

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CEYLON COINS AND CURRENCY: ANCIENT, MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN

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Reprinted from

Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies
6, No. 2 (July-December) 1963



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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CEYLON COINS AND CURRENCY: ANCIENT, MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN

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Preface

"Of all antiquities coins are the smallest, yet, as a class, the most authoritative in record, and the widest in range. No history is so unbroken as that which they tell; no geography so complete; no art so continuous in sequence, nor so broad in extent; no mythology so ample and so various. Unknown kings and lost towns, forgotten divinities and new schools of art have here their authentic record. Individual character is illustrated and the tendencies of races defined".

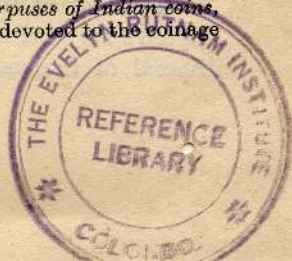
—R.S. Poole *Coins and Medals*, ed. by S. Lane-Poole. 3rd ed. (1894).

The science of numismatics, which deals with the significance of ancient coins and currency, and the light they throw on the past, has become increasingly recognised as an important source of historical information. In Ceylon, numismatics has a positive contribution to make towards historical research by supplementing the indigenous inscriptional and literary records. In 1907, R.S. Churchill could afford to say "I suppose there is no country with a more complete history, rising from the cloudlands of Eos, coloured with romance, and peopled by warriors or monks; and with it all that history yet to be written, lest we forget; and permitting oblivion to curtain it, Ceylon's history, like its ancient coins, becomes almost as mum as a nummulite"* (*Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 15, May, 1907). Since then, however, giant strides have been taken in Ceylon historical studies, and soon after, H.W. Codrington rendered the tale of Ceylon's ancient coins, in particular, very much less mute. He was among the first to stress the importance of numismatic records for the study of the history of Ceylon. His *Ceylon Coins and Currency* (1924) is a work of patient scholarship and a lasting monument to his memory. There have been others too who have made important contributions in discussing the significance of the various classes of coins found in Ceylon. But numismatic science being progressive, there is still very much to be done†. The historical importance of the study of the coins and currency of Ceylon cannot therefore be overstressed.

From the silver eldlings or *purāṇas* of the pre-Christian era to the nickel coins of the 20th century, Ceylon's numismatic story is both an alluring and variegated one, to the student no less than to the collector. This little island

*A nummulite is a large coin-shaped fossil.

†It will interest readers to know that in the projected series of *Corpus of Indian coins*, to be published by the Numismatic Society of India, Vol. 5 will be devoted to the coinage of the Deccan, South India and Ceylon.



has been subjected to cultural, political and economic influences from many foreign lands, beginning with India from the pre-Christian era and ending with the British occupation which lasted till 1948. Besides the coins struck either within or outside the country for use as media of exchange, coins of various Indian dynasties, besides Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Venetian, Chinese, Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch and British coins among others, have been found in Ceylon. The only native coins bearing the name of the ruler who struck them, are a small group in gold, silver, and copper which were issued by the kings and queens of Ceylon in the Polonnaruwa period during the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries A.D.

Before Vijayabāhu I, who was the first Sinhalese king to have his name inscribed on a coin, the numismatic stage is occupied by various classes of coins : they range from the earliest silver eddlings impressed with various punch marks, the single-die coins bearing different emblems, the rectangular cast copper coins, the "Buddhist Cakram", the "Elephant & *Svastika*" and the "Maneless lion" types, etc., the oblong Lakṣmī plaques and the earliest gold Sinhalese coins known as *Kahavaṇu* and its fractional pieces. South Indian commercial intercourse with the Roman world led to the large-scale introduction of Roman coins especially of the 4th and 5th centuries, which incidentally, are the earliest coins the dates of which can be accurately fixed. In later mediaeval times, coins of Arabic and Persian origin — particularly the curious *larin* — Venetian sequins, and South Indian pagodas and fanams, besides the popular local *Dambadeni kāsī* or *salli*, were current in the island when the Portuguese arrived in the 16th century. The Portuguese, Dutch and British in succession introduced currency systems of their own using various classes of gold, silver, copper and base metal coins, some minted within and some outside the country. The Dutch were the first to issue paper money. Shortly after the British occupation, the use of pounds, shillings and pence was introduced in 1825, culminating in the legalisation of the rupee in 1869. This was followed by the decimalization of the coinage in 1872, which has lasted up to the present day.

This bibliography seeks to bring together the material in print relating to the coins and currency of Ceylon from the earliest times to the close of the British period. It includes books and pamphlets, parts of books, government publications, catalogues and articles in periodicals, but newspaper articles and incidental minor references scattered in historical and other writings have been excluded. It must be said at the outset that the bibliography does not profess to be exhaustive, and many references may have been omitted. It was not possible during the period of preparation for the compiler to have access to complete files of important periodicals in the field, like the *Numismatic Circular* and the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Likewise many books were out of reach, not being available in Ceylon libraries. In view of these handicaps, the compiler will be grateful if any significant omissions are brought to his notice.

The task of classification presented problems. The arrangement in Codrington's *magnum opus* proved of great value in establishing some systematic disposal of the material and designing helpful divisions and sub-divisions

with a view to convenient consultation. The organisation is thus provisional, but it is hoped that the real purpose of the bibliography in presenting a conspectus of the literature on the subject has been achieved. At best it may be considered as a starting point for something better.

Every effort has been made to check the accuracy of the references and all particulars necessary for their identification have been given. Each work has been entered, described and numbered in only one place in the bibliography, but where information might be missed because an entry deals with two or more aspects, the whole item or relevant portion as the case may be has been repeated in its appropriate place. These unnumbered cross-references have however been restricted to the absolutely necessary minimum, in order to save space and reduce unwieldiness. In recognition of its great importance as a standard work of reference, Codrington's extensive and scholarly treatise has been dissected and subsumed under the appropriate sections. References to the coinage and currency of the island in early travel writings, especially in Portuguese and Dutch times, have not been individually noticed, as they are well presented in the appendices in Codrington's work, but they are mentioned in the relevant sections. In each of the sections the arrangement is alphabetically by author's names, and there is an index of authors, personal and corporate, at the end. In the majority of cases annotation is supplied in the main bibliography. These notes are purely descriptive and informative, and are intended to reflect as faithfully as possible the opinions of the respective authors. Lack of specialised knowledge inevitable in a mere bibliographer prevented evaluatory notices, as well as more consistent annotation.

As the coinage of Ceylon right down to the British period, particularly from the earliest times to the 15th century, was considerably influenced by the Indian numismatic tradition and closely connected with the currency system of South India, a small selection of representative and significant contributions on the subject of Indian coins has been included as auxiliary background material, in the form of an Appendix, divided into three sections: General, Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern.

It is hoped that this bibliography will be of some assistance to students of the subject, in providing sign-posts through the maze of writings on the numismatic history of Ceylon, and in stimulating others to further research in this interesting field.

PLAN OF THE CLASSIFICATION

1. General.
2. Ancient and Mediaeval Ceylon.
 - (a) Eldlings, purāṇas or kahāpanas.
 - (b) Early copper and other coins
(incl. Single-die coins, "Buddhist Cakram" type, various obverse types and railed svastika reverse, "Maneless lion", "Lakshmi" plaques and other types).
 - (c) Roman coins (incl. Indo-Roman and Byzantine).
 - (d) Greek coins.
 - (e) Indian coins.
 - (f) Kahavaṇuva and fractional pieces.
 - (g) Coins of Ceylon rulers bearing names and titles
(incl. coins of the Tamil kings of Jaffna).
 - (h) Larins or fish-hook money.
 - (i) Miscellaneous.
3. Portuguese coins and currency (1506-1658).
4. Dutch coins and currency (1602-1796).
5. British coins and currency (incl. Tokens) (1796-1948).
6. Miscellaneous (Mediaeval and Modern).
 - (a) Kandyan period.
 - (b) Mohammadan coins.
 - (c) Chinese coins.
 - (d) Maldive Islands coins.
 - (e) Pagodas and fanams (excluding those in Portuguese period).
 - (f) Venetian coins.
 - (g) Spanish (incl. Spanish Netherlands) coins.
 - (h) Other European coins.

