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ON THE ANCIENT COINS AND MEASURES OF CEYLON,
WITH A DISCUSSION OF THE CEYLON DATE OF THE BUDDHA'S DEATH.

23333

BY

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OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW; LATE OF THE CEYLON CIVIL SERVICE.

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*Note on the Sahasrama Edict, p. 57.*
ON THE ANCIENT COINS AND MEASURES OF CEYLON.

PART I. REFERENCES TO COINS IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE.

1. Ceylon and Kashmir are the only parts of India which pretend to possess a continuous native history. That of Ceylon is much the more ancient and complete, and as in it coins are not unfrequently mentioned, even in the earliest periods, it might have been supposed that some specimens of great age would have survived to our own days. Such is not however the case. We have at present only one series of coins of finished form and of a comparatively late date, beginning in the middle of the twelfth and ending at the close of the thirteenth century.¹ Our subject therefore divides itself naturally into two parts: in the first of which will be considered the data regarding coins and measures found in the Buddhist literature of Ceylon; while in the second those medieval coins which have come down to us will be described and illustrated.

2. Mr. Thomas has already pointed out² how frequent are the allusions to money in the

¹ Just as I go to press I learn that there are some coins in the Colombo Museum with illegible inscriptions in square Pali characters. It would be interesting to learn whether they bear any of the signs, such as J or $, which have only as yet been found in Ceylon inscriptions. If not, they are probably imitations from India.

sacred literature of the Buddhists; and as these occur in books of very different ages and authenticity, it will be necessary to quote and discuss the most important passages. Without a detailed examination of the passages themselves, we may easily be led to draw conclusions much too wide. Spence Hardy's statement, for instance, that 'in the most ancient laws of the Buddhists the distinction is recognized between coined money and bullion,' is not confirmed by the texts hitherto accessible, unless the word 'coined' be taken in an unusually extended sense.

3. The time has scarcely arrived when anything can be affirmed with certainty as to the age of the different books of the Northern Buddhists: they show a state of belief much later and more developed than that of the Southern Church; but they claim a very high antiquity, and it is well known that amongst these ruder peoples the Buddhist mythology had a much more rapid development than that which took place in Magadha and in Ceylon. Buddhism became the State religion of the Indo-Skythians under Kanishka at about the beginning of our era, but no canon of the Northern Buddhists was settled at the council held under his auspices. The books considered sacred by the Northern Church are mostly of much later date; but some of them were certainly translated into Chinese in the first century A.D.—that is, if reliance can be placed on the later native historicms of China, besides whose statements we have very slight data of any chronological value. Eugène Burnouf has given several instances of the mention of coins in those portions of the Northern Buddhist books he has translated, and has discussed their values in a special note (p. 507). As all these works are of unknown authorship and date, but probably at least 700 years after our era, the only conclusion to be drawn from these references is that they add simply nothing to our knowledge of the dates at which the coins mentioned in them were first used.

4. The canon of the Southern Buddhists was settled two centuries and a half earlier than the time of Kanishka, viz. under the Emperor Aśoka in Pāṭaliputra, about 250 B.C.; and it includes separate works by different authors. The following passage occurs in the first chapter of the inedited Mahā Vagga in the Vinaya Pitaka, and also in the first chapter of the Kammavocana, containing the liturgy used at the admission of laymen to the Buddhist order of mendicants, of which several translations and editions have already appeared. If any mendicant takes a pāda (i.e. a quarter), or anything
of the value of a pāda or more, he is ipso facto unfrocked.' Mr. Dickson translates pāda 'the quarter of a pagoda,' 1 the pagoda being a small gold coin lately current in South India and worth 7s. 6d. Mr. Childers says in his Dictionary, 'There is a coin called pādo (Ab. 480): Subhūti quotes pāda-kahāpaṇasena cetuddhikā hāyo pādo, and states it is worth about sevenpence.' The Abhidhānapadipikā, to which the reference is given, was written in the twelfth century, and makes it the fourth part of a weight, apparently of the nīkha, which is made equal to five susānas (§ 23 below). So that we have three modern authorities each giving a different meaning to the word. It is evident that they do not really know in what sense it was originally used, and there is nothing to prove that it meant a coin at all; it may have been a weight, either of gold, silver or copper, recognized as a basis of calculation or a medium of exchange. 2 All that can be said is that it was certainly of small value.

5. In the Dhammapada, a collection of ethical verses from other books of the Three Piṣakas, and one of the latest works included in the canon by Asoka's council, the word kahāpaṇa is used in verse 180: Na kahāpaṇa-causama titti kānco vijñati, 'Not by a rainful of kahāpaṇas will there be satisfaction in the midst of lusts.' The exact derivation and meaning of the word kahāpaṇa is not quite so clear as one could wish. The corresponding Sanskrit word kārshāpaṇa occurs already in Manu and Pāṇini, of which the former is certainly, and the latter probably, earlier than the earliest possible date of the Dhammapada. It is clearly derived from karsha, the name of a small weight; but pāṇa, which is usually supposed to be the second part of the compound, would not explain the second a, while the root pāṇi 'to barter or bet,' is not used with the prefix a except in the nominal derivative āpāna 'market,' which does not help us much. In trying to determine the exact meaning from the texts, we are met with an ambiguity of expression which is only the reflexion of an ambiguity in idea; just as even in English the words 'coin' and 'money' are very vaguely used. Coin may, I think, be legitimately used in two senses; firstly, of pieces of metal bearing the stamp or mark of some person in authority as proof of their purity, and of their being of full weight; and secondly, of pieces similarly stamped, but thereby acquiring a value beyond that of an equal weight of metal (by the mark or stamp implying a promise to receive the coin at a higher than its intrinsic value). The latter, like our pennies and shillings, might be more appropriately termed tokens. Now there was a time in India, before coins in either of these senses were struck, when mere pieces of bullion without stamp at all, or merely with some private stamp, were used as money—that is, as a medium of exchange: 3 and the word kārshāpaṇa, as used by the authors mentioned above, may mean either coins proper of the weight of a karsha, or only such pieces of metal of that weight. The latter was almost certainly its original meaning both in Sanskrit and Pāli, and is, I think, the meaning in this verse of the Dhammapada. Buddhaghoeśa mentions 4 a gold and silver as well as the ordinary (that is, bronze or copper) kahāpaṇa; and Professor Childers thinks that only gold pieces can be referred to in our

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1 Loc. cit. p. 12.
2 Bohmang and Roth refer to a passage in the Satapatha Brahmana where pāda means the fourth of a certain gold weight; but no where where it means coin. They explain the change of meaning from 'a foot' to 'a quarter' through the idea of one leg being the fourth of a quadruped.
3 Mr. Thomas, Ancient Indian Weights, p. 67.
4 In the passage quoted below, § 13.
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passage. But copper pieces will satisfy the requirements of every other passage, except one legendary one, where the word occurs; and considering the much greater value of copper than now, it is not so certain that we need even here take the word in any other than its ordinary sense. The value of the kahapana changed of course with the varying value of copper, and even its weight may have varied a good deal; as much at least as different specimens of the fruit of the karsha (Terminalia bellerica) vary among themselves. Its size and shape are uncertain; but this at least can be said, that the sculptor of the bas-reliefs at Barahat (who cannot have lived much more than a century later than the compiler of the Dhammapada) makes them square. Lastly, it should be mentioned that, according to Mr. Childers, the word kahapana itself meant primarily a small weight, and that our authorities differ hopelessly about the weight of the karsha: the Sanskrit authorities making it equal to sixteen māsāhas each of which = 2½ māsākas = 5 ratis; while Moggalana (§ 28) makes the akhna (which, tests Böhltingk-Roth, is the same as the karsha) = 2½ māsākas = 5 ratis (that is = one māsha). On the former calculation Mr. Thomas makes the kārshāpāna = to 140 grains, one of our current pences weighing about 145 grains. M. Léon Féer quotes a form gahāpāna from the Jātakas (Etude sur les Jātakas, p. 102). The old form Kurisāpāna, mentioned by Moggalana (v. 481), has not yet been found in the texts.

6. There is a curious expression at Dhammapada, v. 108: 'Whatever sacrifice or offering a man may make here during a whole year in order to get merit, all of it is not worth a quarter.' The commentator explains it 'to mean a quarter of the virtuous mind of one reverencing holy men.' This seems forced, but must be, I think, the real meaning of the words, taken in the connexion in which they stand.

7. The only other portion of the three Pāñcakas published is the Khuddaka Pātha, the shortest book in the Buddhist Bible, a selection of Buddhist hymns edited by Mr. Childers for the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1869. In it no mention is made of coins, but it is said that 'in the other world there will be no trafficking by means of gold.' These two works would scarcely have been looked upon as sacred by the Council of Asoka held in B.C. 260, unless they had been composed some time before it. They may therefore be approximately placed at least as early as the end of the fourth century before Christ.

8. I cannot refrain from adding here a reference to a passage occurring in the Pārājika of the first Pāñcaka, and also in the Ratnākapāla Sutta of the second Pāñcaka, although the texts are not yet accessible. In the former we have an account of the manner in which a certain Sudinna

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1 They are all quoted in the following sections. The exception, a doubtful one, is referred to below, § 16. Jātaka 94, 22, compared with 93, 22. Compare Thomas, i.e. p. 41, note 6. 2 Mr. Thomas considers that this Myrobalan seed formed the basis upon which the old kārshā of 140 grains was framed. It constituted an article of external commerce, in its dry state it was little subject to change, it was readily available in the Bactrians as a counterfeit of other weights, and finally the ordinary weight agrees closely with the required amount. Indeed selected specimens of dated seed from Bhiša, now in the India Museum, weigh as high as 144 grains. 3 Cunningham, Report of the Bengal As. Soc., quoted in Ancient IndianWeights, p. 89, note, compared with § 15 below. 4 See also Fehr, Etude sur les Jātakas, p. 102. And Coolbrooke, Essays (ed. Crowle), vol. i. p. 521, says, 'A paśa or kārshāpāna is a measure of copper as well as of silver.' 5 Bausch, P. 34, sabham paśa na chautabhiṣṣam eti. Comp. p. 283 and the passage quoted by Prof. Max Müller in his note to v. 157. 6 North bhirānāna layakakṣaṇa, p. 11 of the separate edition. Prof. Childers translates 'trafficking for gold,' but the instrumental case is doubtless used of the medium of exchange.
persuaded his parents to allow him to enter the Buddhist Order of Mendicants, and was afterwards tempted by them to return to a layman’s life. In the latter a similar story, for the most part in the very same words, is told of Raṭṭhapāla. In the translation of the former by the Rev. S. Coles we read that Sudīnā’s mother ‘made two heaps for him, one of gold coins and the other of gold . . . . , and covered over these heaps with mats.’ 1 In the translation of the latter by the Rev. D. J. Gogerly we read that Raṭṭhapāla’s father ‘caused to be piled up a great heap of coined and uncoined gold, and covered it with a mat.’ 2 The proffered wealth is in each case refused, the mendicant advising that ‘the gold coins and the gold’ (as Coles renders) or ‘the gold and bullion’ (as Gogerly here translates) should be thrown into the river. I have little doubt that the Pāli words in all four passages are identical. Can they be the same as those used in the formula quoted by Burnouf as the standing mode of describing Gautama’s own entry into the mendicant life? Burnouf quotes the passage from two Suttas of the second Piṭaka; and the words in question are simply pabhātān hirāṇṇa-suvanṇam. 3 The first word, pabhātā, is either an archaic form of, or more probably a simple misreading for, the usual pabhūtā ‘much,’ while each of the two parts of the following compound signifies ‘gold.’ That there was some shade of difference in the meaning of the two words is clear I think from the expression hirāṇṇa-suvanṇa vā suvanṇa vā ‘either gold or gold,’ in a commentary on the Pātimokkha, 4 but what the difference was when the second Piṭaka was composed is not so easy to say. Both words are constantly used both in Sanskrit and Pāli in the simple sense of gold, both words also occur as names for a particular weight. 5 As names of weights the Savanna according to Moggallāna would seem to weigh forty Hiriṇṇas, for it is equal to forty akkhas, an akṣa is the same as a karsha, and hirāṇṇa at Jātaka, p. 92, is replaced by kahāpana at page 94. 6 But the usage of the fifth or twelfth century after Christ is poor evidence for the usage of the fourth century before Christ. It is quite possible that ‘treasure and gold,’ or ‘gold and bullion,’ or ‘pounds of gold,’ or ‘yellow gold,’ would be the right rendering of hirāṇṇa-suvanṇa in the passages under consideration; but to decide these points we must have more texts before us. It will be of advantage, meanwhile, to have noted the similarity of the passages.

9. The date of the next work we have to consider is very uncertain. The orthodox Buddhists believe Kaccāyana’s Grammar to be the work of a contemporary of Gautama: this is certainly incorrect, and even as late as the time of Buddhaghosa it was not acknowledged as the supreme authority on Pāli grammar. The rules, explanations and examples are acknowledged by tradition to be by different hands, and the passage now to be quoted occurs among these later additions. 7 The Sinhalese tradition is, however, strong evidence that the work was composed in India and at a very early date—early, that is, as compared with the commentators

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1 Journal of the Ceylon As. Soc. 1874-1877, p. 187.
2 Journal of the Ceylon As. Soc. 1847-1848, p. 95.
4 64 and 53 are scarcely distinguishable in Ceylon MSS.
5 Minnoff, p. 78, on Pātimokkha, ch. 8, v. 13.
6 Hiriṇṇas is so used at Jātaka 92, 22, Mah. 150, 2; Savanna below (§ 29); and both the Savanna and the Kārahaka weighed 60 relū according to Mahā. Thomas, loc. cit. p. 13.
7 So in Böhltingk—both the hiriṇṇa is said to be the karsha.
of the fifth century. At page 139 of M. Senart’s excellent edition, under examples of the use of the ablative, occurs the curious expression: *sataśma or sataśa bāndho nare, ‘a man bound for a hundred,’ where one would expect baddho, and where the ablative is certainly strange. In a similar way, at Jātaka 224, 24, we have *sataśa kāraṇa, ‘a slave bought for a hundred.’ Whether in these passages ‘a hundred’ means coins, or shells, or cattle, or weights of bullion, or corn, or other goods, is not certain, but I should take it to mean one hundred pieces of copper, i.e. kahāpaṇa. It will be seen hereafter that in the fifth century in Ceylon higher numerals were used in the same manner. Again, at p. 158, *upa nikkhe kāhāpaṇa, ‘the kāhāpaṇa is less than the nikhā, is given as an example of the use of the locative; here the grammarian who made the example was evidently thinking of weight, as the word nikkha is never in Pāli used for a coin. In Manu the weight of the nikhā is 320 *ratis in gold as against 80 *ratis for the kāhāpaṇa in copper.

10. We next come to the Pātimokkha, a compilation of unknown date, giving a classification, from the Vinaya Pīṭaka, of offences against the rules of the Buddhist order of mendicants. It is certainly very old, but, not having been included in the canon by Aśoka’s Council, can scarcely have existed long before that time. A commentator of the fifth century says indeed, according to Mr. Tourneur’s translation, ‘Bhagawā (i.e. Gautama himself) taking his place in the midst of this assembly, held in the Weluwana edifice at Rājañāha, in the first year of his Buddhisthood, . . . . propounded the Pātimokkha;’ but it is impossible that the book so called should have come into existence until after the monastic system was worked out and settled in great detail, which it certainly was not at the time referred to. The same commentators are used for the Pātimokkha and the Vinaya Pīṭaka, and the passages to be quoted probably occur also word for word in the latter. At verses 8, 9, and 10 of the sixth chapter [the Nisagga] *cīraśa-cetāpama are mentioned, which Mr. Dickson translates ‘money to buy robes.’ The origin of the expression is doubtful, Professor Childers ascribing the latter part of the compound to a confusion between the two roots *ci and *cil, and Mr. Minayeff. Mr. Dickson and one of the commentators, spelling the word cetāpama and making it masculine, while Professor Childers, another Pāli commentator and M. Senart, spell it cetāpama, which makes it neuter. The former commentator explains it: ‘gold, or a pearl, or a jewel, or coral, or cotton cloth, or thread, or raw cotton,’ that is to say, materials which could be made into a robe or bartered to procure one; the latter explains it simply ‘price’ or value (mūla), but does not say in what. The term may therefore be rendered ‘means to procure a set of robes,’ and does not necessarily infer the existence of coined money.

1 M. Senart translates ‘pices de monnaie,’ but his attention was not directly drawn to this point. The curious may compare Judges xvii. 2, 3, 4, where ‘hundreds’ of silver are spoken of, and where the Authorized Version inserts the word ‘shekels,’ while some scholars would prefer to understand lambas.


3 The Madrasa-Vidya, Journal of the Bengal As. Soc. vol. vi. 1858, p. 816. A set of rules called Pātimokkha is five times mentioned in published parts of the Pīṭaka (Dhammapada, verses 185, 375; Pāṭīra, J. Ceylon As. Soc. 1867, p. 176; Sutta Nipāta, p. 88; and Sumanathaphala Sutta, Burnouf, Lotus, 463).

But it is to say the least, doubtful whether the book now known as Pātimokkha is referred to. Consp. Hardy, Manual, p. 186; Fauheil’s Jātaka, p. 85; Tourneur in the J.B.A.S. vi. 519, 525; Buhl, Catena, p. 159. That the word Pātimokkha was in use before the work so called assumed its present shape, is clear from the fact that the word occurs twice in the Pātimokkha itself. Dickson, p. 27.


5 F. 78 of Mr. Minayeff’s edition, St. Petersburg, 1869.

6 F. 322 of his separate edition of Khacekyana.
11. Verses 18 and 19 say: 'If a priest receives or gets another to receive for him gold and silver [coin], or if he thinks to appropriate [money] entrusted to him, it is a nisaṅgīya fault. If a priest makes use of the various kinds of money, it is a nisaṅgīya fault.' I quote from Mr. Dickson's translation, but the words I have bracketed are not found in the original, and the word 'money' in the latter verse is in Pāli rūpiya, which Professor Childers in his Dictionary translates silver, bullion. Neither the Pāli rūpiya, nor the Sanskrit equivalent rūpa, are derived from riça in its sense of image, figure, or are ever used in the sense of 'bearing an image,' for which the correct expression is rūpin. Silver is called rūpiya on account of its beauty, its shining appearance, just as gold is called suvarṇa on account of its fine colour. The commentator on this passage explains rūpiya by jātarupa-rojata, gold and silver, but this is rather a gloss on the rule than a philological explanation of the word. Moggallāna distinctly confines the sense of the word to silver. The text is as follows:—18. Yo pūna bhikkhu jātarūpajataṁ uggahāyeyyā va upanikkittam va sādiyoyya nisaṅgīyaṁ pācittiyam. 19. Yo pūna bhikkhu nānappakārakāṁ rūpiyenaṁ pācittiyam. I would translate: '18. If again a mendicant should receive gold or silver, or to get some one to receive it for him, or allow it to be put in deposit for him, it is a fault requiring restitution. 19. If again a mendicant should engage in any of the various transactions in silver, it is a fault requiring restitution,' where 'transactions in silver' must refer, I think, to the use of silver as a medium of exchange.

12. In the Bhikkhu-Pātimokkhā, or Rules for Nuns, occurs the passage, 'A nun collecting for a heavy cloak may collect as much as 4 kaṇīsa; if she should collect beyond this, it is a fault requiring restitution. A nun collecting for a light cloak may collect as much as 2½ kaṇīsa; if she should collect beyond this, it is a fault requiring restitution.' There is some uncertainty as to the derivation and meaning of kaṇīsa, which, as a measure of value, is only found in this passage. The word usually means copper, bronze, or a brass pot or plate; but the commentator explains it here as 'four kahāpānas,' an explanation found also in Moggallāna's vocabulary. In Sanskrit literature the word is only found in the sense of a brass pot or cup; but the Sanskrit lexicographers give kaṇīsa as an equivalent of āḍhāuka (a measure of capacity). Mr. Childers regards it here as a derivative from, or a dialect variety of, karaṇa; but this seems indefensible, and the use in primitive times of a particular form of brass cup or plate as a measure of value is by no means unlikely, while the expression 'a bronze' is exactly paralleled by 'a copper' as used sometimes in English. The tradition preserved in the Kankhā Vitarani, that the weight of the kaṇīsa, as a measure of value, was considered equal to four kahāpānas, may or may not be well founded; one can only say that if the value were really so small, the idea of a cup or vessel can scarcely have been present to the mind of those who used the word.

1 Pánini perhaps thought differently. See the note in Aś. Ind. Weights, p. 39, but the passages quoted by Böhlingsg-Rothen are conclusive.
2 Minayef, p. 99.
3 Verses 486, 485, 403.
4 Minayef, p. 10. Dickson, p. 20.
5 Minayef, p. 103.
6 Kankhā Vitarani, ibid., p. 104.
7 Abhidhānāppada, p. 98: he probably follows the fifth-century commentary.
8 Böhlingsg-Roth, s.v. Compare below, § 32, note; and Thomas, Aś. Ind. Weights, p. 26.
9 Compare also the use of suvarṇa, § 28, and of rādi in Sinhalese.
13. In the commentaries written in Ceylon in the fifth century A.D. by Buddhaghosa, we find the following explanations. At page 66 of his edition of the Pātimokkha, Minayeff quotes a commentator’s explanation of jonga, a thief, as being one who takes anything of the value of five māsakas or more. Here the word māsaka might just possibly mean a weight, but in the following passage that can scarcely be the case. The Kankhā-vitarana on Pātimokkha vi. 10, quoted above, calls gold and silver and kārashāpaṇa and māsakas forbidden objects. Another commentary on verse 18 says: ‘By rajata (silver) is meant the kārashāpaṇa, the metal māsaka, the wooden māsaka, the lacquered māsaka, which are in use.’ And the Samantapāsādikā on the same passage says: ‘jātāriṣaṇa is a name of suvaṇṇa (gold), which is also called satṭhuvannā because it is like the colour of Gautama Buddha,’ and after explaining rajata (which explanation Minayeff has left out in his edition, perhaps because it is the same as that given above), goes on: ‘In this passage kahāpaṇa is either that made of gold or that made of silver (rūpiṣaṇa), or the ordinary one; the metal māsaka means that made of copper, brass, etc.; the wooden māsaka means that made of sāra wood or of the outside of the bambu, or lastly of palm leaf, on which a figure has been cut (rūpiṇa chintitā katha-māsaka); the lacquered māsaka means that made of lac or gum, on which a figure has been caused to rise up’ (rūpiṇa samittihā-petā katha-māsaka). Then, after explaining the words ‘which are in use,’ it continues: ‘Lastly, every kind should be included, whether made of bone, or skin, or the fruits or seeds of trees, and whether with a raised image or without one.’ It adds that the four forbidden things are silver, gold, the silver māsaka, and the silver māsaka, a different explanation from that given above. The annexed cut of a lacquered medal in the possession of Col. Peach, R.A., may perhaps represent such a lacquered māsaka as has just been referred to.

