

HARRY FALK

AŚOKAN SITES AND ARTEFACTS



Philipp von Zabern

MONOGRAPHIEN ZUR INDISCHEN ARCHÄOLOGIE,
KUNST UND PHILOLOGIE

BAND 18

MONOGRAPHIEN ZUR INDISCHEN ARCHÄOLOGIE,
KUNST UND PHILOLOGIE

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BAND 18

HARRY FALK

AŚOKAN SITES AND ARTEFACTS

A SOURCE-BOOK WITH BIBLIOGRAPHY



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Cover: Lion capital from Vesālī

To the memory of
Günther-Dietz Sontheimer
1934–1992

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Table of Contents

Preface	7
Abbreviations	9
Bibliography	13
The Minor Rock Edict Sites	55
Ahraurā.....	59
Bairāt.....	62
Brahmagiri.....	64
Delhi.....	67
Eṛṇgaḍi.....	70
Gavīmāth.....	72
Gujarrā.....	75
Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara.....	78
Maski.....	81
Niṭṭūr.....	83
Pāḷkīguṇḍu.....	86
Pāṅgurārīā.....	89
Rājula-Manḍagiri.....	91
Rūpnāth.....	93
Sahasrām.....	95
Siddapur.....	98
Uḍegolam.....	101
Diverse Edict Sites	105
Bairāt-Calcutta.....	106
Pāṅgurārīā (Separate Edict).....	109
The Rock Edict Sites	111
Dhaulī.....	113
Eṛṇgaḍi.....	116
Girnār.....	118
Jaugaḍa.....	121
Kālsī.....	124
Mānsehrā.....	127
Sannati.....	130
Shāhbāzgarhī.....	132
Sopārā.....	136
The Pillar Sites	139
The quarries: Cunār and Pabhosā.....	154
Allāhābād.....	158
Ararāj.....	162
Bānsi.....	164
Benares/Vārāṇasī: Lāt Bhairo.....	166
Fatehābād (& Hisār).....	169
Goṭihavā.....	171
Hisār (& Fatehābād).....	173
Kauśāmbī.....	175

Lumbinī.....	177
Mirāth.....	181
Nandangarh.....	184
Niglīvā.....	187
Pāṭaliputra.....	190
Rāmpūrvā.....	195
Sāñcī.....	203
Sāñkisā.....	206
Sārnāth.....	209
Toprā.....	215
Vesālī.....	220
Non-Aśokan Pillars and Capitals	225
Amarāvātī.....	226
Ayodhyā.....	227
Bakraur.....	228
Bhāskareśvara/Rāmeśvara.....	230
Bhopal.....	232
Gwalior.....	233
Laṭiyā.....	234
Prahāḍpur.....	236
Sikligarh.....	238
Greek and Aramaic Edict Sites	241
Kandahar I (Greek-Aramaic).....	242
Kandahar II (Greek).....	244
Kandahar III (Aramaic-Māgadhī).....	246
Laghman I.....	247
Laghman II.....	249
Pūl-i Darūnta.....	251
Taxilā.....	252
The Caves Sites	255
Barābār Caves.....	258
Nāgārjuni Caves.....	270
Sītāmarhī.....	280
Diverse Artefact Sites	283
Bodh Gayā.....	284
Girnār dam.....	287
Fakes	289
Bombay bowl.....	290
Buner slab.....	291
Kapileśvar.....	292
Curiosa	293
Mathurā.....	294
Paris.....	295

Preface

This book was conceived while I was working on *Schrift im alterr Indien* (Falk 1993), where I tried to assemble all primary and secondary material on the question when and how script was introduced in ancient India. Since the oldest evidence – apart from Indus valley script and scripts imported from the West – is inseparably connected with king Aśoka a look at all the material pertinent to his edicts was attempted. The first steps showed that the so-called “wide-spread knowledge of writing and reading in Aśoka’s time”, deduced from the geographically wide distribution of his texts on stone, disregarded the nature of the majority of places where these edicts are found: far away from human habitation. This first impression, gained through a study of mainly archaeological literature, needed verification. A generous grant provided by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft made it possible from 1992 to 2000 to travel to India, Nepal and Pakistan repeatedly and to visit each and every site, many of them twice, some even thrice. My first thanks therefore are due to my peers at and the staff of the DFG, who helped to provide me with all the means needed, including a Zenza Bronica with full gear.

The first trip visited the Minor Rock edicts of Karnataka. While in Poona, ready to start, I met Prof. Günter-Dietz Sontheimer and he acquainted me with his idea that the places I described in the literature could have been connected with mother cults in antiquity, very much in the fashion of practices still current in this area today. Spontaneously, he decided to come with me, offering his jeep cum driver for conveyance. These two weeks with him are unforgettably on my mind. It took years before the accumulated evidence forced me to accept his interpretation of the sites. It was to be his last trip to and within India. Four weeks after our round-trip he left this world for good. This book is dedicated to an exceptional scholar who was looking for the soul of India on many levels, giving all of them the same value. He was a pioneer for Modern Indology in Germany with an infinite love for the rural folks of India and their honest mind.

As planned from the start, the book provides a comprehensive bibliography and features of every site and item that can be seriously connected with Aśoka, with maps, photographs of the site and the information gleaned on the site or to be found in the works cited in the bibliography.

It was not the aim to provide new editions of the texts, although in some cases the full reading is given, occasionally only some stray remarks on readings verified on the spot are made. Some of the major Rock Edict editions deserve a revised reading to be conducted on the site. Erraguḍi would need to be cleaned from sediments and Shāhbāzgarhī from moss. On the whole, however, the improved readings would not change our general picture of what Aśoka would have wanted us to know.

Presenting my readings, I use the following conventions:

- (x) letter x has completely disappeared,
- [x] letter x is partly destroyed, but traces are left and allow us to indicate its precise position on the rock,
- a sign for a consonant or an initial vowel has disappeared without trace,
- if there ever had been a medial vowel sign it has disappeared without trace,
- e.g., three letters are missing including their vowel signs,
- /// part of the rock has broken away.

It should not be forgotten that this book mainly aims at providing photographs and explanations of the sites. It was felt necessary to supplement the words of Aśoka with what the sites chosen for the words have to say. All other information provided here should be regarded as side dishes, i.e. the bibliography, the extracts from travel accounts, the references to literature and excavations etc. Completeness on these points was not a major aim.

In many respects, this inventory of Aśokan material transgresses the term “Aśokan” considerably. Some items from Aśokan times have been included, like the Taxila and Laghmān “edicts”, which are not “edicts” at all, but have been taken to be Aśokan by most scholars. The caves from the Nāgārjuni Hills are included, because they were most probably initiated by Aśoka, although their completion was documented by one of his successors. Some pillars from younger times have been included, partly because they have been labelled “Aśokan” by others, and partly because they throw light on the influence Aśoka exercised on rulers in later centuries. Some copies of Aśokan texts are also included, as is the “inscription” of Paris in Aśokan style written by a French scholar with a reputable Aśokan past, which does not deserve to be forgotten.

Every location is introduced together with the names by which it is known in the literature, even if some of these terms are wrong or misleading.

The geographical coordinates are given on the basis of the maps of the Geographical Survey of India (GSI). A modern GPO device was not available at the time of my field trips. GPO data would certainly have allowed much greater precision.

The maps used for clarifying the location come from a variety of sources. For my own studies and travels the GSI (India), GSN (Nepal) and GSP (Pakistan) numbers are given. The Geographical Survey at Dehra Dun was very helpful in providing many maps, unavailable in its stores all over India; the permission to publish selected parts needs special thanks. The GSI-maps are best bought in the office at New Delhi, since offices outside the capital usually refuse delivery to foreigners. The longer the title of a map, the smaller is the scale. Map 56, e.g., would be 1:1.000.000, map 56 B would be 1:250.000, map 56 B/7 would be 1:50.000 and map 56 B/7/A 1:25.000. Many maps on the smallest scale are not yet printed, many on the larger scales are not available because they cover a border zone, vital for military purposes. In these cases I have made use mainly of maps of the 19th century which very often show old roads out of use today. Hans Bakker graciously permitted the use of a detailed map from his book on Ayodhya, Groningen 1986.

All chapters describe access to the location. Although the future will certainly change many a detail, the maps will hopefully help to ease access for all times. The history of the discovery of the site is given, on the basis of mostly printed accounts. In the case of Sopārā and Uḍegolām it was possible to add new features through interviews with persons directly involved. Attention was given to measurements of items, inscribed space and letters. This much neglected aspect provides the means for new insights, be it in respect of the relative chronology of an inscription or the technology of stone pillars. The cave measurements allowed the basic measures used in Mauryan times to be reconstructed.

Presenting the measurements of *akṣaras*, a series of e.g. 6-13-9 cm would indicate that most letters are 13 cm high, the smallest 6 cm and the largest 9 cm.

All sites have been documented by photographs, so that the reader can imagine the natural situation of an Aśokan item. At some places tough resistance from wardens and museum keepers was met

with, but in all but one (insignificant) the means were there to change convictions. Photographs were taken with a Zenza Bronika ETR-Si, with 50 and 70 mm lenses in 6 x 4.5 and 3.6 x 2.4 mm formats on Fujichrome Velvia film. On the latest trips a Nikon Coolpix 950 was used for additional shots. Most sites have also been documented in Hi8 video format; the inscriptions of most MREs and some REs were filmed line by line at close range. It is hoped that these films can be made accessible through an internet page in the near future.

Historical photographs were supplied by a number of agencies. Most forthcoming as usual was the American Institute of Indian Studies, then at Ramnagar. A photograph on page 222 come from their collections. The British Museum provided photographs on page 182. For some sites own photographs are missing. All the sites inside Afghanistan, e.g., were not visited for want of safety; Jean and Danielle Bourgeois of Bruxelles most kindly lent their last prints documenting their discovery at Laghman I; Dj. Davary did likewise with slides of Laghman II; to the Photothèque du Collège de France, Fonds Marc Le Berre, I owe two views of the old city of Kandahar. Jürgen Neuß went to Ayodhyā in search of the capital, Akira Shimada sent photographs from Amarāvati. The Mairie de Paris was most forthcoming in granting access to the pictures of the World Exhibition (Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris and Archives nationales, Service photographique, ref.no. 93/1491) with the friendly assistance of Caroline Mathieu of the Musée d'Orsay. To all of them I feel very much obliged.

The following persons deserve my thanks for further photographs: Christoph Cüppers on Lumbini, Anke Sängner on Sītāmarhī, G.Ch. Tripathi on Allāhābād, Paul Yule on Jaugaḍa, Giovanni Verardi on Goṭihavā, Joanna Williams on Sankisā.

Every item closes with some hints on further literature apart from the one already cited in the paragraphs above.

Working at many a site presupposed a permit from the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India of Pakistan. Most helpful were Mrs. Achala Molik, Mr. Ajai Shankar and B.P. Singh. Outside this office I received great help through M.C. Joshi (New Delhi), Acyut Kumar (Allahabad) and last but certainly not least through my revered teacher, Prof. G.Ch. Tripathi at Allahabad.

On several trips friends and students came with me for assistance and were of great help, much missed on other trips when I was alone in the field. Thanks go to Wolfgang Bohl, Jürgen Neuß, Anke Sängner, Ingo Strauch and Martin Wild.

I have to thank, for help received in diverse ways, a number of friends and colleagues: Paul Andersen let me work with his collection of photographs of the rubbings of the MREs; Cornelia Mallebrein organised my sojourn in Orissa and supplied slides of modern festivals; A.H. Dani paved the way in Taxila; for literature I received help from Rahul Peter Das, Abhijit Ghosh, Klaus Kartunnen, M.A. Mehendale, K.R. Norman and Th. Oberlies.

Discussions with friends and colleagues helped to broaden my view and give attention to points which might otherwise have escaped attention. Romila Thapar must be named first; she is the only author who had devoted a complete chapter on the geographical location of the edicts (1961/1997: 228-238). Many times we met and I could take advantage of her vast knowledge on everything connected with the Mauryas.

Sascha Bosetzky provided the CAD-models of the caves as well as the comparative tables of pillar measures. In addition, he put all the texts and plates into QuarkXPress, so that further changes and new arrangements could be built on a solid frame-work. Andrea Schlosser made plates and formats ready for the press.

David Brown never tired of checking the English, proofs were read by Jürgen Neuß, Ingo Strauch and Marianne Yaldiz.

To all these offices, colleagues and friends I am deeply obliged.

Abbreviations

AA	<i>Artibus Asiae</i> . Antwerpen/Köln, Leipzig, Basel, Ascona.	ARADND	<i>Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness The Nizam's Dominions</i> . Calcutta.
AAA	<i>Archives of Asian Art</i> . New York.	ARev	<i>Asiatic Review</i> . London.
AARP	<i>Art and Archaeology Research Papers</i> . London.	ARIE	<i>Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy</i> . New Delhi.
AAWG	<i>Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen</i> ; phil.-hist. Klasse. Göttingen.	ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientální</i> . Prague.
AAWLM	<i>Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz</i> . Geist. u. Soz.wiss. Kl. Wiesbaden.	ArsOr	<i>Ars Orientalis</i> . Washington, Ann Arbor.
ABORI	<i>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute</i> . Poona.	ArtAs	<i>Artibus Asiae</i> . Ascona.
AC	<i>Archaeologia classica</i> . Rome.	ArtsA	<i>Arts Asiatiques</i> . Paris.
Academy	<i>The Academy</i> . London.	Aryana	<i>Aryana</i> . Kabul.
ActA	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> . Budapest.	ASI	<i>Archaeological Survey India, Report</i> . Calcutta.
ActIr	<i>Acta Iranica</i> . Leiden.	ASIAR	<i>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report</i> . Calcutta.
AÉSC	<i>Annales Économies Sociétés Civilisations</i> . Paris.	ASIBCAR	<i>Archaeological Survey of India, Bengal Circle – Annual Report</i> . Calcutta.
Afghanistan	<i>Afghanistan – Historical and Cultural Quarterly</i> . Kabul.	ASIECAR	<i>Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, Annual Report</i> . Calcutta.
AfSt	<i>Afghan Studies</i> . Cambridge.	ASINIS	<i>Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series</i> . Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, London.
AH	<i>Art History</i> . Oxford	AsSt	<i>Asiatische Studien / Études asiatiques</i> . Berne.
AHAM	<i>Anales de historia antigua y medieval</i> . Buenos Aires.	ASWI	<i>Archaeological Survey of Western India, Report</i> . Bombay; London.
AHSch	<i>Die Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schule</i> . Wien.	Āthāriyyāt	<i>Āthāriyyāt</i> . Peshawar.
AI	<i>Ancient India – Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India</i> . New Delhi.	AW	<i>Ancient World</i> . Chicago.
AIIS	American Institute of Indian Studies – Center for Art and Archaeology. Gurgaon.	BAI	<i>Bulletin of the Asia Institute</i> . Bloomfield Hills.
AIOC	All India Oriental Conference.	BAIHA	<i>Bulletin of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology</i> . Sagar (M.P.).
Aiōn	<i>Aiōn</i> . Pisa.	BB	[Betzenbergers] <i>Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen</i> . Göttingen.
AION	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli</i> . Naples.	BDCRI	<i>Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute</i> . Poona.
AIPhOS	<i>Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves</i> . Bruxelles.	BE	<i>The Buddha Era</i> . Kathmandu.
AJ	<i>Afghanistan Journal</i> . Graz.	BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i> . Hanoi; Paris.
AJPh	<i>American Journal of Philology</i> . Baltimore.	BEI	<i>Bulletin d'études indiennes</i> . Paris.
AJTh	<i>American Journal of Theology</i> . Chicago.	BF	<i>Buddhist Forum</i> . London
AK	<i>Anthropologiya kultura</i> . Moscow.	Bhāratī	<i>Bhāratī – Bulletin of the College of Indology</i> . Varanasi.
AKAW	<i>Anzeiger der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> ; Phil.-Hist. Classe. Wien.	bhāratī	<i>bhāratī</i> [in Telugu]. Madras.
ALB	<i>brahmavidyā. The Adyar Library Bulletin</i> . Adyar, Madras.	BhJ	<i>Bharata Jyoti</i> .
ALPS	<i>Adyar Library Pamphlet Series</i> . Adyar, Madras.	BhMQ	<i>Bharata Manisha Quarterly</i> . Varanasi.
ALS	<i>Adyar Library Series</i> . Adyar, Madras.	BI	<i>Beiträge zur Indologie</i> . Wiesbaden.
Altertum	<i>Das Altertum</i> . Berlin	BIB	<i>Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica</i> . Delhi.
AM	<i>Asia Major</i> . Leipzig.	BK	<i>Bukkyō-Kenkyū – Buddhist Studies</i> . Hamamatsu.*
AN	<i>Ancient Nepal</i> . Kathmandu (Kāntipur).	BKT	[only Suenaga 1937; unresolved].
Antiquity	<i>Antiquity</i> . Oxford.	BL	British Library, London.
ANIS	<i>Alt- und Neuindische Studien</i> . Reinbek.	BM	British Museum, London.
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> . Leiden/Kopenhagen.	BMag	<i>The Burlington Magazine</i> . London
AOH	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> (Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae). Budapest.	BO	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> . Leiden.
AP	<i>The Aryan Path</i> . Bombay.	BR	<i>Buddhist Review</i> . London.
AR	<i>Asiatic(k) Researches</i> . Calcutta, Serampore, London.	BS	<i>Buddhist Seminar</i> .
		BSF	<i>Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung</i> . Wiesbaden.
		BSNEStJ	<i>Oriente = Bulletin of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan</i> . Tokyo.
		BSL	<i>Bulletin de la société de linguistique</i> . Paris.
		BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> . London.
		BT	<i>Bulletin of Tibetology</i> . Gangtok.
		Buddhist	<i>The Buddhist</i> . Colombo.
		BVP	<i>Bhāratīya Vidyā Patrikā</i> .†

CHSM	<i>Canara High School Magazine</i> . Mangalore.	IL	<i>Indian Linguistics</i> . Poona.
CIAAN	<i>Circle of Inner Asian Art, Newsletter</i> . London.	IMB	<i>Indian Museum Bulletin</i> . Calcutta.
CII	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i> . Calcutta; New Delhi.	IMRS	<i>Indian Museum Reprint Series</i> . Calcutta.
ChSSt	<i>Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies</i> . Varanasi.	Indica	<i>Indica</i> . Bombay.
CIPh	<i>Classical Philology</i> . Chicago.	IOSt	<i>Israel Oriental Studies</i> . Tel-Aviv.
COJ	<i>Calcutta Oriental Journal</i> . Calcutta.	IR	<i>Indian Review</i> . Madras.
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes rendues de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres</i> . Paris.	IST	<i>Indological Studies</i> . New Delhi.
CSCRS	Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series. Calcutta.	ISTPP	<i>Indian Studies Past and Present</i> . Calcutta.
DHA	<i>Dialogues d'histoire ancienne</i> . Paris.	IT	<i>Indologica Taurinensia</i> . Torino.
DLZ	<i>Deutsche Literaturzeitung</i> . Berlin.	JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i> . Paris.
EC	<i>Epigraphia Carnatica</i> . Bangalore, Mangalore, Mysore, Madras.	JAHRs	<i>Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society</i> . Rajahmundry; Hyderabad.
EI	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i> . New Delhi.	JAIH	<i>Journal of Ancient Indian History</i> . Calcutta.
EO	<i>Etnografičeskoe Obozrenie</i> . Moscow.	JAnt	<i>Jain Siddhānt Bhāskar (The Jaina Antiquary)</i> . Arrah.
ERE	J. Hastings (ed.), <i>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics</i> . Edinburgh 1908-1926.	JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> . Boston; New Haven; Ann Arbor.
ErIs	<i>Eretz-Israel</i> . Jerusalem.	JAS	<i>Journal of the (Royal) Asiatic Society</i> . Calcutta.
Europe	<i>Europe</i> . London.	JASB	<i>Journal of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal; (Letters/Science - and Yearbook)</i> . Calcutta [three series].
EW	<i>East and West</i> . Rome.	JASD	<i>Journal of the Archaeological Society of Delhi</i> . Delhi.
FBI	<i>Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie</i> . Wiesbaden.	JASP	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan</i> . Dacca.
FS	<i>Festschrift, Jubilee Volume</i> .	JBBRAS	<i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> . Bombay.
FZH	<i>Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt</i> . Frankfurt.	JBHS	<i>Journal of the Bombay Historical Society</i> . Bombay.
GAS	Gaekwad's Archeological Series. Baroda.	JBHU	<i>Journal of the Benares Hindu University</i> . Varanasi.
GGA	<i>Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen</i> . Göttingen.	JBORS	<i>Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society</i> . Bankipore; Patna.
GK	<i>Gengo Kenkyu</i> . Kyoto.	JBPP	<i>Journal of the Bihar Puravid Parishad</i> , Patna.
GL	<i>General Linguistics</i> . Lexington.	JBRS	<i>Journal of the Bihar Research Society</i> . Patna.
GOS	Government Oriental Series. Poona.	JCA	<i>Journal of Central Asia</i> . Islamabad.
GSI	Geographical Survey of India, Dehra Dun	JCBRAS	<i>Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> . Colombo.
GSN	Geographical Survey of Nepal, Kathmandu.	JDL	<i>Journal of the Department of Letters</i> . Calcutta.
GSP	Geographical Survey of Pakistan, Karachi.	JESHO	<i>Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient</i> . Leiden.
HAS	Hyderabad Archaeological Series. Hyderabad.	JESI	<i>Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India (Bharatiya Purabhilekha Patrika) = Studies in Indian Epigraphy</i> . Dharwar; Mysore.
HBO	<i>Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft</i> . Halle.	JGIS	<i>Journal of the Greater India Society</i> . Calcutta.
HM	<i>Harper's Magazine</i> . New York.	JGJRI	<i>Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute</i> . Allahabad.
HSAJIS	<i>Haryana Sahitya Akademi Journal of Indological Studies</i> . Chandigarh.	JGJKSV	<i>Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha</i> . Allahabad.
HT	<i>Hindustan Times</i> . New Delhi.	JHAS	<i>Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society</i> . Bombay.
HZ	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i> . München.	JIABS	<i>Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies</i> . Madison; Berkeley.
IA	<i>Indian Antiquary</i> . Bombay.	JIBSt	<i>Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies</i> . Tokyo (= IBK)
IAC	<i>Indo-Asian Culture</i> . New Delhi.	JICABSt	<i>Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies</i> . Tokyo.
IAL	<i>Indian Art and Letters</i> . New Series. London.	JIH	<i>Journal of Indian History</i> . Madras; Trivandrum.
IA-R	<i>Indian Archaeology - A Review</i> . New Delhi.	JISOA	<i>Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art</i> . Calcutta.
IBK	<i>Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū</i> . Tokyo = JIBSt.	JJ	<i>Jain Journal</i> . Calcutta.
IC	<i>Indian Culture</i> . New Delhi.		
ICO	<i>International Conference of Orientalists, Proceedings; congrès international des orientalistes, actes; Internationaler Orientalisten-kongress, Akten</i> .		
IESM	<i>The Indian Express Sunday Magazine</i> . Bombay.		
IF	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i> . Berlin.		
IHQ	<i>Indian Historical Quarterly</i> . Calcutta.		
IHR	<i>Indian Historical Review</i> . Delhi.		
IJJ	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i> . 'S-Gravenhage; Den Haag; Dortrecht.		
IIS	<i>Institute of Indology Series</i> . Calcutta.		
IJDL	<i>International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics</i> . Trivandrum.		
IJHS	<i>Indian Journal of History of Science</i> . New Delhi.		

JNSI	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.</i> Varanasi.	MR	<i>Modern Review.</i> Calcutta.
JOIB	<i>Journal of the Oriental Institute.</i> Baroda.	MRDTB	<i>Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko.</i> Tokyo.
JORM	<i>Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.</i> Madras.	MSL	Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique. Paris.
JPTS	<i>Journal of the Pali Text Society.</i> London.	MSS	<i>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft.</i> München.
JPUHS	<i>Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society.</i> Lahore.	MUHS	Madras University History Series. Madras.
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i> London.	Muséon	<i>Le Muséon.</i> Leuven.
JRAS ³	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 3rd series.</i> London.	Museum	<i>Museum.</i> Braunschweig; München.
JRVAS	<i>Journal of the Rama Varma Archaeological Society.</i> Trichur.	MUSRJ	<i>Meerut University Sanskrit Research Journal.</i> Ghaziabad.
JS	<i>Journal des Savants.</i> Paris.	MY	"Mauryan yard" of ca. 85.5 cm
JSVOI	<i>Journal of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute.</i> Tirupati.	NA	<i>Nuova Antologia, 2nd series.</i> Florence
JUB	<i>Journal of the University of Bombay.</i> Bombay.	NAA	<i>Narody Azii i Afriki.</i> Moscow.
JUPHS ¹	<i>Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.</i> Calcutta; Bombay/London.	Nāgārjun	<i>Nāgārjun.</i> †
JUPHS ²	<i>Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society (2. series).</i> Lucknow; Calcutta.	navabhārata	<i>Navabhārata.</i> Wai.
Kalā	<i>Kalā.</i> Guwahati.	NAWG	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen; Phil.-Hist. Klasse. Göttingen.
KBJ	<i>Kaigai Bukkyō Jijō</i> [Buddhism Abroad]. Tokyo.	NGWG	Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., Fachgruppe III: Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft und östliche Kulturkreise. Göttingen.
Kl.Schr.	Kleine Schriften (Glasenapp-Stiftung), diverse editors. Stuttgart.	NIA	<i>New Indian Antiquary.</i> Bombay.
KSINA	<i>Kratkie soobščenie Instituta Narodov Azii.</i> Moscow.	NKGWG	Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen; Phil.-Hist. Klasse. Göttingen.
KT	<i>Kolonial Tijdschrift.</i> Batavia.	NN	Nomen nescio, unnamed author.
KZ	(Kuhns) <i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen.</i> Göttingen.	npp	<i>nāgarīpracāriṇī patrikā.</i> Varanasi.
Lalies	<i>Lalies – Actes des sessions de linguistique et de littérature.</i> Paris.	NR	<i>New Review.</i>
LCB	<i>Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland.</i> Leipzig.	N.S.	New Series
Leshonenu	<i>Leshonenu.</i> Jerusalem.	NT	<i>Nordisk Tidskrift.</i> Stockholm.
L'histoire	<i>L'histoire.</i> Paris	NUJ	<i>Nagpur University Journal (Humanities).</i> Nagpur.
LM	<i>Le Muséon.</i> Louvain-La-Neuve.	OH	<i>Our Heritage.</i> Calcutta.
LWS	<i>Literarische Wochenschrift.</i> Weimar.	OHRJ	<i>Orissa Historical Research Journal.</i> Bhubaneswar.
Leshonenu	<i>Leshonenu.</i> Jerusalem	OLP	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica.</i> Leuven.
LIRIOP	Lumbini International Research Institute, Occasional Papers. Lumbini.	OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.</i> Leipzig; Berlin.
MADAR	<i>Mysore Archaeological Department, Annual Report.</i> Bangalore, Mysore.	Oriens	<i>Oriens.</i> Leiden; Köln.
Man	<i>Man.</i> London.	Orient	<i>Orient = Bulletin of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan.</i> Tokyo.
Marg	<i>Mārg.</i> Bombay.	Orientations	<i>Orientations.</i> Hong Kong.
MASB	Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta.	PASB	<i>Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i> Calcutta.
MASI	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India. Calcutta; Simla; Delhi.	PdP	<i>La Parola del Passato.</i> Naples
MB	<i>Maha-Bodhi.</i> Calcutta.	Persica	<i>Persica – Jaarboek voor het Genootschap Nederland-Iran; Annuaire de la société Néerlando-Iranienne.</i> Leiden.
MBPS	Maha Bodhi Pamphlet Series. Calcutta.	PICI	Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne. Paris.
MBAS	<i>Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society.</i> Calcutta.	PIOL	Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain. Louvain/Leuven.
MCLDSPS	Mehar Chand Lachhman Das Sanskrit and Prakrit Series. Lahore.	pp	<i>pariṣad patrikā.</i> Patna.
MDAIHCA	Monographs of the Department of Ancien Indian History, Culture and Archaeology. Varansi.	PPHC	<i>Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference.</i> Patiala.
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung.</i> Berlin.	prabāsī	<i>prabāsī.</i> Calcutta
MKB	Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus. Heidelberg.	Prāgdhārā	<i>Prāgdhārā – Journal of the U.P. State Archaeology Department.</i> Lucknow.
		PRASWI	<i>Progress Report, Archaeological Survey of Western India.</i> Bombay.

PrBh	<i>Prajñā Bhāratī</i> . Patna.	StOr	<i>Studia Orientalia</i> . Helsinki.
PT	Proceedings and Transactions.	StPhB	<i>Studia Philologica Buddhica</i> , Monograph Series. Tokyo
PUOP	Punjab University Oriental Publications. Calcutta.	SV	<i>Sovetskoya Vostokovedeniya</i> . Moscow.
Purātattva	<i>Purātattva</i> . Varanasi; New Delhi.	Syria	<i>Syria</i> . Beirut.
PURB	<i>Panjab University Research Bulletin (Arts)</i> . Chandigarh.	TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i> . Baltimore
Pushpanjali	Pushpanjali/ <i>puṣpāñjali</i> . Burhanpur; Bombay.	TC	<i>Tamil Culture</i> . Madras
PV	<i>Problemy vostokovedeniā</i> . Moscow.	ThLZ	<i>Theologische Literatur-Zeitung</i> . Leipzig.
QJMS	<i>The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society</i> . Bangalore.	TM	<i>Textus Minores</i> . Leiden.
RCCM	<i>Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale</i> . Rome.	TPS	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i> . London.
RCHL	<i>Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature</i> . Paris.	Triveni	<i>Triveni</i> . Madras; Guntur.
RDM	<i>Revue des deux mondes</i> . Paris.	UCR	<i>University of Ceylon Review</i> . Peradeniya.
REB	<i>Revista de Estudios Budistas</i> . México.	utkarṣa	<i>utkarṣa</i> . Bombay.
RenLin	<i>Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei</i> . Rome.	VBhQ	<i>Visva-Bharati Quarterly</i> . Calcutta; New Series: Santiniketan.
RHIF	<i>Revue historique de l'Inde française</i> . Paris; Pondichery.	VD	<i>Verbum Domini</i> . Rome.
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i> . Paris.	VDI	<i>Vestnik drevnej istorii</i> . Moscow.
RO	<i>Rocznik Orientalistyczny</i> . Lwow; Warszawa; Lemberg.	VIJ	<i>Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal</i> . Hoshiarpur.
RSO	<i>Rivista degli studi orientali</i> . Roma.	VIRB	<i>Vaishali Institute Research Bulletin</i> . Vaishali.
RSR	<i>Recherches de Sciences Religieuses</i> . Paris.	VJ	<i>Voprosy Jazykoznanija</i> . Moscow.
Rtam	<i>Rtam</i> . Lucknow.	VJASL	<i>Vidyodaya Journal of Arts, Science and Letters</i> . Nugigoda.
SAA	South Asian Archaeology, conferences.	VOHD	Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Wiesbaden.
Saeculum	<i>Saeculum</i> . Freiburg.	vsmv	<i>vidarbha saṁśodhana maṇḍala varṣikā</i> . Nagpur.
sarasvatī	<i>sarasvatī</i> . Allahabad.	WZFSUJ	<i>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena</i> . Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe. Jena.
SASSt	<i>South Asian Studies</i> . London.	WZHUB	<i>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i> . Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe. Berlin.
SBE	Sacred Books of the East. Oxford.	WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> . Wien.
SISSt	<i>Sino-Indian Studies</i> . Santiniketan.	Yavanikā	<i>Yavanikā</i> . Bareilly.
SKPAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> . Berlin.	ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> . Leipzig; Wiesbaden.
SLJBSt	<i>Sri Lanka Journal of Buddhist Studies</i> . Colombo.	ZIRAN	<i>Zapiski Imperatorskoj Rossijskoj Akademij Nauk</i> . St. Petersburg.
SOR	Serie Orientale Roma. Rome.	ZII	<i>Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik</i> . Leipzig.
SP	Summary of Papers.	ZKM	<i>Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> . Göttingen.
spp	<i>sāhitya parisat patrikā</i> . Calcutta.	ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> . Bonn.
spp/BMAUP	<i>saṁgrahālaya purātattva patrikā / Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U.P.</i> Lucknow.	ZRG	<i>Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte</i> . Köln.
Sprache	<i>Die Sprache</i> . Wiesbaden; Vienna.		
SSL	<i>Studie e saggi linguistici</i> . Pisa.		
StHR	<i>Studies in the History of Religions</i> . Leiden.		
StIE	<i>Studies in Indian Epigraphy = Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India (Bharatiya Purabhi-lekha Patrika)</i> . Dharwar.		
StII	<i>Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik</i> . Reinbek.		
StIr	<i>Studia Iranica</i> . Leiden.		
StM	<i>Studia Missionalia</i> . Rome.		

Bibliography

Since A. Mehendale published his bibliography 1948, a plethora of articles and books on Aśoka and his texts have been written, so that a new bibliography needs no justification. However, what follows here is very different from that which Mehendale had collected. My prime concern was not philology or linguistics, but site studies. For this reason much relevant archaeological material was included in addition to the text-related publications, supplemented by material that deals with the sites themselves without too much regard for the Aśokan edicts.

Every bibliographer has to choose between too much or too little material for inclusion. I leave it to the user to decide to which type the present collection belongs. In any case it is too voluminous to be read cursorily. The greatest profit may be drawn by reading the articles on the single sites and note the references listed there under the titles “literature” or “presentations of the site” or “text”. Many out-of-the-way references can be found there, alongside the well-known ones.

The Mehendale bibliography was copied almost in full, marking the entries with his entry number, e.g. “[M 422]” shows that this title is also to be found in Mehendale’s list as number 422. Errors and duplicates have been eliminated without notice.

Apart from Mehendale, I made copious use of some further publications. In particular, these are Shinsho Hanayama: *Bibliography*

on Buddhism, Tokyo 1961, A. Guérinot, *Bibliographie des travaux de Émile Senart*, in the *Journal Asiatique* 223.1933, fascicule annexe, pp. 1-75, and the articles by C. Caillat 1983 and Norman & Allchin 1985. Particular thanks go to Klaus Karttunen, who provided me with a long list of publications pertaining to the edicts in Greek and Aramaic in journals outside my scope; further material in this direction was received through Prof. J. Teixidor from the Collège de France. Prof. Mehendale himself contributed a series of entries from his own pen, mostly published in local journals and newspapers. Help with regard to Russian publications was received from Prof. A.A. Vigasin, Moscow. I. Strauch checked the transliteration, done in the ISO 9 transliteration scheme from 1995. To all parties named I am deeply obliged.

As in my bibliography on *Schrift im alten Indien* a special sign “†” marks those entries which could not be accessed, not even through interstate library loan systems. Apart from the German libraries, prolonged searches were made in the British Library, London, and at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Many unexpected finds turned up; and a new search through the internet a few months from now will likewise add a dozen or so more entries. Unfortunately, it does not matter how many references one checks, so long as one doesn’t use the right ones. There is no help provided in the paragraphs on the Aśokan sites below as to the quality of the articles and books listed referring to the respective topic.

Relevant passages in books or extensive articles are given in pointed brackets, e.g. <2-11>.

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The Minor Rock Edict Sites

Basic literature:

The edition of the Minor Rock Edicts (MRE) in Hultzsch 1923 presents only about half the MREs known today. A fresh attempt at presenting in a synoptical way all the MREs, including the newly found ones, was made in Sircar 1978/79. The latest collection is Andersen 1990, with many improved readings gained from the same plates which Sircar had at his disposal. All MREs have been verified by us *in situ*, showing that the synopsis of Andersen is the best that could be made without an inspection of the rocks themselves. The few improvements which we can contribute, are found under the individual texts under the header "Notes on the readings".

The particular nature of the MREs:

Most edicts of king Aśoka Maurya belong to one of three groups. Most voluminous is the set of 14 Major Rock Edicts (RE) found in various complete and incomplete sets from Kandahar in Afghanistan to Jaugaḍa in Orissa, from Kalsi at the entrance of a Himalaya valley to Eṛṛagudī in Andhra. On the whole the places are located in border areas. Most of these rocks can be visited without long walks starting at an ancient city site. The youngest set are the Pillar Edicts, chiseled on pillars mainly in UP and the adjoining Nepalese Terai. In some way or other all of them seem to be connected either with places of the Buddhist *saṅgha* or were part of an itinerary leading to the birthplace of the Buddha

himself. This may explain why some of them are to be found in rather remote areas.

The last but historically the oldest set of edicts promulgated a text which has been found in 16 places so far, generally far removed from habitation sites. Considering that this text provides the first historical evidence of writing in Brāhmī characters one wonders if there is a reason for them being kept away from a possible reading public.

The basic content of this oldest preserved text written in truly Indian characters is:

"King Devanampiya speaks thus:

For two and a half years I was a (Buddhist) layman and I was not very zealous. For somewhat more than a year I visited the *saṅgha* and became very zealous. The gods have formerly not mingled with men, but now they are mingled. This is the result of zeal. Not only high persons can reach this aim, no, even common people can reach it if they are zealous."

It is difficult to understand the full purport of these lines. Although the text comes in plain words it is difficult to imagine what it is all about. Reduced to its essence it seems to propose that everyone become a Buddhist layman, develop zeal and thus mingle with the gods. What sense does it make in a hidden place to read or be told how to mingle with the gods? It seems quite possible that the men of old were as puzzled as we are when first confronted with this text.

To understand some of its meaning we need an investigation into the places chosen for spreading this message.

The text itself was composed in the 10th regnal year and inscribed from then onwards at places which are ordinarily rather different from those of the REs or the PEs. That means, they are not found in border areas nor at places with a Buddhist history.

Most sites belong to the core area of the Mauryan realm. Occasionally, they are close to settlements of considerable importance in antiquity. However, the inscribed rocks are not found where people once lived but lie rather apart at places of difficult access.

These remote places can be classified in four groups:

1. The biggest group of 6 texts were inscribed inside a cave or a rockshelter on top of a hill or, less frequently, halfway up a hill. Access can be rather troublesome and time-consuming.
2. The second and rather small group of 2 presents the inscriptions on a flat surface on top of a hill without any cave around.
3. The third group of 5 has the text on the vertical side of upright boulders at the bottom of a hill. In 3 out of 5 cases these hills have a widely known cave higher up.
4. The last group comprising 3 places seems to be connected with sacred waters.

Since 12 out of 16 sites are caves on hills or connected with caves on hills or on top of hills, any explanation has to start from the following question: Why did Aśoka order his first text to be inscribed in caves on hills?

Most of the sites are of no relevance for the population of today, but some places are visited on certain occasions, once a year in the course of a *melā* or *yātrā*.



Fig. 1: Devotees carrying the horse representative of the god at Mylapur (courtesy C. Mallebrein).

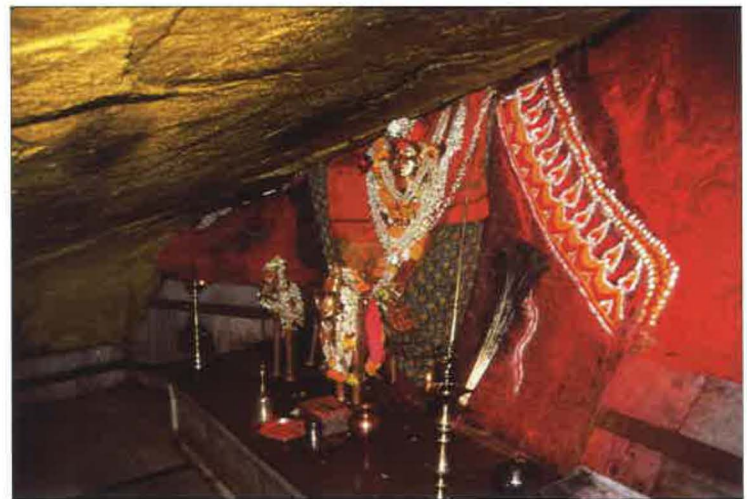


Fig. 2: Symbols of the god inside the cave, decorated with cloth (courtesy C. Mallebrein).

① Of the first group we have a *melā* at Jatiṅga-Rāmeśvaram in spring, at *śukla-pakṣa* 1 in Caitra. People assemble at the foot of the mountain but still visit the temple on top, passing (p. 79, fig. 4) by the MRE under its rock shelter.

At Sahasrām large crowds gather mainly in the rainy season, with pilgrims paying a visit to the cave on top of the hill (p. 96, fig. 3) where the text is inscribed.

The rock shelters of Phalkiguṇḍu and Gavīmāth show traces of a former function as places of veneration but they play no such role in our days. Maski and Siddapur are without old traces or new functions.

② In the second group, with texts on the flat surface, Ahaurā has a big *yātrā* throughout the month of Śravaṇa and on the 9th day of Śivanavārātrī. Close to the inscription the festival today centers around the temple dedicated to Bhaṇḍārī Devī.

In Delhi the surface of the hillock is full of old game holes but without a festive date today.

③ In the third group of vertically inscribed texts in front of hills, the most prominent hill in the Bairāt valley is the place of an important *melā* in spring, on the 13th day *śukla* on the eve of Phālguna full moon (p. 62 fig. 1).

In Gujarrā a cave on the hill dedicated to Śiva Śaṅkarjī is visited regularly, but only for private purposes.

A strange superstition makes people go to visit the rock of Eṛṇaguḍi today: people believe that diamonds could be found on its surface. There is a natural cave and a sort of

balcony on the rock, the access to which is lined with REs incised some years later than the MRE (p. 70, fig. 2). At Niṭṭūr, the edict boulder marks the access to the most holy rock where the deity Cukkuḍadappa resides, visited on festive days as well as for private reasons (p. 84, fig. 6).

④ In the last group connected with water, Rūpnāth was the center of a *yātrā* for the Mahāśivarātrī up to the mutiny (Cunningham 1879: 38). Even today, visitors use to take a bath in the three holy *kuṇḍas*.

Something similar can be said of Rājula-Maṇḍagiri, which was a sacred spot through the centuries as a multitude of inscriptions around the pool demonstrate.

The waters once flowing over the rock of Brahmagiri were believed to heal or prevent sickness of the eye.

How old are these festivals taking place at some MRE sites and elsewhere? Some of the MRE sites on hills and mountains are so impressive by their nature or by the beautiful surroundings or by both that their sanctity must go back to a time much earlier than Aśoka or even the Buddha. Today, Karnataka is still full of holy places on hills and mountains, visited during a yearly *melā* usually after the harvests either in spring or at the Mahāśivarātrī.

A modern parallel is found at the site of Mylapur near Yadgir (fig. 3) during the *yātrā* in mid February 1996. The hill could easily be taken for a typical MRE site. The gods present in symbolical form are given *pījā* in a cave decorated with cloth and fur-

nished with a stand (fig. 2). It is easy to imagine similar crowds celebrating their gods (fig. 1) in and around the caves of the MRE sites.

Hills are the abode of gods even outside India. Caves on hills are amongst the most natural places to locate a certain deity; and deities were always necessary to ensure the commodities of life.

The activities surrounding *melās* at hill-sites in Karnataka are nowadays labelled “folk religion” in academic parlance, being thus separated from the religions of the great tradition. Elements of this folk-religion found their way into Vedic rituals like the Mahāvratā and are testified in the 3rd century BC by one inscription in a cave on the mountain of Rāmgārḥ in Sirguja District, certainly not far removed in time from the edicts of Aśoka (Falk 1991b). That means, folk-religion has a long history. Being rather shapeless with regard to doctrine it nonetheless served basic needs. In fact, it was and is so vital that it survived all Vedic and many high-caste Hindu developments with little or no change.

It seems then as if Aśoka chose centers of local *yātrās* in the vicinity of major settlements to have his MREs incised. If there truly is continuity in practices and places, then these *yātrās* were hardly of a Buddhist nature more than 2000 years ago. This again must mean that Aśoka had his Buddhist-minded MREs enscribed at places where they would be seen by large crowds following practices different from his own.

Folk-religion is not averse to animal sacrifices. Alcohol, *bhāṅga*, and similar drugs are part of the game, sex may play a role today and certainly did in Aśoka's time as one inscription from Rāmgārḥ (Falk 1991b) tells us in plain words. Spring-festivals in Caitra are also described in classical Jaina texts. Most prominent are swings used by young people: “These were the days when young men and women indulged in drinking old wine (*juṇṇa-surā*)” (A.P. Jamkhedkar, *Kuvala-yamālā. A cultural study*. Nagpur 1974: 58). The same author has collected material about human sacrifices to Devī on the 9th day of the sacrifice, and about sacrifices of children to Śiva or Mahākālā (1974: 89). Even a Vedic text (Jaiminīya-brāhmaṇa 2.69) refers to old sacrifices governed by death, which included music, dancing and “frivolous behaviour”.

A most important factor during such festivals is the entering of the gods into one or several human media in trance. These media



Fig. 3: Rocks and lake at Mylapur, near Yadgir in Karnataka, during a festival. The cave is under the whitewashed boulder on top of the formation (courtesy C. Mallebrein).

prove their temporary exalted status by feats of extrahuman strength or selftorture.

Needless to say, large numbers of the pilgrims feel themselves somehow or other to be possessed by the deity.

Asoka knew *melās* by the name of *samāja* and he tells us in his 1st RE that *samājas* are not to be praised - because animals are killed there. Such killings no doubt served the needs of a deity at the festival site, just as they are common today in temples of Kālī or Śiva. Holy spots are circumambulated and the connection between holy spot and a *samāja* is found in Āpastambadharmasūtra 1.11,32,20 (*samājām ced gacchet pradakṣi-ṇīkṛtyāpeyāt*), where a brahmin is told that "if he should go to a *samāja* he should circumambulate and go away".

Asoka does not specify the places of the *samājas*, but here we get help from the texts of the Pali canon. Forbidding monks and nuns to visit them out of a similar disgust, *samājas* taking place near Rājagṛha are always called *giraggasamāja*, in Skt. *giri-agra-samāja*, which means "gathering on top of the hills". There are only few comparable hills between the Terai and Rājgir so that we should not be surprised to find this local precision only in connection with the former capital of Magadha. Further south, however, the hilltops are exactly where we find the popular meetings today.

As a result of the personal examination of all the sites, the comparison with modern practices, and by evidence, we now know that Asoka had his first text placed exactly where people gathered to celebrate their basic cults. He must have known about the orgiastic nature of these activities. This in turn adds a new dimension to the text itself: it is not only Buddhist by nature but also serves to oppose folk-religion by its very presence at centers of popular cults. When Asoka speaks of "mingling with the gods" at places where human media dance and communicate in the name of gods, everyone must have understood the seemingly unconventional phraseology in the only sense Asoka can have had in mind: getting in touch with the gods at a festival where media are possessed by superhuman powers is not appropriate. Full contact with heaven is only reached by following the precepts of a Buddhist layman.

Thus, what today appear to be rather hidden places for a text of pro-Buddhist propaganda were in their time the most adequate spots to reach huge crowds during religious activities that Asoka wanted the people to give up.

The nature of the so-called MRE2:

The text (MRE1) presented in translation above, was meant to be inscribed on rocks at clearly defined places. The so-called MRE2, on the other hand, is of a completely different nature. We find it only in the South where it appears five times alongside MRE1. There is one site in the South, Maski, with only MRE1. All other sites show MRE1 enlarged by the so-called MRE2, the latter one never occurring alone.

The MRE2 consists of several statements:

(A) The address, "thus speaks the king",

(B) A sentence which stresses the obedience the officials owe to the king: Rājula-Maṇḍagiri and Eṇṇagudī have it at the beginning, Brahmagiri/Siddapur-Jatiṅga-Rāmeśvara at the end, and Niṭṭūr-Uḍegolam omits it.

(C) A first instruction for the local *mahāmātra* as to whom he should give orders. Note that this as well as all following similar instructions (D) to (J) regarding the distribution of the rules are omitted at Brahmagiri/Siddapur/Jatiṅga-Rāmeśvara. The first distributor is an official called *rajūka*.

(D) Instructions as to whom the *rajūka* has to address: the people in the settlements of the provinces as well as those living in the countryside.

(E-H) Then follow the rules of conduct recommended by the king for householder communities: authorities should be given due respect and obedience, living beings should be treated with pity, and truth should be observed in words.

(I) In a final sentence the *mahāmātra* is to tell the *rajūka* to spread his message by stressing that he only repeats the words of the king.

(J) Then a second part follows which tells the *mahāmātra* to instruct four groups of people all of which seem to be characterized by the fact they include students who are not part of their family. These groups comprise the elephant trainers, the scribes, the *yugyas* and the *brāhmaṇas*.

(K-N) The next sentence contains the order the *mahāmātra* is to give to the teachers of these four groups, namely to instruct their pupils to stick to the traditional behaviour.

(O) Then follows an explanation of what the traditional behaviour is. Here the Brahmagiri/Siddapur/Jatiṅga-Rāmeśvara texts also join in:

- The teacher should be treated with honour,
- the relatives of the teacher should be treated with politeness.

(P-Q) An additional rule tells the teachers

to obey the traditional behaviour themselves by treating their students with politeness.

(R-T) A final sentence to the teachers tells them the reason for insisting on the traditional behaviour: it should be maintained for future times.

(U) MRE2 closes with a sentence attributing everything said so far to Asoka, i.e. *devā-nampīya*.

(V) In a subscript in Kharoṣṭhī letters we learn that it was Capaḍa, the clerk, who wrote this.

If we compare this text with MRE1 then we see several differences:

- MRE1 is meant to be inscribed and expresses this idea by using *likhita*, "written"; MRE2 never speaks of *likhita*, but only of *ānapayati* or *nivesayati*, i.e. it uses terms relating to oral instruction.

- MRE1 addresses a group of people at a specific spot, MRE2 is meant for the whole country, including the *jana* everywhere and the *rāṣṭrikas* in the countryside. A *rajūka* is meant to spread the basic rules to everyone living in families: elders are to be obeyed and influential relatives (*garu*) as well. Animals should be treated mercifully and truthfulness is emphasized.

The second part (J-T) seems to refer to people in the settlement of the *mahāmātra* itself, i.e. a major township. Heavy transport by elephants is to be expected, as well as scribes, chariot drivers and *brāhmaṇas* fulfilling some specific functions such as that of physician or astrologer. Here, where teachers and students may belong to different families or communities, correct behaviour seems to have been in danger. Asoka stresses the idea of a traditional custom including proper behaviour between the student and the relatives of his teacher living in the same house. The teacher is to receive specific honours from the student and is himself obliged to treat the student properly.

So, we see that MRE2 tries to regulate behaviour inside closed families and inside mixed groups consisting of families and boarding students. In both cases natural hierarchies should be respected and weak parties, be they animals or students, should be treated respectfully.

It is obvious that spreading these laws by oral means will reach many more recipients than an inscribed edict on top of a hill. Nevertheless, at Suvannagiri it was decided to inscribe this text as well. We do not know if all three versions have their origin in the same place but we discern two lines of transmission:

1. The Niṭṭūr-Uḍegolam and the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri/Eṭṭagudi versions contain the full text of the instructions of Aśoka from beginning to end excluding only the benedictory formula at the start.

2. At Brahmagiri/Siddapur/Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara the text begins with the benedictory formula but excludes everything referring to the agents involved in the transmission of the two messages (B-D, I-J, T). As at Maski, where MRE1 was cut to size by a transmitter, here also someone decided to eliminate everything irrelevant to a non-official audience. Whoever heard the Brahmagiri/Siddapur/Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara version was kept in the dark as to who was to do what: the rules for people living with their families and the rules for “mixed” families appear without any distinction.

The sites of Niṭṭūr and Uḍegolam clearly distinguish between MRE1 and MRE2: each text is inscribed on a separate boulder. At Brahmagiri, Siddapur and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara MRE1 and MRE2 are treated as one unit. No pause or line-break precedes the second part.

At Rājula-Maṇḍagiri/Eṭṭagudi at first glance a picture similar to the one met with at Brahmagiri/Siddapur/Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara is produced: one text follows the other on the same rock without a stop. A closer comparison of the two versions has shown (p. 71, fig. 5), however, that Rājula-Maṇḍagiri and Eṭṭagudi copied their MRE1 from different written originals, whereas MRE2 was copied at both places from the same original. This confirms the picture met with at Niṭṭūr and Uḍegolam: the officials who received the two texts must have known that they were supposed to be treated in different ways. Whoever gave instructions to the Niṭṭūr-Uḍegolam scribes insisted on their being incised separately, whoever gave it to the one Rājula-Maṇḍagiri/Eṭṭagudi scribe did not care about this point. The scribe of Brahmagiri/Siddapur/Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara, on the other hand, produced his own mixture.

It seems tempting to regard Capaḍa, whose signature closes the Brahmagiri/Siddapur/Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara texts, as the man who chiselled the text onto the rocks (so e.g. Thapar 2000: 443). This seems unlikely, however, since the handwriting of Brahmagiri on the one hand and Siddapur-Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara on the other are so very

different. Therefore, the name of Capaḍa including the signature in Kharoṣṭhī seems to have been on an exemplar which others used to transmit the characters onto the rocks. Capaḍa might therefore be responsible for the abbreviation of the text at Brahmagiri/Siddapur/Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara, or he might have been responsible for the MRE2 as a whole. I see no means of deciding between the two possibilities, because too many ways of transmission are possible. The analysis of its content, however, seems to indicate that it was not Aśoka who produced this text. The reason for formulating such a text must be looked for in the nature of MRE1, with its nebulous phrases. The author of MRE2 must have felt the need to speak out in plain words what really mattered. He gives a canon of behaviour that everyone can understand and he prescribes exactly who is to instruct whom about what. At the end he says that all this is said in the name of Aśoka.

Capaḍa must have been a very influential person, whose first script was Kharoṣṭhī, which shows that he hailed from Gandhāra or the region of Taxila. Mehendale (1956/57: 156) thought that the text as such was drafted in the North-West. But then MRE2 would have been found all over India, not just in the South. Capaḍa was a *lipikara*, a clerk, certainly no low occupation in a time when the Brāhmī script was new and was being spread.

Summing up: MRE2 was not meant to be inscribed, but was meant to be propagated orally. Since MRE1 and MRE2 were inscribed simultaneously the order to inscribe MRE1 seems to have been extended by someone in the South who wanted to clarify the meaning of MRE1 with additional instructions. This undertaking met with some misunderstandings and obstinate interpretations which led to the different forms of the MRE2 as we find them in the three clusters.

Wright (2000: 334) observed that the so-called MRE2 is appended to MRE1, and he calls it “markedly banal”, a verdict that is difficult to share. Nonetheless, his new treatment of the text deserves a close study.

Some new “eye-copies”:

“Les descriptions les plus détaillées ne peuvent jamais suppléer parfaitement à un

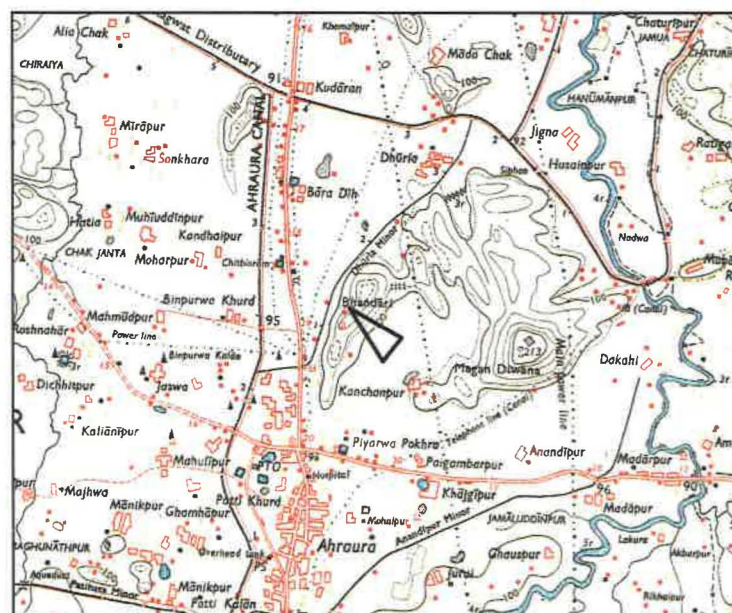
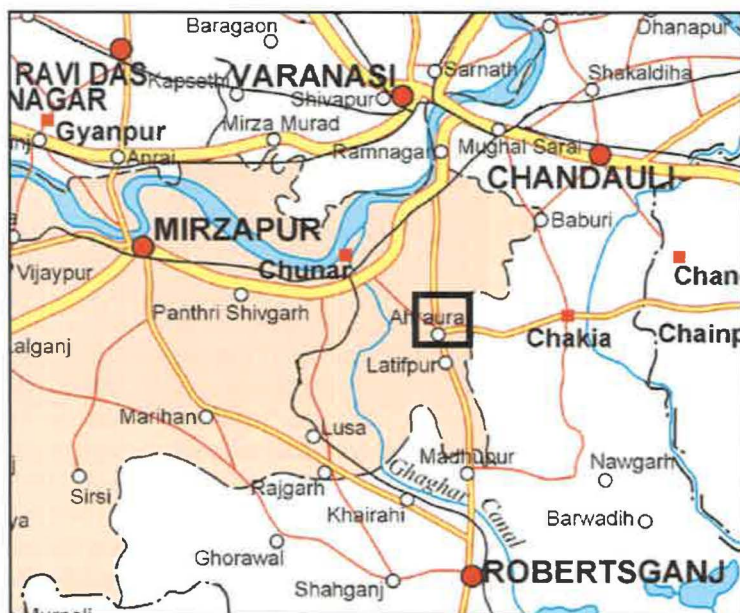
dessin.” This saying of Silvestre de Sacy, founder of Iranistic epigraphy (cited after ZDMG 144.1994: 179) must today be modified to: “a photograph is better than any description”. However, in this volume a seemingly old-fashioned attempt is made to reproduce some of the MREs with line-drawings based on photographs and personal inspection. This process will make it possible for everyone to read the texts without any guesswork arising from the imperfections of the black-and-white rubbings. What can be seen with certainty on the stone is printed in black, what can be safely restored on the basis of close parallels is given in green, and what is highly conjectural is printed in red. Apart from these emendations and conjectures, the presentation primarily serves the purpose of enabling the reader to judge how many *akṣaras* are wanting on the stone. Also, it is possible to evaluate the type of handwriting, line-spacing, justification and other points of layout without the many short-comings of the published rubbings.

During the long period I was preparing these copies I have often heard it said that only rubbings are scientifically neutral, and that only such neutral material should be used as a basis for readings. To this I have two comments:

- The drawings are not meant to replace the rubbings, which have a value of their own. The drawings are meant to provide an instant overview of what there is, what it looks like as a whole and how much is missing.
- The rubbings look like neutral copies while hiding several shortcomings: a) Because of the paper folds, lines on the rubbings are very often much longer than they are on the stone. b) Breaks in the stone look like chisel grooves on the paper. c) Shallow grooves are often rubbed over and thus *mātrās* or whole characters are sometimes missing from the rubbing. d) Very often the rubbing does not cover all of the inscribed area, see e.g. the drawings of Rājula-Maṇḍagiri or Siddapur. e) The rubbing of Niṭṭūr MRE2 is particularly unreliable in that the sheets of paper have been faultily reassembled for the photograph. In the middle of the text about three *akṣaras* in 3 lines are lost. A reconstruction of the text on the basis of the single published rubbing is thus absolutely impossible.

Ahraurā

Mirzapur District
83°02' E., 25°02' N.
GSI map 63 O/04



Access: There is a direct road from Vārāṇasī/Rāmnapur to Ahraurā. Before reaching the town, the rocky hill carrying the edict is seen on the left, made conspicuous by the white building of the Bhaṇḍārī Devī temple and the bee-hive like shelter covering the edict. At the road bifurcation keep to the left. After 200 m an unpaved road leads to the

hill, passing some buildings and trees. After reaching the hill the broad stone-lined way up is clearly discernible. After passing the temple and a low depression the stone shed covering the edict is reached. The shed is locked and closed by a bar-door. The edict is found on the flat floor near the highest part of the rear elevation. Some *akṣaras* can be

seen between all the rubble people have tossed there in the meantime.

There should be an ASI warden with the key, who is more likely to turn up if the visit is announced for the following day.

Discovery:

R.G. Pandey, Exploration Assistant of the ASI, Varanasi, seems to have been the first to report on this inscription prior to November 1961, when news about it was spread by several newspapers in UP. Following this, several parties went to the spot and consequentially claimed priority in this discovery (Narain 1961/62, repr. 31).

Preservation:

The sandstone boulders of the hill are at places covered by a very smooth, concrete-like surface in thin layers. The edict was written on one of these layers, which peeled off in its upper part. The preserved parts were in good condition, although thousands of devotees must have walked over it. Now that the shed protects the inscription people pelt it with stones through the door.

Measurements:

The surface was carefully smoothed for the inscription. The side-lines of this space are 125 cm apart (= 1.5 MY?). The upper 12 cm have been left uninscribed. The text runs for 82.5 cm in 11 lines with a width of 112.5 cm



Fig. 1: A first view of the hill from the North, with the ASI shed to the left of Bhaṇḍārī Devī.



Fig. 2: Close-up of some characters.



Fig. 3: Stones pelted at the inscription while the ASI shed had windows.

never touching the side-lines. About 50 cm of smoothed space below the text are left uninscribed.

The *akṣaras* measure 2-5-6 cm.

Orientation:

The text points at 340° N, the reader faces south.

Presentations of the text:

Rubbing: Sankaranarayanan 1961: 220 (useless); Sircar 1965-66: 246 = 1979: pl. XIII (good); Janert 1972b: 269, 271, 273; Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, Neg. no. 4465: "Ahraura".

Photography: Narain 1961/62: pls. III (site, temple, shelter), V (edict), Narain 1961/62: pl. IV (good in repr.); Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 45;

Janert 1972b: 267, 268, 270, 272.

Editions: Narain 1961/62 repr.: 36f.; Mirashi 1961/62: 140; Sankaranarayanan 1961: 224; Sircar 1965-66: 246f. = 1979: 80-82; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 130-131; Janert 1972b: 152-153; Andersen 1990: 16-19; Rastogi 1990: 212-213.

Copy:

A good plaster cast is on display in the Museum of the Archaeological Department of the University of Allahabad.

Literature:

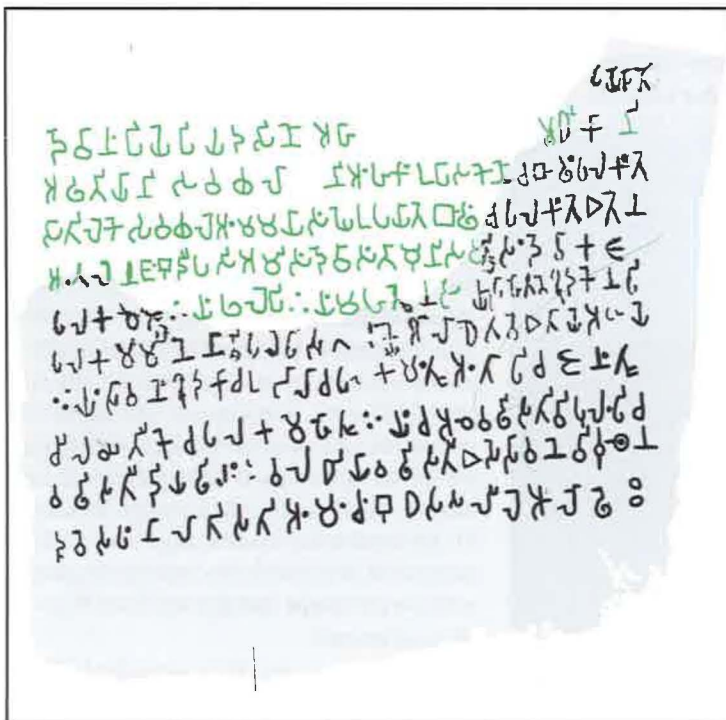
ARIE 1961-62: 8 B907; G.S. Singh 1966; Norman 1983; 1994b: 457.

On a pillar at Belkhara: D.K. Chakrabarti 2001: 239 ("of Mauryan affiliation").

On ammaṃ ca budhasa satīle āloḍhe: Narain 1978: "since the relics of our Buddha were enshrined (by me)"; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 7-8; Negi 1966b; Norman 1983: 286f.: "The Buddha's body has mounted" = addition by scribe who allegedly mistook the ciphers for 256 as letters *amṃ maṃ ca*; Andersen 1990: 16; Wright 2000: 332 (accepts Norman 1983); Falk 2002: 84; emendation to *amṃ maṃca[m]<hi>*, "the body of the Buddha was mounted (by the white elephant)".

Importance in antiquity:

Chakrabarti, Tewari & Singh (1999/00: 126b) point to "the mound locally known as Ahraura-dih (Lat 25°01' N. and Long. 83°01' E.). It covers about 2 acres and is fortified by



Figs. 4 and 5.: The drawing shows that there are many letters missing in the first line, which went unnoticed so far. The text can be read with ease apart from the crucial word *ammaṃ*.



Fig. 6: A series of post-holes behind the edict site.

a mud wall topped by a wall made of the locally available stone slabs. The fortified complex, which shows a flattish surface on the top, is about 10 m high from the ordinary ground level, and there is a clear trace of a



Fig. 7: View over the ASI shed and Bhaṇḍārī Devī temple site as seen from the next elevation to the East.

moat around it. This fortified enclosure with traces of occupation outside (NBPW and earlier) denotes to us an administrative centre of the Mauryan period.”

Importance today:

There is a fair throughout the month of Śrāvaṇa and on the 9th day of Śivanavarātrī at the Bhaṇḍārī Devī temple. The deity is believed to help in acquiring riches.

Bairāt

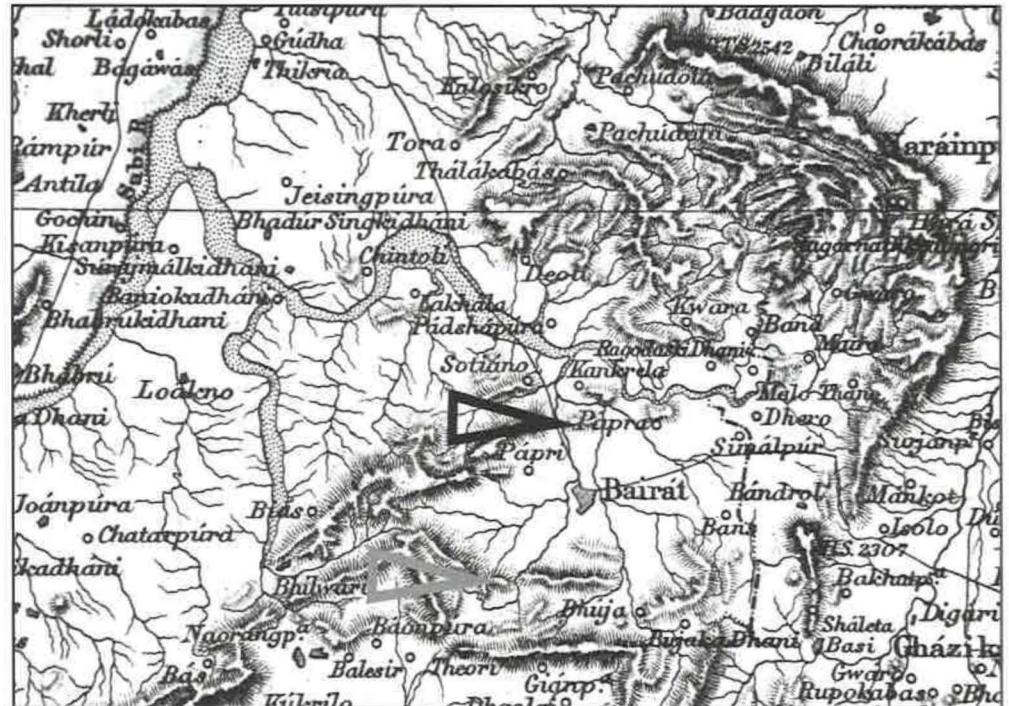
Virātṇagar, Vairātaka

Jaipur District, Rajasthan

27°28' N.

76°13' E.

GSI map 54 A/3



Access: 170 km from Delhi, 75 km from Jaipur, 42 km from Alwar. The hill upon which the *Bhimsen guphā* sits rises prominently at the northern fringe of the valley. It sports a white-washed temple on its pointed top (fig. 1). In the eastern suburb of Bairāt an unpaved road branches off to the north-east. It leads through the village in bends but without dividing and for another 2 km across the plain to the hill.

At the foot of the hill a sign points right along the hillside. The shelter is reached after about 80 m.

Discovery:

Carlleyle on his tour in 1871-72; he mistook the two parts for “two important inscriptions

in ancient characters of the time of Asoka on a rock there, which had never been discovered before” (Carlleyle 1878: 91).

Preservation:

The left half is still clearly legible (fig. 4). Parts of the right side could still be made out in 1995. In 1997 no trace of any right side character could either be seen or felt. The

concrete roof produces a stream of sediments in the rains which seem to have covered everything beneath.

Measurements:

The boulder (fig. 3) measures 7.3 x 5.2 x 4.5 m. The inscription is 70 cm high; the left side is 73 cm wide.

Akṣaras: 4-5-7 cm.

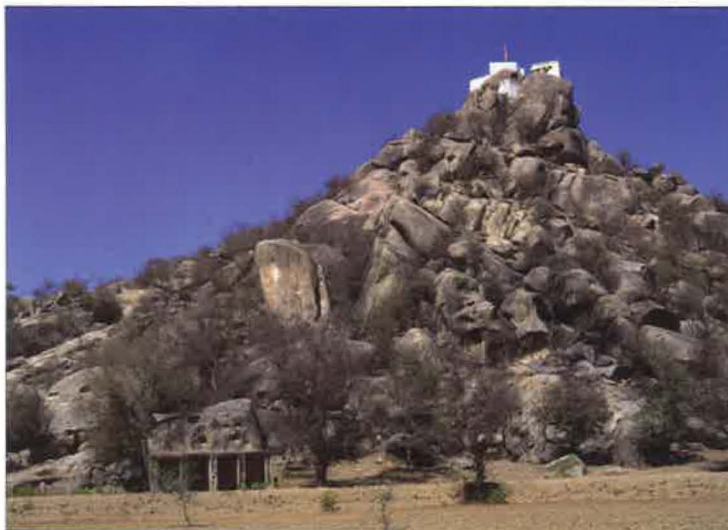


Fig. 1: Hill with edict rock at its foot.



Fig. 2: View from the hilltop to the east.



Fig. 3: Edict rock with ASI shed.



Fig. 4: Close-up of the visible parts of the inscription.

Orientation:

South, the reader faces north. Vertical.

Presentations of the text:

Eye-copy: Cunningham 1877: pl. XIV.

Rubbing: Hultsch 1925: 172; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 28; Rastogi 1990: pl. V A.

Photography: Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: No. 7411.

Editions:

Cunningham 1877: 96; Bühler 1877: 157 (using a cloth-copy made by Pt. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī), 1893a; Carlleyle 1878: 99; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 93–97; Woolner 1924: 32–37; Hultsch 1925: 171–172; Bloch 1950: 145–149; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 36; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 114; Andersen 1990: 25–28; Rastogi 1990: 210–211.

Literature:

On the site: Cunningham 1871o, 1877: 22–24; Carlleyle 1878: 100 (on 4 cenerary urns containing human bones buried just underneath the edict and covered by two large stones); Garrick 1887b; Woolner 1924: xiv; Hultsch 1925: xxiv–xxv; Y.D. Sharma 1953: 150.; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 229; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 5; Andersen 1990: 25.

On the text: Weller 1957.

Importance in antiquity:

The reason for choosing the spot was the proximity of the *bhīmsen guphā* (fig. 5). Bhīmsen's cave measures about 6 x 6 m, is 2 m high in the middle and once looked south from the upper part of the hill before the opening was closed by a wall with a door. Before Bhīmsen took it over, the cave seems to have been the exclusive place of a mother deity (fig. 6). In fact, the right side shows an elevated platform on which the tiny stone of *mātā devī* rests against the wall. Bhīma, on the other hand, is in a low corner which owes its existence to the new wall enclosing the cave (fig. 7). As in so many other cases, the cave on the hill was once sacred to *mātā* and acquired its new male sovereign only in younger times.

Still younger is the Hanumān temple on top of the hill, next to the abode of Śrī Rāmacandra Vīr, a *śaiva* ascetic and Hindi *kāvya* author who lives on milk and fruit now in his 88th year.

The place is remarkably similar to Gujarrā and Niṭṭūr, where the edict stones likewise mark the beginning of the path leading to the sacred spot. As at Gujarrā and

Niṭṭūr the writing has been incised on the vertical side of a rock.

On the place called *pāriyātra*, visited by Xuanzang after AD 600 and its identity with Bairāt see Beal 1884: IV 179 fn. 35.

Importance today:

The edict stone is more or less unknown these days, being out of sight to the right of the present access to the hill. In spring an important festival takes place on the 13th day *śukla* on the eve of *phālguna* (end of February), attracting thousands of people from the surrounding villages. It is called the *bhūmamelā*. The devotees pay a short visit to Bhīma in his cave and then proceed to the temple on top of the hill.

Notes on the text:

On the rock only a few characters are visible which are not found on the published rubbings.

In line 4 (F) read *devehi .. saṃtā* instead of *devehi .. mā*; line 6 (K) *palakamatu* is completely preserved. There is not the least trace of the number (2)56 as read by Cunningham (1877: 23, pl. XIV).

Particulars of the script:

Very similar to Gujarrā.



Fig. 5: Entrance to the cave of Bhīmsen.



Fig. 6: Devī-stone inside the cave.



Fig. 7: Pūjārī of Bhīmsen near the entrance wall.

Brahmagiri

ganjiguṇṭe mūle

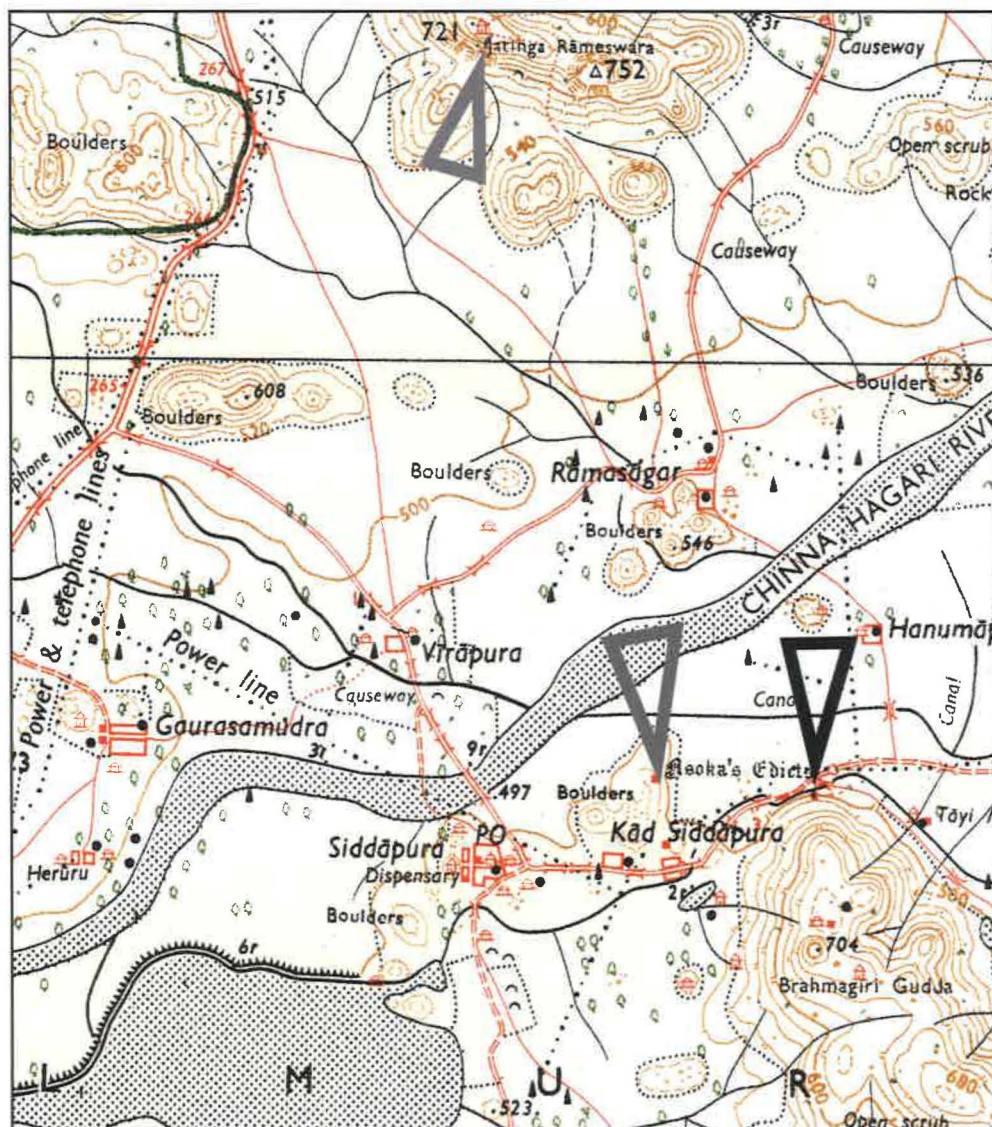
Citaldrug District, Karnataka

14°49' N.

76°48' E.

GSI 57 B/13

U502: ND 43-8



Further maps: *MADAR* 1930(34): pl. V (very detailed); *MADAR* 1940(41): 66.

Access:

Through the highway from Bellary to Citradurga. Coming from the North: turn east for Siddapura between milestones 64/63 km to Callakere, or, coming from the South between 41/40 km to Bellary. A signboard shows the way. Cross the bridge and turn left at the junction for the edicts. The house built over the edict rock is locked. The key is with the watchman Rajasimha (called Raja), who may be contacted via the caretaker Suresh Babu Sharma, Ashokasiddapur 577535, Karnataka. Coming from the highway turn right after the bridge, pass two old lampposts and look for the most impressive house on the left side of the main road. The edicts are to the east of the village.

Discovery:

1892 by Lewis Rice (Rice 1903: 1, cf. Burgess 1893a).

Preservation:

In good condition. The house built over the inscription was made watertight again in 1963 (*JA-R* 1963–64: 114).

Measurements:

Inscribed area 4.72 m x 3.50 m

Akṣaras 25–19–14 cm

Orientation:

The reader faces south. The text covers the complete right part of the surface from edge to edge (fig. 3). Since the boulder is at least

3 m high it must have been dangerous to read the lowermost lines.

Presentations of the text:

Rubbing: Bühler 1894/95: pl. I; Hultzschi 1925: 176–177; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 31–32; Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, negative no. 4947: “Brahmagiri”; it is different from the one published in Hultzschi (1925: 176/177).

Photography: none.

Edition: [Rice 1892], Rice 1903: 93; Senart 1892a: 486f.; Bühler 1893b: 32, 1894/95: 138–139; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 93–99; Woolner 1924: 32–37; Hultzschi 1925:

175–178; Bloch 1950: 145–151; Mookerji 1962: 215–217; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 32–33; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 119–120; Andersen 1990: 30–33; Rastogi 1990: 226, 240.

Presentation of the site:

Photography: Krishna 1943: pl. XIV (protective building).

Literature:

Rice 1903: (2); Venis 1907: 4–7; Woolner 1924: xiv–xv; Hultzschi 1925: xxvi–xxvii; D.R. Bhandarkar 1929/30; Y.D. Sharma 1953: 166; *ARIE* 1954–55 B446; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 229f.; Pāṇḍeya 1965: *bhūmikā* 6–7; Andersen 1990: 29.

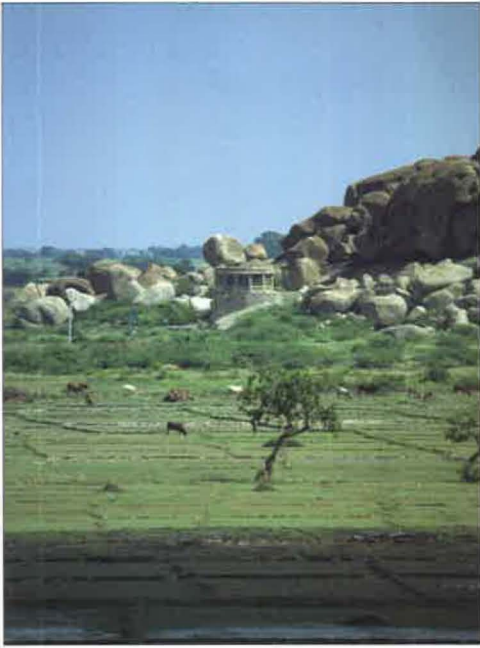


Fig. 1: Brahmagiri as seen from Siddapur rock.

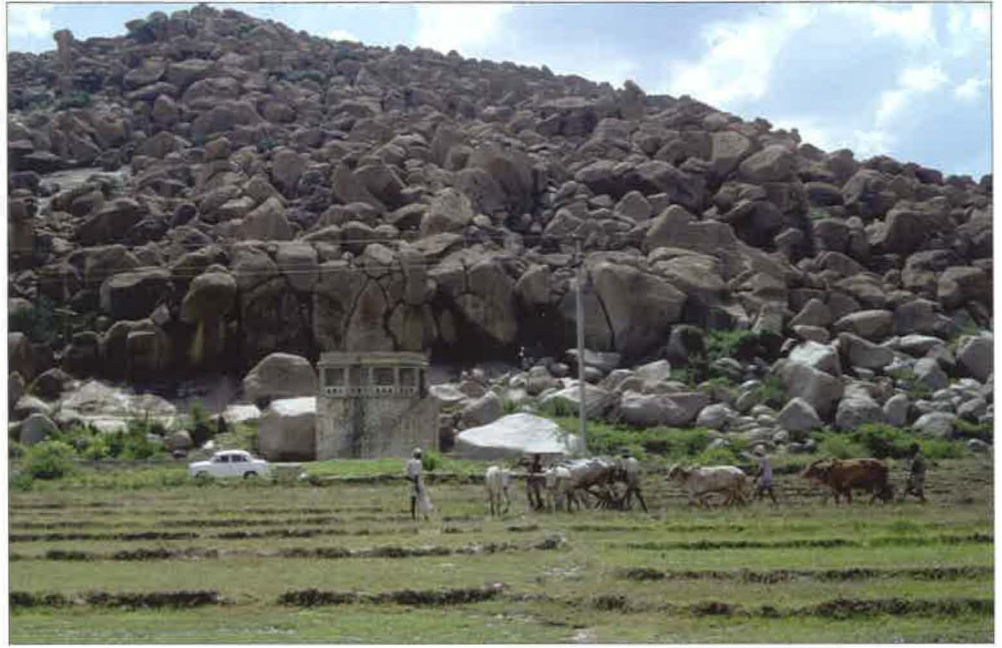


Fig. 2: ASI house covering the inscribed right side of the edict rock.

On the location of Suvarṇagiri: Bühler 1894/95: 134f.; Fleet 1909b: 998, 1916: 575; Krishna Sastri 1915; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 236f.

On excavations: NN 1941; Krishna 1943; Wheeler 1947 (with further lit.); Dhavalikar 1968.

Importance in antiquity:

“The boulder was well known throughout

the neighbourhood as the *akshara guṇḍu* or ‘letter rock’, and was supposed to be endowed with medicinal virtues. Accordingly, in various ailments of human beings and in diseases of cattle, the stone was washed and the water used for the purpose given to the patient to drink. It was the favourite seat for goatherds in the heat of the day when the flocks were collected into the

shade of the surrounding rocks” (Rice 1903: 2).

Today, the bolder is called *mantragunḍu*. On the slope behind the back of the bolder several outlets provide a water source after the rainy season. In earlier times supply may have been all year round. Also the water course may have led directly across the boulder.



Fig. 3: The edict covering the surface of the rock from edge to edge.



Fig. 4: Ascent to Brahmagiri hill from the west.

Importance today:

Since the house has been built atop the edict the local peasants don't attach any importance to the *mantragunḍu* anymore.

On top of the hill there is a *pukka* house, called Mahal, where a *svāmī* lodges. His devotees come to see him on fullmoon days and stay overnight. He is used to feeding several hundred visitors, up to 1000 people, on such occasions.

The Brahmagiri hill contains a huge cave with a pond (fig. 5), accessible through an underground passage. The water therein is clean and tasty. This cave may have been the reason why the waters coming from this hill were considered sacred.

Notes on the text:

The letters are huge and well-preserved. Therefore, the reading was virtually correct right from the start. Only a few remarks are needed: In sentence (E) read *saṃvacharaṃ*; what has been read as an *e*-stroke is a natural break in the rock; the same applies to (H)

where *no hi yaṃ* is to be read, not *hīyaṃ* (no *sandhi*); read *paka[mam]ṇeṇa* in (I) and *aṃtā ca me* (not *mai*) in (L), again a natural break in the rock. In (F) it is possible to read *garūsu* as at Eṇṇaguḍi.

Particulars of the script:

Two different hands are discernible. The first line with the introductory greetings seems to have been written by one agent who liked very unusual shapes for his *ha*, *ra*, *ya* and initial *a*, none of which is repeated in the lines to come. In the body of the text post-consonantal *-ra* is found in very pronounced combinations in *dra*, *pra*, as it is found in Girnār and nowhere else. These two writers here are not identical with those who incised the nearby Siddapur and Jatiṅga-Rāmeśvaram edicts.

Despite the closeness of the three sites several stone masons must have been at work, not one of whom is Capaḍa, i.e. the man who signed the so-called Second Minor Rock Edict in Kharoṣṭhī letters.



Fig. 5: The natural reservoir inside the top-part of Brahmagiri hill.

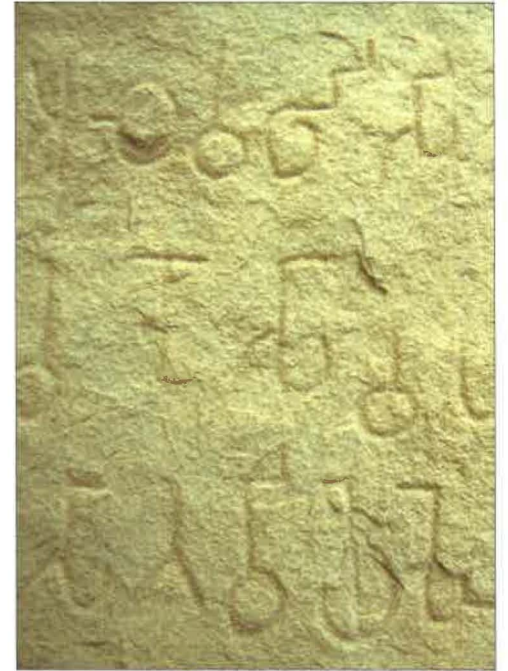


Fig. 6: Some letters of the edict.



Fig. 7: Jatiṅga hill seen from the top of Brahmagiri hill.

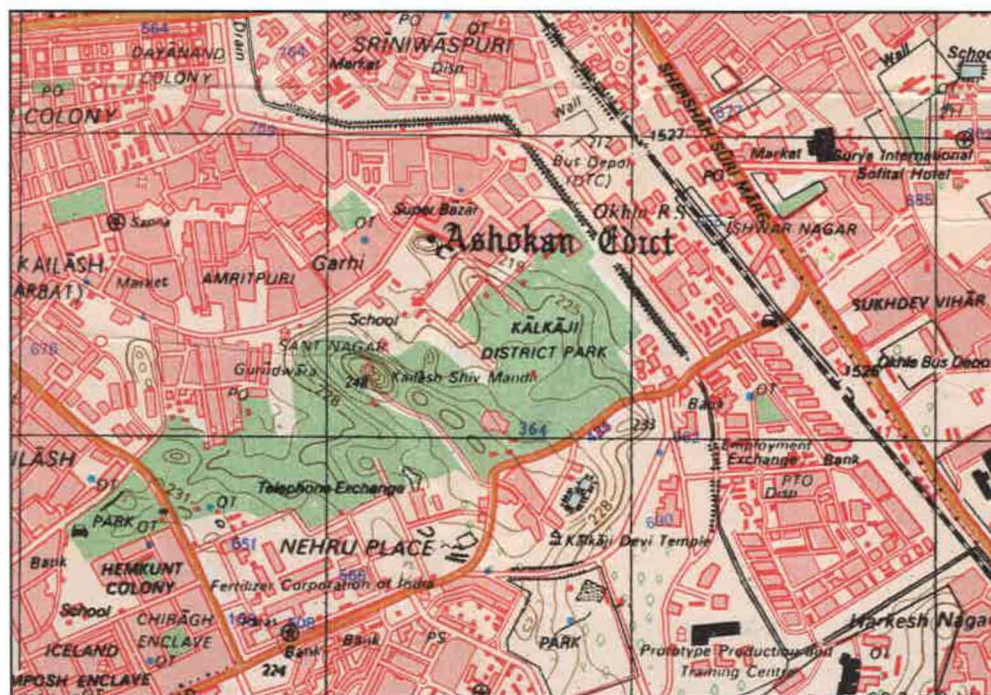


Fig. 8: Brahmagiri hill as seen from Jatiṅga-Rāmeśvaram.

Delhi

Bāhāpur; Rock near Amarpuri;
Lajpat Nagar

East of Kailash, New Delhi
28°33' N.
77°15' E.
GSI Delhi Guide map



Access: The edict is engraved on the top-most rock of a low rocky hill in the colony called “East of Kailash” in Southern New Delhi. Some locals say the hill itself was called Kailash, but there is no unanimity on this point. The designation “Delhi-Bāhāpur” is unknown to anyone in the area. The road from which it can be seen is called Chandar Vidyamandir Marg. Better known as the name itself is the temple of the Hare-

Krishna-Mission, few hundred meters west of the edict rock. The designation “Amarpuri colony” on the ASI’s photographs is likewise misleading, because the Amarpuri and the Amarpuri Colonies are both north of the East of Kailash Colony.

Access is unrestricted. There is a concrete shelter covering the edict and occasionally an iron frame with wire netting. The paths and open fields around the hill

This map from the 19th century still shows “Buhapur” about 7 km south of “Indarpat”, the ancient Indraprastha, the oldest known city in the Delhi area.

are used by the locals as toilet grounds.

Discovery:

Early in 1966 one Shri Jang Bahadur Singh “came upon the inscribed rock when it was about to be blasted away for the develop-



Fig. 1: View of the site from the north.



Fig. 2: The ASI shed on the plateau.



Fig. 3: The rock formation at the time of the discovery (copyright AIIS, no. 89484).

ment of a residential colony" (Joshi & Pande 1967: 96).

Measurements:

The edict is 65 cm high and 75-40 cm wide, *Akṣaras* 2-4.5-7 cm.

Orientation:

The edict faces north-north-east, following the slope of the rock; the reader faces south-south-west.

Presentations of the site:

American Institute of Indian Studies, negative nos. 89484 and 8948 (figs. 3 and 5).

Presentations of the text:

Rubbing: Joshi & Pande 1967: pl. 2; Sircar 1969-70: 2 = 1979: pl. XIV = Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, negative no. 5416: "Amarpuri colony (New Delhi)". XIV. *Photography:* Joshi & Pande 1967: pl. 1.

Editions: Joshi & Pande 1967: 97; Sircar 1969-70 = 1979: 84-85; Andersen 1990: 21-24; Rastogi 1990: 209.

Literature:

General: *ARIE* 1965-66: 3, B38; G.S. Singh 1966; Andersen 1990:20.

On preservation measures: *IA-R* 1984-85: 235 (about a first shelter); *IA-R* 1993-94: 72 (construction of the concrete shed); *IA-R* 1997-98: 298 (fence).

On the text: Norman 1971.

Importance in antiquity:

As the old map shows, Delhi-Bahapur presents the closest rocky formation 7 km south of the ancient capital Indraprastha, referred to in the epics, today's Purana Qila.

The edict itself is disturbed by two game boards, one incised in its middle, the other



Fig. 4: The smooth and slanting stone showing the letters of the MRE and two crossed circles.



Fig. 5: The edict stone after its discovery (copyright AIIS, no. 89485).



Fig. 6: The upper portion of the edict.



Fig. 7: Ancient game holes.



Fig. 8: A game circle on the edict stone.

at its lower border. These game boards consist of shallow grooves arranged in the shape of a crossed circle. Similar designs have been documented in the volumes of the *Materialien zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans*, with an absolute match at Hodar. On other parts on the same rock to the north of the edict many more game boards are incised, which are of the most commonly found 7-double-holes variety (fig. 7).

Directly adjoining the edict is a stretch of rock sloping down and highly polished as if used as a slide for a long time.

Importance today:

None.

Notes on the text:

The rock's surface has been abraded by thousands of people having slid over it. This made it difficult to take a rubbing. An inspection confirmed several readings of Anderson 1990, it also showed that the pits of the crossed circles were often taken as the remnants of letters. In line 2 read *no cu*; in line 5 *hi kaṭā* in assumed *devehi kaṭā* is not verifiable, which affects the reconstruction of the whole sentence; line 8 definitely has *uḍālā dha* instead of *uḍālā ca*, a writing mistake.

Particulars of the text:

At several places the words are separated by spaces in exactly the same manner as on the PEs, without the changes in vowel length, though.



Fig. 9: Close-up of some letters.

Erragudi

Yenukuṇḍa; “elefant hill”

Nallayenakoṇḍa

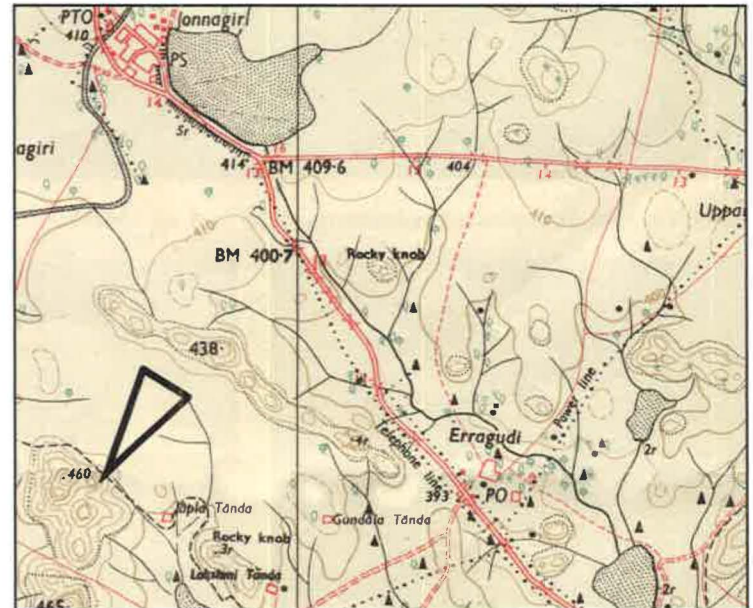
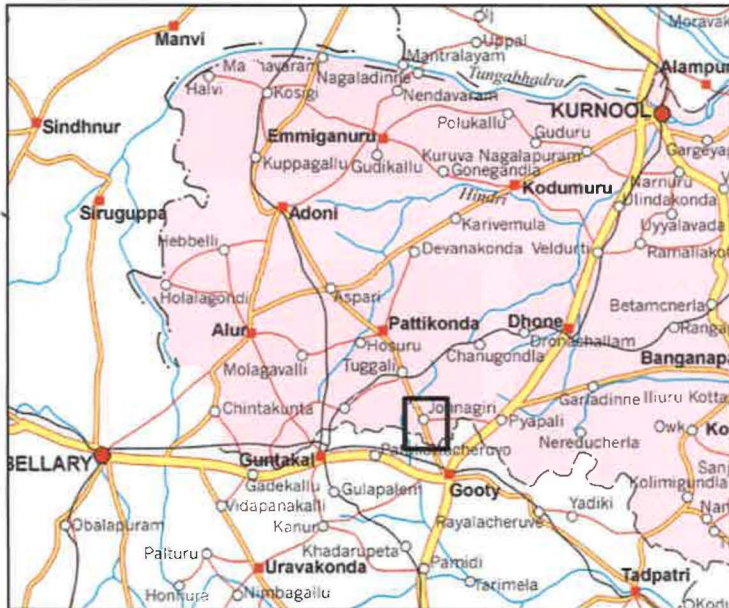
Anantapur District, AP

15°12' N.

77°36' E.

GSI map 57 E/12

U502: ND 43-4



Access: On the road from Gooty to Adoni between the villages of Jonnagiri and Erragudi. There is a sign board at the road side. Only jeeps can follow the path for 500 m through the fields.

The site has been given an iron fence, which could be circumped easily. The fence is broken in any case and the door without a lock.

Discovery:

A. Ghose, geologist from Calcutta (Sahni

1928–29: 161). A first, anonymous, note appeared in *IHQ* 4.1928: 791 referring to the REs only on five large rocks in the “Kurnool District of the Madras Presidency”. Their importance and true nature were realized right from the start. After a first publication of a rubbing in *Bhārati* of 1929, D.C. Sircar published his reading in 1931.

Preservation:

Almost perfect; modern visitors are beginning to damage the rock by incising their initials.

Measurements:

The MRE is written on a slanting piece of rock of a trapezoid form. The text covers most of its surface and measures 112 cm in height with an upper width of 122 cm and a base line of 155 cm.

The *akṣaras* measure 3–4–6 cm.

Orientation:

The text of the MREs is facing east, the reader faces west.



Fig. 1: Seen from the Jonnagiri dam, the Erragudi hill stands out highest to the south-west.



Fig. 2: The fissured Erragudi rock; the MRE is on the large inclining slab to the left.



Fig. 3: View of the Erraguḍi rocks. The path starts at the MRE in the foreground and follows the edicts along the precipice towards the “balcony”.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: Niklas 1990: 183.

Rubbing: Somaśekhara Śarma 1929 = Sircar 1931: 738 = Barua 1932: 116; Sircar 1957–58a: pl. I, 1979: pl. II; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 41; Krishnan 1989: opp. p. 8 (MRE2); Rastogi 1990: pl. VII.

Photography: Sahni 1928–29: pl. LXII.

Editions: Sahni 1928–29: 166; Sircar 1931: 738–740; Barua 1933, 1937; Bloch 1950: 145–150; Sircar 1957–58a: 6–10, 1965b: 50–52, 1979: 7–13; Eggermont & Hofijzer 1962: 31–32; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 124–126; Subrahmanyam 1974; Krishnan 1989: 8–10 (MRE2); Andersen 1990: 34–43; Niklas 1990: 172–182; Rastogi 1990: 223–224, 233–235.

Presentations of the site:

Photography: Sahni 1928–29: pl. LX = Sircar 1979: pl. I.

Literature:

General: R. Thapar 1961/1997: 238; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūṁikā 7; Andersen 1990: 34.

On the names of the locality: Narayan Rao 1938/39; Krishnamacharlu 1944.

On the system behind the “boustrophedon” line-bends: Andersen 1991 (proofs 1987!), repeated by Norman 1988: 174.

Importance in antiquity:

The rock is the most prominent landmark in the area and most appropriate for an annual fair. The area around the rock is the only spot around where people believe diamonds could be found after the rains. At least from close-by Dhone old diamond works are reported (Capt. Newbold in *JASB* 1847: 478).

Importance today:

Apart from visitors looking for diamonds the place is of no relevance to the local population. The idea of treasures is often connected with Brāhmī inscriptions, be it at Gujjārā, Uḍegolam and elsewhere.

Notes on the text:

Read (D) *savacharam pakamte*; (N) *vaḍhasiti*; (O) *vyūthe[ṇa]* 100 (sic) 50 6; (B) *āha*; (C) *aṁnapetaviye*; (D) *jānapada*; (I, J, T) *tuphe*; (O) *°ācariyasa [h]· me va sa yathā°*; (T) *ānapayātha*.

Particulars of the text:

The missing words left out in MRE1(G) because of a homoioteleuton prove

that the text came to this place in written form. The scribe tried to keep the lines together by reversing the direction of writing after reaching the right border of the area, the furthest he could stretch from his stand. In the lines written from right to left the *anusvāra*-dots are sometimes placed to the left of the *akṣara* they belong to.

Particulars of the script:

Although the text is distributed over the rock in a way excluding proper reading, the characters clearly display the hand of a man familiar with writing. His characteristic handwriting has been copied rather faithfully by the stone-mason. The stone-mason’s master-copy is identical with the one used in near-by Rājula-Maṇḍagiri.

In the lowest line, an initial *a* was begun mirrorwise with only its upper arm present; the same sort of *a* is also found once in Uḍegolam in MRE2.



Fig. 4: The edict rock.

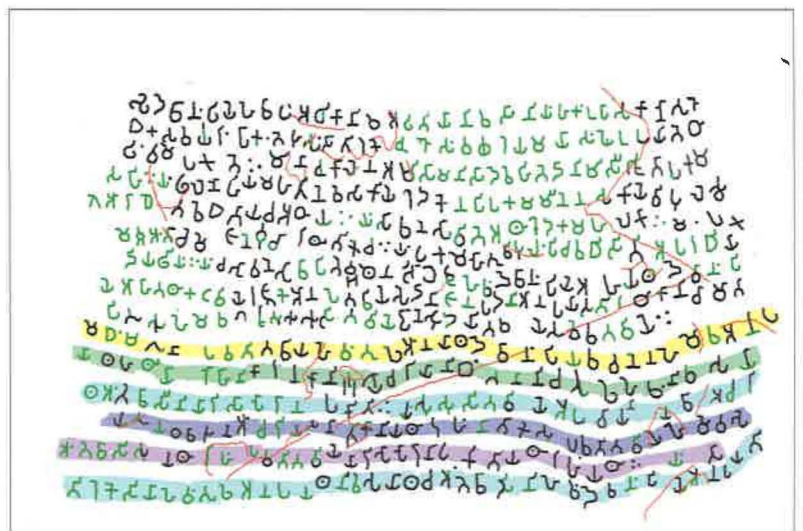
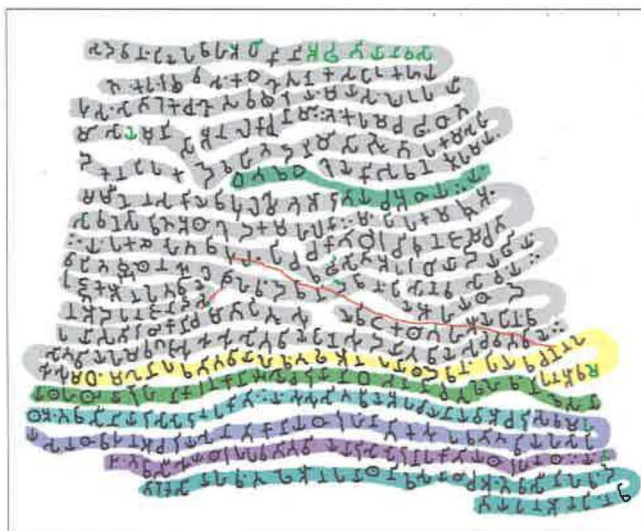


Fig. 5: Drawings of the MREs at Erraguḍi and Rājula-Maṇḍagiri, identical lines in identical colours.

Gavīmāṭh

Koppal, Kopbāl

Raichur District, Karnataka

15°20' N.

76°10' E.

GSI map 57 A/3

U502: ND 43-3

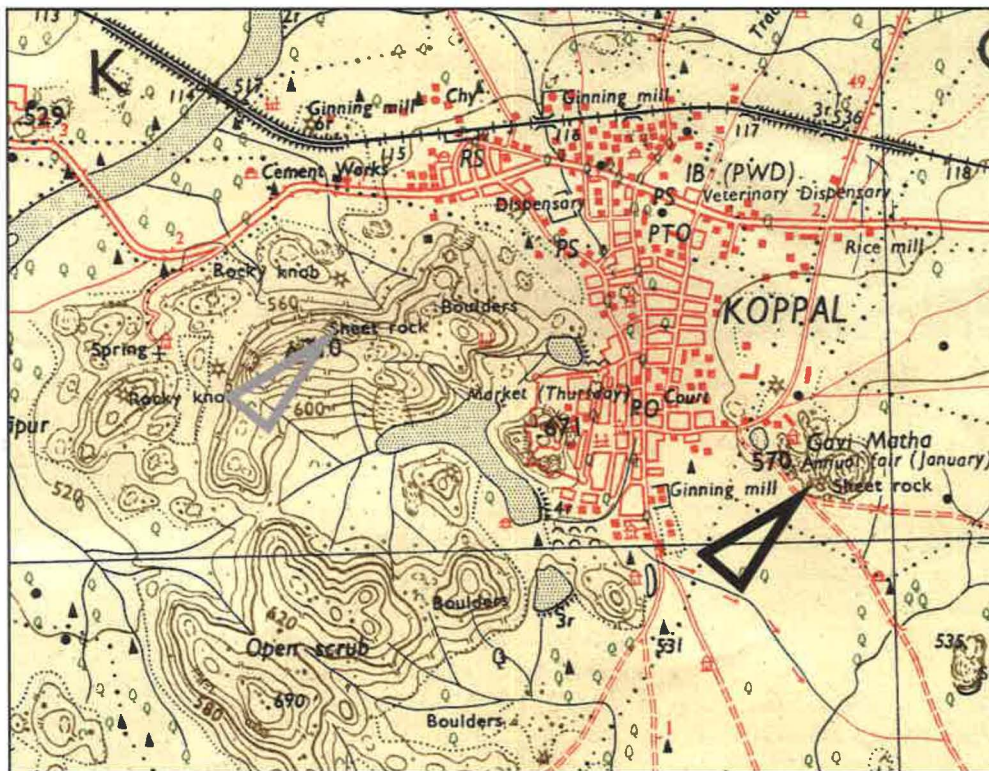


Further maps: Turner 1932: pl. XVII (sketch map).

Access:

Follow the highway out of Koppal towards Bellary and turn right at the circular junction near the end of town. The complex of Gavīmāṭh is thus reached without crossing the busy inner town. At the *maṭh* keep the hills to your left until you see the typical boulder.

As an alternative, the *maṭh* can be visited – with its impressive *garbhagrha* – and left via its back door. Crossing the hill behind it discloses a beautiful view of the rocky scenery. This way has one disadvantage: shoes have to be left at the *maṭh* entrance,



and crossing the hot rocks barefooted can be rather unpleasant.

The inscription is on top of a high and isolated boulder. The only access to the flat top of this boulder is by a series of artificial steps cut into its steep south side, 6.30 m high. The flat surface measures about 6 x 6 m. Adjoining to

the south on an elevated and slightly rising surface rests a curved canopy rock.

Discovery:

In January 1931 the *guru* of the *maṭh* communicated his knowledge about this inscription to Mr. N.B. Sastri of Kopbāl, who sent an eye-copy to Mr. G. Yazdani of the ASI,



Fig. 1: Access from the *maṭh* site.



Fig. 2: View from the canopy rock back to the *maṭh*.

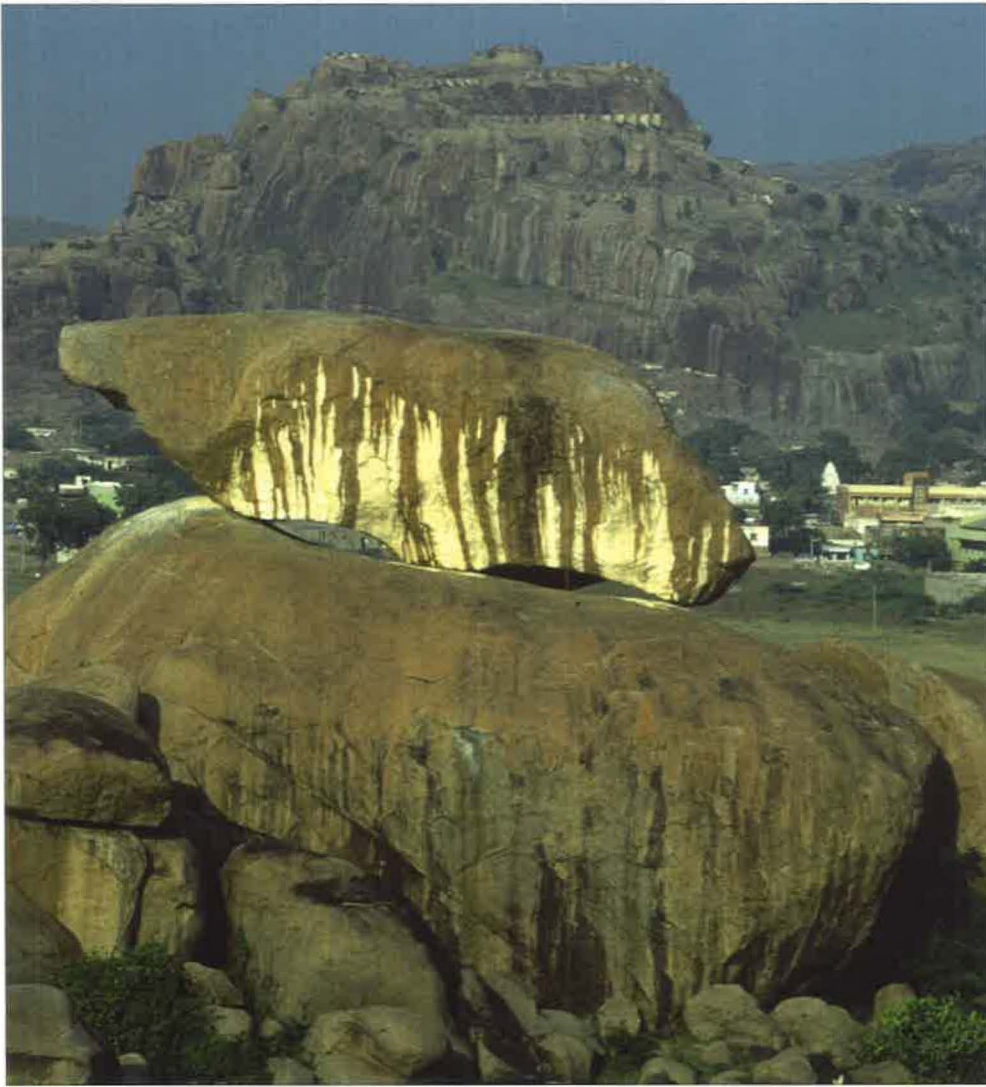


Fig. 3: The boulder, as seen against the fort of Kopbāl, is by nature inaccessible from all sides.

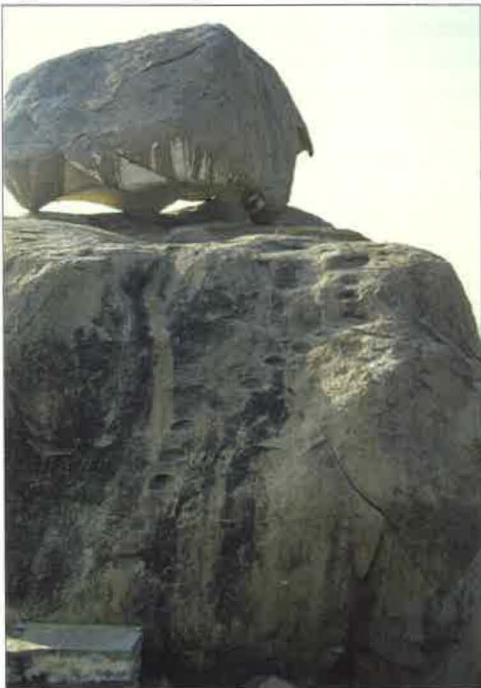


Fig. 4: The flight of steps cut into the south side.



Fig. 5: Close-up of the ancient steps.



Fig. 6: Old hermitage with double dip-ledges.

who dispatched Mr. Syed Yusuf, Assistant Director of Archaeology, to take rubbings.

Preservation:

The text is outside the canopy rock to its right on the surface of the elevated portion. It is in very good condition, complete and hardly worn. Locals and visitors alike use to redraw the letters with chalk or charcoal.

Measurements:

The text comes in 8 lines covering 75 x 200 cm.

The *akṣaras* are 6-9-13 cm high.

Orientation:

The text faces north, the reader south; the orientation seems exclusively due to the shape of the rock.

Presentations of the text:

Rubbings: Turner 1932: pl. I; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 42; Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, Neg. no. 8630 "Gavīmāth".

Photographs: Turner 1932: pl. II.

Editions: Turner 1932: 15-16 [rez.: Oldham 1932b, Bloch 1932, Duncan 1934]; Bloch 1950: 145-149; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 37; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 127; Andersen 1990: 44-46; Rastogi 1990: 221.

Presentations of the site:

Photographs: Turner 1932: pls. IX, X (boulder).

Literature:

On the site: Yazdani 1932; Krishnamacharlu 1935; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 230; Pāṇḍeya 1965: *bhūmikā* 7; Sundara 1976.

On the discovery: Turner 1932: 5; Oldham 1932a; Andersen 1990: 44.

On excavations: IA-R 1998-99: 67-69.



Fig. 7: View across the edict towards the South.

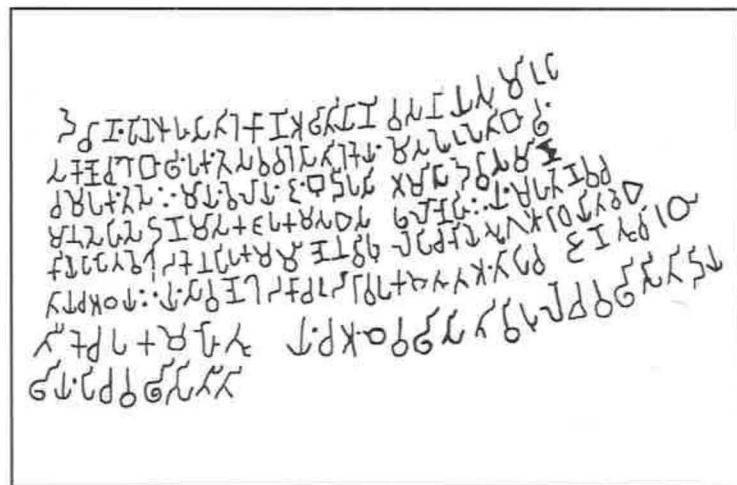


Fig. 8: The relined edict as compared on the site.

Importance in antiquity:

The horseshoe-shaped ridge behind the Gavīmath contains several natural caves, one of which is at the lower end of the inscribed rock. Two old horizontal drain grooves over its entrance are a witness to its age (fig. 6). A cave with similar grooves nearer to the *bund* has been transformed into a Shivaite temple.

Under the canopy boulder a pair of *pāḍukas*, as at Palkigunḍu pointing north

inside a double circle, may have been an old focus of veneration. At the eastern side of the boulder another series of natural caves can be inspected. One of them contains some cubical stones used by the locals to rub the rock in deep long grooves to gain a powder used for medical purposes.

Between the boulder and the *math* a large cavity on the ridge collects rain water, now strengthened by a bordering wall. Further caves and water-pools are found at the inner

side of the horseshoe shaped area, ideally suited for agricultural purpose.

Importance today:

There is a festival on the last Monday in *śrāvaṇa* at the Lingayat *math*. The edict rock itself is not part of the *melā*.

Notes on the text:

Read in sentence (E): *savavare*; (F): *samīṇā*; (H): *no*; (M): *hotī*; (N): *vipulaṇ*.

Particulars of the text:

In the beginning very often *ṇa* instead of *na*; in one case (D) an initial *no* was afterwards “corrected” into *ṇo*. Only at this place can we read *samīṇā* instead of *samānā*, and *kuḍaka* instead of *kudaka* (the corresponding parts at the related Palkigunḍu site are destroyed).

The writer started incising the letters while crouching on the rock; when he came nearer to the edge he continued chiselling standing on the platform. The letters of the last two lines are clearly bigger because of this change of position.

Particulars of the script:

The *mas* come in a variety of shapes also displaying the variant later prevalent in the south and on Ceylon. The *ra* is a plain vertical, *kha* comes with dot only in combination with an *-u-mātrā*; *da* is angular, *ta* slanting, *ba* and *ṭha* are small in the upper half of the line. The *amusvāra* is written as a short horizontal stroke of middle height close to the right side of the letter, as in *yaṇ* (line 1), *maṇ* (line 6), *laṇ* (line 7).

Fig. 9: View of rock with *math* to the right and Phālkiḡunḍu hill to the right of Kopbāl fort.

Gujarrā

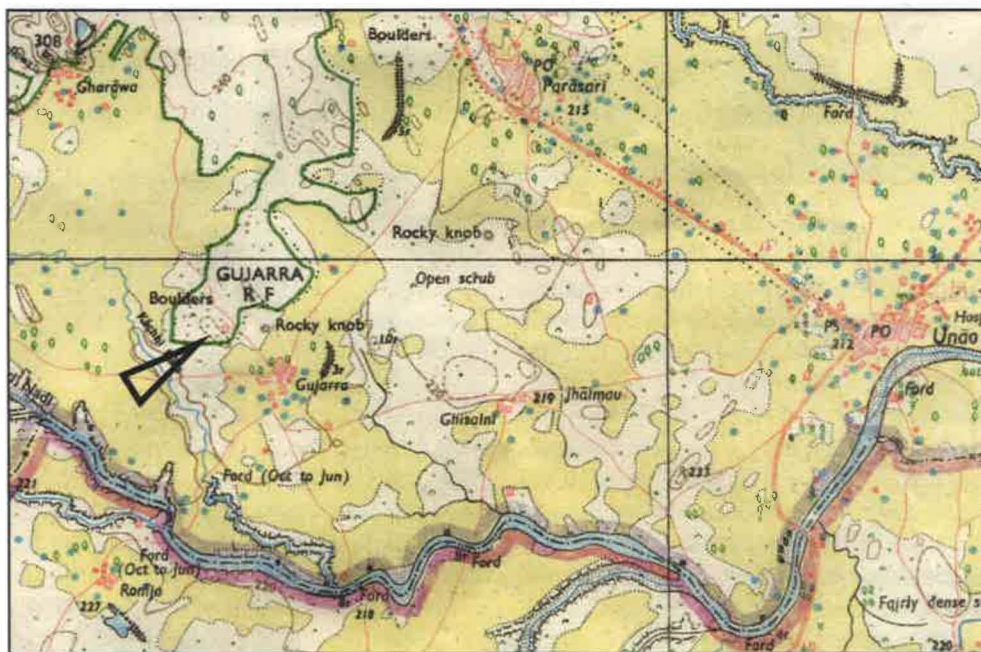
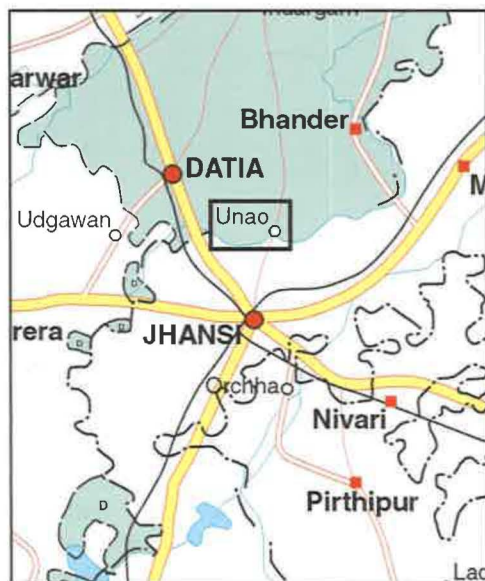
siddhom kī toḍiyā

Datia District, MP

25°35' N.

78°33' E.

GSI map 54 K/10



Access: On the road from Datia to Unnāva (Unnao) near milestone 13 the country road branches to the west, right at the northern border of the village Parāsārī. After 4 km the village of Gujarrā is met, where the car has to be parked. The white roof of the shelter can be seen about 300 m to the north of the village, right under the hill called *siddhom kī toḍiyā*, “hill of the perfect ones”. All roads are good to tolerable.

The stone is under a concrete shelter with four sides enclosed by iron bars. The door is usually locked. The key to the gate is in the

possession of Jagdish Singh Patel of Gujarrā village, who keeps it for the custodian Jaffar Khan of Unāo Bālājī.

Discovery:

“The inscription was discovered by Mr. Lal Chand Sharma, a forest contractor of Jhansi, who by chance came upon the inscribed rock while out a-hunting. Mr. Sharma showed some indistinct photographs and inaccurate eye-copies of the record to Dr. B.Ch. Chhabra, Deputy Director-General of Archae-

ology in India, at New Delhi, on the 30th November 1953. A glance at them was enough for Dr. Chhabra to recognise that the epigraph was one of the Rock Edicts of the celebrated Maurya emperor Aśoka (c. 269–232 B.C.) and naturally he pressed Mr. Sharma for information regarding its exact findspot (...). But Mr. Sharma, who was under the impression that the document contained a clue to the existence of a hidden treasure in its neighbourhood, was not pre-



Fig. 1: The ASI shed in front of the hill.



Fig. 2: The edict rock.