Appendix

COINS OF INDIA

1. General
2. Ancient
3. Mediaeval and Modern.

Guide to Abbreviations used for Periodicals

A.R.	— Asiatick Researches (Bengal Asiatic Society).
A.S.C.A.R.	— Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report.
B.S.G.L.	— Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa.
C.A.L.R.	— Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.
C.E.J.	— Ceylon Economic Journal.
C.J.	— Colombo Journal.
C.J.S. (G)	— Ceylon Journal of Science (Section G).
C.L.R.	— Ceylon Literary Register.
C.N.R.	— Ceylon National Review.
C.T.	— Ceylon Today.
C.T.T.J.	— Ceylon Tourist and Trade Journal.
I.A.	— Indian Antiquary.
J. Anthr. S. Bom.	— Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.
J.A.S.B.	— Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.I.H.	— Journal of Indian History.
J.N.S.I.	— Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
J.P.H.S.	— Journal of the Panjab Historical Society.
J.R.A.S.B.	— Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.R.A.S. (Bom.B)	— Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay Branch).
J.R.A.S. (C.B.)	— Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch).
J.R.A.S. (G.B. & I)	— Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Great Britain and Ireland).
M.L.R.	— Monthly Literary Register and Notes and Queries for Ceylon.
N.I.A.	— New Indian Antiquary.
N.M.C.	— The National Monthly of Ceylon.
Num. Chron.	— The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society.
Num. Circ.	— Spink's Monthly Numismatic Circular.
Num. J.A.N.S.	— The Numismatist. Journal of the American Numismatic Society.
Num. Sup.	— Numismatic Supplement of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Q.J.M.S.	— Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society of Bangalore.
S.Z.	— Spolia Zeylanica : Bulletin of the National Museums of Ceylon.
Taprobanian	— The Taprobanian, a Dravidian Journal of Oriental Studies in and around Ceylon.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

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4. **Borger, J.D.** The ancient currency of Ceylon. *C.T.* Vol. 5, No. 7, July 1956, pp. 22-24.
5. Buried treasure [The Kantarodai find of ancient coins, by Dr. Paul Pieris]; by a staff correspondent. *C.T.T.J.* Vol. 4, No. 1, April 1939, pp. 19-21.
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7. ———— *Lankāvē mila mudal* [Coins and currency of Ceylon]. Colombo, Ceylon National Museums Department, 1959. vi, 56 p., 3 pl. (Sinhala Guide Book Series No. 1). Sinhalese text, with 2nd title page in English translation.
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Muhammadan dynasties : (1) Non-Indian mediaeval, pp. 1-9; (2) Shahs of Persia, pp. 9-13; (3) Larins, pp. 13-14; (4) Moghul, p. 15; (5) Maldivian, pp. 15-18. *European* : Venetian, pp. 19-20; Indo-Portuguese, pp. 20-26; Dutch, pp. 26-45; British, pp. 45-51; Miscellaneous, pp. 52-54. *Supplement* : Muhammadan dynasties. (3) Larins, pp. 55-58; Indo-Portuguese, p. 59; Dutch, pp. 59-61.
10. ———— *Ceylon coins and currency.* Colombo, A.C. Richards, acting Government printer, Ceylon, 1924. vii, 290 p., 7 pl. (Memoirs of the Colombo Museum; ed. by Joseph Pearson, Series A. No. 3).

Ch. 1. Metrology, pp. 1-11; Ch. 2. Ancient numismatics, pp. 11-16; Ch. 3. Ancient coins, pp. 16-31; Ch. 4. Roman (incl. Byzantine), Indo-Roman & Miscellaneous ancient, pp. 31-50; Ch. 5. Mediaeval Ceylon, pp. 50-63; Ch. 6. Mediaeval Ceylon (contd.), pp. 63-83; Ch. 7. Mediaeval Indian, pp. 83-91; Ch. 8. Portuguese, pp. 91-107; Ch. 9. Dutch, pp. 107-122; Ch. 10. Dutch (contd.), pp. 122-145; Ch. 11. British, pp. 145-157; Ch. 12. Muhammadan, pp. 157-166; Ch. 13. Miscellaneous, Mediaeval & Modern (Far Eastern, Venetian, Spanish, Spanish Netherlands, other European, Pagodas and fanams) pp. 166-174; Ch. 14. Kandyan, pp. 174-176; Appendix A. Vinaya, Commentaries and other Pali and Sinhalese works, pp. 176-187; Appendix B. Mahāvamsa and its Tikā, pp. 187-189; Appendix C. Works on metrology, pp. 189-193; Appendix D. Inscriptions, pp. 193-201; Appendix E. Documents relating to the Portuguese period, pp. 202-207; Appendix F. Documents relating to the Dutch period, pp. 207-236; Appendix G. Documents relating to the British period, pp. 237-247; Supplement: Ch. 1, p. 248; Ch. 2, p. 249; Ch. 3, pp. 249-250; Ch. 4, pp. 250-253; Ch. 5, p. 253; Ch. 6, p. 254; Ch. 8, pp. 254-257; Ch. 9, pp. 257-259; Ch. 10, p. 260; Ch. 12, pp. 260-262; Ch. 13, pp.

262-3; Ch. 14, pp. 233-4; Supplementary Appendices: E. Documents relating to Portuguese period, p. 264; F. Documents relating to Dutch period, pp. 265-271; Index 273-290.

A monumental work of reference, which is an outstanding compilation in the field of Ceylon antiquities. The most authoritative exposition of the material relating to Ceylon coinage and currency, and the only major monograph on the subject. Years of research and study led to this impressive collation of all the relevant information. Though it is, perhaps, a strictly numismatic work, it affords invaluable services to the historian. (Review by R.B. Whitehead, *J.R.A.S.*, (*G.B. & I.*) 1928, pp. 443-5).

11. ———— Ceylon numismatics. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 24, No. 68, Part 2, 1915-16, pp. 169-186.

An historical sketch of the various classes of coins in use in Ceylon from the earliest times to the period of British occupation.

——— Inscriptions. *Ceylon coins and currency*. Appendix D. pp. 193-201. References to Ceylon coins in rock inscriptions from the 1st to 16th c. A.D. The pertinent extracts are given in chronological sequence.

——— Metrology. *Ceylon coins and currency*. Ch. 1, pp. 1-11.

A full discussion of the beginnings and development of the various weight standards in India as well as Ceylon because in the author's words "for purposes of metrology and numismatics the island cannot be separated from the mainland".

12. ———— *A Short history of Ceylon*. Rev. ed. (1939). London, Macmillan, 1947 reprint. xxi, 202 p., 36 illus., 8 maps. (1 fold.)

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14. ———— *Catalogue of coins exhibited in the Colombo Museum*; comp. by John Still. Colombo, H.C. Cottle, Govt. printer, 1908. 51 p.

Eldlings, pp. 2-4; Early copper coins, pp. 5-6; Coinage of the Sinhalese kings, bearing names and titles of the various rulers, pp. 7-12; Roman coins found in Ceylon, pp. 13-24; Issue struck in imitation of Roman Third Brass coins of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., pp. 25-26; Indian coins found in Ceylon, pp. 27-31; Larins or Fish-hook coins, p. 32; Chinese coins in Ceylon, p. 33; Venetian ducats or sequins, p. 34; Portuguese coins found in Ceylon, pp. 35-36; Dutch coins found in Ceylon, pp. 37-48; British currency, pp. 49-51.

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17. ———— *Guide to the collections of the Colombo Museum, Ceylon*. Part I. Archaeology and ethnology. 4th ed. rev. by Joseph Pearson. Colombo,

H.C. Cottle, Govt. printer, 1912. Coins of Ceylon, by Paul E. Pieris. pp. 181-183, 1 pl. (XXXIII). Reprinted in : *S.Z.* Vol. 8, Pt. 31, November 1912, pp. 181-183, 1 pl. (XXXIII).

18. ———— *A general guide to the Colombo National Museum*; ed. by P.E.P. Deraniyagala. Colombo, National Museums of Ceylon, 1961. (Coins, p. 13).
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(1) Coins mostly of Sāhassa Malla and Lilāvati; (2) All Gajapati pagodas; (3) Dharmasoka one eighth, Kongu, Chinese coins.

23. ———— Money. *C.J.S. (G).* Vol. 1, Pt. 2, October 1925, pp. 85-90. Reprinted in: *The life-giving myth and other essays*; ed. by Lord Raglan. London, Methuen, 1952. Ch. 9, pp. 87-96.
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(1) A number of small copper coins, much worn and corroded, including copper massa of Lilāvati & Sri Lankēśvara copper coin and what appear to be Indo-Roman coins; (2) A square copper coin, very worn, at depth of 9 feet below ground level, containing on obverse symbols representing a *cailya* and railed *svastika* mounted on a staff. Can be assigned probably to early centuries of Christian era, even possibly the 1st c. B.C. Also Indo-Roman copper coins and a Dutch coin at depth of less than 1 foot; (3) A large die-struck circular copper piece of the "elephant and svastika" type, containing the usual symbols on the obverse and reverse and an oblong copper plaque, considered to have been used as coins.

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28. **Pieris, Paul E.** Nagadipa and Buddhist remains in Jaffna. Part 2, Ch. 2, Coins. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.).* Vol. 28, No. 72, 1919, pp. 45-60.

1. Purāṇas; 2. Square or oblong copper coins, once heavily coated with silver; 3. Tree and *swastika*; 4. Large double die circular coin with various symbols; 5. Large copper coin or medal; 6. Square copper Indian coins; 7. Four small Pandyan coins; 8. Ujain coin; 9. Lakshmi and *swastika*; 10. Cast coins; 11. Peculiar thick small coin; 12. Pallava coins; 13. Kurumbar coins; 14. Roman coins; 15. Pandyan copper coin; 16. Polonnaruwa issues; 17. Portuguese coin; 18. Dutch copper coins; 19. Later South Indian issues; 20. English copper coins of the 19th century.