14. We next come to the Jātakas, the date of the present text of which is very uncertain. It seems that a collection of Jātaka stories was one of the earliest Buddhist books, and was included in the canon as settled by the Pātaliputra Council under Aśoka; but it is the only book of that canon which has not been handed down to us in a shape purporting to be identical
with that accepted by the Council. The text exists now only in the commentary, the date of which is itself unknown, though it was certainly written in Ceylon, and probably as late as the fifth century after Christ. No kind of literature is more susceptible of verbal alteration than the easy prose narrative which forms the bulk of these tales; so that, although the text is throughout kept distinct from the commentary, it cannot be depended upon as an accurate reproduction of the original form. And again, though the mention of money is so mixed up with the gist of some of the stories that it can scarcely be due in those cases to interpolation, and may very possibly date from the first invention of the stories in the time of Buddha, or even earlier, the names mentioned may have been inserted afterwards. The Pali version of the Jatakas is now being published by Mr. Faunsboll; and the first part, containing the Pali text of the Introduction and of 38 Jatakas stories, has already appeared in Copenhagen. In these stories are the following notices of money. In the Seri-vajjika Jataka1 some poor people ask a hawker to take an old pot in exchange for his wares. The pot was gold, but so old and dirty that they did not know it. The hawker sees their foolishness, and hoping to get it for nothing, says it is not worth even half a nasaka, and throwing it on the ground, goes away. Immediately afterwards another hawker comes up, and being made a similar offer, honestly tells the ignorant owners that their old pot is worth 'a hundred thousand' (sata-sahasani),2 but gives them for it 500 kahapanas and goods 'worth 500' (probably kahapanas). He then takes back eight kahapanas, and giving them to the captain of a vessel just then sailing, he escapes with the pot. The other hawker soon returns, and offers something of small value for the pot, and when its owners tell him they have given it to another hawker for 'a thousand' (sahasani), he vainly pursues him, and then dies of grief and chagrin. The good hawker in this tale is the future Buddha; and had it been altered, the fact that he gave less than 'a thousand' for what was worth 'a hundred thousand' might have been easily got over by some interpolation; in any case the mention of money forms so important a part of the story that it must belong to a very early form of this Jataka.

The next mention of money is in the Cullaka-setti Jataka.3 On the advice of the future Buddha, a man earns 16 kahapanas in one day by the sale of firewood, and afterwards sells grass to the king's stable-keeper for 'a thousand,' and subsequently acquires a capital of 'a hundred thousand,' and marries the future Buddha's daughter.

In the Nandi-vasula Jataka4 we have the history of a prize ox who first loses a bet (abbhutakam) of 'a thousand' for his owner, when the latter calls him vicious; and then wins a wager of 2000 when he calls him gentle; and in the next story the future Buddha, again under the form of an ox, wins for his mistress a bag containing 1000,4 being hire for drawing 500 carts at two kahapanas a cart.

1 Faunsboll's Jatakas, p. 111.
2 At pages 69, line 10, and 178, line 21, other gold pots are mentioned worth 100,000 each.
3 Faunsboll's Jatakas, p. 121.
4 Ibid. p. 191.
5 Sahasasthavara, J. 165, 30, compare 54, 1, and 66, 20.
See on a parallel expression in the Rig-Veda, Mr. Thomas, Anc. Ind. Weights, p. 33.
15. Mr. Fausböll has also published from time to time 27 other Jātaka stories, but in these no mention is made of money. I pass on therefore to the commentary itself, in which the above stories are included. It commences with a short history of previous Buddhas, and then gives a succinct biography of Gautama Buddha. In the former a rich man says of his ancestors, 'when they went to the other world, they did not take with them even one kāhipāpa;’ and kāhipāpas and leaden pieces (līsas) are mentioned among other kinds of wealth. In the latter it is said that Vessantara’s mother gave him at his birth a purse containing 1000, and Nalaka is said to have been born in a family worth 87 kośas. Buddha gives Kissaṅgatam a necklace ‘worth a hundred thousand,’ and Anāthapiṇḍika is said to have paid 18 kośas of gold (!) for the ground on which he built, at a further cost of 18 kośas, the Jetavana, the first Buddhist monastery. It is noteworthy that the only mention of gold kāhipāpas should be in this late version of an early legend, and in the commentator referred to above (§ 13).

16. In Buddhaghosha’s commentary on the Sūtaṅka Nikāya, written in the early part of the fifth century, king Kappkins, a contemporary of Buddha, is said to have given 1000 to certain merchants; and in his commentary on the Dhammapada (Fausböll, p. 333, and comp. p. 235) he contrasts a ‘thousand’ with a kākaṇṭikā, which is the same as the gunjā (below, § 23).

17. In another of Buddhaghosha’s commentaries is the following passage: ‘On that occasion the bhikkarṇas (menicants) of Wesdī, natives of Waji, on the Uposatha (Sabbath) day in question, filling a golden basin with water and placing it in the midst of the assembled mendicants, thus appealed to the upṣakas (lay disciples) of Wesdī who attended there: ‘Beloved, bestow on the order either a kāhipāpa or a half, or a quarter of one, or even the value of a māsā.’ It would seem from this passage that Buddhaghosa considered the māsā as less than a quarter of the value of the kāhipāpa, and māsā, which form has not yet been found elsewhere, is, I suppose, the same as māsaka. It should be noticed that the sentence occurs in a description of the Second Council 100 years after Gautama’s death, which council, some think there is reason to believe, never actually took place; and that the Mahāvamsa, describing the same event, only mentions kāhipāpas. But that there was some such heresy there can be little doubt, as Aśoka in the eighth Girnar edict talks of honouring Theras with gold.

18. In this passage of the Mahāvamsa, which is a little later, ‘gold and other coins’ are mentioned in Turnour’s translation as one of the exceptions which the Wajiian heretics allowed themselves, only 100 years after the Teacher’s death, to his comprehensive rule that the members

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1 For the names and dates of these publications see my Report on Pali and Sinhalese, at p. 84 of the Annual Address of the President to the Philological Society for 1876.
2 Jātaka, p. 2, line 26; p. 7 line 9 from end; and p. 33.
3 Jātaka, 55, 18.
4 Jātaka, p. 61, line 10.
5 Jātaka, p. 92, li. 22, 26. At p. 94, 1. 23, it is said that the ground was bought by covering it with kāhipāpas laid side by side. Compare above, § 5, and Childers’ Dict. p. ix.
7 Turnour, J.R.A.S. vol. vii. p. 729. Mr. Thomas has pointed out this passage, Am. Ind. Weights, p. 41, but it is not, as there stated, from the Mahāvamsa. The golden basin should be, I think, a bronse dish (cāṇṇapādi). Comp. Mah. 16, last line.
8 Mahāvamsa, Turnour’s edition, p. 16, line 10. The Pāli word is jāturāvipāka. Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. ii. p. 84 (first edition); Köppen, Religion des Buddh, vol. i. p. 147; and Cunningham, Rhoda Topos, p. 78, who all mention coins, derive their information from Turnour. With this notice the passage in Aśoka’s edicts should be compared, where he mentions the hoarding of ‘Theras’ with gold as a virtuous act. (chāyāna hinapanaṭṭhikām. Bombay Journ. 1847, p. 257; J.R.A.S. xi. 199; Burnouf, Lotus, 787; Kohn, Ansprechender, 66).
of his order were not to receive gold or silver; but the original has simply ‘gold, etc.,’ though immediately afterwards it states that the mendicants even went so far as to call upon the laity to give them ‘kāhāpaṇas.’

Further on in the Mahāvamsa a brahmin named Pandula gives Chitta’s son 100,000;¹ King Dushṭa Gāmaṇi (a.c. 161–137) gives a soldier 1000, and afterwards 10,000;² Wasabha, a nobleman in Dushṭa Gāmaṇi’s reign, gives another soldier 10,000;³ Dushṭa Gāmaṇi rewards a famous archer with a heap of kāhāpaṇas large enough to bury his arrow;⁴ and when he builds the Mārcewati dāgaba he makes presents valued at 100,000 and 1000, and spends altogether on that spot 19 koṭis, on the Brazen Palace 30 koṭis, on the Ruwanweli Dāgaba 1000 koṭis, and 100,000 on the sacred Bo-tree.⁵ The same king rewards the architect of the Mahāthīpā (now called the Ruwanweli Dāgaba) with a suit of clothes worth 1000, a splendid pair of slippers and 12,000 kāhāpaṇas, and deposits 18 laks of kāhāpaṇas for the workmen’s wages.⁶ He had previously deposited 32 laks of kāhāpaṇas for the wages of the workmen at the Lohapraśāda,⁷ and he afterwards sends to a monk at Piyangula, among other things, two robes worth 1000, and the monk accepts them.⁸ Dushṭa Gāmaṇi’s successor, Sarthā Tīshya (a.c. 137–119), is said to have rebuilt the Brazen Palace at a cost of nine laks,⁹ and his son and successor spent four laks for similar purposes.¹⁰ King Mahānāga, surnamed the Large-toothed (a.d. 9), spent six laks on the monks,¹¹ and the wife of the prime minister of Subha (a.d. 60) gives a youth named Vasubha 1000,¹² and he becoming king presents 1000 to the Mahāvihāram monastery, and land worth a lak to Abhayagiri, and his queen pays a lak for land on which to build another.¹³ King Tissa (a.d. 200) gives 1000 monthly to the monks, and his successor gives them cloth of the value of two laks.¹⁴ King Sangha Tissa (a.d. 242) put four gems worth a lak on the summit of the Ruwanweli Dāgaba,¹⁵ and Jetūtha Tissa spent 16 millions on the Brazen Palace.¹⁶ Under the reign of Mahasena (a.d. 284) occurs the phrase “liable to a fine of a hundred”;¹⁷ and also the remarkable statement that that king gave to a thousand monks a theravāda worth 1000,¹⁸ Meghavarana spends a lak in honour of the arrival of the Tooth- relic about a.d. 310.¹⁹ Finally Dhutuṣeka (a.d. 459)—in whose reign Mahānāga, the author of the Mahāvamsa, wrote—is recorded to have given 1000 in order to make the Dīpavamsa public,²⁰ and to have spent a lak on the sacred Bo-tree.²¹

10. Lastly, in the Mahāvamsa Tikā, a commentary on the Mahāvamsa written by the author himself, occurs the curious passage pointed out by Mr. Thomas,²² where it is said that Chānakaṅa, afterwards the minister of Chandra-gupta, but then, circa B.C. 330, a private individual, ‘converted
NUMISMATA ORIENTALIA.

(by recoining) each kāhpāpa into eight, and thus amassed 80 koṭis of kāhpāpas. As all statements by Mahānāma regarding this early period must be used with the greatest caution, the passage can only be received as evidence, not of what Chānaka did, but of what Mahānāma thought likely. Even so, it is very striking. In the passage referred to on the next page (p. xlii), it is probable that the Pāli original for Turnour's expression 'a thousand kāhpāpas' was simply sahasrā, 'a thousand,' just as a koṭi and a lak are mentioned at the top of page xi.

20. Such works as were produced in Ceylon between the fifth and the twelfth century have been so far lost that no book now extant can be assigned with certainty to that period; but in a very ancient inscription at Mihintale, of which I made a copy, mention is made of an auka, i.e. aksha, of gold (the aksha being the same as the karaha), and of the kalanda, which is the same as the dharama, and equal to eight aukas. The inscription records a lengthy order made by King Siri Sang Bo for the regulation of the Temple property at Mihintale. There were several kings of that title, and the inscription is ascribed by Dr. Goldschmidt to Mahinda III. (A.D. 1012).

21. In addition to these notices from Ceylon literature, a passage of Pliny should be mentioned, where it is stated that a traveller in the reign of Claudius was carried over to Ceylon from the Persian Gulf by unfavourable winds. The King of the place where he landed, and which he calls Hippurus, seeing some of his Roman coins, was astonished that the denarii should weigh the same, although the different figures upon them showed that they were struck by different persons. It is very doubtful where Hippurus may be; possibly it was in the north of the island, and the King would then be the Tamil ruler over those parts, the province of Jaffna having been at that time, and for long afterwards, an independent, though perhaps tributary State. If the exact motive for the King's astonishment has been accurately preserved in this very secondary evidence, the negative conclusion might be drawn that the art of coining was very little advanced about the commencement of our era in the neighbourhood of Hippurus; and perhaps the positive one that the people thereabouts used pieces of copper of unequal weights, and with various marks upon them, as a medium of exchange. This is not inconsistent with the notices in the Ceylon books, and may therefore be taken as confirmatory evidence; but much stress cannot be laid upon it, as our informant may have been misled. The motives of Indian rajas are by no means easily ascertained, even when they are speaking to people who understand their language. And the other details stated by Pliny are so evidently incorrect—he says, for instance, that the King's palace alone contained 200,000 people—that no reliance can be placed on the accuracy of his report.

1 Clough says the kālpanda is the weight of 24 māra seeds = 80 grains and a fraction.
2 Pliny, Nat. Hist. vi. 24. Mirum in modum in auditu justum: quod parum ponderis denarii esset in scripto punctum cum diversis imaginibus incidentibus pluribus factis. Compare Lassen, Ind. Alt. vol. iii. p. 61; Prinani, Indian Embassies to Rome, J.R.A.S. vol. xvi. p. 545. Prof. Lassen would identify Hippurus with Kudrei Malei, on the N.W. coast, a place Siahalose at the time referred to, but whose present Tamil name means Horse Hill; Bochart identifies it (Geogr. Sacr. vol. i. p. 46) with Opur, which Gen. Cunningham places at the mouth of the Indus (Ancient Geog. India, vol. i. p. 56); and Sir E. Tennent, for much less valid reasons, at Galle in Ceylon (vol. ii. p. 101). Of these I would prefer Lassen's opinion; for though Kudrei Malei may be a modern name, it may also be a translation of a more ancient one. But the point is as yet quite uncertain.
22. We have thus derived enough data from the few fragments of Buddhist literature as yet published to render the hope reasonable that we shall hereafter, when the whole of it has become accessible, be able to decide most of the points at present doubtful regarding the coinage of Magadha in the time of the Piṭakas, and of Ceylon in the fifth century. At present we can only sum up as follows the facts ascertained and the conclusions deducible from them.

In the Northern Buddhist literature coins have only as yet been found mentioned in works of uncertain but very late date (§ 3). In the Southern Buddhist literature we have the kahāpāna and the pāda, i.e. ‘quarter,’ distinctly used in the Piṭakas themselves—though each only in one passage—as measures of value (§ 4, 5), and buying and selling by means of gold is mentioned (§ 7). In Kaccāyana’s Grammar the word kahāpāna is once used, apparently as the name of a weight; and the expression, ‘bound for a hundred,’ implies the existence of some well-known measure of value, which, probably, though not conclusively, was the kahāpāna (§ 9). In the Pātimokkha, besides a reference to transactions in which gold and silver are concerned (§ 11), we have the distinct mention of the koṭisa or ‘copper’ as a measure of value (§ 12). In the fifth century commentaries we find the words kahāpāna and māsakas (which originally meant a weight) explained as names for pieces of money on which images or figures were stamped or marked. Both are used in the Jātakas and vīna, lead piece, in the Jātaka commentary, where kahāpāna is used in a passage referring to the time of Gautama (§ 13–17). In the earlier portions of Mahānāma’s history, where many of the statements are not trustworthy, the kahāpāna and hiriṇa are mentioned, and throughout his work there are references to a ‘hundred,’ a ‘thousand,’ a ‘ten thousand,’ a lak, and a koṭi (ten million), as if these were recognized weights or sums (§ 18). In the commentary on the same work similar expressions are used, and we are told that a private individual, converting each kahāpāna into eight, amassed eighty koṭis (§ 19). We have, therefore, no evidence in Buddhist literature that in Magadha before the time of Asoka, or in Ceylon before the fifth century A.D., there were any coins proper, that is, pieces of inscribed money struck by authority. On the other hand we have no statements inconsistent with the existence of such coinage; and we have sufficient evidence that pieces of metal of certain weights, and probably marked or stamped by the persons who made them, were used as a medium of exchange; and that some common forms of this money had acquired recognized names. These results are substantially in accordance with the general course of Mr. Thomas’s argument (loc. cit. pp. 32–44). ‘True coins in our modern sense’ are not mentioned in any Indian work certainly pre-Buddhistic, but ‘circulating monetary weights’ were in use long before. The oldest coins found in India, whose dates can be even approximately ascertained, are not older than the first century B.C., and were almost certainly struck in imitation of the Greeks. Into the general question, however, I do not enter: my object has been a much humbler one, viz. to state clearly such evidence as to coins or money as is obtainable from the published Pāli texts.

1 Once called māsa (§ 17).
2 Mr. Thomas, Ancient Indian Weights, p. 41.
3 Ibid. p. 36.
4 But compare Mr. Thomas contra, Princep’s Essays, vol. i. p. 222.
PART II. WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

23. We shall group our notices of these in the form of a commentary on the statements of Moggallāna, who, in the middle of the twelfth century, composed a Pāli vocabulary called Abhidhānappadipikā, in imitation of the Amara Kośa. In this work he gives various schemes of measures, which contain valuable information, although it will, I think, be clear from the following pages that his tables cannot be entirely relied on as evidence of Indian or even of Ceylon usage. As it refers to the points we have just been discussing, we place first his

**TABLE OF WEIGHTS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Pāli Unit</th>
<th>Sanskrit Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 Guna = 1 Massa</td>
<td>(a seed of the <em>Phascolus</em>)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 do. = 24 do.</td>
<td>= 1 Kikha</td>
<td>(a seed of the <em>Terminalia Bellirica</em>) = karcha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 do. = 120 do. = 8 do.</td>
<td>= 1 Dhārana</td>
<td>(= Sinhalese kalanda).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 do. = 600 do. = 40 do. = 5 do.</td>
<td>= 1 Suraṇa (gold).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000 do. = 3,000 do. = 250 do. = 5 do.</td>
<td>= 1 Nikkha</td>
<td>(an ornament for the neck).4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400 do. = 1,200 do. = 80 do. = 10 do.</td>
<td>= 2 dhāra</td>
<td>(= 1 Phala (fruit)).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40,000 do. = 120,000 do. = 8,000 do. = 1,000 do. = 200 do. = 50 do. = 100 do.</td>
<td>= 1 Talā</td>
<td>(scale).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800,000 do. = 2,400,000 do. = 160,000 do. = 20,000 do. = 4,000 do. = 500 do. = 2,000 do. = 100 do.</td>
<td>= 1 Bihāra</td>
<td>(load).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24. The thick-faced figures are the ones given by Moggallāna, the others being calculated from them. On careful inspection it will be seen that we have here at least two tables, and the connexion between the two, which Moggallāna establishes by making one phala = 10 dhāranas, is probably fictitious; for as far as Nikkha the weights are applicable to substances of great value and small bulk, and the rest vice versa to things of small value and greater bulk. It is incredible that hay and gold should have been measured by one scale. None of these words are used in the published Pāli texts in the sense of definite weights, except perhaps phala (mention being made in the commentary on the Pātimokkhā of a phala of coral) and māsaka, which word has been discussed above. The gunja is another name for the rati, on which see Mr. Thomas’s paper, p. 10–11. The whole of this table should be compared with those given by the Sanskrit authorities, and by the Amara Kośa (Colebrooke, p. 241), from which it varies almost throughout. It is curious that Moggallāna does not mention in the table the only measure of weight actually found in use, viz. the *Kāsa* or *Kāja*, a pingo-load: that is, as much as a man can carry in two baskets suspended from a pole carried across his shoulders.8

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2 A seed of the *Abras prentocorus* = kakāyikā, § 16.
3 Hardy, *Legends and Thesauri* of the Buddhists, p. 4, speaks of Kikha who had 120 gold (not even as much as 4 massas, each of which is of the weight of 4 massas seeds), but what plant is meant by nīkha does not appear either in Clough’s or in the Petersburgh Dictionary. Comp. above § 5 (at the end) and § 17.
4 So used at Dīpā, pp. 41, 567. Comp. *Ain. Ind. W.* p. 34.
5 It is curious that in Mann’s table, on the contrary, 10 phalas = one Dhārana. See *Ain. Ind. W.* p. 29, note 4.
6 Minnyoff, p. 74, note on 8, 18; but the masculine gender is used, which Children gives only in the sense of fruit. Moggallāna makes the weight neuter.
8 Mah. 22, 227; Jānsa, 9; 17: Ab. 625, 391.
25. We pass on to Moggallāna's scheme of the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measures of Length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>96 Pāramāṣa = 1 ṛṣu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 Agus = 1 Taṭṭilā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 Taṭṭilā = 1 Baṭṭarasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 Baṭṭarasu = 1 Laukās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Laihās = 1 Ukās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Ukās = 1 Dhaṭṭhamāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Dhaṭṭhamāla = 1 Angula1 (finger joint, inch).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Angula = 1 Vidatthi (span).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 Ḍo. = 2 ḍo. = 1 Katana (cubit, farsara) = haṭṭha2 = 1 haṭṭha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185 ḍo. = 14 ḍo. = 7 ḍo. = 1 Yatthi (pole, walking stick).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[672 ḍo. = 96 ḍo. = 28 ḍo. = 4 ḍo. = 1 Abhāsuṭha (interval)]3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,360 ḍo. = 280 ḍo. = 14 ḍo. = 7 ḍo. = 29 ḍo. = 5 ḍo. = 1 Uṣaba.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203,600 ḍo. = 11,400 ḍo. = 1,000 ḍo. = 400 ḍo. = 80 ḍo. = 8 Gāvuta (meadow).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,075,300 ḍo. = 89,300 ḍo. = 44,800 ḍo. = 6,400 ḍo. = 1,600 ḍo. = 320 ḍo. = 4 ḍo. = 1 Yojana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Also at verses 197, 811, a krod = 400 bav-lenths.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26. Of these names none above angula have as yet been found in actual use as measures, and the same remark applies to haṭṭha, yatthi, and kosa. Vidatthi (the span) has been found in the Pāṭimokkha, the rest occur only in the literature of the fifth century after Christ. The liksha occurs as a measure of weight in Mr. Thomas’s table, p. 13, and most of the above names as measures of length in his table at p. 31, where Sanskrit calculations, greatly differing from the above Pāli ones, will be found. Taking the vidatthi6 or span at 8½ to 9 inches, and the ratana7 or cubit, (which should be measured from the elbow to the end of the little finger only, see § 30) from 17 to 18 inches, the yojana, according to Moggallāna’s scale, would be equal to between 12 and 12½ miles, and this is the length given by Childers; but I think it is certain that no such scale as Moggallāna here gives was ever practically used in Ceylon. The finger joint, span, and cubit, may have been used for short lengths; the uṣaba for longer ones; the gāvuta and yojana for paths or roads; but I doubt whether any attempt was made in practice to bring these different measures into one scheme.