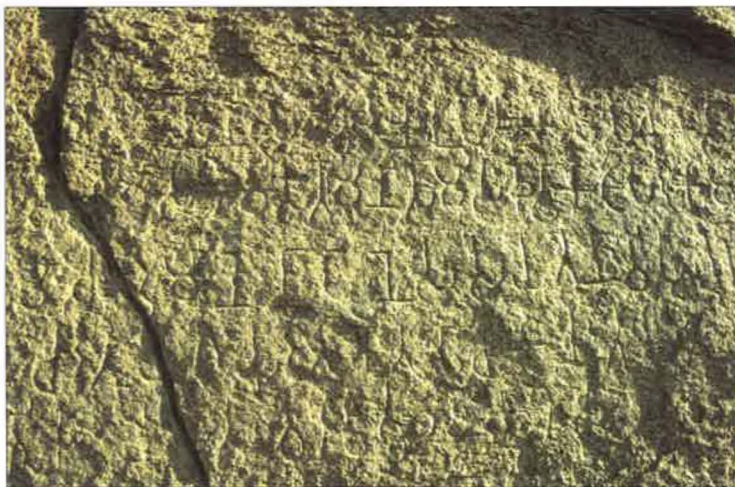


Fig. 3: A sample from the MRE.



Fig. 4: A sample from the MRE.

pared to give the required information unless Dr. Chhabra would agree to share with him the treasure" (Sircar 1955–56a: 205, for details see Chhabra 1956).

Preservation:

The stone is a reddish Gneiss, turned grey on the surface; it is very hard and therefore the letters have not been incised very deeply. They seem, however, to be well preserved, for the major part at least.

Measurements:

Boulder: 145 x 450 cm.

Edict: 62 x 280 cm.

Akṣaras: 7–8–10 cm.

Orientation:

The inscribed face of the rock faces south, the reader north. Because of the shelter's roof sunlight falls on the stone only before 10 AM and after 4 PM. It is very difficult to read the akṣaras without sunlight.

Presentations of the text:

Rubbing: Sircar 1955–56a: 209 = 1979: pl. XV (useless) = Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, Negative No. 7108, "Gujarra"; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 29.

Photography: The stone with the inked rubbing still attached to it is shown in *IA-R* 1954–55: pl. L, illustrating the brief information we have on its detection on page 27.

Editions: Chhabra 1956: 71; Sircar 1955–56a = 1979: 86–93; S. Ram 1963–65: 155–156; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 117; Krishnan 1989: 1–4; Andersen 1990: 47–50; Rastogi 1990: 216.

Literature:

ARIE 1954–55: 12 B 526; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 231; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 6; Andersen 1990: 47.

On preservation measures: *IA-R* 1957–58: 82; 1989–90: 162; 1990–91: 124.

Importance in antiquity:

Chhabra (1956: 70) pointed out that the hill is regarded by the villagers as sacred: "In one of the rock-shelters on the top of the hill there is a roughly hewn Śiva-linga which is the main object of popular worship at present." This information is faulty. There are no rock-shelters, but only naturally hollowed rocks, and the one used for worship presently houses a natural gravel-rock *linga*. The naturally perforated rocks (fig. 6) seem to have been the reason why the place was considered sacred, comparable to the canopy stones at Pālkīguṇḍu and Gavīmāṭh.

Importance today:

The inscription is not known to have been of any importance to the local population. The inscribed rock commands one of the ascents to the hill. A natural hollow in a small isolated rock on its northern side (fig. 7) is dedi-



Fig. 5: The top plain of the hill.



Fig. 6: One of the hollow rocks on the plain.



Fig. 7: The hollow rock sacred to Śiva Śaṅkarjī.

cated to Śiva Śaṅkarjī and venerated by the peasants individually in times of distress.

Notes on the text:

Read: (B) *devānāṃpiyasa piyadasino asāke rāja* (There is no compound *asokarāja* but

asāke rāja miswritten for *asoke rāja*. This nominative is to be construed with *āhā* at the end of [E]); (C) *upāsaka si*; (E) *sādhike sa[m]vacha[ra] yaṃ ca mā sampe ghā yite ti āhā* (*sampe* is miswritten for *saṃghe*, *ghā* is

angular and very broadly drawn as a result of misreading *upa* in the master exemplar); (I) *caramīnenā, sayatenā*; (J) *se etāye, savane*; (L) *amtam*; (M) *cilaṃthitike, °dhammam ca* [nothing ever followed]; (N) (5) *-----ti / enā vā dhammam cara[m] ati-o* (The beginning of this line is completely distorted. The six or seven signs look like initial *a* (with missing upper arm), *ḍha* or *ḍhi* (with missing inner coil) or *va/vi* (without right side of circle), a ligature *pya* (very uncertain in the lower part), a small sign like a Roman *v*, a *ji* or untypical *si*, a *ha* (very angular and uncertain in its lower part) and a hook like the upper part of initial *e*, which could also be *ga*.

The last *akṣara* of what has been read as *atiyo* consists of a vertical with clear *-o*-strokes, but the lower part, though partly effaced, does not seem to have been a *ya*; (O) *iyaṃ sāvana vivuthenā* [200] 50 6.

Particulars of the script:

The writer tended to confound the *-e* and the *-ā-mātrās*.

Particulars of the text:

The last sentence is without parallel. The text was copied from a written exemplar onto the stone. In this process *upa* was misread as *ghā*.

Jatīṅga-Rāmeśvara

balgōḍi tīrtha; baḷegāra-guṇḍu

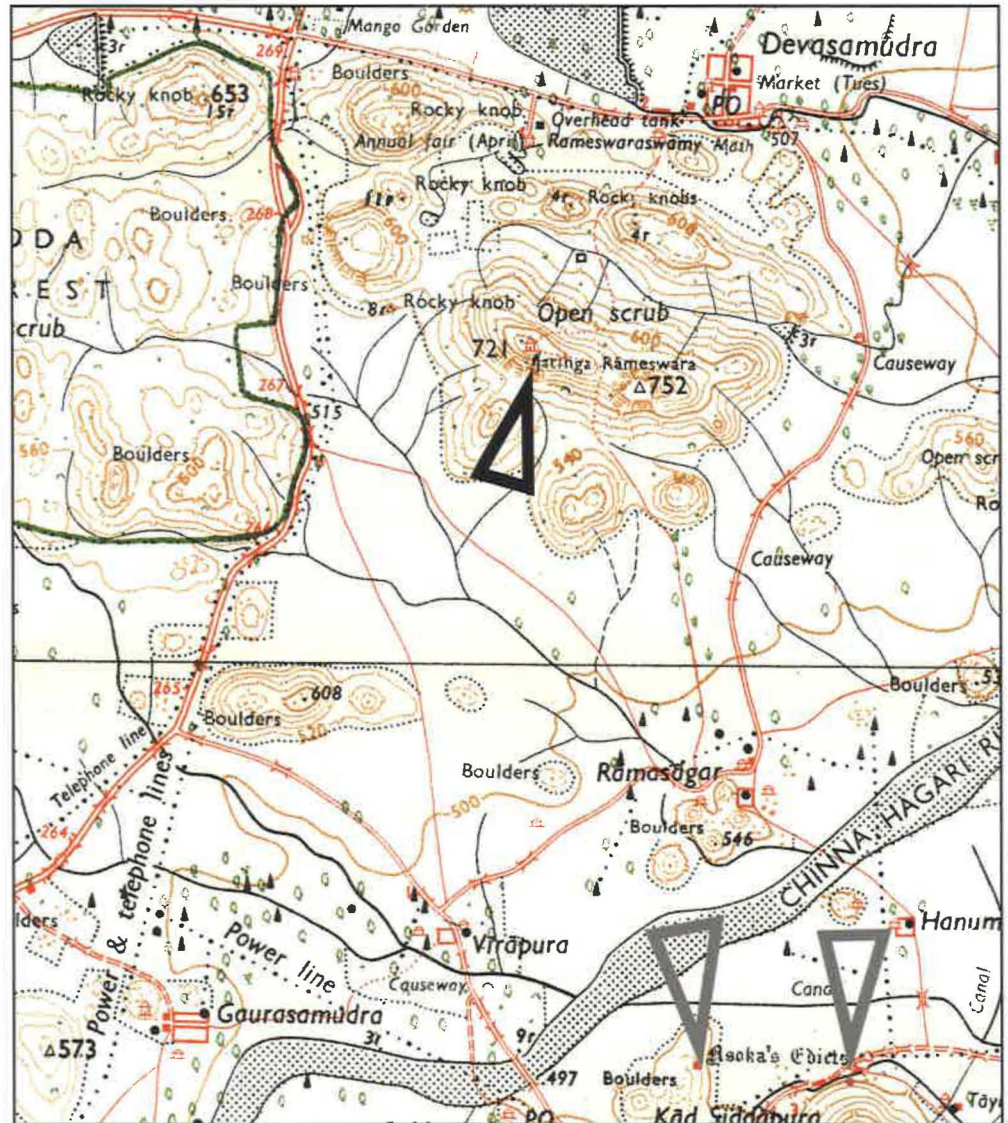
Citaldrug District, Karnataka

14°51' N.

76°47' E.

GSI map 57 B/13

U502: ND 43-8



Name: *balgōḍi tīrtha*: This name is found in two inscriptions from the 11th century AD at the temple behind the Aśokan rock-shelter, published by J.F. Fleet, “Stone inscriptions at the Jatinga-Ramesvara hill”, *EI* 4.1896–97, pp. 212–215. This may be compared with Rice 1903: 3: “(...) owing to the convenient shadow of the overhanging boulder, the site of the inscription was the favourite resort of the bangle-sellers at the annual festival. Hence the rock is called the Baḷegāra-guṇḍu or ‘bangle-sellers’ rock’, and various holes have been punched in different parts of the rock on which the inscription is cut to receive the posts of the booths of tents erected by them at the annual fair.”

Access:

On the highway from Bellary to Citradurga. Coming from the North: between milestones 68/67 km to Callakere; coming from the South: between 37/36 km to Bellary. Follow the road east for 2 km until the temple can be seen to your right. Park the car there.

The hill lies to the south of the temple: follow the path along the *bund*, cross the first ridge. The hill temple cannot be seen from below, but its location can be made out by following the power line. To follow a paved way up turn left in the middle of the plain after the water course. After some 500 m approach the hills to your right. Depending on the weather an ascent will take up to 45 min.

The edict is inside an unlocked ASI shelter on the even ground below the temples.

Discovery:

1892 by Lewis Rice (Rice 1903: 1, cf. Burgess 1893a).

Preservation:

The rock is heavily disturbed in the upper part, but major parts are still visible in the lower half.

Measurements:

The text once measured 360 cm in height, in 23 lines, most of them about 160 cm wide. The *akṣaras* measure 6-11-16 cm.

Orientation:

The text was once covered by an overhanging rock which formed a shelter open to the East. The reader faces west. The overhanging part of the rock was cut off in antiquity, most likely for gaining building material for the staircases leading up to the temple.

Presentations of the text:

Rubbing: Bühler 1894/95: pl. III; Hultzscher 1925: 180–181; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pls. 35–36; Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, Neg. no. 8939 (“Jatinga-Rameshwar Upper Half”).



Fig. 1: View of Jaṭiṅga hill from Brahmagiri.



Fig. 2: Rear part of the hilltop.



Fig. 3: View from the Sūrya temple towards the Jaṭāyu hilltop.



Fig. 4: ASI shed in front of Sūrya temple.



Fig. 5: One of the ponds on the hilltop behind the Sūrya temple with a hero-stone.

Editions: [Rice 1892]; Rice 1903: 167–168 (no. 34); Bühler 1894/95: 140; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 96–99; Woolner 1924: 32–37; Hultzschi 1925: 179–180; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 123; Andersen 1990: 51–57; Rastogi 1990: 229–230, 242.

Presentations of the site:

Photography: MADAR 1930: pl. VII,s (temple-ruins and lamp pillar); Krishna 1934: pl. VII,a (the hill seen from Brahmagiri), pl. VII,2 (temple-ruins and lamp pillar).

Literature:

Rice 1903: (2–3); Woolner 1924: xiv–xv; Hultzschi 1925: xxvi–xxvii; Krishna 1934: 27–28; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 231; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 7; Andersen 1990: 51.

Importance in antiquity:

The edict is witness to the sanctity of the hilltop already in antiquity. On the opposite side, on the highest part of the ridge, the wing of Jaṭāyu is said to have fallen down. Krishna 1934: 28 pointed to a “cave under a large overhanging rock” on this summit, today covered with a coating of *chunām* 2.5 inches thick, as a “likely place for an Aśōkan inscription”.

Maski

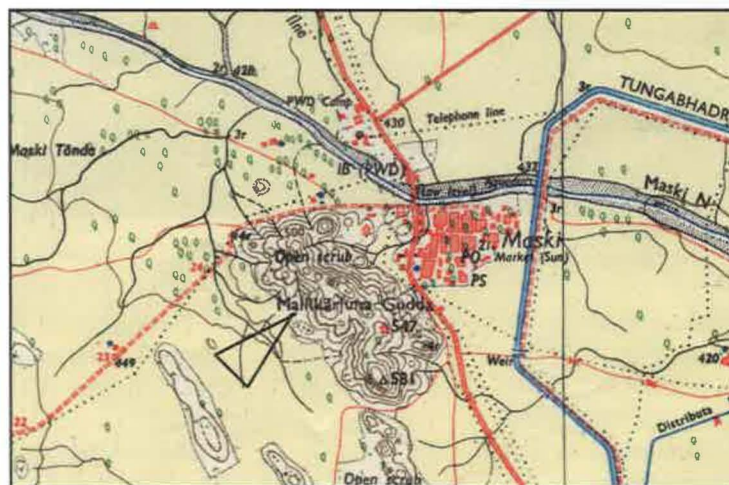
Raichūr District, Karnataka

15°57' N.

76°39' E.

GSI map 57 A/9

U502: ND 43-4



Further maps: Environs in B.K. Thapar 1957: 8.

Access:

In Maski town turn north and take the road to the left directly before the bridge. After bypassing the ridge the boulder covering the cave is to be found behind a huge tree.

The edict rock can be visited or photographed through the meshed wire fence from outside without any prior preparations being necessary. For close-up studies the door must be opened. There is no guardian on site and the key is with the “watchman” in Maski town; everybody seems to know him by this term. For photography inside the enclosure a permit from the Director General,

ASI, New Delhi, is indispensable. Have an extra copy in stock for the watchman.

Discovery:

“Mr. C. Beadon who has been prospecting for gold on behalf of Messrs. Taylor & Sons, in the neighbourhood of Maski, accidentally discovered some six months ago, on the 27th January 1915, traces of old writings on a natural boulder at the entrance into a spacious cavern on the south-western slope of the hill adjoining the village” (Krishna Sastri 1915: 1; cf. Rice 1916).

Preservation:

Parts of the *akṣaras* are in perfect condition, others are heavily damaged. Whole patches of the surface have been peeled off.

Measurements:

The text is 180 cm wide and 94 cm high, in 8 lines.

The *akṣaras* measure 5-7-10 cm.

Orientation:

The inscribed side faces the inside of the cave. The reader faces south-west.

Presentations of the text:

Rubbing: Krishna Sastri 1915: pl. II; Hultzsch 1925: 174; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 30; Sircar 1979: pl. XII.

Photography: Krishna Sastri 1915: pl. II, A, B (inscription).

Editions: Krishna Sastri 1915: 3-5; Senart 1916: 427f.; Hultzsch 1916, 1925: 174-175; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 93-96;



Fig. 1: View over the hill-side with boulder covering the edict cave.

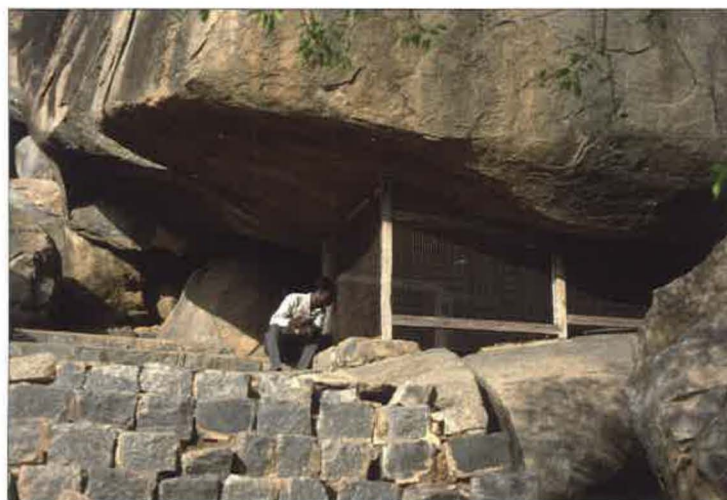


Fig. 2: Entrance to the cave; the edict rock is inside the cage.



Fig. 3: The edict stone at the low end of the cave.

Fig. 4: Close-up of the letters *u* and *pa* in *am sumi upāsake*.

Woolner 1924: 32–37; Bloch 1950: 145–149; Sircar 1958 = 1979: 50–71; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 36–37; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 118; Andersen 1990: 58–61.

Presentations of the site:

Photography: Krishna Sastri 1915: pl. I (slope with entrance to cavern); Yazdani 1938: Ia (excavations of the natural caverns near the Aśokan edict).

Literature:

Rice 1916; Woolner 1924: xv; Hultzschi 1925: xxv–xxvi; D.R. Bhandarkar 1929/30;

R. Thapar 1961/1997: 233; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 6; Andersen 1990: 58.

On excavations: Yazdani 1938; B.K. Thapar 1957.

On ancient gold mines: Allchin 1962.

On the site: B.K. Thapar 1957; R. & B. Allchin 1994–95.

On “budhuśake”: Roth 1972=1986: 116, 1982: 45; Andersen 1990: 58–61; Rastogi 1990: 219–220.

Notes on the text:

The text has been severely misread because

the surface is too destroyed for taking reliable rubbings. Because of its importance I give the full reading here:

1: (B) *devanapiyasa asokasa* [s]ā-[i]-----
(C) [a]dh[a][t].

2: -[ā]-i *vasāni* [-]am am sumi upāsake
(What is transcribed as [-]am consists of the major part of a vertical with an *anusvāra* dot, the lower part broken off. It seems that this is not a separate *akṣara* but rather the beginning of initial *a*: while chiselling the vertical the rock flaked off and the scribe repeated the character somewhat higher and smaller to the right of it.)

(E) [s]·[v]·(chale sā)-ire[k]e -· [s]u

3: [m]i paṃgha u·gate [-]ā [b]·-· -· [s]umi upagat[e] (F) *pure jambu* -

4: -·-· s[i] -·-·-·-·-· [t]·[d]·ni misibhūtā (H) *iya aṭhe* [kh]·da

5: ke[n]· [p]· dhamayū[t]e· sake adhigatave (I) *na hevaṃ dakhitaviye uḍā*

6: lake va ima adhigachayā ti (K) *khu[dak]e [ca] ma[h]ālake ca vata*

7a: viyā

(The preserved parts of the *akṣaras* allow only a restoration of *mahālake*, not of *uḍālake*, as was hitherto supposed.)

7b: (L) *hevaṃ ve kalamtaṃ bhada[k]e [h]o[t]i* (M) -·-·-· t·[k]· ca (N) *va[dh]i*

8: *siti cā diya[dh]iya hosatā*

(*hosatā* was meant to be *hosati*).

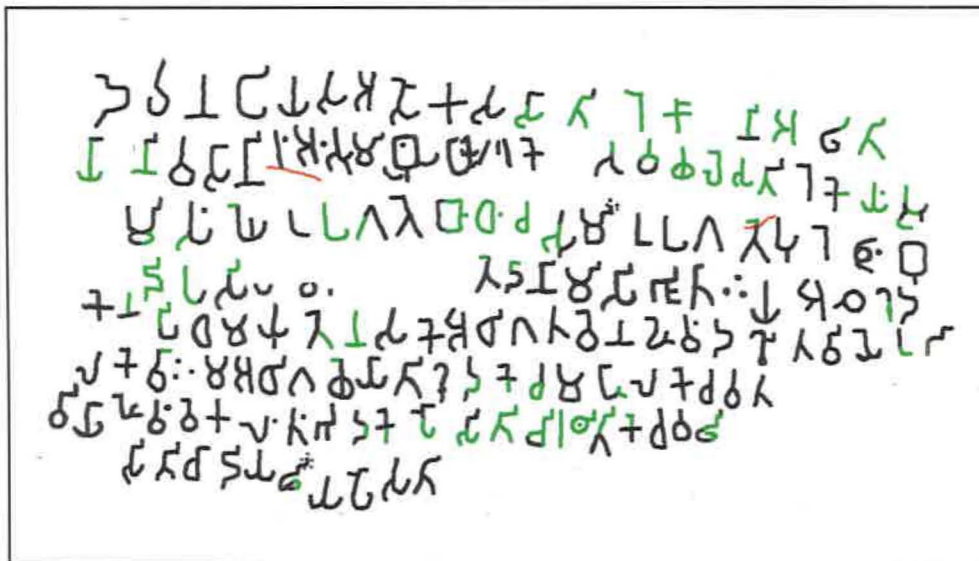


Fig. 5: Drawing of the edict with emendations in green.

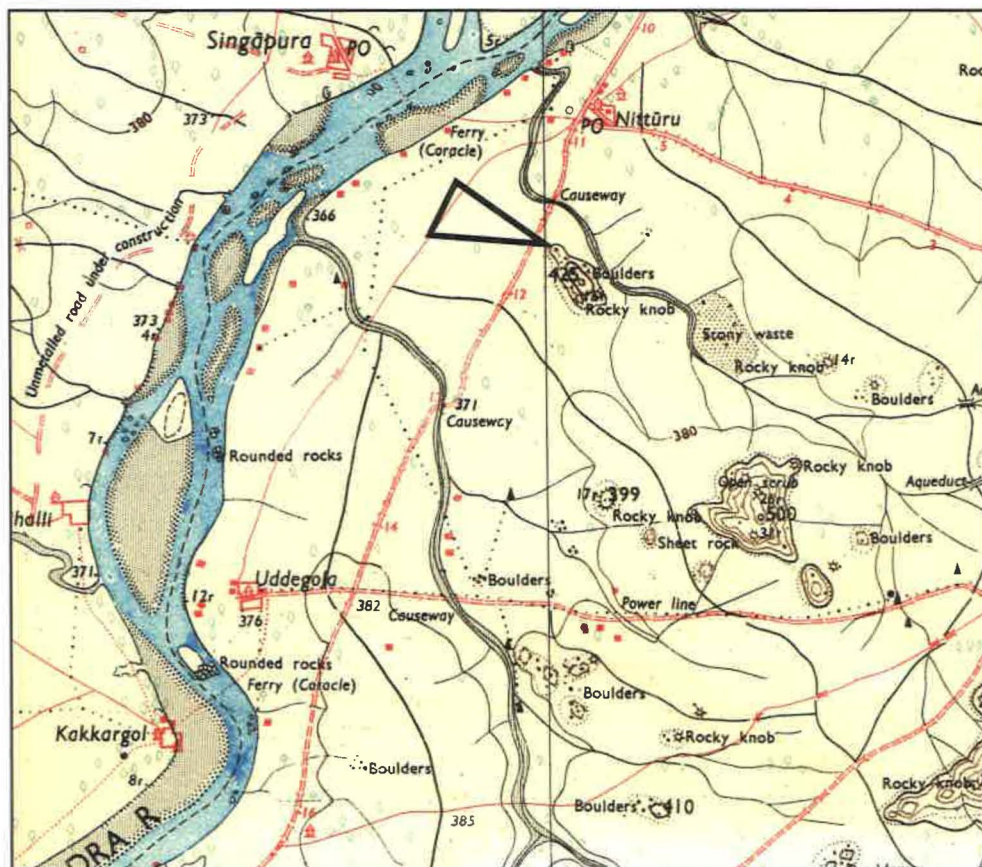
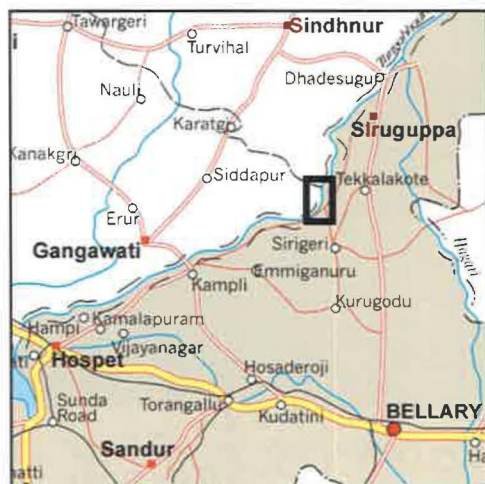
Niṭṭūr

Bellary District, Karnataka

15°33' N.

76°50' E.

GSI map 57 A/14



Access: On the Bellary-Siruguppa road by car to Tekkalakota. At the northern boundary of the town a small bridge crosses a ditch and the partly metalled road leads west to Niṭṭūr. Avoid the rainy season, since then the numerous channels cannot be crossed without a Jeep. In Niṭṭūr turn south for one km, then cross the fields on foot for the free-standing series of rocks (fig. 1). MRE1 and MRE2 stand 20 m apart and cannot be missed.

The watchman, Mr. Raj Muhammad (in 1996), was in the service of the local landlord, Mr. K. Nagaraj Gouda. The rocks are accessible without restrictions.

Discovery:

Early in August 1977 by C. Viswanath,

Junior Engineer (Bellary Branch of the Mines and Geology Dept. of Govt. of Karnataka) (Srinivasan 1971: 111). Viswanath informed S. Setthar at Dharwar, who rushed

to the site with his colleague S. Rajasekhara to take rubbings. A first note appeared in *IA-R* 1977/78: 63.



Fig. 1: The hill with the two edict rocks to the left.



Fig. 2: The rock carrying MRE1.

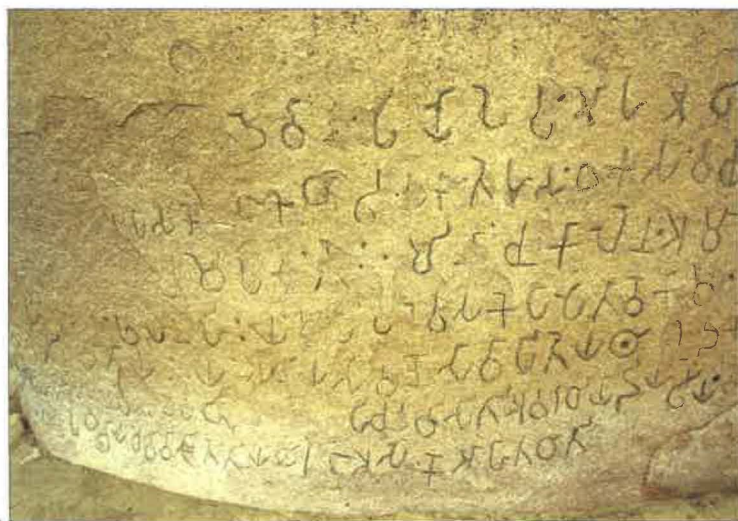


Fig. 3: Close-up of the beginning of MRE1.

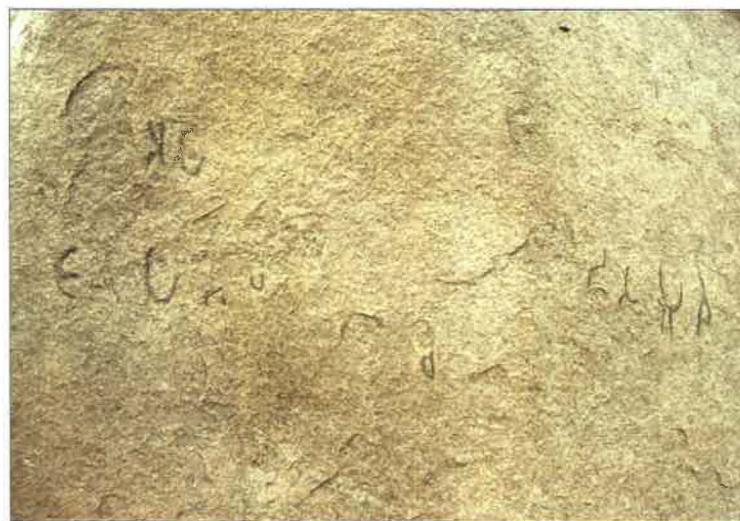


Fig. 4: Some undocumented letters on the backside of rock I.

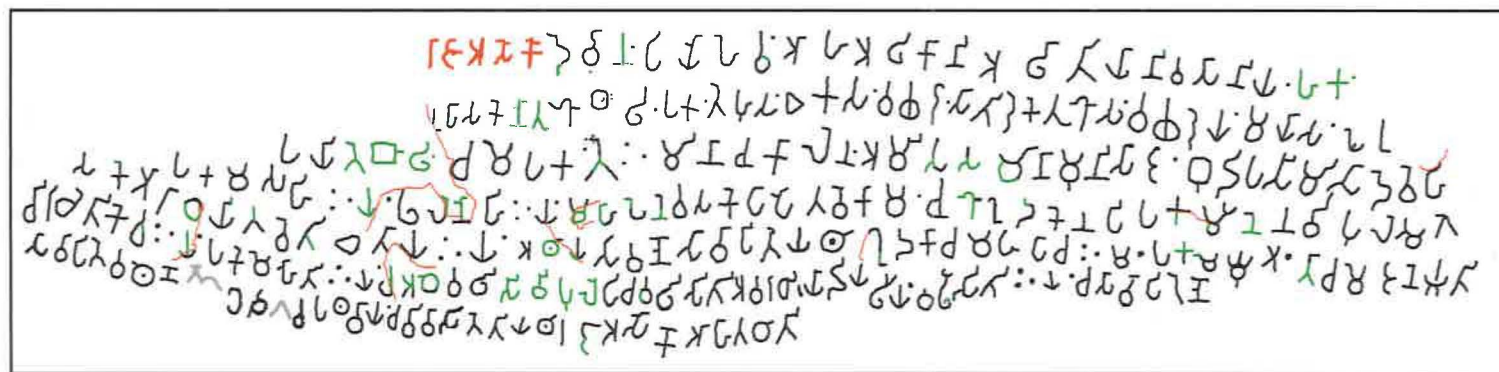


Fig. 5: MRE1, visible letters in black, abraded parts in green, reconstruction in red.

Preservation:

Good to very good, with some portions peeled-off.

Measurements:

MRE1: 570 cm around the rock, 128 cm high in 7 lines.

MRE2: 585 cm around the rock, 73 cm high in 5 lines.

Akṣaras:

MRE1: 6-13-18 cm, *MRE2*: 5-9-15 cm.

Orientation:

The inscribed vertical sides of the two rocks look north-west. Reading the lines of 5 m each requires constant walking back and forth and around the rocks. The inscribed sides face the approaching visitors of the Cukkuḍadappa stone.

Presentations of the text:

Rubbing: Srinivasan 1971-72: 112, 113 (lacking several letters in the middle section!); Sircar 1977 = 1979: pls. XX-XXIII; Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: No 7353, showing MRE1 and MRE2 on the same print.

Photography: *IA-R* 1977/78: pl. XXX-A; Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore:

nos. 6662-6671; 6693-6703, 6803-6809.

Editions: Srinivasan 1971-72: 113-115; Sircar 1977: 107f. = 1979: 125-128; Ritti 1981: 102; Andersen 1990: 63-69; Rastogi 1990: 348-349.

Literature:

IA-R 1977/78(80): 63; *ARIE* 1977/78 B 110; Andersen 1990: 62.

On preservation measures: *IA-R* 1998-99: 269.

Importance in antiquity:

There seems to have existed an old settlement on the big island in the Tungabhadra to the NW of Niṭṭūr, now completely under cultivation. The farmers used to unearth sherds and hit parts of buildings with the plough.

Wherever the original settlement was, the most important sacred place for the villagers of Niṭṭūr is by the painted rock of Cukkuḍadappa right behind the edict rocks along the water course. The idol is worshipped before marriages and on all major festivals, like Dussera etc.

At nearby Tekkalakota settlements go back to the neolithic-chalcolithic phase, see M.S. Nagaraja Rao & K.C. Malhotra: *The*



Fig. 6: The holy site of Cukkuḍadappa behind the edict stones.



Fig. 7: View from edict rock II north onto rock I; southern part of MRE2.



Fig. 8: Edict rock II with northern part of MRE2.

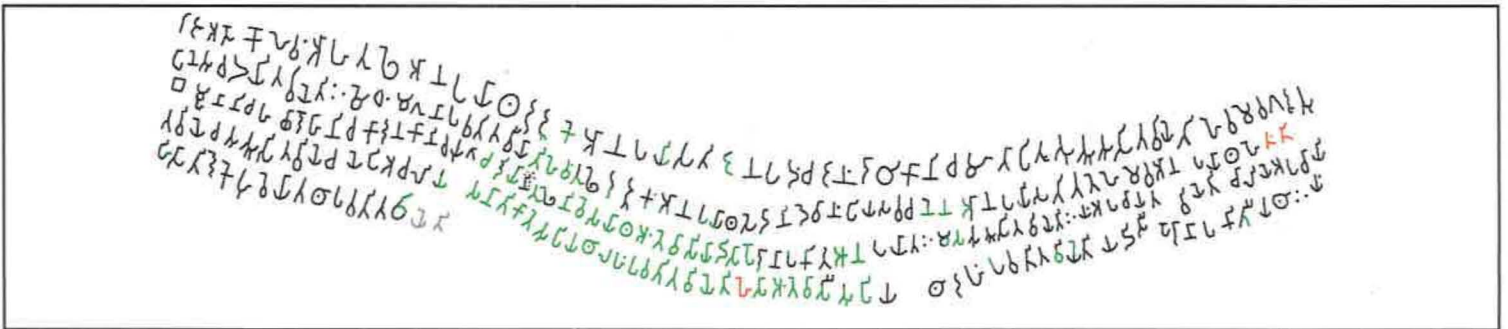


Fig. 9: Reconstruction of MRE2 with abraded letters emended in green and conjectures in red.

stone age hill dwellers of Tekkalakota, Poona: Deccan College, 1965.

Notes on the text:

Reading the rock itself led to many clarifications:

Line 1: (C) *aḥṭāyānā*; line 2 (C) *-upāsake*; line 3 (F) *iminā, devehi*; line 4: (H) *[maha]-p-[n]eva* [certainly no *pte* was written in **mahapteneva*; *mahāpena* is repeated below]; (I) *kāmaṇ cu* *-[o] khudakena pi*; line 5: (I) *-saka*; (J) *[s]i [e]tāya iyaṃ a[th]ā[y]a*; (K) *mahapā*; line 7 (O) *vatheṇa* [200] 50 6.

The end coincides with the end of the available space. This shortage of space may have necessitated a rewording or an abbreviation of the original message.

MRE2:

Line 1 (A) *āhe*; (D) *rāṭhikāni*; line 2 (I) *rajūka*; (J) *tate*; line 3 (J) *bamhanāni*, (K) *-ph*.

In the sequence *yugācariyāni ca tuphe*

one character must be missing between *yugā* and *phē*. The first *ca* was certainly there as is shown by the space between *gā* and the remnants of the *ra*. After *ra* comes a curvy upper part which would only fit to the *-i* of *ni*. Therefore it seems most likely to assume that the *yā* was omitted by oversight. The only other possibility would be to eliminate the second *ca*; but then the *-i-mātrā* on the char-

acter immediately succeeding the *ra* is difficult to explain.

Line 3: (L) *[pa]yāta i[m]* (*[pa]* could also be read as *[sa]*); line 4: (R) *yadisī porānā paki[r]*.

Particulars of the text:

On the rock of MRE1 the beginning of the lines has been shifted further and further to the left. The reason for this may have been the realisation that maintaining the size of the characters the space on the rock would not be sufficient. The rear of this rock carries several letters in random distribution; most likely they were incised for training.

Particulars of the script:

Although structurally the texts in Nittūr and Uḍegolam are almost identical, the scribe of Nittūr is certainly not identical with those (at least two) scribes of Uḍegolam. He places the *anusvāra* dots so far from the main character, that it is usually much closer to the following *aḥṣara*.

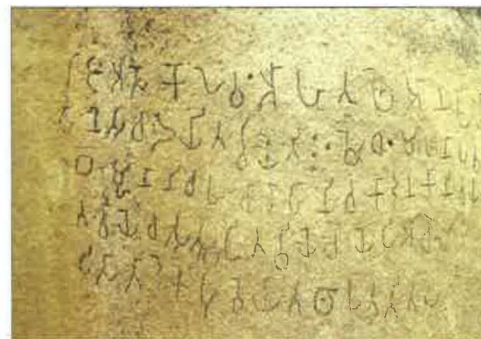


Fig. 10: Close-up of beginning of MRE2.

Pālkīguṇḍu

Koppal, Kopbāl

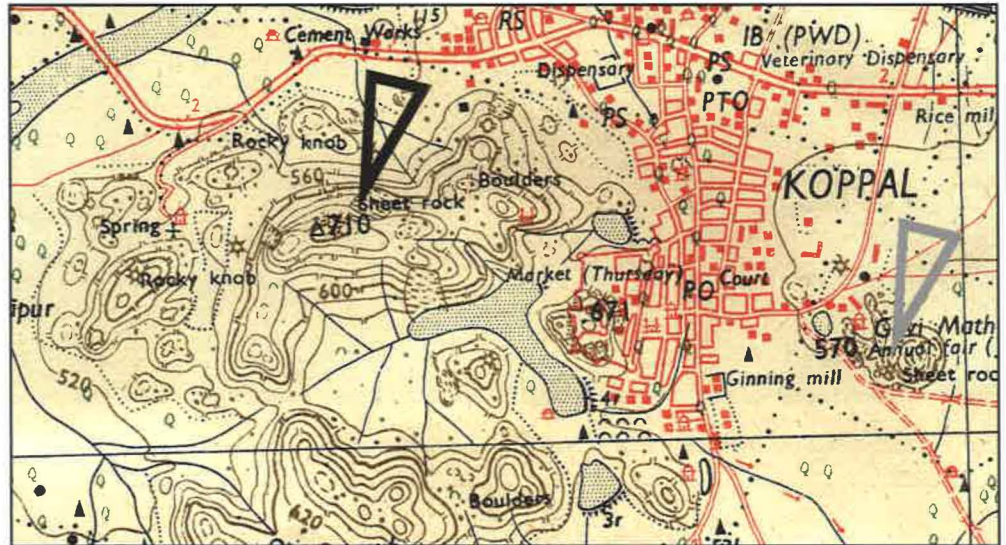
Raicūr District, Karnataka

15°21' N.

76°8' E.

GSI map 57 A/03

U502: ND 43-3



Access: Close to Kopbāl (Koppal on most maps) on the road from Hubli the road heads towards a mountain ridge. From the highway itself a flat coping stone can be seen right on top of the ridge (fig. 1). The edict is right beneath that rock. The top of the hill can be reached only by climbing, an undertaking which lasts at least 40 min. and

should be avoided in the full sun. A convenient starting point is the temple of Mallimalleśvar halfway up the ridge which is accessible by car. There, local guides can be found. First, the plain above the temple has to be crossed. Then it is necessary to ascend the steep hill-side right to its top. Following the stretch of flat ground on top of the ridge

the coping stone cannot be missed. The ASI built a flight of steps up to the coping stone. There is a magnificent view on the countryside and on parts of Kopbāl.

The place is freely accessible.

Discovery:

In January 1931, following information received from Mr. N.B. Sastri of Kopbāl,



Fig. 1: View of the mountain with canopy rock on top.

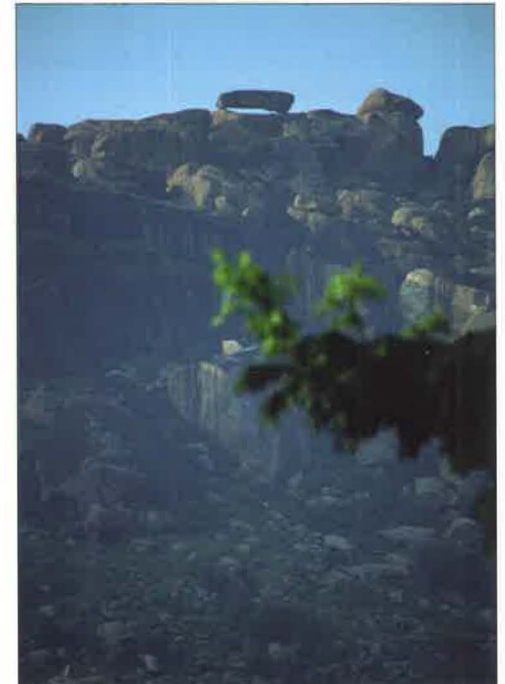


Fig. 2: The canopy rock seen from the road.



Fig. 3: The canopy rock as seen on the top of the mountain.

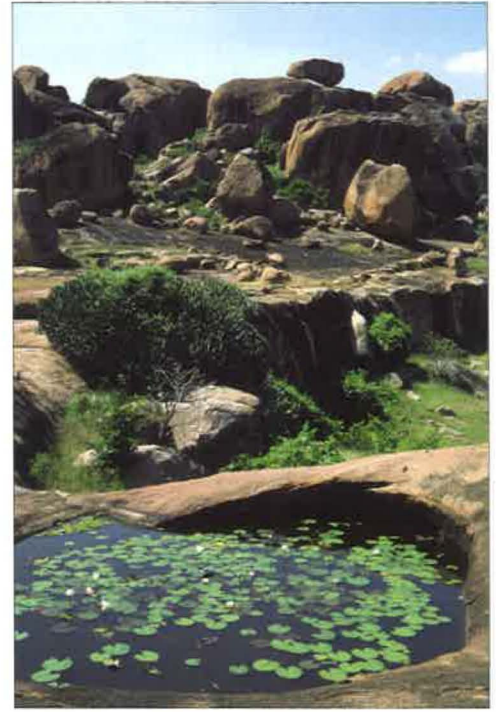


Fig. 4: Natural ponds on the plateau.

Mr. G. Yazdani sent Mr. Syed Yusuf, Assistant Director of Archaeology, to visit the site (cf. Yazdani 1932: 19).

Preservation:

Only the lower part of the MRE is preserved and is in rather bad shape. The place was used for ritual purposes for many centuries after Aśoka. Parts of the surface were chopped away to level the ground.

Measurements:

118 x 53 cm in 5 lines.

The average *akṣara* is 7 cm high.

Orientation:

The reader faces directly east.

Presentations of the text:

Rubbing: Turner 1932: pl. III.

Photography: Office of the Chief Epi-

graphist, Mysore, negative no. 8632: "Pālkiguṇḍu", = Turner 1932: pl. IV, showing the *akṣaras* redrawn on the negative = Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 43.

Editions: Turner 1932: 17; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 37; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 128; Andersen 1990: 70–71; Rastogi 1990: 222.

Presentations of the site:

Photography: Turner 1932: pl. XII.

Literature:

Turner 1932; Yazdani 1932; Pillai 1948; *ARIE* 1954–55: 28 B160; Pāṇḍeya 1965: *bhūmikā* 7; Andersen 1990: 70.

On local epigraphs: Pinhey 1916; Krishnamacharlu 1935.

Importance in antiquity:

Kopbāl certainly was an important place at

least from the megalithic period onwards. An inscription from the 9th century calls it a *tīrtha* (Krishnamacharlu 1935: 2f.). The horse-shoe-like hill formation is very favourable for storing water behind a *bund*, the hills themselves provide excellent shelter in times of war. The area abounds in minerals; the river offers good connections to the Tuṅgabhadrā system after the rains.

The hilltop shows several inscriptions and more than one sacred spot. Under the coping stone of Pālkiguṇḍu two pairs of *pāḍukas* inside circles testify to some form of early veneration. One of them is that of a Jaina ascetic called Jaṭāsiṃganandi, as the Kannaḍa inscription from the 10th century AD to the north of the Aśokan text



Fig. 5: The preserved parts of the edict.



Fig. 6: Close-up of some letters.

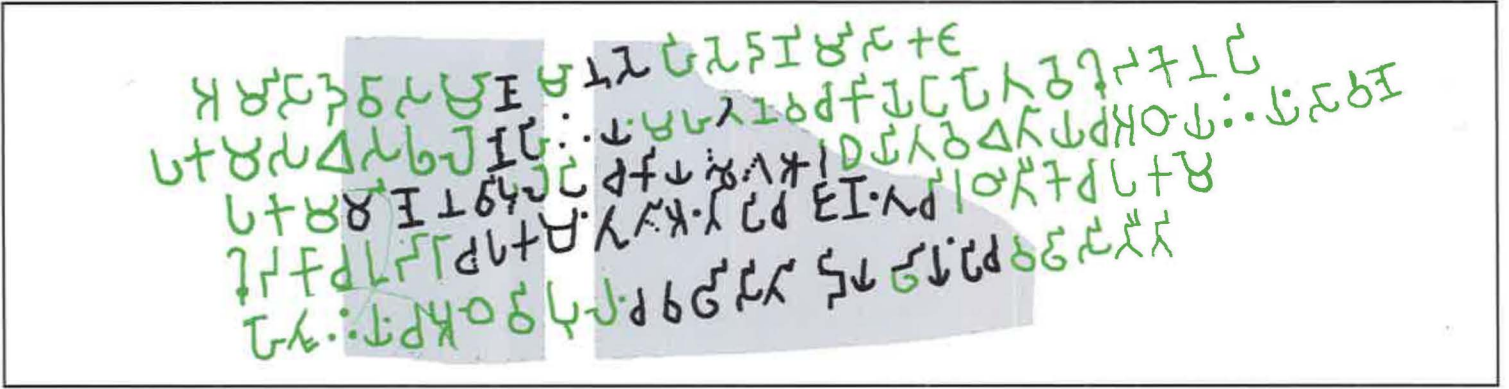


Fig. 7: This drawing is based on the rubbing as published by Turner 1932: pl. III. Comparing it to the text of the parallels and to the photograph in Turner's plate IV it will be seen that some sheets of the rubbing were assembled with an overlap that was too large. It is impossible to reconstruct the text with lines of equal length. Above these 5 lines at least three more would be necessary to house the full text as preserved at Gavīmāṭh.



Fig. 8: View from the edict rock towards Gavīmāṭh.



Fig. 9: View from the burial hill toward the edict hill.



Fig. 10: The modern steps and ancient postholes.



Fig. 11: Another sacred spot to the west of the edict on the same hilltop, being a natural cavity with *pādukas* pointing north in front of the entrance.

tells us (Krishnamacharlu 1935: 8 no. 6). Further to the west, at the end of the high plateau, more caves show *pādukas*. It is remarkable that all *pādukas*, including the one inside the Gavīmāṭh shelter, point straight north.

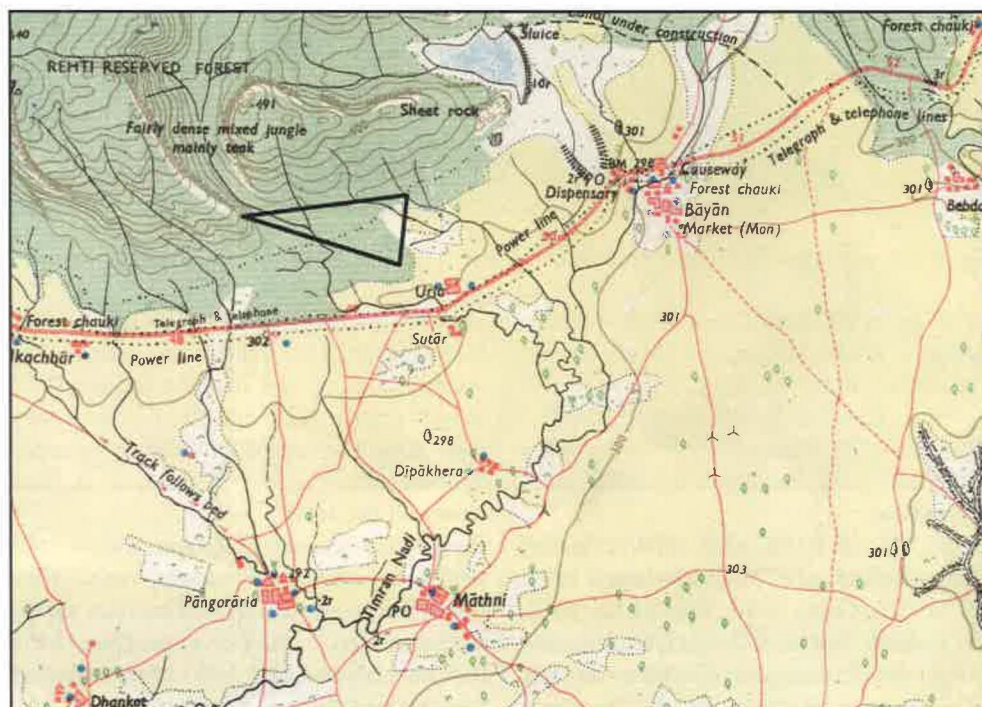
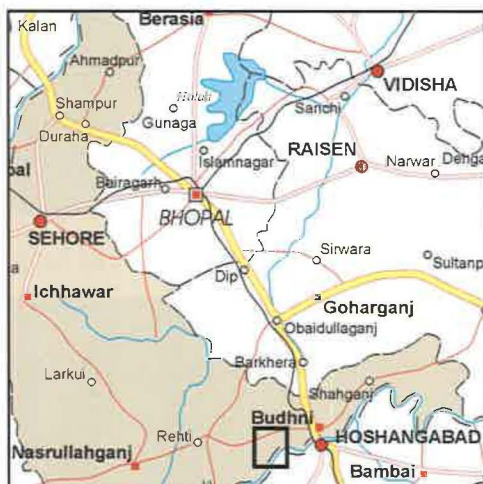
West from the Pālkiṅṇḍu hill, separated by a plain, rises another elevation, which contains a series of megalithic cist graves, locally called "shops of the Mauryas" (*mōri-yar-aṅgaḍi*; Krishnamacharlu 1935: 1). Today, nobody seems to be aware of this

designation. This hill can be ascended only from the north. A steep path ends in some sort of natural gate of huge slabs which then lead to the high plain, where lotus ponds with frogs and passing groups of monkeys recompense one for the climb.

Pāṅgurārīā

saru-maru guphā

Sehore District, MP
22°44' N.
77°32' E.
GSI map 55 F/10



Access: On the road from Rehti to Hoshangabad near km-stone 10 to Rehti at the village Saru-Marū kī Kothadi. The cave at the southern end of the Vindhyas can be seen at some distance to the north of the road (fig. 1). From the hamlet one walks to the channel, turns right and crosses it at the bridge. The way through the woods is not too troublesome. No restrictions.

Discovery:

The site was found some time before March 1976, when D.C. Sircar received a first set of rubbings and photographs. The discovery is attributed to three archaeologists in the service of the ASI, Nagpur branch, B.P. Bopardikar, P.R.K. Prasad and A.J. Nambhiraju

(Sircar 1971–72[81]: 1).

Preservation:

Most letters are almost perfectly preserved and look as if chiseled recently; unfortunately, a substantial part of the stone has flaked off (fig. 7). The debris has never been searched through for such flakes.

Measurements:

51 x 108 cm.

The *akṣaras* measure 2.2–2.4–2.6 cm.

Orientation:

The text faces south-east in a rock shelter facing south.

Presentations of the text:

Rubbing: Sircar 1971–72 “Sections I and II”; Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, negatives nos. 6758 and 8645.

Photography: NN 1975/76: pl. LXIV; Sircar



Fig. 1: View of the hills with the entrance to the cave on the left hand side.

Fig. 2: The largest *stūpa* just beneath the cave.

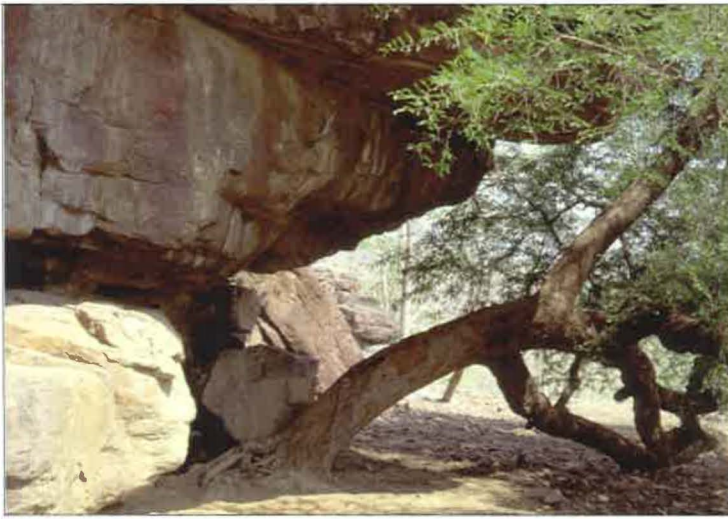


Fig. 3: The rear of the edict rock at the foot of the tree.



Fig. 4: The cave rock overhanging the platform with the MRE to the right.

1979: pl. XVII; S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 98c; Office of Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: nos. 6734–6741; 6758; 7849.

Editions: Sircar 1971–72: 8 (cf. 1977/78) = 1979: 101–103; Krishnan 1989: 5–7; Andersen 1990: 73–77; Rastogi 1990: 347.

Literature:

ARIE 1975–76: B160; *ARIE* 1976/77: B 171; Sircar 1977/78a, 1977/78b; Andersen 1990: 72–73; S.P. Gupta 1980: 196; Sarkar 1983, Chakrabarti, Tewari & Singh 2001–02: 70. *On further inscriptions:* Subramonia Iyer 1973 (on umbrella post); Sarkar 1983.

Importance in antiquity:

The place was part of a Buddhist monastery. There are about nine *stūpas* below the cave, all of them open. The biggest one, right below the platform of the cave, is on its own platform and once had a circumambulatory path. At its northern end a *chattra* and its pole were found, the latter inscribed in the first century BC or AD. The *chattra* is only

slightly damaged, the pole is still unbroken. Both parts are kept today in the house of the warden in the village. Position and condition of both parts make it unlikely that they were ever erected on top of the *stūpa* as intended by the donors.

Notes on the text:

Read: (A) *viyuthe*; (C) *yate sumi°*; (D) *bāḍha*; *husaṃ ti va*; (E) *saṃva . re [sā]* (line 8) *[dhi]ke . . ghe a yāte bāḍha[m] ca sum[i] pakamte*; (E) *saṃvavara ya* (line 8) *u* (unclear); *su (u-mātrā bent)*; *ma sa* (unfinished) *ghā ya* (could also be *pa*, without a preceeding *u*, in any case); (F) *ima[m] ca kalam jambu-pasi* (line 9) *devā na [manu-se]pi misabhūtā husu°*; (H) *ese*; (J) *sāvaṇe*; (K) *ca* (strange shape, resembling a *ṭi*, also found on the local separate edict); *uḍāarakā*; (Q) *yath ca pavatā yathā ca silāthaṃbh*.

Particulars of the script:

The number sign 200 resembles a Roman M, a shape not attested anyplace else; *ca* comes



Fig. 5: The MRE stone re(?)-erected.

in various distorted shapes; thrice unknown letters are given the shape of a *ṭi*: *sa* of *saṃgha* in line 8, *ca* in line 11, *vi* in line 12, as is *sa* in line 2 of the separate edict.

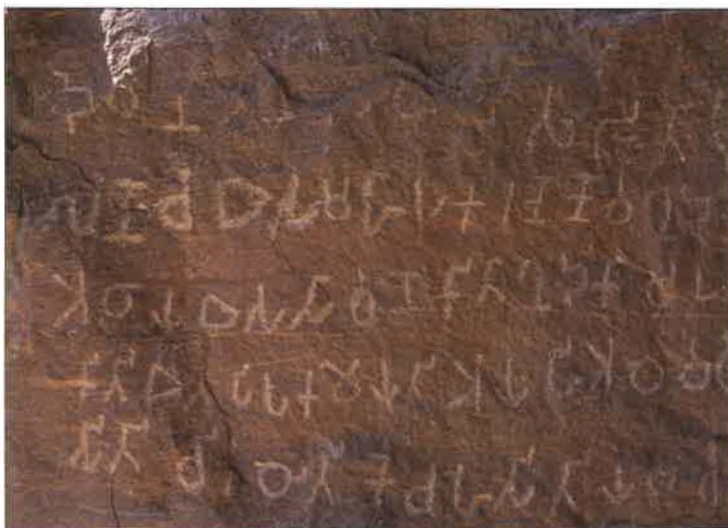


Fig. 6: The beginning of the MRE.

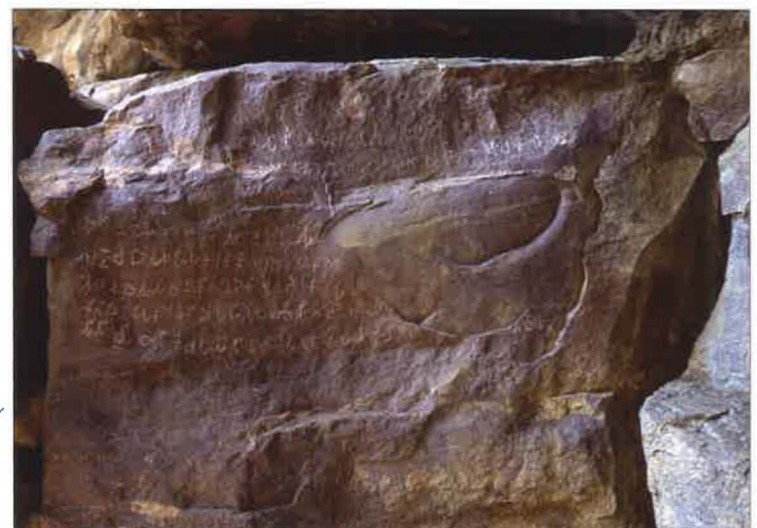
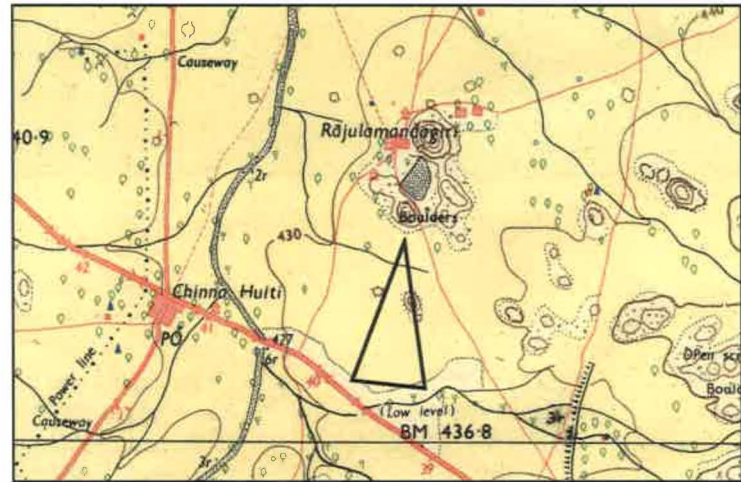
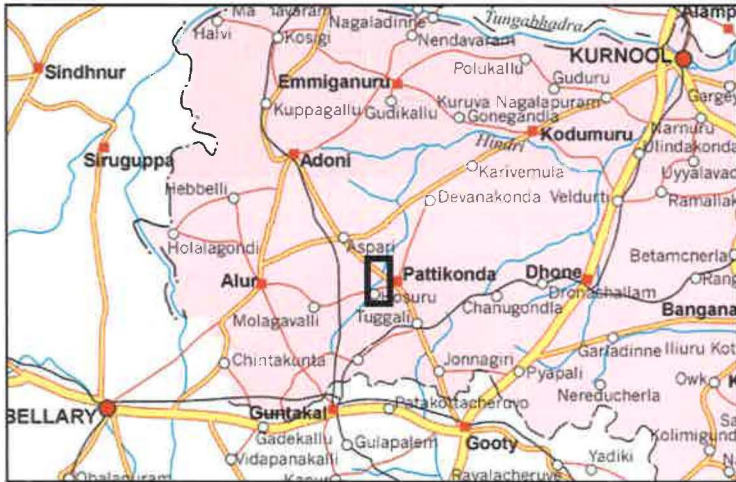


Fig. 7: The MRE stone.

Rājula-Maṇḍagiri

Kurnool District, AP
 15°26' N.
 77°28' E.
 GSI map 57 E/7
 U502: ND 43-4



Access: On the road from Gooty to Adoni, 5 to 6 km north of Pattikonda turn right at the hand pump towards Rājula-Maṇḍagiri on a dust-road. The white Liṅgeśvara temple becomes visible some hundred meters before the village itself. Walk to the temple. In front of it is a big water hole overhung by a fig tree. The steep water hole measures about 5 m across and is regarded as a singular site in this arid landscape. The inscription is on the right side of the water hole on its eastern side. The place is without shelter or fence and freely accessible.

Discovery:

Some time around the beginning of the 19th century an eye-copy of some letters of this

edict was incorporated into the voluminous collection of literary remains and manuscripts initiated by Colin Mackenzie, the first Surveyer General in India. The record was inspected by Mr. T.G. Aravamuthan in 1946, who sent a copy to the Govt. Epigraphist for India, and later informed this agency about his source stating that the inscription is located “opposite the west Gopuram of Pedda Rāmaliṅga Devālayam in the southern part of a village called Rājula-Maṇḍagiri in the Pāñchapālayam Taluk”. The place, unknown at that time, was traced by the Epigraphical Assistant M. Venkataramayya in 1952, and first visited by him on December 26, 1953 (cf. Sircar 1955–56b: 211f.).

Preservation:

Apart from some lost patches the text is preserved fairly well.

Measurements:

The text is 190 cm wide and 110 cm high; it comes in 15 lines.

The *akṣaras* measure 3–4.5–7 cm.

Orientation:

The lines run east-west, the reader faces south.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: Sircar 1955–56b (from Mackenzie’s Mss.).

Rubbing: Sircar 1955–56b = 1979: pl. XVIII = Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: No. 8941; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 44.



Fig. 1: Temple and tree as seen from the road.



Fig. 2: Waterhole and temple.



Figs. 3 and 4: View of the sacred area with tree overhanging the water-hole; the edict is in the centre of the right picture.

Photography: Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: Nos. 2962 = 5883.

Editions: Sircar 1955–56b: 216–218 = 1979: 110–112; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 129; Andersen 1990: 78–85; Rastogi 1990: 225, 238–239.

Literature:

ARIE 1953–54: 3 B63; Sircar 1955/56b; Andersen 1990: 78.

Importance in antiquity:

The water-hole is certainly the reason why the site is sacred. It is said to contain drinkable water all through the year and attracts many pilgrims.

The small but prominent Liṅgeśvara temple by its side is not the oldest construction on the spot. Its door opens west towards the water hole, thus clearly orientating itself towards the most sacred place. Adjoining the pool to the West is the older Bhūmalīṅga temple, very small and simple, sheltering a Nandi who faces east in the direction of the pool.

Many inscriptions of all periods around the pool testify to its constant attraction.

Importance today:

There are *melās* in the month of Kārttika on Mondays.

Notes on the text:

For what can still be read see fig. 7.

In sentence (E) read *///payite*; in (H) *no hi yaṃ mahatīneva*: there is no *sandhi*-form *hīyaṃ*; (I) *vipule sval*; (K) *///lakā -maṃ paka*; (L) *jān(·)[v]u*; (M) *ho[t]u*; (J) starts with *hema-ānapa* and ends with *[tu]phe*; (K) starts with: *hevaṃ niv-sa[y]ā[tha]*, (P) with: *hemevase*, (U) with: *heva[m] de[va] -piye [ā]napayati*.

Particulars of the script:

As at Erraguḍi, the text begins with a triscels. As can be seen when comparing the lines of Erraguḍi with those at Rājula-Mandagiri, the scribe(s) copied from the same original. The comparison also shows how one line at Erraguḍi has to be read. Andersen's theory of 1991 that the strange movements of lines at Erraguḍi have their origin in an exemplar with a series of lines containing an equal amount of *akṣaras* is thus irrefutably proven.

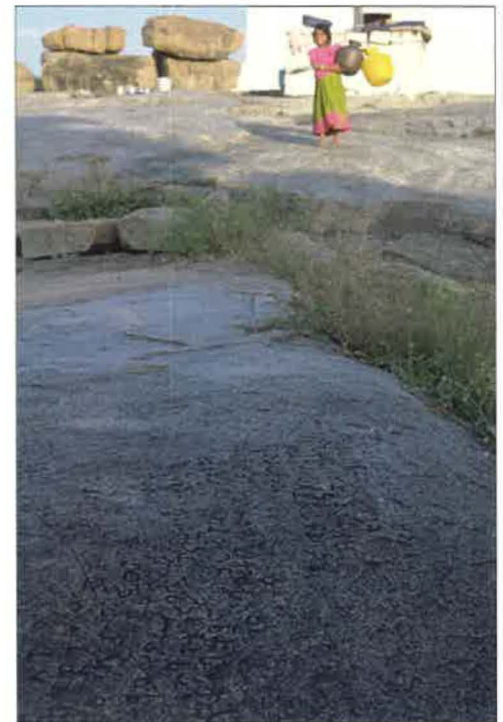


Fig. 5: The rock-bottom with the edict.

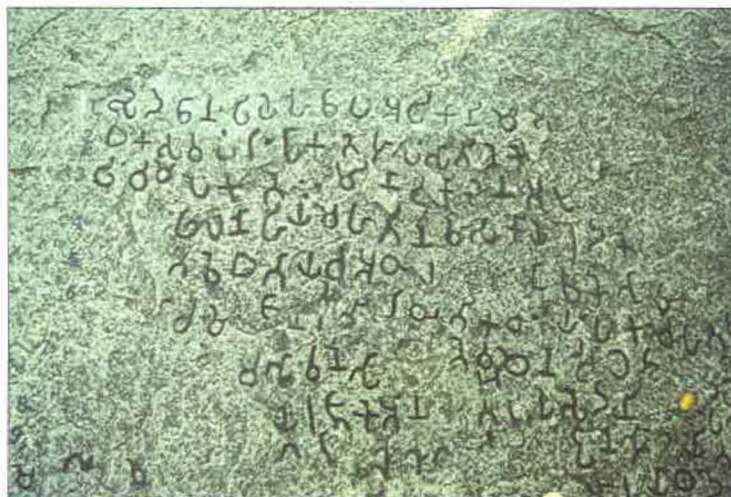


Fig. 6: Beginning of the edict.

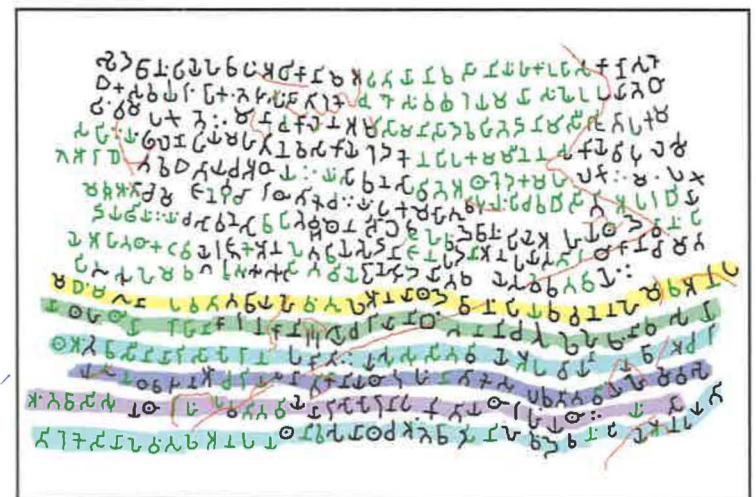


Fig. 7: Visible letters in black, emendations in green; cf. p. 71.

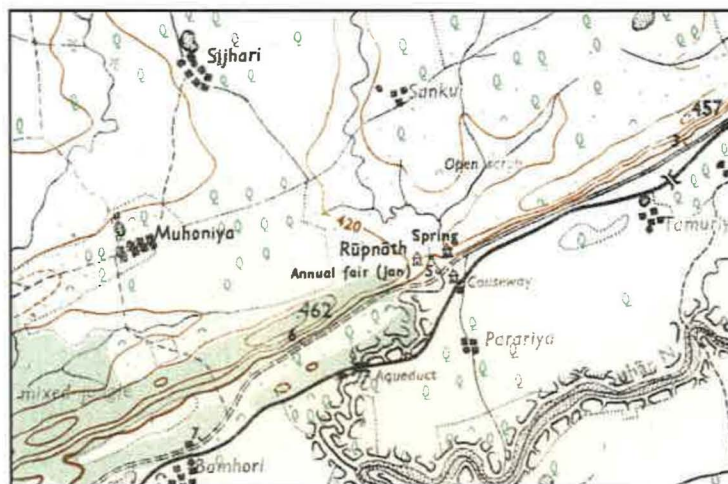
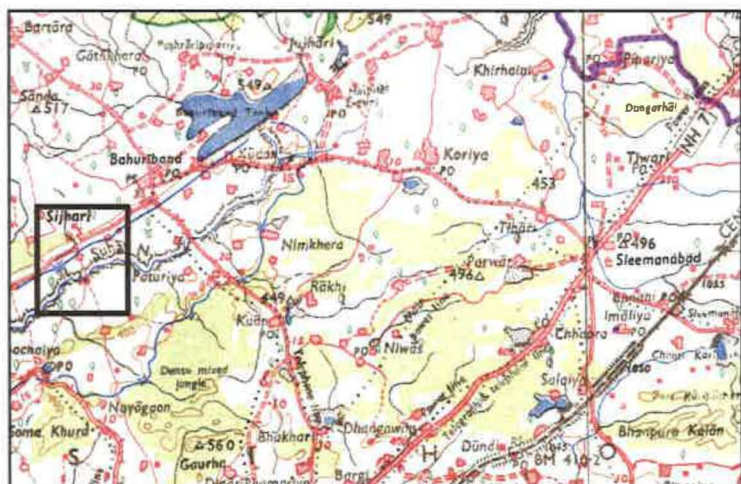
Rūpnāth

Jabalpur District, MP

23°38' N.

80°02' E.

GSI map 64 A/2



Further maps: Small map in Cunningham 1879: pl. VIII.

Access:

By road from Katni: after milestone “sihora 7” turn right at the sign reading “bahariband”. Coming from Sihora/Jabalpur the sign is seen to the left after milestone “katni 44”. Follow the road to Bahariband for 20 km up to the ridge. Don’t ascend, but turn left on to an unmetalled road for 5 km. The place is then off to the right side, fenced off and cannot be missed.

There is a second road starting from Sleemanabad, but it is longer and much worse.

The temple area is open to public; the edict rock open and unguarded.

Discovery:

First found and imperfectly copied by a servant of Colonel Ellis for the Bengal Asiatic Society in the 70s of the 19th century (after R.K. Mookerji 1962: x).

Preservation:

Rather good even after prolonged use as a seat at the *ghāt*.

Measurements:

130 x 25–29 cm on the lower extreme end of a flat rock measuring 170 x 300 x 80 cm. The *akṣaras* are of the one-inch type.

Orientation:

The slab is oriented east-west, the writing facing north at the southern end of the lowest lake.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: Cunningham 1877: pl. XIV.

Rubbing: Bühler 1877: 156, 1893a (new); Hultzsche 1925: 166; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 26; Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, negative no. 5511.

Photography: Upadhyay 2005: pl. 1.

Editions: Cunningham 1877: 95; Bühler 1877: 156f., 1878, 1893a; Senart 1884a: 449–451; Lévy 1896; Fleet 1909: 1013f.; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 93–97; Woolner 1924: 32–37; Hultzsche 1925: 166–169; Bloch 1950: 145–150; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 34–35; Sircar 1965b: 47–50; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 111–112; Andersen 1990: 86–90; Rastogi 1990: 214–215.



Fig. 1: The entrance to the compound around the sacred area.

Fig. 2: The ASI shed beside the water-fall.

Copy:

A very imperfect reproduction is found at the entrance to the compound.

Presentations of the site:

Drawing: Cunningham 1877: pl. XXIX.

Literature:

Cunningham 1877: 21–22; Woolner 1924: xiii–xiv; Hultsch 1925: xxiii–xxiv; D.R. Bhandarkar 1929/30; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 234f.; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 5; Andersen 1990: 86.

On the text: T.W. Rhys Davids 1877a; Neumann 1896; Venis 1907: 4–7; Hultsch 1909b, 1910a,b, 1911d, 1912; Thomas 1912.

On the site: Cunningham 1879; Cousens 1897: 29, 1903–04; R.K. Sharma & S.N. Mishra 1992 (the place he examined is situated on the plain above the falls. The excavations shed no light on any aspect of the Aśokan edict).

Importance in antiquity:

“An annual *mēla*, or fair, was formerly held here on the Siv-rātri; but this has been discontinued since the time of the mutiny” (Cunningham 1879: 38).

Importance today:

Śiva is venerated as Rūpnāth in a small temple in a cleft, “where the Bunder Chûa nālā pours over the face of the Kaimur range of hills. The descent is made in three falls, each of which has a famous pool, which is also an object of worship” (Cousens 1897: 29). The two old temples are visited throughout the year. New temples are under construction.

Notes on the Text:

[Line 1:] (B) *devānoṃpiye*; (E) *hakaṃ sagh- pāpāte* [The dot in *hakaṃ* is on the base line. In *pāpāte* the first *pā* has a slanting obliterated stroke at its bottom left, making it look almost like *sā*. This stroke itself seems to be a reflex of an original ini-



Fig. 3: View over the edict stone to the eastern side.

tial *u*. The *-ā* vowel is obliterated and may not belong to the original inscription. In the second *pā* the *-ā-* vowel is likewise obliterated. Whatever was incised originally it was certainly ultimately based on *upayīte*.]. (F) *jambudipasi*; in *devā* the *vā* shows both *-ā* and *-u-mātrās*; (I) *khudakena hi ka* [*hi* is definitely there, after which some depressions would best be read as *ka*.] [Line 3:] (I) *paka[ma]minenā* [the left bar of the *ka* in *pakamaminenā* was forgotten]; *vipule* [The *pu* is very strange, being small

with a very small *-u-mātrā* closed by a horizontal bar]. (L) *atā* [The top of the *tā* in *atā* is turned left and topped by a half-circle resembling a more modern *i-mātrā*].

[Line 5:] (Q) *silāṭṭhabhe*; (S) 200 [the number 200 has been miswritten or misunderstood as a *su*].

Particulars of the script:

The scribe used some shapes of characters and readings which best are explained as being the result of a rather cursory knowledge of Brāhmī.

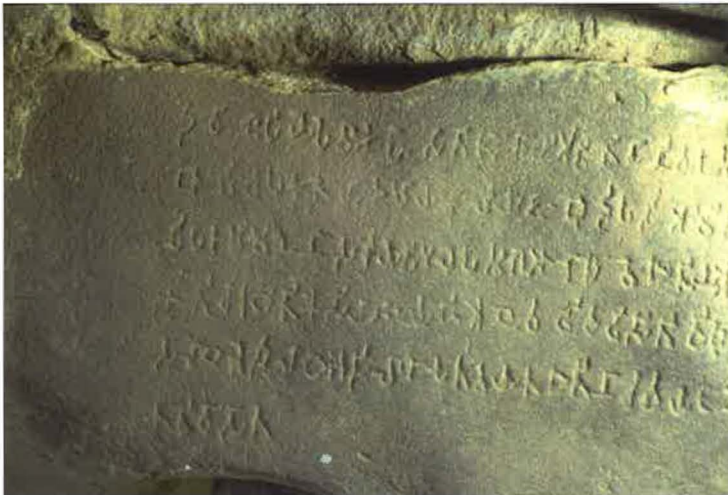


Fig. 4: The left portion of the edict.

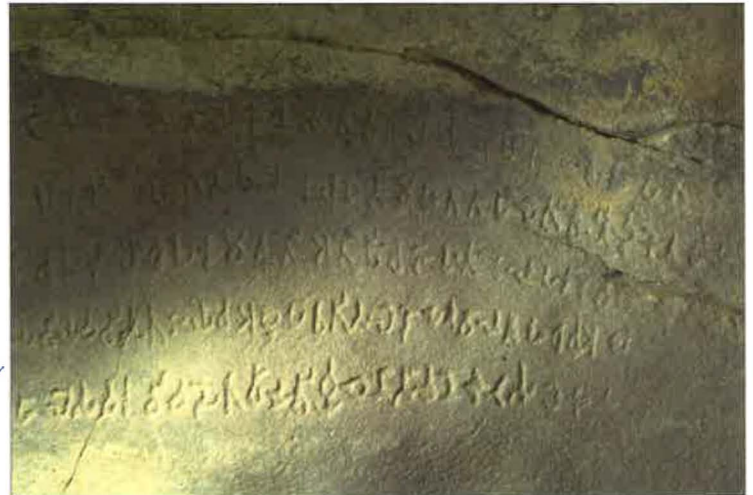
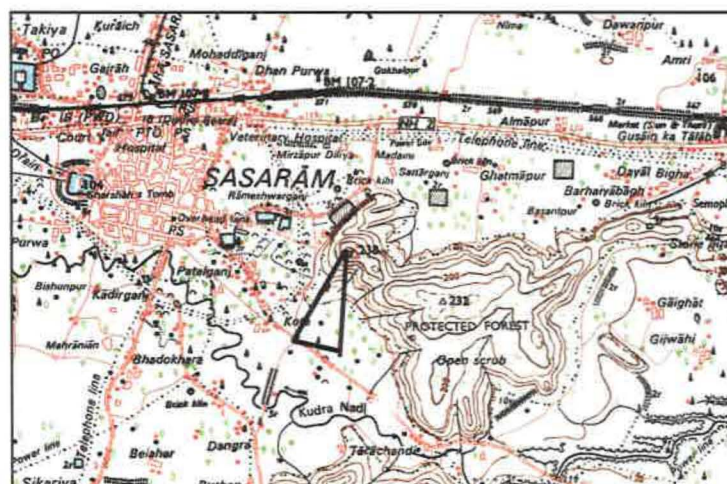
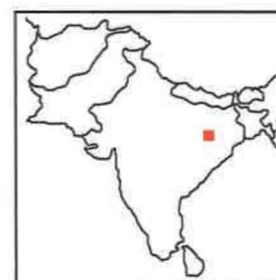


Fig. 5: The right side of the edict.

Sahasrām

Sassarām; Asiquepur

Rohtās District, Bihar
 24°57' N.
 84°02' E.
 GSI map 72 D/1



Access: The town of Sahasrām or Sassarām is famous for the tomb of Sher Khān Sūrī, who once defeated Humayun, and of his father, Ḥasan Khān Sūrī. There is a prominent hill 5 km east of the town which can be seen from any of these impressive monuments. From the main *chowk* one follows the National Road east for 2.8 km until a sideroad starts with a sort of *torāṇa* which branches to the right. Follow this road for 2 km, at which point the round wall of a big well is reached where the car may be stationed. To the East of the well a path is discernible marked with patches of white colour leading up to the summit of the hill. It is called Chandan Pīr hill, because Pīr Chandan Shahīd used to live there. Climbing

to the summit over undressed rocks takes about 30 minutes time.

The Pīr's tomb crowns the summit. Just below it to the West is a small room, hardly bigger than 1 square metre (fig. 3). It is called Chirāgh dān, or lamp room. Its white-washed gate is always visible during the ascent, but when nearing the top it can easily disappear from view.

The tiny shelter was once closed on all sides by brickwork and provided with an iron gate. The lock was missing in 1993. The left side of the room shows part of a horizontal slab which forms a sort of wall table on which the lamp of the Pīr must have stood (fig. 4). The locals place incense and flowers

on this slab. The vertical side of this table-rock carries the Aśokan inscription, which was painted white at places by the adorants of the Pīr.

Discovery:

In 1839 a copy of the Sahasrām Rock Edict was secured by E.L. Ravenshaw from Shah Kabiruddin (Mookerji 1962: ix); cf. Cunningham 1876; Bühler 1877: 155f.

Preservation:

The inscribed front side is painted and cleaned alternatively; still, no substantial part of the text seems to have been lost during the course of the last few decades.

Measurements:

101 x 31 cm; *aḱṣaras*: 2 to 3 cm.



Fig. 1: View of the edict hill from the tomb of Sher Shāh Sūrī.



Fig. 2: Edict hill from below.

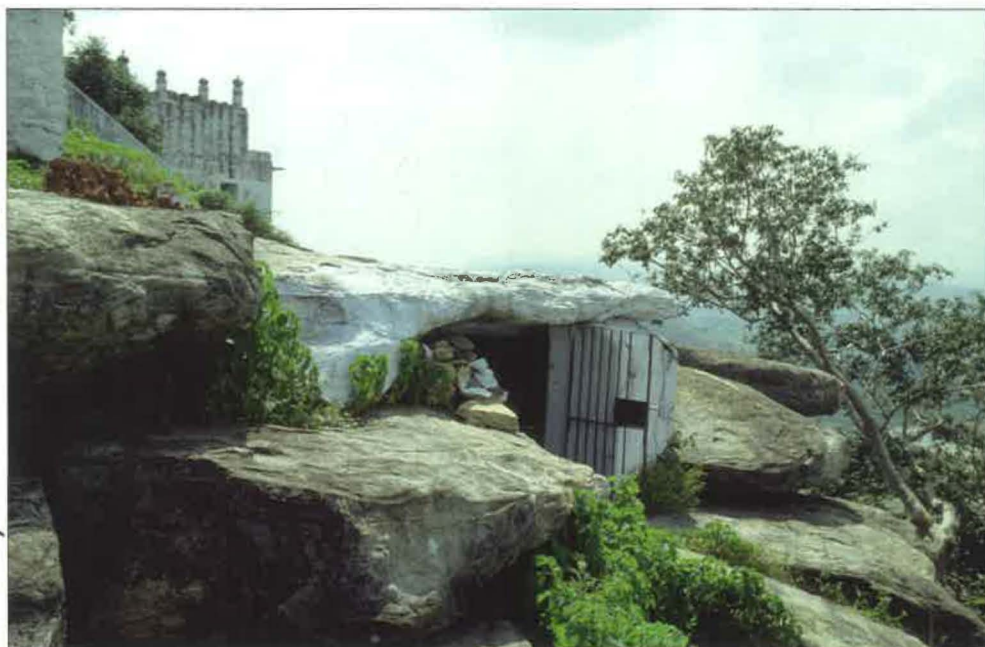


Fig. 3: Entrance to the cave.



Fig. 4: View into the cave of the edict in 1999.

Orientation:

The text faces south.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: Cunningham 1877: pl. XIV, rev. by Bühler 1877: 155.

Rubbing: Bühler 1893a; Hultsch 1925: 170 = Kuraishi 1931: 184 (upside-down); Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 27; Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, Neg No 8377, labelled "Sahasram".

Photography: Beglar (before 1893) in Hultsch 1925: 170; Caddy 1895: 153 (unpubl.); Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 27.

Plaster cast: Caddy (1895: 156) for the Indian Museum, Calcutta; cf. *ASIAR* 1922–23: 140.

Editions: Cunningham 1877: 94; Bühler 1877: 155f, 1878, 1893a; Senart 1884a: 447–449; Lévy 1896; Bhandarkar &

Majumdar 1920: 93–97; Woolner 1924: 32–37; Hultsch 1925: 169–171; Bloch 1950: 145–150; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 35–36; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 113; Andersen 1990: 91–95; Rastogi 1990: 217–218.

Literature:

General: Cunningham 1877: 20–21, 1880b; T.W. Rhys Davids 1877a; Venis 1907: 4–7; Woolner 1924: xiv; Hultsch 1925: xxiv; D.R. Bhandarkar 1929/30; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 235; Patil 1963: 514–518; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 5; Andersen 1990: 91.

On the condition of the stone: Grierson 1897: 149.

On ancient vestiges: T. Bloch 1902; Roy Choudhury 1966: 879.

On preservation measures:

The ASI provided the place with "warning

and direction boards" in 1934–35 (*ASIAR* 1934–35: 19).

Importance in antiquity:

"The tomb of Chandan Shahid has long been known to stand on the remains of an ancient structure but the inscription of Asoka was all that could be definitely styled to be Buddhist on this hill. On the occasion of my visit I noticed a broken umbrella now called by the Muslim keepers of the shrine, Chanda Shahid's shield, which points to the existence of some Buddhist shrine on the hill. Is it not possible that the umbrella crowned the chaitya (*stūpa*) over which Chanda Shahid's tomb was afterwards built?" (Panday 1918: 55).

"General Cunningham, however, quotes a legend which seems to have been suggested by that of Sahasra Arjun. According to this



Figs. 5 and 6: Parts of the painted edict in 1994 when it was not yet fully painted over.



Fig. 7: View of the hilltop with a bathing place.



Fig. 8: View over another bathing place to the plain at the foot of the hill.

story a Muhammadan saint living at Benares had his head cut off by a Hindu named Chandan, and fled away without his head cut off till he reached Sasaram. Here he asked a woman for some betel to eat, but she replied: 'What is the use of giving you betel when your head is gone?' On this, the holy man at

once dropped down dead. A small building close to the *dargah* was erected by a tobacco-seller in 1804, and at the foot of the hill is a ruined mosque of the time of Jahangir (1613 A.D.)" (Roy Choudhury 1966: 879).

Importance today:

"The inscription itself is scarcely known,

even in Sasaram" (Caddy 1895: 156). There is an annual fair during the Mahāśivarātrī, attracting 50,000 people of every creed who visit the tomb and the lamp room of the Pīr; for festivities in the rainy season, local legends and further antiquities see Sh. Bahadur 1945.

Siddapur

Śiddhapur; Siddāpur

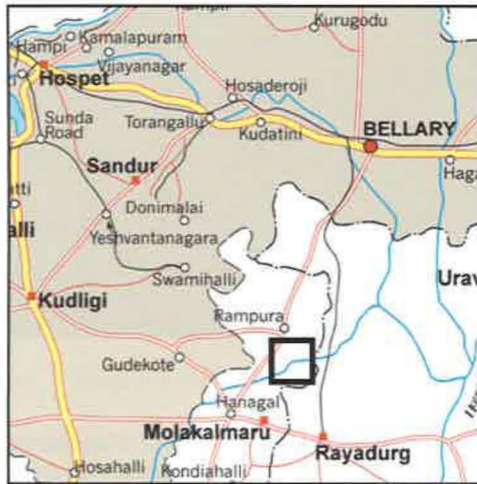
Chitaldrug District,
Karnataka

14°49' N.

76°48' E.

GSI map 57 B/13

U502: ND 43-8



Name: Śiddhapur, Siddāpur (Krishna 1934: 27); the rocks themselves are called *yenamana timmayyana guṇḍlu* or “the buffalo-herdsman Timmayya’s rock”, according to Rice 1903: 2.

Further maps:

A general account of the topography was worked out by M.H. Krishna in *Mysore Archaeological Dept. Annual Report for 1940*, Mysore 1941: 63f.

Access:

Inside the village of Kat Siddapur cross the channel, follow the water course to the East towards the fields, cross the fields towards the North. The ASI shelter can be seen from afar. Steps lead to the platform from the rear of the rocky outcrop.

The ASI shed is regularly looted for its iron bars, the edict often covered with goats sheltering from the heat outside: open access despite the shed.

Discovery:

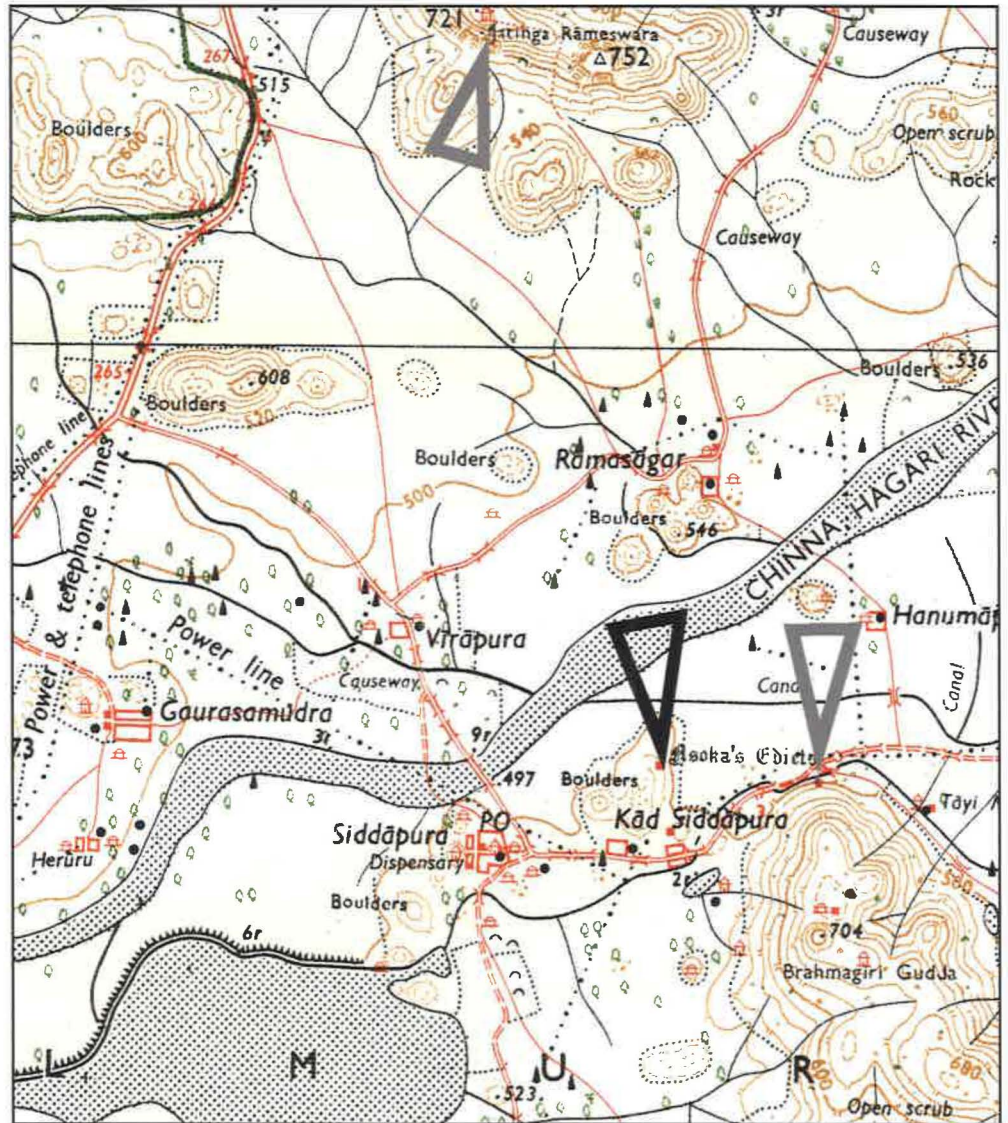
1892 by Lewis Rice (Rice 1903: 1, cf. Burgess 1893a).

Preservation:

Partly in good condition, partly effaced. The shed built over the inscription was made watertight again in 1963 (*IA-R* 1963–64: 114); on a new grill with wooden frame *IA-R* 1985–86: 157.

Measurements:

The inscription is 395 cm long in 22 lines, which are 130 cm wide in the upper part, 215 cm in the middle part and 283 cm below.



The *akṣaras* measure 7-12-17.5 cm.

Orientation:

The reader faces west. The overhanging rock of the shelter opens to the south and is highest at its eastern end.

Presentations of the text:

Rubbing: Bühler 1894/95: pl. II; Hultzsck 1925: 178–179; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pls. 33–34.

Photography: Office of Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: Nos. 4702, 4703.

Editions: [Rice 1892]; Rice 1903: 162 (no.14); Senart (cf. 1892a), Bühler 1894/95: 139–140; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 93–99; Woolner 1924: 32–37; Hultzsck

1925:178–179; Bloch 1950: 145–150; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 33–34; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 121–122; Andersen 1990: 96–102; Rastogi 1990: 227–228, 241.

Literature:

Rice 1903: (2); Bühler 1893b, 1894/95; Hultzsck 1925: xxvi–xxvii; Woolner 1924: xiv–xv; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 236; Pāṇḍeya 1965: *bhūmikā* 7; Andersen 1990: 96.

On the site and other inscriptions: Krishna 1934: 27–28.

Importance in antiquity:

In the plain north of the Brahmagiri ridge a settlement was explored during the course of



Fig. 1: View over the plain of Siddapur with edict rock indicated.

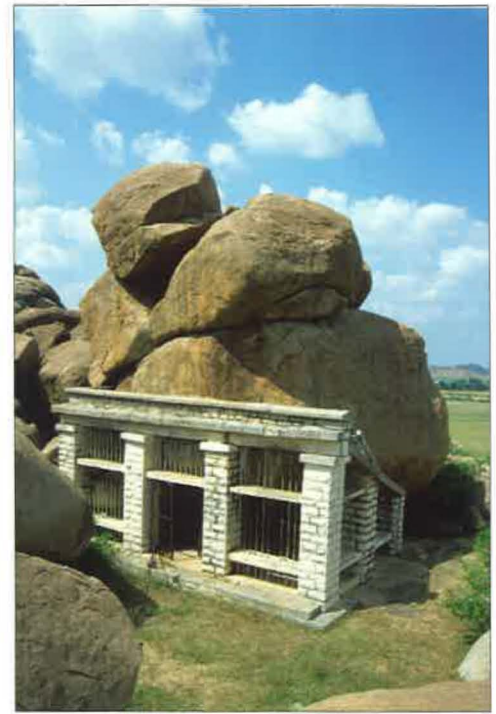


Fig. 2: The ASI shed.

several campaigns and subsequently excavated starting from 1945, documented in Wheeler 1947/48. Wheeler found three cultures with clear overlapping phases between them. The oldest was labelled "Brahmagiri Stone Axe". It may have its roots in the "early first millennium B.C." (202) and produced polished pointed-butt stone axes and microliths, used copper sparingly and had hand-made incised coarse grey pottery (202).

The middle phase called "Megalithic" was characterized by the construction of megalithic graves, consisting of a square cist with a porthole around 45–60 cm wide, invariably in the eastern wall, covered by a capstone and surrounded by a circular dry-stone wall. Interspersed between the cist-graves are pits, also with circular walls, where the dead may have been exposed on bed-like constructions before their long-bones and skulls were transferred to the cists. The cists were provided with grave goods, which were then covered with earth. The long-bones and the skull were deposited on this level, sometimes accompanied by more pottery, and again covered with earth up to surface level. The culture did not originate amongst the stone axe population, but came from outside, from the South or South-West, with a fully-fledged iron-technology. The pottery is black-and-red, incised with the usual graffiti (244), turned on a slow wheel and polished. The beginning of this culture was guessed by Wheeler to be in the 3rd or

2nd century BC (201). He wanted to rule out an invasion during the time of Aśoka, on the basis that this mighty ruler would have prevented any military invasion.

Houses were constructed without stone walls. Perhaps coinciding with the megalithic period is a brick *caitya* in a very delapidated condition (186), close to the Brahmagiri rock, "a furlong to the south-east, up the hillside". Its bricks measure 43 x 22 x 7.7–8.8

cm (187 fn. 1) in a ratio of 6:3:1, which may be compared to the usual Mauryan bricks measuring 41 cm x 28 cm 7 cm in a ratio of 6:4:1.

The last phase called "Āndhra", marks a new intrusion. It is characterized by rouletted ware right from the lowest stratum (200). This defines its initial phase around the beginning of our era. The fast wheel was used as well as salt-glazing (236).



Fig. 3: The inscribed rock floor.

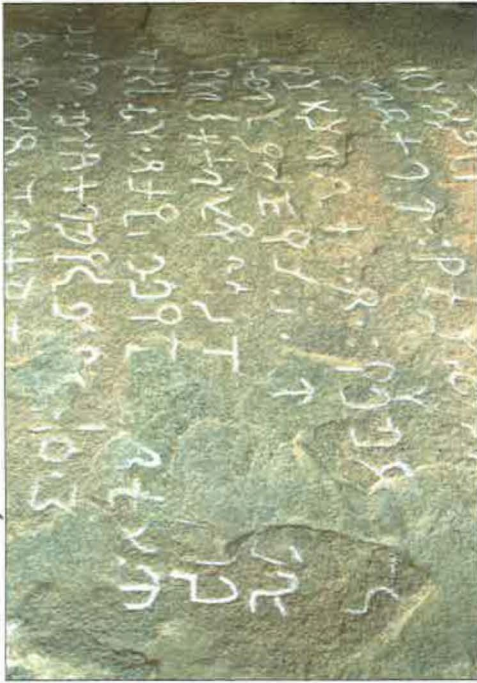


Fig. 4: The rock-bottom with parts flaked off.

The megalithic phase alone fits with the Aśokan data. To place several *mahāmātras* into Isila presupposes an economically significant settlement, which is not to be expected of a stone-age community. If the new population came from the South, Aśoka may not necessarily have been hostile to it, but rather have tried to incorporate this indubitably more advanced people into his empire.

Importance today:

None.

Notes on the text:

Figure 3 shows what can be seen today, the drawing (fig. 5) replaces the missing letters in green. The old readings can be improved only slightly: in sentence (D) read *sava-*[*cha*]re; in (E) *saṃvachare* [*ya*]m; in (H) *pāpo*[*ta*]ve; (J) starts *se* [*e*]; (G) *śa*[*ca*]m.

Particulars of the text:

All three of the Siddapur edicts commence with an introductory formula, which shows that the settlement was called Isila, Skt. **ṛṣila*, probably an abbreviation from a compound like *ṛṣigiri* or the like. The place had several high officials, who were affiliated to Suvannagiri, i.e. Jonnagiri near Erṇagudi.

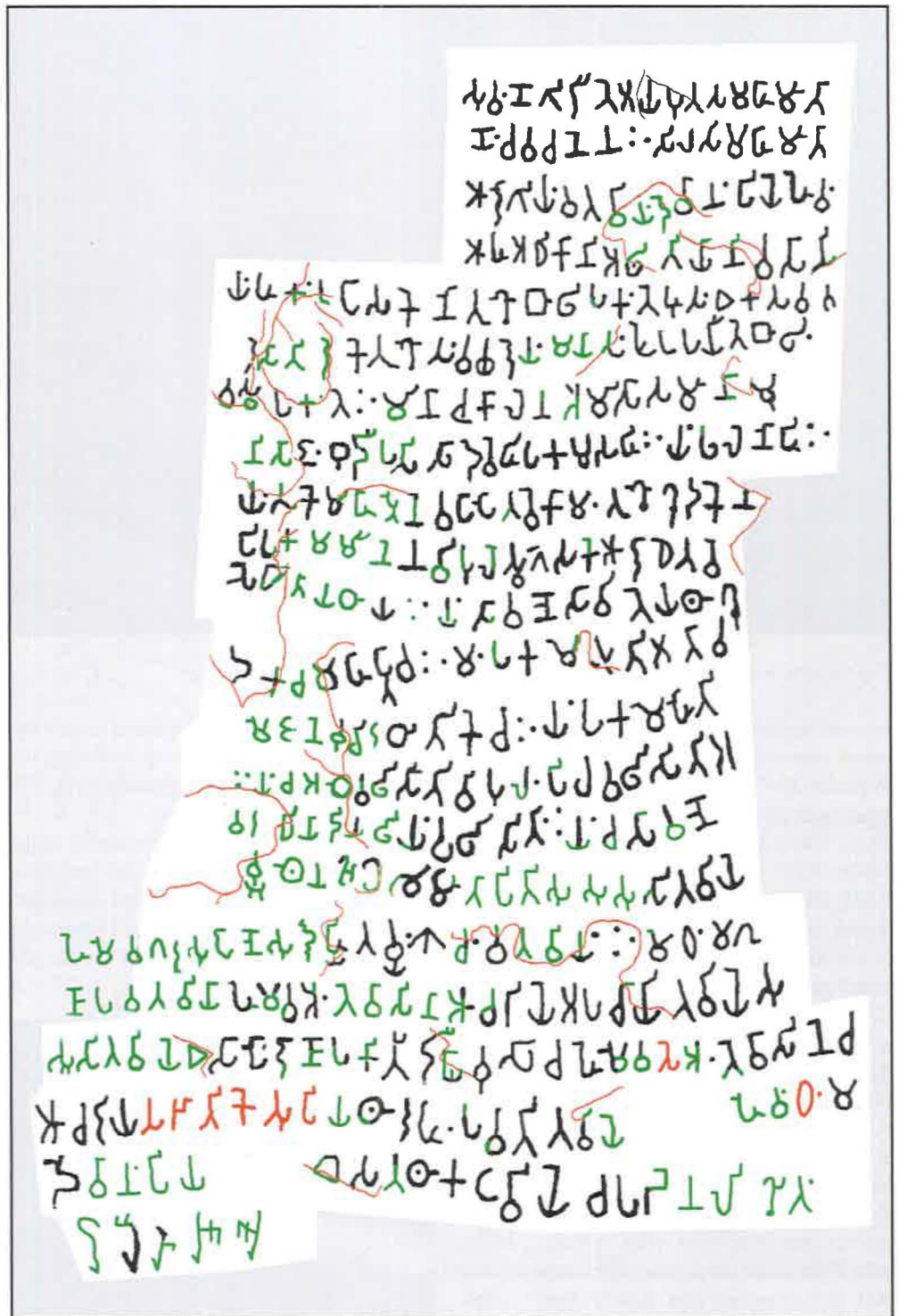


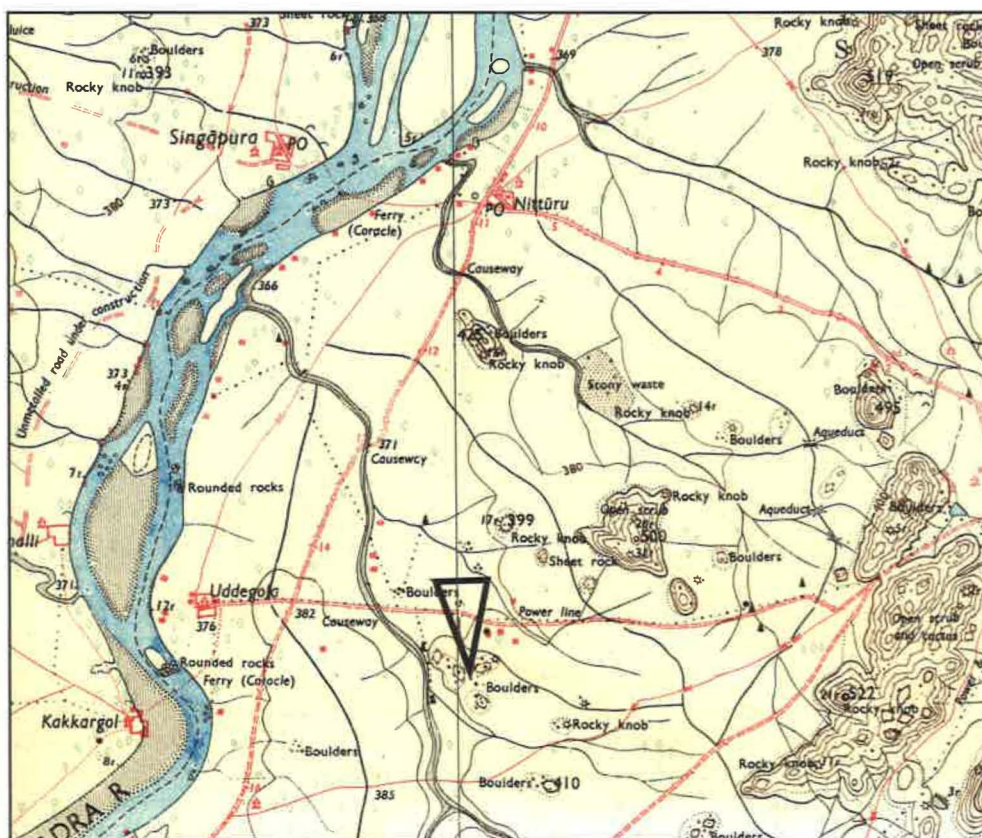
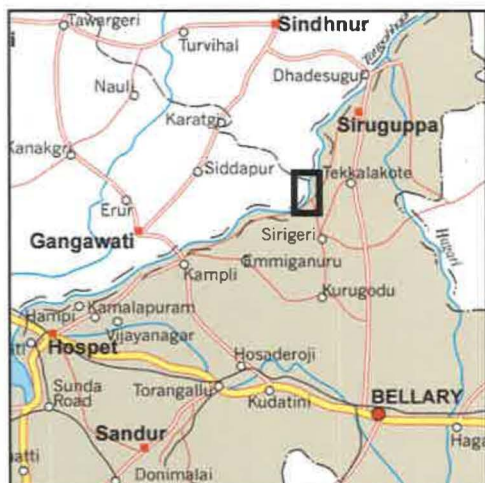
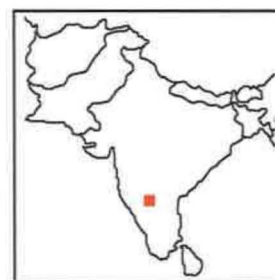
Fig. 5: Verified letters and reconstructed edict, showing extent of the rubbings.

The introductory formula has an interesting parallel in Nasik, as Bühler (1894/95: 141) has shown: *raño gotamīputasa sāta-*

kaṇisa mahādeviya ca jīvasutāya rājamā-tuya vacanena govadhane sāmako āroga vatavo tato eva vatavo.

Udegolam

Bellary District, Karnataka
 15°32' N.
 76°50' E.
 GSI map 57 A/14



Access: At Niṭṭūr go south, pass the local edicts and follow the road for 4 km. At the bus-stop turn left and take the unmetalled road for 1 km, over the dike, then turn right towards the rocky outcrops and follow the track as far as possible for about 150 m. The group of boulders is locally known as Erramaṭṭi. When reaching the meadow the rock with MRE2 is straight ahead in front of the right outcrop. The boulder with MRE1 is on the left side, 120 m over the fields, easily recognizable through its triangular top.

In 1996 the ASI was assembling building material to construct a rain shelter.

Discovery:

In March 3, 1978, C.S. Patil was sent to

Tekkalakota after the Director of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore, had received a note that beyond Niṭṭūr one could be directed to a further set of edicts by an informant. On arrival he was lead to the inscribed rocks

of Niṭṭūr, discovered about half a year earlier. Rather disappointed, the informant and Mr. Patil had dinner in the evening at a restaurant in Tekkalakota, regretting their unsuccessful mission. At the neighbouring

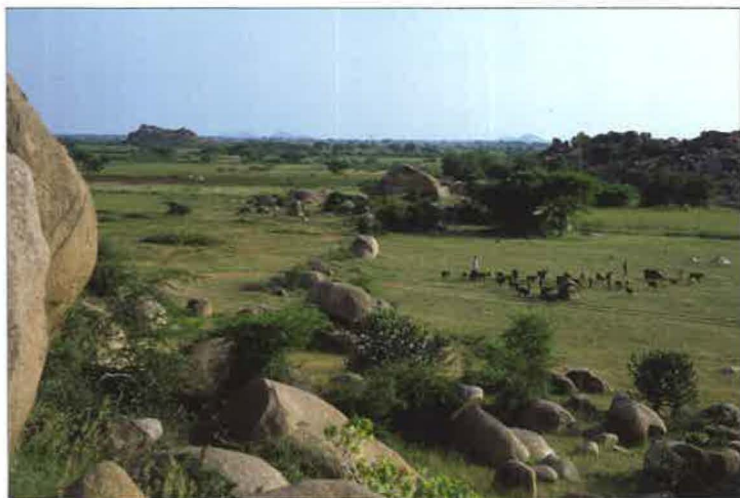


Fig. 1: View on the plain with the triangular edict rock I in the centre.

Fig. 2: Side view of edict rock I with ancient stone showing a couple.

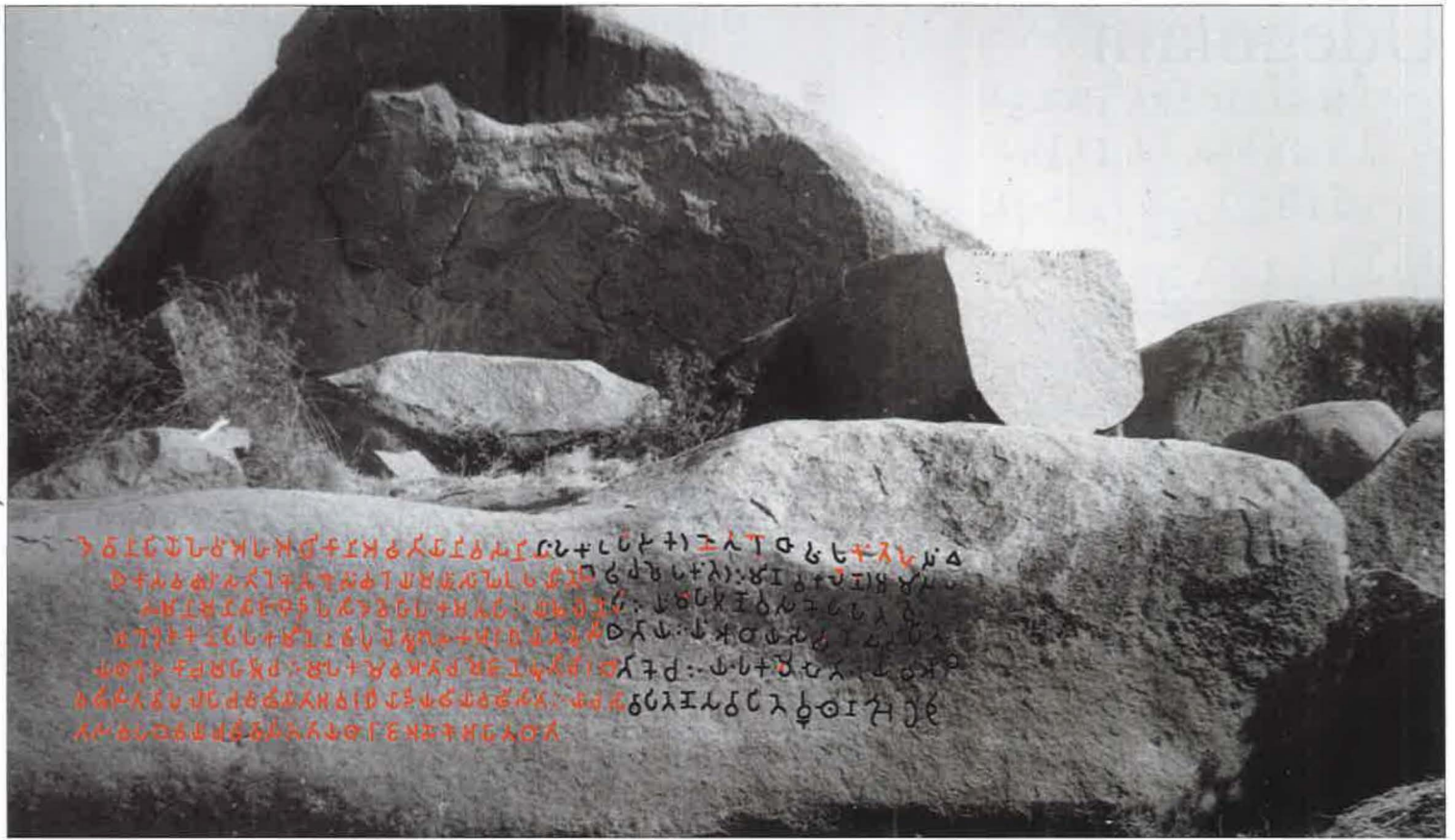


Fig. 3: Reconstruction of those parts of MRE I which were lost when the rock was fired.

table a young man, Sheik Shashavali, resident of Udegolam, overheard their conversation and decided to ask them whom he should inform vis à vis a set of inscriptions located near his village. He had written a letter announcing his find but did not know where to send it. Mr. Patil arranged to meet Mr. Shashavali the next day. The three went to the rock showing MRE2 and Mr. Patil immediately recognized its Asokan origin. After a telegram to Mysore disclosing his find he was ordered to return.

March 10, 1978: After the initial newspaper reports had appeared the Chief Epigraphist sent two of his staff to the spot. Dr. M.D. Sampath took rubbings from MRE2 and was shown the boulder carrying MRE1, which he copied likewise.

The newspaper reports published in the sequel unduly attribute a major role in the discovery to the director of Archaeology and Museums, M.S. Nagaraja Rao; cf. *Deccan Herald*, Bangalore edition, 7.3.1978 and 16.3.1978; *Indian Express* 11.3.1978: 5.

For a first note see *IA-R* 1977–78: 63.

Preservation:

MRE1: The area in front of the boulder was used by the villagers to store wood and grass. This once caught fire and burnt the left side of the inscription, at a time before the edict was made known. The right part is well preserved. If the burning was done deliberately it may have been because “according to local belief, one inscription was supposed to contain questions and one on the opposite was supposed to provide answers regarding the

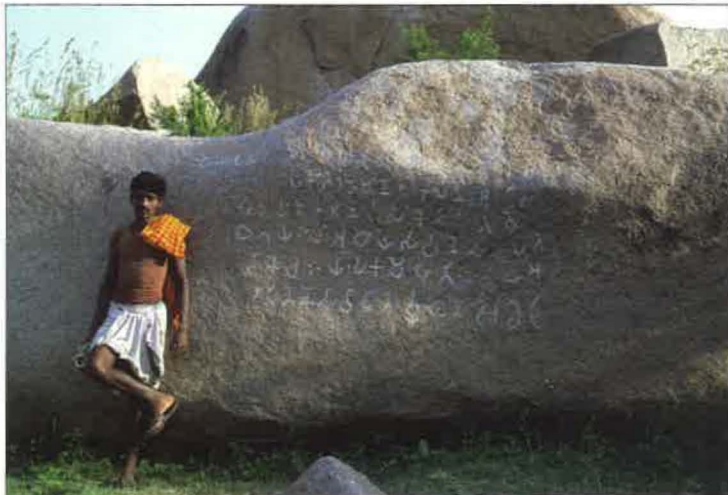


Fig. 4: The extant parts of MRE1.



Fig. 5: Recent attempts at removing parts of the edict rock.



Fig. 6: View of edict rock II.

Fig. 7: View of edict rock II (courtesy ASI, Mysore branch).

buried treasure” (NN 1978b). The report in Ramesh 1984: 25, that the surface was intact at the time of the discovery and that only afterwards the villagers destroyed it, does not accord with the reports of the discoverer himself.

MRE2: Boulder and inscription are well preserved.

Measurements:

MRE1: Only the right part has survived the fire, it is 97 cm high in 6 lines and is still 170 cm wide.

The *akṣaras* measure: 8-8-9 cm.

MRE2: 114 high in 7 lines; width is 490 cm, the rightmost part bending around the corner of the rock.

Akṣaras: 7-9-13 cm.

Orientation:

The reader of MRE1 faces south-east, the reader of MRE2 faces west; both boulders can be seen from the central meadow.

Presentation of the text:

Rubbing:

MRE1: Sircar 1977 = 1979: pl. XXIV (use-

less); *IA-R* 1977/78: pl. XXX-C.

MRE2: Sircar 1977 = 1979: pl. XXV (useless, left and right borders cut off); Office of Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: Nos. 6781 = Srinivasan 1971-73b (good); *IA-R* 1977-78: pl. XXX,C (useless).

Photography:

MRE1: Office of Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: nos. 6780 = Srinivasan 1971-73b; *IA-R* 1977-78: pl. XXX,B; no. 8596.

MRE2: Office of Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: nos. 6780-6782; 7639; 12106.

Editions: Srinivasan 1971-73: 238-240; Sircar 1977: 110f. = 1979: 130f.; Ritti 1981: 103; Andersen 1990: 103-109; Rastogi 1990: 350-351.

Literature:

General: Srinivasan 1971-73b; *IA-R* 1977/78: 63; *ARIE* 1977/78: B119; Ramesh 1984: 25; Andersen 1990: 103.

On preservation measures: *IA-R* 1997-98: 271.

Importance in antiquity:

At nearby Tekkalakota settlements go back

to the neolithic-chalcolithic phase, see M.S.Nagaraja Rao & K.C. Malhotra: *The stone age hill dwellers of Tekkalakota*, Poona: Deccan College, 1965.

Importance today:

The hills were used as quarries until quite recently; the place is far from the villages and is used as a pasture without any remembrance of a former use being apparent. A donation panel (fig. 2) lying close to MRE1 in the grass may be the last vestige of rites performed at this place.

Notes on the text:

A few readings deserve to be mentioned; for the rest the drawings may be compared.

MRE1: (J) *sāvane*.

MRE2: (C) *ānāyayāthā*, (D) *rāṭhikāni*; (E) *mātāpitusu*; (F) *garūsu*; (I) *ānapayāthā se [d]āni*; (J) *tate pem[a]va ānapayāthā hetam t[i] bām[h]an[ā]ni ca; cā*; (K) *yādisā*; (L) *tādās. ya imasa sususitaviye ti /*; (N) *iyā*; (O) *se*; (P) *tesu pi*; (Q) *hemeva sa jhativāsīsu*; read *hemeva se*; this formula is also found in Rājula-Manḍagiri; *jhativāsīsu* is a strange mistake for *amtevēsīsu*; here, only the upper part of initial *a-* is written mirrorwise. The same mistake occurs in Erṇaguḍi MRE2, last line; (T) *ānapayāthā*.

Particulars of the text:

The two texts were incised on two separate boulders as at Niṭṭūr; MRE2 refers to *rājā asoko* as the author; the respective letters seem to have peeled off at Niṭṭūr.

Particulars of the script:

“The two edicts from Udegolam use a punctuation mark in the form of a *danḍa* at the end of sentences” (Ritti 1981: 102).

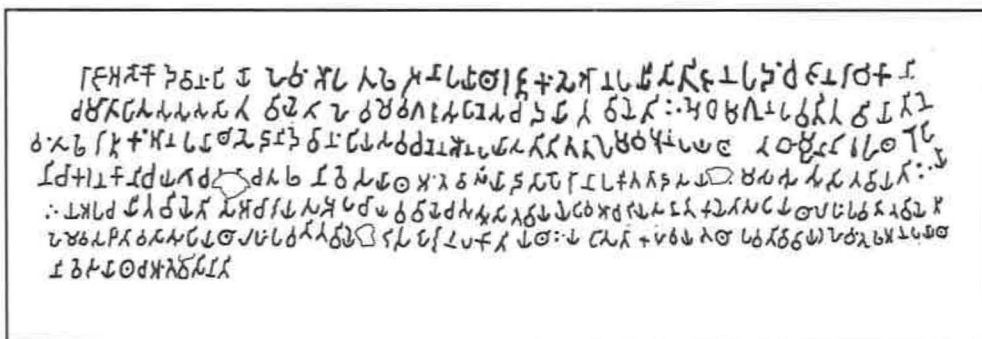


Fig. 8: Drawing of MRE II, lines adjusted.

Diverse Edict Sites

Most texts can be classified according to the usual categories of MRE, RE, PE or cave texts. There are a few, however, which stand on their own, as, for example, the pillar texts from Lumbinī or Niglivā do, with their very different message from that of the standard set of the PEs. These two texts have been treated with the PEs mainly because the technical achievements of the pillars upon which they have been inscribed have also been described, thus this chapter considers all texts on pillars together.

Apart from these two pillar texts, the most voluminous "separate" text was found on a piece of rock near a former Buddhist monastery south of Bairāt. In it, the king advises the local monks which Buddhist texts deserve more attention than others. This shows how authoritative Aśoka regard-

ed his inscriptions to be so far as regulating the spiritual life of the order was concerned. Bairāt is a long way from Pāṭaliputra; many monasteries were situated in between. It is difficult to imagine that Aśoka was addressing only the monks at Bairāt and not all the other communities too. Therefore, it stands to reason that there were once more such rocks telling other *saṅghas* which texts they should prefer to others.

Although consisting of just one word, the letters reading *gajātame* below the drawing of a rutting elephant at Kālsī would deserve to be presented here on its own, were it not already contained in the chapter on the Rock Edicts. This word conveys an essential aspect of Aśoka's religion: an elephant represents the prime agency to have come from heaven to improve the human sphere.

Another unique statement is found at Pāṅgurārīā, usually treated as part of the MRE of the same place, dealt with already above. Its special nature was hidden in an early misreading by the first scholar to work upon it, D.C. Sircar. In fact, it records a very private episode in the life of Aśoka and does not deserve the title "edict" at all, much less so than the other texts.

Whereas the Bairāt-Calcutta text may in the course of time be rediscovered at some other place, the Pāṅgurārīā "Separate Edict" is by its very nature dependent on its locality.

Both examples demonstrate the flexibility of Aśoka regarding his ambitions as an author. Apart from the three examples noted, there may have been more of their sort, not belonging to any of the fixed sets of MREs, REs, or PEs. Occasionally, the so-called "Pillar edict" at Amarāvātī is reckoned amongst such cases, however, one of its letters, the *bha*, shows that it was written some time after Aśoka.

Bairāt-Calcutta

Bhabra; Calcutta-Bairat;
Virāṭnagar

Jaipur District, Rajasthan

27°27' N.

76°11' E.

GSI map 54 A/3



Name: Bairāt is the home of one MRE (q.v.) and of a singular edict addressing the Buddhist order. This edict stone used to be called the Bhabra stone, or, according to its present home, Calcutta-Bairāt. Bhabra is a village 10 km due north of Bairāt. Probably by mistake the stone was thought to come from this village, whereas Bhandarkar has shown the

Hanuman cave to be the original find-spot. The hill owes its name *bījak kī pahārī*, "Hill of the inscription", to the edict stone. The site is quite large. The remnants of a round building, probably a *stūpa*, are still visible, as are the murals of a monastery on top of the hill. Below, there are natural caves, some with "stone age" depictions of animals on the out-

side. In former times one of the main routes to the south was bypassing this hill (fig. 1).

