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EARLY INSCRIPTIONS OF BIHAR & ORISSA

BY

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To

AKBAR

who restated in Architecture

the message of the Inscriptions

viz.

An All-India Outlook.

FOREWORD

The *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* (Chap. VIII, §§ 7—11) describes the efforts of Virochana the Asura and Indra the Arya to realise *Ātman*. After a preliminary training of "full thirty-two years," both approached the preceptor Prajāpati. "The Self you see reflected in the eye, that is *Ātman*," sayeth the Master. Virochana unsheathed his shining sword, saw his well-fed, well-clad image and went out to advise his people to bury the dead supplied with clothing and food. Indra had his doubts and persisted many more "thirty-two years", till the answer came—*evamevaiṣa*. Some students have seen only the diversities of Indian history, I have striven to seek out their underlying unity. Our view-points differ, due to a difference in *niṣṭhā* and *adhikāra*.

PATNA UNIVERSITY,
March 20, 1927.

A. B—S.

For the Karṇa Chopar Cave inscr., the Goradhagiri inscr., and the Lomaśa Ṛṣi Cave Façade plates, the author is indebted to the Bihar & Orissa Research Society.

CONTENTS

Lecture		Pages
I.	Introduction	1
II.	Inscriptional Records of Bihar & Orissa ...	13
III.	Linguistic Synthesis	41
IV.	Linguistic Synthesis *(contd)*.	123
V.	Cultural Synthesis	124
VI.	Retrospect	171
	Abbreviations	172
	Index	173

LECTURE I.

INTRODUCTION: THE INSCRIPTIONAL EPOCH.

Line 16 of the Hathīgumphā inscription of Khāravela on the Kumārī hill (Udayagiri) about 3 miles to the east of Bhuvaneśvar in Orissa reads[1]—

* * * *Muriyakāle vochhiṃn [e ?] cha choyaṭhī-aṃgasatikaṃ turiyaṃ upādayati* * * *

* * 'in the *Maurya epoch etc.* * * '

This Mauryan epoch ushers in the inscriptional era of India and deserves an accurate appreciation. *Kāla* and *Yuga* are two time-honoured terms denoting a cycle of civilisation[2]. Civilisation is a complete outlook on life and cannot be identified with any part of it. Obviously therefore, *Muriyakāle* must refer to a change in viewpoint and a perceptible disassociation from the past. And yet the obvious is often missed in the reconstruction of history. So scholars started by identifying some parti-

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1 *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIII. Pt. III–IV, p. 236.

2 To be clearly distinguished from dynastic or regnal years. cf. Appendix, Harivaṃśa, Bk. III, *Bhaviṣya-parva*. Note the use of *tadyuge* (41), *yugānte* (15), *Kaliyuge* (41) etc. cf. also the *Yuga-Purāṇa* which deals with an epoch and not with a fraction of it. This confusion between *Kāla* and dynastic or regnal count is hardly justifiable in view of the explicit description by Vijñaneśvara commenting on the traditional method recorded by Yājñavalkya, *Achārādhyāya*, 320—*Kāleṇa cha dvividhena, Śaka-nṛpātīta-rūpeṇa saṃvatsara-rūpeṇa cha.*

cular detail[1] —social, religious or political—with the *Mauryan epoch* itself and then set about discovering reasons : in the words of Phidippides to Strepsiades[2]— "I think I shall certainly persuade you ; so that, when you have heard, not even you yourself will say anything against it."[3]

Jayaswal[4] ascribes the use of *Muriya-kāla* to a religious *motif*. But Khāravela was a Jain [5]. Why should he reckon by the *Muriya-kāla* ? In his eighth year he had invaded Goradha—giri[6] and must have known Aśoka's inscribed caves in the Barābar Hills.[7] He was not unaware that Aśoka was the most famous Maurya and the *Muriya—kāla* must evoke memories more of the Buddhist Aśoka than of his grandfather Chandragupta of supposed Jain tendencies.[8] Nor could Khāravela be expected to have any special reason to look to Magadha for persona

1 The fundamental difference between the idea of a *Yuga* or *Kāla* and dynas- or regnal reckoning is incidentally borne out by Kielhorn's remark—"The list includes all inscriptions known to me which are dated according to the Saptarṣi era, the era of Buddha's Nirvāṇa, and the Mālava-Vikrama, Kalachuri-Chedi, Gupta Valabhī, Harsha, Newār, Lakshmaṇasena, Siṃha and Gāṅgeya eras. But it contains only 21 inscriptions dated exclusively according to the Śaka era, and none, which are dated according to the era of the Kaliyuga"—*Ep. Ind.* vol, V. Appendix, p. 1, "A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India From About 400 A.D." *Kaliyuga* includes all the above eras. Similarly *Muriyakālaṃ* stands for the whole epoch.

2 Aristophanes, *The Clouds.*

3 The reading *Rāja-Muriya-kāle* (*J.B.O.R.S.*, 1917, pp. 449–50, 459) is purely fictitious: grammatically *rāja-muriya* is an absurdity.

4 *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIII, p. 236.

5 Khāravela inscr., l. 12.

6 *Ibid.*, l. 6.

7 Jackson. *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1915, pp. 159–171.

8 *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 70–72.

guidance. Quite the contrary. Line 12 says that king Nanda of Magadha had taken away the image (*Saṃnivesaṃ*) known as "the Jina of Kaliṅga" to Pāṭaliputra. Khāravela brought it back to Orissa (Khāravela inscr. l. 12). Jayaswal[1] explains this sacrilege as a mark of respect. "Nanda was a Jain and carrying away idols of worship as a mark of trophy and also showing respect to the particular idol is known in later history."[2] The whole contention is startling. Later history knows no such instance. An object or place of worship can not be removed without violation of its sanctity.[3] Eternal existence *in situ* is ever insisted on.[4] cf. the Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta lines 17-8 : *pratimā kāchit-pratimāṃ tasya Śāṅgiṇaḥ s[u]- pratītaś=chakār=emāṃ y[āvad=ā=chandra-tārakam*[5] "to endure as long as the moon and stars may last." cf. also the Gwaliar Stone Inscription of Mihirakula lines 8-9 : *Yāvachharva-jaṭā-kalāpagahane vidyotate chandramā* * * * *tāvad=giri-mūr—dhani tiṣṭhati* [*śilā* (?)—*prā*] *sāda-mukhyo rame*[6] : "as

1 *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIII, p. 245.

2 Trivikramasūri's *Pratiṣṭhāpaddhati*, Raghunandana's *Pratiṣṭhātatva*, Nīlakaṇṭha's *Pratiṣṭhāmayūkha* and Gāgā Bhaṭṭa's *Pārtadinakarodyota*, describe the dedication, consecration and reconsecration of temples and images. Similarly, the removal ef images is not rare in the Buddhist history. But the removal was always necessitated by some imminent risk or danger to the object of worship due to natural or human causes. But never as a trophy by a devotee ! Against a like assumption the wag protested--"if you love me so much, why did you kick me downstairs" ?

3 It is a commonplace of every day administration based on scriptural injunction and popular sentiment, rightly respected by even the non-Hindu Government of the land.

4 Fleet, *C.I.I.*, III, p. 54.

5 *Ibid.*, ll. 18-9.

6 Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

long as the moon shines on the thicket that is the knot of the braided hair of (the god) Śarva * * *." When Śaśāṅka-rāja cut down the *Bodhi* tree at Buddha-Gayā, he wished to destroy the image[1]. On his way he said to one of his officers, "We must remove that statue of Buddha". The image was concealed behind a brick wall—"the king's body produced sores and his flesh rotted off, and after a short while he died."[2]

The Jaina inscriptions[3] breathe the same spirit of inviolability by removal. As late as 1652 Saṃ (=1595 A.C.) the Una-Kaṭhiawad inscription in the Śāhavālābāg consecrates *stūpa-sahitāḥ ɕādukāḥ* and desires—*chiraṃ nandantu*. Whatever, therefore, might be Khāravela's reasons for adopting the *Muriya-kāla*, religion was not the only one.

Spooner[4] saw in the time of the Mauryas a new start in Indian history. His instinct served him right. But his conclusions outran his data. Mainly on the onesided interpretations[5] of the archaeological finds at Kumrahar[6], he postulated a Zoroastrian period of Indian history.[7] Smith[8], Keith[9] and Thomas[10] have questioned these

1 Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. I, pp. 210 ff.

2 Watters, on Yuan-Chwang, vol. I. p. 343.

3 *Jaina Inscriptions*, collected and compiled by P. C. Nahar, Pt. II, 1927, p. 200.

4 *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 415.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 63—89, 405—55.

6 *A.S.R.*, 1913—14, pp. 45 ff.

7 *J.R.A.S.*, *op. cit.*

8 *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, pp. 800-2.

9 *Ibid.*, 1916, pp. 138—43.

10 *Ibid.*, 1916, pp. 862-6.

interpretations. Spooner's evidences are archaeological and literary,[1] and they are singularly unconvincing. Since the recent extensive discoveries at Mahenjo-Daro,[2] Spooner's reliance on Grünwedel[3] and Fergusson[4] that stone architecture begins in India with the Mauryas with a strong Achaemenian influence has become out of date. Similarly Bühler's[5] view that the Kharoṣṭhī script is to be traced to the Aramaic clerks of Achaemenian rule has been disproved by the large number of inscribed seals in the Indus valley going back to before 2700 B.C.[6] "The presence of inscribed seals, sealings and other objects in almost every building is sufficient indication that their occupants must have been familiar with the art of writing."[7] And yet Spooner was essentially right in sensing a new epoch in "the conspiracy of silence on the Hindu part"[8]. But the silence was relative. The Harivaṃśa[8] and the Yuga-Purāṇa in the Gārgī—Saṃhitā describe the advent of this epoch. Khāravela continues its reckoning[9], in the *Muriya—kāla*.

The Mauryas themselves were hardly conscious of any distinct beginning. They were too near in time. Aśoka

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1 *Ibid.*, 1915, 415-20.

2 *The Times of India Illus. Weekly*, 1928, Jan. 15, 22, 29.

3 Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, p. 17.

4 Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2nd. ed. vol. i, p. 138.

5 Bühler, *Indian Paleography* (Fleet's trans). *I. A.* XXXIII, 1904, Appendix) p. 19.

6 Marshall, *Times Ind. Illus. Weekly, op. cit.*, Jan. 22.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 416.

9 Khāravela inscr. l. 16.

always counts according to his regnal years : the conquest of Kaliṅga 8 years after his coronation ; visit to Bodh-Gayā, 10 years after his coronation ; the dedication of the Barābar caves in the 12th. year ; in the 14th year, he rebuilt the Konākamana stūpa ; 20 years after his coronation, he visited the Konākamana stūpa and the Lumbini garden[1]. The phraseology never varies. Daśalatha[2] uses the same. Unlike the Vikrama, Kalachuri, Gupta and Gāṅgeya[3] reckoning by their own eras, the Mauryas do not count by the *Muriya-kāla*. The concluding stage of the preceding and the initial stage of the succeeding era faded into each other and only the second generation could take stock of essential characteristics and record the naissance of the new outlook. Khāravela represented the next generation in epigraphy after Aśoka[4]. By then the breach with the traditions and achievements of the preceding epoch had become complete and recognised. This birth of a new era is summed up in *Muriya kāla*[5] And *Muriya kāla* is an epitome of the Indian sense of history.

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1 Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, vol. 1, 1925, p. xliii.

2 Kielhorn. *List of the Inscrr. North. Ind.*, *Ep. Ind.*, v. App. *op. cit.* pl. Note the calculation of regnal years by *aṅka*, in *J.B.A.S.*, LXV. Pt. I. p. 235 ; *Ibid.*, LXIV, Pt. I. p. 136 ; *ibid.*, p. 151 ; *I.A.*, I, p. 355.

3 Khāravela's synchronism with Bahasatimita (Puṣyamitra) of Magadha (l. 12) and with Śātakaṇi of the West (l. 4) is a landmark in dating both northern and southern inscrr. in India from the 2nd. cen. B. C. onward.

4 There are many expressions in the Khāravela inscr. of which the natural and obvious meaning has almost disappeared under successive attempts at solution of. l. 2 *venābhivijayo* explained as "a conqueror like Vena," *J.B.O.R.S.* XIII, p. 224. The plain meaning of course is *vena+abhivijaya vena*="early or early riser," *abhivijaya* "expedition," the compound meaning "he who started his expeditions or conquests very early" as is attested by his series of conquests depicted in

The ancient India's conception of *History* is summed up in Kṛṣṇa's words to Arjuna—**संभवामि युगे युगे**[1]. (Bhagavadgītā iv, 8). Each **युग** is an epoch by itself. Like the life of an individual, it is the life of a people—passing through infancy, adolescence, decay and death, equally inexorably[2]. Each **युग** represents a particular civilization. And each **युग** civilization inevitably holds within itself a toxic principle by which it is itself in time poisoned. This spiritual senility is its climax. Thus the end of a **युग** civilization is its fulfilment. This end is its inevitable fate. In its place rises another. Alike not in its achievement but in spiritual continuity.[3] When an individual dies, his (*saṁskāra*) **संस्कार**[4] follows, but he is born unto a new world. New activities await the new-born in his new world[5]. In the life of a people, when the old **युग** civilization dies, its successor is born with new problems

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the following lines, 4–13. Wallis quotes this sense of *vena* in the Rgveda, in his *Cosmology of the Rigveda* p. 35. That the word *vena* in the sense of *early riser* as well as *knower* was well known among Buddhists and Jains, was pointed out by Beal in "The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang" p. 106, N. I, as early as 1888. A list of such words and their meanings has been prepared by the present writer and will be published separately.

१ परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् ।
धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ॥ गी० ४।८

२ कालोऽस्मि लोकक्षयकृत् ॥ गी० ११।३२

३ बहूनि मे व्यतीतानि जन्मानि तव चार्जुन ॥ गी० ४।५

४ अनेकजन्मसंसिद्धः ॥ गी० ६।४८

५ ये यथा मां प्रपद्यंते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम् ॥ गी० ४।११

and newer ways. History is only the transubstantiated spirit of continuity[1].—A race-consciousness in perpetual adjustment to its environment. "It is unnecessary" says Kṛṣṇa[2], "either to mourn the past or deplore the present."[3] No doctor ever saved a man from death, none either from conception, though he may occasionally help to miscarry.[4] None can stop the toxic-poisoning in every civilization.[5] It would be equally futile either to mourn its disappearance or to enshrine an eternal mannequin in its place of worship. Death is as inevitable as birth, and each युग, continues Kṛṣṇa, must be lived as such and distinctly, till its inevitable end ushers in the next.

The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas record earliest Indian tradition[6]. They reckon four[7] periods of calculable human history in India. They make it clear that the four epochs refer to the history of India alone. These four epochs they call the four युग—(i) कृत (धर्म or सत्य), (ii) त्रेता, (iii) द्वापर, and (iv) कलि (or तिष्य)[8]. Various chronological systems have been built up on this historical

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1 Cf. the fascinating dialogue between Kaka-Bhūṣuṇḍī and Garuḍa in Tulasi Dāsa's *Rāma-Charita-Kathā-mānasa*. Under a sudden pang of uncertainty, the amateur enthusiast Garuḍa desired a dip into the history of Rāma. The venerable Bhūṣaṇḍī settled him with the first question—"ah yes! but which Rāma you mean?"

२ पार्थ नैवेह नामुत्र विनाशस्तस्य विद्यते ॥ गी० ६।४०

3 *Ibid.* VI. 9

4 For a discription of this great line of movement, cf. Bertrand Russell's "Principles of Social Reconstruction" and Petrie's "The Revelations of Civilisation.

5 cf. कालोऽस्मि लोकक्षयकृत् गी० ११।३२

6 Pargiter, *Anc. Ind. Hist. Tradition*, pp. 2–3. cf. Sāyaṇa's Introd. to the Ṛgveda—bhāṣya, इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत ।

7 Note that each period again contains within itself all the other periods.

basis of each *yuga*. On one side is the cosmological conception of a मन्वन्तर[1] comprising of 71 such four-aged periods and on the other the Paurāṇic geneologies[2] of Rāma Jāmadagnya, Rāma Dāśarathi and Kṛṣṇa each standing as a landmark to a distinct historical cataclysm. The contradictions involved in these systems demonstrate the danger of missing the wood amidst a multiplicity of trees. For through all these chronological and historical inconsistencies, lie the shadow of three extinct and one expiring civilization[3]. Four युग s in short—roughly corresponding to the (i) Vedic (वैदिक), (ii) the Brāhmaṇic (ब्राह्मण), (iii) the Epic (Arya-Asura-Dāsa) and (iv) the Hindu (Brāhmaṇic—Buddhist—Jain).[4] The last was born after the death of Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa represented the unification of the Ārya-Asura-Dāsa elements in the battle of the Kurus and Pāṇḍus in धर्मक्षेत्र कुरुक्षेत्र[5]. The Hindu period continues in a sense up to the present. The earliest deciphered inscriptions of India *viz.* those of Aśoka of Magadha (3rd. cen. B.C.) in Bihar, and those of Khāravela in Orissa (2nd. cen. B.C.) mark its inception in the temporary ascendancy

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1 Petrie, *The Revelations of Civilisation*, takes the average length of a period of civilisation as 1330 years.

2 Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*; *cf. Dynasties of the Kali Age.*

3. To those who insist on clear-cut minutæ of each epoch is commended the observation of Croce (*Æsthetics as Science of Expression*, p. 66) : " The world of which as a rule we have intuition is a small thing... It is a medley of light and colour, which could not pictorially attain to any more sincere expression than a haphazard splash of colour, from among which would with difficulty stand out a few special distinctive traits... It is the index of a book. The labels tied to things take the place of things themselves."

4 Banerji-Śāstrī, *Asura India*, p. 99.

5 *Ibid.*

of non-Brāhmaṇical Buddhist[1] and Jain[2] views. The assertive resurgence of Brāhmaṇism under the Śuṅgas (2nd.—1st cen. B.C.) cf. द्विरश्वमेधयाजिनः etc. (Ayodhyā inscr.[3]) and the Guptas from the 4th cen. A.C. to the 7th. cen. A.C. (Allahabad Pillar inscr.)[4] hastened the more chastened form of Hinduism. This Hinduism is once more a synthesis. Not merely of externals but of the inner spirit of Brāhmaṇism, Buddhism and Jainism. It is this Hinduism that has left its records on the walls of the temple at Bhuvaneśvar[5]. The Bhuvaneśvar inscriptions, recently discovered and for the first time read by your lecturer of to-night, will be discussed in detail later. They cover a period of about 5 centuries from the ixth. to the xiiith. They describe the maturity of Hinduism. The present times are only the after-effects of "the metaphysical exhaustion" written large over the Orissa temples at Bhuvaneśvar, Konāraka and Purī and in every line of about 25 slabs of stone on the walls of the main *garbha-gṛha* of the Liṅgarāja temple.[6] Already the next stage is in sight. A careful analysis of the inscriptions of Bihar & Orissa will show how they present an age

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1 *Harivaṃśa*,, Bk. III, 15: शूद्रा धर्मं चरिष्यन्ति शाक्यबुद्धोपजीविनः ।

2 Khāravela inscr., l. 16.

3 *J.B.O.R.S.*, x, p. 203.

Line 1. Kosalādhipena dvirāśvamedha-yājinaḥ senāpateḥ Puṣyam[i]trasya ṣaṣṭheṇa Kauśikīputreṇa Dhana-

Line 2. ....dharmarājñī [i] pituḥ Phalgudevasya ketanaṃ kāriṭaṃ.

4 Fleet, *C.I.I.*, pp. 6–10.

5 See Lecture VI.

6 They are to be edited and published shortly in a separate volume by the present writer.

which is not the same as its predecessor in actual achievements.[1] They will also show how this age lived its own life of youth, prime and decay : youth through the inscriptions of Aśoka and Khāravela, prime-through those of the Śuṅgas and the Guptas, and lastly in their decay and fulfilment in the inscriptions at Bhuvaneśvara. They lived this life within a limit of time ushered in by मुरियकाल and following a particular 'law of civilisation.'[2]

This "law of civilization" is typified in the cultural epochs, called by Kṛṣṇa, the युग s. Each युग stands for a particular civilization, a distinct entity. Thus the (i) Kṛta, (ii) Tretā, (iii) Dvāpara and (iv) Kali need not necessarily resemble each other in its ways and manners, nor even in its ideals.[3] Their unity lies in each civilization providing something which contributes to the spiritual advance of India as a whole. When Kṛṣṇa says युगे युगे, and his doctrine underlies an Indian's whole outlook—whether philosophical or historical—he postulates not one civilization, but civilizations.[3] And each civilization has its Great Year—it sprouts, flourishes, decays and dies. Irregular fluctuations of the seasonal weather apart, like the tree[4], each civilization follows a certain law

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1 The inscrr. of Aśoka, Kubera of Bhaṭṭiprolu, Khāravela of Kaliṅga and the earliest Śātavāhana kings present a state of India, without parallel in the earlier and later epochs.

2 In India, always the law of synthesis.

3 वेदाहं समतीतानि वर्तमानानि चार्जुन ।
भविष्याणि च भूतानि मां तु वेद न कश्चन ॥ गी: ७। २६

4 ऊर्ध्वमूलमधःशाखमश्वत्थं प्राहुरव्ययम् ।
छंदांसि यस्य पर्णानि यस्तं वेद स वेदवित् ॥ गी० ५।१

of recurrence. This law is peculiar to each country[1]. In India this law has been the law of synthesis. This synthesis has worked out its destiny amidst entirely different environment. The misconception of Indian History lies in confusing this law of synthesis with the *faits divers*, the actualities of each age, which have been, are, and must always be, characteristic of the different epochs.[2] Archaistic revivals in mere details are either sheer extravagance or dull resetting of old motives.

Thus the traditional conception[2] of history in India, "संभवामि युगे युगे" is sounder than the comfortably optimistic conception of the European historian *viz.* that mankind from the dawn of history is constantly climbing upward towards the ideal following the continuous and single path of progress from barbarism to culture, or the morbid pessimism of latter-day Indians that there is the reverse process of progressive degeneration from the apex of India's civilization in the Vedic days to the avalanche of darkness closing in on their descendants. Spengler[3] in his *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* challenged the European contention[4] in 1918. A study of the inscriptions

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1 तत्क्षेत्रं यच्च यादृक् च यद्विकारि यतश्च यत् ।
स च यो यत्प्रभावश्च तत्समासेन मे शृणु ॥ गी० १३।३

2 About 4,000, inscrr. described by Kielhorn and Lüders in the Epigraphia Indica, about an equal number reported in the Epigraphia Carnatica, and a yet larger number still to be reported tell their own tale, and give a picture which has hardly any similarity with the Vedic or Epic outlook.

3 Oswald Spengler, Der Untergang des Abendlandes, vol. I (1918); vol. II(1922.

4 German philologists and historians had started the idea of *two* civilisations—one of Göthe and Schiller, the other of Wolfram von Eschenbach, Gottfried von Strasburg and the Minnesänger—from the writings of Uhland on Walther von der Vogelweide, Wagner's *Ring* and *Parsifal*.

of Bihar & Orissa, of Aśoka & Khāraveła, of the Śuṅgas and Guptas, and those at Bhuvaneśvara, will demonstrate to you that each age is as great as its predecessor; it is quite different in its outlook from its predecessor; as an epitome[1], each age again lived its adolescence, maturity and decay; in short, each युग or cultural cycle, rises from the ashes of the past, achieves supremacy and then relaxes into sterility again. When the life-course is run, not a single pregnant notion is produced, not one original achievement. Follows a period of "pseudo—morphosis," the imposition of the forms of one civilization on the spirit of another, *e.g* the hankering after and seeking to graft Vedic ways on present-day Indian ideals, or a more violent supposition still, the rebuilding of the imposing mass of stone filigree—work of Bhuvaneśvar in the streets of Delhi or Patna.[2] In one word, to mistake the mission of each epoch, to obstruct the natural युग law of civilization, by brooding over its mass of particulars,[3] to pretend to ignore the inevitability of this law; to forget that some things are possible, because necessary, for the particular युग and that others are to be excluded from the potentialities of a particular age; to waste intellect and power in regions bound to prove ultimately fruitless; to attempt to reproduce in Aśoka Brāhmī the first hymn of the Rgveda अग्निमीले पुरोहितं etc. on the brick walls of our University buildings designed by an American architect.

1 cf. the Purāṇic idea how Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali, each containing within itself all the others in turn.

2 cf. Rajendra Lal Mitra's quotation from Thomas Browne—"Oblivion reclineth on her pyramids turning old glories into dreams."

3 In the nineth rock-edict Aśoka condemns "many and various vulgar ("offensive" at Shāhbāzgaṛhī) and useless ceremonies" and recommends in their stead the practice of morality. Hultzsch, *C. I. I., op. cit., p.* 1.

Every युग must start with a fresh idea—a new *Lebens-fühlung.*,[1] and reach in time its pre-destined phase, its toxic—poisoning, its *glāni*, in the words of Kṛṣṇa, and मुरियकाल ushers in this epoch in the inscriptions of Bihar & Orissa. History helps to mould the present and assess the future by pointing out the course of each pre-destined phase. In India, that course has been ever a course of synthesis.

The Vedic age had its own youth, prime and decay. Its youth saw the young Indo—Aryan pouring into India. It fought the Dāsa & Asura in its maturity. It ended as a neo–Āryan with a composite Arya–Asura–Dāsa pantheon and outlook in which the Arya predominates. The geography of the age is in the Punjab and they sang of the land of the Sapta Sindhus, but it was Bhāratavarṣa and Aryāvarta.[1]

The Epic Age started with the Brāhmaṇical outlook, but worked out a greater and more abiding unification. The question of respective superiority was absorbed in one whole—the Ārya—Asura—Dāsa body—politic and body–social. The geography is in the Madhyadeśa. The

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1 In the inscriptional epoch, this is a religious and cultural synthesis. Cf. rock-edict V and pillar-edict VII: Aśoka directs his Dharma-mahāmātras to busy themselves with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas (*i.e.* Vaiśyas), and with ascetics and householders, placed special officers in charge of the Buddhist clergy, of the Ājīvikas (there is room for doubt as to the actual donors of the Barābar Hill inscribed caves), Nirgaṇthas (*i.e.* Jainas) and other sects, and permitted all sects to reside in any place they liked (rock-edict VII).

2 यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत ।
अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥ .. गी० ४।७

3 *Asura India, op. cit.*, p. 72.

Punjab practically disappears from the horizon. As Pargiter points out there is no principal तीर्थक्षेत्र in the Punjab for an Indian to-day. His holy land lies in and around कुरुक्षेत्र[1].

Both the Vedic and the Epic ages worked out their own problems[2] in their own way. And those problems were distinct, distinct were their geography and environment. The problem so far was one of *race- assimilation,* politically speaking. As such it was a relatively limited venture. It had a limited geography—from the Svāt and Kubhā rivers in modern Afghanistan to the confines of Magadha to the east, the land beyond the Vindhyas being yet beyond its ken. This limitedness is reflected in the vehicle of culture—mainly Vedic Sanskrit, the language of the limited शिष्ट्स and even that within the compass of limited metres (छन्दस्).

The Hindu age starts with an entirely new *Lebens-fühlung,* a new problem,—a problem intrinsically different from its predecessors except for the pre-destined course of synthesis. It is a problem of *culture-assimilation*—: Buddhist and Jain in its youth, revived Brāhmaṇical in its prime, Hindu (i.e., Brāhmaṇa—Buddhist–Jain in its fulfilment[3]. The inscriptions of Bihar & Orissa, those of

1 Asura India, p. 99.

2 The Vedic problem was race-ascendancy : the Epic, race-amalgamation and culture-fusion : the incriptional epoch, culture-synthesis. *Supra.*

3 "Happy confusion prevailed in matters religious, a single street often containing shrines sacred to the bright beneficent Vedic deities and the blood-thirsty and vengeful devil worship. Alongside both of these are quiet abodes of the holy ones of the Jains and Buddhists as well." Aiyangar, *Ancient India,* p. 32.

Aśoka and Khāravēla, of the Śuṅgas and the Guptas, and those at Bhuvaneśvar. Aśoka's inscriptions preach Buddhism,[1]* of Khāravela, Jainism,[2] of the Śuṅgas and the Guptas, re-assertive Brāhmaṇism[3], while inscriptions at Bhuvaneśvar begin with a Buddhist formula– ये धर्महेतु-प्रभवाहेतु तेषां &c.; breathes the Jain Spirit of अहिंसा and worships Brāhmaṇical deities in the accomodating spirit of real Hinduism[4]. The problem is almost limitless and cultural nuances hardly admit of any limit. Hinduism covers Brāhmaṇism, Buddhism and Jainism, but each of them reflects currents, cross- currents and under-currents, without number, and the inscriptions reflect their spirit. The geography of the venture expands its limits from Persia to Indo-China, and China to Ceylon, with the intellectual focus in Bihar & Orissa. The limited geneologies of the Pauravas of Hastināpur and the Ikṣvākus of Ayodhyā, give place to a series of dynasties in Bihar &

The *Jagannāthasabhā* at Ellora is now claimed to be a Jain sanctuary. Fergusson and Burgess's *Cave Temples of India*, p. 500. Buddhist books speak of *namo Jagannātha-Buddhāya-Rudrajāmala-tantra*, (ed. Rasikmohan Chattopadhyaya) describes *Sa paśyati Jagannātham kamalorugatam Harim.* To a student of the inscrr. absorbed in sifting linguistic and historical details, the ultimate result gives a meaning and purpose to his acquired data: "the dust of the rose petal is the only reward of the perfume-seller."

1 Aśoka, rock-edict 1, (Girnar, ll. 2–4.)

idha na kiṃchi jīvaṃ ārabhitpā prajūhitavyṃ na cha samājo katavyo. cf. Aśoka's *Dharma*, Bühler, E. I., III. 141.

2 Khāravela inscr. l. 16: *Khemarājū sa vaḍharājā sa bhikhurūjā dhamarājā:* cf. also l. 12.

3 Fleet, *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, no. I. Samudragupta inscr.

4 The spirit was evolving from within and not superimposed from without: cf. Khāravela, l. 17, *sava-pāṣaṃḍa-pūja-ko.* Aśoka, rock-edict XII. 'For whosoever praises his own sect, or blame other sects,—all (this) out of devotion to his own sect, (*i.e.*) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely'.

Orissa, the Bārhadrathas, the Nandas, the Mauryas, the Śuṅgas, the Guptas, the Keśarīs of Orissa[1] and so on. The political centre shifted to Magadha (Aśoka etc.) and Orissa (Khāravela), with an 'all-India[2]', even 'India-beyond the Seas'[3] outlook. The intellectual and religious, briefly the cultural, pivot was in the East, in Magadha and in Orissa, from the time of the Nandas (the first contact between Bihar & Orissa in the 4th—5th cen. B. C. cf. Khāravela — नन्दराजनीतं etc.) and we claim, has remained so. The limited vehicle of literature in Sanskrit metres became obsolete. The less limited method of recording inscriptions throughout India written in the Prākṛits of the place was introduced from Magadha and spread over the whole country. In the fulness of time, Hinduism sought to burst the bonds of its environment and rolled into one all these devices of Sanskrit & Prākṛit inscriptions, and rocks, caves and pillars, and supplemented them with towering temples. The process of synthesis reaches its apotheosis in the inscribed temples at Bhuvaneśvar—the fixed appeal of sculptures, the concrete, corporeally present, partly limited inscribed caves were replaced by temples—with Hindu i.e. Brāhmaṇical, Buddhistic and Jain inscriptions in Sanskrit and Prākṛit,—soaring into space with its peering spires and flying buttresses. The problem of this युग was altogether different from that of its predecessors. Consequently its history is different. The inscriptions of Bihar & Orissa record this history.

1 See Lecture VI.

2 cf. the boundaries of Aśoka's empire : Hultzsch, *C.I.I.I., op. cit.* pp. XXLII-III.

3 Coedès, *B.E.F.E.—O.*, xviii, 6. 15.

The following lectures will trace this inscriptional history mostly from the cultural side. They will try to analyse the different cultural elements in this composite culture—mixture.[1] For what Petrie says of race—mixture is equally true of culture-mixture, in fact its deeper issue. "If" says Petrie[2] "the source of every civilization has lain in race mixture, it may be that eugenics will, in some future civilization, carefully segregate fine reces, and prohibit continual mixture, until they have a distinct type, which will start a new civilization when transplanted. The future progress of man may depend as much on isolation to establish a type as on fusion of types when established". The inscriptions of rulers and conquerors, e.g. those of Aśoka and Khāravela, of the chief Śuṅgas and Guptas, present us with types, both regarding actualities and potentialities. But the fusion of types will be best illustrated from the inscriptions at Bhuvaneśvar recording the doings of that otherwise obscure individual[3] the cosmopolitan and ubiquitous pilgrim or the pious private donor. As has been very justly claimed by Guizot : "In order to become acquainted with an age or a people we

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1 cf. the various sources of the inscrr. in the *Gāuḍa-rāja-mālā* and *Gauḍa-lekha-mālā*, ed. by Akṣaya Kumāra Maitreya.

2 *The Revelations of Civilisation.* It is interesting to compare Petrie's view with those of Niceforo, *Les Indices Numériques de la Civilisationet du Progrès*, Paris, 1921.

3 cf. also the number of inscrr. in the Śon Bhāṇḍār cave at Rājgīr (A. S. R., 1906) by various pilgrims in scripts from the 3rd, cen. A.C. to the 8th. and later including a Chinese inscr. The same phenomenon is prominent at Bodh-Gayā (Rajendra Lal Mitra's *Bodh-Gayā*) and the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves, as at Bhuvaneśvar.

must also know something of its second-rate and obscure men. It is in the beliefs, sentiments and lot of unimportant individuals and unknown families, that the lot, the sentiments, and the beliefs of the country are to be found." Thus as a help to realize the fusion of types[1] that announces the fulfilment of a civilization which is at the same time its end, the end of a *yuga* युग, the inscriptions at Bhuvaneśvar are invaluable. A युग, a civilization from its inception to its fulfilment,[2] each equally inevitable, working out its predestined phase to its spiritual senility, an end which with inner necessity is reached again and again within a limited time will be put before you in these inscriptions. It will deal with the history of India from the 3rd cen. B.C. to the 12th cen. A.C. From the 12th to the 20th. history is passing through another civilization, with new problems, and new ideals, a new *Lebensfühlung*. Its makers should remember the lessons of the past :— mainly two—(1) each युग must live its own life and should rid itself of pseudo-morphosis as soon as possible; (2) in India the law of civilization has ever followed the path of synthesis. The mass of inscriptions ranging over the Hindu Yuga from those of Aśoka to those at Bhuvaneśvara show above all things, its fully individual life and this

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1 Graphically described in the Harivaṃśa, Bk. III. and the Yuga-Purāṇa of the Gārgī—Saṃhitā, cf. Appendix.

2 Cf. Kṣemendra (11th. cen. A C.), *Daśāvatāracharitam, Buddhāvatāra*

काले प्रयाते कलिविप्लवेन राजग्रहोग्रे भगवान् भवाब्धौ।
मज्जत्सु संमोह-जले जनेषु जगन्निवास करुणान्वितोऽभूत्
तरण-शरणं संसाराब्धावभूत् पुनरच्युतः।

historical tendency. But its ideals have never been those of its predecessors and need not be those of its successors. You can not fit yourself into an intellectual structure by violence, whether the structure be of an immediate past or of a past more distant. On the other hand, the success of synthesis in the past suggests its possibilities for the future : the present age may evolve a name more comprehensive than Hindu, a spirit more composite than inspiring the inscriptions at Bhuvaneśvar, and they will rise out of the ashes of the *Muriya-kāla.*[1]

1 Khāravela inscr. l. 16.

Appendix to Lecture I.

हरिवंश । भविष्य-प० ॥ अ० २ ॥ अ० ३ ॥ अ० ४ ॥

जनमेजय उवाच ॥ निवृत्तावश्वमेधस्य ब्रह्मशापाग्नितेजसा ॥ अहंनिमित्तं इति मे भयं तीव्रंतु जायते ३६ कथं ह्यकीर्त्या युज्येत सुकृतीमद्विधो जनः ॥ लोकानुत्सहते गंतुं खं सपाश इव द्विजः ३७ यथाह्यनागतमिदं दृष्टमत्रप्रणाशनम् ॥ यद्यस्ति पुनरावृत्तिर्यज्ञस्याश्वासयस्वमाम् ॥ ३८ ॥

व्यास उवाच ॥ उपात्तयज्ञो देवेषु ब्राह्मणेषूपपत्स्यते ॥ तेजसा व्याहृतं तेजस्तेजस्येवावतिष्ठते ३९ औद्विज्जो भविता कश्चित्सेनानीः काश्यपो द्विजः ॥ अश्वमेधं कलियुगे पुनः प्रत्याहरिष्यति ४० तद्युगे तत्कुलीनश्चराजसूयमपिक्रतुम् ॥ आहरिष्यति राजेन्द्र श्वेतग्रहमिवांतकः ४१ यथाबलं मनुष्याणां कर्तृणां दास्यते फलम् ॥ युगांतद्वारमृषिभिः संवृतं विचरिष्यति ४२ तदा प्रभृति हास्यंति नृणां प्राणाः पुराकृतीः ॥ ननिवर्तिष्यते लोके वृत्तांतावर्तनेष्विह ४३ तदासूक्ष्मो महोदर्कोदुस्तरोदानमूलवान् ॥ चातुराश्रम्यशिथिलो धर्मः प्रविचलिष्यति ४४ तदाह्यल्पेन तपसा सिद्धिं प्राप्स्यंति मानवाः ॥ धन्याधर्मं चरिष्यंति युगांते जनमेजय ४५ इति श्रीमहाभारतेखिलेषुहरिवंशे भविष्यपर्वणिद्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥२॥

जनमेजय उवाच ॥ आसन्नविप्रकृष्टं वा यदिकालं न विद्महे ॥ तस्माद्वापरसंविद्धं युगांतरं स्पृहयाम्यहम् १ प्राप्तावयं तु तत्कालमनघा धर्मतृष्णया ॥ आदद्यात्परमं धर्मं सुखमल्पेन कर्मणा २

शौनक उवाच ॥ त्रासमुद्वेगकरणं युगांतं समुपस्थितम् ॥ प्रनष्टधर्मं धर्मज्ञनिमित्तंवक्तुमर्हसि ३

सौतिरुवाच ॥ पृष्ट एवं भविष्यस्य गतिं तत्त्वेन चिंतयन् ॥ युगांते सर्वभूतानां भगवानब्रवी-तदा ४

व्यास उवाच ॥ अरक्षितारो हर्तारो बलिभागस्य पार्थिवाः ॥ युगांते प्रभविष्यंति स्वरक्षणपरायणाः ५ अक्षत्रियाश्चराजानो विप्रा शूद्रोपजीविनः ॥ शूद्राश्च ब्राह्मणाचारा भविष्यंति युगक्षये ६ कांडस्पृष्टाः श्रोत्रियाश्चनिष्क्रियाहि हवींष्यथ ॥ एकपंक्त्यामशिष्यंति युगांते जनमेजय ७ शिल्पवंतोनृतपरा नरा मद्यामिषप्रियाः ॥ मित्रभार्या भविष्यंति युगांते जनमेजय ८ राजवृत्तिस्थिताश्चौरा राजानश्चौरशीलिनः * * * सर्वे ब्रह्मवदिष्यंति सर्वे वाजसनेयिनः ॥ शूद्रा भो वादिनश्चैव भविष्यंति युगक्षये १३ तपोयज्ञफलानां च विक्रेतारो द्विजातयः ॥ ऋतवश्च भविष्यंति विपरीता युगक्षये १४ शुक्लदंतांजिताक्षाश्च मुंडाः काषायवाससः ॥ शूद्रा धर्मंचरिष्यंति शाक्यबुद्धोपजीविनः १५ श्वापदप्रचुरत्वं च गवां चैव परिक्षयः ॥ स्वादूनां विनिवृत्तिश्चविद्यादंतगतेयुगे १६ * * * कुशीलानार्यभूयिष्ठं वृथारूपसमन्वितम् ॥ पुरुषाल्पं बहुस्त्रीकं तद्युगांतस्य लक्षणम् २४ बहुयाचनको लोको न दास्यति परस्परम् ॥ अविचार्य गृहीष्यंति दानं वर्णांतरा तथा २५ * * * महायुद्धं महानादं महावर्षं महाभयम् ३-१५ * * * अभाविनो भविष्यंति मुनयो बहुरुपिणः ३-२० * * * भरण्येषु वत्स्यंति नरा म्लेच्छगणैः सह * * *

एक एव तु कालः * * *

* * यथा युगानां परिवर्तनानि चिरं प्रवृत्तानि विधिस्वभावात् * *

LECTURE II.