27. In trying to draw up such schemes, Moggallāna has been compelled to make arbitrary assumptions, and to put in imaginary measures, to which he has given the names he found in the Sanskrit lexicographers, without troubling himself much whether he changed their relative values or not. As regards the larger measures of length, I have noted the following few passages; it is only from a comparison of lists of such passages, making them as complete and accurate as possible, and allowing due weight to the various ages and countries of the authors, that a trustworthy estimate can be formed of the sense in which these measures were really used.

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2 This is the usual word. See G.V. Duy, p. 168, Mahāvamsas, pp. 141 and 257, Ias 7, and Jāt. pp. 34–41.
3 This is inserted from verse 197.
4 Uṣaba is used in the Mahāvamsa, pp. 126, 163, and in the commentary quoted by Alwis, Intr. p. 79. The river Anuvak, at the place where Gautama cut off his hair, is said at Jātaka, p. 64, line 22, to be 8 mabhas, and in the Manual of Buddhism, p. 161, to be 80 cubits, broad. Compare Big. p. 212.
5 Compare Mr. Thomas’s Essay, p. 32, and the Appendix to Cunningham’s Ancient Geography of India, vol. i.
6 The ‘Buddha’s span’ (Pāṭimokkha, iv. 6; vi. 87–92) was longer.
7 Sanskrit orated. Only found in this sense in a commentary quoted by Alwis. Introduction to Kaccayana’s Pali Grammar, p. 76, line 21, at Jātaka, p. 7.
## NUMISMATA ORIENTALIA.

### TABULATED STATEMENT OF PASSAGES ON THE LENGTH OF THE YOJANA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of Places</th>
<th>Distance according to Buddhist text</th>
<th>Distant on modern maps in miles</th>
<th>No. of miles in a yojana</th>
<th>Authorities.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Benares</td>
<td>to Uruvela</td>
<td>18 yojanas.</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>Jātaka, p. 58, l. 5, p. 81, l. 24; Big. pp. 51, 74; Hardy, Man. B., p. 184.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. do.</td>
<td>Takshila</td>
<td>120 do.</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>Jātaka, 265; comp. Dhup. 384.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The River Anomā</td>
<td>Rājagriha</td>
<td>30 do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Jātaka, p. 66, line 1; Big., p. 44;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Nalanda</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Hardy, M. B., p. 102.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Kosinagara</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>25 do.</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>Jātaka, p. 57, line 16; Big., p. 116;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. do.</td>
<td>Vaisali</td>
<td>3 do.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Jātaka, p. 93, line 20; Big., p. 126;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Kapilavastu</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>49-51 do.</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Sārvasti</td>
<td>Alavaka</td>
<td>30 do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Aksa</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>3 do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Patna</td>
<td>Rājakūta</td>
<td>100 do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. do.</td>
<td>The Bo-Tree</td>
<td>7 do.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Milinda Panha, Alwis, Intro. p. ali.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Sāgala</td>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>12 do.</td>
<td>100-180</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. do.</td>
<td>Alexandria</td>
<td>200 do.</td>
<td>88 or 260 or 300</td>
<td>Milinda Panha, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. do.</td>
<td>Mahākura</td>
<td>4 do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Kācikṣaya (Smarit, p. 120).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Anurādhapura</td>
<td>(The Mahāvati gange, at the Kacika tank)</td>
<td>9 yojanas.</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Mahāvastu, p. 139.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. do.</td>
<td>do. at Tampulīśṭāni</td>
<td>7 do.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. do.</td>
<td>Karṇāśā-pāna</td>
<td>2 do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. do.</td>
<td>Sama-s-vāpi</td>
<td>4 do.</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. do.</td>
<td>The Bidā Wihāra</td>
<td>8 do.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. do.</td>
<td>Adam's Peak</td>
<td>15 do.</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Beal's Pe Hian, p. 160.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28. Disregarding the cases in which Kapilavastu is mentioned—concerning the site of which place there is still some doubt—the average of the list is rather less than eight miles to the yojana. What is of more importance, a careful consideration of those data which are most certain leads to a similar result. Among these the two last are the most important. Fu Hian visited Anurādhapura.

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1 In each case about one-sixth has been added to allow for the difference between the direct distance and the distance by roads or paths.
2 Spence Hardy here and usually has translated the distances into miles, reckoning the yojana at 16 miles; see p. 160, where 499 miles in one sentence = 30 yojanas in the next; and see also p. 199. Beal, pp. 245, 246, gives the names of places on the way between these two towns, but compare Bīgandet, loc. cit.
3 The places on the route are given by Hardy, M. B., p. 235.
4 This distance is quite inconsistent with Cunningham's identification of Sankasa, Ancient Geog. p. 369, with which, however, No. 20 agrees.
about 413 A.D., when Mahânâma, the author of the Mahâvansa, must have been still a lad. As he did not himself visit Adam’s Peak, his statement that it was fifteen yojanas from Anurâdhapura must have been derived from the monks there, and—there being no doubt as to the actual distance—is very good evidence of the value they attached to the word. Still more trustworthy is the conclusion to be drawn from No. 29. The Ambalâṭṭha-kola Lena mentioned by Mahânâma is well known to be the site of the still-celebrated Ridi Wihâra in the Kurunâgala district, and its distance from Anurâdhapura must have been well known to the monks at the latter place; the path from one to the other lay through the then most populous part of Ceylon, and is perfectly easy. In No. 19 we have to choose between four different Alexandrias, not one of which at all agrees with the distance given:¹ and as regards No. 18, on which Childers lays so much stress, though General Cunningham has fixed the site of Sâgala without doubt, “Kashmir” seems to me to be a very vague term. Nothing is known of the date of the author of Milinda Panha, in which the statement is found, or of the sources of his information; and the boundary of Kashmir was constantly extending and contracting in the direction of Sâgala. It is true that the seat of government was usually fixed at about the same place, namely, at and near Sri Nagara; but as this is 180-190 miles from Sâgala, the yojana would then equal about 17½ miles, which is so highly unlikely to have been intended, that we may safely reject the interpretation. In No. 1 the distance given in the books is not from Benares itself, but from the Mâgadha garden near it, where Gautama preached his first sermon, and which probably lay, according to Cunningham, about half a yojana to the north of the town.

29. The conclusion to which I come is that we have no data as yet for determining the sense in which the word yojana is used in the Three Piṭakas; that in the fifth-century Pâli literature it means between seven and eight miles,² and that the traditions preserved by Ceylon authors of that date as to distances in North India in the time of Gautama agree pretty well, except in the cases of Kapilavastu and Sankasa, with the sites fixed by General Cunningham.

30. Moggâlâna ³ further gives tâla, gokhâna and padocka as names of a short span; but in the only passage given by Childers where tâla (which means palm-tree) is used to express length, it means “the height of a palm-tree.” The other words have not been found in the texts. I presume Moggâlâna means the three words to express the length when the hand is extended from the end of the thumb to the ends of the three centre figures respectively, vidattı being the name for the ordinary span to the end of the fourth or little finger. Finally, Moggâlâna gives ⁴ Vyâma as the length a man can stretch with both arms, that is, a fathom; and Perina (literally manliness) as the length a man can reach up to when his arms are held over his head. The latter does not seem to have been in actual use; on the other hand yuga, a yoke, is used to

² For Alexandria Cf. see Cunningham’s Ancient Geography of India, vol. i. p. 24, and for the three others do Map V. p. 194.
³ As when Professor Childers, in his Dictionary, s.v., looks upon the yojana “as about equivalent to twelve miles,” he is following Moggâlana, though he especially instance No. 16, so also when the Baranesse make it 13½ miles (lisse Rogers, Bud. Par. p. 4-11), this probably rests on some similar calculation.
⁴ Verse 207. They are also given in the Amara Rokha, 1, 2, 24.
⁵ Verse 209; and see Childers, s.v.
express length, and Spence Hardy renders it the distance of a plough or nine spans\(^1\) (i.e. 6-7 foot); and *hatthapāsoc* curs (Pātimokkhā, Dickson, p. 11; Kankhā Vitaraṇī, Minayeff, p. 98) in the sense of 2½ cubits.

31. At the end of his scheme of measures of length, Moggallāna states that a *karisa* is equal to four *ammanās* (a superficial measure). *Karisa* seems to have been the measure of extent really in use in Ceylon in the fifth century; it is used quite independently of *ammanā* (which does not occur as a measure of extent till much later). Eight *karisa* are mentioned in the Mahāvansa, p. 221, l. 49, in the commentaries to the Dhammapāda (p. 135), and to the Jātaka (p. 94, l. 24); sixteen *karisa* in the Mahāvansa (p. 166), and in the Jātaka commentary (p. 94, l. 22); and again one hundred *karisa* in the Mahāvansa, p. 61. None of these passages give any clue to its size; but if the tradition preserved by Moggallāna be correct, it would be equal to about four acres. Like all other Ceylon measures of extent, it is derived, not from any measure of length, but from a measure of capacity, the Tamil *karisu*, explained by Winslow to be a dry measure equal to four hundred marakkāls, or according to some equal to two hundred paras. It was not till after the arrival of the Europeans that the Sinhalese had any exact measure of extent: they *always measured land by the quantity of seed which could be sown in it*; and the peasantry do so still in practice, although in some of the more advanced districts they occasionally use English measures in their legal documents. One result of their mode of measurement is that each measure varies according to the nature of the ground, and the kind of seed used. Thus a *pēla\(^2\)* of land on very dry soil, where rice will not grow, or on a hill-side, where the seed has to be sown very sparsely, is larger than a *pēla* of muddy or low land, where the ordinary rice will grow very thickly. To add to the confusion, the dry measures of capacity differ in different districts, not only different names being generally used, but the same name in different senses.\(^3\)

32. This was doubtless the case also in the twelfth century, when Moggallāna drew up the following table of

**MEASURES OF CAPACITY.**

\[\begin{array}{cccc}
4 \text{ (Pasa (handful) = 1 Pačha or Nāji.} & & & \\
16 & \text{do.} & = & 4 \text{ do.} = 1 \text{ [Jhaka or Tamba].} \\
64 & \text{do.} & = & 16 \text{ do.} = 4 \text{ do.} = 1 \text{ Doṣa.} \\
256 & \text{do.} & = & 64 \text{ do.} = 16 \text{ do.} = 4 \text{ do.} = 1 \text{ Miṃka.} \\
1024 & \text{do.} & = & 256 \text{ do.} = 64 \text{ do.} = 16 \text{ do.} = 4 \text{ do.} = 1 \text{ Khāri.} \\
20480 & \text{do.} & = & 5120 \text{ do.} = 1280 \text{ do.} = 320 \text{ do.} = 80 \text{ do.} = 20 \text{ do. = 1 } \text{ Viḷa (horse load).} \\
& & & 1 \text{ Sakāta (cart load).} \\
\end{array}\]

Also 11 Doṣa = 1 Ammanā, and 10 Ammanā = 1 Kambhā.*

33. Of these none of those marked * are used in the sense of a measure in the published texts, unless the statement in Kaccayana (Senart, p. 155) that a *dopa* is less than a khāri can be

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\(^1\) Manual Budhī, p. 371; comp. Dickson, Pātimokkhā, p. 92.

\(^2\) The *pēla* to be pronounced like French *œ* in mare.

\(^3\) Clough, in his Dictionary, saya 6 kumun or yālas = 1 parah; 12 kumun = 1 pēla; and 8 parahs or 160 measures = 1 amun. I have usually found that 40 lābas = 1 pēla, and 4 pēlas = 1 amun (Pah ammanā), which was in rice-fields equal to about two acres. Compare on this mode of measuring extent, Thomas, Ancient Indian Weights, p. 31, note; and Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Essays, vol. ii. p. 246.

\(^4\) Pusta is really the cavity formed by bending the palm of one hand; that formed by joining the two hands is called kampaṭa, or abjali. See Abb. 296 and Mah. 37.
MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

Considered as an example of the use of khāri; but curiously enough khāri occurs at Jātaka, p. 9, lines 15, 24 as a measure of weight. Moggałāma follows the current Sanskrit tables except in the data regarding the vāha, ammaṇa, and kumbha; and in the omission of the measures less than the pasata, by which the Sanskrit tables establish an artificial connexion between this table and the tables of weight. The ammaṇa (Sinhalese ammaṇa, Tamil amban) now varies in different parts of Ceylon from five to seven bushels and a half. In the Mahāvamsa, pp. 174, 157, an ammaṇa of sand is mentioned; at Jāt. 33 an ammaṇa of kahāpaṇas; and at Jātaka, p. 62, line 15, we are told of a mattras made of an ammaṇa of jasmine and other flowers.

34. In the commentary on the Pātimokkha occurs the following interesting passage: ‘There are three kinds of begging bowls—the high bowl, the middle bowl, and the low bowl. The high bowl takes half an āhaka of boiled rice (or the fourth of that quantity of uncooked rice) and a suitable supply of curry: the middle bowl takes a nālika of boiled rice (or the fourth of that quantity of uncooked rice) and a suitable supply of curry: the low bowl takes a patha of boiled rice (or the fourth of that quantity of uncooked rice) and a suitable supply of curry. From some places the high bowl cannot be procured, from others the low bowl. In this passage ‘three kinds of bowls’ means three sizes of bowls; ‘takes half an āhaka of boiled rice’ means takes the boiled food made from two nālis of dry rice of the Magadha nāli. In the Anuḍha Commentary, a Magadha nāli is said to be 13½ handfuls (pudata). The nāli in use in the island of Ceylon is larger than the Tamil one. The Magadha nāli is the right measure. It is said in the Great Commentary that one Sinhalese nāli is equal to 1¼ of this Magadha nāli.’ It is clear from the above passage that Moggałāma’s scheme, in which the patha is made the same as the nāli, will not apply to the fifth-century books. The nāli was a liquid as well as a dry measure, for a nāli of oil is mentioned at Mahāvamsa, p. 177, l. 6, and a nāli of honey at Mahāvamsa, p. 197, l. 1. At Jātaka, p. 98, l. 5, Gautama tells a householder to listen, giving ear attentively, as if he were filling a golden nāli with lion’s marrow! The original meaning of the word is pipe or reed, then the joint of a bambū, and hence the measure, either dry or liquid, which such a joint would contain; or, as a measure of extent, the space over which the seed continued in such a measure could be sown. As the size of different bambus differed, we can understand the origin of the difference in the size of the measures. In Sanskrit, though neither nāli nor nāli have acquired the meaning of a measure of capacity, nāli is given in the Koṣas as a measure of time. The corresponding measure of capacity in Sanskrit is prastha, to which in the Pāṭanī Dictionary many different values are assigned, inter alia that of four Kundavas; and it is curious to notice that Colebrooke (Essays, vol. ii. p. 535) mentions a ‘Mogadha prastha,’ which the Tibetans also use (Taranātha, p. 35). The Sinhalese word is moliya, which Clough explains as ‘three pints, wine measure’: the Tamil is

1 See Thomas, ibid., p. 26, and Colebrooke, Ansār Koṣa, p. 242, where 20 Dropas = 1 Kumbha; and 10 Kumbha (i.e. 200 and not 336 Dropas) = 1 Vāha. Compare Colebrooke’s Essays, vol. ii. pp. 633–634.
2 Minayef, p. 81 on 19, 19.
3 This is of course the same as nāli. See Jātaka, pp. 124–126.
5 Comp. Wilson, Glossary, s.v., and Traill’s Report on Kumbon, As. Res. xiv.
6 As Mahāvamsa, p. 217, last line, kunataṇi seems to mean the lance, or, perhaps shield, of a spear or dagger.
7 This is pronounced like a sālā.
nălį, which Winslow explains as the eighth part of a kurandī or marakkāl. Finally, in the inscription referred to above (§ 20), patā, kirīya, and paya are used as measures of extent; the kirīya being four annamās; and neliya, adanānd, and patā are used as measures of capacity; the patā being the same as pasata, a handful, and stated by Clough to be the eighth of a seer, that is, the 356th part of a bushel, while the adamanā is probably another name for the nălį.

PART III.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF CEYLON UNDER THOSE KINGS WHOSE COINS ARE EXTANT.

36. About five centuries before Christ the island of Ceylon was colonized by Aryan settlers from Orissa. On their arrival they found the country inhabited by a people whom in their histories they called Yakshas or devils, and who were probably of Dravidian race, although their nationality has not yet been, and probably never will be, ascertained with certainty. The island was converted to Buddhism in the middle of the third century B.C. by Mahendra, the son of Aśoka the Great; but was very soon afterwards invaded by the Tamils, who held the whole of the Northern plains for more than half a century. From that time down to the fourteenth century the history of Ceylon is the history of the struggles of the Aryan islanders to hold their own against the ever-increasing numbers of the Dravidian hordes. Twelve times the Tamils became masters of the plains, and twelve times the Sinhalese issued forth again from their mountain strongholds and drove their enemies back across the sea. But each victory left the victors weaker than before. They felt they were fighting against overwhelming odds, and gradually withdrew the seat of government further and further south, until the long struggle was terminated at last by the devastation of the country; and the rich plains from the peninsula of Jaffna in the extreme North to the Northerly spurs of the Central hills relapsed into their present state of almost deserted jungle.

36. In the last years of the tenth century the Cholians had been obliged to quit the island; but in the year 1050 they again invaded Ceylon, and though the King had fled to the hills in the South, they captured him and his Queen, and carried them prisoners to the peninsula. As soon as they turned their backs, the mountaineers, as usual, reasserted their independence; and while the plains were governed by the Cholian viceroy, the hills were ruled by a son of the captured King named Kāsīyapa. The King died in captivity, but his son immediately proclaimed himself Rāja of Ceylon, and was making great preparations to expel the Cholians, when he was taken ill and died. Always dependent on a visible head, the Sinhalese were at once thrown into disorder. The young son of Kāsīyapa was proclaimed King, and his advisers sent for help to Siam—not altogether without

1 The authorities are: Tumour's Epitome of the History of Ceylon, and his Mahāvāsa, pp. lix-lxii and lxxxvi-lxxix; Lassen's Indische Altherthumskunde, vol. iv, pp. 509-508, for which Lassen borrowed a MS. of the Mahāvāsa; and my articles, 'On the Invasion of South India by Parikrama the Great,' in the Journ. BengaL As. Soc., vol. xli, part 1, 1872; 'On the Audience Hall Inscription' in the Indian Antiquary for Sept., 1874, and 'On Sinhalese Inscriptions' in the Journ. Royal As. Soc. for 1874 and 1875. For the period subsequent to Parikrama's death I have also consulted the MS. of the Mahāvāsa in the India Office.

2 It has been usual to consider the Waddas, a tribe of savages still existing in the South-west jungles of Ceylon, as the descendants of these aborigines. If this be so, they were possibly the descendants of former Aryan colonists, but the language of the Waddas has not yet been thoroughly investigated. Mr. E. F. Harthorne, late of the Ceylon Civil Service, has stated all that is known of this curious tribe in an interesting article in the Fortnightly Review of January last.
success; but the central power was too weak to gain hearty allegiance; the clans retired to their valleys; and for a time the national cause seemed to be forgotten, whilst the members of the royal family were engaged in schemes against each other. At last the rivalry broke out in open revolt, and two chiefs, near relations of the young king Wijaya-bahu, proclaimed war against him. The danger of the crisis showed that Wijaya-bahu had inherited his father’s martial vigour. He himself took the field, and completely defeated the insurgents; and at the first news of the victory the clans flocked to his standard. Then ensued a protracted and desultory warfare, which did not end till the Choliens were completely driven out of the island. The King established his Court at Pulastipura, and spent the last ten years of his long reign in endeavours to restore the irrigation works on which depended the prosperity of the country, and which had fallen into decay under the rule of the Malabars.

37. But the unfortunate country was not to taste the blessings of peace. Immediately on the death of the King, the members of the royal family, who thought only of their own interests, began to quarrel for the possession of the throne, and for twenty-two years the island was desolated by a civil war of the most ruthless and determined kind. At length Parâkrama Bâhu (1153), a nephew of the late King, after a long struggle with his uncles, and a short but bitter and furious war against his own father, was able to crown himself King of all Ceylon, and enjoy the sweet sense of undisputed power. He was not long in showing that that power would be used to a degree to which it had never been used before. He strongly fortified his capital Pulastipura, the modern Topãwa, built a splendid palace seven stories high for himself, and two others five stories high for priests and devotees. Then he laid out a park near his palace, and built in it a hall for the coronation of kings, and near it a brick temple, which he called the Jetavanârâma. At the other end of the town he constructed also a splendid stone temple for the worship of the Buddha—a building which, carved out of the solid rock, is, even in its ruins, a lasting memorial of the skill and taste of the workmen he employed. In a few years he had succeeded, partly by taxation, partly by compulsory labour, in making Pulastipura one of the strongest and most beautiful cities in India; and he succeeded also in reposing into rebellion a nation always distinguished for its wondrous patience under the oppression of its kings. The insurrection was put down after a protracted struggle, causing great destruction of life and property, and a severe example was made among the insurgents, the leaders being impaled, beheaded and otherwise punished. Once more unrivalled at home, this able and ambitious despot now turned his victorious arms against the Kings of Kâmboja and Râmânya, undeterred by the enormous risk and difficulty of sending a fleet of transports 1500 miles from home to the further side of the open Bay of Bengal. It may well be doubted whether any other monarch in Europe or Asia would at that time have conceived so daring an idea, or, if he had, could have carried it to a successful issue. The Crusaders carried their arms about as far;

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1 By the kind permission of Mr. Ferguson I have been allowed to place at the beginning of this monograph the woodcut of this temple, which originally appeared in Sir E. Tennant’s Ceylon. Since the drawing from which it was taken was made, the entrance was excavated for Government under my superintendence, and was found to be richly carved in bas-relief.

2 It seems probable, from the headings of the chapters of the Mahâvamsa relating to this period, that some of the disappointed members of the royal family took advantage of the general discontent to invite the people to revolt.

