

**NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS**

*General Editor : DR. A. K. NARAIN*

**No. 13**

# **COINS OF THE CHOLAS**

BY

**C. H. BIDDULPH**



**THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA**

**1968**

# COINS OF THE CHOLAS

BY  
C. H. BIDDULPH



THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

1968

Publisher :  
Dr. P. L. Gupta,  
General Secretary,  
Numismatic Society of India  
P. O. Hindu University,  
Varanasi-5 (U. P.)



NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

Price Rs. 10/-  
( For Members Rs. 8/-)

Printers :  
Gyanpeeth Pvt. Ltd.  
Patna

## INTRODUCTION

We have the pleasure of publishing this Monograph on the *Coins of the Cholas* in our NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPH Series, which is meant for bibliographies, coin-lists, inventories, indices, special essays and other useful handy material relating to Indian coins, medals and seals and allied subjects.

This *Monograph* deals with the most important and intricate problems of the Chola coinage in a scholarly manner using all the available material. The author, the late Mr. C. H. Biddulph, needs no introduction. His interest in Indian Coinage, particularly in the South Indian and the Indo-European Coinage, is well known to all. He was regular in contributing papers in the field of his studies to the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*. In fact, during the past few years, he was perhaps the only one, who gave so much attention to the almost neglected coinage of South India. Some time back, we had published a Monograph in this Series on *The Coins of the Pandyas* from his pen; and we all, his admirers and friends, were expecting from him a few more such monographs and readable standard accounts of the South Indian Coinage. But it was not to be. We lost him suddenly on the 11th October 1966, just a few days after he had submitted the present Monograph to the Society.

His personal knowledge of South India and his long experience in coin collecting in that part of the country is well reflected in this work and they give all authenticity to it. We hope that this will serve as an indispensable to both the scholars and the students of the Chola history and numismatics; and inspire younger scholars to take up the study of the South Indian coinage further.

Varanasi  
1st May 1968

A. K. Narain  
General Editor





## PREFACE

A collection of coins of southern India was started by me during my service in India which extended over a period of almost thirty years. I had intended to work on the coins during periods of leave; but this could never be possible till my retirement and they were put aside with particulars concerning the locality where they were secured, their rarity and what I had paid for them. After my retirement I undertook the work and I have been assisted by the access I have had to museum collections and their libraries of technical books in the United Kingdom.

The recent acceptance by the Numismatic Society of India of a Monograph on the Coins of the Pandyas encouraged me to follow it up by another, on similar lines, on the coins of the Cholas. It is hoped that the scattered information concerning their history and coinage within the limits of this reasonably short Monograph will prove useful to those who may wish to work on Chola coins in their collections.

It will be seen from a perusal of the Monograph and the references quoted, that I have drawn freely on information contained in the work of such eminent scholars as Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and the late Sir T. Desikachari, as also to writers of more recent papers on southern Indian numismatics and the assistance I have received has been acknowledged wherever necessary.

The information has, in most instances, been condensed and refers mainly to incidents which help in explaining the necessity for the issue of certain of the less familiar coins. These coins are from areas adjoining the Chola territory and from localities outside India which were occupied by them during their rise to power and the resulting extension of their territory.

I have also to acknowledge the encouragement I have received from Dr. A. K. Narain, M. A., Ph. D. in writing this Monograph and the earlier one on the Pandyan and for the courtesy of the Numismatic Society of India in publishing them.

I have to express my appreciation for the assistance received from the Keeper of the Coins and Medals, British Museum, London; the Curator of Coins, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; and the Director, Government Museum, Madras, for permission to publish coins from their collections in the plates accompanying the article and to refer to them in the text.

**London**

*September 1966*

C. H. BIDDULPH.

# COINS OF THE CHOLAS

## INTRODUCTION

In the introduction of my monograph on the coins of the Pāndyans, published earlier an attempt is made to show that a close affinity existed in the language, religion and cultural development of the three Dravidian powers in southern India. There reference is made to what certainly have been a common origin of the three groups which included the Pāndyans, Cholas and Cheras, and it is suggested that in the period B. C. 200 to A. D. 300 the power that appeared to control the destinies of the other two was the Pāndyan. They were the first power to consolidate their position in the area and contacts made with other powers resulted in trade and the general improvement in the economic and cultural advances which followed these contacts. It was also suggested that the coinage used by these three powers possibly consisted of the earliest die-struck issues, in copper, of the Pāndyans, supplemented by the punch-marked coinage, in silver, which was current throughout India.

In the present Monograph it is proposed to extend the enquiry further so as to cover the coinage of the Cholas. To enable this to be done, a reference to the Cholas and the impact that they made in the area in which they ruled will be necessary. Relations with their neighbours on the mainland and in Ceylon, together with their contacts with Burma, Malayasia, Indonesia and China will also be briefly mentioned. These historical details are also necessary for a clearer understanding of the Chola coinage issued in the Chālukyan and Pāndyans territories, in Ceylon and a few coins which appear to have been issued during a temporary occupation of parts of the Arakan coast of Burma.

## History

Arguments in support of the arrival of the Dravidians earlier than B. C. 500 have been advanced by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and others who have stated that by the seventh century B. C. they had organised themselves into readily distinguishable communities and were referred to as Pandaia, Solan and Keralas.

The earliest reference appears to be in the *Mahābhārata*, of about the seventh century B. C. Kātyāyana, a Sanskrit grammarian, who lived about the fourth century B. C., mentions the Pāndya, Chola and Keralas. Asoka made extensive conquests in Southern India in the third century B. C. and again mentions the same three communities.<sup>1</sup>

An interesting traditional account concerning the early Dravidians in the South occurs in an account contained in an history published by Bishop Caldwell,<sup>2</sup> but this will not be repeated and may be referred to in the original text, or in the Monograph on the Pāndyans, referred to earlier in this paper.

That the three Dravidian dynasties had sprung from a common origin can reasonably be accepted and the subsequent development into separate kingdoms must have been a fairly gradual process. The dispersion into three well defined regions must also have helped in the development of different racial, or tribal allegiances and characteristics.

### The Cholas.

"Nearly two centuries before the rise of Vijayālaya in the neighbourhood of Tanjore there flourished a Chola kingdom in the Telugu districts comprising portions of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapur, whose kings traced their descent from Karikala. Nothing definite is known, however, of their connections with the early Cholas. Again, from about the twelfth century, there were a number of local dynasties which claimed also to be among the descendents of Karikala and to belongs to the Kasyapa *gotra*. Besides their legendary pedigree there seems to be no evidence connecting them in any manner with the Cholas of the Tamil country. Of these late Telugu-Cholas, who have left behind a large number of stone and copper-plate inscriptions, we need make only passing mention in this history."<sup>3</sup>

1. Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, South India, page 458.

2. Bishop R. Caldwell, Bishop of Madras, *A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevely in the Madras Presidency*, Appendix 5.

3. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, Vol. I, p. 3.

The Chola kingdom from the time of Vijayālaya (A.D. 846-880) extended along the East coast from the river Pennar to the river Vellar and on the West reached the borders of Coorg. These limits were considerably extended with subsequent annexations of territory and will be referred to when considering some of their conquests.

One of their earliest capitals was Manalur of which the location is unknown and this was followed by Uraiyr (old Trichinopoly) and they had a great port at Kaveripattanam, or Pugar, on the West bank of the river Cauvery (Kaveri). Later capitals were Jayam-Konḍa-Cholapuram in the Udaiyarpalayam Taluk of Trichinopoly District. As their power grew they had capitals at Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Canjeevaram and viceroys at Rajahmundry in the North and Madura in the South.

The first historical, or semi-historical, Chola king was Kari-kala who is stated to have invaded Ceylon. He is supposed to have lived in the second half of the first century A. D., or perhaps in the second century. He was succeeded by his son Nedumudi Killi in whose reign Kaveripattanam is supposed to have been destroyed by the sea.<sup>1</sup>

In the second or third centuries A. D. the power of the Cholas and other Tamil kings declined due to conquests by the Pallavas, who from the beginning of the fourth century were reigning at Kanchi (Conjeevaram).<sup>2</sup>

Nothing more is heard of the Cholas until the seventh century. The Pallavas were defeated by the Chālukya king Vikramāditya in A. D. 740 and their defeat was responsible for the recovery of the Cholas and Pāndyas in the South.

A Chola ruler named Vijayālaya (c. A. D. 846-871), came to the throne about the middle of the ninth century and was succeeded by his son Āditya (c. A. D. 871-907). The succession will not be referred to in detail as the names of the rulers have been included in a chronological statement, later in the text, from the time of Āditya's father until almost the end of the Chola power in Southern India.

1. Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, South India, p. 458.

2. *Ibid*, p. 458.



Parāntaka I Chola, invaded the Northern portion of Ceylon in A. D. 944 and the whole island was captured by Rājendra Chola I in A. D. 1014 and continued under Chola occupation till A. D. 1070, when Kulottuṅga I ascended the Chola throne; a period of 126 years.

It is usually stated that Chola occupations and conquests in Ceylon ended in the year A. D. 1070. There is evidence however of later invasion of Ceylon and an extract from an article will be quoted as it confirms that, in fact, invasion and occupation of short duration did actually occur. A coin (No. 31.) which is usually found in Ceylon is possibly the last Chola coin issued on the island in the reign of Kulottuṅga III (A. D. 1178-1218) who invaded Ceylon. This coin was possibly issued in the period c. A. D. 1190-1200.

"The Chola king Kulottuṅga III. (A. D. 1178-1218) claimed to have gained victories over the Sinhalese. Inscriptions dated in the twelfth (A. D. 1190) and twenty-ninth (A. D. 1207) years of his reign state that he took Madura and Ilam (Ceylon) and was pleased to take the head of the Pāndya. An inscription of his twenty-first (A. D. 1199) year says that Kulottuṅga Chola placed his feet on the crown of the king of Ilam....." "In an old commentary there is a statement which shows that Ceylon was thrice invaded by the Cholas sometime before the accession of Lilāvati (A. D. 1197-1200)."

"The earliest mention of the victories of Kulottuṅga in Ceylon is contained in his twelfth (A. D. 1190) year. Lilāvati was placed on the throne by Kittī in A. D. 1197 and allowed to reign only three years. Therefore the Chola invasions of Ceylon mentioned above must have occurred between A. D. 1190 and 1200."<sup>1</sup>

Another reference to the invasion of Ceylon by Kulottuṅga III is found in the remarks by Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar at the end of an article entitled "The Overlordship of Ceylon in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth Centuries."

1. *J. R. A. S. (Ceylon)*, Vol. XXXI, No. 32, 1929, Three Chola Invasions of Ceylon not recorded in the Mahevamsa.

"The Chola coin from Ceylon with 'K' on the obverse, appears to have been issued by Kulottunga III. ( A. D. 1178-1216 ), the contemporary of the Ceylonese king Parākrama Bāhu the great, who was the last king to maintain his hold on Ceylon."<sup>1</sup>

A further reference to the same conquest is found in the *Tanjore District Gazetteer*.<sup>2</sup>

In the seventh century the Cholas appear to have been confined in the territory referred to as the Renandu in the Cuddapah and Karnul Districts and their inscriptions have been held to be anterior to the eighth century and would tend to confirm the assertion that they were in this area in the seventh century.

Parāntaka I Chola, ( A. D. 907-952/53 ) put an end to the Pāndyan independance and also subjugated the Bānas and the Gaṅgas. The last vestiges of the Pallava power also disappeared and he extended his territory in the North to Nellore. The Rāstrakutas however invaded the Chola territory from the North-West and Parāntaka Chola did not long survive the confliction which his eldest son Rājāditya lost his life, ( c. A. D. 949 ).

A heavy gloom settled on the Cholas for over four decades, until the accession of Rāja Rājā I in the year A. D. 985. Rāja Rājā's conquests in the Madras Presidency were extensive and he even extended his activities to the Northern portion of Ceylon. Rājendra I Chola ( A. D. 1014-1044 ), inherited the whole of Madras Presidency, parts of Mysore and the Island of Ceylon.

The appointment of Chola-Pāndya viceroys was instituted in his reign and we are told that in c. A. D. 1016-17 he posted Jata-varman Sundara Chola-Pāndya in the Kerala country until c. A. D. 1040.<sup>3</sup>

In the year A. D. 1021-1022 Rājendra I resumed the war against the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. The Chālukya king

1. Dr. Paul, J. R. A. S. (Ceylon), Vol. XXVIII, No. 74, 1921, The Overlordship of Ceylon in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth Centuries.
2. F. R. Hemingway. I. C. S., *Tanjore District Gazetteer*, 1915, p. 32.
3. K. A. Nilakants Sastri, *The Cholas*, Vol. I. p. 244.

fled and Rājendra returned to his capital, Conjeevaram, with much booty.<sup>1</sup>

Another event in Rājendra's reign is the extended attack Nothwards, towards the Ganges river, by one of his generals and the king is stated to have met the general on his return somewhere on the banks of the Godavari. The claim to have carried out this expedition and conquered all the territory has however been questioned.<sup>2</sup>

The Chālukya kingdom which had been subordinate to the Cholas in the reign of Rāja Rājā I. continued in much the same state in the reign of Rājendra I.<sup>3</sup> The conflict continued in the areas occupied by the Western and Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi during the reigns of Rājādhirāja I, Rājendra II and Vīrarājendra, and in dealing with the coinage of the Cholas reference will be made to conquest in the Western or Kalyāṇī and Banavāsī regions of the Chālukyas in the reigns of Rājādhirāja I and Rājendra II which resulted in a short occupation of the territory and the issue of currency in the name of Rājādhirāja I.<sup>4</sup> The nature of this currency will be discussed more fully later.