Access:

Right at the western end of Bairāt a dust road branches off south. This obviously was once the old way towards the Jaipur region, still showing long stretches of stone lining on the parts through the hills. After 2 km straight south from the main road a circular well and an abandoned house appear at the right. From there one has to walk further a few meters until the stone pavements become visible leading up on the hill to the right. After the first ascent the stone called *tōp*, the canon, cannot be missed.

This stone is a huge flat piece of granite, once hanging free for almost half of its length thus creating a natural shelter. The "Bhabru" stone was lodged underneath this shelter stone.

Today the free-hanging part has been given a wall encircling a room of about 4 x 5 m. Inside the room a *sādhu* lives guarding a Hanuman most crudely outlined at the only natural wall.

Discovery:

Edict stone: Found by Burt 1840, published by Kittoe 1840. Immediately after its discovery it was proposed to shift the block to the seat of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Burt 1840). This was then accomplished before 1856 (Wilson 1856: 358); the stone is now lodged in the museum room of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta.



Fig. 1: View from the south across the Bairāt plain. The hill to the left houses the monastery on its top middle part; the *stūpa* was slightly to the right on a lower level; the *tōp* rock is still further to the right. One of the hills in the background houses the MRE.



Fig. 2: View towards the east from the monastery level, across the circular building's foundations, to the *tōp* rock.



Fig. 3: The *tōp* rock; the place where the edict stone was found is hidden by the modern Hanuman shed.

Pillars: Sahni 1935–36: 86, 1937: 26. Sahni found lots of broken pieces of polished sandstone. He assumed these pieces to come from two Aśokan pillars, one made of spotted Cunār sandstone and the other from unspotted. Today, there are no traces of these pillars, and the whereabouts of the pieces are unknown.

Capital: Allegedly, Sahni (1935–36: 86) found “One or two pieces broken from a figure of a lion”.

Preservation:

Material: Gray granite, which makes Cunningham’s (1871: 248f) statement somewhat doubtful: “the inscription must have been engraved on the spot, as the stone is a piece of the same salmon-coloured granite, which forms so large a part of the Bijak hill”.

Measurements:

An area 85–86 cm (1 MY) broad inside clear-cut side-borders was polished from top to bottom (fig. 5), although the stone is of an

irregular trapezoid form: 98 cm broad, 35 cm high left, 69 cm high right side. The border on the left is 45 cm long, the border on the right is very close to the right end of the slab. The thickness varies, being 28 cm at the thickest part.

The *akṣaras* measure 2–2.3–2.5 cm; the ratio letter-size to white space is almost 1:1.

Orientation:

The shelter faces south; the orientation of the inscribed stone is unknown.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: Burt 1840 (“copy facsimile”, sent to Prinsep. Burt’s copy was transcribed, lithographed and translated by Captain Kittoe “with the aid of the learned Pundit Kamala Kanta”, Kittoe 1840: 618f, republished Wilson 1856: 358; Cunningham 1877: pl. XV.

Rubbing: Senart 1887; Hultzsch 1925: 173; V. Bhattacharya 1948: frontispice; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 28; Janert 1972b: 255–259; Krishnan 1989: 11–13.

Photography: Sahni 1937: pl. II (edict stone); Kant 1971: pl. I.

Edition: Kittoe 1840; Wilson 1856: 359; Kern 1876: 257–258; Cunningham 1877: 97; Senart 1884a: 478–489; 1887; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 100; Leumann 1923; Hultzsch 1925: 172–174; Bloch 1950: 154–155; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 261; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 115–116; Mookerji 1962: 217f.; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 38; Sircar 1965b: 74–75; Janert 1972b: 144–146; Schneider 1982: 491; Rastogi 1990: 245–246; Gurugé 1993: 588.

Presentations of the site:

Bījak kī pahārī: Sahni 1935–36: pl. XXXIV(a–c) (circular Buddhist temple); 1937: pl. VI (fragments of pillar and umbrella), pls. III, VII and 1938 (*stūpa* foundation, monastery); Sahni 1937: pl. IXd (fragment of lion from pillar?).

Literature:

General: Cunningham 1877: 24–27; Smith 1909c: 46–48; Hultzsch 1925: xxv; *ARIE*



Fig. 4: The edict stone on exhibition in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.



Fig. 5: The space for the inscription outlined and polished.



Fig. 6: The first letters of the edict.

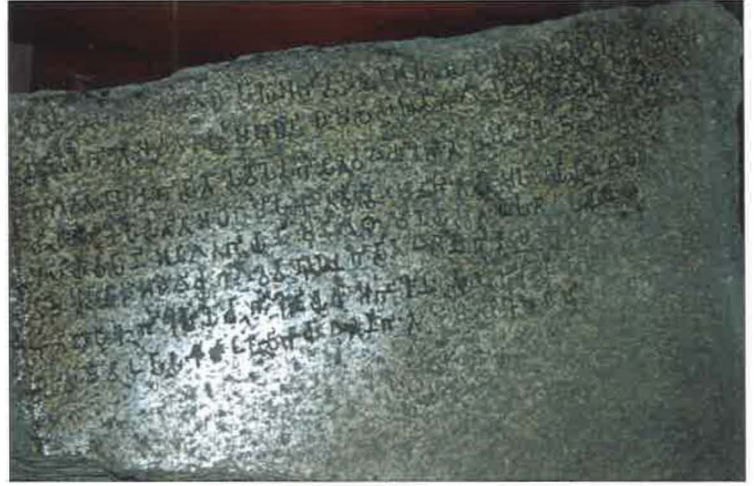


Fig. 7: The complete text inside a polished space 1 MY wide.

1959–60: B180; Kant 1971: 71–82; Schneider 1982; Roth 1985.

On the site: Cunningham 1871; Garrick 1887b: 31; Sahni 1939: 307–308.

On the Buddhist texts cited: Burnouf 1852; Barth 1882; T.W. Rhys Davids 1893–96, 1897, 1898b; Lévy 1896: 475–85; Neumann 1897: 159f.; Oldenberg 1898; Rhys Davids 1903: 169f., 272–307; Bloch 1909; Kosambi 1912; Edmunds 1913; Franke 1914: 517; Barua 1915; Mitra 1919; Walleiser 1923, 1925a, 1925b: 16–22; Nobel 1924; T.W. Rhys

Davids 1925: xxxviii; de la Vallée-Poussin 1930: 126–133; S.N. Mitra 1930; Law 1934/35; V. Bhattacharya 1948; Shashi Kant 1957; Lamotte 1958: 256–258; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 5–6.

On readings: Hardy 1901a, 1901b; Smith 1901b; Kant 1971.

Importance in antiquity:

The hill called *bijak kī pahārī* once housed a buddhist monastery. The foundations of a circular *caitya* temple were excavated by D.R. Sahni in 1937. The hill was chosen as a

habitat because it once lay right by the side of an important road and because it had at least three fine natural caves: the canon stone, the now broken rock on the upper platform and a third cave on the southern slope.

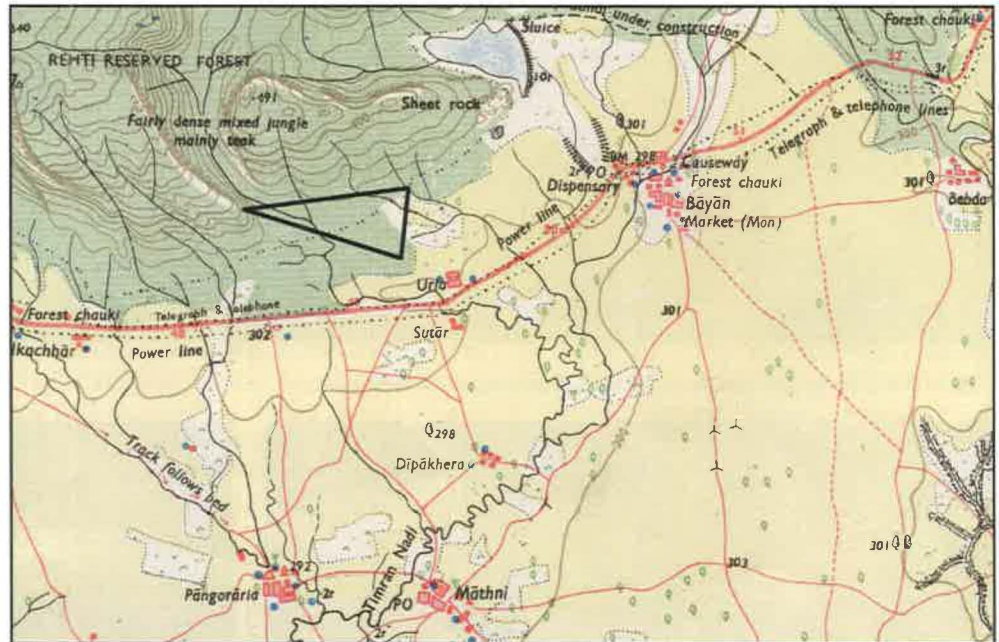
Remarks on the script:

The text was written in the standard RE/PE type; the execution is perfect: the writing space was outlined and polished, the letters incised with great care. There is no relationship to the script type at the local MRE site.

Pāṅgurārīā

saru-maru guphā

Sehore District, MP
 22°44' N.
 77°32' E.
 GSI map 55 F/10



Access: See MRE, p. 89

Preservation:

Almost perfect, some letters are covered by sinter, certainly not “abraded” (Chakrabarti, Tewari & Singh 2001–02: 70b).

Measurements:

55 x 50 cm, 4.25 m above ground.

Akṣaras measure: 8.5–12–14 cm

Orientation:

Southwest in the rock shelter facing south.

Presentations of the text:

Rubbing: Sircar 1971–72 “Introductory part” = 1979: pl. XV; Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: No. 8644.

Photography: NN 1975/76: pl. LXIII; Falk

1997b: 117 (*tracing from slide*); S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 98d; Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: Nos. 6414, 6423–6426 (“Inscription of Mahārāja Kumara found inside a rock-shelter”).

Editions:

Sircar 1971–72: 7, 1977/78: 975, 1979: 101; S.P. Gupta 1980: 196 (*maharajakumara*); Krishnan 1989: 5–7; Andersen 1990: 73; Falk 1997b: 119.

Literature:

General: Norman 1983: 282 with fn. 50; Mukherjee 1984b: 62; Ramesh 1985: 2; Falk 1997b, Chakrabarti, Tewari & Singh 2001–02: 71 repeating Sircar’s “reading”.

On vihāra: Schopen 1994: 549.

Particulars of the script:

The text is not incised with chisel and hammer but with the chisel attached to a handle. Standing on the rock in front of the rock



Fig. 1: View of the hill with the entrance to the cave.

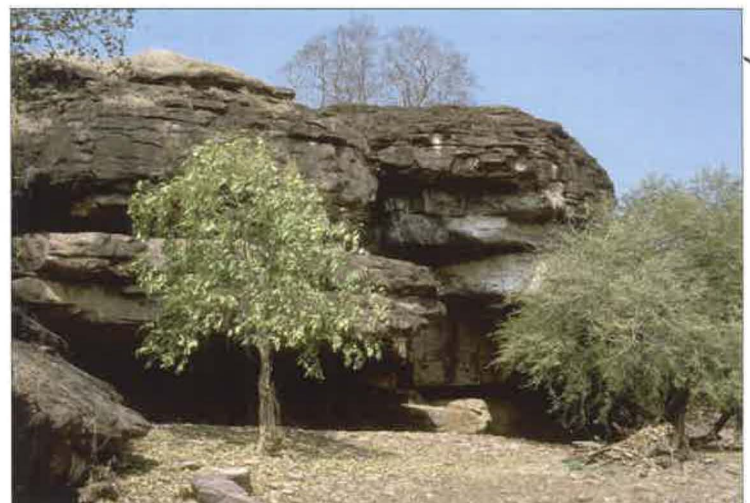


Fig. 2: The rock shelter with a view of the Separate Edict between the two trees; the rock with the MRE is under the left side of the right tree.

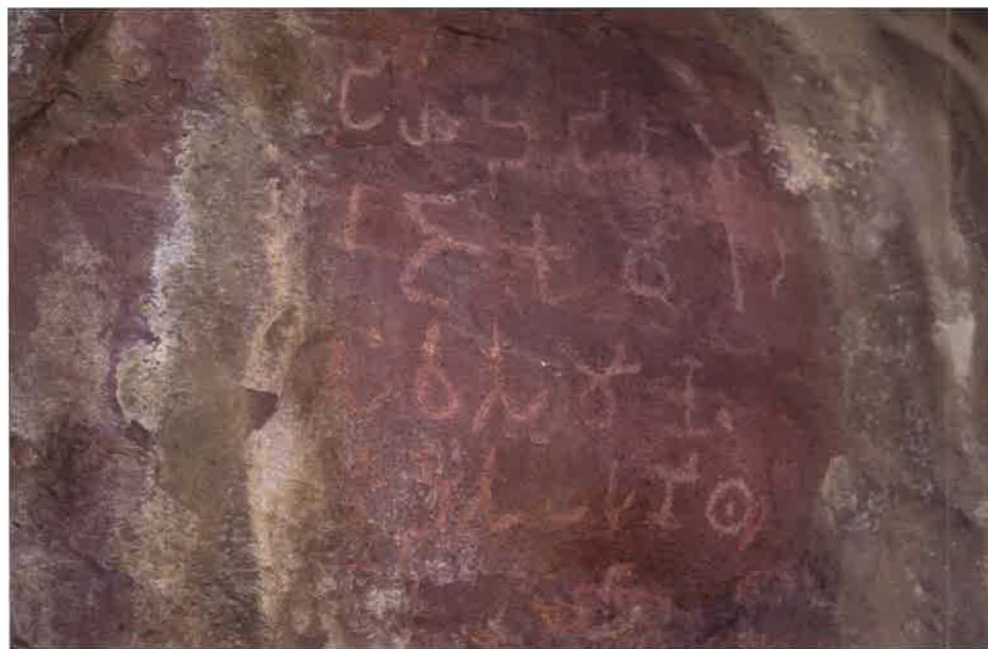


Fig. 3: The Separate Edict high on the back-side wall of the rock-shelter.

facade, the stone-mason hammered the letters into the stone above his head. Because of this method there are no grooves outlining the letters, but a series of short strokes close to one another. The tendency to produce a sort of *ṭi* for a range of letters links this scribe with the one who incised the MRE.

Text:

*piyadasi nāma
rajākumāra va
saṃvasamāne i-
maṃ desaṃ pāpunitha
vihāra(ya)tāy(e)*

“The king, who (now after consecration) is called Piyadassi, (once) came to this place on a pleasure tour while he was still a (ruling) prince, living together with his (unwedded) consort” (Falk 1997b).



Fig. 4: Close-up of some letters showing the hammering technique.



Fig. 5: Hunter with bow aiming at an animal on the wall facing the platform.

The Rock Edict Sites

Whereas the Minor Rock Edicts seem to be found only at a certain distance from habitation sites of limited historical importance the (major) Rock Edicts are found closer to larger towns. In addition, these large towns seem to be located at the borders of the empire.

Girnār was an important town, located in an unassailable position on top of a rocky plateau, furnished with an immense artificial lake storing water coming down from the Girnār mountains. With a harbour site at some distance it must have been active in foreign trade.

The same applies to Sopārā further south, slightly north of Bombay, where goods coming and going up the *ghats* to meet the rivers leading to South India were traded.

Dhauī in Orissa was connected to the Bengal Sea; its large earthen ramparts are preserved to this day. Jaugaḍa further south is no different. It was connected to the sea through the Ruṣikulyā-Mahānādī river system.

Erṛaguḍi in the deep south is connected with Suvarṇagiri, today an insignificant village close-by. It may have been an important commercial and military frontpost.

Mānsehrā, likewise, is located at a point where Mauryan influence seems to have reached its limit. The roads to its north or north-east lead to Gilgit and Kashmir.

There are only three exceptions to this rule:

Sannati is an inland town, located in a bend of the Bhīmā, where landing was easy, and where land and river roads met.

Shāhbāzgarhī in Gandhāra was hardly a border town, rather it marked another crossing of roads, one going east-west, linking Hund and Charsadda, the other one going north to Swat.

Kālsī marks the spot where the Yamunā leaves the mountains and enters the plain north of the Siwalik range. The place is not suited for a large settlement and looks more like a sacred spot, comparable to Hardwar, where the Ganges leaves the Himalaya.

Thus, the general statement that the REs were meant for the important towns is only partially correct. There must be more to these places. With knowledge about the religious nature of the often hidden MRE sites, we can try to inspect the REs anew. Dhauī, to begin with, is a sacred spot a few

km south of an important ancient town. The elephant crowning the edict wall faces the people who approach the hill for its more sacred spots on its top. Jaugaḍa is similar in a way. Here, the sacred place, consisting of a rocky hill, is inside the extensive town fortifications. Halfway up, the inscriptions are found. The rock at Girnār lies outside the city, on the way to the sacred mountain. Erṛaguḍi is a sacred hill outside the city where we have a clear succession of edicts: the local MRE was incised exactly where all the other MREs are: at the local sacred place, on the most easily accessible boulder. Later, when it was discovered that the text at Erṛaguḍi is one big illegible mess, the REs were added, lining the way up to the "balcony" and the cave. This must mean that both sorts of text were meant to fulfill the same purpose. Shāhbāzgarhī is no exception. Wherever the city was, the inscriptions are at a place which will not be come across accidentally. Halfway up the hill in the extreme south-east of the hill formation, the texts were hidden from the unsuspecting citizen or traveller. At Mānsehrā the old habitation site is likewise unknown. The edicts overlooked a spring on a steep slope. Kālsī has no old habitation at all; it is apparently nothing but a sacred space. Sopārā and Sannati cannot be evaluated since there is no report about the original place of the inscriptions; their find-spots, however, are clearly outside the old town sites.

Instead of speaking of "texts for major cities" we should rather refer to them as "texts for the sacred places of major cities". In many cases the sacred places are certainly not meant for Buddhists. Dhauī, Jaudaga and Erṛaguḍi are the usual sacred rocks, serving the purposes of what D.D. Kosambi and G.-D. Sontheimer called "folk religion". Shāhbāzgarhī may have served the same purpose, as well as Girnār. Kālsī is connected with a water "sanctuary", and Mānsehrā seems to be similar. Kālsī, Erṛaguḍi and Jaugaḍa have no Buddhist remains in their vicinity. It is tempting to connect the edict slabs at Sopārā and Sannati with the extant *stūpas*, but this might be a very misleading association. At present, we have no idea where the edicts slabs were in the time of Aśoka.

In sum, the sites of the REs belong to major settlements, with a population probably more educated than the people of the countryside. However, the inscriptions were not expected to be seen each and every day. Only when the town folk would go to the sacred spots would they encounter the texts, either at a privately chosen date or on festive occasions.

When the REs were first dispatched they did not yet amount to 14 in number. At Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā we can easily see that the texts arrived in batches and that the stone masons became sloppy after a while. They were very careful in the beginning. At Kālsī and Mānsehrā the stone was even dressed and polished for the first round of inscribing.

At Mānsehrā the first rock shows RE 1–8 in the polished square. Rock 2 received REs 9–11 on the North face and RE12 on the East. The fallen Rock 3 shows REs 13–14.

At Shāhbāzgarhī the huge rock provided space for the REs 1–6, 8–11 and 7. RE12 is found at the foot of the hill separately, REs 13 and 14 again up on the hill on the reverse of the same huge rock on a surface which is too rugged for a clear presentation. Nonetheless, this rough surface was filled completely. For RE12, the stone-mason chose the lower site at the foot of the hill. When REs 13 and 14 arrived, he went up again and despite there being other possibilities chose the backside of the big rock which was most unsuitable for chiselling.

At Kālsī the polished front side contains REs 1–9 in very small letters. REs 10 to 14 have been added first below the original set and continue on the unpolished left side.

Sannati may have received the REs in batches as well, since the linguistic features of REs 12 and 14 are very different from the Separate Edicts on the back-side of the same stone, the first using nothing but *l* for both *//* and */r/*, and the latter *l* and *r* where each is appropriate.

At Dhauī and Jaugaḍa, REs 1–10 and 14 came in one set, whereas the SepEs were inscribed in special squares, at Dhauī to the left of the two main columns and below RE14 in the right column, separated by straight lines; at Jaugaḍa twice to the right of the two main columns, again in outlined squares. The REs at Erṛaguḍi line the way up-hill from the ME below to a sort of balcony on the upper part of the boulder. The pilgrim first passes RE9 on a rock labelled "E" in Sahnī 1928–29 (fig. 2), then RE12 on "D", then RE4 and RE8 on "B", followed by RE13 above RE4 and continued for the last

7 lines on "C" by its side, then the largest panel "A" with REs 1–3, 6 and 14, and finally REs 11, 5 and 7 on "A1", above the head of the passer-by. He has to walk about 3 m along a very narrow strip, half a meter in width, 6 m above the ground. For chiselling, the boulders "A" and "B" are of easy access. The last edicts to be incised seem to be REs 12, 13 and 9. Whether this is due to a delivery in several batches or by a random distribution is hard to decide.

Finally, at Girnār, the standard texts are well-distributed in uniform characters over a predetermined space. It seems that Girnār received all texts in one lot. Eṛṛaguḍi is difficult to evaluate since the edicts are inscribed on separate boulders. The script, at least, looks uniform throughout.

With the material then available, E. Thomas (1863: 102) was the first to reflect on these batches. Schneider (1978) ignores their importance as does Alsdorf (1959 ff.).

The Brāhmī sites in Orissa, Kālsī and Girnār show a regular succession of edicts, with some lacunae in Orissa. The Kharoṣṭhī sites, however, along with Sannati and Eṛṛa-

guḍi, show that REs 1–8 come first, followed by 9, 10 and 11. RE 12 is a single addition, telling sects of all sorts not to defame other communities. REs 13 and 14 were the latest additions.

This dispersal in batches is often connected with a change of the size of letters. Whereas Kālsī starts with letters about 1.5 cm high on the polished space, the additions measure 2.3 to 3 cm. Likewise Mānsehrā starts with 3 cm on the polished space; the additions on the other rocks measure twice that much. At Dhaulī, all the standard edicts come in a type 2.8 cm high, Separate Edict 1 is clearly smaller with 2.2 cm letters, and Separate Edict 2 larger with 4 cm ones. A similar shift is seen at Shāhbāzgarhī, where the starting edicts 1–11 come in letters about 5 cm high, RE 12 has 6 cm, and REs 13–14 have 4 cm. None of the REs, however, has the huge letters of some of the MREs, as at Niṭṭūr or Brahmagiri.

These formal features add up to a general story: The standard REs were dispatched in batches to Mānsehrā and Shāhbāzgarhī in the West and at least to Sannati in the South and

to Kālsī in the North. Jaugaḍa and Dhaulī received the standard REs in a slightly different sequence, Girnār seems to have received the Edicts in one package.

The rocks are most skilfully dressed and polished at Dhaulī and Jaugaḍa; the area was large enough to receive all the inscriptions at one go, showing that now – after Kālsī and Mānsehrā – people knew how much space was necessary. It stands to reason that the places with a one-time delivery were served later than those who got them in batches. This links the Girnār and the Orissa sites, a connection which was made by Schneider (1973: 227) on the basis of text criteria alone. All locations are definitely near sacred areas or on the way towards sacred areas, all except Kālsī are related to larger towns, all except Jaugaḍa are removed from the town itself, but still within walking distance. Despite the more secular nature of their contents, compared to the MREs, the REs still bear witness to Aśoka's idea of reaching people in clearly defined circumstances, i.e. when they are prepared to meet the gods.

Dhauḷī

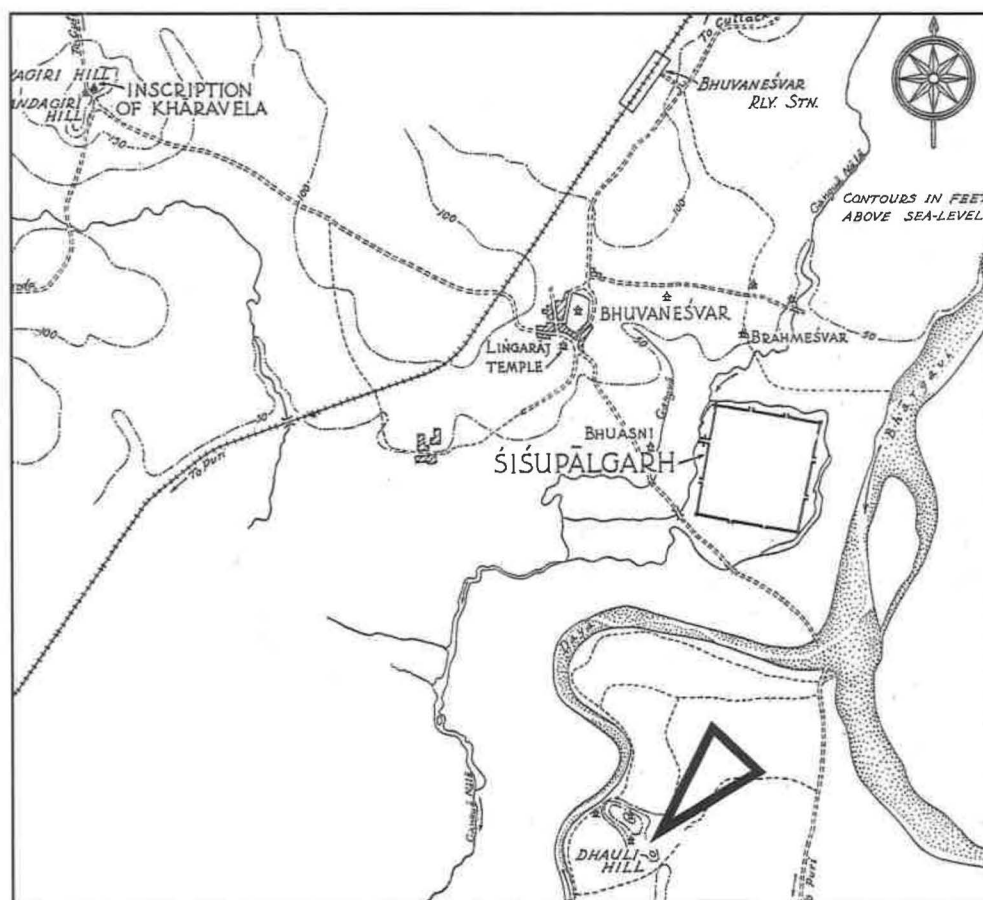
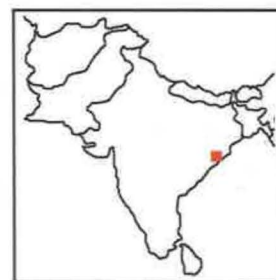
Tosalī, Asvastama

Puri District, Orissa

20°11' N.

85°50' E.

GSI map 73 H 16



Further maps: 1:250,000: old system no. 107 from 1846 with additions 1863.

Sketch maps: Kittoe 1838a: 436; Lal 1949: 65 = Allchin 1995b: 229 (above right).

Access:

By taxi from Bhubaneswar for 7 km. The place is well-known. The key to the ASI shed is kept by the watchmen Ajgar Khan and Bhubani Behera in the village Bhoi Sahi nearby. It is necessary to show a permit from the ASI, New Delhi, and to have further confirmation by the director of the Orissa Circle, Bhubaneswar.

Discovery:

A first reading of some initial words was published by Prinsep 1837a: 471. Kittoe

gave his report in 1838a: 435: "I had the good fortune to discover by the merest accident: a byragi priest, native of *Mirzapoor*

near *Benares* having described it to me; such, however, is the aversion the Ooriya have, to our going near their places of wor-



Fig. 1: Elephant, ASI shed and Dhauḷī hill with its *stūpa* and *śaiva* temple.

Fig. 2: The ASI shed below the elephant.



Fig. 3: Platform in front of the elephant with grooves.



Fig. 4: One of the many caves opposite the edict rock.

ship, that I was actually decoyed away from the spot, when within a few yards of it, being assured that there was no such place, and had returned for a mile or more, when I met with a man who led me back to the spot by torch-light. I set fire to the jangal and perceived the inscription which was completely hidden by it." Later, Kittoe went to the rock "before day-break and had to wait till it was light; for the two bear cubs which escaped me there last year, when I killed the old bear, were now full grown and disputed the ground" (1838b: 684). Today, all memory of bears once living in this area is gone.

Kittoe (1838a: 451) reported an old name *asvastama* for the rocks with the inscriptions, but today nothing similar to *asvastama* has any meaning to the local population.

Preservation:

"The inscription seems to have suffered considerably since the time when the first facsimiles were taken. The latter give a large portion of the beginning of the first edict

and some other letters which are not now recognisable" (Bühler 1887b: 115 fn.1).

The rock is not homogeneous, but shows veins of softer material. This has been partly washed out in the course of the centuries. Apart from that, the polished surface retained its smoothness and the characters are perfectly preserved.

Measurements:

The main face is a smooth, polished rectangle 2.31 m in height left, 2.17 m right, being 3.32 m wide at the bottom.

The lowest 47 cm are left uninscribed all over the rectangle even in the area of the SepE1. All three base lines are on the same level!

SepE2 takes the right lower side of the main face. It is encased by lines in a rectangle 65 cm high and 156 cm wide; SepE1 was added later to the left of this rectangle. Its height is the same as the area adjoining its right, the width is 122 cm at the bottom, narrowing to about half that at the top.

The *akṣaras* measure:

a) REs: 2-2.8-3.5 cm

b) SepE2: 1.9-2.2-2.8 cm

c) SepE1: 1.5-4-4.2 cm

To the right of the inscribed area is a vertical hollow about a foot high. It may have served the fastening of flag poles or other poles to decorate the site. Most likely, a similar hollow is also to the left, but the wall of the shelter house is touching the rock at the crucial point.

Orientation:

The text is on the side of the rock facing north. Thus the reader looks to the South. The stone faces the road which leads to the hill.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: Prinsep 1838b: pl. XII; Cunningham 1877: pl. VIII-X.

Rubbing: Bühler 1887b: pl.64-66; Hultzsch 1925: 88, 94, 100; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 19-21; Rastogi 1990: pl. IV (SepE).

Photography: Kittoe 1883b: pl. XXV (sketch of the elephant with misleading attachment of inscriptions); Caddy 1895:



Fig. 5: View from Dhaulī hill, across the edict rock, and into the plains.



Fig. 6: Part of the ramparts of Śiśupālgarh from the inside.



Fig. 7: The edict with pillar holes in the right corner.

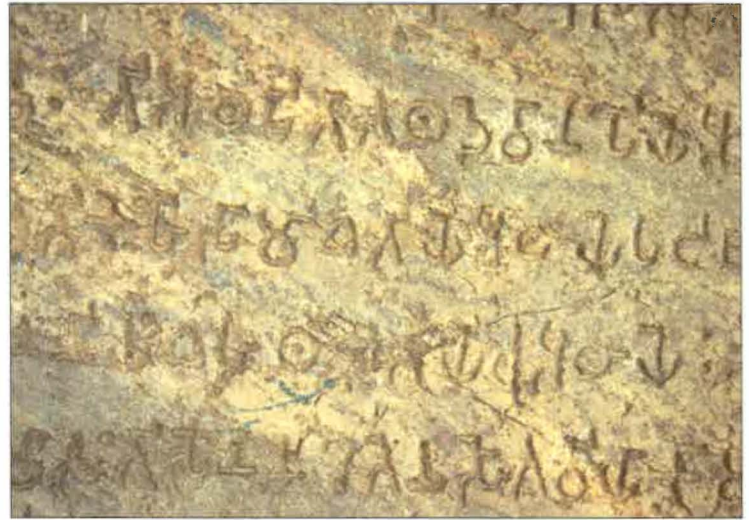


Fig. 8: Sample of the edicts.

153 (unpubl.); Office of Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: Nos. 5973, 5974.

Editions: Prinsep 1838a/b/d; H.H. Wilson 1850: 157–234; Kern 1876: 274–275, 1880; Cunningham 1877: 65–89, 89–93 (SepE); Senart 1880a–d, 1881a, 1883a (SepE); Indrajī 1882: 284f. (RE 8); Bühler 1885, 1887a, 1887b; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 1–38, 56–58, 82–92; Woolner 1924: 2–33; Hultzsch 1925: 84–100; Bose 1927; Bloch 1950: 95–119; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 77–93; Schneider 1978: 21–62, 81–83; Rastogi 1990: 5, 16, 26, 37–38, 53–54, 69–70, 83, 91, 103–104, 121, 177.



Fig. 9: Entrance to the underground passage in front of the Śaiva temple.

Separate Edicts: Bloch 1950: 136–143; Alsdorf 1962; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 19–21 (SepE 1); Sircar 1965b: 40–44 → Krishnan 1989: 49–53 (SepE 1); Pāṇḍeya 1965: 89–93; Schneider 1978: 84–94; Rastogi 1990: 185–188, 197–198; Gurugé 1993: 602.

Presentations of the site:

Drawing: Kittoe 1838a: 436, 456; Cunningham 1877: pl. XXIX.

Photography: Sahu 1958: fig. 1; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 269 (elephant); Mookerji 1962: pl. XI; Bachhofer 1972: pl. 1; S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 47a; Allchin 1995b: 261 (elephant).

Copy:

Plaster cast by Caddy (1895: 168f.) for the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Literature:

General: Cunningham 1877: 15–17, 20; Beglar 1882a; Woolner 1924: xii–xiii; Hultzsch 1925: xiii–xiv; Y.D. Sharma 1953: 168f. (Śisupālgarh); R. Thapar 1961/1997: 230; Brandtner 2000.

On the history: Shastri 1920: 34ff.; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 2–3.

On caves and further inscriptions at the site: Kittoe 1838a: 437, pl. XXV; Beglar 1882a: 96.

On preservation measures: ASIAR 1925–26: 33; *IA-R* 1986–87: 150 (fencing and construction of a turnstile gate in *stūpa* design); *IA-R* 1989–90: 167; *IA-R* 1992–93: 196 (the surface with the edicts was cleaned and given chemical treatment).

Importance in antiquity:

The rocky elevation containing the edicts is related to two places in the vicinity. Most important is the township of Śisupālgarh, about 3 km to its north, situated in between two rivers, one of which touches the Dhaulī hill to its west. This town is conspicuous for

its moat encircling it for about 1 km on either side. From there the hill of Dhaulī is the most prominent elevation in the south. There are two ways to reach the top of Dhaulī hill, for both of them the inscription rock has to be passed. If the ways were similar in antiquity, the pilgrims heading for the Dhaulī hill would first see the elephant and would then pass by the inscribed side of the rock. Flags to its side and some constructions to the sides of the elephant would have enhanced its appearance.

At the end of RE6 the word *seto* is inserted, obviously referring to the “white” elephant which had entered the body of the Buddha (cf. Hultzsch 1925: 92 fn. 1).

Located on the elevation above the elephant, two caves can be seen on the nearest hill to the west, and some more caves on the slope of Dhaulī hill. These caves are very simple, of Jaina style, but show an elaborate system of water drainage. One cave on Dhaulī hill (fig. 4) has an inscription of medieval times.

Importance today:

Two edifices crown Dhaulī hill. One is the Śānti *stūpa*, finished in 1972 by Japanese Buddhist sponsors. Older than this is a Śaiva temple dedicated to Mahādeo, with the usual festivals at Mahāśivarātri and Kārttika *pūrṇimā*. Immediately below the eastern side of the temple embankment is the entrance to a natural cave (fig. 9), just about the height of a man and at least 20 m deep (Kittoe 1838a: 436). Local tradition has it that this cave continues as a tunnel ending at Khandagiri to the west of Bhubaneswar.

Erragudi

Yenukūṇḍa; “elephant hill”;
Nallayenakūṇḍa

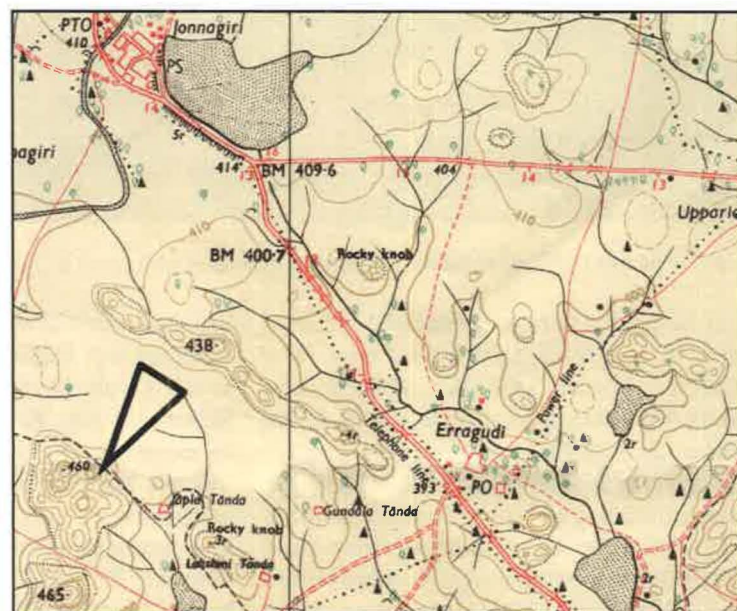
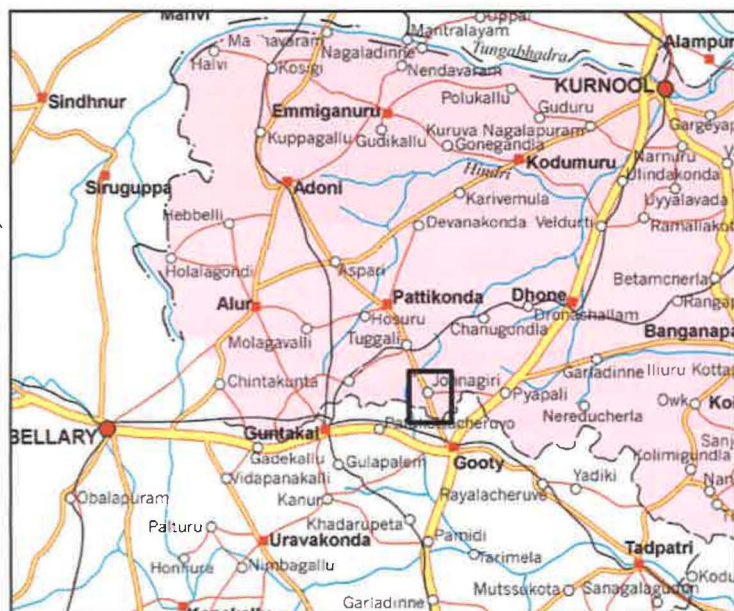
Anantapur District, AP

5°12' N.

77°36' E.

GSI map 57 E/12

U502: ND 43-4



Access: see MRE, p. 70.

Discovery:

A first, anonymous, note appeared in *IHQ* 4.1928: 791 speaking of the REs on five large rocks in the “Kurnool District of the Madras Presidency”; another hint was given by B.M. Barua (1928: 413f.), crediting a “mining engineer of Calcutta” with the discovery “somewhere in South India, probably in the region to the south of

Mysore”. Photographs went to D.R. Sahni through H. Hargreaves, Director-General of the SAI. Sahni and H. Sastri, Govt. Epigraphist for India, visited the site and copied most of the inscriptions. Sahni died when about to publish the texts. His successor, N.P. Chakravarti, again went to see the rocks but failed to finalize an edition before transfer of office in 1940. In the sequel B.M. Barua was hindered in his

attempt to publish his edition by Chakravarti, who himself died in 1956. D.C. Sircar who was entrusted with a definitive edition did not find material of any value in the papers of Chakravarti and so had to start anew.

Preservation:

Depending on the rocks the text is preserved to varying degrees. Some stones are heavily abraded, others are in almost perfect condition, whereas all REs on Rock A have suffered heavily from concretion.

Measurements and orientations:

Rock A (southeast side): RE1: 58 x 158 cm; RE2 36 x 158 cm; RE3 56 x 160 cm; RE7 41 x 213 cm; RE14 40 x 73 cm.

Rock A (northeast side): RE 11: 30 x 114 cm; RE5 49 x 246 cm; RE7 32 x 90 cm.

Rock B (east): RE13 127 x 168 cm; RE4 90 x 160 cm; RE8 20 x 149 cm; RE10 25 x 144 cm.

Rock C (east): RE13: 45 x 105 cm.

Rock D (northeast): RE12 67 x 157 cm.

Rock E (west): RE11 75 x 125 cm.

Akṣaras measure 3-4.5-6 cm

Presentations of the text:

Rubbing: Sircar 1957–58a: pls. II–IV, 1979: pls. III–X (useless); used by Janert and Niklas 1990, unpubl.; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pls. 37–40 (useless).



Fig. 1: The middle part of the path leading close to the rock, 6 m above the ground.



Fig. 2: The rocks as labelled by Sahni 1928–29.



Fig. 3: The site in 2000, the REs outlined with tape.

Photography: Sahni 1928–29: pl. LXI (REs 4, 8; 10), pl. LX (full site); Sircar 1957–58a: pl. I. **Editions:** Sircar 1957–58a: 10–28 = 1979: 13–41; Subrahmanyam 1974; Schneider 1978: 21–83, corrections in Niklas 1984;

Niklas 1990: 1–165; Rastogi 1990: 11, 20, 30, 44–45, 60–61, 77–78, 87, 96, 110–111, 125, 135, 146–147, 165–168, 181.

Presentations of the site: s. MRE p. 71.

Literature:

Sahni 1928–29; Sircar 1957–58; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 4. On *nikyaṃ* (absolutely unreadable on the rock): Norman 1994b: 458 (*nicam*).

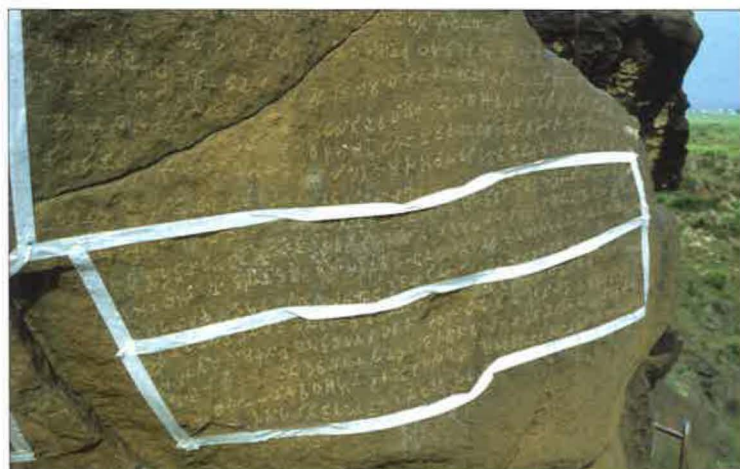


Fig. 4: REs 4, 8 and 10 today.

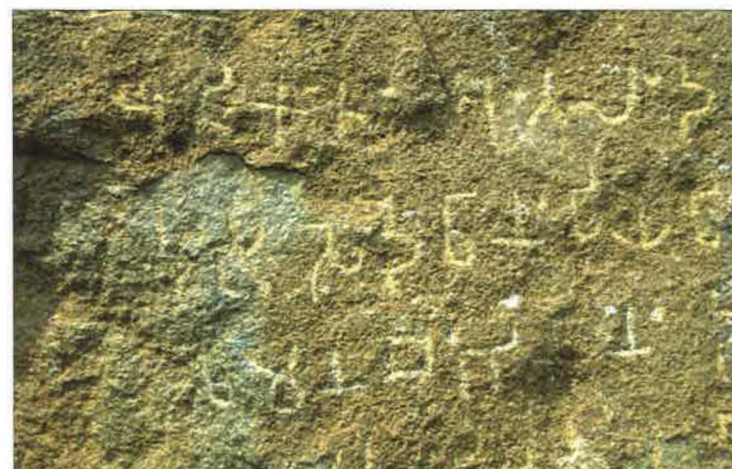


Fig. 5: Part of RE 8 reading *hūsu se* (cf. Niklas 1990: 77, 196).



Fig. 6: REs 4, 8 and 10 when blackened for the rubbing.



Fig. 7: On a very uneven surface, the letters of RE 9 are hardly visible.

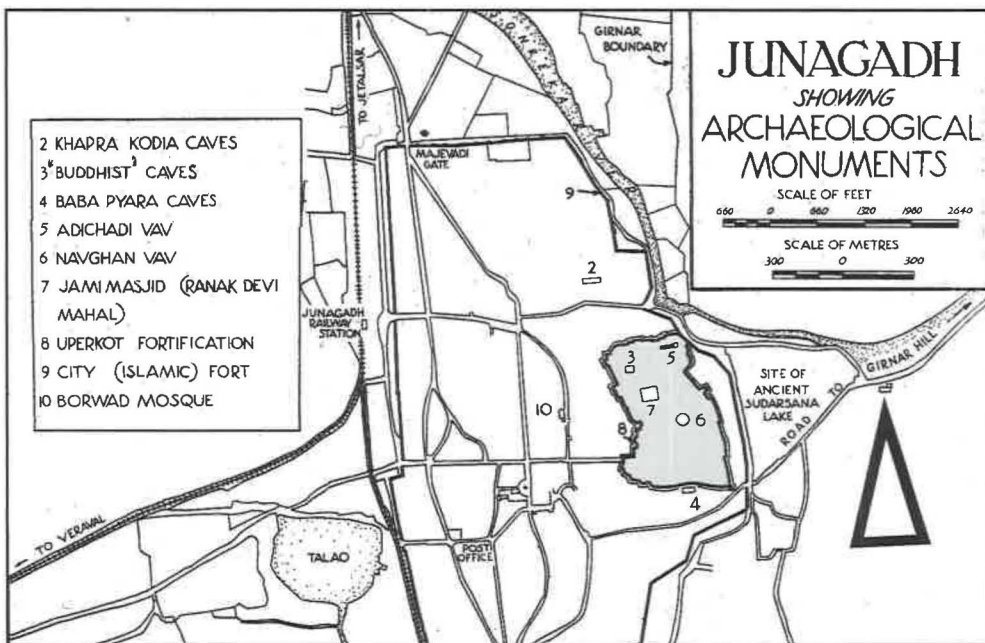
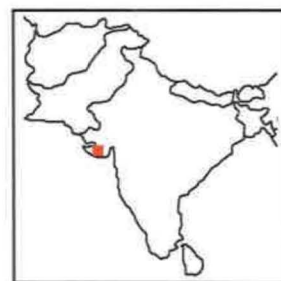
Girnār

Junāgaḍh District, Gujarat

21°31' N.

70°28' E.

GSI map 41 K/6



Further maps: Soundara Rajan 1985 (s. right).

Access:

On the hill side of the old road, which leads to the Girnār mountain, inside a decorative house where photography is strictly forbidden without a permit from the ASI, New Delhi.

Discovery:

J. Tod in 1822 (1829, I: 54, 1839: 369f.): A first reading of some phrases was published by Prinsep 1837a: 470–471. For the construction of a pathway many rocks in the vicinity were destroyed, the inscription rock was partly damaged. “We are indebted to H.H. the present nawāb of Junagarh, for the

preservation of the inscriptions from total destruction, as he interfered to prevent the further mutilation of the stone. The popular belief in the spot is, that the unknown characters refer to immense treasures, buried in the neighbourhood of, or under the rock” (Postans 1838: 874 fn.).

Some fragments resulting from the blasting of the rock were found by Postans (1838: 874); they have been transferred to the local museum.

“When in 1893 the road, which leads from Junāgaḍh to the Girnār was being repaired, some stones were dug out near the rock, on which Aśoka’s, Rudradāman’s and Skandagupta’s inscriptions are incised. They had been put on one side, and I found among them a fragment, 19 inches long and 17 inches broad, a part of which bears letters of the Aśoka type” (Valabhjī Haridatta, Curator of the Rajkot Museum, in translation in Bühler 1894d: 318). Rhys Davids



Fig. 1: View of Girnār mountain; the edict rock is where the two hills meet.



Fig. 2: The house sheltering the edict rock (Soundara Rajan 1985: fig. 2).



Fig. 3: The silhouette of the edict rock with the outlines of an elephant.



Fig. 4: The Aśokan edicts on the front of the elephant.

re-discovered this part (fragment I) in the museum and sent a “simple and partial sketch” to Senart (1900: 335), who re-edited it without knowledge of Bühlers previous work.

A further part (fragment II) was found by “Rhys Davids (...) on the floor by the rock, and has now been removed to the museum”. It was edited by Senart 1900.

Preservation:

As far as the rock is preserved the text is in very good condition.

Measurements:

Inscribed space: max. 4.32 m wide, 3.32 m high.

Akṣaras: 3-4.2-6 cm

Orientation:

North-east. The direction was predetermined by the shape of the boulder.

Presentations of the text:

Eye-copy: Prinsep 1838b: pl. XI (RE2, RE13, *svetahasti*); Jacob & Westergaard 1841-44: 259-270; Cunningham 1877: pl. V-VII.

Rubbings: a) Tod 1822 (1839: 370, partial and lost); Capt. Lang produced the first cloth facsimile on tissue in 1836 (Prinsep 1844: 27; J. Wilson 1851: 95); Postans 1838 produced an eye-copy, rubbing and a copy on tissue, all unpublished, whereas Prinsep 1838a used “a hasty transcript made (...) by a Brāhman in the service of Mr. Wathen” (J. Wilson 1851: 96); H.H. Wilson 1850 in Thomas 1877: 193; Burgess 1876: pls. XI-XIII (very good squeezes in collotype, repr. in Kern 1876); Indrajī 1881: 124 (RE1); Bühler 1894c; Framji 1890; Hultzsch 1925: 4, 10, 14, 22, 26; Pāṇḍeya 1965:

pl. 4-8; Rastogi 1990: pl. III (PE 3-5); Gurugé 1993: [529-530].

Fragments: Senart 1900: 335 = Hardy 1902: 8; Hultzsch 1925: vs. 26; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 8.

Editions: Prinsep 1838a/b; H.H. Wilson 1850: 157-234; Burgess 1876: 98-127; Kern 1876: 258-276; Thomas 1877: 193-198; Cunningham 1877: 65-89; Senart 1880a-d, 1881a; Indrajī 1881: 107f. (RE1), 1882: 284f. (RE8); Bühler 1883a-d, 1886, 1894b; Framji 1890; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 1-58; Woolner 1924: 2-33; Hultzsch 1925: 1-27; Hirananda Sastri 1936; Bloch 1950: 90-135; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 7-9, 13-14; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 1-20; Schneider 1978: 21-83; Rastogi 1990: 1-3, 13-14, 23, 33-34, 48-50, 65-66, 81, 89, 99-100, 117-118, 129-130, 137-138, 151-153, 175; Gurugé 1993: 590-592, 594-597, 600.

Fragment I of RE13: Bühler 1894d; Senart 1900 (without knowledge of Bühler 1894d); Pāṇḍeya 1965: 21.

Fragment II of RE13: Senart 1900; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 21.

(RE1-4) Sircar 1965b: 15-21 → Krishnan 1989; (RE6) Sircar 1965b: 24-26 → Krishnan 1989: 14-23; (RE8) Sircar 1965b: 27-28 → Krishnan 1989: 27-29; (RE10) Sircar 1965b: 30-31 → Krishnan 1989: 32-33; (RE14) Sircar 1965b: 38-39 → Krishnan 1989: 37-38, 47-48.

Presentations of the site:

Drawing: Postans 1838: 872; Cunningham 1877: pl. XXIX.

Photography: Burgess 1876: 94; The frontispiece in Rapson 1914 shows the inscribed rock as it was in 1869, without the building; F. Kern 1956: 33 fig. 4; Soundara Rajan 1985: fig. 1 (inscribed front), fig. 2 (building from outside).

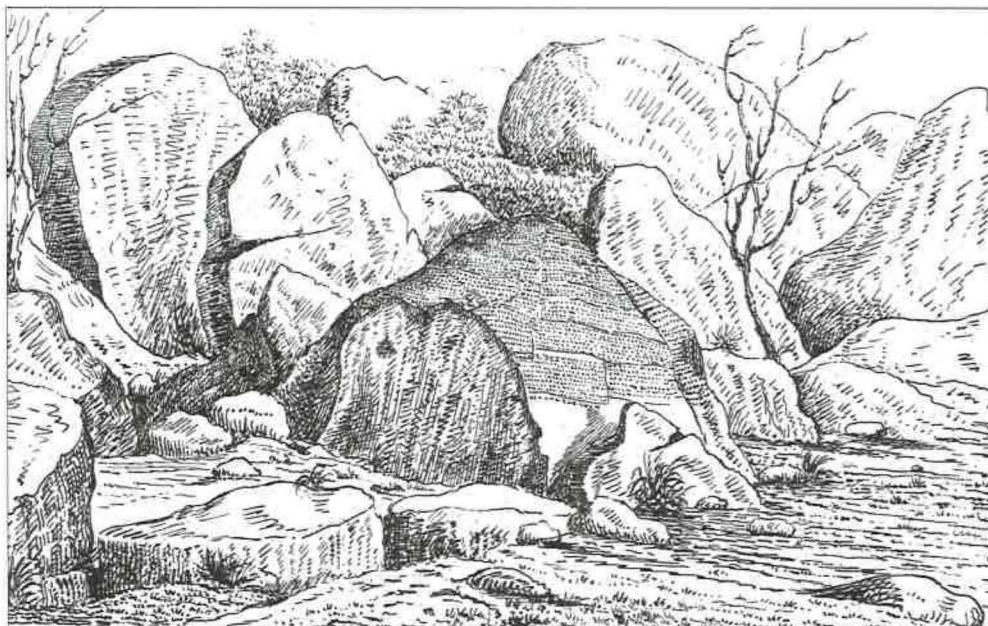


Fig. 5: The rock as seen by Postans in 1838 (after *JASB* 7.1838: pl. XII).

Copy:

A very good metal cast of most of the edicts faces the entrance of the National Museum, Jan Path, New Delhi.

Literature:

General: Tod 1839: 368–373; Cunningham 1877: 14f.; Woolner 1924: xii; Hultzsch 1925: ix–x; H. Sastri 1936: XX; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 230f.; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 1.

On the text: Ram & Yash Pal 1968/69.

On tpa/pta: Pischel 1881: 1317; Norman 1987c.

On Rudradāman's inscription: F. Kielhorn: "Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman", *EI* 8.1905/06: 36–49; H. Sastri 1936: XX.

On Skandagupta's inscription: Fleet 1888: 56–65; H. Sastri 1936: XX.

On a possible further inscription at the Bhūm kuṇḍa: Fleet 1909a.

On the language: Caillat 1987.

On preservation measures: *IA-R* 1993–94: 192; 1997–98: 323.

Importance in antiquity:

As long as the Sudarśana lake was there, the way to the Girnār mountain had to bypass the edict rock. It may have attracted some attention because of its elephant-like shape. Another elephant-like rock in Swat had received a *stūpa* for its veneration (Xuanzang in Beal 1884 I: 127).

Early visitors:

James Tod 1822 (370f.): "The memorial in question, and evidently of some great con-



Fig. 6: Parts of the Rudradāman text.

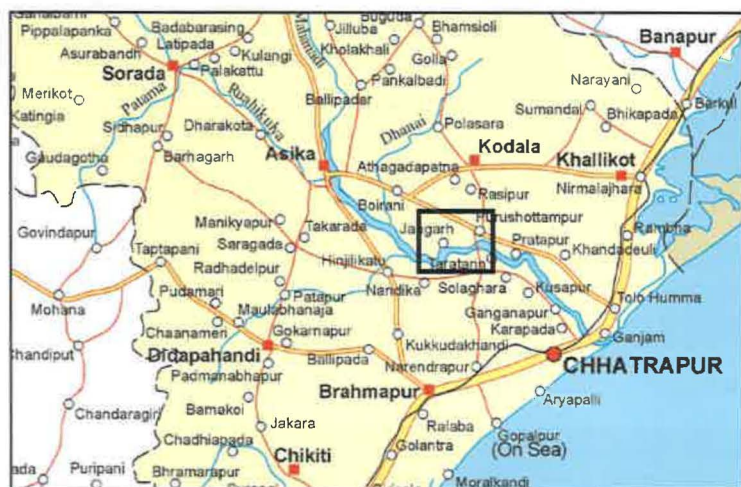
queror, is a huge mass of dark granite, which, like a wart upon the body, has protruded through the crust of mother earth, without fissure or inequality, and which, by the aid of the "iron pen," has been converted into a book. The measurements of its arc is nearly ninety feet; its surface is divided into compartments or parallelograms, within which are inscriptions in the usual antique character. Two of these cartouches I had copied, by my old Guru, with the most scrupulous fidelity, and a portion of a

third, where the character varied. The affinity of the former to the inscription on the triumphal pillars at Delhi (...) is apparent. (...) I may well call it a book; for the rock is covered with these characters, so uniform in execution, that we may safely pronounce all those of the most ancient class, which I designate the 'Pandu character,' to be the work of one man. But who was this man? They are of an age so evidently anterior to Menander and Apollodotus (...).

Jaugada

Jaugarh; Jogada Naugam;
Chatamondelly; Ganjam

Ganjam District, Orissa
19°29' N.
84°51' E.
GSI map 74 A 14+15



Names: For Jogada Naugam cf. Grahame 1872. Chatamondelly is found on the very detailed map dating from the middle of the last century (above right). It probably represents something like *chātamaṇḍalī*: “Within the fort are two tanks, one, a square one with built ghāts and walls and the remains of a cchatri, or small temple, in the middle” (Beglar 1882b: 113).

Access:

From Bhubaneswar by taxi on the Kurda road alongside the Chilka lake. At its end, after Rambha, turn west in the middle of the tiny village of Humma. Follow this road for 26 km to Puruṣottampur. Cross it. At its end turn left

and follow the winding road for 3 km until the bridge over the Rushikulya can be seen. Don’t go left to the bridge, but go straight on alongside the river, for another 4 km into the village of Pandia. The old complex of Jaugarh is immediately to the North of Pandia, for the exact way information from the locals is needed. The hill bearing the inscriptions is in the northern part of the compound.

In 1998, the hill top was inhabited by the last of what were once 8 bears. A python was killed on it recently, some more may still remain.

The watchman can be found in Pandia; in 1998 his name was Shyām Sundar Mahanti.

Any contact in preparation of the visit is impossible: Pandia is without a telephone line. It is advisable to apply for a handwritten pass in Oriya at the ASI Office in Bhubaneswar, as the watchman is not in a position to read or understand English.

Discovery:

“Some years ago, I think in 1858, when Mr. Minchin, and, if I remember rightly, Sir Walter Elliot (then Mr. Elliot and Commissioner of the Northern Sarcars) visited the place and saw the inscription [...]” (Grahame 1872: 220a).

Preservation:

“As they exist now, far the greater part of the

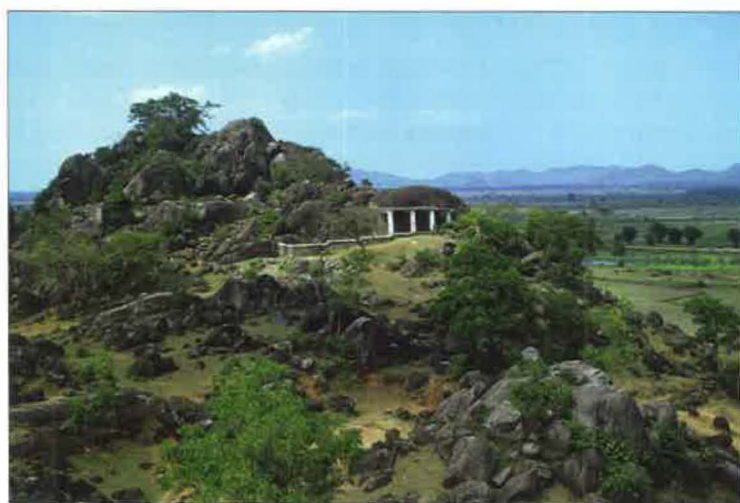


Fig. 1: View of the ASI shed from the south.



Fig. 2: View of the hill from the north; the shed is seen to the left (courtesy P. Yule).



Fig. 3: Parts of the wall towards the East (courtesy Paul Yule).

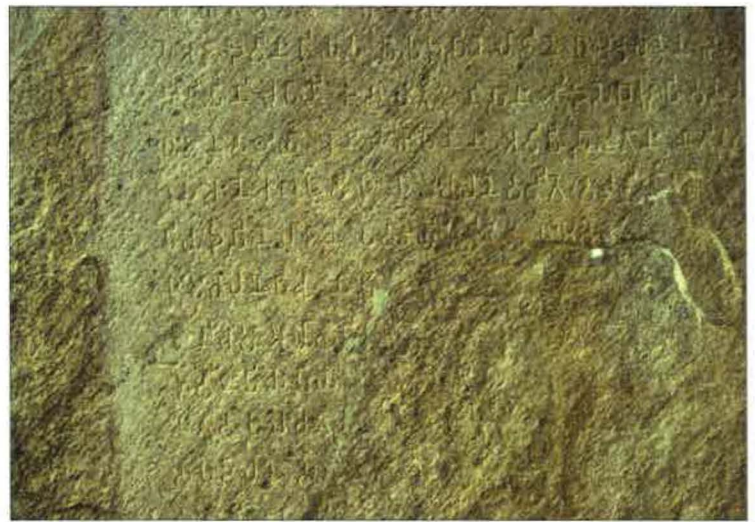


Fig. 4: Sample of the edicts.

first and second inscriptions have disappeared bodily, the rock having lost large fragments upon which the missing parts of those two inscriptions were carved. There is a story told by the inhabitants of Jogada, repeated, too, by the Sub-Magistrate, that about twenty years ago a European gentleman went to the place, threw a quantity of hot tamarind juice and water on the rock, and then beat it with hammers, the result being that he broke off a large portion of the rock on which the inscription was carved. [...] Mr. Minchin, indeed, says that when he first saw the inscriptions, there was then far more of the first and second than now exists" (Grahame 1872:221a).

"Captain Kittoe mentions in one of his letters (Vol. VI, Journal Asiatic Society, page 708) that he heard of an inscription covering 270 square feet, which had been covered up with plaster to save it from the misguided zeal of antiquarians; and I feel almost certain that he refers to this great inscription. (...) I found great difficulty in obtaining impressions of it, from the passive resistance of the people in the neighbouring villages (who are, of course, under the impression that it is a record of the whereabouts of vast hidden treasure)" (Beglar 1882b: 114).

Caddy 1895: 165: "The inscription was first brought to notice by Sir W. Elliott, when it was more perfect. An attempt to make an impression of it has destroyed the larger part of the inscription since."

Rea 1903/04: 69: "[O]n a recent visit, I learned that a civilian many years ago attempted to remove it [= the rock] by fire – in the way ordinarily followed in quarrying in this country – the inscribed surface, flake by flake, in order, probably, that it might be carried off and deposited in some museum.

The attempt, however, was only partially successful, and resulted in the gradual flaking or scaling off of the surface."

Measurements:

The text is arranged in two polished squares, separated from each other by 159 cm, because of a diagonally cut running in the rock.

The left square is 428 cm wide (= 5 MY), 192 cm high. Its bottom line is 176 cm above ground. The lowest 30 cm are not inscribed.

The *akṣaras* measure 2.5-3.1-4 cm.

The right square is 336 cm wide, 176 cm high. Its bottom line is 262 cm above ground. In this square the upper right corner has been given a separate frame with straight lines, 131 cm wide, 104 cm high.

The *akṣaras* measure about the same as in the left square.

Orientation:

South-east, the reader looks north-west.

Presentations of the text:

Rubbing: Cunningham 1877: pl. XI–XIII; Bühler 1887b: pl. 67–69; Hultzscht 1925: 104, 110, 116; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 22–24.

Plaster cast: Caddy (1895: 165) for the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Photographs: Minchin 1872, publ. in Fleet 1878, nos. 248–250 = BL Photo 1000/2 (231–233); Beglar: inscription wall with old building = BL 1002/40(2243); same by Caddy = BL 1002/40(2247). Caddy 1895: 153 (unpubl.) = prob. BL Photo 1002/40 (2249) showing left side of edicts, no. (2250) shows bottom exposed and right side of edicts.

Editions: Cunningham 1877: 65–89; Senart 1880a–d, 1881a; Indrajī 1882: 284f. (RE 8); Bühler 1883a–d, 1886, 1887a, 1887b; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 38, 56–58, 82–92; Woolner 1924: 2–33; Hultzscht 1925:

101–118; Bloch 1950: 90–95; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 94–108; Schneider 1978: 21–62, 81–83; Rastogi 1990: 6–7, 17, 27, 39, 55, 71–72, 84, 92, 105, 122, 178.

Separate Edicts: Cunningham 1877: 89–93; Kern 1880; Senart 1883a; Bloch 1950: 136–143; Alsdorf 1962; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 21–22 (SepE 2); Sircar 1965b: 44–46 → Krishnan 1989: 54–57 (SepE 2); Pāṇḍeya 1965: 105–108; Schneider 1978: 84–94; Rastogi 1990: 189–192, 199–201; Gurugé 1993: 601.

Presentations of the site:

Photography: D. Mishra 1956–57: pl. XL B.

Copy:

A small section showing the first 5 lines of RE4 is on display in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, as a plaster cast.

Literature:

Cunningham 1877: 17–20; Sewell 1882: 4f.; Caddy 1895: 165; Woolner 1924: xiii; Hultzscht 1925: xiv–xv; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 231; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 3.

On excavations: Beglar 1882b: 112f.; D. Mishra 1956–57 (settlement starts with walled city; an iron-using culture; brick buildings are wanting); Brandtner 2000: 372–377.

On local traditions: Beglar 1882b: 115f.

On preservation measures: ASIAR 1923–24: 40 (coating the inscription); ASIAR 1928–29: 44 (iron bars; roof); IA-R 1956–57: 50; 1991–92: 170 § 115; the surface with the edicts was cleaned and given chemical treatment, and the area was fenced with barbed wire in 1992–93 (IA-R 1992–93: 158, 196).

Importance in antiquity:

The dimensions of the earthen city walls are impressive: a square field, with sides of about 600–800 m length has two gates on each side (figs. 3 and 8). The rock above the edict is called *nāgarī* by the locals. There is

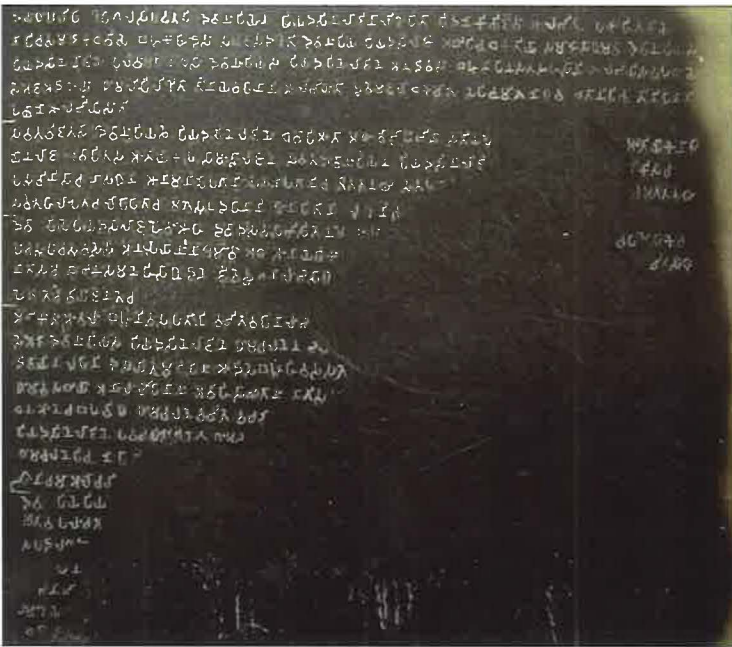


Fig. 5: REs 1-5 as photographed by Minchin in 1872.

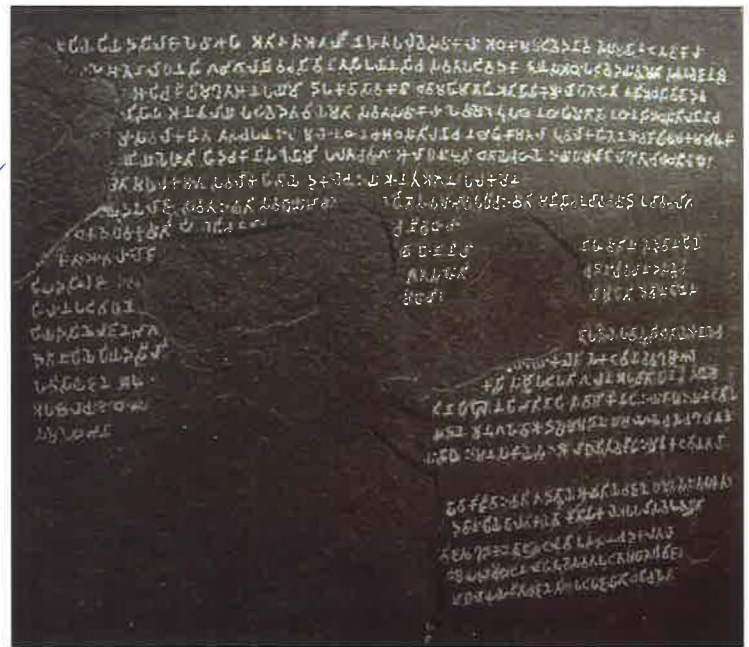


Fig. 6: REs 6-10 and 14 as photographed by Minchin in 1872.

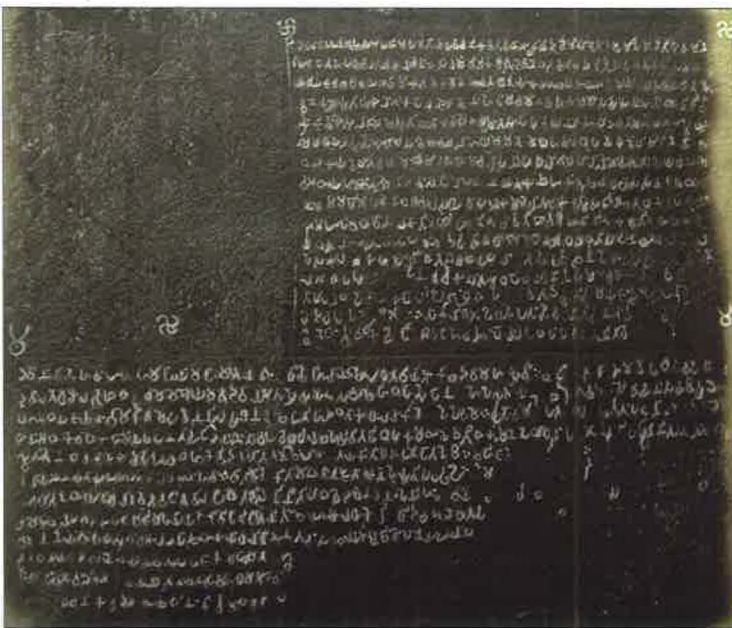


Fig. 7: SepE1 and 2 as photographed by Minchin in 1872.

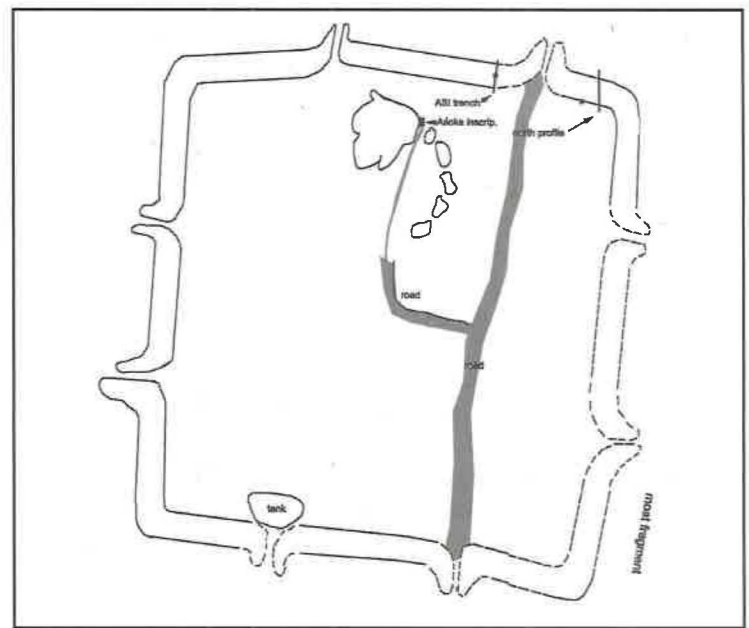


Fig. 8: Plan of the ancient fort (from a sketch by P. Yule), encircling 64 ha.

a local story that right on top of the edicts a pond was found containing water all through the year, even in the driest season. Lilies grew in it, and its water used to trickle across the inscription; but once the ASI built the concrete roof the pond dried out.

The former importance of the hill becomes clear in the light of the sanctuary of Gupteśvara in a cave on the slope of a hill immediately to the south of Jaugarh across the river. This god is venerated all through the year and on the usual Śaiva festive days. It is

believed that every *bhog* given to this male deity is transferred to Nāgarī via a subterranean channel. Obviously, an original *devī* at Jaugarh was replaced by a form of Śiva.

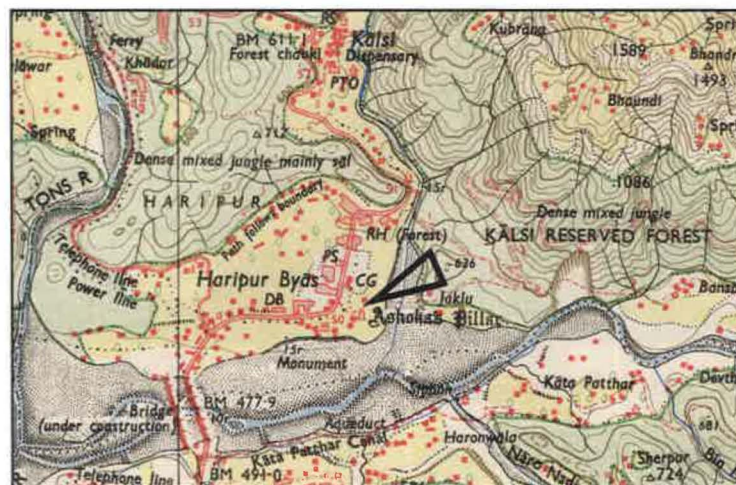
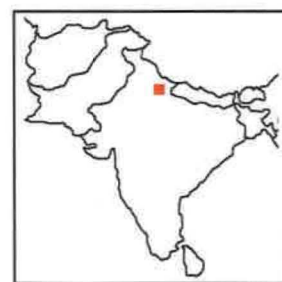
Importance today:

None.

Kālsī

Chattraśilā; Citraśilā

Dehra Dūn District, UP
30°31' N.
77°51' E.
GSI map 53 F/14



Access: Taxi drivers in Dehradun know Kālsī quite well. The road leads to Herbertpur and then north for another 15 km. To reach Kālsī the road leads down to the Yamunā and crosses it. After the bridge the only road leads again north, continuously uphill for about 2 km where the village of Haripur Byās is reached. At its end, in sight of the bars closing the road to the woods, a small lane to the right leads downhill again towards a hamlet called Tilvarī (or Indra colony). Stop the car and walk down the alley built by the ASI to the rose-coloured building with a cupola, which was erected in March 1912. The warden Dhan Singh lives

right next door and is always on duty to open the door of the sheltering building.

Preservation:

The rock is white and fine-grained and shows folded layers of sediments. Some of its parts are smoothly abraded either from glacial movements or from water action on its way down the Yamunā valley. It may not have been found on the spot, but may more likely have been dragged to its present position to serve as a basis for the edicts. It is fairly well preserved.

a) The inscription was incised once a square part on the perpendicular east side of about 200 x 150 cm had received a smoothing

treatment with a final polish that makes the surface shine like a mirror even now. This smoothed surface begins 30 cm below the top and ends 60 cm from the floor. The last 20 cm of this surface is not inscribed, instead the remaining text was chiselled on the south face.

b) The south face was never smoothed but is sufficiently level to show the *akṣaras* clearly. At the lower left part are traces of a drawing of an elephant's leg, which either was the discarded first attempt to draw it or the beginning of a second animal.

c) The north face shows the elephant with the words *gajātame* between its legs.

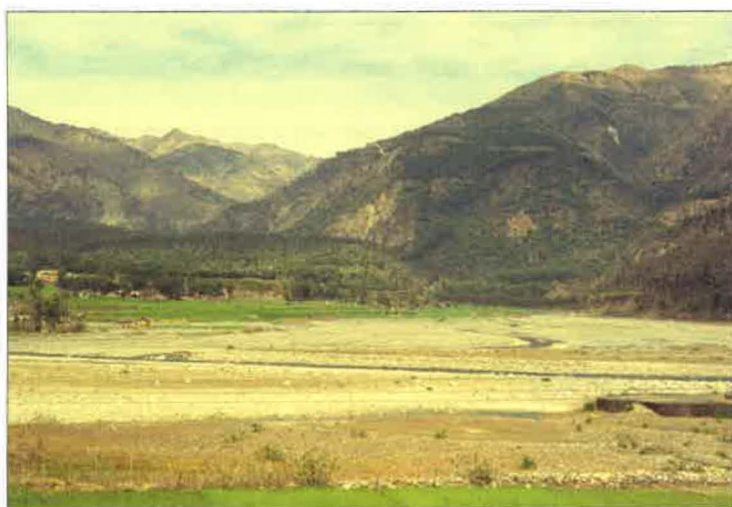


Fig. 1: The place of confluence of the Yamunā (from the right) and the river Tons. The edict rock is found in the middle of the ridge in the foreground.



Fig. 2: The ASI shelter at the foot of the ridge.



Fig. 3: The edict rock inside the ASI shelter.



Fig. 4: The edict rock.



Fig. 5: The back left corner of the rock showing several artificial steps cut into it to facilitate access to its top.

Discovery:

1860 by Mr. Forrest, who found its surface “encrusted with the dark moss of ages” (Cunningham 1871j: 247; Burgess 1876: 96; Führer 1891: 8).

Measurements:

The rock measures about 2.3 m in height and occupies a bottom surface of about 4 x 2 m. The inscriptions measure:

a) 200 x 130 cm on the east face;

b) 60 x 80 cm on the south face, which is about 200 cm broad;

c) elephant 30 x 50 cm on the north face, which is only 100 cm wide.

Akṣaras measure 1.2–1.5 cm in the upper part, 2.3–3 cm in the lower part and on the south face.

Orientation:

East and south; the rock faces the valley, the reader looks west.



Fig. 6: Part of the inscription on the South face.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: Cunningham 1871j: 247, pl. XLI, 1877: pl. III–IV.

Rubbing: Cunningham 1871j: 247 (unpublished); Indrajī 1881: 124 (RE 1); Bühler 1885, 1894b; Hultzsch 1925: 44, 50.

Editions: Cunningham 1877: 65–89; Senart 1880a–d, 1881a; Indrajī 1881: 107f. (RE 1), 1882: 284f (RE 8); Bühler 1883a–d, 1886, 1894b; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 1–58; Woolner 1924: 2–33; Hultzsch 1925: 27–50; Bloch 1950: 90–135; Eggermont & Hofijzer 1962: 12–14 (RE 8–10); Sircar 1965b: 31–32 (RE 11); Janert 1965: 97–119 (lines 1–27); Pāṇḍeya 1965: 22–42; Janert 1972b: 104–126; Schneider 1978: 21–83; Rastogi 1990: 4, 15, 24–25, 51–52, 67–68, 82, 90, 101–102, 119–120, 131–132, 139–141, 154–157, 176; Gurugé 1993: 593, 598–599 (RE 5, 13).

Presentations of the site:

a) Rock:

Drawing: Cunningham 1877: pl. XXIX.

Photography: Office of Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: nos. 6226–6234.

b) Elephant:

Drawing: Cunningham 1871j: pl. XLI.

Rubbing: Bühler 1894c; Hultzsch 1925: 50; Mookerji 1962: pl. IV; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 10; Janert 1972b: 3; Janert 1977: 70.

Photography: Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 9–10; Janert 1972b: 162–171; Sarma 1985: pl. 22.

Literature:

Cunningham 1871a: XXXV, 1871j, 1877: 12–13; Woolner 1924: xii; Hultzsch 1925:



Fig. 7: The elephant and the polished part of the inscription.

xi; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 231f.; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 1–2.

On the elephant: Janert 1977.

On preservation measures: IA-R 1979–80: 135; 1988–89: 132; 1995–96: 153.

Readings on the rock:

On the east face:

Line 28: (10C) *aṃ ca kichi*; *devanaṃhiye*; (D) *apu* (Hultzs. *apune*, but the rock shows no trace of the *ne-akṣara*); (E) *anatā* (Hultzs. *ana[ta]*, but both *ta* and the *ā-mātrā* are clear); 29: (F) *dukale* (a pronounced curved upright stroke ends this edict). (11A) *pāye* (Hultzs. *piye*); *hevaṃ hā* (mistake for *āhā*); (B) *dhammasabadhe* (Hultzs. °*ṣaṃbadhe*); (C) *ese* (Hultzs. *eṣe*); *ṣuṣuṣā* (Hultzs. has a vertical following here, which certainly is not on the rock); *dane* (Hultzs. [*dā*]ne). Line 30: *anālabhe* (Hultzs. *anāl[aṃ]bhe*); (D) *putena* (*na* added above the line); *mita* (*ta* small below line); (E) *dhammadānenā* (here no curved vertical stroke ends the edict). Line 31 (12A) *ṣavā* (Hultzs. *ṣāvā*), *pavajitāyi* (Hultzs.

-jitā[n]i, but the letter is certainly *yi*); *pujeti* (the *pu* shows both a *-u* and an *-ā-mātrā*); *vividhanā* (the last *akṣara* looks like a *na* with upwards slanting *-e-* and *-ā-mātrās*); (B) *devāna* (Hultzs. *devāna[m]*); *śiyāti* (the *śi* is a *ti* with a small additional slanting stroke to the right); *śavapāśaḍāna* (*na* added above the line); (C) *bahuvidhā* (*vi* added above line); (D) *ta* (Hultzs. *t[i]*); *atapaśaḍa* (*ta* added above line); °*vā puḍā vā*, followed on line by an erased *apaśalahāvā*; the correct version was incised above the line: *pala-pāśaṃḍagalahā va*°.

On the south face:

(P) *dhamavijaye*; (Q) *ṣ[-]* (fissure in the rock, obliterating the *mātrā*); *yojanaX* (one *akṣara* erased) °*ṣateṣu ate atiyoge nām[a]* *yon[alā]..[pa]lam cā*°; *atiyogenā*; (S) *yāta*; (U) *vijaye* (written later above the line. The *vi* is strange, and the *ja* has an unusual middle curve. Does this point to a different hand?); (X) °*papotā me anam*; (Z) °*nilati hota*) (Hultzs. *hot[u]*, after *hota* a curved vertical line, as for the end of an edict);

(14D) *athi mā hetā puna puna lapite*°; (E) *aṣamati likhite*°.

Importance in antiquity:

The place of its erection marks the point where the Yamunā enters the plains and where one of the passages into the Himalaya starts through the valley of the Tons. On the left side of the Yamunā, at Jagatgrām across the river, 3 km from the Kālsī rock, an Aśvamedha was performed in the 3rd century AD (Y.D. Sharma 1953: 140f., T.V. Ramachandran 1953/54 and 1954).

The rock is conspicuous for a flight of steps cut into the southern face which make it possible to climb to the top (fig. 5). These steps were cut before the second inscriber arrived to finish the full set of REs. When this scribe started his work, he carefully wrote around the steps. The purpose of the steps depends on the answer to the question why someone should be positioned on top of the boulder.

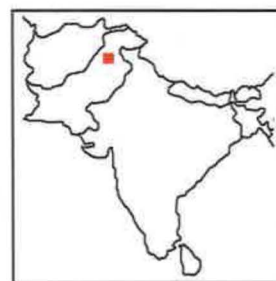
Mānsehrā

Hazara District, Pakistan

34°20' N.

73°11' E.

GSP NI-43/NW

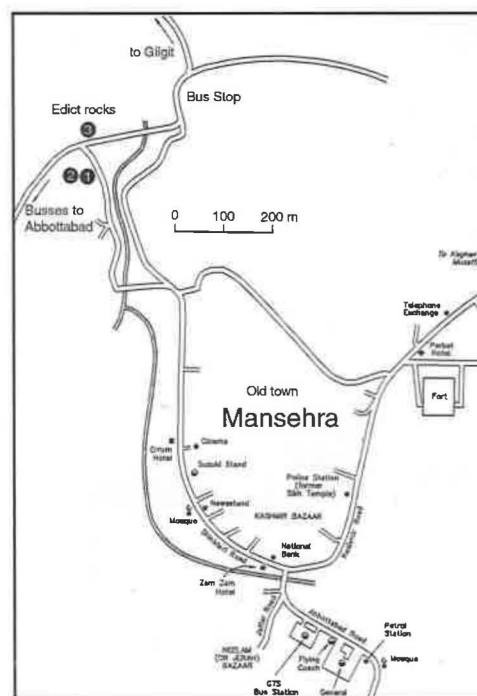


Access: Three rocks right at the entrance of the lower town. There is a signboard pointing downhill on the west side of the road close to rock no. 3 lying about 5 m below the road. The two other rocks are found east of the road uphill in a fenced-in yard. Access is free, photography requires a written permit from the director, Archaeological Survey of Pakistan, Karachi.

Discovery:

Rocks 1+2: "Il y a peu d'années que nous avons reçu, par le général Cunningham, la nouvelle qu'il existait en ce lieu une série non encore signalée des édits de Piyadasi" (Senart 1888a: 508).

Rock 3: "Der Stein, auf welchen die Edicte XIII und XIV der Mansehra Version eingemeisselt sind, wurde im Sommer 1889 von einem indischen Unterbeamten des Archaeological Survey im Pañjâb entdeckt. Mr. Rodgers, der Chef des Survey im Pañjâb, hatte denselben auf Befehl des damaligen Director-General Dr. J. Burgess, nach Mansehra geschickt, und ihm aufgetragen sämtliche Steinblöcke in der Nähe der beiden Felsen zu untersuchen, auf denen die Edicte I–VIII und IX–XII sich finden. Nach längerem Suchen fand derselbe schliesslich einen beschriebenen Stein, der von seiner ursprünglichen Stelle weg an das Ufer eines Bergstromes gerollt war" (Bühler 1890a: 702).



Rock 3 was about to be blasted away when the modern road from Abbottabad was constructed. Credit goes to Dr. Halim, former Director of the Taxila Museum, who convinced the military staff to discard the idea.

Preservation:

Rocks 1 and 2 are fairly well preserved.

Rock 1 received its inscription in a well-polished square (figs. 3, 5). Unfortunately, the very small characters have suffered over the course of time. The rock has lost its original upright position and stands leaning downhill. Being blocked by an adjoining rock it remained on the slope. The letters on rock 2 are large and perfectly preserved. Rock 3,



Fig. 1: The fallen rock 3 in its shed right below the road.



Fig. 2: Rock 3 with the remains of the inscriptions of the upper part traced out in white.



Fig. 3: Rocks 1 and 2 in their new sheds (after *ASIAR* 1936–37: pl. Vb); note the tilted edict square of rock 1.



Fig. 4: The path alongside the sheds for rocks 1 and 2.



Fig. 5: Rock 1 in its shed; the polished square is faintly visible.



Fig. 6: Rock 2 showing both inscribed sides.

which once fell down the slope, lost part of its inscribed surface on the way.

Measurements:

Rock 1: RE 1–8, facing South-East: A squarish rock, 2.2 m high, 2.5 m broad.

The *akṣaras* are very small, 3 cm on average.

Its surface was levelled inside a square field, measuring 1.65 m in height, and 1.44 m in width, with an exact ratio of 8 x 7 of a basic unit of 20.62 cm.

Rock 2:

a) RE 9–11, facing East. The text-field meas-

ures 2.2 m in length and 1.2 m in height.

Akṣaras 3.5–6–8 cm

b) RE 12, facing South-East. The text-field measures 2.85 m in length and 97 cm in height.

Akṣaras 3.5–6.5–8 cm



Fig. 7: The sheds for rocks 1 and 2 with the well in the foreground.



Fig. 8: The well in its dressed bed below the edicts.



Fig. 9: Some letters on rock 2.

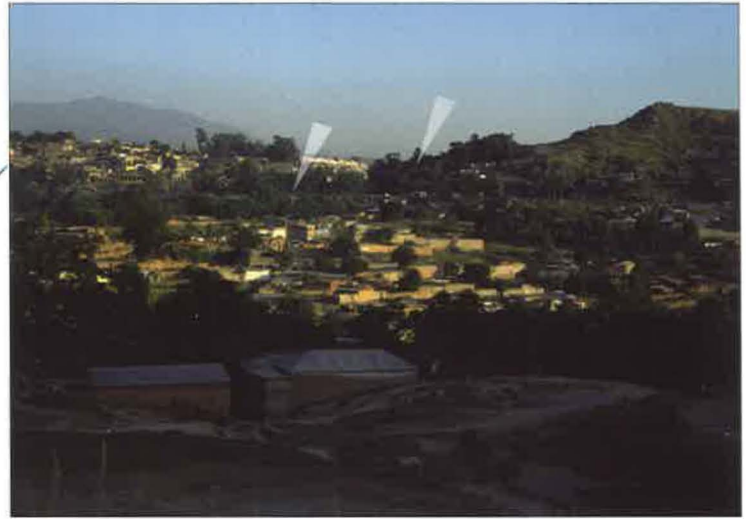


Fig. 10: View over the lower town of Mānsehrā and the sheds from the west.

Rock 3:

RE 13-14, after the fall facing North-East. 4.2 m wide; the left side of the rock is about 4 m high, right side 1.3 m.

Akṣaras 3-6-8 cm

The inscribed side is tilted forwards, so that the text is to be read at an angle of about 55°. The floor in front of the rock has been filled with concrete, so that the lowest line is almost touching the floor. Reading is almost impossible because of insufficient space.

Presentations of the text:

Rubbing: Senart 1888b: pl. 1-3; Hultzsich 1925: 78, 80-81, 84; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 15-18; Rastogi 1990: pl. V B (RE 13).

Editions: Senart 1888a: 511-514, 1888b: 319-330; Bühler 1889b, 1890a (RE 13-14), 1894b; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 1-56; Woolner 1924: 2-33; Hultzsich 1925: 71-84; Bloch 1950: 90-135; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 9-11 (RE 5-7); Sircar 1965b: 22-24

(RE5) → Krishnan 1989: 24-26, Sircar 1965b: 28-29 (RE9) → Krishnan 1989: 34-36; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 61-76; Schneider 1978: 21-83; Rastogi 1990: 10, 19, 29, 42-43, 58-59, 75-76, 86, 95, 108-109, 124, 134, 144-145, 162-164, 180.

Presentations of the site:

Photography: *ASIAR* 1936-37: pl. Vb (improved enclosure walls).

Literature:

General: Woolner 1924: xi-xii; Hultzsich 1925: xii-xiii; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 233; Pāṇḍeya 1965: *bhūmikā* 2.

On rubbings: *ASIAR* 1922-23: 101; 1923-24: 89.

Importance in antiquity:

The place obviously was chosen because it marks the diversion from the main valley to the upper regions leading to Kashmir and to Gilgit via Balakot over the Babusar pass along the Kundar. The southern road led to

Takṣaśilā. Coming from China, however, there was also the possibility to turn west at modern Haripur and to proceed via Shāh-bāzgarhī towards Puṣkalāvatī.

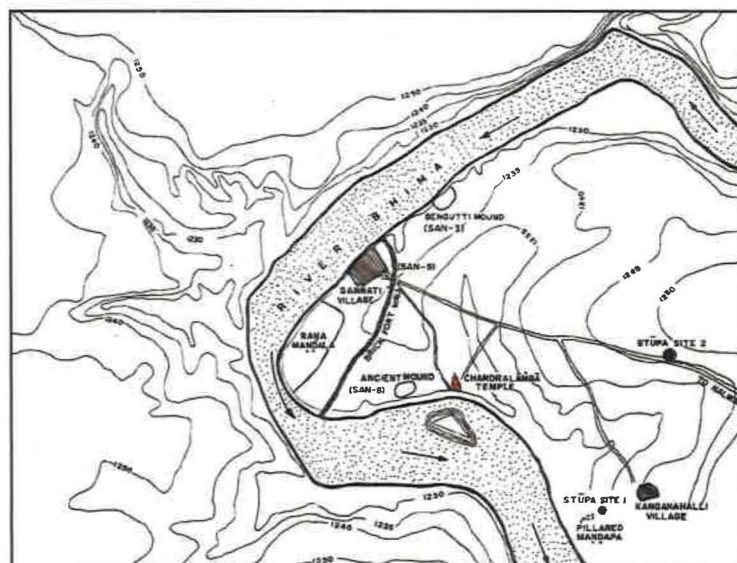
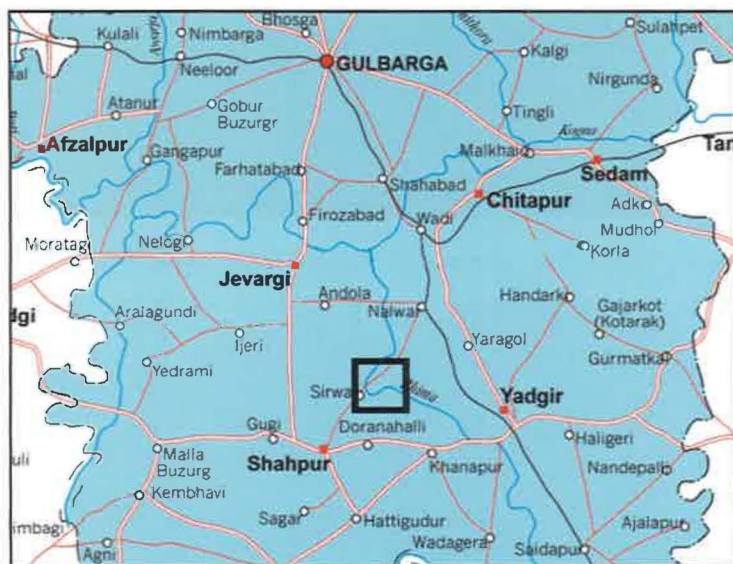
The traveller coming from the south was forced uphill by the deep gorge of the river right in front of the edict site. This place is favourable in that it provides a flat surface and a well, sunk artificially into the rock. It measures 1.4 x 1.2 m, with a depth of nearly 1 m. The locals praise its clear water running all through the year.

The chiselling out of the well might well have been done by the same crew which was engaged for dressing and inscribing the rocks. Aśoka mentions wells maintained by his orders in RE2 (C). Until the 1950s, this well was covered with debris. When the path around the edicts was paved with stone slabs, the well was laid free.

Sannati

Sannathi; Santi

Gulbarga District,
Karnataka
16°49' N.
76°54' E.
GSI map 56 D/13



Access: In 1999 it was absolutely necessary to approach the place from the south, from Yadgir. The northern part of the “road” does not deserve the name; the return should also be planned via Yadgir.

On the Yadgir-Wadi road drive north for about 20 km until reaching Narapur. There, turn east to cross the railway line and proceed to the village of Nalvār; another 15 km to go for Sannati. Keep asking at junctions. Before reaching the village of Sannati an old *stūpa* hill is prominent on the right hand side; shortly afterwards a signboard points left to the Candrālambā temple.

The slab has been removed to the back of the temple under the porches (fig. 5).

The slab is encased in meshwire and can be seen clearly. Photography is usually forbidden for no apparent reason. It is absolutely necessary to produce a permit from the ASI, New Delhi, to get inside the cage and work on the stone.

Discovery:

In January 1989 the ruined shrine of Kālī-kāmbā, or Mahākālī, adjoining the right side of the Candrālambā temple at Sannati, was cleared for restoration. The workmen, when cleaning the base slab of the image of

Site map after Sarma & Varaprasada Rao 1993 fig. 2.

the deity discovered that it was inscribed in archaic letters. After removal of the slab the rear side was inspected and further inscriptions were found.

The front side contains parts of SepE1 and SepE2; the backside contains parts of RE12 and RE14. The first information was spread through *IA-R* 1988–89: 93 with pl. XLIX; another short notice came in *IA-R* 1989–90: 113, with pl. 33B.



Fig. 1: The Bhīmā river close to the temple.



Fig. 2: Frontal view of the Candrālambā temple.



Fig. 3: The edict stone uncovered.

The site itself is situated in a large bend of the river Bhīmā, just like Banvāsī, the capital of Kadambas and Cālukyas, in a bend of the river Varadā, or Vidiśā in a bend of the Betwa. The rivers are forced to diminish their velocity at the bend, thus providing a safe area and easy landing for river craft.

Preservation:

The stone is broken in three parts, obviously in connection with the hole cut to insert the base of the Kālsī figure. The remaining letters are clearly visible.

Measurements:

The slab measures 233 x 121 x 30 cm. The text on the larger side is 119 cm wide and 142 cm high in 20 lines. The present underside could not be inspected. The *akṣaras* measure 2.3-4.5-5 cm.

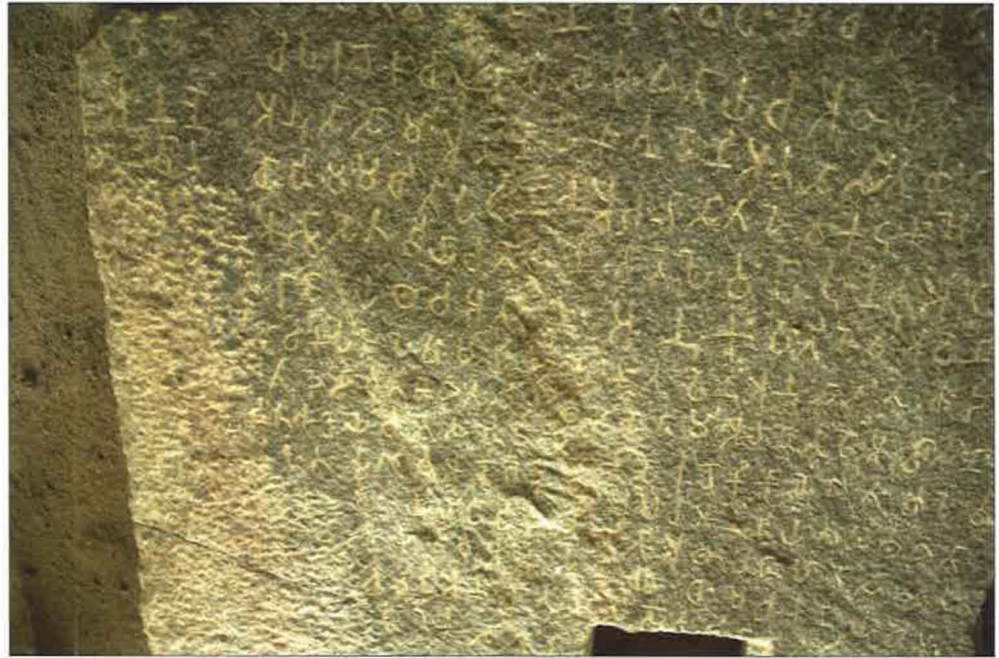


Fig. 4: Close-up of the edict stone.

Orientation:

The original orientation is not known. The slab once stood vertically, adjoining at least one more slab. It is the only Aśokan slab inscribed on both sides.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy:

SepE1+2: Sarma, Srinivasa Rao & Varaprasada Rao 1989: 405.

Rubbing:

RE12+14: Ramesh 1987/88; Sarma, Siva Sarma & Varaprasada Rao 1987: pl. 4; Office of Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: No. 11808 (= Norman 1991a: 104); Ramesh 1987/88: "Face A"; Sarma & Varaprasada Rao 1993: pl. 4,8,9.

SepRE1+2: Ramesh 1987/88: "Face B"; Norman 1991a: 107 (complete face); Office of Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: Nos. 11290

(top to hole), 11291 (right side of hole), 11293 (*SepE1* top to crack), 11292 (*SepE1* crack to bottom).

Photography:

RE12+14: Sarma & Varaprasada Rao 1993: pls. 5+6.

SepE1+2: Office of Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: Nos. 11296, 11297 (complete = Poonacha 1995: pl. LXIXa), 11298 (upper part), 11295 (lower part); *IA-R* 1988–89 pl. XLIX; Sarma, Srinivasa Rao & Varaprasada Rao 1989: pls. 46.1+2; Sarma & Varaprasada Rao 1993: pl. 7.

Editions:

RE12+14: Ramesh 1987/88: 39–40; Sarma, Siva Sarma & Varaprasada Rao 1987: 9; Norman 1991a: 103; Sarma & Varaprasada Rao 1993: 10–12, 40.

Sep1+2: Ramesh 1987/88: 40–42; Sarma, Srinivasa Rao & Varaprasada Rao 1989: 407–409; Norman 1991a: 106; Sarma & Varaprasada Rao 1993: 13–18, 40–41.

Presentations of the site:

Photography:

Sarma, Siva Sarma & Varaprasada Rao 1987 (temple, deity and slab).

Literature:

IA-R 1988–89: 93, 1989–90: 113; Nagaraja Rao 1985.

On excavations: Howell 1989; Poonacha 1995.

On the language of the edicts: Norman 1990a, 1991a.

On Kanaganahalli: D.J. Das 1999.

Importance today:

The Candrālambā temple is managed by Kāṇva brahmans from the Kāśyapa gotra, ignorant of Sanskrit.



Fig. 5: Back side of the temple with the edict stone under the arcades.

Shāhbāzgarhī

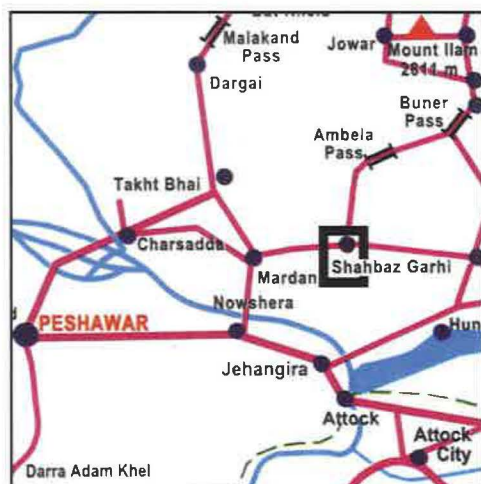
Makām; Kapur-di-Giri;
Po-lu-sha

Mardan District, Pakistan

34°13' N.

72°09' E.

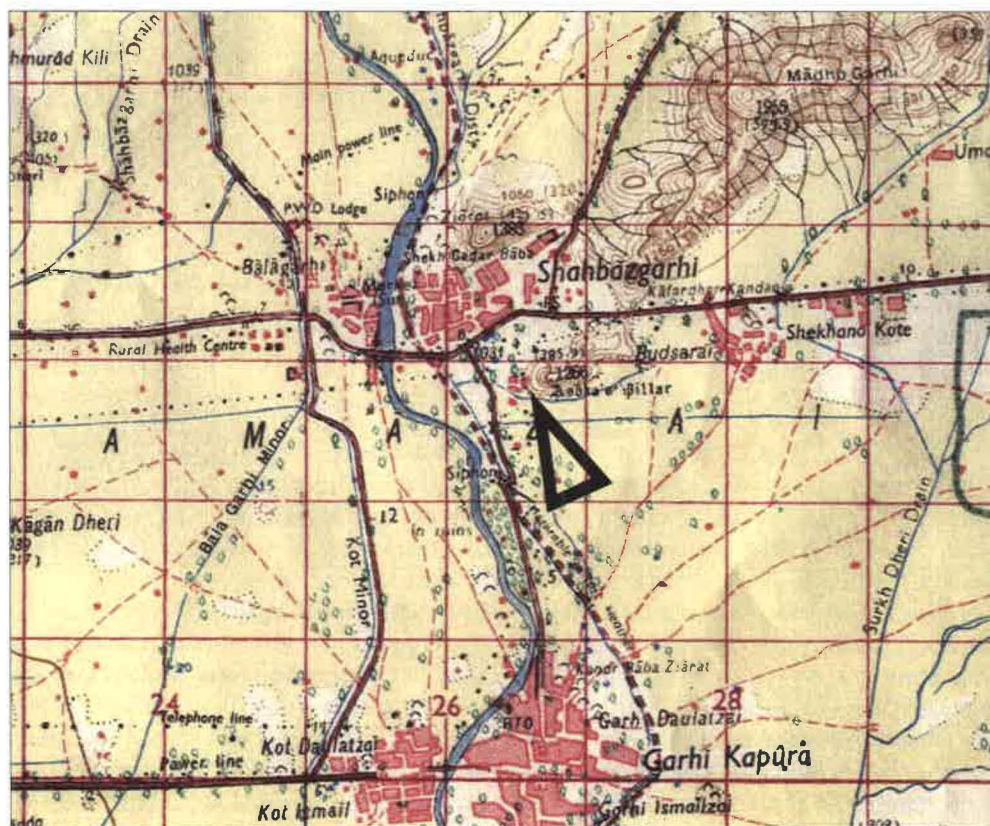
GSP 43 B/4



Name: Cunningham 1875a: 9 proposed Sattāmi, Setrām and Sitarāmi as the “old name”, but seems to confuse it with the rivulet’s name given as “Sūdim or Sidim” by Masson 1846: 296. On Po-lu-sha see below.

Further maps:

“Map of British Yusufzai” in Cunningham 1875a: pl. II; “Ruins at Shāhbaz-garhi in Sūdam, Yusufzai” in Cunningham 1875a: pl. III; “Map of Western Gandhara” in M.E. & D.H. Gordon: A survey of ancient Gandhara. *Journal of the Indian Anthropological Institute* [N.S.] 1.1945.



Access:

“Thirteen of the edicts are inscribed on two faces of the larger rock which stands a little above the foot of the hill, the XIIth

Edict is carved on a smaller rock which lies about 70 yards to the north-west of the larger and at the foot of the hill.



Fig. 1: The eastern-most hill in the southern range; RE12 is found in the foreground under the trees, the other edicts are on the rock half-way up the hill to the right.



Fig. 2: The edict rocks seen from further up the hill; the dark side of the big boulder carries most of the edicts; the square wall for the second stone is seen further below between the trees.



Fig. 3: The upper rock on its eastern side with REs 1–11.



Fig. 4: The upper rock on its western side.

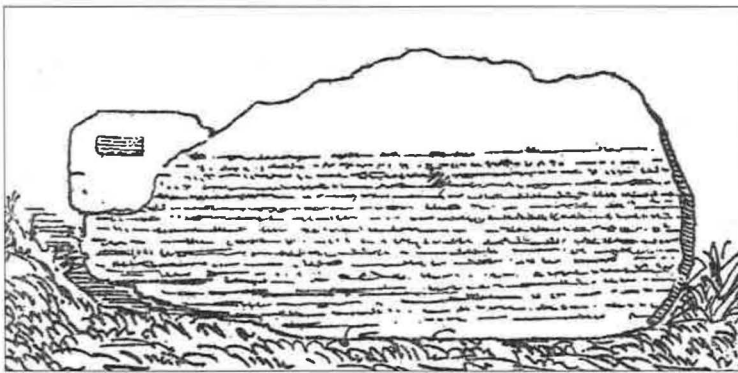


Fig. 5: The distribution of REs 1–11 (Cunningham 1877: pl. XXIXa)

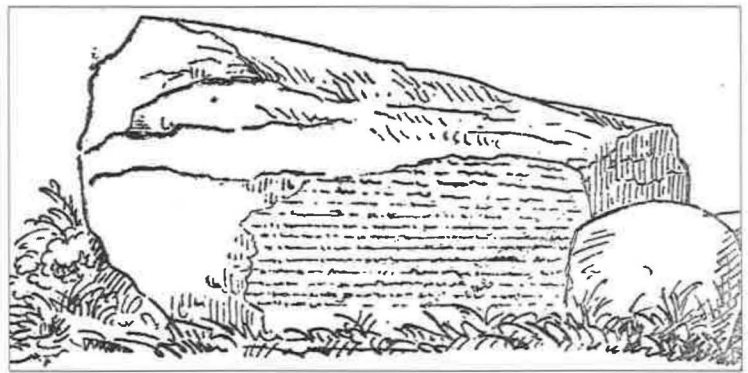


Fig. 6: The situation of REs 13–14 (Cunningham 1877: pl. XXIXb).

The larger rock is inscribed on two faces, Edicts I–XI facing the hill and Edicts XIII–XIV facing the plain” (D.R. Sahni 1922–23, 17).

Discovery:

RE7: Court 1836: 481: “The province contains no town, properly so called, but it is embellished by large and populous villages: the principal one amongst them is Kapardigarhī, standing in the midst of the ruins of a very ancient town, which might very possibly be the Caspatyrus of the Greeks, the capital of the Gandāri, whom our geographers place to the east of the Assaceni on the western bank of the Indus. Quite close to this village I observed a rock on which there are inscriptions almost effaced by time, and out of which I could only decipher the following characters.”

RE1–6, 8–11: “My young man, on his former visit, had removed some of the moss which had grown over the greater part of the surface of the rock, and had discovered characters beneath it” (Masson 1846: 298).

RE12: 1888 by Capt. Deane, Assistant Commissioner of Yusafzai, cf. Bühler 1888, 1892b: 16.

RE 13–14: “it was with much satisfaction I found the southern face had also its inscription” (Masson 1846: 298).

“The existence of the larger inscription was first brought to notice in 1836 by M. Court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh’s service, but the smaller rock bearing the XIIth Edict was discovered by Captain (afterwards Sir Harold) Deane when Assistant Commissioner, Mardan” (D.R. Sahni 1922–23: 17).

Preservation:

The major side of the upper rock is fairly well preserved, as is all of the lower rock with its RE 12; very difficult to read is the second side of the upper rock, which is inclined over sloping ground (fig. 4). This ground is made of concrete today, but already in 1846 Masson was unable to produce a regular rubbing, so that the position of the reader was not different before this “preservative” measure. There was a tradition that this rock had fallen from higher up (Masson 1846: 298) and Masson concluded from the situation of the second side that at the time of its inscribing the rock must have been in a different position from today.

In order to prepare some sort of rubbing, Masson cleaned all characters on the lower side with pointed metal instruments (1846: 300).

Because contractors had started in 1921 to remove stones in close proximity to the larger rock, the ASI erected a stone platform in the season of 1922/23. The lower rock did have its own old brick protection wall, which was found to be “delapidated and ineffective”, for which reason it was removed and substituted by the solid stone wall which survived to this day (Hargreaves 1922–23: 18).

Material:

The rock is called microgranite, examined by D.R.C. Kempe: The petrology of the Warsak alkaline granites, Pakistan, and their relationship to other alkaline rocks of the region. *Geological Magazine* 110.1973: 385–404.

Measurements:

Rock 1: REs 1–11; midway up the hill, facing North, text measuring 6.8 m wide and 2.2 m high.

The *aṣṣaras* vary between 4.5–5–7.5 cm on edicts 1–6, 8–11; and 4.5–5–6.8 on edict 7, which covers a space 70 x 30 cm at the upper left corner on the same rock (fig. 5).

REs 13–14 are on the same rock, facing the West, the text covers 38 x 105 cm. The *akṣaras* measure 2–4–6 cm.

Rock 2: at the foot of the hill, facing North, text measuring 206 x 62 cm.

The *akṣaras* vary between 3–6–7 cm.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: .

RE1: Indrāji 1881: 124.

RE7: Court 1836: pl. XXVIII,5 (one line, useless); Norris 1846 (using Masson 1846); Bellew 1864: 114 (utterly useless), Sircar 1967: 46 (with mistakes, cf. Falk 1991/92: 272)

RE1–11: Masson 1846 (unpubl.); Wilson 1850; Cunningham 1877: pl. I.

RE13–14: Masson 1846 (unpubl.); Wilson 1850; Cunningham 1875a: pl. V, 1877: pl. II. *Rubbing:* Masson 1846 (unpubl.; “now in London”, according to Cunningham 1875a: 8); H.H. Wilson 1850 (complete; mechanically reworked); Cunningham 1885a: 122; Hultzsch 1925: 56–57, 64, 68–69; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 11–14; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 129. RE7: Bühler 1889a: 176; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 13; Gurugé 1993: [532].

RE12: Bühler 1892b; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 13; Gurugé 1993: [532]; Krishnan 1989: opp. p. 39.

Editions: Norris 1846: 306f (RE7); H.H. Wilson 1850: 157–234; Cunningham 1877: 65–89; Senart 1880a–d, 1881a, 1888a: 511–514, 521–533; Indrāji 1881: 107f. (RE1), 1882: 284f. (RE 8); Bühler 1889a, 1892b (RE12), 1894b; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 1–58; Woolner 1924: 2–33; Hultzsch 1925: 50–71; Bloch 1950: 90–135; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 15–19 (RE11–14); Pāṇḍeya 1965: 43–60; Sircar 1965b: 26 (RE7) → Krishnan 1989: 30–31; Sircar 1965b: 32–38 (RE12–13) → Krishnan 1989: 39–46; Schneider 1978: 21–83; Rastogi 1990: 8–9, 18, 28, 40–41, 56–57, 73–74, 85, 93–94, 106–107, 123, 133, 142–143, 158–161, 179.

Presentations of the site:

Drawing: Masson 1846: 298 (upper rock); Cunningham 1877: pl. XXIX.

Photography: Garrick 1885: 122 (preserved?); Hargreaves 1922–23: pl. VIIa+b (lower rock in old and new protection wall); Dani 1964 (RE 12).

Copy:

In 1840, copies of the Shāhbāzgarhī Rock Edict were made by C. Masson by going to the spot through a perilous region at considerable personal risk. The copies were examined in Europe by Norris, who first read in them the word Devānāmpiyasa written in Kharoṣṭhī script (R.K. Mookerji 1962: ix).



Fig. 7: The lower rock with RE12 in its modern enclosure.



Fig. 8: Close-up of RE12.

Literature:

General: Bellew 1864; Cunningham 1877: 8–12; Garrick 1885; Woolner 1924: xi; Hultzsch 1925: xi–xii; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 236; Dani 1964; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 2.

On the script and language: Cunningham 1871a: XXXV; Jóhánsson 1893a, 1893b; Grierson 1904b; Caillat 1992.

On preservation measures: Hargreaves 1922–23: 17f.

On rubbings: ASIAR 1922–23: 101f.; 1923–24: 89.

Importance in antiquity:

“About nine miles east-north-east of Mardan in the Peshawar District lies the village of Shahgazgarhi, the Po-lu-sha of the Chinese pilgrims. In the time of Song-yun and Hiuan Tsang it was a place of pilgrimage, being identified as the scene of the penultimate existence of the Buddha, when, born as Prince Vesvantara, he realized the perfection of charity. Numerous religious monuments then marked the various sites where Visvantara had given such heroic proofs of his



Fig. 9: Close-up of RE7 with its smooth surface.



Fig. 10: The northern range of the hills seen from a monastery site.

generosity. Of these monuments a few now hardly traceable foundations on the Mekha-Sanda Hill to the north-east of the village alone remain to mark the retreat of the exiled prince, and to-day the interest of Shāhbāzgarhī lies in the fourteen rock edicts of Asoka carved on two rocks near the foot of a small hill which lies about three quarters of a mile south-east of the village" (D.R. Sahni 1922–23: 17).

Many edifices similar to those shown to the Chinese pilgrims are still extant. To the East of the town lies the village But Sahri, which at its eastern end shelters a Buddhist *stūpa* which gave it its name. The huge hill, 80 m diameter, is completely covered with Muslim tombs.

On the north side, outside the village and on the mountain slope (fig. 10), there are remnants of a monastery with *caitya* building and monks' cells.

However, the old equation with *Polusha* of the Chinese pilgrims (Cunningham 1875a: 15f.) has to be given up. As E. Errington (1993) has shown convincingly, *Polusha*, the site of the Viśvantara legend, is rather found in Shahri Bahlol, south of Takht-i Bāhī, some 20 km to the north-west of Shāhbāzgarhī.

Early visitors:

Bābur 1519: Cunningham saw that this place is mentioned in the Memoirs of Bābur under the date of February 14 of A.H. 925 (cf. Leyen & Erskine 1921). Bābur's report says that he halted "in the midst of Makām", which is a fitting description for a place like Shāhbāzgarhī surrounded by hills on three sides. Forty or thirty years before his arrival "one Shābāz Kalender, an impious unbeliever, had perverted the faith of numbers of the Yūsefzais and Dilazāks. At the abrupt termi-

nation of the hill of Makām, there is a small hillock that overlooks all the plain country. It is extremely beautiful, commanding a prospect as far as the eye can reach, and is conspicuous from the lower grounds. Upon it stood the tomb of Shāhbāz Kalender. I visited it, and surveyed the whole place. It struck me as improper that so charming and delightful a spot should be occupied by the tomb of an unbeliever, I therefore gave orders that the tomb should be pulled down, and levelled with the ground. As the situation was fine, both for climate and beauty, I took a *maajūn* [i.e. *bhang*], and continued there for some time."

The modern place-name seems to be derived from the ascetic's name, replacing at the same time the old designation preserved by Bābur's account. The description "at the abrupt termination of the hill of Makām" would best fit the hillock where we find Asoka's edict. Today it is not easy to proceed further to the top starting from the edict rocks. When the hill was still wooded the situation may have been different.

Rationale of location:

"As the Viśvantara legend could not have been located here in 258–57 B.C. when, in the 14th regnal year of Asoka, these inscriptions were published, their position is, in all probability, due to the fact that the site lay on the ancient highroad to India. The old road from the Khyber to Taxila was by way of Peshawar, Charsada, Mardan, Shāhbāzgarhī, Swabi, Hund and thence across the Indus. While the present modern road runs to the north of the inscriptions, the ancient road ran more to the south, due east from Mardan to Garhi Kapura 1 ½ miles south of the inscriptions. It is on this account that the Shāhbāz-

garhī inscriptions were once known as Kapur-di-Giri inscriptions, Kapur-di-Giri being the Hindu name for the village Garhi Kapura" (D.R. Sahni 1922–23, 17).

This interpretation must not necessarily be correct in all respects. It assumes that the edict was meant to be found by travellers. As it is up on the hillside no traveller would ever come close to it without ascending. On the other hand, suitable places for an inscription are present right by the modern wayside: there are huge and absolutely plain rock walls at ground level just behind the ASP shed.

The inscribed upper rock seems to be out of position and lying nose downwards. The side with RE 13–14 (fig. 4) is so tilted that one should expect it to have been more elevated. In that case the rock as a whole could once have formed a rock shelter, not unlike the one at Maski.

At the foot of the hill RE 12 is inscribed on a separate rock (fig. 7), quite close to a huge formation with a smooth vertical frontside.

Bellew (1864: 115) seems to speak of this rock: "At the foot of the hill, and only a few paces north from the inscribed rock [with RE 1–14], is a huge upright block of compact amygdaloid trap-rock, which attracts attention by its dimensions and isolation from the rest of the hill. On examination its under surface is found to have been artificially excavated into an irregular dome-shaped cavity, capacious enough to hold four or five men seated. It is supposed to be one of those hermit cells in which the Buddhist ascetic loved to pass away his life".

This combination of hermit cell and Rock edict is also found in Bairāt, Dhaurī, Gavī-maṭh, Phalkigunḍu, or Rūpnāth, and seems not to be without some importance.

Sopārā

Nala Sopārā; Śūrparaka

Thānā District,
Maharashtra

19°25' N.

72°47' E.

GSI map 47 A/15



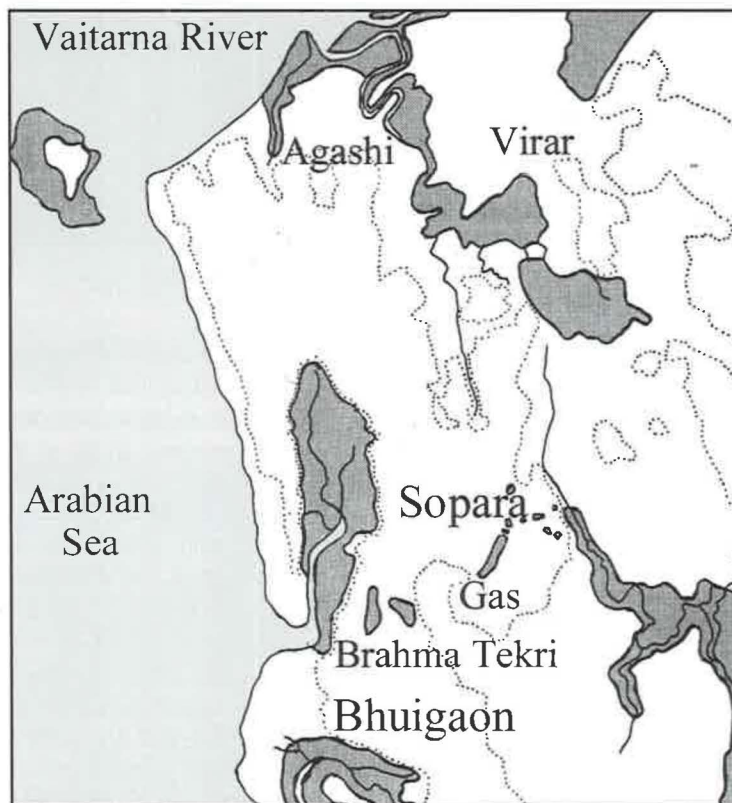
19th century map, showing Bassein as an island.