3 i.e., Burma; and more especially its coast provinces referred to in Ayodhya’s edicts as Swarnâ-âdâr, Comp. Bigandt, p. 389.
but they either marched through countries for the most part friendly, or sailed along the Mediterranean, whose numerous islands could afford them food and shelter: and though they accomplished much which they did not intend, they failed in the object they proposed. About 1175 A.D. the Sinhalese fleet arrived safely at its destination, and completely conquered Kākadvipa and Rāmānya, taking the Kings of those countries, with their ministers, prisoners. The latter was restored to his throne on the monks intervening for him and on his making full submission; but the King of Kākadvipa died in captivity in Ceylon.

38. Soon afterwards the Pāṇḍian King Parākrama, of the city of Madura, appealed to his Sinhalese namesake for help against his suzerain Kulasekhara, who was preparing to attack him. The flattering request was received with favour, and a Sinhalese army was sent to invade and lay waste the territories of Kulasekhara, that King being taken prisoner, and his son Virapāṇḍu raised to the throne as a vassal of Parākrama Bāhu. About 1180 the troops advanced also against Chola, and after an obstinate war took and destroyed the strongly fortified capital Amarāvati, and then returned to Ceylon rich with booty and tribute. Meanwhile the King at home had been still further adding to the religious and royal buildings at his capital, and had undertaken some of the largest and most difficult engineering works which the mind of man had then conceived. He constructed inland lakes ten, twenty, even forty miles round (one of them called 'the Sea of Parākrama'), fed from the principal rivers of Ceylon by broad and deep canals, which also united these lakes to one another and to the principal towns, whilst smaller canals conducted their waters to extensive and fertile tracts of arable land. It may perhaps be doubtful whether all of these works were worth the immense labour which they must have cost; but as the labour was probably compulsory, whilst a tax in kind of one-tenth of the produce was certainly levied on all the irrigated land, the schemes no doubt benefited the royal exchequer, while they threw additional glory on the royal name. Parākrama died in 1180, after a reign of thirty-three years—'the most martial, enterprising and glorious,' says Turnour, 'in Sinhalese history'; he had earned for himself undying fame, and had so exhausted and impoverished the country that it was long before it began to recover from the effects of his daring ambition.

39. The following table will show the relationship of Parākrama to his different rivals in Ceylon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mamendra IV. (1023 A.D.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kṣaya Bahu Wira bahu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Wijaya bahu I. (1171) | Wira bahu | Jaya bahu I. (1120) | Mihā = Pāṇḍyan prince |

| Wira bahu | Subhadra | Rashavali = Manabara | Kiri | Sri Meghavarna | Sri Wallaha |

| Liyavali = Parākrama I. = Repavali |

40. Parākrama was succeeded by his nephew Wijaya Bahu (1186), whose character seems to have been a curious mixture. He is celebrated in the priestly chronicles as a most religious prince,
who himself wrote letters in the sacred language to exhort the King of Rāmāyana to aid him in extending the faith, and who took great pains to administer impartial justice, and relieved the people from the oppressions under which they had been suffering under his predecessor. But it was an intrigue with a farmer’s daughter named Dīpāni which led to his being murdered, after a reign of only one year, by a Kalinga named Mahinda.

41. The throne was then seized by the crown prince (uparaja) Nissanka Malla (1187), a relation of Parākrama’s Queen Līlāvatī, and a son of Rāja Jayagopa of Kalinga. The Mahāvamsa, after describing at great length in eighteen chapters the striking acts of Parākrama, unfortunately dismisses the next sixteen kings in one short chapter, and the deficiency is only partly made up by the interesting inscriptions referred to in the note at the commencement of this historical sketch. It appears from these inscriptions that Nissanka Malla was a quiet and patriotic, if not very vigorous or wise prince, who devoted the nine short years of his reign to internal reforms. He visited all parts of the island, and boasted that ‘such was the security which he established, that even a woman might pass through the land with a precious gem and not be asked, “What is it?”’! The means by which he accomplished this may not have been so foolish as at first sight it appears. ‘He put down robbery,’ says the Ruwanweli Inscription, ‘by relieving—through grants of cattle and fields and gold and silver and money’! and pearls and jewelry and clothes, as each one desired—the anxiety of the people, who, impoverished and oppressed by the very severe taxations of Parākrama Bāhu the First (which exceeded those customary by former kings), lived by robbery: for, thought he, they wish to steal only because they desire to live.’ He further claims to have reduced taxation, remitting entirely one tax—that on hill paddy—which was felt as a particular hardship, and at the same time to have greatly improved internal communication, repairing the roads and putting up rest-houses along them for the use of travellers. ‘Removing far away the fear of poverty and the fear of thieves and the fear of oppression, he made every one in the island of Lankā happy.’ But he lavished enormous sums on the priests. He is said, in one Inscription, to have spent seven lakhs on the Cave Temple at Dambulla, and forty lakhs on the Ruwanweli Dāgaba at Anurādhapura;! and though these amounts are certainly exaggerated (another of his own inscriptions giving them as one and seven lakhs), he is known to have built the huge Rankot Dāgaba at Pulastipura, and the exquisite stone temple of the Tooth at the same place, certainly the most beautiful, though one of the smallest ancient temples in Ceylon.

42. His son Wirabhāhu was killed on the day of his accession, and his brother Wikrama Bāhu, who succeeded, suffered the same fate three months afterwards, at the hands of his son or nephew Cōragānga (1196), who, after a short reign of nine months, was dethroned and blinded by the minister Kirti. The minister then married Līlāwati, the widow of Parākrama, and ruled the

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1 Hallam in his ‘Middle Ages,’ vol. ii. p. 312, quotes from the Saxon Chronicle that in the time of William the Conqueror ‘a girl laden with gold might have passed safely through the kingdom.’ And Temyson makes Harold say to the Earl of Northum:

   *In mine eorðum
   *A man may hang gold bracelets on a bush,
   *And leave them for a year, and coming back
   *Find them again.’

2 māni rūn, i.e. gold relics.

country in her name for the next three years. They were in their turn overthrown by another minister Anikanga, who first placed Sahasa Mall, another son (but by a different queen) of Raja Jayagopa, of Kalinga, on the throne, but deposed and banished him after two years, and then reigned for six years in the name of Kalyansawati, the widow of Nissanka Mall. Her son (? Dharmasoka Deva, a babe of three months old, was the next puppet king, but after governing in his name for a year, Anikanga, relying on the help of Cholian mercenaries, put him to death, and openly declared himself King. But he had gone too far. Another revolution or palace intrigue immediately took place: after a few days he was captured and killed, and Lilawati was restored to the throne. But before she had enjoyed her recovered dignity for a year, another insurrection broke out, which ended, twenty-eight months after her restoration, by a Pandyan prince named Parakrama (1211) attaining supreme power. He also was not long left in peace. A new invasion—this time from Kalinga—took place, and a barbarian prince named Maha (1214) overran the island, pillaging and destroying the temples and oppressing the people.

42. After tyrannizing over the unhappy country for twenty-one years, this despot was attacked by a young chief named Wijaya-bahu, who rallied round his standard the brave mountainers—always the last to be subdued, and the first to revolt. In a desperate struggle, which lasted three years, they regained from their oppressors first the mountain districts, then the plains of Ruhuna in the South, and at last the capital Pulastipura and the plains of the North. But the latter city had been completely ruined, and when the patriot chief was crowned King of all Ceylon, under the title of Wijaya Bahu III., in 1235, he removed the seat of government to Dambadenia, at the foot of the Kandian hills in the district now called Kurunagala.

44. In his long reign of twenty-four years this patriotic ruler so strengthened the country that when the hereditary foes of Ceylon again invaded the island, in the time of his son Pandiya Parakrama (1259), they met with a signal defeat. Both these monarchs were great patrons of literature; and the latter especially, who was himself a voluminous writer, took great pains to restore the sacred books, many of which had been destroyed in the time of Maha, and caused the chronicles of the island to be completed down to his reign. His son Wijaya Bahu IV. returned to the ill-omened city of Pulastipura, and there, after he had reigned only two years, was murdered by his prime minister, Mitra Sena. But the latter did not live to reap the fruits of his treason. He was himself assassinated shortly after, and Bhuvanakha Bahu, the last of the kings whose coins are extant, succeeded to the vacant throne in 1296.

1 The date of this event (1743 A.D. Weha = 1200 A.D.) is fixed by an inscription I have published in the Journal of the R.A.S. 1875, in an article entitled "Two Sinhalese Inscriptions." This is the oldest inscription but one as yet known in which Buddha-marchas, the era of Buddha, is mentioned; comp. 144 below.
2 Also called Keralaya in the 89th chapter of the Mahavansa, verses 61, 76, of the Indian Office MS.
3 That this Wijaya-bahu was not related to any of the preceding kings, is proved by the fact that he based his claim to the throne on his descent from Sanga Be, a popular Sinhalese hero and Buddhist martyr, who reigned from A.D. 238-249. So Dhikivonan, who expelled the Pandyan usurpers in the fifth century, claimed descent from Yaithila Tissa, who reigned in the first. Mah. pp. 218, 234.
4 Lassen, Le., p. 337, note, thinks this should be seven years.
5 When excavating at Pulastipura, I found at the ruined gate of the palace a fallen slab covered with an inscription of Nissanka Mall. Under it was an old spear-head, which must have been used, at the latest, at this last siege of the ill-fated town, whose glory lasted no short a time.
45. List of the Kings of Ceylon from 1153–1296 A.D.

1. Parâkrama Bâhu* 1153
2. Wijaya Bâhu II.* 1186 Nephew of last.
5. Coçâganga* 1196 Nephew of Nişanka Malla.
7. Sâhasa Malla* 1200 Brother(?) of Nişanka Malla.
8. Kalyânañwati* (queen) 1202 Widow of Nişanka Malla.
9. Dharamasîka* 1208
10. Lîlâwati (restored) 1209
14. Dambadeniya Parâkrama 1259 Son of the last king.
15. Besal Wijaya Bâhu 1294 Son of the last king.
16. Bhunaweka Bâhu* 1296 Brother of the last king.

* Coins are extant of those monarchs marked with a star.

PART IV. Description of the Coins.

Coins of Parâkrama Bâhu, 1153–1186 A.D.

46. The Lankâware gold coin, Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4.

On the obverse a standing figure of the king; turning towards the right; in his left hand a lotus-flower, of which Fig. 3 gives a front view, the others a side view; in his right hand apparently a weapon of some kind,1 figured most clearly in Fig. 4. To the left of this is another symbol, appearing most clearly in Fig. 4, the meaning of which I do not understand (a sceptre). The figure stands on the stalk of a lotus terminating in a flower to its left; between this flower and the left hand are five dots surrounded by small circles, which again I take to be lotus-flowers. Fig. 3 has only four of these. The dhoti or cloth wrapped round the loins falls in folds on each side of and between the legs.2 On the head of the figure is a conical cap.

On the reverse the same figure seated. In the left hand a lotus [there is nothing in the paper in the Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society for 1846, p. 82. It may be as well to point out that Humumim, ‘the mighty-jawed,’ the mythical monkey who appears in the Ramayana as the faithful ally of Rama in his fabled invasion of Ceylon, is almost unknown in Sinhalese literature, and was never worshipped in the island. The true origin of the figure is explained below, § 65, and there can be no reason to believe that the Sinhalese meant to represent a mythological monster, known only as an enemy to Ceylon.}
right—the extension with five projections is meant for the hand with the five fingers].\(^1\) The left leg rests on a kind of grating. On the left side of the figure, to the right of the coin, the legend श्री लंकेश्वर Śrī Lāṅkaēśvarā.\(2\) In Fig. 3 the annuswāra circle or dot is misplaced under the left arm of the figure. The complete form of the श, a small stroke to the upper right of the श, is very clear in Figs. 3 and 4, and is quite different from the श in the deva of Fig. 20. The र over the श is also clear enough in Figs. 3 and 4. The र in all specimens is curiously like र, and unlike the र of rája, Fig. 21; and of Parākrama, Figs. 5, 6, 7, 11, 14, 15.

47. Princep\(^3\) says of this coin, 'This name (Lāṅkaēśvarā) I presume to be the minister Lokaiśwara of Mr. Turnour's table, who usurped the throne during the Cholian subjection in the eleventh century (A.D. 1060); but he is not included among the regular sovereigns, and the coin may therefore belong to another usurper of the same name who drove out Queen Lilāvati in A.D. 1215, and reigned for a year.' Mr. Vaux\(^4\) adopts the former of these two suggestions; but the first part of the word, Lāṅk-, is perfectly clear on several specimens of the coin (see Figs. 1 and 4). If Lokaiśwara had struck a coin and had intended to put his name upon it, he would have done so; and the ० represented in this alphabet by two substantial strokes, one on each side of the letter (see Fig. 22), could not have disappeared as the tiny annuswāra dot has sometimes done.

48. The epithet Lāṅkaēśvara, Lord of Ceylon, may apply to any king of that country, and the similarity of name is no reason for fixing it upon either of these Lokaiśwaras. It should be noticed also that the former of the two was not a king at all, but a minister mentioned in the lists as the father of Wijaya Bāhū I; and the latter was a foreign usurper who never was in acknowledged possession of the kingdom, though he retained a precarious hold on the capital for a few months. Discarding therefore the idea that Lāṅkaēśvara stands for Lokaiśwara, we have to consider to which King of Ceylon this epithet belongs. It is never used in Ceylon literature before the time of Parākrama the Great. The Pāli form Lāṅkissār is then found applied to three kings; namely, to Mahāsena, A.D. 275, and his son Kirti Śrī Megha-warna, A.D. 391;\(^5\) and to Wijaya Bāhū the First, A.D. 1071.\(^6\) The Sinhalese form is only found applied to two kings; namely, to Parākrama Bāhū himself in the account of his conquest of South India;\(^7\) and to Nīsānka Malla, A.D. 1187, in his own inscriptions.\(^8\) Coins were unknown in Ceylon in the time of the first two kings mentioned; it is not known that any were struck by the third. The epithet is used of him in such a way as to convey the impression rather that the word in the time of the writer (tempore Parākrama) had come to be used of all Kings of Ceylon, than that it was a distinctive appellation of Wijaya. There remain the two last; for the former speaks the fact that the word came into use in the literature of his reign; that he conquered South India, and thence introduced the art

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1 I think the object held by Fig. 3 is, like that in the others, meant for a loins, but compare Fig. 12.
2 Mr. Thomas altogether dissent from Princep's original reading of Lāṅkaēśvara, and interprets the legible portion of the letters as लंकेश्वर Lāṅkeēśvar, or in No. 4 लंकोश्वर Lāṅkoēśvar.
3 Vol. i. p. 421 of Mr. Thomas's edition.
5 In the Dīghākārana, Canto vi. verse 4, 69.
6 Mahāvamsa, ed. Turnour, p. lxxvii. Both this part of the Mahāvamsa and the Dīghākārana were written in the time of Parākrama.
8 In the Daṃbulla inscription, and in the Rankot Dāgaha inscription, published by me in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of 1874.
of coining into Ceylon: and that he is the only King of Ceylon who struck several coins; for the latter that though in three of his inscriptions he is not called Lankeswara, the epithet is given in two others as one of his distinctive titles. On the other hand, in those two inscriptions he is called Kâliṅga Lankeswara, and on his own coin he uses that title in full, which is exactly what he would have done had he wished to distinguish himself from some previous Lankeswara.

On the whole, therefore, it seems to me certain—as certain, that is, as the identification of coins bearing such ambiguous legends ever can be—that this coin belongs to Parâkrama the Great.

It only remains to add that the coin is rare. There are three examples in the Guthrie collection in Berlin, two in the British Museum, two in my own collection, and one in the collection of H. H. Bowman, Esq., of Baddegama, Ceylon. Those described by Prinsep and Mr. Vaux are in the British Museum.

No. 1 from my collection weighs 67 grains. No. 2 is in the Guthrie collection. No. 3 is in the British Museum and weighs 68½ grains, though, as will be noticed, it is much less in diameter than the others. No. 4 is in the British Museum and weighs 65½ grains.

49. The Lion coin of Parâkrama, Figs. 5, 6, 7. Copper.

On the obverse the standing figure of the râja. The face turned to right represented in the most extraordinary way by three strokes, with a curve for the back of the head. The transition form of this mode of expressing the face, which Prinsep calls 'altogether unique in the history of perrverted art,' may be seen in Figs. 9, 11. In the left hand of the figure is the lotus, in the right the weapon referred to in § 46 and note 1. There is no lotus-stalk under the feet. The cap is formed by two strokes and a dot. The two dots under the arms are the upper part of the dhoti. To the right of the coin is a well-defined lion, sitting, with the mouth open, showing the teeth in the upper jaw.

On the reverse the seated figure of the râja, and to the right the legend श्री पराक्रमबाहु Sri Parâkrama Bâhu.

Fig. 5 is from the Guthrie collection. Fig. 6 from my own is worn, and weighs 55 grains. Fig. 7, also my own, weighs 61 grains. The British Museum has no specimen of this coin, of which less than a dozen examples have been found. My collection has seven of these, two in good condition, besides which I only know of Colonel Guthrie's, and of two others in private hands in Ceylon, one of which is now, I believe, in the possession of Mr. Bowman, and the other in Mr. Dickson's collection.

50. The half massa of Parâkrama Bâhu.

This small copper coin, Fig. 11, has on the obverse the standing figure of the râja, and on the reverse only the legend श्री पराक्रमबाहु Sri Parâkrama Bâhu. Prinsep, whose coins are now in the British Museum, says, that 'several specimens of this were dug up in 1837 at Montollee (Mâtalé) in Ceylon;' but the Museum has only four, of which the one figured in the Plate is the only one in good preservation, and no others are known to have reached Europe.

1 See my article in the J. B. A. S. 1872, vol. xii, pt. 1, p. 137.
2 Namely, the Ruwanweli inscription published by me in the J. R. A. S. for 1872, and the two others in my article mentioned in the last note but one.
3 See below § 68.
4 A sovereign weighs nearly 176 grains.
51. The reverse of Parākrama Bāhu. Figs. 14, 15.

On the obverse the standing figure as on the Lion coin. To the right beneath is a lotus, and above it five dots. On the reverse the sitting figure, and the legend श्री पराक्रमशास्त्र कर्म र्थी Parākrama Bāhu. This is the coin which was imitated by the six succeeding rājas, and a good many specimens, perhaps 100 in all, have been found, but very few of them are in good condition, and scarcely any show the r at the foot of the k. Prinsep seems to have had only one. The best specimen of fourteen in my collection weighs 62 grains.

52. The remainder of the coins, whose identification is certain, belong also to the series just mentioned; each of the following kings having only struck one coin. For the history of these kings the reader is referred to what has been said above; I quote here only the legends on the coins.

श्री बिजयशास्त्रा स्री विजया बाहु. Fig. 17. Copper.

There were several kings so called; the coin belonging, I think, to the nephew and successor of Parākrama, the second of the name. It is almost certain that Parākrama the Great was the first King of Ceylon who issued coins, and the rarity of the specimens with this inscription agrees well with the shortness of Wijaya II.'s reign. The coin is rare; good examples very rare. The one in my collection, from which the figure is taken, weighs 62 grains.

53. श्री चोज्जगंगस्वर्य श्री चोज्जगंगा देव. Fig. 19. Copper.

This unique coin is in the possession of G. G. Place, Esq., late of the Public Works Department in Ceylon. I think there can be no doubt about the reading, though the anusvāra is omitted, and the vowel marks of the o have pushed out the circle of the च. Turnour in his list has erroneously given the name of this king as Chandakanga, but the India Office MS. of the Mahāvansa, ch. 80, clearly reads Cojaganga.

54. श्री राजसिडाती को विजया वाहु. Fig. 21.

This is not so rare as the Wijaya Bāhu. The figure is taken from a specimen in my collection weighing 64 grains.

55. श्री मलाहासम्म श्री मला Sāhāsa Malla. Fig. 23.

Some hundreds of these coins have been found. The curious shape of the square s, and the addition of the syllable mal, prevented its identification for some time, and Prinsep was the first to decipher it. The t is inserted in the upper left-hand corner of the square s, and is so small that in most of the specimens it is indistinguishable. The one in my collection from which the figure is taken weighs 63 grains. It is curious that no coins have as yet been discovered of Kalyānavati, the queen who reigned for six years after the dethronement of Sāhāsa Malla. It is true that more of his coins have been found than of any of the others, so that he may very possibly have issued more coins than were needed to supply the small monetary requirements of the country so soon after the numerous issues of Parākrama; but this can scarcely have prevented the new government from making at least a small issue in her honour, as has been done in the case of the other less important sovereigns.

1 He points out (loc. cit. fig. 3) that one was engraved in the Asiatic Researches, and interpreted, doubtfully, by Professor Wilken, Shri Rama Nath.
COINS OF CEYLON RAJAS.

56. श्री धर्मनायकदेव स्वरूपालका देव. Fig. 22.
The r is visible above the m in a few specimens only. It may be seen in the figure, which also gives a more complete form of the d than occurs on most of the specimens. The coin is very rare, like that of Wijaya Bahu, both these kings having reigned only twelve months. Dharmayaka was placed on the throne when he was three months old, though, as Princep patiently remarks, 'the portrait would lead us to suppose him of mature age.' The well-preserved example figured is in my collection and weighs 63 grains.

57. श्री भुवामातिका शाहा. Fig. 16.
This sovereign came to the throne nearly a century after the last. His coins are not very rare, but good examples are seldom met with. I have only seen one or two which show the upper stroke of the diphthong ai or the vowel mark u distinct from the hh, which may account for Princep's reading Bhavanka. The unusually well executed specimen in my collection, from which the figure is taken, weighs 63 grains.

58. I now come to coins whose classification is, at present, quite uncertain, and it is doubtful whether some of them belong to Ceylon at all; but I have thought it better to include them all in the plate for the purposes of comparison.
Fig. 24. Copper.
On the obverse the standing figure; on the reverse a bull, standing, to right; above it the new moon; to right of it the legend श्री VI. I think it is impossible with Princep, loc. cit., to assign this very rare coin to Wijaya Bahu VI., who reigned in Ceylon as late as 1398 A.D., although he was also called Vira Bahu. Nisanka Malla, A.D. 1187, in one of his inscriptions, calls himself, among other titles, Vira, and in another Viraraja; but his suzerainty was not acknowledged in India, and I doubt whether this coin has ever been found in Ceylon. Perhaps it may belong to Vira Pandya, the prince whom Parakrama placed as his vassal on the throne of Pandya (see above, § 38). The specimen figured is in the British Museum; it is the one described by Princep, and the only one known to me.

59. The Lakshmi coin. Figs. 9, 10. Gold.
On the obverse the standing figure as on the Lankeshwara coin, but the ornament to the left above instead of below the arm, and to the right the trident. On the reverse the legend श्री लक्ष्मी; above it, the same symbol as on the obverse of Fig. 3; which symbol I take for the lotus. Fig. 9 in my collection weighs nearly 17 grains; Fig. 10 is in the British Museum, and weighs 16½ grains; these are the only specimens I know.