The accession of Kulottuṅga I, marks the commencement of a new era in the history of the Chola empire. At the end of a century of intermittent subordination to the Cholas, the territory of the Chālukyas of Vengi became a province of the Cholas through the actions of its own ruler. After Kulottuṅga I become Chola emperor Vengi was ruled successively by his sons as Viceroys and this added to the strength of the Chola empire, as it ended the intrigues of the Western Chālukyas in that area.<sup>5</sup>

The Viceroys who ruled in Vengi were :—

Rāja Rājā Mummadi Chola.....Appointed in A. D. 1076.

He relinquished his appointment at the end of about a year.

1. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *The Cholas*, Vol. I. p. 244

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 247.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 249.

4. P. L. Gupta, *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XXIV of 1962, p. p. 183-186, and Pls. XI and XII, A Hoard of Chola Silver Coins from Canara District.

5. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*. Vol. II, p. 1.

Vīra Coḍa.....	A. D. 1078/79—1084/85. A. D. 1088/89—1092/93. Two terms. He was recalled by his father at the end of the first term.
Rāja Rājā Coḍagaṅga.....	A. D. 1084/85—1089. Recalled by his father.
Vikrama Chola.....	A. D. 1092/93—1118. Ruled in Vengi until he was chosen heir apparent to the Chola throne in A.D. 1118. <sup>1</sup>

The gold coins of Chālukyan type of the Dowlishwaram hoard were probably issued during the period of these Viceroys in Vengi, similar to the Vengi coins, but in the name of Kulottuṅga I. Copper coins were also issued with the standing King and boar and others with a standing bull and Nāgari, Canarese and Telugu letters which could refer to *Vīra Vikrama*. There were two inter-marriages between the Cholas and Eastern Chālukyas which could also have accounted for some of the coins with a Chola standing, or seated, figure with the legend *Rāja Rājā* on some of them and the boar under an umbrella on the reverse. The first marriage was between Rāja Rājā I's daughter Kuṇḍavi and Vimalāditya Chālukya, and the second between Rājendra I's daughter Ammaṅgadevi and Rājarājā Narendra, Chālukya. Their son, Rājendra II, Chālukya, later become Kulottuṅga I Chola.<sup>2</sup>

### Rajendra I's Expeditions Overseas.

His attack on Kedāram or Kidāram (Kedah) is mentioned in one of his inscriptions dated c. A. D. 1025. His next expedition appears to have been directed towards the kingdom of Pegu in Burma in A.D. 1025-1027. A victory pillar is reputed to have been set up by Rājendra in Pegu at this time.<sup>3</sup>

Śrī Vijaya, first taken by Rājendra I from the King of Kedaram, is stated to be the name of Palembang in Sumatra.

1. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *The Cholas*, Vol. II, p. p. 30-32; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India* 1958, p. 183.
2. C. H. Biddulph, *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XXI, 1959, p.p. 83 and 84.
3. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, Vol. I, p. 257.

The Chola empire of Southern India was in constant communication with the islands of the Malayan Archipelago and with China at this period.<sup>1</sup>

A Chola mission went to China in A. D. 1015, in the reign of Rājā Rājā I. Another in A. D. 1033 in the reign of Rājendra I, and a third in A. D. 1077 in the time Kulottuṅga I.

Rājendra I (A.D. 1012-1044) claims to have conquered Kedāram and later to have restored it to its ruler. There is no evidence that the Cholas made any attempt to rule these lands as provinces of their empire. At best they may have received a periodical tribute from them.<sup>2</sup>

From another source it is seen that Katāha, Kedāram or Kata, was conquered by Rājendra Chola I before A. D. 1024-25. Rājādhirāja (A. D. 1044-54) also claims to have conquered Kedāram. Between the years c. A. D. 1024/25 and c. A. D. 1054 the local rulers regained their independence from the Cholas.

A reconquest was not effected, probably, until after a series of campaigns in which Kulottuṅga I, who left Vengī seeking adventure, distinguished himself. The reconquest may not have taken place until A. D. 1056.

The same authority states Kulottuṅga I was away in the East country ruling over the conquered province during the period A.D. 1056 and 1061. He must have also been there until the year 1067 as in that year he visited the court of the Chinese Emperor as an envoy of Śrī Vijaya. After the restoration of the king of Kedāram by Vīrarājendra in A. D. 1068, Kulottuṅga probably returned to India to begin a new chapter as a Chola ruler in A. D. 1070.<sup>3</sup>

Kulottuṅga I, Chola, was also known as Kedāram-Koṇḍasolan. The *Kadaikōṇḍacolan* coins to be described later, can thus be identified with Kulottuṅga I, particularly as one of the coins has the title *Rāja* in Grantha characters and we know Kulottuṅga I,

1. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *The Cholas*, Vol. I, p.p. 265-266.

2. *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 268.

3. T. B. Nayar, A New Hoard of Eastern Chalukyan and Chola Coins from Dowlshwaram, *Proceedings of the Archaeological Society of South India, Madras*. No 58, November 1947.

was a *Rājakesari*, and that in fact he was the only *Rājakesari* with such high regnal years as are supplied by these coins.<sup>1</sup>

Certain other copper coins with a seated bull obverse and tripartite object, or *triśula*, on the reverse will be referred to under the coinage and it suggests there is sufficient evidence in support of their having been issued by the Cholas in the Pegu region of Burma.

Sir Arthur Phayre refers to coins with a tripartite object, or *trisula* of Siva on similar coins struck in Arakan about the eighth century A. D. He also refers to coins and medals with Hindu symbols on them being found in Pegu and mentions that Chandra princes were ruling in Arakan about this time.<sup>2</sup>

Sir Walter Elliot suggests the possibility that the Chandra dynasty, which flourished in Arakan from the eighth to the tenth century, may have owed its rise to Chola influence. The founders of the Chandra race are said to have been pilgrims from some unknown locality and local records mention disturbance in the country caused by Brāhmanas and Buddhists struggling for mastery during this period.<sup>3</sup>

Other references in support of a South Indian connection and interest in Burma in the tenth and eleventh centuries are quoted to support the attribution of certain Chola copper coins as issued for circulation in Burma.

Nilakanta Sastri refers to a Mon inscription from Prome in the reign of Kyanzittha (A. D. 1084-1112), in which the conversion of a Chola prince to Buddhism is mentioned.<sup>4</sup> The inscription could not refer to Kulottuṅga I; at this time he was ruling as a prince of the Chālukya dynasty and not as a Chola prince in Burma. This period is covered by the years A. D. 1056-1067 and is early for the ruler mentioned to refer to it in his inscription. It is possible one of Kulottuṅga's sons may have been sent to Burma, after Kulottuṅga commenced his reign as a Chola in A. D. 1070, and that this prince came under the influence of the Burmese ruler and was converted to Buddhism.

---

1. *Ibid*

2. Sir Arthur Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 31, 45 and 47.

3. Sir Walter Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 134 and 135.

4. K. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, 1939, 133.



Another possibility is that though the inscription dates from the period A.D. 1084–1112, it may refer to an incident which occurred at the time of the conquests of Rājendra I or Rājādhirāja I.

An earlier reference to Indian kings of Arakan mentioned by R.D. Banerji, suggests the Cholas were established in Arakan in the tenth or eleventh centuries. He refers to coins in the cabinet of Prafulla Nath Tagore of Calcutta from which four new names of medieval kings of Arakan were discovered which should be added to the list of Indian kings of Arakan. He states on palaeographic grounds the coins may be assigned to the tenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Returning once more to Southern India it is necessary to refer to the fact that after the conquest of the Pāndyans by Kulottuṅga I, nothing further is heard of them until the time of Rājādhirāja II. During this period they continued to rule in certain areas—a thing they were not able to do when more firmly held by the Chola-Pāndyan Viceroy.<sup>2</sup>

Kulottuṅga III has to be considered the last important Chola ruler. Under his successor, Rāja Rāja III, the empire went to pieces as the ruler suffered humiliation at the hands of one of his feudatories who was in alliance with the newly risen Pāndyan power.

He was restored to a semblance of sovereignty, but not to real power, through the assistance he received from a Hoysala ruler.<sup>3</sup>

The Pāndyan ruler, Māravarman Sundara Pāndya, compelled Kulottuṅga III, to pay homage to him in A.D. 1216/17. Later attempts of the Cholas to regain their independence led to a further Pāndyan invasion with disastrous results.<sup>4</sup>

- 
1. R. D. Banerji, *JASB.*, N, XVI, 1920S. *Numismatic Supplement* XXXII., No. 240. The coins are illustrated on pl. XIII, Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6; see also W. MacDowall, Eight Coins of Arkan from Sylhet, *Numismatic Chronicle*, Sixth series, XX, 1960, p. 231.
  2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, II, p. 97.
  3. *Ibid.*, II, p. 119.
  4. *Ibid.*, II, p. 146 and 147.

### Chola Rulers from c. A.D. 846 to c 1279

A chronological list of the Chola rulers will be useful when studying the coinage, especially when attempting to assign coins to the Chola-Pāndyan rulers and the Viceroys in the period c .A.D. 1020-1070 and later, when they helped the Pāndyans in their succession issues, or received assistance from them when pressed by their enemies. When describing certain coins it will be seen that the names appearing on them are not necessarily those of Chola rulers but are, in fact, the names of Pāndyan rulers within the Chola empire who, as stated earlier, received assistance from them, or had assisted them in their difficulties and in consequence asserted their authority over the Cholas and had to receive recognition by the incorporation of their names on Chola coins.

Two lists containing the names of Chola rulers, with dates, are furnished and though there are minor discrepancies in the dates mentioned by the two authorities they supplement each other.

The particulars of M.H. Krishna appeared in the unpublished thesis for his Doctorate of London University, while those of K.A. Nilakanta Sastri have been obtained from his *History of South India*.

M. H. Krishna	K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.
<i>"Dakhan Numismatics"</i>	<i>"History of South India."</i>
(1) Vijayālaya Chola A.D. 846-880.	.....c. A.D. 846-871.
(2) Āditya I..... 880-907.	..... 871-907.
(3) Parāntaka I.....907-952/3 Vīra Nārāyaṇa	..... 907-955.
(4) .. .. .	Rājāditya ..... 949.
(5) Gaṇḍarāditya... 953.	..... 949-959.
(6) Ariṇjaya .....953-957.	..... 956-959.
(7) .. .. .	{ Parāntaka II.....956-973. Sundara Chola
(8) .. .. .	Āditya II. .... c. 956-969.

- (9) { Uttama Chola.  
Madurāntaka..... 969-985. Madurāntaka Chola...969/70-985.  
{ Parakesari.
- (10) { Rāja Rāja I. ....985-1013 { Rāja Rāja I. ....985-1016  
{ Rāja Kesari Varman { Mummadi Chola-Deva.  
{ Rājakesari-Arumolivarman.
- (11) { Rajendra I. ...1011-1043/45 ..... 1012-1044.  
{ Gangai-konda Chola.  
{ Uttama Chola.  
{ Vikrama Chola  
{ Parakesari Varman.
- (12) { Rājādhirāja I....1018-1042- ..... 1018-1044-1054.  
{ Virarājendra. 1052
- (13) Rājendra II.....1052-1062. { Rājendradeva II .....1052-1064.  
{ Parakesari Varman Rājendra.
- (14) Virarājendra .....1062-1070. ....1063-1069.
- (15) ..... Adhirājendra 1067/68-1070.
- (16) { Kulottuṅga I.....1070-1118. .... 1070-1118.  
{ Rājanārāyaṇa.  
{ Kedāram Koṇḍasolan.
- (17) Vikrama Chola.....1118-1135. ....1118-1133.
- (18) Kulottuṅga II... c. 1135-1146. ....1133-1150.
- (19) Rāja Rāja II.....1146-1178. ....1146-1150-1173.
- (20) Rājādhirāja II.....1171-1186, .....1166-1173-1182.
- (21) { Kulottuṅga III.....1178-1218. ....1178-1218.  
{ Virarājendradeva  
{ Tribuvana-vīra-Chola-Deva.
- (22) Rāja Rāja III.....1218-1248. ....c. 1218-1256.
- (23) Rājendra III.....1246-1267. ....1246-1256-1279.

*Note* :—(1) Where three dates are shown the first refers to when the ruler became a *yuvārāja* and ruled with his predecessor.

(2) After Rājendra III. the Cholas disappeared as a power. They however held some local positions till the Muslim conquest in the next century.

### Religion.

The Cholas were ardent Saivas, but were tolerant of other sects, such as the Buddhists and Jains. The Buddhists were granted a site for a *vihāra* at Negapatam by the Chola rulers and scenes from Buddhist life are represented on decorative panels in the great *vihaddeśvara* temple built by Rāja Rāja I at Tanjore.<sup>1</sup>

The worship of Viṣṇu was tolerated and symbols referring to the practices of the Vaiṣṇava faith, such as his feet or foot and the representation of Kṛiṣṇa as Muralīdhara (the flute player) are familiar objects on Chola coins.<sup>2</sup>

Jainism had more influence than Buddhism on the life of people in Chola times, particularly in the Karnatak and the Tamil country. This is thought to be due to the fact that Jainism had much more in common with Hinduism than Buddhism.<sup>3</sup>

### Coins.

It is noticeable that there are no early Chola coins and those that have so far been examined are from a period extending from the second half of the tenth century to the beginning of the thirteenth century and cover the reigns of Uttamma Chola (A. D. 969-985) and Kulottuṅga III (A. D. 1178-1218).

