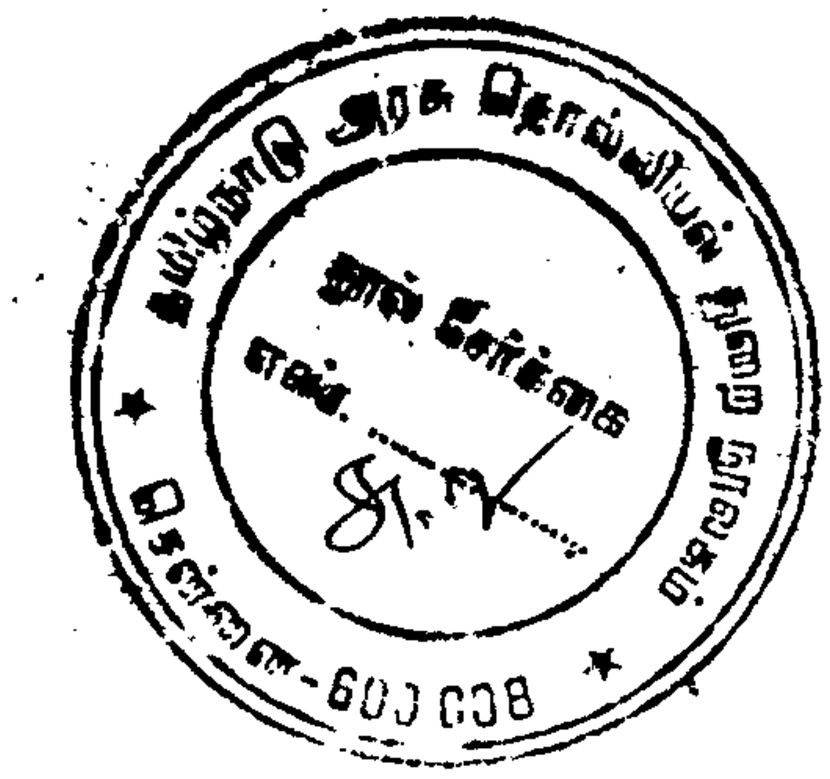


TAMIL COINS

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A STUDY

Dr. R. NAGASWAMY

Director of Archaeology

Govt. of Tamilnadu.

INSTITUTE OF EPIGRAPHY

TAMILNADU STATE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

MADRAS

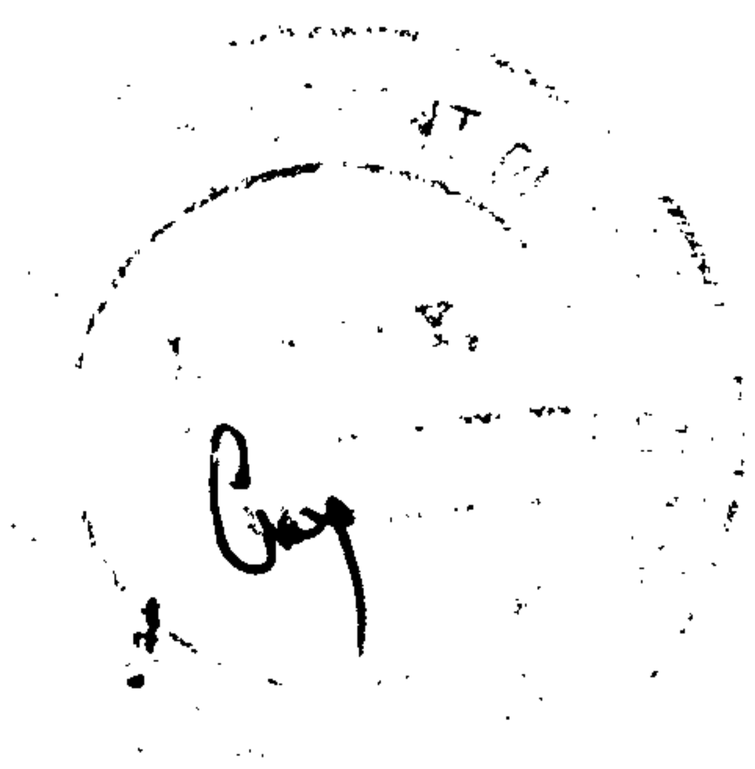
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Editor
Dr. R. NAGASWAMY

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Dedicated to the memory of my brother

U. R. NARASIMHAN

who brought me up and trained me as an Indologist with affection and care and who delighted in whatever little I achieved.

FOREWORD

Numismatics is a discipline by itself. It is exacting in its standards of investigation. But the evidence available for such investigation, at no time, complete, is apt to become increasingly less and less. The chances of survival of the ancient coins are always under threat. Even within such limitations, the pursuit of the study of this subject is apt to be rewarding both for the scientific and dependable data they yield and indirectly on the economic conditions of the times.

Dr. Nagaswami's work is, perhaps, the first compendium of data on coins in the Tamil country. He has sketched the history of the Tamil Kingdoms and has placed the coins in their appropriate setting and age. He has drawn freely from all available sources and has subjected the data to re-evaluation and critical appraisal.

In this task he has also amply pressed into service the evidence and the results of his own work and others' in another sister-discipline, Epigraphy. In fact, the inscriptions in the Tamil country mention a large number and variety of coinage that were in vogue, the value of each of which is far from being certain. The combined appreciation of both the numismatic and epigraphic evidences as has been so ably set out by Dr. Nagaswami is one productive method of furthering our knowledge of the coins and the economic conditions they reflect.

The subject is admittedly complex. And the work reflects this complexity. For several coins were concurrently in use, and often the same emblems occur in coins issued by varied dynasties, to add perplexity. Dr. Nagaswami while subjecting the data of earlier savants to re-evaluation has also added original data of his own, based on latter-day discoveries, both epigraphic and numismatic. On these original data rest the validity of his findings and his own conclusions. The book thus not only serves as a compendium of available data in one conspectus and ably sums up the status of that knowledge. It also adds to the information and findings with new and reasoned conclusions arrived at by Dr. Nagaswami.

In such an exercise it is implicit that issues are raised and discussed, and arguments are adduced in support of the views of the author. Dr. Nagaswami has done justice to the subject in this respect and has presented with sincerity of thought and fidelity to facts, what in his view, are the sustainable conclusions.

Above all, the book is perhaps, the first of its kind to trace historically the different coins issued from the earliest times to almost the present day. It has an added merit in the copious illustrations appended and a minute description of the different varieties of coins. It also distinguishes the different issues and the occasions on which and the tracts for which such issues were made.

The book is thus a valuable contribution updating the knowledge on the subject and incorporating the results of the author's original research. It bears

the imprint of the erudition and painstakingly intensive work of Dr. Nagaswami and should prove to be a handy volume for students and scholars interested in the subject. I have great pleasure in commending this work to them, and to pay my own personal tribute to Dr. Nagaswami on this valuable and thought provoking presentation.

R. TIRUMALAI, I.A.S.
Member, Economic Administration Reforms Commission
Govt. of India, New Delhi

CONTENTS

Pages

INTRODUCTION

TEXT

THE CHERA COINS ... 1

THE CHOLA COINS ... 29

THE PANDYAN COINS ... 74

THE PALLAVA COINS ... 123

BILINGUAL COINS OF THE SATAVAHANAS ... 132

COINS OF CENTAN ... 140

TAMIL CURRENCY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY ... 142

VIJAYNAGAR COINAGE ... 148

BANA COINAGE ... 160

COINS OF TANJORE NAYAKS ... 163

COINS OF MADURAI NAYAKS ... 167

THE CLOSING YEARS ... 180

APPENDICES

INDO FRENCH COINS ... I

INDO - DUTCH COINS ... II

INDO - DANISH COINS ... III

SADASIVARAYA'S THIRUPPATI INSCRIPTIONS ... IV

A NOTE ON KONERIRAYAN COIN ... V

A NOTE ON RAMANNAN COIN ... VI

ILLUSTRATIONS ...

INDEX ...

INTRODUCTION

I had occassions to re-examine Tamil Coinage, in the light of recent discoveries, during the course of my lectures to the Post-graduate students of the Institute of Epigraphy, Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology. I found that the works of Sir. Walter Elliot and Sir. T. Desikachari, are still the outstanding works on southern coins. I admire their contribution and cherish their works. As considerable new materials have turned up, it is possible to revise some of the identifications, I incorporate in this work, my recent studies on Tamil Coins.

The term used to denote coin for nearly 2000 years continuously in Tamil country, is *Kasu* which in early times stood for gold, silver or copper coins; but in later times denoted by and large, copper coins. The following account of the other terms for coins is worth mentioning. From the Sangam age to the end of 9th century, the term *kanam*, played an important role. In the Pallava times most of the taxes are mentioned in terms of *Kanams*. (P. 126-127). Later the term goes out of use. From the middle Pallava age - 7th century A.D., the terms *Kalanju* and *Manjadi* are also used in records. *Kalanju*, *Madai* and *Kasu* predominate from 9th to 12th century A.D., in the records of the Imperial Cholas. *Kalanju*, the main medium of exchange, meant either a minted coin or an unminted gold of specific weight. The terms *Madai* and *Kasu* always referred to minted coins. It seems that upto 12th century A.D., gold coins played an

important role in transactions though barter continued to be the main mode of exchange. The term *Accu* begins to appear from the end of the 11th century A. D., to the 13th century A.D., mainly in Kerala and Kongu countries and also occassionally in other parts of Tamil Nadu. In the 13th century A.D., *Kasus* are mentioned in several thousands in transactions indicating that copper coins were minted in loads; gold has become scarce and silver almost very little. From the end of 13th century, the dominant term *Kalanju* and *Madai* almost lose their currency. Even the term *Accu* begins to lose its usage. Instead the term *Panam* replaces these words. From the end of 13th century, *Varahan* is also found in records. *Panam* totally replaces all other terms in later period. The word, *Rupya* (Rupee) appears only from the 17th century with the advent of the Europeans.

From the economic point of view, the reigns of the Pallavas and more so of the Cholas should be considered the best period. The imperial Cholas gave the most stable economy to the land and paid great attention to agriculture and commercial guilds. The establishment of several hundred Caturvedimangalams and Nagarams (commercial settlements) by the Chola emperors, who named them after one or other of their titles - (like Raja Raja Caturvedi-mangalam and Kshatriyasikhamanipuram as at Amba-samudram, by Raja Raja I) fostered agriculture and trade. The economic prosperity should be considered the main basis for Chola Supremacy. But it began to crack in the 13th century and in the 14th century the economy suffered very badly. In the early Part of the Vijayanagar reign, economy recovered steadily and was probably at its best

under Krishnadevaraya, in the first quarter of the 16th century. The Nayak rule witnessed a steady decline. when Hyder and Tippu appear on the scene the taxation was raised to meet their expenses of war But the British within a couple of years after driving Hyder Ali, doubled the taxes and raised them to unbearable limits. The records of the local chieftains collected by Col Mackenzie, show in no unmistakable terms that the British exacted from every family, double that of what wes levied by Hyder Ali.

The economic aspect of the Society must be understood in relation to the currency system. It would be worth while to bring out a detailed study on the lines of what has been attempted by Appadurai in his "Economic conditions in Southern India". I have tried to look at the economy briefly. I do hope that this might stimulate further interest in the subject. In the end I have added a few appendices which might be of interest to readers as these are not easily available.

The value of the Book is enhanced by the learned foreword of Thiru R. Tirumalai, I.A.S., Member, Economic Administration Reforms Commission, Government of India. Thiru. R. Tirumalai has an intimate knowledge of Ancient Tamil Society by his penetrative study of Epigraphs, and his recent work "Studies in the hisotry of Ancient Townships in Pudukkottai Tract" is a model by itself. I therefore value greatly his kind and erudite foreword and thank him for the same.

I also thank Thiru H. Sarkar, Director, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi for his appreciation of this work which appears on the cover page.

I thank the Departmental Press and its staff for their unstinted co-operation.

R. Nagaswamy

THE CHERA COINS

The coinage of the Cheras has not received the attention it deserves. An attempt is made here to outline its features.

Aristotle mentions a place called Kēras, identified with the Chēra country.[1] The *Taitrīya Āranyaka* refers to '*Chērapāda*'. This is taken to refer to the Chēra country by P. T. Srinivasa Iyangar.[2] B. Keith also refers to it as the Chēra country.[3] It is not unlikely that the Chēra country was known well enough in the time of *Taitrīya Āranyaka* to be referred to in it.

'The *Periplus* mentions Kerala as 'Cerobothra' while Pliny, the Roman historian of the first century, calls it *Caelobothras*. In contemporary Tamil country, it is invariably referred to as the Chēra country'[4] So it is evident that the original name of the people and country was *Chēra* as mentioned in Tamil literature and all the foreign notices. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri places Kerala in South Malabar extending upto Central Travancore. He holds that it also included the district styled *Mūshika*, Strabo's '*Mausikanos*'.[5] Asoka refers to *Kelalaputo* (also read as *Ketalaputo*) in his Girnar inscription.[6] The ending *putra* in *Kelalaputo* etc., denotes the children of the soil.'[7]

CHERAMANS

It is necessary to understand the words *Kelalaputo* and *Satiyaputo* occurring in Asoka's inscription. In early Tamil literature the Chēras are referred to as Chēralas and Chēramāns. The word Kerala does not occur in Sangam works. This is a Prakrit tradition. However the Kalsi inscription of Asoka gives the name as *Kelaputo* standing for *Chēramān*.[8] The suffix *Puto* (Skt. *Putra*) was assumed by some dynasties of the South like the Satavahanas who assumed such titles as *Vasiṭṭi putra*, and *Gautami putra*. The interesting silver coin of 'Vasishṭi putra Satakani' bears the Prakrit legend *Vasiṭṭi putasa Siri Satakanisa* on the obverse. On the reverse the legend is given in Tamil as *Vaciṭṭi makan Tiru Catakani*.[9] The point of interest here is the word *makan* appearing as an equivalent of the word *puta* found on the obverse.

The word *makan* is often shortened as *mān* in Tamil, *Perumakan* often occurring as *Perumān*. So his *Chēra la Puta* of the Asokan record stands for *Chēramān*. *Satiyaputa* has been rightly identified with Atiya. The word *Satiyaputa* stands for *Atiyamān*. A point worthy of note at this stage is Asoka's reference to these two rulers with the appendix *puto*, while he does not include the term for either the Chola or the Pāṇḍya. In doing so Asoka has preserved to us the early Tamil tradition. In early Sangam works, most of the Chēras are called *Chēramāns* and Atiyas, *Atiyamān*. This term *mān* was not appended to either Chola or Pāṇḍya. So it is evident that the usage Chēramān and Atiyamān quite popular in Tamilnadu, was known even in the imperial court of Asoka. That would show that by the time of Asoka, in the 3rd century B.C., the Tamil country had well organised states, administered by rulers of eminence and that they were in active contact with Pāṭaliputra. In fact Asoka says that his emissaries went to these courts.

THE BEGINNING

The earliest Chēra king referred to in Tamil literature seems to be Udiyan Chēral, who is placed in 17 A.D. by Sesha Iyer[10] and 130 A.D. by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.[11] Sastri mainly relies on the Gajabahu synchronism, while Sesha Iyer mainly on the date of burning of Madurai by Kannaki as referred to in the *Silappadhikāram*.

Sesha Iyer's date is arbitrary while Sastri's view needs re-evaluation in the light of recent studies of Tamil cave inscriptions. Quite a considerable number of inscriptions have been found in recent times throwing valuable light on the evolution of the script, which also has to be considered in determining the age. The most important is the Pugalur (Aranattarmalai) inscription.[12] This refers to three generations of Chēra rulers *Ādan Chēral Irumporai*, his son *Perumkaḍungo*, and his son *Ilamkaḍungo*. The charter was issued when Perum Kaḍungo was the ruling monarch and Ilam Kaḍungo was appointed crown prince. On grounds of paleography, the inscription is assigned to the first-second century A.D. It would be more appropriate to ascribe it to the first century A.D. It is not unlikely that the Chēras of the Sangam classics ruled during the first two centuries of the Christian era. One point of interest is the reference

NEDUM CHERAL ADAN

Udiyan Chēral's son was Neḍum Chēral Ādan, who had the title Imayavaramban. He conquered seven kings and ruled a vast territory which is said to have extended from Kanyakumari to the Himalayas. He conquered the gold producing Kongānam of Nannan. This conquest is praised by many poets. He is also credited with imprinting the Chēra emblem on the Himalayas. The vanquished Yavanas brought tribute from their ships, which included golden images, rubies and other *nidhis*. He conquered Māntai. or Maṛandai; captured and imprisoned the Yavanas; tied their hands at the back and poured ghee over their head. Rich donations of jewels to temples and 500 villages in Umbarkāḍu were gifted by him.[16]

PALYANAI SELKELU KUTTUVAN

Imayavaramban's brother was Palyānai Selkelu Kuṭṭuvan the Lord of Pūli Nāḍu, and Ayirai malai (identified with Aiyirai Malai in Central Travancore by Sesha Iyer).[17] He conquered Kongarnāḍu; followed the path of Brahmins, assisted Pālai Gautaman to perform ten Yāgas. He adored the Gods and received guests by offering them sacrificial feeding. He is called the leader of Malavas (Kolli and Pāccur area). Neḍum Pāradāyar was his Minister. He conquered Ahappā and Umbarkāḍu. His rule extended from the east to the west coast. He strengthened his elephants corps and adored Durga at Ayirai.

NARMUDICHERAL

Nārmuḍi Chēral wore a special crown made of gold (in the form of *Kalamkāy*) and won the title *Kalamkāykaṇṇi Nārmuḍicceral*. He was a son of Imayavaramban Neḍum Chēral. He won a decisive victory over Anji of Tagadur and Nannan of Pūlināḍu. (Sesha Iyer identifies Tagadur with a place in Karnataka, though he does not locate it exactly).[18] He was a great Vaishnavite. The temple of Vishnu where he worshipped is identified with Thiru Anantapuram. Veliyam a village of him is described.[19] Nārumuḍic Chēral gifted 40 lakhs gold coins to the poet Kāppiyanār.

to a gold merchant of Karur in the Pugalur epigraph.[13] It shows there were flourishing mercantile communities including traders in gold, in the capital of the Chēras. Another point is that Karur is hardly 12 km. from Pugalur. Besides this Chēra epigraph, the recent excavations at Karur by the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology has yielded inscribed pot-sherds with Brāhmi inscriptions. Further Roman Amphora pieces and rouletted ware have been found. The find of Kaeoline ware and Russet coated ware in excavations attest to the active contact of this capital with the Romans. Already Karur has yielded several hundred Roman coins. This would almost clinch the vexed question of the capital of the Chēras. Karur (which was also known as Vanci) in Trichy district was the capital of the Chēras of the Sangam age.

The suggestion that Udiyan Chēral was the founder of the dynasty[14] cannot be accepted. If he came to the throne at the beginning of the Sangam age, there ought to have ruled many Chēra rulers atleast from the reign of Asoka till the reign of Udiyan for nearly 250 years. The question would arise who was the Chēra ruling at the time of Asoka. The other possibility is that some of the Chēras mentioned in Sangam literature should have lived in the centuries before Christ. This needs further study. A list of outstanding Chēras and their achievements is given below for a proper appreciation of their economy and coinage.

UDIYAN CHERAL

The earliest Chera to be known by name is Udiyan Cheralādan who had the title 'Perum Chōṛṛu Udiyan'. He was ruling a prosperous land and wealth, yielded by the deep sea and also the treasures brought in vessels by rich foreign merchants. He is said to have fed the armies of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas in the Mahābhārata war. He was a great patron of Vedic sacrifices and was served by faithful ministers. His royal kitchen is said to have been at Kulumur identified with Kulukur in North Travancore.[15] He had the title Vānavaramban and was a great patron of poets. His queen was Nallini, the daughter of Veliyan Vēnmān. He is said to have ruled from the east to the west coast and is praised for his elephant corps and cavalry.

PERUMCHERAL IRUMPORAI

Perumcheral Irumporai was a son of Selvakkaḍungo, through Paduman devi, a daughter of Velāvi Kōmān. He defeated the Atiyamān chief at Nirkur situated at Kolli Kūrram; captured Tagadur and Nocci and defeated the two rulers. He gifted his entire throne, palace and 900,000 *Kānam*, to Arisil Kilār. But the poet gave back the kingdom and was happy to serve as a minister. Also called Kodai Mārba, he ruled for seventeen years.

ILAMCHERAL IRUMPORAI

Ilam Chēral Irumporai was a son of Kuṭṭuvan Irumporai through Cellai, daughter of Maiyūr Kilān Vēnmāl Antuvan. He defeated the two kings, Vicci, Ilam Palaiyan Māran of *Vittai*, Perumchōla the ruler of Potti; 'captured Vanci-mūtūr and five forts; had Maiyur Kilān as his minister, brought the great Bhūta from Vanci, (of the *catukka*), gifted 32,000 *Kānam*, gifted lands and villages. His land abounded in sandal wood and *ahil*. He was the lord of Tondi, Kongar Nāḍu, Kuṭṭuvar Nāḍu and Pūli Nāḍu, and ruled for sixteen years.

PALAI PADIYA PERUMKADUNGO

Sesha Iyer holds that Perumkadungo came in the main line.[23] He was a ruler of Vanci and a friend of the Pāṇḍya. He is said to have been posterior to Senguṭṭvan and was an eminent poet and is probably identical with Perumkadungo of the Pugalur record.[24]

TRADE

The ports were even more numerous on the west coast than on the east and in closer contact with the traders of Roman empire. Musiri was perhaps the leading emporium in the *Puranānūru*, speaks of the sale of fish for paddy, of bags of pepper, and of the transport of a variety of merchandise in small boats from the large ships to the shore. Bandar and Kodumanam were other ports with a wealth of sea-borne imports. Bandar was noted for its pearls and Kodumanam for rare jewels. Mention is made of the abundance of quartzite precious stones in the hills of the Chēra country and we find allusions to artisans skilled in the repair and refitting of ships".[25]

SENGUTTUVAN

Senguṭṭuvan, the greatest of the Chēra rulers was a son of Imaya Varamban, through Maṇakkilli, a Chola princess. He conquered Viyalur of Nannan Vēlmān, crossed the river and captured Koḍukūr, and defeated Palaiyan. Nine Chola princess fought against his brother-in-law Killi. They were defeated by Senguṭṭuvan. Senguṭṭuvan waged a successful war against Kongar, won a decisive battle against the Yavanas on the sea and got the title *Kaḍal Pirakkōṭṭtiya.*[20] The ships of the Yavanas called in large numbers, at the port of Musiri and in exchange for gold took back cargoes of pepper and other products.[21] He received a request from Satakani for assistance and went on a northern expedition. He ruled for fifty five years. He is celebrated for erecting a temple to Kannaki. A great patron of letters and dance, he gifted the revenue from Umbar-kāḍu, to the poet Paranar.

ADUKOTPATTU CHERALADAN

Another son of Imaya Varamban and brother of Nārmuḍic Chēraḷ was Āḍukōṭpāṭṭuc Chēralādan. Valuable commodities brought into his port were stored in godowns. He invited people from other areas and bestowed presents on them. His kingdom extended beyond the port of Naravu, identified with 'Naoura' of the *Periplus* or the 'Nitra' of Pliny, identified with Mangalore. Karikāla's opponent Cheramān Perum Chēral Ādan is identified with this ruler by Sesha Iyer.[22] He rewarded a poetess, Naccellaiyār, with gold. After rule of 38 years he was defeated at Veṇṇi and died.

SELVAKKADUNGO VALIADAN

A son of Antuvan, Selvakkaḍungo Vāliādan was sung about by Kapilar. He held, Brahmins in great respect. At the conclusion of a yāga, he dedicated the village Okantur to Vishnu his tutelary deity. He gifted 100,000 gold coins to Kapilar and all the land one could see from the top of a hill. He was an idol of the poets. Māntaram Poṛaiyan Kaḍungo, Pasumpūt Poṛaiyan and Perumpūt Poṛaiyan are probably identical with him. He ruled for 25 years and died at Chikkarpalli.

tion along with the punch marked coins and (b) by 100 A.D. the Roman coins have found their way to Tamil country.

ROMAN COINS

The archaeological evidence from Arikkamedu, should be considered as Wheeler places the Roman settlement at Arikkamedu at 25 B.C. or to the beginning of the Christian era, the phase of Arretine being circa 50 A.D.[29] "Since Muziri was the port of inflow of Roman coins into India, it is reasonable to expect many finds of Roman coins in this state. But curiously enough we have hardly any knowledge of the find of Roman coins in this state. Besides Iyyal, the only other hoard noticed so far is Kottayam".[30] The find of gold and silver Roman coins along with the silver punch marked coin in the hoard suggests that the Roman coins were not only imported but that the people of the country accepted them as current coins. Roman coins were of the same weight as punch marked coins.

It would therefore be reasonable to infer that the commercial potentialities of the Tamil country had reached an attractive stage even in the first century B.C. to attract Roman trade. It is also seen that most of the items sought by the Romans were the products of the Chēra country. The Chēra country should have had a developed economy for such a trade. So the date 2nd century A.D. assigned by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri seems to me too late and I am inclined to place it in Ist century B.C. to Ist century A.D. That the punch marked coins were in circulation in the Chēra country is attested. In the literature of the period we get references to the following currency-*Kā*, *Pon*, *Kānam* and *Kāsu*. What these mean can at best only be conjectured. In the Sangam age gold, silver, copper and probably lead were well known. The Chēra king Nārmuḍi-chēral gifted 40,00,000 *pon* to the poet *K*āppiyan. Āḍu koṭpāṭṭuc Chēralādan gifted nine *Kā* gold and 100,000 *Kānam* to the poetess Naccellai. The amount of nine *Kā* gold was given for ornament.[31] Selvakkaḍungo gifted 100,000 *Kānam* to Kapilar; Arisil Kilār got 900,000 *Kānam* from Perumcheral Irumpoṛai-and Perum Kunrūr Kilār got 32,000 *Kānam* from Ilam Chēral.

Pliny in his Natural History states that "Musiris was the first emporium of India;[26] He adds "The station for ships is at a distance from the shore and cargoes have to be landed and shipped by means of little boats. There reigned there, when I wrote this, Coelobothros". The Periplus says, "Musiri a city at the height of prosperity was two miles distance from the mouth of the river on which it is situated and was the seat of the Government of the Kingdom under the sway of Kaprobothras.[27]

It is evident from the above that the Cheras were the most powerful rulers among the Sangam monarchs and controlled a vast territory from Karur in Tiruchirapalli district to Musiris in the west coast which covered a part of southern Karnataka and Konkan. They were in contact with the Satavahanas. Among the Tamil kings, the Chēras are mentioned most frequently in connection with the Yavanas, either subduing them on the sea or encouraging their trade. Besides agriculture the fact that trade flourished in their land gets repeated mention. Though barter like fish for paddy, is mentioned there was considerable exchange of gold and currency, proved by archaeological evidence and literature. Gold merchants from Karur mentioned in the Pugalur epigraph of the Chēras attest the important trade in this precious metal. The Romans brought vast amounts of gold. The Chēras frequently seized the gold producing Konkan. The Chēras of the Sangam age must have issued a currency.

The coinage of the Chēras may be studied under three groups, (a) the punch marked coins found in Tamilnadu, (b) the Roman coins found in large numbers and (c) the local issues.

PUNCH MARKED COINS

About the punch marked coins of Kerala, Parameshwara Lal Gupta states 'Except two hoards the finds of coins are not properly recorded anywhere, nor are they kept secure to enable one to study them'. One of the hoards consists of 184 coins of silver punch marked coins found in Kottayam district and the other from Iyyal village, Cochin district. The latter includes 12 gold Roman coins, 71 Roman dinarius and 34 silver punch marked coins. The date of the deposit may be placed convincingly around 100 A.D.'[28]

Mr. Gupta's analysis shows that Roman coins were in circula-

LOCAL COINS

The third group of coins to be studied is the local issues of the Chēras. So far no coin has been identified as their issue. Judging from the volume of trade, mentioned under Chēras, it is unlikely that the Chēras did not issue any coin of their own. In this connection a particular group of coins found in large numbers in Tamilnadu but ascribed to the Pāṇḍyas deserves re-examination.

A large number of copper coins are square in shape, carrying on the obverse well exequted figures of elephants, standing either with or without riders. The elephant is topped by a number of auspicious emblems, like *Chakra, Srivatsa Kalasa, Chaitya* etc. On the reverse is a triangular symbol topped by a semi circular arch. All most all writers on South Indian numismatics have taken these coins as Pāṇḍya issues.[32] The main reason seems to be the triangular symbol on the reverse, taken to be a conventional fish, as suggested by Codrington.[33] This was doubted by others who took it to represent the plan of the city of Madurai, with the river Vaigai.[34] The symbol is certainly not a fish. This is evident from the fact that there is a semi circular arch above the diagram. Secondly it cannot be considered the plan of Madurai. Fortunately we have a description in ancient literature of the lay out of Madurai. A verse in the *Paripāḍal*[35] tells us that the city was in the form of a fully blossomed lotus flower, the royal palace occupying the centre. The triangular diagram on the reverse of the coin, does not conform to this description. Thirdly though the diagram appears on the reverse, it is clear that it is not the principal device on the coin. The main motif is the elephant on the obverse.

The elephant symbol occurs on the punch marked coins and also on some of the Satavahana coins. But in the issues found in Tamil nadu, it should be associated with the dynasty which used it as its emblem. It has been mentioned earlier, that it was the Chēras, who are frequently referred to as the owners of large groups of elephants. One of the Chēras assumed the title 'Chēra of several elephants'. It is an indisputable fact that the elephant was closely associated with the Chēra dynasty. Even in the mediaeval period, the coins of indisputably Chēra origin, showing the bow and palmyra tree device, portray the elephant.

So the square coins with the elephant device must be considered the issues of the Chēras of the Sangam age. That the Chēras were the most dominant rulers of the Sangam age has been mentioned earlier. Among the early coins of the Tamil country, the square coins with elephant, are found in greater numbers. This confirms our presumption.

A word must be said about the so called Buddhist symbols on these coins. That symbols which include *Chaitya, Cakra, Srivatsa, Kalasa* etc. are auspicious symbols of the pre-Buddhist age is well known though they are frequently met within the Buddhist context as well. All they seek to represent seems to be prosperity and plenty.

It is interesting that in the Sangam works the Chēra kings are said to ascend the neck of the elephants.[36] In the coins under discussion where riders are shown, the principal rider is shown on the neck of the elephant. In some of the coins, Brāhmi legends are said to occur I had no access so far to such a coin.

A few other coins, also square in shape but carrying a bull or fish[37] are also ascribed to the Pāṇḍyas. But these are issues of other dynasties. This will be discussed in the sequel.

VILVELI THE GREAT CHERA

There is an interesting work in Tamil called *Pāṇḍikkōvai*,[38] sung in praise of a Pāṇḍya ruler, Arikesari Parānkusa Māravarman. This ruler is obviously Arikesari, the son of Pāṇḍya Sendan.[39] His inscription recently found in Madurai, shows that he was a great conqueror and that he ruled for fifty years. (650–700 A.D.) He is mentioned in a number of copper plate charters of the Pāṇḍyas, where his exploits are mentioned. His principal opponent was a Chēra whom he defeated in a number of battles. *Pāṇḍikkōvai*, and the copper plates mention a number of places where he defeated the Chēra. It is specific about these battlefields. From this we can surmise the extent of the Chēra power. It is evident that he was the most outstanding Chēra king of the early period. His capital was Vanci-the modern Karur. From Karur in Tiruchy district his empire extended to the west coast, and all the south-west coast including the whole of modern and the whole of south Pāṇḍya country from Kanyakumari to Tirunelveli.

The Pāṇḍya's first battle with the Chēra was at Aṟṟukuḍi. This

place might possibly be identified with Arrangudi in Ramnad district. Among the battlefields mentioned often are Sēvūr and Ten Pūlandai. In both these places, the opponent of the Pāṇḍya was the Chēra. These two places have not been identified yet. It is possible that Sēvur is identical with Sevur in Ramnad district where many historic battles where fought, the most famous being the battle between Āditya Chola II and Vīra Pāṇḍya in the 10th century A.D. This place is near Āṟṟukkuḍi. The other place Ten Pūlandai, is probably Pūlānkurichi, a village adjacent to Sevur, where a historic inscription has been found. These identifications should be taken as tentative, in which case Āṟṟanguḍi, Sevur and Pūlandai being nearby places, should be taken to represent the same battle which seems to have been continuously fought between the Chēra and the Pāṇḍya.

The presence of Sevur near Ponnamaravati need not surprise us. The rulers of the Kodumbalur region were called Kōnāṭṭār, and that they were ruling the Kongu country is also known. In the recently discovered inscription at Pulankuruchi, Konganāḍu is mentioned[40] with Pāṇḍinādu. Among the opponents of Pāṇḍya Arikēsari, referred to in the *Pāndikkōvai*, is a Vennāṭṭān. The inscription from Pulankuruchi, refers to a Vennāṭṭān. So in all likelihood, the Chēra fought with Pāṇḍya Arikēsari at Sevur which seems to have occupied a strategic position through the centuries. It would show that the Chēra power was felt upto Sevūr in Ramnad district.

Pāndikkōvai credits the Pāṇḍya with victories over Musiri and the Konganāḍu. Whether the Pāṇḍya's claim of victory over the Kongu country and through the Palghat gap reached Musiris in the west coast is doubtful. But the Chēra was not to be easily subdued. From the south, he seems to have captured the entire south Pāṇḍi nāḍu, upto Thirunelveli. So the Pāṇḍya has to fight in the south and one of the fiercest battle was at Nelveli (a modern Thirunelveli) where the Pāṇḍya emerged victorious. The fight continued. The places where he defeated the Chēra, specifically mentioned are, Kadayal (identical with Kaḍaiyam) Koṭṭāru (modern Nagarkoil) Kanyakumari, and Vilinjam. This account of *Pāṇḍikkōvai*, is coroborated by the copper plate charters. The Velvikkuḍi grants of Neḍunjaḍaiyan and both the Sinnamanur grants make specific references to Arikesari's severe fight with the Chēra. Unfortunately who this

powerful Chēra was we do not know. It is possible he was called 'Vilveli' as mentioned in the Velvikkudi grant.[41] Though the Pāṇḍya claims victory, the extent of the Chēra kingdom was something stupendous. He was ruling the Kongu country, the entire south west coast (Travancore state) and the whole of the South Pāṇḍināḍu, from Kanyakumari to Thirunelveli. Properly speaking he should be termed the first imperial Chēra king known to history. This Chēra is undoubtedly the founder of the imperial Chēra dynasty. He should have ruled between 650-700 A.D. The Pallava contemporaries at that period were Narasimha I, Mahendra II and Paramesvara I. Interestingly Narasimha-I also states that he conquered Kerala several times. According to the Kuram grant, Narasimha I defeated the Chola, Kerala, Kalabhra and Pāṇḍya several times.[42] That the Chēras were in the Karur region, near the Kaveri delta is attested by another source. "Pulikesin II, driving the Pallava behind the forts of Kanchi, reached as far south as the Kaveri river, and there caused prosperity to the Chola, Kerala and Pāṇḍya", says his Aihole inscription.[43] This also leaves no doubt that the Keralas had their seat of power near the Kaveri in Karur. The references in the epigraphs to the Pallavas, Chālukyas, and Pāṇḍyas show that the Chēra still ruled from near the Kaveri (with Karur - Vanci as the capital) though they had brought the entire Travancore State under their sway in the 7th century A.D.

VASCILLATION

In the 8th century A.D., the Chēra is seen vascillating between Karur in Tiruchy district and Trivandrum on the west coast. The copper plates of the Pallavas give us a glimpse about their field of action. In the reign of Pāṇḍya Parāntaka Neḍumjaḍaiyan, the Chēra is still in the Karur region as a close ally of the Pallava. Neḍumjaḍaiyan defeated the Atiya, at first, at Ayiraveli Aiyilur, and pursued him to Pugalur and vanquished him. The Pallava and Kerala came to help the Atiya, but were also defeated. The Pāṇḍya further defeated the western Kongu ruler, according to the Srivaramangalam plates.[44] That this war between Kerala and Pallava on the one hand and the Pāṇḍya on the other, took place at Karur is indicated by Dalavaypuram plates which specifically say Parāntaka defeated the Kāḍava (Pallava)[45]

at Karur. But the Vaishnava saint Thirumangai Ālvār, states that the Pallava won a victory over the Pāṇḍya at Karur.[46] This would indicate that the Karur battle was indecisive.

But a point of interest here is that the region around Vilinjam, seems to have slipped out of the hand of the Chēra and was controlled by the Āy Vēl chief. Pāṇḍya Parāntaka states in his Srīvaramangalam plates, that he defeated the Vel chief at Vilinjam.[47] (This chief was probably an ancestor of Karunan who came to the throne in the 9th century). Within a short period, the Chēra regained again the Vilinjam area. Pāṇḍya Parāntaka's son, Srī Māra Srivallabha, claims to have killed the Chēra in a battle at Vilinjam.[48]

So in the middle of the 9th Century the Chēras were vascillating between Karur and Vilinjam. Around 850 to 900 the Vilinjam region was under the control of the Āy chiefs Karunan Taḍakkan and Aviyalanta ḍakkan.

KULASEKHARA AND CHERAMAN PERUMAL

Before we come to the great age of the Kulasekharas, we have to discuss two eminent Chēra rulers. One is the Saivite Saint Cheramān Perumāl and the other is the Vaishnavite Saint Kulasekhara. The date of these two Chēra rulers is far from settled but in all likelihood they lived in the 8th century A. D. Pandit. M. Raghava Iyangar holds the view that these two rulers were successive monarchs and considers that Chēramān succeeded Kulasekhara.[49]

Kulasekhara became one of the celebrated Ālvārs and his poems came to be called the *Perumāl Thirumoḷi*. He was a great devotee of Rāma. In his poems he calls himself, Kongar Kōmān (the ruler of Kongu) with his capital at Kollinagar, identified with a village at the foot of Kolli hills in the Kongu country. M. Raghava Iyangar goes to the extent of identifying Kollinagar with Karur in Trichy district (the identification seems to us doubtful) and suggests that with Karur as his Capital, he ruled up to the west coast, including Kondungolur.

'The '*Divya sūri carita*,' of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita,[50] the earliest work to give a biographical sketch of the Ālwārs, specifically mentions that Kulasekhara was ruling in the west coast, near Kozikkodu. A point of interest is that Kulasekhara mentions in his own work that he was the Lord of Kolli, Kūdal, Kōli and Kongu. Koli is another

name for the city of Uraiyur, the capital of the Cholas. In the 8th century A.D., there was no Chola worth the name and Uraiyur was changing hands frequently between the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas. We have seen that the Chēras were still vascillating between Karur near Trichy and Kodungolur in the west during that period. It is possible that Kulasekhara was holding (Uraiyūr) Kōli, probably as an ally or subordinate of the Pallavas. But his claim to have ruled over Kūḍal i. e. Madurai, must be considered more rhetorical than real. It is not unlikely that his capital was situated at the west coast though he had the Kongu under his control and finally settled in Srirangam (near Koli, the capital of the Cholas) renouncing the kingdom. H. Sarkar seems to accept the suggestion that this Kulasekhara was the founder of the second Chēra dynasty.[51]

The other Chēra ruler is Chēramān Perumāl, a contemporary of the Saivite Saint Sundaramurti. Sekkilār, the author of *Periya Purānam* clearly locates his capital at Thiruvanjaikkalam in the coast[52] and that his power seems to have confined to the west coast only, with even the Kongu country falling outside his domains. Chēramān seems to have lived on friendly terms with the other South Indian rulers and travelled through the Pallava, Chola and Pāṇḍya countries. He is identified with Rājasēkhara, the successor of Kulasēkhara.[53] We are not sure whether this identification could be sustained. The probability of Cheramān Perumāl, being a ruler of an earlier period, as a contemporary of Pallava Rājasimha is not ruled out.

However the study shows that the Chēra power was active in the 'Kongu-Karur' region and that their currency should have been very much in circulation in the territory.

The point of interest is the currency that was prevalent in the Chēra country in the 7th and 8th century A.D. No coin that could be attributed to the Chēras of this age has been identified. Rājasekhara, who ascended the throne in circa, 820 A.D. stipulated a fine of one hundred '*dināras*' on those who hindered the *Sribali* ceremony.[54] Commenting on this, H. Sarkar holds that it is an anachronism to consider the '*dināra*' as Roman. He suggests that it must have been the Arab gold currency[55]. He also suggests that the word *dirammam* appearing in some Tamil inscriptions should be considered a corruption of *dināra*.[56] *Dirammam* is a Tamil form of *Drachma*. Mr. Chattopadh-

Kaṇḍa, who ruled in the 10th century.

The word need not be taken to mean 'goad to the heroes'. It may be taken to mean 'Gaṇḍara who was an *ankusa*'. Such an expression is plausible. We have two titles *Vāma*, and *Vāmānkusa* for the same ruler at Mamallapuram.[64] The absence of any dynastic emblem might also suggest that the coin was issued by a Kongu Chēra ruler, who belonged to the Kalabhra dynasty.

It must be admitted that not much coins have come to light which could be attributed to the mediaeval Chēras.

LATER CHERA COINS

The coins of the Later Chēras could now be identified with an amount of certainty. Quite a number of these coins were included in the list of Pāṇḍyan coins by earlier writers. I have shown that these were issued by the later Chēras.[65] But before these coins are taken up for discussion, the coins generally atributed to the Chēras may be examined.

Sri. Vidya Prakash, discusses the Chēra coins under three catagories (1) The coins of Virakērala (2) The gold and copper coins found in Kongu desa, bearing on the obverse an elephant and on the reverse a scroll work and (3) the copper coins of uniform variety with minor deviations, carrying on the one side a device identified with a 'vase on a stand' and on the obverse 'elephant-bow-sword' device.[66]

The coin of Vīrakērala has already been discussed. The second variety with elephant on the obverse and a scroll on the reverse were the issues of the Gangas of Talakkadu will be discussed in the sequence. But the third variety is found in large numbers and judging from their size and shape, they certainly seems to be late mediaeval coins. The obverse remains constant in the series. Illustrating these coins Elliot Writes;

"Nos. 121-127. The seven following characteristic copper coins are difficult to describe. They all have on the reverse the same symbol which may be compared to an altar of drum shaped object. The obverse has generally a bow and one or more five pointed posts or standards, in one instance together with an elephant, in others weapon like a sacrifical bill or axe".[67] Regarding this design, Vidya Prakash has the following observation;

yaya has shown that the currency named '*Dināra*' was in circulation even in 4th century A.D. at Nagarjunakonda, much earlier to the Arab currency.[57] In all likelihood the *Dināra* of Rājasekhara's epigraph should be taken to refer to Roman currency. However it is difficult to say whether it was a gold coin or silver coin, for the word *dinarai* seems to have been used to denote coins of both the metals.[58]

VIRA KERALA

A coin of the Chēra that has attracted great discussion is the silver coin bearing the legend 'Vīra Kērala'.[59] Recently a hoard of this coin was found in Chingleput district. Quite a number of them seems to have been found but only a few could be recovered. I have examined these coins closely. On one side there is the legend *Sri. Vīrakēralasya* and a figure resembling what has been identified as crocodile. The figure is clearly not a crocodile, but only a floral design. The reverse has also a Nagari legend and has been rightly read as '*Sri Gandarankusasya*' by N. Lakshminarayana Rao.[60] The coin has been discussed by both Chattopadhyaya and Vidya Prakash in recent times.[61] Lakshminarayana Rao assigns it to Vira Kerala who ascended the throne around 1127 A.D. Chattopadhyaya leaves the question of identity open. The find of a hoard of this coin in Chingleput district in Northern part of Tamilnadu, would show that this currency was widely used throughout Tamilnadu. The coin is found in abundance in the collection of private coin collectors though the exact provenance of their occurrence, is not certain but is sufficient to show, that the currency had great circulation.

About the identity of the rulers who issued this coin, all scholars have held that the earliest Vira Kerala who figures in epigraph, occurs in the reign of Rājādhi Rāja Chola I in 1046 A.D.[62] But recently an inscription copied by the Tamilnadu State Archaeology Department at Cholavandan, near Madurai refers to a Vīrakerala in an inscription of Rājarāja I.

In the Kongu region, there were a succession of rulers with the name Vira Kerala. Some of them also bore the name *Kaṇḍan*. It has been shown recently that they were the Kalabhras of the epigraphs.[63] Their inscriptions are found in the Kongu country. The name *Gaṇḍa-rankusasya* occuring on the reverse may be taken to refer to one such

weight - ten *kānam* sandal and ten *kānam - Ahil* etc.[71] The same charter also refers to ten *kānams* of gold $2\frac{1}{2}$ *kānam* etc. which shows that *kānams* were in the denomination of 1, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 5 and 10. A point of interest is that if one failed to measure for a day the stipulated quantity, he should pay double the measures. For two days' default, the fine remained the same but for the third day, a fine of ten *kānam* was imposed. For more than three days upto 18 days, he should pay three *kalanju* as fine. For 18 days and more the fine was as high as six *kalanju.*[72]

A general study of the coinage of Kerala, shows that from 9th to 11th Century A.D., the main currency was gold *kalanju* and gold *kānam*. The occurrence of the currency *dinār* in an inscription of Rājasekhara, is a stray instance, showing that those who had the gold *dināra* could use them also as a currency but the local currency was *kalanju* and *kānam*.

In the reign of the ruler, Indu Kodai, 961 A.D., *kānam* was in use $2\frac{1}{2}$ *kānam* being prescribed as a fine for a day's default.[73] Five years later in the same reign of Indu Kodai, an endowment of ten *kalanju* was gifted for worship.[74] An inscription of the same Century A. D., thirty six *kalanju* of gold as equal to old coin *(Palam kāsu)*. It shows that the currency *kāsu* was in circulation earlier and was in all probability a gold coin. What this *Palam kāsu*, meant, we know nothing.

Another inscription of the 10th Century, dated in the reign of *Kerala Kesari Perumāl*, refers to the payment of wages to various servants as follows.

10 *kānam* daily to Perumudiyān.

10 *kānam* daily to the worshipping priest.

10 *kānam* daily to the person bringing fire wood

10 *kānam* daily to the Cook.

5 *kānam* each to those husking paddy, cleaning the dining place and cleaning the vessels.

A defaulter was expected to pay a fine of 12 *kalanju* of *Pon.*[75]

Another inscription, dated around 1000 A.D., in the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman, refers to 120 *kalanju* of gold inclussive of *Palam kāsu* (old *kāsu*) which yielded an interest of 10 ·/.[76]

However a 11th Century inscription, refers to the endowment of ten *kalanju* of gold for one perpetual lamp, and a gift of 33 *Ilakkāsu*, in

"The reverse design has got several variations. Bow is invariably present in all the cases. The other symbol which is also present in all the varieties is, according to our observations a sword superimposed by a cross. The pointed end is some-times below and sometimes above. Krishna's identification of this symbol as a burning lamp does not appear to be correct. Between the bow and the sword the symbols vary".[68]

The uniform symbol on all these coins is what seems to be an altar, flanked by lamp on stand. Over the altar are seen circular pellet like objects, probably representing coins or the globular *Kalanju*. Whether this has any reference to some Vedic sacrifice, symbolic of *Hiranya garbha* or *Bahusuvarna* sacrifice, is difficult to say at present.

But the symbol on the other side can be more satisfactorily explained. That the bow is the dynastic emblem of the Chēras is well known. The elephant is equally associated with the Chēras has also been explained earlier. The other symbol described as five pointed post by Elliot and 'a sword with a superimposed cross' by Vidya Prakash,[69] is in fact a representation of palmyra tree. In early Tamil literature the palmyra is distnictly associated with the Chēras. The Chēra used to wear palmyra flower as his emblem. So it is clear that the emblem under discussion is a palmyra tree. In some instances Vidya Prakash seems to have photographed the coins upside down (as in case of pl. vii-II) and what is described as a daggar with point down, words, is infact a lamp on stand found on most of South Indian coins.

The Huzur Plates refer to *Kalanju* which is used both in the sense of weight and gold currency. That it is weight when it refers to nine *Kalanju* of tamrind. But it is coin when it refers to the endowment of 18 *Kalanju* of gold as *rakshā bhogam*. While refering to this gold, it states *Sūḍum Uṛaiyum Varuvadu* i.e. probably refering to its standard tested both by heating and rubbing. It is also clear from this record that out of the 18 *Kalanju* of gold, the *Melsānti* priest got 15 *kānam* and the *kilsānti* (attendent priest) 15 *kānam*, the rest 15 *kalanju*, being used for other services. This makes it clear that 30 *kānam*, equalled three *kalanju*, each *kalanju* being equal to 10 *kānam*.[70] Incidentally it is also learnt that *kānam* was also used in the sense of a

inscription from Sivagiri, refers to a Brahmin lady, endowing three *Salākai* and 10 *Accu.*[80] 'இவ்வச்சு மூன்று சலாகையும் அச்சு பத்தும். The editor takes it as three *Salāka* and ten *accu.*

The term *accu* is evidently a reference to a dye-struck coin. The term *Ānai Accu* clearly shows that the coin bore on it a figure of elephant. But it is not clear whether this *accu* was a gold coin or copper coin. We have some gold coins with the figure of an elephant on one side and a scroll device on the reverse. But this coin we consider to be an issue of the Gangas of Talakkadu.

Among the copper coins we may distinguish two types of coins bearing the figure of elephant. One type has an elephant on the obverse and a Tamil legend 'Kulasēkhara' over two fish and a cendu. Illustrated as coin no. 49a. by T. Desikachari, it has been included among the Pāṇḍya coins. But in view of the fact elephant occupies the whole of obverse side and the word Kulasēkhara is placed over the Pāṇḍyan symbol, it seems to us that the coin was an issue of a Chēra who conquered the Pāṇḍya country. It seems to us that this was an issue of Ravivarman Kulasēkhara who overran the Pāṇḍya and other countries upto Madras in the beginning of 14th century A.D.

The other coin bearing elephant is the one which bears "Bow-Elephant-Palmyra tree"; on one side, found in large numbers and assigned to the Kongu Chēras. It is not known to which of these coins the term *Ānai Accu* of the inscriptions refers. But judging from the records it seems that the value of the *Accu* was very high and that it should have been a gold coin. We have shown that endowments of 30 *accus*, 10 *accus* and even 3 *accus*, recorded in inscriptions[1] suggest their denominational value to be high. If so the point of interest is whether the Chēras of the Northern Travancore, allowed the Ganga coins to circulate in their region and probably also minted themselves such coins. In this case we may take the term *Ānai Accu* as refering to the gold coin with elephant on one side and scroll work on the reverse.

Some inscriptions refer to *Salāka* and *Accu.* Inscription No. 60 from Sivagiri, refers to three *Salāka* and ten *accu.* Another inscription refers to three *Salāka* and three *accu.* In some epigraphs, a currency called *Palam Salāka* is also refered to.

That our surmise, *accu* stands for 'gold coin is confirmed by an

the hands of the Village assembly of Mincirai.[77] Probably 33 *Ilakkāsu* was equal to 10 *kalanju*. However it is clear that *kalanju*, *kānam*, *kāsu* and *Ilakkāsu* were in circulation in 10th-11th century A.D. What however one does not find mention is the currency *Accu*, or *Paṇam* in this period.

Most of the Chola records, found in South Travancore, particularly after the conquest of the region by Rāja Rāja I, in 11th century, refers to the transactions either in terms of lands or sheep or cows, and rarely in terms of currency and wherever currency is referred to it is either in terms of *Kalanju* or *Kāsu*.

The terms *kalanju* and *kānam* slowly disappear from records of later age, though they seem to have continued upto the 13th century A.D. An interesting epigraph of 13th century relates to certain stipulation and social conduct. It states that a Sūdra should be fined 12 *kānam* if he aims an arrow at a Brahmin, six *kalanju* if a Sūdra abuses another Sūdra, and if a Sūdra murders another Sūdra 12 *kalanju* gold should be imposed". On a comparitive study of *Dharma sāstra*, the editor states "According to some authorities, a *kānam* is equal to 3 *kalanju* and according to some epigraphs, it appears that it is of lesser weight than *kalanju*".[78] It is worthy of note that according to Kautilya that if the persons abused happen to be of superior rank the amount of fine should be doubled and if of lower rank should be halved[79] In both the instances the editors equation of *kalanju* with *kānam* seems to be wrong. If the *Dharmasāstra* or *Artha Sāstra* rules are applied, *kalanju* in this record would be equal to one *kānam*. But we have seen earlier, that one *kalanju* equalled to 10 *kānams* from 9th to 11th century A. D. It is not known whether the value of *kalanju* depreciated in 13th century or the term *kalanju* and *kānams* were used as synonyms.

From the records of the 12th century A.D., we find the word *accu* being prominently mentioned. The Mitranandapuram records of 12th century refers to 30 *Ānai Accu* (elephant coin). It refers to 600 *Parai* of paddy which yielded an annual interest of 60 *Parai*, amounting to 10·/. interest. Similarly 30 *Ānai Accus* were endowed yielding 72 *Parai* paddy. If we calculate at the rate of 10·/. interest, one *Accu* fetched 24 *Parai* of paddy. The Minchiraimattam plates of 13th century A.D., refers to a gift of several *Accus* by various individuals. An

and all over Tamilnad. "In his role as the conqueror, Ravi Varman shoot across the political horizon of South India, like a flashing meteor".[83] His contribution to literature and religion are well remembered. Brisk trade and commercial activity and contact with outside worlds like China are well known.

It is in this connection, a few coins of the period deserve to be studied. Three or four types of coins, bearing the name Kulasēkhara assignable to 13-14th centuries A. D. on paleographical grounds, are known. (I) They are.

1. A coin with a standing King on the obverse and the Tamil legend '*Kulasekhara*' over two fish and a sceptre in the reverse. It is listed as No. 49, under the Pāṇḍya coins by Sir. T. Desikachari.
2. Listed as No. 71 by T. Desikachari, it has the standing King on the obverse and the Tamil legend Kulasēkhara, beneath an umbrella and chouris.
3. Listed as 49a by T. Desikachari. Obverse elephant passant to the left with emblems or characters above which cannot be deciphered. Reverse. Above two fishes seperated by a sceptre is the Tamil legend Kulasēkhara.
4. Standing figure on the obverse and seated figure on the reverse with the Tamil legend '*Kula*' beneath the arm.

The third coin mentioned above, seems to us as a coin of Ravivarman Kulasēkhara. The first two coins were probably issued by Māravarman Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya under whom Ravivarman remained a feudatory first. These coins were under circulation, when Ravivarman Kulasēkhara, conquered the Pāṇḍya country and became an absolute monarch. Probably to commemorate this conquest he issued the coin with his crest elephant on the obverse and the name Kulasēkhara over the Pāṇḍya crest. The importance given to elephant would justify our assumptions.

I have assigned a few other coins, (hitherto listed under Pāṇḍya coins) to the Chēra rulers of South Kerala. These coins bear names like *Kaliyugarāman, Bhūtalavīran, Cherakularāman* and *Bhāskara.* These range from 14th to 17th century A.D.

inscription from Suchindram in Kanyakumari district. Dated in Kollam year 420 (1225 A.D.) it records the endowments of ten *accu* for burning one perpetual lamp and the *accu* is mentioned as *Puduppon Accu* i.e. new gold *accu*. Around 1224 A.D., ten *accus* were deposited for one perpetual lamp. It indicates between 1225 and 1245, a new gold *accu* has been issued. The ruler of Vēnād, during this period was Ravi Kerala Varma (1215-1240).[81] This ruler took great interest in the welfare of the common people and directed attention to strengthen the economy by a realistic policy of remitting taxes in case of failure of crops.[82] It is likely this ruler issued the new gold coin called *Puduppon Accu* mentioned in inscription. We have mentioned that the *Ānai Accu*, used in Kerala, was probably adopted from the Kongu country around 1100 A.D. A certain Vira Rājendra Chola was the most powerful ruler of the Kongu country between 1207 and 1252. He styled himself the ruler of both the Kongus and his rule extended to a part of Trichy and Madurai districts. He had a long and effective rule and we find the name of the currency *Ānai Accu* in his records. So the *Ānai Accu* in the South Kerala record were in all probability the Kongu coins which have gained currency through North Kerala Kingdom of Mahodayapuram.

VENAD CHERAS

From about the beginning of 12th century, the South Kerala was under Venad rulers who asserted their independance. They styled themselves as *"Ciraivāy Mūtta Thiruvaḍi"*, etc. A number of illustrious rulers like Kodai Kerala Varma, Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varma, Vīra Rāma Kerala Varma, Ravi Kerala Varma,and others had useful rule. But the greatest of the family was Ravivarman Kulasēkhara (1299-1314). He married a daughter of the Pāṇḍya ruler Māravarman Kulasēkhara, and remained a feudatory of the Pāṇḍya till his death in 1310. At the death of the Pāṇḍya Māravarman Kulasēkhara, he staked his claim to the Pāṇḍya throne and started issuing records as an independent sovereign. This period witnessed the incursion of Malik kaffur and resulted in confusion. Ravivarman Kulasēkhara was a master politician. He quickly overran the southern country and brought the entire south, from Kanyakumari to Madras, under his banner. His inscription is found in Puntamalli, a suburb of Madras

• *Kaliyugarāman Paṇam*" were gifted for burning a perpetual lamp in the year 1509 A.D. Another record from the same village, dated in 1689 refers to the same *Kaliyugarāman Paṇam*. This coin has remained a valid tender from 1487 to 1689 for over 200 years. Obviously this coin in circulation in the extreme south of India, was an issue of the Chēra rulers of Venad. The Travancore and rulers were called *Thiruvaḍis*, (*Sripāda*) and their country itself was called '*Thiruvaḍi Rājya*'. They were great devotees of Lord Anantapadmanābha. So the presense of foot prints, called *Vishnu Pāda*, were their symbols and there could be no doubt that these coins with the *Vishnu Pāda*, and the name *Kaliyugarāman* were the issues of Chēra rulers. Since it appears in the 15th century records, it should have been issued in the 15th century. Who this Chēra, *Kaliyugarāman* was needs further study.

In this connection, Elliot has left an interesting note on a coin of Kerala. "They as well as the *Rāsi*, have long given place to more modern currency. The oldest form of which is the '*Kali*' properly called '*Kali Yugen Rajen Panam*' and it is known that the name or money of the '*Kali Yuga*' at one time current over the whole of Kerala. Of these there are two varieties bearing a slight resemblance to the *Rāsi*. One of these is said to have been issued by the Kolathanadrāja". This view is repeated by Sreedhara Menon in his survey of Kerala history.[85] *Kali* or *Kaliyugarā'ēn Paṇam*, which is mentioned as late as 1689 refers to this coin. As it was in circulation for over two hundred years, its name has survived till the days of Elliot.

The coins bearing the legend '*Chera Kularāman*' similarly should be considered an issue of Chēra kings and not Pāṇḍya as held by other scholars.

There are two types of *Būtalavīra* coins illustrated by T. Desikachari as No. 30, 31, The coin No. 30 has a standing figure in regal robes, and on the reverse seated figure with Tamil legend to its left *Būtala* and two fishes below.

The presense of fish, the Pāṇḍyan crest would indicate it is clearly a Pāṇḍya coin. But the other coin similar to the above except the fish crest, but bearing the name '*Būtalavīra*' might have been issued by the Chēra rulers of South Kerala, who invariably assumed the title *Būtalavīra*. An inscription dated 1532, from Vadaseri in Kanya-

CHANGE IN CURRENCY

Before we discuss these coins, a great change in the currency system seems to have taken place which it is necessary to understand. The *kalanju* has almost disappeared and the *accu* which replaced it slowly begin to lose its popularity and we find the term '*Paṇam* appearing prominently from the end of 13th century A. D. and in 14-16th century it seems to have become too popular. This has to be studied in the overall context of South Indian currency. However in Kerala, it is the dominant currency mentioned in records.

LATER CHERA COINS

Now the identification of some of the later Chēra coins can be taken up. T. Desikachari, has illustrated coins with the name *Kaliyugarāman* and *Bhūtalaviran*. In the coin bearing the name *Kaliyugaraman* in Tamil characters of about 15th century A.D. are found two foot impressions over what seems to be a bow. The feet are topped by a parasol and a chank. This coin has been included under the list of Pāṇḍya coins. Similarly there is another coin bearing the name '*Chērakularāman*' on one side and a standing figure on the other. Commenting on these coins, Desikachari remarks;

> '*Kaliyugarāman* and *Chērakularāman* point possibly to the same facts as those recorded in the Srirangam inscriptions or to a second invasion of Ceylon by the allies of the Pāṇḍyas and Chēras. But a Māravarman Thirunelveli Perumāl Vīra Pāṇḍya has inscriptions of his in the Ramnad and Thirunelveli districts and the lithic record in later districts mentions coins known as *Kaliyugarāman*. The coins bearing the legend have therefore to be attributed to one of the later Pāṇḍyas who probably ruled in the 15th century.'[84]

That the Pāṇḍyan crest was fish is well known. In the 12th to 14th century, Pāṇḍya records and coins, two fish and a sceptre are found as their crest. But in the coins under discussion no fish is found. The *Kaliyugarāman* coin bears two foot impression called *Vishnu Pāda*. Further these coins have been mostly found in Thirunelveli, Kanyakumari and south Kerala.

In the year 1487 A.D., 400 *Kaliyugarāman Paṇam* were deposited in the treasury of Puravaseri in Kanyakumari district. In the same region, in a village called Parakkai, 400 *anrāḍu Valangum Nenmēli*

kumari district, refers to the ruler as "*Jayatunganāṭṭu Sankaranārayana, Venrumankonda Būtalavīra Srivīra Udayamārtandavarman, Thiruppāppūr Mūtta Thiruvaḍi.* Another ruler Ravivarman, of the same family, ruling in 1536 A.D. is also given the title '*Būtalavira*'. It is not unlikely that following the footsteps of the Pāṇḍyas, the Chēra rulers of 15th & 16th century also issued the coins and No. 31 of Desikachari may be considered an issue of the Chēras.

The coin No. 27 of Desikachari also listed under Pāṇḍyas, clearly reads as '*Bāskara.*

The legend is not found in the list of Pāṇḍyas but is found for many Kerala rulers particularly in the 11th century A.D. However the Paleography of the script seems to be around 14-15th century and cannot be assigned to 11th century. The identification of the king who issued the coin must remain open for the present.

FOOT NOTES

1 NILAKANTA SASTRI, Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, p. 43
2 SESHA AIYAR K. G. Cera kings of the Sangam period, p. 132
3 Ibid
4 SARKAR. H. An arachitectural Survey of Temples of Kerala p. 11
5 NILAKANTA SASTRI K.A. Foreign Notices of South India
6 RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, Asoka p. 132
7 Ibid p. 132 F.N.
8 SARKAR H. Ibid p. 10
9 NAGASWAMY R. A bilingual Coin of Satavahana in 'Seminar on Inscriptions' Madras 1968; also see, "A bilingual Coin of Vasittiputra Siva Sri Pulamavi", in the Andhra Pradesh Journal of Archaeology, vol. 1, no 2 pp. 105-108.
10 SESHA AIYAR, K.G. "Chera Kings of the Sangam Period" p. 517.
11 NILAKANTA SASTRI, K.A., A comprehensive history of India, p. 123
12 MAHADEVAN I. Corpus of the Tamil Brahmi inscription, 'Seminar on Inscriptions' p. 56. Also proceedings of II nd International conference of Tamil studies p. 73.103
13 Ibid p. 67.

14 SESHA AIYAR, K.G. Cera Kings, p. 9 (P.L. GUPTA places the rise of the Cheras to 4th century A.D. Early coins from Kerala 1965, pp. 11. This is quite off the mark).

15 Ibid p. 8

16 Padirrupattu, Ed. U. V. SWAMINATHA IYER, Madras 1957, p. 36

17 SESHA AIYAR, K.G. Cera Kings p. 15
Contra: NILAKANTA SASTRI, K. A., The Pandian Kingdom Madras, 1972, p. 84 "The Aivar Malai record of A.D. 870, records the renewal of the images of Parsva Bhatarar and the Yakshis at Thiru Ayiraimalai, by one Santivira Kuravar". Epigraphical records prove that the present Aivar Malai near Palani is the Aiyirai malai of the Sangam literature and that was in the territory of the Cheras in the Sangam age.

18 SESHA AIYAR K.G. Cera Kings. p. 18. This identification of Tagadur, with a place in Mysore, is obviously wrong. There are several inscriptions attesting to the identity of Tagadur with Dharmapuri, now the headquarters of the djstrict of the same name.

19 PADIRRUPATTU-4th decud, Ibid.

20 Ibid-5th decad. Also NILAKANTA SASTRI K. A., Comprehensive history of India-p. 522-523.

21 NILAKANTA SASTRI K.A., A history of South India-Madras 1977. p. 139. Also Agam, verse-149.

22 SESHA AIYAR, K G. Cera Kings p. 30.

23 Ibid – p. 56.

24 MAHADEVAN I. Proceedings of the IInd International conference of Tamil Studies. p. 95.

25 NILAKANTA SASTRI, K.A., Comprehensive History of India p. 565

26 SESHA AIYAR K.G., Cera Kings p. 91.

27 Ibid-91.

28 GUPTA, P.L., Early coins from Kerala, 1965, p. 66

29 Ancient India II, pp. 24-25

30 GUPTA P.L. Ibid p. 64

31 SUBRAMANIAM N. Sangam Polity p. 214 (Kā-weight ; Tolkappiyam Tohaimarabu. Kānam-gold coin கானமிலியாயின் கை உதிர் கோடலும் Manimekhalai p. 16 : 10. Subramaniam holds Kānam means a small gold coin.

32 CHATTOPADHYAYA B. Coins and Currency system in South India, Delhi, 1977, p. 62.
33 Codrington, Ceylon coins and currency pp. 19-20
34 DESIKACHARI T. South Indian Coins, 1933, p. 157.
35 *Paripadal* Ed. U. V. SWAMINATHA IYER, Madras, p. 239.
36 *Padiṟṟupattu*, Ibid verse No. 11, line 19.
37 DESIKACHARI T. Ibid pl. 1, Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 & 13.
38 *Pāṇḍikkōvai*, Ed. V. DURAISVAMY. Madras, 1957.
39 NAGASWAMY R. Studies in Ancient Tamiḻ Law and Society Madras 1978, pp. 9, 10
40 The Tamil Nadu State Archaeological Department has recently discovered this epigraph at Pulankuruohi village (near Ponnamaravati) in Ramnad district.
41 NAGASWAMY R. Pandya Arikesari and Pandikkovai, Prof. K.A.N. SASTRI Felicitation Volume, 1971 pp. 108-112
42 South Indian Inscriptions Vol. I pp. 144-155
43 Epigraphica Indica, Vol. VI. pp 6-11. Also MAHALINGAM T.V., Kanchipuram in Early South Indian History, p. 81
44 Indian Antiquary Vol. No. XXII 1893. Also Pandya Copper Plates ten (Tamil), Madras 1967, pp. 49-64.
45 Ten Pandya copper Plates (Tamil) pp. 83-123.
46 NAGASWAMY R. Studies in Ancient Tamil Law and Society pp. 18-19
47 Ten Pandya copper plates pp. 39
48 Ibid-p. 104
விண்ணுள வில்லவற்கு விழிஞத்து விடை கொடுத்தும். (*தளவாய்புரம் செப்பேடு வரி.* 105).
49 RAGHAVA IYENGAR M. Alvarkal Kala Varalaru pp. 159-170
50 VENKATACHARI K. A. K., Divya Suri Caritam, Bombay-1978 5-1 to 26
51 SARKAR H. An Architectural Survey of Temples of Kerala pp. 20-21
52 *Periya Purānam*, 43, Kalarirrarivar Purānam
53 RAGHAVA IYENGAR—Ibid
54 Travancore Archaeological Series Vol. II p. 9
55 SARKAR H.—Ibid p. 107
56 Ibid-p. 22 Foot-notes
57 CHATTOPADHYAYA B. Ibid p. 107
58 Ibid—p. 108
59 Ibid—pp. 66-69 pl. VII-332

60 LAKSHMI NARAYANA RAO N. Journal of the Numismatic Society of India-IX pp. 100
61 VIDYA PRAKASH-Coinage of South India p. 100-102
62 S.I.I. 111 p. 56
63 NATANA KASINATHAN 'Kalabras Identified', in South Indian Studies II, Madras, 1979 pp. 180-185
64 S.I.I.vol. I
65 NAGASWAMY R. Kalvettu
66 VIDYA PRAKASH Coinage of South India p. 102
67 WALTER ELLIOT, Coins of Southern India-p. 152 F.
68 VIDYA PRAKASH Ibid p. 100
69 Ibid p. 100
70 Travancore Archaeological Series p. 146
71 Travancore Archaeological Series II pt. III p. 195
72 Ibid p. 192
73 T.A.S. III 36
74 T.A.S. III 166
75 T.A.S. III 46
76 T.A.S. III 42
77 T.A.S. III pt. I, 12
78 T.A.S. III p. 192
79 Ibid
80 Ibid p. 217
81 SREEDHARA MENON K. A Survey of Kerala History,-p. 163
82 Ibid p. 163
83 Ibid p. 165-166
84 DESIKACHARI T. South Indian coins p. 163
85 SREEDHARA MENON K. Ibid 36

THE CHOLA COINS

The political history of the Cholas has been so ably presented by that great historian, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, that it is hardly possible to improve or add new dimensions to its study. Obviously it has been possible for scholars to deal adequately with the numismatic history of their reign. The present chapter is merely an attempt to complete the story.

Among the Cholas of the Sangam age, the most outstanding ruler was Karikāla, whom Prof. Sástri assigns to circa 190 A.D.[1] Karikāla fought a great battle at Venni in which the Pāṇḍya and the Chēra both suffered severe defeat. Eleven minor chieftains who allied themselves with the Chēra and the Pāṇḍya shared the same fate. The Chēra who lost the battle is said to have committed suicide. Paranar, one of the greatest poets of the Sangam age, has sung the valour of this great monarch. Rudran Kannan, another eminent poet, in his *Paṭṭinappālai* states, the numerous Oliyars submitted to him, the ancient Aruvālar carried out his commands and the westerners were depressed. Conscious of the might of his large army ready to shatter the fortresses of enemy kings, Karikāla turned his flushed look of anger against the Pāṇḍya whose strength gave way. The Ilangovel was uprooted.[2] He became the centre of many legends. Among many legends Karikāla is said to have conquered upto Kanchi and settled agraian colonies in the Tondaimandalam region.[3] Refering to this Karikāla legend, Prof. Sastri says, it would seem that Tondainad was ruled by Toṇḍaimān iIlam Tiraiyan in the days of Karikāla and there is no satisfactory evidence in support of suggestion that this chieftain was the grandson of Karikāla or at least a Viceroy appointed by him after his conquest of Kanchi.[4] It seems to us that it is not unlikely that Karikāla conquered the region upto Kanchi. What was found all these years in legend is now found in a 10th century copper plate of Parāntaka Chola, obtained from Tiruttani. It refers to the conquest of Kanchipuram and building of lofty palaces by Karikāla. We are here only suggesting that there was active contact between

the Kaveri region and Kanchipuram.

The description of Kāveripumpaṭṭinam, in the reign of Karikāla gives a vivid picture of the state of industry and commerce under him. He is said to have promoted the reclamation and settle ment of forest land and added to the prosperity of the country by-multiplying irrigation tanks.[5] Another point of interest is Karikāla's faith in Vedic religion. The poignancy of the grief caused by his death finds moving expression in the following lines of Karungulal Ādanār. 'He who stormed his enemies' forts dauntlessly who feasted his minstrels and their families and treated them to endless draughts of toddy; who, in the assembly of Brahmanas noted for knowledge of *bramha* and purity of life guided by priests learned in their duties and attended by his noble and virtuous queen, performed the Vedic sacrifice in which the tall sacrificial post stood on a birdlike platform (*garuda cayana*) he the great and wise king, alas is no more.[6]

This long citation is meant to show that, along with the Vedic ideas, the economic concepts of the north also had penetrated to the south in the reign of Karikāla.

Besides Karikāla, the other Chola rulers of eminence are Neḍum Killi, Nalamkilli and Koccengannān. About Perunarkilli, another great king, we have this account. "May you in your lifetime pour out with water flowers and gold into the outstretched hands of the Brahmins; drink of the sweet liquor which your servant maids glittering with jewels, hold before you in golden cups".[7] Koccengannān, the last and at the same time a great ruler, distin-quished himself both in war and religious pursuit. He imprisoned the Chēra and later set him free by listening to a poem, *Kalavali*. A somewhat later tradition of the seventh Century, states that he was a spider in his previous birth and on account of his devotion to Lord Siva of Thiruvanaikkaval he was born in the Chola family. He is praised for having built 70 great temples to Siva. From the seventh Century onwards this legend persists in literature and the mythical portion in the introduction of the Chola epigraph. A point of interest is that till we come to Koccengannān there is no substantial participation of the rulers in temple movements. But they all actively participated in Vedic sacrifices. It is against this background that the

occurence of puuch marked coins in Tamilnad upto Thirunelveli should be viewed. It is said that most of the punch marked coins found in Tamilnad bear close resemblance to the issues of the Mauryans Regarding trade and commerce in the Chola country of the Sangam age K. A. N. Sastri has the following to say[8]

"Next to agriculture in all its forms including the raising of sugar-cane, cotton and pepper, the most important industry of the land was the production of cloth. Early European Writers and Sanskrit sources confirm the truthfulness of the numerous references to the fine quality of the textiles produced in the Tamil country at this period. They are compared to the slough of the snake and to a cloud of steam; yet these muslins carried much fine floral work and were of different colours. Silk, wool and other fabrics are referred to as cloth not spun by any one (*nūlākkaḷingam*). Production was generally for local consumption, and only articles of great value in small bulk, or necessities like salt which could not be made everywhere, entered into trade. Much trade was carried on by barter; examples occur of honey and roots being exchanged for fish-oil and toddy, and of sugar-cane and corn-flakes (*aval*) for venison and toddy. Salt merchants moved about with their families in trains of carts; the roads were hard, and often the merchants had to negotiate ups and downs and thought it necessary to carry a spare axle (*sēmav-accu*) for every cart. Pepper was carried from place to place by caravans of asses. The bazar in big cities was a busy place with many flags (hoisted over the shops), plenty of cash (gold), and a number of taverns. References to the different aspects of maritime trade are many and important. An elephant running amok is compared to a storm-tossed ship, and there are other references to shipwrecks in storms. Salt, dried fish, and processed tamarind were conveyed in boats, evidently a reference to the coastal trade of the country. Foreign ships came laden with horses in the company of merchants who were eager to take the precious products of the Tamil country in exchange for them. Sāliyūr was an important port on the Madurai coast, often visited by great ships. Nīrpeyaṛṛu probably some where near Māmallapuram, was another seaport to which were brought horses from the west and other products from the north; this was in the territory of Toṇḍaimān Ilam Tiraiyan. Near the port was a tall lightouse in which a bright lamp burnt all night.

Access to the lamp was by means of a steep ladder not easy to climb. In between Sāliyūr and Nirpeyaṛṛu, lay the still larger emporium or of Puhār or Kāvērippattinam, the Khaberis of Ptolemy, which is described at great length in the *Paṭṭinappālai*. Large boats had carried white salt and returned laden with paddy in exchange, and when lying in harbour, they resembled a row of horses tethered in a garden. Great ships sailed straight into the harbour of Puhār without slacking sail, a description that cannot apply at the present day to any place in the Tanjore delta on account of changes in the course of the Kāvēri river and in the shape of the seaboard. The merchandise brought to the port of Puhār included war-horses that came by sea, bags of black pepper brought overland by car, gems and gold from the northern mountain, sandal and *agil* woods from the western mountain, pearls of the southern and coral of the eastern sea, the produce of the Ganges basin and the Kāvērī valley, food stuffs from Ceylon and and luxuries from Kadāram besides other rare and precious products, Puhār was a cosmopolitan city where people from different countries speaking various language lived amicably together and contributed to its vast and increasing wealth and prosperity. Its merchants were not greedy cheats, but honest dealers who were content with a modest profit, feared wrong, spoke the truth, and gave the same consideration to the interests of their customers as to their own. The ports were even more numerous on the west coast than on the east and in closer contact with the traders of the Roman empire. Musiri was perhap, the leading emporium ; a song in the Puṛanānuru speaks of the sale of fish for paddy, of bales of pepper, and of the transport of a variety of merchandise in small boats from the large ships to the shore. Bandes and Kodumanam were other ports with a wealth of sea-borne imports. Bandar being noted for its peals, and Kodumanam for rare jewels Mention is made of the abundance of quartzite precious stones in the hills of the Chēra country, and we find allusions to artisans skilled in the repair and refitting of ships called here 'the timber that swims the great ocean (*perungadal nindiya maram*)".

A few coins were found recently in the Kaveripattinam region. They are of copper, square in shape, bearing on the one side the figure of a standing tiger with an uplifted tail and on the other side fish, elephant or other symbols. Above the tiger is shown the

sun. The significance of the representation is obvious. The sun is symbolic of the solar race of the Cholas. The tiger with its roaring mouth, lifted paw and upturned tail is specially referred to as the royal crest of the Cholas in Sangam literature. Praising the Valour of the Chola Nalamkilli, the poet Kōvūr Kilār states that, when he captures the opponent's forts, he imprinted his crest of the tiger with a roaring mouth"[9] In the port of Kaveripumpattinam itself, the wooden doors of forts were marked with the tiger, the royal crest.[10] However, on the coins found in the Kaveri delta, at Neidavasal etc., the animal is certainly a tiger with a raised paw and an uplifted tail.

