XVII.

THE MEANING OF ADHAKOSIKYA IN THE SEVENTH
PILLAR-EDICT OF ASOKA.

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IN the seventh pillar-edict of Aśoka, inscribed on the so-called Delhi-Siwālik column,¹ there is a passage which runs as follows: see IA, 13. 310, text lines 2, 3, and facsimile; and EI, 2. 270, text:—

Text.

Dēvānāmpiyē Piyadasi lājā hēvaṃ āhā magēsu pi mē
nigōhāni lōpāpitāni chhāy-ōpagāni hōsamti pasu-munisānaṃ
ambāvaḍikyā lōpāpitā adhakōsikyāni pi mē udupānāni ²
khānāpāpitāni nimsidhiyā cha³ kālāpitā āpānāni mē bahu-
kāni tata-tata kālāpitāni paṭibhōgāyē pasu-munisānaṃ.

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I propose to consider here, specially, the meaning of the word *adhakōsikyā*, the base from which we have the nominative plural neuter *adhakōsikyāni*. And first a remark must be made regarding the actual reading itself.

The syllables *kōsi* are somewhat damaged. But there is no doubt that they are the real reading. And no question on this point has been raised from the time when better materials for decipherment, than those accessible to Prinsep, became available.

¹ This appellation would appear to be somewhat of a misnomer, as the column seems to have come from a village some fifty miles away from the Siwālik Hills (see page 407 below, and note). In any case, on the analogy of the name "Delhi-Meerut" for the other inscribed column of Aśoka now standing at Delhi, this one would more appropriately be called the "Delhi-Topra" column.

² Regarding this word, which would seem to a Sanskritist to be erroneous in the second syllable, see page 415 below.

³ The partial resemblance here to *chi* or *chī* was probably not intended by either the writer or the engraver.

The penultimate syllable, *kyā*, was originally deciphered, figured, and read, by Prinsep, as *yā* (JASB, 6, 1837. 600, 603).

At a later time, it was deciphered and figured, by M. Senart, as *kyā* (S.I.P, 2. 79), but was read by him as *kā* (*ibid.* 82, 85, *e*; IA, 18. 301, 10); the apparent *ky* being taken as only a variant of *k*, both here and in other words (see fully page 407 below) including the *ambāvaḍikyā* which we have in this same passage. The two components *k* and *y*, however, are quite distinct. And subsequently (S.I.P, 2. 424; IA, 21. 153) M. Senart took the view that the sign means literally *ky*, but was probably used to mark a compromise between a correct literary form *ika* and a popular pronunciation of it as *iya*.

Professor Bühler, reading the syllable as *kyā*, suggested a way of accounting for it, by a contraction of *kīya* into *kya*, which will be noticed further on (page 406 f. below).

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Two other words seem to call for comment before we go further. One of them is *ambāvaḍikyā*, translated by M. Senart by “jardins de manguiers, mango-orchards” (S.I.P, 2. 97; IA, 18. 307), and by Professor Bühler by “mango-gardens” (EI, 2. 272).

In *ambā* we certainly have a vernacular form *am̐ba*, identical with the Pāli form, of the Sanskrit *āmra*, ‘a mango-tree.’ The lengthening of the final short *a* in composition— (forming practically an indissoluble compound)— is justified by such analogies as the following: *putāpapōtikē*, ‘sons and great-grandsons,’ adduced by Professor Bühler (EI, 2. 274, *n*) from towards the end of edict 7; *sakhābhariyā*, ‘the wife of a friend,’ cited by him (*ibid.*) from the Jātaka, ed. Fausböll, 4. 184, line 18; and *kharāpiṇḍa*, ‘a lump of glass,’ quoted by Dr. Müller, with some other cases, in his Pāli Grammar, p. 18, from the Dīpavamśa, ed. Oldenberg, 20. 5.

Regarding the word *vaḍikyā*, Professor Bühler’s proposal (IA, 19. 126, note 17) was to take it as representing, through a form *vattikā*, *vātikā*, and thence *vaddikā*, *vādikā*,

a Sanskrit *vārtikā*, feminine of *vārtika* in the sense of 'surrounded by a hedge (*vr̥ti*).'

M. Senart, on the other hand (S.IP, 2. 87 ; IA, 18. 303), preferring to read the last syllable as *kā*, has proposed to find in *vaḍikā*, for *vāḍikā*, a popular spelling of *vāṭā*, *vāṭī*, 'an enclosure.'