I have suggested, when dealing with the coins of the Pāndyans, that it is probable the Pāndyan rectangular copper coins, current in the period B. C. 200 to A. D. 300, served as currency for the three Dravidian powers in the South, coupled with the silver punch-marked coins current throughout India in the same period.

The power of the Cholas declined in the third century A. D., due to the conquests of the Pallavas and nothing further is heard of them until after the defeat of the Pallavas by the Chālukyas in A. D. 740. This defeat was responsible for the recovery of the Cholas and the Pāndyans in the South.

- 
1. Sir T. Desikachari, *South Indian Coins*, p. 67 and 69; K. A. K' A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 419 and 425
  2. T. Desikachari, *South Indian Coins*, p. 69.
  3. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 426, 427.

It is possible that any remnant of the Chola power which may have continued in the South would have used Pallava and Chālukya currency of the period until their revival under Rāja Rāja I (A. D. 985-1016).

Before entering into a discussion of the metals used for the Chola coinage in India and Ceylon, it is considered that a reference to the so-called 'Ceylon Man' type of Chola coins of Rāja Rāja I and his successors should be mentioned. The opinions of certain authorities who have considered the claim that this type originated in Ceylon will be mentioned as it is thought that it cannot be seriously entertained.

An extract from Desikachari's book on South Indian Coins will be quoted and would appear to settle the point.

"Rāja Rāja's coins are usually referred to as those of Ceylon type. The adoption of this so-called Ceylon type by Rāja Rāja, the greatest monarch of his age, must be of real significance. The history of Ceylon from very early times down to the fourteenth century 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 from their mountain stronghold to drive their enemies back across the sea."

"We have come across no indigenous Sinhalese coinage prior to the time of Parākramabāhu who began to rule in the middle of the twelfth century. We are thus not in a position to know what exactly the indigenous type of coinage in Ceylon was. In excavations in Ceylon carried out by Mr. Bell were discovered rectangular coins such as are found in the Madura and Tinnevely Districts. There is nothing in them to indicate that the rudely executed standing and seated figures first appearing on the coins of Rāja Rāja had been the symbol or badge of the Sinhalese kings. To say therefore that the coins of Rāja Rāja, the mightiest conqueror of his time, were of the Ceylon type, is to make many groundless assumptions."<sup>1</sup>

---

1. Sir T. Desikachari, *South Indian Coins*, p. 68, 69.

Desikachari's suggestion that, "we have come across no indigenous Sinhalese coinage prior to the time of Parākramabāhu, who began to rule in the middle of the twelfth century" and that "we are not in position to know what exactly the indigenous coinage was in Ceylon," cannot be accepted as Ceylon did have indigenous coins at a much earlier period than that in which they adopted the standing and seated figures on their coinage; similar to the Pāndyan and Chola coins.

The early coins of Ceylon did not have anything resembling the standing and seated figures on them, were circular in shape, die struck, with an Elephant and Svastika occupying the obverse and reverse as the principal motifs, with subsidiary symbols, and almost all of the symbols are either Buddhist or have Buddhistic connotation.

The earliest form of the die-struck plaques from Ceylon are struck on pieces cut from the earliest type of thin Elephant and Svastika circular coins. The female figure on the plaques is of Māyā Devi, the mother of Buddha, and they must therefore be dated as second and first century B. C. This would fix the date of the earliest type of the thin Elephant and Svastika circular coins to, at least, the same period, if not earlier.<sup>1</sup> The plaques, which have been considered to be coins and not votive offerings, or amulets, by Parker, Dr. Paul E. Pieris and John Allan, followed the circular Elephant and Svastika coins and were contemporary with the Tree and Svastika coins also current in Ceylon.<sup>2</sup>

To revert to the question of the Standing King on coins being 'Ceylon-Man' coins a few more authorities will be quoted.

R. P. Jackson, referring to the Ceylon copper currency of the Kings of Kandy, states :—

"These coins were struck by the kings of Kandy, the Indian Chola coins being in all probability the prototype. The incursions of the Cholas would naturally lead to the introduction of their coin types, and it is more than probable

---

1. D. P. E. Hethiaratchi, on newly discovered type of 'Laksmi' plaque, *Numismata Zeylanica, Journal of the Ceylon Branch of The Royal Asiatic Society*, Centenary Volume (1845-1945) p. 113, 116 and 117.

2. H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, Section 8, p. 31.



that this was responsible for the standing and seated figure series used on the Island."<sup>1</sup>

Jackson also refers to R. H. Campbell-Tufnel's "*Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India*" (page 13) and it is possible Jackson has repeated Campbell-Tufnel's opinion in the extract quoted.

In further support that the standing and seated man coins cannot be called 'Ceylon-Type', a reference from Loventhal's *Coins of Tinnevely* will be mentioned. He states that he cannot accept this attribution as it is only the more modern form of this type is figured on Ceylon coins as well as on the Pāndyan and Chōla coins. The older form is only seen on the Korkey coins of the Pāndyans. Loventhal concludes that his coins (Nos. 51 to 57), plate II, may have first been adopted by the Cholas and perhaps also the Pāndyans and later by the Ceylon kings.<sup>2</sup>

I consider the 'Ceylon-Man' coins were first coined by the Pāndyans in the Korkey area of the Tinnevely District and later by the Cholas, and at a much later date by the Kandyan Kings of Ceylon. This opinion would also seem to be supported by Nilakanta Sastri in a note when discussing the change of legend on Chola coins from Grantha to Nāgari. Paragraph three of the note will be reproduced as it appears to establish that the use of Nāgari on the coinage in place of Grantha, by Rāja Rāja I occurred in India and that the practice spread to Ceylon with his coins and would necessarily have resulted in the use of both the type and language on the coins of the Ceylon kings in the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup>

"The Nāgari legends on the Chola coins seem to appear first under Rāja Rāja I replacing Grantha legends of the earlier period of the woodcut of Uttama Chola's gold coin in *Coins of Southern India*—Elliot (and the British Museum coin which is illustrated here **No: 1**) It is not possible to

1. Major R. P. Jackson, "*Dominions, Emblems and Coins of the South Indian Dynasties*", Reprint from the *British Numismatic Journal*, Vol. IX (1913), p. 49 and 50.
2. Rev. E. Loventhal, *The Coins of Tinnevely*, p. 8 to 10, and pl. II, Nos. 59-57.
3. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, II, (Part I), p. 450, para. 3 of note 40 at bottom of the page.

decide if this marks a further stage in the growth of Ceylonese influence on Chola coinage, or, which is equally, if not more probable, the result of North Indian Śaiva influences beginning to operate in the Chola court. On the latter hypothesis, the Nāgarī script must have first been employed on the mainland, and thence spread to Ceylon."

The Cholas issued coins in four metals in India. The *Madais* were of gold which varied considerably in purity. The earliest were almost pure gold but the later coins were considerably alloyed with silver, until in some of the later issues they were of silver merely gold washed or plated.

Silver *Kāsus* varied from pure silver to coins of mixed metal which contained little silver. Some coins were of copper silver washed, or plated.

Copper *Kāsus*, and their smaller divisions were of pure copper or bronze.

*Kāsus* in brass or an alloy resembling brass, are quite often found.

There are *Madais* of Rāja Rāja I, of almost pure gold which are usually found in Ceylon and resemble the *Kahavanuva* coins.<sup>1</sup> The gold coins of Rāja Rāja found in India are of inferior gold, but are of better workmanship.

It is probable a silver *Kāsu* of Rāja Rāja I with the standing king obverse and seated king with a seated tiger under his left arm, was also issued in Ceylon; as it is occasionally found on the island and does not appear to have circulated in India, where it is exceedingly rare. It occurs in either inferior silver or copper, silver plated.

It is possible it was the prototype of the coins of the Ceylon Sethupatis, who had a seated bull under the king's arm.

At a later date the coins of Parākrama Bāhu VI of Ceylon had a seated lion under the king's arm and the type may have been inspired by either the Sethupati, or the earlier Chola coins. A copper coin from Ceylon (No. 15) could also have been a

---

1. Sir T. Desikachari, *South Indian Coins*, p. 69.

*Kāsu* of the same period as it looks as if it has a seated tiger under the arm of the king on the reverse. The figure of the tiger is not clear and looks as though it is surrounded by a row of short lines or dots.

Copper *Kāsus* in the name of Rāja Rāja I are found in Ceylon which are struck with dies of better workmanship. They are on broader and more uniformly circular flans. They can be distinguished without much difficulty as the tall temple lamp usually seen on the side of the standing king, on the obverse, beyond the fire altar on which he is making an offering with his right hand, is a fish figured in a vertical position with head uppermost.

It is possible *Kāsus*, in copper, were also issued in the reigns of Rājendra I, and Rājādhirāja I, which are not readily distinguishable.

The copper coin ( **No. 31** ) was issued in the reign of Kulottuṅga III (A. D. 1178-1218) and is perhaps the last coin issued by the Cholas. It is usually found in Ceylon and has been referred to earlier in the note when attention was drawn to the fact that Chola contact with Ceylon was popularly believed to have ended with the accession of Kulottuṅga I to the Chola throne in A. D. 1070.

### Metrology.

**Gold.** In referring to the weights of the gold coins of the Cholas I have to acknowledge the assistance received from particulars furnished in Chapter XXIII of K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's *The Cholas*. ( Volume II ).

It is evident, there are two weight systems traceable for the coins of the South. Gold *Gadyāṇa* coins of the Deccan average 58.0 grains, the heaviest being 60.1 grains. This was also the standard unit called *Gadyāṇa* or *Kalaṇju* in the Tamil country.

Sastri points out that if the lost gold coin of Uttama Chola, referred to by Walter Elliot<sup>1</sup> as weighing between 50 and 60 grains, was of about this weight, it must have followed the old

1. Sir Walter Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 132 and 152 G.

*Gadyāṇa* standard and Should have remained in circulation late into the tenth century.<sup>1</sup>

The British Museum has a similar coin to the one described and illustrated by Elliot ( **No. 1.** ) which weighs 59.3 grains and confirms what Sastri has said on page 443. The coin under reference has been described and illustrated in a note in the *Numismatic Chronicle* by John Allan.<sup>2</sup>

Sastri continues that in the Chola period the usual standard was the *Kalañju* of twenty *Manjādis* equal in theory to 72 grains, but occasionally reaching 80 grains.<sup>3</sup> This unit of weight (70 to 80 grains ) was employed in inscriptions of the thirtieth year of Parāntaka ( A. D. 907-955 ) of the year 937, which equates the '*Kalañju*' with the *Nishka*. The *Pon* is equated to the *Kalañju* and must therefore be of the same weight.<sup>4</sup> This coin is also called the *Madhurāntaka-Deva-Madai* and is mentioned in the thirty-first year ( A. D. 1016 ) of Rāja Rāja I, and it has to be inferred it must have been issued originally, by his predecessor Madhurāntaka Uttama Chola.<sup>5</sup>

Half of this *Madai* was the *Rājarājan Kāsu*, issued apparently by Rāja Rāja I.

Sastri however states the '*Kāsu*' was in use earlier than the time of Rāja Rāja I, as a record of the fourth year of Āditya II ( c. A. D. 956-969 ) mentions that twenty *Kāsus* equalled ten *Kalañjus*. In fact the *Madai* and *Kāsu*, the standard coins of the realm, were issued by each of the Chola kings of the period before the year A. D. 1070.

The *Mudhurāntaka Madai* was still current in the reign of Kulottuṅga I (A. D. 1070-1118) and it was said to be equivalent to the *Kalañju*, or to two *Kāsus*.<sup>6</sup>

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, II, p. 443.

2. John Allan, on Indian Coins Acquired by the British Museum, *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fifth Series, Vol. XVII, p. 300, Pl. XXV. No. 9.

3. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, II, p. 443. 444.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 444.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 444.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 445.

From the reign of Kulottuṅga I, several other types of *Madais* were referred to in inscriptions which were, presumably, issued by local rulers who were feudatories of the Cholas.<sup>1</sup> Sastri points out that no gold coins of high standard or fineness of the *Madai* have survived, due perhaps to no other reason than that no old coins that were at all suitable for conversion into jewellery escaped the goldsmiths through the centuries.<sup>2</sup>

Sastri has stated the standard *Kāsu* derived ultimately from Ceylon which had a more ancient and continuous currency tradition than the Chola kingdom, which only became powerful during the ninth and tenth century. He refers to the *Ilak-kāsu* which he states was equal to half a *Kalaṇḍju*, as being current in Ceylon as early as the seventh and eighth centuries. He considers the introduction of this coin into the Chola currency must have been the result of Parāntaka's invasion of Madura and Ceylon in c. A. D. 937.<sup>3</sup>

This would appear to confirm what I have stated in my Monograph on the Pāṇḍyan coinage and the fact that the *Ilak Kāsu* was current in the seventh and eighth centuries and that it had a standing and seated figure on it and was issued by the Pāṇḍyans. Its adoption by the Cholas could have taken place about the year A. D. 937 when Parāntaka came into contact with coins bearing these figures in either the Pāṇḍyan territory or in Ceylon.

It has to be remembered that the Cholas were held in subjection in the period c. A. D. 815-910 and it is unlikely that they introduced the standing and seated king type. Codrington also considered the *Kavanuva* coins were the prototype of the Rāja Rāja coins.