Further maps: Howell & Sinha 1994: 190.
Access:

Both parts are now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The larger part with RE9 is on display, the smaller part in the reserve collection.

To see the original find places one needs to travel to Sopārā, that means a full day trip from Bombay, either by taxi, or with the local "Express" train from Dadar north to Vila (1 hour). At the station, cheap transport is available for the 4 km to Sopārā, but it seems advisable to take a private taxi to Bhuigaon, a further 5 km west of Sopārā.

Ask there for Campāvātī Mātā temple. This is the place where the larger fragment (RE8) was found. The smaller one (RE9) was seen amongst other *spoliae* used in the Bhātēlā pond at the western end of the town. From the market square in Sopārā a road leads south; after 20 m the pond is found. Both places are not identical with the original site of the edicts, which may



Bassein, after Howell & Sinha 1994, showing Bassein attached to the mainland

have been closer to the *stūpa* visible to the left of the road, travelling west from Sopārā.

Discovery:

a) RE8 was found in April 1882 by



Fig. 1: The modern temple for Campāvātī Mātā, where RE9 was found.



Fig. 2: *Stūpa* of Sopārā seen from the west.



Fig. 3: The edict stone with RE9.

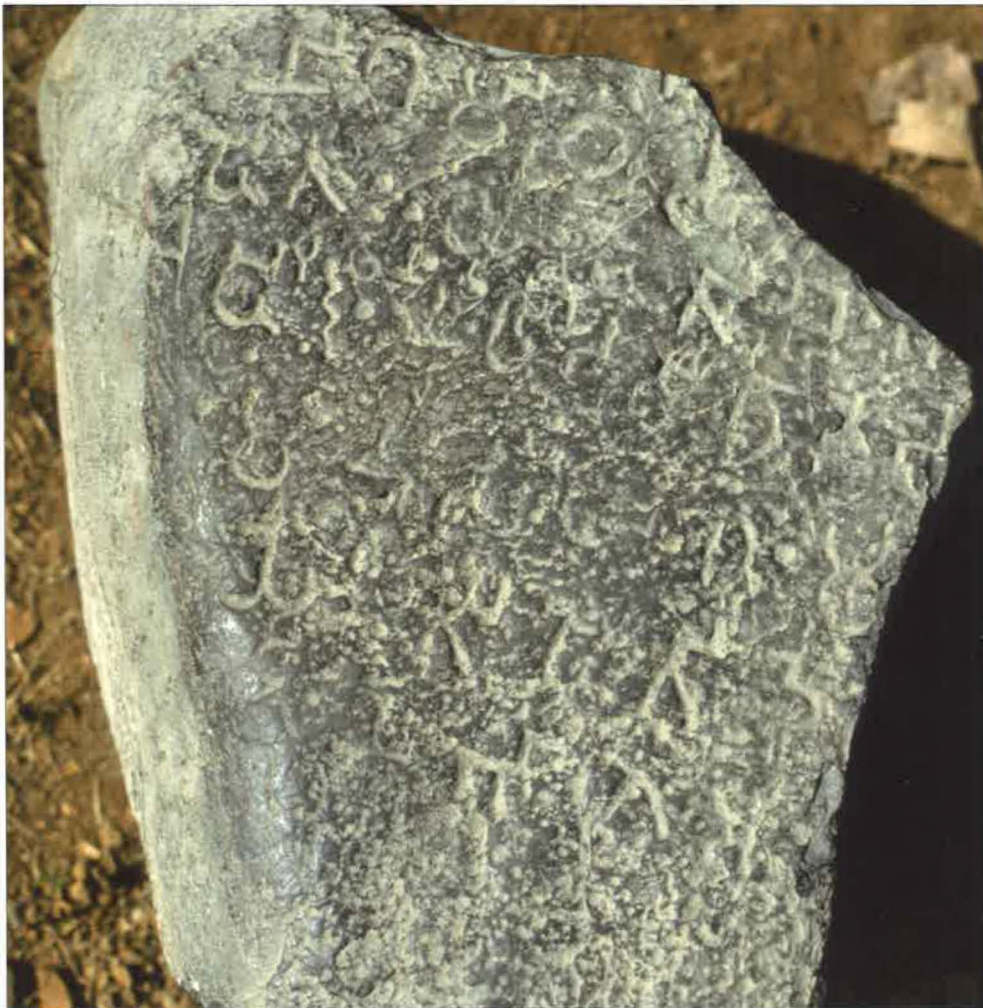


Fig. 4: Frontal view of the fragment of RE8

Bhagvānlāl Indrajī in Sopārā “near Bhâtēlā pond to the east of the town close to the old landing-place” (1882: 274/282). This artificial water-hole (fig. 6) is full of spoliae (fig. 7) of all sorts and might well contain still more Aśokan fragments.

b) RE9: *IA-R* 1955–56: 29: “Inscription of Asoka, Bhuigaon (Sopara), District Thana. A broken part of an Asokan inscription was discovered by a school-boy and was brought to the notice of Shri N.A. Gore, Assistant Secretary and Librarian, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. On examination, it turned out to be a damaged version of the Ninth Edict, a part of the Eight (sic) Edict from the same place being already known. It is now almost certain that Sopara contained a complete set of the Rock-edicts of Asoka.”

This account can now be given more precision. Campāvātī Mātā used to be venerated in the shape of a large stone, painted red, deposited under a huge Pippal tree at Bhuigaon. As usual, all sorts of worked stones from the neighbourhood were assembled at the side of the devī. Around 1975, the tree was cut and the modern “temple” (fig. 1) was built. The red stone was replaced by a ready-made metal statue. The edict stone once had its place pretty much exactly where today the centre of the temple is. In 1955 Prof. Jhala from St. Xavier’s College, Bombay, came to take the edict stone with him. This account was narrated by S.J. Main, a Christian local, who lives in one of the houses right behind the temple and who as a boy has been a witness to all events.

Preservation:

Both stones are in almost perfect condition.

Measurements:

a) 45 cm across, about 25 cm thick.

b) 69 cm broad; 54 cm high, 22–25 cm thick. The *akṣaras* on both stones measure 2–4 cm.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: RE8: Indrajī 1882: 282.

Rubbing:

RE8: Hultzsch 1925:118; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 25; Janert 1972b: 263.

RE9: *IA-R* 1956–57: pl. LXXXIX A; Sircar 1957/58b = 1979: pl.XI; Janert 1972b: 264–265.

Photography:

RE8: S.N. Chakravarti 1956/57: pl. LI fig. 1. RE9: R.K. Mookerjee 1958: 134; S.N. Chakravarti 1956/57: pl. LI fig. 2; Office of Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: Nos. 3503, 5884.

Editions:

RE8: Indrajī 1882: 284f.; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 28–30; Woolner 1924: 14–16; Hultzsch 1925: 118; Bloch 1950: 112–113; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 109; Janert 1972b:

148–149; Schneider 1978: 51–52; Rastogi 1990: 97.

RE9: S.N. Chakravarti 1956/57; Sircar 1957/58b = 1979: 42–44; Janert 1972b: 149–151; Schneider 1978: 52–55; Rastogi 1990: 112–113.

Literature:

RE8: Woolner 1924: xiii; Hultzsch 1925: xv; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 3.

RE9: *ARIE* 1956–57: 13–14, B83/84.

General: Indrajī 1882: 275–280; Braz Fernandes 1928; *IA-R* 1955–56: 29, 1956–57: 73; L. Alsdorf 1960: 60/457; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 236; D. Mitra 1971: 188–189.

On excavations: Howell & Sinha 1994.

Importance in antiquity:

Śūrpāraka was an important harbour place.

Importance today:

The sea-port is completely silted up today, the place absolutely insignificant.



Fig. 5: The fragment of RE8 from the side.



Fig. 6: Bhātelā pond inside Sopārā, where RE8 was found.



Fig. 7: Spoliae used for the construction of Bhātelā pond in situ.

The Pillar Sites

The earliest monolithic freestanding pillars found in India are those of Aśoka. Some have survived in their original place, most others, however, have been shifted to other sites, once or repeatedly; some have been deprived of their capitals, others have been demolished either by the vicissitudes of time or on purpose. Some of the latter we know through the reports of Chinese monks who travelled in India in the 5th to the 7th centuries. The best survey of material is found in V. Smith 1911. All the inscribed pillars are dealt with in E. Hultzsch 1925. The most far-reaching approach comes from J. Irwin, who tried to reinterpret all pillars in his epoch-making articles from 1973 to 1976. His ideas are: a) There are pillars with and without base slabs; b) those without show lion, elephant or bull images, they sank into the ground and are pre-Aśokan; c) those with base-slabs are Aśokan, they carry lions and react to the technical failure of the older type; d) the older stone type copies yet older wooden pillars; e) the lotus-and-palmette decorations on the abaci did not come to India through Hellenistic influence but are much older, of Near-Eastern stock ultimately going back to an Egyptian motif; f) the pillars are so different that they cannot stem from one single tradition or workshop; g) the pillars serve a religious purpose as *axis mundi* and connect the heavenly sun and the waters inside the earth; h) Aśoka just made use of this old symbolism.

However, there is no positive evidence for his basic ideas a) and d), on which his new chronology depends. The ideas a), b), d) and f) can already be found in A.K. Mitra 1933 and e) in Coomaraswamy 1930. Mitra had traced back the origins of the pillars to *dhvajastambas* which were supposed to house protecting spirits and which were worshipped for this reason. Allegedly, the Aśokan pillars simply continue this old custom. The main difference between Mitra and Irwin lies in the complexity of presentation and the religious background "reconstructed".

In the following chapters all the existing pillars or capitals are depicted. In addition some pillars will be described which are occasionally called "Aśokan", for various reasons. These pieces throw some light on the further history of pillars in India, when

later kings wanted to have their cultural achievements regarded in the same light as those of Aśoka.

Historical explanation

The pillars of Aśoka seem to appear out of the blue: there are no predecessors anywhere on the subcontinent. The pillars have a certain air of perfection; they are admirably polished, their tapering gives them elegance, their proportions are well-balanced. The threefold capitals have been designed and produced with a quality never to be reached again by later copyists. It requires some skill and experience to produce such pieces of art; another sort of experience is needed to transport them from the quarry to their place of erection, and it requires still further expertise to erect the pillars weighing from 8.6 (Lumbinī) to 51 (Vesalī) tons and finally to top them with capitals weighing a further 2 tons.

Influence from outside

Since there are no local predecessors, it was entirely logical to expect that Aśoka was inspired by learning about pillars erected outside India. For several reasons we can be certain that the many architectural achievements of Achaemenid Iran were well-known in the Mauryan capital. The downfall of Achaemenid Iran had an immense impact on India. Greek, or better Macedonian, ways of thinking gained ascendancy. There was an intense exchange of goods and people. India's most sought-after commodity at that time were elephants, needed by all the many warring states in the west (R. Thapar 1987a: 14). The early Achaemenids still fought without elephants, Darius III had just 15 for the battle at Gaugamela (Arrianus 3), and yet Hannibal attacked Rome with Indian elephants shortly after the time of Aśoka. This lucrative trade must have spilled Indian dealers in "arms and ammunition" all over the Near East.

Be it dealers or diplomats, their descriptions of the splendor of Achaemenid Iran must have aroused curiosity in Patna long before Aśoka. This most remarkable king adopted from Iran the idea of a script, to be used for his language in his country. His script, later called *brāhmī lipi*, was so well-designed that – with some formal additions

and some development in shape – it is still in use today all over India. This same man adopted from Iran the idea of incising edicts on rock faces. It is thus plausible to expect Iran also to have been the source for the idea of erecting pillars.

There are, in fact, many surviving pillars in the capitals of Achaemenid Iran which could have served as sources of inspiration, and there are many authors who have dealt with diverse aspects of this transfer. A first potpourri of ideas can be found in A. Cunningham 1875d, followed by J. Fergusson (1876: 56–61), H. Sohrmann 1906, or J. Pereira 1987.

There is a striking resemblance in the size and appearance of pillars from early Achaemenid Iran and India. Neither the pillars from Pasargadae nor the Aśokan pillars are fluted; both types taper to the same degree; both types consist of pillar, bell, abacus and crowning animal. Ali-Sami (1971: 57) describes the unfluted pillars of Pasargadae as having a ground diameter of slightly more than one meter and a height of 12.27 m without and 13.44 m with the base drum. For the Aśokan measurements cf. the tables on pp. 149–153.

The differences are twofold: firstly, the Indian pillar-shafts are monolithic, whereas the Iranian ones are composed of several drums. Their polish hides this fact for the casual onlooker. Secondly, Iranian pillars rest on ground bells, whereas in the Aśokan type a bell is found only at the top of the shaft, right below the abacus.

This fact has received several comments. With one late pillar base from Susa in his illustration, A.K. Mitra (1927: 545) was of the opinion that the "resemblance [of the Mauryan capitals] with the bell-shaped bases of Susa and Persepolis is conclusive. The Mauryan architect, then, must have by a bold stroke of imagination transferred the Persian base to the top of his shaft".

This may be compared with what R. Chanda (1927: 29f.) said in the same year: "The so-called Persepolitan bell-shaped capital does seldom figure as a part of the capital of the columns of Persepolis and Susa but serves as their base. The transfer of the bell from the base to the top of the column is a Mauryan adaptation. There is also a considerable difference in the shape of the Mauryan and the Persian bell. The upper part of the Indian bell bulges much more than the upper part of the Persepolitan bell and has a diameter nearly equal to that of the diameter of its lower end or the mouth, whereas the bell of Susa and Persepolis has the normal appearance. But what unmistakably indi-

cates that the Persepolitan bell is the prototype of the Indian bell is the identical stylistic arrangement of the double row of pendent leaves that decorate both. The Indian bell lacks the decoration which appears round the upper part of the Persepolitan bell. But the torus that surmounts the Persepolitan bell reappears on the Indian bell. The cable moulding on the bell of the Rāmpūrvā bull capital is an Indian variation. The round abacus on the Mauryan capital is an Indian invention. The row of geese or other animals on the Mauryan abacus reminds one more of the series of animals on Assyrian bronze bowls [referring in a foot note to Maurice Jastrow: the *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*. 2nd ed. p. 414, pl. 70] than anything Persian. The floral decorations, the acanthus and the plume of palm leaves recall Assyrian and Greek forms.”

To this sensible description only three remarks are necessary. The first refers to the word “seldom” in Chanda’s statement: “The so-called Persepolitan bell-shaped capital does seldom figure as a part of the capital of the columns of Persepolis and Susa”. Every word is factual, but what really counted in India may have been the drawing or the description of one of just those – after all not so “rare” – pillars which show the second



Fig. 1: Drawing of an Achaemenid bell in James Morier: *A second journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople between the years 1810 and 1816*. London 1818: 268.

bell on top, as e.g. one from Persepolis (fig. 5). That means, there was no “bold stroke of imagination” necessary to transfer a bell from the base to the top. A drawing may have been taken on the spot, serving as an aide-mémoire. Such a drawing of one pillar with bell on top shown to an interested party may have helped to ensure the bell remained where it apparently had been.

Secondly, the sides of the Iranian bells are straight (figs. 2, 3), whereas the outline of the Aśokan type is wavy (cf. Irwin 1975 figs. 7 and 2–5). This deviation may again go back to a drawing. We do possess a drawing of an Achaemenid base-bell from the early years of the 19th century from James Morier’s travel account, which was published in London 1818. On page 267 he reports on Hamadan, the Ecbatana of old, where he saw “the base of a small column, of the identical order of the large bases of the columns at Persepolis”. His drawing (fig. 1) shows the same wavy outline as if taken from an Aśokan bell. That means, the Achaemenid bells look more wavy to a casual sketcher than they are; and such a distorted sketch could have been the basis for the design of the Aśokan bells.

Thirdly, the Iranian bells display several petal-like ornaments side by side, falling straight down over a rounded top. These same ornaments on Aśokan bells are often interpreted in India as the leaves of a so-called “lotiform” bell, allegedly representing in itself a lotus flower. Comparing this bell to abaci showing real lotuses, A.K. Mitra, already in 1931: 222 called the application of the term “lotus” an “absurdity”. Irwin (1975: 638), on the other hand, has expressed his disbelief in Iranian parallels in strong words;

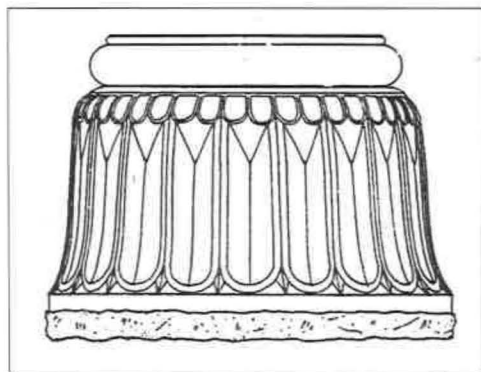


Fig. 2: Pillar base from Susa (after Boardman 2003: 86).

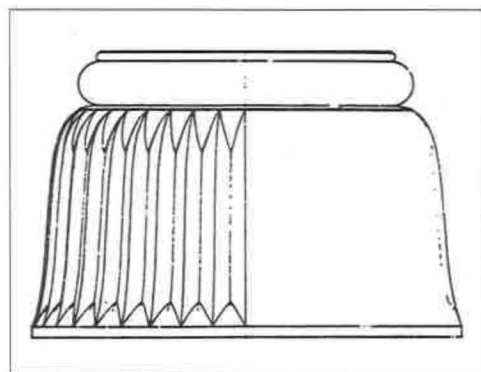


Fig. 3: Pillar base from Persepolis (after Boardman 2003: 86).



Fig. 4: Top level of the throne at the tomb of Artaxerxes III at Persepolis, showing bead-and-reel and “scales” pattern (after Boardman 2003: 142).

his own idea of horizontal bindings covered by “a device of cording or cloth”, however, is similarly unconvincing. There are bells from the temple of Athena at Bayrakli (Old Smyrna), about 580 BC, where the decoration definitely uses the shape of leaves. However, the origin of the Indian petals could lie completely outside the floral world. As far as I know it has never been pointed out that the same “petals” with the same sort of bead-and-reels above are also seen on the so-called “throne stage” on all the tomb reliefs of Nashk-i Rostam, from Darius I to Artaxerxes III (fig. 4). They are called “scales” in the description by F. Erich Schmidt, *Persepolis III*, Cambridge 1970 (2^o ser., pp. 1105–69a), p. 85a: “The top of the throne stage in Darius’ tomb relief consists of three horizontal units: a row of spheroid elements separated by paired ridges, a band of uniform scales with raised edges and darts projecting below the points of contact of the scales, and a narrower band with trilingual cuneiform inscriptions identifying the throne-bearers of the upper tier”. As an ornament above a wide space, the “scales with raised edges” cannot represent “petals”. They rather point to a textile origin. In fact, cloth in Mesopotamian cultures shows edges decorated with such “scales” from very early times. Such textile rows of scales may be compared to similar decorations on the front-part of modern awnings. If the rows of scales at the tombs of Persepolis are to represent textile decorations then the rows of scales on the Achaemenid pillar bells can be explained in the same way. In India, this linear row of scales can be found on a so-called Sofa capital from Patna from around 100 BC (fig. 6).

The person who brought home a sketch of Achaemenid pillars was most likely unaware of the history of the bell decoration. Without

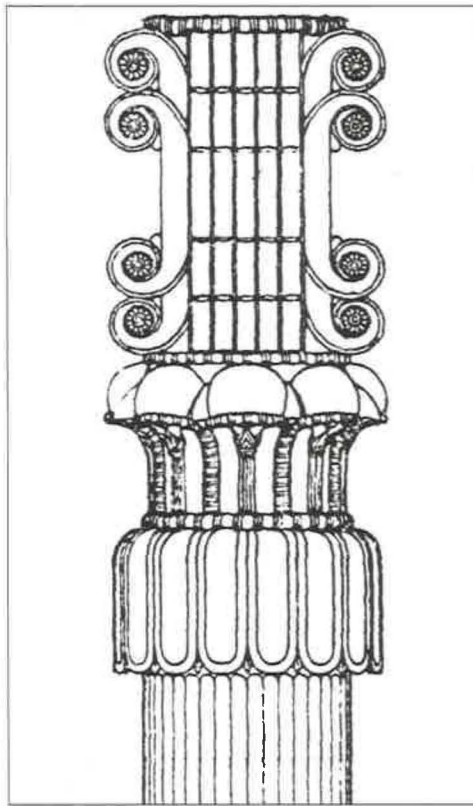


Fig. 5: Pillar, lower and upper capital at Persepolis (after Boardman 2003: 90)

the idea of a straight-falling piece of cloth the development of a more wavy outline was unimpeded.

There is little evidence for direct contact of Achaemenid Iran and India. I therefore include a picture of a lid from Pasargadae (fig. 7), showing a decoration very frequent in parts of Gandhāra, at least in Hellenistic times (fig. 8).

There are three pillar bases on display at the Louvre in the rooms covering Susa and Persepolis. The bases carry the accession numbers “Sb 2715”, from Darius, then “Sb

131” from Xerxes, and “AD 14” from Artaxerxes II. All are crowned by a horizontal plate with a convex profile (cf. figs. 1, 2). The former two bases show pointed “petals” with a sharp middle ridge (cf. fig. 2), the latter – dating from 404–358 BC – has flatter petals with rounded borders and a tip between two petals (cf. fig. 1). The scales on the Sofa capital from Patna (fig. 6) have rounded borders, pointed middle rib and show tips between two scales, exactly as in the case of the Aśokan “petals” about 100 years earlier. That means, the Indian “lotiform” bells combine diverse traits of the Persian ancestors: the linear arrangement of scales with rounded borders and tips in between the ends is found in Iran and later in India; sharp middle ridges are found on Iranian bells and on the Sofa capital. The only change to be found on Aśokan bells is the wavy outline; everything else was there before.

The alleged resemblance to a lotus flower has given rise to the idea that bell, as well as the complete pillars, have their origins in India itself, since the lotus is a flower with strong affinity to India. There will always be forces in India to rebuke any foreign influence to Indian culture of whichever nature. A heavy attack on all “Foreign loan”-theories regarding Aśokan pillars was led by R.L. Mitra in the first chapter of his *Antiquities of Orissa*, published in 1875, followed with similar fury shown by Arun Sen in 1918. A. Coomaraswamy (1930) tried to link all parts of the capital with details of the lotus bud, seeing behind them a long tradition of building in stone. He was followed by J. Irwin in expecting strong relations to the Near East in pre-Mauryan times, vehemently dismissing Hellenistic influence as too late.



Fig. 6: Sofa capital from Patna showing bead-and-reel and “scales” with middle ribs.



Fig. 7: Lid of a round box from Gandhāra, found in Pasargadae (after Boardman 2003: 161).



Fig. 8: Lid of a reliquary from the Peshawar valley (courtesy J.K. Bautze).

Polish

The Mauryan polish as a technical process seems still to be undescribed. The poetical guesswork of V.S. Agrawala (1964: 3–7) and U. Agarwal 1962 does not lead us any further. The polish is found on pillars, but also on some of the edict rocks, as at Kālsī, Mānsehrā, Bārābār (Kaṛṇa Caupār cave) and Bairāt-Calcutta, not to speak of the Bārābār and Nāgārjuni cave walls. B.B. Lal (in Altekar & Mishra 1959: 139) saw nothing but “the effect of rubbing the stone with a hard stone powder or abrasive”. At a time when he had seen no more than two pillars, Irwin (1974a: 717a) was of the opinion that some pillars were polished “only in certain parts (for instance, where the inscription is engraved, as if it had been the function of the polisher to provide a special surface for the engraver).” In fact, there is not a single pillar polished in this way.

The production of pillars and capitals

The quarries: Pabhosā and Cunār:

Today it has become a habit to speak of “Cunār sandstone”, whenever polished sandstone occurs. This idea has received an apparent confirmation in reports by Pant & Jayaswal (1990/91) that even today, roughly shaped pillars can be found on the slopes above the town of Cunār, south of the Ganges near Vārāṇasī. A closer look at the history of this notion and the site itself, however, does not support this assumption.

A first guess about the quarries for Aśokan pillars was put forward by M. Kittoe (1837: 796) while dealing with the Delhi pillars: “With regard to the quarries from whence the different pillars were brought, I think it probable they were floated on rafts down the Jumna, being cut from the sandstone rocks at or near Rājpur (Bādshāh-mahal) in the Sewālik, a few miles above the site of the sunken city of Béhat (...). I believe both láts are of the same kind of stone, the others I have not seen.” That could mean that, initially, Aśokan sandstone was not localised at Cunār.

When did the idea of Cunār come up? Without a reference to Aśokan pillars the quarries of Cunār first appear somewhat later in the literature, e.g. when A. Cunningham found a reliquary slab in Jagat Singh’s *stūpa* at Sārnāth (1871h: 115). He describes the material as “common Chunar sand-stone”. Today, near the Lāt Bhairo, lots of stone slabs are sold (fig. 9), made from beige or reddish Cunār sandstone, which can easily be split into boards. That means, the first occurrence of “Cunār sand-

stone” in the literature was not linked to Aśokan pillars.

The combination of Aśokan pillars and Cunār sandstone was effected around the beginning of the 20th century, as will be shown in the chapter on Cunār and Pabhosā, where the latter site is presented as an alternative, or better: complementary possibility. Unspotted “Cunār” sandstone is indeed found in some pillars and capitals, whereas most are made from the “Pabhosā” type, showing characteristic black inclusions. In any case, the term “Cunār sandstone” should be used with caution when describing Aśokan pillars.

Composite pillars?

V. Jayaswal holds the view that Aśokan pillars were quarried in the hills of Cunār as short drums, about five of them placed one on top of the other, and finally coated with a mixture of “crushed pink sandstone with hamaetite pellets”, “about one cm” thick (1998: 222; cf. 2003: 44). There is nothing to support this assumption. For the origin of the hematite inclusions see the chapter on Cunār/Pabhosā p. 157.

Cutting to size

Although there is no uniform measure for all the pillars we can be sure that most of them were fashioned following a predetermined concept. A.K. Mitra (1933: 323) was the first to look for a general metrical design. He checked the proportion between the diameter at the lower end and total length and found

them to vary from 1:9 for the Rāmpūrvā lion pillar to 1:13.2 at Sārnāth. The proportion between full length of shaft and capital he found to be 1:4.8 or 4.9 at Sāñcī, Rāmpūrvā lion and Nandangarh, compared to 1:4.4 at Sārnāth. However, his length for the Sārnāth shaft is much too short, 9.45 m, as against the 11.50 m of our own measurements, which lead to a ratio of 1:5.4. Although there is no uniform measure, a ratio of about 1:5 can be regarded as a rule of thumb.

Mitra’s complaint about insufficient data from the excavation report on Rāmpūrvā is still valid. Instead of using the diameter at the base of the pillar as a unit for the shaft length, I have tried to find out if there is a ratio regulating the length of the underground part, but there is no really fixed scheme. The underground part measures 2.31 m at Allāhābād, 2.45 m at Sāñcī, 2.67 m at the Rāmpūrvā lion pillar, 2.43 m at the Rāmpūrvā bull pillar, 2.28 m at Sārnāth, 2.44 m at Nandangarh, 2.77 m at Toprā. That means, around 2.5 m is typical, deviations are slight. This would amount to 3 “Mauryan yards” of about 85.5 cm (Falk forthc.). Most likely, the stonemasons went pragmatical: if the stone showed a flaw at either end, this was trimmed away; the bottom was cut and redone until it was completely level. Such a process could require several slight trimmings. The same applies to the top, which needed to be cut until it was absolutely level with the bottom horizontal line.

Some fixed ratios and measurements may turn up some day. At present, however, we have to admit that most measurements cannot be verified, and some published ones are likely to be untrustworthy.

Rounding the pillars

There are no ancient reports about the production of the pillars. However, there are some hints to be derived from the pillars themselves. They seem to have been manufactured from long blocks of a square cross-section which were turned over again and again in the process of rounding. The turning over was facilitated by square trunnions still remaining in the lower part of the block. Remnants of trunnions are seen on the pillars of Goṭihavā and Patna-Kūmrāhār, they were once visible at Allāhābād before its re-erection.

Ideas regarding the use of these trunnions are not wanting. Whereas Joshi & Joshi (1996: 66) take the trunnions as a means to rotate the pillar in the production process, Altekar (1959: 17) thought these underground notches “probably supported four



Fig. 9: A dealer in Cunār sandstone at the entrance to the Lāt Bhairo.

projections, which perhaps served the purpose of fixing them more firmly". Irwin (1974a: 717b) and, more detailed, Verardi & Coccia (2000: 711 fn. 1) interpret the trunnions as a means to fasten four ropes by which the pillars were pulled into a vertical position. The cutting off of the trunnions speaks against this idea. When they had served their purpose they were regarded as superfluous and cut away. Later, they were replaced by external means, probably made from wood (cf. p. 201, fig. 21).

Since all pillars had to be erected each and every pillar would have needed trunnions if the erection technique would have been in any way similar to the one imagined by Verardi & Coccia 2000: 713.

The trunnions generally measure about 20 x 20 cm and stand out 15 cm, at least at Allāhābād. They lie a distance of about one meter from the ground: The lower end starts at 1.09 m at Goṭihavā; at about 83 cm at Allāhābād, if Burt's drawing (1834: opp. 105) is to be trusted. It must remain open if his "couple of projections" (1834: 106) stand for "two" or for "some". Burt saw the pillar lying on the ground and he may have overlooked two more trunnions buried in the ground.

At Rāmpūrvā the trunnions are replaced by highly polished squares, slightly sunk into the shaft, with a central round piece remaining. There are two such devices in every direction, one above the other, eight all in all around the pillar base (cf. p. 201, fig. 21). Such flat devices would need a wooden counterpart to be of any use, where a hollow in the wood would receive the center knob. Such wooden counterparts would have to be fastened by ropes to the shaft.

The plain underside of the pillar received a centre marker, visible in Kūmrāhār and Rāmpūrvā. At some places the underside likewise received the depiction of darts, pointing right and up, as visible in Kūmrāhār.

In two cases we see a series of circles on the underside, arranged in three lines. There are 9 circles in Kūmrāhār and 11 in Rāmpūrvā. These numbers I interpret as pointing to the number of turnings: at the first dressing of the still rectangular rock, two top corners can be smoothened; one more turning for 90° and one more corner can be chipped off in the second phase, and the third phase dealt with the last corner. Three positions make a full round. After the last corner has been cut to the same size as the other three, a further series of smoothenings may start without moving the pillar.

With two more 90° turnings the next step in refinement is fulfilled. That means that in 3, 5, 7, 9 or 11 positions a full and equal treatment of all sides is possible. Nine positions mean 4 full rounds, 11 positions mean 5 rounds; the last one of which will be the polishing. Marking the underside with one circle for each phase ensures that all sides receive the same amount of attention.

Close to these circles, the underside is also marked by strokes, 3 or 4 at Kūmrāhār, 6 in Rāmpūrvā. Their purpose remains obscure. In addition, the underside at Kūmrāhār shows three well-known signs, the moon-on-hill symbol, the moon-*ma* and the triangle-on-stand. All three are well-known from Mauryan punch-marked coins and two of them are found on the copper bolt from the Rāmpūrvā lion pillar. It is remarkable that moon-on-hill and moon-*ma* are more or less identically positioned; the triangle-on-stand, however, stands on its head, or, more correctly, it has been incised when the pillar had been rotated by 180°, showing that the underside was worked at different stages of the turning process.

The pillars at first sight look as if turned on a lathe. Touching them, however, reveals a relatively undulating surface, the result of measuring through estimation by eye.

Production of the capital

The capital including bell, abacus and animal was made from one piece of stone, usually about 1.6 m high.

The preserved capitals are mostly made from the "Pabhosā"-type stone. But there are

exceptions. The Nandangarh lion is made from greenish stone of unknown origin, whereas the pillar is made of the "Pabhosā" kind of sandstone. Both the Rāmpūrvā pillars are of "Pabhosā" stone, the bull at least is made from "Cunār"-type stone.

The capital rested on the upper side of the pillar, which was either flat, as at Ararāj, or had a stepped top, with a tenon of a lesser diameter. In the latter case, the capital had a further cavity in the lower part of the bell to receive this tenon.

Unfortunately, following the standards of their time, the excavators never documented the undersides of the capitals, neither at Rāmpūrvā nor at Sāñcī or Sarnāth. Such descriptions would have shown how the bells sat on the pillars: either with the larger inner side, or with the smaller outer ring, or with both. If the ring carried the weight then this would parallel the classical anathyrosis, where a depression in the middle of the upper side of the pillar reduced the contact between pillar and capital. The Indian method could then be regarded as an improvement, with the same kind of reduction of fracture points and with additional safety regarding horizontal shifting.

The bells

J. Williams (1973: 227) provides an overview of how the bell is visually separated from the abacus. In Aśokan examples, the ring between bell and abacus is very deeply inset, being the narrowest part in the whole construction. In later times, the difference in width decreases.



Fig. 10: Underside of the bell at Sankisā with drapery design (courtesy J. Williams).

Aśokan bells have 16 “petals” with raised round rims and a middle rib of a triangular cross section. The ends of the petals are rather blunt. Between the petal ends all bells show pointed tips, already present in Achaemenid pillar bases and scale decorations, as shown above. Below the petals the bell ends in two final tiers, one above the other, the lower one slightly smaller than the higher one. In their simplest form, each flat tier ends in a semi-circular profile, which, seen from below, looks like a large rounded ring. This simple model can be found at Sārnāth, in the Calcutta Museum fragments, and, seemingly, at Bānsi, at the Rāmpūrvā lion and bull and at Sāñcī. The more elaborate model consists of one twisted rope and a smaller rope of bead-and-reel, as in Nandangarh, Saṅkīśā or Vesālī. There is no case where a plain and an elaborate rope are combined to form the lower tiers: either there are two plain ropes or one rope is twisted and the other consists of bead-and-reel.

Regarding a possible development we turn to Saṅkīśā: all ropes are elaborate, however, at the lower end, where the twisted rope and bead-and-reel are, we see that the recess from petal ends to the inside of the bead-and-reel layer is extremely large. A pillar fitting into this ring of bead and reel must be very much narrower than the bell. In all other cases the difference between pillar diameter and capital diameter is minimal compared to that at Saṅkīśā

where the elephant is much too wide for the pillar (cf. p. 207, fig. 6). We can easily imagine that the pillar broke because of the weight of this oversized elephant. Since all other pillars circumvent this danger by adjusting the underside of the bell to the diameter of the pillar top it is tempting to regard the Saṅkīśā elephant pillar as a very early construction.

The distance between the outer rim of the bell and the pillar is filled at Saṅkīśā by a design which looks like the ends of draperies. A photograph by J. Willams is reproduced in Vajracharya 2004: 42 (fig. 10), who interprets this as “foliage, symbolizing cloud/water” following Irwin – a phantasy that we need not dwell upon. The design was used to fill the empty space and it became superfluous once the distance between bell rim and pillar shrank.

At the upper end of the bell there is another single tier with a convex profile. Again, this rounded profile can be plain, as at Sārnāth, at Bānsi, Rāmpūrvā lion, or resembling a twisted cord, as on the Rāmpūrvā bull capital, and at Sāñcī, Saṅkīśā, Nandangarh and Vesālī.

If there is a chronological relationship between plain and elaborate ropes, then the all-plain capitals of Sārnāth, Sāñcī, Rāmpūrvā lion and Bānsi have to be separated from the single example of a mixed type on the Rāmpūrvā bull (twisted above and plain below) and from the all-elaborate type at Saṅkīśā, Nandangarh and Vesālī.

The bolt

The connection between capital and shaft was effected through a copper bolt, such as the one preserved at Rāmpūrvā (see there for details). This mode of dowel connection was also used in later times. As the only preserved specimen at Rāmpūrvā demonstrates, such a bolt made from 37 kg of pure copper represented a high commercial value. This may have been the reason why many pillars were subsequently pulled down. The Nandangarh pillar shows a horizontal hole in the topmost part as if made to see if the bolt was still there (p. 184 fig. 2). At Mainahai, after Aśoka, one bell was sawn horizontally right through the middle (fig. 11) and above the bolt to facilitate its extraction.

One half of the bolt sat in a dowel-hole of the pillar. All holes accessible today are cut out in the same fashion. The hole at Sāñcī, “grooved to take a screwlike tenon” according to Irwin (1974a: 718a) would be a sensational case of early screws. However, the hole there is in no way exceptional. Irwin needed this idea to produce yet another “odd-man-out”, i.e. a pillar testifying to a multitude of builders with a wide spectrum of technical details.

The iconography of the capitals

The crowning animals

The meaning of the pillars is conveyed partly by the animals on top of the capitals. We see a lion roaring, symbolizing the victorious philosophy of the Sākyamuni. At Sāñcī and



Fig. 11: Abacus and bell from Mainahai, Kauśāmbī, 2nd/1st century BC (Allāhābād University Museum).



Fig. 12: Another abacus and bell from Mainahai, Kauśāmbī, in the Allāhābād University Museum (cf. *IA-R* 1963–64 pl. XXXVI-A).

Sārnāth, the lion is roaring in four directions, i.e. to the whole world.

Apart from single and quadruple lions we have only one elephant capital, at Saṅkīśā, and one bull, at Rāmpūrvā. The horse at Lumbinī should be regarded as a baseless legend. At Saṅkīśā the elephant probably reflected the presence of the Buddha, where “the white elephant”, the Buddha, came down the ladder from the Tuṣita heaven, as did the elephant at Kapilavastu, when he entered Māyā to give himself human shape. The bull at Rāmpūrvā is less easily explained. Why would we need two pillars at one place? What does the bull mean at this site in contrast to the usual lion? We don’t know.

J. Williams (1973: 227) showed that the Saṅkīśā elephant and the Rāmpūrvā bull are the sole examples of abaci without stepped undersides. All the lion pillar abaci show a single-stepped underside, whereas abaci in later times often show multi-stepped undersides. If there was a linear development from no step to one step to many steps, then the elephant at Saṅkīśā and the Rāmpūrvā bull would belong to the earliest Aśokan capitals. Above it was shown that they belong together so far as their rope profiles are concerned.

The animals on the abaci

Only at Sārnāth do we encounter small depictions of four animals, elephant, bull, horse and lion around the abacus. These animals have received several interpretations. Most common is the idea that they represent the guardians of the quarters, *dikpāla*. V. Smith (1911: 237) first dealt with this concept referring to a similar row of animals at Ceylonese *stūpa* sites; V.S. Agrawala (1964: *passim*) and K. Khandalawala (1989) expanded on this idea, linking it to much earlier cosmological concepts.



Fig. 13: Drinking cup from Greece, around 550 BC (Antikensammlung Berlin; acc.no. VJ 3969).

Other scholars regard the four animals as representations of four stages of life. The elephant would stand for the conception, the bull for the earthly life of Gautama, the horse represents the emigration from the royal household into asceticism on Siddhārtha’s horse called Kaṇṭaka, and the lion would represent the Buddhahood. N.P. Chakravarti (1947/48: 25) pleaded for this view, as did Soundara Rajan (1950: 264), changing the bull to “nativity” because the Śākyamuni was born under the astral sign of *ṛṣabha*; the same idea was expressed by A. Sen in 1955: 193f; both without mentioning the oldest source, which is A. Foucher 1929: 33.

J. Irwin (1976: 746f.) saw elephant and bull as fertility symbols inside his pre-Buddhist “Indra-pillar” religion; allegedly, the bull stood for sexual potency and the lion for royalty. Since Indra has nothing to do with a lion, Irwin offered diverging explanations of this fact.

K.K. Thaplyal surmised in 1960 that the four animals were supposed to be interpreted differently when seen from a Buddhist, Hindu, Jain or Harappan angle.

S.P. Gupta saw four animals and four wheels in a clockwise motion, representing time, or the four seasons. In contrast, the lions and the wheel on top are shown motionless. This combination adds up to an “eternal” *dharmacakra* which “carried on the Chariot of Time” (1980: 127).

Apart from Sārnāth, there is only one more piece of evidence for the four animals. S.P. Gupta 1980 included as pl. 62,d a fragment of an abacus, showing the back legs of a bovine animal and the left part of a palmette (p. 213 fig. 20). Unfortunately, this piece is not dealt with either in the text or in the description of the plates on page 133, so that its origins are completely obscure. All

other abaci are decorated either with floral designs with Hellenistic parallels, or with rows of birds picking something from the ground. Nothing but birds are seen on the Rāmpūrvā and Nandangarh lions; birds alternating with flowers are seen at Sāñcī – and on the throne slab at Bodhi Gayā.

There is no unanimity about the species of these birds. According to A. Cunningham (1854: 125) we have to deal at Sāñcī “with four pairs of chakwas, or holy Brahmani ducks. These birds are always seen in pairs, and are celebrated amongst the Hindus for their conjugal affection. They are therefore represented billing, with outstretched necks, and heads lowered towards the ground”. Some authors would rather see partridges, but the beaks show that in fact geese are meant.

In the eyes of Irwin (1973: 709), the geese are “the symbol of the soul and of life-bringing rain; and in flight they are sometimes envisaged as sustaining the celestial region”, very much in line with his axis-mundi-religion, where they link “the terrestrial and the celestial waters” (1976: 741a; cf. 1975: 642a).

The birds are certainly not billing, only the beaks of the first two touch each other for reasons of symmetry. Since the same sort of bird is also depicted on the throne at Bodhi Gayā, likewise eating, the bird must somehow be connected with the Buddha and his enlightenment.

Birds taking up learning are known from one legend: The brahmins of the Vedic Taittirīya school claim their ancestry goes back to Yājñavalkya who had to disgorge the Veda because his teacher Vaiśampāyana had become angry with him. Yājñavalkya’s own disciples took the shape of partridges and swallowed the vomited text. A direct link

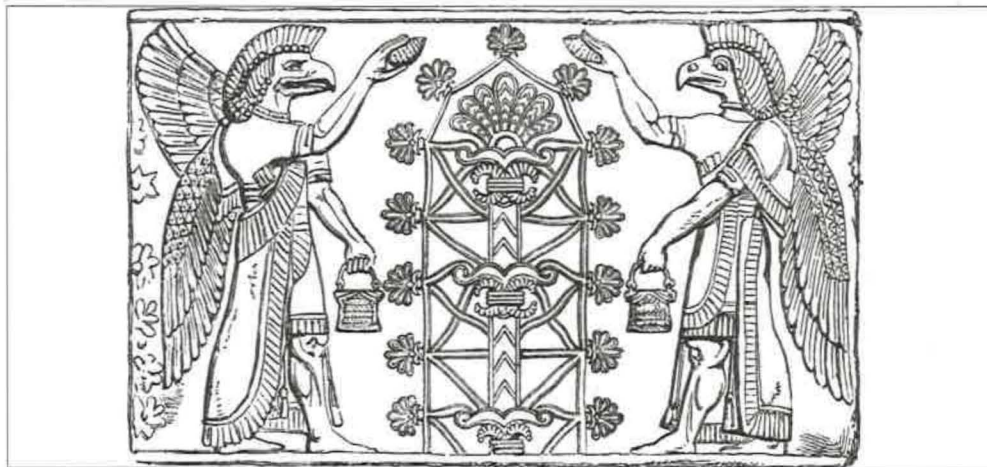


Fig. 14: Tree of life with two protective spirits from Kalchu, ancient Nimrud, 9th century BC. Not infrequently, the rhizomes of the top flowers are connected to the one-but-next flower.

between a brahminical legend and Aśokan court artists is difficult to imagine; nonetheless, there might have been more stories about birds taking up learning with their food.

Cunningham could have been right with his idea that the Brahmani ducks point to the importance of couples. This bird, Sanskrit *cakravāka*, is proverbial for its appearance in pairs of both sexes. In relation to the enlightenment and the spreading of the “victorious” teachings, the picking geese will have been understood as “men and women alike taking up the teaching of the lion”.

The floral decorations on the abaci

A good survey of all friezes is found in Irwin 1975: 637, where he dealt also with the floral decoration appearing without geese on the Saṅkīśā elephant, on the Rāmpūrvā bull, at Bānsī and at Allāhābād. Here again, Saṅkīśā elephant and Rāmpūrvā bull belong to one group.

The standard floral motive is based on the so-called Erechtheion scheme first found in full-fledged form on the Akropolis at Athens on a frieze of the northern hall, late 5th century BC. It consists of a so-called lotus opening outside and a so-called palmette with inverted leaves. The flowers are linked by rhizomes, either directly or crosswise to the next-but-one. A drinking cup from ancient Greece (fig. 13), dated to 550 BC in the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, shows that this motif spread relatively early beyond the circle of architects. A much older specimen, however, showing alternating closed and opened lotus flowers directly linked by their rhizomes encircles the well-known sarcophagus of Achiram, 10th century BC, at Byblos. It seems possible to interpret the alternation as relating to death and life. Again only one sort of flower is found on the so-called tree-of-life in Kalchu, modern Nimrūd, on panels in the palace of Aśšurnāṣirpal, who ruled 883–859 BC (fig. 14). These flowers are certainly no lotuses, but are very similar to the palmette; they are connected directly amongst themselves and crosswise with the stem of the tree. A merger of the Levantine lotus garlands with the Mesopotamian tree of life would result in a basic Erechtheion scheme, with lotus and “tree”-flower alternating, being connected either directly or crosswise.

The forms of the plants adapted for the Aśokan abaci deviate considerably from the originals. However, we should not look to parallels in Iran or the Near East, but rather in Bactria, where, e.g., Ai-Khanum was a

centre of Hellenistic architecture already in Aśokan times. A common trait, e.g., is the inwardly curved petals of the palmettes, which are found on all Aśokan abaci and also on all palmettes found at Ai-Khanum (cf. O. Guillaume, *Fouilles d’Ai Khanoum*, II. Paris 1983: 39f. with plates 24, C-H).

Apart from these correspondences, those using these models did add some ideas of their own, such as the flower that produces offshoots from a central calyx, visible at Bānsī, where both sorts of plants produce flowers from their central part as do the palmettes on the front side of the Bodh Gayā āsana. On the Rāmpūrvā bull capital the uppermost three leaves of the palmettes have their origin in a calyx. At Sāñcī, all the leaves emanate from the calyx together with a further offshoot. The asymmetrical plant at Sāñcī is a new idea altogether from a Hellenistic point of view.

On the Saṅkīśā elephant, the plants follow the same basic pattern, but are cruder on the whole. Nonetheless, the common traits show that the stone-masons followed some ideas which are not found in the Hellenistic Near East, but which are so particular that they must have a common root, something like an indigenous artists school or central workshop.

For comparison the work of Frank Rumscheid, *Untersuchungen zur kleinasiatischen Bauornamentik des Hellenismus*. Mainz 1994, can be recommended.

Birds and fishes on shafts and on the Rāmpūrvā lion capital

There are three pillars where more or less uniform depictions of birds and fishes are found chiselled on the shaft or on the capital: Niglīvā shows three peacocks on the shaft; the Rāmpūrvā lion pillar has received two peacocks and one fish on the shaft and two peacocks on the flat side of the tenon; the lion capital shows one fish and two peacocks on one side of the lion between his legs and two other birds on the other side. For a line-drawing see S.P. Gupta 1980: 312. A peacock is reported from the underground part of the Nandangarh pillar. That three animals appear on the Niglīvā and Rāmpūrvā shafts might be taken as a hint towards the third peacock (*mayūra/mora*) or Maurya under whom these pillars were erected. With regard to Nandangarh, a similar idea was expressed by Carlleyle (1885a: 47) long ago.

These line drawings of birds are only found on the Terrai pillars. The fishes on the Rāmpūrvā pillar shaft and the related lion capital can be compared to the one fish on

the polished panel carrying Aśoka’s inscription at the Kaṇṇa Caupār cave in the Barābar hills.

Inscription

The pillars were inscribed in diverse ways, either while standing erect or while still lying on the ground. A striking case of the first sort is Sāñcī, where the scribe chiselled the edict in wavy lines in a very careless way. All other texts seem to be inscribed by a stone mason who could work comfortably, probably while sitting on the recumbent pillar shaft or using a stable scaffold.

K.R. Norman has shown in 1987a that there are three ways of arranging the pillar edicts. At Allāhābād the lines run all around the shaft, to continue in the next line. To us this appears to be the earliest form, with the scribe just moving around the pillar on a scaffold while writing. The reader, with eagles’ eyes has to keep on walking around the pillar. The pillars in the Terrai arrange the texts on two sides. This forces the reader to run back and forth for each new line. The third method is found on the Delhi pillars, with four narrow rows on four sides. The reader does not need to walk back and forth.

Norman opted to order from large to small: Allāhābād is one type, Terrai is younger and Delhi still younger. If we consider the movements of the reader, the most irritating movements are forced in the Terrai cases. Allāhābād is much more consistent in its constant rounds. The least disruptive reading is at Delhi, with the reader standing steadfast on one spot, glancing at the narrow lines coming down the shaft. This way we have an uninterrupted development from the Terrai to Delhi.

J. Irwin repeated Norman’s typology in 1981; my own considerations appeared in Falk 1993a.

Technical development and relative chronology

There are more points which might help to reconstruct the development from the less practical production method to the better, and from less elegance to perfection. These points are:

Base slabs: According to Irwin early, in his eyes pre-Aśokan, pillars were set up without base slabs. However, there is no incontrovertible evidence that pillars were ever set up without base slabs. The arguments adduced by Irwin in this direction cannot be accepted without reservation.

Polish: Some pillars are polished even underground, others leave the base part

rough. If we presuppose an initial phase where time was wasted with polishing the finally invisible base parts, then Goṭihavā and Kūmrāhār must be very early. There are some pillars with pretty smooth and others with very rough underground parts. Almost smooth is the Rāmpūrvā bull pillar, very rough are Rāmpūrvā lion pillar, the Mirāṭh, Toprā and Hisār pillars. The published plates are not clear enough to determine the nature of the bases at Sāñcī, Sārnāth and Lumbinī. According to this argument the Rāmpūrvā bull is again earlier than most other pillars. Its base slab has been found.

Trunnions: These protrusions were useful for turning the pillar rock during the rounding process. They may also have served to turn the upright pillar on the base slab into the best vertical position. After the use of trunnions, the next stage seems to have used wooden boards at the Rāmpūrvā lion pillar, and during the last phase turning did not require a fixing device on the shaft at all. The oldest pillars definable according to this argument should then be Goṭihavā, Kūmrāhār and Allāhābād; slightly younger is the Rāmpūrvā bull pillar, all others with an attested absence of trunnions can be regarded as younger. It may not be without significance that the pillars with trunnions are polished to the ground (Goṭihavā, Kūmrāhār) or very smooth (Rāmpūrvā bull). The rough surface underground of the younger pillars was certainly useful to keep attached beams or ropes from slipping.

Tenons: Tenons provide a safe connection between shaft and capital. Flat shaft ends will then be less sophisticated and could be regarded as a sign of a first stage. Flat shaft ends are found at Ararāj and Allāhābād, tenons are known from Sāñcī, Niglīvā and the two Rāmpūrvā pillars. The Bānsī capital presupposes a tenon, as does the – probably post-Aśokan – Ayodhyā capital. The tops of Nandangarh and Vesālī are hidden, the top part of Sārnāth is lost and the underside of its lion capital undescribed. The tops of the Toprā, Kosam, Lumbinī and Mirāṭh pillars are destroyed.

Inscriptions: Uninscribed pillars might belong to an initial phase. Cases are Kosam and the Rāmpūrvā bull pillar. The possibly inscribed parts of the Kūmrāhār and Hisār pillars are missing. The Sāñcī inscription looks like a carelessly applied addition.

Size: The earliest pillars, judging from the dates they bear, are Niglīvā and Lumbinī. Goṭihavā can be included in this group. All three pillars are rather small, as is the Kūmrāhār pillar, which was seen to be possi-

bly early on account of its all-length polish and its trunnions. Others range from large to majestic: Toprā and Allāhābād are large and slender, Rāmpūrvā lion and Ararāj are large and very thick. On the whole it seems that there is a development from small to large.

Stone: The “Pabhosā” stone with inclusions has been used for almost all of the shafts. Only Goṭihavā and the two Rāmpūrvā pillars are made from spotless “Cunār” sandstone. Goṭihavā and the Rāmpūrvā bull pillar belong to the early phase, as do the elephant and the bull from Sāñkīśā and Rāmpūrvā. This seems to indicate that a first use of “Cunār”-type sandstone was soon replaced by the “Pabhosā”-type.

Transport

To move pillars of such dimensions is no easy undertaking. From the reports about the shifting of the Toprā pillar (q.v.) we know how such pillars can be transported and erected. For the times of Aśoka we have no reports at all. In a private communication, Ronald Inden expressed the idea that such huge pieces could only be moved with the help of elephants. Although transport without elephants is feasible it would be strange if elephants were not used at a time when they were kept in abundance for war purposes. Men would need wheeled vehicles, elephants could pull sledges as well.

The base slabs

The pillars rested on base slabs of a rather consistent size (cf. tables pp. 149ff.) either about 2.40 m square or 2.40 m long and around 2 m wide. The base slab at Goṭihavā shows a central circle inside which the pillar was expected to rest (Verardi & Coccia 2000: 712). The same slab was also marked by a “moon-on-hill” symbol, as it is found on the underside of the Kūmrāhār pillar and on the Rāmpūrvā copper bolt. The base slab rests on a bed of arenaceous limestone.

Irwin was of the opinion that the earliest pillars were simply set into the ground, without a base slab even where the ground was unstable (1974: 722b). This could be a late result of Spooner’s fancy idea of “sunken” pillars in Pāṭaliputra. Kūmrāhār has yielded just one Aśokan pillar, found not in situ. Its foundation is completely unknown. The pillar at Kosam, allegedly without a base slab, has been excavated in a very casual manner. The pillar may have slipped from the slab while slanting. Because of the small length of the rough section, A.K. Mitra (1933: 320 fn. 6) suspected a breakage in ancient times. The break may even have happened during

the first excavation, during which its inclination changed from 5° to around 45°. Lots of ground is still unexcavated where slab as well as capital may still be hidden. All the early pillars in the Terrai had base slabs.

Construction with a base slab was also maintained for the Heliodorus pillar about 100 years later (Irwin 1974b: 10 pls.).

Erection

There are no hints as to the technique used to hoist the pillars, “but as the pillars were small in size, it could not have been a difficult procedure” (A.K. Mitra 1933: 321). Once erect on the base slab the trunnions may have been used to turn the erect pillar to equalize slight diversions from the horizontal of both base slab and pillar base. On younger pillars the turning device was fixed with ropes to the rough surface of the underground part.

The purpose of the pillars

Pre-Aśokan religion

There are different ideas as to the purpose behind the pillars beyond their decorative and pedagogic aspects. Detaching the pillars from the person Aśoka, V.R.R. Dikshitar in 1930 took the pillars to be pre-Aśokan; the geese around the abaci he interpreted as representing Kubera. In 1967, A. Ghosh was of the opinion that the pillars were planned to accompany holy structures and therefore were not meant primarily to carry inscriptions. J. Irwin, from 1973 onwards presented an otherwise completely unknown old Indian religion centering around the *axis mundi*, manifested as pillars to its adherents. Allegedly, these mostly pre-Aśokan pillars were later used by Aśoka for his inscriptions. Only a few scholars subscribed to this view, e.g. A. Bareau (1974), others accept parts of it (R. Thapar 1997: 291). Detailed refutals were formulated by S.P. Gupta (1980: 27–47, 292–297) and G. Fussman (1986b).

Connection with wells

J. Irwin (1981: 125b) realized in connection with the Lāṭ Bhairo that “most other pillar-sites” are in some way or other connected with wells. There is an old well just behind the Lāṭ Bhairo compound; there is one beside the Kosam pillar, one beside the pillar at Ararāj, one at Nandangarh. At the site of the Rāmpūrvā lion D.R. Sahni (1907–08: 183) found a well “composed of nine earthenware rings, 4.5” [11.4 cm] high each, ingeniously fitted one above the other”. That means that all of the pillars on the old road from Vārāṇasī to Nepal are connected with wells. There is an old brick-lined well at the

village Toprā, about 1 m wide and still many meters deep, just by the side of the elevation which could have been a *stūpa*. However, there is no clear evidence to link the “Toprā” pillar with this village. The original locations of the Hisār and Mirāṭh pillars being unknown we can say that some pillars decorated Buddhist *stūpas* or monasteries (Sāñcī, Sāmāth, Lumbinī, Kūmrāhār), some decorated holy sites of other Buddhas (Niglivā, Goṭihavā) and some marked spots which also provided water to the traveler on his way to Nepal.

Whither in Nepal was the traveler heading? There are hints that it was towards another pillar near Tribenī Ghat, midway between Rāmpūrvā and Lumbinī. According to V.A. Smith (1900: 616 fn. 3) there is one “Ramagrama (...) in the nepalese Tarai, a few miles west of the Gandak River, near the village of Dharmauli, in longitude about 83° 53' East, north of the village of Bahuwar in the Gorakhpur District, where, according to information received by Dr. Hoey, another stone pillar exists.” Some years earlier, A.E. Caddy (1895: 155) did possibly see parts of an abacus: “Among other objects of interest shown me by Mr. Gibbon at Bettiah were a few stones from the coping of a well near Tribenī, which bore the honeysuckle ornament of the Erectheum, common to several Asoka columns, and of which he permitted me to take casts, which I have with me now at the Museum.” Unfortunately, the

Indian Museum has not preserved any trace of these casts which would be necessary to substantiate the existence of a pillar there. The ornament came from “the coping of a well”, which would make a welcome addition to our collection of pillars near wells. If we accept Rāmagrāma alias Tribenī as a further site for a pillar, we would get an almost complete row of pillars from Patna to Lumbinī: 43 km from Patna to Vesālī, 112 km from Vesālī to Ararāj along the Gandak, 23 km from Ararāj to Nandangarh, 32 km from there to Rāmpūrvā, 63 km from there to Tribenī, and 60 km from there to Lumbinī. There appear to be some stations missing and the distances are taken as the crow flies. One of the stations may even be the so-called “Rāmagrāma” *stūpa* in the Terai, about 30 km to the west of Tribenī, not to be confused with the Rāmagrāma of Dr. Hoey, referred to above. It should be kept in mind that the designation “Rāmagrāma” is the result of a “bold decision” of Babukrishna Rijal, not earlier than 1974 (S.S. Shrestha in *AN* 142.1999: 2).

Wherever the real Rāmagrāma is to be found, the line of stations would make sense from an Aśokan point of view: the pillars would guide the pilgrim to Lumbinī, from well to well, touching many holy places on the way, Vesālī being just one of the many sites connected with the vita of the Śākya-muni.

Similar ideas have been proposed before. An anonymous author held the pillars to mark “the stages of the journey to Nepal which Asoka undertook in the 21st year of his reign, in order to visit the holy sites of Buddhism” (*ASIAR* 1922–23: 30).

Popular use

Many old pillars of various origins have been declared to be Śiva *liṅgas* (Lāṭ Bhairo, Bhubaneswar, Heliodorus pillar); the capital at Ayodhyā is used as a *pīṭha* for a *liṅga* pebble stone. These age-old pillars certainly were a major attraction where ever they were to be found right from the start. Early evidence for a popular adoration of these pillars is found on a corner pillar from a *stūpa* enclosure from Mathurā, 1st century BC, at the Lucknow State Museum, accession number J.268 (fig. 15, cf. Irwin 1973: figs. 15, 16). A couple is seen touching a lion pillar from both sides with the right hand; on the accompanying panels we see “scenes of music, dancing and loveplay” (Irwin 1973: 715a). Irwin looked for “Stūpa-worship” (id.), whereas another possibility seems more likely. Irwin (1976: 742) referred to pillars called *maṇistambha* used “in earlier

tradition” as a marriage pillar. This information was gained in Gujarat from a trustworthy scholar. Although a “jewel pillar”, *maṇistambha*, is not found in the literature in connection with marriages, the information sounds reliable. We do in fact have a “jewel pillar” at Sikligarh (q.v.), called *maṇik thambh* today. If “jewel pillars” were used in marriages, the pillar at Sikligarh could have well been used for this purpose too. This would mean that the couple touching the lion pillar on the Lucknow panel were doing so during their marriage ceremony.

Another example of pillar veneration comes from *stūpa* 2 at Sāñcī (fig. 16), where elevated beings stand on the railing around a pillar, the male figures in a *kaṭāñjali* position, the females touching the pillar with their foreheads. Here as well, a marriage situation is not improbable.

If these “erect” Aśokan pillars attracted couples for such profane purposes then their caretakers threatened the classical brahminical monopoly on conducting marriages. This helps in understanding why these marvellous objects of veneration, looked after more by Buddhists than by anyone else, were destroyed when the Buddhist authority declined.

After they had lost their protectors, some pillars were used for rather profane purposes: cut to pieces they served as street rollers. The long fragment at Sāñcī shows cuts meant to separate the pillar into pieces.



Fig. 15: Couple touching an Aśokan pillar on a panel from Mathurā, 1st century BC (Lucknow State Museum).



Fig. 16: Women touching a pillar with their head; Sāñcī *stūpa* 2, 1st century BC.

Another pillar fragment was used “as a roller for the station roads by an utilitarian member of the Civil Service”, somewhere near those of Ararāj and Nandangarh (Fergusson & Burgess 1876, I: 57). A roller with a polished-like surface was seen by us in South Bihar (p. 155, fig. 5), lying unused by the side of the road.

Continuation

After Aśoka the production of pillars and capitals continued. However, the quality of Aśokan stone-work was never reached again. The closest successors are two bells with abacus, found in Mainahai near Kosam/Kauśāmbī, now on display in the Allāhābād University Museum (figs. 11, 12). They are dated to the 1st century BC. The petals still number 16, the middle rib is of a triangular cross-section, the bells have both twisted and untwisted cords at the same time. One bell looks exactly like the inverted bell at Ayodhyā, with twisted rope and bead-and-reels on the underside and a large untwisted rope connecting the abacus (fig. 11). The abacus shows lions and camels, separated by palmettes of a rather degenerate shape. On the other abacus some guinea-pig-like animals follow each other in a line (fig. 12). One capital was crowned by a cubical con-

struction of palmyra leaves and fruit, probably part of a *tāladvaja* for Saṃkarṣaṇa (H. Härtel in *FS Tucci*, Roma 1987: 579). The stone is of the Pabhosā type with inclusions, no great surprise as Pabhosā is very near. The polish could be called “Mauryan” and is very carefully done; however, the design of the bells is already at some distance from those of Aśoka with regard to elegance and the depiction of the animals. The excavator, R.C. Sharma, found several new features: “(i) an additional circular spigot on the abacus to be fitted in the socket of the surmounting figure; (ii) the introduction of the technique of making the entire capital into two separate parts against the monolithic technique of the Mauryan tradition; and (iii) the depiction of certain animals on the abacus such a camel, rhinoceros, etc.” Very important is his observation regarding the proportion of the bell: Aśokan bells are 3 units wide and 2 units high, whereas these younger bells show a width to height ratio of 1:1 (*IA-R* 1963–64: 42; cf. A. Tripathi 2003: 39–40).

Further south at Deorkothar in the Rewa district a huge pillar came to light recently at a Buddhist *stūpa* site (cf. Ph.K. Mishra in *Mārg* 52, 1.2000: 67). On palaeographic ground it should date from the 2nd or 1st century BC. The pillar seems to have

received some polish; the capital has not yet been found.

The pillars from the Besnagar area are well-known, as is their Śuṅga background. Here, as at other places, the bells receive more than 16 petals, the middle rib changes from a triangular to a round cross-section. Very often the inter-petal tip is extended to a full rib all the way down the bell. There is a second round of petals above the first in the upper register. On the whole these pillars are much smaller than those of Aśoka.

In Kuṣāṇa times the huge size returns. Two examples are presented below, viz. the pillars from Prahlādpur, UP, bearing an inscription in Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī, and the pillar from Sikligarh in Bihar, erected on a gold coin of Vāsudeva. Both pillars are occasionally regarded to be of Aśokan origin.

Likewise included is the pillar at Lāṭiyā, south of Ghazipur, datable to Gupta times, being made from the same Pabhosā-type stone as the Aśokan pillars, showing that the quarries were in long-term use.

The Bhopal pillar closes this section. It could again be dated to the Gupta period; it is documented here as a supplement to S.P. Gupta 1980: 26 and pl. 9c, since its survival in the middle of a busy street cannot be regarded as guaranteed.

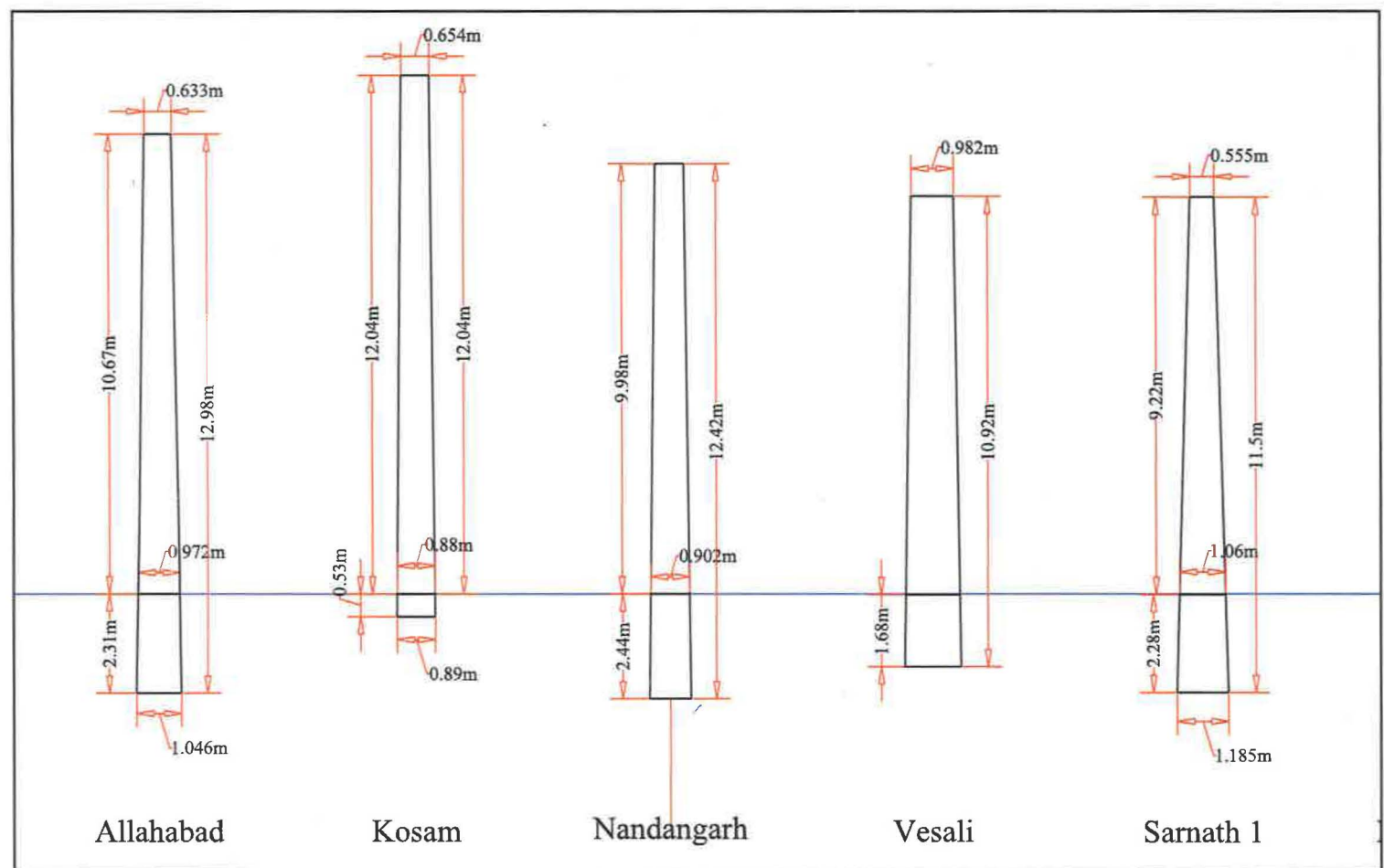
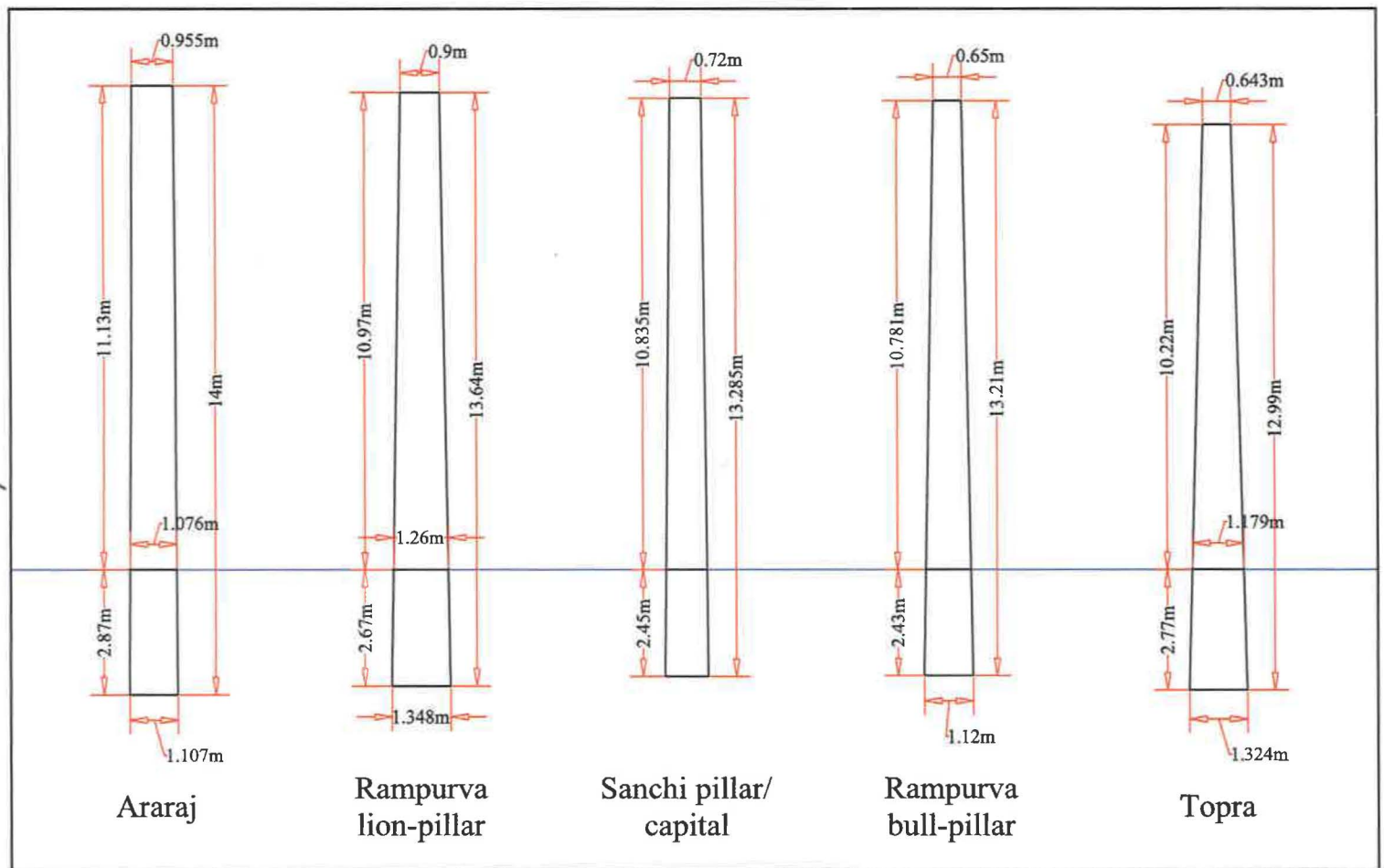
	Ararāj	Rāmpūrvā lion pillar	Sāñcī	Rāmpūrvā bull pillar
Capital	missing	2.43 m	2.43 m	2.06 m
Shaft total	ca. 14 m	13.64 m	13.28 m	13.21 m
Above ground	11.13 m	10.97 m	3.55 + 4.30 + 2.98 m	10.78 m
Underground	?	2.67 m	2.45 m	2.43 m
Diam. at base	?	126 cm	?	112 cm
Diam. at dividing line	107.6/106 cm	?	> 90 cm	?
Diam. at top	95.5 cm	90 cm	72 cm	65 cm
Tenon	no	65 x 6 cm	49 x 5.5 cm	53.5 x 6.5 cm
Tapering /m	3-4 cm	2.76 cm	2.05 cm	?
Hole wide		12 cm	10 cm	14 cm
Hole deep		33 cm	32.7 cm	37 cm
Trunnions	?	no	no	4: flattened
Base slab	?	236 x ? x 53 cm	no, on rock bottom	yes, unexcavated
Stone capital	-	?	Pabhosā	Cunār
Stone pillar	Pabhosā	Cunār	Pabhosā	Cunār
Polish	above dividing line	underground part smooth	above dividing line	above dividing line

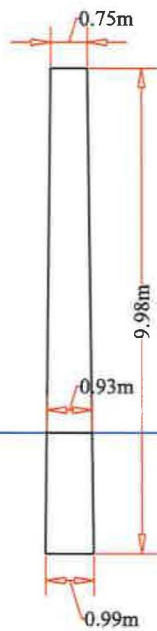
	Allāhābād	Kosam	Nandangarh	Vesālī
Capital	?	missing		2.87 m
Shaft total	12.98 m	10.52+1.37+0.68 m	ca. 12.42 m	11.73 m
Above ground	10.67 m	9.99+1.37+0.68 m	9.98 m	
Underground	2.31 m	53 (+ x) cm	2.44 m	1.68 m
Diam. at base	97.22 cm	> 89 cm	?	> 126.5 cm
Diam. at dividing line	89.8 cm	ca. 89 cm	90.17 cm	
Diam. at top	63.3 cm	65.4 cm (All.Mus.)	66.54 cm	98.23 cm
Tenon	no	?	?	?
Tapering /m	2.4 cm	ca. 3 cm	2.15 cm	2.76 cm
Hole wide	7.62 cm	-	?	?
Hole deep	22.87 cm	-	?	?
Trunnions	2: ? x ? x 15 cm	?	"projection"	?
Base slab	?	none or not yet found	ca. 240 x 240 x ? cm	220 x 220 x 36 cm
Stone capital	?	-	greenish stone	?
Stone pillar	Pabhosā	Pabhosā	Pabhosā	Pabhosā
Polish	above dividing line	above dividing line	above dividing line	?

	Sārnāth 1	Delhi-Mirāṭh	Lumbinī	Goṭihavā
Capital	2.13 m	missing	bell, rest missing	fragments
Shaft total	11.50 m	9.98 m	9.41 m	(> 3.25 m)
Above ground	9.22 m		6.81 m	-
Underground	2.28 m		> 2.00 m	ca. 2.2 m
Diam. at base	106 cm	99 cm	79 cm	83 cm
Diam. at dividing line	71.2 cm	93 cm	79 cm	no dividing line
Diam. at top	55.5 cm	75 cm	63 cm	(< 79.57 cm)
Tenon	?	?	?	no
Tapering /m	2.4 cm	2.4 cm	2.3 cm	2.55 cm
Hole wide	?	?	?	-
Hole deep	?	?	?	-
Trunnions	no	no	no	4: 18 x 20 x ? cm
Base slab	244 x 183 x 46 cm	?	?	212 x 172 x 26 cm
Stone capital	Pabhosā	-	?	Pabhosā
Stone pillar	Pabhosā	Pabhosā	Pabhosā	Cunār
Polish	above dividing line	above dividing line	above dividing line	whole length

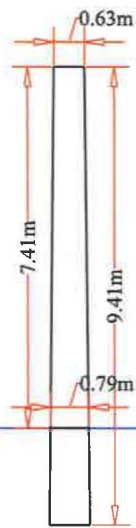
	Sārnāth 1	Delhi-Mirāth	Lumbinī	Goṭihavā
Capital	2.13 m	missing	bell, rest missing	fragments
Shaft total	11.50 m	9.98 m	9.41 m	(> 3.25 m)
Above ground	9.22 m		6.81 m	-
Underground	2.28 m		> 2.00 m	ca. 2.2 m
Diam. at base	106 cm	99 cm	79 cm	83 cm
Diam. at dividing line	71.2 cm	93 cm	79 cm	no dividing line
Diam. at top	55.5 cm	75 cm	63 cm	(< 79.57 cm)
Tenon	?	?	?	no
Tapering /m	2.4 cm	2.4 cm	2.3 cm	2.55 cm
Hole wide	?	?	?	-
Hole deep	?	?	?	-
Trunnions	no	no	no	4: 18 x 20 x ? cm
Base slab	244 x 183 x 46 cm	?	?	212 x 172 x 26 cm
Stone capital	Pabhosā	-	?	Pabhosā
Stone pillar	Pabhosā	Pabhosā	Pabhosā	Cunār
Polish	above dividing line	above dividing line	above dividing line	whole length

	Delhi-Toprā	Bānsi - capital	Patna stump	Prahlādpur
Capital	missing		missing	missing
Shaft total	12.99 m	?	> 4.5m (ca. 7 m)	10.98 m
Above ground	10.22 m	?		8.25 m
Underground	2,77 m	?	(Altekar: 17 1.37 m)	2.75 m
Diam. at base	117.9 cm	?	76.24 cm	?
Diam. at dividing line	98.60 cm	?	(at 2.9 m = 69.39 cm)	118.5 cm
Diam. at top	64.29 cm	ca. 65 cm	(Altekar: 17 59,2 cm)	99 cm
Tenon	?	41 x 6.5 cm	no	no
Tapering /m	3.35 cm	?	2.36 cm	2.4 cm
Hole wide	?	11 cm	(8 cm)	?
Hole deep	?	28 cm	(17.5 cm)	?
Trunnions	no	?	4: ca. 22 x 24 x ? cm	?
Base slab	yes	?	wooden: 137 x 137 cm	yes
Stone capital	-	Cunār	?	?
Stone pillar	Pabhosā	?	Pabhosā	Cunār
Polish	above dividing line	?	whole length	smooth above div.line

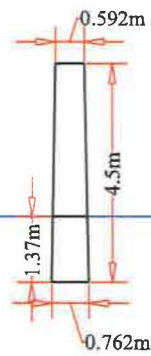




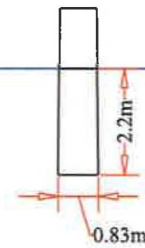
Dehli-Meerut



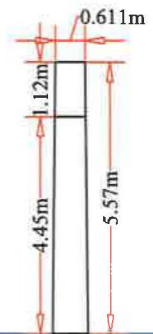
Lumbini



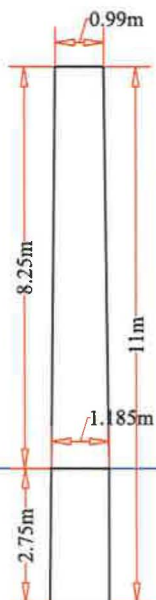
Patna Stump



Gotihawa



Nigali Sagar

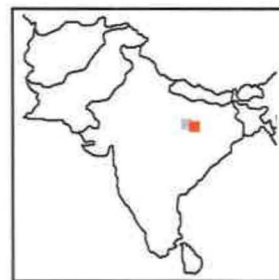


Prahladpur

Cunār

Chunar

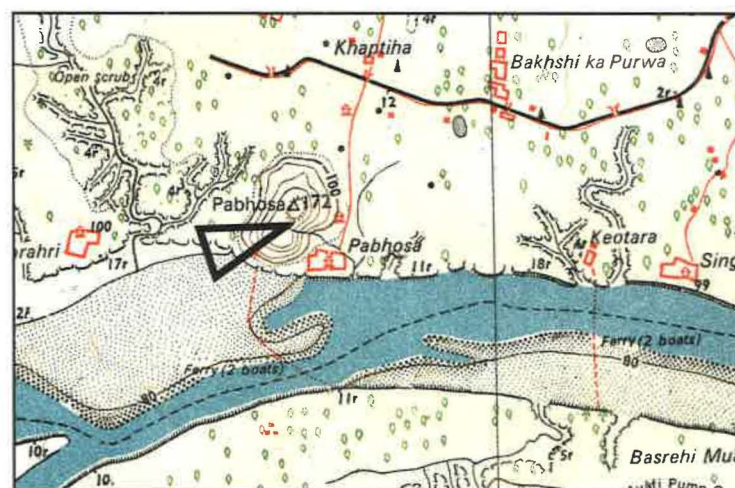
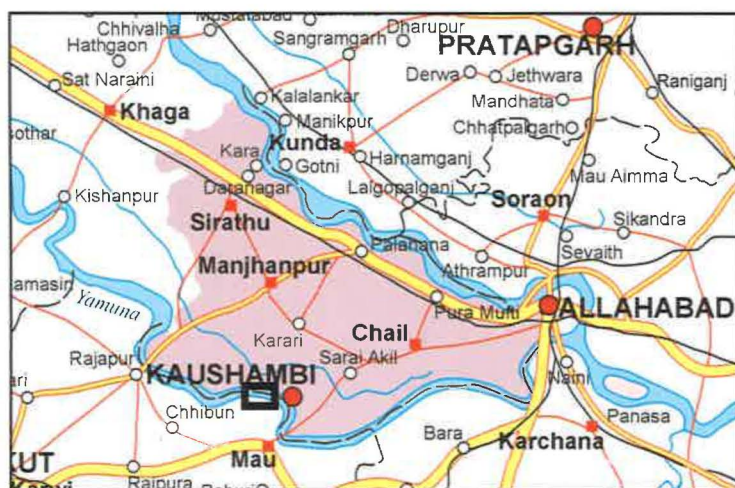
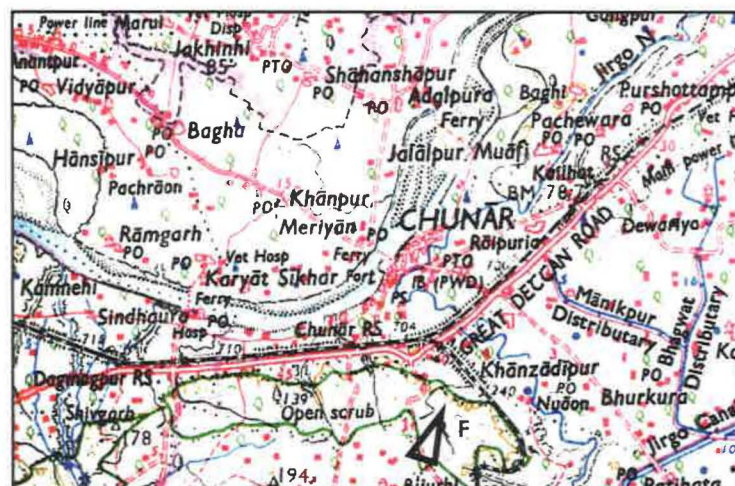
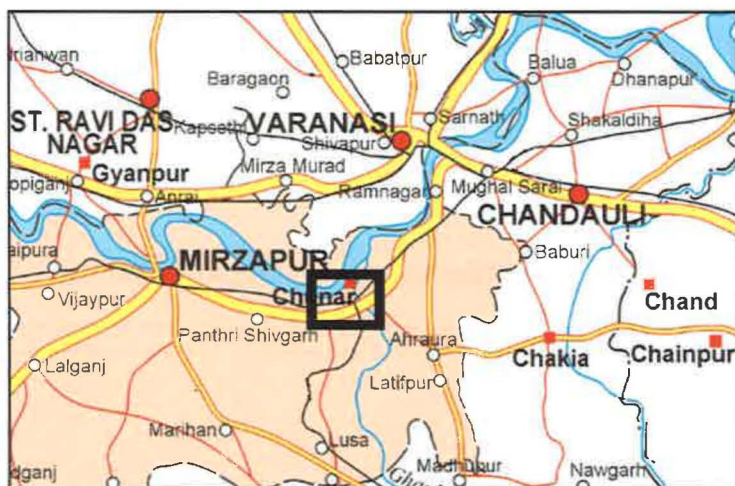
Mirzapur District, UP
25°06' N.
82°53' E.
GSI map 63 K/16



Pabhosā

Pabosa

Allahabad District, UP
25°21' N.
81°19' E.
GSI map 63 G/07



Further maps: V. Jayaswal 1998 figs. 3A-C (with positions of every single stone at Cunār).

Discovery:

Cunār is credited as being the source of all Aśokan pillars, an idea probably introduced by Oertel 1904-05: 69 and since repeated countless times, e.g. V.A. Smith 1909e: 341

(“invariably ... from Canār”), Sircar (1979: 119), “It is generally believed that the Aśokan pillars were made at a quarry near Chunar in the Mirzapur District, U.P.”, or D.R. Bhandarkar, (1932: 214-5), “it may be recalled that all the Ashokan pillars along with their capitals were made of Chunar sandstone” (Pant & Jayaswal 1991: 60). R. Thapar

(1961/1997: 268) expects two kinds of stone for the Aśokan pillars, the “spotted red and white sandstone from the region of Mathura, and others of buff-coloured fine grained hard sandstone usually with small black spots quarried in Chunar near Banaras”.

All this rests on the assumption that spotted sandstone is found at Cunār. The quar-



Fig. 1: One “pillar drum” with view north on Cunār.

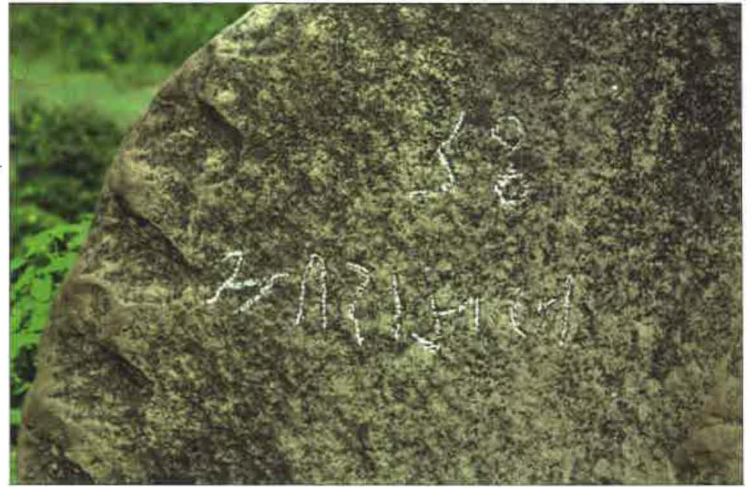


Fig. 2: The inscribed front side of fig. 1, alledgedly in Kharoṣṭhī.



Fig. 3: Another “pillar drum”, roughly dressed.



Fig. 4: The inscribed front side of fig. 3, alledgedly in Kharoṣṭhī.



Fig. 5: An abandoned road-roller near Rewa of the size of the “pillar drums” on the plain.



Fig. 6: The plain above Cunār with one of the uninscribed rolls; several more are found nearby.

ries of Cunār up in the hills, however, yield a stone of a different nature, with no black inclusion at all, which are characteristic for most of the true Aśokan pillars.

Access:

From *Vārāṇasī*: after milestone 195 (to Allāhābād) or 35 (to Mirzapur) the road

turns slightly right while a side-road branches sharply to the left at a signpost pointing towards *jarago bāmdh*.

From *Cunār*: 1.3 km after the eastern city limits this signpost is reached.

Follow this road to the hills, where it turns left and splits with one branch to the right.

Take the unmetalled path ascending towards Baragaon. Stop exactly 1 km from this bifurcation in the fields. To the left one drum can be seen; uphill towards the right several drums will be found. The locals will soon appear and point out more drums in the near distance.



Fig. 7: The cave at Pabhosā, overhanging an ancient quarry.



Fig. 8: The entrance to the Pabhosā cave, today hanging in mid air.



Fig. 9: Pabhosā-type sandstone taken from underneath the cave (11 x 4 cm).



Fig. 10: The Yamunā seen from the cave site.

Discovery:

The ancient quarries are claimed to have been detected by P.C. Pant & V. Jayaswal 1990/91, with readings of “Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions” by B.N. Mukherjee on pp. 53–57. There are inscriptions on the flat ends of 59 drums, legibly reproduced in V. Jayaswal 1998, pls. I to XX. One was first presented by Pant & Jayaswal 1991: 61 as reading *atīva oṣaha*, but should be read as *atīvaḥaṣaha*, if it is Kharoṣṭhī at all (fig. 11). Mukherjee 1990 held that the inscriptions on the whole should be dated to the time of the Kuṣāṇas; in V. Jayaswal 1998: 103 these letters are dated to the 3rd century BC.

One single Brāhmī inscription has been given the same early date, reading allegedly *ogathaphene* (V. Jayaswal 1998: 100, pl. XIX no. 56; fig. 12). However, the final letters look more like ciphers reading “..2132” in a rather recent local script. In his latest contribution to the subject, B.N. Mukherjee (1998) dates none of the

inscriptions presented by V. Jayaswal earlier than the 2nd century AD.

Most inscriptions start with *śrīrāma*, followed by a sign for a stonecutters axe (read as *sa* or *jara* by Mukherjee), followed by a 2 in cipher or by two circles.

V. Jayaswal (1998: 106) speaks of a “controversy about dating of the Nagari inscriptions”. According to T.P. Verma they date back to the 18th/19th century, whereas B.N. Mukherjee prefers the 11th or 12th century. Verma’s view is certainly preferable, applying not only to the clear Nāgarī cases, but also to those of so-called Kharoṣṭhī, Brāhmī or mixed Kharoṣṭhī-Brāhmī inscriptions, once the “letters” are recognised as ciphers.

Material:

All drums consist of light beige primary Vindhyan sandstone without any inclusions. Very few Aśokan artefacts are made from sandstone of this sort. The bull from Rāmpūrvā is such an example. For details see the list on pp. 149 ff.

Measurements:

Six drums can be easily found on the first slope. Their measurements are:

1. 288 cm long, diameter 91 cm, inscribed.
2. 195 cm long, diameter 110 cm, inscribed.
3. 180 cm long, diameter 82 cm
4. 182 cm long, diameter 75 cm
5. 185 cm long, diameter 78 cm
6. 150 cm long, half buried

A full list of 452 rolls is found in V. Jayaswal 1998: 14–86. Apart from the longest drum of 267 cm length (p. 31), most others are just below 2 m in length, their diameters are usually below 1 m. This corresponds very well to the old road rollers such as the one found by the side of the highway near Rewa (fig. 5). The similarity in diameter with Aśokan pillars may be nothing more than a coincidence; their length forbids any sort of identification.

Literature:

B.N. Mukherjee 1990, 1990–91, 1998; Pant & Jayaswal 1990/91, 1991; V. Jayaswal 1998, 2003.



Fig. 11: Inscription no. 55 in V. Jayaswal 1998: pl. XVIII, read as Kharosthi *ativaoshah* on p. 103, allegedly “3rd cen. BC”.



Fig. 12: Inscription no. 56 in V. Jayaswal 1998: pl. XIX, read as *ogathaphe[ne]* on p. 100, allegedly Brahmi “3rd Cen. BC”.

Pabhosā as an alternative:

Access:

From Kosam upstream on a metalled road for 5 km. The hill and the quarries cannot be missed.

Discovery:

Without any reference to Aśoka: “Quarries worked at least as early as the Gupta period can also be seen. Tradition has it that Pabosa was a *muhalla* (locality) of Kaushambi and was inhabited by stone masons” (E.B. Joshi 1968: 384).

There are few places which would be better suited for serving as a Mauryan quarry. The hill of Pabhosā, ancient Prabhāsagiri, 5 km west of Kosam, ancient Kauśāmbī, consists of light shining sandstone and has exactly those black inclusions which are so typical of Aśokan pillars. This hill borders the Yamunā at high water (fig. 10), so that shipment would need very short transport over ground. This quarry (fig. 7) has been

used in antiquity and is still being used today, covered over and over with chippings. A sample is shown in fig. 9.

Pabhosā is dealt with by V. Jayaswal 1998: 218. She excludes it as a source for Aśokan pillars because of “the location of the hills”, being, allegedly, a “difficult stretch to be covered in the process of transportation”, which is contrary to fact.

The difference in appearance of Cunār and Pabhosā sandstone is affected by the black inclusions seen in the latter. V. Jayaswal, opting for Cunār, whence spotles sandstone comes, seems to be aware of this problem and accounts for the black spots by proposing a coating made from “crushed pink sandstone with hamaetite pellets” (1998: 222), covering the five or more rolls placed one on top of the other on those Aśokan pillars at least at Ararāj, Nandangarh and Vesālī (ib.). Needless to say the stone from Pabhosā allows us to do away with such con-

jectures: the stone shows inclusions and would have been easily slid down to the river at Pabhosā.

This is not to say that the Aśokan pillars must come from here, since such spotted Vindhyan sandstone may also be found at other places. However, we can at least be sure that the stone is identical, and that the place was known in antiquity, located just 5 km away from ancient Kauśāmbī where once two pillars of Aśoka were erected, one still *in situ*, the other later transferred to Allāhābād.

Conclusion:

For these reasons I divide Aśokan rock into basically two sorts, the most frequent being the “Pabhosā”-type, inside beige to rose, with inclusions, and the “Cunār”-type, light-beige without inclusions. It has to be noted that in this terminology “Cunār” refers to a very different stone from the allegedly “typical Mauryan Chunar sandstone”, as meant by earlier writers.

Allāhābād

Kosambi

Allahabad District

25°25' N.

81°53' E.

GSI map 63 G/15

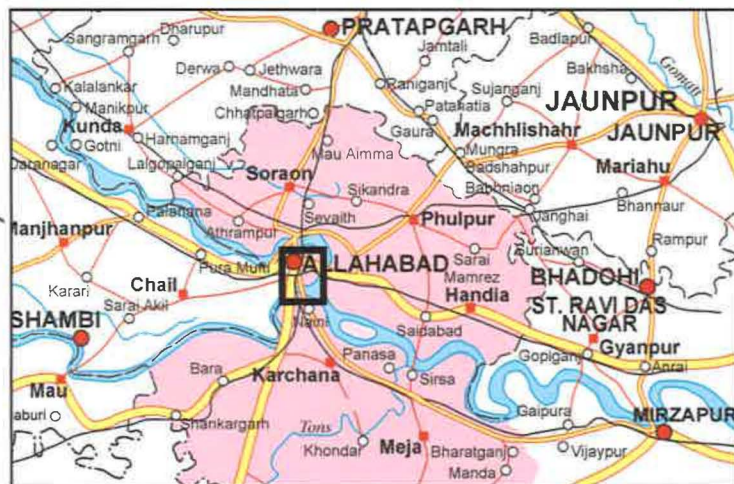


Fig. 1: The pillar inside the fort.

Further maps: Irwin 1983b with diverse maps concerning Prayāga.

Access:

a) Pillar

The pillar is inside the Fort area which as a military zone is absolutely inaccessible to civilians. A permit may be obtained through the Defence Ministry, which should be approached through one's own national embassy at New Delhi. The process takes at least three months, without any guarantee.

b) Capital:

Ancient and modern capitals are lost.

c) Bell cum abacus

Of the original bell nothing seems to have survived the destruction caused by Col. Kyd in 1804. The abacus, however, was seen by Burt (1834), who published several drawings of it, and by Kittoe, who gave a very accurate drawing of the frieze with its flowers (Prinsep 1835: 134, pl. IX). A photograph of it "taken about 1924" is found in Irwin 1981: 32. The bell cum abacus was reconstructed in 1838 and is on display in the Municipal Museum, Allāhābād (fig. 4). On personal inspection, the abacus of this construction proved to be absolutely flat, almost polished, with no chisel-marks of "trimming" whatsoever. It has a rather small square central hole for the fastening pin. From this I conclude that the abacus on display is not identical with the one depicted in Irwin 1981 with its round central hole, larger than the one in the museum. So it seems that the reconstruction

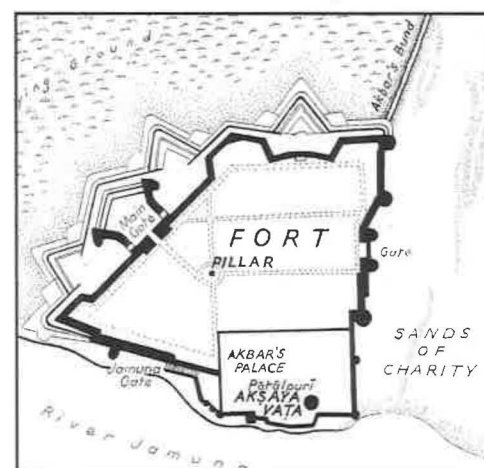


Fig. 2: Outline of the fort after Irwin 1983: 256.

of the capital included bell and abacus. There is no trace of the original "trimmed" abacus inside the Fort.

In the Allāhābād Museum, photography is strictly forbidden. The custodian in 1997 was utterly ignorant as to the nature of his exhibits.

History:

Original situation:

Probably Kauśāmbī, because of the mention of the "high officers in Kosambi" (*koṣaṃbi-yaṃ mahāmātānaṃ*) in its Schism edict.

Present situation:

Brought to Allāhābād Fort at an unknown time and finally erected "opposite the inner gate-way of the Jumna Durwāzā" (Kittoe in Prinsep 1835: 127). At that place it was laid



Fig. 3: Two parts of the modern capital as seen by Vats (1931: pl. XXXIa).

down and re-erected several times (Lassen 1840: 170f.; Cunningham 1871: 299; Führer 1891: 129f.; chart in Irwin 1981: 321). Führer concluded from the dates of the graffiti that during the reign of Firoz Shah the pillar was out of reach of any potential scribbler (130), so that this king might be responsible for its transferal inside the fort. This was contested with good reasons by Krishnaswamy Rao & Ghosh 1935 who credit Samudragupta with its re-erection in connection with his *Aśvamedha*. In AD 1605 Jahāngīr decorated the pillar with a globe surmounted by a cone (Führer 1891: 129). Colebrooke 1801/03 presented the first partial eye-copies made by Captain James Hoare some time before.

In 1804 the pillar was last taken down by "that enemy to Hindustani architecture, Colonel Kyd" (Kittoe in Prinsep 1835: 127).

The present arrangement in the middle of a roundabout in the centre of the fort was designed by Captain Edward Smith in 1838, who was also responsible for the new bell and a lion capital. This modern bell is now in the Municipal Museum, the capital in the shape of a lion seems to be lost.

Cunningham was not enchanted by the newly created animal: "the new capital designed by Captain Smith is, in my opinion, a signal failure. The capital lessens towards the top, and is surmounted by an abacus of less diameter than that of the pillar itself. The animal on the top is small and recumbent (...). Indeed, it looks to me not unlike a stuffed poodle stuck on the top of an inverted flower pot" (1871m: 300). In 1927–28, Vats saw the "lion" i.e. the poodle, lying close to the pillar inside the Fort. He describes it as 2' 4" [71.15 cm] high, standing on an oblong pedestal 1' 11" x 11.5" x 5" [58.44 x 29.2 x 12.7 cm] (1931: 94).

Likewise he saw the lower part of the modern bell which he describes as "a fine abacus relieved by lotus petals. Its diameter

is 28" [71.1 cm] and height 13" [33 cm]. The central cavity has a maximum diameter of 11" [28 cm] (1931: 95). The other abacus, i.e. the one with the honey-suckle decoration "appears to have formed part of the pillar", i.e., Vats thought that the copy of the abacus was original, whereas the bipartite cone was not. This division, however, is unnecessary, since both parts are made from the same sort of sandstone.

Today, all three parts of the modern capital are found reunited in the Allāhābād Municipal Museum.

Material:

The pillar is made from Pabhosā stone with inclusions.

Preservation:

The pillar:

The pillar is one of the best preserved. No damage was possible since its re-erection inside the closed fort in 1838. Recently, "salt-affected areas were treated with paper pulp and given a preservative coat" (IA-R 1991–92: 209 § 70).

Measurements:

Inscription:

The pillar measurements are given in Burt 1834 with all details. He speaks about two trunnions.

The inscriptions of *Aśoka* cover about 1.75 x 1.30 m (5' 9" x 4' 3" according to Fleet 1884: 305), topped by medieval inscriptions, cut by the Persian text of Jahāngīr (fig. 5) and above the text of Samudragupta (fig. 7).

The lowest line is 3.5 m above the ancient ground level, the topmost line 5.25 m from the ground (Fleet as above).

The letters are of the usual pillar script size, about 4–5 cm high.

The modern bell:

Coarse red sandstone, 94 cm high in two parts which belong together from the start. From bottom to top:

round base, 6 cm high, 218 cm circumference = 69 cm diameter.

Round upper base, 8 cm high, 227 cm circumference = 72 cm diameter.

Lower bell, 20 cm high with 18 petal-ends, untypically fluted with an upward movement of the pointed tips. The tips are very much pronounced.

Upper bell, 64 cm high, ending in a round socket piece, 79 cm circumference = 25 cm diameter.

The modern abacus:

Vats found 1927–28 the capital in two parts lying in the fort of Allāhābād. The flat abacus is depicted in his pl. 31a as well as the bottom part of the bell. According to him the abacus measures 28" in diameter (71.12 cm) and 13" in height (33.02 cm). Own measurements, from bottom to top:

Connecting piece, 25 cm diameter at the joint, widening to 37 cm, 2–3 cm high.

Round base, 3.1 cm high, 119 cm circumference = 37 cm diameter.

Round base, 5 cm high, 138 cm circumference = 43 cm diameter.

Ornated base, 14.5 cm high, 236 cm circumference = 75 cm diameter.

The honey-suckle motifs are 17.5 cm wide, each of the 10 motifs occupies 23 cm.

The base is perforated in its middle. The hole is 15 cm wide. An iron rod protruding from the bell is fixed with wooden wedges. Two small squares, about the size of a match-box, are incised, apart from that the surface is absolutely smooth and no indication was



Fig. 4: The modern composite capital in the Allāhābād Municipal Museum.



Fig. 5: The pillar edicts cut by Jahāngīr's text.



Fig. 6: Lower end of the PEs and medieval texts.



Fig. 7: Samudragupta's inscription.

found pointing to an erased animal on top.

The designs in Burt 1834 labelled "Elevation of Capital", "Section A.B./C.D of Capital", reproduced by Irwin 1981: 322, has nothing to do with the abacus on display.

Bell and abacus in the Municipal Museum are certainly not Mauryan. The reddish sandstone, the crude finishing, the way of joining the two parts and the abnormal shape of the bell all speak against such an attribution. On the other hand, both parts clearly point to an old original which was copied in this most unusual manner: The honey-suckles motifs on the abacus are clearly of a Mauryan design. It seems possible that a heavily destroyed original was used for the copy. An unbroken piece of the abacus may have served for designing the whole of the round. Thus, the design gives the impression of being old. It cannot be inferred that the original also showed nothing but honey-suckle motifs. If only one unbroken honey-suckle had been given to the sculptor this would explain why his copy is devoid of the *hamsas* or other ornaments once on the original.

The bell was not copied from an original but from a drawing which contained most of the elements of a truly Mauryan bell. The "leaves" flow in a rounded fashion, although the bends are strongly out of proportion. Where the inner rib of an original leaf bends upwards, the copy shows the whole leaf to bend upwards. Instead of 16 leaves the Allāhābād copy has an exceptional 18.

The stone used for the capital looks identical to the one used for the Fort walls. The cut in the middle of the bell is not the result of sawing one complete piece into two, for the whole bell was chiselled from two ready-made mason blocks one on top of the other.

If this impression is correct parts of the original bell and abacus should have survived into the 19th century.

The (original?) capital:

Burt (1834: plate) depicts the remnant of an abacus, without deciding about the nature of the animal that stood upon it: "The capital of the column (shewn in the accompanying drawings) appears [!] to have formerly borne a four-footed animal sitting upon it, and the slight [!] traces remaining have the appearance of the Bull which is generally attendant upon Mahadeva. The animal must have been evidently 'couchant' for the remains of the body as well as of the legs are connected to the stone itself" (106).

This was corrected by Kittoe who found an old man who had seen the pillar before it was taken down, with a crowning figure of a lion. On examination of the abacus Kittoe could state that "Lt. Burt's bull was once a figure of a lion couchant, the claws in each paw being very plain" (Kittoe in Prinsep 1835: 127). Cunningham reported that "the people [in 1838] had a tradition that the column was originally surmounted by the figure of a lion" (Cunningham 1871: 300). Since the surface of the abacus was very much

destroyed, the drawing of Burt admits to both a lion as well as a bull. However, Kittoe was a very careful observer and since a bull would not show claws the bull-theory should be given up.

Irwin 1981 re-interpreted the rather vague drawings in Burt 1834 again as the remnants of a bull.

No trace of this abacus survived, apart from its measurements. According to Burt's drawing (1834), the abacus measured 6.5" [16.3 cm] in height, with a diameter of 2'9" [82.83 cm]. The present abacus in the Municipal Museum measures 14.5 cm x 75 cm instead.

Orientation:

The original orientation is unknown.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy:

PE: Colebrooke 1801: pl. XVIII; Prinsep 1837e: 968 (pl. VI); Cunningham 1877: pl. XXII;

Schism/"Kosambi" Edict: Cunningham 1877: pl. XXII.

Queen's Edict: Cunningham 1877: pl. XXII.

Rubbing:

PE: Fleet 1884/Bühler 1884; Hultzsich 1925: 156+158; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 62; Janert 1972b: 229-243.

Schism/"Kosambi" Edict: Bühler 1890b; Hultzsich 1925: 159; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 66a.

Queen's Edict: Bühler 1890b; Hultzsich 1925: 159; S.N. Mitra 1931b: 458; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 66a.

Editions:

PE: Prinsep 1837b; Cunningham 1877: 106–114; Senart 1882b+c; Bühler 1884, 1891a, 1892a, 1894a; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 59–79; Woolner 1924: 40–50; Hultzsche 1925: 155–158; J. Bloch 1950: 161–172; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 176–181; Janert 1972b: 127–139; Rastogi 1990: 253, 261, 269, 278, 291, 301.

Schism/"Kosambi" *Edict*: Cunningham 1877: 116 ("Kosambi"); Senart 1882c: 138; Bühler 1890b: 126; Boyer 1907: 120ff; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 102; Woolner 1924: 51; Hultzsche 1925: 159–160; J. Bloch 1950: 152–153; Alsdorf 1959: 163; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 38; Sircar 1965b: 70; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 187; Rastogi 1990: 328–329.

Queen's Edict: Prinsep 1837e: 966f.; Cunningham 1877: 116; Senart 1882c: 134–138; Bühler 1890b: 125f; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 102; Woolner 1924: 51; Hultzsche 1925: 158–159 (copied by Krishnan 1989, 94–95); S.N. Mitra 1932b: 461; J. Bloch 1950: 159; C.D. Chatterjee 1952/1954: 42/1957; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 40; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 188; Sircar 1965b: 69; K.R. Norman 1976; Rastogi 1990: 326–327; Gurugé 1993: 608.

Presentations of the pillar-site:**Drawing:**

Etching of the pillar as it appeared around 1800 from the sketch book of Captain James Hoare published in AR 7.1803, pl. XIII = Irwin 1981: 318; Burt 1834 = Fergusson/Burgess 1910: 57, Irwin 1973: 719, 1981: 314. Kittoe (in Prinsep 1835: 135, pl.IX)



Fig. 8: The base of the pillar with the (reworked?) dividing line.

gives a faithful drawing of the decoration of the original abacus.

Photography:

Capital: Krishnaswamy Rao & Ghosh 1935: 700; S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 11a; P. Chandra 1970: pl. 1.

Pillar: inside the fort: E.B. Joshi 1968 frontispice; S.P. Gupta 1980: pl.10b; Irwin 1981: 313, 1983a: fig. 3, 1983b: 255.

Literature:

General: Kittoe 1837; Prinsep 1937d; Cunningham 1871m, 1877: 37–39; Fergusson & Burgess 1910: 57; Woolner 1924: xv; Hultzsche 1925: xix–xxi; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 228; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 11–12; P. Chandra 1970: 35; S.P. Gupta 1980: 21; Nagar 1992: 36–38; Falk 1993a: 97.

On the schism edict: Venis 1907: 4; Bechert

1961/82; Norman 1987b; Sasaki 1989; Nolot 1996.

On the Queen's Edict: D. Guha 2002.

On Samudragupta's inscription: Prinsep 1834a: 115, 1837e: 969–980; Fleet 1888: 1–17.

On Jahāngīr's inscription: Burt 1834: 107f.

On smaller graffiti: Burt 1834: 110f., Cunningham 1877: 39; Krishnaswamy Rao & Ghosh 1935: 698.

On the history of the site: Agrawal 1989, cf. also Kshetrésachandra Chāṭṭopādhyāya, "Religious suicide at Prayāga", *JUPHS* 10,1.1937: 65–79.

Early visitors:

William Finch (1608–11), on Allāhābād Fort: "You enter thorow two faire gates into a faire court, in which stands a pillar of stone fiftie cubits above ground (so deeply placed within ground that no end can be found), which by circumstances of the Indians seemeth to have beene placed by Alexander or some other great conquerour, who could not passe further for Ganges." (W. Foster 1921: 177).

Padre Tieffenthaler, around 1766: "Au milieu de la forteresse s'éleve un Obélisque de pierre, d'une seule piece, haut d'environ 12 aunes Indiennes. On y voit gravés les frais de la construction de cette importante forteresse, savoir, 20000255 Roupies. Le piedestal est entouré d'une enceinte de brique: il est haut de 2 aunes: en sorte que la hauteur entiere de l'obélisque est d'environ 14 aunes. Son diametre est d'une aune. Le sommet est orné d'un globe de pierre surmonté d'un cone" (Bernoulli 1791: 224).



Fig. 9: The fort seen from the Yamunā.

Ararāj

Lauriyā-Ararāj

Rahariya; Rurheea; Radhia;

Radiah Sarun; Saran; Champaran

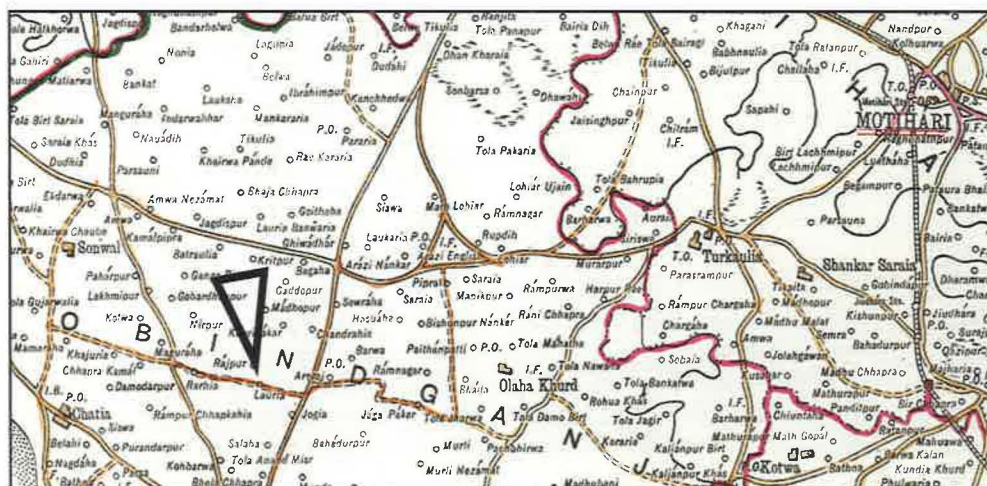
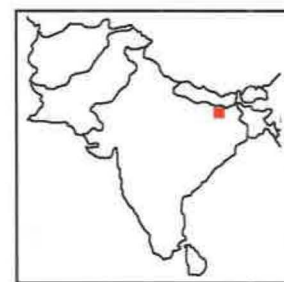
Camparān District, Bihar

26°31' N.

84°38' E .

GSI map 72 B/10

US Army map NG 45-5



Name: Cunningham 1871: 67: "Rahariya (Rurheea of Indian Atlas Sheet No. 102), which is Mr. Hodgson's Radhia, lies 2 ½ miles to the west north-west of the southern pillar". On the misnomer Radia/Radhya cf. Irwin 197a: 716 fn. 11.

Access:

From Muzaffarpur take the road leading north. At Motihari turn west, towards Ararāj and Gopalganj. After 28 km Ararāj is reached; take the road leading north towards

Bettiah. Two km after Ararāj the pillar is seen in the compound to the east of the road. Bettiah is 34 km from here.

The compound is used as the local cricket ground; access is unrestricted; the pillar is surrounded by an old iron fence which is being taken to pieces gradually by the local youth.

Discovery:

1758–1769, while Padre della Tomba was a resident Capuchin missionary at Bettiah, he

visited two pillars, copied some of their inscriptions and sent them to the Hindu Academy of Benares. Although he seems to have noted their situation faultily, there can be no doubt that the Ararāj pillar was seen by him (de Gubernatis 1878: xxxvii, 39; Hosten 1912: 109f.). A report to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 of one "Shri Law" about "two pillars to the north of Patna" was never published (S.P. Gupta 1980: 23). Few decades later Hodgson (1834: 481) expected Stirling (1825: 314) to refer to the Nandan-garh pillar, called "Saran pillar", because it is situated on a much frequented highway. He reported himself about "Radiah, near Ahrāj-Maha Deva, district of Majhouah, and zemindary of Bettiah; and it has no lion" (Hodgson 1834: 483). Prinsep 1835: 125 believed Stirling to have written about the Ararāj pillar.

Preservation:

Rather good. Modern scribblings are getting abundant.

Material:

Pabhosā stone with black inclusions. The stone developed some gray patches in between the layers, as if from enclosed oil.

Measurements:

Nearest distance to text: The lowest line of the edicts ends 2.27 m above the dividing line. On the opposite side the space inscribed ends another 44 cm higher.

Length: Total ca. 14 m; dividing line to top 11.13 m.



Fig. 1: The pillar on the cricket ground.



Fig. 2: Top part with blunt end.



Fig. 3: śaṅkhālīpi along with modern graffiti.



Fig. 4: The pillar edicts.

Diameter: Where polish begins at dividing line 106 cm; at top 95.5 cm (37.6 in.; Cunningham 1871f: 67) or 77.7 cm (8 ft; Hodgson in Prinsep 1935: 126).

Tapering: 2.5 cm/m (following Hodgson).

Presently, the base protrudes for 15 cm above the concrete plinth constructed in the last century. The dividing line is clearly visible, though it was not sharply cut.

Presentation of the text:

Eye copy: Hodgson in Prinsep 1835: 124, pl. VII; Cunningham 1877: pl. XXIII–XXIV.

Rubbing: Made by Cunningham (1871f: 166); by Garrick, publ. in Bühler 1894a; Hultzsch 1925: 142+144; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pls. 56–57; Janert 1972b: 157, 173–183; Rastogi 1990: pl. VI (PE 5–6).

Editions: Prinsep 1837b; Cunningham 1877: 106–114; Senart 1882b+c; Bühler 1891a,

1892a, 1894a; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 59–79; Woolner 1924: 40–50; Hultzsch 1925: 141–145; J. Bloch 1950: 161–172; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 25–26 (PE5); Pāṇḍeya 1965: 158–163; Janert 1972b: 127–139; Rastogi 1990: 254, 262, 270, 279–280, 292–293, 302.

Presentation of the pillar:

Drawing: Harris 1818 (today in Royal Asiatic Society according to Irwin 1974a: 718b fn. 29); Hodgson 1835: 121, pl. VII.

Photography: BL Photo 1000/28(2860) (pillar base without concrete socket, around 1871); Caddy 1895: 153 (unpubl.); Mookerji 1962: pl. II (fenced in); S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 9b; Kuraishi 1931: 5.

Copy: Plaster cast by Caddy (1895: 154) for the Indian Museum, Calcutta (cf. *ASIAR* 1922–23: 140).

Literature:

General: Hodgson 1834; Cunningham 1871f, 1877: 39–40; Woolner 1924: xv; Hultzsch 1925: xviii; Kuraishi 1931: 5–9; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 232; Patil 1963: 232–234; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 11; S.P. Gupta 1980: 23; Nagar 1992: 34f.; Chakrabarti, Prasad, Jha & Verma 1996: 157a: “It may be worth putting on record that the pillar has been vandalized in recent years and that the Archaeological Survey of India compound around the pillar is being used as a defaecating ground.”; D.K. Chakrabarti 2001: 203.

On preservation measures: *IA-R* 1988–89: 172.

Importance in antiquity:

Obviously situated on an old road leading from Patna north into Nepal. There is a well 20 m to the east of the pillar. It is no recent

addition, being of an oval shape, about 1.4 x 1.1 m, made from very thick bricks. Until recently, the compound contained some huge Banian trees and certainly once provided an ideal resting place.

Importance today:

None; “threshing-floor” of the village” (Caddy 1895: 154).

Visitors:

1758–1769: Padre Marco della Tomba: “I saw myself in this Kingdom of Bettia two columns raised in two different provinces, one to the east, the other to the south of the same city of Bettia, and fashioned apparently by the same artist. Not counting their length under the ground, they stand 27 cubits high up to the capital” (transl. Hosten 1912: 109 of de Gubernatis 1878: 39).

1792: Reuben Burrow (graffito on the shaft).



Fig. 5: Bottom part with dividing line.



Fig. 6: The well to the south of the pillar.

Bānsi

Basti; Lucknow; Mahādeva;
Dharamsinghwa

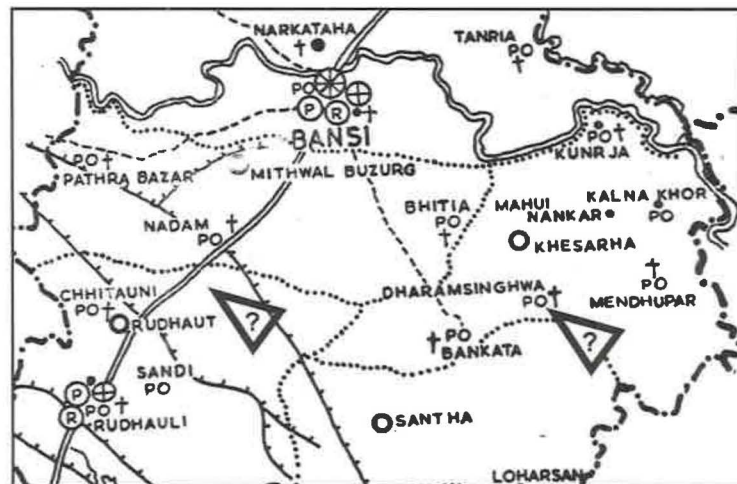
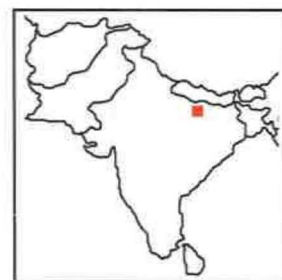
Siddharthnagar District, UP

27°10' N.

82°55' E.

GSI map 63 I/M

US Army map "Tānsing" NG 44-4



Access: Lucknow Museum, inside Botanical Garden. Accession number 55.284. Photography is unrestricted. It is on display in one of the first rooms.

Discovery:

In 1955 a capital was found by R.C. Gaur at the Tehsil headquarters of Bānsi in District Basti and transferred to the Museum at Lucknow (*IA-R* 1955/56: 61). It seems to

have been accompanied by parts of the pillar shaft: "Nearby the stump, about a metre tall fragment of the 'Aśoka' pillar was located *in situ*, which, we gather, is no more there although Gaur had seen it under worship as Sivalinga" (S.P. Gupta 1980: 27).

A different original site is proposed by Mani (1996–97: 17): "Dharamsinghwa, 75 km north-east of Basti is an extensive Kushan site (...). The name of village Dharamsinghwa suggests its association with a lion capital of Aśoka. About 20 km west of it one such capital was found at Mahdeva

which is preserved in the state Museum at Lucknow."

Dharamsinghwa is found on the US Army map NG 44-4 at 27°04' N., 83°01' E. The only place similar to "Mahdeva" is Mahuwa, found at 27°07' N., 82°54' E., 9 km south of Bānsi.

This may be compared to what Smith (1901e: 13) wrote in connection with the Nigāli Sāgar pillar across the border in Nepal. Inspecting the travel account of Xuanzang he ended at "Paltā Devī, situated in a bend of the Jāmuār river, about three miles on the British side of the frontier. The ancient site includes Musarawā close to Mr. George Peppé's house. The shrine of Paltā Devī ("Palatā Devī" of Buchanan-Hamilton, *Eastern India*, Volume II: 399,) is of much local celebrity. The existing buildings are small and modern, but they stand on the ruins of a considerable ancient edifice. A broken pillar, worshipped as a Mahādeo, is said to extend deep down into the ground, and Mr. William Peppé believes it to be an Aśoka pillar."

The site is found at 27°23' N., 83°01' E. and has not been searched for Aśoka artefacts so far. Paltā Devī is situated midway between Bānsi-Mahuwa (33 km) and Lumbinī (28 km).

Preservation:

The remaining part of the capital is in good condition. Despite its fragmentary state it is obvious that the lion sat upright like the pre-



Fig. 1: Petals, abacus and hind-paws of the lion from Bānsi.



Fig. 2: Partial view of the upside.



