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THE
GAVĪMATH AND PĀLKĪGUNDU
INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA

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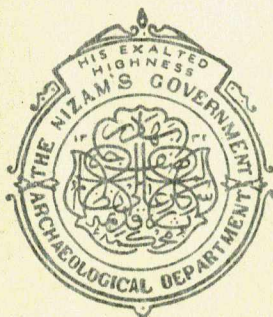
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THE GAVĪMATH AND PĀLKĪGUNḌU INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA

EDITED BY

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RESOLUTION

Proceedings of the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam in the Judicial, Police and General (Archaeological) Departments.

No. 9, Miscellaneous.

Dated, Hyderabad, Deccan, 21 February, 1932.

SUBJECT

The Gavimaṭh and Pālkiguṇḍu Inscriptions of Aśoka

READ :—

1. Letter No. G 22 dated the 16th March, 1931, from Mr. N. B. Sastri of Kopbal to the Director of Archaeology, H. E.H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad.
2. Cable dated the 4th April, 1931, from the Director of Archaeology to Dr. L. D. Barnett, British Museum, London.
3. Cable dated the 10th April, 1931, from Dr. L. D. Barnett to the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad.
4. Letter dated the 27th July, 1931, from Professor R. L. Turner to the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad.

OBSERVATIONS :—

On the 20th March, 1931, Mr. G. Yazdani received a letter from Mr. N. B. Sastri of Kopbāl regarding certain Brāhmī inscriptions at that place. Mr. Yazdani took immediate action on this communication and deputed Mr. Syed Yusuf, Assistant Director of Archaeology, to visit Kopbāl. Afterwards Mr. Yazdani himself went over there and made a thorough survey of the place, taking photographs and estampages of all the inscriptions there. He found two Brāhmī inscriptions in the vicinity of Kopbāl town, one carved on the Gavimaṭh rock and another on the Pālkiguṇḍu hill.

Mr. Yazdani afterwards sought the advice of Dr. L. D. Barnett regarding the editing of these inscriptions for the Hyderabad Archaeological Series. The latter scholar evinced great interest in the discovery of the inscriptions and asked Professor R. L. Turner of the University of London to take up the work, which he readily did.

According to Professor R. L. Turner the Gavimaṭh and Pālkiguṇḍu inscriptions, which were originally identical, represent another version of the Minor Edict of Aśoka already known in slightly different forms at Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Brahmagiri, Siddāpura, Jaṭiṅgarāmeśvara, and Maskī.

The Gavimaṭh inscription is completely legible and the difference between the wording of this version and those of other places has been studied in a most scholarly manner by Professor R. L. Turner.

His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government desire to express their deep appreciation of the help which has been so willingly given by Professor R. L. Turner to the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, and they trust that this Monograph will be a useful addition to the literature already available on the edicts of Aśoka.

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RESOLUTION

ORDER :—

That the Monograph be published with this resolution as No. 10 of the Hyderabad Archaeological Series.

(By Order)

(Sd.) AKBAR YAR JUNG

*Secretary to Government,
Judicial, Police and General Departments*

Copy forwarded to:—

1. The Sadr-ul-Maham Bahadur, His Exalted Highness' Peshi.
2. The Secretary to the President, Executive Council.
3. The Secretary to Government, Political Department.
4. The Secretary to Government, Finance Department.
5. The Secretary to Government, P. W. Department.
6. The Director, Archaeological Department.
7. The Superintendent, Government Press, for publication in the *Farida*.

THE GAVĪMAṬH AND PĀLKĪGUṆḌU INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA

A

THE scientific enthusiasm of Mr. Narayan Rao Sastri and the energetic action of Mr. G. Yazdani, Director of Archaeology in H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, have disclosed another version of the Minor Edict already known in slightly different versions from the inscriptions at Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, Jaṭiṅga-rāmeśvara, and Maskī.

The version now brought to light is contained in two inscriptions cut in rocks on two hills lying east and west of Kōpbāl or Koppāl (15° 21' N. and 76° 10' E.: see map on Plate XVII), the head-quarters of the District of Kōpbāl in the Jagir of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur in Hyderabad, Deccan.¹

That on the hill called Gavīmāṭh is complete and, although the stone is considerably weathered, all its akṣaras are legible. Of the inscription on the other hill, called Pālkīguṇḍu, about two miles distant from Gavīmāṭh, only a few akṣaras are still legible. But, such as they are, they agree exactly with those of Gavīmāṭh, and there can be little doubt that the two inscriptions were originally identical.

Geographically² the inscriptions containing this Minor Edict fall into two groups : (1) the northern, all widely separated, Bairāt, in Jaipur, and Sahasrām, in southern Bihar, being 360 and 250 miles respectively from Rūpnāth, in the north of the Central Provinces; (2) the southern, of which that of Maskī, in Hyderabad, is 480 miles from Rūpnāth. But Maskī is only 78 miles from the group at Śiddāpura; while Kōpbāl, the place of the new discovery, intermediate between these two and somewhat to the west, is about 54 miles from Maskī and 60 from Śiddāpura.³

But the textual affinities of these versions do not appear to correspond with geographical position, except in the case of the three versions carved within a radius of two miles round Śiddāpura, which have only the slightest differences. Maskī, though geographically near, differs considerably from the Śiddāpura group, which on the whole, except for the addition of the final sentence, fairly closely agree with the northern group. But the northern group do not agree exactly either among themselves or with the Śiddāpura versions.

The new version of Gavīmāṭh and Pālkīguṇḍu agrees generally with the northern and Śiddāpura versions. The Bairāt inscription is unfortunately very defective, but as far as it is legible, it agrees almost exactly word for word (though not in phonetic and

¹ A full description by Mr. Yazdani both of the discovery and of the locality will be found in the Appendix, pp. 18 ff.

² See Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham's note on the geographical distribution of the southern Aśokan inscriptions in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. lxi, pp. 39-40, and the map (Plate XVIII) reproduced here with his kind permission.

³ It is stated in *India in 1928-29*, pp. 364 ff., that the inscriptions discovered in February 1929 at Erraguḍi, 94 miles west of Kōpbāl, comprise a version of this Minor Edict as well as an almost complete version of the XIII Rock Edicts. This important find is in the hands of the Archaeological Survey of India; but it still remains to be published.

grammatical details) with that of Gavīmāṭh. The following table exposes the small verbal differences in the two texts :

	Gavīmāṭh	Bairāt
line 1.	<i>sumi</i>	<i>hakam</i>
2.	<i>no cu kho</i>	<i>no cu</i>
3.	<i>amisā devā samāṇā mānusehi</i>	<i>amisā na devehi</i> ¹
5.	<i>caṅṅe svage</i>	<i>svage caṅṅe</i>
6.	<i>jāṇamtu</i>	<i>jāṇamtu ti</i>
7.	<i>vipule ca</i>	<i>—lam pi</i>

On the other hand, the wording of the Gavīmāṭh version differs considerably from that of the other northern versions of Rūpnāth and Sahasrām, and from that of the Śiddāpura group.

The engraving of two apparently identical inscriptions within a mile or two of each other at Gavīmāṭh and Pālkīguṇḍu is paralleled by the group of inscriptions at Śiddāpura, Brahmagiri, and Jaṭiṅgarāmeśvara, which as far as can be seen differ only in the introductory *āṇapayati* of Brahmagiri against *hevaṃ āha* of Śiddāpura, and the *sāvāpīle* of Brah. against *sāvite* of Śidd.

The new version of Gavīmāṭh, although adding nothing to the general contents of the Edict, presents certain features of interest. With the exception of Rūpnāth it is the only version completely legible. It adds one or possibly two new words to the Aśokan vocabulary, *velā* = *kāla*- and *am̐tara*- or *am̐tala*- of the other versions, and *māṇusa*- 'man'².

In phonology it maintains the distinction of *r* and *l*, in this respect agreeing with the Śiddāpura group, over against the northern group, in which Sk. *r* > *l* (except in Rūpnāth l. 3 *ārodheve*, which, despite the authority of Bühler, Hultzscht, and Woolner, taking the estampage reproduced on p. 166 of Hultzscht's *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, I should prefer to read *ālādhetave*). It is unique, however, in its treatment of Sk. *n*. Like other Aśokan inscriptions, especially those of Gīrnār and Shāhbāzgarhī, it maintains Sk. *-n*. But Sk. *n* also, whether intervocalic or initial, appears here as *n*. In other inscriptions there are sporadic instances of *n* = Sk. intervocalic *n*, but in no other inscription do we find *n*- for Sk. initial *n*.³

¹ For a possible correction of this reading see below p. 16, note 2.

² Four words for 'man' are used in the Aśokan inscriptions :

(1) *pulisa*-, specialized in Tōp. and perhaps Dhau. Sep. Ed. I. 7. 8. as 'agent, servant.'

(2) Sk. *manuṣyā*- as *manuṣa*- in Shāh. and Mān. (ś i.e. śś < sy-), *manuṣa*- in Kāl., *manusa*- in Gīr. and Kāl.

(3) A contamination of *pulisa*- with *manuṣyā*- or *mānuṣa*- produced *munisa*- (which may be read with either -ss- or -s-) in Dhau., Jau., Sah., Brah., Tōp., Kāl.

(4) Sk. *mānuṣa*- or *mānuṣā*- in Gavīmāṭh *māṇusa*-. Hultzscht reads *mānusānam* in Gīr. XIII. 5. But the mark which he takes as the ā-mātra is perhaps only a chance scratch in the rock, leaving the word to be read *manusānam*, as by Bühler. Gīrnār undoubtedly has *manusa*- at II. 5 (twice) and 8.

For the repartition of the modern representatives of these forms and for other contaminations see my *Nepali Dictionary*, p. 503 b 8 ff. To the information given there it may be added that Sgh. *minis* and *miniḥā* are probably < *munisa*- (which certainly survives in Ass. *munih* 'man', Beng. *munis*, 'day-labourer'), while Nep. *mānis* may represent a contamination of *mānuṣa*- + *purisa*- > **mānisa*-.
³ In Jaugada Sep. Ed. I. 7 Hultzscht (p. 113) reads *nijhapetaviye*. As there is no example of even

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That the writing of *n* represents a reality of pronunciation is supported by the fact that in two words, *khudakena* and *pakamamīnena*¹, dental *n* has been preserved or re-established through the dissimilatory action of a previous cerebral.²

Even apart from this regular change of *n* to *n̄*, the language of this version, as far as may be judged from so short a specimen, does not agree exactly with that of any other published Aśokan inscription except those of Maskī and Śiddāpura.