Writing on these coins, Chattopadhyaya states, "While in view of the provenance, this attribution has some justification, it should, at the same time, be remembered that in the absense of any other comparable coins, definitely attributable to the early Cholas it cannot be considered as at all certain. Secondly, the animal which features regularly on one side of these coins does not appear to be a tiger, but it is a typical lion with uplifted tail such as those which appear on Pallava and other coins published from time to time. It thus appears that the Vanagiri and Neidavasal coins were also issues of the Pallavas and are comparable to some of their lion types, rather than of the early Chola family.[11] The following citation is also relevant in this regard. "The dynastic crest of all the Pallava families seems to have been the bull which features on seals attached to copper plate charter from the early stage of Pallava history. But some Pallava copper plates seem to show another animal, which strangely resembles the 'lion' of this type of coin and of other types which on the basis of find spots and in the absence of any other data, may be attributed to the Pallavas. Some of these types with the lion device come from as far south as Madura or Kumbakonam, which were under Pallava suzerainty before the rise of the Chola-Pāṇḍya power." All these considerations may show that besides the bull the lion was one of the major devices used by the Pallavas on some of their early types".

There are a few errors in the above conclusions. Pallava power never extended upto Madurai at any time. I do not think there is any Pallava seal with a lion. The Pallavas themselves say that they had the bull as their *lāncana*. So coins with the lion motif are certainly issues of the Vishnukuṇḍins, as suggested by other

scholars.

The commodities imported and exported at the port of Kaveri-pumpattinam (Neidavasal - Vanagiri area) were imprinted with the tiger, the Chola crest. I am, therefore, of the opinion that the square coins found in Neidavasal and Vanagiri bearing tiger on the obverse are the coins of the Sangam Cholas. The reverse of these coins at times show elephant, fish or a *Kalpa* or *Chaitya Vriksha*, While the elephant or fish might indicate their close connection with the Chēras or Pāṇḍyas respectively either by dynastic alliance or conquest, the sacred tree within a fence was an early Indian tradition found in many dynastic issues. It occurs in the early Pallava coins, where the Pallava bull is shown standing on the obverse and the sacred tree on the reverse[14]. In the Sangam age, though the three crowned kings fought against each other frequently, they also frequently allied themselves very close. That might perhaps explain the presence of elephant or fish on the back. I am of the opinion that there need be no hesitation in accepting these series as the coins of the Cholas of the Sangam age.

POST SANGAM AGE

From the close of the Sangam age till the rise of the imperial Cholas of Vijayālaya, the powerful Chola dynasty remained unknown. Among the post-Sangam classics the *Silappadhikāram*, *Manimēkhalai* and the collection of works called 18 smaller works (*Padinen Kil Kaṇakku*) are important in throwing some light on the economic condition of the Chola country. The port city of Kaveri-pumpattinam owed its greatness to its commercial wealth. Commodities brought in vehicles and ships brought wealth to the country. The commentator states the merchants were seafarers. A point of interest in this work is the presentation of 1008 *kalanju* of gold by the king to an accomplished danseuse who exhibits her talent in her maiden performance. The dancer is called *Nāṭaka Gaṇika* in the text. It is said that it was the customary prize presented by the king. The commentator of *Arumpadavurai* says that 1000 *Kalanju* was towards the prize and the remaining eight were meant for meeting expenses. But Aḍiyārkkunallār, the later commentator states that 1000 *Kalanju* were the prize money and the remaining eight were

one day's money for sexual intercourse. The commentator further says that it was customary for the king witnessing a maiden performance of a dancing girl to long for her pleasure. The king gave her a costly necklace of 1008 *Kalanju* as present. It is not known whether this *Kalanju* was a coin or weight. But the commentary says it was a type of gold called *Kiliccirai*. Another point of interest is that this costly jewel would be carried in public by a beautiful attendent of the dancing girl and whosoever offers the highest money for that can take her as his concubine. Though the *Śilappadhikāram* describes the commercial activity of the port city of Pumpuhar, it throws very little light on the currency system. A few Tamil works of didactic nature called 18 smaller works refer to the testing of gold by heating it in fire.[15]

THE IMPERIAL CHOLA COINAGE

The history of the Imperial Cholas begins around 850 A.D. with the advent of Vijayālaya. Till recent times the name of Vijayālaya's father was unknown. The recently found Velanjeri copper plate of Parāntaka Chola gives his name as Orriyūran. He is praised as a great king. Judging from the name assumed by several of his subordinates his claim to greatness is not unwarranted.

Vijayālaya, the great conqueror who established the Imperial Chola line captured Tanjore, fortified the city and consecrated an image of goddess Nisumbasūdani. He is praised in later literature as one who had, won several battles. From this time onwards, the Cholas started adopting the titles alternately Parakesari and Rājakesari. Till we come to the time of Rājarāja I, the Cholas mentioned only their title in their epigraphs without giving their names. It makes the identification of the early Chola rulers open to doubt. But at least a few of the inscriptions found in the Tondaimandalam region belong to Vijayālaya.

Vijayālaya's position remained somewhat subordinate to the Pallavas. But his son Āditya threw off the Pallava yoke, and soon established Chola power upto Tondaimanad near Kalahasti (near Madras). In the south he reached the limit of Pudukkottai territory, but not beyond. Āditya also conquered the Kongu, and is said to have brought gold to enrich the Chidambaram temple. He built innume-

rable stone temples, dedicated to Siva all along the banks of the Kaveri. S. R. Balasubramaniam has recently done yeoman service by identifying several of Āditya's temples.

Parāntaka was, like his father a great conqueror. His conquests were at the expense of the Ādityas of Madurai, followed by a victory over Sri Lanka. He assumed the title *Maduraiyum Ilamum Koṇḍa*, i.e. the conqueror of Madurai and Lanka. In Sanskrit his title appears as '*Madurāntakan*'. After Parāntaka, many rulers followed with varying fortunes. The immediate predecessor of Rājarāja, the great was Uttama Chola, who also had the title Madurāntaka." The earliest Chola coin which could be definitely attributed to a chola ruler is that of Uttama. His territory extended upto Madras in the north and to Madurai in the south. At least two issues of this ruler are now identified.

UTTAMACHOLA

The first type is a gold coin unfortunately lost. But Elliot has preserved a good illustration of it. His description reads;[2] "No. 151 gold coin lost; fascimile in wood cut; weight 50 to 60 grains. Obverse and reverse exactly the same; a tiger seated to the left; opposite it a fish etc. The legend running around reads in *grantha* characters 'Uttama Chola". This has been rightly identified with the issue of Uttama Chola.

I have published the other coin with a proper reading in Damilica I. The coin which was imperfectly read all these years bears close resemblance to the earlier one carrying seated tiger and a fish with the legend *Matirantakan* running around it. As mentioned earlier Matirantakan was one of the titles of Uttama Chola. In early inscriptions the city of 'Madurai' was called *Matirai*. So this coin has also been taken as an issue of Uttamachola.

THE MADAI

"Several inscriptions of the Chola period give the names of coins that were under circulation. From these we gather that the coins were called after the ruling kings either by the names or titles such as *Rājarājan Māḍai, Rājēndran Māḍai*. The earliest coin so referred to by name is *Madurāntakan Māḍai*. It is likely that the coin referred

to as *Madurāntakan Māḍai* is identical with the present coin "Damilica Page 102).

Chattopadhyaya, agreeing with my suggestion, states, "The legend which has so long baffled scholars has now satisfactorily been read as *Matirantakan* which is the equivalent of *Madurantakan.* It is thus likely that the type is identical with the *Maḍurāntakan Māḍai* of the epigraph and that it belongs to the period of Uttama Chola[16]

UTTAMACHOLA - NAGARI

The third type of coins attributed to Uttama Chola made of silver or copper. On one side the coin bears a seated tiger, two fish and a bow. These are shown on a pedestal. Above this emblem are seen a parasol and two chowris. On the reverse is the legend 'Uttama Chola' in Nagari characters. Opinion is divided among scholars about the author of this issue. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri assigns it to Rājēndra I, while Chattopadhyaya holds that it could be an Uttama issue.

BOW-TIGER-FISH EMBLEM

The practice of a ruler adopting all the three emblems was known even in the age of *Silappadhikāram.* The Chēra ruler, Sengut tuvan is said to have carved, these three crests on the Himalayas.[17] In another instance the same ruler is said to have sent an order bearing the crests - 'bow - fish - tiger' said to be the seal of the Tamil land.[18]

If the ruler was a great conqueror, subduing the two other crowned kings of the Tamil country, he adopted all the three royal crests. In the coin under discussion the three emblems are under the same umbrella. This would suggest that both the Chēra and the Pāṇḍya had been vanquished. While in the earlier coin of Uttama, only the fish and tiger are seen, in the present case all the three are seen. The conquest of the Chēra was accomplished by Rājarāja I, and not under Uttama, his predecessor. It is probably due to this reason that Professor Nilakanta Sastri thought that this could be an issue subsequent to Rājarāja I, and assigned it to Rājēndra I. The two earlier coins are typologically of the same group, while the later is different. It is not unlikely that the later also was an issue of Uttama Chola.

A point of importance is that for the first time in Tamil coins we

find a *Nāgari* legend. Why and how it was introduced? it is not possible to explain at this stage.

RAJARAJA

One of the greatest rulers of India, who was not only a mighty conqueror, but also a most efficient administrator was Rājarāja I (985-1014). He extended Chola power upto the Tungabhadra in the north and Sri Lanka in the south. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri states, "The thirty years of Rājarāja's rule constitute the formative period in the history of the Chola monarchy. In the organisation of the civil service, and the army, in art and architecture, in religion and literature, we see at work powerful forces newly liberated by the progressive imperialism of the time. A relative small state at his accession that had hardly recovered from the disasters of Rashtrakuta invasion the Chola kingdom had by the end of Rājrāja's rule grown to be an extensive and well knit empire efficiently organised and administered, rich in resources possessed of a powerful standing army, well tried, equal to the greatest enterprises. More wonderful than the work of this great monarch have been his personality. Rājarāja conquered Ceylon and Maldives islands."

Rājarāja's coinage is best known to South Indian numismats. It is found in several thousands. It looks as though for several centuries his coins were the main currencies circulating in Tamilnadu.

Two types of his coins are well known. Type I. bears on both the sides the 'bow-tiger-fish' emblem and the legend 'Sri Rāja Rāja' written beneath in Nagari characters. The second type carries a standing man on the obverse and a seated figure on the reverse with the Nagari legend 'Sri Rāja Rāja' beneath his left arm. It is the later variety that is found in several thousands. Both these types are found in gold, silver and copper.

Rājarāja's wars and political annexations have a direct bearing on his coinage. First he reduced the Pāṇḍyas and Kerala. Then the north-west Gangapādi, Nulambapādi, Tadigaipādi, and Rattapādi were conquered. In the Vengi kingdom he adopted a different policy. He gave shelter to the legitimate successor of Dhānārnava (who was killed by Jaṭā Chola Bhima) Saktivarman and Vimalāditya. He restored Saktivarman to the throne of Vengi and gave his

daughter Kundavai in marriage to Vimalāditya, the brother of Saktivarman. Vimalāditya ascended the throne around 1011 after his brother. Under Rājarāja the Vengi kingdom enjoyed his protection.

A point of interest discussed in detail by numismatists concerns the abstract standing or seated figure portrayed in the obverse and reverse of this coinage. What does this figure represent? It seems to us that the figure portrays of the king, as found in Kushan coins. This should have been influenced by Roman coins. The object shown in the hand seems to be a flower, also as found in Kushan coins. While Kushan coins figure a portrait of the ruler, the standing and seated figure of the South Indian coins are clearly abstractions. But why is this portrayal found in Kushan coin not used until the 10th century A.D. and why does this figure dominate South Indian coinage till the 16th century? It is not possible to explain this.

There are a number of types with the legend Sri Rājarāja in Nagari characters. Not all the coins were issued by Rājarāja I. It seems that the same type of coins with the same name was minted in subsequent periods as well, for both in type and in size there are variations and a certain amount of deterioration. But the largest number of coins found in Tamilnadu are of this type; on the obverse the standing royal figure is seen and on the reverse are the seated figure and below its left arm the legend Sri. Rājarāja in Nagari.

SPECIAL ISSUES OF RAJARAJA

There are three types with this name which require special mention. In all the three types one side carries the same device *viz.* a seated figure, and below its left arm the nagari legend "*Sri Rājarāja.*" On the obverse the devices vary. In one type there is the standing figure and below his left arm is a seated tiger. In another type there is the standing figure with under his left arma fish shown vertically. The third variety carries the standing figure and below his left arm is a *pāda* (foot) mark. A slight variation in the type is the presence of a bow in addition to the foot.

The fact that in all these cases the name "*Sri Rājarāja*" is found shows that these were issues of Rājarāja I. But the various symbols represented show a definite pattern of thinking. I have suggested in a recent article that Rājarāja deliberately introduced these symbols

for circulation in the different territories he conquered. For example the coin with a fish was meant for circulation in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. The coin with the tiger was meant for circulation in Chola territory. The coin with a foot was obviously intended for circulation in the Kerala country, called the Thiruvadi country. The presence of the bow also confirms our presumption. In one instance Desikachari refers to a coin bearing a boar in the place of a seated tiger below the left arm of the seated figure. It is significant that this adoption of the royal crest of the respective regions shows the respect the ruler had for the conquered regions and at the same time introduces his name. Such an approach is quite in confirmity with Rājarāja's personalityand character. Rājarāja changed the name of each country. Tondaimandalam was changed to Jayamkonda Chola mandalam; the Pāṇḍya country was called Rājarāja Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam and so on. These issues further show the innovative and personal imprint of the great monarch.[19]

There are other varieties of Rājarāja that deserve mention. One coin of impure silver reported by T. Desikachari shows the seated human figure below whose left arm is a seated tiger. On the other side, is the "Bow-tiger-two fish" emblem topped by the royal umbrella, and chauri and below, the nagari legend reading 'Sri. Rājarāja'.

MURALIDHARA & HORSE RIDER

There are two other varieties bearing the name 'Rājarāja' that show some variation and both the variations are significant. In one there is the seated figure, below whose arm is the legend Rājarāja. On the other side is shown a figure of Muralidhara Krishna. On the other type is seen a rider on the back of a gallopping horse. Rājarāja was a great Siva bhakta and was called *Śiva Cūḍāmaṇi* but his benefactions to all faiths are so well known, that under his patronage, Vaishnavism, Buddhism and Jainism flourished alike. But except this one coin showing Muralidhara Krishna, no other coin shows a God or religious motifs. So the ascription of this coin to Rājarāja-I may not go unchallanged. However no other explanation is possible at present.

RAJENDRA I-GANGAIKONDA

Rājarāja was succeeded by his mighty son Rājendra I, who perhaps was the only ruler of India to carry his arms to the far east across the sea and won several victories. So he assumed the title *Kaḍāram Koṇḍa Chola.* What other Cholas could not accomplish with reference to Sri Lanka Rājendra was able to achieve. He brought the entire Ceylon under his control. In India itself he raced across eastern coast and conquered upto the Bangaladesh and marked his victory by bringing the sacred river of Ganges and assumed the title 'Gangai-koṇḍa Chola'. This particular victory of Rājendra himself was proved to be of great interest for he built a new capital and named it Gangai-kondacholapuram. The Chālukyas in the west were no match to him. From 1012 to 1044, this mightiest conqueror kept the banner of his family flying high over several kingdoms.

Two series of coins which could definetely be assigned to Rājendra are well known. Both the group show the 'bow-tiger-fish' emblem on both the sides. The legend in one series reads *Sri. Rājēndra*' and in the other "*Sri Gangaikoṇḍa Chōḷa.*" Though these two varieties are not so frequently met with, yet they are fairly known.

Another type of coin attributed to Rājendra I shows on the obverse the 'bow-tiger-two fish' emblem, flanked by lamp stands and topped by the royal parasol and the chowris. Below this is the Nagari legend reading '*Sri. Rāja Rājēndra*'. On the reverse is the seated figure and to his right is shown a seated tiger[20].

YUDDHAMALLA

A gold coin, smaller in size, bearing on the obverse the 'bow-tigher-fish device, and on the reverse a two line legend reading "*Yuddhamalla*" is also noticed. This has been attributed to Rājendra I. It could have been struck at the time of the marriage of his daughter to Chālukya Rājarāja Narēndra, the father of Rājendra who was known as Kulōttunga, subsequently. Quoting this view of Biddaulp, Chatto-padhyaya rightly points out the lack of evidence to support this view point. However, as he rightly points out, it is not unlikely that it was issued by Rājendra I.

RAJADHIRAJA I

The one Chola ruler, who from the time he was crowned as young prince in 1018 A. D., till his death in 1055 A. D., spent all his time and energy in war, and died in the war front, was Rājādhirāja I., the son and successor of Rājendra I. Rājādhirāja was more a ruthless fighter than his father. In fact he seems to have been mainly responsible for most of the victories of his father. His *prasastis* refer to his ruthlessness in dealing with his captured monarchs. Among all the Chola rulers of the Imperial line, he was the only ruler, who performed an *Asvamēdha yāga*.

One gold coin with the legend '*Rājādhirāja*' has come to light. It shows on the obverse a standing figure and the legend *Srī Rājādhirāja*'. On the reverse it bears the seated human figure in front of a seated tiger[21]. This in all probability was an issue of Rājādhirāja I.

A few types of silver coins found in north Canara bearing the legend Rājādhirāja, Mahārājādhirāja and simply Rāja are assigned to him.[22] While the reverse of the coin has the legend in Nagari reading Mahā Rājādhi Rāja, the obverse according to V.P. bears the figure of a dagger on top. There are also other types in the same hoard without giving the name, but various sizes. These are also said to be of various sizes. But judging from the illustration reproduced it is seen that typologically these varieties are not the issues of Cholas. The lion depicted with a dagger, even if it is taken to be a tiger has nothing in common with the Chola tiger. After the sangam age, the Cholas, represented their tiger mostly as a seated figure. The figure on the coin under discussion also resemble a lion than a tiger and seems to me an issue of the Western Indian dynasty, than the Chola. The find spot also seems to confirm our suggestion.

THE DHAVALESVARAM HOARD

At this stage we may discuss the famous Dhavalesvaram hoard, which forms a distinct group and has been discussed by eminent histrorians like Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and Prof. Balakrishna Nair. Writing on this, Prof. Sastri states, "An accidental discovery in 1946 in the village of Davalesvaram brought to light a hoard, of which only 127 gold coins could be recovered. Here is a genuine collection of ancient gold coins which have elsewhere mostly disappeared in the

goldsmiths crucible. The coins are all of fine gold, thin round discs bearing a *lāncana* in the middle and letters round the margin all punched on one side of the disc, the other side being left blank. There are 49 coins of Rajaraja I, the Eastern Chalukya King Nos. 5 and 6 on the plate which call for no remarks. They bear the regnal years 33, 34 and 35 corresponding to A.D. 1055-57 as Rājarāja is known to have celebrated his coronation in 1022 with the aid of Rājendra Chola. The remaining coins fall into two sets with different inscriptions in Tamil *grantha* but and the same *lāncana* in the centre of this field which is clearly the Chola mark. The inscription on one set read '*Kam gai koṇḍa Cholan*' and bear regnal years 28 to 33. These are obviously the issus of Rājendra I and the regnal years corresponding to 1040-1045 A.D. There are other figures above the regnal year such as 4000 and 11 of which the significance is not clear, so also there are some letters with the *lāncana* in the centre, which await explanation. The second set of 46 coins bears the inscriptions '*Ma-lai-nā-ḍu-koṇḍa Colan*' and bears regnal years from 34 to 36. From their association these coins are easily attributed to Rājakesari Rājādhirāja I who was recognised as heir apparent by his father Rājendra I in 1018 A.D. and who continued to rule with his father till 1044 and then for ten years more in his own right till he fell on the battle field of Koppam. It will be recalled that Rājarāja I, Chālukya had a troubled reign and had to appeal for Chola aid on many occassions against the aggressions of the Western Chālukyas and Vijayāditya VII. Rājadhiraja might have taken the title *Malainā ḍu koṇḍa* by virtue of the wars he waged for his father in Kerala and the title might have been chosen for being put on his coins to distinquish them from Rājendra's issue. It is not known if these coins which closely follow the fabric of Eastern Chalukya coins were minted for circulation in the Vengi country only or went into more general use".[23] This some what lengthy citation from Sastri is to focus the attention on the importance of the group.

The identification of the first group with the legend Rājarāja and the bear emblem as the issue of Eastern Chālukya ruler Rājarāja seems convincing. But the identification of the second and third types needs revision in our opinion. The second and the third types carry the well known Chola emblem 'the bow-tigher-two fish' below the

royal umbrella is found and there could be no doubt that these were the issues of the Cholas. Prof. Sastri attributes the coin with the legend '*Malai nāḍu Koṇḍa Chōḷan*' as an issue of Rājādhirāja I while Prof. Nayar takes the ruler as Kulottunga I. I beg to differ from both the scholars for the following reason. The title *Malaināḍu Koṇḍa Chōḷa* is not found for either of them in epigraphs or for that matter in literature. On the other hand, the title is found for Rājarāja Chola I. The Ulas of Ottakkuttan, specifically mention Rājarāja I as *Malaināḍu Koṇḍān*. I consider that the coins bearing the legend 'Malaināḍu Koṇḍa Chōlan' were probably the issues of Rājarāja I. What probably prompted Prof. Sastri to identify him with Rājādhirāja was the No. 34 or 36, which was taken to represent the regnal years. While Rājarāja I ruled only for 30 years, Rājadhirāja I ruled for 36 years. But it is not proved that these figures stand for the regnal years of the ruling monarch. For Sastri himself admits that the figures like 4000 occur on the coins which are not explicable.

The legends on the third group of coins according to Prof. Nayar read *Kataikoṇḍa Cholan*. It is with reference to this group, that the author marshals interesting arguments to establish the reading as *Kaṭaikoṇḍa* instead of *Kangaikoṇḍa*. *Kaṭai* according to Nayar, is the shortened Tamil form of Kaḍāram, which is identical with Kedah of the Malayan Peninsula. A chart is added at the end, showing the letter 'ṭa' from contemporary Chola records, to justify the reading *Kaṭai*. *Kalingattupparani* refers to the conquest of Kaḍāram by Kulottunga I. In this connection, the author points out that at the death of his father, Kulottunga did not ascend the throne of Vengi, but allowed his uncle Vijayāditya to rule the Kingdom.

Prof. Nayar, tries to solve this puzzle by suggesting that Kulottunga conquered Kaḍāram about 1054 A.D., and was actually ruling Kaḍāram till 1069 A.D. for about 15 years. If Kulottunga could not succeed his father in Vengi, it was because he was away in Kaḍāram, and his absense was utilised by his uncle to consolidate his own rule. Prof. Nayar also identified *Ti-houa-kie-lo*, the Indian ambassador to China in 1067 A.D., with the Chola king *Ti-houa-kic-lp*, who sent an embassy to the same country in 1077 A.D., and concludes that this person, referred to in the Chinese annals none other than Kulottunga himself. Prof. Nayar also agrees with Prof. S.K. Ayyangar

that *Pūrvadēsam* refers to Kingdom of Kadaram including lower Burmah. Prof. Ayyangar was certainly wrong when he made the above suggestion, since many Chola inscriptions refer to Rājendra as the conqueror of *Pūrvadēsam*, *Gangai*, and *Kaḍāram*, which clearly establish that *Pūrvadēsam* is different from *Kaḍāram*. Regarding the other points raised by Prof. Nayar the following deserve special mention. Neither the contemporary inscriptions nor the contemporary literature, like the *Kalingattuparani* or the *Ulas* of Ottakkuttar refer to the sojourn of Kulottunga at Kaḍāram. On the contrary Kulottunga in his own words, records that at the demise of his father he came to an agreement with his uncle and allowed him to rule the Vengi country. Further Jayamkondar in his *Parani*, clearly states, that Kulottunga was ruling in the North, when the Chola king passed away at Gangaikonda Cholapuram, and that Kulottunga had to rush to the capital to prevent chaos. The title *Kaṭaikoṇḍa Chola*, is also not found either in inscripitions or in literature.

KULOTTUNGA

A few gold coins found in the Nellore district Kavaliavalli Village are said to carry the tiger and the fish on the one side, and on the other the legend *Sunga* in Tamil characters with the numerical figures 27, 31 and 34. [23] In one type of this variety along with the tiger and fish the legend *Kanchi* is said to be found in Tamil. While the other side carries the word *Sunga*[24]. Another type of the same variety is said to carry the legend 'Ne' in Tamil taken to stand for 'Nellore'.

Kulottunga I was certainly the master of Kanchi and Nellore region. He had a palace at Kanchi. The Tamil work Kalingattuparani extolling his greatness, mention that his commander Karunakara Tondaiman conquered the Kalinga country even while Kulottunga was camping at Kanchi. There is a graphic description of the palace of Kulottunga at Kanchi in the same work. In fact all the Chola monarchs had their palace at Kanchi. But if the reading is correct, the word 'Kanchi' would indicate that in 12th century A.D., the custom of indicating the place of minting the coin has come into vogue. Similarly the word 'Ne' standing for Nellore. Nellore was equally an important centre and the rulers of Nellore of 12-13ht

century call themselves *Nellore puravarādhīsvara*

Another coin which is attributed to Kulottunga also needs consideration. It carries on the obverse the usual standing royal figure and on the reverse the seated figure with a Tamil legend said to read *Kulottu(nga)*. Biddaulp reads the legend as *Kuna*. Chattopadhyaya holds the reading as unlikely. It is the same coin illustrated as No. 140 by Elliot who read it as *Kuna Pāṇḍya*. It is seen from the illustration that only two letters are visible which read "Kula". It is obsolutely clear that there is no possibilty of reading the second letter 'lo' which would require the curved character before 'la' if it is to be read as 'lo'. The reading is only 'Kula' and so the coin cannot be attributed to Kulottunga. Further Paleographically the letter 'Ku' seems to be later and in all probability the coin belongs to 'Kulasekhara Pāṇḍya'.

PROF. SASTRI ON CHOLA ECONOMY

Before we take up a brief analysis of the currency value and the economic conditions under the cholas it would be most rewarding to recall what prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri has said on this subject.[24]

"WAGES AND PRICES

Some idea of the economic condition of the different classes of labourers may be had by a review of the date on wages and prices yielded by the inscriptions. No general statement on the standard of life of the people is possible; much less can we now trace the changes in the standards and tastes of the population. The sources of our information are not sufficiently copious or precise to allow of such attempts being made with success. The permanent staff of village servants and others in the enjoyment of hereditary service-holdings are, of course, not included in the discussion which follows. So also the serfs and slaves are excluded.

The wages of common labour can be estimated from the following instances. The Madras Museum Plates of Uttama Cōla record a wage of one *kuruni* per day and two *kalañjus* per annum for clothes for a watchman; and six nalis per day with half a *kalañju* per annum for a gardener. At Lālgudi (Trichinopoly district); about A.D. 960, digging was done at the rate of fifty kulis per *kāsu*, each *kuli* being about 10

feet square by two feet and a half. In the village of Kiliyanūr (South Arcot), the man appointed to sound the bugle for summoning the sabhā had, from A.D. 1001, a fixed wage (*nivandam*) of two meals a day at the cost of the village, besides the supply of such things required for his personal use as were sold in the village. In A.D. 1018, the daily wage of a wood-cutter at Nattam (Chingleput) was four *nālis* of paddy per day, which was also the daily wage of a Brahmin cook. The wage of a palanquin bearer at Tirumukkūḍal (Chingleput) was also four *nālis* of paddy in the reign of Rājēndra I. This was obviously not a full day's wage for we find that garden labour in the same place and about the same time commanded a wage of ten *nālis* per diem. The same rate is given in a record of Rājadhirāja I as a sort of family wage for the same kind of labour. For lifting water and irrigating gardens and fields, and for gathering flowers and other like operations, the wage of male labourers was eight *nālis* per day at Tiruvāmattūr (South Arcot) in A.D. 1030; but women employed in making garlands and flowers were paid only at half the rate. In the reign of Rājādhirāja I, however, the women servants employed in a feeding house at Tiruveṇkāḍu earned a wage of two *nālis* per day. A man employed to supply drinking water in a public place at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr in 1077 was paid two *kāsus* per annum besides a daily wage of one *Kuruni*. The rather low wage of two *nālis* per day for a potter and for a fuel supplier at Kuḍumiyāmalai in 1213 was, no doubt, only remuneration for part-time work, the men being free also to work and earn wages elsewhere.

Work that demanded some kind of skill or special equipment in the workman commanded correspondingly higher rates of wages. A certain Tiruvellaṟaiccākkai was remunerated at the rate of two *kalams* of paddy for each *kūttu*, some kind of operatic dance, performed by him; and seven such performances were guaranteed to him in a year in one temple in the reign of Āditya II. Possibly he was free to accept other engagements elsewhere. With this may be compared the permanent endowment of a house and one hundred *kalams* of paddy per annum for each of the four hundred dancing-girls settled by Rājarāja I around the big temple of Tanjore. Three *kurunis* per day was the wage-rate fixed by the same monarch for each of the fifty persons of the choir established by him for singing Tiruppadiyam in

the temple. The wages mentioned in another Tanjore inscription of the same monarch may also be noted. Each *māṇi* (brahmacāri) serving in the temple got one *padakku* (sixteen *nālis*) of paddy per day and four *kāsus* (two *kalanjus*) of gold per year; ten among them who had vowed permanent service in the temple were to get an extra *kuruṇi* (eight *nālis*) of paddy per day; twenty others who apparently made garlands were to receive one *padakku* each per day and five *kāsus* per annum. An accountant received 200 *kalams* of paddy per annum, and his assistant seventy-five, which works out at $6\frac{2}{3}$ *kuruṇis* and $2\frac{1}{2}$ *kuruṇis* respectively for a day. An accountant of another, perhaps smaller temple at Periyakorukkai, Trichinopoly district, earned $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kuruṇis* of paddy a day in the reign of Rājarāja III. An inscription for Tiruvorriyūr of 1038 A.D. states that two garland makers were employed each on a wage of 10 *nālis* (one *padakku* and four *nālis* for both) per diem in addition to a *kalanju* and a half of gold per annum for clothes; and four Brahmins to recite stotras and Vēda at 12 *nālis* (*kuruṇi* and four *nālis*) each per day together with $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kalanjus* of gold per annum for clothes. At Eṇṇāyiram, about the samc time, the persons who recited *Tiruvāymoli* were paid, like the reciters of Tiruppadiyam at Tanjore, three *kuruṇis* per day, which is twice what the Brahmins of Tiruvorriyūr got. The rate of three *kuruṇis* also obtained at Tribhuvani for reciting *Tiravāymoli* in 1048 A.D. whereas the officiating priest got only a *padakku* per day. A Brahmin appointed to expound the *Sivadharma* at Tirunāgēśvaram in 1054 A.D. was also paid seventy-five *kalams* of paddy in a year, the same as the wage of Junior Accountants of the Tanjore temple. A nambi, officiating priest in a temple, got two *kuruṇis* of paddy per day at Tirumaṇanjēri, Tanjore district, in addition to sixteen *kalams* per annum in lieu of two *kāsus*.

BARTER

The currency of money of small denominations did not altogether displace the ancient habit of exchanging things for corn. The earliest Tamil poems state that salt and venison were exchanged for paddy; to this day, in the villages of South India, housewives may be seen pouring out the grain from their stores into the baskets of hawkers and dairy-women in return for the vegetables, ghee or curd supplied

by them. The picture of economic conditions under the Cōlas will not be complete without some idea of the relation of paddy to other commodities and to money. Ghee was converted into gold at 9 *kuṛuṇis* per *kaḻanju* and fifteen *kalam* of ghee are equated to twenty *kaḻanjus* of gold. If this rate of conversion followed the prices pervailing at Kālahasti in A.D. 1012, the date of the record, the price of ghee in those days must have been about a sixth or seventh of what it is to-day. A *nāḻi* and a half of curd was to be had for one *nāḻi* of paddy, and paddy was selling at seven *kalams* per *pon-kaḻanju*, a price which to all appearance is slightly higher than the prices of 1937. We shall see, however, that the price of paddy in gold varied very much with time and place. At Nattam (Chingleput), three *nālis* of paddy fetched forty-eight betel leaves and twelve areca nuts in A.D. 1018. In the same year, at Tiruppangili in the Trichinopoly district, a *nāḻi* of good dhal was of the same value as five *nāḻis* of paddy; one palam of crude sugar as two *nāḻis* of paddy; and one *nāḻi* of paddy was required to make one curry-offering in the temple. At Tirumukkuḍal in Chingleput, in A.D. 1016, one *nāḻi* of oil was bought for four of paddy, one *nāḻi* of ghee for 1/3 *kalam* of paddy, and one measure of curd for two of paddy; milk was had also at the same rate, and one *nāḻi* of turmeric was got for one *kuṛuṇi* of paddy.

FOOD

Inscriptions recording endowments for charitable feeding often lay down schedules of expenditure calculated to give an idea of the quality of the food supplied and of the prevailing prices of food-stuffs. One record of 1004 A.D. from Tiruvaḍandai states that it took 5/6 of a *kalam* of paddy for providing one meal to twelve Brahmins, the items of expenditure being 21 *nāḻis* of rice at $1\frac{3}{4}$ *nāḻis* per heap, (equal to $52\frac{1}{2}$ *nālis* of paddy); 6 *nālis* of paddy for 1 *ulakku* and $2\frac{1}{2}$ *seviḍus* of ghee; 5 *nāḻis* for vegetables and 5 per curd $\frac{1}{2}$ *nāḻis* for salt, 2 *nāḻis* for salt; 2 *nāḻis* for the man who supplied fleu, four for the Brahmin cook, three for the potter who supplied earthenware, and two *nāḻis* for betal leaves and nuts. Considering that this allowance of 5/6 *kuṛuṇi* of paddy per head sufficed for a square meal for an adult, the provision of $\frac{3}{4}$ *kuṛuṇis* for each of the junior pupils and $1\frac{1}{4}$ *kuṛuṇi* for the seniors in the college at Enṇāyiram, and of $\frac{3}{4}$ and 1 *kuṛuṇi* res-

pectively at Tribhuvani must be considered fully adequate to their requirements. An inscription of the reign of Kulōttung a I, dated 1115 A.D. records that an endowment for feeding fifty Brahmins in a Vaisṇava matha and on new moon days was made on the basis of one *kuṛuṇi* per head, and that this included provision for rice, curry, salt, pepper, ghee, curd, earthenware pots, fuel, areca nuts and betal leaves.

PRICE ON PADDY

Some variations are recorded in the price of paddy and the rate seems to have generally differed with the fertility of the area concerned. Often these rates are not temporary prices prevalent at the time of the record, but some standardised average rates to hold good for all future time. At Tiruvallam in North Arcot we find the rate 40 *kāḍis* or $13\frac{1}{3}$ *kalams* per *kaḷanju* recorded in A.D. 992; and this is repeated in A.D. 1015 in another inscription from the same district· Yet another record of A.D. 1012 from Kālahasti equates one *pon* to seven *kalams*, and the *pon* was the same as the *kalanju*. Differences in the measures employed often make close comparison difficult. An inscription of Vīrarājēndra's reign from Tirumukkūḍal (Chingleput) states that 16 *kalams* of paddy by the Rājakēsari measure was the equivalent of one *kaḷanju*. At Tiruppugalūr (Tanjore District) eight *kalams* per *kāsu* i.e., sixteen to the *kaḷanju* was the price in 1006 A.D. At Cidambaram the spurious inscription of Rājakēsari Rājēndra gives the rate $8\frac{1}{2}$ *kalams* per *kāsu*, or seventeen *kalams* to the *kaḷanju*. A Rājakēsari record gives 15 *kalams* per *kalanju* for Paṇḍāravāḍai (Tanjore) ; the rate of ten *kalams* at Tribhuvani in 1048 is high, though not the highest price recorded in the inscriptions of the early period as the basis of a permanent endowment of charities. Twelve *kalams* per *kaḷanju* is found at Nattam (Chingleput District) in A.D 1018. Early in the reign of Kulottunga I, the *kaśu* still equal to half a *māḍa*, fetched only $2\frac{3}{4}$ *kalams* of paddy at Kōlār and 4 *kalams* at Tiruvoṛṛiyur; the relatively high price must have been due to scarcity consequent on the disturbances which caused the death of Adhirājendra and led the war between Cālukya Vikramāditya VI and Kulōttunga. At the end of Kulōttunga's reign, the *Kāsu* paid for thirteen *kalams* of paddy in the Tanjore area; but even the *māḍa* fetched only eight *kalams* at Emappērūr (South Arcot) in A.D. 1136.

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

MONEY PRICES

Of the money prices of commodities relatively little is learnt from the inscriptions. Only the more precious articles which formed the staples of long distance trade seem to have been bought and sold for money. The Tanjore inscriptions tell us, for instance, that one *kāśu* (half-*Kaḻanju*) fetched towards the close of the reign of Rājarāja I, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kuṛuṇis* of Cardamum seeds, 2 *kuṛuṇis* of campaka buds, 605 *palams* of khaskas roots, $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 *kaḻanjus* of camphor, and two palams of sugar which seems to have been a luxury at the time. One *kāśu* (pon) fetched nine ewes at Mēlappaluvūr, (Trichinopoly district) in A.D. 931, and at Senkuṇram (North Arcot) in A.D. 1014, but a Tanjore inscription gives only three ewes for a *kāśu*. Ā *paśu* (cow) is valued at fifteen *kāśus* at Tiṭṭaguḍi (south Arcot) in 1136. The price of a cocoanut tree was 150 *kāśus* at Nallūr (Tanjore district) in 1221 if it was yielding fruit (*kā-tengu*) and 100 if it was not; but the *kāśu* of the time of Rājarāja III was a very depreciated coin.

Of the value of metals we learn incidently that bronze sold at 35 *palams* per *kāsu* (half *kaḻanju* of gold), copper at 30 *palams*, tin at $26\frac{2}{3}$ *palams*, and *tarā* (alloy) at 70 *palams*; these rates are found in a record of A.D. 1099 from Tiruppanandāl.

LAND VALUE

Figures bearing on the value of land reveal equally disparate conditions. The prices stated differ so widely from place to place and among different transactions that it is impossible to attempt a detailed explanation of such differences without an accurate knowledge of the quality of the land concerned, or to institute comparisons with present conditions in respect of land-values. A rough idea may be gathered from a few examples chosen at random which will show not merely the difference in values, but wide divergences in the rates at which future dues on land were capitalised for the advance payment of the *iṛai-kāval*, the 'tax-fund' as it may be called. At Tiruvaiyāṛū (Tanjore district), in A.D. 1006, one *vēli* of land was sold for 100 *kaḻanjus* of gold. At Kuttālam in Tinnevelly, 8 *mās* of land including the tax dues on it were valued at 43 *kāśus* in the fourth year of Rājēndra I. Two years later, in the Tanjore district, 2 *vēlis* and 8 *mās* of wet land including a tank together with dry land of the same extent were sold

for the low amount of 10 *Kāśus*, though the *iṛai-kāvāl* on it was 190 *kāśus*. The low sale price in this instance was perhaps due to the temple. In the same year and place, another sale records the price of 40 *kāśus* and *iṛai-kāvāl* of 90 for just one vēli of land, which looks more normal. One *Madhurāntakan māḍai* fetched two hundred and fifty *kulis* of land or one-eight of a *vēli* at Tiruvoṛṛiyūr in the thirtieth year of Rājēndra I. Land of the extent of three and a half *vēlis* and two *mās* was sold for 50 *kaśus* and an equal amount provided for bringing it under the plough at Tiruvārūr in the eighth year of Rājēndra II. One *vēli* of land was sold at 20 *kāśus* at Kāñcipuram in 1073; and for a little less at Tiruvoṛṛiyūr. In 1126, dry land of the extent of 4250 *kulis* was sold for twenty *kāśus* at Tiruvōttūr, North Arcot. In 1133, four *vēlis* of land fetched a price of 90 *kāśus* at Ūṭṭattūr, Trichinopoly district, each *kāśu* being equal to three-fourth of a *kaḷanju* of gold. Land yielding a *mēlvāram* of 120 *kalams* per *vēli* was valued at 40 *kāśns* and 45 *kāśus* at Tiruvārūr, Tanjore district in tenth regnal year of Kulōttunga II, A.D. 1143.

In the fourth regnal year Rājarāja II issued an order to several villages in the Tanjore district, a *samudāya tirumugam* as it was called, regulating the prices of land sales in the whole of Virudarājabhayankaravalanāḍu; the settlement resulting from this order was to supersede the tenancy conditions that had obtained till the fifteenth year of his predecessor. The new terms which were fixed by a number of high officials acting together applied to different categories of tenure such as *devadāna. brahmadeya, palliccandam, rajakulavar-kāṇipparru* etc.

The *kāśu*, as pointed out elsewhere, underwent a rather steeply progressive debasement, or more probably the term came to be applied in later inscriptions to a new coin of much lower denomination. The price of land as stated in terms of this new coin will not bear any direct comparison with the prices mentioned above. Thus at Tiruppalanam, one *mā* of land was valued at 2000 *kāśus*, working to 40000 *kaśus* per *vēli* in 1214, A.D. and the price of *vēli*, at Kumbakonam in 1220 is said to have been 25,747 *kāśus*. About the same time, one *mā* of land which stood in need of reclamation was valued in Tiruveṇkāḍu at 1334 *kāsus*, the cost of reclamation being estimated at 500 *kāśus*. Again land of the extent of 2 *vēlis* and 19 *mās* was sold at Kumbakonam in 1221 A D. for a sum of 4,50,000

kāśus. About the same time, house-site was valued at 40 *kāśus* per *kuli* at Nallur and 16 *kāśus* at Tiruvalanadu (Tanjore). It would seem that the *kāśu* became a coin of somewhat higher value after the close of the reign of Rājarāja III for the inscriptions of Rājēndra III record prices of landed property that suggest such a conclusion. Two house-sites of the total extent of twelve *manaik-kōl* were sold for 700 *kāśus* at Kuttālam (Tanjore) in 1261; one *vēli* and 16 *mās* of agricultural land were exchanged five years later, at Tirukkaṇṇapuram, for 5350 *kāśus*, which we learn was the equivalent of thirteen *kaḻanjus* of gold; lastly, at Tiruvīlimilalai, nineteen *mās* of land found a sale for 1000 *kāśus* and a house-site of 10 *kulis* for 300 *kāśus*, in 1267. Rājēndra III made a great effort to resuscitate the Cōla empire, and a reform of currency must have been part of his plan. It will be noted also that most of the records of the later Cōla period come from the Tanjore district, proof of the waning and disappearance of the direct influence of the central government in the outlying parts.

In comparing the figures cited above with one another, it should be borne in mind that neither the unit of measurment nor the unit of currency was constant, and that owing to local variations in the length of the measuring rod and the number of *kuḻis* that went to the *mā*, and owing to the currency of various types of old and new money of varying weights and fineness, any attempt to make a detailed comparison is rendered altogether fruitless.

CATTLE

Closely allied to agriculture was cattle-raising and dairy-farming, an industry pursued generally by the *manrāḍis* or shepherds. Here again, we depend much on the temple records for our information. The *manrāḍis* seem to have been organised in a professional caste group (*kalanai*) and generally taken charge of the cattle donated to the temples for the maintenance of lamps under stated conditions. Though the *paśu* (cow) and *āḍu* (ewe) are sometime used only as units of reckoning, still in the majority of instances there is no doubt that live animals are meant, and often enough, breeding bulls and rams form part of the gifts. The importance of cattle-farming may also be inferred from the names of several imposts the exact nature of which is not fully known, such as *nallā*, *nallerudu*, *alagerudu kāśu* and so on.

SUNGAM

On customs and octroi duties in this period we have little direct evidence. Kulōttunga I is celebrated in contemporary literature and epigraphy for abolishing the sungam. We seem to have no detailed account of this most important transaction of the reign, and there is no means of knowing how this was managed, and what steps, if any were taken to fill the gap in the revenues of the government caused by the remission. The word *sungam* is explained generally as including all the imposts on articles of merchandise imported in ships and carts, that is to say, from across the seas or the interior.

PRO-NOTE

The 'I.O.U.' as an instrument of borrowing was apparently in common use. It is mentioned quite casually in an inscription from Tiruvāḍutuṛai of the reign of Rājarāja I. The *sabhā* of that place owed some money to a Kaikkōla which they have borrowed from him on a promissory note (*Kaiyeḻuttōlai*). For some reasons not recorded the entire property of the Kaikkōlan became *rājasvam*, that is, it was confiscated by the king who naturally sought thereupon to realise the money due from the *sabhā*. These facts are recorded in explanation of the assignment to the temple of some of the village lands in lieu of the money then borrowed by the *sabhā* for paying off the king. Another instance of borrowing on a promissory note is the loan of 100 *kāśus* from a temple in Punjai to the *mūla-paruḍai* of Talaiccangāḍu mentioned in an inscription of the reign of Rājēndra I.

INTEREST RATE

Wide divergences are traceable in the rate of interest on loans, and also in the manner in which the rate is $12\frac{1}{2}$./· per annum, of $\frac{1}{2}$ *kaḻanju* per *Kaḻanju* of gold, was for long the standard rate on the investment of religious endowments, though 15 percent or 3 *manjāḍi* per *kaḻanju*, also obtained in many instances. The lowest rate met with is 5 percent or one *manjāḍi* per *kaḻanju*, though this rate is coupled with the reign of Vijaya Kampavarman, and not a Cōla king. Higer rates of money interest are also found though not so frequently as the normal $12\frac{1}{2}$ or 15 percent. Thus we have rates like $12\frac{1}{2}$ percent per half-year (*pū*) working to 25 percent per annum;

four hundred *kaḻanjus*, yielding one hundred and fifty per annum, 37½ percent; or even a 50 percent rate expressed as half *kāśu* per annum per *kalam*. These rates cannot be explained easily at present. It is certain, however, that they are not due to differences either in the purpose of the loan or investment or in the political conditions affecting social security. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion made little difference in the prevailing rate of interest as can be seen from inscriptions quoting Kṛṣṇa's regnal years; the higher and the lower rates of interest alike prevail in the reign of Rājēndra I, when there was little or no disturbance to internal security. Very often the rate of interest is expressed in terms of commodities and sometimes even the principal of the loans is also given quantity of some commodity, usually grain. The divergences in the commodity-rates are quite as wide and as unaccountable as in money-rates. The lowest grain-rate of interest per *kaḻanju* of gold is one *kalam* per annum; the highest rate goes up to 3 *kalams*; and even four; the more common rate is in the neighbourhood of a *kalam*, or a *kalam* and third. In one and the same region and at the same time, two village assemblies are seen borrowing from one creditor, a temple, at the different rates of ⅔ *kalam* and one *kalam* per *kaḻanju* per annum. Generally high rates of interest, seldom less than 25 percent, are quoted when the principal is expressed in terms of grain, and in one case there occurs the impossibly high rate of 75 per cent per annum. Another way in which different rates of interest find expression is by means of the adoption of different rates of capitalisation for purposes of endowments of the same service; thus the supply of a quarter measure of oil every day is provided for by the endowment of 18 *kaḻanju* 3 *manjāḍis* and 1 *kuṇi* of gold in one instance, and by that of just 10 *kaḻanjus* in another.

That there must have been a great amount of borrowing and lending among traders and merchants in the normal course of their business we may take for granted; but of such transactions no record seems to have survived. Almost all the investments recorded in the inscriptions are of charitable funds generally ear-marked for specific purposes, and some-times a certain stability is imparted to these purposes, by the investments and the terms governing them being made irrevocable. Thus a merchant from Malai-nāḍu invested 16⅛ *kaḻanju* of gold in a *vāḍākkaḍan*, permanent loan, from the interest where of

twelve Brahmins were to be fed for one month (*Kumbha*) every year in the temple of Varāhadēva at Tiruvaḍandai (Chingleput). Again the *ūr* of *Kōnēri* accepted a loan of five *kaḷanjus* from a temple (Kancipuram) subject to the conditions that they should pay interest at $1\frac{2}{3}$ *kalam* per *kaḷanju* per annum and that they should at no time offer to return the principal of the loan. An inscription from Malūrpatna (Bangalore) of the reign of Rājēndra I provides another example which is of great interest for the sanctions it lays down to enforce conformity to the terms of the loan. The grain-principa[1] *(nellu-mudal)* of the perpetual loan was 320 *kalams* and the rate of interest $3\frac{3}{4}$ *kuṛuṇis* per *kalam* per annum yielding in all 100 *kalam* in a year, to be remitted in two instalments, 50 *kalams* at each of th[e] two harvests. The borrowers were the members of the sabhā of Vandur who agreed to give two meals a day to the persons delegated to collect this grain-interest these persons might resort, if necessary, to process of distraint such as stopping the supply of water and fires surrounding the habitation, and impounding cattle, nothing is stated in explanation of these rather drastic sanctions and we cannot say if they ever were actually enforced. The problem of modern finance is to fund public debts in order to secure stable interest charges; the problem that the temples of South India had to face once was that of securing a fixed income as interest on their investments, of funding their loans as it were.

TRANSFER OF PROPERTY

The transfer of immovable property by sale or gift was generally attended with more formalities than that of movables. The ordinary transactions among individual owners are seldom presented in the records before us. Only those of public interest are found recorded in inscriptions, and an analysis of the sales of land so recorded reveal, that at least four types were distinguished among them. They are 1 *Āj̄nākrayam*, 2 The *peruvilai* (great sale) of some king (named) 3 The *peruvilai* of Candēśvara and, 4 *Sabhaivilai* or *ūr-vilai*. The first of these was sale by *āj̄nā* or royal order of the properties of persons found guilty of treason against the king or his family. The leading example of this class is the sale recorded in the Uḍaiyārgudi inscription of the properties of persons involved in the murder of

Āditya II. The *peruvilai* of the kings was the sale of the lands of cultivators in the processes of revenue-collection when other means of collection had failed. The *Caṇḍēśvara-peruvilai* was the sale of land by siva temple, *Caṇḍēśvara* representing siva as his *ādi-dāsa*, first devotee, in such transactions. The corresponding term, if any, for describing sale by Visnu temples was *sēnāpati-vilai*. The *sabhai* or *ūr-vilai* was, as the name implies, the sale of land from the comman land of the commune effected by the local assembly of the village. A careful study of the prices mentioned in these different classes of sales points to the conclusion that they were often governed by extra-economic considerations, and this may be the reason why the nature of the sale was specifically mentioned in each such case. The rates specified had apparently little or no relation to the market value of land in neighbourhood. It is probable that in the *peruvilai* (lit. great sale) something like a public auction was the method of sale followed the usual procedure being to cry out the upset price in a public place at a time fixed in advance, and await the response of those present at the sale. It is doubtful if it was a real auction where bidding against one another on the part of the buyers was allowed; the formula in the inscriptions suggests only the announcement of a fixed price together with the other terms, if any, on which the property was offered, and the acceptance by the buyer.

The main features of the formulae adopted in documents sale or gift deeds, conveying property in land may be briefly noted. The minute care with which the boundaries were described in each case may be seen from the copper-plate grants like those of Anbil, Ānaimangalam, Tiruvālangādu and Karandai (Tanjore). The same feature marks the stone inscriptions as well, though the description is often more summary in form and therefore much shorter than in the copper-plates. Then the phrase *mihudik-kuṟai-ullaḍanga*,, including excess or shortage', is invariably employed, and this implies that the boundaries rather than the measurements stated formed the decisive factors. Then there occured phrases which excluded other properties like old *dēvadānas*, canals, roads etc, which were not meant to be conveyed. Like gift-deeds, sale-deeds also often contained details of the rights inherent in the property conveyed. These included the ownership of the subsoil, trees, hills, wells etc., irrigation

rights, leasement rights and so on. The document usually concluded with a declaration that the price agreed upon had been fully paid and the land duly conveyed, and that the document concerned was to serve as the acquittance for the sale price and that no other receipt or acquittance was to be demanded in the future. One sale deed from Ārpākkam dated 1232 A.D. contains the following provisions; a declaration was discovered, the vendor would release the land from it; the usual clause about acquittance for the sale price; a declaration that the purchaser acquired all the rights over the land including the rights to sell, mortgage and give away; that the vendor was not to raise objections at a later stage and plead that document was void on the score of imperfect wording, illegibility of letters and so on An inscription from Tiruvaṇṇamalai (1204) records a resolution of the Mahesvaras that houses built on sites in the Tirumaḍai-vilāgam (temple area) were to be sold at a price to be fixed by a superintendent (*kaṇkāṇi*) from the temple treasury, and that half the sale proceeds must be remitted to the temples, the owner of the house being entitled only to the balance. Very often a payment is made in addition to the price of land to cover the future taxes and dues on the land so that it may be conveyed tax-free; in these cases this further payment is also mentioned in the documents and the taxes intended to be remitted specified in detail. Sometimes the *iṟai-kāval* was a separate document, that is when the taxes were commuted some time after the purchase of the land.

TWO WEIGHT STANDARDS

Two weight systems are traceable from the ancient coins of the South. 'The gold *gadyāṇa* coin of the Deccan averages 58 grains, the heaviest reaching 60·1 grains'; this was the standard unit called *gadyāṇa* or *kaḻanju* in the Tamil country. If the weight of the lost gold coin of Uttama Cōlan, figured by Elliot is correctly recorded as 50 to 60 grains, this coin must have followed the old *gadyāṇa* standard and must have remained in circulation late in the tenth century. The survival to late times of a small cess called *Kumārakaccāṇam* may be accepted as confirmation of the same fact. But in the Cōla period the more usual standard was the *kaḻanju* of twenty *mañjāḍis* equal in theory to 72 grains, but sometimes going upto 80. It is apparently

this unit of bullion weight that is employed in an inscription of the thirtieth year of Parāntaka I, which equates the *kaḻanju* with the *niṣka* (Sanskrit). When exactly the Cōla currency was brought into line with this weight standard does not admit of precise determination.

PON-MADAI

By the side of several inscriptions which seem to employ the *kaḻanju* in recording payments by weight, there are some which mention the *pon* and equate it to the *kaḻanju*, implying thereby that the *pon* was coined gold of the full weight of one *kaḻanju*. This coin was also called *madhurāntakadēvan-māḍai*, served as the standard of fineness for testing gold, and yielded the same interest as one *kaḻanju* of fine gold. This coin is mentioned in the thirty-first year of Rājarājadēva, and if this king was Rājarāja I, as seems likely, its issue must have been commenced under his predecessor Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōla.

KASU

Exactly half of this *māḍai* was the Rājarājan *kāśu*, issued apparently by Rājarāja I. But the *kāśu* of this weight and fineness was certainly in use earlier than the time of Rājarāja I. A record of the fourth year of Āditya II mentions that twenty *kāśus* were equal to ten *kaḻanjus*. It was in vogue after Rājarāja also, as the same relation between the *kāśu* and *kaḻanju* reappears in some of the later inscriptions. In fact both the *māḍai* and the *kāśu*, the standard gold coins of the realm, were issued by each one of the cōla kings of the period before 1070 the different issues being distinguished in epigraphy by the names of the kings being prefixed to those of the coins in question: thus we have expressions like the *māḍāi* of Rājarāja, the *māḍai* of Rājēndracōlan, a phrase of which by the way makes it more likely that the *madhurāntakadēvan-māḍai* was issued by Rājarāja's predecessor, *aṉṟāḍu-narkāśu* meaning 'good current *kāśu*,' and *paḻangāśu* ('old *kāśu*') and sometimes even *aṉṟāḍu-(naṟ)paḻangāśu*, current (good) old *kāśu* in later inscriptions.

The *madhurāntakan māḍai* was still current in the reign of Kulōttunga I; and it is said to have been equivalent to the *kaḻanju* of the fineness of $9\frac{1}{2}$ *māṟi* or two *kāśus*. That this high standard was not

maintained at all times in the actual currency goes without saying, and the inscriptions give valuable evidence on the extent of the departure from the standard at different times and places."

SOME PROBLEMS

This somewhat long citation from K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's views on the economic condition under the Cholas, would give a comprehensive idea about the state of currency from 9th to 13th century A.D. and can hardly be improved. However, there are still some aspects, which could be enlarged and commented in the light of full texts of inscriptions published in recent years. A fresh work similar to the one by A. Appadurai is a desideratum. In the following paragraphs, an attempt is made to focus attention on some aspects of the problems.

Prof. Sastri has drawn our attention to the variation in prices of land in different transactions and the difficulty in attempting any generalisation.[25] A glance at the table given by A. Appadurai, in his 'Economic conditions in Southern India',[26] would show the differences. In 962 A.D. 1 *vēli* of land in Tanjore was valued at 312 *kaḻanju* and 22 years later, it is found to be 25,747 *kāśu*, in the same region. About five years later, 1 *vēli* cost about 5187½ *kāśu*. About fifty years later, one *vēli* yielded 3000 *kāśu* in the same place. Chattopadhyaya, in his 'Coins and currency systems in Southern India'. discussing this difficulty, rightly points out that instead of attempting to arrive at a conclusion on the basis of theoritcal standards, it would be advantageous to examine the coins that have come down, to evaluate the standards[27].

VARIATION IN WEIGHT AND FINENESS

It has been shown that the weight of the gold coin varied from 55 to 70 grains. The available gold, silver, and copper coins, of one and the same ruler show variation in size and weight. For example, the copper coins, bearing the legend Rājarāja, are found in various sizes and weights. It has been shown that coins were issued by not only the royal mint, but also various guilds and corporations. The variation in sizes and weights might possibly be due to this factor.

However, it is very clear that, the King's government fixed a specifie standard of weight and fineness for the currency system. This is evident from the expression as *Tippōkku Sempon, Sevvaikkāsu, Tulaikkal* etc. In some cases, the epigraphs, explicitly state that, the coin is tested for fineness by the village touch-stone-*Ur Kal Cemmai*. An inscription in the reign of Parakesari (Parāntaka I) from Thiruviramisvaram, states that 10 *Kalanju* gold tested by that village stone 'இவ்வூர்க் கல்லால் பொன் *10* கழஞ்சு'[28]. In the reign of the same ruler, 15 *Kalanju* gold were gifted as *Irai Kāval* (tax-guard). Refering to the coin the record states that the coin was both in fineness and quality, of the required standard and tested by the village standard stone. செம் பொன் கழைஞ்சில் போர்த்து உரையும் துலையும் வழுவாதது இவ்வூராடு கல்லால் கொண்ட பொன் *15* கழஞ்சு. இறைகாவல் திரவியம் கொண்ட பொன் *15* கழஞ்சு[29]. Another inscription dated in the 3rd year of a Parakesari from Kilaiyūr, Mayuram Taluk. 8 *kalanju* of gold equal to 5 *kalanju* of gold is referred to "பொன் ஐங்கழஞ்சில் ஒத்த பொன் எண் கழஞ்சும்"'. From Somūr, in Karur Village comes an inscription of Parakesari (probably Parāntaka I) dated in his 31st year (938 AD) refering to 5 *kalanju* of *Pon*, weighed by the standard weight, eight *kāsukal*. This indicates that the *kalanju* gold was weighed against a standard stone[30]. These instances clearly show, that the concept the currency should have approved weight and fineness was recognised enforced and issued by the King's Government. At the same time coins of different fineness and standards were in circulation. It became therefore necessary to test each coin, in the respective villages. The variation observed in prices is due to this reason, which is one among other reasons for such differences. Some records make specific reference to the relationship between the coin given and the standard coin but such cases are only few and far in between. In many instances this relationship is not mentioned which makes a critical assessment difficult. However with reference to gold coins, the variation ought to have been within recognizable limit. But when the variation was in terms of 100 or even 1000 then it should be attributed to the change in metal, (either silver or copper) rather than depreciation in the value of gold. The enormous difference for one *veli* of land noticed in the table of Appadurai should be considered mainly due to this factor; the lower number representing gold coins, and the higher number re-

presenting copper coins. By and large in the early period, from 9th to 12th century A.D., the transactions were mainly in gold coins. From 12th century onwards, silver and copper coins, begin to appear largely in records though they are not specifically mentioned by their metal as in the case of gold. For example, Appadurai states that in 962 A.D., $\frac{1}{2}$ *Vēli* of land in Tanjore cost 156 *Kaḻanju* of gold (No. 1 of the table) but in 989 in the same place, 1 *Vēli* was valued 25,747 *Kāsus* (No.2 of the table.) While in the former case the value works out to 312 *Kaḻanju* in the later 25,747 *Kāsu*. Obviously the later currency was a copper coin. Further the date 989 A.D. assigned to the later inscription, seems to be wrong. This inscription probably belongs to 13th century. The error might have crept in due to the fact that inscription might begin with the introduction '*Rājarāja dēva*' and taken to refer to Rājarāja I, while it actually was a record of Rājarāja III.

The following table would show, that in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries A.D., it was the gold coin which was widely used in transactions,

KING	VILLAGE	DISTRICT	FOR 1 PERPETUAL LAMP	
Aditya I	Lalgudi	Trichy	20	*kalañju*
Parāntaka I	Udaiyarkudi	S. Arcot	$13\frac{1}{2}$	,,
	Lalgudi	Trichy	30	,,
	Thirukokarnam	Pudukkottai	15	,,
	Thirupparkadal	N. Arcot	$15\frac{3}{8}$	,,
	Alampakkam	Trichy	15	,,
	Punturuthi	Tanjore	15	,,
Arinjaya	—	—	$12\frac{1}{2}$	,,
	Thiruccathurai	Tanjore	10	,,
Uttama Chola	—	—	$12\frac{1}{2}$	,,
	Kumbakonam	Tanjore	25	,,
Āditya II	Thiruvisalur	Tanjore	15	,,
Rājarāja I	,,	,,	25	,,
Rājēndra I	,,	,,	35	*kāsu*

By far the majority of the inscriptions of the early period refer to the endowments made for burning perpetual lamps in the temples. Over 50 percent of such records deal with mainly gift of sheep and

occassionally cows or buffaloes. A survey of such records show, that a fixed number, or money was prescribed for a perpetual lamp. This also included a fixed quantity, to be measured daily for burning the perpetual lamps. Occassionally there are some minor variations noticed, but these should be considered as exceptions made by the temple administrative Committee or the Village Assembly. For example, in a number of inscriptions dated in the reigns of Arinjaya, Aditya II and Uttamachola, 12½ *Kaḻanju* of gold were endowed for burning one perpetual lamp and the party in whose hands the endowment was entrusted, was expected to measure one *Uḻakku* of ghee daily for burning the lamp.[31] The same amount found in a number of inscriptions, shows that there was a uniformly fixed amount stipulated for endowments and the value of the currency recognised. Some inscriptions specifically mention[32] that 12½ *Kaḻanju* gold equalled 96 sheep and one *tagar* which indicates that *1 Kaḻanju*, fetched 8 sheep approximately. In some instances 25 *Kaḻanju* were endowed for one lamp. The quantity of ghee to be measured daily doubled in this instance. The 25 *Kaḻanju* of gold, fetched ¼ *Cey* of land was equal to 100 *Kaḻanju*. Inscription 58/19 refers to 13½ *Kaḻanju* which fetched 96 sheep, gifted for one perpetual lamp. It is not known whether the additional amount of one *Kaḻanju* (12½ + 1) was meant towards the cost of lamp or the gold was a little sub-standard one. 10, 15, 25, 25½, 30 or 32 *Kaḻanju* are also found in records. The variations should be attributed either to the variation in quantity to be measured daily or the variation in the standard of gold gifted. In the reign of Sundara Chola Pāṇḍya[33] 15 *Kāsus* were the capital for measuring one *Uḻakku* of ghee; 25 Cows[34] and 50 sheep (ஔவன்னாடு) were endowed for the same purpose.[35] Two denomination of coins seems to have been in circulation, (1) in terms of 1/20, 1/40, 1/80 *Kāni*, ⅝ *Kāni*, and *mā* etc. and (2) 1, ½, ¼, 1/8 etc. For one *Veli* of dry land, the taxation was 3 ⅝ *Kāsu*. In Ambasamudram, 20 sheep were endowed for a lamp to measure one *āḻākku*. Towards this purpose 6 *Palam Kāsus* were endowed; 6 *palamkāsu* equaled 20 sheep (25?).[36] In Sermadevi, 50 *Semmari Āḍu* were gifted for measuring 1 *Ulakku* and 1 *Āḻākku* ghee daily,[37] In fact in other inscriptions it appears for one *Uḻakku* alone, 50 sheep were gifted. It means the *Semmari* was supposed to yield more milk

or its value was higher than *Veḷḷāḍu*. கா 35+¼=3/80 mentioned in Thiruvalisvaram.[38] For ½ a lamp to measure *Āḻākku* ghee were gifted three Buffaloes.[39] In the reign of Vikrama Chola Pāṇḍya 12 *Kāsus* deposited for measuring one *Uḻakku* daily. Fine for default was 5 *Kaḻanju*[40]. In another instance, ¼ *Cey* of land was bought for 25 *Kaḻanju* of gold in the middle of 10th century A.D. in the reign of Āditya II[41]. In the 4th year of Parakesari (probably Parāntaka-I . . . . ?) 4 *mā* and 3 *Kāṇi* of land cost 20 *pon* of which the endowment for tax (tax guard – இறை காவல்) was nearly thrice that (of the cost of the land[42]. Another inscription from Kilappaluvur dated in the 8th year of Parakesari, shows that 2 *mā* of land was sold for 8 *Kaḻanju* (தீப்போக்குச் செம் பொன்). Another inscription of Parakesari dated in the next year (9th year) from the same village, shows that 2½ *mā* (*Cey*) land was sold for 15 *Pon*[42]. It is almost the same price as the previous one. Another inscription from Govindaputtur, in the 8th year of Parakesari, records 230 *Sevvaikkāsu* கழஞ்சு as the price of 111 (செவ்வைக் காசு நிறைப் பொன் 230 கழஞ்சு.[44]) A 12th year record of Parakesari from Kilaiyur, records 2½ *Mā* of land, was sold for 25 *Īḻak-karun-kāsu* (சுழக் காருங்காசு)[43]. We have seen that 1 *mā* was sold for approximately 5 *Kaḻanju* of gold, but in this instance the cost of one mā of land is equal to 10 *Kaḻanju* of *Īḻak-karun-kāsu*. Obviously this *Īḻak-karunkaju* was not a gold coin but either a silver or lead coin. The meaning of the word *Īḻak-karun-kāsu* is the "Ceylonese - Black-Coin". It is not clear that the term black coin stands for. Either it stands for base silver or lead coin. If it meant lead coin, then the value of lead seems to have been very high. An inscription from Lalkudi, in the reign of Parākesari, 16th year 6 *mā* and 1 *Kāsu* of land was sold for 30 *Kaḻanju* of gold[46]. The land value continues to remain 5 *Kaḻanju* per *mā*. An interesting inscription from Tillaisthanam, dated in the 24th year of Parāntaka equates 40 *Īḻḷakkaḻanju* with 20 *Kalanju* gold. (சுழக்கழஞ்சு நாற்பதினல் பொன் 20 கழஞ்சு) This shows that the exchange value of 1 *Kaḻanju* of gold remained 2 *Īḻa kaḻanju*, in the early 10th century A.D. It is also seen that the term *Īlak-karun-kāsu* and *Īḻak-kaḻanju* were synonyms. The word *Kaḻanju* was also used in a general sense, of currency, like *Kāsu*[47].

CURRENCY SYSTEM UNDER RAJARAJA I

One of the greatest administrators of India was Rājarāja Chola I and his records, particularly the ones from his temple at Tanjore give us insight into the value system obtained in his reign.

While detailing the taxes to be paid by various villages which were transferred to the great temple of Tanjore, the record specifies the paddy measured by the standard measure *Āḍavallān*, and the gold and coins determined as tax.

> *'இறை கட்டின நிலத்தால் காணிக்கடன்*
> *ராஜகேசரியோடொக்கும் ஆடவல்லான்*
> *என்னும் மரக்காலால் அளக்கக்கடவ நெல்லும்,*
> *இடக்கடவ பொன்னும் காசும் பேசிக்கல்லில் வெட்டின'*[48]

It shows that both unminted gold in weight and minted coins were accepted as tax, the expression *Pon* and *Kāsu* (*பொன்னும் காசும்*) indicating the distinction. Besides this regulative statement at the beginning, the body of the inscription also makes the distinction between *Pon* and *Kāsu*, for example the village Kuruvaniyakkudi, in Thiruvāli nāḍu, paid a tax of 304 *Kaḻanju*, 3 *manjāḍi*, $9\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* of gold (*pon*); the village Andakkudi in Perumbur nāḍu, in Pāndinadu paid $284\frac{1}{2}$ *Kāsu*, 2 *mā* and $1\frac{1}{2}$ *Kāni*; the village Perayur, in Perayur nāḍu, in Toṇḍaināḍu, paid a tax of 202 *Kaḻanju*, 13 *manjaḍi* 1 *mā*, 3 *Kāsu* of gold *Pon*. These instances show, gold in weight and as minted coin were accepted for transactions and in a number of records, reference to *Kaḻanju* might mean gold in weight rather than minted coin. There were two standard weights-one for gold, weighed by the stone *Aḍavallān* and the other for coin, weighed by the stone the *Kāsukal* (Coin-stone) called *Dakshinamēru Viṭankan*. The denominations of *Kaḻanju* as recorded in these inscriptions are *Kaḻanju*, *manjāḍi*, *mā*, *Kāni*) The other denominations mentioned are *Kaḻanju*, *Manjaḍi* and *Kunri* (*Kaḻanju* divided into $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$ & 1) But it is clear that the *Kāsu* mentioned in Rājarāja's Tanjore inscriptions are gold coins. Sastri has demonstrated that *māḍai* was equal to one *Kaḻanju* of gold and that *Kāsu* was equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ *Kaḻanju* of gold. It is interesting to mention that in the inscriptions of Tanjore, only *Kaḻanju* and *Kasu* figure, *māḍai* being conspicous by its absense. Evidently, either the *māḍai* was not minted in large numbers or were not very popular, *Kaḻanju* continuing to hold the pre-eminant positlon. Among the gold coins so for dis-

covered only coins of three weight standards are known (1) weight ranging between 60 and 70 grains (2) weight approximately 7 grains and (3) weight 1.7 grains.

Whether the coins ranging in weight between 60 and 70 be identified with *Kalanju* (*māḍai*) or *Kāsu* which was half in value as that of *Kaḷanju*. If these coins, are taken to be the *Kaḷanju* (*māḍai*), then it would show that we have not recovered any *Kāsu*, which should range in weight between 30 and 35 grains. (no gold coin in this weight range has been recorded so for). If on the contrary these represent *Kāsu*, then no *Kaḷanju* (*māḍai*) which should range between 120-140 grains have come down to us. This problem requires further study. Similarly if the coins weighing approximately 7 grains are identified with the *manjādi* of the inscriptions, then ten such coins would equal one *kaḷanju*. According to a traditional weight standard, preserved by the merchantile community of Tamilnad, 10 *manjāḍis* equal 1 *Kaḷanju*[4]. But this equation is at variance with the inscriptions which show 20 *manjādis* as equal to 1 *Kalanju*. A seperate detailed study might throw some light on the subject.

Reverting back to the study of Rājarāja's epigraph, we find that one *Kāsu* fetched three ewes. The record specifically mentions that the calculations were made at the rate of 3 ewes for one *Kāsu*. In the same inscription two *Akkams* fetched one ewe. It equates 6 *akkams* with 1 *Kāsu*. In some cases 1 *kāsu* fetched 4 ewes as well. Probably the ewes were of inferior bread. From this epigraph we learn, that the price of one ewe was 1/3 *Kāsu*, 1 Cow was 2/3 *Kāsu*, 1 Buffaloe was 2 *Kāsus*. Rājarāja's inscription give valuable information about the cost of making various jewels which included gold, the rubies and gems, etc. a few of which are listed below.

PRICES OF JEWELS

1) *Thirppaṭṭikai-*

gold - 10¾ *Kaḷanju*, 3 *Manjādi*, 1 *Kunri*.
lacquer - 8 *Kaḷanju* - 7 *manjadi*.
Pinju - ¾ *Kaḷanju*.
Palingu - 1 *Kaḷanju*
Potti 3 - 3 *manjadi*
Pearls - 1512 - 41 *Kalanju* - 7 *manjādi*

Coral - 24 - ¾ *Kaḷanjn* - 3 *manjāḍi* 1 *Kunri.*
Total weight 63 *Kalanju*-9 *manjadi*
Price 90 *Kāsu.* (It is evident from the above, 2 *Kunri* 1 *manjāḍi* and 20 *mānjāḍi-Kaḷanju*).

2) *Another Paṭṭikai*
Total weight of which 63½ *Kaḷanju* 1 *manjāḍi*
Price 90 *Kāsu*

3) *Another Paṭṭikai*
Total weight 65½ *Kaḷanju* 1 *manjāḍi*
Price 95 *Kāsu*

4) *Bangle of Pearls*
Gold 5 *Kaḷanju* 9 *manjāḍi Kunri*
Pearls 10 *Kaḷanju* 1 *manjāḍi* 1 *kunri*
Total weight 15 *Kaḷānju*- 11 *manjāḍi*
Price 25 *Kāsu*

5) *Bangle of Pearls*
Total weight 16 *Kaḷanju* 1 *manjāḍi*
Price 27 *Kāsu*

6) *Bangle of Pearls*
Total weight 16 *Kaḷanju* 7 *manjāḍi* 1 *Kunri*
Price 30 *Kāsu*

7) *Sri Nudi (Kirite)*
Gold 38¾ *kaḷanju* 4 *manjādi* 1 *kunri*
Palingu 124 1 *Kaḷanju* 9 *manjāḍi* 1 *Kunri*
Diamond 71 3 *manjāḍi* 1 *Kunri*
Potti 32 7 *manjāḍi* 1 *Kunri*
Pinju 1½ *Kaḷanju*
Pearls 234 7 *Kaḷanju*
Total 49½ *Kaḷanju*
Price 82 *Kāsu*

8) *Golden Garland*
Gold 7½ *Kaḷanju* 1 *manjāḍi* 2 *ma*
Pinju 6 *manjāḍi* 1 *Kunri*
Palingu 71 *Kaḷanju* 1 *manjāḍi*
Diamond 62 1 *manjāḍi*
Potti 3 3 *ma*
Pearls No. 145 ¾ *Kaḷanju manjāḍi* 1 *Kunri* 9 *Kaḷanju*

6 *manjāḍi* 5 *mā* (This makes it clear that 5 *mā* were equal *to* 1 *Kunri*).

Price 18 *Kāsu*

9) *Sri Chandam*

Total weight 41 *Kaḷanju* 3 *manjāḍi* 1 *Kunri*

Price 55 *Kāsu*

10) *Purakkuḍai* (Umbrella)

Gold 71 *Kaḷanju* 1 *mā*

Palingu 81 2 *Kaḷanju*

Diamond 16

Pinju 2 *Kaḷanju* 8 *manjāḍi* *Kunri*

Pearls 1272 23 *Kaḷanju* 4 *manjāḍi* 1 *Kunri*

Total weight 99 *Kaḷanju* 9 *manjāḍi*

Price 160 *Kāsu*

11) *Thiruppaṭṭikai*

Total weight 1051 *Kaḷanju* 9 *manjāḍi* 1 *kunri*

Price 2000 *Kāsu*

12) *Chain* (necklace)

Total weight 170 *Kaḷanju* 7 *manjāḍi*.

Price 500 *Kāsu.*

13) *Pullikai Kaṇṭanān*

Including *diamond* 76 *Manikkam* 24, *Maragatam* 14

Total weight 120 *Kalanju*

Price 301 *Kāsu.*

14) *Padakkam*

Weight 13 *Kaḷanju* 1 *manjādi*

Price 27 *Kāsu.*

15) *Ratna Valayil* (Bangle of rubies)

Weight 9 *Kaḷanju* 1 *manjāḍi* 8 *mā.*

Price 20 *Kāsu* 1 *mā*

A few more epigraphs may be examined now. In some epigraphs the interest is calculated for one *Tingal*. *Tingal* generally means month or a day. An inscription of Rājarāja I, 989-990 A.D., from Thiruvisalur in Tanjore district, calculates the interest in terms of month. 100 coins were deposited for feeding Brahmins. $1\frac{1}{4}$ *kāśu* was levied as interest for 100 *kāśu* per month which yielded 15 *kāśu* annually. This works out to 15 percent annual interest[50]. "இக்காசு

நூறுக்கும் திங்கள் ஒன்றே. கால் காசும் பலிசையால் ஓராண்டைடக்கு வந்த பலிசைக்காசு பதினஞ்சு" Further this record states one *Kāsu* equalled 10 *Kalam* of paddy. An inscription dated 1075-76 A.D. in the reign of Kulottunga I from Kanchipuram, calculates interest at the rate of 1/8 *Dramma* for *Kāsu* per month. 108 *Kāsu* were deposited and the interest that accrued is said to be 27 *Kāsu*.

கேரளாந்தகமாராயன் பக்கல் கொண்ட அன்ருட நற்காசு 108 கொண்ட பரிசாவது காசு ஒன்றுக்கு 1/8 திரம்மமாக பொலிவதாகவும் காசு நூற்றெட்டுக்தும் திரமம் காசு 27-ம் கொண்டு

The inscription is said to be some what damaged. It is not known whether the 27 *kasu* was the annual interest for the 108 *kāsu* or monthly interest. In all probability it denotes annual interest in which case one *kāsu* was equal to 6 *drammas*. It is possible the *kāsu* of this record was a gold coin and *dramma* a silver coin [51].

In the 12th century A.D., the gold and probably silver continued to dominate the market. For example, in 1123 A.D. under Vikrama Chola, one perpetual lamp was endowed for which 1 *Kāsu* was gifted[52]. In 1130 A.D. in the same place 12 *Kāsu* were endowed. 10 *Kasu* were endowed for one twilight lamp under Rājendra II[53]. In another village named Kottur, for 1 twilight lamp 10 *kāsu* were gifted under the same ruler[54]. In Sekal village, 100 *kāsu* were deposited under the same ruler for one perpetual lamp. This coin was probably a silver coin.[55]

இவன் பக்கல் பொன் கொண்டு பொலியூட்டாக நாங்கள் கொண்ட அன்ருட நற்காசு 100. இக்காசு நூறுங் கொண்டு இத்திரு நொந்தா விளக்கு எரிக்கக் கடவோமாஞேம்.

