of the confusion of *nē* with *nō* (Kh. XII., 31), and a reference to my notes will show that the confusion is perhaps only apparent, depending merely on an accidental omission. It must also be admitted that the construction last proposed would be very elliptical, and I have therefore the less hesitation in preferring the former explanation. At the most I would propose, in order to reconcile the two versions, to read at Dhauli *dēkhēta*, which would supply a causal verb, as at Jaugada.

18. There is no doubt about the correct reading, *mahāphalē*, nor, consequently, about the meaning of the sentence.

19. The *i* is quite clear both here, in *vipaṭipādayamīnēhi*, and in *sampaṭipajamīne*, a little lower down. We have, in dealing with the 5th Columnar Edict, drawn attention to the analogous form *pāyamīnā*. It seems, however, difficult to doubt the purely accidental nature of these spellings.

20. Dr. Kern has certainly pointed out the true meaning of *duāhala*, which he transcribes *duyāhara* and which he translates, 'which gives a double profit.' I differ from him as regards the remainder of the sentence. A comparison of the various rubbings leaves me no doubt about our having here, both at Dhauli and Jaugada, not a locative, as Dr. Kern believed, but a genitive *ētasa* (or *imasa*) *kaṁmasa*. From this it follows that, as Dhauli has one syllable less than Jaugada, we must admit one of two things; either that a syllable has been omitted at Dhauli after the termination *sa* of *kaṁmasa*, or that, at Jaugada, the second *sa* is an accidental and erroneous repetition. Dr. Kern, adopting the former theory, explains *saṁē kutē* as equivalent to *śramē kṛitē*. It is clear, *à priori*, that in either case one explanation must give much the same meaning as the other. If I decide for the second alternative, it is because I find, in the analysis of the learned professor, several difficulties which it is necessary, in my opinion, to avoid. Dr. Kern transcribes the passage *śramakaraṇē manāgatirēkaḥ*. The locative is scarcely admissible: it is very doubtful whether it is ever formed in *ē* at Dhauli. That difficulty is not, however, decisive; for it would be sufficient to take *manāgatirēkaḥ* as an adjective. I attach more importance to the embarrassed turn which the whole construction thus takes. Dr. Kern has felt this so strongly that he transcribes *śramakarana*, but that is rather an emendation than a transcription. I feel still greater difficulty concerning the compound *manāgatirēka*. In the first place Piyadasi does not usually represent as light and easy the efforts which he demands in the interests of the *dharma*. It suffices to call to mind only the 10th of the fourteen edicts. Moreover, this association of two entirely antithetic words, such as *manāg* and *atirēka*, which form together an expression which has little neatness to recommend it, is, by reason of both its mannerism and obscurity, contrary to the usual style of the king. I may add that this use of *śrama* would be unique in our texts, which, for expressing this meaning, on several occasions use other terms such as *parākrāma*, &c. If we admit, hypothetically, the reading of Dhauli, *mē* could only be the pronoun, and the substantive used as subject must be *manaatilēkē* (or even *manōatilēkē*, for the vowel is not very clear in the rubbings). The word appears to me to lend itself to a possible analysis as *mana-atirēka*, i.e. 'excess of thought,' 'preoccupation.' If the idiom seems to be a little far fetched, the fact may be explained by the desire of turning substantively (so that it may join easily to the idea contained in *duāhala*) a familiar expression of the Buddhist style; *mē kutē manaatilēkē* is easily explained, when considered as the equivalent of *atīva manasikarōmi*.

21. In spite of the *lacuna*, the meaning is quite certain. I have hardly any doubt that we ought to restore *-satha tuphē nē chaānaniyam-*. Not only does this reading exactly correspond with the number of characters wanted to fill up the *lacuna*, but there even appear to me traces in the rubbings which favour the adoption of the syllables *tuphē nē*. *Nē* refers to the king (so also at Jaugada), just as, above, we had it in the sentence *aṁnam nē dēkhēta*.

22. I have already in dealing with the 5th Columnar Edict (n. 8), stated my opinion regarding the date here indicated. As regards the continuation of the sentence, the analysis which Dr. Kern seems to adopt is not quite clear to me as regards either transcription or translation, nor does what he apparently means, entirely satisfy me. In the first place, we should not, I think, in *sōtaviya*, seek for *śrāvayitavya*, the participle of the causal verb, but for that of the simple verb. This point is of importance for the correct understanding of *ēkēna*. Dr. Kern connects it with *tisēna*, which is compatible neither with the position of the words nor with the addition of the particle *api*. 'These instructions,' says the king, 'must be heard at the festivals

of Tishya,'—here we have to do with a regular and public promulgation,—‘and, between times, they must be heard by a man even when alone,’—here we have to do with instructions and reminders addressed to individuals. This translation implies, for the phrase *khanasi khanasi*, an explanation different from that of Dr. Kern, ‘on any solemn occasion.’ It is clear that, if he is referring to individual acts of advice, the king would avoid directing his officers to reserve them for certain festivals. Moreover, such is not the usual meaning of *kshaṇa*, nor in Pāli of, for example, the phrase *khané khané* (cf. Dhammap, V., 239), which means ‘at every moment,’ ‘at every favourable opportunity.’ This meaning suits the present passage very well.

23. As regards the words *chaghatha* and *saṃpaṭipādayitavé*, see former remarks (Col. Ed. IV., n. 5; I. n. 2).

24. I have explained the meaning of *palibōdha* when dealing with the 5th Girnār Edict, (n. k.). The word means ‘bond,’ ‘fetter.’ If there were need of a further proof of this we have an irrefutable one in the present passage, in which *palibōdha* is substituted as a synonym of the *bandhana* used above (l. 8-9). The reading *palikilésé*, which is established by the latest rubbings, cuts short, so far as this word is concerned, all difficulty and conjecture.

25. The text of Dhauli appears to omit by accident some rather important words, which give greater clearness of construction to the text of Jaugada. The latest rubbings of the latter appear to have the accusative *mahāmātāṃ achanḍaṃ*, without any doubt; and it follows that the relative proposition *é—hōsati*, which is the corresponding passage in Dhauli, ought to be taken as containing the object of *nikhāmayisāmi*. The absence of *mahāmātāṃ* or some such word, is, strictly speaking, not impossible, but, on the whole, it is not easy to believe that it was intentional. Dr. Kern has correctly transcribed *akhakhasé* as equivalent to the Sanskrit *akarkaṣaḥ*. I think that he is also justified in reading *saṃkḥīna*, although the latest rubbing would appear to give clearly enough *sēkhiṇṇā*. I consider however that he has been misled as to the meaning of *ālanbha*. This is a technical term of the language of Piyadasi, and we have already found that it signifies the destruction of life. I see no reason for giving it any other meaning here. One difficulty, however, remains. What is the real drift of that enumeration of qualities belonging to the *mahāmātra*, upon which a peculiar stress is evidently laid by the king? I shall come back to the matter later on. Here it will be sufficient to state that I consider the *anusāṃyāna* as being exclusively reserved to the professional Buddhists, and so, in those epithets, ‘mild, patient, never injuring life,’ I can only see a periphrastic equivalent of what could have been expressed more shortly by *dhammayuta*, — ‘the *mahāmātras* who adhere to the Buddhist faith.’

26. This must be compared with the concluding words of the edict. In both passages Dr. Kern understands *iti* as referring only to the portion of the sentence commencing with *tathā*: the king implies that his officers have to inquire whether his subjects carry out his instructions. But this explanation presents several difficulties which render it inadmissible. In the first place, we have here, not *jānātu* or some such word, but *jānitu*, that is to say, the participle absolute, which makes this portion of the sentence depend upon *kalati*. In the later passage *api* and *tuṃ pi*, &c., are unintelligible at the commencement of a proposition in the direct style. On the contrary, they emphasize the successive character of the two actions *jānisanti* and *kalanti*. *Ētamathanā* in the one passage, and *ētāṃ* in the other could hardly refer to something which is to follow. Moreover, if the proposition were meant to define a sort of inquest to which the officers were expected to devote themselves, it would necessarily contemplate both alternatives in the result. The king could not, without too great optimism, expect that they would invariably report that the subjects faithfully carried out his wishes. The form *kalati* cannot easily be taken as a simple indicative, the form *karōti* being familiar to the language of our texts. Finally, the agreement in number between *é akhakhasé*, &c., and *kalati* on the one hand, and between *jānisanti* and *kalanti* on the other hand, indicates that throughout each group the subject is the same. If *kalati*, in the present passage, referred to the subjects in

general, it could only be in the plural. We are therefore led to the following translation, — 'that [the *mahāmātra*] knowing these things, should act according to my instructions; such is the thought which guides me,' and by these words, the king explains his intentions in directing his officers to preside at the quinquennial assemblies. It will be understood that I translate *kalati* as a subjunctive. Its form is that of a real Vêdic *lēt*. This is not the only trace of the use of this mood left in our monuments. I have already drawn attention to *vaḍhati* above (iv. n. 12). Perhaps we have the first person in *kalāmi* [Dhauli vi. l. 29 (Jaugada has a *lacuna*)]. I admit that a comparison with G. seems to indicate a simple present and that the correction to *kalōmi* is easy, but we should only take to corrections as a last resource. Now, at Khâlsi, in the parallel passage, we find, not the present, but the future *kachhāmi*. In this place, and the more naturally as the subject is in the first person, the future and the subjunctive are exactly equivalent. Both suit the run of the passage, being associated and co-ordinated with the imperative *paṭivēdayantu*.

27. A short way above, Jaugada (l. 5) employs *vaga* to represent the *bahujana* of Dhauli. It is therefore natural to take the word as having the same value here. In the 3rd of the Fourteen Edicts, Piyadasi mentions as the ordinary participators in the *anusambyāna*, in addition to the officers, all the faithful of his belief (*yutā*). *Vaga* well describes a numerous assemblage of the kind: *hēdisa* refers to what precedes, and marks the crowd as analogous to that assembled directly by the king himself. Dr. Kern, basing his opinion on the analogy of *nikāya* in the 12th edict, considers that the word applies exclusively to the officials; but the text of Jaugada in the preceding sentence seems to show that the officials were called to the meetings in question individually; and this circumstance, together with the different use of *vaga* in the present edict, hardly bears out this interpretation.

28. Dr. Kern has joined the last visible character, *a*, of line 24, with the first of the following line, so as to form one word. He reads *ata*, equivalent to *atra*. In Mr. Burgess's facsimile, however, the *a* appears to have been followed by several characters (as was also admitted by Prinsep) which are now indistinct, and which the *lacuna* in Jaugada does not help us to restore. Besides this, the reading *tē* being now certain, there can be no doubt about its being the demonstrative, in agreement with *mahāmātā*. For the general meaning of the sentence, see note 26. We must also compare the 3rd of the Fourteen Edicts, where it is said in substance that some officers of the king must attend the *anusambyāna*, as well as to their other duties. Here the thought is identical in substance: the officers are to appear there, without neglecting their other duties. There is, however, one important difference. The first passage summons the *rajjūkas* or *prādésikas* to the *anusambyāna* in order there to deliver religious instruction, whereas the ordinary *mahāmātras*, here addressed, are called to those assemblies, with the view that they may receive religious advice and the king's instructions.

JAUGADA.

As regards Jaugada, I have only to draw attention to a few details, and to refer the reader to the notes on Dhauli where all the various difficulties have been touched upon, and where the elements will be found which are necessary for filling up most of the *lacunas*.

29. The engraving of this edict does not appear to have been done with much care. I have said above (Dhauli n. 2) that if, as there seems to be some probability, we must really read *-kiṃti kakamana-*, one of the two *ka* can only be, in my opinion, an erroneous repetition, like, in line 8, one of the two *sa* in *kamasasa mē kuté*. So, again, I consider *nītiyaṃ*, in line 7, to be an instance of the repetition of an entire word. We shall shortly meet with examples of the reverse, where several characters are sure to have been erroneously omitted.

30. Read *tuphé*. In line 3, *mama* has been forgotten. In line 8, we have *lājādhi* for *lājāladhi*. In line 9, *alā* for *amālā*.

31. *Kintimé* is equivalent to *kiñti imé*, as again lower down. The personal pronoun has no business here. The place which *iti* occupies shows that there has been a transposition; and that in the original which lay before the engraver the order of the words was certainly the same as that in Dhauli.

32. I take *hi(or pi)suvitápi* as incorrect for *suvihitá pi*; *níti* has been forgotten. In this version, a kind of fatality seems to be attached to the word.

33. Although the initial *y* would usually disappear in this dialect, there is no phonetic difficulty in taking *yé* as equivalent to *yaḥ*, both here and at Dhauli. At Dhauli, we have had already (v. 21) *yé apatiyé mé*; so also at Kh. vi., 18; xii., 32, &c.; and in the Columnar Edicts, ii., 16; iv., 3, &c., not to speak of the plural *yé*, which, at Jaugada itself, we find again in line 6 of the next edict.

34. Regarding *níti iyañ* and the *nítiyañ* of the following sentence, see above, Dhauli, note 14.

35. I have already remarked (Dhauli n. 15) that here there is not a complete agreement between the two versions. The resemblance is, however, at least very close, and I have no doubt that we should read *na [sé] samchalitu[m] uthi[hé]*, 'that person will not get up to put himself in motion.'

36. There is here a simple transposition of vowels; *dékhéyi* for *dékhíyé*.

37. The form *vipaṭipāṭṭayañtāñ*, appears at first sight to be incorrect. We should expect either an instrumental, as at Dhauli, or a genitive *vipaṭipāṭṭayañtāñam*. But compare, however, the analogous construction with an accusative, — at least an accusative in appearance, — which we have observed in the 7-8th Columnar edict (see note 24). We probably have here a new example of this construction. The singular, instead of the plural as at Dhauli, need not surprise us in a collective sentence.

38. I have already stated (note 1 above) that I consider that we must read *-kamasa mé kulé*.

39. The ends of all the lines here are unfortunately almost entirely illegible in the rubbings, and the readings of the *Corpus* are manifestly only conjectures more or less doubtful. It would be waste of labour to build other conjectures upon them. We may take an example from the end of line 11. The *Corpus* facsimile reads *achamḍaṇ phélahata-*; from repeated examinations of the rubbings I am convinced that the stone, instead of *phélahata*, bore the word *aphalusañ*, a very good synonym of *akhakhasa*.

40. I do not think that it is necessary to take [*lá*] *javachanika* as a substantive directly designating a class of officers. It is rather an epithet, my officers 'faithful to the orders of their king.' Thus, this expression exactly corresponds to the formula which commences our edict at Dhauli.

TRANSLATION.

By order of the king dear unto the Dévas. — The officers of Tòsalì, in charge of the administration of the city, are to be commanded as follows: (— Jaugada: Thus saith the king dear unto the Dévas; — The officers of Samâpâ in charge of the administration of the city are to be commanded as follows:) — All that I believe, I desire to cause to be really practised, and to take measures [to that effect]. Now, the most important measures (Dhauli: for this object) are, in my opinion, the instructions which [I deliver] to you. For ye have been set over many thousands of souls, that ye may gain the attachment of good men. Every man is my child; and just as I wish, for my children, that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the world to come, so also have I the same wish for all men. Now, in this matter, ye have not yet attained to all the results which are obtainable. There is such and such an individual who attendeth to such and such of my orders, but not to all. Watch ye him, and may the moral duties be well defined. There is such and such an individual who is sentenced to prison or to torture. Be ye there to put an end

to an imprisonment, if it hath been ordered for no sufficient cause. Again, there are many people who suffer (Dhauḷi: acts of violence). In their case also, must ye desire to set everyone on the Good Way. But there are certain dispositions with which, if ye possess them, ye will not succeed: I mean envy, readiness to be discouraged, harshness, impatience, want of application, idleness, and a sense of weariness. Hence ye should desire to be free from these dispositions; and the root of all [success] is to be not readily discouraged and to possess perseverance in moral training. The man who feeleth a sense of weariness, doth not set himself to work, although it is necessary to bestir oneself, to move forward, to go on. So also is it with the supervision which ye should exercise. For this reason I command ye:— Consider ye my orders (Jaugada: Ye must call attention to my orders) [saying], ‘such and such are the instructions of the king dear unto the Dēvas.’ To do this is [to make sure of] great fruit; not to do this is [to render oneself liable to] great calamities. For such as may neglect to guide the people thus, there is no [hope], either [of] the favour of heaven or [of] the favour of the king. Verily, if I specially direct my attention to these duties [which are entrusted to you], it is because they bestow a twofold advantage; for, by following this line of conduct, ye will both obtain heaven, and will pay off your debt to me.

This edict is to be [publicly] promulgated at each festival of the *nakshatra* Tishya, and, between these festivals, it is to be repeated to individuals each time when any favourable opportunity offers. Do this, and try your best to direct the people in the Good Way. It is for this purpose that this edict hath been engraven in this place, in order that the officers in charge of the administration of the city may display a persevering zeal, and that there may be no arbitrary imprisonment and no arbitrary torture of the inhabitants.

It is also for this purpose that regularly every fifth year I shall summon [to the assembly of the *anusambyāna*] every *mahāmātra*, who will be mild, patient, and a respecter of life, in order that, hearing these things, he may act according to my instructions. The Prince- [Governor] of Ujjayinī also will for this purpose summon an assembly of the same nature, but he shall do so every three years without fail. So also at Takshaśilā. By attending the *anusambyāna*, without at the same time neglecting their other particular duties, my officers will learn these things. Let them act in accordance therewith, following the instructions of the king.

SECOND EDICT.

Prinsep, J.A.S.B., *l.c.*; Burnouf, p. 692 and ff.; Kern, J.R.A.S., N.S., XII., p. 379 and ff.

TEXT.³

DHAULI.

(1) Dēvānāmpiyasa vachanēna
tōsaliyaṃ kumālē ma-

JAUGADA.

(1) Dēvānāmpiyē hēvaṃ āha [·]
samāpāyaṃ mahamatā la-

³ Professor Bühler's readings:—

SECOND EDICT.

DHAULI.

1. 3. °hēv muni . . u.
1. 4. °kichhaṃd. su°; °marē i°; °anuvigina ma°.
1. 5. °dukhaṃ hē°; °khamisati nē°; °chalēvū.
1. 6. °ā hi dhiti°.
1. 7. °sē hēvaṃ°; °asvā °; °tatha dē°; °aphāka°.

1. 8. °paja°; °cha tēsa .
1. 9. °sama.
1. 10. °tēsa°; °khaṇasi khanasi°.
1. 11. sōtaviya°.

JAUGADA.

1. 1. °kiṃti kathamana.
1. 2. °mōkhiyamataṃ duvāla°.
1. 3. °savēṇā°; °yujēyū°; °kiṃti mē°.
1. 4. °ichha°.
1. 5. °ētā kā vā mē°; °anuvigina°.
1. 6. °lahēyū°; °khaṃ hēvaṃ°.
1. 7. ē chakiyē°.
1. 8. °aravē ē°.

1. 9. °paṭimnā°; °ēna tē pāpunē.
1. 10. °pita°.
1. 11. °anusāsitu°; vēditu . mamadhiti paṭimnā°.
1. 12. desāyutikē hōsāmī°; °tēsam°.
1. 13. °pālālōkikāyē°; °svagam cha ālā°.
1. 14. °lipi li°; °yujēvū°.
1. 15. °chalanāyē cha am°; °lipi anuchā°.

hāmâtâ cha vataviya [.] am
kichhi dakhāmi hakam tam

(2) duvālatē cha ālabhēham [.]
ēsa cha mē mōkhyamata du-
vālā étasi aṭhasi am tu-
phēsu

mama (3) atha
pajāyē ichhāmi hakam kiṃti
savēna hitasukhēna

hidalōkika-
pālālōkikāyē yujēvūti hēvam

(4) siyā [.]
amītānam¹ avijitānam
kichh . d . su lāja aphēsū . .
. . mava ichha mama amītēsu [.]
. . pāpunēvu tē² iti dēvā
naṃpiyē . . . anuvāgāna ma-
māyē (5) huvēvūti asvasēvu cha
sukhamm ēva lahēvu mama
tē nō dukha [.] hēvam
. . nēvū iti khamiti³ nē
dēvānaṃpiyē aphākam ti [.]
ē cha kiyē khamitavē mama
nimitam cha dhammam cha-
lēvu (6) hidalōka pālālō-
kam cha ālādhayēvū [.]
étasi aṭhasi hakam anu-
sāsāmi tūphē [.] ananē
étakēna⁴ hakam anu-
sāsitu chhamdam cha vēdi-
tu ā . dhiti paṭimā
cha mama (7) ajalā [.] sā
hēvam kaṭu⁵ kamme chālita-
viyē asva — i cha tāni
ēna pāpunēvū iti atha pitā
tathā dēvānaṃpiyē aphākam
athā cha atānam hēvam dēvā-
naṃpiyē anukampati aphē⁶
(8) athā cha pajā hēvam
mayē dēvānaṃpiyasa [.] sē
hakam anusāsitu chhamdam cha
v phāka⁷

dēsāvu-
tikē hōsāmi étāyē athāyē [.]
paṭibālā⁸ hi tūphē asvāsānāyē
hitasukbhāyē cha tasē (9) hi-
dalōkikapālālōkikāyē [.]
hēvam cha kalamtam tūphē

javachanika vataviyā [.] am
kichhi dakhāmi hakam tam
ichhāmi hakam kiti kamkam-
mana¹² (2) paṭipātayēham
duvālatē cha ālabhēham [.]
ēsa cha mē mōkhiyamatē du-
vālē étasa athasa¹³ am tu-
phēsu anusathi [.] savamuni-
(3) sā mē pajā atha
pajāyē ichhāmi kiṃtimē
savēnō¹⁴ hitasukhēna yujē-
yu atha pajāyē ichhāmi
kiṃtamē savēna hitasu-
(4) khēna yujēyūti hidalōgika-
pālālōkikēna hēvam mēva
mē ichhā savamunisēsu siyā [.]
amītānam avijitā- (5) -nam
kiṃchhamdēsu lāja aphēsūti
étākā va mē ichha amītēsu [.]
pāpunēyu lāja hēvam ichhati
anuviginā hēyu (6) ma-
miyāyē asvasēyu cha mē
sukhamm ēva cha lahēvu mama
tē nō kha¹⁵ [.] ēvam
cha pāpunēyu khamisati nē
lāja [.]

(7) ē chha kiyē khamitavē
mamam nimitam cha dhamma
chalēyūti hidalōgam cha palālō-
gam cha ālādhayēyu [.]
etāyē (8) cha aṭhāyē hakam tu-
phēni¹⁶ anusāsāmi [.] anēna
étakēna hakam tūphēni anu-
sāsitu chhamdam cha vēdi-
(9) -tu ā mama dhiti paṭinā
cha achala [.] sa
hēvam kaṭu kamme chālita-
viyē asvāsaniyā cha tē
ēna pāpunē (10) yu athā pitā
ēvam nē lājāti
atha atānam anukampati hē-
vam aphēni anukampati
athā pajā hē- (11) -vam
mayē lājinē [.] tūphēni
hakam anusāsita chhamdam cha
vedāta¹⁷ . mama chiti paṭinā
chā achala sē . . (12) dēsāyu-
tikē hōsāmi étasi athasi [.]
alam hi tūphē asvāsānāyē
hitasukbhāyē cha tasam hi-
da- (13) -lōgikapālālōkikāya [.]
hēvam cha kalamtam svagam

svagam âlâdhayisatha mama
 cha ânaniyam êhatha [·] êtâyê
 cha athâyê iyam lipi likhitâ
 hida êna mahâmâtâ svasa-
 tam⁹ samam (10) yujisanti
 asvâsanâyê dhammachala-
 nâyê cha tēsu am̐tānam [·]
 iyam cha lipi anuchātummā-
 sam tisēna nakhatēna sōta-
 viyā¹⁰ kāmam cha khanôkha-
 nasi am̐talāpi tisēna êkēna
 (11) sōtaviyā [·] hēvam kalām-
 tam¹¹ tūphē chaghattha sampatipā-
 dayitavē [·].

. âlâdhayisatham mama cha
 ânanēyam êsatha [·] (14) êtâyê
 cha athâyê iyam lipi likhitâ
 hida êna mahâmâtâ sasva-
 tam samam yujēvū asvâ-
 sanâyê cha (15) dhammachala-
 nayê . am̐tānam [·]
 iyam cha lipi a . chātummā-
 sam sōtaviyā tisēna am̐ta-
 lāpi cha sōtaviyā¹⁸ (16)
 khanē samtam êkēna pi
 sōtaviyā [·] hēvam cha kalām-
 tam chaghattha sampatipā-
 tayitavē¹⁹ [·].

NOTES.

DHAULI.

1. In all that precedes this word, this second edict is so completely the fellow of the first that comparison with it enables us to fill up with every certainty the *lacunæ* of our present text. It is from this point that the differences between the two edicts begin. The first words are characteristic of them, but owing to their not having been understood, the special object which inspires each of these two writings has hitherto not been clearly developed. *Am̐tānam avijitānam* shows us from the commencement that the king here has in view 'the unconquered frontier populations,' which do not form an integral portion of his empire; and, indeed, towards the end of the edict, Piyadasi expressly declares that he has had this edict engraved *dhammachalanâyê tēsu am̐tānam*, 'to cause the Religion to be practised amongst these frontier populations.' For this use of *am̐ta* we may compare Kh. xiii., 4, and Sahasrām, line 5 (and the parallel versions), in which latter Prof. Bühler's translation requires correction. We should also specially refer to Jaugada ii., 6 (Kh. I. 4), where *am̐tā* is contrasted with *vijitā* in such a way that the sentence forms a decisive commentary on *am̐tā avijitā*, our phrase here. This explains why the king in this edict omits to mention the assemblies of the *anusam̐yāna* upon which he lays so much stress in the preceding one. It is natural that, when busying himself with populations which escape his direct action, he should not presume to summon them to regular periodical assemblies. I think that Dr. Kern has accurately analysed the word which follows, *kinchhamdē su*, as equivalent to *kinchhamdah svid*; the text is certain, being perfectly clear at Jaugada, with which the traces at Dhauli entirely agree; but that he is in error as regards the subject to which he refers the pronoun *aphēsu* (i.e. *asmēsu*). He puts the phrase in the mouth of the people, — the subjects of the king. Given as correct the certain reading and the translation of *am̐tānam avijitānam*, such an explanation would make the construction impossible. Moreover, the experience of the preceding edict ought to guide us here. We have seen therein that it is, throughout, his officials whom the king is addressing, and that it necessarily follows that when he employs the direct style with the first person, there being no express indication to the contrary (cf. I. 4, *gachhēma*, I. 12, *jātā nō huvēva mama*), they are the persons whom we must take for the subject. We thus get in the present case a perfectly well-connected sentence, 'If you ask yourselves, — what is the will of the king with regard to us in relation to the unannexed frontier populations? This is my wish in what touches the frontier populations.' The slightly loose use of the genitive *am̐tānam* is sufficiently explained not only by the liberty of idiom which is common in this style, but specially by the impossibility of placing together two locatives, *am̐tēsu* and *aphēsu*, with different syntactic functions.

2. It is certain that two *aksharas* are wanting before *pāpunēvu*. This would be sufficient in itself to put aside Dr. Kern's conjecture, if it were not already condemned by the exact explana-

tion of the preceding sentence, which requires *am̐tesu* and not *am̐té*. No more can we separate this beginning of the sentence from that of the following one, which is strikingly parallel to it. Completing the second sentence from the reading of Jaugada, about which there can be no hesitation, we find that it commences with *hēvaṃ pāpunēvu*, and I have no doubt that this is also the correct reading here. What is more important, is to discover the meaning of *pāpunēvu*. If we add to these passages another lower down (l. 7), we shall notice that we have here three times the verb *prāp* followed, not by the enclitic *ti*, but by *iti*, which must refer to what follows, and consequently announces the introduction of the direct style. It is easy to explain this, without departing from the literal translation of the verb. I understand the sentences as meaning, that they may arrive at this, that is to say . . . , or in other words 'that they may become convinced of this . . . '. The subject *tē* refers of necessity to *am̐tā*, to the frontier populations. The absence of *iti* at Jaugada does not weaken this interpretation. The fact that in that version it has been either omitted accidentally, or (as happens so often) left out as superfluous, does not do away with the fact that it is written in the Dhauli version, and that there must in consequence be a reason for its being there. It would be a well-nigh desperate enterprise to attempt to remedy formally the entanglement of phrases in the direct style which burdens and mixes up this sentence. We must certainly supply *ichhati* understood, and the words which follow, as indeed is indicated by the use of the singulars *mamāyé*, *mé*, *mama*, express the thoughts of the king, all the other subjects hitherto used being in the plural. Jaugada leaves no doubt as to the reading *anuviginā*, which Dr. Kern correctly transcribes as *anudvignā*. I shall return elsewhere to the various forms of the instrumental of the pronoun of the first person. Perhaps it is this same *mamāyé* which we have met at Kh. (v. 14) under the form *mamāva*. *Mamāyé* is, of course, only a variant spelling of the Prākṛit *mamāi*, referred to by Hēma-chandra (III. 109).

3. We must certainly, as has been already suggested by Dr. Kern, correct this word to *khamisati*, as is given at Jaugada. It is equally certain that *aphākaṃ* concludes the sentence. *Ti* is sufficient to show that the proposition is completed. It is altogether impossible to join the following words to it. The reading *é cha kiyé* at Dhauli may be taken as established, and we can without hesitation adopt it at Jaugada, where, to judge from the rubbing, the *chha* is the reverse of clear. This *cha* admits of only one explanation, — to connect it with the other *cha* which follows *mana*. Indeed, the relative proposition *é cha*, &c., taking *kiyé* as the equivalent of the Sanskrit *kiyat*, can only be translated, 'and in whatever way my benevolence may be necessary to them:' whence we get for the entire sentence the general meaning, 'whether because they desire a favour, or whether simply to please me, they (i.e. the people of the frontier tribes) may practise the Religion.' This is an appropriate place to remind my readers that, in the 13th of the Fourteen Edicts, we have already met the base *ksham*, — *chhamitaviya* and *chhamana* at K. (l. 7), and *khamitavé* at G. (l. 6), — in a passage which the lacunæ of Girnār, and the condition of the text at Kapur-di-Giri have prevented my translating. I have no doubt that the present sentence will some day help to the right understanding of this passage, when we shall be at last in possession of a final reproduction of the version of the North-West. It appears, in fact, to refer, like our present passage, to frontier countries, *yā* ————— *dēvānaṃpiyasa na* ————— *vijitē hōṃti*.

4. There appears to be no doubt about the correctness of reading *anané*. The engraver has transposed the vowels. It should be *anēna*. In what follows (which should be compared with the partially analogous phrase in line 8), the rubbings enable me to correct the readings of the *Corpus* in material points. In the first place, as the reading of the *Corpus* at Jaugada, *anusāsitu*, might have suggested, we must read *anusāsitu*, *véditu*, which can only be taken as gerunds and not as participles. The readings *āhayāmi* at Dhauli, and *chiti* at Jaugada, cannot be maintained. At Jaugada, I clearly decipher, from the rubbings, *ā mama dhiti*, and at Dhauli the characters *ā . . ti* are certain at first sight. Guided by the analogy of Jaugada, we can further recognise a *dhi* before the *ti*: the character again preceding that is indistinct.

Comparison with the other version, leaves scarcely any uncertainty as to the meaning which is required. *Mé*, instead of *mama*, would exactly fit the *lacuna*, and the traces on the rubbing lend themselves well enough to this restoration. *Ajalá* corresponds to *achaldá*, as we have had *libi* for *lipi*, and as we have at Jaugada, *lóga* for *lóka*, &c. This has been previously recognised by Dr. Kern. All the words are therefore clear, and the meaning is easy: 'after having given you (*tuphé* is omitted here, but expressed at Jaugada; at any rate it is easy to borrow it from the preceding sentence) my instructions and made known (*véditu* for *védētu*, by a confusion of the simple with the causal base, of which we have already met several examples) my orders, my will (*dhṛiti*) and my promises are unchangeable.' There remains only one small difficulty, the nominative *hakam*, which remains isolated, without being the subject of any verb. This is a liberty in construction examples of which are offered by all languages, and which need surprise us the less here with a style so free and flexible as that of our monuments.

5. Dr. Kern has well transcribed this as *tad évañ kṛitvá*. It is necessary to read *sé*; and *katu*, as equivalent to *kṛitvá*, presents no difficulties. As regards the meaning, I am compelled to differ from him. I content myself with referring to a preceding edict (G. iv. 9; Vol. I. p. 207) in order to justify the translation I propose: 'making this reflexion, full of this thought.' We have already seen *kanma* applied to the functions of the *mahāmātras* (Dhauli, the preceding edict, l. 25, and note). Jaugada assists us to fill up the *lacuna* by reading *-asvāsaniyāni cha-*. This neuter might puzzle us, if the masculine at Jaugada did not, here as higher up, show that *pāpūñevu* has for its subject the *amā*, in whom the officers have to inspire confidence, and who form the object of the king's thoughts throughout the entire edict. It is a curious example of the degree of confusion into which, in that age, the distinctions of gender had fallen.

6. The reading *anukampati* cuts short all conjecture. It is quite certain, especially at Dhauli.

7. It will be seen that here Jaugada deviates from our text. The sentence at Dhauli is, however, quite complete, and the fault is incontestably that of the engraver at Jaugada, who, after the words *chhanḍam cha védētu*, which also occur a few lines higher up, has borrowed by mistake from the preceding phrase (regarding which see my remarks above) the words *á mama* — *sé hévañ*, which have no right to be, and are quite unnecessary, here. He has on the other hand omitted a word of importance, *tuphákam*. As regards *désdevatiké*, cf. note 7 of the preceding edict (at Dhauli).

8. The expression *paṭibalá* finds a very clear commentary in the synonym *alam*, which I have succeeded in deciphering at Jaugada: 'you are capable of'. Hitherto we have always had the *amā* in the plural, and it is therefore a plural which is wanted here. Beside my proposal on the comparison of *tasé* and *tasam*, I would here read in both versions *tésam*. The use of the genitive *tésam*, besides *tánam*, is well vouched for, e.g. by Kh. xiii., 37; and in this edict itself a little lower down we read *tésu*, which, being in agreement with *amānam*, is evidently only a variant spelling (cf. I. p. 19) of *tésam*.

9. Read *sasvatam*. As for *samam*, the word can no doubt be explained by translating, 'the entire year.' It is, nevertheless, more probable that, in spite of the agreement of the two versions, the correct reading should be *samayan*; the accidental oversight of the *ya* being possibly aided by the initial of *yujisanti*. For the whole of the concluding portion of this passage, see the remarks on the preceding edict.

10. As I have already pointed out (Col. Ed., v. n. 8), this passage appears to me to prove that there were three annual festivals in honour of Tishya corresponding to the three *chāturmāsya* sacrifices of the Brāhmanas. At the end of the sentence, the text does not exactly correspond with that of the preceding edict, but the sense is similar. We can here distinguish, as in the other instance, two cases: — the public promulgation at the festivals of Tishya, and the individual in-

struction given at will (*kāman*) in the interval, whenever an opportunity presents itself. The second alternative would in that case commence at *kāman cha*. Nothing can be more simple, but the text at Jaugada does not lend itself to this method of dividing the words. It repeats *sōtaviyā* three times, and distinguishes three cases, the public instruction at the festivals of Tishya, the instruction in the intervals between these festivals, and the individual instruction, which is to be as frequent as possible. I am persuaded that the second *sōtaviyā* is an erroneous repetition, which we should omit, resting satisfied with the meaning of the preceding edict, which well agrees with the text of Dhauli. Why should the festivals of Tishya be specified at all for the public promulgation of these edicts, if the king adds immediately afterwards, 'and also in the interval'? With Dr. Kern, we should correct to *khanékkhanasi*, although the use of the locative in *é* is rare (Cf. Jaugada), at least unless it is preferred to admit a sporadic use of the cerebral **Ṭ**, *khanakha-*

11. *Kalanāntam* is for *kalanāntā* (cf. I. p. 16-17) or for *kalanānté*, i.e. *kalanāntaḥ* (cf. Col. Ed. viii.-viii., note 24, and note 1 to the Jaugada version of the present edict.)

JAUGADA.

12. I have already said (cf. preceding edict, Dhauli, n. 2) that instead of *kaṇḥkaṇḥmanāna* (the reading of the *Corpus*), I read *kaṇḥmēna*. The spelling *kaṇḥmanāna* for *kaṇḥmēna* is not without analogies: a little lower down (l. 11; Dhauli, l. 8) we have *mayé* for *mayan*; and in this edict, l. 16, *saṇṭam*, for the locative *saṇṭé*.

13. Very possibly we should correct to *étasi aḥasi*; but I do not venture to say that it is absolutely necessary. I have several times laid stress upon the very indefinite use of these oblique cases. In this very edict (Dhauli, n. 1) we have seen the genitive *amātanam* used in the sense of the locative, and in the preceding edict (Dhauli, l. 13) the phrase *ḍakhiyé taphākam* uses the genitive in the sense of the instrumental.

14. We should evidently read *savēna*.

15. Restore to *-nō [du]khan*. The form *mamiyāyē* is a curious one. It looks like an orthographical compromise between the forms *mamiyā* (Col. Ed. viii. 7, which I consider as simply a variant of *mamayā*, Prākṛit *mamaé*) and *mamāyē*, which Dhauli has in the corresponding passage.

16. *Tuphēni* is another curious pronominal inflexion. The correctness of the form is vouched for by its being repeated here and line 11, and by the parallel form of the first person, *aphēni*, which we find in line 10. It reminds one of the Apabhraṃśa *tumhān*, *amhān*, given by Hēmachandra for the nominative and accusative. These forms, again, only refer us back to a spelling *tuphani* or *tumhani*, just as *āni*, the termination of the neuter plural, becomes *ān*. Compare Hindī *hamani*, Hoernle, *Comp. Gram.*, p. 178.

17. I have already (Dhauli, note 7) stated that, in my opinion, the words which follow *védāta* (read *védētu*) up to the end of the line are probably an erroneous repetition. However, as the character *śé* is not very distinct, if we could read *tu* and supply *phākam* for the two following letters, it would be unnecessary, after supplying *ā* before *mama*, to omit anything. The sentence would be correct. In any case the general sense would not be affected.

18. Cf. Dhauli, N. 10, and, for *saṇṭam*, note 1, above.

19. It is difficult to doubt, although indeed I have discovered nothing on the rubbing to support the theory, that the stone has really the termination *-itavē*.

TRANSLATION.

By order of the king, dear unto the Dēvas; — The prince and the officers of Tōsalī are to be commanded as follows (Jaugada: Thus saith the king, dear unto the Dēvas; — The king's officers of Samāpā are to be commanded as follows); — All that I believe I desire to cause to be

really practised, and to take measures [to that effect]. Now, the most important measures for this object are, in my opinion, the instructions which [I deliver] to you. All men are my children; and just as I wish, for my children, that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the world to come, so also wish I the same for all men. What is, [you ask yourselves], the will of the king with regard to us relative to the independent frontier tribes? Now, this is my wish relative to the frontier tribes: that they may be assured that the king, dear unto the Dêvas, desires that they should be, as far as he is concerned, free from all disquietude; that they may trust in him and be assured that they will only receive at his hands happiness and not sorrow; that they may be assured of this: — That the king, dear unto the Dêvas, will show unto them benevolence; and that, whether in order to avail themselves of my benevolence, or whether [simply] to please me, they may practise the Religion, and assure themselves happiness in this world and in the world to come. It is with this object that I give my instructions. When, once, in this manner I have given you my instructions, and have made known unto you my orders, my resolutions and my promises are unalterable. Considering this well, perform ye your duty, and inspire these [tribes] with trust, that they may be assured that the king is unto them like a father, that he careth for them as he careth for himself, and that they are unto the king, dear unto the Dêvas, as it were his own children. Having given you my instructions and made known unto you my will (*Jaugada adds*: that is to say how my resolutions, and how my promises are unalterable), I shall possess in you, for this object, persons fit to actively carry out my orders. For ye are in such a position that ye can inspire trust in these [tribes], and assure unto them prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the world to come. By doing thus ye will both obtain heaven and will pay off your debt to me. It is for this purpose that this edict hath been engraven in this place, in order that the officers may display a persevering zeal to inspire trust in these frontier tribes and to cause them to walk in the ways of the Religion.

This edict is to be [publicly] promulgated at each of the three annual festivals in honour of the *Nakshatra* Tishya; and also, in the intervals between these festivals in honour of Tishya, it is to be repeated at will to individuals, when any favourable opportunity presents itself. When ye do this, use ye your best endeavours to direct [the people] in the Good Way.

2. THE EDICTS OF SAHASARAM, RUPNATH, AND BAIRAT.

These inscriptions, without being identical, have too many points of analogy to allow of their interpretations being dealt with separately. Moreover, in certain difficult passages they throw light on one another, and hence their simultaneous consideration is specially necessary. It is well known that, of all our edicts, these are those which have been most recently published. Discovered by different persons (cf. *Corpus*, p. 2), they owed their reproduction for the first time to the labours of General Cunningham. The copies and rubbings were sent to Dr. Bühler, who published them, and was the first to interpret them, in 1877. The facsimiles which he has given of the first two, form as yet the best complement for their study which we possess, but, though superior to the reproductions of the *Corpus*, they are, unfortunately, still unsatisfactory. We now know too well how generally imperfect are the reproductions prepared for the *Corpus*. In the present case the numerous and serious divergencies to which Dr. Bühler calls attention, may perhaps be explained by the condition of the rock; but they at any rate justify a certain amount of distrust in the corrections which several passages demand. Fortunately, we may be almost sure that, however desirable it may be to have a revision of the text of these monuments undertaken by a competent hand, it will be of much more use from the point of view of philological detail, than from that of understanding the general sense of the whole.

I must express here my thanks to Dr. Bühler, who has been kind enough to furnish me with the photograph of the Sahasaram inscription, to which he refers in his first article as having been sent to him by General Cunningham. I refer to this photograph under the abbreviation Ph. B.

TEXT.

SAHASARAM.¹

- 1 Dêvânâmpiyê hêvam â — iyâni¹ savachhalâni | am upâsakê sumi | na cha bâḍham palakamtê [.]
- 2 savimchhalê sâdhikê | am — tê² êtêna cha aṁtalêna | jambudîpasi | ammisam dêvâ ? sam ta
- 3 munisâ misamdêva kaṭâ³ | [.] pala — iyaṁ phalê . ô — yaṁ mahatatâ va chakiyê pâvatavê⁴ | [.] khudakêna pi pala-
- 4 kamamînênâ vipulê pi suagakiyê âlâ — v.⁵ | [.] sê êtâyê aṭhâyê iyaṁ sâvânê⁶ | [.] khudakâ cha uḍâlâ châ pa-
- 5 lakamantu aṁtâ pi chaṁ jânamtu⁷ | chilâṭhitikê châ palakamê hôtu | iyaṁ cha aṭhê vaḍhisati | vipulaṁ pi cha vaḍhisati
- 6 âiyâḍhiyaṁ avaladhiyênâ diyâḍhiyaṁ⁸ vaḍhisati | [.] iyaṁ cha savanê vivuthêna [.] duvê sapamnalâti
- 7 satâ vivuthâ ti⁹ 256 [.] ima cha aṭham pavatêsu likhâpayâthâ | ya . vâ a-
- 8 thi hêtâ silâthambhâ tata pi likhâpayatha yi¹⁰ [.]

Notes on Dr. Bühler's Readings.

1. 2. B. dêvâ husam ta: 1. 4. B. suag[ê] [sa]kiyê â: Judging from the *facsimile* neither is there any trace of the character *sa*, nor is there the necessary room for it. 1. 5. pi chaṁ, I can discover no trace of the anusvâra in Ph. B. 1. 8. B. thi hêtê si-

RUPNATH.

- 1 Dêvânâmpiyê hêvam âhâ [.] sâti(lê)kâni adhitiyâni vasa sumi pâkâ . . . kê nô cha bâḍhi pakatê sâtilêkê chu chhavachharê ya sumi hâkâ — pitê
- 2 bâḍhim cha pakatê¹¹ [.] yâ imâya kâlâya jambudîpasi amisâdêvâ husu tê dân misamkatâ [.] pakamasi hi êsa phalê nô cha êsâ mahatatâ pâpôtavê [.] khuda kêna hi ka

¹ I give the text as it seems to me to appear in the *facsimile* in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. p. 155. Dr. Bühler's variants are given in notes.

- 3 pi¹² pakamamânênâ sakiyê pipulê pi svagê ârôdhêvê [.] êtiya aṭhâya cha sâvanê katê khudakâ cha uḍâlâ cha pakamañtu¹³ ti aṁtâ pi cha jânañtu [.] iyañ pakarâ va
 4 kiti chirathitikê siyâ¹⁴ iya hi aṭhê vaḍhi vaḍhisiti vipula cha vaḍhisiti apaladhiyênâ diyadhiya vaḍhisata [.] iya cha aṭhê pavatisa lēkhâpêta vâ lata hadha¹⁵ cha aṭha
 5 silâṭhabhê silâṭhambhasi lākhâpêtavaya ta [.] êtinâ¹⁶ cha vayajanênâ yāvataka tupaka ahâlê savara vivasêtaviya ti vyathênâ sâvanê katê [.] 256 sa-
 6 tavivâsâ ta¹⁷ [.]

Notes on Dr. Bühler's Readings.

1. 1. B. sâtirakêkâni adhitisâni; sumi pâkâ sa[va]ki nô; sumi haka saṁghapapitê
 1. 2. B. bâdhi cha; yi imâya; dâni masâkatâ; khudakênâ hi, according to Dr. Bühler it is possible that there was a letter between *hi* and *ka*, but he is inclined to see only accidental scratches in the traces of the *facsimile*; 1. 3. B. pi parumaminênâ; ârôdhavê; pakârê cha;
 1. 4. B. diyadhiyañ vaḍhisati; hadha cha athi; 1. 5. B. silâṭhubhê; vivasêtavâya ti vyuthênâ.

BAIRAT.

- 1 Dêvânañpiyê âhâ [.] sati —
 2 vasânañ ya paka upâsakê — bâdha —
 3 aṁ mamayâ saṁghê papayâ atê . dhi cha —
 4 jambudipasi amisânañ dēva hi — vi — mâsi ēsa . lê —
 5 hâhi ēsê mapâtanê vachakayê — ? maminênâ ya — pa
 6 vipulê pi śvaṁgikiyê âlôdhêtayê — kâ chē uḍâlâ châ palakamata ti
 7 aṁtâ pi cha jânañtu ti chilathiti — pulam pi vaḍhisati
 8 diyadhiyañ vaḍhisati [.] — 56

Notes on Dr. Bühler's Readings.

1. 1. B. sâti; 1. 2. B. ya haka upâsakê n[ô] cha bâdham cha —; 1. 3. B. saṁghê papayitê bâdham cha —; 1. 4. B. — kamasi ēsa . lê —; 1. 5. B. [n]ô hi ēsê mahatânê;
 1. 6. B. śvaṁgê [sa]kyê alâdhêtavê — kâ cha uḍâlâ cha palakamatu ti; 1. 7. B. aṁtê pi jânañtu; 1. 8. 56. According to B., these figures do not appear in the rubbing, and he has doubts as to their existence.

Bühler, *ante*, Vol. VI. pp. 149 ff., Vol. VIII. pp. 141 ff.; Rhys Davids, *Academy*, 14th July 1877, p. 37; Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia*, New Ed., part 6, pp. 57 and ff.; Pischel, *Academy*, 11th August 1877, p. 145; Oldenberg, *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morg. Ges.* XXXV. pp. 470 and ff.

NOTES.

SAHASARAM.

1. I cannot but agree with the decisive remarks of Dr. Oldenberg (*Mahāvagga*, I. xxxviii., and *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, *loc. cit.*), in favour of the reading [adha]tiyāni both here and at Râpnâth. It is true that at Râpnâth the apparent reading is *adhitiyāni*, but I have just now warned my readers as to the prudent mistrust with which our *facsimiles* are to be regarded. Even in this very passage we have *savi[m]chhalê*, which, there can be no doubt, should certainly be *sa[m]vachhalê* and at Râpnâth (l. 4) we have twice over *vaḍhisiti*, although the correct reading must be *vaḍhisati*. Again, in line 2 of that edict, with the same letter 6, we read *bâdhiñ*, where the original stone assuredly has, or had, *bâdham*. This reading must be translated 'two years and a half.' Judging from the *facsimile*, the *lacuna* represents only seven characters, and I would complete it by *â[ha sâdhikâni adha]tiyāni* rather than by *sâtîlêkâni*. It will be seen that, a little further on, our text gives us *savinchhalê sâdhikê*, as against *sâtîlêkê chhavachharê* at Râpnâth. With regard to the other details there is nothing to add to the remarks of Dr. Bühler; I may only observe that, if we translate literally 'I am an *upāsaka* (Buddhist layman) for two years and a half, and have not made great efforts,' we shall give a wrong idea of the real mean-

ing, as the remainder of the sentence clearly shews. What the king means is 'I have been an *upāsaka* for two and a half years without making great efforts; and it is now more than a year since,' &c.

2. It is clear that we must complete the *lacuna* either by *añ[sumi bādhaṃ palakaṃ]tē*, or by *añ[sumi saṃghapāpi]te* (cf. the note to the corresponding passage in Rūpnāth). Dr. Bühler proposes the former restoration, and, as a matter of fact, the *lacuna* seems to be one of about seven characters. The meaning, in any case, would remain identical in substance. In dealing with the sixth Columnar Edict (note 1), I have had occasion to point out how the chronological data which we find here, combined with the indications which we find in the 10th Edict of Khālsi, put it beyond any doubt that the present text does actually emanate from the same author as he who engraved the columnar edicts. These *data* permit us to fix the time of our inscriptions, Piyadasi, according to his own statements, having been converted in the ninth year, say eight years and three months, after his coronation, we must first add to these figures two years and a half and a fraction, say two years and seven months, and again a year and a fraction, say a year and three months, which sum places these inscriptions, as well as those on the Barābar caves which we shall shortly examine, in the thirteenth year after his coronation. This is not the place to enter into the general historical question, and I shall content myself with one remark. The *Mahāvamsa* (p. 22, l. 2; p. 23, l. 3) places the conversion of Aśoka in the fourth year following his coronation, which disagrees with the evidence of Khālsi; but it places the king's coronation in the fifth year after his coming to the throne, which gives for his conversion the ninth year of his effective rule. There is, therefore, in this partial agreement between authentic documents, the trace of an exact tradition. We need not decide here as to what cause can be assigned for the mistake; whether the coronation has been arbitrarily separated from the coming to the throne, or whether the epoch from which the nine years were counted has been unduly moved back by the Sinhalese annals from the coronation to the coming to the throne of the king.

3. In my opinion this is one of the most difficult sentences of the edict. In the first place, it presents a little uncertainty as to the reading of the character which follows *dēva*. Dr. Bühler reads *hu*, which gives *husaṇ*, corresponding to the *husu* (Pāli *ahimsu*) of Rūpnāth. But Rūpnāth gives a correlative *yā* to the pronoun *tē*, which we could scarcely do without, and which is wanting here. Moreover, to judge from the traces of the facsimile, the character *hu* must have taken the form  instead of the  of the ordinary method of writing. Under these conditions, I think that in the vertical mark  we can only recognize the sign of separation, common both in our present text and in that of Khālsi, and that the two horizontal marks are only two accidental scratches on the rock. Moreover, an inspection of Ph. B. appears to me to do away with all uncertainty on this point. I accordingly take *saṃta* for *saṃtē*, as equivalent to *santaḥ* the nominative plural of the participle *sat*. At the same time, it is clear that the choice between the two alternatives is not of a nature to influence the general interpretation of the phrase. It is the meaning, which it is most important to determine. Dr. Bühler translates: 'During this interval, the gods that were [held to be] true gods in Jambudvīpa, have been made (to be regarded as) men and as false.' I should have been much surprised had not Dr. Bühler, with his vast experience of the turn of Hindu thought and expression, been himself taken aback by such a manner of speaking. He adds, in a note, 'this phrase probably alludes to the Buddhist belief that the *Dēvas* also have shorter or longer terms of existence, after which they die, and are born again in other stages of existence, according to their *karma*.' But this belief, as a whole, is quite as much Brāhmanical as Buddhist, and Piyadasi, if he preached it, would have said nothing new. Besides, such an expression would be extremely inexact and insufficient: it is not only as men, but as animals, as dwellers in the infernal regions, &c., that the *Dēvas*, like other living beings, are liable to be born again. On the other hand, how could we admit that a Buddhist should characterise his conversion by saying that he had reduced the Brāhmanical *Dēvas* to the rank of false gods. 'True gods' and

'False gods' are phrases not only strange to what we know of both Buddhist and Hindu phraseology, but directly contradictory to all that we know of the Buddhist writings and teachings. We never find in them any polemics against the popular deities. They have their recognised place in the cosmological system, and in the legends are put into continual connexion with Buddha and his disciples. It was the Dêvas, Indra and Brahmâ, who received Buddha at his birth; it was to the fellowship of the Dêvas that the mother of Buddha was raised when she died; and it was from among the Dêvas Tushitas that, according to all schools of tradition, Sâkyamuni descended to become incarnate; his future successor is, pending the hour of his mission, the very Chief of the Dêvas. Without doubt, these Dêvas play but a subordinate part in the general system of Buddhism; but that is as much the case in those systems of philosophy reputed the most orthodox. I may add, with the reserve which an argument of this nature demands, that it would be singular for the king to thus pride himself on having waged a war of extermination against the Dêvas, while he thought it proper, in this same inscription to call himself *dêvânâmpriya*. This is not a real name, a personal or family name, which could not be arbitrarily changed, and of which the exact meaning might have been obliterated or worn out by use; but a surname, a title chosen freely, and of which the meaning 'dear unto the Dêvas' was evident to every mind. Evidently Dr. Bühler's translation is but a last resource, and cannot be held to be satisfactory. So far, we can venture to be certain; but it is not so easy to shew what alternative explanation is to be given. We cannot turn to the parallel phrase at Rûpnâth, for it is less explicit than the present one, and it rather requires to borrow light from it, than is able to lend any of its own. I may add that I cannot but agree with Dr. Bühler so far as regards the analysis of each single word of the sentence, especially of the words *misâ* (or *misam*) and *amisâ* (or *amisan*), which are the only ones about which there can be any doubt. Like him, I consider them as equivalent to the Sanskrit *mṛishâ* and *amṛishâ*. An initial difficulty arises as to the syntactic part played by *munisâ*, — whether we should take it as a subject or as an attribute. If I am right in reading *saṁtê*, the present participle, the mere position of the words places the matter beyond doubt, and we must take *munisâ* as the subject: the reading *husam tē*, although it would not make this conclusion so certain, would certainly not exclude it; even in that case it would be the more natural one. It is on the other hand, indirectly confirmed by the absence of the word at Rûpnâth. The king could not omit a word which was characteristic of the work which he boasts of having accomplished; while he could very easily do so, if the word were merely a general designation of the people to whom it is applied. I consider, therefore, that we must translate, 'the men who were really the Dêvas (or the gods) have been rendered falsely gods,' or in other words, 'have been dispossessed of their rank.'² The king, therefore, had here in view a category of men who, while they were all the time mere men, were in reality gods. Who are these men, gods of Jambudvîpa? It appears to me that we can have no hesitation in recognising them as the Brâhmaṇas. To call a witness who is beyond suspicion, I cite the St. Petersburg Dictionary, which, in the article *dêva*, has a special paragraph for the case, in which the word means 'a god upon the earth,' who is, says Dr. Böhrlingk, properly the Brâhmaṇ. We meet, moreover, in a similar sense, the synonyms *kṣitidêva*, *bhûdêva*, *bhûsura*, all of which mean literally a 'terrestrial god,' and which commonly mean 'Brâhmaṇ.' I will only refer to that passage, quoted by Aufrecht,³ of the *Samkshêpaśaṅkarajaya*, in which the author refers to Brâhmaṇas and Buddhists by the expression *bhûsura-saṅgatâḥ*, "the terrestrial gods, and the disciples of the Sugata." That the expression is a very customary and very old one, may be seen from numerous passages. It will suffice to refer to Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X. pp. 35 and ff., and H. Zimmer, *Altind. Leben*, p. 205. But there is more than this, — we have some historical confirmation of the interpretation here

² We could, however, even with taking *munisâ* as subject, get a translation, not very different from that of Dr. Bühler's, provided we considered *misâdêvâ*, and *amisâdêvâ* as *bahuvrîhis*. But, besides this translation having against it the same objections as those which appear to me to condemn Dr. Bühler's rendering, it will suffice, in order to exclude it from consideration, to point out that R. has not *amisâdêvâ katâ* but *amisâkaṭâ*.

³ *Catal. Bodl.* p. 254, 3.

proposed. How does the *Mahāvamsa* characterise the conversion of Aśoka? It is by the fact that he dismissed the sixty thousand Brāhmaṇs whom, according to the custom of his father, he had fed every day, and substituted for them sixty thousand Buddhist *Sramaṇas*. It characterises the conversion, therefore, by an evident manifestation of the disfavour with which he regarded Brāhmaṇs. By this conduct, by this example, he could indeed flatter himself with having inflicted a deep wound on their prestige. Tradition, therefore, comes positively to our aid, and has moreover the advantage of replying beforehand to an objection, feeble enough in itself, which we might be tempted to found upon the tone with which the king generally speaks of Brāhmaṇs, continually associating them with *Sramaṇas*. We must evidently see in this fact only the results of the spirit of tolerance which animates his edicts: but surely, it is not more difficult to reconcile this tolerance with our translation of the present sentence, than with the tradition handed down by the Sinhalese annalist.⁴

4. There is no doubt as to the characters required to complete the two *lacunas*; *pala-*[*kamasi hi*] *iyaṇ* and *phalé* [*n*]ô [*cha i*]yaṇ. The words which follow present greater difficulties. Dr. Bühler translates *nô cha iyaṇ* &c., by 'and it ought not to be said to be an effect of (my) greatness.' It is quite possible that *pāvatavé* should correspond to a Sanskrit *pravaktavyaṇ*, although it must at least be admitted that the *á* long is out of place. But it is a pity that Dr. Bühler has not been more explicit as to the supposed phrase *mahatatāvachakiyé*, the analysis of which is far from clear. He himself states his doubts as to the derivation of *vachakiya*, from *vāchaka* + the suffix *iya*. I fancy that what has induced Dr. Bühler to adhere to this analysis of the text, is the apparently nearly concordant reading of Bairāt, *mahātānē vachakayé*; but that inscription has suffered so greatly, and is so fragmentary, and the reproduction of it is so plainly incomplete, that it appears to me to be very unwise to take it as a point of departure: on the contrary, it is much more probable that the reading of Sahasarám has had an influence on its decipherment. Under these circumstances, I cannot but incline towards another analysis; I read *sakiyé* for *chakiyé*, which gives us *nô cha iyaṇ mahatatā va sakiyé pāvatavé*. This closely approaches the turn of the sentence at Rūpnāth, about which there can be no doubt. Dr. Bühler has correctly recognised the *pāpōtavé* of that inscription as corresponding to the Sanskrit *prāptavyaḥ*. We have the same root here in *pāvatavé*, which, transcribed according to the rules of Sanskrit orthography, would be *prāptavé*. The *v* stands for *p* as elsewhere, — e. g. lower down in this same inscription we have *avaladhiyēna* for *apaladhi*: the substitution of the infinitive is rendered necessary to the sentence by the addition of *śakyaṇ*, 'and this [fruit] cannot be obtained by mere power alone.'

5. We shall have exactly the same construction in this sentence as in the preceding one, if we (following Dr. Bühler's example) add the syllable *sa* after *svagé* and before *kiyé*, both here and at Bairāt. Judging from the facsimiles, it does not appear to be likely that the stone has really ever had the character; but, even if it has not been inadvertently omitted, Dr. Bühler, who has had more of the original documents in his hands than we have, is the best judge of these possibilities. Moreover, Rūpnāth certainly confirms this conjecture, and I think that, for the present, it is best to adhere to it. As regards the form *palakamamīnēnā*, which also seems to occur at Bairāt, and perhaps, too, at Rūpnāth, see above, note 19 to the first Dhauli detached edict. We know that *vipulé* is in antithesis to *khudakēna*, 'even the small can conquer *svarga*, however great it may be,' that is to say, however great the recompense may be.

6. It is important to fix accurately, before we proceed further, the exact meaning of the word *sāvané*. I do not here refer to the literal meaning of 'proclamation,' 'promulgation,' which need not form the subject of any discussion. We have already met it twice in the 7th

⁴ I have indicated the reasons which appear to me to demand that *munisé* should be taken as a subject. It is almost useless to remark expressly that, if it is preferred to take it as an attribute, my explanation would not be essentially modified. We should then translate 'the people who were in reality the gods in Jambudvīpa, I have reduced to [become simply] men, and usurpers of the title of Dēva.'

(l. 20) and in the 8th (l. 1) Columnar Edicts. In both cases the word is expressly applied to the proclamations of the king, made by him or by his order, and recorded in his inscriptions. *Iyañ* is, moreover, the same pronoun by which Piyadasi, in all his monuments, alludes to the inscription in which it may be found, 'the present inscription.' We have no reason for taking it here in any other sense, and *à priori* we can only translate the whole by 'it is with a view to this result that the present proclamation is made.' We shall shortly see if what follows is inconsistent with this interpretation.

7. Dr. Bühler is mistaken about *añta*; it is a nominative plural, which refers to the frontier populations, — to the foreign countries. Comparison with J. ii. 6, with Dh. (det. ed.) ii. 4, &c., leaves room for no doubt. As for *jānañtu*, if we should not read *tañ* for *chañ*, which would give the verb an object, the meaning of the sentence is completed without effort, by supplying an equivalent object understood. Compare the final sentence of the edict of Bhabra.

8. It will be remembered that in the 13th (Rock) Edict (n. a.) we have already noticed an analogous use, in an indefinite sense, of the word *diyāḍḍha*, Pāli *diyaddha* and *divaddha*. We are reminded of the meaning in Sanskrit sanctioned for *parārdha*, to express the highest possible number. I think that we may sufficiently accurately represent the analysis of the phrase by an equivalent such as 'a hundred times, a hundred times a million times.'

9. This sentence is the one of the whole edict which presents most difficulties, and which leaves most room for discussion. It early attracted the attention of General Cunningham; he read the figures correctly, and this point is now undisputed. The two doubtful points, the solution of each of which is connected with the other, are, on the one hand the translation of *vivutha* or *vyutha*, and, on the other hand, what it is to which the figures refer. Regarding the second point, Dr. Bühler shews no hesitation. On the supposition that they refer to years and contain a date, he has been almost necessarily led to find in the *vivutha*, which thus becomes, the initial point of an era, a name of Buddha. The great authority of Dr. Bühler has evidently accounted for the assent, expressed or tacit, with which his interpretation of the figures and their meaning was at first received. Since then, Dr. Oldenberg has reconsidered the matter, and has pointed out that in the two members of the phrase in question,

at Sahasarām

duvé sapaññālāti satā vivuthā ti 256.

at Rūpnāth

256 satavivāsā ta.

the word signifying 'year' is wanting, and that there are on the other hand nominatives plural, *vivuthā*, *vivāsā*, such as might be expected beside a noun of number. As no other instance has yet been quoted authorising the omission of the word *vasa* or *sañvachhala*, he concludes that we should translate '256 *satas* are *vivuthas*' and 'there are 256 *vivāsas* of the *sata*.' We shall return to these outline-translations subsequently. It appears to me, however, that under any circumstances Dr. Oldenberg is right in his criticism, and in his general analysis of the sentence. The omission of the word for 'year' might be explained if we had to deal with a simple number, but here we have before us a whole sentence, and, if we take Dr. Bühler's interpretation, we should have to admit that the king expresses himself thus, '256 are passed,' which is barely credible. I may add that, on two or three occasions, our inscriptions employ numeral figures, for instance, in the first Edict at Kapur di Giri, in the enumeration of *two* peacocks, and *one* gazelle, or in the 13th Edict at Khālsi and at Kapur di Giri, *à propos* of the *four* Greek kings. From this it follows that there is no reason *à priori* for assuming that the figures here necessarily refer to years. Dr. Oldenberg makes another very just remark, that we cannot separate the *satā vivuthā* at Sahasarām from the *satavivāsā* at Rūpnāth. From this there results a two-fold conclusion: first, that *vivuthā*, *vyuthā*, must be derived, as Messrs. Rhys Davids and Pischel have from the first pointed out, from the root *vi-vas*, and corresponds to the Sanskrit *vyushita*. Dr. Bühler, who, not without hesitation, opposes this analysis, relies principally on the difficulties of translation, but these have little weight, being founded on the preconceived idea that we absolutely require here the meaning of 'elapsed.' I doubt if at the present day this derivation would meet

with any opponent. I can offer a further confirmation in the future participle *vivasétaviyé*, which has not hitherto been recognised at Râpnâth, and to which I shall come back again immediately. The second consequence is that *satâ* at Sahasaram cannot be, as Dr. Bühler would have it, the noun of number 'hundred,' because that translation is, as all agree, inadmissible at Râpnâth; we must therefore give up the translation proposed by Dr. Bühler for the characters *duvé sapannâlâti satâ* which he renders in Sanskrit by *dvé śatpañchāśadadhiśatâ*, while at the same time recognising the difficulties of the explanation. Of these I see two principal ones: the first is phonetic; *pañnâlâti* for *pañchāśadadhi* is without analogy or example in the phonetics of our inscriptions. In the second place, the intercalation of the number fifty-six between the number two and the number hundred, in order to express two hundred and fifty-six, would be opposed to all practice, and, it seems to me, contrary to the most elementary logic. Dr. Oldenberg accordingly reads 𑀩 for 𑀭 a very simple correction (I must allow that Ph. B. is not very favourable to this reading, although the character 𑀭 is by no means above all suspicion), and, admitting that, as often happens, the numbers are written in an abridged form, he transcribes *duvé sa* (i. e. *satâ*) *pañnâ* (i. e. *pañnâsa*, Skr. *pañchāśat*) *chha* (i. e. *śat*) *ti*. I concur entirely with his conjecture, and do so the more easily because, in all particulars, I had previously independently arrived at the same conclusions. If I state this, it is certainly not to claim the honour of an hypothesis which I think to be a happy one. In the present case, the priority of the suggestion is not a matter of discussion, and unquestionably belongs to Dr. Oldenberg. I only lay stress upon the coincidence in order to add probability and credit to the explanations proposed. Dr. Oldenberg has again rightly perceived that it is impossible, in two short sentences closely connected like these, to attribute to one and the same word, *vivutha*, two applications so different as those which Dr. Bühler proposed. Having come so far, I am now obliged, as to the true meaning of this word, *vivutha*, to differ equally from both my learned predecessors. I have just above touched on its derivation; — we have to deal with a participle of *vi-vas*. I have pointed out that Râpnâth gives us a further proof in the word *vivasétaviyé*, Skr. *vivasayitavyam* regarding which reference may be made to the commentary on that text (n. 6). It will there be seen that the king recommends *vivasayitum*, or, in other words, the being, the becoming *viyutha*. That ought at once to cause us to distrust the proposed interpretations. In the *vyutha*, both Drs. Bühler and Oldenberg search for the head, the one of the Buddhist doctrine, the other of a doctrine perhaps analogous but different, the word not being sanctioned as a technical term in Buddhism. We know now, from what I have said above (n. 1) that our inscription is certainly Buddhist. It is certain, on the other hand, that *vyutha*, meaning the Buddha, would be a name absolutely new to us. It remains to be seen if the conclusion to be drawn from these premises is not simply that *vyutha* in no way refers to the Buddha at all; and it is, in fact, this to which we are led by all the other indications. I have previously drawn attention to the fact that the 8th Columnar Edict presents, when compared with the present one, analogies of which I am astonished that advantage has not been taken: 'that men may make rapid progress in the Religion, it is for this reason that I have promulgated religious exhortations, that I have given various directions in regard to the Religion. I have appointed numerous [officers] over the people . . . that they may spread abroad my instructions, and develope (my wishes). I have also appointed *rajjâkas* over hundreds of thousands of living beings, and they have been ordered by me to instruct the faithful. Thus saith Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas: it is with this object alone that I have erected columns [covered with] religious [inscriptions], instituted overseers of the Religion, and spread abroad religious exhortations.' We are here in the presence of the same ideas, of the same stage of development as in our present edict in both cases the same terms are found, — especially the word *sâvana*. At Delhi, as here we are informed about the instructions which the king promulgates, and the inscriptions which he scatters far and wide to insure that his teaching should be the more lasting. There we are told further about the officers who in this propaganda lend him an essential aid, who go forth spreading abroad and developing his intentions. I believe that, in this particular also, the agreement continues in our text. We have seen

that, in line 4, there is no reason for seeking in *sāvanē* anything other than the same instructions which are here recorded. It is exactly the same in the present passage. The exhortations of the text are purely and simply identical with those which the king, in many other passages, continually speaks of as emanating from him and in his own name, without ever invoking the authority of a sacred text of which we have no reason to expect the mention in the present case. But how then to understand *vivutha*? The most experienced students of Hindu and of Buddhist literature, have hitherto discovered no proof of a technical use of the verb *vi-vas*. We can therefore only start from the ordinary sense of the word. This is well known, and gives rise to no doubt; it is that of 'to be absent,' 'to depart from one's country.' The substantive *vivāsa* is used with the corresponding value of 'absence, departure from home.' Under these conditions, nothing is simpler than to take *vyutha* as meaning these messengers, these, as it were, *missi dominici*, on the establishment of whom Piyadasi set so much value, the *dūtas* or messengers of whom he speaks in the 13th Rock Edict. Subject, therefore, to these remarks, I would render the word by 'missionary.' Among the expressions which occur to me, it is the only one which allows me to retain for the participle *vivutha*, and for the verb *vi-vas* in its various applications, an equivalent which would give in the English translation the uniformity of expression used by the text. The word will have the advantage of directly reminding us of those missionaries of whom, as we know from the Mahāvamsa, so great a number expatriated themselves during the reign of Aśoka, to carry the teaching of Buddhism to all parts of his vast empire, and above all to the foreign nations, the *anṭā*, with whom our edict expressly deals a little higher up. The *vyutha* would be here, as is in the nature of things and in the essence of his rôle, only the representative, the substitute of the king. In this way the whole passage is perfectly consistent: the king, after having spoken of these instructions as coming from himself, returns to the subject saying that it is his 'messenger,' his 'missionary,' who is charged with spreading them abroad, with actually putting them into circulation, and he adds that there have been two hundred and fifty-six departures of similar messengers. It follows from this that *sata* can only be understood as corresponding to the Sanskrit *sattva*, 'living being, man,' as has been already recognized by Dr. Oldenberg. We could, if absolutely necessary, follow Dr. Bühler in interpreting it as an equivalent of the Sanskrit *śāstri*, 'master, teacher.' This translation would, in no way, be incompatible with the meaning which I attribute to *vivutha*; but the phonetic difficulty, the presence of an unaspirated *t*, would render such an explanation only allowable as a last resource. There remains only one slight obscurity over a matter of detail. It is natural that, reduced as we are to a translation solely founded on etymology, we should not be in a position to determine the precise official signification of the title, and how far it corresponds with those mentioned in other inscriptions, *dharmamahāmātras*, *dūtas*, &c. We may, at the same time, remark that according to the 5th Girnār Edict, the creation of the *dharmamahāmātras* belonged to the year following that from which our inscription takes its date. It is possible that, at the epoch at which we now are, Piyadasi had not yet conceived the idea of a regular organization, and that the somewhat vague term *vyutha* corresponds to this early stage of affairs, when, yielding to the first inspirations of his zeal, he sent abroad a large number of missionaries, without fixing their precise title, charging them to go as far as they could (cf. n. 6 of Rūpnāth) to spread abroad his teaching.