Chola gold coins from the Dowlishwaram hoard have been referred to earlier in the paper. The weights of these coins, which resemble the Chālukyan coins, illustrated on Plate III of Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, are in the neighbourhood of 65.5 and 66.5 grains and they were probably issued by the sons of Kulottuṅga I

---

1. *Ibid.*, p. 446.

2. *Ibid.*, p., 447.

3. *Ibid.*, p, 448.

when they ruled as viceroys in Vengi, c. A. D. 1076-1118.<sup>1</sup> The new standard weight of the *Madai* was adopted in the Vengi country about the year A. D. 1000 A. D.<sup>2</sup>

A gold coin with the inscription in Nāgarī reading *Yuddhamalla* and weighing about 6.5 to 7.0 grains is the only small coin of this type and denomination and must have represented a tenth part of the *Madai*. It could have been struck by Rājendra I Chola, as a special issue at the time of the marriage of his daughter to the Chālukya Rāja Rāja Narendra (A. D. 1019-1061), the father of Rājendra II, (Chālukya), who was known subsequently as Kulottuṅga I (Chola). It is possible these coins circulated among both the Cholas and Chālukyas of Vengi's territories and they also occur in Ceylon.

The curious title *Yuddhamalla* is typically Chālukyan in style, but the only two rulers, who could have issued them, are Yuddhamalla I (Chalukya), who did not reign, but was the father of Tala I (A. D. 927); who in turn was the father of Yuddhamalla II (A. D. 928-935). Both those princes flourished much earlier than the Chola conquest of Vengi, after which alone the group of symbols occurring on the coins were seen on Chālukya-Chola coins.<sup>3</sup>

Finally gold *fanams* weighing 6.8. grains, and coins of smaller denomination weighing 1.5 grains (Nos. 2, 3 and 4.), with a seated tiger and a fish placed vertically alongside the tiger, on the obverse and an inscription on the reverse, appear to be the only *fanams* and smaller gold coins issued by the Chola. The previous gold coin, which weighed between 6.5 and 7.0 grains could also have been a *fanam*, of special type, issued as suggested earlier. Sastri in summarising his observations on the gold currency of the Cholas states—

“The general history of the Chola currency seems to have been marked by a progressive deterioration. While the ‘Ceylon Type’ issues of Rāja Rāja I, are usually of fairly good

1. T. B. Nayar, A New Hoard of Eastern Chalukyan and Chola Coins from Dowlishwaram, *Proceedings of the Archaeological Society of South India, Madras*, No. 58, November 1947.
2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, II, p. 451.
3. Sir T. Desikachari, *South Indian Coins*, p. 69.



gold, all available specimens of the later monarchs, beginning from Rājādhirāja I, are of very base gold, or rather silver washed with gold,"<sup>1</sup>

**Silver.** Silver *Kāsus*, which were issued from the reign of Rāja Rāja I, varied from almost pure silver to coins of mixed metal which contained little silver. Some were of copper, silver washed or plated. Weights vary in consequence from 46.0 to 62.6 grains for impure silver coins and from 61.0 to 62.5 for coins which appear to be of pure silver.

One rare coin in impure silver with an inscription said to read *Rājendra Chola*, in two lines on both the obverse and reverse, is mentioned by Hultzsch. It is figured as No. 2 in his paper and the weight is given as 30.0 grains. This should be an half *Kāsu* and from the fact that it is so rare, very few should have been coined.<sup>2</sup>

Silver coins with a strident lion on the obverse and the legend *Rājādhirāja* on the reverse in Nāgarī, issued in the Western Chālukyan territory, will be referred to in detail when discussing the emblems occurring on Chola coins and in a further general note, in which some of the more unusual coins of the Cholas will be referred to and described. These coins varied in weight from 1.4 to 29.3 grains and were probable issued in the form of largess at the time of the Chola conquest.

**Copper.** Copper *Kāsus* and coins of smaller denomination were issued by most of the kings from the reign of Rāja Rāja I. They will be grouped to give some idea of the weights of the coins of different denominations. The weights vary fairly widely in each group and this can be understood when it is realised the coins were struck over a long period in different mints and with differing alloys.

The coins bearing the name of Rāja Rāja vary considerably as some are on flans with both faces flat while others are of smaller diameter with both faces convex. The designs appear to deteriorate in the latter coins and there is a possibility that coins

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, II, p. 452-463.

2. E. Hultzsch, Miscellaneous South Indian Coins, *Indian Antiquary*, December 1896, Coin No. 2.

bearing the name of Rāja Raja were struck over a long period by many of the rājās.

Sastri quotes Codrington<sup>1</sup> when referring to the figures becoming more degraded and the legends more roughly executed. The letter *Ja*, sometimes being reversed.<sup>2</sup>

It has also been mentioned earlier in this monograph that coins of the standing and seated figure or king, and bearing the legend *Rāja Rāja* were struck in brass or a brass alloy.

In the smaller coins the full designs and the ruler's names, figured on the dies, do not appear on the coins.

Rāja Rāja's *Kāsus* appear also to have been struck in Ceylon. They are usually on slightly broader flans, the dotted border surrounding the designs is seen on many coins, the two faces of the coins are invariably flat and the standard lamp on the left of the standing figure, on the obverse, resembles a fish.

The weights of the copper *Kāsus* can be grouped as under :-

#### Kāsus.

- |       |         |                          |                |
|-------|---------|--------------------------|----------------|
| (i)   | Indian. | From 55.4 to 61.1 grains | } Kāsu         |
|       | Ceylon. | „ 56.4 „ 63.2 „          |                |
| (ii)  | Indian. | ... 37.7 grains          | } Half Kāsu    |
|       | Ceylon. | ... 31.8 „               |                |
| (iii) | Indian. | ... 20.9 „               | } Quarter Kāsu |
| (iv)  | Indian. | From 13.1 to 14.5 grains |                |
2. *Copper coins with a standing figure and a standing or seated, bull on the reverse, on smaller thicker flans.*

(v)	From 46.6 to 59.0 grains.	Kāsu
(vi)	„ 26.4 to 34.1 grains.	Half-Kāsu
  3. *Standing figure and boar on the reverse.*

(vii)	From 44.2 to 52.0 grains.	This must be lighter <i>Kāsus</i> due to the weight standard being reduced.
-------	---------------------------	---
  4. *Standing figure and elephant.*

(viii)	40.6 grains.	Light <i>Kāsus</i>
--------	--------------	--------------------

1. H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, 1924, p. 85.

2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri *The Cholas*, II, 1937, p. 455-454.

5. *Standing figure and tripartite object. (Burma)*(ix) 54.0 grains *Kāsu*(x) 39.1 „ (only one coin) *Half-Kāsu*6. *Standing figure and galloping horse or horses and rider.*

(xi) 15.7 grains Quarter-Kāsu (?)

An inscription of Rājendra III. states a *Kalañju* of gold was equal to 411 $\frac{1}{16}$  *Kāsus*. A Pāṇḍyan inscription states that 100 *Saliya Kāsus* equalled a *fanam*.<sup>1</sup>

The *Tiramam* is occasionally mentioned in inscriptions and it is not clear if it was a coin or only a small unit of reckoning. At Conjeevaram in A. D. 1076, six *Tiramams* were equivalent to a *Kāsu* while more than forty years later the *Kāsu* was stated to equal seven *Tiramams*.<sup>2</sup>

The particulars of coin weights furnished under copper *Kāsu*, item (i), (ii), (iii) and (iv) do not appear to fit in with the suggestion that the *Tiramam* may have been a coin as we should have expected to find coins weighing about 10 grains. The lightest copper coins of the Cholas weigh from 13.0 to 14.5 grains.

### Emblems.

The tiger is the emblem usually seen on Chola seals, grants, deeds and the early coins. The earliest coins with the seated tiger invariably have a single Pāṇḍyan fish, which must refer to conquests of the Pāṇḍyans by the Cholas, or to alliances by marriage. Coins which followed these, usually have the seated tiger with two Pāṇḍyan fishes and the Chera Bow. Still later the obverse has the figure of a standing man or king.

As there are several emblems used on both obverse and reverse of the Chola coins it will be best to mention all that are known, with a short description of each, dealing with the obverse and reverse separately.

### Obverse.

1. *Seated Tiger with a single Fish.* On the 'Madais' and *Fanams* and smaller gold coins of Uttama Chola (A. D. 967-985).

1. *Ibid.*, p. 453.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 454.

2. *Seated Tiger, two fishes and bow.* On gold, silver and some copper coins which must have been gold or silver washed, or plated, in the reign of Rājendra I.

3. *Standing King.* On the coins of Rāja Rāja I and several later rulers.

4. *Lion.* Reference has to be made to the lion which appears on Chola coins of Rājādhirāja I, issued in connection with his conquests in the Western Chālukyan territory in A. D. 1042/44. Details of these Chola victories, of which there were two with dates between A. D. 1042 and 1060, in the reigns of Rājādhirāja I and Rājendra II, usually refer to the erection of a victory pillar, on each occasion, surmounted by a tiger. The coinage issued for the short occupations certainly have a lion on the obverse, represented in the same manner as on Vishṇukunḍin and Pallava grants, seals and coins.

Some later local chieftains of the Telugu country, who claimed descent from Karikala Chola adopted the Lion crest.<sup>1</sup>

P. L. Gupta in his article, however, refers to the animal as a Tiger assuming, perhaps, that the Cholas would be likely to use their own dynastic emblem on their coinage.<sup>2</sup>

Sastri, again, when referring to the Renadu Cholas of the Cuddapah and Kurnul districts mentions the crest as a maned lion and not a tiger, with its tail twisted into a loop over the back and that it resembles the crest of the Vishṇukunḍins and Pallavas and was probably Buddhist in origin.<sup>3</sup>

The variations in weight mentioned by P. L. Gupta will be commented on when describing the coins published by him and the possibility that they may have been issued as largess, distributed to the people in the conquered territory at the time of the Chola victories.

The variations in the inscriptions and designs on the reverse, together with the range of weights, tend to confirm that the coins did not constitute a regular currency issue. It would have been

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 25.

2. P. L. Gupta, "A Hoard of Chola Silver Coins from Canara District, J. N. S. I., XXIV, 19 2, p. 183-186, Pls. XI-XII.

3. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, I, p. 123.

difficult for the ordinary people to have distinguished the different denominations with such small variations in the weights of individual coins. The fact that the coins are seldom found is another reason for suggesting that it may be correct to assume they were a special issue which disappeared from circulation shortly after they were issued and that they were melted down.

### Reverse.

1. *Seated king or figure.* Usually found on coins with the standing king or figure on the obverse.

2. *Standing or seated bull.* The obverse is invariably a very debased standing king, or figure. It could be suggested that the coins with the bull date from the reign of Kulottuṅga I, and his successors and that they circulated in the Vengi and the Chola territory in the Tamil area. The bull could have been copied from the Hoysala coins.<sup>1</sup>

3. *Standing boar.* Chola-Chālukya. Could have been used in connection with marriages between the Cholas and Chālukyas, or on the coins issued by the sons of Kulottuṅga I, when serving as viceroys at Vengi.

4. *Standing elephant.* Possibly issued by Chola-Pāṇḍyan viceroys in the Travancore or Kerala area at the Southern extremity of the Pāṇḍyan territory.

5. *Galloping horse or horses with a rider.* It is not possible to explain the significance of this motif.<sup>2</sup>

6. *Foot of Vishṇu.*

7. *Krishṇa playing a flute.*

8. *Tripartite symbol or trident.*

These symbols refer to the worship of Vishṇu and are a pointer to the tolerant attitude of the Cholas towards the worship of other gods in their territory.<sup>3</sup>

Before entering into a detailed description of the coinage of the Cholas it is thought advisable to mention the languages used

---

1. Sir T. Desikachari, *South Indian Coins*, p. 73-74.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

at different periods. More than one language is used on coins in many instances.

*Prakrit.* The language of inscriptions until about the fourth century A. D.

*Tamil Grantha.* In inscriptions, deeds and on coins in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

*Tamil.* In general use in speaking and writing and on coins.

*Sanskrit.* In early literature and religious texts.

*Nāgarī.* Commonly used for legends on coins.

*Canarese.* On some Chola coins in the Chālukyan territory occupied by the Cholas or their viceroys.

*Telugu.* Same as for Canarese.

### General observations

Many Chola coins have been assigned to particular rulers who were responsible for issuing them with the assistance of the inscriptions on the coins. This cannot be accepted as correct in every instance as it is obvious that the vast number of coins bearing the legend *Rāja Rāja*, but differing very markedly in execution, from of the letters in the inscriptions, diameters and weights, could not have all been coined by Rāja Rāja I, and must certainly have been coined by king up to and including Rāja Rāja, III.

Others with indistinct and in many instances incomplete legends, or abbreviations, or without any inscriptions at all, make precise identification difficult. Here an attempt will be made to assign some of these coins to rulers, or at least to periods, or events, connected with Chola history, in which they could have been issued and to mention the circumstances which may have accounted for their issue. The coins will be grouped according to the metals used for the coins.

**Gold.** (1). Chola coins found in the Dowliswaram hoard in the year 1946 were of two rulers. Forty-nine of Rāja Rāja I (A. D. 1019-1061) of the Eastern Chālukyan dynasty. These will not be referred to; but the coins of Kulottuṅga I (Chola) in the hoard, which are similar in general design and weight to the coins of his

father Rāja Rāja I (Chālukya) will be illustrated (Nos. 50-51. and described.