60. The Tamrakhi coin. Fig. 12. Gold.
Obverse the same as the last. On the reverse the legend Tamrakhi (?), with the lotus symbol above. From the specimen in the British Museum weighing 7½ grains.

61. The Iraka coin. Fig. 13.
Obverse the same as the last, but the weapon (?) on the right is again held in, and not placed above, the hand. On the reverse the legend Iraka (?) surmounted by the lotus symbol, as in Fig. 4 with a stroke and dot behind it. The legend may possibly be Haraka or Daraka; if it
could be read Laka, that would be the ancient Sinhalese form of Lanka. I have seen six or
seven specimens of this coin, which is figured from one in my collection weighing 8 grains, and
it has also been found in South India.

62. The large Sētu bull coin. Fig. 19. Copper.

On the obverse the standing figure as in the Lion coin, but the weapon or flower in the
right hand has degenerated into a straight line with several cross-strokes. In the place of the
lion the trisūla or trident, and a sceptre. On the reverse the bull sacred to Vishnu, above it
the new moon with a star between the horns of the crescent; below, the legend चन्द्र सेतु :
to the left of the figure five small dots, to the right twelve dots.

Prinsep's note on this coin is as follows: 1 Two of these exhibit a new type of reverse, the
Indian bull Namī, which may possibly betoken a change in the national religion. The legend
beneath I immediately recognized as identical with the flourish on Fig. 13, turning the latter
sideways to read it. What it may be is a more difficult question. The first letter bears a
striking analogy to the vowel e of the Southern alphabets; but if so, by what alphabet is the
remainder to be interpreted? for it may be equivocally read betya, benya, chetya, and perhaps
Chanda or Nanda. The last alone is the name of a great conqueror in the Cholian and other
Southern annals, but it would be wrong to build on so vague an assumption. It is at any rate
probable that the "bull" device is a subsequent introduction, because we find it contained in the
Haleo Kanara coins below.

63. I was for some time in doubt about the legend; but it now seems to me certain that the
reading of the legend as above is correct. Sētu, which means originally a bridge or causeway,
is used in the Bhagavata Purāṇa as a name 'of Adam's Bridge or of one of the islands of
this great group.' This latter can only be Rāmaśvaram, which is given as one of the meanings
of the word in Winslow's Tamil Dictionary. Now we are distinctly informed in the Narendra-
caritāwakāṇa-pradīpikāwa, a very trustworthy Sinhalese epitome of the Mahāvamsa, that
Parākrama's general Lankāpara, after conquering Pāṇḍya, remained some time at Rāmaśvaram,
building a temple there, and that while on the island he struck kahāwana, that is kahapāya.2
As the temple was built in honour of Vishnu, the bull need not surprise us, and it betokens
no change in the national religion. It is true that Parākrama was a Buddhist, but the tolerance
of Buddhist monarchs is well known, and one of the best preserved of the ruins of Parākrama's
capital Pulastipura (the modern Topāra) is a Vimāna for the worship of Vishnu. Round the
outside of this building, which was erected either by Parākrama himself or by Niṣānka
Malla, runs an inscription in Tamil characters of very much the same type as those on these
Sētu coins, and bearing the same relation to modern Tamil as the Sinhalese characters of
Parākrama's and Niṣānka Malla's inscriptions do to modern Sinhalese. We shall, I hope,
learn the purport of this inscription when Dr. Goldschmidt publishes his anxiously expected
report on the Archaeology of Ceylon: that the temple is sacred to Vishnu is certain from the
four stone bulls on its summit, which are couchant like the bull on the coin. It will

1 Loc. cit. p. 423.
2 See my translation of the passage loc. cit. (p 48, note 5).
be seen from my Dondra Inscription No. II.,¹ that this is not the only instance of Buddhist Kings in Ceylon building temples to Vishnu.

In dealing with coins that bear only a local description, there can seldom be absolute certainty in the identification, but—1. I know of no other ruler of Rameswaram of whom it is known from historical records that he struck coins there. 2. These resemble exactly in shape, size and appearance the Kahápañas struck by Parákráma in Ceylon. 3. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the South Indian coins are, with one exception,² of a quite different size, weight and appearance. 4. Those rájas who ruled over Rameswaram are not known to have issued any coins, while the Cholian and Pândyan rájas who conquered it would not have had any particular reason to put Setu on their coins; whereas, to Parákráma, his continental conquests were naturally a source of more than ordinary pride. 5. If these coins belonged to any of the South Indian dynasty, they would probably bear some one of the constant symbols used by those dynasties on their coins. I regret very much that Sir Walter Elliot was not able to get ready his paper on South Indian coins for this series, before mine was published. With the very meagre accounts of South Indian numismatics at present obtainable, the Ceylon numismatist is working a good deal in the dark; but at present, and with the evidence before me, I think that these coins are probably the very ones referred to as having been struck by Parákráma's general Lankápura at Setu.

The coin is very rare, only five or six examples being known. My specimen, a very perfect one, from which the figure in the Plate is taken, weighs 68 grains.

64. The small Setu bull coin. Fig. 18. Copper.

This is a half-size copy of the last, except that the large dots in the circle round the edge of the coin in Fig. 9 are here circles, and only three dots are required inside the circle to fill up the space by the side of the bull.

My own specimen and the one in the British Museum are the only ones known to me.

65. The exception referred to in the last paragraph but one is the coin with the inscription Rájarája (Fig. 8) which is inserted in the Plate, because it is the coin from which I believe the whole of the Ceylon series to be derived. Prinsep read it tentatively Guja-rája,³ and included it doubtfully in his plate of Ceylon coins. But the reading as above is no longer doubtful, and the coin has never, like those just mentioned, been found in Ceylon, while large numbers of the copper ones, and a few in gold, have been found in different places in South India, and especially in Amarávati and Tanjúr. There were doubtless many princes in South India who arrogated to themselves the title of king of kings, and it became so much a mere name that one of the petty Cholian chiefs who opposed Lankápura is called Rája-rája Kalappa.⁴ The title is also found used as an evident name in the copperplate grants of the Chálukya rájas in the eleventh century, though, as far as I know, it was never used alone.⁵ Of course Parákráma, the conqueror of the Kings of Chola,

¹ Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society, 1873.
² See next paragraph but one, § 64.
³ Loc. cit., p. 423.
⁴ The India Office M.S. of the Mahávamsa, chap. 77, verse 76.
⁵ Sir Walter Elliot informs me that there was a Rájarája Chola circa 1022-1069, and a Rájarája Vikramaditya 1078.
Pandy'a and Kalinga, and even of Rāmānya and Kāmboja, may well have called himself king of kings; but there can, I think, be no doubt that this coin belongs to one of the South Indian kings so called, and that it is the coin imitated by Parākrama in his coins, from which the Ceylon series is derived.

66. A coin of Nişanka Malla has been referred to above (§ 48), of which only three examples are known, two in the possession of Sir Walter Elliot, and one in the collection of Mr. Dickson, Government Agent of the North Central Province, Ceylon. Unfortunately all three specimens are just now mislaid, and though this paper has been delayed in the hope that one would be found, we are at last compelled to go to press without being able to include a figure of this coin in the Plate. The coin is of copper, and exactly like Fig. 14, except as regards the legend on the reverse. This legend Mr. Dickson, in a paper read before the Numismatic Society on the 19th of May, 1876, conjectures may possibly be read Śrī Kāli Gālu Kījā; but he is unable to determine to what reign the coin may belong, and does not consider the above reading at all certain. Not having the coin before me, I speak with great diffidence; but it seemed to me, when I once had an opportunity of inspecting it, to bear the legend Śrī Kālinga Lankeśvara. Below the Śrī, which was the same as that of Fig. 14, I read

कालिक

म ल

क व

That the anusvāra was not visible above the म need not surprise us, as it was seldom visible on the Lankeśvara coins (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4); and on those coins we usually find simply Lakavara for Lankeśvara, the dot for the anusvāra, the small stroke for the a, and the tiny ś added above the e, being rarely legible. Lastly, throughout the series, when there are six letters below the Śrī, the last of the six is almost always cut in half or quite missing, which would explain the absence of the ā.

If the reading I suggest should eventually prove to be correct, there can be very little doubt that the coin belongs to Nişanka Malla. It is true that in the list of kings at § 45 it will be seen that there are five sovereigns, or six if Dharmagāka be included, who might have called themselves Kālinga Lord of Ceylon; but if the coins were struck by any successor of Nişanka Malla, he would probably have used some title which would distinguish him from that prince, the first of those to whom the legend would be applicable. Of all the later Kāling princes we have coins, except of Māgha, who hated everything Sinhalese, and of Wikrama Bāhu, who only reigned for three months. Kālinga Lankeśvara is one of the titles used by Nişanka Malla in his inscriptions,¹ and it is highly probable that he would imitate Parākrama the Great in his issue of coins, as he did in his inscriptions and his buildings.

67. For Figures 1–4 with legend Śrī Lankeśvara see - - 46–48

" 5, 6, 7 " Śrī Parākrama Bāhu " - - 49

" 8 " Rājarāja " - - 65

¹ See above, § 48, note 8.
Hook Money.

For Figures 9, 10 with legend Lakshmi (?) see - - 59
-  11 - " Sthir Parakrama Bahu " - - 59
-  12 - " Tamraki (?) " - - 60
-  13 - " Iraka (?) " - - 61
-  14, 15 - " Sthir Parakrama Bahu " - - 51
-  16 - " Sthir Bhuvanaika Bahu " - - 57
-  17 - " Sthir Vijaya Bahu " - - 52
-  18, 19 - " Setu " - - 62, 64
-  20 - " Sthir Cojaaganga Deva " - - 53
-  21 - " Sthir Baja Lillavati " - - 54
-  22 - " Sthir Dharmasoka Deva " - - 56
-  23 - " Srimat Sahasa Malla " - - 55
-  24 - " Vit " . . . - - 58
-  25 Hook Money - - - - 68-73

Hook Money.

68. There only remains to be mentioned the hook money, Fig. 25, which is comparatively a modern coin—if coin it can be called—but which is interesting from its curious shape and history.

The earliest mention of these silver hooks is by Robert Knox, who was kept prisoner for twenty years from 1659-1679 in the Kandian provinces of central Ceylon, and who after his escape published an account of his adventures and of the Sinhalese people. This most valuable work is thoroughly trustworthy. Knox and his companions were not confined in any prison, but in separate villages, where they were allowed to go in and out among the people. Most of them acquired property, and marrying Sinhalese women, became Sinhalese peasants; but Knox himself never gave up the hope of escape, and ultimately effected his purpose. His mode of life in Kandy was the best possible for gaining sure knowledge of the habits of the people; the simple straightforward style of his book must convince every reader of his truthfulness; and the more one knows of the state of society among the Sinhalese in remote districts who are little acquainted with Europeans, the more one learns to value the accuracy of his minute and careful observations.

After mentioning the Portuguese copper "tangums," he adds: "There is another sort (of money) which all people by the king's permission may and do make; the shape is like a fish-hook, they stamp what mark or impression on it they please; the silver is purely fine beyond pieces of eight; for, if any suspect the goodness of the plate, is is the custom to burn the money in the fire, red hot, and so put it in water, and if it be not then purely white, it is not current money. The third sort of money is the king's proper coin; it is called a pounam (panam); it is as small as a spangle; 75 make a piece of eight, or a Spanish dollar; but all sorts of money are here very scarce, and they frequently buy and sell by exchanging commodities." 1

1 Edition by Philalethes, 4to. 1817, p. 167. The original work was published in 1681 by order of the East India Company.
69. While Knox was in captivity in Ceylon, Sir John Chardin was travelling through Persia, and he mentions that coins of silver wire had been made in Lari on the Persian Gulf, till that State was conquered by Abbas the Great of Persia (1532-1627); and that they were still much used 'en tout ce pais la, et aux Indes, le long du Golph de Cambays, et dans les pais qui en sont proche. On dit qu'elle avait cours autrefois dans tout l'Orient.'

That the Ceylon coins were made in imitation of these is evident from the name given to them in another passage of Knox, where he says (p. 196) that two paas of puji were sold in time of harvest for a taree.

70. If any confirmation were needed of Knox's statement that laris were actually made in Ceylon it would be found in a curious passage from the work of Pyrard, a Frenchman, who, fifty years earlier, had spent five years as a captive in the Maldives Islands, and who, after his escape, published a graphic and trustworthy account of the then habits and customs of the people there. Of their coinage he says (I quote the old French as it stands mostly unaccented): 'La monnoye du Royaume n'est que d'argent & d'une sorte. Ce sont des pieces d'argent qu'ils appellent larins de valeur de huit sols ou environ de notre monnoye, comme j'y desia dit, longnes comme le doigt mais redoublées. Le roy les fait battre en son ile & y imprimer son nom en lettres Arabesques.'

After saying that they received foreign coins, if of gold and silver, at their value by weight; and adding some general remarks on coinage in India, he goes on:

'Done pour retourner, aux Maldives ne fait que des larins; d'autres pieces de moindre valeur ils ne s'y en fait point; tellement que pour l'effet de leur traffic ils coupent l'argent & en baillent un poids de la valeur de la marchandise achete; ce qui ne se fait pourtant sans perte, car en coupant le larin on en perd la douzieme partie. Ils ne prennent piece d'argent qu'ils ne l'ayent pesee et mise dans le feu, pour en esprouver la bonté. Aussi en lieu de billon & menue monnoye ils usent de coquilles (covries) dont j'y ay cy-devant touché quelque chose, & j'en parleray incontinent; les douze milles valent un larin.'

71. So also Professor Wilson, in his remarks on fish-hook money in the Numismatic Chronicle, a describes some pieces of silver wire, not hooked, which were coined, in imitation of the old laris, at Bijapur by Sultan 'Ali Afi Shafi, who reigned from 1670-1691. They bear on both sides legends in Arabic characters; on one side the Sultan's name, on the other 'Zarb Lari Dagh Sikha,' that is, 'struck at Lari, a stamped Daugh,'—dagh being the name of a small Persian silver coin. 'Traces of a date,' continues Professor Wilson, 'occasionally appear, but they are

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1 Voyages de Chevalier Jean Chardin en la Perse, second and complete edition, 4to. Amsterdam, 1835, vol. iii. p. 128. He travelled, according to the preface, from 1664-1677, and the first edition of his Voyages was published in 1717.

2 According to Hamilton's Gazetteer, quoted by Mr. Thomas, 'Ancient Indian Weights,' cowries were worth in Bengal in 1820 rather less than 6000 for a rupee. The passage quoted is from the third edition of Pyrard's 'Voyages,' Paris, 5vo. 1619, pp. 248-250. From p. 5 it appears that he started in 1661; from p. 68 that he was wrecked on the Maldives on the 3rd July 1662. He escaped in 1667, and the first edition of his book appeared in Paris in 1661. Mr. Albert Gray, who gave me this reference, informs me that, from the words given by Pyrard, it is clear that the Maldivians are Shalahese by race, though they are now Mahommedans by religion.

3 Vol. xvi. pp. 179-182. These specimens are now in the British Museum.

4 So Professor Wilson; Mr. Thomas informs me that 'struck a lari' would be a more precise rendering of the Persian words. [The so-called Dagh was primarily a weight, hence its equivalents, in silver, came to represent the fractions of the current coin.]
not very distinct, except in one instance, in which it may be read with some confidence 1071 = 1679 A.D. . . . . His (the Sultan’s) retaining the designation of the place where this sort of money was originally fabricated is not without a parallel . . . . The coins of the last Sháh Alum of Delhi, though coined all over India, continued to bear . . . . the mintage of Sháh Jehánabad; and the Company’s rupee bore the legend “struck at Murshidabad,” many years after it was coined at Calcutta. . . . . . Mr. Coles mentions a document among the records of the Collectorate in which notice is given by the Government of Satara to the authorities of a place termed Kharaputtum of a grant of land of the value of 200 Dhabal Larins, which is dated 1711. The fabrication of this money, extensively adopted by the last Bijapúr kings, was therefore continued by Siváji, the founder of the Mahratta principality, and his successors. There is nothing in the appearance of the specimens brought from Ceylon to indicate an original fabrication.

72. Of the original Larins of Laristán, none seem to be now extant; but it is quite clear, to use the words of Mr. Vaux, that the Laristán coins having become, as Chardin says, popular in the East, they were extensively imitated, and the testimony of Knox as to their having been made by private people in Ceylon must be accepted as true.

73. Professor Wilson says of the Bijapúr Larins that they are ‘of the same weight (as the Ceylon hooks), viz. about 170 gr. Troy.’ But my specimen, from which the figure is taken, weighs only 74½ grains, and two others mentioned by Mr. Dickinson weigh only 3 dwt.s. 2 gr., and 3 dwt.s. 3 gr. respectively. Authentic specimens from Ceylon are very rare. They have on one side only a stamp in imitation of Arabic letters, often clear enough, but of course quite illegible; and they are always hooked. I have not seen one with any marks which could be read in Sinhalese or Devanágari characters, as suggested by Professor Wilson. How late these hooks were made in Ceylon it is impossible to state exactly; very probably until they were superseded by the Dutch coinage in the eighteenth century. They are known in Sinhalese literature under the name of ridi, i.e. silver; although this term was, doubtless, applied, before the introduction of the Larins, to other silver money, of which it is curious that no specimens should have survived. The term ridi pahayi, i.e. five rídis, is still used in remote districts in the sense of rix dollar.

1 The Collectorate referred to is that of Rattmagiri on the coast of Coramun. Mr. Coles had sent to the Government 296 Larins found there in 1816, in digging the foundations of a house.


3 Ibid. p. 169.
APPENDIX TO PART IV. EUROPEAN CEYLON COINS.

74. No coins are known to have been struck by the Portuguese in or for Ceylon. Knox says (loc. cit.) that of three sorts of coins in use, ‘one was coined by the Portugals; the king’s arms on one side and the image of a friar on the other, and by the Chingulays called tangom massa. The value of one is ninepence English; poddi tangom or the small tangom is half as much;’ but these were probably struck in Portugal, and not for use only in Ceylon.

75. The Dutch struck only a very few silver rix dollars,¹ which are very rare, if not entirely extinct, and which I have never seen. A thick copper stuiver having on the obverse the monogram V.O.C. the O and C written over the sides of the V, and in the open part of the V the letter C, perhaps for Colombo or Ceylon, is occasionally met with. On the reverse is the legend 1 Stuiver, the numeral 1 being above the word Stuiver (which occupies the centre of the coin), and having four dots on each side of it. Below is the date, the dates in my collection being 1784, 1785, 1786, 1789, 1791, 1793, 1795. It is possible, however, that this C is only a mint mark, and that these coins, whose rough execution shows them to have been struck in the Dutch East Indies (the monogram V.O.C. stands for the initial letters of Vereinigte Ostindische Compagnie, i.e. United East Indian Company), were not, after all, struck in Ceylon. There are similar coins with two apparently Tamil letters below the words stuiver, and with T and G in the place of C.² If these letters stand for Trinkomalei and Galle, then one would expect Sinhalese letters, but they look like the Tamil letters I L. they for Hankei, the Tamil form of Lankā, that is, Ceylon.

76. The English have issued four types of coins besides the present one. Type 1, which is thick and coarsely executed, has on the obverse an elephant, below which is the date; on the reverse the words CEYLON GOVERNMENT running round a circle, within which is the value of the coin. Of this type there are three thick silver pieces (very rare) of the value of 96, 48, and 24 stuivers (4 of which=1 fanam), weighing 280, 140 and 70 grains³ respectively.⁴ The 48 stuiver piece is equal to the rix dollar, and the three thick copper pieces of this type are respectively worth $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, and $\frac{1}{8}$ of its value. These copper coins weigh 50 stuivers to the pound,⁵ and are now difficult to procure.

Of this type, specimens of the following years, without letters, are in my collection, and those of the years marked (B.M.) are added from the British Museum collection:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Silver, 96 stuivers, 1808 (B.M.), 1809 (B.M.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48, 1803 (B.M.), 1804 (B.M.), 1808, 1809 (B.M.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24, 1803, 1804 (B.M.), 1808 (B.M.).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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¹ Bertolacci, p. 78. ² See Neumann’s ‘Kupfermünzen,’ pp. 86, 90. ³ Ibid., p. 90. ⁴ Bertolacci, pp. 88, 94, and 96. ⁵ A florin weighs 174 grains.
Copper, 4 stuivers, 1803 (B.M.), 1804, 1805 (B.M.), 1811 (B.M.), 1814, 1815.

" 2 " 1801, 1802, 1803, 1805 (B.M.), 1811, 1812 (B.M.), 1813 (B.M.), 1814, 1815, 1816.

" 1 " 1801, 1802, 1803, 1808 (B.M.), 1809, 1811 (B.M.), 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1817.

77. Of Type 2 one issue was made, in copper, in 1802, of stuivers, half stuivers, and quarter stuivers; they are thin, like modern coins, and well executed, weighing 36 stuivers to lb. Obverse and reverse as on the last type. The British Museum has specimens of this type dated 1804, but it is not certain whether these were ever in circulation.

78. Of Type 3 also only one issue was made, in 1815, of two-stuiver, stuiver, and half stuiver pieces in copper, and one issue of rix dollars in silver in 1821. Obverse of the copper, head of George III. to right, with legend GEORGIUS III. D. G. BRITANNIARUM REX: of the silver, head of Geo. IV. to left, with legend GEORGIUS IV. D. G. BRITANNIARUM REX F. D. Reverse of the copper, an elephant to left: above the legend, CEYLON TWO STUIVERS, ONE STUIVER, or ONE-HALF STUIVER, with the date below. The silver the same, but the legend is CEYLON ONE RIX DOLLAR, and round the elephant is a wreath of flowers. The coins of this type are still occasionally met with in the bazaars, but the half stuiver is very difficult to get. Both this and the last issue were struck in England.

79. Lastly, Fanam pieces of two kinds were struck in silver. The first, which is very rare, and was issued about 1820, has simply round a small circle with a dot in its centre FANAM on the one side and TOKEN on the other, of a silver coin less than $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch in diameter, and without date. The workpeople who built Baddegama church, the oldest English Church in Ceylon, are said to have been paid in this coin, which is roughly executed. The other, which is half an inch in diameter, has on the obverse the bust of Victoria surrounded by the legend VICTORIA D. G. BRITANNIAR. REXA F.D., and on the reverse the figures 1£ and the date 1842, surmounted by a crown and surrounded by a wreath. This little coin, seldom met with in Ceylon, is beautifully executed, and was struck in England; whilst the fanam tokens were struck in Ceylon.