10. There can be hardly any doubt that the end of line 7 should read *yata vā a-*. It forms a correlative to the *tata* following. There remains therefore, for the verb which precedes, *likhāpayāthā*, and not *likhāpayāthāyā*, as Dr. Bühler writes. We thus escape the necessity of admitting with him a complication of forms and of constructions equally improbable. *Likhāpayāthā* is the second person plural. The king here directly addresses his officers (as we shall see that he does at Rūpnāth in another sentence) and says to them: 'cause to be engraved upon the mountains,' &c. It is clear that, according to this analogy, we must read at the end of the edict *likhāpayātha ti*. Ph. B. actually favours the reading *tī* instead of *yi*. I have some hesitation regarding the analysis of the word *hētā*. The method which first suggests itself, is, as Dr. Bühler has done, to seek in it the nominative plural of the pronoun; but the

presence of the pronoun is awkward, as the king wishes to say 'pillars' rather than 'these pillars.' On the other hand, it appears that at Rûpnâth we have the adverb *hidha*, that is to say, 'down here, on the earth, in the world.' It is perhaps preferable to admit that we have here its equivalent in *hétā*, i. e. *atra*, *ēttha*. Cf. G. VIII. l. 3; Kh. VIII. 23 and the notes.

RUPNATH.

11. We have seen that it is *adhatiyāni* which we must read (see above, note 1); so also *kakā* and not *hākā*, and, further on, *bādhan* and not *bādhiṃ*. Regarding the characters following *sumi*, I cannot agree with Dr. Bühler, who reads, or restores, *sā[va]ki*. From his own facsimile it is clear that between the letter which he reads *sā*, and that which he reads *ki*, and which I read *kē*, there are wanting two characters, and not one. The first sign, which he reads *sā* is by no means clear. It is rather *sk* which should be read, if the traces visible on the facsimile were above all suspicion. But numerous examples bear witness that it is not so, and, under these conditions, I have little hesitation in maintaining that the stone had really, here as at Sahasarām, *upāsakē*. Moreover, *sāvakē*, meaning a layman, is a Jain expression, the presence of which here would surprise us. The reading *saṃghapāpitē*, translated 'having reached the Saṃgha, being entered into the Saṃgha,' is a very ingenious conjecture of Dr. Bühler's. But, if I am inclined to accept this reading, I am not ready to concur in its interpretation as given by Dr. Bühler. The expression *saṃghan* *prāptum*, for the precise idea of 'entering into the monastic order,' is 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 form with regard to Buddhist monachism in the ancient period. I shall later on come to this matter again, and shall explain why I prefer to take this 'entering' in a material, physical meaning, and the phrase as commemorating the first solemn visit paid by the king to the assembly of monks, after his conversion.

12. It is probable enough that the complete reading is that indicated by the facsimile of the *Corpus*, — *khudakēna hi pi ka-*. Dr. Bühler corrects to *kiṃpi paka-*, in which he is very probably right. I suspect that *pipulē* of the facsimile does not represent a variant orthography, but that the variation is only apparent, and that the stone had in reality *vipulē*. The reading *ārōdhavē* is also, I am persuaded, only apparent. Everywhere in this inscription, *r* is replaced by *l*, and it is *ālādharē* which has been engraved on the rock. The inspection of the facsimile appears to me to greatly favour this correction, which, under any circumstances, would have to be made conjecturally.

13. I pass over evident rectifications such as *ētāya*. It will be remarked that the absence of the pronoun *idam*, or some such, giving an indeterminate shade to the substantive, tends to favour the interpretation which I have given for the corresponding sentence at Sahasarām.

14. The reading *pakārē*, admitted by Dr. Bühler, appears to me to give little satisfaction as regards sense. Moreover, I can discover in the facsimile no trace of the *ā* long. I think that there can be no doubt that the stone bore in reality *pakamē*, corresponding to the *palakamē* of Sahasarām, and I translate in conformity with this conjecture. For *kiti* read *kiṃti*. As for *vaḍhi* I cannot recognise it as an accusative. We must either read *athavaḍhi* as a nominative, or admit that the two syllables *vaḍhi* have been repeated by an error of the engraver. I confess that the perfect agreement which it would establish with Sahasarām causes me to lean to the second alternative.

15. Dr. Bühler has, I think, been led astray by his not recognising the two future participles passive which the sentence contains. At the end we must certainly read *lēkhāpētaviyati*. As for the exact form of the first one, the evident errors in the facsimile as regards the characters which follow, throw the matter into some uncertainty. For *lēkhāpētavāḍata*, we must certainly read the consonants: *l, kh, p, t, v, y, t*. But, according to

the vocalization, which, whether owing to the rock being worn away or to the imperfections of the facsimile, unfortunately escapes us, we must either understand *lékhápita va yata* (in which *yatra* commences the following sentence), or *lékhápitariyé ti*. It is possible to adduce arguments in favour of either solution; but I do not venture to decide absolutely, and console myself with the small importance of the question, so far as regards the general meaning of the passage which is not affected. What is certain, is that the king, here as at Sahasarâm, gives an order, or at least a counsel, to the readers whom he addresses. We shall see that the following sentence throws still further light on this new construction. For *hadha*, I correct with Dr. Bühler, but not without some hesitation, *hidha*, equivalent to *iha*. It is unnecessary to point out the corrections *athi*, *sildhambhé*.

16. In the interpretation of this passage, I differ entirely from Dr. Bühler: the difficulties and improbabilities in the translation proposed by him are evident. I hope that the solution which I propose will recommend itself by its simplicity, and by its agreement with the general tone of the edicts of the king. Regarding the reading, I only differ from my eminent predecessor as regards two details: in the place of *savara*, I read *savata*; if the reader will take the trouble to refer to the facsimile, and to note, on the one hand the distance which separates the so-called 1 from the letter following, and on the other hand, the form 𑀘, and not 𑀙 which *t* has in this inscription, I do not think that he will have any further doubt as to this correction. The other reading is no less easy; it consists in reading *tuphaka* (more correctly *tuphákam*) instead of *tupaḥa*, the 𑀘 and the 𑀙 being, as we know, very similar. I do not speak of additions of vowels which are necessary according to any hypothesis, and which the experience of all the rest of the inscription shews to be perfectly legitimate. This being settled it is sufficient to distribute the characters suitably, in order to obtain a natural, as well as an excellent, meaning. I read: *étinā cha viyañjanēnā yāvataké* (cf. *ācataké* in the edict of Bhabra) *tuphákam āhālē savata vivasētaviyé ti*. *Viyañjana* means 'sign,' and marks, as we have seen in the 3rd of the Fourteen (Rock) Edicts, the exterior and material form of the thought. We could, therefore, understand, 'and by the order here engraven.' If this turn of speech appear a little vague, it is justified by the existence of a pun. In fact, the continuation is clear, 'you must set out on your mission as far as you will find nourishment,' that is to say, as far as is humanly possible. Now *yañjana* has also the meaning of 'condiment, relish,' and, by designating his written will by this word, Piyadasi represents it as in some sort a *viaticum* which should accompany and sustain his missionaries whom he exhorts to expatriate themselves. It is unnecessary to draw further attention to the corroboration which this sentence, as well as the one which I have cited in commenting on the text of Sahasarâm, gives to my translation of *vyutha*. If this special exhortation is missing in the other texts, it will be noted that it is particularly appropriate here, at the frontier zone in which Rûpnâth is situated.

17. We must, of course, read *vyuthēna*, and *vivāsā ti*.

BAIRAT.

The version of Bairât, very fragmentary, and very imperfectly reproduced as it is, does not lend itself, at present, to a detailed examination. There is only one passage, in line 3, where it can serve to fill up a *lacuna* in the other texts, and I have already said that there also the reading appears very doubtful. It would be useless to enumerate all the corrections which the comparison of the parallel versions authorises us to make in the text as we have it now. Any one can make them for himself. There are other doubtful passages, such as *amisānāḥ* &c., where conjectures would be without interest, as being based on no serious authority. The only point which deserves notice, is that to which Dr. Bühler has drawn attention, that the figures represented in the facsimile of the *Corpus*, are wanting in the rubbing. I can only state my agreement with his opinion, when he adds that the position which they occupy renders him very sceptical as to their existence.

TRANSLATION.

(In translating, I neglect the peculiarities of Bairât. For Sahasaram and Râpnâth, I print the translations of the two texts in parallel columns, from the point where they diverge, too decidedly, from each other.)

Thus saith the [King] dear unto the Dêvas : — During two years and a half was I an *upāsaka* (Buddhist layman), and did not display great zeal. A year has passed since I visited the Saṅgha (the monastic community). [R. adds : — and I displayed great zeal]. During this period, the men who were the real gods of Jambudvîpa have been reduced to be no longer really the gods. [R. : — Those who at that time were the real gods of Jambudvîpa, are now reduced to be really so no longer]. Now that is the result of my zeal; that result cannot be attained by might alone [R. omits this last word]. The most humble can, by displaying zeal, gain heaven, high though it be. It is with this aim that these instructions are delivered: that all, humble or great, should display zeal; that the foreign nations themselves should be taught (by my proclamations), and that this zeal should be lasting. Then will arise a [religious] progress, a grand progress, an infinite progress.

SAHASARAM.

It is by the missionary that this teaching is spread abroad. Two hundred and fifty-six men have been sent forth on missions, 256. Have ye these things engraved on mountains; and in those places where there are pillars of stone have them engraved there also.

RUPNATH.

Have these things engraved on mountains; and in that place where there may be found a pillar of stone, have them engraved upon the pillar. And with these instructions, which will be to you as a viaticum, set ye forth on your mission to all the world, so far as ye will find means of existence. It is through the missionary that my teaching is spread abroad. There have been 256 settings forth of missionaries.

3. THE EDICT OF BHABRA.

We know that this edict was discovered in the same locality (Bairât) as that in which was found the third version of the preceding edict. If I adhere to the name of Bhabra, I do so because that name is already sanctioned by long use, and because it prevents any confusion arising regarding the two inscriptions found in the same neighbourhood. To avoid a useless multiplication of divisions, I include it in the present chapter, although, strictly speaking, it is not engraved on a rock in the same sense as the preceding ones. It is engraved on a small detached block of granite, which it was found easy to transport to Calcutta, where it is now preserved. The most trustworthy reproduction of the stone is that which has been given in the *Journal Asiatique* (1887, Vol. I. pp. 498 and ff.) from a rubbing of Dr. Burgess, together with some fragments of a rubbing previously sent to me by my learned friend and colleague, Dr. Hoernle. On this facsimile the following reading and commentary are based.

TEXT.

Kittoe, *J. A. S. B.* 1840, pp. 616 and ff.; Burnouf, *Lotus*, pp. 710 and ff.; Kern, *Jaartelling*, &c. pp. 32 and ff.; Wilson, *J. R. A. S.* XVI pp. 357 and ff.

- 1 Piyadasi l(â)jâ mâgadham saṅgham abhivâdanam¹ âhâ apâbâdhatam cha phâsuvihâlataṁ chā [.]
- 2 viditê vê bhamtê âvatakê hamâ² budhasi dhammasi saṅghasîti galavê cham pasâdê cha [.] ê kêmchi³ bhamtê
- 3 bhagavatâ budhêna bhâsitê savê sê subhâsitê vâ ê chu khô bhâmitê hamiyâyê disâyâ⁴ hêvam sadhammê

- 4 chilañhitikê hôsatîti alahâmi hakam tam vatavê [...] imâni bhamtê dhammapa-
liyâyâni⁶ vinayasamukasê
5 aliyavasâni anâgatabhayâni munigâthâ mônêyasûtê upatisapasinê ê châ lâghulô-
6 vâdê musâvâdam adhigichya bhagavatâ budhêna bhâsitê êtâna bhamtê dhamma-
paliyâyâni ichhâmi
7 kiñti bahukê bhikhupâyê⁶ châ bhakhuniyê châ abhikhinañ sunayn châ upadhâ-
lêyeyu châ
8 hêvaññm êvâ upâsakâ châ upâsikâ châ [...] êtôni bhamtê imaññ likhâpayâmi abhihêtañ
ma jânañta ti⁷

NOTES.

1. The third word of the inscription has long been read *mâgadhê*, and the question arose whether it was to be understood as an epithet of *lâjâ* or as an irregular orthography for *mâgadham*. From the last facsimile it may be seen that the supposed vowel-sign is by no means regularly cut, and is probably nothing more than an accidental scratch, — especially as the following *anusvâra* seems to be quite clear. It is thus *mâgadham* which we must read, and which we must, of course, construe with *sañgham*. Hitherto, the word has been taken simply in its geographical signification: 'the *sañgha* of Magadha.' I have some doubts on this point. In the first place, *sañgha*, as is proved by what follows, was from this epoch consecrated, in its generic and, so to say, abstract use, to designate the clergy in its most general terms. Hence its association with a local restrictive designation is no more likely here than it would be in the ordinary literary language of Buddhism. In the second place, it is difficult to explain the erection in Râjasthân of an inscription destined expressly for the clergy of Magadha. Ought we not to consider that *mâgadha* should be a synonym of 'Buddhist,' based on the place of the origin of the doctrine? If such a use really existed, it would explain, for instance, how Pâli ultimately received the name of *mâgadhi bhâshâ*, although it had surely nothing to do with Magadha. This is a mere conjecture which I put forth subject to all reserves. The old reading *abhivâdêmâ(tpâ)nañ* must be put aside together with the various conjectures to which it has induced the several interpreters. Neither *mâ* nor *tpâ* can be made out of what are really only incoherent scratches, whether the stone was from the first defective at that spot or the engraver intended to blot out some letter erroneously begun by himself. I consider that the vowel-sign *ê* has no more reality here than in the above *mâgadhê*. As to this point the fragmentary rubbing of Dr. Hoernle (photographed in the abovementioned paper) is especially decisive. We have consequently to read as I have transcribed *abhivâdananâ âhâ* . . . This construction of *âha* or some equivalent with *abhivâdanâ* and a double accusative is frequent enough in the phraseology of Buddhist Sanskrit. I shall only quote one example (*Mahāvastu*, II, 105): अग्निवादनं च मम वचना स्वामिने भवेत्तय्य, 'and tell my husband my greeting.' The meaning here is clear and perfectly satisfactory: 'the king tells the Sañgha his greeting and his wishes.'

2. I find it, I confess, a little rash to have recourse to analogies borrowed from Hindî to explain the form *hamâ*. The meaning has, however, been recognised by Dr. Kern, and there can be no further doubt about it. Moreover, the form is not isolated here. Beside the genitive *hama*, we shall shortly find the instrumental *hamiyâyê*, which has not hitherto been recognised under the reading *pamiyâyê*. *Hamiyâyê* is to *mamâyê* (Dh., det. ed., ii. 4), *mamiyâ* (J., det. ed., ii. 6; Col. ed. vii. 7), as *hama* is to *mama*. The two sets of forms are in complete correspondence. We could, strictly speaking, explain their origin, either by a metathesis of *maha* to *hama*, which has been afterwards continued in the declension, or by a false analogy with the nominative *ham*. At any rate, we can be certain about the meaning in both cases.

3. The old copy has here the right reading *kêchi*. The rubbing, however, seems really to have the *anusvâra*.

4. The *facsimile* of the *Corpus*, by giving the double reading *hamiyāyē* and *disēyaṇ*, has given a new meaning to this passage.⁵ The versions of Burnouf and of Dr. Kern were only ingenious makeshifts, on which it would be, I think, superfluous to dwell at length. As far as *subhāsītē vā* all is plain; for the remainder, it is of importance to explain the construction clearly. And first of all the particle *chu khô*, which, as I have had occasion to point out has a slight adversative shade, announces a proposition destined to complete, and, to a certain extent, to form an antithesis to what precedes. The relative *ē* which commences the sentence, requires a correlative, which we find in *taṇ* before *vatavē*. So far as concerns the relative proposition, I have just stated my opinion regarding *hamiyāyē* which is the instrumental of the pronoun of the first person. *Disēyaṇ* is simply the regular form of the first person of the potential. As for the meaning of the verb *dis*, it is determined by that of the substantive *dēsa*. I have shewn (Dh., ed. det., i. n. 7) that, in our inscriptions, it is everywhere the equivalent of the Sanskrit *saṁdēsa*, and signifies, 'order,' 'commandment.' *Dis* will, therefore, mean not merely 'to shew,' but 'to direct,' 'to order.' We shall thus obtain this translation; 'and so far as I may order myself,' that is to say, by my own authority, besides what has been positively said by the Buddha. The reading *taṇ vatavē* instead of *tvatavē*, *tavitavē*, has put everything here in order. The construction, with the infinitive dependent on *alahāmi* is excellent. Only one slight doubt remains, *viz.* should we not transcribe *vātavē* with an anomalous compensatory *ā* long? It would, however, alter nothing in the rendering of the word which is equivalent to Sanskrit *vaktum*. In furnishing us with the necessary antecedent *taṇ* to the relative *ē*, this reading allows us to take, with Burnouf, *sadhammē* as equivalent to the technical Buddhistic *saddharma*.

5. The reading *vinayasamukasē*, formerly given by Wilson on the authority of Capt. Burt, is now confirmed, and the Sanskrit transcription would be *vinaya-samutkarshaḥ*, the meaning of which it is difficult to determine. We cannot separate the word from the Pāli expression *sāmutkassikā dhammadēsanā* (cf. Childers, s. v.); but the bearing of this qualification is far from being established. The only point which is certain is the derivation, — *sāmutkassika* equivalent to *sāmutkarshika*; that which the Pāli commentaries propose is only a play upon words. Provisionally, it is perhaps safest to adhere to the established meaning of *samutkarsha* in Sanskrit, and to translate, subject to every reservation, 'the Excellence of Discipline.' We may compare the use of the verb *samutkarshati* in a passage of the *Mahāvastu* (I. p. 178, l. 1. of my edition, and the note). Under any circumstances, we are not as yet, in a position to identify this title with any of those which are known to us from literature. The conjecture of Dr. Oldenberg (*Mahāvagga*, I. p. xi. note), who seeks for, in it, the *pātimōkka*, is the less probable, because he has, for several of the other titles here given, shewn their exact agreement with the titles which his consummate experience of the Pāli Canon has enabled him to be the first to discover. He identifies the *anāgata-bhayāni* with the *āraṇṇakānāgatabhayasutta* of the *Āṅguttaranikāya*. That Sūtra 'describes how the *Bhikkhu*, who leads a solitary life in the forests, should have always before him the dangers that might suddenly put an end to his life, serpents, savage animals &c., and such thoughts should lead him to exercise all his energies in order to arrive at the goal of his religious strivings.' Here we have an example of how the literal translation of a title may easily become a source of error, and how these 'Fears of the Future' do not treat of the fear of infernal punishment, as Burnouf had very naturally supposed. This lesson warns us not to presume to determine the exact meaning of *aliyavasāni* (probably *āryavaśāni*), a title not identified, of the *mōṇēyasūta*, or of the *upatisapasinē*. About the last, we can only be certain so far as to transcribe it, with Dr. Kern, as *upatishyaprasna*. As for the *munigāthā*, Dr. Oldenberg recognises in it, with much probability, the same subject which is treated of in the twelfth Sūtra of the *Suttanipāta* bearing the same title, and he compares the *lāghulōvāda* with the Sūtra entitled *Ambalaṭṭhikarāhulōvāda*, the sixty-first of the *Majjhimanikāya* (Vol. I. pp. 414 and ff. of

⁵ My two rubbings read *dis'yā* without the *anusvāra*. It is simply one example more of the equivalence, which has been previously mentioned, between a long and a nasalised vowel.

Trenckner's edition). It is certain that the king had some version or other of this in his mind. This is proved by the addition *musāvādaṃ adhigichya*. Burnouf was completely at sea in his commentary on this phrase, which Dr. Kern has perfectly correctly transcribed as *mṛishāvādaṃ adhikṛitya*. The latter translates it as, 'on the subject of,' 'having reference to the falsehood.' At the most it would be possible, if we are permitted to base our translation absolutely on the Pāli version, to propose a slight modification. It is not correct to say that it has the falsehood for its entire subject, but rather that it has it for its text or *point de départ*. We could translate our text in this way too, the meaning 'to set at the beginning' being sufficiently proved for *adhikṛi*. I shall revert, on another occasion, to the orthography of *adhigichya*, equivalent to *adhikṛitya*, which is both curious and instructive.

6. The readings *étāni*, and *bhikhuniyē* suggest themselves. The real difficulty consists in the words *kiṇṭi bahukē bhikhupāyē*, although I have no hesitation regarding the two first. I can see no means of permitting us to give *bahuka* the value of a substantive, in the sense of 'increase.' The spelling of *kiṇṭi* being certain, the division of the words into *kiṇṭi bahukē*, seems to me to be beyond discussion. But *bhikhupāyē* (and this reading is certain) has hitherto resisted all efforts. The evidence of the adjective *bahukē* shews, as indeed is evident from the form itself, that *bhikhupāyē* is a nominative singular. The first member of the compound is as clear as the second is doubtful. It looks as if we required something like *bhikhusaṅghē*. The only transliteration which I can see is *bhikshuprāyaḥ*. It would be necessary to admit for *prāya*, which is known in Sanskrit with the meaning of 'abundance,' a possible translation, 'collection, assembly.' This is the least improbable expedient which I find myself able to suggest I may remark, *en passant*, that there is no allusion here to written books: *sunēyu* would, on the contrary, appear to refer to a purely oral tradition.

7. Read *étēnā*. Wilson's facsimile confirms for these last words the reading of General Cunningham. I do not think that the corrections *mē jānaṃtu ti* will appear doubtful to any one, and for this use of *jānaṃtu* we may compare the analogous passage at Sahasārām and Rūpnāth, *aṃta cha jānaṃtu*. As for *abhipētāṃ*, the new rubbing has brought documentary evidence which was hardly necessary. The last letters are not very clear, which explains the doubts which arise regarding the vowels. Upon the whole, this restoration appears to me a matter of certainty.

I translate in the manner following:—

TRANSLATION.

The king Piyadasi bids the Māgadha clergy his greetings and wishes of prosperity and good health. Ye know, Reverend Sirs, how great are my respect and my goodwill to the Buddha, to the Law, and to Clergy. Whatever has been said by the blessed Buddha, all that has been well said, and so far as I may, Reverend Sirs, pass orders of my own will, I consider it good to proclaim them, in order that the Good Law may long endure. Here are religious teachings: the *Vīṇayasamukasa* (the Instruction of Discipline), the *Ariyavasas* (the ? Supernatural Powers of the Aryas), the *Anāgatabhayas* (the Dangers to Come), the *Munigāthās* (the Verses relating to the Muni, or Religious Ascetic), the *Upatisapasina* (the Questions of Upatishya), the *Mônēya sūta* (the *sūtra* on Perfection), and the Sermon to Rāhula pronounced by the Blessed Buddha, which takes its starting point from the falsehood. I desire that many *Bhikshus* and *Bhikshunis* should frequently hear these religious teachings and meditate on them. So also for lay devotees of both sexes. It is for this reason, Reverend Sirs, that I have had this engraved, that people may know my wish.

4. THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE BARABAR CAVES.

For the sake of completeness I add, in conclusion, the three inscriptions of the Barābar caves in which the name of our king Piyadasi is expressly mentioned. It is well known that they were discovered and published for the first time by Kittoe.

I combine in one the explanations of the two first, which only differ in the proper names used.

TEXT.

Kittoe, *J. A. S. B.* 1847, pp. 412 and ff.; Burnouf, *Lotus*, pp. 779 and ff.

I.

(*Sudāmā Cave.*)

- 1 Lājinā piyadasinā duvāḍasavasābhisitēnā
- 2 iyaṁ nigōhakubhā dinā ādivikēṁhi [.]

II.

(*Viśva Cave.*)

- 1 Lājinā piyadasinā duvā-
- 2 ḍasavasābhisitēnā iyaṁ
- 3 kubhā khalatikapavatasi
- 4 dinā ādivikēṁhi [.]

NOTES.

I have only two brief observations to add to the remarks of Burnouf. The first refers to the year from which these inscriptions date. It is the thirteenth after the coronation of the king. These figures have their own interest. We have seen that, according to one of the Delhi Columnar Edicts (*cf.* above, *Sahasārām*, n. 2), this year was the first in which, according to his own evidence, the author of these inscriptions had religious teachings engraved; it is, to within a few months, the one which marks his active conversion to Buddhism. This coincidence, without being in itself decisive, affords at least one more presumption in favour of the conjecture, which at first attributed these inscriptions to our Aśoka-Piyadasi.

The second remark concerns the word *ādivikēṁhi*. I have no doubt that we should read, as in the better preserved inscriptions of Daśaratha, *ādivikēhi*. I take it, — not as an ablative, which would be unintelligible both here and in the other places where the word occurs, — not as representing a dative, we should in that case rather expect *ādivikānaṁ*, — but as an instrumental, in the sense of the locative. In dealing with the *Mahāvastu*, I have had occasion to quote numerous instances of this peculiarity in the syntax of Buddhist Sanskrit (*Mahāvastu*, I. 387, &c.) Burnouf has quite correctly recognised the base *ādivika* as being the equivalent of *ājīvika*.

TRANSLATION.

This cave of the Nyagrōdha [II: — this cave situated on Mount Khalatika] has been given to religious mendicants by king Piyadasi, in the thirteenth year after his coronation.

III.

(*Karan Chaupār Cave.*)

TEXT.

- 1 Lāja piyadasi êkunêvim-
- 2 sativasābhisitē nāmē thā
- 3 adamathâtima iyaṁ kubhā
- 4 supiyê khalatipavata di-
- 5 nā [.]

NOTES.

The new facsimile of the *Corpus* is a marked improvement on the first copy of Major Kittoe, which did not permit Burnouf to give a connected translation. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that, even according to General Cunningham, the rock is much defaced, and that

the reading is both difficult and doubtful.⁶ We are thus permitted to introduce, at need, new corrections into the text which is presented to us. The formula is here different from that which we find in the two preceding cases. Burnouf clearly saw that the name of the king is this time in the nominative. It follows that we must divide the words after *abhisitē*. The characters which follow present some uncertainty. I shall commence by considering those with which the next line commences. Basing my emendation on the analogy of the inscriptions of Daśaratha, which have been also commented upon by Burnouf, I do not hesitate to read instead of 𑀘𑀓𑀭𑀺𑀓𑀭 *adamaṭhātima* several characters of which are expressly given as hypothetical, 𑀘𑀓𑀭𑀺𑀓𑀭 *chamdamasuliyān*. We must further, in order to complete the phrase, admit that the last letter of the preceding line is in reality 𑀘 *ā*. There remain the characters 𑀘𑀓 *nāmē* which I read 𑀘𑀓 *nāma*, which thus concludes a sentence and separates it from what follows. The concluding words present two difficulties. The first is the form *supiyē*, which ought to contain the name of the cave, and should consequently be corrected to *supiyā*, equivalent to *supriyā*. The second concerns the word *khalatipavata*. As in No II. we should expect a locative. I only see two alternatives. One is to read, *-pavatē*, but the locative is rarely formed in this fashion in inscriptions, such as the present one, in the Māgadhi dialect. The other is to assume that a letter has been omitted, and to restore to *-pavatasi*. This is, in my opinion, the preferable course. To sum up, we may almost certainly translate as follows:—

TRANSLATION.

The king Piyadasi was crowned nineteen years ago. [This has been made] for as long as the moon and the sun may endure. This cave, called Supiyā, on Mount Khalati, has been given.

⁶ I have seen this inscription many times, it being situated in this district (Gayā). It would be useless to attempt to give a revised rubbing, except to shew how extremely hypothetical much of the *Corpus* reading inevitably is. The face of the inscription has been chiselled away by some Musalmān fanatic.—G. A. G.

CHAPTER IV.

THE AUTHOR AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

IT has been my intention, when undertaking this re-investigation into the epigraphical monuments left by Piyadasi, that it should not be concluded without bringing together the conclusions to which they lead or of which they furnish the essential elements, both from the point of view of history and chronology, and also from that of palæography and grammar. It is the varied problems which these curious inscriptions raise, and to the solution of which they contribute, that give them such inestimable value. We cannot well leave them aside. We shall have, in turn, not only to sum up results arrived at, but sometimes, also, to offer new remarks.

The task divides itself naturally into two parts; the first devoted to the author of the inscriptions, his date, his character, his administration, his moral and religious ideas, — in short, his place in historical development; and the second dealing with palæographic and linguistic facts, and the information derived therefrom regarding the literary culture of ancient India.¹

I. — THE AUTHOR OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

A number of chronological and historical problems are connected, directly or indirectly, with our inscriptions and their author. The end which I have in view does not compel me to take up all, and I desire to limit myself as much as possible to summing up and classifying the items of information that the edicts, which we have passed in review, contain.

Three questions force themselves at first upon our attention as being of importance for further investigations. We must know if all the inscriptions, on which we have commented, belong certainly to the same author; who that author really is; and in what chronological order the epigraphic documents which he has left us range themselves.

Regarding the first point, doubts can only arise with respect to the inscriptions more lately discovered at **Sahasarām, Rūpnāth, and Bairāt**. The author calls himself simply by the epithet of **Dēvanāmpiya**, and omits the proper name Piyadasi. No one can doubt that all the others emanate from one and the same person. Wilson has indeed put forward a singular theory on this subject.² According to him, the different inscriptions were probably engraved by local sovereigns, or by influential religious personages, who, to give themselves more authority, have usurped the celebrated name of Piyadasi; but this hypothesis depends upon so many errors of translation and apprehension, is so evidently contradicted by the unity of tone which reigns throughout all the edicts, by their perfect agreement and the natural way in which they complete each other, and has besides found so little echo, that it appears superfluous to pause for its consideration.

The same is not the case with regard to the doubts which have been raised by competent judges touching the origin of the **Edict of Sahasarām and Rūpnāth**. It is known already that I do not consider these doubts to be any better founded than the others. Dr. Bühler, when publishing this edict for the first time, clearly shewed most of the reasons³ which lead us to refer

¹ It is, of course, impossible in such a matter, when new contributions are frequently issuing from competent hands, to keep one's own particular work up to date. In these concluding chapters, however, I have tried to avail myself of such new comments as have appeared since the conclusion of my own, whenever they bore upon some topic which necessarily came under consideration. I refer specially to the article, throughout at once learned and ingenious, which Dr. Pischel has devoted to my first volume in the *Göttinger Anzeigen*, and to the *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Asoka inschriften* published by Dr. Bühler in the *Zeitschrift der D. Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* which are here quoted according to the continuous pagination of the reprints.

² *J. R. A. S.* XII. pp. 249 and ff.

³ *ante*, Vol. VII. pp. 143 ff.

this inscription to the same Piyadasi as he who was the author of all the others;⁴ and it is useless to go again over the considerations which he has so well put forward. I have in the examination just concluded, indicated a new reason, drawn from chronological considerations, which could not have struck Dr. Bühler, because it depended on an interpretation altogether different from that which he has proposed. I must here repeat and complete my demonstration, and this will be an opportunity for passing in review the dates, unhappily too rare, which the king furnishes for certain events of his reign.

According to the 13th Edict, the conversion of Piyadasi should date from the ninth year after his coronation. It was immediately after the conquest of Kaliṅga that there awoke in him, under the direct impression of war and its horrors, the intense desire for the *dhamma*. With this it is important to connect a piece of evidence in the 8th Edict, of which every one, myself as well as other interpreters, has hitherto misunderstood the bearing.

Since my commentary appeared, this passage has been the subject of two revisions, one by Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl Indrajī⁵ and the other by Dr. Bühler. The important sentence is the third. It runs as follows at Girnār: *sô devānampriyô priyadasi rājā dasavasūbhisitô santô ayāya sambôdhi*. The text is practically the same in the other versions, the only difference consisting in the substitution of *nikhami* (or *nikhamithā*) for the verb *ayāya*. The construction and translation of the Paṇḍit cannot be sustained, but Dr. Bühler has made some very just objections against my interpretation, although in his turn he has missed the translation which I now consider to be the true one. It is impossible to credit Piyadasi (as I have indeed always carefully abstained from doing) with pretending to have attained to the Perfect Intelligence, and it would be hazardous to admit that a term so important as *sambôdhi* could have been used, at the date of Piyadasi, in a sense so widely different from its technical employment, which is testified to by the whole range of Buddhist literature. It is also certain that the phrase *sambôdhiṃ nishkrāntum* could hardly be rendered as meaning 'to attain to the Intelligence.' I translate it, therefore, exactly as suggested by Dr. Bühler himself '(der König) zog auf die *sambôdhi* aus,' — '(the king) put himself on the way, set out for the *sambôdhi*.' But we must adhere to this translation, and not substitute for it, as my learned critic does immediately afterwards, another interpretation which spoils the sense, — 'he put himself on the way, with a view to, on account of, the *sambôdhi*.' We recognize here a simple variation of an expression familiar to Buddhist phraseology, *sambôdhiṃ prasthātum*, 'to set out for the Perfect Intelligence put oneself on the way for the *bôdhi*.'⁷ As is proved by the passages of the *Lotus*, the expression is commonly applied to men who, tearing themselves from lukewarmness and indifference, engage seriously in the practices of a religious life, or, as we should say, of devotion, the final aim of which is, in the eyes of every orthodox Buddhist, the conquest of the Perfect Intelligence. It is to this idiom that the king here refers; he himself applies it to himself; and, if he has slightly modified it, it is to render more obvious the double meaning which he had in view. He wishes to connect more clearly this ideal march towards perfection with the tours and excursions of former kings, by means of the very real tours and excursions to which he had been inspired by his religious zeal. It is, therefore, to his *conversion* that Piyadasi here alludes, and thus the fact is explained that he can give a positive date to 'tours' which he would often have to repeat.

⁴ I have only to make reservations concerning some of the details where my interpretation differs from that of my learned predecessor. For instance, the word *āhāra*, which means simply, as I believe I have shown, 'nourishment, alimentation,' cannot be quoted to establish the Buddhist inspiration of the passage, although that inspiration is incontestable and proved by more solid arguments. I do not now speak of the chronological question, with which I shall shortly deal.

⁵ J. R. A. S., Bo. Br., XV. pp. 282 and ff.

⁶ I now believe that this is certainly the correct reading, and that the *anusvāra* is only imaginary. This idea of reading *ayāya*, which agreed badly with the *nikhami* of the other texts, contributed not a little to lead me astray at first as to the true sense of the passage.

⁷ Burnouf, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 316 and ff.

We henceforth find ourselves, so far as regards the conversion of the king, in the presence of two dates; the 13th Edict giving his ninth year, and the 8th his eleventh. Now, it is just the **Edict of Sahasārām**, the meaning of which we have already explained on purely philological grounds, which does away with and explains this apparent contradiction. We have seen that the king, after a first conversion, remained 'during more than two years and a half,' in a lukewarmness with which he subsequently bitterly reproached himself. If we admit that the conquest of Kālīṅga and the conversion which accompanied it ought to be placed eight years and three months (*i. e.* in the ninth year) after the coronation of Piyadasi, his actual and decisive conversion, being more than two and a half years later (say for example two years and seven months), would exactly fall in the eleventh year, as indicated by the 8th Edict. The agreement is so perfect, and accounts so completely, not only for dates, but even for the expressions (*saṃbôdhiṃ nishkrāntuṃ*) designedly employed by the king, that I am persuaded that the verbal interpretation on which it rests is this time really definitive. We shall shortly deal again with other features which appear to me to furnish further verification of it, but at present we are entitled to draw one conclusion, — that it must be admitted that the 8th and the 13th Edicts refer to the same person as the Edict of Sahasārām-Rūpnāth, and that this edict certainly emanates from the same sovereign as all the others.

But as I have already shewn in explaining the 6th Columnar Edict of Dehli, this is not the only coincidence. The king declares that he only commenced having his religious edicts engraved in the thirteenth year after his coronation; as a matter of fact, none of the group of inscriptions formerly known either carries or implies an earlier date. The Sahasaram tablet itself (cf. Sah. n. 2.), being written 'more than a year' after the second conversion of the king, ought to belong just to the commencement of the thirteenth year. Now, it alone speaks of the religious edicts as in the future, and, as can be seen from my translation of its concluding words, it contemplates their execution. It directs the representatives of the king to engrave them both upon rocks and upon columns, and it is thus almost certain that this edict and its fellows were the first, — they are certainly among the first, — which their author had engraved. They relate to his thirteenth year, and this is another strong reason for believing that this author is no other than that king, the author of the inscriptions of Dehli, who commenced in his thirteenth year to have inscriptions of the same class engraved.

Regarding the two other dates with which the king supplies us, we have at present nothing to say, except that they agree very well with the preceding ones. He mentions the thirteenth year of his coronation (3rd Edict) as that in which he organized the *anusamīyāna*, which was thus one of the first manifestations of his religious zeal; and he tells us that he created in the fourteenth year the office of the *dharmamahāmātras*.

These chronological indications are, it is true, too rare to satisfy our curiosity, but they at least suffice to allow us to answer with full confidence the first of the questions which we have just put. It is certain that all the inscriptions which we have examined^s must be referred to one and the same author. Who was that author?

He gives himself no other name than that of **Piyadasi**, = **Priyadarśin**, usually accompanied by the adjective **dēvanāmpriya**, 'dear unto the dēvas.' Sometimes this epithet alone is used to designate him. Whether, during the epoch of the Mauryas, this title had the extended application conjectured by Dr. Bühler⁹ or not, it is certain that it is only an epithet, and

* viz., the 14 Edicts; the Columnar Edicts; those of Dhauli and Jaugada; of Sahasrām, Rāpnāth and Bairāt; and of Bhabra; and the inscriptions of Barābar.

⁹ Bühler, *Beiträge*, VIIIth Edict, n. 1. In the first line of this edict (at Khâlsî, Dr. Bühler's new materials allow him to read : *atikantash antalan devānanpiyā vihālayātah nāma nikhamisu* (at Kapur di Giri, also, the true reading is *dēvananpiya* instead of *java jaraya*). It looks as if *dēvananpiyā* corresponded here purely and simply to the *rājānō* of Gīrnār and Dhauri. Dr. Bühler, adopting the opinion of Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl Indrajī (*J. Bo. Br., R. A. S.*, Vol. XV. p. 286, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 108) considers that this epithet was a title which, at the epoch of the Maurvas, all kings bore without distinction.

that the real name is Priyadarsin. This name, which does not appear in any known list of kings, naturally much embarrassed Prinsep. Since, however, Turnour¹⁰ shewed that **Asôka**, the grandson of Chandragupta, received sometimes, and specially in the *Dîpavaṃsa*, the name of Piyadassi or Piyadassana, I do not believe that the identification proposed by him has ever been seriously doubted.¹¹ The publication of the complete text of the Sinhalese chronicle has only given his proof a higher degree of certainty.¹² Although all the reasons which he advances are not equally cogent,¹³ still the conclusions of Lassen¹⁴ on this point remain in general impregnable.

Dr. Bühler has attempted to give him a precise date, by shewing that there existed a perfect agreement between the chronology of the Sinhalese books, and that of the inscriptions. These suggestions are founded upon an interpretation of the Edict of Sahasārām-Rûpnâth, which, as has been seen, I consider inadmissible. Ingenious as they are, they fail in their foundations. Everything rests upon the translation of the text in question, to which I will not revert here: but I must add that, on the one hand, the interpretation of the 13th Edict which has become possible since the article of Dr. Bühler was written, and, on the other hand, the more exact interpretation of the 8th, oppose insurmountable difficulties to his attempts at chronological adjustment.

The only date which we are permitted to take as a starting-point, the only really authentic date for the conversion of the king, is that which the king's own inscriptions give, that is to say, at the earliest, the ninth year of his coronation and not the fourth as given for the conversion of Asôka by the chronicles. This correction would place the Edict of Sahasārām, if we accept as exact the date of 218 for the coronation of the king, at the earliest in the year 260, and not 256, of the *nirvāṇa*.¹⁵ We must, therefore, at the very first give up this exact agreement between the traditional dates and the so-called monumental dates which Dr. Bühler has sought to deduce. I would add here, in opposition to the interpretation proposed by that eminent scholar for the first phrase of the edict, one last observation, which I should have fully developed in my commentary on the passage. Intent on establishing from a chronological point of view harmony between the sense which he draws from the inscriptions and the traditions given in the Sinhalese books, he has not considered the profound contradictions which he creates in other respects, not only between this edict and the traditions concerning Asôka, but between the edict and our other inscriptions, which he nevertheless, like us, refers to the same author. How is he to reconcile the inscription which would shew the king remaining 'more than two and thirty years and a half without displaying his zeal,' and the chronicle which attributes to him, from his seventh year (see below), all the manifestations of the most indefatigable religious activity? What agreement can there be between such an inscription, and all those edicts according to which the most characteristic of his religious institutions, the *anusāṃyāna*, the *dharmamahāmātras*, &c., belong invariably to a long anterior epoch of his reign, — to his thirteenth or his fourteenth year? Was he neither active nor a zealot, when he insisted with so much energy on the necessity of effort and of the most persevering zeal (VI, *in fine*; X, *in fine*, &c.)?; when he himself proclaimed his efforts (*parākrama*, *parākrānta*, &c.) as incessant (Girnār, VI, 11; X, 3, &c.)?

¹⁰ J. A. S. B. 1837, pp. 790 and ff., 1054 and ff.

¹¹ The paper of Latham (*On the date and personality of Priyadarsi*, J. R. A. S., Vol. XVII. pp. 273 and ff.) and his whimsical attempt to identify Priyadarśin and Phrahate, deserve notice only as a curiosity.

¹² Cf. *Dîpavaṃsa*, ed. Oldenberg, VI. I, 14, &c.

¹³ It is not, for example, in any way certain that the Edict of Bhabra is necessarily addressed to the third council held, according to tradition, in the reign of Asôka. Cf. subter. On the other hand, certain new proofs can be added: for instance, that the tradition of numerous 'edicts of religion,' *dharmalipi*, is indissolubly connected with the name of Asôka. See the *Asôka-avadāna* in Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 371, &c.

¹⁴ *Ind. Alterth.* Vol. II², p. 233.

¹⁵ Dr. Bühler, however, clearly recognized that, in the absence of specific statements, the years of Asôka are, in the Sinhalese chronicles, calculated from his coronation. Instances like *Dîpavaṃsa*, VII. 31, not to cite others leave the point in no doubt.

I should not dwell on this point at such great length, were I not confronted by so high an authority as that of Dr. Bühler. I believe that I have expressed myself sufficiently clearly to shew that the agreement put forward by him rests upon weak and crumbling foundations; but should we, therefore, conclude that we must give up all hope of finding any points of contact, between the details furnished by the monuments concerning Piyadasi and the Sinhalese traditions about Asôka, which would be of such a nature as to confirm the identification of both forced upon us by so many other considerations? By no means. But we must give up the hope, of finding them in a date which is in my opinion imaginary, claiming to be expressed in the era of the *nirvāṇa*. On the other hand, I believe that the chronicles have, in certain points of detail, under the name of Asôka, preserved memories of our Piyadasi sufficiently accurate, not only to allow an agreement to appear clearly, but even to contribute usefully to a more precise explanation of certain passages, in our monuments, which are a little vague. The *Mahāvamsa* and the *Dīpavamsa* note the conversion of Asôka to Buddhism as an event of high importance. They attribute it to the intervention of his nephew Nyagrôdha, and surround it with circumstances which are not of a nature to inspire us with an implicit confidence in their account. But the general fact alone interests us here. The two chronicles agree in making it occur in the fourth year after the coronation of the king.¹⁶ That is, as we see from the monuments, an error of four years and a fraction: we shall deal with it immediately. To the same period they refer the conversion of the king's brother, Tishya, who held the position of *uparāja*, and who betook himself to a religious life.¹⁷ What interests us more, is to find that the tradition, almost void of religious incidents in the interval, fixes at about three years from then, in the seventh year of the coronation,¹⁸ an important and significant event.

It is evident that the capital fact in their eyes, the very kernel of the story, the occurrence which gives it its character, is not the inauguration of the eighty-four thousand *stūpas* raised by order of the king, which is the part most loaded with miracles, and by itself the least credible. The moment is certainly decisive in the life of Asôka; for from that day, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, he received the name of Dharmasôka;¹⁹ it is in short the first time that he

¹⁶ *Dīpavamsa*, VI. 18, 24; *Mahāvamsa*, p. 23, l. 3.

¹⁷ *Mahāv.* p. 34, l. 7. I may add, *en passant*, that the *Dīpavamsa*, if it does not enter into any detail regarding this conversion, at least contains a reference to it in a passage of which Dr. Oldenberg appears to me to have misunderstood the meaning. I refer to the mnemonic verse, VII. 31, —

Tīṇi vassamhi Nigrôdhô chaturvassamhi bhâtârô
cchavassamhi pabbajitô Mahindô Asôkatrajô

Dr. Oldenberg translates and fills up the sense as follows:—"When (Asôka) had completed three years (the story of Nigrôdha (happened), after the fourth year (he put his) brothers (to death), after the sixth year Mahinda, the son of Asôka, received the *pabbajâ* ordination." There is nothing to object to in the first and third dates, but for the second his interpretation is inadmissible. The two chronicles agree in placing, as indeed is probable, the murder of Asôka's brothers immediately after his accession to the throne, and present it as the principal method which he employed for assuring his power. We should have to understand 'four years before his coronation,' while the other dates, as is natural, take the coronation as a *terminus à quo*. That is incredible. It is only necessary to take *bhâtârô* for a singular, which is nothing extraordinary in the language of which this verse gives a specimen, and to translate 'in the fourth year of his coronation, his brother (i. e. Tishya, the *uparāja*) entered a religious life.'

¹⁸ And not in the sixth, as appears from a passage (*Mahāv.* p. 37, l. 5), which would thereby contradict perfectly explicit former statements. The same follows clearly from the *Samantapāsādikā* (*loc. cit.* p. 306), according to which Asôka is in the tenth year of his coronation, three years after the ordination of Mahendra. The same conclusion follows on a comparison with the *Dīpavamsa*, according to which Mahendra, who was ten years of age when his father came to the throne (VI, 21), had accomplished twenty at the moment when he renounced the world (VII, 21). Dr. Oldenberg has accordingly well translated the expression *cchavassamhi Asôkassa* (VII, 22), 'when Asôka had completed six years,' and it is perhaps this phrase, which would make everything agree in the tradition of the *Mahāvamsa*, which we should substitute on p. 37, l. 5, for the expression *cchattthē vassē*, although the same reading reappears in the new edition of Sumāṅgala (V, 21). As for the propriety of this translation for a phrase like *cchavassamhi*, it can be seen from the *Dīpavamsa*, VII, 31, which we have just been considering, that this idiom can be used both to mark a current year (e. g. in *chaturvassamhi*, which must mean 'in the fourth year'), as well as to mark the number of years passed, as in *tīṇi (2) vassamhi*, which can only mean 'after three years had passed.'

¹⁹ The same statement is also found in a verse cited by the *Asôka-avadāna* from the *Divya-avadāna* (Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 374), which in the same passage remarks that 'the king had not long been favourably disposed to the law of Buddha,' — a clear allusion to the 'first' conversion.

appears to us making a public profession of his religious belief;²⁰ it is then that he shews the genuineness of his devotion to Buddhism in the most decisive way, by making his son Mahêndra, and his daughter Saṅghamitrâ, enter into the religious order. Everything invites us to consider that here was really a serious evolution in the religious career of the king.

In the narration of these incidents, the principal fact, on which all the others, and in particular the ordination of the king's son, depend, which is described to us in all detail, and to which the chronicler evidently gives a particular importance, is the State Visit which the king pays to the *saṅgha* in the midst of which he takes his seat: — *saṅghamajjhamhi aṭṭhâsi vanditvâ saṅgham uttamam*.²¹

One cannot help here recalling to mind the passage in the Edict of Rûpnâth and Bairât (perhaps the same expression is also employed at Sahasârâm, but a lacuna renders the point doubtful), in which Piyadasi refers to his **second and definite conversion**. It will be recollected that the reading proposed by Dr. Bühler is in the one *am sumi haka saṅghapapitê*, and in the other *am mamayâ saṅghê papayitê*. I have already explained why I am unable to accept his translation, as involving the idea that the king entered into the community and became himself a monk. If we take the words, in the meaning I have proposed, as referring without metaphor to a real material entering into the Assembly Hall, then we have here an allusion to the very ceremony which the *Mahāvamsa* describes to us. The king could well refer to it a year subsequently as a known event, for it had been solemn and striking enough for its memory to be preserved living for so long afterwards. All the difficulties which surrounded the first interpretation of the phrase fall together to the ground; and this agreement would be decisive, if the state of the preservation of the inscription permitted an entire certainty. As we have it at present, it appears to me to receive a remarkable confirmation from a comparison with the 8th Edict:

We have seen that the 8th Edict refers to the same moment of the life of the king, to the same date, and the same event. Now, there again, the idea of the conversion of the king is associated by him with the memory of 'setting out' from the palace, of an 'excursion' out of it. No doubt the expressions used by the king are before all inspired by the Buddhist phraseology about 'setting out for the *bôdhi*,' but this word-play, and the comparison with the 'pleasure excursions' of his predecessors, only become really natural if his conversion is connected by an intimate and close bond with the 'excursion' which he describes immediately. It is clear that this kind of 'excursions' must have become habitual to him.²² It is equally clear that the commencement of this practice, the first example of these 'excursions,' is closely associated in the king's mind with his active conversion to Buddhism, and in the expression by which he commemorates it, while admitting that the description does not refer exclusively to the visit narrated by the *Mahāvamsa*, several traits (*samanânam dasanê*, *hiraṇṇapataṭṭividhânê*, *dhammânusastî*, *dhammapari-pucchâ*) agree perfectly with it, and really appear to preserve its memory. These coincidences of detail between the Sinhalese chronicle and our edicts seem to me to be remarkable and instructive, but at the same time I do not pretend to exaggerate their certainty. What is sure is that tradition has more or less obscurely preserved the memory of **two stages** which were said to have been traversed in his religious life by the king whom it calls **Asôka**; the first corresponding

²⁰ In the narrative of Buddhaghôsha (*Samantapâsâdikâ*, in *Suttavibhanga*, ed. Oldenberg, I. 304), the miracle which shows to the king the 84,000 *stûpas* at once, has for its object to make him altogether believing (*ataviya buddhasânanâ pasiddhyyâ tî*); at that period, therefore, his faith had great need of being stimulated.

²¹ *Mahāv.* p. 35, l. 8.

²² I am at present much inclined to believe that this idea is expressly contained in the last sentence of the edict, that *bhûyâh* ought to be taken in the sense of 'again,' and that it is necessary to understand: 'in the future this virtuous pleasure is again (*i.e.* has been, and will be on occasions) the portion of Piyadasi.' I should then prefer to take *dhammayâtṛâ* in the preceding sentence as a singular, as a kind of collective which should embrace probably several series of 'excursions.' It is true that the pronoun *tâ* of most of the versions seems to indicate the plural; but *sâ* or *esâ* of Gîrnâr, the most correct of all, requires the singular. In any case, and in either sense, it will be necessary, therefore, to admit an inaccuracy.

to his entry into the bosom of the Buddhist church (*upāsakatvam*), and the second marked by his State Entry into the assembly of the clergy, by the ordination of his son Mahēndra, and by the application to the king of a name at once new and significant. Tradition separates them by an interval which corresponds exactly with that (more than two years and a half) which is vouched for for Piyadasi by his epigraphic evidence. Such a coincidence could not be accidental, and it is perhaps the more striking because it rests after all upon a fact of secondary importance.

It is true that this agreement is not free from certain limitations. The Sinhalese chronicles attribute to the fourth year (always counting from the coronation) the conversion which the 13th Edict attributes to the ninth; and they place in the seventh year, that which, according to Sahasārām and the 8th Edict, belongs to the eleventh. Here there is certainly an error, and the source is not difficult to discover. According to the chronicles, the coronation of Aśoka falls in the fifth year, that is to say, four years and a fraction (to us indeterminate) after he took possession of the throne. It is evidently this period which, wrongly deducted, has troubled the figures of tradition. As I have previously remarked in dealing with the Sahasārām inscription (n. 2), this error could be introduced in one of two ways. Either the coming to the throne and the coronation, which may have been in reality simultaneous, have been subsequently separated, or the writers have at some time or other erroneously taken the coming to the throne as the point from which to count the traditional dates, and not the coronation of the king. Then in reducing tradition to a continuous system, with the coronation of the king as its initial point, they have been led to contract one or more of the periods given for the various events of the reign, by the space of time elapsed between his coming to the throne and his coronation. Several reasons lead me to incline to the second explanation.²³ It is hardly probable that Buddhists would have invented in all their details the incidents which, according to them, marked the youth of a king whom they held in such high esteem. The agreement with our inscriptions which we shall prove subsequently, is rather of a nature to heighten in a general way the authority of the Sinhalese tradition. The manner in which Piyadasi dates his inscriptions from his coronation, seems to indicate that that date was not the same as that of his coming to the throne. Finally, if the intermediate period between his accession and his coronation were an arbitrary invention, it would be surprising that there should be allotted to it, — instead of a period expressed in round numbers — a period evidently very precise, which we are in a position to ascertain with approximate accuracy. For, according to the inscriptions, the first conversion is referred to the first months of the ninth year, say 8 years and 2 months after the coronation, and the second to the last months of the eleventh, say 10 years and 10 months after the coronation. The common quantity which must be deducted from these figures to refer the first event to the fourth year, and the second to the seventh, can only vary between 4 years and 3 months at a minimum, and 4 years and 7 months at a maximum. If, therefore, we conjecturally place the coronation at 4 years and 5 months after the accession, there is a great chance that we shall not be very far wrong.

To sum up: — I believe I am entitled to draw from the preceding discussion a general conclusion; viz., that, in spite of a certain error in the Sinhalese chronology, an error which is

²³ Dr. Kern, in *Geschied. van het buddh.* II, 298, wishes, it is true, to set the Sinhalese tradition in contradiction with itself. From the passage of the *Mahāvamsa* (p. 23, l. 2) in which it is said that the father of Aśoka supported 60,000 Brāhmins, and that he himself did the same for three years, he concludes that, in reality, the coming to the throne and the coronation occurred at the same time; as, otherwise, it would have been during seven years, and not three, that Aśoka would have preserved his preference for Brāhmins. But that is taking an unfair advantage of the chronicler. Everyone, I believe, has always considered that, taking all the dates as starting from the coronation of the king, he did just the same here, and the passage has always been understood as meaning 'during three years, after his *abhishēka*.' There is no reason for abandoning an interpretation, which every one has found sufficiently natural to accept at once, without even considering it necessary to stop *en passant*. It will be perfectly justified, if necessary, by comparing with the verse of the *Mahāvamsa*, the expressions of Buddhaghōsha in the introduction to the *Samantapāsādikā* (*Suttavibhanga*, ed. Oldenberg, I. p. 300).

But this idea is contradicted by several considerations. The most important is that which results from the presence of the 14th edict, in all the versions, and from its tenor. It suffices merely to allude to this. It is clear that, if the references contained in this edict could have been added to the series of inscriptions which precede them, it is because the whole has been considered as forming one *ensemble*, and must have been engraved at the same time. The amplifications to which the king alludes, do not appear to refer to verbal differences in the text of any particular edict. The variations of this kind between the different versions which we have noticed are not worthy of being pointed out in this manner. They can only refer to the number of edicts, greater or less, as the case may be, admitted into each series of inscriptions. This pre-supposes a deliberate choice, and excludes a gradual and successive growth of each whole. The presence of the 14th edict, moreover, implies that the inscription is considered as definitely closed. It leaves no opening for any future addition. There has been discovered at Sôpârâ, — the ancient Sûrpâraka, a little to the north of Bombay, — a short fragment of the 8th of the fourteen edicts. We have no means of recognizing to which of the categories alluded to by the king, — amplified versions, abridged versions, and versions of moderate extent, — the group of edicts of which this fragment made a part, belonged. But at any rate, there is no appearance that the 8th edict engraved was separately in this locality; and the conviction of the learned and ingenious Paṇḍit Bhagwânîlâl Indrajî, a conviction based on various indications, is that this fragment has been detached from an extended whole, analogous to the other collections of eleven or fourteen edicts. I may add that in general the arrangements of the edicts is too symmetrical to raise the idea of accidental and successive additions. The changes of handwriting even are hardly apparent, or at least, where they can be allowed to exist, for example, at Khâlsi from the 10th edict, they do not correspond to the grouping which would depend on internal arguments founded on dates (group composed of I — IV), or on comparison between different versions (group composed of XI — XIII).

There is, therefore, every reason to believe that, where a certain number of edicts are united in a series, the whole has been engraved at one and the same time, and that, as a consequence, the inscription cannot be older than the latest date mentioned in the whole. Thus the 3rd edict, which bears the date of the 13th year, was probably, *in the versions which have come down to us*, not engraved before the 14th, to which the 5th edict refers.

Whatever may be the result of this argument, it appears to be without practical importance. There is no reason for believing that the king ever ante-dated or committed an anachronism,²⁸ and we are, therefore, entitled to maintain that **the edicts**, supposing them to have been reproduced at any epoch of his reign, have been faithfully given under their original form; and that so far as their dates go, they **have the force of documentary evidence for the date which each carries**. I may add that the indications furnished both by the fourteen edicts and by the columnar edicts, entitle us to conclude that **the different tablets follow each other in the exact order of their original promulgation**.

This settled, we have little else to do than to record the dates which are given, directly or indirectly, for each of our inscriptions. **The edict of Sahasaram-Rûpnâth is the most ancient of all**, and goes back to the thirteenth year dating from the coronation. The 4th of the fourteen edicts being dated in the thirteenth year, edicts 1 to 3, which precede it, belong certainly to the same time, and, in the third, we have, in a manner, the deed of institution of the *anusamyâna*, which this edict, therefore, refers to the thirteenth year. The conclusion is not without interest on account of the 2nd edict, so important as regards the foreign relations of Piyadasi.

²⁸ Lassen (*Ind. Alterth.* II², 253 ff.) has justly remarked that the inscriptions in which Piyadasi congratulates himself on religious successes gained in foreign countries and above all in the Greek kingdoms, suppose a sufficient interval between the conversion of the king and the date of the inscription. We shall shortly see what kind of influence it must have been that Piyadasi exercised over the Greek kingdoms. It will suffice for the present to observe that as his conversion, even if we take as the starting point his active conversion, dated from the end of the 11th year, there remains, between this time and the most ancient inscriptions (2nd edict) which refer to his foreign relations, an interval of two years, which is sufficient.

If the 3rd edict constitutes this contemporary foundation charter of the *anusamyāna*, there is every reason to believe that it is the same with the 5th edict with respect to the *dharmamahāmātras*, and that both the tablet and the office date from the fourteenth year. The following tablets up to the 14th contain no more chronological indications. They can all belong to the fourteenth year, and are certainly not of earlier date. The 12th, for example, mentions the *dharmamahāmātras*. As for the 8th, which alludes to the second conversion of the king, and places it in the eleventh year, nothing compels us to consider it as contemporary with that fact, any more than the 13th is contemporary with the conquest of Kalinga: my corrected interpretation of the passage gives on the contrary, in the last sentence, a positive reason in favour of its later origin.

Taking it altogether, **the date of the fourteenth year for the group of the 14 edicts appears to me to be very probable.** The detached edicts of Dhauli furnish us in this respect, if not with a decisive proof, at least with a presumption of value. Towards the end of the first of these edicts, Piyadasi declares that he will cause the *anusamyāna* (see below) to be held every five years. This manner of speaking is only intelligible if the inscription is contemporary with, or at least very shortly posterior to, the origin of this institution. Now the date of this, origin is fixed by the 3rd edict as the thirteenth year. The fourteenth year would, therefore, be a very probable date for the passage in which the king thus expresses himself, and this would necessarily imply that edicts 5 to 14 which precede it, are themselves not posterior to it.

As for the columnar edicts, **the six first belong certainly to the twenty-seventh year,** because the first, the fourth, the fifth, and the sixth bear this date. The last (VII. — VIII.) belongs to the succeeding year. They give us the last expression which is accessible to us of the ideas and intentions of the king.

Between them and the series of the 16 edicts, we have nothing but the dedicatory inscription, **No. 3 of Barābar, which is dated in the twentieth year.** It is much to be regretted that there is no date given in the inscription of Bhabra. I know no means, as yet, of supplying this silence of the text. All that I dare to say is that, judging from some details of phraseology, it gives me the impression of being **nearer to the rock edicts than to the columnar ones.** If it is not contemporary with the 16 edicts and with the edict of Sahasārām-Rūpnāth, I cannot think that it is much posterior. At any rate, it is altogether arbitrary to defer it to the later times of the reign of Piyadasi, and to place it, as Mr. Thomas has done, without any proof other than a pre-conceived theory to which we shall subsequently refer, after the edicts of the twenty-eighth year.²⁹

These facts, however incomplete, have a great value for us. It is important to bear them well in mind, in order to avoid more than one cause of confusion. They suffice to clear away, by impregnable arguments, certain adventurous theories.

The ground now seems sufficiently cleared to allow us to pass to the examination of **the historical questions** which interest us.

The first is naturally **the question of date.** All literary sources, of whatever origin, agree in representing Aśoka as the grandson of Chandragupta. The double identification, of Chandragupta with the Sandroktos of the Greeks, and of Aśoka with our Piyadasi, only allows us to search towards **the middle of the 3rd century** for the epoch of our inscriptions. So far as I can see, they themselves only offer us a single clue for arriving at a more precise date. I refer, as will be readily understood, to the **synchronism furnished by the names of the Greek kings.** Its exact value cannot be appreciated without forming a general opinion as to the relation entertained by Piyadasi towards foreign nations, and as to the degree of authority which we should accord to his evidence on this subject.

²⁹ On the Early Faith of Aśoka, J. R. A. S., N. S., IX. pp. 204, and ff.

This evidence is scattered through the 2nd, 5th and 13th of the fourteen edicts, and in the second separate edict of Dhauḷi-Jaṅga.

In this last passage, Piyadasi expresses himself in a general manner, and without specifying any nation; he describes to his officers the conduct which they should observe towards the frontier populations, not incorporated in his dominions.

These instructions are summed up in the expression of his will that his representatives should learn to inspire his neighbours with an entire confidence in his sentiments and his intentions, that they should persuade them that he only wishes for their welfare, that he desires, so far as he is concerned, to assure them happiness and peace, and that he is like a father to them; he wishes that this conviction may dispose them to observe the *dhamma*, so that they may thus deserve happiness, both in this world and in the next.

Elsewhere, in the 13th edict, the king contrasts with his forcible conquests the peaceful conquests of the *dhamma*, — of the Religion. It is on these last that he congratulates himself. They are possible, both in his own dominions and amongst all foreign nations (*savēsu anātesu*). "Among them are the Greek king named Antiochus, and to the north of (or beyond) that Antiochus, four kings, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas, Alexander; to the south, the Chōḍas and the Pāṇḍyas as far as Tāmraparṇi; in the same way, Hidarāja (?). Amongst the Viśas and the Vrijis, the Yavanas and the Kambōjas, the Nābhakas and the Nābhapaṇtis, the Bhōjas and the Pētēnikas, the Andhras and the Pulindas, everywhere are followed the teachings of the religion spread by Piyadasi. And wherever messengers have been sent, there also, after having heard the teaching of the *dhamma*, . . . people practise the *dhamma*"

In the 5th edict reference is made to a more direct action, to the duties of the newly-created *dhammamahāmātras*. They must occupy themselves with all sects, for the establishment and progress of the *dhamma*, and for the advantage and benefit of the faithful of the [true] religion; amongst the Yavanas, the Kambōjas and the Gandhāras, the Rāṣṭikas and the Pētēnikas, and the other frontier populations (*āparānta*), they should occupy themselves with the soldiers, with the Brāhmaṇas and with the rich, with the poor and with the old, for their advantage and their well-being, so as to put away obstacles from the faithful of the [true] religion.³⁰

³⁰ I cannot join in the opinion of Dr. Bühler (p. 38), either as to the manner of dividing the sentence or as to the interpretation of the term *dhammayuta*. The word occurs three times in a few lines; and each time Dr. Bühler gives it a different application, or even a different meaning. At line 15 (of Khālsi) he understands *hitasukhāyē dhammayutasa* as meaning 'for the happiness of my faithful subjects'; in the same line, *dhammayutāyē apalibōdhāyē*, 'for suppression of obstacles referring to the law'; and in the following line, *vijitāsi mama dhammayutasi*, 'in my faithful kingdom.' In itself this method is perplexing. There is no special information to be deduced from the 1st passage. The construction at least is perfectly clear. As for the 2nd, one should not forget that, instead of *dhammayutāya*, G. has the genitive plural, *dhammayutānam*, and K. the genitive singular *dhammayutasa*; the inevitable conclusion is that in Kh. and in Dh. we must take the dative in the sense of the genitive (we know how these two cases have been confounded in the Prakrits), and translate 'for the suppression of the obstacles for the faithful people.' In the third passage we cannot construe together *vijitāsi* and *dhammayutasi*. This is forbidden by the position of the two words separated by *mama*, by the certain reading of Dh., *savapathaviyaṃ dhammayutasi*, and by the construction of the rest of the sentence, both members of which, being terminated by *iti*, refer certainly to persons and consequently suppose in *dhammayuta* a collective noun of person. (For the juxtaposition and, if I may use the expression, the super-position of two locatives, cf. higher up in Dh. I. 26, a passage which will be shortly explained, and Col. Ed. IV, 3, *bahūsu pānasatasahasu janasi* . . .). I confess that hesitation appears to me to be impossible. I would add that the above, joined to a comparison with Col. Ed. VII, 1-2, where the same construction occurs, confirms me in the explanation which I have given of Col. Ed. IV, 6. It remains to determine the exact sense of *dhammayuta*. Dr. Bühler sees in it a title of the people who lived 'under the law' of Piyadasi, — of his subjects in fact. The constant use of *dhamma* in a different sense in the first place renders this interpretation somewhat unlikely; but the expression of Dh., *savapathaviyaṃ dhammayutasi*, proves that the *dhammayuta* (he or they) did not belong only to the empire of Piyadasi; the same conclusion necessarily follows from the former passage which places the *dhammayutas* among the *āparāntas*. I can hence only adhere to my translation. It appears to me to be borne out by the recommendation made on the columns to 'exhort the *dhammayutas*,' and elsewhere, 'to teach, to exhort, the *yutas*.' From the passage in Dh. I. 26 (l. 16 in Kh.), it is clear that the *dhammayutas* comprise men 'zealous for the *dhamma*, firmly established in the *dhamma*, addicted to alms-

The name of **Antiochus** reappears in the second edict, — 'Everywhere, in my empire and also among foreign peoples (*prāchanā*) such as the Chôḍas, the Pāṇdyas, Satiyaputa and Kêtalaputa, as far as Tambapaṇṇi, **Antiochus, the king of the Yavanas**, and the kings who are his neighbours,³¹ everywhere has Piyadasi spread abroad remedies of two kinds³² everywhere useful plants have been imported and planted. So also with regard to roots and trees. On the roads, wells have been sunk and trees have been planted, for the convenience of animals and men.'

The last passage is most vague of all. I mean that phrase in the edict of Sahasarām-Rūpnāth which declares that the proclamations (*sāvana*) of the king have for their aim, that all 'great and small may display their zeal, and that foreign peoples (*anā*) themselves may be instructed.'

I have laid all these extracts before the eyes of the reader, as it is important to compare them carefully in order to decide what conclusions may follow from them.

In the first place, one cannot fail to observe **two groups of peoples who are evidently intentionally distinguished**. They comprise, on the one part :—

2ND EDICT.

The Chôḍas, the Pāṇdyas, Satiyaputa, Kêtalaputa, Tambapaṇṇi, Antiochus and his neighbouring kings.

13TH EDICT.

Antiochus, the four kings who are to the north of (or beyond) Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas, Alexander, and, to the south, the Chôḍas, the Pāṇdyas, Tambapaṇṇi, and the Hida-king (?).

And on the other part :—

5TH EDICT.

The Yavanas, the Kambôjas, the Gandhâras, the Râstikas, and the Pêtēpikas.

13TH EDICT.

The Viśas, the Vajjis, the Yavanas, the Kambôjas, the Nābhakas, the Nābhapaṁtis, the Bhôjas, the Pitinikas, the Andhras, and the Pulindas.

The members of the second set are distinguished by the epithet **aparāntas**,³³ that is to say 'westerns,' while those of the first set are called **prātyantas** or simply **antas**, and it is permissible to believe that it is particularly to these that the instructions given by the king, in the second detached edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada, refer.

giving.' The passage cited in the text shews an instructive shade of difference; among all the religions, the *dhamma-mahāmātrās* must occupy themselves with the well-being of the *dhammayutās*. This refers to the dominions of Piyadasi: amongst *aparāntas*, who were, as we shall just now see, less strictly dependent on the king, they had to watch that they met no obstacles, or in other words that they enjoyed complete religious liberty. This observation agrees exactly with the sense which I have maintained for *dhammayuta*. The punctuation which Dr. Bühler proposes after *aparāntā* appears to me to be inadmissible. It is not possible to construe *y'nakamb'jagadhālānā* with *hitasukhāyē*, because, in Dh., we have the locative *gadhālāsu*. This locative shews clearly that the genitive has only been introduced in the other texts to avoid an accumulation of locatives in the same sentence. It becomes certain that *y'nakamb'jagadhālānā* depends on *bambhanibhāsu*, etc. As for making it depend, as genitive or as locative, on *dhammayutasa*, that is repugnant both to the ordinary flow of the construction and to the analogy of parallel sentences: they all commence with the indication of the object or of the scene of action imposed upon the *dhammamahāmātrās*: *savapāsādhāsu* *bandhanabadhasu* *hida cha* . . . *iyam dhammanisitatī*

³¹ Dr. Bühler contests the reading *sāmipā* in G., but his reading *sāminā* cannot be admitted. After a new direct inspection of the stones I see no reading more probable than *sāmipā*, so that I can but abide by my interpretation.

³² The sense of 'medicine' and not of 'hospital' (Bühler) is alone admissible here. Not only is there proof wanting of the equivalence of *chikichhā* and of *arōgyasālā*, but the erection of hospitals by Piyadasi in Greek territories is hardly likely: the analogy of the words following, viz. roots, medicinal plants, useful trees, is altogether in favour of the first translation. We should, I think, adhere to it.

³³ It is impossible to take, with the learned Pandit Bhagwānlāl Indrajī, *aparānta* as an ethnic term designating some particular province (*J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, XV, p. 274); the expression *yē vāpi amūl aparāntā* forbids this. It should not be forgotten that the spelling, at least at G. and at Dh., is *āparānta*; by this long *ā* the word is marked, just like *prāchanā*, as a secondary derivative. It may be remarked, *en passant*, how well the special meaning attributed to *aparānta* (Cf. Lassen, I, 649; II, 932) agrees with the position which I assign, under the sceptre of Piyadasi, to the populations compressed under this term.

The **two groups** are nowhere mixed up in the same sentence, and the relations of the king with each appear to have been perceptibly different. Amongst the *āparāntas*, the Yavanas, &c., Piyadasi expressly gives a positive protective mission to his *dharmamahāmātras* (5th Edict). He affirms that they (that is to say, without doubt, a number of individuals amongst them more or less considerable) conform to his teaching of the *dhamma*. Towards the *antas*, on the contrary, he only directs his representatives to show themselves as kindly neighbours (Dh. J. det. Ed. II.), or refers to them (XIII) as an object of religious conquests. He marks them sharply as exterior to his empire (*amātānaṃ avijitānaṃ*, Dh. J. det. ed. II.; *vijitamhi évamapi prācāntēsu . . .* 2nd Ed.). The direct action, with reference to them, on which he congratulates himself, is limited to the communication of medicines and useful plants. This could be carried out by merchants or ambassadors, and does not argue, like the institution of *dharmamahāmātras*, a tie of dependence, nor does it imply any very close connexion. It is evidently because the *antas* include the most distant populations that he says at Sahasarām, — ‘that the *antas* themselves should be instructed.’ In short, I believe that this category, included in the first group, represents the **foreign nations, completely independent of Piyadasi**. The second, that of the *āparāntas*, is made up of the **tribes distributed along the western frontier of his empire** and over which he exercised, not an absolute dominion (for he appears to dread obstacles to the free expansion of his co-religionists), but a suzerainty more or less effective. The best proof that the two sets of people were not in identical situations with respect to the king, is that he distinguishes between the *Yōnarājas*, i.e. the Greek kings, with their subjects, and the *Yōnas*, whom he classes with the *Kambōjas*. These last, not being included in the independent kingdoms, must necessarily have been more or less immediately dependent on the power of Piyadasi.