Agreeing practically with M. Senart, I take *vaḍikyā* as a local form of *vaḍikā* for *vāḍikā* as representing the Sanskrit *vāṭikā*, 'an enclosure, garden, plantation.' For the shortening of the long *ā* of the first syllable of *vāṭikā*, we have at any rate the analogy of *khara*, = *kshāra*, 'glass,' which has been cited on page 402 above in the compound *kharaṇḍa*, = *kshāra-ṇḍa* ; and doubtless other similar instances in Pāli might easily be found.¹ For the softening of the *ṭ* to *ḍ*, I will offer an explanation further on (see page 415).

In the form *ambāvaḍikā*, without the *y*, we have the same word in the Queen's edict on the Allahabad column (IA, 19. 126, line 3, and plate). There, we have the nominative singular. Here, we plainly have that form of the nominative plural feminine which is identical with the nominative singular. The insertion of the *y* is to be taken as a local dialectic peculiarity or writer's affectation, as in the case of °*kōsika* (see page 410 below).

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The remaining word is *nimsiḍhiyā*, in respect of which the following observations must be made.

In the syllables *siḍhiyā*, the *si* and the *yā* are intact and unmistakable. In the *ḍhi*, the consonant is somewhat damaged ; but no doubt really attends the decipherment.

Between the *si* and the *ḍhi*, there is a space capable of holding three syllables. But on part at least of that space nothing was engraved. And there is really no reason for declining to follow Professor Bühler in his explanation of the matter (EI, 2. 270, note 72). It was necessary to separate the syllables *nimsi* and *ḍhiyā* because of a flaw in

¹ The cases of shortening given by Müller in his Pāli Grammar, p. 17, may or may not be taken as analogous.

the stone, a fissure, which necessitated also the separation of *dhamma-yu* and *taṃ* in the preceding line, and of *dhamma-vadhi* and *yā* in the line above that. The *ḍhi* was engraved beyond the fissure. And then some blow to the stone caused the crack to extend upwards through the *ḍhi* of *dhamma-vadhiyā*, and also brought away some of the surface of the stone, thus damaging the *ḍhi* of *nimsiḍhiyā* and four syllables, *taṃ dēvaṇaṃ*, in the preceding line.

I follow all previous decipherers in taking the first syllable of this word as *nim*, with an Anusvāra.¹ But it may be at any time decided to adopt *nisiḍhiyā*, without the Anusvāra. There certainly is in the original a mark, exactly resembling an Anusvāra, precisely where an Anusvāra would be placed. On the other hand, as may be seen from the facsimile (IA, 13. 310, plate), there are at that part of the stone various other marks, equally resembling Anusvāras, but not capable of being taken as such. There is nothing in the etymology of the word to account for an Anusvāra. And there is no very particular analogy or other such authority for the introduction of an Anusvāra.² And another form of the same word, *nishidiyā*, without an Anusvāra, occurs clearly in at least one of the Nāgārjunī hill cave-inscriptions of Dashalatha-Daśaratha (IA, 20. 364, D).

Professor Bühler (EI, 2. 274, h) explained *nimsiḍhiyā*, *nishidiyā*, as Pāli forms of the Sanskrit *nishadyā*, from *ni* + *sad*, 'to sit.' It appears that according to the Kōśas the meanings of *nishadyā* are (1) a small bed or couch ; (2) a market or shop (Amarakōśa, 2. 2, 2, *āpaṇa* ; Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi, 1002, *paṇyaśālā*). And the latter meaning would be admissible here. It is plain, however, that in the inscriptions of Dashalatha the term *vāsha-nishidiyā* means 'a place of abode during the rainy season ;' *vāsha*

¹ Prinsep, also, figured this syllable with the Anusvāra (JASB, 6, 1837. 600), though he transcribed it without it (see note on page 405 below).

² The nearest approaches to an analogy seem to be the forms *mahimsa*, = *mahisha*, 'a buffalo,' and *Mahimsakamaṇḍala*, the name of a country, given by Müller in his Pāli Grammar, p. 22. The first of these words was cited by Professor Bühler, in support of his acceptance of the reading *nim*.

standing evidently, not for *vāsa*, 'residence, habitation,' but for *vāsa* = *vassa*, = *varsha*, 'the retreat during the rains (*varshāh*).’ And I therefore follow Professor Bühler in taking *nimsiḍhiyā* as meaning, with at least equal appropriateness for the passage which we have in hand, a place of temporary abode in the shape of 'a rest-house;' in other words, a *Sarāi*, a *Dharmśālā*. Here, of course, as in the case of *ambāvaḍikyā*, we have in *nimsiḍhiyā* that form of the nominative plural feminine which is identical with the nominative singular.