INSCRIPTIONAL RECORDS OF BIHAR & ORISSA.

In form, geography, content and culture, the inscriptions of Bihar & Orissa present a complete epoch[1]—its inception, maturity and fulfilment. The inscriptions of Aśoka in caves and on pillars and rocks[2] usher it in, in the 3rd cen. B. C., the inscriptions at Bhuvaneśvara,[3] on the stones of the temples, from the 8th. to the 11th. cen. A. C. record its climax and end. From the twelveth cen. onward, has continued a period of pseudo-morphosis—temples[4] have been built, charters[5] and donation[6] written as of old, even old customs and manners[7] insisted upon. But the old spirit is dead. A realization of this is gradually dawning and with it will come an attempt to meet the problems of the day with the available materials of the day.[8]

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1 cf. Lecture I; *muriya-kālaṃ*.

2. Prinsep started the study of Indian palæography with the inscriptions of King Piyadasi of Pāṭaliputra: Bühler, *Indian Brāhma Alphabet*, p. 1.

3 cf. Lecture VI.

4 *Jaina Inscriptions*, ed. P. C. Nahar, 1927 Pt. II.

5 cf. Govindpur inscr. at Gayā (1137 A. C.) "Pleasing with his good fortune and youth and a person of good renown, Manoratha went to the sacred Purushottama, and on the noisy shore of the sea, gave away his wealth in charity at the time of an eclipse of the bright moon and gladening his ancestors with the water thrown from his hands, he for a moment obtained the fellowship of the moon, eclipsed at fullmoon time." *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 339.

6 Inscrr. of Kapileśvaradeva, Puruṣottamdeva (1469-97), Prataparudradeva, Mānagovinda Govindadeva (1542-9)— *J. A. S. B.*, 1893, p. 88.

7 Inscr. of Pratāpakapileśvara (April 12, 1450): "the Sani cloth known as Pundariksha Gopa" (translation by Rai Bahadur Manomohan Chakravarty).

8 cf. ***Ducunt fata volentem, nolentem trahunt.***

Script

The beginning of this inscriptional era is remarkable. There is a distinct cleavage with the past.[1] The Brāhmī[2] and Khoroṣṭhī[3] scripts present the first striking problem.[4] The Aśoka inscriptions written in Brāhmī[5] and Khoroṣṭhī[6] about the 3rd. cen. B. C., show a number of variants of most of the letters (e.g. *a*, *ā*, *kha*, *ja*, *ma*, *ra*, *sa*, etc.). It means an anterior intensive development.[7] The archaeological excavations at Harappa[8] in the Montgomery Dist. Punjab, in 1918 and at Mahenjo-Daro[9] in the Larkhana District, Sind, 1922 and Baluchistan, have yielded inscribed seals [10] which have not been as yet deciphered. More than 150 different characters are reported.[11] These and allied finds show in the words of Sir John Marshall,[12] "a most important phase

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1 cf. Yuga Purāṇa.

2 Bühler, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-91.

3 Thomas, *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. II, pp. 147ff. Taylor, *The Alphabet* Vol. II, pp. 256 ff. Cunningham, *The Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 31ff. Bühler, *op. cit.* pp. 92—114.

4 Bühler *op. cit.*, pp. 2-5.

5 *I. A.* xxxiii, 1904, App. p. 33. "all of them were first drawn up in the imperial secretariate at Pāṭalīputra and then forwarded to the governors of the provinces."

6 Bühler, Plates I—XIII (Burgess).

7 Bühler, *Ind. Brāhma Alph.*, p. XII.

8 Marshall, *Times of India Illus. Weekly*, Jan. 15,1928.

9 *Ibid.* Jan. 22,1928.

10 *Ibid.* "The seals of which nearly a thousand have been recovered."

11 The services of Messrs. Mackay, Langdon, Sydney Smith and Gadd have been requisitioned.

12 *Ibid.*, "The pictographic legends on them are to be read, apparently from left to right."

13 *Illus. Lond. News*, 1924, Oct.

of Indian civilization, which shows close affinities with the contemporary Sumerian civilization Mesopotamia
this great civilization which is now being revealed was no mere provincial offshoot of Mesopotamian culture, but was developed for countless generations on the banks of the Indus itself and its tributaries" * * belonging to a poeple "whose culture was largely destroyed in the second or third millennium B. C. by the invading Aryans from the north."[1] There is a clear gap of 27 hundred years between the 3rd. millennium B. C.[2] Mahenjo—Daro script (as yet unread), and the 3rd. cen. B.C. script of Aśoka.[3] The initial stage in reading these inscriptions of Bihar is strangely similar to that in the attempt to decipher the Mahenjo—Daro script of to-day. Like the Mahenjo-Daro script now, they were carefully collected as mere scratches,

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1 About their connection with the Asuras (with their emblem and designation of Nāgas), see *Asura India*. cf. also Marshall, *Times Ind. Illus. Weekly*, op. cit. Jan. 29, 1928 p. 53. "If, however, the above elements are suggestive of parallels with the West, there are other elements which are characteristically and exclusively Indian. Thus, one of the sealing depicts a figure seated cross-legged with snake-hooded Nagas worshipping on either side, just as they are portrayed worshipping the Buddha in sculptures three thousand years later."

2 Marshall, *Ibid.* "The date of buildings described is determined within tolerably narrow limits by the discovery at Susa and several sites in Mesopotamia of typical Indian seals inscribed with Indian pictographic legends, in positions which leave no doubt that they belonged to the period before Sargon I—that is, before about 2700. On another seal of the same pattern recently unearthed at Ur, the legend is in cuneiform characters of about 2,700 B. C. It may be inferred, therefore, that this class of Indian seal is to be assigned to the first half of the 3rd. millennium B. C. or earlier and in as much as seals of this class are associated with the three uppermost cities at Mahenjo-daro, we may confidently fix the date of these cities between 3,500 and 2,500 B. C."

3 Bühler, *I. A. op.-cit.* p. 6 "The characters of the Aśoka edicts * * prove very clearly that writing was no recent invention in the 3rd. cen. B. C."

each conjunct scratch conjecturally reduced to its hypothetical units as vowels, consonants etc.[1] Then Prinsep[2] had to wait. Needless to say hardly any[3] Indian could help him about 90 years back.[4] Then Turnour[5] brought bilingual help from the *Dīpavaṃsa*[6] of Ceylon, and Prinsep published the text and a translation of the second rock-edict, in February 1838.[7] Scholars are similarly engaged in seeking possible bilingual help from the geneological tables of Mesopotamia.[8] Prinsep had at first identified the *Devānaṃ piye piyadassi* the author of the Indian inscriptions with the *Devānaṃpiya Tissa* of Ceylon.[9] The Maski[10] inscription bearing *Devānaṃpriya Aśoka* carroborated the other details going against the *Devānaṃpiya Tissa* of Ceylon[11] *viz.* (i) king of Magadha, Calcutta–Bairāt rock-inscription[12] (ii) with capital at

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1 Prinsep, *A. S. R.* I, viii-xi ; *J. A. S. B.* 6, 460 ff.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Bühler *I. A., op. cit., Ind. Palæography,* p. 1.

4 Al Berūnī, *India* ; 1,171 (Sachau).

5 Wickramasinghe, *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, 895 ff.

6 Bühler, *op. cit.*, p. 33,—"The two oldest Ceylonese inscriptions, from the time of the King Abhaya Gāmini, which probably belong to the end of the 2nd. or the beginning of the 1st. cen. B. C."

7 Lassen had read the legend on the coins of the Indo-Grecian King Agathocles, in 1836 (*A. S. R.* I, XII.)

8 Waddell, *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered.*

9 The close relations between Aśoka of Magadha and Tissa of Ceylon as reported, by Southern Buddhists, make an importation of the Brāhmī script from Magadha into Ceylon not improbable. Müller, *Anc. Inscr.* from Ceylon, pl. I and Wickramasinghe, *op. cit.*

10 Hultzsch, *C. I. I.* Vol. I. 1925.

11 *J. R. A S.*, 1909, 333, 335.

12 *Piyadasi lāja Māgadhe* *.

Pāṭaliputra (rock-edict V. M.): Girnar—"both in Pāṭaliputra and the outlying towns" correspond to "here and in all the outlying towns" at Kālsī,[1] Shāhbazgarhi, Mānsehrā and Dhauli: above all (iii) the contemporaries[2] of *Devānaṃpiya* in rock—edicts II & XIII—Yona king Antiyoka (identified with Antiochus I or II of Syria). Turamāya (Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt), Antekina (Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia), Makā (Magas of Cyrene), Alikasudara (Prinsep's Alexander of Epirus, son of Pyrrhus, or more correctly according Beloch, Alexander of Corinth, son of Craterus. Tissa of Ceylon[3] theory was definitely abandoned when Turnour pointed out from the *Dīpavaṃsa, Piyadassi or Piyadassana* as a surname of Aśoka.[4] Continuing the analogy, not an Indian[5] to-day can claim to decipher[6] the Mahenjo-Daro seal inscriptions without bilingual evidence.[7] Prinsep[8] and Turnour[9] sought for and found :—in the annals of Ceylon[10] whose spiritual connection with India was yet remembered. Marshall[11] seeks to connect the archaeological

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1 *hidā bāhilesu chā nagalesu.*

2 Prinsep, *J. A. S. B.*, 7, 157ff.: Beloch. *Griechische Geschichte,* III, pt. 2, p. 105.

3 *J. A. S. B.*, 6 (1837) 472f., 566 f.

4 Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, p. XXX.

5 For some curious suggestions, cf. Bishun Sarup, *J. B. O. R. S*, 1924.

6 The services of foreign Egyptologists had to be requisitioned: cf. Marshall, *op. cit.*, Jan. 15.

7 Lassen's reading of the legends on the coins of the Indo-Grecian King Agathocles: *C. A. S. R.*, I, XII.

8 Bühler, *I. A. Ind. Palaeography*, p. 18.

9 *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, 895ff.

10 Müller, *op. cit.*, pl. I.

11 Marshall, *Illustr. Lond. News*, October, 1924.

finds of Mahenjo-Daro with Sumeria.[1] Waddell[2] goes a step further and compares the Sumerian Mesopotamian geneological lists with those in the Vedas and the Purāṇas in *the Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered.*[3] His results have been ridiculed,[4] and rightly so, for their extravagant disregard of even elementary philological principles.[5] Prinsep had started with a mistake in his Ceylon Tissa and Waddell's direction may yet turn out to be correct, however erroneous in details.[6]

This analogous oblivion of inscriptions, the last century Indians ignoring Aśokan script of the 3rd. Cen. B.C., and the striking dissimilarity [7] between the Aśokan script and that at Mahenjo-Daro of the 3rd. millennium B.C. should be a caution to the continuous-evolutionistic

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1 Marshall has recently modified his view: "Owing to its close connection with the Sumerian civilisation of Mesopotamia, the prehistoric civilisation revealed at Mahenjo-Daro and Harappa has hitherto been designated by the name "Indo-Sumerian". With the progress of exploration, however, it has become evident that the connection with Mesopotamia was due, not to actual identity of culture, but to intimate commercial or other intercourse between the two countries. For this reason, the term "Indo-Sumerian" has now been discarded and "Indus" adopted in its place." *The Times of Ind., op. cit.*, Jan. 25, 1928.

2 Waddell, *Ind. Sum. Seals, op. cit.* p. viii.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Temple, *I. A.*, 1927.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Waddell goes too far in accepting "the unique authenticity of the Indian Epic King-lists, as an independent source of Sumerian and Mesopotamian history." *op. cit.* p. viii.

7 The Mahenjo-Daro script is more akin to pictographs, even cuneiform, than Aśoka.

(eitherway from a golden age to falling away or vice-versa) theory of Indian history[1]. For the script is the embodiment of language[2], and language is the expression of thought, and an apparent breach in scriptural continuity[3] may well be an indication of the birth or death of a cultural epoch or युग. This breach again is more apparent than real[4]. For I have collected a number of shell characters from Rājgīr, Mirzapore Caves and other places[5]. I am arranging them according to probable simple or conjunct units and hope to bring them to the notice of epigraphists in the near future. They may well fit in as one of the stages [6]between Mahenjo-Daro and Aśoka. The cultural contents of Aśoka's inscriptions have their motives deep down in the race-mixture of the preceding epic[7] (i.e. Ārya-Asura-Dāsa) epoch. The Semitic[8] origin, the Phoenician[9] origin and several other origins[10]of the script of the Aśokan inscriptions have been admitted[11] as requiring revision after the Mahenjo-Daro finds. The message of the inscriptions themselves would

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1 Cf. Lecture I.
The Chinese script is its logical *dénouement.*

Lalitavistara mentions about 64 scripts in the time of the Buddha.

4 *Mahāvastu*, I, 135 refers to about 30 more.

5 Some rough caves in the Kaimur range:

6 Acc. to the Pāṛāśara-Vyāsa tradition of writing (recorded by Berūnī, *India* 1.-171), Indian writing would begin from the *Kaliyuga*, B. C. 3101.

7 Banerji-Sastri, *Asura India*, p. 73.

8 Bühler, *Origin. Ind. Brāhma. Alph.*, pp. 2–5.

9 *Z. D. M. G.*, X, 389 ff.

10 Cunningham, *Coins Anc. Ind*,, pp. 38ff.

11 Marshall, *supra.*

be lost if the outlook of interpretation is not correspondingly revised[1]. The Aśokan Maurya,[2] the Brāhmaṇical Śuṅga[3] and Gupta[4], and the Bhuvaneśvar Hindu[5] inscriptions were tho youth, maturity and apotheosis of the then time forces[6]. A forcible application of their lessons to all times to come would be tantamount to depriving futurity of all life and denying all individuality to ante-Aśoka India[7]. It would be the height of pessimism in ignoring the toxic-poisoning inevitable in every civilization[8].

Both the geography and the subject–matter of the inscriptions of Bihar & Orissa, like their script, go against the above view and demonstrate a life within a clearly distinct and definite area and characteristic endevours to be distinguished from the preceding period.[9]

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1 Spooner's Zoroastrianism, *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, becomes completely out of date.

2 Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, 1926.

3 Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III.

4 Ayodhyā Rāṇupāli Inscr., *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1924.

5 Unlike his contemporary in Greece, Socrates, Buddha found a ready following. Those who rightly extol the high standard of Buddha's ethics often forget the equally high standard of intellectual and moral education of the man in the street who understood and followed him. Instead, scholars quibble and prepare statistics of literacy, ignoring that literacy, and education are not synonymous.

6 cf. Grünwedel. *Buddhist Art in India*, p 7.

7 *Harivaṃśa*. *Yuga-Purāṇa* and *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* reiterate this periodic *ārti*.

8 The geography of the epic period may be gathered from Bühler and Kirste "Contributions to the History of the Mahābhārata" (Sitz. Wien, 189). *Asura India, op. cit.*, p. 99.

Geography

The Vedic,[1] Epic[2] and the Classcial[3] epochs had each a well-defined geography. The Vedic comprises the north-west of India from the Suvāstu to the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā[4]. The Ṛgveda witnessed the struggle between Ārya and Asura from the Suvāstu (the Swat) to the Sarasvatī[5]. The Yajus, Sāma and Atharva carried on the quarrel into the Madhyadeśa,[6] defeated the Asura, and founded Indo-Aryan supremacy.[7] Pargiter[8] in his *The Nations at the Battle between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas* analyses the geography of the Epic age[9]. Unlike the Vedic age, but rather its continuation in spirit, the Epic age has a different problem, *viz.* race-fusion[10], amalgamation of the different ethnic groups, *viz.* Ārya-Asura-Dāsa. Its geography is—"South Madhyadeśa and Pañchāla against the rest of India[11]. The Kurus had allies in the N.—E. of India in the King of Prāgjyotiṣa[12]; the Chīnas[13], the Kirātas[14] in the N.—W., in the Kambojas[15], the Yavanas[16]

1 *Asura Ind.*, op. cit., p. 13.
2 *Ibid.*, p 99.
3 Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*, pp. 301-2.
4 *Asura India*, pp. 40-1.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 99.
7 *Ibid.* p. 100.
8 *J.R.A.S.*, 1908. p. 334,
9 Rapson—*C.H.I.*—pp. 374-5.
10 *Asura India, op. cit.*, p 99.
11 *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 334.
12 *MBh.*, Sabhā. 27. 16; 55. 32
13 *Ibid.* Bhīṣma, 9·66; Sabhā, 78·55,
14 *Ibid.* Bhīṣma, 9·51.
15 *MBh*, Bhīṣma. 9·55.
16 *MBh.* Bhīṣma. 9·65

the Śakas[1], the Madras[2], the Kaikeyas[3], the Sindhus[4], the Sauvīras[5] (North-West); in the West[6], the Bhojas; in the South, the king of Dakṣiṇāpatha[7]; in the S.—E. the Andhras; in the Madhyadeśa, in the kings of Māhiṣmatī[8] and Avantī.[9],

The geography of the inscriptions of Bihar & Orissa, like their subject—matter, is quite distinct. It is Pan-Indic.[10] The chief factors are—"the Seleukid empire to the west; the all-India Mauryan empire[11]; the petty Greek or Indo-Greek states of the Parapanisos; the rise of the Parthian power; and the steady intrusion south—wards of barbaric hordes from the north-east....."[12]

Aśoka's inscriptions were engraved along the very confines[13] of his territories "In the west they are found at Girnar[14] on the Kāṭhiavar Peninsula and at Sopārā[15] on the Bombay coast; in the south in the Raichur district[16] of Nizam's Dominions and in the Chitaldroog

1 *MBh.* Bhīṣma 78. 99.
2 *MBh. Ibid*, , 9. 42.
3 *Ibid.* 9·48.
4 *Ibid.* 9·40.
5 *Ibid.*
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Asura India, op. cit.* p. 83.
8 *Ibid.*
9 Pargiter, *A.I.H.T., op. cit.*
10 Hultzsch, *C.I.I.*, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvi—ii.
11 cf. Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: *Chakravarti—kṣetra & Saṃghavṛtta.*
12. Grierson, *Bulletin School Orient. Stud. Lond.*: linguistic contributions of these N. E. dialects to the formation of Māgadhī.
13 Hultzsch, *op. cit*, pp. xxxvi—xlii.
14 cf. Junagaṭh rock inscr. of Rudradāman, *E.I.*, 8.47, for the Yavana king Tushāspha as the Mauryan provincial governor.
15 Hultzsch, *op. cit.*
16 cf. Brahmagiri and Siddāḍura rock-inscriptions.

district of the Mysore state,[1] and in the east at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa[2] in the Puri and Ganjam districts.[3] The north western boundary line is marked by the rock-edicts at Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsherā in the Peshawār[4] and Hazāra districts and at Kālsī in the Dehra Dūn district, and it is continued by the Nigālī Sāgar and Rummindeī pillars in the Nepalese Tarāi and by the Rāmpurvā pillar in the Champarān district.[5]

This inscriptional age started with this all—India outlook with Pāṭalīputra as capital. The Aśokan inscriptions establish it as a reality in the 3rd. cen. B.C. by forced, even violent, physical measures as described in his Kaliṅga edict.[6] The inscriptions of Kaliṅga[7] in the 11th. cen. A. C. record the same outlook, when the actuality had evolved into a historical fiction[8], and imposed unity had ended as a psychic realization, where the climax and end of this epoch[9] sees the disintegration

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1 Maski inscr. cf, Konakagiri and Suvarṇagiri.

2 Jaugaḍa edict I —*Samāpā.*
Jaugaḍa rock-edict I. A.—*Khepiṅgala.* (the name of the Jaugaḍa rock).

3 cf. *Trikaliṅga* in Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscrr.* (*E.I.*, vol. v, Appendix) pp. 117 ff.

4 Beal, *B.R.W.W,* I. 97.

5 Rock-edict XIII, Q, gives Aśoka's borders to the south as the Choḍas, and Pāṇḍyas, as far as Tāmraparṇī. Rock-edict II, A. adds Satiyaputra (Satiyaputa at Kālsī) and Keralaputra (Malabar).

6 Rock-edict XIII.

7 See the Marañja Mura charter of Mahāśivagupta, *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1918.

8 European scholars often mistake this essentially Indian mental asset as mere exaggeration.

9 In the Orissa inscrr. of the 12th–13th. cen. A.C.

of the territorial amalgamation[1] leaving in tact this pan-Indic outlook.[2] For instance the Marañja—Mura charter[3] of **महाशिव गुप्त** or **ययाति केशरी** describes the king as **कर्णाट-लाट-गुर्ज्जेश्वर-दाड़ज्वरी-भूविट-कणत्-काञ्चीकलापाभरण-लम्पट: । कलिङ्ग-कोङ्गदोत्कलक-कोशलास्वयम्वरप्रसिद्ध-गौड़राढाम्बर * * कलिङ्गाधिपति : शिवगुप्तश्रीय-जातिदेव:** (Second Plate, first side, lines 1—6) —' who has conquered Karnāṭa, Lāṭa, the lord of Gujrāt (Gurjeśvara), the conqueror of Drāviḍa country (**द्राविडजयी** suggested reading by B. C. Majumdar[4]) who has taken off like a lustful lover (Lampaṭaḥ) the twinkling waist-girdle (Kānchī) of a girl—that is to say, who has denuded the Kāñchī (Conjeveram) of its glory, who has been elected in a *svayaṃvara* as their lord by the countries of Kaliṅga, Koṅgada, Utkala and Kośala, whose body has been cooled by the wind in the sky (*ambara*) raised in the victorious assault against the noted countries of Gauḍa and Rāḍha, who is the full moon in the pure sky of—Vaṅga (Bengal) and who

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1 cf. Inscrr. Lüders's List, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. x. App.

The story of Knyphausen in Treitschke's *Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. II was repeated in India.

2 cf. the Kendupāṭna (in Orissa)plates of the 21st *aṅka*-year of the Gaṅga king Narasiṃhadeva II [of Kalinga, issued from Remuṇā:—(Pl. v. 6. l. 16).—*Saptadaśottara—dvādaśaśata-Śakavatsare* (Monday, 6th. August, A. C. 1296) *Chaturdaśabhuvanādhipatya-ādi-virudāvali-vi-rājamānaḥ, J.B.A.S.*, Lxv. Pt. I.p.235

3 *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1918.

has become the lord of the Trikaliṅga[1] countries by having conquered them with his own arms. Śrī Mahāśīva

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1 The predecessors as well as the successors of Yayāti, all claimed to be lords of Trikaliṅga.

(a) *Ep. Ind.* vol. III., p. 341. Paṭṇā (C. P.) plates of the Mahārājādhirāja Mahā-Bhavaguptarājadeva (I) Janamejayadeva, lord of Trikaliṅga, the successor of the Mahārājādhirāja Śivaguptadeva, of the family of the Moon,—issued from Kaṭak, while the king was at Murasima.

(b) *Ep. Ind.* vol. III., p. 347. Kaṭak plates of the Mahārājādhirāja Mahā-Bhavagupta (I), lord of Trikaliṅga, lord of Kośala, the successor of the Mahārājādhirāja Śivaguptadeva of the family of the Moon—(L. 43)—Mahārājādhirāja-*parameśvara-Somakulatilaka—Trikaliṅgādhipati-śrī-Mahā-Bhavaguptadeva—pādapadma-pravardhamāna-vijayarājye ekatriṁśattime (ttame) saṁvatsare Mārgga-śudi tithau trayodaśyāṁ yatrāṅkenāpi saṁvat 31 Mārgga-śudi 13.*

(c) *Ep. Ind.* vol. III. p. 346. Other plates of Mahā-Bhavaguptadeva (I).

(d) *Ep. Ind.* vol. III. p. 351. Kaṭak Plates of the Mahārājādhirāja Mahāśivaguptarājādeva Yayātirājadeva, lord of Trikaliṅga, the son and successor of the Mahārājādhirājadeva Mahā-Bhavaguptarājadeva [I] Janamejaya, of the family of the Moon; issued from Vinītapura.

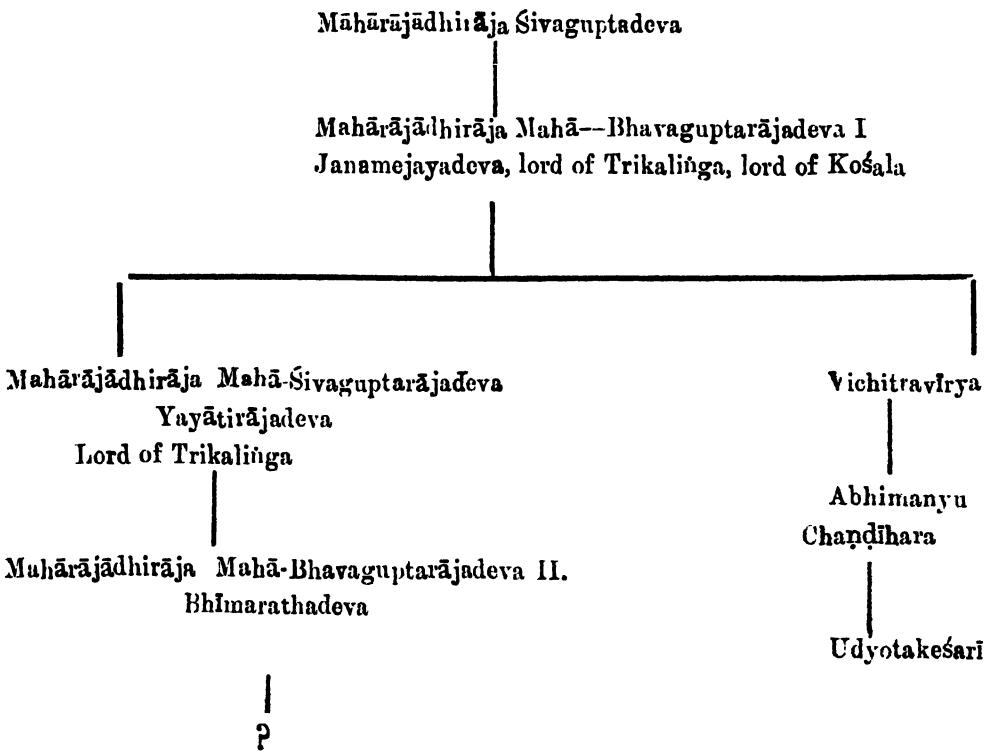
(e) *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 356. Kaṭak plates of the Mahārājādhirāja Mahā-Bhavaguptarājadeva [II] Bhimarathadeva, lord of Trikaliṅga, the son and successor of the Mahārājādhirāja Mahā-Śivaguptarājadeva Yayāti who was the son of Janamejaya, of the family of the Moon; issued from Yayātinagara.

(f) *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. page 258. Kudopali plates of the Raṇaka Puñja, of the reign of the Mahārājādhirāja Mahā-Bhavaguptadeva [II].

(g) Specially important is the Bhuvaneśvar plate of the reign of the Mahārājādhirāja Uddyotakeśarirajādeva, lord of Trikaliṅga. *J.B.A.S.*, vol. vii. p. 558, Plate xxiv. It gives the following geneology:—

Janamejaya of the lunar race, his son Dīrgharava, and his son Apavāra who died childless; after him Vichitravīrya (another son of Janamejaya), his son Abhimanyu, his son Chaṇḍihara, and his son Uddyotakeśarin whose mother was Kolāvatī of the solar race.

It is possible, from the above inscrr. to reconstitute the line of Yayāti as follows :—



J.B.A.S., vol. LXIV, Pt. I. p. 125, Purī plates mention Mahārāja Kulastambhadeva and Rala (ṇa) stambhadeva : *Ep. Ind.* vol. III. p. 313, plate from Kaṭak mentions Mahārājādhirāja Vijayarājadeva. It is not clear if they were related to the Yayāti family.

The following dates are reliable :—

Neulpur Copper Plate, *Ep. Ind.* vol. xv. p. 2.—Śubhakara keśarī : Śubhakaradeva of Orissa sent a copy of *Gaṇḍavyūha* to the then emperor of China, which was translated into Chinese between 796—98 A. C., *J. A.*, 1923, Juillet-Sept. p. 7: Rājendra Choḷa Keśarīvarman Kulottuṅga Choḷa defeated Para-keśari-varman in 1070 A.C. cf. Kielhorn, List of Southern Inscrr., *Ep. Ind*, vol·x. App.

Thus the Yayāti Keśarī line flourished between the 8th. & the 11th. cen. A.C.

The newly discovered inscrr, at Bhuvaneśvar record many of the above names and support Fleet's contention, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II. pp. 324-326. Incidentally they

Gupta. Śrī Yayātideva Mahārāja-dhirāja Parameśvara etc.[1] प्रकर्षणोद्घातमारुतशीलाङ्गवङ्गविमलाम्बरपूर्णचन्द्रः स्वभुजोपार्जितत्रि कलिङ्गाधिपतिः परममाहेश्वर-परमभट्टारकः श्रीमहाभवगुप्त-पादानुध्यात महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-प्रणमित-राजन्योपसेवित-पादारविन्द-युगलः श्री-महाशिवगुप्त-श्रीयजातिदेवः etc. Second Plate (First side lines 1—6). His other inscriptions show that Yayāti was really master of Trikaliṅga, that is, Koṅgada, Utkala[2] and Kaliṅga (a portion of the Ganjam District with Kośala (Part of Bengal). His claim to Guzerat etc. is a political fiction[3] which is real in the sense of a climax to the territorial unity achieved by this inscriptional age[4]. It was an asset both to the microcobe and macrocobe of India's next culture-era.[5].

Contents

But their sense of territorial unity corresponded to a spiritual consciousness[6]. The Epic age saw the race-fusion of Ārya-Asura — Dāsa peoples in the Madhyadeśa[7]. The inscriptional

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disprove the later fables of the *Mādalā Pāñjī* and suggest a possible confusion in the *Rāmacharita*, where Karṇakeśarī might be one of the Cholas, almost all of whom assumed the title of Keśarī. The recently discovered Chaura-I plate shows that some Karas even used to call themselves Keśarīs: Śubhakaradeva being the best-known example.

1 Also, *J.B.A.S.*, XLVI, Pt. I. p. 153.

2 *J.A.*, 1923, Juillet-September, pp. 18-24.

3 cf. the courtsey titles of many of the kings of Europe even to-day.

4 As borne out by the inscrr. of Aśoka.

5 Expressed in fero-concrete and printing press.

6 People from different parts of India come to the same spot, *e.g.*, Bodh-Gayā or Bhuvaneśvar to record gifts to various objects of worship associated with the same place: Bodh-Gayā image inscr. (c. 6th. cen. A. C.), recording the gift, by the two Śākya mendicants Dharmagupta and Dhamṣtrasena of Tiṣyāmratīrtha of the statue of Buddha, *Gupta Inscrr.*, p. 282, Plate: Gayā Kṛṣṇa-Dosrikā temple inscr. of Nayapāladeva, *A. S. R.*, Vol. III, Pl. xxxvii.

7 *Asura India, op. cit.*, p. 99.

epoch from the 3rd cen. B. C. to the 11th. cen. A. C. accomplished a territorial unity[1] based on culture—synthesis[2] of Buddhism—Jainism, Brāhmaṇism and Hinduism. Its youth coincides with the predominantly Buddhist inscriptions of Aśoka[3] and Dasaratha[4] 3rd–2nd. cen, B. C. and the Jaina inscrr. of Khāravela[5], 2nd Cen. B. C. Its maturity witnessed a resurgence of aggressive Brāhmaṇism in the inscriptions of the Śuṅgas 2nd cen. B. C. द्विरश्वमेधयाजिनः etc.,[6] of the Guptas 4th. Cen. A. C.[7] . (cf. Samundra Gupta) see the Maukhari Anantavarmā 7th cen. A. C. in the Aśoka and Daśaratha caves in the Barābar Hills: its fulfilment, climax and close in the inscriptions at Bhuvaneśvara (Konāraka & Purī) (8th—12th cen A. C.)[8] .

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1 cf. Nayapāladeva's inscr. *op. cit., Proceed., B. A. S.*, 1379, p. 221. (L. 18)- *Samasta-bhūmaṇḍala-rājya—bhāram-avi (bi) bhrat : .*

2 cf. The *Buddhist* inscr. in the *Liṅgarāja* temple dedicated to *Kirtivāsa.* (See Lecture VI) at Bhuvaneśvar.

3 In the Kauśāmbī, Sāñchī and Sārnāth piliar-edicts Aśoka orders heretical monks and nuns to be expelled from the *Saṃgha* In a passage from Budhaghoṣa's Samantapāsādikā (quoted by Boyer) Aśoka is stated to have given white robes (*setakāni vatthāni*) to the heretical monks whom he expelled : cf *Vinaya-piṭaka,* Oldenberg, Vol. III, p. 312: Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Gaudama* (2·139); *Dīpavaṃśa,* VII, 53; *Mahāvaṃśa,* V: 270. White colour in contrast with the proper Yellow colour of a Buddhist monk's robes.

4 Barabār Hills cave inscr.

5 J. B. O. R. S., 1917.

6 One *Aśvamedha* against Demetrios, the second against the conquest of Magadha by the Kaliṅgan Khāravela: Rāṇupāli inscr. *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1925 Khāravela inscr ; J. B. O. R. S., 1917.

7 Fleet, *Gupta Inscrr.*, No. I, plate I.

8 The Somavaṃśī Yayāti line inscrr.

Culture

The epic age ended with a race—mixture, leaving culture—currents yet undetermined.[1] Thus the problems of the inscriptional era were new[2] and they were met in ways entirely new,[3] unrecognised in so-called orthodox traditional history.[4] The scene opens with Chandragupta. Indian[5], Ceylonese[6] and Burmese[7] tradition mention him as founder of the Maurya dynasty and as his two immediate successors Bindusāra and Aśoka. The Purāṇas,[8] Dīpavaṃśa,[9] Mahāvaṃśa,[10] Buddhghoṣa's Samantapāsādikā[11] all agree in his accession to power before Aśoka and Bindusāra.[12] But there is an air of mystery about his personality. He heralds in a new epoch which was going to be the epoch of religious or cultural

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1 The Yuga Purṇa confuses between the different groups of *mlechchas* living in India towards the close of the Epic age.

2 Manu's description of the *Mlechchhadeśa* (ch. II) recognises Indian and non-Indian territory but he almost avoids the age-old Vrātya problem.

3 Absorption and assimilation of originally extra-Indian elements: cf. Heliodorus the devotee of Vāsudeva at Beśnagar, *A. S. R.* 1912-13 and King Milinda of the *Milindapañho*.

4. The story of the rise and decline of Manichæanism in and outside India has still to be written. Stein has been patiently collecting its threads in the sands of Chinese Turkestan. A fascinating tale of the texture,—Buddhism, Christianity and Kṛṣṇa cult-Hinduism woven and inter-woven, is gradually unfolding itself.

5 *Mudrārākṣasa*, ed. Hillebrandt, p. 159.

6 *Dīpavaṃśa*, ed. Oldenberg.

7 Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, op. cit., p. xxxii.

8 Pargitier, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 28.

9 Fleet, *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, 481 ; 1909,25.

10 *Vinayapiṭaka*, ed. Oldenberg, 3, 321.

11 *Ibid.*

12 Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Gaudama*, 2, 128f.

synthesis in India. In the Mudrārākṣasa,[1] Chāṇakya always addresses him as a वृषल? What does it mean? Is it reasonable to accept the meaning generally given to it *viz.* "low—born man."[2] It is highly improbable in the mouth of a minister to his master. The Ṛgveda Khilas use the expression वृषलीगमनमैथुन—[3]. The context suggests some non-Aryan[4] touch. Not-Āryan need not necessarily mean शूद्र. The ancient Asuras were non-Aryan.[5] Later, the Persians[6] were non-Āryans. Then again a question of difference in religious belief is involved. Hariṣena's *Bṛhat—Kathākośa*[7] makes Chandragupta a Jain. Pre-6th. cen. inscriptions at Śravana—Belgola[8] (quoted by Rice in his *Mysore and Coorg* refer to Chandragupta as a Jain, a disciple of Bhadrabāhu[9], the Śrutakevali.[10] He followed his master to Śravana-Belgola (Thomas : *Jainism or the early faith of Aśoka*) [11]वृषल thus might mean—'one foreign-born or professing a non-Baāhmaṇic religion.' Thence the term incurred the displeasure of Brāhmṇical

1 Mudrārākṣasa is evidently recording tradition in the same way as Kālidāsa used the appellation *senāpati* of Puṣyamitra in his *Mālavikāgnimitra.*

2 Scholiasts often forget that *Śūdraka, Vṛṣala,* etc. have to be explained with reference to contemporary political and social atmosphere as reconstructed with the help of inscrr. and coins, and not simply acc. to the stray fancies of a late lexicon.

3 Bloomfiell, *Vedic Concordance.*

vṛṣalīgamanamaithunasaṃgamāt, Rv. Kh., 9. 67. 110.

4 cf. the various explanations of Vrātyas.

5 Harivaṃśa, Yuga Purāṇa, Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, use the term *śūdra* in a most comprehensive sense.

6 Patañjali's *Śūdrāṇamanirvasitānām,* does not specify the *Śūdras.*

7 V. Smith, *E. H. I.,* 1914, 146.
8 *I. A.,* III, 153.
9 *Ibid.*
10 *Ibid.*
11 cf. also Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Anc. Hist. Deccan,* p. 10.

commentators. Kāśikā adds **चोरस्यकुलं**[1], 'the family of a thief', **वृषलस्यकुलं** the family of a low caste man, to Pāṇini's **षष्ठया आक्रोशे** (vi-3 21)where the genitive is preserved at the end of the first member of a compound. In this connection the word **देवानांपिये**[2] in the Aśoka inscriptions is highly instructive.

देवानांपिये[3] seems to be a favourite designation of Buddhist princes.

It is prefixed to *piyadasi* in the Aśoka inscriptions.[4] It is prefixed to the name of Aśoka's contemporary Tissa of Ceylon.[5] It is also employed by another member of the Mavrya family Daśalatha **देवानांपिय**[6]. Hoernle and Pischel note that **देव+अनुप्रिय, देवाणुप्पिय** are frequently found in Jain literature.[7] Even Bāṇa's Sanskrit **हर्षचरित** twice uses it in a good sense as an honorific[8].

पाणिनि[9] Paṇini has the rule **षष्ठया आक्रोशे** (vi-3·21.) when in

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1 Brāhmaṇa leaning towards Vedic blue blood is responsible for the word *audbhijja*, "upstart-born" in Harivaṃśa description of the next sacrificer of Aśvamedha after Janamejaya—

audbhijjo bhavitā kaś·hit Senānīḥ Kāśyapo dvijaḥ

If it refers to Puṣyamitra, *Kāśyapa* requires explanation, as Puṣyamitra is described in the *gotra* books as a *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa* and a *Bhāradvāja*.