I hence conclude that, if the language of Piyadasi is not always sufficiently clear and explicit, it is at least exact and truthful. He does not seek to exaggerate the degree of his success. For example, regarding the Greek kings, in one passage he states simply that he has distributed medicines and useful plants even over the dominions of Antiochus, which is in no way improbable; and in the other, he mentions the five kings amongst the lords of foreign countries in which he has endeavoured to spread the *dhamma*. Regarding them he affirms nothing as to the practical results which followed. This reserve induces us to be circumspect in the interpretation of his words, and to refuse to admit lightly hypotheses which are based on alleged inexactness or misunderstanding on his part.

We can then safely take, as a point of departure in the chronology of Piyadasi, **the synchronism which the enumeration of the five Greek kings offers to us**. Only the most decisive arguments would authorise us to conjecture, as has been done by Lassen,³⁴ that the king has mixed up different times in his inscriptions.

The texts are perfectly simple and distinct. In the 2nd Edict, he speaks of **Antiochus** and of kings his neighbours, in the 13th of Antiochus again, and of four Greek kings who are to the north of (or beyond) his kingdom, — Turāmaya, Antēkina, Maka, and Alikasadara. It is impossible for us to decide whether the **“neighbours” of Antiochus** are the same kings as those who are mentioned by name in the 13th Edict. In itself that is hardly probable, for, as we shall see, those would be very remote neighbours indeed, to whom it would have been by no means easy to despatch medicines and useful plants, and moreover it is not specified that *Greek* kings are intended. The reading *alanṇé* of Khalsi, and *araṇé* of Kapur di Giri, would do away with all hesitation; but it appears, according to the revision of Dr. Bühler, that Khalsi had not *alanṇé* but *anṇé*, and that the other reading depends only on an error of General Cunningham. The same is the case with regard to K. It nevertheless appears to me more probable that the ‘neighbours’ of Antiochus in the first passage are not the four kings specified in the second. However that may be, the transcription of their names has not been controverted;

³⁴ Ind. Alterth. II², 253 and ff.

there has always been recognized, in them, a Ptolemy, an Antigonos, a Magas, and an Alexander. One is immediately tempted to seek for them, at least for the two last, in the countries which would not be too inaccessible to Hindûs and to their sovereign, but the royal qualification, which is expressly attributed to them, forms an obstacle even if we could (which has not been done) find these names as those of governors or Satraps in a region somewhat in the neighbourhood of India. We have no knowledge of Greek kingdoms of which they could have been the sovereigns.

It is certain that the relations of Piyadasi with the Greek world were not posterior to the revolt of Diodotus, and to the creation of the Greek kingdom of Bactriana (about 255 B. C.); for he would have found this prince upon his way, and would have mentioned him; and the proposed identifications, which have hitherto been universally accepted agree with this postulate. **Antiochus II. of Syria** (260-247), **Ptolemy Philadelphus** (285-247), **Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia** (278-242), **Magas of Cyrene** (d. 258), and **Alexander of Epirus** (d. between 262 and 258),³⁵ were all alive and reigning contemporaneously between 260 and 258 B. C. On the other hand, the efforts of Piyadasi, whatever may have been their exact extent, to spread abroad his moral and religious ideas, must, as Lassen (*loc. cit.*) justly remarks, have been posterior to his conversion, — we can now add, to his active conversion, that is to say, the second one at the end of the eleventh year after his coronation. As the 2nd Edict belongs to the thirteenth year, we are inevitably led to conclude that **his twelfth year corresponds** to one of the years 260-258 B. C., say, to take a mean, **to the year 259**. This calculation would fix his coronation at about 269, and his coming to the throne at about 273 B. C.

If we add to these figures the period given for the reigns of his predecessors, **Bindusâra and Chandragupta**, even by the authorities which prolong them the most, *i.e.* 28 and 24 years, we come to the date 325 B. C., as that of the usurpation of power by the latter. This date is in no way incompatible with the statements of classical writers: we do not know the precise year in which Chandragupta assumed the title of king, and if we accept the tradition related by Justin³⁶ to be correct, he should have been in a position to do so from the moment when, having escaped from Alexander's camp, he commenced to collect bands of men around him. The statements of the Hindûs regarding the two reigns agree too little amongst themselves, to counterbalance the authority of the synchronism which we derive from the evidence of inscriptions. If we take as a basis of calculation the period of only 24 years given by several Purâṇas³⁷ to the reign of Chandragupta, we come to 322 as the year in which he seized his power. At any rate, in my opinion, the calculation which would be the most arbitrary and the most venturous one, would be to suppress the interval of four years between Asôka's coming to the throne and his coronation, which is borne witness to by the Sinhalese chronicles. I have already shown my reasons for this. As for Lassen's procedure, which commences with giving, without any positive proof, the commencement of Chandragupta's reign in the year 315, in order to calculate the date of our inscriptions, and thereupon to charge Piyadasi with alleged inaccuracies,³⁸ — it is evidently the reverse of a sound method.

Unfortunately we get no information regarding the details of the relations which Piyadasi held with the kings of the Grecian world. It is probable that they were specially close with Antiochus, his neighbour of Syria. The connection between the two kingdoms had been traditional since the time of Chandragupta and Seleucus. Although ancient evidence has preserved for us the name, Dionysius, of an ambassador, or at least of an explorer, sent to India by Ptolemy Philadelphus, — the Ptolemy to whom Piyadasi alludes, — it may be doubted if this allusion refers to direct relations, which appear hardly probable any more than with Magas, or with

³⁵ It may be remarked here that, as a feeble exchange for the light which its history receives from Greece, India, by its monuments, lends here a useful indication to Greek chronology. It becomes, in fact, certain that the doubtful date of the death of Alexander, the son of Pyrrhus, is not anterior to 260.

³⁶ Justin, XV, 4.

³⁷ Wilson, *Vishnupur.*, Ed. F. E. Hall, IV, 186, note 5.

³⁸ *Ind. Alterth.* II², 254.

Antigonus and Alexander. It may be asked, whether it was not through Antiochus as an intermediary, that Piyadasi had knowledge of the other kings whom he enumerates. The time available for the journey of his emissaries, if they were specially despatched by him, — say about a year and a half, — would scarcely allow them to push so far forward into Hellenic soil, and just about the period to which our edict relates, between 260 and 258, Antiochus II. found himself, by his designs upon Thracia and by his struggles in the Mediterranean, brought into relations more or less unfriendly, but certainly very active, with the sovereigns of Egypt and Cyrene, and of Macedonia and Epirus.³⁹

Whatever may have been the details, one point appears to be reasonably incontestible, — that the thirteenth year from the coronation of Piyadasi corresponds nearly to the year 258 or 257 B. C., and that consequently **the coronation occurred in 269 or 270**. This date, and the correlative dates of the conversions of Aśoka, of his inscriptions, &c., are the only ones which appear to me to be legitimately deducible from our texts; for the alleged date in the era of the *nirvāṇa* at Sahasārām-Rūpnāth rests, in my opinion, on an illusion and a mistake.

To sum up: — It is now possible to assign to Piyadasi, with sufficient precision **his chronological position**. That is one of the principal reasons for the great interest which attaches to these monuments; but it is more especially to **the history of religious ideas** that they appear to promise valuable items of information. It is strange that documents, relatively of such extent, and in which the religious sentiment is so overruling, should not have long ago cut short all hesitation regarding the inspiration by which their author was guided. Yet not only has Wilson⁴⁰ ventured to dispute the Buddhist faith of Piyadasi, not only, in much later times, has Mr. Edward Thomas⁴¹ endeavoured to prove that, before becoming a follower of Buddhism, Piyadasi had been subject to other convictions, that he had at first adhered to Jainism, — (these attempts partly rest on grossly inaccurate interpretations and are moreover anterior to the last discoveries at Khālsi, Sahasārām and Rūpnāth, which have imported new elements into the debate), — but, which is much more serious, Dr. Kern has also, in spite of his greatly superior knowledge of the documents, and subsequently to the publication of the last edicts, appeared to be dangerously near to allying himself to the opinion of Mr. Thomas.⁴² He has at any rate sought to prove, in the doctrinal evolutions of Piyadasi gradations, the last expression of which, in the Sahasārām edict, manifests, according to him, all the symptoms of a veritable madness. Here again the suggestion results from certain incomplete interpretations; for Dr. Kern too hurriedly adopted the first translation proposed for the text of Sahasārām-Rūpnāth. It must, nevertheless, be admitted that our monuments suggest a **religious**, as well as a chronological, **question** regarding which it is necessary for us to be explicit. This question appears to me to be susceptible of categorical answers.

I can only, in several respects, refer to the results arrived at in the foregoing, and to what I have already attempted to demonstrate, especially with regard to the chronological classification of our inscriptions. It is clear and uncontested that, at the period to which the edict of Bhabra refers, Piyadasi is a declared Buddhist. Unfortunately, as we have seen, this edict bears no expressed date, and contains in it no element of information, which would allow us to date it with certainty. It is nevertheless of essential importance for deciding the question with which we are now dealing. It is evident that, until reasons — positive objections — are discovered to the contrary, a piece of evidence so precise should be accepted. It would be conclusive even if the absence, elsewhere alleged, of documents, of categorical statements, awoke suspicion. But there is no room for even this uncertainty.

Our inscriptions divide themselves into two principal groups; the first, including the Edict of Sahasārām, and the fourteen edicts, belongs to the thirteenth or the fourteenth year; the second, consisting of the columnar edicts, refers to the twenty-seventh or the twenty-eighth. We

³⁹ Droysen, *Gesch. des Hellenismus*, III¹, p. 314 and ff.

⁴¹ *J. R. A. S., N. S.*, IX. p. 155 and ff.

⁴⁰ *J. R. A. S.* p. 238 and ff.

⁴² Kern, *loc. cit.* p. 309 note.

have seen that the former group of these inscriptions alleges **two successive evolutions in Piyadasi's religious life**, the first in the ninth, and the second towards the end of the eleventh year after his coronation. We have now to determine the two poles, the point of departure, and the point of arrival. Regarding the former, I believe that no one has any hesitation; the leading statement in this respect, in the text of Sahasārām-Rūpnāth, has not perhaps all the clearness we should wish; but, whether the translation proposed by me, or that of Dr. Bühler is accepted, it cannot be doubted that, in this first period of his reign, previous to the prohibition of bloody sacrifices (1st edict), Piyadasi had, as the written traditions affirm, **accepted the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas**. On the second point, there is no longer the same agreement. The king declares that he has become an *upāsaka*; ⁴³ this word can indicate a Jain layman, as well as a Buddhist one; nevertheless, the manner in which we find it used at Bhabra, where it is certainly applied to Buddhism, ought *à priori* to incline us towards the same interpretation here. Doubts have been inspired by the use of the word *vivutha* at Sahasārām, and by the idea that this inscription might not emanate from the Piyadasi who was author of the other edicts. The latter are dissipated by the certainty we have now acquired, that all our edicts must be referred to one and the same author; and the former must fall with the purely arbitrary interpretation proposed for *vivutha*.⁴⁴ Whatever reserve may be advisable with regard to the expression *saṃghé papayitē*, or whatever be its true reading, it is clear that the king mentions here certain relations which his conversion has established between him and the *saṃgha*; that word can designate nothing but **the Buddhist clergy**; the Edict of Bhabra shews moreover, that this application of it was well established from the time of Piyadasi. We have, however, another proof still more decisive, — the passage of the 8th edict, in which Piyadasi speaks of his practical and active conversion. He defines it by saying that, in the eleventh year from his coronation, he 'set out for the *saṃbōdhi*.'⁴⁵ No doubt as to the meaning is here possible. The word *saṃbōdhi* inevitably links Piyadasi with **Buddhism**. Before it was fully understood, the expression appeared to imply a usage of the word different from that which is authorised by literature; but the more exact interpretation, which I have given above, does away with all difficulties; it establishes, on the contrary, a curious agreement with the literary use of the equivalent phrase *saṃbōdhiṃ prasthātum*, to which the passage refers.

It is, therefore, certainly to **Buddhist ideas that Piyadasi was converted**. But did he become unfaithful to them? Did he subsequently vary in his opinions? The second group, that of the columnar inscriptions, is very far from furnishing the slightest pretext for such a conjecture. The one which it was deemed possible to draw from the first phrase of the 6th edict, is quite illusory. Nay more; the passage in question, understood as I believe I have shewn that it should be understood, turns directly contrary to any hypothesis of this description. If the king referred expressly to his *dhammalipis* of his thirteenth year, it is certainly a proof that his ideas regarding the *dhamma*, his religious opinions, had not in the interval undergone any essential change. Besides, when the two series of inscriptions are compared, the absolute identity of tone and style, the common allusions to the same deeds and the same institutions, the perfect resemblance between the moral exhortations, are such that only the strongest and

⁴³ I do not speak of the word *sāvaka* which Dr. Bühler restores at Rūpnāth. I have already explained why I do not consider this restoration as admissible.

⁴⁴ It will be understood that I here refer to the translation of Dr. Oldenberg. I may be permitted to take this opportunity to add, with regard to that of Dr. Bühler, a remark which I had omitted in the proper place. One of the arguments which he brings forward to uphold the meaning of the 'passed,' which he attributes to *vivutha*, is the use of the phrase *vivuthā vass* in the Khandagiri inscription (l. 5). This argument must be abandoned. It is to be feared that this important monument, which is in so bad a state of preservation, will never become perfectly intelligible to us. One thing is visible, that it contains, year by year, an enumeration of the actions of the king: *dutiya vass* (l. 4), *pañchama vass* (l. 6), *satama vass* (l. 7), *aṭham vass* (ib.), &c. In line 5, where the facsimile of Prinsep gives *tatha vivuthā vass*, that of the Corpus gives *i-tathā vass*. It ought certainly to be read as *tatha* (?) *chatuthā vass*, 'in the fourth year.' This indeed is the reading given by Bâbû Rajendralâla Mitra, *Antiq. of Orissa*, II. p. 22.

⁴⁵ See above, p. 234 and ff.

most convincing proof could lead us to consider as probable a change of belief in the common author of both. All indications contradict such an idea.

But not only do certain columnar edicts form the natural development of the principles contained in the older tables, — (thus, the 5th Columnar edict is directed to the protection of animal life, and may be compared with the prohibition of bloody sacrifices and of *samājas*⁴⁶ ordained by the first of the fourteen edicts), — but the days set apart in this same 5th edict are consecrated as holidays amongst Buddhists,⁴⁷ and the *upōsatha*, to which he appeared to shew a special respect, is known to every one as their weekly festival. The 8th Columnar edict extends the supervision of the *dharmamahāmātras* over every sect, from the Brāhmanas to the Nirgranthas or Jainas; but, when he refers to the *saṅgha*, to the Buddhist clergy, the king changes his expression. He desires that his officers should watch 'the interests of the *saṅgha*' (*saṅgha-ṭhasi*); it is evident that here, and here only, his sympathies are specially aroused.⁴⁸ I will only allude to one more fact, which in the light of the preceding, takes a definite meaning, and becomes really instructive. It will be remembered that, at Khālsi, the second part of the 14th edict is accompanied by the figure of an elephant, between the legs of which one reads, in characters the same as those of the tables *gajātāmē*; I have proposed to translate this, 'the elephant *par excellence*.' This inscription is in a fashion commented upon by that which we have referred to as at Gīrnār, in nearly the same place, and which probably accompanied also the figure of an elephant, which has been worn away from the surface of the rock; — 'the white elephant who is in truth the benefactor of the entire world (or of all the worlds).' It is the less permitted to imagine an arbitrary and accidental addition, because, at Dhauli, we again find the same figure of an elephant beside the edicts. It is impossible to doubt that these images and these legends are contemporary with the inscriptions. Nor is the meaning doubtful. Not only are we here in the presence of a Buddhist symbol, but the accompanying legends contain a clear allusion to the history of the birth of Buddha descending in the form of a white elephant into the womb of his mother.⁴⁹

In conclusion; — It is certain that Piyadasi, at least during the entire portion of his reign to which our monuments refer, from the ninth year after his coronation (and more particularly from the thirteenth, in which he began having inscriptions engraved) to the twenty-eighth, and very probably up to the end of his life, was a declared adherent to Buddhism. This is the fixed point, the necessary starting point, for all legitimate deductions. Doubtless a certain difference of tone may be suspected between the Edict of Bhabra, or even that of Sahasrām, and all the

⁴⁶ I content myself with transcribing the term used by Piyadasi. I am not convinced that a definitive translation of it has yet been discovered, in spite of various ingenious attempts. The meaning 'battue' (*treibjagd*) proposed by Dr. Pischel (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1881, p. 1324) has not the authority of the known usage of the language. Dr. Bühler has clearly shewn that *samāja* must have a meaning connected with 'festival, rejoicing,' but the meaning must be more precise and circumscribed than this. In the sentence in the 1st edict it cannot well be admitted that with the very positive and precise prohibition *na . . . prajāhītavijāṇa*, should be closely connected one so different, so vague, as 'ye must hold no festivals.' Besides, it is plain that the whole edict is entirely devoted to the protection of animal life. *Samāja* must refer directly to some act by which that life was compromised. The connexion of the details which the king gives concerning his kitchen would, on any other hypothesis, be altogether inexplicable. It is this exact shade of the meaning of *samāja*, 'sacrifice, feast,' or some other, which Dr. Bühler has failed to identify. Nor can I accept his translation of the sentence *asti pi tu*, &c.; for, if Piyadasi had meant to approve of 'certain *samājas*,' he would have specified to what *samājas* he referred. He would at least have continued his sentence under the form of an antithesis, as he does under other circumstances, and would have spoken of *dharmasamājas*, or of something of the kind.

⁴⁷ Cf. Kern, *loc. cit.* II, 205 and ff.

⁴⁸ I am afraid that I should injure conclusions, which I believe are firmly established, if I were to bring forward arguments of less value, so I content myself with reminding my readers of, for instance, the use of *āśinava*, corresponding to the technical term *āśrava* of the Buddhists, and that of *avavad* to mean 'to preach,' 'to teach,' which was familiar to the Buddhists (Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 304 and ff.), &c.

⁴⁹ I can only withdraw, before the corrected readings and the new translation of Dr. Bühler, the conjecture which I hazarded with regard to the 9th edict (in Dh. n. 2.), in which I believed that I had discovered an allusion to a certain incident of the legend of Śākyamuni. The explanation of Dr. Bühler establishes, with a natural sense, a complete harmony among the different versions. It certainly deserves acceptance, in spite of the little difficulties of detail which exist, and of which a final revision of the texts will perhaps reduce the number.

others. But between these two very unequal groups, there is no contradiction, there is only a mere difference of degree. It is explained by the difference of the persons whom the king addressed: at Bhabra, he spoke to the Buddhist clergy; elsewhere he speaks to his people at large, or at least to all his officers without distinction.⁵⁰ Religious toleration is not an exceptional occurrence in India, but is the customary rule of her sovereigns. From the indications of coins down to the direct evidence of the chronicles, from the inscriptions down to the account of the Chinese travellers, there are abundant proofs of this. Piyadasi made no exception to the rule; he forms, on the contrary, one of its most illustrious examples, one of its most positive witnesses. It is therefore, very natural that, in addressing himself to the generality of his subjects, without regard to religion or sect, he should have avoided using too exclusive manifestations of his own private faith, and strictly dogmatical statements. We can at least be certain that none of his inscriptions contains anything contradictory to the Buddhist doctrine, and it is essential to remember this, if we would endeavour to picture to our selves from the monuments the condition of Buddhism at the time of Piyadasi.

Now that we have determined, both from a chronological and from a religious point of view, the ground on which our monuments lead us, it remains to consider the data which they supply regarding the administration, the history, and the religious ideas of Piyadasi-Asôka; comparing them at the same time with those which have been preserved for us by the tradition of literature.

The epigraphical records do not, in any way, give us the materials for a biographical sketch, even on the most meagre scale. All we can do is to group the various items of information which they contain under certain general heads, such as the empire and the family of the king, his administrative procedure and his relations with foreign countries, his life and his religious opinions.

Piyadasi gives us no information regarding his lineage. We only learn from a passage of the 5th (Rock) edict, in which the surveillance exercised by the *dharmamahâmâtras* is under consideration, that he had brothers, sisters, and other relatives, settled both in his capital and in other towns. Moreover (Col. Ed. VIII) he pays attention to the distribution of the alms made by all his children who live, some near him, and others in the provinces (*disâsu*), and in particular to those made by the 'princes, sons of the queen,' who are thus distinguished as holding a superior rank. It is to this last category that belong 'the Kumâras' who represent

⁵⁰ He exhibits now and then a particular care for his co-religionists, but he does so in order to direct special officers to devote themselves to them, and to give them suitable instruction. It is in this way that I still understand the last sentence of the 3rd edict. Dr. Bühler, following Dr. Kern, combats the meaning which I still continue to attribute to *yuta*, and which is approved of by Dr. Pischel (p. 1325). I cannot accept his amendment. Dr. Bühler is compelled to admit a different meaning for the word in each of the two passages in which it occurs in the 9th edict. That is a first objection, but there are more serious ones. It will shortly appear in what close relationship the *rajjûkas* generally appeared with the *dharmayutas*. This is a first reason for thinking, as has always been done, that *yuta* is only an abridged equivalent for *dharmayuta*, 'zealots,' equivalent to 'zealots for the *dharmâ*;' nothing is more natural. What is true for the first *yutâ* is not less so for the second *yutâni* associated with the *parishad*, which is nothing else than the assembly of the *rajjûkas*. But in the first passage it is wished to take *yutâ* as an adjective applied to *rajjûka* and to *pâdêsika* (Dr. Bühler actually approves of my construction of the sentence and defends it against Dr. Pischel). We must then omit the *cha* which, at G., follows *yutâ*. This procedure is in itself violent and suspicious, but it is still insufficient. The turn of the phrase at Kh., *yutâ lajuka pâdêsika*, and the corresponding words at K. without *cha*, imply the co-ordination of the three terms, and not only of the two last; if this were not so, we must have as at Dh., *yutâ lajukê cha pâdêsikê cha*. It is unnecessary to remark that, on the other hand, this last mode speaking very well agrees with my interpretation. *Yutâ* is therefore a substantive, or at least used substantively. Here we must conclude that it is the equivalent of *dharmayutâ*. So also with *yutê* or *yutâni* in the last line. I have given one reason, founded on its being associated with *parisâ*. The comparison with the sentence of the 8th Columnar edict (l. 1-2), *lajûka ... paliyôvadisanti janam dharmayutam*, is very striking. There are also other reasons. First, *âjñâpayati* is much more easily translated with a personal subject. It must be admitted that the expression 'the assembly will teach suitable matters' is singularly feeble and vague, even for our inscriptions. Of course, the neuter form *yutâni* of several versions offers no difficulty; have we not, at Col. Ed. IV. 8, *pulisâni* equivalent to *purushâh*, &c.? Perhaps *yutê* of G. also represents the neuter; and we shall thus have side by side a use of the singular and of the plural, exactly as *dharmayuta* is by turns used in the plural and in the singular without alteration in the sense.

the royal authority at Tôsali (Dh. det. ed. II, 1), at Ujjayinî, and at Takshasilâ (Dh. J. det. Ed., I, 23, 24). We find an allusion to his wives in the fragment designated the Edict of the Queen. In it Piyadasi gives orders, the meaning of which, owing to the partial destruction of the stone, we are unable to grasp exactly, regarding the acts of liberality of the second queen (*dutiyâ dēvi*). Amongst these acts he mentions the granting of mango groves and gardens; it would seem, also, that he praises her religious zeal and her merciful disposition; and she thus appears to us as sharing, as we have a right to expect, the ideas as well as the doctrines of the king.

The royal residence was at Pāṭaliputra, as the chronicles say, and as follows from the Rock Edict, G. V, 7, compared with the other versions. With the exception of the four towns of Pāṭaliputra, Ujjayinî, Takshasilâ, and Tôsali, which have just been referred to, and of Samāpā (J. det. Ed. I, 1, and II, 1), Piyadasi mentions no name of any people or town expressly as being among those which were directly under his rule (*vijita*). The only exception is Kalinga, the conquest of which he mentions as having taken place in the ninth year after his coronation. The towns of Tôsali⁵¹ and of Samāpā cannot be precisely identified. It is, however, almost certain that Tôsali, which formed the residence of a prince of the blood royal, must have been a considerable centre, possibly the capital of the whole province. Samāpā was probably a town of secondary importance, and cannot have been very far from Jaugada, the site where the inscriptions which mention it were engraved.

Although Piyadasi gives us so few explicit geographical data, the indications regarding his neighbours on different sides, with which he supplies us, allow us to form some idea of the extent of his vast dominions. I believe that I have shewn above that the enumerations unfortunately both vague and brief, of the frontier populations, which are contained in the inscriptions, are of two kinds; one set refers to the provinces situated to the west and south-west of the empire over which Piyadasi was suzerain; the other includes the independent bordering nations. Both contain many names of which the identification is more or less hypothetical, and even with regard to those about whose identification we need not be in doubt, we have too incomplete information regarding the exact boundaries to which they extended in the time of Piyadasi, to arrive at very precise conclusions.

In the first category, that of populations subject to the suzerainty of the king, appear the Yavanas (V and XIII), the Kambôjas (V and XIII), the Pêtēnikas (V and XIII), the Gandhâras (V), the Ristikas or Râstikas (V), the Viśas and the Vrijis (XIII), the Nâbhakas and the Nâbhapaṁtis (XIII) and finally the Bhôjas (XIII), the Andhras and the Pulindas (XIII). The Gandhâras⁵² and the Kambôjas⁵³ certainly belonged to the tract of the river Kâbul; it is probable that these Yavanas, subjects of a Hindû power, formed a province still further off in the direction of the Greeks of the independent kingdoms, and that the list, commencing with them and continuing through the Kambôjas and the Gandhâras, follows a regular course from exterior to interior. We have, however, no certainty with regard to this, and this name Yavana could here, if necessary, designate not a particular country, but the elements of the population which were of western origin, and which were at this epoch scattered throughout this part of India.⁵⁴ I may remind my readers of the Tushaspa, styled 'Yavanarâja of Aśôka the Maurya,' i. e., probably, under the suzerainty of Aśôka the Maurya, whom the inscription of Rudradâman at Girnâr⁵⁵ mentions as having repaired an embankment in the neighbourhood, and who consequently held sway in the peninsula of Kâthiâwâd. I would also remind them of the considerable number of dedications which, in the Buddhist caves of Western India, emanate from Yavanas.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Cf. Kern, *J. R. A. S., N. S.*, XII, 384.

⁵² Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.*, I, 509; II, 150.

⁵³ Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.*, I, 521.

⁵⁴ Cf. Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.*, II, 248 and ff. One is reminded of the eastern territories of Gedroia and Arachosia which Seleucus ceded to Chandragupta (Droysen *Gesch. des Hellenismus*, II², 199 and ff.)

⁵⁵ Cf. Burgess, *Archæol. Surv. West. India*, 1874-1875, pp. 128 and ff.

⁵⁶ Cf. Bhagvânlâl Indrajî, *J. R. A. S., Bo. Br.*, XV, pp. 274-275.

As regards the **Ristikas**, the very name is doubtful. The word has usually been read **Râstikas** (transcribed **Râshtrikas**), and understood as meaning 'the inhabitants of Surâshtra.' Dr. Bühler points out that the reading **Ristika**, which at G. appears to be certain, goes against this interpretation. The identification would, according to him, be in any way inadmissible, 'for the **Ristika-Pêtênikas** must be amongst the independent neighbours of **Asôka**, whereas **Sôraṭh** and **Lâṭa** were incorporated in his kingdom.' This difficulty would not appear to us to be decisive, after what we have said regarding the position of the provinces in the enumeration of which the **Râstikas** find entry. If the king delegated officers to them, he could very well have also had inscriptions engraved among them. In fact, if we may attribute some authority to the tradition of which we notice an echo in the inscription of **Rudradâman**, we should find in it direct evidence in favour of the *régime* which, on other grounds, I believe to have been, under **Asôka**, that of **Surâshtra**. There remains the orthographical difficulty, but, as against the *ristika* of G. we find the *lathika* of Dh. and the *rathika* of K., that is not easy to solve. I cannot admit that the two last forms could represent *rishtika* as well as *râshtrika*; the wearing away of the rock might certainly have caused the sign for *i* to have disappeared at Dh. and at K.; but the same sign at G. might equally well be only some accidental scratch in the rock. While, therefore, I cannot pronounce between the **Rishtikas** proposed by Dr. Bühler, and the **Râshtrikas**, I still do not think that, in the present state of our knowledge, the latter reading deserves as yet to be absolutely abandoned. We must, moreover, take into consideration the opinion lately expressed by Prof. Bhandarkar.⁵⁷ In the 13th edict, the **Râstikas** or **Ristikas** are replaced by the **Bhôjas**, who are similarly associated with the **Pêtênikas**.⁵⁸ Although the territory of this tribe cannot be exactly defined, and has certainly varied from time to time, the name of the **Bhôjas**, nevertheless, carries us either towards the **Narmadâ**, or towards the coast of the **Kônkanâ**.⁵⁹ If the two names are not simply equivalent, they agree in bringing us towards the same part of India. Prof. Bhandarkar reminds us that in several inscriptions of the Western caves there appears the name of the **Mahâbhôjas**; while others have similarly the name of the **Mahârâthis**. Our **Râshtrikas** would be to these **Mahârâthis**, as the **Bhôjas** are to the **Mahâbhôjas**, and the **Râstikas** of **Piyadasi** would in that case be simply the **Mahârâshtris** or **Marâṭhâs** of the **Dekhan**. The **Pêtênikas**, being connected with the **Bhôjas**, should be sought for in the same direction; and, in this respect, their identification with the inhabitants of **Paithâna**, *i. e.* **Pratishthâna**, towards the source of the **Gôdâvarî**,⁶⁰ is extremely tempting, — so tempting indeed, that I am inclined to pass over the phonetic scruples which Dr. Bühler (p. 32) opposes to it. The **Andhras** of the 13th edict would well continue the line of enumeration towards the east.⁶¹ The name of the **Pulindas** is too widely spread, for it to be possible to localise it with precision in the present case. It is certainly met towards the centre of the **Dekhan**, in the very locality where the continuation of the enumeration would lead us to expect it.⁶² Regarding the **Nâbhakas** and the **Nâbhapaṇtis** of the 13th edict, supposing these names to be correct, which is still doubtful, Dr. Bühler (Ed. XIII, n. 8) has cited from the *Vaivarttapurâṇa* the city **Nâbhikapura** as belonging to the **Uttarakurus**. He thence concludes that these **Nâbhakas** may have dwelt in the extreme north of India, in the **Himâlaya**. He comes to an analogous conclusion regarding the **Viṣas** and the **Vṛjīs**, whom he supposes to have been the early predecessors of the **Bais** and **Lichchhavis** of **Nêpâl**. All that is, of course, extremely doubtful. If we take into account the general direction, as I consider it has been followed by our enumerations, it could well be admitted that the king begins with his northern frontiers before going westwards. But the position of the **Nâbhakas**, coming after the **Gandhâras**, should be sought for, not so much due north, as somewhere towards the north-west.

The peoples whom the king enumerates as his independent neighbours (*antâ avijitâ*) are, together with the **Greeks** of the kingdom of **Antiochus** and his neighbours, the **Chôḍas**

⁵⁷ *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 9. (Extract from the *Bombay Gazetteer*).

⁵⁸ Cf. *Vishnu Pur.*, Wilson, Ed. F. E. Hall, II, 153-159. ⁵⁹ Bühler, p. 14. ⁶⁰ Cf. Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.*, I, 216.

⁶¹ Cf. Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.*, I, 215 n. and 970.

⁶² Cf. *Vishnu Pur.* Wilson, Ed. F. E. Hall, II, 159.

(II, XIII), the Pāṇḍyas (II, XIII), Satiyaputa, and Kêralaputa (II.) I do not refer to Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon), which is each time named at the conclusion, and as the extreme limit (*āva tāmbapaṇṇiyā*). The general situation of the Chôḍas and the Pāṇḍyas on the east coast and at the south extremity of the Dekhan, is sufficiently well known. As for the northern boundary, which divided the Chôḍas from Kaliṅga which was conquered by Piyadasi, it is difficult to fix it. Judging from the terms of the inscription, the territories acquired in this direction by the king would seem to have been of very great extent. They must have gone far to the south. On the other hand, the existence at Dhauli and at Jaugada of an edict specially referring to foreign nations, and to the duties in regard to them which are incumbent on the representatives of the king, leads us necessarily to the conclusion that these inscriptions cannot have been any great distance from the frontier of the empire. Satiyaputa and Kêralaputa would appear to correspond in some way, on the west, with the Chôḍas and Pāṇḍyas on the eastern side of the Dekhan. That at least would be the result, on the one hand, of the learned and ingenious conjecture of Dr. Bühler (pp. 12-14) regarding Satiyaputa, and, on the other hand, of the reading Kêralaputa — (according to Dr. Bühler the correct reading at Dh. is Kêlalaputa) — instead of Kêtalaputa at G. Such a conjecture is too convenient not to be a little subject to suspicion, but it has, nevertheless, since Benfey and Lassen, secured general acceptance, and it is difficult to make any other suggestion.⁶³

To sum up; — The empire of Piyadasi is in its main features sufficiently delimited. It embraced the whole of Northern India, although his exact frontiers, both to the east and to the west, remain, more or less, undetermined. It is equally certain that the influence of the king, if not his full authority, extended to the central plateau of the Dekhan, and went even further to the south along the coasts. Moreover, we have proved that, at least towards the west, the south-west, and the south, his kingdom, properly so called, was bordered by provinces over which he exercised a suzerainty which was certainly active and effectual, but of which we cannot precisely measure the extent.

Piyadasi tells us on the whole but little regarding the system under which he administered these vast dominions, his inscriptions being almost exclusively devoted to religious subjects. He only mentions his administration so far as it deals with religious and moral progress. It is merely in that direction that he would appear to have carried his personal reforms. These fall under two main classes; according as he further extends the power and the duties of functionaries already existing; or as he creates new functionaries and new institutions.

The title *purushas*, 'men of the king,' would seem to be the most comprehensive term under which Piyadasi used to include all the representatives of his authority,⁶⁴ to whatever rank they belonged. He himself distinguishes them (Col. Ed. I) as superior, inferior, and of middle rank, and he evidently refers to them as officers, for they are mentioned together with the *antamahāmātras*. He desires that they should conform to his instructions, and that they should direct the people in the good way. They are moreover, in one passage (Col. Ed. IV), contrasted in some degree with the *rajjūkas*. We shall shortly see by what characteristics these last require to be classified outside the category of functionaries properly so called.

*Mahāmātra*⁶⁵ is also a generic term, analogous to *amātya*, though perhaps with a more extended signification. It should designate functionaries of every order, but of high rank, and was applied to 'bodies' (*nikaya*) of various officers (cf. XII, 9). Piyadasi, like his predecessors, was surrounded by them, and when he speaks of *mahāmātras* in general, it is impossible for us to specify what class of officers he had in view, or even to say for certain that he did not address

⁶³ *Rājaniyukta*, as Kullūka explains the word in Manu, viii, 43.

⁶⁴ Regarding the Kêrala, cf. Lassen, I, 188 note. I do not refer to the Hidarājā mentioned in the 13th edict. As he is separate from the general list, we are without any index as to the direction in which we are to seek him, and the reading itself is still very doubtful.

⁶⁵ Cf. Bühler, p. 37. Kern, *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., XII, p. 392.

himself to all functionaries whose rank corresponded with this designation. In this sense there are *mahāmātras* in all provinces (Edict of the Queen), whom the king represents as charged with the responsibility of conducting urgent matters (VI). At the commencement of the first detached edict at Dh. and J., he addresses the *mahāmātras* who are at Tōsalī (or at Samāpā), and who are charged with the administration (probably with the judicial administration in particular) of the town,—*nagalaviyōhālakas*. It is to similar functionaries that the Edict of Kauśāmbī is directed. But there were also other *mahāmātras*, each entrusted with the special superintendence of a religious sect, one with that of the Buddhist *saṃgha*, another with that of the Brāhmaṇs, of the Ājīvikas, or of the Nirgranthas (Col. Ed. VIII, 5). The word was thus naturally chosen to form, in composition with special determinatives, the title of functionaries of various orders; such are the *ithijhakhamahāmātras*, or officers charged with the surveillance over women of the harem (XII), the *antamahāmātras*, the frontier officers, or more exactly, the officers appointed to communicate with the populations across the frontiers (Dh., J. det. Ed. II); such, finally, are *dhammamahāmātras*. As regards these last Piyadasi expressly claims the credit of the institution of the office (IV), and it is natural to conclude that the others existed before his reign. The case is the same with the *prativēdakas*⁶⁶ (VI), whose reports he arranges to receive at all moments of the day,⁶⁷ and with the *vachabhūmikas* (XII), a class of overseers whose duties we have no means for precisely indicating. But in the case of all, the king has enlarged and in some way or other remodelled their duties, adding to the special functions of these officers those of a moral surveillance, of a sort of religious propaganda, on which alone he insists in his rescripts.

The same idea pervades all his new institutions, at least all those which are borne witness to by the inscriptions. As far as regards the *dharmamahāmātras*, the name itself is significant. Their creation goes back to the fourteenth year of Piyadasi's coronation (V). He also claims the credit of the institution of the *rajjūkas*: *hēvaṃ mama rajjūka kaṭṭa jānapadasa hitasukhāyē* (Col. Ed. IV, 12). The functions and the hierarchical grade of these officers are enveloped in some obscurity. It is probable that the true form of the word is *rajjūka*, and that Prof. Jacobi has rightly connected them with the *rajjūs* of the Jain texts, whose title the commentators explain by *lēkhaka*, 'scribe.' The *Kalpasūtra* appears to bear witness to their habitual presence, and to their importance at the courts of kings. Dr. Bühler (p. 20), while approving of this derivation and of this meaning, also asks whether we are to see, in these *rajjūkas*, clerks fulfilling the functions of scribes, or a caste of scribes from which the king may have specially recruited the personnel of his administration. The sentence of the 4th Col. edict which I have just quoted, hardly leaves any room for doubt; it is incompatible with the second hypothesis: but the nature of their functions, even taking as a foundation the translation of the word by *lēkhaka*, is capable of diverse interpretations; and it is, therefore, the more necessary to examine our texts as closely as possible.

The *rajjūkas* are mentioned on three occasions, — in the 3rd of the fourteen (Rock) edicts, and in the 4th and the 8th of the Columnar edicts. Of the last passages, the first contrasts them with the whole range of royal functionaries, grouped collectively under the designation of 'men of the king.' The second tends to the same conclusion; the king, after having stated, without specification, that he has appointed over his people a number of persons, evidently officials, to teach them, adds immediately, 'I have also appointed *rajjūkas* over hundreds of thousands of living beings, and they have been ordered by me to instruct the faithful in such and such a manner.' In the 3rd edict, the *rajjūkas*, together with the *prādēsika* and the faithful, are invited to proceed every five years to the *anusāṇyāna*. These *rajjūkas* must in short have had a position apart from all these functionaries, for the king, in the 4th of the

⁶⁶ Bühler, p. 47.

⁶⁷ The word *vināṭa* has been, I think, definitely explained by Dr. Bühler, who takes it in the sense of *vinātaka*, to mean litter or palanquin. This hypothesis satisfies the desideratum which I pointed out in my commentary on the passage, and on account of which I rejected various tentative interpretations: it furnishes a designation of place.

Columnar edicts, stipulates for them, and for them alone, an altogether special privilege, that of being only subject to his direct jurisdiction. Although this edict does not, strictly speaking, make them superior in the hierarchy to the *purushas*, still it attributes at least an authority, a special importance, to the teaching conveyed by them. The king considers it their duty to stimulate the zeal of his functionaries properly so called, so as to make them in their turn active propagators of the good doctrine.

It will be remarked that, wherever the *rajjūkas* are mentioned, they are put in close relationship on the one hand with the teaching of the *dhamma*, and on the other hand with the *yuta* or the *dhammayuta*. It is for them alone that the king reserves the technical term for, 'preaching' (*vi-ava-vad, pari-ava-vad*). They are to instruct specially the *dhammayuta* people, that is to say the faithful, but with them also all people (Col. Ed. IV and VIII); if they, proceed to the *anusamyāna*, it is in company with the *yutas*.⁶⁸ In the last sentence of the 3rd edict, *yutas* are spoken of, without apparently any mention being made of *rajjūkas*; but, even here, nevertheless, I think that they are directly referred to. The *parishad* is charged with the duty of instructing the *yutas* or the faithful. I originally understood *parishad* as an equivalent of *saṃgha*, and I was not, I think, much mistaken. The two Jain texts which mention the *rajjūs*, refer to them in the compound *rajjūsabhā* (*Kalpasūtra*, I, 122, 147). Judging from the context, *sabhā* cannot mean specially the assembly itself, but rather the place of the assembly; it, however, supposes a meeting, a college, of *rajjūs*, for the use of which the *sabhā* was set apart. I feel little hesitation in identifying the *parishad* of the 3rd Edict with this meeting of *rajjūkas*. It will be recognised that the position which the word occupies, beside an order given to the *rajjūkas*, is favourable to this opinion. The *parishad* reappears in the 6th edict. According to the division of the sentences which has been established by Dr. Bühler, the king says, — 'With regard to all that I personally order to be given away or to be promulgated, or to everything that, in urgent cases, the *mahāmātras* have to undertake on their own responsibility, every dissent or blame which may arise concerning that must be immediately reported in the *parishad*.' It would be unreasonable to contend, *à priori*, that this *parishad* is different from that of the 3rd edict. This assembly of *rajjūkas* thus appears to constitute a sort of council, of a more specially religious character, on which the care of the propaganda and of religious works specially devolved, and to which the piety of the king gave a considerable influence over his own actions. The expression of the 8th edict, according to which the *rajjūkas* were appointed over many thousands of men, and, still more, the indications of the 3rd edict, which applies to all parts of the vast empire of Piyadasi, go far to prove that there was not only one of these colleges, but that they existed in more or less number. The peculiar functions of these persons, perhaps also their religious character, clearly explain both the importance which Piyadasi attaches to their creation and their actions, and the privileged position with which he endowed them, as compared with his other officers. It would be interesting if we could establish a palpable agreement between their name and their office, but unfortunately, though the form *rajjūka* appears to be certain, the etymology of the word remains obscure. The very meaning which the Jain commentator attributes to it, even if we admit that he is right, cannot be the primitive one, and can be no authority for the time of Piyadasi. All that we can state positively is this, that between the meaning of 'scribe,' however it arose, and the application of the word to persons whose duties as teachers suppose a complete religious education, the distance is far from impassable.

It now remains to say a word regarding a last category of persons, the *prādēsikas*. According to Prof. Kern,⁶⁹ they were probably local governors. This interpretation is conformable with the use of the word in the classical language, and, basing his inquiries on this use, Dr. Bühler (p. 20) seeks in them for the local princes, in whom India, with its feudal system

⁶⁸ It is unnecessary to remark how this allusion favours my interpretation of the words *yuta* and *dhammayuta*. It proves at least that, in translating, we cannot separate the two terms from each other.

⁶⁹ *J. R. A. S., N. S., XII. p. 393.*

and its caste organization, has always been rich,—the ancestors of the Thākurs, Rāos, Rāwals, &c., of the present day. In itself the explanation is very plausible. The only passage in which they are mentioned by name, associates them with the *rajjūkas* in their characteristic functions. If my conjecture of *yathāvisayāpi* in the 8th Col. Ed. (l. 1.) is well founded, it is probable that they are referred to in this sentence also, and *yathāvisayā* would correspond with *prādēsika*. There also, they seem to be closely connected with the *rajjūkas*, and it is not surprising that the king should devolve upon functionaries of so high a rank, who were in a manner his direct representatives, a share in the mission of preaching.⁷⁰

Piyadasi, while not expressing himself very clearly regarding the character and hierarchical position of his functionaries, is also not as explicit and precise as we could wish regarding their duties. He is more occupied with giving them counsels of humanity, of imparting to them moral exhortations, than with detailing their professional work.

So far as concerns the officers, probably of various kinds, grouped together under the generic title of *mahāmātras*, we see clearly enough that they existed in all parts of his kingdom (Edict of the Queen), and that they were expected, in urgent matters, to come to the necessary decisions on their own responsibility (VI). Some of them, in towns such as Tōsalī and Samāpā, acted as governors and judges (Dh. J., Det. Ed. I.): they had to prevent arbitrary prosecutions and imprisonments; but, as we have seen, it is, above all, the practice of the virtues most necessary to their positions which is recommended to them; they must flee envy, impatience, want of application. In the frontier provinces, the *antamahāmātras* (Dh. J., Det. Ed. II) are only encouraged to convince the foreigners, beyond the border, of the pacific and benign intentions which Piyadasi holds in regard to them, and are charged to bring them gradually by these sympathetic feelings to the practice of those virtues, dear to the king, which must assure their welfare both in this world and in the next. All this is very vague. From the 8th Col. edict, it appears that we must conclude, that to each sect, orthodox or dissenting, there was attached a *mahāmātra*, specially entrusted with its superintendence.⁷¹

According to the same passage, the *dhammahāmātras*, created by Piyadasi for the diffusion of the *dhamma*, would appear to have had a more extended sphere of action. They were to busy themselves in a general way with all the sects. A reference may be made to the 5th and 12th Rock edicts and to the 8th Col. edict, where the king recapitulates more or less explicitly the services which he expects from them. It is a mission of mercy and charity, unfortunately without positive details, which is entrusted to them. Amongst the vassal populations (V) they appear to have been invested with particularly multifarious duties, amongst others, the special protection of the co-religionists of the king. They are readily confused with the *mahāmātras*, named thus in a general fashion, for example, in what concerns the distribution of the alms of the king, his wives, and his children (Col. Ed. VIII and Ed. of the Queen). They are charged with a kind of oversight of the king's palace and of all his property, both at Pāṭaliputra, and in the provinces (V), but they evidently share this task with other functionaries, probably of inferior rank, such as the *ithijhakamahāmātras* and the *vachabhūmikas* (XII). The king connects all his bodies of officers with each other, as all working together to aid, by mutual tolerance and religious preaching, the progress of the moral ideas which form the essential basis of all sects. We cannot draw many precise ideas from language so vague as this.

The duties of the *prativēdakas* are a little better defined by their name alone. They are the officers whose duty it is to report everything to the king (VI), and Dr. Bühler (47) has

⁷⁰ I think that, in any case, Prof. Kern goes beyond his authorities, when he fixes the creation of the *rajjūkas* and the *prādēsikas* as occurring in the 13th year (*loc. cit.* p. 392). The date given in the 3rd edict evidently refers to the foundation of the *anusāṣṭhāna*, and not to the creation of the officials whom the king directs to participate in it.

⁷¹ In the edict of Kauśāmbī, the word *saṅghasi*, which is very distinct, seems to indicate that the *mahāmātras* of the town received, in this instance, orders regarding the Buddhist community. This is an additional reason for regretting that the fragment is so damaged. Should we consider that we have a trace of the continued existence of this organisation in the inscription of Nāsik (West, No. 6, *Archæol. Sur. West. Ind.*, IV, p. 98): . . . *nāsikakēṇa sāmāṇēna mahāmātēna lēṇa kārīta*? We might easily translate it 'the *mahāmātra* of Nāsik, set over the Śramaṇas.'

certainly good grounds for comparing them with the *charas* (or *chāras*) whose employment is recommended to Hindū princes by the Dharmaśāstras. So far as regards them, probably Piyadasi's only innovation was the zeal with which he required and heard their reports.

As for the *rajjūkas*, we have seen that their principal, but not their only (*yathā añāya pi kañmāya*, Ed. III) duty, was the preaching of the *dhamma*, and that chiefly for the benefit of the *dhammayutas*. Although, it is true, the text is not absolutely explicit, it appears likely that to them also was entrusted the execution of the will of the king with reference to those condemned to death (Col. Ed. IV). Piyadasi determined to give these unhappy people a respite of three days before their execution, so that they might prepare themselves for the punishment by fasting and alms, and might practise meditation with a view to their salvation in the world to come. We have here an inspiration which is entirely religious; and the intervention of the *rajjūkas* would perfectly agree with what has been said above regarding the character of their office.

I would have little to add regarding them, did they not play an important part in an institution peculiar to Piyadasi, the *anusamyāna*, which is very characteristic, but the nature and ritual of which are unfortunately not explained with the accuracy which we should desire.

I desire to draw the attention of the reader to two decisive passages. Their translation is, I believe, certain as regards its general lines. We first read in the 3rd edict, — 'Everywhere in my empire let the faithful of the religion, the *rajjūka* and the governor, set out every five years for the *anusamyāna*, for this reason — for the teaching of the *dhamma*, as well as for any other duty. The teaching of the *dhamma*, that is to say, "It is good to obey one's mother and one's father, etc." The first detached edict of Dh. and J. concludes as follows:—'It is also for this purpose that regularly every fifth year I shall summon [to the *anusamyāna*] every⁷² *mahāmātra* who will be mild, patient, and a respecter of life, in order that, hearing these things, he may act according to my instructions. The Prince [Governor] of Ujjayinī also will for this purpose summon an assembly of the same nature, but he shall do so every three years without fail. So also at Takshaśilā. While repairing to the *anusamyāna*, without at the same time neglecting their other particular duties, these *mahāmātras* will learn these things. Let them act in accordance therewith, following the instructions of the king.'

It is the exact meaning of the word *anusamyāna* which makes the difficulty. Instead of the 'assembly,' which I have sought for in it, Prof. Kern (*loc. cit.*), and after him Dr. Bühler (p. 21), understand it as a 'tour of inspection.' Dr. Bühler relies on its etymological meaning, and also on the fact that the word is really used in Sanskrit to signify 'to visit in turn.' I willingly admit that, at first sight, this translation would appear to be the most natural one. At the same time, Prof. Kern himself admits⁷³ that my interpretation is not impossible, and that as a matter of fact, as *sam-yā* certainly does mean 'to meet together,' *anusamyāna*, could easily, with the addition of the distributive meaning contained in *anu*, express the idea of 'meeting, assembly.' On the other hand, the translation which my learned colleagues propose for the word seems to me to be irreconcilable with the passages which have just been cited.

In fact, it follows from the first detached edict at Dhauli, that the *mahāmātras*, whom the king intends, or orders, to 'set out for the *anusamyāna*,' are supposed to go there to seek for themselves, and not to carry to others, teaching and moral instruction. I believe that I have shown in my commentary, that the text can bear no other interpretation. Moreover, that is the only one which logically fits into the general bearing of the whole edict. It is addressed to the *mahāmātras*, and only contains exhortations, a kind of sermon, regarding their duties. 'Fail not,' concludes the king, 'to satisfy me by acting in this way. It is for this purpose (that is to say, quite clearly, to obtain every satisfaction from you) that this inscription hath been engraven . . . It is also for this purpose (that is to say, again evidently, to remind you of your duties)

⁷² The plural which follows, *tā mahāmātrā*, justifies this translation.

⁷³ *Geschied. van het Buddhismo*, II, 220 n.

that regularly every fifth year, etc.' If we compare closely the two passages which relate to the *anusamyāna*, what do we find? In the first, the *yutas*, the *rajjūkas* and the *prādésikas* are every five years, to set out for the *anusamyāna*. In the second, it is only stated that the *mahāmātras* are to set out for it. It has been rather hastily admitted that the two categories must necessarily be equivalent; I myself have fallen into the mistake. It was under this impression that, in order to establish a complete concordance between the two passages, I originally proposed to take,⁷⁴ in the first, the phrase *imāya dhammānusaṣṭiya* in a passive sense, but I should never have admitted this conjecture, which I have since withdrawn.⁷⁵ It is, indeed, an arbitrary supposition that these two recommendations, which are intended for different persons, should necessarily be identical. The second is addressed to the *mahāmātra* who are destined, in the *anusamyāna*, to receive instruction and encouragement, while the first can very well be addressed to the functionaries charged with imparting them, — to the *prādésika*, the governor, as immediate and direct representative of the king, and to the *rajjūkas*, of whom we know that the proper function was religious and moral teaching. From this point of view the passage of the fourth columnar edict, which has been discussed several times, shows itself under a new light. It becomes clear why the zeal of the officers is there considered as guaranteed by that of the *rajjūkas*, as these are specially charged with reminding them of their duties. Under these circumstances it is evident that the *anusamyāna* to which the king wishes the *mahāmātras* to repair, can only have been an assembly. Perhaps, after all, both theories might be reconciled, if we suppose that reference is made to a series of meetings convoked by the *rajjūka* and the *prādésika* on tour, for the king certainly supposes a considerable number of such assemblies. It will be admitted, at any rate, that a tour of inspection could hardly be changed into a tour of instruction, except with the convocation of numerous successive meetings. Is not also a special assembly necessarily implied by the king's command that his edict should be read (Dh., J., Ed. det., I) on the day of the festival in honour of Tishya? I may add that the agreement, established by this explanation, with the custom mentioned for a more modern period by the Chinese pilgrims (and to which I have drawn attention in my commentary), does not appear to me, supposing it necessary, to be an argument by any means to be despised.

There is, too, another agreement which is even more to the point. The 3rd edict invites to the *anusamyāna* the *yutas*. I have stated above my opinion as to the meaning of this word. If I am right that we must consider it as equivalent, in a general sense, to 'all the faithful of the true religion,' it is clear that the *anusamyāna* to which they are invited cannot be a 'tour of administration.' But, even supposing that my explanation of the word is not considered convincing, and that the translation is not admitted without some reserve, it appears to me that it is impossible to seriously contest the identity of the *yuta* of the 3rd edict with the *jana-dhammayuta* of the 8th columnar edict. That name must designate at least a considerable category of people, and not merely officials, and would consequently exclude every kind of idea of a 'tour of inspection.'

These assemblies had therefore, in my opinion, the altogether special characteristic, that they were not meant for the entire population. Besides the superior officials who were responsible for them, and who took an active part in them (*rajjūka* and *prādésika*), they comprised only the *yutas*, that is to say, the faithful Buddhists. This furnishes the key to a difficulty which occurred to me in the first detached edict at Dhauli (n. 25), and of which I did not originally offer a sufficient solution. The reader will remember the phrase, 'I shall summon to the *anusamyāna* every *mahāmātra*, who will be mild, patient, and a respecter of life.' It, as the reader can see from my revised commentary in this translation, appears to me that we must understand the phrase as having a shade of 'possibility', — every *mahāmātra* who may be endowed with these qualities; and in these qualities I only see a development of the idea

⁷⁴ Dh., det. Ed. I, n. 28.

⁷⁵ The constant use in our texts of *dhammānusaṣṭiya* in the active sense, entirely condemns such an hypothesis.

which is expressed in an equivalent manner by the compound *dhammayuta*. In the 3rd edict, addressed to every one in general, Piyadasi convokes to the *anusambyāna* all the faithful without distinction; here, where he addresses himself specially to the *mahāmātras*, he specifies those only among them who fall under the category of *dhammayutas*. The two passages agree in establishing that the *anusambyāna* was reserved for Buddhists. It was one of the principal occasions when the *rajjikas* were given the mission of exercising their ministry of teaching, which was specially conferred upon them over those of the people who believed (Col. Ed. VIII, 1). It will be remarked that this peculiarity agrees very well with the purely religious name of *mōkshaparishad*, 'assemblies of deliverance,' given by Hiuen Tsiang to those quinquennial or annual assizes which we compare with our *anusambyāna*.⁷⁶

It is curious that these **assemblies of the anusambyāna** should have been convoked at different periods,—every five years in the countries directly administered by the king, and every three years or less in the provinces governed by the princes who lived at Ujjayinī and at Takshasilā. For Tōsalī, which we see to have been also ruled by a *kumāra* (Dh. J., Det. Ed. II), we find no special instructions, and it is therefore probable that the convocation took place there only every five years. It is difficult to see the reasons of this variation. One conjecture only appears to me to present some probability, *viz.* that towards his west and south-west frontier the king wished to multiply the occasions of meeting and instruction, in the interests of his co-religionists belonging to the vassal populations surrounding his borders, and over whom his usual action would necessarily be less direct and less efficacious.

Of the **other measures of which the initiation belongs to Piyadasi**, some have already been noticed,—such, for instance, as the three days respite which he gives to the condemned, before their execution, that they may prepare for death; while others,—such as the planting of trees along the roads, the construction of wells and tanks,—are common to most of the kings of India.

We have spoken of the suppression of bloody sacrifices (I). The 5th of the Columnar edicts states the restrictions imposed by the king upon the slaughter and mutilation of animals, and on the consumption of their flesh, and we know that in this respect, he practised in his palace what he preached (I). We have already discussed the honour which he claims of having spread abroad, in all places, medicines and useful plants (II). As for certain acts of an altogether religious character, such as the sending forth of missionaries, they will be considered in the concluding portion of these observations.

We learn that he entertained **certain relations with foreign countries**, and more especially with the Greek kings. It is unfortunate that he gives us no particulars concerning this subject. The employment of ambassadors (*dātas*), whom he mentions in the 13th edict, is to be expected and teaches us nothing. These relations with other lands, and the influences which resulted from them, were certainly no new thing, and our inscriptions, unless I am mistaken, preserve a piece of evidence regarding them, which, although indirect, is worth drawing attention to.

The rescripts of Piyadasi commence, all or nearly all, with this phrase, — '**Thus saith the king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas.**' Now, so far as I know, this formula is an absolutely isolated example in Indian epigraphy. It makes its appearance with our inscriptions, and, after them, appears no more, in spite of the influence which the example of so powerful a sovereign would be expected to exercise. The fact is curious, and is worthy of having its explanation sought for. Now we do find this formula elsewhere. In the entire series of the inscriptions of the Achæmenides, from Darius to Artaxerxes Ochus, the phrase *thātiy Dārayavaush kshayāthiya*, '**thus saith the king Darius,**' or its equivalent, *thātiy Kshayārshā*, &c., inevitably forms the frame of each of the proclamations. In both cases, this phrase in the third person is immediately succeeded by the use of the first person, and we are still further justified in drawing attention to this curious

⁷⁶ Beal; *Si-yu-ki*, I, 52, &c.

coincidence by the fact that, again in both cases, the same word (*dipi*, *lipi*) is used to designate the inscriptions, and that, as we have seen, we are led to admit, on altogether independent grounds, that the Indian form of the word was originally borrowed from Persia. The very idea of engraving long inscriptions upon rocks is neither so natural nor so universal that the coincidence in this respect between Piyadasi and Achæmenide kings should easily be considered to be fortuitous. I certainly do not pretend to discover here a direct and conscious imitation of the Achæmenian inscriptions, but the protocol employed in both cases must have been consecrated by an older custom of the royal chanceries, and in this imitation I cannot refrain from noting **a trace of the influence exercised by the Persian conquest and administration in north-west India.** It was Darius who first carried thither his rule and his arms, and the organisation of the Satrapies,⁷⁷ which he instituted about the same time, was exactly of a nature to spread abroad the usages and formulas of administration peculiar to his empire. This remark naturally agrees with a conjecture which I have made elsewhere.⁷⁸ It tends to confirm the influence which I thought myself justified in attributing to the Persian administration over the palæographical history of India. It is a subject to which I shall have to return.

The literary traditions are strangely silent regarding the various governmental and administrative measures, which are known to us through the evidence of these monuments. We have, it is true, proved coincidences or points of agreement between the two classes of documents, which are characteristic enough, and from which we can be certain of the identity of the Piyadasi of the inscriptions, with the Aśoka of the books; but it must be admitted that, beyond these valuable concordances, the two series of accounts diverge in a singular manner. It is seldom that they refer to the same facts, so as to render one a direct check upon the other. It is not that they are contradictory or incompatible with each other, but that, simply, they do not speak of the same things. The chronicles, for instance, do not even mention the conquest of Kalinga, or the relations of the king with foreign princes. This circumstance is capable of explanation. In the writings of the Northern Buddhists we only possess fragmentary accounts of Aśoka, and the Sinhalese chronicles do not profess to give his biography in detail. If this prince interests them, it is because he is considered as the principal author of the diffusion of Buddhism in Ceylon, and it is only the religious aspects of his life which are of importance in the eyes of the monkish writers.⁷⁹ Moreover, it has long been recognized that these traditions, both those of the north and those of Ceylon, are deeply imbued with legendary elements, which are, at least in great part, apocryphal, and which were certainly composed long after the epoch the history of which they reflect. **The sphere of religion** is almost the only one with regard to which some comparisons are possible; and that which gives some interest to the comparisons, limited though they be, which we are able to institute, is, that from them we may hope to recognise in what direction, if not in what degree, tradition has gradually deviated from the truth.

According to the Sinhalese chronicles, the coronation of Aśoka did not take place till four years after his coming to the throne, and we have no means for certainly checking this statement. There is nothing to show its improbability, and we might even say that the care with which the king, agreeing in this with the practice of the chroniclers, expressly dates from his *abhishêka* the facts about which he informs us, appears rather to indicate that his coronation, as a matter of fact, could not have coincided with his taking possession of his power. The tradition is most liable to suspicion so far as it deals with the events which are said to have accompanied this act of taking possession, or at least which are said to have preceded the coronation. If we are to believe the Sinhalese, Aśoka seized the throne after putting to death ninety-nine of his brothers, and is said to have spared one only, Tishya, who entered three years later into a monastic life. The commission of this crime is contradicted by the inscriptions, in which he speaks of his brothers, and of their residence in various towns of his empire; indeed,

⁷⁷ Cf. Spiegel, *Eran. Alterth.*, II., pp. 328 and ff.

⁷⁸ *Journ. Asiatique*, 1879, I, p. 536

⁷⁹ Cf. the remark of Tāranātha, *Germ. transl.* p. 29.

agreement is far from existing amongst the different sources of the tradition, and according to Tāranātha,⁸⁰ it was six brothers whom the king made away with. According to other authorities there was no murder at all, but it is replaced by other acts of cruelty. In the *Asōka-avadāna*,⁸¹ the prince slays his officers and his wives, and sets up a 'hell,' in which a number of innocent people are submitted to the most refined tortures.⁸² According to a Sinhalese account,⁸³ Asōka sends a minister to re-establish regular practices amongst the Buddhist clergy, who are troubled by the treacherous intrusion of a great number of false Brāhmanical brethren. Infuriated against the monks who refused under these conditions to celebrate the *upōsatha*, the minister decapitates several with his own hand. He only stops, when the very brother of the king offers himself to receive the fatal blow. The king, being informed of what has occurred, falls a victim to cruel anguish of conscience. In the north, we are told⁸⁴ how Asōka, to punish profanation committed by Brāhmanical mendicants upon a statue of the Buddha, sets a price upon their heads, and how he only desists from his executions when his brother, who is here called Vitāsōka, is, in mistake, slain as one. All these accounts are at the same time very analogous, and very different. It is equally impossible to accept any of the versions as good historical coin. We can recognise them, without difficulty, as more or less independent developments of two ideas common to both sets. The first is the antithesis between the criminal conduct of Asōka before his conversion, and his virtuous conduct subsequently to it. In this way the *Asōka-avadāna*⁸⁵ places the conversion of Asōka in direct relation with his 'hell,' by the intermediary of the pious Samudra. The other is the memory of a certain opposition between the king and the Brāhmanas. It reappears in the southern account of his conversion, and is there attributed to the comparisons, unfavourable to the Brāhmanas, which arose in the heart of the king, between them and his nephew, Nigrōdha the *śramaṇa*.

In his inscriptions, Piyadasi himself enlightens us as to the origin of his conversion. He draws for us a mournful picture of the deeds of violence which accompanied the conquest of Kalinga, the thousands of deaths, the thousands of harmless people carried off into slavery, families decimated, Brāhmanas themselves not escaping the miseries of the defeat. It is this spectacle which filled him with remorse, and which awakened in him a horror of war. Here we are upon a solid ground of history. It is very probable that the literary versions are only later amplifications of this kernel of simple and certain truth. The sentiments which Piyadasi explains to us in the 13th edict, would appear to exclude the idea of a career of cruelties and of crimes pursued through several entire years. So much for the first point of view.

As for the second, Piyadasi himself, if I correctly translate the difficult passage at Sabasārām declares to us that, after his conversion, he proceeded to deprive the Brāhmanas of that almost divine prestige which they enjoyed throughout the whole of India. Without any doubt, he did not persecute them violently; at the same time he approves of the alms which were given to them; but he must have marked his preference for the Buddhist religion by various means which it is not difficult to imagine. It is this proceeding, doubtless, which has been transformed in the literary tradition into an absolute banishment, — nay rather, a bloody persecution of the Brāhmanas.

In both cases, a comparison of the monuments with the legends and the chronicles tends to show, 1st, that the traditions are marked by grave exaggeration, and are full of arbitrary amplifications, and 2nd, that they are dominated by religious and specially by monastic prepossessions, — prepossessions which were infinitely more precise than any which ever existed in the mind and at the time of Piyadasi. All other observations lead to a similar conclusion.

We know, from the 2nd edict, that Piyadasi claims the credit of having spread abroad

⁸⁰ *Germ. transl.* p. 28.

⁸² Tāranātha, pp. 28 and ff., contains yet other variations.

⁸⁴ *Asōka-avadāna* ap. Burnouf, pp. 423 and ff.

⁸¹ Burnouf, *Introduction*, pp. 364 and ff.

⁸³ *Mahāvamsa*, pp. 39 and ff.

⁸⁵ *loc. cit.*, pp. 367, and ff.

everywhere medicines and useful plants both for men and even for animals. According to the story of Buddhaghôsha,⁸⁶ Asôka, on learning that a *bhikshu* has died for want of medicine, has four tanks (*pôkkharanî*) dug out at the four gates of the city, which he fills with medicines, and offers to the monks. Here, on the one hand, the exaggeration is carried to an absurdity, and, on the other hand, the monkish prepossession stands clearly confessed. Piyadasi takes measures to give to those who are condemned to death, before their execution, a respite which will allow them to meditate with a view to their religious preparation for the event. We also see that, on several occasions, he exercises his prerogative of mercy with regard to criminals. If we now turn to the *Asôka-avadâna*,⁸⁷ we learn that Asôka absolutely prohibited the putting of any one to death, and he takes this resolution owing to the death of a *bhikshu* who turns out to be no other than his own brother. Here, again, we see the exaggeration and the religious colouring.

The legends of the north, and the southern traditions, each represent Asôka as an adherent to what appeared respectively to each to be the only orthodox Buddhism. Nothing is more natural. But what we want to know, is, to what degree these pretensions were justified.

Since Kittoe's time,⁸⁸ it has been generally agreed, that the Bhabra inscription appears to reproduce a letter from the king to the council, which, according to the Sinhalese annalists, is said to have been held at Pâtaliputra in the reign of Asôka. I must except Prof. Kern, who, in his criticism of the data relative to this occurrence, comes to purely negative conclusions, and considers the alleged council as an invention.⁸⁹ It is at least certain that the coincidence which has been accepted as self-evident, is met by more than one difficulty. The king explains with entire precision the aim which he has set himself in this letter: viz., that certain lessons should be spread abroad as much as possible, both among the monks and among the laity. He mentions neither a general collection of teachings current under the name of the Buddha, nor any of the circumstances which, in the southern tradition, characterized the council of Pâtaliputra. Can it be admitted that the king designated simply by the name of *Mâgadha-saṅgha* a solemn meeting, assembled under exceptional circumstances, as is depicted by the Sinhalese books? The very manner, too, in which the king puts nearly on the same level the authority of his own orders and the authority of the words of the Buddha, renders it little likely, granting the piety and orthodoxy of which he boasts, that he should be addressing himself to a council assembled to codify those very words of the Buddha. The king, on so solemn an occasion, would assuredly not have employed language so even, so entirely devoid of all allusion to the circumstance which provoked his intervention. I think, therefore, that, in this letter, Piyadasi addresses simply the clergy of Magadha, or, as I have conjectured, the Buddhist clergy in general, in order to recommend to them the active dissemination of the lessons attributed to the Buddha. Moreover, far from admitting that the edict shews the historic reality of the council, I would be rather disposed to think that, in this case also, the memory of the efforts made by Asôka to extend the Buddhist doctrines and to stimulate the zeal of their natural preachers, amplifying and acquiring definite form as time passed on in the traditions of the schools, has been either the origin or the foundation of the tradition regarding the alleged council.

One of the two chief works attributed by the Sinhalese to this synod, is the initiative which it is said to have taken in sending forth, in all directions, missionaries charged with propagating the Good Law. In this, again, everything points to the conclusion that the chronicle confiscates to the profit of the clergy an honour which, in reality, belongs to the king. The Edict of Sahasârâm-Rûpnâth (*amîta pi cha jânamîtu*) proves that, independently of any council, Piyadasi was devoted to the propaganda in foreign parts. If I have rightly interpreted the conclusion of the edict, he must have, within a little more than a year of religious zeal, sent forth missionaries (*vivuthas*) as far as possible in all directions. We see, in any case, from the 13th edict, that he sent forth envoys (*dûtas*) to spread his religious ideas, and that, from that period, he prided himself with having, in this respect, obtained a certain amount of success.

⁸⁶ *Samantapâsâdikâ*, ap. Oldenburg, p. 306.

⁸⁸ Cf. Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 325.

⁸⁷ Burnouf, pp. 423-424.

⁸⁹ Kern, II, 278 and ff.

There can hardly be any doubt that the monkish tradition, under the influence of its special prepossessions, has transferred to the clergy, an action which, in truth, should be credited to the sovereign.⁹⁰

According to legend, Aśoka would appear as a fervent adorer of the relics of the Buddha, and as a great builder of *stūpas*. In this respect the monuments do not permit us to be affirmative. I can only adhere, in spite of the objections of Dr. Bühler, to my explanation of the 4th edict. Piyadasi there, in my opinion, describes religious festivals celebrated after his conversion. In connection with these processions, I applied the word *vimāna*, in *vimānadasanā*, to shrines filled with relics; but I confess that this interpretation, which was of necessity conjectural, appears less probable to me to-day. It would be hardly consonant with the zeal of a neophyte to put, if we take the word in this sense, the *vimānadasanā*, on the same level with the *hastidasanā*, the *agikhaṇḍhāni*, &c. I think then that in the monuments we have no proof that Piyadasi practised the cult of relics, though we have still less proof to the contrary.

There is, on the other hand, one point with regard to which we are entitled to strongly charge the literary tradition with an anachronism. According to the Sinhalese, the canon of the sacred writings is said to have been fixed, as early as the time of Aśoka, by two successive councils. This appears to me to be irreconcilable with the language which the king uses at Bhabra. No doubt, several of the titles which are quoted in this inscription, are to be found in the Pāli scriptures, and the example of the *rāhulōvādasutta* is of a nature to lead us to maintain *à priori*, with respect to the other titles, that the king really did refer to lessons very similar to those of which the text has been preserved to us. Dr. Oldenberg,⁹¹ on the other hand, remarks that the king did not necessarily profess to cite *all* the lessons of the Buddha, the authority of which he recognised. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that, if there existed, besides them, a defined and consecrated body of scriptures, it would be quite extraordinary that Piyadasi should choose, in order to sum up the mass of Buddhist lessons, pieces so little characteristic, so short, and so devoid of dogmatic importance, as those which he cites appear to be, and that too, without even alluding to the great collection of which the title alone would have been infinitely more significant, and to which it would be so natural to appeal when addressing the highest representatives of the clergy and of the whole Buddhist church. It will be remarked, besides, that the terms employed by the text, — *suṇēyu*, *upadhālayēyu*, — refer only to oral transmission.

These remarks would be incomplete without an examination as to the degree to which they are confirmed by the doctrines which the author of the inscriptions professes.