COPPER COINS PREDOMINATE

In the 13th century A.D., a defenite change is noticed as the coins are mentioned in thousands under the later Cholas, Hoysalas and Pāṇḍyas, though here and there gold coins are also referred to. In the reign of Kulottunga III 400 *Kāsu* were gifted[56] for one perpetual lamp. In the reign of the same ruler, in his 30th year 4000 coins were deposited for one perpetual lamp. Obviously the former was a silver *kāsu* and the later a copper *kāsu*. Two inscriptions recorded from Kaccanam, Tanjore District belong to the reign of Kulottunga III.[57] One records gift of 100 *Kāsu* for one perpetual lamp while the other

refers to 22,000 *kāsu* for one lamp. The later is evidently a copper coin In Srirangam, 9000 *kāsus* were gifted for one perpetual lamp in the reign of Kulottunga III.[58] Similarly in the reign of Rājarāja III, 1500 *Kāsu* were gifted for one perpetual lamp at Agastyanpalli.[59] In another inscription of Rājarāja III, 33 *Vēli* of land was sold for 16,520 *Kāsu*[60]. In Thiruvanchiyam 16100 *Kāsu* were paid as price for 3 *Kāṇi* land in the reign of the same ruler Rājarāja III[61]. His another record mentions 45500 *kāsu* for 1/4 *Vēli* of land.[62]

When the Hoysalas established themselves in the Tamil country in the middle of 13th century, the same trend (namely copper coins) dominated the market. A few examples are listed below to show the important change in the 13th century A.D. A Srirangam inscription of Vira Somesvara records that 20 *kuḻi* of land cost 3000 *kāsu*. About 15 years later 600 *kuḻi* of dry land cost 3000 *kāsu*.[56]. Earlier Vira Narasimha's record shows 8 *Vēli* of land was sold at 40,000 *Kāsu*.[64] In the reign of Virarāmanātha 4 *Vēli* was valued at 40,000 *anṛaḍu-narkāsu*.

These citations are sufficient to show, that the copper coins have come to occupy a predominent position in monetary transactions, gold and silver being made use of sparingly. It may be mentioned that among the Chola coins that have survived, gold coins of Rājarāja I, Rājēndra I, Rājādhirāja I and also Kulottunga I are known, so also the silver coins. But copper coins bearing the name Rājarāja, bearing on tne obverse the standing royal figure and on the reverse the seated figure, are found in several thousands throughout Tamilnadu. It is possible that the coins mentioned in thousands in the 13th century Chola records, are these copper coins.

Besides the above, a few more records need mention. The coin *Dramma* was still in use in the reign of Rājarāja III in 13th century at Sekal in Tanjore District.[65] The record refers to the gift of 1 *dramma* mentioned as *Paḷamkāsu* for a lamp called *Pāvaiviḷakku* (with a lady figure holding it). This *Dramma* yielded an interest of 1/8 *Dramma* per month which works out to 150 percent. பாவை விளக்குக்கு கொடுத்த பழங்காசு ஒரு திரம்மம். இக்காசுக்கு திங்கள் 1/8 திரம்மம் பலிசையாக.

In the reign of the last Chola ruler Rājēndra III, *Varāhan* is mentioned in an inscription of Pancanadikkulam. The record refers

to 40 *Varāhan* for *Thiruppaḍimāṛṛu*. The word *Varāha* rarely occurs in Tamil records of the Chola period. This is one rare instance, which might be due to the Hoysala supremacy in the middle of the 13th century in Chola land.

There are a few other coins attributed to the Cholas especially the coins bearing a standing bull on the one side with the Nagari legend and the standing royal figure on the other. These are not the issues of the Cholas but of the subordinates of the Vijayanagar rulers issued in 15th-16th century A.D. and will be discussed in the sequel. Similarly coins with the legend *Kōnērirāyan* are later issues.

It may be mentioned that in the Kongu country, a colateral branch of the Chola dynasty was ruling from 9th to 13th century A.D. The coins under circulation in that region, are studied in a seperate section.

FOOT NOTES

1 NILAKANTA SASTRI K.A; "Comprehensive History of India" p. 541
2 NILAKANTA SASTRI K.A; 'The Colas' p. 33
3 Ibid. p. 36
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid. p. 35
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid. p. 48
8 NILAKANTA SASTRI K.A; Comprehensive History of India p. 564
9 *Puranānūru*; verse 33; Lines 8-9
10 *Paṭṭinappālai*; line 40
11 CHATTOPADHYAYA B; Coins and Currency System in South India, Delhi p. 52
12 Ibid. p. 17
13 Epigraphia Indica; Vol. XXI; p. 173
14 WALTER ELLIOT; Coinage of South India; pl II, No. 56&57
15 *Nānmaṇikkaḍigai* 3
16 CHATTOPADHYAYA B; Coins and Currency system in South India. p. 53-4

17 *Silappadhikāram* 21 - p. 569
18 Ibid. Kātchikkāthai 171-2
செந்தமிழ் நன்னாட்டு செழு வில் கயல்புலி மண் தலை ஏற்ற வரைக
19 *Kalvettu*; Journal of the Tamil Nadu State Archaeology Department; Issue No. 13
20 CHATTOPADHYAYA B; Coins and Currency system in South India p. 252
21 CHATTOPADHYAYA B. Ibid p. 56
22 VIDYA PRAKASH Coinage of South India p. 56
23 NILAKANTA SASTRI K. A; The Colas p. 614-5
24 Ibid p. 557 to 614
25 NILAKANTA SASTRI K.A; Colas p. 535
26 APPADURAI A; Economic Conditions in South India p. 179
27 CHATTOPADHYAYA B; Coins and Currency System in South India p. 155
28 S.I.I. Vol. XIX; No. 453
29 S.I.I. Vol. IV; No. 547
30 S.I.I. Vol. XIX; No. 438
31 Ibid .No. 10,13,16-19,49
32 Ibid. No. 10,14,18,19
33 S.I.I. Vol. XIV; No. 140
34 Ibid. No 141
35 Ibid. No. 142
36 Ibid. No. 155
37 Ibid. No. 158
38 Ibid. No. 160
39 Ibid. No. 165
40 Ibid. No. 190
41 S.I.I. Vol. XIX; No. 6
42 Ibid. No. 113
43 Ibid. No. 237
44 Ibid. No. 214
45 Ibid. No. 309
46 Ibid. No. 408
47 S.I.I. Vol. V; No. 582
48 S.I.I. Vol. II. No 5
49 GANESAN Saw; Kaiyedu p. 278

50 S.I.I. Vol. XIX; No. 23
51 S.I.I. Vol. III; No. 811/813
52 S.I.I. Vol. XXIII; No. 284
53 Nannilam Inscriptions; Vol. I; No. 133
54 Ibid. No. 130
55 Ibid. No. 72
56 Ibid. No. 176
57 Ibid. No. 18
58 S.I.I. Vol. IV; No. 510
59 S.I.I. Vol. XVII; No. 548
60 Ibid. No. 424
61 Nannilam Inscriptions Vol. I; No. 21
62 Ibid. No 71
63 S.I.I. Vol. IV; No. 429
64 Ibid. No. 501
65 Thiruthuraipundi Inscriptions No. 78
66 Ibid. No. 167

THE PANDYAN COINS

In the whole history of India, the Pāṇḍyan dynasty is the only one which had a continuous rule of over two thousand years, in one form or other, in southern part of India. The Pāṇḍyas are mentioned by Asoka in the third century B.C. as one of the rulers of the south, along with the Cheras and the Cholas, and were still actively ruling the southern extreme in the 17th century A.D. Right from the earliest times, they were great patrons of learning organising the academy of letters, known as the Sangam and themselves participating in their proceedings as outstanding poets. Some of the best known literary works of the late 16th century were composed by the Pāṇḍyas, like Ativīrarāma Paṇḍya. Besides their interest in learning, they were foremost in joining the main stream of Indian life in its various aspects, particularly imbibing Vedic concepts. Many early rulers performed great Vedic sacrifices like Rājasūya and Bāhusuvarṇa. One of the Pāṇḍyas of the Sangam age was known as the Pāṇḍya of several Yāgasāla, "*Pal Yāgasālai Mudukuḍimi Peruvaḻudi*". In the administration of justice they were guided by the Dharma Sāstra concepts as seen from the Velvikkudi grants. Obviously in coinage too, we find mainly the Pan-Indian tradition.

PANDYA OF THE PRE-CHRISTIAN-ERA

The earliest Pāṇḍya to be found in epigraph, is Neḍunjeliyan figuring in the Minakshipuram (Mangulam) record assigned to the 2nd—1st century B.C. by I. Mahadevan, who deserves the praise of all for giving a meaningful reading of this epigraph. The record figures in the context of a gift of rock-cut beds, to a Jaina ascetic. Almost at the same time we find a number of merchants figuring as donors in the Alagarmalai records. The merchants are called *Vaṇikar* and were dealers in salt, iron, cloth, and other commodities. This is a definite indication that trade was well organised in the southern country by the 2nd century B.C. and that traders with northern tradition (Vanigas) were very much active, in the region. The find of punch marked coins in the Pāṇḍya country should be viewed in this context.

It is therefore, not surprising that the punch marked coins found in the Tamil, country are the same as those found in the Maurya and Sunga country.

Another point of interest is that a goldsmith '*Pondolavan*' figures as a donor in the Alagarmalai record. In the Pugalur inscription we have already noticed a gold merchant of Karur. In the Pāṇḍya country, the influence of goldsmiths at the royal court and their direct access to the King are domonstrated by the story of *Silappadhikāram* though it is a work of somewhat later period. However it is clear that gold dealers and smiths were very much present in the Pāṇḍya country in the 2nd century B.C.

The Minakshipuram record of the age of Neḍunjeliyan refers to the *Nigama* of 'Vellarai' an evidence of powerful merchant guilds operating in 2nd century B.C.

PANDYAS OF THE SANGAM AGE

Among the outstanding Pāṇḍya rulers of the Sangam age Neḍunjeḻiyan, the victor of Talaiyālangānam, another Neḍunjeliyan the conqueror of the Aryan army and Mudukuḍimi Peruvaludi of several sacrifices deserve special mention. Besides several short poems found in the *Ahanāṉūru* and *Puranāṉūru* collections, there are two major works 'the *Maduraik kāṉchi* and the *Neḍunal Vāḍai* (in the collection of Ten idyls) which give a glimpse into the society and commercial activities in the Sangam age. In the city of Madurai, figurines made of gold were popular.[1] Artisans well versed in drawing thin wires from molten gold formed a noted section of society.[2] Traders in pearls, precious gems and gold had their shops in the markets.[3] Specialists, who could testfy the fineness of gold formed a section of the gold merchants.[4] Commenting on the condition under the Pāṇḍyas of the Sangam era, Sastri states, "The account given of the port of Sāliyūr and its coms mercial activity strongly reminds us of similar accounts in the Peripul- and of the mention of the Yavana guards in the fortress of Madurai in the *Silappadhikāram* and the frequent references to the use of imported foreign wines by Kings and Chieftains. Korkai is referred to as the centre of Pearl fishing"[5]

As mentioned earlier, it is difficult to assess the exact date of these Sangam age Pāṇḍyas. We have seen two Paṇḍya Neḍunjeliyan,

mentioned in literature and one Neḍunjeliyan in the Minakshipuram record. The later record is assigned to 2nd - Ist century B. C. on palaeographical grounds.

Prof. Sastri places the celebrated Neḍunjeliyan of Talaiyālangānam in circa 215 A.D. and Āryappaḍai Kaḍanta Neḍunjeliyan as a predecessor, but leaves the date of Palyagasalai Mudukudimi Peruvaludi open. The date assigned to Neḍunjeliyan seems to be too late. It is not unlikely that he lived in the first century A.D. It is therefore, possible, that Neḍunjeliyan of the Minakshipuram inscription is identical with Āryappaḍai Kaḍanta Neḍunjeliyan who may be placed in the Ist century B.C.

It may be mentioned that Roman coins have been found in the city of Madurai itself which shows that the Pāṇḍyan capital also had contact with imperial Rome, like Karur, the capital of the Chēras.

We have already mentioned the find of punch marked coins in the Pāṇḍya country.

SQUARE COINS WITH ELEPHANT SYMBOL

A number of square copper coins showing an elephant on the obverse and a stylised drawing identified as fish on the reverse has been assigned to the Pāṇḍyas of this age by all writers on South Indian numismatics. But I have suggested that these must be considered issues of the Sangam age Chēras. Similarly the square copper coins, bearing the figure of a bull on the obverse and the stylised form on the reverse, Figs. 8,9,10,11 of T. Desikachari listed under early Pāṇḍya coins may have to be assigned to the Pallavas. However there is one coin No. 13 of T. Desikachari, plate I, which may be considered an issue of early Pāṇḍyas.

> "No. 13. A.E. obverse - single fish in a parpendicular position with a lamp or standard by its side.
> Reverse - defaced."

The square shape, its confirmity to other elephant like coins and the importance given to the fish, the royal emblem, make us feel that this variety could be an issue of the Sangam age Pāṇḍyas.

Some other coins assigned to the early Pāṇḍyas (like the one dealt with by Vidya Prakash (Plate V. 1.3.) are not only later coins but do not belong to the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai.

PANDYAS OF THE FIRST EMPIRE

After the close of the Sangam age Pāṇḍyas, the first Pāṇḍyan empire was established by Kaḍungōn in the 6th century A.D.

According to the Velvikkudi grant, the Pāṇḍya ruler Kaḍungōn defeated the Kalabhras who caused much confusion in the administrative set up. The following is a chronological list of the Pāṇḍya emperors, as adopted by me from an examination of the recent Vaigai bed epigraph.

Kaḍungon	– 560-590
Māravarman Avani Cūlāmani	– 590-620
Cendan	—620-650
Arikesari Parānkusa Māravarman	—650-700
Koccaḍaiyan Ranadhīran	—700-730
Māravarman Rājasimha	—730-768
Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiya Varaguna	—768-815
Srimāra Srivallabha	—815-862
Varaguna II	—862-907
Parāntaka Viranārāyana	– 862-907
Rājasimha II	—907-925

After the conquest of the Kalabhras, the Pāṇḍya empire grew from strength to strength and witnessed a steady increase in its power and territory. Among the early Pāṇḍyas, Sēndan has left an excavated cave temple at Malaiyadikurichi. At his command, a certain Sāttan Eran, who also had the title Pāṇḍimangala adhiarasan, caused the temple to be made in the 17th regnal year of the king.

Under Sēndan's son Māran, the empire grew in all directions. He is identical with the celebrated Māran who conquered Nelveli and earned the title *Nēlveli Venra Neḍumāran*. His other well known titles are Arikesari, and Parānkusa. Among his conquests, the victories gained over Kerala in many battlefields are repeatedly mentioned. Sennilam, Pāli, Puliyūr are some such battles. His Chēra adversary seems to have been one Vilvēli. Arikesari was a contemporary of Thirugnānasambandar, the boy saint, and is said to have been converted by him to Saivism.

Neḍumāran performed *tulābhāra* and *bāhusuvarṇa* sacrifices several times. An inscription of this ruler found in the City of Madurai gives him 50 years of rule and states that he performed many *Mahādānas* like *Hiranyagarbha*, *Tulābhāra* and *gōsahasra* sacrificesi Ranadhīra, son of Neḍumāran defeated Āyvel in the south and reached as far as Pudānkōḍu in South Travancore. One of his significant conquests was against the Mahāratas at Mangalapura-identified with Mangalore in the west coast. It is from his times that the Ālūpa rulers of the Mangalore region, not only started calling themselves Pāṇḍyas but also adopted the fish, the Pāṇḍya crest, as their emblem. Some of the coins bearing fish on the obverse and the legend in Kannada like Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya were issued by the Pāṇḍya Ālupa's of the west coast, but hitherto mistaken as the issues of the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai.

Ranadhira's son was Tēr Māran, also known as Rājasimhan I. His major encounters were with the Pallavas and so he assumed the tittle '*Pallava Banjana*'. Neḍuvayal, Kurumaḍai, Mannaikuruchi, Thirumangai, Kodumbalur, Periyalur are the places where he inflicted defeat on his enemies. He crossed the river Kaveri, and brought the territory called Malakonga under his sway, He paid a visit to Kodumudi, worshipped Lord Siva, and proceeding further, entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Ganga ruler. He is also said to have performed *Hiraṇyagarbha*, *Tulābhāra* and *Gōsahasra* ceremonies. The capitals of the Chēras and the Chōlas were under his control, for he renewed the cities of Kūḍal (Madurai), Vanji (Karur) and Kōli (Uraiyur).

Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyan was the illustrious successor of his father Termāran. A great conqueror, he continued the aggressive policy of his father and made his power felt everywhere. Undoubtedly Parantaka, who was also known as Varaguna Mahāraja was the most outstanding ruler of the first Pāṇḍya empire. In the south he conquered Vilinjam in south Travancore and defeated the Vēl ruler. He turned his attention towards Atiya, whom he put to light at Ayiraveli Ayilur, on the northern banks of the Kaveri and also at Pugaliyur. The Pallava and the Kerala came to the rescue of Atiya but were also defeated at Karur. The ruler of Kuda Kongu was captured and imprisoned at Madurai and the land upto the Ganga *(western Ganga)* country was brought under his sway. Another significant event in his

reign is the construction of a Vishṇu temple at Kāṅchivay Pērūr, near Coimbatore.

It is this ruler who has left precisely dated inscriptions which remain a landmark in the history of Tamilnad. Two of the cave temples near Madurai, one at Anaimalai and another at Thirupparankunram, were excavated in his reign. In both the temples the Kali era is mentioned. In the Thirupparankunram record both the Kali and his regnal years are mentioned helping us in precisely ascertaining the date of his crowning. He came to the throne in 768 A.D. The Anaimalai cave was excavated around 770 and the Thirupparankunram in 773 A.D.

Neḍunjaḍaiyan's records under the title Māran Jaḍaiyan or Varaguna are found in a number of places and are helpful in understanding the numismatic history of the country.

EARLY PANDYA COINS

At this stage it may be interesting to discuss the currency of the early Pāṇḍyas from the epigraphical references and actual specimens.

Recently one gold coin has been published as an issue of the early Pāṇḍyas.[6] The coin has two fish on one side, and the legend 'Sri Varaguna' in grantha characters on the other side. This is the only coin so far known and is assigned to Varaguna II (862-880).[7] The coin is a full circle and the letters neatly distributed. The figures show no sign of wear and look as if fresh from the mint. The coin is now in the collection of National Museum and is said to have been bought from a well known antique dealer. The unusually perfect circle, the freshness of the coin and the fact that it comes from an antique dealer-make us doubt about its authenticity. At any rate no conclusion could be arrived at from this solitary coin.

There are a number of epigraphs of this ruler referring to gift of gold currency. An inscription dated in his 4th year, (774 A.D.,) from Thiruppathur in Ramnad district, mentions the gift of forty *kaḻanju* of gold. The record is interesting since it is both in Sanskrit and Tamil. An amount of forty *kaḻanju* was deposited as capital of the endowment, the interest accruing from it was to be utilised for temple services. In the Sanskrit part it is called *Krishna Kācha (Catvārimsat pramānān Krsna Kācān).* It is learnt from this record that the Sans-

krit equivalent of the word *Kaḷanju* was *Krishna Kāca* It also shows that *Kaḷanju* was a coin. The sanskrit word *Kāca* and there Tamil word *Kacu* are obviously synonyms. The point of interest is whether the *Kaḷanju* reffered to is gold. If it is gold, the term *Krishna Kāca* (*black Kāsu*) used in the epigraph is interesting. The endowment was made for burning one perpetual lamp. It is not unlikely that the word *Kaḷanju* in Tamil is used in a general sense of *Kāsu.*

Another inscription from the same place dated in the 10th year of the King-Komāraṇjaḍaiyan refers to an endowment made for burning a perpetual lamp. From this record it is seen that this time the endowment was ten *Kāsu* for one perpetual lamp. Interestingly this epigraph is also a bilingual one, written in Sanskrit and Tamil, the Sanskrit part mentioning the currency as *Dināṟ.*

dipārtham Sri Sthalisāya Dināranam dasādisad
Bhaṭṭākhya Māra tanayā Sankarasya priyā sati

While the Sanskrit part calls the currency '*dināṟ*' the Tamil part calls it *Kāsu.* We have seen earlier that forty *Kaḷanju* were endowed for one perpetual lamp. In ancient times there was some consistency in endowments and for burning one lamp a certain amount was fixed as capital endowment. It would therefore appear that ten *Kāsu* equalled 40 *Kaḷanju* (*Krishna Kāca*). We have seen that Roman coins dating around 400 A.D. (Honorius and Arcadius) were found in the city of Madurai in 1882. That Roman coins were in circulation even after 5th century is thus attested. So the coin *dināṟ* mentioned in this record is obviously a Roman Coin. *Dināṟs* are generally considered silver Coins. If the *dināṟ* of the present record is silver currency, it would appear that *Krishna Kāca* of the earlier record would be either lead or copper coins. The word *Krishna Kāca* (black coin) might even suggest that the coin was more likely to be a lead coin than copper (the word *Karunkasu* appearing in inscriptions) It also clears two points. The word *Kaḷanju* was not used only for gold coins but also coins made of other metals. Secondly the record gives the comparitive value viz. that one *dināṟ* was equal to 4 *Krishna Kāca.*

The Pāṇḍya rulers of the first empire often mentioned only their titles Māraṇjaḍaiyan or Caḍayanmāran, without giving their actual

names. This certainly raises doubts about their identity. So a fuller discussion on the epigraphical records will be taken up after discussing the reign of Neḍunjaḍaiyan's successors.

Neḍunjaḍaiyan was followed by his able son Srivallabha, who styled himself *Paracakra Kōlāhala.* He is often referred to as Srī Māra Srīvallabha by historians. Under him the power of the Pāṇḍyas was felt in Sri Lanka (Singala). In the south he overran Viḻinjam in South Travancore and Sri Lanka. In the heart of the Chōḻa country he reached as far as Kumbakonam where a severe battle was fought against a combination of powerful enemies like Gangas, Pallavas, Chōḻas, Kalingas and Magadhas and ultimately the Pāṇḍya emerged victorious.

The reigns of Srīmāra and his son Varaguna II are discussed by many scholars, and there is no need to discuss the same here. Srī Māra Srīvallabha, as mentioned earlier defeated a confederacy of various rulers at Kumbakonam. Of his adversaries the Chōḻas figure as well. It is evident that before 862 A.D., the Chōḻas have risen and this Chōḻa could be none other than Vijayālaya the founder of the imperial Chōḻa dynasty.

This Srīmāra Srīvallabha had a significant title *Avanīpasēkhara,* and will be remembered both for issuing the coin *Avanīpasēkharan kolaka* and as the ruler under whose patronage the famous Sittannavasal murals were painted.

He was succeeded by two of his sons, Varaguna II and Parāntaka Vīranārāyana, who ruled jointly for well over forty five years. Varaguna II, also known as Varaguna Mahārāja ascended the throne in 862 A.D. which is attested to by the Aivarmalai epigraph. His inscriptions are found upto the Chōḻa country and he seems to have reached as far north as the Pennar. His Ambasamudram record refers to his camp on the banks of the Pennar. The Dalavaypuram charter of his brother Vīranārāyana describes Varaguna as a great Śiva Bhakta and true to the statement, his epigraphs found in various places, record his personel gifts to Śiva temples.

Varaguna II's brother Vīranārāyana, ruling jointly with his brother effectively, fought many battles and was a ruthless conqueror. He had to conquer again Viḻinjam, the Western Kongu, Pennagadam and other places.

Vīranārāyana's son was Rājasimha II, who inflicted defeats intially on his opponents including the Chōḻas, but unfortunately at the end, has to flee his country, having been defeated by Parāntaka Chōḻa. Rājasimha first took asylum in Sri Lanka but when that country was overrun by Parāntaka Chōḻa, hid in the Chēra country. Rājasimha seems to have been helped by Vīra Pāṇḍya who earlier defeated the Chōḻa and assumed the titles *Chōḷāntaka* or *Chōḻan talai koṇḍa*.

From Parāntaka Chōḻa's invasion of Madurai, till the reign of the Chōḻa-Pāṇḍyas established by Rājēndra for about one hundred years the Pāṇḍya history is obscure. From the way the Chōḻas repeatedly boast of their victories against the Pāṇḍya it is evident that the Pāṇḍyas continued to hold sway in the region in some form or other. The Pāṇḍya history after 1000 A.D. will be discussed in the sequence.

The epigraphs of the Pāṇḍyas of the First Empire refer to *Kaḻanju Kāsu*, *Paḻamkāsu* (Old coin), *Nirai Kuraiyā Paḻam Kāsu* (Old coin which has not lost its weight standard). *Sempon*, *Tuḷaip-Pon*, *Dinār*, *Kāca* (Skt), *Krishna Kāca* and *Nishka*.

AVANIPASEKHARAN KOLAKA

An important coin, issued by the early Pāṇḍyas, that has survived is a copper coin bearing on the obverse two fish and on the reverse the legend *Srī Avanīpasēkharan Kōlaka*[8]. Noticing this coin Sri T. Desikachari states, The legends *Avanīpasēkharan* and *Avanīpēndran* are comparable with titles assumed by Sundara Pāṇḍya as 'Conqurer of the world'. The coins bearing these legends were probably issued by a Pāṇḍya king *Avanīpasēkharan Srīvallabha* mentioned in an inscription on a rock south of the rock-cut jaina temple at Sittannavasal in the Pudukkottai state. The legend on the coin has been read as *Avanīpasēkharan gōlaga* but it is capable of being read also as *Avanīpasēkharan Chōḻa*, and it is not improbable that in the perennial conflict between the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḻas, a a Chōḻa king secured a signal victory over the Pāṇḍyas and to mark the event issued coins with the Pāṇḍyan crest which by right of conquest he became entitled to use.[9] Commenting on this coin Chattopadhyaya holds, that this coin is of uncertain date. However he assigns it to 14th century A.D. He states "the coins listed here do not

all necessarily belong to the Pāṇḍyas before the end of 14th century; their precise dating is uncertain, but they are typologically related to the Pāṇḍya coins issued by the 14th century A.D."[10]

The following are my comments on this coin. First of all, there could be no two opinion about the Paleography of this coin, namely the legend is absolutely in early Tamil characters of 9th century A.D. and cannot be assigned to 14th century A.D. The forms are neatly executed and bear absolute resemblance to the Tamil characters of 9th century found in several records of the Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas. The forms of fish and also the legend are artistically and carefully executed and are far superior to all the later Pāṇḍya coins. In the letters, the coil to denote the long '*ī*' both in *Srī* and *nī* is looped to the left. (whereas in the coin of Varaguna, the loop is to the right). The '*ka*' resembles a cross as if the early characters with a top horizontal stroke. We are certain, on grounds of paleography that the characters belong to 9th century A.D.

Secondly the suggestion of T. Desikachari, that the legend could be read as *Avanīpasēkhara* **Colaga** is not borne out by his own illustration which is quite clear. The legend clearly reads *Sri Avanīpasēkhara* **Kolaka.** The word *Kōlaka* is obviously a Tamil form of *gulika.* The importance given to the fish emblem, the title *Avanīpasēkhara* found for Pāṇḍya Srīmāra Srīvallabha in the Sittannavasal inscription, and the early characters, clearly indicate that it is an issue of Pāṇḍya Srīmāra Srivallabha and not an issue of any other ruler. There is no possibility of reading it as *Cōlaka.*

If the National Museum coin of Varaguna is to assigned to Varaguna II as has been done, this *Avanīpasēkhara* coin would be the earliest coin of the Pāṇḍya's of the first Empire, bearing the king's name. It also shows that the early Pāṇḍya paid careful attention to the minting of their coins than their successors of the mediaeval period.

AVANIPENDRAN

Another coin that deserves mention at this stage is the one illustrated as no 63 by Desikachari. The description of the coin as given is as follows.

ob:- single fish flanked by lamps or
standards with the State umbrella above.

rev:- Below the state umbrella flanked by
lamps is the Tamil legend *Avanipēndran-(அவனிபேந்திரன்)*

My comments are as follows:-

On the obverse there are two fish below the umbrella instead of one as suggested. Secondly the legend is in late Tamil characters of 13th–14th century A.D. and seems to read *Avanivendarāma*; the letter '*ra*' or the symbol for long '*ā*' in '*rā*' shows the first vertical stroke almost on par with the second, whereas in the early characters as in '*kō*' of '*Avanipasēkara Kōlaka*', it is either absent or just beginning to appear. Some of the Pāṇḍyas of the 13th or 14th century bore this title *Avanivēnta rāman* and is to be assigned to that period and not to early Pāṇḍyas.

COIN OF KUN PANDYA

One particular coin may be discussed here. It is coin No. 140 illustrated by Elliot in his 'South Indian Coins'. It is a copper coin bearing on the obverse a standing figure and the reverse seated figure with a legend read as '*Kūna Pāṇḍya*'. Commenting on this Prof. Sastri says, "It is intersting that the name Kuna, known only to tradition and not to epigraphy is borne on a copper coin figured by Sir. Walter Elliot[11]." I have shown that there is no legend 'Kuna' on this coin[12] but the legend clearly reads '*Kula*' probably standing for Kulasēkhara a later Pāṇḍya. So there is no issue of Kūna Pāṇḍya. Chattopadhyaya rightly mentions. "According to Nilakanta Sastri a copper coin bearing the legend Kuna may be attributed to Kūn Pāṇḍya, however, he is not known to epigraphic records and his suggested identification with Arikēsari Māravarman is highly conjectural"[13] My corrected reading published in Damilica I, has escaped the attention of Chattopadhyaya for he would have denied positively the identification.

KORKAI ANDAR

Similarly the coin illustrated by Elliot as No. 139, read by him as '*Korkai Āṇḍār*' is wrong. The legend clearly reads '*Chōnāḍu Koṇḍān*' So there is no coin of Korkai Āṇḍār.[14]

THE PANDYAS OF THE 10th CENTURY

It is often said that Rājasimha II was the last of the first Pāṇḍyan

empire, but this needs revision. In the initial stages, Parāntaka Chōḻa's efforts to conquer Madurai region, was not successful. He was defeated by Rājasimha Pāṇḍya II, at a number of places like Naippur.[15] It has been shown that one Vīra Pāṇḍya who assumed the title *Chōḻāntaka* and *Chōḻantalaikoṇḍa* was an early contemporary of Parāntaka and probably distinguished himself in the battle of Kodumbalur against Bhūti Vikramakēsari. He should be distinguished from Vīra Pāṇḍya who was killed later around Circa 960 A.D.

Though Parāntaka Chōḻa defeated the Pāṇḍya Rājasimha, in circa 910 A.D. and assumed the title *Madurai koṇḍa*, Rājasimha resisted the inroads of Parāntaka. The final defeat of Rājasimha should be placed around 925 A.D. After the decisive conquest of the Madurai country, Parāntaka should have confered it back on one of the family members of the Pāṇḍyas, for the practise of appointing one of their own family members as viceroys by the victorious kings was not adopted till the reign of Rājēndra I in 1020 A.D. It is not known whether Vīra Pāṇḍya who assumed the title *Chōḻāntaka* was the successor of Rājasimha. It is known that he had a brother Sundara Pāṇḍya, (the first Sundara Pāṇḍya to be known by that name), who predeceased him and for whom a *Paḷḷippaḍai* was erected at Pallimadam. Between 925 and 950 A.D. for a period of 25 years, this Vīra Pāṇḍya and probably one of his successors were the rulers.

Towards the end of his rule Parāntaka Chōḻa, lost the Pāṇḍya kingdom, for his son Gaṇḍarāditta attempted to take again the Pāṇḍya country but failed. It was Sundarachōḻa who won a battle against the Pāṇḍya and assumed the titles *Madurāntaka* and *Pāṇḍyanai Juram irakkina*. He was assisted in this battle by his son Āditya II who assumed the title *Vīra Pāṇḍyan Talai Koṇḍa*. Vīra Pāṇḍya has been a formidable rival and should have been the virtual ruler of Madurai till at least 982 A.D. Though Āditya Chōḻa II claims to have killed Vīra Pāṇḍya in the battle, Sastri has shown that it is more rhetorical than a fact. Even after the conquests, Sundara Chōḻa, does not seem to have brought the Pāṇḍya country under his control effectively. The Pāṇḍyas continued to rule with Madurai as their capital.[16]

From 950 A.D. to 980 A.D. we have a Vīrapāṇḍya, ruling as a powerful ruler with Madurai as his capital. He might probably be a grandson of his name sake and was succeeded by one Amarabhujanga,

a rival of Rājarāja I. Amarabhujanga's relationship with Vīra Pāṇḍya is not known. Whether the name Amarabhujanga, is a title or name is also not known. Even Rājarāja had to fight more than one battle to gain absolute control over the Pāṇḍya country.[17] However Rājarāja's control over the Pāṇḍya country was total. He integrated the region with his main land by changing the administrative set up. The Pāṇḍi maṇḍalam was renamed Rājarāja Pāṇḍināḍu. We may say that this is the real end of the first Pāṇḍya empire.

But yet, it seems Rājarāja allowed a member of the Pāṇḍya family to administer that country. Amarabhujanga seems to have been replaced by one Srīvallabha towards the later part of Rājarāja's rule. He remained a subordinate of Rājarāja, and his wife gifted some endowment to the Thiruvisalur temple.[18] No attempt has been made to identify this Srīvallabha. It is likely that this Srīvallabha is identical with the Pāṇḍya of the same name, the grandfather of Mānābharaṇa mentioned in the Sivakasi copper plate. If this identification is acceptable the continuity of the Pāṇḍya dynasty could now be traced. Srīvallabha's father was called Tīvrakopa. He should have been a contemporary of Vīra Pāṇḍya, defeated by Āditya II, before the accession of Rājarāja. Srīvallabha's son was Mānakulāchala, who was followed by his son Mānābharana. Mānābharana had the title Rājamalla and married the daughter of the Kerala ruler, Ravi. Their son was Vīra Pāṇḍya who had a brother Sundara.

The following Pāṇḍya rulers may be remembered, as those who were active during the 10th and the first half of 11th century A.D. It is difficult to give their date of accession and duration of their rule. Nevertheless their presense in the southern country require recognition.

Rājasimha II Sundara Pāṇḍya I Vira Pāṇḍya I	}	contemporaries of Parāntaka Chōḷa
Vīra Pāṇḍya II	—	contemporary of Āditya II
Amarabhujanga Tīvrakopa Srīvallabha	}	contemporary of Rājarāja I

Mānakulāchala
Mānābharana } contemporary of Rājēndra I ?

Sundara & Vīra Pāṇḍya — contemporary of Rājādhi Rāja

Among the rulers listed, upto the time Amarabhujanga, the Pāṇḍya retained their independence. Even Srīvallaba, after paying a tribute to Rājarāja, seems to have continued to rule till the early years of Rājēndra I.

Though the Pāṇḍyas were defeated both by Parāntaka in the first quarter and Rājarāja in the last quarter of 10th century A.D., they continued to rule throughout the 10th century A.D. Towards the end of the 10th century A.D., the Chōḻa administrative system has been fully established in the Pāṇḍya region.

It is difficult to ascribe any known coin to the Pāṇḍya of the 10th century A.D. However it may be mentioned that it is from the first quarter of the 10th century, from the reign of Parāntaka Chōḻa, the coin *Īḻakkaḻanju* or *Īḻakkarum Kāsu* are mentioned.[19]

In the reign of Rājarāja the coins bearing his name ought to have gained currency in the Pāṇḍya country. It has also been shown that Rājarāja, introduced special issues, suited to each region, by including the emblem of the region. Thus the coin bearing on the obverse the seated king with the legend Rājarāja bears on the reverse the standing King with the fish emblem below his left arm. This was a coin meant for circulation in the Pāṇḍya country.

THE PANDYAS OF THE 11TH CENTURY A.D.

When Rājēndra came to the throne, the Pāṇḍya power obviously disturbed him. According to the Thiruvalangadu plates "Rājēndra struck the Pāṇḍyan King who had a great force; and the Pāṇḍya abandoned his home in fight and fled for refuge to the Malaya mountain, the abode of Agastya. Rājarāja's son, the master of policy took possession of the bright spotless pearls, the seeds of the spotless fame of the Pāṇḍya kings.[20] This clearly shows that the Pāṇḍya rose in revolt at the demise of Rājarāja and that Rājēndra had to fight again. It explains two of Rājēndra's actions. Instead of levying a tribute and allowing a member of the Pāṇḍya family to rule as was done by his predecessors, Rājēndra made his own son the ruler of the

country and gave him the title Sundara Chōḻa Pāṇḍya. Thus started the line of Chōḻa-Pāṇḍya which lasted for about half a century. Secondly Rājēndra built a new palace at Madurai. The Chōḻa administrative system has already been introduced in the Pāṇḍya country in the reign of Rājarāja and that it was firmly established throughout the southern land. With it the Chōḻa monetary system has become the vogue.

More than four Chōḻa-Pāṇḍya Viceroys are known from inscriptions. The first of the Chōḻa Pāṇḍya Viceroy-Jaṭāvarman Sundara Chōḻa Pāṇḍya was appointed by Rājēndra-I and that he ably supported his father for nearly 30 years. The exact date of accession and duration of reign of Chōḻa Pāṇḍyas are not precisely known though some attempts have been made in recent times which are mainly based on probabilities. Māṟavarman Vikrama Chōḻa Pāṇḍya, Māṟavarman Parākrama Chōḻa Pāṇḍya and Jaṭāvarman Chōḻa Pāṇḍya (The son of Vīra Rājēndra Chōḻa) known by their inscriptions are found in deep South in Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari districts. Though they represented the Chōḻa power, the Pāṇḍyas occasionally revolted and tried to shake off their subordination. In their effort for freedom they received the support of the Chēra and Ceylonese rulers.

A PANDYA-CHALUKYA COIN

At this stage an interesting series of coin, being found in the Pāṇḍya region may be discussed. It bears on the obverse two fish and a sceptre with the legend '*Sundara Pāṇḍya*' on top in Tamil characters. On paleographical grounds, the letters may be assigned to 11th century A.D. On the reverse is a figure of a boar facing right with Sun and Moon shown above. Also are seen *sankha* and *chakra* in small size on the same side.

Two major dynasties the Western Chālukyas, and the Vijayanagara rulers used the emblem of boar, *varāha*, on their flags, seals, coins etc. The Vijayanagar rulers had a sword in addition to the boar. But it is the Western Chālukyas who had the *sankha* and *chakra* in addition to Sun and Moon. This royal emblem is familiar to the students of Chālukya history. Obviously the boar emblem found on the coin is that of the Western Chālukyas.

Writing on this coin Sir. T. Desikachari states "the Pāṇḍyan coins

with the boar on the obverse have always the legend Sundara, on the reverse. There is no clue whereby we can attribute them to any particular reign. The boar emblem was probably assumed on an inter marriage between the Chālukyas and Pāṇḍyas or on a conquest of the Chālukyas by the Pāṇḍyas.[21]"

We have seen that from 1020 A.D. the Pāṇḍyas were completely replaced by the Chōḻas. Except Sundara Pāṇḍya no other Pāṇḍya has issued coins with the boar emblem. We have to look for a Sundara Pāṇḍya in the 11th century A.D.. who was atleast powerful enough to challenge the authority of the Chōḻas and issue coins in his own name and imprint the boar emblem. Only one Pāṇḍya is known who rose to prominence and shook the Chōḻa overrule for some time and that he was Sundara Pāṇḍya, the contemporary of Rājādhirāja-I.

Rājadhirāja I was appointed crown Prince in 1018 A.D., and that Sundara Chōḻa Pāṇḍya as the Chōḻa Pāṇḍya Viceroy in 1020 A.D. Sundara-Chōḻa Pāṇḍya ruled ably till 1043 A.D. Immediately after this date, which incidentally is the last year of Rājēndra I's, Sundara Pāṇḍya shoots to prominence.

An inscription at Cholapuram, in Kanyakumari district, needs special mention. Dated circa 1027 A.D., in the reign of Sundara Chōḻa Pāṇḍya, it records the gift of a lamp by one Chālukya ruler Vishṇuvardhana Vijayāditta Vikkiyaṇṇa. Prof. Sastri has taken him to be an Eastern Chālukya Prince.[22] The inscriptions reads, *ராஜேந்திர சோழீச்சுரமுடையார்க்கு சர்வலோகாச்ரய விஷ்ணுவர்த்தன மகாராஜா சாளுக்கி விஜயாதித்த விக்கியண்ணன் வைத்த நொந்தா விளக்கு.*[23] The inscription records the name as Sarvalōkāsraya Vishṇuvardhana Mahārāja also known as Chālukya Vijayāditta Vikkiaṇṇa. The names Vijayāditta, Vishṇuvardhana, Vikkiyaṇṇa occur for the Western Chālukyas of the period. The sons of Sōmēśvara I, who fought against Rājādhirāja Chōḻa were Vijayāditta and Vikkiyaṇṇa. In all probability the Vishṇuvardhana Vijayāditta of the Cholapuram record was a western Chālukya prince.

After the defeat of the Chālukya Jayasimha at the hands of Rājēndra Chōḻa I at Musangi (about 1020 A.D.) there was comparative peace between the Chōḻas and Chālukyas till 1042, when Sōmēśvara I ascended the throne. This is the period when we get the inscription of Chālukki Vishṇuvardhana in Kanyakumari district, the traditional

territory of the Pāṇḍyas. The presense of the Chālukya as a friend in the Pāṇḍya region is significant with reference to our coins.

In 1046 A.D. we find that a terrific battle was fought by Rājādhirāja I, against three Pāṇḍya rulers in this region. They were Mānābharana-Sundara Pāṇḍya, and Vira Pāṇḍya. The first and the last were beheaded by Rājādhirāja, but Sundara Pāṇḍya managed to escape to Mullaiyur. Nilakanta Sastri has rightly suggested that Sundara Pāṇḍya was the Chief ruler at that time.

Describing the events in his reign from the *Prasastis* Prof. Sastri says, "Among the three allied kings of South (Pāṇḍyas) he cut off on the battlefield the beautiful head of Mānābharana, which was adorned with large jewels and which was inseperable from the golden crown, siezed in battle Vīra-Kēraḷan whose ankle rings were wide and was pleased to get him trampled by his furious elephant Attivārana and drove to the ancient Mullaiyur Sundara Paṇḍya of endless great fame who lost in a great battle the royal white parasol, the branches of hairs of the white yak and throne and who ran away his crown dropping down, his hair dishevelled and his feet tired".

In all probablity the Chālukya Prince Vishṇuvardhana Vijayāditta, who was living in the Pāṇḍya country during that period established some relationship with Sundara living in obscurity. The Chālukya-Pāṇḍya alliance led Sundara to revolt against the Cōḻas as soon as Chālukya Sōmēsvara ascended the throne in 1043-1044. Sundara probably issued this coin to mark his alliance with the Chālukyas. The coin bearing the name Sundara Pāṇḍya and fish emblem on one side, and the Chālukya boar on the other may therefore be taken as issued in circa 1045 A.D.

THE PANDYA AND LANKA

At this point of time, the relationship between the Pāṇḍyas and the Ceylonese rulers became more intimate. We notice some Pāṇḍya Kings ruling Sri Lanka. One Vikrama Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1044–47) the son of Mahalana Kirti ascended the throne of Rohana, after death of his father and had a short rule before he was killed by Jagadipāla. The Chōḻa inscription seems to suggest that Vikrama Pāṇḍya was a Pāṇḍya Prince who had once ruled the Southern Tamil Country and was compelled by Rājādhirāja-I himself to abandon Southern India and

seek his fortune in Ceylon where he became king.[24]

Vikrama Pāṇḍya had a son Parākrama Pāṇḍya, who tried to shatter the rule of the Chōḷas in Sri Lanka, but lost his life in the process.

Two sons of one Mānābharana, of Sri Lanka are said to have been killed in a battle by Rājēndra II who succeeded Rājādhirāja Chōḷa I. Sastri identifies the Mānābharana with the Pāṇḍya opponent of Rājādhirāja[25]

Vīrarājēndra-I, who ascended the Chōḷa throne after his brother Rājēndra-II, had to fight with the Pāṇḍya, whom he defeated. He is probably identical with *Vīrakēsari*, the Son of Pāṇḍya Srīvallabha.

All through the rule of the Rājādhirāja brothers (Rājādhi-Rāja-I, Rājēndra-II and Vīrarājēndra) the Pāṇḍyas took refuge in Sri Lanka, became their Kings and attempted the recovery of the Madurai country but lost their lives. Not only the coins of the Chōḷas but also the coins of the Pāṇḍyas would have come into circulation in the Ceylonese territories as a result of these Pāṇḍya rule. A Copper plate grant of Vīrapāṇḍya, son of Mānābharana from Sivakasi refers to the *Īḷakkaḷanju*, as tax.[26]

Rājēndra-I, Rājādhirāja-I, Rājēndra-II and Vīrarājēndra Chōḷa claim in their records to have appointed their near relatives as Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya Viceroys. We have four Chōḷa Pāṇḍya records, issued by themselves *viz*. Sundara Chōḷa Pāṇḍya, Vikrama Chōḷa Pāṇḍya, Parākrama Chōḷa Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa Pāṇḍya. Shortly after the death of Vīra Rājēndra Chōḷa, the Chōḷa Pāṇḍya viceroyalty came to an end. For as soon as Kulōttunga Chōḷa I, ascended the throne, the Pāṇḍyas rose in revolt.

Throughout the reign of the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍyas the currency system of the Imperial Chōḷas was in vogue in the Pāṇḍya country. The following examples would show the currency of the period. An inscription of Sundara Chōḷa Pāṇḍya, from Thiruvidankodu,[27] refers to the endowment of 20 *Kaḷanju* (of nine *māttu*) towards one perpetual lamp. Two inscriptions from Seramadevi one dated in the reign ofVikrama Chōla Pāṇḍya and the other in the reign of Chōḷa Pāṇḍya refers to *Kāśus*. The former relates to the endowment of 12 *Kāśus* for a perpetual lamp and the other refers to $32\frac{1}{4}$ *Kāśus* as land dues.

However it may be seen that none of the Chōḷa Pāṇḍyas seems

to have issued coins of their own, for no coin bearing any Chōḻa Pāṇḍya name has been found so far. It has been mentioned earlier that Rājarāja issued special coins for circulation in Pāṇḍya country, besides allowing his own general issues to circulate. Judging from the coins found in the region, it seems that the Rājarāja issue continued to be minted in the Chōḻa-Pāṇḍya rule as well.

An interesting comparison may be made in the reign of Chōḻa Paṇḍyas about the endowment at different plates.

Year	Place	lamp	Measure of ghee	endowment
SUNDARA CHOLA PANDYA				
3	Perungulam, Trichy Dist.	1	1 *Āḻākku*	Sheep 25
6	Attur	1	1 *Uḻakku*	Buffaloe 1 calf 2
10	Ambasamudram	1	1 ,,	*Kāśu* 15
11	Thiruvalisvaram	1	1 ,,	Cow 25
11	Adanur	1	?	Sheep 50
14	Mannarkoil	½	1 *Āḻakku*	Cow 16
16	Ambasamudram	1	1 ,,	Sheep 20
17	Seramadevi	1+1	1 *Uḻakku*	Semmari 50
17	Kundalakuttu	--	—	Sheep 25
20	Seramadevi	1	1 *Āḻakku*	Sheep 50
20	Attur	1	—	Sheep 50
21	Anaimalai	1	1 *Āḻakku*	Sheep 25
20	Thiruvalisvaram	1	1 *Uḻakku*	Cow 35
20?	Mannarkoil	1	1 ,,	Cow 25
—	Sevelipattu	1	-	Sheep 50
—	Seramadevi	2	—	Cow 50
VIKRAMA CHOLA PANDYA				
20	Adanur	1	1 *Āḻakku*	Sheep 25
21	Seramadevi	1	1 *Uḻakku*	Cow 25
22	Seramadevi	½	1 *Āḻākku*	Cow 25
25	Seramadevi	1	1 *Uḻakku*	*Kāśu* 12
25	Seramadevi	1	1 ,,	Sheep 25
PARAKRAMA CHOLA PANDYA				
3	Thiruvalisvaram	½	1 *Āḻākku*	Sheep 25
4	Seramadevi	1	—	*Kāśu* 12

PANDYAS OF THE 12th CENTURY A.D.

During the troubled period of Vīra Rājēndra's successor, Adhirājēndra, the Pāṇḍya country asserted its independence, so much so it became necessary for Kulōttunga to fight with five Pāṇḍyas between 1075 and 1080 A.D. soon after his coronation. With a view to keep his hold on the country he stationed his powerful armies in places like, Kottaru and Thirunelveli. But the practice of appointing one of his own family member as Chōḷa Pāṇḍya was given up and a member of the regular line seems to have been installed. And this Pāṇḍya is probably identified with Jaṭāvarman Srivallabha.[28] Kulōttunga assumed the title "*Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya Kulāntaka*"; a certain Kulasēkhara seems to have been an opponent of Kulōttunga-I. The above account would, show that though the Pāṇḍyas soon recovered towards the end of 11th century, their position, remained subordinate to the Chōḷas. By and large the economy and coinage in the Pāṇḍya country, throughout 11th century, was that of the Chōḷas.

The 12th century A.D. saw the Pāṇḍyas, ruling independently with Madurai as their capital. The Chōḷas had lost their grip over this region, except for occassional invasions and attempt to instal Pāṇḍya of their choice on the throne of Madurai, but they remained outside direct rule. The Pāṇḍyas who ruled during the first half of the 12th century were, Jaṭāvarman Srīvallabha, Māṟavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Jaṭāvarman Parāntaka Pāṇḍya. The last mentioned, abolished the old names of weights and measures of his kingdom and ordered that the figure of corp (the Emblem of the Pāṇḍya) to be engraved on the new weights and measures.

The second half of 12th century proved to be a troubled period for both the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas. The Pāṇḍyas started fighting among themselves and sought the interference of either the Chōḷas, or the Ceylonese rulers. There were frequent changes among the occupants of the Pāṇḍya throne, according to the fortunes of the war.

Māravarman Srīvallabha came to the throne around 1163 A.D. and was succeeded by one Parākrama Pāṇḍya. Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya, the son of Srivallabha rose in revolt. Parākrama appealed to Ceylon for help but before it could arrive, he was killed and Kulasēkhara captured the Pāṇḍyan throne. The Ceylonese army headed by one

Lankapura daṇḍanāyaka and Jagat vijaya, landed on the Pāṇḍyan coast, and proceeded against Madurai, dislodged Kulasēkhara (who sought the help of the Chōḻās) and crowned one Vīrapāṇḍya on the throne. A point of interest is, that the Ceylonese generals made the Ceylonese coin, the '*Kahapana*' (of their ruler Parākramabāhu) as the legal tender.[29] But sooner the Chōḻa general appeared on the scene, drove out Vīrapāṇḍya, captured and beheaded the Ceylonese generals and installed Kulasēkhara. After sometime the Pāṇḍya Kulasēkara proved treacherous and the Chōḻa King replaced him with Vīra Pāṇḍya. These events took place in the reign of Chōḻa ruler Rājādhirāja II.

Even this Vīra Pāṇḍya proved treacherous to the Chōḻas and that Kulōttunga Chōḻa III, immediately on ascending the throne, drove out Vira Pāṇḍya and brought a stability by installing Vikrama Pāṇḍya.

PANDYA COINAGE OF 12th CENTURY

Among the coins so far brought to light with the name Sundara, no coin could be assigned to 12th century A.D. One series of copper coin, bearing the legend Vīrapāṇḍya, could however be assigned to 12th century on account of typology and paleography. The series illustrated as Nos. 46, 47 and 48 by Desikachari bear on the obverse the standing King with three or more pellets below the left arm. On the reverse are seen two fish with a sceptre flanked by two lamps. Above is seen the legend '*Vīrapāṇḍyan*' The form of the letters, especially the ones '*Rā*' & '*Pā*', suggest that the issue might be an issue of the 12th century A.D. The coin may be identified as an issue of 'Vīra Pāṇḍya', of the civil war and a rival of Kulasēkhara. But this must be taken as purely tentative.

The 12th century epigraphs throw interesting light on the coinage and the economy under the Pāṇḍyas. That *Dramma* was still used as a currency, is borne out from an inscription of Srīvallabha, found at Kuruvitturai near Madurai. It refers to an endowment of 100 *Drammas* which fetched an annual interest of 24 *Drammas*, at the rate of 2 *drammas* a month. The interest was to be used for burning a perpetual lamp by measuring one *Ulakku* ghee per day. It works out to 24·/. annual interest.

Māṛavarman Parākrama's inscription at Tenur near Madurai[30] refers to 40 *drammas* (Circa 1100 A.D.).

An unpublished record from the same place shows on officer under Kulōttunga Chōḻa dēva of Kongu, gifting 10 *ānai accu.* The record is dated in the reign of Kulasēkhara of civil war (circa 1175 A.D.)[31] In Seramadevi in the same reign, two *ānai accu* were gifted[32] for one perpetual lamp. In the reign of the same ruler, $4\frac{1}{2}$ *accu* for a *Sandhya dīpa* was donated at seramadevi[33].

At Kuruvitturai a gift of 12 *Sempon Kaḻanju* were gifted for a worship[34].

An 18th year record of Srivallabha from Sivapuri, Ramnad, district mentions a gift of land for 20 Brahmins; the Āṇḍārs of the temple, and Panmāhesvaras of various maṇḍalas were directed to levy one *dramma* annually per 1 *mā cey* and arrange to protect the Brahmadēya.[35]

தருனேந்துசேகரன் கோயில் ஆண்டார்களும், பல மண்டலத்து பன் மாஹேச்வரரும், பட்டு கெட்டும், இட்டு அட்டியும், இவ்வகரத்துக்கு அழிவு காத்தும் காப்பிச்சும் இவ்வகரம் விளைநிலம் விளைஞ்ச நிலத்தால் கொல் அருள்நிதியால் ஒரு மாச் செய் ஆட்டொரு திரம்மம் இத்தேவர்க்கு ஸ்ரீ பண்டாரத்தெ ஒடுக்கு விச்சு கொண்டு இப்பிராம்மணரை மற்றெப் பேர்பட்டது கொள்ளப் பெருத்தாராகவும்.

In his 10th year Srīvallabha made over to the temple of Thiruppathur, 43 *māḍai* and 9 *mā*, a royal tax as *dēvatāna Iṛaiyili.* The taxes were from the village Manalimangalam $17\frac{1}{2}$ *māḍai* and 1 *mā* and from the village kil mullivayal $25\frac{3}{4}$ *māḍai* and 3 *mā*-a total of 43 *māḍai* and 9 *mā.* This shows one *māḍai* consisted of 20 *mā.*[36]

In Ambasamudram, an inscription of Srīvallabha's 20th year[37] refers to $20\frac{3}{4}$ *māḍai* as (*nila upādi*) levy. The use of *kaḻanju* continued in 12th century A.D. a surviving trait of Chōḻa currency. An inscription of Jaṭāvarman Srīvallabha refers to the institution of two perpetual lamps in Tenur near Madurai by two ladies, who endowed four *kaḻanju* gold for the purpose.[38]

An inscription of Srīvallabha from Kuruvitturai refers to a new canal dug after the name of the ruler and levy of $\frac{1}{4}$ *Kāsu* for 1 *mā* land and 5 *kalam* paddy, for land brought under cultivation.[39] A similar levy is recorded in the same place.[40]

A gift of one *kāsu* for a *Sandhya dīpa* is recorded in the reign of Srivallabha.[41] In the same reign, 50 sheep were donated for a perpetual lamp (One *Uḻakku* ghee).

The inscription of Jaṭāvarman Srīvallabha from Cholapuram, in

Tirunelveli district refering to a levy of 10 *Panams* for each loom[42] must belong to a later Srīvallabha.

In Srīvallabha's time 25 cows gifted[43] for 1 *Uḻakku* ghee. In the reign of this ruler *dramma*, *māḍai*, *kaḻanju*, *kāśu*, and *accu* were in circulation. But no coin with the name Srīvallabha has been found so far. Probably he did not issue any coin of his own.

THE PANDYAS OF THE 13th CENTURY A.D.

The 13th century is the great period in the history of the Pāṇḍyan Empire. Their power reached its zenith under Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya in the middle of the 13th century. The foundation for such a great empire was laid by Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya early in the 13th century A.D. Most of the well known coins of the Pāṇḍyas were issued in this century,

We have seen earlier, Kulōttunga Chōḻa III, invaded Madurai country, drove away Vīrapāṇḍya and installed Vikrama Pāṇḍya on the throne, towards the close of 12th century. Soon Vikrama was succeeded by Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkhara. In the beginning years of 13th century A. D., Kulōttunga III defeated the Chēra ruler of Kongu at Karur and assumed the title Chōḻa-Kēraḷa and captured Madurai after driving the Pāṇḍya and his brothers.[44] He assumed the title Chōḻa-Pāṇḍya and renamed Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam as Chōḻa Pāṇḍyamaṇḍalam He also renamed the city of Madurai as 'Muḍittalai Koṇḍa' Chōḻapuram. The coronation pavilion of the Pāṇḍya was christened as '*Cēra Pāṇḍyan Tambirān*'. In this campaign, a Bāṇa Chieftain rendered great assistance to Kulōttunga and received in turn a great honour. Kulōttunga changed the name Pāṇḍya (of the Pāṇḍya ruler) and conferred the title Pāṇḍya on Bāṇa his ally. Sastri reads Bāṇa as a Bard. This needs revision for we have positive references to show the 'Bāṇa' of the record, refers to a chieftain Bāṇa and not to a Bard.[45]

பாண்டியனை பாண்டியன் என்னும் பேர் மாறிவர
நெடும்படை தென்னவர் கெட மதுரை கொண்ட
தோள்வலி பாடிய
பாணனை பாண்டியன் என்று பருமணி பட்டங்சூட்டி

says Kulōttunga's prasasti. The presense of Bāṇa with some authority at Madurai, had its impact on Tamil coinage. This will be discussed in the sequence. Soon the Pāṇḍya was restored to the throne.

This Pāṇḍya was probably identical with Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkhara who was succeeded by his brother Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya.

Māṛavarman Sundara (1216-1239 A.D.) was an able commander. Within two years of his coronation, he launched an expedition against the Chōḻa country, defeated the Chōḻa and reached as far north at Chidambaram, after sacking and setting on fire, Uṛaiyūr and Tanjore. He performed *Vīrābhishēka* at Ayirattaḷi coronation hall of the Chōḻas. Sundara re-enacted every deed of Kulōttunga with vengence and put to shame the Chōḻa. He gifted the crown of the Chōḻa to the Bāṇa who supported the Pāṇḍya. From his third regnal year (1219 A.D.) Sundara Pāṇḍya assumed the title '*Chōnāḍu Koṇḍaruḷiya*', and later '*Chōnāḍu Vaḷangiyaruḷiya*'. One of the important series of Pāṇḍya coin, bearing the legend '*Chōnāḍu Koṇḍān*' was certainly an issue of him, and should have been issued around 1220 A.D. The defeat of the Chōḻa, signalled the collapse of the mighty Chōḻa Empire. This is an important event of the 13th century A.D. to be remembered.

The second event of great importance of this period is the advent of the Hoysaḷas into the Tamil country and the establishment of their capital near Trichy. This led to matrimonial alliance of the Hoysaḷa with the Chōḻa who probably married one of his grand daughters. The Chōḻa ruler then was Rājarāja III who unfortunately sustained defeat first at the hands of Sundara Pāṇḍya. Sundara returned the Chōḻa throne after levying a tribute. Later, the turbulant Kāḍava Chieftain, Kōpperunjinga, who ruled with Sendamangalam (near Tindivinam), as his capital, rose in revolt, captured the entire Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and major part of Chōḻa maṇḍalam and imprisoned the Chōḻa emperor at Sendamangalam. It is to help the Chōḻa, the Hoysaḷa came to the south and inflicting defeat on Kōpperunjinga, got the Chōḻa released and re-established him on the Chōḻa throne on the one side and the Hoysaḷas and Pāṇḍyas on the other. This led to the slow integration of the Karnataka tradition with the Tamil systems. So also the Karnataka currency system which assumed significant proportion in the succeeding period. The Hoysaḷa rulers Vīra Narasimha, Vīra Sōmēsvara and Vīra Rāmanātha, and Vīra Ballāla III played important roles in Tamil affairs, stationing themselves at Kannanur near Trichy for nearly 80 years. They have made numerous gifts to temples like Srirangam, Thiruvanaikka and other places, where their records are

found in Tamil language.

Māṛavarman Sundara's power did not extend beyond Chidambaram. Towards the end he seems to have sustained defeat. at the hands of Hoysaḷa Narasimha.

Māṛavarman Sundara's successors were weak rulers, and the Chōḻa power regained, under Rājēndra III who had for sometime a joint rule with Rājarāja Chōḻa III. He seems to have defeated the Pāṇḍyas. The Hoysaḷas this time had to intervene on behalf of the Pāṇḍyas and contain the power of the Chōḻas. Though Rājarāja III sustained defeat more than once, his inscriptions are found in great numbers and are found in a vast area, they give an insight into the affairs of the economy during this period of Pāṇḍya-Chōḻa struggle.

The third important event to be remembered with reference to the 13th century A. D., is the rise of the greatest of the Pāṇḍya rulers Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya in (1251-1274 A. D.) The mightiest conqueror among the Pāṇḍyas, Jaṭāvarman Sundara reduced the Chōḻas into abject surrender captured Kanchipuram and reached as far as Nellore in the north where he had the anointment of heroes performed. From Nellore in the north to Kanyakumari in the south, the entire Tamil land was under his protection for some time. In the south the Hoysaḷa Vīra Sōmēsvara was killed by him in a battle. and the Chēra ruler of Malaināḍu reduced to subjection. To signal his victories, he assumed such titles as '*Kanchipuram Koṇḍān, Kānchipuravarādīsvara*' '*Ellām Talaiyānān*' etc. He performed *Tulābhāras* and covered the temples of Srirangam and Chidambaram with gold and made rich presents to them. These presents and works earned him the title '*Kōyil Ponmēynda Perumāḷ*' and '*Hemācchādana Rāja.*'

In all these activities he was supported by Jaṭāvarman Vira-Pāṇḍya, (1253-1283 A.D.) who took a leading part in the campaigns especially against Kongu, Ceylon and the Vaḍugar.

The end of the 13th century witnessed the rule of another great Pāṇḍya, Māṛavarman Kulaśekhara (1268-1310 A.D.) holding sway over the entire Tamil country.

13th CENTURY PANDYA COINAGE

A number of coins of the Pāṇḍyas, bearing their names may confidently be assigned to the 13th century. The coins bearing the follow-

ing names and symbols are to be assigned to this period.

1. Sundara Pāṇḍya
2. Vīra Pāṇḍya
3. Chōnāḍu Koṇḍān
4. Kacciva‍laṅgum Perumāl
5. Kōdaṇḍarāman
6. Ellāmtalaiyānān and
7. Kulasēkhara

Before we discuss these coins, two coins with no legend on them deserve notice.

One is illustrated as No. 17 by T. Desikachari, in his South Indian Coins.

Obverse: Maneless lion passant to the left with two fishes separated by sceptre above.

Reverse: Standing figure of a king in his regal robes.

What is described by Desikachari as a maneless Lion, is only a tiger. The coin is significant since it shows the Pāṇḍya emblem the fish and the crozier, above the tiger. The device adopted generally by South Indian rulers, to denote the conquest of one dynasty over the other, is to place the victor's emblem above the one of the vanquished. From this angle this coin assumes significance. Typologically, the coin is similar to other 13th century coins to be discussed presently.

FISH-TIGER-BOW-Coin

A coin with an elaborate symbolism was photographed by the Tamilnadu Department of Archaeology from a private collection. The coin shows:

Obverse: Two fish and a crozier over a standing tiger which is standing on a bow. In front of the tiger is shown a long bladed sword and behind, a crescent.

Reverse: Shows the standing figure of a king with a lamp below his left arm.

The figures are well executed. It is a fine specimen among the Pāṇḍyan issues. It has been seen earlier, that some of the Chō‍la coinage, show "the bow fish and tiger" on a horizontal line. But in the present case these are shown on a vertical line, with the fish and crozier on top. Following the coin discussed above, it is certainly a coin issued by a Pāṇḍya, who conquered both the Chō‍la and the Chēra. The crescent is to indicate the lunar race of the Pāṇḍya. The sword probably represents the valour of the king. Among the Pāṇḍyas,

Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkhara who was a predecessor of Māravarman Sundara, alludes to his conquest of the Chōḻas and Chēras around 1200 A.D. His inscriptions beginning with '*Būtalavanitai*' reads

"வஞ்சினங் கூறும் மதகுளிறி வற்ந்த
வெஞ்சின வேங்கை வில்லுடன் ஒளிப்ப"[46]

Commenting on this Prof. Sastri states "A rather early inscription of the reign from Seramadevi, refers to a gift by the king to a temple in the name of his brother-in-law, Kōdai Ravivarman, undoubtedly a Chēra prince. Another record of some years later seems to imply that the ruler of Jetunganāḍu was a subordinate of Kulasēkhara"[47]. It is possible that the two coins under discussion, showing the Pāṇḍya emblem on top of the tiger and bow are issues of Kulasēkhara.

CONADUKONDAN

The coin bearing the legend "*Cōnāḍu koṇḍān*" is undoubtedly the issue of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya as has been identified by scholars earlier. The obverse of the coin bears the legend 'Cōnāḍu-koṇḍān' in three lines and on the reverse a standing figure of the King. In a number of his inscriptions, his title "*Cōnāḍukoṇḍān*" occurs. In later inscriptions of the ruler the title '*Cōnāḍu vaḷankiaruḷiya*' finds a prominent mention. Obviously the coin emphasising his conquest over the Chōḻa should have been issued at the first flush of his victory, around 1219–1220 A.D.

KALIYUGARAMAN

A coin listed by Elliot as 147, was read by Dr. Caldwel as '*Kāyal* But the coin has the legend '*Kaliyugarāman*'. T. Desikachari listed two coins of this variety No. 23 and 24 and read the legend correctly as *Kaliyugarāman*. On the obverse are found two *Vishṇupāda* on a bow, crowned by a parasol. He listed these coins under the Pāṇḍyas. Following him K. A. N. Sastri attributed this coin to Māravarman Sundara. "A record from Melkadayam in the 18th year of a king refers to a shrine called *Kaliyugarāmēsvara*, which indicates that the title *Kaliyugarāman* also found in some coin legends may belong to our King or some predecessor of his."[47] Commenting on this, Chattopadhyaya states "the title however usually occurs on inscriptions of the later period. Secondly reference to *Kaliyugarāman paṇams* which may be

identical with the coins listed by Biddaulp are found in the epigraphs of the 15-16th centuries."[49] I have shown earlier that (See page 23 of this book) this coin was issued by the Chēra dynasty and not an issue of the Pāṇḍya.

KACCIVALANGUM PERUMAL

The next coin of great significance issued in the 13th century A.D. is the coin bearing the legend *Kacci Vaḷangum Perumāḷ*. Elliot illustrates it as No. 145. The obverse shows two fishes crossed and at the end are seen the crescent, *ankusa*, *sūla* and an indistinct symbol. The reverse has the legend *Kaccivaḷangum Perumāl* in three lines below and chouris. Desikachari illustrated a number of issues of this variety 39 to 43. In all these issues the legend *Kaccivaḷangum Perumāḷ* occurs on one side and two fishes crossed with minor variations in the symbols shown at the end on the other side. In some the letter *Cu* for *Cundara* (In Tamil Sundara will be written as *Cuntara*). This clearly is a pointer to the fact that the coin was issued by Sundara Pāṇḍya. Without assigning it to any one Sundara particularly Desikachari assigns it in a general way to Sundara.[50] But Sastri doubted this identification and remarked "It has been supposed that coins with the legend *Kaccivaḷangum Perumāḷ* may also belong to this king. But one wishes there was more evidence in favour of the supposition than is available at present".[51] Vidya Prakash assigns it to Māravarman Sundara.[52] Chattopadhyaya accepts the identification. But K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's doubt was not without foundation. Māravarman Sundara's conquest did not reach upto Kanchi. Even if it did, it did not leave any mark for he has nothing to say about his Kanchipuram conquest. On the other hand it was Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya the greatest, who repeatedly boasted of his conquest of Kanchipuram. He captured that city and assumed the title '*Kāncipuram Koṇḍān*. Though the title '*Kaccivaḷangum perumāl*' is not specifically mentioned (as a matter of fact it does not figure in any epigraphs known so far) the only king who could boast of this victory is Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. In all probability it is an issue of Jaṭāvarman Sundara and may be assigned to about 1260-65 A.D.

ELLAM TALAIYANAN

Among the coins of the Pāṇḍyas the coins bearing the legend '*Ellām Talaiyānān*' shows some innovative skill in the issue of coins. That this title was assumed by Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya is well known. Sastri, rightly assigns this series to Jaṭāvarman Sundara[53]. In this variety also the letter '*cu*' (for the first letter of Sundara) occurs and justifies the assumption.[54] More than five varieties of this issue are found. On the one side the standing figure of the king is seen on all the issues. But it is on the other side variations are noticed.

Series 1) The title '*Ellāntalaiyān*' is found in three lines.[55] 2) shows a single fish figured vertically flanked by two lamps: the Tamil legend '*Ellāntalaiyān*' in clockwise direction starting from 12'0 Clock[56]. Series (3) shows two fishes seen vertically with the title '*Ellāntalaiyān*' running around[57]. In the 4th the two fishes are shown slanting side ways forming a 'V' and the letters are found in between[58]. The fifth issue shows the two fishes joining at the top[59] forming a cone, the letters appearing in the gap. It shows those who issued the coins wanted to deliberately change the position of symbols and some thought has gone into the minting. Otherwise these coins are mostly monotonous, showing no signs of variations

KODANDARAMAN

Another series that could be confidently ascribed to the 13th century A.D. is the one bearing the legend *Kōdaṇḍarāma*. The obverse shows two fishes shown vertically with a crozier in between. The reverse shows the Tamil legend '*Kōdaṇḍarāman* in three lines below an umbrella and two chauris. Writing on this coin, T. Desikachari states in his South Indian Coins "Copper coins with the legend '*Kōdaṇḍa rāma*' have been discovered. Below the umbrella flanked by chouries, the legend '*Kōdaṇḍarāma*' in Tamil is found on the obverse. On the reverse below the crescent are two fishes separated by a sceptre. Parāntaka I (Chōḻa) had a son named Kōdaṇḍarāman and his inscriptions have been copied. Kōdaṇḍarāman is probably Rājāditya".[60] But in the plates he illustrates it under the Pāṇḍyan coins No. 22. Vidya Prakash imperfectly quoting Desikachari assigns it to Jaṭāvarman I Sundara I of 1303 A.D. He took the clue probably from K. A. Neelakanta

Sastri[61] who assigns it to a later Sundara Pāṇḍya. Chattopadhyaya also accepts this identification[62]. However it is seen from an inscription at Thirtanagari in Cuddalore taluk that Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya had the title *Kōdaṇḍarāma* in 1265 A.D.[63]. The inscription reads: நம் பேரால் கட்டின கோதண்டராமன் சந்திக்கு so this coin should now be assigned to Jaṭāvarman Sundara–1265 A.D.

SUNDARA PANDYA COIN

There are several varieties of this series bearing the legend Sundara Pāṇḍya. They vary both in size and also in the distribution of symbols and were obviously issued by different rulers bearing that name. Some of them are decidedly later than the 13th century. In view of the fact that a number of rulers bore the same name Sundara it would be impossible to assign any issue to a particular ruler. It is proposed to give the time bracket only here.

VARIETY I

Obverse : Two fish shown vertically with crozier in between. The crozier has a handle at the lower end and the curve at the top is turned to the right. Above the crozier is a crescent moon.

Reverse : The legend *Sundara Pāṇḍyan* in Tamil in three lines in 12th century characters. Above the crozier is crescent and below is a pellet.The presence of the cresent moon to indicate the Lunar race of the Pāṇḍya on both the sides is noteworthy. The coin may be assigned to the closing years of the 12th century A.D. A few specimens are preserved in the Madurai Tirumalai Naicker Mahal Museum collection.

VARIETY II

Similar to the above illustrated as No. 54 by T. Desikachari.

Obverse : Two fish shown vertically with the crozier in between; the curve is turned to the left with a crescent on top. In between are two dots. At the right end is a letter, which seems to read *Sri* in grantha character. Other

signs are not clear.

Reverse : The reverse carries the legend *Sundara Pāṇḍya* in Tamil characters of about 1200 A.D.

VARIETY III

Obverse : Shows the standing figure of the king.

Reverse : Bears the legend *Sundara Pāṇḍyan*. Some of these coins are very small in size and seems to be minor denominations of the bigger size. The coin seems to be an issue of the first half of the 13th century A.D.[64]

VARIETY IV

Obverse : Standing figure of the king with a lamp below his left arm.

Reverse : Shows a fish depicted vertically. To the right, on top is the crescent and the Tamil letters below reading *Sundara* arranged vertically. (Desikachari's descrip" tion of the reverse No. 60 is not correct). This coin might have been issued around 1300 or even a little later.

VARIETY V

Obverse : The standing figure of the king with two indistinct signs resembling a lamp one on either side.

Reverse : The seated figure of the king with the legend *Sundara Pāṇḍya* below the left arm. Paleographically this coin may be assigned to 13th century. The coin is now in Tirumalai Naicker Mahal Museum collection.

VARIETY VI

Similar to the above illustrated by Desikachari as coin No. 56. The Tamil legend reads as '*Sunda*'. Paleographically this may be assigned to 14th century A.D.

VARIETY VII

Obverse : Two fishes shown slanting to the sides with prominent scales. The crozier turned to the left, with a double

bend at the top. Above is the parasol prominently shown flanked by chouries.

Reverse : In the centre is shown a seated figure cross legged, and holding his arms in *anjali hasta.* The Tamil legend reads *Sundara Pāṇḍya.* The letters *Sundara* are distributed one on either side of the seated figure, while the letters *Pāṇḍya* appears below the figure[65]. Paleographically the coin may be assigned to the 13thcentury A.D.

VARIETY VIII

Similar to the above except the distribution of the letters.

There are two varieties of coins which bear no legends but could be attributed to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, the great. One of them bears a standing figure of the King on the obverse and a single fish shown vertically with a crescent moon and sun, one on either side.[67] The other variety has the standing figure on the obverse. On the reverse the usual seated figure with fish is shown below the left arm. This is crowned by an umbrella. Typologically these two varieties bear similarities to the '*Ellāntalaiyān*' coins of Jaṭāvarman Sundara. Further, these coins are found in hoards with the *Ellām Talaiyānān* coins. In all likelyhood these were also issues of Jaṭāvarman Sundara.

KULASEKARAN

There are more than three varieties of coins, bearing the name '*Kulasēkara*'. Again, we are confronted with the difficulty of identifying any issue with a known king as many rulers wielded power with the same name, within short intervals between 12th and 14th centuries. The identification postulated here are purely tentative.

VARIETY I

Obverse : Standing figure of a king.

Reverse : The legend '*Kulasēkaran*' over two fish and a crozier turned to the right with a double bend.[68]

VARIETY II

Obverse : Standing king.

Reverse : The Tamil legend '*Kulasēkaran*' below the umbrella and the fly whisk.

These two varieties might have been issued by Māravarman Kulasēkara towards the end of the 13th century and beginning of the 14th century, as the coins are found in considerable number and as Māravarman controlled not only a vast area from Kanchipuram in the north to Kanyakumari in the south, but also had a long rule. As such it is likely that these coins were issued by him.

VARIETY III

This variety with an elephant on the obverse and the legend '*Kulasēkara*' above two fish and ceṇḍu has been assigned by me to the Chēra '*Kulasēkara*' of 14th century (vide Page 22).

VARIETY IV

Obverse : Standing figure of a King and reverse seated figure with the legend '*Kula*'. probably an issue of 14th century A. D.

ECONOMY IN THE 13TH CENTURY A. D.

The 13th century is a crucial period in the history of Tamil nadu for various reasons. The imperial Chōḻa power which raised the standard of the people in various fields of activity by sound economy and efficient rule, has exhausted itself and was in the wane. The Pāṇḍyas rose to eminence and tried to keep the entire Tamil country under their grip but basing their superstructure mainly upon the foundation of the Chōḻas. The Kannada rule got itself established in the Tamil country, paving its way for the later conquest of the Vijayanagar rulers. With this the Karnataka monetary system, whatever individuality it had, began to be felt in the Tamil land. Underlying all these factors were the dormant but volatile chieftains ready to raise their ugly heads to the dismay of their overlords and ultimately, to the ruin of themselves. The study of the economy of 13th century Tamil land though poses greater problems is at the same

time a fascinating subject.

MARAVARMAN SUNDARA PANDYA

An inscription from Tinnelveli in the 13th year of Māravarman Sundara (1239) refers to 3 *accus* at the rate $1\frac{1}{2}$ *accus* per crop. The 3 *accus* fetched 39 *Dramma* at the rate of 13 *Dramma* per accre.

பூ ஒன்றுக்கு அச்சு $1\frac{1}{2}$ யுமாக உத்சம் பண்ணின ஆண்டு ஒன்றுக்கு அச்சு மூன்று. இவ்வச்சு மூன்றிஞல் பதின்மூன்று மேனி திரம்மம் முப்பத் தொன்பது இத்திரம்ம முப்பத்தொன்பதும் நாங்கள் முன்பு நாயனர் க்த இறுத்து வரும் அந்தராய திரமத்தோடே கூடி[69]

Another of his inscription from Kallidaikuruchi, in Thirunelveli district, refers to the *accus* paid for the change of cultivator for $5\frac{1}{2}$ *vēli* of land.[70] A gift of $6\frac{1}{4}$ *accus* for one perpetual lamp is recordcd in 1220 A.D. in the same village, in the reign of the same ruler.[71] Another record of the same ruler, from the same village mentions one *anrāḍu Nallānai accu* endowed for measuring 1 *nāḻi* and 1 *uḻakku*, (5 *uḻakku*) of oil for five saturdays in a month.[72] A gift $6\frac{1}{2}$ *accu* for one perpetual lamp in the same village in 1220 A.D., in his reign[73] and another gift 7 *accus* for measuring 2 *nāḻi* rice per day[74] show the role of *accu*.