Fig. 3: The hind-paws with part of the sustainment for the body and remnants of front paws and the tail. Note the cavity between belly and ground.

served examples at Nandangarh or Rāmpūrvā. Unlike these, however, the space between the legs was hollowed out, displaying a greater confidence in the stability of the statue. This may be taken as indication of a younger age.

Material:

Cunār sandstone without inclusions, oxidised to deep violet red.

Measurements:

Abacus: The diameter of the unbroken piece once was thus 81.2 cm, without the single protruding rim at the lower end. The abacus is 14.5 cm high. A pair of flowers measures 31.5 cm, so that there were once 16 flowers. *Ring:* Round and smooth, 5.5 cm high, indented 16 cm. Old diameter about 50 cm.

Bell: 45 cm high. The thickest part is 4 cm behind the rim of the abacus, giving a diameter of 73.2 cm. The tips of the "leaves" pro-

trude 4.5 cm over the ring below, giving an original diam. of about 74 cm. The "leaves" measure 9.5 cm where they touch the upper ring, so that we also get here the usual 16 petals.

Ring, vertical: Original diameter about 65 cm, so the pillar top was about the same size or slightly narrower. This ring is 12 cm wide up to a first excavation in its centre of 41 cm diameter, being 6.5 cm deep. In the middle of this hollow a round hole of 28 cm depth and 11 cm width was sunk, once containing the copper-bolt connecting bell and pillar.

Presentations of the fragment:

Photography: *IA-R* 1955–56: pl. LXIX B; S.P. Gupta 1980: pls. 8c, 113a.

Literature:

Smith 1911: 229, 235 no. 15; S.P. Gupta 1980: 27.



Fig. 4: Side-view of the broken capital.



Fig. 5: The two alternating floral motifs.



Fig. 6: The drilled hole for the bolt

Benares / Vārāṇasī

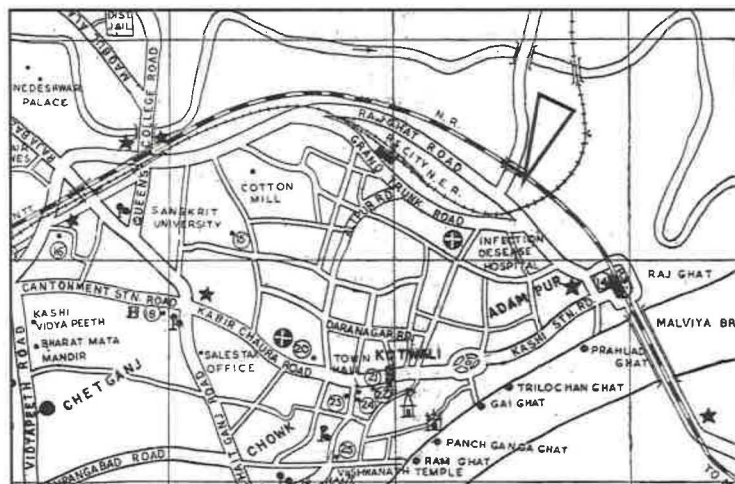
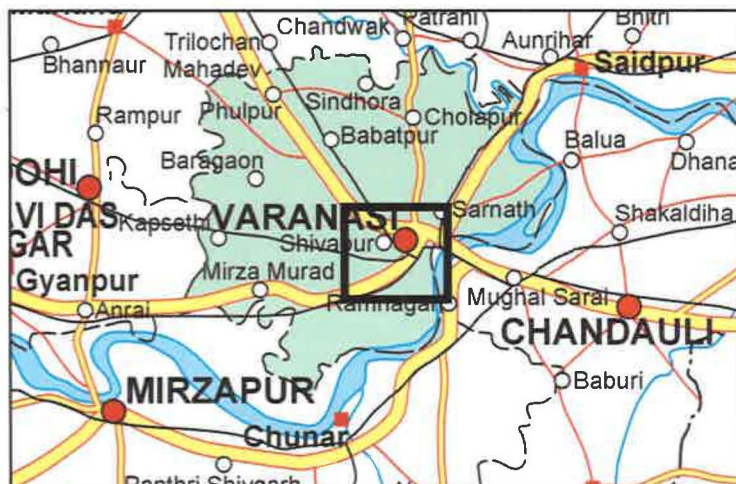
Lāṭ Bhairo

Vārāṇasī District, UP

25°20' N.

83°02' E.

GSI map 63 O/3/3



Further maps: Sketch maps in V.A. Smith 1909e: 344 and Irwin 1983c: 322 = 1984: 226.

Access:

Hard to predict, since the shaft is situated exactly opposite the entrance to a mosque it is guarded by some (Hindu) soldiers all through the year. When the time of the annual marriage comes tension intensifies and

some guards may forbid photography. Direct access is usually not denied; small donations remove all objections.

Discovery:

Known through the ages, documented from Xuanzang (AD 636) to Tavernier (1676). It was re-studied by V.A. Smith (1909e) and by J. Irwin from 1983(c) onwards. Its Aśokan origin may be disputed because of

its being "covered with exquisite carving" which "gave offence to several zealous Mohammedans" (Heber 1828: 430). This corresponds with Tavernier's account that "all the sides of this tomb [i.e. *stambha* HF] are covered with figures of animals cut in relief in the stone."

Preservation:

Since its metal casing is never lifted it is impossible to say how much of the original shaft is still extant underground.

For a possible fragment, cf. Havell 1908: 149: "Close by this [Cor] ghāt is the fragment of a stone column, now worshipped as a *lingam*, which is probably one of the lāts, or columns, erected by Asoka or some other Buddhist sovereign". V.A. Smith (1909e: 339 fn. 2) considers this fragment to be one of those taken to the river for disposal after the destruction of the Lāṭ Bhairo pillar.

Material:

Unknown.

Measurements:

The stump is encased in a metal case, 112 cm wide at the ground, 97 cm wide for the shaft. All in all about 2.5 m high its dimensions coincide well with those of a truly Aśokan pillar. Its present length is certainly more than what is covered by the case, since a tradition tells that it continues into the ground a considerable distance.

Presentations of the site:

Photography: Irwin 1981: 227; 1983c: figs. 2-4.



Fig. 1: The pillar casing inside its enclosure.



Fig. 2: View on the northern entrance to the platform.



Fig. 3: The well behind the pillar compound.

Literature:

Sherring 1868: 190f./164f.; V.A. Smith 1909e, 1911: 223 no. 9; Irwin 1983c, 1984.

Importance in antiquity:

At least in the 19th century, the pillar was venerated by low-caste folks of all religions. Annually, they celebrated the marriage of the Lāt (Irwin 1984: 228a). During the riots of 1809 muslims killed thousands of Hindus when “by an unfortunate coincidence of the Hindu and Muslim calendars, the Muslim Muharram rites and the Hindu Holī festival occurred at the same time” (Eck 1983: 197). The same sort of marriage is again propagated today annually, with a decidedly anti-muslim attitude (fig. 4).

Visitors:

Xuanzang AD 636: “To the north-east of the capital, on the western side of the river Varanā, is a *stūpa* built by Aśōka-rāja (Wu-yau). It is about 100 feet high; in front of it is a stone pillar, it is bright and shining as a mirror; its surface is glistening and smooth as ice, and on it can be constantly seen the figure of Buddha as a shadow.” (Beal 1884, II: 45).

J.B. Tavernier AD 1676: “About 500 paces from the town, in a north-westerly [on this see V.A. Smith 1909e: 341] direction, there is a mosque where you see several Musalmān tombs (...). The most considerable of all is like a great square pedestal, each face of which is about forty paces long. In the middle of this platform you see a column of 32 to 35 feet in height [9.76–10.67 m], all of a piece, and which three men could with difficulty embrace. It is of sandstone, so hard that I could not scratch it with my knife. It terminates in a pyramid, and has a great ball on the point, and below the ball it is encircled by large beads. All the sides of this tomb [i.e.



॥ श्री १०८ लाटभैरव नमः ॥

श्री लाटभैरव जी का विवाहोत्सव दो दिवसीय समारोह व मेला

भाद्रपद शुक्लपक्ष १५ तथा आश्विन कृष्णपक्ष १ सं० २०५०
दिनांक ३० सितम्बर १९९३ से १ अक्टूबर १९९३ तक

कपाल मोचन तीर्थ (लाटभैरव कुण्ड) में स्नान, तर्पण, दर्शन, हवन, पुजा-पाठ, अष्टादश रामायण, कथा कीर्तन, लोकगीत, गायन-वादन, नृत्य, सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रम तथा लाटभैरव जी के विवाह की शोभा-यात्रा एवं भरत कूप की अपूर्व झांकी, शृंगार आदि दो दिवसीय आयोजन।

श्री लाटभैरवो विजयते नमः (काशी खण्डाध्याय ६८, १००)

करवीरकतीर्थाच्च कपालीशः इहागतः। कपालमोचने तीर्थे द्रष्टव्यः स प्रयततः॥
तद्विलोकनमात्रेण ब्रह्महत्या विलीयते। आगत्य तीर्थप्रवरे स्थानं कृत्वा विधानतः॥
तपयित्वा पितृदेवान्मुच्यते ब्रह्महत्या। नभस्य पचदश्यां च कुलस्तम्भं समचयेत्॥
दुःख रुद्रपिशाचत्व न भवेद्यस्य पूजनात्। त स्तम्भं समलकृत्या नरस्तत्पदमाप्नुयात्॥

जो स्त्री, पुरुष कपाल मोचन तीर्थ (लाटभैरव कुण्ड) में स्नान कर देव, ऋषि, पितरों का तर्पण, कपाल मोचनेश्वर का दर्शन, कुल स्तम्भ का अलंकारादि से पूजन करे, वह ब्रह्महत्या से छूटे। जन्म-जन्मान्तर में रुद्र पिशाचत्व का घोर दुःख उसे व्याप्त न होगा।

सदा की भांति आगामी भाद्रपद शुक्ल पक्ष १५ तथा आश्विन कृष्ण पक्ष १ सं० २०५० गुरुवार ३० सितम्बर तथा शुक्रवार १ अक्टूबर सं० १९९३ ई० को कुल स्तम्भ अर्थात् श्री लाटभैरव जी के विवाहोत्सव में विविध कार्यक्रम सम्पन्न होंगे। दूसरे दिवस शुक्रवार १ अक्टूबर को विवाह विधि के अन्य कार्यक्रम सम्पन्न होंगे।

सर्व साधारण धर्मप्राण जनता से प्रार्थना है कि इस अवसर पर कपाल मोचन तीर्थ (कपाल मोचन लाटभैरव कुण्ड) में स्नानादि करें तथा गायन-वादन के साथ श्री लाटभैरव जी का दर्शन, पूजनादि करके पुण्य अर्जित करें तथा आयोजित समस्त कार्यक्रमों में सम्मिलित होकर मेला और उत्सव को सफल बनावें।

विवाहोत्सव की शोभायात्रा तीसरे पहर विश्वेश्वरगंज से प्रारम्भ होकर काशी भैरव जतनवर, विश्वेश्वर गंज, काजीमण्डी, हनुमानफाटक, तेलियाना (लाटभैरव बाजार), जलालीपुरा मार्ग से लाटभैरव पहुँचकर परिचन आदि कृत्य सम्पन्न होंगे। दिनांक २७-१-९३ सोमवार को बाबा का तिलकोत्सव विश्वेश्वरगंज सड़की मण्डी में सायं ७ बजे सम्पन्न होगा।

नोट:—निम्नलिखित तिथियों में लाटभैरव पर धार्मिक कृत्यों द्वारा पुण्य अर्जित कर यश के भागी बनें।

१. आश्विन कृष्ण पक्ष ८ शुक्रवार दिनांक ८-१०-९३ को जीवितुत्रिका व्रत।
२. आश्विन कृष्ण पक्ष ३० शुक्रवार दिनांक १५-१०-९३ को पितृविसर्जन।

Fig. 4: Part of a leaflet distributed in 1993, announcing the marriage of Siva Lat Bhairava with a series of events taking place at the lake and in the pillar compound.

stambh, HF] are covered with figures of animals cut in relief in the stone, and it has been higher above the ground than it now appears; several of the old men who guard some of these tombs having assured me that since fifty years it has subsided more than 30 feet. They add that it is the tomb of one of the kings of Bhutān, who was interred there after he had left his country to conquer this kingdom, from which he was subsequently driven by the descendants of Tamerlane" (118f. [repr. 97f.]). Tavernier seems to have seen the abacus of the original capital, with its "large beads" and the "figures of animals cut in relief in the stone".

R. Heber AD 1824: He relies in his report on Mr. Bird, who had been magistrate at Vārāṇasī at the time of the tumult: "It began by the Mussulmans breaking down a famous pillar, named Siva's walking-staff, held in high veneration by the Hindoos. (...) The pillar, the destruction of which led to all the tumult, had originally stood in one of the Hindoo temples which were destroyed by Aurungzebe, and mosques built over them. In the mosque, however, it still was suffered to exist, and pilgrimages were made to it by the Hindoos through the connivance of the Mussulmans, in consequence of their being allowed to receive half of all the offerings made there. It was a very beautiful shaft of one stone, forty feet high, and covered with exquisite carving. This carving gave offence to several zealous Muhammedans, but the quarrel which hastened its destruction arose as I have stated, from the unfortunate rencontre of the rival processions [of the Mohurrun and Junma Osmee, p. 383]. Respecting the pillar a tradition had long prevailed among the Hindoos, that it was gradually sinking in the ground, that it had been twice the visible height it then shewed,

and that when its summit was level with the earth, all nations were to be of one caste, and the religion of Brahma to have an end. Two Brahmin Sepoys were keeping guard in the mosque, where the defaced and prostrate pillar lay (...)" (Heber 1828, I: 429f.).

M.A. Sherring AD 1868: "To the north of the road leading from the Rāj Ghāt Fort to the cantonment, at a distance of from three quarters of a mile to a mile from the former place, is the Kapilmochan Tank. It is also called Bhairo kā Táláo, or the tank of Bhairo. This is a strong and well-built structure, the stairs and foundations being of solid stone. On the high ground to the north of the tank stands a pillar, from seven to eight feet in height, and three in thickness, situated in the midst of a

slightly-elevated stone *chabútra* or platform. This is the *Lát* or pillar of Śiva. It is representative of an ancient pillar, which formerly stood on this spot, and was thrown down by the Mohammedans, in a struggle between them and the Hindus, some sixty years ago. The original *Lát* was famous among the Hindu population, both for its antiquity and for its sanctity. There is some ground for supposing that the present pillar is a fragment of the ancient one; and that it, very likely, bears a portion of the carving known to have been on the original column. The probability is increased by the circumstance that it is encased in copper, and is carefully watched over by the Brahman priests" (Sherring 1868: 190f.).

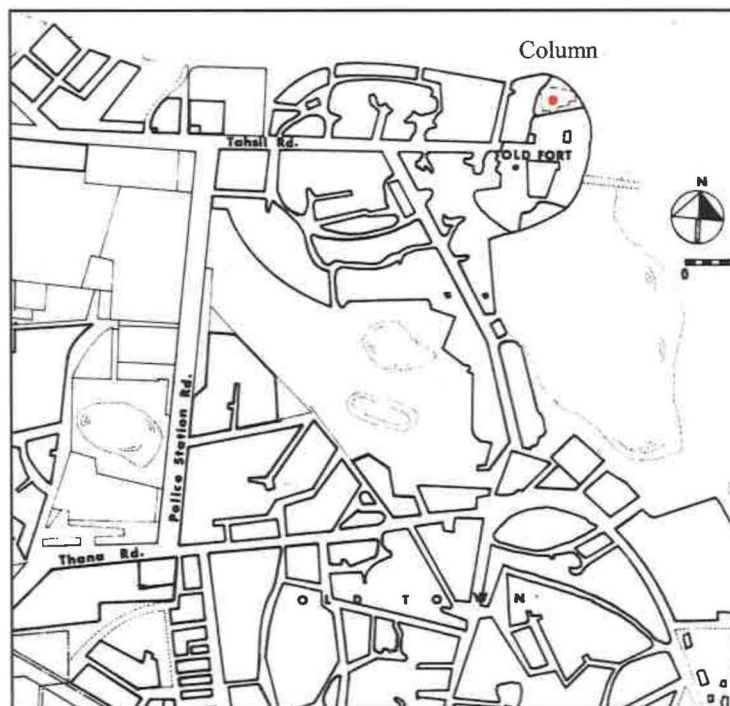
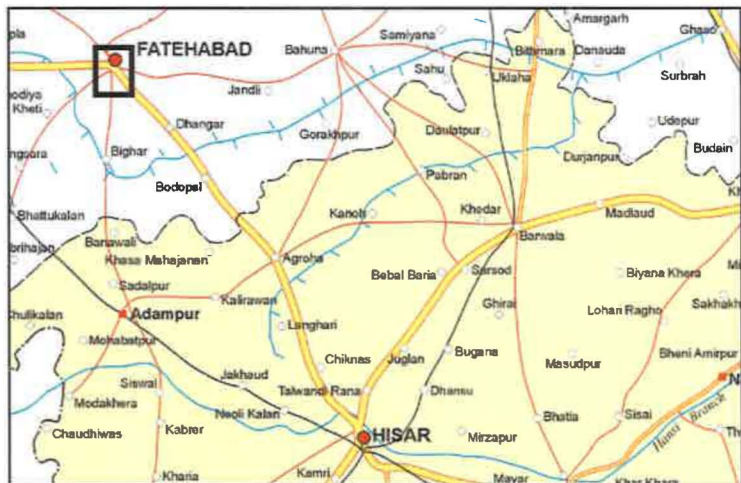


Fig. 5: View on the pond on the south side of the platform.

Fatehābād

(& Hisār)

Hisār District, Haryāna
29°31' N.
75°27' 20" E.
GSI map 44 O/6



Name: Fatihābād (Prinsep 1835: 128).

Further maps:

Town plan in Shokoohy 1988:14 = Shokoohy & Shokoohy 1988: 117 (s. right).

Access:

Unrestricted. Ask in town for the *qila* area.

Discovery:

First mentioned by Major Colvin (Prinsep 1835: 128); a first full report is found in Cunningham 1887.

The lower part of the composite pillar seems

to be the top part of an ancient pillar. Because of traces of the original surface polish it may be Aśokan. On its relation to the Hisār fragment see the chapter on Hisār.

Preservation:

Fairly well. The lowest part draws water and flakes off.

Material:

“Cunār” sandstone without black specks.

Measurements:

The Aśokan part measures about 300 cm. The diameter is 59 cm one meter above the present floor. The polish has been chiseled off almost completely. As in Hisār the old pillar shaft is crowned by additions in red sandstone. According to McKibben (1994: 109b) the diameter at the top is 52 cm.

Presentations of the pillar:

Photography:

Garrick 1887b: pl. II; S.P. Gupta 1980: pl.10c; Shokoohy 1988: pls. 1–70; Shokoohy & Shokoohy 1988: pls. XXVIId, XXVIIc,d; McKibben 1994: 108; Falk 1997a: 434/435; Handa 2004: 14 fig. 7.

Literature:

Cunningham 1887; Garrick 1887a; Chabra 1964; Nizami 1974; Irwin 1976: 744 fn. 47; S.P. Gupta 1980: 26; Shokoohy 1988: 12–38; Shokoohy & Shokoohy 1988: 115–120 (with a summary of the text on the column pp. 21f.); Falk 1997a; Handa 2004: 13–14.

On preservation measures: The pillar was declared a protected monument in 1928/29 (ASLAR 1928–29: 175).



Fig. 1: The pillar inside the mosque compound.

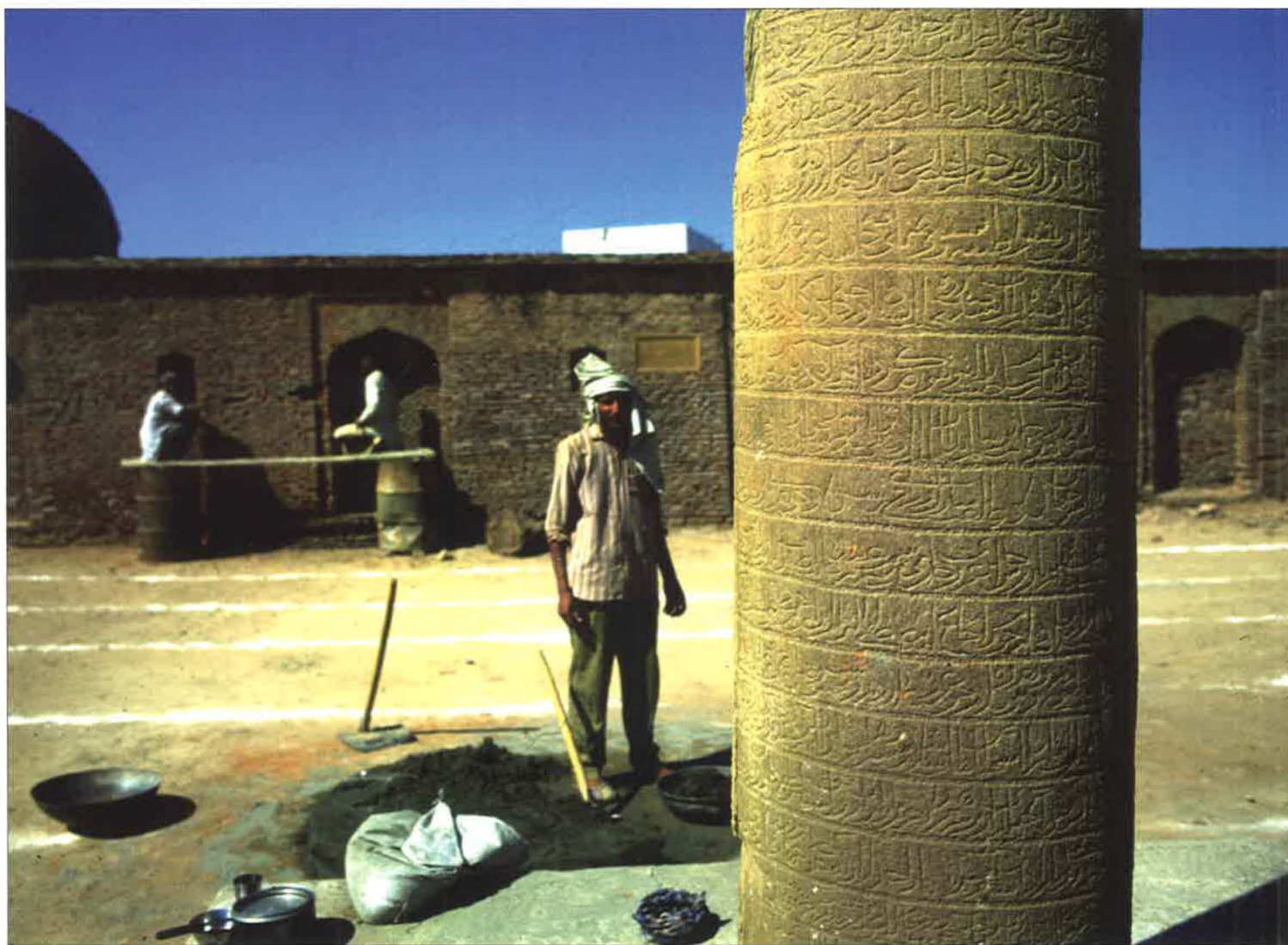


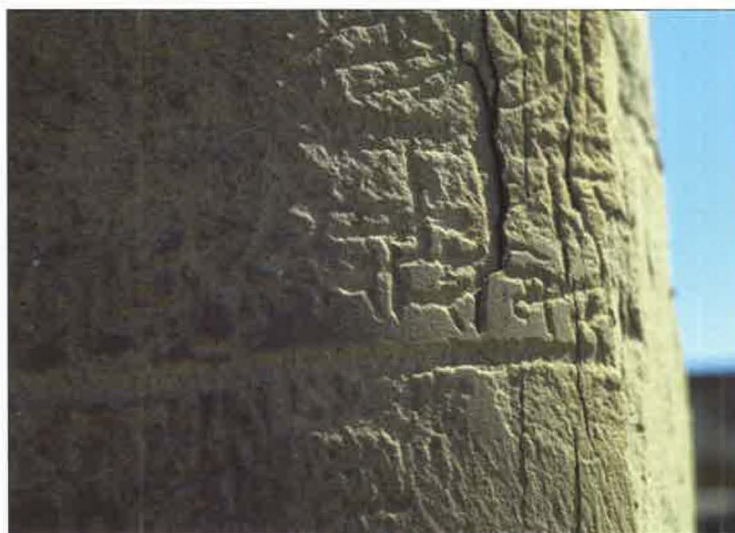
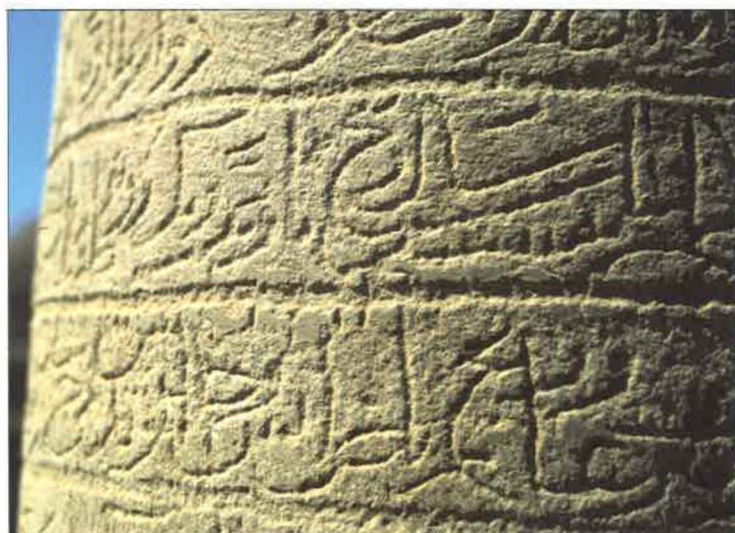
Fig. 2: The Aśokan part covered with a Persian inscription.

Importance in antiquity:

“The inscription [of Firuz Shah] (...) is an account of the history of the Tughluq dynasty, particularly the events which led to

the accession of Fīrūz Shāh to the throne. An ancient commemorative column was chosen to record these events and re-erected in the spot where a number of them actually took

place and where the undisputed sultanate of Fīrūz Shāh was firmly established” (Shokoohy 1988:22).

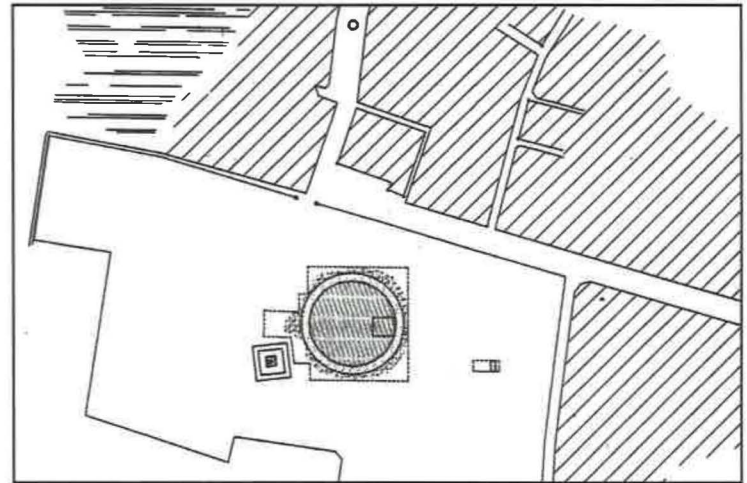
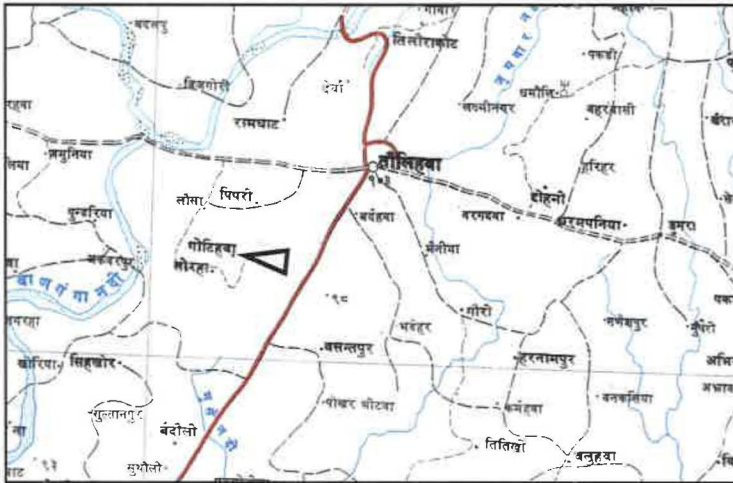


Figs. 3 and 4: Close-ups of the Persian inscription with some of the original polish still preserved.

Goṭihavā

Gotihawa; Gutivā;
Phuṭeśvara Mahādeva

Kapilavastu District, Nepal
27°31' N.
83°01' E.
GSN *ji.mā.49 kapilavastu*



Names: Phuṭeśvara Mahādeva (Mukherji 1901: 31).

Further maps:

Verardi 2002: 46 (excavation plan and habitation area, above right).

Access:

Presently there are two ways leading to Goṭihavā. The easiest way is on the canal embankment starting south of the museum at

Tilaurakot, driving south-west for 5.5 km until the village is reached to the west of the canal. The second way – unsuited for motor vehicles – starts from Taulihava and leads across the fields south-west for 2 km to the canal, where a small bridge can be crossed into the village.

Discovery:

“Seventy feet south-west from the centre and

32 ½ feet from the outer rim of the Stupa stands the lower portion of an ancient pillar of the Priyadarsi style, of which the upper portion is gone. Only a small portion is visible above the ground, which is known as *Phutesvara Mahādeva*, ‘the broken lord.’ Major Waddell re-excavated around it to 10 feet, and the round face of the lower portion of the pillar became visible; for Dr. Führer



Fig. 1: The base slab with stylized moon-on-hill symbol (courtesy G. Verardi).



Fig. 2: The pillar seen against the *stūpa*.



Fig. 3: One of the cut trunnions.

had opened it before. It stood on a large granite slab, 7' x 5' 8 1/2" x 10" [213 x 174 x 25 cm] thick" (Mukherji 1901: 31).

Pillar fragments: Mukherji 1901: 32 describes several fragments of the pillar which he found inside the village, "of which one is a portion of the bell-shaped base of the capital (...) These fragments are called *gutis* (broken pieces), from which the name of Gutivā is derived".

After a devastating fire in the village three fragments were transposed in around 1972 to the Museum at Tilaurakot. Judging from the spotted stone two of them seem to belong to the bell and capital, whereas one fragment of unspotted stone seems to be part of the pillar. All fragments are rounded at all sides, as if they were used in a rolling fashion for centuries.



Fig. 4: Red surface on rock.

Preservation:

Perfect up to the break point at around 3 m from the base, where the original ground level was.

Material:

The pillar is made from Vindhyan sandstone without inclusions; it is intensively oxydised to purple red. The fragments of the capital show "Pabhosā" inclusions.

Measurements:

Total length 3.15 m; there is a marked change in colour at about 1.6 m from the bottom. Below the line the stone is brownish and dirty, above it is purple. The division seems to result from ground water. According to Verardi & Coccia (2000: 710) the underground part measured 2.2 m. The trunnions start 1.35 m from the bottom.

The **width** is 83.3 cm at 56 cm from the ground, 82.12 cm at 109 cm; 79,3 cm at 2 m; 79,57 cm at 209 cm. The resulting tapering is about 2.5 cm per m.

There are four rough *squares* distributed around the lower shaft at 1.09 m from the bottom. These squares are the remnants of trunnions, 18 cm wide and 20 cm high. They have been completely removed, at last before the pit was filled.

Pillar/capital fragments:

a) Fig. 5 center: Fragment of pillar: Purple-red sandstone, no inclusions, 85 cm long, 44 to 59 cm wide.

b) Fig. 5 left: Fragment of bell: Greyish sandstone, with inclusions, 47 cm high, 26 to 44 cm wide, with several petals still preserved at their uppermost end. Where it hits the bell a petal unit is 10.5 cm wide.

c) Fig 5 right: Fragment of capital: Greyish sandstone, with inclusions, rounded to 44 x 39 x 21 cm.

Base stone: 2.13 m x 1.74 m x 25 cm according to Mookerji (1901: 31); the stone bears a moon-on-hill sign in its north-eastern corner.

Presentations of the pillar:

Drawing: Mukherji 1901: pl. XVII (stump, base, and capital); Verardi 2002: 48/49 (section with *stūpa*).

Photography: D. Mitra 1972: pl. 152a; Rijal 1979: unnumb. pl.; S.P. Gupta 1980: pls. 8a, c; Verardi 1998: figs. 7, 8; Verardi & Coccia 2000: 700, 711; Verardi 2002: 47, 49 (trunnion), 50 (base slab); Deeg 2003: 84.

Literature:

General: Führer 1897: 19 (nonsense); Mukherji 1901; S.P. Gupta 1980: 26; Nagar 1992: 38.

On excavations: Verardi 1998, 2002; Verardi & Coccia 2000.

On the Chinese visitors: Smith 1911: 223; Deeg 2003: 39f.

Visitors:

Faxian: "From the city of Srāvasti travelling south-east for twelve yojanas, the pilgrims reached a town, named Nabhiga, which is the place where Krakucchanda Buddha was born. Where he and his father met, and where he passed away, there is a monastery, and a pagoda has been erected. From this point travelling north somewhat less than a yojana, they came to the town where Kanakamuni Buddha was born. Where he and his father met, and where he passed away, pagodas have been built." (Giles 1923: 36).

This report does not mention a pillar at this site. The distance to Kanakamuni, i.e. Nigāli Sāgar, makes it likely that Goṭihavā is the site constructed for Buddha Krakucchanda.

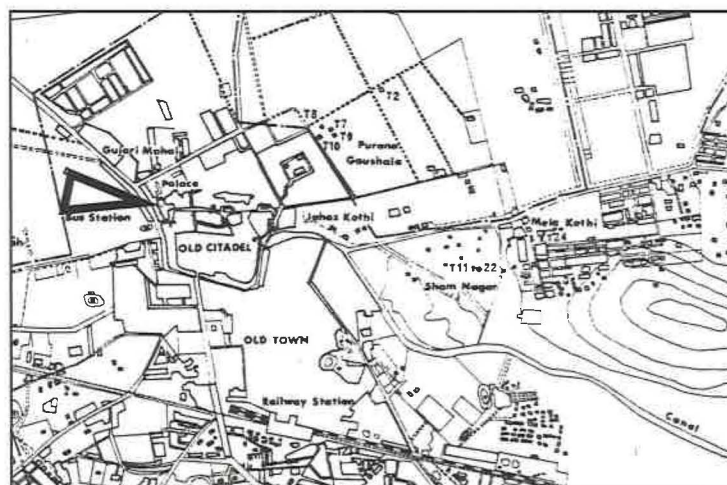
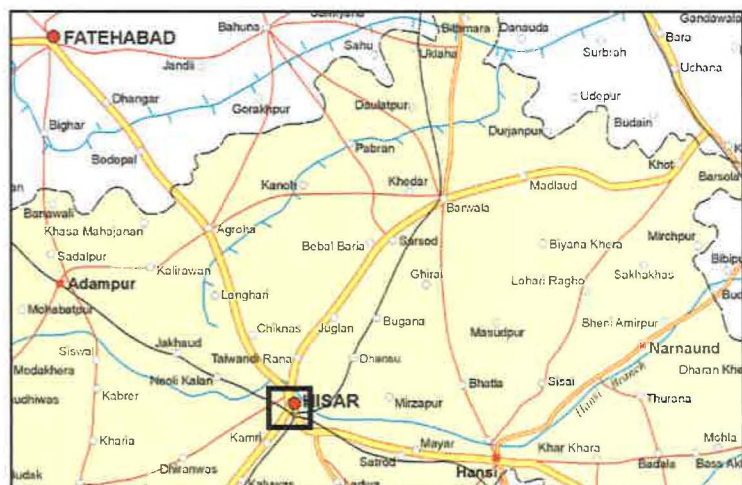
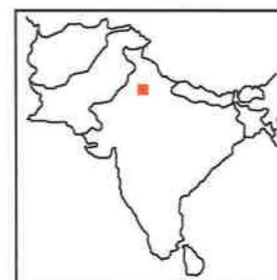


Fig. 5: The three fragments in the entrance way of the Tilaurakot Museum. The fragment to the left comes from the capital bell.

Hisār

Hissar
(& Fatehābād)

Hisār District, Haryāna
29°09' N.
75°44' E.
GSI map 44 O/12



Name: Erroneously called “Hānsi” by Prinsep.

Further maps:

Town plan in Shokoohy & Shokoohy 1988: 13 (above right), old town 1988: 15, palace 1988: 21, mosque 1988: 34.

Access:

Free inside the mosque.

Discovery/ History:

First mentioned by Major Colvin as “contain(ing) a few characters” (Prinsep 1835: 128); in 1838 W. Brown recognized the similarity with the Delhi and Allāhābād pillars.

After some initial actions in 1922–23 (*ASIAR* 1922–23: 10) the ASI repaired the floor in the prayer chamber of the *Lāt-kī-masjid* in 1935–36. The square foundation added to the base of the pillar could date from that time (*ASIAR* 1935–36: 15).

The original location is unknown; for some possibilities cf. Cunningham 1875b: 142. If it ever stood close to a Buddhist site the *stūpa* of Agroha (*IA-R* 1989–90: 19, 1990–91: 130) could be considered a possibility.

The pillar is preserved in two parts, one erected on the floor of a mosque inside the

old Fort at Hisār. A second part, belonging to the upper half, was erected on the floor of the mosque in the *purānā tāluq* in Fatehābād (q.v.). The stone is identical on both sites, i.e. a light greyish sandstone, without a tint of red and without the black specks, but very similar to the sandstone of the Rāmpūrvā bull.

Firoz Shah, who moved the Toprā and Mirāṭh pillars to Delhi, must also be credited with the removal and the erection of the lower part in his newly founded city of Hisār. Fatehābād is a foundation of Firoz’ son Fath Khan, who seems to have taken the



Fig. 1: Repair work exposed the lower part of the pillar (after *ASIAR* 1913–14 Part I: pl. Ib).



Fig. 2: The dividing line.

remaining upper part to his own city, where the original polish was removed and a long inscription in Persian incised.

Both parts show sufficient traces of the original polish to make a Mauryan origin probable.

No pillar of Aśoka shows similar injuries to those of the Hisār stump. The deterioration doesn't have its roots in mechanical force but rather is the effect of fire. This reminds us of the *Sirāt-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (Page 1937: 34) where the unknown author seemingly talks about the pillar at Toprā but in words which do not fit that pillar:

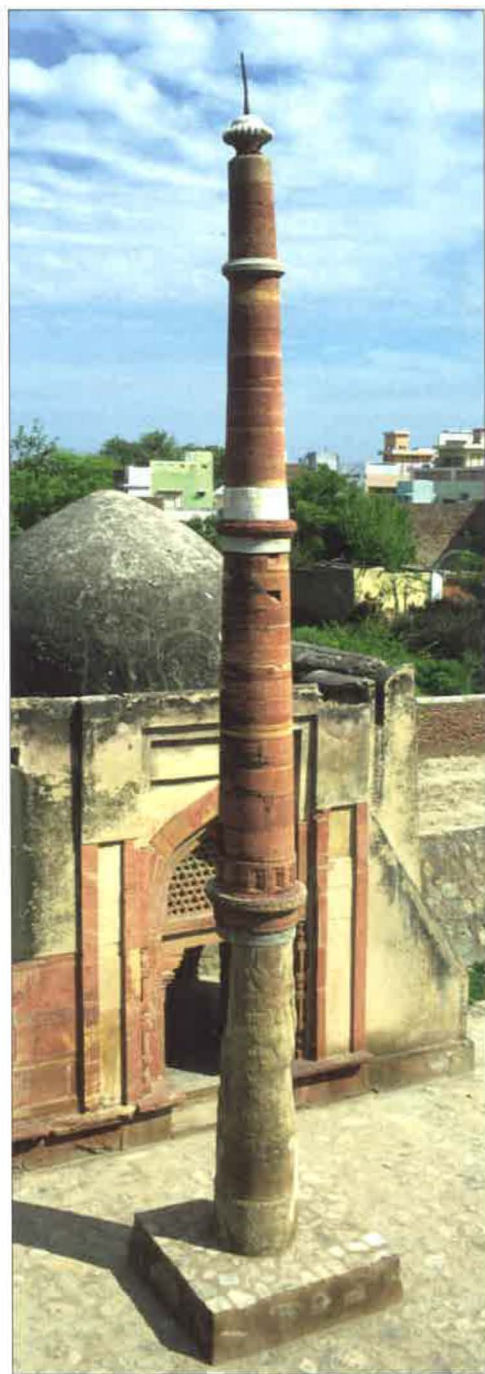


Fig. 3: The composite pillar in its full length in front of the stair house.

"It is also said that Doa (or Dowa) the Mongol king and Qatlugh Khwaja, the Mongol, visited this place [Toprā] with their armies; and that later on Tirmeshirin [note: Tirmeshīrīn, ruler of Bukhara and Mawaraun Nahr, was the son of Dowa, and brother of Katlu Khudja, of the family of Chingiz Khan. Tirmeshīrīn invaded India in 728 H. (1328–29 A.D.), and carried his arms to within sight of Delhi] also visited the place and attempted to split the pillar by burning a huge fire around its base, but the pillar did not crack though some effect of the fire may still be traced. The firewood required for the purpose was got together by ordering that each man of his army who rode an animal was to bring a load of firewood twice."

The pillar of Toprā does not show the slightest sign of burning. And any big fire would not be without dramatic results. This is why I assume that the unknown author inserted an eyewitness account of the burning of the Hisār pillar in his memoir on the Toprā pillar. This account makes it probable that the original site of the Hisār pillar was somewhat north of Hisār, closer to Toprā.

Preservation:

Because of the fire, the stump in the mosque at Hisār is badly damaged in its lower part.

Material:

"Cunār" sandstone without inclusions.

Measurements:

The pillar today measures 283 cm above the square base, of which the lowest 50 cm belong to the undressed lower portion meant to rest inside the original foundation hole. In 1838, when W. Brown saw the pillar without the base, it measured 10 feet 10 inches, 330 cm. At least one meter would be needed to guarantee stability to the whole construction. This means that the whole fragment measures about 430 cm, of which the lowest and unpolished part occupies roughly 200 cm.

Its circumference at present is 264 cm at the base, diameter 84 cm. This is the same as it was in Brown's time, who gave a lowest diameter of approximately 8.5 feet, 259 cm, when the square base was not yet constructed. The undressed part ends with a dividing line narrowing the diameter abruptly to 78 cm. Here about 40 cm remain of the old polish, which is absent upto the uppermost parts where some patches remain together with some graffiti in Gupta Brāhmī and younger scripts. The top once had a circumference of 237 cm, or a diameter of 75 cm.

The Fatehābād part (q.v.) is about 3 m long; its lower diameter is 59 cm, one meter above the floor.

If the Hisār stump makes a pair with the top, as seems likely, the measurements of the diameters show that there must have been a third part now missing, connecting the two fragments. This middle part may have carried the inscriptions, which must have been above the graffiti of the Hisār part and below the top fragment in Fatehgarh.

Presentations of the site:

Drawing: Brown 1838: 430.

Photography: ASIAR 1913–14, I: pl. Ib (during excavation with large part of the rough lower section exposed); Chhabra 1964: pls. III, IV (pillar and inscriptions); S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 9a; McKibben 1994: 109; Falk 1997a: 430, 432; Handa 2004: 14 fig. 6.

Literature:

General: Brown 1838; Cunningham 1875b; Chhabra 1964; S.P. Gupta 1980: 26; McKibben 1994; Falk 1997a; Handa 2004: 13–14.

On being of Aśokan or Mauryan origin:

Smith 1911: 233 no. 27; Irwin 1976: 744 fn. 47; Handa 2004: 13.

On the site: Shokoohy & Shokoohy 1988.

On the graffiti: Brown 1838 copied the graffiti, but Prinsep refused to print them (p. 430 note); Cunningham 1875b, pl. XLI; Chhabra 1964: 321; Shokoohy & Shokoohy 1988: 32 erroneously "no epigraph can be found on its surface".

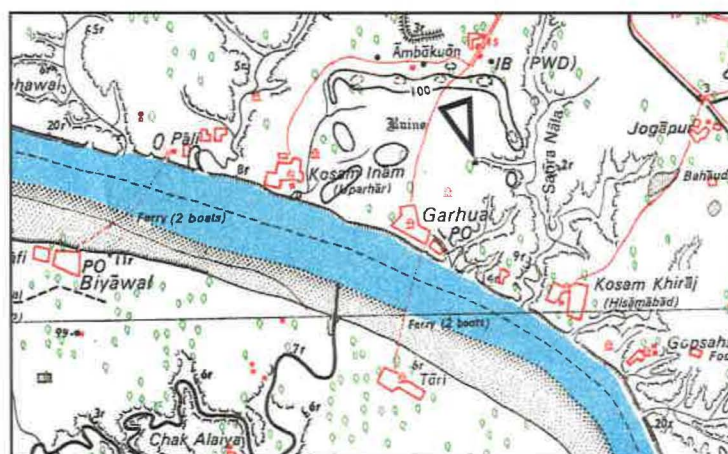


Fig. 4: The Aśokan part with the side most affected by the fire.

Kauśāmbī

Kosam

Allahabad District, UP
25°21' N.
81°23' E.
GSI map 63 G/7



Further maps: Cunningham 1871n: pl. XLVIII (plan of the ruins of Kosambi); areal view in G.R. Sharma 1960: pl. 5, section marked "A".

Access:

By road from Allāhābād; a well-known destination. The pillar is guarded, but no restrictions.

Discovery:

In 1861 E.C. Bayley informed A. Cunningham about his surmise that the famous city of Kauśāmbī might be found in the village of Kosam; soon after a visit to the place he confirmed the idea (Cunningham 1871n: 303).

"The fact that Yüan Chwang makes no mention of any Asoka pillars in his account

of Kian-shang-mi, of Kauśāmbī, offers no serious difficulty, because does he not similarly ignore in his itinerary the edict pillar of Asoka at Sārnāth?" (D.R. Sahni 1922–23: 13). In 1927 Sahni presented ample epigraphical material to prove the identity of Kosam and Kauśāmbī.

When Cunningham first visited the site in 1862/63 the pillar was standing at an angle of 5°, obviously for a long time (Irwin 1974a: 723a changes this to 50°). The top of the pillar was broken, according to a local legend because the pillar was once leaning into a neem tree to which some cowherds had set fire, about 50 years before Cunningham's visit. He found three pieces on the spot, the shaft protrud-

ing 4.26 m from a mound of brick ruins. Close by were two fragments, measuring 1.37 m and 68 cm each. His diggings revealed an additional depth of 2.24 m (Cunningham 1871n: 309); a subsequent excavation by one Mr. Nesbitt came as deep to show a complete length of 10.36 m (cf. Irwin 1974a: 723a).

a) The longest fragment was re-erected on the spot by D.R. Sahni in 1922. It is in a fairly good condition, covered with inscriptions from the Gupta age to the present day. Particularly noteworthy is a short line in Nāgarī letters mentioning Akbar the Great. About the same time a goldsmith had parts of his genealogy incised. The usual shell-script inscriptions are not missing.



Fig. 1: The pillar seen against the monastery and the well.

Fig. 2: The *śaṅkhālipi* on the pillar, with close-up of the stone.

b) A shorter fragment of the same reddish-grey polished sandstone with black inclusions, broken diagonally, is on display in the Allāhābād Municipal Museum. It is 104 cm high, 65 cm wide with the remaining circumference measuring 95 cm. The diameter of the complete piece should thus have been 65.4 cm. The fragment therefore must have been part of the topmost portion of the preserved shaft.

c) There is a fragment of a pillar in light-grey sandstone from Kosam in the Allāhābād University Museum presented as belonging to the Aśokan pillar. It is 129 cm long, and consists of the top portion measuring about 30 cm in diameter at the top and 41 cm at its lowest part. It has an indented top, 6 cm high and 3 cm indentation with a hole on top 13 cm wide and 15 cm deep. All proportions, the kind of stone and the missing polish speak against a Mauryan origin. The only point of resemblance are some characters in the shell script as on the Kosam pillar.

The Kosam pillar is one of Irwin's "sink-ing" pillars without a base-slab. However, he himself adduces enough evidence (1974a: 723 fn. 57) to demonstrate that we do not know how the base looked like at all.

Capital: "An interesting piece of work still remains to be done at Kosam, namely, a search for the capital which no doubt originally crowned the pillar. I personally believe that it lies buried to the south of the pillar where it fell centuries ago when the pillar was overthrown" (D.R. Sahni 1922–23: 13).

Material:

Sandstone of reddish-grey hue with black inclusions. The sediment layers traverse the shaft diagonally.

Measurements:

(cf. Sahni 1921–22: 9). Of the shaft 12.57 m



Fig. 3: The pillar as excavated in 1922.

seem to be preserved, i.e. on the spot 10.52 m, one fragment of 1.37 m and another one of 68 cm. A.K. Mitra (1933: 324 fn. 2) defines the total length as 39' 6" (11.98 m) according to a private communication from M.S. Vats.

The diameter at the present base measures 89 cm. The top is more difficult to evaluate. Cunningham (1871n: 309) speaks of 75 cm, as does A.K. Mitra (1933: 324) following Vats; for the piece at the Allāhābād Museum a much smaller diameter of 65.4 cm can be reconstructed.

Presentations of the pillar:

Photography: Sahni 1921–22: pl. XIa (excavated to its base with rough portion exposed; see above fig. 3).

Literature:

General: N.N. Ghosh 1936; Y.D. Sharma 1953: 145f.; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 229;



Fig. 4: Part of the old town-wall.

D. Mitra 1971: 82–83; Nagar 1992:39.

Excavation reports: Cunningham 1871n: 309; Smith 1911: 232 no. 29; Sahni 1921–22, 1922–23, 1927.

On the epigraphs: Cunningham 1871n: 309–311; Pargiter 1911–12 (mostly goldsmiths); Sahni 1927.

On preservation measures: Re-erection by D.R. Sahni. About a concrete floor and a drain around the pillar *IA-R* 1978–79: 127, 1979–80: 131.

Visitors:

Xuanzang (Beal 1884,I: 236): "Within the city, at the south-east angle of it, is an old habitation, the ruins of which only exist. This is the house of Ghôshira (*Kun-shi-lo*) the nobleman. In the middle is a *vihâra* of Buddha, and a *stûpa* containing hair and nail relics. There are also ruins of Tathâgata's bathing-house."



Fig. 5: A path at Kosam leading to the Yamunâ.



Fig. 6: View on the river bank at Kosam.

Lumbinī

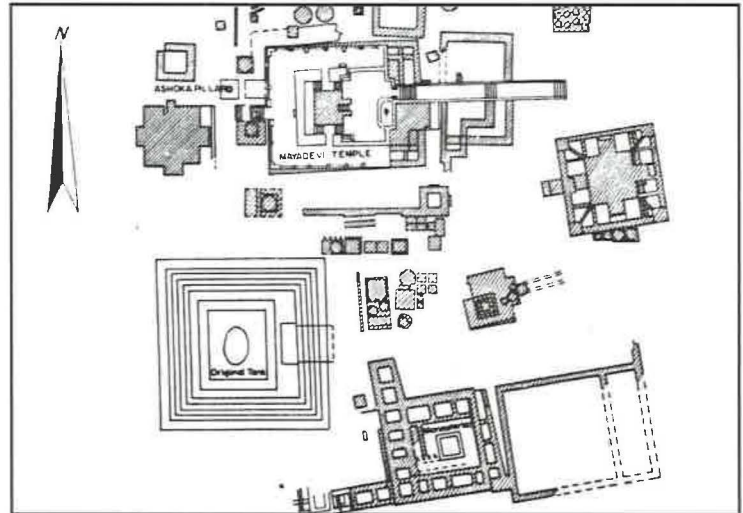
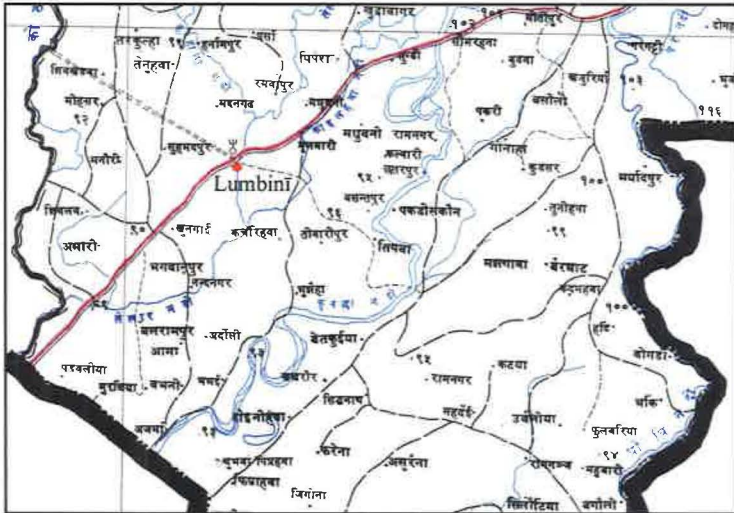
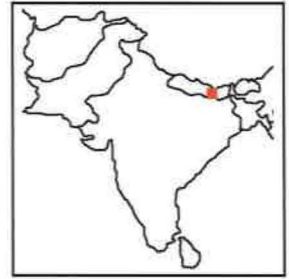
Rummindei; Paḍeriyā;
Paḍariyā

Rūpandehī District, Nepal

27°28' N.

83°16' E.

GSN *ji.mā.48 rūpandehī*



Further maps:

Führer 1897: pl. II (sketch map); Mukherji 1901: fig. 1 (groundplan); D. Mitra 1971: 254; Rijal 1996: 15; NN 2005: 36.

Access:

Inside the archaeological compound. The

pillar is fenced-in; one of the watchmen on the site is in possession of the key.

Discovery:

In 1896 the edict was dug out by General Khadga Shamsher as a result of Waddell's research on Xuanzang: "10 Fuss unter der

Erde kam die vollständig erhaltene, hier in einem mir von ihm übersendeten Abklatsch vorgelegte Aśoka-Inschrift zum Vorschein" (Bühler 1897b: 4). For a detailed description of the discovery cf. Falk 1991a/1998.



Fig. 1: The excavation site in 1999.

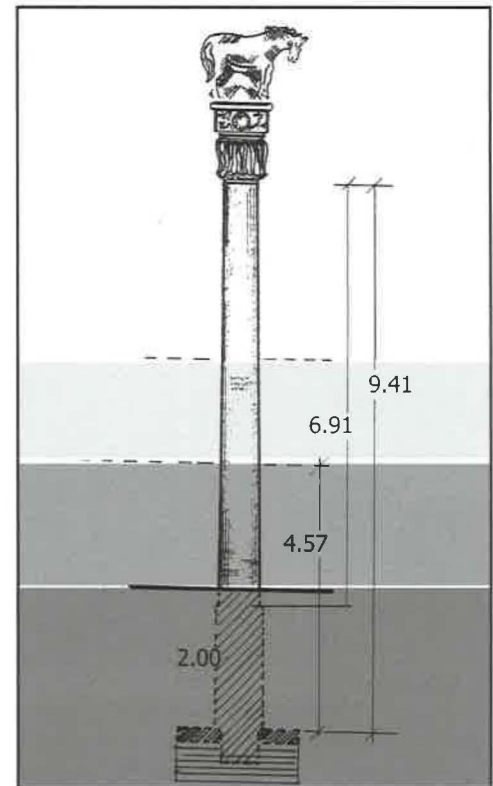


Fig. 2: The pillar with different ground levels.



Fig. 3: The remnants of abacus and bell of the capital.



Fig. 4: The polished upper ends of the petals.

Other parts of the pillar were discovered slightly later: “Attached to the shrine of Rummin-dei on the east was an ante-chamber, of which the lower walls still exist below the modern ones. Within, I saw several fragments of ancient sculpture (...) But the most interesting is the bell-shaped capital of the Priyadarsi *Stāmbha* and the head of Māyādevī, the mother of the Buddha” (Mukherji 1901: 36).

Parts of the animal capital were claimed to be found by Rijal (1975–77: 32b, with pl. 5; cf. 1979: 19) in the shape of “five pieces of Maurayan [*sic*] polished chunar sand stone”, allegedly “fragmentary parts of the Asoka’s Horse Capital”, but the remnants point rather to the back part of a small ele-

phant, comparable to the one found at Satdhārā. Any connection with the pillar is not apparent.

Preservation:

The pillar is in good shape, apart from the top which was destroyed long before AD 400; the damaged upper part was levelled and capped with a flat round stone in the 19th century. Several metres of the polished pillar are underground. Of the capital only the bell is preserved in two parts split vertically. Re-united, they are kept inside the fence around the pillar.

Material:

Pillar: “Pabhosā” sandstone with inclusions

Bell: “Cunār” sandstone without inclusions.

Measurements:

Inscription: 54 x 39 cm.

The *akṣaras* measure 1.5–3–4 cm; the 5 lines have a spacing of 6 cm.

Pillar:

Total length today: 9.41 m, assumed to be more or less the original height by Rijal 1996, pl. VIII (R); additional measurements are supplied by Führer 1897: 27 (Fü) and Mukherji 1901: 34 (M).

Unpolished lower part: > 2.00 m (R); this seems correct when compared to the lower part excavated in 1962, known only through a very unclear photograph in Rijal 1979: pl. 41.

Polished upper part: 6.81 (Fü).

Diameter at the bottom: > 79 cm.

Diameter at dividing line: 79 cm (R).

Diameter at top: 63 cm (R).

Tapering: 2,3 cm/m (after R).

Originally, the lowest line of the inscription was 2.94 m above ground level (Fü).

Capital:

Of the capital only the bell and parts of the abacus have survived in a deplorable condition. The existence of a “horse”, reported by Chinese pilgrims, was questioned already by Irwin 1974a: 716 fn. 12. For the so-called horse seen by Rijal see above. Once these pieces are on exhibit his interpretation can be tested. The copy found at Kapileśvar (cf. p. 292) shows three letters not found on the pillar: *gajama*, which could refer to the same *gajatame*, as seen written under the Kālsī elephant. However, if the Kapileśvar stone is a fake, this argument should be abandoned. Nonetheless, an elephant would be the most appropriate animal to find on the capital to indicate the birth of the “white elephant”, referred to at Girnar.

Bell:

Hole for the bolt: 12.7 x 30 cm (M).

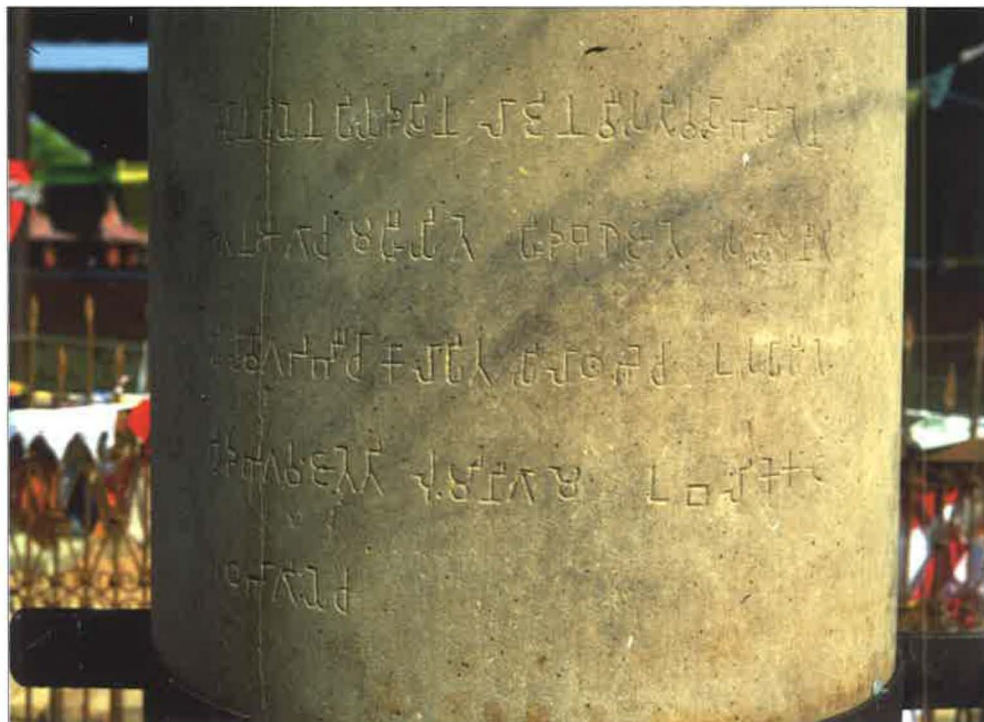


Fig. 5: The Aśokan inscription.

Only the upper part of 32 cm height is visible today, the rest is covered in the modern concrete socket.

Abacus:

Heavily damaged, same material, 17 cm high, still extant.

Ring:

Only the narrowest circumference can be estimated: There seem to have been the standard 16 petals on the bell; the few preserved petals end with a width of 10 cm; so the ring's inner side should have measured 160 cm circ. = 51 cm diam. This would mean that the pillar was at least 2 m higher than estimated by Rijal and others. This may be compared to what Rijal says about more pieces from the pillar: "Many pieces of broken Asoka pillar were found in the excavations conducted by this writer at different times. The joint excavation of Mayadevi Temple with Japan Buddhist Federation has come across three pieces of the Asoka Pillar fragments inside the box chambers constructed with Mauryan bricks. The two pieces of the pillar are found in the central chamber and one piece in the side chamber" (Rijal 1996: 9).

The pieces published in NN 2005: pls. 91–93 are made from spotted sandstone; however, their curvature shows that they originate from much smaller items.

Orientation:

The reader looks east.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: Mukherji 1901: pl. XX.

Rubbing: Bühler 1898/99; Hultzsch 1925: 164; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 65a; Janert 1972b: 252; Rastogi 1990: pl. II B; Gurugé 1993: [533]; NN 2005: pl. 90.

Photography: Deeg 2003: 79; NN 2005: pl. 89,2.

Editions: Bühler 1897b: 4, 1898/99: 4; Smith 1897: 618; Führer 1897: 33; Fleet 1908: 473; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 101; Woolner 1924: 51; Hultzsch 1925: 164–165 (copied by Krishnan 1989: 65–66); J. Bloch 1950: 157; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 261; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 40; Sircar 1965b: 67–68; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 189; Janert 1972b: 142; Rastogi 1990: 322–323; Falk 1991a: 84 = 1998: 15f.; Gurugé 1993: 603; Deeg 2003: 45; Tsukamoto 2005: 220.

Presentations of the pillar site:

Drawing: Mukherji 1901: pl. XVII (capital), pl. XX (pillar with excavated parts); Rijal 1996: 18 (measured sketch including parts underground).

Photography: Führer 1897: pl. VI (full pillar), VIII,3; Mukherji 1901: pl. XIX (heap of ruins with pillar), XXIII; Tabard 1921: 198



Fig. 6: Pillar as exposed, with the edict blackened for taking a rubbing.

(pillar in excavation hole); Srikantaya 1956: 3 (in hole); Mookerji 1962: pl. III (in thick-
et, covered with slab), pl. XII (edict half
buried in soil); Banerjee 1970; D. Mitra
1971: pl. 60; Rijal 1975–77, repr. 11: pl. 5
("horse-capital"); Rijal 1979 (pillar base
exposed); S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 9d; Rijal
1996: 13 (Devī); Deeg 2003: 79; NN 2005:
pls. 2-2, 17-2, 88, 89-1.

Literature:

General: Speyer 1897; Mukherji 1901;
Woolner 1924: xvi; Hultzsch 1925: xxii–xxiii;
B.C. Bhattacharya 1940/41; R. Thapar
1961/1997: 234; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā
13–14; N.R. Banerjee 1970; D. Mitra 1971:
58–60; Huntington 1985; Nagar 1992: 33f.;
Vaidya 1999; Bidari 2002; Deeg 2003.

How Lumbinī was found: Smith 1897; Falk
1991a/1998; Joshi & Joshi 1996.

On text and pillar: Barth 1897b, 1900;
Vigasin 2002a.

On vigaḍabhī(cā): Barth 1897b; Mukherji
1901: 35; Pischel 1903: 725–31; Smith
1905a: 2f.; Fleet 1908a: 476ff., 1908c;
Charpentier 1914: 18ff. (horse); Mookerji
1934 (figure of nativity); Parānavitana 1962
("He caused it to be announced that the
Buddha Śākyamuni was born here and there-
by caused to be created a strong desire");
Norman in Irwin 1974a: 716 fn. 12 and
1994c (em. *silāvigaḍabhitīca*, "wall made
from, or decorated with, stone"); Srivastava
1976 (wall); Thieme 1981 (carrier of the
unfettered [Buddha]); P.L. Gupta 1985: 7f.
(*vikaṭa* "dense, massive" + *Bihārī bhīṭā*

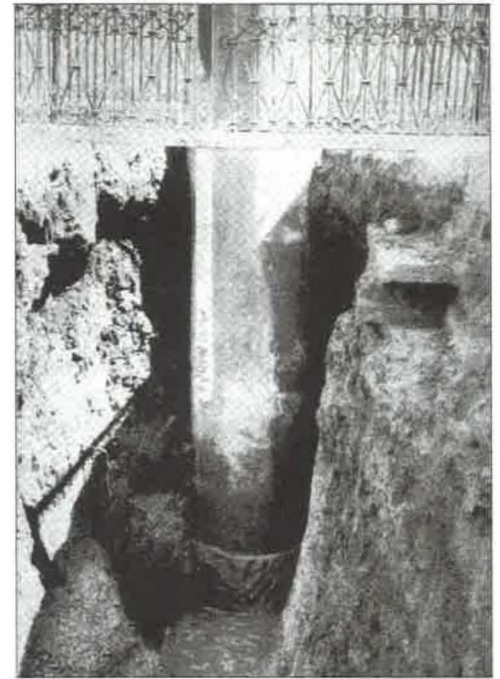


Fig. 7: The underground part as exposed in 1962. (after NN 2005: 43 fig. 4).

"high walls, high mounds" = "a massive
high wall of stone"; Vigasin 1997c
(*vigatabhī*, "the fearless" [lion] = Buddha);
Deeg 2003: 21 allegedly Śkt. *silā-vigāḍha-
abdhi*, "stone bathing pond", presupposing
unknown sound-shift and compound forma-
tion; Tsukamoto 2005: *silā'vigaḍabhīcā*,
"with the wall [to protect] the stone being in
its natural condition", allegedly a reference
to the "marker stone" found inside the
Māyādevī temple; Narain 2005: 228.

On aṭhabhāgige: Pischel 1903; Smith 1905a:
3f.; Fleet 1908: 479f.; Falk 1991: 87.

On graffiti: Führer 1897: 27; Mukherji 1901:
35.

On excavations: Smith 1905a; D. Mitra
1971: 58–60; Rijal 1979: 15–19; Aryal 1997
(summary of previous work); NN 2005
(mainly Māyādevī temple).

vigaḍabhī or vigaḍabhīcā:

From the inscription on the pillar we know
that Aśoka supplied a pillar and a *vigaḍabhī*
or *vigaḍabhīcā* made from stone. The ambi-
guity of the end arises from the possibility
that *cā* could be a lengthened *ca*, "and". At
present it seems impossible to tell what
object this was. If we think of the polished
railing found at Sārnāth as a possible sur-
rounding for a pillar (cf. fig. 9), then some-
thing similar may also have been intended
(Sarkar 1966: 6). Mukherji (1901: 34)
reports "a sort of brick railing", depicted in
his pl. XX in top and cross section, which
might have replaced an earlier railing in
solid stone.

Pischel (1903: 728) pointed to the root *gaḍ āvaraṇe*, and explained *vigaḍa* as “free from obstacles”, taking *vi* in a privative sense. If we take the other meaning of *vi*, “radiation”, then *vi-gaḍ* is semantically very close to *āvaraṇa*, meaning i.a. “to bar” or “to fence off”. In this case *°bhī cā* would have to be read, presupposing Skt. **vigaḍabhṛt*, verbally a “bar-carrier”, i.e. lattice fence.

Importance in antiquity:

Since Aśokan times, Lumbinī has been a place of worship. Several travel accounts have been preserved. Faxian, Xuanzang and two more travellers’ accounts are suitably collected in Deeg 2003: 46–57 both in the original Chinese and in translation.

Zhi Sengzai (anterior to AD 400, cf. Deeg 2003: 24): “The marvellous tree, which the excellent queen grasped when the Buddha was being born, is called *xuhe* (aśoka). King Aśoka made out of lapis lazuli a statue of the queen in the act of grasping [the tree] and giving birth to the prince. (...) The outlines of the marks of where the prince walked seven steps are also still preserved today. King Aśoka enclosed the marks with lapis lazuli on both sides, and again had them covered over with one long slab of lapis lazuli” (L. Petech, quoted in Deeg 2003: 57).

Faxian (AD 399): “Fifty *li* to the east of the city was a royal garden, called Lumbinī; and here the queen having entered the pool to bathe, came out on the north side, and after walking twenty paces, raised her hands and grasped the branch of a tree.



Fig. 9: A pillar with railing depicted at Sāñcī.



Fig. 8: The pond, excavated and restored.

Then, facing the east, she brought forth the Heir Apparent. On reaching the ground, the Heir Apparent walked seven steps, and two dragon-kings washed his body” (Giles 1923: 38).

Xuanzang (AD 629): “...the Lumbinī (Lavanī) garden. Here is the bathing tank of the Śākya, the water of which is bright and clear as a mirror, and the surface covered with a mixture of flowers.

To the north of this 24 or 25 paces there is an *Aśoka*-flower tree, which is now decayed; this is the place where Bōdhisattva was born (...). East from this is a *stūpa* built by Aśōka-rāja, on the spot where the two dragons bathed the body of the prince (...).

To the east of this are two fountains of pure water, by the side of which have been built two *stūpas* (...).

To the south of this is a *stūpa* (...).

Close to this there are four *stūpas* (...).

By the side of these *stūpas* and not far from them is a great stone pillar, on the top of which is the figure of a horse, which was built by Aśōka-rāja. Afterwards, by the contrivance of a wicked dragon, it was broken off in the middle and fell to the ground” (Beal 1884 II: 24f.).

S. Lévi (1898): “Un fakir sordide autant qu’ignorant, servi par un enfant de rencontre, a bâti sur le tas des ruines une chapelle où il adore une statue de hasard tirée des déconbres. Il l’a baptisé Rupan Devi. Pourquoi? Il l’ignore lui-même (...) Les indigènes qui n’en [= du pilier] savent pas l’histoire l’ont inventée sans peine: la colonne décorée d’un grimoire est un pilier frontière, analogue à ceux qui se dressent sur la limite actuelle de l’Inde britannique, et le gouvernement britannique n’est intervenue que pour revendiquer ses droits sur un territoire qu’il a perdu” (1899: 76/77).

Text:

*devānapiyena piyadasina lājina vīsativasābhisitena
atana āgāca mahīyite hida budhe jāte sakyamunī ti
silavigaḍabhīcā kālāpita silāthabhe ca usapāpīte
hita bhagavaṃ jāte ti luṃminīgāme ubalike kaṭe
aṭhabhāgiye ca.*

“When king Priyadarśin, dear to the gods, was consecrated for this 20th regnal year he came in person and payed reverence. Because the Buddha, the Śākyamuni, was born at this place, he had a stone railing made and a stone pillar erected. Because the Lord (of the world) was born at this place, he exempted the village of Lumbinī from taxes and granted it the eight shares.”

Mirāṭh

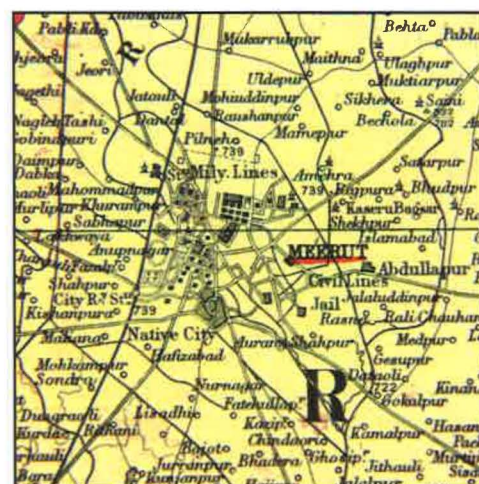
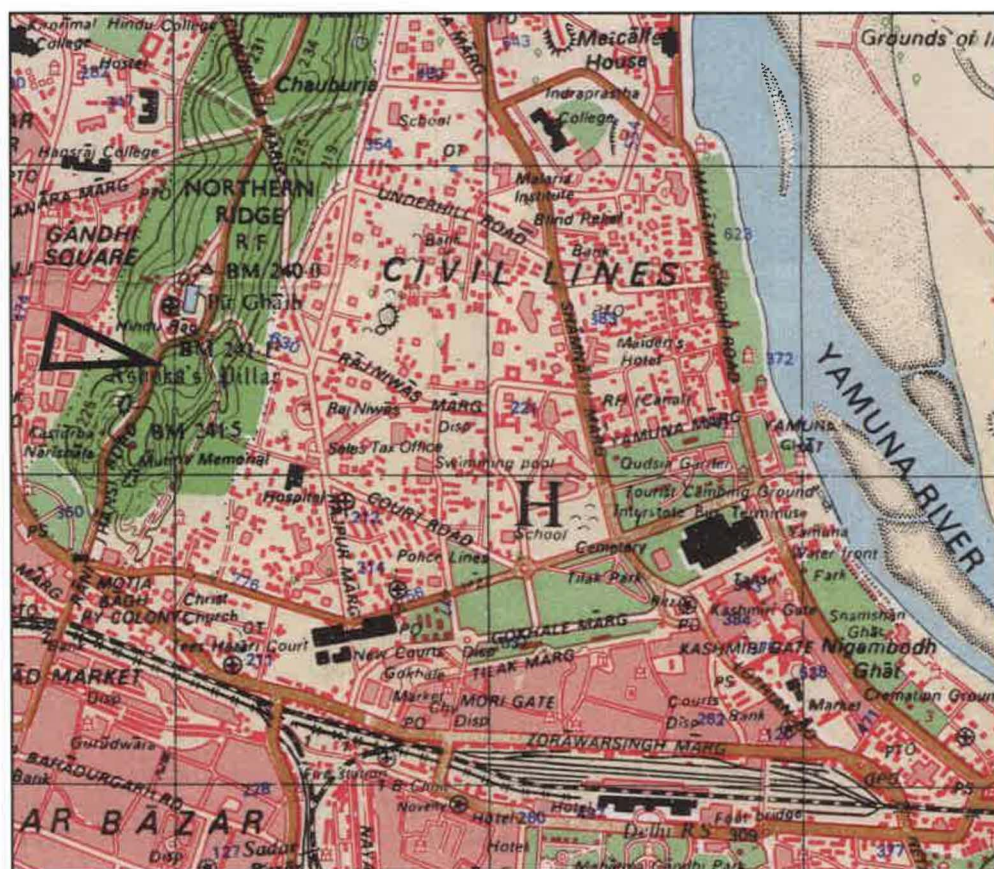
Delhi-Mirāṭh
Meerut, London

Mirāṭh District, UP

28°38' N.

77°12' E.

GSI Delhi Guide Map



Names: "Lying on Mr. W. Fraser's grounds"; Minaret du pavillon de la chasse (de Tassy 1860: 233); Bara Hindu Rao.

Access:

The pillar stands on top of the ridge north of Old Delhi, on the road leading to the Hindurao Hospital Wards. This is the place which is seen first by anyone approaching the city from the West.

Discovery/ History:

Major P.L. Pew in Prinsep 1837d: 795: "This very ancient Hindu pillar was dug out of some ruins near a *boulee* (*baoli*) or well, and was probably destroyed by the blowing up of a powder magazine which I understand once existed near the spot. It consists of five pieces, which when put together measure $32\frac{3}{4}$ feet long: the diameter of the largest piece is 3 feet 2 inches, and that of the smallest 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The total weight 372 maunds. (...) Since the fragments of this column have only been recently disinterred from the mass

of ruin, evidently Hindu, where they had reposed in silence and darkness for ages."

Cunningham 1871i: 168: "According to popular belief, this pillar was thrown down by an accidental explosion of a powder magazine in the time of Farokhsir, who reigned from A.D. 1713 to 1719."

According to the report in the *Tā'rikh-i Fīrūz-Shāhi* by Shams-i-Sirāj Afif (Lewis 1850: 29) the pillar stood "near Meerut", or "in the vicinity of Kusbah Meerut" (Cope/Lewis 1850: 73). Mirāṭh (UP) is situated at 77°45' E and 29°01' N. Shams-i-Sirāj Afif's report, at least that part of it that concerns the Toprā pillar, does not seem to be absolutely trustworthy, is nevertheless certainly correct so far as his placement inside the Delhi area near the *kušk-i šikār*, or "hunting palace" goes.

"Firoz Schāh [...] fit aussi transporter ce second *lāṭh* au Pavillon de l'observatoire (*khušk-i jahān-nemā*), autrement dit Pavillon



Fig. 1: The pillar on the ridge.

de la chasse (*khušk-i šikār*) [...] Lorsqu'il eut été élevé devant ce pavillon, le roi fit célébrer des réjouissances, et il ordonna que tous les habitants de la ville vissent voir le spectacle" (de Tassy 1860: 234).

Preservation:

The pillar broke into several pieces when an ammunition depot exploded nearby in around 1715. Since then, the pillar lay in fragments. Some inscribed parts were later moved to Calcutta, from where they returned in the second half of the 19th century and were reassembled with the other parts in 1867 (Führer 1891: 11). The upper part of the edicts, containing 8 to 9 lines, i.e. at least 42 cm, went missing altogether. The only remnant of this part is the London fragment preserving the last two lines of RE6, now on display in the British Museum, acc.no. *OA 1880-21* (figs. 4-5). Plate XLII in Prinsep 1837d shows some more words in the first line when compared to Janert 1972b: 227.

One vertically split piece still lies in front of the newly erected edifice.

Material:

Pabhosā sandstone: Light grey beige, no red tint, with the characteristic black specks. The polish is not glossy any more.

Measurements:

Six pieces have been reassembled by the Archaeological Survey to form a pillar measuring about 9 m: Blocks number 3 to 5 from bottom are split vertically. For old measurements see Cunningham 1871i: 167f.

The dividing line is visible at a height of 1.76 m above the modern plinth. The bottommost 65 cm are much darker than the rest, presumably due to ground-water. The whole 176 cm are left unpolished. According to Cunningham (1871i: 168) the diameter of the lowest part is 96.52 cm, that at the dividing line 90.94 cm; 74.93 cm at the



Fig. 2: The major part of the inscription on the middle drum.

top and 84.83 cm where one part has been sawn off.

The fragment in London has a diameter of about 76 to 80 cm and should have stood between metres 2 and 3: "the upper end of the middle piece, which was inscribed with Asoka's edicts, was sawn off some years ago, and sent to Calcutta, where it may now be seen in the Asiatic Society's Museum", says Cunningham (1871i: 167) with a note: "This has now been returned to Delhi, and the pillar has been restored".



Fig. 3: The backside of the pillar showing the parts as reassembled.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: Prinsep 1837d: 796f. pl. XLII + XLIII; Cunningham 1877: pl. XXI.

Rubbing: Bühler 1890b; Hultzsch 1925: 138-140; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pls. 53-55 (incl. the London fragment); Janert 1972b: 159, 223-227.

Photography: Janert 1972b: 228 (the London fragment); Zwalf 1985: 27 no. 1 (London); Nagar 1992: pl. 8; McKibben 1994: 107.

Editions: Prinsep 1837d; Cunningham 1877: 106-113; Senart 1882b+c; Bühler 1890b:



Fig. 4 & 5: The London fragment of PE 6 in front and top view (copyright British Museum).

124f., 1891a, 1892a, 1894a; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 59–77; Woolner 1924: 40–50; Hultzsche 1925: 137–140; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 152–157; Janert 1972b: 127–139; Rastogi 1990: 252, 260, 268, 277, 289–290, 300.

Literature:

General: Cunningham 1871i: 167f., 1877: 37; Woolner 1924: xv; Hultzsche 1925: xvii; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 10; Nagar 1992: 36.
On the London fragment: Falk 1993a.
On various inscriptions and graffiti: Cunningham 1875c: 144.

On preservation measures: LA-R 1984–85: 234.

Visitors:

Amīn Rāzī (1593–1619), in his work *Haft iqlīm*, cited by Harington (published in Colebrooke 1801: 177): “Among the places built by this King (Feroz Shah) is a hunting place, which the populace call the Lat of Feerōz Shah. It is a house of three stories, in the center of which has been erected a pillar of red stone, of one piece, and tapering upwards. The visible part of the shaft is, by measurement, twenty-seven Zirras, and it is said that one-third only is visible; the remaining two-thirds being buried in the earth. In this case, the total length must be eighty-one Zirras; and it is five Zirras in circumference: Round it have been engraved literal characters which the most intelligent of all religions have been unable to explain. Report says, this pillar is a monument of renown to the Rajuhs (or Hindoo Princes) and the Feerōz Shah set it up within his hunting place. But on this head there are various traditions, which it would be tedious to relate.”

William Finch (1608–11): “About 2 c. without Dely is the remainder of an ancient more [mahal?] or hunting house, built by Sultan Berusa [Sultān Fīroz Shāh], a great Indian monarch, with much curiositie of stonework. With and above the rest is to be a stone pillar, which, passing through three stories, is higher then all twenty foure foot, having at the top a globe and a halfe moone over it. This stone, they say, stands as much under the earth, and is placed in the water, being all one entire stone; some say Nasendengady [Nāsiruddīn Ghāzi = N. Tughlak, son of Fīroz Shāh?], a Potan king, would have taken it up and was prohibited by multitude of scorpions; and that it hath inscriptions. [...] From this monument is said to be a way under ground to Dely castle. Now here remaine onely Googers, and there are store of deere.” (W. Foster 1921: 156f.)
Padre Tieffenthaler (around 1766): “L’Obélisque de Feros (ou Fīrous) Roi des Afgans,

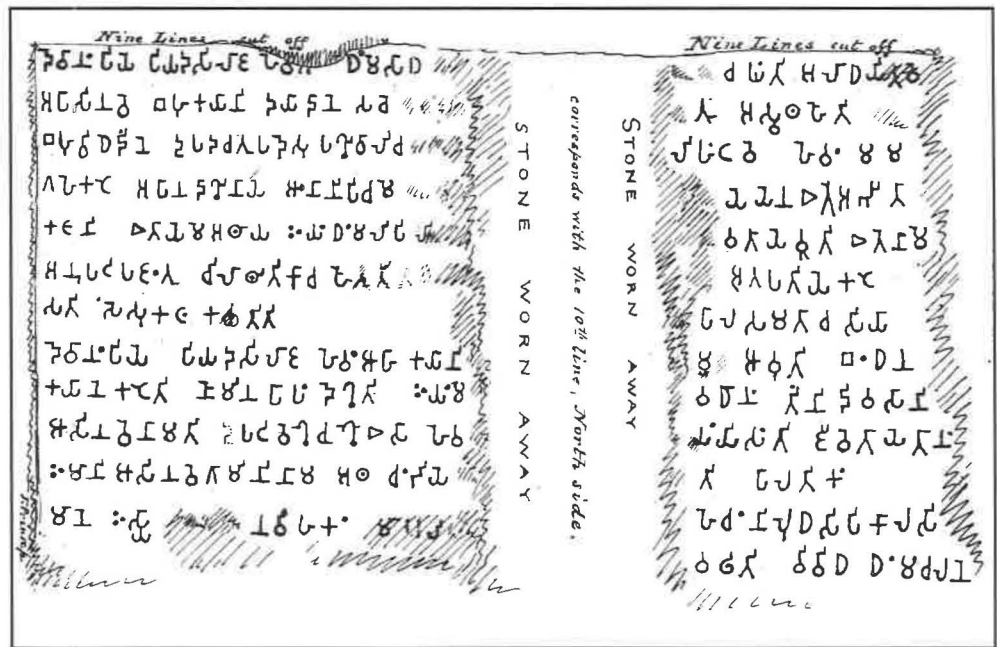


Fig. 6: The earliest copies of the Mirāth text in *JASB* 6.1837: pl 42. Some letters in the first line have been lost in the meantime.

que précéda Tamerlan de 150 ans, étoit de forme cylindrique & posé dans un endroit élevé, sur un piedestal (ou socle) carré construit d’immenses pierres. On a fait sauter en l’air ce monument avec de la poudre; is se rompit en plusieurs morceaux dont cinq sont encore existans. Le plus gros de ces fragments & en même temps celui qui est le plus proche de la base, a 1 ½ aune indienne en diametre, & il est long de 2 ¼ aunes. Le second n’est gueres moins épais, mais sa longueur n’est que de 1 ¼ aune. On y remarque des caracteres indoustans, samscrétans, de Guzarate, & quelques peu d’arabes. L’épaisseur du troisieme fragment est d’une aune; sa longueur, de 2. L’épaisseur & la longueur du quatrieme sont les mêmes que du troisieme. Le cinquieme enfin a moins d’une aune en diametre & n’est long que d’une aune & demie. Les longueurs ou hauteurs de ces différens

débris ajoutées ensemble font 9 aunes; mais on assure que la hauteur de l’obélisque entier a été de 20 aunes.

On remarque sur le 4^e & le 5^e fragment de cette colonne les caracteres suivans (...).

De ce que ces caracteres ont de la ressemblance avec des caracteres grecs, quelques Européens ont cru que cet obélisque avoit été élevé par Alexandre le grand; mais c’est une erreur: ca Alexandre n’a pas pénétré jusque dans ces contrées, & on sait d’ailleurs positivement que le monument dont il est question a été taillé & érigé par ordre & aux fraix de Ferōs, dans l’intention de transmettre sa mémoire & son nom à la postérité” (Bernoulli 1791: 128–130; 1785: 89).

W. Brown (1838: 430): “On the hill near Delhi where the Delhi lát was found, of which Major PEW sent you a description, there is a similar passage underground, which is said to extend to the Jumna river.”

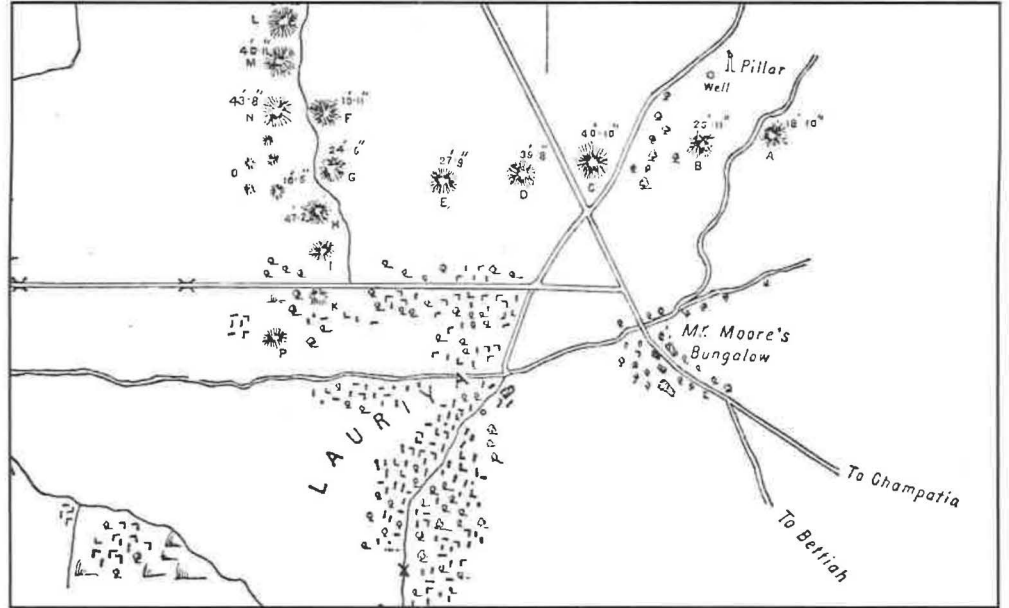


Fig. 7: Close-up of the Pabhosā-type stone.

Nandangarh

Lauriyā-Nandangarh; Navandgarh
Mathiah; *lauḍ bābā*; Champaran;

Camparān District, Bihar
26°58' N.
84°23' E.
GSI map 72 B/5



Names: Navandgarh (Caddy 1895: 154); Hodgson 1834: 481: "zillah Sārun, half way between the town of Bettiah and the river Gandac, west and a little north of Bettiah, and very near to the Nepal frontier."

Further maps:

Sketch map: Cunningham 1871g: pl. XXIII; Kuraishi 1931: 7.

Access:

Coming from the south, the extensive town Nandangarh has to be crossed towards Narkatiaganj. Right at the end of town, a few metres to the right side of the road to Nepal, the pillar cannot be missed. The access is free.

Discovery:

1758-1769, while Padre della Tomba was a resident Capuchin missionary at Bettiah, he visited two pillars, copied some of their inscriptions and sent them to the Hindu Academy of Benares. Although later he seems to have reconstructed their situation erroneously, there can be no doubt that the Nandangarh pillar was one of those seen by him (de Gubernatis 1878: xxxvii; Hosten 1912: 109f.). A second eye-copy was pro-

duced by one George Rind in 1797. B.H. Hodgson reported in around 1825 on this pillar to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta (Hodgson 1834:481). Cf. Cunningham 1871g.

Preservation:

The pillar is fenced in, and although the fence is frequently surmounted, the pillar is remarkably free from modern graffiti. This pillar is one of the very few not having been decorated by *śaṅkhā lipi* in the middle of the first millennium AD.



Fig. 1: The site seen from the North with an old burial mound to the left and the road to the right.



Fig. 2: Upper end of shaft and abacus showing all protruding parts as damaged, as if rolled over ground. The lower rim of the frieze is still intact.

Apart from many old graffiti and slight damage the pillar is in a very good condition. Below the left side of the lion a hole was chiselled into the shaft where the copper bolt is to be expected (fig. 2).

The lion has lost his nose and part of his upper jaw. The upper rim of the abacus is heavily damaged, as if the whole capital rolled over ground at one time.

Material:

a) *Pillar*: Pabhosā sandstone, gray-beige with the black inclusions, hardly any reddish oxidised portions. The same oily patches as on the Ararāj pillar seem to indicate that both pillars come from the same quarry.

b) *Capital*: light greenish blue stone, without any parallel in the preserved capitals. A similar or identical stone was used for the frieze of geese at Sārnāth, now on display in the site museum, without documentation, but certainly Mauryan.

Measurements:

Text: 207 x 122 cm and 163 x 122 cm; the first block ends 70 cm above present ground, the second 120 cm; about 1 m has to be added for the ancient ground level.

Pillar:

The capital measures 2.08 m in height. According to Kuraishi (1931: 9), the pillar shaft is 12.42 m high. For the parts underground, Carlleyle (1885a: 46f.) may be compared: "As a matter of curiosity, I also made an excavation at the base of the great edict pillar of Aśoka, at Laoriya. I carried the excavation down to the depth of a little over 10 feet, until I came to a stone platform, or basement, on which the pillar stood; and I then found that I could insert the blade of a knife between the lower butt end of the pillar and the stone basement on which it rested. At the depth of about 2 feet below the surface of the

ground, I found that there was a narrow rounded edged projection of the stone, encircling the pillar like a ring. This projection was about 2 inches in thickness. A little further down, below the projection, there was the figure of a peacock engraved in the stone; the figure being about 4 inches in length. (...)

Down to the circular projection, the pillar was smooth; but below that, the stone became rough, showing the marks of the chisel.

The stone basement or foundation on which the pillar rested, I found to be a square platform, which extended outwards to the distance of about 2 feet beyond the bottom of the pillar, on four sides. Along the outer edges of this stone platform, I found some long ancient pieces of Sāl timber lying embedded close against the stone."

The *lion* with his tail between the hind-legs and reappearing on its left side between body and ground is very similar to the one at Vesālī, as if one were the copy of the other.

Orientation:

Presently, the lion looks SSE.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: First done by Padre della Tomba between 1758–69 (lost). The copy done by George Rind in 1797 is preserved in the British Library, registered under "OIOC WD 3471"; Hodgson 1834 & Prinsep 1834b; Cunningham 1877: pl. XXV–XXVI.

Rubbing:

Cunningham 1871i: 166 (unpublished); H.B.W. Garrick (in Bühler 1894a); Hultzsch 1925: 148+150; F. Kern 1956: 32, Abb. 3; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pls. 58–59; Janert 1972b: 157, 185–195.

Photography:

Caddy 1895: 153 (unpublished).

Editions:

Prinsep 1837b; Cunningham 1877: 106–114; Senart 1882b+c; Bühler 1891a, 1892a, 1894a; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 59–79; Woolner 1924: 40–50; Hultzsch 1925: 145–150; J. Bloch 1950: 161–172; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 164–169; Janert 1972b: 127–139; Rastogi 1990: 255, 263, 271, 281, 294–295, 303.

Presentations of the pillar:

Drawings: Hodgson 1834: pl. XXVII; Cunningham 1871g: pls. XXII, XXV.

Photography: Garrick 1883b: pl. XXVII; BL Photo 1907–08(394–395); Bachhofer 1929: pl. 4; Kuraishi 1931: 9; N.G. Majumdar 1935–36: pl. XIXc; F. Kern 1956: Abb. 2, vs. 17; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 7; Mookerji 1962: pl. IX; V. Smith 1969: pl. 3; D. Mitra 1971: pl. 21; Irwin 1973: fig. 8, 9, 1987b: pl. IX; S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 6a (lion close-up pl. 6b, c, 7a); Allchin 1995b: 253.

Copies:

1. New Delhi: A concrete copy with lion atop is found in the front yard of the Archaeological Survey of India, Jan Path, just by the side of the gate to the National Museum.

2. Baroda: Stone copy, called *kārtistambha*, opposite the palace gate.

Literature:

General: Hodgson 1834; Cunningham 1871g, 1877: 41–42; Woolner 1924: xv; Hultzsch 1925: xviii; Kuraishi 1931: 9–16; Y.D. Sharma 1953: 148; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 232; Patil 1963: 234–241; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 11; D. Mitra 1971: 83–85; S.P. Gupta 1980: 23f.; Chakrabarti, Prasad, Jha & Verma 1996: 157b.

On the name: Smith 1902a: 153n, 1902b.

On excavations: Garrick 1883b: 104f.; Carlleyle 1885a; T. Bloch 1906–07; N.G. Majumdar 1935–36, 1936–37.



Fig. 3: Medieval and modern graffiti touching the Aśokan letters. The birds seem to copy those seen by Carlleyle on the underground part.

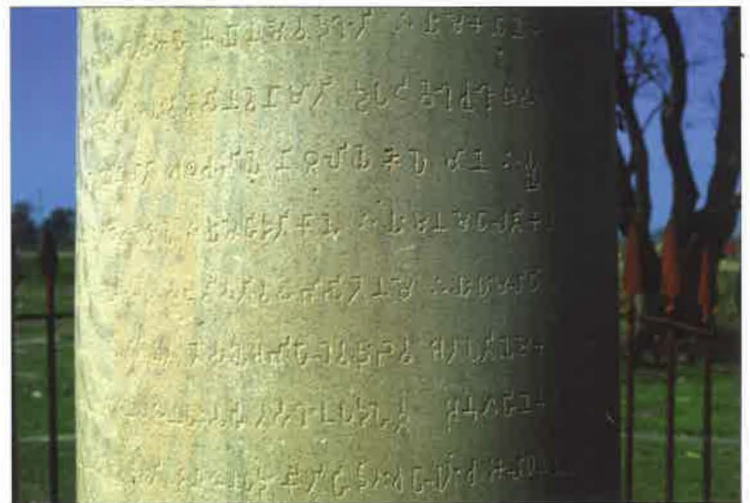


Fig. 4: Sample of the Aśokan edicts.



Figs. 5–8: Views of the lion; note that the supporting base is perforated where it touched the hind legs. All geese are turned to the left.



On preservation measures: ASIAR 1922–23: 30; *IA-R* 1988–89: 172f.

On Persian and Nāgarī inscriptions: Kuraishi 1931:10f.

On the great stūpa on the other side of town: van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1956; Patil 1963: 241–244.

Importance in antiquity:

The pillar site seems to mark a halting point on the old road from Patna to Nepal. On the map in Cunningham 1871g: pl. XXIII, a well is indicated right beside the pillar; today this is covered by the huge preservation platform. This well may be compared to the one

just behind the Ararāj pillar. Today, there is no well on this side of the road, instead, on the north-western side of the road a large well is found.

There is a series of burial mounds south and west of the pillar; their relation to the pillar is not clear. Irwin 1973: 718a eagerly followed Cunningham who had dated these mounds to the pre-Buddhist period.

Importance today:

Venerated as an emanation of Śiva, called *lauḍ bābā*.

Visitors:

1758–1769: Padre Marco della Tomba: “I saw myself in this Kingdom of Bettia two columns raised in two different provinces, one to the east, the other to the south of the same city of Bettia, and fashioned apparently by the same artist. Not counting their length under the ground, they stand 27 cubits high up to the capital, on the top of which there is a lion, which looks very natural. The circumference of the column is 7 cubits, as I myself measured. The column seems to consist of a single stone. I struck it several times with a hatchet, and fired some bullets without being able to make out that it was otherwise. Those two columns are as if covered with a certain writing, which I traced on paper, and then sent to the Hindu Academy of Benares and to some Tibetan scholars; but not one of them could read or understand a word of them. As for the people of the country, they can give no explanation of them. These characters appear to be some ancient Greek, while some of them

resemble much those of the alphabet of the said nation. At the end of the inscription there is a line in the Arabic character and language” (transl. Hosten 1912: 109f. of de Gubernatis 1878: 39f.).



Fig. 9: Aśokan edict and graffiti of diverse times.

Niglīvā

Nigālīhavā; Nigāli Sāgar;
Buddha Koṇāgamana

Kapilavastu District, Nepal
27°36' N.
83°05' E.
GSN *ji.mā.49 kapilavastu*



Name: “Large tank extending to west, which is known as Nigāli Sāgar from the two portions of a Priyadarsi pillar, called Loriki-Nigāli or smoking-pipe” (Mukherji 1901: 30).

Further maps:

Führer 1897: pl. II.

Access:

West of Lumbinī Taulihavā is reached after 21 km, and must be circumvented in a clockwise movement until the road to Tilaurakot (Kapilavastu) is met. Shortly after the town limits the road forks with one road leading straight north to Tilaurakot and the other north-east. On this right branch Niglī Sāgar is reached after 2.5 km; the open shed with the pillar under its concrete roof is close by the road-side to the right.

Discovery/ History:

Waddell (1897: 645f.): “An inscribed Aśoka pillar was reported in 1893 to have been found in this part of the Nepalese Terai by a Nepalese officer on a hunting excursion at Niglīvā”. Smith (1897: 616) dates the event to about March 1895. Bühler 1895 speaks vaguely about “some years ago”. The uncertainty may be due to reports being manipulated by A. Führer; a first note is Burgess 1893b.

The pillar is not *in situ*: “When Major Waddell excavated below, the broken bottom was exposed, where no foundation or

basement was discovered” (Mukherji 1901: 30). Smith (1901e: 13), telling from the travel account of Xuanzang, located the birthplace of Kanakamuni or Krakucchanda at “Paltā Devī, situated in a bend of the Jāmuār river, about three miles on the British side of the frontier” (cf. chapter on the Bānsi capital).

The idea that the Niglīvā pillar fragments belong to the Goṭihavā stump is referred to by Irwin 1974a: 721a and rejected by Verardi and Deeg (2003: 41).

Preservation:

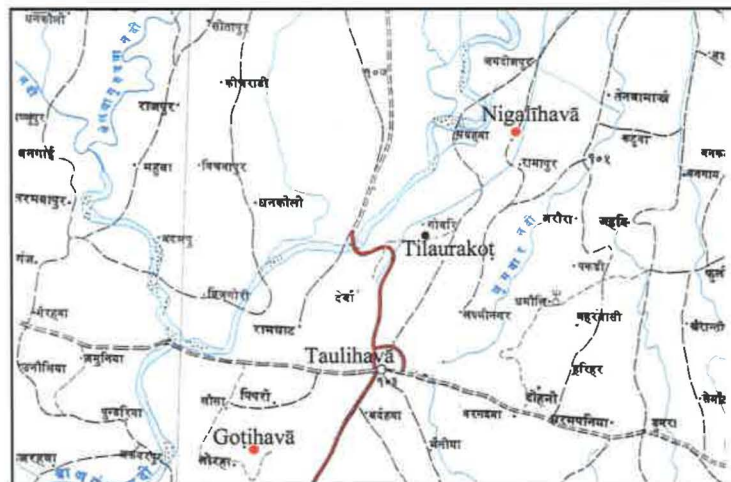
Two parts, which are both in a good state of preservation. The end of the top part is a clear-cut tenon.

Material:

Vindhyan “Pabhosā” sandstone with inclusions; the stone is gray in the upper part, reddish in the lower; the inclusions get fewer at the top.

Measurements:

The lower part rises for 1.12 m from the concrete floor, with a diameter of *ca.* 72 cm.



Führer (1897: 22) speaks about a full length of 3,20 m, against 3.05 m of Mukherjee (A.K. Mitra 1933: 324). The upper fragment is 4.45 m long, tapering from 70.35 to 61.12 cm. A.K. Mitra (1933: 324) expects a longer piece missing in between and joins the two to give a total of 29' 8" (9.05 m), which seems exaggerated.

The *inscription* is 31.5 cm high and 52 cm wide, in four lines, the base lines are 10, 10, and 9 cm apart.

The *akṣaras* measure 1.5–2.5–3 cm.

There are three peacocks on the upper part, each about 30 cm high. The uppermost one is 12 cm below the top rim, the second one is 29 cm high, 1 m further down; the



Fig. 1: The Nigālīhavā lake and the ASN shed close by the road.



Fig. 2: Both parts of the pillar where the small part was found.



Fig. 3: Both parts with the tenon and the hole visible.



Fig. 4: Two later inscriptions.

third one is 35 cm high, 86 cm below the second (figs. 9-11).

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: Mukherji 1901: pl. XVII.

Rubbing: Bühler 1898/99; Hultsch 1925: 164; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 65ā; Janert 1972b: 253.

Photography: Mohapatra 1977: pl. XX (only the small part with inscription); Rijal 1979: unnumb. pl. (both parts *in situ*); S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 4a; Gurugé 1993: [533]; Deeg 2003: 83.

Editions: Bühler 1895, 1898/99: 5f.; Führer 1897: 34; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 101; Woolner 1924: 51; Hultsch 1925: 165 (copied by Krishnan 1989: 67-68); J. Bloch 1950: 158; Eggermont & Hofstijzer 1962: 40; Sircar 1965b: 68; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 190; Janert

1972b: 143; Rastogi 1990: 324-325; Gurugé 1993: 603; Deeg 2003: 45.

Presentations of the pillar:

Drawing: Mukherji 1901: pl. XVII.

Photography: Führer 1897: pl. III (general view), pl. IV (lower stump interred), pl. V (upper portion).

Literature:

General: NN 1895; Woolner 1924: xvi; Hultsch 1925: xxiii; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 233; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 14; S.P. Gupta 1980: 25f.; Nagar 1992: 38; Bidari 1998.

On the Chinese visitors: Smith 1911: 223; Führer 1897: 22 (nonsense); Mukherji 1901: 30.

On graffiti: Mukherji 1901: 30.

On Aaurā Kot: Mukherji 1901: 31.

Visitors:

Faxian, 399 A.D.: "From the city of Srāvasti travelling south-east for twelve yojanas, the pilgrims reached a town, named Nabhiga, which is the place where Krakuchanda Buddha was born. Where he and his father met, and where he passed away, there is a monastery, and a pagoda has been erected. From this point travelling north somewhat less than a yojana, they came to the town where Kanakamuni Buddha was born. Where he and his father met, and where he passed away, pagodas have been built." (Giles 1923: 36).

Although the two places could be Goṭihavā and Niglivā, the traveller is silent about any pillar at these places.

Xuanzang, 629 A.D.: "To the south of the city [Kapilavastu] going 50 li or so [10 to 20 km], we come to an old town where there is a *stūpa*. This is the place where Krakuchchanda Buddha was born, during the Bhadra-kalpa when men lived to 60,000 years.

To the south of the city, not far, there is a *stūpa*; this is the place where, having arrived at complete enlightenment, he met his father.

To the south-east of the city is a *stūpa* where are that Tathāgata's relics (*of his bequeathed body*); before it is erected a stone pillar about 30 feet high, on the top of which is carved a lion. By its side (*or, on its side*) is a record relating the circumstances of his *Nirvāṇa*. It was erected by Aśōka-rāja.

To the north-east of the town of Krakuchchanda Buddha, going about 30 li, we come to an old capital (*or, great city*) in which there is a *stūpa*. This is to commemorate the spot where, in the Bhadra-kalpa when men lived to the age of 40,000 years, Kanakamuni Buddha was born.



Fig. 5: The stump with the inscription.



Fig. 6: The stump as found (Führer 1897: pl. IV).

To the north-east of the city, not far, there is a *stūpa*; it was here, having arrived at complete enlightenment, he met his father.

Farther north there is a *stūpa* containing the relics of his bequeathed body; in front of it is a stone pillar with a lion on the top, and about 20 feet high; on this is inscribed a record of the events connected with his *Nirvāṇa*; this was built by Aśoka-*raja*” (Beal 1884 II: 18f.).

It seems that the places of Kanakamuni and Krakucchanda were about 10 to 12 km distant from each other, Krakucchanda about 20 km due south of Kapilavastu, and Kanakamuni north-north-east of the former. In this case the pillar cannot have been moved very far from its original position.

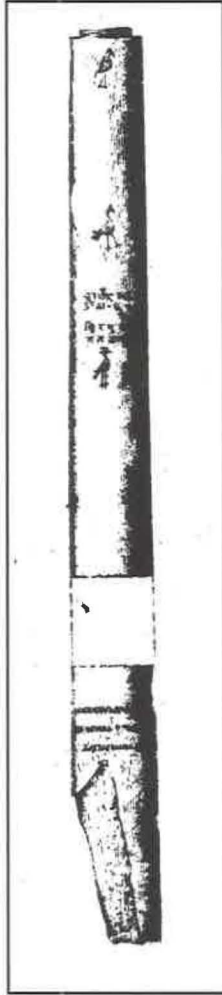


Fig. 7: The only depiction of the lower end of the small part (after Mukherji 1901: pl. XVII).



Fig. 8: The upper part as seen by A. Führer (1897: pl. V).

The text:

*devānampiyena piyadasina lājina codasavasā[bhisi]tena
budhasa konākamanasa thube dutiyam vaḍhite
[vīsativa]sabhisitena ca atana āgāca mahīyite
[silāthabhe ca usa]pāpīte*

“When king Priyadarśin, dear to the gods, was consecrated for this 14th regnal year he enlarged the *stūpa* of Buddha Konāgamana to double its size. When he was consecrated for his 20th (?) regnal year he came in person and payed homage and had a stone pillar erected.”

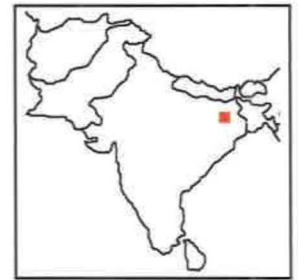


Figs. 9-11: Three birds in vertical succession; similar birds are seen in Rāmpūrvā and Nandangarh.

Pāṭaliputra

Patna; Paṭanā; Ni-li;
Kūmrāhār Bāgh

Patna District, Bihar
25°36' N.
85°09' E.
GSI map 72 G/2



Further maps: Cunningham 1880d: pl. XLI (Panch-Pahāri); Waddell 1892: pl. II (town plan with old parts indicated), E. Hardy 1902: 40; Waddell 1903: 28 (+ map); Altekar & Mishra 1959: 3, 14; S.P. Gupta 1980: 228f.

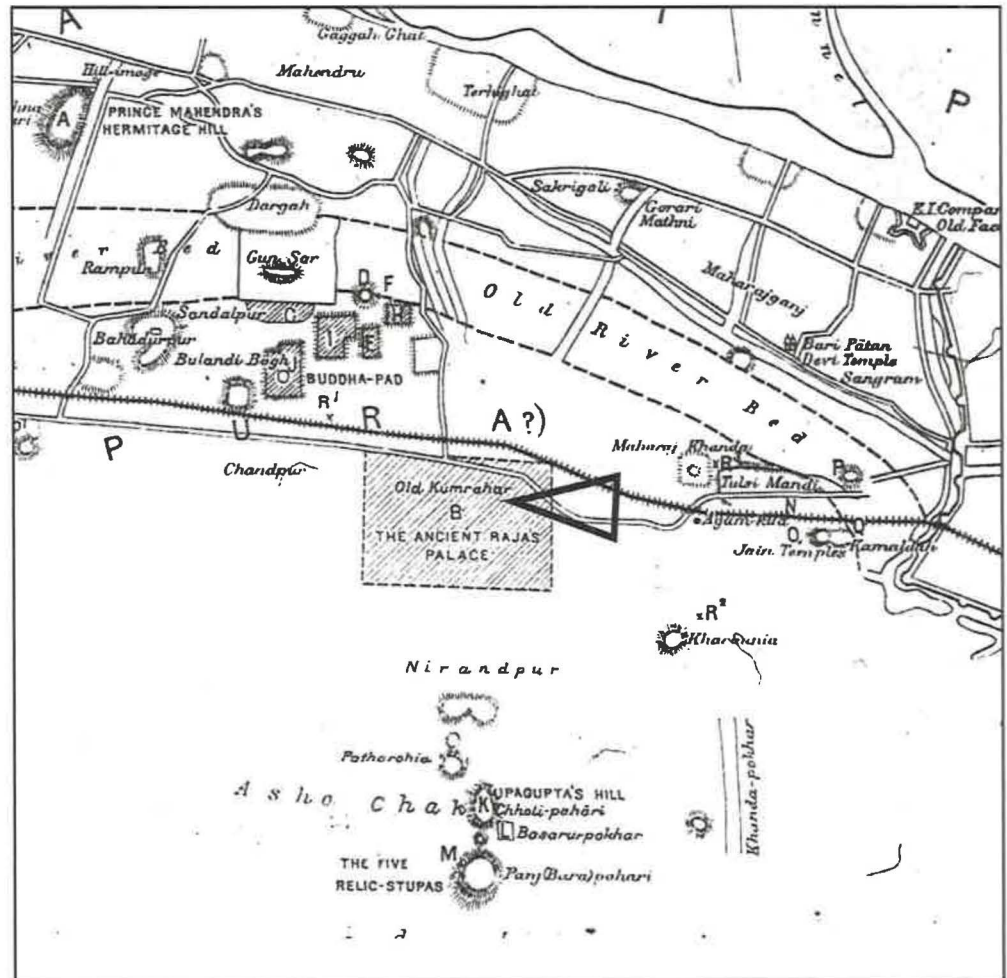
Access:

Pillar fragments A–C: Inside the excavation area. A key is with the watchman. For fragments D–E see below.

Discovery:

There are several fragments coming from several pillars in town; in the following they are labelled A to E.

Parts of ancient Pāṭaliputra were excavated by P.C. Mukharji, whose report came to



The historical sites of Patna according to Waddell 1897 pl. II.



Fig. 1: The upper broken part of fragment A.



Fig. 2: The lower part of fragment A.



Fig. 3: Pillar as found by Spooner (after *ASIAR* 1912-13, pl. XLVII).



Fig. 4: Fragment C lodged in the Bhubaneswar Museum.

the proof stage in 1898, but remained unpublished. Some excerpts are printed in Smith 1909b: 156ff. Mukharjī found numerous fragments of pillars of the Aśokan type. Most of them seem to belong to the pillar (A) now in the Kūmrāhār bāgh, where also most of the fragments are lodged. Three pillars are said to have been found at Kūmrāhār, two more at Lohānīpur, and information about a sixth was gathered (Smith 1909b: 156). A survey of early historical records and discoveries is found in Waddell 1892 and 1902.

The best-preserved pillar (A: figs. 1-3) with its base part complete was found by Spooner in 1912-13, together with a series of pillar fragments, allegedly heaped up over “vertical bands of ash” (60). Spooner had started his excavations expecting to find a similar pillared audience hall as at Persepolis. Not finding a series of pillars he interpreted some ash-holes as the places where, after a devastating fire, some fragments stayed on the spot, while the rest of the pillars sunk into the ground. Although many of

his philiranian ideas were dismissed in the times to come, the idea of an Achaemenid architecture at Pāṭaliputra was maintained by some of his successors.

A further series of 7 pillar fragments was found by Altekar & Mishra (1959: 34) in a well-sealed pit together with more debris. According to the last-named excavators, the building was destroyed very early, i.e. in or before Śuṅga times. The reason given, however, a “Greek invasion in the reign of Pushyamitra Śuṅga” (1959: 23), would need



Fig. 5: The underside of fragment A with its trimmed edge and most of the signs; note the two darts at the right side.

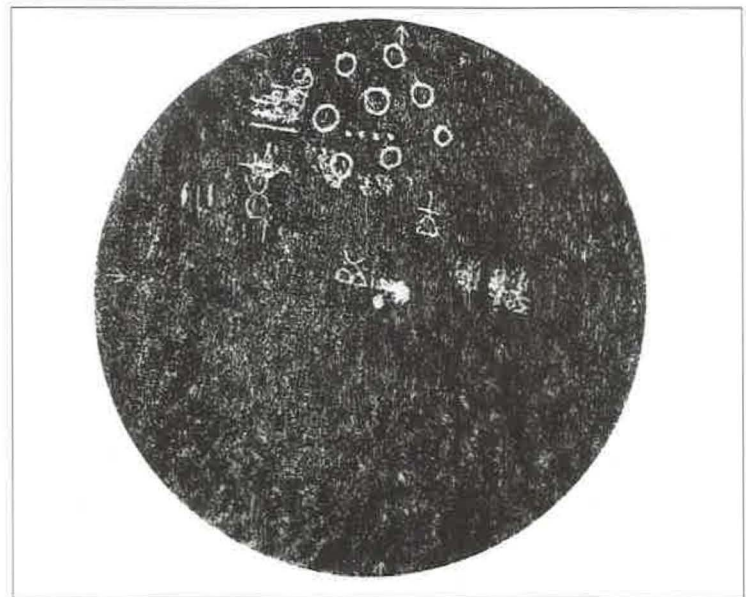


Fig. 6: Rubbing of the underside as published by Spooner 1912-13; pl. XLIX, eliminating the dart on the right side.



Fig. 7: One of the fragments B showing the hole for the bolt.

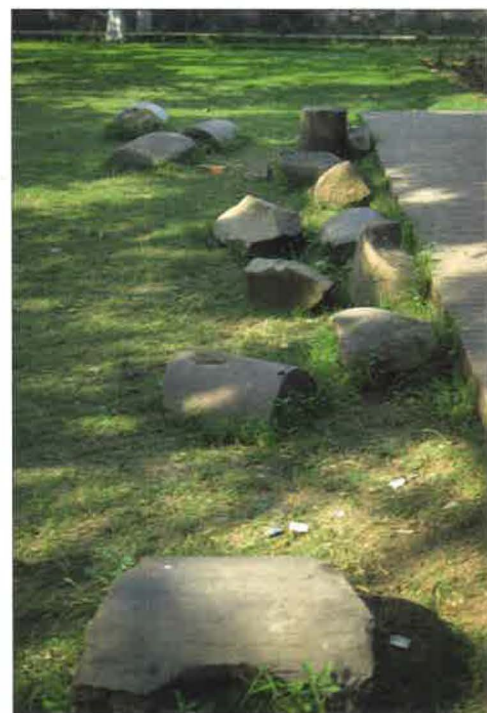


Fig. 8: Fragments B outside the shed.

further justification. An ordinary fire would have served the same purpose.

The compound is still regarded as originally having served administrative purposes – in the wake of Spooner’s fanciful ideas. All buildings, however, and all seals and inscriptions point to a place in the care of the Buddhist *saṅgha*. Through a sealing found on the spot the monastery’s name is known as the *ārogyavihāra*.

The findplace of the pillar stump is described in a confusing way by Spooner. Allegedly, it was found “where we expected to find the third column from the west in the sixth row from the north” (68/69). No ash

hole was underneath, “proving” that missing bases and ash holes belong together. In his “plan of the Mauryan level” (pl. XLI) there is a small circle where a third column west of the sixth row from the north would be expected. Is this the place where the stump was found? It would be outside the grid of ash holes. This impression is confirmed by Spooner’s pl. XLVIIa, which does not only show “rows of polished sandstone fragments”, but also the stump at some distance, clearly outside the rows. In any case, the stump is not one of many similar pillars. The other fragments (B) on the spot are not polished and seem to derive from much smaller pillars.

Preservation:

Fragment A:

Inside an open shed at the Kūmrāhār excavation ground is the lower part of a pillar fulfilling in all respects the requirements for an Aśokan pillar. It was found by Spooner in his excavations of 1912–13. The lower 3 m are preserved intact, for about another 1.5 m the front and back sides are split off.

Fragments B:

Outside this shed many fragments of many more pillars are placed. Some were found by Altekar & Mishra 1959, others by Mukharjī and Spooner. None of the fragments is



Fig. 9: The edge with the dart on the vertical side.



Fig. 10: Two of the chipped trunnions.



Fig. 11: Capital E as fixed in front of the ASI office, Patna.



Fig. 12: Backside of capital E.



Fig. 13: Round surface of flattened pillar (after Kanoria & Prasad 1999).

longer than one meter, none is complete in its circumference.

Fragment C:

Another pillar fragment from Patna is on display in the State Museum Bhubaneswar. It bears two accession numbers, “B.1” and “AY 2”, with a sign saying “from Pāṭaliputra”. No further information is available from the directorate.

Fragment D:

There is one more fragment lodged in the inner courtyard of the Patna Museum, acc.no. “Arch 1251”. Its length is 107 cm, still 61 cm wide. The stone is greyish-beige without inclusions. Although there is no information available at the museum itself, this fragment could be the one unearthed in July 1889 on behalf of Mr. Waddell (1902: 30f.) near the Kalu tank in Kūmrāhār, together with two more pieces of similar size.

Capital E:

In the entrance way of the Archaeological Survey of India, Patna, Judges Court Road, a bell fragment is re-erected on a concrete base (figs. 11, 12). This seems to be the one mentioned by Smith 1909b: 157 as “dug up close to the railway on a bit of waste ground called Bulandibāgh (‘High-grove’), and which I saw lying there. ‘It is in yellowish sandstone, and very large in size, the different faces showing ornaments of honey-suckle, *guilloche* [note by Smith: Guilloche is an ornament consisting of a band of twisted lines or strings] and other decorated bands’ (p. 22

[i.e. in Mukharjī’s proofs]). This remarkable object was figured in his [Mukharjī’s] unpublished Plate XLVII. So far as I [Smith] remember, it was about 4 feet in diameter, and square.”

Without this history it is mentioned by P.S. Gupta 1980: 27 with pls. 8a,b as found by R.S. Bisht. Today, it is presented by Survey officers as possibly of pre-Mauryan times. The form of decoration in its upper part makes a younger origin more likely.

A pseudo-pillar:

From 1999 on, V.K. Kanoria and U. Prasad reported on a pillar found in the Madrasa mosque, located “in the extreme western end of the precinct of Patna Fort”, “50 to 60 feet from the banks of the river” (fig. 13). Allegedly, there is polish on the exposed sides of the stump, “akin to other Ashokan sand stone columns found elsewhere” (Kanoria & Prasad 1999: 112). Today, the stone protrudes 3 to 4 inches above the ground with a diameter of 67.2 cm. Authorities of the ASI at Patna were very hesitant to take this find seriously. Excavating the stump much further down will hopefully clarify the case.

Measurements / Material:

Fragment A:

Preserved for 4.47 m, of which the upper 1.5 m have lost the front and backsides. Altekar & Mishra 1959: 17 fn. 1 connect top parts with this base and compute a total

length of around 9.98 m. My own measurements confirm those of Spooner and result in a much smaller size of around 7 m.

The base measures 76 cm across, the top part 2.9 m higher still shows a diameter of 69.4 cm. This leads to a tapering of 2.27 cm per metre.

There is no dividing line, but the part underground has been deduced from the stratigraphy by Altekar & Mishra (1959: 17). Four square trunnions left their traces on four opposite sides, starting at a height of 147 to 149 cm from below, being each around 22 cm high, and 20, 25, 23 and 27 cm broad. All trunnions have been chiseled off almost to surface level, one of them has been particularly smoothed.

Stone: Pabhosā type, i.e. greyish beige with inclusions, no red shades. The stone seems comparable to that at Niglivā.

Polish: Comparable to Goṭihavā and the lion pillar at Rāmpūrvā, the polish goes down to the base.

Signs on the underside: There is a row of signs on the flat underside (figs. 5, 6), comprising a row of 9 circles in 3 rows of 3 topped by a series of verticals. Near the centre is a moon-on-hill, in between stands a triangle-on-stand, upside down. There are some more verticals, dots and erased signs. At the lion pillar at Rāmpūrvā similar circles can be found (p. 201, fig. 24); on the Rāmpūrvā copper bolt some of the other signs are preserved (p. 199, figs. 12, 13).