The adjective *adhakōsikyāni* is, in accordance with grammatical usage, in agreement with the nominative plural neuter *udupānāni*, which moreover stands nearest to it. But the word *cha*, 'and,' makes it qualify *nimsiḍhiyā* also.

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The passage which we are considering was first dealt with by Prinsep, who, in respect of the clause in which we are specially interested, put forward the following translation (JASB, 6, 1837. 603):—"And at every half-coss I have "caused wells to be constructed, and (resting-places?) for "the night¹ to be erected."

The rendering of *adhakōsikyāni*, "at every half-coss," thus set up by Prinsep, has been followed ever since. And Professor Bühler, who last handled the passage, gave the following translation of the clause (EI, 2. 272):—"I have "also ordered wells to be dug at every half *kos* and I have "ordered rest-houses to be built."

In venturing to now put forward a different translation which perhaps cannot be actually proved, I do so because there are two passages, hitherto overlooked, which point conclusively to the correctness of my view against the accepted rendering.

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There is no question that in the time of Aśoka there was in use a word *adha*, or in its full form *aḍḍha*, = the Sanskrit *ardha*, 'a half.' Whether for that period or for a later one,

¹ He transcribed *nisi* *pieha*, and apparently had in view the word *niśitha*, 'night.'

the word is well established for Pāli in two forms, *addha* and *aḍḍha*, by passages in literary works which it is not necessary to quote; a reference to Childers' Pāli Dictionary under the words *addho*—*aḍḍho* and *aḍḍhuḍḍho*, for some of them, is sufficient. And the same two forms are well established for the Prākṛits by Professor Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, §§ 291, 450.

The same two forms, *addha* and *aḍḍha*, appear to be equally well established for the edicts of Aśoka, though they can be traced in only one term. At any rate, we distinctly have *diyadḍha* (with the lingual *ḍh*), = *diyadḍha*, 'one and a half,' in Kālsī rock-edict 13 (EI, 2. 464, line 35, and plate). And Professor Bühler read *diyadḍha* (with the dental *dh*), = *diyaddha*, in the corresponding passage in the Shāh-bāzgarhī text (ibid. 462, line 1).¹ So, also, we have *diy-aḍḍhiya*, and once *diyāḍḍhiya*, 'measuring one and a half,' in the record at Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, and Bairāt (IA, 6. 155 ff., and plate; 22. 302, and plate; C.IA, plate 14), and at Brahmagiri (EI, 3. 138, and plate; EC, 11. Mk, 21, and plate).²

In view of that, there would be no difficulty in rendering *aḍḍhakōsika* by either 'measuring half a *krōsa*,' or 'belonging to a distance of half a *krōsa*.' And it only remains, so far, to comment on the form *°kōsika*.

Professor Bühler took *aḍḍhakōsika* as corresponding to a Sanskrit *ārdhakrōsika* (EI, 2. 273, g). And it would be interesting if we could endorse that explanation: for we could then only account for the actual form *°kōsika* by contraction from an intermediate form *°kōsikiya*; ³ thus obtaining an instance of a particular kind of contraction of which at present, in Pāli, only a few cases can be cited against the very frequent occurrence of epenthesis.

¹ In the Gīrnār and Mansehra versions, this passage is altogether illegible. At Dhauli and Jaugada, the 13th edict was not published.

² In the versions at Śiddāpura and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara, this word is not extant. Regarding another term in this record which is supposed to include a word meaning 'a half,' see note 2 on page 413 below.

³ For the shortening of the penultimate vowel, particularly common in words ending in *īya*, see Müller's Pāli Grammar, p. 17.

It would seem, however, that such a Sanskrit form as °*krōśikīya* (rather, °*krōśakīya*) is not found, and could not be justified, and that from *ardha* + *krōśa* we could only have *ārdhakrōśika*, which word is presented, according to some texts, in the comments in the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini, 7. 3, 26. And, this being the case, some other explanation must be found for the presence of the *y*.

Now, except in the word *āmbāvadīkyā* in this same passage, a similar *y*, calling for explanation, is not to be found anywhere in the Aśoka edicts on the Delhi-Siwālik pillar; perhaps not anywhere at all in any of the pillar-edicts. But it must be remembered that this pillar was taken to Delhi (see ASI, 1. 161; 5. 143; 14. 78) in the latter half of the fourteenth century, under the orders of Fīrōz Shāh Tughlak, from a place named Topra or Tobra in the territory then attached to Khizrābād in the vicinity of the (Siwālik) hills. The actual place at which it was found seems to be a village named Barā Topra, in the Ambālā District, which is about twenty-three miles towards S.W. by W. from Khizrābād, four miles from the old bed of the Jamnā at Dāmīla, some fifty miles from the Siwālik Hills, and about 105 miles on the north of Delhi.¹ And from Kālsī in the Dehra Dūn District, only fifty-one miles towards N.E. & E. from Barā Topra, we have the Kālsī version of the rock-edicts.