In the special Edict of Bhabra, the language of Piyadasi is, in several characteristic points, in agreement with the terminology of literary Buddhism. Not only does the king address the clergy (*saṅgha*), but he salutes it by a formula sanctioned on such occasions by the canonical writings. He commences with a confession of faith (*paśāda*) in the Buddhist Trinity, — Buddha, *dharma*, and *saṅgha*. He alludes to the four-fold division of the faithful into *bhikṣhus* and *bhikṣuṇīs*, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*, and finally he refers to certain religious lessons of which, as we have seen, several at least are to be found in a more or less equivalent form in the *Tripiṭaka*.

In the other inscriptions the points of contact with the Buddhism of our books are less apparent.

⁹⁰ On one important and interesting point, — I mean the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon, — our inscriptions do not assist us to come to any certain conclusion. Piyadasi never mentions Tambapanni, except as an extreme limit of his influence. It would appear, however, that we must include this great island amongst the countries evangelised under his direction. It is altogether another thing to decide whether it was really converted then, or whether this was done by his son, &c.; and in this respect, the silence of the monuments seems hardly favourable to the authority of the traditions.

⁹¹ *Mahāvagga*, pref. p. xl. n.

The great aim of Piyadasi is to teach, to spread abroad, and to encourage the *dhamma*. This word appears so frequently in his inscriptions, and has so characteristic an importance, that it is indispensable to fix its exact meaning. From the definitions or descriptions which the king gives us, it follows that to him *dhamma* ordinarily implies what we call the sum of moral duties.

According to the definition given in the 2nd Columnar edict, the *dhamma* 'consists in committing the least possible ill (*āsinava*); in doing much good, in practising mercy, charity, truth, and also purity of life.' The eighth adds 'gentleness.' Several enumerations sum up the principal duties which constitute the essential points of the teaching of the *dhamma*: obedience to fathers, and mothers (Ed. III, IV, XI, Col. Ed. VIII), to the aged (Ed. IV, Col. Ed. VIII), to *gurus* (Col. Ed. VIII), respect to *gurus* (Ed. IX), to *brāhmaṇas* and *śramaṇas* (Ed. IV, Col. Ed. VIII), to relations (Ed. IV), and even to slaves and servants (Ed. IX, XI, Col. Ed. VIII), charity to *brāhmaṇas* and *śramaṇas* (Ed. III, IX), to friends, to acquaintances and to relations (Ed. III, XI), and in one passage (Ed. III), — besides *apavyayātā* (?), of which the meaning has not yet been satisfactorily determined,⁹² — moderation in language; above all, respect for the life of animals (Ed. III, IV, IX, XI).⁹³

Here there is nothing exclusively Buddhist, and hence Piyadasi was able to say (Col. Ed. VII) that the kings who preceded him have laboured in order to cause the progress of the *dhamma*.

The 13th edict contains an enumeration altogether similar to those which sum up elsewhere the teaching of the *dhamma*, yet made in order to prove that the virtues which it records are often practised indifferently by adherents of all religious dogmas: — 'Everywhere,' says the king, 'dwell *brāhmaṇas*, *śramaṇas* or other sects, ascetics or householders: among these men, . . . there exist obedience to superiors, obedience to fathers and mothers, tenderness towards friends comrades and relations, respect to slaves and servants, fidelity in the affections.' The *dhamma* is here attributed to all sects. It is that *sāra*, that 'essence,' which is common to all, as Piyadasi says in the 12th Edict, and the universal progress of which he desires. 'That is why harmony is to be desired. All should hear and learn to practise the *dhamma* from the mouth of one another.'⁹⁴

At the same time, the Edict of Bhabra shows that the special Buddhist use of *dhamma* was familiar to Piyadasi, and that the word was already in his time associated with the two other terms, — *buddha* and *saṅgha*, — to constitute the trinitary formula of the Buddhists. Nay, more than that, Piyadasi everywhere puts the idea of the *dhamma* in direct relation with his positive conversion to Buddhism. His first conversion he defines in the 13th edict by the words *dhammavāyē dhammakāmatā dhammānusathī*. As for the second, his 'setting out for the *sambōdhi*' is described by the words *dhammayātrā*. In the fourth edict, in the sentence, *piyadasinō rāṇō dhammacharapēna bhērighōsō ahō dhammaghōsō vimānadasaṇā cha*

⁹² The explanation proposed by Dr. Bühler satisfies me neither as regards the form (the locative would be unique in the inscriptions), nor as regards the suggested meaning which is entirely hypothetical. As for the translation 'modesty,' proposed by Dr. Pischel, he has himself made the suggestion with the most express reservations.

⁹³ The moral ideas which Piyadasi expresses elsewhere, as when he contends that virtue is difficult to practise (Ed. V, VI, X, &c.), or when he declares that he considers it his duty to promote the happiness of the world (Ed. VI), and that in his eyes no glory is equal to the practice of the *dhamma* (X), and no conquest to the conquests made for the gain of the *dhamma*, and when he maintains (Col. Ed. III) that rage, cruelty, anger, and pride are the sources of sin, — all these observations are of a very general character, and add nothing to what we know from elsewhere.

⁹⁴ Ed. XII. I now think that it is thus that we should understand this phrase (l. 7). The king never distinguishes between different *dhammas*, and does not take the word to express indifferently any belief whatever, and it is difficult to maintain that he should do so in a solitary passage. I prefer therefore to make *añamaṇasa* depend not on *dhammāni*, but on *śraddhā* and *susamsāraṇi*; the genitive thus taking a force equivalent to that which the ablative would have, — an occurrence which is not unusual. In the concluding sentence of the edict, I cannot but accept the correction of Dr. Bühler, and I take *ātpapāsanda* as meaning, 'the belief peculiar to each person,' and not 'my own belief.'

... , *dhammacharāṇa* necessarily refers to the conversion of the king,⁹⁵ and specially signifies his adhesion to the Buddhist *dhamma*. It finds its expression in the ceremonies peculiar to the cult, though, almost immediately afterwards, *dhammacharāṇa* signifies merely the practice of moral duties, in accordance with the ordinary value which the word *dhamma* has in the mouth of the king.

Ought we, therefore, to conclude that *dhamma*, in our inscriptions, takes successively two different meanings. They would, in that case, be brought together and confounded in such a manner that, *a priori*, such a theory is hardly probable. On the other hand, Piyadasi certainly does profess a large spirit of tolerance; he desires that all religious sects may live everywhere in perfect liberty, because all of them aim at the subjection of the senses and at purity of soul (VII). But, however liberal his intentions may be, they do not reach to indifference. He does not hesitate to interdict bloody sacrifices,⁹⁶ dear as they must have been to those very Brāhmanas to whom he boasts that he made alms, and he dissuades from, and ridicules, the rites and ceremonies consecrated by Brāhmanical usage, which were celebrated at marriages and births, in cases of sickness, and at the moment of setting out on a journey.

In the Edict of Sahasrām, the sentence regarding the *misāṇḍevā* and the *amisaṇḍevā*, supposing that my translation is accepted as correct, certainly expresses an idea of polemics in regard to beliefs differing from that of the king.⁹⁷ It is true that, as Dr. Bühler has remarked (p. 15), respect for the life of animals is a trait common in India to several religions, but it nevertheless appears to me to be proved, by the very care with which the king limits and points out his desires in this respect (Col. Ed. V), that he did not obey a general feeling, but a dogma dear to his personal doctrines, and the practice of which he imposed even on people who did not consider themselves bound by it. The choice of days reserved is specially characteristic, referring as it does to the festivals of the religious calendar of the Buddhists.⁹⁸

This conflict of opinions, or of expressions, is only apparent. There is a means, and I think only one means, of reconciling them. It is certain that the meaning of *dharma* or *dhamma* has been gradually circumscribed and brought within definite limits by the Buddhists as a technical term. In place of 'law, moral law, virtue,' in general, the word, taking for them a special bearing, signified at first 'the law peculiar to Buddhists,' — the moral rules and the dogmatic principles as they understood them, and finally the writings themselves in which these principles and these rules are recorded. But nothing compels us to assume that such an

⁹⁵ Dr. Bühler, who disputes certain details of my translation, is in substantial agreement with me on this point. Whether we translate with him, 'in Folge seiner (Bekehrung zur) Erfüllung der Gesetzes,' or, as I have done literally, 'thanks to the observance of the religion by Piyadasi,' the meaning is essentially the same, and, in both cases, it is considered that the allusion is to the king's conversion to Buddhism, and that, consequently, the expression *dhammacharāṇa* is, in the eyes of the king, sufficiently characteristic of the practice of the Buddhist religion. It is in regard to the way in which we ought to understand the conjunctive participle *dasayitu*, that Dr. Bühler and I cease to be at one. He lays stress on the past sense which the form implies, and refers the allusion to the festivals given by the king before his conversion. The point is, indeed, of moderate importance, but I cannot refrain from adhering to my original interpretation. It seems to me to be indisputable that, if the king had intended to lay stress on the distinction which is maintained between the actual *bhadrighós* and his former religious feasts, he would have marked it more clearly by his language, and by the turn of the sentence. As for the use of the conjunctive participle with a sense equivalent to that of a participle present, Dr. Bühler knows better than I do that it is of every day occurrence.

⁹⁶ The new readings furnished by Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl and Dr. Bühler put beyond doubt the interpretation which they have given of *prajāhitaviyaṇ* and its equivalents. In this respect, it is necessary to correct my translation.

⁹⁷ Prof. Kern (pp. 312 and ff.) considers that the terms in which Piyadasi expresses himself in regard to the Brāhmanas, entitle us to reject the statement of the Sinhalese chronicle, according to which Aśoka is said to have, at the moment of his conversion, ceased to feed *brāhmanas*, and to have substituted in their place *śramanas*. This is, I think, going too far. It is one thing to tolerate the Brāhmanas and to give them alms, and another thing to surround oneself with them regularly and constantly, even in one's own palace. For my part I see no absolute incompatibility between the language of the king and the reminiscences of the Southern Buddhists. It is unnecessary to add that I do not attach any grave importance to this matter of detail. The disfavour which I believe the king himself admits to have shown to Brāhmanas, could evidently have been manifested in other ways.

⁹⁸ Cf. Kern, *Geschied. van het buddh.*, II., 206 and ff.

acceptation had become fixed in the time of Piyadasi, nor that, in those days, even in the formula *buddha, dharma, saṅgha*, the word had any other signification than 'the moral law.' From this point of view, the literature accepted as orthodox offers us, in a work recognised as one of the most ancient, instructive parallels, and I am surprised that writers have not before this thought of comparing our inscriptions with the language of the Pāli *Dhammapada*.

Taking first the use of the word *dhamma*, the *Dhammapada*, like our texts, uses it in the entirely Buddhist formula of the *triśaraṇa* (verse 190). At the same time, the epithets by which it is usually accompanied, — *ariyappavēdita* (v. 79), *sammālakkhāta* (v. 86), *uttama* (v. 115), *sammāsambuddhadēśita* (v. 392), — clearly show that it is not yet crystallized into a narrow and technical acceptation. We may also form a judgment from verses 256 and ff., where the word is applied exactly as Piyadasi might have done, and from verse 393, which is so entirely in the tone of our monuments: — *yamhi sachchaṃ cha dhammō cha sō sukhi sō cha brāhmaṇō*.

The meaning is still more generalised in passages like verses 167-169, and in the cases in which the word is employed in the plural, as in verses 1, 82, 273, 278-279, 384. *Saddharma* serves more especially to designate the Buddhist law (verses 60, 182); but, we may judge from verse 364 how far the two words *dhamma* and *saddhamma* are mixed up and confounded: —

Dhammārāmō, dhammaratō, dhammaṃ anuvichintayaṃ
dhammaṃ anussaraṃ bhikkhu saddhammā na parihāya

Verse 183,—

Sabbapāpassa akaraṇaṃ kusalassa upasampadā
sachittapariyōdapaṇaṃ : ētaṃ buddhāna sāsanaṃ,—

cannot fail to remind us of the passage in the 2nd Col. Ed., in which Piyadasi defines the *dhamma*, — *apāsinaṇṇē bahukayāṇē*, &c.

The general tone and the main points of the moral teaching present in the two cases the most evident analogies. I can only quote a few examples. The king again and again dwells upon the necessity of persevering efforts to advance in moral life (Ed. VI, X, &c.), with an insistence which is quite equalled by that of the *Dhammapada*. It will suffice to refer to the chapter on *appamāda* (verses 21 and ff.). Compare (verses 7, 116, &c.). I cite again verse 23, in which the epithet *daḥaparakkama* recalls the word *parākrama* employed by the king with such visible preference; also verses 24, 168, 280, to show a use of the base *utthā* parallel to that which we find in our inscriptions (G. VI, 9 and 10, and perhaps, J., Det. Ed., I, 7); finally verse 163, in which the remark *sukarāṇi asādhāṇi* is an exact fellow of the ideas expressed in our 5th edict. Both authorities inculcate the necessity of self-examination (*Dhammap.*, verse 50; Col. Ed. III) regard for all, and in particular respect to the aged (*Dhammap.*, verse 109; Ed. IV, V, IX, &c.) and moderation in language (*Dhammap.*, verse 133; Ed. III., XII). Verse 234, which makes truthfulness, mercy, charity the three cardinal virtues, can be compared with the two passages of the 2nd, and of the 7th — 8th Columnar edicts, which bring together the same triad of *sachē dayā, dāṇē*. While the king recommends *ahiṃsā* and abolishes the use of animal flesh at his table, the *Dhammapada* exalts the *ahiṃsaka muni* (v. 225) and recommends a strict temperance (v. 7, al.)

The most striking coincidences are perhaps those which deal with details of form. The formula frequently used by the king, — *sādhu dānaṃ*, &c., — is found also in the *Dhammapada*, verse 35, *chittassa damathō sādhu*; verse 360, *chakkhunā samvarō sādhu*, &c. With the 9th and 11th edicts compare verse 354 *sabbadānaṃ dhammadānaṃ jināti*, &c.; with the frequent use of the base *ārādhi*, the expression of verse 281, *ārādhayē maggaṃ*; with the phrase *dhammaṃ nuvaṇṇati*, the *dhammānuvattinō* of verse 86; with *dhammādhithāṇē* at Dhauli (verse 26), *dhammajjha* of verses 217, 256 and ff.; with *dhammarati* at Kh. and K. (XIII. 16 and 12 cf. the end of the 8th edict), the recommendation of verse 83, *tatrā(scil. dhammō)bhiraṭṭiṃ ichchhēya*.

The verses 11-12, — *asāré saramatinō sārē cha asāradassinō*, &c., — at least bear witness to a use of the word *sāra* extremely analogous to that which we find in the 12th edict, *à propos* of

the *sāravadhī*. Piyadasi aims at the teaching of the *dhamma*, *dhammasa dīpanā* (12th Ed.), and according to verse 363, the duty of the *bhikkhu* is the same, *attham dhammañcha dīpēti*; the only true glory which he sees lies in the diffusion of the *dhamma* (10th Ed.), and according to the *Dhammapada* (verse 24), — *dhammajivinō appamattassa yasō bhivadḍhati*; it is in the *dhamma* that he fixes happiness (Col. Ed. I., 9, &c.), and according to the 393rd verse of the *Dhammapada* — *yamhi sachchañ cha dhammō cha sō sukhā* . . .

To the king, happiness is both happiness in this world and in the world to come. It is the very formula of reward which he unweariedly promises; it is found no less often in the *Dhammapada*, verses 16, 132, 168, 177.

The spirit of tolerance shown by the king is not itself altogether unknown to the canonical book. Not only does verse 5 in a general way recommend mercy and the forgetting of hatreds, but, far from treating the Brāhmaṇ and Brāhmaṇism as enemies, it puts the name in close connection with that of the *bhikkhu*: —

Santō dantō niyatō brahmaehārī
sabbēsu bhūtēsu nidhāya daṇḍam
so brāhmaṇō sō samaṇō sa bhikkhū (verse 142).

By the side of the *Bhikkhuvagga*, it devotes a whole chapter to exalting, under the name of the *brāhmaṇa*, perfection such as it conceives it, while at the same time it does not forget that the *brāhmaṇa* is the representative of a different cult (verse 392). The author does not violently denounce this cult, but, as Piyadasi does with regard to ceremonies (*maṅgala*), he proclaims its inutility (verses 106-107). Finally, he compares the *sāmaññatā* and the *brāhmaññatā*, the quality of the *śramaṇa*, and the quality of the *brāhmaṇa* (verses 332), just as the king himself associates *brāhmaṇas* and *śramaṇas*.

These comparisons are far from exhausting the number of possible points of contact, nor can they give one that general impression which has also considerable value, and which can only result from a parallel study of the two texts. Such as they are, they appear to me to be of a nature to justify an important conclusion: that 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. A book of canonical repute lays before us an equivalent sufficiently exact to allow 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, — that they correspond to a certain stage in the chronological development of the religion of Śākya.

It thus happens that certain indications appear to be of a nature to connect Piyadasi and the *Dhammapada*.

We are so accustomed to see Indian kings carrying several different names, that the double nomenclature of Piyadasi and Aśoka need not surprise us. It would still, however, be interesting to discover its reason; the more so as the word Aśoka is not, either by its meaning or by frequent use, one of those which would appear suited to be used as a surname. We have seen, on the authority of the Sinhalese chronicle, that Aśoka at the time of his conversion took the name of Dhammāsoka. It is probable that his real name was Priyadarśin, for that is the only one which he applies to himself, and we are thus led to conclude that the king took only at his conversion the name of Aśoka or Dharmāsoka, though he judged it to be inopportune to employ it in his monuments, as he would thus cause in the middle of his reign a very considerable change in the protocols of his chancery. But, on the other hand, this name, naturally dear to the Buddhists whose triumph it commemorated and of which it was the sign, became so established in their memory, that it threw into the shade the one that the king bore in his first years before his conversion, which the literary tradition paints in such sombre colours. This conjecture, which appears to explain sufficiently the facts under consideration, has been suggested to me by two classes of passages which I quote from the *Dhammapada*. The word *śoka*, 'grief,' is

used by the *Dhammapada* with a certain amount of insistence, for instance in verses 212-216: —

Piyatô jāyatî sôkô piyatô jāyatî bhayaṃ
piyatô vippamuttassa natthi sôkô kutô bhayaṃ; etc. . .

or again in verse 336: —

Yô vê taṃ sahatî jammaṃ taṃhaṃ lôkê durachchayaṃ
sôkâ tamhâ papatanti udabindu va pôkkharâ.

In verse 195, the Buddhas and the Srāvakas receive the epithet *tiṇṇasôkapariddava*.

From this use of *sôka* is deduced the adjective *asôka*, as in verse 412: —

Yôdha puṇṇaṃ cha pâpaṃ cha ubhō saṃgaṃ upachchagā
asôkaṃ virajaṃ suddhaṃ taṃ ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.

The word is again found in verse 28: —

Pamādaṃ appamādeṇa yadā nudatī paṇḍitô
paṇḍāpāsādaṃ āruya asôkô sôkininṃ pajāṃ
pabbataṭṭhō va bhummaṭṭhê dhîrô bālê avêkkhatī.

The same thought is expressed in verse 172: —

Yô cha pubbê pamajjitvā pachchhā sô nappamajjati
sô imaṃ lôkaṃ pabhāsēti abbhā muttô va chandimā.

The last stanza but one contains six *pādas*, which would lead one to suppose at first that there has been some interpolation; and, indeed, the middle double *pāda*, — *paṇḍāpāsādam*, &c., — could be suppressed without in any way altering the general sense; it would appear, moreover, to be wanting in the version which is reproduced by the Chinese translation.⁹⁹ To tell the truth, it does not fit in well in meaning with the rest of the passage; we should at least expect a *va* or an *iva*. I cannot help thinking that this half-verse is an addition intended to explain and complete the general idea, by an allusion to our *Asôka-Piyadasi*. Under these considerations, the use of *pajê*, which may signify the 'subjects' of the king, and the use of the rather rare metaphor, *paṇḍāpāsāda*, 'the palace of wisdom,' take a new meaning. Although we are driven to admit that the half-verse in question is an addition, which did not originally form an integral portion of the stanza, I consider that it does not spoil the sense, and that perhaps the first author had, as a matter of fact, the allusion, which it expresses, in his mind's eye. The theory of a similar allusion in verse 172 explains well what would, under any other hypothesis, appear excessive and too emphatic in the words *imaṃ lôkaṃ pabhāsēti* in this and in the following verse. I may add that the above seems to me to suggest, in regard to verses 212 ff., which have just been quoted, an analogous idea, and it may be asked whether in the first, which has served as a prototype for the others, the contrast between *piya* and *sôka* has not similarly been inspired by a pun on the double name of Piyadasi and *Asôka*.

These passages are scattered almost throughout the work. Each confirms the other, and I think it may be inferred that the general composition of the book, — I do not say its definite taking of shape, or, in any case, its form as we have it now, — goes back to a time not far from that of Piyadasi, to an epoch when his memory was yet alive. This is not the place to seek if we can discover other grounds of a nature to confirm those which we have just suggested, and it will be sufficient to point out that, for entirely different reasons, it has been generally considered that the *Dhammapada* is one of the most ancient Buddhist texts.¹⁰⁰ At the same time I do not presume to attribute to the hypothesis which I have been led to suggest, either more certainty, or more importance, than is due to it.

To return to my general conclusions regarding the Buddhism of Piyadasi: — In my opinion, our monuments are witnesses of a stage of Buddhism sensibly different from that to which

⁹⁹ Cf. Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 79.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Fausbøll, pref. pp. VI. and ff.

it developed in later times. It appears to us as a purely moral doctrine, paying little attention to particular dogmas or to abstract theories, little embarrassed with scholastic or monkish elements having but little tendency to insist on the divergencies which separated it from neighbouring religions, ready to accept consecrated terms and forms when they did not offend its moral ideal, and as yet without texts fixed by writing, or, we may be sure, a regularly defined canon. As far as we are in a position to judge, the character of the texts enumerated by Piyadasi at Bhabra, entirely agrees with such a stage of Buddhism.

One other remark also has its value. Nowhere, amongst the rewards which he offers in the future for virtue, does Piyadasi make any allusion to *nirvāṇa*. It is always *svarga* of which he speaks (Ed. VI, IX; Dh., Det. Ed., I). Doubtless the king may have deliberately preferred to choose a term familiar to all intellects, and more conveniently suited to all doctrines. But, in spite of all, this absolute silence appears to me to be significant, as clearly indicating an epoch anterior to the metaphysical and speculative developments of the Buddhist religion.

The history of Buddhism implies, if I am not mistaken, a period, still near its source, marked by a popular character, less determined in its dogmas, less isolated in its legends, in which the essential originality of the doctrine had room to manifest itself freely, an originality which is founded on the pre-eminence attributed to the due carrying out of moral duties over the execution of liturgical forms and practices. Such a period appears to me to be a kind of necessary historical postulate, and I think that the inscriptions of Piyadasi preserve for us not only a trace, but direct evidence of it.

Things soon changed their aspect; and the peculiar features of this ancient epoch were quickly lost by tradition. This follows from the few comparisons which we have been able to make, between the evidence of the monuments, and the *data* given by literature. The very character and person of Aśoka have undergone, both in legend and in chronicle, alterations analogous to the evolution which followed his time.

Aśoka became in them a type without individuality and without life, his history a subject for edifying legends, and his name a peg on which to hang theories of moral development. His early life has been extravagantly blackened, to serve as a counterfoil to the virtues which inspired him after his conversion. He has been depicted at the end of his career as entirely under the feet of the clergy, as a sort of maniac in almsgiving, and as an ideal of monkish perfection, which, however admirable it may appear to Hindûs, cannot seduce us to similar applause. His inscriptions furnish no confirmation whatever of these statements. Prof. Kern,¹⁰¹ influenced by the legends, considers that towards the end of his life Piyadasi showed himself to be intolerant and a bigot. He discovers in his last edicts the expression of an actual fanaticism, and maintains that the tone and course of ideas suggest that the intellect of the prince must have deteriorated, and that, while all the edicts bear more or less traces of a troubled mind, the last ones are specimens of insensate babbling.¹⁰² This judgment is based on the false idea that the Edict of Sahasrām belonged to the final period of the reign of Piyadasi, and I confess that, so far as I am concerned, I can discover no pretext for such vehement conclusions. But Prof. Kern is, in general, very hard on the poor Piyadasi. When he considers that the 13th edict, the one which deals with the conquest of Kaliṅga, leaves on the mind an impression of 'hypocrisy',¹⁰³ I cannot refrain from fearing that he is yielding to a bad opinion preconceived against a king whose *clericalism* annoyed him.

The character of Piyadasi has generally been more favourably appreciated. It cannot, I think, be denied, without injustice, that he exhibits, in his edicts, a spirit of moderation, a moral elevation, a care for the public good, which merit every praise. He possessed from his birth a taste for enterprise and energetic qualities, borne witness to by the conquest of Kaliṅga. Did his conversion injure the native vigour of his temper? The thing is the more possible, as being the

¹⁰¹ Kern, II, p. 307, n.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* p. 319.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 315.

effect which Buddhism generally has produced, not only upon individuals, but upon entire nations ; but that does not yet entitle us to view him as the childish and helpless being he has been represented. It was the sentiment of religion which inspired him with the idea of engraving inscriptions throughout his empire. We usually only see him under this aspect, but the desire which he expresses in so great detail, to be kept continually informed regarding his affairs, and to expedite them without any delay, does not give us the idea of an idle prince.

I am afraid also that, in some respects, he bears, more than is justly due, the responsibility for the somewhat clumsy and awkward language which he uses in his inscriptions. It is plain that the style, — at least the style of prose language, — had in his time not yet achieved that experience, that freedom of manner, which give to the thoughts a turn at once elegant and precise. His sentences are often short, even abrupt, and are always wanting in variety. His language is a 'prentice sailor, afraid to venture far from shore. When in an unlucky moment, he ventures on a period, he only makes his exit with great difficulty. The ill-fitting garment does injustice to the intellect whose movements it encumbers. That intellect was not, perhaps, very vast or very decided, but it was certainly animated with excellent intentions, and full of the idea of moral duty and of the sentiments of humanity. By the various efforts with which he was inspired in his religious zeal, by his relations with nations not subject to his empire, nay, with peoples the most distant from the Peninsula, and finally, by the monuments, epigraphic or otherwise, of which he was the creator, Piyadasi certainly rendered services to the general civilisation of India, and the credit of these merits we are in justice bound to render to him.

PART II. — THE LANGUAGE.

THE language of our inscriptions presents, especially as regards grammar, hardly any absolutely impenetrable obscurities. Much light is thrown upon it by a comparison with the analogous idioms with which literature has made us familiar. Nevertheless, the orthographical or dialectic peculiarities which distinguish the different versions, and the chronological position which our monuments occupy, lend to their study a philological importance, on which it is not necessary to insist.

I propose, in the first place, to sum up, in as condensed an inventory as possible, all the grammatical phenomena worthy of interest. In a second part I shall draw general conclusions from these phenomena. I shall endeavour to determine the true nature of the orthographical processes, to define the extent of the differences of dialect, and to group together those indications which are adapted to throw light on the state of linguistic development in the middle of the 3rd century B. C.

In spite of the continual progress with which attempts at their decipherment are rewarded, the condition of the monuments does not permit us to hope that the texts will ever be fixed with a rigorous certainty. Our facsimiles, moreover, are, at least for several versions, still regrettably insufficient.

It is, therefore, impossible to establish absolute accuracy in our statistics of the grammatical forms; and it must be understood that many of the facts which are about to be recorded, if they are rare and exceptional, are not free from doubt; but, fortunately, the characteristic phenomena reappear sufficiently often to entitle us to establish them on solid grounds, and what remains in doubt is in no way likely to compromise our general deductions.

I. — THE GRAMMAR OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

A. — GIRNAR.

1. — PHONETICS.

(a). — Vowels.

Changes of Quantity. — Except in certain special cases, I enter neither here nor elsewhere under this heading, words in which the lengthening or the shortening is the result of compensation, and can be explained either by the simplification or by the doubling of the consonant which follows. It is hardly necessary to add that, among the changes of quantity here noted a great many may be and can only be apparent, being referable either to mistakes of the engravers or to incorrect readings.

Vowels lengthened. — *Ānañtaram*, VI, 8; *asañpratīpatī*, IV, 2; *āsu* (= *syuh*), XII, 7; *abhīramakāni*, VIII, 2; *chikīchhā*, II, 5; *ñātīkā*, V, 8; *vipūlē*, VII, 3; *vījayamhi*, XIII, 10; *tāthā*, XI, 4; *madhūrītāya*, XIV, 4. At the end of words: *chā*, IV, 11; *ēsā* (nom. masc.), XIII, 4; *mitāsāñstuta*, III, 4; *nā*, I, 2; XIV, 2; *parāpāsāñdagarahā*, XII, 13; *sarvatā*, II, 6; *tatā*, XII, 8; XIII, 4; *tatrā*, XIII, 1; *ētamhā*, IX, 2; *pañthēsū*, II, 8.

A long vowel regularly becomes short before anusvāra, or before a consonantal group, even when, as here, the latter is not represented in writing: but sometimes, instead of doubling the consonant, the preceding vowel is lengthened in compensation: *dhāma*, V, 4; *vāsa*, V, 4 al. Sometimes the vowel remains long, even though nasalized: *anuvīdhiyatām*, X, 2; *atīkāñtām*, VIII, 1; *susrusātām*, X, 2; *vihārayātām*, VIII, 1; *samachērām*, XIII, 7. We should, perhaps, add here several cases in which *ā* represents a Sanskrit *ān* (see below *Nasalized vowels*). Sometimes, finally, a vowel remains long before a consonantal group: *bāmhaṇa*, IV, 2; VIII, 3; XI, 2; *nāst*, passim; *rāstika*, V, 5; *tadātpanē*, X, 1; *ātpa*-, passim; and before a mute followed by *r*: *bhrātrā*, IX, 6; *mātram*, XIII, 1; *parākramāmi*, V, 11; *parākramēna*, VI, 14.

Vowels shortened. — *Āradhī*, IX, 9; *āradhō*, XI, 4; *ētarisām*, IX, 4; *danē*, IX, 7; *ōpayā*, VIII, 5; *ñatikēna*, IX, 8; *susrusā* (once *susūsā*). At the end of words *mahaphalē*, IX, 4; *prāṇa*,

I, 10; III, 4; *rāja*, V, 1; *tada*, XIII, 5; *tatha*, XII, 6 (several times *tathā*); *yatha*, III, 3 (several times *yathā*); *va* (in the meaning of *vā*), V, 8, 5; VI, 2, 3, 9, &c.

Changes of Quality. — *Pirinda* or *pārinda* = *pulinda* (?), XIII, 9. *Ēta* (= *atra*) VIII, 1, 3; IX, 3. *Ē* is weakened to *i* in *ōvādītavya* (for *ōdē*) IX, 8; *likhāpayisām*, XIV, 3 (for *lē*). — The vowel *ri* is written *ra* in *vrachhā*, II, 8; — *a* in *bhati*, XII, 6; *vadhī*, XII, 2, etc.; *bhataka*, IX, 4, &c.; *daḍha*, VII, 3; *kata*, passim; *kacha*, IX, 8; *maga*, I, 11, 12; *magavyā*, VIII, 1; *suhadaya*, IX, 7; *usaṭa*, X, 4; *vistata*, XIV, 2; *vyāpata*, passim; — *i* in *tūrisa*, IV, 5; *ētārisa*, IX, 7, &c.; *yārisa*, XI, 1, &c.; — *u* in *paripuchhā*, VIII, 4; *vuta*, X, 2.

Additions and Suppressions. — Additions: *a* in *garahā*, XII, 3; *garahati*, XII, 5; *i* in *ithī*, XII, 9; *u* in *prāpuṇḍti*, XIII, 4.

Suppressions: *a* in *pi* (passim) for *api* which is preserved II, 2; *i* in *ti* (V, 8; XIII, 11) for *īti*, which is preserved five times; *ē* in *va* for *ēva* (passim).

Contractions. — *ava* into *ō* in *ōrōdhana* (passim); *ōvādītavya*, IX, 8; *ahō*, IV, 3, if I am right in explaining it as equivalent to *athavā*; — *a(l)u* into *ō* in *khō*; — *a(y)ū* into *ō* in *mōra*, I, 11; — *a(v)i* into *ai* in *thaira*, IV, 7; V, 7; VIII, 3; — *a(y)i* in *ē* in *vijētavya*, XIII, 11, and several times in the formative affix of the causal, *hāpēsati*, &c. Cf. below; — *ayō* into *ai* in *traidasa*, V, 4; — *ya* into *i* in *parichijitpā*, X, 4; — *iya* into *ē* in *ētaka*, XIV, 3; — if *pētēnika*, V, 5, really represents a corruption of *pratishṭhāna*, we should have in it the contraction of *a(t)i* into *ē*.

Nasalized Vowels. — The nasal, whether before a consonant, or at the end of words, is, except in two cases in which a final *m* is preserved by sandhi, invariably expressed by anusvāra. The anusvāra is omitted in a certain number of cases, such as *achāyika* for *°kañ*, VI, 7; *-pāsāñda* for *°dam*, XII, 4; *avihisā* for *°himśā*, IV, 6, &c. These omissions, several of which are, without doubt, only apparent, and due to the condition of the stone, are in every case accidental, and are to be referred to the

negligence of the engraver. I lay no stress upon them.

Certain cases seem to imply the equivalence of a long vowel to a vowel nasalized : *áparátá*, V, 5; *atikátam*, IV, 1; V, 3; VI, 1; *susuṃsá*, XIII, 3; *niyātu* (= *niryāntu*), III, 3; *pádá*, II, 2; *susrusá* (accusative), X, 2; *nichá* (= *nityam*), VII, 3; *pújá* (acc.), XII, 2, 8; *vaṃ* (= *vá*, *var*), XII, 6; *sámicham* (nom. pl. masc. ?), II, 3. But in most of these examples the nasalized vowel is long by derivation, and it may as well be admitted that the sign for anusvāra has accidentally disappeared. It is also possible that the apparent confusion between *á* and *am* may, in some cases, be due to an error in the reading. The second *u* of *susrusá*, being here almost always written short, there are grounds for believing that the anusvāra of *susuṃsá* is due to an inadvertence of the scribe; the reading *sámicham* and its interpretation are not certain. There would, therefore, only remain *nichá*, an unique example, and but a fragile basis for such a deduction. We might, perhaps, add *étá*, IX, 5, which would be equivalent to *étam* (nom. sing. neut.), unless, indeed it represents *étām*.

In one case also, *karu*, XI, 4 (cf. *karam*, XII, 4), *am* appears to be replaced by *u*; and sometimes by *é* : in *athé*, VI, 4, 5; *yulé*, III, 6; *savé* (*sarvé*) *kálé*, VI, 3, 8. But several of these facts admit, as we shall see, of a different explanation.

In *pravāsamhi*, IX, 2, the nasal is written twice over, by an abuse which is too frequent in the manuscripts to cause us surprise.

(b). — Consonants.

Simple Consonants. — Changes. — *gh* into *h*, in *lahuká*, XII, 3; — dentals into cerebrals, in *paṭi-* for *prati* (passim); perhaps *paṭi* in *hiraṇṇapraṭividhānō*, VIII, 4, but *pra* is doubtful; *usaṭa*, X, 4; *ósadha*, III, 5; *vadhá*, XII, 2, 8, 9 (beside *vadhi*, IV, 11); *dasaṇá*, IV, 3; *dasaṇé*, VIII, 3 (*darsanam*, VIII, 4); *prápuṇōti*, XIII, 4; *yōṇa*, V, 5;¹ — *th* into *h* in *ahō* (*athavā*); — *d* into *r* in *tárisa*, *étárisa*, *yárisa*; — *bh* into *h* in the base *bhū* : *hōti*, *ahūṃsu*, &c.; — *l* into *r*, if *pirimda* or *párimda*, XIII, 9, is equivalent to *pulinda*. If *péténika*,

V, 5, is really derived from *pratishṭhāna*, it would afford an example of the loss of the aspiration, *t* for *ṭh*.

Suppressions and Additions. — Suppression of an entire syllable in *athá* (= *athāya*), XII, 9; *ilókika*, XIII, 12; *ilókacha*, XI, 4 (for *ihalō*); loss of the initial *y* in *áva(yāvat)*, V, 2, al.; of a medial consonant in *khó* (*khalu*), *mōra* (*mayūra*). — Addition of a *v* in *vuta* (*ukta*), IX, 6, &c.

Compound Consonants.

kt becomes *t* : *abhisita*, &c.

ky becomes *k* : *saka*, XIII, 6.

kr becomes *k* : *atikāntam*, VIII, I, &c.; *parákāmaté*, X, 3, &c. It remains unchanged in *parákramāmi*, VI, 11; *parákramēna*, VI, 14.

ksh becomes *chh* : *achhāti*, XIII, 7; *chhaṇati*, XII, 5; *chhudaka*, XII, 4, &c.; *saṃchhāya*, XIV, 5; *vrachhā*, II, 8; — *kh*, in *ithījhakhamahāmátá*, XII, 9; *khamitavé*, XIII, 6; *saṃkhitēna*, XIV, 2.

gn becomes *g* : *agikhamdhāni*, IV, 4.

gr becomes *g* : *agēna*, X, 4, &c.

jñ becomes (*ñ*)*ñ* : *kataññatá*, VII, 3, &c.; *āñapayāmi*, VI, 6, al.

ḍy becomes *ḍ* in *pádá* (*pāṇḍyáḥ*), II, 2.

ny becomes *ñ* : *ānañña*, VI, 11; *hirañña*, VIII, 4.

tm becomes *tp* in *átpa-*, XII, 3, 4, 5, 6.

tth becomes *st* in *ustāna*, VI, 9, 10.

ty becomes *ch* : *ácháyika*, VI, 7, &c.

tr becomes *t*, as in *bhátá*, XI, 3, &c. It is unchanged in *bhrátrá*, IX, 6; *mátram*, XIII, 1; *mitréna*, IX, 7; *paratrá*, VI, 12; *prapôtrá*, IV, 8; *pôtrá*, IV, 8; *putrá*, IV, 8, al.; *sarvatra*, VI, 8, al.; *savatra*, VI, 4; *tatrá*, XIII, 1; *tatra*, XIV, 5; *yatra*, II, 7.

tv becomes *tp* : *alôchētpá*, XIV, 6; *ārabhitpá*, I, 3; *chatpārō*, XIII, 8; *dasayitpá*, XIV, 4; *hitatpá*, VI, 11; *parichijitpá*, XIV, 4; *tadátpané*, X, 1. It becomes *t* in *satiyaputō*, II, 2, if the etymology proposed by Dr. Bühler is correct.

ts becomes *chh* in *chikichhá*, II, 4, &c.; — and *s* in *usaṭēna*, X, 4.

ddh is preserved : *vadhi*, IV, 11, or more ordinarily changed into *ḍh* in *vadhí*, XII, 9, al.

¹ The cerebral *ṇ* is always preserved in the base; it never appears in terminations, even where it ought to

exist according to the Sanskrit rule, as in *dévāṇam-priyēṇa*, &c.

dy becomes *j* in *aja*, IV, 5; — *y* in *uyāna*, VI, 4.

dr becomes *d*: *chhūḍaka*, &c.

dv is preserved: *dvē* I, 11, al.; *dvādasa* IV, 12, al.

dhy becomes *jh*: *majhama*, XIV, 2, &c.

dhr becomes *dh*: *dhuva*, I, 12, &c.; it would appear to be preserved in (*a*)*mūdhra*-, XIII, 9, according to the reading of Dr. Bühler.

ny becomes *nū*, *ñ*; *anūē*, V, 5, &c.; *mañatē*, X, 1, &c. The spelling *ñayāsu*, for *niyyāsu*, VIII, 1, is connected, in a manner more or less arbitrary, with this transformation of *ny* into *ñ*.

pt becomes *t*: *asamātaṃ*, XIV, 5, &c.

pr becomes *p*: *pakaraṇa*, XII, 3; *dēvānaṃpiya*, XIII, 9, &c.; — it is preserved in: *asampratipati*, IV, 2; *dēvānaṃpiya*, I, 1, 5, 6, 8; II, 1, 4; IV, 2, 5, 8, 12; V, 1; VIII, 2; IX, 1; X, 3; XI, 1; XIV, 1; *prāchaṃtēsu*, II, 2; *prūdēsikē*, III, 2; *prāpuṇōti*, XIII, 4; *prakaraṇa*, XII, 4; *prajā*, V, 7; *prajāhitavyaṃ*, I, 3; *prāṇa*, 1, 9, 10; III, 5; IV, 1, 5; XI, 3; *prapōtā*, VI, 13; *prapōtrā*, IV, 8; *pratipatī*, XI, 2; perhaps *praṭivīdhānō*, VIII, 4; *pravajitāni*, XII, 2; *pravāsaṃmhi*, IX, 2; *piyadasi*, IV, 1, 5, 8, 12; VIII, 2; X, 1.

bḍh becomes *dh*: *ladhēsu*, XIII, I, &c.

br becomes *b*: *bāmhaṇa*, passim; it would appear to be preserved in *brāmhaṇa*, IV, 2, 6.

bhy becomes *bh*: *ārabbisu*, I, 9; *ārabbharē*, I, 11.

bhr becomes *bh*: *bhātā*, XI, 3, &c.; it is preserved in *bhrātrā*, IX, 6.

my is preserved: *samyapratipatī*, IX, 4; XI, 2.

mr becomes *m̐*: *tambapaṇṇī*, II, 2.

rg becomes *g*: *svaga*, passim.

rg̐h becomes *gh*: *dīgha*, X, I.

rch becomes *ch*: *vachabhūmīkā*, XII, 9, &c.

rṇ becomes *m̐*: *tambapaṇṇī* II, 2.

rt becomes *t*, as in *anuvatarē*, XIII, 9, &c.; — *t* in *saṃvata*, IV, 9: V, 2.

rth becomes *th*, as in *atha*, passim.

rd becomes *d*: *mādava*, XIII, 7.

rdh becomes *dh*, as in *vadhayisati*, IV, 7, &c.; — *dh*, as in *vadhayati*, XII, 4, &c.

rbh becomes *bh*: *gabha*, VI, 3.

rm becomes *m̐*: *kaṇṇē*, &c.; *dhāma*, V, 4.

ry becomes *y*: *niyātu*, III, 3.

rv becomes *v*: *puva*, VI, 2; *sava*, passim; — it is preserved in *purva*, V, 4; *sarva*, VI, 9 (and three other times); *sarvata*, VII, 1; XIV, 2 (and four other times); *sarvatra*, VI, 8 (and three other times); *sarvē* VI, 8 (against eighteen *sava* or *savata*).

rs becomes *rs* in *darsana* VIII, 4, &c.; — becomes *s* in *dasaṇā*, IV, 3.

rsh becomes *s*: *vasa* (*vāsa*), VIII, 2, al.

rshy becomes *s* in *kāsati* (for *kar[i]shyati*); V, 3; *kāsanti*, VII, 2.

rh becomes *rah*: *garahā*, &c.

lp becomes *p*: *apa*, passim.

ly becomes *l*: *kalāṇa*, V, 1, al.

vy is always preserved: *apavyayatā*, III, 5; *divyāni*, IV, 4, &c., except in *pūjētayā*, XII, 4.

vr becomes *v*: *pravajita*, XII, 2, &c.

sch becomes *chh*: *pachhā* I, 12.

sy becomes *s*: *pasati*, I, 5; — or *siy*: *paṭivēsiyēhi*, XI, 3.

sr becomes *s*: *susūsā*, III, 4, &c.; — or *sr* in *bahusruta*, XII, 7; *susrusā*, XII, 22; XI, 2 (and three other times); *sramaṇa*, IV, 2 (four times *samaṇa*); *srāvāpakaṃ*, VI, 6; *sruṇāju* (?), XII, 7; *susrusatāṃ*, XII, 2.

sv becomes *sv*: *svētō* in the legend attached to the elephant.

shk becomes *k* in *dukata*, V, 3; *dukara*, V, 1, al.

shṭr becomes *ṣṭ*: *rāṣṭika*, V, 5.

shṭh becomes *ṣṭ*: *adhiṣṭāna*, V, 4; *sēṣṭē*, IV, 10; *niṣṭāna*, IX, 6; *tiṣṭantō*, IV, 9; *tiṣṭēya*, VI, 13.

sk becomes *kh*: *agikhaṃdhāni*, IV, 4.

st is preserved: *astī*, passim; &c.; — it becomes *ṣṭ* in *anusasṭi*, VIII, 4, al.

sth becomes *st* in *gharastāni*, XII, 1; — and *ṣṭ* in *ṣṭita*, VI, 4.

sm becomes *m̐*, e. g. in the locatives in *m̐hi*.

sy becomes *s*, e. g. in the genitives in *asa*.

sr becomes *s*: *parisava*, X, 3, &c.; — it is preserved in *nisrita*, V, 8; *sahasra*, I, 9; XIII, 1.

sv is preserved: *svaga* VI, 12, al., &c., except in *sakaṃ*, IX, 5.

hm becomes *mh*; it is, at least, thus that I believe that we should read the group ४, which, strictly speaking, could also be read *hm*.

(c). — Sandhi.

Sandhi rarely occurs except between the parts of a compound word, and, as an almost invariable rule, requires the elision of final consonants; it is nearly exclusively vocalic.

A final anusvāra is changed into *m* in *kata-vyam éva*, IX, 3; *évaṃ api*, II, 2. I further note the form *añamanñasa*, XII, 7.

A final *d* is retained in *tadōpayā* VIII, 5; *tadannāthā*, XII, 5.

a + a gives *á*, except in *dhāmadhistānāya*, V, 4; *dhāmanugahō*, IX, 7. In *nāsti* (passim), the long vowel is retained in spite of the double consonant which follows.

a + i gives *é* in *viyayēchhā*, XIII, 11.²

a + u gives *ó* in *manusōpagāni* II, 5.

a + é gives *é* in *ténésā*, VIII, 3; *chéva*, IV, 7.

i + a gives *i* in *ithijhakhamahāmātā*, XII, 9.

u + u gives *ó* in *pasōpagāni*, II, 6, a curious form which would appear to be borne out by the other versions.

2. — INFLEXION.

It must be understood that, except in special cases, I shall not expressly quote those modifications which are of a purely mechanical character, being merely the applications of the phonetic rules which have just been indicated.

(a). — Gender.

The distinction between the masculine and the neuter tends to disappear. This, as we shall shortly see, is evidently due to the influence of the Māgadhi spelling.

(b). — Declension of Consonantal Bases.

This tends to go over into the declension of bases in *a*: *parishad* becomes *parisā*; *karman* becomes *kañma*, and is declined like a neuter in *a*; of *varchas*, we have the locative *vachamhi*, VI, 3; the present participle of *as*, makes its nominative singular *sañtō*, VI, 7; VIII, 2.

The following are the traces which still exist:—

Bases in AN. — nom. s. *rājā*; gen. s. *rāñō*; instr. s. *rāñā*; nom. pl. *rājāñō*.

Bases in ANT. — *Karañ*, XII, 4, nom. sing. of the participle present, beside *karō(ñ)tō*, XII, 5, *tisñtō*, nom. pl. masc., IV, 9.

Bases in AR(RI). — Contrary to the other versions, Girnar presents, for these bases, no traces of the passage into the vocalic declension. Instrum. sing. *bhrātā*, IX, 6; *bhātrā*, XI, 3; *pitā*, IX, 5; XI, 3. Locat. sing. *mātari*, *pitari*, passim.

Bases in AS. — Acc. sing. *yasō*, X, 1, 2; *bhuya*, VIII, 5, ought to be *bhuyō*.

Bases in IN. — Here we have no trace of the vocalic declension. — Nom. sing. *piyadasi*, *priyadasi* (passim); the final vowel is always short. — Gen. sing. *pi(pri)yadasinō*; instr. *pi(pri)yadasinā*.

(c). — Declension of Vocalic Bases.

Bases in A. — Masculines. — The terminations are the same as in Pāli. I only note peculiarities worthy of remark.

Nominative singular. — Besides the regular form in *ō*, there are several cases of the nominative in *é*, as in Māgadhi: *apaparisavé*, X, 3; *puvé*, IV, 5; *dēvānampiyé*, XII, 1; *prādésiké*, III, 2; *rajūké*, III, 2; *sakalé*, X, 3; *yé*, V, I. To these examples we should add the many more numerous cases in which the nominative neuter ends in *é*, instead of, and beside, *añ*. It is the less permissible to suggest a mechanical change of *añ* to *é*, because the termination *añ* is still retained in the majority of cases. We have, therefore, here an imitation of Māgadhi; and, so far as regards Māgadhi itself, the final reason for the use of the termination *é* in the neuter, lies in the obliteration of the distinction between the neuter and the masculine, which has resulted in the common acceptance, for both genders, of the uniform use of the masculine termination. It is clearly in this way that, VIII, 4, we have *hirañnapaṭividdhāñō* (for *°dhāñam*).

Accusative singular. — I have quoted above the form in *é* in *athé*, VI, 4, 5, and *yuté*, III, 6, for the accusative. Twice, *sarvé kālē*, VI, 3, 8, corresponds to *savañ kālāñ* of the other versions. It must, nevertheless, be stated that

² Dr. Bühler's interpretation would do away with this combination.

saṁ kálé, can very well be explained as a locative, and that *yuté* could, without difficulty, be understood as a Pāli accusative plural. It is true that we miss parallel examples to authenticate this termination here. However the matter may be, if we must really admit it, I can hardly imagine for the ending *é* of the accusative, any origin other than false analogy with neuter nominatives in *é*.

Dative singular. — It is always in *āya*. There is one solitary instance of the form *étāyē*, III, 3.

Ablative singular. — In *ā*: *hitatpā*, VI, 11; *kapā*, IV, 9.

Locative singular. — In *amhi* or in *é*. The two terminations occur with about equal frequency.

Neuters. — The terminations are the usual ones.

Nominative singular. — As examples of the nominative in *é*, I quote: *añé*, IX, 5; *bahuvīdhé*, IV, 7; *charañé*, IV, 7, 10; *dāné*, VII, 3; VIII, 3; *dasañé*, VIII, 3; *maṁgalé*, IX, 4 (*maṁgalaṁ*, IX, 1, 2, 3, 4); *kaṁmé*, IV, 10; *mahālaké* (*vijitāṁ*), XIV, 3; *mahaphalé*, IX, 4; *katavyamaté* (*lōkahitāṁ*), VI, 9; *mūlé*, VI, 10; *paṭivīdhāné*, VIII, 4; *sēsté kaṁmé*, IV, 10; *vipūlé*, VII, 3; *yé*, V, 2; *tārisé*, *yārisé*, *vaḍhité*, IV, 5.

Nominative plural. — We have a termination in *ā*, instead of *āni*, in *dasañā*, IV, 3; *prāṇa* (read *°ṇā*), I, 10.

Feminines. —

Instrumental singular. — In *āya*, as *mādhūritāya*, XIV, 4.

Locative singular. — In *āyaṁ*, as *parisāyaṁ*, VI, 7. It is difficult to decide whether *saṁtīraṇāya*, VI, 9, is, or is not, an error of the engraver.

Nominative plural. — In *āyō*, in *mahidāyō*, IX, 3.

Bases in I. — Of **Masculines** we find —

Genitive plural. — *Ñātīnaṁ*, IV, 6, al.

Locative plural. — *Ñātīsu*, IV, 1.

Feminines. — We have no example of the plural. For the singular, the accusative in *iṁ*, and the instrumental in *iyā*, call for no remark.

Nominative singular. — In *i*. I note, however, *apachiti*, IX, 11; *hīni*, IV, 4; *rati*, VIII, 5.

Dative singular. — *Anusastīya*, III, 3, ought perhaps to read *°yē*.

Ablative singular. — *Taṁbapaṇṇī*, II, 2.

Bases in U. — **Masculines.** —

Nominative singular. — *Sādhu*, IX, 5.

Genitive plural. — *Gurūnaṁ*, IX, 4.

Ablative plural. — *Bahūhi*, IV, 4.

Feminines. —

Nominative singular. — *Sādhu*, IX, 4, 11.

Neuters. —

Nominative singular. — *Bahu*, XIV, 3, al.; *sādhu*, IX, 8, al.

Nominative plural. — *Bahūni*, I, 8, al.

(d). — Declension of Pronouns.

Demonstratives, &c. — I give, according to the alphabetical order of the bases, the forms found at Girnar.

Anyā. — Nom. sing. neuter: *añé*, IV, 7; IX, 5 *aña*, IV, 9; IX, 19. — Gen. sing.: *añamaññasa*, XII, 7. — Loc. sing.: *aññé*, VIII, 5, beside *añamhi*, IX, 2. — Nom. pl.: *aññé*, V, 5.

Ima. — Nom. sing. masc., *ayaṁ*; fem. *iyāṁ*; neuter, *idaṁ*. *Ayaṁ* is, however, used for the feminine: I, 10; V, 9; VI, 13; XIV, 1, and for the neuter with *phalaṁ*, XII, 9. — Gen. masc.: *imasa*, IV, 11. — Dat. fem.: *imāya*, III, 3. — Instr. masc.: *imindā*, IX, 8, 9. — Loc.: *imamhi*, IV, 10.

Ēkatya. — Nom. plur. masc.: *ēkachā*, I, 6.

Ēta. — Nom. sing. masc.: *ēsa*, X, 3; used for the neuter, or rather with a masculine which, by origin, is neuter, such as *kaṁmé*, &c., IV, 7, 10; VI, 10; fem., *ēsā*, VIII, 3, 5; neuter, *ētaṁ*, X, 4 (perhaps under the form *ētā*, IX, 5); the parallel use of *ta* would lead one to think that *ēta*, X, 4; XI, 3 = *ētaḍ*, and is not an incomplete writing of *ētaṁ*. — Dat. sing.: *ētāya*, once (III, 3) *ētāyē*. — Loc.: *ētamhi*, IX, 2. — Nom. pl.: *ētē*, which, being associated with *tī prāṇā*, indicates again a confusion of genders.

Ka. — Nom. sing. masc.: *kōchi*, XII, 5; neuter: *kiṁchi*, passim.

Ta. — Nom. sing. masc.: *sa*, XII, 5, and usually *sô*; fem.: *sâ*, XIII, 10; neuter: *tañ*, XIII, 2, more often *ta*, IV, 10, al., whether for *tañ*, or more probably for *tad*, preserved in composition, VIII, 5 and XII, 5; *sé* is employed adverbially as equivalent to *tad*, I, 10, as frequently appears in the versions in a Mâgadhi spelling. — It is unnecessary to draw special attention to *tañ*, *tasa*, *tûya*, *têna*, *tamhi*, *tê*, *têsam*, *têhi*.

Na. — XII, 1, we find *né* used as an accusative, and applied to neuter substantives.

Ya. — Nom. sing. masc.: *yô*, once (V, 1) *yê*; neuter: *yañ*, VIII, 3, but much more frequently *ya*, for *yad*, IV, 10; VI, 5, 6, 11; X, 3; XII, 3. — Nom. plur.: *yê*, *yâ*, XIII, 6; *yâni*.

Sarva. — Nom.-acc. sing. neuter., *sarvâñ* (*savâñ*). — Loc. sing. (?): *sarvé*, VI, 8; *savé*, VI, 3. — Nom. plur.: *sarvé*, VII, 1.

Personal pronouns. — The following forms occur of the pronoun of the first person: *aham*, *mama*, *mé* for the genitive and once (VI, 9), for the instrumental, *mayâ*.

(e). — Declension of Numerals.

Dvê, nom., I, 11; II, 4. — *Ti*, nom. neuter (*prâñâ*), I, 10, 12. — *Chatpârô*, nom. masc., XIII, 8. — *Pañchasa*, loc., III, 2.

3. — CONJUGATION.

(a). — Verbal Bases.

The simple bases are, in general, the same as in Sanskrit, after making allowance for phonetic modifications, as when we have side by side, *bhavati* and *hôtî*, *prâpuñôti* for *prâpnôti*. There are, however, changes, as: *chhañati*, XII, 5, in place of *chhañôti*; *karam*, XII, 4, participle present, beside *karântô*, XII, 6; we should note the extension and alteration of the base of the present in *prajûhitavyam*, I, 3. The consonantal conjugation is only preserved in *asti*; in *upahanâti*, XII, 6, it passes into the 9th class. For the root *kram* we have the two bases: *parâkramâmi*, VI, 11, and *parâkramâtê*, X, 3. In the passive, the formative affix *ya* is combined according to the usual phonetic laws, in *ârabharê*, I, 11; *ârabhisamrê*, I, 12; *ârabhisu*, I, 9.

In the causals, whether in *aya* or in *paya* the formative *aya* is contracted to *ê* whenever it would take the form *ayi*: *alôchêtpâ*, XIV, 6;

hâpêsati, V, 3; *pañivédêtavya*, VI, 8; *pûjêta(v)ya*, XII, 4. One exception: *likhâpayitam*, XIV, 3. In one case, *ôvâditavya*, IX, 8, it is even reduced to *i*. *Likhâpayisam*, beside the usual *lêkhâpita*, presents an analogous weakening in the base.

(b). — Terminations.

Present. — The terminations of the middle voice, which in one case are, for this tense, used to form a passive, *ârabharê*, I, 11, are generally used with a neuter, or even with an active sense: *anuvatarê*, XIII, 9 (the reading *anuvatanê* of Dr. Bühler appears to be at least very doubtful); *manñâtê*, X, 1; XII, 8; *parâkramâtê*, X, 3 (by the side of *parâkramâmi*, VI, 11); *karâtê*, IX, 1, 2, 3 (by the side of *karoti*, V, 1). — In *sukhâpayâmi*, VI, 12, associated, on the one hand, with *gachhêyam*, and, on the other hand, with *ârâdhayamtu*, it is difficult to avoid recognising the subjunctive use.

Imperative. — The 3rd pers. plur.: *ârâdhayamtu*, VI, 12; *niyātu*, III, 3; *yujamtu*, IV, 11, require no remarks. The middle termination, with an active sense, is preserved in the 3rd sing.: *anuviddhîyatam*, X, 2; *susrusâtam*, X, 2. It will be noted that both exceptionally retain the long vowel *âm* and not *am*. The 2nd pers. plur. borrows, as in Prakrit and in Pâli the termination *tha* of the present, *pañivédêtha*, VI, 5.

Potential. — 1st pers. sing.: *gachhêyam*, VI, 11; plur. *dîpayêma*, XII, 6. — 3rd pers. sing. in *ê* in *bhavê*, XII, 13; in *êya*, in *tisfêya*, VI, 13; in *êtha*, i. e. with the termination of the middle, in *pañipajêtha*, XIV, 4; plural: in *êyu*, in *vasêyu*, VII, 1; in *êram*, termination of the middle: in *anuvat(ê)ram*, VI, 14; *sususe(ê)ram*, XII, 7. Dr. Bühler reads *sruñêram*, i. e. *sruñêram*, XII, 7, the form which to me seems to give *sruñêju*. The correct reading would be *sruñêju* for *sruñêyu*. But, at Girnar, we have no certain example of the spelling *j* for *y*. — The verb *as* makes the 3rd sing. in *asa*, X, 3, and the plural *asu* (*âsu*), XII, 7. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the origin of this form; some look for it in the Vedic subjunctive *asat*, and others in the extension by analogy of *syât*, *syuh* into *asyât*, *asyus* (Kuhn, *Beitr. zur Pâli Gramm.*, p. 104).

Past. — 3rd pers. plur. aorist: *ahimsu*, VIII, 2; *ārabhisu* (= *ārabbhisu*, passive sense), I, 9. The form *ñayāsu*, i. e. *n(i)yayāsu*, VIII, 1, may be compared with the 3rd pers. sing. in *āsi*, of the dialect of the Gāthās (cf. *Mahāvastu*, I, 548). The 3rd sing. *ayāya*, would seem to be a sort of imperfect, influenced, perhaps, by the analogy of the perfect *yāyē*.

A solitary example of the perfect, in *āha*, passim.

Future. — The only example of the 1st pers. sing. is in *am*, for *āmi*, as in Prākṛit: *likhāpayisaṃ*, XIV, 3. The 3rd plur. has twice a middle form: *anuvatisarē*, V, 2; *ārabhisamrē* (passive), I, 12; in this last case, the *m* is a

material error, unless it has been introduced after the analogy of the termination *amti*.

Absolutive. — In *tpā* (= *tvā*): *alōchētpā*, XIV, 6; *ārabhitpā*, I, 3. Once in *ya*, in *saṃchhāya* = *saṃkshayya*, XIV, 5.

Infinitive. — *Ārādhētu(m)*, IX, 9. — It is very doubtful whether *khamitarē*, XIII, 6, is an infinitive. *Dāpakaṃ* and *srāvāpakaṃ* (VI, 6), which appear to perform the office of infinitives, are in reality adjectives, like *pāchaka*, *bōdhaka*, with this particular shade of meaning, 'which is to be given,' 'which is to be taught.'

Participles. — The middle form of the participle present is preserved in *bhūṃjamānasa*, VI, 3.

B. — KAPUR DI GIRI.

The readings of Kapur di Giri have of late made marked progress.³ A few items of uncertainty, no doubt, still remain, a state of affairs which is sufficiently explained by the condition of the rock, but it is only in points of detail that certainty is really impossible, and we may believe that, so far as decipherment is concerned, we have not so much to expect from the future. I cannot, therefore, do better than take for the basis of my grammatical analysis the last publication of Dr. Bühler in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLIII., pp. 128 and ff.

1. — PHONETICS.

(a). — Vowels.

The alphabet of Kapur di Giri does not distinguish between long and short vowels. We cannot, therefore, here discuss changes of quantity.

Changes of Quality. — *a* for *u* in *garunaṃ*, IX, 19; *pana*, *ibid.*, by the side of *guru* and *puna*. — *i* for *ē*, in *likhapayami*, XIV, 13; *bhagi amṃi*, VIII, 17; *vijinamani*, XIII, 3; *amṭikini*, XIII, 9; *ghatiti*, XIV, 13; *duvi*, I, 1. — *u* for *a* in *ucharucha*, IX, 18; *ōshudhani*, II, 5; *muta*, XIII, 8; *ē* for *a* in *ētra*, VI, 15; *ētraka*, IX, 20. We cannot say that *ē* has been substituted for *a* in cases like *saṃkshayē*, XIV, 14 and the datives in *ayē*; all we can do is to infer the graphic equivalence of *aya* and *ayē*. — *ē* for *i* in *ēdiśaṃ* XI, 23; *al.* — In *bhūyē* (for *bhuyō*) we should not, I think, look for an actual change in this dialect of *ō* into *ē*, but should simply consider it as an accidental Māgadhism of the spelling. — *u* for *ō* in *likhapitu*, I, 1. The vowel *ṛi* has no real existence

in this dialect, which, however, does not prevent its being represented in several ways by the orthography. It takes sometimes the form *ra*, in *grahatha*, XIII, 4; XII, 1, sometimes the form *ri*, in *vistriṭēna*, XIV, 13, and sometimes *ru*, in *śruṇēyu*, XII, 7; *mrugō*, I, 3. It is changed to *a* in *dukaṭaṃ*, V, 11; *vapaṭa*, XII, 9; *viyapaṭa*, V, 13; *usaṭēna*, X, 22; so also in *vajri*, in which the influence of the etymological form has introduced an *r* in the following syllable; — to *i* in *diḍha*, VII, 5; *ēdiśa*, IX, 18, *al.*; *kiṭa*, VI, 14; the influence of the *r* has here cerebralised the dental, which shews that the orthography *kiṭra*, II, 4; VII, 12; VII, 5, is purely a learned and affected one; — to *u* in *vudhēshu* V, 12; *viyapaṭa* V, 13; *paripuchha*, VIII, 17; *mutē*, XIII, 1; *dharmavuṭaṃ*, XIII, 10. — In *rukha*, XII, 5, *vṛi* would be changed into *ru*, but Dr. Bühler's reading, *vuta*, gives an entirely different word.

Additions and Suppressions. — Additions: initial *i* in *istri*°, XII, 9.

Suppressions: *a* in *pi* (passim); *i* in *ti* (passim); *ē* in *va* = *ēva* X, 22, *al.*; *vō* and

³ Note by Translator. — The section regarding Kapur di Giri having been entirely re-written by the author for the purpose of this translation, it is hardly necessary to point out that the following, in no way, agrees with the corresponding pages of the original work.

yô = *évan* (cf. below); in *sha* = *éshâm*, VI, 16, if Dr. Bühler's analogy is well founded.

Contractions. — *ava* into *ô* in *ôródhana*, VI, 14; &c.; into *a* in *yamatrô*, XIII, 6, if we must take it as equivalent to *yâvamâtra*; *alu* into *ô* in *khô* (passim) and *u* in *ku*, IV, 9; *iya* into *ê* in *êlakayê*, X, 21; *ayô* into *i* in *tidaśa*, V, 11, if this is the correct reading, which I strongly doubt; — *vâ* into *u* in the participle absolute, and in *chatura*, XIII, 9.

As for examples of **Hiatus** like *dēvanapriasa*, *priadarśisa* I, 1; XIII, 1; *êkatiê*, I, 2; *ia* (*hia*) V, 13; VI, 16; IX, 20; XI, 24, the resemblance between *a* (*ê*) and *ya* (*yê*) *ha*, is so close, that it is perhaps still permissible to doubt whether the reading is certainly correct.

Nasalized Vowels. — I believe that, considering the condition of the rock, it is just as impossible as it is at Girnar, or more so, to attach here any definite significance to instances in which the *anusvâra* is omitted, especially as the last revisions have considerably reduced the number.

I shall have occasion, lower down, to draw attention to the equivalence of *am* and *o* final, the explanation of which still appears to me to be doubtful, although certain instances seem really to indicate an actual phonetic phenomenon. A presumption favourable to this explanation might be drawn from the spelling *alikasudarô* for *°sam°*, XIII, 9.

As for the nominatives neuter in *e* for *am*, the concurrence of a number of masculine nominatives in *e*, only allows us to recognise in them instances of Mâgadhisms, and not a phonetic fact peculiar to the dialect of Kapur di Giri. So also in the cases of *chaturê*, XIII, 9, for *chaturô*, and *rajani* for *rajanô*, equivalent to *rajinô*, *ibid.*, if, as I have considerable doubt, the reading is really correct. As for *ayi* = *ayan*, VI, 16, the correct reading is very probably *ayo*.

(b). — Consonants.

Simple Consonants. — In addition to the characters of the alphabet of Girnar, Kapur di Giri possesses, so far as regards consonants, two peculiar signs, one for the cerebral and the other for the palatal sibilant. I shall only note those instances in which their use does not correspond with that of Sanskrit.

Changes. — *kh* into *k* in *ku* = *khu* (*khahu*), IV, 9.

g into *k* in *maka*, XIII, 9.

gh into *h* in *lahuka*, XIII, 11.

j into *y* in *prayuhôtavê*, I, 1; *raya* (by the side of *raja*), I, 1; al.; *kambôya*, V, 12; — into *cha* in *vrachamti*, XIII, 10; *vrachêyam*, VI, 16.

t is cerebralised into *ṭ* under the influence of an *r*-sound, whether vocalic or consonantal. The spelling, however, fluctuates. Not only does the classical appear side by side with the Prâkrit orthography, but we also find intermediate stages in which the *r* is retained in writing, and often in an arbitrary fashion. Examples are, — *prati* becomes *paṭi*; but *prativêsiyêna*, IX, 19; *saṃpraṭipati*, IV, 8; *praṭipajêya*, XIV, 14; *praṭivêdêtavô*, VI, 14; *paṭrivêdaka*, *paṭrivêdêtu*, VI, 14; *paṭrivêdêtavô*, VI, 15; *kṛita* is written *kiṭa*, VI, 14; *kaṭa* in *sukaṭa*, V, 11; *kiṭra*, II, 4; V, 11, 12; VII, 5; *vyâṇṛita* is written *va(viya)paṭa*, passim; *vyaputa*, V, 13, and also *viyaputra*, *ibid.* I may also quote *vistriṭêna*, XIV, 13; *muṭô*, XIII, 6, and *muṭê* (?) XIII, 1. — *t* appears weakened to *d* in *hidasukhayê*, V, 12, by the side of *hita°*, *ibid.*

bh into *h* in *ahô* (= *athavâ*), IV, 8.

d into *y* in *iyam* for *idam*, nom. sing. neut.

dh into *d* in *hida*, I, 1 = *idha* (?).

p into *v* in *avatraṭpêyu*, XIII, 8.

b into *p* in *padham*, VII, 15.

bh into *h* in the base *hōti*, by the side of *bhōti*, *bhavati*.

l into *r* in *arabhati* and its derivatives and in *rochetu*, XIII, 11.

v into *y* in *yô* for *évan*, if Dr. Bühler's analysis is correct (in IV, 9).

ś into *y* in *badaya*, III, 5; IV, 10; — into *s* in *anusôchanam*, XIII, 2; *samachariya*, XIII, 8.

sh into *ś* in *manuśa*, II, 4, 5 (by the side of *manusha*, XIII, 6); — into *s* in *arabhiyisu*, I, 2; *yêsu*, XIII, 4; *abhisita*, IV, 10; al.

s into *ś* in *anusâśanam*, IV, 10; *anusâśisamti*, *ibid.*; into *sh* in *pañchashu*, III, 6 (cf. *shashu* below); — into *h* in *hachê* (= *sachêd*), IX, 20.

Suppressions and Additions. — Loss of an initial *y* in *ava* = *yâvat*, passim; — of a medial *h* in *ia*, V, 13; VI, 16; IX, 20; XI, 24, if the reading is certain.

Addition of a prosthetic *h* in *hia*, IX, 20; *hida*, XIII, 12; *hēdīsa*, VIII, 17; of a *v* in *vachati*, XIII, 8, in *vuta* II, 5, if this reading (= *upta*) should really be preferred to the reading *rukha*.

Compound Consonants. — *kt* becomes *t*: *abhisita*, V, 11; &c.

ky becomes *k* in *śakô* = *śakyaṃ*, XIII, 7.

kr remains unchanged: *parakramati*, X, 22; &c.

ksh becomes *kh*: *saṃkhayē*, XIV, 14; *rukha* (?), II, 5; *khudrakēna*, X, 22; — and *chh*: *môchhayē*, V, 13; *istridhiyachha*, XII, 9; *chhamitaviyē*, XIII, 7.

khy becomes *kh*: *mukhamute*, XIII, 8.

gr remains unchanged: *agrabhuti*, XIII, 4; &c.

jñ becomes *ñ*, except in the base *anapēti*, in which it becomes *ṇ*.

jy becomes *j*: *jōtikamdhani*, IV, 8.

ñj yields *ñ* in *vañanatô*, III, 7.

In *shashu*, I do not think that the *sh* can be considered as representing the group *ʃs*. We have here an instance of formation of the locative after the analogy of substantives.

ṇdy becomes *ṇd* in *paṇḍa*, XIII, 9.