Darts: In the four directions one arrow each is found, the lower and upper pointing up, the left and the right one pointing right. The right arrow has a continuation on the outer face in another arrow pointing up.

These four arrows seem to have facilitated the turning of the stone in even quarter steps during the smoothening process.

Fragments B:

Outside the shed are 8 pieces of a second pillar (figs. 7, 8). If all parts belong to just one pillar, some of its measurements can be given.

The broadest piece is still 68 cm wide, pointing to an original width of about 75 cm. The top is at least partially preserved with its flat surface and parts of the hole for the bolt. From the middle of the circular hole to the outer rim the piece measures 29.5 cm, so that the pillar end is about 59 cm thick.

There is no tenon at the top, which is plainly flat; the hole is 17.5 cm deep and about 8 cm wide.

Stone: All fragments are of a reddish stone with inclusions.

Fragment C:

The Bhubaneswar pillar fragment is 75 cm high, broken diagonally. The original circumference can be calculated on the basis of its rear part being 69 cm across, and the remaining surface of 114 cm, to which another 4 cm have to be added because of an irregularity of the break. Its full diameter must have been *ca.* 69.6 cm, a size consistent with a continuation of the Kūmrāhār stump.

Fragment D:

Length 107 cm, width 61 cm in greyish stone.

Capital E:

The diameter just above the bead and reels is still 97 cm. Compared to the cut line of 54 cm, the original complete diameter must have been 55 cm. One petal segment measures 11.5 cm; so there should have once been 16 petals, as on Mauryan bells.

Presentations of the pillar fragments:

Photography:

Pillar stump A: Spooner 1912–13: pls.

XLVIIa+b = Stewart 1993: fig. 7 (in situ); Spooner 1912–13: pl. XLIC,6 = Stewart 1993, fig. 8 (rubbing of signs on base); Altekar & Mishra 1959: pls. V (signs on base), VI (pillar on display).

Fragments B: Altekar & Mishra 1959: pl. VI (top parts).

Capital E: S.P. Gupta 1980: pls. 105 b, c.

Literature:

General: Beglar 1878a; Cunningham 1880d; Waddell 1892, 1902; T. Bloch 1902; Y.D. Sharma 1953: 146f.; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 233f.; Patil 1963: 380–408; J. Pandey 1998.

On excavations: Smith 1909b; Altekar & Mishra 1959; Stewart 1993 (on Spooner and his reception).

On Chinese pilgrims and their records: Waddell 1902: 69–76; Smith 1909b: 153–159, 1911: 224.

On the literary history: Shastri 1920: 23ff.

On preservation measures: IA-R 1987–88: 211.

On the pseudo pillar: Kanoria & Prasad 1999; U. Prasad 2002.

Visitors:

1. Pillar near a monastery:

Faxian, AD 399: “When Asôka destroyed the seven pagodas, with a view to building eighty-four thousand others, the very first large pagoda he built was at a distance of over three *li* to the south of the city. In front of this there is a foot-print of Buddha’s, over which a shrine has been raised, with its entrance facing north.

To the south of the pagoda there is a stone pillar, fourteen or fifteen feet in girth and over thirty feet in height. On it there is an inscription as follows: “King Asôka bestowed the inhabited portion of the world on the priesthood of all quarters, and then bought it back from them with money; he did this three times” (Giles 1923: 48).

Xuanzang, AD 629: “By the side of the vihâra which contains the traces of Buddha, and not far from it, is a great stone pillar about thirty feet high, with a mutilated

inscription on it. This, however, is the principal part of it, viz., ‘Asôka-râja with a firm principle of faith has thrice bestowed Jambudvîpa as a religious offering on the Buddha, the Dharma, and the assembly, and thrice he has redeemed it with his jewels and treasure; and this is the record thereof.’ Such is the purport of the record” (Beal 1884, II: 91).

2. Pillar in “Hell”

Faxian: “Three to four hundred paces to the north of the pagoda is the place where Asôka built the city of Ni-li (unidentified), in the middle of which is a stone pillar, also over thirty feet in height. On the top of it there is a lion, and on the pillar there is an inscription recording the origin of the city of Ni-li, with the year, month, and day on which the inscription was written” (Giles 1923: 48).

Xuanzang: “To the north of the old palace of the king is a stone pillar several tens of feet high; this is the place where Asôka (Wu-yau) râja made ‘a hell’ (...); he constituted a hell for the purpose of torturing living creatures. He surrounded it with high walls with lofty towers. He placed there specially vast furnaces of molten metal, sharp scythes, and every kind of instrument of torture like those in the infernal regions.” (Beal 1884, II: 85f.).

3. Caves

Xuanzang: “To the south-west of the old palace there is a small rocky hill, with many dozens of caves, which was made for Asoka by the demons for the use of Upagupta and other arhats.” On this cf. Beglar (1878a: 27): “To the south-west of the present city of Patna, and about one kos from the Patna bazar, and the same distance south-east from Bânkipur, there is a small rocky hill, at the base of which is a small hamlet; the rock summit of the hill, however is uninhabited; it is now known as Bhiká Pahári. (...) The name of the hill Bhiká Pahári, meaning the hill of the Bhikkus (or mendicant monks), is so clear a record of its ancient purpose, that further comment is needless; it is unquestionably the hill referred to by the pilgrim.”

Rāmpūrvā

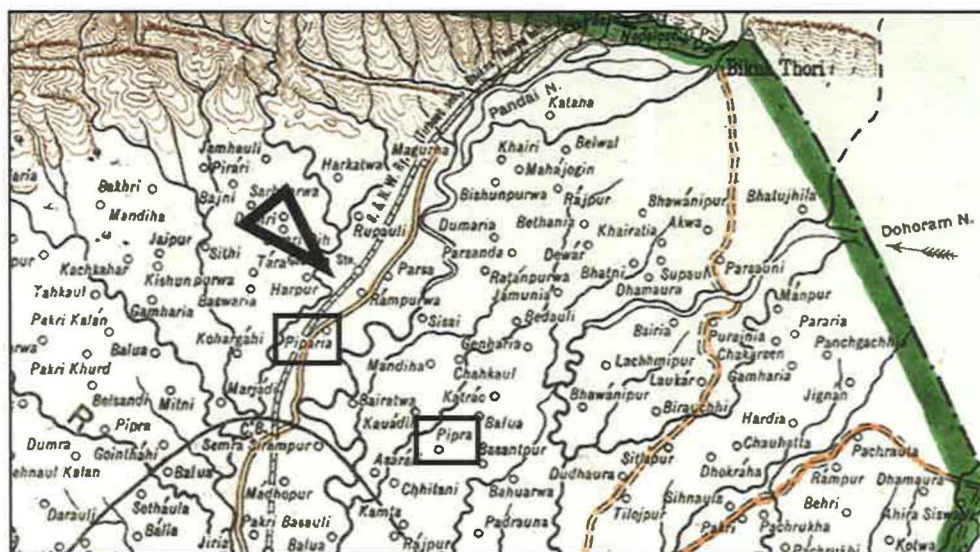
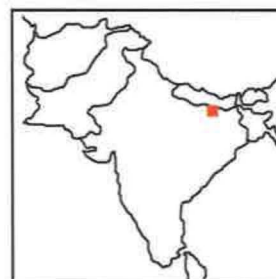
Camparān District, Bihar

27°15'45" N.

84°28' E.

GSI map 72 A/10

US Army map "Kātmāndu" NG 41-1



Further map: Carlleyle 1885b: pl. VI (sketch map of the site).

Access:

1) Original site with the two pillars:

The road by the side of the Nandangarh pillar leads NE to Nepal. Follow this road to Narkatiyaganj and from there for 13 km to

the town of Pipariyā. At its northern end, before crossing the channel, turn left and proceed along the channel bank for 4 km until the railway crossing appears. Take the bridge leading north and enter Pipariyā village. About 100 m north of the village the road forks at a farmhouse. Take the left branch and turn left again to cross the railway line. Park the car some meters to the right and walk across the fields to the shed with the pillars.

Since the road is very bad and the area rather dangerous after sunset, it may be advisable to take a train. The station is Gaunahā,

probably to be reached from Narkatiyaganj.

2) Lion capital:

In the Indian Museum, Calcutta, entrance hall; the lion is completely blackened because of the polluted air outside. No restrictions, photo permit Rs 25.

2a) Lion pillar copper dowel:

Indian Museum, Calcutta, reserve collection.

3) Bull capital:

First stationed in the Indian Museum it is now in the portico of the Rāṣṭrapati Bhavan in New Delhi. It may be visited after applying for permission to the Secretary, Protocol Officer, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi.



Fig. 1: Both pillars close to the Terai hills.



Fig. 2: The lion pillar before its removal (ASIAR 1912-13 part I, pl. IV-a).

Discovery:

1) *Lion pillar and capital*: Carlleyle (1885b: 51) in his report on operations during the season of 1877–78: “some Thārus, who happened to come down to Laoriya, told me that in the locality which they frequented to the north in the Tarai, there was a stone sticking in the ground which they called Bhīm’s Lāt, and which they said resembled the top or capital of the pillar at Laoriya!”

When the lion pillar was found the lower part of the capital was still connected to the shaft. Mr. Garrick disconnected it and removed the large copper bolt. This bolt, which served as a dowel between shaft and capital, was described by Cunningham (1885: iv), but left unmentioned in the full report of Carlleyle in the same volume.

In November 1907 D.R. Sahni found the upper part of the lion close to the upper end of the column, 7 feet below the surface. “Underneath the pillar was a massive stone slab, nearly 2 feet thick, originally secured in position by heavy stakes of sāl wood, which the water had wonderfully preserved” (Marshall 1908: 1086). “At the point of division between the rough and smooth surfaces of the pillar, which, there was reason to assume, marked the ground level and the Aśoka period, Pandit Daya Ram enlarged the digging in several directions, and discovered remains of a brick pavement, an earthenware well, and a small number of potsherds” (Marshall 1908: 1087).

2) *Bull pillar and capital*:

The bull pillar was situated 300 yards south of the lion pillar. The stump still protruded a few feet above ground and is first mentioned (“the shattered stump of a stone pillar of some kind standing erect in the ground. This shattered stump is now only 6 feet in height, but about 9 ¼ feet in circumference at base”) in Carlleyle 1885: 53, its place shown in his map pl. VI.

The site was fully excavated by D.R. Sahni in November 1907. The pillar stood inside an irregularly shaped brick plinth measuring about 3.50 x 2.5 m (Sahni 1907–08: 185) and was given a brick flooring at the upper level of the plinth. The bull capital came to light “rather unexpectedly some five feet from the eastern end of the fallen shaft” (p. 186). Sahni expected the bolt to be present within the bull bell, but refrained from excavating it (187).

Preservation/Material:

1) *Lion pillar and capital*

1a) *Pillar*: In very good condition, apart from inner fractures.



Fig. 3: The inscription under the roof.



Fig. 4: The rather smooth underground part of the lion pillar.



Fig 5: Two birds and one fish close to the top of the pillar.



Fig. 6: The geese frieze below the lion.



Fig. 7: The tenon-part of the lion pillar with two incised peacocks.



Fig. 8: The lion with its black tint today.



Fig. 9: The lion in its original light colour (after Chanda 1927: pl. II-b).



Fig. 10: Two fishes and two peacocks between the left feet of the lion.



Fig. 11: One bird partly obliterated by wear between the right feet of the lion.

Material: Gray “Cunār” sandstone with no red touches, lacking the usual black inclusions.

1b) Capital: The lion must have fallen from the pillar and broken in two. The bell and abacus with the lower portion of the animal appears to have remained on the surface and shows traces of continuous wear. The upper part of the animal lost the lower jaw after hitting the ground, but apart from that it is in remarkably good shape.

Material: Impossible to say since the lion has taken on a black patina due to the exhaust from the street overlaying everything in the entrance hall.

Copper bolt: In perfect condition.

2) Bull pillar and capital

2a) Pillar: Broken in the middle longways in three pieces, otherwise in good condition.

Material: Gray “Cunār” sandstone lacking the black inclusions; some small parts in the middle oxydized red.

2b) Capital: The bull capital is in a very good state of preservation. Apart from the horns only minor parts of the body are missing.

Material: Gray “Cunār” sandstone with no red touches, lacking the usual black inclusions. The stone has been smoothed, but not to a mirror-like finish.

Both pillars were removed by Sahni (1907/08: 188) and “placed on raised platforms on the top of the mound to the west of the southern column”. A “plain shed” now shelters the inscription on the lion pillar; the bull pillar is without any roof.

Measurements:

1) Lion pillar and capital:

1a) Base slab:

The base slab was exposed only on one side;

this side measures 2.36 m; the slab was 53 cm thick (Sahni 1907–08: 183). The stone was originally secured with stout *sāl* wood stakes at the four corners, two of which were found in a much decayed condition (Sahni 1907–08: 183).

1b) Pillar:

(Source: own measurements; for further measurements see Carlleyle 1885b: 52; Marshall 1908: 1086; Kuraishi 1931; Sahni 1907–08: 183; Irwin 1974a: 716; S.P. Gupta 1980: 24.) The pillar measures 13.64 m in length; this amounts to 16 MY à 85.25 cm (cf. p. 255); 2.67 m are left unpolished. The lowest line of the inscription is found at 3.09 m above the dividing line.

1c) Capital:

(Source: own measurements).

Lion: 114 cm high, 144 cm deep.

Abacus: 16 cm high; in its broken condition it still has a circumference of 297 cm. Measuring the underside gives 99.5 cm as the original diameter. The lower ring is 4.2 cm high, 268 cm in circumference, i.e. a diameter of 85.3 cm, or 1 MY.

There are 6 birds on either side, each one 13 cm high and 25 cm long, all front oriented and joining in the middle of the front view.

Bell: The upper ring is 9 cm high, measuring 239 cm circ. = 76 cm diam.; the bell proper is 52 cm high, 315 cm circ. at the broadest upper part = 100 cm diameter; 316 cm at the broadest lower part; lower ring 3 cm high; 16 petals.

1d) Copper bolt:

According to my own measurements the bolt is 62.2 cm long; its diameters are 8.5 cm at one end, 10.82 cm in the middle, and 8.3 cm at the other end.

It weighs 37 kg and consists of copper with a high content of silicium, probably used as a flux. There are traces of calcium, chlorine, magnesium, aluminum and iron (SEMQuant analysis thanks to Anke Sängler).

The bolt was cast in two steps leading to two identical conical parts which were finally welded together. The connecting zone is still discernible as a small groove right in the middle of the object. Each of the two parts was cast in a mould; the molten metal was not of identical composition in all cases; the first part was cast into the tilted receptable, so that the metal solidified leaving oblique lines across the bolt. The second half was cast filling the receptable to the brim. The different metal combinations show different colours – from light copper brown to dark copper brown.

When compared to the hole in the pillar it can be seen that the bolt is more than 1 cm thinner than the hole is wide, and half of the bolt is more than 1 cm shorter than the hole is deep. This means that the bolt must have been fixed with some additional material.

The bolt has three rows of ideograms. Only Jayaswal 1936: pl. II shows all of them. In D. Prasād 1937: 64, pl. 8, Allchin 1959: 548 and Irwin 1973: 713a one complete row of 6 very tiny signs (fig. 12) is omitted, most likely because they were invisible as long as the bolt was fixed to the wall in the Indian Museum hiding the said signs on its back.

2) Bull pillar and capital:

2a) Base-slab:

There is no report about a base-slab; however, there is also no report about no base-slab. Even Irwin's (1974a: 724 fig. N) reworked plan shows that the pillar had not

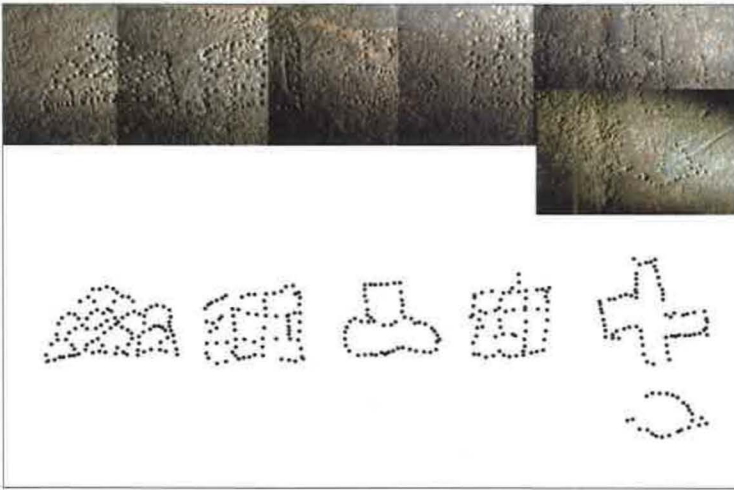


Fig. 12: A series of undocumented signs arranged horizontally on the bolt.



Fig. 13: Some of the signs and a dart arranged vertically on the bolt.

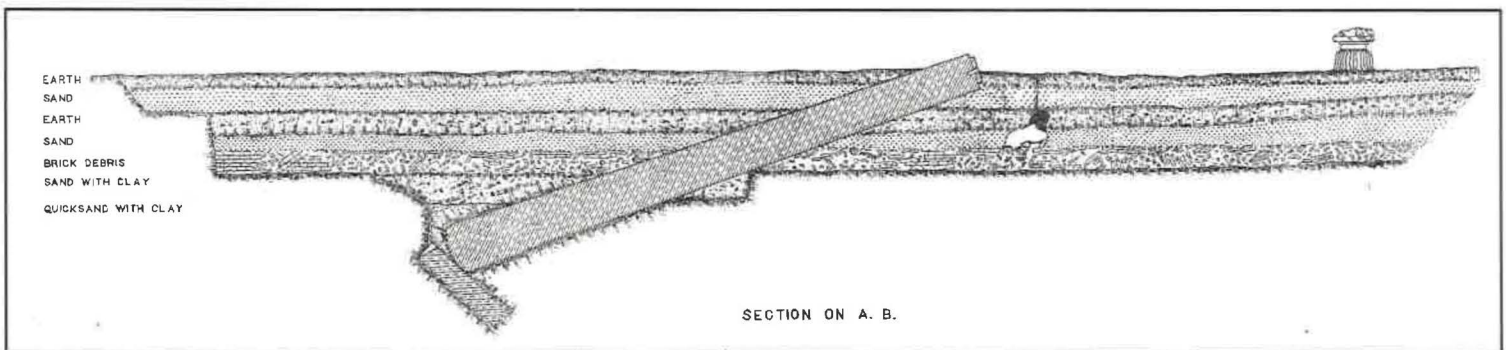


Fig. 14: Stratigraphy of the lion pillar including the base-slab (after Sahni 1907-08: pl. LXV).

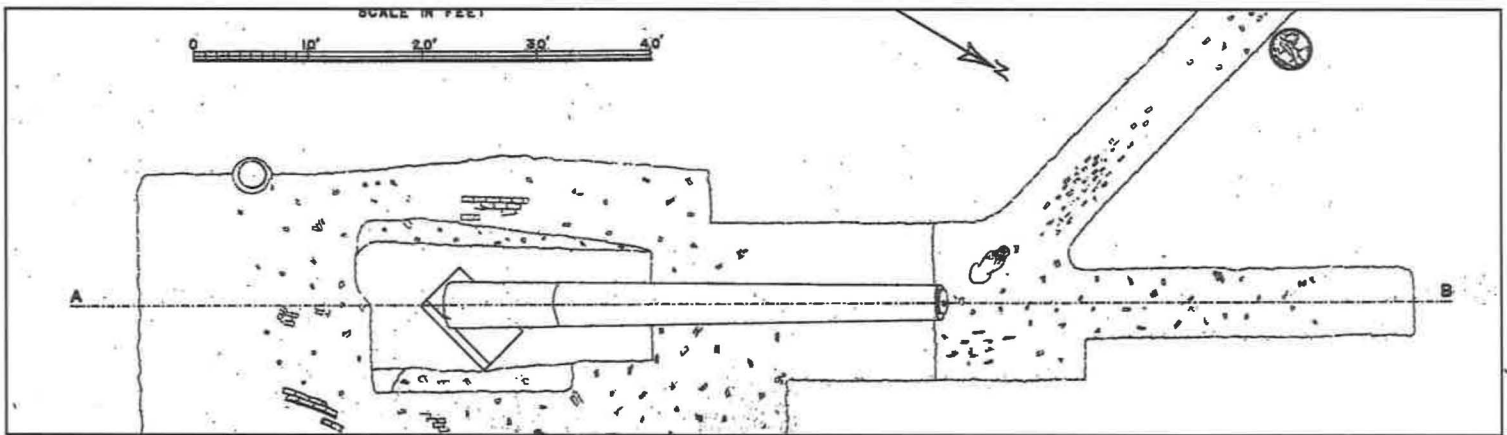


Fig. 15: Plan of the excavation of the lion pillar (after Sahni 1907-08: pl. LXV).

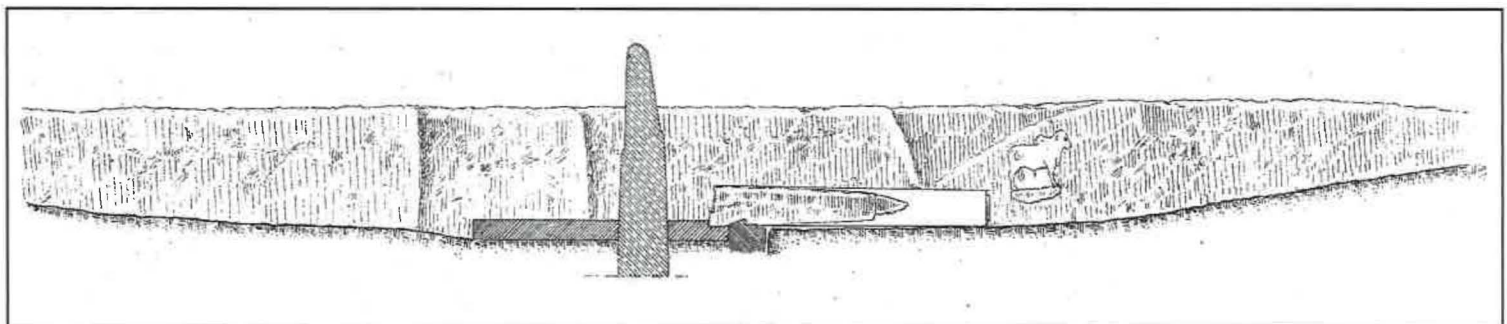


Fig. 16: Stratigraphy of the bull pillar during excavation; the base-slab was not reached, due to water-logging (after Sahni 1907-08: pl. LXVIII).



Fig. 17: Both ends of the bolt show cross-marks.

at all sunk "nine feet below its original level"; its rough underground part ended very close to the level of the fallen bull.

2b) Pillar:

(Source: own measurements; cf. Irwin 1974a: 716 and S.P. Gupta 1980: 24). S.P. Gupta gives 13.21 m as the total length; however, the pillar consists of 3 fragments which overlap. The upper part measures 5.6 m; the fragment from the middle measures 2.13 m; the base part should amount to 5.48 m, definitely more than the 4.7 m excavated by Sahni.

2c) Capital:

Bull: Overall height 2.06 m (6'9" in Sahni 1907-08: 187), the bull alone measures 1.22 m (S.P. Gupta 1980: 25).

Abacus: 19 cm high, 319 cm circumference = 101 cm diameter.

Bell: 65 cm high.

Particulars:

a) Animal design on pillars and capital:

The upper side of the abacus of the lion capital shows some crude drawings: two peacocks and two fishes on the left and a bird-like sign on the right, partly worn. The corresponding pillar shows 2 peacocks on the upper side, once hidden by the bell, and 2 peacocks and 1 fish on the upper part of the shaft. For parallels see Nandangarh and Niglīvā.

b) Circular marks:

The bull pillar presents two arrangements of circles on its flat bottom and on the adjoining side of the rough lower part.

c) Tenons:

The bull pillar has 4 round tenons in flattened squares on the sides of its underground part.

Presentations of the text on the lion pillar:

Rubbing: Partial, as far as was visible above ground, by Garrick (1883c: 113), publ. in Bühler 1894a; Sahni 1907-08: 185; one new copy for Hultzsch 1925: 152-153; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pls. 60-61; Janert 1972b: 158, 197-211.

Editions: Bühler 1891a, 1892a, 1894a; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 59-71; Woolner 1924: 40-50; Hultzsch 1925: 151-155 (PE6 copied by Krishnan 1989: 85-86); J. Bloch 1950: 161-172; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 170-175; Sircar 1965b: 59-62 (PE5-6); Janert 1972b: 127-139; Rastogi 1990: 256, 264, 272, 282, 296, 304.

Presentations of the pillars and site:

Both pillars: S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 5c.

1) Lion pillar

1a) Pillar

Drawing: Carlleyle 1885: pl. VII (showing pillar partly submerged in water-logged ground; the bell being still attached to the



Fig. 18: The copper bolt in its full length.



Fig. 19: Different parts of the bull pillar, split vertically



Fig. 20: The pillar during excavation (after ASIAR 1907-08: pl. LXVIIa).



Fig. 21: The east side of the underground part of the bull pillar, showing polished square patches with middle tenon and some long polished parts, used for turning or transport.



Fig. 22: The west side of the underground part of the bull pillar.

shaft); Sahni 1907–08: pl. LXV (drawing of excavations).

Photography: Marshall 1908: pl. I,1 = Sahni 1907–08: pl. LXVIa; Sahni 1907–08: pl. LXVIb (pillar and lion when found, lion in situ); *ASIAR* 1912–13, I: pl. IVa (pillar in water hole); Chanda 1927: pl. IIb (lion parts combined); Bachhofer 1929: pl. 7; Kuraishi 1931: 17 (present state); Mookerji 1962: pl. VIII; S.P. Gupta 1980: 5d; Irwin 1983: fig. 15 (very good); BL Photo 1010/6(348–369) (pillar, capital, lion); BL Photo 1010/6(362–363) (basal plate exposed).

1b) Lion capital:

Garrick 1883b: pl. XXVIII (capital still without upper part of lion); R. Chanda 1927: pl. IIb (lion combined); Kuraishi 1931: 17 (lion combined); N.G. Majumdar 1937: pl. Ia; A. Sen 1955: 193; V. Smith 1969: pl. 8D; Irwin 1973: fig. 12; S.P. Gupta 1980: 5b; Nagar 1992: pl. 4; for a drawing of the engraved birds and fishes on the capital see S.P. Gupta 1980: 312. *Bolt:* S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 10e.

2) Bull pillar:

2a) Pillar:

Drawing of excavations: Sahni 1907–08: pl. LXVIII.

Photography: Marshall 1908: pl. I,3 = Sahni 1907–08: pl. LXVIIa (pillar and bull when found); Sahni 1907–08: pl. LXVIIb (pillar in plinth); BL Photo 1907–08(374–385) (from excavation, pillar base not exposed); Bachhofer 1929: pl. 7; Kuraishi 1931: 17 (present state); N.G. Majumdar 1937: pl. Ib; Mookerji 1962: pl. V.

2b) Bull capital:

Photography: Marshall 1908: pl. I,2 = Sahni 1907–08: pl. LXVIIc (bull in situ); R. Chanda 1927: pl. IIIa; Kuraishi 1931: 18; A. Sen 1955: 196; V. Smith 1969: pl. 7; Irwin 1974a: fig. 1 = 1983: fig. 1; Fussman 1983:



Fig. 23: Base part of the bull pillar showing 10 circles and 5 lines at the outside; further up are some parts abraded for turning or transport.



Fig. 24: Underside of the bull pillar showing a central cavity (for its "ritual significance" cf. Irwin 1974a: 718a), 11 circles and 6 lines.



Fig. 25: The front of the animal.

37; S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 5a; Irwin 1987b: 646; Nagar 1992: pl. 6; Allchin 1995b: 257.

Literature:

General: Carlleyle 1885b; Marshall 1902-03; Kuraishi 1931: 16-19; Woolner 1924: xv-xvi; Hultzsich 1925: xviii-xix; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 234; Patil 1963: 482-485; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 11; S.P. Gupta 1980: 24f.; Nagar 1992: 31-33; Chakrabarti et al. 1996: 157b.

On the bolt: S.P. Gupta 1980: 24 (with symbols).

On excavations: Garrick 1883c: 113, 116.

On preservation measures: ASIAR 1912-13, I: 6, pl. IV(a); IA-R 1980-81: 130.

Particularities of the script:

There is a peculiar sign, noticed by Marshall 1908: 1087 in the word *puṇnamāsiyaṃ*, where the *na* has two wavy lines beside each side of the vertical (cf. Hultzsich CII p. 153, line 6). Could this be interpreted as an early attempt to write a preconsonantal *r*?

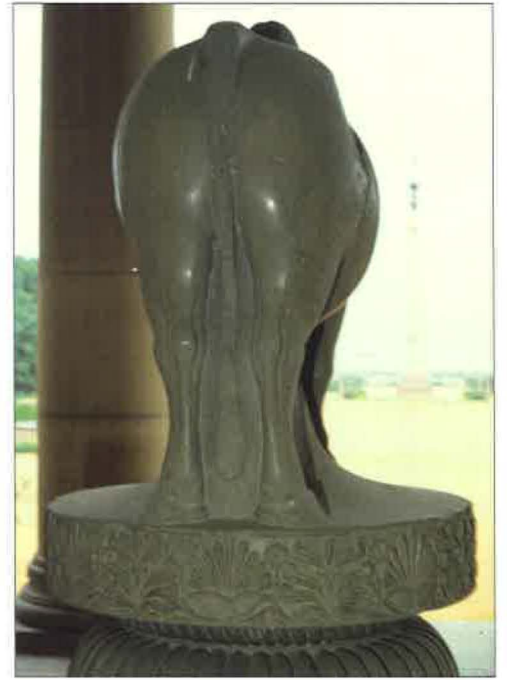


Fig. 26: The backside of the bull.



Fig. 27: The capital with honey-suckle freeze.



Fig. 28: Close-up of the floral design.



Fig. 29: The right side of the bull.

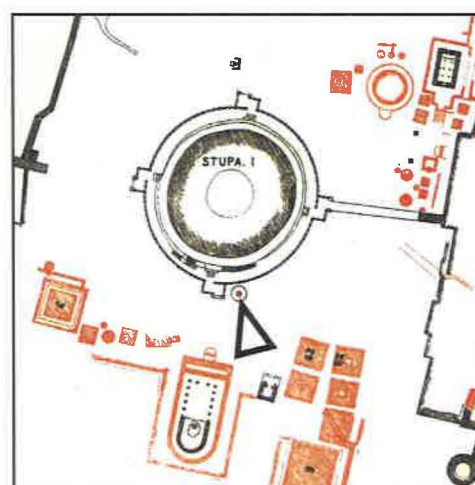
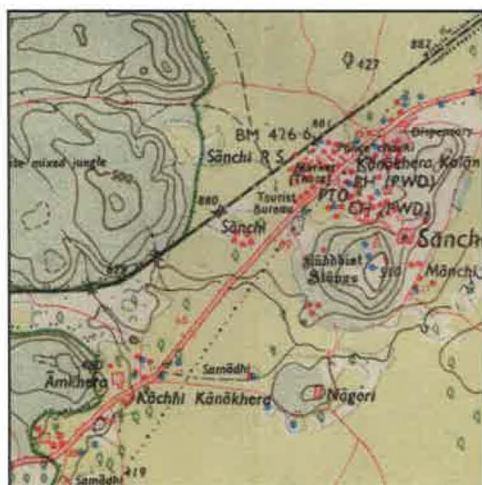
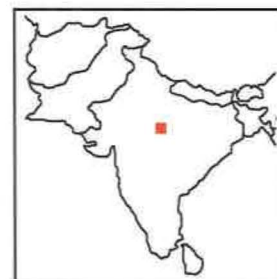


Fig. 30: The left side of the bull.

Sāñcī

Sanchi

Raisen District, MP
23°29' N.
77°44' E.
GSI map 55 E/11



Further maps: Marshall 1912–13c pl. VI (above, right), 1913–14; D. Mitra 1957; Allchin 1995b: 242.

Access:

Sāñcī as a well-known tourist attraction is still not easy of reach. Long distance trains will not stop despite a rule to the contrary. Taxis are plentiful in Bhopal or Vidisha.

Discovery:

A first survey was conducted by E. Smith for Prinsep 1837a; the pillar and inscription went unnoticed. T.S. Burt looked for more material in 1838 and found the inscription (Burt 1838: 562). J. Prinsep read and translated some portions for the same article (565).

Preservation:

The pillar is broken into several pieces. Those belonging to the lower part containing the edict have for the most part been reassembled and re-erected at the original site near the southern gate of the *stūpa*. The pillar split vertically, starting from the top. It also broke horizontally in several parts. Two drums from the vertical loss, each measuring about 60 cm high, used to be on display at the site museum.

The edict shows the usual red colour from the ink used for the early rubbings.

The lions of the capital are damaged, the “bell has been pieced together from a number of fragments and partially restored in

plaster of Paris” (Hamid, Kak & Chanda 1922: 19).

Material:

Pillar and capital are made from brownish grey Pabhosā sandstone with black inclusions.

Measurements:

The pillar has a circumference of 283 cm just below the edict, giving a diameter of 90 cm. The lower part with the edict now stands 2.6 m above the ground. The two remnants of the fallen part are preserved a few meters to the east under a shelter roof. These parts measure 4.30 m and 2.98 m, with an additional 5.5 cm for the tenon on the topmost piece used to fit into the crowning bell.



Fig. 1: The two top-parts in the ASI shed showing the flaked-off under-side.

Fig. 2: The same fragments showing shell-script and cutting holes.

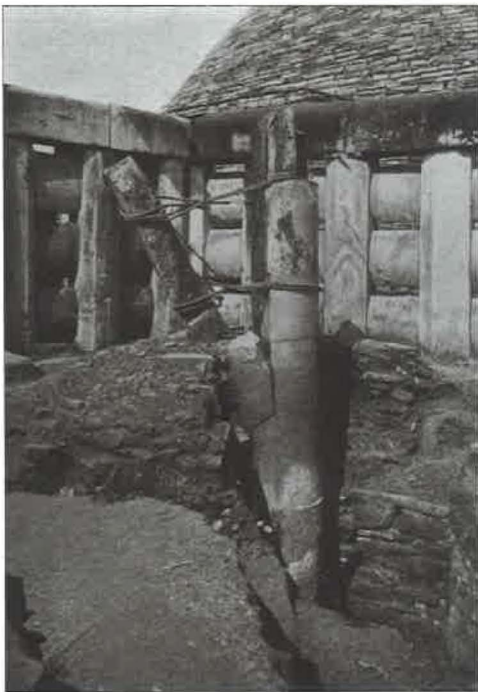


Fig. 3: The pillar during excavation (after Marshall 1913-14: pl. IIIa).

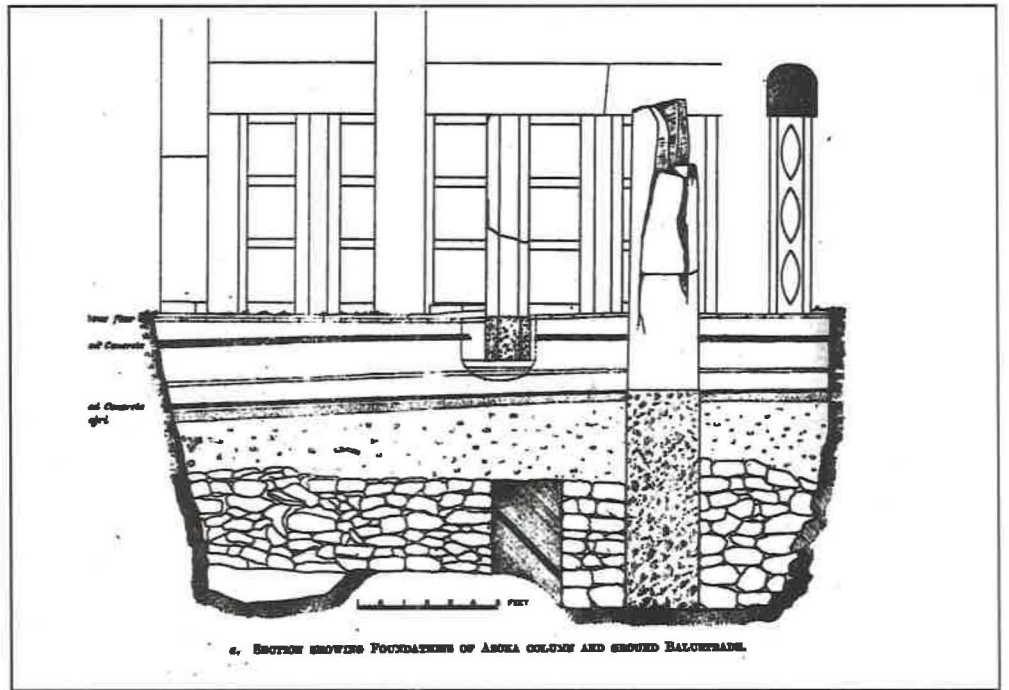


Fig. 4: Stratigraphy of the pillar foundation (after Marshall 1913-14: pl. VIIb).

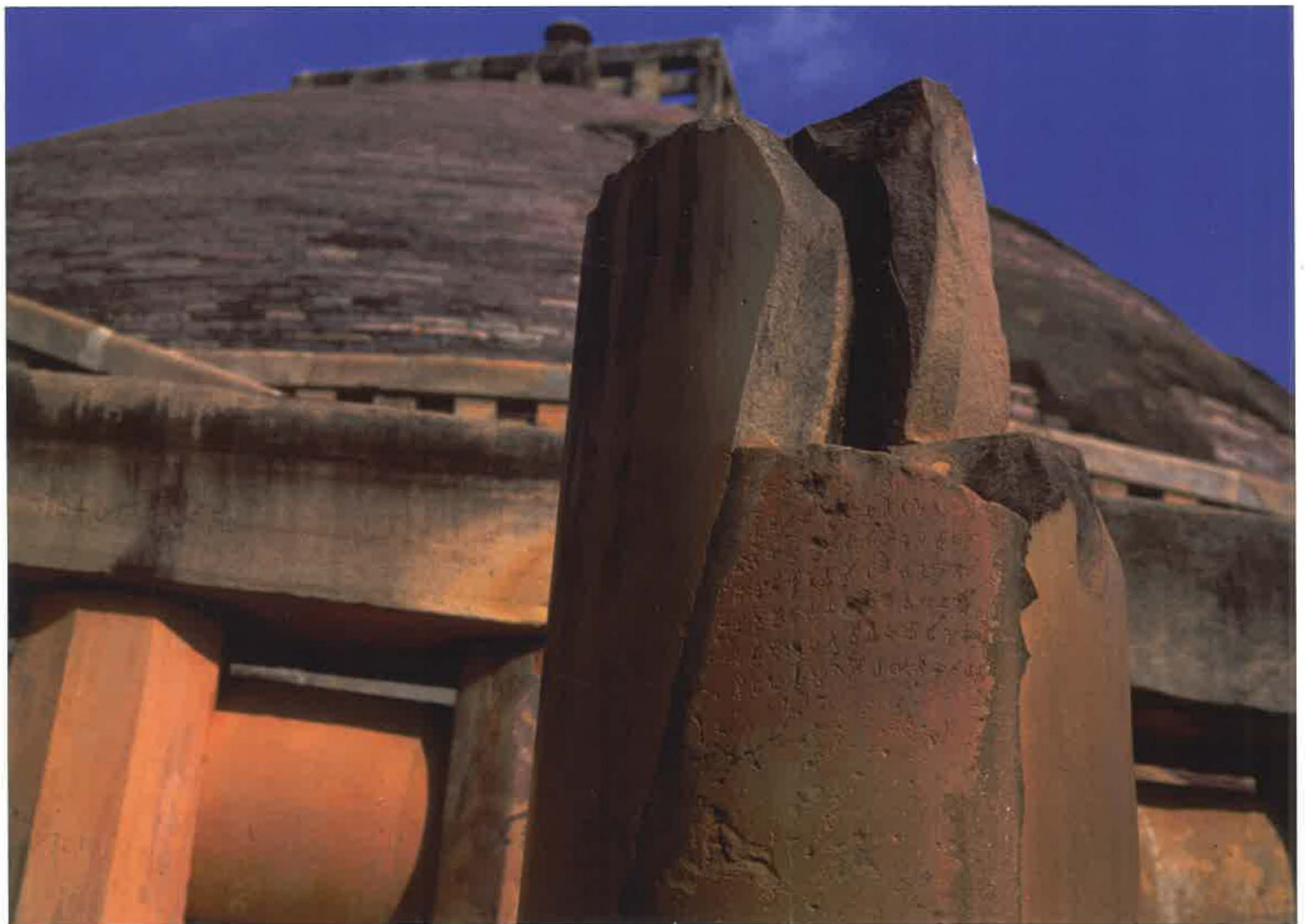


Fig. 5: The inscription seen against the *stūpa* dome.

These two parts taper from 87 cm to 78 and from 78 to 72 cm in diameter. The complete pillar, without the bell and the lion, stood at least 9.90 m above ground.

The capital measures 2.09 m in height (Hamid, Kak & Chanda 1922: 19).

The text on the pillar measures 36 x 35 cm with the left margin broken off in the upper part.

The *akṣaras* measure 1.7-2.3-2.6 cm.

There are 8 lines discernible containing 1 to 14 *akṣaras*. Today, the edict is at eye-level with its lower border 1.5 m above the ground.

Chanda 1927/28: 95 reports that the dividing line between the undressed and the polished portions is found 8' [2.44 m] below the bottom of the edict, which means that a reader originally would have found the edict about 2.5 m above the ground.

According to Marshall the pillar stands on the solid rock and was undressed for the first 8 feet. A concrete packing of 15 cm thickness met the pillar exactly at the dividing line.

Orientation:

The reader sees the *stūpa* behind the pillar.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: Burt 1838: 564 pl. 23; Cunningham 1854: pl. XIX, 1877: p. XX.

Rubbing: Bühler 1894b: 369 ("A. Führer impress."); Hultzsch 1925: 160; N.G. Majumdar 1939: pl. CXXVIII; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 63.

Editions: Burt 1838: 565 no. 46 (partial); Cunningham 1854: 167, 1877: 116; Bühler 1894b: 367; Boyer 1907: 123ff; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 102; Woolner 1924: 51; Hultzsch 1925: 160-161; N.G. Majumdar 1939: 287; J. Bloch 1950: 152-153; Alsdorf 1959: 165; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 39; Sircar 1965b: 71; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 183-184; Rastogi 1990: 317-318.



Fig. 6: The lion as found (Marshall 1912-13c).

Presentations of the pillar and site:

Drawing: Maisey 1892: pl. XIX (lion capital), pl. XXXIII (pillar restored to full length); Marshall 1913-14: pl. III.a (section showing foundation).

Photography: Fergusson 1868: pls. XVI-XVIII (before restoration work started); Marshall 1913-14: pl. VIIb (during excavation with rough lower part exposed); Bachhofer 1929: pl. 46 (gate restored, pillar split); Irwin 1983: fig. 17 (*in situ* as in 1913);



Fig. 7: The lion capital reassembled.

Office of Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: Nos. 11.290-11.298.

Lion capital: Marshall 1912-13c, pl. VIIIc; Hamid, Kak & Chanda 1922: pl. V; Bachhofer 1929: pl. 8; A. Sen 1955: 193; Saxena 1966: pl. III; D. Mitra 1971: pl. 65; Irwin 1973: fig. 6; Williams 1973: pl. 10; S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 7b; Nath & Saxena 1981: pl. III; Irwin 1983: fig. 16; Nagar 1992: pl. 2.

Literature:

General: Cunningham 1854, 1877: 42; Woolner 1924: xvi; Hultzsch 1925: xxi; D. Mitra 1957: 46f.; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 235; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 13; Weller 1963; D. Mitra 1971: 96-99; Eggermont 1986b, Shaw & Sutcliffe 2003.

On the pillar: Cunningham 1854: 124-126; Marshall 1913-14: 17f.; Hamid, Kak & Chanda 1922: 19; S.P. Gupta 1980: 22; Nagar 1992: 28-29.

On the schism edict: Venis 1907: 4; Bechert 1961/1982; Norman 1987b; Sasaki 1989; Nolot 1996.

Particularities of the text:

The writer breaks the lines regardless of word-boundaries. The letters are carelessly incised, not following a baseline. There are many misspellings.



Fig. 8: Close-up of claws, birds and honey-suckle motif.

Saṅkisā

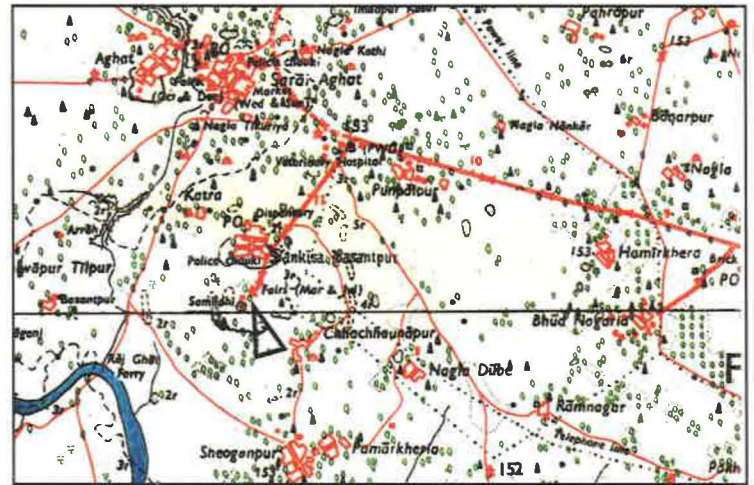
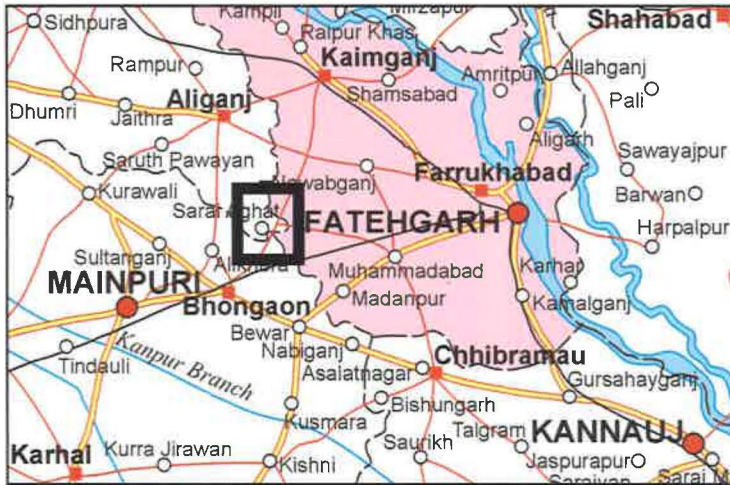
Sanksā; Sāṅkāśya

Farrukhabad District, UP

27°20' N.

79°16' E.

GSI map 54 M/7



Further maps: Cunningham 1871k: pl. XLV; H. Sastri 1929: 110f (site plan).

Access:

From Farrukhabad or from Bhongaon by taxi to Mohammadabad, then about 8 km ENE to Saṅkisā. No public transport is available.

In the year 1933–34 H. Kuraishi of the ASI had a stone shed erected to protect the elephant from sun and rain (ASIAR 1930–34, I: 11; II pl. II b).

Discovery:

Sāṅkāśya of old was identified with Saṅkisā by A. Cunningham in 1842. He explored it in 1862 (Cunningham 1871k: 271) and 1876 (1880a: 22). The site is identical with the one

visited by the Chinese pilgrims, but the preserved capital does not belong to the pillar described by them (s. below).

Attribution to Aśoka:

The famous elephant once crowned a pillar at Saṅkisā. However, Chinese visitors in the 5th and 7th century saw a pillar with a lion, attributed to Aśoka. This discrepancy received a seemingly plausible explanation: “either that was another column or the trunk was broken and the elephant thus disfigured was mistaken for the lion” (H. Shastri 1927: 110). A second explanation, already given by Cunningham (1871k: 278), was restated by Kishor (1941) observing that the trunkless elephant resembles a lion when viewed *en face*.

Against this it must be said that the elephant is so big and so clearly cut that it is impossible to mistake it for a lion when seen from the side. In addition, we learn from the Chinese pilgrims, that the lion was sitting on its heels as do all other Aśokan lions. The elephant is standing, however. A mistake is thus

more or less excluded and there must have been a second pillar at the site crowned by one of the single lions.

The elephant is unique in many respects. It is tempting to regard it as post-Aśokan because of a certain iconographical imbalance of the animal and the abacus decoration. However, as shown in the introduction, the capital is so misproportioned compared to the diameter of the pillar top that the weight must have been a real threat to the stability of the whole construction. The elephant shares with the Rāmpūrvā bull the feature of being the only non-lion top attested. It shares with the bull the unindented abacus and it has elaborate twisted cords above and below the bell, where later lion capitals have a plain convex profile. In addition, only this bell shows a drapery design between the lower ropes and the rim of the petals (see p. 143, fig. 10).

The Rāmpūrvā bull on a plain pillar was replaced after the collapse of the pillar by a “classical” lion of exceptional beauty on an inscribed pillar. It would not be surprising if the elephant also was given a replacement by a lion, the one seen by the Chinese pilgrims.

Preservation:

The elephant capital is in rather good shape, though, with some parts missing. Regarding the trunk, Hiranand Shastri (1927: 109, pl. III) showed that it was most likely raised upwards, judging from the mass of terracotta votive elephants found on the spot. These terracottas date from the Gupta period.



Fig. 1: Temple and shed with elephant in front of an old *stūpa* transformed into a stronghold.



Figs. 2–5: The four sides of the elephant.



The ears as preserved are too short. It seems that their lower part was shaped standing free from the body. Now the free standing-parts are gone.

The pillar has not been found so far. Cunningham once claimed to have found the brick base of the pillar (1880a: 22f.). H. Shastri (1927: 112) showed that this supposed base dates from Kuṣāṇa times and is much too weak and small to support a pillar.

Material:

Sandstone, light beige with black inclusions; however, structure and hardness seem to be different from other Pabhosā-type capitals.

Measurements:

Cunningham 1871k: 277 is unreliable.

a) Elephant:

High 114 cm; 95 cm wide where legs touch base.

b) The *abacus* is 23 cm high with a diameter of 103 cm. Each one of the honey-suckle motifs is 55 cm wide, with adjoining lily 64 cm.

c) The lowest *ring* is 10 cm high with a diameter of 64 cm.

d) The *bell* is 59 cm high and has the usual 16 petals. One petal set measures 13.5 cm at the upper end. Diameter at the top is 64 cm; at the thickest part in the middle 97 cm; in the lower bend 90 cm.

e) The second *ring* is 4 cm high with a diameter of 73 cm.

f) The third *ring* is 4 cm high with a diameter of 63 cm.

Presentations of the site:

Elephant: Cunningham 1871k: pl. XLVI; Bachhofer 1929: pl. 8; ASIAR 1930–34 part II: pl. IIb (“new shed”); Kishor 1941: 106; Smith 1969: pl. 8A; S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 4b; Irwin 1983: fig. 2 (old photograph from the 1860’s) = 1987b pl. II; Huntington 1986b: 45; Nagar 1992: pl. 5.

Site: Mani 1995–96.

Literature:

General: Cunningham 1871k; Huntington 1986b: 41–46; Nagar 1992: 32.

Excavation reports:

Cunningham 1871k; H. Shastri 1927; Mani 1995–96; IA-R 1995–96.2002: 89–97, 1996–97.2002: 139–142.

On the Chinese reports: Smith 1909b: 152–159, 1911: 221–222; Kishor 1941.



Fig. 6: The complete capital reconstructed to demonstrate the slenderness of the pillar compared to the heavy top.



Figs. 7–8: Two close-ups of the abacus frieze motifs.

On preservation measures: ASIAR 1930–34 Part I: 11 (stone shed).

Importance in antiquity:

As the site of the Buddha's descent from heaven, Saṅkāśya was one of the key sites for Buddhist pilgrims.

Visitors:

Faxian: "There is a country called Saṅkisa (Kapitha). It was here that Buddha came down from heaven (...). When Buddha was about to come down from heaven to earth, he produced by a miracle three flights of jewelled steps (...) when He reached the earth, the three flights disappeared into the ground, except seven steps which remained. In later days, king Asōka, wishing to know where these last ended, caused men to dig down and find out. They got down as far as the Yellow Spring (the confines to the next world), still without reaching the base. The king then became a more devout believer

than ever, and built a shrine over the steps, placing on the middle flight a full-length image of Buddha, sixteen feet in height. Behind the shrine he raised a stone column sixty feet in height; upon the top he placed a lion, and within the column, at the four sides, images of Buddha, brilliantly transparent and as unstained as glass" (Giles 1923: 25; cf. Shui-Ching-Chu § 24 (Petech 1950: 31). *Xuanzang* (AD 629): "Some centuries ago the ladders still existed in their original position, but now they have sunk into the earth and have disappeared. The neighbouring princes, grieved at not having seen them, built up of bricks and chased stones ornamented with jewels, on the ancient foundations (*three ladders*) resembling the old ones. They are about 70 feet high. Above them they have built a *vihāra* in which is a stone image of Buddha, and on either side of this is a ladder with the figures of Brahmā

and Śakra, just as they appeared when first rising to accompany Buddha in his descent.

On the outside of the *vihāra*, but close by its side, there is a stone column about 70 feet high which was erected by Asōka (Wu-yeu). It is of a purple colour, and shining as if with moisture. The substance is hard and finely grained. Above it is a lion sitting on his haunches [Note 114: *Ts'un ku*, "sitting in a squatting position". This expression is rendered by Julien "lying down" (*couchant*), but it appears to mean "sitting on his heels or haunches"; but in either case the position of the animal would differ from that of the *standing* elephant discovered by General Cunningham at Saṅkisa (Arch. Survey, vol. i, p. 278)] and facing the ladder. There are carved figures inlaid, of wonderful execution, on the four sides of the pillar and around it. As men are good or bad these figures appear on the pillar (*or disappear*)" (Beal 1884, I: 203).



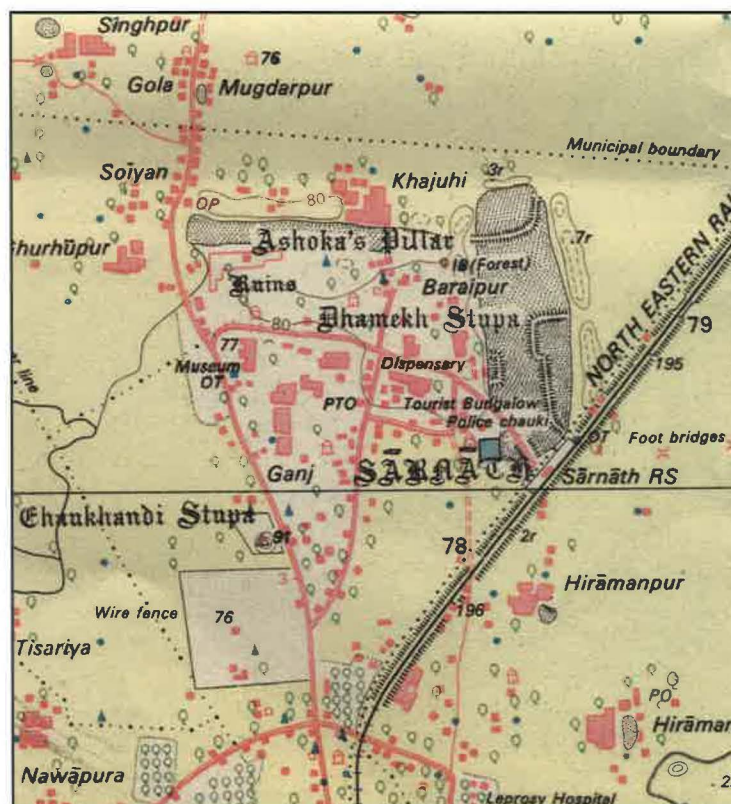
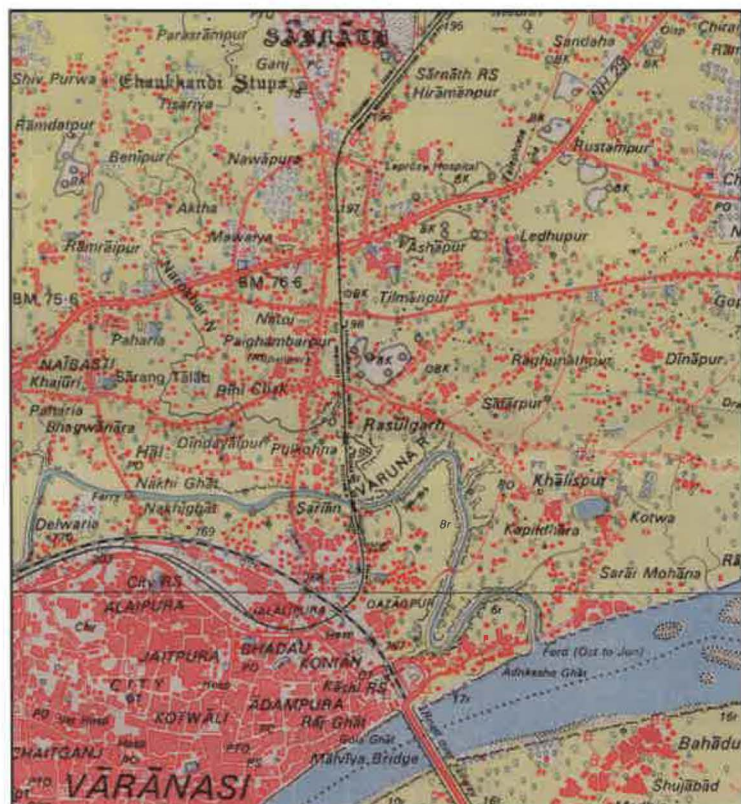
Fig. 9: The underside of the bell showing curls (cf. p. 143 fig. 10)



Fig. 10: The peeled surface below the abacus.

Sārnāth

Vārāṇasī District, UP
25°23' N.
83°02' E.
GSI map 63 O/3/2



Further maps: Sketch map by Cunningham 1871h pl. XXXI, XXXIIa; Oertel 1904-05: pls. XV, XVI; Marshall & Konow 1907-08: 43; Allchin 1995b: 241.

Access:

The pillar fragments can be seen at close range from outside the iron fence. The key is with the ASI office on the site.

One flat piece from the top part of the pillar carrying a part of the inscription is kept in the reserve collection at the museum, acc.no. 4657.



Fig. 1: The site with the ASI shed over the pillar fragments; the monolithic railing is found in the building just behind it.



Fig. 2: Five pillar fragments inside the shed

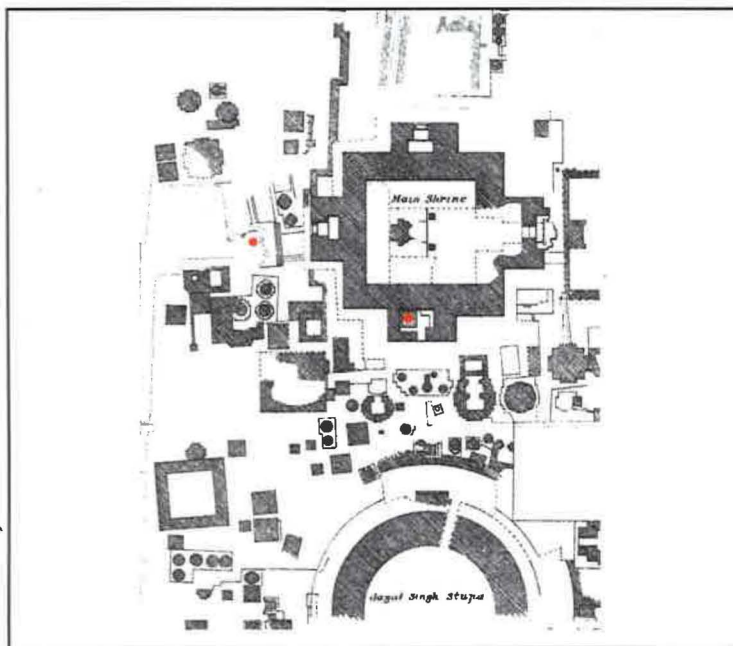


Fig. 3: Site-map after ASIAR 1904-05; pillar and monolithic railing are seen as red circles.

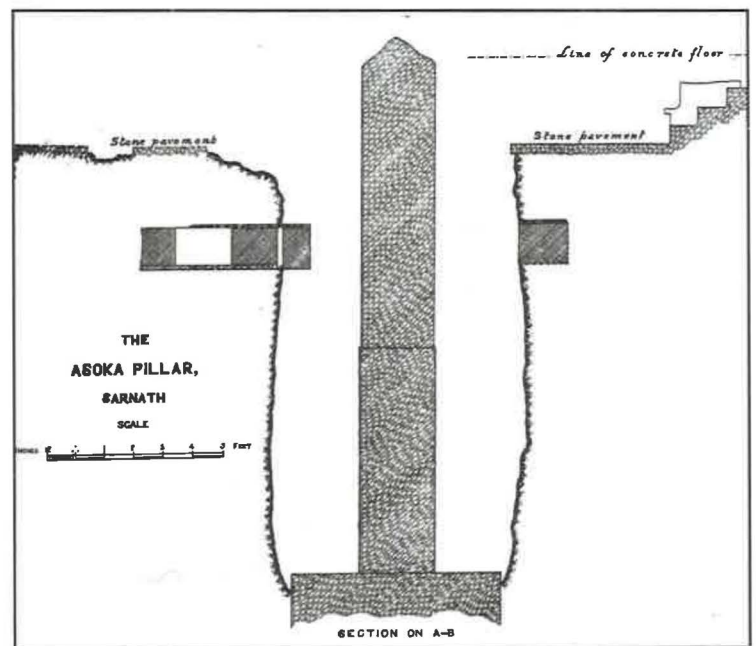


Fig. 4: Vertical section of excavated pillar (after ASIAR 1906/07: pl. XVIII) showing different floor levels.

Discovery:

The pillar was found in several pieces by F.O. Oertel in the excavation campaign of 1904/05 (68-70). The schism edict was first edited by J.Ph. Vogel 1905-06.

Apart from the pillar, there are several more pieces which can claim an Aśokan origin. Most prominent is the monolithic railing in the "South chapel of the Main Shrine" just east of the pillar.

A series of fragments from an abacus, a bell and many parts of a lion show that there

must have been a second pillar produced from the same stone and with an identical technique as the well-known pillar. Another series of decorations could go back to an Aśokan *caṅkama* (see below).

Preservation:

Pillar: In fragments, most of which are assembled around the stump in its original place. The inscription is on the stump of the lower part and on three fragments in the site museum, reserve collection (fragments B and C were not seen by us).

Capital: Perfect; inside the site museum.

Monolithic railing: Broken and incomplete, possibly in its original place preserved inside the building adjoining the pillar to the east.

Second capital: One fragment in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, reserve collection no. 9490. It is highly polished, preserving part of the lower rings, end of petals and part of the mortise.

Second abacus or caṅkama: In fragments at the site museum and the Indian Museum.

Material:

All parts including the railing are made from spotted "Pabhosa" sandstone.

Measurements:

Pillar 1: For additional measurements see Oertel 1904-05: 69; Chanda 1927-28: 95. The pillar was about 11.50 m long, with 2.28 m unpolished under ground. The lowest line of the edict is about 2.44 m above the dividing line. The inscribed fragment D (fig. 12) in the reserve collection of the site museum measures 13 cm in height, 49 cm in width and 46 cm in depth.

Capital: 2.13 m high.

Monolithic railing:

2.55 x 2.55 x 1.29 m; the railing bar is 29.5 cm thick; the corner pillars are 28-29 cm square; the spaces between the pillars are 30 cm wide; the holes in the corners for holding flags (fig. 23) are 4.2 cm wide. In the reserve collection a slab is preserved which shows a pillar inside such a railing (fig. 24).



Fig. 5: The capital on the excavation ground, after ASIAR 1904-05: pl. XX.



Fig. 6: The capital complete apart from the crowning wheel.

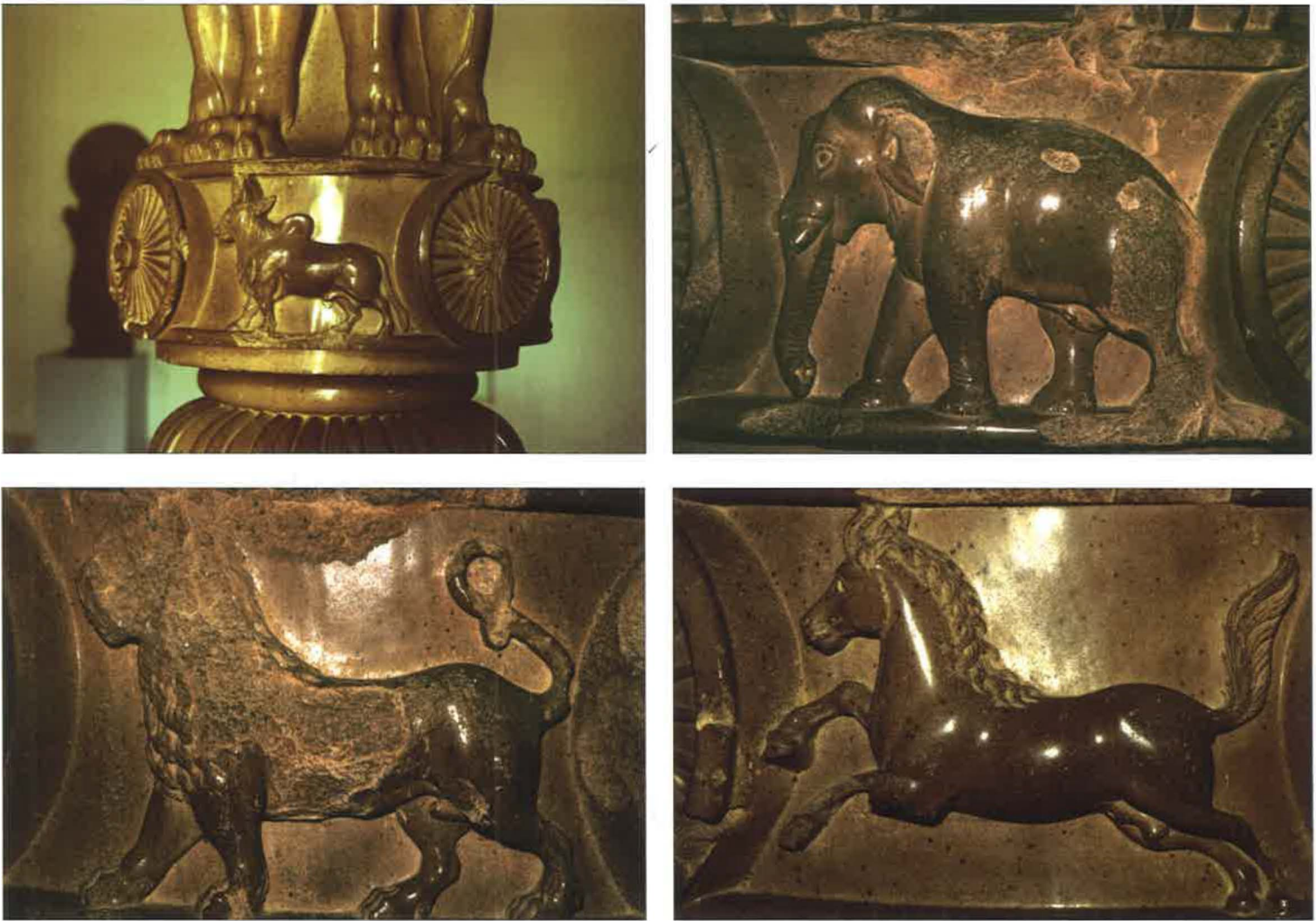


Fig. 7-10: The four animals on the abacus.

Pillar 2:

At least one more pillar is preserved in several fragments which have been found “west of the Main Shrine” in a deposit of discarded fragments levelling the ground after a fire that occurred in the time between the Kuṣāṇas and the Guptas (Hargreaves 1914–15: 111). The diverse parts of the capital seem to be mentioned summarily in Hargreaves (p. 117 no. 105). It is tempting to combine this capital with the many “lion’s paw(s)” and remains of “mane of lion” mentioned by the same author (115f.).

This capital seems to have been larger than the famous one in the site museum. The stone is of beige colour with inclusions; the petals measure 14.3 cm across at the lower end, whereas the Sārnāth lion petals measure only 12 cm. This may be compared to the 15.5 cm of the Rāmpūrvā bull or the 16 cm of the Rāmpūrvā lion capital. The largest of the bell fragments is 29 cm high (fig. 17). The diameter of the lower part of the capital can be reconstructed



Fig. 11: The bell in the site museum showing a plain middle ring and two plain lower rings.

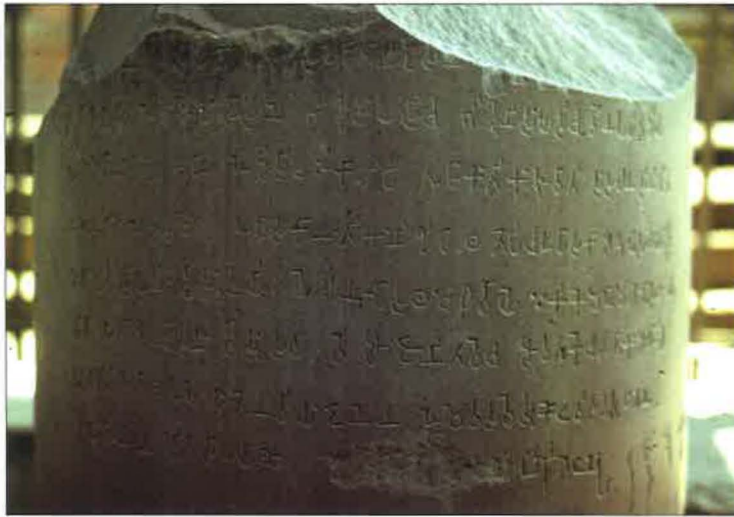


Fig. 12: The Aśokan text on the largest fragment.

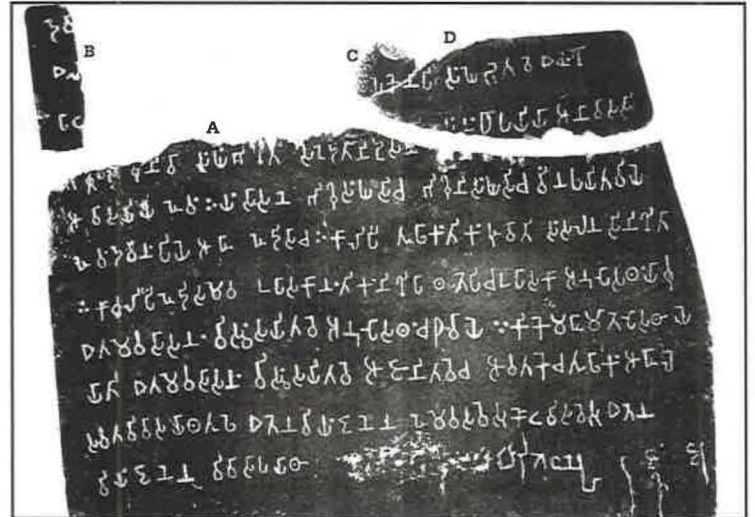


Fig. 13: The Aśokan text in the rubbing, after EI 8.1905-06: opp. 168.

ted on the basis of the curvature of the inside of the mortise as 51 cm for the whole mortise. The mortise wall measures 11.5 cm on either side, so that the flat underside of the bell had a diameter of about 74 cm. Usually, the pillars at their highest end are some cm smaller than the diameter of the corresponding bells at their lower ends (see p. 184, fig. 2 for Nandangarh, p. 221, fig. 4 for Vesālī); still, the top end of the preserved Sārnāth pillar with its diameter of 55.5 cm is markedly different from the reconstructed diameter of 74 cm of the bell bottom. The said fragment is accessed as number 9490 in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Reserve Collection. It is described as no. 9 in NN 1997b: 6.

Parts of the related abacus may be preserved in the three fragments numbered 9485–7 (fig. 19) at Calcutta. Together they are still 57 cm long, from reddish beige Pabhosā sandstone, preserved likewise in the

Indian Museum (NN 1997b: 5f.), described with some more fragments in Hargreaves 1914–15: 114 nos. 34–48, pl. LXVI, 6–14. Some parts preserve a ledge at the lower end; the flat underside below the ledge is also polished (fig. 21), as if exposed to view. The ledge is absolutely straight, not curved as an ordinary abacus. That means the birds on the ledge could belong to a square abacus, comparable in shape to the one at Vesālī, which, however, is plain on its outside. Alternatively, the birds could have decorated some other, undefined object.

Camkama:

As with any other place of renown, Sārnāth also had a *camkama*, i.e. a pathway where allegedly the Buddha was walking up and down. This becomes apparent from the “Sārnāth Umbrella Shaft Inscription of the time of Kaniṣka”, edited by J.Ph. Vogel, “Epigraphical discoveries at Sarnath”, EI 8.1905–6: 166–79, where the place of erec-

tion of the 2nd century umbrella shaft is spoken of as *bārāṇasiya bhagavato camkrame*, “at Benares by the pathway of the Lord”. If the said birds do not belong to a square abacus then they could have belonged to the sides of a *camkama*. In this case, however, the polish on the underside would be inexplicable.

Presentations of the text:

Rubbing: Vogel 1905–06: 168; Hultsch 1925: 162; Majumdar 1937: pl. III; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 64; Rastogi 1990: pl. VIII.

Photography: BL Photo 1010/5(366).

Editions: Vogel 1905–06: 168–171; Senart 1907; Boyer 1907: 127ff.; Venis 1907: 1ff.; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 101; Woolner 1924: 51; Hultsch 1925: 161–164; Majumdar 1937: 54f.; J. Bloch 1950: 152–153; Alsdorf 1959: 165; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 39–40; Sircar 1965b: 72–73; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 185–186; Rastogi 1990: 319–321.

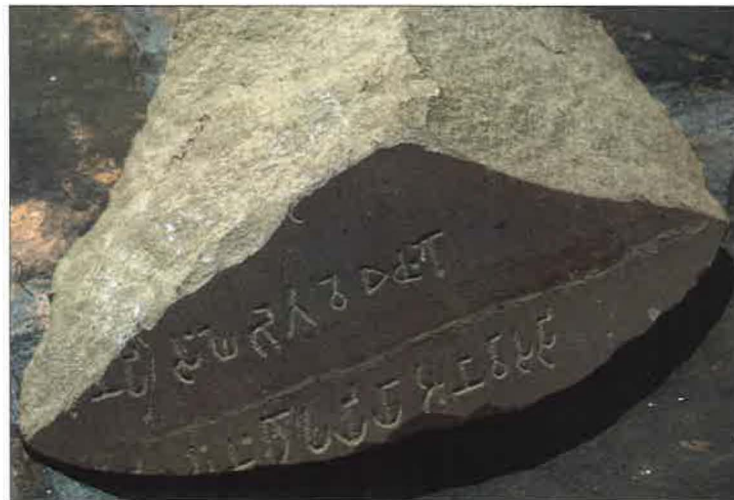


Fig. 14: Fragment D bearing parts of the Aśokan inscription with traces of an old floor level running through it; site museum, reserve collection.

Fig. 15: The reworked portion in an additional inscription on the Aśokan pillar, changed from *sārṇvāstivādīnaṃ* to *sammatīyānaṃ*.



Fig. 16: The polished underside of the fragment of the second bell, Indian Museum, reserve collection, acc.no. 9490, 33 x 18 cm.



Fig. 17: The break through acc.no. 9490.



Fig. 18: The petal ends of acc.no. 9490.

Presentations of the pillar:

Photography:

Pillar 1: Marshall & Konow 1909: 69 (excavated), pl. XVIII (plan of construction), 71 (fragments), 70; Chanda 1927–28: pl. XXXVI.b (stump with 2nd century inscription); *PRSHBMNC* 1919 pl. VI (“Chhatra over Asoka pillar under Construction”); S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 3b; Irwin 1983: fig. 13.

Lion capital:

Oertel 1904–05: pl. XX; R. Chanda 1927: pl. IIa; Bachhofer 1929: pl. 5; Agrawala 1964: pls. 1–5 (with close-ups of quarter animals); V. Smith 1969: pl. 4–6; S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 3a (animals close-up, pls. 2c, 3c); Irwin 1983: fig. 12; Nagar 1992: pl. 1; Allchin 1995b: 255, 256.

Pillar 2: Birds of abacus/caṅkama: Hargreaves 1914–15: pl. LXVI, 6–14.

Copies of the capital:

- Indian Museum, Calcutta, on the right side of the staircase.
- Patna Museum, Patna; in a shed opening to the inner courtyard.



Fig. 19: Fragments of a frieze with birds, acc.nos. 9486, 9487, 9485.

Literature:

General: Cunningham 1871i; Woolner 1924: xvi; Hultzsch 1925: xxi–xxii; Majumdar 1937; A. Banerji 1944 (about local Buddhist sects); Y.D. Sharma 1953: 142f.; A. Banerji 1954/55 (about epigraphical remains); R. Thapar 1961/1997: 235f.;

Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 13; D. Mitra 1971: 66–69; Huntington 1986a; Nagar 1992: 27–28.

On excavations: Oertel 1904–05; Marshall & Konow 1906–07, 1907–08; Hargreaves 1914–15; Chanda 1927–28; Majumdar 1937: 38–42; IA-R 1992–93: 98–99.



Fig. 20: Fragment of an abacus with bull (after S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 62d).



Fig. 21: The polished underside of acc.no. 9487.



Fig. 22: The monolithic railing inside the temple building.



Fig. 23: The hole for a flagstaff in the corner.

On schism edicts: Bechert 1961/1982; Norman 1987b; Sasaki 1989; Nolot 1996.

On the railing: Oertel 1904–05: 68; Marshall & Konow 1906–07: 71, 96f.; S.P. Gupta 1980: 36 (“hermika on the top of the stupa”)

On further pillars: N.G. Majumdar 1937: 83.

On the additional inscriptions on the pillar: Vogel 1905–06: 171–172; Suenaga 1937.

A close look at the text shows that it has been reworked: an original *sarvvāstivādinam* has been changed to *sammatīyānam* (fig. 14). *On the Chinese visitors:* Smith 1911: 223 no. 10.

Importance in antiquity:

The spot where the pillar stands is certainly much older than the area of the Dharmek stūpa. Beside the pillar the monolithic railing seems likewise to owe its existence to Aśoka. From depictions on stūpa railings we know that such square railings were in use for Bodhi trees and for pillars. However, a sign board explains it as the *harmikā* of the Aśokan stūpa. Although this could be the case with regard to its shape, this interpretation does not explain why it is preserved inside the temple which was built around it (photography S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 56b).

For a good series of pictures of *bodhi* trees inside a railing see Veena Vidyarthi, “Tree worship in India”, *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology* 49–50.1992, plates following page 108. A different explanation has been put forward by K. Kumar 1985–86, who regards the brick stūpa inside the railing

as older than the railing itself.

If the railing was made for the pillar it could be compared to the *vigaḍabhī* at Lumbinī (q.v.) likewise said to have been made from stone. It would then have to be regarded as the original place of the second, larger pillar (s. above). Alternatively, the railing could have surrounded a Bodhi tree. However, there are many depictions of pillars inside railings, as e.g. the one in the Lucknow State Museum, acc.no. J.365. For the intimate connection of pillar and railing in the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins cf. Irwin 1973: 716a, citing from A. Bareau, *BEFEO* 50.1962.

Early visitors:

Xuanzang, 629 AD: “To the south-west of the vihāra is a stone stūpa built by Aśoka-rāja. Although the foundations have given way, there are still 100 feet or more of the wall remaining. In front of the building is a stone pillar about 70 feet high. The stone is altogether as bright as jade. It is glistening, and sparkles like light; and all those who pray fervently before it see from time to time, according to their petitions, figures with good or bad signs. It was here that Tathāgata (ju-lai), having arrived at enlightenment, began to turn the wheel of the law (to preach).” (Beal 1884, II: 46)

Hye Ch’o (a Korean monk), 8th century: “On top [of the pillar] there is a [statue of] a lion. The pillar is extremely beautiful. [Its circumference measures that of] five people with joined arms. The lines carved on it are



Fig. 24: A railing post in the reserve collection of the site museum showing a pillar inside a railing with flag-staffs.

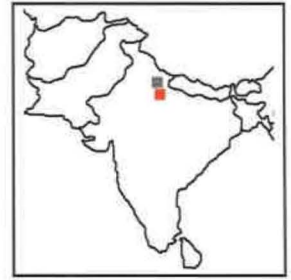
delicate. The pillar was made at the time the stūpa [was constructed]. The monastery is called the Dharmacakra Sanghārāma...” (Hye Ch’o n.d.: 39).

The said circumference would be about right if it included the monolithic railing.

Toprā

Delhi-Toprā; Delhi-Siwalik;
Khizrābād, *minār-i zarīn*

Ambala District, Haryana
30°07' N.
77°10' E.
GSI map 53 F/4
GSI Delhi Guide Map



Names: The name Toprā has its source in the account of 'Afīf's *Tā'rikh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, describing the removal of a pillar from a village Toprā to Delhi. Khizrābād (30°18' N, 77°33' E) is a town in Pargana Faizābād of Tahsil Sahāranpur (Führer 1891: 16; Fleet 1906: 407), exactly where two canals divert from the Yamunā. Because of this position, it has been assumed to be its original location. Shikar-Gah is a misnomer in Cole-

brooke 1801: pl. VI, confounding the Toprā with the Mirāth pillar.

Access:

The present location inside the Firoz Shah Kotla at Delhi is open to public. The pillar is seen at once. Access to the top is from the rear side of the substructure.

Discovery:

See "Early Visitors" below; the first full description appeared in Jones 1788. A first



Fig. 1: The pillar substructure and the stairway to the mosque in the Firoz Shah Kotla.

reading of some phrases was published by Prinsep 1837a: 470+473.

Preservation:

The shaft of the pillar has survived in perfect condition first in Toprā and then in Delhi. Nothing is known of the capital. It may have fallen to the ground producing the diagonal break at the top of the shaft. The shaft now measures 11.80 m from the floor level of the building on which it is mounted. The first 160 cm are only roughly hewn, having been meant to be underground in the foundation hole. The polished part is then uninscribed for 180 cm, where the lowest line of PE7 is met. This edict occupies another 55 cm. Above that the PEs 1–6 are inscribed for a height of 120 cm.

Originally, the lowest line of the edicts 1–6 was 2.35 m above the roughly hewn lower part, or about 2.25 m above ground.

Material:

“Pabhosā” sandstone with inclusions.

Pillar measurements:

Cf. Page 1937: 3; Fleet 1884: 305f. According to Cunningham 1871i: 162 the first 2.77 m are left rough, of which 1.24 m are sunk into the building, resting on the original base slab. The total length is 12.99 m, of which originally 10.22 m are polished and meant to be visible above ground.

The upper diameter is given as 64.3 cm by Cunningham (1871i: 164), the lower one, obviously where the polish starts, as 98.6 cm. This results in a rapid tapering of 3.35 cm per meter for the polished part: “it tapers much more rapidly [than the Allāhābād pillar] towards the top, and is, therefore, less graceful in its outline” (Cunningham 1871i: 165).

Cunningham estimated the weight to be 27 tons.

The letters are 5 to 6 cm high.



Fig. 4: The edicts on the pillar.



Fig. 2: The pillar as seen through the mosque.



Fig. 3: The pillar in the Firoz Shah Kotla, Delhi, opposite to the mosque.

Situation:

Present situation:

The present position inside the Firoz Shah Kotla is 28°38' N, 77°14' E, south of the Red Fort of Delhi.

Original situation:

There are several accounts of the original position, all based on the biographies of Fīrūz Shāh. One likely candidate is the village Toprā, as given above. Another one would be much closer to where Fīrūz Shāh's canal diverted from the Yamunā. This place is mentioned as “Nauharah, dans la pargana de Sālwarah, zillah de Khizrābād, lequel est situé à la distance de quatre-vingt-dix kosses de Dehli, du côté du Bihar” (Saiyid Ahmad Khan in de Tassy 1860: 231). The confusion arises from the two accounts of how the pillar found its way to Delhi:

a) Certainly the more trustworthy one is the *Sirāt-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī* by an unknown author, reproduced and translated in Page's *Memoir* (1937: 33–42), giving a very detailed description, together with drawings of the different stages of the removal in AD 1356 and its re-erection. According to this text, the village Toprā is situated “in the neighbourhood of the [Sirmur] hills”, near the river Janān or Jatān (both readings occur in the same account) which feeds the Firoz-bah canal (34). The crucial question is if this Janān “feeds” the canal from the start, or if it joins it later. If from the start, Janān would be the Jumnā, if later, it could be the

Chitang, bypassing Toprā village. This canal itself is well known (Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Delhi/Oxford 1982, 4B, p. 11c). It diverts water from the Yamunā leading it towards Fīrūz Shāh's pet foundation Hisār meeting the Chitang east of Safidon. Today this Chitang is called Chautang on the maps of the GSI, but old accounts leave no doubt about the spelling.

b) The second source is the *Tā'rikh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī* by Shams-i-Sirāj Afīf translated partly in Page's *Memoir* (1937: 1–5), more comprehensibly in Lewis 1850. The removal of the pillar is found in Lewis 1850: 29f. and Cope & Lewis 1850. This author was 12 years young when the pillar was moved and his account seems to draw largely on spurious information. He calls the village “Tobra”, places it in the district of Salaura and Khizrabad “in the hills” or “in the vicinity of the hills” (Page 1937: 4). The latter information seems to have been used by Saiyid Ahmad Khan (de Tassy 1860: 231). Khizrabad lies just south of the Sirmur hills (30°18' N, 77°20' E), from where the Sal trees used to come.

Cunningham (1871i: 162) was of the opinion that Toprā was part of the kingdom of Srughna, which was described by Xuanzang as possessing a *stūpa* built by Aśoka. In 1871j: 245 Cunningham connects a place called Paota with “Taopar, or Topara, or Taoparsuk”, i.e. Srughna. Such a capital would certainly be a more fitting place for a

stūpa cum pillar than the insignificant village of Toprā Kalān. Interestingly, Srughna, one of the few ancient places of renown in this area, is exactly where the canal of Fīrūz-Shāh diverts from the Yamunā. For a description of ancient Srughna see Cunningham in *ASI* 2.1871: 226–231 with plate LXXI; for a discussion Beal 1884, I: 187 fn. 64. The problem with this solution is that the place-name Toprā is not met with in the immediate area.

On the other hand there is a village called Toprā Kalān (“Great Toprā” in contrast to “little” Toprā Khurd, slightly east of it), about 20 km west of Srughna, about 2 km east of the Chautang river. Here, we would have a perfect match for the place-name, but we get difficulties equating Jatān with Chautang. The village is built on and around an elevation in a countryside otherwise absolutely flat as far as the eye can see (fig. 10). This elevation is topped by a Shaivite temple. Behind the temple an old well has been found, 90 cm wide and still 6 m deep (fig. 5). The triangular bricks used are reminiscent of similar ones in places of Muslim foundation.

The reason why this village should be the site of an Aśokan pillar is not evident. The hill on which the village stands could be a dilapidated *stūpa*. At least it seems to consist of bricks wherever its surface is cut open. The reputed find of Painted Gray Ware pottery at Toprā Kalān (*IA-R* 1968–69: 64f.) is impossible to evaluate without a proper



Fig. 5: The ancient well at Toprā west of the temple elevation.

publication. The remote and unspectacular place may be the reason why the pillar was not destroyed by Mongol hords in the decades before Fīrūz Shāh.

James Tod (1920: 1456) reports about an ancient location “at Nigambhod, a place of pilgrimage on the Jumna, a few miles below Delhi, whence it must have been removed to its present singular position”, when speaking about the Cauhan inscriptions on this pillar, which were incised in AD 1164 or 1264,

certainly at a location different from Delhi proper. Cunningham (1871i: 161) pointed out that Nigambhod as a *tīrtha* lies just north of Shahjahānābād, and that this tradition has nothing to its credit with regard to the original position of the pillar.

Alternative original situation:

Allchin & Norman (1985: 47) state without giving the evidence that the original place was not the village Toprā but a settlement named Dāmdā, 22 miles NW of Sahāranpur. This place, situated at 30°5' N., 77°13' E., is only 8 km removed from Toprā village (GSI map 53 F/4/SE). The basis for this alternative is the supposed etymology of Dāmdā, being held to reflect a memory of a “staff”, *daṇḍa*, viz. the pillar of Aśoka. However, there is no place called Dāmdā, instead, the place is called Dāmlā, at least today. It is situated on the old bank of the western Yamunā canal with no river joining as would be expected following the account of Abdul Fazl about the removal of the pillar. The name Dāmlā is explained by the villagers as referring to a certain Dayā Rām Malla, once a ferryman on the spot. Be that as it may the old ruins of Dāmlā show that it was once a stronghold of Muslim power, certainly from the times of Aurangzeb onwards, with its old ramparts, mosques and relatively recent brick temples.

Capital:

Both accounts of how Firoz Shah found and moved the pillar at Toprā are absolutely silent about a capital (Page 1937: 34), so it stands to reason that it was already absent in 1356 AD.

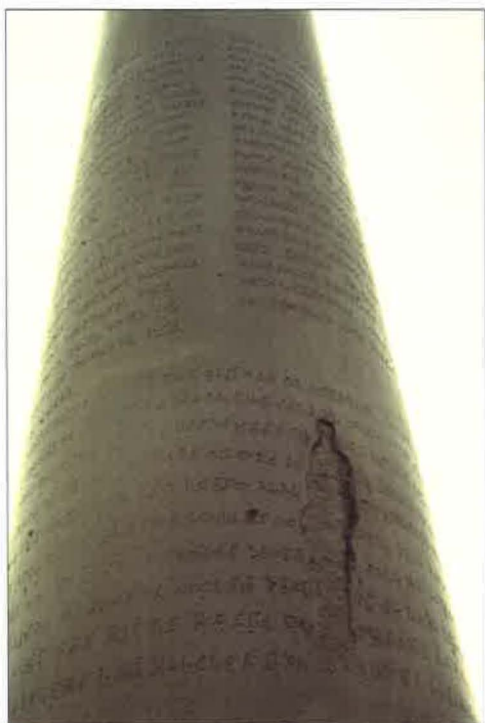


Fig. 6: Three sections of the inscriptions.



Fig. 7: Diverse graffiti including an elephant.

The *Tā'rikh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī* seems to speak of additional stones put on top of the shaft: "After it was raised, some ornamental friezes of black and white stone were placed round its two capitals (*do sar-i-ān*) and over these there was raised a gilded copper cupola, called in Hindi *kalas*" (Page 1937: 5).

The *Sirāt-i-Fīrozshāhī* refers to several parts crowning the pillar, some of which may have been of stone, but certainly nothing of Aśokan origin was made use of (Page 1937: 41). This text also places the figures of four lions at the corners of the top floor (39).

Foundation slab:

"When the foundations of the pillar were examined, a large square stone was found as a base, which also was taken out. [During the erection in Delhi] The square stone, before spoken of, was placed under the pillar" (*Tā'rikh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī* in Page 1937: 4+5; cf. Lewis 1850: 29f.).

Presentations of the site:

Drawing:

Jones 1788: 379 (building with pillar); Colebrooke 1801: pl. VI.

Photography:

ASLAR 1915–16, I: pl. I(a); Page 1937: pl. 5 (building with pillar); Nagar 1992: pl. 7; McKibben 1994: 106/107.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: Produced by Captain James Hoare and published by Colebrooke in 1801, the plates contain fairly accurate eye copies, together with 14 characters in original size; Cunningham 1877: XVIII–XX.

Rubbing: "exact impressions" by Colonel



Fig. 8: Close-up of the pillar showing the typical "Pabhosa"-inclusions.

Polier according to W. Jones 1788: 379; Cunningham 1871i: 166; Fleet 1884/Bühler 1884; Hultsch 1925: 122–123, 128–129, 134; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 48–52; Janert 1972b: 158, 213–222, 244–251.

Photography: Irwin 1983: fig. 9.

Editions: Colebrooke 1801; Prinsep 1837b, 1837e: 965; Turnour 1837b: 1059f.; Kern 1876: 272–274; Cunningham 1877: 106–115; Senart 1882b+c; Bühler 1884, 1891a, 1892a, 1894a; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 59–81; Woolner 1924: 40–50; Hultsch 1925:

119–137 (copied by Krishnan 1989, 72–84 [PE 1–5], 87–93 [PE7]); J. Bloch 1950: 161–172; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 23–30 (PE 1–4, 6–7); Sircar 1965b: 53–59 [PE 1–4], 62–66 (PE 7); Pāṇḍeya 1965: 139–151; Janert 1972b: 127–141; Rastogi 1990: 252, 259, 267, 275–276, 287–288, 299, 307–309; Gurugé 1993: 604–608.

Early Visitors:

Generally, the reports on the two pillars in Delhi tend to mix facts. In particular the aspect of "hunting" and the subterranean passage are transferred from the *Mirāṭh* pillar to the Toprā pillar:

Father Monserrate (1580): "In a valley three miles from Delinum he [Peruzius = Fīrūz Shāh] built a wonderfully beautiful and very costly palace. On the terrace in front of it he set a solid marble column all in one piece, thirty feet high and about five feet thick. He also had a subterranean passage made to Old Delinum... (a distance of nearly forty stadia [7 km])" (Hoyland 1922: 97).

Thomas Coryat (1612–17): "I have been in a citie in this countrie, called Detee [Delhi], where Alexander the Great joyned battell with Porus, K[ing] of India, and conquered him; and in token of his victorie erected a brasse pillar, which remaineth there to this day" (W. Foster 1921: 248). Coryat may have confused the iron pillar with a stone pillar of Aśoka, which he certainly had seen, as arises from a note by Terry who was responsible for the 1655 edition of Coryat's travels: "I was told by



Fig. 9: The rough base part of the pillar.

Tom Coryat (who took special notice of this place) that he, being in the city of Dellee, observed a very great pillar of marble, with a Greek inscription upon it which Time hath almost quite worn out, erected (as he supposed) there and then by great Alexander, to preserve the memory of that famous victory [over King Porus]" (W. Foster 1921: 248 note 1).

Padre Tieffenthaler (around 1750): "A peu de distance des fragments de l'Obélisque de *Feros* [cf. Mirat pillar] en est un autre dont la figure est celle d'un parallélogramme. Il est épais d'une aune & demie, & haut de 10 ½. On prétend qu'il a été taillé & élevé par un homme prodigieusement fort, nommé *Bim*" (Bernoulli 1791: 130).

R. Heber reports in December 29, 1824, obviously confusing it with the iron pillar at the Qutb Minar: "(The Firoz Kotla) is chiefly remarkable for a high black pillar of cast metal, called Firoze's walking-stick. This was originally a Hindoo work, the emblem, I apprehend, of Siva, which stood in a temple in the same spot, and concerning which there was a tradition, (...) that while it stood the children of Brahma were to rule Indraput. On the conquest of the country by the Mussulmans the vanity of the prediction was shewn, and Firoze enclosed it within the court of his palace, as a trophy of the victory of Islam over idolatry. It is covered with inscriptions, mostly Persian and Arabic, but that which is evidently the original, and, probably, contains the prophecy, is in a character now obsolete and unknown, though apparently akin to the Nagree" (Heber 1828: 292f.).



Fig. 10: The village of Toprā with its Śaiva temple on an ancient brick elevation.

Literature:

General: Cunningham 1877: 34–36; Woolner 1924: xv; Hultzsich 1925: xv–xvii; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 10; Nagar 1992: 35–36; Falk 1993a: 98–99.

On the Kotla site: Kittoe 1837: 796; N. Chatterji 1956; Tarafdar 1966; McKibben 1994.

On the Chauhan inscriptions: Jones 1788: 379–381; Colebrooke 1801: 179–181; Tod 1832 (1920: 1456–1458); de Tassy 1860: 231; E. Thomas 1858, I: 325; Cunningham 1871i: 166; full edition in Kielhorn 1890.

On diverse short inscriptions: Jones 1788: 381, Cunningham 1871i: 167 (many names of goldsmiths, as at Hisār), 1875c: 143f.

On repair work: ASLAR 1915–16, I: 2.

Importance in antiquity:

"After it had remained an object of worship of the polytheists and infidels for so many thousands of years, through the efforts of Sultan Firoz Shah and by the grace of God, it became the *minār* of a place of worship (*masjid*) for the Faithful" (*Sirāt-i Firūz-Shāhī*, Page 1937: 42).

Vesālī

Vaiśālī; Kolhuā; Bakra;
Bakhra, Bakrabad, Bakhira

Muzaffarpur District, Bihar

26°00' N.

85°04' E.

GSI map 72 G/1 (village),
F/4 (pillar)

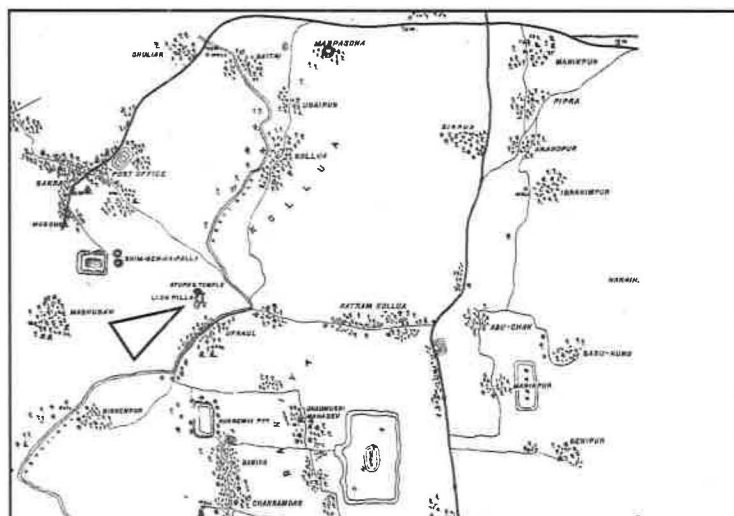
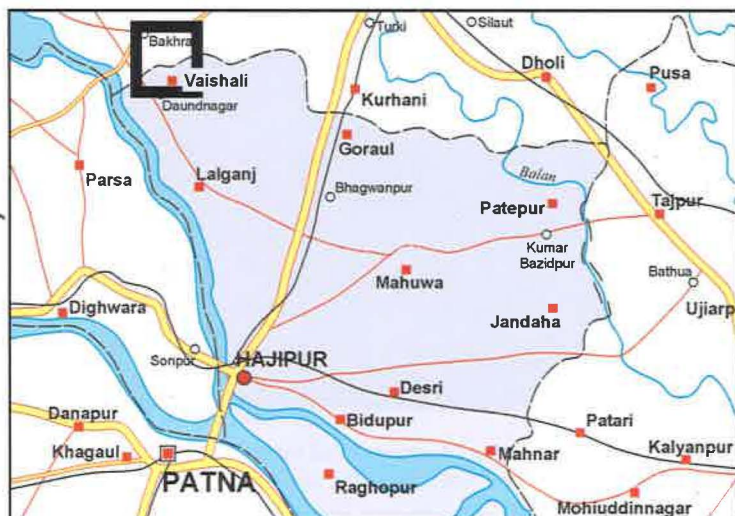
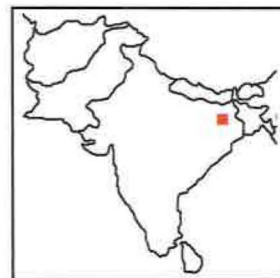


Fig. 1: The excavation site in 2000.

Further maps: Sketch by Cunningham in *ASI* 1.1871, pl. XXI; pls. II, V in Cunningham 1883; *ASIAR* 1903/04 pl. 31, 32.

Name:

The many different names, especially in the older literature, arise from the three settlements in its vicinity. Kolhuā is the nearest place, being a tiny village just opposite the excavation compound to its east. Bakhra is a bigger market-place to the west of Kolhuā, where the road from Vesālī-Basāḍh meets the highway from Muzaffarpur. Vesālī is the oldest attested place in the vicinity, once covering the 3 km between the pillar site and the modern village of Vesālī-Basāḍh.

Although the pillar looks genuine Aśokan, the capital is not beyond doubt. The bell shows 16 regular petals, ending in blunt ends. The abacus is the only square one attested. All other cases are round. The lion shows most of the traits of other lions, so a Mauryan background should be beyond question. However, the lion could as well be an ancient copy and the square foundation being the result of a misunderstanding arising from two sketches showing the lion *en face* and from the side. A side view would not distinguish between a round base and a square base. If the sketch was to portray the lion as on other pillars, the round abacus should have measured the same *en face* and from the side. Maybe it is telling that the rectangular base is now longer than it is wide, and that the lion is also longer and less raised than any other. On the other bases, below the abacus, we invariably encounter the ring between abacus and bell. Here, the ring is substituted by a smaller rectangle, possibly arising from the same sketch and the same misunderstanding.



Fig. 2: The pillar seen full length in front of the *stūpa*.

Also the lion has some strange features: The tail disappears between the hind-legs and reappears on his left flank in mid-air. Between chin and legs the front shows only three rows of curls.

Access:

From Muzaffarpur go west on the main highway until Bakhra. At the entrance to town another road turns sharply and leads south-east towards Vesālī-Basāḍh. After about 3 km the excavation site and the pillar can be seen to the south of the road.

From Vesālī-Basāḍh follow the main road north, north-west.

Presently, the best places to stay are at Cakram Dās, a village between Vesālī and

the excavation site. There is a Shānti *stūpa* of Japanese origin, with a monastery run by a solitary Japanese monk. A new resthouse should have opened in late 2000. It is possible to hire bicycles and ride the three km to the pillar, bypassing Cakram Dās and many old ponds. The site is fenced-in; the ticket-shop opens regularly.

Discovery:

Hodgson 1834: 483: “well known [pillar] near Bakra, in sight of the high road to Hajipur, and this is surmounted by a lion.”

Preservation:

Fairly good. While the pillar was situated in the middle of a farm house it seems to have been used to tie animals to. 52 cm from



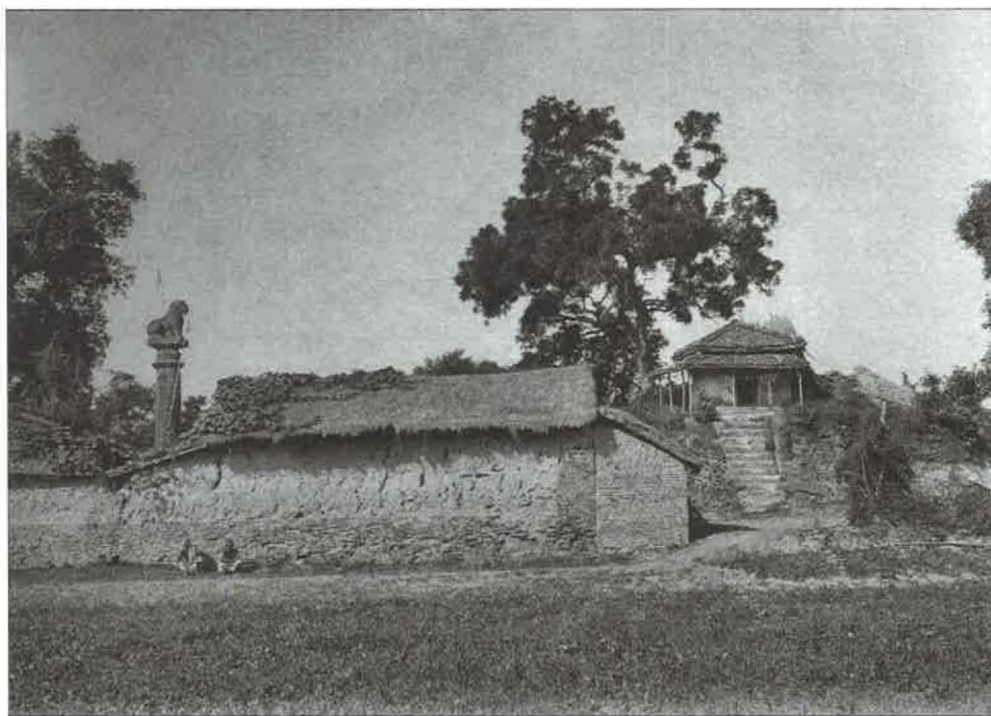
Fig. 3: A small *stūpa* showing a *ye hetuprabhavā* inscription in Gupta characters in its left corner brick.



Fig. 4: View of the underside of the bell showing reel and bead followed by a twisted cord.



Fig. 5: A close-up of the lion's front.

Fig. 6: Pillar inside habitation site; hut on top of the *stūpa* (after ASIAR 1903–04: pl. XXXII,a).

ground level the surface is disturbed by a linear grove all around the pillar. Between this line and about 180 cm from the ground the surface is very well preserved, showing *saṅkhālīpi*, with its lowest line at 120 cm above ground. The two meters above the 180 cm line show considerable damage. These different strata arose in the course of time due to a ground-level that was gradually rising. The lowest area can be attributed to the “Licchavi” period, followed by a period lasting for several centuries with a low population density leaving no marks on the surface, followed by a period of constant wear arising from the pillar’s function inside habitation ground for more than a millennium.

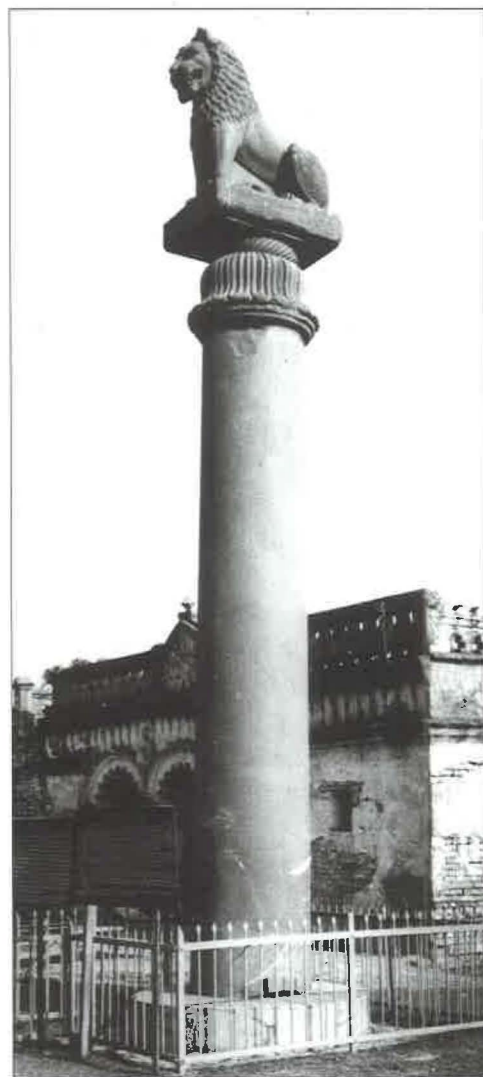
The topmost end of the pillar shows some damage, in that a part of the surface fell off as if by too much pressure from the capital.

Pillar material:

Whitish sandstone with black inclusions: the “Pabhosā” type. Its surface is oxydized red due to the iron content.

Pillar measurements:

Stephenson (1835: 129) and Cunningham (1871e: 60) reported a total length from top to water level of 10.92 m; diameter at top 98.23 cm, diameter at water level 1.265 m; height of bell 86 cm, abacus 30 cm, lion 137 cm. More comprehensively, S.P. Gupta (1980: 25) published the findings of the first complete excavation in 1978–79 by K.P. Gupta: there is a stone base, 2.2 x 2.2 x 0.36 m (not mentioned in K.P. Gupta 1979/89); total length, including lion,



Figs. 7, 8: Two views of the pillar inside the rural compound (AIIS neg. 65.93A; Chanda 1927: pl. III-b).



Figs. 9–12: Four views from four sides.

14.60 m, unpolished part 1.68 m (called “polished” in K.P. Gupta 1979/80: 145b), diameter at water level 1.26 m, the diameter at the bottom must be slightly larger, diameter at top 97 cm; weight (calculated) 51 tons.

Orientation:

Lion looks north-west, towards the *stūpa*.

Presentations of the pillar:

Drawing: Hodgson in Prinsep 1835: 121, pl. VII; Cunningham 1871e: pl. XXI; stratigraphy in K.P. Gupta 1979/80: fig. 1.

Photography:

Pillar inside habitation site: T. Bloch 1903–04: 82, pl. XXXIIa; BL Photo 125/1(97), 1000/28(2858–2859); *ASIAR* 1922–23: pl. XV(c); R. Chanda 1927: pl. III–b; Bachhofer 1929: pl. 3; Kuraishi 1931: 28.

Pillar before excavations: Mookerji 1962: pl. VII; V. Smith 1969: pl. 8C; Irwin 1973: fig. 10, *IA-R* 1976/77 pl. VIII; S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 1a; Huntington 1986c: 31; Nagar 1992: pl. 3;

Pillar in excavated area: *IA-R* 1990–91, pl. II. *Stūpa during excavations:* Gupta 1979/80: pls. 13–14;

Lion: S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 1b;

Literature:

General: Kuraishi 1931: 28–30; Patil 1963: 210–213; D. Mitra 1971: 73–75; Huntington 1986c: 28–33; Nagar 1992: 30–31; S.P. Gupta 1980: 25.

On excavations: Prinsep in Stephenson 1835: 129, fn.; “Mr. Rattray informs me that

an excavation was once made to its base, but no inscription was discovered.” Garrick 1883: 92; T. Bloch 1902, 1903–04a, 1904; Spooner 1913–14; *IA-R* 1976/77: 13; K.P. Gupta 1979/80; *IA-R* 1989–90: 11–13, 1990–91: 3–4, 1991–92: 5–6, pl. III, 1992–93: 5–6, 1993–94: 9–10, 1996–97.2002: 5–6, 1997–98: 15. These recent excavations

revealed monastic buildings from the Kuṣāṇa period, as well as pottery from Mauryan times onwards. Around the pillar numerous votive *stūpas* came to light.

On the Chinese visitors: Smith 1911: 224 no. 12;

On repair work: *ASIAR* 1922–23: 30; *IA-R* 1980–81: 130.

Visitors:

Faxian: “From this point (=Kusinagara) going twelve yojanas [144 km] to the south-east, the pilgrims arrived at the place where the Vaisali chiefs wished to pass away with Buddha, but He would not hear of it. Longing to be with Buddha, they refused to depart; whereupon Buddha caused a great gully to pass between himself and them, which they could not cross. He gave them his alms-bowl as a token, and sent them away to their homes. A stone pillar has been put up, with these facts inscribed thereon. From this point travelling five yojanas (60 km) to the east, the pilgrims arrived at the country of Vāisālī.” (Giles 1923: 41)

Faxian does not report about the Vesālī pillar!

Xuanzang 629: “To the north-west is a *stūpa* built by Aśoka-rāja; by the side of it is a stone pillar about 50 or 60 feet high, with the figure of a lion on the top. To the south of the stone pillar is a tank” (Beal 1884, II: 67).

C.H. Barlow 1780: (graffito on the shaft), *General Brisco* 1799: (dtto.).

Non-Aśokan Pillars and Capitals

This chapter presents pillars and capitals, definitely not produced in the times of Aśoka, although most of them have been regarded as Aśokan by at least one or several scholars. Nonetheless, these objects shed light on the reception of Aśoka in later times. His pillars must have been regarded as signs of unusual ingenuity and technical ability, so that later kings felt induced to demonstrate their own abilities by producing similar pieces of art.

There are two pillars having a strong resemblance to Aśokan ones: the Prahāḍpur

pillar, today in Vārāṇasī, and the one in Sikligarh are thick and taper almost as their predecessors do. Both have been deprived of their capitals long ago. In Sikligarh a coin proves that it was erected during the Kuṣāṇa period. At Prahāḍpur, the proportions and the quality of the mason-work is similar, so that its inscription in Kuṣāṇa letters may well be taken as hinting towards a similar period of its origin.

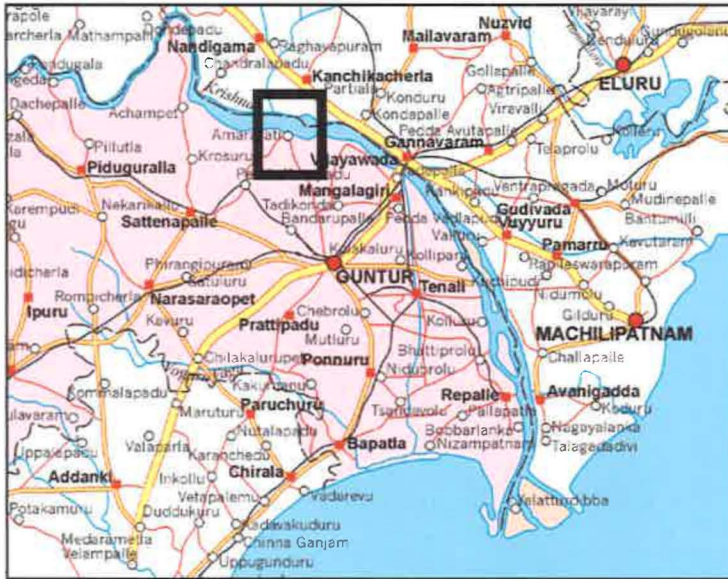
The pillar stump in Bhubaneswar is difficult to evaluate. Its diameter of 1.15 m compares to that of the Prahāḍpur pillar,

although it exhibits no apparent tapering. The bell is 1.88 m wide and barely fits it. If there ever existed a pillar to match this bell, it must have been the largest and heaviest pillar ever fashioned in India.

After these pillars with their possible Kuṣāṇa background, there are many more with links to the Guptas. The Lāṭiyā pillar certainly belongs to that category, as does the one from Vidiśā with its capital in the Gwalior Museum, which again reproduces Mauryan dimensions and shapes.

Amarāvati

Guntur District, AP
16°34' N.
80°21' E.
GSI map 65 D



Access: The stone is now in the site museum at Amarāvati on display, acc.no. 524. Photography is strictly prohibited without a permit from the ASI, New Delhi.

Discovery:

First mentioned with (unreliable) reading in *ARIE* 1959–60.1963: 47 as no. 20. It was found in the house of an inhabitant of the area near the great *stūpa* at Amarāvati, i.e. a surface find. Aśokan origins are doubtful; particularly the letter *bha* with a straight vertical line on the right side looks post-Aśokan. A. Roy (1994: 169) follows Allchin/Norman (1985: 46) in stressing the “incertitude” of an Aśokan attribution.

Material:

Said to be “quartzite, which is available at Nallamalai range” (A. Roy 1994: 15).

Measurements:

The stone is about 45 cm high, and about 30 cm wide and deep. Its inscribed surface is highly polished, partly because of its use as a washing-stone (A. Roy 1994: 15). One side has been chiselled off, probably for building purposes.

Akṣaras: 3.2–4.4.8

Presentations of the text:

Rubbing: Sircar 1963/64a = 1979: pl. XIX; T.V.G. Sastri 1975–76: pl. 17.

Photography: S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 108b; I.K. Sarma 1985: pl. 12; A. Roy 1994: pl. 5–7.

Editions: Sircar 1963/64a = 1979: 122; T.V.G. Sastri 1975–76: 211.

Literature:

D. Mitra 1971: 200–204; Sircar 1963/64a; T.V.G. Sastri 1973/1975–76; A. Roy 1994: 15–17; R. Thapar 1997: 274.

Text:

- 1: ///paratra abh[i sa]///
- 2: ///[dha]kho likhite [m]e///
- 3: ///jano bahūnī///
- 4: ///anusuyamti sa///
- 5: ///ra chijiti vijaye///
- 6: ///ca mame pi///
- 7: ///[pi tata tā]///

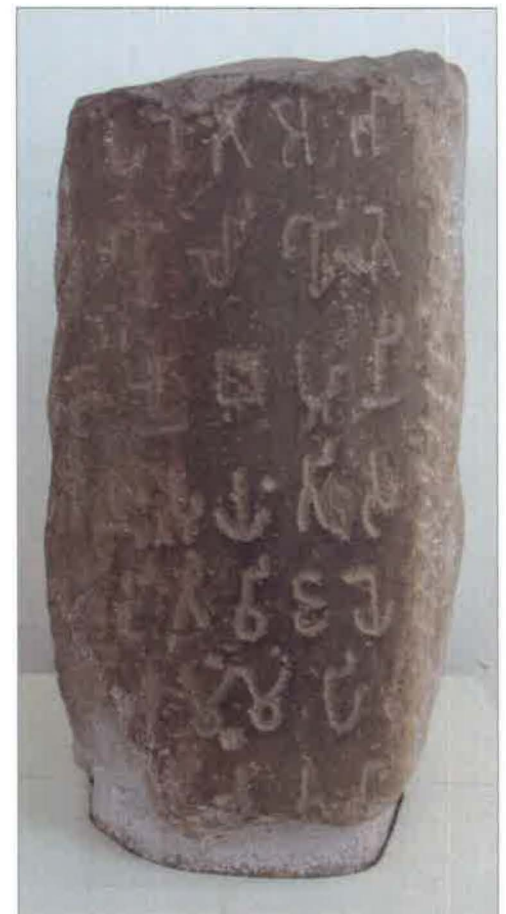
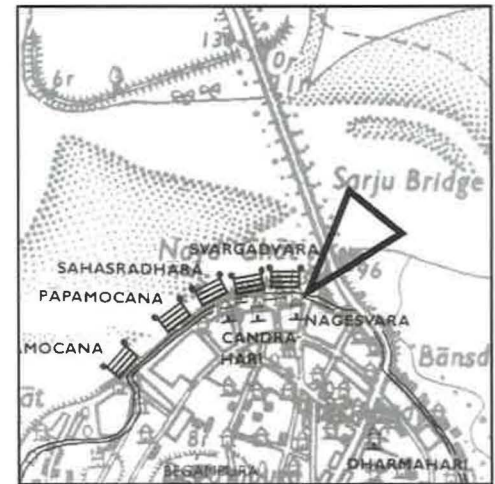
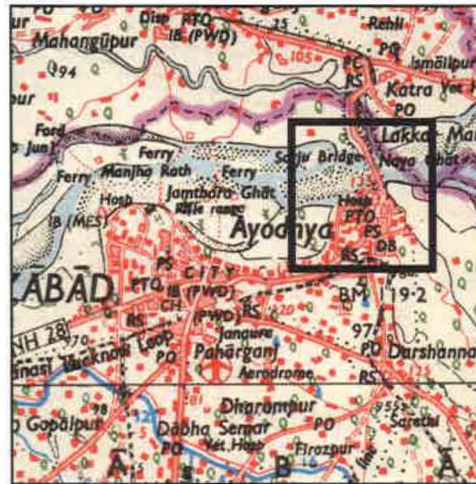


Fig. 1: The inscription on the front side (courtesy Akira Shimada).

Ayodhyā

Faizābād District, UP
26°47' N
82°11' E
GSI map 63 J



Name: Nāgeśvaranātha temple. Only the bell of a capital is preserved in the sanctum of the temple in a road next to the Ghāghar/Sarayū at Ayodhyā. This could be close to or inside the site of a monastery with a huge *stūpa* built by Aśoka, if Xuanzang is right (see below). According to Shaw 2000, the capital might have come from the tumulus called Maṇiparvata, about 1 km straight south of the temple.

Further maps:

Cunningham 1871l: pl. XLIX, sketch map in Shaw 2000: 694.

Access: Free to the temple.

Discovery:

By R.S. Bisht before 1980, as briefly mentioned in S.P. Gupta 1980: 27. New discovery claimed by D.K. Chakrabarti, R. Tewari & R.N. Singh (1999: 166) on a tour in 1997: "The Asokan lotiform capital now kept as the base of the Sivalinga in Nageshwarnath temple on the bank of the Sarayu is of the same quality as the inverted lotus base of the Sarnath capital, thus testifying to the importance of Ayodhyā in the

Mauryan empire. The back of this temple stands against a high ground which is now built up. If this area is excavated, there is a strong possibility of discovering the missing portion of the capital and the pillar itself (likely to be inscribed)."

Preservation:

Perfect, apart from being cemented into the floor.

Measurements:

Not taken.

Presentations of the site:

Photography: Shaw 2000: 696; D.K. Chakrabarti 2001: pls. 9.5 and 9.6.

Literature:

Cunningham 1871l (on Chinese visitors); S.P. Gupta 1980: 27; D.K. Chakrabarti, R. Tewari & R.N. Singh 1999: 166; Shaw 2000: 696; D.K. Chakrabarti 2001: 253.

Importance in antiquity:

Ayodhyā was an important centre of Indian Buddhism, both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. Xuanzang devotes a chapter in his book 5 to this place, with many *vihāras*, *saṅghārāmas*, and *stūpas*. One is particularly liable to have a connection with the pillar: "To the north of the city 40 li, by the side of the river Ganges [i.e. Ghāghar], is a large saṅghārāma in which is a *stūpa* about 200 feet high, which was built by Aśoka-rāja. It was here that Tathāgata explained the excellent principles of the law for the benefit of a congregation of Dēvas during a period of three months" (Beal 1884: 225, cf. Watt 1904: 359).



