

OF THE

MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM

EDITED BY THE DIRECTOR

THE DOWLAISHWERAM HOARD OF EASTERN CHĀĻUKYAN AND CHŌĻA COINS

ВУ

T. BALAKRISHNAN NAYAR, M.A. (Madras), M.A. (London)

NEW SERIES--General Section, Vol. IX, No. 2

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Dr. R. KANNAN, Ph.D., I. A. S., Commissioner of Archaeology and Museums, Government Museum, Egmore. Chennai-600 008

Off: 8261578

hone: < Res: 4341209

Fax: 8218735

FOREWORD

Prof. T. Balakrishnan Nayar was a distinguished historian. He was for sometime Curator for Numismatics in the Government Museum, Chennai and continued to evince keen interest in Numismatics, Pre-history and Archaeology. This book published as a Bulletin of the Museum deals with the one hundred and twenty seven gold coins, which were found in the village of Dowlaishweram in East Godavari District of erstwhile Madras Presidency (present Andhra Pradesh) in the year 1946 AD.

The above-mentioned treasure trove coins fall into two groups, viz. Raja Raja I of the Eastern Chalukyan dynasty and Kulothunga I of the Chola dynasty. These are the first treasure trove coins of Kulothunga I, which bear the regnal years and the titles "Kadai Konda Cholan" and "Malainadu Konda Cholan". The legends on these coins are in Tamil Grantha script extant in the end of eleventh Century AD or the beginning of the twelfth Century AD.

As an eminent scholar in this field, Prof. Balakrishnan Nayar had dealt at length on events and information related to the coins of South Indian dynasties. This work was published in 1966 AD as a Museum Bulletin and went out of print. Now it is reprinted with the help of a grant from the Government of Tamilnadu. This reprint will be useful to the scholars and students interested in this field.

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(Dr.R.Kannan, Ph.D., I.A.S.)

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THE DOWLAISHWERAM HOARD OF EASTERN CHĀLUKYAN AND CHŌLA COINS

By
T. BALAKRISHNAN NAYAR, M.A., (Madras), M.A., (London)

PART 1-GENERAL

The one hundred and twenty-seven gold coins which form the subject matter of this bulletin are part of a treasure-trove discovered by certain workmen between May 26, 1946 and June 4, 1946, while digging in a piece of land—survey number 359-2—belonging to Añjanēyaswāmi temple in the village of Dowlaishweram, four and a half miles south of Rajahmundry in East Godavari District now of Andhra Pradesh State. The treasure-trove in question evidently contained many more coins, for by the time that the police got track of it, part of it had been melted down and part disposed of in the shape of gold ingots. A notification issued by the East Godavari Collector's Office under Section 5 of Act VI (The Treasure Trove Act) of 1878 referred to other items besides the 127 coins as having been recovered including a gold ingot weighing 8.1/8 tolas, gold 'teegas' or threads weighing 8 tolas and seven one-hundred rupee notes and eight five-rupee notes in Indian currency¹. Enquiries made at the police station at Dowlaishweram in the month of May 1948 revealed that the coins were reported to have been discovered in a copper vessel of fairly large size and that news of the treasure-trove did not reach the authorities until eight days after its discovery. The currency notes, doubtless, represented the sale-proceeds of part of the hoard disposed of by the finders before they were apprehended and the gold ingot and threads were the unsold remnants of the coins that were already converted into metal.

The coins fall into two groups, 49 belonging to Rajaraja I of the Eastern Chalukyan dynasty, and the rest to Kulottunga I of the Chola dynasty.

The coins of Rajaraja I in the present hoard bear three different regnal years of the king, 33, 34 and 35. There are fifteen coins of the year 33, twenty-two of 34 and twelve of 35. Coins of this king have already been known to numismatists for some time. They were first discovered on the islands of Ramri and Cheduba off the Arakan coast in Burma, on the Arakan coast itself and in Siam². (For location of places mentioned, see Plate IV.)

Towards the close of the last century they were also discovered in a treasure-trove hoar l from the village of Gudur near Masulipatam. The Madras Museum possesses two coins of Rājarāja I from the Gudur hoard and they bear regnal year 37 (See Plate I, fig. 1).3

Rājarāja I of the Eastern Chāļukyan dynasty had a long reign-period, from 1019 to 1059 A.D. and therefore the high regnal years found on his coins, 33, 34, 35 and 37 are perfectly legitimate. The coins are cup-shaped and weigh on an average 67 grains each. The inscription on them is in Telugu characters of the 11th Century A.D. The technology of these coins connects them with the punch-marked coins of early India representing the indigenous coinage of the country. The Sātavāhanas broke the indigenous tradition by introducing die-struck coins, but the art of making punch-marked coins did not die out in South India. We find it surviving in the padmatankas of the Kadambas, in the coinage of the Western Chāļukyas and in these coins of the Eastern Chāļukyas. Sir Walter Elliot rightly suggests that the cup-shaped padmatankas inspired the later Chāļukyan oins, Western and Eastern.

On the obverse of the coins of Rājarāja I, we have, in the centre, the dynastic symbol of the Eastern Chāļukyas, the boar, facing proper left flanked by a lamp-stand on either side and surmounted by an ankuša (elephant goad), a chhatra (parasol) and two chaurās (fly-whisks). Below the boar's head we find occurring the Telugu letters, ra, vi, sa, ka, ja, etc. The significance of these letters is hard to explain. Maybe they are mint marks, ra and vi probably standing for Rajamahendri and Vengi respectively. The letter, ra, appears below the head of the boar in the coins of Rājarāja I as well as in those of his father Śaktivarman I. On the margin there is the inscription which reads Śrī Rājarāja followed by sa and a numerical figure which in the case of our coins happens to be 33, 34 or 35.6 (See Plate I, figs. 2, 4 and 5.)

The central device and each of the six portions of the marginal legend will be noticed as having been struck by a separate punch. The punches show through the plain reverse and the irregular concave shape of the obverse was evidently caused by the gradual bending of the thin metal during the application of the punches. All the punched letters have a bordering circle of dots, save those on coins, numbers 15, 22, 26, 27 and 30. Coin number 38 shows evidence of inscription having been punched on an early rone not quite fully effaced. There are four in this group of Rajaraja's coins which have only four punches on them together giving the reading $\hat{S}r\bar{\imath}$ Raja Sa 33 (see Plate I, fig. 3, and catalogue A numbers 46-49). They are apparently aberrations, for we have other coins of year 33 on which the king's name appears fully as $R\bar{a}jar\bar{a}ja$. The moneyers probably forgot to apply all the punches.

Rājarāja I of the Eastern Chāļukyan dynasty was half Chōļa, his mother Kundavai having been a Chōļa princess, the daughter of Chōļa Rājarāja I. He married Ammangādēvi, the daughter of Rājēndra Chōļa I. Eastern Chāļukya Rājarāja I's son Rājēndra or Kulōttunga I, three-fourths Chōļa, united the two lines and the 78 coins of the second group in this hoard belong to him. Rājēndra succeeded to the Chōļa throne sometime in the year 1071 A.D., certainly after 3rd May, 1071, on which date according to the Sittamalli inscription Adhirājēndra was still alive.