There are two main groups of Kulottuṅga's coins consisting of thirty-two with regnal years 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, and 33 and on these he has the title *Kaṭaikōṇḍa Colan*. In the second group there are forty-six coins with the regnal years 33, 34, 35, and 39, on which he is referred to by the title *Malaināḍukōṇḍa Colan*.

The legends are in Tamil-Grantha and the coins must have been issued for the Eastern Chālukyan territory at the time Kulottuṅga I, was ruling in the Tamil area of the Chola territory.

The title *Kaṭaikōṇḍa Colan* must refer to Kulottuṅga I and is connected with his victories at Kedaram (c. A. D. 1055) when the title '*Solajanakarājan*' was conferred on him by Rājendra II, Chola, (A. D. 1052-1062). During the period A. D. 1056-1061 Kulottuṅga I was away in the "East country" ruling the conquered province and there is evidence he remained there until the year A. D. 1067.<sup>1</sup>

The second title, *Malaināḍukōṇḍa Colan*, can be explained by the fact Kulottuṅga I, reconquered 'Malainadu' or Kerala, between the seventh and eleventh years of his reign. The regnal years found on these coins are covered by the period of the viceroyalty over Vengi of Kulottuṅga's son Parakesari Vikramachola (A. D. 1092/93-1118). The credit for the discovery that these *Biruda* refer to Kulottuṅga I is correctly claimed by the Government Museum, Madras.

(2) The reference from which these particulars have been obtained goes on to state that not only the coins bearing the two titles mentioned were issued by Kulottuṅga for the Vengi territory, but that certain other gold coins weighing 5.75 grains with the legend *Sung* and a numeral, on the reverse, and a seated tiger and a bow on the obverse, which were from the Kavaliyada-valli hoard; were also issued about this period for the same area.<sup>2</sup>

1. T. B. Nayar, A Hoard of Eastern Chalukyan and Chola Coins from Dowlishwaram, *Proceedings of the Archaeological Society of South India*, Madras.

2. *Ibid.* No. 64.

The bow referred to is, I consider, the Pāṇḍyan fish symbol, similar to the two fanams and a coin of smaller denomination illustrated by me (**Nos. 2, 3, 4**) and it is noteworthy that these small coins are invariably found in the Eastern Chālukyan territory at ancient sites of abandoned cities after heavy rain, or in sifting the sand in certain rivers in the vicinity of these ancient sites.

The similarity of these small gold coins to the '*Madai*' issued by Uttama Chola (A. D. 970-985) (**Nos. 1**) must be mentioned and the necessity for the inclusion of a fish, a typically Pāṇḍyan symbol, on them cannot be satisfactorily explained, unless it is assumed they were issued at the same time as the *Madais* and were imported from the Tamil area in the South for use in the Eastern Chālukyan territory.

I originally considered that they might have been issued by Uttama Chola, for the Tamil area of his territory and having been found convenient for small transactions, their circulation was extended into the Chalukyan territory.

But in view of what has been stated by T. B. Nayar<sup>1</sup> and the reading of the legend<sup>1</sup>, it would be more correct to assign them to the time of Kulottuṅga I. They may have been issued by him in the Tamil region of the Chola territory as they are die-struck, with a motif which is very similar to the gold coin of Uttama Chola and do not resemble the unfaced, punched, gold coins which, by their general appearance and method of striking with individual punches, are usually assumed to have been coined, in the Veṅḡ territory, under occupation of the Cholas, by one of Kulottuṅga's sons while serving as a viceroy.

(3) Gold coins with the Nāgarī legend reading *Yuddhamalla* have been referred to under Metrology and there is very little to add to what has been stated. It is almost certain the coins were issued by Rājendra Chola I, ( A.D. 1012-1014 ) and should

- 
1. "Regarding the legend on the Chola *fanams* you have referred to in your letter, the legend on the reverse of the only Chola *fanam* in this Museum's Collection reads, in Tamil characters, *Sung* perhaps referring to Kulottunga Chola's title, "*Sungum Tavirtha Cholan*", meaning "the Chola who abolished tolls". (Extract from a letter from Dr. S. T. Satyamurti, Director, Government Museum, Madras, to the author).



have been occasioned by some special event. As the title is typically Chālukyan, and was the name of two Eastern Chālukyas, it could have been used on these coins which would then have served at the time of the marriage of Rājendra Chola's daughter Ammaṅgadevi to Rāja Rāja Narendra (A.D.1019-1061), the Chālukyan ruler.

**Silver.** (4) The silver coin (**No. 14**) with a seated tiger, flanked by tall temple lamps and under an umbrella; under the left arm of the seated figure on the reverse of the coin, must be attributed to Rāja Rāja I. There appears to be some doubt to which ruler they should be assigned due to the inscription on the obverse, not being clear on the few coins of this type that are known. As this is so, a few authorities will be quoted, with their views, to try and settle the point.

A copper coin with a more debased seated tiger is in the writer's collection and this coin, like most of the silver *Kāsus*, came from Ceylon. It is possible, the silver coin served as a prototype for the coins of the Sethupati rulers of Jaffna, who had a seated bull under the left arm of the king. The later coins of the Kandyan ruler Parākrama Bāhu VI, which circulated in Jaffna, after his conquest of the area, could have also been inspired by these coins as they have a seated lion in almost the same position as the tiger on the Chola coins.

Codrington reads the inscription on the seated tiger coins as *Sri/Rājā/Dhi R/ja* and refers to two coins in base gold weighing 65.8 and 65.7 grains.<sup>1</sup>

Elliot in his *Coins of Southern India* does not refer to it and was evidently unaware of its existence.

Desikachari describes and illustrates the coin, but does not refer to an inscription on the obverse, but states it is the only coin of Rāja Rāja I which figures the dynastic device of the tiger. He refers to the coin as of impure silver.<sup>2</sup>

Hultzsch reads the inscription as *Śri/Rājarā[ja Devah]*—the portion of the inscription within square brackets; with

1. H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, 1924, p. 85.

2. Sir T. Desikachari, *South Indian Coins*, p. 68; 180; Coin No. 92 illustrated on Pl. V, No. 92.

misgivings. He refers to the coin as of impure silver, weighing 51.5 grains. He attributes the coin to the great Chola king who ascended the throne in A.D. 984/985.<sup>1</sup>

Nilakanta Sastri states the inscription on the coin, he illustrates, is *Śri/Rāja Rājendra*. The reverse he illustrates is obviously not of the coin with the seated tiger, but of the doublesided coin of Śri Rājendra I. He states the coin is of gold and weighs 57.2 grains.<sup>2</sup>

Johnston states that the coin is of Rāja Rāja Deva and mentions that it is of impure silver and weighs 51.5 grains. It is clear Johnston has reproduced the particulars furnished by Hultzsch.<sup>3</sup>

(5) Hultzsch, in his article in the *Indian Antiquary* (December 1896) refers to an impure silver coin, No. 2. in his list, of Rājendra I Chola, weighing 30 grains. It is not possible to illustrate the coin in this paper. He mentions the legend, in two lines, as reading *Rājendra|Chola*.

(6) P.L. Gupta's Chola coins, which have been referred to earlier, will only be mentioned again in connection with their weights as it is considered that by furnishing the wide range in weights it will help to confirm that the entire series must have been issued either once, or at the most on two occasions, and were produced through different agencies, possibly by more than one local jeweler in the area after its conquest. The coins show marked variations in the standard of workmanship in the production of the dies with which the coins were struck and they appear to have been hastily produced in connection with some function and distributed as largess at centres where celebrations in connection with the Chola victories over the Chālukyas were held.

There are two incidents recorded of attacks by the Cholas on the Western Chālukyas, with victories for the Cholas on each occasion and the erection of pillars to commemorate the events.

1. E. Hultzsch, *Miscellaneous South Indian Coins*, *Indian Antiquary*, December 1896, Coin No. 1.
2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, II, Pl. II (Between pages 462 and 463) No. 10.
3. Major R. P. Johnston, *Dominions, Emblems and Coins of the South Indian Dynasties*, Reprint from *British Numismatic Journal*, IX, 1913, p. 47.

The Chola leaders of the expeditions conducted celebrations and assumed new titles and these incidents would be sufficient justification for the issue of coins. Similar distributions were made by the rulers in Travancore in connection with certain ceremonies conducted by them.

Sastri in his *History of Southern India* has referred to the Chola attacks on the Chālukyas and a few details will be mentioned as they appear to confirm what has been stated.

After the death of Rājendra I, Rājādhirāja I, in the year A. D. 1044, led an expedition into the Telugu country and defeated the Western Chālukya forces. He set fire to the fort at Kulpak and demolished the Chālukya palace in the city of Kampili. He erected a pillar of victory with the tiger emblem on it. The Chālukya capital Kalyāṇī was sacked and Rājādhirāja performed the *Virābhisheka* (coronation of the victor) ceremony in the enemy's capital and assumed the title *Vijayarājendra*. The Chola forces occupied the territory until A. D. 1050 when Someśvara succeeded in driving the Chola forces out of his territory.

Rājādhirāja, assisted by his younger brother, the *Yuvarāja*, Rajendra II, led another expedition against Someśvara (A. D. 1053/54) and a battle was fought at Koppam. Rājādhirāja was mortally wounded. Rājendra II however turned defeat into victory. He crowned himself king on the battlefield and advanced to Kolhapur where he planted a pillar of victory (*Jayastambha*) before returning to his capital, Gangaikondaṣolapuram.<sup>1</sup>

The groups of coins referred to by P. L. Gupta as perhaps of different denominations and of different types have a marked variation in their weights. Weights in grammes (furnished by him) have been converted into grains to correspond with the weights of other coins mentioned, and the separate groups or types, recognised by Gupta have been maintained.

( i )	25.6	and	29.3 grains
( ii )	10.2	„	12.2 „
( iii )	5.8	„	8.2 „
( iv )	4.4	„	5.6 „
( v )	2.4	„	2.8 „
( vi )	0.9	„	1.4 „
( vii )	1.0	„	1.5 „
( viii )	0.8	„	1.7 „

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 177-178.

It seems unlikely that a poorly educated people, who would be called upon to use these coins of varying weights, would have been able to distinguish the different denominations. This would therefore seem to confirm the assertion, made earlier, that they are not coins which formed part of a regular issue.

A similar coin in my collection ( **No. 41** ) weighs 29.0 grains and another in the British Museum Collection ( **No. 42** ) weighs 25.3 grains.<sup>1</sup>

### Copper

Two copper *Kāsus* of the typical Chola standing and seated king will be considered first as they present certain unusual features.

- ( 7 ) *Obverse*. Standing king with head turned to the right, etc.  
*Reverse*. Seated king with Tamil legend reading *Rāja/Kes...* The letter *Ja* in the first line is inverted.  
 ( **No. 24** ) The full legend should read *Rāja Kesari* and the coin is evidently one of the earliest issued in the reign of Rāja Rāja I.

It is the only coin of this type seen and is in my collection. Rāja Rāja I was known as Rājakesari Arumolivarman at the beginning of his reign. A little later he is referred to as Mummaḍi Chola-Deva and finally as Rāja Rāja.

- ( 8 ) *Obverse*. Standing king with head turned to the right, etc.  
*Reverse*. Seated king with an object under his left arm which may be said to resemble a four-petalled flower, or four small fishes with heads turned inwards ( **No. 23** ).

This *Kāsu* is very rare and may have been issued to mark a Chola-Pāṇḍyan alliance, or by one of the Chola-Pāṇḍyan viceroys appointed in an area which had been Pāṇḍyan territory prior to its conquest by the Cholas. Its date in this case would be covered by the years c. A.D. 1020-1070 and extend over the reigns of Rājendra I (A.D. 1012-1044), Rājādhirāja I (A.D. 1044-1054),

1. P. L. Gupta, A Hoard of Chola Silver Coins from Canara District, *J. N. S. I.*, XXIV, 1962, p. 183-186, Pls. XI-XII

Rājendra II (A.D. 1052-1064), Vīrarājendra (A.D. 1053-1069), and Adhirājendra (A.D. 1067/68-1070).

(9) Three small copper coins in the British Museum Collection are similar in certain respects to the '*Kāsuś*' of Rāja Rāja I, but have on the obverse a seated figure with the inscription '*Rāja Rāja*' and an indistinct inscription occupying the whole of the reverse. The Inscription appears to be *Parakesari* and should therefore refer to a ruler having the name *Rāja Rāja* who also held the title *Parakesari*.

Rāja Rāja I was a *Rājakesari* and must be excluded, he may not be the ruler who may have issued them. There are three rulers who succeeded him with the title of *Parakesari*; but their names are Rājendra I, Rājendra II and Adhirājendra. Three others with the title '*Rājakesari*' are Rājādhirāja I, Vīrarājendra and Kulottuṅga Chola I. The six rulers referred to may be excluded, as also Vikrama Chola and Kulottuṅga II, who succeeded Kulottuṅga I.

Rāja Rāja II (A.D. 1146-1178) had the title of *Parakesari* and Rāja Rāja III (A.D. 1218-1248) would, in the normal sequence of alternate rulers being either *Parakesari*, or '*Rājakesari*', have been a '*Rājakesari*'. From this it must be assumed that the coins were issued by Rāja Rāja II. The coins are illustrated ( **Nos. 38, 39 and 40** ).

(10) Next we have a number of coins with a debased standing figure on the obverse and a standing, or seated, bull on the reverse with the letter *Vi*, in Canarese, Telugu, Tamil or Nāgarī, either in front of the bull's head or over its back.