"The numismatic tale of Yapa Patuna from anywhere before B.C. 500 up to the present day".

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Pt. I. References to coins in Buddhist literature, pp. 1-13; Pt. 2, Weights and measures, pp. 14-20; Pt. 3. Sketch of the history of Ceylon under those kings whose coins are extant, pp. 20-25; Pt. 4. Description of the coins, pp. 25-35 (Hookmoney pp. 33-35); Appendix to Pt. 4. European Ceylon coins (mainly early British currency), pp. 36-37; Pt. 5. On the Ceylon date of Gautama's death, pp. 38-56; Supplementary note on the Sāsara'm and Rūpnāth edict, pp. 57-60.

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Ch. 1. The early period, pp. 1-20 (The early Ceylon currency, pp. 1-13; The Portuguese period, pp. 13-20); Ch. 2. The Dutch period, pp. 21-36 (Dutch paper currency, pp. 29-31); Ch. 3. The British period I., pp. 37-54; Ch. 4. The British period II., pp. 55-78; Ch. 5. Paper currency, pp. 79-98.

The major part of the book is devoted to the history and development of currency and banking in the post-British period, but there are valuable chapters on the earlier periods.

32. ——— The currency system of Ceylon. *C.E.J.* Vol. 10, December 1940, pp. 28-35.

33. **Stark, Hon. Mr. Justice.** On some of the coins, ancient and modern of Ceylon. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.).* Vol. 1, No. 3, 1847-48, pp. 149-162.

Ancient coins, pp. 149-157. Refers to finds of coins at three sites—a pot containing about 5000 pieces at Kalpitiya, at Mantota and a large blue and white glazed jar containing about 7000 coins in the Pachchilaippali district of Jaffna; Modern coins: Portuguese, pp. 157-158; Dutch, pp. 158-160; Early British, pp. 160-162.

34. **Still, John.** Forgeries of old Sinhalese coins. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 14, No. 163, June 1906, Columns 9159-9160.

Refers to the increase in the manufacture of forgeries of old Sinhalese coins. The favourite specimens are the rare gold Lankēsvara and rarer gold Vijaya Bāhu, but Dutch ducats in gold, as well as Dutch V.O.C. types in silver and gold and star pagodas are also common. Certain easily detectable features in gold and silver forgeries are given for the information of collectors.

35. **Thurston, Edgar.** *Coins in the Government Central Museum, Madras, Catalogue No. 2. Roman, Indo-Portuguese and Ceylon.* Madras, Supdt. Govt. press, 1888. 74 p., 1 pl. (Ceylon coins).

1. Roman coins, pp. 7-46; 2. Indo-Portuguese coins, pp. 49-61; 3. Ceylon coins, pp. 65-74, 1 pl. (Coins of the Sinhalese kings from Parakrama Bāhu 1153 A.D. — Bhuvanaika Bāhu 1296 A.D.; Dutch and British coins).
36. Tufnell, R.H. Campbell. *Captain. Hints to coin collectors in Southern India*. Madras, Supdt. Govt. press, 1889. 88 p., 6 pl. (Pt. I, pp. 3-25; Pt. II, pp. 26-62; Appendix, pp. 63-85).

Part I deals with the chief characteristics and distinguishing marks of those coins which have been struck by the indigenous races of Southern India; Part II deals with the coins minted by foreign powers in South India—Roman, Mohammedan, Portuguese, Danish, French, Dutch and English. Ceylon is included in the discussion.

2. Ancient and Mediaeval Ceylon

(a) Eldlings, Purāṇas or Kahāpanas

Codrington, H.W. *Ancient numismatics. Ceylon coins and currency*. Ch. 2, pp. 11-16.

— Ancient coins — Eldlings, *purāṇas* or *kahāpanas*. *Ceylon coins and currency*. Ch. 3, pp. 16-17. Appendix A. Vinaya, Commentaries and other works, pp. 176-187; Appendix B. Mahāvamsa and its Tīkā, pp. 187-189; Supplement to Ch. 3, p. 249.

The earliest coins in the island are the eldlings (the English form of the Sanskrit *purāṇa* (old), and they are found throughout the entire Indian sub-continent. They were fashioned from sheets and strips of beaten silver, which were cut into roughly rectangular, oval or circular shapes of the required weight, which was obtained by clipping the sides where necessary. They bore various punch-marks impressed at random, probably by the money-changers or shroffs through whose hands they passed. It is the author's belief that all the Ceylon eldlings were imported from India. The standard weight was 32 ratis or gunjās. The *kahāpanas* of the earlier Sinhalese inscriptions are undoubtedly these coins. The eldling was succeeded by the single-die coin.

37. — The kahāpana of the Vinaya Pārajikā Pāli *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 29, No. 76, 1923, pp. 215-220.

In the Vinaya are two very early sets of texts relating to money, accompanied by ancient scholia. "To sum up, the kahāpana in or shortly after Buddha's lifetime was the well known silver eldling. In process of time and after the introduction of a gold coinage this was forgotten, and the 5th c. commentators naturally followed the monetary system with which they were acquainted, just as in the early 19th c., the *larin* (Sinh. *massa*) was treated as a *māsaka*. An example of the same process is to be seen in the translation of "denarius" by "penny" in the Authorised version of the Gospels".

38. — Some eldlings and other early coins. *C.A.L.R.* Vol. 1, Pt. 3, January 1916, pp. 178-179, 1 pl.

A description of ten coins from the cabinet of Mr. H.C.P. Bell. The eldlings, or punchmarked coins found in the island are either, (i) (a) thin or (b) thick, the superficial area being much smaller in the latter case; and (ii) either (c) rectangular or (d) roughly circular. The silver pieces are illustrated.

39. Paranavitana, Senerat. Ancient coinage. *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon*. Vol. 1, Pt. 1 (1959). Book 2, Ch. 8, pp. 226-227; Book 3, Ch. 6, pp. 363-364.

40. ———— Ancient coinage. *A Concise History of Ceylon*, by C.W. Nicholas & S. Paranavitana. Colombo, Ceylon University Press Board, 1961. Ch. 6, pp. 102-103.
- Parker, Henry.** The purāṇas, or dharanas or sālākas. *Ancient Ceylon*, (1909). Part 2, Ch. 12, pp. 463-474.
- Rhys Davids, T.W.** References to coins in Buddhist literature. *On the ancient coins and measures of Ceylon* (1877). Part 1, pp. 1-13.
41. **Still, John.** Notes on a find of oldlings made in Anurādhapura. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 19, No. 58, 1907, pp. 191-198, 1 pl.
- A find of 70 oldlings or punch-marked coins during excavations in the north end of Vessagiriya. The significance does not lie in the symbols, but in the position. The author contends that it may solve one of the greatest puzzles of Ceylon numismatics—what was the coinage of Ceylon for nearly 1000 years between oldlings and the Poḷonnaruva issues of the Sinhalese kings. He draws the conclusion that the punch-marked oldlings were in circulation right up to the time that they were supplanted by the issues of the Poḷonnaruva type.
42. **Thomas, Edward.** *Ancient Indian weights*. London, Trubner, 1874. iv, [4], 74 p., front., map. (Marsden's Numismata Orientalia, Part 1).
- References to kahāpanas in the *Mahāvamsa*, pp. 22, 41, 42.

(b) Early copper and other coins.

- (Including Single die coins, "Buddhist Cakram" type, various obverse types and railed svastika reverse, Maneless lion, "Lakshmi" plaques and other types).
43. **Aravamuthan, T.G.** Some survivals of the Harappa culture. IV. Some plaques from Ceylon. *N.I.A.* Vol. 4, November 1941, pp. 263-265, 7 illus.
- A series of small plaques made of some brittle alloy, on which there are designs on both faces in low relief. The obverse and reverse emblems and devices are described. Codrington's and Parker's identification of the female figure as "Gaja-Lakshmi" is accepted. Comparisons between these and certain Harappa amulets reveal striking similarities of shape, human effigy, symbolic devices and design—only the pair of tiny elephants perched on lotuses, with long stalks, are missing in the amulet. Author suggests a kinship between the Harappa amulet and Ceylon, which he thinks fully established, and considers the plaque a direct descendant of the Harappa amulet.
- Codrington, H.W.** Ancient numismatics. *Ceylon coins and currency*. Ch. 2, pp. 11-16.
- Ancient coins. *Ceylon coins and currency*. Ch. 3, pp. 17-25. (Single-die coins, pp. 17-18, "Buddhist Cakram" type, pp. 19-20; Elephant and svastika, pp. 20-22; Horse and svastika, p. 22; Lion and svastika, p. 22; Tree and svastika, pp. 22-24; Rectangular bull type, p. 24; Maneless lion type, pp. 25-26); Supplement to Ch. 3, pp. 249-250.