The two gold coins ascribed by Hultzsch⁸ to Kulōttunga I do not belong to him. The Madras Museum possesses a specimen each of the two coins (see Plate I, figs. 6 and 7). They belonged to a treasure-trove from Gudur village, Krishna District discovered in 1896. The first (Plate I, fig. 6)

weighing 64 grains and of diameter 1.35" has in the centre a boar facing the proper right and surmounted by the sun and a crescent. In the margin in seven distinct punch marks appears the inscription " Śri Cūlanārāyana". The second (Plate I, fig. 7) has in the centre a tiger facing the proper left. A chauri-bearer stands above it flanked by the sun and the moon. In the margin in eight punch marks is the inscription "Śrī Chalkhurāyaṇa". The script of the inscription on both the coins will fall between Eastern Chāļukya Bhīma's time and Rājarājanarēndra's time (between the tenth and the eleventh centuries A.D.)9 (see Text figs. 1 and 2 for transcription of the inscription and 3 and 4 for enlarged drawings of the central devices). The emblem on the first coin is a boar and not a tiger, but the inscription along its margin reads, Śrī Cūlanārāyaṇa, probably the same as Chōlanārāyana, one of the titles of Chola Rajaraja I¹⁰. The tiger of the second coin is the emblem of the Chōlas, but its inscription which reads " Śrī Calakhurāyana", if it is to be equated with "Chālukyanārāyana", will give us one of the titles by which Eastern Chālukya Śaktivarman I was known". Saktivarman I along with his brother Vimalāditya was an exile at the court of the Chola after the death of his father Danarnava at the hands of Telugu-Choda, Bhīma, in 973 A.D., till his restoration to Vēngi, by Chōla Rājarāja I in 1000 A.D. Probably the coin with the inscription "Śri Calakhnrāyana" was issued by Saktivarman I, the Chauri-bearer between the sun and the moon representing himself and the tiger, the Chola, who was his benefactor. As for the coin with "Śrī Cū'anārūyana" on its margin and the boar surmounted by the sun and the crescent for its central device, it was probably an issue of Chola Rajaraja I during what time Vengi was virtually a protectorate of the Chola Empire. Although the letters ya and na of the two coins show variant forms the fact that they belong to the same hoard may be taken as possibly lending support to the identifications proposed above. The boar surmounted by the sun and the moon and resting on an expanded lotus with an ankusa or elephant goad placed vertically before it constituted the landana on the seal of the Madras Museum plates of Eastern Chālukya Vijayāditya II (see Text fig. No. 5) and it would indeed be legitimate to conclude that by adopting the Eastern Chāļukya emblems such as the boar, the sun and the moon, the Chola who issued the coin with the inscription "Śrī Cūlanārāyaṇa" upon it was proclaiming his overlordship of Vēngī.

In the Dowlaishweram hoard we have for the first time come across the coins of Kulōttunga I similar in technique and equal in weight to the coins of his father Rājarāja I. Kulōttunga's coins fall into two groups, one of 32, giving regnal years 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 and 33 and on which he bears the title, "Kaṭaikonḍachōlan"; and the other of 56, giving regnal years 33, 34, 35 and 36 on which he bears the title; "Malaināḍukonḍachōlan". Of the coins bearing the title, Kaṭaikonḍachōlan, and of regnal years 28, 29 and 30 respectively, there is only one each in the collection. There are two Kaṭaikonḍachōlan coins of the year 31; twelve of the year 32 and fifteen of the year 33. Coins with regnal year 33 are found in both groups. There are four Malaināḍukonḍachōlan coins of the year 33, fifteen of the year 34, seventeen of the year 35 and ten of the year 36. The alphabet in which the legends on these coins are written is Tamil Grantha and on palaeographical grounds can be dated to the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century A.D.

Since Chōla Rajaraja I's intervention in the Eastern Chalukyan dominions, the Chōlas were in intimate contact with the Vengī country and when Rajendra, son of Eastern Chalukya Rajaraja I,

succeeded to the Chola throne Vengi became also part and parcel of the Chola empire. The coins bearing the two titles and the regnal years mentioned, and also certain gold panams from Kavaliyadavalli village, Atmakur Taluk, Nellore District, weighing 5.75 grains and bearing the legend "Sung", besides numerical figures 27, 31 or 34 on the obverse and a bow and a tiger in sitting posture, on the reverse, 12 besides other diminutive gold pieces from Pithapur, Waddada and Rajahmundry, weighing 6 to 7 grains, either with fish, sometimes one and sometimes two, or a tiger upon them, would seem in the present state of our knowledge to exhaust the repertoire of Kulottunga's gold coinage. On his small gold pieces with 'Sung' on the reverse, the tiger is seen sitting on the ankusā.

The central field of the Kulōttunga coins belonging to the Dowlaishweram hoard contains on the left, two fish, and on the right, a tiger seated dog-fashion, with its tail brought forward. Over it are a parasol and a fly-whisk. Beyond the two fish on the extreme left and beyond the tiger on the extreme right, there is a bow (see Catalogue B sheet 18). The twin fish happened to be the $l\bar{a}\bar{n}$ -chana of the Pāṇdyas, the bow that of the Chēras and the tiger stood for the Chōlas.

In this connection it will be interesting to compare the central device on our Kulōttunga coins with the known Chōla seals, so that we may see how far it conforms to or departs from the general run of the seals. On the seal of the Larger Leiden plates of Chōla Rājarāja I (see Text fig. No. 6) the Chōla tiger is seen seated on the Chēra bow facing the proper right. Before the tiger there are two fish. On either side is a lamp-stand and the tiger and the two fish are surmounted by a parasol and two fly-whisks. On our coins of Kulōttunga the bow is transferred to between the tiger and the lampstand, its place being taken up by the ankusa, the Chālukyan emblem which on the coins of the Eastern Chālukya Rājarāja I is found located between the parasol and the fly-whisks above, and the boar underneath. The coins of Uttama Chōla and Rājēndra Chōla I¹⁴ also show the bow in the central field alongside of and behind the tiger which in these two cases faces the proper right-On the coins of Kulōttunga I in the Dowlaishweram hoard, the space occupied by the fly-whisks on the left in the case of Chōla seals is taken up by a numerical figure 5, 1, 100 or 7.

On the seal of the Tiruvālangādu plates of Rājēndrachōļa I¹5, just as on the seal of the Larger Leiden plates, the tiger, the two fish and the lamp-stands are placed on the bow-string, with the difference that on the latter within the bow there are represented other objects. The seal of the smaller Leiden plates of Kulōttunga I, (see Text fig. 8) and the seal of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama Chōļa (see Text fig. 10) are in every respect similar to the seal of the Larger Leiden plates. Another known seal of the Chōḷas is the one on the Charāla plates of Vīrarājēndra, dated Śaka 991 (see Text fig. No. 9). On this seal, however, the tiger faces proper left as on the coins of Uttama Chōḷa and Rājēndra I, instead of proper right as on the other seals noticed and on the biruda coins of Kulōttunga I. The central device on the coins of Kulōttunga I is distinguished from the seals of Uttama Chōḷa, Rājarāja I, Rajēndra Chōḷa I and Kulōttunga I himself by the fact that the bow is placed alongside of the tiger between it and the lampstand, and the position of the bow is taken up by the ankusa of the Eastern Chāḷukyas who had become merged with the Chōḷas under Kulōttunga I. The Chōḷa tiger sitting on the ankusa, which was the Chāḷukyan emblem, bespeaks the major role of the Chōḷa limb in the new set-up under Kulōttunga I.