2 As regards the epithet itself, cf. *Dhammapada*, 224,

* * *gachche devna santike.*

3 Who were these *devas*? another link of Buddhism with contemporary culture. Cf. Deniker, *The Gods of the Northern Buddhists*.

4 The full title is *Devānāṃ priyaḥ priyadaśī rājā*. Kālsī rock-edict I. A. Shb. rock-edicts II, A.; Delhi-Toprā Pillar-edict VII, O and X omit *rājā* Shb: I. A. omits *priyadarśī*: but *devānāṃpiya* is insisted upon.

5 Fleet,, *J. R. A. S*, 1908,485.

6 The Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscrr.

7 Cf. Hemachandra, *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, III, 17.

8 Kielhorn, *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, 505.

9 Pāṇini, II, 4,56; V. 3·14.

the sense of abuse or attack, the genitive is retained as the first member of a compound.

कात्यायन—Neither **पाणिनि** nor **कात्यायन** mentions **देवानांप्रिय**. **पतञ्जलि**[1] (Post-Aśokan) on Pāṇ. II. 4. 56.) says—**देवानांप्रियो न त्विष्टिञ्च इष्यते एतद्रूपमिति**. He who does not know sacrifice.[2] He simply records Aśoka's prohibition of sacrifice—**न इह समाजो कतव्वो** etc.[3] Hultzsch[4] is not justified in taking it in an ironical sense.[5] Thus **पाणिनि**, Kātyāyana and **पतञ्जलि** do not know the meaning of "a fool" as applied to **देवानांप्रियः**।[6]

कैयट[7]—commentator of **पतञ्जलि** knows this secondary meaning. **कात्यायन** adds the 3rd. of his 5 **वार्तिक**s to Pāṇini's **षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे**—saying **देवानांप्रिय** should be added. He is not very explicit about the meaning.

भट्टोजि[8]—in his **सिद्धान्तकौमुदी** adds the meaning **मूर्ख**। Up to the time of **बाण** the compound had not a clearly bad meaning—only the designation of a follower of a non-Brāhmaṇic religion.

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1 Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, 13,337, n. 1.

2 Aśoka denounces sacrifice, rock—edict 1.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *op. cit.*, p. xxix.

5 Hultzsch, *C. I. I.. op. cit.*, p xxix.

6 *Kāśikā* does not seem to know this meaning.

7 Kaiyaṭa is apparently referring to a late and new usage, cf. *Bālamanoram* Pāṇini. vi. 3·21.

8 Bhaṭṭoji's *mūrkha* lacks the historical *nuances* which might determine it particular genesis.

Now Mudrārākṣasa not only uses the term वृषल[1] but पिअदंसण[2] as a prefix to चन्दसिरि[3] *i.e.* Chandragupta. The Dīpavaṃsa[4] repeatedly uses पियदस्सि[5] or पियदस्सन[6] along with देवानंपिय for Aśoka.[7] In the Kālsī, Shahbazgaṛhī and Mānsehrā texts of the rock-edict VIII. A. the king's predecessors are called *Devānāṃpiyā*,[8] and *Devanaṃpriya*[9], while the Girnar and Dhauli versions have *rājāno*[10] and *lājāne*[11] and Jaugaḍa *lājā*[12] as corresponding expressions. Thus वृषल would also roughly correspond to लाजा and देवनंपिय meaning "a king with an unorthodox outlook," or "with a non-Brāhmaṇical faith," in short one who created a new faith instead of following the old. This faith transcended religion and embraced history.

Aśoka's inscriptions to be discussed in detail in Lecture III, give the viewpoint of the Buddhist faith in the 3rd. cen. B.C.

Then follows Khāravela the Jain in the 2nd—1st. cen. B. C.

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1 Hillebrandt, *Kauṭilīyaśāstra*, 1908, 30.

2 *Mudrārākṣasa*, ed. Hillebrandt, p. 159, lines. 1-5.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *J. A. S. B.*, 6, pp. 472ff., 566ff.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*

7 *J.A.S.B.*, *op. cit.*, 6. p. 472 f., p. 566 f.

8 Even his successor Daśalatha is described as *devānaṃpiya*, Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscrr.

9 Text, rock-edict VIII. A.

10 Hultzsch, *op. cit.* See plates.

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.*

The Buddhist and Jains are soon regarded as one common[1] non-Brāhmaṇical faith, both originally aggressive[2]—Aśoka the conqueror of Kaliṅga,–इह समाजो न कतव्वो[3] and Khāravela the invader of मगध[4] —took away the trophy of a sacred image brought by Nandarāja,नन्दराजनीतानि अगजिनस...नग...गहरत नपडिहारेहि अंगमगधे वसवु नेयात् (ति)[5]. Both were looked upon as hostile inspite of thier assurance to respect all sects परपाषण्डपूजा.[6] And both were occasionally confounded as the same, as recorded by the tradition of Aśoka being a Jaina[7] preserved both in the *Aini-Akabari*[8] and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[9]

The Śuṅga inscription (Ayodhyā) द्विरश्वमेधयाजिन: etc.[10] and the Guptas[11] develop the revived Brāhmaṇa outlook of समुद्रगुप्त [12] and the Maukharī Anantavarman[13] on the

1 Fergusson, in his *The Serpent Worship*, found it difficult to distinguish bet. Buddhist and Jain peculiarities, in spite of special popular emblems like the snake etc.

2 Rock-edict IX, Aśoka condemns Brāhmaṇical usage.

3 Rock-edict I.

4 Khāravela inscr., line 12.

5 Khāravela inscr., line 12.

6 *I. A.*, 6. 243.

7 Acc. to Kalhaṇa, Aśoka 'adopted the religion of Jina.' *Rājataraṅgiṇī* I, 102

8 By the time of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the process of assimilation was complete.

9 Acc. to *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, 106; VIII, 3391, Aśoka was surnamed *Śāntāvasāda*.

10 *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1924, p. 202 f.

11 Fleet, *Gupta Inscrr.*

12 *Ibid.* No. I, plate I. For the inscr. of the Gupta kings of Magadha see Kielhorn. *Inscrr. of Northern India, Ep, Ind.*, vol. v., App. nos. 535, 550, 551, 553.

13 *Gupta inscrr., op. cit.*, p. 222 and plate—Barābar Hill cave inscr. of the Maukhari Anantavarman, son of Śārdūla: *Ibid.* p. 222 and plate—Nāgārjunī Hill cave inscrr. of [the Maukhari] Anantavarman, son of Śārdūlavarman who was son of Yajñavarman.

self same Aśoka Buddhist and probably Khāravela Jaina caves in the Barābar Hills.[1]

The consciousness of unity and consequent synthesis are worked our first by the Buddhists and Jainas (The Jaina objection to Ājīvika heresy [2] in the Barābar caves throws some curious side-light on the process of this synthesis—cf the Janibigha inscription.[3] Apart from its historical importance as demonstrating the unreliability of the story[4] of the defeat and flight of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal in his 80th. year,[5] on the advent of Muhammad—ibn--Bakhtyar. The inscription is dated in the 83rd. year of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign.[6] The first two lines run—ॐस्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाबोधिप्रदं पुराणं परम्पं(म्प) * * (L. I.) रीणं नियतं जिनानां etc.[7] where already the Buddhist and Jaina cultures are merged into each other.[8]

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1 *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1926, Jackson, *Notes on the Barābar Hills*, pp. 49-52.

2 See Lecture V.

3 cf Prakhyātakīrtti. *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1918, 405-11.

4 It would be difficult to imagine a more preposterous story than the fiction of Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar and 18 horsemen, as narrated, by *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (Trans. by Raverty), pp. 557-8.

5 Minhaj-us-Siraj himself admits of the independence of Bengal under the descendants of Lakṣmaṇasena even after Muhammad-ibn-Bakhtiyar's conquest of Gauḍa. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, op. cit.*, p. 558.

6 Another piece of evidence lies in the coins struck by Sultan Mugīs-uddin Yujbak to commemorate his conquest of Nadia, fifty years after Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar: *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, vol. II, pt. II. p. 146, No. 6.*

7 *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, 102 might mean Buddha by the term Jina.

8 Contrast the description of Buddhists and Jains in Harivaṁśa with Buddha as an incarnation.

The Bhuvaneśvara[1] inscriptions from the 8th—11th. cen. complete the process and Hindu charters often begin with the Buddhist formula ये धर्महेतुप्रभवा etc.[2] imply respect for Brāhmaṇic deities[3] and end as comprehensive Hinduism.[4]

The consciousness of not only a cultural unity[5] in this inscriptional period but also a sense of distinct historical entity[6] from its predecessor is indicated by the acceptance even in the Jaina Khāravela inscription of

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1 See plate in Lecture VI.

2 From the sculptural side, the same assimilation has been a source of confusion to students seeking to indentify a part with the whole. Referring to the Konāraka temple—" Near Jagannath is a temple dedicated to the Sun. Its cost was defrayed by twelve years' revenue of the province."—*Ain-i-Akbari* (*Bib. Ind Series*) vol. II p. 128 : in the *Progress Rep. Archaeol Surv. E. Circle*, 1903, Longhurst identifies the six four-faced figures on the Jagamohan cornice as Śiva: Bloch suggested 'local name of Viṣṇu as Sun-god,' the Buddist connection is described in Bishun Swarup, *Konrak*, 85 : There are a hundred monasteries, and one may count nearly ten thousand monks, all of whom study the great translation (Mahāyāna). There are fifty temples of the gods. The heretics live pellmell with the orthodox Hiouen Thsang Transl. S. Julien, p. 425 quoted by Rajendralal Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. I, p 8 : heliolatry is sought to be associated with ancient Iran and Maga influence—*Alberuni*, ed. Sachau, 1883, p. 21 : lastly Abul Fazl records that the Muhammadans claim the temple as the mausoleum of Kabir Mua'h-hid *Ain-i-Akbari*, Transl. Col. H. E. Jarrett ; p. 129.

3 Sūrya, Kīrttivāsa (Viṣṇu), Liṅgarāja (Śiva ?) etc.

4 *Navagrahas, Daśvatras* are only outward symbols.

5 Bhuvaneśvar-Puri-Konārak eclecticism is repeated at Bodh-Gayā. Buddhists and Hindus are both claiming the temple. But it is not generally known that "the ancient Persians claim Gayā as a temple of their foundation, where Gywa [Kaiwān] or the planet Saturn was worshipped"—pointed out by Jackson and Oldham from the India office Library Ms. of Buchanan-Hamilton; cf. also *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, p. 441, n I.

6 In the same sense as the different *yugas* or cycles of civilisation—Satya, Tretā and Dvāpara. See Lecture I.

a मुरियकाल[1]—and the Maurya rule synchronises with the birth of the Bihar & Orissa inscriptional period.[2]

It further shows the close connection[3] that existed throughout this epoch between Bihar & Orissa[4], or Magadha (including parts of Bengal) and Kaliṅga (including the Ganjam district.) At first the association was imposed from without. Aśoka conquered Kaliṅga (see Kaliṅga Edict) in the 3rd. cen. B. C. Khāravela of Kaliṅga invaded Magadha in the 2nd.—1st. cen. B. C. (Khaṇḍagiri inscription line 12).[5] Śuṅgas and Gaṅgas[6] kept up this running acquaintance. First and second centuries B. C. & A. C. saw the incursions of the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas [7] who contributed the cement of Manaechaeanism, Agnosticism etc. already left as under-currents by the Indo—Bactrians and the Indo—Parthians from the 4th. cen. B. C. to the 2nd. cen. B. C.—helping to gradually mould up Hinduism from within. The final stimulus to this culture—assimilation of the two neighbouring countries was given by the Imperial Guptas

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1 See Lecture I.

2 Grünwedel (*Buddhist Art in India*) includes all lithic art, but it would be more correct to say the second epoch of lithic and inscriptional age after the Mahenjodaro finds. *Supra.*

3 Though not always friendly: cf. Aśoka's Kaliṅga edict and Khāravela's invasion of Magadha, Khāravela's inscr. line 12.

4 *Ibid.*

5 cf. Aśoka's reference to the cruelties of war against Kaliṅga.
also Magadha's humiliation by Khāravela---*pūde vaṃdāpayati*: (l. 12.)

6 cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. v, App. Kielhorn, *Inscrr. of Northern India*, nos. 361, 367, 369, 370, 670, 672, 676, 677-83.

7 The Pallavas of Kāñchīpuram (Conjeveram) constitute a "mystery"—V. Smith *Oxford Hist. Ind.* p, 205. Edward's edition *E.H. I.* 1924 has discussed it in an Appendix but has missed the full significance of inscrr. like "The Pallava plates

and their revived, Brāhmaṇism. From the 2nd. to the 8th. cen. Kaliṅga was repeatedly invaded by the Andhras[1] (2n. cen. A. C.), Western Chalukya of Badami[2] (567—68 A. D.—597-98 A. C.), by Pulakeśin II (Western Chalukyas) in the 7th cen, A C.,[3] by Dantidurga king of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the 8th cen. A. C.[4] In the meantime the Guptas of Magadha had divided into several groups. Under the Guptas of Kośala,[5] Mahāśiva Gupta took charge of Kaliṅga. Mahāśiva Gupta soon asserted his power and rose to be the lord of Trikaliṅga.[6] (See Marañja-Mura Charter under the name of Yayāti Keśarī.) His successors founded the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuvaneśvar.[7] The Bhuvaneśvar inscriptions show the final stage of amalgamation of Buddhism, Jainism and Brāhmaṇism in one comprehensive and all—embracing outlook. The two countries of Bihar and

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of Vetūrpāḷaiyam" "Kāṇheri inscr. of the mother of Skandanāga," no. 1021 of Lüders List etc. cf. also Report on Epigraphy for 1910-11; G. O. Public, 28th. July. Pt. II, No 7. p. 61. The most plausible explanation of how a Pallava prince (the Girnar inscr. mentions a Pahlava minister of the Western satraps ruling in Aparānta) married the daughter of the king Śiva-Skanda- Nāga-Śātakarṇi, and inherited the throne of Kāñchī is best discussed in "The Pallavas (Pondicherry, 1927) by Jouveau-Dubreuil. He, however, neglects the Darśi plate.

1 *Ep. Ind.*, vol x. App. Lüders List, nos. 22, 25, 987, 1024, 1146, 1540.

2 *Ep Ind.* vol. VIII, App. II. I. (Kielhorn, *Inscrr. of Southern India*) nos, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. 11.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VII, App. p. 26:

4 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

5 cf. the title *Kośalendra* of Mahābhavagupta I, *Ep. Ind.* vol. VII, p. 347.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, pp. 347, 351, 366, vol. IV. p. 258, *J. B. A. S.*, vol. VII. p. 558; vol. VI, p. 280; *I. A.* vol XIII, p. 49, 'lord of the whole of Kaliṅga.'

7 Without in any way suggesting the existence of a so-called Keśarī dynasty, it may be claimed that the Bhuvaneśvar Liṅgarāj temple was built by one of the Yayāti line (*Supra*) about the 9-10th, cen. A. C.

Orissa for a time lost territorial contact but gained in this spiritual unity or cultural consciousness.[1] The Bodhgayā inscription of Prakhyātakīrtti[2] of 6th. cen. A. C. records the worship by Prakhyātakīrtti at the *Ratnatraya*, of Bodhgayā. Prakhyātakīrtti came from Laṅkā,[3] wrongly interpreted in the J.B.O.R.S., 1919, as Ceylon. Some kings of Trikaliṅga were also known as *Paśchima-Laṅkādhipati* according to the Sonepur inscriptions published in the Epigraphia Indica[4] (cf. *Laṇkāvar—takasaṃnidhau*).[5] Bodh-Gayā attracted pilgrims from all over India and beyond, and certainly from Kaliṅga, including islands in the beds of the Godāvarī and the Mahānadī.[6] Similarly, the Bhuvaneśvar Liṅgarāja temple wall inscriptions from the 8th.—11th. cen. A. C. record

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1 Yayāti calls himself the dust of the feet of the kings of Bengal, his own line —(Marañja—Mura Charter, *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1919)

अस्मद्वङ्गान्वये काले यः कश्चिन्नृपति र्भवेत् तस्याहं पादरजोऽस्मि etc.

This conscious composite cultural synthesis reconciled age-old futile feuds when Bengal claimed conquest of Devapāla over Orissa—**उत्कीलितोत्कलकुलकुलं** Bādāl—pillar inscr. *The Pālas of Bengal* (R.D. Banerji), p. 56 : and Orissa retorted—

राढा-वरेन्द्र-यवनी-नयनाञ्जनाश्रु पूरेण दूरविनिवेशित-कालिमश्रीः ।
तद्विप्रलम्भ-करणाद्भुतनिस्तरङ्गा गङ्गापि नूनममुनायमुनाधुनाभूत् ॥

Copper plate inscr. of Nṛsiṃhadeva, *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 232 cf. also *J.A.S.B.*, pt.I, 1903, p. 144.

2 *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1918, p. 205.

3 *Ibid.* cf. the close connection bet. *Kaliṅga* and *Laṅkā*, *Gazetteer of India*, under *Godāvarī* : "The land on which tobacco is grown consists for the most part of alluvial islands lying within the banks of the Godāvārī river, called *laṅkās*, which are flooded every year....." *J.A.*, Juillet-Sept 19-3 pp. 36-7.

4 The state of Sonepur in Orissa is traditionally known as *paśchima-laṅkā*, *Ep. Ind.*, vol XII, 237.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, 218.

6 cf. Pliny, VI. 18: "Insula in Gange est magnae, amplitudinis gentem continens unam nomine Modogalingam."

the pions gifts of pilgrims from different parts of India including Magadha and professing Buddhism, Jainism and Brāhmaṇism and—their final synthesis, Hinduism. [1]

1 See plate of inscr. mentioning Aśokavalla, Lecture VI and compare it with the Gayā inscr. of Puruṣottamasiṃha, *I.A.*, vol. X, p. 342 and *J. B. B. R. A. S.* XVI, p. 358.

LECTURES III & IV.

LINGUISTIC SYNTHESIS.

Inscriptions of Aśoka and his Successors.

These inscriptions have been generally studied as distinct entities.[1] In some cases their historical interdependence has been discussed with more or less definiteness.[2] Thus the same caves in the Nāgārjuni hills containing the successive inscriptions of Daśalatha and of Ananta-varmā Maukhari and the same cave again, *e.g.* the Supiye cave, bearing Aśoka's inscription and a later attempt at tampering with the word *Ājīvikehi* have been pointed out,[3] but their full significance still requires a fuller treatment. And a satisfactory treatment is hardly possible without a comprehensive realization of the process of synthesis—linguistic and cultural—which forms the back ground of these inscriptional records.

The present lecture will analyse the linguistic synthesis that has baffled students with a *penchant* for clear-cut categories.—A synthesis in language that reflects, at first dimly, the cultural consciousness of unity in the gifts to different sects[4]—the *Bamhaṇas*, the *Samaṇas* and the

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[1]Burnouf, *Lotus.*
Senart, *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi.*
Bühler, *A. I.*
Cunningham, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I.

[2]Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, 1925.

[3]Jackson, *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1926, pp. 49—52.
Hultzsch, *op. cit., Introd.*

Niganṭhas separately in the beginning,[1] but leading on in the next Lecture to their implication in the same grant together. *e.g.* in the Orissa Inscriptions of the 8th—11th cen. A.C[2].

A study of the linguistic synthesis in the inscriptions of Aśoka might profitably be based on an analysis of their provincial, even sectarian, peculiarities.

A. MĀGADHĪ IN RELATION TO THE OTHER DIALECTS IN AŚOKA.

Characteristics of Aśokan Mg. are easily distinguishable from those of the other main group, comprising Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra and Girnar redactions. The following instances will make manifest their interrelations.

I. CHIEF CHARACTERISTICS OF SHB AND MANS:—

Language of Shb and Mans practically identical

(i) Three sibilants:—

[corresponding as a whole to the same sounds in Skt. subject to the modifying effect of the following phonetic laws:—

(*a*) *ś*—is dissimilated to *s* if the next syllable begins with *ś*.

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[1]Rock Edict XII. Woolner, Asoka Text and Glossary, p. XVII.

[2]Appendix.

[3]Johansson, Dialect der sogenannten shāhbāzgarhi—Redaktion, reprint p. 123; Michelson, AJP. Vol. XXX, Nos 119-20, pp. 284, 416ff. JAOS, XXX-XI.

(*b*) intervocalic *s* is assimilated to *ś* if the preceding syllable contains ś

(*c*) *ṣiy* and *ṣy* become *śś* (written *ś*).

(*d*) *st* and *sth*, become *st*. Exceptions are Māgadhisms.

cf. *Suśruṣa*, *anuśaśiśaṃti*, *manuśa-*, Shab. *tistiti* Mans.

[*ti*] *stitu*.]

cf. paśu- ; śramaṇa- ; aśilasa ; loc. plu. -eṣu ; etc.

(*ii*) *r* is not assimilated to any adjacent consonants whatsoever—*śravakaṁ*.

(but cf. ārṣ and ārṣy—in this case *ṣṣ* not *śś* is the result.)

Note on *dhrama*—

Senart, Bühler and Johansson—*dhrama* is graphic for *dharma*.

Pischel—it really represents *dhrama* and similar combinations.

Michelson holds first view.

Johansson holds—*r* is *assimilated* to dental stops (which then become linguals) in the dialects of Shab.

Michelson—*r* is *retained* before dental stops in both Shab and Mans. but that "Māgadhisms" have largely supplanted the true vernacular forms in both texts.

Michelson's arguments :—

(*a*) the language of Shab. and Mans. practically identical.

(*b*) In Mans. *athra-* (graphic for *artha-*) occurs 12 times.

(*c*) Thus in Mans. *r* is not assimilated to *th* (No other correspondent to Skt. *artha-* found in Mans.)

(*d*) Shahbaz. and Mans. should not differ in such a point.

(*e*) The single native Shab. form *athra*— confirms this.

(*f*) Therefore Shab. *aṭha-*(*i.e. aṭṭha-*) found more than a dozen times is a "Māgadism".

(*g*) The last, *i.e.*, (*f*) is confirmed by the fact that *aṭha*— (=Skt. *artha*—) is the only form used in D. and J. of the 14 Edicts as well as in the six recensions of the Pillar-Edicts.

Thus—The assimilation of *r* to dental stops (which then become linguals) is a "Māgadhism".

Also Shab. *sava*—

(*a*) True native form *savra*—found several times in Mans. and few times in Shab.

Sava—is a Māgadhism—practically driving out native Shab. *savra*.

a. Shab. *aṭhra*—

= native *athra*— + 'Māgadhan' *aṭha*.—

b. Shab. and Mans. *dhraṁma*—

a cross bet. i. *dhrama*— + ii. *dhaṁma*.

c. Mans. *vadhritte* (i.e. *vardh*) and • *vadhrayiśati* (i.e. *vardh*—) show that *r* was not assimilated to an immediately following *dh*.

But Māgadhisms have largely usurped the places of the true native forms in Mans. and exclusively in Shab. *diṿadha*—.

cf. *AJP*. 'Māgadhisms' or crosses between 'Māgadhisms' and the true native correspondent to Indic. *rt* have ousted the vernacular correspondent in both Shab. and Mans.

Examples of Rule (*ii*)

Śravakaṃ; Śramaṇa-; Suśruṣa; sahasra-; mitra-; parakramena; agrena; vagrena (*i.e.* vargena); athrasa (*i.e.* arthasa); dhrama (*i.e.* dharma); etc. etc.

(*iii*) vocalic *r*—

—becomes *ir*, ordinarily, *ur* after labials (Shab *kiṭraṃ* i.e. *kiṭraṃ* Mans. *vudhrana*, *vudhreṣu* (i.e. *vurdh-*, Shb. *mrugo* i.e. *murgo*.)

Note. All the other apparent products of Indic $r_{\circ}$ than *ir* and *ur* in both Shab. and Mans. are either 'Māgadhisms' or blends of "Māgadhisms" and native forms; $r_{\circ}$ does not lingualise following dental stops in the true native forms of both Shab. and Mans.

(*iv*) *h* in the combination *hm* is assimilated—(*bramana*—.)

(*v*) *tm* is retained.

-*atma*-Mans.

(*vi*) *Sm* before *i* becomes *sp*. cf. Bühler.

Note to (*v*) Native *tm* in Si .s completely ousted by "Māgadhan' *tt* (written *t*) exactly as native *prati* by 'Māgadhan' *paṭi* in M. (cf. Michelson, IF. xxxiii, pp. 240, 251).

Note to (*vi*) The ' Māgadhan' loc. sing— —*asi* has largely taken the place of native —*aspi* in both Shb. and Mans.

(Locative Sing. of *a*—stems taken from the pronominal declension, **aspi*, —**asmi*, cf. Avestan—*ahmi* as opposed to Skt. —*asmin*.)

(*vii*) *suv*— and *sv*— become *sp*— (*spamikena* cf. D.J. and K *suvāmikenā*

S. — spasunaṃ
M. — spasuna
Skt. svasāram—

M. — ɔpagraṃ
K. Svagaṃ
Skt. Svargam

(Note to viii) Acc. to Michelson as opposed to Johansson—

—M. duvadaśa—

M. duve
S. duvi
are Māgadhisms.
cf. Kālsī *duve* etc.

(*vii*) *viy* and *vy* — become *vv*

(S. gerundive—tava— *i.e.* tavva-, *e.g.* vatàvo Skt. vyaktavyàs [cf. Whitney, Skt. Gr. §964c. end]: divaṇi, Skt. diviyāṇi.

Note. In Mans. the Māgadhan gerundive—*tavïya*— has usurped the place of native —*tava*— cf. Franke. it occurs a few times in Shab.

(*viii*) *dv*— becomes *b*—

—s. *badaya*—, a mistake for *badaśa*—

(*ix*) *tv* becomes *tt*—

written *t* and *tt* (gerund in *ti* ·Vedic tvī ; *tadattaye*, Skt tadātva –)

(*x*) *mṿ* becomes *mm* (s. samma—

Skt. Samyak—)

(*xi*) Aryan *st* (Skt. ṣṭ, Av. st) and stth (Skt. ṣṭth, Av. st)- alike become *st*

S. (13th Edt) asta-: dipista—Skt. (a) dipiṣṭa ;

S. tistiti—Skt. *tiṣṭhitvī

M. tistitu- *tiṣthitu

(*xii*) ñj—becomes *ññ* written *ñ*

S. vañanato

Skt. vyañjanatas

(*xiii*) *d*—is retained in the Iranian loan-word *dipi*.

(*xiv*) Intervocalic *j* becomes *y*.

S. raya, samaye, kaṁboya-, kaṁboyeṣu, prayuhotave.

N. pra(yuho) taviye.

Note.

Acc. to Johansson, (Shb. i, p. 177, 63 –of the reprint.)

—uyanaspi (for his –asi)—

cf. ujana—ujjana.

Acc. to Michelson.

S. and M. *uyanaspi* — is merely graphical for *uyyāna—i.e.*, to say that —

—*dy*— in word composition have a different history than —*dy*— when not in word composition (per contra, note *aja, i.e.*, ajja.)

The same holds true for the dialects of the Girnār, Dhauli, Jaugada and K. recensions of the Fourteen Edicts: cf.

G. uyānesu.
D. (u) yān[asi].
J. K.—uyānasi

as contrasted with

G. aja
Dh. aja — Skt. adya, Vedic adyā
J. aja.
K. ajā

The *y* is purely graphic for yy
and j „ „ „ jj
—cf. Pāli uyyāna—, uyyāna—, ajja cf. Henry—Précis, section 87, 3.

E. Müller—Pāli Gr. p. 49.

Jacob;—Erz. sec. 36.

Windsch—Essay on Pāli — (The transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists held at Algiers) ignores tne above fact when he takes Pāli *uyyāna*—as a 'Māgadhan' relic.

In Prākṛit—d y—in word composition has the same history as—dy— when not in word composition, *i.e. jj* Māgadhī *yy*.

Johansson—*y* for *j* in S and M.—a 'Māgadhism'—wrong ∵ *y* never used for *j* in D. J. K.—of the 14-Edicts and D. J. R. K.—essentially similar to the 'Māgadhan' original.

'Acc. to native grammarians *j* becomes *y* in Māgadhī Prākṛit.

But Māgadhī Prākṛit has only two noteworthy agreements Hc. IV. 292 with the Māgdhan dialects of the Aśokan inscriptions—*viz* :—

(*i*) *l* takes the place of *r* Var. XI. 3; Hc. IV. 288.

(*ii*)—*e* „ „ „ „ original *ar* (—o in the other dialects). Var. XI. 40; Hc. IV. 287.

But Māgadhī Prākṛit has one special agreement with the dialect of the Girnār redaction, *viz* : —

(*i*) The Aryan *st* (Skt. *st*) and *sth* (sṭh) fall together in *st*.

Acc. to Michelson—majura— = a 'Māgadhism' cf. correspondent in D. J. K.

(*xv*) intervocalic *h*—

—either lost or weakly pronounced.

cf. *ia*, M. *maa* as contra. S. ma[ha].

(*xvi*) Indic. *niḥ* —

—*ni* in compounds

cf. S. nik [r]amatu

M. nikramaṃtu, nikramiṣu

S. nikramaṇaṃ

Note. Acc. to Johansson – (Shb. ii, p. 17) –

—erroneously places *nikramisu* in the same category as *dukaraṃ* S. [du] kataṃ, M. dukata

(final ṃ graphically omitted).

Acc. to Michelson—

[du] kataṃ and dukaṭa = "Māgadhism"

cf. AJP

cf. K. dukaṭam

Note the difference in dukaṭam, dukale and nikhaṃtu, nikhamisu, nikhamiṭhā (possibly thā) vinikhamane. cf. D. & J. nikhamāvū cf. Johansson, Shb. ii, p. 89, footnote 2.

Shab. *joti—kaṁdhaṁ*—certainly a Māgadhism shown by

M. agi—kaṃdhani
K. agi—kaṃdhāni
Dh. agi—kaṃdhāni
G. agi—khaṃdhāni

cf. the contrast with dukaram, dukataṁ

Johansson – read G. *agikaṃdhāni* but *kh* is absolutely certain cf. Ep. Indica ii.

(*xvii*) *h* as the correspondent of Indica *dh* - in S. *iha*

(*xviii*) Indic *utthānam*—
retained (written uthanaṃ)

Note. The vernacular termination supports S. *uthanaṁ i.e.*

uthānaṃ = Skt. utthānam.

Per contra note 'Māgadhan' endings --*e* and *asi* in
M. uthane, S. uṭhanasi, M. u [thanasi]
These forms are certainly 'Māgadhisms' cf. Michelson and Johansson.

Johansson--S. uthanam = a 'Māgadhism' — highly improbable.

uthā na—never found in any of the Māgadhan versions of the Fourteen-Edicts.

Again the *th* of dhramadhi*th*anaye and dhramadhi*th*an (e)
-- not careless writing for th --shown by
M. dhramadhithanaye
dhramadhithane
K. dhaṃmādhithānāye
These forms are 'Māgadhisms.'

Cf. Johansson—Treatise on the dialects of the Shb. recension, op. cit.
i pp. 165, 166 (51, 52 of the reprint) 168, 169 (54, 55) 170 (56) ; ii pp. 17, 18.

On 'Māgadhan' uthāna—and G. ustāna—cf. Michelson, l. F.

(xix) Śc appears as c (graphical for cc? *pacā*) ;

Note. M. & S. *pacha* (Bühler's pachha ZDMG. 43, 44)—xiiith Edict =Māgadhisms, cf. K. [pa]chā (Bühler) [pa]chhā.

(xx) the *r* of kerala

(a) The nom. sing. masc. of *a*– stems.
—a few times apparently ends in—*a* cf. S. *jana*

(b) Original *r*–stems-become *u–stems*
cf. pituna
S. bhratunaṃ, spasunam
N. spasuna
S. & N. matapituṣu.

(c) Nom. plu. of the cardinal number —*caturo*
S. cature with 'Māgadhan' *-e* for *-o*

(d) The loc. plurals *paṃcasu*
[—S. pa[ṃca]ṣu
M. paṃ[caṣu] and ṣaṣu—
by the analogy of *a*—stems

(e) The genitive sing. of the first personal pronoun *maha*
S. ma[ha]
M. maa

Note. The same form is found in Prākṛit. Pischel's explanation (Gr. Section 418) that it corresponds to Skt. *mahyam* is phonetically difficult.

Acc. to Michelson—*maha* is for **mama* by influence of **mahyam*.

(f) *ayo*—as a nom. sing.
—only in S.

Note. Acc. to Johansson—Shb. ii p. 46,—under different accentual conditions, —*am* becomes —*aṃ* and —*o* in Shb. dialect. (doubtful ?)

Acc. to Michelson—
ayo—is for—*ayaṃ* by the analogy of the nom. sing. masc. of other pronouns such as *so*, *yo*, etc.

Acc. to Michelson—
the form *ayi* is a hyper—Māgadhism. cf. If. xxiv. p. 55.

Iyo—a blend of—native *ayo* and 'Māgadhan iyaṃ directly comparable to *draṇma*—a cross between native *dhrama*—and 'Māgadhan *dhaṃma*—

Acc. to Johansson—

dhramo in Bühler EI. Sh. xii. 6—acc. sing.
—but acc. to Michelson—it is an error.

Cf. M. *dhramaṃ* also numerous other acc. sing. of masc. a–stems in S. & M.

On the gender of *ayo* cf. Johansson l. c. ii. pp. 34 (footnote 2), 79.

Iyaṃ in both M. & S. is a 'Māgadism'.

(g) The peculiar optatives *siyasu* and *haṃñeyasu*—(M. has lacunas where the forms would otherwise occur)

(h) gerund in tti (written ti)
—corresponding to Vedic —tvī S. *tititi*
M. *darśeti* **darśayitvī*

(i) Certain lexical features—
such as *atra*, *apagratho* (M. has a lacuna in the corresponding passage).

[On the etymology of *apagratho*, cf. Bühler, ZDMG. xliii, p. 174.

S. meñati (if not a blunder for ma—)
corresponds to Gothic *mainjan*.
old Bulgarian měniti)

S. joti—Skt. jyotiṣ--

S. vuta—*i.e.* vutta, Skt. uptāni

S. vidhem—cf. Johansson, Shb, i. p. 134, 20. of the reprint.

S. vracaṃti

S. & M. tathaṃ (Johansson, Shb. i. p. 154,40 of reprint.

M. vaṃ=Skt. evam, Johansson Shb. i. p. 174, 40 reprint.

S. vo, Johansson ii. pp. 44, 45. Franke, Pu. Skt. pp. 105, 151, aśamaṇasa, spasunaṃ, yo, yamatro

M. aśatasa, spasuna.

Note. S.—*yo*—

Etymology not yet solved

—Johansson (Shb. i, pp. 154, 155, 40 & 48 of the reprint—) disproves Bühler.

Acc. to Johansson—*yo* stands for *yava*—a doublet of *eva*—(farfetched?)

Acc. to Michelson —*yo*

—is a fossilized nom. sing. masc. of *va*

Cf. M. & K. *yaṃ* corresponding to S. *yo* (not the particle) x, 21

Similarly S. *so* and 'Māgadhan' *se* as adverbs—are fossilized nom. sing. of sa—shown by

G. correspondent *ta* (**tad*)

S. *so* and 'Māgadhan' *se* treated by Johansson Shb. ii pp. 42—44

S. *cayo*=ca + yo.

Note.—S. *yamatro*—

—for etymology, cf Johansson, Shb. ii. p. 98. Johansson goes to extra—Indic Indo-European languages to explain this difficult word; occasionally one must do so to properly explain certain middle-Indic words.

Acc. to Michelson—*yamatro* = *ya* + *mātro*—a possessive adj. compound = "as many as".

Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions ∴ —much nearer to Sanskrit—than other versions of the Fourteen-Edicts.

Geographically, this is just what one should expect.

The dialect of S. & M. hardly belongs to the Middle-Indic stage of development. (Michelson).

B. SHB. AND MANS. COMPARED WITH GIR.

The points of contact between the dialect of Shb. and Mans. and the dialect of G.
—much more striking than between S. & M. — and the 'Māgadhan' dialects.

(i) Final *-as* appears as -o.

Note. In M. 'Māgadhan' *-e* has entirely wiped out native *-o*

(ii) *St* — is retained.

S. & M. nasti	S. dhramasaṃstave
G. — nāsti	G. dhaṃmasaṃstavo
S. S. [ha]stino	S. vistiṭena
M. hastine	G. vistatana etc.
G. hasti —	

(iii) the sound *r*.

(iv) the sound ṇ.

M. dhramacaraṇa	M. bramaṇa
S. dhramacaraṇam	
D. dhaṃmacaraṇaṃ	G. brāmhaṇa

Note. In case-endings, *ṇ* is replaced by *n* through the analogy of other words where dental *n* is obtained phonetically. This is true for M. S. & G. There are a couple of cases where the same phenomenon takes place in suffixes in the dialect of Shb. cf. Johansson, Shb. i, p. 166 (52 of the reprint)

Michelson, AJP. xxx, 1. c. J's Ka [lanaṃ] in Bühler's ed : in EI. ii.

Acc. to Michelson — *garana* a blunder for *garaha* (Bühler)

On Taṃbapaṃni — Michelson IF. xxiv. p. 55; Pitinika.

On Bühler's kāranaṃ in G. cf. Michelson, l. c. p. 55.

nn (written ṃn and n) from Indic *ny* –

S. & G. aṃna –, ana –,

M. ana –

Note. In M. – doublets with nn (written ṇ)

e.g. ana –, ana –, maṇati, manati.

Similarly, M. puṇam, punam.

but S. punaṃ

G. puṃnaṃ – Skt puṇyam.

Michelson –

"I know no thoroughly satisfactory explanation of the doublets. The best, I can offer at present, is that as ṇ and n alike were foreign to the dialect of the Māgadhan scribe, he was careless in distinguishing the two or was ignorant of their proper usage. The forms witn ṇ then are purely fictitious." For the possibility of the principle, see Johansson, Shb. ii. p. 43.

(v) *jn* becomes *n* initially and either *nn* or *n* medially.

S. natinaṃ	S. rana, rano
M. natina	G. rānā. rāno
G. natīnaṃ	

Note. The alphabets of S. M. N. G. hinder us from being positive in the matter. For

S. rana, rano, can be either rannā, ranno, rānā, rāno (and conceivably, rānna, rānno,.

G. rānā, rāno can be either rānā, rāno, rānnā, rānno (it will be recalled that long vowels are not shortened before the consonants in the dialect of G.)

Pāli and the various Prākṛit languages point to *nn* in the forms.

S. & M. aṇapemi

S.—aṇapayami, aṇapitaṃ

M.—aṇapita

S.—aṇapes' aṃli; M.—aṇapayiśati offer some difficulty when contrasted with G. ānapayāmi, ānapitaṃ, ānapayisati.

Acc. to Johansson—(Shb. i. p. 165, 51 of the reprint)—initial *a* is long and n phonetically becomes ṇ. We have the same phenomenon in Pāli: *e.g.* ranna, ranno, yanno, āṇāpeti, āṇatti.

In ordinary Prākṛit jn becomes ṇṇ (initially ṇ) in Māgadhī and Paiśācī nn.

For the agreement of Pāli with S. & M. in this point as opposed to G. note.

Pali—hirannam

S.—[h]i[ra]na—

M.—hina (read hirana—)

G.—hiraṃṇa—

(vi) *II* (written h) from Indic by

S. & M. kalaṇa—,

G. kalāṇa—

cf. Pāli kallāṇa—

(vii) *Ch* is retained in the correspondents to Skt. *Chavati*.