Fig. 1: Inverted bell used as a *pīṭhā* for the *liṅga* in the Nāgeśvaranātha temple (courtesy J. Neuß).

Bakraur

Bodh Gayā (pillar)

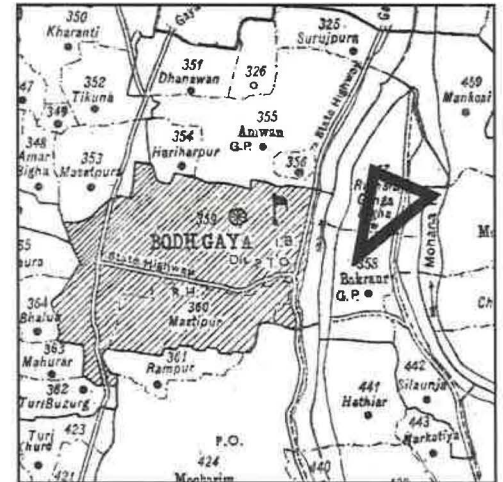
Gayā District

24° 42' N.

84° 59' E.

GSI map 72 D/14 (Bodh Gayā)

GSI map 72 H/02 (Bakraur)



Access: Unrestricted. The Mucilinda tank is to the south of the Bodhi temple at Bodh Gayā, the pillar is found in the courtyard leading to the tank.

Discovery/ History:

Buchanan 181-1/12: "From Matunga Bapi I proceeded west to a large heap opposite to Buddh Gya, and near the river. I at first took it for a small hill, but was told that it was an old temple of the Buddhs, and I found that it was composed of bricks covered with a little

earth. The people say they remember it as entire as the temple of Mahamuni now is, but that it was round and solid. Mr. Boddam removed many bricks for his buildings at Gya, which reduced it to a mere heap. In digging for the bricks he is said to have found a stone chest containing bones and many small images of Lak. He also removed a stone pillar which has been erected in Sahibgunj. (...) It is said that when Gautoma Muni came here to perform penance, accompanied by a

vast many other Munis, that one of these distinguished persons died and was buried in the temple, which is called Koteni Bakraur" (1925: 54f.).

Cunningham (1877: 3): "A broken pillar, which once stood at Bakror opposite Bodh-Gaya (...is) uninscribed."

The site of the *stūpa* is today called *sujātā kuṭī*. It was excavated in 1980/81 by the ASI, but not published. Some of the earliest finds have been published in "Moor's Hindu Pantheon, Plate LXX, Figures 6, 7, and 8", according to Cunningham (1871c) in his report on Bakraur.

The pillar mentioned by Buchanan reached Sahibganj, which is now a part of Gayā. Cunningham described it as "set up" there, being "2 feet 4 ¾ inches [73 cm] in diameter, and upwards of 16 feet [4.90 m] in height" (1871c: 13). This means that he saw about 1 m more than what can be seen today above ground.

It seems to have remained there for decades, giving its name, *gol pathar*, to the quarter of Gayā. In the first third of the 20th century the pillar was moved from there to its present site on the banks of the Mucilinda tank (oral communication from the ASI staff, Sāmāth).

Cunningham in 1871 reported on two fragments still in situ at Bakraur near "a large brick tope, with a stump of a sandstone pillar at a short distance to the northward". The diameter of the two pieces is



Fig. 1: The pillar in the compound used for ancestor worship.



Fig. 2: The remains of the *stūpa* at Bakraur.



Fig. 3: View towards the NE from the *stūpa* top.

given as 3' ½" [93 cm] and 3' ¼" [92 cm], "both of these pieces belong to the rough bottom portion of the pillar".

Judging from a tapering of 2.5 cm on 1 m of length, the pillar should have been about 10 m high, that means, the dimensions are comparable to those of Aśokan pillars.

Only the upper part is presently erected in Bodh Gayā. Nothing is known about the fragments of the underground part.

The condition of the upper part is very good. There are some cuts close to the present ground level, as if to roughen it for tying a rope around it. The stone shows black inclusions which are bigger than those of the Pabhosā stone. Instead, they resemble very

much the spots on the Jina torso from Lohanipur in the Patna Museum.

Measurements:

(Own measurements in October 1997):

Above plinth: 4.04 m (Cunningham gives a total of 16' = 4.80 m).

Diameter of underground fragments: 92 and 93 cm according to Cunningham 1871c: 12) Diameter immediately above plinth 73.75 cm; diameter at 1 m: 71.5 cm, difference 2.25 cm; diameter at 2 m: 69.1 cm, difference 2.4; diameter at 4 m is 64 cm, difference: 2.55. This results in a tapering per meter between bottom and top of 2.4375 cm.

The top is preserved and without tenon; the dowel-hole is not round, as in Aśokan

pillars, but square, measuring 7 x 7 cm, being 17.5 cm deep.

If the pillar once stood 10 m above ground its diameter at the original ground level was about 88 cm.

Literature:

On the pillar: Buchanan 1811/12: 54f.; Cunningham 1871c; Irwin 1976: 746 fn. 61; S.P. Gupta 1980: 26.

On excavations of the stūpa site: IA-R 1973-74: 9; a partial report is H.N. Singh 2002-03, dating the earliest layers of the stūpa to the 2nd/1st century BC.

Visitors:

No pillar at the present site:

Xuanzang, 629 A.D.: "Outside the south gate of the *Bôdhi* tree is a great tank about 700 paces round, the water of which is clear and pure as a mirror. Nāgas and fishes dwell there. This was the pond which was dug by the Brāhman, who were uterine brothers, at the command of Mahêśvara (Ta-thseu-thsai)" (Beal 1884,II: 127).

a) *Pillar on the island:*

Xuanzang, 629 A.D.: "To the east of the *Bôdhi* tree, crossing the Nairāñjanā (Ni-lenshan-na) river, in the middle of a wood, is a *stūpa*. To the north of this is a pool. This is the spot where a perfume elephant (*Gandha-hastī*) waited upon his mother. (...) By the side of this (*pool*) is a *stūpa*, before which is built a stone pillar. In this place the Buddha Kaśyapa (Kia-she-po) long ago sat in meditation (...)" (Beal 1884,II: 138f.).

b) *Pillar east of the river:*

Xuanzang, 629 A.D.: "To the east of this spot, crossing the Mo-ho (Mahî) river, we come to a great forest in which is a stone pillar. This is the place where a heretic entered a condition of ecstasy and made a wicked vow" (Beal 1884,II: 138f.).



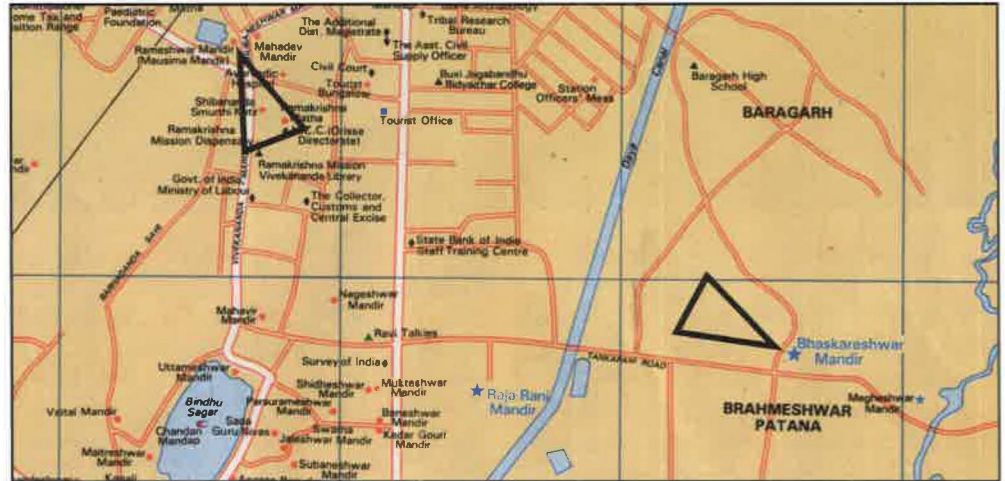
Fig. 4: View north against the Bodh Gayā temple.



Fig. 5: Sample of the stone surface.

Bhāskareśvara Rāmeśvara

Bhubaneswar
Puri District, Orissa
20°15' N.
85°51' E.
GSI map 73 H



Names:

Bhāskareśvara is a temple in Bhubaneswar, Orissa, inside of which the shaft of a pillar stands erected and where a part of a lion was found; Rāmeśvara is another temple, far across the city, where a complete bell and more pillar fragments were found.

Access:

The Bhāskareśvara fragments

a) *The pillar shaft:* The Bhāskareśvara temple was built around the lower part of a huge pillar which at one time seems to have been

crowned by a lion capital. Access to the *liṅga* is twofold: through gates at the floor level the central room is reached with the upright stump in its middle (fig. 2). Taking the stairs to the upper level leads to a small entrance room where only the topmost part of the pillar can be seen. Today, this upper part is decorated with a *hundi* and a snake (fig. 5).

b) *The lion:* In the first hall of the State Museum, Bhubaneswar the fragmentary lion is on display (fig. 4).

The Rāmeśvara fragments

a) *The capital:* The capital is now lying close to the entrance gate of the State Museum, Bhubaneswar (fig. 3).

Discovery:

The Bhāskareśvara fragments

a) *The pillar shaft:* Stirling 1825: 311 saw



Fig. 1: Bhāskareśvara temple. The snake is seen from the left entrance.



Fig. 2: The pillar in full length.



Fig. 3: The bell in the entrance to the museum, Bhubaneswar.



Fig. 4: The lion in the museum at Bhubaneswar.

the *linga* in the Bhāskareśvara temple as it is today; nonetheless, he reported it to be 40 feet [12.2 m] high, which might reflect a tradition about its original height.

Rajendralal Mitra (1880: 89), reaffirmed by B.M. Barua (1946: 3) and Panigrahi (1951: 97), attributed the Bhāskareśvara shaft to Aśoka, or at least to his times. However, A. Mitra 1959 showed that the pillar fragment was re-erected as a *linga* right from the start, its original situation being unknown.

b) *The lion*: “The figure of lion was dug out of a pit at a distance of 40 feet from the northern entrance of the Bhaskareswara temple, where it had been mysteriously buried with stone walls on four sides of it” (Mohapatra 1977: 11, cf. Panigrahi 1951: 99). “It is crystal clear that this was the pillar which contained the Kapileswar stone inscription” (Mohapatra 1977: 12).

The Rāmeśvara fragments:

a) *The capital*: Its importance was first noticed by A.K. Mitra (Basu 1929: 260; A.K. Mitra 1929). It “has been recovered from the north-east corner of an old tank named Asoka-jhara, which is about 2 miles west to the temple of Bhaskareswara and close to the temple of Rameswara” (Mohapatra 1977: 11).

b) *The pillar shaft*: Jayasval (sic) 1929 had received photographs of the bell (“capital”) and of a shaft fragment “lying near the Rameswar Temple at Bhubaneswar”, which “is now kept on the bank of an historic and

sacred tank called ‘Aśoka Kunda’”. He “identified them at once as ‘Aśokan’”.

A.K. Mitra (1929: 694) and N. Basu (1929: 260), however, realized from the start that neither stone, nor masonwork nor the details of art-historical relevance point to such an early date.

Since this lying pillar-fragment cannot be identical with the one around which the Bhāskareśvara temple was constructed, and since it was found near the place where the bell was found, it seems likely that both parts were removed from the original location, i.e. the present Bhāskareśvara temple site.

Preservation:

The pillar is smooth, but not polished. In the inner chamber at ground floor level a sort of *yoni* in two pieces was placed around its base.

Material:

Red sandstone.

Measurements:

Pillar: Diameter 115 cm. For 180 cm its shaft is visible above ground, ending in a conical upper part of about 50 cm height.

Lion: It measures 139 cm from head to the damaged end and is 90 high. The curls of the fur have been removed in one place, where an inscription is found: *sihabandha* in characters of about the Kuṣāṇa era.

Capital: The bell is 86 cm high, the remains of the abacus 22 cm. At the junction between bell and abacus the diameter is 136 cm; the broadest part of the bell measures 188 cm across, the narrowest 161 cm.

Presentations of the site:

Photography:

The Bhāskareśvara fragments:

a) *Pillar*: Basu 1929: 260; D. Mitra 1959: pl. I (exposed basement); Mohapatra 1977: 10.
b) *Lion*: Panigrahi 1951: pl.V; Sahu 1958: 32; Mohapatra 1977: 11.

The Rāmeśvara fragments:

a) *Capital*: Basu 1929: 60; A.K. Mitra 1929: 694; Sahu 1958: 30; Mohapatra 1977: 11.

Literature:

Stirling 1825; Sahu 1958: 28–31.



Fig. 5: View of the pillar top as seen by visitors.

Bhopāl

Umrao; Dullah

Bhopal District, MP

23°13' N.

77°24' E.

GSI map 55 E/7



Discovery: “A stone pillar, roughly ascribable to the Gupta period, was recently spotted in Umrao Dullah’s garden on the outskirts of Bhopal (pl. LXXXII A). It seems to have been brought from elsewhere and erected on the present site, with provisions for hanging lights, etc., below the finial. The polish and material of the pillar have a striking similarity with those of the Mauryan times, but the shaft, which bears an inscription in shell-characters (pl. LXXXII B),

lacks the characteristic taper of the Mauryan pillars” (IA-R 1957–58: 68).

The pillar is depicted in S.P. Gupta (1980: pl. 9c, fig. 3), still standing in a park, which was thereafter converted into residential quarters. Today, the pillar is situated in the middle of a narrow crossing of a quarter still called Umrao Bāgh (fig. 1).

The pillar does not give the least impression of being of Mauryan origin. The stone is of a reddish hue with no inclusions, fairly well polished. It is placed within a squarish platform. Its height is 4.33 m from platform to the beginning of the bell or close to 5 m to the top of the crown.

Its diameter is 31.5 cm at the beginning of the smoothened shaft, 30.6 cm one meter higher, and 29.3 cm at the height of 2 meters. The tapering is 1.1 cm to one meter; all

dimensions are clearly very different from those of Aśokan specimens.

The bell is polished and has 12 petals under a “twisted rope”. The superimposed trumpet-like piece is without parallel.

Presentations of the pillar:

IA-R 1957–58: pls. LXXXII A,B (shell script inscription); S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 9c.

Literature:

IA-R 1957–58: 68; S.P. Gupta 1980: 26.

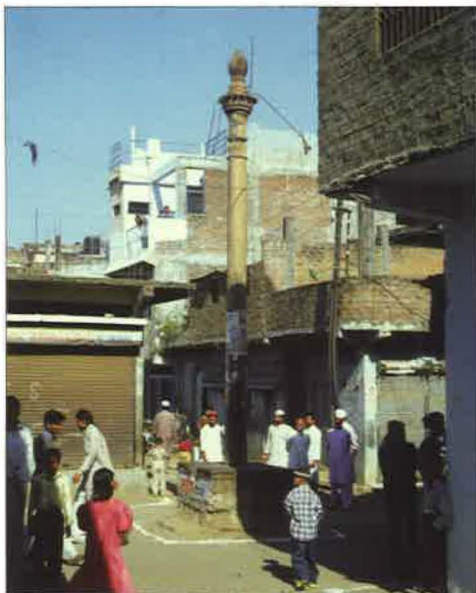


Fig. 1: The pillar in the middle of a crossing.



Fig. 2: Close-up of the bell with modern top.

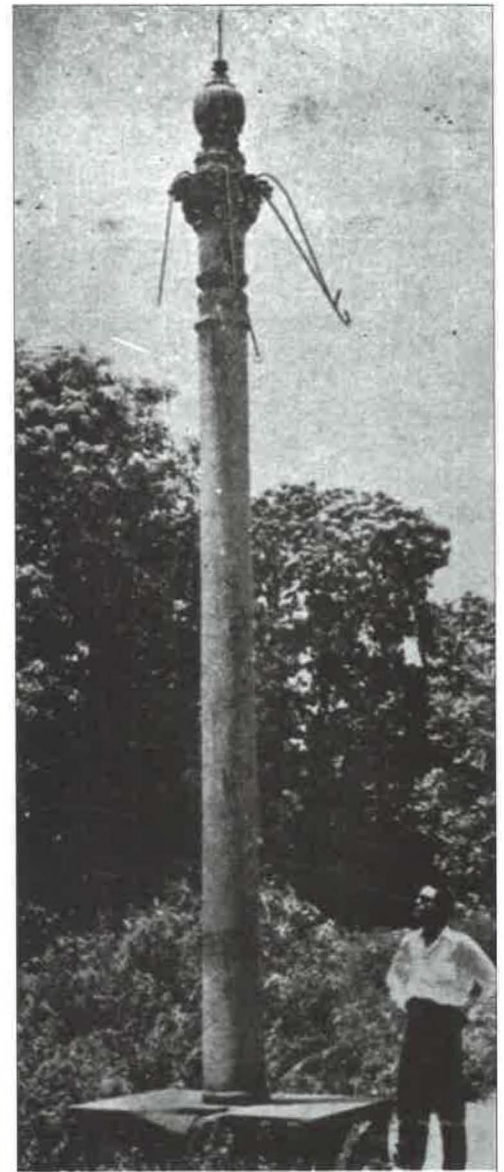


Fig. 3: The pillar before 1980 in a park.

Gwalior

Udayagiri; Bhilsā

Gwalior District, MP

23°31' N.

77°47' E.

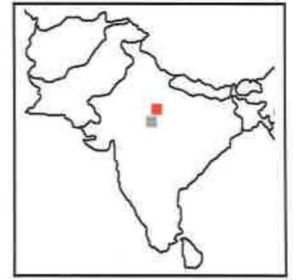


Fig. 2: The full capital.



Fig. 1: Close-up of the abacus, displaying the sun in *vṛṣabha*, *mithuna* and *karka rāṣī*.

Access: Through Gwalior Museum (not the one in the Fort area!).

Discovery/ History:

Cf. *Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State*, for *samvat* 1990, Year 1933–34. Gwalior 1938: 40 item no. 93: “Lion capital from Udayagiri” with pl. XI (a), and the same, *samvat* 1992, year 1935–36, Gwalior 1939: 67 photographs 89–94, full with *vṛṣabha* and *mithuna*, with *mīna* and *meṣa*, with *kumbha* and *mīna*; with *dhanu*, *makara* and *kumbha* = pl. VI.

Preservation:

Fairly good.

Material:

Sandstone without inclusions.

Measurements:

“80 cm at the diameter of the abacus and 230 cm high to the top, which is broken” (Williams 1973: 225 fn. 1).

Presentations of the pillar:

Drawing: Agrawala 1964: fig. 16.

Photography: Williams 1973: pls. 1–8 (complete and details); Harle 1974: pls. 36, 37 with close-up; S.P. Gupta 1980: 116d.

Literature:

Agrawala 1964: 11 (opts for Gupta times); Williams 1973 (Mauryan abacus recut in

Gupta times); Harle 1974: 14, 41 (Gupta, following Williams); Nagar 1992: 32 (Aśokan period).

Aśokan or not?:

Originally the piece was regarded as originating in Gupta times. A thorough investigation by Williams 1973 showed the close similarity to Mauryan specimen with regard to the capital profile. Also the few polished parts on the lions’ legs and on the bell are comparable to Mauryan parallels. Williams assumed that a Mauryan capital was reworked in Gupta times. The “recutting” theory was accepted by Harle.

In comparison to all unquestioned Aśokan capitals it must be stressed that the stone is not of any of those varieties that were used for Aśoka’s capitals; the lion is very much different in the way the hair-locks are represented; the bell has 24 petals, whereas Aśokan bells invariably have 16 petals; the paws with “Mauryan” polish are of very different shape compared to truly Aśokan ones. The artists produced a very remarkable piece, copying Aśokan lions, abaci and bells, enlarging, however, the 16-petal type to a 24-petal model. That means, the workmen started from scratch, not from an Aśokan original.

Laṭiyā

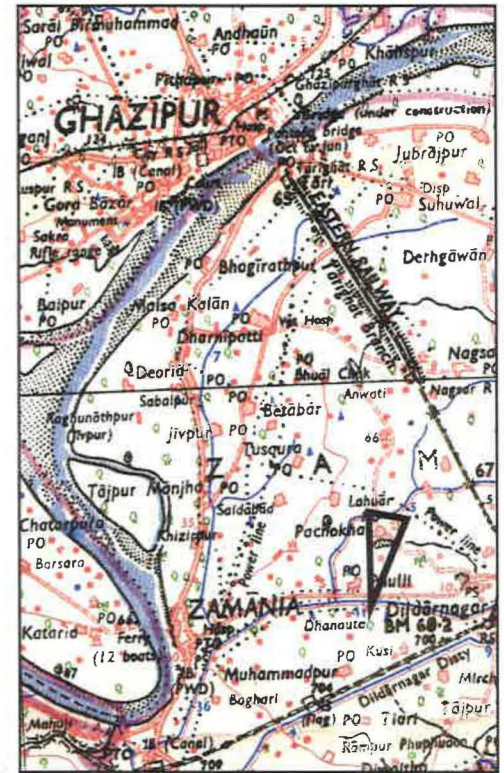
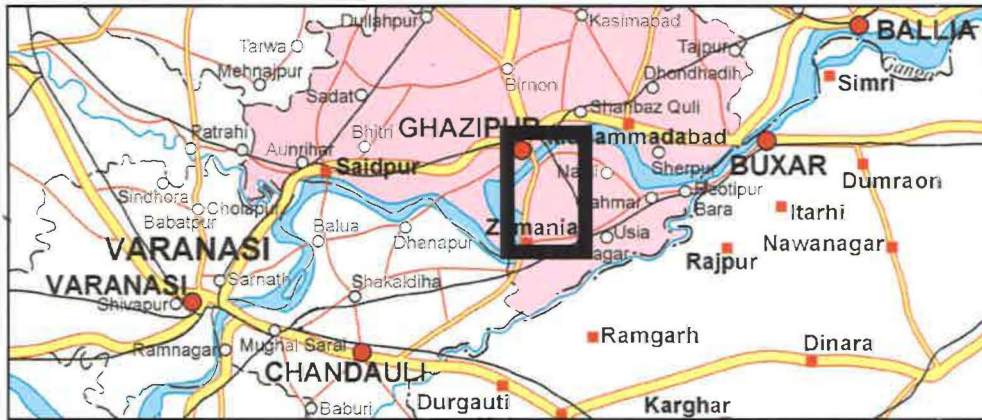
Lathiya; Latiya

Ghazipur District, UP

25°24' N.

83°35' E.

GSI map 63 O/11



Further maps: Cunningham 1885b: pl. XIV.

Access:

On the road from Ghazipur to Zamania. In this town a road leads east. After 2 km the pillar is seen on the right.

Discovery:

The pillar was well-known around 1836, when it was inspected “without finding any trace of writing on it” (Prinsep 1836: 661, Turnour 1837b: 1050 fn. *).

Material:

“Pabhosā” stone with inclusions. From an Aśokan point of view this is the most remarkable feature of this pillar. It shows that the stone for this pillar was extracted from the same location which had furnished the “Pabhosā”-type of stone for the pillars of Aśoka. Alternatively, a pillar of Aśoka may have been re-used, including a reworking of the surface leading to a smaller diameter.



Fig. 1: The pillar in its full length.

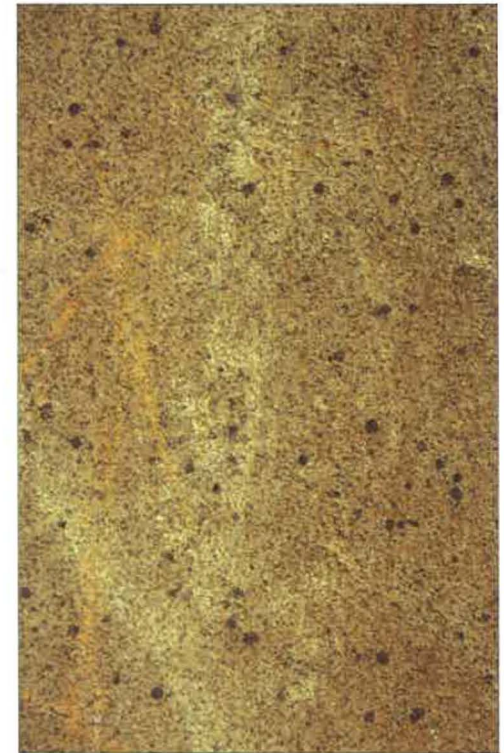


Fig. 2: Close-up of the “Pabhosā” type of stone.



Fig. 3: Front sides of the fallen capital, showing Garuḍa.



Fig. 4: The mutilated back-side of the fallen capital.



Fig. 5: The bell under eight lions, serving as abacus for the fallen capital.

Preservation:

The pillar is still in good shape, although leaning at a dangerous angle. Bell and lions are still on top, the once crowning figure has fallen down and is in bad shape. The upright position of the pillar was meant to be secured by two flanking side-stones (fig. 6).

Measurements:

Cunningham (1873a) gives the complete length as 30 feet, or 9.15 m. The underground part is said to measure 4' 7½", or 1.40 m. Today, without the capital, very exactly 8 m stand erect.

Presentations of the pillar-site:

Photography:

The capital is depicted in Williams 1982: pl.142, together with a comparison of most known Gupta *dhvajastambhas* (pp. 95–98). She identifies the figure once standing on top of the lions as either a Garuḍa or a Sūrya, “with the raised arms holding lotuses” (p. 97 fn. 117).

Literature:

Cunningham 1873a, 1877: 3; Fleet 1888: 249; Williams 1982: 97; D.K. Chakrabarti 2001: 237.



Fig. 6: The square lower part of the pillar partly interred, held by flanking side-stones.

Prahlādpur

Palladpur;
Vārāṇasī-Sanskrit College

Ghazipur District, UP

25°27' N.

83°27' E.

GSI map 63 0/7



Names: Palladpur (A.K. Mitra 1933) is a misrepresented Prahlādpur.

Access:

The original site was not visited. The pillar is found to the rear of the Sanskrit College, Vārāṇasī, adjoining the sports ground. Access is unrestricted as long as the gate to the college is open.

Discovery/ History:

Prinsep knew about this and the Laṭiyā pillar in 1836 (1836: 661), referring to them as “two other pillars near *Ghazipur*, at *Zamineah*, south of the *Ganges*”. According to Fleet (1888: 249) “This inscription was discovered by Captain T.S. Burt, of the

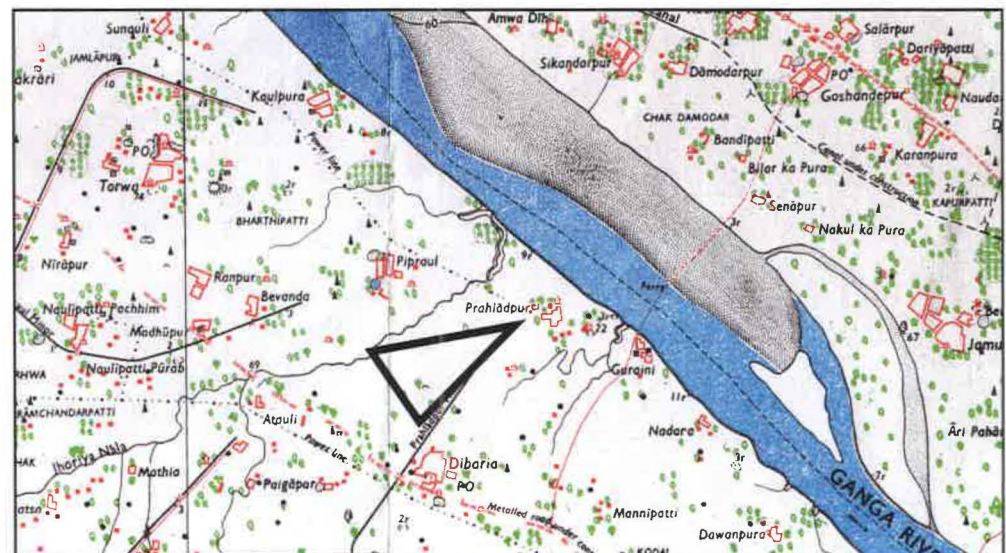
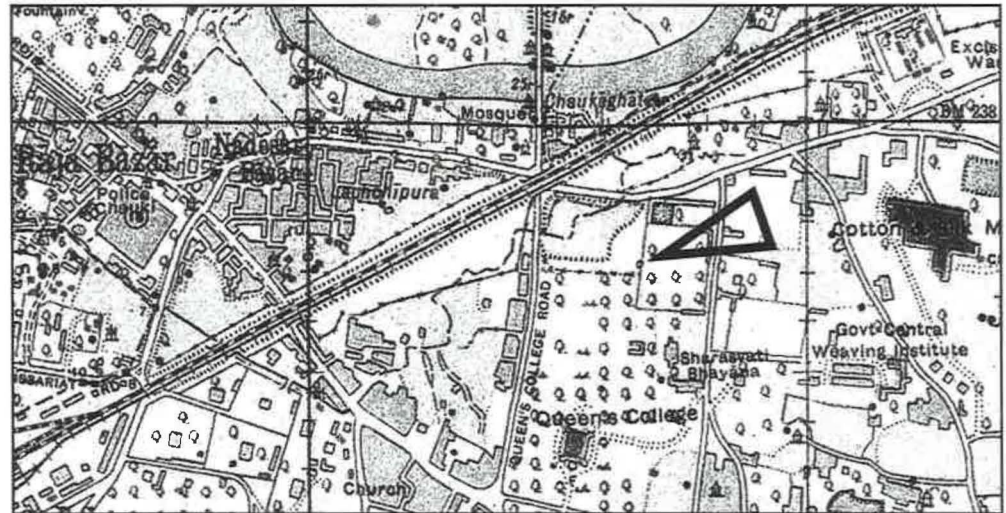
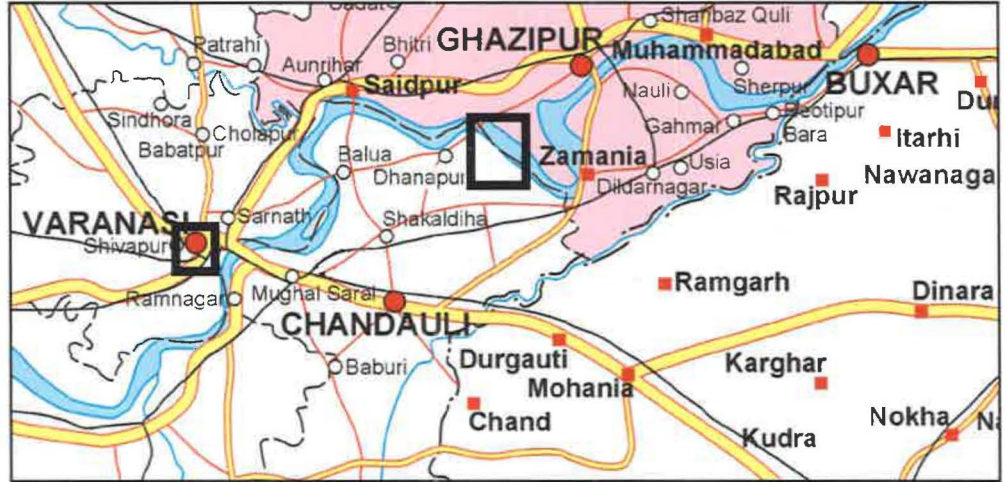


Fig. 1: The pillar in his modern base.

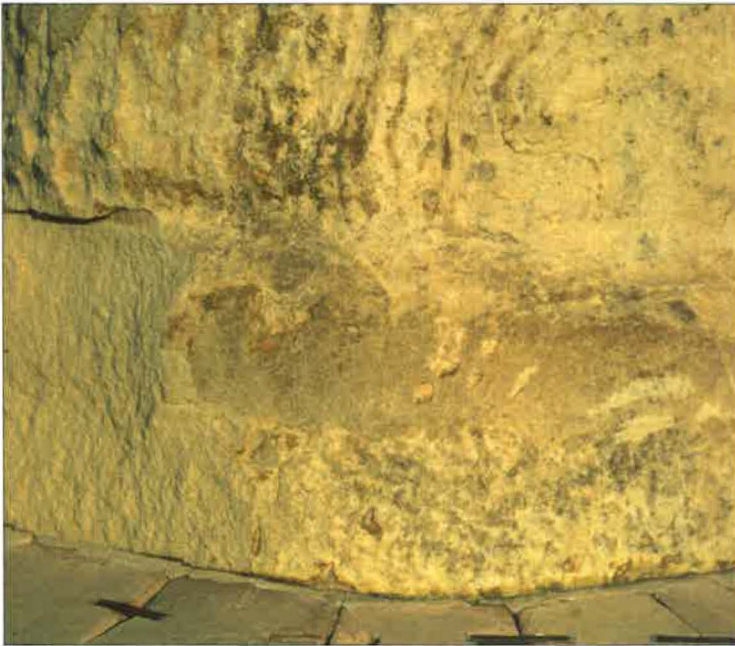


Fig. 2: The lower part with the dividing line.

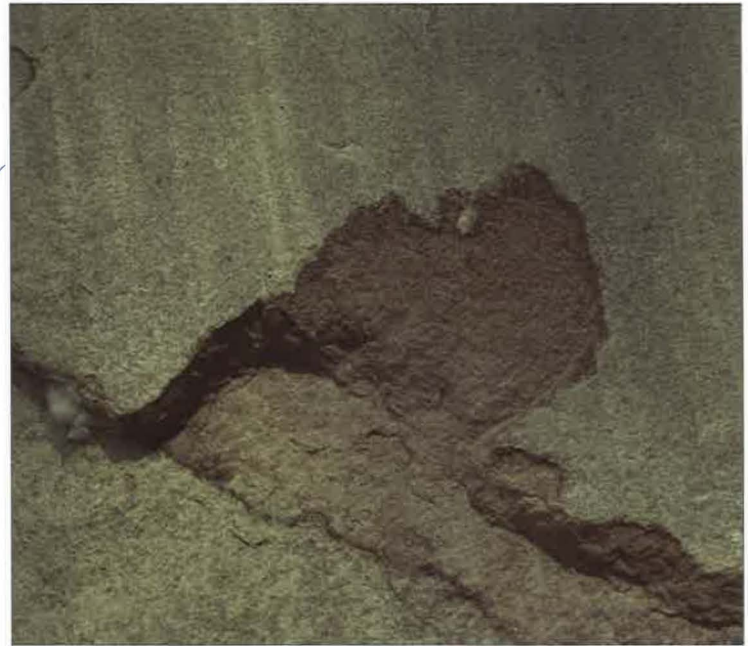


Fig. 3: A recent break showing the red color of the sandstone under the light surface.

Engineers, and was first brought to notice in 1838, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 1055 (...) Pahlādpur is a village near the right bank of the Ganges, six miles east by south of Dhānāpur, the chief town of the Mahāich Parganā in the Zamāniyā Tahsīl or Sub-Division of the Ghāzīpur District in the North-West Provinces. (...) The pillar was found lying there, more than half buried in the ground, and was afterwards, in or about 1853, removed to Benares and set up in the grounds of the Sanskrit College there, on the north side, where it still stands."

The pillar base has received a lengthy inscription reporting on the transport: "This ancient pillar found at Puhladpoor near Ghazeepoor was brought to Benares in 1853 by the order and at the expense of the Honorable James Thomason Lieutenant Governor North Western Provinces by WCHamilton Lieut. Ond. Fusiliers and was erected in May 1954 under the orders of Government by George Franklin Atkinson Lieutt. Bengal Engineers."

Preservation:

Fairly good. The stone has suffered while laying on the ground; large patches broke off and have rubbed away. It is covered with several inscriptions, some in shell script, one in late Kuṣāṇa or early Gupta script, edited by Fleet.

The upper rim of the shaft is rounded. A tenon is not visible from below; a hole on top could not be verified.

For its re-erection it was encased in a base construction measuring 130 and 110 cm in

two elevations. The resulting height of 2.4 m is less than the reported length of the undressed lower part, measuring only 2.75 m.

Nothing is known about the base-slab apart from its former existence: "A similar large square stone was found under the Pahlādpur Pillar, when it was removed to the grounds of Queen's College at Banāras" (Cunningham 1871i: 162 fn.).

Material:

The stone is light beige at the surface. However, some breaks show that it is reddish inside (fig. 3). Sandstone from the Cunār hills is beige inside and outside; "Pabhosā" stone is beige inside and both can oxidize to red at the outside, i.e. exactly the opposite.

Measurements:

According to Fleet (1888: 249) the total length is 10.98 m; 2.75 m below the dividing line are left rough, 8.25 m are polished.

According to my own measurements the diameter at the dividing line is 118.5 cm; 1.6 m higher up it is 114.6 cm. If the tapering continues the top diameter should be 98.7 cm.

Presentations of the pillar:

Photography: S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 10a.

Literature:

General: S.P. Gupta 1980: 26.

On excavations: Narain & Roy 1968.

On the inscription: Fleet 1888: 249–251, pl. IIIA; A.K. Mitra 1933: 319.

Aśokan or not?

The pillar is of the largest kind, comparable

in width to Vesālī, Rāmpūrvā lion pillar and Ararāj. The tapering of 2.4 cm per meter is likewise found on many Aśokan pillars.

All this would speak for an Aśokan origin, which, however, remains very doubtful because of the red sandstone oxidizing to a light color, unlike any other. Because of the inscription it cannot be younger than the Kuṣāṇa-Gupta transition period.

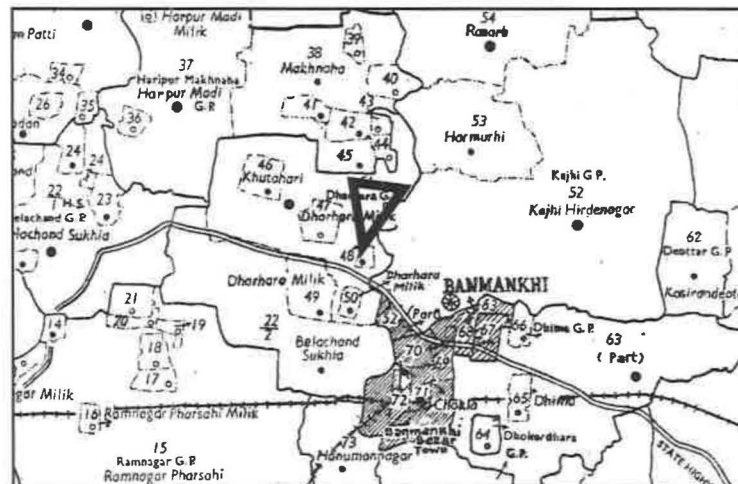
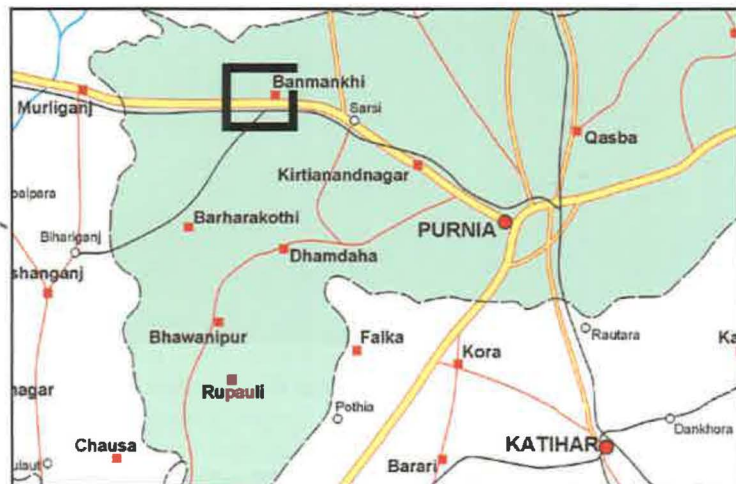
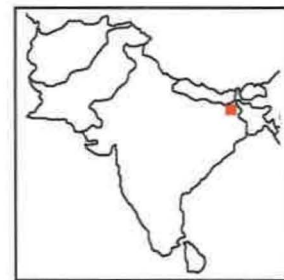


Fig. 4: Shell script on the polished pillar.

Sikligarh

maṇik thambh; prahlād thambh

Purnea District, Bihar
 25°53' N.
 87°09' E.
 GSI map 72 O/1



Name: Sikligarh is an old fortification, some walls of which remain. Outside the compound to the northwest a small elevation is found. To the northwest still inside the area covered by trees the top-part of a pillar sticks out of the ground. The name Sikligarh is not widely known today; for enquiries the term *maṇik thambh* should be used, the “precious pillar”.

Access: 2.5 km west of Banmankhi on the road from Purnea to Saharsa, between km-stones 28 and 29, 100 m north of the road. There are no restrictions on walking through the fields. Since today the pillar is held sacred to Prahlāda, its *pīṭha* should not be mounted with shoes on.

Discovery: Buchanan saw this pillar on his tour 1807–1816 (1838, III: 54). Waddell 1890 interpreted the monument as a transposed *sati*-pillar, however, no local tradition would support this. A gold coin of Vāsudeva was found immediately below the pillar (Waddell 1890: 244f.), so that this pillar should be of Kuṣāṇa origin, from the middle of the 3rd century AD.



Fig. 1: The top of the pillar as visible today in its platform.



Fig. 2: Close-up of the “Pabhosā” type of stone.

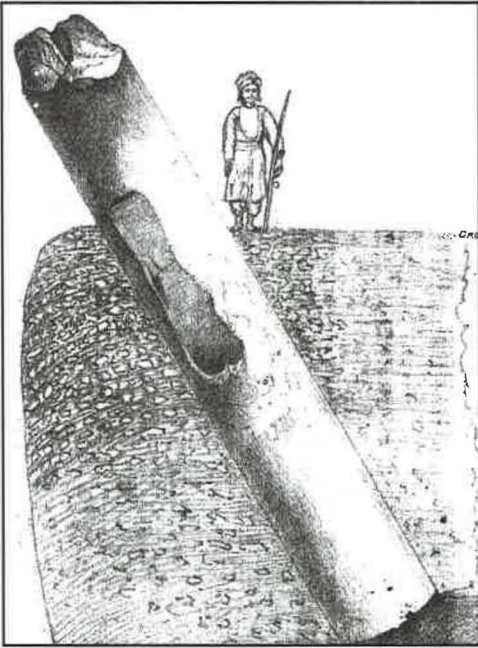


Fig. 3: Drawing of the exposed pillar shaft (after Waddell 1890: pl. IV).



Fig. 4: The broken top showing the dowel-hole.

Preservation:

The shaft seems to be complete, being destroyed at the top when the bolt was removed. The surface is smooth but not polished.

Ignorant of the older literature, the pillar was re-“discovered” by Chakrabarti, Prasad, Jha & Verma 1996: 152b, claiming – contrary to evidence – that “the surface polish” of this pillar is “identical with those of the Asokan pillars, and we have no doubt that the Sikligarh pillar is Asokan too”, an idea continued in D.K. Chakrabarti 2001: 194.

Material:

Waddell calls it granite, however, it is the same primary Vindhyan “Pabhosā”-type sandstone with inclusions as used e.g. for the Sārnāth pillar. The surface is oxidized to a reddish beige.

Measurements:

According to Waddell the pillar measures about 6 m. He was told that it was once crowned by a lion capital.

Presentations of the pillar:

Drawing: Waddell (1890: pl. IV; fig. 3).

Literature:

Buchanan 1838,III: 54; Waddell 1890; *IA-R* 1957–58: 64 (“Early Historical Site, District Purnea. – Shri A.C. Banerji found a pillar resembling an Asokan monolith at Sikligarh.”); Patil 1963: 537–539; Chakrabarti, Prasad, Jha & Verma 1996: 152; D.K. Chakrabarti 2001: 193f.

Importance in antiquity:

Unknown; even the relation to the nearby brick-made hill is unclear without excavations.

Importance today:

Used as a holy spot by the locals, who take it for the site where Prahlāda was tied to the column by his father Hiranyakaśipu, only to be released by Viṣṇu in his incarnation as man-lion, Narasimha.

Aśokan or not?:

The ratio of length to diameter would make this pillar an exception amongst truly Aśokan pillars. A gold coin below its bottom was used for its foundation. It names the Kuṣāṇa king Vāsudeva (Waddell 1890: 245), thus providing incontrovertible proof for an origin in the 3rd century AD.

Greek and Aramaic Edict Sites

It was only in the 19th century that texts written in Greek and Aramaic were found which referred in one way or other to Aśoka. The majority comes from Kandahar in Afghanistan, comprising (I) one bi-lingual text, written on a firmly implanted rock along the old road to the ancient city. A purely Greek fragment (II), preserving parts of two REs comes from this old city itself. Most likely, a third text (III) in pure Aramaic has its origins there as well.

This way, Kandahar appears as a centre of Aśokan thought, irrespective of the question if it was part of the Mauryan realm or not.

Far away, on the old road from Jalalabad to Begram, three more texts were found, one immediately to the west of Jalalabad where the Darūnta river meets the mountains. Its exact find place is unknown. Slightly to the

north of Jalalabad close to another river coming from the north, two texts were found in the 1970s, labelled Laghman I and II after the valley. All three texts are no Aśokan edicts at all, but seem to contain the verdict of some law cases, inscribed in the open for a wider publicity. King Priyadarśin is mentioned as the contemporary ruler for dating reasons; he plays no other role in these texts. The comprehension of these texts has gained tremendously after semitists took care of them, less obliged to find Aśokan ideas in them than scholars of Indo-Iranian languages.

The piece known the earliest is a slab from Taxilā far to the east, comparable in its content rather to the Jalalabad group than to the real edicts from Kandahar. Apart from the name, there is nothing to link this text to Aśokan ideas.

Regarding Aśoka's own thoughts, we can thus concentrate on the Kandahar texts. They have survived in two shapes. First, the bi-lingual and the Greek edicts come in good Aramaic and in good Greek. The translators were thoughtful and knew what to convey. The third text in purely Aramaic letters is bi-lingual as well, in that it presents (parts of) the text of the PE7 first in the language of Pāṭaliputra, written in Aramaic script, followed by an Aramaic translation. This fact is most noteworthy in that it shows that Aśoka must have ordered to bring his words to the public unchanged regarding their sound and content. Presenting this text in two languages using one script for both is a remarkable thought, aiming at avoiding flaws in the translation. A certain experience with bad translations must have accrued in the years before.

Kandahar I

Greek-Aramaic bilingual;
near Chehel Zina; Shahr-i-kuna

Kandahar District,
Afghanistan
31°36' N.
65°40' E.

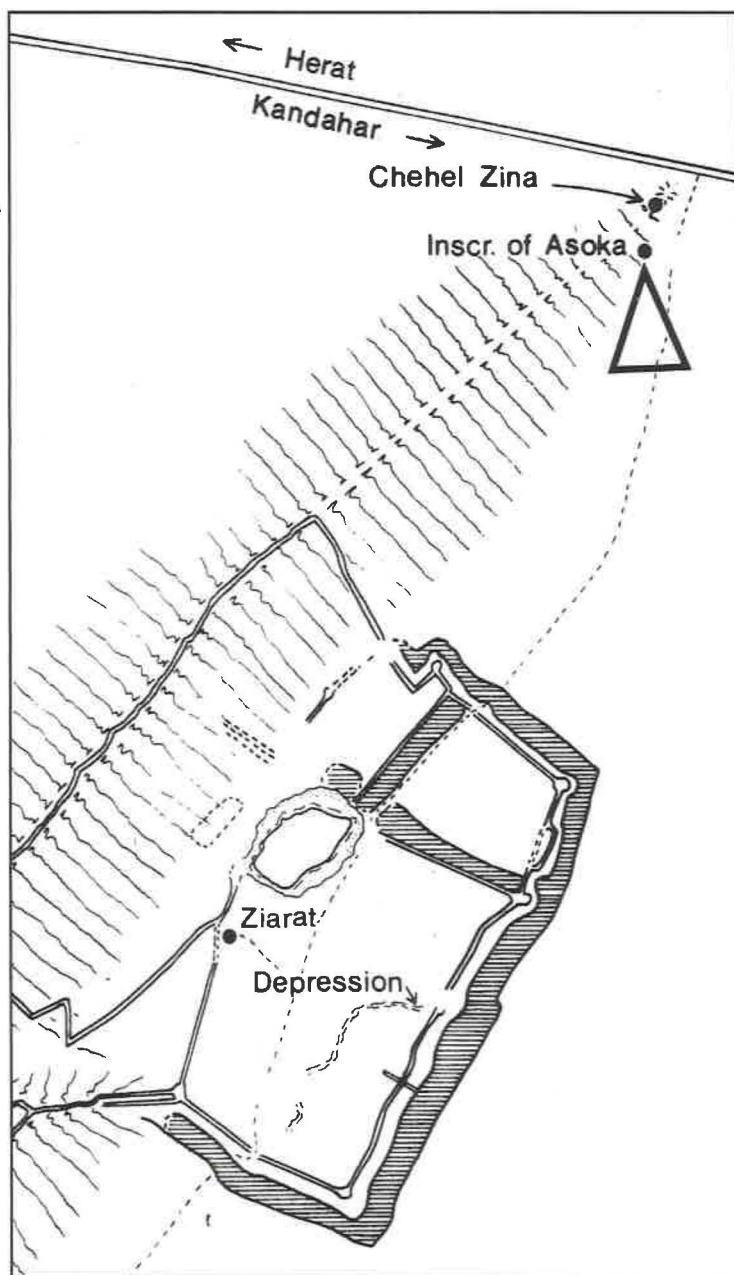


Fig. 1: The findspot as seen from the *stūpa* hill (courtesy Fonds Marc Le Berre, negative CC01604LB).

Map: Fussman 1966: 43, used for Whitehouse 1978: 11; reworked for the above.

Access:
Unknown.

Discovery:
In April 1958 an “instituteur de Kandahar” came across the rock by chance. After receiving information, members of the Délégation archéologique française and

for the inscription as can be seen on fig. 3.

Presentations of the text:

Plaster cast: Once in the Kabul Museum; photographs in Múkherjee 1984b: pls. VI+VII.

Eye copy: Filliozat 1961/62.

Complete rubbing: Altheim/Stiehl 1958: 195; 1959b; Schlumberger 1958: 6 pl. III; Pugliese Carratelli & Levi della Vida 1958:

6; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 261; Pugliese Carratelli & Garbini 1964: 20; Krishnan 1989: opp. 62.

Aramaic: Dupont-Sommer 1958: 24 pl. V; Pugliese Carratelli & Levi della Vida 1958: 22; Filliozat 1961/62; Pugliese Carratelli & Garbini 1964: 52.

Greek: Scerrato 1958: 5; Robert 1958b: 8 pl. IV; Filliozat 1961/62; Pugliese Carratelli & Garbini 1964: 36; Harmatta 1994: 399.

Photography:

Rock: Schlumberger 1958: 4 pl. I+II; Filliozat 1961/62; Pugliese Carratelli & Garbini 1964: 4; Allchin 1995b: 214.

Edicts: Zucker 1959: 105; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 68.

Editions:

Aramaic: Dupont-Sommer 1958 (with eye-copy: 21); Altheim 1958; 1960: 172; Benveniste 1958; Pugliese Carratelli & Levi della Vida 1958: 15–32; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 260f.; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 44; Itō 1966: 7, 1967; Bogolúbov

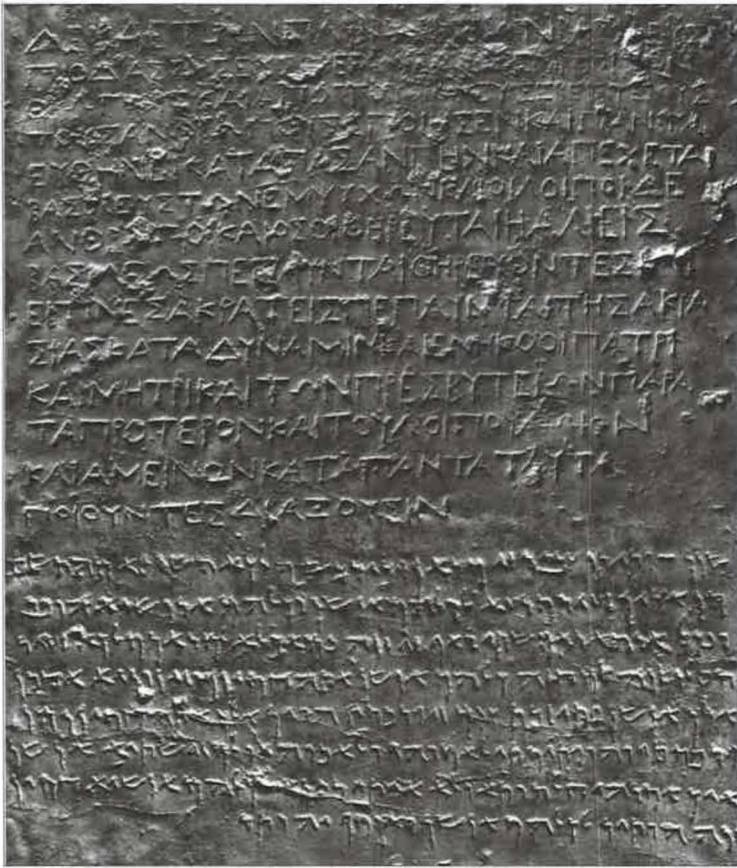


Fig. 2: Photograph of a latex cast (after Schlumberger 1958: pl. IV and V).

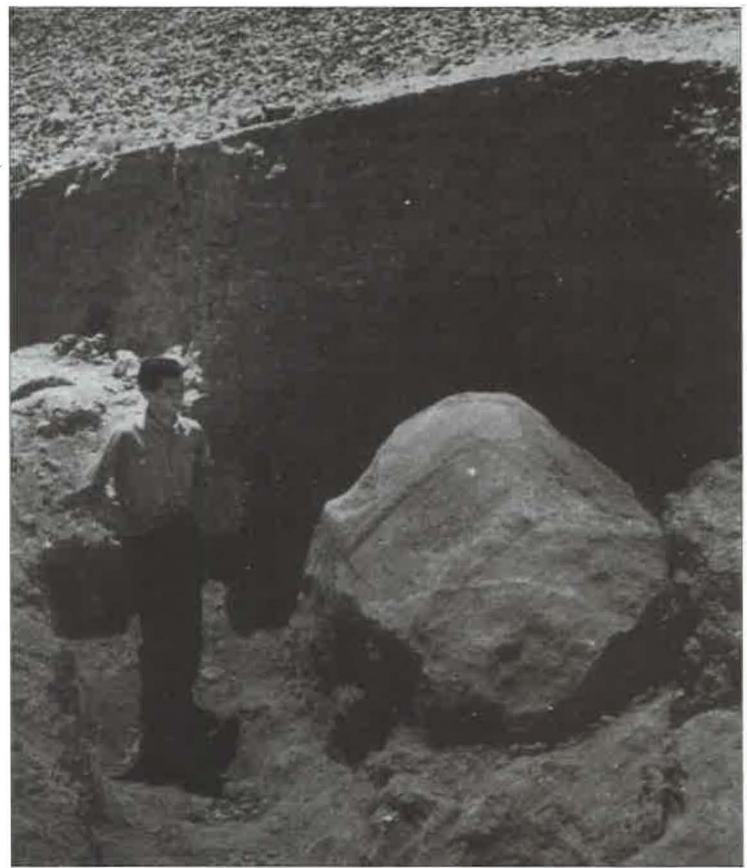


Fig. 3: The rock as excavated (after Schlumberger 1958: pl. I).

1967; 1977: 76; Rosenthal 1978: 97*; Mukherjee 1984b: 32–35; Gurugé 1993: 589; Harmatta 1994: 398.

Greek: Schlumberger 1958: 2f.; Robert 1958b; Benveniste 1958; Pugliese Carratelli & Levi della Vida 1958: 11–14; Gallavotti 1959; Pouilloux 1960: 165–166; Filliozat 1961/62; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 260; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 42; Pugliese Carratelli & Garbini 1964; Gallavotti 1972b: 118; Hjortshøj 1973; Itō 1977: 156–161; Gallavotti 1992: 42.

Translations:

Aramaic:

Translations differ considerably. Here is one by Itō, to be compared, e.g., to Rosenthal 1978: 97*:

“When 10 years had passed to Him who is Lord Priyadarśi the King, He performed Righteousness. From then on, He has reduced the disease of all the people and has made them all harmless so that over the whole land there arises joy. In addition to

this, in regard to the eating of Lord the King, He has reduced the number of butchers. In observance of this, all the people have forborne (from killing). And in regard to those who caught the fishes, those people denounced (the catching). Likewise, in regard to those who were hunters, they have forborne from hunting. And obedience to their mothers and fathers and to old people has enabled all of the people (to act) in such a way as the tie of obedience may become natural (to them) and there may be no courts (any longer in the world). This has benefited all the people and will benefit them for ever and ever.” (Itō 1977: 157)

Greek:

“Ten years (of reign, or since the consecration) having been completed, king Piodasses (Piyadassi) made known (the doctrine of) Piety to men; and from this moment he has made men more pious, and everything thrives throughout the whole world. And the king abstains from (killing) living beings,

and other men and those who (are) huntsmen and fishermen of the king have desisted from hunting. And if some (were) intemperate, they have ceased from their intemperance as was in their power; and obedient to their father and mother and to the elders, in opposition to the past also in the future, by so acting on every occasion, they will live better and more happily.” (Pugliese-Carratelli 1964: 32)

Literature:

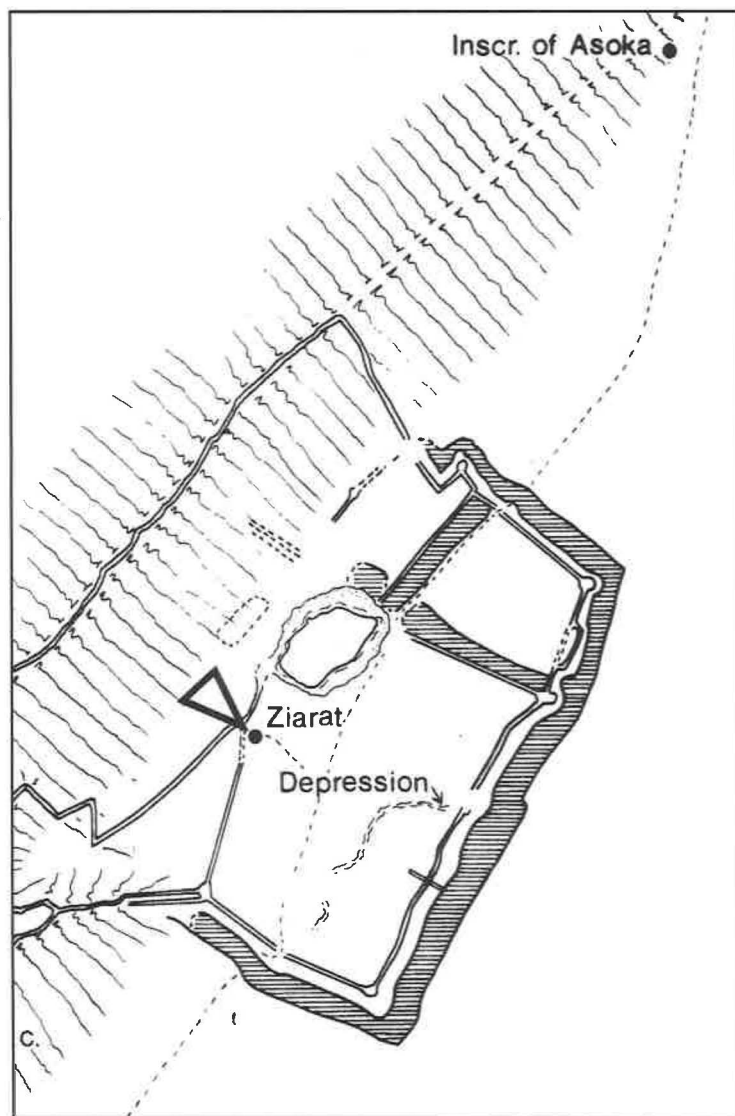
Robert 1958; Scerrato 1958a/b; Lamotte 1958: 789–798; Nober 1959 (extensively on the Aramaic vocabulary); Sircar 1959/60 = 1979: 113–118; Schwarzschild 1960; Eggermont 1966; Harmatta 1966; Levine 1967; Lingat 1967; Kutscher, Naveh & Shaked 1969–70; Sethna 1985; Teixidor 1986: 103–105; Rastogi 1990: 333–336; Karttunen 1997: 268.

On Old Kandahar: Fussman 1966; McNicoll 1978; Whitehouse 1978; Helms 1979, 1982; Knobloch 1981.

Kandahar II

RE 12 and 13 in Greek

Kandahar District,
Afghanistan
31°36' N.
65°40' E.



Map of Old Kandahar with find-spot (after Whitehouse 1978: 11).

Access:

Formerly kept in the Kabul Museum. Present whereabouts unknown.

Discovery:

The end of 12th and beginning of the 13th RE in Greek translation is inscribed on a block of limestone: "Cette pierre gisait dans les ruines de la Veille-Kandahar devant la porte d'une petite ziyārat, où un médecin allemand, le Dr W.S. Seyring, la vit en novembre 1963, et l'acheta. En janvier 1964 le Dr Seyring en fit présent au musée de Caboul" (Schlumberger 1964: 130).

140; Schlumberger & Benveniste 1967/68; Mukherjee 1984b: fig. VIII.

Editions: Fussman & Robert in Schlumberger 1964: 131 = Benveniste 1964: 138; Schlumberger & Benveniste 1967/68: 194.

Literature:

Benveniste 1964; Mukherjee 1984b: 35–39, 1991a; Karttunen 1997: 268.

Translation of the text:

12th edict:

"... la piété et la maîtrise de soi dans toutes les écoles. Est au plus haut point maître de soi celui qui est maître de sa langue. Et qu'ils



Fig. 1: City of Old Kandahar with find-spot where the roads meet, seen from the South (courtesy Fonds Marc Le Berre, negative CC01600LB).

Material:

Porous lime-stone.

Measurements:

High 45 cm, wide 69.5 cm, deep 12.13 cm.

Presentations of the text:

Rubbing:

Schlumberger 1964:

ne se louent pas eux-mêmes et qu'ils ne blâment les autres (écoles) sur rien; car cela est vain, et mieux vaut s'efforcer de louer les autres (écoles) et de ne les blâmer d'aucune manière. Faisant cela, ils s'accroissent et [5] ils se gagnent les autres; transgressant cela, ils perdent en réputation et se rendent odieux aux autres. Ceux qui se louent eux-mêmes et blâment les autres (écoles) font preuve d'un amour-propre excessif; voulant briller plus que les autres, bien plutôt ils se nuisent à eux-mêmes. Il convient de se révéler mutuellement et d'accepter les leçons les uns des autres. En faisant cela, ils seront plus instruits, se transmettant les uns aux autres ce que chacun [10] d'eux sait. Et à ceux qui pratiquent cela il ne faut pas craindre de le dire, pour qu'ils persistent toujours dans la piété."

13th edict:

"La huitième année de son règne, Piodassès s'est rendu maître du Kaliṅga. Ont été capturées et déportées de là quinze myriades de personnes; ont été tuées dix autres myriades,

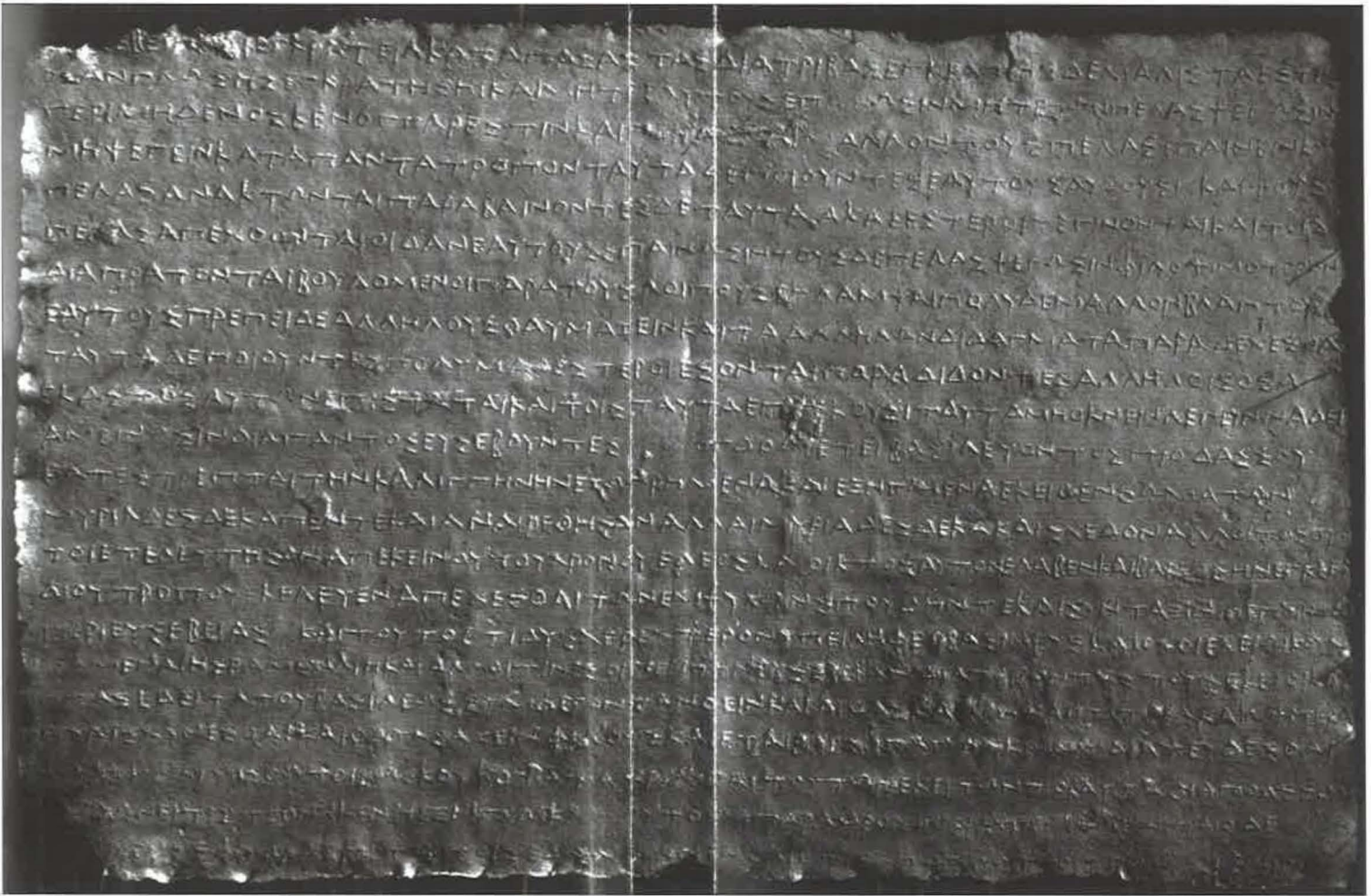


Fig. 2: Latex cast of the inscription (after Schlumberger 1964: 140).

et à peu près autant ont péri. Depuis ce temps-là, la pitié et la compassion l'ont saisi, et il en est accablés. [15] De même qu'il a prescrit d'épargner les êtres vivants, il a établi le zèle et l'organisation pour la piété. Et voici ce dont le roi s'est affligé encore plus.

Tous ceux qui y habitaient [= au Kalīnga], brahmanes ou sramanes ou autres sectateurs encore de la piété, – ceux qui y habitaient devaient se soucier des intérêts du roi, révéler et respecter leur maître, leurs père et mère, aimer et ne pas tromper leurs esclaves et

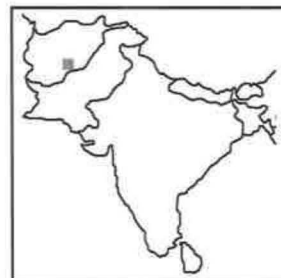
serviteurs – de ceux-là qui là se comportaient ainsi, si l'un est mort ou a été déporté, cela aussi les autres hommes le ressentent par contre-coup, et le roi s'en afflige fort. Et comme chez les autres peuples il y a ..." (Benveniste 1964: 157).

Kandahar III

7th pillar edict

Aramaic-Māgadhi

Kandahar District,
Afghanistan
31°36' N.
65°40' E.



Content: Seven lines of Aśokan Māgadhi in Aramaic transliteration with Aramaic translation. The text is close to the 7th pillar edict as found on the Delhi-Toprā pillar.

Access: “Actuellement conservé dans une collection privée en Italie” (Dupont-Sommer 1966: 412).

Discovery:

“Ce fragment d’inscription araméenne fut acquis, comme le fragment d’inscription grecque publié par M. Schlumberger, au bazar de Kandahar, presque à la même date [= end of 1963], et tout porte à croire qu’il fut découvert, comme le fragment grec, dans les ruines de la vieille ville” (Dupont-Sommer 1966: 412).

Measurements:

24 x 18.5 cm, 9.5–16 cm thick (Dupont-Sommer 1966: 443).

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: Benveniste & Dupont-Sommer 1966: 441.

Photography of Latex cast: Benveniste & Dupont-Sommer 1966: 440, copied in Mukherjee 1984b: pl. IX.

Editions: Dupont-Sommer 1966: 444; Benveniste & Dupont-Sommer 1966: 440; Shaked 1969: 119; Ito 1969: 13; Mukherjee 1983 = 1984b: 39–42.

Literature:

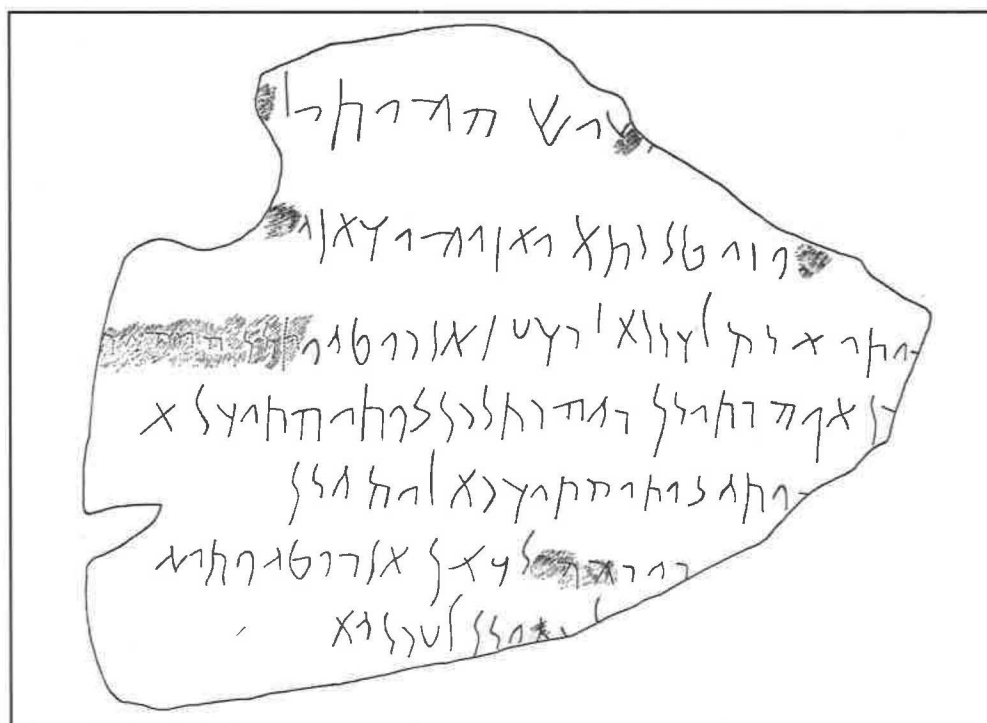
Kutscher, Naveh & Shaked 1969–70; Teixidor 1986: 105–106; Rastogi 1990: 337–338; Falk 1993a: 98; Karttunen 1997: 268.

Translation:

“All whatever is good, indeed, has been done by me. (To this) the whole world has conformed. Therefore, they have promoted (or increased) and shall promote (or increase) as well ... the one obedient to his own mother and to his own father, the one obedient to teachers, the one respectful to Brahmins and the Śamans, the one confirming to the elders, the one respectful to humbles and the slave” (Itō 1969: 13).



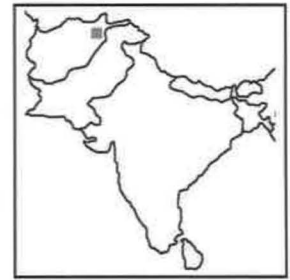
Figs. 1 and 2: The inscribed side of the stone and an outline of the letters (after Benveniste & Dupont-Sommer 1966: 440)



Laghmān I

“Second Laghmān inscription”

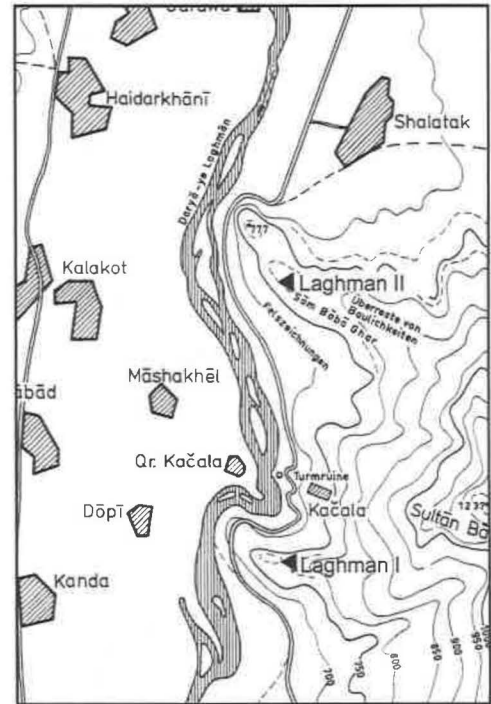
Jalalabad District,
Afghanistan
34°34'30" N.
70°13'30" E.



Further maps: The sketch in NN 1969/70 is misleading. Therefore, Davary missed this inscription in 1973 and found Laghmān II instead. The exact position was pointed out to me by Mr. J. Bourgeois in 2000, using the map in Davary & Humbach 1974: 5.

Discovery:

22. Nov. 1969; Jean & Danielle Bourgeois (1972: 191): “nous découvrirons à une cinquantaine de mètres au-dessus de la vallée une inscription monumentale (...). Cette inscription comporte six lignes de caractères araméens s'étalant sur plus de 1,50 m de largeur et 0,40 m de hauteur. Quoique la disposition des lignes soit irrégulière, les caractères sont très soignés, profondément gravés et intacts.” For a first notice see NN 1969/70. Since the important book of the Bourgeois was never translated it went unnoticed for long and the photograph showing the inscription along with Jean Bourgeois escaped Aśokan research. Fig. 4 shows the inscription as it appeared at the moment of discovery.



Maps after Davary & Humbach 1974. The site of Laghmān I as pointed out by J. & D. Bourgeois.



Fig. 1: The promontory above the Laghmān river with the inscription on the rock-face to the right (courtesy J. & D. Bourgeois).

“L’inscription d’Asoka est gravée sur une dalle appuyée naturellement à un mur rocheux au haut duquel se distinguent, comme toute autour, des vestiges des constructions en pierre, où les débris de céramique abondent [fig. 1]. En fait, chaque éperon de la montagne recèle les vestiges d’une agglomération d’habitations. Celles-ci ne se laissent apercevoir qu’en vue plongeante et sont par conséquent invisibles de la vallée. Les gravures sont principalement concentrées dans le voisinage de ces constructions: plutôt que l’œuvre de pasteurs oisifs elles semblent avoir été gravées par les générations d’habitants de ces agglomérations.” (J. & J. Bourgeois (1972: 192–194).

According to Rosenthal 1978: 98*, this is not an inscription of Aśoka, but rather a document covering the result of a lawsuit, “it just happens to be dated in [Aśoka’s] reign”. Rosenthal reads the year as 17, against 10, as read by Dupont-Sommer.

Preservation:

Very good in 1969.

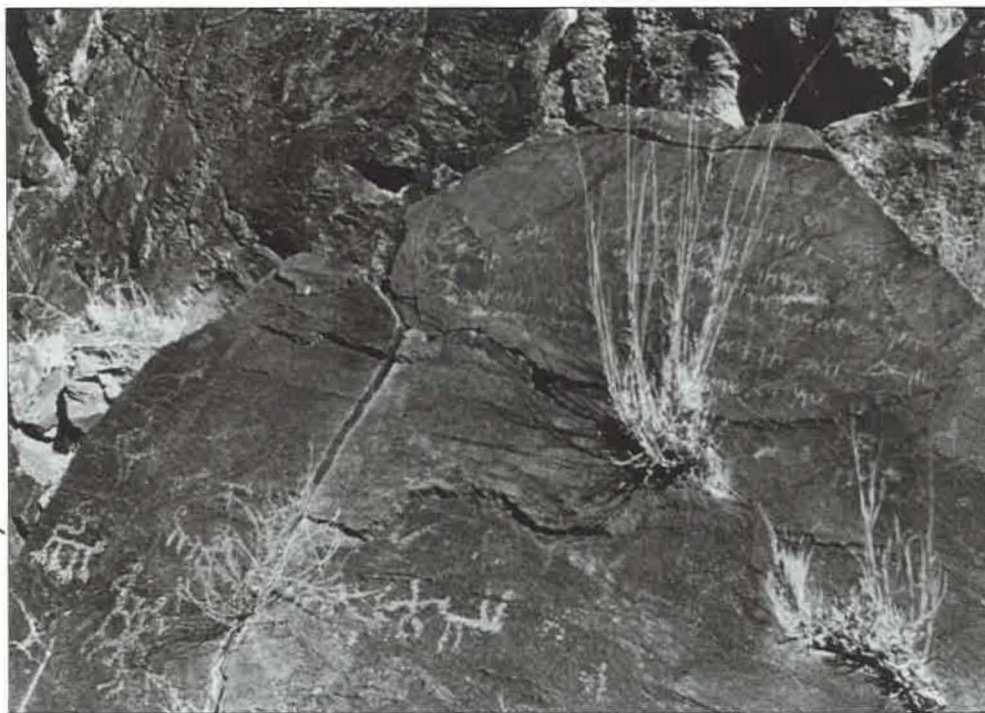


Fig. 2: The inscription before it was outlined in white (courtesy J. & D. Bourgeois).

Measurements:

140 x 40 cm.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: Humbach 1973: 161.

Latex cast: Dupont-Sommer 1970: 166.

Photography:

NN 1969/70: 149; Dupont-Sommer 1970: 162 (with surrounding rock); J. & D. Bour-

geois 1972: opp. 206; Mukherjee 1980: fig. I, 1984b: pl. I.

Editions:

Dupont-Sommer 1970: 163, supplemented by notes of de Menasce 1972; Humbach 1973: 162, with additions by Gignoux 1975; Bogolûbov 1973; Livshitz & Shifman 1977; Delaunay 1977; Rosenthal 1978: 99*; Itō

1979: 180f.; Mukherjee 1980: 12 = 1984b: 12; Teixidor 1971: 479–480, 1986: 175–176, 454–455; Mukherjee 1884b: 9–12 [copied by Krishnan 1989: 60].

Literature:

Kutscher, Naveh & Shaked 1969–70; Teixidor 1971; Kubota 1979; Rastogi 1990: 343.

Translation of the text:

Authors differ substantially over details in the text. Here are the translations of Itō and Rosenthal for comparison:

“(line 1) In the year 10, behold, Priyadarśi the King rejected (and) banished (2a) from the righteous (2b) [any form of] which discriminated against living beings (and) fishes, (both) of which are related to (human beings). (2a) That made 300 bows [...] (3) redundant. This centre (is) Tadmar by name. The place (where) travellers’ guides (are to be found) called (4) the Garden. Instead of 120 guard(s), here 100 + 80 (= 180) (persons) (5) with a believe Vāšu” (Itō 1979: 181).

“In the year 17 of Priyadarśi, the king, righteous in spirit, of (300) acres Rwdy Mh made a true lawsuit with W’sw, the judge, Mhmtr, the son of Gwtrwdy 300. This is the country estate named Trmn. This is the road... The garden ... 120. The ... 100. The ... 80.” (Rosenthal 1978: 99*).

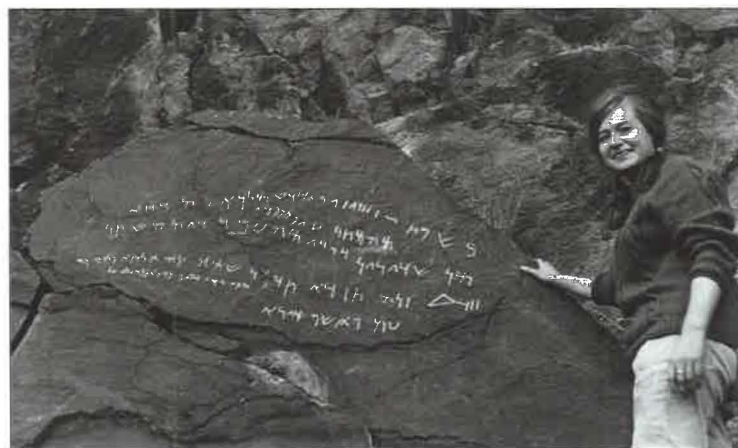
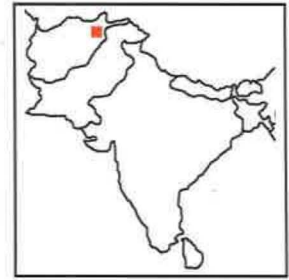


Fig. 3 and 4: The inscription after cleaning and redrawing the letters in white in 1969 (3: after Bourgeois 1972: 206; 4: courtesy J. & D. Bourgeois).

Laghmān II

Jalalabad District,
Afghanistan
34°35'30" N.
70°13'30" E.



Maps: Davary & Humbach 1974: 4–5.

Discovery:

In autumn 1973 Gj.D. Davary went to see the ridge called Sulṭān Bābā Ghar, to work on Laghmān I on the spot. Following an incorrect map (NN 1969/70) he missed Laghmān I, but found Laghmān II instead (Davary & Humbach 1974: 7). During a second visit in 1975 Davary managed to produce improved photographs (1981: 55).

The structure of the text is very similar to the one of Laghmān I, which, according to Rosenthal, is not an edict of Aśoka at all, but the verdict of a lawsuit, dated in the era of Aśoka.

Preservation:

Fairly good.

Material:

Rock surface.

Measurements:

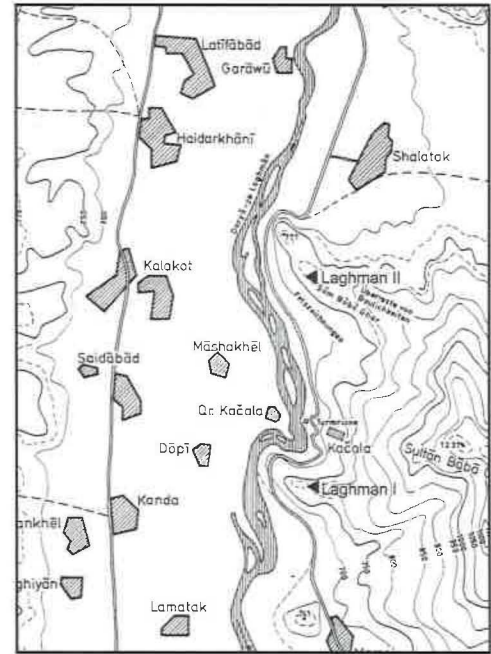
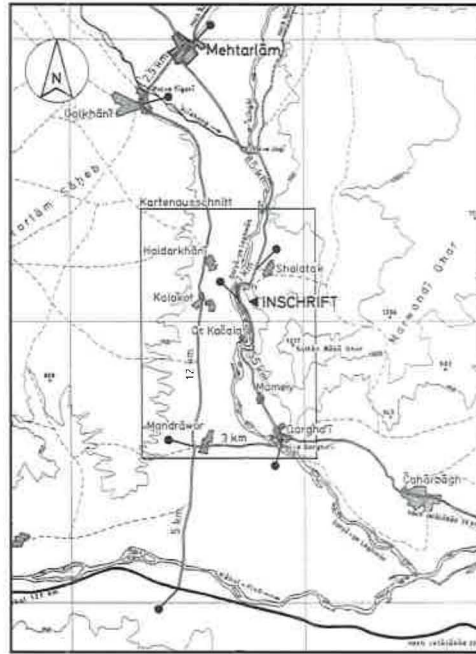
92 x 78 cm; akṣaras 4–5 cm.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: Davary & Humbach 1974: 9.

Photography: Davary & Humbach 1974: 8; Mukherjee 1980: fig. II, 1984b: pl. II; Davary 1981: Abb. 5+6; Mukherjee 1984b: 12–14.

Edition: Davary & Humbach 1974: 11–12; Livshitz & Shifman 1977; Delaunay 1977; Itō 1979: 175f.; Mukherjee 1980: 14 = 1984b: 14; Davary 1981: 56; Mukherjee 1984b: 12–14 > Krishnan 1989: 61.



Maps after Davary & Humbach 1974: fig. 1 & 2, the close-up supplemented by the location of Laghmān I, as indicated by J. Bourgeois.

Presentations of the site:

Photography: Davary & Humbach 1974: 6.

Literature:

Kutscher, Naveh & Shaked 1969–70; Kubota 1979; Rastogi 1990: 343.

Translation of the text:

The translations differ considerably, particularly in the second half. In 1977, J.A. Delaunay understood it as follows:

- (1) Au mois d'Elūl de l'an
- (2) 16 - Le Roi priyadarśi
- (3) a, par l'action de (ses) délégués, rejeté, repoussé, [exclue avec horreur] (?)



Fig. 1: The inscription rock seen from the hill (courtesy Gj.D. Davary).



Fig. 2: The inscription as found on the rock in 1975 (courtesy Gj.D. Davary).



Fig. 3: The inscription redrawn with chalk as seen in 1975 (courtesy Gj. Davary).

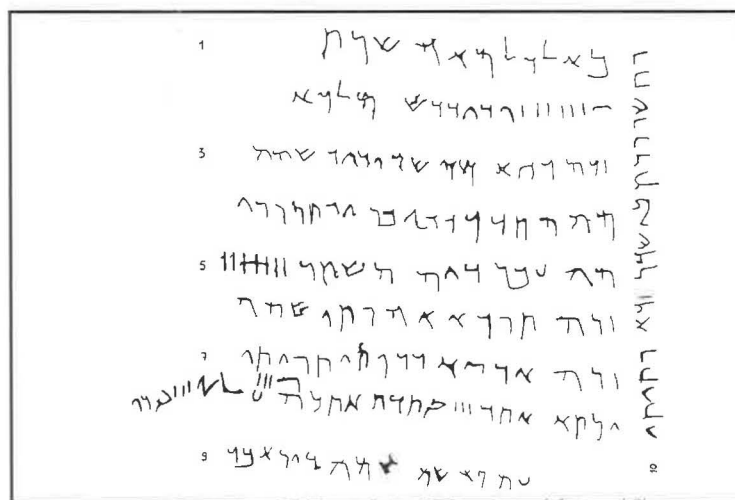


Fig. 4: Line-drawing of the inscription (after Davary & Humbach 1974: 9).

(4) ce qui nuit aux poissons, aux êtres vivants, à la parenté

(5) (et c'est) ce qui a rendu les arcs inutiles.

(6) Cette colline, son nom est Amhati (? = l'Offrande),

(7) ce chemin se nomme Kārapati (= le Guide).

(8) Le parc - les côtés: 120 (ou 220), la base du terrain: 100, le haut: 80 (coudées?) -

(9) avec le nommé Vāsu, juge, fils de

(10) Wahš-purt-bag (?), il (= le roi) (l')a

institué et (l')a affranchi (de toute charge) en (signe d')expiation."

This may be compared to the translation in Itō 1979:

(1) In the month of Elul, year

(2) 16, Priyadarši the King

(3) rejected (and) banished from the righteous [any form of] killing

(4) which discriminates against fishes (and other) living beings, (these species being) (human beings),

(5) That made 3<00> bows redundant

(6) This centre (is) Āhvati by name.

(7) The place (where) travellers' guides (are to be found) is called

(8) the Garden. Finally, instead of 300 guard(s), x + y

(9) with a believer called Vāšu

(10) and Xšāvafrātabag, are staying (here) to distribute alms (to the travellers) (Itō 1979: 176).



Fig. 5: The mountains on the south side, as seen from the edict site.

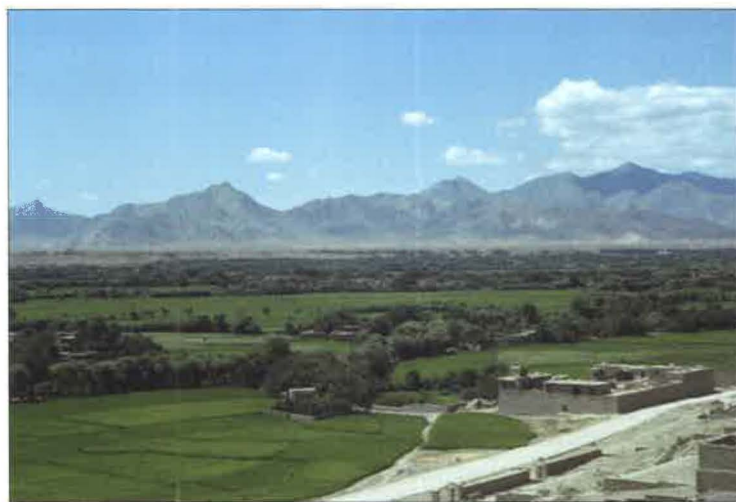
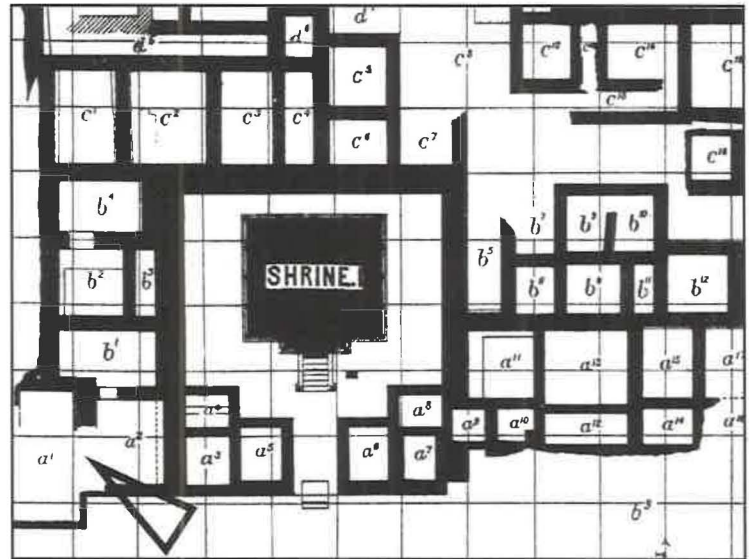
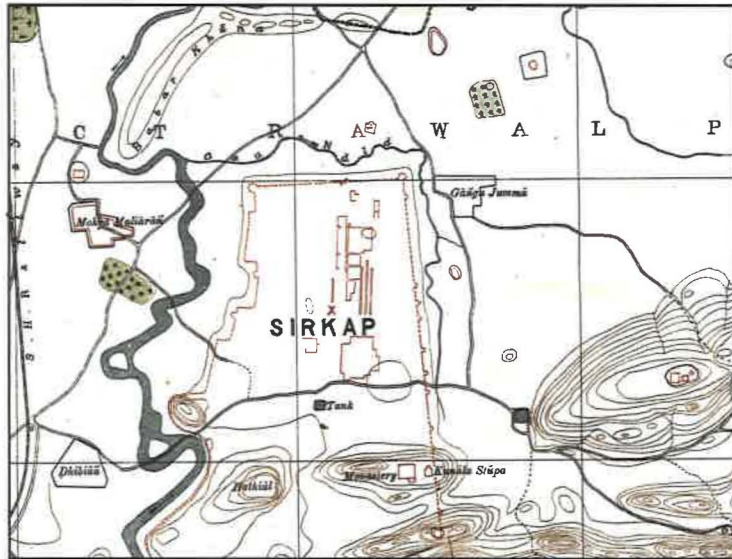


Fig. 6: The mountains on the west side, as seen from the edict site.

Taxilā

Rawalpindi District,
Pakistan
33°44' N.
72°48' E.



Further maps: *ASIAR* 1914–15: 40 (Sirsukh), pl. III (dharmarājika); *ASIAR* 1927–28: pl. XV (Giri); Marshall 1951, III: pl. 24.

Discovery:

The Aramaic inscription on polished limestone was found by Sir John Marshall in 1914–15. The letters have been deepened into the stone with a scraper, not with a chisel (fig. 4). Originally, the stone was inside the east-west parting wall between the two corner chambers at the North-West corner of the block, right at the street, marked as a1 and a2 in the plan (Marshall 1912–13a: 25,

pl. XV; s. map with pointer). It was Herzfeld in 1927–28 who recognized the name of Priyadarśin/Aśoka in this text.

The stone is much older than the building in which it was found. It was used without any regard for its previous use or importance. In fact, as the translation of Andreas and other have shown since 1932, there is no hint in the text itself that it was produced by orders of Aśoka. The only thing that is certain is that it mentions his name. In Marshall's view, Aśoka is referred to here not as king, but as a Viceroy of Taxilā (1951, I: 165).

Preservation:

The stone seems to have lost some of its inscribed portions, which are now filled with black paste.

The lower part below the last line shows a smooth polish, maybe because of some chemical slip applied already in antiquity.

Measurements:

The slab measures 35 x 105 x 7 cm; it has lost some parts on his left. The letters vary from 2 to 8.5 cm.

Presentations of the text:

Eye copy: Herzfeld 1927/28: fig. 1, with alphabet as fig. 2; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 67.



Fig. 1: Compound of the *stūpa* where the stone was found.



Fig. 2: *Stūpa* in the centre of the compound.



Fig. 3: The stone with inscription redrawn (after *ASIAR* 1914–15: 25).

Rubbing: Andreas 1932: 6; Altheim 1949: Abb. 2; Humbach 1969a: 12 = 1976: 119.

Photography: Marshall 1914–15: 25; Barnett 1915: 340; Andreas 1932: 6; Altheim 1949: Abb. 1; Marshall 1951, III: pl. 34d; Humbach 1969a: 12 = 1976: 119; = Mukherjee 1982: XXIV, 1984b: pl. III; Dani 1986: fig. 35.

Editions: Barnett 1915; Cowley 1915; Herzfeld 1927/28; Andreas 1932 [repr. Marshall 1951, I: 165]; Altheim 1949: 9; Donner & Röllig 1962: 52, 1964: 326 (Nr. 273; with translation); Sircar 1965b: 78–79; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 191; Itō 1966: 16f.; Humbach 1969a: 7–8 = 1976: 125–126; in der Smitten

1971: 309f.; Bogolûbov 1976; Itō 1977: 151–156; Mukherjee 1981–84: 239, 1984a: 21.

Presentations of the site:

Marshall 1936: 74, 1951: I.

Literature:

General: Y.D. Sharma 1953: 131–135; R. Thapar 1961/1997: 237; Mookerji 1962: 255–257; Rosenthal 1964: 33; Pāṇḍeya 1965: bhūmikā 15; Kutscher, Naveh & Shaked 1969–70; D. Mitra 1971: 123–127; Karttunen 1997: 268.

On excavations: Marshall 1912–13a,b, 1914–15, 1930–34; Siddiqi 1934–35, 1935–36, 1936–37.

On the site: Dar 1984; Dani 1986; Fussman 1993; Naqvi 1994/95.

On textual details: Bongard-Levin 1956; Humbach 1969b; Bogolûbov 1976; Teixidor 1986: 261; Rastogi 1990: 344.

Translation of the text:

The translations differ widely, depending on the authors' belief regarding the role of Aśoka. Itō and Bogolûbov (1976) expect more or less an Aśokan edict, influenced by the king's ideals:

“... non killing of the living beings, non hurting of the creatures, the respect for the relatives, the respect for the Brahmins-and-Monks, the [good] obedience to the mother and to the father and to the elder: this (i.e. these) and other various performance of the Good Order. As for that which He, Lord Priyadarśi the King, has increased, (that is) this performance of the Good Order. And will increase (it) too the sons of His, i.e. of Lord Priyadarśi the King” (Itō 1977: 152).

Modifying the translation of Donner & Röllig (1964: 326), In der Smitten leaves little to think of a true Aśokan edict:



Fig. 4: A close-up of some letters in the lower part.

“Denkstein ... für Damydaty ... Ergossenes über ... Wein, welcher ergossen ist ... und seinem Vater ... guten Gehorsams ... vieler Dinge wegen ... gutes Dokument welches/ war ... Untertan Aśoka ... gegangen sind ... und auch seine Söhne ... dem Vasallen Priyadar ...” (in der Smitten 1971: 311).

There is no clear evidence for an Aśokan influence on this text. Like the two Laghmān “edicts” this text as well could be of a rather profane nature, mentioning Aśoka as king just in passing.



Fig. 5: The Dharmarājika-stūpa outside Taxilā.

The Cave Sites

The three sites of Aśokan caves – Sītamarhi, Barābār and Nāgārjuni hills – present a stunning series of constructions which, from a technological point of view, appear out of the blue, as do Aśoka's pillars and his public edicts. There certainly were rock shelters used by ascetics of many creeds in the times before Aśoka, however, no king ever thought of furnishing them with permanent settlements chiseled out of solid rock. As in so many other cases, his example was followed to some extent by later rulers. A series of constructions are found in the first century BC, e.g. at Udayagiri and Khandagiri in Orissa, at Junnar in Mahārāṣṭra and at Pabhosā near Kauśāmbī. The Guptas seemed particularly eager to copy his example. In their time, the caves of Son Bhandār in Rājgir were excavated, copying the Barābār caves most closely, including polishing of the walls (figs. 1–4).

What made Aśoka introduce yet another feature to Indian art? The existence of artificial caves in Achaemenid Iran, housing the kings of old at Behistun, were certainly known to him by hearsay. However, mere knowledge does not seem a sufficient reason to spend so much on the construction of such magnificent caves. We know that the Ājīvikas held the view that luxury does not have any effect on postmortal fate. They certainly were not averse to accepting luxury accommodation. We can only state that Aśoka had the caves built at Barābār and that one of his successors donated three caves in

the Nāgārjuni hills to the same Ājīvikas as well.

There are many studies of the caves, but only J.C. Huntington (1974–75) studied them with more than descriptive ambitions. He held the idea that the entrance front of the so-called Lomas Rishi cave would reveal some basic measurements used by the masons. In 1999 (Falk forthcoming) I showed that the measurements of most caves can easily be described when we assume a basic unit of about 85.5 cm, which for convenience I called the “Mauryan yard”, abbreviated MY. The Kaṇṇa Caupār cave at Barābār (henceforth abbreviated B1), e.g., is constructed on a grid of 5 x 12 MY, the Lomas Rishi (B3) and Sudāman cave (B2) on 20 x 7 MY, the porch of the Viśvāmitra cave (B4) measures 3 x 5 MY, cave 3 at Nāgārjuni Hill (N3) is most precise with 4 x 6 MY.

This measure represents the lowest common denominator in integers used as the basis for the ground-plans of the caves. However, it is found in many other cases as well. The base slab of the Gotihavā pillar measures 213 x 174 cm. This is 2.5 x 2 MY, with the length following exactly the standard (here 85.2 cm), the width slightly exceeds the 170.4 cm, which would be exactly 2 MY. The Rāmpūrvā lion pillar measures 13.7 m from bottom to the top, being 16 MY of 85.6 cm. The polished part of the Toprā pillar is 10.68 m, being 12 MY of 85.33 cm. The width of the polished part of the Bairāt-Calcutta edict stone measures

exactly 1 MY of 85.5 cm. The sides of the monolithic railing from Sārnāth measure 3 MY of 85 cm, the height is 1.5 MY. The first set of REs at Jaugarh is written inside a framed space being 428 cm wide, i.e. 5 MY of 85.6 cm.

The MY is not standardised as a modern measure would be, but varies slightly. This may be due to many factors. First, a measuring rod will be cut anew using human measurements like the span or ell. In fact, the MY is twice the ell (*aratni*) which is well-known to the Sanskrit *dharmasāstras*. This MY does not occur as an independent unit in the same Dharma texts. From this we can deduce either that the measures of stone-cutters are not fully listed in the Dharma texts, or, that the Aśokan stone-cutters used the well-known *aratni* mostly in even numbers.

The MY is also used for some of the curvatures of the roofs. In B1 the roof makes a segment of a circle of 5 MY diameter; the roof of B2 is built as a segment of a circle of 7 MY diameter, as would have been the roof of B3, which is left unfinished. In N2 the apsis is a halfcircle with a radius of 2 MY, the roof follows a circle of 3.5 MY of about 90 cm each, which results in a rough section where the two curvatures did not meet as expected. In the adjoining cave N2 the roof follows a circle of 5 MY of 83,2 cm.

It seems that for the roofs an uneven number of MY was preferred.

This measure was used for B1 to B4 and for N2 and N3. N1, however, the huge doubly rounded cave in the front range at Nāgārjuni Hills, follows a different standard of about 72.3 cm. The change may have been due to a new architect with his own standards, or it may have been changed *ad hoc* because of the size of the boulder. We do not



Fig. 1: Inside of Son Bhandār cave 1 at Rājgir, showing slanting walls and vaulted roof in Aśokan fashion.



Fig. 2: Inside of Son Bhandār cave 2.

know. However, it seems likely that this change occurred at the end of the building activities and not somewhere in the middle. This way we have one more argument for regarding N1 as the last cave built, as a climax in all respects, so far as size and ground-plan go, combined with a new standard.

The regular MY is not confined to the Mauryan cave builders. In Gupta times the builders of the Son Bhandār caves used a similar standard: The large cave is 8.65 m long and 5.64 m wide. This corresponds to a ratio of 10:6 of a unit 86.41 cm for the length and 85.56 cm for the width. These measurements were ascertained using a laser range-finder.

The design of the Aśokan caves seems to mirror dwellings made from other materials. In particular, the inclining walls and the invariably rounded roofs of the living hall copy houses constructed in bamboo or wood, whereas the porch of B4 may reproduce the flat sun-shield made from branches and palm leaves. Inside B3 and B4 we see the replicas of round huts with thatched roofs. Their walls are inclined as well, outside as well as inside; the globular dome inside the hut of B3 is perfectly cut out and polished.

The technique of the builders can be understood by studying the unfinished caves B4 and B3 (Lomas Rishi), where we see completely finished front parts and an unfinished interior. Several work stages were pursued at the same time at different parts of the cave. While some of the masons still cut the rock further inside, others started finishing the walls and still others were busy polishing them. When work was abandoned at the Lomas Rishi cave some of the walls were already polished, the entrance was finished including the laboriously decorated entrance gate. At B4 the entrance porch was finished

and the dedicatory inscription incised when it was decided to stop work on the living chamber, when the cracking doorway showed that the rock would not withhold the pressure. These processes have been described by Huntington (1974/75: 45) and R.C. Sharma (1980: 209).

The polish is most remarkable. The walls shine like a mirror and seem to be absolutely flat. While touching the surface, however, it becomes apparent that the flatness is not perfect. As at the pillars, the optical impression of a perfect surface was felt to be sufficient. There is only one flaw apparent to the eye: in N2 the apsis is constructed as a half circle of a radius of 2 MY. The roof is based on a circle of $3\frac{2}{3}$ MY. Where the apsis curvature meets the roof curvature of a smaller diameter a short stretch of surface appears rugged, as a result of the imperfect glide from one curvature to the other.

The centre point of the circle defining the roundness of the roof is always inside the room so that it can be speculated that a ridge was preserved on the middle axis of the room from where the circle was defined with ropes fastened to the chisels or to measuring points.

The polishing results in a lustrous surface and the question arises as to what the means were to achieve this smoothness. It may be expected that the polishing material was the same that was in use for the pillars and the capitals. A careful examination of the soil around the entrances would certainly produce enough evidence to answer the question, but so far such questions have found little interest amongst the archaeologists concerned.

Today, it is very difficult to feel at ease inside the caves. The polished walls reflect every sound and enhance it, so that even the click of a camera shutter sounds like thunder.

Listening is difficult. Living inside either presupposed perfect silence, or some sort of furniture that absorbed part of the sound.

Despite being the only sect displaying a certain tolerance towards luxury, the Ājīvikas could not hold onto the caves for good. Some very large inscriptions in the entrance ways show that around the time of the Guptas the Buddhists have taken over; three inscriptions of the Maukharis show that by the 7th century the caves had again changed hands and that plain Hindu cults were practised in and near them. Today, ascetics still live in the vicinity, using rock shelters for their home (p. 259, fig. 6).

Undocumented in the literature is a series of large horses outlined in fine lines in Barābār cave 2 on the small side opposite the hut (p. 264, fig. 23). The horses may be compared to those found along the Indus valley, with and without saddle, depicted by V. Thewalt in "Rockcarvings and Inscriptions along the Indus - The Buddhist Tradition", *South Asian Archaeology 1983*, Rome 1985: 797. An origin in Aśokan times seems very unlikely.

The Nāgārjuni caves

It is customary to attribute the Nāgārjuni caves to Daśaratha because of the inscriptions above their entrances that say that he gave the caves to the Ājīvikas, "immediately after he was consecrated", *ānaṃtaliyaṃ abhiṣitenā*. Although he shares the title *devānaṃpriya* with Aśoka, the same texts do not call him a *rājā*, as in the case of Aśoka. Unlike at Barābār, the inscriptions are incised rather carelessly, in two cases on a smoothened but uneven panel above the entrances. This carelessness contrasts sharply with the grandiose geometry of the rounded caves N1 and N2. For these reasons



Fig. 3: Polish in the entrance way of Son Bhandār cave 1 with wavy surface.



Fig. 4: Polish inside Son Bhandār cave 1 with figure of a sitting Buddha.

I assume that Daśaratha just handed over the caves, as he said, but that they were constructed a considerable time earlier: after his consecration he handed over caves which had been started and finished under someone else, most likely Aśoka. In the course of this handing over, the caves received a dedication, the first two of them through inscriptions above the entrance. For the third cave, the inscription was incised on a polished part of the porch, comparable to caves B2 and B4 at Barābār.

From a technical point of view, the Nāgārjuni caves represent an advance over those at Barābār. Two have received rounded ends, both combined with rounded roofs of a different radius. In the small cave N2 the gradual change from one radius to the other was not fully mastered; N1, however, would be regarded as a wonder of the world if located in another part of the globe. The architects of ancient India never again achieved anything comparable to what the first of them - known to us - cut into the rocks of Barābār and Nāgārjuni. Polish can be found elsewhere, as e.g. at Junnar or Son Bhandār; rounded roofs are found e.g. in Karle as well, but the overall precision and care was never reproduced again.

The cave at Sītāmarhi

Rarely described, rarely visited, the cave at Sītāmarhi escaped extensive treatment in the literature. The design of the cave and the polish put it in the same category as the caves mentioned above, and it would be more difficult to argue against an Aśokan origin than to count them as Aśokan. The cave is another wonder. It is cut into a solitary rock not much larger than a modern garage. Because of the size of the boulder the height was limited and therefore the entrance is smaller, in order to maintain an aesthetical relationship between door and cavity. In construction it resembles N2 and N3 because of having its entrance on the small side; it resembles N2 also in not having a line between wall and ceiling, the roof continues into the wall producing a sort of parabola.

Several very close parallels are found in the Buddhist hill monastery at Ranighat, north of Swabi in the Peshawar valley (figs. 5-7). The idea of a hollowed-out boulder is the same, however, there is no trace of polish or of the rectangular grid of a ground-plan.

The man behind the caves

For want of evidence we can be very confident that there was no similar man-made cave in India before Aśoka. There were perhaps

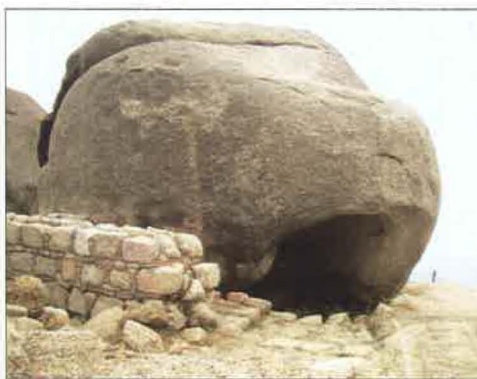


Fig. 5-7: Caves of the Buddhist hill monastery at Ranighat, near Swabi, Peshawar valley.

foreign architects with knowledge of how to build caves with smooth and polished walls; alternatively, Aśoka might have had the idea on his own, and talked local stone-masons into trying to realize it. Whoever masterminded the plan was a daring man, attempting the seemingly impossible and at the same time displaying a high aesthetic sense. He was not content merely with a smoothed floor or a dripline, he wanted rooms of the highest quality, with carefully balanced proportions, including the size and shape of the doors. He wanted shiny walls as are to be found in a home.

Their dates tell us when and how they were donated. The oldest dated caves are B4 and B3, the Viśvāmitra and the Sudāman caves. B4 is inscribed on its porch, however, it was never completed. That means the

donation was verbally effected in the 12th regnal year, when the cave was just planned and still needed years for its completion. When the porch was finished the donation record was incised without waiting for the living room behind the door to take shape. When that living room was given up for reasons of stability the donation record was not eliminated.

A converse story must apply to the B3 and B2 caves, where B2 is only the finished version of B3: There seems to have been a donation record prepared before the cutting started. When work was abandoned at the Lomas Rishi cave because the roof developed a long crack the inscription was not incised. Instead, B2 was started, so as to finish the plan. When it was finally finished the original donation record was incised, although there must have been years between the beginning at B3 and the end of works at B2.

The most unusual donation record is found at B1, the Kaṇṇa Caupār cave, since it gives us details about Aśoka's visit to Jālūtha, by which probably the site is meant. During that visit he donated a cave, non-existent at the time. It was his 19th regnal year and some years later the Ājivikas moved in.

Something similar must have happened at the Nāgārjuni hills. Certainly, the caves were "given" and work started. When they were finished, years later, someone else had to hand them over, since Aśoka was no more. Aśoka "gave" all his caves, *dina* is the word. Daśaratha describes his role by using "handed over", *niṣiṭha*, Skt. **niḥsṛṣṭa*, in his stereotyped records.

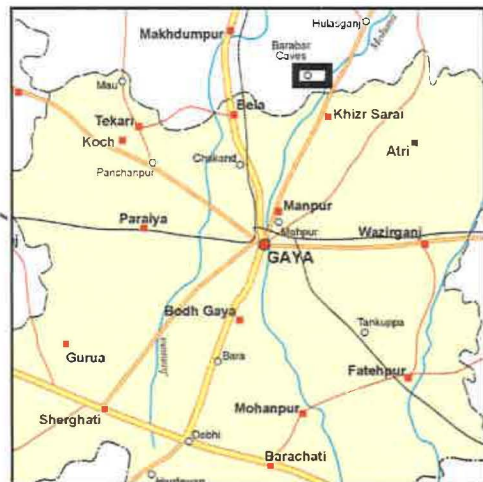
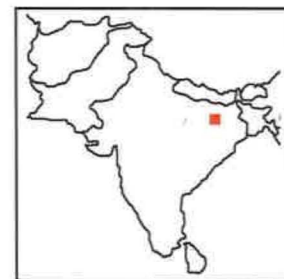
The growing complexity of the designs displays a certain pleasure at more and more complicated structures. Sītāmarhi shows that even the most unusual boulder was accepted as a challenge. The rounded ends at Nāgārjuni demand the utmost care.

It seems that these caves are not only interesting from an art-historical point of view, instead, they tell us something about the Zeitgeist: only a combination of devotion, belief in achieving the seemingly impossible, fanaticism, disrespect for expenditure, aesthetic sense, love of technical perfection and a desire for recognition by the generations to come would bring a man to initiate such work. This combination has no equal in ancient India; on a different scale it can be compared to buildings in Egypt or Iran, all anterior to Aśoka and certainly known to him through descriptions. He must have been convinced that he could compete with the builders of the West.

Barābār Caves

Burabur; Satgar; Satgurba;
Jālūtha

Gayā district, Bihar
25°02' N.
85°03' E.
GSI map 72 G/4



Name of the locality: Satgar, or Satgurba (Kittoe 1847: 402), means “the seven houses”, i.e. all seven caves in the Barābār and Nāgārjuni hills.

The name Barābār seems to go back to Skt. *pravaragiri* which appears in the Maukhari Sanskrit inscription above the entrance to the so-called Lomas Rishi cave (Fleet 1888: 221–223). The term *khalatikagiri* occurs only in one of Aśoka’s cave inscriptions and refers primarily to the “slippery” entrance boulder to the left of the Pātāla Gaṅgā, from which it has been transferred erroneously to the whole group of hills. This hill seems to have been of some

repute since its name is also dealt with in the 4th *vārttika* to Pāṇini’s grammar *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.2.52.

Another name *gorathagiri* is inscribed twice, once 7 m to the right of the entrance to the Lomas Rishi cave (fig. 30; rubbings in Jackson 1915: fig. 1 = Jackson/Buchanan 1925: 202). As *goradhagiri* this hill is mentioned by king Khāravela from Kāliṅga in his famous Udayagiri inscription at the end of line 7, who invaded the place in his 7th regnal year.

Further maps:

Sketch map by A. Cunningham in *ASI* 1.1871: pl. XVII.

Access:

From Patna: Through Jahānpur on the Gayā road. 5 km before Belaganj a monstrous entrance gate (opened by Laloo Prasad Yadav) says *vāṇāvar dvār*. Follow this northern road for 14 km. Although unpaved for the latter part it used to be somewhat better than the one from Belaganj.

From Gayā: Take the Jahānpur road to Patna. At the northern end of Belaganj the policemen in the *thānā* are used to travellers asking for an accompanying constable. A few 100 metres north of this post the southern road branches to the right to the cave area. It is in an utterly miserable state



Fig. 1: The Barābār and Nāgārjuni hills from the South.



Fig. 2: The Pātāla Gaṅgā at the entrance to the inner valley of the Barābār hills.



Fig. 3: Carefully cut steps made to keep the pilgrim from slipping. These steps start right beside the Pātālagāṅgā and lead to the cave B4 and, bypassing the pond, to cave B1.



Fig. 4: The inner valley seen from the steps leading to the top of Barābār hill; the boulder housing caves B1 to B3 is seen where the rocks rise on the right side.

for exactly 10 km, after which it turns north. The hills are reached after another 4.4 km.

The Barābār caves are barely 100 m from the Govt. Tourist bungalow and easily accessible on the broad path leading to the Siddheśvara temple on top of the highest hill. For the Viśvāmītra cave (B4), northeast from Karṇa Caupār (B1), a guide is helpful. The local watchman is most willing to show one around.

The Nāgārjuni caves are about 1.5 km from the Bungalow, to the east along the hill and over the plain. The entrance to cave N1

in the middle of the rock face can be seen from afar (p. 270, fig. 1). Plans to construct a metalled road seem to have been abandoned.

Police protection seems advisable as long as naxalites are active in this particular area. Nonetheless, the four Barābār caves are safe, as is the large Nāgārjuni cave (N1). The two small caves in the rear valley of the Nāgārjuni site are difficult to find without a guide. To reach them the Gopika hill has to be circumambulated on its west side until a ridge can be crossed which divides it from

the next row of hills extending east-west. After crossing the ridge the entrance to one cave can be seen.

All caves are without door or lock.

Discovery:

Harington 1798: 276: "A few years earlier, Hodges on his way to the caves was assassinated 'by the followers of one of the allies of Cheyt Singh'".

B1: Karṇa Caupār = supiyekhā cave:

Harington 1798: 278: "Were any other testimony, besides the inscriptions wanted, to show that these caves were religious

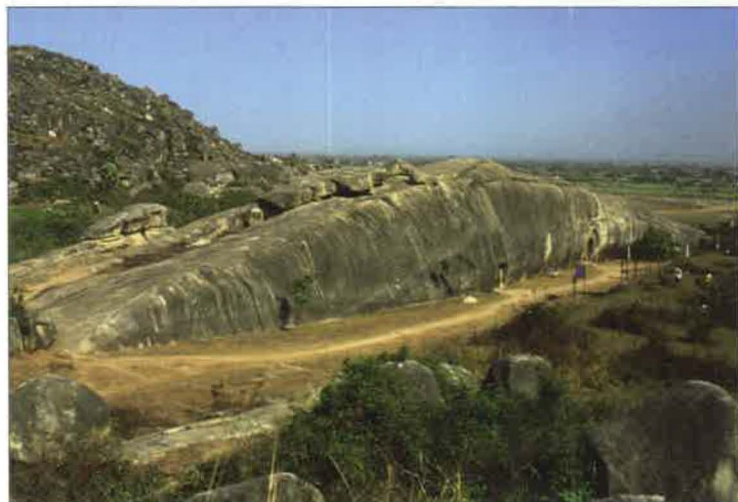


Fig. 5: The boulder with the entrances to caves 2 and 3; the entrance to cave 1 is on the back side.



Fig. 6: The rock-shelters in the valley are still inhabited by ascetics of all sorts.



Fig. 10: Entrance to cave B1 with its inscription on a polished space on the outside.



Fig. 11: The right side of cave B1 with entrance and bench.

Neither Harington nor Buchanan saw the Aśokan text which even today is hard to find once the moss has covered the rock. It was Kittoe (1847) who found the inscription when he had to spend a night in this cave. Jackson (1925: 211) used a petrol lantern at night to inspect the wetted surface of the rock and found that the inscription was incised on a once flat and polished surface. On my own visits I had the surface washed to inspect the inscription (figs. 10+14).

B2: "Sudāma" = nigoha cave:

Buchanan 1811/12: "Passing round the west end of the ridge to its south side, you come to two doors. The first or most western is

plain, and has to each side a few words engraved. It leads into a chamber of about the same size with that called Karna Chaupar. At its east side is a small niche [cf. fig. 19]. At its west end is a door in the wall, which is convex, and over the door is a kind of cornice. The door leads into a circular chamber, arched above like the others and polished in the same manner. The floor of these chambers contained about a foot of dirty water and mud. This cave is properly called Satgar and is supposed to have been built by Sudama, brother of Krishna" (Jackson/Buchanan 1925: 16–17; cf. Buchanan 1838, I: 104).

On local legends see Beglar 1878b: 41f.

B3: Lomas Rishi cave:

Harington 1798: 278: "A third [cave], the name of which I could not learn, has its entrance very curiously wrought with elephants and other ornaments, of which I hope in a short time to present a drawing to the Society."

Buchanan 1811/12: "The other door east from the above has been somewhat but very rudely ornamented, as will appear from the drawing. Under the arch above the door is an inscription of considerable length. It seems to have been intended to have formed two chambers similar to those of Satgar, but



Fig. 12: The solid bench in front of the right side.



Fig. 13: The left side of the cave B1.



Fig. 14: The inscription of B1 after washing.



Fig. 15: A reconstruction of the inscription (Falk forthcoming).

although both have been excavated, neither has been completed nor polished except in a few parts. This is supposed to have been the abode of Lomus Rishi, pronounced Momus Rikhi, or Muni, a hairy saint of these remote times" (1925: 17; cf. 1838,I: 104f.).

B4: "Viśvāmītra" cave:

Buchanan 1811/12: "Descending to the west side of the ridge from which I had viewed Patal Ganga, I found a cavity in the rock about 7 feet high, as much wide, and 9 feet deep. In its far end is a door, and it seems to have been intended to have made a chamber there, but the workmen have abandoned it after excavating a few feet in diameter. This excavation has an inscription, and is said to be the Morai or small house of Viswamitri, one of the Munis. The passage between the ridge in which it is dug and that on the right

of the path by which I ascended, has also been closed by a strong rude wall of stone" (1925: 17–18; cf. 1838,I: 105).

In the times of Caddy (1895: 158) the cave was called Viswa Jhopri.

Artistic evaluation:

1811/12 Buchanan: "The whole [i.e. range of caves] is supposed to have been dug by Karna, and no doubt the cutting and polishing such chambers must have been a costly work, although nothing can be more destitute of convenience, elegance or taste. Although polished they are so sombre that two torches and a lantern with two wax candles served only to make the darkness visible and to see the wall close to where any of the lights was held, but the form could only be ascertained by groping." (1925: 18; cf. 1838,I: 105).

Preservation:

The caves are almost as left 2250 years ago, only small patches from walls or roofs have needed repair. The texts are generally in a rather good condition, with the exception of the term *ājīvikehi* which has been chiselled out in all cases. Grierson 1897 reports on a "religious opponent" said to have destroyed most of "the longest" inscription. Most likely he had the Sudāma cave inscription in mind.

The three caves B1, B2 and B4 are still in a very good condition. The walls are polished, smooth and shining, as if coated. Modern visitors are beginning to scribble on the walls.

For preservation measures see Kuraishi 1936: 32f.



Fig. 16: South side with entrances to caves B2 and B3.



Fig. 17: Entrance to cave B2.