In the reign of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya the *accu* continued to be the dominant currency in the extreme south, as at Kallidaikkuruchi, in Thirunelveli district, while in the north, in Tanjore and other regions, *Paṇam* is beginning to assume importance. The following records of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya indicate the prevelant trend. At Thiruvanciyam $3\frac{7}{20}$ *veli* of land, 500 *kuḻi* of *Paḍugai* cost 250 *paṇams* of *anrāḍunarkāsu*.[75] In another instance 2 *vēli* of land and 1250 *kuḻi* of *Paḍugai* cost 150 *paṇams* of *Anrāḍu narkāsu*.

In 1229 A.D., (Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya) the Nāḍu of Kānanāḍu, the Nagaram, the grāma, Vanniyar and the Paḍaipparru's agreed to levy per capita on all the land holders as given below.

for Brāhmins, Chetṭis, Veḷḷāḷas	$\frac{1}{2}$ *Paṇam*
for minors	$\frac{1}{4}$ *Paṇam*
for garrisons	$\frac{1}{4}$ *Paṇam*
for Parayars & Paḷḷars	$\frac{1}{8}$ *Paṇam*

It shows Brahmins, Chetṭis and Veḷḷāḷas were held equals and from the manual labourers like Paḷḷas and Parajyas $\frac{1}{4}$ of what was levied from

others (*Kudumiyāmalai*) was collcctcd.

In 1223 A.D. under this ruler 320 *kuli* was sold for 1260 current good coins at Kudumiyamalai.[76] In 1238 A.D. the Melmanilai ūrār and the temple sthānattār of Thiru Vikrama Cholisvaram in Kudumiyamalai sold a Dēvatāna ayacut of that temple, 5 *mā* in extent, for 205 *paḷamkāsu*. The epigraph states that *Kīḻvari* was 7 *mēni dramman* or *Paḷamkāsu* 24 *drammam*.[77] Almost in the same year, a land was sold at Thirunalakkunram to a dancing girl, 5 *mā* in extent for 3200 new coins. The inscription is interesting in many ways. It shows 205 *paḷamkāsu* was equal to 3200 new coin (the extent of land being the same 5 *mā* in both cases). So one *Paḷam kāsu* was equal to ($\frac{3}{2}\frac{2}{0}\frac{0}{5}\frac{0}{-}$) approximately 16 *kāsu* which would be equal to *mākāni* 1. 1 : 16. This is one of the traditional denomination. When this is compared to 5 *mā* of land sold in the reign of Vīrapāṇḍya for 1000 *paṇam* (which was probably a silver coin) this *paḷam Kāsu* may be taken as gold. But whether this *Paḷamkāsu* was a coin of full *māḍai* standard or less is not known. In all it was not of the full standard.

Further the record equates 7 *mēni drammas* with 24 *Paḷamkāsu drammas*. Whether the word *dramma* here refers to Roman coin or a coin of similar weight is not known, If it refers to Roman coins, the reference to old (Roman) coin and, 7 *mēni* (Roman) coin is interesting. If 7 *meni dramma* refer to Roman Gold coin the 24 *Paḷamkāsu dramma* might refer to a silver coin. Mr. Chattopadhyaya has shown that the term *draṇima*, was used to denote indigenous coins also.[78]

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA PANDYAN

150 *Paṇams* was paid for $2\frac{1}{20}$ *vēli* of land to meet the expenses of quarying stone for erecting the *agra mandapa*, and also providing a special *Sandhi* at Tēvur in the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya[79].

In Thirukkalukkunram near Mahabalipuram $22\frac{1}{2}$ *paṇam* was endowed for *Amudupadi*.[80] $7\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* of land was sold for 6 *paṇams* at Srivanciyam[81] which is a low price. The land should have been of poor fertility.

In Vikkiramangalam near Thirupparamkunram an unspecified measure of land was bought for 1000 *paṇam* which is called *Rāsi paṇam*[82] minor denominations of coins of both gold and silver were

called *Rāsipaṇam* till recent times. This name seems to have come into vogue in 13th century itself.

An inscription from Kodiyakkadu in Tanjore district, dated in the reign of Jaṭāvarman's Sundara's 18th year, (1269 A.D.) refers to the endowment of 18 *pon* (55-66), pon continued to be used in 13th century.

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya performed Tulābhāra ceremony at Cidambaram and Srirangam and to meet the needs seems to have levied a special levy called *Tulābhāra vari* and *abhishēka Kānikkai* which are recarded at Thiruccopuram in South Arcot district. The currency is referred to as *Sirai Accu.*[83]

Another record of Jaṭāvarman Sundara at Thirukkalukkunram, refers to *anrāḍa naḍakkum Narkāsu.*[84]

A distinction is made between *paṇams* and *kāsu* in one of his inscription from Sinnamanur. It refers to the levy of imposts on cloth, pepper etc. The inscription is somewhat damaged. But for some items it specified 1 *mā panam*, and for cotton cloth one *kāsu* and for arecca nut, turmeric, pepper and dry ginger - One kāsu[85]. $\frac{1}{2}$ *paṇam* for one *podi* of arecca nut, transported towards east or north ; and 1 *mā paṇam* for *podi* of pepper were levied in the same place for raising a Nandavanam. The inscriptions show two points of interest. (1) Both *paṇam* and *Kāsu* were in circulation in the same place and (2) that *Paṇam* itself was divided into 20 (units) *mā.* 12 *paṇams* were endowed for food offerings at Periyakottai in Palani taluk.[86]

A few epigraphs coming from Nandaluru, Cuddappa district, dated in the reign of this ruler refers to *paṇam.* A 10th year record refers to the gift of 200 *paṇams*[87] for a flower garden and another 200 *paṇam* for the same purpose[88]. Another record from the same place refers to *Varāhan Palam Paṇam*[89]

JATAVARMA VIRA PANDYAN

A certain chieftain, Bhuvanasingarayan purchaed $\frac{1}{4}$ share in a field for 1500 -*Kāsu*[90] in Virapandyas 4th year The same cheiftain endowed 17 *Kalanju* of gold for *Thirumekhalai*, and 10 *Kaḷanju* gold for a *Thiruppaṭṭam*[91]. He also instituted a service for which he levied a cess from the two furnaces run by the blacksmiths at 3 *kāsu* per furnance and for 2 furnances-6 *kāsus* were thus collected

and asked to measure 1 *uḻakku* of ghee.[92] In the same record, the Vallanadu arayars were said to collect a cess of 5 *accu* per year, equivalent to 6000 *kāsu* (at 1200 *kāsu* per *accu)* and another 300 *kāsu* for clothing to be provided.[93] In this epigraph we find *kaḻanju*, *Kāsu* and *Accu*. In this instance the *Kaḻanju*, was an unminted gold; *Accu*, a minted gold coin and the term *kāsu* was for a copper coin. That *accu*e qnalled 1200 *kāsu* would justify our assumption.

Another transaction in the same year refers to the imoposition of some penalty of 6000 *kāsu*, in lieu of which certain lands were sold.[94] In the 10th year of the same ruler, the holders of cotton cultivated lands, were directed to pay 600 *kāsu* per *mā*, as their land dues.[95]

In the 39th year (1292 A.D.) of Vīra Pāṇḍya, the Arayars of Kānanāḍu and Pudukkottai, solemnly swore to end their disputes. They also indicated 5 *mā* of land and 1000 *paṇa*m as penalty for breach of the settlement[96]. In the 9th year of this ruler the Thiruvarangulam temple purchased some lands for 10,000 *kāsu* (evidently copper coins).

In the same year, the temple (of Thiruvarangulam) went to the Nāṭṭār by even offering the silver *Thirukkolkai* adorning the deity and thereby raising 11,000 *kāsu* which was paid to the king's officers as the aggregate arrears of land dues in cash and kind from the holding of one *Perunar kili nāḍālvān.*[97] This 11,000 *kāsu* should have been a copper coin.

In 1266 A.D. a land under Iruppakudi tank was sold for 73,300 *Pudukkāsu*, for the temple of Kudumiyamalai. As the number runs into 73,300, *Pudukāsu*, it is evident the coin is a copper coin. It also shows that around 1260 a new coin has been introduced and this could be either the coin with the legend *Conāḍukoṇḍan, Sundara pāndyan, Ellāmtalaiyan* or *Vīrapāṇḍyan Kāsu* for it was during this period that these coins were issued.

An inscription of the 4th year (1257 A.D.) of this ruler refers to *Pudukkuligai* at Madurai, indicating new coins were minted during the 4th year of his reign.[98] $\frac{8}{320}$ *vēli* of land cost 230 *anrāḍunarkāsu* at Srivanciyam.[99] A levy of certain tax on commodities by the merchants of the 18 *vishayam* of the 4 *Nagaras* is recorded for services in the temple of Rajasimesvara at Sinnaamanur in 1278 A.D.[100] The levies were 1 *mā paṇam* for 1 *podi* of areccanut, 2 *mā paṇam* for 1 *podi* of

pepper and for erecting in the west, a gopura named after the 18 *vishayas* : the levy was made at the port of Uttamacholapuram.

1 *mā paṇam* from 1 *podi* rice

1 *mā paṇam* for 1 *podi* of areca nut

and 2 *mā paṇam* for 1 *podi* of pepper, were levied. Further a sales tax and purchase tax at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāni* per *paṇam*, is also recorded.

MARAVARMAN KULASEKARA

Māravarman Kulasekara, had a long rule and had the title '*Emmaṇḍalamum Koṇḍaruliya*'. The major part of his reign fell in 13th century and the later part in the 14th century AD. He was able to maintain in tact the vast empire bequeathed to him by Jaṭāvarman Sundara and his colleques. Names of a number of new coins *Māsāngulikai*, like *Danapālan Guligai*, *Gadyāṇa accu*, are mentioned in Kulasekara's inscription.

A sum of 20,000 *Kāsus* were paid as price for 1 *vēli* of wet land and 2 *mā* of dry land (1000 *kuḻis* made one *mā*) at Thiruvanikkaval in 1271 AD.[101] In Thirumeycchūr, 300 *kuḻi* of *Paḍugai*, 40 *kuḻi* of *manai* land (building site) and $\frac{6}{20}$ *vēli* of wet land were bought for which 83 *Bhuvanēkaviran paṇam*, and 51 *Āhavarāman Paṇam* which are called curent good coinage. Since these coins are referred to by two different names, it is likely that these two varieties had either the names *Bhuvanēkaviran* and *Āhavarāman* on them or some distinquishing marks to differentiate them. We are unable to say whether these are gold or silver *paṇams*. Probably they were Silver *Paṇams*. An unspecified extent of land at Pappankulam was sold for 928 *Danapālan gulikai*[102]

Two inscriptions coming from Peraiyur, Thirummeyyam taluk, dated in the reign of Kulasēkhara, are interesting. They specify land revenue for different kinds of crops-256 *kuḻi* (square) 1 *mā*. According to the records, the levy should depend upon the crop.

200 *kāsu and* 14 *kalam* paddy for 1 *mā* land.

$\frac{3}{4}$ of the above levy (150 *kāsu* and $10\frac{1}{2}$ *kalams*).	for *āḍi kuruvai* paddy
$\frac{1}{2}$ of the above (100 *kāsu* & *kalam*)	for *Tinai* and *Vargu*.

2 *tūni* & 1 *padakku* for *Eḷḷu* and *Payaru.*

The second record stipulates

2 *Paṇams* and 7 k*alams* paddy - 1 *Mā*

1 *Paṇam* and $3\frac{1}{2}$ *kalams* paddy - *Aippasi Kuruvai.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ *Paṇam* and $1\frac{3}{4}$ *kalam* paddy - *Āḍi Kuruvai*

1 *Tūni Ellu* - for *Ellu.*

1 *Paṇam* for 1 *mā* of land growing *Pumpkin*

The inscription seems to suggest 100 *kāsu* as equal to 1 *Paṇam*, for in the first record 200 *kāsus* is the levey for 1 *mā* and in the later 2 *paṇams* are levied for 1 *mā.*

In 1276 A.D. under Māravarman Kulasēkara a sale of land is recorded for 3230 *Paṇam.* A sum of 1000 *Māsāngulikai paṇam* has been pledged earlier which yielded 6 *mā* per *Māsanpaṇa*, amounting to 1300 silver inclusive of interest. The *Māsan gulikai paṇa* was a silver coin, and that it had denominations of 1/20. The interest however works out 30·/. [103]

Another coin named *Danapāla gulikai paṇa* is mentioned in the same year, in the same place $\frac{1}{2}$ *Kūni* of land was sold for *Danapāla gulikai paṇam.*[104] The same coin is refered to in another record of the same place as 928 *Danapāla gulikai paṇam*, as price of a land[105]

A mandapa named *Valangaimīkāman maṇḍapa*, was built by *Kulasēkhara mahābalivānarāyan.* The levy was made on commodities at eastern quarters for the above purpose.

$\frac{1}{2}$ *mā paṇam* - 1 *podi* of areca nut

1 *mā paṇam* - 1 *podi* of pepper.

The inscription throws light on certain aspects of taxation. Both for buying and selling, taxes were levied.

A very interesting record of this ruler comes from Kodumbalur, in the Trichy district. Dated in 1269 A.D. the record refers to *Pon, Palam-chōḻiyan kāsu Virapāṇḍyan kāsu, Paṇam* etc. Commenting on this, the editor of the record states, "It registers the sale of five pieces of land by the Kaikkolas and the Kaikkola mudalis of Kodumbalur to the temple to Thirumudukunramudaiyar of the same village in lieu of certain sums of money which seems to have been borrowed, from the temple by them previously and by their forebears. Owing to the damaged state of the record the sense of the inscription, in its detail is not clear. Mention is made of *Pon, Palam chōliyan Kāsu*, and *Vira Pāṇḍyan Kāsu*

of which the values seems to have stood in the ratio of 110 : 670 : 1050 Again 150 *Paṇams* is said to answer to 10505 *kāsu* and 110 *kaḻanju* are general terms to be understood specifically according to prevelant usage.[106] In 1268 A.D. a land at Punnangudi was sold for 150 *anrāḍu Senbaga kuḻigai paṇam.*[107]

இவ்வூர் கைக்கோள முதலிகளோம் சண்டேசுரப் பெருவிலையாக பிரமாணம் பண்ணிக் கொடுத்த பரிசாவது முன்னுள் எங்கள் முதுக்கள் வேட்டை காலத்து இந்நாயனூர் சீபண்டாரத்தில் தட்டுப்படியாலும் உள்வரிப்படியாலும் கொண்ட பொன்னுய் இரட்டித்த நூற்று ஒருபது பழஞ்சோழியன் காசு அறுநூற்று எழுபதினுல் வீரபாண்டியன் காசு வாசி பெற்ற காசு ஆயிரத்து ஐம்பதும் கொண்ட சேரனுல் சேவனுல் காசு 1000. 17-வது ஆவனி மாதங் கொண்ட பணம் நூற்று ஐம்பதினுல் காசு 10505-ம் பொன் நூற்று ஒருபதின்கழஞ்சுக்கும் காசு 10,505க்தும் சீபண்டாரத்து ஓடுக்க எங்களுக்த (ஸ)த்தி இல்லாதபடியால்.

UNDER THE CHOLAS

As mentioned earlier, the 13th century economy was a tangled affair, for a proper understanding of which the transactions under the Chōḻas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Hoysalas and minor chieftains like Kōpperunjinga deserve attention. The coinage under the Chōḻas have already been dwelt with earlier. Yet for a total perspective a few records of the Chōḻas are also examined here at random.

In 1198 A.D., a sum of 1500 *kāsus* were gifted for one perpetual lamp and the donee was expected to measure 1 *uḻakku* of ghee per day in the reign of Kulōttunga III[108]. In the 18th year of the same ruler 9000 *kāsus* were gifted for one perpetual lamp at Srirangam[109]. At Enkan in Tanjore district, for one sandhi lamp, 35 *kāsus* were deposited[110]. Three inscriptions of Kulōttunga III, coming from Tanjore district are interesting. For burning one perpetual lamp 40 *kāsus* were endowed at Koḷḷikkāḍu[111], 400 *kāsus* at Pannatteru[112] and 4000 *kāsus* at Thiruttengur[113]. The amount 40-400-4000 for the same purpose seems to indicate that the first one was a gold coin, the second a silver and the last one a copper coin. If this is acceptable, the ratio between gold, silver and copper seem to work out 1 : 10 : 100. At Pannatteru itself 1003 *kāsus* are recorded for one *Tiru Nondāviḷakku.*[114] The variation is not explicable. In 1205 A.D., some lands were sold at Mannarkoil in Tirunelveli district, for 330$\frac{1}{2}$ *Pūn-salākai-accu*[115]

In 1215 A.D., another land was sold for 6,80,000 *kāsus* in the same place[116].

In the reign of Rājarāja III the difference in currency stands out more pronouncedly. 1500 *anrāḍu narkāsus* were gifted for one perpetual lamp at Agatyanpalli in Tanjore district.[117] At Kumbakonam $6\frac{12}{20}$ land was sold for 1,91,500 *anrāḍu narkāsu* நூருயிரத்து தொன்னூராயிரத்து ஓராயிரத்து ஐந்நூறும்[118] In the same place another land, this time measuring 10 and odd *vēli* was sold for 2,06,500 *anrāḍu narkāsu*.[119] 33 $\frac{3}{20}$ *vēli* of land raising one crop was sold for 16,520 *kāsu* (each *vēli* of land costing approximately 500 *kāsu*).[120] At Srivanciyam. $3\frac{1}{2}$ *kāni* of land fetched 16,100 *kāsu*,[121] 45,500 *kāsus* were required to buy $\frac{1}{4}$ *vēli* of land at another place in the same reign.[122] In 1245-46 A.D., during the 25th year of the ruler, there was an invasion of Singanna Daṇḍanāyaka, a Hoysala general, and there was cessation of worship at Vedaranyam. An offer was made to a certain Uttama Nambi to undertake the setting up of an image of Nāyanār and consort Nācciyār. Uttama Nambi gifted 50,000 *kāsus* and with this amount two images were made. The images were obviously metal images made of copper and it is interesting to note the cost of making bronzes in 13th century A.D.

இவர் பக்கல் நாங்கள் கைக்கொண்ட காசு 50,000. இக்காசு ஐம்பதினாயிரமும் கைக்கொண்டு இந்நாயனாரையும் நாச்சியாரையும் திரு நயநாமோகூபர்யந்தமாக திருப்பணி குறைவர செய்து குடுத் தமையில்[123]

In 1218-19 A.D., 10 persons were sold as slaves for 1000, *kāsus* ஆள் விலை பிரமாண இசைவு தீட்டு[124] In Pennesvaramadam, in Dharmapuri district, 5 *udārans* and 5 *Suddha salākas* a total of 10 *poṇ* were offered for one land.[125]

தட்டான் குட்டைக்கு 5 உதாரனும் 5 சுத்த சலாகையும் பத்து பொன்

At Thiruppainjili, $415\frac{3}{4}$ *Kāni* lands fetched 10,000 *Kāsus*.[126] 40 *Kāsu* for one perpetual lamp in the reign of Kulōttunga III, is found repeated in the reign of Rājarāja III, at Sekal, in Tanjore district.[127] However in the same village, and in the same reign, 100 *Kāsu* are recorded for one perpetual lamp.[128]

In Sekal, a lamp in the shape of a lady was gifted under Rājarāja III, in 1246 A.D. for which one *palam kāsu Dramma* was gifted. It fetched $\frac{1}{8}$ *Dramma* as interest per month which works out to 150%.

interest[129]. For one perpetual lamp 50 *kāsus* were gifted at Kaccanam[130] and 100 *kāsus* in the same place.[131]

The trend continued under Rājēndra III. 40 *Varāhan Paṇam* are mentioned in Pancanadi Kulam under Rājēndra III.[132] The name *Varāhan* for a currency appears in this Chōḻa inscription for the first time and it is no doubt due to Hoysala activity in the Tamil land.

UNDER HOYSALAS

The Hoysalas are represented in Tamilnad by Vīra Narasimha, Vīra Sōmēsvera and Vīra Rāmanātha and later by Vīra Ballāla III. In the reign of Vīra Narasimha, 8 *vēli* of land cost 40,000 *kāsus* and 5000 *kāsus* as price for one *vēli* of land as *Jīvana Sēsha*[133] (sustenance allowance). A 6th year record of Vīra Sōmēsvara at Srirangam, refers to 20 *kuḻi* of land at Nandavanameḍu, sold for 3000 *kāsu*.[134] During the 25th year of the same ruler 600 *kulis* of dry land was sold for 3000 *kāsu*, at the rate of 5 *kāsu* per *kuḻi*.[135] A 7th year record of Vīra Rāmanātha, refers to 40,000 *anrāḍu nar kāsu* for 4 *vēli* of land (each *Vēli* costing 10,000 *kāsu*). In addition 1100 *paṇams* were deposited in the treasury (*Poṇ Baṇḍāra*) as capital for making a *Simhāsana* for the Lord.[136] According to the text these 1100 *paṇams* were equal to 40,000 *kāsus* which means that 1 *paṇam* was equal to approximately 36·36 *kāsus*. Another record of Vīra Rāmanātha from the same place fixes the tax due for $16\frac{1}{2}$ *vēlis* of land at 13, 133 *kāsu*.

UNDER KOPPERUNJINGA

Kāsus in thousands were in circulation under the Kāḍava Chieftain Kōpperunjinga. In his 11th year 9 *mā*, of land at Singaratoppu at Chidambaram, was sold for 5000 *kāsu*. "இந்நிலம் 9 மாவும் 6 மலை ஒடை ஒருவாய் துரவும், ஏத்தமும், ஏத்த நிலைச்சிக்குழியும் முன்னூன்றியும் பின்னூன்றியும் இந்த ஏத்தமே துடங்கி கிழக்கு நோக்கில் கொள் கலத்தால் இறைச்சு கொடு போகிற வாக்காலும் ஆக இத்தனையும்.[137] In 1260 A.D. (13th year) 60 *mā* of land at Kattumannar koil was sold for 45,000 *kāsu*. The inscription refers to *Kallumakkummikki pon (?)*. It reads 8 *māri pon* - 25 *kaḻanju* according to *Sokka Siyan kol*.[138] It shows that *Kaḻanju* occasionally was used in transactions and that it was tested in this case with the stone called *Sokkasiyan kal*. It also suggests

that the standard touch stones were named after the rulers. In Tirukkacchur near Madras, 195 *kuḻis* of land measured by 16 span-rod was sold for 7500 *pudukkāsu*[139] (new coins). At Thirupparkadal, 700 *kuḻis* of land were sold for *anrāḍu gaṇḍa gōpālan vāsip pana pudu māḍai*.[140] From this it is seen, that a new coin was minted (*pudu māḍai*) by Gaṇḍa Gōpāla.

THE TELUGU CHOLA

The Telugu Chōḻa Gaṇḍa Gōpāla ruling Nellore and Kanchipuram region, was a rival of Kōpperunjinga. But yet the coins issued by Gaṇḍagōpāla found their way to the region of Kōpperunjinga and become legal tender there and, secondly this coin was in all probability a gold coin. In Vayilakkavur, one *māḍai* was gifted for 1 *sandhi* lamp.[141] At little Kanchipuram, 15 *Nellore Māḍais* were gifted for one perpetual lamp. The name *Nellore Māḍai*, is noteworthy, which evidently denotes the place of mint, an interesting reference in 13th century A.D.[142] The donor of this temple lamp, at Kanchi hailed from Nellore. According to the record, her name was Sevuttāl, sister-in-law of Annadēva of Nellore. Obviously the lady from Nellore has brought the coins from that place which was accepted. This should have been a gold coin. Sri. S. R. Balasubramaniam in his work 'Kopperunjingan', gives valuable data about the value of lands under Kopperunjinga[143]

63	*mā*	land Price	1,20,000	*kāsu*[144]
50	*mā*	land Price	18,000	*kāsu*[145]
84	*mā*	land Price	80,000	*gadya kāsu*[146]
50	*kuḻi*	land Price	1,000	*kāsu*[147]
1024	*kuḻi*	land Price	3,000	*kāsu*[148]
13½	*kuḻi*	land Price	10,000	*kāsu*[149]
195	*kuḻi*	land Price	7,500	*Pudukkāsu*[150]

It is seen that in a number of instances, the price runs into several thousand coins, though, in some instances the gold *kaḻanju* or *Māḍai* is also seen. It is in confirmity with what is seen in the Chōḻa and Pāṇḍya records of the 13th century A.D. The copper coins have come in large circulation. But what is interesting is that Kopperunjinga who has left a permanent mark on Tamil history, art and architecture, does not seems to have issued a coin of his own

No coin with his name has come down so far. Even if he has issued the coin is yet to be located.

Some interesting taxes mentioned in the reign of Sundara Pāṇḍya. at Madurai are

Ponvari Viniyōgam
Kārtikai Pon
Kārtikai Paccai
Pillaiyār Nonbu
Āḷ Tēvai
Madil Tēvai
Taccu Tēvai
Ānaic Cālai
Kudirai Pandi
Ōlai Eḻuttu Viniyōgam
Ōlai Eḍuppu Viniyōgam
Sirai Accu
Tari Irai
Sekkirai
Er Vari
Ina Vari
Ural Vari
Vāsal Vari
Vannār Kāsu

INFLATION

The above account is sufficient to show, that the 13th century witnessed a paucity of gold coins and the copper coins were minted in large numbers, which boosted the prices of all commodities. There was acute inflation and the economy so carefully built up by the Chōḻas from 10th to 12th century A.D., has started cracking and the frequent wars have brought great suffering to the people. One of Kulōttunga III's record refers to bad times. This gradual decline in the economic stability, paved the way for the sudden collapse of the Tamil power and it was the main reason for the easy walk over of Malik-Kafur in the beginning of 14th century (in 1310 A.D.). Already the country was bereft of gold. It is not known how the gold was drained. If we may take a clue from the Arab historians, the Pāṇḍyas, who controlled the wealth, wasted all their resources in buying horses to cater to their wars. Not knowing how to maintain the horses, they allowed several thousands to die. It ought to have aggravated the situation. The claim that Malik-Kafur carried several hundred maunds of gold, ought to be taken with a pinch of salt.

The 14th century A.D. changed the political fortunes of Tamil-nad. In the first half of 14th century A.D. successive invasion of the Muslims shattered further the economy of the country. It also saw the introduction of the Sultanate coins. The later half witnessed

remarkable recovery under Vijayanagar rule, with the advent of Kumāra Kampana. It is proposed to take up this study at a later stage.

So far we have discussed the coinage under the Chēras, the Cholas and the Pāṇḍyas, since they were referred to as the three crowned kings of the Tamil country. We now take up the study of other coins like that of the Pallavas and others before referring to the coinage of the 14th and succeeding ages.

FOOT NOTES

1 *Maduraik Kanchi*-Verse 411
2 நல்பொன் சுடர் இழைபுனைநர் 512
3 பல்வேறு திருமணி முத்தமொடு பொன் கொண்டு சிறந்த தேயத்து பண்ணியம் பகர்நரும்; 504-506
4 பொன் உரை காண்மர்—பொன்னே உரைத்த உரையை அறிதியாகும் பொன் வாணிகரும் 513
5 K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, The Pandyan kingdom, p. 30–31
6 T. N. SUBRAMANIAM, XXXII. p. 85.86
7 CHATTOPADHYAYA, Coins and Currency System in South India pl VI-290
8 T. DESIKACHARI, South Indian Coins, No. 65-66
9 Ibid p. 159-60
10 Ibid p. 68
11 K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, The Colas, p. 9
12 DAMILICA, Vol. I, p. 104
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14 DAMILICA vol. I, p. 104
15 Thiruttani and Velanjeri copper plates, p. 16; also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Colas p. 125
16 K.A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, The Colas p. 156
17 "It is clear that Rājarāja sent more than one expedition against the Pāṇḍyas", K.A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, The Colas p. 171
18 Ibid p. 226
19 S.I.I. Vol. XIX, No. 27 dated in the reign of Aditya and S.I.I. Vol. XIX, No. 64 in the reign of Uttama Chola this coins was in circulation both in the Pāṇḍya and Chōla country.

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21 DESIKACHARI, South Indian Coins, p. 169
22 K. A . NILAKANTA SASTRI, The Colas p. 204
23 Tamilnadu Inscriptions Vol. III, No. 265 and; also T.A.S. Vol. VIII
24 K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, The Colas, p. 250-51
25 K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, The Colas, p. 153
26 K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, The Colas, p. 196
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28 K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI The Colas p. 313
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67 Ibid 19
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THE PALLAVA COINS

The Pallavas appear on the Tamil horizon around the close of the 3rd century A.D. They dominated the northern parts of Tamil region till the end of the 9th century, for about six hundred years. The early rulers are represented by their Prakrit charters. But from about the middle of the sixth century, lithic records begin to appear in considerable numbers, giving an insight into the economic and commercial activities of the period. The early copper plate charters of the Pallavas give very little information about the coinage of the period. But most of the early Pallavas, claim to have performed the '*Bahusuvarna*' sacrifice, gifting several gold pieces[1]. Whether these were gold coins or just globules we do not know. The Omkodu grant prescribes fines for offenders and stipulates that the fine should be proportionate to the crime[2]. It is possible some form of currency was in use.

Recently the Tamil Nadu State Archaeology Department brought to light many hundred hero stones, some of which are dated in the reign of Simhavarman and Simhavishnu[3]. But being memorial stones, they do not mention anything about coinage.

A few copper coins bearing on the obverse a bull and on the reverse a tree, a ship, star, crab, or fish, said to have been found near the Mahabalipuram region are assigned by Rapson to the early Pallavas[4] (2nd-4th century A D). But it is not unlikely that these are coins of the later Pallavas. Only one group of coins which has any claim to be coins of the early Pallava period, are the lead coins found in the Kanchipuram excavations. They are said to have been found immediately above the Satavāhana phase[5], in the stratigraphic context. "On the obverse of the coin is found standing bull facing right and on the reverse a symbol or lotus". The use of lead for the coinage, a Satavāhana tradition, and also the stratigraphic position clearly indicate that they were the early coins of the Pallavas of probably the 4th century A.D. In all seven such coins have been reported.

A group of coins, a dozen in number, found in Gurzala in Guntur district[6] made of copper weighing about 15 to 25 grains, bear symbols of a standing or couchant bull. The reverse symbol is read as "a

Sivalinga flanked by two curves"[7]. A coin in the collection of Ramayya, said to belong to the same group, bears on the reverse a *Trisūla i.e.* trident[8]. A few letters are said to have been identified as *mā vi* by Subrahmaniam[9] who ascribes them to Mādhavavarman or Vikramēṇdravarman. But as suggested by Rama Rao, they seem to be issues of the Pallavas[10]. Ramayya's date of the fourth century A.D., needs more positive evidence.

Similarly a hoard, found in the excavation of Yelleswaram, depicting a standing bull and the reverse showing an inscription reading *Vikrama* may also be considered Pallava issues[11]. There are altogether 49 coins in this hoard, made of copper or zinc. Except one coin which bears the lion motif, all the rest are of the bull type. The lion type is of course an issue of the Vishṇukuṇdins.

The series of coins illustrated by Elliot, deserve consideration[12]. They are said to have been obtained from the Coromandal coast. They are copper coins, carrying a standing bull on the right and on the reverse a number of motifs. Some of the coins bearing a few letters read as '*Sataka*' '*Kamitha*' etc., should be rejected and equally their attribution to some of the feudatories of the Pallavas of Kanchi, 150-250 A.D. should be considered fanciful.

Whereas the bull appears on the obverse of all these coins, the symbols on the reverse show many variations like wheels, masted ships, tortoises, crabs, single or double fish, umbrellas, bows and double chauris etc. We are unable to suggest any reason for the appearance of such varying numbers of symbols, but make some tentative suggestions. Most of the symbols found on the back show their connections with the sea, like the conch, fish, ships and crabs. It might show the Pallava's preoccupation with sea trade It is also possible, concerning at least a few of the symbols, like bow, fish, crab etc., that they are zodiachal signs representing *Dhanus*, *Mina*, *Kataka* etc. This suggestion is prompted by the presence of crab, the *Kaṭaka*.

A point to be considered now is whether all the coins bearing the bull device also is to be considered Pallava. That the bull is the '*lāncana*' (royal emblem) of the Pallavas, has been emphasized by earlier scholars. I would like to add that the Pallavas have shown preference for a particular breed of bull in sculpture, seal and coin. The bull has a long curved face, smooth contours and short horns.

In almost all Pallava sculptures Nandi of this breed is portrayed so often that it is no exaggeration to say that by a mere look at the bull, one can say whether it is a Pallava bull or not. It is the same breed which is found in all the royal seals as well. It is not different in the representation of coins. In identifying the coins, as the issues of the Pallava, one would not be wrong to look for a Pallava bull. For example 56 & 57 of Plate II of Elliot, are undoubtedly Pallava bulls. But the bull represented in some of the Yellesvaram hoard[13] does not bear any resemblance to the Pallava bull and we will not be wrong if we doubt their origin.

In some of the coins which could be considered of definite Pallava origin, we find the representation of a tree within the railings resembling the Aśvattha or Bodhi tree of the Budhists. One of the early Pallava ruler, Simhavarman, was a great devotee of Buddha. When he visited Dhanyakataka (Amaravati) he paid obeissance to Buddha and gifted wealth to the Chaitya. That Pallavas held sway over the famous Buddhist sites of Amaravati is well known. Yuvamahārāja Sivaskandavarman issued a royal order to his officers at Dhanyakataka as the Mayidavolu charter says.[14] The presence of the Bodhi tree on the coins of the Pallavas may be due to this influence. Another explanation would be that the Pallavas equated themselves with the '*Vāsa Vrksha*' (*Kalpa Vrksha*, the all yielding tree) to learned men. '*Vāsavrksha Vidvat Janasya*'[15] This being a coin the emblem might also be taken as a *Vāsa Vrksha*.

A second point of interest is the legend on some of the coins read as '*Srībhara*', '*Srīnidhi*' and '*Mānabhara*'. Dr. Minakshi attributes these coins with the legend '*Srīnidhi*' and 'Srībhara' to Rājasimha.[16] This is the most convincing identification of the titles '*Srīnidhi*' and *Srībhara* which are found in all the known inscriptions of Rājasimha. Chattopadhyaya is right when he states that "the attribution of any of these types to Mahēndra is not at all certain".[17]

Another group of coins is said to bear the legend '*Mānapara*', describing this coin, Minakshi says,[18] "These coins bear on the obverse the bull over which the legend *Mānapara* is seen. The legend is very distinct in Elliot's drawing. The emblem on the reverse, according to Desikachari is a chank on a pedestal within a rayed circle, but Elliot describes it as a Maltesse cross (*sān*) enclosed within

a circle and surrounded by dots, probably representing stars. So far Mānapara is not found among the birudas of Rājasimha, but it is not likely that he assumed this among his innumerable surnames as Atimana".[19]

Not having seen the coin myself, I am unable to say anything definite. But judging from the illustration of Elliot, the reading *Mānapara* seems to be acceptable. But Minakshi attributes the issue to Rājasimha with hesitation, for the title *Mānapara* is not found for Rājasimha. The title 'Mānapara' does occur in literature, not for Rajasimha but for Nandivarman, the victor of Tellaru.

" மணக்கும் பெரும்புகழான் மானபரன் நந்தி"[20]

"The coin with the legend '*Mānapara*' may thus be assigned to Tellārrerina Nandi."

A number of Pallava coins, bear the bull on the obverse and a vase on the reverse. The vase has a long neck, sometimes even mistaken for a conch. It is often represented clearly in the hands of Agastya and Brahma. The portrayal of the pitcher in Pallava coins seems symbolic. The Pallavas called themselves pitcher-born[21]. The seal of the Pallan Koil copper plates of Simhavarman seems to carry an inscription '*Pātra Skalita Vrittinām*'. The vase symbol on the coin is perhaps an indication of this idea.

There are a number of coins bearing the figure of a lion on the obverse and radiating circles on the rear[23]. But the coins bearing the lion motif are not Pallava coins, but probably belong to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

The early copper plate charters of the Pallavas do not mention any type of currency, though they, refer in general terms to exemptions of various kinds of taxes. However in the seventh century, the word *Kānam* is used in connection with taxation. Paramēsvaravarman I's Kuram grant refers to the tax, *Kattikk inām*. A land was bought and endowed to a temple and the purchase price is mentioned as *Vilai Kānam*. That the *kānam* was the main currency is reflected in a number of taxes mentioned in inscriptions of the eigth century A.D. The following are the taxes thus mentioned.

1 *Tattak kānam*
2 *Brāhmanarāsāk kānam*
3 *Sengoḍik kānam*
11 *Ettak kānam*
12 *Manjāḍik kānam*

4	*Kallāṇak kānam*	*13*	*Vīraṭṭakkak kānam*
5	*Kaṇṇiṭuk kānam*	*14*	*Urik-kānam*
6	*Kadirk kānam*	*15*	*Parik-kānam*
7	*Visak kānam*	*16*	*Kālkottuk kānam*
8	*Kusak kānam*	*17*	*Āṭṭuk-kānam*
9	*Paruttik kānam*	*18*	*Vannārak-kānam*
10	*Kuvaḷaik kānam*	*19*	*Thirumukhak-kānam*
		20	*Paraik-kānam*

Such a large number of taxes levied in terms of *Kānams* and the absense of the word *kāsu* as a tax in any of the Pallava charters shows the coinage went in the name of *Kānam* by and large. While other taxes are named in kinds the word *Pon* occurs in three instances as *Tengam Pon, Seyivu Ponga Sirantha Pon* (Pullur) and *Puravu Pon* (Velur palayam)

The taxes mentioned above have been discussed by Dr. Minakshi and others. Some of them are clearly professional taxes, the *Kusak kānam* (Potter's tax), *Nāvitak kānam* (Barber's tax) *Vannāra Kānam* (washerman's tax). Dr. Minakshi considers *taṭṭik kānam* (called *Taṭṭak-kanam* in the Royakkottai plate) and *Taṭṭār pāṭṭam* in Chola epigraph a tax on goldsmith. *Kallānak kānam* was a tax on marriages. The term *Kanniṭṭuk kānam* is not very clear; *Kāḍik kānam* was a tax on grains *Kuvalaik kānam* on *Kuvalai* flowers. It may be necessary to deal in a somewhat seperate manner with other *Kānams* dealt with in these records.

Hultzsch took *Brāhmanarāsāk kāṇam* as "the share of the Brahmin and of the king", K. V. S. Iyer takes it as "tax on the profits of the Brahmins (*Brāhmanar & āsak kānam*). Dr. C. Minākshi was nearer the mark when she said, "Instead of taking this term to mean cash or fee payable for the Brāhman and for the king, we may easily understand it to mean cash or fee payable by the Brahmin to the king"[25] She concluded that the term Brāhmanar meant Brahmin priest. But I think this interpretation could be improved. It is certainly the fee paid by the Brahmins to the king and not to the Brahmins by the king as held by others. But I would split the word *Brahmanarāsā Kānam* as the tax levied on Brahmin chieftains (leaders). There were many Brahmins who received the titles like *Brahmānarāsa, Brahmādhi rāja, Brahmarāya* etc. They were conferred the right of leadership

(or we may call chieftaincy) over a group of Brahmin families and were gifted one or a group of villages. The recently found Thiruttani copper plate of Aparājita mentions that one Brahmin was given leadership over the village Velanjeri[26]. In all likelihood the tax was on such Brāhmanarājas and not on all Brahmin priests.

Dr. C. Minakshi takes *Visakkānam* is a tax payable to the Viyavan or village headman.[27] The word *Visa* is taken to stand for *Viyavan*', the village headman. But *Visa* also stands for a merchant or a tradesman. So *Visak kānam* might mean a tax on traders like *Kusa kānam*, *Nāpitak kānam*, etc. *Paṭṭikai kānam* is taken by Minakshi to stand for a tax on boats. But it is not known whether it is a tax on drafting legal deeds, for the record deeds are called *Paṭṭika*. *Parik kānam* might represent the levy on horse. *Kudirai-vari* of later inscription).

There is an interesting tax called '*Manjāḍi-kaṇam*' *Manjādi* is a weight as well as a coin. It is not known whether it is used here in the sense of coin. If so it would probably indicate a tax similar to *Ponvari* of later age. *Kāl kottuk kānam* is probably a tax on planting posts for erecting Pandals during festivals or other celebrations. Or is it a tax on stone quarying? There are other taxes which it is needless to go into in detail. The point of interest is that all these taxes were realised in terms of *Kānams*.

We have an interesting inscription dated in the reign of Pallava Kampavarman, 9th century A.D. From this record we learn that one *Kaḷanju* gold equalled 20 *manjāḍi* and one *Kaḷanju* gold yielded 3 *manjāḍi* gold as annual interest, which amounts to 15 percent annual interest. The record also states that the interest should be paid once in six months. 15 *Kaḷanju* of gold was deposited according to the record, for a perpetual lamp, one *Kaḷanju* yielding 3 *manjāḍi* interest and it fetched $1\frac{1}{8}$ gold (*Poṇ*) per six months[28]. Another record of the same ruler refers to 60 *Kaḷanju* deposited as an endowment, to yield a 3 *manjāḍi* interest on each *Kaḷanju* gold. It fetched 9 *Kaḷanju* gold [29].

Interesting references to '*Kāsu*' come from the sacred hymns of the Saivite saints. Sundaramurti Nāyanār was a contemporary of the Pallava king of the eighth century A.D. He says that the Lord will punish those who do not pay the taxes due to the Pallavas. In his hymns he

refers to the episode of Pugaltunai Nāyanār. Pugaltunai was a Brahmin priest in a siva temple. At one stage, there was a drought and he could not get adequate food. He became so weak that one day as he was worshipping the Lord, he dropped the abhisheka vessel on the Linga itself. To save his devotee the Lord gifted him daily one Kāsu which used to appear on the *Piṭha*. Sundaramurti refers to this miracle in a hymn. This was elaborated later by Sekkilār. This indicates that the *Kāsu* had become the main medium of exchange by then.

From a few inscriptions we understand that the coins under circulation were *Kaḷanju, Kāṅam* and *Manjāḍi*., An inscription of Dantivarman from Tondur[30] refers to the gift of 16 *Kaḷanju Pon* to the Goddess Bhaṭāri and failure to observe the endowment, will entail a fine of 1/4 (25·/.) The inscription will relate to 800 A. D. About 30 *Kaḷanju* of gold was found to be standard endowment for one perpetual lamp in the reign of the same ruler[31]. That the same rate continued in the reign of Tellārerinda Nandi, is seen from an inscription of Thirupparaiturai[32]. Even in the reign of Aparājita, the rate continued to remain the same i. e. for one perpetual lamp 30 *Kaḷanju* of gold-called '*Ūrkal Chemmai*' tested in the village standard touch stone. It is mentioned that thirty *Kaḷanju* were deposited for one perpetual lamp. The rate of interest was fixed as 3 *manjāḍi* for *Kaḷanju* to be paid once in six months. For this 30 *Kaḷaniu* of gold $2\frac{1}{4}$ *Kaḷanju* was to be paid once in six months, at the rate of 3 *manjāḍi* as interest per *Kaḷanju*. This epigraph makes explicilty clear that *Kaḷanju* was equal to *manjādi*[33] The same rate of interest of 3 *manjādi* per *Kalanju*, is mentioned in another inscription of the same ruler Aparājita from Thiruvorriyur[34]. Interestingly this epigraph also shows that the interests were collected once in six months $8\frac{1}{2}$ *Kānam* was fixed as a fine, in case of failure to pay regularly the interest. It shows that *Kaḷanju*, *Kānam* and *manjāḍi* were in circulation in late Pallava period. An inscription of Nrpatunga, refers 5 *Kaḷanju* of tested gold (*Ūrkal Cemmai*) were gifted, to the same temple. A sum of $4\frac{1}{4}$ *Kānam* was fixed as fine for default. It is interesting to note that the fine is in multiples of $4\frac{1}{4}$, $8\frac{1}{2}$ *Kānam*.

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FOOT NOTES

1 Dr. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas* - p. 184.
2 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XV, p. 252-255.
3 Perungulattur Hero-Stone; Chengam Hero-Stowf, 1971/30, 1971/86.
4 E. J. Rapson, *Sources of Indian History* : Coins p. 37.
5 K. V. Raman, Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Vol. XXXI, 1969 pp. 185-187
6 Vidya Prakash,coinage of South India p. 41.
7 Ibid
8 Ramayya, Journal of the Numismatic society of India XXIX. 1967, pp. 22-32
9 Subramaniam, R. Dr., The Tundi copper plate grant of Vishnukundin King Vikramendravarma 1962–p.p. 45-48.
10 Rama Rao Vishnukundin coins JNSI XXVIII.
11 Vidya Prakash, Ibid p. 42.
12 Elliot, *Coins of South India*, Plate I, No. 38.
13 Vidya Prakash Plate II, Figure 91
14 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI. pp. 86-89
15 Vesantha Copper Plates, TASSI, Vol. 5, pp. 85-90.
16 Dr. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under Pallavas*, p. 113.
17 Chattopadhyaya, Ibid p. 18.
18 Minakshi, Ibid p. 114.
19 Ibid : However it is strange that both Vidya Prakash and Chattopadhyaya have not discussed this variety in their work. Nor have they referred to this mentioned in T. Desikachari's list Pl. II, No. 18.
20 *Nandikkalambakam*, Kazhagam Publication, Madras p. 256.
21 I. Mahadeva *Jar legends*
22 TASSI, 1958-59, pp. 41-83
23 Elliot, Plate II, No. 49, 50.
24 K. V. S. Aiyer, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, p. 344,
25 Dr. Minakshi, Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas p. 93.
26 Dr. R. Nagaswamy, *Thiruttani-Velanjeri-Copper Plates*,

27 Dr. Minakshi, p. 94.
28 S. I. I. Vol. XII, No. 12.
29 Ibid No. 100.
30 Ibid No. 42.
31 S. I. I. Vol. XII.
32 S. I. I. Vol. XII, No. 57.
33 „ „ XII
34 Ibid

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BILINGUAL COINS OF THE SATAVAHANAS

The Satavahanas have issued a number of coins, among which, a series now known as the bilingual series, has an important bearing on Tamil Coinage. Atleast six Satavahana rulers have issued bilingual coins. Sri Kartikeya Sharma has in his recent work '*Coinage of the Satavahana Empire*'[1], drawn our attention to all these issues and has given a description of each variety based on earlier published versions.

1. VASISTHIPUTRA PULAMAVI[2]

Four issues of this ruler are recorded.

Obverse: The portrait in the centre facing right; curled hair, bulbous cheeks, the crest jewel above the forehead; elongated ear lobes with rings; the legend along the border reads:-
Rajno Vasiṭi Putasa Siri Pulumāvisa

Reverse: Ujjain symbol, six arched hill, sun, wavy line below; the legend along the border.
Aracanaku Vaciṭṭi makanaku Tiru Pulumāviku

Note: I. K. Sharma reads the legend as
Arahanaku Vahiṭṭi mākanaku Tiru Pulumāviku
The variation in readings are due to *Ca* read as *ha* and *ma* as *mā*.

Sri. Sharma notes the occurrence of Pulli in the consonant

2. VASISTHIPUTRA SATAKARNI

Obverse: Bust of the king facing right; curled hair; prominent *paṭṭa* on the forehead; *patra kundalas*; legend running around reads:-
Rajno Vasiṭi putasa Siri Satakanisa.

Reverse: The Ujjain symbol; six arched hill; sun; wavy line below with the legend around.
Aracanaku Vaciṭṭi makanaku Tiru Catakaniku
Sri. Sharma reads the legend as
Arahanaku Vahiṭṭi makanuku Tiru hatakaniku.

3. VASISTHIPUTRA SIVA SRI PULAMAVI

Only one coin of this ruler has come down. It was found in an excavation at Dhulikatta and is partly damaged.

Obverse: Portrait facing left; the legend reads:
... Vasiṭi Putasa Siva Siri Pulu ...
Reverse: Ujjain symbol; six arched hill; wavy line below; sun; the legend reads
Aracanaku Vaciṭṭi ma(kanaku Ti)va Tiru Purumāviku

4. VASISTHIPUTRA SIVA SKANDA SATAKARNI

Obverse: Portrait of the king facing right; curly hair; prominent *patta* on the forehead; legend.
Rajno ..... Tiri khada Tatakanisa
Reverse: Same Ujjain symbol; Six arched hill; sun; wavy line; legend.
..... *ciṭṭi makanaku .....*

5. GAUTAMI PUTRA YAJNA SATAKARNI

Obverse: Bust to right, long knot at the back, patta in the front; legend reads.
Rajno Gautamiputasa Yagna .....
Reverse: Ujjain symbol, six arched hill, sun, wavy line, legend.
Aracanaku Gautami putaku ciru yajna catakaniku

Notes: The word *makan* for son occurring in other coins appears here as *Putaku.* In early Tamil inscriptions two words are found to denote son. In the Aranattarmalai inscription the word *makan* is used but in Thiruvadavur it occurs as *Sutan.* The word *Siri* which occurs as *Tiru* in other coins occurs here as *Ciru* obviously a prakrit variant. The word *Satakani* occurs as *Cātakani* with a long *Cā.*

6. VASISHTIPUTRA VIJAYA SATAKARNI

Obverse: Bust to right, youthful prominent nose, long stout face, different hairdo, curled up and capped by a crown decorated exteriorily with two crescentic bands. Petalled sun flower like forehead jewel, legend *Rano ... thi putasa .....*

Reverse: Usual symbolism, legend starting at 12 O'clock reads *(Aracanaku Vaci)ṭi Putaku Tiru Vijaya (Catakaniku)*

In all these coins, the obverse carries the head of the ruler while on the reverse, Ujjain symbol, six arched symbol, a wavy line below and sun and moon are seen. The name of the ruler is given on both sides, the one on the obverse being prakrit and the reverse according to us is in Tamil. The legends on both the sides are identical, but in different languages, hence the name bilingual series. The general trend is as follows.

Obverse	Reverse
Rajno	*Aracan*
Puta	*Takan (not mākan as read)*
Siri	*Tiru*
Satakanisa	*Catakaniku*

In all these issues, (except some minor variations) the word *Rajno* occurs as *Aracan*; *Puta* occurs as *makan*; *Siri* as *Tiru*; and *Satakani* as *Catakani* which are clearly Tamil traditions. The tamil equivalent of *Puta* is *makan*. This has been read as *mākan* with a long '*ā*'. Recently several hundred hero stones belonging to the early Pallava period showing the evolution of Tamil '*mā*' from early to middle form[3] have come to light. So the correct reading is *makan* and not *mākan*.

Discussing these coins Sri Sharma holds that the obverse of the coins bear legend in Prakrit and the reverse in Telugu. His[4] observations on Paleography are not only sweeping and assertive but also to use his own expression "exhibits absolute ignorance of the available data."[5] Several hundred epigraphs have been found in recent years by the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology which

have given us a consequtive sequence of evolution. Every statement made by Sri. Sharma with reference to the letters '*ma*', '*Ca*' and '*Pulli*' occurring in Damili inscriptions is wrong.

Before discussing the individual letters, it is necessary to state that so far as Indian writings are concerned, there was only one script throughout India which we now call 'Brahmi'. (The form called Karoshti in North western India is altogether different and is not taken into consideration here) Though the Brahmi was the script all over the country, it soon manifested certain individualities at different regions suited to the regional language. Early writers gave different names to these regional scripts and *Damili* is one such name given to the script found in Tamilnad in the early Jaina Sutras which mention 1 scripts.[6] The '*Lalitavistara*' later than the Jania texts refers to 64 scripts among which occurs the names '*Drāvidi*', (*Damili* of the early Jaina Sutras) and *Dakshina Lipi* (the southern script). There is no reference in these contemporary texts to any *Telugu Lipi*. In none of the known epigraphs, the Satavahanas have used Telugu, at least recognised as such till now. Sri. I. K. Sharma, states that Avanti, Anupa, Anarta-Surāshtra were effectively under the Sakas till the time of Yajna Sri.[7] But discussing the bilingual issues he states:-

"that the coins bear Telugu legend not for the use of the people of the Telugu region, but for the use of the people Aparanta, Akara, Avanti and Vidarbha[8]." It is curious to argue that (*a*) the legend is Telugu (*b*) that the coins with Telugu legend were not for use in the Telugu region and (*c*) that the coins were minted for use in the enemies' (Saka) territory.

Sri. Sharma states that "Nagaswamy's thesis that the Hyderabad and Maharashtra regions be taken as a Tamil area"[9]. This is patently wrong. Nowhere have I made that statement. That there was no tradition of issuing bilingual coin in early Tamilnad is true, but it proves that the Tamils were not controlling regions other than their own, and that other language speaking population did not form an important section of the society and the necessity to issue a bilingual currency was not felt. The letter *ma* found in Tamilnad and Sri Lanka

is not found in the Bhattiprolu reliquary and is not of the same variety as claimed by Sharma. Mr. Dani's chart would make it clear that the *ma* found on the reverse of the bilingual coins of the Satavahanas is the one found in the Tamil country and Lanka. It is the reason why Dani calls it 'the Dravidian *ma*'[10].

Regarding '*ca*', it has been stated "that in the letter '*cha*' the left loop invariably closes with the vertical and never remains open"[11]. This statement is incorrect. There are hundreds of inscriptions in the Tamil country where the left loop remains withou touching the vertical.

In the coins of 'Yajna Sri' and 'Vijaya', the word '*Ciru*' is found instead of '*Tiru*'. The objections raised in these regard are (1) '*Ciru*' cannot be an equal of '*Tiru*' and (2) '*Ciru*' means younger or smaller and that neither Yajna Sri nor Vijaya were known as younger.[12] Regarding objection (1) it may be observed that '*Tiru*' is after all a prakrit form of '*Siri*' and it is not unlikely '*Siri*' itself appeared as '*Ciru*'. Secondly the Tamil word for 'younger' or 'Smaller' is '*Siṛu*' with a cerebral *ṛ* and not *r*.

Regarding the occurance of *Pulli* nothing need be stressed, as the use of Pulli in Telugu is not known either in epigraphs or in grammer. But it is there in Tamil in both epigraphs and in grammatical works. The pulli could be placed either on top of the letter or on to its side to indicate a pure consonant, as such occurrence is noticed on several hundred Tamil records.

When I originally published the bilingual coin of Vasishti Putra Satakarni, I suggested the sound value '*sha*' be ween '*Sa*' and '*Sha*'.[13] for the symbol 't'. For I took the letter to stand in Tamil for the possesive suffix '*sya*'. Subsequently the sound value *Ku* has been suggested for the same and may be accepted.[14]

I cite the following statements of I. K. Sharma to show the *reductio ad absurdom* in his arguments.

"Since Satavahana Brahmi script like the Asokan Brahmi, is

imperial having closely developed over it and continued faithfully in the Ikshavaku script. This style is not connected to the Brahmi of the Tamilnadu caves – a Brahmi script style deliberately modified to suit the Tamil phonetic peculiarity[15]. We have shown, and that I. K. Sharma also agrees that the legend on the reverse of these bilingual series is closely akin in style and form to the early inscription in Tamilnad. If the script on the reverse of the coins is distinct from the Satavahana and Ikshavaku court script, as held by Sharma and is akin to the scripts of Tamilnad then, it is logical to hold that the language is Tamil. Having said that the Tamilnadu Brahmi script was distinct and deliberately modified to suit Tamil phonetics, Sharma concludes in the next para[16] that "the Brahmi script had already by this time, developed modified forms to suit old Telugu phonetics"?. He further asserts that "we have, in these coin legends, the earliest known Telugu sentence in the history of Telugu literature"[17].

Mr. Sharma's conclusion also deserves to be noted "From the script variants and a few words in the legends, one important thing that emerges clearly is the existence of certain Pan-Dravidian words inspite of the growth and separation of the four languages Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam etc. into distinctive geographical linguistic zones much earlier say in Proto-historic period itself"[18]. No serious scholar would give any credance to such sweeping assertion without any valid evidence. The existence of Telugu, Malayalam or even Kannada, in the time of the Satavahanas as distinct languages yet remains to be established, not to speak of, in the proto-historic period.

The reverse legend on Yajna Sri's coin was read as *Gotamiputa Kumāra Yana Satakani Caturapanasa*' by R. G. Bhandarkar. Altekar has shown this reading is not warranted and says the reverse legend is identical with that on the obverse except that it uses '*araka*' instead of *rano* and *Ciru* instead of '*Ciri*' and '*Hatakanisha*' instead of *Catakaniza*[19]. That' the word is not '*araka*' but '*aracan*' could be seen from the illustration. The reading according to us is '*ciru*' and not '*Hiru*' and '*Catakani*' and not '*Hatakani*'. From this coin it is clear that *Siva Sri* was also called *Pulamāvi*. He also had the prefx

Vaciṭṭiputa. It is therefore possible that *Pulamāvi II*, and *Vasiṭṭi puta Siva Sri Pulamāvi* are brothers as suggested by Altekar.

Before proceeding further a word may be said about the words *Vasishṭi putra*, and *Gautami putra*. Many scholars take these terms *Vasiṭṭi*, *Gautami* as matronymic prefixes, adopted by the Satavahanas. But it is possible that these are gotra names. Like *Brhaspatis* (of the family of Brhaspatis) *Vāruni* (Varunas), *Agastis* (of the family of Agastyas) *Vasishṭi* and *Gautami* seems to us as *gotra* names adopted by the rulers. *Vasiṭṭi puta* or *Vaciṭṭi makan*, would stand for a person belonging to *Vacciṭṭi* family. So also *Gautami putra* would stand for a person of *Gotami* family. Mr. Panneerselvam's statement[20] that this is a coin issued by a king who was the overlord of Satakani, the Vaciti makan' is too off the mark. Among the ancient kings of Tamilnadu, the Cheras and the Atiyas are mentioned by Asoka as '*Kela puto*' and '*Atiyaputo*' as discussed earlier in page 2 of this book. In Tamil these two dynasties were called *Cheramān* and *Atiyamān* (*mān* is a shortened form of *makan*) *Cheramān* means of the family of the Cheras and *Atiyamān* means of the Atiya family.

That besides prakrit, Tamil language is also used by all the above rulers suggest that they had a considerable Tamil speaking section among their subjects. A few suggestions here would not be considered out of place.

The word *Pulamāvi* is found on the reverse of the coin as *Purumāvi*. It seems to suggest that Pulamāvis were connected with the *Puru* family. Since '*ra*' and '*la*' are interchangeable *Purumāvi* was also taken as *Pulamāvi*. *Pulamāvi* is written sometimes as *Pulamāyi*. In early Tamil history we meet with two names *Āy* and *Āvi*. Both of them are said to belong to the Vēḷir family. Vēḷir's are said to have controlled *Velpura*, identified with the Chalukya country, that is the ancient seat of the Satavahana power. It has also been pointed out by earlier writers that *Āy* and *Āvi* belonging to the same family and the two words are almost synonyms. It is interesting to note in this connection that *Pulamāyi* is also written as *Pulamāvi*. Further *Āys* and *Āvis* are considered *Yādavas* and *Purus* also had

connections with Yadus. The 8th century copper plates of *Āy Vēls* from South Travancore clearly state that they were Yādavas. One of the Āys of the early Sangam age was named *Andran*. Scholars have discussed earlier his connection with *Āndhra*. Whether the Tamil *Āys* and *Āvis* had[21] some relationship with the *Pulumāvi* family is worth enquiring. This might also suggest the reason for using Tamil in their coins by the successive Satavahana rulers.

FOOT-NOTES

1. I. *K. Sharma, 'Coinage of the Satavahana Empire'* New Delhi, 1980.
2. For this and the Coins of other rulers, described below, *Please see* Sharma I. K. Ibid pp. 118-119 and also p. 274 to 286 The readings given here are mine and Mr. Sharma's reading, discussed below each.
3. Hero stones from Chengam and Dharmapuri regions copied by the Tamil Nadu State Archaeology Department.
4. *I. K. Sharma*, Ibid p. 121.
5. Ibid pp. 110.
6. *T.* N. *Subramaniam, 'Scuth Indian Temple Inscriptionss'* Madras, 1957, p. 158.
7. *I. K. Sharma*, Ibid p. 110.
8. Ibid p. 118.
9. ,, p. 117.
10. Dani J. H., Indian Paleography
11. *I. K. Sharma*, Ibid p. 114.
12. Ibid.
13. *R. Nagaswamy 'Bilingual Coins of the Satavahanas'* Seminar on Inscriptions, 1967, p.
14. *K. Panneerselvam*, Further light cn the Bilingual Coins of Satavahanas Indo Iranian Journal, 1967.
15. *I. K. Sharma* p.116.
16. Ibid P. 117
17. ,, p. 121.
18. Ibid p. 121
19. *A. S. Altekar 'A comprehensive historo of India'* P. 807
20. *K. Panneer selvam, Ibid.*
21. *R. Nagaswamy* p. 2 of this book.

COINS OF CENTAN

An important discovery in the history of Tamil Numismatics, was made about 15 years back in Andipatti Village of Chengam Taluk, North Arcot District. It was an accidental find of about 120 lead coins, later acquired by the Tamilnadu Government and are now in the Madras Museum. All the coins belong to a single hoard and are identical. These lead coins, fairly well preserved bear on one side some symbols, and on the other a legend running along the periphery, in Tamil language. The coins were cast. The reverse carry wavy lines in the centre, with dots in between 'V' like symbol. Its ends show triangles resembling a saw. The obverse carries two perpendicular lines, flanked by two circles one on either side. To its right is shown an *ankusa*. The legend in early *Damili* (Tamil-Brahmi) characters runs in anti clock-wise direction. On Paleographical grounds, the legend may be assigned to 2-3rd century A.D. The consonant, *ta* and the sign for medial *i* show the beginning of a well defined curve, and are indicative of a date later than the Pugalur, and nearer to the Araccalur records. A most important point to note is a dot in the centre of the vowel '*e*'. The earliest Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyam* refers to the dot to be used for shortening the vowels *e* and *o*.[1] The dot is clearly visible on many coins and is clearly the Tamil tradition. Likewise, the letters *n* which is peculiar to Tamil orthography are found in this coin. There are three names found in these coins. They are *Tinnan*, *Edirān* and *Centan*. All the three names end with the suffix *n* a tamil tradition. What is noteworthy is the absense of a dot to denote a pure consonant as stipulated in *Tolkāppiyam*. While the dot to denote a short '*e*' is present, it is not found for the pure consonant. In the Chengam area, the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology has noticed several hundred hero-stones of the 6th-7th century A.D. in Vatteluttu characters. In some of them we find that the dot is present while in others it is not-Even in one and the same record the dot is found for the short '*e*. and not for pure consonant.[2] It may be taken as a regional peculiarity. What is interesting is the use of Vatteluttu in a number of hero-stones in the same region. The coin shows the beginning of the Vatteluttu form. This is closely followed by the Araccalur record.

The legend is read in two different ways. I take the legend to read as "*Tinnan Etiran Cendan a*" i. e. of Cendan opponent of Tinnan. The letter '*a*' is a possessive suffix and is a Tamil form of *Sya* (Sanskrit) or *Sa* (Prakrit); that *a* is a possessive suffix is well known. Its usage is also attested by early Damili (Tamil Brahmi) inscriptions from Minakshipuram (Mankulam) and Alagarkoil.[3] The use of 'a' in the coin is similar to the use in the Satavahana coins as *Vasiṭṭiputa Siri Satakanisa.* Likewise in this coin *a* should be read with the word 'Centan'. Thus the coin must be considered an issue of 'Cendan'. Hence the reading '*Atinnan Etirān Centan*'[4] suggested by others is not convincing. The name '*Centan*' occurs as name of a person in the Sangam works assigned to the beginning of the Christian era. Centan is described as a chieftain of Arcot whose father '*Alisi*' is extolled (*Narrinai-190*). A verse in *Kuruntokai No. 258,* refers to the valour of Cendan and his father Alisi who was holding sway over Arcot situated on the Kaveri banks.

The Tamilnadu State Archaeology Department has recently discovered an important inscription in Pūlānkurichi Village (near Ponnamaravathi), Ramnad.[5] The inscription is to be assigned to 3rd century A. D., on Paleographical grounds. It refers to a date 192 which is in all probability a saka era, corresponding to 270 A. D. It is dated in the reign of a ruler Kūrran, son of Ko. Centan. The epigraph is the most fascinating discovery in recent years. It is too early now to say whether the Centan, who issued this coin is identical with Centan, the father of Kūrran, the King in whose reign the Pūlānkurichi record was issued, though the coin belongs approximately to the same age. It is possible that they are identical.

Another point of interest is that unlike other Tamil coins, these are lead coins. These are the earliest coins so far found, bearing the name of the issuer in Tamil language and hence their importance.

FOOT-NOTES

1 Tolkappiam, Eluttadikkaram Sutra 66
2 *Chengam-Hero stone* 1971/33
3 I. Mahadevan, *Corpus of Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions.*
4 I. K. Sharma, Ibid, p. 116.
5 R. Nagaswamy, *An outstanding Epigraphical Discovery*, Proceedings of the Vth World Tamil Conference 1981.

TAMIL CURRENCY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The 14th Century is the most disturbed period in the history of Tamilnad. It started off well with the Pāṇḍya Māravarman Kulasekhara having absolute control over the entire Tamil country during the first decade of the 14th century A.D. The second decade of the 14th Century witnessed the incursion and plunder of the Tamil country by Malik Kafur a commander undcr Ala Uddin Kilji, the ruler of Delhi. This was followed by the conquest of the Tamil land upto Poonamalli (Madras) in the North by the Kerala ruler Ravivarman Kulasekhara. Shortly after, the Kerala ruler was driven out by Muppidi Nayaka, a commander of the Kākatiya ruler Pratāparudra-deva. Around 1330 A.D., Madurai was captured by the Sultans and was under the rule of Madurai Sultanate for about 50 years, though in the extreme south, the Pāṇḍyas continued to hold sway with Tenkasi and Thirunelveli as their seats of power. In the North, the Sambuvarāyas established their independent rule with Kanchipuram as their capital. Between 1365 aud 1370 the entire Tamil country was relieved of its suffering by Kumāra Kampana., the Vijayanagara ruler, who conquered the entire Tamil country, brought it under the Vijaya-nagara rule and restored its shattered economy. The closing years of the 14th Century thus returned to stability.

There are a number of Pāṇḍya rulers of this century who ruled jointly, close to each other bearing the names Sundara Pāṇḍya, Vīra-pāṇḍya or Kulasekhara. It is therefore futile to ascribe any coin of this period, to any known ruler. Nor does palaeography help in identifying any issue, with any known Pāṇḍya. However, as has been said earlier one coin that could defenitely be attributed to this period is the issue of the Kerala ruler 'Ravivarman Kulasekhara'. It is a copper coin bearing an elephant on the obverse and the Tamil legend 'Kulasekara' over two fish and a crozier. Coinage under Kumāra Kampana has to be studied under Vijayanagar currency.

14th Century Economy

It has been shown earlier that in the 13th Century, the coins *Varāhan* and *Panams*, have gained prominence in the Tamil country. The Kings who fought among themselves were levying additional taxes to meet their cost of war expeditions. In the first quarter of the 14th Century, the Hoysala Vīra Vallāla III, conquered the northen part of Tamil country by subduing the Yādavarāya's. One Thiruvenkaṭanātha Yādavarāya, who submitted thus to Vallāla III, is seen levying a special tax called *Vallāla Rāyan Vari*[1], at Thirupati. "The *Sarvamānya* grant in the two cases of Pongalur and Tiruppati entailed the remission of more than 40 items of taxation collected by the state from the villages. These taxes are found classified as gold taxes comprising *Pon Vari* etc; grain taxes comprising *Kaḍamai āyam*, etc. taxes relating to free service known as *Amanji vagai*; those taxes levied from the assembly of the Nāṭṭār, and those old and new taxes promul gated from the royal court. Soem fo the taxes enumerated in the two epigraphs No. 189 T. T. and No. 11. G. T. relate to tolls levied on animals road-cess or a kind of Pon tax; profession tax on merchants; oil mongers, weavers etc. licenses for planting gardens, for fishing in Ponds, etc and poundage on stray cattle. These are like the feudal dues levied in the western countries during the middle ages. Two of the three ancient and customary aids are also represented in this list by the *Thirumaganār Kānikkai* and the *Thiruttāyār Kānikkai* i. e. taxes levied for the benefit of the heir apparent and the queen mother. The third item viz., the aid for ransoming the body of the Kings if captured by the enemy, occurs as a kind of tribute paid to the leigelord who reduced the Yādavarāya to submission and in this particular case the conqueror was Vira Vallāla and the tax levied went by the name *Vāllala devar Vari*[2] Most of the records non findTiruppati, relating to endowment made in the reign periods of Yādavarāyas and later in Vijayanagar rule under Harihara, Kampana and others show *Panam* was the main currency. The *Panam* continued to be the main currency in the reign of Kampana, in the extreme south as well. In the year 1374 A.D. certain taxes due to the royal treasury were apportioned to the temple of Thiruppullani, by the Nadu. The taxes were on all adults above the age of 12 in the following rates.

1 Panam per Brahmin.
1 Panam per Vellala.
1 Panam per Chetti.
1 Panam per Tapasvi
1 Panam per Kaikkolas
1 Panam per other castes.
½ Panam per Vellan Pillai.
½ Panam per Iḍaiyar.
½ Panam per Kammālas.
½ Panam per Sānār

The use of the currency *Rāsi Panam* has come into vogue in the early 14th Century A D. is attested by an inscription of the Pāṇḍya Rājarājan Sundara Pāṇḍya, who brought Muslim incursion into the Tamil land. The record found in the Neivassal of Pudukkottai district, dated in his 12th year, refer to the apportionment of *Kaḍamai* of 25 *Rāsipanam* per annum.[3]

However, a point of interest is that when compared to other centuries, the number of epigraphical records assignable to 14th Century A.D. is small. It is probably a reflection on the economic condition of the country.

A brighter side of the history of this period is the contemporary account of foreign travellers like Marco polo, Wassaff and others which may be recalled with advantage at this point.

"The horse trade of Kayal was of considerable political importance and a good part of the revenues of the kingdom was spent on the purchase of horses for the king and the army. There is a reference to horse-dealers from Travancore in an inscription of the time (No. 161 of 1907). Marco Polo says; Here are no horses bred; and thus a great part of the wealth of the country is wasted in purchasing horses; I will tell you how. You must know that the merchants of Kis and Hormes, Dofar and Soer and Aden collect great numbers of destricts and other horses and these they bring to the territories of this King and of his four brothers; who are Kings likewise as I told you. For a horse will fetch among them 500

Saggi of gold, worth more than 100 marks of silver; and vast numbers are sold there every year. Wassaf's statements about this trade are even more specific and furnish interesting details. 'It was a matter of agreement that Maliku-I-Islam Jamaluddin and the merchants should embark every year from the island or Kais and land at Ma'bar 1,400 horses of his own breed, and of such generous origin that, in comparison with them the most celebrated horses of antiquity such as the Rukhs of Rustam, etc., should be as worthless as the horse of the chess-board. It was also agreed that he should embark as many as he could procure from all the isles of Persia, such as Katif, Lahsa, Bahrain, Aurmuz and Kulhatu. The price of each horse was fixed from of old at 220 dinars red gold (=440 saggi of Polo) on this condition, that if any horse, should sustain any injury during the voyage, or should happen to die the value of them should be paid from the royal treasury'.

The waste of the country's wealth on horses that Marco Polo speaks of was due not so much to the generous terms of the contract under which horses were imported as to the unfavourable climate of South India in which these horses could not thrive and the ignorance of Indian horse-keepers. Wassaf remarks : It is a strange thing that when those horses arrive there, instead of giving them raw barley they give them roasted barley and grain dressed with butter and boiled cow's milk to drink.....They bind them for forty days in a stable with ropes and pegs in order that they get fat; and afterwards, without taking measures for training, and without stirrups and other appurtenance of riding, the Indian soldiers ride upon them like demons... In a short time, the most strong, swift fresh and active horses become wretched and good for nothing.... There is, therefore a contest necessity of getting new horses annually'. Marco Polo confirms wassaf and says, 'There is no possibility of breeding horses in this country, as hath often proved by trail' and the people do not know in the least how to treat a horse'. But he also adds this: 'The horse merchants not only never bring any farriers with them, but also prevent any fairrier from going thither, should in any degree baulk the sale of horses, which brings them in every year such vast gains'.

From the earliest times the Pandya country has been famous for its pearls and Marco's account of the pearl fishery is still substantially

correct'. He says : 'In his (Sonder Bandi Davar's) kingdom they find very fine and great pearls; and I will [tell you how they are got· The pearl-fishers take their vessels, great and small, and proceed into this gulf (between the island of Seilan and the main-land), where they stop from the beginning of April till the middle of May. They go first to a place called Bettelar, and (then) go sixty miles into the gulf. Here they cast anchor and shift from their large vessels into small boats. You must know that the many merchants who go divide into various companies, and each of these must engage a number of men on wages, hiring them for April and half of May. Of all the produce they have first to pay the King, as his royalty, the tenth part. And they must also pay those men who charm the great fishes, to prevent them from injuring the divers whilst engaged in seeking pearls under water, one-twentieth part of all that they take. These fish-charmers are termed *Abraiaman* (Brahman); and their charm holds good for that day only, for at night they dissolve the charm so that the fishes can work mischief at their will. . . . . When the men have got into the small boats they jump into the water and dive to the bottom which may be at a depth of from four to twelve fathoms, and there they remain as long as they are able. And there they find the shells that contain the pearls and these they put into a net bag tied round the waist, and mount up to the surface with them, and then dive anew. When they can't hold their breath any longer they come up again, and after a little, down they go once more, and so they go on all day . . . . . In this mannes pearls are fished in great quantities, for thence in fact come the pearlr which are spread all over the world. And I can tell you the King of that State hath a very great receipt and treasure from his dues upon those pearls'. 'Moreover nobody is permitted to take out of the kingdom a pearl weighing more than half a saggio unless he manages to do it secretly. This order has been given because the King desires to reserve all such to himself; and so in fact the quantity he has is something almost incredible. Moreover several times every year he sends his proclamation through the realm that if any one who possesses a pearl or stone of great value will bring it to him, he will pay for it twice as much as it cost. Everybody is glad to do this, and thus the King gets all into his own hands, giving every man his price'.

The king possessed much other treasure of great value besides the best of the pearls that were found in his kingdom. 'Round his neck he has a necklace entirely of precious stones, rubies, saphires, emeralds and the like in so much that this collar is of great value. He wears also hanging in front of his chest from the neck downwards, a fine silk thread strung with 104 (108?) large pearls and rubies of great price. The reason why he wears this cord with the 104 great pearls and rubies, is (according to what they tell) that every day, morning and evening, he has to say 104 prayers to his idols. Such is their religion and their custom- And thus did all the Kings, his ancestors before him, and they bequeathed the string of pearls to him that he should do the like'.

' The king aforesaid also wears on his arms three golden bracelets thickly set with pearls of great value, and anklets also of like kind he wears on his legs, and rings on his toes likewise. So let me tell you what this King wears, between gold and gems and pearls, is worth more than a city's runsom. And it is no wonder; for he hath great store of such gear'.

'When the King dies none of his children dares to touch his treasure. For they say, "As our father did gather together all this treasure, so we ought to accumulate as much in our turn'. And in this way it comes to pass that there is an immensity of treasure accumulated in this kingdom'. That Marco was correctly informed as to the extent of the treasures accumulated by the Pandya rulers is seen clearly from the statements of Wassaf on the matter. Of Kales Dewar (Kulasekhara) he says : His coffers were replete with wealth, in as much that in the treasury of the city of Mardi (Madura) there were 1,200 crores of gold (dinars) deposited . . . Besides this there was an accumulation of precious stones, such as pearls, rubies, turquoises and emeralds - more than is in the power of language to express." (K. A. N. Sastri - The Pandyan Kingdom P. 169-173)

—(o)—

VIJAYANAGAR COINAGE

The coins issued by the Vijayanagara rulers have been studied by eminent scholars. Useful catalogues on the Vijayanagara coinage have appeared from Mysore, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil nadu. It is therefore needless to discuss in detail the Vijayanagara currency system. However, to give a fullness for the study of Tamil coinage, a brilliant chapter on Vijayanagara coinage written by Dr. N. Ramesan, in his Catalogue of the Vljayanagar coins of the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum is reproduced for the benefit of the readers.

"There were four main dynasties of the Vijayanagar kings. The first dynasty was the Sangama dynasty, under which the empire was started, and under which they struggled to fame• The second or the Saluva dynasty was merely a transaltory dynasty for two decades, where new and fresh blood was introduced into the administration of the empire. The third dynasty was the Tuluva dynasty, under which Vijayanagar rose to the heights of its fame and glory, and under the last or the Aravidu dynasty, the empire after the great battle of Tallikota in 1565 A. D. held its own, till it came to a close finally in the 17th Century A. D. Of these dynasties, the coins of the Saluva dynasty are practically unknown since the dynasty itself lasted only for two decades or so. From an analysis of the coins of the other dynasties. we can broadly deduce that the following were the classification of the emblems, on the Vijayanagar gold and copper coins in the various periods.

(A) Sangama dynasty :

(a) Hanuman and Garuda in different poses.
(b) Vrishabha or the bull with a sword.
(c) Elephant, Elephant and king.
(d) Umamahesvara, Lakshminārāyana, Saraswathi and Brahma, and Lakshminarasimha

(*B*) *Saluva dynasty* : (a) Nil.