After the oldlings, came the single-die coins, where the symbols began to be united in one die, the reverse being blank or punch-marked as before. These coins bear various designs in the form of *nandipada* symbols, isosceles triangles, truncated cones, solar and fish emblems, etc. These were followed by rectangular copper coins with the "Buddhist Cakram", large circular "Elephant and Svastika", "Horse and Svastika", "Lion and Svastika" and "Tree and Svastika" pieces. There are also the rare cast rectangular coins, with their chief characteristic a standing bull, and the "Maneless lion" copper series. The author believes on the score of the uniqueness of the symbolism and the absence of their counter-parts

in India, that they can be assigned to Ceylon and are therefore essentially Sinhalese coins. The standard on which these ancient copper coins were struck is obscure, the mode of manufacture very primitive and the metal friable.

Plagues. *Ceylon coins and currency*. Appendix to Ch. 3, pp. 26-31. Description of the designs, and features of both the cast and struck variety of plaques, found in Ceylon. They are usually oblong in shape and made of a brittle alloy of lead, copper, silica, iron and nickel, which flakes easily, and the workmanship is rough. The design, in high relief, on the obverse, represents the goddess Lakshmi, standing on a lotus, wearing a girdle, ear-rings, bracelets on the upper and forearms, rings round her legs and wide anklets. On each side stand elephants holding water-pots in their upraised trunks, which form an arch over her head. On the reverse are designs of railed *svastikas* with other symbols. The author holds with Still that these plaques were not coins on account of the great variation in weight and the comparatively unworn edges, and were more likely in use as votive offerings and talismans. The emblem of the goddess of plenty, the *svastika* and the pierced holes in some of them lend colour to this view. From the general style and the absence of a variety of symbols, they probably post-date the large circular coins and may be contemporary with the "Tree and *Svastika*" pieces (see also Nos. 43, 47, 48, 50a, and 53).

Some elddings and other early coins. *C.A.L.R.* Vol. 1, Pt. 3, January 1916. pp. 178-179, 1 pl.

44. Heras, H. *Fr.* The inscriptions on the early cast and struck copper coins of Ceylon. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 34, No. 90, 1937, pp. 44-52, 3 pl.

The author believes that the signs found in all the early cast and struck coins of Ceylon, which succeeded the punch-marked pieces, are purely Mohenjo Daro signs, having, however, some small and accidental differences. "The inscriptions show that the coins are prior to the Christian era". It is suggested that these coins belong to the first half of the first millenium B.C. and are therefore pre-Buddhistic. If that is so, then the coinage of Ceylon developed faster than the coinage of India.

45. Hettiaratchi, D.P.E. A dissertation on the symbols appearing on the "Buddhist" swastika coins of ancient Ceylon. *Senerat Paranavitana Felicitation Volume*, ed. by N.A. Jayawickrama. (*In the press*).

46. ——— A note on two uninscribed coins of the "Buddhist Cakram" type. *Sir Paul Pieris Felicitation Volume*; ed. by Julius de Lanerolle and Senerat Paranavitana. (1956). pp. 49-57, 1 pl., 4 text figs.

Two coins alleged to have been found at Kantarōdai, where Paul Pieris unearthed a rare and interesting class of coins for the first time, which have since been classified and published by Codrington under the type "Buddhist Cakram"—a term used for the symbol on the reverse side of the coins. The coins are made of copper and are roughly square in shape. In the light that evidence of provenance is of great value in coin classification, the author argues that the allegation of the coins being discovered at Kantarōdai is untenable, until fresh light is thrown on obscure points. The designs on the obverse and reverse of both coins are described.

47. ——— Numismata Zeylanica: on a newly discovered type of "Lakṣmī" plaques. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 1 (new series). Centenary volume (1845-1945), 1950, pp. 104-122, 3 pl., 3 text figs., 1 table (tabulation of the plaques).

The writer introduces a new type of "Lakṣmī" plaque of the struck variety in continuation of what is described in *Ceylon coins and currency*, Ch. 3., Appendix, p. 31. They may be dated to a period of great Buddhist activity in Ceylon during the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., and are considered of unique value and interest both from a numismatic and artistic point of view. They were found a few years before in Nindavur in the Batticaloa district, in a coconut land about 250 yards

from the seashore. A number of round coins of the "Elephant and swastika" type were unearthed along with them. The author believes that these were coins and never meant to be anything else, in contrast to John Allan who asserts that the plaques are not coins. (*Num. Chron.* Vol. 7 (5th series) 1925-26). The plaques, all of copper, are oblong pieces, with three exceptions. The obverse and reverse types are described and the subsidiary symbols on them relegated to a separate descriptive schedule. In Part 2 of the paper (pp. 113 ff.) certain points arising out of the description of the new type of plaques given in Part 1 are considered. The symbolic devices and motifs, as well as the female figure, are indubitably associated with and emblematic of early Buddhism, and a possible identification of the female figure under discussion, with Māyā Dēvi is suggested. A new orientation of the effigy is based on the new material and interpretations which have accumulated since Codrington, and from which the author gives representative extracts. (For comments on above by John Allan see *Num. Chron.* 1950, p. 328).

48. ——— Numismata Zeylanica: Addendum to Part 1 of the article entitled "On a newly discovered type of Lakṣmī plaques". (See No. 47). *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 2 (new series), Part 1, 1952, pp. 31-36, 3 pl., 1 text fig., 1 table.

A description of nine plaques from Mr. R. F. C. Schrader's collection—same provenance Nindavur. The plaques are tabulated S. 1—S. 9, and the characteristic features of the earlier lot discussed are present in these too, with a few minor variations. S. 9 is a unique one, being a *double obverse* plaque hitherto unrecorded, bearing the female effigy on each face, one larger than the other.

- Loventhal, E. *Rev.* The coins of Tinnevely, Madras, Higginbotham & Co., 1888. 23 p., 4 pl.

49. Parker, Henry. The earliest coins. *Ancient Ceylon*. London, Luzac, 1909. Part 2, Ch. 12, pp. 459-521, 3 pl. (154-156).

The purāṇas, or dharanas or sālākas, pp. 463-474; The oblong copper coins: (a) the Tissa coins, pp. 474-476; (b) the Mulleittivu coins, pp. 476-482; (c) the Anuradhapura coins, pp. 482-488; Description of symbols, pp. 488-521.

"However much the designs on the early coinage vary in age and character practically all to which an Indian meaning can be assigned possess one of two attributes in common. They have the power either to scare away evil spirits, or to bring prosperity and good luck". In this early period when there was no state monopoly of coinage or even a state issue of money, coins were at the same time a medium of exchange and a powerful preservative and auspicious amulet. The punch-marked coinage was a private one.

50. ——— Report on archaeological discoveries at Tissamaharama in the Southern province of Ceylon: Money. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 8, No. 27, Pt. 1, 1884, pp. 140-153.

Discovery of nine different copper coins, the oldest dating back to a period quite 1300 years beyond Parakramabahu I (1153-1186 A.D.). The author suggests that at least four coins represent the often-mentioned Sinhalese copper kahāpana of the Pali works, or at any rate one of its sub-divisions. The great numbers of the kahāpanas mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* also prove that coining was carried on in the island. Description of the designs and symbols on the coins, where the representation of the sovereign is well-proportioned and more graceful than in the Polonnaruwa coins. The author considers the oldest oblong coin to date from not later than the early part of the 2nd c. B.C. Four of the coins are oblong plaques and the rest roughly circular.

- 50a. ——— Report on archaeological discoveries at Tissamaharama in the Southern province of Ceylon: Mulleittivu coins. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 8, No. 27, Pt. 1, 1884, Appendix. Note 5, pp. 183-186; Fragments from Sittrāwila, pp. 186-187. Refers to nine copper plaques similar to those found at Tissamaharama, unearthed at Mulleittivu. Five are described. Also two fragments of similar plaques, obtained

by the author, and said to have been found at Sitrāwila, a village two miles from Tissa. The author is of the view that these copper plaques are really coins, on the following grounds: (1) the invariable presence of the swastika on the reverse; (2) the presence of the four letters on one of the Magama coins, forming the name of the king under whose authority the plaque was issued; (3) the presence of the religious emblems, both Buddhist and Hindu. Conjectures that on the whole, probability points to Elāra as the king who issued these plaques.

51. **Rae, W.N.** Report on the analysis of two fragments of coin sent by Dr. P.E. Pieris. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 28, No. 72, 1919, pp. 54-55.

Fragments of Lakṣmī coins, found at Kantarōdai, composed of lead largely, with a small admixture of copper.

52. **Still, John.** Copper plaques discovered during excavations at the Jetawanārāma Dagaba at Anurādhapura, *A.S.C.A.R.* 1910-11. Appendix A, p. 67.

Refers to fifty-six specimens, and re-asserts his opinion that they do not resemble money in any way. They can only have been votive offerings, and never used as coins in circulation.