ṇy becomes *ṇñ*, except in *anapīyaṃ*, VI, 16, in which it is written *ṇiya*.

tt becomes cerebralised into *ʈ*, under the influence of an *r*-sound, in *dharmavutṭam*, XIII, 10; *nivaṭṭiya*, IX, 19.

tth is written both *th* and *ʈh* in *uthana*, VI, 15.

tm becomes *t* in *ata°* XII, *passim*.

ty becomes regularly *ch*. The Sanskrit spelling is, however, preserved in *ēkatīē* (or *ēkatīyē*), I, 2; and it is changed into *ti* in *paritijitu*, X, 22, and also, perhaps, in the participle absolutive in *ti*, if it is to be analysed as equivalent to *tya* (by false analogy).

tr remains unchanged, except in *tidāsa* (or *tô°*) equivalent to *trayōdāsa*.

tv becomes *t*. I can hardly believe in the absolutely solitary example of a double *tt* in *tadattayē* X, 21, as read by Dr. Bühler. I should prefer to suggest the reading *tadatrayē*, were I not much more disposed to think that it is simply *tadatayē* which we should read. Cf. *satiyaputra*, II, 4.

ts becomes *s*: *chikisa*, II, 4; *usafēna*, X, 22.

ddh is cerebralised into *ḍh* under the influence of an *r*-sound: *vudḍhi*, IV, 10; *vudḍhanam*, VIII, 17.

dy becomes *j*, except in *uyana*, where it becomes *y*, VI, 14.

dr remains unchanged in *khudrakēna*, X, 22.

dv, becomes *d* in *diyadha°*, XIII, 1, and is resolved into *duv* in *duvi*, I, 3; II, 4; it is reduced to *b* in *badāya°*, IV, 10.

dhr remains unchanged: *dhruva*, I, 3; &c.

nt, instead of the spelling *nt*, appears, according to Dr. Bühler, to be written *tn* in *atikratnam*, VIII, 17, and *karōtnē*, IX, 18. This is a detail which deserves verification.

ndhr is written *ṇdhr* in *amdhra*, XIII, 10.

ny becomes *ṇñ*: *amñā*, IV, 9; &c.

pt becomes *t*: *natarô*, IV, 9, &c.

pn is resolved into *pun*: *prapunati*, XIII, 6.

pr usually remains unchanged. Excluding doubtful cases, I, however, note *pajupadanē*, IX, 18; *papôtra* XIII, 11. We have already seen how extremely fluctuating is the spelling of *prati*: sometimes *prati* (*pratirēsiyēna*, XI, 24), but also *paṭi* (*passim*), *praṭi* (*samanḥ-praṭipati*, IX, 19), and *paṭri* (*paṭrivēdaka*, *paṭrivēdētu*, VI, 14).

bḍh becomes *dh*: *ladheshu*, XIII, 8.

br remains unchanged: *bramaṇa*, *passim*.

bhy becomes *bh*: *arabhiṣanti*, I, 3.

bhr remains unchanged: *bhratuna*, IX, 19; *al*.

my becomes *m* or *ṃm*: *abhiramani*, VIII, 17. The double *m* admitted by Dr. Bühler in *samma*, IX, 19; XI, 23; XIII, 5, appears to me to be improbable. I prefer to read *samam*, and to suggest that either *samam* is for *saṃma*, or that *samyak* has taken the form *samam* by analogy.

mr becomes *ṃb* in *taṃbapanāni*, II, 4.

rg becomes *g*: *sagam*, VI, 16; or is written *gr* in *vagrēna*, X, 22.

rch becomes *ch*, with the *r* transposed to the preceding syllable, in *vrachasi* (= *varchasi*) VI, 14, if my analysis of the word is justified, and we should not understand **vratyasi*.

rn becomes *ṃn* in *taṃbapanāni*, XIII, 9.

rt becomes *ṭ* (*anuvaṭṭisanti*, V, 11): sometimes written *rṭ* (*kirtī*, written *kiṭri*, X, 21),

or with transposition of the *r* to the preceding syllable (*kraṭava*, I, 1); sometimes, also, *t*: *katavô*, XI, 24.

rth usually gives us *th* (*aṭha*, passim), but also *th* (*atham*, IX, 20; *anathésu* V, 12), both one and the other being sometimes written with *r*, *ṭhr* (VI, 14; IX, 18) and *thr* (IV, 10).

rthy is written *ṭhriya* in *niraṭhriyam*, IX, 18.

rdh becomes *dh*: *vadhīsati*, IV, 9; &c.

rbh gives us *bh* with transposition of the *r* in *garbhagarasi* (written *grabhagarasi*) VI, 14.

rm remains unchanged, but with a transposition of *r* in writing: *krama* = *karma*; *dhrama* = *dharma*. The spelling *dhramma*, IV, 8; X, 21, marks the real character of this method of writing.

ry becomes *riy*: *anamtariyēna*, VI, 14; *samachariyam*, XIII, 8.

rv usually remains unchanged, with transposition of the *r* either in the same syllable as in *savra*, or to the syllable preceding, *pruva*, V, 11; *srava* (?) VI, 11. But the spelling *v* is not rare: *savatra*, II, 5; V, 13 (several times); VI, 14, 15, 16; VII, 1; XIII, 10 (several times); *savanā*, X, 22.

rs remains unchanged with transposition of the *r*: *°draśi*.

rsh is written *sh* in *vasha*, passim. It remains unchanged in *prashamāda*, scil. *parshamāda*, V, 12; VII, 2; XII, 1, 2.

rshy gives us *sh* in *kashamti*, V, 11.

lp becomes *p*: *kīpa*, V, 11; &c.

ly becomes *l* in *kalāṇa*, V, 11.

vy becomes either *va* (*vasanam*, XIII, 5; *kaṭava*, VI, 15; *vataṭvô*, XI, 24; &c.), or *viya* (*viyapaṭra*, V, 13; *pujētaviya*, XII, 3), often in the same words; or it becomes *y* in *mrugaya*, VIII, 17,

sch becomes *ch* (and not *chh*) in *pacha*, I, 3; XIII, 2.

śy become *śiy* in *prativēśiyēna*, XI, 24.

śr usually remains unchanged (*suśrūsha*, passim); it is written *sr* in *srēsta*, I, 2; *srēṭha*, IV, 10.

shk becomes *k*: *dukaram*, V, 11; *dukaṭam*, ibid.

shkr becomes *kr*: base *nikramati*, passim.

shṭ becomes *st* in *dipista*, IV, 10, &c.; — and *ṭh* in *aṭha* = *aṣṭau*, XIII, 1.

shṭr is written *st* in *rastikanam*, V, 12.

shṭh is written *ṭh* in *śrēṭha*, IV, 10; *ṭh* in *tithē*, IX, 20, *adhithanē*, V, 13; and *st* in *srēsta*, I, 2, and *tistiti*, IV, 10.

shy becomes *ś* in all futures: *aṇapēśamti*, III, 7; &c.

sk becomes *k* (and not *kh*) in *jōtikamdhani*, IV, 8.

st remains unchanged, whether written with the special sign to which Dr. Bühler appears to have correctly given its true value, or with the group *st*, as in *saṁstuta*, IX, 19.

str remains unchanged: *striyaka*, IX, 18; *istri*° XII, 9: cf. also *vistriṭēna*, XIV, 13.

sth becomes *th*: *chirathitika*, V, 13; *grahatha*, XIII, 4; and also *ṭh*, *grahatani*, XII, 1.

sm becomes *s* in all locatives in *asi*; but these forms do not properly belong to the language of Kapur di Giri.

sy usually becomes *s*, as in the genitive in *asa*. But we find written *siya* as equivalent to *syāt*, IX, 20; al.

sr remains unchanged: *sahasrāni*, I, 2; &c.

sv is assimilated into *s* in *sagam*, VI, 16; *samikēna*, IX, 19; and written *sp* in *spasunam* (V, 13), if the reading is really certain, and it is not simply a badly written *sv*.

hm becomes *m*: *bramaṇa*, passim.

hy becomes *h* in *mahan* = *mahyam*, V, 11.

(c). — Sandhi.

A final *anuvāra* is changed to *m* in *ēvamēva*, XIII, 9; *paratrikam ēva*, XIII, 11.

In compound words, I have noted:—

a elided before *i*: *bramaṇibhēshu*, V, 12.

a combined with *u* into *ô*: *manuśōpakam*, II, 5.

a elided before *u*: *pajupadanē*, IX, 18.

a elided after *i*: *istridhiyachha*, XII, 9.

u combined with *u* into *ô*: *paśōpakam*, II, 5.

2. — INFLEXION.

(a). — Gender.

Here, as at Girnar, the nominative singular neuter of bases in *a* often ends in *ē*, e. g. IV, 8: *yadiśam . . . na bhutapurva tadiśē*, &c. Another example of the confusion of gender appears in the plurals *yutani*, III, 7, and *kaliṅgani*, XIII, 2 (if indeed it is thus that we

should read). One is tempted to attribute to the same cause the not unfrequent use of the desinence *ô* for *am̐*, *dharmacharaṇô*, IV, 9; *prāṭivedētavô*, VI, 14, 15; *kaṭavô*, IX, 18, 19; XI, 24; *vatarô*, IX, 19; XI, 24; *śakô*, XIII, 7; *pranatravô*, I, 3, which I take as equivalent to *prāṇatravam̐*; but the accusatives *imô*, IV, 9; *anudivasô*, I, 2; *śatabhagô*, XIII, 7, and, above all, the nominative *karam̐* (for *karam̐tô*) XI, 24; XII, 4, 6; (perhaps, also, *saṁtām̐* = *saṁtô*, VI, 14); *vô* = *ēvam̐* (Bühler, in II, 5), appear to shew that in these cases there is only a mechanical equivalence between the sounds *ô* and *am̐*. There is still, however, *sô*, often used (I, 2; IV, 7; &c.) as a particle, equivalent to *tad*, and which cannot be explained as a mechanical substitute for *taṁ*. It only remains for us to see in it an arbitrary restitution from the Māgadhî *sé*, based on false analogy.

(b). — Declension of Consonantal Bases.

Of this only a few traces survive.

Bases in AN. — Nom. sing. *raja* (*raya*), passim; gen. *rañô*; instr. *rañña*, XIV, 13; — nom. plur. *rajanô*, XIII, 9. I do not believe in the reading *rajani*.

Bases in AR (RI). — Except the nom. plur. *natarô*, IV, 9; VI, 16, the other forms have adopted the vocalic declension, the bases in *ar* having gone over to the declension in *u*: *pituna*, *bhratuna*, IX, 19; *bhratunam̐*, *spasunam̐*, V, 13; *matapitushu*, passim.

Bases in AS. — Acc. sing. *yaśô*, X, 21. The loc. *varchasi*, VI, 14, can indifferently belong to the base *varcha* or the base *varchas*. *Ehuyé*, VIII, 17, is a Māgadhism for *bhuyô*.

Bases in IN. — *Priyadarśin* has gone over to the declension in *i*: *priyadarśisa*, passim. I note, however, the instr. *priyadarśina*, IV, 10. We have also the nom. plur. *hastinô*, IV, 8.

(c). — Declension of Vocalic Bases.

Bases in A. — **Masculines.** — Here, again, I only note such peculiarities as deserve attention. The nom. sing. regularly terminates in *ô*, which appears to be weakened to *u* in *likhapitu*, I, 1; sometimes it takes the form in *é*, the Māgadhî termination (*samayé*, I, 2; *dēvanam̐*, *riyé*, *jané*, X, 21; *mukhamuté*, *vijayé*, XIII, 8; *Turamayé*, XIII, 9), written *i* in *amti-kini*, XIII, 9; *srēstamati*, I, 2. — Dat. sing. *aya* written more commonly *ayé* — loc. sing. usu-

ally in *é*; but often also in *asi*, as in Māgadhî: *mahanasasi*, I, 2; *gaṇanasi*, III, 7; *dharmayutasi*, V, 13; *śrôdhanasi*, &c. VI, 14; &c. We find the locative in *é* written as weakened to *i* in *bhagi am̐ni*, VIII, 17.

Neuters. — The nominative singular ends in *am̐*, which is several times written *ô*, as I have noted above. I have also pointed out the frequent Māgadhism of the nominative neuter in *e*, which is sometimes written *i*, as in *ghafiti*, XIV, 13.

Feminines. — The loc. sing. in *ayé*: *aṭhasam̐tiravayé*, VI, 15; *parishayé*, VI, 14.

Bases in I. — **Feminines.** — Dat. sing. in *iya*: *ayatiya*, X, 21; *nivutiya*, IX, 19. — Instr. sing. in *iya*: *anuśastiya*, IV, 8. — abl. sing. the same, *taṁbapom̐niya*, XIII, 9.

Bases in U. — **Masculines.** — Cf. bases in *AR*.

Feminines. — It is questionable whether *sadhu*, III, 6, 7; IV, 10, represents the feminine, or whether it is not rather the nominative neuter.

Neuters. — Nom. and acc. sing. in *u*: *bahu*, IX, 18, &c. — Nom. plur. in *uni*: *bahuni*, I, 2.

(d). — Declension of Pronouns.

Demonstratives, &c.

Anyā. — Nom. sing. neut.: *am̐nām̐*, IV, 9; IX, 19. — Dat. sing.: *am̐nayé*, III, 6; IX, 18. — Loc. sing. *am̐ni*, VIII, 17. — Nom. plur. masc. *am̐nē*, V, 13; al.

Ima. — Nom. sing. fem. *ayam̐*, I, 1; al. I have no hesitation in considering that *ayi*, VI, 16, should be read *ayô* = *ayom̐*; neuter, *idan̐*, IV, 10; *iyam̐*, V, 13; XII, 2 (*iyô*); *imam̐*, VI, 16; al. — Gen. sing. *imisa*, III, 6; IV, 10. — Dr. Bühler considers that, in VI, 16, we should read *ēsha* = *ēshām̐*. I doubt this.

Ekatya. — Nom. sing. masc. *ēkatié*, I, 2.

Eta. — Nom. sing. masc. *ēshé*, XIII, 8; neut. *ētām̐*, IX, 19; X, 22; *ēshé*, X, 22; perhaps *ēta*, I, 3. — Gen. sing. *ētisa*, III, 6. — Dat. sing. *ētayé*, passim. — Gen. plur. *ētēsha*, which should probably be read *ētēshan̐*, XIII, 5.

Ka. — *kichi*, the nom. neut. is of frequent occurrence. — IX, 20, Dr. Bühler reads *kēsha*, which he explains as the gen. plur. This passage should not, however, be considered as having received its definitive analysis.

Ta. — Nom. sing. masc., *só*, V, 11; al. — Neuter: *tañ*, passim. — *só*, frequently employed as a particle, when it represents practically the same form: I have already intimated above how this has come about. — Of the other cases, it is sufficient to note *tésa* (*téshañ*?) XIII, 6.

Ya. — Nom. sing. masc. *yó*, passim; Fem.: *ya*, XIII, 7, 12. Neuter: *yañ*, passim; *yé* IX, 18. — Gen. plur. *yésa* or *yéshañ*, XIII, 5. — Loc. plur. *yésu*, XIII, 4.

Sarva. — Nom. sing. neut.: *sarva*, XIV, 13. — Acc. sing. masc. and neut. *sarvañ*, VI, 14; VII, 2. — Nom. plur. masc.: *sarvé*, VII, 1; al. — Loc. plur.: *sarvéshu*, V, 13.

Personal Pronouns.

1st person. — Nom. sing. *aham*, passim. — Gen. sing. *mé*, V, 11; al.; *maha* (*mahan*) V, 11. — instr. *maya*, VI, 15; al.

(e). — Declension of Numerals.

Dvi, nom. I, 3; II, 4.

Chaturé, nom. masc. XIII, 9.

Pañchashu, loc. III, 6.

Shashu, loc. of *shat*, XIII, 8.

Aṭha, — *ashtau*, in composition, XIII, 1.

It seems that the form of the numeral adjective for twelve, was *badaya*, III, 5, and for thirteen, *tidaśa*, V, 11.

3. — CONJUGATION.

(a). — Verbal Bases.

Save for phonetic modifications, these have, in general, the usual forms. I only note the presents *upahanṭi*, XII, 6; *prapūṇati* for *prapūṇōti*, XIII, 6, and the participle *prayuhótavé*, I, 1, with an irregular extension of the base of the present. *Āha* is transferred to the present under the form *ahati*, never *aha*.

In the passive, the formative affix *ya* follows the ordinary rules in combination: *hamāṇti*, I, 3; *arabhiśaṇti*, I, 3; *vuchati*, XIII, 8. In *arabhiyisu*, I, 2, it is expanded into *iya*. Cf. *anuvīdhiyisaṇti*, XIII, 10.

The causal formative affix, *aya* is usually contracted to *é*. Nevertheless, we have, VI, 14, *ṇapayami*, by the side of *anapémi* in the following line.

(b). — Terminations.

According to Dr. Bühler, there survives one example of the middle termination in *karōnté*,

IX, 18, but I am very sceptical regarding this reading. Even the passive, as we have just seen, always takes the terminations of the *parasmaipada*.

Potential. — *As* has its 3rd pers. sing. *siya*, X, 22, al., which serves in one passage as base of an anomalous plural *siyasu*, XII, 7, by the side of which appears also *asu*, XIII, 11. The 3rd pers. plur., *éyasu*, instead of the usual *éyu* (*śruṇeyu*, XII, 7; *avatrapéyu*, XIII, 7) also appears in *haméyasu*, XIII, 8. The usual formation of the singular is in *éyañ*, *éya*; but the form in *é* (Skr. *ét*) appears to have been retained in *tithé*, IX, 20, and *prabhavé*, XIII, 7 (which it does not appear to me to be possible to analyze as a locative).

Past. — 3rd. pers. sing. *nikrami*, VIII, 17. — The last revisions have revealed the middle form *dipista* (Pāli *dipittha*) IV, 10; V, 13; VI, 16; XIII, 11, with a passive meaning. The 3rd. plur. usually keeps the *sh*; *nikramishu*, VIII, 17; *manishu*, XIII, 11; *lôchéshu*, IV, 10. We have, however, also, *arabhiyisu*, I, 2. *Abhavasu*, VIII, 17, is an anomalous formation, due to false analogy.

Future. — It is written everywhere in *isati* instead of *ishati*. We have, however, *kashati* = *kar(i)shyati*, V, 11. It is doubtful if *achhamṭi*, V, 11, ought to be classed as an irregular future of *as*.

Participle Absolute. — Usually formed in *tu*, e. g. *śrutu*, XIII, 10, and the irregular *vijinitu*, XIII, 2: in *yé* in *saṃkhaṇḍé*, XIV, 14. It would appear that we have the termination *ti* in *alôchéti*, XIV, 14, and, if the reading will stand verification, in *tistiti*, IV, 10. I still prefer to explain it, after the analogy of *paritijitu* (X, 22) for *paricha(tya)jitu*, as a contraction of *tya*, rather than as representing the vedic *tví*, which Dr. Bühler sees in it.

Infinitive. — I note the infinitive forms *dapakam* and *śravakam*, VI, 14.

Participles. — I find the following middle forms of the present participle: *aśamanasa*, VI, 14 and *vijinamani*, XIII, 3.

The Future Participle Passive usually has the termination *taviya*; but *tava* also occurs in *kaṭavamatañ*, VI, 15.

C. — KHALSI, DHAULI-JAUGADA, COLUMNAR EDICTS, BHABRA, SAHASARAM, RUPNATH, BAIRAT.

The Spelling of the remaining edicts is so similar, that it will be advantageous to group all the facts together in one view.

The edicts are referred to by their initial letters: Dh. = Dhauli; Kh. = Khālsi; S. = Sahasaram; R. = Rūpnāth; B. = Bairāt; Bh. = Bhabra. For the Columnar Edicts, I have taken, as typical, the only complete version, the most correct and that best known, that of the pillar of Firūz Shāh at Dehli (D). I only cite the divergencies of the other versions (D²ARM) when they appear to me to present points of special interest, and to be not merely accidental transformations.

The text of Jaugada is, in the series of the fourteen edicts, almost invariably identical with that of Dhauli. Dr. Bühler only notes four points of divergence; according to his texts I count at most seven or eight; the text of Jaugada, being moreover less complete than that of Dhauli, offers nothing new. The case is not the same with regard to the detached (or 'separate') edicts; here the two versions more frequently shew points of difference, which are not all devoid of interest. Under these conditions Dhauli, as a general rule, answers for both, and I shall content myself with merely drawing attention, in the proper place, to forms peculiar to Jaugada.

The fragments of the Queen's Edict, of the edict of Kauśāmbi, and of the inscriptions of Barābar, are too short and too damaged to lend themselves to methodical treatment.

1. — PHONETICS.

(a). — Vowels.

Changes of Quantity. — Kh. does not mark, for *i* and *u*, the distinction between long and short. The solitary instance in which an *i* has been read: *piyadasī*, I, 2 (Bühler) is so indistinct, that the facsimile of General Cunningham gives it as short. I have no doubt that he is right. — R. and B. read *jambudipasi*, which is not sufficient ground for us to conclude that they would not have marked the long vowel, if the text had brought it again elsewhere; and that especially, because at Bh. we have certain examples of *i* and *ū*. We must, therefore, conclude that this peculiarity belongs only to Kh.

Vowels lengthened. — KHĀLSI. — A final very often becomes *ā*, more often, indeed, than it remains short. I quote only a few examples of each case: *abhisitasā*, XIII, 35, &c.; *abhisitēnā*, IV, 13, &c.; *āhā*, passim (once only *āha*, VII, 6); *ajā*, IV, 9; *chā* (more frequent than *cha*); *ēvā*, II, 6, al.; *hidā*, I, 1, al.; *palatā*, IX, 27, &c.; *punā*, passim; *mamā*, V, 13; *vā*

(= *va*, *ēva*), III, 7, &c. — In the middle of words, I note *sukhāyāmi*, VI, 20; *lāti*, VIII, 23.

DHAULI. — Finals: *āhā*, III, 9, al. (never *āha*); *ālādhaṇvā*, det. II, 6; *chalēvā*, det. II, 5; *nikhamāvā*, III, 10; *pāpunēvā*, det. II, 7; *yujantū*, IV, 8; *mamā*, det. I, 5; *nā*, I, 4; *vasēvutī*, VII, 1 (Jaug. °*ti*). — In the interior of words, we find several instances of lengthening, some of which are compensatory or accidental: *-sahāsāni*, I, 3; *tākhasilatē*, det. I, 24; *abhikālē*, V, 25; *chilāṭhitikā*, V, 27; VI, 33; *nāché*, VII, 2; *anāvūtiya*, det. I, 11; *nithūliyēna*, det. I, 11; *kīlāṇa*, VIII, 5 (Jaug. *hi*°) can only be an error of the engraver.

DEHLI. — Finals: *āhā* (*ahā*), passim; *apahatā*, VI, 3 (RM °*ta*), if the form is really equivalent to *apahritya*; *anupaṭipajēyā*, VII-VIII, 17; *asvasā*, V, 18 (RM °*sa*); *bhayēnā*, I, 4; *chā*, passim; *ēvā*, I, 6 (RM °*va*); *gōnasā*, V, 18 (RM °*sa*); *hémēvā*, I, 8; VI, 6 (ARM °*va*); *jā*, *napadasā*, IV, 5 (RM °*sa*); *lōkasā*, VI, 2, 4, (RM °*sa*); *mamā*, IV, 12 (D²RM °*ma*); *papōvā*, VI, 13 (ARM °*va*); *usāhēnā*, I, 5; *vadhēyā*, VII-

VIII, 13, 16, 18; *sādhū*, II, 11 (ARM °*dhū*). D. VI, 8 and I, 4 writes *pūyāyā*, *palikhāyā* and *susūyāyā*, the instrumental written in *āya* by RM. — Medial vowels: -*dākhināyē*, II, 13 (D²ARM *da*°); *anupaṭṭipajā*, VII-VIII, 10, 21, 3; *anupaṭṭipajisati*, VII-VIII, 10; *saṃpaṭṭipatiya*, VII-VIII, 8; *anupaṭṭipamñē*, VII-VIII, 7; *niṭṭhūliyē* III, 20; *pachūpagamanē*, VI, 8 (A *pichu*°); *paṭṭibhōgē*, VII-VIII, 3 *paṭṭivisiṭṭham*, VII-VIII, 5 (by the side of *paṭṭivisiṭṭham*); *pavajātānāṃ*, VII-VIII, 4; *putāpapōtikē*, VII-VIII, 10; *saṃpaṭṭipajisati*, II, 16 (D²ARM °*ji*°).

Instead of the *chilāṃthitika* of D, II, 15, D² gives *chilāṃthitika* and ARM *chilāṃthitika*; instead of the *chaghamti* of D, IV, 10, D² gives *chaghamti*.

BHABRA. — Finals: *āhā* 1; *chā* (four times; twice *cha*); *ēvā*, 8. — Medials: *chilāṃthitika*, 4.

SAHASARĀM. — Finals: *avaladhiyēnā*, 6; *chā*-4, 5 (more often *cha*); *paṃnā* (= *paṃcha*), 6-*likhāpayāthā*, 7. — Medials: *chilāṃthitika*, 5.

RUPNĀTH. — Finals: *apaladhiyēnā*, 4; *paka*, *mamānēnā*, 3; *v(i)ya(n)janēnā*, 5; *vyuṭhēnā*, 5.

BAIRĀT. — *āhā*, 1; *chā*, 6.

Vowels shortened. — KHĀLSI. — Finals: *ma*, XIII, 14; — Medials: *ananiyaṃ*, VI, 20; *ayativyē*, X, 27; *akālēna*, XII, 32; *avāhasi*, IX, 24; *abhilamāni*, VIII, 22; *avan*, XIII, 6; *avatake* XIII, 39; *ōpayā*, VIII, 23; *lajā*, X, 28; *lajānē*, XIII, 5; *vijinamanē*, XIII, 36.

DHAULI. — Finals: *anuvigina* (nom. pl.), det. II, 4; -*viyōhālaka*, det. I, 1, and other noms. plur.; *ichha*, det. II, 4; *sōtaviya*, det. I, 18; *lāja*, det. II, 4; *atha* (*yatha*), four times against twice *athā*; *paja*, V, 27; *va* (= *vā*), V, 21, 25, 26; VI, 28, 30; det. I, 20, 21. — Medials: *niti*, det. I, 8, 12 (?); *sa(n)khina*, det. I, 22.

DEHLI. — Finals: *ajaka*, V, 7 (RM °*kā*); *asvatha* IV, 4, 13; *atha*, VI, 4 (RM °*thā*); III, 20; *ēsa* (nom. fem.), I, 9 (ARM °*sā*); *lāja* (nom.), passim (by the side of *lajā*); *siya* IV, 15; *tatha*, VI, 6 (RM °*thā*). — Medials: *āladhi*, VII-VIII, 10; *ava*, IV, 15, (A *amva*, M *āvā*); *avahāmi*, VI, 6; *palibhasayisaṃ*, III, 21; *anuviddhiyaṃti*, VII-VIII, 7 (°*dhī*°, I, 7); *anulupāyā*, VII-VIII, 13, 16, 18; *bhūtānāṃ*, VII-VIII, 9; *ōpayā*, VIII, 5.

In the following instances other versions present a short vowel, as against a regular long

one at D.: *abhātā*, IV, 4, RM *abhāta*; D. I, 6 *apekhā*, RM °*kha*; D. VI, 8, *atanā*, RM °*na*; D. IV, 10, *athā*, D² °*tha*; D. IV, 13, *avimanā*, D²RM °*na*; D. IV, 3, *āyatā*, RM °*ta*; *likhāpitā*, D. I, 2; II, 15; IV, 2; VI, 2, 9, RM °*ta*; *abhātā*, D. IV, 12, D²R °*bhi*°; *aṭṭhamāpakhāyē*, D. V, 15, D²RM °*mi*°; D. III, 20, *isyākālanēna*, RM °*syā*°.

Changes of Quality. — KHĀLSI. — *a* into *i*: *majhimēnā*, XIV, 8; *pichhē* (?) (= *paśchāt*), I, 4; into *ē*: *hēta* (= *atra*), VIII, 23, al.; into *u*: *munisa*, II, 6; — *i* into *ē*: *ēdisāyē*, IX, 24; — *u* into *a*: *galu*, XIII, 36, 38; into *i*: *munisa*, II, 6; — *ē* into *i*: *gihithā*, XIII, 38; *mi*, XIV, 19; — *ō* into *ē*, not only at the end of words, and for *aḥ*, as in *pulē*, I, 3; *mukhatē*, VI, 18; — there are some exceptions, as *lājānō*, II, 5; *kēlalaputō*, II, 4; *sātiyaputō*, II, 4, — but in *kalēti*, V, 13; IX, 24; *apakalēti*, XII, 32; *upakalēti*, XII, 32.

Ṛi changes to *a*: *adhē*, IX, 17; *ānaniyaṃ*, VI, 20; *bhatiyā*, XII, 33; *vadhi* and *vaḍhi*, passim; *bhaṭakasi*, XIII, 37, al.; *kata*, passim; *gahathāni*, XII, 31; *matē*, *maṭē*, XIII, 35, 36, 39; *nikati*, VI, 19; *usaṭēna*, X, 28, 29; *viyāpaṭa*, XII, 34, al.; *vithaṭēnā*, XIV, 18; — into *i*: *ādisē*, IV, 10; *diḍha*, VII, 22; *gihithā*, XIII, 37; *ēdisāyē*, IX, 24; *kiṭṭamata*, VII, 22; *migē*, I, 4; *migaviyā*, VIII, 22; *ādisē*, IV, 10; — into *u*: *palipuchhā*, VII, 23; *lukhāni*, II, 6; *vudhānaṃ*, VIII, 23; *vutaṃ*, XIII, 9.

DHAULI. — *a* into *u*: *avucha*, VII, 2; IX, 16, (Jaug. *avacha*); *munisa*, VII, 1, al. (by the side of *manusa*); — *a* into *e*: *hēta* (*atra*), XIV, 19; — *i* into *a* in *puṭṭhaviyaṃ*, V, 26; — *i* into *ē*: *anusathē* (for °*thi*) VI, 31; — *u* into *i*: *munisa*, loc. cit.; *pulisa*, det. I, 7, 8; — *ē* into *i*: *asamati*, XIV, 19; *vēditu*, det. II, 6 (for °*dē*° = °*dayi*°); *pitēnikēsu*, V, 23; — *ō* into *ē* in *kalēti*, V, 20, al.; and at the end of words when derived from *aḥ*: *bhūyē*, *dhammatē*, &c. (*nē* = *nō*, *na*, at Jaug. det. I, 4, is doubtless only an incorrect reading).

Ṛi becomes *a*: *ādasē* IV, 14; *ānaniyaṃ*, det. II, 9; VI, 32; *bhaṭi*-V, 23; *bhaṭaka*, IX, 8; *kata*, passim; *vaḍhi*, IV, 18; *usaṭēna*, X, 16; *viyāpaṭā*, V, 24; — *i*: *ādisē*, IX, 11; *ēdisāni*, VIII, 3; *hēdisa*, passim; *dhiti*, det. II, 6; *tādisē*, IV, 14; — *u*: *lukhāni*, II, 8; *puṭṭhaviyaṃ*, V, 26; *vudha*, IV, 15; VIII, 4; perhaps *kutē*, det. I, 16.

JAUGADA. — *a* final changes into *u* in *savatu*, II, 8 (Dh. °ta); — *i* into *é* in *ānanēyaṃ* (= *ānanīyaṃ* = *ānṛīyaṃ*), det. I, 9; det. II, 13.

DEHLI. — *a* into *i*; *majhima*, I, 7; — *a* into *u*: — *muté* (ARM), VI, 19; *munisānaṃ*, VII-VIII, 2, al.; — *u* into *i*: *munisa*, passim; *pulisa*, I, 7, al.; *mina*, III, 8, if it really is equivalent to *punaḥ*, which appears doubtful; into *ô*: *gôti*, I, 10; — *é* into *i*: *sūkalā*, V, 8 (D² °lī); *gihithānaṃ*, VII-VIII, 4; *likhāpitā*, passim; — *ô* (*aḥ*) final into *é*: *itē*, IV, 15. — Instead of *sēyatha*, V, 2, A has *sayatha*. — *Ri* changes to *a*: *apakaṭā*, VI, 3 (if really equivalent to *apahṛitya*); *apakaṭhēsu*, VI, 5; *bhaṭakēsu*, VII-VIII, 8; *vaḍhi*, VII-VIII, 8, al.; *kapana*, VII-VIII, 8; *kaṭa*, passim; *viyāpaṭā*, VII-VIII, 4, 5, 6; — into *i*: *nisijitu*, IV, 10.

BHABRA. — *é* changes to *i* in *likhāpayāmi*, 8; — *ri* into *i* in *adhigichya*, 6.

SAHASARĀM. — *é* changes to *i* in *likhāpayāthā*, 7; — *munisā*, 3; — *kaṭā*, 3; *misam* (= *mṛishā*), 2, 3.

RUPNĀTH. — *Pavatisu* (for °té°), 4; — *amisā*, 2; *kaṭā*, 2, al.

BAIRĀT. — *Bāḍhi* for °dhē, 2.

Additions and Suppressions. — KHĀLSI. — Additions: *galahā*, XII, 31; *galahati* XII, 33; *supaddālayé*, V, 14 (if equivalent to *supradāryaṃ*); — *sinēhé*, XIII, 38; — *puluva*, passim; *kuvāpi*, XIII, 39; *suṇāmikēnā* IX, 25. — Suppressions: *pi*, passim; *ti* (*iti*, IX, 26); *va* (= *éva*), IX, 26, alias.

DHAULI. — Additions: *supaddālayé*, V, 22; *anuvigina*, det. II, 4; *ithi*, IX, 7; *kilamathēna*, det. I, 11; *palikilēsé*, det. I, 21; *puluva*, V, 22, al.; *suṇāmikēna*, IX, 10; *pāpunēvū*, det. II, 7. — Suppressions: *ti* (*iti*, det. II, 4, 7), *pi*, *va* (*éva*), passim.

DEHLI. — Additions: *upadahēvū*, IV, 5; *vidahāmi*, VI, 6; *gē(m)vayā*, I, 7; *āsinavé*, II, 11, al.; *duvādasa*, VI, 1; *suṇé*, I, 6. — Suppressions: *pi*, *ti*, *va* (*éva*), passim; *anuvēkhamānē*, VII-VIII, 2; *paṭivēkhamānē*, VI, 4, 7.

BHABRA. — Additions: *alahāmi*, 4; *abbi-khinam*, 7; *pasinē*, 5. — Suppressions: *ti*, 2, al.

SAHASARĀM. — Suppressions: *pi*, *ti*, passim; *va* (*éva*), 3.

RUPNĀTH. — Additions: *sumi*, 1. — Suppressions: *pi*; *ti*; *va*; *dāni*, 2; *sumi*, 1.

Contractions. — KHĀLSI. — *A(l)u* into *ô*: *khô*, X, 28, al.; — *aya* into *é* in causals; — *ava* into *ô*: *ôlôdhana*, V, 16; VI, 18; — *ayi* into *é* in *lēkhāpēsāmi*, XIV, 19; — *a(y)ô* into *é*: *tēdasa*, V, 14; — *ya* into *i*: *palitiditu*, X, 28; *iya* into *é*: *ētakāyē*, X, 27.

DHAULI. — *A(l)u* into *ô*: *khô*, IX, 8; — *ava* into *ô*: *viyôhālaka*, det. I, 1; *viyôvaditaviyē*, IX, 11; *ôlôdhana*, passim; — *avā* into *ô*, if *ahô*, IV, 13, is really equivalent to *atha vā*; — *aya* into *é*: *ujēnūtē*, det. I, 23; — *ayi* into *i* in *vēditu*, det. II, 6; — *ayô* into *é*: *tēdasa*, V, 22; — *iya* into *é*: *ētaka*, passim; — *ya* into *i*: *palitijitu*, X, 15; — *va* into *ū*: *atūlanā*, det. I, 11, 12 (Jaug. °tu°); — *vi* into *u*: *su* (= *svid*), det. II, 4; *duāhalé*, det. I, 16.

DEHLI. — *Nigôhāni*, VII-VIII, 5 (*nya-grôdha*); — *jhāpētaviyē*, V, 10; *khô*, passim *khu*, II, 12; *palivôvadātha*, VII-VIII, 1; *ôlôdhana*, VII-VIII, 6; *viyôvadisaṃti*, IV, 7, 9; *su(svid)*, VII-VIII, 17, 18.

BHABRA. — *Khô*, 3; *ôvādē*, 5; *abhivādē-mānaṃ* (for °dya°), 1.

RUPNĀTH. — *Lēkhāpētaviyē*, *vivasētaviyē*, 5.

BAIRĀT. — *Ālādhētayē*, 6.

NASALISED VOWELS. — I do not attempt to point out all the instances in which the *anusvāra* has been omitted, either in negligence, or by error. They are frequent, especially at Khālsi.

KHĀLSI. — A long vowel equivalent to a nasalised one: *atapāsāṃdā* (°dām), XII, 32, 33; *daḍatā* (°tām), XIII, 15; *dēvānāpiyē*, XII, 30, 34; *dhanīmasu(su)sā* (°sām), X, 27; *disā* (°sām), XIV, 21; *hētā* (°tām), V, 14; *kaṇṇmatālā* (°lām), VI, 20; *pujā* (°jam), XII, 31, 34; *punā* (= *puṇyam*), IX, 26; *saṃtām*, XIV, 17 (if it is really a nom. plur.). — After Dr. Bühler's revision the only trace of a confusion between *aṃ* and *u* which would appear to remain is *sukhitēnā*, XIV, 17 (for *saṃ*°). The concordance of several versions in the spelling *supaddālaya*, V, 14, renders, in this instance, the equivalence of *saṃ* and *su* hardly probable.

DHAULI. — Equivalence of the long and of the nasalised vowel: *baṃbhana* and *bābhana*; *bhāvasudhī* (°dhīm), VII, 1; *kalanītam* (nom.

plur.), dét. I, 18; *kañmata(lañ)*, VI, 32, as against *kāmatalā*, at Jaug. ; *kiñī*, X, 13 (^o*tiñ*) ; *sañbōdhī* (^o*dhīñ*), VIII, 4; *palatāñ*; (^o*tā*, ^o*ta*); VI, 23; *sōtaviyañ* (Jaug. ^o*yā*), det. I, 17; *vataviyañ* (^o*yā*), det. I, 2; *yā (yañ)*, IV, 17. — *Sañtāñ* (n. s. m.), VI, 30, and *vayé* (= *vayañ*), det. II, 8, appear to imply the equivalence of *añ* and *é*. — *u* for *añ* in *tésu añtāñ*, det. II, 10. — The nasal is written double in *aññāñbhé*, III, 11; *sañmyā*, IX, 8; *sukhaññ*, det. II, 5.

DEHLI. — *Anupaṭipatī*(^o*tiñ*), VII-VIII, 3; *-vīsati*, V, 1, 20; *sañtāñ* (nom. plur.) IV, 13; *tiññi* = *trīñ*), IV, 16; V, 12; *yā iyañ* (= *yañ idañ*), VII-VIII, 7; — *kimāñ*, VI, 5, (= *kimu*).

SAHASARĀM. — *Añmisañ*, 2; *misāñ*, 3 (= ^o*sā*); *chāñ*, 5 (= *chā*).

(b). — Consonants.

Two peculiarities are common to all the versions, which we are now comparing. In the first place they know neither the cerebral *ṇ*, nor the palatal *ñ*. They replace both by the dental *n*. There is only one solitary exception: Dh. det. II, 6, would seem to have, according to General Cunningham's facsimile, *paṭiññā*. I should be much surprised to find this reading authenticated; already, in Prinsep's time, the facsimile published by him shewed that, at this place, the stone is damaged and the reading uncertain. I am strongly tempted to believe that the real reading is *paṭiññā*, as at Jaugada. As to *ṇ* Dr. Bühler states two exceptional occurrences of it, one in *khaṇasi*, Dh. det. II, 10, the other in *saṇṇā*, J. det. II, 3. — In the second place, they have no *r*, replacing it regularly (when standing alone) by *l*. I notice only two exceptions, — at Rūpnāth, where, by the side of *ahālē*, 6, we read *chhavachharē*, 1, and *chiraṭhitika*, 4. *Samavariya* at Kh. XIII, 2, is probably a false reading.

Khālsi presents a two-fold peculiarity: the first is the use, for the sibilant, of three signs differing in unequal degrees: *Ṣ*, *ṣ*, and *ṣ*, of which the first is also employed on one occasion at Bairāt (*ṣvaṇṇikīyē*). It appears to me to be certain that these signs are all, among themselves, absolute equivalents, and that they do not represent, as has been maintained, the

three sibilants of Sanskrit. I have already dealt with this question in the Introduction; and I shall return to it later on. I can, therefore, neglect its consideration here. I may remind my readers that in transliteration I represent the sign *Ṣ* by *ṣ*. — The second point concerns the use, at Khālsi, of a character *Ṣ* which I, at first, considered as a simple graphic variant of *ṣ*. The same sign is employed twice (*vaḍikā*, *adhakāsikāñi*) at D. I pass over this difficulty here, and content myself, in order to retain consistency in transcription, with rendering the sign in question by *k*, as I have hitherto done.

Simple Consonants.

Changes. — KHĀLSI. — *k* into *g* in *añtiyōga*, II, 5; XIII, 4, 5.

g into *k* in *makā*, XII, 5; *añtēkina*, ibid.

gh into *h* in *lahukā*, XI, 32, al.

ch into *chh* in *kichhi*, passim.

j into *d* in *palitiditu*, X, 28.

t into *ṭ* in *bhaṭaka*, XIII, 37, alias; *kaṭa*, passim; *maṭē*, XIII, 39 (by the side of *maṭē*); *paṭi*, passim; *usaṭēna*, X, 28, 29; *viyāpaṭa*, passim; *viṭhaṭēnā*, XIV, 18; — into *ḍ* in *dōsē*, VI, 19; *hidasukhāyē* = *hitasu*^o, V, 15.

d into *ḍ* in *hēḍisa*, VIII, 22; IX, 25 (by the side of *ēḍisa*); *duvādasa*, III, 7; IV, 13; — into *t* in *tatōpayā*, VIII, 13 (?); — into *y* in *īyañ* (in the neuter, for *idañ*), passim.

dh into *d* (?) in *hida*, passim.

bh into *h* in *hōti*, etc., passim.

y into *j* in *majulā*, I, 4; — into *v*: *vasēva*, VII, 21 (ordinarily the termination is *ēyu*); — into *h*: *yēhañ*, VI, 20.

s into *h* in *ha(ñ)chē*, IX, 26.

DHAULI. — *k* changes into *kh* in *akhakhasē*, det. I, 22.

g into *gh* in *chaghati*, II, 11, al., if it is really equivalent to *jagrī*, which is extremely doubtful.

ch into *j* in *ajalā*, det. II, 7, (Jaug. has *achala*); — into *chh* in *kichhi*, passim.

j into *ch* in *chaghati*, loco cit.; *kañbōcha*, V, 23.

t into *ch* in *chiṭhitu*, IV, 17; — into *ṭ* in *paṭi*, passim; *kaṭa*, passim; *viyāpaṭā*, det. I, 15, al.; *usaṭēna*, X, 16.

th into h in *ahô* (?), IV, 13.

dh into d (?) in *hida*, passim.

bh into h in *lahévu*, det. II, 5; *hōti*, &c., VIII, 4; *hātāpuluva* IV, 14, al.

y into v in the termination *évu* of the 3rd pers. plur. of the potential (at Jaug. *évu*, except in *nikhamāvū*, III, 11); *āvutiké*, det. II, 8 (at Jaug. *āyu*°); — into h in the 1st pers. sing. of the potential: *yéham*, &c.

v into m in *mayé* (= *vayan*), det. II, 8.

JAUGADA. — k into g in *hidalōgaṃ palalōgaṃ*, (Dh.: °lōka °lōkaṃ), det. II, 7; *hidalōgika*° (Dh.: °ki°), det. II, 12-13.

d into t in *paṭipātayéham*, det. I, 5 (Dh.: *paṭivēdayéham*); *paṭipātayéma*, det. I, 5 (Dh.: °pāda°); *vipaṭipātayamātaṃ*, det. I, 8 (Dh.: *vipaṭipādāyamānēhi*); *paṭipātayéham*, II, 2; *saṃpaṭipātayitavé*, det. II, 16 (Dh.: °pāda°).

DEHLI. — g into gh in *chaghatūti* (??), IV, 8, 10.

gh into h in *lahu*, VII-VIII, 9.

j into ch in *chaghanṭi* (??), IV, 8, 10.

ṭ into ḍ in *vaḍikā*, VII-VIII, 2.

t into ṭ in *kaṭa*, passim; *paṭi*-, passim (*paṭiyāsaṃnēsu*, VI, 5); *viyāpaṭā*, VII-VIII, 4, 5, 6; — into v in *chāvudasaṃ*, V, 12.

th into ṭh in *nighaṃṭhēsu*, VII-VIII, 5.

d into ḍ in *duvādasa*, VI, 1; *paṃnaḍasaṃ*, V, 12.

dh into d (?) in *hida*, VII-VIII, 6, al.; — into h in *nigōhāni*, VII-VIII, 5.

p into b in *libi*, VII-VIII, 10, 11; — into m in *mina* (= *punaḥ*?), III, 18.

bh into h in *hōti*, &c., passim.

m into ph in *kaphaṭa*, V, 5; — into v in *gévayā*, I, 7.

y into v in *āvuti*, IV, 15; termination *évu* of the potential; *pāpōvā*, VI, 3; — into h in the termination *éham* of the 1st pers. of the potential.

s into h in *hōhamṭi*, VII-VIII, 4, 5, 6 (*hōsaṃti*, VII-VIII, 2).

BHABRA. — k into g in *adhigichya*, 6.

bh into h in *hōsati*, 4.

SAHASARĀM. — p into v in *avaladhiyēnā*, 6; *pāvatavé*, 3.

bh into h in *hōtu*, 5.

d into ḍ in *uḍālā*, 4.

RŪPNĀTH. — d into ḍ in *uḍālā*, 3.

bh into h in *husu*, 2.

Additions and Suppressions. — KHĀLSI. — Loss of an initial y in: *a*, XII, 31; *am*, IV, 12; X, 28; *ādisé*, IV, 10; *atātā*, II, 5, 6; *asā*, VII, 21; *atha*, II, 4; XII, 34; *āva*, IV, 12; V, 14; IX, 25, 26; *āvataké*, XIII, 39; *é*, passim. — Addition of an initial y: *yéva*, IV, 12; XIV, 17; of a medial y: *kaligya*, XIII, 35, 36 (*kaliga*, XIII, 39); of an initial h: *hēḍisa*, VIII, 22; IX, 25; *hēta* (*atra*), IX, 24, al.; *hētā*, X, 28; *hēvaṃ*, passim, (*ēvaṃ*, II, 6); *hida*, VI, 20, al.

DHAULI. — Loss of an initial y, except in: *yasō*, X, 13; *yā*, IV, 17; *yé*, I, 8; V, 21; *yéham*, VI, 32; *yuj*, passim; *yōna*, V, 23; — of the syllable *ra* in *hēmēva*, det. I, 24. — Addition of an initial y in: *yéva*, IV, 17; — of a v in *vuté*, IX, 10; — of an initial h in *hēḍisa*, passim (by the side of *ēḍisa*); *hēmēva*; *hēta*, XIV, 19; *hētaṃ*, V, 21; *hēvaṃ*, passim (never *ēvaṃ*, *ēva* and never *hēva*); *hida*, passim.

DEHLI. — Loss of the initial y in: *ata*, VII-VIII, 11; *atha*, III, 20; IV, 10; VI, 4; *āva*, IV, 15 (*yāva*, V, 19); *é*, V, 17; VI, 8; *ēna*, VII-VIII, 11; — of the syllable *ya* in: *ēṭadathā* (or possibly equivalent to *ēṭadathan*?), VII-VIII, 3; — of the syllable *va* in *hēmēva*, VII-VIII, 4, al. — Addition of an initial y in *yéva*, V, 13; VII-VIII, 8 (by the side of *ēva*); — of an initial v in *vutaṃ*, IX, 10; — of an initial h in *hēmēva*; *hēvaṃ*, passim (by the side of *ēvaṃ*); *hida*, VII-VIII, 6, al.

BHABRA. — Loss of the initial y. — Addition of an initial h in *hēvaṃ*, 3, 8.

SAHASARĀM. — Loss of an initial y in *am*, I, 2 (*yatā*, 7). — Addition of an initial v in *vivuthā*, 7; — of an h in *hēvaṃ*, 1.

RŪPNĀTH. — Addition of an initial h in *h(i)dha*(?), 4; *hēvaṃ*, 1. — The initial y remains unchanged: *yāvatakā*, 5; *yā*, 2.

BAIRĀT. — Initial y lost in *am*, 3, preserved in *ya* (*yad*), 2.

Compound Consonants.

kt becomes t. Kh., Dh., D.

ky becomes kiy: (*s*)*akiyé*(?), S. 3; *sakiyé*, R. 3; *ṣvaṅgikiyé*(?), B. 6.

kr becomes always k.

kv becomes kuv in *kuvāpi*, Kh. XIII, 39.

ksh becomes, at Kh., *kh*: *khudaka*, X, 28, &c.; *chh* in *chhanati*, XII, 32; — at Dh., *kh*: *khudaka*, det. II, 5, &c.; — at D., *kh*: *anuvékkhamáné*, VII-VIII, 2, &c.; *jh* in *jhápétavīyē*, V, 10; — at Bh., *kh*: *bhikhuniyē*, 7; — at S., *kh*: *khudaká*, 4; — at R., *kh*: *khudaká*, 3.

kshñ becomes *khin* in *abhikhinam*, Bh.

kshy becomes *kh* in *dupaṭivékkhé*, D. III, 19.

khy becomes, at Kh., *kh*: *sákham*, XIII, 14; — at Dh., *khy*: *mókkhyamata*, det. II, 2; det. I, 3 (Jaug.: *mókkhiyā*^o); — at D., *kh*: *mókhāni*, V, 20, and *khy*: *mókkhyamaté*, VI, 19.

gn becomes, at Kh., *g*: *agikamdhāni*, IV, 10; — at Dh., *g*: *agi*, IV, 3; and *gin*: *anuvigina*, det. II, 4.

gr becomes *g*, Kh., Dh., D.

jñ becomes *ñn* or *n*, Kh., Dh., D.

ñch becomes *ñn*, at D.: *pañnadasa*, V, 12, al.; — at S.: *pañná* (?), 6.

ḍy becomes *ḍiy* at Kh.: *pañḍiyá*, XIII, 6; — at D.: *chaṇḍiyé*, III, 20.

ny becomes *niy* in *ananiya*, at Kh., VI, 20; at Dh., VI, 32; det. II, 9; — *ñn* in *hilañna*; at Kh., VIII, 23; at Dh., VIII, 5.

tk becomes *k*, D., S.

tth becomes *th* in *uṭhāna*, at Kh., VI, 9, al.; at Dh., VI, 31, al.

tm becomes *t*, Kh., Dh., D.

ty becomes, at Kh., *tiy*: *apatiyé*, V, 14, &c.; remains unchanged in *nityam*, XIV, 19, if indeed we are to read thus; changes into *ch* in *niché*, VII, 22; into *t* in *palitijitu*, X, 28; — at Dh., becomes *tiy*: *atīyāyiké*, VI, 19, &c.; changes into *ch* in *ékachá*, I, 2 (doubtful; J. has *ékatiyá*); *niché*, VII, 2; changes into *t* in *palitijitu*, X, 15; — at D., becomes *ch*: *saché*, II, 12; *pachūpagamané*, VI, 8; *tiy* in *patiyá-saññésu*, VI, 5, which R. and M. write *patyása*^o.

tr becomes everywhere *t*.

tv remains unchanged in *tadatváyé*, at Kh. X, 27, and at Dh., X, 13; — becomes *t* at S.: *mahatatá*, 3; *satá*, 7; and at R.: *mahatatá*, 2; *sata*, 5.

ts becomes *s* at Kh.: *chikisá*, II, 5; nevertheless *chikisakichhá*, same line, appears to shew a certain hesitation between the form *chikisá* and the form *chikichhá*; *usaṭéna*, X, 29; — at Dh. II, 6; X, 6; — at D.: *usaṭéná*, I, 5; *chh*, at R., in *chhavachharé*.

tsy becomes *chh* at D., in *-machché*, V, 4.

ddh becomes, at Kh., *dh* in *vadhi*, XII, 31, 34, 35, remains *dh* in *vadhi*, IV, 12, 13; — *dh*, at Dh., in *vadhi*, IV, 18; *vudha*, IV, 15; VIII, 4; and at D. in *vadhi*, passim.

dy becomes *j* (Kh., Dh., D.), except in *uyánv* (Kh., VI, 18; Dh., VI, 29) in which it becomes *y*, and at D., I, 3, in *dusampaṭipádayé* for *°diyé*, *°dyé*.

dr becomes everywhere *d*.

dv becomes, at Kh., *duv*: *duvādasa*, III, 7, &c.; — at Dh., *duv*: *duvālā*, det. II, 2, &c.; *v* in *anuvigina*, det. II, 4; — at D., *duv*: *duvéhi*, VII-VIII, 8, &c.; — at S., R. and B., *d* in *jañbudipasi* (S., 2; R., 2; B., 4); and *duv* at S. in *duvé* (6).

dhy becomes, at Kh., *dhiy* in *adhiyakha*, XII, 34; — at D., *dhiy* in *avadh[i]ya*, V, 2, 8, 13 (RM *°dhya*), *avadhiyāni*, VII-VIII, 9, &c.; *jh* in *nijhati*, VI-VIII, 8.

dhr becomes *dh*, Kh., D.

ny becomes *ñn*, Kh. Dh., D.

pt becomes *t*, Kh., Dh., D. — Appears to change into *vat* in *pávatavé* (= *práptavé*), S., 3.

pr becomes everywhere *p*.

b dh becomes *dh*: *ladhá*, Kh., XIII, 11, &c.

br becomes *b*, Kh., Dh., D.

bhy becomes *bh*, at Kh., in *ibhésu*, V, 15; — remains unchanged, at D., in *abhyuññámáyé-ham*, VII-VIII, 19; *abhyuññamisati*, VII-VIII, 21. — It is written *bhiy*, at Dh., in *ibhiyésu*, V, 24; *álabhiyisu*, I, 3; at Kh., in *alabhiyati*, &c., I, 3, 4.

bhr becomes *bh*, Kh., Dh.

my remains unchanged in *samyá* at Kh., IX, 25; XIII, 37; and at Dh., *sañmyá*, IX, 8.

mr becomes *mb*, at Kh., in *tañbapamñiyá*, XIII, 6; at D., in *añbávaḍiká*, VII-VIII, 2.

rg becomes everywhere *g*.

rgr becomes *gh*, at D., in *nighaññhesu*, VII-VIII, 5.

rch becomes *ch*, Kh., Dh., D.

rñ becomes *ñn*, Kh., D.

rt becomes, at Kh., *t* in *nivatéti*, IX, 26; *anuvatañti*, XIII, 8, &c.; *ṭ*, in *anuvatañti*, V, 9; *nī(va)ṭéti*, *nivatéya*, IX, 26; — at Dh., *t* in *anuvatañti*, V, 21; *ṭ* in *anuvatañtu*, V, 27; *kiṭṭi*, X, 13; — at D., *t* in *pavatayévu*, IV, 5, 13; *ṭ* in *kévaṭa*, V, 14; *palihaṭavé*, IV, 11.

rth becomes, at Kh., *th* or *ṭh* : *atha*, IV, 12, al.; *aṭha*, VI, 17, al.; — at Dh., *th* in *athāyē*, det. I, 19, 21; det. II, 8; *ṭh* in *aṭha*, passim; — at D., *th* in *atha*, VII-VIII, 3, 10; *ṭh* in *aṭhasi*, VII-VIII, 4, al.; — at S., *ṭh* : *aṭham*, 7, al.; — at R., *ṭh* : *aṭhāya*, 3, al.

rthy becomes *thiy* at Kh. (IX, 23) and at Dh. (IX, 7), in *nilathiyam*.

rd becomes *d*, Kh., D.

rdh becomes, at Kh., *dh* : *vadhayisanti*, IV, 12; *diyādha*, XIII, 35, &c.; *dh* in *vadhité*, IV, 11 (ordinarily *vadhita*); — at Dh., *dh* : *vadhayisati*, IV, 16, &c.; — at D., *dh* : *adhakôsiṭṭāni*, VII-VIII, 2, &c.; — at S., *dh* in *avaladhiyēnā*, 6; *dh* in *vadhīsati*, 3, 6; — at R., *dh* : *adhitiyāni*, 1; *vadhīsati*, 4; — at B., *dh* : *vadhīsati*, 7, 8.

rdhy becomes, at S., *dhiy* in *avaladhiyēnā*, 6; *dhiya* in *diyādhiyam*, ibid.; — at R., *dhiy* and *dhiy* (same words); — at B., *dhiy* in *diyadhiyam*, 8.

rbh becomes *bh*, Kh., Dh.

rm becomes, *m*, Kh., Dh., D.

ry becomes, at Kh., *liy* in *anantaliyēnā*, VI, 19; *lay* in *supadālayē*, if we assume it to be equivalent to *supradāryah*; — at Dh., the same, VI, 31; V, 22; — *liy* at D.: *suliyikē*, VII-VIII, 10; *nithūliyē*, III, 20, &c.; at Bh.: *aliyavasāni*, 5; *paliyāyāni*, 4, 6.

rv usually becomes *v* in all texts; — *luv*, at Kh. and Dh., in *puluva*, passim.

rs becomes *s*, Kh., Dh., D.

rsh becomes usually *s* (*vasa*), Kh., Dh., D., Bh.

rshy becomes, at Kh., *chh* in *kachhāmi*, &c., VI, 18, al. (= *kar(i)shyāmi*); — at Dh., *s* in *isāya*, det. I, 10; *chh* in *kachhanti*, VII, 2, al.; — at D., *sy* in *isyākālanēna*, III, 20; *chh* in *kachhati*, II, 16, al.

rh becomes *lah*, at Kh., in *galahati*, XII, 33; at Bh., in *alahāmi*, 4.

lp becomes *p*, Kh., Dh.

ly becomes *y* in *kayāna* at Kh., Dh., D.

vy becomes, at Kh., *viy* : *migaviyā*, VIII, 22; *viyamjanatē*, III, 8, &c., except in *divyāni*, IV, 10; — at Dh. and D., *viy* : *diviyāni*, Dh., IV, 3, &c.; *hamtaviyāni*, D., V, 15, &c.; *ichhitayē*, at Jaug., det. I, 5, should, probably, be restored *ichhita(vi)yē*; — at R. *viy* (*lēkhāpē*).

taviyē, 4), except in *vyuthēnā*, 5; — at B., *y* in *ālādhētayē*, 6.

vr becomes *v*, Kh., Dh., D.

sch becomes *chh*, Kh., Dh.

sn becomes *sin* in *pasinē*, at Bh. (5).

śy becomes *siy*, at Kh., in *paṭivēsiyēnā*, IX, 25; at J. det. I, 6, we have *ālasīyēna*.

śr becomes *s*, Kh., Dh., D., R.

śv becomes at D., *s* in *sēta*, V, 6; *suṃ* in *suṃvē*, I, 6.

shk becomes *k*, at Kh., in *dukalē*, V, 13; — at Dh., in the same word, V, 20, al.

shkr becomes *kh* : *nikhamati*, Kh., III, 7, al., *nikhami*, Dh., VIII, 4, al.

shṭ becomes *ṭh*, Kh., Dh., D., R., and *th*, at S., in *vivuthā*, 7.

shṭh becomes, at Kh., *ṭh* : *adhithānāyē*, V, 15; *sēthē*, IV, 12; — at Dh., *th* : *adhithānē*, V, 26; *adhithānāyē*, V, 23; *nithūliyēna*, det. I, 11; *ṭh* in *chithitu*, IV, 17; — at D., *ṭh*, *nithūliyē*, III, 20.

shp becomes, at Kh. (IX, 26) and at Dh. (IX, 10) *ph*, in *niphati*; — *p*, at D. in *chaturpadē*, V, 7.

shy becomes, at Kh., *s* : *ālabhiyisanti*, I, 4, &c.; — at Dh., *s* : *ānapayisati*, III, 11, &c.; *h* in *ēhatha*, det. I, 17; det. II, 9 (Jaug., in both cases : *ēsatha*); — at D., *s* : *abhyūnāmisati*, VII-VIII, 21, &c.; *h* in *hōhamti*, VII-VIII, 4, 5, 6 (by the side of *hōsanti*), and, to add it at once, although here *h* = *sy*, in *dāhamti*, IV, 18; — at Bh., *s* : *upatisa*, 5.

sk becomes, at Kh., *k* in *agikamdhāni*, IV, 10; — at Dh., *kh* : *agikamdhāni*, IV, 3.

st becomes everywhere *th*.

sth becomes, at Kh., *th* in *chilathitika*, V, 17; *gahathāni*, XII, 31; *ṭh* in *chilathitika*, VI, 20; — at Dh., *ṭh* in *chilathitika*, V, 27; VI, 33; — at D., *th* in *chilathitika*, II, 15 (AR °ṭhi°); *thamhāni*, VII-VIII, 2; *ṭh* in *chilathitika*, VII-VIII, 11; *anaṭhika*, V, 4; — at Bh., *ṭh* in *chilathitika*, 4; — at S., the same, 5; — at R., *th* in *silāthamhāni*, 5; *ṭh* in *chilathitika*, 4. — *tsth* becomes *th* in *uthi* — (= pāli *utthahati*), Jaug., det. I, 7.

sn becomes *sin* in *sinēhē*, at Kh., XIII, 38.

sm becomes, at Kh., *s* in locatives in *asi*; — at Dh., remains unchanged in *akasmā*, det. I, 9, 20, 21; becomes *s* in the locative in *asi*; *ph*

in *aphé*, det. I, 7, &c.; *tuphé*, det. I, 4, &c.; — at D., *s* in the locative in *asi*; — at S., *sum* in *sumi*, I, *s* in the locative; — at R., *sum* in *sumi*, I; *ph* in *tup(h)aka(m)*, 5; *s* in the locative; — at B., *s* in the locative in *asi*.

sy becomes, at Kh., *s* in the genitive in *asa*; *siy* in *siyá*, XII, 31, al.; — at Dh., *s* in the genitive in *asa*; *siy* in *siyá*, passim; *álasiyéna*, det. I, 11; — at D., *sa* in the genitive; *siy* in *siyá*, IV, 15; VII-VIII, 11; — at R., *siy* in *siyá*, 3.

sr becomes *s*, Kh., Dh.; *sin*, at D., in *ásinavé* II, 11, al.

sv becomes, at Kh., *s* in *sakam*, VI, 18; *sv* in *suvámikéna*, IX, 25; remains unchanged in *svagam*, VI, 20; — at Dh., remains unchanged: *asvasandýé*, det. II, 8, 10; *svaga*, passim; becomes *sv* in *suvámikéna*, IX, 10; at D., remains unchanged: *asvasá*, V, 18; *asvatha*, IV, 13; — at S., *su* in *suaga*, 4; — at D., remains unchanged in *svagé*, 3; — at B., remains unchanged in *švanṅikiyé*, 6.

hm becomes, at Kh., *m̐bh* in *baṁbhana*, passim; once *m̐hm* in *baṁhmané*, XIII, 39; — at Dh., *bh*, *m̐bh* in *bābhana*, IV, 12, &c.; *baṁbhana*, IV, 15, &c.; — at D., *bh*: *bābhana*, VII-VIII, 4, 8.

(c). — Sandhi.

KHĀLSI.

a + a gives *á*; but *atata*; II, 5, 6; *dhammanusathi*, III, 7, al.; &c.

a + i gives *é* in *chémé*, V, 17; *i*, in *baṁbhani-bhésu*, V, 15.

a + u gives *ó*: *manusópagáni*, II, 5; *pajópadáyé*, IX, 24.

a + é gives *é*: *chéva*, IX, 25; *yénésa*, XIII, 38.

i + a gives *i* in *ithidhiyakha*, XII, 34.

u + u gives *ó* in *pasópagáni*, II, 5.

é + a gives *é* in *éyam* (?) (= *é ayam*), V, 15; *étáyétháyé*, VI, 20; *á* in *étáyátháyé*, XII, 34.

m̐ + a vowel changes to *m* in *tam éva*, XIII, 15; *tānam éva*, XIII, 38; *hévam évá*, II, 6; XIII, 6.

DHAULI.

a + a gives *á* (but *atata*, II, 7; *dhammanusathi*, VIII, 5, &c.); or remains uncombined in: *maháapáyé*, det. 1, 15 (Jaug., *maháapáyé*); *manaatiléké*, det. 1, 16; *désaadyutiké*; Jaug., det. II, 12 (Dh.: *désávu*^o).

a + i gives *i* in *baṁbhani-bhiyésu*, V, 24.

a + u gives *ó* in *munisópagáni*, II, 7; *pajópadáyé*, IX, 26 (J.: *pajupadáyé*).

a + é gives *é* in *chéva*, IV, 16.

i + i gives *i* in *nitiyan̐* (??), det. I, 12 (Jaug. *nitiyan̐*), and in *kintimé* (Jaug., det. 1, 3), if we must really understand *kinti imé*.

u + u would seem to give *uó* in *pasuópagáni* (so also at J.) (= *pasu(k)ópagáni* ?), II, 7. But most probably we should take as starting point a form *ópaga* equivalent to *upaga*.

Before *ti* (= *iti*), a final vowel is lengthened: *patipádayémáti*, det. I, 10; *paṭipajéyáti*, XIV, 19; *mamáti*, det. I, 12; *aládhayanitáti*, VI, 33; *aphésúti*, det. II, 4, &c.

d final remains unchanged in *tadópaya*, VIII, 5.

m̐ before a vowel changes to *m*, or is even written *m̐m* in *hédisanmēva*, det. I, 24; *sukhammēva*, det. II, 5.

DEHLI.

a + a gives *á*, or remains uncombined as in *°vasaabbhisita*^o, VI, 1 (RM *°sábhi*^o), al.

a + u gives *ó*: *chháyópagáni*, VII-VIII, 2.

a + é gives *é* in *chéva*, VII-VIII, 4.

i + a gives *i* in *dupaṭivékhé*, III, 19; *paṭivékhámi*, VI, 4, 7.

u + a gives *u* in *anuvékhamáné*, VII-VIII, 2.

u + u gives *u* in *anupósathan̐*, V, 13.

e + i gives *i*, in *kiyam*, II, 11, if my explanation is right.

Before *ti*, a final short vowel is sometimes lengthened: *námáti*, III, 19; *kachhatíti*, II, 16 (RM *°ti*^o); *aládhayévúti*, IV, 19, &c. (but *vaḍhisati ti*, VII-VIII, 7; *hótu ti*, VII-VIII, 10).

d final remains unchanged in *tadathá*, VII-VIII, 3.

d final remains unchanged in *sadvāsati*, I, 1 al.; assimilated in *saṁmāsiké*, V, 9.

m̐ final remains unchanged, or is even doubled before a vowel; *hévaimmēva*, VI, 6; *étamēva*, VII-VIII, 2; *kayánaimmēva*, III, 17 (A *°namé*^o).

BHABRA.

Lāghulóvādé, 6; *saṁghasíti*, 2; *h(ó)satíti*, 4 *hévaimmēvá*, 8.

SAHASARĀM.

Sádhiké, 2.

RŪPNĀTH.

Sátiléka.

2. — INFLEXION.

(a). — Gender.

I do not mention here the use of the nominative in *é* for the neuter, although, strictly speaking, it should, I consider, be dealt with under this head (cf. at Kh., VI, 9, *kataviyaṃ lōkahitē*, &c.).

KHĀLSI. — *chat(u)li* (nom. masc.), XIII, 5; *hathini* (nom. plur.), IV, 10; *yutāni* (acc. plur. masc.), III, 8. Also note the use of *iyam* for the nom. sing. neut. (IV, 12, al.).

DHAULI. — *yutāni*, III, 11; *hathini*, IV, 13; *iyam* in the neuter, passim; *ésa . . . hēdisam*, IX, 8; *dhammachalanam imam*, IV, 16. To the masculine *imé jātā*, Dh., det. I, 12, corresponds, at Jaugada, the neuter *étāni jātāni*, Dh., det. I, 15, *mahāapāyē* is in agreement with the feminine *asaṃpaṭipati*.

DEHLI. — *anusathini*, VII-VIII, 20, 1; *pulisāni*, IV, 6; *ésa* (III, 19, 21, al.) and *iyam* (III, 17, 18, al.), in the neuter; *nigōhāni*, VII-VIII, 2.

BHABRA. — *paliyāyāni*, 6; *é* (nom. sing. neuter), 2.

SAHASARĀM. — *iyam* for the neuter, 4, 6, and the masculine, 5.

RŪPNĀTH. — *Kāla* employed in the feminine: *māya kālāya*, locative, 2; *iyam* in the masculine, 3, 4.

(b). — Declension of Consonantal Bases.

Here again we only find fragmentary remains.

Bases in AN. — Kh.: *lājā*, passim; *lājine*; *lājina*; nom. plur. *lājāné*, XIII, 5, al.; *lājānō*

(?), II, 5. — Dh.: *lājā*, *lājine*, *lājina*, passim.; nom. plur. *lājāné*, II, 6; VIII, 3; *atānam*, det. II, 7; *atané*, det. I, 25; *kaṃmané*, III, 10 (by the side of the nom. *kaṃmē*, and of the gen. *kaṃmasa*). — D.: *lājā*, passim; nom. plur. *lājāné*, VII-VIII, 12, 15, by the side of *lājīhi*, VII-VIII, 3, with transition into the *i*-declension; *atanā*, VI, 8.

Bases in ANT. — Kh.: the noms. sing. *saṃtē*, VIII, 22; *kalaṃtē*, XII, 33, have passed over into the vocalic declension; of the consonantal declension there only remains the nom. plur. *tiṭhaṃtē*, IV, 12. — Dh.: *mahaṃtē* (nom. sing.) has passed over into the declension in *a*. — D.: the nom. plur. *saṃtām* (*°tā*), IV, 13, is surely to be referred to the vocalic declension, which is doubtful for *anupaṭipajāntām*, VII-VIII, 10. — Bh.: *bhagavatā*, 3, 6.

Bases in AR(RI). — At Kh., except in the nominative plural *natūlē*, IV, 11; V, 13, all have passed over into the declension in *i*: *bhātinā*, IX, 25; *bhātinam*, V, 16; *pitinā*, IX, 25; *pitisu*, III, 8; IV, 11. — Dh.: nom. sing. *pitā*, det. II, 7; the nom. plur. *nāti*, V, 21, must be referred to the declension in *i*, like all the other forms: *bhātinā*, IX, 9; *bhātinam*, V, 25; *pitinā*, IX, 9; *pitisu*, III, 10, al. But, along with the base *māti*, IV, 15, we find the base *pitu*, IV, 15. — At D., the one example which we possess, *pitisu*, VII-VIII, 8, shews the change into the *i*-declension. The nom. *apahaṭā*, VI, 3, is at least very doubtful.

Bases in AS. — Kh.: *yasō* (acc. sing.), X, 27, 28. On the other hand, VIII, 23, we have *bhuyē*. — Dh.: *yasō*, X, 13, and *bhuyē*, VII-VIII, 9.

Bases in IN. — At Kh., we have both the consonantal form *piyadasiné*, *piyadasinā*, and the vocalic form *piyadasisā*, I, 2, 3, &c. — At Dh., along with the nom. *piyadasī* (never °*si*), we only find the consonantal declension *piyadasiné*, *piyadasinā*. — At D., we have only the nom. *piyadasi*, written always with the short final vowel, while A has usually *piyadasī*. — Bh.: *piyadasi*, 1.

(c). — Declension of vocalic bases.

Bases in A. — Masculines. — Nom. sing. everywhere *é*. Kh. has two noms. in *ô*: *kēḷa-laputô* and *sātiyaputô*, II, 4. — Dat. sing. in *āyē*, everywhere except at R., which has only the two datives *ētāya aṭhāya*, and once at M. in *aṭhāya*, corresponding to D., II, 15. — Loc. sing. in *asī*. *Amnē bhāyē* (Kh., VIII, 23; Dh., VIII, 5) and *pajōpadāyē* (Kh., IX, 24; Dh., IX, 6) appear to be locs. in *é*; at Jaug., det. II, 16, *khanōkhanasi* of Dh. is represented by *khanē saṃtām*, which can hardly be taken as anything but a double locative, *saṃtām* being equivalent to *saṃtē* (?); Kh. appears to read *vijayaṃsi*, XII, 11. — Abl. sing. in *ā* in *mahatatā*, R., II, 5, 3. — The acc. plur. would be in *ā* in *bahukā dōsā*, Kh., I, 2, if comparison with G. and J. did not lead us to consider that this spelling represents the singular *bahukam posam*. In Dh. det. I, 18; Dr. Bühler appears to take *tise* (which is his reading for my *tisena*) as an acc. plur.