From Shāhbāzgarhī, Mānsehrā, and Gīrnār it differs in the complete assimilation of *r* in consonant groups, and in the existence of only one sibilant *s* (< Sk. *s*, *ś*, *ṣ*), and in the replacement of the nom. sg. neuter of *a*-stems by the masculine.

From Kālsi, Dhaulī, and Jaugaḍa, the Pillar Edicts, and the northern versions of this Minor Edict it differs in the retention of *r* = Sk. *r*.

It most closely resembles the language of Maskī and the three Mysore versions at Śiddāpura, differing apparently from these only in the matter of *n̄*: and even here Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura have isolated instances, Brah. *devāṇam̐piye* (in a termination) *āṇapayati* (< *n̄*) and Śidd. *sāvane* (= original *n̄*).

The main dialectal features are as follows:

INNOVATIONS

ś, ṣ > *s*

n̄-, *-n̄*- > *n̄*

assimilation of *r* in consonant groups

rt > *at*

rt, rth, rdh, > *(t)t, (t)th, (d)dh* respectively

tm > *(t)t*

dv- > *d*-

-dr- > *(d)d*

long vowel before consonant group is shortened

-o (< *-*az*) > *-e*

CONSERVATIONS

-n̄- remains

r „

-d̄- „

These features in so short a specimen are substantiated by few examples, and several of these, such as *aṭhe*, *diyaḍhiyam*, *mahaṭena*, *jambudīpaśi*, are words which had wide extension outside their proper dialectal areas.

intervocalic *-n̄-* (= Sk. *n̄* or *n̄*) in this Edict, I incline to read *n̄jhapetaviye*, with Bühler and Senart, ascribing the apparent transverse mark on the top of the akṣara as it appears in the rubbing (p. 116) to a chance marking of the stone.

¹ Confirmed by the reading of the Pāṭikigūṇḍu fragment . . . *m̐[ī]ṇena*.

² Cf. the similar dissimilation in Panjabi, where the usual infinitive suffix *-ṇā* (< Sk. *-ana-*) appears as *-nā* after an immediately preceding *r*, *l*, *r̥*, or *n̄*, e.g. *carṇā*, *pālṇā*, *chaṇṇā*, *giṇṇā* as opposed to *callṇā*, *bhaṇṇā*, etc.

PHONOLOGY

VOWELS

The Sanskrit vowels remain unchanged except in the following particulars :

1. *a* > *i* in the termination of the future: *vaḍhisiti* < *-iṣyati* (see Turner, *BullSOS* vi, p. 532). In *iyām* = Sk. *ayām* the *i* is due to the influence of oblique forms, *imām* etc., rather than to Sk. f. *iyām*. The adversative *cu* is < *ca + tu*.

2. Long vowels before a consonant group are shortened: *pakānte* < *prakrāntah*, *am̐tā* < *āntāh*,¹ *mahateṇeva* < *mahātman-*.

In *pāpotave* (< Sk. pres. stem *prāpnōti* > Pa. *pappoti*) *ā* has been restored from other forms in which it appeared before a single consonant, cf. e.g. Pa. caus. *pāpeti*, Pk. fut. *pāvihisi*, pass. *pāvijjāi*.

Similarly *-ām* > *-am* in *devāṇām*, *imāyaṁ velāyaṁ*, and *-im* > *-i* in *dāṇi* < *idānīm*.

If *adḥatiyāni* is to be read as *adḥatiyyāni* (cf. Pk. *adḥaijja-*, not attested in the modern languages²), we have *-iyya-* < *-iyya-* < *-iya-* (cf. Turner, *J. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, 3rd Ser. V, p. 156). But Pa. has *adḥatiyo* (cf. Ass. *ārai*, and, with *-ā-*, Hi. *arhāz*, etc.) with the suffix *-iya-* replaced by the common suffix *-iya-*.

3. In *ciraṭhīṭike* the long *ī* (attested also in Brah., Śidd., Ar., Dhau., Jau., All., Sām.), if we read *ṭh* as *ṭh*, not as *ṭṭh*, may be due to objection to the rhythm *uuu-*, and the consequent replacement of the suffix *-ika-* (still found in Rūp., Tōp.; Kāl. has *-ikya-*) by *-ika-*.

4. *ṛ* > *a* in *kaṭā* < *kṛtāh*.³

adḥatiyāni may be due to haplology for either **adḥatatiya-* or **adḥatitiya-* < *ardḥatṛtiya-*.

5. Final *-o* (< **-az*) appears as *-e* in nom. sg. of *a-* stems, e.g. *aṭhe*. If this *-e* is phonetically derived from final *-o*, as J. Bloch in the latest discussion of this vexed question has maintained (*BullSOS* vi, pp. 291 ff.), we must assume either that Sk. *-o* < **-az*, before becoming *-e*, was still phonetically distinct from Sk. *-o* < **-au* (a distinction which seems somewhat foreign to the general simplicity of the Indo-Aryan vowel system), or that *no* < Sk. *nó* < **ná-u* and *kho* with vowel of uncertain origin owed, like eastern *tato*, the preservation of their *-o* to their proclitic nature, as Bloch suggests on p. 292. In either case nom. sg. *se* (in place of Sk. *só*) is an analogical form after masc. stems in *-a*.

¹ As in Kāl., Jau., Sah., Bair., Brah. *am̐tā*. It seems better to derive this word from the adjective *ānta-* than from the substantive *ānta-*, which only the grammarians give as an adjective. Unfortunately those modern languages which still distinguish a Sk. *ānt* from *ant* appear to have representatives only of the substantive *ānta-*, e.g. Si. *andī* f. 'edge'. If it does represent *ānta-*, Shāh. *ṁta*, Mān. *ata* are to be read *am̐tā*. Gir., which preserves long *ā* before a consonant group and at the same time distinguishes in writing between *ā* and *a*, uses another word, *pracāntesu*.

² Unless Mar. *aḍi*, which J. Bloch (*La langue marathe*, p. 287) derives rather from **-ṭṛtiya-*, represents the alternative *aḍij* with *-j* unvoiced in the final position, cf. the derivative *aḍjē* '2½ times' beside *aḍē*.

³ The evidential value of this word for dialectology is good, as it is one which has generally preserved its appropriate dialectal form: as in Gir. *kata-*, M. Pk. *kaa-*, Mar. *kelā* < *kaa-illa-* or **kaya-lla*; Kāl. *kaṣa-*, AMg. *kaḍa-*, Sgh. *kaḷa*; Shāh. *kriṣa-*, *kirṣa-*, Khar. Inscr. of Khotan *kida*, Ashkun *kṛo* 'did', (cf. Pashai *m^uṛi* 'dead'); Ś. Pk. *kida-*, Hi. *kiyā*, etc.

INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA

II

In nom. sg. m. past part. *upeti* we may have a further development of *-e* > *-i*. But this is unexpectedly early, and is probably rather due, as suggested below, to a mistake of the scribe.

In *phale*, *sāvaṇe* (corresponding to Sk. neuters) *-e* is not < *-am*, but is due to replacement of nom. neuter by masculine; for original neuter forms stereotyped as adverbs preserve *-am*: *bādham*, *diyādhiyam*, *yam*. Cf. also *iyam* < *ayam* above.

6. *ai* > *e*: *mahateṇeva* < *-aiva*, inf. *-tave* (< *-tavai*) in *pāpotave*, *ārādhayitave*.

7. *ava* > *o* in *hotu* < *bhavatu*.

8. In the accessory words *āpi*, *iti*, *idānīm* the initial short vowel (in the first two often in any case absorbed in sandhi) has been lost: *pi*, *ti* (but cf. *vaḍhisitīti*), *dāṇi*.

CONSONANTS

Sanskrit initial and intervocalic stops remain unchanged with the following exception: *-bh-* > *-h-* in the termination of the inst. pl. *-ehi* < *-ebhiḥ*: *māṇusehi*.¹ Similarly initial *bh-* > *h-* in the auxiliary verb *bhāvati*: *hotu* < *bhāvatu*.

Hultzsch (p. cxxiii) following Pischel (*Pk. Gr.* § 230) derives *diyādhiyam* from **dvikārdha*² with loss of *-k*. It is, however, < *dvy-ardha*, i.e. *dviy-ardha*. This syllabication is attested by *vrddhi*-derivatives like *dvaiy-ahnika* from *dvy-ahan*, i.e. *dviy-ahan*.

An original **dviy-ārdha* (cf. Si. *ādho* adj. < *ārdha*- beside *adhu* < *ardhā*.) would explain the *ā* of *diyādhiyam* in Sah. 6, if this reading is correct,³ as well as a **dvikārdha*.

Of the nasals, *-m-* and *-ṇ-* remain unchanged, examples of the latter being *sāvaṇe* < *śrāvaṇa*-, *pakamamīṇena* (cf. Sk. *prakramamāṇa*-), *vasāṇi* < *varṣāṇi*, *sātirekāṇi*. For *khudakena* < *kṣudrakena*, see below.

But *n*, both initial and intervocalic, has become *ṇ*: *ṇo*; *māṇusehi*, *jāṇamtu*, *samāṇā*, *dāṇi*, *devāṇampīye*, *mahateṇeva*, *adhatiyāṇi*.

¹ For the early opening of *-dh-* and *-bh-* in terminations see Turner, *JRAS* 1927, pp. 227 ff. This opening of *-bh-* even in the body of the word has already occurred in the common verb 'to take': *laheyu* (Jau. II. 6), *lahevu* (Dhau. II. 5.) = Pa. *labheyyuṃ*, as opposed to *ālabhiyisu*, *ālabhiyamti*, *ālabhiyisamti*, *ālabheham*; *abhisitena*, *abhisitasa*, *abhilāme* in the same version. The same principle is undoubtedly responsible for the early change of *-bh-* to *-h-*, for which various other explanations have been sought, in the corresponding NW. word for 'take', namely Sk. *grabh-*: *grah-*.

² **dvikārdha*-, besides raising phonetic difficulties, is semasiologically incorrect: *dvyardha*- means 'half of two' as a member of the numerical series 'one, half of two, two'. For the halves of higher numbers a different method of counting is employed, e.g. *ardhatṛtiya*-, 'having half as the third (number)' in the series 'one, two, half for three'; or *ardhacaturtha*- in the series 'one, two, three, half for four'.