The question that has to be considered now is the legitimacy of the application of the titles, "Kataikondacholan" and "Malainādukondacholan" to Kulottunga I. To take first the title Kataikondacholan, for consideration, it may be pointed out that there are stray references to Kulottunga's destruction of Kadāram—which is the same as Sanskrit Katāha 16, Chinese Kie-tch'a and Kie-to', and Kata of our coins—in Kalingattupparani.¹⁷ That he was overlord of the 'island kingdoms of the wide ocean '-including probably Kadāram-we know from the longer prasasti of his inscriptions which mentions the fact that at the gate of his palace stood rows of elephants showering jewels sent as tribute from the island kingdoms. 18 That he visited the Far East is indicated by the inscription which says that a beautiful stone was shown to him by the King of Kambhoja as a curio $(K\bar{a}tchi)$. The records of the second year of Kulottunga I beginning with 'Tirumanni Vilangum', among other achievements of the king, say that "He raised the country in the Eastern region' like Vishnu raising the earth from the ocean in his boar incarnation and seated her to her great pleasure under the shade of his parasol". 19 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (Colas 1, pp. 346-48) held the passage in question as a description of Kulottunga's work in the Eastern region; but whereas S. K. Ayyangar and following him R. C. Majumdar saw in it evidence of Kulottunga's activity in Śri Vijaya and even China (Suvarnadvīpa 1, pp. 186-8), Professor Sastri however, equated 'pūrvadēsam' with the region of the Bastar state. But Bastar lies not east, but north-east of Vengi, and S. K. Ayyangar rightly thought (Ancient India, pp. 130-31) that 'pūrvadēsam' could refer only to the Kingdom of Kadāram, including Lower Burma, which lay to the east of Vengi and Nagapattinam'. In this connection it is worthwhile recalling the fact that in an inscription dated 1050 A.D., Kadaram is referred to as Kadaram 'on the east'.

Kadaram was first conquered by Rajendrachola I in 1025 A.D. In inscriptions dated in his eighteenth and thirty-second years respectively he is referred to as ruling over Kadaram. It was conquered again by other Chola kings, Rajadhiraja (1018-1054)²⁰ and Vīrarajendra (1063-1069). The latter in his Perumber inscription dated in his seventh year (1068-69)21 says that having conquered the country of Kadaram he was pleased to give it back to its king who worshipped his feet, which bore ankle-rings. The conquest of Kadaram by Vīrarājēndra and its restoration to the king of the country must therefore be placed sometime before 1068 A.D. From the history of the Sung dynasty we learn that in 1067 an envoy from San-fo-ts'i, one of the highest dignitaries of the kingdom and who bore the name Ti-houa-k'ie-lo, arrived in China. He was given the title of 'great general'. Ti-houa-k'ie-lo was again the name of the king of Chu-lien (Chōla country) who sent an embassy to China.²² Most scholars following S. K. Ayyangar have identified the ambassador from San-fo-ts'i, Ti-houa-k'ie-lo of 1067 with Ti-houa-kie-lo, the king of Chu-lien, who sent an embassy to China in 1077. The Chola king of 1077 was none other than Kulottunga I23. To have represented Sri Vijaya at the court of the Chinese emperor in 1067, Kulottunga must have been in occupation of and ruling over Kadaram for sometime prior to that date and the conquest of Kadaram as distinct from the reinstatement of the king of that country on his throne claimed by Vīrarājēndra was an incident that occurred earlier than 1067 and the person who was responsible for the conquest was in all likelihood Vīrarājēndra's nephew Kulöttunga I though this achievement was claimed by Vīrārajēndra for himself. Between 1063 and 1067 Vīrārājēndra's hands were full with wars against the Western Chalukya Someśwara I and the Eastern Chalukya Vijayaditya VII, and hence he must

have deputed his nephew, whom, according to the evidence of Jayangondār he had made his crown prince, to Kadāram. His return to India after restoring the king of Kadāram to his territory must have happened soon after his visit to the Chinese court in which he had the privilege of representing San-fo-t'si. In 1067 Vīrarājēndra bestowed the kingdom of Vēngī on Vījayāditya VII, after he had defeated him near Vijayawada. Why Vīrarājēndra should have preferred Vijayāditya to his nephew Rājēndra, who had a better claim to rule Vēngī, has been a question that has always puzzled the historians of South India. ²⁴ The obvious answer to this question is that he was not on the spot; he was away in distant Kadāram. Granting that Chālukya Vikramāditya VI and Kalingaganga Rājarājanarēndra who were now his sons-in-law prevailed upon Vīrarājēndra to recognize Vijayāditya VII as King of Vēngī, it is extremely unlikely he would ever have done so if as some believe, ²⁵ Rājēndra was stationed behind in Chakrakūṭa (Bastar) at the head of an army of occupation. It was probably the news of the turn of events in Vēngī that made Rājēndra hasten back to India.

Kulōttunga's association with the eastern region of Kadaram thus seems to be established beyond all reasonable doubt in the light of the sources cited. How long before 1067 did he conquer Kadaram, Katāha or Kata? In an inscription of Parakēśarivarman Rājēndra or Rājēndra II from the Rājagōpālaperumāļ temple at Maṇimaṅgalam dated in his fourth year (i.e., 1056 A.D.), 26 we learn that among his Kādalar upon whom he conferred titles, there was a Kadāramkoṇdasōļāṇ of great valour in whom the eminence of the sun rested. He was given the title of Sōlajanakarājan. Scholars have identified the Kadāramkoṇdasōļaṇ with one of the sons of Rājēndra II. Kādalar may merely mean relatives 27 and not exclusively son and Kadāramkoṇdasōļaṇ mentioned in th group of Kādalar might well have been the Kaṭaikoṇdashōlan of our coins; the maternal nephew and son-in-law of Chōļa Rājēndra 11 28.

Here it may be pointed out that Kulottunga I told his son Rajaraja years after he became the Chola emperor that in his youth he loved to live a life of war and adventure and therefore left the kingdom of Vēngī to be ruled by his uncle Vijayāditya. We cannot accept the latter part of the statement at its face value, for according to the Ryāli plates of Vijayāditya VII²⁹ Vijayāditya forcibly seized the throne of Vēngī without the knowledge of his half-brother Rājarāja I. At the time that his father died Kulottunga was probably away from Vengī and his absence from the country must have helped Vijayāditya to step into Rājarāja's shoes superseding the latter's son which was rantamount to forcible ejection. For Rajendra Kulöttunga to have been called Kadārawkondasūlan or which is the same as Kaṭaikondachōlan in 1056, his conquest of Kaṭa must be assigned to a date earlier than 1056. Choļa Rājādhirāja died in 1054 and if the expedition which earned Rājēndra Kulōttunga the title Kadāramkondasōlan was the one undertaken by Rajādhirāja, its date could not have been later than 1054 A.D. To have participated in a military campaign and to have gained distinction in it at the time of that campaign, Kulottunga must have already attained manhood. If he was twenty years old in 1054, his date of birth would fall in 1034 A.D. and this is a date definitely within the reign-period of his Chola grandfather Rajendra I whose queen is said to have taken the baby prince, afterwards Kulöttunga I, in her arms and remarked that he was fit to be a son of the solar line, born for its protection30. Kulottunga's fitness to be a son of the solar line is echoed in the inscription of his maternal uncle and father-in-law Rajendra II, from Manimangalam already mentioned, which refers to 'Kādalan' Kadāramkondakolan, as one in whom the eminence of the race

of the sun rested. If Rajendra-Kulottunga was twenty years old in 1054 A.D., the year of his conquest of Kadaram, then he must have been 36 when he succeeded to the Chola throneandat the time of his death in 1019-20, 86 years. Such a span of life is not impossible in his case considering that his father also lived to a long age.