The adoption of the bull motif may be due to the Hoysala influence and could date from the time of Rājendra I, Chola, (A.D.1012-1044) and the coins may have continued in circulation after the time of Kulottuṅga I (A.D. 1070-1118).

Desikachari, in referring to these coins, considers they may belong to a period following Kulottuṅga I and that the letter *Vi* in Canarese may refer to Vikrama Chola (A.D.1118-1135) and the same letter in Nāgarī could stand for Vīra Chola.<sup>1</sup>

(11) A coin similar in many respects to those described under item (10). It must belong to this series and was probably issued

1. Sir T. Desikachari, *South Indian Coins*, p. 73-74.

by one of the sons of Kulottuṅga I in Veṅḡ. It is illustrated (No. 59.) and is one of two similar coins in the author's collection and is not common.

On the obverse the debased standing figure has an inscription within the folds of the loin-cloth, in either Canarese, or Telugu. I am inclined to say it is in Telugu and reads 'Ra-Ja'. If this is correct it could have been issued by Rāja Rāja Mummaḍi (A.D. 1076) or by Rāja Rāja Choḍagaṅga (A.D. 1084-1089). Both these rulers were sons of Kulottuṅga I, Chola, and ruled as viceroys in Veṅḡ.

As the first prince was in charge for about a year it is unlikely that he issued the coin. It is probable Rāja Rāja Choḍagaṅga issued it as his rule in Vengi extended over a five year period.

(12) Coins similar to those referred to under (10), but having a boar on the reverse, with or without an inscription. In some coins the obverse has a seated figure with an inscription 'Rāja Rāja' and the reverse a standing boar.<sup>1</sup> In others the figure is standing and there is no inscription, and the boar on the reverse usually has an inscription in Telugu, or Canarese. These inscriptions have been read as 'Pra Pa'.<sup>2</sup>

Others appear to read *Vīra* or *Vīrappa*. The earlier type with the seated figure and legend *Rāja Rāja* could date from the time of Rāja Rāja I, and may have been a special issue at the time of the marriage of his daughter, Kuṇḍavi, to Vimalāditya (A.D. 1011-1018), the Chālukya ruler, or it may also be suggested this type was issued when Rājandra I, Chola's daughter, Ammaṅgadevī, was married to Rāja Rāja Narendra, (A.D. 1019-1061), the Chālukya, who was the father of Rājendra II, Chālukya, who later become the Chola ruler Kulottuṅga I. If the coin refers to the second marriage the inscription could refer to the ruler Rāja Rāja Narendra with the Chola seated figure.

Coins bearing the legends *Vīra* or *Vīrappa* were in all probability issued by the sons of Kulottuṅga I in the period A. D. 1078 to 1118. It may therefore be correct to consider that the Chola

1. C. H. Biddulph, Notes and News, *J. N. S. I.*, XXI, 1959, p. 83-84

2. Sir T. Desikachari, *South Indian Coins*, p. 73, Pl. V, No. 94, description of the coin, p. 181.

Boar type coins were issued in the period A. D. 1011 to 1118. Which covers the period of the first marriage of a Chola princess to a Chālukya, to the end of the viceroyalty of Vikrama Chola at Veṅgi.

(13) Chola coins with a tripartite object on the reverse have been mentioned earlier when considering Chola contacts with countries outside India. They could date from the period of the Chola connection with Malaya and Burma, which extended from A. D. 1025/1027 in the reign of Rājendra I, until the time when Kulottuṅga, I, as a Chālukya-Chola prince had reconquered the area once more in A.D. 1056 and remained in control until A.D. 1067/68.

The coins could also have circulated in Arakan. The period A. D. 1025/27 to 1067/68 could be extended to the beginning of the twelfth century as reference has been made to a Mon Inscription of a king whose reign extended from A. D. 1084 to 1112 and in which he refers to a Chola prince and his conversion to Buddhism. The prince could have been one of the sons of Kulottuṅga I, sent to maintain control of the area for some period after Kulottuṅga returned to India. The inscription may also have referred to an earlier incident covered by the reigns of Rājendra I to Kulottuṅga I.

(14) Next there are coins with an Elephant to right or left, and a Tamil legend *Māra* over its back, with the Vaishṇava emblems of the Conch and Discus on either side of the inscription.

Desikachari mentions a Pāṇḍyan ruler Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (A. D. 1216-1238) who boasted that he had burnt Tanjore and Uraiyur, but who subsequently returned the kingdom to the Chola ruler.<sup>1</sup>

The Chola Ruler was Kulottuṅga III, (A. D. 1178-1218) and the incident occurred in A. D. 1216/17.<sup>2</sup>

If, as stated by Sastri, the Chola ruler was Kulottuṅga III, the Pāṇḍyan ruler must have been Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, (A. D. 1216-1238) and the incident should have occurred in A. D. 1216/17 at the latest, as Kulottuṅga III's reign ended in A. D. 1218 and this would tend to fix the date of these coins ( **Nos. 32 and 33** ) This date appears a bit late for the type.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 73 and 181, Pl. V, No. 98

2. K. A. Nilkanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, II, p. 144-146.

In an attempt to assign them to a period in keeping with the appearance of the coins, an attempt will be made to see if there were Chola-Pāṇḍyan regional rulers, or viceroys in the Pāṇḍyan territory near Tinnevely. The crude standing king on the obverse and the heavy beaded circles surrounding king on the obverse and reverse, would suggest a period nearer A. D. 1020-1070, when viceroys were appointed to govern the former Pāṇḍyan territory.

Sastri refers to two Chola-Pāṇḍyan regional rulers, or viceroys, in the Tinnevely area who could have been responsible for the coins and I think that either one or the other of these rulers issued the coins and not Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya mentioned earlier.

Sastri refers to inscriptions of Māravarman Udaiyar Śrī Vikrama and Māravarman Udaiyar Śrī Parākrama respectively.<sup>1</sup>

Both these rulers were seen to have had interests in the Seramadevi area of the Tinnevely District and are thought to be either Mummaḍi-Solan. or Gangaikonda-Solan. The first is the younger brother of Rājendra Deva and the other the son of Vīra-rajendra-Deva. The dates of both rulers would be covered by the period A. D. 1011-1052. This, it would seem, would be an appropriate date for the coins with an elephant and the legend *Māra* over its back.

(15) Desikachari refers to a coin with the normal standing king obverse and seated king with part of a legend reading...*nda*...on the reverse which he considers may stand for *Sundara*.<sup>2</sup> When referring to the appointment of Chola-Pāṇḍya viceroys earlier in the note mention was made of the appointment, by Rājendra I in the year c. A. D. 1016/17, of Jatāvarman Sundara Chola-Pāṇḍya as his viceroy in the Kerala country and that he held the appointment until c. A. D. 1040.

The coin under reference was probably issued by Jatāvarman after his appointment and its date would be between the years A. D. 1016/17 and 1040.

(16) The coin **No. 30** is in the British Museum Collection and is included under coins of the Cholas and is described as a coin of Kulottuṅga I, (A.D. 1070-1118).

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Appendix, Select List of Inscriptions of the Cholas and Related Dynasties, p. 617 and 619.

2. Sir T. Desikachari, *South Indian Coins*, p. 183; Pl. VI, No. 112.



Elliot includes the coin under the Pāṇdyans. He however reads the legend as *Kuna* and it is proposed to furnish an extract from page 121.

“Tradition associates Rājendra Chola with Sundara, or *Kuna* Pāṇḍya, the last named in the lists, whom he reinstated in his hereditary dominions, making him his vice-regent, and giving him his sister in marriage.”

Elliot refers to Dr. Caldwell's doubts—“whether Rājendra gained the sovereignty of the Pāṇḍya country by conquest or by voluntary cession.” (*History of Tinnevely*, p. 28).

Elliot, (page 122), also refers to the manner in which the name of this ruler appears in certain stone inscriptions—Sundara Pāṇḍya-Chola.

As the reigns of Rajendra I, and Rajendra II are covered by the period of the Chola-Pāṇḍyan viceroys ( A.D. 1020-1070 ) the coin would appear to be an issue of a Chola-Pāṇḍyan viceroy and not a coin of the Chola ruler Kulottuṅga I, as implied by the name entered on the ticket under the coin in the cabinet of coins in the British Museum.

Sastri reads the inscription on a similar coin as *Śrī Kula*, in Tamil Grantha, and it may be that this reading of the legend has led to the coin being assigned to Kulottuṅga I.<sup>1</sup>

(17) Finally, the copper coin referred to by Desikachari with a seated figure and a Nāgari legend *Rāiā Rāja* on the obverse and a Tamil legend *Śekhara*, written twice, on the reverse.<sup>2</sup>

It should refer to a later ruler named Rāja Rāja and the name *Śekhara* on the reverse must be that of a ruler in the Tinnevely, or Travancore, area in the extreme South and it could be either the name of a Pāṇḍyan or Chera ruler.

The first incident that points to the intervention of a ruler with the name of *Śekhara*, or something similar, in the affairs of the Cholas occurred about the year A.D. 1166 when Pārakrama Pāṇḍya of Madura and Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya quarrelled about the succession and Kulaśekhars invaded the city of Madura. When matters were not going too well with his forces Kulaśekhara appe-

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, II, p. 462-463; No. 19.

2. Sir T. Desickahari *South Indian Coins*, p. 69; 185; Pl. VI, No. 123.

aled to the Chola monarch, who would have been Rāja Rāja II, (A.D. 1146-1150-1173). The Chola king assisted him so that he was once more able to re-occupy Madura. The coin could have been issued by the Chola monarch Rāja Rāja II after the event and an abbreviation of the Pāṇḍyan ruler's name was placed on the reverse of the coin.

It could equally be argued that the coin was Pāṇḍyan and incorporated the Chola ruler's name in acknowledgment for his assistance. The first suggestion would appear to be the correct one as the ruler, together with his name, is depicted on the obverse.<sup>1</sup>

The second incident which could account for the coins occurred about the year A.D. 1275 when a Travancore ruler named Ravivarman Kulaśekhara, who called himself a Chera emperor, raided the territories of the Pāṇḍyans and Cholas. His short-lived conquests extended up to Conjeevaram and Poonamalee. (near Madras).<sup>2</sup>

Sastri, in referring to the Travancore ruler, would appear to suggest the raids occurred about the year AD. 1312, or a little later.<sup>3</sup>

If the coins were issued about the year A.D. 1275 it would have been in the time of the Chola ruler Rājendra III (A.D. 1246-1256-1279) and we would not expect to find the name Rāja Rāja on the obverse. Alternatively, if they were issued before A.D. 1250 it would have been in the reign of the Chola ruler Rāja Rāja III, (A.D. 1218-1256).

For the reasons stated it is considered the coin most have been issued some time between A.D. 1166 and 1173.

---

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, 1958, p. 187.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

3. *Ibid.*, p. p. 209; 222,

# THE CHOLA COINS

( Illustrated on Plates I-V )

No.	Metal	Weight in grains	Obverse	Reverse	Name of Ruler. or Title	Locality, Remarks
1	AV	59.8	Tiger to right, seated, with head to left and facing a fish, vertical, Inscription in Tamil Grantha.— <i>Uttama Chola</i> .	Similar to the obverse.	Madhurāntaka Uttama Chola	British Museum. Ex. R. C. Lockett Collection (Purchased in 1925 from Messrs. Spink & Co., London)
2	AV	6.9	Tiger and fish as in No. 1 with a crescent moon over the two figures.	Legend in Tamil <i>Sung</i> with some figures which may refer to a regnal year of the ruler.	Do It could also have been issued by Kulottunga I. (A.D. 1070—1118) or one of his sons as a Viceroy at Vengi.	British Museum.

3 AV	6.7	Similar to No. 2 except the position of the tiger and fish are interchanged and the tiger's head is to the right.	Do	Do	Do
4 AV	1.5	Similar to No. 2, the fish is not visible on the coin.	Do <sup>1</sup>	Do	Do
5 AV	66.1	Standing king with head to right. Holds a flower in his left hand. The right hand appears to be placing something on a high altar. Beyond the altar, a tall temple lamp. Under the king's left arm five circular objects and at the bottom a flower or small fish.	Seated king with head to right. Holds a conch shell in the left hand. Legend <i>Sri Rāja Rāja</i> Right arm rests on right knee and hangs downwards. The king is seated on a throne or seat, which is under his left leg.	Rāja Chola. ( A. D. 985-1016 )	Do Coins of this type are usually found in Ceylon and are from dies which are not as well executed as the dies from which the Indian <i>Madais</i> and silver <i>Kasus</i> are struck.

---

1. The reverse is inverted on the plate.

No.	Weight in grains	Obverse	Reverse	Name of Ruler or Title	Locality, Remarks
6	AV 66.6	Similar to No. 5 but better executed.	Similar to No. 5, but better executed. The throne or seat, is not seen as clearly although it is larger.	Do	British Museum. Although it is classified as gold, it looks like silver. Two other coins weigh 67.5 and 67.2 grains. There are silver coins struck from the same dies.
7	AE 64.9	Similar to No. 5, but of inferior workmanship.	Similar to No. 5 but of inferior workmanship.	Do	Author's Collection. The Second <i>Ja</i> in the inscription is broken.
8	AE 58.2	Similar to No. 5, but of inferior workmanship.	Similar to No. 5, but of inferior workmanship.	Do	Author's Collection. Thick coins of smaller diameter. The dotted circles around the designs on obverse and reverse not seen on most coins.