The modern forms of this word are discussed in my *Nepali Dictionary*, p. 261 b 38. But for P. *ḍūḍh* the hypothecated **duvārdha*- (due to *duvā*) should be replaced by **duv-ardha*, i.e. *du-* (= *dvi-* in Pk. *duṇṇa*- beside *diṇṇa* < Sk. *dviguṇa*:- cf. *du-* in Lat. *duplex* etc.), whence **dauv-ardha*- in Guj. *doḍh*.

dīya(d)ḍhiyam-, 'one and a half times', is the neut. of an ordinal formed from the cardinal *dīyaḍḍha*-, like *dviṭṭyam*-, 'for the second time', *tṛtiyam*-, 'three times'. It is therefore possible that *-iyam*-, as in the case of *adḍhatiyam*-, is to be read *-iyyam*.

³ For it must be noted that Sah. in all other words containing original *ā* before two consonants shortens it to *a*.

In *pakamāṇena* the preceding *ṇ* has through dissimilation maintained or restored *-n-*, just as a preceding *ḍ* has dissimilated original *-ṇ-* to *-n-* in *khudakena* < *kṣudrakena*.

y, v, r, l remain. Examples of the latter two are :

r : *sātirekāṇi, sātireke, samvachare, ārādhayitave, udārā.*

l : *phale, vipule.*

All three sibilants appear as *s*.

s : *sātirekāṇi, samvachare, saṃghe, samānā, se, upāsake.*

ṣ : *māṇusehi* < *mānuṣa-*, *esa* < *eṣā*; and in consonant groups *vasāṇi* < *varṣā-*, *vadhisiti* < *vardhiṣyāti*.

ś : the only examples are of consonant groups: *sāvane* < *śrāvana-*, *misā* < *miśrā-*, *amisā*.

In *cakiye* (= *śakya-*) *ś-* has been replaced by *c-* through some uncertain influence (see *BullSOS* vi, p. 532, and references there given).¹

-t- preceded by *ṛ* is cerebralized in *kaṭā* < *kṛtāḥ*.

-d- appears as *ḍ* without a discovered reason in *udāra-* (Rūp. Sah. Bair. *udālā*, Pa. *ulāra-* beside *udāra-*, Pk. *urāla-* beside *udāra-*, *uāra-*) if derived from Sk. *udārā-*.

CONSONANT GROUPS

Among consonant groups *nv* remains in *samvachare*.

nt > *nt* : *pakamāntu, jāṇāntu, antā.*

mb > *mb* : *jambudīpasi.*

In all other groups except one, viz. *sv* in *svage* < *svargā-*, assimilation has taken place. In *cakiye* = *śakya-* we have not a development *ky* > *kiy*, but replacement of the suffix *-ya-* by the suffix *-iya-*, proper originally after heavy syllables, as here in *diya(ḍ)dhīyam*. For convenience of reference the groups are arranged in alphabetical order.

-kr- > *k* i.e. *kk*, in *pakame, pakamasa, pakamte, pakamāntu, pakamamāṇena.*

kṣ- > *kh*, in *khudakā, khudakena* < *kṣudraka-*.

-tm- > *t* i.e. *tt*, in *mahateneva* < *mahātman-*.

-ts- > *ch* i.e. *cch*, in *samvachare* < *samvatsarā-*.

-dr- > *ḍ* i.e. *ḍḍ*, in *khudakā, khudakena*.²

dv- > *d-*, in *diyadhiyam, jambudīpasi* (cf. Pa. *jambudīpa-* and Pk. *jambūdīva-* with *d* as though initial).

-pn- > *p*, in *pāpotave* : in this case the restoration of *ā* probably led to shortening of *pp* to *p*, as in Pa. *āṇā* beside *aññā*, Pk. *rāṇi* beside Sk. *rājñi*.

pr- > *p-* in *pakame, pakamasa, pakamte, pakamāntu, pakamamāṇena*; *devāṇāmpīye*.

-rg- > *g* i.e. *gg*, in *svag[e]*.

-rth- > *ṭh* i.e. *ṭṭh*, in *atthe, athāya*.

¹ A similar replacement of *s-* in a word of cognate meaning occurs in Tōp. *caghati*, Dhau. Jau. *caghattha*, beside Sk. *saghnōti*, see *Nep. Dict.* p. 579 a 21.

² In all other Aśokan inscriptions this word has a dental, Shāh. *khudrakena*, elsewhere *khuda-*. Pa. has *khudda-* only, but Pk. has both forms *khudda-* and *khudḍa-*, and both are represented among the modern languages : see *Nep. Dict.* p. 124 a 36.

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-rdh- > dh i.e. ddh, in *adhatiyāṇi*, *diyadhiyaṃ*, *vaḍhisiti*.

-rṣ- > s i.e. ss, in *vasāṇi*.

śr > s i.e. s- and -ss-, in *sāvane*; *misā*, *amisā*.

-sy- > -s-, in *vaḍhisiti*. In the suffix of the future *ss* < *sy* may already have become single -s- (see *BullSOS* vi, p. 531, and *JRAS* 1927, p. 234).

-sth- in *ciraṭhitike* < -sthita- is, as often with forms of the root *sthā-*, represented by a cerebral through contamination with forms where a cerebral is phonetically correct, e.g. *tiṣṭhati*, *pari-ṣṭhā-*, etc.

-sm- > s in the termination -asmi[n]: *jambudīpasi*.

sumi = *asmi* (as at Rūp. Sah. Mas. and noted by J. Bloch, *MSL* xxiii, p. 264) is not the phonetic descendant of *asmi*, but a form depending upon an analogical re-creation **smi* or possibly **sāmi* after *santi*.¹

sy > *s* in *pakamasa*. In a termination *ss* < *sy* or *sm* may already have become single *s* (see above under -sy-).

GRAMMAR

GENDER

The neuter has been replaced in the singular by the masculine nom. sg.: *esa phale*, *iyaṃ sāvane*. But the nom. pl. is still distinct in *vasāṇi* opposed to *devā*, etc.

NOUNS

a- stems

Singular	Plural
nom. m. <i>devāṇampiye</i> , <i>upāsake</i> , <i>pakaṃte</i> , <i>saṃva-</i> <i>chare</i> , <i>sātireke</i> , <i>saṃghe</i> , <i>vipule</i> , <i>cakiye</i> , <i>ciraṭhitike</i> , <i>aṭhe</i> , <i>pakame</i> , <i>svag[e]</i> , <i>upeti</i> (= -e ?).	nom. m. <i>devā</i> , <i>amṭā</i> , <i>misā</i> , <i>amisā</i> , <i>kaṭā</i> , <i>saṃāṇā</i> , <i>udārā</i> , <i>khu-</i> <i>ḍakā</i>
n. <i>phale</i> , <i>sāvane</i> , <i>cakiye</i> ; (stereotyped as adverbs) <i>bāḍham</i> , <i>diyadhiyaṃ</i>	n. <i>vasāṇi</i> , <i>sātirekāṇi</i> , <i>adhatiyāṇi</i>
inst. <i>mahateneva</i> , <i>khudakena</i> , <i>pakamamīnena</i>	inst. <i>māṇusehi</i>
dat. <i>aṭhāya</i>	
gen. <i>pakamasa</i>	gen. <i>devāṇam(piye)</i>
loc. <i>jambudīpasi</i>	

ā- stem

Singular
loc. *velāyaṃ*

-an- stem

mahātman- has been transferred to the *a-* stems

¹ For possible development of *ām* to *um* in an auxiliary verb cf. the development of Pk. -*am* > Ap. -*u* (Pischel, *Pk. Gr.* § 351), and Pk. -*aam* > OGuj. -*aum*.

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PRONOUNS

First Person

inst. sg. *me*

Base *ta-*

	Singular		Plural
nom. n.	<i>se</i>		m. <i>se</i>

eta-

Singular

nom. n. *esa* (*phale*)

dat. m. *etāya*

idam

Singular

nom. m. *iyam*

n. *iyam* (*sāvaṇe, phale*)

loc. f. *imāyam*

ya-

acc. n. sg. (stereotyped as adverb) *yam*

NUMERALS

diyaḍhiyam, aḍhatiyāṇi

VERBS

Present

1 sg. *sumi*

Imperative

3 sg. *hotu*

3 pl. *pakamamtu, jānamtu*

Future

3 sg. *vaḍhisiti*

Perfect

3 sg. *āha*

Infinitive

pāpotave, ārādhayitave

Pres. Part. Middle

pakamamīṇena

Past Part.

pakamle, upeti (= -e?), kaṭā

INDECLINABLES

iti (ti), eva, kho, ca, cu, no, dāṇi, pi, hi

THE GAVIMATH ROCK-INSRIPTION

THE following transcription was made from an ink-estampage (see Plate I) and a photograph (Plate II). The latter has not much evidential value, as the marks on the stone were blacked in before being photographed : strictly speaking, therefore, it is a photograph not of the inscription but only of such marks in the stone as the photographer thought formed part of the letters. But, as it shows some detail more clearly than the estampage, it has been reproduced here. It is evidence at least for the existence of such lines as were actually blacked in.

The inscription consists of 8 lines ; the number of akṣaras in each line is respectively 25, 27, 25, 29, 33, 29, 34, 9. It appears to be carefully inscribed : anusvāra is noted with care, in one case only is it missing, and there its apparent absence may be due to the weathering of the rock.

1. (A) devānāmpriye āha (B) sātīrekāṇi aḍhatiyāṇi vasāṇi yaṁ sumi upā-
2. sake (C) ṇo cu kho bāḍham pakamte (D) saṁvachare sātīreke yaṁ me saṁghe
upeti bāḍham
3. ca me pakamte (E) se imāyaṁ velāyaṁ jambudīpasi amisā devā samāṇā
4. māṇusehi se dāṇi misā kaṭā (F) pakamasa esa phale (G) ṇo hi iyaṁ mahateṇeva¹
ca-
5. kiye pāpotave khudakena pi pakamamīṇena vipule pi cakiye svag[e]² ārādhayitave
(H) e-
6. tāya ca aṭhāya iyaṁ sāvāṇe khudakā ca uḍārā ca pakamamtu ti amṭā pi ca
jānamtu ciraṭhi-
7. tike ca pakame hotu iyaṁ ca aṭhe vaḍhisiti vipule ca vaḍhisiti diya-
8. dhiyaṁ pi ca vaḍhisitīti.

TRANSLATION

(A) Devānāmpriya says :

(B) (It is) more than two and half a years³ since I have been a lay-worshipper ;

(C) but I have not indeed acted very zealously.

¹ The akṣara *ṇe* is indistinct in the estampage ; but the photograph shows the upper crossbar of the *ṇ* and there is a trace of the *e*-mātra in the estampage.