It is only reasonable to suppose that in the Kālsī texts there may be found peculiarities helping to explain any exceptional details in the Delhi-Siwālik texts. And we do find an unusual *y* in the Kālsī texts in the following words (EI, 2. 451 ff., and plates):—

Edict 3; *nātikyānam*, line 8: compare instances in edicts 5, 11, 13 (see below); and contrast *nātikēshu* in edict 13,

¹ Khizrābād, which also is in the Ambālā District, may be found in the Indian Atlas sheet 48 (1861) in lat. 30° 18', long. 77° 33', about two and a half miles from the right bank of the Jamnā.

The same map shews a village 'Ch^a Topra,' = Chhōṭā Topra, twenty-one miles towards S.W. by W. from Khizrābād. But the real place appears (see ASI, 14. 78) to be Barā Tōpra, "the larger or original Topra,"—not shewn in the map,—two miles further to the south-west.

The translation of the original account by Shams-i-Sirāj of the transfer of this column has been reproduced in V. Smith's *Aśoka*, p. 97 f.

line 37. Edict 4; *panāṭikyā*, line 11. Edict 5; *nāṭiky[ē]*, line 16; *chila-ṭhitikyā*, line 17. Edict 6; *chila-ṭhi(? ṭhi)ṭikyā*, line 20. Edict 9; *saṁsayiky[ē]* and *akālikyē*, line 26.

Edict 10; *pālaṁṭikyāyē*, line 28; compare edict 13 (see below). Edict 11; *nāṭikyānaṁ*, line 29; *shavāmikyēna pi*, line 30, against apparently *suṁvāmikēn-āpi* in edict 9, line 25; and *hida-lōkikyē*, line 30: compare edict 13 (see below); and contrast *hida-lōkikē* in edict 9, line 26, where, however, it is just possible that there may be a damaged *y*. Edict 12; *vachabhumikyā*, line 34.

Edict 13; *Kaligyā* and *Kaligyēshu*, line 35, and *Kali(? līm)-gyāni*, line 36, against *Kalīṁgēshu*, line 39; [*nā*]*ṭikya*, line 38; *Alīkyashudalē*, line 8/6 of the separate continuation;¹ *Pitīnikyē[shu]*, line 9/7; and *pālaṁṭikyāṁ*, line 14/12. In line 17 f./15 f., we have *hida-lōkikya-pala-lōkiyē*, in which the last syllable is understood to be a mistake for *kyē* (or *kē*). And in line 18/16 we have *hida-lōkika-pala-lōkikyā*, with the possibility that there is a damaged or imperfectly formed *y* below the last syllable of the first member of the compound.

In edict 14, line 21/19, we have a word *nikyāṁ*, not found in the other versions, which may or may not be a case in point. The suggestion has been made that this word may stand for *nityāṁ*, 'always, constantly;' in which case, however, we should expect *nichani*, for *nicchani*. It seems more likely that it represents the Sanskrit *naikam*, = *anēkam*, 'many, more than one, various,' etc.; and it was probably with that understanding that Professor Bühler rendered it by "still more."

In none of these instances in the Kālsī texts does the *y* occur in any of the other versions of the edicts. In all of them the components *k* and *y* and *g* and *y*, as the case may be, are quite distinct. These instances occur against many instances in the Kālsī texts in which the unmistakably simple *k* and *g* are clearly presented in other words. And two thirds of them occur after a noteworthy point in the Kālsī texts, the commencement of edict 10, in line 27.

¹ The numbering of the lines in the text here (loc. cit. 464 f.) does not agree with the numbering of them in the plate.