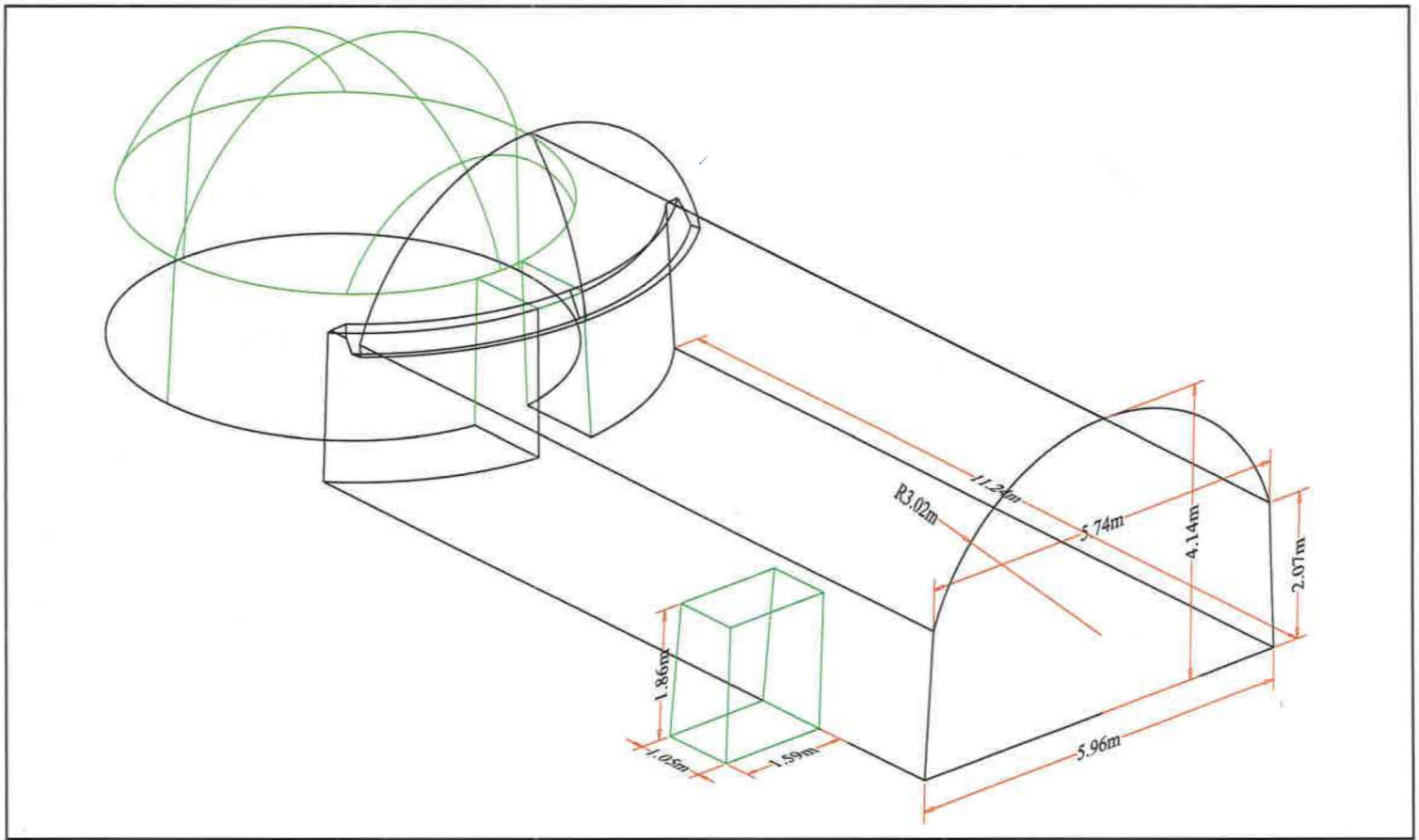


Fig.18: Measurements of B2 = B3, built on a grid of 7 x 13 MY; the ceiling has the curvature of a circle of 7 MY.

Orientation:

All caves open to the south, except the Karṇa Caupār which opens to the north, overlooking the lake which feeds the Pātālagāṅgā.

Measurements:

For earlier measurements see Caddy 1895: 156–159; Cunningham 1871d: pl. XIX; Huntington 1974/75.

All caves have been measured in 2000 with the help of a laser rangefinder. The data have been transformed into CAD plans by Sascha Bosetzky. The analysis has shown that the postulated use of a fixed basic unit of about 85,5 cm (called “Mauryan yard, MY” in Falk forthcoming) is also evident in the curvature of the ceiling. Here, in several cases a circle with 2.5 times the basic unit has been used.

B1: Karṇa Caupār:

Ground plan 4.27 x 10.21 m = 5 (85.4 cm) x 12 (85.16 cm) MY. The sides are slanting and end in a pronounced line at a height of 187.6 cm. Here, the width is 409 cm. The roof measures 3.35 m in the apex; its curvature results from a circle with the diameter of 4.30 m = 5 MY of 86 cm.

In the centre of the right side a seat or bed has been cut out of the rock (fig. 12), 36.5 cm

high, 77 cm deep and 2.23 m long, i.e. in a proportion of roughly 1:2:6.

B2: Sudāman:

Perfectly documented in Huntington 1974/75. The entrance is 186 cm high, 105 cm wide at floor level and 92 cm at the top.

The cave measures 9.98 m from the right side wall to the opposite side inside the

round hut. The main hall is 5.96 m wide (7 MY à 85.14 cm). The same measure taken times 13 would result in an over-all length of 11.06 m, including the 118 cm of the (invisible) back wall of the hut.

The walls are straight and inclined for 207 cm; at this height the width is 574 cm. The round roof measures 414 cm in the apex,



Fig. 19: Wall of B2 to the right side with entrance with its niche.



Fig. 20: The hut inside B2 at the left side.



Fig. 21: Polished underside of the drip-ledge.



Fig. 22: Rubbing of the dedicatory inscription of B2 (after Bühler 1891b: fig. A).



Fig. 23: Several large horses scratched into the right side wall of B2.

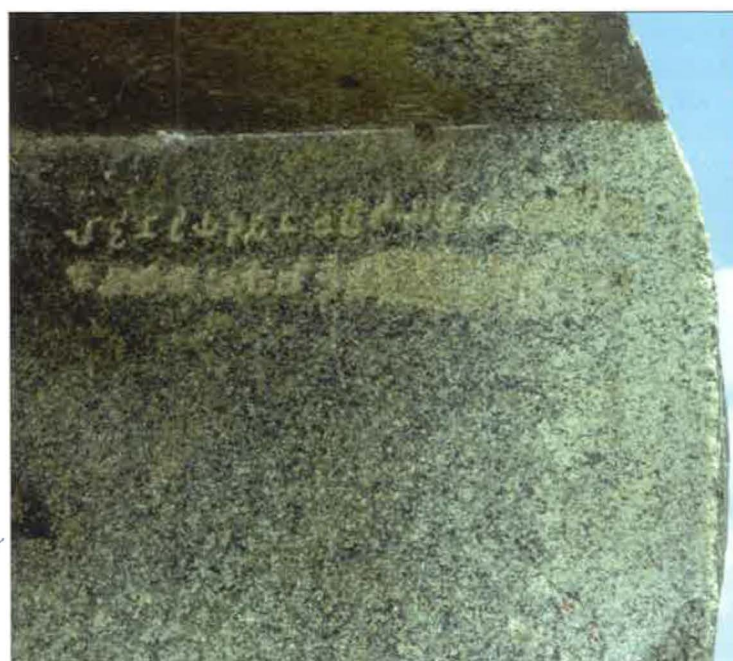


Fig. 24: The Aśokan inscription in the corner of the entrance of B2.



Fig. 25: South side with entrances to caves B3 and B2; cave B2 was built at a safe distance from the break through the boulder which had damaged B3 in mid-work.

as a result of a circle with a radius of 3.02 m, 3.5 MY of 86.2 cm.

The entrance to the hut is 118.5 cm deep at floor level, 113.5 cm at the top. The entrance is 182.5 cm high, 89 cm wide at floor level and 76 cm at the top.

The perfectly rounded cell is 406 cm high, consisting of a base circle with a diameter of

5.94 to 5.99 m (7 MY of 85.70 cm), straight and slanting for 2.02 m; here the width is 5.79 m. Above this line the dome is a perfect half globe.

B3: Lomas Rishi cave:

The measurements are very much the same as in the Sudāman cave (B2), which was built to replace it after the roof had split. For

the measurements of the entrance gate see Huntington 1974/75: 42.

B4: Viśvāmitra cave:

Open porch 255.5 cm (3 MY of 85.2 cm) wide at ground level, 235.5 cm at the top; left side deep 402.5 cm at ground level, 397 cm at the top; right side 409 cm at ground level, 373 cm at the top. The sides are 203 cm high.

The entrance to the unfinished chamber is 154 cm high, 77 cm wide at ground level, 64.5 cm at the top; 122 cm deep. The cell is cut 220 cm wide, 241 cm deep and 188 cm high. Since the door corresponds in size to the entrances of B1–B3 it is to be expected that the room behind the door was meant to be much larger. Breaks are visible in the porch area and through the door. This probably led to the abandonment of the construction, comparable to what occurred when Lomas Rishi was given up.

Presentations of the full set of inscriptions:

Eye-copies: Kittoe 1847: pl. IX; Cunningham 1871d: pl. XX, 1877: pl. XVI; Kuraishi 1931: 35–39.

Rubbings: Bühler 1891b: pls. A–C; Hultzschi 1925: 182.

Copy: Plaster casts from all cave-inscriptions were prepared by Caddy (1895: 157) for the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Editions: Cunningham 1877: 103; Senart 1884a: 490–493 → 1891a: 168–170; Bühler 1891b: 364; Bhandarkar & Majumdar 1920: 103; Woolner 1924: 52; Hultzschi 1925:



Fig. 26: The Aśokan elephant frieze and the Maukhari inscription below.

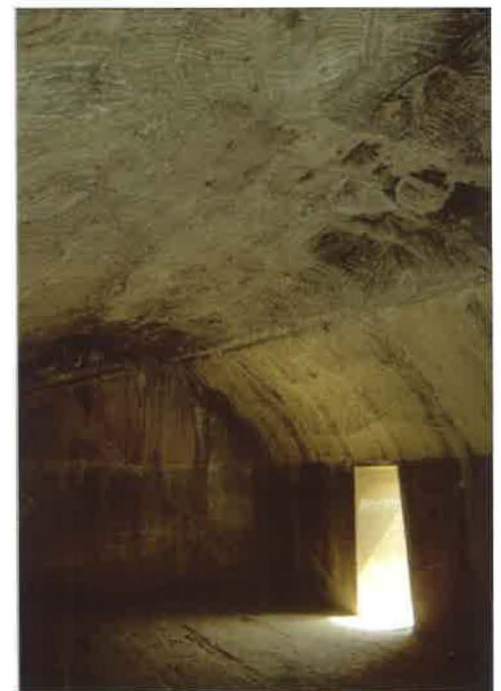


Fig. 27: The entrance and the right side of cave B3, showing polished side walls and rough floor and ceiling.



Fig. 28: The hut on the left side, with polished wall and roof left rough.

181–182 → Krishnan 1989: 63–64; Bloch 1950: 156; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 40–41; Sircar 1965b: 75–76; Rastogi 1990: 333–335.

Presentations of individual texts:

B1: Karṇa Caupār:

On a once polished rectangular section on the outside, adjoining the upper right of the passage way, measuring 52 cm in width, and 47 cm in height (fig. 14). The *akṣaras* are 3 cm high:

- 1: *lāja piyadasī ekunavī*
- 2: *sati-vasābhisite jālūtham*
- 3: *[ā]gamithā tata iyaṃ kubhā*
- 4: *supriyekhā (ājīvikehi) [di]*
- 5: *nā* (Falk forthcoming)

“King Priyadarśin came to Jālūtha when he was anointed for his 19th regnal year. On that occasion he gave this cave called Supriyekhā to the Ājīvikas.”



Fig. 29: The unfinished drip-ledge of the hut.

Eye-copy: Kittoe 1847: pl. IX; Cunningham 1871d: pl. XX, 1877: pl. XVI; Jackson 1926. *Rubbings:* Bühler 1891b: pl. C; S. Mitra 1948/49: 78; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 46,3.

A synopsis of four eye copies (Kittoe, Cunningham 1871d, Cunningham 1877, Jackson) and one rubbing (Bühler 1891b) is found in Jackson 1926.

Editions: Jackson 1925: 211; S. Mitra 1948/49; Janert 1959: 80; Pāṇḍeya 1965:

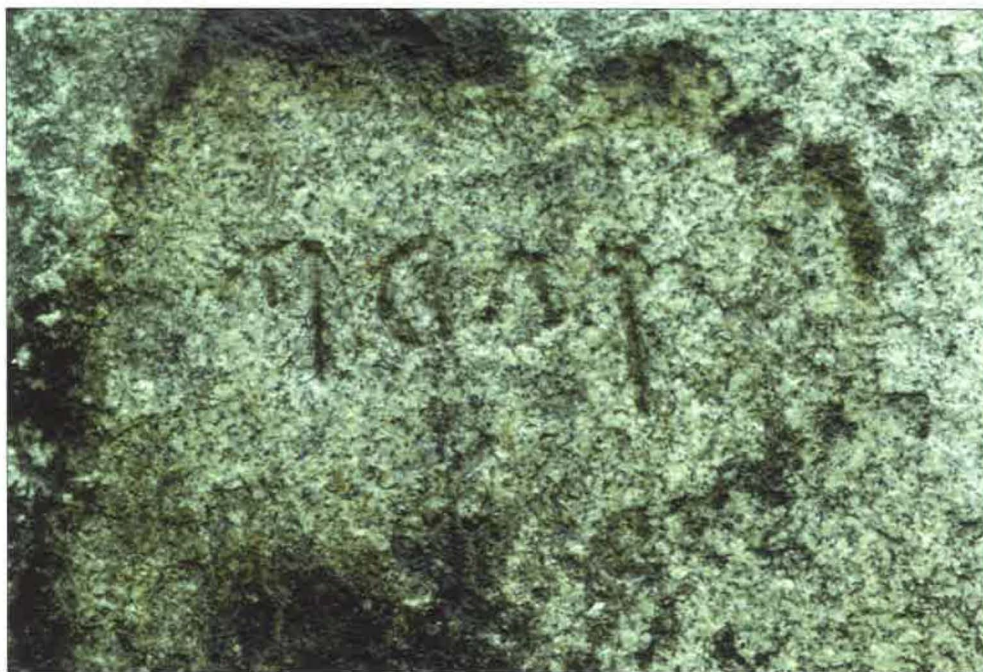


Fig. 30: Gorathagiri written a few meters to the right of the entrance to B3.

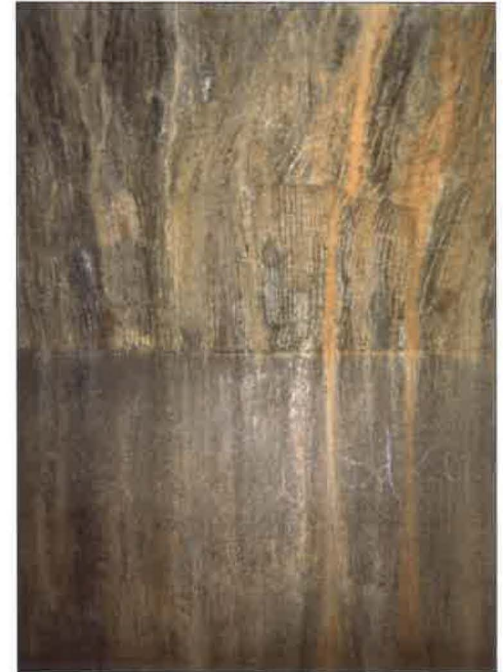


Fig. 31: Close-up of the side-wall of B3 showing polish below the roof-line.



Fig. 32: The “slippery boulder” housing B4; the main pathway from the Pātālagāṅgā runs on top of it.



Fig. 33: A branch of the pathway coming down on the right side.

135; S.P. Gupta 1980: 192; Gurugé 1993: 603.

B2: Sudāman cave:

On the right side of the polished passage way in two lines (fig. 24), measuring 50 x 9 cm:

lājina piyadasinā dīvāḍasavasābhisitenā iyaṃ nigohakubhā dinā ājīvikehi

“This cave called Nigrodha was given to the Ājīvikas by king Priyadarśin when he was anointed for his 12th regnal year.”

Rubbing: Bühler 1891b: pl. A; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 46.

Editions: Pāṇḍeya 1965: 133; Gurugé 1993: 590.

B4: Viśvāmītra cave:

On the right side of the porch in four lines (figs. 35, 36):

*lājina piyadasinā dīvā
ḍasavasābhisitenā iyaṃ
kubhā khalatikapavatasi
dinā ājīvikehi*

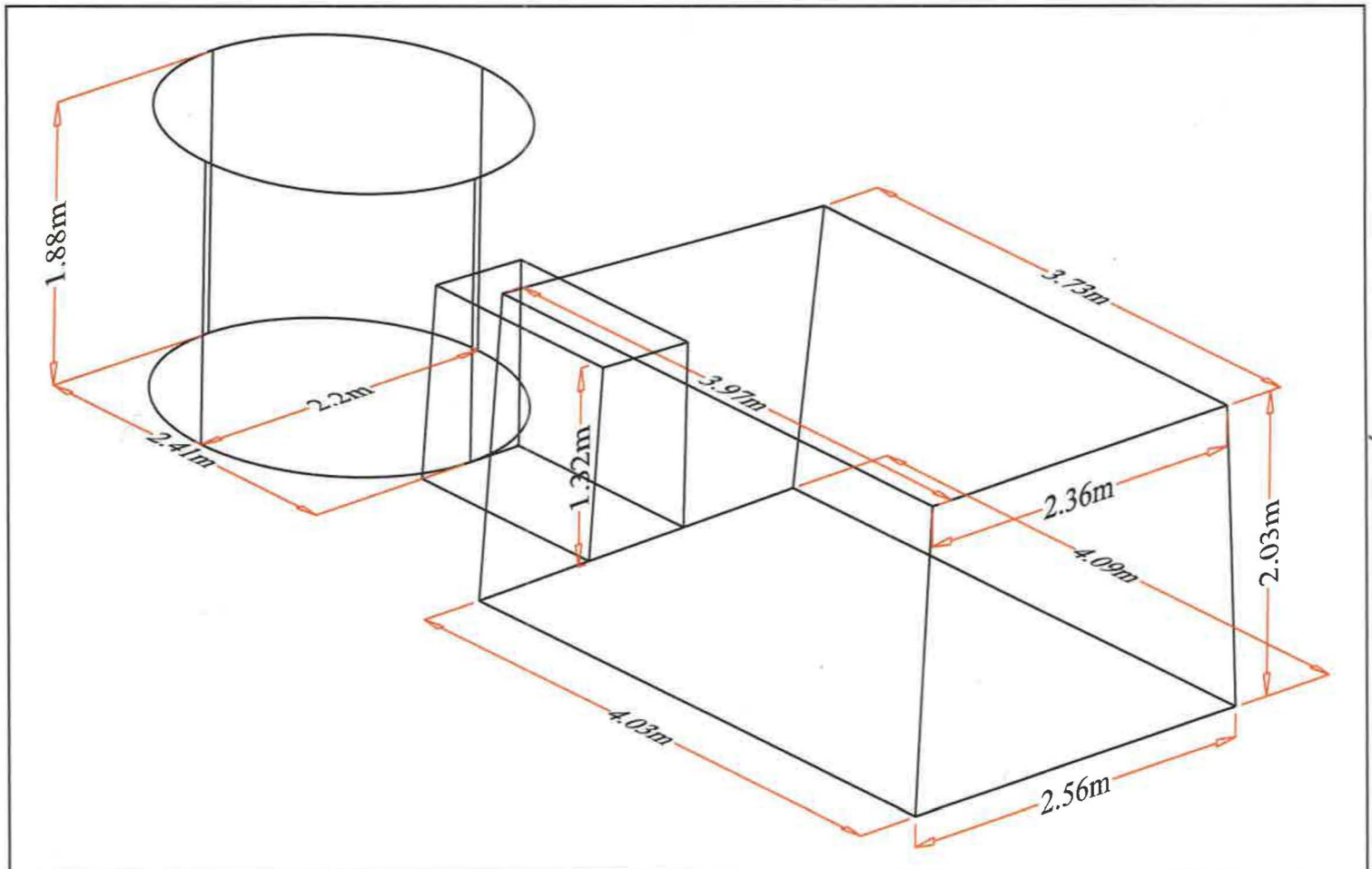


Fig. 34: Measurements of B4, the porch is 3 MY wide. The inner room has never reached its final dimension.



Fig. 35: The inscription in the right upper corner of the porch of B4.

"This cave in the 'Slippery rock' has been given to the Ājīvikas by king Priyadarśin when he was anointed for his 12th regnal year."

Eye-copy: Kittoe 1847: pl. VII no 4.

Rubbing: Bühler 1891b: pl. B; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 46,2; Rastogi 1990: pl. II C.

Editions: Pāṇḍeya 1965: 134; Gurugé 1993: 590.

Presentations of the caves:

Ground plans: Kittoe 1847: pl. XIII; Cunningham 1871d: pl. XIX (all caves with measurements), copied into Fergusson & Burgess 1910: 130–132 and S.P. Gupta 1980: 189–194; Huntington 1974/75: 36, 37, 39, 41.

Photography:

B1: Karṇa Caupār: Kuraishi 1931: 34 (entrance); Huntington 1974/75: 40; S.P. Gupta 1980: pls. 93a (outside), 94a–c (entrance, inside); Gurugé 1993: [536] (boulder from lake side).

B2: Sudāma: Kuraishi 1931: 35 (entrance); Huntington 1974/75: 38; S.P. Gupta 1980: colour pls. opp. pp. 187 and 201, pls. 92 a–d, 93 b,c (entrance, inside).

B3: Lomas Rishi: Hardy 1902: 50; Fergusson & Burgess 1910: 131; *ASIAR* 1930–34,II: pl. XIId,e ("after partial Conservation"); Bachhofer 1929: pl. 2; Kuraishi 1931: 36f., 1936: pl. XIId,e (Lomas Rishi facade and entrance); G.C. Chandra 1935–36: pl. VIa (before clearance), b; Huntington 1974/75: 35, 43–46; S.P. Gupta 1980: pls. 85a (good view of boulder), b, pls. 86–88 (details of

entrance), pls. 89–90 (inside with chisel works); Allchin 1995b: 249.

B4: Viśvāmitra: Kuraishi 1931: 39 (entrance); S.P. Gupta 1980: colour pl. opp. p. 187, pls. 91 a–c.

Literature:

General: Buchanan 1925 (original) and 1838 (reworked); Kittoe 1847 (extensive); Cunningham 1871d, 1877: 30–31; Beglar 1878b: 35–37 (on the remnants on the hill tops and Buddha's presence there); Caddy 1895: 156–159; Smith 1909c: 74–75; Fergusson & Burgess 1910: 130–133; Woolner 1924: xvi; Hultzsch 1925: xxviii; Jackson 1926; Kuraishi 1931: 33–39; Patil 1963: 15–18;

N. Ray 1965/1975: 44–47; Auboyer 1971/72 (dating the face of Lomas Rishi after Aśoka); Huntington 1974/75 (with good plans and elevations); S.P. Gupta 1980: 189–192.

On the Ājīvikas: D.R. Bhandarkar 1904: 399ff.

On Anantavarman's inscriptions over the entrance to the Lomas Rishi Cave: Fleet 1888: 221–223 with earlier literature; Kuraishi 1931: 37f.

On other inscriptions and graffiti: Kittoe 1847 (eye-copies).

On the excavation technique at the Lomas Rishi cave: "[I]ch [sah] Eisenschlacke z.B. bei den Barabarhöhlen, und zwar liegt die Schlacke hier teilweise im Boden drinnen, der vor der Lomasrishi-Höhle ca. 1 m. hoch aufgefüllt ist und viele Topfscherben und die Granitsplitter enthält, die beim Bau der Höhle aus ihr herausgeschlagen wurden. Vielleicht hat also Kaiser Aśoka, als er im 3. Jhdt. v.Chr. diese Höhlen ausmeisseln liess, auch einige Schmiede und Eisenschmelzer hier beschäftigt. (...) Vielleicht brauchte man Eisengeräte für diese feine Politur; nicht weit davon soll ein Eisenwerk Chota-Calcutta bis vor kurzem gearbeitet haben." (Ruben 1939: 132); S.P. Gupta 1980: 205–221.

On maintenance: Bloch 1902; *ASIAR* 1930–34,I: 32f. The ASI exposed the original level of the courtyards of the Lomas Rishi and the Sudama caves in 1935/36. The report (*ASIAR* 1935–36: 23) points to two seats left and right of the entrance of the Lomas Rishi cave which had been broken away long before; G.C. Chandra 1935–36.

Importance in antiquity:

The place was much more prominent in antiquity than it appears today. Aśoka speaks of

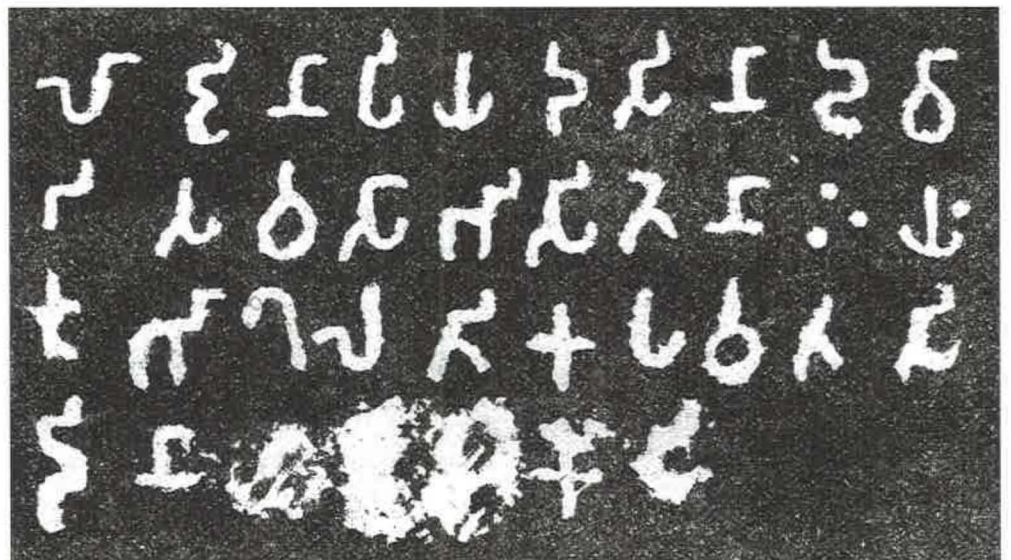


Fig. 36: Rubbing of the inscription (after Bühler 1891: fig. C).



Fig. 37: The door from inside of B4, showing the cut-lines and the breaks in the rock.

the Khalatika mountain, which was also known to Patañjali, and Aśoka went to Jālūtha, which is known from some editions of the Rāmāyaṇa.

The later name of the hill, written in a younger Brāhmī right of the Lomas Rishi cave (fig. 30), is Gorathagiri, known to king Khāravela of Kalinga in the 1st cent. BC.

On Xuanzang's way from Patna to Gayā via the Barābār hills see Beal 1884, II: 136.

The highest point is crowned by a temple to Siddheśvar, much visited today. Buchanan (19) reports on "two female figures carved on stone in relief and called Bhairav, bhairavi, but both are female". If this is a remnant of earlier *devī* cults remains to be examined. Also important might be a cave, described in Buchanan (19): "About five begahs below the temple towards the east is a natural cave called Yogiasna, or the seat of the Yogi. In this it is said that Goruknath passed some time in prayer, sitting on an asna or seat used in prayer, which remains. The bottom of the cave, which is merely a cavity under an overhanging rock, is said to be always covered with ashes, which many use for putting the mark on their foreheads. A man that I sent says the cave is not deep and contains ashes."

Importance today:

Buchanan 1811/12: 17: "I looked down upon a torrent called Patel Ganga, which in the

rainy season contains many pools, near which in the Chaterdesi of Bhadur [i.e. *catūrdaśī* in Bhādrapada] about 50,000 people assemble, and next day they bathe in the pools, besides that during the whole of Bhadur perhaps 500 people bath daily."

Kittoe 1847: 405: "The first object the visitor (sic) is led to is a strong spring of clear water murmuring through the fissures of the rock at the base of the northern ridge and disappearing under ground beyond a basin or small reservoir of modern construction. This water is called the 'Patal Gunga' the Ganges flowing beneath the earth. I need not state the absurd stories connected with this natural curiosity; a fair is held here yearly in the month of August."

Cunningham (1871d: 42) speaks explicitly of "an annual assembly ... held in the month of Bhādrapada for the purpose of bathing".

Jackson 1915: 166 cites Buchanan with regard to a *melā* at each *viṣuvasāṃkrānti*, i.e. at each equinox "on the west bank of the Sungr river (...) called Ram-Gaya", just to the east of the Nāgārjuni hills.



Fig. 38: Door from the porch of B4 leading to the unfinished room.



Fig. 39: Cut-lines in the unfinished cell of B4.

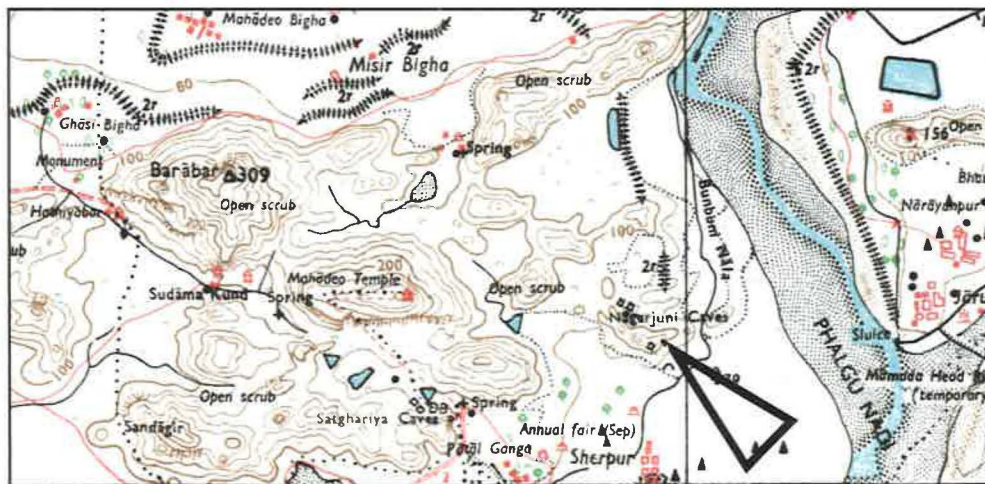
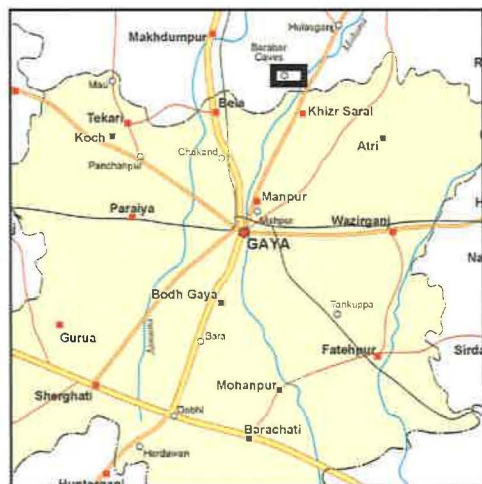
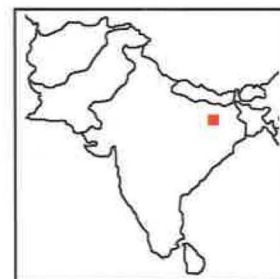
Nāgārjuni Caves

Gayā district, Bihar

25°01' N.

85°05' E.

GSI map 72 G/4



Further maps: Cf. on Barābār.

Access:

By foot 1.5 km from the Pātālaganḡā at Barābār, following the path along the slope of the hills to the east. The entrance to the first cave at Nāgārjuni (N1) is seen while crossing the plain (fig. 5). For the caves at the back of the hill go around the hill to its left side (fig. 1) and try to find the highest point in the valley between this and the northerly adjoining hill. From there the rear valley (fig. 2) can be seen to the north-east. All entrances are without a gate.

Because of Naxalites the visit of the rear caves is regarded as dangerous. It seems

advisable to have armed guards and to return while the sun is still up.

Discovery:

N1: *Gopikā* cave:

Harington 1798: 276–278: “The hill, or rather rock, from which the cavern is dug, lies about fourteen miles north of the ancient city of *Gyā* (...) It is now distinguished by the name of *Nāgurjenee*... The cave is situated on the southern declivity, about two thirds from the summit: a tree immediately before it prevents its being seen from the bottom. It has only one narrow entrance, from the south, two feet and a half [76.25 cm] in breadth, six feet [1.83 m] high, and of thick-

ness exactly equal. This leads to a room of an oval form, with a vaulted roof, which I measured twice, and found to be forty-four feet [13.42 m] in length from east to west, eighteen feet and a half [5.62 m] in breadth, and ten feet and a quarter [5.64 m] in height at the centre. This immense cavity is dug entirely out of the solid rock, and is exceedingly well polished, but without any ornament (...) The inhabitants near know nothing of its history or age; but I learnt from the chief of a neighbouring village, that a tradition is actant of a *Mohummedan*, named *Minhāj-u-deen*, having performed his *cheeleh*, or forty days devotion, in this cav-

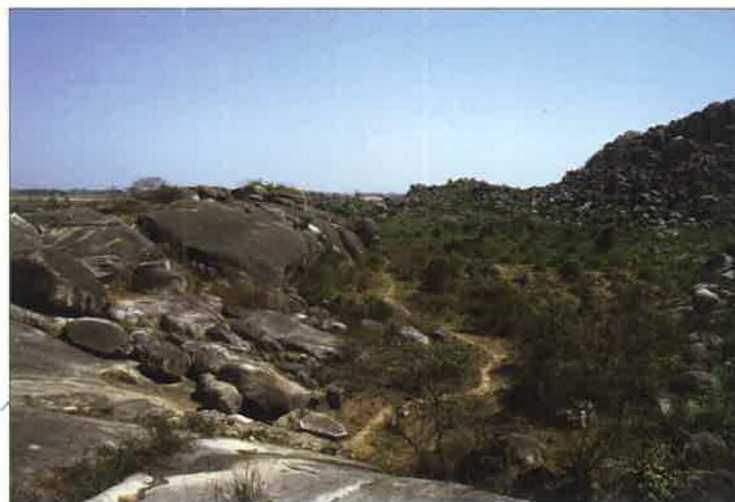


Fig. 1: The Nāgārjuni hills. Cave 1 is on this front side, the two others are in a valley in its back.

Fig. 2: The back-valley seen from the ridge.



Fig. 3: View over N2 and N3 towards the north.



Fig. 4: The entrances to caves N2 and N3.

ern; and that he was contemporary with *Mukhdoom Sherf-u-deen*, a venerated *welee*, who died in *Behār* in the 590th year of the *Hijree* (...); but the room is certainly now frequented by *Mohummedans*, and has been for some time, as there are the remains of an old mosque close before it. (...) There are two inscriptions, one on each side of the interior part of the entrance; impressions of both which my *Moonshee* took off in the course of three days, with much trouble, and sufficient accuracy (...). The other, which consists of one line only, is unfortunately of a different character, and remains still unintelligible."

Buchanan (1811/12; 1925: 14): "I however found at Nāgārjuni a fine cave of which I perhaps might not have heard had I not gone to the place, for the people here are so stupid, and have so little curiosity, that you can scarcely find out any antiquity except by chance. An exceeding rude stair of granite and mortar winds up the hill for about 150

yards among detached blocks of granite, until it reaches a solid convex rock running east and west. On a little level at the bottom of the rock has been built an *Idgai* [...]. Behind the place of prayer, a small door in the solid rock leads into an oval cave, 43 feet long and 18 feet 10 inches wide, the door being in the centre of one of the sides. The walls rise about six feet perpendicular and the roof is arched, 10 ½ feet high. The whole has a marble polish but not neat, as the chisels employed in excavating the rock have in a vast many parts penetrated deeper than the surface that has been polished. There is not the slightest ornament nor moulding, and the roof being covered with soot, the whole is very dismal even when lighted. It has no aperture except one small door, and is therefore hot and noisome, although perfectly dry. A small platform of brick and mortar is placed against the wall near the west end, and is called the *Chilla* of *Mukdum Saha Minhajuddin*, who according to the keeper

came here at the same time [as] *Sherifuddin* came to *Behar*. The *Chilla* is the place where the saint sat two years without moving, to pray and meditate on divine things. He had 360 *Chillas* in this district. On the rocks above the door is a small inscription very much defaced. On the left side of the door, entering, is a long inscription in an old *Nagri* character pretty entire. On the right hand is one line more like the *Pali*. The *Muzuir* says that when the saint came the place was in possession of *Nagarjuni Deo*, a holy man who was destroyed by the saint."

N2: *Vaḍithikā* cave:

Buchanan in 1811/12: "At the north end of the brick building has been a stone door leading out to a small angular recess formed by the meeting of two great blocks of granite. In the face of the western of these blocks is another door with an inscription, leading to another similar cave, but a wall of brick has been built across towards its far end, leaving a small chamber behind, the only

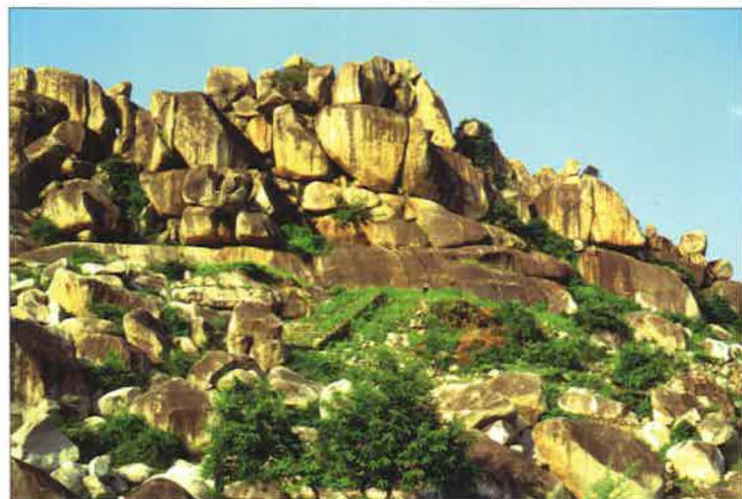


Fig. 5: The entrance to cave N1 in the centre, reached by a staircase.

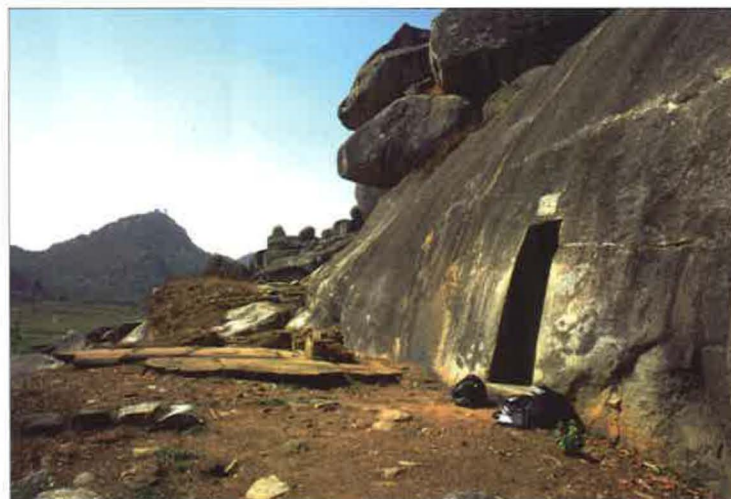


Fig. 6: The entrance to cave N1 with the Barābār hills in the background.



Fig. 7: Close-up of the inscription of N1, mentioning king Daśaratha.

access to which is through a kind of window through which a slender man may creep. This is called the abode of Haji Hermain" (1925: 20; cf. 1838, I: 101).

N3: Vahiyakā cave:

Buchanan in 1811/12: "In the rock immediately adjoining to the east front of the building, is a door leading into a small chamber about 10 feet by 15, arched above and polished, but the arch is not above 9 feet high. There is an inscription on the sides of the door. It is said to be the Mirza mandia or house of a Moslem noble; but the inscription is Hindu" (1925: 20; cf. 1838, I: 101).

Preservation:

All caves and inscriptions are in a very good condition.

Orientation:

The doors of N1 and N3 open to the south; due to the peculiar situation, N2 opens to the east, facing the adjoining boulder.

Measurements:

N1: Gopikā cave:

The entrance gate is 182 cm high, 90 cm wide at the bottom, 76.5 cm on top.

The cave is 13.62 m long along the centre line, 5.79 m broad on the western side, 5.83 m on the east side.

The walls are 1.84 m high, inclined, ending in a horizontal line. On the level of this line the cave measures 13.42 m from end to end.

Both sides end in half circles with a radius of 2.84 m. The half circles do not directly continue into the long sides, but instead broaden imperceptibly for another 5 cm on each side, so that the depth of the room exceeds the diameter of the half circles by about 10 cm.



Fig. 8: Rubbing of the inscription of N1 (after Bühler 1891b: fig. E).

The cave is 3.18 m high at the circle centres, 3.33 m in the middle of the room. The radius of the circle used for the construction of the ceiling is about 3.38 m in the centre of the room, that means, very much as large as the room is high. In the rounded ends, however, where the ceiling is lower, the radius is 3.48 m, definitely larger than the height of the room. This seems to show that the construction started from several sides: the end circles defined the ground-length and the centre defined the height. The difficulty was to make the two curvatures meet. Unlike N2, where the meeting was rough, N1 was brought to perfection.

The door jambs are 4.64 m (west) and 2.54 m (east) away from where the apsidal bends begin.

Grid:

None of the measurements can be explained on the basis of the MY of 85.5 cm, used for

the two caves in the back valley. Instead, the central plan seems to form a grid of 8 x 11 squares of a much smaller yard measuring about 72.3 cm. Eight of these would amount to 5.78 m. The caves breadth was measured at two places as 5.79 and 5.83 m; 11 of these would amount to 7.95 m. The middle of the short sides produce the centre point for the apsidal circles, based on a slightly smaller measure of 71.1 cm, forming a circle of 5.69 cm diameter. The smaller measure is required for the tapering from the central breadth to the apsis. The total length results from the length of the basic rectangle 11 x 72.3 cm (7.95 m) plus two radii of the end circles 4 x 71.12 cm, each 2.84 m, together 5.69 m, with a sum of 13.64 m, compared to the actually measured 13.62 cm.

Small differences between actual measurements and those expected are evident. This may be due to our misconception



Fig. 9: The Maukhari inscription in the doorway of N1.



Fig. 10: Entrance and left side of the cave; note the rounded end and rounded ceiling.

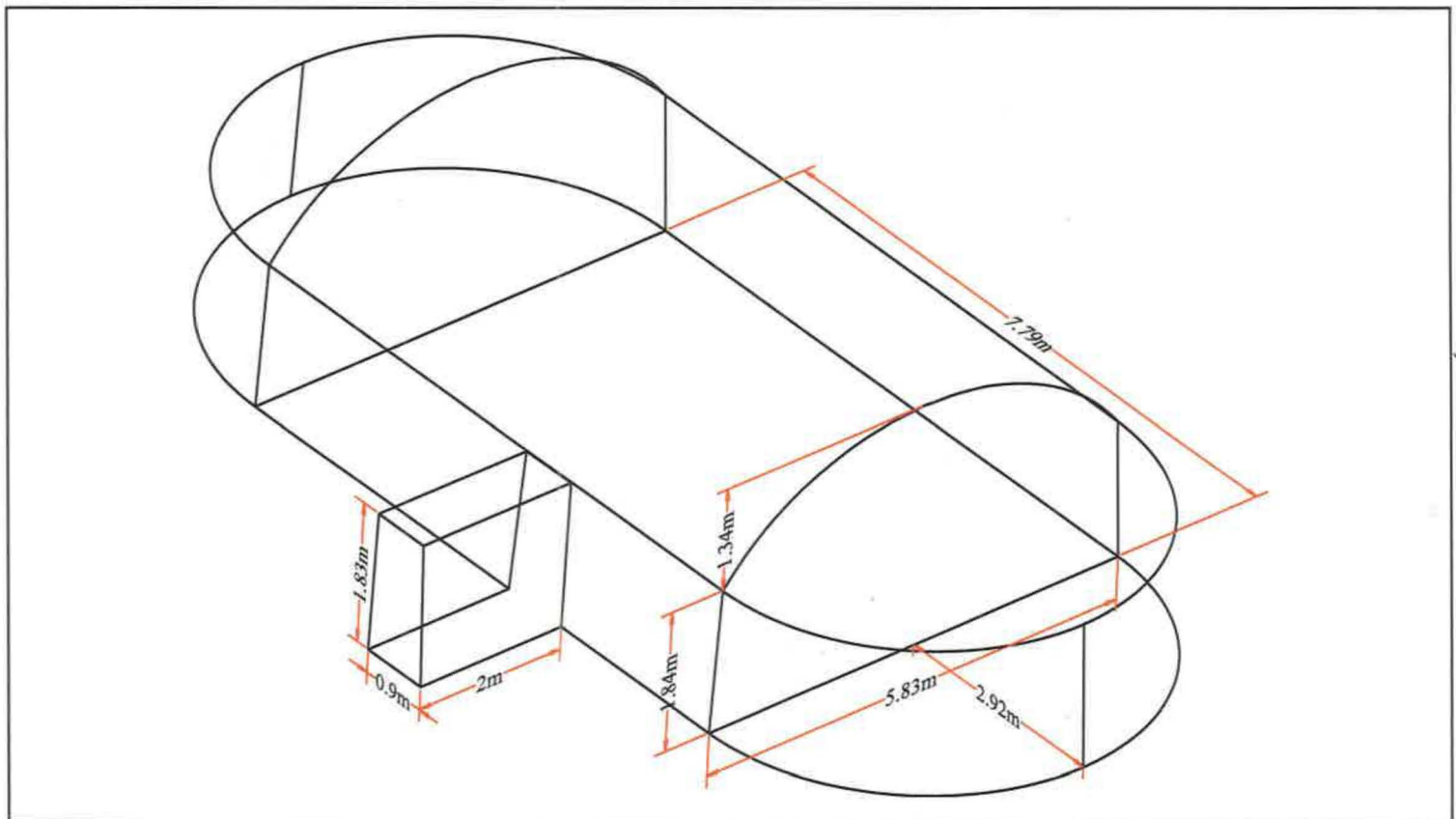


Fig. 11: Measurements of cave N1.

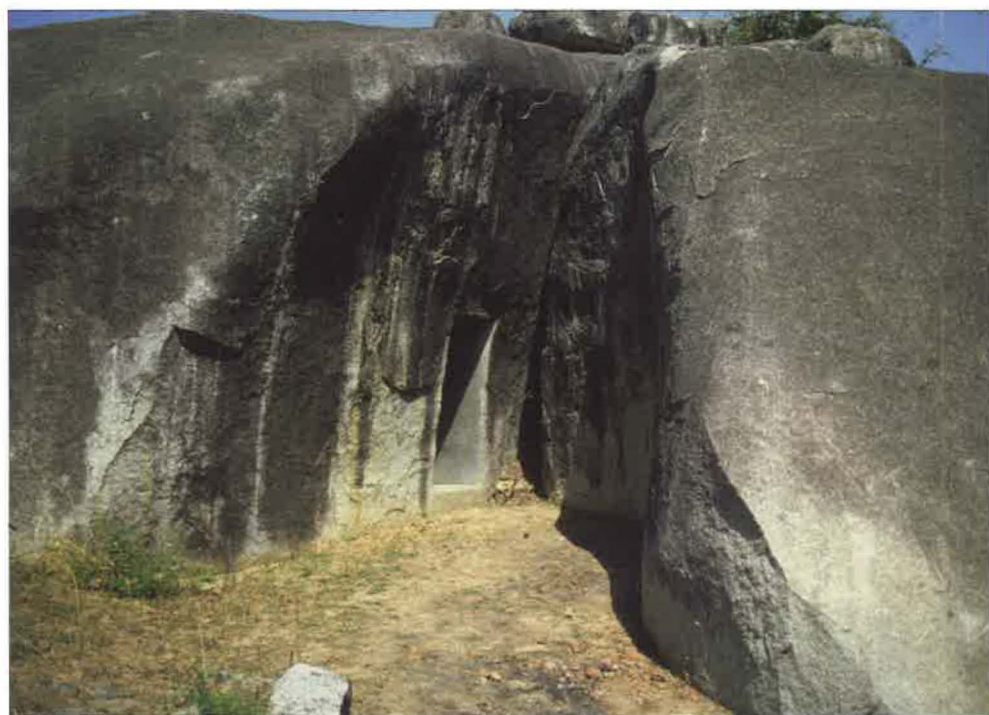


Fig. 12: The entrance to N2; the inscription is above its door.

regarding the nature of a basic grid, it may as well be the result of redressing the wall and roof parts to achieve a perfect visual impression. Slight deviations have been found while measuring with a laser rangefinder. For the stone worker at that time these deviations would not have mattered at all.

N2: *Vaḍaṭhikā* cave

The cave is 5.08 m long, 3.42 m wide, and 2.34/2.36 m high. The slanting walls continue into the arched roof without any dividing line, comparable only to the Sītāmarhi cave. Where the smaller curvature of the ceiling meets the larger curvature of the apsis a small part of the surface is comparably uneven.

The entrance is 1.82 m high, 88 cm wide at bottom, 76 cm at top, entering the centre of the front wall, but at a slight angle. Due to the alignment in the rock the entrance is 1.75 m deep on its southern and 2.16 m on its northern side.

In the times of Buchanan and Kittoe, a wall separated the rounded end from the front

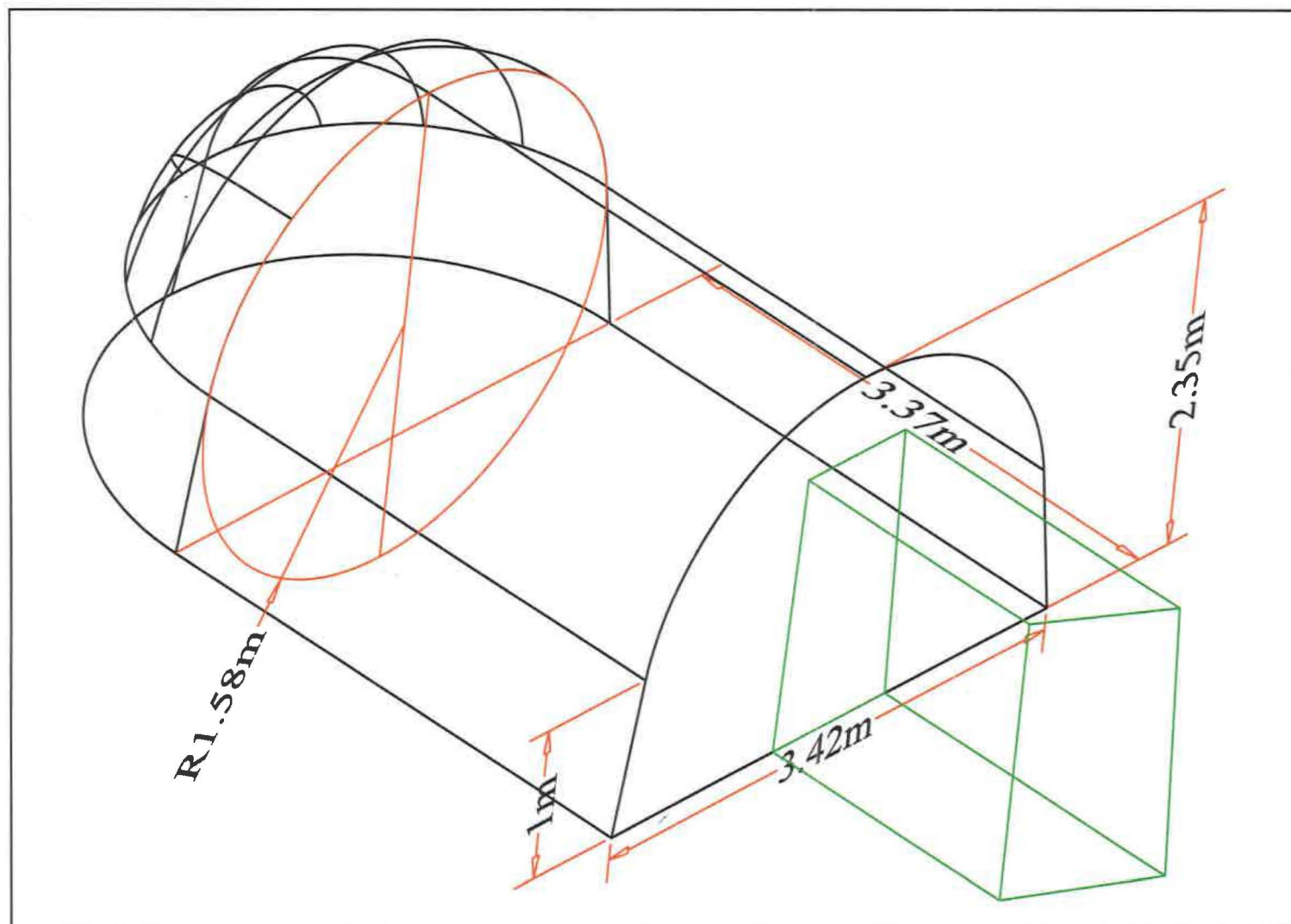


Fig. 13: Measurements of cave N2.

part. Because of this wall, the groundplan was presented as a rectangle by Kittoe (1847: pl. VIII), who commented (1847: 410): "There is but one chamber, this has been divided by a thin brick wall by some Mahomedan fakir, perhaps several centuries back, the doorway or aperture to which is so small as to have prevented my entering it, but I felt the end with a 10 foot rod. From the fragments found scattered, I conclude that there must have been a very handsome temple here of very early date." Kittoe gives 4.98 m (16'4") as the total length (pl. VIII 3b); our measurements give 5.08 m. He had no opportunity to see the rounded end; Kuraishi (1931: 43) as well is silent about the circular end of the cave, although he must have seen it.

Grid:

The room is based on a square 4 x 4 MY of 85.5 cm. To this is added a half circle with 2 MY for its radius. The circle is perfect.

The radius for the arched ceiling is 1.58 m; the segment of a circle of 3.16 m



Fig. 14: The entrance of cave N2 seen from the inside.



Fig. 15: Cave N2 where the rounded apsis meets the rounded ceiling.

diameter would be 3 and two thirds of a regular MY.

N3: Vahiyakā cave:

The entrance gate is 1.82 m high, 85 cm wide at the bottom, 70 cm at the top, 1.27 m deep.

This entrance is inside a recess of the same lateral inclination, about 43 cm (0.5 MY) wider to each side, 8 cm higher than the entrance gate, measuring 1.55 m at the top.

The cave is 5.12/5.13 m long, 3.42 m wide near the entrance, 3.40 m at the rear wall.

The walls are inclined for 1.46 m, the length at this height is 5.06 m, the width 3.27 m. A line separates wall and arched ceiling. The apex of the roof is met at 2.25 m.

Grid:

The room is based on a rectangle measuring 6 MY (85,33 cm) x 4 MY (85,5 cm). The roof is a segment of a circle with a radius of 2.08 m. The diameter of the circle of 4.16 m could be explained as 5 times a MY of 83.2 cm.

Presentations of the full set of inscriptions:

Eye-copies: Prinsep 1837c: 676; Cunningham 1877: pl. XVI.

Rubbings: Bühler 1891b: pl. D–F.

Editions: Prinsep 1837c: 676f.; Cunningham 1877: 103–104; Bühler 1891b: 364–365; Woolner 1924: 52; Kuraishi 1931: 40; Eggermont & Hoftijzer 1962: 47; Sircar 1965b: 77–78 → Krishnan 1989: 98–99.

Presentations of individual texts:

N1: Gopikā cave:

Inscription: Above the entrance gate, on a smooth, but not polished surface of 25 x 44 cm. The text covers 14 x 44 cm:

*gopikā kubhā daśalathenā devā[naṃ]pi
yenā ānaṃtaliyaṃ abhiṣitenā ājī
vike[hi] [bhadaṃ]tehi vāśanisidiyāye
niṣiṭhā ācaṃdamaṣūliyaṃ*

“(This) cave (called) Gopikā was handed over to the respectable Ājīvikas as a residence for the rainy season as long as moon and sun will last, by Daśaratha, beloved of the gods, as soon as he was installed (as king).”

Rubbing: Bühler 1891b: pl. E; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 47,2.

Edition: Bühler 1891b: 365; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 137.

N2: Vaḍaṭhikā cave:

Inscription: On a relatively smooth square 25 cm high, 45 cm wide above the entrance door in four lines:

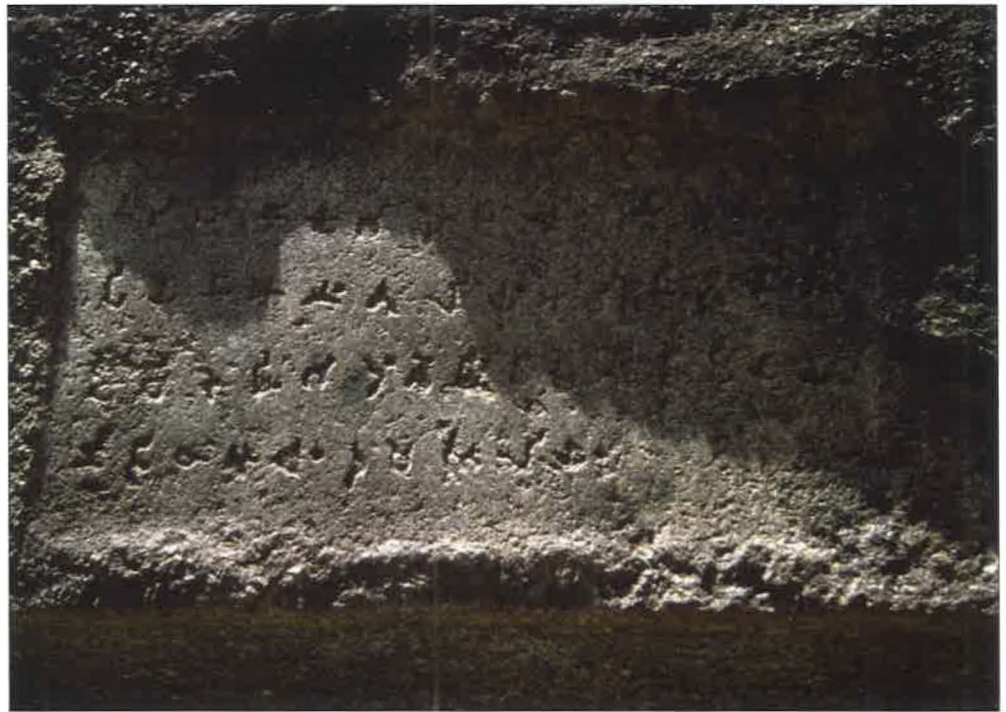


Fig. 16: The inscription above the door of cave N2.

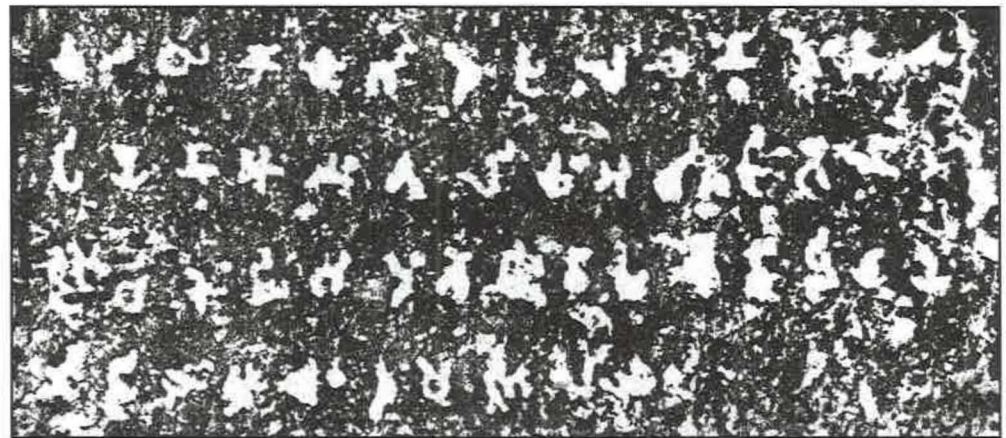


Fig. 17: Rubbing of the inscription (after Bühler 1891b: fig. F).

*vaḍaṭhikā kubhā daśalathenā devānaṃ
piyenā ānaṃtaliyaṃ a[bhi]ṣitenā [ā]
[jī]vikehi bhadaṃtehi vā[śaniṣi]diyāye
niṣiṭhā ācaṃdamaṣūliyaṃ*

“(This) cave (called) Vaḍaṭhikā was handed over to the respectable Ājīvikas as a residence for the rainy season as long as moon and sun will last, by Daśaratha, beloved of the gods, as soon as he was installed (as king).”

Rubbing: Bühler 1891b: pl. F; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 47,3.

Edition: Bühler 1891b: 365; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 138.

N3: Vahiyakā cave:

Known as *vapiya* to Caddy (1895: 158), “so named from a well near by”.

Inscription: On the smooth vertical wall on the left side of the porch in four lines:

*vahiyak[ā] kubhā dasalathena
devānaṃpiyenā
ānaṃtaliyaṃ abhiṣitenā [ājīvikehi]
bhadaṃtehi vāśanisidiyāye niṣiṭhe
ācaṃdamaṣūliyaṃ*

“(This) cave (called) Vahiyakā was handed over to the respectable Ājīvikas as a residence for the rainy season as long as moon and sun will last, by Daśaratha, beloved of the gods, as soon as he was installed (as king).”

Rubbings: Bühler 1891b: pl. D; Pāṇḍeya 1965: pl. 47,1.

Editions: Bühler 1891b: 364; Pāṇḍeya 1965: 136.



Fig. 18: The entrance in the boulder.



Fig. 19: The entrance of cave N3 showing the inscription in the upper corner of the porch wall.



Fig. 20: The entrance of cave N3 seen from the inside.

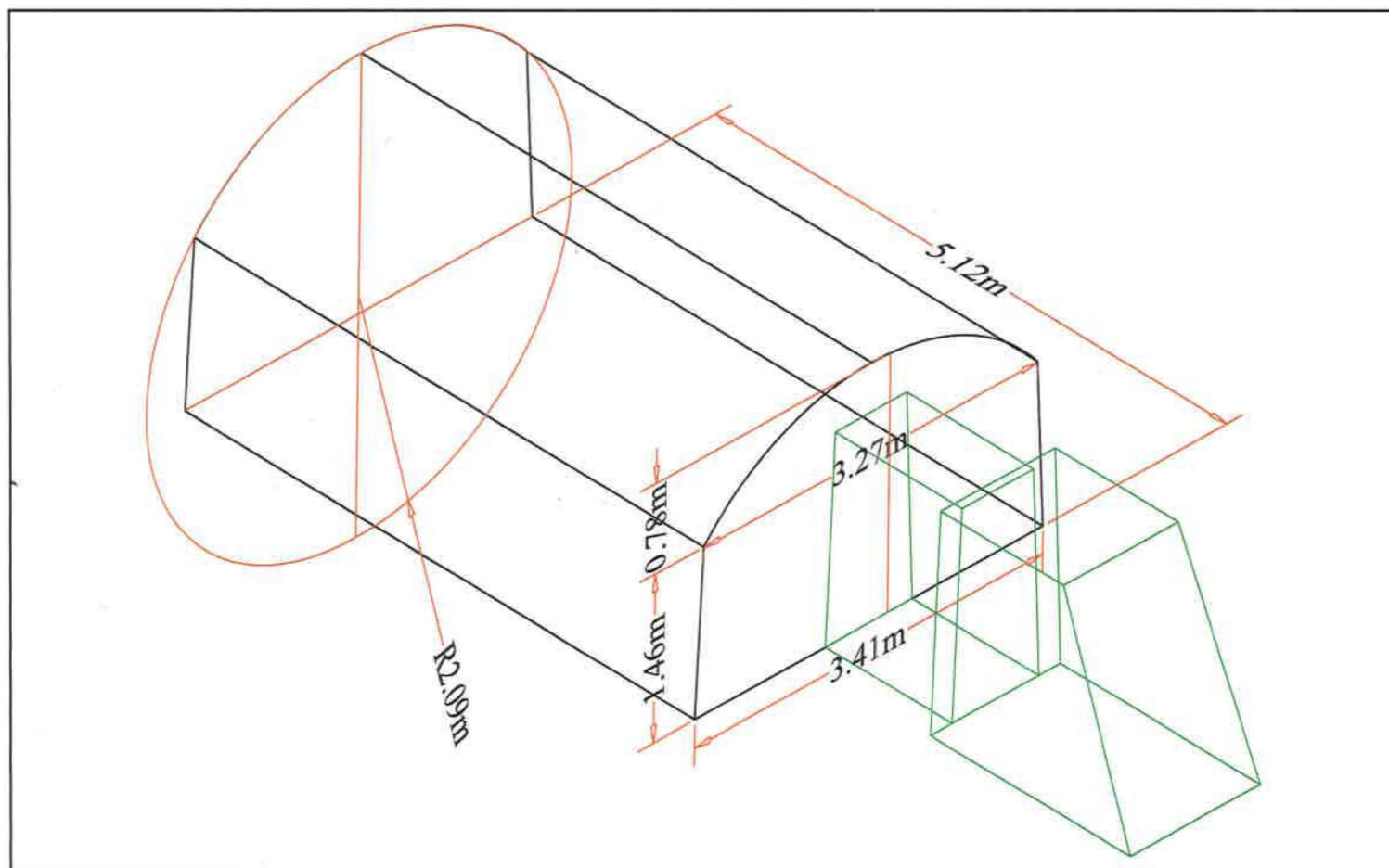


Fig. 21: Measurements of cave N3, built on a grid of 4 x 6 MY.



Fig. 22: The back wall of cave N3.

Presentation of the caves:

Ground plans: Kittoe 1847: pl. XIII.

Photographs:

View of hill: Kuraishi 1931: 39.

N1: Gopikā cave: Kuraishi 1931: 40 (entrance); S.P. Gupta 1980: pl. 94d (inside).

N2: Vaḍathikā cave: Kuraishi 1931: 42 (entrance); G.C. Chandra 1935–36 (dto.); S.P. Gupta 1980: pls. 95b,c (dto.).

N3: Vahiyakā cave: Kuraishi 1931: 43 (entrance); G.C. Chandra 1935–36 (dto.); ASIAR 1935/36: pl. VI c (“General view of Vapiyaka and Vadathika caves, after partial clearance”); BL Photo 125/1(58–60) (both caves in original condition).

Literature:

On the site: Buchanan 1925 (original) and 1838 (reworked); Prinsep 1837c; Kittoe 1847 (extensive); Fergusson 1876: 132–133; Cunningham 1877: 31–32; Beglar 1878a: 43; Caddy 1895: 158 (with measurements); Smith 1909c: 75–76; Woolner 1924: xvi–xvii; Patil 1963: 294–299; S.P. Gupta 1980: 192–194.

On Maukhari inscriptions: Prinsep 1837c: 672 (with eye-copy); Kittoe 1847: pl. X; Fleet 1888: 223–228 no. 50 = N1, 223–226 no. 49 = N2; Kuraishi 1931: 40f.

On other inscriptions and graffiti: Kittoe 1847; Kuraishi 1931: 42.

On maintenance: T. Bloch 1902; G.C. Chandra 1935–36.

Importance in antiquity:

Buchanan suspected in 1811/12 (1925: 21) that the many remains around the Vaḍathika and Vapiyaka caves were those of a township. The ASI did some clearance work in 1935–36 in front of the Vaḍathika and Vapiyaka caves and found outlines of various *stūpas*, a monastery and a well (ASIAR 1935–36: 23).

Importance today:

According to Buchanan (1925: 21) on the plain around the Vaḍathika and Vapiyaka

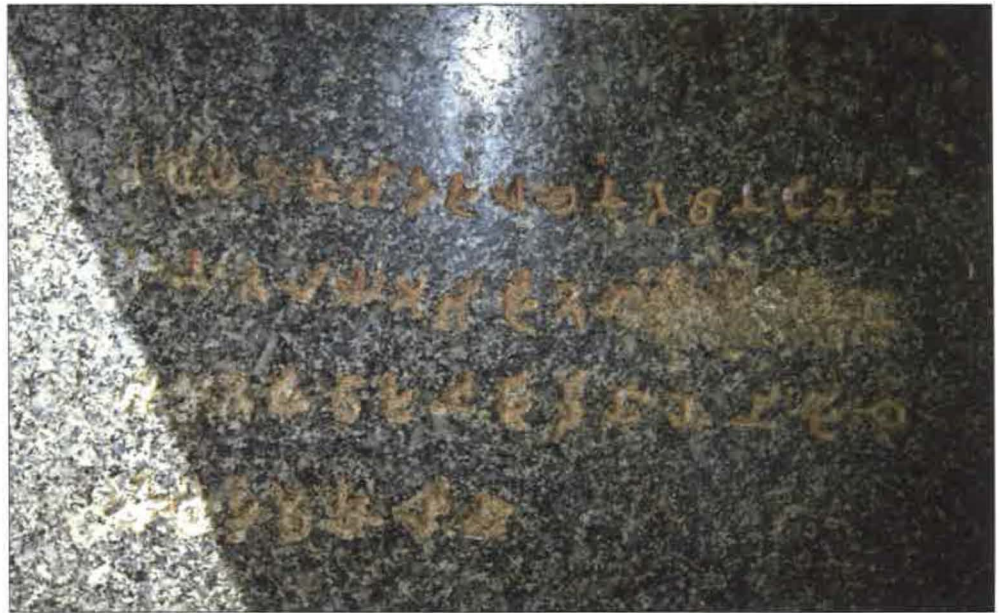


Fig. 23: The inscription in the entrance to cave N3.

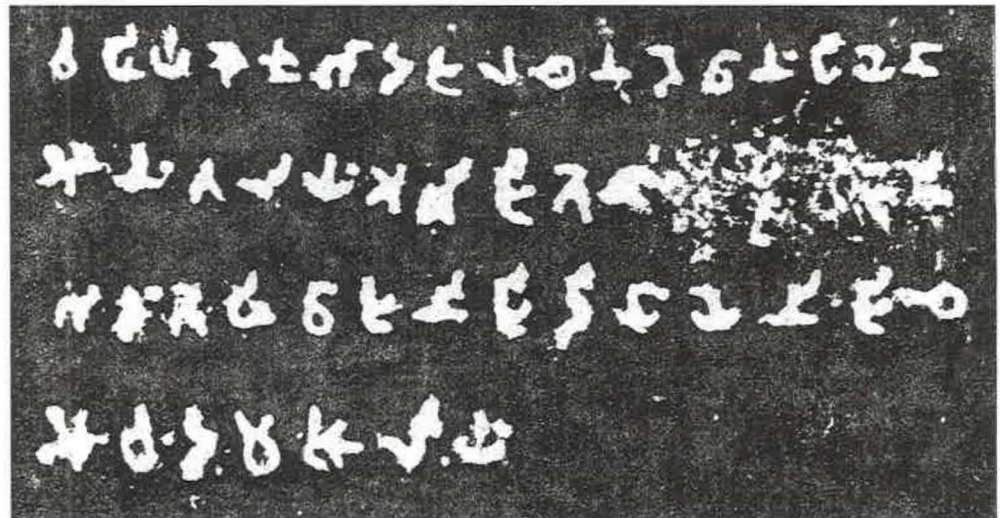


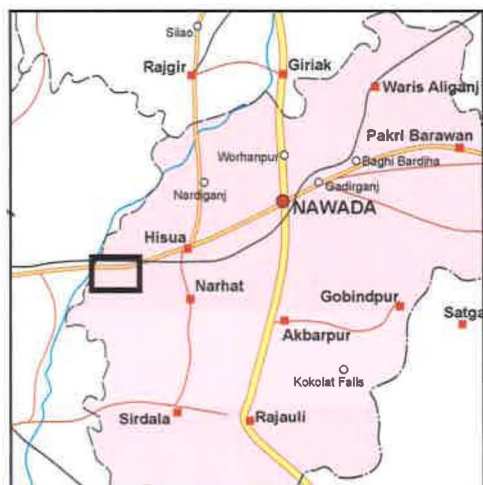
Fig. 24: Rubbing of the inscription of N3 (after Bühler 1891b: fig. D).

caves about 20,000 people assemble “on the Viswa or end of Chaitra [...], many of the Goyali Brahmins come to the Mela and

employ Srotriya Brahmins of the place to perform some ceremonies for them.”

Sītāmarhī

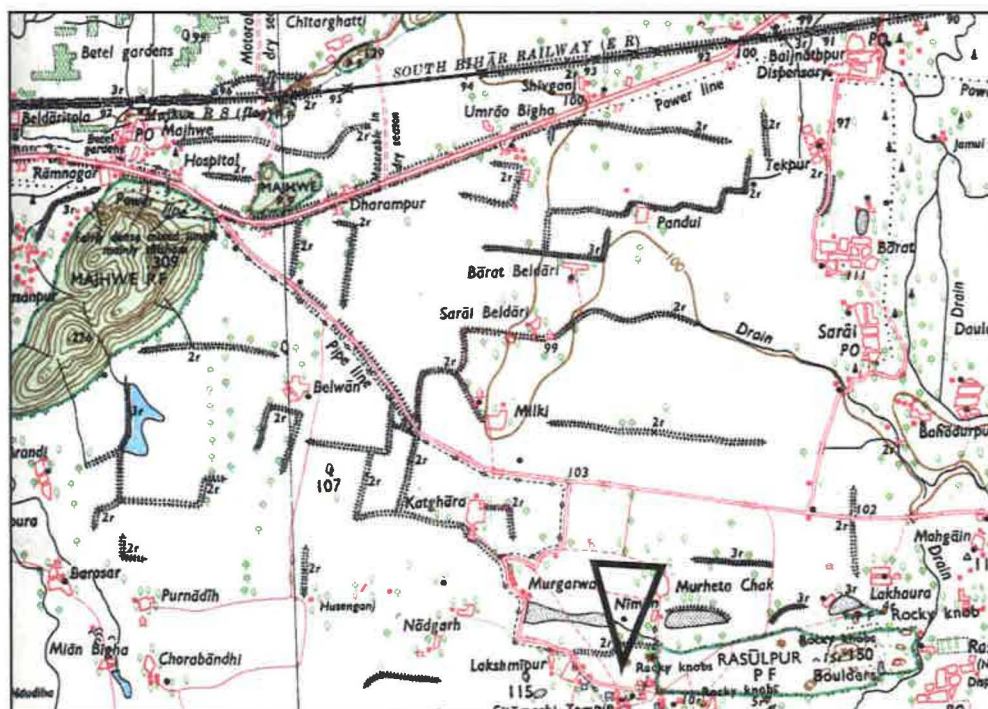
Navāda district, Bihar
 24°46' N.
 85°22' E.
 GSI map 72 H/5



Maps: ASI 3.1873, pl. XL; rough sketch of inhabited cell in S.P. Gupta 1980: 195.

Access:

Fergusson "13 miles south of Rājagriha, and 25 miles east from Gayā"; Beglar: "about 12 miles east of Punāwa and a mile and a half south of the road from Gaya to Mowāda." Today, one takes the road from Gayā east towards Hisuā/Navāda. After about 30 km a long iron bridge has to be crossed. Three more km lead to a bifurcation with a sign announcing the police station at *sītāmarḍhī* on the road leading right,



i.e. south-east. Follow it for about 5 km. The police station will be seen inside the village, quite close to the boulder-turned-temple.

The area is replete with Naxalites and drivers may refuse to go there.

Key:

The iron gate to the cave might be closed. Ask in the village for the *pūjārī*.

Discovery:

Buchanan 1811/12: "Sita Mauri is a small chamber dug into a great block of granite.



Fig. 1: View of the east side of the hollowed boulder.



Fig. 2: The modern entrance seen from the west side.

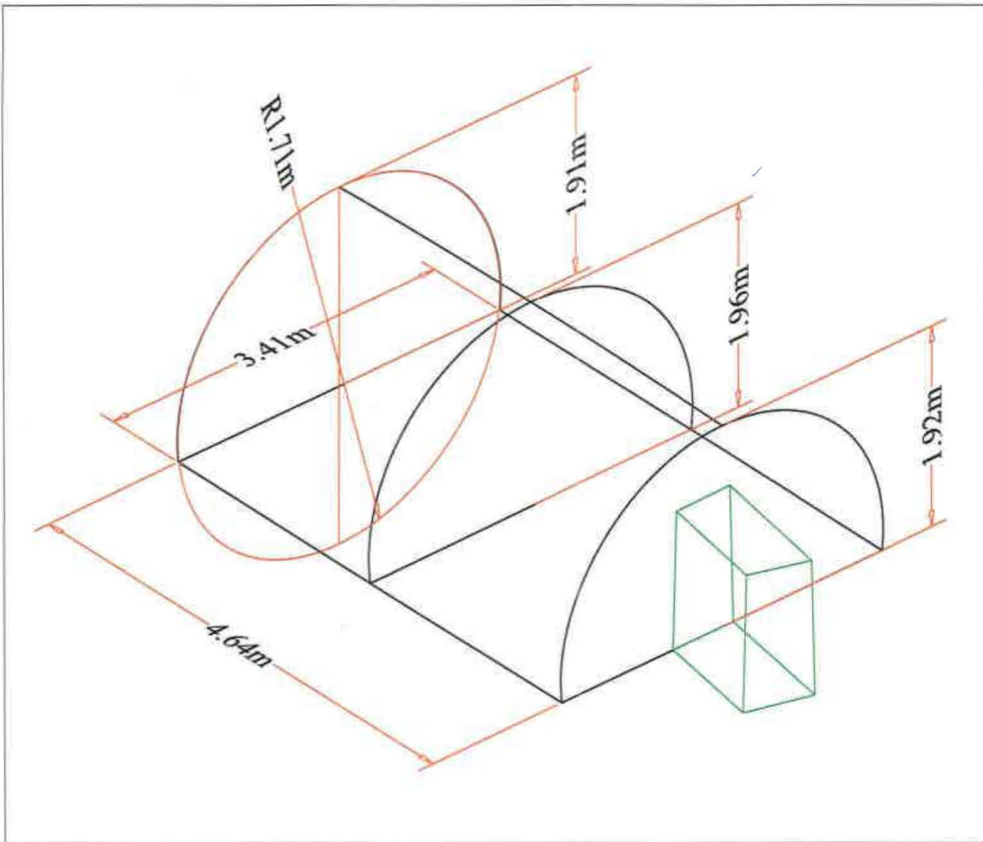


Fig. 3: Measurements of Sītāmarhī cave, both length and curvature of the roof are based on 4 MY.

The door is very small, and the chamber may be 15 feet by 10, and about 7 feet high in the middle. The polish has been attempted, but is inferior to that of the caves at Burabur [here Buchanan errs, HF]. In the far end are placed two small images supposed to represent Ram and Sita. Both seem to me to have been taken

from Buddh Gya, as one is a Muni and the other a female figure very common in these ruins. The cave is quite dry, and has probably been the residence of some well endowed hermit. A mela is held two days in the year, the merits of attending which are greatly enhanced by there being no water

near. I had been told that there was an inscription at the place, but I found none" (1925: 64). "There is at present inside the cave a miserable statue, through which a couple of sleek and insolent Brahmans obtain their livelihood" (Beglar 1878c: 107).

Preservation:

Perfect. The polish is comparable to that at Barābār and the Nāgārjuni hills.

Measurements:

According to Beglar (1878c: pl. V) the cave measures 15'9" x 11'3" [4,8038 x 3,4312 m]; the same plan displays an incorrect curvature of the ceiling. This plan was adopted by Fergusson & Burgess 1910: 133.

According to our own measurements, the cave is between 4.61 and 4.67 m long. Its width is 3.41 m at the entrance side and 3.39 m in the middle. The width is 4 MY à 85,25 cm. The length is a little less than 5,5 MY of the same dimension. However, the length may have been determined by the length of the rock.

The cave is 1.96 m high in the middle and 1.92 and 1.91 m right above the door sides. There is no perpendicular wall anywhere apart from the front and back sides. The ceiling touches the floor at an angle diverting from the half circle that was used to shape the roof.

The entrance meets the hall at a 100° angle, therefore the western side is longer than the eastern side, 1.26 m to 1.08 m.

The entrance is 1.30 to 1.31 m high, 64.2 to 65.9 cm wide at the bottom, and 56.5 to 58 cm wide at the top.



Fig. 4: The pūjārī in front of the altar bench (courtesy A. Sānger).



Fig 5: Sītā with two male figures to either side.



Fig. 6: The entrance is inclined to the right.



Fig. 7: The crossed circle shows how the roof starts as a true half-circle and widens before reaching the full diameter. The door is to the right of the centre.

Orientation:

The cave opens to the north.

Photography:

BL 125/1(88) = 1000/28(2843) original condition from outside.

Literature:

Buchanan 1811/12 (1925: 64); Beglar 1878c: 106f.; Fergusson & Burgess 1910: 133; Patil 1963: 547–549; S.P. Gupta 1980: 194.

Importance in antiquity:

“[F]rom its peculiarities we might infer that it is possibly the oldest [cave] in the district; but we must have a more extended series before

we can form a reliable sequence in this direction. In the meantime, however, we may feel sure that this hermitage belongs to the great Mauryan age, but whether before or after Asoka’s time must be left at present undetermined.” (Fergusson & Burgess 1910: 133).

Importance today:

Used as a temple for Sītā. According to the *pūjārī* this cave could not have been built by humans because of its perfect finish; instead, it was built in the *treta yug* by demons.

Aśokan or not?:

Plan and execution put this cave on a par with those at Barābār. The inclined entrance with its position out of centre seems to show that the general orientation was originally slightly different and the width was probably planned to be smaller. In the final design, the MY is used for the width of the cell. Although very simple, the dimensions are harmonious and the plan to hollow out a solitary boulder must be called audacious. Everything points to Aśoka as the builder.



Fig. 8: A devotee in front of the entrance to the cave.



Fig. 9: The rear of the hollowed boulder.

Diverse Artefact Sites

The pieces of "Aśokan Sites and Artefacts" presented here do not include the many examples of early, in many cases, Mauryan or even Aśokan, plastic art found in excavations over the centuries. S.P. Gupta and others have collected all relevant data and have established the typology together with several inventories. Truly Aśokan are two pieces, not found in museums, but still in their original situation. One is the *āsana* stone at Bodh Gayā, today found just behind the temple building. Its dimensions, quality and decoration put it on a par with the capitals of Aśoka's pillars.

There might have existed many more such non-pillar stone-work from Aśoka's

stone-masons, but they are lost to us for ever or, at least, for the moment.

As to his architecture, we have a large range of *stūpas* linked to Aśoka by tradition, communicated by the Chinese travellers in the middle of the first millennium AD. Most of these early *stūpas* have been rebuilt and enlarged so many times that it is hardly possible to point to their earliest strata. The *stūpa* right beside the pillar in Sārnāth will most likely go back to Aśokan times. Regarding the shape of the earliest *stūpas* we now have the excavation of Goṭihavā by G. Verardi and his team, who have determined very exact dates around BC 220 for the *stūpa* bricks. This *stūpa* represents the earliest building

activity in this spot, showing that the flat *stūpas* of Kapilavastu can also claim an origin in Mauryan times. Since most other of his *stūpas* have lost their early shape, I have not cared to document them here.

One other piece of Aśoka's untiring building activities is documented by the famous Rudradāman inscription at Girnār. It refers to a dam called Sudarśana, which was first constructed by a governor Puśyagupta in the service of Candragupta Maurya; one king of western extraction called Tuśāspha in the service of Aśoka adorned it with conduits. Later, after a breach, it was rebuilt on a much larger scale by the Kṣatrapa king Rudradāman in the middle of the 2nd century AD who reported on his predecessors in a long inscription.

This dam made use of the landscape between the hill of Girnār proper and the surrounding ridge. Rudradāman's dam is still present to some extent, sheltering invisibly the construction of his predecessor.

Bodh Gayā

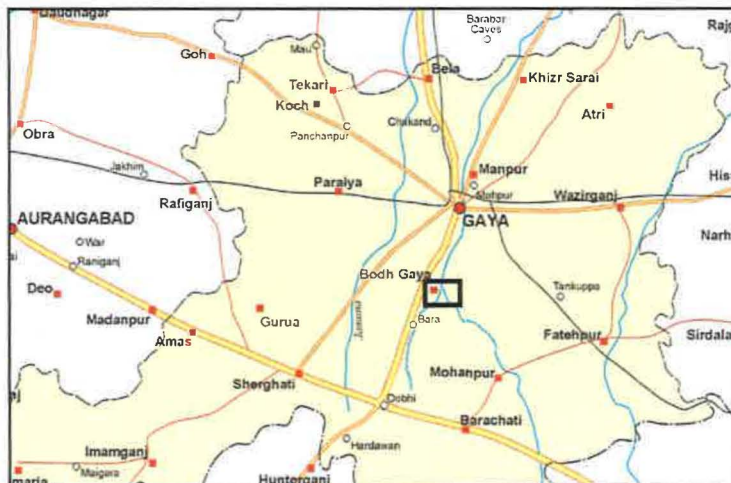
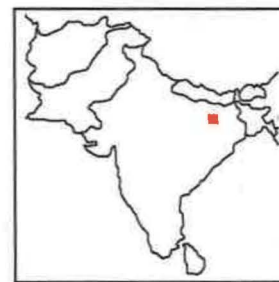
āsana

Gayā District, Bihar

24°42' N.

84°59' E.

GSI map 72 D/14



Further maps: Plan of Bodhi temple (with *āsana* unexcavated) in Cunningham 1873b: pl. XXV; excavated in 1892: pls. XI, XVIII.

Access:

Free. The space inside the railed enclosure can be rather congested. The *āsana* is covered with cloth which, however, is allowed to be moved aside for photography.

Discovery:

Buchanan was shown the Bodhi tree in 1811/12: "on the east side of the terrace there grew a pipal tree, which the Buddhs call

Buddh Brup, and some of them allege that it was planted by a King of Singala before the temple was built, while the Burma messengers alleged that it was planted by Asoka Dharma. The orthodox with equal probability allege that it was planted by Brahma, and it is an object of worship with all. It is a fine tree in full vigour, and in all probability cannot exceed 100 years in age, and has probably sprung from the ruins long after they had been deserted. A similar tree however may have existed there when the temple was

entire. Around the roots has been raised a circular heap of brick and plaster in various concentric stages, and on one of these have been placed, in a confused heap, various images and carved fragments of stone taken from the ruins." (1925: 59).

This tree is completely different from the one to be seen today and it can be questioned if the one shown to Buchanan was at the present site.

When Cunningham excavated the temple area he found the *āsana* on the outside at its present place. It was damaged, one corner being broken off. Cunningham expected the original Bodhi tree to have been close to the slab and on digging found some pieces of roots which he took to be remnants of the original tree. Thus legitimized, he planted a new *Aśvattha* west of the *āsana* which is revered today as a descendant of the original.

There is an old depiction of the original *āsana* on a pillar in Bharhut (Coomaraswamy 1956: pl. IX). It rests on four socket pillars pretty much the same size as it presents itself today.

Preservation:

Very good, only the inlays in the sunken triangles are missing.

Measurements:

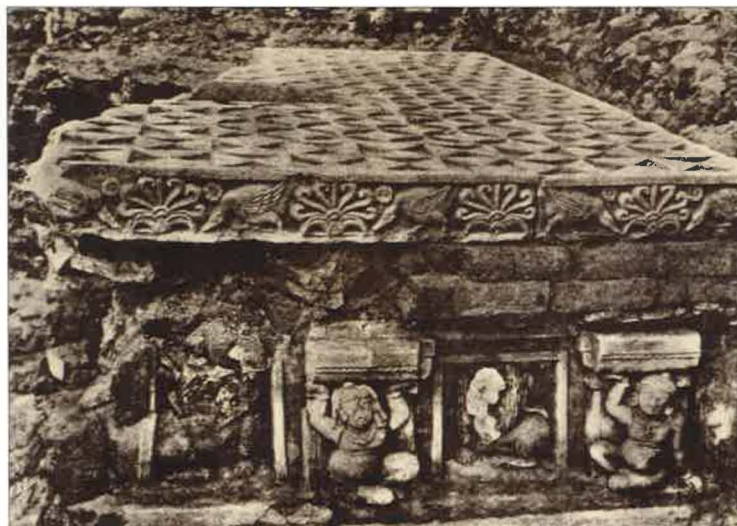
Cf. Cunningham 1892: 19: 240 x 141 x 19 cm; according to own measurements the stone measures 237 x 141 x 14.5 cm; no relation to the MY is apparent; however, the relation width to length is very close to the



Fig. 1: View across the river at Bodh Gayā.



Fig. 2: The approach to the temple; the Bodhi tree is found at its rear.



Figs. 3 and 4: The left side of the āsana with pecking birds and honey-suckle motif, as in 1892 (after Cunningham 1892) and in 2000.

golden cut. Every unit of “goose & honey-suckle” measures 16 x 10 cm. According to Cunningham “all four outer faces of the slab were richly carved”; presently there is no way to inspect the backside.

Presentations of the site:

Photography: Cunningham 1892: pl. XIII (= *SAS* 6.1990: 31), pl. X (*āsana* design and remnants of inscriptions); T. Bloch 1908–09: pl. L; Coomaraswamy 1935: pl. XLIV (original setting), pl. XLV (as present); S.P. Gupta 1980: pls. 60 a,b,c; *Mārg* 51,4, 2000: 74 (the frieze of geese).

Literature:

General: Cunningham 1871b, 1873b, 1880c, 1892: 19f.; T. Bloch 1908–09; Patil 1963: 59–70; D. Mitra 1971: 60–66; S.P. Gupta 1980: 84f.; Huntington 1985; Leoshko 1996. *On the āsana:* Allchin 1995a: 146 (complaining about missing research on the āsana and its chronology).

Visitors:

Xuanzang, AD 629: “In the middle of the enclosure surrounding the *Bôdhi* tree is the diamond throne (*Vajrāsana*). (...) It is composed of diamond. In circuit it is 100 paces or so. (...) the *Bôdhi* tree above the diamond throne is the same as the *Pippala* tree. In old days, when Buddha was alive, it was several hundred feet high. Although it has often been injured by cutting, it still is 40 or 50 feet in height. (...) *Pūrṇavarmā* (Pu-la-na-famo), the last of the race of *Aśôka-rāja*, (...) surrounded it with a wall of stone 24 feet high. So the tree is now encircled with a wall about 20 feet high” (Beal 1884,II: 116–118).

Importance today:

The tree and the āsana are part of the Hindu festival itineraries, as is the Bakraur pillar now at the Mucilinda lake (see p. 228f.).



Fig. 5: Part of the front side of the *āsana* showing floral motifs.

Aśokan or not?:

The birds and the honeysuckle motif are very much akin to those on true Aśokan abaci. The combination of bird and flower is also found on the Sāñcī abacus. Regarding shape there is a small difference: all birds on abaci show a bend in the neck about midway between head and body, whereas the birds on the *āsana* have a slightly shorter, unbent neck.

It is obvious that for the pillar capitals the artists of Aśoka combined birds only with lions, as, e.g., at Rāmpūrvā, Sāñcī and Nandangarh. The bull and elephant capitals show no birds at all. This seems to speak for a symbolism common to both the pillars and the *āsana*: the Buddha is the lion and his words are picked up by the birds, i.e. diligent human couples.

The flat upper side is deeply incised for inlays, all of them lost. There is no exact parallel to the patterns used at other Aśokan sites. A distant parallel is the lattice work at the entrance to the Lomas Rishi cave at Barābār (Huntington 1974/75: 43 fig. 13A).

If the *āsana* is not of Aśokan origin it certainly cannot be very much younger.



Fig. 6: Close-up of bird and honey-suckle.

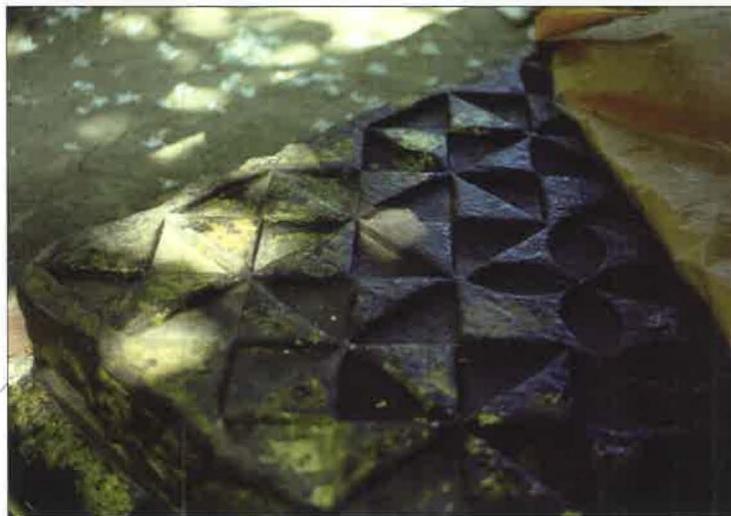


Fig. 7: Close-up of the surface with inlays missing.

Girnār dam

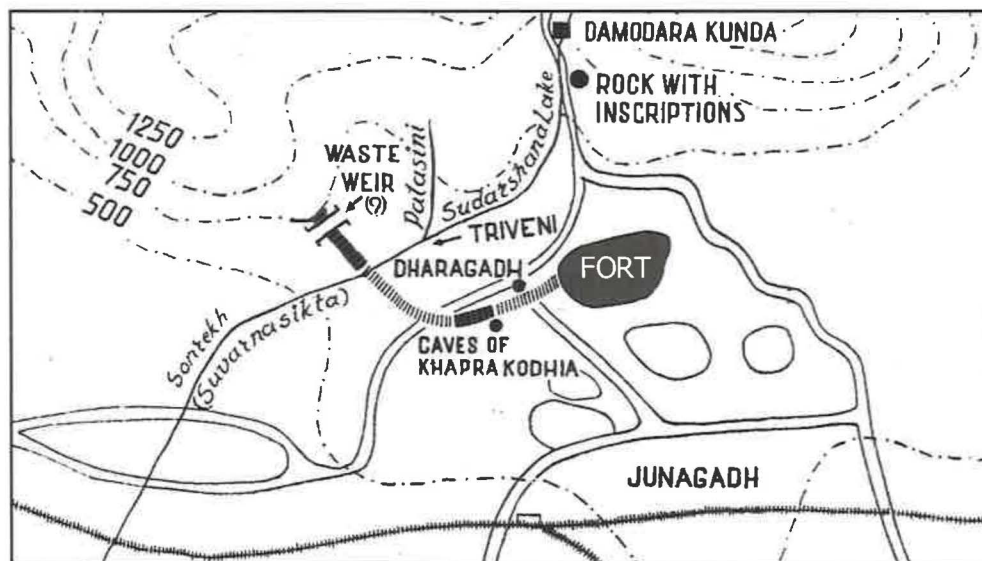
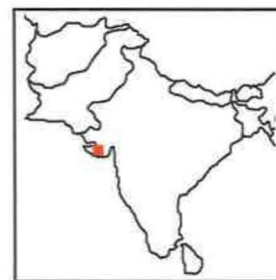
Lake Sudarśana

Junāgaḍh District, Gujarat

21°31' N.

70°28' E.

GSI map 41 K/6



Further maps: Site sketch in Mehta 1968/69: fig.1; Shaw & Sutcliffe 2003: 89-95.

Access:

There are two preserved parts of the huge *bandh*. The southern part is in the middle of an habitation area close to the fort; its cut (fig. 2) can be examined from the highest point of the Khapra Kodhia caves. It is strongly recommended not to visit these caves without a bodyguard. The cut of the northern part can be seen from the river; for an inspection of the whole surface a fence has to be searched for holes. Both parts together are best seen from the fort defences.

Map of *bandh* (after Mehta 1963: 21).

Discovery:

R.N. Mehta searched for the dam in December 1967 and May 1968 and located the site of the dam built by Rudradāman.

Preservation:

The *bandh* is still preserved in two parts, one connecting it to the mountain and the other part halfway between the river and the fort, to which it once was connected. The eastern end of the middle part breaks off at the Khapra Kodhia caves. Both here and at the

river a clear cutting shows the dimensions of the structure: The dam was 3–5 m wide at its top, 15 m high and measures about 60 m at the base. There are some big stones inside, but a clear case of stone lining is not traceable. The length of the whole *bandh* was about 1 km, certainly including natural barriers like the hills of the Khapra Kodhia caves, most of which have been sawn to pieces in modern times in order to use the stones for building purposes.



Fig. 1: Cut through the *bandh* at the river side.



Fig. 2: Remnants of the *bandh* behind the Khapra Kodhia caves.

Presentations of the site:

Photography: Mehta 1968/69: figs. 2–5.

Literature:

Mehta 1963, 1968/69; Soundara Rajan 1985: 28; Shaw & Sutcliffe 2003: 89f.; Pramanik 2004–05.

Importance in antiquity:

The history of the *bandh* is given in the inscription of Rudradāman on the same boulder where the Aśokan edicts are found.

The origin is attributed to one Vaiśya Puṣyagupta who acted under the order of Candragupta Maurya, around 300 BC. An Iranian by the name of Tuśaspha extended this *bandh* and provided it with adequate outlets in the service of Aśoka. In the October of 150 AD endless rainfall connected with strong winds broke the dam over 420 *hastaśatas* long (*āyata*) and wide (*visfīrṇa*), to a height of 75 *hastas* deep (*avagāḍha*). Rudradāman had the dam repaired and made it thrice as strong (*triguṇadr̥ḍhataravisthārāyām*).

This new dam is partly preserved to a height of 15 m. It shows a wide gap caused by yet another breach down to the valley floor.

Measurements:

If the old dam broke down close to the same level as is seen today then one *hasta* of the inscription cannot be much more than $1500/75 = 20$ cm. This shows sufficiently that Rudradāman's *hasta* is not identical with the *hasta* of the Sanskrit lawbooks which define it as the measure from the elbow to the finger tips, roughly 50 cm. The said *hasta* could be the length of a hand, approximating 20 cm, which again has to be discarded since it would make Aśoka's dam according to the narrative and Rudradāman's dam as it is today, of the same height, although the latter dam is said to be thrice as strong. This leaves us with the last possibility: *hasta* must have been the breadth of a hand, roughly 10 cm.

On this basis we can calculate the breach in Aśoka's dam to have been 42 m long and wide, the dam being not less than 7.5 m high. Presupposing the same angle of the dam sides, a new dam being exactly twice as high (today: 15 m) as the old one (7.5 m) should have contained exactly four times the mass of the old one. Since Rudradāman speaks of



Fig. 3: View across the valley with both parts of the *bandh* visible to the left and right.



Fig. 4: Inner side of the *bandh* near the hill side.

a threefold increase the old breach may not have extended to the valley bed. In any case, the remnants of the dam visible today contain the older dam within them.

Importance today:

None. The locals don't even know that the remnants are those of a dam – not to speak of its antiquity.

Fakes

Fakes can be very different. The classical fake is produced on purpose to be sold to unknowing customers. Less criminal energy is needed for genuine pieces enhanced by an inscription which attributes the piece to a certain period. No criminal energy is found in copies which at times may be difficult to distinguish from genuine pieces. Not infrequently, such copies are sold by different people, praising them as genuine.

Inscriptions are very difficult to fake, since it requires various skills to formulate a text of the period and use the adequate letter forms too. Specialists usually can tell such a faked inscription from a genuine piece instantly. To overcome linguistic and epigraphical difficulties, inscriptions are usually copied from an original piece.

In our collection here, one “real” fake is present in the so-called Buner-slab, i.e. a slab of slate showing text taken from one genuine PE. The fraud was too easy to detect and the piece has disappeared since.

There is one other piece of a genuine object carrying an inscription added much later, again a graphical copy of a real text: a bowl made from schist, coming from Gandhāra, has received an inscriptions taken from a textbook on Aśoka.

The third variety is present on a stone from Bhubaneswar, where a copy was produced without ill intentions, but later “converted” into an allegedly genuine version of the text on the Lumbinī pillar.

There is another case, undocumented here, where a small and unpolished pillar has

received a combination of the Lumbinī and the Niglīvā texts. The combination as such presupposes some understanding of the texts’ syntax and hints at an educated person behind the attempted fraud. Fortunately, such cases are very rare.

The Ghuggus case may be called a “virtual fake”. Located in Chandrapur district, in easternmost Mahārāṣṭra, the find was first mentioned by A.M. Shastri (1994–95: 27b; cf. R. Thapar 1997: 271), announcing an edition, based on “a xerox of the impression available to us”. In the edition proper (A.M. Shastri 1997–98: 56b) we see that someone had copied the first two lines of the so-called Bairāt-Calcutta edict, separating the first line into three new ones, and the second into another four. The impression is said to have been “taken carelessly”, and unfortunately, the xerox copy in the possession of A.M. Shastri is not “appended to this note”.

Although Shastri sees “absolutely no room for suspicion that the slab in question really exists” it seems very likely that the “impression” is nothing but a copy on paper of the Bairāt-Calcutta edicts made in very recent times.

Bombay bowl

Shāhbāzgarhī Rock Edict 7

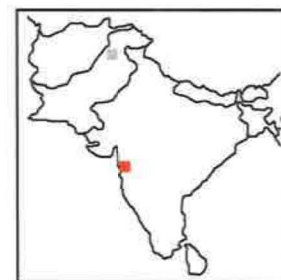


Fig. 1: The text shows the miswritten śam as 6th letter from the left, as copied from Sircar 1957b.

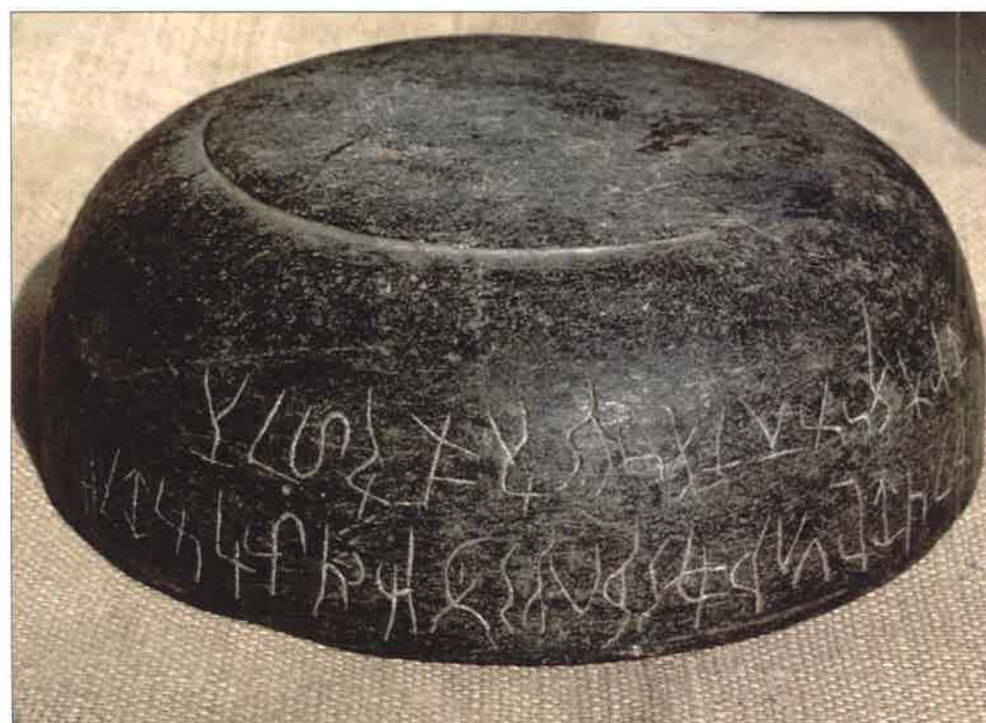


Fig. 2: Underside of the schist bowl.

Access: Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, reserve collection. The bowl is shown only on demand.

Discovery:

On April 27, 1962, one Mr. N. Boman Behram presented an incised stone bowl to the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It was accessed as number 62,1. The accession book describes the object as being 6.1 cm high and having a diameter of about 20 cm. The material is grey schist, probably originating from Gandhāra. Sircar had counted it among the forged inscriptions. This view was re-examined in Falk 1991/92 and confirmed on the basis of one new argument: For his *Inscriptions of Aśoka* (1957b), Sircar had produced a line-drawing of RE7 from Shāhbāzgarhī with many diversions from the original script. Sircar had erroneously attached the hook for the nasal to the left leg of the letter śa, although a genuine Aśokan śam would have received one half of the hook to the left and the other half to the right leg. In classical Kharoṣṭhī the complete hook would have been found at the right leg instead. Sircar's mistake was copied onto the bowl.

The case is remarkably similar to the Bajaur or Shinkot reliquary, which likewise is a genuine piece from Gandhāra overwritten in the 1930s by a forger with some links to Calcutta.

Preservation:

The bowl is in a very good condition.

Material:

Grey schist, probably from Gandhāra.

Measurements:

6.1 cm high, diameter 20 cm.

Presentations of the text:

Photography: Janert 1972b: 260–261. Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore: Nos. 4691, 4706–4716, taken 15.5.1963.

Edition: Janert 1972b: 147–151.

Literature:

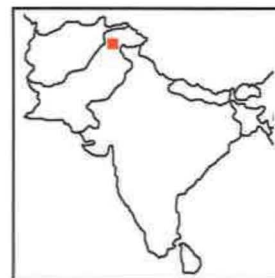
Sircar 1960: 438, 1967: 32; *ARIE* 1962/63: 23 B 738; Janert 1972b: 147; Falk 1991/92: 270–273.

Buner slab

Buner District, NWFP, Pakistan

34°38' N.

72°25' E.



Access: The slab is preserved “in a private collection in Karachi”, according to Mukherjee 1989/90: 130. In 1998 it was impossible to locate the slab in Karachi; no private collector knew about it.

Discovery:

Seen and photographed in 1984 by the architect E. Lizioli in a private collection at Karachi and communicated in the same year to M. Taddei. According to the owner the piece was acquired in Peshawar and hailed from Buner or Takht-i Bāhī.

Measurements:

26 x 14 x 3 cm (Taddei 1988: 1445).

Akṣaras: 24-29-32 mm.

Presentations of the text:

Photography: Taddei 1988: pl. I-III; Norman 1988b: 100; Mukherjee 1991b: fig. 1.

Editions: Taddei 1988: 1446; Norman 1988b: 99a; Mukherjee 1988 = 1989/90 = 1991b.

Literature:

Scialpi 1984: 62 fn. 36; Taddei 1988; Norman 1988b; Mukherjee 1988 = 1989/90 = 1991b; R. Thapar 1997: 275.

Notes on the object:

The so-called “Buner slab” is a modern forgery; the letters have been copied from the Toprā version of PE6, which is easily accessible through Hultzsch 1925: opp. 129.

The piece has vanished without a trace. There is no need to assume the visit of Aśoka to Gandhāra (Taddei 1988: 1448) nor the use of Brāhmī in the mountains north of the Peshawar valley in Aśokan times, as all authors (Taddei 1988: 1448, Norman 1988b: 100f.; Mukherjee 1989/90: 131) do. The possibility of being a forgery is dealt with by Norman (1988b: 101 fn. 6), who seems to dismiss it.



Fig. 1: The letters highlighted for comparison.

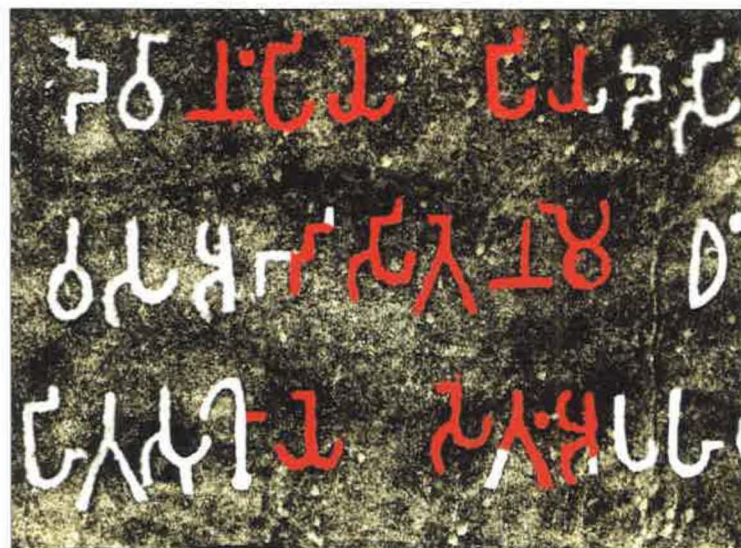


Fig. 2: The text on the Toprā pillar; the copied letters marked in red.

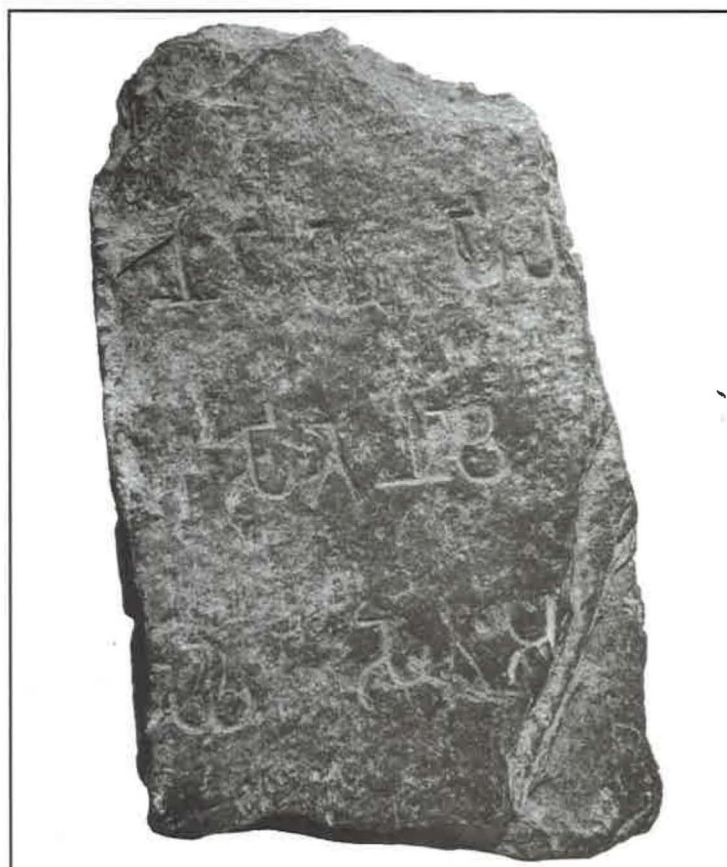


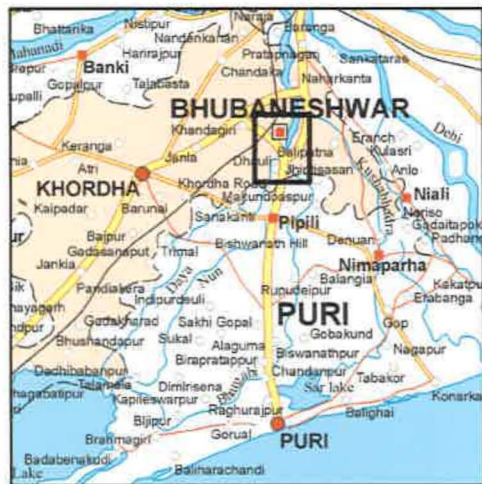
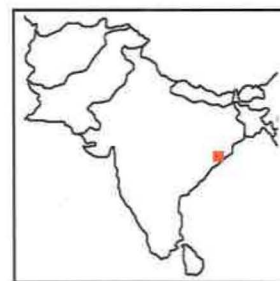
Fig. 3: “Buner slab” as published in Taddei 1988.

Kapileśvar

Puri District, Orissa
(part of Bhuvaneśvar)

20°14' N.

85°50' E.



Access: The stone must presently be regarded as lost.

Discovery:

"The Kapileśvar copy [of the Lumbinī inscription], first brought to public notice by Mr. Haranchandra Chakladar of the Calcutta University, was procured in about March 1928 by Mr. Birendranath Roy for his museum at Puri from a farmer of the village of Kapileśvar, situated nearly a mile to the south of the famous Lingaraj Temple at Bhuvaneśvar. The farmer had found the inscribed stone-slab set in the mud wall of his hut." (S.N. Mitra 1929: 728).

"A contractor named Birendranath Roy had established a museum at Puri in 1928, and placed many statues, images and stone inscriptions there collecting them from Bhuvaneswara and adjacent areas of Cuttack. But later on these articles of this museum were sold to the Ashutosh Museum of Calcutta." (Mahapatra 1977: 8f., citing Harekrishna Mahataba, *orissa itihāsa*, p. 324).

The succession of events is told very differently by N.K. Bose (in Mohanty 1976): Bose had lent a book showing the Lumbinī inscription to the monk custodian of the Ramakrishna Mission at Puri. Biren Roy took this book and had the inscription copied on stone by a sculptor of Pathuria Sahi in Puri; he himself advised the sculptor to fill the last line "with some chisel marks so that the line could not be completed". Roy sold

his complete collection of antiquities to the Asutosh Museum for Rs 10,000. There, Ramaprasad Chanda sorted out anything that appeared spurious to him, including the Kapileśvar stone. When the genuineness of the stone was discussed, Roy bribed a Brahmin of Kapileśvar "with a ten rupee note and this Brahmin deposed before the Revenue Officer that the inscription had been discovered from a broken wall of his house".

On a visit to the Asotush Museum in 1997, today a part of the University of Calcutta, the director affirmed most emphatically that the stone is not in the possession of this institution.

Measurements:

48.3 cm (1'7") wide, 30.3 cm high (1'), 17.7 cm thick (7") (S.N. Mitra 1929: 729).

Presentations of the text:

Photography: S.N. Mitra 1929: 730; Mohapatra 1977: 16, pl. XIV.

Editions: B.M. Barua 1928b: 415f.; S.N. Mitra 1929; Ch. Mohapatra 1977: 16f.

Literature:

Cakladar 1928; B.M. Barua 1928b; Canda 1928; Sircar 1960: 436f., 1967: 32, 1980; Mohanty 1976: 18–20; Ch. Mohapatra 1977: 16–31; Falk 1991/92: 263–267; G. Mohapatra 2000.

Aśokan or not?:

The text is a faultily engraved copy of the Lumbinī donation record of Aśoka. Rather than taking it for a forgery (Sircar), it was argued in Falk 1991/92 that copies like this may have been sold in ancient times as souvenirs to pilgrims. For a second such piece see the clay tablet from Mathurā. The report of N.K. Bose (Mohanty 1976: 18–20), however, leaves no doubt about it being a deliberate modern copy. Disregarding this report, scholars from Orissa still maintain that this stone could be used to prove that the birth-place of the Buddha has to be looked for in Orissa (G. Mohapatra 2000).

Notes on the text:

Several cases of haplography are witness to the carelessness of the engraver.

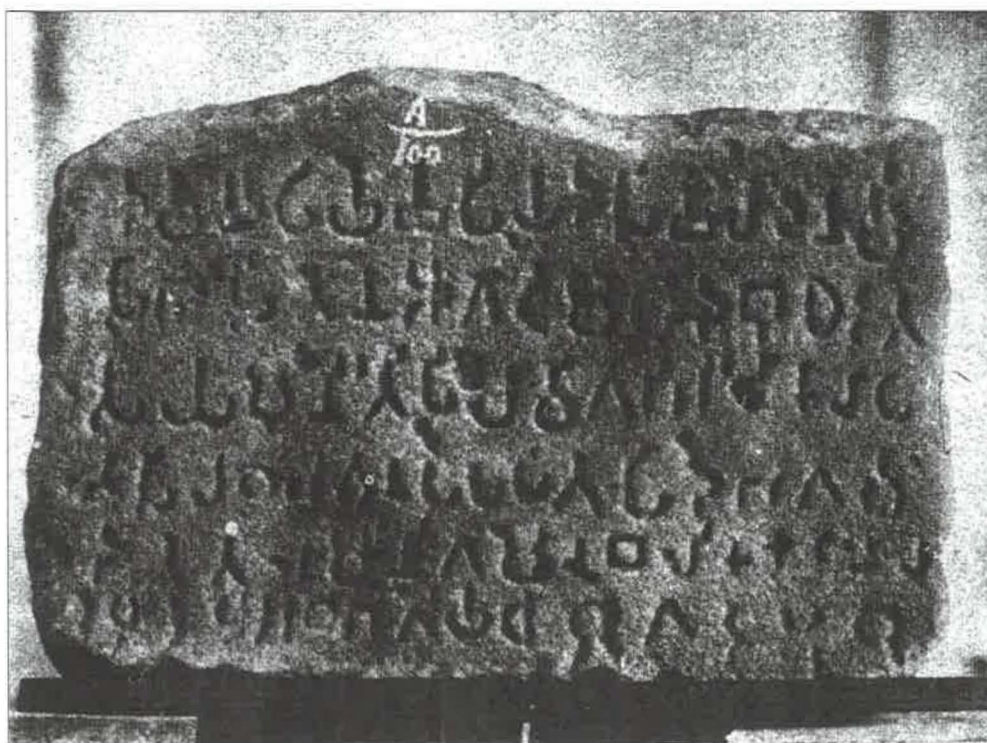


Fig. 1: The only published photograph of the object (Mohapatra 1977: 16, pl. XIV).

Curiosa

The fascination for Aśokan art and artefacts was certainly felt already in the time they originated. Aśokan pillars made from sandal-wood are sold in the emporia of India these days, answering the wishes of the tourist to rekindle memories and to show to others at home what he has seen. Such feel-

ings are old and have found expression in miniature replicas of temples and buildings sold attestedly already in the first millennium AD. One souvenir has found its way into the museum of Mathurā. A thermoluminescence test could certainly shed light on its exact age.

Parallel to replicas are pieces copying Aśokan ideas of other sorts. The pillars with their capitals were copied most closely, particularly in the times of the Kuṣāṇas and Guptas. While the idea of Aśokan inscriptions was kept alive, however, their plain style was soon lost to more elaborate phrases, highlighting victories in battles rather than victories of morality.

The style of the Bārābār cave inscriptions was copied once in the 19th century, ornamenting a building part of a World Exhibition in Paris. It is also presented here as a tribute to the great French scholar Émile Senart, who contributed immensely to Aśokan philology.

Mathurā

Clay tablet

Mathura District, UP
27°29' N.
77°40' E.



Access: On demand through the Mathura Museum authorities. The piece is kept under the accession number 72.8.

Discovery:
The burnt clay tablet was first mentioned as a “forged copy” of the Lumbinī donation record in Sircar 1967: 32, presented in full in Verma 1983: pl. III. Falk 1991/92, unaware of Verma 1983, interpreted the piece as an antique souvenir from the site, comparable to the Kapileśvar stone, an idea which is not excluded by Verma’s discussion of this piece and the Kapileśvar stone slab (1983: 15-17). The original find-place is unknown. The accession book only notes that it was “purchased from Ram Bharose, Mathura”; Verma (15) provides additional information about one “Sri Savlamal of Chowk, Mathura” and a delivery date of 1972, which somehow contradicts the print date of Sircar 1967.

Preservation:
More or less intact.

Material:
Burnt clay.

Measurements:
10.5 x 4.5 x 1.5 cm



Fig. 1: Clay tablet, Mathura Museum acc. no. 72.8, front.

Presentations of the text:
Edition: Verma 1983: 37; Falk 1991/92: 268.
Presentations of the object:
Photography: Verma 1983: pl. III,27; AIIS no. 349-94 = Falk 1991/92: 267.
Literature:
Sircar 1967: 32; Verma 1983; Falk 1991/92.

Notes on the text:
The text is copied not from the inscription of Lumbinī directly, but from an intermediate copy which itself was broken in two parts and was rearranged in a wrong sequence (see fig. 2).

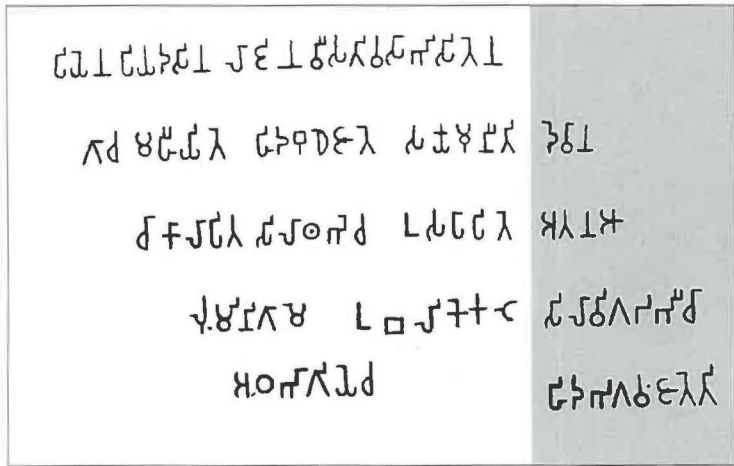


Fig. 2: The text as arranged on the tablet; originally, the section to the right constituted the beginning of lines 1 to 4.



Fig. 3: Clay tablet, backside.



VERLAG PHILIPP VON ZABERN · MAINZ AM RHEIN