(*C*) *Tuluva dynasty* .: (a) Lion.
(b) Venkatesvara.
(c) Umāmahesvara.
(d) Bālakrishna.
(e) Vrishabha or bull
(f) The Gandabherunda.
(g) Garuda.
(h) Lakshminārāyana.

(*D*) *Aravidu dynasty* : (a) Sri Rāma.
(b) Sankha and Chakra.
(c) Garuda.
(d) The Varāha.
(e) Elephant.
(f) Vrishabha or the bull in a couchant form.
(g) Venkatesa with and without Goddesses.
(h) Hanuman.

An interesting conclusion can be arrived at from a study of the above symbols. It is known that the sangama dynasty was predominantly Saivite in its faith, though it also favoured Vaishnavism. The Tuluva and the Aravidu dynasties were however predominantly Vaishnavite, and were followers of Vaishnavism. This is no wonder because Lord Venkatesvara of Tirupati has been the guardian deity of the later dynasties. However, all the Vijayanagar kings, without exception, are known to have given grants of lands, villages etc. to various temples and institutions both Saivite and Vaishnavite, in the country. The symbols representing both Lord Siva and Lord Vishnu appearing in the coins thus prove the religious catholicity of the various Vijayanagar kings.

We can also classify king by king, the symbols used in the Vijayanagar coins as follows :

(A) SANGAMA DYNASTY

1 Harihara-I : (a) Hanuman.
(b) Garuda.

2	*Bukka–I*	:	(a) Hanuman.
3	*Harihara-II*	:	(a) Umāmahesvara.
			(b) Lakshminārāyana.
			(c) Saraswati and Brahma.
			(d) Vrishabha or the bull.
4	*Bukka-II*	:	(a) Vrishabha or the bull.
5	*Devarāya-I*	:	(a) Umamahesvara.
			(b) Lakshminarayana.
			(c) Vrishabha or the bull.
6	*Ramachandra*	:	(a) Elephant
7	*Vijayarāya-I*	:	(a) Vrishabha.
8	*Devarāya-II*	:	(a) Elephant.
			(b) Elephant and king fighting.
			(c) Umamahesvara.
9	*Vijayarāya-II*	:	(a) Elephant.
10	*Mallikarjuna*	:	(a) Elephant.

(B) SALUVA DYNASTY

The coins of the Saluva dynasty are not known.

(C) TULUVA DYNASTY

1	*Viranarasimha*	:	(a) Coins of this king are practically unknown except a doubtful coin of the Nārasimha, type
2	*Krishnadevarāya*	:	(a) Venkatesa.
			(b) Siva and Pārvati.
			(c) Bālakrishna.
			(d) Vrishabha or the bull.
			(e) Garuda.
3	*Achyutaraya*	:	(a) The Gandabherunda.
4	*Sadāsiva*	:	(a) Garuda.
			(b) Lakshminārāyana.

THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY

1	*Tirumalarāya-I*	:	(a) Sri Rāma.
			(b) Sankha and Chakra
			(c) Garuda
			(d) Vrishabha or the Bull

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

(e) Elephant
(f) Varāha or the Boar.
(g) Vishnu and Lakshmi seated with the king's hands folded.

2 *Sri Ranga Rāya-I* : (a) Venkatesvara.

3 *Venkatapati Devaraya-II.* : (a) Venkatesvara standing as at Tirupati.
(b) Garuda.
(c) Hanuman.

4 *Sri Ranga-II* : (a) Vrishabha or the Bull in a couchant pose.

5 *Venkatapati Deverāya-III* : (a) Venkateswara with Goddesses.

6 *Sri Ranga Rāya-III*: (a) Venkatesvara.

The above are the broad and the typical classifications of the types of coins issued by the various kings of the Vijayanagar empire. It must, however, be noted that each is not exclusive of the other, and that several symbols of several kings were all mixed up and were being used together by the people.

9. THE WEIGHT AND DENOMINATIONS OF THE VIJAYANAGAR COINS

In South India, the seed called *Kaḷanju* and *Manjādi* known in Telugu as *Guruginja*; was the basis for the metric system of coins originally. As time went on, metallic pieces out to the weight of these seeds were used, In Maharashtra and Konkan the heavy *Gadyāna* weighed 72 grains. In Tamilnad, the *Kaḷanju* of 20 *Manjādi* was equal in theory to the same weight. Between these two areas, the light *Gadyāna* which was used in Andhra and Karnataka areas of the same weight as the coin of the name i.e. 50 to 52 grains. These coins were bearing the same name as the weights as for excample, the *Gadyāna*, the *Dharāna* etc.

During Vijayanagar period the coins were divided into numerous denominations both in gold and in copper. From a study of epigraphic evidence and other information from literary sources, the following principal coins would appear to have constituted the currency of the Vijayanagar period.

1	*Gold.*	1	Gadyana or Varāha or Pon Or Pagoda.
		2	Pratāpa or Māda or Mādai.
		3	Kati
		4	Pana
		5	Haga.
2	*Silver.*	1	Tara.
3	*Copper.*	1	Pana.
		2	Jital.
		3	Kāsu.

We get from the contemporaneous writings of Abdul Razack who was in Vijayanagar territory in 1443 A. D. that king Devarāya-II issued the following currency with the smaller denominations also.

1	*Gold.*	1	Varāha
		2	Partab = $\frac{1}{2}$ Varāha.
		3	Fanam = 1/10 of Partāb i.e. 1/20 of Varāha.
2	*Silver.*	1	Tar = 1/6 of Fanam or 1/120 of Varāha.
3	*Copper.*	1	1/3 of Tar i.e. 1/360 of a Varāha

Though this contemporaneous evidence of a man who lived in the Vijayanagar empire is not exhaustive still it gives us a clear insight into the coinage prevalent then. Just as a rupee was divided into 192 pies, it would appear that the lowest denomination was a copper-piece which was equal to 1/360 of a Gold Varāha.

The value and the mutual relationship both in weight and in currency value of the coins of Vijayanagar can be obtained from various epigraphic and other literary evidences. The following is a resume of the information contained in them.

A- GADYANA OR VARAHA OR A PAGODA

From the Karkal inscription of Bhairava-II it is seen that these terms denoted the same coin and were generally known as the Pagoda and weighed 52 grains. According to Yajnavalkya a Gadyāna is a weight equal to 32 Gunjas or approximately 62 grains. Thus what Yajnavalkya stated as a term for weight, would appear in course of time to have been adopted to denote the name of a coin having the same weight of 62 grains. This would appear to have been brought down in weight and standardised in Vijayanagar period to 50 to 52

grains which was the weight of Vijayanagar Gadyāna or Pagoda. This is also known by the name of Varāha which is very popular in the South and which is derived from the "Varāha Lānchana" of the Western Chalukvas who first adopted in their mint. The following description of the minting of the Gadyāna or the Varāha coins would be of interest. " It is coined in certain cities of this kingdom of Narasinga. . . This coin is round and made in a mould" (Barbosa). " It bears impressed on it on one side two images and on the other name of the king who commanded it to be struck" (Paes). "These coins have two devils stamped on one side of them and certain letters on the other" (Varthema).

There are three varieties of this same coin known as follows :

1 Ghatti Varāha
2 Dodda Varāha
3 Suddha Varāha

The Suddha Varāha is the same as the ordinary Varāha or the Gadyāna of 52 grains. The relationship between the Dodda Varāha and the Ghatti Varāha to the Suddha Varāha is not known clearly.

However from epigraphic evidence in Tamilnad it is seen that 140 Pon equalled 100 Ghatti Venkatrāyan Varāhas. Since Pon is the same as a Varāha or a Pagoda, the relationship between an ordinary Varāha and a Ghatti Varāha may be deduced from this, as 7 : 5.

The Dodda Varāha appears to have been a coin of higher value. It has been worked out on the basis of the coinage of the East India Company, which has the following copper fractions viz. the Duddu (three pies) Fhatti Duddu (4 pies) and Dodda Duddu (6 pies), that the relationship between the Duddu and Ghatti Duddu works to 7 : 5 . 25 which is approximately the same as the relationship between a Varāha and a Ghatti Varaha. Since Dodda Duddu is double the ordinary Duddu, it can therefore be inferred, that Dodda Varaha was double the weight or value of the ordinary or Suddha Gadyāna or Varāha.

Elliots "Coins of Southern India" mentions a rare instance of the Dodda Varāha of Krishnadevarāya which weighed 119.7 grains. It is stated that Varthema who visited Vijayanagar court in 1504 A. D. mentions that a Gadyāna or Varāha was equal to 20 Panas. From this

also it may be inferred that the Varthema's Varāha was the Dodda Varāha while Razack's Varāha was the Suddha Varāha, and this also adds corroborative evidence to the fact that Dodda Varāha was double the weight and the value of the ordinary or Suddha Varāha.

There is a coin called Chakra Gadyana belonging to the reign of Achyutarāya which is a coin with a symbol of Chakram impressed upon it.

(B) PRATAPA AND KATI

The Pratapa is the coin next in value to the Pagoda or the Varāha and would appear to be half its weight and value. The half pagoda was probably known as the Pratapa. The Kati is a quarter Pagoda.

The Tamil Mādai and Telugu Māda are Probably counter-parts of this Pratāpa. This Pratāpa and Kati were introduced for the first time in Vijayanagar period and it is of interest to note that the prefix Pratapa was for the first time applied to Harihara-II as he called himself Pratāpa Harihara-II whereas his predecessors called themselves only as Vira Harihara and Vira Bukka.

(C) PANA

A Pana is 1/10th of a Gadyāna or a Varāha. There is a royal order of Sriranganatha of Chandragiri wherein it is stated that the Jodi amounting to $1316\frac{1}{4}$ Pana or equal to 131 Varahas and $6\frac{1}{4}$ Panas should be remitted. Thus it is clear from this order that 10 Panams were equal to one Varaha or one Gadyana. This relationship is confirmed from other records from Mysore and Maharashtra area. But an inscription of Krishnadevaraya would give a value of 5 Panas to a Varaha. Similarly an inscription of Saka 1340 of Devaraya-II states that 17 Gadyanas and 11 Panas made up $18\frac{1}{2}$ Varāhas which give the value of about 5 Panas to a Varāha. Probably the Gadyāna referred to in the inscriptions is the Pratapa Gadyāna which was half the value of a Suddha Varāha.

(D) HAGA

The denomination after the Pana was Haga which was also $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Pana or 1/40 of a Varaha. This Haga was also known as a Kakini. The work Siva Tatvārtharatnākara contains the following references to a Kākini :

This coin is said to have been current in the north. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Lilavati of Bhaskara which is a famous work in Sanskrit in Mathematics mentions the Kakini and gives the equation of 4 Kakin is equal to one Pana.

(E) TARA

The only silver coin of Vijayanagar is known as Tara and a description of it has been published by Dr. Hultzsch. It belongs to Pratāpadevarāya and bears on the reverse the figure of an elephant. The name of Tara as a coin occurs frequently in Canarese inscriptions. According to Abdul Razack it was equal in value to 1/6 of a Fanam, while according to Mahaun it was 1/15 of a Fana and according to Varthema to 1/16 of a Fanam. It is interesting to note that Kautilya's Artha Sastra mentions the word Tara in the division dealing with mints etc.

(F) COPPER COINS

The copper coins of Vijayanagar are numerous. The Parasara Madhava and the Mitakshara prove beyond doubt that Pana was a copper coin. Kasu would appear to have been a copper coin whose weight varied according to local conditions. Abdul Razack's report refers to a copper coin as a Jital."

The currency system of Tamilnad between 15th and 17th Century A.D. could be studied from Epigraphical records as well. The Thiruppati records of Vijayanagar rulers give a vivid picture of the coins and their relative values. They furnish interesting data about the prices of various commodities, the payments made to different temple servants, the expenses in connection with various festivalate. A such records are given in the appendix for the benefit of readers.

PANAMS

Most of the grants record in terms of *Panam* while detailing cash endowments and these are invariably indicated both in symbols and in words. Several hundred records, mentioning over million *Panams* are thus found in Thiruppati. Does this word *Panam* stand for silver or gold coin? It is well known that very few silver coins of this age have come down to us. Several thousand gold coins, called *Vīrarāyapanams* are

being found in Tamilnad. It is not unlikely that the word *Panam* stands for a gold coin probably identical with these '*Vira Rāya Panams*'. Some of the records of Thirupatí, refer to gift of over 15,000 panams, which would indicate that minting of the *Panams* was the main function of the Royal mints. Reference to such *Panams* are seen from the beginning of the Vijayanagar rule[1]. A record of 1360 (A.D. 1438) mentions *Sakra Panam*[2]. From Karaiyur, in Pudukkottai district, dated in the reign of Virūpāksha (Saka 1391 A.D.), A D. 1476, mentions 400 *anrāḍu Valangum Sakram Panam,* as a price for 4 *mā* of land[3].

Panams are referred to by various names such as *Gulikai Panam*[c] *Rāsi Panam, Āḍūra Panam, Sakra Panam,* and *Pulli Gulikai Varāha Panam,* in the 15th Century records of Pudukkottai district. 150 *Vālāl Valitirandān gulikai panams* are recorded in Peraiyur in the reign of Devarāya, Saka 1343 (A.D. 1421). Another record, dated 1443 A.D. of the reign of Devarāya, mentions *Āḍūra Panam.* What this *Āḍūra Panam* means is not certain. A certain Vira Pandya, ruled as a subordinate of the Vijayanagar rulers in Pudukkottai region in the 15th Century A.D. He ruled for over 40 years. In one of his inscriptions, dated in the 40th year from Neyvasal 12 *rāsi Panams* were gifted[4]. In the reign of the same ruler, dated Saka 1371 (A.D. 1449) 3200 *Aḍūra Panams* are mentioned[5] 150 *Anrādu Valangiya Pulli Kuligai Varāhan Panams* were decided as sale price in the reign of Vira Pāndya, at Alattur[6]. Another record of the same age of Parākrama from Pinnangudi mentions *gulikai Panam*[7]. A number of inscriptions of Thiruppati, refer to *Rekhai Pon* and *Panams.* From the values mentioned in these records it is evident that 10 *Panams* made 1 *rekhai Pon.* Obviously 1 *rekhai Pon* was equal to one *Varāhan* (one *Varāhan* was equal to ten *Panam*).

NAVARATNA PRAAHA - COIN OF KRISHNADEVARAYA

The Thiruppathi records furnish further interesting data. The most important of these is the gift made by Krishnadevarāya. In the year 1514 AD., the Imperial monarch captured Udayagiri fort and on his return to the capital visited the temple of Sri Venkateswara, performed *Kanakābhishekam* with 30,000 *chakram pon* and presented

various o ther valuable ornaments.[8] Earlier in 1513 A,D, the emperor gifted a *Navaratna Kirita* to Lord Venkatesvara[9]. From the point of numismatic history, Krishnadevaray's gift of a*Navaratna Prabhāvali -makara torana* is the most important record. The record states that the mighty emperor defeated the Gajapati of Orissa, captured several fortresses and on his way to the capital proceeded to Dharanikota Amaresvara, performed *Tulāpurusha mahādāna* and while ruling the kingdom on 25-10-1515 A.D. he presented to Sri Venkatesvara the remarkable *Navaratna prabhāvali*.

"1-2. Hail, Prosperity ! Sriman Mahārājadhirāja Rājaparamesvara Muvarayaraganda Ariyarayavibhāta Ashtadikrāya-manobhayankara Bhāshagutappuvarāyaraganda, Purva-dakshina-paschima-Samudradhīsvara Yavanarajyasthāpanāchāyā, Gajapativibhāta, Sri Virapratāpa Sri Vira Krishnarāy Mahārāya-

2-12. started from his capital Vijayanagara on an eastern expedition occupied the fort Udayagiri, captured Tirumala Rautarāya Mahāpātra in one single campaign, took Addanku, Vinikonda, Bellamkonda, Nagarjunikonda, Tangedu, Ketavaram and other forts situated on hills and plains, next marched to Kondavidu fortress, laid siege to it, erected square sheds round the fort, demolished the rampart walls, occupied the citadel, captured alive Virabhadrarāya, son of Pratāparudra Gajapatideva, Naraharideva, son of Kumāra Hamvirapātra, Rachuri Mallukhan, Ūddandakhān, Janyala Kasavapātra, Pusapati Rachiraja, Srinatha Rāmarāja, Lakshmipatiraja, Paschimabalachandra Mahāpatra and other Manneyars (Zamindars), granted them their lives and proceeding to Dharanikota Amaresvara, in the presence of God Amaresvara on the banks of the river Krishnaveni, performed Tulapurusha Mahadana himself and causing his queens Chinnaidevi and Tirumalādevi to offer Mahādānas (great gifts) with their own hands, returned to Vijayanagara, occupied the jewelled throne, ruled the kingdom and on the third day of the dark fortnight of the *Kārtika* month in the cyclic year *Yuva*, current with the Saka era 1437, he (Krishnadevarāya) presented to God Tiruvengadanātha (Sri Venkatesa) a *nava-ratna Prabhāvaii* or *makara-torana* set with nine kinds of precious stones consisting of :

25 *Kirtimukha*-leaves
13,835 *vommechchu* beads,
16 . . . weight of the gold wire,
7,978 weight of the solid gold,
20 silk fringes hanging on the head of the *makara-torana*, and
5,474 weight of the above-said gold fringes,
thus making up a grand total of 27,287.

The following nine kinds of gems are fixed in different parts of the (above said) *makara-torana* :

81 rubies,
10,994 red stones,
754 emeralds,
530 sapphires,
40 cat's—eyes,
45 agates,
74 topazes,
920 old diamonds,
3, 933 pearls,
4 prominent sapphires fixed in the place of the eyes,
6 corals and
30 conch–shells,

thus the total weight of the arch of the *Makara-torana* (described above) is 14, 711; grand total of the whole *Prabhavali* (including the lower and the upper portions) being 31, 124.

12. In this manner this record of charity, executed as this (Krishnadevarāya's) service, shall be conducted till the lasting of the moon and the sun".

In this connection, a gold coin of great interest should be mentioned. Illustrated as No. 112 by Elliot, the coin bears on the reverse, a legend in Nāgari reading Sri Krishnarāya". The description of the obverse as given by Elliot is "Vishnu under an arch". Later writers have identified the image of Vishnu as Lord Venkatesvara. There are two points worthy of note with reference to this coin. The coin bears on the obversae well delineated figure of Lord Venkatesvara inside a *makara torana* or *prabhāvali*. The *Prabhāvali* is not only beautifully portrayed but also given great

importance in the coin. There is no other Vijayanagar coin which portrays *makara torana* so elegantly as this coin. In fact the coin itself is carefully made and executed that it is clear that it belongs to the class of special issues. The second point of interest is that this coin weighs 119.7 grain, and was considered a *dodda varāha* or double varāha. I am of the opinion that this coin might have been issued by Krishnadevaraya, to commemorate his gift of *Navaratnaprabhāvali makara-torana* to Lord Venkatesvara on 15th Oct. 1515. This gift was made by Krishnadevarāya, after his conquest of Gajapathi of Orissa and several fortresses. It is known that among Vijayanagar coinage, the coin with the figure of lord Venkatesvara appears only from the reign of Krishnadevarāya.

BALAKRISHNA COINS:

Similarly another series of coin issued for the first time, by Krishnadevarāya is the Balakrishna gold coins. On the obverse of this coin, is an image of Balakrishna seated with navanita in right arm. The reverse carries the legned in Nāgari 'Sri Prātapa Krishna-rāya' It is well known that Krishnadevarāya, attached great import-ance to Krishna Jayanti, and also that he brought an image of seated Balakrishna from Udayagiri. It is likely that the Emperor introduced this series after his expedition to Orissa.

FOOT-NOTES

1. T.T.D. Vol. I, No. 184
2. Ibid, No. 212
3. Inscriptions of Pudukkottai State, No. 715
4. Ibid, No. 452
5. Ibid, No. 462
6. Ibid, No. 589
7. Ibid, No. 448
8. Ibid, No. 66, 68
9. Ibid, No. 32

BANA COINAGE

The Banas were a dynasty of powerful chieftains, who appear on the Tamil scene from the beginning of the Christian era, and played a subordinate role to all the major powers of the Tamil country. During the early Pallava period they were active in the northern part of Tamilnad serving the Pallavas. Towards the end of the Pallava rule they shifted their field of activity towards the Kaveri region near Trichy. At the height of the Chola reign they were absolutely subordinate to the Imperial power. But when the Chola power showed signs of weakness, they showed their might and were sought after by both the Cholas and Pandyas When Kulot_ tunga III, conquered Madurai in the 13th century A.D., he installed the Bāna as the ruler and gave him the title Pāṇḍya. But within a short period Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, captured the Chola country with the help of the Bāna and honoured him with some territories. This was the signal for the Bānas to achieve independance. So long as the mighty Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and Māravarman Kula-sekhara maintained their power till 1310, Banas bid their time and with the family feud of the Pandyas showing their ugly head in the 14th century, the Banas asserted their independance. They are seen ruling Madurai, a part of Ramnad, and even a part of Kongu country. From 14th to middle 16th century their epigraphs are found in regions Madurai, Ramnad and Pudukottai.

They were called in all these records, Mahābali Vānādarāyar. They were great Vaishnavites and were deeply devoted to Lord Vishnu of Alagar Koil and the Andal temple at Srivilliputtur. The main Vimāna of the Andal shrine of Srivilliputtur was built by the Bāna Chieftain. Before the advent of the Ramnad Sethupati Chieftains, Ramesvaram and its pilgrim route were under the control of the Bānas. They assumed the title Bhuvanekavira and *Setumula Raksha durandharan.*

An inscription from Sevaḷur, in Thirumeyyam Taluk Pudukkottai district, mentions a Bāna whose name is given as Sundaratoluḍaiyān

and Thirumāḷirunjolai ninrān (after the name of the deity of Alagar Koil). His number of titles are also recorded in the epigraph. Among them *Samara Kolākala* and Bhuvanekavira are the important titles worthy of note. From another village-Nekkonam, dated in Saka era 1405 (1483 A.D.) comes another inscription of the same Bāna ruler, whose following titles are significant.

Samarakolākalan
Bhuvanekaviran
Sethumūla Rakshā durandaran
Madhurāpuri mahānāyakan
Pāndyakulāntakan
Rājakula sarpa garuḍan
Garuḍaketanan etc.

It is evident from the above that he had the Garuda as his royal crest. That he conquered Pāṇḍyas and was master of Madhurāpuri is also significant.

Against this background may be viewed the number of coins assigned to the Pāṇḍyas by all scholars on S. I. Numismatics. These coins bear two distinguishing titles Bhuvanekavira and Samarakolā kalan.

Type 1: *Obverse*: a seated Garuda on a fish; flanking the Garuda are conch and discus.
Reverse: The legend reading Samarakolākala. The legend is in three lines seperated by line markings.
Type 2: *Obverse*: Garuda with conch and discus
Reverse: Legend Samarakolākala in between lines.
Type 3: *Obverse*: Garuda with conch and discus
Reverse: Legend Samarakolākala in between lines. Palaeographically earlier.
Type 4: *Obverse*: Garuda. Sankha and Cakra, a beautiful umbrella above.
Reverse: legend 'Bhuvanekavira'.
Type 5: *Obverse*: Garuda holding a snake in the arms. Sanka Cakra present in the obverse.
Reverse: the legend Bhuvanekavira separated by lines.

Type 6: *Obverse*: Garuda with conch and discus.
Reverse: Two fishes shown horizantally with a crozier in between.

All the above types ascribed to the Pāṇḍyas by earlier writers were the issues of the Bānas of Madurai-Ramnad area. The fact that the Garuda is shown seated over the fish indicate that they have put down the Pāṇḍyas. The title "Vaḷudisekharan" shows their conquest over Pāṇḍyas. The title Garudaketanan would show why they depicted Garuda on the coins. Another interesting title is 'Rājakula-sarpa Garuda" the Garuda to the snake of Rājakula (literally the very death to other Rājas). As if to portray this, the Garuda in their coin is shown holding a snake in its arm.

Over the head of Garuda is a well executed umbrella.

As mentioned earlier that there is some palaeographical difference in the letters of the coins which indicate that all do not belong to the same period. Some of them are 15th century and others 16th century coins. In the initial stage the Bānas seem to have tried to maintain the continuity of Pāṇḍya tradition. So the coin bearing two fish and a sceptre on one side and the Garuda on the other but with no legends may be taken to be the earliest series of the Bānas.

Desikachari discussing these coins felt that these were not the regular issues of the Pāṇḍyas but issued by the Nayak subordinates in the name of the Pāṇḍyas. Vidya Prakash[1] follows the suggestion of Desikachari[2]. But all these conjecture's can be set at rest now.

FOOT NOTES

1 T. Desikachari, *Coins of South India*, p. 165.
2 Vidya Prakash, Ibid, p. 65.

COINS
OF
TANJORE NAYAKS

The closing years of Krishnadevarāya, witnessed the establishment of Nayak Principalities at Gingee, Tanjore and Madurai. These Nayaks were subordinates of the imperial Vijayanagar emperors, but as times passed by they grew powerful, and often tried to establish independent authority. They have also issued coins of their own. During their reign, the coins of the Vijayanagar issues and also their own were in circulation. The coins of the Nayak have not received due attention they deserve. Secondly there were so many issues, majority of them bearing no legends, but only representing gods and some symbols. It is not an easy task to assign them to any ruler with certainity. The irregular way which these coins are issued, raises the doubt whether there was any effective central control over the mints. The lack of any regular form or precision indicate a near chaotic condition mainly due to the internecine wars. However an attempt is made in these pages to deal atleast with few coins which can reasonably be studied.

The Tanjore Nayak rule was established in the reign of Achyuta deva Raya, the Vijayanagar emperor around 1532. China Sevvappa was the first ruler of the Tanjore dynasty. He was one of the sons of Timmappa and Bayyāmbika and served first as vassal and subsequently as Dalavay to Achyutarāya. Achyuta gave his sister-in-law, Mūrti Amba, in marriage to Sevvappa and made him the ruler of Tanjore. It is said that the Tanjore Sirmai was given as a *stridana* to Sevappa. Before assuming power of the Tanjore kingdom, Sevvappa, distinguished himself under Krishnadavarāya. Under Krishnadevarāya's order, he built the tall tower of Thiruvannamalai. From 1532 to 1560, Sevvappa had a prosperous rule. During his reign the Vallam fort was taken over by him and the Trichy fort was handed over to the Nayak of Madurai (Viswanatha). It was during his reign the fatal Talikota was fought. Sevvappa was a great builder. He

repaired the Sivaganga tank at Tanjore and dug another lake named after him as Sevvappaneri. He erected huge prakaras at Vrddhachalam and Kanchipuram. Both the Vaishnavite shrines of Thiruppati and Srirangam were covered with gold. He was a ruler of Catholic outlook. He made a great gift to Buddha Palli. He gifted seven Velis of land to a Muslim edifice called Samusaru Palli at Tanjore. It was also during his time, that the Portughese were settled in Nagappattinam and built the two Churches, St. Francis of Assissi and our lady of Hatt. St. Xaviour was received in his country in his reign 550 A.D. About 1560 A.D. he made his son Achyutappa a coregent, and spent his life in religious pursuit and died in 1580 A.D.

The coins issued by this ruler have not been identified so far. I recently came across a coin which is of interest. It carries a figure of a Chank within a circle of dots. On the reverse, two lines of writing '*Cavappa*' are in Nagari characters. In epigraphy Sevappa is called *Sevanrpati*, *Sevabhūpa*, *Chinnaseva*, and *Siruceva*. The name *Cavappa* is also found in literary work.

In the regin of Raghunatha, the grandson of Sevvappa, Rama bhadramba a court poetess wrote a work called Raghunāthābhyudayam. In the work, the word *cavappa* occurs for Sevappa.

Sariravān dharma ivajanishta
Cavvābhidhāna Kshitipāla chandra[1]

The coins with the name '*cavappa*' are found in Tanjore region and are undoubtedly a coin of the ruler Sevappa, the founder of the dynasty.

ACHYUTAPPA NAYAK

Sevappa Nayak nominated his son Achyutappa as heir apparant in 1560 and jointly ruled the kingdom till 1580 when he passed away. Achyutappa ruled till 1614, and had a prosperous life. He had the assistance of Govinda Dikshita an outstanding minister who paid great attention to the development of Agriculture by improving irrigation. Achyutappa remained loyal to the Vijayanagar emperor and won battles against the Portughese and the Nayak of Madurai. His long rule enabled him to contribute substantially to the enrichment

of several temples, Srirangam received the maximum. He covered the inner most shrine with gold, and gifted a golden Simhasana, golden crown, jewels etc., besides building gopuras in the east, north and west. He visited Ramesvaram annually and built the Gopura there. His portrait is found there. Mayuram, Kumbakonam, Thiruvidaimarudur, Thiruvadigai, Muvalur, Vilanagar, and Chidambaram received his gifts. The most outstanding construction of his reign is the mandapa at Srimushnam. Achyuta made his son Raghunātha-Nāyak, the virtual ruler in 1600 A.D.

Achyutappa's coin has not yet been identified. No doubt the coin issued by the Vijayanagar overlord were in circulation.

RAGHUNATHA NAYAK

The most outstanding ruler of the Tanjore Nayak dynasty was Vijaya Raghunatha Nayak, the son and successor of Achyutappa. He ruled between 1600 and 1630. Even in 1589, as a youth, Raghunatha went to the aid the Vijayanagar Emperor Venkata and won a significant victory against the Golkonda ruler A distinguished fighter, Raghunatha won many battles. He subdued the Cholaga and captured him a prisoner. At the request of the King of Jaffna, he invaded Ceylon and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Portugheese fleet. But the most memorable war he won was against Jaggaraya, an usurper who grabbed power by putting to the sword the Vijayanagar emperor Sriranga. The great battle was fought at Thoppur near Trichy. Jaggaraya was aided by the Nayaks of Madurai and Gingee. Raghunatha with Yachama Nayak, destroyed the army of Jaggaraya killed him in the battle. While the Nayaks of Madurai and Gingee ran for their lives, Raghunatha crowned Rāmarāya, a young boy of Sriranga, as the Vijayanagar emperor, To commemorate his victory Raghunatha built the Ramaswamy temple at Ḳumbakonam, a gem among the Tanjore Nayak buildings.

He was a great devotee of Rama and styled himself a servant ever devoted to listening to Rāmakatha. *Anavarada Rāmakathāmrtha Sevaka.* He built a Rāma temple at Srirangam and another at Ramesvaram. Many others received his benefaction. He performed *Tulābhāra Hiranyagarbha, and Mahāpurshā dānas.*

Raghunatha was a great poet in Telugu and Sanskrit and composed many Kāvyas, prabandhas and Yakshagānas. He was a great Musician too and invented a new Vina called Raghunāthendra Vina. Many new Ragas were composed by him and new talas experimented. He was a great lover of *nātakas* and frequently used to hold assembly of learned men. There are many contemporary biographies of this ruler.

He patronized foreign trade and permitted the Danes to settle at Tranquebar and erect a fort and the Danesborg.

Though coins bearing his name have not so far been brought to notice, it is possible to identify atleast one coin as an issue of this great ruler. The coin in question, frequently met with in Tanjore region bears on the obverse a standing figure of Rama and Lakshmana (Sita) and Hanuman on the obverse. On the reverse is seen a portrait of a King standing in Anjali pose with a long sword hanging from his waist. In the Ramaswamy temple at Kumbakonam, an excellent portrait of Raghunatha Nayak is found. The portrait figured in the coin bears close resemblance to the portrait at Kumbakonam. The fact that Rama is portrayed on the obverse and his particular devotion to Rama seem to suggest that the coin was issued by Vijayaraghunatha nayak. Side by side with this coin, the coins of Vijayanagar were also under circulation. Mention has been made earlier that under the patronage of Raghunatha, foreign trade flourished in Tanjore region. So coins issued by the Danish East India company, the Dutch etc. were also under circulation.

FOOT-NOTE

1 Raghunathabhyudaya Kavya of Ramabhadramba - published by University of Madras - 1934, chapter-6, verse-5.

COINS
OF
MADURAI NAYAKS

A group of coins, with a standing or seated bull with a crescent above on the one side and different emblems on the other, is assigned by early Writers to Pāndyas in some cases and to the Cholas in others.

T. Desikachari assigns Nos. 92, 96, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107 and 120. to the Cholas and 14 & 15 to the Pandyas. Vidya Prakash No. 9, 10, 11 & 12 of Pl. II, assigned to Pandyas and 14, 15, 16 & 17 of Plate VI assigned to Cholas. Also Elliot's 167, 168 [1] and 258 to 268 of Chattopadhyaya.

The Bull type coins may be grouped broadly into three varieties. Among them two groups bear names of the rulers. One bears the name Konerirāyan and the other bears the name Sethu. These two groups are neither Chola Coins nor Pāndya Coins and are coins of local rulers. The third group bear the initial of the ruler in Tamil-Nagari or Telugu. It will be shown presently that these coins were the issues of the Nayaks of Madurai and have nothing to do with Chola or Pāndya.

It is well known that towards the end of Krishnadevarāya's rule the Nayak principalities of Tanjore, Madurai and Gingee were established. Towards the end of his reign Krishnadevarāya, sent his able general Nāgama Nāyaka to Madurai, to remove the Chola who has captured the Country and restore it to the Pāndya. Nāgama took no time to drive out the Chola, but did not restore the couutry to the Pandya. This enraged the emperor Krishnadevarāya, who sent Nāgama's son Visvanātha to fight against his own father. Visvanātha the young general won the battle and brought his father a prisoner before the emperor. But at the same time Visvanātha informed the emperor that the action of his father in not returning the Kingdom to the weak Pāndya was the prudent policy that would maintain peace in the region.

Krishnadevarāya realised his folly and appointed Visvanātha himself to govern the Madurai Country. That marked the beginning of Mādurai Nayak dynasty. Though Visvanātha ruled as a Governor under Vijayanagar dynasty, he styled himself as a Pāndya. In his coins he reflected this by showing on the reverse the two fish and a sceptre and the Tamil legend 'Visvanāthan' in-anti-Clockwise direction. Another point of interest is the presense the crescent moon to indicate the lunar lineage of the Pandyas. On the obverse is shown the standing figure. The issue of the coins with Tamil legend and the Pandya crest by the Telugu speaking Visvanātha shows that he respected the sentiment of the people of the region and also ensured a smooth currency system.

This writer happened to notice an interesting copper coin in a private collection at Kuttalam, Tinnelveli district. The coin bears on the obverse two fishes and above them is seen the Tamil legend 'Pāṇḍya'. On the reverse the legend *Visvanātan'* is written. This should have been one of Visvanātha's early coin.

Desikachari realised that this variety was issued by the Nayak of Madurai. Commenting on this he says, "Coins of later times issued during the Nayak rule, bearing the names of Visvanātha and his successors, sometimes also having the name of the presiding deity of the Madurai temple or the name of the town itself in Tamil and Telugu occur in large numbers".[2]

A coin of smaller diamension illustrated as No. 72 by Desikachari may also be assigned to the early period of the Madurai Nayak age. However Desikachari's description of the coin is somewhat inaccurate. The obverse carries a figure of a standing bull and the reverse two fish and a sceptre crowned probably by the royal umbrella. Though there is no legend on it, it seems to be typologically an early 16th Century coin. The introduction of the bull in the coin must be noted.

It has been said earlier that the coins bearing the legend 'Koneri Rāyan' belong to the Vijayanagar general bearing that name whose epigraphs are found in the Chola Country.

That the Madurai Nayak, chose the seated or standing Bull as their crest is proved by the flag staffs found in Madurai Minakshi Temple and Subramanya temple at Thiruparankunram. The flag staff in the Minakshi temple at Madurai is covered with copper sheet gilded with gold. At the bottom it has four faces. The front face carries a Ganesa image, and the rear face an image of Annapūrna. The side faces on one side carries the Vijayanagara emblem the boar, the Kaṭāri, Sun and Moon. On the other face is the seated Bull, under a tree, with a trisula and sun and moon. This clearly shows that the seated Bull with sun and moon is the royal crest of the Madurai Nayaks.[3] The flag staff in the Sundareswara temple, and at Subramanya temple at Thirupparankunram also carry the figure of Boar and seated Bull. A historical work *Madurai Thiruppanimālai* listing the renovations done by various people through the centuries mentions that the flagmast in front of the Amman shrine was set up by one Mallappa and that Virappa Nayak, Son of Krishnappa renewed it with gold covering, in the second half of the 16th century. These were regilded by Thirumalai Nayak in the middle of 17th century. An interesting point worthy of notice is that Virappa Nayak and Thirumalai Nayak were called rulers hailing from Kanchipuram. Obviously the Madurai Nayaks have adopted the Bull emblem from the Kanchi region. It is therefore clear that all the coins bearing the seated or standing Bull relate to the Nayaks of Madurai. (Contra-A number of Copper coins depict a crude figure of standing figure on the obverse and standing Bull with a few symbols and occassionally some letters in Kannada or Nagari like 'vi' on the reverse. These coins appear to have been issued by Chola viceroys of Kulottunga in Chalukya territory-Vidya Prakash, P. 88. This is obviously wrong).

Against this background a number of coins of this variety could be attributed to the Madurai Nayaks.

Among the rulers three deserve special mention, Visvanātha's son Krishnappa and his son Virappa were great builders. They were aided by the able administrator Ariyanatha Mudaliyar. Virappa built a number of structures including the 1000 pillared hall at Madurai. The most outstanding ruler of the Madurai Nayak dynasty was Thirumalai Nayak, son of Muthukrishnappa. He succeeded his brother Muttu

Virappa in 1623 and ruled upto 1656 A.D. During his reign, he waged many wars, some of them successful and others when he had to retreat. He waged a successful war against Travancore. His wars with Mysore kept him engaged for a considerable time. At first the Mysore forces of Chāmarāja Udayar, reached as far as Dindugal near Madurai. But Thirumalai's able Commander Ramappayyan chased the Mysore forces into their territory upto Mysore and won a signal victory there. Again towards the end of his life, Kanṭīrava Narasa Rāyan of Mysore conquered upto the outskirts of Madurai, Thirumalai who was on his death bed however was saved by the royal troops and the Maravar army. The Mysore army was chased and driven into their country. Thirumlai also fought an unnecessary war against the Vijayanagar Emperor Ranga. But the notable war of Thirumalai, was with the Sethupati of Ramnad in which the Portughese and the Dutch also took sides with the rival parties. Thirumalai's general Rāmappayyan won a decisive victory. Though the Sethupathi was initially captured a prisoner, he was restored later with full honours.

It was not the wars that made Thirumalai Nayak a great monarch. It was his contributions to art and literature that have won him a place in the heart of the people. The *pudumandapam* the south Gopura, the Vandiyur tank at Madurai and his innumerable benefactions to various temples like Srivilliputtur, Alagar koil, Srirangam and others are standing monuments to his greatness as an art Connoisseur. The costly jewels he gifted, the ivory carvings he made etc., show the prosperity of his rule. The palace he erected is an outstanding building in the South.

Another noteworthy figure in the history of Madurai Nayak dynasty was Queen Mangammal who paid great attention to roadways and rest houses besides a prosperous rule. The coins of this dynasty are quantitatively more in number but lack any fineness. A few of them could be identified.

The coins of Visvanātha have been discussed above. There are a few coins bearing on the obverse a standing figure with what seems to he a dagger below the left arm. On the reverse is standing bull with a Nagari letter (Vi) in front. Above the bull is

a crescent. Elliot attributes this to the later Cholas with hesitation[3]. This seems to be an issue of Virappa Nayak[4]. Another variety shows the standing figure on the obverse and the standing bull on the reverse. Before the bull a Sankha is shown. Above the bull is the letter 'Cho' in Telugu - Kannada character. It is likely that this coin was issued by Chokkanatha Nayak.[5]

Another type of the series, shows the standing figure on the obverse and the Bull standing on the reverse. In front of the bull is shown a conch, and a letter 'vi' in Telugu Canarese script. above the bull is a crescent[6] This coin is probably an issue of 'Virappa' Nayak.

There are a number of coins of similar types but without script. On the obverse are seen seated bull on a pedestal. Lamp stands are seen in front and back. Above the bull is crescent moon. On the reverse are two fish shown across a pedestal and a lamp stand in the front ; above the fish is the crescent moon.[7]

Another type shows a seated bull on one side and two fishes one facing up and the other down and in between is an arrow.

There are varieties of these coins showing on one side two fishes or standing man and on the other the Bull either standing or seated. All these were issues of Madurai Nayaks. They are found in large numbers around Madurai region.

A coin illustrated No. 17, Pl. VI. by Vidya Prakash is of interest. The description given by as him is as follows. "Obverse: standing figure, head out of the flan. Inside splayed out legsare Telugu letters probably '*Raja*'. Reverse: Bull facing right before a dagger, crescent above". The letter is certainly not Rāja but '*Ti*' probably the initial of Thirumalai Nayak.

Besides these Bull type coins, there are other types of coins also issued by the Nayaks of Madurai.

One more coin about which there could be no doubt, is that of the issue of Queen Mangammal. Desikachari has illustrated this coin as Plate IV, Coin No. 82. It shows on the obverse a seated bull on a pedestal. On the reverse is seen four square; within each there is the Telugu letter 'Mangamma' obviously an issue of the queen.

Besides these coins, there are a few coins which were also issued by the Nayaks of Madurai. A point of interest in this series, is the mention of the name of mint obviously an idea borrowed as a result of close western contact. These mention the places like Palani, Madurai etc. On one series we find the seated bull on one side and on the reverse the Tamil word 'Palani'. In another series, a symbol resembling a dagger is seen. On the reverse is a figure of a fish shown vertically with the letter 'Palani' written around. Yet another series show a fish shown horizantally with the name Palani on the obverse and on the reverse a crosslike diagramme shown with the word 'Palani' around. In another series, the obverse shows a galloping horse and on the reverse a Tamil word 'Palani'. From all these it is seen that the town Palani served as an important mint in the time of Madurai Nayak particularly towards the close of their reign.

One series shows the word 'Madura' in Tamil on one side and on the reverse the Telugu legend Madhura'. While a number of the former series could be related to the late Nayak period, it is not known whether the others relate to the Nayak or early British period.

Besides these there are a number of coins bearing the figure of deities like Garuda, Goddess Minakshi, Ganesa etc.

Regarding the Financial administration of the Madurai Nayaks the following account from Sathyanatha Iyer's work 'Nayaks of Madurai' would be Read with interest.

FINANCE

Revenue Administration : The administrative system was organized with a view to the collection of revenue with ease and promptitude. The village revenue officer was called the *maṇiyakāran* or *ambalakāran* The collections from the villages were transmitted to their immediate

superior, the head of the *mākāṇam*, and from him in progression to the King's treasury under the control of the Pradhāni. The amount of land tax collected was half of the produce of the land, according to the Jesuit writers. Nelson takes this as half of the *gross* produce, but it is more reasonable to think that the *net* produce is meant, as taxation in general was on the *net* product. The payment of revenue appears to have been in cash, as the Jesuit authorities seem to imply. A letter of 1683 says that Ekoji was receiving money payments as revenue. This shows that there was sufficient currency in the country for the sale of paddy. If this was the case in Tanjore, the same system would have been prevalent in Madura. Moreover, as early as fifteenth century, payment of revenue in cash was adopted by the Vijayanagar emperors. Sufficient details are not available to explain in full the working of the revenue system of the Nāyaks,

Sources of Revenue.—The land tax was the mainstay of the public revenues, as was the case in more ancient times. All the lands were not given to the Polegars. The crown lands, though smaller in extent than all the Pāḷaiyams put together, were more productive, as Nelson thinks. An unfailing source of income seems to have been provided for by the first Nāyak ruler by reserving the best lands for the upkeep of the Government. Distant and unproductive lands principally would have been given to the Polegars. Further, the crown lands would have been far better looked after than other portions of the country, as the resources of a Government would be far greater, for improvements in land, than those of individuals with limited means. The second chief source of the state income consisted of tribute from the Polegars, which amounted to one-third of the produce that they received from their farmers. This income varied with the circumstances of the times. In the early days of the Nāyakship, the Pāḷaiyams were not very productive. There were numerous obstacles to cultivation, which the Polegars only slowly succeeded in over-coming. In many instances, total remissions of tribute were sanctioned as rewards for public services, as in the cases of the Sētupati, the Polegar of Kaṇṇivādi, and others. Regular payment of tribute by the Polegars depended on their temper and the condition of the times. In periods of commotion, it would have been difficult to make them pay; a weak king cannot have received tribute from them in full and with

ease. Therefore this was an uncertain source of revenue. The pearl and chank (*Xanxus*) fisheries brought some revenue; but they could not be relied on, as their proceeds varied arbitrarily, and in the course of time became very disappointing. Further, only a portion of the costs could bring revenue to the king of Madura, since the Marava king claimed the proceeds from fishing in his roads. The lion's share of the profits went to the Dutch, who bought the pearls and chank at a nominal price. The main sources of income were the three above-mentioned, viz, the land tax, the tribute from Polegars, and the fisheries.

There were numerous miscellaneous taxes which do not seem to have been productive. Inscriptions contain references to these, but the details of their character and incidence are not known, The inscriptions mention *uḷavu* and *paṇḍāravādai*, *Jōḍi* and *virāḍa*, taxes on looms and weavers, and those on imports and exports. There were also petty taxes on land and water communications, and *octroi* duties. This 'multiple system' of taxation is not economical from the modern standpoint, but it is difficult to appreciate how it reacted on the kingdom at large. It is not enough if particular taxes are selected and their characteristics examined, even if we have sufficient data for such a study. It is more important to appraise the burdens which the tax system, as a whole, imposed on the people, according to their ability to pay. We have no materials for such an investigation. Nelson and Mr. Rangachari, especially the latter, think that all the taxes levied by the Vijayanagar emperors and the Mysore rulers would have been imposed by the Nāyaks on their subjects; and therefore they enumerate a long list of them. There is no direct evidence to justify their applicability to Madura. Some of these miscellaneous taxes were frequently made over to temples and public charities. Inscriptions record numerous cases of remission of this kind of taxation. Portions of the crown lands were alienated in favour of private individuals as rewards for meritorious service, and also in favour of temples. State officers and charitable institutions were often granted villages in *Sarvamānyam* (free of tax).

Amount of Total Revenue.—Working on the suggestion of Taylor, Nelson gives an estimate of Thirumala Nāyaka's revenues. A

Mackenzie Manuscript says that 'from the public revenues he (Tirumala) gave one thousand *puns* out of every *lae* (or hundred thousand) for the customary and extra-ordinary services and festivals of the god; for the regular fulfilment of this gift, he endowed the temple with lands to the annual value of forty-four thousand *puns*.' Hence Taylor's remark—' whence it is to be presumed that his whole revenue amounted to forty-four *lacs* of gold *puns*.' The *Maduraittala, varalāru* records that Thirumala gave 'forty–four thousand *pons*-producing lands to Gods Sundarēśvara and Mīnākshi'. This statement of the chronicles can hardly be taken as a precise record of facts. However, it affords the working basis for a rough estimate.

There are indications about the total amount of the Nāyak revenue in the writings of the Jesuit Vico and Barradas. The former says in a letter of 30th August, 1611: 'The great Nāyak of Madura and those of Tanjore and Gingi are themselves tributaries of Bisnagar, to whom they pay, or have to pay, each an annual tribute of six to ten million francs.' As the tribute was usually one-third of the revenue, the total income of the Nāyaks was between eighteen and thirty million *francs*, according to Vico. Barradas records in 1616,' 'The Great Naique of Madura ..... pays a revenue every year of, some say, six hundred thousand pagoḍas. This puts the Nāyak revenue at eighteen lakhs of *pagoḍas*. A Jesuit writer equates fourteen *pagoḍas* to nearly eighty *francs*; and a *franc* is equal to 9·6 pence. Therefore, eighteen lakhs of *pagoḍas* are equal £411.421$\frac{4}{7}$; eighteen million *francs* to £720,000; thirty million *francs* £1,200,000. Wilks equates the pagoḍa differently; according to him, five thousand *pagoḍas* are equal to £1,840 and therefore, eighteen lakhs of *pagoḍas* come to £662,400. If the value ascribed to the *pagoḍa* by Wilks be correct, then the amount given by Barradas approaches Vico's lower estimate of eighteen million *francs*. Forty–four lakhs of *pons* are equal to £880,000, according to Nelson, and to £825,000, according to Mr. Rangachari. The latter takes the value of the *pon* to be half a *pagoḍa*.

In that case, the estimate of the chronicles comes to twenty-two lakhs of *pagoḍas*, and therefore four lakhs higher than that of Barradas.

Nelson is disposed to take the higher estimate of Vico, i.e. thirty million *francs*, and equate them to £1,200,000. He tries to reconcile the statement of the chronicles with this. It appears that, since forty-four lakhs of *pons* come only to £ 880,000, he thinks that the chronicles give, not the total revenue, but the land revenue alone. Therefore, he adds to this the amounts of the tribute and miscellaneous income; he puts them at £ 189,000 and 131,000 respectively. The total of these figures comes to £ 1,200,000. Nelson's method of arriving at this precise result is arbitrary and artificial. He appears to have been obsessed by the statement of the Jesuit writer and to have manipulated the amounts of the various sources of revenue, so that they might agree with Vico's higher estimate. Nelson does not seem to have had sufficient justification for choosing the higher amount given by Vico; he remarks that 'assuming, as we may well assume, that he of Madura paid the largest sum. Though Madura was more extensive than Tanjore and Gingi, she does not appear to have been more wealthy; the land was unproductive and covered with forests. A large part of Madura was brought under cultivation in the course of the Nāyak regime. Wild beasts and robbers offered great impediments to agricultural progress. Therefore Nelson's assumption remains to be proved. The statement of Barradas was not available for him. The greatest error in his estimate in his supposition that the forty-four lakhs of *pons*, given by the chronicles, represent the land revenue, not the total revenue, Their statement has already been quoted; it refers only to the total revenue. But Nelson says that 'the lands granted must have been crown lands, under the King's own management and altogether at his disposal, or they could have been granted; and if, therefore the revenue yielded by them amounted, as stated, to one *per cent* on the *total revenues derived from the King's lands*, the inference is that the lands intended were the crown lands, and that they yielded no less than 44,00,000 *pons* or £ 880,000 *per annum*'. Tirumala set apart crown lands producing an annual revenue of forty-four thousand *pons*, but this only means that he calculated approximately what one per cent of his *total revenues* would amount to, and gave the lands necessary to yield that amount. Because he gave a portion of the crown lands, it cannot be contented that the total revenues of those lands are referred to. The explicit statement

of the chronicles that Tirumala made the gift from 'the public revenues' is sufficient ground for rejecting the inference drawn by Nelson.

Tirumala's revenues cannot have been so large as £ 1,200,000 as Nelson estimates them. A more correct estimate would be to put them at about seven lakhs of pounds; this will be in conformity with the evidence of Barradas, Vico, and the chronicles. This amount would have been the revenue budgeted, not the income realized, as remission of taxation and alienation of crown lands were frequent; and these could not have well been provided for. Moreover, there were many uncertain sources of income.

Nelson proceeds further in his investigation, and says that 'Tirumala's gross revenue of £1,200,000 was equivalent to a revenue of nearly fifty millions of pounds drawn at the present time (in 1868)'; beeause, 'the value of money has risen more than fortyfold'. He compares the price of rice in 1713 with that during 1863-6, and says that it increased fortyfold in the course of that century and a half. The following remarks from Martin's letter of 1713 have been utilized by Nelson for arriving at the conclusion just referred to: 'One *fanom* (*Paṇom*) will procure up to eight *marakkāls*, or large measures, of very fine husked rice, which is sufficient to feed a man for more than fifteen days. But, when there is lack of rains, it becomes so dear that I have seen the price of one of these measures of rice mount up to four *fanoms*. Nelson says that eight *maraikkāls* would weigh about, ninety-six pounds and they could be had for a *fanom* or $2\frac{1}{4}$ pence. 'Now in 1866 and the two or three years preceding it, the average price of good rice was about twenty pounds for a Rupee. Consequently, whereas a penny bought some forty odd pounds of good rice at the commencement of the eighteenth century, it has been an equivalent for only five-sixths of a pound during the last few years. Thus Nelson arrives at the astounding conclusion that the price of commodities has risen more than forty times. But his data are open to question. The Jesuit writer quoted above speaks of the condition of things in the Marava country. He says that there were great oscillations in the price of rice, sometimes to the extent of a rise of thirty-two times. Nelson takes the lowest rate he gives. Moreover, Martin says that 'nowhere are such precautions taken as in Marava not to let out a drop

of water, and gather all that of the streams and torrents, which the rains bring'. He greatly admires the wonderful irrigation facilities of the Marava country. These modifying conditions have been overlooked by Nelson, who takes only the minimum price of rice, and applies it to Madura. Moreover, he is not right in equating the *fanom* of $2\frac{1}{4}$ pence. Leon Besse remarks that the *fanom* is a gold coin worth 120 *reis* (*Or. Con*q.), i.e. about fifty *centimes*. Therefore, a *fanom* is to be taken as equal to 4.8 pence, i.e. more than twice the value attached to it by Nelson. Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa Raghavaiyangar says, with reference to the letter of Martin quoted above, forty-five pounds of rice are required for a man for fifteen days, and that therefore, taking Nelson's equation of a *fanom* to $2\frac{1}{4}$ pence, the price in 1713 would be only one-twelth of what it was in 1893, that is, the increase in price would be only twelvefold. When the *fanom* is correctly equated to 4.8 pence, the rise would be not more than six times, not forty times, as Nelson contends. This is confirmed by Dr. Vincent A. Smith's remark that Akbar's revenue of forty million pounds would amount to two hundred million pounds at the present time; the rise in price is, therefore, estimated as fivefold.

Expenditure :—The ordinary expenditure of the Nāyaks was not in proportion to their income. Regular payments from the treasury were few, and they did not amount to much. Some officials seem to have been paid. The army cannot have required large sums for its upkeep, since the Polegars were bound to supply the number of troops fixed by the original agreement with them. Occasionally professional soldiers and mercenaries were employed and paid. The administration was not highly organized, and it was conducted mostly on traditional lines. The ordinary expenses of government, as the salaries of officials, the army, the police and judicial departments, did not constitute a serious drain on the public revenues".

FOOT-NOTES

1 Elliot, South Indian coins, plate
2 T. Desikachari, South Indian Coin, p. 166.

3 Elliot, Coins of Souh India, p. 134.
4 T. Desikachari, pp. 106—107; Vidyaprakash, p. 16.
5 Ibid p. 99.
6 Ibid p. 12.
7 Ibid, plate I, No. 45.
8 South Indian Studies, volume I, p. 140.

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THE CLOSING YEARS

The closing years of the local kingdoms and the establishment of colonial rule, introduced British, French, Dutch, Danish and other currencies in Tamilnad. These have been exhaustively studied by other authorities on the subject.

However, the local currencies continued in some form or other till the advent of the 20th Century. The Mackenzie manuscripts, giving the accounts of the local chieftains (Pālayappattus) give some interesting details about the currencies. The Mackenzie documents, relate to the written accounts given by the local chieftains about their family history and the amount they were paying as taxes to their overlords. These documents were written between 1780 and 1820 A. D. Nevertheless, they give very valuable information about the political, social and economic conditions under 17th and 18th Century A. D. The Chieftains were paying tributes to the Nayaks, the Mysore rulers, the Muhammadan rulers, to Hyder and Tippu Sultans and to the British. The tributes they paid are recorded in terms of currency, *Kalipanam*, *Kali pon*, *Cakram panam*, *Rājagopāli panam*, *Gopāli Cakram*, *Virarāyan pon*, *Virarāyan panam*, *Varāhan Rūpāy*, *Arcot Rūpāy* and *Gaṇḍirāyan panam* are thus mentioned.

It would show that all the above coins were in circulation in the 18th Century A.D. A few interesting accounts detailed below would show how the economy of the country was shattered steadily by each successive conquerors.

The Kondama Nāyaka family of Ayakkudi, gives the following account. King Thirumalai Nāyak demanded 5000 *Kali panam* from Kondama Nayak to meet his expenses of Mysore war, but the later managed to reduce the amount to 3000 *Kali panam*. Thirumalai Nayak, collected another 2000 *Kali panam* from this chieftain later to meet his expedition against the Sethupati. Subsequently when Hyder captured Dindugal, he collected from this chieftain 4000 *Kali panam* in the middle of 18th Century A.D. Within 25 years this was raised

to 5,000 Kali panam by Venkatrāyar. Subsequently during the period of Winch the Collector of Dindugal the levy was raised to 10,000 *Kali panam*"[1]

From the records of the family of Kulappa Nayak of Nilakkottai, the following details are obtained. In the reign of Rāya (probably Krishnadevarāya) the Chieftaincy paid a sum of 1000 *Toppa panam* as tax. Later in the reign of Visvanatha Nayak of Madurai, Nilakkottai chieftaincy was asked to pay 2000 *panam*. In the reign of Thirumalai Nayak, when he invaded the Sethupati kingdom, the same amount continued to be levied. When Hyder Ali captured Dindugal Simai, he increased the levy on Nilakkottai Jamin, to 5000 *panam*. This was raised to 5900 *panam* in the reign of his successor. When the British Collector Winch came as Collector of Dindugal, two villages were confiscated. So the chieftain Kulappa Nayaka could not pay the tribute which remained in arrears under the collectorship of Ardisu. Kulappa hid his weapons in the mountains. This was discovered and the British came to punish him. Kulappa sent his family to Bodinayakkanur for safety and with his men took refuge in Kallanādu. The company soldiers took over Nilakkottai. Kulappa Nayak made an unsuccessful bid to recapture Nilakkottai and finally ran for his life. Collector Ardisu offered a reward of 1000 *varāhan* for bringing the head of Kulappa Nayaka. Kulappa Nayaka surrendered. He was detained but given some subsidy. Collector Ardisu was succeeded by Major Paris. Very good rains yielded bumper crop in Nilakkottai region, and the British realised their dues. Kulappa Nayak was given back his Zamin and was asked to pay annually 11,750 Panams".[2]

Thus we fiind that levy of 2000 or 3000 *panams* as tax in the reign of Thirumalai was almost doubled by Hyder Ali, but the British whithin few years after Hyder raised the taxes to unbearable limits. The chieftain who paid 5000 *Kali panam*, has to pay 11,000 to the British which completely shattered the native economy.

FOOT-NOTES

1 Mackenzie Manuscripts, Part V, I, p. 29
2 Ibid, Part V, II, p. 829

APPENDICES

1 Indo-French Coins

2 Indo-Dutch Coins

3 Indo-Danish Coins
(The above three appendices are reproduced from T. Desikachari's *South Indian Coins*, pages 88-112; 82-87; 192-205)

4 Extracts from Sadasivaraya's *Thiruppati Inscriptions* T.T.D.I. Vol. V, No. 92

5 A note on *Koneri Rayan Coin* by Kudavasal Balasubramanian.

6 A note on *Ramannan Coin* by Natana Kasinathan.

APPENDIX—I

INDO-FRENCH COINS

The history of the rise and fall of the French Power in India, the heroic endeavours of more than one illustrious French General for the attainment of universal dominion in the East Indies, and the brilliant achievements of the Great Frenchman, who, though unsupported at home and badly served here, by his mighty genius and indomitable energy, caused the fame of the French nation to redound in the palaces of Delhi and the armies of the subordinate sovereignties in the Carnatic, are all familiar to the student of Indian History.

The French were the last of the great maritime powers to direct their attention to the benefits resulting from a trade with the East. But their great genius and restless ambition made them outstrip their rivals and conceive plans for the establishment of a European Empire in the East, plans which on the very brink of success failed, and being followed out by another great European power, led to the rise and progress of an Empire to which all of us to at present owe our allegiance.

I do not here propose to recount the interesting doings of the French in India during the momentous era preceding the total annihilation of their great hopes but have set myself a humbler task, viz. that of giving a brief account of their coinage in Pondichery and the other French settlements in the East. Following the example of the rival European powers who had established commercial communication and intercourse with India, on 24th June 1642 the French also organised an India Company on the model of the earlier Dutch East India Company. This company however went into abeyance after the brief period of very promising activity.

This was succeeded in 1664 by an Association, under the title and designation of "The East India Company" with fifty years' monopoly

to trade with all the Colonies of the Indian Ocean, from the East coast of Africa to the Sunda Islands.

It became amalgamated in 1720 with "The West India Company" under the title of "The perpetual Company of Indies".

The Constitution was changed from time to time, till, in 1971, by a decree of the Constitutional Assembly freedom of trade was proclaimed to all. The currency I shall treat of, originally introduced for meeting the exigencies and local needs of the factories of these trading corporations, gradually assumed the importance of an emblem of regal power and the exercise of Sovereign privilege.

In all countries and especially in India, the coining of money was ever considered as the right and emblem of Sovereignty. The European companies who first established factories in India were impelled by the force of circumstances to gradually acquire territory and administer it. They soon realised, that to be treated and respected as governors of the territory possessed by them, it was essential that they should exercise the privilege of maintaining a currency of their own. Thus the British East India Company when obtaining the modern Madras from the Rajah of Chandragiri had an article inserted in their grant, conceding to them right to coin their own money. But these trading corporations who set up as petty sovereigns were in an anomalous position; while they continued to be the subjects of their sovereign, they had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Potentate or Chief within whose jurisdiction lay their territory. Their coinage too thus came to occupy a similar anomalous position. Issued by a Christian power, the coins bore effigies of Hindu Gods or the legends and devices peculiar to the Mahomedan rule and religion; thus giving rise to a fruitful theme for controversy between those who were responsible for the material welfare of the territories acquired and those entrusted with the administration of their spiritual affairs. Moreover, the state of the Carnatic in the period immediately preceding the advent of European merchants to India was such as to necessiate the exercise of a privilege, deemed to be the valued right and the chief symbol of sovereign power. Owing to the fall of the last great Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar the country was split up into many small principalities,

each practically independent, though in some cases acknowledging the paramountcy of the Emperor of Delhi; each warring against another and courting the assistance of marauding hordes or foreign merchants who exercised sovereign power, in carrying on their devastating internecine wars. The French East India Company therefore early recognised the value of having their own mint, and the papers relating to the acquisition by them of this much coveted and valued privilege are very interesting reading, and I shall quote here the translation of some of them, kindly made for me by the Rev. Father Newton of the St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, from M. Zay's History of the French coinage in India.

To understand these papers it is first necessary to know exactly what the monetary system prevailing in India was, in the troublous times under reference, which system the French India Company was pledged to adopt and follow. Money was coined in gold, siver, copper and lead; the gold *pagoda*, the siver *fanam* and the *kash* in copper or lead. To these were added coins in *tutenag* and rupees in silver. The *fanam* and *kash* are indigenous terms and the old *Kahapana* or *Karsha* is met with as the designations of coins even during the time preceding the Christian Era. But the origin of the word *pagoda* is obscure and the name itself is unkown in the ancient monetary system of India. The indigenous "*Swarna*" or gold coin could alone have been familiar to the Mahomedan rulers or European merchants in their early commercial intercourse in India as the unit of gold currency, which had taken a firm hold in the land. The ancient name of these gold coins was the Sanskrit "*Swarna*" or the Tamil "*Pon*" or the Hindustani "*Hun*". Owing to the adoption of the device of the "*Varaha avatar*" of Vishnu, on these coins, in the period of Chalukya ascendency in the south of India, in 6th and 7th Centuries of the Christian Era, the *Swarna* came to be known as "*varaha*". On gold coins of the weight, fineness and shape of these *Swarnas* the kings of the last Great Hindu Empire imprinted in the 14th and 15th centuries various figures from the Hindu Pantheon, principally those of Vishnu and Siva, with or without their consorts. These *huns* probably then began to be known as "*Bagavathis*" and "*Bagavatas*", corrupted terms signifying the figures of the Goddess or God which appeared on these coins. The temples in which these idols were worshipped were probably known as "*Buth-*

Goda" or temple of God. Thus the coins themselves came to be named "*Bagavadas*" or "*Buthgodas*" by the Portuguese merchants, who, but imperfectly understanding the significance of the terms, by a natural mental confusion, applied to the coins themselves the generic names they gave to the figures found on them. Whatever the real origin of the nomenclature then current, the fact is that the 'pagoda' was in the 15th and 16th centuries the acknowledged unit of gold currency in south of india and commercial transaction could be carried on without the *Pagoda*.

So jealous were the Indian Princes in preserving the uniformity and the characteristic feature of their currency that they seem to have insisted, when granting to any one the privilege of coining money, on the effigy of a Hindu God or Goddess appearing on the coins issued from the mint of the grantee. This was one of the conditions in the Chandragiri grant in favour of the English East India Company already referred to, so that their *pagodas* invariably had the figure of Vishnu or of Vishnu and his two consorts on their coins.

The French East India Company likewise, when they issued their '*pagodas*' had to conform to the prevailing usage and submit to the necessities of the existing situation. I shall leave them to relate their position in their own language :—

PAGODAS

In the year 1705 the Chevalier Martin wishing to utilize the golden coins found in the cargo of the Phoenix d'or, a Dutch ship of 54 guns and 220 men captured in the fight of the 13 January, 1705 by post-captain Baron de Pallie'res, resolved to turn them into pagodas. That they might be received by the natives and so secure the currency denied to the French fanams, which, on account of their French type, were in circulation only in Pondichery and its territory, he adopted for these pagodas the type of the pagodas then current in the country and all along the Coromandel coast, under the name of *Varaha* (boar) or *Varaha moudra* (stamp of the boar). About 1,00,000, of them were coined. But the clergy of Pondichery and their head the Bishop of Mylapore, remonstrated against the new issue, as the work though entrusted to Malabari workmen, had however been done for the

sake of safety within the Walls of Fort Louis in which the mint was situated.

In the issue of the pagoda with a Hindu device they pretended to see an act of homage to the deity thereon represented called by the Hindus, Lakshmi, the goddess of riches and plenty, "and that is the reason why in all important contracts they make it touch their mouth, eyes and forehead as a token of gratitude for the bargain concluded through her help, and of the hope that by this means the bargain will be profitable to them."

In consequence of the opposition of the Clergy the issue of *pagodos* was stopped; and the Supreme Council of Pondichery referred the matter to the Directors-General in Paris. "The Company", so runs the reply, "do not doubt that it is extremely advantageous to coin at their mint *pagodas* of the current standard; wherefore they order you to coin them wherever, and as often as, there will be an occasion and the service of the Company will require it".

"They consider the objections which the Church has against the mintage of this type of coin on account of the impression thereon of an idol, to be unfounded; the more so as no worship is paid to the coin and in all religions it is enjoined to render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's. Wherefore do not hesitate in the least to execute the Company's orders and should any opposition be made by the Clergy, continue all the same and refer them to the orders of the Company in Paris". To this injunction the Council replied, "We have set to work as regards the execution of your last orders, the contents of which we have shown to the persons hitherto opposed to it; they had nothing to say. And so the execution of the Company's orders will go on as usual".

In 1720 fresh protests elicited, a fresh rejoinder from the Directors: "It is certain", so they write to the Council, "that if you could get permission from the Moghul to coin in Pondichery gold *pagodas* of the same type and standard as his own, all difficulty would be at an end with the Rev. Fathers, Jesuits, Capuchins and Missionaries, since the Moghul coins bear only Arab Characters; but if, on the

other hand, minting such coins is forbidden to Europeans and they are allowed to mint only such as bear the device of the *pagoda*, why should we not have the same advantages as the English who in Madras mint these latter, thereby making an assured profit for themselves? Do the missionaries refuse to take these coins from individuals who owe them to them? Do they say that they do not want them because they bear the figure of an idol? No: they are wiser than that, they make good use of them. There is no more harm in coining such pagodas than in using them; continue then to issue them since they are required not only for daily use, but also for commerce". While acknowledging receipt of this notification the Council observes that "the Moghul's permission is not needed for minting these coins which have currency only on this coast (Coromandel)".

Correspondence between the Supreme Council of Pondichery and the Bishop of San Thome on the subject of the coinage of pagodas.

Translation of a letter written by the members of the Supreme Council to his Lordship, the Bishop of St. Thome.

13th May, 1705.

My Lord, the situation in which we find ourselves since the departure home of our ships, having obliged us to turn into coins of the country the gold we had in our stores in order that we might face the expenses we daily incur as well in promoting the Company's commerce and constructing our fort, as in paying and maintaining our garrison, the Rev. Jesuit and Capuchin Fathers of this town have reprehended us for having placed the ordinary stamp of the country viz., a *pagoda*, on the money we coined. As we have been forced to do as we did in our present state of affairs, and as far from having any intention of promoting the worship of idols as we are reproached with doing, we have only had in view to procure the good and profit of our Company by a means which seemed to us without harm to religion, we take the liberty to address your Lordship as our Pastor and our Bishop in order to disclose the motives that have determined us in this affair and to receive at your hands the means of restoring calm to our consciences, which they (the Fathers) are trying to make a drey to terrible scruples.

VII

After the departure of our ships, the few pagodas left us having been disposed of, we tried to acquire more by selling the gold we had in store. The merchants of this country who knew our great need, and who saw besides that we were about to begin our fourth bastion - which meant a considerable increase of expenses in the future - kept tight and made no offers or only at so unreasonable a price that we could not accept at considerable loss to the Company. However, time was passing, and our monthly expenses amounting to a large number of *pagodas*, we found ourselves for a whole fortnight without a single *pagoda* in our office and on the point of being forced to stop the fortifications, and the Company's commerce and the soldiers' pay. This peril added to the sickness of the Chevalier Martin who was in danger of death, made us fear, and with reason, for the honour of the Company, should we in the event of his death come to the extreme plight mentioned above. These reasons then decided us to coin the gold we had in hand. The next point was to decide what stamp the money should bear; at last after consulting the merchants, as our needs were increasing from day to day and it was indispensable to us to have money with ready currency, and as everybody assured us that our coins would be useless unless they bore the stamp commonly used in this country, we have been compelled to stamp them with a *pagoda*, like the other coins current on this cost. Such are, my lord, the motives which have impelled us to have recourse to this measure; we repeat that we have the honour to address your Lordship in order that your charity may inspire you to instruct us should we have gone wrong.

Translation of the answer made to the above letter by the Lord Bishop of St. Thome, dated 4th June, 1705.

Gentlemen, I have read your letter and the motives you have had for minting *pagodas* with the stamp which the Gentiles use according to their custom. I am convinced of your Christian probity as of that all French gentlemen, and of your having taken this step not with the intention of showing any honour to the idol but only to supply the need you had of that money. I know, moreover, the zeal you have for the destruction of the temples of Gentiles and of their religion; however, since the Gentles stamp their coins with the figure of their idol,

to do it honour, it might seem as if Catholics, by minting such coins, were willing to participate in the intention of the Gentiles, as intention however, which it would be too rash to impute to you; but, for this very reason, I cannot approve that you should stamp pagodas with the figure of the idol, the more so when I reflect that the most Christian King might be displeased that you should stamp money with the figure of the idol instead of with his arms. The quality and weight of the gold being the same as that of the current pagodas, the later will be generally received by all, just as the " St. Thome " with the figure of the St. Thomas and the arms of Portugal are received throughout India. You have stamped *fanams* with the royal arms of France; you might similarly coin pagodas with a fluer-de-lis on one side and a chogron or anything else on the other. This is what I believe should be my answer to your letter. I shall be ever ready to render you my humblest services.

Translation of a letter of the Chevalier Martin written to the Lord Bishop of St. Thome, 15th June, 1705.

My Lord, I have had the honour to address your Lordship through the Sieurs de Flacourt and de Hardancourt concerning the *pagodas* which necessity obliged us to have coined in Pondichery. I have received the answer that your Lordship has been pleased to send us dated the 4th of this month. We have had inquiries made as to the possibility of using the expedient proposed by your Lordship, *viz*, to give the *pagodas* the same device as our *fanams*; but notwithstanding the serious application given to the question we have been informed from the best sources that our *pagodas* would have no currency should they bear any other stamp than the ordinary one. True our *fanams* have currency, but only in Pondichery, while it is of the greatest importance o us that our *pagodas* should have currency throughout the country. The embarrassing position we are in, as your Lordship in answering has not absolutely condemned the said pagodas, has impelled us to apply to the Rev. Fr. Esprit our parish-priest and to the Rev. Frs. of the Society of Jesus to know their opinion on the subject; but this they absolutely refused to give. Therefore, My Lord, as the motives detailed in the previous letter continue to be valid and as we can find

no other expedient to avoid stamping the pagodas according to the custom of the country, I beg your Lordship to be so good as to inform us whether we can in all safety of conscience continue to stamp the said pagodas; this affair is of the greatest consequence for the service of the Company.

Translation of the letter written by the Lord Bishop of St. Thome to the Chevalier Martin, 20 June, 1705 in answer to the above letter.

I thought I had answered the letter of the members of the Council with such clearness that there could remain no doubt as to the unlawfulness of coining pagodas with the figure of the idol. In fact, I said I could not approve of what the gentlemen had done; for, since the Gentiles stamped their coins with the figure of the idol to honour and worship it, it would look like co-operating with them in the worship they paid it.....(I said) I could not approve of it—an expression I used as being the most polite and respectful. It is certain that I disapproved of it, being incapable of giving my consent for a work of the kind to Roman Catholics and to such Catholics as Frenchmen, the evil being all the greater from these coins bearing the mark of Pondichery, a territory belonging to the French. It is certain too that His Most Christain Majesty will not approve of pagodas with the figure of an idol instead of his arms.

As to the fact that the *pagoda* stamped with the same device as the *fanams* would not have currency but in Pondichery, this does not prove that *pagodas* stamped with any other than an Indian device would have no currency—as in fact many of the Madras pagodas which are without the figure of the idol and some specimens of which I have in my possession, yet circulate throughout the country; and the Royal Company would derive the same profit from them as from the ones stamped with the figure of the idol. This is all I can say; wishing that you may improve in health so that I may rejoice when I receive your letters. God keep you etc. your very humble servant and friend.

BISHOP OF MILAPOR

For copy of which the original documents are in the possession of the undersigned, Council Secretary to the Supreme and of the Royal Company of France.

X

De La Prevostiere.

Pondichery, 30th Sept. 1705

The *pagodas* eventually issued by the Company which so much irritated the religious susceptibilities of the Bishop of Mylapore bore on the obverse the figure of Vishnu and on the reverse on a granulated surface a crescent (an essentially Mahomedan device in deference to the wishes of the Mahomedan States of that period). This coin was of the same value that of the star pagoda of the English Company, the Dutch pagoda bearing the legend Tagnapatam and the Danish pagoda of Christian VII. This crescent *pagoda* ceased however to be minted long before the Revolution, the Pondichery mint having issued there after only *three Swamy Pagodas* for the use of the settlement of Yanaon similar to Madras Pagodas, with the figures of Vishnu and his consorts on the obverse and the crescent on the reverse. A gold coin of a purely French type with a fleur-de-lis on the obverse is mentioned in certain lists but I have not come across any such specimen during the last twenty years.

Coming to the silver money, fanams began to be issued in the year 1700 and twenty six of these went to a gold pagoda. We are struck with the crude design and the imperfect execution of the issues of the European mints in India of the period, particularly when we remember that in the 15th and 16th centuries the currency of European countries had long emerged from their primitive stage and were not much inferior to the coins of Imperial Rome in exquisiteness of design and execution. But so inveterate was the influence of custom and prejudice in India that the European powers despite the facilities they had for issuing coins of an advanced type contented themselves with following the example of the people amidst whome they lived, and in some cases issued coins more rudely executed than those prevailing already in the country. Indeed the methods adopted for converting silver bars into coins with the aid of goldsmiths and Brahmin overseers were so rude and rudimentary that it is a wonder how by such primitive means; the currency of the French acquired its acknowledged importance and reputation in India. These *fanams* were originally made as nearly as possible of the standard then prevalent in the

country. But the value of the currency having increased they were soon taken out of the country as there was profit in exporting them.

The company thereupon divised a system whereby *fanams* of less weight, but still twenty-six to the *pagoda*, were issued, though really thirty-two of these were equivalent to th *pagoda*.

This had effect of keeping the fanams within Pondichery and its territory, while by the withdrawal of the *fanams* from circulation by causes just like those operating in the present day, in the conversion of rupees into jewels and vessels, a large profit in gold resulted to the Company.

The designs on the coins however continued un-altered till the beginning of the 19th century except for the only change introduced by the substitution of the arms of the new Company for those of the old Company.

Three denominations of *fanams* were issued, "the *fanan*', the double fanan' and the half *fanan*'. The *earlist single fanan* bore on the obverse, within a circle, the legend "Pondichery 1700" in the centre a fleur-de-lis and the reverse within a dotted rim four double Ls farming a cross and joined together by a circle with a fleur–de-lis in the centre; The *double fanan* had on the obverse a dotted rim within a dotted circle. a fleur-de lis beneath a crown ornamented with fluer-de-lis. On the reverse, within a dotted rim were four double Ls forming a cross and joined together by a circle within which was a fluer-de-lis. These types are essentially French, for there appears to have been no restriction imposed on the type of the silver and copper coinage of the country, they having taken only the place of cowries which passed as currency till very recent times. The Moghul Rupee alone of the silver coins of the period was sedulously guarded from being counterfeited and the efforts of the Company to secure the concession of coining Rupees will be dealt with presently. The two Rupees of *fanams* above referred to were evidently issued by the first Company and are mentioned by M. Zay in his catalogue. But I have not come across these in the course of my coin hunting extending over nearly a quarter century. The coins issued by the second Company down to the year 1837 bear

no distinctive marks to indicathe the years in which they were issued. They comprise single and double *fanams* bearing on the obverse a small crown ornamented by a floral design and on the riverse five fluer-de-lis. These are ordinarily met with along with the *Puduchery* or" *Kolikas*" in the bazaars of almost all the Southern Districts. The archives of the Pondichery mint having been destroyed and the dies having disappeared, it is impossible to assign these fanams to any particular period. The type of fanams of the third period is that bearing on the obverse the Gallic cock with the right claw on a globe and date; and on the reverse a crown ornamented as in the last type of coins.