In the light of the foregoing discussion the order of events in the relations between the Cholas and Kadāram may be reconstructed as follows. Rājēndrachōļa conquered Kadāram in 1024-25 A.D. Between 1044 and 1054 the country shook off its yoke of servitude to the Cholas, for Rajadhiraja (1044-54) claims to have conquered Kadaram. The reconquest was not effected probably until after a series of campaigns in which Rājēndra Kulōttunga I who had left Vēngī seeking war and adventure distinguished himself. Very likely the reconquest was a fait-accompli before Rājādhirāja's death in 1054. In 1056 A.D. the title of Kadāramkondasōlan was conferred upon Rājēndra Kulottunga by the then Chola King Rajendra II, who was also his maternal uncle and father-in-law. During the period between 1054 and 1067-8 A.D., Kulottunga was mostly away in the 'easterncountry' of Kadaram ruling over it. In any case he was there till 1067 in which year he visited the court of the Chinese emperor as the envoy of San-fo-ts'i, if Ti-houa-k'ie-lo is to be equated with Ti-houa-Kie-lo, the ruler of the Chola country, who sent an embassy to China in 1077 A.D. During what time Vīrarājēndra ruled over the Chola kingdom, Kulottunga was his deputy in Kadaram. It was probably Vīrarājēndra's support of Vijayāditya VII that made Kulottunga hasten back to India in 1067 A.D.

An important evidence which confirms our identification of Kaṭaikondachōlan of the coins with Kulōttunga I is the occurrence on one of them, above the fish in the central device, of the title, 'rāja', in Tamil Grantha alphabet. Kulōttunga I was a 'Rājakēsari'³¹. In fact he is the only Rājakēsari with such high regnal years as are supplied by our coins. Rājēndra I, conqueror of Kadāram, was a Parakēsarivarman and he ruled for only 32 years, 1012 to 1044 A.D. Rājādhirāja I was no doubt a Rājakēsarivarman and claims to have conquered Kadāram. But Vēngī was under the political control of the Eastern Chāļukyas from the time of Rājādhirāja I until the time of its reconquest by Vīrarājēndra in 1067, and therefore during the period of Rājādhirāja I, these coins bearing the title Kaṭai-koṇḍachōlan could not have been issued by him from Vēngi. Vīrarājēndra, the next claimant to the title of conqueror of Kadāram, had only a short reign-period of 7 years. Kulōttunga I ruled over the Chōļa empire from 1071 A.D. and no other Chōļa king has greater claim to equation with Rājakēsari Kadāramkoṇḍachōlan with regnal years reaching up to 36 than Kulōttunga. Kalingattupparaṇi refers unmistakably to his destruction of Kadāram.

Incidentally it may be noted that on the Kaṭaikondachōlan coin we get yet another variant of the toponym, Kadāram or Kidāram, namely Kaṭa. Kaṭa is the nearest equivalent phonetically of Chinese Kie-to' and modern Kedah in Malaya with which Sanskrit Kaṭāha and Tamil Kadāram or Kidāram have been generally identified. At Kedah the Dutch had a factory drawing gold dust and Kedah probably was the source of the gold, large influx of which into Andhradesa and Tamilnad during the century following Chōla Rājēndra's conquest of Kaṭāha accounts for their rich crop of coinage in that metal of a fineness and variety not met with at any time in the earlier history of South India.

The second title 'Malainādukondachōlan' of these coins needs no special elucidation. Kulōttunga reconquered Malainādu or entire Kerala,³² between the seventh and the eleventh years of his reign, the Chāvers of the Western Hill country having ascended their unique heaven.³³

The regnal years given in Kulōttunga's coins fall within the period of the viceroyalties over Vēngī of his sons Vīra-Chōļa (1088-1092) and Parakēsari Vikramachōļa (1092-1118 A.D.). At Dowlaishweram Kulōttunga's coins were found in association with the coins of his father Rājarāja I. They are in the same technique as that of known Eastern Chāļukyan coins and have not so far turned up in the Tamil country. When it is remembered that the only Chōļa who directly ruled over Vēngi was Kulōttunga I and that these coins were found in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry together with coins of Eastern Chāļukya Rājarāja I, we should have no hesitation to identify the Rāja (Kēsari) Kaṭaikonḍachōlan and Malaināḍukonḍachōlan with Kulōttungachōļa I.

The Madras Museum has rightly claimed the discovery of the biruda coins of Kulottunga I as an important event in its annals.

The two sets of coins belonging to the Dowlaishweram hoard raise many intriguing problems. One of them is the determination of the possible identity of the coins with known denominations of gold coins current in the Chola and Chalukyan dominions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. Hultzsch identified the coins of Rājarāja I of the eastern Chālukyan dynasty with the Rājarājamāda of the inscriptions.34 They weigh on an average 67 grains each and are of the same weight as that of the coins of Chāļukyachandra or S'aktivarman I. Ammangādēvi, the queen of Rājarāja I is said to have presented in 1050 A.D. three hundred Rāiarājamādas to the temple of Tiruvaiyāru in the Tanjore District.35 Rāiarājamādas which weigh on an average 67 grains apparently represented a unit of gold currency different from the contemporary Madhurāntakamādai which in 1040 A.D. weighed one Kalañju or 52 grains and set the standard of fineness for gold coins in the Chola country36. Madhurāntakamādai was current at Conjeevaram in the time of Chōla Kulōttunga I and continued to be in use in the Chola country certainly up to the 39th year of that monarch as evidenced by inscription No. 74 from the Pandavaperumal temple at Conjeevaram. Probably the Madhurāntakamādai was the standard gold coin of the Tamil country during Kulottunga's time and the Rāiarājamādai and the biruda-mādas represented the standard gold coin of Andhradēśa. Besides the Madburāntakanmādai which is definitely known to have been in vogue in the Tamil country during Kulottunga I's time, to the reign-period of the same king we must assign two other coins called Kulottunga-mada and biruda-mada in several inscriptions of the twelfth century A.D. from Āndhradēśa,³⁷ from the Nāgēśwara temple at Peddakallépalli and Chebrolu and the Bhāvanārāyana temple at Bapatla. The coins of Kulottunga I bearing only his titles or birudas—Kaṭaikondachōlan and Malainādukondachōlan—we have probably to identify with the biruda-māda mentioned in the inscriptions already referred to. Apart from biruda-māda and Kulöttunga-māda, during the period of their currency, there seem to have been in use in Andhradesa also other coins called Jayamāda, Chāmara-māda, Gandavāraņamāda, Gandahasti-māda Uttamagaņda-māda, etc. Rājarāja-māda issued by the Eastern Chāļukya Rājarāja I continued to be current in the period of his son Kulottunga I in the Vengi country as evidenced by inscription No. 237 of 1897 from the

Bhāvanārāyaṇa temple at Bapatla.³⁸ Inscription No. 161 of 1897 from the Viswēswara temple at Appikatla, dated in Śaka 1094 speaks of Biruda-gadyāṇa. Biruda-gadyāṇa was probably another name for biruda-māda of earlier inscriptions. That means māda was of the same weight as the gadyāṇa. In the Canarese and Telugu countries the unit of weight in the middle ages was the gadyāṇa. In Kalinga there were two gadyāṇa weights, the lighter gadyāṇa according to Śārngadhara consisting of 6 mashas—each masha weighing 10.4 to 11 grains-or 62.4 to 66.1 grains and the heavier one, weighing 72.4 to 75.6 grains.³⁹ The Rājārāja and Biruda-mādas of inscriptions with which we have identified our coins do not weigh more than 67 grains and they must have represented the dhataka or lighter gadyāṇa of S'ārngadhara already referred to.