53. ——— Some early copper coins of Ceylon. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 19, No. 58, 1907, pp. 199-214, 2 pl.

Punch-marked coins, p. 200; Single-die coins, pp. 200-1; Circular double-die coins, pp. 201-206; Coins or plaques, pp. 206-212; Summary, pp. 213-214.

An attempt to resolve the mystery regarding the money used by the Sinhalese, before the introduction from India of the coinage bearing names and titles of rulers about the 12th c. A.D. Concludes that the coinage of Ceylon in early days was very scanty; there was a single-die coinage in the 4th or 5th Century A.D. possibly struck in Ceylon; a double-die money existed up to about 700 A.D. and was the immediate successor of the copper punch-marked coins; and oblong plaques were used from the 7th-12th centuries, but were not intended as currency.

(c) Roman coins (including Indo-Roman and Byzantine).

54. **Barrow, George Sir.** [A find of Roman coins]. *Ceylon : past and present*. London, Murray, 1857. Ch. 4, pp. 82-85, illus.

Twenty-eight silver Roman coins discovered on the coast south of Colombo in the neighbourhood of Panadura while "digging a grave for a native". "The most remarkable and the most legible was one of Tiberius Caesar". Sketches of the obverse and reverse sides of the coin, which weighed about 59 grains, are given.

55. **Bell, H.C.P.** Numismatics: a find of Roman coins in Ceylon. *C.L.R.* Vol. 6, No. 17, November 24, 1891, pp. 133-135.

The find consisted of some three hundred Roman coins, the largest and quite the most interesting discovery of Roman coins made up to then in Ceylon, providing yet more confirmation of the extensive commercial intercourse between the Roman world and Ceylon. The coins are "third brass" of the later Empire. Earliest coin identified belongs to Crispus, A.D. 317-326, and altogether about nineteen types are described.

56. **British Museum.** Dept. of Coins and Medals. *A guide to the exhibition of Roman coins in the British Museum*. Rev. ed. London, 1963. [7], 75 p., 20 pl.

57. **Carson, R.A.G.** *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*. Vol. 6, *Severus Alexander to Balbinus and Pupienus*. London, British Museum, 1962. ix, 311 p., 47 pl., tables. (See also No. 63).



58. ——— and others. *Late Roman bronze coinage, A.D. 324-498*, by R.A.G. Carson, P.V. Hill and J.P.C. Kent. 2 parts. London, Spink and Son Ltd., 1960. 114 p., 4 pl.
59. Codrington, H.W. A pseudo-Roman coin. *C.A.L.R.* Vol. 1, Pt. 3, January 1916, pp. 202-203, illus.
- A thin gold piece of which four specimens are located. Description of the design on the obverse and reverse. They appear to have been modelled upon the small gold and copper Roman pieces of the late 4th and 5th centuries. The bust is, however, clearly Eastern, and the wreath on the reverse has been developed in a style similar to that found in Anuradhapura decorative art.
- Roman coins, (including Byzantine); Indo-Roman. *Ceylon coins and currency*. Ch. 4, pp. 31-45; 45-48; Supplement to Ch. 4, pp. 250-253.
- Roman coins, especially the small bronze coins, from the period of the Consulate to the 6th c., have been found in thousands at almost every port, except Trincomalee, as well as at various places in the interior of the island. The inescapable assumption is that they passed as currency in Ceylon—certainly during the time Sigiriya was the capital in the 5th c. Direct Roman trade ceased with the fall of Alexandria in 638 A.D. and the use of these coins as well as imitations as currency must have ended before the Polonnaruwa period. It is likely that their use stretched over a period of about three centuries. The Indo-Roman coins fall into two classes: (1) those sticking close to the original, with the exception of the legend; (2) those known as "Na-imana" from the place where a large find was made, and less skilfully made than the first class of imitations. The various types are listed and described.
60. Cosmas Indicopleustes. *The Christian topography of Cosmas (Indicopleustes) an Egyptian monk*; tr. from the Greek and ed. by J.W. McCrindle. London, Hakluyt Society, 1897. Book XI, pp. 368-370.
61. Couto, Diogo do. *The History of Ceylon, from the earliest times to 1600 A.D., as related by Joao de Barros and Diogo do Couto*; tr. and ed. by Donald Ferguson, from the standard edition of 1778-1788. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 20, No. 60, 1908, pp. 1-445. (Decade V, Book 1, Ch. 7, pp. 82-84. Refers to Roman coins found in Ceylon).
62. Ferguson, Donald. Roman coins found in Ceylon. *J.R.A.S. (G.B. & I.)*, 1905, pp. 156-157.
- Refers to Sewell's paper on "Roman coins found in India" (see No. 68) and Barrow's description of Roman coins found at Panadura (see No. 54).
63. Mattingly, Harold. *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*. 5 Vols. (in 6). London, British Museum, 1923 ff. I. Augustus — Vitellius; II. Vespasian — Domitian; III. Nerva — Hadrian; IV. Antoninus Pius — Commodus; V. (in 2 pts.). Pertinax — Elagabalus.
64. ——— Roman coins from the earliest times to the fall of the Western Empire. 2nd ed. rev. London, Methuen, 1960. xiii, 303 p., 64 pl.
65. ——— and Sydenham, E.A. *The Roman Imperial coinage*. 6 Vols. (in 9) to date. London, Spink & Sons, 1923 ff.
- I. Augustus — Vitellius; II. Vespasian — Hadrian; III. Antoninus Pius — Commodus; IV (3 pts.). Pertinax — Uranus Antoninus; V (2 pts.). Valerian — Amandus; VI. Valentin I — Theodosius I.
66. Paranavitana, Senerat. Roman coins. *A.S.C.A.R.* 1950. p.G. 32.
- A hoard of 2,828 Roman coins found in a hand-made earthen pot at Debaravava in Māgampattu, when digging up land. Only 276 could be identified, the rest being too worn.

67. **Pieris, Paul E.** Three rare coins. *S.Z.* Vol. 8, Pt. 30, June 1912, p. 145, 1 pl. (3 illus). (1) A thick silver coin weighing 8.03 grammes said to have been found by a villager in Bintenne; (2) Roughly circular coin of silver, weighing 3.52 grammes, bearing head of Dionysos. Author places it among Naxos issue of about 500 B.C.; (3) A beautiful silver medallion of Hadrianus (117-138 A.D.) weighing 3.44 grammes.
68. **Sewell, Robert.** Roman coins found in India. *J.R.A.S. (G.B. & I)* 1904, pp. 591-637. Exhaustive study of all the Roman coins found in India during the last 150 years, which have been recorded in English scientific journals and other reports. Refers to discoveries of Roman coins in Ceylon alluded to by De Couto in 1574 A.D. and attributed to Claudius (p. 597) and coins of Theodosius, Arcadius and later Emperors found in Ceylon (p. 608).
69. **Stevenson, Seth William.** *Dictionary of Roman coins, Republican and Imperial*; commenced by the late Seth William Stevenson rev. in part, by C. Roach Smith and completed by Frederic W. Madden. London, George Bell, 1889. viii, 929 p., illus. (700 engravings on wood by F.W. Fairholt).
70. **Still, John.** Roman coins found in Ceylon. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 19, No. 58, 1907, pp. 161-190, 1 pl., map.
(I) General remarks and conclusions, pp. 161-169; (II) Description of the finds, pp. 169-176; (III) Detailed list of the coins, pp. 176-188.
- "The Roman coins found in Ceylon, although of little value and numbering few that are rare in Europe, occupy a position of peculiar interest in the numismatic history of Ceylon. From the beginning of the Sinhalese up to the 11th c. A.D., the only coins found in the island which can be accurately dated are the Roman issues, and as they have been found in considerable quantities, and in a variety of places widely apart, their archaeological value is considerable".
71. **Sutherland, C.H.V.** *Coinage in Roman Imperial policy*, 31 B.C. - A.D. 68. London, Methuen, 1951. xi, 220 p., front., 16 pl., table.
72. **Warmington, E.H.** Roman coins in Ceylon. *The commerce between the Roman Empire and India*. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1928. Pt. 1, Ch. 2, p. 63; Pt. 1, Ch. 3, pp. 120-125, 140; Pt. 2, Ch. 3, p. 260.

An interpretation of the peculiarities shown by the discoveries of Roman coins in Ceylon. "Few coins have been there for certain dating before Nero, and even after him only about a dozen dating before the end of the second century. With about twenty certain exceptions, all the Roman coins found in Ceylon date from the third century A.C., and end with Heraclius and his son; the finds consist of numbers of small and comparatively valueless coins of copper, with a very small number struck in the more precious metals, and the mint-abbreviations show issues of Carthage, Treviri, Antioch, Narbonensis, Constantinople, Rome and other cities. They have been found at most of the ports and in regions covering the greater part of Ceylon, the largest finds being in the islets of Balapitiya (dating from Constantinus I to Honorius), in the Colombo districts (dating to Honorius) and at Sigiriya (about 1700 chiefly of the 4th c., mostly of one type apparently imported and circulated, and others dating from Licinius II to Honorius). Very few are found after Arcadius and Honorius".