From that point, we have constantly the character, treated by Professor Bühler as denoting the lingual or cerebral sibilant *sh*,¹ which, before that point, is recognized in only the word *ēsha* in edict 4, line 11. From the word *mita-sāṃthutānā* in edict 11, in line 30, we have constantly the character, treated by Professor Bühler as denoting the palatal sibilant *ś*, which, before that place, is found in only the words °*vaś-ābhisitēnā* and *Piyadaśinā* in edict 4, in line 13. From the word *dhām̐ma-susushā* shortly after the commencement of edict 10, in line 27, the characters are much larger than in the previous portions of the Kālsī text; and they remain so until the end of the 14th edict: with the result that the whole series could not be finished on the surface which had been prepared, and the 14th edict, with about half of the thirteenth, had to be engraved on another face of the rock. From shortly after the same word *dhām̐ma-susushā*, the separation of words and groups of words, by blank spaces, ceases. And from near the beginning of edict 11,— though more markedly from a point in line 33 in edict 12,— to the end of line 39 in edict 13, there were introduced vertical strokes, similar to the Indian single mark of punctuation, which took the place of such blank spaces, but also sometimes divided component parts of words as in °*vash-ā* | *bhishita* | *shā* at the beginning of edict 13, in line 35.

The conclusions to be drawn from all this are, in my opinion, as follows. At the commencement of the Kālsī edict 10, a fresh writer— (not necessarily also a fresh engraver)— was employed. He began by adapting his own writing and style to those of the previous scribe or scribes, but lapsed almost at once into a larger script and a different style of his own. And he introduced, more freely than the previous writer or writers, certain local dialectic peculiarities

¹ M. Senart has expressed the opinion (S.I.P., 1. introd. 35 ff.; IA, 21. 88, 176) that, in the three characters in which Professor Bühler recognized the three sibilants *ś*, *sh*, and *s*, we have only variants, which are absolute equivalents, of the dental sibilant *s*. I do not take the position of offering an opinion on this point. But I follow Professor Bühler's transcription, if only as a very convenient means of marking the use of the three signs.

or writers' affectations, one of which was a tendency to insert an unnecessary *y*, especially in connexion with an actual or a supposed suffix *ika*.

And I would account for the *y* in °*kōsika* and °*vaḍikyā*, in the seventh pillar-edict, by taking it as a result of the locality in which the draft of the edict was finally revised in writing or painting it on the stone for reproduction by the engraver.

The ultimate explanation of the form °*kōsika*, and of the other forms which present an unnecessary *y*, whether with *k* or with *g*, is most probably that which has been proposed by Dr. Grierson (IA, 21. 154, note): namely, the Māgadhī Prākṛit *ikā* is liable to pass, through an intermediate *ikā* with the long *i*, into *ikkā*; a Sanskrit *ikya* becomes *ikka* in Prākṛit; and by false analogy a *y* was sometimes introduced into a Prākṛit *ikka* which had in reality no connexion with a Sanskrit *ikya*. Such an explanation seems particularly apposite in respect at any rate of the word °*kōsika*, if my view that this word represents, not °*krōśika*, but °*krōśika* (see page 416 below), is correct.

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Professor Bühler, alone, seems to have recognized anything peculiar in the idea that Aśoka sank wells and built rest-houses at every half-*kōs* along his high-roads. He made the following comment (EI, 2. 273, *g*):—"The *krośa* or *kos* "meant here, must be that equal to 8,000 Hastas, or half "a *gavyūti*, which thus corresponds to the so-called *Sultānā* "*kos* of 3 English miles. The ordinary *kos*, equal to one "and a half or one and three-quarter miles, cannot be "meant, as the wells would come to" (? too) "close to "each other."

Now, I may observe that, in connexion with the value of the Indian *yōjana* and the Chinese *li*, on which subject I hope to write shortly, I have had occasion to examine closely the question of the Indian *kōs*. And I cannot find any reason for supposing that in ancient India, before the advent of the Musalmāns, there ever was any but one uniform *kōs*, measuring very much less than three miles. But it is not necessary to

rely on any such result here. Even if we take a three-miles *kōs*, it is not possible to believe that any king, however munificent, would be so unnecessarily lavish in his arrangements as to sink wells and build rest-houses at every mile and a half along his high-roads. I find the explanation of the matter in the following two statements, which have hitherto been overlooked.

Hiuen Tsiang has told us¹ that, from the time of the saintly kings of old, a *yōjana* represented a day's march of an army; and, further, that the *yōjana* was divided into eight *krōśa*.

From this it follows, of course, that the standard length of a day's march for an army was eight *kōs*. And the indication to that effect, given by the Chinese pilgrim, is fully corroborated by the independent contemporaneous statement of the Indian writer Bāṇa, in his *Harshacharita*, in the following manner. When king Harshavardhana was about to make his expedition against the king of Gauḍa, a starting-point was selected, and a temporary encampment was made, at a suitable place, not far from his capital (*Thāṇēsar*), on the bank of the river *Sarasvatī*; and there the army remained at rest during the night. Then, Bāṇa tells us (*Kashmīr text*, 431, line 2 ff.) :—

Atha galati tṛtīyē yāmē supta-samasta-sattva-niḥśabdē
dikkumjara-jrīmhamāṇa-gambhīra-dhvanir-atādyata pra-
yāṇa-patahaḥ agrataḥ sthitvā cha muhūrttam-iva punaḥ
prayāṇa - krōśa - saṁkhyāpakāḥ spashtaṁ = ashtaṁ = adīyaṁta
prahārāḥ patahē paṭiyāṁsaḥ.