Another problem with which we are confronted is the significance of the presence on the coins of Kulōttunga, above the regnal year of the king, of another numerical figure which in the case of 'Kaṭaikoṇḍachōlan' coins of regnal years 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32 is 4,000 which in the remaining coins with the same biruda but with regnal year 33 and in the Malaināḍukoṇḍachōlan coins of regnal years 33, 34, 35 and 36 is 11.40 Four thousand and eleven can doubtless be used as interchangeable figures if by four thousand we understand days and by eleven, years. Eleven years represent the total period between 1059, the date of the death of Eastern Chālukya Rājarāja I, and 1070, the date of Rājēndra's accession to the Vēngī throne. From the point of view of Rājēndra Kulōttunga the period from 1059 to 1070 was the period during which he was the rightful ruler of Vēngī, though kept away from it, and the numerical figure 11 on his biruda coins issued from Vēngī (or which is the same as 4,000 if the latter is to be taken as days) was a reminder to hip subjects in Vēngī of the fact of his having been their legitimate king for that period. The upper figure remained constant, for it referred to a chapter that was closed, but the lower figure changed, for it represented his regnal years on the Chōla throne.

Kulottunga's biruda coins also contain in their central device other numerical figures like 5, 1, 100 and 7. What these figures stand for it is impossible to say in the present state of our knowledge of Chālukya-Chola numismatics.

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Notes

- 1 The following news items relating to the discovery of the said coins appeared in "The Hindu" and the "Liberator" respectively of Madras, dated 11th June 1946.
 - (a) The Hindu: "A treasure-trove containing more than 200 gold coins... has been unearthed by one Ramanna in a plot belonging to the Anjaneyaswami temple, Dowlaishweram."
 - (b) The Liberator; Rajahmundry, June 8: "A numismatic find of some 200 gold coins was unearthed at Dowlaishweram, some five miles from here to-day."
- 2 Referring to the discovery of Eastern Chālukyan coins on the Arakan coast, "A note on the East Chalukya coins in the possession of the Department, Part VI—numismatics—Coins of the Eastern Chālukyas (615-1070 A.D.), in the Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1941", says: "Some of the great East Chalukya coins come from the Burman coast indicating that they had an overseas province there perhaps north of the province owned by the Cholas in Arakan". This is an unwarranted conclusion. The act of the discovery of Eastern Chalukyan coins from Cheduba, Ramri and the Arakan coast lying due east of Vēngi may merely indicate that Vēngi and Arakan coast had commercial contacts with each other. For tradition concerning the occurrence of Eastern Chālukyan coins in Burma, see "South Indian Coins" by Sri T. Desikachari, 1933, p. 58.
- 3 Also Indian Antiquary, Volume XXV 1896, "Miscellaneous South Indian Coins", E. Hultzsch, Plate 2 No. 25.
- 4 For weight, thickness and diameter of individual coins of Rājarāja I in the Dowlaishweram hoard, see Catalogue A, Part II.
 - 5 Elliot; "Coins of Southern India", p. 67.
- 6 For central device on individual coins of Rājarāja I drawn to actual size see Catalogue B, Sheets 12 and 13, and for their enlarged drawings see Catalogue B, Sheet 17. The inscriptions on Rājarāja I's coins together with the numerical figures and letter inside the central device drawn to actual size from estampages taken of them will be found on Catalogue B, Sheets 1-5.

For photographs of coins of Rājarāja I of the Dowlaishweram hoard bearing regnal years 33, 34 and 35 see Plate 1 figs. 2, 3, 4 and 5.

- 7 See genealogical table illustrating the interconnection between Eastern Chāļukyan and Chōļa dynasties.
- 8 Indian Antiquery, Vol. XXV, 1896, plate II, Nos. 26 and 27.
- 9 I am indebted to Sri T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., Joint Director-General of Archaeology, Government of India, for re-examination of the legends and determining their age on palaeographical grounds.
 - 10 Mysore Archaeological Report, 1917, page 42.
 - 11 According to Telugu Academy plates of Saktivarman I. Cp. 15 of 1917-18.
 - 12 Indian Antiquary, Vol. LVI, 1927, pp. 186-194.
- "Some South Indian Gold Coins" by R. Srinivasa Raghava Ayengar, Class 3. For photograph of the Kāvaliyadavaļļi coins, See plate 2, fig. 18. The contraction "Sung" has generally been taken to stand for Sungam Tavirita Kulottungachoļadēva" or "Kulottungadēva", the abolisher of tolls.

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13 Elliot: "Coins of Southern India", p. 134.
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14 For details of dynastic insignia of coin of Rājēndrachola I, See plate 1, fig. 19.

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15 See Text-figure No. 7 and plate II, fig. 21.
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16 Katāha necessarily has to drop "ha" in Tamil and becomes Kata which is phonetically the same as modern Kedah in Malaya.

(i) When a Sanskrit word ending in ha sound forms a compound with a Tamil (or Dravidian) word, the 'ha' is dropped and the preceding vowel is lengthened, as in;

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Maha + Dēvi = Mādēvi
Mahā + Muni = Māmuni
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Similarly,

(ii) The elongated 'a' termination (a) of Sanskrit words like Sītā, Silā, Prabhā when compounding with Tamil words beginning with consonants change into "ai" sounds, as in;

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Sītā + Vandāļ = Sītai vandāļ
Gītā + Moļi = Gītai moļi
Similarly,
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Kaṭā ... Koṇḍa ... Chōlan becomes Kaṭai ... Koṇḍa ... Chōlan.

17 Kalingattupparani, VI, v. 18.

18 South Indian Inscriptions, III, p. 146.

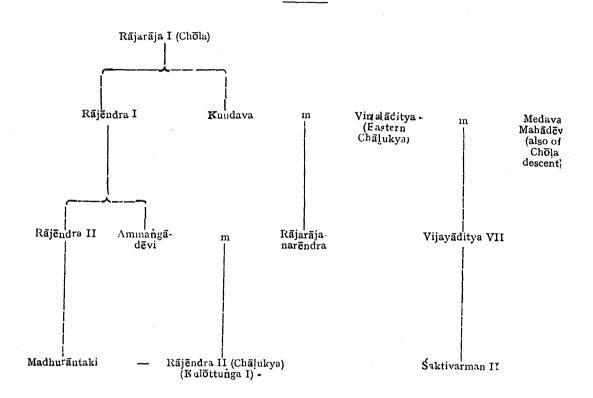
19 South Indian Inscriptions, III, pp. 64-67.