73. **Wheeler, R.E.M. Sir.** Roman coins, first century B.C. to fourth century, A.D. found in India and Ceylon (incl. map showing distribution of Roman coins). in Arikamedu: an Indo-Roman trading station on the East coast of India. *Ancient India: Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*. No. 2, July 1946. Appendix I, pp. 116-121., map. Reprinted in: *Aspects of Archaeology in Britain and beyond: essays presented to O.G.S. Crawford*; ed. by W.F. Grimes. London, H.W. Edwards, 1951. pp. 375-381.

Emphasises the remarkable contact of South India and Ceylon with the western world during the Roman principate.

74. **Wroth, Warwick.** *Catalogue of the coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards and of the empires of Thessalonica, Nicaea and Trebizond in the British Museum.* London, 1911. xciv, 344 p., 43 pl.
75. ———— *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine coins in the British Museum.* London, 1908. 2 vols. 687 p., 79 pl.

See also Nos. 14, 26, 28 & 35.

(d) Greek Coins

76. **British Museum.** Department of Coins and Medals. *A Guide to the principal coins of the Greeks, from circa 700 B.C. to A.D. 270, based on the work of Barclay V. Head.* New ed. (1932). London, 1959 reprint. [4] 108 p., 52 pl.
- For 1st ed. see No. 78. In this new edition Roman coins have been omitted, the chronological range extended and a certain number of bronze coins included.
- Codrington, H.W.** *Miscellaneous ancient. (c) Greek; (d) Parthian. Ceylon coins and currency.* Ch. 4., p. 49.
- *Ridi tiram. J.R.A.S. (C.B.).* Vol. 24, No. 68, 1916, Notes and Queries, Pt. 5, pp. lxxix-lxxx. (see Note to No. 129).
77. **Gardner, Percy.** *The types of Greek coins: an archaeological essay.* Cambridge University Press, 1883. viii, 218, [34] p., 16 pl.
78. **Head, Barclay V.** *Guide to the principal gold and silver coins of the ancients, from circ. 700 B.C. to A.D. 1.* 4th ed. London, British Museum, 1895. viii, 128 p., 70 pl. (For new ed. see No. 76).

(e) Indian coins

- Codrington, H.W.** *Ancient Indian. Ceylon coins and currency.* Ch. 4, pp. 48-50.
- (a) Unidentified Indian, pp. 48-49; (b) Andhra, p. 49; (f) Kushan, p. 49; (g) Gupta, pp. 49-50.
- *Mediaeval Indian. Ceylon coins and currency.* Ch. 7, pp. 83-90.
- (a) Pallava, pp. 83-86; (b) Pāṇḍya, pp. 86-89; (c) Kongu and Cera, pp. 89-90; (d) Miscellaneous, p. 90.
79. **Elliot, Walter Sir.** *Coins of Southern India.* London, Trubner, 1886. Part 3, Section i. Coins of Dravida, pp. 107-110; Section ii, Dynasties of Dravida, pp. 111-135. Ceylon type or series, pp. 108, 109, 110, 117, 120, 122, 125, 126, 127 and 133.
- "Each of the three [predominant states] had its particular symbol, or standard, that of the Cholas being a tiger, of the Pāṇḍyans a fish, and of the Chēras a bow . . . These emblems are represented on the most ancient coins, that of the predominant power of the time holding the middle place, with those of the other two on either side. The earlier coins bear representations of these figures, but about the 11th century a remarkable change occurs, by which the currency became largely composed of a new type, described by James Prinsep under the name of the Ceylon series, having a rude human figure, standing on the obverse and seated on the reverse". The possibility of the change having been introduced from Ceylon is discussed.
80. **Henderson, J.R. and Venkaya, V.** *Silvered Chēra copper coin found in the Relic Chamber of the dagaba at Topaveva. A.S.C.A.R.* 1909. pp. 30-31.

81. Hettiaratchi, D.P.E. A note on an unpublished Pallava coin. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 4 (new series), Pt. 1, 1955, pp. 72-77, 2 pl.

Description of a Pallava coin found in Mannar, which the writer claims is one belonging to an entirely different die hitherto unnoticed in works on South Indian coins. No previous record of the find of a Pallava coin, either in South India or Ceylon, bearing the lion facing to his proper *right* with the vase on the reverse. Earlier specimens found may have gone unrecorded, owing perhaps to lack of close examination, and the "present specimen will have to be reckoned as one of the highest rarities of the Pallava issues".

82. Srinivasan, V. India and old Ceylon: numismatic interest of Indo-Ceylonese transactions. *Q.J.M.S.* Vol. 30, No. 1, July 1939, pp. 47-48.

The influence of South India on the coinage of Ceylon in the 12th and 13th centuries.

83. Still, John & Venkaya, V. Indian coins found at Tirukōṭiṣvaram, together with report on them by V. Venkaya, Govt. Epigraphist for India. *A.S.C.A.R.* 1907. p. 30.

The copper coins were identified by the British Museum Dept. of Coins and Medals and divided into seven lots: (1) Kurumbar, (2) Pallava, (3) Chēra, (4) Pāṇḍyan, (5) Chōla, (6) Dharma-rāja legend coins, (7) Illegible coins.

- Tracy, James. E. *Rev. Sethupati coins.* *M.J.L.S.* 1889-94, pp. 1-12, 1 pl. (see No. 117).

84. ————— Pāṇḍyan coins. *M.J.L.S.* 1887-88, pp. 138-144, 1 pl.

"The coins of the Pāṇḍyans may be variously classified, either into typical series having reference to the ruling type or symbol employed, e.g., fish type, boar type, elephant type, Ceylon-man type, etc., or into periodic series, as earlier and later, having reference to the age as indicated by the inscriptions, or as shown in the general style and appearance of the coins". The latter adopted by Sir Walker Elliot is perhaps the better classification, in the author's opinion. Some corrections of Elliot's readings are supplied and hitherto unpublished coins of the Pāṇḍyan series all of copper and all found in the Madura district are illustrated and described.

See also Appendix on Indian Coins, and Nos. 3 & 28.

(f) Kahavaṇuva and fractional pieces

- Codrington, H.W. Mediaeval Ceylon. *Ceylon coins and currency*. Ch. 5, pp. 50-63.

(a) Coins without name of ruler, p. 54; (b) Kahavaṇu, pp. 54-58; (c) Fractional pieces, p. 58. (d) Aḍa Kahavaṇuva, pp. 58-59; (e) Dēka or Pala, Lakṣmī, pp. 59-60; (f) Aka (i) Nandaki?, pp. 60-61; (ii) Uraka, p. 62; (?) Massa, pp. 62-63. Supplement to Ch. 5, p. 253.

The earliest gold Sinhalese coin, known by the name of *Kahavaṇuva* or "Laṅkēṣvara" may be assigned to the late 9th c. The legend on the coin is commonly read *Srī Laṅkēṣvara*, though *Srī Laṅka Sīmha* and *Srī Laṅka Vibhu* have also been proposed. It may, perhaps, have first been struck as a revival of the *kahāpaṇa* of the Buddhist scriptures. The name was also applied to silver and copper coins. The fractional pieces are known by the names, *Aḍa Kahavaṇuva*, *Dēka* or *Pala*, and *Aka*. They are all of gold. This series has on the obverse a standing figure clad in a *dhōṭi* and on the reverse the same figure squatting on an *āsana*. A Gupta prototype is probable. The average weight of the *Kahavaṇu* is about 68 grains; the *aḍa kahavaṇuva* about 35 gr.; the *pala* or *dēka* approximately

17 grains and the aka 8½ grains. The sub-types are determined by the symbol in the hand of the figure on either side, and in the case of the reverses of the fractional pieces by the emblem over the legend. All these coins may be assigned to the 10th c. and some to the later years of the 9th. They were coined until the Tamil invasion under Rājārāja, the Chōla king at the beginning of the 11th c., and this king copied the Sinhalese type for his own coinage. The *massa* is a tiny coin of a mixture of gold and probably silver, weighing around 3 grains. It is extremely rare and only a few specimens are known.

85. Fernando, C.M. The Lankōśvara gold coin. *S.Z.* Vol. 4, Pt. 13, July 1906, pp. 29-31, 7 text illus.

"So called because it bears upon it, in Nāgarī characters, the legend "Sri Lankeśvara". There are five different types of this coin in the Colombo Museum. These and two coins of Parakrama Bāhu are illustrated and described.

86. Nevill, Hugh. The gold "Iraka" coin of Ceylon, identified as Vikramaditya's *Taprobanian*. Vol. I, June 1886, p. 134.

87. Paranavitana, Senerat. A Nāgarī legend on some mediaeval Sinhalese coins. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 35, No. 96, 1943, pp. 162-163.