Neuters. — Nominatives singular everywhere in *é*. Kh., however, has the following nominatives in *am*: *am*, IV, 12; XII, 31; *anusāsanam*, IV, 12; *bādham*, VII, 22; XII, 32; XIII, 36; *dānam*, III, 8; *galumatatalam*, XIII, 36; *kaṭaviyam* (*lōkahitē*), VI, 19; *lēkhitam*, IV, 13; *madarom*, (?), XIII, 2; *nityam*, (?), XIV, 19; *palam*, V, 14; *yam*, VIII, 23. — Dh.: *bādham*, VII, 2; *duvālā* (= °*lam*?), det. II, 2; (Jaug., I, 2, *duvālam*; II, 2, *duvālē*); *vutam*, IX, 10; *hēdisam*, IX, 10; det. I, 29. — In det. I, 14, I doubt very much the nom. *saṃpaṭipāda* = °*dam* of Dr. Bühler. — D.: *bādham*, III, 21; VII-VIII, 1. — S.: *bādham*, 1. — Acc. sing. in *am* everywhere. But at Kh.: *satabhāgē*, *sahasabhāgē*, XIII, 39; *dānē*, XII, 31; *viyasanē*, XII, 38; *nichē*, VIII, 22. — Nom. and acc. plur. in *āni*. But at Kh.: *dasanā*, IV, 9; *hālāpitā*, *lōpāpitā*, II, 6; *savā*, XII, 31; at Dh.: *hālāpitā*, II, 7.

Feminines. — Dative sing. in *āyē*; D.: *vihimsāyē*, V, 10; VII-VIII, 9, &c. — Instr. sing., Kh.: *madhuliyāyē*, XIV, 20; *pujāyē*, XII, 31; *vividhaya*, XII, 31 (read *vividhāyē*); Dh.: *dav(ā)yē*, det. I, 9; *isāya*, det. I, 10; *tūlanāya*, det. I, 11 (Jaug. in *āyē*); D.: *agāyā*, I, 3 (RM °*ya*); *agāya*, I, 4 (M °*yam*); *anulu*, *pāyā*, VII-VIII, 13, 16, 18; *avihimsāyē*, VII-VIII, 9; *kāmatāyā*, I, 3 (ARM °*ya*); *palikkhāyā*, I, 4 (ARM °*ya*); *pūjāyā*, VI, 8 (RM °*ya*); *vividhāya*, VI, 8; *vividhāyā*, VII-VIII, 3; *susūsāyā*, I, 4 (RM °*ya*). — Abl. sing., D.: *vihimsāyē*, II, 13. — Loc. sing., Kh.: *saṃtilanāyē*, *pujāyē*, VI, 19; Dh.: *saṃtilanāya*, VI, 31 (Jaug. has *saṃtilanāyā*, which should probably be read: °*nāyā*); *palisāya*, VI, 30. D.: *amṭalikāyē*, V, 20; *aṭhamāpakhāyē*, V, 15, 18; *chāvudāsāyē*, V, 15, &c.; *tisāyam*, V, 11 (*tisāyē*, V, 15, 18). — Nom. plur., Dh.: *pajā*, V, 17; *janāō*, IX, 24; Bh.: *gāthā*, 5; *upāsikā*, 8.

Bases in I. — Neuters. — Nom. plur., Dh.: *hathēni*, IV, 3. D.: *āsinavagāmini*, III, 20; *anusathini*, VII-VIII, 20, 1.

Feminines. — Nom. sing., Kh.: in *i*; D h.; in *ī*, except *ahni*, IV, 18; *āladhi*, det. I, 15, 16; *anusathi*, I, 4, 14; VIII, 5; *apaviyati*, III, 11; *asaṃpaṭipati*, IV, 12; det. I, 5; *lipi*, I, 1, 4; det. I, 19; det. II, 9, 10 (Jaug. °*pī*); *dhiti*, det. II, 6; D.: in *ī*, except *āladhi*, VII-VIII, 10; *libi*, VII-VIII, 10, 11; *lipi*, I, 2; II, 15; IV, 2; *dhāti*, IV, 11; *paṭipati*, VII-VIII, 7; *vadhī*, VII-VIII, 8, 9; *vidhi*, I, 9. — Dative sing., Kh.: *vadhīyā*, V, 15. D., in *iyē*: *anupoṭipatiyē*, VII-VIII, 7, &c. — Instr. sing., Kh.: in *iyā*; but *anusathiyē*, IV, 10. Dh. in *iyā*; but *anāvūtiya*, det. I, 11 (Jaug. °*tiyē*). D., *iyā*, as *anusathiyā*, I, 5 (RM °*ya*), &c. — Abl. sing., Kh.: *taṃbapanimiyā*, XIII, 6. Dh.: *niphatiyā*, IX, 10. — Loc. sing., Dh.: *puthaviyam*, V, 26; *tōsaliyam*, det. I, 1; II, 1. D.: *chātumāsīyē*, V, 15; *puṃnamāsīyam*, V, 11. — Nom. plur., Bh.: *bhikkhuniyē*, 7. — Gen. plur., Kh.: *nātinam*, IV, 9, 10; *bhaginīnam*, V, 10. Dh., *bhaginīnam*, V, 25; *nātinam* (?), V, 26. D.: *dēvinam*, VII-VIII, 6. — Loc. plur., Dh.: *nātisu*, IV, 11, al. D.: *nātisu*, VI, 5; *chātumāsīsu*, V, 11, 16.

Bases in U. — Masculines. — Nom. sing., D.: *sādhā*, II, 12 (ARM °*dhu*). — Gen. plur., Kh.: *gulunam*, IX, 25. Dh.: *gulūnam*, IX, 9,

— Loc. plur., D.: *gulusu*, VII-VIII, 8; *bahúsu*, IV, 3. — Nom. plur., D.: *bahuné*, VII-VIII, 1.

Neuters. — Nom. acc. sing., Kh.: *bahu*, IX, 24, al.; *sádhu*, III, 8, al. Dh.: *sádhu*, III, 11, al. — Nom. plur., Kh.: *bahuni*, IV, 9, al. Dh.: *bahúni*, IV, 12; *bahuni*, I, 3. D.: *bahúni*, II, 14 (R °hu°). — Abl. plur., Kh.: *bahuhí*, IV, 10. Dh.: *bahúhi*, IV, 14. — Loc. plur., Dh.: *bahúsu*, det. I, 4. D.: *bahúsu*, IV, 3.

Feminines. — Nom. sing., Kh.: *sádhu*, III, 7, 8; IV, 12. Dh. III, 10, 11; IV, 18. — Loc. sing., D.: *punávasuné*, V, 16.

(d). — Declension of Pronouns.

Demonstratives, &c.

anya. — Kh.: *añné*, nom. sing. neuter, IV, 11, al.; *añnamanasá*, gen. sing., XII, 33; *añnáyé*, dative sing., IX, 24, al.; *añné*, loc. sing., VIII, 23; *añné*, nom. plur. masc., II, 5, al.; *añnání*, nom. plur. neuter, passim. — Dh.: *añné*, nom. masc. sing., det. I, 9; *añné*, nom. sing. neuter, IX, 9; *añné*, loc. sing., VIII, 5; *añné*, nom. plur. masc., V, 23; *añnésu*, loc. plur., V, 26. — D. *añné*, nom. plur. masc., VII-VIII, 6, al.; *añnání*, neuter, V, 14, al.; *añnánám*, gen. plur., VII-VIII, 6.

ima. — Kh.: *iyam*, nom. masc., V, 16; *iyam*, nom. fem., passim; *iyam*, nom. neuter, IV, 12; III, 7; VI, 21; IX, 25, 26; XII, 31, 35; XIII, 36; *imam*, nom. neuter (?), IX, 26; *imam*, acc. sing., IV, 11, 12; *imasá*, gen. sing., IV, 13; *imásá*, gen. masc., IV, 12; *imáyé*, dative; *imé*, nom. plur. masc., XIII, 38; fem. (*pajá*), V, 17. — Dh.: *iyam*, nom. masc., V, 26; det. I, 7, 8 (?); *iyam*, nom. fem., passim; *iyam*, nom. neuter, III, 6; IV, 8; VI, 32, 34; *imam*, acc., IV, 16; V, 17; *imasa*, gen. masc., IV, 18; *imáyé*, dative masc., V, 26; fem., III, 16; *iména*, instr., IX, 12; *imé*, nom. plur. masc., V, 26; *iméhi*, instr. plur., det. I, 10. — D.: *iyam*, nom. masc. II, 11 (?); nom. fem., I, 15, al.; neuter, III, 17, 18, 21, 22; VI, 8, 9, 10; VII-VIII, 7; *imam*, acc., VII-VIII, 3; *imání*, nom. plur. neuter, VII-VIII, 9, al. — S.: *iyam*, nom. sing. masc. (*athé*), 5; neuter (*savam*, *phalé*), 3, 4, 6. — R.: *iyam*, nom. sing. masc. (*athé*, *pakamé*), 3, 4; *imáya*, loc. fem. sing., 2.

ekatya. — Kh.: *ekatiyá*, nom. plur. masc., I, 2. — Dh.: *ekachá* (?), nom. plur. masc., I, 2.

éta. — Kh.: *ésa*, nom. masc. sing., XIII, 38;

ésé, VI, 19, al.; *ésé*, nom. sing. neuter, IV, 12; IX, 25; XIII, 38; *étasa*, gen.; *étáyé*, dat., passim; *étanam*, gen. plur., XIII, 38. — Dh.: *ésa*, nom. sing. masc. (?), IV, 15; VIII, 5, al.; neuter, IX, 8, 9; det. I, 3; det. II, 2; *éta*, acc. sing. neuter, IX, 7; *étam*, acc. sing. masc. and neuter, det. I, 15, 16, 22, 25; *étasa*, *étasi*, *étáyé*, passim; *été*, nom. plur. masc., det. I, 11. — D.: *ésa*, nom. sing. masc., VII-VIII, 3, 7, 9; fem. I, 5, 9 (ARM °sá); neuter, III, 19, 21; VII-VIII, 4, 11, 14, 20; *ésá*, nom. sing. neuter, IV, 14 (RM °sa); *étam*, acc. sing. neuter, passim; *étáyé*, *éténa*; *été*; *étáni*; *étésu*. — S.: *étáyé*, 4; *éténa*, 2. — R.: *ésa* (*phalé*), 2; *étaya*, dative masc., 3; *étiná*, instr. masc., 5.

ka. — Kh.: *kéchi*, nom. sing. masc., XII, 32; *kichhi*, nom. sing. neuter, passim. — Dh.: *kéchha*, nom. sing. masc., det. I, 7 (Jang., *kéchá*, i. e. *kéchi*); *kichhi*, nom. neuter, VI, 30, al. — D.: *kina* (°ná), instr. sing., VII-VIII, 17, 18.

ta. — Kh.: *sa*, nom. masc. sing., XII, 33; XIII, 3; *sé*, ibid., passim; *sá*, nom. fem. sing., XIII, 11, 12; *tá*, ibid., VIII, 4; *sé*, nom. sing. neuter, IX, 26, employed as *tad*, used as a conjunction passim (to *sé* of Dh., det. I, 14, corresponds *tam* at Jaag.); *ta*, nom. sing. neuter, X, 28; *tam*, id., IX, 25; *tá*, id., used as conjunction, V, 13; *tam*, acc.; *táyé*, VI, 19; *téna*; *té*, nom. plur. masc.; *tanam*, gen. plur., XIII, 38; *tésa(n)*, ibid., XIII, 4, 37; *téhi*. — Dh.: *sé*, nom. sing. masc., V, 21; det. I, 13, al.; neuter, IX, 8, 10 (conjunction); IX, 9, *tam* (conjunction), V, 20; *tá*, nom. sing. fem., VIII, 4; *tam*, acc. sing. neuter, det. I, 2, al.; *tasa*, *téna*, *tasi*; *té*, nom. plur. masc.; *sé*, id., V, 24, 25; *táni*, neuter; *tésa* (read *tésam*), gen. plur., det. II, 8, 10; *tinam* (read *tánam*), id., VIII, 3. — D.: *sé*, nom. sing. masc., VII-VIII, 9, al.; neuter (conjunction) VI, 13; VII-VIII, 10, 17; *tá*, nom. sing. neuter (conjunction), VII-VIII, 3; *tam*, acc., VI, 3, al.; *téna*, VII-VIII, 7; *té*, nom. plur. masc., VII-VIII, 1, al.; *sé*, id., VII-VIII, 4, 6; *tanam*, gen. plur., IV, 17; *tésam*, id., IV, 3 (RM °sám); *tésu*, VII-VIII, 5. — Bh.: *sa*, nom. sing. masc., 3. — S.: *sé*, nom. sing. neuter (conjunction), 4. — R.: *té*, nom. plur. masc., 2.

ya. — Kh.: *é*, nom. sing. masc., V, 16, al. (*yé*, V, 14); neuter, X, 28; XIII, 36; *yé*, nom. sing. neuter, VI, 18; XIII, 35; *a*, XII, 31; *am*, IV, 12; X, 28; *yam*, VI, 18, 20; XII, 35; *asá*,

gen. sing. masc., VII, 21; *yéna*, XIII, 38; *yé*, nom. plur. masc., IX, 25; *yá*, id., XII, 34; *yésam*, gen. plur., XIII, 38; *yésu*, loc., XIII, 37. — Dh.: *é*, nom. sing. masc., V, 2, al.; *yé*, V, 21; det. I, 8; *á*, fem., det. II, 6; *é*, neuter, det. II, 5, al.; *am*, VI, 30, 32, al.; *yá* (neut.), IV, 17; *asa*, gen. masc., VII, 2; *éna*, instr., det. II, 9, al.; *yé*, nom. plur. masc., V, 20; *é*, V, 23, al.; *áni*, neuter, II, 7. — D.: *é*, nom. plur. masc., VI, 8; *yé*, II, 16, al.; *yá*, fem., I, 9, al.; *yé*, neuter, VII-VIII, 9; *yá* (neuter), VII-VIII, 7; *yéna*, instr., IV, 12, al.; *éna*, VII-VIII, 11; *yé*, nom. plur. masc., VII-VIII, 11; *yáni*, neuter, VII-VIII, 7, al. — Bh.: *é*, nom. sing. masc., 5; neuter, 2. — S.: *am*, sing. neuter, 1, 2. — B.: *ya*, sing. neuter, 2; *am*, 3,

sarva. — Kh.: *savé*, nom. sing. neuter, XIV, 18; *savam*, acc. masc. and neuter, passim; *savé*, nom. plur. masc., VII, 21; *savésu*, loc., V, 16. — Dh.: *savé*, nom. sing. masc. det. I, 4; neuter, XIV, 17; *savam*, acc.; *savasa*, *savéna*, passim; *savé*, nom. plur. masc., VII, 1; *savésu*. — D.: *savasi*, loc. sing., VII-VIII, 6; *savésu*, loc. plur., VII-VIII, 5. — Bh.: *savé*, nom. sing. neuter, 3.

Personal Pronouns.

1st person. — Kh.: *hakan*, nom., VI, 18, 20; *mama*, gen., passim; *mé*, gen., passim; *mamayá*, instr., V, 13, 14; VI, 7, 19; *mé*, instr., III, 7; *mi*, the same, XIV, 19. — Dh.: *hakan*, nom., VI, 29, 32, al.; *mama*, gen., passim; *mé*, the same, V, 10, al.; *mamayá*, instr., VI, 28; *mamáyé*, the same, det. II, 4 (Jaug.: *mamiyáyé*); *mayé*, nom. plur., det. II, 8; *majham*, the same, det. I, 10; *aphé*, acc. det. II, 7 (Jaug.: *aphéni*); *né*, II, 5; *aphákam*, gen. det. II, 5, 7 (Jaug.: *né*); *aphésu*, loc., det. II, 4. — D.: *hakan*, III, 21; *mam*, acc., IV, 8, 9; *mama*, gen., VII-VIII, 6, al.; *mé*, I, 7, al.; *mamayá*, instr., VII-VIII, 3; *mamiyá*, VII-VIII, 7. — Bh.: *hakan*, 4; *hamá*, gen., 2; *hamiyáyé*, instr., 3.

2nd person. — Dh.: *tuphé*, nom. acc. plur., det. I, 4, al.; Jaug., det. II, 8 (twice) 11, reads not *tuphé*, but *tuphéni*; *tupháka(n)*, gen. det. I, 13; *tuphéhi*, instr., det. I, 3, 10; *tuphésu*, loc., det. II, 2. — Bh.: *vé*, instr. plur., 2. — R.: *tupaka* (read *tuphákan*), gen. plur., 5.

(e). — Declension of Numerals.

Khâlsi. — *duvé*, nom. masc., I, 4; II, 5;

tini, nom. neuter, I, 3, 4; *chatali* (read °tu°), nom. masc., XIII, 5; *pañchasu*, loc., III, 7.

DHAULI. — *ékéna*, det. I, 18; det. II, 10; *tinini*, nom. neuter, det. I, 4, 24; *pañchasu*, det. I, 21.

DEHLI. — *duvéhi*, instr., VII-VIII, 8; *tisu*, loc. fem., V, 11, 16; *tinini*, nom. neuter, IV, 16; V, 12.

SAHASARÂM. — *duvé*, nom. 6.

3. — CONJUGATION.

(a). — Verbal Bases.

I only note modifications, which, as compared with Sanskrit, are not of a purely phonetical and mechanical character.

Khâlsi. — Simple bases: *kaléti* V, 13, al.; *apakaléti*, *upakaléti*, XIII, 32; *chhanati*, XII, 32; *dakhati*, I, 2, al.; *pāpunāti*, XIII, 38; *upahanti*, XII, 33, is the only example of the preservation of the consonantal conjugation; *vinamané*, XIII, 36; *vininitu*, ibid.; *pajōhitaviyé*, I, 1; *punāti*, X, 32, seems to me to be very doubtful. — Causals: *vaḍhiyati*, XII, 32; *vaḍhiyisati*, IV, 11, for °dha°; *ayi*, contracted to *é* in *lékhápēsāmi*, XIV, 19; the formative *aya* is retained in the participle, in *ānapayitē*, VI, 19; weakening of the vowel of the base: *likhāpitā*, XIV, 19. — Passives: *ālabhiyanti*, *ālabhiyisanti*, *ālabhiyisu*, I, 3, 4.

DHAULI. — Simple bases: *anusāsāmi*, det. II, 6; *chithitu* (**tishthitvā*), III, 7; *dakhati*, det. I, 2, al. and *dēkhati*, det. I, 7, al.; *kaléti*, V, 20, al.; *kalāmi*, VI, 29; *kalati*, det. I, 23; *kalamti*, det. I, 26; *pāpunātha*, det. I, 6, al.; *pajōhitaviyé*, I, 1. — Causals: *véditu* (= *vēdayitu*), det. II, 6. — Passives: *ālabhiyisanti*, I, 4.

DELHI. — Simple bases: *anugahinévu*, IV, 6; *anūsāsāmi*, VII-VIII, 21; *upadahévū*, VI, 5; *vidahāmi*, VI, 6; participle retaining the formative: *sukhayitē*, VII-VIII, 3. — Causals: *é* for *ayi* in *jhāpētaviyé*, V, 10 (RM °payi°); weakening of the base vowel in *ānapitāni*, VIII, 1; *nijhapa-yati*, IV, 7; *likhāpitā*, passim; *likhāpāpitā*, VII-VIII, 10; *manāti*, for *mānayati*, det. I, 7, is to me very doubtful. — Passives: *khādiyati*, V, 7.

BHARRA. — Causals: *likhāpayāmi*, 8.

SAHASARÂM. — Causals: *likhāpayatha*, 8, 7.

RŪPNÂTH. — Simple bases: *pāpôtavé*, 2. — Causals: *lékhápētaviyé*, 4.

BAIRÂT. — Causal: *āl(ā)dhētayé*, 6.

(b). — Terminations.

Present. — The only trace of the medial termination occurs in Dh., X, 13, if the reading *mañnaté* is really certain; even in the passive we have *ālabhiyanti*, &c., Kh., I, 3. — I note at S. and R., the form *sumi* of the 1st person of *as*. — It is a question if at Dh., det. I, 23, 26, the forms *kalati*, *kalanti* (cf. *kalāmi*, VI, 29) do not represent the subjunctive.

Imperative. — No medial terminations. The second person plural ends in *ta* in *dekhata*, Dh., det. I, 7 (Jaug. *dēkhatha*), 14; in *tha* in *chaghatha*, Dh., det. I, 19; det. II, 11; in *palīyōvadātha*, D., VII-VIII, 1; *likhāpayatha*, S., 7, 8.

Potential. — 1st pers. sing. in *ēham*, at Kh., Dh., D., *ēyam*, at Bh. (*disēyam*, 3). — 3rd pers. sing., Kh.: *paṭipajēyā*, XIV, 20; *siyā*, passim, perhaps *siyāti* (?), X, 28. Dh.: *paṭipajēya*, XIV, 19; *ugachh(ē)*, det. I, 13 (Jaug. *uthi(hē)*, *uthāyē* according to Dr. Bühler); *huvēya*, X, 15; *siyā*, passim. D.: *anupaṭipajēyā*, VII-VIII, 17, *vadhēyā*, VII-VIII, 3, 16, 18; *pāpōvā*, VII, 3; *siyā*, VII-VIII, 11; *siya*, IV, 15. R.: *siyā*, 3. — 1st pers. plur. in *ēma*. Kh., Dh. — 3rd pers. plur., Kh.: *havēyu*, XII, 34; *sususeyu*, XII, 33; *vasēvu*, VII, 21. Jaugada, except in *nikhamāvū*, III, 11, and perhaps *va(s)ē(v)u* VII, 1, which is mutilated, forms on the contrary everywhere the 3rd pers. plur. in *ēyu*: *yujēyū* (ti), det. I, 3; det. II, 4, 14; *hēyū* (ti), det. I, 6; det. II, 6; *pāpunēyu*, det. II, 5, 9; *asvasēyu*, det. II, 6; *lahēyu*, det. II, 6. Dh.: in *ēvu*: *ālādha yēvū* (ti), det. II, 6; *vasēvu*, VII, 1, &c.; III, 10, *nikhamāvū*. D.: in *ēvu*: *anugahinēvu*, IV, 6, &c., Bh.: *upadhālayēyu*, 7; *sunēyu*, 7.

Past. — The perfect remains unchanged in *āha* (Kh. always *āhā*, except III, 6; Dh. always *āhā*; D. 3 times *āha*; Bh. *āhā*). The imperfect has survived in the 3rd pers. plur. *huvam*, Dh., VIII, 3. — Aorist, 3rd pers. sing., *nikhamithā*, Kh., VIII, 22; *nikhami*; Dh., VIII, 4; *huthā*, D., VII-VIII, 15, 20; *vadhithā*, VII-VIII, 14, 17. 3rd pers. plur. in *isu* (Kh., Dh., D.), except *humsu*, Kh. VIII, 22; *husu*, D., VII-VIII, 12.

Future. — No 1st pers. in *am*. Forms, such as *kachhāmi*, have been previously quoted. It is the same with futures in which the formative

sy is changed to *h*: *ēhatha*, Dh. det. I, 17; det. II, 9 (Jaug. *ēsatha*); *dāhamti*, D., IV, 18; *hōhamti*, VII-VIII, 4, 5, 6. It only remains to mention the forms *hōsāmi*, det. II, 8; *hōsati*, det. I, 22, at Dh.; *hōsamti* (by the side of *hōhamti*), at D., VII-VIII, 2; *hōsati* at Bh., 4.

Absolutive. — Kh. in *tu*: *dasayitu*, IV, 10, &c.; in *ya* in *sañkhayē*, XIV, 21; — Dh. in *tu*: *anūsāsitu*, det. II, 6, 8; *chithitu*, IV, 17; *kaṭu*, det. II, 7, &c.; — D. in *tu*: *nisijitu*, IV, 10; *sutu*, VII-VIII, 21; in *ya* in *apahatā* = *apakṛitya* (?), VI, 3; — Bh.: in *ya* in *adhigichya* = *adhikṛitya*, 6.

Infinitive. — Dh.: *ālādhayitavē*, IX, 12; *sañpaṭipādayitavē*, det. I, 19; det. II, 11, — D.: *ālādhayitavē*, IV, 10; *pālihaṭavē*, IV, 11; *paṭichalitavē*, IV, 8; *samādapayitavē*, I, 8.

Participles. — Participle present. — Kh. The medial form in *adamānasā*, VI, 17 and *vijinamanē*, XIII, 36; *kalanti*, XII, 33. — Dh. The medial form in *sañpaṭipajamīnē*, det. I, 16; *vipaṭipādayamīnēhi*, det. I, 15 (at J.: *vipaṭipātayamīnē*), al., in which °mī° in the place of °mā° is curious; but cf. *pāyamīnā*, D., V, 8. — D. has the medial form in *anuvēkhamānē*, VII-VIII, 2, in the passive of the causal *pāyamīnā*, V, 8. — Bh. Participle present passive of the causal: *abhivādēmānam*. — S. The medial form in *palakamīmēna*, 3. — R.: *pakamamānēnā*. These two last forms appear to be incorrect.

Participle past passive. — I note the forms *ānapayitē*, Kh. VI, 19; Dh., III, 9; *nijhapayitā*, D., IV, 18; *sukhayitē*, VII-VIII, 3. *Anusathē*, Dh., VI, 31, J., VI, 4, seems, as remarked by Dr. Bühler, to be a wrong formation for *anusiṭhē*.

Participle future passive. — Kh. in *taviya*; in *iya* in *supadālayē* (?), V, 14. — Dh. in *taviya* in *ichhitaviyē*, det. I, 9, 11; *pajō* (hitaviyē), I, 1; in *iya* in *dakhīyē*, det. I, 13; *vadhīyē*, V, 23; *supadālayē* (?), V, 22. — D. in *taviya*: *ichhitaviyē*, IV, 14; *hamtaviyāni*, V, 15; in *iya* in *dēkhīyē*, III, 19; *dusañpaṭipādayē*, I, 3. — R. in *taviya*: *vivasētaviyē*, 5. — B. in *taya*, if we are to judge from *ālādhētayē*, 6; but the reading may well be incorrect.

The short inscriptions of Barābar, of Kauśāmbī, and of Allabābād (Queen's Edict)

are connected, so far as we can judge, with the orthographic series of the edicts which we have just considered : *i-ñ* and *i-u*, respectively, do not appear to be distinguished in them ; the *r* changes into *l* ; the initial *y* disappears ; neither *ñ* nor *ṇ* have any particular signs ; the

nominative singular of masculine bases in *a*, ends in *ē*, &c. As for special points, all I see to quote are the forms *ādivikēhi* (for *ājivikēhi*) Bar., I, 2 ; II, 4 ; *kubhā* (= *guhā*), *ibid.*, I, 2 ; II, 3 ; III, 3 ; *nigóha*, Bar., I, 2, as at Dehli.

II. — THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE LANGUAGE ; ITS HISTORICAL POSITION.

We have now passed in review the majority of the grammatical phenomena which are presented by the inscriptions of Piyadasi, in their different versions. But that is not sufficient. It is on account of the light thrown by them on more general facts, that these particular data more especially claim our interest. We have now reached a stage at which we can investigate these larger problems. Two points of view at once present themselves to us, according as we consider, either directly the condition of the language of which specimens are supplied by the inscriptions, or indirectly the general question of the linguistic state of affairs at the period, to which our texts bring us back. The first problem, again, may be looked at in two

¹ In the original French edition I stated at the conclusion of this study, and I now beg to repeat it at once here at the beginning, that I never intended, when writing these chapters, to examine under all their different aspects the vexed questions about Sanskrit and its history to which they refer. I only wished to bring to light a number of facts — either directly derived from the most ancient epigraphic records or at least connected with them — which to my mind are indeed highly important and which possess direct bearing upon the final settlement of these problems.

While proceeding along this track, I considered it useful to advance resolutely to the ultimate conclusions to which it seemed to me to lead, without dwelling, at least for the time, on the difficulties to which they might give rise, or the conflicts with other lines of argument in which they might result or appear to result. No one, I hope, will contend that the conflict escaped me, or that I meant to dispose of the points in question before having previously settled it one way or the other. But, on this occasion, I have not undertaken a task so vast and so comprehensive. On a ground so thickly overgrown, and so imperfectly surveyed, I fancy it may be advantageous to push on lines of reconnoitring straight forward, in what to some may appear a rather adventurous way. It is highly desirable that those who start from other points of view, and who propose to follow more direct or more beaten paths, should not be too dogmatic, nor dispose in too summary a manner of these side-explorations.

These brief remarks have a two-fold aim. For one, I wish to prevent any misconceptions, and also to check criticisms which, — probably by my own fault, — the present essay has called forth, and which I cannot find to be justified or to be based upon an adequate, faithful rendering of my views. Secondly, they will explain why, after several years, I have allowed it to appear again in its original tenor. Such changes as have been made in this translation concern only minor points ; they aim at nothing but doing away with expressions which were either equivocal or too absolute, so as to mislead the reader as to what I really mean. Everyone knows how easily the preoccupation of one leading idea may carry even a cautious writer to an accidental use of expressions or statements which may distort in some way his real thought, and let it appear too affirmative, or too exclusive. I have tried my best to obviate this danger in the present, in the main, unaltered reproduction of this essay.

different ways. And, to sum up, we have to examine; (1), whether the monuments disclose differences of dialect in the strict sense of the word; (2), if beside dialectic peculiarities properly so called, they do not exhibit other peculiarities based on differences in the systems of orthography; and (3) if it is possible to draw, from the philological facts supplied by our texts, conclusions regarding the contemporary condition of the religious or learned, the Vedic or Saṅskṛit language. This would be the most logical order in which to deal with the matter, but I propose to discuss the second point first; so as to render the explanation, I hope, both clearer and shorter.

About one fact there can be no doubt:—Our inscriptions do not pretend to invariably represent in their integrity the sounds of the spoken language.

Proofs of this abound. The most general is that nowhere do they observe the rule of doubling homogeneous consonants.

It cannot, I think, be doubted that the doubling of consonants, resulting from assimilation, e.g., *tth* in *atthi* for *asti*, *vva* in *savva* for *sarva*, &c., was really observable in pronunciation. It must have been the case no less at this epoch, than in the more recent period when it was graphically represented. Moreover, in the case of doubling a nasal, the duplication is duly marked by means of *anusvāra*, as in *dhāmma*; and in several words, the sporadic prolongation of the preceding vowel, as in *dhāma* for *dharmā*, *kāsati* for **karshyati*, *vāsa* for *varsha* is only an equivalent method, largely used to the present day, of expressing a real duplication. The same procedure is followed in texts of more recent date, as at Kaṇhêrî² (No. 15), where, in a single inscription, I find *dhāma*, *pāvata*, *sāva*, *ādha*.

But this is not all. The inscriptions in Indo-Bactrian characters, whether of the time of Aśoka or subsequent to him, do not distinguish graphically the long and the short vowels. This omission might be explained by the want of appropriate signs, but these signs would have been easy to create in an alphabet which has formed itself with the aid of so many conscious and learned additions. If these signs have not been added, it is certain that but small importance was attached to rendering exactly the various shades of pronunciation. The necessary signs existed in the Southern Alphabet, though neither at Khālsi, nor, I believe, at Bairāt or Rūpnāth, were they used for the *ī* or for the *ū*. So far as regards Khālsi, this might be accounted for by the influence of the north-west, which manifests itself here in several phenomena; but the fact would none the less remain that this practice shows not an exact imitation of the pronunciation, but an orthographical system which, at least in some measure, neglects it. Even the versions which do distinguish the long vowels, display so many inaccuracies that they themselves bear witness to the little care which was taken in making the distinction.

One of two things is evident. Either the distinction between long and short vowels survived in the current language, and the texts noted it insufficiently, or it had become lost in speech, and they endeavoured to restore it in writing. Both hypotheses would thus indicate a lax attention to the exact representation of sounds, and the second also a characteristic tendency towards a learned orthography.

Other inconsistencies lead us to an analogous conclusion.

The diphthong *ai* has disappeared in all the Prākṛit dialects with which we are acquainted, and it is no less a stranger to the inscriptions of Piyadasi. Yet Girnar gives us an example: *thēra*, Skr. *sthavira*, is there written *thaira*, and in one passage *trayādaśa* is spelt *traidaśa*. Can we believe that the diphthong, lost elsewhere, has survived in these two unique instances? Must we not clearly recognize here a half-learned orthography, inspired by the memory of the etymological origin?

² Unless otherwise stated, I cite the cave inscriptions by the numbers of the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vols. IV. and V.

It is a universal rule in the Prākṛit, both in the dialects of the inscriptions and in the literary languages, that before *anusvāra* a long vowel becomes short. In four or five instances, however, the long vowel of Sanskrit is retained: *yātām* (VIII, 1), *susrusatām* (X, 2), *anuvidhiyatām* (ibid.), *samachérām* (XIII, 7) at Girnar. It is plain that we have here purely and simply an orthography influenced by the learned language.

These last instances are mere accidents, but they enable us to judge better regarding those in which variations of orthography more nearly balance each other. In a certain number of consonantal groups composed of a mute and an *r*, instead of the disappearance of the *r*, compensated for by the doubling of the mute, we find at Girnar the etymological spelling, *pra*, *tra*, *sra*, *rva*, instead of *pa* (*ppa*), *ta* (*tta*), *sa* (*ssa*), *va* (*vva*). This spelling is by no means fixed, — as may be seen from a reference to the text of any single edict, — and it would be of little interest to quote here all the instances, one by one. It will be sufficient to state that we have the spelling *pra* about 45 times, as against the spelling *pa* 25 times: for *tra*, 30 times *ta*, 20 times *tra*: for *rva*, *rva* and *va* each about an equal number of times: for *bra*, once *bra*, against 6 or 7 times *ba*: once *sra* (for *rsa*, *rśa*), against once *sa*. Is it possible to contend that such an indifference represents the real spontaneous condition of the popular idiom, and that pronunciations corresponding to such different stages of phonetic decay, and that side by side in the same words, belonged actually to the same period of the normal development of the language? If it were possible to have any doubts on the point, it would be sufficient to refer to later facts in the linguistic history. When we read, in Hindī, *priya* beside *piya*, *putra* beside *pūta*, *brāhmaṇa* beside *bāmhana*, we have no hesitation. We know that the first of each of these pairs is an instance of learned orthography: that it is only a *tatsama*, that is to say, a word borrowed direct from Sanskrit, and restored to the current of the language. When in an inscription of the 24th year of Vâsīṭhīputa Pulamāyi (Kārli No. 22, A. S.), we meet side by side the spellings *puttasya*, *sōvasakasya*, *vathavasya*, and *budhara-khitasa*, *upāsakasa*, *prajā*, *parigahē*, we are confident that these genitives in *asya*, this spelling of *prajā*, cannot, at such a period, have represented the true pronunciation of the people; that there also they are *tatsamas*. How can we avoid drawing the same conclusion from facts which, although more ancient, are none the less strictly analogous?

It is therefore certain that these sanskritized forms do not represent the actual stage of the contemporary phonetic decay. One point, however, appears to be open to some doubt. The *tatsamas* of the modern languages actually enter into circulation, and that with either the ancient pronunciation, or with an approach to it. They are words of special origin, but at the same time real words of the current speech. The *tatsamas* of Mixed Sanskrit are, on the other hand, purely orthographical, for they belong to a purely literary language.³ That is to say while, in the modern tongues, the loans from the ancient language only deal with bases, and consequently have no effect on the grammar, in the Sanskrit of the *Gāthās*, the imitations extend even to the inflexions, *i. e.* to elements which would escape any arbitrary action of the learned in a really living language.

In which of these two categories are we to class the *tatsamas* of Piyadasi? We must, I think, consider them in the same light as those of the dialect of the *Gāthās*, and recognise them as 'orthographic' *tatsamas*. The examples given above show that little heed was paid to accurately representing the pronunciation and that the etymological form was readily adopted in cases in which the vulgar pronunciation must have been markedly different. That is in itself a strong reason, but we shall see, besides, that the classical language had not yet been so developed into practical application at this epoch as to allow us to assume that it could have penetrated into the stream of popular use. Moreover, in the different versions of the texts, the proportion of these *tatsamas* is very unequal. If it were a case of forms readopted into current speech, such an inequality would be surprising; it is more easily explained by a

³ I shall refer to the dialect of the *Gāthās* or Mixed Sanskrit in the following chapter.

local predominance of a special orthographical system, or rather of special orthographical tendencies.

The observations which still remain for me to make are of a kind to add further proof to these conclusions.

The orthography of Kapur di Giri, as in Sanskrit, distinguishes the three sibilants, *s*, *ś*, *ṣ*. Is it really the case that the dialect of this region retained a distinction which, if we are to judge from the parallel versions, was lost everywhere else? It is sufficient to record the irregularities accumulated in the distribution of these sibilants, to convince the reader that nothing of the sort occurred.

We read *ś* instead of *ṣ* in *manuśa* (II, 4; 5) beside *manuśa* (XIII, 6), and in the futures which are formed in *śati* for *ṣyati*. We have *s* for *ṣ* in *yēsu* (XIII, 4), *arabhiyisu* (I, 2), beside *nikramishu*, &c., in *abhisita*, which is never written *abhiṣita*; and for *ś* in *anusōchano* (XIII, 2); *samachariya* (XIII, 8), *srēsta* (I, 2); *ṣ* for *s* in *pañchashu* (III, 6), *shashu* (XIII, 8); *ś* for *s* in *anusāsanaṃ* (IV, 10), *anusāsisaṃti* (ibid.). It cannot be imagined that this confusion may be referred to the real usage of the local dialect. It can only be accounted for by one theory, the only one which explains analogous mistakes, whether in manuscripts or in more modern Sanskrit inscriptions. The error of the engraver or of the scribe arises in both cases from the fact that he has before him a learned spelling, in the application of which he cannot be guided by the usage of the current dialect, because the distinctions he has to deal with are strangers to it. The locative *pañchashu*, a clumsy imitation of locatives in *ēshu*, is very characteristic as illustrating the way in which the sibilants were used at Kapur di Giri.

The fact must not be lost sight of that this method of writing is not an isolated example; it is borne witness to by other parallel ones, which leave us in no doubt as to what conclusions we are to draw from it. It is certain that the distinction between the sibilants did not exist in the dialect of the western coast; yet that does not prevent us finding all three at Nāsik (Nos. 1 & 2, A. S. iv, 114), in dedications, which in every other respect are couched in pure Prākṛit, not even in mixed Sanskrit. As at Kapur di Giri, a mistake, *sakaśa* for *śakasa*, is there to warn us as to the true character of this use. It is the same in No. 27 of Kauhēri (A. S. v. 85), in which the pretension to learned orthography leads to such forms as *śunhānaṃ*, *sārvaśat-vāṇaṃ*.

In the instances which we have just passed in review, we may perhaps be allowed to hesitate as to the origin of the spelling, though not as to the sound which it represents or is intended to represent; the problem becomes more thorny when we consider certain orthographical phenomena, which express accurately neither the learned form, nor the form adopted in popular usage; — which can, in some respects, be considered as intermediate between these two poles of linguistic movement.

Dr. Pischel⁴ has correctly pointed out that, at Kapur di Giri, the words which I have, according to precedent, transcribed as *dharmā*, *darśi*, *darśana*, *karmaye*, *varsha*, *purva*, &c., are really written *dhrama*, *draśana*, &c., the *r* being joined to the consonant *dh*, *d*, &c. He adds that here, as in the coin-legends which observe the same method of spelling, this writing certainly represents a dialectic peculiarity, and that the people for whom the tables of Kapur di Giri were inscribed, actually pronounced the word as *dhrama*, *pruva*, &c. At this point I am unable to agree with his deductions.

He bases his argument specially on certain readings, such as *mruga*, equivalent to *mṛiga*, in the first edict of Kapur di Giri, *graha* and *driḍha*, equivalent to *griha* and *drīḍha* in the 13th, *pariprukhha*, equivalent to *paripriḥchha* in the 8th, *vraḥhā*, equivalent to *vriksha*, in the 2nd edict of Girnar. He compares the forms *ru*, *ri*, *ra*, taken by the vowel *ri* in several modern dialects.

⁴ Götting. Gel. Anzeigen, 1881, p. 1316.

I think that this comparison, unless I am much mistaken, goes directly contrary to his conclusion. Modern forms like *graha*, *griha*, *mraga*, *mraṅga*, *mṛiga*, by the side of which we also find others such as *mirga*, &c., are in no way direct derivatives of the Sāṁskṛit *mṛiga*, but are *tatsamas*; that is, nothing but simple equivalents of the form *mṛiga*, *griha*, which itself is also used in the modern languages. They are only instances of such approximate spelling as could be realized with the elements really existing in the popular language, instead of borrowing from the learned language a special sign, corresponding to a special pronunciation which has ceased to exist for more than two thousand years. In both cases, the situation is not only analogous, but is identical. I offer for both, one and the same explanation, — that which is incontestable for the more recent one: in *mruga*, *graha*, *driḍha*, *vṛachha* of the inscriptions, I can see, as in *mṛiga*, *graha*, *draḍha*, *vṛaksha* or *vṛachha* of existing languages, only *tatsamas*, loans really taken from the learned language, but represented by an orthography which, by the absence (whether voluntary or not is of little importance at the present stage of the inquiry) of the sign for the vowel *ri*, was condemned to tentative and approximative devices. These examples in no way argue against my method of treating the groups *dhr*, *pr*, &c., in the words which I have quoted. On the contrary, they present certain precedents of a return towards the learned language, operating even at the price of imperfect orthographical expedients. It is exactly in the same light that we must consider the spellings which now occupy us.

In the first place, the state of affairs at Kapur di Giri, so far as concerns consonantal compounds including an *r*, strongly resembles that which we have established for Girnar. We find there *paṭi* beside *praṭi* (also *prati* and *patri*), *sava*, *savatra*, by the side of *sarvé*, *sarvañ*, *sarvatra*, &c. Without attempting to compile exact statistics, the fact is, in a general way, indisputable. It is natural to deduce from it the same conclusions as those to which we have come with regard to Girnar. We must not, therefore, treat the orthographical peculiarities of this language with absolute rigour. If the *r* in the words which we are discussing, is taken from the learned language by an arbitrary artifice of writing, why should we be astonished that the writers should have allowed themselves some liberty in the manner of representing it, when they have just as often taken the liberty of omitting it altogether? In Hindî the spellings *dharama*, *karama*, *gandhrava*, in no way correspond to any peculiar phonetic phenomena, but are merely equivalent modes of writing the *tatsamas* *dharma*, *karma*, *gandharva*.

Mr. Beames (*Compar. Gram.* I, 321) has quoted in the ancient Hindî of Chand, spellings such as *śrabba* (= *sarva*), *dhramma* (= *dharma*), *sōvranna* (= *suvarṇa*), *brana* (= *varṇa*), *brannanā* (= *varṇanā*), *prabata* (= *parvata*), *kramma* (= *karma*), *krana* (= *karṇa*), &c. I do not think that these examples can be appealed to against the argument, which I here maintain. It is more than clear that all these spellings were, at the time of Chand, loans taken from the vocabulary of the learned language. The doubling of the consonant in *śrabba*, *kramma*, &c., sufficiently proves that the true pronunciation of the people was *śabba*, *kamma*, &c. Different motives, metrical or otherwise, may have suggested these spellings, but they prove nothing as to the real pronunciation. Far from being contrary to my opinion, they supply, at a distance of some fifteen hundred years, a phenomenon, strictly comparable with that which we have shown to exist at Kapur di Giri. This resemblance of methods is explicable by the resemblance of the conditions which called them into being. In each case we have a language, which, not having as yet a regulated system of spelling, attempts, with groping and uncertainty, to approximate itself, by the simplest means available, to the practice of a language which enjoys a higher degree of reverence.

If we consider the facts by themselves, would this change of *dharma* to *dhrama*, of *pūrva* to *pruva*, of *karma* to *krama* be likely or probable? I think not. Alongside of *pruva*, there is at least one passage (VI, 14), in which it seems clear that we must read *purva*. So also we find that coins wrote *varma* alongside of *dhrama*; that by the side of *draśana* at Kapur di Giri, we have, at Girnar, an example of *darsana*. The form which all these words have invariably taken in the popular pronunciation, *dhaṁma*, *puvva*, *kaṁma*, *vassa* or *vāsa*, &c., depends uniformly on

a former pronunciation, *dharna*, and not *dhrama*, *varsa* and not *vrasa* &c. If people said *arva*, why should they have said *pruva*?

We should doubtless be glad to discover with certainty the cause of these inconsistencies; but our hesitation in this respect proves nothing against conclusions, which appear to me to be satisfactorily proved. It is no use counting all the variations in the mode of writing: by the side of *sarva*, we frequently have *sava*; *mita* beside *mitra*, *puta* beside *putra*, &c., &c.; we find written *kirti*, and *vaḍhati*, *vaḍhita*, &c. It is not surprising that, in an orthography which is the arbitrary imitation of a learned pronunciation, a certain approximation should have appeared sufficient. The example of Girnar proves that we must not take the phonetic value of the signs too strictly. It is clear that in δ ϕ and in ρ δ the same character δ signifies at one time, *vra*, and at another time *rva*. Reasons of graphic convenience may have had their share of influence. A cursive sign for *r* following a consonant had been fixed at this epoch but they had not fixed one for an *r* preceding one. It is easy to prove this in the more recent inscriptions. They retained the first sign, and invented a new one for the second case (cf. the inscription of Suē Vihar.⁵) The direct combination of the characters γ and η , γ and γ was sufficiently easy and symmetrical, but the combination of γ with υ , ζ &c., being more complicated, gave greater opportunities for confusion. Without doubt such a consideration can only have been a secondary one, but the special conditions under which, as I have pointed out, this spelling was applied with its etymological tendency, are precisely such as to make its action admissible. They rendered much less urgent both the invention of a new sign, and the use of compound letters which might be awkward to engrave.

We are thus led to recognise in certain cases a graphic method, which not only does not faithfully represent the real pronunciation, but which in endeavouring to approximate itself to etymological writing, treats it with a certain amount of freedom. This forms a very useful basis from which to judge, what is, in my opinion, a more difficult case. I refer to the groups χ χ , and ξ at Girnar, regarding which I regret to find that my conclusions did not meet with the concurrence of Dr. Pischel. This difference of opinion renders it necessary for me to complete the observations outlined on pages 26 and 29 of the Introduction to Vol. I. of the original work.

It is quite clear, as Dr. Pischel allows, that the appearance of the group χ will not help us to decide between the transcription *pta*, and the transcription *tpa*. Every one agrees in reading ξ *st* and χ *st*. The exact position of the sign is therefore irrelevant. All the more has the question embarrassed the various commentators, and they have successively proposed various readings. The arguments invoked in favour of *pta* are far from convincing me. I cannot admit that the form *appā* for *ātman*⁶ presupposed an intermediate *aptā*. The group *pt* regularly gives *tt* in Prākṛit, as in *gutta*. It is *tp* which gives *pp*, as in *uppala*. Now *apa* is the very form which the most modern inscriptions of the west, near Girnar, regularly give us for *ātman*, and I do not think that any one would suggest a pronunciation *aptā* as necessarily intermediate between *ātmā* and *attā*. It is in the same way that *chattārō* is derived directly from *chatvārō*, like *satta* from *satva*, and *atta* from *atvā* for *ātmā*. If, under the influence of *t*, the *v* of *atvā* can have become a *p*, the same phenomenon is equally explicable in *chatpārō* for *chatvārō*, and *ārabhitpā* for *ārabhitvā*.

⁵ For example ϕ = *rya*. We catch, I think, this new notation in course of formation in instances such as the sign ϕ = *rkhē* (*arkhēviyasa*) of the coins of Archebios (cf. Sallet, *Die Nachf. Alexanders*, p. 113).

⁶ Note by translator.—The following extracts from the statistical portion of this chapter, previously published *see ante*, pp. 113 and 120, will assist the reader in following the argument.

GIRNAR.—*tm* becomes *tp* in *ātpa*, XII, 3, 4, 5, 6.

tv becomes *tp*: *abḥētpā*, XIV, 6; *ārabhitpā*, I, 3; *chatpārō*, XIII, 8; *dasayitpā*, IV, 4; *hitatpā*, VI, 11; *picvitatpā*, X, 4; *tadātpanē*, X, 1; it becomes *t* in *satiyaputō*, II, 2.

KAPUR DI GIRI.—*tm* becomes *t* in *ata*^o, XII, *passim*.

tv becomes *t*.

This being said, while I uphold the transcription *t̥pa*, after Burnouf and (as Dr. Pischel very properly reminds me) Signor Ascoli, I admit that I can produce no decisive facts to prove that this spelling represents something different from its apparent pronunciation. Neither the use, which Dr. Kern has pointed out, of the Javanese spelling of the group *tp* to express simply the sound *tt*, nor the analogous instances, have any demonstrative force. Nevertheless, the phonetic conditions which Girnar displays in other respects are not such as to lead us to believe that at this epoch, the contact of two mutes, like *tp*, could have been tolerated by the language without assimilation. Several traits, which would seem to prove the more archaic character of the language of Girnar, disappear if we consider them in their true light as simple graphic restorations, and it would be very improbable that a language which so invariably assimilates mutes when they are primitive, as in *samata*, *guti*, &c., should have, at the same time, preserved their original power for groups of secondary mutes, resulting from an earlier phonetic alteration. Without, therefore, being in a position to furnish categorical proof of my opinion, I cannot refrain from being impressed with this belief that the group *tp* at Girnar represents *pp* as its real pronunciation, the etymological origin of which is shadowed forth in the writing by an artifice, which has, so to speak, been arrested half way.

As regards the groups *st*, *st̥*, I have the same good fortune to be in accord with Signor Ascoli, and the same regrets that I cannot agree with Dr. Pischel. I know, and I have expressly stated, that Hémachandra (IV, 290, 291) teaches in Māgadhi the spellings *st̥* for *†ta* and *sh†h* of Sāṁskṛit, and *st* for *sth* and *rth*.⁷ Dr. Pischel draws attention to the fact that the *Mṛichehha-kafī* has forms like *bhaśṭaka*, *chiśṭadi*. I do not wish to insist upon reasons which depend somewhat on individual impression; but I cannot easily believe in dialectic forms such as *paśṭa* for *paṭṭa*, *asta* for *artha*. They are phonetic modifications so isolated, as far as I can see, on Hindū soil, that it seems to me very difficult to admit their existence; but I recognize that such a scruple has no demonstrative force. We shall at least see from what I shall have occasion to say regarding the Prākṛit of the grammarians, that they are entitled to but very weak authority as regards the exact state of the popular language, above all at the epoch with which we are now dealing; and here, for example, the evidence of Hémachandra may very well be taken as only indicating the more or less accidental retention, the more or less arbitrary application, of an archaic spelling. At the same time it must be remembered that the facts thus quoted, agree but imperfectly with those with which it is desired to compare them. Hémachandra mentions this spelling as peculiar to Māgadhi, and we are asked to recognise it again at the other end of India, in Surāshṭra; we do not find it anywhere in the other versions of our inscriptions, which, owing to several significant traits, the nominative in *é*, the substitution of *l* for *r*, may fairly claim relationship with Māgadhi. This is not of a nature to give strength to the authority of the grammarians, at least as regards their geographical terminology.

⁷ Note by translator.—As this is not printed together with the statistical portion of the chapter which has already been given ante, pp. 113-114 and 120-121, the following extracts from that portion will assist the reader to understand what follows.

GIRNAR, — *tth* becomes *st̥* in *usṭāna*, VI, 9, 10.

rth becomes *th*, as *atha*, passim.

shtr becomes *st̥*: *rāṣṭhika* V, 5.

shjh becomes *st̥*: *adhiṣṭāna*, V, 4; *sṣṭō*, IV, 10; *niṣṭāna*, IX, 6; *tisṭantō*, IV, 9; *tisṭāya*, VI, 13.

st is preserved: *asti* passim, &c.; — it becomes *st̥* in *anusasṭi*, VIII, 4, al.

sth becomes *st* in *gharastāni*, XII, 1; — and *st̥* in *ṣṭita*, VI, 4.

KAPUR DI GIRI.

tt becomes cerebralised into *t̥* under the influence of an *r*-sound, in *dharmavutaṁ*, XIII, 10; *nivasiya*, IX, 19.

tth is written both *th* and *ṭh* in *uthāna*, VI, 15.

rth usually gives us *ṭh* (*aṭha*, passim), but also *th* (*athan*, IX, 20; *anatheshu*, V, 12).

shtr is written *st* in *rastikanah*, V, 12.

shjh is written *ṭh* in *śrēṭha* IV, 10; *ṭh* in *tithō*, IX, 20, *adhithanō*, V, 13; and *st* in *srēṣṭa*, I, 2, and *tistiti*, IV, 10.

st remains unchanged, whether written with the special sign to which Dr. Bühler appears to have given its true value, or with the group *st* as in *samstuta*, IX, 19.

sth becomes *th*: *chirathitika*, V, 13; *grahatha*, XIII, 4; and also *ṭh*, *grahathani*, XII, 1.

The groups which the grammarian expressly writes *st*, with the dental *s* (cf. *Sūtra* 289), the *Mṛichchhakaṭī*, extending the use of the palatal *ś* peculiar to Māgadhī, writes *śt*, and the verb *tishthati*, for which the spelling *chishṭhadi* is expressly enjoined by *Sūtra* 298, is written in the drama *chishṭadi* (Pischel, loc. cit.). Between the grammarian and our inscriptions there is a still wider discord: *†t* is no more written *st* at Girnar, than *rth* is written *st*.

The mere observation of facts such as those which exist at Girnar would be sufficient to awaken our scruples. I find it difficult to believe, as Dr. Pischel has ingeniously suggested, that the absence of the aspiration in *stīta* and *sēsṭa*, are a direct inheritance from the primitive period which existed before the birth of the secondary aspiration of Vedic Sanskrit. Should we further conclude that the word *sresta* at Kapur di Giri (1st edict) is also a witness of this same period, when the sibilant *sh* and the other cerebrals had not as yet developed? As for claiming the same antiquity for the Pāli form *aṭṭa* (equivalent to *arta*) for *artha*, the uniform use of the aspirate in all our versions is far from favouring this conjecture. In any case, the Pāli spelling *aṭṭa* being uniformly absent from all our inscriptions cannot be relied upon as a basis for the archaic origin of the *t* in *stīta*. I therefore consider that I am right in doubting whether the popular pronunciation had really eliminated the aspiration, in a case in which, as everyone knows, as everyone can judge by a reference to Prākṛit orthography, the consonant is invariably aspirated, even when the aspiration is not original, i.e., when Sanskrit does not write it as aspirated. Is it really to be believed that the people pronounced *ustāna* (Girnar, VI, 9, 10), when the assimilated form *utthāna* is the only one used, even in the learned language and in its system of etymological spelling? If they really did pronounce *stāna*, *stīta*, can *ustāna* be considered as anything but a purely orthographical approximation to these words, guided and determined by the feeling of etymology? The forms *anusastī* (for *anusasti*, the only probable one) beside *saṁstuta*, *gharastāni* (instead of *stāni*), beside *stīta*, and at Kapur di Giri, *srēsta* (instead of *śrēsta*) by the side of *śrēṭham* (IV, 10), *tistiti* beside *tithē* and *adhithana* (V, 12; al.), *dipista* beside *aṭha* (= *asṭau*) are as many errors which it would be hard to explain if we considered the orthography as an actual expression of the existing pronunciation.

Now, Girnar is comparatively near the tract which furnishes us numerous inscriptions for the period following. Would it not be surprising that in none of them, not even in the most ancient, at Sāñchī and at Nānāghāt, has a single trace of so significant a dialectic peculiarity been discovered? What we do find is at Sāñchī (No. 160), the proper name *dhamaṣṭhīrī*, while in all the analogous instances, *sēṭhin*,⁸ &c., the assimilation is carried out. Again at Kārli (No. 22), in a text of the time of Vāsithīputa Sātakaṇi, we find *hitasughasth[i]tay[ē]*, beside *nīṭhitō*. In this instance forms such as *puttasya*, *sōvasakasya* beside *budharakkhīlasya*, *upāsakasya*, leave no doubt as to the nature of the spelling. We have here a text couched half in Prākṛit, half in mixed Sanskrit, and we know, without any hesitation, that the spelling *sthiti* is a *tatsama*, or, which comes to the same thing, an instance of learned orthography. Does not all analogy, every probability, compel us to accept the same conclusion for Girnar?

It is true that this mode of writing, *st* and *st*, appears at Girnar with a certain regularity, but this should not mislead us, after the facts which we have already pointed out regarding groups which contain an *r*.⁹ I maintain that *st* and *st* are conservative methods of spelling the groups *tth* and *†th* which arise in Prākṛit from a dental or cerebral sibilant followed by its mute. They have been extended to groups originating from *sth* and *sh†h* (that is to say a dental or cerebral sibilant followed by an aspirated mute), for the very simple reason that, in the assimilation of Prākṛit these groups result in the same pronunciation as do *st* and *sh†*. From

⁸ I do not speak of *chilāṭhitika* in the inscription of Piyadasi. It is in Māgadhī, and, as we shall see, cannot be taken as an authority for the local dialect.

⁹ At Kapur di Giri, the analysis, *st*, which Dr. Bühler has proved for a sign hitherto generally read *th*, has drawn the spelling of the word *sresta* from its isolation: but the inconsistencies which have been cited above in the transcriptions of the Sanskrit groups *sh†*, *sh†h*, still remain not one whit less characteristic and instructive.

this point of view, anomalies like *ustāna* and *anusasṭi* can be easily explained. *ustāna* is only another way of spelling *uṭṭhāna*. The cerebralization, for which *anusasṭi* supplies no pretext, could creep into the pronunciation of *anusatthi* under the influence of the analogy which it suggests with forms like *siṭṭha*, *anusitṭha*. A practice of this kind, extending even to words in which it has no etymological justification, is certainly not without example in Hindī usage. I content myself with quoting the use of the groups *gr*, *tr* in Jain Prākṛit,¹⁰ used to represent merely a doubled *g* or *t*, and that even when it is not justified by etymology, — in *pôgralā*, i. e. *pôggalā* (*pudgalā*), as well as in *ulagra*. Prof. Weber has not on this account dreamed of suggesting that the pronunciation *ugra*, *ulagra* has been preserved, but very rightly concludes that we must everywhere read *gga*.

The preceding remarks do not exhaust the instances in which we are permitted to infer that the orthography of the Edicts of Piyadasi is not strictly phonetic. Other spellings deserve, from this point of view, to be noticed here. Some are significant by their very character and by their inconsistencies; others, either better preserved or altered more than the mean level of phonetic decay permits, reveal in turn either an accidental imitation of the cultivated idiom, or the contemporary existence of a popular language into which the mode of writing of our inscriptions artificially introduces a regularity unknown in practice.

In the first category is contained the use of $\pm$. This brings me again to Dr. Pischel's remarks. I must confess that I can no longer hold to the opinion, originally expressed by me, that the sign $\pm$ at Khālsi was only another form of $+$. I admit that this sign, literally *kyā*, corresponds to a special shade of pronunciation, although it does not appear to be easy to define it. The concurrence of the forms *kaliṅgyā*, *kaliṅgyēsu*, *kaliṅgyāni*, which Dr. Bühler has been the first to identify at Khālsi (XIII, 5, 6,), does not throw much light on the problem; but to whatever conclusion we are led, it will remain none the less certain that the engravers have displayed a singular inconsistency. According to Dr. Pischel himself, beside seventeen instances in which the suffix *ika* is written *ikya*, there are seven in which the spelling *ika* is retained. It is very clear that one or other of these two methods of writing does not accord with the exact pronunciation. What are we to say about the Delhi inscriptions, in which we find *k* in two isolated examples, in *ambāvaḍikā* and *adhakōsīkāni* (Col. Ed. VII-VIII, 2), whereas everywhere else the suffix invariably retains the form *ika*?

I confess that I find some difficulty in avoiding an explanation, which, at the first glance, will appear singular and rash. In various coins of Spalagadama, of Spalirisos (Sallet, p. 154), and of Gondophares (p. 169), we find *dharmiasa* side by side with the ordinary form *dharmikasa*. On the other hand, the coins of Lysias (*ibid.* p. 154) have alternately *lisikasa* and *lisiyasa*. The pronunciations *ika* and *iya* do not appear to have belonged to the same period of phonetic development, and it is tempting to conclude that the popular pronunciation was *iya*, (or *ia*, which is the same thing), of which *ika* represents the learned spelling; that, in fact, people read the latter *iya*, as seems to be proved by the writing *lisikasa* for *lisiyasa*. The sign $\pm$ ought hence to be considered as a compromise between the real pronunciation, indicated by the *y*, and the *tatsama* orthography represented by the *k*. The spelling *alīkasadala* must be explained by some play of etymology, which, in order to lend to the foreign name a Hindī appearance, seems to have sought in the first portion of the word for the Prākṛit *alīka*, *aliya*, corresponding to the Saṁskṛit *alīka*. I do not underrate the difficulties of this solution. If it were certain, it would lend a singular confirmation to my method of considering the orthography of our inscriptions, but I recognise that it is in no way certain. I only put it forward as a conjecture, which is, in my opinion, a likely one, and I do not propose to take advantage of it elsewhere for any more general conclusions. If we neglect it, and content ourselves with a simple statement of the facts, we find at all events that, at least in this particular point, the

¹⁰ Cf. Weber, *Bhagavatī*, pp. 387 and ff.

spelling of our inscriptions, not being consistent with itself, does not endeavour to accurately represent the pronunciation.¹¹

Kapur di Giri in several instances uses *j* and *y*, the one for the other: *ja*[*m*] (equivalent to *yad*), V, 11; *ananijam*, VI, 16; *samaya*, I, 2; *kañbóya*, V, 12; XIII, 9; *raya*, V, 11; VI, 14; IX, 18; X, 21; XI, 23; XIII, 1, beside *raja*, VIII, 17, &c. Perhaps even at Girnar we find an analogous case, if we must really really read (XII, 7) *srunēju*, for *srunāju*, equivalent to *srunēyu*. At any rate, *ñayāsu* for *niyāsu*, is purely sporadic, contrary to analogy, and, to all appearance, an arbitrary spelling.

These exceptional spellings follow a double direction. Several bear witness to an effort to approach the etymological forms. For instance, *sadvīsati*, against all analogy, retains its final consonant. No one can doubt that Dhauli and Jaugada represent exactly the same dialect, and the same pronunciation, and hence *ékatiya* at Jaugada (I, 2) and *sañmyāpaṭipati* (IX, 16), as compared with *ékacha* and *sañmā*° at Dhauli, can only be taken as kinds of *tatsamas*. So also with forms like *akasmā* at Dhauli. *Adhigichya*, equivalent to *adhikṛitya*, for *adhigicha*, at Bhabra, shews us an orthography which is undecided and hesitating.

In other places the writing betrays by inadvertencies that the phonetic level of the spoken language has already fallen below that which is usually marked by the ruling habits of the written one. I refer to softenings like *adhigichya* for *adhikṛitya* at Bhabra, *libi* alongside of *lipi* at Dehli, *lōga*, *lōgika*, *lahēyu* at Jaugada, or, inversely, to irregular hardenings such as *kañbócha* at Dhauli, *paṭipātayati* at Jaugada, *paḍhañ* at Kapur di Giri, or, again, isolated inflexions like *janāó* at Khālsi, *mahidāyó* at Girnar.

It would not be impossible to increase the number of indications of this nature; but, neither the condition of the monuments, nor the accuracy of our facsimiles, would allow us to attain to complete statistics. I stop myself here, and proceed to sum up.

¹¹ The translator ventures to take the liberty of appending the following note by him on this character, which originally appeared in the *Academy* for October 1890:—

This character has excited considerable controversy. It is admittedly a compound of the sign for *k* and the sign for *y*, and, graphically, it represents *kya*. In the Khālsi inscription it is substituted (but by no means uniformly) for the *k* which we should expect in the termination *ikā*; and it also occurs in the foreign word *alikyasadala*. It is also found twice in the Delhi columnar inscription. All scholars agree that no completely satisfactory explanation has been given for this form. It seems to me that the following is not unreasonable.

The spelling of Piyadasi's inscriptions presents several instances of false analogy. M. Senart has given strong reasons for believing that when Piyadasi at Girnar wrote *śt*, he meant to represent the sound *ṭṭh*. It was a mistaken attempt to revive an old-fashioned spelling. The scribe knew that Sanskrit *śt* became *ṭṭh* in Prākṛit, and hence wrongly assumed that every Prākṛit *ṭṭh* was derived from *śt*. Therefore, to shew his learning, whenever he came to a *ṭṭh*, he wrote it *śt*, even in cases when *ṭṭh* represented not *śt*, but *ṣṭh*.

I think that this *ikya* is a similar instance of false analogy. The Māgadhi Prākṛit termination *ikā* is liable to have its penultimate vowel lengthened, thus, *ikā*. Then, by a well-known rule, the *i* can again be shortened, the consonant following being at the same time doubled in compensation, thus, *ikkā*. Instances of this are not uncommon in literature; and, judging from the modern languages of India, must have been extremely common in conversation. Prākṛit examples will be found in § 203 of Dr. Hoernle's *Gaudian Grammar* and I need not quote them here. As the Khālsi and the Delhi inscriptions were written in Piyadasi's Māgadhi dialect, we need not be surprised if we find this doubling occurring in them too.

Now Sanskrit *ikya* does become *ikka* in Prākṛit; and I believe that the scribe, coming upon an *ikka* with a totally different derivation of which he was ignorant, and wishing to shew his learning, represented that *ikka* also by *ikya*, just as his brother at Girnar represented *ṭṭh* by *śt*, even when it had nothing whatever to do with that compound. If we assume, as suggested by M. Senart, that the scribe endeavoured to connect the foreign word *Alikyasadala* with the Sanskrit *alīka* (an instance of a common kind of word-play in Sanskrit literature), we find an additional confirmation of my suggestion. The *i* in *alīka* is long; its being shortened shews that the word must have been pronounced *alikka* in Piyadasi's time. Accordingly, the engraver, coming upon another *kk*, followed his custom and wrote it *kya*.

It will be observed that this accounts for the want of uniformity with which *kya* appears in Piyadasi's inscriptions. M. Senart shews that at Khālsi *ikya* occurs seventeen and *ikā* seven times. At Delhi there are only two instances of *ikya*, *ikā* being used everywhere else. So, also, in Māgadhi Prākṛit both the terminations *ikkā* and *ikā* appear to have been concurrently and indifferently used, just as at the present day a man of Magadha will say in the same breath, *chhotakā* and *chhotakkā*, *tanikā* and *tanikkā*, *tanukā* and *tanukkā*.— G. A. G.

It is certain that the orthography of our inscriptions does not always exactly reflect the actual pronunciation. It is unequal to the task when it neglects to notice double consonants or long vowels, and it overshoots the mark when, at Girnar, it retains a long vowel, either before *anusvāra*, or before a group of consonants. Besides this, it elsewhere gives evidence, as, for example, in the notation of the groups which contain an *r*, of a significant indifference in regard to phonic expressions which belong to diverse periods of the development of the language. It is, therefore, sure that this orthography, in a certain number of cases, obeyed (as we call them) learned historic influences. Like the modern languages, like the mixed Sanskrit of the *Gāthās*, it is full of words or methods of writing, which constitute so many graphic *tatsamas*, and which consequently form an artificial and learned element. There is no ground for citing against this proposition the ignorance of the engravers. They may be responsible for certain material errors, for certain inconsistencies, but not for a system of orthography. They applied that system, it is true, but, however imperfect it may have been, it must have been founded by persons who were educated, skilled men. Even at the present day, it is evidently the learned caste that takes these loans, which, entering the popular language, gradually extend themselves to the most ignorant. In its generality, therefore, the principle appears to me to be unassailable, and those facts, which are certain, justify by themselves important conclusions as regards the light in which we should consider the language of our inscriptions.

Other facts, such as those which concern the groups *st*, *st̐*, *tp* at Girnar, allow more room for contradiction, and I only claim probability for my opinion regarding them. I have merely one more observation to add. It is specially at Girnar and at Kapur di Giri that we meet these semi-historic modes of writing. If my interpretation of them is accepted as correct, they will add seriously to the balance in favour of the conclusion to which the undisputed facts tend.

This conclusion has a corollary. It implies that the differences of dialect between the popular languages, which are reflected by the various versions of our inscription, are less decided than we should at first be induced to consider them, judging from the appearance of the orthographies. If they are really separated by some characteristics, they have, in general, arrived at nearly equivalent stages of phonetic corruption. The more prominent points of difference, which attract our attention at first sight, have their origin in tendencies, more or less accidental, of word-borrowing or of modes of writing, — in the greater or less use of *tatsamas*. This result is in itself *à priori* so probable, that it might almost be invoked in favour of the conclusions which I have endeavoured to establish. It is, assuredly, scarcely probable that, by its mere natural movement, by its spontaneous development, the same language should, in the same time, have reached, in neighbouring provinces, stages of decay so unequal as a comparison between the orthography of Girnar and, for example, that of Khālsi would suggest. The views which I have put forward explain this anomaly. For inadmissible inequalities of phonetic development they substitute the very simple notion of different orthographic systems in parallel use in different regions. If, as everything tends to shew, the epoch to which our inscriptions belonged was still, so far as regards the art of writing in India, a period of feeling the way and of uncertainty, if it is anterior to the regularisation or at least to the general expansion of the Sanskrit orthography and to the codification of the literary Prākṛits, the parallel existence of these divergent imperfectly established systems is easily explained. I shall shortly indicate what circumstances seem to have conduced to favour their geographical distribution in the manner to which witness is borne by the evidence of our monuments. These circumstances equally concern the distribution of the dialectic differences properly so called.

The influence of a learned orthography upon the linguistic aspect of our monuments does not, as a whole, allow itself to be measured in detail with absolute precision. I shall only quote one example, as sufficient to enable the reader to grasp my meaning. Girnar distinguishes between $\perp n$ and $\perp n$, but only in the interior of bases. Is preserves $\perp$ every-

where where Sanskrit would write it in the bases, but it writes only $\perp$ in terminations, even where Sanskrit usage would have required a cerebral η . I confess that a comparison with the Eastern versions, all of which know only $\perp$, makes this invariable practice seem, in my eyes, to be suspicious. I strongly doubt if the popular pronunciation of the people of Girnar correctly distinguished the two η 's, but I have no means of rendering this doubt a certainty. Whatever may have been the fact in this and in other analogous instances, **many of the divergencies which distinguish our parallel versions are not reducible to an orthographic interpretation.** However great may be the latter's importance in its legitimate sphere of action, it leaves remaining a series of phenomena which constitute dialectic characteristics. It is this face of the question which still remains to be considered.

From this point of view the monuments of Piyadasi divide themselves clearly into two main groups. In the one, there is no cerebral η , no palatal $\tilde{\eta}$, an initial y is elided, l is substituted for r , the nominative masculine, and usually the nominative neuter, end in $\acute{e}$, and the locative in asi ; the other distinguishes the cerebral η and the palatal $\tilde{\eta}$, retains the initial y and the r unchanged, makes the nominative singular of masculine a -bases end in $\acute{o}$, and the locative in $amhi$ or in $\acute{e}$. The first comprises all the inscriptions, except Girnar and Kapur di Giri, which alone constitute the second class. It is the more impossible to doubt the existence in this case of a dialectic difference, because certain of the peculiarities which denote the first group are quoted by the grammarians as proper to the Māgadhi dialect. Such are the nominative in $\acute{e}$ and the substitution of l for r . It must be admitted that these are also the only points of agreement, and that neither in its omissions — the absence of η , $\tilde{\eta}$, $\acute{s}$, the elision of initial y — nor in certain peculiar usages — the retention of j , of chh , &c., — does the dialect of the inscriptions correspond with the Māgadhi of the grammarians. On the contrary, we have seen that the use of the group st , attributed by the grammarians to Māgadhi appears only in the orthography of Girnar.