The copper coins of the Company which were of subordinate importance consisted of three types; the commonest are, (1) those with the legend Puducheri in Tamil on the reverse, and a large fluer de lis on the obverse, (2) the Gallic cock on the obverse with date 1836 or 1837 and a reverse which is the same as that of the first type. Along with these or often met with the coins issued during the Dutch occupation of Pondichery, (1) with the Tamil legends *Negapatam* on the obverse and the *Puducheri* on the reverse, (2) the Tamil legends, *Karaikal* on the obverse and *Negapatam* on the reverse.

The French rupee, by coining which the Company made enormous profits, and which in course of time was greatly in request as of the finest silver obtainable in India during those times, was after the model of the Arcot rupee. The French had to wait a long time before obtaining the concession of issuing their own rupees. For nearly twenty-eight years from the year 1718, negotiations were going on with the Moghul Court at Delhi for securing the privilege of coining rupees, which formed the prevailing silver currency of the Moghul Empire. The French company viewed with concern that their English rivals who enjoyed this privilege had thereby secured large profits and set about devising various means to cajole the court of the Moghul into granting them the much desired concession. There was a certain St. Hilaire, at the Court of Delhi employed as the physician of the Great Mughul and the good offices of the Doctor were pressed into the aid of the diplomatic enterprises of the Company. A sum Rs. 12,000 was offered through a Brahmin Ambassador as the price of the

concession, but the Nawab who saw through the situation insisted on getting Rs. 25,000 brought by a French-man, who should also be the bearer of costly presents. The Company could not in their then financial condition undergo so great an expense for securing the privilege.

Then in 1724, M. Dupleix, nothing daunted by the failure of previous negotiations, worked again through the same St. Hilaire to secure the privilege of coining rupees, but despite the diplomatic skill both these accomplished Frenchmen these fresh attempts proved also abortive.

In 1727, the loss resulting from the want of this privilege was very great, so much so that it prevented the sojourn in Pondichery of merchants from different parts of India; and when this was brought to the notice of the Directors of the Company at home they called for a fresh deliberation and decision of the Superior Council of Pondichery. The Council resolved to deal directly and at once with the Moghul, enjoining great secrecy in the preliminary negotiations; but nothing came out of these tactics either. Not till 1736 in the time of Governor Dumat was the longwished-for announcement made in the following terms:—

"I have just been fortunate enough to do the Company a great service by obtaining from our Nawab permission in perpetuity to coin Rupees in Pondichery. This is no doubt one of the greatest and most honoured privileges the French Nation has ever obtained in India." The Company was enabled to obtain by the exercise of this privilege an annual profit of more than a lakh of Rupees.

The characteristic pomp and circumstance attending the confirmation of the Grant by the great Mogul, are indicated by the belated issue of three *paravanas*, a yadast from the Nawab of Bengal, another for Yanoan, and a third for Masulipatnam. These were accompanied by a velvet and silk costume (serpo) as a mark of distinction.

It is interesting to note the price paid for securing the privilege which is duly recorded in the Diary of Dubash Ananda Ranga Pillai.

80,000 to the Nawab.
25,000 to his Court

15,000 to Imam Saheb, the Treasurer of the Provinces, besides a family pension of Rs. 1000 per annum in Pondichery to the last mentioned officer and about 8000 pagodas in various expenses and negotiations, which I suppose were not of such a character as could be set down in writing.

The Pondichery mint at one time coined so many as Rs. 2,155,500 This concession obtained after so much trouble and at so much expense was the coining of Rupees after the Arcot stamp. The Rupees were therefore issued neither in the name of the company nor of the French Government, but in the name of the successive Moghul Emperors from 1736 to 1839, even after the death of the last Moghul in 1806, the only distinctive feature being the appearance of a crescent by the side of the year of the reigning Emperor of Delhi similar to the star or flower of the same stamp found on the Arcot and Murshidabad rupees of the British East India Company.

HINDUSTANI LEGEND :—

Obverse :—Rupee struck in the name of Mahomad Shah the 19th year from his accession the year 1149 of the Hijra Era.

Reverse :—Hindustani Legend :—

Blessed coin of the Victorious Emperor Muhammad then struck at Arcot the year 19 (crescent) from the beginning of the glorious reign.

Here are some examples of the legends found on these Rupees which Illustrate alike the extent of the pretensions of the great Moghul and the need of the Christian company which induced them to apparently recognize them. "The chosen of the faith struck money in the seven regions brilliant like the sun and the moon." "The Emperor Shah Alam. the shadow of excellence, ardent in the faith of Mohamed, has struck this money for the seven regions." "The father of justice. Shah Alangir, the Victorious Emperor, God grant his kingdom may endure."

The operations of the Pondichery mint thus far progressive and prosperous came soon to an untimely end. The occupation of the Pondichery settlement by the English from 1793 to 1816 led to the

suspension of the working of the mint during that period. When the settlement was restored to French in, 1815, the Local Government less for fiscal than political reasons wanted to resume the coining of money. The chief object they had in view was to exercise a sovereign right regarded as an emblem of regal power by the Indian merchants who were incapable of viewing the renunciation of the privilege a s voluntry or due to any cause except utter defeat and absolute loss of prestige. The local Government proceeded at once to reopen the Pondichery mint with beneficial consequences which they depicted in glowing terms to the authorities at home, adding that in no country was the force of custom and prejudice so potent as in India, an observation which is as true to-day as in the year 1815. The most important offices having been always held by Brahmins; the heads of two families still living had then the happiness of initiating their sons into the mysteries of coining pagodas, Rupees and *dudus* (copper coins).

A lengthy correspondence then ensued between the Pondichery and Madras Governments as to the intrinsic value and standard of these Rupees, but it was eventually recognised by the latter that the Pondichery rupee was the same or nearly the same as the Madras rupee, except for the mark of the crescent and that the intrinsic value of the former was slightly superior to that of the Madras rupee. Notwithstanding these circumstances apparently conducive to the prosperity of the French currency a new trouble came over the endeavours of the Local Government to restore its lost prestige. Ever paralysed by the action of the rival Government which, gradually introducing system and good order in its administration, had to prohibit the receipt of Pondichery rupees as legal tender in the Collector's treasuries, the operations of the French mint began to wane gradually and notwithstanding some spirited attempts to continue the currency, the mint had to be closed on 1st January 1840, and in 1871 all the coins issued by the French mint ceased to be legal currency.

And thus the national currency has disappeared from the capital of French India and the English currency has taken its place.

The settlements of Yanoan, Masulipatam, Mahe, Chandranagore and Surat had each their distinctive coinage. But there is something

like morphology in coins and one could easily recognize the forms of a type, and judge therefrom alone that coins of a particular type had a common origin. The coins of the French wherever they were issued bore the impress of the Pondichery mint and could be easily classified as the coin of the French in India even by one who was not acquainted with the language in which the legends were inscribed. I shall therefore content myself with simply describing the coins issued for these settlements. *The Yanoan Pagoda* had on its obverse, three figures, standing Venkateswara and his two consorts, and on the reverse, on a granulated surface, the crescent as on the Pondichery Pagoda. The coin was minted at Pondichery for the use of the settlement of Yanoan.

Silver Rupees and copper *dubs* were coined for the *Settlement of Masulipatam*, 46 to 48 dubs having exchanged for a Rupee. The rupees were much like those of Pondichery and bore a Persian legend making it known that they were struck at Masulipatam in the regnal year of the ruling Moghul Emperor at Delhi. The distinctive mark of the Masulipatam rupee was a trident.

The copper *dubs* bore on the obverse the name of the Delhi Emperor and gave the year of his reign and on the reverse the legend Matchipathan and the regnal year. Rupees and *fanams* intended to meet the exigencies of the local currency of Mahe were struck at Pondichery. Though of the same fineness and weight, these coins were slightly broader than those intended for use in Pondichery, and were not received as legal tender in that settlement. Five of these *fanams* went to the Rupee and fifteen biches (paisas) in copper formed the value of each *fanam*. Half and quarter rupees as in Pondichery were also struck for Mahe.

The Mahe fanam had on its obverse a Hindustani legend in two lines "Fans Campanie" and on the reverse in two lines "Bhutcherî" P and the year of the Christian Era. The *Biches* bore on the obverse five fleur de lis and on the reverse the year of issue in the Christian Era.

The privilege of coining money in Bengal was obtained in 1739 by M. Dupleix and a thousand piastres were sent to Murshidabad for being converted into Rupees for the use of *the settlement of Chandra-*

nagore. The Rupees so struck were in the name of the reigning Emperor of Delhi giving his regnal year as in the Pondichery Rupees but bore the distinguishing mark of a Jassamine flower. The denominations ranged from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{64}$ of a Rupee.

In 1749 the privilege of coining rupees for the use of the factory of *Surat* was obtained from the Nawab of that place; these bore the words in Hindustani "struck at Surat" and gave the name of the reigning Emperor of Delhi with his regnal year and the date of Hijra Era.

The relations of the French with the great Tippu Sultan known as the Mysore Tiger, are illustrated by a curious medal which as on the obverse the inscription in Persian : The ambassadors of Tippu Saheb, the conqueror : Mahomad Dervish Khan, Akbar Alikhan and Muhammad Oosmankhan have met Lauis XVI, King of the French, the 6th of the month Zelkadeh = 9 August 1788. On the reverse the legend runs: The three ambassadors have honoured with their visit the Royal mint of Paris on the 7th of the month Zihiadjeh = 9th September 1788.

I have thus attempted to give here a brief account of the French coinings in India. The operations of their mint were as ambitious as their plans for establishing a dominion in the East. It was a French General who first demonstrated that Indian Sepoys under European discipline would form fine fighting material ; it was the same French General who proved that the determined attack of a well-organised handful of Europeans could withstand the resistance of undisciplined masses of which the then local armies were composed ; his restless and ambitious propaganda for the extension and establishment of a French Empire did not however meet with that support and sympathy which his grand undertaking deserved. And what was the result ? Let me give it in the words used by Major Malleson in 1868.

" But for one man the stake for which the two countries played would not have been so great. It was Dupleix who made French India, it was France who lost it. If in the present day, there exist amongst her citizens regrets at the loss of an Empire so vast, so powerful, so important, inhabited by a people who were civilized when we

were naked savages, and who possess so many claims to the sympathy and attachment of every intelligent European, it will be impossible for France herself—however much she may condemn the action of her Government of those days, and may lament the infatuation and misconduct of her country-men—to suppress a glow of pride at the recollection that it was a child of her soil who dared first to aspire to that great dominion, and that by means of the impulse which he gave though followed out by his rivals, the inhabitants of Hindustan have become permanently united to their long parted kinsmen—the members of the great Family of Europe."

APPENDIX—II
INDO-DUTCH COINS

The Dutch who at one time were no mean rivals of the English East India Company and had exercised undisputed supremacy over the Eastern seas have curiously enough no settlements at the present day in India. In the seventeenth century thay had established themselves in the island of Java, wrested the Moluccas and Ceylon from the earlier Portuguese settlers and owned many settlements on the Coromandel coast of the Indian mainland, the ruins of some of which situated a few miles from Madras still recall the old days of Dutch rule in India. But it is an old and well-worn tale, the fall of the Dutch brought about by their greed and cruelty and their dream of a Dutch India was shattered once for all by Lord Clive when he took Chinsura, their capital in Bengal, in 1758.

It is not the monumental remains still to be found in the old Dutch settlements that alone remind one of the unsuccessful struggle of the Dutch for power in India. The issues of their prolifiic mint bear silent witness to the ambitions of a power which vied for supremacy in the East with the other great people from western Europe to whose care are happity committed the destinies of this land.

By far the most familiar of these coins are those artistically executed pieces known *Nagore Challies*, bearing on the obverse the monogram "V. O. C." standing for "vereenigde Oost Indische compagnie," meaning "United East India Company." These form five series, eaeh having a different coat of arms on the reverse according to the state represnted :-

(*a*) The *Utrecht* series having a plain divided shield supported by a *lion rampant* on either side.

(*b*) The *Gelderland* series bearing within a divided shield *two lions combatant* with the legend around "*In Deo est spes nostra*".

(*c*) The *Holland* series with the whole shield occupied by a *lion rampant* facing the left.

(*d*) The *Zeeland* series with a *demi-lion rampant* emerging out of the sea, with often the legend around "Luctor et emergo."

(*e*) The *Friesland* series bearing on their reverse two lions *passant gardant* within a plain divided shield.

These coins seem to have been issued during a period of eighty years from 1727 to 1806 A.D. and a large number of each series can be collected even now for each decade, in the old Dutch settlements in Southern India, though as far as I know no challies for certain years notably 1795 to 1800 could be secured. It will be interesting to discover whether any coins were minted in these years, and if so what accounts for their disappearance altogether, when challies even of later years are procurable in abundance. The obverse of the coins which, as above described, bears the monogram, made up of the letters O and C superscribed over the arms of the letter V, at first sight uniform, presents on closer inspection many distinctive features, due to the devices over the monogram, such as a flower, a cock, a plain shield, a castle or a galloping horse, all of which must have served as mint marks so common in those days. Nor does the variety stop here, for coins with legends like "*over yssel*", "*Zeelandia*" and "*stad utrecht*" are also known.

Of half challies there are at least three varieties, the first from 1749 to 1753 with the Holland coat of arms; the second with a plain divided shield running upto 1759 and third represented by coins of 1770 bearing the Freisland or Zeeland coat of arms. There seems to have been also a double challi comprised in this currency, but hitherto only one such coin has been, so far as we know found in S. India.

The Numismatic enthusiast also meets with a later variety of coins, on which the monogram of the Compady ceases to figure on the obverse, bearing the legend "Nederland India" "Java" and "India Batav" all of which are multiples or fractions of the Dutch unit of mintage, the stuiver.

The coins hitherto dealt with were all primarily intended for circulation in the Dutch possessions other than their Indian settlements, and are all so carefully executed and well designed, that there can be

little doubt of their having been coined in the mother country. Simultaneously with the issue of these coins from a European mint, others were struck locally, in most if not all of the Dutch settlements, comprising two, one, half and quarter stuiver pieces. These are thick lumps of copper, irregular in shape and ill designed, and in most of them the letters "S.T." standing for "stuiver" are reversed. Those issued for circulation in Ceylon, bear over the monogram of the Company, the letter "G" standing for "Galle" "C" for Columbo, "இல" for "IIangai" or Ceylon and "T" for "Trincomalle." The letter T however might with equal reason be taken to have represented the mint towns Tuticorin or Tegnapatam. In one coin is found under the date the Tamil Syllable "புவ" "Puva" whose significance is not known. The Dutch settlements on the Coromandel coast also possessed mints of their own. Those issued from Pulicat bore the Persian Legend Zerbe "Pulicat" - pice of Pulicat, in consonance with the fashion, of the European East India Companies of the time, of imprinting Persian legends on their coins either to secure them a uniformity with the indigenous currency of the land or more probably to cater to the taste of their trading customers. The reverse of these coins bore the company's monogram with the letter "P" or in the coins of the higher denominations the letters "Pal," standing for "Palliacat". The Dutch coins from Nagapatam had the letter "N" over the monogram on one side and the Tamil legend நாகப்பட்டணம் on the reverse. From the very commencement of their trade in the East, the Dutch issued coins in silver, as will be evident from specimens bearing the legend 'Frisia' 'Transilvania,' 'Zeelandia' and "India Batavorum" the prettiest of the lot being a six stuiver piece with the representation on the obverse of a shif in full sail. Silver stuvier pieces, equal to twenty or forty cash appear to have been issued by the Company but all traces of these coins have been lost in South India. Like the other trading companies, however, the Dutch also seem to have coined money in *lead* or *tutenag*. The Andhra Kingdom in the early centuries of the Christian Era, is known to have possessed a lead coinage and in more recent times both the Portuguese and the English East India Companies had their money both in lead and copper, the latter Company having issued lead coins, known as *budgrooks* (Port : Bazarucco) for currency

in the settlement of Bombay in the reigns of Charles II and the first hree Georges. It is noteworthy that no Dutch coins in lead have hitherto come to light.

The Dutch coined money also in gold, the Dutch pagoda being very similar in size to the French, Danish and English pagodas of the period. The obverse bore the effigy of Vishnu (one of the Hindu Trinity) surrounded by the legend Tevanapatam (Tegnapatam having been one of the Dutch settlement in India). The gold currency of the European traders in the East approximated very much to that of the last great Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar and the Dutch not improbably adopted the effigy of Vishnu in imitation of the English East India company who were bound by treaty to issue pagodas with such a figure on their obverse. But the weight of the pagoda seems to have been made to agree with that of the European ducats already introduced into India and familiar already as a medium of currency between the foreign merchants and the natives of the land. The company's gold and silver *fanams*, of which a pretty large number must have been issued, are not at all to be met with. Their value is supposed to have equalled four stuivers.

This brief survey of the coinage of the Dutch East India Company cannot be closed without reference being made to a practice prevailing in their settlements of impressing with a seal the monogram of the Company, V. O. C. on any foreign coin that was received by them. Broad silver pieces of Tiflis have been discovered in which the monogram of the Company have been imprinted thus rendering them current in the Dutch settlement in which they were received. The practice of "punchmarking" was not new to India and among the indigenous coins, those current at one time were adopted as the currency of a later period by being "punched" with seals bearing appropriate emblems. A similar device seems to have been adopted in recent times in the conversion of dollars into Double Arcot Rupees.

Only the leading types of the coinage of the Dutch East India Company that might filter into the hands of the coin hunter in South India have been dealt with above, but the reader who is inclined to

take up the fascinating subject of South Indian numismatics will be astonished at the many varieties of coins issued by a trading Company with possessions in the East so limited as those of the Dutch in the latter half of the 18th century.

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APPENDIX — III

INDO-DANISH COINS

T. M. RANGACHARI AND T. DESIKACHARI

No authentic information exists regarding the history of the *Danish Mint at Tranquebar*, but as far as can be gathered, the Danes in India struck there no fewer than three hundred varieties of coins in lead, copper, silver and gold. It does not appear that there was any mint in the other Danish Settlements in India, *viz.*, at Porto Novo, Serampore, or Balasore.

Out of the three hundred varieties above mentioned only about eighty can now be obtained in India. Many of these were published by us in 1888, and the rest have been recently dealt with by Dr. E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist, Bangalore. One remarkable piece however, has hitherto remained unpublished, and that is *the lead Cas of Frederick III.* (A.D. 1648 - 70) :—

Obv.—The crowned monogram of the king - F. 3.
Rev.—The Royal escutcheon of Denmark.

By far the oldest and the most difficult to obtain of the *Tranquebar issues* are those *in lead*; and when met with, they are so much oxidised, that it is scarcely possible to decipher the legend on them. Lead was coined into money only in the first three reigns, and the coinage commenced with Christian IV, in the year 1640; but the earliest lead coin bearing date, so far as we know, was of the year 1644. None of thsee lead issues bear on them the value of the coin, in this particular differing from the latter copper coinage. The coins of Christian IV, indeed, have on them the legend *Cas*, but even then, the exact value is omitted. Unlike the copper issues also, the lead ones were of numerous varieties, not less than a dozen different kinds of coins being stated to have been struck in the reign of Frederick III alone. Some of them afford a clue to the place of mintage, Tranquebar, by the presence on them of the letters D. B. or T. B., standing for Donsborg (the Fort at Tranquebar) or Tranquebar ; and in the reign of Christian V it appears to have

been usual to insert on the coins the initials of the mint officer : thus, W. H. [van] K. [alnien].

It would be both a useful aud an interesting enquiry to ascertain how it was that a metal so easily liable to decay as lead, came to be chosen as a medium of currency during the infancy of the Indo-Danish Settlement. That in early days there was a scarcity of this metal is evident from the records of the travellers who then visited India. The author of the *Periplus* mentions tin and lead among the imports of Baragaza (Bharoch) on the Western Coast, and of Nelkunda (con-) jectured by Col. Yule to have been between Kanetti and Kolum in Travancore). Sir Walter Elliott also refers to a passage in Pliny, where it is stated that "India has neither brass nor lead receiving them in exhange for precious stones and pearl." The only ancient Hindu kingdom that is known to have possessed a lead currency was that of the Andhras, and Sir W. Elliott has suggested that the scarcity of lead in those days might afford some explanation for this peculia-rity in the Andhra coinage[6]

Coming to later times, we meet with a lead currency only with the advent of the several European powers in the East, The Indo-Portuguese are known to have coined lead money ; and the Engtish East India Company, in imitation of the Portuguess, obtained of Charles II a charter authorizing them to coin, among others, 'bud-grooks' (Port *bazarrucco*)[7] lead coins, which appear to have been issued by the English East India Company in the reign of Charless II and in those of the first three Georges, for currency in tho Settlement at Bombay[8]. Whether the scarcity of lead, felt in the early centuries of the Christian era, continued up to so late a period as the 16th and 17th centuries, is not known ; but is not improbable that lead was still popular as a medium of currency, and it was perhaps to suit this taste of thcir customers that the earliest European Power in India, the Portuguese, struck lead coins. The English and the Indo-Danish Companies appear to have copied the Indo-Portuguese in the respect.

It is not known why this currency was subsequently abandoned, but it is remarkable that all the European powers began to give it up just about the same time.

Copper coins appear to have been issued from the Indo-Danish Mint for the first time in the reign of Frederick III, the earliest copper coin bearing date being of the year 1667 A.D.

The late Lieut-General Pearse sent us a drawing of a large tutenag coin which he believed to have been issued in the reign of Christian IV (1588-1648) :—

Obv.—The crowned cipher of the king.

T. R.

Rev.—C. A. S.

1644

But we have not hitherto met with this, or any other *tutenag* coins from the Danish Mint.

As in the lead, so in the copper, coinage of Tranquebar, the texac value was not designated on the coins in the reigns of Frederick III and Christian V, and the first attempt made at giving this was in the reign of Frederick IV (1699-1730), who issued 10, 4 and 2 *KAS* pieces. This system continued till 1845, the date of the final cessation of the Danish Power in India.

None of the published lists, however, refer to, nor have we been able to obtain, X *KAS* pieces of the reigns of Frederick V (1746-1766), or of Christian VI (1730-1746), But during the long reign of Christian VII two types of X *KAS* were issued. The earlier variety had on its obverse the double linked monogram of the king and on its reverse the monogram of the *Dansk Asiatisk Compagni* with the date and value. The later variety had on its obverse the single crowned monogram and on the reverse the value and the date.

Likewise there were two varieties of IV *KAS* both bearing on their obverse the monogram. On the reverse of the earlier variety were figured the monogram of the Company and the date and the value, but on that of the later variety the date and value alone appeared without the monogram. When this change took place, and whether it pointed to a total release of all their claims by the Danish Company in the East Indian Danish Settlements in favour of the Crown are matters as to which it is not possible to obtain any exact information.

XXVII

From 1808 to 1814, the Fort and Town of Tranquebar were, owing to hostilities between the mother countries, taken possession of and retained by the Madras Army. During this period no coins at all were issued, the Danes having naturally suspended operations Tranquebar was restored to the Danish power in 1814.

Silver coins began to be struck in the reign of Christian V (1670-1699), and the earliest known coins are the five and two *fanos* of 1683. The silver currency thus started in *fanos*, conformably to the then popular monetary system of India, was superseded in 1755, by the introduction of the one and two *royalinar*. The change was, however, only nominal, the value of the *royalin* continuing to be nearly equal to one eighth of a rupee. In 1816 a return was made to the old nomenclature *fanos*, which continued till 1818, from which year, the Danish Mint ceased to coin silver.

So far as we know, there were no Indo-Danish gold *fanams*, and the only gold coin that appears to have been struck was the pagoda of Christian VII :-

Obv.—The crowned monogram of the king on a granulated surface.

Rev. An Indian idol.

From the description given of it in the accompaying list of the Copenhagen Collection, it appears that the pagoda of Christian VII must have resembled in appearance and size the earlier variety of the Star Pagoda (*Pulivarahan*) of the English East Indian Company.

Another gold coin is mentioned in the Copenhagen Royal Coin Cabinet *Catalogue* :-

Obv. The crowned monogram of the king.

Rev. The Persian initial, of Haidar, so familiar to collecters of Mysore coins of the Muhammadan Usurpation period.

This coin is of very great interest, as tending to shew that the Danish power in the East did homoge to the Mysore Usurper, consistently with the unambitious policy of peace adopted by them in their dealings with the dominant Indian Powers.

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APPENDIX IV

SADASIVARAYA'S INSCRIPTION AT TIRUPPATI, GIVING DETAILS OF THE WAGES OF TEMPLE ATTENDANTS, THE PRICES OF FOOD STUFFS ETC.,

(*a*) List of daily offerings.

4 veḷḷi-tiruppōnakam, 1 alaṇkāra-taḷigai comprising 2 rājāna-tiruppōnakam, 4 kinds of porikkaṛiyamudu, 4 kinds of kūttuk-kaṛiyamudu, 4 kinds of sauces, 1 cup of milk, 1 cup of rasāyanam and 1 cup of butter-milk to be offered to Srī Gōvindarājan daily after the first worship in the morning ;

2 tiruppōnakam to be offered daily to Srī Vēṇkaṭēśa installed by Poṭlapāḍi Timmarāja in the 4th cave at Āḻvār-Tīrtham as your ubhaiyam ; and 1 uḻakku of oil for daily lights to be maintained in the presence of this Śrī Vēnkaṭēśa ;

Altogether 11 marakkāl and 1 uri of oil and 730 tiruppōnakam yearly to be prepared and offered as your ubhaiyam at Āḻvār-Tīrtham ; thus the grand total for conducting these two Ubhaiyam in Tirupati is 617 rēkhai-pon.

(*b*) List of ubhaiyam during Māsi-Brahmōtsavam in Tirupati :—

7:8 vagai-padi to be presented to Srī Gōvindarājan and Nāchchi-mār on 13 days of Māsi-Brahmōtsavam commencing from the day of ankurārpanam festival to be conducted on the day of the star Ārdrā, occurring in the month of Māsi, being the monthly birth-star of Śrī Rāmānuja and ending with the day of Tīrthavāri to be performed on the day of the star Viśākham, being the monthly birth-star of Nammāḻvār ; 135 śiṛappu, tiruppōnakam, 130 taḷigai-tiruppāvāḍai-tiruppōnakam, 40 tiru-

moḻippaḍi-tiruppōnakam, 23 tirumañjanapaḍi-tiruppōnakam, - Tirukkoḍi-Āḻvān-tiruppōnakam, 5 vēṭṭaipaḍi tiruppōnakam 4 adhivāsa-tiruppōnakam, 2 pañcha-havis-tiruppōnakam, 5 Garuḍa-pratishṭhai-tiruppōnakam, 18 tiruppōnakam for 4 nāḻi-charu-pots, 9 tiruppōnakam for 2 nāḻi-charu-pots, 22 tiruppōnakam for hōma-charu-pots, 6 tiruppōnakam for Annāḻvār's village offerings, 4 bali-prasādam for Brahma-sēnāpati, and 30 tiruppōnakam to be presented to Srī Gōvindarājan and Nāchchimār while in bed-chamber arranged within the temple of Nammāḻvār at Āḻvār-Tīrtham on the day of Tīrthavāri of the said Māśi-Brahmōtsavam, 12 tiruvōlakkam on the 12 days of Vaikāsi-Brahmōtsavam celebrated for Śrī Govindarājan, 1 tiruvōlakkam to be offered while seated in the Rāyar-maṇṭapam at Āḻvār-Tīrtham on the day of Tīthavāri of Vaikāśi-Brahmōtsavam, 14 tiruvōlakkam comprising 378 tiruppōnaka-taḷigai (at the rate of 27 tiruppōnaka-taḷigai per tiruvōlakkam) to be offered to Śrī Gōvindarājan while seated within the temple of Śrī Viṭṭhalēśvarasvāmi in Tirupati on the day of Viḍāyāṛṛi of Vaikāśi-Brahmōtsavam, and 1 tirruppāvāḍai comprising 100 tiruppōnaka-taḷigai to be offered to Śrī Gōvindarājan on the day of Vaikāśi Vidāyāṛṛi festival in His temple.—

Altogether 940 tiruppōnaka-taḷigai to be prepared and offered as your ubhaiyam in Tirupati; for which 51 rēkhai and $1\frac{1}{2}$ paṇam is the estimated sum;

7 rēkhai and 2 paṇam for 18 dadhyōdana-taligai,

20 paruppuviyal to be offered to Śrī Gōvindarājan and 24 paruppuvial to be presented to Śrī Rāmānuja on the occasion of the Iyalśāttu in his shrine in Tirupati during during Vaikāśi-Brahmōtsavam; for the preparation of these 44 paruppuvial 8 rēkha and 8 panam is the estimated sum.

4 panam for 2 tilānna-taligai.

7 rēkhai and 2 panam for 18 tirukkaṇāmaḍai,

4 panam for 2 pāyasam taḷigai.

16 rēkhai and 8 panam for 24 appa-paḍi to be offered to Śrī Gōvindarājan as night offering during this Māśi-Brahmōṭsavam, 20 appa-paḍi to be offered for distribution after the night-procession on vehicles during this Brahmōtsavam while reciting the Iyal-sāttu songs in front of the shrine of Śrī Gōvindarājan ; thus in total,

30 rēkhai and 8 panam is the cost for these 44 appa-paḍi.

8 rēkhai and 4 panam	for	12 vaḍai-paḍi.
19 rēkhai and 2 panam	for	24 atirasa-paḍi.
8 rēkhai and 4 panam	for	12 gōdhi-paḍi.
8 rēkhai and 4 panam	for	14 iḍḍali-paḍi.
15 rēkhai	for	30 sukhiyan-paḍi.
7 rēkhai and 5 paṇam	for	15 dōśi-paḍi.
5 rēkhai and 6 pgṇam	for	14 manōhara-paḍi.

Altogether 103 rēkhai and 3 paṇam for these 165 paḍi of 8 kids.

2 rēkhai ...	for	1 vaṭṭi aval for tiruppaṇyāram.
1 rēkhai and 4 paṇam	for	1 vaṭṭi of pori.
4 rēkhai and 1 paṇam	for	1 vaṭṭi, 1 marrakkāl and 2 nāḻi of green gram.
1 paṇam	for	1 marakkāl of select dal.
2 rēkhai ...	for	1 vaṭṭi of bengal gram.
1 paṇam	for	1 marakkāl of sesame.
1 paṇam	for	1 marakkāl of śaramaṇ (sacred earth for cleaning the temple vessels).
1 rēkhai and 7 paṇam	for	37 pānakam-pots.
1 rēkhai and 2 paṇam	for	17 pots of butter-milk.
	for	5 vīśai of refined-sugar.
1 rēkhai and 2 paṇam	for	6 vīśai of refined-sugar.
3 rēkhai and 2 paṇam	for	6 marakkāl and uri of ghee of homam, snapanam and dhruvam
1 paṇam	for	1¾ nāḻi honey.
1 paṇam	for	6 nāḻi of milk.
¼ paṇam	for	2 nāḻi of curds.
4 paṇam	for	1 marakkāl of butter.
4 paṇam	for	1 marakkāl of milk.

	2 paṇam	for	2 pots of curds.
2 rēkhai	...	for	400 tender coconuts.
2 rēkhai and	1 paṇam	for	310 coconuts.
1 rēkhai and	2 paṇam	for	400 plantains:
	4 paṇam	for	400 (wood apples).
	2 paṇam	for	100 lemon-fruits.
	3 paṇam	for	10 vīśai of soap-nuts.
	7 paṇam	for	24 vīśai of turmeric.
2 rēkhai and	1 panam	for	4 vaṭṭi and 5 marakkāl of grain.
	1 panam	for	1 marakkāl of nava-dhānyam.
2 rēkhai and	1 paṇam	for	2 vaṭṭi and marakkāl of rice.
8 rēkhai and	5 paṇam	for	170 palam of chandanam for kalabham decoration.
2 rēkhai and	5 panam	for	125 palam of chandanam for Vasantam function, tirumaṇjanam and distribution during Āsthānam.
1 rēkhai and	1 paṇam	for	3 paṇa-weight of musk for Ūrdhva puṇḍram.
2 rēkhai and	1 panam	for	11¼ paṇa-weight of refined camphor for the docoration of His face.
8 rēkhai	...	for	10 rose-water vessels.
	7 paṇam	for	2000 areca-nuts.
	6 paṇam	for	4000 uncut-areca-nuts.
	6 paṇam	for	4000 betels.
	6 paṇam	for	6 paṇa-weight of camphor.
2 rēkhai pon	...	for	1 turban 1 app-paḍi. 50 araca-nuts, 100 betels, 1 palam of chandanam, I garland and 1 sacred frontlet to be brought down after offering to Śrī Vēṇkaṭēśa from Tirumalai to Tirupati and to be honoured by Sēnai Mudaliyār enshrined in the temple of Śrī Gōvindarājan on the day of Kaiyārchakram (ankurārpaṇam day) of the said Māśi-Brahmōtsavam.

	4¼ paṇam	for 1 vīśai of thread and 1 garland for Flag-staff
180 rēkhai	...	for 150 jars of oils for torches.

(*c*) List of sundry expenses during Māśi Brahmōtsavam

1 rēkhai and 2 paṇam		for 12 nirvāham of the Śthānattār (temple-trustees.)
2 rēkhai and 2 paṇam		for 4½ vagai or shares of the temple officials.
	2 paṇam	for Vaishṇavakāri.
	2 paṇam	for Tirumaḍivaḷam.
	2 paṇam	for the Sabhaiyār (temple councillors) as cash offering.
	8 paṇam	for carrying the deities into the temple car.
	2 paṇam	for supervisor
	3½ paṇam	for Nambimār (Archakās) for the kaṇkanam
	5½ paṇam	for ...on the day of Viḍāyāṛṛi festival
	4 paṇam	for Anusandhānam
	5 paṇam	for Kaṇgānippān
	2 paṇam	for Viṇṇappam-officer
	7 paṇam	for Tēvaiyāl (temple - cooks) on the 2 days of Tīrthavāri and Viḍāyāṛṛi-festival
	2 paṇam	for Singamuṛai
1 rekhai	... ...	for potters
	6 paṇam	for 600 baskets to be supplied by the mēgaraiyar
	3 paṇam	for mats
	1 paṇam	for kallai
15 rēkhai pon	...	for Tiruppaṇippiḷḷai (temple-repairers)for repairing the wooden- cars and stonecar
1 rēkhai	... ...	for erecting the pandal with bamboos in front of the Viḍāyāṛṛi maṇṭapam and repairing the pathways on the day of Tīrthavāri festival.

1½ paṇam	for	carpenters for painting the flags
1 rēkhai and 2 paṇam	for	Īyuṇṇi Appayyan for fixing the muhūrtam (auspicious hour) for car festival
1 rēkhai for Bhūri-dānam	for	car festival
1 paṇam	for	distributors
3 paṇam	for	kaikkōlar for the decoration of Pūn-kōyil (flower-palanquin) on the 4th and 5th festival days
2 paṇam	for	decorating the Tirthavāri-manta-pam.
2 paṇam	for	decorating the Viḍāyāṛṛi-maṇṭa-pam.
2 paṇam	as	tirumun-kānikkai (cash-offering) on the 2 days of Tirthavāri and Viḍāyāṛṛi festivals
2 paṇam	for	paṇimuṛai
7 rēkhai pon ...	for	Vāhanam bearers on the 13 days, commencing from the day of Aṇkurārpanam and ending with the day of Viḍāyāṛṛi during Brahmōtsavam
1 rēkhai and 2 paṇam	for	repairing the 3 temple-cars yearly,
1 rekhai and 8 paṇam	for	Vāhanam bearers for carrying Sri Bhāshyakārar (Sri Rāmānuja) in back-side of Sri Gōvindarājan during night-procession on the 12 days of Brahmōtsavam,
2 paṇam	for	Vāhanam - bearers on the day of Tīruthavāri
5 paṇam	for	Sippiyar (artisan) for decorating the maṇṭapam,
1 rēkhai and 5 paṇam	for	decorating the 3 temple cars
2 rekhai and 4 paṇam	for	Dāsanambis and Vāhanam-bearers for carrying the 3 temple cars, flower palanquin. Muttuppandal-vehicle and Vaikuṇtha–Vimānam towards the Lakshmidevi maṇṭa-

		pam on the 2 days of Tīrthavāri and Viḍāyāṛṛi
5 rēkhai	... ...	for flowers for the decoration of the temple cars, Muttuppandal-vehicle, Pūn - kōyil (flower - palanquin) Vaikuntha - vimānam, Tīrthavari - mantapam, and Viḍāyāṛṛi maṇṭapam in Tirupati
1 paṇam		for Vēḍupari-servants
1 rēkhai and 5 paṇam		for colours and other painting materials for the vehicles
11 rēkhai and 2 paṇam		for fire works (peṭṭi-bānam),
8 paṇam		for the servants for digging and decorating the kēlar-kuli (pit)
2 paṇam		for the supply of water into the Kēlar-kuḻi.
2 paṇam		for the Srivaishṇavas for carrying Sri Rāmānuja towards Simhāsanam and decorating Him with the silks and garlands on the 12 days of the said Brahmōtsavam
2 paṇam		for repairing the front maṇṭapam of the shrine of Nammāḻvār at Āḻvār Tirtham on the day of Tīrthavāri festival.
5 paṇam		for the servants engaged in rendering the easy running of the car.
50 rēkhai	... ...	for colours and other painting materials for the 3 temple cars.
1 rēkhai	... ...	for garlands to be honoured the Kangāṇi officer engaged in counting the accounts during Brahmōtsavam.
70½ rēkhai	... ...	for the bearers of torches, flags and umbrellas.
4 paṇam		to be paid to Anantayyan Vēnkaṭattu-ṛaivān, reciting the Vēṇkaṭāchala-Māhatmyam during the said Brahmōt-

savam.

5 rēkhai ... ... for silks and garlands intended for Śri Gōvindarājan and His consorts.

Altogether 610 rēkhai-pon is the estimated sum for Māśi-Brahmōṭsavam.

1 rēkhai and 6 paṇam for 8 paruppuviyal-paḍi, viz., 4 paruppuviyal-paḍi to be offered to Tirukkoḍi Āl̤vān (Flag-Garuḍa or Garudāl̤van) while ascending the Flag-staff during Vaikāśi and Āni Brahmōṭsavam and 4 paruppuviyal-paḍi to be presented to the same Garuḍāl̤vān while decending from the Flag-staff during the said Vaikāśi and Āni-Brahmōtsavam in Tirupati.

1 rēkhai and 2 paṇam for 2 iḍḍali-paḍi to be presented to Śrī Kṛishṇan in front of your house in Tirupati on the 5th festival days of Vaikāśi and Āni-Brahmōtsavam,

16 rēkhai ... ... for 20 atirasa-paḍi.
viz., 2 atirsa-paḍi on the 2 days of 6th festival during Vaikāśi and Āni Brahmōtsavam, 2 atirsa-paḍi on the 2 days of car festival during Vaikāśi and Āni Brahmōtsamam, 2 atirasa-paḍi on the 2 days of Śēshavāhanam festival during the said 2 Brahmōtsavam, 1 atirasa–paḍi to be presented to Śrī Āṇḍāl̤ (Śrī Gōdādēvi), enshrined in Tirupati temple on the day of car festival during Mārgal̤i Utsavam celebrated for Her, 12 atirasa-paḍi to be offered to Śrī Rāmānuja in front of your house on the 13 days of Adhyayanōt-

savam, celebrated for him and 1 atirasa-paḍi to be presented to Śrī Periya-Raghunādhan in front of the Gōpuram of the shrine of the shrine of Śrī Tirumalai-Nambi while returning to His temple after the car-procession during Panguni Brahmōtsavam.

2 paṇam for 1 paruppuviyal-paḍi to be presented to Srī Kṛishṇan while seated in the shrine of Hanūmān in the temple of Śrī Gōvindarājan on the same day of car-festival, celebrated for Āṇḍāḷ (Srī Gōdādēvi).

APPENDIX — V

KONERIRAYAN COIN

A series of copper coin, bearing the Tamil legend '*Kōnērirāyan*, on the obverse and a standing bull on the reverse deserve attention. These coins were assigned to ? by scholars. These coins were issued by Kōnērirāyan a feudatory under the Vijayanagar, ruling from Kanchipuram in the North to Thiruchirappalli to the South, including Tanjore region. He had his capital at Kanchipuram and styled himself *Kanchipuravaradhīśvara.* Kōnērirāyan ruled in the later half of 15th century. His inscriptons are found in Tanjore, Trichy, South Arcot and Chingleput districts. He is also referred to in '*Kōil oḻugu*' the Srirangam chronicle. He is said to have made an endowment to the Thiruppati temple. Kōnērirāya obtained the chieftaincy over Thiruchirappalli Sīrmai in the 1471 A.D, from Saluva Thirumala and around 1487 assumed considerable power, for he is calling himself "*Kōnēri dēva Mahārāja*" in Thirumalapadi inscription. His records are found upto 1495 (at Thiruchengattankudi). His long chieftaincy for nearly 25 years and control over the fertile area of the Tamil country, has made him a formidable ruler. He seemed to have come into conflict with Srirangam Vaishnavites. In 1496 he was defeated and removed from power by Narasa Nāyaka, the Vijayanagar general. The famous Kōnērirāyapuram in Tanjore district, was renamed probably after him. Recently the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology, has discovered his portrait on the enclosure wall of the Siva temple, Cheyyar, in North Arcot. The king is shown on a Palanquin carried by servants and accompanied by his retinue. Below the Palanquin, is a bilingual label in Telugu and Tamil, reading '*Kōnēri rāyan.*

(Kudavasal Balasubramaniam a young promissing scholar, sent me the above note of his new identification and I have pleasure in reproducing the same here. R.N*)*.

APPENDIX—VI

RAMANNAN COIN

by

NATANA. KASINATHAN

(Registering Officer, Tamilnadu State Archaeology Department)

Recently a copper coin belonging to an individual from Adyar, Madras, was examined by me. It has a Tamil legend '*Rāmaṇṇan*' in three lines on the obverse and a seated Narasimha figure on the reverse. Paleographically the script can be dated to 16th Century A.D.

It is found that a Nāyak, Rāmaṇṇan had ruled in 1511 A.D. in Dharmapuri area. His father is mentioned as Angappa Nāyakkar., Their overlord was Vīra Vallāḷa. The inscription copied from Kottur[1] in Dharmapuri District records an agreement between Rāmaṇṇan, the big Nāttār of Māsandha Nāḍu and the Nāyakamceyvārs (administrators) of Edirilicōḻa nāḍu, to constitute Vīravallāḷa Paṭṭaṇam by combining the villages of Attiyūr and Tēnuḻān Paḷḷam, in honour of their overlord Vīra Vallāḷa. This epigraph is dated in Saka 1433, corresponding to 1511 A.D. It is evident from the above epigraph that Rāmaṇṇan was a vassal in 16th century ruling over Dharmapuri region. It may not therefore be wrong to assume that the coin under discussion could have been issued by him.

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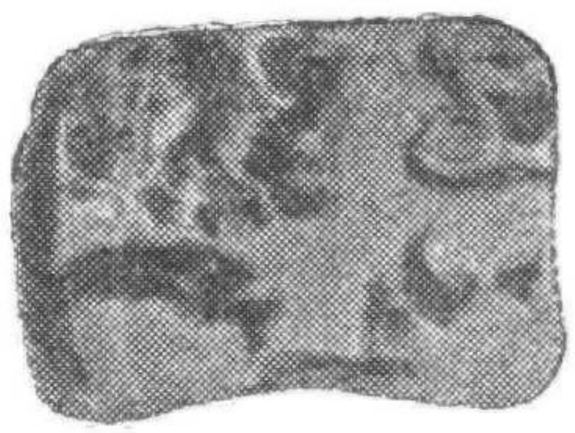
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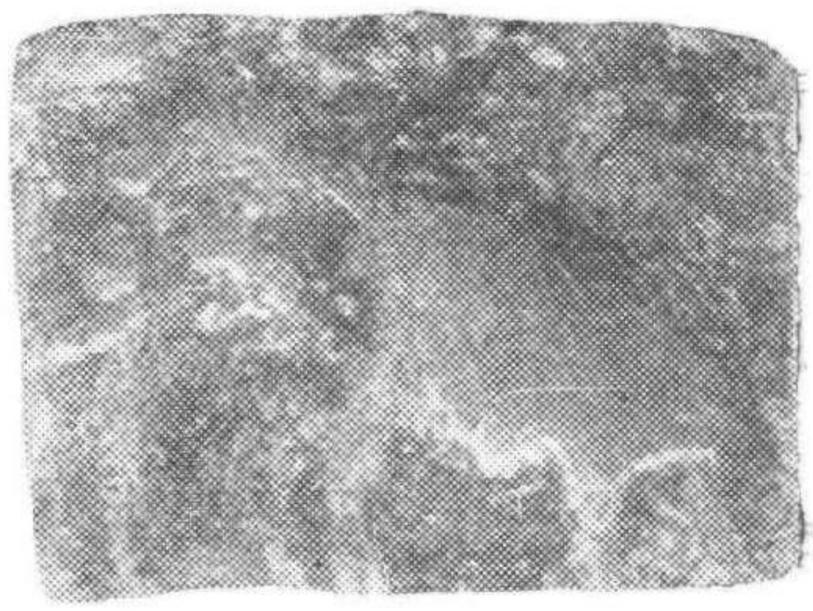
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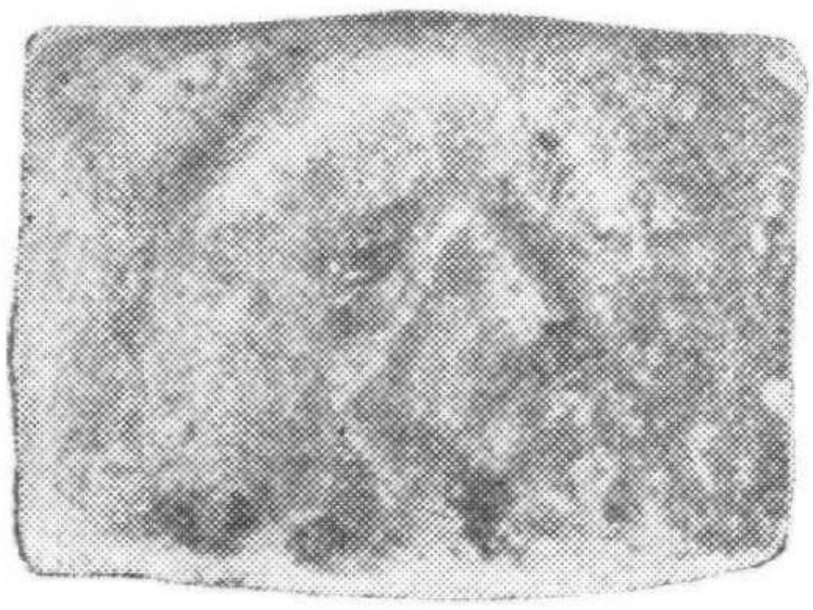
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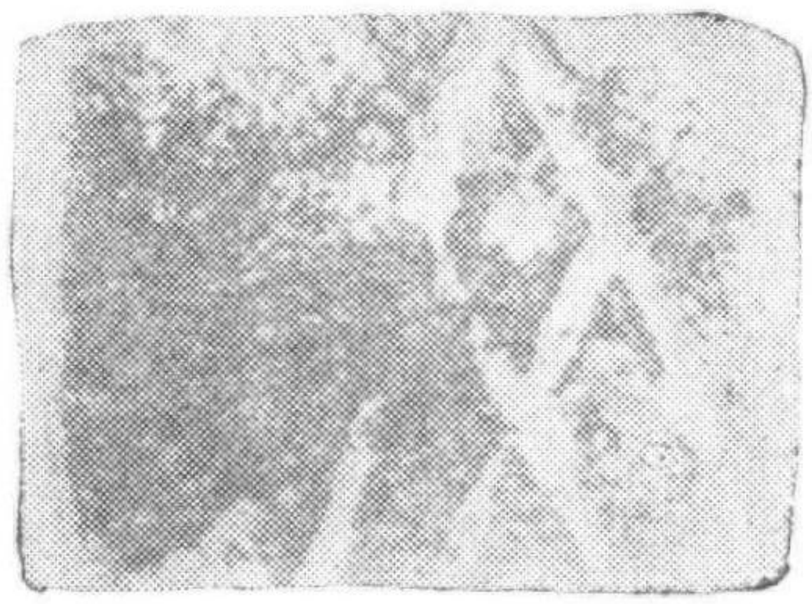


1. Punch marked coin -refer p. 7.





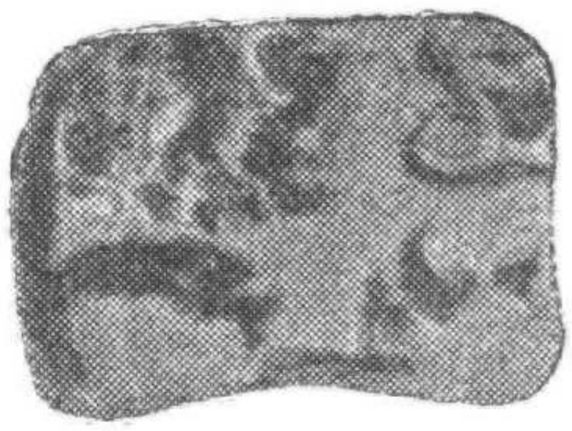




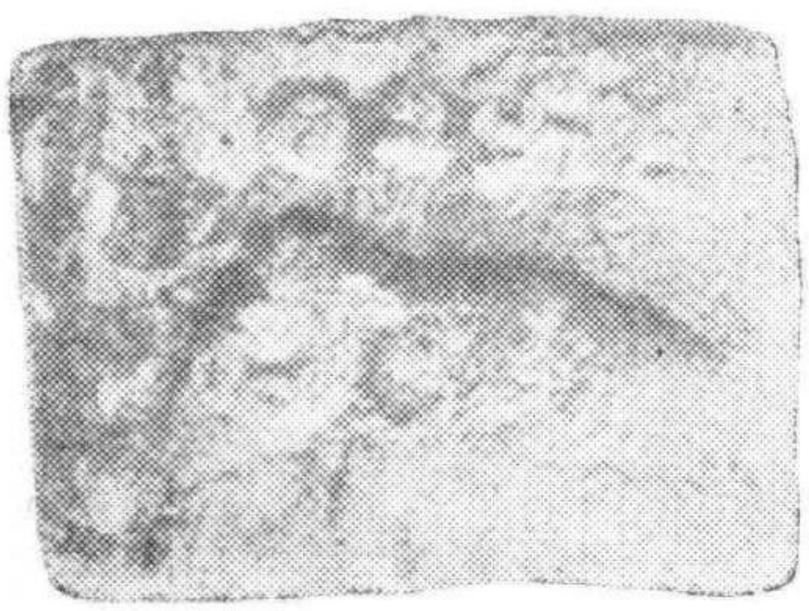
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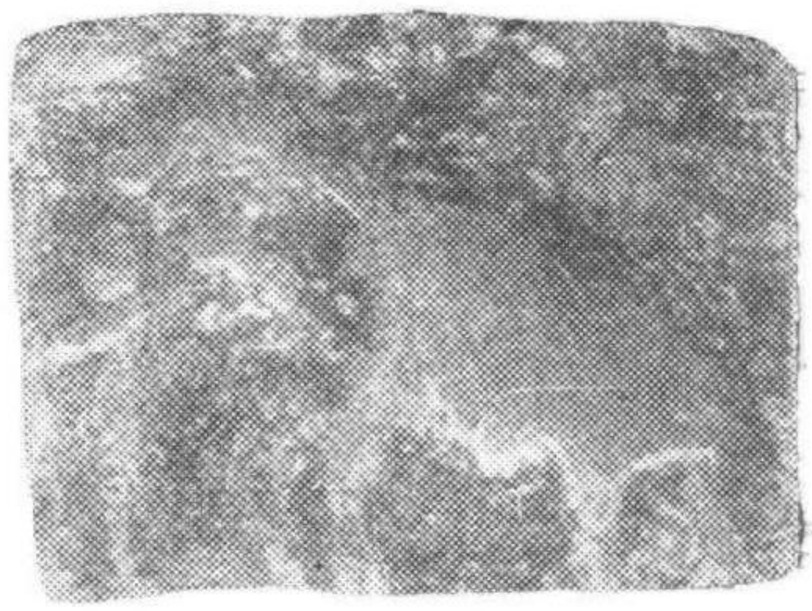
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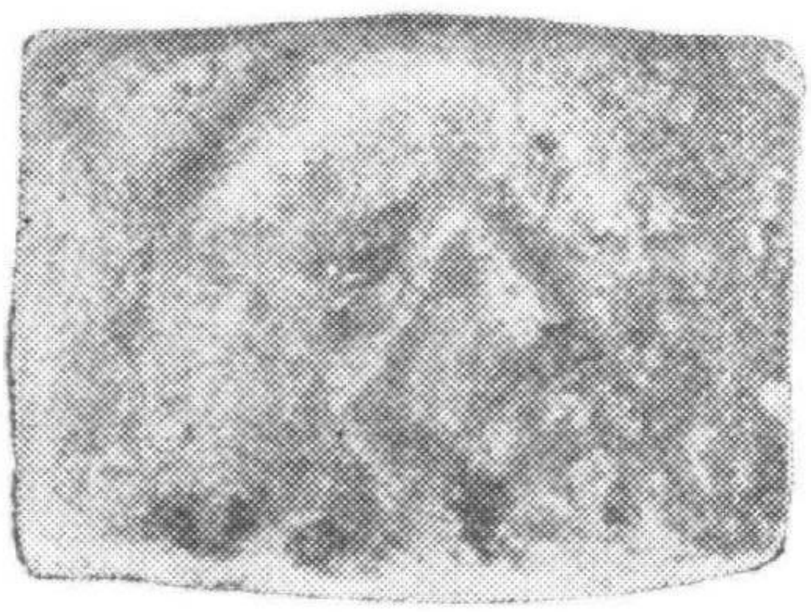
No. 2. Early Chera coin-copper-obverse shows elephant topped by ashta mangala symbols like purnakumbha, Srivatsa, and Swastika. Reverse triangular diagram topped by an arch; p. 9-10.
No. 3 Similar to No. 2.



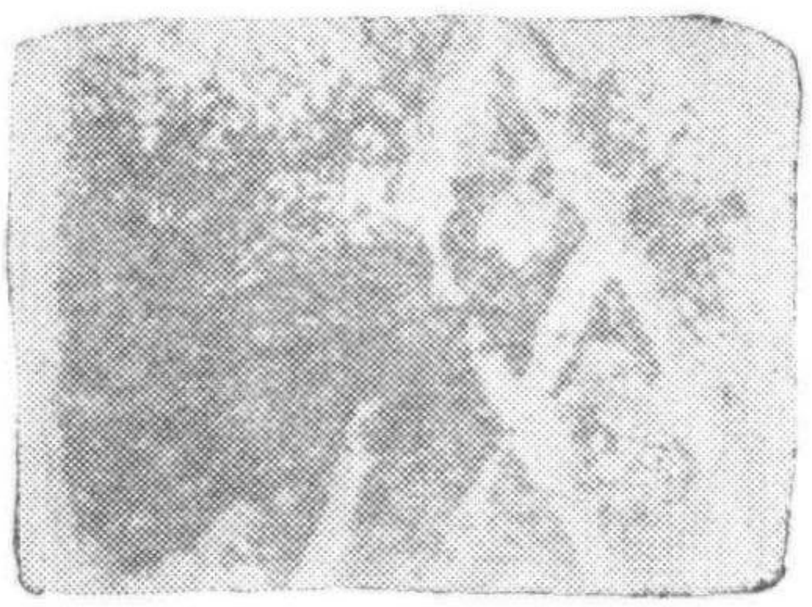
1. Punch marked coin -refer p. 7.







2



3

No. 2. Early Chera coin-copper-obverse shows elephant topped by ashta mangala symbols like purnakumbha, Srivatsa, and Swastika. Reverse triangular diagram topped by an arch; p. 9-10.
No. 3 Similar to No. 2.



4

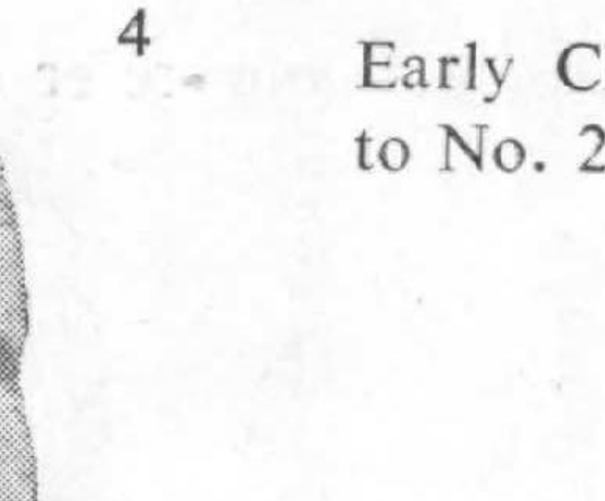


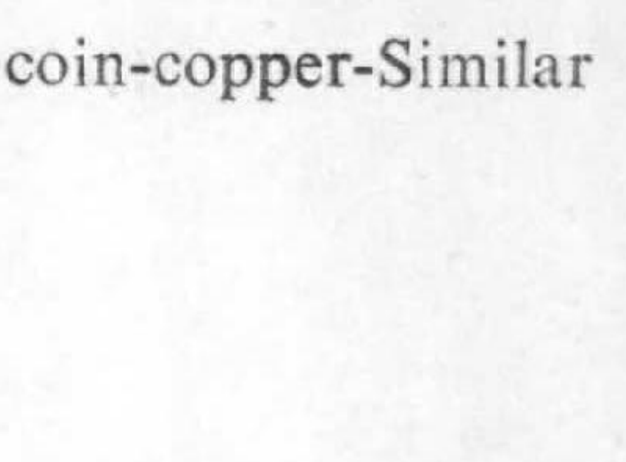
Early Chera coin-copper-Similar to No. 2.

5

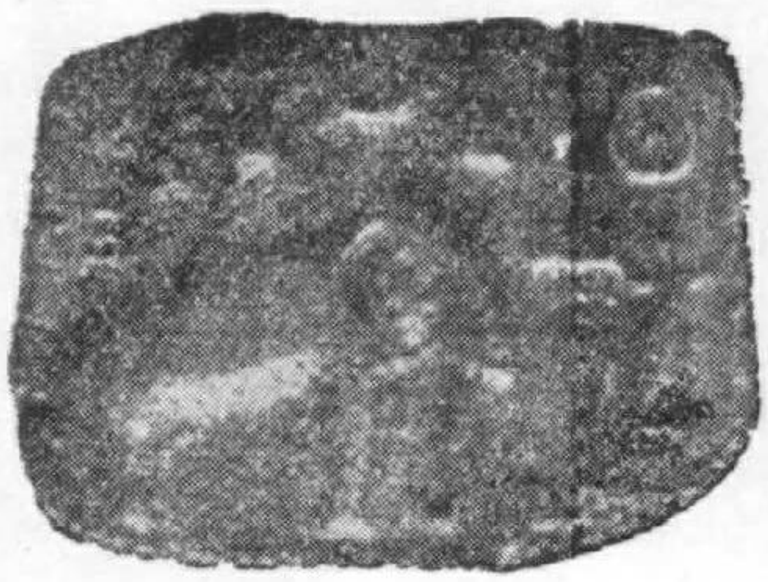
6

Obverse of Early Chera coins (p. 9-10)





7



8



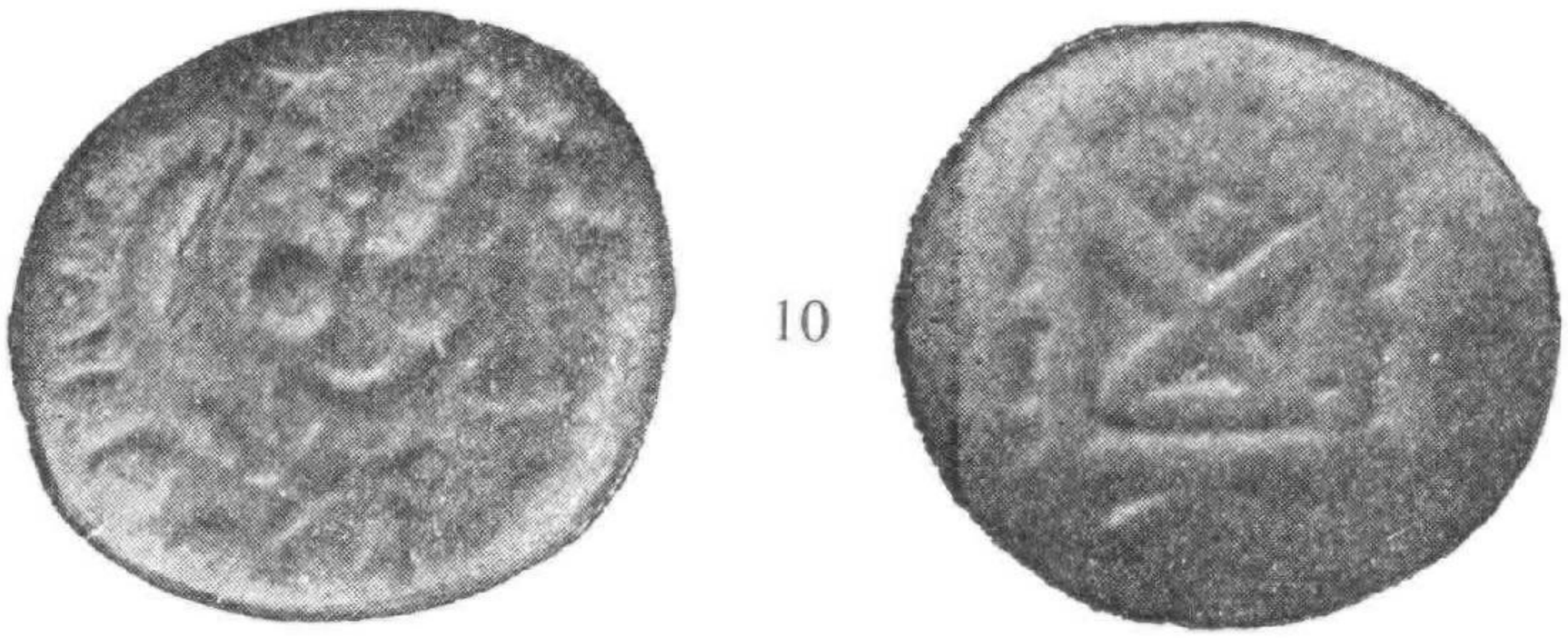
7. Early Chera Coin - Copper - obverse, Elephant facing right. In front is a sūla on stand and also a dagger or sword; above, the symbols clearly visible from the right are Cakra, fish, Srivatsa, Candra (cresent moon) and Purnakalasa - the other three emblems are indistinct. The order of the ashta mangala symbols appear the same in a series and in all these coins the elephant faces right.

8. Early Chera Coin - Copper - Srivatsa, fish, Purnakalasa and the Chakra are well represented. Elephant faces right. The Trident is seen in the front.



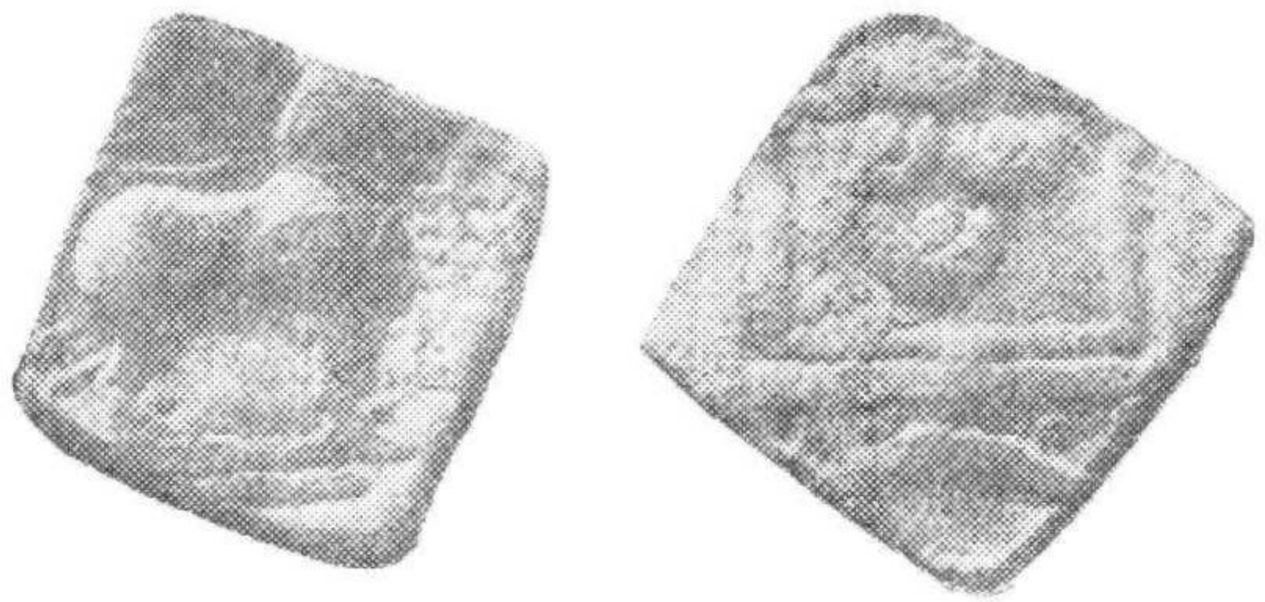
9

Middle Chera coin - copper - obverse. Bow, elephant (topped by a lamp on stand) and palm tree all shown on a pedestal - reverse - pellets in sacrificial altar like diagram.



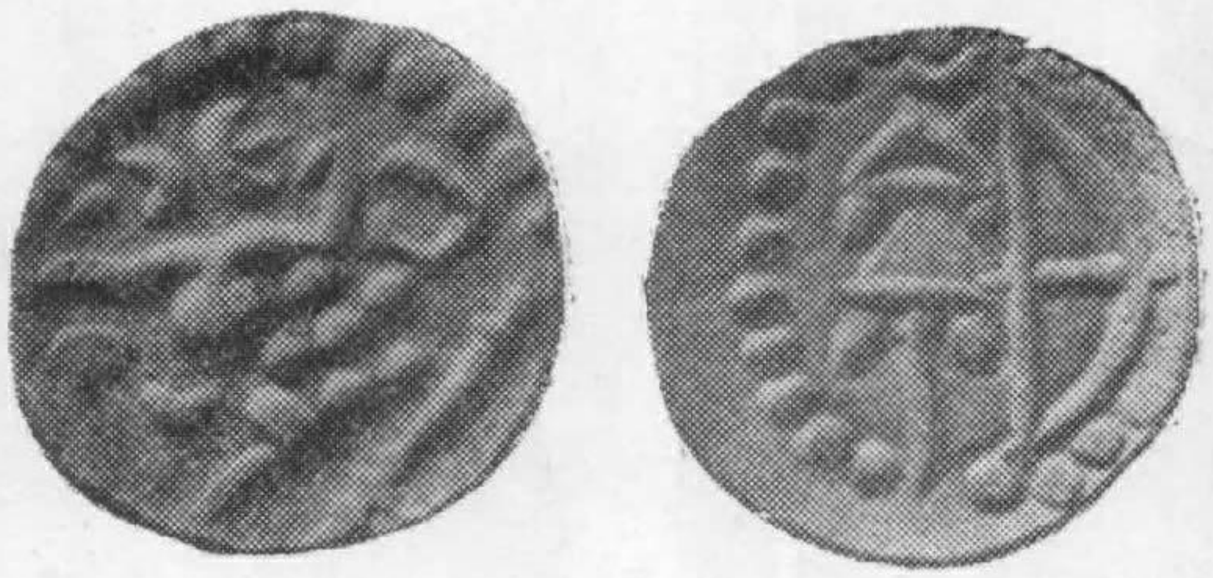
10

Middle Chera coin-copper-obverse. Bow, Pellets and Palm tree-reverse-pellets in a sacrificial altar like diagram flanked by lamp on stands.



11

The reverse symbol is obviously derived from the reverse symbol of some Satavahana coinage (Elliot. 46) I. K. Sharma's identification of the reverse as "six arched hill the obverse having a central dot all set in a double crescent mark" is not convincing (I. K. Sharma p. 98). He gives a different description in the corpus (P. 226). The object depicted seem to be some votive offerings in a vessel or sacrificial altar. The Chera Coins have obviously been influenced by this tradition. The Cheras had much in common with the satavahanas. The bow emblem of the Cheras also occur in early Andhra coins p. 17.



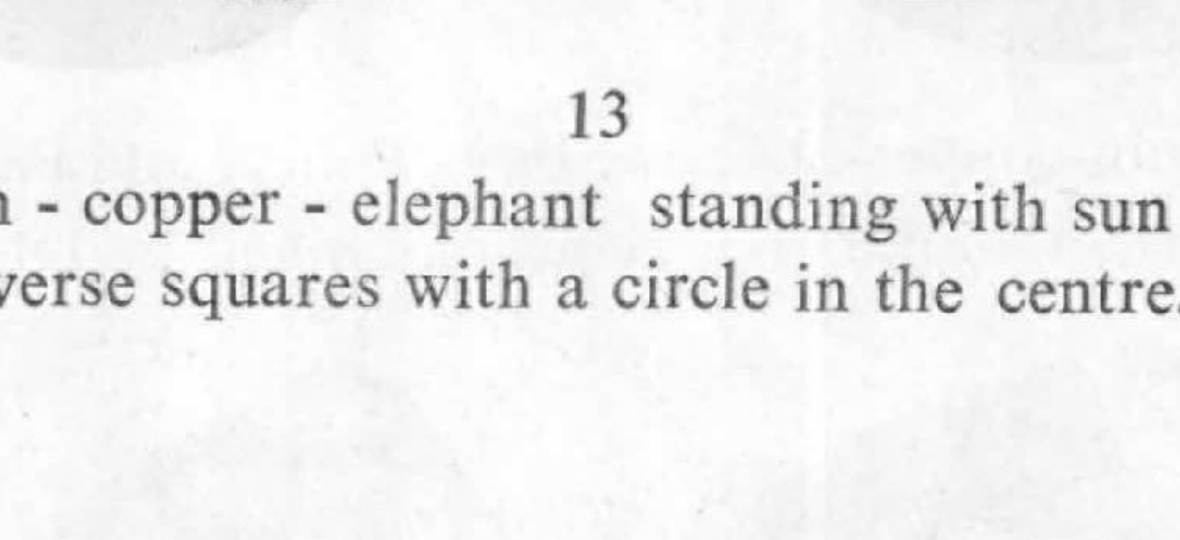
12

Chera coin - copper - obverse, seated royal figure, Parasu, pellets arranged like a flower below the left arm, and a letter 'che'; reverse a double umberella and bow and arrow.



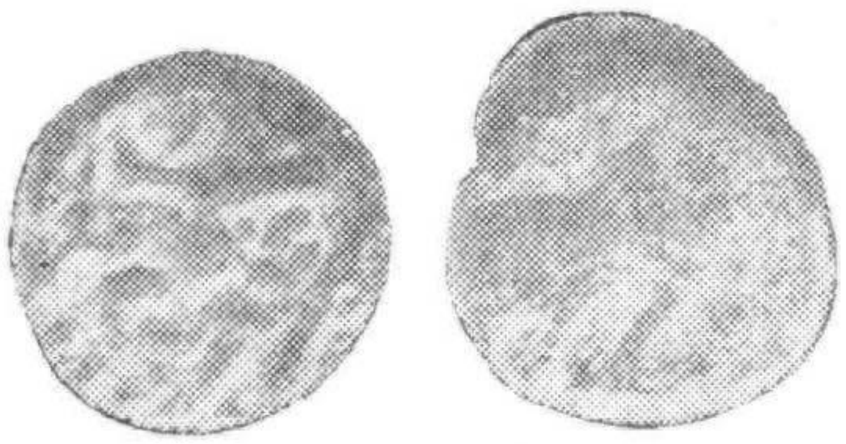
13

Chera coin - copper - elephant standing with sun and moon above - reverse squares with a circle in the centre.



14

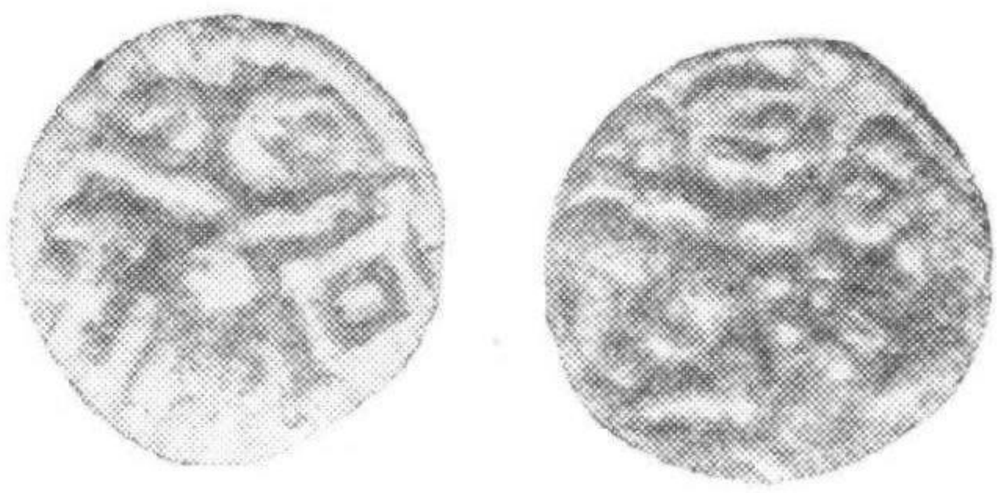
Chera coin - copper - obverse pellets in a vessel like diagram- reverse, Palmyra tree, wavy line with dots and a bow.



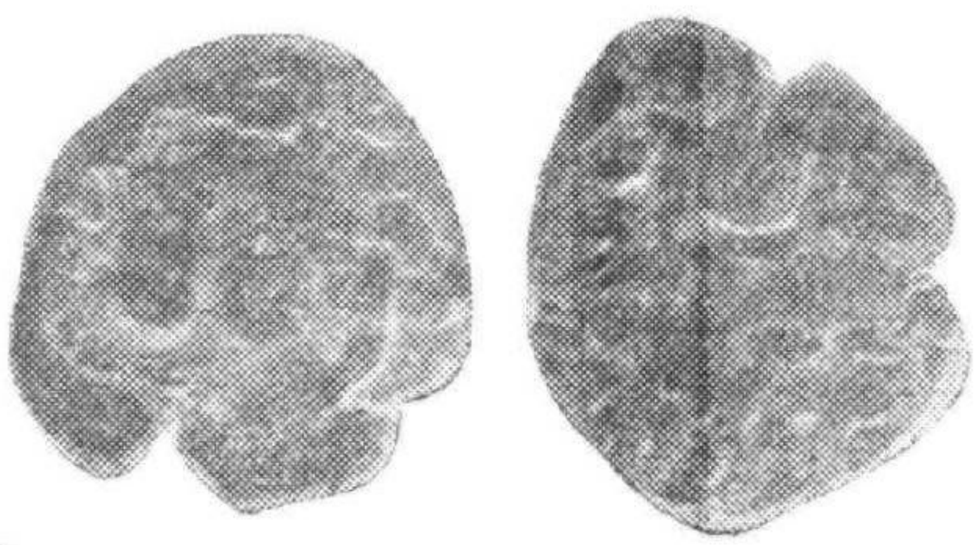
15

Chera coin - copper - obverse seated royal figure with a Parasu to the left - reverse-a standing elephant. The Chera country-the west coast is associated with Parasurama-in mediaeval epigraphs and literature. The presence of Parasu gains significance; the elephant would point to the chera authorship of this coin.

Chera coin - copper - obverse standing royal figure with a symbol obviously abstract figure of a conch - reverse seated figure with Parasu and a letter 'che' - These are assigned to Pandyas by Biddaulp (his figures No. 66 to 73) and to the Cholas by Elliot. p. 170.