“When the third watch was drawing to a close,² and all

¹ Julien, *Mémoires*, 1. 59; Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, 1. 70; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, 1. 141.

² I quote, as closely as possible, the translation given by Cowell and Thomas (p. 199); differing chiefly in the following details. The word ‘league’ is so habitually associated with the measure of three geographical miles, that it is not admissible as a suitable rendering of the Sanskrit *krōśa*. It seems to me that *prayāṇa-krōśa* means the *kōs* of a march in general, a standard day's march; not of ‘the [particular] day's march.’

creatures slept and everything was still, the marching-drum was beaten with a boom deep as the gaping roar of the sky-elephants. Then, after first a moment's pause, eight sharp blows were distinctly given anew upon the drum, marking the number of the *kōs* of a march."

With the light thus thrown upon the matter, we can see clearly what it was that Aśoka did. At intervals of eight *kōs* along his high-roads, he laid out camping-grounds, provided with wells and rest-houses. He had primarily in view the movements of his troops, and, no doubt, other state arrangements, such as those attending the journeys of couriers and the tours of officials. Ordinary travellers, however, were doubtless at liberty to avail themselves of the same conveniences, if they should travel by somewhat short marches, or by long marches each equal to twice a day's march for troops; otherwise, they were left to find shelter, etc., in villages lying on or near to their routes.

As regards certain other details,— the banyan-trees (*nigōhāni*), intended to be "useful for shade for beasts and men," were doubtless planted in roadside avenues similar to those, made with varying trees according to the locality, which are still carefully maintained and extended under the British Government. The mango-plantations (*ambāraḍikyā*) were probably intended partly to give shade to people pitching tents, partly to serve as a source of revenue,— the produce being farmed out, as it is in the present day. The drinking-stations (*āpānāni*), "for the enjoyment of beasts and men," were no doubt fitted up with stone troughs for the cattle, as well as with arrangements for providing men with water and very likely also with spirituous liquor.

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It only remains to consider the form *aḍha*, used here as a representative of the Sanskrit *aṣṭan*, 'eight.'

On this point there are the following difficulties. Elsewhere in the Aśoka edicts, we have the form *aṭha* as the

representative of *ashtan*:¹ in *aṭha-vash-ābhishita*, 'eight-years-anointed,' in the Kālsī version of the 13th rock-edict (EI, 2. 464, line 35, and plate); and in *aṭhabhāgiya*, 'entitled to, or possessed of, the eighth share,' in the Rummindēi pillar-inscription (EI, 5. 4, line 5, and plate).² And there is no certain evidence that *ashtan* assumed any other form than *aṭha* in literary Pāli.³

But, whatever connexion may exist between the language of the Brāhmī records of Aśoka and the literary Pāli, there were at any rate points of difference which allow us to use other criteria, besides Pāli, in explaining the language of the records. And the following forms in Prākṛit, and in some of the vernaculars, seem instructive in respect of the matter in hand.

A form *aḍha* from *ashtan*, especially in composition, is well established for some of the Prākṛits by Professor Pischel's work, §§ 67, 442-46, 449. Instances given there are as

¹ With the probable form *astu* of the Shāhbāzgarhī version (*ibid.* 462, line 1), we are not here concerned. In the Gīrnār and Mansehra versions, the word is not extant. The form *aṭha* may or may not stand for *aṭha*.

² I have purposely abstained from handling in this article the word *aḍhatiya*, *aḍhātiya*, which we have in the Sahasrām, etc., record. It is supposed to represent *ardhatritiya*, 'two and a half.' But I hold that it represents *ashtatrinśat*, *ashtātrinśat*, 'thirty-eight.' That, however, is a point that remains to be established.

³ But it is not impossible that there is something analogous to the present case in the word *aḍḍhakāsika*, v.l. *°kāsiya*, in the Vinayapīṭaka, ed. Oldenberg, 1. 281, if we may have *aḍḍha* = *aṭha*, as well as *aḍha* = *aṭha*.