Skt. chūta—[as a participle]

S. M.—choti S. & M. chuta—,

G.—chavati G. chūta—

'Māgadhan' *hoti* has nearly everywhere usurped the place of native *choti* in M. Similarly *hūta* – (written *huta*–) the place of *chūta*–(written *chuta*), *hotu* had everywhere taken the place of *chotu*. *hoti* used in S. – 2 times.
hoti...in G.—but *chavati* predominant.
hoti is a Māgadhism—
therefore D. J. & K. have *hoti* only as=Skt. *chavati*
Similarly regarding *huta*—and *hotu*.

(ix) partial agreement is not assimilating.
r to adjacent consonants
S. & M. savratra *i.e.* sarvatra
G. sarvatra
S. & M. — parakrameṇa
G. — parākramena
S. & G. priyo
M. priye
S. M. śramaṇa—
G. sramaṇa

Note. The law for the retention or assimilation of *r* in conjoint consonants in the dialect of S. is:— *r* is retained after stops and sibilants, and before v; is assimilated to following stops, sibilants, and nasals. Exceptions are 'Māgadhisms'.

(x) Indic *kṣ* becomes *cch*, initially *ch* (written *ch* in both cases)

S. achati	S. [chaṃ]ti
G. achatiṃ	G. chāti[ṃ]

(a) *ty* becomes *cc* (written c)

S. apaca
G. apacaṃ

(b) initial *y* is retained in relative pronouns and adverbs frequently omitted in the 'Māgadhan' versions: so either wholly lost in actual pronunciation or very weakly pronounced.

Note to (x)—

kh in G. S, & M. are 'Māgadhisms'
therefore in D. J. & K.—kkh (written kh, kh and not kkh of course initially) is the regular correspondent to Indic kṣ cf. Johansson, S. ii. p. 23.

Acc. to Johansson—Bühler reads saṃ[chi]tena in ZDMG., in Ed. he reads *saṃklutena*.

Johansson, Bartholomae, and Michelson–reject Pischel's 'law'. Is Ayam *zzh* is reflected bz j jh in middle Indic languages.

(c) *evaṃ* not *hevaṃ*—is the correspondent to Skt. evam.

(d) S. rana, rano
G. rānā, rāno (and not—jin)

(e) *mayā* (written *maya* in M. & S.)
—as the inst. sing. of the 1st personal pronoun (and not *mamayā*)

(f) ahaṃ (and not hakaṃ)—nom. sing. of the 1st per. pronoun.

(g) y (and not h) in the ending of the 1st per. sing. of the Optative).

S. vracheyaṃ,
G. gacheyaṃ.

(h) o—conjugation of karoti, prati (not in M.) and not Pāli, corresponding to Skt. prati cf. Michelson, IF. xxiii, pp. 240-41.

(i) S. & M. law—that *ś* converts a following intervocalic s to ś—is to be connected with G. law—
original ś converts a following st to st.

(u) (j) S. & M. *st* and G. *st* from Aryan *sth* are to be brought into correlation—observe the retention of the sibilant and the deaspiration in both cases, even if the final result is different.

(k) S. M. & G.—Indic *sth* becomes *st* but 'Māgadhisms' by chance take the place of native sounds in S. & M.

(l) G.—original arṣ and arṣy become ās (cf. Michelson IF. xxxiv. pp. 53, 54)
S. & M. *r* is assimilated to an immediately ṣ after a (Michelson, AJP. xxx) (Therefore problematic vowel quantities and geminations are not distinguished in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet). If the two are brought into rapport with one another the law would be:—
r is assimilated to an immediately following ṣ in the combinations arṣ and arṣy—S. M. & G. becoming
āṣ(s) in S. & M.—and
ās—in G.
Original *ārs* remains in S. & M. but becomes *ās* in G.

Note. Cases where *r* is omitted are probably 'Māgadhisms'. Yet it is possible that the process which was completed in the case of *ars* was beginning to take place in the case of *ārṣ* and hence the graphic fluctuation.
In S. & M. *r* is assimilated before *ṣ* but not before other consonants.
therefore *ṣ* as well as *r* is a lingual consonant.
r would be more naturally assimilated to a consonant of its own class than other consonants.

As opposed to Johansson, Michelson holds (AJP.) —*r* is not assimilated to immediately following dental stop in our dialect—nor are the dental stops converted into lingual stops by the influence of the preceding *r*.

(3) SHB. AND MANS.—COMPARED WITH KAL AND GIR.

Points of contact are few in number.

(a) The contraction of ayi to e

S. & M. pujetaviya
K. pujetaviya
G. pūjetayā (a blunder for pūjetavyā)

S. lekhapeśami
K. lekhāpeśāmi.

M. hapeśati
S. [hapeśati]
G. hāpesati

S. [vadhe]śaṃti, aṇapeśaṃti
S. alocetі
G. alocetpā
M. draśeti

S. vijetavi[ya]ṃ
G. vijetavyaṃ

S. prativedetavo
patrivedetavo
G. prativedetavyaṃ

cf. Michelson, IF. xxiii pp. 240, 241.

(b) The phonetic correspondent to Skt. *manuṣya*—S. & M. manuśa, *i.e.* manuśśa—;
G. manusa—, *i.e.* manussa
K. manuṣa—, *i.e.* manuṣṣa

(c) —*eyu* (and not *evu*)—as the ending of the 3rd person pl. of the optative active.

S. avatrapeyu, śruṇeyu
S. & M. vaseẏu, suśruṣeyu
M. śruṇey[u], haveyu
G. vaseyu
K. ṣuneyu, ṣuṣuṣeyu, huveyu,--ne
i.e. (honeyu)

Note to (a)

In D. & J. ayi is uncontracted; as also in the 'Māgadhan' position of K. 'Māgadhan' *ayi* for *e* has forced itself into several words in S. M. & G. *ayi* phonetically contracts to *e* in G. S. & M. under all circumstances. (Contrast the view of Johansson). The fact S. & M. are not always in agreement in the use of *ayi* & *e* distinctly points in this direction. For the principle involved, cf. Franke--Pāli and Sanskrit, p. 109.

Note to (b)

K. Manuṣa—is the true native word.

Manusa—in the Māgadhan portion is due to the influence of 'Māgadhan' *munisa*—which is also found in the 'Māgadhan' portion of K. This does not affect the fact that 'Māgadhan' *munisa*—itself is a contamination of *manusa*— and *pulisa*—

Cf. Michelson, IF. xxiii, p. 254ff.

Conclusion

It is an acknowledged fact that in Edicts i—ix—the dialect of the Kālsi recension is practically pure 'Māgadhan,' with but few traces of the native dialect. In Edicts x—xiv the local dialect is prominent, but 'Māgadhisms' are not infrequent. It is probably due to this that we are unable to point out more special points of contact of the dialects of S. M. G. & K.

(4) SHB. AND MANS.—COMPARED WITH KAL.

Few special points of contact can be shown even if they existed.

Therefore Edicts i—ix,—pure 'Māgadhan' with few traces of native dialect;

Edicts x—xiv,—local dialect prominent but 'Māgadhisms' not infrequent

Examples:

(a) The contraction of *aya* to *a* in the 3rd sing. indicative and 3rd pl. of the imperative of the Causative.

S. M. K.—pujeti

[S.—pat[r]ivedetu, M. pativedetu, 3d pl. m. graphically omitted.

S. & M.—aradhetu

S.—aradheti K[pali]vedemtu

M.—aradheti S. rocetu

S.—vadheti K. locetu

S.—anuneti

Note. The contraction of *aya* in these forms is foreign to G. D. & J. of the 14-Edicts.

Therefore uncontracted *aya* in S. M. & K. = 'Māgadhisms'

Exactly as—*ayi* remains uncontracted to *e* in S., M., G., K.

Johansson (Shb. i, p. 141, 142 (27, 28 of the reprint) formulates a law determining circumstances when *aya* phonetically remains or is contracted to e—

But he overlooks the principle of 'Māgadhisms' in explaining the apparent exceptions *anuneti* included for convenience.

(b) S. & M. *kiti*—

from kid iti—Johansson, Shb. ii, p. 52.

(c) imaṃ (written also ima in S. & M.)

—as nom. acc. sing. neuter.

(d) i—in the gen. sing.

of S. M. etisa

K. etiṣā (as shown by S. *imisa* we should expect this in Mans. and the corresponding from in K., but 'Māgadhisms' have usurped the place of native words.)

(5) SHB. AND MANS.—COMPARED WITH DH. JAUG. & KAL.

'It will probably always be a matter of dispute as to what are special points of contact between the dialect of the S. & M. redactions on the one hand and the dialects of the 'Māgadhan' versions on the other. For it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the seeming points of contact are not after all nothing more than 'Māgadhisms' in the S. & M. versions. In some cases absolute tests are wanting; and the matter becomes more or less subjective.'

For example:—

(a) gerunds in *tu*

(b) the *iy* passive

(c) cu 'but' in S. & M.

—are really 'Māgadhisms' and not special points of contact with 'Māgadhan' versions.

Note.

(a)—Arguments in favour of gerunds *tu* (in S. & M.)
—as 'Māgadhisms,' cf. Michelson, JAOS., xxx. p. 82.

(b) Arguments—why *iy* passive in S. & M.—a 'Māgadhism'

—(i) otherwise we have to assume that *iyi* remained or was contracted to ī in S. & M. under unknown conditions.

(ii) Whereas *iyi* remains in D. & K.

(iii) the present passive *iy* is the only present passive found in the dialects of the Pillar-Edicts.

(iv) the fact that M. ara isu (*i.e.* arabhisu) corresponds to S. a[rabh]i[yisu].
Māgadhan *s* for native *ṣ* should be observed in the termination of both words.

(v) Note too the Shb. passive hammaṃti (hany—) with active ending.

(c) It should be noticed that *cu* (and not *tu*) alone is found in K. of the 14-Edicts as well as the various recensions of the Pillar-Edicts.
The *tu* of the D. of the 14-Edicts then would be a trace of the true local vernacular.

This does not make it possible to declare *cu* the phonetic equivalent of *tu*, as *t* before *u* remains in the dialect of the Delhi-Sivalik version of the Pillar-Edicts.

cf. tuṭhāyatanāni, Skt. tuṣṭyāyatanāni.

On the etymology of *cu*, cf. Michelson IF, xxiii, p. 256ff.

Michelson—*hida* in S. & M.—a 'Māgadhism' so also M. *hidaṃ* (if not a blunder).

The following are real points of contact and not 'Māgadhisms.'

(a) The contraction of *ava* to *o* in the correspondents to Skt. *bhavati* & *bhavatu.*

Cf. M. S. bhoti D. J. & K. hoti, hotu
S. bhotu

(b) original vocalic ṃ appears as *a* + a nasal
cf S. M. atikraṃtaṃ
D. J. K. atikaṃtaṃ

(c) the initial *i* of *iti* is lost after immediately preceding vowels.

(d) the dative sing. of *a*–stems ends in –āye (written –*aye* in S. & M.)

(e) the oblique cases in the sing. of ā–stems end in–āye (written –aye in S. & M.)

Note. Johansson's explanation of (e) is wrong acc. to Michelson.

Acc. to Pischel—(Gr. d. Pkt. –Sprachen—)
āye phonetically = Skt. āyāi.
For the use of āye (āyāi) as gen. sing. no question will be raised.

The use of *āye* as inst. sing. is thus to be explained. * iyās aud * iyā, the gen. & inst. sing. of ī–stems respectively phonetically fell together in * iyā; likewise * uvās and * uvā of the ū–stems, after the syncretism of the gen. u dative, *iye* did duty as a gen. also: now as iyā has the function of both gen. & inst., *iye* was made to serve as an inst. Hence āye of ā–stems also was used as an inst. It would be possible to assume that āye simply levelled *ayā.*

Another plausible hypothesis :

> the inst. *ayā* was levelled to āyā by influence of the gen. sing. āyā (āyās) ; *i.e.* when *āye* came to be used as a gen. it also was used as an inst.

As a matter of fact all the above forces may have played a part in bringing about the result. The original loc. sing., whatever it may have been, was simply wiped out in favour of āye. For *āya* in the obilique cases of ā–stems in Pāli, and in the Girnār redaction of the Fourteen-Edicts; as well as in the dialects of the Pilla-Edicts (cf. Michelson—Girnār Dialect.) The dat. sing. of *ā*–stems in *aye* is simply borrowed from the *ā*–stems. Pischel saw the possibility of this explanation but rejected it on insufficient grounds (Gr. d. Pkt. Sprachen).

cf. Michelson, IF. xxiii, p. 243.

(f) *saṃtaṃ* as a nom. sing. of the present participle (written *saṃta* once in Mans.)

(g) similarly S. & M. *karaṃtaṃ–* (written also *karataṃ* in both S. & M., *karata* in S) K. *kalaṃtaṃ* (written also kalaṃta, kalata).

(h) the optative siyā (written *siya* in S. & M.)

In these dialects the nom. sing. neutre of *a*–stems is frequently replaced by the nom. sing. masc. s– *–o*, s– *–o*, In M. 'Māgadhan' *–e* replaces D. J. K. *–e* native *–o*

(i) The vocalism of *ucāvuca–* (written *ucavaca–* in S. & M.) —in the dialects of J. D. & K. deserves mention in contrast with G. *ucāvaca–* (reading of J. in ASSI.)

II. MAG. ORIGINAL--AND ITS TRACES.

(1) The dialect of the 'Māgadhan' original of the S. & M. redactions of Aśokas Fourteen-Edicts was essentially the same as the dialects of the Dhauli, Jaugada and Kālsī recensions of these edicts, the Delhi—Sivalik version of the Pillar-Edicts, etc. These are styled '*Māgadhan*'—therefore

(a) Indic *r* appears as *l*

(b) original final—*as* becomes *e* in all of them.

But the term '*Māgadhan*'—must not be confused with the 'Māgadhī'—of the Prākṛit grammarians.
Because Māgadhī has a number of special features not shared by the dialects called 'Māgadhan.'
Kālsi—is essentially 'Māgadhan' but has some very marked characteristics of its own.

cf. Franke—Kālsī (edicts i—ix,—pure Māgadhan edicts,
x—xiv,—local peculiarities prominent.
Other 'Māgadhan' dialects differ from one another in a few minor points.

(2) HOW MAG. TRACES IN SHB. AND MANS. ARE TO BE RECOGNIZED.

(a) Where we have two products in the S. & M. redactions from one Indic sound (or two combinations of sounds corresponding to one Indic combination), and two inflection from when we find one of these products and one of the inflectional forms—and no other phonetic product or inflectional form—in the Dauli recension, etc.

corresponding to the same Indic sound (or combinations of sounds) and inflectional form—then the phonetic product or inflectional form found in the S. & M. redactions but also in the Dhauli version, etc. is to be considered as due to the dialect of the 'Māgadhan' original. (The same principle holds good in determining the 'Māgadhism' of the Girnar version of the Fourteen-Edicts, etc) Example :—

In D. J. K. (Fourteen-Edicts) and the various redactions of the Pillar-Edicts—Indic *r* becomes *l*

S. & M. (vast majority of cases) Indic *r* remains *r*

S. & M. (few isolated instances) Indic *r* becomes therefore S. & M. isolated instances *r* becoming *l*—due to the 'Māgadhan' original cf. S. & M. *sala*-Skt. sāra-)

cf. *sava*—

S. *savra*—(graphically for sarva—)=Skt. *sarva*-

S. also sava—(graphically for savva—)

D. & J. only *sava*—

therefore sav—of S.=due to 'Māgadhan' orignal.

—this supported by the fact that M. has only *savra*—as Skt. sarva.

cf. locative sing. of *a*-stems in —*asi* is a 'Māgadhism —while *aspi* is native to S. & M.

cf. Optative *yeham* in M. is a 'Māgadhism,' cf. Franke, l. c., 114.

(b) It is a well-recognized fact that in the Mansehra redaction certain 'Māgadhisms' have completely supplanted the native forms.

Examples :—

(a) The 'Māgadhan' gerundive termination *tarya*— has completely usurped the place of the native *tava*.

(b) similarly—*jin*—in the weakest cases of *raja* that of native—*n*—

(c) 'Māgadhan' —*e* for Indic—*as* is found to the exclusion of native —*o*.

These cases are more certain by the testimony of the S. redaction. Without this we would be forced into believing these 'Māgadhisms' really represented the true dialective forms of M. Similarly certain 'Māgadhisms' in S. usually considered as representing the true dialect, have in reality either totally or very nearly ejected the true vernacular forms, the evidence for this to be found in M.

Another salient feature of these 'Māgadhisms'— sometimes only parts of a word show Māgadhan influence : Examples :—

S. spagaṁ, savatra

M. kayaṇa, pakaraṇasi

Spagaṁ—is for native *spagraṃ* (so M; *gr* graphically for *rg*; Skt. *svarga*— altered by 'Māgadhan' *svagaṃ* [*g* graphically for *gg*.

J. & K. svagaṃ

D. svagasa]

savatra—is for *savratra* (so M. always) influenced by 'Māgadhan' *savata* (so D. & J.)

kayaṇa— is for *kalaṇa*—

pakaraṇasi—is for *prakaraṇaspi*.

Allied to 'Māgadhan' influence on part of a word—is the curious blend found in *dhraṃma*—(a few times in S. & M.) dhraṃma—

=*dhrama*—(*i e.* dharma—; Skt. dharma—, regular form of S. & M. used many times)

+'Māgadhan' *dhaṃma*—(D. J. K. and different recensions of Pillar-Edicts).

Thus far only the 'Māgadhisms' which have previously been recognized as such with the exception of the loc. sing. in —*asi*, as contrasted with that in —*aspi*. It will be noticed that 'Māgadhan' influence has been shown mostly :—

(a) in the consonantism of words and

(b) in the vocalism of the final syllables only.

Michelson's Theory

There is no reason why we should not find 'Māgadhan' influence.

(cf. B. above) in the vocalisms of syllables other than final. (Franke— recognizes this principle.) (cf. JAOS. xxx).

Example : (i) *hoti* (G. xivth Edict)

The native word corresponding to Skt. *bhavati* is *bhavati* but 'Māgadhan' *hoti* found 3 times.

therefore 'Māgadhan' influence in the vocalism of a syllable other than final.

That *hoti* is a 'Māgadhism' is certain; therefore it is the invariable correspondent to Skt. *bhavati* in D. J. & K.

'Māgadhan' *hoti* replaced native *bhoti* in S. 2 times.

„ „ practically wiped out native form *bhoti* M. occurring but once at xii. 9.

[Note. In Pāli we have the doublets *bhavati* and *hoti*: but this is a case of dialect-mixture exactly as in the case of attha—, aṭṭha-—(Skt. artha—), cf. p. 297. Windisch has properly emphasised the fact that Pāli is a literary language only, and does not represent any one vernacular].

(ii) *guru-susūsā* G. xiii. 3 :

cf. D. susūsā (*i.e.* sussūsā)

The native word is susrusā, iv. 7 (twice), x. 2, xi. 2.

[Observe also D-S *sususāyā* at vii 8 (twice) as contrasted with *susūsāya* at D-S. i. 4, Allahabad 1—2; susūsāya at Radhia i. 3; Mathia 1—3.

The dialect of the VIIth-edict of the D-S version of the Pillar-Edicts differs somewhat from the other edicts of this text. Cf. IF. xxiii, p. 248.

We have short u of G. & D-S. as opposed to the long ū of other Aśokan dialects and Skt. Cf. No. 120, JAOS.]

(iii) Susrūsā at G. iii. 4—is a blend of the *dhraṁma*-type (see above) [susuṁsā at G. xiii. 3 is a blunder for sususā. *i.e.* sussusā with 'Māgadhan' -s- for -sr.]

(1) INDIC SIBILANTS Ś ṣ, s.

It is conceded by all that in M. & S. of the 14-Edicts-exist symbols for the sibilants s, ś, & ṣ.

The question is :—

(a) Are these symbols merely graphic representatives of one sound, *viz*, dental s :

(b) If the three sibilants are really native to the dialects of the texts (S. & M. -14-Edicts) how do they correspond to the Indic sibilants ?

(a) (i) Senart [JA., Juillet-Août, 1886, pp. 74, 15]. all 3 sibilants used indiscriminately therefore stand for dental s.

(ii) Johansson, [Shb. section 14, 18, 48]. —supports Senart's view : though (end of Sec. he queries if it may not be that only the palatal and lingual sibilants have fallen together.

(b) (i) Franke [GN. 1895, p. 538] —

—declared that the use of the 3 sibilants in M. & S. was as a whole in accordance with the etymology of a given word, does not say that M. & S. actually possessed 3 distinct sibilants s, ś, ṣ : the sibilants had indeed fallen together in one sound, *i.e.*, *s.*, but the correct historical spelling had in general been maintained : he is hostile to Senart's theory of historical and learned spelling in the inscrr. of India [cf. BB. xvii, p. 86ff. ; Pāli und Sanskrit, p. 53, footnote 10]. Later in ' Pāli und Sanskrit' he definitely ascribed all 3 sibilants to M. & S. ; but in certain cases dental *s* stood for Indic s, ś, ṣ, cf. pp. 54, 55 and 93.

Michelson's criticism of Franke.

(i) No phonetic law or laws are stated that govern the unusual correspondence in these cases, save that M. & S. *st* correspond to Skt. *ṣṭh*. (ii) Why is it loc. plural at S. xiii. 4-*yseu*

but loc. plurals-*aṁteṣu, anatheṣu,* śramaṇa-, paśu Priyadraśim etc.

but dental s in anusocan [aṃ], S. xiii. 2.

(iii) The charge of promiscuous use of the sibilants-not disproved.

(iv) Franke was on the right track.

(b) (ii) Michelson—

(1) M. & S. of the Fourteen Edicts do possess 3 sibilants s, ś, ṣ

(2) These sibilants s, ś, ṣ –do correspond as a whole to the Indic sibilants of the same class.

(3) But there are certain phonetic laws which have a modifying influence.

(4) Johansson anticipated these phonetic laws but was doubtful whether they were a graphic representation or a phonetic process ; in one case, *viz.*, the treatment of ṣ+i, ū (ii, p. 5) both Johansson, and Sorensen (cf. Om Sanskrit, p. 286) and Franke (Pāli und Sanskrit, p. 98 —were wrong the first entirely, the second and third partly. Sorensen—held that S. & M.—possess 3 sibilants s, ś, ṣ but gave away his case by admitting that these were used inconsistentiy : cf. the French résume.

(5) The dialects of S. & M. are more archaic than the rest. Thus—

Indic *r* is not assimilated to an immediately preceding or following mute or sibilant, an immediately following nasal or *u*—whereas in

Six redactions of the Pillar Edicts

G.—*r* is kept after an immediately preceding u mute or sibilant and before an immediately following *u* : but is assimilated to an immediately following mute, nasal, or sibilant : in K.D. & J. an Indic *r* is assimilated to an immediately preceding or following mute or sibilant, an immediately following nasal or *u*. Apparent exceptions to the above are 'Māgadhisms'.

vaṛa—found 8 times in S. and 7 times in M.
=Skt. varṣa—(no other correspondent)
S.M. Kaṣati and kaṣaṃti=* karṣiati and karṣianti)
respectivelly : (=Skt. kariṣyati and kariṣyanti)
no other correspondents.

—it would seem as if in the case of-arṣ-and arṣi, the *r* was assimilated and the forms cited accordingly to those proper to the dialects of M. & S.

If we had vasa—alone to deal with, we might attribute the lack of an *r* to the influence of the 'Māgadhan' original especially if *vraṣa*, i.e. *varṣa* at S. iv. 10 were certain cf. paṣaṃḍa—beside prasaṃḍa— (i.e. pars—) in M. & S. (It so happens that the anusvāra is graphically omitted in M.

But it should be noticed that the so-called 'Māgadhan versions have *kachati* and *kachaṃti* respectivelv as the correspondents to *kaṣati* and *kaṣaṃti*. There can be no question, therefore, of, at any rate, direct 'Māgadhan' influence on *kaṣati* and *kasaṃti*. It is of course possible to assume that *kaṣati* and *kasaṃti* are hyper-Māgadhisms, and unless this is done it is difficult to escape assuming

the phonetic law suggested above. If it is queried why *arṣ* is treated differently than *arś*, the reply is that in the Girnār recension of the Fourteen-Edicts arṣ and arś are also treated differently: cf. Michelson, IF., xxiv, pp. 53-54 and JAOS. xxx.

The fact that *r* is retained before consonants, is disguised by the writing of Shb. and Mans.; e.g. *dhrama-* is merely graphical for *dharma*, *draśana* for *darśana-* *savra-* for *sarva-*, *athra* for *artha-*, *vrachaspi* for *varchaspi* (cf. Skt. varcas-) etc. There are some who deny that in these cases *r* was really pronounced immediately before the other consonant, and affirm that the spelling indicates the true pronunciation. For the literature on this point see Johansson, Der dialect der sogenanten Shāhbāzgarhi redaction, sections 4 and 17. Bühler, EJ., i, p. 17, should also be consulted. I am briefly pointing out why in my opinion this view is untenable. Why is *r* treated differently before dental and guttural mutes than it is before palatal and labial mutes? Observe Mans. *vadhrite* (Skt. *vardhita-*), *vagrena* (Skt. *vargeṇa*), vrachaspi (transfer to the a- declension, cf. skt. varchas-), Shb. *grabhagaraspi*, Mans. *grabhagarari* (Skt. *garbhāgāra-*). This puzzling divergence vanishes if a nearly graphic caprice is assumed; *i.e* that *vadhrite* stands for *vardhite* *vrachaspi* for *varchaspi*, etc. For why have we pruva- as the correspondent to Skt. *pūrva-*, but *savra-* as the equivalent of Skt. *sarva-* at Shb. vi. 16? How is this apparent doublet of *savra-* to be explained? It is absolutely certain that *srava-* corresponds to Skt. *sarva*. The only way of the difficulty is to assume that *pruva-*

is merely graphical for *purva-*, and that *savra-* and *sarva-* are merely orthographic variants to express *srava-*. Observe also Mans. *krata- viye* corresponds to Skt. *kartavya-*, and Shb. *kitri* to Skt. *kīrti*; similarly Shb. *vistritena* =Skt. *vistṛtena*, and Shb. *kitram* = Skt. *kṛtam*. These are only explicable on the theory that *kraṭaviye* kiṭri, *vistriṭena*, and *kiṭraṃ* are merely graphical for *karṭaviye*, *kirti*, *vistriṭena* and *kirtaṃ* respectively. Otherwise we would have a perplexing different phonetic treatment of *r* before the same sound, namely ṭ. Mans. *driḍh* at vii. 33 is highly instructive if the true reading. It is a blunder for *driḍha-* or *diḍhra-*, in either case merely graphical for *dirḍha-* (Skt. *dṛḍha-*) as is shown by Gir. *dadha-*. Mans *karṭa-* (Skt. kṛta-) at V. 24 is also very weighty in this connection. Similarly *paṭri* on the VI. Edict of Shb. (for *praṭi* elsewhere) is pertinent evidence in showing that the consonant to which *r* is attached is only a matter of graphic convenience. The fact that at Mans. V. 24 we have *vyapraṭa* as the correspondent to Shb. *viyapaṭra* at V. 13 is a decisive argument in favour of this view. Their Skt. counterpart is *vyāpṛtās* and they can only be explained as both being merely graphical for *viyaparṭa*.

There are some who will cite Pāli *gadrabha-*(Skt. *gardabha-*) in support of the contention that Mans. *spagram* etc., represents the real pronunciation. It is quite true that acc. to Pāli phonetics who should expect * *gaddabha-* or * *gaḍḍabha-* as the correspondent to Skt. *gardabha-* and *gadrabha-* must be a loan-word from some dialect in which metathesis of *r* preceding consonants took place. I do not deny that such dialects may have

existed, but I deny that evidence of the Shahb. & Mans. redactions warrants us in assuming that this phenomenon occurred to the dialects of these two texts.

Whereas in the dialect of the Girnar version of the 14-Edicts Indic *r* is kept after an immediately preceding mute or sibilant and before an immediately following *v*; but is assimilated to an immediately following mutes nasal, or sibilant; and in the dialects of the Kālsī, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa recensions of the 14-Edicts as well as in the dialects of the six redactions of the Pillar-Edicts Indic *r* is assimilated to an immediately preceding or following mute or sibilant, an immediately following nasal or *v*. (Apparent exceptions to the above are 'Māgadhisms'.

The modifying phonetic laws hinted at above are:—

(1) Initial *ś* is dissimilated to *s* if the next syllable begins with ś.

(2) Medially between vowels *s* is assimilated to a preceding *ś*.

(3) Corresponding to Aryan st(h) [Skt. ṣṭ (h)] we have st. (v) Note. G. Sh. & Man. have a number of points in common as opposed to the dialects of the other versions of the Edicts-cf adv. *evaṃ* while Kālsī etc. *hevaṁ*.

—pron. *ahaṁ* while Kālsī, Dh. & Jaug. *hakaṁ*

—*ayaṃ* as nom. sing. fem.—Kālsī etc.

(4) ṣc (except in ṛṣi [cf. Franke] (i) being assimilated to the preceding ṣ) and ṣ (ii) become śś, of course written ś. [Franke & Sorensen are wrong in assuming that s (not śś) is the phonetic product Māgadhī Prākrit *manuśśa*-(Skt. manuṣya-) is convincing proof of this.

Note. Acc. to Johansson, (Shb. i, §20) *etisa*=Indic *etasya*, the intermediate stages being * *etasya*, *etasya*, whence *etissa* (the *s* of *etisa* is merely graphical). Johan. doubtful. Therefore granting that the Shb. & Mans. had stress-accent (which Michelson assumes) it does not necessarily follow that a system of initial accentuation was in vogue. Michelson supposes the system to be of Classical Skt. and believes, from the evidence of Pāli and Prākrit, that the *i* of *etisa* and *uisa* is due to the analogy of the corresponding feminine genitives.

There remains, however, a small number of cases in which a dental sibilant takes the place of an Indic lingual or palatal one. These have thus far remained unexplained except by the assumption that the 3 symbols for *ś*, *ṣ*, *s* all really represent one sound, namely, *s*. Yet a simple solution is readily to be found: they are due to the influence of the 'Māgadhan' original. This is certainly correct as 3 Indic sibilants become dental *s* in the dialects of the Jaug. and Dhauli redactions of the 14-Edicts. (See Michelson p. 284) the dialect of Kālsī is essentially 'Māgadhan' in edicts i-ix. So in the matter of the sibilants, with a few exception, in these edicts the dialect of K. agrees with the dialects of J. & Dh.

(a) Cases in which we find s-for ṣ.

Shb. 1. 2-*a*[*rabh*]*i*[*yisu*]

Mans. 1. 4-*a*[*ra*]. *su*

(i) Kālsī —*ālabhiyisu*

J.—(*ā*) *labh* (*i*)*yisu*

Dh.—[*ā*](*la*)*bhīyis*(*u*).

(ii) Mans. iv. B *anu*[*lo*]*cayisu*—a well-known blunder for *alo—

K.—*alocayisu*

Dh.—*alocayis*(*u*)

J.—*alocayi*—

per contra note *loce* [*ṣ*] *u* Shb. IV. 10

(iii) Mans. viii. 34—*husu*

Kālsī

Delhi—Sivalik *husu*

per contra Shb. *abhovasu*.

(iv) Sub. xiii. 4 *yesu*

Edicts xi–xiii are lacking in J. & Dh. & so a direct check is lacking: but as the loc. pl. of *a*—stems ends in–*esu* otherwise in them as well as in K. in edicts i–ix, it is certain that *yesu* is a 'Māgadhism', for the loc. pl. of *a*–stems otherwise invariably ends in–esu in the Mans. and Shab. redaction.

(B) Cases in which 'Māgadhan' *s* appears for native ś.

(i) *samacariyaṁ*—Shb. xiii. 8

anusocan[*aṁ*]—Shb. xiii. 2.

(ii) In Shb. xiii. 12—[s] ramarati
Mans. xiii. 13—[s]rama[rati] Skt. *śrama*—

there is a blend of native * śrama- and 'Māgadhan'* Sama–, cf. Shb. and Mans. *dhraṁma*– as a blend of native *dhrama*– and 'Māgadhan' *dhaṁma*–. Shb. *praṭi* and Shb. *aṭhra*– = blend of the same type. Cf. IF. xxiii, p. 240, and A. J. P. p. 295 Vol. 1909, Examples where Indic (and native) sr– remains one Shb. & Mans. *sramaṇa*–, Shb. *sruṇeyu*, Mans. *sruṇey*[*u*] Shb. & Mans. — *sravakaṁ*.

The correspondents to Skt. *Śreṣṭha-* offer some difficulties. One expects * *śresta* – and this only as the phonetic equivalent in ten dialects of Shb. & Mans. In point of fact, however, this never occurs: we have Shb. *sresta-*.

Shb. & Mans. *stretha-*, i.e. *sresta-mati* at Shb. 1. 2 [sr] eṭh[aṁ] at Shb. iv. 10, sre[ṭh]e at Mans. iv. 17. The *ṭh* of the last two is an undoubted 'Māgadhism' (see Johansson, Shb. ii. p. 17, as is also the final *e* of sre[ṭhe] (cf. K. seṭhe, Dh. *se[ṭhe]* (cf. K. *seṭhe*, Dh. se[ṭhe]). It is natural therefore to suspect that in all 3 cases the initial *sr-* is a blend of native *śr-* and 'Māgadhān' *s-*. The fact that *seṣṭe* of the G. text has 'Māgadhan' initial *s-* for native *sr-* as well as 'Māgadhan' final *-e* for native *-aṁ* makes for the same.

(iii) One case in which 'Māgadhan' *ss* (written *s*) appears for native *śś* (which of course would be written *ś*) in place of Indic *-ṣi-* *-viz.*
Mans. xiii–ii—*anuvidhi[yisanti]*
Kālsī—*anuvidhiyisamti.*
per contra note Shb. *anuvidhiyiśaṁti.*

Note. Shb. xii—*badaya*—
Acc. to Michelson—an error for * *badaśa-* :
[cf. Johansson, Shb. i, p. 142]
Acc. to Franke – : found twice.
but acc. to Michelson *ś* is never changed into *y*.

With these restrictions Shb. & Mans. sibilants correspond to the respective Indic sibilants.

(2) INDIC *rth.*

(i) Mans. retains Indic *rth* as *rth*, naturally written *thr*.
cf. Bühler — EI. *athra-* (17 times) - for Skt. *artha-*
nirathriya (once) exactly as if
* *nirarthy-* occurred in Skt. as
anarthya- does.

Thus in Mans. *athra-*, and *athra-* only = Skt. *artha-*

(ii) Shab.—though essentially akin to Mans.—
—uses *thr* for Indic *thr-* only once: Cf. *athrasa*
iv. 10 - the regular correspondent to Skt. *artha-* is
aṭha- (*i.e. aṭṭha-* —used 16 times.

(iii) Dhaulī and Jaug. and six redactions of the Pillar Edicts- invariably use *aṭha-* (i.e. *aṭṭha-*)=Skt. *artha-* therefore Shb. *aṭha* is a 'Māgadhism' and *athrasa* is the true native form.

As a parallel where 'Māgadhisms' occur in Shb. but not in Mans.

cf. Shb. *savra-* and *sava-*
and Mans. only *savra-* = Skt. *sarva-*

(1) If Shb. *aṭha-* is a 'Māgadhism'
then *aṭhra* vi. 14 is a blend of native *athra* (*in*) final *ṁ* often omitted - and 'Māgadhan' *aṭhaṁ*.

(2) Similarly *niraṭhriyaṁ* ix. 18 is
— a blend of native *nirathriyaṁ*
and 'Māgadhan' *nilaṭhiyaṁ*.

(3) Cf. also *supaṭhraye* i. 2.
Mans. v. 23 and Shb. v. 12 *anatheṣu* = Skt. *anātha* and not = Skt. *anartha-*.

cf. Dhauli *anāthesu* (with long ā- and dental *th*) Kālsī *anathesu* (in corresponding passage) is a blunder as are also —

mātapitisu, iii. 8.

dhaṁmanusathiye iv. 10.

dhaṁmanuṣathi viii. 23.

lajā x. 28.

lajinā xiv. 19.

vimanadasanā iv. 9.

pāṣamuḷani xii. 31.

madhuliyāye xiv. 22.

Shb. vi. 14 a *athakramaṁ* is a misprint for aṭha-: cf. ZDMG. xliii, p. 147.

Shb. ix 20 [*a*]*thaṁ* [*a*]*thaṁ* is an error for aṭhaṁ —induced by [*a*] *tha* (Skt. *atha*) is the preceding sentence as conversely we have *aṭhaṁ* for *atha* in the corresponding sentence of the Kālsī text by the influence of aṭhaṁ (Skt. *arthaṁ*) in the next sentence. In this case we are but linguistically concerned with the Shb. [a]thaṁ.

Michelson's criticisms of Johansson.

Acc. to Johansson — Dialect of the Shb. redaction i, pp. 165, 167, 168, 187, 188 (51, 53—4, 73—4 of reprint) and ii, p. 25.

Indic *rth* became *rṭh* (with lingual ṭh) in Shb., the *r* probably not completely sounded, therefore liable

(i) to be omitted graphically; but *r* was not wholly lost as shown by the fact that *rṭh* was often written *ṭhr*.

Criticisms. In Shb. *ṭhr* occurs only twice.

Johansson's assumption (p. 165) that *athrasa* iv. 10 is for *aṭhrasa* (with lingual *ṭh*) would make the instances 3, but this assumption is wrong, therefore corresponding Mans. is *athrasa*.

If *rth* became *rṭh* in Mans. one expects *aṭhrasa* at least once. But this is not the case; *athra-* (with dental *th*) and this only = Skt. *artha-* in Mans.

(ii) Johansson.—*athaṁ* due to the influence of the 'Māgadhan' original.

Michelson:—J. is wrong, therefore *aṭha-* only (in the Dhauli, Jaugada of the 14 Edicts and six recensions of the Pillar Edicts) = Skt. *artha-*

Hence *aṭha-* (i.e. *aṭṭha-*) was certainly the form native to the 'Māgadhan' dialect: Cf. Intro. p. 167 (53 of reprint part i.)

(iii) Johansson:—*aṭhra-* and *athra-* (i.e. *arṭha-* and *artha-* respectively) should be compared to Pāli *aṭṭha-*, and *atha-*(i.e. *attha-*) with Pāli *attha-*

Michelson's criticism — as *thr* and *ṭhr* are not the same the first comparison falls to the ground And as *athaṁ* occurs only once, and may be an error- the second also falls to the ground.

(iv) Johansson—Pāli *aṭṭha-* and *attha* were originally dialectic doublets and later mixed or both forms are of the same dialect by the operation of certain phonetic laws? The nature of the accent, acute or circumflex may have had a modifying influence, and so caused the dialects.

Michelson—*attha*—(of course written *atha*–) in this Girnar recension of the 14 Edicts = Skt. *artha* – *aṭṭha*– (written *aṭha*–) only, in the Dh. and Jaug. of the 14 Edicts and Six Pillar Edicts therefore Pāli *aṭṭha*– and attha– are due to dialect mixture. Cf. Windisch, Transactions International. Cong. Orient, 14, Première Section, pp. 279, 280.

Michelson—*aṭṭha*– and *attha*– (written of course *aṭha*– and *atha*–respectively) occur in Kālsī of the 14 Edicts. By this is to be interpreted that the form proper to the native dialect is *attha*–, and *aṭṭha*– is a 'Māgadhism'.

Cf. Franke, Pāli und Sanskrit, p. 109.