² There is a trace of the *e*-mātra in the estampage.

³ This use of *vasa-* in the plural, while *saṁvachara-* is reserved for one single year, is borne out by the Aśokan inscriptions as a whole. Descendants of, or loans from, Sk. *varṣá-* and *vārṣá-* (viz. *varsa-*, *vaṣa-*, *vaśa-*, *vasa-*, *vāsa-*) are used 64 times, but always in the plural or in compounds expressing a number of years ; *saṁvachara-*, occurring only in versions of this Edict, is used to express one year. This usage agrees with that of the Ṛgveda, in which *himā-* (*varṣá-* had not yet the meaning 'year') appears only in the plural (4 times), *saṁvatsará* (8 times) and *parivatsará-* (once) only in the singular.

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- (D) (It is) **more than a year** since the community was joined¹ by me and I have acted very zealously.
- (E) Thus in this time in **Jambudvīpa** unmingled (were) the gods with men: they now have been made mingled.²
- (F) This is the fruit of zeal.
- (G) For this cannot be obtained by only a great man:³ on the other hand⁴ by a lowly man acting zealously wide heaven also⁵ can be attained.
- (H) And for this matter this proclamation: that both the lowly and exalted may act zealously; and the borderers also may know and zealous action may be long-lasting and this matter shall grow and shall grow wide and shall grow half as much again.

¹ All the other versions which have this sentence have here a past participle. In Rūpnāth and Maskī Aśoka is the subject, in the others *saṃghe*.

Rūp.	ya	sumi	hakaṃ	sagha	up[e]te
Mas.	. . .	[m]i		[s]aṃghaṃ	upagate
Bair.	aṃ		mamayā	saghe	[u]payāte
Brah.	}	yaṃ	mayā	saṃghe	upayāte
Śidd.					

It seems impossible to take *upeti* either as 3rd. sg. pres. indic. with *saṃghe* as subject and *me* (dat.?) as object, or as nom. sg. of a substantive (cf. Sk. *ūpeti* 'approach') with *saṃghe* as locative, since in all this dialect-group the locative ends in *-asi*. The reading, however, is quite clear, and assuming that a past participle was intended as in the other versions I suggest either that *-i* has been erroneously written for *-e*, or that final *-e* was already becoming shorter and closer (as later in Apabhraṃśa *-e* and *-o > -i* and *-u*) and was here written *-i*: but in face of all the other final *-e*'s the latter seems improbable.

² This agrees with Rūpnāth and Maskī in making *devā* the subject, whereas in Sahasrām, Brahmagiri, and Śiddāpura (illegible at Jaṅgarāmeśvara) *munisā* is subject with *devehi* or *aṃmisamdevā* (Sahasrām) as predicate. At Bairāt the phrase *amisā na devehi* with its redundant negative looks like an haplography for *amisā munisā samānā devehi* or (like the wording of Gavimath) *amisā devā samānā munisehi*.

³ Rūpnāth and Sahasrām here have the ablative of an abstract substantive *mahatātā* (= *mahātmatvāt*). But Brahmagiri (illegible in Śiddāpura and Jaṅgarāmeśvara) has a form corresponding to this instrumental of *mahātman*-transferred to the *a*-declension, viz. *mahātpeneva*. In Bairāt Hultzsch read *ma[ha]taneva* (i.e. inst. of an *an*-stem); but from the estampage (Hultzsch, p. 172) there appears to me to be the suggestion of an *e*-mātra with the *z*, making the reading here too *mahateneva*.

⁴ Hultzsch in the other versions translates *pi* as 'even'. But it seems here to be adversative, contrasting *mahateneva* with *khudakena*.

⁵ i.e. as well as *iyam* (*phale*).

THE PĀLKIGUṆḌU ROCK-INSRIPTION

HERE too the material available for making the transcription was an estampage (Plate III) and two photographs, the better of which is reproduced below (Plate IV). But the latter suffers from the same defect as the photograph of the Gavīmaṭh Inscripti-
tion, the lines most clearly visible in the photograph being only those which were
blacked in before the exposure was made.

Assuming that it is identical in wording with the Gavīmaṭh Inscripti-
on, I have
hazarded a guess as to the approximate division into lines, each dot in the transcription
standing for a missing akṣara.

What is legible is identical with the parallel passages in the Gavīmaṭh Inscripti-
on, and presents no features of special interest, except in confirming the cerebral and dental
nasals in *pakamamīnena*, and the initial cerebral in *no*.

1.
2.
3. māṇuse
4. no¹ hi iyaṁ va
5. m[ī]ṇena vipu[le] pi cakiy[e] svaga āra.
6. ca pakamaṁtu ti aṁtā pi ca jāṇaṁtu c[i] . . . [ke]
7. ca vaḍhisiti diya[dh]iyaṁ pi ca
8.

¹ The upper cross-bar of the *ṇ* is fairly clear in the estampage.

APPENDIX

A NOTE ON THE DISCOVERY OF THE INSCRIPTIONS AT KOPBĀL

by G. VAZDANI

KOPBĀL (15° 21' N. and 76° 10' E.) is situated on the left bank of the stream Hīre Halla—an important tributary to the river Tūṅgābhadrā. Its distance from Maski is 54 miles (as the crow flies) and from Hampī 21 miles. The town is now the headquarters of the District of this name in the Jagir of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions. Kopbāl is on the railway line (Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway), situated between Hospet and Gadag junctions. The population of the town according to the latest census (1931) is over 11,000 (Plate V).

The town nestles at the foot of a rock 1,900 ft. above the sea-level (and about 400 ft. above the surrounding land). A fort is built on this rock (Plate VI). The fort is described in the *Journal* of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society for January 1916 (pp. 92-9). Besides the fort-rock there is a range of hills to the west of the town, the highest spur of which, styled the PĀLKIGUṆḌU (Palanquin or Canopy Boulder), rises 2,339 ft. above the sea-level. There is also a spur to the east of the town, called GAVĪMATH (about 150 ft. above the surrounding land), and another towards the south, styled the BAHĀDUR BANDA, the latter being 1,980 ft. above the sea-level. The fort-rock is situated in the middle of these spurs.

The GAVĪMATH hill has four caves—one of them, facing the north, is now occupied by the Lingayats, and a modern temple is built in front of it (Plate VII). The dimensions of this cave are 15 ft. (north to south) and 36 ft. (east to west).

In the principal court there is a hall, measuring 38 ft. 2 in. square externally and 28 ft. 11 in. square internally. A Līṅga is fixed in the middle of the hall, and below it is supposed to be the Samādhi of Lingayat Guru.

The votaries of this temple state that their Gurus have lived there for nearly 842 years.

To the west of this temple there is another cavern, which measures 8 ft. 6 in. × 7 ft. inwardly. The opening of the cavern is fitted with a carved stone frame measuring 2 ft. 6 in. × 1 ft. 4 in. The height of the rock ceiling of the cave is 5 ft. 4 in. Below this cavern, at the foot of the hill, is a small tank, near the south-east corner of which is another cave, which measures 21 ft. 2 in. × 21 ft. 5 in. A corridor is built in front of the cave which has five openings. The length of the corridor is 22 ft. and the width is 7 ft.

In front of this cave there are some Jaina Samādhis with square tombstones. The tombstones are carved, representing the figures of kings, queens, and peacocks.

On the rock to the north of this cave, the figures of some Tīrthaṅkaras and Gurus preaching to the congregation are carved.

The rock here rises precipitously to a height of 120 ft. and extends in the form of a high wall towards the south (Plate VIII). Proceeding about 120 yards in that direction, we notice that the rock-wall is broken in the form of terraces, comprising large boulders.

THE GAVIMATH AND PĀLKĪGUNḌU INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA 19

One of them is shaped like an elephant or boar's head and is placed on the top of the rock (Plates IX and X). The lower part of this boulder seems to have been artificially cut to afford shelter from sun and rain to the Yogīs who sat for meditation there. The hill from this point commands a beautiful view of the plains below, and the choice of the hermits on the selection of the spot must be highly admired.

Below the boulder a Brāhmī inscription (Aśokan Edict) is carved on the rock in eight lines. The surface of the rock being uneven, it is difficult to secure an absolutely distinct estampage of the inscription, so a photograph of it has been taken direct from the stone (Plate II).

The inscription was known to the Lingayats for some time, for the place is sacred to them, as they think that their Gurus sat in contemplation there. In January 1931 the present Guru of the Maṭh drew the attention of Mr. N. B. Sastri, a Brahman resident of Kopbāl, who is interested in the history of the place, to the inscription, suggesting that it was a Tamil record. Mr. Sastri found the characters somewhat unusual and sent an eye-copy of the inscription to us. The Department took immediate action on Mr. Sastri's communication and deputed Mr. Syed Yusuf, Assistant Director, to secure estampages of all the inscriptions to be found there. In June 1931 the Director (Mr. Yazdani) visited the place and surveyed the entire site, staying there from the 5th to 12th June.

Below the boulder on which the inscription is carved is a natural cavern. The entrance of the cave is fitted with a small door-frame (2 ft. 11 in. × 1 ft. 2 in.). The interior of the cave measures 20 ft. north to south and 18 ft. east to west—the height of the rock ceiling from the floor being 4 ft. 9 in.

The presence of four caves and this rock-edict amply proves that the hill Gavīmāṭh was at one time an important centre of Buddhist religion; but afterwards the hill seems to have been occupied by the Jains, for the figures of Tīrthaṅkaras are carved in several places on the rock. A pair of feet are carved below the boulder—quite close to the Edict. In later times it was occupied by the Lingayats, who still have an important Maṭh there.

Mr. N. B. Sastri, in his communication to this Department, had spoken of two or more Brāhmī inscriptions at Kopbāl; but he did not send eye-copies of them. One of these inscriptions on examination proved to be a Canarese record; but the other is undoubtedly a Brāhmī inscription—a minor Aśokan Edict of which only five lines can be traced, the remaining portion being obliterated by the weathering of the stone. This record is carved on a hill which is situated to the west of Kopbāl town. The rock on which the inscription is carved is the highest point of the hill, being 2,339 ft. above sea-level and about 800 ft. above the surrounding land. A canopy-shaped boulder is placed on the rock on which the inscription is carved and it is the shape of this boulder, resembling a palanquin, which has given the name—Pālkīgunḍu—to the hill (Plate XII).

The best approach to the top of the hill is from the north-east side of the tank which is built between the fort-rock and this hill.