The passage, "Aruhkanudayatta-saiyilirukkum kamalam anraiya nilamagal", of Kulottunga's records was translated by Hultzsch to mean "the lotus-like goddess of the earth residing in the region of the rising sun". Prof. K. A. N. Sastri who accepted this rendering in his Colas, Vol. 1, p. 348, now takes it (See his "A note on the early years of Kulottunga I" in The proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 6th Session, December 1943) to mean "the earth who was like a lotus eagerly awaiting (asaivilirukhum) the arrival of the sun ", i.e., " the earth plunged in darkness", and this "earth plunged in darkness'', he would say, has reference to the "solitude of the land of the Kāvēri which had lost her proper ruler", of other inscriptions beginning with "pugal-sūluda puṇari" in which we are told that having gained the garland of victory in the north he removed the commonness of the honied lotuslike earth in the southern direction." In the light of the evidence of the coins on which Kulottunga calls himself "Kataikondachōlan", there is no need either to revise the meaning of the passage "arukkanudayatta saiyilirukkum Kamalam anraiya nilamagāl "occurring in the inscription of that monarch, beginning with "tirumanni vilangum", or to regard it at all as mysterious. In fact a proper appraisal of the facts of Kulottunga I's early life will require that a distinction should be made between his exploits before 1069 A.D. and those after that date. The life of adventure and war-seeking for which he left Vengī in his youth would be more in keeping with his exploits in Kadāram than with the maintenance of a military outpost in Chakrakuta (Bastar). Returning from Kadaram he first gained the garland of victory in the north by defeating Vijayāditya VII, and was crowned king of Vēngī before he turned south and dispelled the "solitude of the land of the Kāvēri which had lost her proper ruler."

20 R. C. Majumdar, "Struggle between the Sailendras and the Cholas". The Journal of the Greater India Society, Vol. 1, 1934, p. 82.

- 21 South Indian Inscriptions Vol. III, part II, p. 202.
- 22 Hirth and Rockhill-Chau Jua-Kua, p. 100.
- 23 Professor K. A. N. Sastri, who at one time thought that the two were identical personages, (Cholas II p. 25) now believes that the first Ti-houa-K'ie-lo was a mere Sumatran official (History of Sri Vijaya, page 24, note 22) as in his opinion no foreign travel and adverture overseas can be postulated for Kulottunga during his "Ilangopparuvam", i.e., before 1070 A.D.
- 24 Dr. N. Venkataramanayya in his ""The Eastern Cāļukyas of Vēngī' (p. 262) says, "Why Vīrarājēndra preferred Vijayāditya to his own nephew who had a better claim to rule Vēngī, is not clear."
 - 25 See Venkataramanayya, op. cit. p. 264.
 - 26 S.I.I., III, p. 62.
 - 27 Paripādal, 15-47.
- 28 According to Sir V. Ramesam (see his "Andhra Chronology," p. 44) Eastern Chālukya Rājarāja I's son Rājarājanarēndra, married Madhurāntaki, the daughter of his maternal uncle, Rājēndradēva, probably about 1053 A.D.
 - 29 Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, IX, 1.
- 30 S. K. Aiyyangar (Ancient India 125, 129) believes on the evidence of Kalingattupparani of Jayangondār that Kulottunga was adopted by Rājēndracholadēvar into the Chola family and that he was brought up in his maternal grandfather's court.
 - 31 See plate 1, fig. 12 and catalogue sheet 5, coin No.59.
- 32 An inscription (MER 202 of 1925) of Rājakēsari of year 12 from Talaiccangādu mentions Kollam in Malainādu; yet another record of Parāntaka of year 29, (MER 260 of 1904) from Tiruccānūr mentions Kodungōlūr (Cranganore) as situated in Malainādu; and a third of Rājakēsari of year 4 (MER 263 of 1910) from Tiruva dandai refers to Purushōttama-mangalam in Vaļļuvanādu, a district of Malainādu. Malainādu, therefore must be taken to mean the entire Keralā, including Kollam (Quilon), Kodungōlūr (Cranganore) and Purushōttama-mangalam in Vaļļuvanādu in Malabar.
 - 33 South Indian Inscriptions III, p. 147.
 - 34 Ep. Ind. Vol. VII, No. 18, page 130, note 1.
 - 35 Annual Report on Epigraphy. 221 of 1894; South Indian Inscriptions V, 52v.
- 36 Madhūrāntahamādai was a gold coin named after Madhurāntaka, the Sanskrit equivalent of Tamil Maduraikonda. Madhurāntaka was the name of the son of the Chōla king Gandarāditya. It was also a surname of Rājēndra Chōla I according to the Larger Leiden grant. There is reference to Madhurāntakan-mādai in an inscription in the Pāndavaperumāl temple at Conjeevaram dated in the fifth year of Kulottunga I. The fineness of the coin is mentioned in an inscription of the same king from the same temple dated in his 39th year and again in another inscription of his from Chidambaram dated in his forty-fourth year. (See Ep. Ind. V., P. 106, notes 1 and 3).
- 37 See Government of Madras, Public G. O. & C. Nos. 1093-1095, 29th August 1898. Appendix A, Stone inscriptions, copied in 1897.
- 38 The Dowlaishweram hoard in which Rājarāja-mādas and birada-mādas of Kulottunga I were found together confirms this fact.
 - 39 H.W. Codrington "Ceylon, Coins and currency", p.6.
 - 40 See Catalogue B Sheets 5-11.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE



APPENDIX

A Re-assessment of the Reading of the legend on the coins of Kulottunga I and the Identification of the King who issued the coins with inscription "MALAI-NATUKONDACHOLAN".

In his Preface, dated 22nd January 1955, to the second edition (page vi) of "THE COLAS", Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri acknowledges his indebtedness to Dr. Aiyappan then Superintendent of the Madras Museum and Mr. P. R. Srinivasan his archaeological assistant as well as to his numismatic assistant for enabling him to consult the coins of the Dowlaishweram hoard. At that time the manuscript of this bulletin was in the press and since the reading of the coin legend on one set of Chola coins in the hoard and the identification of the king who issued the other set proposed by Prof. Sastri differed from the position taken up by the author it was withdrawn for a re-assessment.

Prof. Sastri reads the inscription written in Tamil grantha on the coins bearing regnal years 28 to 33 as Kamgaikondashōlan, the biruda by which Rājēndra I of the Chōla dynasty called himself and because of their association with the next set of coins with the inscription Malainātukondashōlan and regnal years ranging from 32 to 36, the latter he ascribes to Rājakēsari Rājadhirāja I. The coins of Eastern Chālukya Rājarāja I and the coins bearing birudas Kaṭaikondashōlan and Malainātukondashōlan were found together in a single hoard. They are of the same fabric and of the same fineness. Obviously they were minted in the Vēngī country. We have coins of Rājēndrashōla I with inscription Gangaikondashōlan in Nagari characters from the Tamil country. Strangely enough no single gold coin with what Prof. Sastri reads as Kamgaikondashōlan upon them has turned up from any part of the Tamil country. Did Rājēndra I use Nagari only on his copper coins and reserve Tamil-Grantha alphabet for his gold coins minted in the Vēngi country? Is it not more natural to assume that if he ever issued gold coins with the title Kamgaikondashōlan on them they should have been minted in his home country and not in Vēngi over which his sway was in the nature of mere overlordship and no more.