The legend, hitherto read as *iraka*, *uraka* or *daraka* should be read *aka*, a Sinhalese word denoting value or weight of the coin itself. Examples illustrated in *Ceylon coins and currency*, plate 3, Nos. 66-69, which Codrington considered had been "corrupted by unintelligent copying". The writer says that the reading *aka* is so obvious that only the unlikelihood of a Sinhalese word being written in the Nāgarī script seems to have precluded its adoption.

88. Perera, K.C.D. An unpublished Adakahavaṇṇuva. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 38, No. 107, 1949, pp. 121-122, 1 pl.

A small Sinhalese gold coin which may be assigned to the period 850-950 A.D.

See also Nos. 95, 104, 106 and 124.

(g) Coins of Ceylon rulers bearing names and titles (including coins of the Tamil kings of Jaffna).

89. Ariyapala, M.B. Coins and currency. *Society in mediaeval Ceylon*. Colombo, K.V.G. de Silva & Sons, 1956. Ch. 5, pp. 141-146, 2 pl. (II & III).

Discussion of the *māsaka* (later *massa*) and the *kahāpana* as mentioned in the *Saddharma-ratnavaliya* and other contemporary Sinhalese literature, like *Pūjavalīya* and *Kavsiḷumina*.

90. Bell, H.C.P. Copper massas of the Sinhalese kings found in the relic chambers of the dagaba at Topavewa. *A.S.C.A.R.* 1909. pp. 30-31.

91. Brown, C.J. *The coins of India*. Calcutta, Association press; London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1922. 120 p., 12 pl. (Heritage of India series). Ch. 6. The coinage of Southern India, pp. 56-66, pl. vii (fig. 7).

"The later class of Chola coins, all copper, have a standing figure on the obverse and a seated figure on the reverse, with the name *Raja Raja* in Nāgarī. This type spread with the Chola power and was slavishly copied by the kings of Ceylon (1153-1296 A.D.)."

92. Casie Chetty, Simon. Account of some ancient coins. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 1, No. 1, 1845, pp. 79-83.

Description of a collection of 25 copper coins forming part of a hoard discovered at Calpentin on January 6, 1839. The entire find numbered over 5,000 pieces deposited in a *chatty* (earthen pot), buried at a depth of 3 feet from the surface. The legends are in Nāgarī script. Note by James Prinsep on two coins of this description sent to the Calcutta Asiatic Society on pp. 80-81.

93. **Churchill, R.S.** Copper coins of the Ceylon Rajas. Parts 1 & 2. *Num. Circ.* (1) Vol. 15, No. 174, May 1907, columns 9829-9831, 4 illus.; (2) Vol. 15, No. 178, September 1907, columns 10079-10080.

(1) Description of six copper massas of six Poḷonnaruwa rulers, with brief notes from Tennent's *Ceylon* Vol. 1 (1860), the Nāgarī characters and the dates from the Madras Museum Coin Catalogue, Vol. 2, by Thurston. "I am sorry to say the Colombo Museum Coin Catalogue is but a rough Memorandum Book, a list of someone's 'money box', types in chaos, the necessary information conspicuous by its absence, and 'gaps'—well, a missing link shows the existence of some chain, but here there is none at all". (2) Comments on John Still's article (No. 113) which treats of variations in the palaeography of the Nāgarī characters inscribed on the coins.

- Codrington, H.W.** Mediaeval Ceylon (contd.). *Ceylon coins and currency*. Ch. 6, pp. 63-83. ((a) Vijayabāhu 1, pp. 63-64; (b) Sinhalese coins of the 12th and 13th centuries, pp. 64-74; (c) "Sētu" coins, pp. 74-77; (d) The "Lion" type, pp. 77-80; Supplement to Ch. 6, p. 254.

(a) The indigenous coinage was revived by Vijayabāhu 1 (A.D. 1055-1111) who was the first ruler to inscribe his name on a coin. The metal is usually debased gold or silver. The gold and silver coins bearing the legend *Sri Vijaya Bāhu* are found in three types with many variations. The copper series are assigned to the later sovereigns of the same name. The weight is approximately 64·5 gr. (b) The coins of the Ceylon kings and queens of the 12th and 13th centuries, beginning with Parākrama Bāhu 1 are traditionally known as *Dambadeni kāsī*, from the dynasty by which they were last issued. With a few exceptions they are all of one type, and fashioned of copper, gold being entirely absent in this period. The metal corrodes either a very dark green or black or a light green, with a red crust sometimes. The base metal was sometimes washed with silver. The standard of all the coins was the *kaḷāṇḍa* of about 70 grains, almost identical in weight with the late Roman *solidus*, which was current in the island. (c) The "Sētu" series fell into two main categories: (1) Ceylon type and (2) Standing figure and bull. They may be attributed to the Jaffna Ārya Cakravartī kingdom. (d) The "Lion" coins, bearing the legend *Sri Parākrama Bāhu*, differ from the usual Poḷonnaruwa series, and were in all probability issued by Parākrama Bāhu VI in Jaffna. Like the *Sētu* coins, they may have formed part of the currency of the Jaffna kingdom, and been issued from the same mint.

94. ———— The Poḷonnaruwa coin weight standard. *C.A.L.R.* Vol. 1, Pt. 4, April 1916, pp. 227-231, 2 pl. (XIV & XXV).

(1) Poḷonnaruwa coins, pp. 227-8; (2) Weight system, pp. 228-230; (3) *Kahāpana*, pp. 230-1; (4) Key to plates XIV & XV.

95. **Codrington, O.** Notes on the cabinet of coins of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. *J.R.A.S. (Bom. B.)*. Vol. 18, No. 48, 1889-91, pp. 30-38. (Ceylon, p. 35).

Gold coin of Lankeṣvara and copper coins in nine varieties of Ceylon kings.

- Davy, John.** *An account of the interior of Ceylon and of its inhabitants ...* (1821). Currency, Ch. 8, pp. 245-6.

The Daṁbadeṇi salli, i.e. the copper mediaeval issues are mentioned as being scarce in the first years of the 19th c. They seem to have been current in the early 17th c.

Elliot, Walter, Sir. *Coins of Southern India*. London, Trubner, 1886.

Ceylon type or series (as applied by James Prinsep) pp. 108, 109, 110, 117, 120, 122, 125, 126, 127, 133, (see No. 79).

96. **Fernando, C.M.** A note on the palaeography of Ceylon. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 18, No. 55, 1904, pp. 162-164, 2 illus.

List of old Nāgarī characters occurring in inscriptions on copper masses of the Sinhalese kings — a great help in identification. The Sinhalese coins with Nāgarī legends date from 1153 A.D. (Parākrama Bāhu the Great) to 1296 A.D. (Bhuvanāika Bāhu).

97. **Geiger, Wilhelm.** *Coinage. Culture of Ceylon in mediaeval times*; ed. by Heinz Bechert. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrasowitz, 1960. pp. 83-85.

98. **Gnanaprakaser, S.** The forgotten coinage of the Kings of Jaffna. *C.A.L.R.* Vol. 5, Pt. 4, April 1920, pp. 172-179, 1 pl.

The author suggests that the Ariya Chakkaravartis of Jaffna had a separate coinage in the north of Ceylon. Large numbers of these coins found in copper only in Jaffna add up to the possibility of the so-called "*Sētu*" coins having been a specifically Jaffna currency. The general features of the *Sētus* are: (1) Conventional figure of a man (the king?) with one or two lamps (kuttu vilakku), trident, etc. usually on the obverse, and (2) The recumbent bull (Vrīṣabha or Nandi) with the crescent and the legend *Sētu* in Tamil usually on the reverse. The bull, crescent and trident are clearly Saivite emblems. The *prima facie* impression created by these features and the Tamil characters of the legend, is that the coins belong to a line of Saivite Tamil kings ruling in Ceylon.

Lowsley, Barzillai. Coins and tokens of Ceylon: the coins of the Sinhalese kings from Parākrama Bāhu, A.D. 1153-Bhuvanāika Bāhu A.D. 1296. *Num. Chron.* Vol. 15 (3rd series), No. 59, Pt. 3, 1895, pp. 217-222.

The following coins of the Sinhalese kings are described and illustrated (pl. VIII).

(1) Thick uninscribed rectangular silver coin with dagaba on one side and a leaf on reverse. This is supposed to be the earliest coin of Ceylon; (2) Five gold Lankēṣvara coins; (3) Two large gold coins of Parākrama-bāhu; (4) Copper coins of Chodagaṇḍadeva, Queen Līlāvatī and Dharmāsoka-deva; (5) Silver coin of Bhuvanāika-bāhu. Corrections and additions to Rhys Davids are also supplied.