9 AE	37.7	Similar to No. 5, still further deterioration in the design.	Do	Author's collection.
10 AE	20.9	Do	Do	Do
11 AE	14.5	Do	Do	Do
12 AE	13.1	Do	Do	Do
13 AE	12.5	Coin with the reverse design on both obverse and reverse.	Do	British Museum.
14 AE	72.6	Standing king with head to right. He appears to have a flower in his left hand which is held up to his face. The right arm is extended outwards and downwards towards an altar. Legend reading <i>Śrī Rāja Rāja</i> written downwards from his left arm.	Do	British Museum. The coin came to the Museum from Ceylon. It is of copper and has been silver plated, but most of the plating has worn off.

No.	Metal	Weight in grains	Obverse	Reverse	Name of Ruler or Title	Locality, Remarks
				On either side of the tiger are tall temple lamps. A throne or seat, under the king's left knee and foot.		
15	AE	63.2	Similar to No. 14, but instead of a legend there is a crudely drawn seated tiger, within an oval frame of short strokes which resemble elongated dots.	Similar to No. 14, but in place of the tiger there is the le- gend <i>Śrī Rāja Rāja</i> .	Do	Author's collection. (From Ceylon; same source as No. 14.) The coin should have circulated in Ceylon.
16	AE	60.5	Similar to coin No. 7, with a few additional lines between the circular objects under the king's left arm.	Similar to No. 7.	Do	Author's collection. (Same source as nos. 14 and 15). It evidently circulated in Ceylon with the two previous coins.
17	AE	40.3	Crude standing figure, the legs not being visible as part of the	Seated figure with head to the right.	Do	Author's collection.

Left arm raised and hand near face holding circular pellet. Under the left arm the legend *Rāja* extended outwards and downwards and rests on the knee.

flam has been cut. Left arm extended upwards and outwards. A large '*Vishṇupadam*' (foot of Vishṇu), under the left arm. Some indistinct symbols above, and to the right of the foot.

Fitzwilliam Museum,  
Cambridge.

Do

Seated king with the legend *Rāja Rāja*.

18 AE —

Standing King with left arm raised to face. Two symbols near left arm, one may be the crescent moon. The *Vishṇupadam* is depicted in a manner that could be mistaken for a flower with a bent stem. This projection is the turned-up end of the king's loin cloth.

Author's collection.  
(From Ceylon)

Do

Seated king with the legend '*Śrī Rāja*

Standing king with left arm raised to the face. Crescent

19 AE 60.9



No.	Metal	Weight in grains	Obverse	Reverse	Name of Ruler or Title	Locality, Remarks
			moon at left elbow and four circular dots under the arm and a <i>Vishṇupadām</i> under the four dots. The temple lamp beyond the altar on which the king makes an offering is replaced by a fish in this and the next coin.	<i>Rāja'</i> , Both obverse and reverse have a neat circle of dots around the designs.		Generally much better executed than Indian specimens of the same type.
20	AE	56.4	Similar to No. 19, with a symbol which may be an <i>aṅkus</i> to the right of the <i>Vishṇupadām</i> . The fish referred to in No. 19 is very clear on this coin.	Similar to No. 19.	Do	Author's collection. (From Ceylon.)
21	AE	52.0	Standing king with left arm raised and hand near face holds a spherical object. The king faces right and there is	Seated king with left arm raised as on the obverse and the hand holds a spheri-	Do	British Museum The coin may have been issued to mark a marriage alliance with, or

conquest of the Pandyan. It would appear to be too early for a Chola-Pandya Viceroy.

cal object before the king's face. To right of the figure 'Sri Rāja Rāja' in Nāgari. Right arm extended outwards and downwards.

a crescent moon above the left elbow. Single large fish, vertical, to right of the figure with head upwards.

British Museum  
Remarks as for No. 21.

Author's Collection  
A rare coin—only one seen by me. It must have been issued on a special occasion to mark a marriage or conquest of the Pandyan

Do

Do

Do

Do

22 AE 33.5

23 AE 56.4

Standing king as in No. 21, but the left hand holds a lotus flower. Below the left arm there appear to be large round dots. King's right arm extended outwards towards an altar and a tall temple lamp.

Seated king with left arm raised and hand near face. To the right of the figure there appears to be a four-petalled flower, or four small fishes with their heads pointed inwards. Two indistinct symbols under the design which may be part of a legend.

No.	Metal	Weight in grains	Obverse	Reverse	Name of Ruler or Title	Locality, Remarks
24	AE	66.1	Standing king similar to Nos. 19 & 20. The 'Vishnupadam' is replaced by two dots under the four circular dots in the coins referred to. The fire altar at which the king makes an offering is different and no fish, or temple-lamp, is visible on the coin.	Right arm extended outwards and downwards.  Seated king with an incomplete legend under the left arm which could read 'Rāja Kes...', with the letter 'Ja' in the first line reversed. It is possible the full legend was intended to read 'Rāja Kesari'.	Do	Author's collection. If the legend is correct it must be one of the earliest coins of Raja Raja when he was known by the name 'Rajakesri Arnolivarman', at the beginning of his reign.
25	AR	65.7	Seated tiger, facing right, with Chera bow behind the tiger and two Pāṇḍyan fishes, vertical, to right of tiger. The central design is flanked by tall temple	Similar to the obverse.	Rajendra I, Chola (A.D. 1012-1044).	British Museum. Hultzsch refers to one in pale gold weighing 66.0 grains and a coin in my collection in silver is 62.5 grains. Hultzsch

refers to one in silver of 52.2 grains; this last coin must have been of impure silver or copper silver plated.

British Museum.

Two other coins, in copper, in the collection weigh 62.6 and 62.7 grains. A silver coin in my own collection 61.0 grains and two of impure silver, 67.5 and 46.0 grains. The alloy seems to contain much lead.

British Museum.

Of impure silver.

lamps. An open umbrella and two fly-whisks flanking the umbrella. The legend below the design is *Śrī Rājendrah* in Devanāgarī characters.

Legend in Devanāgarī

characters, in two lines, reading *Uttama Cholah*.

Do

After he had assumed the title of 'UttamaChola.'

26 AR 62.7

The design occupies the whole obverse and is similar to that on No. 25.

27 AR 62.6 Similar to No. 25, but with a two line Devanāgarī legend *Gaṅgai Koṇḍa Cholah*.

Similar to Obverse.

Do

After he had assumed the title 'Gaṅgai-Koṇḍa Cholah'.

No.	Metal	Weight in grains	Obverse	Reverse	Name of Ruler or Title	Locality, Remarks
28	AR	54.0	Do	Do	Do	British Museum. A cut coin of impure silver.
29	AV	7.0	Similar to No. 26, the fly whisks are not visible.	The legend in two lines, in Devanāgarī characters, reading ' <i>Yuddha Malla</i> '.	Do A fanam for circulation in the Vengiarea of the Chola-Chālukya territory.	British Museum. Another in my collection (7.1 grains.) They occur in inferior gold and silver but are scarce in silver.
30	AE	55.4	Standing king similar to No. 6, but appears to have a line and dotted border to right of the figure and the temple lamp, beyond the altar near the king's right arm, is absent.	Seated king, similar to No. 6, with an incomplete legend which appears to read Śrī <i>Kuṇa</i> .	Chola-Pāṇḍya coin? Could have been issued in the period A.D. 1020-1070 in an area controlled by a viceroy.	British Museum. Sastri reads the inscription as ' <i>Srī Kula</i> ' and Tamil Grantha and this may in part explain why it is assigned to Kulottunga I (A.D. 1070-1118) in the British Museum.

31	AE	31.8	Standing king, similar to No. 6, with the letter 'K' under the kings left arm.	Seated king, similar to No. 6, with the legend <i>Rāja Rāja</i> under his left arm.	Kulottuṅga III, (A.D.1178-1216)	Author's Collection (From Ceylon) These coins invariably occur in Ceylon and I have not secured one in India. It was probably issued in the period A.D. 1190-1206. This has been explained in the text.
32	AE	40.6	Rudely executed. figure of the king with head to right.	Elephant moving to left with the legend <i>Māra</i> between the Vaishṇava emblem the conch shell and the discus over the elephant's back.	Chola - Pāṇḍya viceroy in the period A.D.1020-1070. See details in the text. One of two possible rulers mentioned in the period A.D. 1011-1052.	British Museum.
33	AE	—	Do	Elephant moving to right with the legend <i>Māra</i> near the elephant's tail. The	Do	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

No.	Weight in grains	Obverse	Reverse	Name of Ruler or Title	Locality, Remarks
34	AE 16.5	Standing figure of Krishna as Muralidhara, the flute player. A Vaishnava symbol. Crescent moon over left shoulder and the Tamil syllable <i>Vi</i> to his left.	Vaishnava emblems, the conch shell and discus over the elephant's back.	Seated figure with Rāja Rāja ? Possibly one of the Rāja in Devanāgarī later rulers of this name,	British Museum.
35	AE 17.2	Similar to No. 34, but crudely executed.	Similar to No. 34.	Do	Do
36	AE 15.7	Seated figure of king with the legend <i>Rāja Rāja</i> in Devanāgarī under his left arm.	Galloping horseman with horse moving to right umbrellas on either side of the horseman's head.		

37	AE	11.7	Do	Galloping horses. Two heads clearly visible with one rider. One umbrella seen over horses' heads, other probably off the flank.	Do	Do
38	AE	15.2	Seated figure of king with the legend <i>Rāja Rāja</i> under the left arm.	Legend, which occupies the reverse, not clear. It appears to read <i>Parakesari</i> . It is possibly of <i>Rāja Rāja II</i> (A.D. 1146-1178) who was a 'Parakesari'.	<i>Rāja Rāja</i> but not <i>Rāja Rāja I</i> , who was a 'Rājakesari'.	Do.
39	AE	13.5	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
40	AE	9.6	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
41	AR	29.0	Lion moving to left with tail looped over back. Right leg	Inscription in Nāgari in two lines <i>Rāja-</i>	<i>Rājādhirāja I.</i> (A.D. 1044-1054)	Author's collection. Issued in connection with



Metal No.	Weight in grains	Obverse	Reverse	Name of Ruler.		Locality, Remarks
				or Title		
		and paw raised. Sword or dagger, over back.	<i>dhirāja</i> with crescent moon and sun over the inscription in the top line.	Coins should have been issued between the years A.D. 1044 & 1054.		victories in the Western Chalukyan territory.
42	AR 25.3	Similar to No. 41, with a dot over the lion's back at the end of the tail and may represent the tassel at the end of the tail.	Inscription in Nāgarī in three lines, the letter 'Ma' being in the top line with the crescent moon and sun on either side. The whole inscription reads 'Māhārājādhirāja'.	ditto.		British Museum. Neater in execution than No. 41 and both coins are of better workmanship than the coins illustrated by Dr. P.L. Gupta in <i>J.N.S.I.</i> , XXIV.
43	AE 53.9	Standing bull to right with the sun and crescent moon over its back.	A large tripartite symbol with secondary symbols on either side.	Probably issued between the years A.D. 1025/1027 and 1067/1068.		Author's Collection.

They could also have been issued after A. D. 1068 as a Chola prince is mentioned in an inscription of a Burmese king who reigned in A. D. 1084-1112.

44	AE 39.1	Do.	Do.	Do.
45	AE 44.2	Standing king with left arm raised towards his head. Crescent near elbow and four large dots and a flower or fish, below the dots on the right. Right arm extended outwards and downwards as though making an offering on a high altar.	Boar moving towards the right. An umbrella over the boar and a tall temple lamp in front of the head. An ornamental scroll design under the boar.	Issued for circulation in the Vengi area of the Eastern Chālu-kyan territory. Tenth or eleventh century.
46	AE —	Standing king as in No. 45. A flower held in his left hand.	Boar standing with head to right. Crest.	Do. British Museum.
				Do. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

No	Metal	Weight in grains	Obverse	Reverse	Name of Ruler or Title	Locality, Remarks
			A large crescent to right of the upraised left arm. Two letters in Nāgari of legend which must be 'Rāja.' The legend is side- ways; the letter 'Rā' being near- est the crescent	cent moon and sun over its back. Two tall temple lamps, one being in front and the other in rear of the boar. An orna- mental scroll design under the boar.		
47	AE	--	Seated king as on the reverse of coin No. 6, with the legend 'Rāja Rāja' under the king's left arm.	Boar standing with head to right. An umbrella over the boar. Other sym- bols cannot be dis- tinguished due to wear.	Do.	Do.
48	AE	--	Do.	Boar moving to- wards the right. An umbrella over the	Do.	Do.

boar and a crescent moon and sun; the sun being within the crescent moon on either side of the umbrella.

British Museum.

Do.

Boar standing with head to left. Legend above and below, but not clear. It. would seem to read- 'Virappa' in Tamil.

Could have been issued for circulation in the Eastern Chalukyan territory in the time of Kulottunga I. (A.D. 1070-1118) by his son Vikrama Chola (A.D. 1092/3-1118)

Blank

Do.

49 AE 52.0

The central design has two fishes, vertical on the left, and on the right a seated tiger facing left. Beyond the tiger there is a bow. The two tall temple lights on the extreme right and left occur, but are not too clear on the coin. The legend is 'Malainādukonda' in Tamil Grantha. There is also a regnal year on each coin. The years are 33, 35 and 39 for coins with this legend.