THE GAVĪMAṬH AND PĀLKĪGUṆḌU

On the rock where this Brāhmī record is carved are two Canarese inscriptions as well, each having a pair of feet carved near it.

This site, like the Gavīmāṭh hill, seems to have been occupied in later times by Jaina hermits, for the two Canarese inscriptions refer to some Jaina anchorites sitting in contemplation here. The hill commands a beautiful view of the plains below. The river Hīre Halla is seen following a serpentine course in fields of black and red soil, forming a check pattern (Plate XIII).¹ Towards the south-east rises the fort-hill of Kopbāl and beyond that, in the same direction, the rock of Bahādur Banda, while several minor spurs with cultivated fields at their feet present a most charming panorama (Plates XIV and XV).

A Kunbi (cultivator) named Hanappa, of Kopbāl, in his search for 'hidden treasures' came across these inscriptions some eight months ago, and he thought that the record contained information as to where the treasure was to be found. He asked Mr. Narayan Rao Sastri to interpret the records; but the characters being indistinct Mr. Sastri could not make out the inscriptions, and he referred the matter to us. It was after the visit of the Director that the photographs and the tracings of the inscriptions were secured.

At a short distance from the Pālkīguṇḍu boulder, towards the west, there is another the shape of which is again like a canopy. It was reported to me that below this boulder the figures of fairies and a Brāhmī inscription were carved. On cleaning the rock it was found that the figure which was reported to be that of a fairy is one of a standing Jina, and the two wings are the emblematic fly-whisks, one on each side of the Jina. The inscription also on examination proved to be a Canarese record of four lines. The inscription mentions the name of Devendra Bhaṭṭarāo, and there are two pairs of feet carved on the rock, indicating that two Jina hermits sat for contemplation here.

On entering the outer enclosure of the Kopbāl fort from the Siddi Burj Gate there is a cluster of houses which are now occupied by Brahmans. At the back of these houses is a rock styled the Candra Bandī. On this rock the figures of several Tīrthaṅkaras and four Canarese inscriptions are carved. Commencing from the left side we first notice a standing Jina below whom is carved an Ācārī with a roll in his hand and a desk in front of him and a king and a queen listening to his discourse. On the left side of this Jina there is another with a triple canopy above his head and two fly-whisks above his shoulders. An Ācārī, with scriptures in his hand and a table in front and a king and queen listening to his discourse, appears below the latter figure as well. Further to the right is a Canarese inscription of five lines. To the right of this inscription there is another of six lines.

Further to the right there is an inscription which consists of a single line measuring 5ft. 6in. in length.

Above these inscriptions, on the same rock is another which is much obliterated, and only a few words of it have been made out. On the right side of this inscription the figures of five Tīrthaṅkaras are shown in an attitude of meditation. Their names are

¹ In the Deccan the trap country is sometimes interspersed with belts of granitoid gneiss of a pinkish hue, the result being that side by side with the black soil we notice small tracts of red soil.

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carved on the pedestals, but as the stone has much abraded nothing has been made out.

The Candra Bandī inscription gives the town-name Kopananagara, the old name of Kopbāl, which is also referred to in the book Kavirāja-mārga of the ninth century (published by the Mysore Government).

In this part of the fort, while coming out of a wicket, facing the east, we notice eight inscriptional stones (Canarese characters) used as ordinary masonry in a bastion and in the wall adjacent to it. Besides these there are several other inscriptional tablets at Kopbāl which originally belonged to Jaina shrines, but when that religion lost the royal patronage the tablets were roughly handled and the letters are now worn to such an extent that it is difficult to secure a distinct estampage or photograph of them.¹

There is a tradition that Kopbāl once had seventy-two Jaina *bastīs*. At present there are only two temples in the town.

Kopbāl has also a large number of Moslem inscriptions, some of which are published in the *Journal* of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society for January 1916 (pp. 96-69, Plates XXX-XXXIV). The earliest of them, which is not published as yet, records the building of a mosque by Ghāzī Khān, during the administration of Yāqūt and the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II in 1018 H. (A.D. 1609).²

To the west of the Pālkīgūṇḍu is another hill, styled the Malimalappa Hill, on the top of which a number of dolmens may be seen (Plate XVI). The winds and rains of hundreds of years have disturbed the position of the slabs, but some dolmens are fairly intact and are worthy of being excavated. They all have round holes in the slabs facing the south. Locally they are called Mōriyar-aṅgaḍi, the shops of the Mōriyas. It is interesting to note that the fields between this hill and Pālkīgūṇḍu are called Pandurvatthara. Dolmens are quite common in the Nizam's Dominions, but they are generally found either at the foot of hills or in fields near them. The presence of dolmens just on the top of a hill, as in this case, is rather unusual.

¹ The Canarese inscriptions of Kopbāl are being edited by Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu and will be issued shortly as *Monograph No. 12 of the Hyderabad Archaeological Series*.

² The Moslem inscriptions of Kopbāl are being published in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* for 1929-30.

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A. GAVIMATH AND PĀLKIGUNḌU INSCRIPTIONS

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B. OTHER INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES

The figures refer to the pages.

Ap.=Apabhraṁśa, Aś.=Inscriptions of Aśoka, Ass.=Assamese, Bg.=Bengali, Guj.=Gujarati, Hi.=Hindi, Khar.=Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions of Khotan, Mar.=Marathi, Nep.=Nepali, Pa.=Pali, Pj.=Panjabi, Pk.=Prakrit, Sgh.=Singhalese, Si.=Sindhi, Sk.=Sanskrit.

-aam Pk. > OGuj. -aum 13
-am Pk. acc. sg. term. 13
aṇṇā- Pa. 12
aḍic Mar. 10
aḍij Mar. 10

aḍcē Mar. 10
aḍjē Mar. 10
aḍḍhajja- Pk. 10
aḍḍhatiya- Pa. 10
aḥhāi Hi. 10

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andī Si. 10
ápi Sk. 11
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abhisita- Aś. 11
ardhá- Sk. 11
ardhacaturtha- Sk. 11
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asmi Sk. 13
-asmin Sk. loc. term. 13
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ānā- Pa. 12
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ānta- Sk. 10
ārai Ass. 10
ārdha- Sk. 11
ālabhiyisu Aś. 11
-ika- Sk. suffix 10
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-iya- Sk. suffix 10
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kaḷa- Pk. 10
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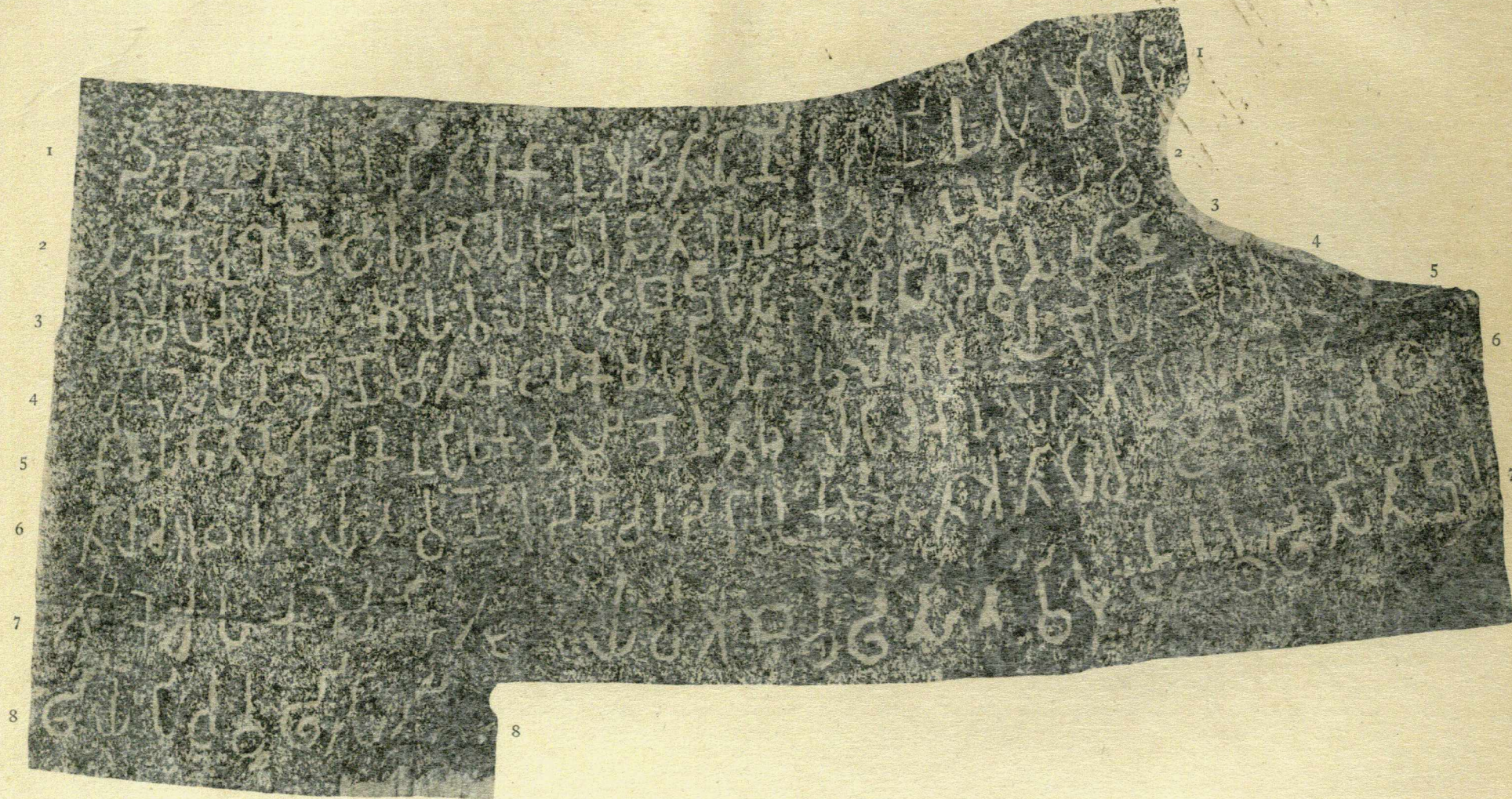
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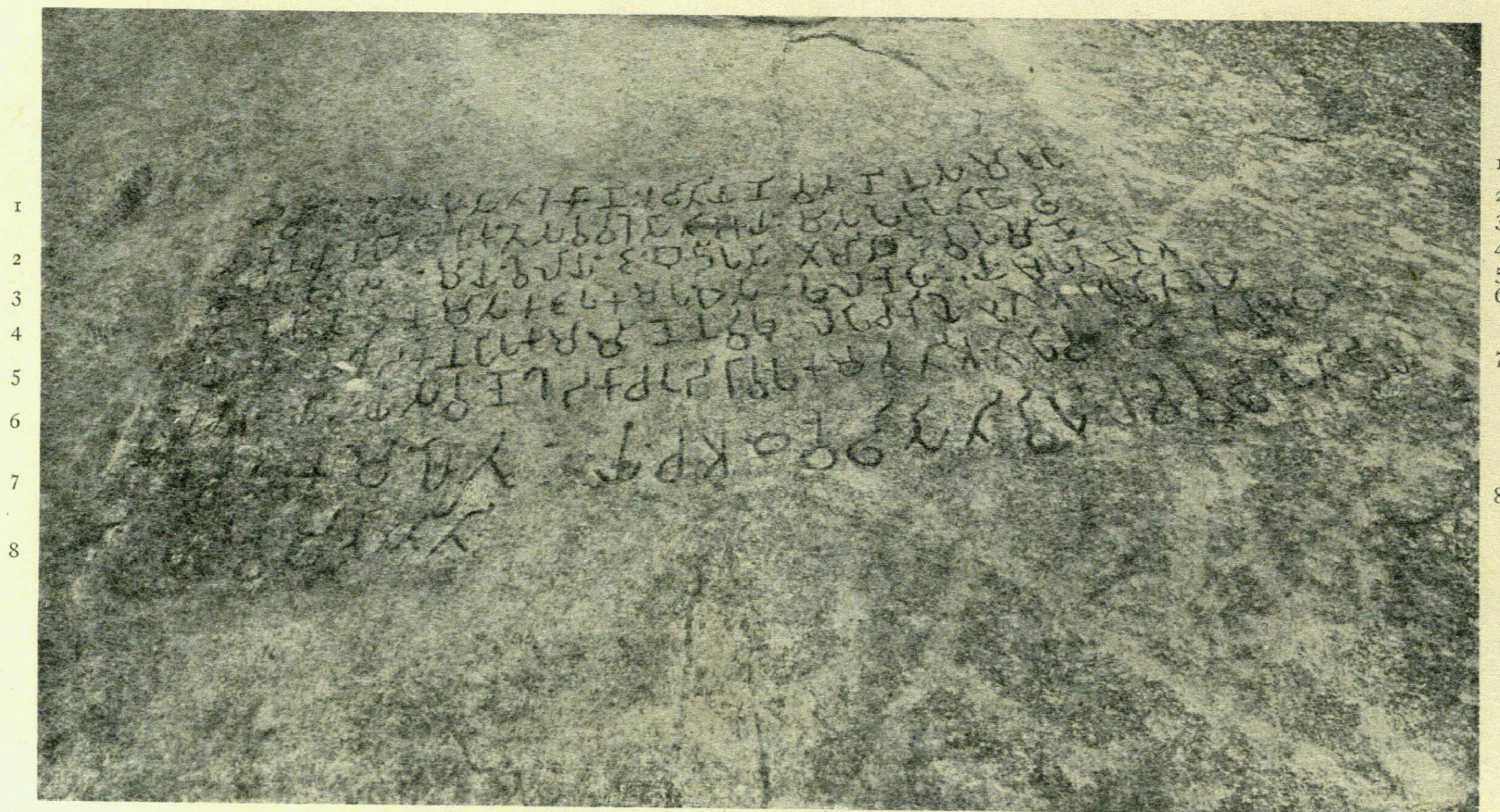
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INK ESTAMPAGE OF GAVĪMĀṬH INSCRIPTION