Incidentally it may be remarked that we know nearly nothing concerning the accentual system, or systems, of most of the dialects of the inscriptions of Aśoka. But the accentual system of Radhia, Mathia, and Rāmpūrvā Pillar Edicts– was identical with or closely resembled, that of Classical Skt. At any rate, the accent was stressed, and the ultima was unaccented. For final -ā– whether originally final, or final by the loss of a final consonant—is regularly shortened in these dialects except in the cases of unaccented monosyllables, and before enclitives and postpositives. The same with Rummindei and Nigliva Pillar inscr. cf. IF. xxiii pp. 219–271

(3) INDIC *rdh*

Mans. retains the Indic *rdh* written *dhr* (twice)
—*vadhrite* (Skt. *vardhita–*) iv. 15.
vadhrayisati (Skt. *vardhayiṣyati*) iv. 15.

But more often 'Māgadhan' *ḍḍh* (written of course *ḍh*)*ḍḍh* shown by Pāli vaḍḍhito = Skt. *vardhitas*; etc. replaces the native sounds.
—*vaḍhite*, iv. 12, iv. 14.
pavaḍhayiśaṁti (Note too 'Māgadhan' initial *p–* for native *pr–*) iv. 16.
—*vaḍhayati* xii. 4.

That these are 'Māgadhisms' is demonstrated by the fact that — *rdh* becomes *ḍḍh* (written ḍh) in
—Dh. & Jaug. (14 Edict), Delhi-Siv., Delhi-Mir., Allaha, Radhi., Mathia (Pillar Ed.) and there are no other correspondents in these dialects.

Examples:—
— *vaḍhite* — Dh. iv. 12, iv. 16:
— *vaḍhayis(a)ti* — Dh. iv. 16:
— *pavaḍhayisaṁti* — Dh. iv 17:
— *vaḍhite* — Jaug. iv. 14, iv. 18:
— *pava(ḍhayisaṁti)* Jaug iv. 19.
— *vaḍhitā* (= Skt. *vardhitā* — Delhi-Siv. i. 6:
Allaha. i. 3:
Radhi. i. 4:
— *vaḍhita* (= Skt. *vardhitā*) Mathia. i. 4:

— *vaḍhati* (= Skt. *vardhati*) Delhi-Siv. iv. 20 :
Delhi-Mir. iv. 15
Allaha. iv. 19
Radhi. iv. 23
Mathi. iv. 27

In Rāmpūrvā Pillar Edicts we have lacunas where we would otherwise find correspondents. But it is absolutely certain that this recension agrees with the other recensions of the Pillar Edicts. For the Indic *rth* is the same in all six redactions of the Pillar Edicts.

It is curious that 'Māgadhisms' in *rdh* Mans. native : not so in *rth*.

But Girnar is still more exaggerated.

In Gir. native *ddh* (written *dh*) for Indic *rdh* occurs only once—cf. *vadhayisaṁti*, iv. 9 : otherwise 'Māgadhan' *ḍḍh* (written *ḍh*) cf.

—*vaḍhito* iv. i :
—*vaḍhite* (observe also 'Māgadhan' *-e*) iv. 5, iv. 7 :
— *vaḍhayisati*, iv. 7:
— *vaḍhayati* xii. 4 (Skt. *vardhayati*)

It is undoubted that the single *ddh* is the true native cf. Indic *rth* in Gir.

In Kālsī—Indic *rdh* becomes *ddh* (written *dh*)
and *ḍḍh* (written *ḍh*)
therefore *ddh* is native
ḍḍh is 'Māgadhism'.

In Shb only 'Māgadhisms' occur.

cf. *vaḍhito*, iv. 7 :
—*vaḍhite* (Note 'Māgadhan-*er*) iv. 8.
—*vaḍhitaṁ* iv. 9 :

—*vaḍhiśati* iv. 9 :

—[*vadhe*]*saṅti*, iv. 9 :

ḍḍh (written *ḍh*) can never be native

therefore Shb. and Mans. agree essentially.

In Mans. *ḍḍh* is a 'Māgadhism' therefore in Shb. also *ḍḍh* is a 'Māgadhism.'

Shb. [*diyadh*]*amaṭre* xiii. 1, (= Skt. *dvyardha*—)

—with dental *dh* (i.e. *ddh*)

It is no 'Māgadhism' for it would be *aḍha*–, cf. Kālsī *diyaḍham*[*ā*]te

Yet the final –e is 'Māgadhan.'

(i) *dh* may be misreadings for *ḍh* (as indicated by Bühler)

(ii) or *dh* may be careless writing for *dhr* (reminiscent of the native form) Cf. *ś* in Mans. *dhramanisiti* for *sr* in Shb. *dhramaniśrite* influenced by 'Māgadhan' *dhammanisite* see the Kālsī redaction.

(iii) or *dh* might be due to the dialect of the engraver of the inscription.

The following are the chances of error :—

(a) in reducing the original edicts to writing

(b) in translating the 'Māgadhan' text in local

(c) in reducing this translation to writing

(d) in copying the translation on rock by stone mason.

Any way *dh* of [*diyadh*]*amaṭre* does not represent the vernacular sounds = Indic *rdh*.

Acc. to Johansson it is a change from an original lingual

Acc. to Michelson—not so: therefore it is the only such instance, elsewhere *ḍh*.

Acc. to Johansson.

Indic *rdh* became *rḍh* but that the *r*, not being fully sounded, was graphically omitted (cf. ii. 25 especially).

Michelson objects—on the ground of the Mans. evidence—as in the case of Indic *rth*.

(4) INDIC *rt*.

Franke (Pāli ud Sanskrit, p. iii)

—In *certain* cases, Mans. & Shb. *ṭ* (*i.e. ṭṭ*)

—for Indic *rt* = a 'Māgadhism'.

Michelson— —In *all* cases, Mans. & Shb. ṭ (i.e. ṭṭ) for Indic *rt* = a Māgadhism.

Shb. Mans. & Gir. *paḷi* is not for * *parti* (as in this case we would have Pāli *paṭṭi* and not *paḷi*) but is 'Māgadhism' = Skt. *prati*.

Shb. & Gir.—*prati* is native

Shb.—*praṭi* is a blend of the *dhraṁma*– type and *paṭri* (6th Edict only) in simply a careless writing of this, cf. IF. xxiii, pp. 240, 241.

Johansson's view—untenable.

Franke —Mans. & Shb. *ṭ* (with lingual ṭ in Pāli)—is native.

Similarly *ṭh* (i.e. *ṭṭh* and *ḍh* (i.e. *ḍḍh*) cf. pp. 95, 97.

Change of r + a dental to cerebral is a Pan-Middle-Indic characteristic (the caption of the Chapter is 'Die Allgemeinen Grundzueges des gesamten Pālī)'

Michelson—excepting *ṇṇ* (written *ṁṇ*, *ṇ*) for *rṇ* earlier *rṁ*, this phenomenon is foreign to Gir., Mans & Shb. (14 Edicts) : all apparent exceptions are 'Māgadhisms.'

Franke — whether *r* when attached to an adjacent consonant in Gir., Mans. & Shb. was actually pronounced or was merely graphical : see p. 115. Per contra see Johansson, Der dialect der Sogenanten Shāhbāzgarhi – redaction, pp. 24–26 and Michelson's exposition of the history of the Indic sibilants. On the assimilation of *rṇ* to ṇṇ in Shb. and Mans. cf. Michelson, 'The Etymology of Skt. *puṇya*–'

Michelson — from the history of Indic *rth* and *rdh*, Mans., & Shb. (14 Edicts) are expected to retain Indic *rt* phonetically. But it never does *rt* (a blend of native *rt* and 'Māgadhan' *ṭ*) once in Shb. and once in Mans. graphically expressed differently in each.

(i) See Mans. *kraṭaviye*–native *kraṭavo* (i.e. *kartavo* : Skt *kartavyas*; cf. Shb. *kaṭavo*) and 'Māgadhan' *kaṭaviye* (cf Jaug. Dh. Kālsī of 14 Edicts, and Delhi–Siv, Delhi–Mir. Radhia, Mathia — Pillar Edict).

(ii) Shb. *kīṭri* — from native *kitrim* (i.e. *kirtiṁ*; finally *ṁ* often omitted graphically) and 'Māgadhan' *kiṭiṁ* i.e kiṭṭiṁ (cf. Dh. & Jaug. kiṭī; Skt. kīrti—) Otherwise 'Māgadhan' ṭ has wiped out native forms,

—only one exception *anuvatatu* ? [In Gir. *r* is assimilated to immediately following *t*, but *t* never lingualized]
anuvatatu — Shb. v. 13.

(only Shb. *t* for Indic *rt* acc. to EJ.
No. Mans. correspondent)

anuvatatu — Mans. (with lingual *ṭ*, suggests
'Māgadhan' original lingual *ṭ*)

But Dhauli — *anuvatatu*

cf. *pavatayevū-ti* (Skt. *pravartayeyur iti*) of Delhi Siv., Radhia, Mathia (Pillar Edicts) twice 4th Edict and [*pa*]*yatoryevū-ti* — Delhi — Mir. correspondent to 2nd occurence, for the first occurrence, there is a lacuna in Delhi-Mir.

Generally, in these texts, an Indic *r* lingualizes an immediately following dental mute. Hence the phonetic difficulty.

Michelson's solution :—

Although historically original *r* is assimilated to an immediately preceding mute as well as to an immediately following one, it is by no means necessary to assume that these assimilations were synchronous. On the contrary, there is reason to believe, that the first assimilation was subsequent to the second, for the first assimilation is foreign to Gir. but the second native to it. *All apparent exceptions are Māgadhisms.*

This difference in chronology explains the phonetic difficulty.

In a case like Indic *pravart*—the first *r* prevented the lingualization of the *t* by the second *r*, hence the result * *pravatt–*, whence *pavatt–;* or if an intermediate stage * *pravaṭṭ–*, be preferred we can suppose this as dissimilated to *pravatt–* (Indic *r* was a lingual consonant), whence *pavatt–*. Such forms with dentals *tt* analogically gave rise to *anuvatt–* (of which *anuvatatu* above is merely graphical. Thus the 'Māgadhan' original may have had both *anuvatt–* and (phonetic) anuvaṭṭ- (cf. Mans. *anuvaṭatu* i.e. *anuvaṭṭ–*)

(5) INDIC r_o

Readily recognizable 'Māgadhisms' have for the most part usurped the native Shb. & Mans. forms.

Cases of 'Māgadhan' influence :—

(a) Obvious. Cases where Indic dental mutes are converted into lingual mutes. For Indic r_o converts immediately following dental mutes to lingual ones invariably in Dh. & Jaug. (14 Edicts) and the Delhi-Siv., Delhi-Mir., Allah., Radhi., and Mathi: (Pillar Edicts)

(The Rām. has lacunas – but it is certain that Rām. agrees with other Pillar Edicts).

In Gir. (14 Edicts) Indic r_o does not lingualize immediately following dental mutes, the few apparent exceptions are 'Māgadhisms' cf. :—

(i) Skt. *k$r_o$ta–*, Gir. *kata–*,
Sh. Delhi-Siv., Delhi—Mir. Allah., Radhi., & Mathi., *kaṭ*

(ii) Skt. *vyāp$r_o$ta–*, Gir. *vyāpata–*
Dhauli. Delhi-Siv. *viyāpaṭa–* :

(iii) Skt. *vist॰ta–*, Gir. *vistaṭa–*
Jaug. *vith(a)ṭa–*.

In one or two forms, Kālsī agrees with Gir. cf. Michelson, *rth* and *rdh*, but majority agrees with Dhauli etc.
Cf. *kaṭa*, *vuj̈āpaṭa*, *viṭhaṭa–*.

Kālsī helps in determining Shb. & Mans. 'Māgadhisms.' The following are 'Māgadhisms':—

(a) *kaṭe*, Mans. V, 19 (Dh. K. *kaṭe*):

(b) *sukaṭa*, Mans. V. 20 (*K. Sukataṁ*, Dh. (*Suka*) *taṁ*) ;

(c) *dukaṭa*, Mans. V. 20 [*du*]*kaṭam*, Shb. V. 11 (*K. dukaṭaṁ* Sh. (*d*)*ukaṭaṁ*)

(d) *kaṭa*— Mans. V. 21 (Dh. *kaṭā*, K. [ka]ṭā

(e) *bhaṭamayeṣu*, Mans. V. 23 *bhaṭama*[*ye*]*ṣu* Shb. V. 12.
Skt. *bh॰ta*—, K. *bhaṭamayesu*, Dh. *bhaṭi*[*maye*]

(f) *viyapaṭa* Mans. V. 25, Shb. V. 13 (Skt. *vyāp॰tas* K. Dh. *viyāpaṭā*)

(g) [*usa*]*ṭena* Mans. xii, *usaṭe* (read—ena) Shb. X. 22. (Skt. *uts॰tena*, J. *u*(*sa*)*ṭena*, Dh. *usa*(*ṭe*)*na*

(h) *vaḍhi*, Shb. iv. 10 (twice)
dramavaḍhiy[*e*] Shb. V. 12 ;

(i) *salavaḍhi*, Shb. XII. 2 (twice: v[a] once), Mans. xii, 2, Shb. xii 8, Mans. xii, 7 (note 'Māgadhan' *l* for native *r*).

(k) *atapraṣaḍavadhi*, Shb. xii, 9.

(1) *atmāpraṣaḍavaḍhi*, Mans. xii, 9 (cf. Dh. *vaḍhī*, iv. 18;

dhaṁmavadhiye, vi. 23; Kālsī, dhaṁmavaḍhiyā x. 15; text wrongly *dhamma*–: śālavaḍhi, xii. 31 [twice]; *ṣālavaḍhi* xii. 34;

atapaṣaṁḍavaḍhi, xii. 35; observe also *dhaṁmavaḍhi* at Delhi-Siv. vi. 3, Radhi. xi. 15, Mathi. vi. 17[2] as well as *dhaṁmavaḍhiyā* at Delhi-Siv. vii[1]. 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, vii[2] I.).

Michelson— All cases in which indic ṛ apparently develops as *a* and an immediately following original dental mute is thereby converted to a lingual mute, are 'Māgadhisms.'

Johansson— (Shb. i. Sections 27a, 47)
— holds these forms to be phonetic products. Like his theory of Indic *rth*, untenable.

Franke — Pāli und Sanskrit, p. 111. –
was on the right track but did not go far enough. He thought that when Pāli also had a lingual mute, the lingual mute was native to the Shb. & Mans., but when Pāli showed a dental mute, the lingual mute in Shb. & Mans. was a 'Māgadhism'. This theory would include many of Michelson's forms.

Michelson's criticism of Franke.

In Pāli, we have doubtless occasionally as *vuddhi* and *vaḍḍhi* (Skt. *vr̥ddhi-*), *vatta-*, *vaṭṭa-*, *vutta-* (Skt. *vr̥tta*) exactly as *attha-* and *aṭṭha-* (Skt. *artha-*). As the last are certainly due to dialect-mixture (see above), so are the other doublets. Franke (Pāli und Sanskrit, p. 110) previously saw that the vowel *a* as the correspondent to Indic *r̥* in Skt. *kr̥ta* was a 'Māgadhism'; though this is implied only and not stated. Michelson goes a step further in considering every *a* in Shb. & Mans. as the correspondent to Indic *r̥* to be a 'Māgadhism.' Generally, 'Māgadhisms' are to be found in the vowels of words as well as their consonants. (See Michelson's Introduction.) Thus *gahathani* (observe 'Māgadhan' *th* for native *st.*) is an obvious 'Māgadhism', cf Kālsī *gahathām*. A trifle less clear is *ananiyam* Shb. vi. 16 Mans. vi. 31; the lingual *ṇ* is the soul trace of the native word exactly as is the *ṇ* of Mans. *kayaṇa-* (a blend of native *kolaṇa-* see Michelson, IF. xxiv, p. 54: so Franke, Pāli und Sanskrit, p. 117, footnote 28; Skt. *kalyāṇa*; cf. Jaug. [*āna*]*niyaṁ* ([āna] by conjecture only), Dh. *ā*[*na*]*niyaṁ*, Gir. *ānaṁṇaṁ* Skt. *ān̥ṇyam*. (Kālsī [*a*]*naniyaṁ* is probably a mistake for *ā-*; cf. *anathesu* etc. The lingual *ṇ* is foreign to the 'Māgadhan' dialects; corresponding to Skt. *ṇ* they have *n* (G. Mans. &

Shb. *ṇ*'in case-endings has been replaced by *n* through analogy; for Mans. & Shb., Cf. Johansson, Der dialect der sogennanten Shāhbāzgarhī-redaction, see p. 166 (52 of reprint): Johansson's *ka*[*lanaṁ*] has vanished in Bühler's ed. in 29, vol ii; Gir. *kāranaṁ* is a misprint: cf Michelson, IF. xxiv, p. 53; on Shb. *Taṁbapaṁṇi*, Shb. Mans. *Taṁbapaṁṇiya* cf. Michelson, l. c. p. 55; *garana* Shb. xii, 3 is a blunder for *garaha* acc. to Bühler; Shb. *aprakaranasi* xii. 3 in Bühler's ed. in EI. vol. ii, is only a misprint cf. ZDMG. xliii, p. 159 and EI. i, p. 17ff.; cf. Shb. *pranatika*; *Gaṇanasi*, Mans iii, 11 and [*ga*]*ṇanasi* Shb. iii, 7 are to be judged the same way, cf. Kālsī *gananasi*. No direct check for this in Skt. therefore Skt. *gaṇana*- is simply a Middle-Indic word.

(B) Less obvious 'Māgadhisms'.

Shb. & Mans. $_{0}^{r}$ becomes *ur*; cf. *mrugo* Shb. i. 3 (twice) = Skt. *m*$_{0}^{r}$*gas* the dental *dh* is not lingualized.

—vudhrana (final *ṁ* graphically

Mans. V. 23 also IV. 15 Skt. *v*$_{0}^{r}$*ddha*—

[cf. ZDMG. xliii, pp. 134, 282.

ZDMG. xliii, p. 285].

Therefore the following are 'Māgadhisms.'

(i) Mruige —Mans. i. 3—a blend of native *mrugo* (see in Shb.) and 'Māgadhan' *mige* (so Kālsī and Jaug.) Acc. to Michelson (Introduc.) Gir. *susrūsā* shows 'Māgadhān, influence in

the vocalism of medial syllables; sometimes 'Māgadhan' *a* found for Indic *ṛ*. Bühler giving the word as *mrige* admits the true reading to be *mruige*. In Mans. i. 3 *mrige*, the 'Māgadhan' vocalism has gone so far as to entirely expunge the native *u*.

(ii) *mrigaviya*. Mans. viii. 34, —a blend of *mrugaya* (Shb. Skt. *mṛgayās*. and 'Māgadhan' *migaviyā* K. Skt. *mṛgavya* not a 'Māgadhan' —form.

(iii) native *vurdhi* (inferred from Mans. *vrudhi*) altered to *vardhi* (written *vadhri*)) by 'Māgadhan' *vadhi*: thus —

dhramavadhriya (cf. Kālsī, dhammavadhiya–) etc. —Mans. iv. 17, *vadh*[*r*]*i* Mans. iv. 17 and *vadhra* (read *vadhri*) Mans. iv. 18, the dental *dh* of these 3 show that the lingual *ḍh* of *vruḍhi* is a 'Māgadhism,' the position of the *r* shows that the consonant to which it is attached is only a matter of graphic caprice. [*vadhrana*, Mans. viii. 35 is a blunder for *vudhrana* (cf. *vudhreṣu* and *vudhrana* above; and Jaug. *vudhānaṁ* Dh. *v*(*u*)*dhanam*. Shb. vu [dh]anaṁ)

(iv) In Shb. native *dhr*, i.e. *rdh* — replaced by 'Māgadhisms' without exception.

(v) In Shb. Indic *tm* invariably become *tt* (written of course *t*)

In Mans. Indic *tm* retained 7 times, replaced by 'Māgadhan' (*tt*) must be regarded a 'Māgadhism' (cf. Johansson).

(vi) *Sava*—in Shb.—is a 'Māgadhism,' unknown to Mans.

(vii) *ṭṭh* (written *th*) Shb. — is a 'Māgadhism' for native *rth* (written *thr*) — unknown to Mans.

(viii) Per contra, *pati* in Mans. — is a 'Māgadhism' for native *prati* (used more than 12 times— but Shb. has retained *prati* fairly well. From v–viii, it is clear that the invariable lingual *dh* in the combination *ḍdh*—is a Māgadhism and not native to Shb.

'Māgadhan' influence in the vocalism of words.

(i) Cf. Shb. *vajri–* (in the compound *viṣa-vajri-Yona-kam boyeṣu* xiii 9, and Mans. *vaj*[*ri*] in *Viṣa-Vaj*[*ri*]-*Yona*–K..*ṣu* xiii. 10)–is for *varji*=Skt. *vṛji*. [Note Senart, JRAS. 1900, p. 340, reads *vajri* as *vasi* (i.e. *vaspi* and Kālsī *Vaji* as *vasi* i.e. *vaṣi*). Acc. to Michelson, the ZDMG. xliii, drawing *jri* and not *si* (or spi), Kālsī may be read as *vaṣi*. Senart would deny Shb. & Mans. *Vajri* as the name of a people; avoid assuming ṣ for *ś*. Kālsī *viśa* presumes *ṣ* of Viṣa to be ś, but this has no more weight than *ś* of *yesu* (Skt. *yeṣu*). Shb. & Mans. *viṣaraspi* and Kālsī even if joined could not equate with Skt. *viṣaya–*; for the (apparent) change of *y* to *v* is specifically 'Māgadhan' (cf. Johansson, Shb. ii, p. 89) and in those dialects it is due to an immediately following *u*; Cf. also Pali *avudha–*. In Kālsī, the 3rd pl. of the optative ends in *– evu* and *–eyu*, e.g. *vas*[*e*]*vu*, vii. 21; *ṣuneyu, ṣuṣuṣeyu*, both at xii, 33. But *–yu* alone is native to the true dialect, and that –evu is a 'Māgadhism.' Cf. Franke, Pāli und Sanskrit,

p. 109 (also, regarding Jaugada 'Detached-Edicts') Pāli *vajji* with *jj* is difficult; we expect *vaji-* = Skt. *Vṛji*, Kālsī *Vaji* is not decisive one way or the other; it can represent *Vajji* as well as *Vaji* (=Skt. *Vṛji*) The only point at issue is its vocalism. We expect * *Vujri* i.e. *Vurji*. The native form has been altered by 'Māgadhan' *Vaji* (so Kālsī). Cf. as parallels *mrige* and *vadhri*. Moreover, 'Māgadhisms' abound in the names of peoples, countries, etc. Cf. *Tambapaṁṇi*, Shb. ii. 4, *Amdha-*, Mans. xiii. 10, *Pitinikanam*. Shb. v. 12, *Pitinikana*, Mans. v. 22, *Pitinikeṣu*, Shb. xiii. 10, *Pitnisu*, Mans. xiii. 10: cf. Michelson, IF. xxiv, pp. 54, 55. So even lacking a direct check in Kālsī, *Vaji*, we would rightly view *Vajri* with suspicion. *Vajri* helps to explain *vadhri*. *Vajri* shows *mrugo* to be only graphical for *murgo*. The native form of *Vajri* is * Vujri. If Bühler thinks that Vajri is graphic for *Varji*, then * *Vujri* is for * *Vurji*. Why should Indic ṛ develop as *ru* in *mrugo* but *ur* in *Vurji*. Taking *vrudhi* into consideration, there is no loophole to escape from Michelson's suggestion.

(ix) Correspondents to Skt. *-vyāpṛta*.

—six different forms in Shb. & Mans. and 5 Shb. only in agreement in corresponding passages, cf. Shb. *viyapaṭa* v. 13.

Mans. *viyapaṭa* v. 25.

Johansson—regarded them as phonetic.

Michelson—Johansson's view untenable.

Contrast invariable *vyāpata-* Gir. & *viyāpata* in Dh. & Kālsī (14 Edicts) as well as Delhi-Siv. Pillar Edicts.

Michelson—Mans. *viyapaṭa* a patent 'Māgadhism' (vowel quantities are not graphically described in the alphabet of these texts), the great divergency between Shb. & Mans. shows that not a single of the six forms is the true native form; cf. for the principle, Franke, Pāli und Sanskrit, p. 109, footnote 2. (a) initial *viy-* is a 'Māgadhism.' Johansson's view [Shb. i. p. 152 (38 of reprint)] *viz. viy-* and *viya* (from *vy-*) represent inherited doublets—highly improbable: therefore Mans. and Shb. do not agree about using *viy-*. Gir. has only *vy-*, 'Māgadhan dialect' only *viy-*, why should Mans. & Shb. alone preserve the doublets? Shb. gerundives *tava-* and *taviya* (Skt. tavyà-) prove nothing, therefore the gerunds in *tariya-* are 'Māgadhisms. Cf. Franke: also, Michelson, IF. xxiii, pp. 265, 266.

(b) *a* from Indic *ā* is a Māgadhism, so also

(c) perhaps, lingual *ṭ*

Shb. *viyapaṭra* is a blend of the *aṭhra-* and *kiṭri* type; so also Shb. *vapaṭra*. Cf. also Mans. *viyapraṭa*. The character of the blend, the same, only difference is in graphical expression. Conclusion:— 'No form in Shb. & Mans. = Skt.

vyapr̥ta– is the true vernacular word, but all show more or less 'Māgadhan' influence in consonants or vowels: or both (*viyapaṭa*). Incidentally, 'Māgadhan' *ṭ* in a total of 12 occurrences show that isolated words are more likely to show 'Māgadhisms' excluding native forms, than vice versa.

(x) *muṭe* – Shb. xiii. 1 (note – 'Māgadhan' final *e* for native *o*)

muṭ[o] – Shb. xiii. 6 (cf. Kālsī corresponding *maṭe–* contrast with Pāli *mato*) – *muṭo* just like *vaputa*, i.e. stands for * *mutro* (that is * *murto*.)

(xi) 'Māgadhism' as proved by the lingual ṭ

(a) *nivuṭaspi*, Shb, ix. 19, 'Māgadhan' *–v–* for *–vr–*. i.e. *–rv–*

(b) *nivuṭasi*, Mans. ix. 6, in both, & *–asi* for *aspi* in (b) ; Skt. *nivr̥tha–*

(c) *nivuṭiya*, Shb, ix. 19, *–v* for *vr–*, i.e., *–rv–*; Skt.

(d) *nivu[ṭ]iya*, Mans. ix. 6, Skt. *nirvr̥tti–*

(e) *dhramavuṭaṁ* (Skt. vr̥tta–), Shb. xiii. 10, (by analogy with the preceding forms)

Johansson's view, viz. *dhraṁmavutaṁ*, Shb. x. 21=Skt. *vṛta–* is wrong according to Michelson, therefore the Gir. *dhammavutaṁ* would appear as * *–vataṁ* ; for Indic r̥ develops regularly as *a* even after labials in this dialect ; e.g. maga (Skt. *mr̥gas*), *vyapata* (Skt. *vyāpr̥ta–*). Our *vutaṁ* is graphical for *vuttaṁ*=counterpart of Skt. *uktaṁ*,

'word,' translated into Skt. = *dharmoktam*. Kālsī of dhaṁmavatam is graphical for *-vattaṁ* (cf. Pāli *vattaṁ* = Skt. *v̥tta-*. Kālsī [dhaṁ] mavutaṁ xiii. ll = Mans. *dhramavutaṁ* xiii. ll, which is the true native form of Shb. *dhraṁmavutaṁ*; cf. Michelson's Introduction. Cf. Bühler, ZDMG. xl. p. 138. Bühler (ZDMG. xliii, p. 175) consider Kālsī [dhaṁ]mavutaṁ xliii, ll = Skt. *dharmav̥ttam* : but Kālsī *dhaṁmavatam* and Gir. *dhaṁmavutaṁ* vitiate this view. Shb. *dhramavuṭam* with lingual *ṭ* = Skt. *dharmav̥ttam* (with slight difference in the wording.

(xii) *dhramaparipucha* – Mans. viii = Skt. *dharmapari-*
dhramapa[*ri*]*pucha* – Shb. viii *prechā*.

The question of *u* above as phonetic for Indic *ṛ* is doubtful, and a solitary case. According to Kālsī *dhamamapalipuchā*, the *u* might be a 'Māgadhism' the *r* also final *-ī-* only traces the native word, cf. Girnar *saravaḍhī* (3 times in xii : per centra note the true native *vadhī* in iv.) = Skt. *sārav̥ddhi-*; Mans. *mrige*, Mans. & Shb. *viyapaṭa* and Shb. *pranatika* (Mans. *praṇatika* and Shb. *praṇatika* (Mans. *praṇatika*) are parallels, the same principle in Shb. *spagaṁ.* (for *spagraṁ.*)& Mans. *kayaṇa* (for *kalaṇa-*)

The *m* of Kālsī *dhama* - graphical for *mm*; same combination can also be spelt *mm*, cf. Bühler – Ed. ii, p. 91. On Shb. *punaṁ*, see Michelson's 'The Etymology of Sanskrit *puṇya*,' Indic *ṇ* when not immediately preceded by a labial—

(i) *dridhra-* Mans. xliii. vi. 33 'Māgadhism'.

(a) a blend of native * *dridhra-* (i.e. * dirdhra-) & 'Māgadhan' *didha-* (see Kālsī).

dadha- (cf. Pāli daḷha-) Gir. v. 4, and Kālsī *didha* (which must come from * *d̤ḷha-* (Skt. *d̤ḍha-*)

or *dridhra-* Mans. — true native form — a cross between

(b) *drīdhra* — (Skt d̤ḍhra-) i.e. *dīrdhra*, and *didhra-* (Skt. *d̤ḍha-*), i.e. * *dirdha-*. Such crosses are common in Aśoka inscrr. cf. Michelson, IF. xxiii, p. 254ff. p. 256ff. So Mans. *dridhra-*is a lexicographical peculiarity. If *dridhra-* = Skt. d̤ḍhra-, then *ri* i.e. *ir* = Indic. ṛ, not r̤.

(ii) *didha-* Shb. xiii. 5 — a 'Māgadhism.'

Note. "Shb. & Mans. Indic ṛ develops into *ir* ordinarily but after labials as *ur*, and that an immediately following dental mute is not thereby converted to a lingual. All exceptions are 'Māgadhisms.' "

(a) *vistritena* graphical for *vistirtena*, Shb. xiv. 13.— from Indic prototype *vist̤ta-* (not *vistīrta-*), as shown by Gir. *vistalana* (read-*ena*), Kālsī *vithaḷena*, Jaug. *vith(a)ṭena*. The lingual *ṭ* for dental *t* — 'Māgadhan' influence. The Indic prototype is not phonetic but that is no reason why we should not allow analogical forms in the Indic parent language. Cf. Skt. *vist̤tā-*. If the Indic prototype were phonetic, we would then have Skt. viṣṭ̤ta-, Gir. * *vidṭata-*, Kālsī & Jaug. * *viṭhata-*. The *st* of Shb. *vistriṭena* not decisive either way. Cf. Michelson — AJP. xxx p. 291.

(iii) correspondents to Indic * *kr̥ta-* (Skt. *kr̥ta-*) in Shb. & Mans. — great many forms:—

	5 times	2 times	1 time
Mans.	*kaṭa-*,	*kiṭa-*,	*karṭa-*;
	once	5 times	2 times
Shb.	*kaṭa-*,	*kiṭra-*,	*kiṭa-*;

(Cf. Johansson, l c i, pp. 138, 139, 24 & 25 of reprint).

(a) In 8 corresponding passages, Mans. & Shb. agree — same form 2 only (*kaṭa-* once, *kiṭa-*once). All these cannot be phonetic.

(b) Gir. *kata-* invariable.
kaṭa- Dhauli (14 Edicts) and all versions of the Pillar Edicts save Rāmpurvā (lacunas).

(1) *kaṭa-* Mans. & Shb. a 'Māgadhism' (cf. AJP. xxx, p. 421).

(2) *kiṭra-* Shb. is graphical for *kiṛṭa-* (cf. Mans. *karṭa-*) there is 'Māgadhan' *a* (after the initial *k*) for native *i* as well as Māgadhan *ṭ* for native *t*.

(3) *kiṭa-* a 'Māgadhism' of the *aṭha-*, and *kiṭi* type. cf. also *vaputa, kiṭanata* (Mans. vii. 33) prove the *ṭ* of *kiṭa-* to be a 'Māgadhism' as dental *n* for native palatal *n* is also one (cf. Shb. *kiṭranata*). Franke — wrong in thinking that *i* alone of Shb. & Mans. (14 Edicts) is the product of Indic *r̥* — but right in holding violated *kiṭa-* (Mans.) as true native form while ordinary *kaṭa-* a 'Māgadhism.' Bartholomae, (IF. iii, p. 186) – if *kiṭa-* alone phonetic, or of kata-, *kata-* analogical. But Michelson, (AJP. 1. c.)– *kiṭa-* not phonetic except in K.; *kata-* and *kaṭa-* native to different dialects

where *kiṭa–* not found, so *kaṭa* and *kata* are phonetic.

iv. *pranatika* Shb. iv. 9
paṇatika Mans. iv. 16.

Acc. to Johansson (Der dialect der sogenannten Shāhbāzgārhi redaktion i. p. 140 (26 of the reprint) the protótype– * *praṇāptr̥ka–*, * *praṇāptrikā–*, or * *praṇāp'ika* (ii. p. 14 "just as * *–naptr̥–ka–*"; misprint for –nā–) cf. Kālsī pan[āti] kyā, *panātikā*.

Acc. to Michelson — the prototype was *: *praṇāptr̥ka*—as shown by Dhauli natipana[t]i[kā] (the *kā* conjectural but certain. This is equivalent to Skt. * *naptr̥- praṇāptr̥kās* — a copulative compound — cf. correspond. Gir. *potrā ca prapotrā*, Shb. *nataro ca pranatika*, Mans. *natare ca paṇatika*, Kālsī, *natāle cā pan[āti] kyā*. For, —

In the dialects of the Dh. Jaug. & K. (14 Edicts) that the Indic *r*–stems have become *i*–stems in several of the cases — e.g.

Dh. *mātāpit(i)su*, iii. 10; *bhāt(i)nam* v. 25: *(p)it(i)nā* and *bhātinā*, ix. 9;
Jaug. *(pi)tinā*, and *bhātinā*, ix. 17;
Kālsī. *mātāpitisu* iv. 11, *pitinā* and *bhātinā* both ix. 25, xi. 30; *bhātinam*, v. 16.
Delhi–Siv. (Pill. Ed.) – *mātāpitisu* vii[2]. 8.

'Māgadhan' initial *p*–for native *pr*– in Mans. *paṇatika*
'Māgadhan' dental *n* for native lingual *ṇ* in Shb. *pranatika* Cf. *Taṁbaṁni* and *Pitinaka* (see

therefore *i* of *pranatika* Shb. iv. 9 and *paṇatika* iv. 16– is a 'Māgadhism.' Johansson's opinion l. c. i. p. 166 (52 of the reprint) — that *n* of Shb. *pranatika* is analogical and not a 'Māgadhism' is vitiated by corresponding lingual *ṇ* of Mans. *paṇatika*, therefore Mans. & Shb. are practically the same. Dh. has no lingual *ṇ* of *panatika*.

[Note. Dh. *natipana*[*t*]*i*[*ka*].

In Dh. (14 Edicts) *āpt* became *att* written *at*; cf. (as a) *mati* (with unusual — *i* for -*e* xiv. 19 contrasted with Gir. *asamatam* (Skt. *asamāptam*) In Kālsī *pa*ṇ[*āti*]*kyā* — *āpt* became āt *asamati* xiv. 22, 23 — presents a difficulty.

Is it a blunder for * *asamāti* (cf. *anathesu* etc. cf. exposition of Indic *rth*) ? No — because Dh. *asamati*, therefore If K. *asamati* blunder for * *asamāti*, the same about Dh. *asmati*. Therefore Dh. *natipana*[*t*]*i*[*kā*] would then be an error for * *natipamātikā*, the 2nd *na* being due to 1st *na*. But in Dh. no example of *a* as blunder for *ā*: while such examples occur in K. If K. *asamati* a blunder then K. & Dh. differ in the treatment of *āpt*; cf. the change of *vy* (which remains in K.) to *viy* in Dh. It is also possible that K. *asamati* is really 'Māgadhan'. But the blunder *madhuliyāye* in the same edicts, is against this assumption.]

Dhauli has no lingual *ṇ* — cf. — *pana*[*t*]*ikā* of *natipanati*[*kā*] as contrasted with *ṇ* of *paṇatika*.

The suffix in Kālsī pan[āti] kyā is the same as *akā/ikye* etc.

— phonetic for *ika*– acc. to Franke;

— different suffix from *ika* — acc. to Johansson.

If *ikya* is phonetic for *ika*. Then *ika* (in the few remaining cases) is a 'Māgadhism.' The change of *ika* to *ikya* is subsequent to the transfer of the *ṛ*–stems to *i*–stems (cf. the transfer of *ṛ*–stems in J. & Dh. but the invariable retention of *ika*) The point of departure for the transfer of the *ṛ*-stems to *i*–stems in Dh. & J. was in the locative pl.: *–ṛṣu* phonetically became *–iṣu* thus coinciding with the loc. pl. of *i*–stems.

(v) Correspondents to Skt. – *dṛśa*

Both Shb. & Mans. *diśa*– instead of * *–dirśa* (which would be written *driśa*–; Skt. *darśana*.

(a) *tadiśe* Shb. iv. 8 and Mans. iv. 14 — has 'Māgadhan *–e* for native *–aṁ* (*tadise* Kālsī, iv. 10; Dh. iv. 14)

(b) [*h*]*ediśaṁ* — Shb. viii, 17 — has 'Māgadhan' initial *h*– (cf. h–(edisān [i]) Kālsī, viii, 22;

(c) [*a*]*diśe* - - Mans. iv. 14 — 'Māgadhan' loss of initial *y*– a as well as 'Māgadhan' final *e* (*ādise*, Jaug. iv. 16; *ād(i)se* Dh. iv. 14; *ādise*[*e*] K. *iv. 10.*)

(d) *adiśe* — Mans. xi. 12 — same 'Māgadhisms' as above.

(e) *ediśe* — Mans. ix. 5 — 'Māgadhan' *–e* final; no correspondents in Shb. so *i* also a 'Māgadhism,' therefore Dh. & Jaug. & K. have invariably *i* for Indic

Therefore *i* in *-diśa-* in the few remaining forms which do not otherwise betray 'Māgadhan' influence - is also a 'Māgadhism' [a parallel instance, the palatal sibilant being the sole trace of the native word, cf. *pavaḍhayiśamiti*, Mans. iv. 16 for native * *pravadhre-śaṁti*, cf. Dh. *pavaḍhayisaṁti*; Shb. [*vaḍhe*]- *śaṁti* preserves original vocalism Per contra, *d·aśayitu* Shb. iv. 8 for *draśeti* (Mans.) altered by 'Māgadhan' *dasayitu* (K. & Jaug.); original vocalism maintained in *aloceti* Shb. xiv. 14 (K. *alocayitu.*) Cf. JAOS xxx, p. 90. The initial *pa-* of *pavaḍhayiśaṁti* — is a 'Māgadhism'; *ḍh* (i.e. *ḍḍh*) for native *ḍḷr* (i.e. *ṛdh*), see Michelson, on Indic *rdh* alone.

(f) *ediśiy*, i.e. *ediśiye* Shb. ix. 18 — to be emended as *ediśaye*

Cf. Mans. [*edi*]*śa*[*ye*], K. *edisāye*, Dh. *hed*(*i*)*sāye*, Jaug. *he*(*d*)*isaye*. Cf. *oṣa*[*ḍhi*]*ni* (Mans ii. 7) emended to *-aṁ*. *Ediśiye* is from an *i*-stem, cf. Michelson's later correction.

Acc. to Johansson — l. c. i. p. 140 (26 of the reprint) *i* Indic ¦ in Shb. & Mans. — generalized from cases in which an *i* existed in the preceding or following syllable.