80. There is in the British Museum one silver specimen of another type, but whether this is a proof of an unpublished coin, or a specimen of a coin in actual circulation, I have been unable to ascertain. It has on the obverse the words TWO RIX DOLLARS in a square tablet surmounted by a crown; above it, CEYLON; below it on a scroll, DIEU ET MON DROIT, and below that again the word CURRENCY. On the reverse an elephant to the left, and below it the date 1812.

81. Bertolacci's rare work on Ceylon gives full details of the Dutch and English coinage down to the year 1815. He was Comptroller General of Customs in the island, and for some time acting Auditor General, and published his book after his return to England in London in 1817.

Ibid. p. 87.
PART V. ON THE CEYLON DATE OF GAUTAMA'S DEATH.

82. Though not coming strictly within the limits of the present paper, a review of the conflicting evidence regarding the Buddhist era, which forms so important a date-point for all Indian chronologies, can scarcely be out of place in a work aiming at so much comprehensiveness and completeness as the 'Numismata Orientalia.' The present opportunity also chances to afford a fit occasion to meet the legitimate inquiries of those who have hitherto placed exceptional reliance on the value of the Ceylon annals, as preserved in their independent Pāli and other local texts. At the request of Mr. Thomas, I have ventured, therefore, to add in this Part, a statement of the views on the general question at which I have arrived, and of the arguments by which they are supported, in amplification of a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society in April, 1874.1

83. It is well known that, whereas, among the Northern Buddhists, there reigns the greatest uncertainty as to the date of the Buddha's death, the Southern Church is unanimous in fixing that event on the full-moon day of the month of Vaisākha, that is, on the 1st of June, in the year 543 B.C. This latter date has been supposed the more worthy of credit as being found in very ancient writers, and as having formed the starting-point of a chronology in actual daily use among the Southern Buddhists; whereas the different dates of the Northern Churches are known to us only from modern writers,2 and none of them have been made the basis of a chronological era.

84. It seems to me, however, that too much weight has been attached to this reasoning. As a matter of fact, it is very doubtful whether the Buddhist era has ever in any country been regularly and constantly used in every-day life as we use our era. Even in Ceylon the Buddhists, when Europeans first settled in the island, used, not only the Buddhist, but also and more frequently the Śaka era; and often dated events by neither, but merely by the year of the reign of the king in which the event occurred. Thus, of three comparatively modern inscriptions I have published, one is not dated at all, but gives the date of a previous gift as the year 2110 of the Buddhist

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1 See the report in the *Academy* of April the 20th in that year.
2 Oeuna de Koei gives thirteen dates ranging from 2423 to 549 B.C., on the authority of a Tibetan work written in 1591; and another, 222 B.C., on the authority of an author who wrote in 1586.—'Tibetan Grammar,' p. 199. The more usual Chinese and Japanese date corresponds to 620 B.C. according to Régnier (Fo kou Ki, p. 79, where he gives the name, but not the date, of his Chinese authority); but on page 42 he mentions some other Chinese authors who place it in 599 B.C. See also Eul's valuable note in his Fa Hian, page 22, where twelve dates are given.
era (Buddha-naraka); a second is dated in the sixth year of the then reigning king; and the third in the year 1432 of the ‘auspicious and correct Saka era’ (sri ōdika Saka varuna). On the few occasions on which it was necessary to use a date, it was doubtless possible for the Ceylonese to calculate which year it was according to their Buddha-varaha; but the earliest record in which such an expression occurs is in a Pulastipura inscription of the twelfth century. Before that time we have only the statements in the Dipavamsa and the Mahavansa that Ashoka’s coronation took place 218, and the Council of Patna 236 years after Buddha’s death; the chronology of those works being otherwise dependent entirely on the lengths of the episcopacy of the chief priests, and of the reigns of the kings. Turnour gives, in the introduction to his edition of the Mahavansa, the dates of some other events dated in years of the Buddhist era, but he does not specify the authorities from which he draws his statements. Before the Dipavamsa no instance has yet been found of the time of Buddha’s death being used as the starting-point from which to date events.

85. In this connexion it is at least worthy of notice that Fa Hian, who was in Anurâdhapura in the year 412, places in the mouth of an ‘eloquent preacher’ there, in an address urging the people to honour the Tooth, the statement that the Buddha had died 1497 years before—that is, in 1086 B.C. Mr. Beal is in doubt whether this date, so strikingly at variance, both with the Ceylon date and that of other Chinese authors, should be ascribed to Fa Hian himself, or to the ‘eloquent preacher’; but in either case it is strange that Fa Hian, who remained two years in the island, should not, after his attention had been directed to the point, have acquired any better information than this as to the chronology then accepted there. He probably filled up the date according to some Chinese calculation, when he drew up the account of his travels after his return home; but the passage is still very strange, especially as the Dipavamsa was, almost certainly, already in existence (and even if not, at least the materials on which it is based) in the very Wihârâ in which Fa Hian studied.

86. However this may be explained, it is clear that the Buddhist era was not used from the time at which it begins to run; and its accuracy depends, not on its having been constantly used, but on the reliability of the calculations made by those who first began to use it. In a similar manner our own era and the Hajra of the Muhàmsdânas only began to be used a long time after the events from which they date; and, in reckoning back, the first calculators in each case made mistakes. We need not therefore be surprised to find mistakes in the calculation.

1 Ceylon Friend, 1879, p. 50. The probable date of the inscription is 1534.
2 *Journal of the Ceylon As. Soc.* 1876, p. 21. The king referred to is uncertain; and the date of the inscription either 1475 or 1460.
5 Mahavansa, p. ix.
6 See Rémusat’s note, Foœ Kondo Ki, p. 347.
7 Beal, p. 166; Rémusat, p. 333. The translations differ materially as to other points in the address, but agree in this.
8 Beal, p. 165.
9 That Fa Hian had had his attention called to the matter is evident from ch. vii. (Rémusat, p. 28; Beal, p. 22), where he records the death of Buddha in ‘the time of Hsiung-wang of the Chau family’. The Chau dynasty is the third in the Chinese lists, and is quite legendary, as it fills up the period from 1118-202 B.C. (Nanbanseki Chronicle, vol. xi. p. 82.) Hsiung-wang is said to have reigned from 776 B.C. to 720 B.C.
of an era that has been less regularly used, and began to be used only after a much longer interval; and we can place but very little reliance on any results, unless we know, and can check, the data on which they depend. It is in this respect that the Ceylon date is of so much more value than any other at present known; it is the only one which we can really test; and in Ceylon alone have such materials been preserved as enable us to make a calculation for ourselves.

87. The Ceylon date, as has just been pointed out, depends ultimately on two historical works, the Dipavansa, Turnour's epitome of which, published in 1838, contains all the passages necessary for this discussion; and the first part of the Mahavansa, edited by Turnour in 1837. The Dipavansa is a history of Buddhism in India and Ceylon; the first eight books treating of India, the ninth and tenth of Ceylon previous to Devamampiya Tissa, the next six books of the events of that king's reign, and the last five of the kings of Ceylon for the next 500 years, B.C. 230—A.D. 302. As it is one of the books by 'ancient writers' mentioned by Mahanama, the author of the Mahavansa, it must have been written some time before he wrote (which was between 460 and 470 A.D.), and may therefore be placed at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century A.D. 1

88. Neither of these works, of course, gives the date 543; but the Mahavansa, as continued by subsequent writers, gives a succession of kings from the time of Asoka to the advent of Europeans in Ceylon, which fixes the date of Asoka's coronation in the year corresponding to the year 325 B.C. of our era, and both works place that event 218 years after the Buddha's death. The date 543 is found in fact to depend on three periods. 1st, the period from 161 B.C. to the present time, the calculation of which depends on the lengths of the reigns of the Ceylon kings down to the cession of the island to the English, and may be accepted as substantially correct. 2nd, a period of 146 years (Mahavansa, pp. 97, 162) from the accession of Duttha Gami in 161 B.C. back to the accession of Devamampiya Tissa in the year of the Council of Patna, in the eighteenth year after Asoka's coronation. 3rdly, a period of 218 years (Dipavansa, 9th Bk.; Mahavansa, p. 22) from his coronation, or of 236 years from the Council back to the death of the Buddha (326 + 146 + 161 = 543). Accepting the first, I propose to examine at some length the two latter periods, as to which the Ceylon data—it will, I think, be found—are not reliable.

89. Adding 146 to 161, we obtain, according to the Mahavansa, the year 307 B.C. for Asoka's Council, and the year 325 therefore for his coronation, eighteen years before. Now on this point we have information from other sources, which, though it does not enable us to fix that event with absolute certainty within one year, is yet, as far as it goes, quite reliable. That information

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1 Turnour, p. 1. A stanza from it is quoted on p. 297.
depends upon two ways in which Aśoka is brought into connexion with European history; firstly through his grandfather Chandragupta, and secondly by his own Edicts.

90. Chandragupta, in Pāli Candaugutta, the Sandrokottas of the Greeks, is said to have had an interview with Alexander, who at the end of 326 B.C. was on the banks of the Hyphasis, and who left India in August, 325. Soon afterwards, but it is not exactly known how soon, Chandragupta became King of Magadha and of the whole Ganges valley, on the murder of King Nanda. After Alexander's empire fell to pieces, Seleukos Nikator fought with Chandragupta; and on peace being concluded, married his daughter, and sent as an ambassador to his court at Patna, then called Pāṭaliputra, the celebrated Megasthenes, from whose lost book on India so much of the Western knowledge of India was derived. The date of these events is only known so far that they can be placed within a year or two of 306 B.C. So also the only passage which speaks of Chandragupta's accession to the throne does not give an exact date. Justinus says that Chandragupta had won the kingdom at that time when Seleukos was laying the foundations of his future power.

New Seleukos was Satrap of Babylon from 321-316; in that year he was compelled to fly to Egypt, where he remained four years. In 312 he returned with a small army; and so popular had he made himself during his former government, that in less than a year he drove out Antigonus; the Seleukidian era dating accordingly from 312 B.C. It follows, I think, that the passage in Justinus can only apply to the time when Seleukos was Satrap; and, therefore, if we can place implicit reliance upon the statement in question, that Chandragupta became king about 320 B.C. He reigned, according to both Buddhist and Brahman authorities, twenty-four years; and his son Bindusāra twenty-five years according to the Buddhists, and twenty-eight years according to the Vāyu Purāṇa. As Aśoka was crowned four years after the death of his father Bindusāra, the date of his coronation would therefore fall either in 267 or in 264, according as we follow the Buddhist or the Purāṇa statement of the length of Bindusāra's reign.

91. We can fortunately check this result by an entirely independent calculation. In Aśoka's thirteenth edict, which belongs to the twelfth year of his reign, he mentions five Greek kings as his contemporaries. Of this edict we have three copies, one from Kapur di Giri, one imperfect one from Girnar (Giri-nagara), and a third in good preservation from Khālsī. It is agreed that these five kings are


2 On this point Westergaard's argument, Uber Buddha's Todesjahr. pp. 118-117, seems to me quite convincing.


6 Cunningham, in his Arch. Rep. vol. i. p. 247, gives the best text of this section of the Khālsī copy of the edict.

92. The latest date at which these kings were reigning together is 258, the earliest 261; and if we could be certain that Aśoka was kept informed of what happened in the West, we might therefore fix the twelfth year of his reign between these two years; and hence the date of his coronation between 270 and 273 B.C. This cannot, however, be done with absolute certainty. The inscription merely records that Aśoka’s regulations for planting trees on road-sides, for propagating rare medicinal plants, and for establishing hospitals for men and beasts, etc., had also been carried out in the dominions of the kings referred to.¹ We can, therefore, only draw the conclusion that in the twelfth year of his reign Aśoka believed that these five kings had lately ruled in the West. The list indeed shows that his acquaintance with Western politics was not inexact. At the time in question the territories included within the limits of what had been Alexander’s empire were in fact divided between the three kings whom he first mentions, and several lesser, but still independent, despoties, such as the kings of Bithynia, Pergamum, and other unimportant States. The choice of the fourth and fifth of Aśoka’s list as representatives of these lesser States resulted probably from a reminiscence of the greatness of the celebrated Pyrrhus (the father of Alexander of Epirus), and of the intimate connexion between the Ptolemys and Magas of Kyrene,⁵ of which Aśoka may well have heard through the Greek embassies to his father, Bindusāra. But it is unlikely that Aśoka heard in 258 B.C. of the death of Magnes in that year; and so unimportant had Alexander of Epirus become at the close of his life, that the date of his death is uncertain, and can only be approximately placed in 254, some thinking that it took place as early as 258. The language of the Edicts is, therefore, not inconsistent with their having been composed two or three or even more years after 258, which would bring down the date of Aśoka’s coronation a corresponding number of years after 270 B.C.

93. These considerations, however, are sufficient to show that the Indian tradition of the length of the interval between Chandragupta’s and Aśoka’s coronations are not incorrect; and that we cannot be far wrong, on the double ground of the Greek notices of Chandragupta and of the Aśoka Edicts, in placing the latter in or about the year 265 B.C.—say, for certain, between 260 and 273 B.C. That this date is at least approximately correct is sufficiently evident from

¹ Compare also the second edict of Giinar; of which the best text will be found in Kern, Jahrbücher, etc., pp. 89 and foll. This is, of course, only a royal boast.

⁵ Magas was a stepson of Ptolemy Soter, being the son of his accomplished and beautiful wife Berenike by a former husband. Magas conquered Kyrene with an Egyptian army (B.C. 266), and was at first only Viceroy under Ptolemy Soter, whose daughter he married; but on Soter’s death in 280, he asserted his independence, and even fought against Ptolemy Philadelphus. On peace being concluded, the daughter of Magas, also called Berenike, was betrothed to Ptolemy’s son Euergetes.
the consensus of scholars on the point. Professor Lassen estimated it at 263 B.C.;\(^1\) Professor Max Müller at 258 B.C.;\(^2\) Professor Westergaard places it either in 264 or in 268 B.C.;\(^3\) while Professor Kern makes it 270 B.C.\(^4\)

94. The Ceylon chronicles, however, place that event, as we have seen above (§ 88), in the year corresponding to 325 B.C. of our era; they are therefore certainly in error to the extent of 60 years or thereabouts. We have discovered this error by a comparison with European history; but it is instructive to notice that it might also have been discovered, if not so accurately corrected, by a careful study of the Ceylon chronicles themselves. We find, namely, in the period between the accession of Devánampiyya Tissa, the contemporary of Aśoka, and the accession of Duṣṭha Gāmini in 161 B.C., some very curious details. Tissa himself is said to have reigned 40 years, and after his death three of his brothers reign successively for just ten years each; two Dravīḍian usurpers then reign for 23 years; and after them a fourth brother of Tissa’s for just ten years more. The latter commenced his reign therefore 92 years after the death of his father, Muṣṭa Siwa; and as the latter had reigned for 60 years, we have only two generations to fill up a period of 182 years! After the fourth brother another Dravīḍian usurper reigns for double 22, that is 44 years; and to make it quite sure that we have not misunderstood Mahānāma in these numbers, it should be added that he himself gives the sum of these reigns at 146 years,\(^5\) which is the correct total of the above numbers.

95. But not only is this period on the face of it incorrect, and incorrect by being too long; the very chronicle, by the details which it gives, points out one way in which the mistake may have, partly at least, arisen. It states that Mahinda and his sister Sanghamittā were admitted into the Buddhist Order of Mendicants in the sixth year of their father Aśoka’s reign,\(^6\) and were then respectively 20 and 18 years old;\(^7\) that they came to Ceylon 12½ years afterwards; and that they died there at the ages of 60 and 59, in the eighth and ninth years respectively after Devānampiyya Tissa’s death.\(^8\) It follows that Mahinda was 32½ years old when he came to Ceylon; and that he lived in the Island 27½ years, of which eight years were subsequent to Tissa’s death. Tissa died therefore 19½ years after Mahinda’s arrival, and he began to reign half a year before. His whole reign therefore was, according to these data, 20, and not, as given in the chronicle,\(^9\) 40 years.

96. The manner in which the Ceylonese scholars have got over this difficulty is worthy of notice. Turnour, doubtless depending upon them, and upon the Mahāvamsa’s Tikā, translates the passages referring to the deaths of Mahinda and his sister as if the text had, not in the 60th and

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\(^2\) History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 266.
\(^3\) Oversigt over det kongelige danske videnk bernes skab hos Fersombliger I Azret, 1869, p. 122 of the German translation entitled Uber Buddhas Todsjahr, Breslau, 1862.
\(^4\) Oor de Jaartelling der middelijke Buddhisten, Amsterdam, 1878, p. 27.
\(^5\) Turner, pp. 97, 162.
\(^6\) Mahāvamsa, p. 31. From page 34 indeed it would appear that this ought to be seven, not six; for Sumana was ordained in the fourth year, the building of shrines occupied three years, and then the ordination of Mahinda took place (p. 35, last line). But see below, § 114.
\(^7\) Ibid. p. 36.
\(^8\) Ibid. pp. 124, 135. Turner’s rendering sixty-nine in the latter case is a mere slip.
\(^9\) Ibid. p. 124. This discrepancy was first pointed out by Westergaard.
59th year of their age, but in the 60th and 59th year after their ordination; regardless of the fact that if this interpretation be right, the correct number for Sanghamittā would be 61, and not 59 (12 years before Tissa's accession, 40 during his reign, and 9 years afterwards). But the text has distinctly 60 and 59 (sattikai-vasso and ekāna-sattikai-vasso) years old; and though the Dipavamsa, in a passage referring to the same subject,1 confirms the use of the word vasso in the sense here adopted by Tournour and his pandits; it is clear that we have, in these data, a confusion between the natural and what I would venture to call the spiritual age of Mahinda and his sister.

97. There is, therefore, both internal and external evidence that this period of 146 years is too long; and it must be corrected to bring it into accord with the more trustworthy information which places Asoka's coronation at 265 B.C. or shortly after.

98. But if the Ceylon date for Asoka is placed too early in the Ceylon chronicles, can we still trust the 218 years which they allege to have elapsed from the commencement of the Buddhist era down to the time of Asoka? If so, we have only to add that number to the correct date of Asoka, and thus fix the Buddhist era at 483 B.C. or shortly after. Of the answer to this question there can, I think, be no doubt. We can not: for though we have here no external evidence to guide us, the internal evidence, the very lists of the kings and priests whose reigns or patriarchates amount to the period of 218 years, gives sufficient proof that it, also, is too long. But I venture to think that in this period enough details have been preserved to enable us, from internal evidence alone, to ascertain within a few years the extent of the error, and thus to arrive approximately at the true date of Gautama's death.

99. The Dipavamsa bases its chronology chiefly on the succession of Theras, the Heads or Chiefs of the Buddhist Order of Mendicants (Thero-paramāra); and also gives chronological details regarding the succession of the Kings (Rāja-paramāra) of Magadha and of Ceylon. The Mahāvamsa bases its chronology on the succession of the Kings, and gives isolated details regarding the succession of the Theras. The following is the list of the Kings of Magadha as given in the Mahāvamsa:2—

1 In Eh. xvii., where it says of Mahinda.
2pāṭipadā-avindasa-mahinda ca tikāyato
sattikai-vasso pāṭipadā nibbuto dīgha-pāṭikāto.

In Childers's Dictionary, under Vasso, the reference to the passage 'pāṭipada-vāsoti-vasso having completed twenty-one years,' should be Dickson's Upasampadā-Kammavāca, p. 4, and twenty-one is a slip for twenty, arising from the confusion between being twenty-one years old, and having completed the twentieth year of one's age. See below, § 114.

1 Tournour's edition, pp. 10, 14, 21, tabulated on p. xlvii.
2 Comp. Dipavamsa, book v., at the end, where Kāśyapa is omitted, and his ten sons made brothers of Susunanā; whilst at the commencement of the same book Asoka is mentioned as the son of Susunanā.
KINGS OF MAGADHA.

1. Bhāṭiya, in whose reign Gautama was born.
2. Binibisāra; reigned fifteen years before Gautama as the Buddha visited Bodh gaya.
3. Ajātasattu. 
   8 years before the Buddha died, and
   24 years afterwards.
4. Udāyī-bhadra
5. Anuruddha
6. Mūḍa
7. Nāga-dāsaka
8. Susunāga
9. Kālasoka
10. His ten sons
11. The nine Nandas
12. Chandagutta
13. Bindusāra
14. Aśoka
   Total

218 years between Gautama’s death and Aśoka’s coronation.

100. We shall return to the consideration of this list presently. But I would here add that Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 are said to have each murdered their father and predecessor; and I would also draw attention firstly to the frequent recurrence of multiples of 4 and 8 in the numbers, and to the curious coincidence in the numbers assigned to the two dynasties, Nos. 10 and 11, each of which is said to have reigned 22 years; and secondly to the fact that the Sanskrit authorities have also preserved for us in the Purānas a list of the Kings of Magadha during this period, containing names identical with some of the above, but omitting others, and generally shorter in its arrangement.

101. The following is the list from the Mahāvamsa of the Kings of Ceylon, the numbers in brackets referring to the pages of Tarnour’s edition, on which the details are given:

1 Below, p 110.
NUMISMATA ORIENTALIA.

KINGS OF CEYLON.

1. Wijaya who reigned - 38 years after Gautama’s death (p. 53).

Interregnum - 1 (p. 54).

2. Paṇḍu-vānas Dewa - 30 (p. 58). Son of the last (p. 54).

3. Abhaya - 20 (p. 60). Son of the last (p. 57).

Interregnum (Tissa, p. 63) 17 (6 on p. 62; 4 on p. 63; 7 on p. 64).

4. Paṇḍukabhaya - 70 (p. 67). Nephew of the last (pp. 56, 59, 60).

5. Muta Siwa - 60 (p. 68). Son of the last (p. 67).

Total - 236 from Gautama’s death to the accession of Devānumpiya Tissa in the 18th year of King Asoka.

102. In this list we have only five Kings, each the son or nephew of his predecessor, to fill out a period of 236 years. Half that time would be a long average. Paṇḍukabhaya was 37 years old when he began to reign (p. 67; and comp. p. 58); he must, therefore, have been 197 years old when he died. He married his cousin, Suvaṅga-pālī, before the interregnum began (p. 62); so that their son, Muta Siwa, must have died 147 years after his parents’ marriage. To show how little these figures can be depended upon, further comment would be needless; but it is worthy of notice for other reasons also that the two interregnums amount to just 18 years—the exact difference between the total of this list and the total of the last. To obtain this number, the six years on p. 62, which elapsed before Abhaya was deposed, are nevertheless included in the second interregnum; and in the Dipavamsa (book iv.), the 10th year of the Magadha King Nāgadāsā is said to be the same as the 20th of the Ceylon King Paṇḍu, which presupposes the omission of the first interregnum. It is probable that the interregnums are an afterthought; and that the list was first arranged to fill up the period of 218 years appearing in the list of Magadha Kings.