Scale One-Eighth



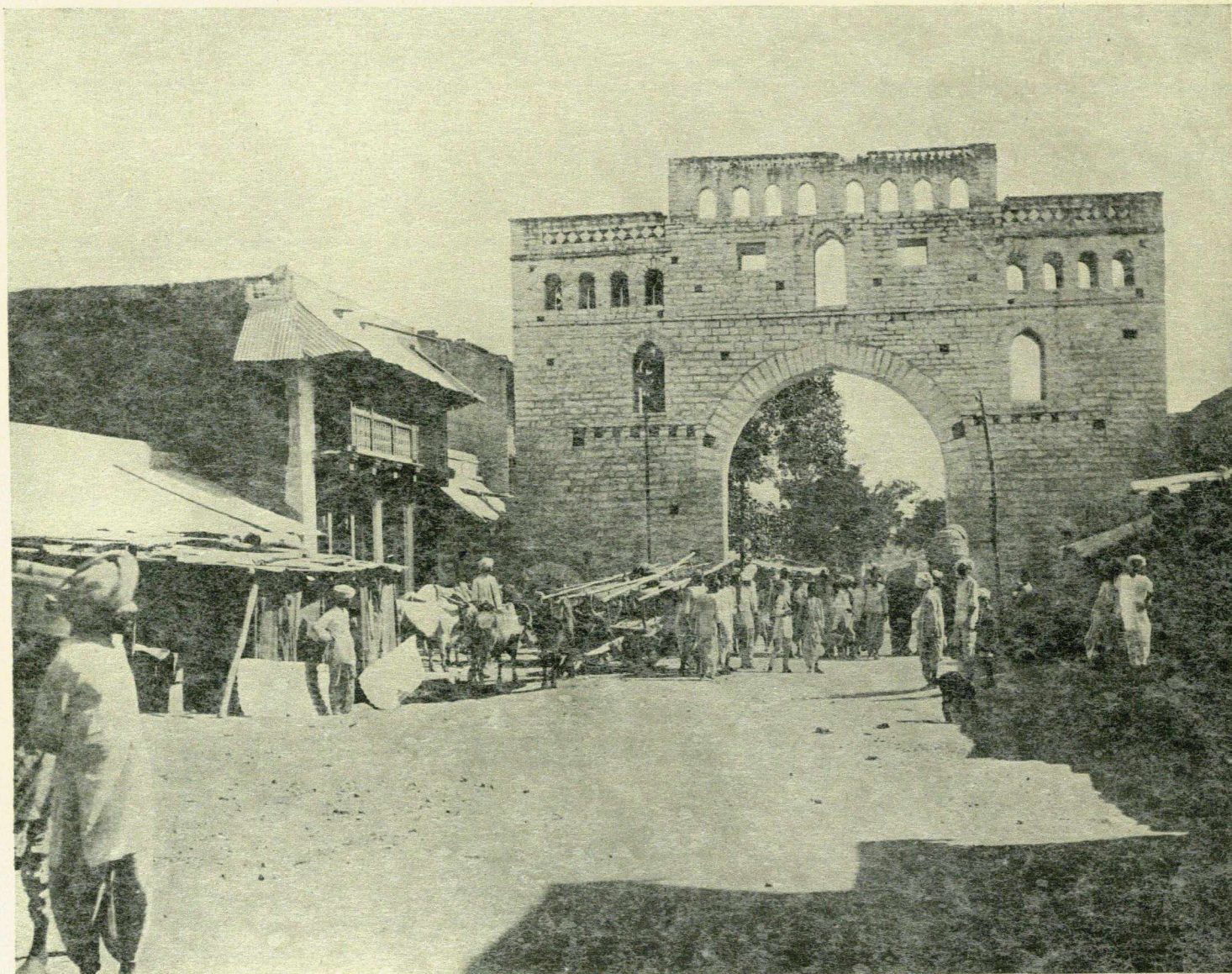
PHOTOGRAPH OF GAVIMATH INSCRIPTION



INK ESTAMPAGE OF PĀLKĪGUNḌU INSCRIPTION
Scale One-Fifth



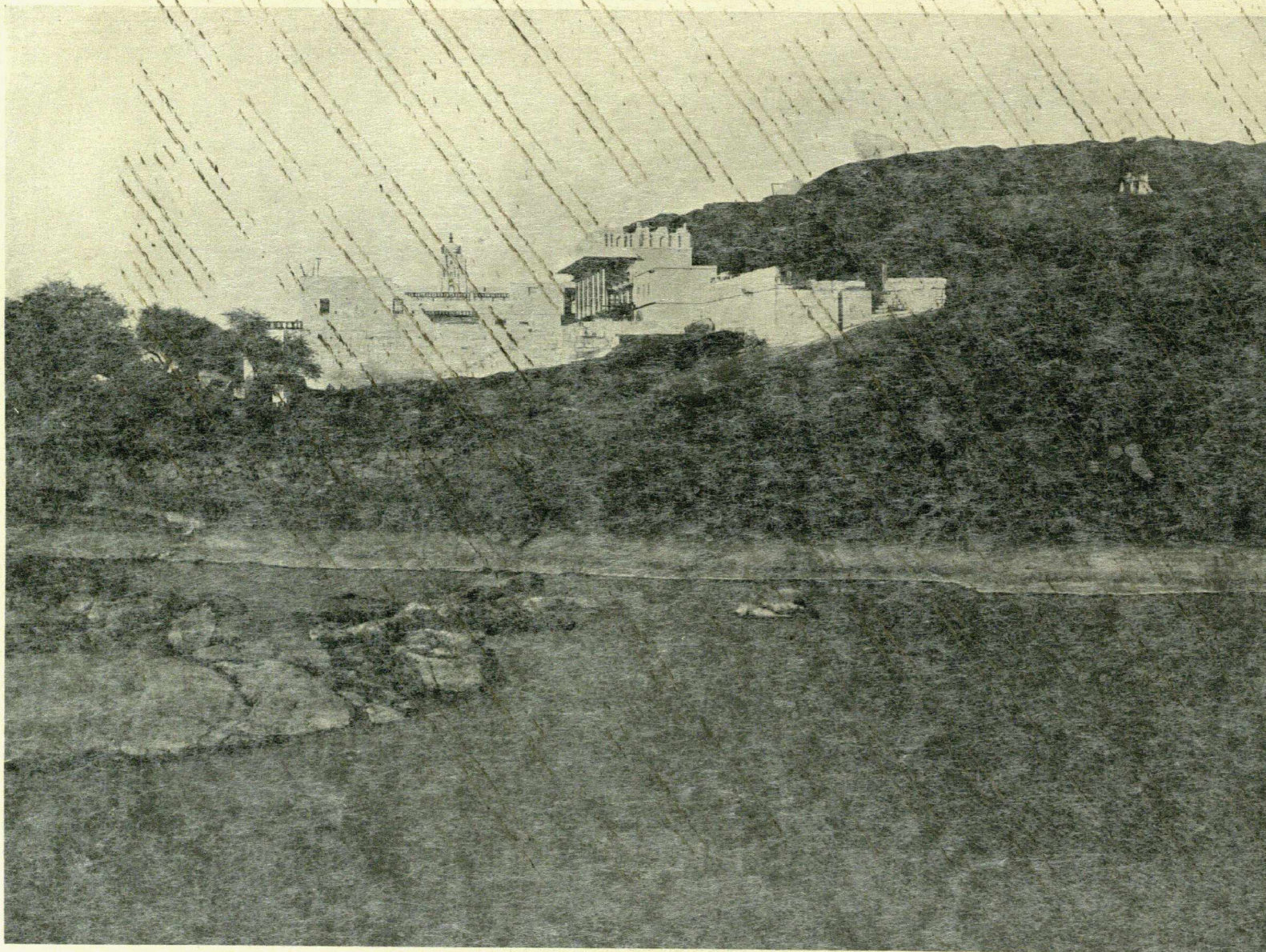
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MAIN STREET, KORBĀL