We are there told that the king of Kāśī sent to the royal physician Jīvaka-Kōmārabhachcha a *kambala*, or woollen blanket, which is described as:—*aḍḍhakāsikaṃ kambalaṃ upaḍḍhakāsināṃ khamamānaṃ*; and that Buddha accepted it from Jīvaka. The text has been conjecturally translated as meaning 'a woollen garment made half of Benares cloth ' (SBE, 17. 195). A footnote to the translation, however, tells us that Buddhaghōṣa has explained that *kāśī* means 'one thousand'; that *kāsiya* means 'a thing that is worth one thousand'; and that the *kambala* in question was called *aḍḍhakāsiya* because it was 'worth five hundred' (lit., worth half-a-thousand).

We may infer that the woollen blanket, which thus ultimately found its way into Buddha's hands, was something special and costly of its kind. And, if *kāsika*, *kāsiya*, may mean 'worth one thousand,' there really seems no reason why *aḍḍhakāsika*, *°kāsiya*, may not (in spite of Buddhaghōṣa) mean 'worth eight thousand.' In view of the fees received by Jīvaka on various occasions,—16,000 (*kahāpanas*) for curing a merchant's wife (trans. p. 179); 100,000 (*kahāpanas*) for curing a merchant (p. 184); and again 16,000 (*kahāpanas*) for curing a merchant's son (p. 186),—even 8,000 *kahāpanas* (*aḍḍhakāsika*, *°kāsiya*: or 'nearly 8,000,' *upaḍḍhakāsināṃ*, etc.; compare, e.g., *upadāsa*, 'nearly ten, almost ten') would not seem so very much to pay for a special woollen blanket.

follows: *adha*, 8; *adhārasama*, 18th; *adhāisa*, 28; *adhajā-lisam*, *adhajāla*, and *adhāālisa*, 48; *adhasattini* and *adha-satthim*, 68.

And even still more to the point seem some of the forms, in composition, of the Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, and Hindī *āth*, = *ashtan*, 'eight,' though the result in them is the unaspirated *ḍ* instead of the *ḍh*. We have the following:—

Marāṭhī: ¹ *ad^atis*, as well as *ath^atis*, 38; ² and *ad^asasht*, *adu-sasht*, 68; ³ against, as the only noteworthy other forms, *ath^hhēchālīs*, *°chāl*, *°tālīs*, *°tāl*, or *ath^hthyē* followed by the same four second components, 48.⁴

Gujarātī: ⁵ *ad^atris*, 38; *ud^atālīs*, 48; and *ad^asath*, 68: with nothing calling for notice against them.

Hindī: ⁶ *ad^atis*, 38; *ad^atālīs*, 48; and *ad^asath*, 68: with nothing calling for notice against them.

These cases suggest a special tendency of the *ṭth*, *ṭh*, of the Prākṛit *aṭṭha*, *aṭha*, 'eight,' to be softened before some immediately proximate hard sounds, *t* and *s*, in composition. That the same sounds had sometimes the same softening effect in another case also, is shewn by the forms of *satta*, = *saptan*, 'seven,' which we have in the Marāṭhī ⁷ *sad^atis*, alongside of *sat^atis*, 37, and *sad^asasht*, alongside of *satsasht*, *sat^ashasht*, 67, and in the Gujarātī *sāḍ^atris*, 37, and *suḍ^atālīs*, 47, and *saḍ^asath*, 67, and in the Hindī *saḍ^asath*, 67.⁸

That a *k* in the same circumstances might sometimes have the same effect, seems distinctly indicated by the form *Sadakaṇi*, which we have, instead of the usual *Sātakani* and

¹ I quote these forms from Molesworth and Candy's Dictionary, 2nd edition (1857), and Stevenson's Grammar, 4th edition (1868), p. 81.

² Of these two forms, the first only is familiar to me.

³ Here, again, only the first form is familiar to me. Regarding the second, the Dictionary indicates '*ad^asasht*, properly *ad^asasht*.'

⁴ Stevenson gave only *ath^hhēchālīs*; and that form alone is familiar to me.

⁵ I quote these forms from Taylor's Grammar (1893), p. 31.

⁶ I am indebted to Dr. Grierson for these forms.

⁷ Here, the Dictionary intimates that the forms with *t* are better than those with *ḍ*; but the use of the forms with *ḍ*, and not of the others, is thoroughly familiar to me.

⁸ Alongside of *satsath*, *satasath*, according to Beames' Comparative Grammar, 1. 289.

Satakani, in an inscription at Nāsik (ASWI, 4. 104, No. 13, and plate 53; EI, 8. 71, No. 4, and plate 2), and which, unique as it may seem to be, is not to be dismissed as a mistake.