Is it possible to trace subdivisions, to distinguish sub-dialects, within the limits of these two main groups? Between Girnar and Kapur di Giri, if we except the groups st and st on the one hand, and the use of the three sibilants on the other, both of which, in my opinion, should not be admitted into the calculation, the only differences of a somewhat general character, which I note, are the group tp at Girnar, which, according to my theory, corresponds to a pronunciation pp , and which is represented at Kapur di Giri by t ; the locative singular, which is in mhi , and more rarely in $\acute{e}$ at Girnar, and in $\acute{e}$, never in mhi at Kapur di Giri; and the genitive of bases in in , which is in $in\acute{o}$ at Girnar, and which, at Kapur di Giri, follows, by the formation isa , the analogy of the declension in a . It may also be noted that the group hm or mh , which is retained at Girnar, is unknown at Kapur di Giri, where *bamhaṇa* is written *bramaṇa*, and that the termination *vya* of the future participle passive, which usually at Girnar adheres to the spelling *viya*, is, at Kapur di Giri, generally assimilated to *va* (*vva*). Finally, we may add one or two other divergencies, such as the 3rd person plural in *aré* used at Girnar, and the accidental substitution of y for j at Kapur di Giri. We can thus have no hesitation in holding that the two sets of inscriptions, to a certain degree at least, do reflect different shades of dialect, which are absolutely distinct.

I do not think that the case is the same with regard to the versions which constitute the former group. If we put out of consideration the alleged use of $\acute{s}$ and sh at Khālsi, regarding which I shall shortly take an opportunity of stating my opinion, and which has nothing to do with the present discussion, the only appreciable differences refer to the initial y , the use of r , and the termination of nominatives neuter in am . Khālsi and the columnar edicts retain the initial y more frequently than the others, but as they present at the same time a number of examples of its elision, even in the same words, it is clear that no linguistic conclusion can be drawn from the fact, especially as in the versions which elide it most regularly, at Jaugada and Dhauli, examples are inversely found of its retention. In some instances Khālsi makes the nominative of neuter bases in a , in am and not in $\acute{e}$: but it also

contains a more considerable number of nominatives in *é* of bases usually treated as neuters ; on the other hand, in one instance, Jaugada writes *anusásanam*. Rûpnâth writes *chhavachharé* and *chiraphitiké*, *ârâdhavé*, *pakaré*, but, also, *sâtîlêkê*, *apaladhiyêna*, and *ahâlê* ; and if it is admitted that it throughout retains the initial *y*, it must not be forgotten that it is short, that it has only three such examples, and that it is impossible to assume the existence of a peculiar dialect from such a detail, in the face of its otherwise perfect agreement with those inscriptions which more nearly resemble Mâgadhi. It is plain, however, that we must not neglect sporadic discrepancies. They have a certain significance which should be cleared up. This problem appears to me to be an easy one. It will solve itself when we have elucidated one point, regarding which people have, I think, come to wrong conclusions.

It has been admitted hitherto that each of the versions of the edicts faithfully represents the dialect of the country in which it has been engraved. I believe that this is a mistake, and that the deductions, which have been formed on this basis, are altogether unfounded. *A priori* it would be extremely surprising that a single dialect should have reigned, without rival and without shades of difference, throughout the whole of north and north-eastern India, from Khâlsi to Jaugada, by way of Bairât and Rûpnâth. Our scepticism will be found to be strengthened by several particular reasons.

According to this theory, at the time of Asôka, both at Dhauli and Jaugada, as well as at Rûpnâth and Allahabad, people must have employed a dialect which made nominatives masculine of *a*-bases terminate in *é*, and which changed *r* into *l*. This I shall, for the sake of brevity, term the **Mâgadhi of Asôka**. Now the inscription of Khandagiri, quite close to those of Dhauli and Jaugada, the date of which cannot be fixed with accuracy, but is certainly not more than a century later than the monuments of Piyadasi, and which appears to emanate from a local sovereign, makes the same nominatives in *ô* and the locatives in *é*, preserves the etymological *r*, and in a word presents none of the characteristic traits of this dialect. We are thus led to think that Asôka's dialect was not that of the country. The ancient inscriptions of the Bharhut *stûpa*, mid-way between Rûpnâth and Allahabad, perhaps contemporary with Piyadasi, of a surety not much later, and which are certainly expressed in a language analogous to the local idiom, present no trace of Magadhim. So also at Sanchi ; yet General Cunningham has discovered there a fragment of an edict which, with a probability almost equivalent to certainty, he attributes to Piyadasi. Now, in this, fragmentary as it is, the nominatives in *é*, words like *chiraphitiké* leave no room for doubt. It was written in Mâgadhi. But all the native inscriptions found in the same locality, either contemporary with it, or belonging to a very nearly contemporary epoch, agree without exception in the use of a Prâkrit free from Magadhim. In the other localities we are not so fortunate as to be able to use parallel monuments for controlling the apparent evidence of those of Piyadasi, but these facts are sufficiently significant. Evidently, the use of the Mâgadhi dialect in his edicts does not prove that it was current and in vulgar use in the localities where they have been found. The conclusion readily presents itself to our minds. It was in Magadha that the head-quarters of Piyadasi's empire was situated. Mâgadhi must have been the language of his court, and nothing can be simpler than to suppose that he used it throughout the extent of his dominions to address his people, and more specially his officers, the representatives of his power.¹

¹ At the other extremity of India, in Ceylon, we find a sign which favours this theory. However great, as regards details, may be the exaggerations of the Sinhalese traditions with reference to the connection of Asôka with Tâmrâparai, the testimony of Piyadasi himself would appear to indicate that he held certain relations with that distant island. That he profited by these relations to help forward the diffusion of Buddhism, his zeal and the analogy of his conduct elsewhere do not permit us to doubt. It is hence the more interesting to follow up the traces, which have, in several instances, been pointed out, of the influence of the Mâgadhi dialect on the ancient language of Ceylon. The most ancient inscriptions which have been found in the island are without doubt of sensibly later date than Piyadasi. This interval explains the alterations which the Mâgadhi tradition has undergone from the time of the earliest inscriptions. The fact itself of its introduction, which it is difficult to refer to any author except Piyadasi, only stands out the more clearly from the persistence of certain traits. I do not speak merely of grammatical peculiarities: the locative in *si*, nominative in *é*, &c., which have been pointed out by P.

But then, it will be said, how is it that the inscriptions of the extreme north-west and of the coast of Surāshtra escape this common level? The question appears to me to be capable of two explanations, each of which strengthens the other. No one, I think, doubts that it was in the north-west and west that a graphic system, adapted to the necessities of Indian languages, was first elaborated. At least the inscriptions of Kapur di Giri and of Girnar testify that in each case there had been already constituted a peculiar graphic system with its own traditions. These were facts which Piyadasi found established, and which he was obliged to take into his calculations. In the second place, it will be remarked that the two systems of spelling, or, if it is preferred, the two dialects used by Piyadasi, exactly coincide with the distinction between his immediate dominions and the merely vassal provinces, which, I believe, I have established by arguments perfectly independent, and having no reference to the facts which we are now considering. It was quite natural that Piyadasi should accommodate himself to the local customs of regions which were only indirectly attached to his empire, and in which traditions must have existed which it might have been both suitable and convenient to respect.

Certain useful indications can be drawn from the inscriptions. The various versions are not equally consistent in the application of orthographical peculiarities which correspond to dialectic differences. Even at Dhauli and Jaugada, where the initial *y* is most regularly elided, it is occasionally retained: *yē* (J. det. I. 4); *yá* (Dh. IV. 17); *yē* (Dh. V. 20; det. I. 8); at Khālsi and on the columns this is much more common: at Rūpnāth, the *y* is retained in the only three words in regard to which the question could be raised; at Bairāt, we have, side by side, *am* and *yan*. On the other hand, it is at Rūpnāth that we find two or three words in which the *r* is retained and not replaced by *l*. As a general rule the distinction between masculine and neuter is lost in the Māgadhi of the inscriptions, both genders making the nominative in *ē*. Nevertheless, at Khālsi, it would appear that we have some nominatives masculine in *ō* (*sātiyaputō*, II. 4; *kēlalaputō*, ibid.; *sō*, V. 14; cf., also, *lājānō*, II. 5), while neuters very often have the nominative in *am*. These inconsistencies can be explained in two ways. They result either from the influence of the learned language, or from the sporadic action of the local dialect entering into the official Māgadhi. I do not venture to decide.

Other irregularities, such as those which we meet at Kapur di Giri and at Girnar, are inverse cases. Thus, we have frequently in both versions nominatives singular in *ē* (*i*) both for masculines and neuters. I may quote at Girnar: *prādēsikē*, *yutē*, *yārisē*, *bhūtapurē*, *vaḍhitē*, *tārisē*, *apaparisaṇē*, *dēvānampiyē*, *sēsē*, *kaṇmē*, *dhanamacharaṇē*, *maṇḡalē*, *dasanē*, *dānē*, *vipulē*, *kaṇmē*, *mūlē*; at Kapur di Giri: *amtiyōkē*, *si*, *athi*, *sakali*, *matē*, *turamayē*, *jivē*, *bhūtapurē*, *vaḍhitē*, *tadiśē*, *danē*, *nichē*, *darśanē*, *ētē*, *yē*, *kaṭavi*, *hati*, *yi*, *nichi*, *vijitē*, *ghaṭiti*, *mahalakē*, *likhitē*; at Kapur di Giri, several locatives in *asi* (*mahanasasi*, I. 2; *gaṇanasi*, III. 7; *yutasi*, V. 13; *ōrōdhanasi*, VI. 14; &c. are contrasted with the ordinary form, which is in *ē*. It is clear that these accidental forms cannot be explained in this case by the influence either of a learned language, or of a popular one. They are so many Māgadhisms, whose only possible source can have been the influence of the Māgadhi officially employed by the suzerain of the states.

To sum up, the inscriptions of Piyadasi divide themselves, from a linguistic point of view, into two series, of which one, that of the north-west, betrays by certain, though not very important, indications, the existence of a dialectic sub-division. The other must

Goldschmidt (*Ind. Ant.*, 1877, p. 318; cf. Rhys Davids, *Ind. Ant.*, 1872, pp. 138 & ff. Ed. Müller, *Ancient Inscript. of Ceylon*, p. 8; and the recent observations of Prof. Kern in the *Bijdragen tot de Taal . . . kunde van Nederl. Indië*, IV. 10, p. 562). Two palæographic facts are equally characteristic. One is the adoption of the sign Λ before its limitation to the palatal *ś* (see below), and the other is the absence of the palatal *ñ*, not employed in the official writing of Piyadasi, and which we see, for example, in the inscription of Kirinde (E. Müller, No. 57) expressed by the compound *ny*, in *svanyutpittē*. It is, therefore, probable that Piyadasi had directly or indirectly transferred to Ceylon, as he had done to the provinces of his empire, the methods peculiar to his Māgadhi system of orthography.

represent the official language of the royal chancery. They bring before us two strongly contrasted orthographical systems; the one more nearly allied to the popular speech, the other with a greater tendency to approaching etymological and learned forms. Neither the one nor the other is subject to definite rules; — neither the one nor the other escapes individual discrepancies, or certain local influences. We shall see from what follows, and it is this which gives these facts a real interest, that this state of things marks the first phase of an evolution which was destined to accentuate itself more and more as it pursued its course. We shall see, in the epoch which follows, on the one hand, the Mixed Saṅskṛit, on the other hand the monumental Prākṛit, each continuing in parallel lines the tradition of which we here grasp the most ancient manifestations.

On several occasions, in the remarks which precede, I have been led to speak of “a learned language,” and “a learned orthography.” These expressions might lend themselves to misconceptions which it is my duty to prevent. Now that I have explained myself regarding the popular language, it remains to determine, so far as we can from the indications at our disposal, what was the linguistic situation from the point of view of this other most important factor, Vedic or Classical Saṅskṛit.

Palæographic facts here hold the first place. Some are common to both of Piyadasi's modes of writing, others are peculiar to only one or other of them.

The north-western alphabet possesses no special signs for marking the long vowels. It is quite true that many languages are content with a similar notation, but Saṅskṛit does not present itself to us under ordinary conditions. A language partly artificial and used only by the learned, leaping into existence, after a long preparation, ready made and almost immutable, it had a grammar before it was put into writing. Neither in its orthography, nor in its grammatical forms, does it shew any sensible trace of progressive development. It could only be put into writing, at the time when it did commence to be written, under the same conditions as those under which it has continued to be written. A language thus elaborated must have imposed beforehand the power of distinguishing long vowels on the alphabet, by means of which it was intended to record it. An alphabet, which was not capable of making this distinction, would certainly never have sufficed to record it.

I may also mention a peculiarity which is common to both methods of writing. I have just now drawn attention to the fact that **neither of them represents the doubling of identical or homogeneous consonants.** Now, from the time when Saṅskṛit first makes its appearance, it observes this duplication, wherever it should be etymologically expected. No one can imagine either the Vedic Saṅskṛit or Grammatical and Classical Saṅskṛit being written without observing this practice. But, once established for the learned language, this duplication could not have failed to introduce itself into the popular orthography, as we shall see did actually occur in the case of the literary Prākṛit. It will, therefore, be asked how the orthography of the dialects, which we are at present considering, did not, of its own motion, adopt so natural a usage. **For my part, I only see one satisfactory explanation, — the persistent influence of the Semitic method or methods of writing upon which the alphabets of Piyadasi were founded.** A long effort was necessary to overcome this influence, and the sequel will shew how the new practice is exactly one of the traits which characterised the constitution and expansion of the literary language.

The Indian alphabet, on the other hand, did possess special signs for the long vowels, but when it is considered that at Khālsi, and perhaps at Bairāt and Rūpnāth, there are no signs for *ī* and *ū* long, and that in the other versions instances of inexactness in the notation of long vowels are continually met with, it will, I think, be unhesitatingly concluded that, at the date of our inscriptions, a fixed, arrested form of language, like Saṅskṛit, had not yet been established in general use, for it would not have failed to act as a regulator

and model for the popular languages, or to introduce into their orthography the precision, the unity and the consistency in which they are so much wanting.

The Indian alphabet of Piyadasi has only one sign to represent *r*; whether it precedes or follows a consonant. Would this have been possible if that alphabet were used to record Saṁskṛit? Now, it is actually in the period which immediately follows, that it develops new resources in this respect. From the time of the inscriptions of Nānāghāt, we find the definite notation of *r* after another consonant² well established, and, shortly afterwards, the same sign transferred to the top of the consonant which it accompanied, served to express an antecedent *r*.

We can also assert that the sign for the vowel *ri* did not yet exist in the time of Asōka. The reason is simple, and is quite independent of any *à priori* argument. It is clear to every one that the sign **J** of the vowel *ri*, in the most ancient form in which it appears, is derived from the sign used to mark *r* in composition with a preceding consonant, viz., **J**; and we have just seen that this sign did not develop till after the time of Piyadasi.

Another lacuna is more significant still; it is the absence of three distinct signs corresponding to the three sibilants of the learned orthography. I am now speaking only of the Indian alphabet. Khālsi allows us to show that this absence was perfectly real, and that it was neither voluntary or merely apparent.

It will be remembered that Khālsi, in addition to **᳚**, the ordinary sign for *s*, also employs another form, **᳛**. This *s* has been considered as representing the palatal *ś*. It is true that this last letter has an identical or analogous form in the most ancient inscriptions in which it appears, i.e., at Nāsik and at Girnar. But we must understand matters. It is not possible to admit that, at Khālsi, the first edicts and the last ones differ between themselves in dialect, and I consider that the conclusions to which I came in the Introduction of this work are unassailable, that **᳛**, at Khālsi, is merely an alternative graphic form of **᳚**. Other facts confirm my opinion. The sign **᳛** reappears in the Edict of Bairāt, and in the two inscriptions of Rāmnāth, the first presents only a single example, in the word *svarga*, in which the palatal *ś* has no right to exist. The inscriptions of Rāmnāth are, unfortunately, either badly defaced or very badly reproduced. Such as we have them, they do not lend themselves to a translation, or even to an approximate interpretation; all that we can remark is that the first uses the sign **᳛** and that alone, and the other sign **᳚** and that alone. This is a very strong reason for considering that the two signs are simple equivalents. The demonstration is completed by facts drawn from the other end of India. Mr. Rhys Davids (*Ind. Ant.*, 1872, p. 130) was the first to point out, in the most ancient inscriptions of Ceylon, the parallel use of two sibilants **᳚** and **᳛**. The second is clearly only a modification of the **᳛** of Khālsi or of its prototype. Since then, Dr. E. Müller (*Ancient Inscript. of Ceylon*, No. 1) has published one in which the form **᳛** alone figures. He has drawn from these facts (p. 16) the only reasonable conclusion,—that which Mr. Rhys Davids had already very justly put forward,—that the two signs express indifferently one and the same sound. We cannot come to a conclusion for the north different from that to which we have come for the south. The distance between the two localities of occurrence, and the absolute analogy of the facts prohibit us from thinking of a dialectic differentiation between the two sibilants. The sequel of palæographic history shows us that the form **᳛** came to be subsequently employed to express the palatal *ś*, when a need to express it, that is to say, to write in Saṁskṛit, was experienced. At the time of Piyadasi, the Indian alphabet did not yet possess the palatal *ś*; and it therefore had not yet been applied, in anything like a regular and consequent way, to the learned language.

² At Bharhut, as in later times at Nānāghāt and elsewhere, *r* after a consonant is placed below it, either in its zigzag form (**᳚**) as in *śkranti*, or in the perpendicular form, as in **᳚** of *brahma*. (Cf. Cunningham, *Bharhut Stūpa*, Inscript. Nos. 76, 97, 89.)

Another strictly parallel fact indirectly confirms this. By the side of $\mathcal{A}$, the inscription of Khâlsi, in its second half, frequently uses a form $\mathcal{B}$. Dr. Bühler (p. 26) transliterates it by *sh*, and approves of my having recognized its relationship with the cerebral *sh* of the complete alphabet. I fear that there has been a misunderstanding here. I do, it is true, believe that the $\mathcal{E}$ of Nâsik and of Girnar (Rudradâman) is derived from this $\mathcal{B}$, but I in no way believe that this last form had the value of a cerebral at Khâlsi. In spite of the transliteration *sh*, I would not venture to assert that such is even the opinion of Dr. Bühler, and in any case I could not agree with him if it is. The sign does not appear till about the 10th Edict, and only becomes common in the 11th, 12th and 13th, although the form is not absolutely unknown to the former ones, as we have it also in the 4th Edict, l. 11. In the more than 110 instances in which Dr. Bühler reads *sh* at Khâlsi, there are only thirty in which the cerebral *sh* could be expected. Under these circumstances, and the transition between the forms $\mathcal{A}$ and $\mathcal{B}$ being easy, the steps being marked out by several intermediate shapes both at Khâlsi and elsewhere, it is absolutely impossible to consider the sign $\mathcal{B}$ as anything other than a graphic variant of $\mathcal{A}$. The perfect indifference with which the engravers use one sign or the other is really quite evident. All that has happened is the same as what we have already proved for $\mathcal{M}$. In subsequent times advantage has been taken of this duplication of forms to apply one of them to the notation of the cerebral *sh*, and it has become fixed in its new function, but the fact is later than our inscriptions.

To sum up, — neither the North-Western nor the Indian alphabet could have been at this epoch used to write Saṅskṛit. The Indian alphabet, the only one of the two which subsequently became applied to Saṅskṛit, appears before us in the condition of undergoing the modifications, which eventually prepared it for that rôle. We know of no trace of any different alphabet, which could have served for the notation of Saṅskṛit, and we are driven to the conclusion that at the time of Piyadasi Saṅskṛit had not yet been written, and, as all our arguments apply equally to the religious, (Vedic) language, the conclusion holds equally good for it as well as for classical Saṅskṛit properly so called.

Between these two languages there is, however, one important difference. The elaboration of classical Saṅskṛit could only have taken place with a view to a wide, profane use, — with a view to a written use. To say that it was not written, is to say that it did not yet practically exist, — at least in its ultimate form. But it is not so in regard to the Vedic language. Not only could its essential monuments exist in an oral state, but they could have been, in this form, the object of a culture purely oral, and more or less complete. Eminent Indian scholars have considered and still consider that the composition of the *prâtisâkhyas* does not imply the use of writing. I need not here expatiate on a subject to which we shall again be conducted by the conclusions of the following chapter. These remarks have merely for their aim to put forward (while we explain it) an apparent contradiction between these two propositions: on the one hand the palæographic condition of our monuments proves that the classical idiom which subsequently took so prominent a position had either not received as yet its complete elaboration, or had at least not yet been regularly written, while, on the other hand, the orthography of the popular dialects as it is reflected by our monuments, reveals the action, more or less latent, none the less certain, of a previous philological culture. It is to the oral tradition of the religious literature, to the efforts for its preservation and for its phonetic analysis, of which it was the cause, that we have to trace back this influence. The reader cannot fail to remark how happily this origin accounts for the peculiar character of the action, unequal and indirect, incomplete and accidental, which we have been able to describe.

CHAPTER V.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE EDICTS, AND THE LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF INDIA.

It is not sufficient to consider the language of Piyadasi as an isolated subject. His monuments form only the first link in the chain of Indian epigraphical documents. The facts which they reveal cannot fail to throw light on the period following, and our conclusions, if they are correct, cannot fail to find a more or less direct verification in later facts. It is this order of ideas which I propose to consider in this concluding chapter.

PART I.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

The most urgent task is to establish, as exactly as possible, the chronological classification of the monuments with which we have now to deal. I do not propose to examine once more in detail the thorny problems which the chronology of India presents for the period which extends from Aśoka to the kings of Valabhî: still less do I propose to bring forward here any original system of my own. These questions have been studied by such good judges, and have been replied to in so many different ways, that little room is left for new theories. I believe that the true solutions have been already indicated, and I intend simply to group dispersed elements together, and to connect them into a coherent whole, both by the consistency with which the principal dates fit into each other in one uninterrupted chain, and by the support lent to them by accessory considerations and coincidences.

Amongst the works which have thrown most light on a very obscure subject, Prof. Oldenberg's essay, *Ueber die Datirung der ältesten indischen Münz- und Inschriftenreihen*,¹ certainly holds the first place. It is, I believe, sufficient to combine his conclusions with certain results obtained by the labours of Messrs. Bühler, Bhagwanlal Indraji, Bhandarkar, and Fleet, I only mention the most recent publications, to obtain a chronological series, the main points of which appear to be firmly established.

With Prof. Oldenberg, I consider that the Śaka era starts from the coronation of Kanishka, and that it is in this era that the inscriptions of this king and of his Indo-Scythian successors are dated.² With him, I consider that the era of the Guptas, which was also adopted by the kings of Valabhî, should be calculated, in accordance with the evidence of Alberûnî, from the year 319 A. D., and that no sufficient reason exists for disturbing one of the rare positive traditions which we have the good fortune to possess.³

This being settled, it remains to determine the chronology of the Satraps of Surâshtra and of the Andhrabhṛityas. Here several synchronisms come to our help.

¹ *Zeitschr. für Numismatik*, Vol. VIII. pp. 289 and ff.

² Prof. Max Müller holds the same opinion, *India; What it can teach us*, p. 291.

³ With regard to the era of the Guptas, I would refer the reader specially to Appendix A. of Prof. Bhandarkar's work, *Early History of the Deccan*. New arguments have been put forward quite recently, which have led Dr. Bühler to the same opinion (cf. Bühler, *Ueber eine Inschrift des Königs Dharmasena IV von Valabhî*, in the *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akademie*, 1885, pp. 13 and ff. of the reprint). [Since the above was published the admirable researches of Mr. Fleet, contained in the 3rd volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, have put an end to all debate regarding the era of the Guptas. It has not been necessary for me to modify my original text in consequence, for it maintains the accuracy of the fact, of which Mr. Fleet has proved the certainty; but I cannot deprive myself, *en passant* of the pleasure of rendering a grateful tribute to the fertile labours of this skilful epigraphist.]

An inscription of Nāsik, dated the 19th year of the reign of Vāsīṭhīputa Pulumāyi, and emanating from his mother, Gôtamī Balasiri, refers to his father and predecessor Gôtamīputa Sātakani, as the 'destroyer of the family of the Khakharātas' (*Khakharātavanīsaniravasāsakara*).⁴ We also find at Nāsik a parallel series⁵ of inscriptions emanating from Usavadāta, son-in-law of the 'Satrap Nahapāna, a Khaharāta king,' and even a dedication presented by a minister, Ayama, of this prince. It is in the person of Nahapāna that Gôtamīputa Sātakani must have destroyed the dynasty of the Khaharātas or Khakharātas, for the same locality has preserved for us a document, by which he exercises over it an act of sovereignty. He transfers to a community of ascetics certain lands, which come from Usavadāta, probably the very son-in-law of the dispossessed sovereign.

The reader can see in an ingenious article of Dr. Bühler's,⁶ that the numismatic discoveries of Paṇḍit Bhagwanlal Indrajī, on a comparison with epigraphic data, allow us to reconstitute the following series of sovereigns in the dynasty of the Andhrabhṛityas.

Gôtamīputa Sātakani, who reigned at least 24 years.

Pulumāyi Vāsīṭhīputa, who reigned at least 24 years.

Māḍharīputa Sirisēna, who reigned at least 8 years.

Vāsīṭhīputa Chaturapana Sātakani, who reigned at least 13 years.

Siriyaṇa Gôtamīputa Sātakani, who reigned at least 16 years.

It is not certain, but it is at least probable, that the succession was immediate between the second, third, and fourth of these princes.

Rudradāman, the Satrap king, in the celebrated inscription of Girnar, tells us how he twice conquered Sātakani, the king of the Dekhan; he only spared him from total destruction by reason of their close relationship. Now, an inscription of Kaṇhēri⁷ has preserved the memory of a queen, daughter of a Kshatrapa king, whose name was composed of two syllables commencing with *ru*, and wife of the king Vāsīṭhīputa Sātakani. Whether the Ru[dra], father of the queen was, as appears very likely, or was not, the Rudradāman of Girnar, it remains almost certain that the Sātakani of whom that prince was the contemporary and conqueror is one of the two last princes named in the foregoing table. Fortified by palæographical coincidences which tend to confirm the likelihood, which in itself is very strong, of these facts, we can hold it for proved that Rudradāman belonged to the same time as Vāsīṭhīputa Sātakani, or Siriyaṇa Sātakani.

The third synchronism, together with an indirect verification of the second, gives us a valuable means for approximately fixing the dates, not only relatively but absolutely, of these persons. In a well-known passage, Ptolemy mentions Tīastanes and Siri Polemaios, as sovereigns of Ujjayinī and of Paithāna. These two names have been long identified, the first with that of Chashtana, and the second with that of Siri Pulumāyi. Now Chashtana is known by the inscriptions as grandfather of Rudradāman; and it is quite easy that he should have been a contemporary of Pulumāyi Vāsīṭhīputa, grandfather or great-grandfather, or at any rate third or fourth predecessor, of the Sātakani, of whom we have just seen that Rudradāman was the contemporary and the conqueror. A remark of Prof. Bhandarkar⁸ contributes a still higher degree of probability to these identifications. Ptolemy tells us that, while the northern parts of the west coast were governed by Siri Polemaios, the southern parts were under the rule of Baleocouros. Now, there has been discovered at Kōlhapur a series of coins,⁹ in which the name of Viḷivāyakura, whose identity with Baleocouros forces itself on our notice, is associated with that of Vāsīṭhīputa and of Gôtamīputa, to whom we have just been introduced.

⁴ *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* IV. 108.

⁵ *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* pp. 99 and ff.

⁶ *Indian Antiquary*, 1883, pp. 272 and ff. It will be seen from what follows that I have not been able to place myself in entire accord with the learned author.

⁷ *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* V. 73.

⁸ *Early Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 20.

⁹ Cf. Bhagwanlal Indrajī, in *J. R. A. S., Bo. XIII.*, 303 and ff.

The terms in which Ptolemy speaks of these sovereigns, Tiastanes, Siri Polemaios and Baleocouros, give us naturally the impression that he speaks of princes of his own time. Without any doubt this conclusion is in no way a forced one. He could, it is true, have drawn upon previous authorities, and his information regarding such distant countries was not necessarily up to date; but, until the contrary is proved, every presumption is in favour of the most simple solution, which makes the princes reign at the same epoch as that in which he wrote the geography, or a short time before. Ptolemy is credited with having composed his book a few years after 150 A. D., and we are, therefore, entitled, *à priori*, to consider that Chashtana and Pulumāyi Vāsīthīputa must have been in possession of their power between about 135 and 145. This conclusion, which is admitted by several scholars,¹⁰ will impose itself with yet greater force upon our attention, if it is found to accord with the chronological data, which it is possible to collect directly in India. This is exactly the case.

Prof. Oldenberg¹¹ has strongly insisted upon the reasons which prevent us from fixing at a later date than the commencement of the second century the era of the Kshatrapa kings of Gujarāt, that is to say of the dynasty, the founder of which was, as we gather from the inscriptions, Chashtana. The arguments on the basis of which he hesitates to make it coincide with the Śāka era of 78 A. D. appear to me to be less convincing. We know of a Kshatrapa coin bearing not only the date 300, but the date 310 of the Kshatrapa era;¹² the date 83 of the Gupta era, *i. e.* $(319 + 83 =) 402$ A. D., is the earliest one of their successors in Mālava,¹³ the Guptas, of which we have evidence, and it is hence impossible to bring down the commencement of the Kshatrapa era to a later date than 90 A. D. As it is, on the other hand, certain that the Kshatrapas were not the originators of the era which they employed, — we shall shortly see that it was also used by Nahapāna, — it seems to me that the strongest probabilities lead us to conclude, with Paṇḍits Bhagwanlal and Bhandarkar, that it was the Śāka era of 78 A. D., the era of Kanishka, which they adopted.

Every one is now, I believe, agreed in considering with Messrs. Oldenberg¹⁴ and Bhagwanlal,¹⁵ that Nahapāna was, in Gujarāt, the representative of the race of the Kshaharātas, which was conquered by Gotamīputa Śātakarṇi, and which immediately preceded this dynasty of Kshatrapa Sēnas, of whom Chashtana was the first representative.

It will now be sufficient to mention the dates supplied to us by certain inscriptions; and we shall see how they adjust themselves, and how happily they coincide with the presumptions to which we have come independently.

According to the Girnar inscription, Rudradāman was on the throne in the year 72 of his era, which we suggest to be the Śāka era. Coins of his son Rudrasimha bear the dates 102 to 117, and it is probable that the first-mentioned ones go back to the commencement of his reign.¹⁶ It is, therefore, likely that the reign of his father Rudradāman could not have commenced much before the year 150 A. D., the date of the bursting of the embankment at Girnar. Every indication points to the conclusion that the reign of his father Jayadāman was short, and Chashtana, as founder of the dynasty, could only have come into power at a mature age. There is, therefore, small room for making mistakes, if we allow for these two reigns a period of 20 or 22 years. The accession to power of the Sēnas would thus be placed at about the year 128 or 130 A. D.

An inscription of Junnar,¹⁷ proves that Nahapāna was still king in the year 46 of the era which he employed: the inscriptions of his son-in-law Usavadāta, which are known to us, are earlier, bearing the dates 40, 41, 42. We can thus put the destruction of his power by the

¹⁰ Cf. Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.* Bhagwānlāl Indrajī, *art. cit.*

¹¹ *art. cit.* pp. 315 and ff.

¹² Bühler, in Burgess, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* p. 73.

¹³ Cf., for example, Thomas in Burgess, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* II. p. 20.

¹⁴ *loc. cit.* pp. 319, and ff.

¹⁵ *Ind. Ant.* 1878, p. 258. al.

¹⁶ Bhagwanlal Indrajī, in *J. R. A. S., Bo. XIII.* p. 315.

¹⁷ *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* IV. 103.

Andhras, at about the year 48 or 50 of his era. What is that era? If, hypothetically, we suggest the era of Kanishka, the date 125 to 128 A. D. which we get, agrees so exactly with that to which we are led on the other hand as the date of the coming to power of his conqueror, that the proof seems to be decisive. I may add that, according to a restoration which Dr. Bühler¹⁸ considers as 'almost certain,' Usavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, in one of his inscriptions calls himself a Śaka. It is, therefore, probable that this family of Kshaharātas held its power, as vassal satraps, from the Turushkas of the dynasty of Kanishka; and nothing could be more natural than that they should have used the era adopted by their suzerains. After them, the family of Sēnas must have simply followed their official tradition, as the Valabhī kings did in later years when they succeeded the Guptas. The name of Śālivāhana by which this era came eventually to be designated, appears to be a recollection of the similar procedure by which the sovereigns of the Dekhan, on their side, appropriated the era founded in the north by the Śaka king.

Another result which follows from the above is that we now find the members of the Andhra dynasty, who more immediately interest us here, placed in their chronological position. I have mentioned their names above.

If we take 126 A. D. as the date of the victory of Gotamīputa Śātakaṇi over Nahapāna, an inscription of the conqueror¹⁹ proves, on the other hand, that this event must have occurred before the 14th year of his reign, for he sends orders dated in that year to the representative of his authority at Nāsik. Various epigraphical monuments testify that he reigned at least 24 years; and we thus get the year $126 + 11$, say 137 A. D., for the end of his reign, and the coming to the throne of his successor Vāsīṭhīputa Pulumāyi. The rule of this prince having lasted at least 24 years, that of Mādharīputa Sirisēna at least 8, and that of Vāsīṭhīputa Śātakaṇi at least 13, we arrive, for the conclusion of this last reign, at least at the date $137 + 24 + 8 + 13 =$ say 182 A. D. Rudradāman, the Kshatrapa, having ceased to reign before 180 A. D., it follows that it was certainly Vāsīṭhīputa Śātakaṇi, and not his successor, who is referred to in the inscription of Girnar.

We see how completely all these *data* agree amongst themselves. The verification which is, in my opinion, the most important, consists in the complete accord which this system establishes without any effort, with the presumptions which we are entitled to draw from the mention made by Ptolemy of Chashtana and Pulumāyi. It must be, as we have seen, about the years 135 to 145 A. D. that this mention should *à priori*, lead us to fix the reigns of these personages, and, that too, independently of any preconceived ideas, or of any clue obtained from Indian sources. On the other hand, our deductions, founded on absolutely independent calculations refer the former to the years 130 to 140 or 145, and the second to the years 137 to 161 A. D. In the face of so striking a result it appears to me difficult to avoid recognizing how artificial and how fine-drawn must be the suppositions, by which some writers have sought to weaken the induction which the text of the geographer at once suggests to us.

On the other hand, I must express my entire agreement with Dr. Bühler in the criticism to which he submits the rash attempts which have been risked to reconstitute the chronology of the period anterior to the Andhrabhṛityas. Their contradictions, and especially the positive *data* which are furnished by the monuments, shew how little confidence is deserved by the lists of the *Purāṇas*.

The more this epoch is still enveloped in obscurity, the rarer the means of marking out its historical development, the more important is it to cling with all our power to the marks which we have been able, in my opinion, to fix with confidence. I sum them up here.

1. **The Śaka era of 78 A. D. is the era founded by Kanishka. His monuments and those of his successors, the last of whom are lost in the obscurity which surrounds the commencement of the Gupta dynasty in 319 A. D., are dated in that era.**

¹⁸ Arch. Sur. West. Ind. IV. 101.

¹⁹ Arch. Sur. West. Ind. IV. 15.

2. It is in the same era that the inscriptions and coins, — on the one hand of Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta, — on the other hand of the Kshatrapa Sēnas of Gujarāt, — are dated. The monuments, known to belong to the former, relate to the years 118 to 124 A.D., and the rule of the latter dynasty extended from about the year 130 to the end of the fourth century A. D. The great inscription of Rudradāman at Gīrnar dates from the third quarter of the second century of our era.

3. The reigns of the five Andhrabhṛitya kings, whose names I have given above, and the order of whose succession we are enabled to determine with the aid of various monuments, from Gōtamiputa Sātakani to Siriyani Sātakani, fill the greater part of the second century of our era.

These conclusions put us in a position to date several epigraphical monuments which are certainly of decisive importance for the linguistic history of India. It is desirable that we should be able to do more, and to attain to equal certainty both with regard to the preceding period which separates the inscriptions of Aśoka from those of Kanishka, and for the subsequent one. Unfortunately the elements for analogous deductions are not forthcoming, and we are, as a general rule, reduced to indications borrowed from palæography, to which it is prudent to accord but a limited confidence. I should add that, so far as regards the principal question with which we have to deal, this uncertainty very luckily does not appear to have very serious consequences.

There is one class of monuments, the coins, concerning which I have not much to say. M. de Sallet²⁰ has submitted the problems connected with them to an examination at once complete and thorough. I doubt whether the main lines of his conclusions can be seriously altered by later researches. Under any circumstances, I do not believe that the uncertainties which may remain unexplained, or the errors which may require correction, are of such an extent as to compromise the deductions which philology can draw from the legends of the coins.

It would be more essential, but it is more difficult, to fix with confidence the relative dates, and the order of all the inscriptions which belong to the same period.

By the side of those which bear the names of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudēva, whose dates, as I admit, are certainly to be referred to the Śāka era, there are others which various indications connect more or less closely with the same series, without its being proved, or even shewn to be probable, that they employ the same era. I refer especially to two characteristic inscriptions in Indo-Bactrian characters, that of **Taxila**,²¹ dated in the 78th year, and belonging to the great king Mōga, and that of **Takhtibahi**,²² dated the year 103, and the 26th year of the reign of a king whose name is read as Gudupharas, most probably the same as the Gondophares or Yndopherres of coins and of legend; but if this identification is admitted, and if, on the other hand, we also allow the identification, which has been proposed, of king Mōga with the king Maṇas of the coins, there are, from a numismatic point of view,²³ serious difficulties to be met in fixing the epoch from which to count this year 78, so as to calculate these two dates. All that is at any rate certain is that these monuments belong approximately to the same period as those of the Turushka kings; and the study of the former should not be separated from that of the latter.

As regards the two inscriptions of Mathurā²⁴ (No. 8 and No. 9 of Dowson) which are dated in the year 135, and the year 280 respectively, I see no decisive reason against referring them to the series of the Śāka era.

²⁰ *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien*. Cf., however, also Gardner and R. S. Poole, *Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*.

²¹ Cf. Dowson, *J. R. A. S.* XX. 221 and ff.

²² Dowson, *J. R. A. S.*, N. S. VII. p. 376. Cf. now my *Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1890, I, pp. 114 and ff.

²³ Cf. Sallet, *op. cit.* pp. 48, 51, 157.

²⁴ Cf. Dowson, *J. R. A. S.*, N. S. V. pp. 182 and ff.

A certain number of inscriptions, though undated, contain names which enable us to determine their age with some precision. Such are the short dedications of Daśaratha, the grandson of Aśoka, and the inscription of Bharhut, engraved 'under the rule of the Śuṅgas'²⁵ To the same category belong some texts of a higher value, — the inscriptions of Nānāghaṭ. They are connected with the most ancient of the royal inscriptions of Nāsik,²⁶ that which contains the name of king Kaṇha (Kṛishṇa) of the family of the Sātavāhanas. The reader may be referred to a learned essay which Dr. Bühler has devoted to these inscriptions and their date. It can be seen from what precedes, that I am not able to accept the whole of his conclusions. I consider at least that these monuments belong to the beginning of the dynasty of the Andhrabhṛityas or Sātavāhanas. While I admit that it would not be safe to accept the discrepant evidence of the *Purāṇas* as a solid foundation for calculating the period which elapsed between the kings of Nānāghaṭ and the series of sovereigns who have left us at Nāsik authentic documents, we should not, at the same time, too lightly discard these confused traditions. Dr. Bühler has been perhaps led to display the more severity towards them because they disagree with the date, in my opinion too ancient, which he attributes to Gôtamīputa Sātakaṇi and his successors. There remains the evidence to be adduced from palæography. Dr. Bühler calculates that this does not allow us to presume a space of more than a century between the inscription of Nānāghaṭ and those of Gôtamīputa Sātakaṇi at Nāsik. Dr. Bühler's authority in matters of this kind is too considerable to allow me to venture to dispute his opinion, and I will only confess that, if an interval of a hundred years does not appear to him improbable between the characters of Aśoka and those of Nānāghaṭ, I can scarcely understand how it can be certain that between the engravers of Nānāghaṭ and those of Nāsik, there did not elapse 200 years or even more. The truth is that, at least for this period, we have no scale of palæographical development graduated by documents to which exception cannot be taken. After all, vexatious as these uncertainties are, I do not undertake to reconstitute the history of the Andhrabhṛityas; so far as the aim which I have in view is concerned, it is sufficient to remember that the inscriptions of Nānāghaṭ certainly fall in the period intermediate between Aśoka and Gôtamīputa Sātakaṇi, and that they are, at least, a century earlier than the latter.

As for the other monuments of the period we are compelled to content ourselves with analogous, though still more valuable conclusions. It is a fortunate circumstance that however desirable it may be in many respects to fix the exact age of each text, these conclusions are in the present case sufficient for us. There are, I believe, very few instances in which we are not in a condition to assert that such or such an inscription is or is not anterior to the line of demarcation which marks the epoch of Rudradāman the Kshatrapa, and his contemporary Sātakaṇi the Andhrabhṛitya. To the period which extends from Aśoka down to these sovereigns belong the edict of Khandagiri and the inscriptions of Rāmnāth,²⁷ the inscription of Kāṅgrā,²⁸ as also that of Rēwā,²⁹ and several epigraphs both in the caves of the west coast, as well as in the ruins of Sāñchi,³⁰ of Bharhut,³¹ and Amravati.³² Taking the word in the very wide sense which I have explained above, the dates of these texts are subject to no serious doubts.

It is a matter for regret, that, for the period which follows, I mean the 250 years which extend from the commencement of the 3rd to the middle of the 5th century we are still worse provided. The absence of materials is here almost complete. We shall see, when we explain the linguistic importance of this epoch, how much this is to be regretted. We are hardly entitled to include in this period the inscription of Banavāsi³³ or those of the

²⁵ Cf. Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.* 1885, p. 138.

²⁷ Cunningham, *Corpus*. Cf. *Ind. Ant.* 1873, pp. 245-246.

²⁹ *Ind. Ant.* 1880, 120.

³¹ Cunningham, the *Bharhut Stūpa*, and Hoernle, *Ind. Ant.* 1881, 118, 255; 1882, 25; Hultzsch *Z. D. M. G.* XL, p. 70.

³² *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* Burgess, *Notes on the Amravati Stūpa*.

³³ Burgess and Bhagwanlal, *Inscript. of the Rock-cut Temples*, p. 100.

²⁶ Bühler, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* IV, 98, No. 1.

²⁸ *J. R. A. S.* XX, 254.

³⁰ Cunningham, *Buddhist Stūpas*.

Jaggayapetta Stûpa,³⁴ for they so closely follow the time of Siriyāna Sātakaṇi that they really belong to the preceding group. Towards the end of the 4th century, the series of Gupta inscriptions opens with that of Allahabad, engraved in honour of Samudragupta, and with the dedications of Udayagiri and Sāñchi³⁵ contemporary with his successor Chandragupta,³⁶ and dated in the years 82 and 93 of that era, say 401 and 412 A. D. They are followed by the inscriptions of Skandagupta at Gīrnar (138 G. E., i. e., 457 A. D.), and by others more recent.³⁷ From this period the series of monuments is prolonged in fairly sufficient number of specimens.³⁸

But between the commencement of the 3rd century and the first year of the 5th, I know of no inscription which has been dated with certainty. Even those the palæographical character of which would probably place them in this interval are of great rarity. Amongst the numerous dedications of the caves of the west, there are very few which appear to belong to it.³⁹

We must put aside the most ancient monuments attributed to the dynasty of the Gaṅgas;⁴⁰ for the most experienced authorities in Southern Indian Epigraphy have declared them to be apocryphal.⁴¹ We are thus reduced to a few documents which emanated from the kings of Vēṅgi.

The earliest in point of date would appear to be the donation of king Vijayanandivarman,⁴² which Mr. Burnell, and, agreeing with him, Mr. Fleet, refer to the 4th century. Both these gentlemen refer to the same reign a donation of the 'yuvamahārāja' Vijayabuddhavarman contained in the papers of Sir W. Elliot. It has since been published by Mr. Fleet.⁴³ It seems, however, that the name, which had originally led them astray, is in reality 'Vijayakhaṇḍavarman,' and various circumstances go against the idea of a close connexion between the author of this inscription, and that of the preceding one.⁴⁴ It is, however, none the less one of the most ancient inscriptions of the dynasty of the Pallavas, and dates either from the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the 5th. The language in which it is couched renders it a monument of the very highest interest, and I shall subsequently deal with it again. It is either contemporary with or very little earlier than the donation of Vishnugōpavarman,⁴⁵ of his brother Simhavarman,⁴⁶ and of Ativarman,⁴⁷ which are referred to the 5th century.

³⁴ *Ind. Ant.* 1882, pp. 253 and ff. Burgess, *Amrāvati Stûpa*, p. 55. ³⁵ Prinsep, I. 233. ³⁶ Prinsep, I. pp. 246-247.

³⁷ Inscription of Skandagupta at Kuhaon (142) (Prinsep, I. 250), at Indore (146) (*J. A. S. B.* 1874, p. 363), of the column at Bhitari, belonging to a successor of Skandagupta (Prinsep, *loc. cit.* p. 240), of the column of Eran, under Budhagupta (165) (Prinsep, p. 248); the inscriptions of Tōramāya at Eran and at Gwalior. With regard to the other Gupta inscriptions I may also cite here the Jain inscriptions, dated in the year 183 of the Guptas, of which Dr. Hoernle has given a transcription and a revised translation (*Ind. Ant.* 1882, p. 309). — It is now enough once for all to refer to the excellent *Corpus* of Mr. Fleet.

³⁸ I quote, simply as examples, the plates of Gurjara Dadda (458) (Dawson, *J. R. A. S. N. S. I.* 248 and ff.; and Fleet, *Ind. Ant.* 1884, pp. 81, 115); the inscription of Umêtâ &c. The plates of Jayabhāṭa (*Ind. Ant.* 1876, pp. 109 and ff.) appear to be earlier (429), if Dr. Bühler is correct in referring them to the era of Vikramāditya, but this conjecture appears to me to be very improbable.

³⁹ Nos. 7 — 10 of Kuḍa, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, (IV. 85-86) seem to me to be of slightly later date. I may mention, however, No. 1 of Kaṇhêri, which Dr. Bühler dates in the 4th or 5th century. The inscription is both very short and very obscure, but its date has, nevertheless, in our eyes, an interest, which will become clear later on.

⁴⁰ I refer to the donation of king Chêra Arivarman dated Śāka 169, quoted by Dr. Eggeling (*Ind. Ant.* 1874, p. 152) and published by Mr. Fleet (*Ind. Ant.* 1879, p. 212), and the inscription published by Mr. Rice (*Ind. Ant.* 1878, p. 168), and referred by him to the year 350 of our era. We should add the plates of Merkara (*Ind. Ant.* 1872, p. 360) for which the figures 388, calculated in the Śāka era, gave the date as 466 A. D.

⁴¹ Burnell, *S. I. P.* p. 34. Fleet, *Ind. Ant.* 1883, pp. 111 and ff.

⁴² *Ind. Ant.* 1876, p. 175. Mr. Foulkes has published a donation of Nandivarman, which he believes to belong to the same prince (*Ind. Ant.* 1879, p. 167). The numerous discrepancies which exist in the genealogy, in my opinion, render this suggestion inadmissible; and, if the inscription is not apocryphal, as Mr. Fleet considers (*Ind. Ant.* 1880, p. 101, note), it must emanate from another king of the same name, posterior to this first Nandivarman.

⁴³ *Ind. Ant.* 1880, p. 100.

⁴⁴ Fleet, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁵ Fleet, *Ind. Ant.* 1876, p. 50.

⁴⁶ Fleet, *Ind. Ant.* 1876, p. 154.

⁴⁷ *Ind. Ant.* 1880, p. 102.

But, as I have already said, from this time the harvest of monuments again becomes sufficiently ample for it to be useless to undertake enumerations which would necessarily be incomplete. I lay stress neither on the plates of the earlier Kadambas,⁴⁸ nor on those of the first Gurjaras, Dadda,⁴⁹ or Jayabhaṭa.⁵⁰ They bring us down to a period too modern to affect the questions of formation and origin which alone interest us at the present moment.

These are the known dates of the monuments which enable us to put forward precise conclusions for the chronology of the linguistic history of India. The preceding summary has therefore, been indispensable. **By language, or more exactly by grammar and spelling, the epigraphical types divided themselves, in the period under consideration, into two series.** The two currents continually intermingle and become confused, but we are, nevertheless, compelled to follow them separately. Of the two sections which follow, the first will be devoted to Mixed Sanskrit and to classical Sanskrit, and the second to monumental Prakṛit and to the literary Prakṛit. I shall commence in each case by detailing the characteristic facts which are furnished by a study of the inscriptions, and shall then examine the general questions which connect themselves with it.

⁴⁸ *Ind. Ant.* 1877, p. 22; 1878, p. 34.

⁴⁹ Dowson, *J. R. A. S., N. S.*, I, 248; Bhāṇḍārkar, *J. R. A. S., Bo. X.* p. 19.

⁵⁰ Inscriptions of Kāvi, Bühler, *Ind. Ant.* 1876, p. 109; of Umêtâ, *ibid.* 1878, p. 61.

PART II.

MIXED SANSKRIT AND CLASSICAL SANSKRIT.

It is in the monuments of the last Kshaharâta, Nahapâna, and in those of the first Andhrabhṛityas that we find the knot of the questions with which we are concerned. According to my opinion, these monuments are dated with certainty. Even for those who may not share my opinion, they are not one whit of less capital importance. A difference of 50 or 100 years is, in this matter, of small consequence, and, at any rate, there can be no dispute about one point, *viz.*, that all these texts are to all intents and purposes contemporaneous. Nevertheless, from the point of view of language, they present characteristic differences.

At Nâsik, Kârli, and Junnar, seven inscriptions⁵¹ of the reign of Nahapâna have been brought to notice. Not only do they all belong to the same time, but also, with the exception of the last, they all emanate from the same person, Usavadâta, son-in-law of Nahapâna. Of these inscriptions, one, No. 5 at Nâsik, appears at the first glance to be couched in grammatical Sanskrit, spelled according to classical rules. But, on closer examination, we observe more than one irregularity, the transgression of certain rules of Saṁdhi, Prâkṛitizing methods of spelling,⁵² such as *dvâtrîsatnâligêra*°, *lêṇaṁ*, *pôḍhiyô*, *bhaṭârkanâtiya*°, *varshâratuṁ*, *utamabhadraṁ*, &c. These irregularities, which are very rare at the commencement, multiply towards the end of the inscription. Another (Nâsik 6 A) is, on the other hand, entirely Prâkṛit in its terminations; homogeneous consonants are not doubled; *r* is retained after a consonant (*kshatrâpa*), but assimilated where it precedes (*savâṇa*); it distinguishes three sibilants, but, by the side of *śata*, we read *sata*, and even *panarasa* for *pañchadaśa*; by the side of the ordinary assimilations of Prâkṛit, the group *ksha* is retained unchanged, and we find *nētyaka* equivalent to the Sanskrit *naityaka*. It is hardly otherwise with No. 7 of Nâsik. It contains both *kuśana* and *kasana*, *śrônîsu* beside *Ushavadâta*,⁵³ *kârshâpaṇa* and *kâhâpaṇa*, *sata* and *śata*, all which does not prevent its using the vowel *ri* in *kṛita*.

In another inscription, No. 19 of Kârli, pure Prâkṛit reigns supreme, except in the orthographies *brâhmaṇa* and *bhâryâ*. The fact is the more striking because the formula employed is the exact counterpart of the Sanskrit formula of the monument first referred to. The case is the same at Nâsik, in Nos. 8-9, save for the orthographies *putra*, *kshatrâpa*, and *kshaharâta*, by the side of *Dakhamitâ* (equivalent to *Dakshamitrâ*). Finally, in No. 11 of Junnar, the *ksha* gives way to *kh*, which, nevertheless, does not prevent them from writing *amâtya* and not *amacha*, by the side of *sâmi* for *svâmi*, and even of *maṭapa* for *maṇḍapa*. I cannot dispense with again referring to No. 10 of Nâsik which, although we are unable to fix its date with precision, is undoubtedly contemporaneous. This time, the terminations, the genitive masculine in *asya*, have the appearance of Sanskrit; but we also find the genitive *-varmanah*, side by side with *varmasya*; as a general rule the orthography is Sanskrit, but, nevertheless, we read in it *gimhapakhê*, *chôthê* (= *chaturthê*), *vishṇudatâdya*, *gilânabhêshaja*. This is the exact reverse of the preceding inscriptions, which write *kshatrâpa*, and have the genitive in *asa*.

This capricious and unequal mixture of classical and popular forms is no new thing. In the literature of the Northern Buddhists, it has a name. It is the 'Gâthâ dialect.' Nowadays, that this same mode of writing has been found not only in prose religious

⁵¹ Cf. *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* IV. pp. 99 and ff.

⁵² Hoernle, *Ind. Ant.* 1883, pp. 27 and ff.

⁵³ *Ushavadâta* itself could easily contain an instance of confusion between the sibilants. The *v*, which is almost constant, does not appear to me to lend itself to the transcription *Ṛishabhadatta* of Dr. Bühler. It is, unless I am mistaken, *Utsavadatta*, which we should understand.

treatises, but also in lay⁵⁴ works, and that we meet it in the texts of inscriptions, this terminology has become both inaccurate and inconvenient. I propose to substitute the term 'Mixed Sanskrit,' a name which will, I hope, be justified by the observations which follow.

The same caves preserve the memory of the Andhrabhṛityas who were contemporary with or the immediate successors of Nahapāna, — Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi and his descendants.⁵⁵ In general (Nāsik, 11 A, 11 B, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 22; Kārli, 20, 21; Kaṇhēri, 4, 14, 15) the inscriptions are couched in pure Prākṛit, though not without certain inconsistencies in detail (*svāmi* beside *°sāmiyēhi*, Nās. 11 A, 15); *Pulumāyi* (Nās. 13, beside *Pulumāvi*, Nās. 15, and *Pulumāi*, Nās. 12, &c.). This means that assimilation occurs everywhere, though the consonants are never written double. This does not, however, prevent us from finding at Kārli (No. 22), a donation of the reign of Vāsīṭhīputa Pulumāyi, which has *siddham*, according to the classical method; which, beside numerous genitives in *asa*, writes *puttasya*, *sōvasakasya*, *vāthavasya*, and, beside *niṭhitō*, *hitasughasth(i)ayē*. It thus unites in the same word forms which were already no longer found in the inscriptions of Piyadasi, and others which are still rare in the 2nd century of our era, to which epoch they belong! On the other hand, at Kaṇhēri (No. 11)⁵⁶, a dedication of the reign of Vāsīṣṭhīputra Sātakaṇi, the son-in-law of the Satrap Rudradāman, is couched in pure Sanskrit, save for one single irregularity: *Sātakarnisya*.

Are these facts, I will not say isolated, but circumscribed in a narrow region? Quite the contrary. It is sufficient for conviction to cast the eye over the monuments of the Turushka kings, Kanishka and his dynasty, monuments which are either exactly contemporary with those to which we have just referred, or of very little earlier date. The inscription of Suē Vihar⁵⁷ is dated the 11th year of Kanishka. It may be said to be couched in Sanskrit, but in a Sanskrit seriously disfigured by spellings like *bhichhusya*, *aṭhavi(m)śē*, *nagadatasya*, *saṁkhakattisya(?)*, *yathim*, *yathipratīṭhanam*, &c. In the 18th year of the same reign, the stone of Manikyāla,⁵⁸ however imperfectly we may understand it, allows us clearly to recognise, side by side with the retention of the three sibilants and of groups containing an *r*, a number of Prākṛit forms, such as *°budhisa*, the termination *aē*, *maharajasa*, *vēspaśisa*, *chhatrapasa*, &c. Mathurā possesses, from the year 28,⁵⁹ a fragment of correct Sanskrit. So also for the time of Huvishka. At Mathurā (Growse, 2, 11; Dowson, 1, 2, 5, 7) the language of the dedications is classical; yet they present the genitive *bhikshusya*, and the phrase *asya* (or *ētasya*) *pūrvāyē*. On the Wardak vase, in the year 51, appear forms so much altered as *thuvamhi* (= *stūpē*), *bhagaē*, *arōgadachhinaē*, to speak only of those which are certain. The date of the inscription of Taxila is not fixed with certainty, but I do not think that any one can consider it as more modern than those to which I have just referred; and the name *Chhaharāta*, which I think I have identified at the end of the first line seems to assign it a place in about the same epoch, or in an epoch slightly earlier. Here, excepting the sibilants and a few groups (*chhatrapa*, *bhratara*, *vardhita*, *sarva*, *saṁvatsara*), everything is Prākṛit, the genitive in *asa*, the assimilation in *aṭha*, *takhaśila*, *pratīṭhapita*, &c., and mixed up with very debased forms such as the locative *saṁvatsarayē*, and the dative *puyāē*.

It is necessary to complete this review, by noting that it is towards the end of the period of which we are treating, towards the year 75 or 80 of the Śaka era, i.e. 155 to 180 A. D., that we find the first known inscription in perfectly correct Sanskrit, — the inscription of the

⁵⁴ The Bashkhali Manuscript, which has been published by Dr. Hoernle.

⁵⁵ Arch. Surv. West. Ind. pp. 104 and ff.

⁵⁶ Arch. Surv. West. Ind. V. p. 78.

⁵⁷ Hoernle, Ind. Ant. X. 324 and ff. Pāṇḍit Bhagwanlal Indraji has submitted this document to an independent revision (Ind. Ant. 1882, p. 128), in which he has frequently come to conclusions different from those of Dr. Hoernle. In cases of divergency, except in certain doubtful passages in which the truth appears to me to be still undiscovered, I consider that it is Dr. Hoernle who is right.

⁵⁸ Dowson, J. R. A. S. XX. p. 250.

⁵⁹ Growse, Ind. Ant. 1877, pp. 216 and ff. Dowson, J. R. A. S., N. S. V. 182 and ff. (after Cunningham).

Satrap king Rudradāman, at Girnar.⁶⁰ The inscription of Jasdhan, dated 127, and consequently 50 years later, emanating from the grandson of Rudradāman, only returns to the mistakes of Mixed Sanskrit in a few details.⁶¹

What is precisely this Mixed Sanskrit?

Various attempts have been made to explain its existence and its peculiarities. It has been held to be a dialect intermediate between the ancient period of Sanskrit and the more modern period of the Prākṛits; — a sort of jargon created by ignorance or, if it is preferred, by incomplete knowledge on the part of the people, their ambition being incommensurate with their powers, who wished to give themselves the honour of writing in the literary language, without possessing a sufficient acquaintance with it (Burnouf); — the special dialect of bards, who appear to have taken a middle course between the popular speech and the learned language, in order to make themselves intelligible, without too great derogation, to their audience (Rajêndralāla Mitra).

Neither of these explanations, taken alone and in the exact meaning which was intended by its author, can be reconciled with facts as they are known to us at the present day.

The conjecture of Burnouf was an excellent explanation, when he seemed to be dealing with only a few stanzas lost in a vast literature. We can no longer attribute to the pedantry of an editor or of a clumsy scribe a language which is employed on a vast scale, and applied to royal inscriptions, and we are unable to explain by a vulgar ignorance a mixture, which rather appears to bear witness to an extensive acquaintance with the literary language.

It is no more possible to represent, as a special poetical language, a dialect which is fluently used in the inscriptions, and which is employed in lengthy prose works and even in didactic treatises.

As for seeing in Mixed Sanskrit the direct expression of the current language at a certain period of its development, the theory hardly deserves the trouble of refutation. A dialect so void of all stability, at one moment closely resembling classical Sanskrit, and at another very different from it, a dialect which brings together, in complete confusion and in arbitrary proportions, phonetic phenomena which belong to most unequal degrees of linguistic development, could never be a faithful echo of the popular language at any epoch whatever. Mixed Sanskrit is, neither in its grammar nor in its phonetics, intermediate between Sanskrit and the Prākṛits; it constitutes an incoherent mixture of forms purely Sanskrit and of forms purely Prākṛit, which is an altogether different thing.

Mixed Sanskrit has, moreover, a history. In the chronological series of monuments which it is represented, far from shewing signs of gradually increasing phonetic decay, it continues to approach more and more nearly to classical orthography and to classical forms. In the inscriptions of Mathurā, the remnants of Prākṛit orthography are so rare, that the general appearance as a whole is that of pure Sanskrit.⁶²

This observation comes to our assistance in answering the question which we have before us. It is not sufficient to know what Mixed Sanskrit is not. We must determine what it is.

Towards the end of the 2nd century, we find upon the monuments three dialects which, in their phonetic condition, appear to correspond to different ages of the physiological development of the language: Sanskrit, Mixed Sanskrit, and Prākṛit. All three are destined in the future to continue concurrently in literature. Here we find them used side by side, at the same time, and at the same places. It is inadmissible to suppose that they represent contemporary states of the vulgar tongue; at most, that could be represented only by the most corrupted of the three dialects, the Prākṛit. As for Mixed Sanskrit, like

⁶⁰ *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* III. p. 123.

⁶¹ Hoernle, *Ind. Ant.* 1883, p. 32.

⁶² This gradation becomes still more evident if, as we ought to do, we take as our point of departure the inscriptions of Piyadasi at Girnar and at Kapur di Giri.

regular Sanskrit itself, it cannot be anything other than a special literary language, or, more exactly, a special literary orthography. In itself, it is no more surprising to find side by side two literary idioms like Sanskrit and Mixed Sanskrit than to find the parallel use of the various Prākṛit dialects which were established for religious or poetic usage. From the facts proved for the time of Piyadasi, we are prepared to see a double orthographical current establish itself, one more near to the popular pronunciation, and the other approaching, and tending to approach more and more nearly, etymological forms. In the hundred and fifty or two hundred years which separate our edicts from the most ancient monuments of Mixed Sanskrit properly so-called, these tendencies, which we have grasped in their rudimentary state, have had time to become accentuated, and to develop in the strict logical sequence of their principles. As it appears to us in the most recent monuments, **Mixed Sanskrit is so nearly the same as Sanskrit, that it seems impossible to separate the history of one dialect from that of the other.** What is the relationship which unites the two ?

From the time when Sanskrit first appears, we find it in a definite form. Neither in grammar nor in its orthography do we find any feeling the way, any development, any progress. It leaps ready armed from its cradle. As it was at the first day, so it has remained to the end. **Mixed Sanskrit is altogether different.** Uncertain in its orthographical methods, without any absolute system or stability, it appears to us, from Kapur di Giri to Mathurā, progressing, in spite of many hesitations, in spite of many minor inconsistencies, in one continuous general direction. At Kapur di Giri the language is entirely Prākṛit, but several consonantal groups are preserved without assimilation. In the inscription of Dhanabhūti at Mathurā,⁶² the terminations are Prākṛit, but spellings like *vātsīputra*, *ratnagriha* approach the classical standard. At Sū Vihar, even the terminations take the learned spelling; *asya* and not *asa*; only a few irregularities connect the language with Prākṛit. In the caves we have seen that some inscriptions have side by side the genitive in *asya* and that in *asa*. These examples will suffice.

Besides these characteristics, two important facts, which mark their true significance, deserve mention.

In the north, the first inscriptions written in Sanskrit, or at least so nearly Sanskrit that they bear witness to its diffusion, are those of Mathurā, and date from the reign of Kanishka. Shortly after this period we find no further examples of monumental Mixed Sanskrit. In the west, the son-in-law of Rudradāman inaugurates the use of Sanskrit with the inscription of Kaṇhēri; from the end of the second century, the use of Mixed Sanskrit is, in the west, banished from the inscriptions. In a word, the introduction of regular Sanskrit marks the disuse of Mixed Sanskrit. That is the first fact.

The second is of another nature. All texts in Mixed Sanskrit, both in the north and in the west, preserve uniformly one very characteristic peculiarity, which we have already noticed in the spelling of Piyadasi. They never write as double, identical or homogeneous consonants, which are really doubles either by origin or by assimilation. This trait only disappeared at the precise moment when Mixed Sanskrit ceased to be used. In the north, the first inscriptions which double these consonants are those of Mathurā, which are almost entirely couched in regular Sanskrit. The practice was certainly a new one, for the other inscriptions of the reign of Kanishka, even those which, as at Sū Vihar, approach most nearly the learned orthography, do not adopt it. It is quite true that they are

⁶² *Bharhut Stūpa*, pl. LIII. 4. The transcription proposed by General Cunningham requires corrections. We should read,—

Kal dhana
bhātisa vātsī
putrasa [vādhapā] lasa
ghanabhātisa dānam vādikā
toranāni cha ratanagriha sa
rvabudhapūjāya saha mātāpi
tihi (?) saha . chatu . parishāhi

engraved in the Aramæan alphabet of the north-west, while the Indian alphabet is employed at Mathurâ; but at Mathurâ itself, the inscription of Dhanabhûti, although written in Indian characters, does not observe the practice of doubling any more than they do. This neglect is, therefore, not the peculiarity of one particular mode of writing; it is a general fact down to a certain epoch, which, in the north is marked by the reign of Kanishka. On the west coast, the first inscription in which we find the notation of double consonants is No. 11 of Kaphêri (*Arch. Surv.* V. 85). It is one of the latest of the series, and is certainly not earlier than the end of the 2nd century. The doubling of consonants, therefore, only makes its appearance at the period in which the monuments testify that correct Sanskrit was becoming taken into common use, and the parallel application, in the inscriptions of the time of Kanishka, of the ancient procedure, and of the new method, indicates that we have grasped the precise moment of the evolution.

It is not difficult to come to a conclusion.

Mixed Sanskrit is certainly not a direct copy of literary Sanskrit, attempted at an epoch when the latter had already been established in common use. The progressive march by which it gradually approximated classical forms as well as its feeling its way in matters of detail, would be, under this hypothesis, without any possible explanation. Its tendency towards an etymological and regulated orthography is everywhere visible. If it had had before its eyes a fixed, a definitive model, previously realized by writing and literary practice, it would from the first have imitated it in all its particulars. It would not have waited three centuries before doubling its consonants in writing. As it constantly tended to go as close as possible to the orthographical conditions, of which the learned Sanskrit is the completed perfect type, it would have gone right up to it. From the moment at which real Sanskrit appears, Mixed Sanskrit disappears, and this most naturally; for, in face of real Sanskrit, Mixed Sanskrit is without reason for existence, its efforts would be without honour, and its shortcomings without excuse. Far, therefore, from being able to pass for an imitation of pre-existing Sanskrit, Mixed Sanskrit proves, by its very existence, that Literary Sanskrit did not exist, I mean for current use. The date on which the classical language appears in the monuments, coincides with that at which the Mixed Sanskrit ceases to be employed, and marks very exactly the epoch at which the learned language took possession of that empire which was destined never to escape it. This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that the current of this diffusion may, at least in one direction, be traced by the monuments. Regular Sanskrit can be considered as under process of establishment in the north-west towards the end of the first century of our era. The practice immediately began to spread towards the south. In the second half of the following century, the inscription of Rudradâman presents to our notice, in Gujarât, the first incontestable monument. It was the influence of the same sovereign which caused it to extend still further, for in an inscription of his daughter it makes its first appearance in the dominions of the Andhrabhṛityas. Until then these princes had only employed a Monumental Prâkrit now and then affecting the appearance of Mixed Sanskrit.

Although Mixed Sanskrit is not a direct imitation of a pre-existing Sanskrit, the close connexion between the two terms is evident. But is, therefore, Mixed Sanskrit the source of Classical Sanskrit? Is it Classical Sanskrit in course of formation? By no means any more than the converse case is true. The reasons are peremptory.

All the elements from which Sanskrit, in its classical form, has been built up, were pre-existing in the Vedic language. Its system of phonetics, which is that which gives it its special character in comparison with the popular idioms, had long been fixed and analysed for the purpose of religious recitation. In order, therefore, to fix Sanskrit, there was no room for much feeling of the way. So far as there may have been any, it was certainly not of the kind we witness in Mixed Sanskrit. In fixing classical Sanskrit, a regular course would have been followed, instead of the constant alternate progress and retrogression which we find in the mixed variety. We do not find in it side by side the two-fold reflexion, the learned and the

popular, of the same forms. So also, the classical language, being derived directly from the learned and Vedic tradition could have made no delay in noting the duplication of consonants.

It should not, however, be assumed that Literary Sanskrit must have sprung at once from the schools into public life. The necessary grammatical elaboration, even the accommodation of the alphabet to its needs, must have required a greater or less length of time, but the course of its development was certainly not the same as that which the inscriptions allow us to see in the case of Mixed Sanskrit, with its inconsistencies, and its blunders.

While Mixed Sanskrit is neither the reflected imitation nor the source of classical Sanskrit, it is, nevertheless, something of both. If Sanskrit had previously existed in common use, Mixed Sanskrit would never have existed at all; but at the same time, unless Sanskrit had been in existence to serve for its type, the existence of Mixed Sanskrit would have been equally impossible. This paradox is not difficult to solve, if we place before us the very peculiar conditions which have ruled the linguistic development of India.

Sanskrit presents itself to our notice under an aspect calculated to perplex the observer. Literary languages are usually vulgar tongues in current use, which, being applied, at a moment of high intellectual development, to works destined to endure as abiding national monuments, have been through the means of these works crystallised into a shape which becomes the norm for future writers. Not so with Sanskrit. It does not issue directly from the popular idiom. It first appears at an epoch when the vulgar and general tongue had, for centuries, arrived at a much further advanced degree of phonetic and grammatical degeneration. It represents an archaic language preserved at first by oral tradition, and subsequently retouched by the labours of learned men. It is, in a manner, a literary language in the second degree, — a profane language, grafted on a more ancient religious one; or, to state the matter more accurately, it represents the reform of an earlier literary language.

The oral preservation of the Vedic hymns down to an epoch when the language in which they were composed had long ceased to be used by the people, is a cardinal point in the linguistic history of India. A caste had kept guard over the treasure of religious songs. Their importance for ritual assured their conservation to the most minute degree; the necessity of protecting their efficacy together with their material form gave rise to rules of pronunciation. These gradually developed into a phonetic system which was refined even to subtilty, and which prepared the way for the study of grammar properly so-called. The religious bearing of the hymns inspired the zeal necessary for assuring their oral transmission; and the fear of making the privilege common to all, maintained the oral tradition even down to an epoch when it would have been easy to substitute for it preservation by the art of writing.

Whatever may have been the authority of this tradition, the knowledge of writing could not have failed to exercise a sensible action on the future of the language, and this action was the more certain, because the attention already paid to the phonetic questions had the better prepared men's intellects for the application of writing and for the comprehension of the questions of grammar.

Being given this state of things and the introduction of so new and so powerful a factor, we have now to see how affairs actually occurred, and how, on the one hand Classical Sanskrit and on the other hand Mixed Sanskrit were developed.

Sanskrit by its roots which dive deep into the language and the tradition of the Vêdas, by its regularity founded on earlier phonetic studies, by its most ordinary applications, is essentially a Brâhmanical language.⁶³ By the manner in which it was constituted and fixed, it is a scholastic language, born and elaborated in restricted and exclusive surroundings.

⁶³ This character is so marked, that the fact, that such inscriptions as those of Nânâghât, although entirely devoted to the commemoration of liturgic ceremonies, are couched in Prâkrit, would almost of itself suffice to prove that, at the period to which they must be referred, Sanskrit had not yet expanded into exterior use. At any rate, it furnishes a remarkable confirmation of the conclusions on which I am endeavouring to throw some light.

It is quite otherwise with **Mixed Sanskrit**. Every application of it which is known to us, whether in monuments or in literature, is, without exception, **Buddhistic**. The irregularities and inconsistencies of its grammar and of its orthography mark it with an evident character of spontaneity. It is not a dialect which has undergone alterations and after-touches, or which has bowed itself to those precise rules which denote the idea of a really literary language.

From this two-fold point of view, therefore, the contrast between the two dialects is as marked, as, in other respects, their analogies are striking, and such hints are of considerable value to us.