It will be seen that above the Chola lanchana in the middle of coin No.2in plate XXXVII of 'The Colus', there is the word Raja which Prof. Sastri apparently has not noticed. Rajendra I was a Parakēsari and not a Rājakēsari which Kulōttunga, with whom Kataikondachōlan of the Dowlaishweram hoard has been identified in the text of this Bulletin, was. An examination of the comparative tables herewith attached showing the letter form $t\bar{a}$ from all the 32 coins having the inscription Kaṭaikoṇdacholan on them and the variant forms of the same letter from eleventh century inscriptions together with the letter form ga and its variants in the contemporary period given side by side will show that letter ga of the inscription read by Prof. Sastri as Kangaikondachōlan is really ta and not ga. The script used in the coins of Kulottunga I from the Dowlaishweram hoard is Tamil Granthawhichhas provision for both ka and ga and it passes our comprehension to know that while in the inscriptions of the eleventh century ganga is written as ganga and not as Kanga, where the alphabet used is Grantha, on these coins alone Ganga should be written as Kamga. In the inscriptions written in Tamil alphabet Ganga always takes the form Kanka. In the Tirumalai rock inscrption of Rajendrachola I Gangai is written as kankai (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX, page 232). In the Tirukalar plates of Rajendrachola I (line 19) Gangai is written as Kankai and not Kangai nor Gangai. So the Tamil form of Gangai during the period of Rajēndrachola I was Kankai and not Gangai or Kamgai. Again what is taken by Prof.

Sastri as anuswara after ka in the Kataikondachōlan coins is only an ornamental dot which does not occur after the letter in all the coins. It will be remembered that in the coins of the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja I, round every letter, there are several such dots and similar dots are also found round the numerical figure at the end of every coin bearing the legend Kaṭaikondachōlan and Malaināṭu-kondachōlan respectively. The regnal years of Malaināṭukondachōlan of the coins range from 33 to 36. It is true that Rajādhirāja I (1018–1054) was a Rājakēsari but in 1054 which is his 36th regnal year Rājādhirāja I had no hold over Vēngi. In fact between 1050 and 1054 he never made any attempt to subvert the influence of Someśwara I in Vengi. That Rājādhirāja I and his successor Rājēndra II neglected Vēngi during their time is beyond doubt. That being the case how could Rājādhirāja I issue coins from Vēngī? That Kulōttunga I was also a conqueror of Malainādu or the Chēra country is evidenced by his victories at Semponmāri, Kottāru, Viļiñam and S'ālai.

In the light of the evidence from palaeography of the Tamil and Grantha inscriptions of the eleventh century and in the light of the historical facts indicated it is obviously wrong to read the legend on Kulōttunga coins in the Dowlaishweram hoard as Kamgaikondachōlan and to equate Malainātukondachōlan with regnal year 36 on the coins from the same hoard, with Rājādhirāja I.

Th Telugu Academy Plates of Śaktivarman II state that he was crowned King in Śaka 993—18th Oct. 1061 A.D. after Rājarāja had enjoyed a reign of 41 years (Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, V. p. 33). The Ryāli Plates of Vijayāditya VII also give 41 years to Rājarāja and state that Vijayāditya took by force the kingdom of his step brother without his knowledge. Neither the Telugu Academy Plates mentioned above nor the Ryāli Plates state that Rājarāja I died after 41 years of rule. If Vijayāditya VII forcibly took the Vēngi Kingdom from Rājarāja I without the latter's knowledge as the Ryāli Plates state, the terminus ad quem of Rājarāja I's reign should b dated in 1059 A.D. if we are to take that Rājarāja I succeeded to the Eastern Chālukyan throne in 1018 A.D. which is what the Ryāli Plates imply, though Rājarāja Narēndra's coronation actually occurred only in 1022 A.D. That Vimāladitya came to the throne on May 10, 1011 and that after he had occupied it for seven years he was followed by Rājrāja Narēndra is now accepted on all hands.

The Sittamalli stone inscription of Adhirājēndra (inscription No. 5 of 1945-46), dated on 3rd May 1071 A.D. would now seem to prove unmistakably that Kulōttunga I succeeded to the Chōla throne only after May 1071 A.D. Hence the date 9th June 1070 A.D., hitherto accepted as the date of his accession on the basis of the evidence of inscriptions from the Telugu country, will have to be considered as the date of his accession to his patrimony, the Vēngī throne, and not that of his accession to the Chōla throne. The interval between the forcible taking over of the kingdom of his step-brother Rājarāja Narēndra by Vijayāditya VII, after the former had ruled for 41 years (1018-1059) and 1070 A.D. will thus be 11 years and it is this period that is indicated by the numerical figure 11 (four thousand) on the coins of Kulōttunga I of the Dowlaishweram hoard. The numerical figure 11 above the regnal years appears on both the Kaṭaikoṇḍa Chōlan and the Malanāṭukoṇḍa Chōlan coins. Apart from the arguments already adduced in the text (supra pp. 5-9) in support of the identification of Kaṭaikoṇḍa Chōlan and Malaiṇāṭukoṇḍa Chōlan with Kulōttunga I, this numerical figure 11 of the two types of coins is further proof of the two sets of coins having been issued by one and the same king. Incidentally Kulōttunga I's coins of the Dowlaishweram

hoard carrying the numerical figure 11 over the regnal year may be considered as evidence in support of the interval of 11 years between 1059 A.D. the date on which Vijayāditya VII took forcible possession of the kingdom of his stepbrother and 1070 A.D. which the large majority of Kulōttunga I's later inscriptions, particularly those from the Telugu country, mention as the initial year of his reign period. This year 1070 A.D., however, as already indicated represents only the date of his accession to the Vēngī throne. The language of the Vikramānkadēva Charita of Bilhana is unequivocal when it says that Rajiga was already lord of Vēngī at the time Chōla Adhirājēndra was slain in a rebellion. Hence 1070 A.D. as the date of his accession to his patrimony will be quite legitimate.Rājarāja Nīrēndra reigned over Vēngī for 41 years and if he succeeded to the throne in 1018 A.D. (though his coronation took place only in 1022 A.D.) his exit from the Vēngī throne must be placed in 1059 A.D. between which and 1070 A.D. the initial year of his son Rājēndra on the Vēngī throne there is a period of 11 years. It is this period during which he was the legitimate ruler, although unable to enjoy his patrimony, that is indicated by the numerical figure 11 occurring in the two sets of his coins from the Dowlaishweram hourd.

Two important points which have been brought to light in recent years have confirmed the fact of Kulōttunga I's conquest of Kadāram and possibly also of his long sojourn in Śri Vijaya and in the Yu Nan province of South China. Pūrvadēsam has now to be identified with the eastern part of Gandhara in Indo-China referred to in Chinese records (see Pūrvadēsa by T. N. Subramaniam, Deepavali Malar, Kaveri, 1959). In fact, the suffix Uttunga with which Rājēndra Kulōttunga's name terminates cannot be explained unless we postulate a period of stay on his part in the Far East. (See f.n. 1—Tripurāntakam inscription of Vikromōtunga Rājēndra Chakravarti by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Journal of the Greater India Society, Vol. XIV, 1955, No 2.)