KOPBĀL FORT
Seen from the Pālkigunḍu Hill



LINGAYAT TEMPLE AND TANK
On the northern slope of the Gavimath Hill



GAVIMATH HILL
Road leading to the Edict Rock

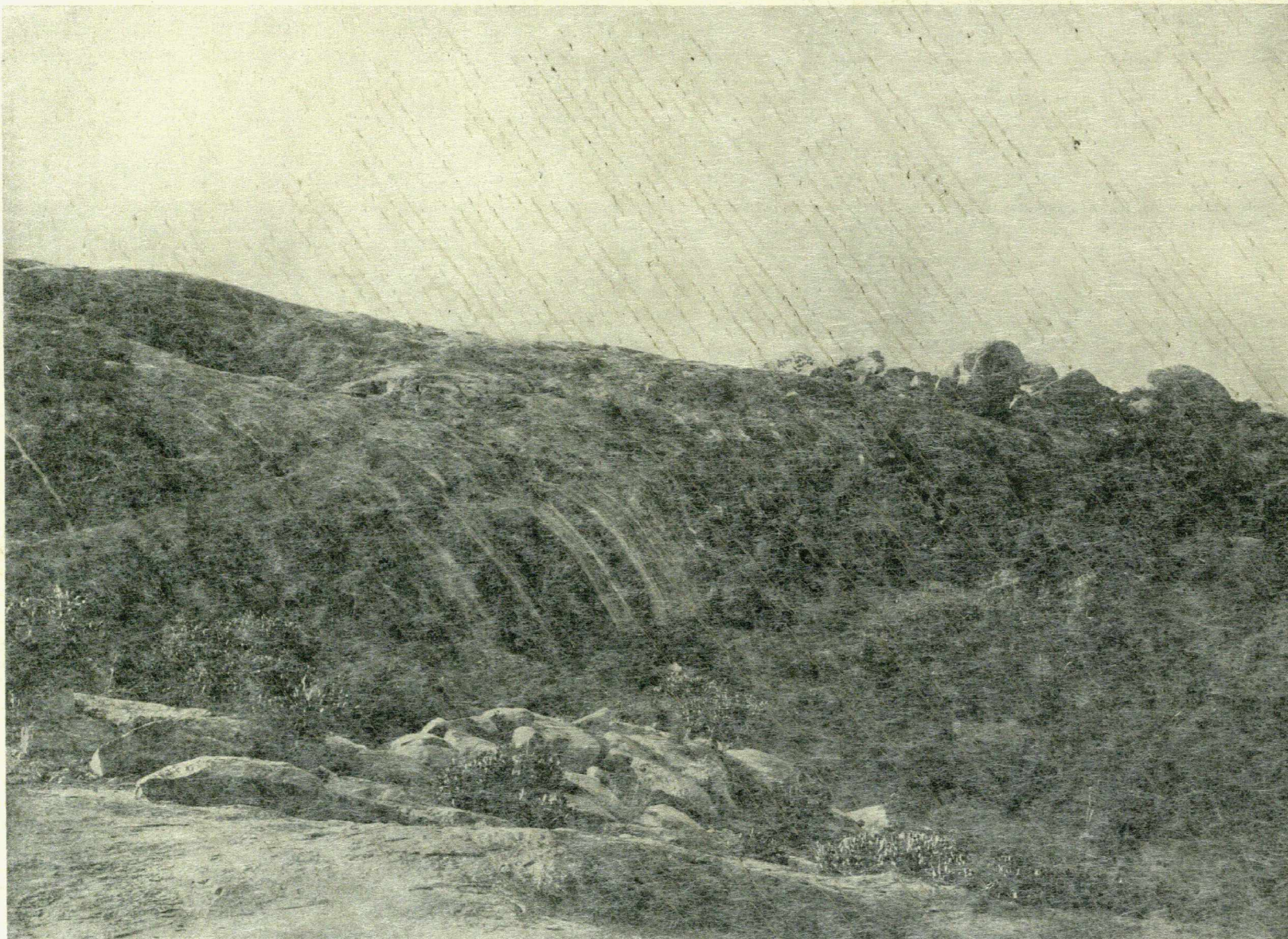


GAVĪMAṬH HILL

The Edict is carved on the rock below the boulder with the white patch



THE EDICT ROCK ON GAVĪMATH HILL

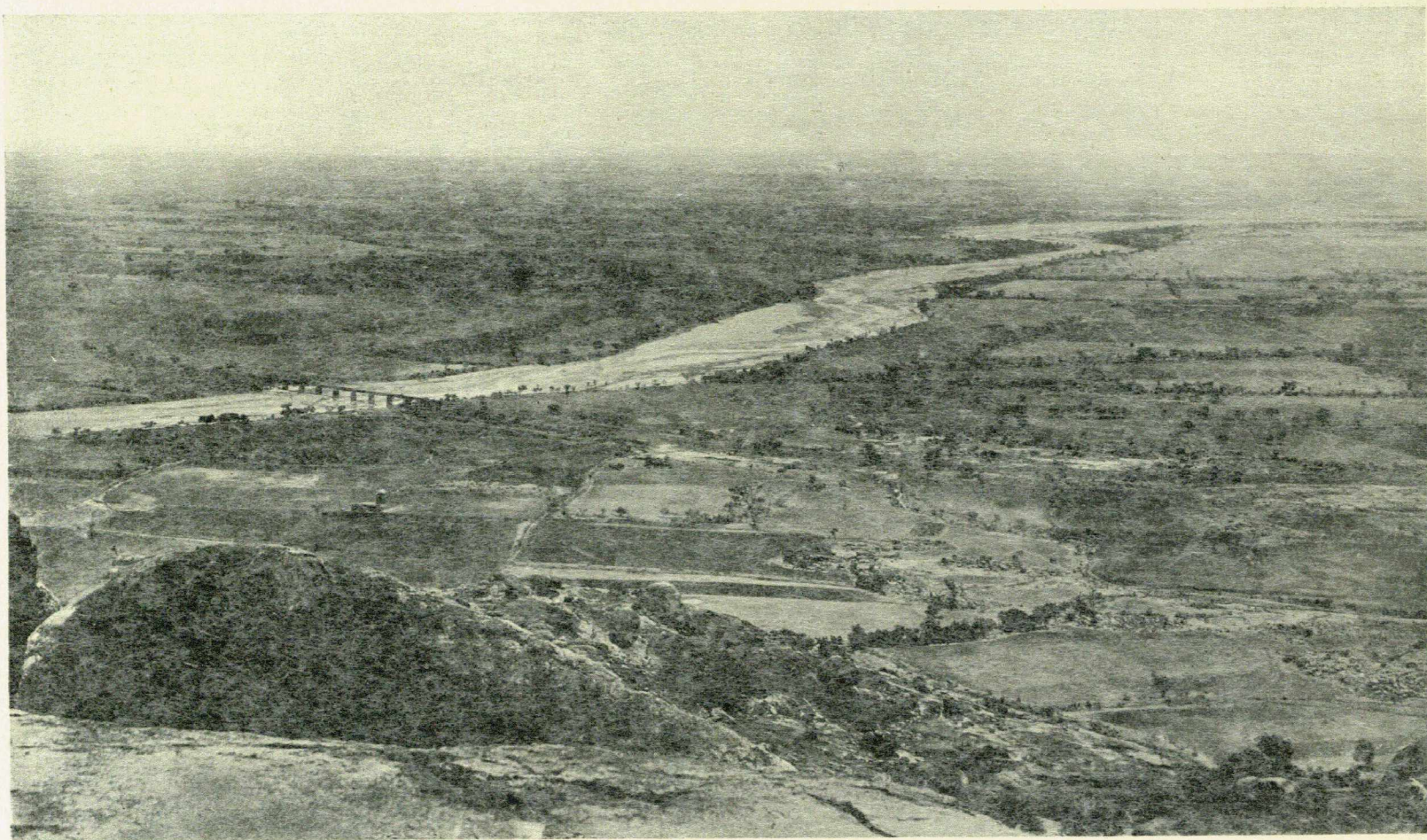


GAVIMATH HILL
Seen from the foot of the Edict Rock