103. Passing now to the Thera-paramaparā, it should first be noticed that a number of details regarding the Theras are dated in such and such a year of such and such a King, either of Magadha or of Ceylon; whilst other figures are given without reference to the Kings. Reducing the former, on the basis of the above lists of the Rāja-paramaparā, to the era of Buddha, we have the following result:—

LIST OF THE THERAS.

INCLUDING THE DETAILS DATED BY THE KINGS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Date of full Admission to the Order</th>
<th>Age at full Admission of Successor</th>
<th>Length of Membership</th>
<th>Age at Death</th>
<th>Date of Death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upāli</td>
<td>44 Bef. B.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>80 A.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāsaka</td>
<td>14 A.B.</td>
<td>16 A.B.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>60 A.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonaka</td>
<td>60 A.B.</td>
<td>59 A.B.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>124 A.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siggava</td>
<td>100 A.B.</td>
<td>100 A.B.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>176 A.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tissa</td>
<td>158 A.B.</td>
<td>164 A.B.</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>234 A.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahinda</td>
<td>204 A.B.</td>
<td>224 A.B.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>285 A.B.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Dipavamsa; Dhānavāra iv. verses 32 and foll.; Bh. v. last 50 vv.
104. This list will no more bear examination than the last. That Siggava was admitted to full orders in the year in which he was born appears clearly on the face of the table, other absurdities are only slightly latent, and Turnour has already pointed out more than enough. 1 'Manifestly,' says Mr. Turnour, speaking especially of the Siggava details, 'these dates also are an imposition.' It does not seem to have occurred to him that his own mode of calculation (on the basis just referred to) might possibly, seeing that it came to so absurd a conclusion, be the cause of the absurdity. Let us, however, try how the list looks if we leave out all those dates which depend on the lists of Kings, and take only those data which are stated absolutely without any reference to the Rāja-parampara. We shall then have from the Dipavansa the following

**LIST OF THE THERAS, INDEPENDENT OF THE LISTS OF KINGS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age when he admitted his succession to full Membership</th>
<th>Age when he died</th>
<th>No. of years he was full Member of the Order</th>
<th>Years during which he and his successor were full Members of the Order</th>
<th>Years of his full Membership before his successor's admission to full Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upāli</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāsaka</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senaka</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siggava</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tissa</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>217</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dāsaka was admitted to full Membership 16 A.D.
The Second Council was in the twelfth year of Mahinda's full Membership 12

Date A.D. of Aṣoka's Council 168

Date A.D. of Aṣoka's coronation 150

105. Only the data of the former three of these five columns are actually found in the Dipavansa; the two latter being calculated from them. The text, for instance, says that Senaka was 66 years old when he died; that he had then been ordained to the upasampadā degree for 44 years; and that he was 40 years old when he received Siggava into full membership,—or, in other words, when he, at the Upasampadā Kammati, or Ordination Ceremony, at which Siggava received the upasampadā degree, filled the position of upajjhāya or superior. It follows that for the remaining 28 years of his life both he and Siggava were full members of the order, and that 18 years had elapsed since he himself had received the upasampadā ordination, Dāsaka then acting as upajjhāya. In the same way it is found that 31 years elapsed between the ordination of

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1 Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. viii. pp. 919-923, and especially 925. Turnour's MS. was incorrect in some places. Thus, in the numbers which concern us here, 17, at p. 929, line 22, should be 14; 6, at p. 930, line 4, should be 55; and 86, at p. 930, line 28, should be 86, according to the MS. of the Dipavansa presented by the King of Burma to the Colombo Government Library, the best MS. of the Dipavansa I know of.
Dāsaka, in the 16th year after Gautama's death, and the ordination of Sosaka; 43 years between the ordinations of Siggava and Moggali-putta Tissa; and 48 years between those of Tissa and Mahinda. These figures added together make 156 (16 + 31 + 18 + 49 + 48) for the number of years which elapsed, according to this Thera-parampara, between Gautama's death and the ordination of Mahinda; and Mahinda having been ordained in the 6th year after Aśoka's coronation, it follows that the dates 150 a.b. for that event, and 168 a.d. for the Council of Putna, are the only dates consistent with this list.

106. It will thus be seen that the very oldest of the Ceylon historical books gives figures which only allow for 168 years having elapsed between the death of the Buddha and Aśoka's council, and for 150 years between the death of the Buddha and Aśoka's coronation. But the same book (Dipavamsa, 9th canto, last lines) says that the council was held 236 a.d., so that the coronation was 218 a.d., Which, if either, of the two dates is the correct one?

107. There can be no doubt, I think, but that the shorter period is, at least, the more correct; for, quite apart from the lists of Kings, and judging only from the list of Theras, the number of Theras succeeding one another is not long enough to fill out 236 years, whereas they could well have occupied the shorter period. We have seen also above that the lists of Ceylon Kings cannot possibly fill out the whole of the 236 years; and though the list of the Magadha Kings contains nothing which would show, from internal evidence alone, that it is too long; it is longer than the corresponding list preserved by the Brahmin authorities.

108. The shorter period must therefore be held to overrule the longer one; can it also be considered as itself correct? To this the answer can only at present be given on a balance of probabilities. To me it seems very natural that Mahinda, the son of Aśoka, should have taken for his upajīhāya, or superior, the most influential and important Thera in the Order; and that the names of his superiors and teachers, and of their superiors, should be well known. It is also not at all improbable that the ages of these men at their death should have been remembered, since it is an important part of the recognized service at the admission to the upasamuddhā degree, that the ages of the candidates should be then recorded; and by that record the monk's precedence, at every subsequent meeting of the Order, is determined.1 The evidence is not, therefore, in favour of those numbers having been invented, like those of the list of Ceylon Kings; but rather the contrary. On the other hand, however, they may, of course, contain mistakes; one figure at least which would affect our result must be considered unreliable until better MSS. shall enable us to correct the existing text;2 and concerning one figure which would not affect the result there are various readings in the MSS.3 From Mahinda's time to that of the author of the Dipavamsa there was an unbroken succession of teachers and

1 Dickson's Upasamuddhā Kannava, p. 6, and p. 14, note 6, of the separate edition, or J. E. A. S., June, 1873.
2 The length of Dāsaka's upasamuddhāship (50 years) is inconsistent with the age at which he died (64 years). It cannot be more than 44, as he must have been 20 years old when he was ordained. There must be an old error in the number 90, but the error cannot be large.
3 The age of Tissa at his death is given twice, by all MSS. except one, at 66; but in one passage our best MS. reads 86 (Dip. Bk. V. v. 66, 86). (See above, note 1, § 104.) As he was 66 in the 6th year of Aśoka, and died in the 26th, this last must be right. But the interval of twenty years between Mahinda's ordination and Tissa's death (the important figure for our calculations) is independent of the verses cited.
students, of writers and readers. The works composed during the interval are only known to us through Buddhaghosha’s commentaries which took their place, just as in Ceylon the Mahavansa took the place of the Dipavansa. The latter has only been preserved to us by the fortunate chance that when Buddhaghosha left Ceylon for Burma, the Mahavansa had not yet been written; all the Ceylon MSS. of the Dipavansa being derived mediate or immediately from Burma. And as, if it had been lost, we should have known of it only from the Mahavansa, so we know the names only of the different commentaries and treatises which existed before Buddhaghosha; such as the Andha Atthakathā, the Mahā Atthakathā, the Mūla Atthakathā, the Mahā Paccarī, the Kurandi, the Buḍha Atthakathā, the Sankhepa Atthakathā, etc. These, however, are enough to show that the Thera-paramparā had every chance of being carefully preserved during the period between Mahinda and the author of the Dipavansa. At the present stage of our discussion we may conclude, I think, that we have in this list the actual names of the Thera-paramparā from Gautama to Mahinda; whether the aggregate period assigned to them can be taken as correct, we shall be better able to judge after some further remarks.

109. If the names, to say nothing of the numbers, of the succession of Theras recorded in the earliest Ceylon histories are consistent only with a shorter date, how is it that the authors of those books have made the mistake which certainly lies in the dates 236 A.B. and 218 A.B., assigned in them to the Council of Pāṭaliputra, and to the coronation of Asoka? This, of course, is very difficult to answer; for while the number of ways in which a right calculation can be made is limited, the number of ways in which a mistake may be made is very large. Still some light may be thrown, I think, even on this.

110. The larger date is 218 A.B., the shorter 150 A.B. The difference is 68 years. Now in turning back to the list of the Kings of Magadha, the reader will discover the curious coincidence that the reigns of the Susamāga dynasty amount in the aggregate to just 68 years. ‘That may be only chance,’ says the careful reader. Very good: but on examining the list of Ceylon Kings he will find precisely this period of 68 years re-appearing from the beginning of one interregnum to the end of the other. It is a very strange chance that this particular period should stand in both lists divided by clear and distinct lines from the rest of the chronology. But this is not all. We have no other list of Ceylon Kings with which to compare ours; but we have another list of the Magadha Kings drawn up from Hindu authorities, by Professor Wilson in his edition of the Vishnu Purāṇa.1 In the Hindu list we find the very Susamāga dynasty referred to in the last paragraph separated from the other names, and placed before the rest of the Kings corresponding to those in the Ceylon list.2 And, finally, if we treat the Ceylon list in a similar manner, and place the Susamāga dynasty before the others, we obtain a new list remarkably in agreement with that of the Purāṇas.

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1 Vishnu Purāṇa, pp. 466 and fol.; or vol. ix. pp. 189-188 of Fitzgerald Hall’s edition of Prof. Wilson’s works.
2 The same dynasty is also omitted in the Jain lists given by Dr. Fühler (Indian Antiquity, Dec. 1872, p. 363), but as that list also omits all the other kings down to the Nandas, it does not throw any light on this question.
The correctness of this statement will, perhaps, be most easily proved, by arranging the lists in parallel columns—an arrangement which will also throw light on the forms of several of the names.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of the Magadha Kings from the Perânas.¹</th>
<th>List of the Magadha Kings from the Ceylon Chronicles (re-arranged).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Savunāgâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâkâvarpa²</td>
<td>Kâlânaka²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâshâmahwarman</td>
<td>His ten sons together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâshâtra-uâjâs²</td>
<td>Bhâtihya³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bimbâsâra</td>
<td>Bimbâsâra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ajâdâsâtra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dharbâkâ</td>
<td>Udaya-bhâdrika⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udayâsya⁵</td>
<td>Anuruddhâkutu {</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nânâ-vârlâhuna</td>
<td>Munâ</td>
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<td>Mahâ-mandâ</td>
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<td>Nanda and his son</td>
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111. If the Pâli and Sanskrit lists had been derived from similar sources, and the Pâli one afterwards altered, by a change in the relative position of the first three items in the above list, in order to make the interval between Gautama’s death and Asoka’s coronation longer by 68 years, all the above coincidences would be explained. Now it will have been noticed that the last two columns in the table above (§ 104), from which we obtained the shorter date, are calculations not found in the Dîpavamsa. Is it possible that the Ceylon chronicler should have forgotten to make those subtractions? In other words, that they added up not the years which elapsed between each ordination and the next, but the years during which each Thera was full member of the Order (upasampanna); forgetting that in the earlier part of each Thera’s upasampanâdhipat the previous Thera’s upasampanâdhipat was still running.

112. We have seen above (§ 96), that a similar confusion was actually made between the natural and the spiritual ages of Mahinda and his sister; and there is another consideration that strongly supports the probability of this mistake having been made. While each of these Theras did actually receive upasampanâd, and the date of his having received it was carefully recorded, none

¹ The Purânas from which this list has been made are the Viham, Vâya, Magâya, and Bhagavata Purânas. They agree in the number and order of the kings, but differ slightly in several of the names. Only the above give the lengths of the reigns. I have followed the forms of the names adopted by Lassen in his Indische Alterthumsstudien, vol. i. p. xxxiii, and vol. ii. p. 1267.
² Both kâkâvarpa and kâya mean “black.” It is quite impossible with Kern, Jahrestellung, p. 4, to take the latter in the sense of “chronological.” See Childers’s Dict. under “Kâlo,” and p. viii, note 4; Westergaard, p. 126. It is the latter, not the former, part of the name which has been changed.
³ The Sanskrit form suggests the reading Khâtihya; but the above form occurs not only in Mahâvamsa Tîkâ (T., p. 10), but also in the Dîpavamsa, ante iii.
⁴ The Pâli name corresponds here to the two Sanskrit ones. Of these, Dharbâka, a form found nowhere else, is probably metathesis for Bhâdrika; and the asya of Udayâsya does not appear in the Magâya Purâna.
of them in point of fact can have become Chief of the Vinaya, or Chief of the Order, in any patriarchal sense; and even the date of 218 A.B. for the coronation of Asoka is derived from adding up, not the years of their chiefship of the Vinaya, but the years of their upasampadāship. Yet during the whole account great stress is laid on the fact that each of these Theras was Vinaya-pāndokkha, which has all the while nothing to do with the chronology. Now the Primacy of each Thera, unlike his upasampadāship, would have begun where the last one ended; so that if a confusion had been made between the two, the mere addition of the numbers, without subtraction, would have followed as a matter of course. The chronicler would then have argued thus: Tissa is Mahinda's superior (upajhāya), Siggava was Tissa's superior, and so on back to Gautama; if I add together the years of upasampadāship of these superiors back to Dāsaka, who was alive when Gautama died, I shall find out the full time that has elapsed since Gautama; but Mahinda was not ordained at the time of Aśoka's coronation, so I must leave him out. He would then have added up the third column in the table at § 104 instead of the fifth; and would have concluded that 217 years had elapsed between the time of Gautama and Aśoka's coronation.

113. It is not a sufficient objection that this would have been too foolish to be possible. If not this, then the chroniclers made some other mistake as bad or worse. May the writer venture to ask, was not the reader somewhat puzzled at first sight by the headings of the columns in the table at § 104? For himself, the writer is willing to confess that he does not find the argument they contain by any means so simple as it is undeniable; and if further proof were needed, it would be found in the fact that it does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Turnour, or Professor Westergaard, or Professor Kern.

114. A more valid objection seems to be, that the mistake would then have been 67 instead of 68 years, as we have found that it actually was. But this does not follow. Moggali-putta Tissa was ordained in the fourth year of Aśoka. At a festival three years afterwards Aśoka determines on the ordination of Mahinda; yet immediately afterwards it is said that Mahinda was ordained in the sixth year of Aśoka. So again, though the coronation of Aśoka had been fixed in the year 218 A.B. and the Council of Pāta in the 17th year of Aśoka, yet the Council is placed in 236 A.B. Once more, an event placed in the 16th year of King Bimbisāra is in the following sentence said to have happened when 15 years of his reign had elapsed. Again, in the same page of the Mahāvamsa it is said that Bimbisāra reigned 37 years ‘after his conversion,’ but in the Sinhalese authorities, from which Spence Hardy drew his account, the same thing is meant when it is said that ‘he rendered assistance to Buddha during 36 years.’ This last instance

1 The mistake may also have arisen from the confusion between Kākārāja and the Aśoka under whom they place the 2nd Council; but there are many difficulties in working out this explanation. The confusion seems to me a result, not a cause, of the mistake; and it is a confirmation of my view that Tcharanka, the Tibetan historian, while placing the Council, like every one else, under an Aśoka, says that the assembled monks were led by Nanda (p. 41). According to my rectification, the 2nd Council falls under Chandragupta. It is a very common error to suppose this Council unknown to Northern Buddhists. The question is too long to be discussed in a note, but see my ‘Buddhism,’ pp. 215 to 221, and 228, 4. Mahāvamsa, p. 34. 3 Ibid. pp. 34, 35. 4 Ibid. p. 37. 5 Ibid. p. 42. 6 Ibid. p. 18. 7 Hardy’s Manual of Buddhism, page 102; and compare Rigden’s ‘Life or Legend of Gautama,’ p. 249.
explains the way in which these differences of one year, which are not infrequent, have arisen; and if our calculators had once concluded that 217 years had elapsed between the death of Buddha and the coronation of Aśoka, they would also have expressed the same thing by saying that it took place in the 218th year after that event. A difference of one year would not therefore be a discrepancy fatal to the proposed explanation; but even this slight difference depends on our placing the Council in the 18th year of Aśoka according to the more numerous authorities. As has been just pointed out, the Mahāvamsa itself places it, in one passage, in the 17th year of his reign; and if we had used 17 instead of 18 in our calculation, there would have been no discrepancy at all.

115. The foregoing examination would seem to show that the persons who first calculated the dates 218 and 236 a.r. (perhaps the earlier chroniclers themselves) had as data to work upon the tradition regarding the succession of the Kings of Magadha, and the tradition regarding the succession of Theras from Gautama to Mahinda (including the numbers in the table in § 104)—traditions which had been brought by Mahinda to Ceylon. They had also certain details regarding the succession of Kings in Ceylon, including the names, but probably not the numbers, given in the table at § 101. It is almost certain that they had not before them the numbers given in the table at § 110 from the Vāyu and Mataya Parānas. In reckoning backwards they used the Thera-paramparā; and in doing so they made some arithmetical blunder—very likely the blunder I have suggested; and thus carried the dates further back than the very numbers before them, which they have fortunately preserved, would rightly warrant.

116. Either they themselves, or some later chronicler,—for the chronology preserved to us is probably due to more than one mind,—then noticed the discrepancy between the dates thus wrongly derived from the Thera-paramparā, and those of the Rāja-paramparā of Magadha. They concluded that the latter, to them the less sacred of the two, must be wrong; and they accordingly harmonized the two lists by bringing the Susamāga dynasty down into that part of the list embracing the period to which the dates 218 and 236 refer.

117. Before the Dīpavamsa was written also, the belief in the curious tradition, of which no trace is found in the Parinibbāna Sutta, assigning the date of Wijaya’s landing to the exact time of Gautama’s death,1 must have become fixed. It followed that from that time to the accession of Devānampiya Tissa 236 years must have elapsed; and the Rāja-paramparā of Ceylon was brought into agreement with that belief by assigning to the Kings whose names had been handed down reigns of the length whose impossibility has been fully shown above (§ 102); regardless of the fact that the number of reigns was quite insufficient for the purpose. It is possible that this belief was due simply to the desire of bringing the dynasty of the pious Devānampiya Tissa into immediate connexion with the founder of the Buddhist religion; it is possible also that the tradition depended partly on a fact, namely, that the colonization of Ceylon by the Aryans really took place about as long before the time of Devānampiya Tissa

1 Mahāvamsa, p. 47. Dīpavamsa Bāñavāra ix.
as the chroniclers supposed Gautama to have died. In the former case the names of Wijaya's successors may have been correctly preserved, and the numbers only be wrong; in the latter case the list of names would also be incomplete, and the record would only have preserved the memory of isolated, not consecutive, events during the period in question. This seems the more probable; but it is scarcely necessary for our argument to examine more minutely into this question here. It is sufficiently evident from the details given that the numbers at least are untrustworthy, and that the story of Wijaya himself is in great part legendary.

118. It may be suggested that, if the above conclusions as to the relation between the Rājaparamparā and the Thera-paramparā be correct, the later Pāli chronologists must have soon seen that the short list of six Therās was scarcely consistent with the long date which had then become part of the Ceylon chronology: and further that as they corrected the other lists of names to agree with that date, so also they would have corrected the list of Therās to bring it into harmony with the longer period. Now it is true that I can nowhere find the list given in the Dipavansa distinctly questioned, and the Mahāvaṇṇa gives the same names as the Dipavansa; but it is at least curious that a corrected list is, in fact, found in the Madurattha Vilāsini, a commentary on the Buddhavaṇṇa attributed by Tournou to Buddhaghosha. M. Barthélémy St.-Hilaire thinks the tone of this work not quite the same as that of the other commentaries known to be by Buddhaghosha, and concludes that the work was certainly not written by him; adding, on the authority of M. Grimblot, that it was written in a town in the Dekhan, at the mouth of the Kavērier. However this may be, it is stated in the Madurattha Vilāsini that the Buddhavaṇṇa, one of the Pitaka books, was 'perpetuated' or handed down from the time of Gautama to the Council of Patna 'by the generation or unbroken succession of the Therās (i.e. Therā-paramparā). This is the succession: Sāriputto thero, Bhaddajī, Tissakassa-putto, Siggawa, Moggalā-putto, Suddatto, Dhammiko, Sonāko, Rewato.' This list, it must be confessed, looks exceedingly like a modification of the list found in the Dipavansa; for each Therā would naturally have been ordained from 25 to 50 years before he ordained the next on the list, and an average of about 26 years for each would just make up the 236 years required by the longer chronology.

119. There is only one other question on which a few more words must be said: the question, namely, whether the shorter dates of 150 and 168 years are any more trustworthy than the longer ones of 218 and 236 years, thus found to be incorrect? In other words, were the data before the chroniclers of such a character that, even if they had not made the blunder of 68 years now so clearly evident, they could have drawn a right conclusion from them. In addition to what has been said above (§ 108) on this point, it will be necessary, in order to answer this question, to answer another; whether, namely, the Thera-paramparā given at § 104 contains, like the Rāja-paramparā, any inherent impossibilities.

2 Ibid. p. 789, or p. 17.
3 Journal des Savans, Janvier, 1866, p. 58.
120. Firstly, then, it should be noticed that, were the numbers at § 104 altogether lost, we should still draw the conclusion from the list of names alone that about a century and a half must have elapsed between the death of Gautama and the accession of Aśoka. By the rules of the Order no one could be ordained until he had completed his 20th year;¹ his uṣṇīṣhaṇga or superior would naturally be one of the older monks, who had been ordained 30 years or more before; we have four such intervals, and have to add 16 years for the time which is said to have elapsed between Gautama’s death and Dāsaka’s ordination, and 12 years for the interval between Mahinda’s ordination and Aśoka’s accession. This would give us a total of about 148 years. If we take the somewhat similar case of a clergyman of the present day, and trace back from the bishop who ordained him to the bishop who ordained that bishop, and so on back through four steps of the ecclesiastical succession, we should find that a similar period had elapsed.² There is, therefore, nothing improbable in the total of 150 years.