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PART II	Dia-, meter cm.	3.1	1.0	3.1	2.85	3.1	3.2	3.05	3.2	6. 6.	3 0 8	200	2 - 2	• «	9 6	7 6	3.3	3.25	3.15	3 25			ည ယ်
	Weight in grains	67.4	67.4	67.6	67.3	67.6	67.0	67.1	67.6	67.5	66.5	67.1	86.8	67.6	67.1	67.3	67.2	86.8	67.1	67.6	67.9		4.7
	Weight in grammes	4.3670	4.365	4.375	4.356	4.375	4.344	4.350	4,376	4.370	4.315	4.349	4.334	4.379	4.346	4.359	4.350	4.332	4.35	4.3811	4.359	4 367	700
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Dia- meter cm.	3.3	3.2	3.2	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.2	3.2	3.3	3.25	3.4	3.2	3.4	3.3	3.5	3.45	3.45	3.8	3.3	3.4	3.3
Weight in grains	67.2	67.4	67.3	67.6	66.8	65.8	67.2	6.99	9.89	67.2	67.0	6.99	67.6	67.3	67.3	67.3	66.5	67.2	67.4	66.5	67.1
Weight in grammes	4.350	4.372	4.362	4.383	4.328	4.263	4.352	4.340	4.315	4.354	4.338	4.337	4.376	4.360	4.360	4.363	4.311	4.352	4.365	4.310	4.350
Number in the category	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(32)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	(40)	(41)	(42)
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67.1	67.3	67.1	67.4	67.2	67.4	66.5	36.7	8.99	67.3	67.3	67.2	67.2	67.4	67.3	67.2	67.2	67.0	67.2	67.2	67.2	
4.350	4.363	4.350	4.366	4.351	4.369	4.310	4.322	4.328	4.359	4.362	4.351	4.354	4.365	4.362	4.352	4.354	4.340	4.354	4.353	4.350	
(43)	(44)	(45)	(46)	(47)	(48)	(46)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)	6	(8)	(6)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	
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Dia-	cm.	3.375	3.2	3.15	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.1	3.3	3.3	3.3	ď		3.5	4.6	3.5	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.45	, e.		# c	လ လ
Weight	grains	6.99	67.6	6.99	65.3	67.3	66.7	67.2	67.2	67.3	67.1	64.2	67.8	01.0	8.70	67.2	67.3	67.3	67.3	67.3	67.2	67.2	673		67.0
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Dia- meter cm.	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.4	3.4	7 8		3.1	3.45	3.5	3.4	3.6	3.2	. 1	3.5	3.2
Weight in grains	57.6	67.3	67.2	67.0	9.99	9.29	67.6	87.3	6.7	4.70	67.3	67.2	67.2	9.99	67.4	61	7.70	67.2
Weight in grammes	4.384	4.364	4.353	4.345	4.322	4.382	4.375	4.359	036 7	600: F	4.359	4.352	4.354	4.254	4.369	4 252	000: #	4.352
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PART I CATALOGUE.

Inscriptions on coins of E. Chalukya Raja Raja I

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Central Devices on coins of CHOLA KULOTTUNGA I

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Comparative Table

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TEXT FIGURES

AND

PLATES

Text Figs 1 and 2.

Transcription of inscriptions on coins 6 and 7 of Plate I.

Text Figs 3 and 4.

Enlarged drawings of the central devices on coins 6 and 7 of Plate I.

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Text Fig 5.

Seal of the Madras Museum plate of Eastern Chāļukya Vijayāditya II.

Text Fig 6.

Seal of the Larger Leiden plates of Chōla Rājarāja I.

5 and 6



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Text Fig 7.

Seal of the Tiruvālangādu plates of Rājendra Chōla I.

Text Fig 8.

Seal of the Smaller Leiden plates of Kulottunga I.

and 8





Text Fig 9.

Seal of the Charala plates of Virarajendra

Text Fig 10.

Seal of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama Chōla.

9 and 10





Plate I

Fig 1. CKE 4 of the Madras Museum Collection. Coin of Rājarāja I with regnal year 37.

- 2. Coin of Rajaraja I with regnal year 33.
- 3. Coin of Rājarāja I with regnal year 33 but with only 4 punches along the edge.
 - 4. Coin of Rājarāja I with regnal year 34.
 - 5. Coin of Rajaraja I with regnal year 35.
 - 6. Coin of Śrī Cūlanārāyana.
 - 7. Coin of Śrī Calakhurāyana.
 - 8. Coin of Kataikonda Cholan, Year 28.
 - 9. Coin of Kataikonda Cholan, Year 29.
 - 10. Coin of Kataikonda Cholan, Year 30.
 - 11. Coin of Kațaikonda Cholan Year 31.
- 12. Coin of Katoikonda Chōlan Year 32 and 'rāja' above fish in the central device.
 - 13. Coin of Kataikonda Cholan, Year 32.
 - 14. Coin of Katoikonda Cholan, Year 33.
 - 15. Coin of Malainātukonda Cholan Year 34.
 - 16. Coin of Malainātukonda Cholan Year 35.
 - 17. Coin of Malainātukonda Cholan Year 36.
- 18. The 'Sung' Coin: of Kulottunga Chola 1 from Kāvaliyadavaļļi village obverse and reverse.
 - 19. Coin of Rājēndra Chola I.

Plate I—Coins

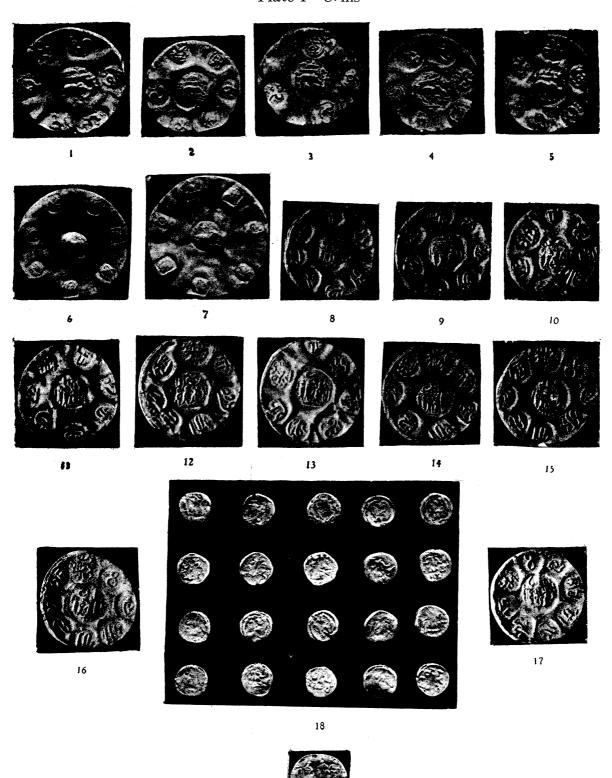


Plate II.

20. Seal of the Madras Museum plates of Eastern Chāļukya Vijayāditya II.

Plate II.

21. Seal of the Tiruvālangādu plates of Rājēndra Chōļa I.

Plate II—Seals





Plate III.

22. Seal of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama Chola.

Plate III.

23. Seal of the Charala plates of Vīrarājēndra.

Plate III—Seals





Plate IV.

Map showing location of places mentioned in the text.