50 AV 67.4

Government Museum, Madras

Metal No.	Weight in grains	Obverse	Reverse	Name of Ruler or Title	Locality, Remarks
51 AV	67.3	Similar to No. 50. The legend in Tamil Grantha reads— 'Kataikonda'. Coins with this legend have the regnal years 28, 29, 30, 31 32 & 33.	Blank.	Do.	Do.
52 AE	48.3		Standing bull to right with a large conch shell in front of the bull. The syllable 'Cho', in Canarese, over the back of the bull.	Could have been issued for use in either the Western or Eastern Chalukyan territory in the reign of Kulothunga I. (1070-1118A.D.)	Author's Collection.
53 AE	56.8	Do.			Do.

cent moon and sun  
over the bull's back.

tory, or in the  
actual Chola ter-  
ritory in the  
time of Kulo-  
ttunga I, by  
himself, or one  
one of his sons  
at Vengi.

54 AE 55.2

Do.

Standing bull to  
right with a conch  
shell in front of the  
bull and crescent  
moon over its back

Do.

Do.

55 AE 54.3

Standing king as on coin No.  
6, but of rougher workmanship.

Do.

Do.

Do.

56 AE 49.4

Do.

Standing bull to  
right with the  
Nāgari syllable 'Vi'  
in front of the bull  
and a small cres-  
cent moon over its  
back.

Do.

Do.

No.	Metal	Weight in grains	Obverse	Reverse	Name of Ruler or Title	Locality, Remarks
57	AE	46.6	Standing king as on No. 6, but of rougher workmanship. There are three dots over the king's head, which is turned to the right.	Standing bull to right with crescent moon over its back.	Do.	Do.
58	AE	34.1	Standing king with heavy body. Two dots visible to right of the king and others may be off the flan. A tall temple lamp with three projections at the top, to the left of the king.	Do.	Do.	Do.
59	AE	55.7	Standing king with the head off the flan. The legs and loin-cloth splayed outwards to accommodate two Telugu letters which appear to read 'Raja'?	Standing bull to right with a dagger in front of the bull, crescent moon over the bull's back.	Do.	Do.

60 AE 52.0 Standing king, well executed and Similar to No. 6.

Do

Do

61 AE 56.5 Do

Standing bull to right with a crescent moon over the bull's back.

Do

Do

AE 51.1 Standing king with head to right. Left arm and hand raised, holding something before the king's face. A low altar under the king's left arm. Right arm extended outwards and upwards towards the back of the king's head. Five dots under the right arm.

Do

Do

An unusual type. The only one seen by me.

63 AE 26.4 Standing king with head facing right, similar to No. 6.

Standing bull to right with a Canarese syllable 'Vi' in front of the bull and a crescent moon over the bull's back.

Do

Could have been issued in the Western or Eastern Chalukyan territory or in the Cho-



No.	Metal	Weight in grains	Obverse	Reverse	Name of Ruler or Title	Locality, Remarks
64	AE	59.0	Standing bull with head facing left. Sun and crescent moon over the bull's back.	A large Canarese letter 'V' in a lined and rayed circle.	Do The coin looks a little later than the other coins with bulls, but must have been issued towards the end of the same period.	British Museum. An unusual type and the only one seen by me.

la territory, in the time of Kulottunga I, or by one of his sons as Viceroy at Vengi.

## Notes :—

- (1) Sir T. Desikachari—"South Indian Coins"—Pl. VI, No. 118, and the details on page 184, describes and illustrates a coin which he attributes to the Cholas. It is similar to his Pandyan coin illustrated in Pl. 1, No. 18, and described on page 169.

Chola coins which are similar, but about which there can be no doubt, are described and illustrated by me and have a fish by the side of the standing king on the obverse and a seated figure with the legend 'Śrī Rāja Rāja' on the reverse ( Nos. 21 and 22 ).

- (2) Coins Nos. 38, 39, and 40 are similar to Sir T. Desikachari's coin Pl. VI, No. 121, with its description on page 185.

He considered that the figure on the obverse represented Krishna playing a flute and the seated king with 'Rāja Rāja' on the reverse. I would prefer to consider his reverse as the obverse of the coin, and the reverse with a legend which appears to read 'Parakesari' in Tamil.

## APPENDIX

### PUBLISHED CHOLA COINS NOT INCLUDED IN THE LIST.

- A.** E. Hultzsch, "*Miscellaneous South Indian Coins*". *Indian Antiquary*, December 1896.

RAJENDRA CHOLA I. ( A. D. 1012-1044 ).

**No. 2.** Impure silver. Weight 30.0 grains

Obverse and reverse identical and presumably similar to the silver 'Kāsu', ( **No. 6** ) with the legend *Rājendra|Cholah*, in two lines.

- B.** H. W. Codrington, "*Ceylon Coins and Currency*" pp.84 and 85  
RAJADHIRAJA ( A. D. 1044-1054 ).

**No. 5.** Base Gold. Weight of two coins, 65.8 and 65.7 grains.

*Obverse.* Similar to coins of Rāja Rāja I. but with the legend in four lines—*Śrī | Rājā | Dhi Rā | Ja. ??*

*Reverse.* Seated figure as on Rāja Rāja I; in lieu of the legend, a seated tiger to left between two lamps and under a canopy.

*N.B.* This coin has been seen in silver, base silver and copper which had been silver plated.

RAJENDRA DEVA (A.D. 1052-1064) OR VIRA RAJENDRA  
( A. D. 1044-1054 )

**No. 6.** *Obverse.* As Rājādhirāja, but with the legend in three lines. *Śrī | Raje | ndrah. ??*

*N.B.* The reverse is not described and it could mean the coin had the seated figure with the tiger, as in Codrington's No. 5.

The three coins mentioned by Codrington under his coins Nos. 5 and 6 are included, but I am not sure his reading of the inscription on No. 5 is correct.

- C.** K.A. Nilakanta Sastri—“*The Cholas*”, Vol.II, Pl. II, between 462 and 463.

**No.19.** Copper. Weight 49.0 grains.

*Obverse.* Standing figure within a circle.

*Reverse.* Seated figure. To right in Grantha ‘*Sri / Kula. ?*’

*N.B.* This coin is similar to the copper coin in the British Museum Collection ( **No. 30** ) except that the coin in the Museum weighs 55.4 grains.

- D.** Sir T. Desikachari—“*South Indian Coins*”—pp. 180 to 185 and Pls. V and VI.

**No. 19.** Copper.

*Obverse.* Standing figure facing right, etc.

*Reverse.* Boar, standing, facing right with the Canarese legend above ‘*Pra——Pa.*’

**No.112.** Copper.

*Obverse.* Standing figure of king in robes, etc.

*Reverse.* The seated figure with the Tamil legend *nda* ; probably standing for *Sundara*.

**No.114.** Copper.

*Obverse.* Rudely executed human figure etc.

*Reverse.* Seated figure with the legend in Tamil ‘*Vi*’.

**No.116.** Copper.

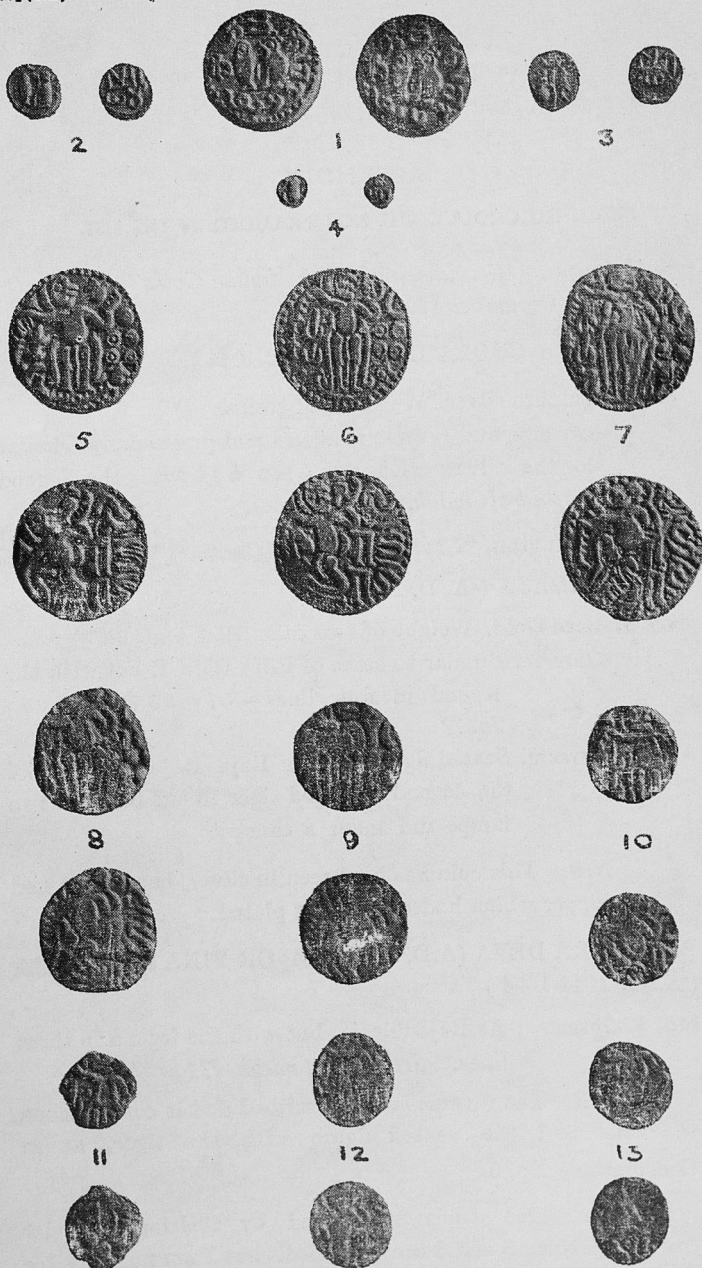
*Obverse.* Rudely executed human figure, etc.

*Reverse.* Seated figure with the legend ‘*Ra Ja*’ or ‘*Rā. Jā*’; the first syllable in Nāgari and the second in Tamil.

**No.123.** Copper.

*Obverse.* Seated figure with legend ‘*Rāja Rāja*’ in Devanagari characters.

*Reverse.* The Tamil legend ‘*Sekaran*’ written twice, one under the other.



Coins of the Cholas



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



22





23



24



25



26



27



28



30



29



31



32





33



34



35



36



37



38



39



40



41



42



43



44



45



46



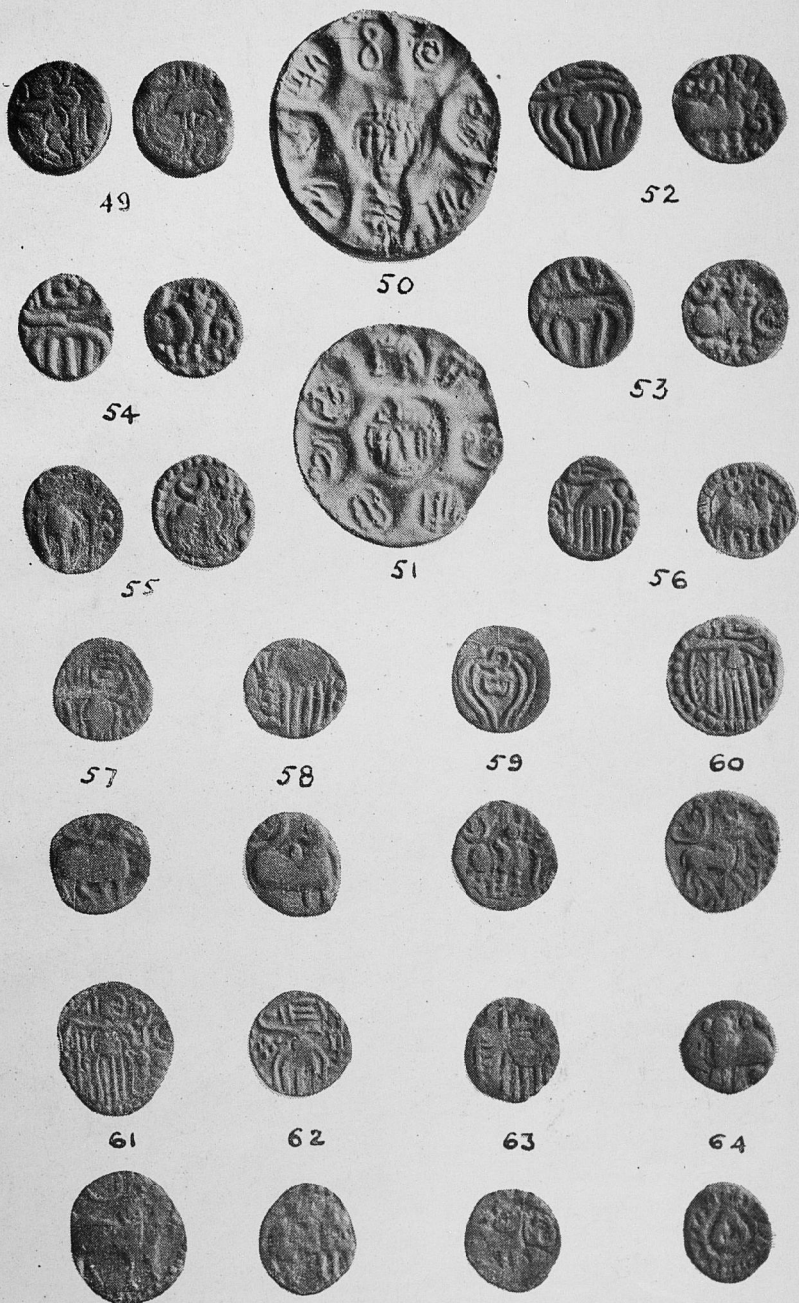
47



48







Coins of the Cholas