And I find in the immediate proximity of the *k* the cause of the change of the *tth*, *th* of *aṭṭha*, *aṭha*, 'eight,' into *ḍh* in the *aḍhakōsika* of our text, and of the *t* into *ḍ* in *vaḍḍikā*, = *vāṭikā*. Analogous to this last word, we seem to have *sāḍika*, = *śāṭaka* (*śāṭika*), 'acting, or a particular kind of dramatic representation,' in one of the Bharaut inscriptions (IA, 21. 231, No. 50). And we seem to have the same effect of a *k*, but progressive and sometimes accompanied by metathesis, in such cases as *Karahākaḍa* (ASWI, 4. 87, No. 18) = *Karahāṭaka*; *Māraḍa* (ibid. 89, No. 2) = *Māraḍā*; *Mānamukaḍa* (ibid. 96, No. 25) = *Mānamukāṭa*; and *Dhēṇukākāḍa* (ibid. 92, No. 19) against *Dhēṇukākāṭa* (EI, 7. 52, No. 4; 53, Nos. 6, 7; 55, No. 10; 56, No. 11).

It may finally be remarked that *aḍhakōsika* and *ambā-vaḍḍikā* are not the only exceptional words in the seventh pillar-edict. In the last two lines of it we have in *dhanima-lībi*, twice, the curious form *lībi* for *līpi*, which apparently is not yet found anywhere else. And in the passage in which we are interested we have in *nigōha* a form of the Sanskrit *nyagrōdha*, 'a banyan-tree,'—found, however, in also the expression *iyam nigōha-kubhā*, "this banyan-cave," in one of the Barābar hill cave-inscriptions of Piyadasi-Asōka (IA, 20. 364, A, and plate),—which seems to be at any rate foreign to Pāli,¹ and the nearest approach to which, elsewhere, as far as I can find one, is the *nigōdha* of another Bharaut inscription (IA, 21. 232, No. 62).

Also, in the same passage, the word *udupānāni*, 'wells,' is itself of some interest. The Sanskrit base is *udapāna*, with *a*, not *u*, in the second syllable. And, if our present text stood alone, we might be inclined to attribute the form standing in it to some confusion induced by the existence of the two words *udapa* and *uḍupa*, which mean 'a boat,

¹ Childers' Dictionary gives only the form *nigrōdha*.

a raft.' But, in another allusion to Aśoka's public works which is found in the second rock-edict, we have the same form, *udupānāni*, in the Kālsī text, line 6 (EI, 2. 450, and plate), and in the Jaugada text, line 9 (ASSI, 1. 116, and plate 67), and no doubt in also the Dhauli text, line 8/7 (ibid., and plate 64), where, however, the syllable is considerably damaged.¹ And the form *udupāna* may be fully justified by the analogy of certain changes of *a* to *u* in Pāli, "principally through the influence of a labial, that may stand either before or after the vowel," instances of which have been given by Dr. Müller in his Pāli Grammar, p. 6.

* * * * *

The word *adhakōsika* may represent *ashtakrōśika*, from *ashta-krōśa* + *ika*. But the proper meaning of the latter word seems to be only 'measuring eight *kōs* in length,' which is not suitable here. I prefer to take *adhakōsika* as the representative, with a shortening of the long *i* of the penultimate syllable, of *ashtakrōśika*, from *ashtakrōśi*, 'an aggregate, a distance, of eight *kōs*,' + *ka* in the sense of 'appertaining to;,' finding for *ashtakrōśi* analogies in the *pañchayōjanī*, 'a distance of five *yōjanas*,' of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, 7. 393, and the *daśayōjanī*, 'a distance of ten *yōjanas*,' of the Kathāsaritsāgara, 94. 14.

In any case, and whatever may be the etymological explanation of the form *adha*, practical considerations, and the information obtained from Bāṇa and Hiuen Tsiang, compel us to interpret *adhakōsika* as meaning 'belonging to, situated at, a distance of eight *kōs*.' And with these explanations I translate as follows the passage in which we are interested:—

Translation.

Thus saith the King, the Beloved of the Gods, He of Gracious Mien:— Moreover, along the roads, I have caused

¹ In the Girnār, Shāhbazgarhī, and Mansehra texts, use was made of different forms of the Sanskrit *kūpa*, 'a well.'

banyan-trees to be planted; they will serve a useful purpose for shade for beasts and men: I have caused mango-groves to be planted: further, at distances of eight *kōs*, I have caused wells to be dug, and rest-houses to be made: I have caused many drinking-places to be made, here and there, for the enjoyment of beasts and men.