121. Neither, with one exception, is there any inconsistency or improbability in the details of the numbers preserved to us. It will be seen that Dāsaka is said to have been uṣṇīṣhaṇga, i.e. full member of the Order, for 50 years, and to have been only 64 when he died. This is inconsistent with the rule referred to in the last paragraph, according to which he cannot have been 14 years old when he was ordained. If we read any number below 44, say 40, for the 50 given above, this inconsistency would be remedied; and it is possible that better MSS. will show the existence of an old error in this number, as they have already enabled us to correct some of the others. Meanwhile I do not propose any alteration, and merely note the fact that this error of from 6 to 10 years is the only error in the details apparent from the evidence before us. As there is no improbability in the total, there is therefore no reason to compel us to reject it as, to a greater extent than six years, necessarily wrong.

122. By the argument above we have concluded that the date of Aśoka’s coronation must be fixed about 265 A.D. or shortly after; say certainly between 260 and 273. We have now concluded that the details given in the Dīpavānasā fix the death of Gautama at 140–150 years before that event. By adding the two numbers together we obtain an approximate result of between 400 and 423 B.C. (say a few years more or less than 412 B.C.) for the date of Gautama’s death, according to the oldest Ceylon authorities—a result nearly as useful, for most historical purposes, as if it could be fixed to a single day.

123. This final conclusion is not without support from some of the most trustworthy of the Northern Buddhist authorities. To them Kanishka occupies the place of Aśoka, and Kanishka’s Council has the importance which the Council of Patna has for the Southerns. Some of the Tibetan books consulted by Cezma place the Council at 400 years after the Buddha’s death;³ and Hionen Thang, the learned Chinese Pilgrim, says that Kanishka ascended the throne about 400 A.D.⁴

¹ Upanispati-Karmanvīra, ed. Dickson, pp. 4, 10.
² In the list of Jain Theras, the fourth after Suhärma, himself ordained by the Mahāvīra, is said to have died 146 years after Vardhamāna. Stevenson’s Kāla Sutra, p. 109.
SUMMARY.

It is acknowledged that Kanishka began to reign about the commencement of our era, and he held his council some years later. These statements would therefore make the Buddhist era about 400 B.C. But the number 400 used in them is a round number, we do not know the data on which these traditions are founded, and I cannot cite them as at all conclusive. I have also endeavoured to arrive at some conclusion on the basis of the Jain era, but have only been able to reach negative results of very little value. The most common date for the Jain era, dating from Vardhamâna’s death, is 527 B.C.; but I cannot find how old this tradition is, or how early the era was used, or on what calculation it is based. I am convinced that Vardhamâna and Gautama, the Buddha and the Mahâvira, are not, as some have supposed, the same person; and I do not think there is yet sufficient proof for Colebrooke’s and Stevenson’s opinion that Siddhârtha Gautama is the same as Indrabhûti Gautama, the pupil of Vardhamâna. It is only certain that the Niganthas, a sect referred to in the Pitakas, and of which the Jains are the modern representatives, existed as early as the Buddhists; and that a complete discussion of the earliest Jain books would throw great light upon the period in which both originated.

124. SUMMARY. 1. Of the numerous dates assigned by different writers of the Northern and Southern schools, to the death of Gautama, we can only test one,—that given by the Ceylon chroniclers, which place it in 543 B.C. (§§ 83–86).

2. This date is found to be arrived at by adding to the date 161 B.C., at which the accession of Dushyâ Upaniṣṭhita is fixed, two periods of 146 and 230 years, making together 549. The former is the period from Devanâmâpiya Tissa, whose accession is thus placed in 307 B.C., to Dushyâ Upaniṣṭhita; the latter is the period between the death of Gautama and the 18th year after King Aśoka’s coronation, which is the year of Devanâmâpiya Tissa’s accession (§§ 87, 88).

3. The first date, 161 B.C., is correct. But the period of 146 years is certainly too long by about 60 years; as Aśoka’s coronation can be fixed, through his own relations and those of his grandfather Chandragupta with the Greeks, at within a few years of 265 B.C. (§§ 89–97).

4. The other period of 236 years is also open to grave doubt. The successions or lists of Kings (Rajâ-parampara) in Magadha and Ceylon, which support it, are found by criticism to be untrustworthy (§§ 99–102).

5. In the oldest Ceylon Chronicle, the Dipavaniss, is found a list of successive Theras (Thero-parampara) from Gautama to Aśoka’s son Mahinda, which also seems, at first sight, to be full of incredible statements. On further examination, however, it is found to give figures, not necessarily untrustworthy, which give dates 150 A.D. for Aśoka’s coronation, and 168 A.D. for the Council of Patna and the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon in the first year of

1 Lassen, Indische Alterthümers, vol. ii. p. 848 (2nd ed.).
2 The different Burmese eras given by Bigandet, Life of Gautama, 2nd ed. p. 349 (comp. pp. 323, 347, 361), are calculated on the ordinary one derived from Ceylon, after the dates 218 and 239 had been fixed.
3 Prinsep in his Useful Tables gives another era, 599 B.C., which dates apparently from the time when Vardhamana became an ascetic. The possibility of some similar confusion in Buddhist computations should not be lost sight of; especially as, according to the earliest use of the word, the Buddha certainly attained Nirvana under the Bo-Tree, that is to say, 60 years before he died (see my Buddhism, pp. 111, 110).
Devānampiya Tissa’s reign. These figures also afford an explanation of the mistake by which the longer dates could have been reached; and enable us to harmonize the Hindu and the Ceylon lists of Kings of Magadha, while they throw unexpected light on the figures of the native list of Ceylon Kings during the same period (§§ 103–118).

6. These considerations have at least advanced the question of the Buddhist era one step nearer to solution. But they can hardly as yet be considered to do more; for it is a long step from saying that the succession of Theras is not necessarily untrustworthy, or even that it is probably correct, and saying that it is entirely conclusive. It is reasonable to hope that the publication of the three Pāṭhas, and of the commentaries on them, will throw further light on this important point; meanwhile it is at present abundantly clear that the earliest possible date for Gautama’s death is 218 years before Aśoka’s coronation, or in other words, between 478 and 491 B.C.; but that this date is very uncertain, as the details which make up this sum of 218 years are unreliable. And it is further clear that, if the Thera-paramparā in the Dipavamsa can be depended upon—which, within a few years, it probably can—the death of Gautama took place more than half a century later. In that case, by adding the period of 140–150 years to the correct date of Aśoka’s coronation, namely 260–273 B.C., we arrive at the approximate date for the commencement of the Buddhist era between 400 and 423 B.C., or say within a few years of 412 B.C. (§§ 119–123).
SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON THE SAHSĀRAṂ AND RUPNĀTH EDICT.

Just as this Part of the 'Numismata Orientalia' was on the point of being sent to press, the number of the Indian Antiquity for June, 1877, has come to hand, containing Dr. Bühl's learned and ingenious paper on the newly-discovered Edict, which he assigns to Asoka, and which he interprets as giving the number of years between the time of Gautama's death and the date of the Edict.

The Edict has been found in three places: at Sahasrām, Rupnāth, and Bairāt. It commences by saying that Devānamīya had been an upāsaka for more than 22½ years without exerting himself strenuously; but that since a year and mere he had entered the Society (Saṅgha). Further on it quotes a saying or doctrine (āvadana) inculcating strenuous endeavour, and states that this doctrine was preached by the Vṛṣṭha or Viṣṇuṭha; and it then adds a number. As the texts differ slightly, I give, in full, the words of this last and most important sentence:

Sahasrām. Iyam cha sarvam viśvamāna dvarupānādhitatā viṣṇuṭhā ti 256.1
Rupnāth. Vṛṣṭhena sāvāne kartu 256 antaśāvān.2

Dr. Bühl's rendering of the sentence from the Sahasrām text is: 'And this sermon (is) by the Departed. Two hundred (years) exceed by fifty-six have passed since;' and of the sentence from the Rupnāth text is: 'This sermon has been preached by the Departed; 256 (years have elapsed) since the departure of the Teacher.' The corresponding sentence in the Bairāt copy is unfortunately quite illegible.

It will be seen that the whole edict taken together is quite ambiguous; each text gives the same number of years3 as having elapsed from a certain event to the time of the edict; but while that event, in the Sahasrām text, seems to be the preaching of the doctrine referred to, in the Rupnāth text it is the 'departure of the Teacher.' The name and rank of the speaker, the nature of the religion to which he belonged, and the name of the Preacher or Teacher whose words he purports to quote, are left to be inferred. Even the figures supposed to represent the number 256 differ in the published facsimiles of the two different texts in which they occur; but this is of minor importance, for in the Sahasrām text the figures are accompanied by words which can mean nothing else.

This complete ambiguity is the more vexatious since the determination of any one of the doubtful points would enable us, with tolerable certainty, to determine the rest; and thus to obtain an authority for Indian chronology older and more authentic than any, except the Greek notices of Chandragupta, which we yet possess. It is not, therefore, a matter for surprise that eminent scholars should have been tempted, on what seem insufficient grounds, to resolve the doubt. Dr. Bühl argues that Vṛṣṭha or Viṣṇuṭha, meaning 'the Departed,' is a name which suits the Buddha very well; that Saṅgha, meaning 'the Teacher,' certainly refers to him; that Vṛṣṭha, 'Departure,' means death; and that, therefore, the edict is dated from the death of the Buddha. Further, that Devānamīya, meaning 'Beloved of the Gods,' is a royal title, analogous to our 'By the grace of God,' or the Roman 'Augustus'; that we know of no Indian princes who made any great efforts for Buddhism in the third century after the Buddha's death besides Asoka and his grandson Daṣāratha; that it is not known that the title Devānamīya, or the alphabet of these inscriptions, were used by any one but the princes of Asoka's dynasty, their subjects and contemporaries; and that Daṣāratha cannot be the author of the inscriptions, as he reigned only seven years. Finally, therefore, that the edict is Asoka's, and that it dates the death of Buddha 256 years

1 Saṅgha is a mistake for nivedita; and pānāsita for panāsika or panānāsika.
2 Vṛṣṭhena is a mistake for viśvamāna; and Dr. Bühl's reads katu, that term being required to agree with sāvāne.
3 The word years is not mentioned, which is perhaps strange; but no other substantive can be understood in both texts.
before the 34th year after Āsoka’s conversion to Buddhism; and this conversion having taken place in the 8th year of his reign, commencing between 241 and 276 B.C., the date of Gautama’s death is thus fixed between 483 and 471 B.C.

If only the first three steps of the argument were indisputable, the rest would certainly follow; but, as I have already pointed out in the Academy of July 14th, if *sātu-vivas* is taken to be a Buddhist expression, and to stand for a suggested Pāli *sattu-vivas*, it would mean not ‘the death of the Teacher’ (for which *parinibbāna*, or one of its well-known synonyms, would almost certainly have been used), but ‘the Teacher’s abandoning his home to become an ascetic’; *vivas* thus standing for *nibbāna*. For *savati* means to live at a place, not in the sense of being alive there, but in the sense of dwelling there; and *vivas* mean the going away from home, the giving up of fixed family life, the abandonment of the world which Buddhists and Brahmins alike hold a necessary preliminary to the highest religious life. 1 As this step in the Buddha’s career, which the Buddhists call ‘the Great Renunciation,’ took place in the 52nd year before his death, the edict, if really Āsoka’s, and if speaking of the Buddha as the *Vivatha*, would place the Buddhist era between 431 and 419 B.C.

This result would be strikingly near to the conclusion reached before; but though I was at first inclined to accept, doubtfully, this interpretation of the edict as the most probably correct, I scarcely think that we can go even thus far with Dr. Bühler. For just as *parinibbāna* would be the natural expression for the death of a Buddha, so *nibbāna* or *ahāniṃkhamāna*, and not *vivas*, would be the natural expression for the Great Renunciation; and I cannot understand why, in an edict of this kind, the usual word should have been displaced by one that may indeed exist, but has yet not been found in any of the Buddhist Sanskrit or Pāli texts. And, for a similar reason, I cannot believe, without further proof, that either *Vyuddha* or *Vivatha* would have been used instead of any of the well-known epithets of the Buddha.

It is indeed true that *vyuddha*, the past participle of *vi-vus*, to leave one’s home, 2 would be an epithet very appropriate to all hermits, ascetics, or members of the Buddhist Order; but it would not be peculiarly characteristic of a Buddha; and in point of fact the epithet is not found in Pāli writings, in which the idea has found another and common expression in the cognate words *manjuvi*, *manjīrita*, *manjīrikā*, and *madīra*, all meaning the houseless, homeless, home, i.e. an ascetic. 4 *Vivatha* is, I think, as pointed out by Professor Pischel, only another form of *vyuddha*. Dr. Bühler indeed takes both words as forms of the past part. of *vi-vus*, to turn away from, go away from; but this does not explain the aspirate, while the confusion between the dental and the cerebral *t* to, the only objection to Dr. Pischel’s explanation, is amply justified by the dental form being found in Pāli as against the cerebral in Sanskrit. In Sanskrit the past participle of the simple verb being *usāta*; and *usāta* the most common form of the p.p.p. of the compound verb, yet for the latter *vyuddha* is also used. 5 The compound verb does not occur, or rather has not yet been found, in Pāli; but the past participle of *savati* is most commonly *usāta*, though *usati* and *usāta* are also found. Whilst therefore the form *vyuddha* corresponds to the Sanskrit *vyuddha*, the form *vivatha* corresponds to a possible Pāli *vivatha*. On the other hand, the verb *vivert* makes its past participle in Sanskrit *vivirtta*, in Pāli *vivatta* or *vivattra*, and in Jain-Pārśkrti *vyattta*. 6

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1 Stevenson, Kalpa Sūtra, p. 96, reconciles two apparently inconsistent dates for the Jina era by saying: ‘The date here given is founded on the mistake of the abandonment of the world for death.’ Bühlingk-Roth gives as the only meaning for *vivas* in Sanskrit: ‘Das verlassen der Heimat, Entfernung aus der Heimat. Verlussung (276).’

2 So also Prof. Pischel, in the *Academy*, 11th August, 1877.

3 This is the ordinary sense, with the negative force of *et*. It also occurs, with the intensive force of *et*, in the sense of remaining, lingering, passing time, with the accusative of the time spent; and it is in this sense that the p.p.p. is used the second time at the end of the clause in the Sahākara text, quoted above.

4 The same expression is used by the Jains. Dr. S. J. Warrei’s ‘Doctor-dissertation,’ Over de Godsdienstige en Wijzegeerige Begrippen der Jaina’s; *Zwolle*, 1875; pp. 24, 59.

5 Prof. Pischel says not, but examples of this form will be found in Bühlingk-Roth, not only from the native dictionaries, but also from the Mahābhārata.

6 Dr. E. Müller, Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jaina-prākrits, pp. 17, 32. Dr. S. J. Warrei, De Jains, p. 29.
NOTE ON THE SAHAŠEṆAM EDICT.

point seems clear enough; but even if Dr. Bühler be right, the same argument applies, for neither vīcāśta nor vīcāśta occurs among the epithets applied by the Buddhists to their Teacher.¹

There remains, then, of the words claimed by Dr. Bühler as Buddhist terms, only Sato, which he takes to be the representative of the very common Pāli epithet Sattāś, nom. case of Sattā, the Teacher, the Sanskrit śāstāri. This identification, however, presents great difficulties, even if it be at all possible. It is most difficult to believe that the final vowel could be a simple a, or that this word could appear in a form without the aspirate to replace the s; especially as this aspirate would be required also to distinguish the word from the corresponding forms of such common words as saṣṭa and saṣṭa. Dr. Fischel proposes therefore to take sato for satva ‘being, existence,’ and to translate sata-vibhūsa by ‘departure from life’ in the Jain sense. But this compound could never mean to depart from one life to go into another; it could only mean departure from existence altogether; and in either case the word vibhūsa would be then out of place, and the idea would be not only more shortly but more correctly expressed by nīvṛdaya. For though the Jain system of philosophy cannot be discussed in the middle of this note, it is sufficiently clear that the Jain books at present accessible use nīvṛdaya in the sense of the death of a Jain saint; and that their nīvṛnā is not a departure from existence at all, but rather the absorption of the soul (in which they certainly believe) into the world-spirit, which is Dr. Warren’s opinion;² or its entrance to a realm of bliss called Abhakākṣa, which is Mādhava’s statement,³ and is confirmed by the author of the Nava Tatwa.⁴ If, therefore, Prof. Fischel’s derivation holds, it destroys his interpretation of the edict; and if satva-vibhūsa is a possible expression at all, it means going out of existence, and is a Buddhist phrase.

Saṅgha, Dr. Bühler (p. 6) acknowledges to be as much a Jain as a Buddhist technical term for their Orders or Societies;⁵ and it tells even against his theory, for, if Aśoka ever did enter the Buddhist Saṅgha, it is the most strange that the Buddhist monks, who have told us so much about him, should not have mentioned this important fact. On the other hand, in abandoning upāśaka to the Juins, he perhaps passes over an argument of some force for his view of the meaning of the edict; for whilst upāśaka is the standing expression among the Buddhists for lay-disciples, the corresponding Jain word is grāśaka.⁶ But in our ignorance of Jain literature it can, perhaps, scarcely be maintained that the Juins did not use upāśaka also; just as the Buddhists also use nāśaka, though in a slightly different sense, as a ‘true hearer’ of the Word. It should be added that while the Sahaśrutā and Bairāṭ texts clearly read upāśaka, the Rāpadāth text is here doubtful, Dr. Bühler reading su/vajī; but the sa is not clear (it looks like su), and the ki is clearly ās, while the injured space between is so large that two letters, and not only one, must apparently be supplied.

But if there be nothing distinctively Buddhist in the inscription, Dr. Bühler’s strongest argument—that the only Devavāma pīya who, in the third century of the Buddhist era, was a zealous Buddhist and reigned more than 34 years, was no other than Aśoka himself—does not necessarily apply to this edict, and cannot be made use of to identify our Devavāma pīya with Aśoka. That the epithet was used of other Buddhist kings, we know from the instance of the Ceylon king Tissa; and that it must have been afterwards commonly used is sufficiently apparent from the fact that in later times in Gujarāt, though it is also used as an epithet of the Mahāvīra, its meaning had so far deteriorated that it appears in Jain writings as a common polite address; like Sir! Madam! or Gentlemen! Thus in the Bhagavati (13th century) by the Mahāvīra to a disciple (Warren, p. 69); and in the Kalpa Sūtra (6th or 7th century) by a Brahman to his wife (Stevenson, pp. 27, 29); by her to him (ibid. pp. 26, 30); by King Siddharthā to his wife, the mother of the Mahāvīra (ibid. pp. 54, 68); by the King to brāhmaṇas (ibid. pp. 64, 58).

¹ The use of vīcāśtaḥ in the prophecies drawn from the Buddha’s personal appearance does not contravene this statement.
² De Janas, p. 25, and comp. p. 94.
³ Orwell’s analysis in his ed. of Coleridge’s Essays, i. 450.
⁴ Stevenson’s translation in Kalpa Sūtra, p. 124.
⁶ It occurs in the Satsara Mahāvyānam; Weber, p. 58.
and even to servants or messengers (ibid. pp. 56, 61, 75). According to Prof. Kern it never occurs in Sanskrit, except in the sense of foolish, idiotic; so that its meaning must have passed through a change similar to that of our words 'silly' and 'simple,' the Dutch 'enfloez,' the French 'benêt,' and the Greek 'eivéta.' Though, therefore, it may be granted that Durvina niga, at the time of the edict, was a royal title, there is no reason to believe that it was either exclusively Jain or exclusively Buddhist.

Enough has probably been said to show that the edict is not certainly and necessarily Buddhist. Dr. Pischel goes so far as to think that Vyuha or Vvutha is a name of the Mahávira, the founder of the Jains; and that the prince who published this edict was a Jain, 'probably Sumapadi, the grandson of Asoka, who, according to the Jains themselves, was a great patron of this curious sect.' In support of this view he refers to a passage in Stevenson's translation of the Kalpa Sûtra (p. 95), where it is said of the Mahávira:

'At that time he obtained emancipation, and entered on a state of freedom from passion and absence of pain. After 900 years from his departure had elapsed, and in the 80th year of the tenth hundred, this book was written, and was publicly read in the currency of the 93rd year.'

Professor Pischel, putting the words from his departure in italics, argues, 'Here some such word as vinča must be the original.' But Professor Jacob of Münster, whose edition of the Kalpa Sûtra will appear, I hope, before Christmas in the Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, has been good enough to favour me with the text of the passage, which is as follows:

...... so siddha buddhe mutte antaga parinirvane savavdhnkhpahiphe [147]. Sauṣāṣas bhagava Mahávinnasa jiva savavdhnkhppahipasa muv vāssayānā vi-ilkkantānā dasana sa sa vāssayāna ainā asime sauvaeschare kāle gacchait vāyanantare punaayan tenāne sauvaeschare kāle gacchait [148].

The word for 'departure' is not therefore, as Dr. Pischel supposed, vinča; and thus the only authority supporting his interpretation of the Edict falls to the ground. It is curious that in his note to the passage Dr. Stevenson imagines the Jain era given by Prinsep as commencing 539 B.C. to be the one here used; and to be reckoned not from the Mahávira's death, but from the time when he abandoned the world to become an ascetic; the usual date, 527 B.C., being just 42 years later than the other, and 42 years being the time said to have elapsed between the two events. But as I cannot find that the Jains ever actually used such an era, the suggestion does not throw any light upon the, perhaps, analogous expression in the Edict.

The technical terms found in the edict not being therefore, as far as can be yet ascertained, any more common to the Jains than to the Buddhists, the argument from the improbability of a Buddhist having used terms unusual to his sect would apply with equal force to a Jain. A better acquaintance with Buddhist history may remove the difficulties which seem at present inseparable from Dr. Bühler's explanation of the edict; and a better acquaintance with Jain history may clearly show that it must be ascribed to a Jain sovereign. But for the complete and certain interpretation of this remarkable historical document we must wait till our knowledge is increased by other discoveries, or by the publication of earlier Jain texts, and of the Buddhist Pitakas.

1 On most of the above passages from the Kalpa Sûtra compare Mr. Thomas (Jainism, or the Early Faith of Asoka, p. 54).
2 Jahresbericht der rundfunkpraxis Buddhisten, p. 13.
3 I.e. . . . . . . , 'that pure, enlightened, saved One died, passed away, ceased from all sorrow. Since the Saint, the Blessed One, the Hero ceased from all sorrow, 900 years, and the 80th year in the 10th hundred, elapsed; and again, at the Recitation the 93rd year elapsed,' Unless Professor Jacob can tell us what is referred to by the word I have rendered 'Recitation' (of which the Jain commentators give four inconsistent explanations), the chronology of this passage is provokingly vague. The Introduction to his Kalpa Sûtra is to contain a full discussion of the historical questions connected with the origin of Jainism.
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