Acc. to Michelson—same, support for Johansson. Why should Shb. & Mans. only possess different forms for Skt. *kṛta-* and *vyāpṛta-*? Mans. & Shb. *kaṭa-* is a patent 'Māgadhism', therefore the remaining forms also are more or less 'Māgadhan.'.

matapituṣu and *bhratunaṁ* (Shb.)

the ū (as in Pāli) analogically transferred to *u* declension)

The starting point gen. sing.
Indic * *pitūr* (Skt. pitur).
—phonetically *pitu* (cf. Pāli *pitu*)
—ssa by analogy of *a*–stems (Pāli *pitussa*)

A—Mg. Pkt. *piussa*.

This coinciding with one form of gen. sing. *u*-stems (Pāli & Amg. Pakt. *bhikkhussa* per contra Skt. *bhikṣos*, analogically rises the other form, Pāli *bhikkhuno*, Amg. Pkt. *bhikkhuṇo*, with *ṇ* by specific Pkt. law) also e.g. Pāli *pituno* Amg. *piuṇo* (with *ṇ* as above). Then forms proper to the *u*–declension spread. Pāli *pitigottaṁ* and *mātigottaṁ*=Skt. *pitr̥-gotram* & *mātr̥gotram* or analogical transfer stem in *i*–which was phonetic in the loc. plu. : cf. Dh. Jaug. Kālsī (14 Edicts) and the Delhi–Siv. (Pillar Edicts). *r̥* before a sibilant becomes *i* in certain dialects : e.g. Pāli *isi*–=Skt. *r̥ṣi*–; *tādisa* = Skt. *tādr̥śa*–; *diṭṭha*– = Sk. *dr̥ṣṭa*–.

(g) *bhaṭana*, Mans. v. 24
–mere blunder for *bhatuna* (*bh* for *bhr* is a 'Māgadhism'; and final *n* graphically omitted) as shown by Shb. *bhratunaṁ*, Shb. *spasuna* Mans. *spasuna* (Skt. *svasar*–) cf. *vādhrana* at Mans. viii. 35 ; cf. AJP. xxx. p. 424.

(h) *piṭina*, Mans. ix. 5
—a 'Māgadhism' : cf. *pituna* xi. 13. Franke, Pāli und Sanskrit, p. 123.

(i) *graha-* in Shb. *graha* [*ṭha*] *mi* xii. 1, *a gra* [*ha*]*tha* xiii. 4. [cf. Johansson l. c., p. 139, 25 of reprint] [Michelson – change of Aryan *zh* (I.E. *gh*) to *h* is Proto-Indic, but the change of Aryan *dh* [I. E. *dh*) is not Proto-Indic but (under unknown conditions) is Pan-Indic. It is not difficult to assume that the change of Indic *rh* to *rah* is as prior to the Proto-Indic *rdh* to *rh* ..] Native * *griha-*, i.e. * *girha*-altered to *graha*-by the influence of 'Māgadhan' *gaha-* (cf. Kālsī *gaha-*) ; cf. Mans. *viyapraṭa* (*ra* for *ru mrige*, (*ri* for *ru*), *vadhri* (for * *vudhri*, i.e. * *vurdhi*), *karṭa-* (for k*irta-*) AJP. xxx, pp. 424, 427, 428, xxxi, p. 57. Whether *graha*-be native or partial 'Māgadhism' is doubtful, therefore only two instances. That *th* of *graha* [*ṭha*]*ni* and *th* of *gra*[*ha*]*tha* are undoubted 'Māgadhisms ' Johansson l.c. ii p. 17 – supposes *ra* for *ri* (i.e. *ir*) altered by 'Māgadhan' *a-* cf. Kālsī *gihithā* (Skt. *g*$_{.}^{r}$*heṣṭhās* xiii. shows * *girha-* true native Shb. & Mans. K. *kiṭa* bears same relation to * *kirta*-as *giha-* to * *girha-*. Acc. to Johansson, Pāli, Prākrit & Aśokan (Gir.) etc. *ghara-* from * *garha-* with a a shift of the *h-* improbable. Pischel (BB. iii, p. 248) was correct in connecting *ghara* with *gh*$_{.}^{r}$ of the Dhātupāṭha.

(j) *Rastikanaṁ-* Shb. v. 12.

(– correspond. Dh. *Laṭhika* (in a compound). Acc. to Bühler. *Rastikanaṁ* = Skt. *r*$_{.}^{ṣ}$*ṭika-*

Acc. to others - = * Skt. *Raṣṭrīka-*. No other tests cases to show the history of initial Indic *ra* in Shb. or Dh. but no parallel in either Pāli or Prākrit for the change of *r-* to *ra-* (the *la-* Dh. secondary) therefore Skt. *raṣṭika-* doubtful cf. Johansson, l.c. i, p. 140 (26 of the reprint) footnote 1.

Rāṣṭrika- also as Skt. prototype is doubtful. For then phonetically Shb. * *Rastrikanam* and Gir. * *Rāṣṭrika-* (*Riṣṭika-* or *Rāṣṭika-* is in a compound.) No direct 'Māgadhan' influence to account for the divergence of the actual forms : cf. Dh. *Laṭhika-*. A 'hyper-Māgadhan' in the same word in Shb. & G. also doubtful.

Johansson - equation with Skt. *Rāṣṭrika* - (cf. Mans. *Raṭraka* -

Bühler - mere blunder—*Rastika* -

Michelson - prototype * *Rāṣṭika* - (change of Aryan *st* to *ṣṭ* whether Proto-Indic or Pan-Indic uncertain. Shb. *ṣṭ* favours latter Cf., exposition of Indic sibilants.

* *Rāṣṭika* - a derivative from the prototype of Vedic *rāṣṭa-* (Skt. *rāṣṭra-*) cf. Wackernagel, Al. Gr., § § 145 b., 168, Brugmann, K. verg. Gr., p. 119, Kālsī has no correspondent. Jaug.- a lacuna, * *Lathika-* therefore Dh. & Jaug. practically same in language & contents * *d. khati* (Shb.) & *kha.*, (Mans.)

— whether read *dekhati* or *dakhati* are 'Māgadhisms.' Cf. Johansson, 1. c. ii, 23ff.

(4) *dasabhaṭakasa*, Shb. ix. 19
dasabhatakasi Mans. ix. 4.

'Māgadhan' *-asi* for native *-aspi*. Cf. correspondents in Dh. & K. also Delhi-Sivalik *dāsabhaṭakesu*.

[Shb. & Mans. Indic *s* ordinarily develops into *ir*, but as *ur* after labials. Cf. Franke Pāli und Sanskrit, p. 110.
Franke and Senart — *-asi* as a 'Māgadhism.'
Franke — Shb. & Mans. *iyaṁ* a 'Māgadhism.'
Michelson (JAOS xxx, p. 90 cf 91) — both *iyaṁ* and *-ayi-* are 'Māgadhisms'
therefore abundant proof of 'Māgadhan' influence in the vocalism of other than final syllables.

SOME SPECIAL FEATURES OF INTER-RELATION.

1. *Munisa-*[1]

Wackernagel, 'Indoiranica' (Zvergsp. 43) p. 297 note "*munisa-* besides *manusa-* is certainly an imitation after *purisa-*." Cf. Michelson, IF. 23, pp. 254—256; JAOS, 30, p. 90, footnote 3.

2. Kālsī *puṇā*

(Pkt. *uṇā* - later development of this due to specific Pkt. phonetics) is simply an analogical extension of *punā* in such combinations as *punā ramate* = *punar* + *ramate*.

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1 Michelson, AJP. Vol. xxxii, 1911, pp. 44—3.

3. *so-kāsati* (Gir.)

corruption due to *so-kāsati* of the next sentence. Cf. Shb. *so[du]kaṭaṁ kaṣati*.

(a) K. *se dukaṭaṁ kachati*

Dh. *se (d)ukaṭaṁ ku(ch)ati*

On such faulty assimilation, cf. Lanman, Album-Kern, p. 303, and on AV., 18-4-87.

[hä]pa[y]isaṃti (Kālsī)

—similar corruption as above. Cf. Gir. *hāpeśati*, Shb. *[hapeśati]*, Dh. *hāpayïsat(i)*. Plural

(b) for sing. is due to the plu. of the preceding sentence.

se (which occurs twice) is a 'Māgadhism

4. Supposed Vedic Archaism in Aśoka.

Kālsī, Dh. and Mans. *se*–

— nom. plu. and not a nom. sing

extension of the stem *sa* as in Vedic *sasmin*. *Se* in Dh. & K, not a textual error due to *se* as nom. sing. next sentence, because Mans. both times 'Māgadhan' *se*, therefore, *se* as a nom. pl. stood in 'Māgadhan' original; because Shb. could not have a plu. *te* if the 'Māgadhan' original had not one.

Dh. *viyāpaṭā se.*

Franke joins *viyāpaṭāse* making *-āse-* equivalent of Vedic *-āsas*. In Prkt. there are traces of the same formation. But Dh. *se* corresponds to Gir. *te* in *vyapatā te*. But *te in Gir.* * *(vyāpatā * t)e*, Shb. *viyapaṭa.te*, Mans. *vapuṭa[te]*, K. *viyāpaṭā te*= Dh. v. 26 *ime* in *viyāpaṭā ime*. Therefore *se* must be nom. pl.

Delhi-Siv. VII Pillar Edicts.

–3 times *viyāpaṭā' se* VII, 4 (twice) & 6 ; first time *se* as separate word wholly out of place, therefore *āse* as nom. pl. : 2nd time may be taken as separate word (nom. pl.): 3rd time–*āse* would be more suitable. But there is no check to Delhi-Siv. text, as in Dh. though Delhi–Siv. (Pillar Edicts) and Dh. (14 Edicts) are both 'Māgadhan' but not absolutely identical.

It might be that Vedic–*āsa* ssurvived in D-S –*āse* but was lost in Dh.

The linguistic peculiarities in A, B and C indicate the process of fusion that gradually led to the synthetic and standardised forms of Prākṛtas obtaining in the Dramas and the Grammars, reflecting the inner assimilation of originally conflicting yet intimate tendencies.

Before turning to the culture synthesis embodied in the above language-assimilation it may be useful to emphasize the salient features of the latter.

CHARACTERISATION OF AŚOKA MAGADHĪ.

1. General. (*a*) Aśoka and Indo-European Comparative philology. The following are points of common interest: (i) long syllable $^{m}_{o}$ as ā only in Gir. e.g *atikrātam*=Skt. *atikrantam*, therefore Gir. is not lineally descended from Skt; (ii) short *u* in Gir. *Susru-ā*, *susrusatāṁ* and Avestan *susruśōmn.ō*; Kāl. Shb. Māns. *kiti* (also Rāmpurvā *kīti*,[1] if not *kiṁti* of Bloch) < *kid*+*iti*[2] not *kim*+*iti*; (*iv*) Gir.

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[1] Michelson, I.E. xxiii, p. 253.

[2] Johansson, op. cit.

sruṇāru, Shb. *śruṇeyu*, Mans *śruṇey* [*u*] and Avestan *sruu-naoiti*, contrast Skt. *śṛṇoti* (v) Shb. and Mans. *śt* = Skt *ṣṭ* (*h*)–suggests the lingualisation of *t* and *th* in Aryan *śt* and *śth* (Avestan *śt*) as Pan-Indic, not Proto-Indic (Michelson) *cf.* Skt. *ṣṭ* (*h*), G. Pāli and ordinary Prkt.-*ṭṭh* (written *ṭh*), note especially, Dh. Jaug. I and Kāl. *ṭṭh* (written *ṭh*) : R. 981-2 etc. and Hc [1] iv. 290 borne out by Gir. *st*.[2] Johansson also cites Gir. *nsṭana-* and a few Mid-Indic words as I.E. *tst* (*h*) > *st* (*h*).

(*b*) Aśoka and Archaisms. Aśoka conjuncts like *pr* in *priya*, etc. 1759–62 not found in Pāli are archaic relics of old phonetics. They are not Sanskriticisms, *cf.* same in the North-West Sindhi *ṭraṇ*, Lahndā *trā* = 3.

(*c*) Aśoka and Pāli. Aśokan dialects are evolved out of those in use when the Buddha preached. Literary Pāli is regarded as another such product. But the origin of Pāli is still obscure. Hence Franke's [3] "Pāli-grundlage" for Aśoka is at best problematic. The striking similarity, however, between Pāli and Aśoka in Phonology and Morphology—inflexion and conjugation (as will be apparent from what follows in pages 117-8) deserves consideration. As a point of divergence may be noted the gerund in-*tvā* retaining *tv*.[4]

(*d*) Aśoka Māgadhī and sister dialects. Pischel has rightly noted that the Mg. dialect as an official imperial language was understood even where it was not spoken.

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[1] Banerji-Śāstrī, Evolution of Māgadhī, p. 39.

[2] Prinsep, J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, p. 278.

[3] Franke, Pāli und Sanskrit, p. 66.

[4] Michelson, Transactions of the American Phil. Ass. XI, p. 28, footnote 1.

But a word of explanation seems necessary for the above division into two groups. Senart divides the groups into oriental[1]-Kāl. Mans. Dh. Jaug. and the minor ones—and occidental-Gir and Shb. For the first—no cerebral ṇ, palatal ñ, initial *y* elided, *l* for *r*, nom. masc. and usually nom. neut. ending in *e*, loc. *asi*,*r* + *dental*=cerebral, *kṣ.* > *kh*, final *ā* shortened, *-tiy*, *-dhiy*— > *ty*, *dhy*.[2] the second, cerebral *ṇ* palatal ñ, initial *y* retained. *r* unaltered, nom. masc. sing. *a*-stem ending in *o*, loc. *amhi* or *e*[3] *r* × *dental*= *kṣ.* > *ch* Senart's reasons for putting Mans. under group I, seems to be Mans's. morphological kinship with Jaug., *e.g.*, ending *o* and *e* and the same of Shb. with Gir. But at bottom, as shown later, both phonologically and morphologically, Māns. and Shb. are almost the same –minus the imported Mg. elements. Gir. and Shb. again apart from some phonological agreements differ in: (i) Gir. only *s*, Shb. and Mans. *ś*, *ṣ* *s*; (ii) conjuncts *tp* (Bühler–*spt*) and *st* only Gir.; (iii) nom. sing. neut in *ṃ* Gir. but Shb. *e*; (iv) 3rd per. pl. Gir. *re* Shb. *su*; (v) Loc. sing. Gir. *mhi* (also-*e*), Shb. *-sī* also–*e* but never *mhi*; (vi) gen. sing. of *in* stem. Gir. *ino* Shb. *isa*. Both Shb. and Gir. have duly submitted to Mg. influence, *e.g.* nom. sing. *e* Gir. xii 1. 1. *priye* and Shb. x 1. i. Differences between oriental Jaug. and occidental Gir. again are quite marked:—Phonology. (i) Gir. (like Pāli) *r*– Jaug. (Mg.) *l* 2172; (*ii*) Conjuncts in Gir. anaptyxis or

[1] Senart, Les Inscr. p. 431.

[2] Michelson, IE. XXIII, 219—71; A.J.P., XXX, 28ff. 416ff; XXXI 55ff; J.A.O.S., XXX, 77ff., XXXI. 223.

[3] Ibid, J.A. XXI pp. 171, 172.

svarabhakti in Jaug. 702; (*iii*) loss of lingual *r* not compensated in Gir. but it is in Jaug. by lingualising the following *t* 3518, 3554; (*iv*) Skt. *r*–in Gir. *a*, in Jaug. *a* & *i* 2013; (*v*) Gir. ; *idha*, Jaug. *hida* 3613; (*vi*) Gir has *ñ ṇ* and *n*, Jaug. only *n*, 1343. Morphology–(i) Gir. (like Pāli) *piyo*, Jaug. (Mg.) *piye* 1689, *mago–miye* 2013, *so–se*, 3555; (*ii*) loc. sing. Gir. *mhi*, Jaug. *si* 3476; 3rd pl. instr. Gir. (like Vedic *śere*) *re*, Jaug. *aṁti* (cf. Pāli and Prkts.) 468. It is thus more convenient to separate the Mg. Group from Gir. Shb and Mans. although Gir. might again be subdivided from the last two. It is also not certain whether some forms in Gir. Shb. and Mans. are Mg. or native : *e.g.* Shb. and Mans.— 2 gerunds in ti, (*i.e. tti* Vedic *tvī*) and in *tu* : Dh. Jaug. Kāl. only in *tu*, therefore plausibly Shb. and Mans. gerund in *tu* is Mg. because that in *tpī* (Skt. *tvā*) is native to Gir. But there is no certainty as Shb. Mans. Dh. Jaug. and Kāl. mutually agree in some points against Gir. That such points are very few in contrast with the linguistic affinity of Shb. Mans. and Gir. as against the same of Dh. Jaug. and Kāl. does not add to the certainty, only minimises the chances of confusion. All these facts simply touched upon here may be discussed in detail later. Another limitation lies in orthography. Shb. and Mans. have *puna*=Gir. *puna*, Kāl. *punā* ; is the 1st. *puna* for Gir. *punā* or Kāl. *punā* or both ? No solution possible, because Kharoṣṭhī does not distinguish vowel quantities ; nor does Kāl. *–i* from *i*, *u* from *ū*. Within these limits may now be described the nature of Aśokan Mg.

2. Special Characteristics of Aśoka-Māgadhī

Phonology.

A. Vowels. *r*, l̥r, *e* and *au* lost.

Vowel changes (*a*) quantity: (*i*) lengthening, 86, 1688, 1689, (2); (*ii*) shortening due to conjunct or *anusvāra* 1244. (*b*) quality 2188. (*c*) anaptyxis: 849. 3173. (*d*) syncope 671. Dropping of a consonant between vowels not yet so common as later.

B. Consonant changes [1]. (*i*) dental instead of cerebral after *r* elided: 1590 (*ii gh* > *h*: 2164. (*iii*) *bh* simplified *h*: 3676. (*iv*) simplification of conjuncts: 61, 72, 133, 853, 1778, 3068—conjuncts first assimilated, then simplified, even without the lengthening of the preceding vowel.

Morphology—A. Nouns. (*a*) Declension. (*i*) consonantal declension generally merges into the vowel, *e.g.* *a.* class: exceptions—2177-78, etc. (*ii*) nom. sing. masc. *a*–stem—in *e*, 1916 (*iii*) also neut. in *e*, 1991. (*iv*) dative in *aya* or *aye*: 94,–621–2. (*v*) abl. in *ā*, no final consonant: 3405. (*vi*) gen. in *sa* through *ss* from *sy* (even in *i*—stems): 1761 also 1687, (*vii*) loc. in *si* (through *ssiṁ* from *smin*) and *e*: 3142. Plurals—almost regular in phonetic changes: 1993, 675—exception, nom. pl. in *e* 1620.

B. Pronouns.—

Nom. Sing. 86 nom. pl. 38

both masc. and fem. 348. Other forms 531–43, 613–42, 764–68, 1014, 1006, 1017–22, 1959–60, 2059–60, 3560 etc.

C. Conjugation—Active Ind. 748, 848, 1084, 1893, 3676, etc

Passive 467.

Future 270, causal 202, etc.

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[1] Aśoka Inschriften. C. 3.

[2] Senart, XXI p. 2ff.

Imperative 2091
Potential 410, 1485, 3476
Aorist 469
Perfect 500
Causal with *p* 3005, 2599, 3022 (double causal
Absolutives 466
Infinites 818
Participles 711, 3140

AŚOKA MĀGADHĪ AND ARDHA-MĀGADHĪ.

Lüders[1] thinks that the dialect of the Gobam—in Bruch-stücke Buddhistischer Dramen is the precursor of Amg. and same as Aśokan Mg., both Gobam and Aśoka being termed "old Amg." This latter is more akin to Mg. than the later Amg. which lends itself to western influence. E. Müller sought to connect Amg. with Aśoka Mg. Pischel[2], while admitting some possible western elements introduced at Valabhī or Mathurā councils, disagrees with E. Müller, for lack of common features between the two, except in loc. sing. of *-a* stems, *aṁsi*. Michelson rightly considers this instance as inaccurate, because Aśoka Mg. *asi* is graphical for *-assi*, and not for *-aṁsi*; *aṁsi*, if intended, would be written as such, but the regular writing is *-asi*. The Gobam-dialect seems to be identical with Aśoka Mg. But it does not follow that the later Amg. is decended from the latter, but rather from an early middle Indic dialect which agreed in some

1 Bühler. EJ. II, numbers 12, 94, 138, 334-5, 338.
2 Hultzsch, Z.D.M.G., X

important respects with the latter. That such Indo-Aryan dialects existed contemporary with Aśoka is attested by Sāñcī and Bharut inscrs. Moreover, there are other middle Indic dialects, not descended directly from Aśoka, *e.g.* Pāli[1] (*cf.* special feature gerund in—*tvā*, retains *tv*), Śaurasenī, [2] Māhārāṣṭrī, [3] each of which has points of disagreement as marked as those of agreement and which even a theory of borrowing cannot wholly explain away. In support of the proposed origin of Amg. are noted the following (*i*) striking similarities with and (*ii*) radical divergences from Aśoka Mg. (*i*)—(*a*) nom. sing. *a*-stems—ends in *e*; (*b*) dental *n* initially; (*c*) dental *nn* medially—*ṁn* in inscrs. only graphical for *nn*. Both *n* and *nn* are not uniform in their origin, *cf.* Amg. Jn. *aṇṇa*, Aśoka Mg. *aṁna*, M. and Ś. *aṇṇa*, grammatical Mg. *añña* (Pischel's *aṇṇa* is against Var. XI. and Hc. IV. 298, ordaining *ny* > *ññ* in Mg., as Mg. *aññadisaṁ* = Skt. *anyadiśam* quoted by Pischel) Pāli and Paiśācī (Pischel's *aññatisa*, *añña* Gir. Shb. *aṁña* (graphical *añña*) Shb. and Mans. *aña*, graphical *añña*) Skt. *anya*: Aśoka Mg. *puṁna* Gram. Mg. *puñña*, M. *puṇṇa*, Paiś. *puñña*, Shb. Mans-*puña* (=*puñña*) Gir. *puṁña* (=*puñña*), Pāli *puñña*= Skt. puṇya; (*d*) single consonants for conjuncts; (*e*) *l* for *r* in Amg., Aśoka Mg, Gram. Mg. Ḍhakki, and less frequently in Pāli and other Prkts; (*f*) *h* in *hoi*—Skt. *bhavati*; (g) *i* of *giha* Kāl., elsewhere Aśoka Mg. and M, *gaha*—Skt, *gṛha* (ii) (*a*) Amg, *viy*, *vy* > *vv*: Aśoka

[1] Michelson, Transactions American Phil. Ass. XL. p. 28, footnote 1

[2] Michelson, A.J.P., pp. 267ff.

[3] Ibid.

Mg. *niy* and *vy*; (*b*) Amg. *ly*. 11: Aś. Mg. *yy* (? written *y*); (*c*) Amg. *iha*; Aś. Mg. *hida*: (*d*) Amg. *evaṁ* (*e*) *emeva*, (*f*) *puvva*, (*g*) instru. *piuṇā* (*h*) instr. *rannā raṇṇa* (*i*) neut. *a ;aṁ* (*j*) fem. *ayaṁ*. (*k*) loc. sing. *aṁsi*, (*l*) *ahaṁ*, (*m*) *aṁsi*, (*n*) gerund in—*ttā* and *ttānaṁ*, etc.: Aś. Mg. (*d*) *hevaṁ*, (*e*) *hemevy*, (*f*) *puluva*, (*g*) *pitinā* (*h*) *lājinā* (Gram. Mg. *laññā*) (*i*) *iyaṁ*, (*j*) *iyaṁ*, (*k*) —*asi*, (*l*) *hakaṁ*, (*m*) *sumi*, (*n*) cf. Gir.—*tpā* and—gerund in *tvāṇaṁ*. (*o*) retention of *r* more frequent than > *l*. Aś. Mg. *ca* "but" *munisa* "man", *kacchati* (written *kachati*) "he will do", first pers. sing. optative ending in—*chaṁ* have no corresponding forms in Amg. Amg. on its part shows some early Middle Indic elements not found in Aśoka Mg. e.g. *darisana*, *daṁsana* (contrast Aś. Mg. *dasana*, i.e. *dassana*, as in Pāli); *varisa* (contrast Aś. Mg. *vasa* = *vassa*, as in Pāli; *karissanti* (contrast Mg. *kachaṁti*). Lastly, it may be noted that Amg. agrees not only with Aś. Mg. but with other Aśokan dialects as well. Hence making due allowance for out-side influence and falsity of extant texts the best provisional affiliation of Amg. would be to regard it as descended from one of the Middle Indic dialects, perhaps contemporary with Aś. Mg. and certainly akin to it.

AŚOKA MĀGADHĪ AND MĀGADHĪ—GRAMMATICAL AND DRAMATIC.

It has been said that Aś. Mg. insers. have their original in a dialect of Magadha. But that does not preclude the possibility of more than one such dialect. The points of difference may not have been marked but perhaps some resembled Aś Mg. more than others. The grammatical

and dramatic Mg. may have been directly descended from the latter. Ramgarh represents one such (with ś) and is called by Lüders "Old Mg.", parent of Mg. but it lacks some special features of its descendant. There was even another with ṣ for *s* viz., Kālsī. Any way, the later Mg. is more easily explained as descended from one of these sister dialects of Aś. Mg. than from Aś. Mg. itself. The following features of (*i*) agreement and (*ii*) disagreement serve as illustrations : (*i*) (*a*), nom sing. *-a* stems in *e*. (*b*) r > *l*, (*c*) assimilation of *r* in conjunct consonants (some exceptions, *cf. valiśa* ; Aś. Mg. *vassa*) ; (*d*) *ava* > *o* also in Shb. and Mans. ; (*e*) *ś* and *śś*—Aś Mg. Kāl. *taśi*, i.e. *tuśśi śiya*, *paśavati*, Bairat *śvace*. (*ii*) where it differs from Aś. Mg but agrees with other Aś. dialects, viz. Gir., Shb. Mans. etc. (*a*) *idha* (Aś. Mg *hida*), (*b*) *a* of *daḍha* (Aś. Mg. *diḍha*, (*c*) ṣth > *st*, (*d*) *sth* > *st*, (*e*) formation of *iminā*, (*f*) retention of *st*, (*g*) initial *bh* of *bhodi* (Aś Mg. *hoti*, (*h*) instru. *lañña* (Aś. Mg. *lājinā*), (*i*) *j* > *y*[1] (*j*) *piduṇā* Aś. Mg. pitinā.) Where it differs from all Aś. dialects including Aś. Mg. (*a*) *taśśiṁ* Aś. Mg. *tasi-tassi*), (*b*) nom. acc. pl. neut. *a*-stems in-*āiṁ*, (*c*) *smi* (Aś. Mg. *simi* (*d*) gerunds in *-ia*. Lüders considers the latter i.e. points of divergence of Mg. from Aś. Mg. or Rāmgarh "old Mg." as secondary features and late ; but their occurence in some contemporary sister dialects like Gir., Shb. and Mans. militate against the supposition of lateness in those cases. Such differences, however, become perfectly intelligible if Aś. Mg. be regarded as only one among other co-existent Mg dialects out of which grew the later Mg. recorded by grammarians and found

[1] Michelson, J.A.O.S, XXX, p. 83.

in dramas, which again, in their turn, had to submit to the surrounding influences and in course of time acquire new traits and lose some old ones and likewise spilt up into co-dialects.

References to the above numbers.

Page 1— 981—thaṁbhasi ; 982—thabe,

Page 3—2172 lājā ; 701 kaṭaviytalā ; 3518 supathāye ; 3554 supāthāye ; 2013 mige ; 3613 hida ; 1343 na ; 1889 piyadasī ; 2013 mige ; 3555 se ; 3476 si ;

Page 4— 468 ālabhiyiśaṁti.

Page 5—86 aṁe ; 1688 piyadasisā ; 1689 piyaṣā ; 1244 dhaṁmanusathiyā ; 2188 likhāpitā ; 849 gaḷahā ; 3173 viyaṁ (janate) ; 671 olodhanasi ;) 1590 pavajitāni ; 2164 lahukā ; 3676 hoti ; 72 aja ; 122 atapāsaṁḍa ; 133 atikaṁtaṁ; 853 gahathāni; 1778 baṁbhanasamānā naṁ; 3068 vaḍhī ; 2177 lājinā ; 2178 lājine ; 1916 mache ; 1991 mahāphale ; 94 aṭhaye ; 621 etaya ; 622 etaye ; 3405 saṿatā ; 1761 priyadarśisa ; 1687 piyadasine ; 3142 vijitasi ; 1993 mahāmāta ; 675 osadhāni ; 1620 pādesike.

Page 6—86 aṁe ; 36 aṁnāni ; 348 ayaṁ ; 531 ima ; 543 iyaṁ ; 613 eta ; 642 etesu ; 764 kiṁ ; 768 kiṁpi ; 1014 tā; 1006 taṁ; 1017 tānaṁ ; 1022 tāsu ; 1959 mamayā ; 1960 mamā ; 2059 ya ; 2060 yaṁ ; 3560 so ; 748 kaleti ; 848 galahati ; 1084 dakhati ; 1893 bhoti ; 3676 hoti ; 467 ālabhiyaṁti ; 270 anusāsisaṁti ; 202 anapayisaṁti ; 2091 yujaṁtū ; 410 asu ; 1485 paṭipajaya ; 3479 siya ; 469 ālabhiyisu ; 500 āha ; 3005 lekhapita ; 3599 hālāpitā ; 3022 lopāpitā ; 466 ālabhitu ; 818 khamitave ; 711 kata ; 3140 vi[ji] ta.

LECTURE V.

CULTURAL SYNTHESIS.

The outlook of the inscriptional epoch in Bihar & Orissa was essentially religious. An investigation into its antecedents reveals the following interesting factors.

In the 6th century B. C., India was passing through a period of religious enthusiasms. The Upaniṣadic Brāhmaṇas were laying down rules of life in the Dharmasūtras.[1] Vardhamāna and Gautama were preaching their respective view-points of salvation in Jainism and Buddhism. It was at this epoch, Gosāla[2] founded his sect of *Ājīvikas*, noted for their dislike of austerities bordering on fanaticism. By the 2nd century B.C., the first three had coalesced into Hinduism[3] —each also counting a separate following, Buddhism specially in Bengal and Bihar[4] and Jainism in Orissa.[5] But the Ājīvikas, as a sect, practically disappear from history. An enquiry into their doctrines and practices as well as their relation to rival creeds may throw some light on their ultimate fate.

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1 Jolly, *Recht and Sitte ; Z. D. M. G.*, L, 507f.

2 Abhayadeva on the Kalpasūtra, Ed. Benares, pp. 1213b, 1214a. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, 1925, pp. 29, 36, 59; 1918, p. 409.

3 Glasenapp, *Der Hinduismus*, pp. 23-39.

4 *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1919, pp. 175; 19.

5 *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, Plate XXIV.

Vardhamāna, Gautama and Gosāla were one and all against the Brāhmaṇas.[1] They used the language of and drew disciples mostly from the mass. The Brāhmaṇ looked on and ignored them. In the Maurya days (4th—3rd century B.C.) he lacked political prestige. At their close, (2nd century B.C.) Patañjali on Pāṇini II, 4-56 quietly sums up with an ironical reference to *Devānāmpiya.*[2] Brāhmaṇism absorbs the lessons of five centuries of territorial expansion and moral conflicts. Hinduism ushers in a new era[3] and closes the chapter to begin another. The Ājīvikas in turn settled down as Vaiṣṇava ascetics in popular estimation (Kern. I. A. 20, 361ff.; Bühler I, 20,362).

Brāhmaṇism.

But the internecine struggle between Vardhamāna, Gautama and Gosāla was bitter and abiding. Gautama and Buddhism followed a different path. It was a united camp for the uplift of the masses against the Brāhmaṇas and a new ideal of salvation. It accorded real, if not friendly, acceptance to every opposed sect or creed, chiefly Brāhmaṇism, Jainism and Ājīvikas.[4] It naturally reflects current conception. It is interesting to note that to a Buddhist there is not much to choose between a

Buddhism.

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[1] Huber, Aśvaghoṣa's *Sūtrālaṅkāra,* Preface, p. VII.

[2] *cf,* Pāṇini, VI. 3-21.

[3] Bühler, *A. S. W. I.*, IV. 109.

[4] *Samannaphalasuttam.*

Brāhmaṇa, Jaina or Ājīvika—all "followers of the wrong way":—

(1)[1] *Ājīvikānaṁ michchhātapo.*
Ājīviko aññataro. I. 493—17. The Pāli Jātaka.

(2)...*Vāyamato ājīvo*...The Puggala-paññatti.

(3) *Michchhājīvo* ..The Saṅyutta Nikāya.[2]

(4) *Ājīvaka-sāvako*...The Aṅguttara Nikāya.[3]

(5) *Ājīvakanañ esa anucchairiko* ..Jambukājīvaka-vatthu :
The commentary on the Dhammapada.[4]

(6) *Adrākṣīt Upako Ājivako Chagiavantam durato,*[5] etc.

In most cases the Buddhist text use the form *ājīvaka*. It is equivalent to the commoner Sanskrit form *ājīvika*. The latter form is also found in MSS. *C* and *C*, cited by Norman[6] in his edition of the commentary on the Dhammapada D H P. V. II.

It if obvious from the above that while Brāhamaṇism ignored the Ajīvika, Budhism accepted him as a fact neither better nor worse than a Brāhmaṇa or a Jaina. He has no cause for special resentment against either an Ājīvika or a Jaina. The Budhist rulers Aśoka and Daśaratha bestow cave dwellings on the Ajīvikas[7] at

1 *Puggala-pannaiti*, IV.

2 *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, Ed. by Mrs. Rhys Davids. vol. v, 1904, pp. 14, 76.

3 *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Ed. by Morris, 1885. pt. III 72 III, 117-2-5; and Ed. by Rhys Davids, 1910, vol, VI. , p. 16.

4 Norman, *Dhammapada Commmentary* D.H P. 1911, I, 309; II. 55-6.

5 Senart, *Le Mahāvastu*, vol. III, 535.

6 Norman, *op. cit.* II, p. 55, 56.

7 Barabar Hill Cave Inscriptions. Hultzsch, *C.I.I.*, 1925, pp. xxviii.

Barābar and Nāgārjunī Hills in the same spirit as they build *stūpas* for the Buddhists[1] or order alms to the Brāhmaṇas[2] elsewhere. The later resentment of the Buddhist centered against not the Jain or the Ājīvika but the Brāhmaṇa.[3]

But the relation is different between Vardhamāna and Gosāla. The latter's antecedents[4] are noteworthy. Son of a professional mendicant Maṅkhali and his wife Bhaddā, he saw the light of day in the cowshed of the wealthy Brāhmaṇa Gobahula at Sāvatthi. Early in life he met Mahāvīra at Nālandā. At the sight of respects paid to Mahāvīra by the rich, *viz.* Vijaya, Aṇanda and Sudarśana he foresaw his own vocation. He approached Mahāvīra to be accepted as a disciple. Mahāvīra declined. Gosāla "gave away his clothes, vessels, shoes and pictures to a Brāhmaṇa, shaved off his hair and beard" and got in. He practised asceticism with Mahāvīra for six years, but never really relished it. Outside Kummagāma sat the ascetic Vesiyayaṇa 'with upraised arms and upturned face in the glare of the sun, while his body was swarming with lice." Gosāla goes out of his way to inquire "whether he was a sage or a bed of lice." The holy men of the Niggantha order were never particularly squeamish about mundane affairs. Their teachers sat "quite naked, with dishevelled hair, in the midst of the most disgusting uncleannes, under a shed

Jainism.

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1 Aśoka Rock Edict, xii.

2 Pillar Edict, vii. ; Rhys Davids, *S. B. E.*, xi·105, n-1.

3 Huber, *op. cit.*

4 *Bhagavati*, śaya xv, uddesa I.

prepared for them."[1] It is a Buddhist appreciation. But the Jaina account itself leaves no doubt–"the mendicants, because they never bathe, are covered with uncleanliness; they smell after it, they smell badly, they are disagreeable, they are loathsome."[2] And these were the earliest adherents of Mahāvīra.[3] At any rate Gosāla pretended that he had enough of them. The apparent reason for separation was harmless[4], viz. Gosāla's theory that not only plants but all living beings were capable of reanimation.[5] Gosāla now gave out that he had acquired magical powers, become a Jina and found his sect of *Ājīvikas*—long before his master Mahāvīra's Jinahood. He started preaching at a Sāvatthī shop of a lay disciple Hālāhalā by name. He attracted a number of ascetics and established his theory of "the eight Mahānimittas" Mahāvīra strongly disapproved of these doings. In the mutual recrimination that followed Mahāvīra's chances of founding an all-India religious movement were seriously jeopardized, while the Ājīvikas and their chief drew upon themselves the inveterate hatred of every right-thinking Jaina.[6]

Gosāla and the Jains.

This note proposes to trace not the philosophical precepts but the mutual relation of the warring parties. Gosāla classifies humanity into six classes—himself at the top;

1 Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Buddha*. vol. I., pp. 257-9.

2 Jacobi, *Achārānga Sūtra*, II. 2. 2. § 1.

3 Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism* pp. 226 34.

4 Hoernle, *Uāsagadasāo*, Fasic. III, 1887, Appendix, pp. 3-4,

5 *Ibid.*

6 Leumann, *Ovavaiya Sutta*, SS §§—116,

Bhikkhus (Buddhist), Niggaṇṭhas (Jaina) and Ājīviyas (Gosālins), the good who appreciate Gosāla; and the bad who go against him.[1] It is clear that the Buddhists, Jains and Ājīvikas formed the largest and most important groups of ascetics.[2] But Gosāla and his sect are sharply distinguished from the Jainas by their repudiation of the doctrine that setting aside a *mahāsatta* (Great Being), the rest of humanity can acquire *arhatship* and salvation through acts done by others, *i.e.* vicarious merit through the instructions and exhortations of others. "By this denial," exclaims a true Jaina, "that fool *i.e.* Gosāla has given a blow to the authority of a Jina."[3] An added element of bitterness lay in the fact that this subversive propaganda was carried on by the disciple only after six years of austerities while the master continued his for full twelve years.[4] Thus this unclothed anchorite, who had abandoned his cloth to save his skin[5] marshalled his Ājīvika monks while the Master of the faithful was still seeking enlightenment.[6]

The Jaina sūtras[7] record the Jaina triumph. They took up the challenge.[8] "Now a monk who knows (the

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1 *Sumaṅṅaphala—Sutta—Vaṇṇanā* in *Sumangala—Vilāsinī* Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya* II-20.

2 Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, Tibetan Dulva, page 104.

3 *Sumaṅṅaphala—Sutta—Vaṇṇanā*, op. cit.

4 Hoernle, *E. R. E.*, Vol. I. page 259.

5 Purāṇas; also cf. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, page 301.

6 Mrs. S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, page 58.

7 Jacobi, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII. pages 472ff.

8 *S. B. E.*, XLV, 267, no. I.

truth about). Mokṣa should answer them, *i.e.* revilers who are far off from perfection" (the Ājīvikas).[1] Mahāvīra told Gosāla that he acted like a thief who hard-pressed by villagers sought different disguises in out-of-the-way places fondly imagining that he would escape detection.[2] A contemplation of the placid Jinakalpas, Arhats and Tīrthaṅkaras in painting [3], and sculpture [4] would hardly suggest such warmth of feeling, and much less of language. But the Jainas could be annoyed —"I will hold him" said Upali [5] and adherent of Mahāvīra with reference to Buddha, "as a man who seizes a sheep by its long hair, and it kicks and struggles but cannot get away, or as a toddy-drawer who takes the reticulated substance he uses to strain his liquor, knocking it on the ground that it may be free from dirt, etc."[6] The human touch gains in poignancy in Gosāla easily outdoing his much-wronged teacher in the use of abusive language.[7] Even the mild Savvāṇubhuī, one of Mahāvīra's disciples, is moved to protest against such shameless ingratitude towards his former Master.[8] Mahāvira predicted dire consequences to the traitor—from "bilious fever"[9] to

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1 Silāṅka. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, Bk. I. sec. 3. ch. 3.