There is little appearance of the every-day use of writing in India much before the time of **Aśoka**. The inscriptions of **Aśoka** are certainly the most ancient examples of the art which have hitherto been accessible to us. At this period we know of the existence of an archaic religious language preserved by a privileged caste in memorials, which are surrounded by a traditional reverence, and which, though it has never been written, has still been the object of a certain amount of culture. **The Brāhmanas**, the exclusive depositaries, through the oral tradition, of a religious literature on which their authority was founded, have always shewn themselves little disposed to deprive themselves, by writing, of their monopoly. At that time their disposition must have been the same. On the other hand, it is natural that the habitual study of the Vedic texts and the continuance of their religious avocations should have led them to preserve, or, in a measure, to evolve for their personal use an idiom akin to that of their traditions, and very superior, in its general aspect of preservation, to the contemporary dialects of the common people. **The Buddhists** must, on the contrary, have been anxious to avail themselves of the art of writing to spread abroad their doctrines. The monuments of **Piyadasi** bear witness to this, and the vulgar tongues were the necessary instrument of this propaganda.

When people set themselves to the task of fixing, by writing, the current tongue, the religious language, and the experience gained in the efforts devoted to assuring its integrity, cannot fail to have exercised a certain amount of influence. This is exactly what we find in the orthography of the edicts. This influence continued, and gained increased power with time, and explains the continual progress with which, from **Kapur di Giri** to **Suē Vihar**, and from **Suē Vihar** to **Mathurā**, the popular orthography comes nearer and nearer to learned accuracy. At the same time, the practice of writing exercised upon the culture of the religious language a reaction which was none the less certain because it was indirect. People might refuse to write it, but it was impossible that the use of the alphabet should not have acted as a stimulus towards phonetic and grammatical studies. **The attempts to fix the orthography of the vulgar tongue must have suggested and urged on the definitive fixation of the more learned language**, the idea and general prototype of which must have long been dormant in the **Brāhmanical** schools. **The labour devoted to this must, in its turn, have extended its influence to the vulgar orthography.** **The Buddhists, as we know, were recruited from the Brāhmanical, as well as from the other castes, and they were, to a certain degree, initiated into its learning.** This explains how their orthography, in **Mixed Sanskrit**, continually tended to approach nearer and nearer that of correct Sanskrit. It followed it from afar, if not step by step, at least in its general direction. It was, without doubt, in this manner the **Buddhists** who unconsciously determined, partly the final constitution, and certainly the diffusion of Sanskrit. It was they who, little by little, introduced into wider circulation the habits of an orthography which was inspired by the labours and practice of the schoolmen. They followed on that track, though, it is true, with imperfections and shortcomings. By this slow and instinctive revelation, the secrets of the learned so to say, became public. **All that remained for the Brahmanas to do was to recover their vantage ground on the strength of their superior technical knowledge, to take the initiative again by teaching their learned language in its correctness, and to develop its public use, both official and literary.** It was thus that the diffusion of Sanskrit

found itself secured. It suppressed the use of Mixed Sanskrit, after having, nevertheless, been one of its principal factors. Before, however, the latter disappeared from current use and from the monuments, it had already secured a future course for itself as a literary language. The very aspect of the Buddhist dialect "of the Gāthās," so nearly does it approach Classical Sanskrit, proves that it was first settled at a period close to the definitive domination of the latter. In this respect, the tradition which places the arrangement of the Canon of the Northern Buddhists in the time of Kanishka, agrees very well with the conclusions to which we have been led by epigraphy. Not, indeed, that we are to assume that all the works or fragments written in Mixed Sanskrit are necessarily so ancient as that; but that the fixing of this system of orthography and the application to literary use which assured it its survival, must be referred to that epoch, which marks, together with the diffusion of classical Sanskrit into general use, the hour in which Mixed Sanskrit, when on the eve of being absorbed into it, borrowed from it the largest proportion of learned elements.

We thus see how, under the common, but on the one hand direct and on the other indirect, influence of an ancient religious language, there was produced in parallel lines, and not without reciprocal reactions, the two-fold development of Classical and of Mixed Sanskrit. Their final fusion, to the benefit of the classical language marks the hour of its definitive establishment,—of the commencement of an undisputed supremacy which yet endures.

Thus is explained the apparently paradoxical formula within which we found ourselves shut up. The endless chain is broken. Mixed Sanskrit is, to speak exactly, neither a copy nor the source of regular Sanskrit, but is something of both. Classical Sanskrit, without enjoying a public and consecrated existence at the time when the early form of Mixed Sanskrit makes its appearance, nevertheless did exist in the close circle of the schools, in a stage of formation more or less advanced. It will be understood how the Vedic language could, without being written, exercise a profound action, and how the Brāhmins, in spite of their distaste for writing, were led to fix and to put into circulation that great instrument of literary production in India, Sanskrit. This profane language did not compromise the privilege belonging to their religious language, of which they still remained the jealous guardians.

PART III.

MONUMENTAL AND LITERARY PRAKRIT.

In the period which extends from the 2nd century before our era to the 3rd century A. D., all the inscriptions which are not in Sanskrit or in Mixed Sanskrit are couched in a dialect which may be designated by the name of Monumental Prakrit.

In all the places where it is found it is essentially identical. This does not mean that the monuments present no inconsistencies between themselves. These inconsistencies and irregularities are many, and as they are also instructive, it is worth the trouble of quoting a certain number of them. They are of two kinds. On the one hand, the writing varies for the same words or for identical sounds; and, on the other, forms unequally altered,

and, consequently, belonging to different linguistic strata, are found in juxtaposition on the same monuments or on monuments of the same date.

In the first category, the most general fact is the inconsistency with which the dental *n* and the cerebral *ṇ* are employed. Sometimes one or other is introduced indifferently into the same word, or they are even applied in a manner contrary to every known rule; and sometimes one or other is exclusively used. This cannot be a question of dialectic divergencies, for instances occur in contemporary and neighbouring monuments. I quote a few examples¹ Nâs. 11 A; *ānapayati* and *ānata*: the same in Nâs. 15. C. T. I., p. 33, No. 13: *ṇadiyā*, *yapaṇatha*. Nâs. 22: *sēṇāpati*. Kaṇh. 15: *āṇanda*, *āpaṇō*. C. T. I., p. 46, No. 14: *udēsēṇa*; p. 55, No. 33: *yavaṇa*, *bhēṇa*; p. 44, No. 8: *bhātūṇaṃ*, *dāṇa*; p. 42, No. 2: *bēṇa jaṇāna*; p. 30, No. 6: *dhēṇukākata-kēṇa*; p. 6, No. 5: *bhāgiṇēyīya*. Kaṇh. 28: *bōdhikāṇa*, *pāṇiya*, *saṃghāṇaṃ*, *dīṇā*. Kaṇh. 15: *āṇa[m]dēṇa*, *saṃghēṇa*, &c. Nâs. 12., Kaṇh. 10., C. T. I., p. 38, No. 2; p. 18, No. 25, &c., use exclusively *ṇ*: C. T. I., p. 44, No. 9; p. 9, No. 9: Amravatī, No. 175, &c., use exclusively the dental *n*.

Inconsistencies of orthography are manifested in an infinity of other cases. Take the weakening of hard consonants into soft ones: *sugha*, Kârli, 22; Kaṇh. 15, 28, &c.; *mugha* C. T. I., p. 29, No. 4, No. 6, beside *sukha*, *pamukha* (e. g. Amrav. No. 196); *kuḍwābini*, Kaṇh. 15, Nâs. 8-9, C. T. I., p. 38, No. 2, &c., beside *kuṭumbini* (e. g. Kaṇh. 4); *dhēṇukākāḍa*, C. T. I., p. 38, No. 2, beside *dhēṇukakāṭa*, C. T. I., p. 24, No. 4; p. 31, No. 7; *thuba*, Kaṇh. 10 (of the time of Vāsīṭhīputa Pulumāyi), beside *thupa*, C. T. I., p. 24, No. 3; p. 26, No. 1. The inscription of Mādhariputa (C. T. I., p. 60, No. 2) gives *paṭiṭhāpita*, while elsewhere, as for example Amr. 8 (pp. 52-53), we find *paṭiṭhavita*, and again elsewhere the spellings *paḍiṭhāpita* (Kaṇh. 15), *paḍidātavā* (Nâs. 7, time of Nahapāna), *paṭiāsiya* (Kaṇh. 4) and *paḍiasitava* (Kaṇh. 16-18), of the time of Siriyāṇa Sātakaṇi, *paṭhāna* (Kaṇh. 5) in an inscription of earlier date. Of two monuments of Gôtamīputa Sātakaṇi, one (Nâs. 11 A) has *Sadakaṇi*, the other *Sātakaṇi*. C. T. I., p. 15, No. 19 has *sādak[ē]ra*, while p. 4, No. 1 and p. 9, No. 9, which belong to exactly the same date, have *sādagēri*. Sometimes the alteration is still more complete such as in *gōyaṇmā* equivalent to *gautamā* (°mā), C. T. I., p. 15, No. 160. In several instances the suffix *ka* is changed into *ya*; C. T. I., p. 49, No. 20 presents to us, side by side, *bhārukachhakānaṃ* and *laṅguḍiyānaṃ* for *laṅkuṭikānaṃ*; in Kârli, 22, we read *mahāsaṃghiyānaṃ* in a passage dating from the 24th year of Pulumāyi, and which retains several genitives in *asya*, beside the Prākṛit form in *asa*. It is true that, at about the same period, the Wardak vase presents the intermediate form *mahasaṃghiganaṃ*; and that, at Kaṇhêri, Nos. 12 and 20 have, at the same epoch, the spellings *Sôpārayaka* and *Sôpāraga* respectively.

As a general rule, it is the soft consonants of Sanskrit which thus disappear or which leave *y* as the only trace behind them: *pāyuna* (Nâs. 7, an inscription of the time of Nahapāna) and *pāūna* (C. T. I., p. 47, No. 6) equivalent to *pādōna*; *bhayaṇta*, C. T. I. p. 18, No. 25; p. 24, No. 4; p. 50, No. 22, &c., or *bhaṇta*, C. T. I., p. 24, No. 3, beside *bhadanta*; *siaguta*, C. T. I., p. 38, No. 2, beside *sivabhutimhā*, p. 9, No. 9; *pāvayitika*, C. T. I., p. 6, No. 5, or *pavaṭita*, p. 6, No. 5; p. 37, Nos. 21, 22; Kaṇh. 21, 28, &c., beside *pavajita*; *bhōja*, C. T. I., p. 14, No. 17; p. 4, No. 1; p. 9, No. 9, beside *bhōya*, in an inscription emanating from the same family (p. 15, No. 19), *bhōa* (p. 2, No. 9), *bhōḍiyā*, (Kaṇh. 24, earlier than Gôtamīputa Sātakaṇi), and even (*mahā*)*bhuviyā* (C. T. I., p. 100). It is clear that, when *y* is introduced, it is done in a very arbitrary fashion. It is also on several occasions omitted.

In an inscription, No. 21, of Kaṇhêri, beside *bhayaṇta*, *thēriya*, &c., we find *pavāṭikāa* *pōnakāa saṇāa*, and *chiarika* beside *chivarika* of the preceding numbers which are exactly contemporary. *V* and *y* are here subjected to the same treatment, and we, therefore, need not

¹ I quote in general *Cave Temple Inscriptions* according to number and page in the collection of Messrs. Burgess and Bhagwanlal. For Nâsik, I follow the numbers given in the *Arch. Surv.* IV. 98, &c. For Kaṇhêri, the numbers of the order in the same collection, V. pp. 74 and ff.

be surprised at sporadic instances of orthography such as *purisadatāva* (Nās. 24), *bhayāva vēlidatāva* and *uyaraka* (C. T. I., p. 17, No. 23), beside the usual *ōvaraka*, and the terminations in *āya*. So, also, we find in the inscriptions of the north, side by side, *saṁvatsarayē*, *aḥasatatimāē*, *tachhasilayē*, *puyāē* (Taxila), &c. We find *kaliāṇa* (Kaṇh. 13, 24, &c.) as well as *kaliyāṇa* and *puḥumāi*, *puḥumāyi*, and *puḥumāvi* (Nās. 12, 13, 15); *dhutua*, *mātua* (Kaṇh. 27) beside *dhutuya*, *mātuya*, &c.; *ya* and *ja* are used indifferently the one for the other, when it is necessary to represent an etymological *j*: on the Wardak vase we read *puyāē*, beside *raja*, at Taxila, *raya* beside *puyāē*, and, to confine ourselves to the cave inscriptions, Kaṇh. 18 reads *puyatha[m]*, C. T. I., p. 16, No. 20, *vāṇiyiyasa*, Amr. 26 B, *vāṇiyasa*; while on the other hand, beside the usual *bhayā* (equivalent to *bhāryā*), we have *bhajayā*, Kaṇh. 19, *bharijāyē*, Nās. 11 B.

Inversely, a hard consonant is sometimes substituted for a soft one. For example, *nēkama*, beside *nēgama* (C. T. I., p. 60, No. 2), *nākaṇaka* (Kaṇh. 2), *nākanikā* (Amr. 121), *nākaḥaṇḍa* (Amr. 56), in the frequently occurring *ma[m]*! *apa*, beside *maṇḍapa* and *maṇḍava*; Kaṇh. 16 reads *bhāka* for *bhāga*; Amr. 222, *lōgāticha* equivalent to *lōkāditya*, and *bhagapatō* for *bhagavatō*.

Although the palatal nasal *ṇ* is not unknown, its use is very irregular. Kārli 20 has *anō* equivalent to *anyah*; Kaṇh. 5, *anāni*, Kaṇh. 27, *pūnaṁ* equivalent to *puṇyaṁ* and *nāti* equivalent to *jñāti*. The same spelling *nāti* occurs again at Amravatī, *e. g.* in Nos. 232, 249, while, on the other hand, I have noted in two inscriptions (C. T. I., p. 53, Nos. 28 and 30) *kalāṇaka*.

Similarly, other modes of orthography sometimes bring us nearer to, and sometimes take us further from, the learned standard. I may mention *amasa[m]*! *taka*, Nās. 11 B; *baṁmaniya* beside *baṁmhana*, C. T. I., p. 14, No. 15; these methods of writing are the more worthy of note because, long before, at Kapur di Giri, we regularly find the spelling *bramaṇa*. C. T. I., p. 46, No. 14, writes *shaṇuvisa* equivalent to *śaḍvinśati*, an absolutely sporadic instance of the use of *sha* in this Prākṛit: a similar inscription, no less Prākṛit, writes *putrasa* beside *putasa*, (C. T. I., p. 40, Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7).

These inconsistencies of orthography are all sporadic. That they certainly do not depend on differences of time, can easily be proved by reference to the monuments from which the examples have been drawn.

These monuments are dispersed over a very wide area. Now, between the inscriptions of Gujarāt or of the caves of the Western coast, and those of Amravatī at the mouth of the Kṛishṇa, those of Khandagiri in Orissa, of Sāñchi in Mālava or of Bharhut in Bihār, we find no trace of differences of dialect. They extend over at least four centuries, from the second century B. C. to the 3rd century A. D., without disclosing, between the most ancient and the most modern, any appreciable variation. In an area so extensive, the vulgar tongue certainly could not have failed to divide up into numerous dialects. This is a phenomenon escaped by no language. Literature bears witness to it for the following period, and no one can be tempted to imagine that the fact was then a new one. On the other hand, it is clear that a language cannot pass through four or five centuries in the mouth of the common people without decay and transformation. The earliest literary specimens which we possess of the Prākṛits, the stanzas of Hāla, and the Prākṛits of the most ancient dramas, although in origin but a short distance from the end of the period to which we refer, reveal a phonetic alteration which was much further advanced. Let us, therefore, bring ourselves face to face with the orthographical facts which have just been pointed out.

The parallel employment of forms unequally altered, belonging to different strata of the language shew that this dialect of the monuments, however near we may suppose it to the living popular language, is neither its direct expression nor its faithful imitation. It conceals under a level in part conventional, a more advanced degeneration of the current language — a degeneration of which the distortions are reflected in those more corrupted spellings which accidentally escaped the engravers.

The frequent inconsistencies of the methods of writing shew that **we, nevertheless, are not dealing with a language which is rigorously subject to minute rules, and fixed by studies so definitive that their authority had cut short all individual caprices.** Nor can we, on the other hand, see in it the spontaneous efflorescence of local dialects freely expanding in their native diversity.

The language is, therefore, neither purely popular, nor entirely subject to rules. Taking all in all, it is to **Mixed Sanskrit** that the **Prākṛit** of the inscriptions can be most exactly compared. Both, by the general use to which they were subjected, and by their relative stability, were raised above the character of simple local dialects. **In each case each represented an analogous effort, — though arrested at unequal stages, — to compass a regularity, a unification, which, not being yet defined, left more or less room to hesitation and to caprice.**

We have just now had to investigate the relationship which united **Mixed Sanskrit** and **Classical Sanskrit**; it is no less necessary to determine what, in the linguistic series, were the respective positions which we should assign to this **Monumental Prākṛit**, and to the **Literary Prākṛits**.

People are accustomed to call this dialect of the inscriptions, which I designate by the name of **Monumental Prākṛit**, simply **Prākṛit**, or, more often, **Pāli**. This name lends itself to serious misunderstandings. If all that is meant is that in its constituent elements it is very analogous to the **Prākṛits**, of which **Pāli** is only a particular form, that is all right; but, so great is the danger arising from the use of terms, which are either imperfectly defined or inaccurately employed, that people are ordinarily prepared to go much farther. They admit, as proved, or simply as self-evident, the identity between the two dialects; and such an identity in no way exists.

It is, on the contrary, a very remarkable fact, the explanation of which will have to be methodically searched for, **that the literary Prākṛits never appear in the epigraphic monuments: and that the Prākṛit of the monuments never appears in literature.**

The material elements being in each case identical and drawn from the same popular source, the points of difference deal more with the form than with essentials. They have less to do with inflexion than with orthography, but they, none the less, certainly exist. Compared with **monumental Prākṛit**, two features above all others characterize the **Prākṛits** of literature: on the one hand the regularity with which the orthographical rules peculiar to each are applied, and on the other, the invariable custom of writing double those homogeneous consonants whose doubling is etymologically justifiable, or which results from the assimilation of a non-homogeneous group of consonants.

The few examples given above are sufficient to shew how **unstable in its orthography is the Prākṛit of the inscriptions.** A reference to the monuments themselves will shew plenty of other proofs. Sometimes a medial consonant is elided, sometimes it is retained: a hard consonant is usually maintained unchanged, but is sometimes softened: the cerebral η and the dental n are sometimes distinguished, and sometimes one is used alone to the exclusion of the other. The palatal $\tilde{n}$ is by turns used or abandoned in words of identical formation. What need we say about the perpetual omissions and confusions which affect the notation of the long vowels? **There is nothing like this in the Prākṛit of the books.** In them the value of the vowels is everywhere strictly fixed. Does this **Prākṛit** weaken a medial hard letter to a soft one? Then it does so always. Does that elide a medial soft letter? Then it elides it in every instance. One dialect exclusively employs the dental nasal, another no less exclusively adopts the cerebral. If they use both, they do so under distinct and clearly defined circumstances. I know that in several of these peculiarities people have sought for traces of dialectic or of chronological variations, but we have seen what **confusion reigns in a number of inscriptions which belong to the same region and to the same epoch.** That confusion allows us to

attribute to such causes only a very secondary action. It, in any case, assigns to Monu-mental Prākṛit a place apart, nigh to, but independent of the Prākṛits of the books.

In order to be more accurate, it is indispensable to examine more closely those Prākṛits of the books, — the Literary Prākṛits.

It has long been recognized that the Prākṛits of the grammarians and of literature are, to a greater or less extent, languages which possess an artificial and a learned character. The very commencement (v. 2) of the collection of Hāla is significant:—

*Amiaṇ pāūakavvaṇ
paḍhiwaṇ soūṇ a jē ṇa jāṇanti
kāmassa taṇtataṇtiṇ.
kuṇanti, tē kaha ṇa lajanti?*

It could, therefore, very well happen that people were unable to understand Prākṛit poetry. A special study was required to follow it. — This is not the only piece of evidence, but the very appearance, the nature of the language, and the way in which it was used, furnish, in this respect, still more decisive arguments.

The mere fact that the plays, even those reputed to be the most ancient, employ at the same time, dialects which have reached very different stages of phonetic decay, will not allow us to admit that these dialects have been really and simply conveyed from real life into literature. The way in which they are employed and their allotment amongst the characters of the play are regulated, not according to the birth-place of the speakers (who in general are supposed to belong to the same country), but in conformity with a comparative scale which assigns each dialect, according to its degree of corruption, to each character according to his social rank. It is needless to shew how arbitrary is such a state of affairs, and how it cannot have been a direct imitation of the truth. If the Mahārāṣṭrī dialect is exclusively reserved for poetic use, it is so because it has been adapted to the purpose by special manipulations, so that it no longer really and exactly represents the language of Mahārāṣṭra. On this point, opinion is, I believe, unanimous, and no one doubts that literary custom and convention are in great part responsible for the emasculation of this language, which appears unable to bear a single strong articulation, and which is resolved into a confused murmur of vowels following one after the other. Even those dialects, which, like the Saurasēṇī, have not been deliberately reduced to this degree of weakness, have certainly not escaped a certain amount of retouching. Languages do not, by their organic movement, go again up the stream, down which they have been carried by the natural action of phonetic decay. If the languages spoken in India at the present day possess articulations which have disappeared in the Prākṛits, the grammatical constitution of which is infinitely more archaic, the use in literature of which is anterior by twelve or fifteen centuries, it is evidently so because the orthography of these Prākṛits does not absolutely represent the condition of the language at the time at which they were employed or fixed. In this respect the Prākṛit grammarians themselves supply significant indications. It is exactly those disdained dialects, which were considered as inferior, that have had their forms least altered, and that are nearest to their etymological origin. The Paisāchī preserves the medial consonants which the superior dialects elide (Hémachandra, IV, 324), and the Apabhraṃśa retains the articulation of *r* after a consonant (*ibid.* IV. 398), which is everywhere else suppressed in the uniform level of assimilation.

The names of the dialects, too, contribute their testimony. Titles, such as Apabhra-ṃśa, *i. e.* 'corruption,' or perhaps, 'corrupted dialect,' Paisāchī, 'the dialect of demons,' are not names of definite languages, really existing in a precise region. When we found further distinguished, the Chūlikā-Paisāchī, or 'Little Paisāchī,' the Ardha-Māgadhī, or 'Semi-Māgadhī,' we can scarcely doubt, *a priori*, that we have to do with dialects which are something quite different from simple provincial idioms. I know that my learned fellow-worker and

friend, Dr. Hoernle,² has, with reference to Apabhramśa and Ardha-Māgadhī, put forward propositions which would make them local dialects with exact boundaries. I do not think that these theories could be positively maintained. To tell the truth, his views regarding the first would appear to have varied. Recently, in the provisional introduction to the excellent Bihārī Dictionary, he puts forward the Apabhramśa as the peculiar dialect of the north-west of India. We see from the preface to his edition of the *Prākṛitalakṣhaṇa* of Chanda (p. xx) that this opinion is chiefly based on one fact, viz., that the edicts of Kapur di Giri agree with the Apabhramśa in optionally retaining an *r* following another consonant. Such a basis of classification is insufficient. We have nothing in any tradition to authorise the localisation of the Apabhramśa in the north-west. Do not we also find the sporadic retention of this *r* at Girnar, at Nānāghāt, and in other inscriptions of the west? If the Apabhramśa thus combines apparently ancient forms with the most advanced instances of decay, this happens, not owing to a dialectic peculiarity, but to the habit, common to all the usual dialects, of drawing freely on the tradition of the learned language, orthography and pronunciation. The Apabhramśa of Hēmachandra (IV. 398, cf. 414, &c.), still retains the *r* in composition. Would any one dare to draw chronological deductions from this fact? It employs on occasions the vowel *ṛi* (IV. 394); are we to see in this use the local survival of a sound lost for so many centuries? Dr. Hoernle was, in my opinion, much nearer the truth, when, in the introduction to his *Comparative Grammar* (pp. xix — xxi) he came into accord with the proposition so learnedly put forward by Prof. Pischel,³ who considers the Apabhramśa as the popular dialect, as really spoken, in opposition to the Literary Prākṛit.⁴

He considers that there are as many Apabhramśas as Prākṛits, and I think that, in this, he has gone too far; for a great deal is still wanted to prove that each Prākṛit could be viewed as regularly corresponding to a definite local dialect (as we shall see at once in the case of Ardhamāgadhī). But the main fact to be drawn from the passages which he has quoted, or to which he has referred, and from the authoritative statements of the grammarians themselves, is that the Apabhramśa is like a general category, into which the grammar throws pell-mell, without attempting to classify them into dialectic groups, a number of peculiarities probably borrowed from current usage and eliminated from the literary idioms. In this way we can explain how the Apabhramśa could appear sometimes more archaic, though usually more degenerated, than the learned Prākṛits, in which the affectation of orthographic uniformity, has made the proscription of *tatsamas*, or at least of such as were too apparent, as large as possible.

² [Note by translator. — It is almost unnecessary to state that the fact of his being the translator of M. Senart's luminous arguments, in no way binds Mr. Grierson to either accepting or denying their cogency.]

³ *Academy*, October 1870.

⁴ At the same time I am unable to understand on what arguments the idea, expressed by Dr. Hoernle, that the Apabhramśa would appear to represent the popular language spoken by the Aryans, and the Paisāchī the same language as spoken by the aboriginal tribes, is founded. Such an arrangement looks really too systematic, nor is it sufficiently justified by the few divergencies which distinguish the Paisāchī from the Apabhramśa. Some of these, such as the hardening of soft consonants, are found now and then at all epochs, from that of Piyadasi to the Prākṛit of the monuments. Dr. Hoernle has himself remarked that, in the more modern grammarians, the confusion between the Paisāchī and the Apabhramśa is perpetual (*Comp. Gram.* p. xx, note). I believe, indeed, that they are only two names to distinguish two things which, if not identical, are extremely analogous. It is perhaps for this reason that Vararuchi does not mention the Apabhramśa. It is probable that, at the period when his grammar was written, pedants had not yet pushed their taste for arbitrary differentiations so far as to distinguish between an Apabhramśa and a Paisāchī. It is certain that, when the distinction first comes to our notice, in the *Prākṛitalakṣhaṇa* (III. 37-38), the two alleged dialects are characterised by traits, — use of the consecutive *r* in Apabhramśa, substitution of *l* and *n* for *r* and *ṇ* — which could, in no way, be held sufficient to constitute a difference of dialect. They alone suffice to shew the secondary, theoretical, origin of the separation. When we are told that in Paisāchī the spelling *saṭa* (= *ṣa*) for Sanskrit *śṭa* occurs, are we to believe that this debased dialect has naturally perpetuated the etymological spelling? We cannot do so, any more than we can believe that the Apabhramśa preserved the consecutive *r*. It simply takes up in *tatsamas*, written with a liberty tolerated by its rudeness, and the borrowing of which this rudeness itself supports, the tradition which we have already found at work at Girnar, several centuries earlier, in spellings like *śṣaṭa*, &c.

Dr. Hoernle's opinion regarding Ardhamāgadhi rests, unless I am mistaken, on but a weak basis. He has endeavoured to establish from the inscriptions of Piyadasi a geographical partition of the ancient dialects, which I have already, I believe, shewn to have little foundation. We have, as a fact, no indication of the existence, at that ancient period, of a dialect intermediate between the Māgadhi and the Mahārāshṭrī. I would add that, by its name of *Ārsha*, the Ardhamāgadhi is at once classed as a literary language. It would be a strange phenomenon that we should have to take it as denoting a real idiom, — this dialect, whose sole peculiarity is the formation of the nominative singular in *ē*, and which, in other respects, save a few insignificant exceptions, is just the same as Mahārāshṭrī. It bears clearly on its face the mark of its artificial origin. I shall indicate, later on, what we may conjecture as to its formation; and certainly, the first impression awakened by its name, the notion which that name gives of a scholastic idiom, is not one that will mislead us.

It is true that, beside these instructive names, other dialects received local titles which connected each with a definite tract of country. I do not even wish to insist on the fact that the principal dialect, the one which serves as the basis for the teaching of the grammarians, instead of habitually receiving its name of Mahārāshṭrī, is called Prākṛita, the Prākṛit *par excellence*, which manifestly contrasts it, as an artificial language, with that other learned and literary language, which is Saṃskṛita, the Sanskrit. This detail can well have only a secondary importance, and it remains certain that several Prākṛits are designated by geographical names; Mahārāshṭrī, Saurasēni, Māgadhi. It is natural to conclude that they are connected respectively with the countries of the Mahārāshṭra, of the Surasēnas, and of Magadha. But to what degree, and in what sense are they connected?

That each borrows certain characteristic peculiarities from the popular dialect of the country of which it bears the name, is a thought which will at once occur to the mind. Several facts confirm it. Some of the phenomena attributed to Māgadhi by the grammarians — the formation of the nominative of *a*-bases in *ē*, the substitution of *l* for *r* — are also found in the official dialect of Piyadasi, and the situation of the royal residence entitles us to consider that as approximately representing the idiom of Magadha. Whatever we may be led to think of the work of regularisation and of the cutting down to measure by the grammarians, it is certain that they have taken their materials for foundation, their constituent elements, from the vulgar dialects, and the names which have remained attached to the literary idioms, when they have a definite geographical meaning, deserve to be taken into serious consideration. Till the contrary is proved, they supply us with an historic basis, which we cannot abandon without committing a serious imprudence. So far as concerns the Mahārāshṭrī, the comparisons which the inscriptions of the western coast, in the land of Mahārāshṭra, permit us to institute, shew that no incompatibility exists between what we can identify as belonging to the popular language, and the rules of the grammatical idiom. The only thing is that we must clearly understand under what conditions these comparisons present themselves. Mahārāshṭra, where we find at once both a long series of monuments, and, in the verses of Hala, an ancient, probably the most ancient, instance of the application of Prākṛit to literature, is the tract most favourably circumstanced for us to form a clear idea, on actual evidence, of the manner in which the reform of the Prākṛit grammarians was accomplished.

On a consideration of the Prākṛit inscriptions of the West we have been convinced that, although they are necessarily based on the popular language of the locality, they do not give us a rigorously faithful picture of it. Their orthography is not strictly representative; but, without having that stability which can only be assured by a complete grammatical culture, it tends to get as near as it can to etymology, that is to say to the orthography preserved by the learned language. It takes as the typical ideals of its writing those instances in which the pronunciation has departed least from the primitive form. The parallel use of Mixed Sanskrit is there to prove that this conclusion does not arbitrarily attribute to the authors of the monumental orthography a predisposition which was not theirs.

What about the literary Mahârâshṭrî? We know, in the first place, that the grammarians distinguish two varieties, — the ordinary Mahârâshṭrî, which is that of Hâla and of a portion of the poetry of the plays, and the Mahârâshṭrî of the Jainas.⁵ We can for the moment neglect the shades which distinguish these two groups; taken as a whole, they closely resemble each other, as we should expect in the case of dialects which, bearing the same name, must have sprung up in the same soil. Between this literary idiom, and that of the monuments, numerous points of difference leap to the front the moment we examine them. We must consider these differences more closely.

The literary orthography ordinarily weakens into the corresponding sonant the hard *t*; I have quoted above, from the inscriptions, the spellings *mukudâ*, *vâḍaka*, *dhênukakaḍa*, *kuḍumbini*, *sâḍakani*, *sâḍagêrî*, *paḍidâtava*, *paḍiṭhâpita*, &c., by the side of the more usual writing which retains the consonant as in the standard Sanskrit. The literary language readily weakens *p* into *b* or *v*, and it completely elides the medial *t*; I have quoted above the sporadic spellings *thuba* for *thûpa* (*stûpa*), *gôyamâ* for *gautamâ* (*°mî*). The grammarians teach that a soft consonant between two vowels is elided; in the monuments, we have met words like *bhayaṃta*, *bhaṃta*, beside *bhadanta*, *siaguta* for *śivagupta*, *pavaṃta* and *pavayita* for *pavajita*, *bhōḍgi* and *bhōa* for *bhōjiki* and *bhōja*, *pâyuna* and *pâuna* for *pādōna*, *uyaraka* beside *ôvaraka*, *chiarika*, beside the usual *chivarika*, *paṭhâna* for *paḍiṭhâna*, representing *pratiṣṭhâna*. The locative singular of bases in *a* is formed in the Prâkrit of literature in *ê*, and more usually in *aṃmi*; if in the monuments it is almost always formed in *ê*, we, nevertheless, find examples like *jaṃbudîpamhi* (Karli No. 10, *Arch. Surv.* IV. 91); and, beside the locative *tiraṇhumhi*, the spelling *tiraṇhumi* (i. e., *tiraṇhummi*) (*Arch. Surv.* p. 106, No. 14). So, also, *baṃmani* beside *baṃmhana* in the same dedication. These instances prove that the termination *mhi* was altered, in a manner more or less constant, into *aṃmi* in the vulgar pronunciation.

The *y* is constantly changed into *j* in the regular writing, and, consequently, *yy* into *jj*, and the group *rya* into *jja*, through an intermediate *yya*. Cases like *sihadhayānaṃ*, (C. T. I., p. 31), No. 7; for *°dhajānaṃ*, *vāṇiyiyasa*, p. 16, No. 20, *puyathaṃ*, Kaṇh. No. 98, *râyāmacha*, *Arch. Surv.* IV. p. 99, No. 4 (perhaps we might add *bhōya* beside *bhōja*), prove that in real pronunciation there was no distinction between *y* and *j*. Elsewhere, beside learned spellings like *āchariya* (C. T. I., p. 100), *ācharia*, Kaṇh. No. 17, we meet the forms *āyyaka*, Kaṇh. No. 19, C. T. I., p. 60, No. 2; *bhayayā*, C. T. I., p. 43, No. 6, &c., *payavasānē*, *Arch. Surv.* p. 114, No. 22; and the sporadic spellings, *bhajāya*, Kaṇh. 19, 27; *bharijāyē*, Nās. 22; *bhādrajanijja*, Kaṇh. 27, beside *pāniyya*, do not permit us to doubt that, between the grammars and the inscriptions, the difference was purely apparent, and simply graphic. I could quote other details, and, compared with the sūtras I. 29; III. 129, of Hēmachandra, point out, in the monuments, the spellings *ālāvāsini*, Kaṇh. 28, Kuḍa 22, *iddgni*, *Arch. Surv.* IV. 114, No. 3, &c., *dō*, Kaṇh. No. 3, beside *bē* (Mahad. 1), or *vē* (Junnar, 14).

These comparisons suffice to put in its true light the character of the grammatical dialect. It is founded on the same local basis as the idiom of the monuments: both represent the same language but at slightly different periods of its history: both modify its appearance by an orthography which is in part arbitrary, but dominated in each case by divergent predilections. The one, when it is inspired with learned recollections, ordinarily chooses as its standard the least altered etymological form: the other goes, so to speak, to the extreme limit of existing corruptions; it prefers to take the most advanced facts of phonetic deterioration, as the level which grammatical elaboration imposes with a more or less absolute regularity on the system which it has consecrated.

The arbitrary constructions of the school can, of course, work in more than one direction. We must expect not only to find different tendencies, but also to meet both partial instances of unfaithfulness to the regulative tendency, — and also elements and distinc-

⁵ Jacobi, *Kalpa Sutra*, Introd. p. xvii.

tions which are purely artificial, mingled in a variable proportion with the elements which have been directly supplied by the popular speech. A comparison of the various literary Mahârâshtris, the parallel employment of which I have already mentioned, throws a striking light upon this point of view.

As Professor Jacobi (*loc. cit.*) points out, the Mahârâshtri of Vararuchi and the poets differs from that of Hêmachandra and the Jains in two main peculiarities. The former does not use the *ya-śruti*, and everywhere substitutes the cerebral *ṇ* for the dental *n*: the latter retains the dental *n* at the commencement of words, and when it is doubled. It is quite natural that the origin of these divergencies has first been sought for,⁶ either in diversities of dialect, or in differences of time; but I should be surprised if anyone, with the knowledge which we are now beginning to acquire of Indian epigraphy, could persevere in this view.

So far as concerns the first point, the introduction of a *y* between vowels — or, according to Hêmachandra, more exactly, between two *a*'s — which form an hiatus, I lay no stress on several circumstances, disagreement between the grammarians, disagreement between the rules of the grammar and the manuscript tradition,⁷ which *à priori*, appear to indicate that this rule is susceptible of arbitrary extensions and restrictions. I content myself with calling the texts of the inscriptions as witnesses. The ordinary orthography is too ready to adopt the methods of the learned language to allow many hiatus to exist. I have, however, quoted many examples, and I could quote more; *bhōa*, *bhōgi*, *pāūna*, *chiarika*, *paīfhāna*, *bhaamta*, *pulumāi*, *phutua*; the spellings *chētiasa* (Kaṇh. 5), *paīasiya* (Kaṇh. 4), the terminations *pavāitika*, *ṇakiasanda*, (Kaṇh. 21), *bhayāa* (Kaṇh. 27). It follows that from an epoch earlier than that of our literary authorities, the local pronunciation supported the existence of the hiatus in Mahârâshtra, as well as in the other provinces of India. It must be assumed that, there as elsewhere, but not more than elsewhere, the hiatus implied a light utterance-break analogous to the soft breathing. If this has been denoted by means of the *y*, whether in all, or in special cases, the choice can be explained on the one hand by the imitation of a certain number of terminations of the learned declension, and on the other by the fact that the change in every case of an original *y* to *j*, left the sign for *y* available for a special function. Sometimes the inscriptions apply *v* for this purpose, as in *pulumāvisa* (Nās. 15), *bhayāva vēlīdatāva* (Kuṇa, No. 23), and the parallel employment in this last inscription of the spelling *uyaraka*, for *uvaraka*, clearly shews that neither the *v* in the one case nor the *y* in the other represented any actual pronunciation. They are merely equivalent expedients for concealing from the eyes a hiatus which the recollections of the cultivated language caused to be considered as clumsy and barbarous. It was a similar idea, and not a chimerical peculiarity of a local dialect, which has caused the employment of the *ya-śruti* by one school, and which has subsequently caused it to pass into the rules of its grammars and into the usages of its books.

As for the use of the dental *n* and the cerebral *ṇ*, the case is, if possible, still more striking. At first sight, a dialect which invariably pronounces an initial *n* in one way and a medial *n* in another, should surprise us and put us on our guard. But the question is more general, and the case is susceptible of being argued with greater precision.

I must confess that I cannot sufficiently express my surprise to see nowadays the distinction between the cerebral and the dental nasal taken as a basis of classification when dealing with the ancient Prākṛits. It will be remembered how the form of the cerebral **I** is known to none of the inscriptions of Piyadasi which are couched in the Māgadhi orthography. The dental **⊥** is alone used. If this is a peculiarity of the dialect, it is very curious that, in the literary Māgadhi, the dental *n* should, on the contrary, completely disappear, and that the cerebral *ṇ* alone should be admitted. At Bharhut, the ordinary inscriptions know only one **⊥**, the dental *n*; but there is, nevertheless, one exception, and it is characteristic. The royal inscrip-

⁶ Jacobi, p. 16. — E. Müller, *Beitr. Zur. Gramm. des Jainaprākṛit*, pp. 3 and ff.

⁷ Cf. Pischel, *Hémach.* I. 180.

tion of the eastern porch, dated in the reign of the Śaṅgas, uses concurrently both forms **⊥** and **⊩**; but in what way? It has *pôtēṇa*, *putēṇa*, *putēṇa*, probably *tōraṇaṃ* and certainly *upaṇṇa*. If both forms are here known, it is quite clear that the distinction between them is, not popular, but arbitrary and learned. This is proved not merely by its inconsistencies and by its irregularities, but by the application of the cerebral *ṇ* to terminations in which its presence is explicable in Sanskrit, but in Sanskrit only, by the proximity of an *r* which has disappeared in the vulgar idiom. At Girnar, at the time of the edicts of Aśoka, where the distinction between *ṇ* and *n* is marked, the pedantic imitation does not go so far, — the cerebral *ṇ* never appearing in terminations. At Sāñchi, the state of affairs is very analogous to that which is presented at Bharhut. In all the ancient dedications the **⊩** is unknown. It only makes its appearance in an inscription of the reign of Śātakarṇi (No. 190), the introducer of Sanskrit into the epigraphy of the Andhras. At the other extremity of India, in the monuments of Ceylon, the signs **⊥** and **⊩** are evidently employed without distinction, and it is natural to conclude that the case was the same in the region from which that great island had borrowed its alphabet. It is a curious fact that the only inscription (No. 57 of E. Müller) in which a deliberate distinction appears to have been made — we have in it *mahasaraṇé*, *budhasaraṇagaté*, beside *nati* (*nathi*), *aḥhāné*, *niyaté* — appears to be directly based on a Māgadhi dialect, and yet, in its use of **⊥** and **⊩**, it deviates equally both from the practice of Piyadasi, and from the rules of the literary Māgadhi.

Nowhere are things more clear than in the tract which interests us more immediately, the country of Mahārāṣṭra. I have just drawn attention to the fact that in the root-portion of words, Girnar follows Sanskrit in distinguishing between the two *n*'s. At Nānāghāt, the ancient Andhras knew nothing but the dental *n*. The cerebral **⊩** reappears in the period following, we have seen above under what conditions. The confusion is continual. No fixed rule allows us to disentangle it. Neighbouring inscriptions make exclusive use, the one of **⊥**, the other of **⊩**. The meaning of this hesitation, of this medley, is further accentuated by the parallel facts concerning the palatal *ṇ*. This nasal has disappeared in the literary Mahārāṣṭrī, and is replaced by the cerebral or by the dental. Nevertheless, in the inscriptions, we constantly find the genitive *rāṇō*, and also forms such as *hēraṇika* (C. T. I., p. 54, No. 32). On the other hand spellings such as *katiaṇaka* (C. T. I., p. 53, Nos. 28, 30) are of a nature to lead us to conclude that the *ṇ* is no longer a living letter. We have, indeed, already quoted *āraṇaka*, *anō*, *anāni*, *hēranika*, *pūna*, *nāti*, &c., which shew that the use of the sign *ṇ* is only a mere pedantic affectation.⁸ It is certainly not otherwise with the signs **⊥** and **⊩**. In the inscriptions they represent a value which is in both cases absolutely identical; and if the grammatical reform of the literary dialects has assigned to them special rôles, it is owing to an arbitrary differentiation which has no connexion with the actual variations of the current pronunciation.

Although summary, these remarks are, unless I am mistaken, sufficient to mark the peculiar characteristics of Monumental Prākṛit, and also, more especially, of the Literary Prākṛits, and to present them under their true aspect. This is an indispensable preparation for elucidating the problem with which we are concerned. It resolves itself into two terms; when and how were the Literary Prākṛits constituted? These two points embrace all the secondary questions.

It is a trite observation that languages, in the normal course of their history, are invariably subject to a gradual decay of their phonetic elements. This is a current down which all float. None can, of itself, go up the stream by its natural movement. This has ordinarily, and very naturally, been made the basis of the relative chronology of the dialects of India. The

⁸ It is very possible that this state of affairs was in reality much more ancient. In fact, putting aside the peculiar spelling *ṇayāsu* (G. VIII. 1), the edicts of Girnar, along with the ordinary orthography of *ṇ* for *ny* have in one passage (VIII. 4) the reading *hiraṇṇa*. Inversely, while the *ṇ* appears nowhere in the edicts in the Māgadhi dialect, Dhauli presents an unique example in *paṇṇāṇi* for *pratiṇāṇi*, always supposing that the reading of the *Corpus* is exact, which I have great difficulty in believing.

preceding remarks make evident with what particular reservations we should here surround the application of this principle. In themselves, the Sanskrit forms are certainly more archaic ; they are historically older than the Prākṛit forms of the time of Piyadasi. Yet that does not prevent Sanskrit, as a whole language, in the form in which we know it now, having only succeeded in conquering for itself an existence long after the rise of his Prakrit. So it is with the different Prākṛits. The general phonetic appearance of Pāli is certainly more archaic than that of Mahārāṣṭrī. Have we any right to conclude that therefore it actually existed, in its definitive form and orthography, before Mahārāṣṭrī ? In no way. In short, we must carefully distinguish between the constituent elements of the dialect, considered directly, and their utilization in the shape of a particular literary dialect, adapted to a certain order of production. We cannot apply to literary idioms, in part artificial and learned, the same measure as that which we apply to purely popular languages. They, the former, can, in a sense, go up the regular stream of their linguistic development. This is the very fact which we have proved for Mixed Sanskrit. When I speak of inquiring into the age of the Literary Prākṛits I mean, not to determine the epoch to which the elements, morphological and phonetic, of which they are composed, can be traced up, but to fix the moment when they were arrested, crystallized, in a definite form for literary use. For this purpose the forms which are the most altered are those which are most instructive. They can be made to prove that such a dialect cannot be earlier than such a given epoch. The better preserved forms prove nothing. They may have been either subsequently reconstructed in the light of the learned language, or preserved for a greater or less period by tradition before receiving their place and their consecration in the special dialect of which they finally formed an integral part.

The criterion, therefore, founded exclusively on the general phonetic appearance of the dialects must be resolutely put to one side, if we wish to avoid misconceptions regarding the most certain, the most characteristic features of the history which we are endeavouring to build up.

This being settled, a two-fold object of inquiry presents itself. On the one side, the relation existing between the Prākṛits of the monuments and that of the books, and of the other, the relation existing between the literary Prākṛits and Sanskrit.

To set to deliberately, to convert, by systematic work, popular dialects into literary dialects with forms fixed for ever, is not so simple an idea that it would suggest itself of itself, and that it should not require any explanation. Such an undertaking must evidently be regulated on a prototype, on some pre-established model. India possesses a type of this description, Sanskrit. Indeed, if we pay heed to the names, *prākṛita* and *sanskṛita* are correlative terms. The actual bond which connects together the two series of facts is certainly no less close than the formal relationship of the names which designate them. Historically, the earlier term is Sanskrit. On that point there can be no possible doubt. It is the very elaboration and diffusion of Sanskrit which has served as the basis and model for the elaboration of the Prākṛits. They have been regularised in imitation of it. The recollection of this origin is perpetuated in the teaching of the grammarians. They take care to establish that Prākṛit has Sanskrit for its basis and for its source (*Hémach. I. 1*, and Dr. Pischel's notes). It would be a mistake to attribute to the Hindûs, on the strength of such a remark, the idea of a linguistic genealogy founded on comparative analysis. When Vararuchi and others (cf. *Lassen, Instit. Ling. Prākṛit*, p. 7) declare that the *prakṛiti* of Saurasēnī is Sanskrit, and that of Mahārāṣṭrī and of Paisāchī the Saurasēnī, it is quite clear that we must not take the proposition in an historical sense. It is nothing but a manner of stating that Saurasēnī, in various characteristics, approaches Sanskrit orthography more nearly than the other dialects, — that it is in a fashion midway between the learned language, and the dialects with a more altered orthography. It is not a genealogical classification, but an entirely practical one. It is something like a direct recognition of the method according to which these languages have received their grammatical fixation. This working has taken for its basis the grammar of the learned language, and for its principle the gradation of each of them on a determined level below the stage of Sanskrit.

I now come to the second object of inquiry.

Monumental Prākṛit and the Literary Prākṛits start from the same source. Their main difference consists in this, that they have been unequally cultivated. The latter possess a character more stable, their mode of writing is more perfect. Is this to be explained by indifference to these particulars on the side of the former? Certainly not. The part which it plays as the official language of the inscriptions, the general level which it knows how to retain above the more altered local dialects, allow us to recognise in it an idiom already refined, and with an inevitable tendency, as is universal in India, to establish itself as a fixed and regular language. How could we believe, if there already existed, in the Literary Prākṛits, a parallel model of better regulated and more complete orthography, that the writers could have, when using the language for inscriptions, neglected to profit by it, and to utilize its experience?

But general considerations are not sufficient. Whatever it be worth, the demonstration, to be conclusive, must be connected with precise and characteristic phenomena. The facts relating to the graphic representation of double consonants have afforded us valuable assistance for establishing certain essential points in the comparative history of Classical and Mixed Sanskrit, and the *data* of the same order are no less instructive in the new ground on which we tread at present.

The Literary Prākṛits observe every doubling without exception. There does not exist a single Prākṛit text which departs from this rule, or a single grammarian who does not explicitly teach it, or shew by evidence that he assumes it. The strictness with which it is uniformly introduced in all the dialects shews that we have here a rule which has from the very commencement exercised its influence on the grammatical work.⁹

This mode of writing seems, in itself, to be perfectly simple; it is only the expression of the actual pronunciation. But the matter is not so easy as that. Not only does the most ancient orthography, that of the edicts of Piyadasi, abstain from observing it, but we have seen that Mixed Sanskrit, in spite of the tendency which led it to approach historically older forms, adopted it slowly, and, as I have admitted, under the influence of Classical Sanskrit. It is no less a stranger to the Prākṛit of the monuments throughout the whole period with which we are now dealing. We are entitled to affirm this as a general fact, though I shall shortly point out certain exceptions, which, far from weakening the rule tend to emphasize its correctness.

This graphic usage of the literary Prākṛits, which is inseparable from their very elaboration and from their grammatical establishment, was, therefore, not borrowed by them from earlier established customs. It is not met in epigraphy, nor in the current practice which epigraphy certainly reflects. It can only have been borrowed by them, as it was borrowed by Mixed Sanskrit, from the pre-existing orthography of Classical Sanskrit. I have just shewn that it was *à priori* more than probable that the very idea of refining the local dialects into literary tongues, and still more probably the principles under which the latter were elaborated, must have had their source in the existence, in the employment, and in the rule of profane Sanskrit. This orthographical peculiarity lends to this view a new and positive foundation in fact, and certain *data* borrowed from epigraphy shew it in its full light.

I have said that the Prākṛit of the inscriptions does not double its consonants. It remains, in this respect, faithful to the ancient tradition. This fidelity is not invariable, and does not endure to an indefinite period. From a certain epoch, we find some examples of doubling appearing sporadically. The last inscription of Vāsīṭhīputa Pulumâyî (*A. S.*, IV. p. 113, No. 21) has *sētapharanaputtasya*. The termination *asya*, which is repeated in *sōvasakasya*, *abulāmavāthavasya*, clearly shews that the engraver employed this doubling in a moment of Sanskritizing imitation. In the purely Prākṛit texts of Mādhārīputa Sakasēna, we meet

⁹ Amongst the neo-Aryan languages, Sindhi, re-adopting in its case the primitive inexactness of the Hindū orthography, neglects to note these doublings: but it none the less faithfully observes them in pronunciation.

āyyakēṇa (A. S., V. p. 19, No. 14), *āyyakēṇa* and *buddha* (*ibid.* p. 82, No. 19). The maintenance of the long vowel before the double consonant is here to reveal a Sanskrit influence, and an analogous action is altogether natural in the participle *buddha*, which is identical in the learned language and in the popular tradition. Doublings (even purely Prākṛit ones) are more numerous in No. 27 of Kaṇhēri (A. S., p. 85): *pāṇiyya*°, *bhādrajaṇijjāṇaṃ*, *etla*, *ekka*, *ettō*, *puttāṇa*, *savoasēva*, *ṭṭhitāṇaṃ*, *tti*. This inscription is, generally speaking, rather couched in Mixed Sanskrit, forms like *pratigrahē*, *putrasya*, *kulasya*, bear witness to a more or less direct action on the part of classical orthography. Its linguistic level is, in other respects, very uneven, and side by side with these Sanskrit forms, appears a genitive like *dhutua*. Dr. Bühler, whose experience on this point is entitled to great respect, considers that this inscription, written in Andhra characters, contains some forms of more modern letters. It, therefore, most probably, belongs to the third century.

These facts speak clearly. It is certain that Prākṛit, as it was written on the monuments, was quite ready to accept the graphic doubling of consonants. From the moment when the diffusion of Sanskrit set the example of this doubling, this tendency shews itself in various dispersed instances, welling over from Mixed Sanskrit to introduce itself into Prākṛit. These instances form the evidence of the movement which was inevitably destined to carry on the Prākṛits in its course. They shew also that this movement had not yet resulted in the fixation of the orthography of the Prākṛits, for, in that case we should find in the Prākṛit of the monuments, instead of rare indications, a constant practice.

Later facts prove that this is not an unfounded conjecture.

It will be remembered that after the commencement of the 3rd century, the series of epigraphical monuments is interrupted by an unfortunate *lacuna*. The most ancient inscriptions which come next to carry on the chain of tradition, are, so far as is at present known, a few epigraphs of the Pallavas. The earliest is an endowment of Vijayabuddhavarman.¹⁰ Messrs. Burnell and Fleet agree, on palæographical grounds, in attributing it to the fourth century.¹¹ Of the four faces which are covered with writing, only the last is in Sanskrit. In the condition in which they have come down to us, the three first do not appear to be susceptible of a continued translation, but that is not indispensable for our present purpose. Whatever may be the difficulties and uncertainties, the general fact which concerns us leaps at once prominently into notice. Words like *sirivijayakhandavammamahārdjassa*, *yuvamahārdjassa*, *sirivijayabuddhavammassa*, *pāduttare pāsē* shew us a Prākṛit which, for the first time in the series of epigraphs, doubles its consonants like the grammatical Prākṛits. This, too, is not an accident or a caprice. The copper-plates of Hirahaḍagalli, which belong to the same dynasty, and to the same time, and which have been kindly communicated to me by Mr. Burgess,¹² use on the whole the same orthography.

The fact is of high importance. It conclusively testifies how the writing of the monuments was naturally inclined to adopt the more regular and accurate orthography used by the Literary Prākṛits. If, therefore, it had not adopted it sooner, it was because that use had not yet been established. It thus gives us a means for determining with sufficient approximation the epoch in which the final elaboration of the Prākṛits occurred.

To sum up. The reform of the Literary Prākṛits was subsequent to the diffusion of Sanskrit in profane use, and cannot therefore, be earlier than the first centuries of our era. In the 4th century it had been carried out; at least, the general system had been established. This is borne witness to by the reaction which it exercised upon the Prākṛit of the monuments; all that we do not know is to what dialects it at first extended. The few examples of doubling which we find in the epigraphs of the end of the 2nd century, or of the beginning of the 3rd, would seem to mark this epoch as the period of this grammatical work.

¹⁰ Fleet, *Ind. Ant.* 1880, p. 100.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.* 1876, pp. 175 and ff.

¹² It has since been published by Dr. Bühler in *Epigraphica Indica*, Part I.

Without being in a position to state with positive accuracy, we cannot be far wrong in asserting that the second and third centuries are the earliest time at which it can have been brought forward into practice. It is clear that this work cannot have been contemporaneous for all the dialects, and that, for several, it has only been carried out at a much later period.

These conclusions compel us to accept an important consequence. This consequence is that all the Pāli-Prākṛit literature which we possess is, in the orthographical form in which we now have it, later than the grammatical reform of the Prākṛits, and later than the 2nd or 3rd century.

I must here do away with a scruple which might arise in the reader's mind, and suggest one explanation.

My last inductions are principally founded on the date of the doubling of consonants in writing. Am I not exaggerating the importance of an orthographical detail?

It will first be remarked that the argument drawn from doubling, if I have been right in insisting upon it on account of facts which allow us to treat it with a striking degree of accuracy, comes simply to confirm and to circumscribe, from the point of view of chronology, a proposition which *a priori* compelled its own acceptance. Or can any one doubt that the regularisation of the Prākṛits, such as we find it both in grammatical manuals and in literary works, was not necessarily later than the final elaboration and diffusion into common life of Sanskrit, or that it was not inspired by and modelled on it? This imitation of Sanskrit perforce carries us, after what has been said above, to at least the second century.

Moreover, we must take care not to minimize too much the importance of this graphic phenomenon. For several centuries, through minor modifications, a certain orthographical system was maintained in the Prākṛit of the monuments, without undergoing any attack, or submitting to any compromise. All at once, we find, one day, this system modified, and modified in a regular, constant manner, in one of its most characteristic traits. The incident, from a grammatical point of view, is not so petty. By its very suddenness, by the strictness with which the new principle is applied, it indicates that a revolution of some magnitude has intervened.

This doubling may pass for a detail, but it is not an isolated one. It forms an integral part of a more general reconstruction. It is one of the most apparent manifestations, but it is far from exhausting them. The fixation of the Prākṛits by the learned has also touched other points. There is no appearance or indication of its having been executed in successive stages, and, so to speak, in several acts. It can only be understood as taking place at a single blow in the first dialects which were subjected to it. It could subsequently have extended to the others by a natural process of imitation. If we prove the application of one characteristic feature of the system, we may be assured that that system in its entirety has just, for the first time, been put in practice.

A decisive fact testifies to the importance of this moment in the history of the Prākṛits. It is natural that one graphic system should disappear from use on the arrival of a system, which was more complete and more consistent to itself. That is what happened to Mixed Sanskrit in the presence of Sanskrit. Now, with the 3rd century, Monumental Prākṛit disappears without return. The Pallava inscriptions are in pure Pāli, and after that epoch, Sanskrit remains, alone amongst the tongues of Aryan stock, as the language of epigraphy.

The objection, therefore, appears to me to be divested of serious importance.

As for the explanation, I can be brief.

Of Prākṛit of earlier date than the grammatical reform, we possess no positive documents other than epigraphic evidence. All the literary works are written according to the system established by the grammarians, and they all bear evident traces of the levelling process which followed the scholastic reform. I conclude from this that all, from the Sinhalese canon and the canon of the Jainas to the verses of Hāla and to the dramas, are, in the actual form in

which we now have them, of later date than the labours of the grammarians, and consequently, than the third century.

Are we, therefore, to conclude that the dialects which the schools retouched, had never, before this epoch, been applied to literature? Such is not my opinion. We shall see, on the contrary, that the use for which several have been specialized, the archaic form which several of them have preserved, can only be explained by the existence of certain traditions, either literary or religious. People composed stanzas in Mahârâshtrî before the collection of Hâla was written in its present form. Long before the Sinhalese *Tripitaka* was fixed in the shape in which we now read it, there existed, amongst certain sects of Buddhists, a number of formulæ, rules, and legends transmitted in a dialect in its essence closely resembling the Pâli of our books. We must, nevertheless, take care not to exaggerate the accuracy or the importance of these earlier compositions. They must have remained purely oral, or, at most, had only received a written form, which was accidental and ephemeral. A sect, Buddhist, Jaina or other, which possessed, whether written, or even living in a finally established oral tradition, a definite and consecrated canon, would certainly never have consented to alter it by submitting it to a new grammatical remodelling. Moreover, this grammatical retouching must have been at first undertaken in answer to a demand, to give for the new requirements of editing and codification, the instrument which was necessary to them. **The fixation and the reform of a dialect peculiar to the sect, which was used for its fundamental texts, can only be conceived as occurring at the date when they were for the first time united in a definitive collection of traditions, which had hitherto been either imperfect or dispersed.** If they had been established sooner in a canonical *corpus*, the language of that *corpus* would itself have been the law. Its authority would have rendered reform both useless and impossible. This reform would, on the other hand, under the conditions in which it was produced, have been equally inexplicable, if we did not admit previous attempts at editing. Although imperfect and fragmentary, they have, in a general way, marked for each dialect the low-water mark of its phonetic development, and furnished the characteristic traits of its morphology.

It is expressly subject to this reserve that we must understand the conclusions which I have indicated. At the present moment, I am only dealing with a special class of considerations. It is unnecessary to say that there are arguments of another nature which appear to me to confirm these inductions. I here leave them aside, and only wish to point out, *en passant*, one interesting instance of agreement. There are reasons for believing that the stanzas of Hâla represent the most ancient specimen of Prâkṛit literature. In the course of his learned and ingenious labours on this valuable collection, Prof. A. Weber¹³ has proved that the third century is the earliest date to which it is possible to refer it.

I have now replied, so far as the documents on which I depend appear to allow, to this first question; — at what epoch did the Literary Prâkṛits begin to be fixed and to establish themselves? We should also like to know how and under the influence of what circumstances this blossoming forth took place.

This question has hitherto been treated as a simple problem of linguistics. Each dialect has been considered as having been, at the epoch when it received its literary form, a spoken and living idiom. Taking this principle as a foundation, a series based solely on phonetic comparisons has been converted into a chronological scale. I have protested against this confusion, and indicated why, in my opinion, we must discard a criterion which has been adopted with too ready a confidence.

The literary elaboration of the Prâkṛits cannot have been earlier than the second or third century. It has been in no way proved, and, indeed, it is hardly probable, that it should

¹³ Weber, *Das Saptasatkaṁ des Hâla*, p. xxiii.

have taken place for all the Prākṛits at the same time. Once given the initiatory impulse, the new comers could have followed a movement to which they were originally strangers. In each case it is a special question, less of linguistics than of literary history, which is necessarily difficult and delicate, and which demands thorough investigation for each dialect. I am not called upon to enter, nor should I have the means of entering, upon such an inquiry, even admitting — and I am very far from admitting — that each of these separate problems is at the present moment ripe for discussion. It is sufficient for me to indicate certain facts which appear as if they would throw some light on the problem as a whole.

On looking at it nearer, it resolves itself into two questions.

We must understand why some of the popular dialects were transformed into literary dialects more or less touched up by learned hands.

We must discover how and under what circumstances each received the particular form in which it has been ultimately fixed.

The previous existence of Sanskrit gives an easy reply to the first question. **Learned languages have been settled in India in all parts and at all periods.** The continued tradition of a religious language distinct from the current tongue, the ancient creation of a literary language fashioned on its model, a language consecrated both by its origin and by the privileged position of its authors, — all these very special conditions sufficiently explain the fact. To this must be added the influence of the social constitution. By the overruling authority which it conferred on the Brāhmaṇs, it assured to scholastic formalism, to the preferences and undertakings of the learned, an empire altogether surer and more powerful than could otherwise have been expected.

I content myself, therefore, with merely pointing out the causes, the action of which has been so evident.

The second question is more complex: why should such and such dialects and not such and such others have been the object of this literary culture? How comes it that dialects in very different degrees of degeneration could have been fixed under parallel circumstances, and, more, at an epoch long posterior to the linguistic period represented by their respective constituent elements? What influences have determined the level at which each one has been arrested?

If the existence of a learned language, like Sanskrit, is an indispensable postulate for the very existence of the Literary Prākṛits, its influence was not confined to an initiatory impulse. It is manifest that the classical grammar has, in matters of detail, played the part of a regulator. The classical language fixed in all its parts, surrounded by so much authority and prestige, would present itself to learned labour as a type of perfection: its action could not fail to be powerful. It is the existence of it alone which can explain how such a partial reorganization, a partial levelling, could have taken place without throwing the whole into irremediable disorganisation. The model was there, at once a light and a restraint.

If we take these dialects in themselves and in their separate destinies, it is not difficult to discern several factors which have not only rendered possible, but which have prepared the way for, and which have inspired, their definitive constitution.

All the Prākṛits have their roots diving deep into the popular language. The ethnic names which several bear, may, in one or more instances, be deceptive, but, certainly, all their essential elements are originally borrowed from the living language. This peculiarity is common to all, but all the popular dialects have not been raised to the rank of grammatical Prākṛits. This learned crystallization of several of them, occurring at an epoch when Sanskrit was coming into common use and had put in the hands of all an excellent literary instrument, must have had special reason for its motive in each particular case. Several such reasons, literary or religious, local or scholastic, will readily suggest themselves.

If the definitive fixation of the Prākṛits, and, as a consequence, the drawing up into their present form of the works which have come down to us, cannot have been appreciably earlier than the third century, it is very plain that neither these languages, nor these works could have one day sprung from nothing. They must have had antecedents. There certainly existed, in a more or less rudimentary condition, long before this epoch, a popular and profane literature, hardly or not at all written, but nevertheless living. We find positive traces of it in the inscriptions. I need not refer, in the inscription of Siripulumāyi (Nās. No. 14), to the well-known allusions to the Epic legend. The religious sects could have, nay, must have, from the age of their foundation, preserved teachings and relations, and, at the same time, a more or less altered tradition of the language which had at first served for their propagation. It is from these sources that the arbiters of the literary renovation were able to draw the characteristic elements of the idioms to which they gave a definitive form. **In several respects the situation of the Prākṛits is altogether analogous to that of Sānskṛit as I understand it, and as I have sketched it above.**

If Mahārāshṭrī has become, in preference to every other dialect, the language of song-poetry, it is because it was in Mahārāshṭra more than elsewhere, that there had spontaneously developed a poetry which served as a model for more learned attempts. The Jainas, while using the Mahārāshṭrī, have introduced into it the termination *ē* of nominatives masculine. The name Māgadhi preserved for their dialect well shews that this innovation is, as it were, a last echo of the recollections which they had kept of this country of Magadha, with which more than one historic tie connected them. It is evidently an analogous recollection which is expressed in the application of the same name, Māgadhi, to the language of the Sinhalese *Tripitaka*. A few rare Māgadhisms can hardly pass for a mark of origin. Several traces of Māgadhisms, however, appear in the most ancient inscriptions of Ceylon, which seem to testify that, as we might expect, it was a kind of Māgadhi which was employed in the propaganda of Piyadasi. The Sinhalese canon pretends to descend directly from it; in reality, an altogether different influence rules the language in which it is couched, — an influence probably emanating from the west of India. The Mixed Sanskrit of the Buddhists of the North-West is the Prākṛit orthography which was the most closely allied to Literary Sanskrit, and it was it which, in all likelihood, was the soonest fixed in a lasting tradition. It is very possible that Pāli owes something of its archaic character to this leaning towards etymological orthography of which Western India has furnished us with multiple proofs. The tradition of it must have been, to a certain degree, preserved by the sect to which we are to attribute the drawing up of the southern *Tripitaka*.

From this point of view there is one fact which seems to me to be sufficiently striking to deserve being mentioned here. Three provincial Prākṛits hold the place of honour in the grammars, the Mahārāshṭrī, the Māgadhi, and the Saurasēnī. It would give quite a false idea of the Prākṛit grammarians to imagine that they claimed, under these three names, to include all the principal families of the popular dialects. Their only aim was always practical utility, and we shall be in no danger of wronging them if we affirm that they never conceived the idea of a general and methodical classification of all the Prākṛit dialects. It is upon special conditions, local or historical, that the importance of these three dialects must be founded. Now, we learn from their origins, as indicated by their names, that they exactly correspond to the homes of the three systems of writing which the monuments allow us to descry in periods earlier than the grammatical one; the Mahārāshṭrī to the Monumental Prākṛit of the West coast; the Māgadhi to the official orthography of Piyadasi, and the Saurasēnī, the one which possesses the most archaic aspect, to the Sanskritizing Prākṛit of Mathurā and the North-West. It seems that the more or less obscured recollections, the more or less interrupted perpetuation, of a tradition, founded on early attempts at writing, set in movement in these three homes, and at least facilitated the creation of literary dialects.

Whatever may be the value of this conjecture, one conclusion is certain. **It is only in**

the circumstance of an earlier tradition, local, religious or literary, kept up by means and under conditions which may have varied, that the grammatical reform, from which sprang the grammatical Prākṛits in the form in which we know them, can have been possible. I am here content with pointing out the fact in its general aspect. I have not set myself to approach the thorny questions of literary history which surround the peculiar origin of each of these dialects. I have at least wished to shew, while laying before the reader the proposition to which the facts of philology appear to me irresistibly to drive us, that as a whole it presents none of those insurmountable difficulties which a mind pre-possessed by different theories might expect. In concluding, I wish to remark that this necessary allowance of a previous tradition, is an important corrective to what might seem too positive in my statements regarding the final redaction of the Pāli or Prākṛit books. This reserve is indispensable. As for laying down the limits in each particular case, for accurately distinguishing between what is the work of the last editors, and what the inheritance of earlier tradition, such a task would be infinite. Perhaps we shall never be in a position to accomplish it in its entirety.

PART IV.

CONCLUSION.

The above observations have led me to touch on most of the more general problems which the linguistic history of ancient India presents. I cannot conclude without summing up the principal conclusions to which I have been conducted. They are, in several respects, in conflict with generally received ideas; but we must consider that, hitherto, the examination of these questions is, as is admitted by all, far from having ended in categorical results.¹⁴ Our knowledge on this subject is still too incomplete, too floating, to allow a little novelty to excite surprise or to justify distrust. I have dealt with one sole order of considerations, with arguments based on epigraphy and philology, the only ones which were called forth by the principal subject of this work. I consider that these arguments furnish my views with a sufficiently solid basis; and I have every confidence that proofs of other kinds will come to add themselves to mine, and to gradually confirm them. I shall not be charged, I think, with having disdained these other sources of information. I well know all their value. Even if it be not true, as I think it is, that the series of facts to which I have confined myself is the one most likely to lead us to decisive results, the other considerations would hardly come within the limits which have been laid down for me.

The principal literary dialects of ancient India are three in number; the Vedic language, Classical Sanskrit, and the group of Prākṛits. To these we must add that idiom which was in a way intermediate between Sanskrit and Prākṛit, for which I have proposed the name of Mixed Sanskrit.

1. So far as concerns the religious language of the Vêdas, the inscriptions of Piyadasi indirectly testify that it was, at the commencement of the 3rd century before our era, the object of a certain amount of culture, and that this culture was purely oral. That is a point which has been discussed in the preceding chapter.

2. As for Classical Sanskrit, its elaboration in the Brahmanical world, essentially based on the Vedic language, and on the school-language which might have formed, so to say, its prolongation, but enlivened by the first applications of writing to the popular dialects, should be placed about the 3rd century B. C., and the time following. Its public or official employment only commenced to spread abroad at the end of the first or at the commencement of the second century. No work of the classical literature can well be of earlier date than this epoch.

3. Mixed Sanskrit is only a manner of writing Prākṛit, consisting in going as near as possible to the orthography and the etymological forms known to the religious language.

¹⁴ I may refer the reader to the recent preface put by Prof. M. Müller at the commencement of his *Sanskrit Grammar for beginners*, p. v., and also to the preface of Prof. Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*.

Its use, born spontaneously with the first attempts at writing, continually developed, from the edicts of Kapur di Giri to the epigraphs of Mathurâ. Used specially by the Buddhists, it stimulated the Brâhmanas to the codification and diffusion of a more consequent, more refined language, profane Sanskrit. **The coming into use of Literary Sanskrit marks its disappearance.** It had, in the meantime, owing to its diffusion in the reign of Kanishka, assured its own survival, as a semi-literary dialect, in certain Buddhistic schools.

4. **There remain the Prâkrits.** Popular in their origin, they have, in the form in which they have been employed, and which has come down to us, undergone a process of fixation, and of orthographical and grammatical reform. It is Sanskrit, and the exactly analogous process of learned labour to which Sanskrit owes its own existence, that inspired and guided this process. It cannot have taken place before the end of the 2nd century, and towards the end of the 4th we may suppose it a completed operation. None of the grammars which teach the literary Prâkrits, and none of the books couched in one or other of these dialects, can, under its existing form, be of earlier date than this period. At the same time, it must be clearly understood that, far from excluding the existence of literary attempts and of a more ancient tradition, this theory supposes them as an indispensable preparation. It only excludes the idea of works having received a definitive form, of a canonically arrested tradition, the existence of which would have rendered all grammatical reform both superfluous and impossible.

It is needless to say that **the correctness of the dates which I have just now mentioned depends, to a very high degree, on the correctness of the dates which we attributed to the inscriptions.** The chronological series of the monuments appears to me to be well established, and if we suppose that some corrections in it are necessary, I do not imagine that they can be found to be of sufficient extent to modify the main lines which I have sketched out.

Everything, in this system, depends on, and follows, one natural and well-connected movement. The same tendencies, which we see at work in the earliest times, continue their action to the end. Throughout evolutions, each of which pre-supposes and engenders the next, the main motors remain identical. The continuation of the linguistic history during the period which we have surveyed, is the logical development of the tendencies which are revealed by the most ancient monuments. In this sense, this last chapter is closely connected with the direct object of our studies, the Inscriptions of Piyadasi.

FINIS.