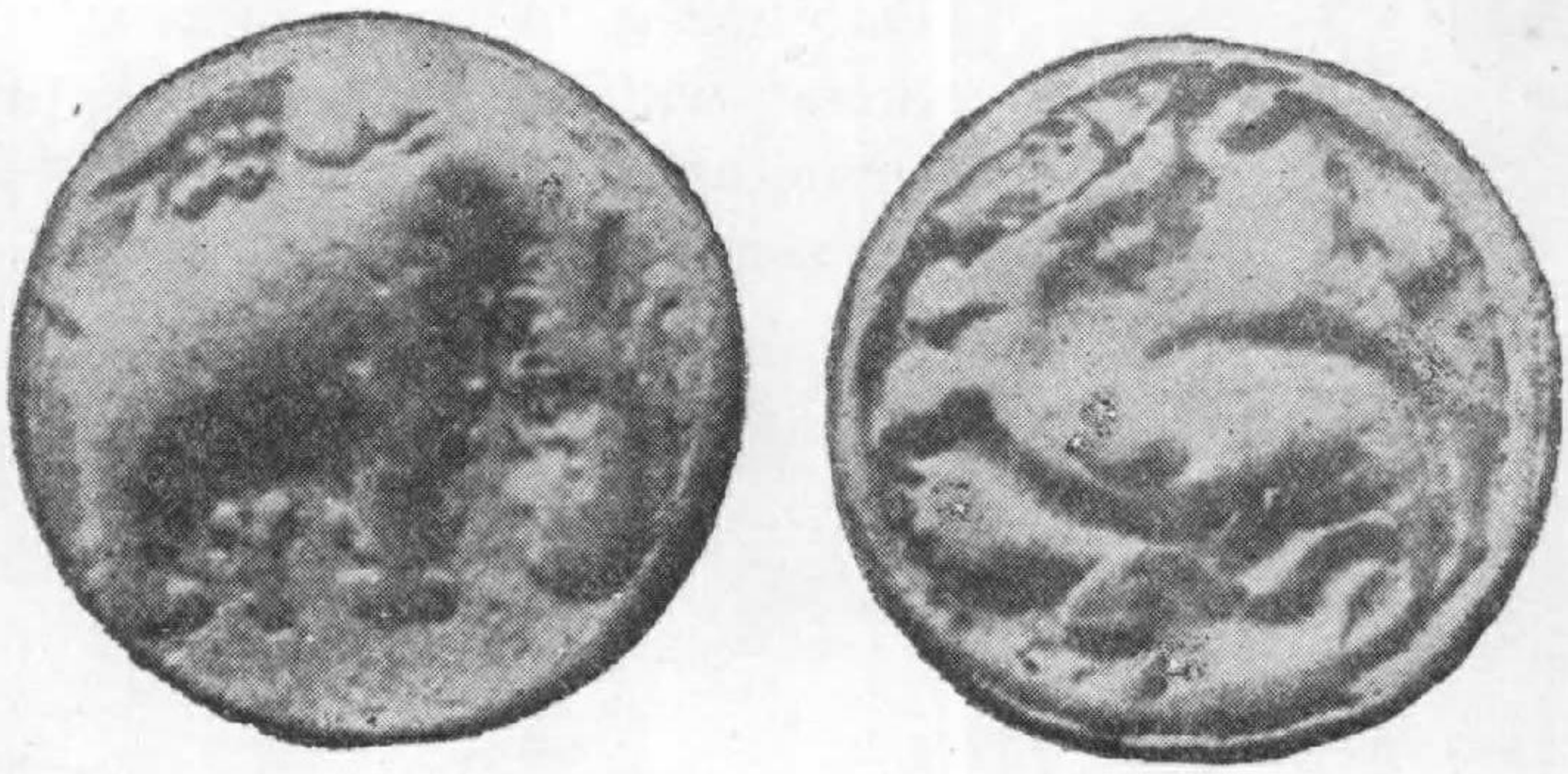


16



17

Chera coin-copper - obverse-Vishnupāda topped by umbrella-below the Vishnupāda is the bow which has not been noticed by earlier writers. Reverse-Tamil legend Kaliyugarāman. The presence of Vishnupada and the bow on the obverse is a definite pointer to the Thiruvaḍi rajya of Travancore rulers who issued these coins. Elliot (No. 147) and Desikachari (Nos. 23 - 24) ascribe this to the Pandyas. p. 23 - 24.



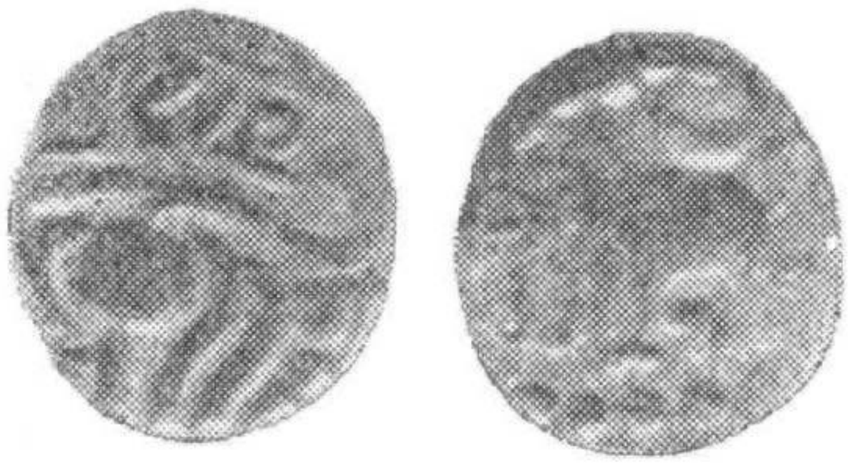
18

Ganga coins - gold - obverse standing elephant - reverse scroll. p. 20.



19

Same as above.



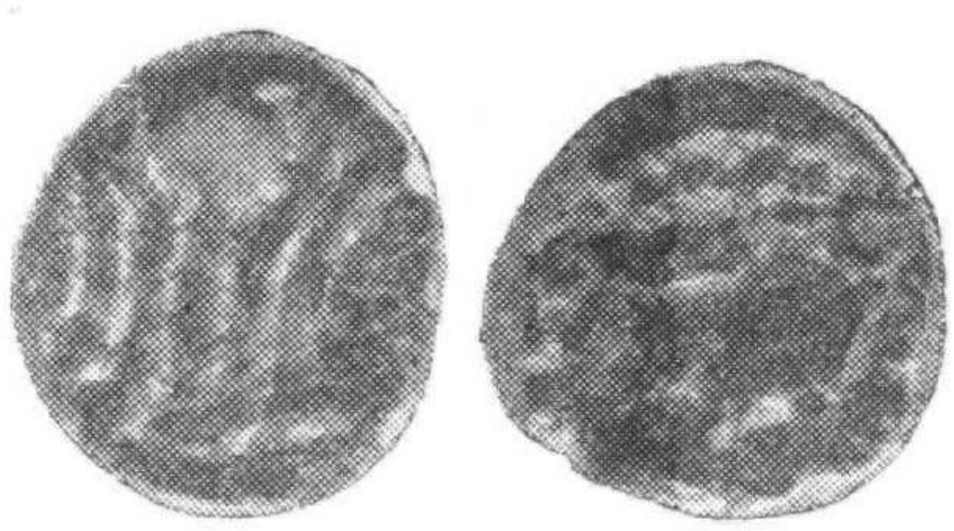
Chera coin- copper - obverse - standing royal figure - reverse - standing elephant with the cresent moon above.

20

Chera coin.



21



22

Chera coin - copper, obverse - standing man reverse - standing, elephant, above the Tamil legend 'Mā' in 14th century character flanked by Sankha and Chakra. An issue of 'Mārthāndavarman'.



23

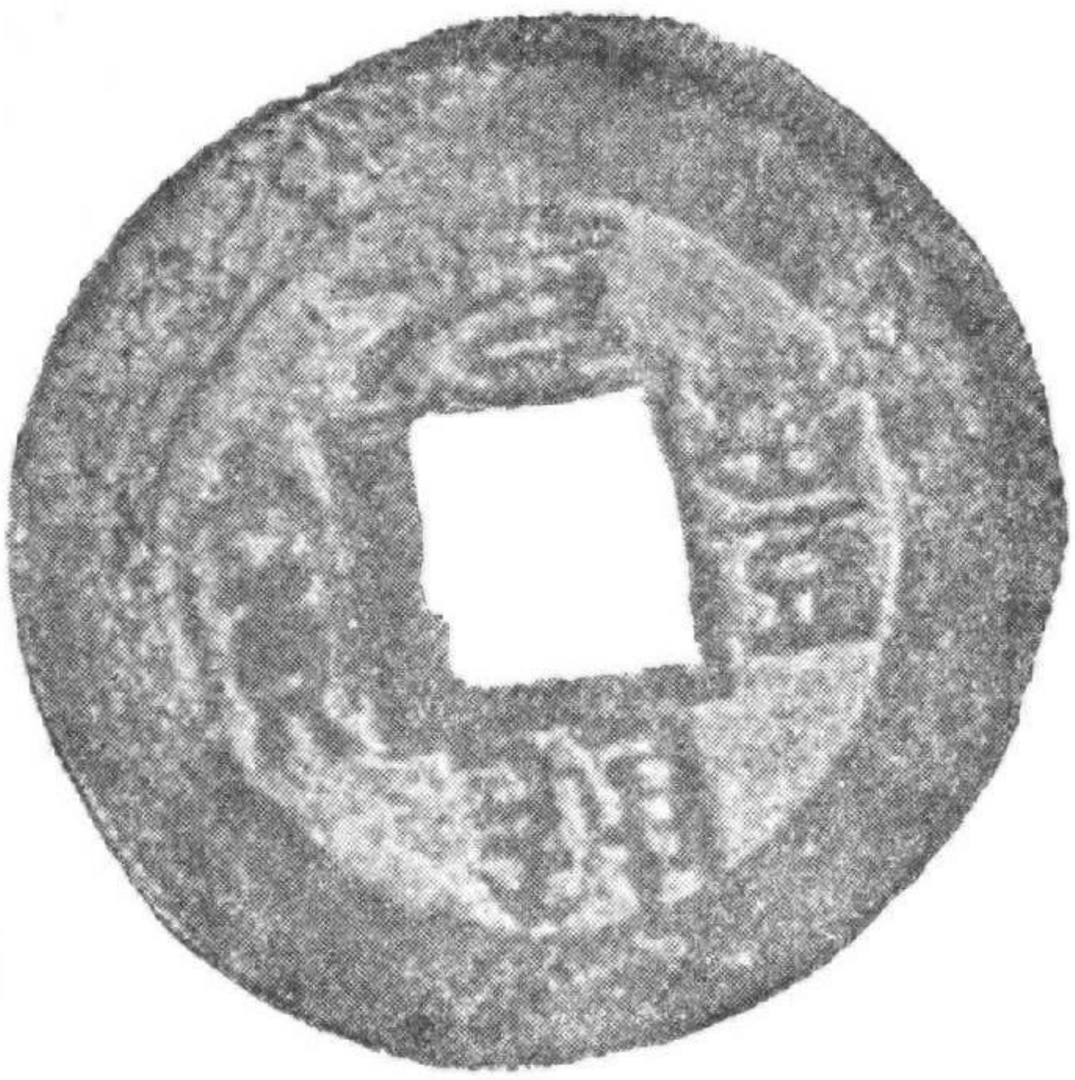


24

Roman coins - found in
Tamil Nadu.

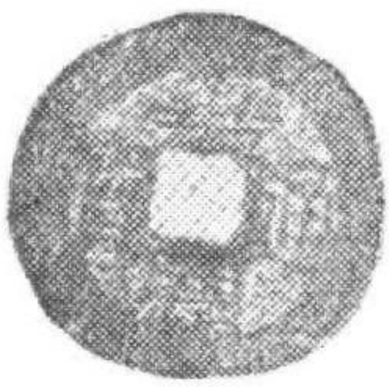


25

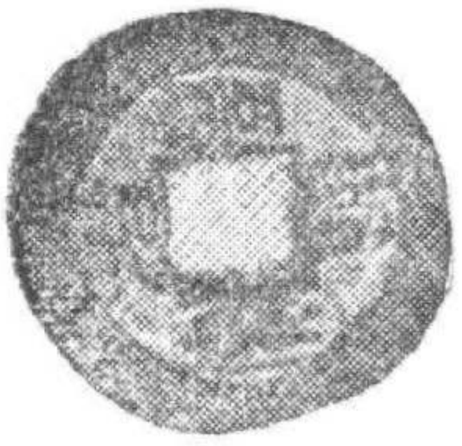


26

Chinese coins found in Tamil **Nadu - The** figure above is enlarged.



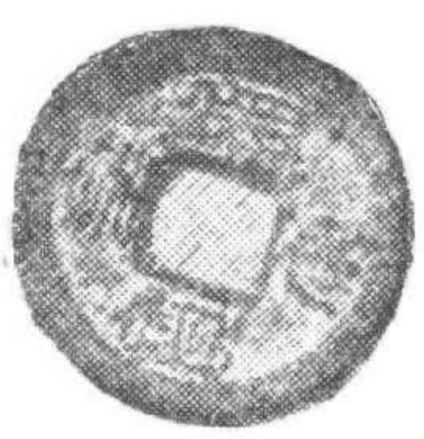
27



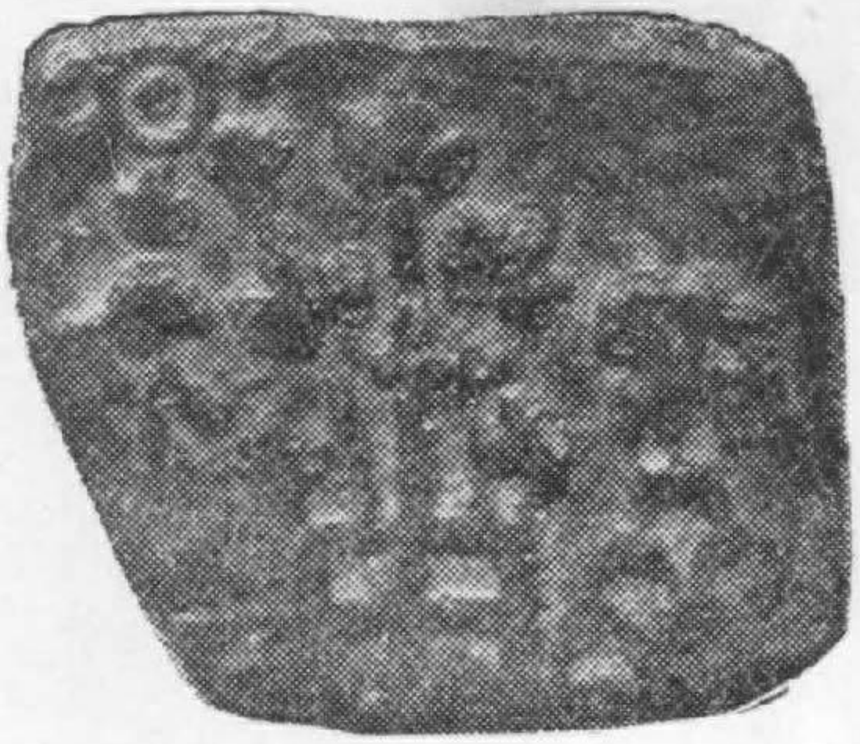
28



29



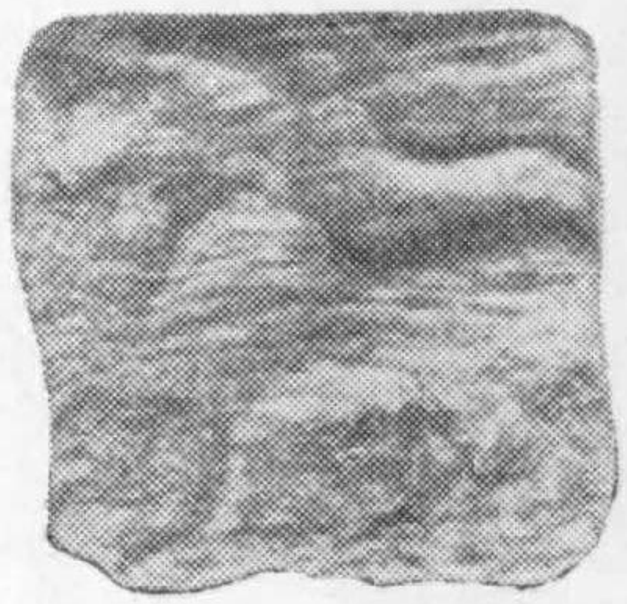
30



Early Chola coin-copper-obverse chaityavrksha and the six arched hill - reverse plain.

31

Early Chola coin - copper-obverse – standing tiger with lifted tail-reverse not legible.



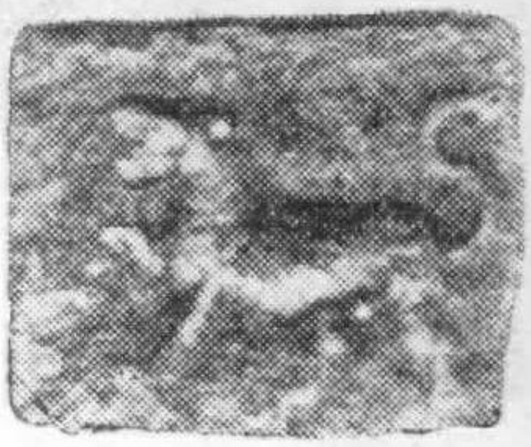
32



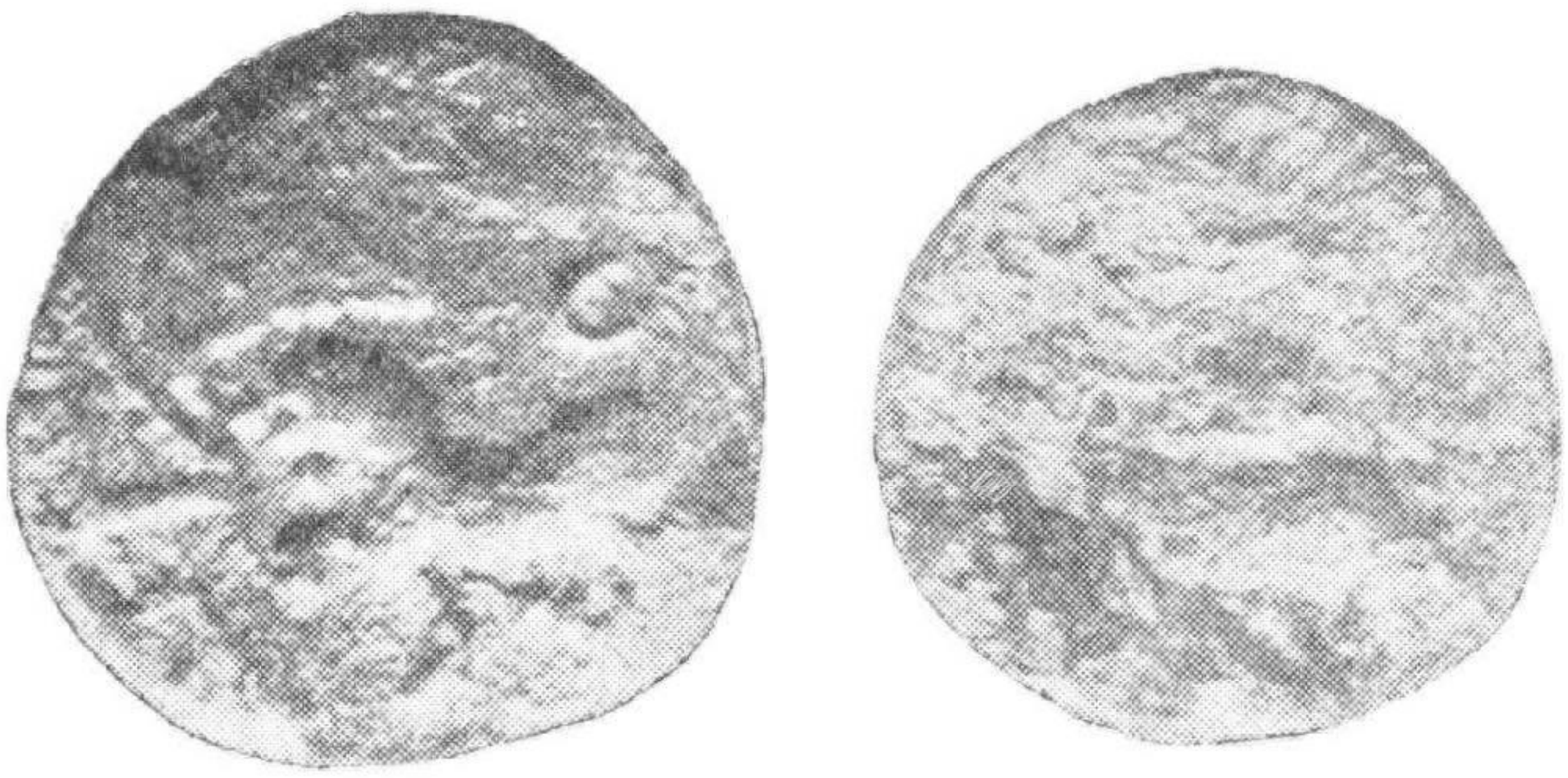
33

Early Chola coin - copper - obverse standing tiger with raised tail reverse not legible.

Early Chola coin - copper–standing tiger with raised tail. Reverse not legible. The coins are said to come from Kaviripumpattinam the ancient Port city of the Early Cholas - p. 33.



34



35

Early Chola coin - copper - obverse standing tiger with raised paw and tail - reverse indistinct. It should be considered post sangam in date.



36

Early chola coin - obverse and reverse the same - seated tiger and a fish with a legend running arround in grantha character reading 'Matirāntakan'. An issue of Uttama chola - p. 36.



37

The Seal of Parantaka Chola's copper plate, from Velanjeri near Thiruttani, showing two fish, seated tiger flanked by lamps, all on a bow. Above are seen the royal umbrella and chowries the legend runs around in grantha letters.



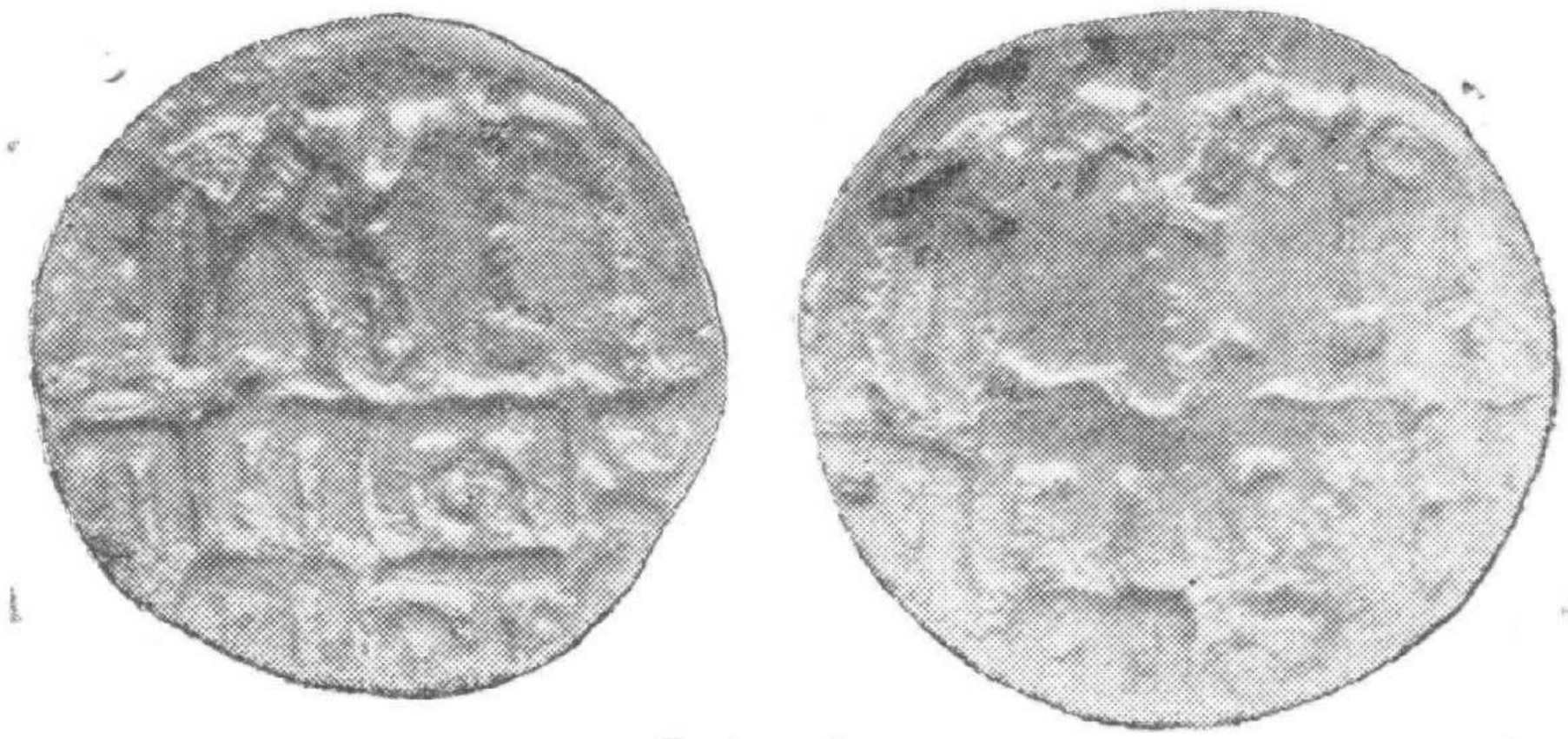
38

Early Chola coin-silver or copper-obverse-bow, seated tiger-two fish under the chatra and chowrie-reverse-legend in Nagari reading 'Uttama cholan'. p. 37.



39

Imperial Chola coins - obverse and reverse the same-bow, seated tiger and two fish. Umbrella and chowrie above - below legend in Nagari reading Rājendra. p. 41



40

Imperial Chola coin - Bow - seated tiger and two fish, above parasol and chowrie, below legend in Nagari "Gangai konda cholah" obverse and reverse the same. p. 41.

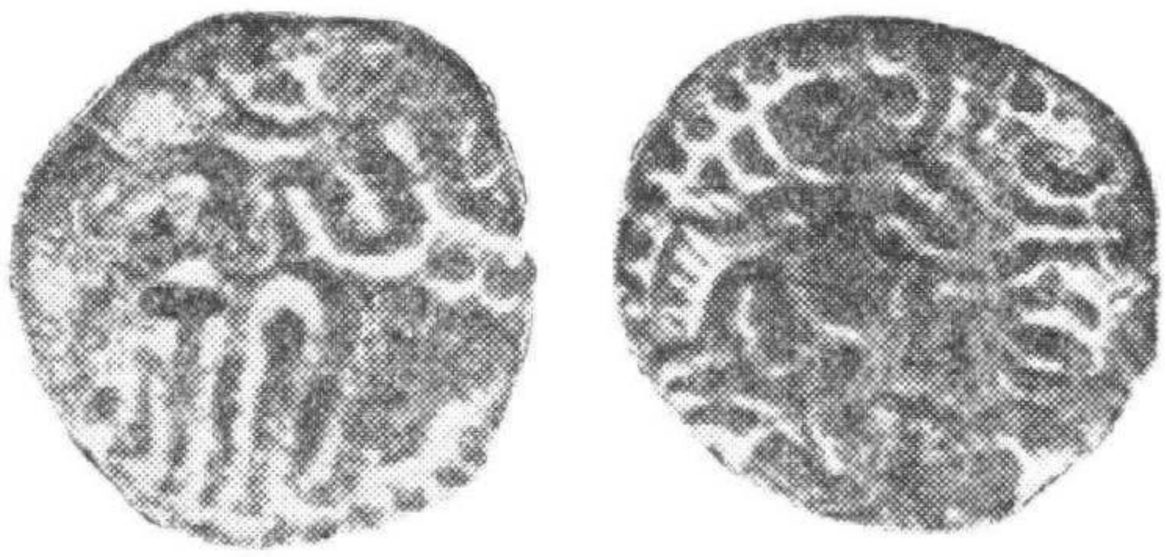


41

Coin of Rāja Rāja - copper - silver - obverse - standing royal figure-reverse, seated royal figure with the Nagari legend - Sri Rāja Rāja. Several thousand coins of this variety are being found in Tamil Nadu. This is a typical example of the reverse of the coin.

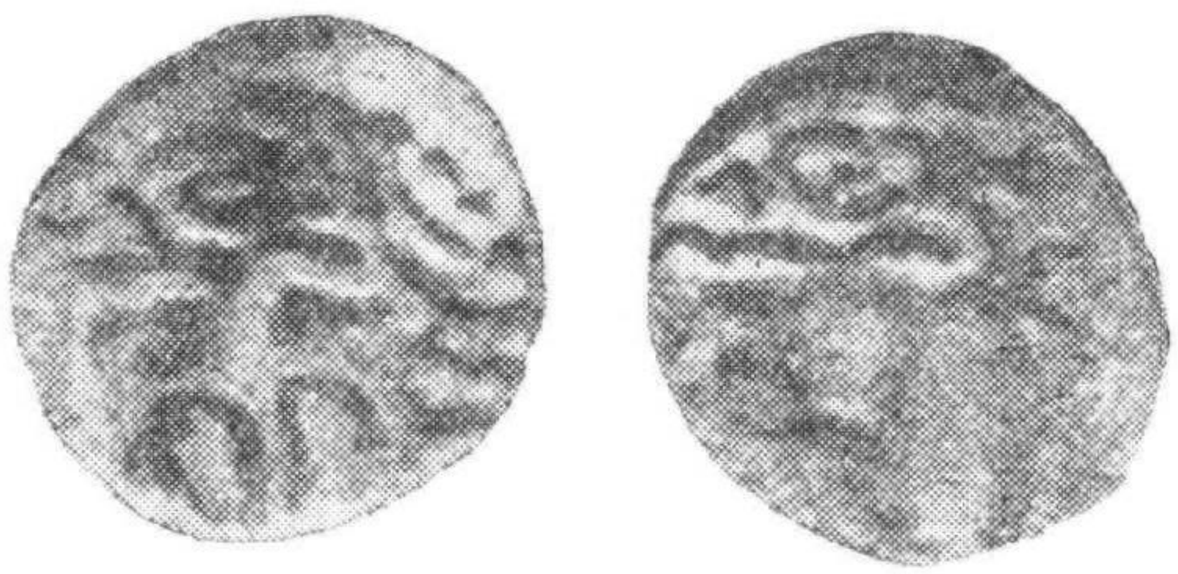


Same as above - the obverse of the coin.



43

Imperial Chola coin - copper - obverse standing royal figure with the Vishnu pada - reverse seated royal figure with the Nagari legend Sri Rāja Rāja - A special issue of Rāja Rāja intended for circulation in Travancore area Chera country. p. 34



44

Special issue of Rāja Rāja - copper - standing royal figure - reverse seated royal figure with fish emblem below-for circulation in Pandya Country-other varietes of the same issue include coins showing standing royal figure with the fish below and reverse - seated royal figure with the legend Sri Rāja Rāja in Nagari (Biddaulp's – 21). p. 39-40.

Imperial Chola coin-copper - obverse - standing man; reverse seated royal figure; beneath the left arm another seated figure - could it be an issue of Chola–pandya viceroys ?



45



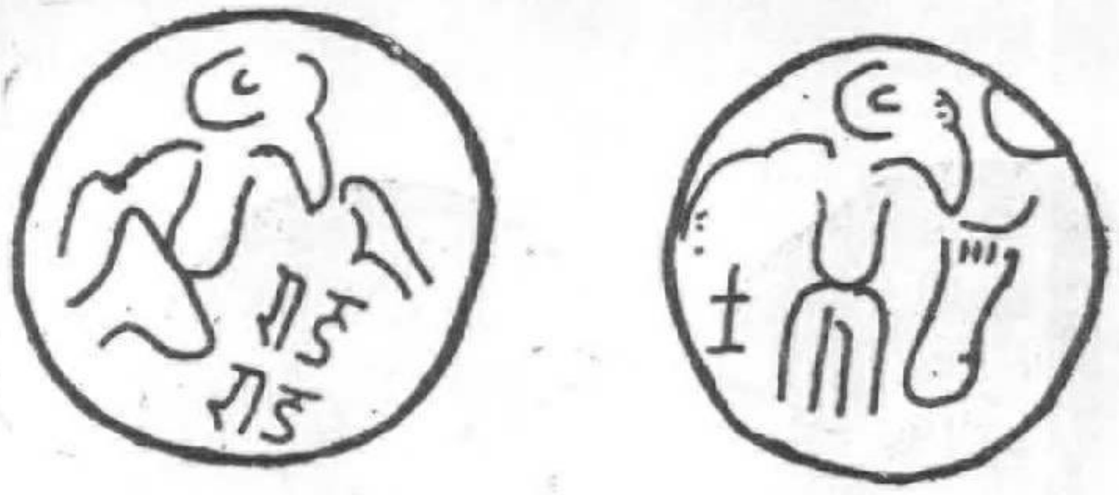
46

Special issues of Rāja Rāja. Obverse: standing royal figure with the seated tiger below the left arm. Reverse: seated royal figure with the Nagari legend Sri Rāja Rāja. An issue for circulation in the Chola mandalam.



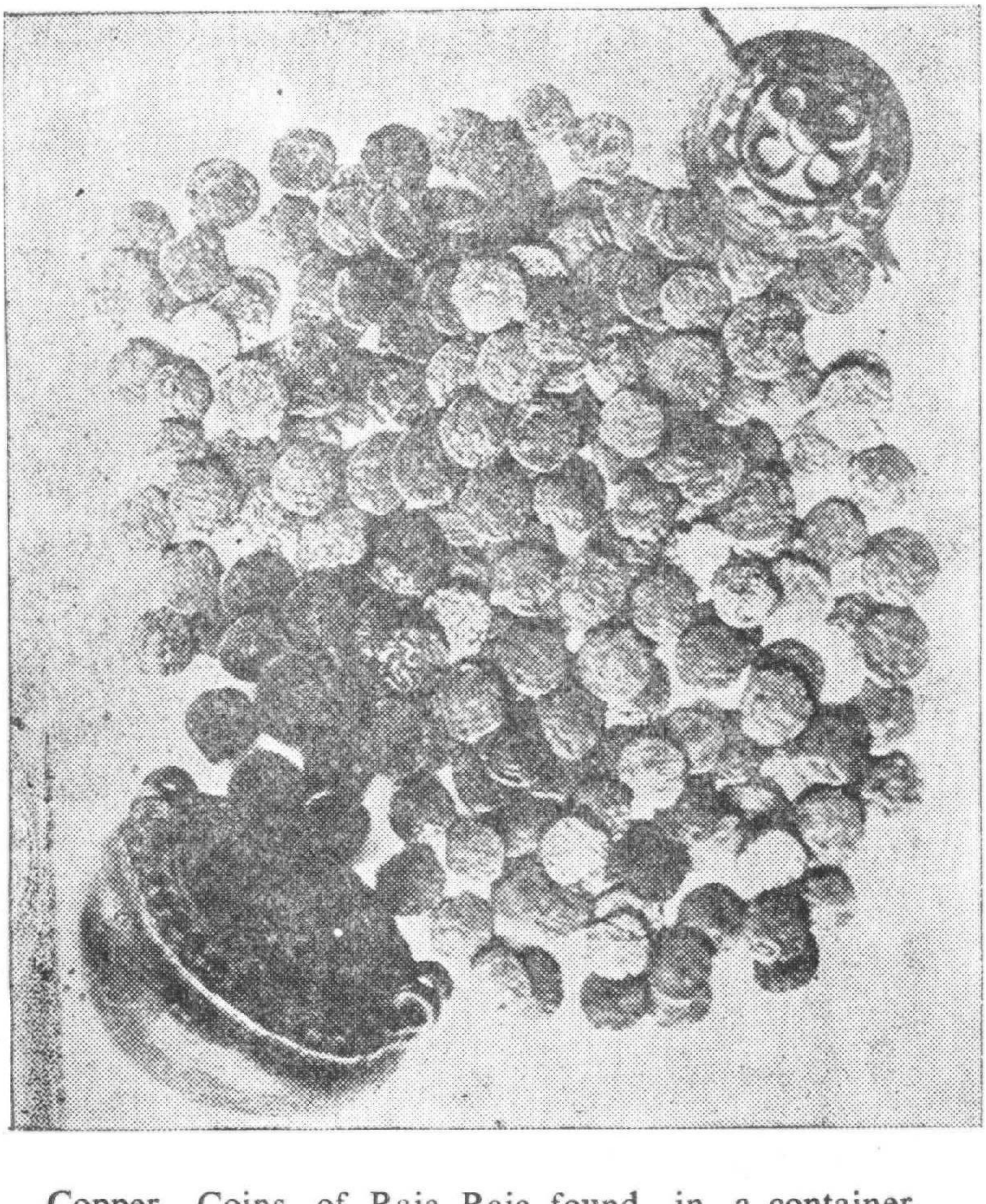
47

Same as above with the variation on the obverse showing standing royal figure with a fish; for circulation in the Pandi mandalam.

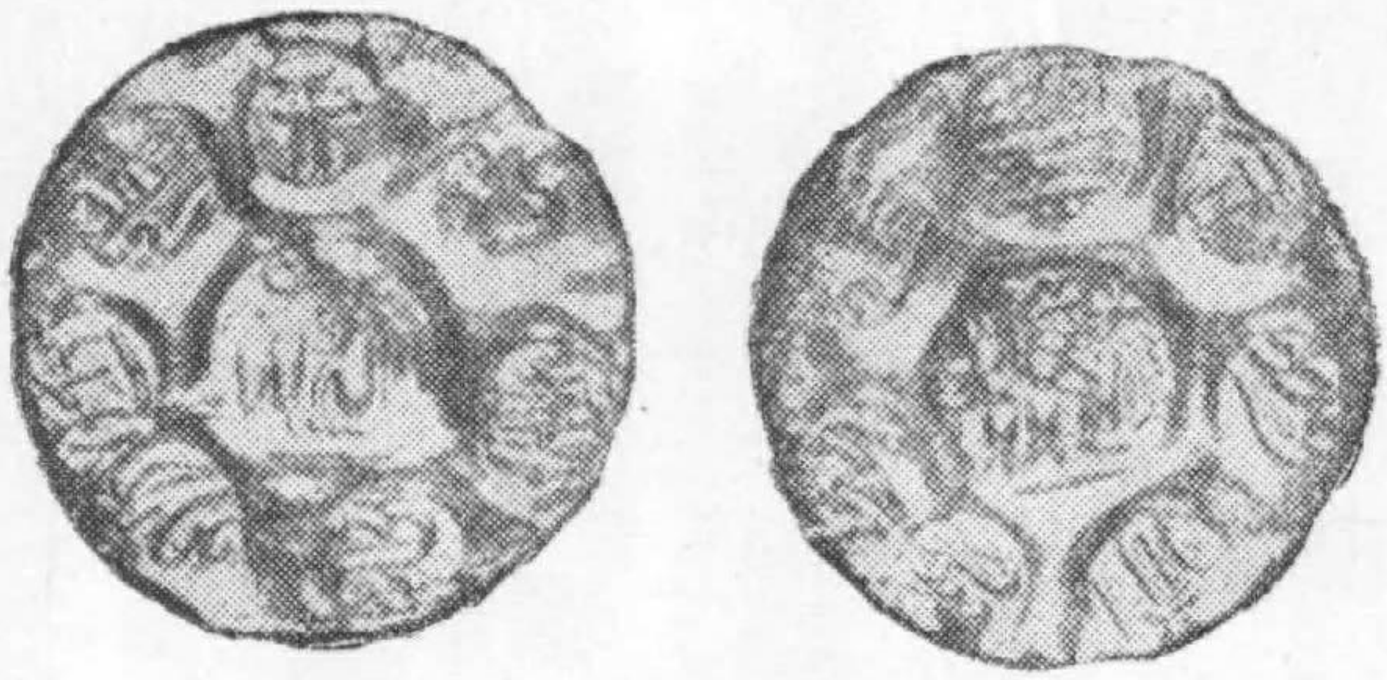


48

Same as above, except the emblem on the obverse showing Vishnu pāda – for circulation in Thiruvaḍi rājya.



Copper Coins of Raja Raja found in a container. Usually coins found as treasures are seen in such vessels with lid.



Davalishvaram hoard - gold - obverse - centre 'two fish - bow - tiger' emblem - around legend in grantha- reading 'Kamgai Konda Cholan' - reverse - the same.



'Malanāḍu Koṇḍa Cholan' coin of 'Rāja Rāja Chola'.

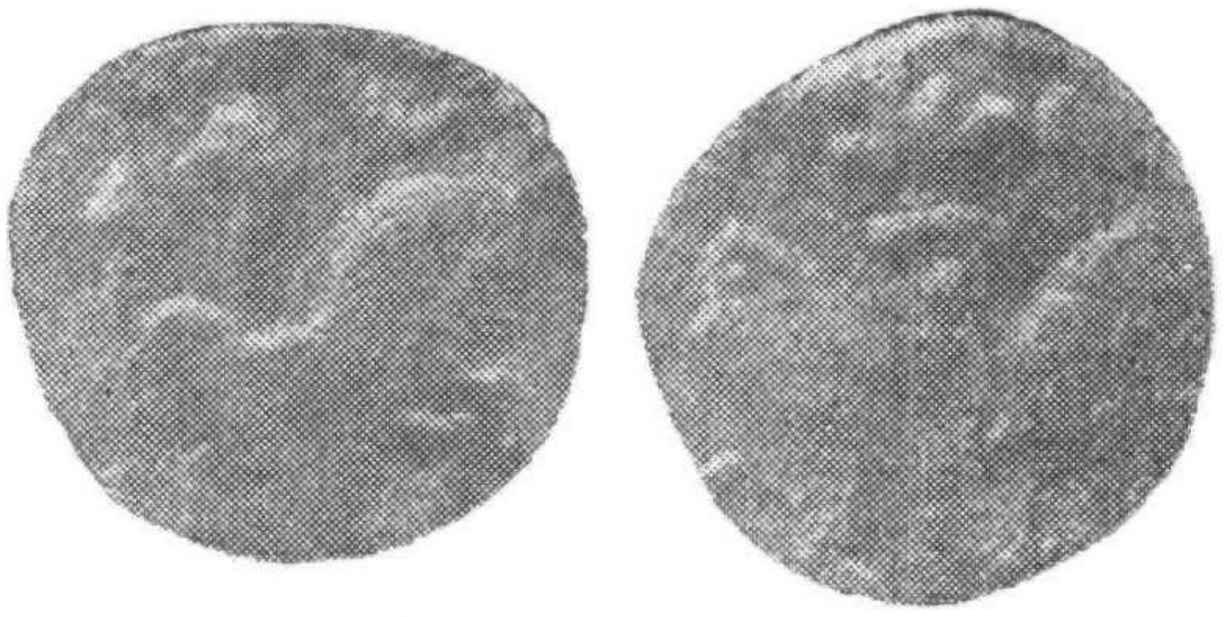


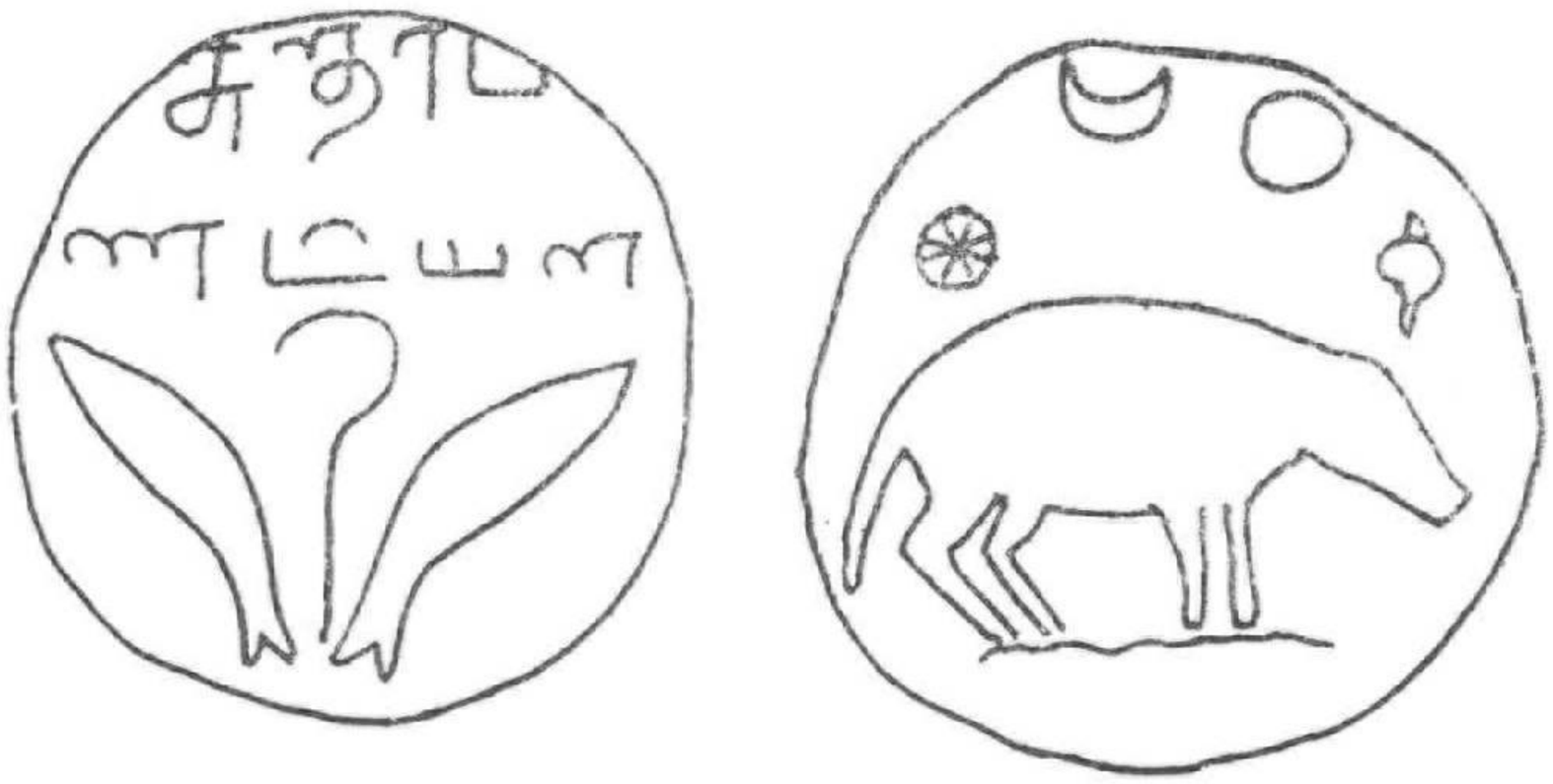
'Malanāḍu Konda Cholan' coin-Davalishvaram hoard



An early Pāṇḍya coin – copper - obverse standing royal figure, below the left arm a dancing figure without a head? - reverse a tiger standing on a bow, above two fish and a sceptre. At the right end is a sword and the left a crescent. Probably a coin issued by a Pāṇḍya, who conquered the Chola and Chera. Typologically the coin seems to be of 10th – 11th century A.D. It is difficult to identifiy the ruler who issued the coin. (Page. 99)

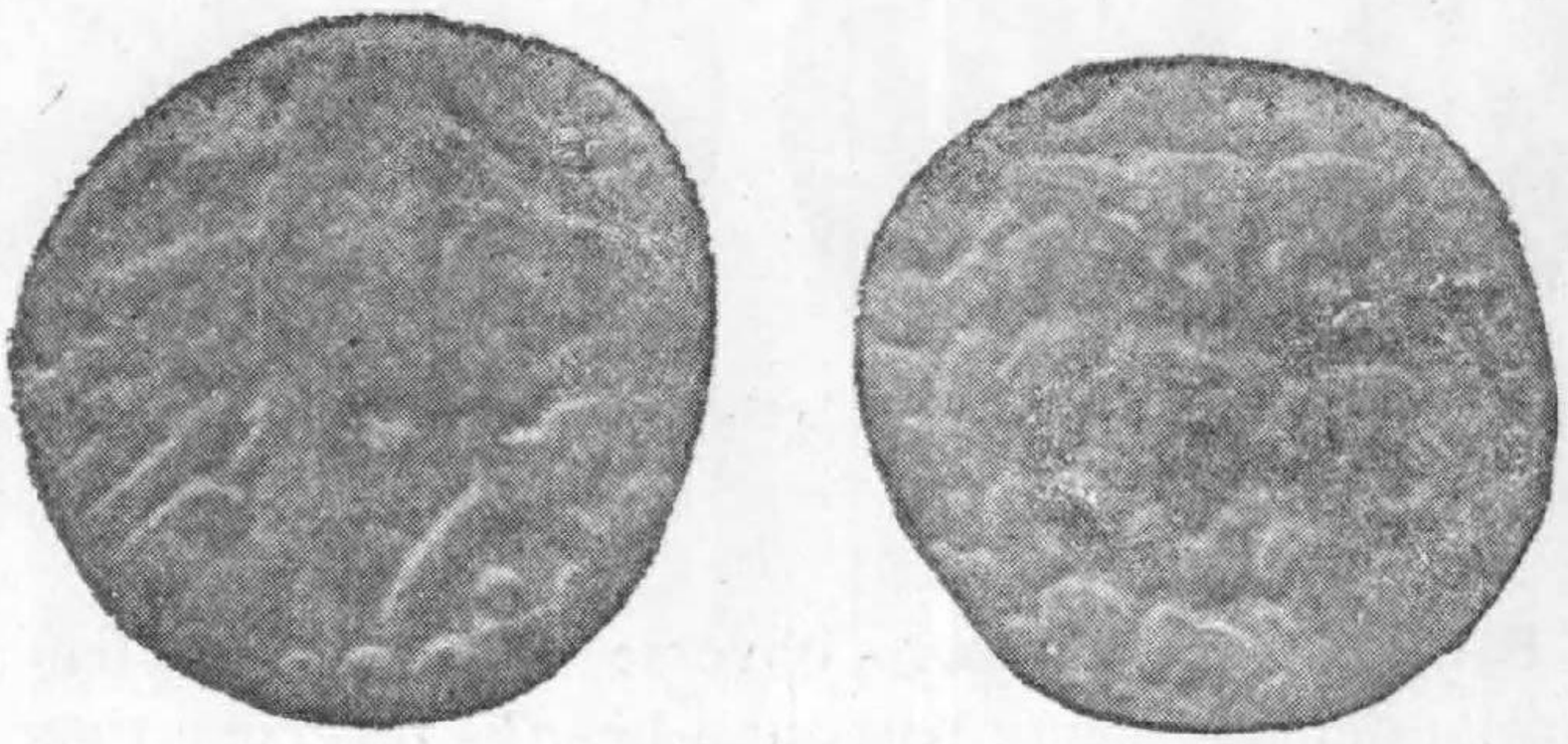
Pāṇḍya coin - copper-obverse well figured horse topped by an umbrella and crescent moon - reverse two fish and a crozier topped by what seems to be umbrella and chowries.



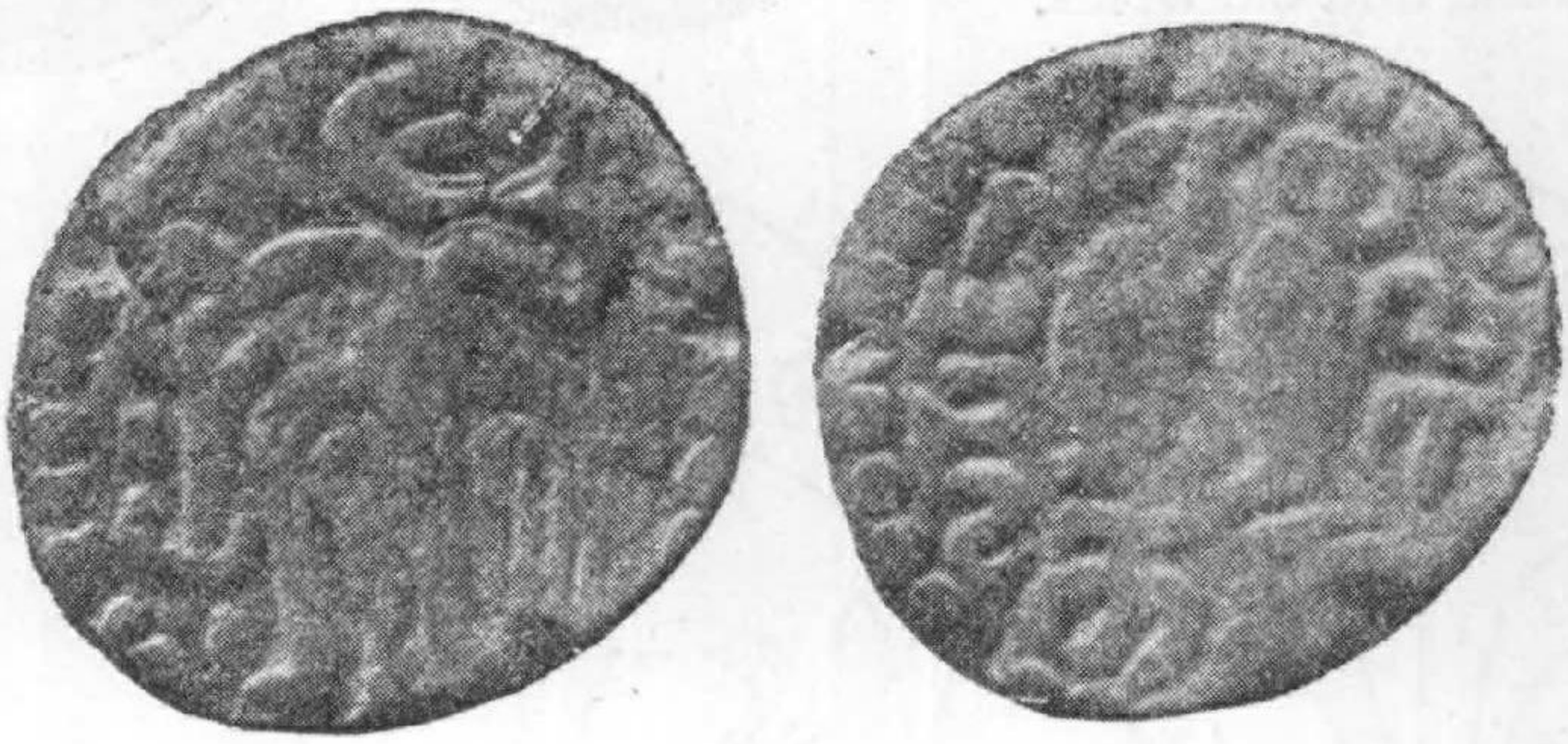


சுந்தரபாண்டியன்

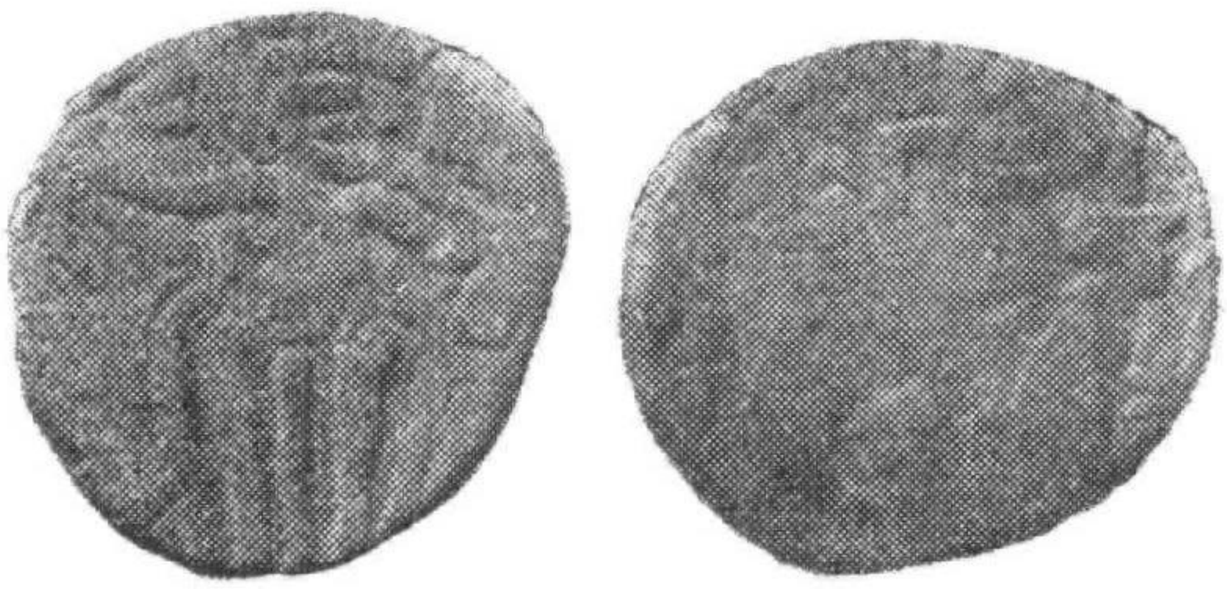
Pandyan coin–copper-obverse two fish and a sceptre with the Tamil legend "Sundarapandiyan" reverse a boar facing right with sun and moon shown above. - Sanka and chakra are also seen. Paleographically assignable to 11th century A.D. (Page. 88-90)



Coin of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya-I copper-obverse fish, ankusa and moon. reverse-Tamil legend 'Kaccivaḷangum perumāḷ.' (Page. 101)



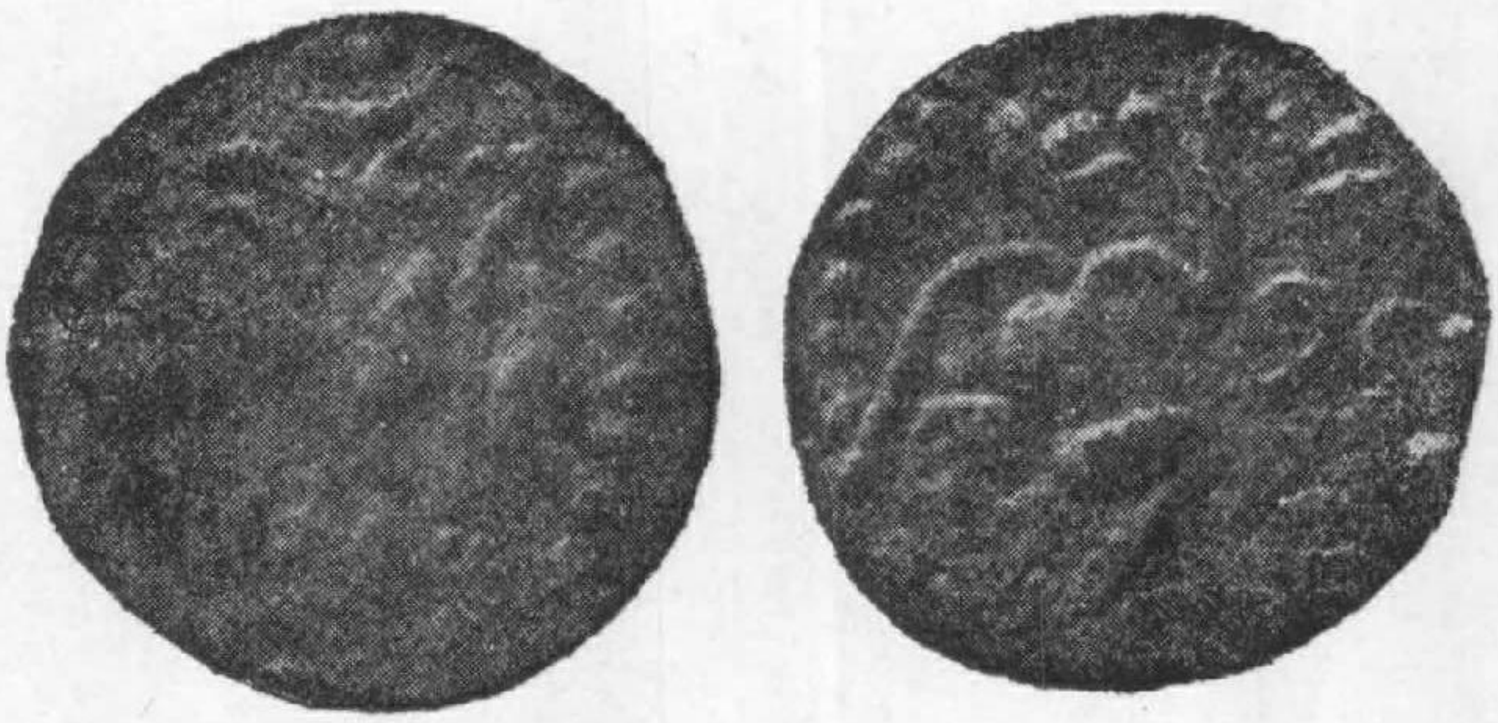
Coin of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya-I copper-obverse standing man-reverse two fish surrounded by Tamil legend 'Ellāntalaiyān.' (Page. 102)



Pāṇḍya coin - copper - obverse standing man, reverse the Tamil legend Vīrapāṇḍyan.



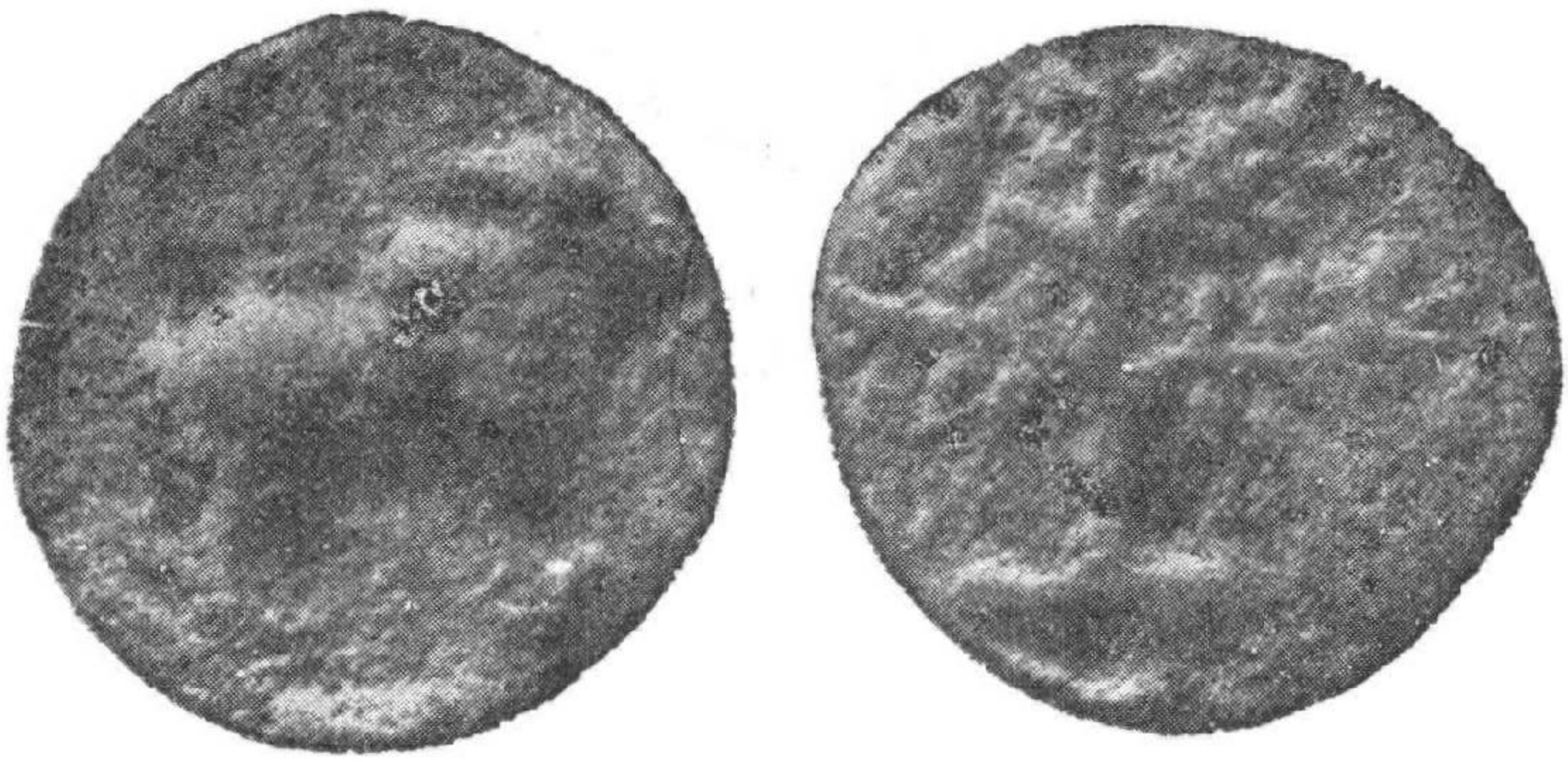
Ganga coin-gold-obverse two lions-reverse -"Sri Talakaḍu konda"



Pāṇḍya coin - obverse: two fish. Reverse: Tamil legend 'Vikrama'



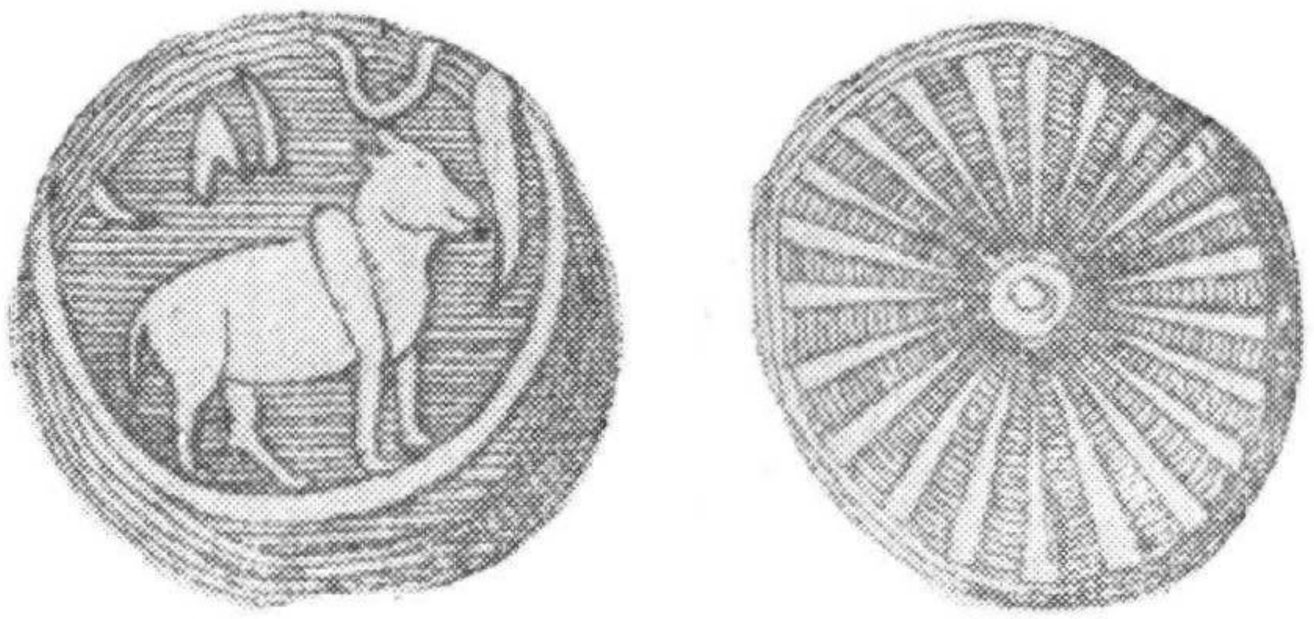
Pallava coin - copper - obverse- Standing bull
Reverse - Caitya Vrksha (Page. 125)



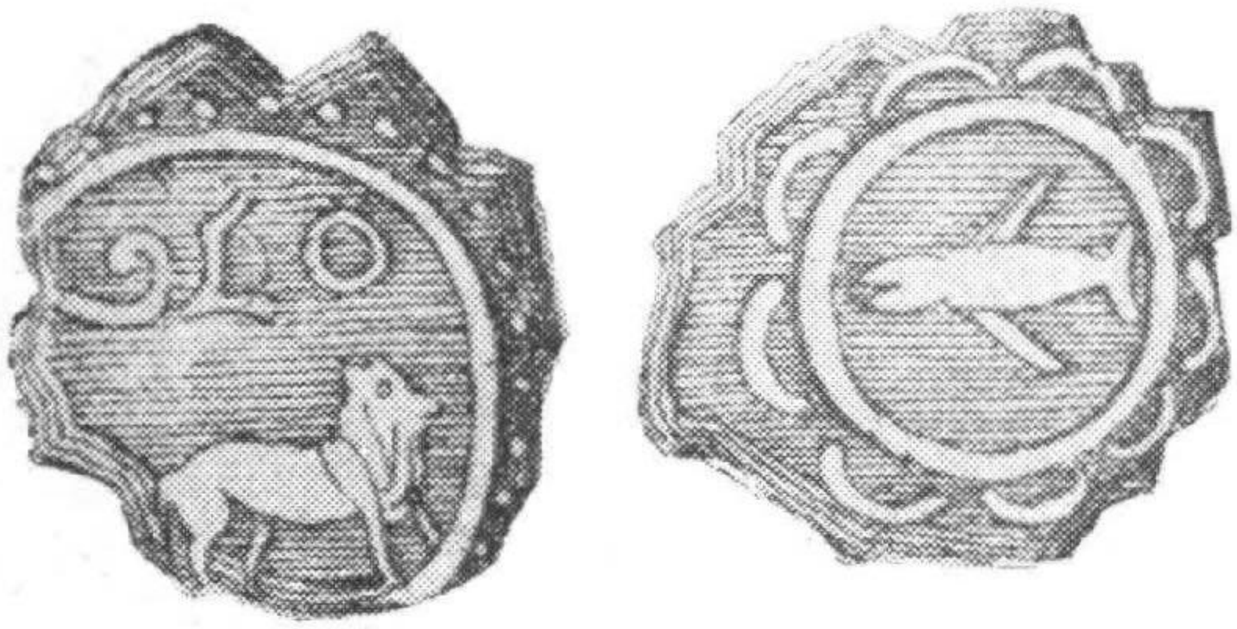
Pallava coin - copper. Obverse: Standing bull. Reverse: A tree.
(Page. 125)



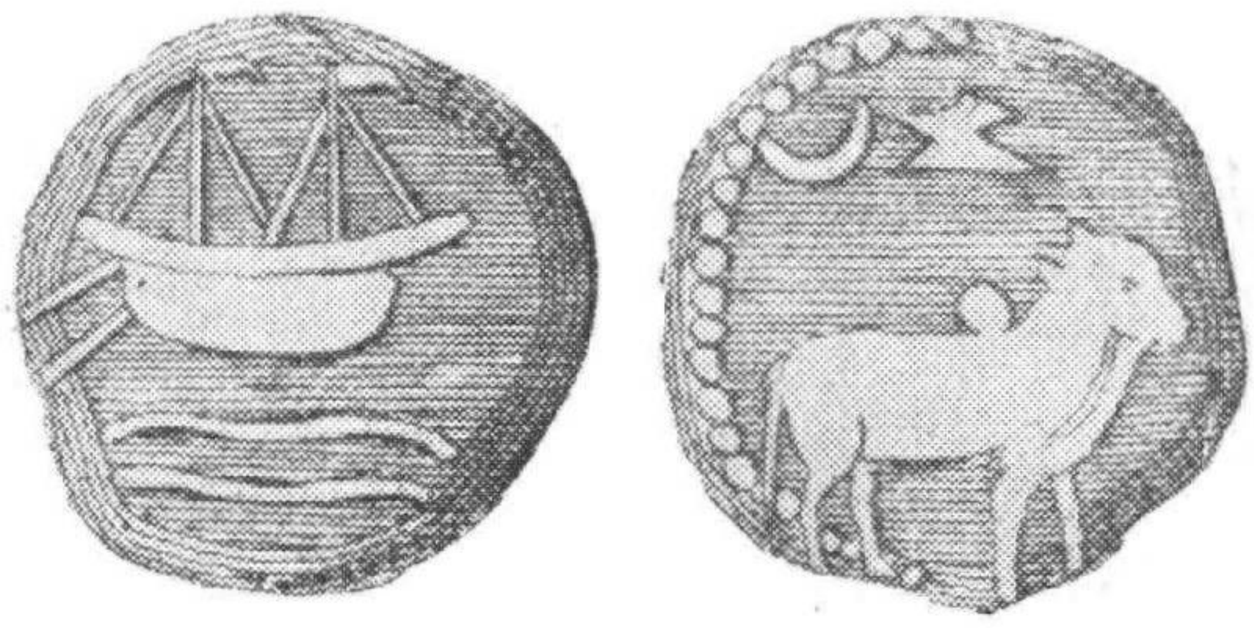
Seal of the coper plate of Pallava King Aparājita. The typical couchant bull of Pallava can be seen flanked by lamps on two sides. (Page. 125)



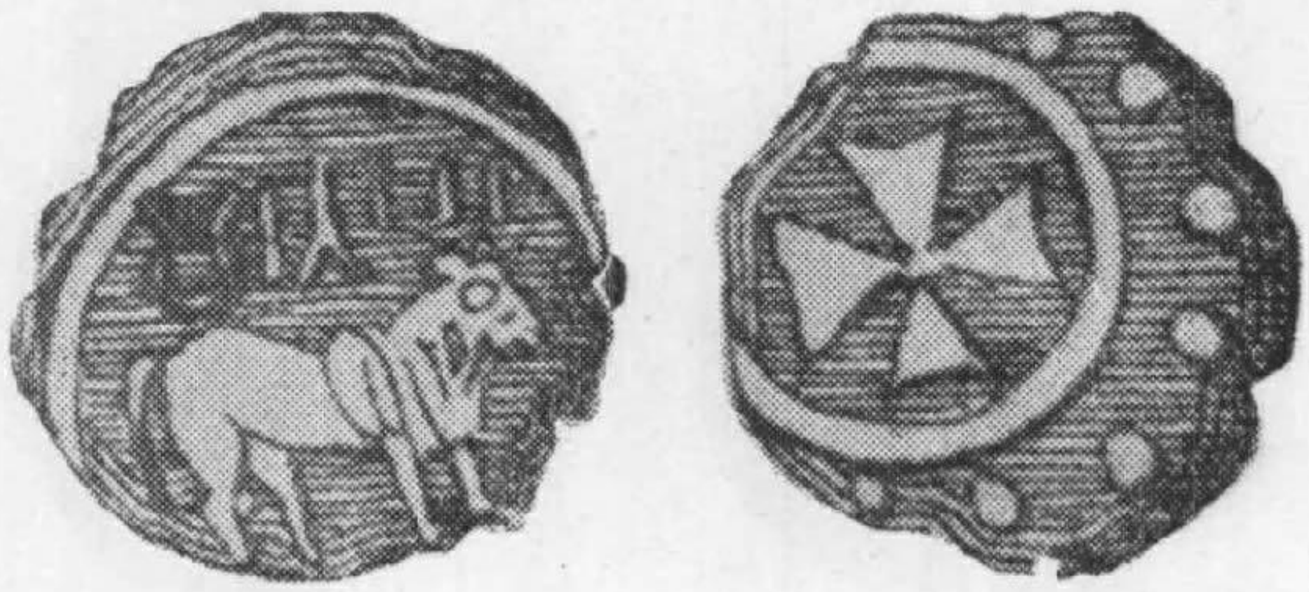
Pallava coin - copper - obverse : Standing Bull reverse : Sun (Page. 123–125)



Pallava coin - copper obverse : Bull with the legend 'Sri Nidhi' reverse : Fish inside a circle *mina* (Page. 123–125)



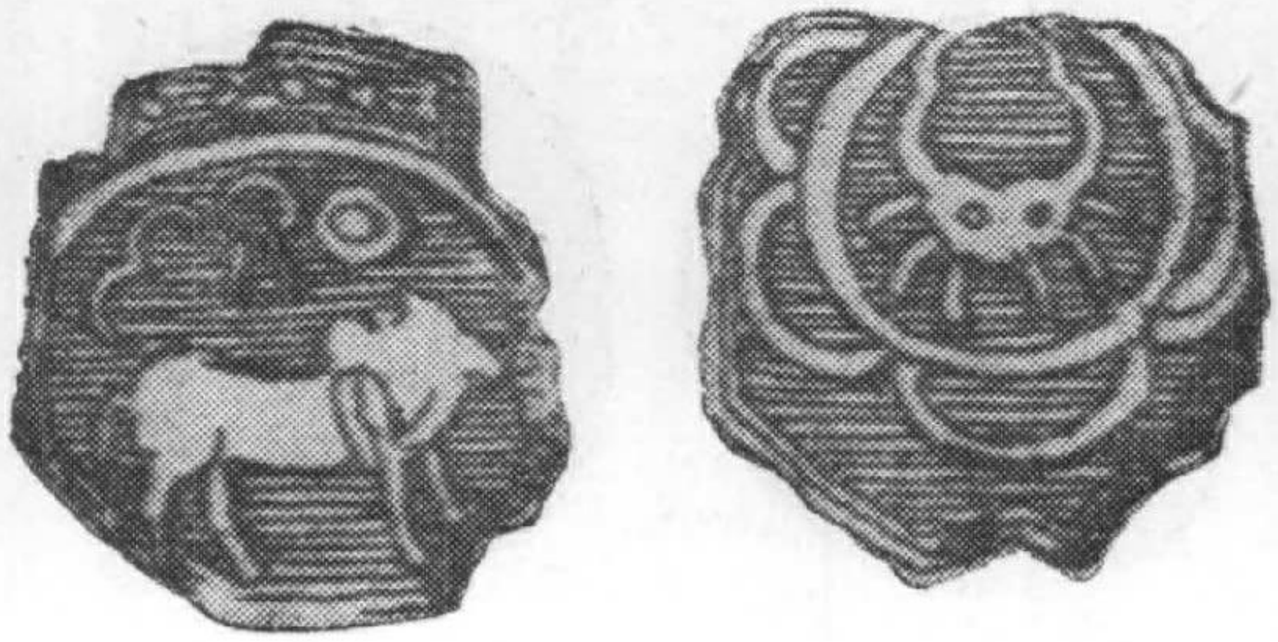
Pallava coin - copper obverse : standing bull with moon and Srivatsa above. Reverse : A masted ship over lines representing sea. (Page. 123-125)



Pallava coin - copper obverse : Standing Bull with legend not clear. Reverse : A cross inside a circle. (Page. 123–125)



Pallava coin - copper obverse : Standing bull facing left in a circle; above the bull probably the figures of sun and moon. Reverse : A conch in a circle. (Page. 123–125)

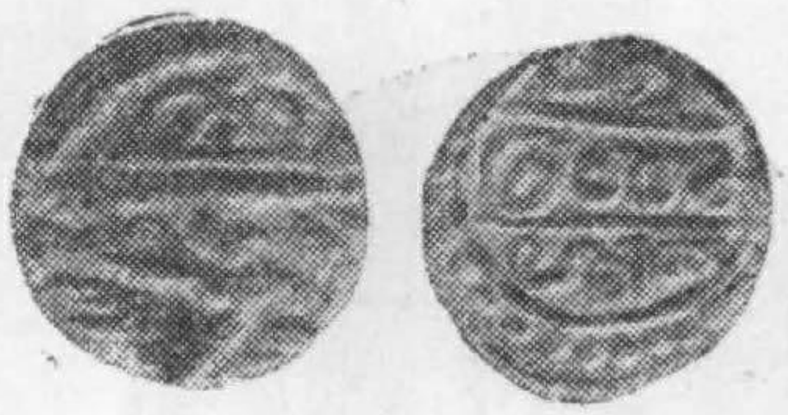


Pallava coin - copper - obverse : Bull - legend above not clear. Reverse : Crab (Kataka) (Page. 123–125)



Bilingual coin of Sātavāhana-Silver-obverse head of the king with the Prakrit legend 'Vasitiputasa Siri Satakaṇisa' reverse Tamil legend 'Aracanaku Vaciṭṭi makanaku Tiru Catakaniku, (Page 132 - 133)

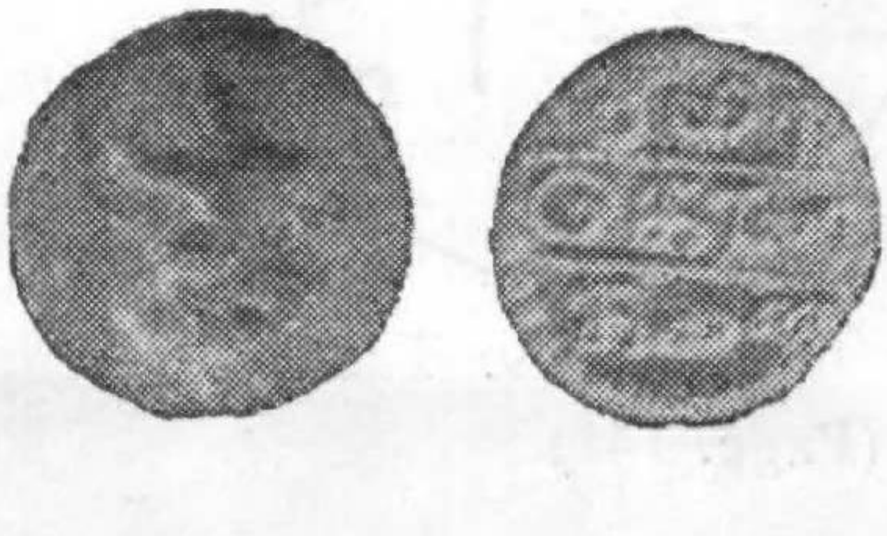
Andipaṭṭi coin-lead-obverse wavy lines-reverse Tamil legend 'Tiṇṇan etirān cēntran a' (Page. 141)



Bānādirāya coin-coppor-obverse Garuda holding snakes, above is an umbrella-reverse Tamil legend "Puva nēkavīran' (Page 160–162)



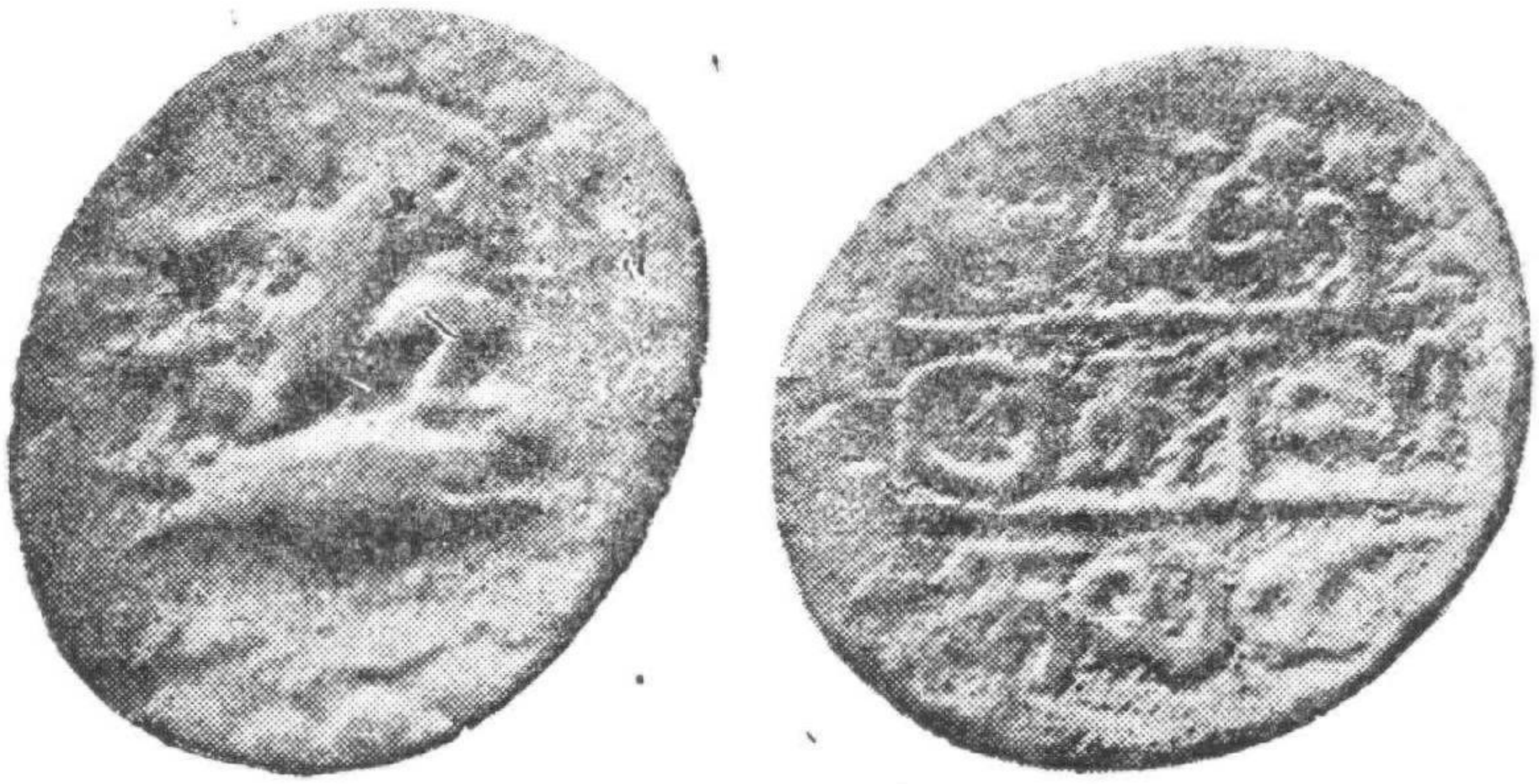
Bānādirāya coin-copper obverse-flying garuda holding snake-revesre two fish and crozier. The Bānās who assumed the title Thirumālirumjolai Ninrān Māvali Vānādhirāya conquered Madurai and called themselves Madurāpuri Nāyakan. (Page 160–162)



Bānā coin-obverse Garuda holding snakes - reverse Tamil legend 'Camara kōlākalan" (Page 160-162)



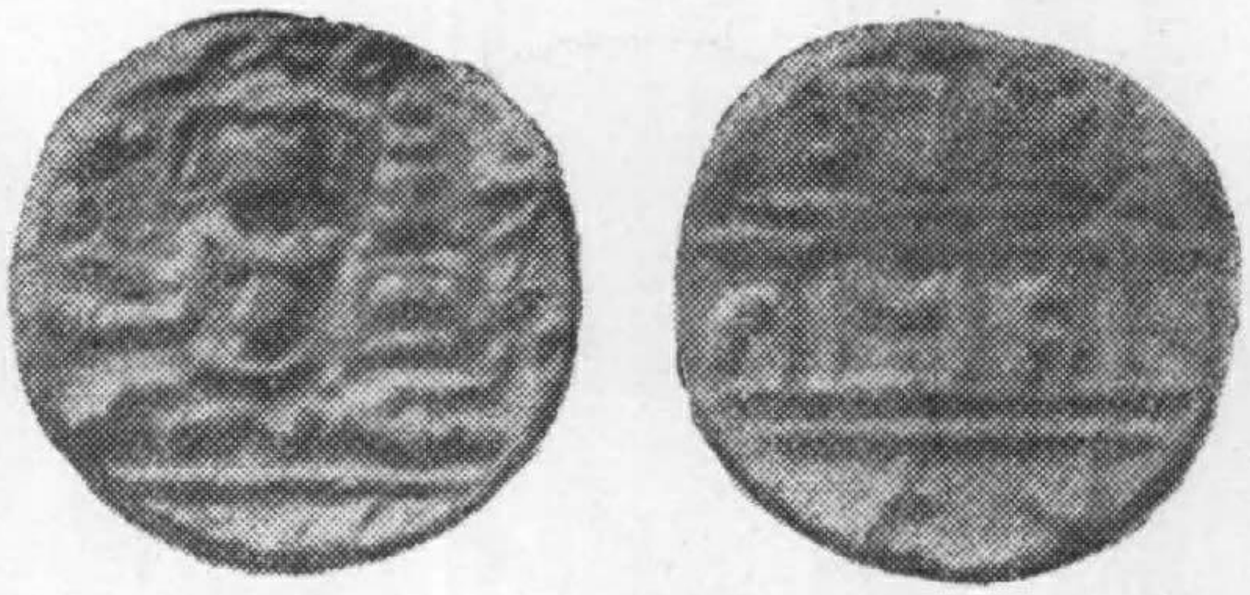
Bāṇa coin - garuḍa topped by sankha & chakra - garuḍa is holding Sarpa-reverse Tamil legend 'Puvanēkavīran'. The Banas assumed the title 'Rajakula Sarpa garuḍa' which appears as lāncana in these coins.