2 *Bhagavati, op. cit.* page 1245a.

3 Coomarswamy, *Cat. Ind. Collec. Boston Museum.* 1924. pages Plates I—XXXIX.

4 Cohn, *Indische Plastik*, Plates 77—82.

5 Hardy, *op. cit.* page 276.

6 *Ibid.*

7 Hœrnle, *Uvasagadasao*, For. III. Appendix, page 5.

8 *Ibid*, page 6.

9 *Bhagavati, op. cit.* page 1250a.

Gorathagiri Inscription No 1.

Gorathagiri Inscription No. 2.

"an interminable series of existences." He exhorted all his followers never to hold any intercourse with the heretical Gośāla and the Ājīvikas.[1]

From the 6th to the 3rd century B.C., Buddhism under a common leader spread all over India and beyond. Divided counsel crippled Jainism at the start. But the Jains have had the satisfaction of knowing that the once powerful Ājīvikas survive only as a memory.[2]

This Jain-Ājīvika hostility one would expect to see corroborated in the domain of archæology. The following instance deserves special notice. The present Barābar Hill, 15 miles north of Gaya, was known in the 3rd-2nd century B.C.—Devānaṁpiya (Aśoka)—Daśaratha Maurya epoch as the Khalatika Hill.[3] In the 6th-7th century A.C. under Maukhari Anantavarman[4] it was called the Pravara hill. At some stage between the two it bore the name of Goratha Giri as proved by two inscriptions discovered by Jackson[5] in 1913 and 1914, one reading *gorathāgiri*, the other *goradhagirau*. R. D. Banerji held that the script of the latter was southern Brāhmī. The re-reading[6] of the Hathigumphā inscription of Khāravela, king of Kalinga at Udayagiri in Orissa, dated in the 2nd century B. C., brought to light the name in the same form and script, viz

Goradhagiri Inscription.

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1 Rockhill, *op. cit.* Appendix I. pages 253-5.

2 Barua, *J. D. L.*, II.1-80.

3 Hultzsch, *C. I. I. op. cit.*, p. 181.

4 Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, nos. 48-50. Smith, E.H.I., 1914, page 312.

5 Jackson, *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1915, pp. 159-172.

6 *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1918, pt. IV. pp. 364-404.

goradhagiri, 1. 7. "In the eighth year, he (Khāra-vela) having got stormed the Gorathagiri (fortress) of great enclosure (lit. wall barrier) by a great army."[1]

Of the seven caves, two in the Barābar Hill and three in the Nāgārjunī Hill mention the grant of those caves to "the Ājīvikas" (*ājīvikehi*). In three cases the word *ājīvikehi* has been deliberately chiselled off, every other letter entirely untouched. Who could have done it? It must have been done by people who could read the script and who had some special cause of complaint against the Ājīvikas. Three hypotheses present themselves. It was done either (*a*) by a Hindu, (*b*) a Buddhist or (*c*) a Jaina. (*a*) According to Hultzsch,[2] it might have been done under Maukhari Anantavarman who dedicated one Barābar cave to Kṛṣṇa and two Nāgārjunī ones to Śiva and Pārvatī.[3] Hultzsch's view is untenable: (i) he assumes without assigning any reason that Anantavarman in the 6th-7th century A. C. was familiar with Aśoka Brāhmī of the 3rd century B. C. (*ii*) a Hindu had no special grievance against an Ājīvika, who was popularly regarded as a follower of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa (Kern)[4], one of the Hindu Pantheon; (*iii*) if anybody, it is certainly the name *devānaṁpiya* Aśoka which might be supposed to invite comment from a Hindu[5] but this is left altogether unmolested. (*b*) That a Buddhist would think of damaging a work of

1 *Ibid*. p. 378

2 *Hultzsch, C.I. I.*, *op. cit.* p. xxviii.

3 *Gupta Inscriptions*, nos. 48-50.

4 Kern. *I. A.*, 20, pp. 361 ff.

5 Patañjali on Pāṇini II, 4-56.

their pious king would seem on the face of it improbable. It would be an act of sacrilege even if there existed a particular animus, it is unlikely in its absence. *(c)* The only alternative left is a Jain. The Jain-Ājīvika enmity makes it almost a certainty. The only point to determine is whether it is the act of a stray Jain or one who can be localized in history. The Hathigumphā inscription supplies the answer. 'Khāravela a follower of Jina[1] was at Goradha Giri in the eighth year of his reign, i.e. just after the Aśoka-Daśaratha time. And as a pious Jaina, he attempted to wipe out old scores by obliterating the hated name of the impostor Gosāla's Ājīvika followers.

This epigraphic evidence of Khāravela's visit to Goradha Giri is borne out by the remarkable façade of the Lomaśa Ṛṣi cave.[2] Jackson has sought to solve the present puzzle[3] by drawing attention to the details in the inlaid decoration of animals and its close proximity to the *Goradhagirau* inscription. In Jackson's photograph (see plate) taken in 1925 there are two crocodiles at either end—entirely missed by Fergusson.[4] The crocodile design is hardly ever found in the North. Like the solitary inscription to its left the unique façade with its characteristic crocodile and elephant *motif* looks like an importation from the South. Khāravela's inscription once more offers a test and a verification. It

Lomaśa Ṛṣi Cave Façade.

1 *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1918, pp. 385-6.

2 Rapson, *Camb. Hist. Ind.* Vol. I, plate xi, no. 25.

3 Fergusson, *Hist. Ind. and East. Architecture* (Burgess and Spiers) I, 130 ff.

4 *Cave Temples of India*, pp. 37 ff. Smith, *Hist. Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, p, 20.

lies in the very centre of a large number of caves with almost identical façades.[1] The details in decoration vary Instead of elephants occur lotus or lions in the same combination. But even the poorest cave has the same structural façade and the crocodiles at either lower end are almost always there. A comparison of the two sites leaves hardly a doubt that the Goradhagiri façade and inscription are intimately connected with the Udayagiri (Khāravela) inscriptions and façades both done by a Jaina who signed his creed in the mutilation of the letters "Ājīvikehi."

The above suggestion raises another interesting issue—a re-reading of the Barābar Hill Karṇa Chopar inscription. It was first lithographed and noticed by Kittoe in *J.A.S.B.*, 16, pp 401ff., then discussed by Burnouf in *Lotus* pp. 779ff., edited by Senart in *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi* 2, 209ff, *I.A.* 20, pp. 168ff., by Bühler in A.I., 20, pp. 361ff., with Fleet's facsimile by Cunningham in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. I, plate XVI. From the Plate (see Pl.) prepared by Jackson after a careful scrutiny on the spot, it would seem that the five broken letters were quite illegible when Kittoe took his impression. They begin to grow surprisingly clearer in Cunningham's successive versions. Ready imagination makes up for the unresponsive rock. Once the suggestion is made that it stands for *Khalatikapavatasi* on the analogy of the other inscription, it is copied and carried on, e.g. Woolner's Aśoka Text and Glossary Pt. II., 1224, p. 32 and Hultzsch's Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol

[1] Rapson, *Camb. Hist. Ind.* Vol. I. Plate XXVII,

Karṇa Chopār Cave Inscription.

I. Inscriptions of Asoka, 1925, p. 182. Hultzsch positively misleads by inserting ten dots before the last letter 'di' in line 4 which make this line appear longer than the preceding three, whereas there is actually room for not more than five characters. Cunningham explained away one syllable[1] of *Khalatikapavatasi* which could not be squeezed in. Hultzsch[2] takes the full reading for granted and wrestles with the meaning "*me*, by me this pronoun may refer to an unnamed donor, or with a clumsy change in the construction, to the king himself." But clumsiness clings to the mentality that forgets that three things are essentially important in every grant—viz. the donor, the donee and the object given (*a*). In the first inscription "Piyadasi" is the donor, "Ājīvikehi" are the donee and "Nigoha cave" the object of gift. (*b*) In the second "Piyadasi" is the donor, "Ājīvikehi" the donee and "a cave in the Khalatika hill," the object; as the cave has no special appellation like "Nigoha" or later in the third inscription "Supiye" it is necessary to describe it thus. (*c*) In the third "Piyadasi" is the donor, "Supiye cave" is the object of gift. But where is the donee? Moreover it is not at all necessary even by analogy to insert *Khalatikapavatasi* as the cave has a name like the first one and does not require further specialization. On the other hand, the name of the donee must come, both by analogy and to complete the sense. Jackson supplies "Ājīvikehi" while the fact that the letters have become illegible

Karna Chopar Cave Inscription.

[1] Bühler, *I. A.* 20, 36, ff.

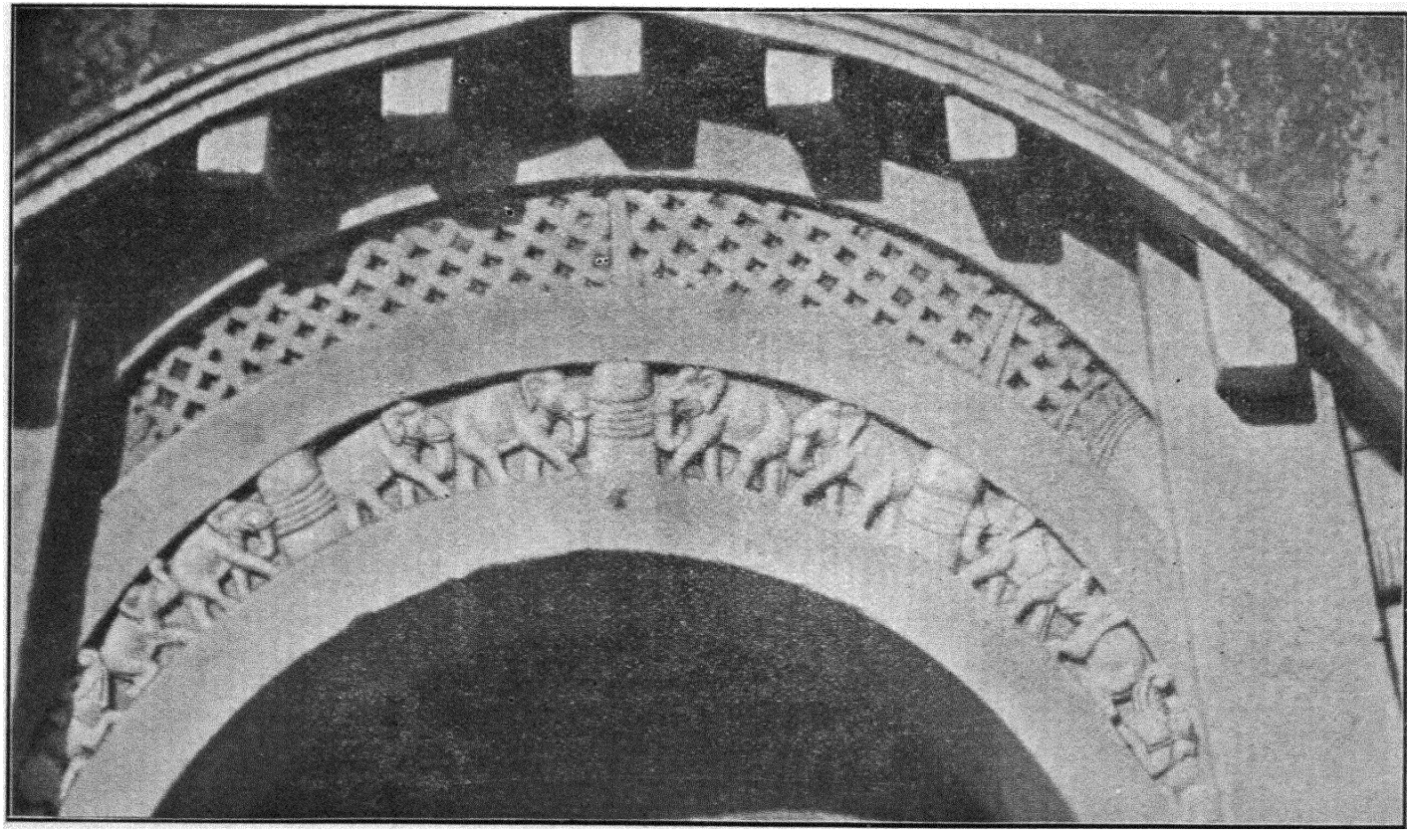
[2] Hultzsch, *op. cit.* p. 182.

through deliberate chipping off is another argument in support of analogy bestowing all the six inscribed caves "to the Ājīvikas."

The Lomaśa Ṛṣi Cave Façade

Jackson, in *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XII. Pt. I, 1926, pp. 49-52. has pointed out two important details regarding the Lomaśa Ṛṣi cave. (*i*) The polish is distinctly inferior (*op. cit.* p. 50) and *(ii)* there is no dedicatory inscription (*op. cit.* p. 50).

Both these deserve careful attention. They might throw some light on the author of the façade and the unfinished roof. Aśoka-Daśaratha cover 3rd-2nd century B.C. (Rapson *C.H.I.*, pp. 503-512 : circa. B.C. 274-184 B.C.) Khāravela comes in the 2nd-1st century B.C. (*c.* 169 B.C.—*J.B.O.R.S.*, 1918, p. 454). In between rise the Śuṅgas (Puṣyamitra *c.* 184-148 B.C.—Rapson, *op. cit.* p. 518.) Thus the Barābar Hills passed in succession from a Buddhist to a Brahmin and thence to a Jain. Why were the roof and inner room left unfinished ? Was there an inscription ? Some suggest the revival of Hinduism as the root cause. A similar lack of finish to cave No. 24 at Ajanta has been ascribed to the same cause (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XI, Pt. II, 1925, p. 125*)*. The latter is held responsible even for mutilation of sculptures (*Ibid.*). It is hardly plausible. The Hindu is no vandal. As Treitschke says in his *Deutsche Geschichte in XIX Jahrhundert*, noticing the still standing Polish Victory Column in East Prussia of a bygone age, only an inferior civilisation wreaks its wrath on tokens of an alien culture in their midst. The Imperial Hindu Samudra Gupta utilised but did not damage



Lomaśa Ṛṣi Cave Façade.

Buddhist Aśoka's Peace Pillar at Allahabad (Fleet, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 7). Nor can it be said that the work was given up because of want of encouragement after the Aśoka-Daśaratha epoch. Lomaśa Ṛṣi cave is one of the Aśoka group. His descendant Daśaratha of the Nāgārjunī range (Hultzsch, *C.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. xxviii) might be expected to see to its completion. That it was excavated by a Buddhist and a Mauryan, is suggested by its design (Fergusson, *Hist. Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Burgess and Spiers, Vol. I. pp. 130ff), and its similarity with the contiguous inscribed Aśokan caves (Codrington, A. I., p. 19) Jaina caves at Khaṇḍagiri and elsewhere (Cohn, *Indische Plastik*, Tafel, 8, 77-82) generally follow a different type.

Thus a likely reason for the unfinished work—it was probably more unfinished then without the polish on the side walls of the outer chamber—was the fissure in the living rock of the roof. The inside of the inner chamber as well as its outer wall, dressed but left absolutely in the rough, suggest the same state for the rest of the walls at the time of cessation of work. After the appearance of the flaw in the rock, the work was abandoned. And the occasion for a dedicatory inscription never arose.

Then came Khāravela in the 2nd-1st century B.C. (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. IV, Pt. IV, 1918, p. 368). He naturally turned out the Ājīvikas, chiselled of their names and put in his Kaliṅgan troops in the Barābar caves. The unfinished Lomaśa Ṛṣi he must have found quite handy. Who repaired the fissure in the gneiss rock is not recorded. A recent sojourn in the cave under heavy rains has proved

to the writer the effectiveness of the long plaster line on the top. A chemical examination may prove its approximate age. In any case Khāravela seems to have employed post-Mauryan craftsmen to polish up the walls—it is same in kind only inferior in quality to that in the Aśoka-Daśaratha Mauryan caves.

About the essentially Jain character of the *Makara* or crocodile freize *motif*, the recently published "Ancient India. From the Earliest Times to the Guptas with Notes on the Architecture and Sculpture of the Mediæval Period. By K. De B. Codrington, London, 1926" supplies some interesting evidence. It reproduces the Jain (*A.I., op. cit.*, p. 42) Rail Fragments, Kankālī Tīlā, Mathurā *A I., op. cit.*, p. 43, Fig. 14)- always with the crocodile. From the architectural point of view Codrington assigns the Lomaśa Ṛṣi cave to the 3rd century B.C. and the façade to the 1st century B.C. (*A.I., op. cit.*, p. xi.) But it is curious that even with a good photograph (*A.I. op. cit.*, Plate I.B.) Codrington repeats Fergusson's mistake about "a frieze of elephants" (*A.I. op. cit.* p. 20) and misses the *makara* [1] and all that it implies.

The presence of a Southerner and a Jain is further hinted at by two other details noted by Jackson (*J.B.O R.S.*, Vol. XII, Pt. I, p. 51): (*i*) a *svastika* and (*ii*) a *triśūla* n line 5. (*iii*) Jackson also corroborates Caddy's fish below these symbols (*J.B.O.R.S., op. cit.*, p. 51). (*i*) Of

[1] Contrast the fantastic ornamental device of *Makara* at Amarāvatī and Bhārhut, with its natural representation on the Orissa Caves and in Chālukyan sculpture.

the 55 plates in Hultzsch's *C.I.I.* Vol. I (New Edition) Inscriptions of Aśoka, 1925, only one solitary inscription (besides the Karṇa Chopār) bears the *svastika* mark. And that is the Jaugaḍa Rock (Hultzsch, *op. cit.* p. 116). Jaugaḍa is "a ruined fort in the Berhampur Tāluka of the Ganjām district, Madras, about eighteen miles north-west of Ganjām town, on the northern bank of the Rishikulya river," (*op. cit.* p. xiv). Evidently the *svastika* was a Southern symbol accepted very early by the rest of India.

(*ii*) The *triśūla* is an ancient Jina association. "In the earliest of Mathurā Jain examples, a *jina* is seated within a square formed by four averted *triśūlas*" (Codrington, *A.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 45). Like the *svastika*, the *triśūla* also, has travelled far. (The Cretan excavations by Evans have brought it to light in the distant Ægean islands.)

(*iii*) Add to this the fish. And there is an astonishing coincidence in Jain details, *viz.* crocodile, *svastika* and fish, between the Lomaśa Ṛṣi-Karṇa Chopār symbols on the one hand and the professedly Jain Rail fragments, Kankālī Tīlā, Mathurā, on the other (*cf.* Codrington, *A.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 43, Fig 14).

Lastly, by way of mutual verification, these Jain symbols occur only in the Karṇa Chopār inscription where the work of obliterating the anti-Jain Ājīvikas has been more thorough than elsewhere. This is the first inscriptional acquaintance with Magadha inscribed by Kaliṅga.

Ancient Kaliṅga was later known as Trikaliṅgas (cf. Ep. Ind. xii, 208ff—Utkala, Kaliṅga proper and Koṅgada (*i.e.* Ganjam). Modern Orissa is from *Oḍradeśa*.[1] It now includes Oḍra or Oḍḍa, Utkala, Kaliṅga, part of Daśārṇa and Dakṣiṇa Kośala (corresponding to the Tributary States of to-day.) Thus it included in the South, the country between the Mahānadī and the Chilka Lake, & portions of the Ganjam District.

Kaliṅga has had a long and varied history.[2] The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa hints at the Bhoja rulers of Kaliṅga. The Mahābhārata describes it as a forest country as soon as the Vaitaraṇī is reached. Its close connection with Bengal and Bihar is symbolised in the story of the five sons of Queen Suṣeṇā of Kaliṅga, wife of Bali, by the sage Dīrghatamāḥ. They founded Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma. Here Kaliṅga is placed as extending from the Rūpnārāin branch of the Ganges, then later to the river Godāvarī to the South, and from the sea into the interior along the course of the river Indrāvatī to its junction with Godāvarī, following the course northwards to meet the Ganges near Burdwan. Pāṇini mentions Kaliṅga. So does the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra as a centre for fabricating cotton (the Tamil word *Kaliṅgam* even to-day means Cotton). The Mahābhārata mentions Rājapurī as its capital and its sacred sacrificial spot Yajñapura (modern Jājpur) in memory of a sacrifice by Dharma himself. The Kumbhakāra Jātaka and the Uttarādhyāna mention Karaṇḍu the Kaliṅgan King, as a

1 *J. A.*, 1923, pp. 18-19.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 11-17.

contemporary of Nagnajit of Gāndhāra and Bhīma of Vidarbha. The Mahagovinda - suttanta describes Sattabahū as contemporary of Dattaraṭṭa of Kāśī, probably Dhṛtarāṣṭra mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. The Ceylonese Mahāvaṃśa again confirms the close relation between Magadha and Kaliṅga by the story of the Kaliṅgan princess, a daughter of the Queen of Bengal and the mother of Vijaya. According to the Purāṇas, Nandivarman one of the Nandas of Magadha subjugated Kaliṅga in Pre- Mauryan days *i.e.* before the fourth cen. B.C. The Hathigumphā inscr. probably refers to it in line 12. Aśoka conquered it in the 3rd. cen. B.C., nine years after his coronation. Cf. the Kaliṅga inscription. Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga wiped off old scores against Magadha in the 2nd cen. B.C The Bharata—Nāṭyaśāstra refers to Kaliṅga along with Tosala, (See the Hathigumphā inscription). Pliny's Maleus Kosala, Mosala, Drāviḍa, Andhra, Mahārāṣṭra, Benya and Vanavāsa refers to Mālyavān on the frontiers of Kaliṅga as forming the Dakṣiṇāpatha- abode of soft and amorous dākṣiṇātya dramatic art, under Gautanīputra Śātakarṇī. Then Kaliṅga passed under *Śrī Vīra Puruṣa Datta*, an *Aikṣāka*. Then from the 4th. cen. A.C. to the 7th cen. A.C., the Guptas of Magadha and the Vākāṭakas shared Kaliṅga. The Śailodbhavas, the Karas, the Bhojas, the Somavaṃśis of the inscriptions were local ephemeral rulers. From the 8th to the 11th cen. ruled in Kaliṅga the famous Keśarīs an offshoot of the Guptas of Kośala and Magadha, Mahaśiva Gupta or Yayāti. In the 9th cen , Rājaśekhara mentions Kaliṅga along with Aṅga, Kosala, Tosala, Utkala, Magadha, Mudgara, Videha

etc. as parts of Eastern India. From the 11th. cen. to the 15th cen., Kaliṅga was under the Gaṅgas; from the 15th for a hundred years under the Sūryavaṃśis till 1542 A.D. The Bho– i dynasty (?) succeeded and endured up till 1560. Its successor was the Teliṅga[1] dynasty. Mukunda Deva, contemporary of the notorious iconoclast Kālāpāhā·a was the last independent Hindu King of Orissa. Ismail Ghazi was the first Mahomedan to invade Orissa in 1510. Suleiman Karrani, Nawab of Bengal and Bihar followed suit in 1567-68. The Moguls conquered it in 1592 and Mansingh under Akbar became the Governor of Bengal Bihar & Orissa. The Mahrathas invaded it in 1741-42 A.D., and ruled over it for 48 year from 1756—1803. From 1803 old Kaliṅga, later Orissa, passed under the British. Its historic and age–long connection with Bengal and Bihar, was formally reaffirmed in 1911 when it was announced an integral part of the Province of Bihar & Orissa.

Before passing on to a detailed study of the inscriptions of Orissa, it would be interesting to note their chief localities, the different Capitals of Kaliṅga in different periods.

The Mahābhārata records *Rājapurī* as the capital. The Kumbhakāra Jātaka, the Uttarādhyāna Sūtra and the Mahāgovinda Suttanta know the capital as *Dantapura*.[2] The Ceylonese Mahāvaṃśa gives *Kapilapura* and *Siṃhapura*. Hhāravela's Hathigumphā inscription line 13 refers

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1 *Cf.* other Teliṅga inscrr. Ep. Ind., XIV, 90, 271—361.

2 *J. A.*, 1925, pp. 46—57 Paloura-Dantapura.

to a capital *idha* without specifying its name. (J.B.O.R.S., 1917. p. 441.) Aśoka's Kaliṅga Edicts mention *Tosalī*. Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṃśa* mentions the capital of Kaliṅga as *Kośalanagarī* on the sea. The founder of the Liṅgarāja Temple is supposed to have given the name Bhuvaneśvara which survives till now. Bhuvaneśvara has rightly been claimed by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Śāstrī as one of the 3 eternal cities of India, the other two being Benares (or Kāśī) and our Pāṭalīputra (the *Pattana*, Patna *i.e* city per excellence). From the point of view of the inscriptions, it is instructive to see the relation between Aśokan Tosalī and Keśarī Bhuvaneśvara.

Tosalī is intimately connected with Kośala, not the Kośala of the Rāmāyaṇa but a later Kośala or Mahākośala in Central India, in the upper reaches of the Mahānadī, part of Bengal and hence of Magadha. The *Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa*, Ch. 56, places Kośala and Tosala along with the peoples of the South-coast. The *Matsya Purāṇa* 1130 53, the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57, 54 mention *tośalāḥ—Kośalāḥ*. Vāgvaṭa in his *Kāvyānuśāsana* says —— वाराणस्याः परतः पूर्वदेशः। यत्राङ्ग-कलिङ्ग कोशल-तोसलोत्कल ... Hemachandra refers to it in his *Kāvyānuśāsana*. *Harivaṃśa*, II 30. 50; 48; 55; and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* Wilson, vol. v. p. 39, describes a wrestler defeated by Kṛṣṇa, as from Tosala or Tosalaka. *Avaśyaka*, nijjhuti 8, *Ind. Stud.*, xvii-63, and Hemachandra Pariśiṣṭaparvan xiii, gives the name of *tosaliputta* to the Jain teacher of Arya-Rakṣitā or Rakṣita-Svāmin, pupil of Vajra the last of the Daśapūrvins. An 8th cen. king of Orissa, Śubhakaradeva contemporary of the Chinese Emperor to whom he

presented a copy of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* in 795, A.C., dates a charter from Uttara—Tosalī. The Patiakella grant of Śivarāja in *283 Gupta era*, i.e. *601 A.D.*, (Ep. Ind., ix, 286, state the royal residence at Dakṣiṇa– Tosalī. Both these inscriptions have been discovered in Orissa, in the District of Cuttack. It is in this District of Cuttack, about 4 miles south-south-east of Bhuvanésvara, is Dhaulī, with the Aśoka inscriptions on the Aśwastama rock. Thus Dhaulī of to-day is really the Tosalī of Aśoka, and the site of Bhuvaneśvara now, with Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri as suburban retreats. Bhuvaneśvara, though replaced by Kaṭaka as capital, under Mukunda Deva the Teliṅga, has continued to be the religious centre it was and its inscriptions newly discovered and not yet published will add an important chapter to the history of Orissa in establishing the claims to recognition of the ruling dynasty from the 8th to the 11th cen. A. C. This inscriptional connection between Bhuvaneśvara and Dhaulī or Tasalī demonstrates once again the law of civilization, *viz.* youth, maturity, and climax or end of particular civilizations, working out its individual life–history not only in the same inevitable psychological way, but sometimes choosing the very sites of its predecessors. As parallels may be pointed out, Old and New Rājgīr, Pāṭaliputra, and Delhi, the seat of at least four civilizations now fulfilled and gone.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Śāstrī has proposed the phonetic gradation *Dhauli*— > Dohali > Tohali > Tosali. Sylvan Lévi has confirmed it with the passage from tde *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira, praising amongst

the Huṇa population of the North, the *Kohalas* which has been substituted in the text of the commentator Utpala by *Kosala*. Pischel has given other illustrations of this change of intervocalic स into ह, e.g., *dūhala* from *dūsara* from *duḥsara* "unfortunate"; *diaha* from *divasa*. And as the people forgot it was a geographical name, they might have turned it into something more intelligible *viz*. Dhaulī = white Bloch's objection that this phenomenon though common in the outergroup of Sindhī Punjabī, and Kāshmīrī is not frequent in the Midland is besides the point Grierson has shown the connexion between the North-Western Outer Indo—Aryan vernaculars–Lhanda, Sindhī, Punjabī, Kāshmīrī, called generally the Paiśāchī group— and the North-Eastern Magadha—Orissa group as more intimate and complete than the connexion of either, with the Midland Hindī group. The different theories he has advanced to account for this, are given in *The Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London*, and need not be repeated here.

There is an yet unpublished passage in the Buddhist work in Sanskrit called *Gaṇḍavyūha* pointed out by Lévi and cited by Rajendra Lal Mitra in his *The Sanskrit Buddist Literature of Nepal*, p. 90, a work translated by Prājña for the third time into Chinese between 796–98 from a Mss. sent by Śubhakaradeva of Orissa to the then Emperor of China—— a passage which gives the exact location of Tosalī. *Gaṇḍavyūha* is frequently quoted as an authority by Śantideva in his *Śikṣāsamuchchaya* and its accuracy may be relied upon. The passage runs——(Mss. 33, 36, 41 of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris)——

गच्छ कुलपुत्रेहैव दक्षिणापथे अमिततोसले जनपदे तोसलं नाम नगरं तत्र सर्वग्रामी परिव्राजको प्रतिवसति...येनामिततोसलो जनपद स तेनोपजगामोपेत्य तोसलंनगरं परिमार्गन् परिगवेषमाणोऽनुपूर्वेण तोसलं नगर मनुप्राप्तः सूर्यास्तंगमनकाले स तोसलं नाम नगरं अनुप्रविश्य मध्ये नगरश्रृङ्गाटकस्य स्थित्वा वीथीमुखेन वीथीमुखं चत्वरेण चत्वरं रथ्यया रथ्यं सर्वग्रामिणं अद्राक्षीत् रात्र्यां प्रशान्तायां तोसलस्य नगरस्योत्तरे दिग्भागे सुरभं नाम पर्वतं तस्य शिखरे विविधतृणगुल्मौषधिवनारामरचिते महावभासप्राप्तं भास्करमिवोदितं तस्य तमवभासं दृष्ट्वा.....

Sudhana, the disciple of Mañjuśrī has set out for a town of India to seek instruction. Achalasthirā, the upāsikā, after instructing all she could, says—

"Now, Young man, go hence ; in this Deccan where we are, there is a country Amita-Tosala ; there is a town there named Tosala, it is there that dwells a wandering *parivrājaka* of the name of Sarvagrāmin"....He went from their to the country of Amita Tosala, in search of the town of Tosala. At the time of sunset, he reached by stage the town of Tosala. He stopped at the midst of the carrefour of the town, and from lane to lane, from place to place, from chariot—ways to chariot—ways he roamed and ended by seeing Sarvagrāmin. And when the night drew to a close, he perceived in the northern region of the town of Tosala the mountain called Surabha, the top of which was covered with grass, groves, plants, forests and gardens.....

Budhabhadra transliterates *Amita-Tosala* as *pou ko tch'eng*, rendered *atulya* by *Mahāvyūtpatti* (246, 116 and 247, 123). Both Śikṣānanda and Prājña place the mountain "to the east of the town" and give the forms Tosala, Toṣala, and Tosara (from root of तुष् = to satisfy).

The description in Aśoka *Tosaliyaṁ mahāmāta nagaraviyahālaka*, I ; *Tosaliyaṁ Kumāle mahāmātā cha*, a Tosalī with governor, prince and town officials, tallies with the description of the Tosala—nagaram of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* "and the royal residence, Basileion, the Toselei of Ptolemy, (in spite of Ptolemy's slight inaccuracy about "the east of the Ganges.") And this Tosalī of Aśoka, the local Dhaulī of the inscription is the site of Bhuvaneśvara of the Keśarīs, slightly to the south.

Having determined the country and chief centres of the inscriptions of Orissa, we will now proceed to have a bird's eye view of its contents.

There are two continuous series of inscriptions—one from the 2nd. cen. B.C. to the 8th cen. A. C. and another from the 11th cen. A.C. onwards. They have generally been discovered in the Tributary States of Orissa and the district of Puri, and Ganjam. Some side-light is thrown by the inscription of the western Chalukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Eastern Chalukyas who had invaded Kaliṅga in the first period from 2nd. cen. B.C. to the 8th cen. A.C

The following is a rough reconstruction of the sequence of powers in Kaliṅga from the 2nd. cen. B.C. to the 8th cen. A.C. based on inscriptions :—

INSCRIPTIONS OF ORISSA.

2ND CEN. B.C.—8TH CEN A.C.

Aśoka conquered Kaliṅga (3rd cen. B.C.)

1. Khāravela invaded Magadha (2nd cen. B.C.) Hathigumphā inscription of Khāravela at Udayagiri.

2. Hathigumphā inscr. records repulsing of *Śātakarṇī*, perhaps an Andhra king.
3. Andhras occupied Kaliṅga (2nd. cen A.C.)
4. In the 6th. cen. A.C. (567-68 A.C —597-98 A.C.) Kīrttivarman I, king of the western Chalukyas of Badami conqured Kaliṅga (cf. the pillar inscription of King Maṅgaleśa.)
5. Kīrttimān I's son Pulakeśin II subjugated Kaliṅga, 7th cen. A.C. (Aihole Inscription).
6. In the 8th. cen., Dantidurga, the first Rāṣṭrakūṭa invaded Kaliṅga.
7. In A.C. 877, Kṛṣṇa II, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa claims Kaliṅga amongst his other kingdoms.
8. Akālavarṣa claims the same about the same time, in the same loose way. Then the 8th cen. A.C. saw some power established in Kaliṅga which for the time being put an end to outside enterprise.

11TH CEN. A. C. ONWARDS.

From the 11th Cen. A. C. begins the same story of invasions again.

1. The Eastern Chalukyas under Rāja-Rāja-Deva overran Kaliṅga about the beginning of the 11th Cen. A.C. (Hultzsch, South Indian Inscriptions, p. 63).

2. Then Choḍagaṅga, grandson of Rājendra Chola founded the Gaṅga Dynasty towards the end of the 11th Cen. A.C. (his accession and installation took place 999 Śakasaṃvat, *i.e.* 1078 A. C. acc. to Sewell, *A.S.I.*

II. 33-4, or 1075–76 A. C: acc. to Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.* xviii, 1899. Cf. Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions, by Fleet.

The Ganga Dynasty.

From their various inscriptions, the following 14 rulers constitute the Gaṅga Dynasty :—

(i) Choḍa Gaṅga. (built Purī temple ?)
(ii) Kāmārṇava VII or Madhu Kāmārṇava.
(iii) Rāghava.
(iv) Rāja--Rāja II.
(v) Aniyaṅka Bhīma or Anaṅga Bhīma II.
(vi) Rāja –Rāja.
(vii) Anaṅga—Bhīma--deva. (built appurtenances to the Purī temple).
(viii) Nṛiṃha--deva I (built Konāraka).
(ix) Vīra Bhānu--deva I.
(x) Nṛsiṃha or Naranāra Siṃha--deva II.
(xi) Vīra Bhānu—deva III.
(xii) Nṛsiṃha--deva IV.

The Narasiṃhadeva mentioned in एकावली of विद्याधर as the patron of the author (of which the commentary तरला is by मल्लिनाथ) was taken to be the second of the name as he is described in the Puri inscription as कविप्रिय: and कविकुमुदचन्द्र: But a comparison with the other inscriptions prove him to be Narasiṃha—deva I.

The *Gaṅgavaṃśānucharitam* gives 27 names :—

(i) Kuḍaṅga.
(ii) Chuḍaṅga.
(iii) Rājarājeśvara.

(iv) Atiratha.
(v) Ekajaṭī Kāmadeva.
(vi) Madana--Kāma--deva.
(vii) Anaṅgabhīma.
(viii) Nṛsiṃha.
(ix) Bhīma Nṛsiṃha.
(x) Puruṣottama Nṛsiṃha.
(xi) Kavi Nṛsiṃha.
(xii) Ākaṭā Saraṭā Nṛsiṃha.
(xiii) Pratāpa Nṛsiṃha.
(xiv) Niśaṅka Bhānu.
(xv) Batula Bhānu.
(xvi) Vīra Bhānu.
(xvii) Ruchika Bhānu.
(xviii) Madhara Bhānu.
(xix) Kajjala Bhānu.
(xx) Svarṇa Bhānu.
(xxi) Kālaṣaṇḍa.
(xxii) Chūḍaṅga.
(xxiii) Nṛsiṃha.
(xxiv) Ananta.
(xxv) Padmanābha.
(xxvi) Pītāmbara.
(xxvii) Puruṣottama— step brother of Pītāmbara and son of Vāsudeva.

The copper-plate grants of Nṛsiṃha--deva IV have shown the unreliable character of the Mādlā Pāñjī. Then again a glance at the list of the *Gaṅgavaṃśānucharitam* will show that some of the names are mere *virud* of the same person— cf. देवेषुचाविरभवत् प्रथमं कुडङ्गे यं चौडगङ्ग इति केचन निर्दिशन्ति ।

Anaṅga Bhīma—deva is said to have built the temple of Puri अङ्कश्रौणीशशाकेन्दुसम्मिते शकवत्सरे । अनङ्गभीमदेवेन प्रासादः श्रीपतेः कृतः ॥ अङ्कस्य वामा गतिः ।— 1119 Śaka = 1197 A. D.

(Nṛsiṃha—deva I is credited with building the small temple of Koṇāraka.) शकाब्दे रन्ध्रशुभ्रांशुरूपनक्षत्रनायके (सेतुबन्धयात्रा and श्रीश्रीजगन्नाथ & श्रीश्रीगौराङ्ग)

रन्ध्र—९
शुभ्रांशु—१
रूप—१
नक्षत्र नायक—१
} =1119 Śaka.
} =1197 A. C.

According to the inscription quoted above Aniyaṅka Bhīma—deva ruled from 1112—1120 Śaka = 1193-4 — 1198-9 A. C. Acc. to the Chateśvar inscription Anaṅga Bhīma II, Aniaṅka was the son of Choḍagaṅga (who built at Puri) Aniaṅka (built the appurtenances at Puri), otherwise Anaṅga Bhīma I reigned from 1170—1202 (J. A. S. B., Lxvii Pt. I. 18).

Kapilendra—deva overturned the Gaṅga dynasty in 1435 A. C. and founded the Sūrya—Vaṁśa dynasty reigning up till 1542 A. C.

3 principal rulers— (i) Kapilendra.
(ii) Puruṣottama Deva.
(iii) Pratāparudra Deva.
contemporary of Chaitanya.

The Bho—I (?) dynasty replaced the Sūryavaṃśa dynasty and reigned till 1560, giving way to Mukunda

Deva of the Teliṅga dynasty who, the last Hindu King of Orissa, was slain by one of his feudatory allies, during his war against Kālāpāhār, the Muhammadan general of Süleiman Karrāṇi, Nawab of Bengal and Bihar in 1567-68.

Thus from the 3rd. cen. B.C. to the 8th cen. A.C. the following powers ruled over Kaliṅga

The Maurya 3rd cen. B. C.

„ Śuṅga 2nd cen. B. C.—1st cen. B. C.

„ Khāravela 2nd cen. B. C.

„ Andhra 2nd A. C.

Guptas——4th cen. A. C.—6th cen. A. C. Western Chalukyas—6th—7th. 8th. A. C.

Again from the 11th cen. A. C. onward we have

The Gaṅgas—11th cen. to the 15th cen.

„ Sūrya—Vaṃśa (Gajapatis)—15th cen. 16th cen.