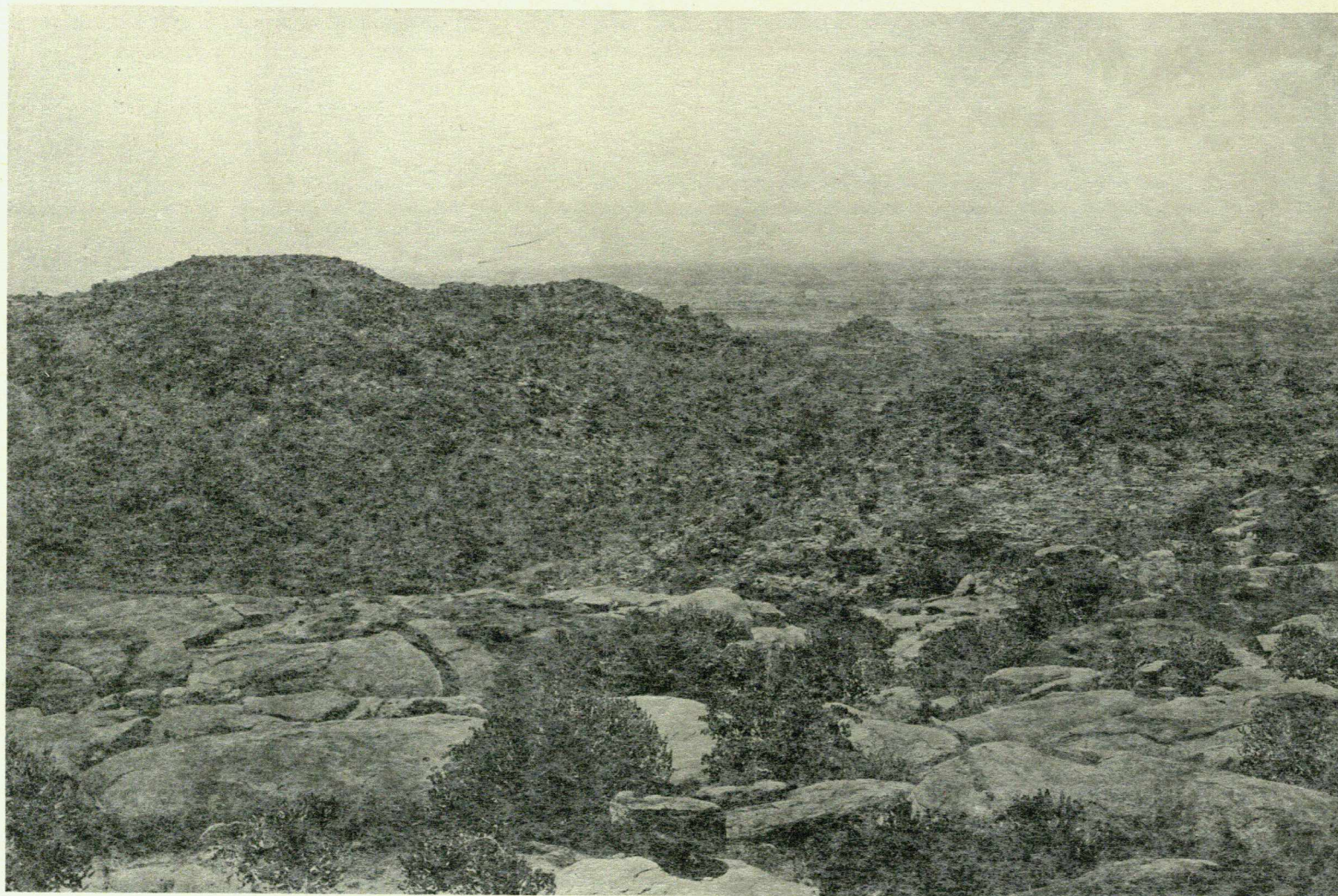


PALKĪGUNḌU

The Edict is carved on the rock below the canopy-shaped boulder



RIVER HĪRE HALLA
Looking north from the Pālkigunḍu Hill



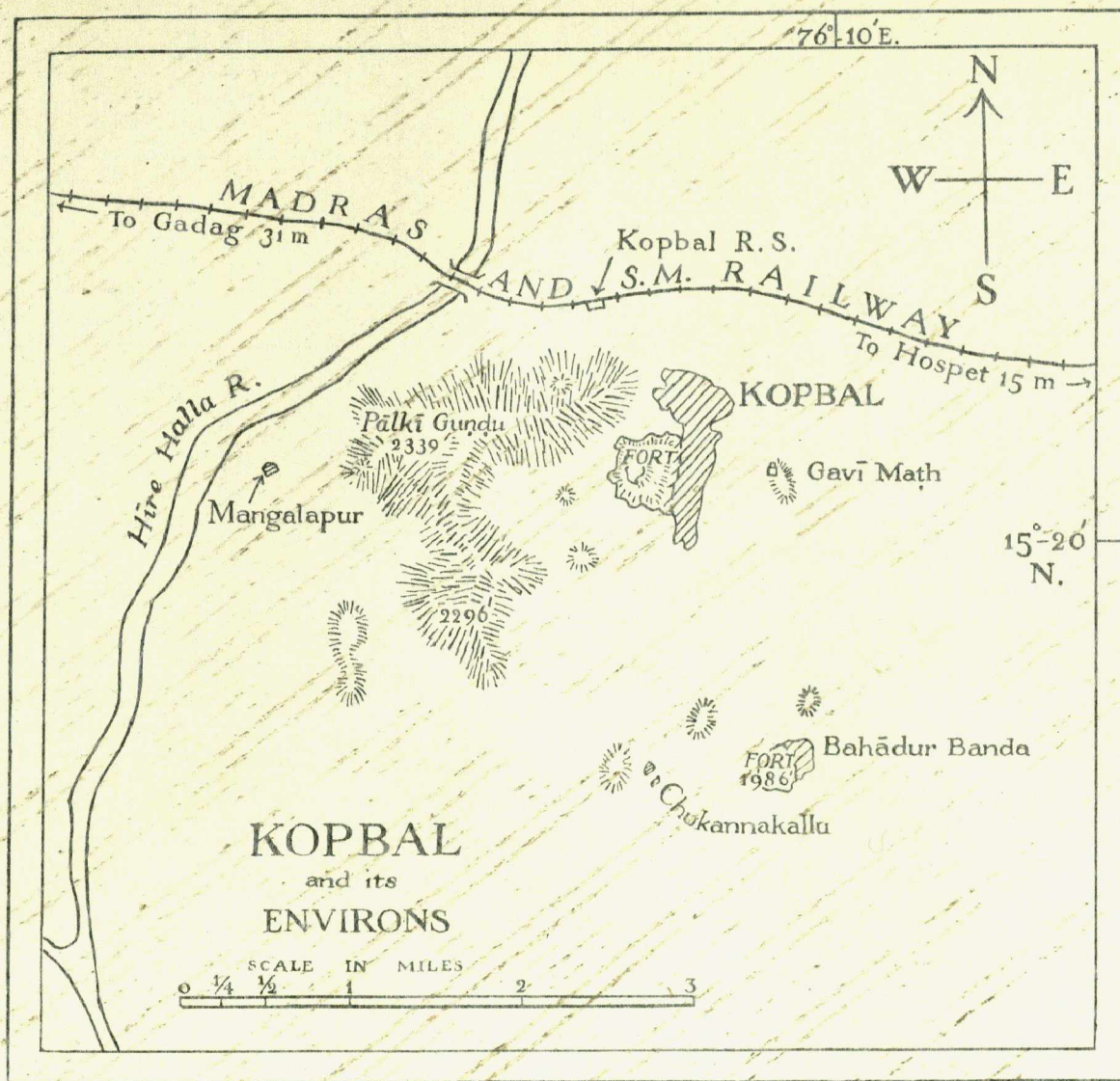
LOOKING SOUTH-WEST FROM PĀLKĪGUNḌU



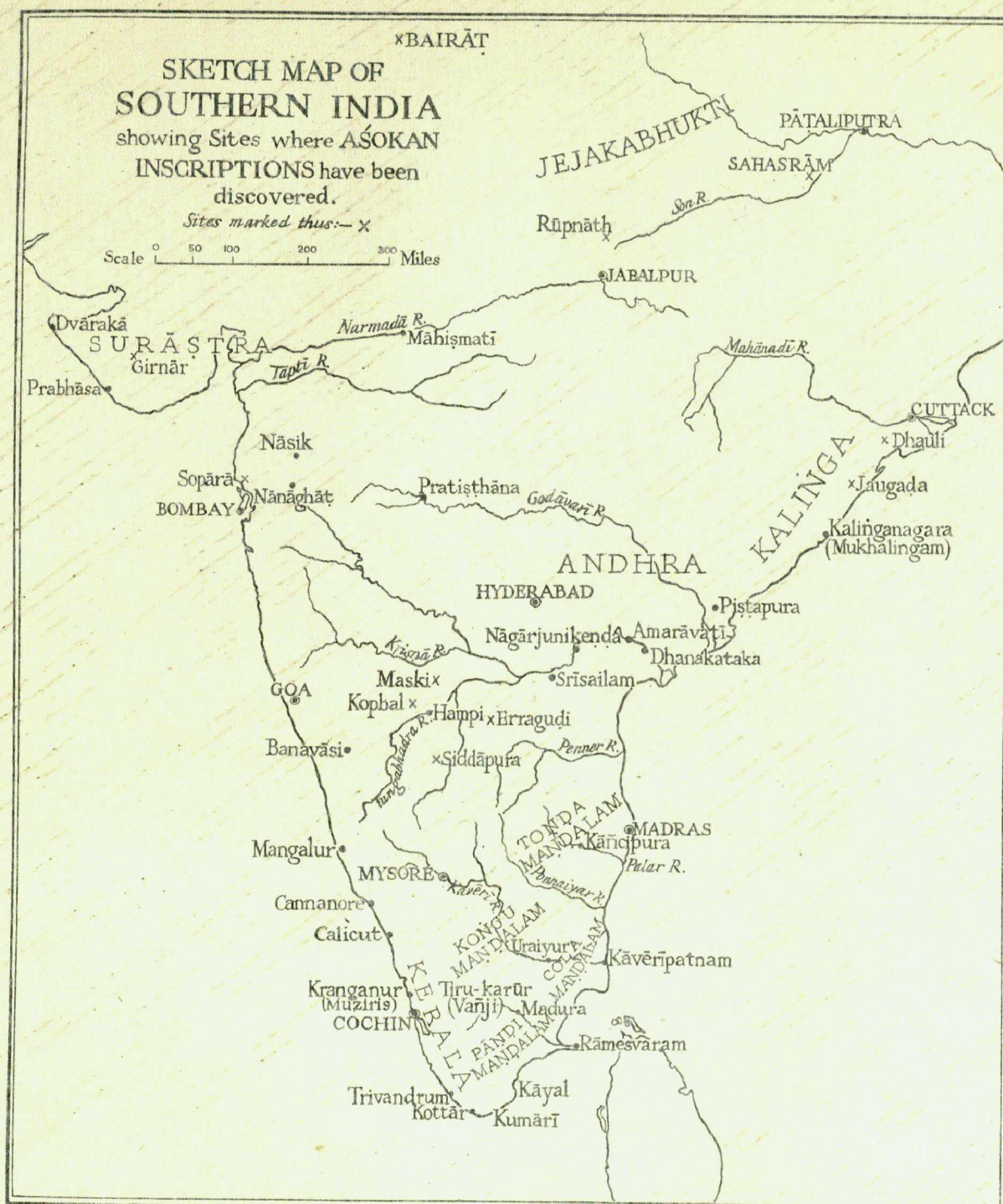
LOOKING SOUTH-EAST FROM PĀLKĪGUNḌU



DOLMENS ON THE MALIMALAPPA HILL



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