Bāṇa coin - obverse garuda seated on fish - reverse Tamil legend 'Camararkōlākalan'.



Bāṇa coin - copper garuda facing left sankha & chakra above reverse Tamil legend 'Camara kolākala'. (Page. 160–162)



Vijayanagar Coin - Gold - Obverse : Seated Umāmahēsvara. Reverse : Nagari legend ' Sri Pratāpa Harihara "

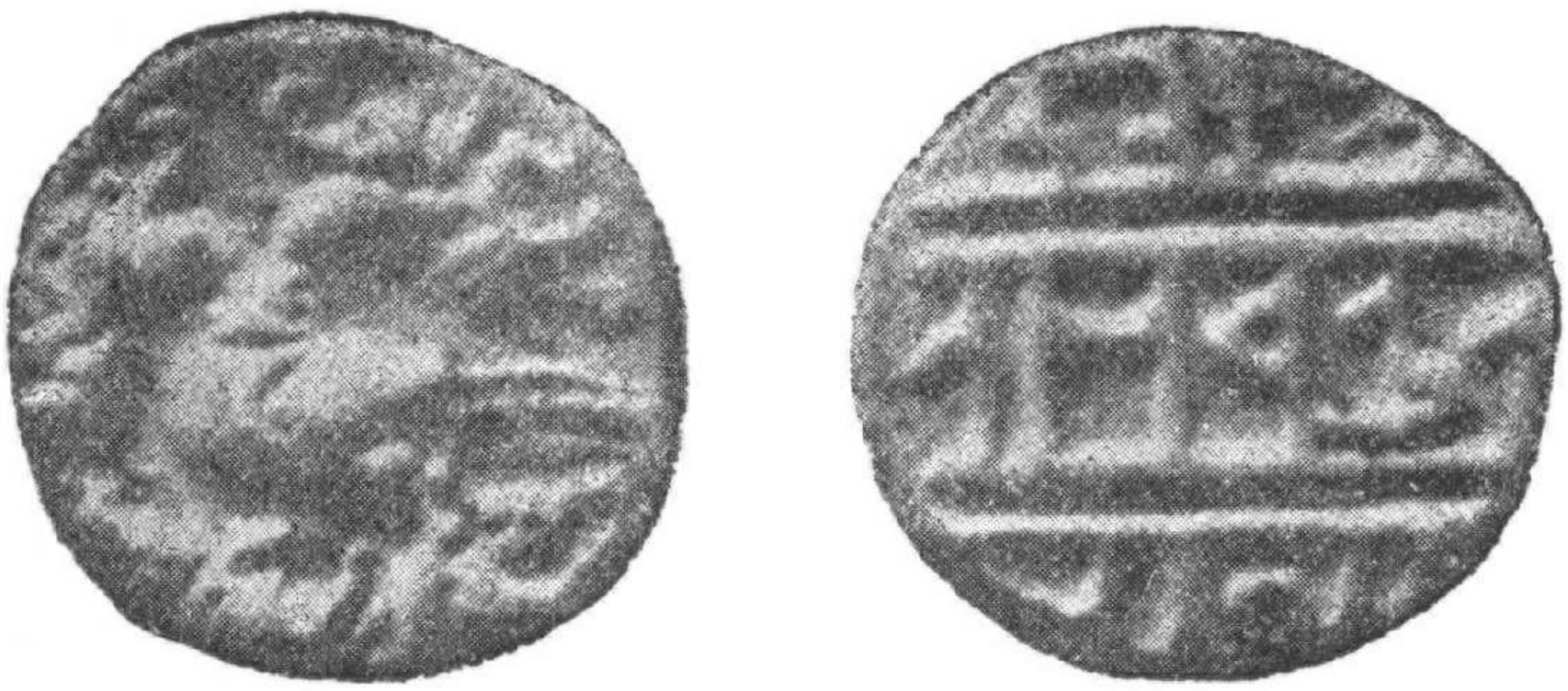


Vijayanagar Coin - Gold Obverse : Umā-mahēsvara, Siva holding Sūla and Mrga in the upper arms. Reverse : Nagari legend reading Sri Krishnarāja '.

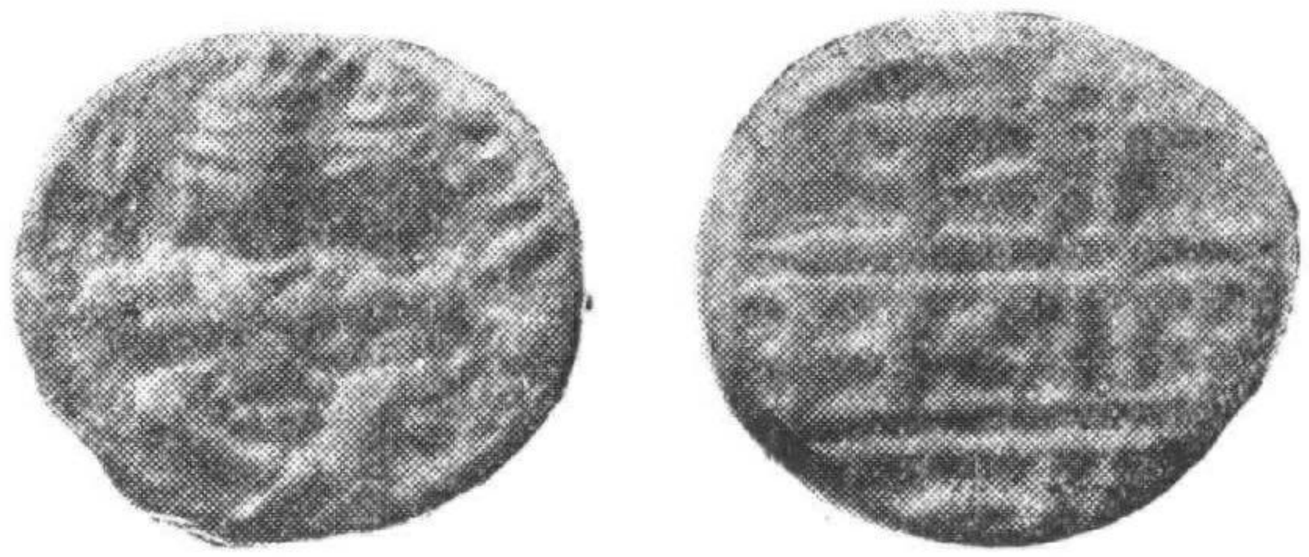


Vijayanagar coin - gold obverse : Standing Vishnu holding Sankha and Chakra in the upper arms. Prabha is prominent. This was issued commemorating the gift of Navaratna Prabha to Lord Venkateswara at Tiruppati by Krishnadevarāya. reverse : Nāgari legend 'Sri Krishnadēvarāya

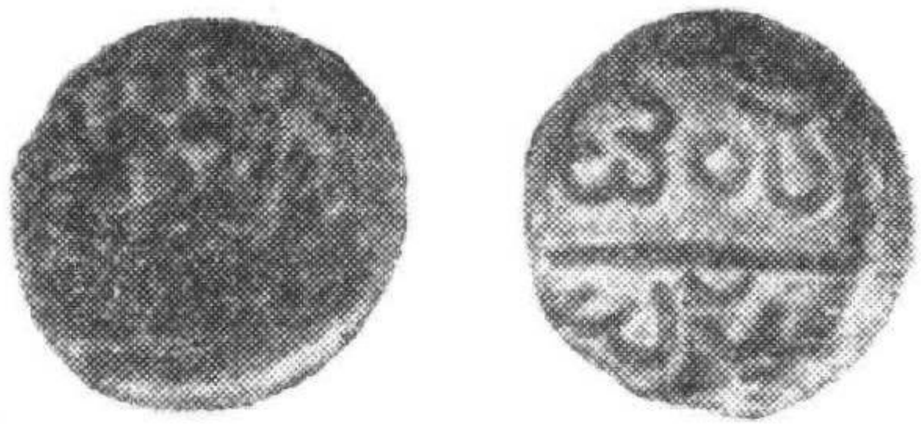
(Page. 156)



Vijayanagar coins - Obverse : Gandabherunda.
Reverse : Nagari legend. Sri Pratāpācyutarāya.



Obverse : Seated Umāmahēswara -
Reverse : Nagari legend 'Sri Sadāsiva



Obverse : Standing image of Goddess Durga Reverse : Telugu legend 'Vēnkaṭa'

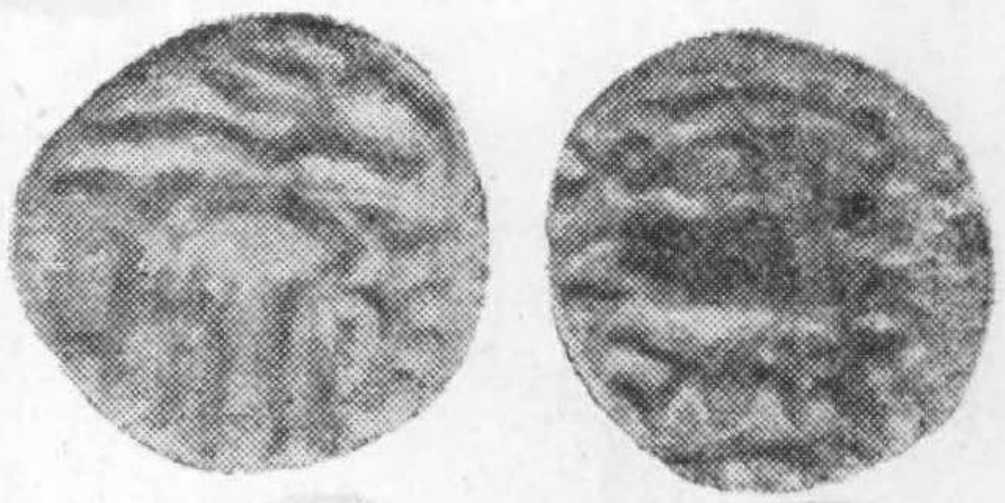


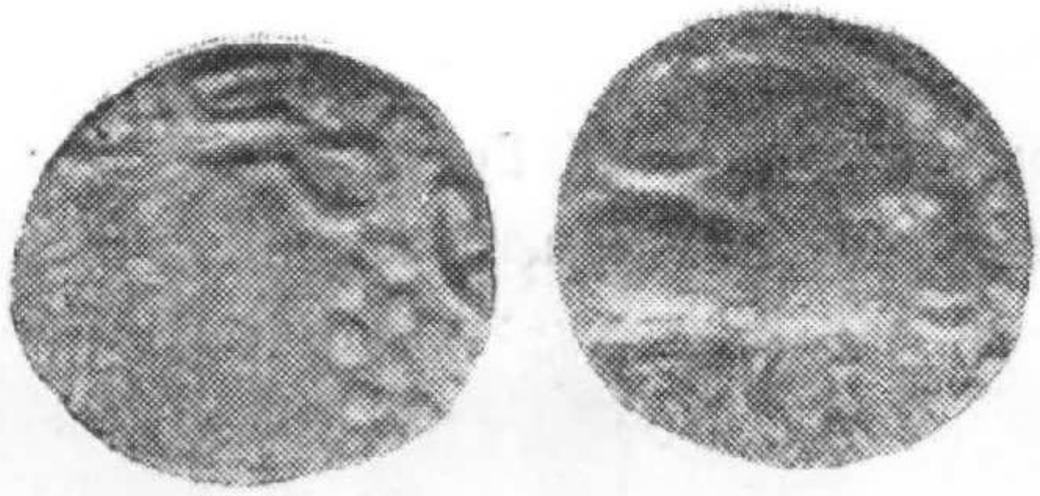
Obverse : Seated figure of Garuḍa
Reverse : Telugu legend 'Sri Vēnkaṭarāja'



Madurai Nayak coin - copper

Madurai Nāyak Coin Copper - obverse : Standing man.
Reverse : Standing Bull above Kanarese legend 'Cho' an issue of Chokkanātha Nāyak.



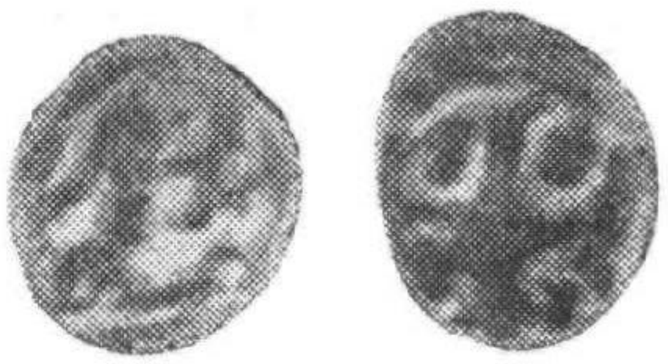


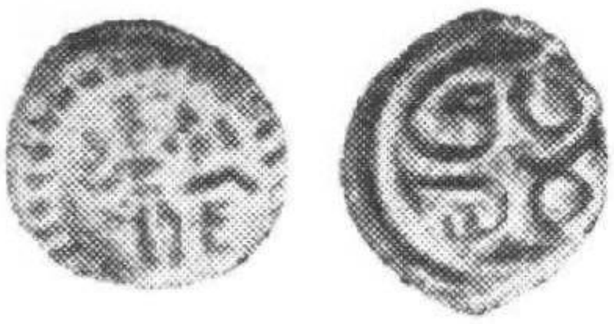
Vijayanagar Coin - Copper
Obverse : Standing man
Reverse : Standing Bull, Nagari letter 'De' issue of Dēvrāya.



Nāyak Coin - Copper Obverse : Seated Gaṇapathi Reverse : Tamil legend ' Kaṇapathi '

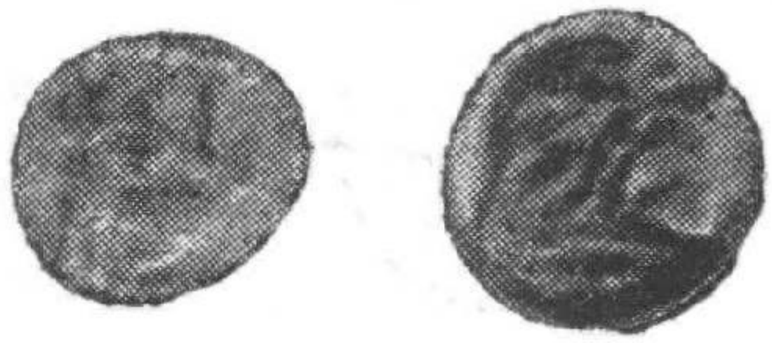
Nāyak Coin - Copper Obverse : Gaṇēsh Seated Reverse : Telugu legend ' Srīdhara '



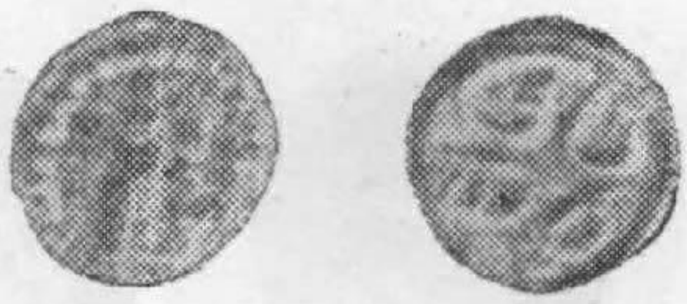


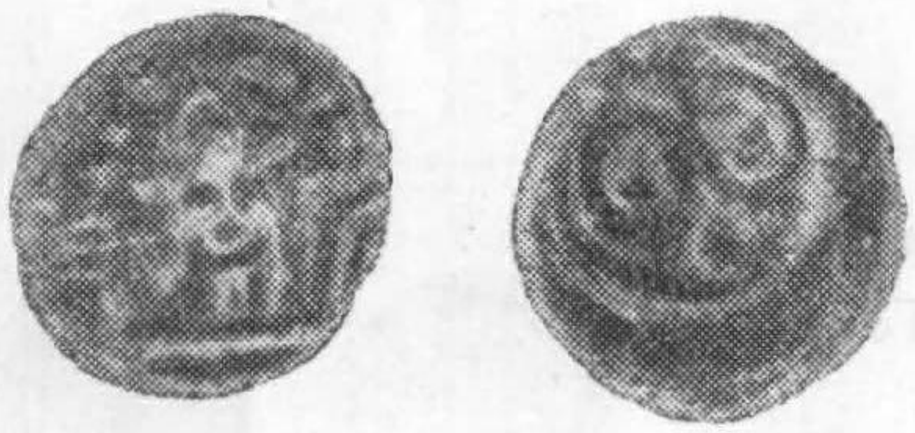
Nāyak Coin - Copper Obverse : Siva and Pārvathi standing Reverse : Telugu legend ' Srīdhara '

Obverse: Umāmahēswara seated on a bull Reverse: Legend in Telugu ' Srīdhara '



Nayak Coin - Copper Obverse : Siva and Pārvathi standing Riverse : Telugu legend 'Srīdhara'

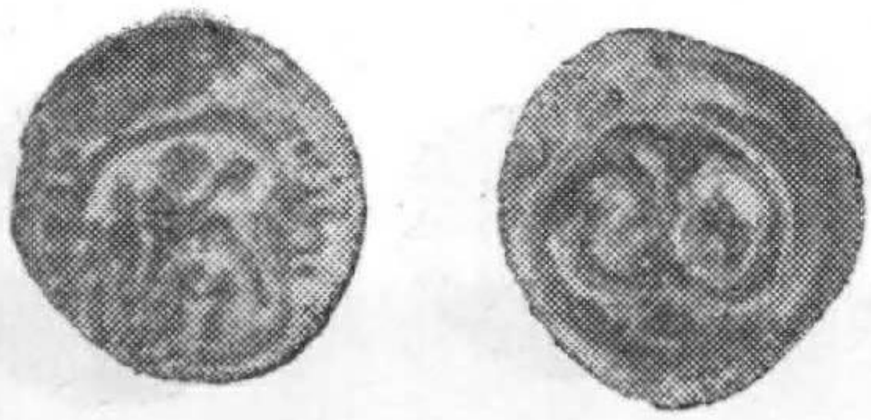




Obverse : Goddess Mīnākshi standing Reverse : Telugu legend 'Srīdhara'

Obverse : Goddess Mīnākshi standing within a Prabhāvali Reverse : Telugu legend 'Srīdhara'





Obverse : Goddess Mīnākshi standing surrounded by a Prabhāvali Reverse : Telugu legend 'Srīdhara' obviously an issue of Madurai Nāyak.

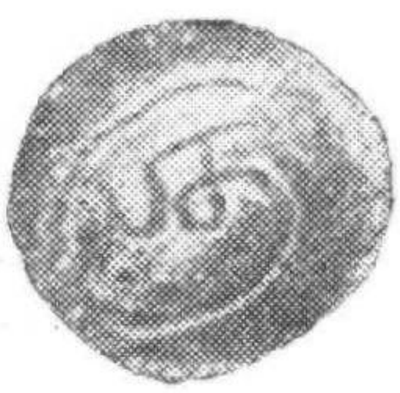



Nāyak - Copper Obverse : Goddess Mīnākshi standing inside a Prabhāvali Reverse : Telugu legend 'Srīdhara'




Obverse : An abstract standing figure of Goddess Mīnākshi. Reverse : Telugu letter 'Ti'

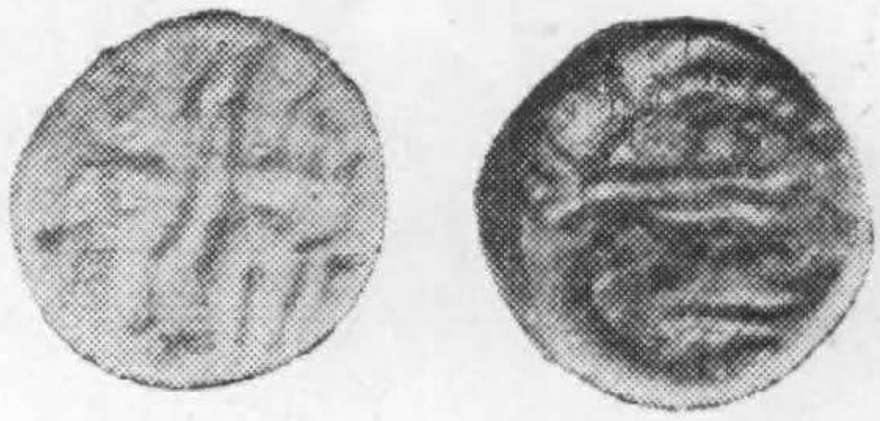
Nāyak Coin - Copper Obverse : Vishṇu standing Reverse : Grantha letter 'Srī'

Obverse : Lakshmi popularly called 'Srīdēvi Tāyār'. Reverse Telugu legend 'Ti' this gave rise to the later Amman kāsu.




Nāyak Coin - Copper Obverse : Rāma standing with bow and arrow. Nearby is a standing figure of what seems to be Hanuman. Reverse : 'Sivalinga'

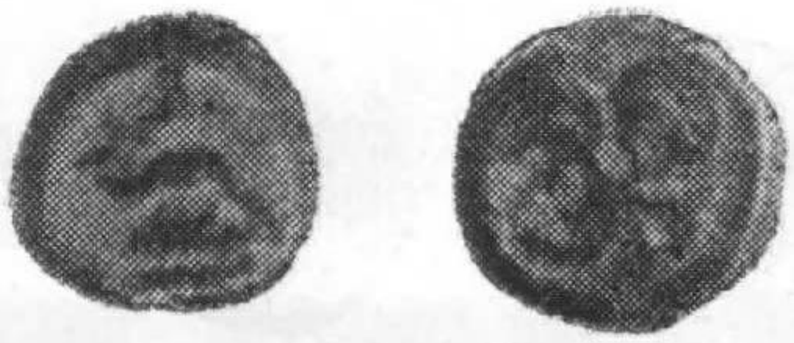


Obverse: Standing figure of Narasimha holding Sankha and Cakra in the upper arms. Reverse : Telugu letter 'Srīdhara'



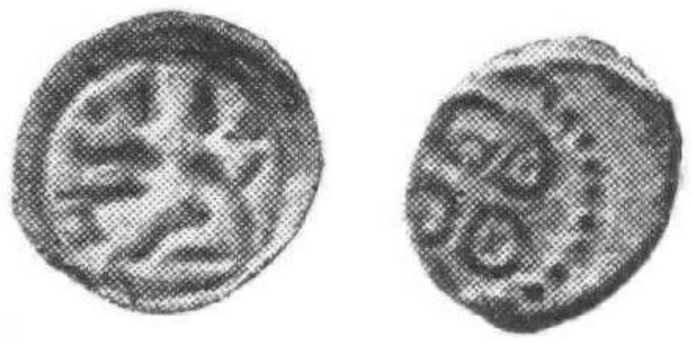


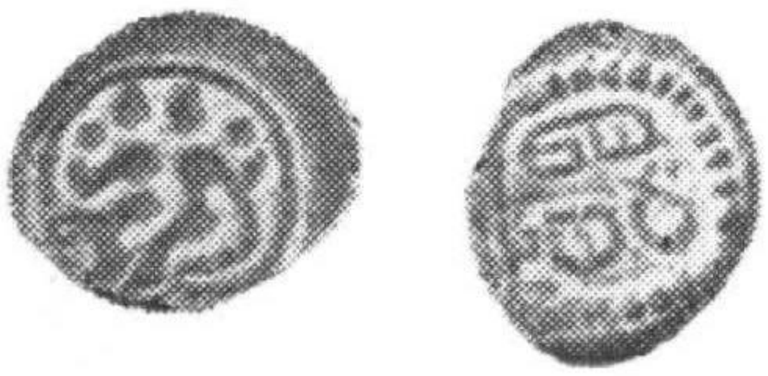
Nāyak Coin - Copper Obverse : Seated Yōga Narasimha four armed Reverse : Telugu legend' Srīdhara'



Obverse: Yōga Narasimha seated four armed holding Sankha, Chakra abhaya and the lower left placed on knee. Reverse : Telugu legend 'Srīdhara'

Nāyak coin - copper Obverse : Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa seated Reverse : Telugu legend 'Srīdhara'.

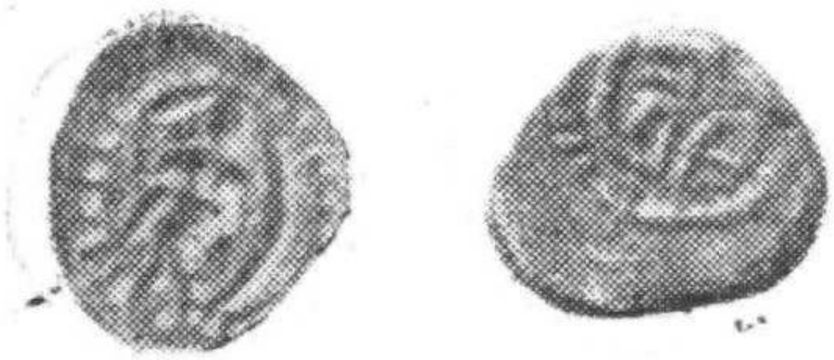




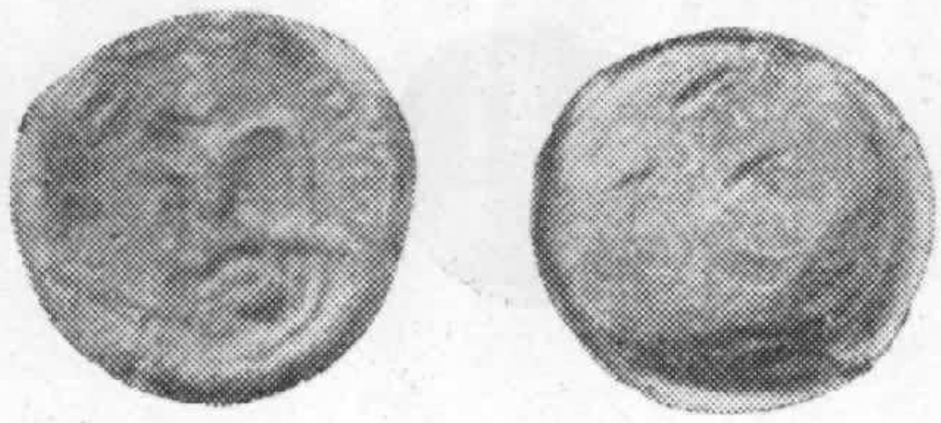
Obverse : Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa
Reverse : Telugu legend 'Srīdhara'

Nāyak Coin - Copper Obverse : Bālakrishna dancing Reverse : Telugu legend 'Srīdhara'



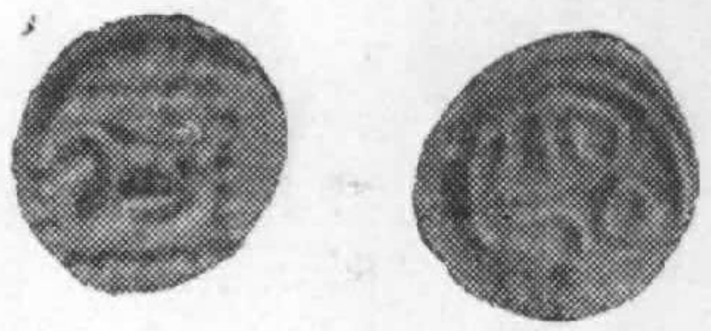


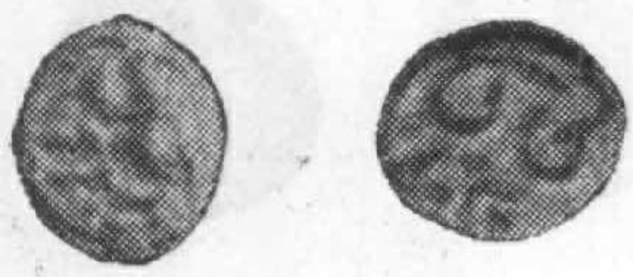
Obverse : A figure standing cross legged - representing a Gopala - frequently seen in Vijaya nagara sculpture. Reverse : Telugu legend 'Srīdhara'.



Nāyak - Copper Obverse : Hanumān Reverse : Illegible - seems to read 'Srīdhara' in Tamil.

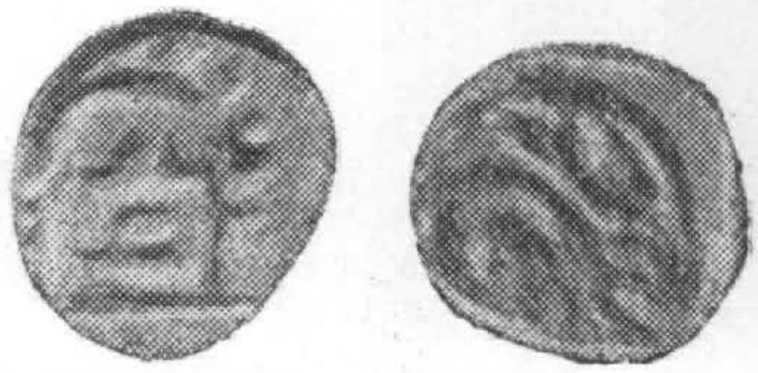
Obverse : Two seated figures on a swan. Reverse : Telugu legend 'Srīdhara'





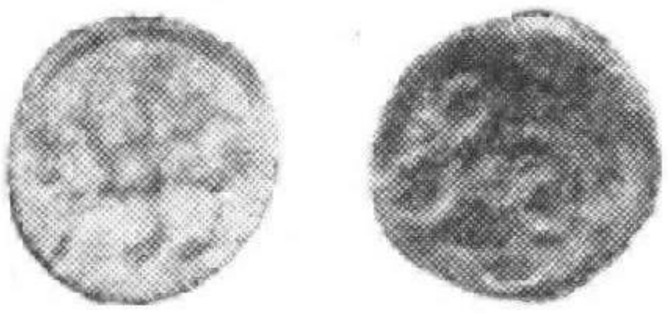
Obverse ; Brahma and Saraswati seated on swan Reverse : Telugu legend 'Srīdhara'

Nāyak coin - copper Obverse : Siva-linga within the prabha Reverse : Telugu legend 'Srīdhara'



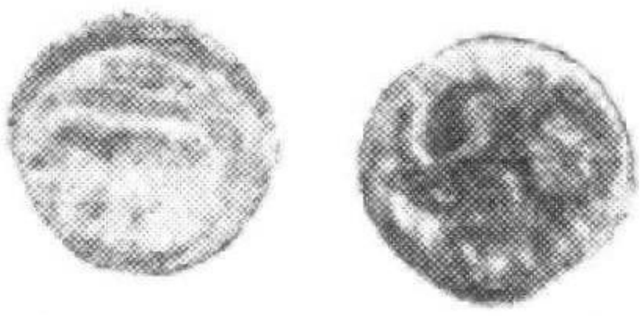


Obverse : Recumbant Nandi within a square Reverse : Telugu legend 'Srīdhara'

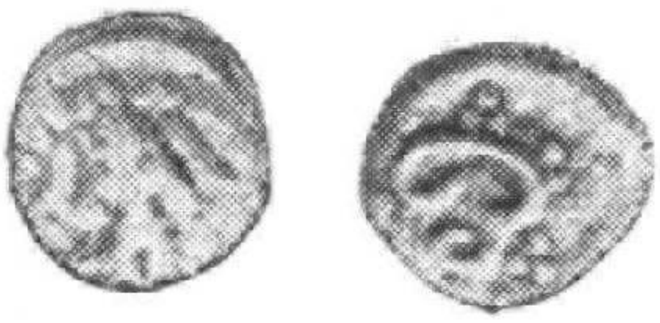


Obverse : God and Goddess seated on lion Reverse : Telugu legend 'Srīdhara'

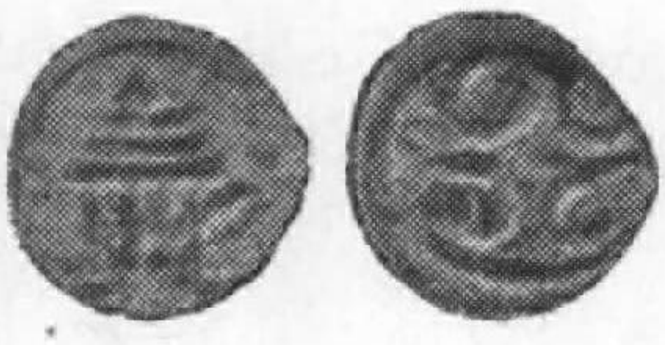
Obverse : A seated deity on elephant Is it Aiyanār ? Reverse : Telugu legend 'Srīdhara'



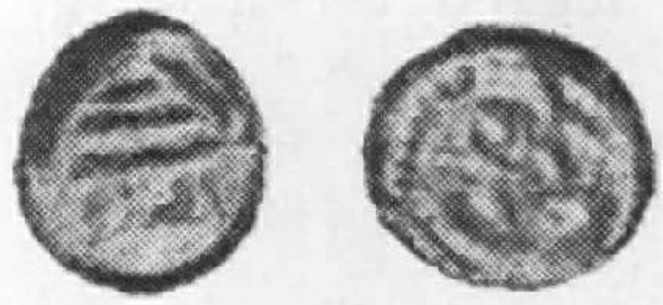
Nāyak Coin - Copper Obverse : Standing figure of a God Reverse : Telugu legend 'Srī'



Obverse : The Ratha (wooden chariot used in procession) Reverse : Telugu legend 'Srīdhara' This is a clear example of a commemorative coin. The great Thirumalai Nāyak of Madurai, gifted two chariots for processional festival to the temple of Goddess Mīnākshi. Probably this series was issued by him in commemoration of the same.



Obverse : Ratha (The wooden processional chariot). Reverse : Telugu legend Srīdhara',



INDEX

A

Abdul Razack 15
Abraiaman (Brahman) 146
Achyutappa Nāyak. 164
Achyutarāya 150, 154, 163
Ādan Chēral Irumpoṛai 2
Āḍavallān, the standard measure 65
Aden 144
Āditya 35,62
Āditya II-11, 47,57,62,63,64,85
Adhirājēndra. 93
Aḍiyārkkunallār 34
Āḍukōṭpāṭṭuc-Chēralādan 5,8
Adura paṇam. 156
Agastis 87, 138
Agastya 87
Agatyampaḷḷi 114
Ahanānūṛu 75
Ahappa 4
Āhavarāman 111
Āhavarāman Paṇam 111
Ahil 18
Aiyer K. V. S. 130
Ājnākrayam 56
Akkams 66
Akkar 178
Alagarkoil 160
Aḻagerudu Kāśu 53
Ālupa rulers 78
Altekar A. S. 137, 139
Amanji Vagai 143
Amarabhujanga, the Pāṇḍya 85,86
Amarēśvara 157
Ambalakāran 172
Ambasamudram 63
Añji of Tagaḍūr 4
Ānai Accu 19, 20, 21
Āṇḍāḷ shrine of Srivilliputtur 160
Annadēva 116
Annapūrṇa 169
Anantapadmanābha 24
Anrāḍu Gaṇḍa Gōpālan vāsip-paṇa pudu māḍai 116
Anrāḍu Naḍakkum Naṛkāsu 109
Anrāḍu Nallānai accu 107
Anrāḍu narkāśu 59
Anrāḍu Vaḻangum Nenmeli Kaliyugarāman paṇam 23
Anrāḍu naṛpaḻangāsu 59
Antuvan 5
Anupa 135
Appadurai. A 60, 62, 72
Aparājita 128
Arab currency 15
Arab gold currency 14
Arcot Rupay 180
Ardisu 181
Āravīḍu dynasty 149
Arayars 110
Arikēsari 77
Arikēsari Māṛavarman 84
Arikēsari Parānkusa Māṛavarman 10,17

Arikkamedu 8
Arinjaya 62, 63
Arisil Kiḻār 6, 8
Arretine 8
Arthasāstra 19
Ariyanatha Mudaliyar 169
Arumpadavuṛai 34
Aruvāḷar 29
Āryappaḍai Kaḍanta Neḍuñjeḻiyan 76
Asōka 1, 3, 74
Asōkan Brāhmi 136
Assissi 164
Asvamēdha yāga 42
Atimāna 126
Atiya 12, 78
Atinnan Etirān sēntan 141
Ativīrarāma Pāṇḍya 74
Atiyamān 6, 138
Atiyaputo 138
Aurnuz 145
Avanti 135
Avani Vēndarāma 84
Avanipasēkhara 81
Avanipasēkharan Chōḻa 82, 83
Avanipasēkharan Koḷaka 81, 82, 83, 84
Avanipasēkhara(n) golaga 82, 83
Avanipasēkharan Srī vallabha 82
Avanipēndran 83, 84
Avanivēnta rāman 84
Aviyalantaḍakkan 13
Āy, Avi 138
Ayirai 4
Ayirai malai 4
Ay vēḷ 13
Ayyangar S. K. 44

B

Bahrain 145
Bahusuvarṇa 74, 78
Bālakrishṇa 159
Balakrishna Nair Prof. 42
Balasubramaniam S. R. 36, 122
Bandar 6
Barradar 175, 176, 177
Bayyambika 163
Bhandarkar R. G. 137
Bhairava II. 152
Bhaskara 22
Bhaskara, author of Lilavathy 155
Bhāskara Ravivarman 18
Bhattiprolu 136
Bhūti Vikramakēsari 85
Bhūtalavīran 22, 23, 24, 25
Bhuvana singarāyan 109
Bhuvanēkavīra 111, 160, 161
Bhuvanēkavīran paṇam 111
Brahmanarāsa 127
Brahmanarāsak kāṇam 126
Brhaspatis 138
Bronze, its making 114
Bukka I 150
Bukka II 150
Biddaulp 41

C

Caḍayamāṛan 80
Caelobothras 1
Cakram Paṇam 180
Caḷukya Vikramāditya VI 50
Catakaṇisa 137
Cavappa 164
Cēndan 77,140,141
Cēntan-ko 141

Cērapāṇḍyan Tambirān 96
Ceropothra 1
Chakra Gadyana 154
Chakram 154
Chakram pon 156
Chāḷukya 12,43,138
Chāḷukya Jaysimha 89
Chāḷukya-Pāṇḍya alliance 90
Chāḷukya Rājarāja Narēndra 41
Chāḷukya Sōmēsvara 90
Chāmarāja Uḍayār 170
Chattopadhyaya 14,15,27,33,41,46, 60,71,72,82,84,101, 103,108,118,167
Chērakularāman 22, 23, 24
Cheralas 1
Chēramān 1,138
Chēramān Perumāḷ-a Saivaite Saint 13,14
Chēramān Perunchēral Ādan 5
Chēra pāda 1
Chinna Sevvappa 163
Chinnasēva 164
Cholaga 165
Chōḻa-Kēraḷa 96
Chōḻa Nalamkiḷḷi 33
Chōḻa Pāṇḍya 33,82,91,93
Chōḻāntaka 82,85
Chōḻantalaikoṇḍa 85
Chōṇāḍu koṇḍān 84,100
Chōṇāḍu koṇḍaruḷiya 97
Chōṇāḍu Vaḷangiyaruḷiya 97
Ciṛaivāy Mūtta Thiruvaḍi 21
Cōṇāḍu koṇḍān 110
Codrington 9,27
Coelobothros 7
Coin, bearing the name Kulasēkhara 22
Collector of Dindugal 181
Cundara 101

D

Dakshiṇamēru Viṭankan 65
Daḷavāypuram Charter 12,81
Damili 135,740
Damilica I 84
Danapālan guḷigai 111
Danapāla guḷikai paṇa 112
Danes 166
Dani 136
Desikachari T 22,23,25,27,28, 40,76,82,83,88,94, 99,104,118,119,162, 167,168,172,178
Dēvarāya 156
Dēvarāya I 150
Dēvarāya II 150
Dhānārnava 38
Dharana 151
Dharaṇikota Amarēśvara 157
Dharmasāstra 19,74
Dhavalīśvaram hoard 42
Dirammam 14
Dinār (equal to 4 Krishṇa Kaca) 80,82
Dindugal Simai 181
Divya Sūri Carita 13
Dodda Duddu 153
Dodda Varaha 153,154
Dofar 144
Dramma 70,94,107,108,114
Drāvidi 135

E

Eastern Chāḷukya 43,89

Edirān 140
Ehatti Duddu (4 pies) 53
Elephant Attivarana 90
Ellām Talaiyānān 98, 99, 102, 110, 105
Elliot 24,84,167,179
Emmaṇḍalamum Koṇḍaruḷiya 111
Ēttakkāṇam 216

G

Gaṇḍarāditta 85
Gaṇḍirāyanpaṇam 180
Gadyana (equal weight of 32 Gunjas) 151,152,153
Gadyana accu 111
Gajabāku Synchronism 2
Gajapatidēva 157
Gaṇesan 72
Ganga (Western Ganga) 78
Ganga Coins 20
Gangapāḍi 38
Gangaikoṇḍa Chōḻa 41
Gangaikoṇḍachōḻapuram 41,45
Gangās of Talakkāḍu 16,20
Garuḍavāhana paṇḍita 13
Garuḍakētanan 161
Gautami 138
Gautami putra 1,138
Gautamiputra Yajna Satakarni 133
Ghatti Varāha 153
Ghatta Vēnkaṭrāyan Varāhas 153
Gingee 163
Girnar Inscription 1
Goddess Mīnākshi 172
God Sundaresvara 175
Gold Gadyana 58
Gopali Cakram 180
Gōsahasra 78
Gōtamiputa 137
Govinda Dikshita 164
Gulika 83
Gulikaipaṇam I56
Gupta 7,26
Gurujinga 151

H

Haga 154
Harihara I 149
Harihara II 150,154
Hatakanisha 137
Hemacchadana Raja 98
Hiranyagarbha 78,165
Hormes 144
Hoysalas 97
Hoysala Narasimha 98
Hoysala Vira Vallaba III 143
Hultzsch 155
Huzur Plates 17
Hyder 180

I

Ikshavāku 137
Iḻakkaḻanju 64,87,91
Iḻakkāsu 18
Iḻak-karum kāsu 64,87
Iḷam chēral 8
Iḷam kaḍungō 2
Iḷam paḻaiyaṇ-Māṛan 6
Iḷangōvēḷ 29
Imayavaramban 4,5
Imayavaramban NeḍumChēral 4
Indu kōdai 18

Iṛai-kāval 52
Iyer K.V.S. 127
Iyyal 7

J

Jaffna 165
Jagat Vijaya 94
Jagadipāla 90
Jaggarāya 165
Janyala Kēsavapatra 157
Jatachōḻa Bhīma 38
Jaṭāvarman Chōḻa Pāṇḍya 88
Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkhara 96
Jaṭāvarman Parāntaka Pāṇḍya 93
Jaṭāvarman Srīvallabha 93, 95
Jaṭāvarman Sundara 98,101,102, 103, 105, 108, 109, 111, 160
Jaṭāvarman Sundara I 102
Jaṭāvarman Sundara Chōḻa Pāṇḍya 88
Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya 98, 109
Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan 78
Jayamkoṇḍār 45
Jētunga nāḍu 100
Jīvana Sēsha 115

K

Kaccivaḻangum Perumāḷ 99,I01
Kaca 82
Kaeoline Ware 3
Kaḍal piṛakkōṭṭiya 5
Kaḍāram 32,45,46
Kaḍāram Koṇḍa Chōḻa 41
Kāḍava (Pallava) 12
Kaḍungōn 77
Khaberis of Ptolemy 32
Kāhapaṇa 49
Kakatiya ruler Pratāparudradīva 142
Kakini 154
Kaḷabhra 12,16,77
Kāḷahasti 35
Kaḷamkāykaṇṇi Nārmuḍiccēral 4
Kaḷavaḻi 30
Kaṭaikoṇḍa 44
Kales Dewar (Kulasēkhara) 147
Kalingattupparaṇi 44,45
Kali Pon 180
Kalipaṇam 180
Kaliyugarāman 22,23,24
Kaliyugarāman (Legend) 100
Kaliyugarāman paṇam 23,24,100
Kaliyugarāmēsvara 100
Kalsi Inscription 1
Kallumakkummikki pon 115
Kampaṇa 143
Kampavarman 128
Kānchipuram Koṇḍān 98,101
Kānchipuravarādīśvara 98
Kānchivāy pērūr 99
Kāna nāḍu 110
Kanakābhishēkam 156
Kaṇḍan 15
Kaṇṇaki 2
Kaṇṇaki, temple 5
Kantīrava Narasa Rāyan 170
Kāppiyan 8
Kāppiyanār 4
Kapilar 5,8
Karikāla 5,29
Karaiyūr 156

Kārtikēya sharma 132
Karuṇan taḍakkan 13
Karunguḷal Ādanār 30
Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān 45
Karūr 3,7,12,13,78,96
Kāsukal 65
Kaṭai (shortened form of Kaḍāram) 44
Kaṭaikoṇḍa-Chōḷa 44,45
Kati 154
Kautilya 19
Kautilya's Arthasāstra 155
Kauravas 3
Kavaliavalli 45
Kāvērippaṭṭinam 32
Kāvēripūmpaṭṭinam 30,33,34
Kedah of the Malayan Peninsula 44
Keith B. 1
Kēraḷa Kēsari Perumāl 18
Keras, identified with the Chēra country 1
Kiḷḷi 5
Kīḻappaḻuvūr 64
Kiḷicciṛai 35
Kīrtimukha 158
Kitalaputo 1,138
Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīran 77
Kōccengaṇṇān 30
Kōdai Mārba 6
Kōdai Kēraḷa Varma 21
Kōdaṇḍarāman 99,102,103
Kōdai Ravivarman 100
Koḍumaṇam 6
Koḍumaṇam for rare jewels 32
Koḍumbāḷūr 11,78
Koḍungōḷūr 14
Koḍumuḍi 78
Kolaka (Tamil form of guḷika) 83
Kollam Year (420) 21
Kolli 4
Kollik-kūṛṛam 6
Kolli nagar 13
Koli 14
Kōḻi (Uraiyur) 78
Kozikkodu 13
Kōnāṭṭār 11
Koṇḍama Nāyaka 180
Kōnērirāyan (the legend) 71
Kōnērirāyan 167,168
Kongar 5
Konga(r) Nāḍu 4,6,11
Kongaṇam 4
Kongar Kōmān 13
Kongu 81
Kongu Dēsa 16
Kongu Karūr 14
Kongu Chēras 20
Konkan 7
Kōpperunjinga, (Kāḍava chieftain) 97,113,116
Koṛkai 75
Koṛkai Āṇḍār 84
Kōyil Ponmēynda perumāḷ 98
Kōvūr Kiḻār 33
Krishṇadēvarāya 150,153,156, 157,159,163,167,168,181
KrishṇaKaca (black Kasu) 79,80,82
Krishṇa Jayanti 159
Kuḍa Kongu 78
Kūḍal (Madurai) 14,78
Kuḍumiyāmalai 47
Kula 46,48
Kūḷappa Nāyak of Nilakkottai 181
Kulasēkhara (Opponent of Kulōttunga) 84,93,94,99, 100,105,106,111,142

Kulasēkhara(s) 13,14 20
Kulasēkhara Mahābali vāṇarāyan 1,3 112
Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya 46,93
Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya Kulāntaka (Kulōttunga) 93
Kulōttunga Chōḻa 44,45,46,93, 95,97
Kulōttunga Chōḻa I 45,50,54,59, 69,70,91
Kulōttunga II 52
Kulōttunga III 69,70,96,113, 114,117,160
Kumāra Hamvīrapatra 157
Kumārakaccāṇam 58
Kumāra Kampaṇa 118,142
Kūna Pāṇḍya 46,84
Kundavai 39
Kūram grant 126
Kuṭṭuvan Irumpoṛai 6
Kuṭṭuvar Nāḍu 6

L

Lady of Hatt 164
Lakshminarayana Rao-N 15,28
Lakshmipatiraja 157
Lalitavistāra 135
Lankāpura daṇḍanāyaka 94
Līlāvati of Bhāskara 155
Lord Venkatēśvara 157, 158, 159

M

Mackenzie Manuscript 175, 180
Mādhava 155
Madras Museum Plates of Uttama chōḻa 46
Madurai 9,163
Madurai Kānchi 75,118
Madurai Koṇḍa 36,85
Madurāntakan Māḍai 36,37,59
Madurāntaka Dēvan Māḍai 52,59
Maduraiyum Īḻamum Koṇḍa 36
Madurāntaka Uttamachōḻa 59
Madurāpuri Mahānāyakan 161
Madurai Nāyak dynasty 168
Madurai Tiruppaṇimālai 169
Maduraittala varalāṛu 175
Mahābhārata 3
Mahābali Vāṇādarāyar 160
Mahadevan I. 25,26,74,130
Mahalana Kirti 90
Mahā Rājādhi Rāja 42
Maharatas (at Mangalapura) 78
Mahaur 155
Mahēndra II 12
Mahōdayapuram 21
Maiyūr Kiḻān 6
Major Paris 181
Makanam 173
Makan 2
Marandai 4
Mardi (Madura) 147
Māṛanjaḍaiyan 79,80
Maṛavar Army 170
Māṛavarman Avani Cūḷāmaṇi 77
Māṛavarman Kulasēkhara (A Pāṇḍya ruler) 21,106,111,112,160
Māṛavarman Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya 22, 98
Māṛavarman Parākrama 94
Māṛavarman Parākrama Chōḻa Pāṇḍya 88
Māṛavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya 93
Māṛavarman Rājasimha 77
Māṛavarman Srīvallabha 93

Māṛavarman Sundara 98, 100, 101,107
Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya 96,97,100,107,160
Māṛavarman Thirunelveli Perumāḷ Vīra Pāṇḍya 23
Māṛavarman Vikramachōḻa Pāṇḍya 88
Marco Polo 144, 145
Martin 177,178
Māsanguḷigai 111
Māsanguḷigai paṇam 112
Māsan paṇa 112
Makara Tōraṇa 158,159
Malaināḍu koṇḍān 44
Ma-lai-nā-ḍu-Koṇḍa-Chōḻan 43
Maḻakonga 78
Mālik-Kafur 117,142
Mallikārjuna 150
Māliku-I-Islam Jamāluddin 145
Malaiyaḍi-kuṛichi 77
Maḻavas (Kolli and Pāccūr area) 4
Maldives islands 38
Māmallapuram 16,31
Mān (shortened form of makan) 2
Mānābharaṇa 86,87,90,91
Mānābharaṇa SundaraPāṇḍya 90
Mana Killi 5
Mānakulāchala, son of Srīvallabha 86,87
Mānāpara 126
Mangalore 5
Maṇimēkhalai 34
Manjāḍikkāṇam 126
Mantai 4
Māntaram Poṛaiyan Kaḍungo 5
Māṛan, son of Sēndan 77
Matirāntakan 36,37
Matirai 36
Mausikanos 1
Maurya 75
Mēlsānti 17
Minakshi Dr. 126,127,128,130
Mīnākshipuram 74
Minchiṛai maṭam plates 19
Miṭākshara 155
Mitranandapuram 19
Muḍittalaikoṇḍa chōḻapuram 96
Mudukuḍimi Peruvaḻudi 75
Muppiḍi Nāyaka 142
Muraḷidhara 40
Mūrti Amba 163
Mūsika 1
Musiri 6,11,32
Muthukrishṇappa 169
Muttu Vīrappa 170

N

Naccelḷaiyār 5,8
Nagappattinam (Settlement of Portughese) 164
Nāgama Nāyaka 167
Nagaswamy. R. 25,27,28, 130,135,139
Nāgārjunakoṇḍa 15
Naippūr 85
Nalamkiḷḷi 30
Nannan 4
Nannan Vēḷmān 5
Nantikkalambakam 130
Nantivarman, Victor of Teḷḷāṛu 126
Naovra 5
Navaharidēva 157
Narasimha 70,153

Narasimha I 12
Nārmuḍi Chēral 4,5,8
Nāṭaka Gaṇika 34
Natana-Kasinathan 28
Navaratna Kirita 157
Navaratna Prabhāvaḷi or makara Tōraṇa 157,159
Nāyak of Madurai (Viswanātha) 163
Nayar, Prof. 45
Neḍumchēral Ādan 4
Neḍum kiḷḷi 30
Neḍum Paradaya 4
Neḍunalvāḍai 75
Neḍuñjaḍaiyan 11,79,81
Neḍunjeḻiyan, the conqueror of the Arayan army 75
Nellore Māḍai 45
Nellore puravarādhīśvara 46
Nelson 176, 177, 178
Nelvēli 11
Nelvēli Venṛa Neḍumāṛan 77
Nigama 75
Nilakanta Sastri K.A. 8,26, 29,31,35,37,38,42,44, 46,60,71,72,84,89,90, 100,101,102,118,147
Nilakkōṭṭai Jamin 181
Niṛaikuṛaiyā Paḻam Kāśu 82
Niskha 82
Nisumbasūdani 35
Nṛpatunga 129
Nulakkalingam 31
Nuḷambapāḍi 38

O

Oṭṭakkūttan 44,45
Oḷiyar 29
Oṛṛiyūran 35

P

Pāccūr 4
Padineṇ Kīḻkaṇakku 34
Padiṛṛupattu 26, 27
Paduman dēvi 6
Pagoda 152,153
Paḻamchōḻiyan Kāsu 112
Paḻam Kāsu 18,63,70,82,108
Paḻamkāsu Dramma 108,114
Paḻam Salāka 20
Paḷḷan kōil copper plate 126
Pallava Banjana 78
Pallava Rājasimha 14
Paḷḷip-paḍai 85
Palyāgasālai Mudu-kuḍimi peruvaḻudi 76
Palyānai selkeḻu kuṭṭuvan 4
Pālai Gautaman 4
Pana 154
Pāṇḍavas 3
Pāṇḍikkōvai 10,11,27
Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam 40
Pāṇḍināḍu 11
Pāṇḍya Āḷupa 78
Pāṇḍya-Chōḻa struggle 98
Pāṇḍya Dhanañjaya 78
Pāṇḍya Neḍunjeḻiyan 75
Pāṇḍimangala Adhiarasan 77
Pāṇḍyakulāntakan 161
Pāṇḍya Kulasēkhara 94
Pāṇḍya Parāntaka 13
Pāṇḍya Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyan 12
Pāṇḍya sēndan 10
Pāṇḍya Srīmāra Srīvallabha 83
Pāṇḍya Srīvallabha 91

Panneerselvam K. 138,139
Parachakra Kōlākala 81
Parakēsari 35,64
Parākramabhāhu 94
Parākrama Chōḻa Pāṇḍya 91
Parākrama Pāṇḍya 91,93
Paramēsvara I 12
Paraṇar 29
Parāntaka 12,36,64,78
Parāntaka I 59,61,64
Parāntaka Chōḻa 29,35,82,85
Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiya Varaguṇa 77
Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa 77,81
Parameshware Lal 7
Paripāḍal 9,27
Paschima balachandra Mahapatra 157
Pasumpūṭ Poṛaiyan 5
Paṭṭinappālai 29,32,71
Pāṭaliputa 2
Periplus 1,5,75
Periyapurāṇam 14,27
Perumchēral Irumporai 6,8
Perumchōḻa, the ruler of Potti 6
Perumkaḍungō 6
Perumkunrūr Kiḻār 8
Perumpūt poṛaiyan 5
Perumakan 2
Perumān 2
Perumāḷ Thirumoḻi 13
Perum Chōṛṛu Udiyan 3
Perumuḍiyan 18
Perunarkiḷḷi 30
Perunkaḍungo 2
Pliny, the Roman historian 1,5,7
Ponolavan 75
Portughese 164
Pudukkāsu 116
Pudukkuḷigai 110
Pudumaṇḍapa n 170
Puduppon Accu 21
Pugaḻtuṇai Nāyanār 129
Pugalur (Aranattarmalai) 12
Pugaḻūr epigraph 2,3,6
Puhār 32
Puḷḷi guḷikai varāha paṇam 156
Pulamavi 137,138
Pulamavi II 138
Pulamayi 138
Puli Nāḍu 4,6
Pūmpuhār 35
Puñ-salākai accu 113
Puntamalli 21
Puṛanānūṛu 6,32,71,75
Purumavi 138
Purus 138
Pūrvadēsam 45,46
Pusapati Rachiraya 157

Q

Queen Mangammal 170,172

R

Rachuri Mallukham 157
Radha Kumud Mookerji 25
Raghava Iyengar, M 13,27
Raghunāthābhyudayam 164
Raghunātha Nāyak 165,166
Raghunāthēndra Vina 166
Rājagōpali Paṇam 180
Rājasvam 54
Rājakēsari 35
Rājakēsari Rājēndra 50
Rājakulavar-Kāṇippaṛṛu 52
Rāja Kulasarpa Garuḍa 161,162

Rāja malla 86
Rājarāja 26,36,66,87,88,92
Rājarāja I 15,19,35,37,38,
39,43,47,51,54,59,
62,68,70,86,95,98,
Rājarāja III 48,51,53,
62,70,97,114
Rājarāja coinage 38
Rājarājan Kāsu 59
Rājarājaṇ Māḍai 36
Rājarāja Pāṇḍināḍu 86
Rājarājan Sundarapāṇḍya 144
Rājādhirāja I 15,42,43,44,47,
70,87,89,90,91,94
Rājādhirāja brothers 91
Rājādhirāja the Legend 42
Rājasēkhara 14,15,18,82
Rājasimha 78,126
Rājasimha II 77,84,86
Rājasimha II., son of
Vīranārāyaṇa 82
Rājasimhēsvara 110
Rājasimha Pāṇḍya II 85
Rājakēsari-measure 50
Rājasūya 74
Rājēndra 43,45,82,88,89
Rājēndra I 37,41,42,47,51
52,54,55,70,85,87,89,
Rājēndra II 52,91,92
Rājēndra III 53,70,98
Rājēndran Māḍai 36
Rakshā bhōgam 17
Rāmabhadrāmba 164
Rāmachandra 150
Rāmakatha 165
Raman K.V. 130
Rama Rao 130
Rāmarāya, a young boy of
Srirenga 165
Rāmaswāmy temple at
Kumbakonam 165,166
Ramayya 130
Rāmappayyan 170
Ramesan .N 148
Rāmēsvaram 160
Rangachari. Mr. 174,175
Raṇadhīra 78
Rapson E.J. 130
Rāshtrakūta 38
Rāsipaṇam 109, 144, 156
Raṭṭapāḍi 38
Ravi varman 22, 25
Ravi Kērala Varma 21
Ravivarman Kulasēkhara 20, 21,
22, 142
Rudran Kaṇṇan 29
Rukhs of Rustam I45
Rēkhai Pon 156
Rōhaṇa 90
Roman Amphora 3
Roman coins 3,7,8,80,108
Roman currency 15
Roman dinarius 7

S

Sabhaivilai or Ūr-vilai 56
Sadāsiva 150
Sakra Paṇam 156
Saktivarman 38,39
Salākai 20
Saliyur 32
Sāḷuva dynasty 149,150
Samara Kōlākala 161
Samudāya tirumugam 62
Samusaru Palli at Tanjore 145
Sangama dynasty 148
Sarkar H. 14,25,27

Sātakarni 5
Sātavāhana 1,7,9,132
Satiyaputa, identified with Atiya 2
Satiyaputo 1
Sāthan Ēran 77
Sēkkiḻār 14,129
Selvakkaḍungō 6,8
Selvakkaḍungō Vāḻiādan 5
Seman-accu 31
Sembaga Kuḷigai paṇam 113
Semmaṛi Āḍu 63
Sempon 82
Sempon Kaḻañju 95
Sēndan 77
Sengoḍik-kāṇam 126
Senguṭṭuvan 5,6,37
Sērmādēvi 63
Sesha Iiyer K.G. 2,4,5,25
Sēthumūla Raksha-durandaram 160,161
Sēthupati Chieftains 160
Sēvabhūpa 164
Sevanrpati 164
Sevappa 164
Sevvappanēri 164
Sevvaikkāsu 61,64
Sevūr 11
Seyivu Pōga Sirantha pon 127
Sharma Sri I.K. 132,135,137,139
Silappadhikāram 2,34,35, 37,72,75
Silver coins 80
Simhavarman 126
Simhāsana 115
Singanna Daṇḍanāyaka 114
Sinnamanūr grants 11
Siva Cūḍāmaṇi 40
Sirucēva 164
Sivadharma 48
Siva Bhakta 81
Sivaganga tank at Tanjore 164
Sivakāsi copper plate 86
Siva Talvartharatnākara 154
Soer 144
Sokkasīyan Kāl 115
Sonder Bāṇḍi Dēvar 146
Sōmēsvara I 89
Sri Gangaikoṇḍa Chōḻa 41
Sri Gaṇḍarānkusasya;-a, Nagari legend 15
Sri Rāja Rājēndra, the Nagari legend 41
Sri Ranga II 151
Sri Ranga Rāya I 151
Sri Sharma 134,135
Sri Krishnarāya 158
Srīmāra 81
Srīmāra Srīvallabha 77,81
Srīmāra Srīvallabha, son of Pāṇḍya Parāntaka 13
Srīnātha Rāmarāja 157
Srinivasa Iyangar P.T. 1
Srinivasa Raghava Iyangar 178
Srivaramangalam plates 12,13
Srīvallabha 81,86,93,95
Srivanciyam 114
Srīvaraguṇa 79
Srīvenkatēsvara 156
Sreedhara Menon 24,28
Strabo 1
Strīdana to Sevappa 163
St. Francis 164
St. Xaviour 164
Subramaniam N. 26,130,118,139
Subrōmanya Temple at Thirupparankunram 109
Suchindram 21

Suddha Salāka 114
Suddha Varāha 153,154
Sūdra 19
Sūdum Uraiyum vaḻuvādu 17
Sundara 87,90
Sundara, brother of Vīra pāṇḍya 86
Sundara Chōḻa 85
Sundara Pāṇḍya 82,85,88,89,90, 99,103,104,110,142
Sundara Pāṇḍya I 86
Sundara Chōḻa Pāṇḍya 63,88,89,91
Sundaramūrti 14,129
Sundaramūrti Nāyanār 128
Sundarēswara temple 169
Sunga 45
Swaminatha Iyer U.V. 26

T

Taḍigaipāḍi 38
Tagaḍūr 4,6
Taitriya Āraṇyaka 1
Talaiyālangānam-its victor 75
Tallikota 148
Tanjore 163
Tanjore Sīrmai 163
Tāra 155
Taṭṭakkānam 126
Taylor 175
Telugu Chōḻa Gaṇḍa Gōpāla 116
Ten Pulandai 11
Tērmāṛan 78
Thirugnāna sambandar 77
Thirumaganār Kānikkai 143
Thirumala 175
Thirumalai 170
Thirumalai Nāyak 169,174,180
Thirumālirunjōlai ninṛān 161
Thiruppaḍimanu 71
Thiruvaḍi 40
Thirvaḍis 24
Thirvaḍi Rājya 24
Thiruvānjaikkaḷam 14
Thiruvēngaḍanātha (Sri Venkaṭēsa) 157
Thiruvēnkaṭanātha Yādavarāja 143
Thoppur 165
Ti-houa-kie-lo 44
Timmappa 163
Tinnan 140
Tippu Sultan 180
Tīppokku Sempon 61
Tirumala 176,177
Tirumalai-R 120
Tirumalarāya I 150
Tirumala Rautarāya Mahāpatra 157
Tirumangai Āḻwār 13
Tirumukkūḍal 47,50
Tiruppadiyam 48
Tiruttāyār Kāṇikkai 143
Tiruvamattur 47
Tiruvāymoḻi 48
Tiruveḷḷaraiccākkai 47
Tiruvorriyur 47
Tivrakopa 86
Tolkappiyam 140
Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam 35
Toṇḍaiman Ilam Tiraiyan 29,31
Tondaimanalam, name changed into Jayankoṇḍachōḻa-maṇḍalam 40
Tranquebar 166
Tulābhāra 78,165
Tuḷaikkal 61
Tuḷaippon 82

Tula purusha 157
Tulapurusha Mahādāna 157
Tuḷuva dynasty 149,150

U

Udayagiri 159
Udaya Mārtaṇḍa Varma 21
Uddandakhan 157
Udāran 114
Udiyan Chēral 3,4
Udiyan Chēralādan 3
Ulās 45
Umbarkāḍu 4
Unminted gold in weight 65
Uṛaiyūr 14
Ūr Kal cemmai 61
Uttama Chōḻa 36,37,62,63

V

Vaigai 9
Vaishṇava maṭha 50
Valla Nāḍu 110
Vallāḷa Dēvar vari 143
Vallāḷa Rāyan vari 143
Vallam Fort 163
Valangai Mikāman maṇḍapa 112
Vaḻudisēkharan 162
Vanci (Modern Karur) 3,6,10,78
Vanci-mūtūr 6
Varthema 153
Varthemas' varāha 154
Varāha 149,152,153,154
Varāhadēva at Tiruvadanai 56
Varāha Lānchana 153
Varāhan 70,71,143,156,181
Varāhan paḻam paṇam 109
Varāhan Rūpāy 180
Varaguṇa 79,83
Varaguṇa II 77,79,81
Varaguṇa Māharāja 78,88
Varuni 138
Vasiṭṭi 138
Vasiṭṭi Makan 138
Vasiṭṭi makan Tirucatakaṇi 1
Vasiṭṭi putra 1
Vasisthi putra Pulamāvi 132
Vasisthi putra Satakarni 132,136
Vasitti putra Siri Satakanisa 141
Vasisthiputra Siva Sri Pulamāvi 133,138
Vasisthiputra Siva Skanda Sātakarni 133
Vasishti Putra Vijaya Sātakarni 134
Vāḍākkaḍan 55
Vāḷāl Vaḻitiranthān guḷikai paṇam 156
Vāmānkusa 16
Vāṇagiri 34
Vānavaramban 3
Vēngi 44
Vēngi country 45
Veliyan Vēṇmān 3
Veṇṇi 5,29
Vedic Sacrifices 30
Vēḷvikkuḍi grant 11,74,77
Vēḷāvi Kōmān 6
Vēṇād rulers 21
Vēṇmāl Antuvan 6
Venkatachari K.K.A. 27
Venkaṭapati Dēvarāya 151
Venkaṭapati Dēvarāya.III 151
Venkaṭrāyar 181
Venkatēsvara 158
Vēḷpura 138
Vicci 6

Vico 176,177
Vidarbha 135
Vidya Prakash 15,16,17,28,72,76, 101,102,130,162, 167,169
Vijaya 136
Vijayādita 44,89
Vijayādita VII 43
Vijaya Kampavarman 54
Vijayālaya 34,35,81
Vijayarāya I 150
Vijayarāya II 150
Vijayanagara ruler 88
Vijayanagar Emperor Ranga 170
Vijayanagar Emperor Sriranga 165
Vijayanagar Emperor Venkaṭa 165
Vijaya Raghunātha Nāyak 165
Vikkiyaṇṇa 89
Vikrama Chōḻa 69
Vikrama Chōḻa pāṇḍya 64,91
Vikrama Chōḻīsvaram 108
Vikrama Pāṇḍya 90,91,96
Viḻinjam 11,13,78,81
Vilvēli 77
Vimalāditya 38,39
Vincent A. Smith 178
Vīra Ballāla III 97
Vīrabhadrarāya 157
Vīrābhishēka 97
Vīra Bukka 154
Vīra Kēraḷa (his coins) 15,16
Vīra Kēraḷa (in an inscription of Rājarāja I) 15
Vīra Kēraḷan 90
Vīra Kēraḷasya 15
Vīra Kēsari 91
Vīra Narasimha 97,150
Vīra Nārāyaṇa 42,81
Vīra Pāṇḍya 11,82,85,86,87,90, 91,94,96,99,108 109,110,142,156
Vīra Pāṇḍyan (Legend) 94
Vīra Pāṇḍya I 86
Vīra Pāṇḍya II 86
Vīra Pāṇḍyan Kāsu 110,112
Vīra Pāṇḍyan Talaikoṇḍa 85
Vīrappa Nāyak 169,171
Vīrarājēndra 50,91,93
Vīrarājēndra I 91
Vīra Rājēndra Chōḻa 21,88
Vīrarāmanātha 70,115
Vīra rāma Kēraḷa Varma 21
Vīrarāyan pon 180
Vīrarāyapaṇam 155,180
Vīra Sōmēsvara 70,97,98
Vishṇu pāda 23,24,100
Vishṇu Kuṇḍins 33
Vishṇu temple 79
Vishṇu Vardhana 89
Vishṇu Vardhana Vijayāditta. (Chālukya Prince) 90
Vishṇu Vardhana Vikkiyaṇṇa 89
Visvanātha 167,168
'Visvanāthan'-legend 168
Visvanātha nāyak 181
Vittai 6
Viyalūr 5

W

Walter Elliot 71
Wassiff 144
Western Chāḷukyas 88,153
Wheeler 8
Wilks 175

Yachama Nāyak 165
Yādavarāyars 143
Yādavas 138,139
Yadus 139
Yajna Sri 136,137
Yājnavalkya 152
Yavanas 5,7
Yuddhamalla 41