„ Bho- I—16th cen.

„ Teliṅga—16th cen.—1567-68.

„ Pathans—1567-68—1592.

„ Moguls—1592—1741-42 invasion chouth 1741-42.

„ Marhattas—1756—1803.

„ British—1803--

But what happened between the 8th and the 11th cen A. C. ?

At first, local rulers became more or less powerful for a time.

Three such dynasties are known from their inscriptions.

1. The Śailodahava dynasty, one dated Gupta 300.

i.e. 619-20 A. C. the place Koṅgeda = *kong-u-tc* (Hiuen Tsiang).

Mahārāja Satyavarman.

,, Devendravarman.

,, Indravarman (same as Adhirāja Indra, of the Godāvarī plate of Rāja Pṛithivīmūla, overthrowing Indraka Bhattāraka the Eastern Chalukyan, younger brother of Jayasiṃha I (Śaka 549—579 or 582) and father of Viṣṇuvardhana II (Śaka 579—586 or Śaka 582—91.)

3. The Kara Dynasty : about 8 inscriptions known till now.

Two are dated 300 of an unknown era perhaps the Gupta 699—700 A. C., 704—5 A. C.

The geneological lists, in the Copper-Plate grant of Daṇḍi-Mahādevī :—

(i) Unmatta Siṃha.
(ii) Gayāḍa.
(iii) Lolabhāra.
(iv) Kusumbhāra.
(v) Lalitabhāra.
(vi) Śāntikara (or Kṣemaṅkara).
(vii) Śubhākara (Śivakara).
(viii) Daṇḍi-Mahādevī.

Kara kings are traced by some (R. D. Banerji) to the non-Aryan Asuras of Kāmarūpa, *Ep. Ind.* vol. xiv ; by others to the connexion between Gayāḍa Tuṅga of Oḍra and Pratāpa-Dhavala,— a non - Aryan ruler of a small principality near Rohtas in the Shahabad District of Bihar (J. A. S. B. 1909, p. 347). The

Naulpur grant of Śubhakara describes the family as of the Lunar race — *Somānvayādavāpta-janma.*

4. The Somavaṃśis of Kaṭaka.

The Bhojas (mentioned by Jīvadeva in his Mahākāvya)—perhaps the same as the Somavaṃśis of Kaṭaka.

Then arose a greater power that held sway over 3 centuries from the 9th to the 11th cen. These were the Keśarīs of Orissa. The first prince (i) Janamejaya or Mahābhava Gupta was an offshoot of the Kośala Guptas. (ii) His son Mahāśīva Gupta or Yayāti Keśarī (Ep. Ind. II. pp. 324, 336) founded the Keśarī dynasty. According to the Mādlā Pāñjī, Hunter and Stirling assigned the date of Janamejaya to 754 A. C. This Janamejaya, confusedly described as the 13th. from Yayāti in the Mādlā Pāñjī is thus really the father of Yayāti, Janamejaya Mahābhava-gupta. Other predecessors were, according to the Rajin grant of Indrabala and the Sirpur inscription of his grandson Tivara Deva (about 8th. cen. A. C.) were—

Tivara Deva Chandragupta—Kosala feudatory.
Harṣagupta.
Śivaguta.
Bhavagupta.
Śivagupta or Mahāśivagupta.

This Mahāśivagupta is the same as the Mahaśivagupta of the Kaṭaka copper-plate grant (9th year of Mahāśivagupta) and also identical with Yayāti Keśarī.

Thus Tivara Deva belongs to about 720 A. C. Hence Yayāti $720+30\times3=800$ A.C. and 810 A. C. and Janamejaya between the middle of the 8th cen. and the beginning of the 9th cen. (754 according to Hunter and Stirling.)

The Keśasrīs then ruled over Orissa from the 9th to the 11th cen. A. C. After Yayāti, ruled :—

(iii) Sūrya Keśarī.

(iii) Ananta Keśarī.

(iv) Lalāṭendra Keśarī or Alābu Keśarī. *Ekāmra-Purāṇá* is quoted by Aśutosh Mukherji in this edition of the *Setubandha-Yātrā* as follows :—

गजाष्टेषुमिते जाते शकाब्दे कीर्तिवाससः ।
प्रासादमकरो द्राजा ललाटेन्दुश्च केशरी ।

(*i.e.* 588 Śaka)

Babu Gopal Chandra Ācharya Choudhury cites in his book *Nīlāchale Jagannath O Śrī Gaurāṅga* an inscription from the Bhuvaneśvar temple giving the date, and founder of the temple as Lalaṭendu Keśari—

गजाष्टेन्दुमिते जाते शकाब्दे कृत्तिवाससः ।
प्रासादं कारयामास ललाटस्थेन्दुश्च केशरी ॥

Acc. to this Yayāti would rule from 471–526 A. C. and Alābu 54 years from 623–677 A. C.

(v) Nṛpati Keśarī transferred the capital to Kaṭaka, continues the same source, and this brought about a fall of the prestige of Bhuvaneśvar. Neither the reference in the book, nor to the alleged inscription is available and the information must be judged as mere heresay. Other names like,

(vi) Kūrma Keśarī.

(vii) Varāha Keśarī, etc., are not verified.

(viii) Udyotakāra Keśarī is recorded as the last of the line. In the absence of clear inscriptional evidence

about the other Keśarīs, Fleet in sheer despair declared the whole Keśarī Dynasty with its 44 rulers, glorified as the Caesars of Orissa by Rajendra Lal Mitra, as mere fiction. The inscriptions recently discovered at Bhuvaneśvar and for the first time read by the present lecturer have revealed many post—Keśarī kings and thus demonstrated once more that tradition in India, however disfigured or exaggerated, often contains a solid substratum of truth and should not be lightly set aside but must be preserved with care, awaiting future verification or otherwise.

LECTURE VI.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM ORISSA : RETROSPECT.

According to the Mādalā Pāñjī [1] and the inscriptions referred to by Professor Aiyangar [2], the Keśarī rulers [3] come into prominence from the 5th cen. A.C. Yayāti—Keśarī [4] is to be placed in the 8th—9th cen. A.C. The last of the line, Udyota Keśarī [5] was conquered by Ananta Varman Choḍa Gaṅga about 1078 A.C., *i.e.* in the 11th century[6].

Pre-Keśarī Orissa is the storm centre of rival forces of the South—each trying to obtain the much coveted title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati.*[7] The Śailodbhavas[8], the

1 The Mādalā Pāñjī refers to 42 kings of the Keśarī dynasty supposed to have reigned from the 5th to the end of the 11th cen. A. C.

cf. Stirling, *An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper, or Cuttack, Asiatic Researches,* xv, 1825. B. C. Bandyopadhyaya, *Puruṣottama Chandrikā* (1844.) Hunter, *Orissa.*

M. Chakravarty, *J. A. S. B.*, Lxvii, 1898, pp. 376-9.

2. *J. B. O. R. S.*, viii, pp. 6—7. The inscrr. refer to the invasion and conquest of Kaliṅga by Kīrtivarman, Pulikeśin, Dantidurga and Kṛṣṇa II, the Chalukyas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

3 There is no inscriptional evidence about a *Keśarī dynasty* accepted by Aiyangar.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 351 ; *J. B. A. S.*, XLVI, Pt I, p. 153.

5 *J. B. A. S.*, VII, p. 558, plate xxiv.

—*Śrimad—Uddyotakeśarirājadevasya-Vijaya-rājye.*

6 *I. A.*, XVIII, p. 144 ; XIII, p. 275 ; *Ep. Ind.* III, p. 18.

7 *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 341.

8 *Ep. Ind.* III, p. 43. Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarman, issued from Kaiṅgoda—. The inscr. mentions Pulindasena, 'famous amongst the peoples of Kaliṅga'; Śailodbhava; Raṇabhīta; his son Sainyabhīta [i]; Yaśobhīta; his son Sainyabhīta [ii]; and his son Mādhavavarman.

Karas [1] and the Guptas [2] kept up Kaliṅga's connection with Magadha. The Western and the Eastern Chālukyas were contending to bring it within the orbit of the South. Rāja-Rāja the Great, [3] brought about an alliance between his Cholas and the Eastern Chālukyas about the 11th cen. A. C.,[4] and succeeded in finally subverting the Keśarīs.[5] The alliance is further continued in the

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1 King Śubhakara-deva of Orissa gave a copy of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* to the emperor of China, the copy being translated into Chinese by Prājña, bet. 796—98 A. C. cf. also Neulpur grant, *supra.*

2 cf. the ending *Gupta* to the Yayāti line., *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 341, 346, 347, 356; IV p. 258.

3 *I. A.*, XVIII, p. 162.

4 For the date of the coronation of the Gaṅga Mahārājādhirāja Anantavarman-Choḍagaṅgadeva, lord of Trikaliṅga, see Vizagapatam plates, issued from Kaliṅga-nagara —*viz.* Sunday, 4th April, 1081 A. C. *I.A.*, xviii, p. 162; xxiii, p. 132, no. 112.

5 From Choḍagaṅga to Nṛsiṃhadeva IV, 14 kings of Orissa, are known from their copper-plates, in the following order :—

(i) Choḍagaṇga, (ii) Kāmārṇava VII or Madhu Kāmārṇava, (iii) Rāghava, (iv) Rājarāja II, (v) Aniaṅka-Bhīma-deva or Anaṅga-Bhīmadeva II, (vi) Rājarāja, (vii) Anaṅga-Bhīmadeva, (viii) Nṛsiṃhadeva I, (ix) Vīra-Bhānudeva I, (x) Nṛsiṃha or Naranārasiṃhadeva II, (xi) Vīra-Bhānudeva II, (xii) Nṛsiṃha or Naranārasiṃha, (xiii) Vīra-Bhānudeva III, (xiv) Nṛsiṃhadeva IV.—*J. A. S. B.* August, 1903, pp. 44-5.

Immediately after the last-named, comes Kapilendradeva—

Bhāsvad—Vaṃśāvataṃsa—tri—jagadadhipati—nīla—śailādhināthasya !

ādeśād-Oḍradeśe samajani Kapilendrābhidhānasa narendraḥ,

J. A. S. B., LXIX, 1901, Pt. I, p. 175.—in the Śaka year 1374 (*i.e.* A. C. 1452).

marriage between two daughters of Rājendra Chola, one with the Rāja-Rāja of Kaliṅga, the other with Rāja-

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Puruṣottamadeva or Pratāpapuruṣottamadeva of the solar race ruled from 1469-70 to 1496-7 : *J. A. S. B.*, xix. Pt. 2, 1900 p. 10. Acc. to the Mādalā Pāñjī, in the seventh *aṅka* of Puruṣottama's rule *i.e.* 1473-74 A. C. the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* of the Purī temple, and in the nineth *aṅka*, *i.e.*, 1475-76 A. C. its kitchen blocks were constructed. Bhandarkar took Narasiṃha of Utkala mentioned in Vidyādhara's *Ekāvalī* to be Narasiṃha II, but the inscrr. show him to be Narasiṃha I, *J. A. S. B.*, LXXII, Pt. I, no. 2, 1903, p. 28. Instead of the above list of 16 Kings from Choḍagaṅga to Puruṣottama, the *Gaṅgavaṃśānucharitam* ed. by Akṣaya Kumar Maitreya, gives 18 Gaṅgas and 9 others. No independent evidence is available as regards the additional names.

Anaṅga—Bhīma—deva is supposed to have built the temple of Purī in Śaka 1119 *i.e.*, 1197 A. C.—cf.

Aṅka—Kṣauṇī—Śaśāṅkendu—sammite Śaka—vatsare !
Anaṅga—Bhīmadevena prāsādaḥ Śrīpataḥ Kṛtaḥ !!

cf also, *Śakābde randhraśubhrāmśu—rūpa—nakṣatra—nāyake !*
prāsādaṃ kārayāmāsa Anaṅga-Bhīmena dhīmatā !!

quoted in *Setubandha-yātrā* by Ashutosh Mukhopādhyāya and

Śrīśrī Jagannātha o Śrīśrī Gaurāṅga.— from a reported inscr. inside the temple, unfortunately not traceable. Anaṅga—Bhīma ruled from 1192-1200 A. C. He is supposed to have re-discovered the temple from under the sands in 1198 A. C.—Brajakishore Ghose, *The History of Pooree*, p. 19. The actual builder was clearly Ananta-varman Choḍagaṅgadeva——Acc. to the Tiramala-temple copper-plate of Nṛsiṃha IV

prāsadaṃ puruṣottamasya nṛpatiḥ ko nāma kartuṃ kṣamaḥ !
tasyetyādi nṛpairupekṣitamayaṃ chakretha Gaṅgeśvaraḥ !!

The Kendupāṭal copper-plate of Nṛsiṃhadeva II, Śaka 1217, *J.A.S.B.*, LXIV, 1898, p. 139 repeats the above verse almost verbatim. *J. A S. B* LXV, 1896, p. 240.

The Konārak temple was built by Narasiṃha I or Lāṅgulīā Narasiṃha-deva, 1238—1264 A.C. *J. A. S. B.*, 903, pt. I.

Rāja the Eastern Chalukya[1]. Rājendra I Ganaikoṇḍa Chola had started this campaign against Kaliṅga. He wanted the whole of Kaliṅga as a base for his future operations against Śrīvijaya or Sumatra.[2] It must be remembered that Javanese tradition is very definite about the source of their early colonists[3] in the first century A.C. Their pioneer Āji Śaka came from Kaliṅga. Ptolemy's Pālūr[4] (*i.e.* Ganjan or Ṛṣi Kulya river) was Kaliṅga's route for overseas navigation.[5] Kaliṅga, in the Dathavaṃsa—Dantapura,[6] was already recognized and utilized as Vijaya's[7] base of operations towards the colonization of Ceylon.[8] Kālidāsa (about 5th cen. A.C.) knew the importance of Kaliṅga as the jumping ground for overseas expansion as he described its king, Hemāṅgada

1 *J. B. A. S.*, LXV, Pt. I, p. 235.

2 Cœdes, *B. É. F. E.*—O. XVIII, 6, 15.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Ptolemy, vii-1-16: Paloura—136°40′ east and 11°20′ north, at the entrance of the Gangetic gulf; from here the ships in the 2nd cen. A.C. took to sea for the country of gold (Khryse), *i.e.* Indo-Chinese peninsula (Burma, Malacca, Cambodia, Annam).

5. There were two important naval bases, on the eastern sea-board. There were fixed points to embark for the Indo-Chinese peninsula (Ptolemy—'locus unde solvun in Chrysen navigantes'). One was Paloura, the other the Kudūra of Koṇḍamudi plates, (*Ep. Ind.*, vi, p. 315) in the Bandar (Musalipatam) taluq (*List of villages of the Madras Presidency*, 1914, p. 150.

6 For an identification of Dantapura (Dantakūra M. Bh. VII.70,7) with Palour, cf. *J.A.*, 1925, Janvier-Mars, pp. 46—57.

7 cf. the connection between Śrī-vijaya (Sumātrā) in the Nālandā inscr. of Devapāla; and Kitti-siri-megha (middle of the 5th cen. A.C. sending an embassy to Samudragupta on the subject of the monastery at Mahābodhi.

8 *Raghuvaṃśa*, iv.

as master of Mahendragiri,[1] and of the great Ocean, *Mahodadhi*.[2] This overseas expansion was kept constantly in view by every claimant to Kaliṅgan supremacy from the 1st cen. A.C. to the Keśarī period about the 9th cen. A.C. and then again from the accession of the Choḍa Gāṅga in the 11th. cen. A.C. onwards. The successive centuries witnessed definite results.[3] Thus the Orissan Gupta Script developed into the Pallava,[4] and the Pallava from about the 5th. 6th. cen. A.C. found its way to Sumatra, Bali and Java.[5] This fact had already been suggested by Dubreuil.[6] The recent sumptuous publications of the Java Society under the munificent patronage of the Dutch Government[7] have not only established their

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1 *Raghuvaṃśa*, iv.

2 *Ibid*.

3 The inscr. of Murv-āl, king of the Champā in Annam, written in Sanskrit and in a script same as that of Rudradāman at Girnar, *J. A.*, Jan. Fev., 1891, p. 17: Ptolemy's names of towns on the Coast of Annam are also Indian and Sanskrit, *J. A.*, Juill-t-Août, 1883, p. 70; the Indo-Chinese civilisation did not come from every place in India, but from a port of Kaliṅga whence the travellers embarked for Sumatra, Bali, Java, Combodia etc.; and that port was Paloura—Dantapura in Kaliṅga (Ptolemy, vii, 1-16: *J. A.*, Janvier—Mars, 1925, p. 46).

4 The Hirahaḍagalli of Śivaskanda Pallava plates found in the Bellary district near Chitaldroog (findspot of the Mahārathi coins) are written in the same script as the Banavāsi inscr.; cf. Hultzsch's comparison of the Chendalūr, Uruvupalli, Māṅgalūr and Pikra plates,

5 cf. the remains of *stūpa* Ghaṇṭaśālā on the Deccan coast, Ptolemy's Kontakossyla, on the way to Burma, Java, Combodia and Annam. Rea, *Sonth Ind. Buddh. Antiquities*, p. 32.

6 *Anc. Hist. Deccan*, p. 97.

7 On *Boro-Budur*, with Text and Plates.

close affinity, in architecture, sculpture, and mythology, to those of the South of India but found the original source of Javan Script [1] (some of which inscriptions go back to the 4th. Cen. A.C.) in the Pallava inscriptions which again are allied to Kaliṅga. Thus Kaliṅga was the channel of communication first between Magadha and Orissa,[2] secondly between (Kaliṅga) Orissa and the South,[3] and between the South of India and the overseas colonies of Sumatra, Bāli and Java.[4]

Thus Kaliṅgan inscriptions are a landmark. From the 1st. cen. up to the 8th; the Western Chalukyas[5] subjugated the East Coast, the Pallavas of Kāñchī turned Kaliṅga into a part of the South.[6] Thus both

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1 *Om Boro-Budur, op. cit.*

2 The Ragolu plates mention Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śaktivarman, King of Kaliṅga, reigning at Piṣṭāpura, who "adorn the Māgadha family" (perhaps a relation of the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas in the 5th. cen. A. C.), *Ep. Ind.* xii, p. 2.

3 The Gupta-Vākāṭaka incrr. written in the "box-headed" alphabet (*J.A.* xxxiii. p. 64; *Gupta Inscrr.*, p. 19; *Ep. Ind.* ix, *p.* 268) show Gupta domination over the Deccan.

4 Bergaine,— "the relations bet. the Champā Kingdom and those of Southern India were so intimate that the script changed in the same manner. We even see that a simple ornamental appendage, a deeply cut square at the head of the letters which, in India proper, seems to have been in fashion during almost the whole of the 5th. Century finds its way into the xxi inscr. of our Annam list." *J.A.*, Janvier, 1888, p. 15.

5 Mahākūṭa inscr, of Kīrtivarman, *J. A*, xix, p. 7. He gained victories in—Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Vaṭṭūra, Magadha, Madraka, Keraṭa, Ganga, Mūṣaka, Pāṇḍya, Dramila, Choliya, Āṭu'a, and Vijayanti.

6 The Kāsimkoṭa (Vizagapatam) Copper-plates record the grant made by the Eastern Chalukya king Bhīma I of a village situated in *Elamañcha Kaliṅgadeśa* =the Kaliṅga country of which Elamañchi (modern Yellamañchili) was the chief town, *Report on Epigraphy for 1908-9.*

Kośala and Kaliṅga form parts of the conquests of Kīrtivarman,[1] the Western Chalukya, in his inscription of the year 567 A.C,[2] and in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin.[3] This is repeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II[4], 877 A.C. Thus Kaliṅga became the Northern frontier of the Southern Chalukyan power.[5]

From the 11th cen. A.C., once more begins the same struggle. The Cholas and the Chalukyans[6] had a frontier from near the Western Ghats near the source of the Kṛṣṇā[7] along the river to its junction with the Tuṅgabhadrā, then northwards to the Vindhyas.[8] The combined forces of Rājendra I [9] of Kāñchī first took Chakrakoṭa, Ādinagara, (or Yayātinagara) invaded Kaliṅga and defeated Mahīpāla, king of Northern Bengal.[10] Kaliṅga once more sought separation from the South. Kulotuṅga fought for its possession with Anantavarman Choḍa.[11] Gaṅga and the latter established his power thereafter.

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1 *I.A.*, xix, p. 7.

2 *I.A.* xix, p. 7.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, vi, p. 4. In the North-east, Pulakeśin subdues the kingdoms of Kaliṅga and Kośala.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, I. p. 254.

5 Aihole inscr. *Ep. Ind.*, vi., p. 4. Pulakeśin seizes the citadel of Piṣṭapura. For Piṣṭapura, cf. *Ep. Ind.*, xii. p.—the seat of the king of Kaliṅga.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, vi, p 4.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

9 *I.A.*, xxiii, p. 132, no. 112.

10 Same Mahīpāla as in *J.B.A.S.*, LXI, Pt. I, p. 82 : *A.S.R.*, III, p. 122, pl. xxxvii, 5 ; *I.A.*, IX, p. 114.

11 *I.A.*, xviii, pp. 162, 163, 166.

Ganjam, then as now, was an important item of the dismemberment of Orissa. In the intervening period between the 8th. cen. A. C. and the 11th cen. A. C., Kaliṅga was trying its best to keep up its connections with the North with Magadha and Kośala, *i.e.*, Bihar and Bengal. The Śailodbhavas,[1] the Karas[2] and the Guptas[3] the last connected with the Imperial Guptas of Magadha[4]—(see the Panchobh Copper-plate of Saṁgrāma-gupta found in the village of Panchobh about 6 miles to the west of Laheria Sarai, Darbhanga[5]—were keeping Kaliṅga within the northern zone. As pointed out already, Ganjam, then as now, was a sort of test whether Orissa would remain connected with Bengal and Bihar *i.e.*, Magadha and Kośala, or definitely relapse into a purely Southern State allied to Madras of today, the erstwhile possession of the Chalukyas.[6]—

Line 28 of the Copper-Plate of Daṇḍi—Mahādevī reads—

L.28.....राजप्रसादिनश्चाटभटवल्लभजातीया नाकुङ्गदमण्डले खिडिङ्गुहार विषये etc[7].

---

1 cf. the title Kośalendra of Mahā-Bhavagupta, lord of Trikaliṅga, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p, 347.

2 *Ep. Ind.* III, p. 43,

3 Neulpur grant.

4 The Ragolu plates, *Ep. Ind.*, xii, p. 2, describe the king of Kaliṅga Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śaktivarman (middle of the Vth cen. A. C.) as one who "adorns the Māgadha family."

5 *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1918.

6 Ganjam included in the *Koṅgadamaṇḍala*,, *Ep. Ind.*, vi.

7 *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1919.

Koṅgada—Maṇḍala is Hieun Tsiang's *Kong—Yu—too.* Included in दक्षिणतोसला as distinguished from उत्तरतोसला (cf. the Naulpur grant of Śubhākara [1] and of Tribhuvana—Mahādevī)[2], it corresponds to the modern District of Ganjam.[3]

Before the advent of the Choḍagaṅgas in the 11th. cen. A.C.,[4] the connection so painfully retained and often reconquered by the Śailodhavas [5] and the Karas[6], between Kaliṅga and Magadha, *i.e.* between Bihar and Orissa, was finally solved by the Keśarīs,[7] in the intervening period from the 9th. cen. A.C. to the 11th. cen. A.C. Koṅgada became a part of Kaliṅga.[8] This fact was aptly brought about by a line of the Guptas who all styled themselves *the lords of the 3 Kaliṅgas* त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति[9]. These were the ancestors & successors of Yayāti *alias* Mahāśiva Gupta, son of Janamejaya Mahā-Bhava Gupta[10]. Line 2 of the Second Plate (first side) of the Marañja Mura Charter of Mahāśiva- Gupta reads—.

l. 2. * * * कलिङ्गकोङ्गदोतकलककोशला स्वयंवर: etc.

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1 cf. the Chinese transl. of *Gaṇḍavyūha* by Prājña, bet. 697-98, *J.A.*, Juillet-Septembre, p. 7, Śubhakaradeva, king of Orissa to the emperor of China.

2 *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1919.

3 cf. Houen Tsiang's description.

4 *J. A. S. B.*, August, 1903, pp. 44—45.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 43.

6 *Supra.*

7 *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 346.

8 *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 347.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 341.

10 Marañja Mura charter, *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1919.

After Śrī Mahāśiva Gupta Śrī Yajāti Deva, Koṅgada ceased to have a separate entity.[1] The Gaṅga dynasty[2] in the 11th cen. A.C. does not recognize any separate Koṅgada country in the Puri district.

Latter-day exigencies of administration have taken away the Destrict of Ganjam from Orissa[3]. It is an historical innovation, almost an experiment to suit changed historical conditions. The inscriptional records of Bihar & Orissa give a different story of days gone by.[4]

Thus Old Magadha lived on in Kaliṅga. The traditional link was not only geographical. The earlier memories were not always agreeable. Aśoka's conquest of Kaliṅga[5] in the 3rd. cen. B.C., Khāravela's invasion

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1 *J. A. S. B.*, August, 1903, pp. 44—5.

2 Since the creation of the new Province of Bihar and Orissa (1912), Ganjam forms part of Madras. The question of its reamalgamation with the Oriya-speaking tracts has been raised and is being considered by Government.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 144; III, 131; *I.A.*, XIII, pp. 120, 123; XVI, p. 134; XVIII, p. 144 recording inscrr. of the Gaṅga Mahārājas, Nandaprabhañjanavarman, Indravarman Rājasiṃha, Devendravarman, all lords of Kaliṅga, and inscrr. issued from Kaliṅganagara, are invariably found in the Ganjam district. The inscr. of Mādhavavarman is issued from Koṅgoda and found at Buguḍa in the Ganjam district, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 43. The Chikkulla plates *Ep. Ind.*, IV, 193, and the Rāmatīrtham plates *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 134, describe how one Indra, probably a king of Kaliṅga, at the head of a coalition of kings, led a terrible attack against the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and probably occupied Veṅgī.

4 Kaliṅga—edict.

of Magadha[1] in the 2nd. cen. B.C. the Śuṅga[2] and Gupta[3] supremacy over Magadha and Kaliṅga, were associated with sectarian or religious ascendancy of Buddhism, Jainism, and Brāhmaṇism respectively[4]. The Keśarīs brought about a new Hindu outlook. It is not yet possible to construct a complete history of the Keśarī line.[5] The exaggerated account of the Mādalā Pāñjī records 42 Kings.[6] From the newly discovered inscriptions for the first time read by your lecturer, are recovered 5 names of kings of the Gaṅga dynasty when the crowning glory of the Keśarī times *viz.*, the Liṅgarāja temple was already in existence. But evidently the Keśarī evolution had lasted long. They brought about and reaffirmed not only the territorial unity of Bihar and Orissa, Magadha, Kośala and Kaliṅga,[7]

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1 Khāravela inscr. l. 12. In this connection may be cited the exact location of *Pithuḍa* in the 11th. line of Khāravela's inscr. Lévi equates Pithuṃḍa—Pihuṃḍa, MBh. VI, 50, 52—Ptolemy's *Pitundra metropolis* at the mouth of the Godāvarī and the Kistnā, in the country of the Maisolia (Masalia—*Periplus*) stretching to the north, up to Paloura—Dantapura, near the course of the river Nagavali which is also known as "the river formed by the plough"—cf. the etymology given in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, "*Lāṅgala* Skt ; *nāgula*, telugu : a plough". Along with Pitundra, this designation evokes the terrible punishment of "tilled with a plough" in the text of Khāravela l. 11., the soil of Pithuḍa. *J.A.*, Janvier-Mars, 1925, pp. 60—61. Jayaswal's explanation of *pīthuḍa* = *pṛithula*, "large"—*J. B. O. R. S.*, 1927, p. 231, is no doubt far-fetched and unconvincing. But Lévi's cheap gibe "On pense involontairement à la scène du Bourgeois Gentilhome avec le fils du Grand Turc" *J. A. op. cit.*, p. 60 is hardly decent.

3 Allahabad inscr. of Samudragupta, *Gupta Inscr.*, no. 1, pl. I.

4 cf. Tālaguṇḍa inscr. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 30).

5 See Lecture II, footnote under Yayāti.

6 *J. A. S. B.*, IXVII, 1898, pp.—376—9.

7 *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 347.

cf. the त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति Yayāti Keśarī) Mahaśiva Gupta,[1] they achieved the cultural synthesis of the Buddhists, Jains and Brāhmaṇas.[2]

In the 3 accompanying plates, one bears obeisance to the Buddha, the others panegyrics to Kīrtivāsa in whose honour the temple was built. That the same temple should be associated with both these national objects of worship is an eloquent testimony to the success of the culture-synthesis.[3]

The names in the plates, of Aniaṅkabhīmadeva, Narasiṃhadeva and Aśokavalla are already familiar to students of inscriptions.[4]

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1 *J. B. A. S.*, XLVI, Pt. I, p. 153.

2 The process of assimilation began quite early, cf. the four-armed Śiva figure and Helios on the coins of Kaṇiṣka—V. Smith, *Cat. of coins in the Ind. Museum*, p. 71, fig: 9, pl. XI. cf. also the sun-temple at Taxila under the Greeks—*J. A. S. B.* (N. S.) XVI, 1920, p 63, footnote 1.

3 For a sculptural representation of this synthesis, cf. the "composite" picture at Konārak referred to by Bloch in his *Progress Report Archaeol. Surv. E. Circle, 1906.* cf. Burgess and Cousens, Northern Guzerat, Pl. LXIX,

4 Aniyaṅka Bhīmadeva—*J. B. A. S.*, LXV, Pt. I, p. 235, Kendupāṭnā (in Orissa) plates of the 21st *aṅka*—year of the Gaṅga King Narasiṃhadeva II [of] Kaliṅga, issued from Remuṇā: Bhuvaneśvar inscr. of the time of the Gaṅga Aniaṅka-Bhīmadeva of Trikaliṅga, *J. B. A. S.*, VI, p. 280. Narasiṃhadeva—*J. B. A. S.*, LXV, Pt I, p. 235, LXIV, Pt. I, p 136. Purī plates of the 8th *aṅka*-year of the Gaṅga King Narasiṃhadeva IV [of Kaliṅga] issued from Vārāṇasī—Kaṭaka. cf. also *J. B A. S.*, LXIV, Pt. I p. 151.

Aśokavalla—*I. A*, X, p. 342—Gayā inscr. of Puruṣottamasiṃha, the son of Kāmadevasiṃha and grandson of Jayatuṅga-siṃha of the Kāma country: the inscr. mentions Aśokavalla, a king of the Sapādalakṣa mountains, who was Puruṣottama's overlord. The inscr. is dated in the year 1813 after Buddha's Nirvāṇa,—from 638 B. C.—20th Oct. 1176 A.C., *J. B. A. S.* XVI, p. 358; Cunningham's *Mahabōdhi*, pl. xxviii, Bodh-Gayā inscr. of Mahārāja Aśokavalladeva dated Lakṣmaṇasena—, s 51; *I. A.* X, p. 346, Bodh-Gayā inscr. of a dependent of

Full readings and notes on these and the other inscrr. recently discovered at Bhuvaneśvar are soon to appear as a separate brochure[1] (with plates) prepared by the present lecturer. Hence they are not repeated here.

The Bhuvaneśvar inscriptions not only record a geographical unity,[2] a territorial sovereignty[3] (in some cases unreal in its actuality but potentially real) and a mixture of different races[4] from Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and South India—they represent above all the true genius of India in all her epochs—*viz.*, her power of culture-synthesis.

These Bhuvaneśvar inscriptions mark the culmination or climax of the inscriptional era, in the 11th. cen. A.C.[5] The Gaṅgas followed with their records up to the 15th. cen. 1435 A. C. came the Sūrya Vaṃśīs till 1542

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the prince Daśaratha, the youngest brother of Rājadhirāja Aśokavalladeva, "Lord of the Khasa kings of the Sapādalakṣa mountains," dated Lakmaṇasena—s. 74 Thursday, 19th May, 1194 A. C.

I. A., x, p. 345, inscr. of Aśokavalla at Gopeśwar in Garhwal.

1 Maraṅja Mura Charter, *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1919.

2 *Ibid.*

3 cf. The connection between Kāmarūpa and Tāmralipti in the gulf of Bengal where disembark and embark the missions exchanged by Aśoka and the king of Ceylon (*Mahāvaṃśa*, xi, 38; xix 6). Fa-Hien embarks at Tāmralipti for Ceylon Yi-tsing disembarks here from China and embarks for Śrīvijaya (Sumatra). Cf. also *Ind. Stud.* XVI 397. For the inextricable race—mixture over the whole place, cf. Toung-pao, XIII, 1912, pp. 351ff.

4 Konārak was built in the 13th. cen. But from the 12th. cen., inscrr. on stones and copper-plates were steadily giving way to palm-leaf mss. as proved byd the large number of palm-leaf mss. dating from the 12th cen. onwards reporte in the search for Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. in Orissa by the Bihar and Orissa Government, a catalogue raisonné is in course of preparation. The same decay of inscrr. is found in Bihar, cf. Jayaswal and Banerji-Sastri. *Mithilā Mss*, vol. I, 1927, Introd. p. V.

5 *J. A. S. B.*, August, 1903, pp. 44-5.

Followed the Bho—I (?) till 1560[1] and the Telinga[2] dynasty ending with Mukunda Deva in 1567–68.[3] But these post—Kesarī inscriptions are the lingering regrets for an era which is sought to be continued, but is no more.[4]

Another युग or era was born, *viz.*, the present. It has new problems and new ways. It is no longer an assimilation of peoples of allied races, all,—Indian.[5] It is no longer a synthesis of different cultures like Brāhmaṇism, Buddhism and Jainism — in Hinduism, all,—born of the same philosophic stock whose roots lie deep in Indian soil.[6] Different peoples had entered the field with different view-points :–Indo-Aryan, Indo-European, Semitic, etc.[7] The old cultural outlook of philosophy and religion had another dimension definitely added on, *viz.* science.[8] The old method of inscribing on terracotta, rocks and metals gave place to mss. on birch-bark and paper

1 *J. A.S. B.*, LXIX, 1901, Pt. I, p. 175.

2 Stirling, *Orissa*, p. 98.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, 90; XIV, 271.

4 Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 253.

5 Kapileśvaradeva's invasion of *Kāñchī—Kāveri J. A. S. B.* LXIX, 1900, pp. 2-3 records the last act of Orissan greatness.

6 *Asura India*, p. 73.

So much so that the most difficult doctrines of each found a ready following, and man's mistakes regarding his teachers & saviours typified in Socrates and Christ, remained ever unknown.

7 cf. Manu and Yājñavalkya with the description of the 18th. cen. India in the *Yugakṣaya* ch. of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.

8 Science will supply a new *lebensfülung*. Indian Philosophy expounded by Saṃkara regarded progress through life as a series of fictions, a regulated error walking in a perpetual succession of falls from one side to the other side: growth of experience leads to larger and better fictions : " a lost battle is battle one thinks one has lost" (Foch, *Principes de Guerre*); acc., to De Maistre, the battle is won by the fiction that it is won. So also in the battle of life; dreaming is a fiction that helps us to sleep: thinking is a fiction that helps us

and later on to the printing press. Thus apart from the continuous and continuing spirit of synthesis, the present युग or epoch has hardly anything in common with the aspirations and achievements of the epoch that is dead. It is only by the spirit of synthesis again, that the present day problems may be and must be met. That is the message of the inscriptional records of Bihar & Orissa. As regards individual ways and manners of bygone ages or युगs, the manifesto submitted to the then Viceroy and Governor-General, Lord Curzon, by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments prays—"to treat our ancient buildings as monuments of a bygone art, created by bygone manners, that modern art cannot meddle with without destroying." The inscriptions of Bihar & Orissa—from their birth in the 3rd. cen. B.C. in Aśokan Edicts, to their maturity in assertive Jain Khāvavela Khaṇḍagiri inscriptions and those of the Brāhmaṇical Guptas in the 2nd cen.B.C.—7th cen. A.C., to their climax, fulfilment and end in the Hindu synthesis at Bhuvaneśvar—reveal characteristic युग strivings which are quite distinct from those of their predecessors in the Epic or Vedic ages and cannot be reproduced in the present. A study of the inscriptions of Bihar and Orissa giving the complete life-history of a particular epoch helps in the realization of this. Such a realization, coupled with a conciousness of the spirit of synthesis will ever remain a cardinal factor in India's historical evolution.

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to live. The inscriptional records of Bihar and Orissa are such necessary symbols of Buddhist, Jain and Hindu ways through which the Indian mind was gradually approximating to its cherished ideal of synthetic unity.

ABBREVIATIONS

A. J. P.=American Journal of Philology.

A. O.=Acta Orientália.

A. S. R.=Archæological Survey Reports.

B. É. F. E.—O.=Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême—Orient.

C. R.=Comtes Rendus. Académie des Inscriptions & Belles—Lettres.

E. I =Epigraphia Indica.

Ep. Carn.=Epigraphia Carnatica.

I. A.=Indian Antiquary.

I. F.=Indogermanische Forshungen.

Ind. Pal.=Indian Palaeography.

J. A.=Journal Asiatique.

K Z.=Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.

V. O. J.=Vienna Oriental Journal.

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* Other abbreviations will be easily intelligible to students of Indian Epigraphy.

INDEX

Aśoka—
inscrr. of—42: linguistic synthesis in—42—123: religion of—15, 41, 135.
Aśokavalla, 168.
Aśvamedha, 12, 16.
by Puṣyamitra, 21.
by Samudragupta, 16.
Ā'in-i-Akbarī, 22.
Ājīvikas, 129—35.
Alphabet, 15—20.
Barābar Hills inscrr. 16.
Bhuvaneśvar inscrr. 169.
Bho-i, 142.
Bodh-Gayā, 168.
Brāhmī script, 16.
Chalukyas, 148.
Chandragupta, 23.
Demetrios, 20.
Eras, 1—10.
Hathīgumphā inscrr. 1—8.
Gaṅgas, 149.
Guptas, 152.
Jains, 128—39.
Kaliṅga, 165—167.
Keśaris, 157.
Karas, 153.
Koṅgada, 165.
Kośala, 164, 167.
Laṅkā, 28.
Mahenjo-Daro Seals, 16-9.
Mādalā Pāñjī, 157.
Māgadhī and Kāshmīrī, 145.
Muria—Kāla, 1—10.
Nandas, 141.
Nigganthas, 129.
Orissa, inscrr. of—157—70.
Pallava script, 162.
Pithuḍa, Ptolemy on—167.
Pulakeśin II, 148.
Pliny, 39
Prakhyātakīrti inscr. 25.
Ptolemy on Paloura—Dantapura, 160.
Rājgīr, 144.
Rāṣṭrakūṭas, 163.
Sacrifice—prohibited by Aśoka, 22.
—encouraged by Samudragupta, 38.
Śailodbhavas, 152.
Script, 16—17.
Somavaṃśīs of Kaṭak, 154.
Sūryavaṃśīs, 151.
Synthesis, cultural—, 169, 171.
Temples—
—Bhuvaneśvar, 169.
Konārak, 159.
Purī, 159.
Tosalī, 145, described in *Gaṇḍavyūha*, 146—47.
Trikaliṅga, 164—166.
Udayagiri, (Khaṇḍagiri), inscr. of Khāravela, 1—3.
Vidyādhara's Ekāvalī, 149.
Vijaya, 141.
Vikrama-era, 6.
Venābhivijaya, in Khāravela inscr, 4.
Vṛṣala, 22.
Yayāti Keśarī, 154-5.
Yayātinagara, 163.
Yuga, 6,170.
Yugapurāṇa, 14, App.
Zoroastrianism, Spooner on, 30.

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