99. **Nicholas, C.W.** Coinage [of the Poḷonnaruva period]. *A Concise History of Ceylon*, by C.W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitana. Colombo, Ceylon University Press Board, 1961. Ch. 14, pp. 254-5.
100. **Paranavitana, Senerat.** Coinage [of the Daṁbadeṇi period]. *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon*. Vol. 1, Pt. 2 (1960). Book 5, Ch. 7, pp. 724-5.
101. ———— Coinage [of the Daṁbadeṇiya period]. *A Concise History of Ceylon*, by C.W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitana. (1961). Ch. 18, pp. 321-2.
102. ———— Coinage [of the Poḷonnaru period]. *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon*. Vol. 1, Pt. 2 (1960). Book 4, Ch. 7, pp. 551-3.
103. **Pieris, Paul E.** Sinhalese coins in Jaffna. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 26, No. 70, 1917, Notes and Queries, p. 104.

A pot filled with Sinhalese coins dug up in a land at Maḍḍuvil in Tenmarādehi at a depth of 3½ feet. Little worn, and consisted of 60 pieces of Sri Rāja Līlāvatī (1197-1200 A.D.), 105 of Srimat Sāhasa Malla (1200-1202 A.D.) and 10 of Sri Dharmāsōka (1208-1209 A.D.) All were copper *massa*.

104. [Prinsep, James]. Note on the Ceylon coins, by the Secretary, [Asiatic Society of Bengal]. *J.A.S.B.* Vol. 2, No. 1, January 1833, VI. Proceedings, pp. 45-46. *Reprinted in* : *C.J.* No. 126, March 27, 1833, p. 167.

Description of two coins (gold and copper) transmitted by Sir Wilnot Horton, Governor of Ceylon, to the Secretary. (1) A gold Lankēśvara coin; (2) Similar coin in copper. The author refers to their similarity with the "Dambadinia rhatra and chally" in Davy's *Ceylon*, p. 245.

105. ———— Notices of ancient Hindu coins. Hindu coins of middle age. *J.A.S.B.* Vol. 4, No. 48, December 1835, pp. 668-674, 1 pl. (L) Ceylon coin of Sāhasa Malla from Stacy Collection, p. 673, fig. 22 in plate). *Reprinted in*: *Essays on Indian antiquities, historic numismatic and palaeographic* . . . ; ed. by Edward Thomas, London, Murray, 1858. Vol. 1, Art XI, pp. 289-299, 1 pl. (XXIV). (Ceylon coin, p. 297, fig. 22 in plate).

Author is unable to identify this coin from the Stacy Collection. George Turnour in "Note on Hindu coin" identifies it as one attributable to Sāhasa Malla. *See* pp. 419-420 of Art XV, fig. 6 of pl. XXXV.

106. ———— Specimens of Hindu coins descended from the Parthian type, and of the ancient coins of Ceylon. *J.A.S.B.* Vol. 6, No. 64, April 1837, pp. 288-302, 3 pl. (Ceylon coins (copper massas of Polonnaruwa rulers), pp. 289-302, 1 pl. (XX).) *Reprinted in* : *Essays on Indian antiquities, historic numismatic and palaeographic* . . . ; ed. by Edward Thomas, London, Murray, 1858. Vol. 1, Art XV, pp. 402-424, 3 pl. (Ceylon coins, pp. 419-424, 1 pl. (XXXV) containing 26 illus.).

As contrasted with the problematic maze presented by the Indo-Sassanian coins, the Ceylon series possess a "true and legitimate value as unequivocal evidence of the truth of history". The coins described and illustrated in roughly chronological order are from those sent to the author in 1936, by Captain Ord, by Mr. George Turnour, the *Sri Lankēśvara* gold coin sent by Sir William Horton, and the Dipalidinna coins from the Society's Cabinet, found by Col. Mackenzie at Dipalidinna or Amarāvati, which may not belong to Ceylon.

107. Rangachari, T.M. & Desikachari, T. Two inedited Ceylon coins. *I.A.* Vol. 24, November 1895, p. 332.

A gold fanam containing on the obverse a representation of a "standing Sinhalese man", and on the reverse a Nāgari legend—Vijayabāhu, and a copper quarter massa, containing on the obverse a "standing Sinhalese man" and the legend Dharmasōka dēva in Nāgari on the reverse. Neither Bell nor Rhys Davids knew of the existence of these two coins. Refers to many other coins of the Kandyan (*sic*) kings found in the Madura district of South India.

108. Rapson, E.J. *Indian coins*. Strassburg, Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1897. 41 p., 5 pl. (Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research; ed. by G. Bühler. Vol. 2, Pt. 3, B). *Reprinted by* Bombay Education Society's Press in conjunction with Karl J. Trübner in 1898. (*Ceylon*, p. 37, pl. V. No. 15).

"The coins of the Rajas of Kandy (*sic*) who adopted without any important modification the types of their Chola predecessors, represent a period from 1153-1296 A.D. Previous to this period the coins circulating in Ceylon have no distinctive character—they are either of the ancient punch-marked pattern or are importations due to foreign commerce or invasion".

109. Rasanayagam, C. Jaffna coins. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 31, No. 83, 1930, Notes and Queries, pp. 589-590.

Of the coins issued by the Ariya kings of Jaffna, only a few copper coins have yet been found and about 20 different issues have been identified by Rev. S. Gnanapragasar. An attempt to explain the symbolic representations generally found on the obverse and reverse of the coins, which the writer suggests have both a religious and philosophical meaning.

110. ——— The "Sētu" coins of the kings of Jaffna. *Ancient Jaffna*. Madras, Everyman's publishers, 1926. pp. 300-303, 2 pl.

Rhys Davids, T. W. Description of the coins (of those kings of Ceylon whose coins are extant, including Sētu coins). *On the ancient coins and measures of Ceylon* (1877). Pt. 4, pp. 25-33.

The coins of the Sinhalese kings are all of one type, differing chiefly in material, in inscription and in various small details, such as the substitution of a lotus-flower for a chank shell, etc., on the obverse or reverse. Each coin bears an inscription in the Devanagara or Sanskrit character of the period to which it belongs, giving in most cases the name of the ruler.

111. **Scott, W.H.** Period of the coins of Ceylon. *Num. Chron.* Vol. 18, April 1855-January 1856, pp. 83-85.

Proposes a different arrangement and attribution of the coins, described by Vaux (No. 118). The appearance and style are the deciding factors in the author's opinion.

112. **Smith, Vincent Arthur.** *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*. Vol. 1, Oxford, Clarendon Press (for the Trustees of the Indian Museum), 1906. Part 3. Persian, Mediaeval, South Indian and miscellaneous coins. Section 23. The mediaeval coinage of Ceylon, pp. 327-330, 1 pl. (Introduction, pp. 327-8; Catalogue, pp. 329-330).

A small impression of Vol. 1, Pt. 3 with the same pagination was separately issued for the convenience of students and collectors.

"The known coins extend over a period of nearly a century and a half, beginning with Parākrama Bāhu (1153-1186 A.D.) and ending with Bhuvanaika Bāhu who came to the throne in 1296 A.D. All are substantially identical in type, and are copies of the coinage of the powerful Chola King Rājarāja, who reigned on the mainland from 985-1011 A.D. No coins are extant of eight of the series of sixteen rulers, beginning with Parākrama and ending with Bhuvanaika. The small collection now catalogued includes specimens of the copper coinage of six of the eight sovereigns whose coins are known. But the rare issues of Nissanka Malla (1187-1196) and Chodaganga (1196-7) are not represented in it, nor are there any examples of the limited gold and silver coinage . . . Parākrama Bahu when his armies invaded Southern India, evidently was impressed by the huge amount of Rājarāja's coinage in copper . . . The Ceyloneso monarch exactly copied the proceedings of his model, and issued immense quantities of copper coin, but comparatively little of silver and gold. The standard coin in this style was the *masha* or *massa* of about 70 grains; and most of the extant examples in all metals are *massas*. The subdivisional pieces are scarce or rare, as also are the double *massas*".

113. **Still, John.** Notes on the variations of the copper *massas* of six Sinhalese rulers. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 18, No. 56, 1905, pp. 398-407, 2 pl.

The six rulers whose coins are described are Vijaya Bāhu, Parākrama Bāhu, Sāhasa Malla, Līlavatī, Dhammasōka Dēva and Bhuvaneka Bāhu. Their coins are all similar in type, differing only in the legend, and to some extent in the

metal and workmanship. They are variable in many details of execution, such as the proportions of the figures on the obverse and reverse, the size of their heads and the number of fingers on their hands. The more marked divergences from the common type are described, and slight peculiarities are ignored.

114. **Sühle, A.** A list of Indian coins in the collection of the State Museum of Berlin. *J.N.S.I.* Vol. 23, 1961, pp. 447-454 (Ceylon: Polonnaruwa coins, p. 451).
115. **Tennent, James Emerson Sir.** Coins of the Sinhalese. *Ceylon : an account of the island* . . . 4th ed. London, Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860. Vol. 1, Pt. 4, Ch. 5, pp. 460-463.
116. **Thompson, F. C., McQuilkin, P., & Shelton, R.A.J.** Some notes on the metallurgy of the mediaeval copper coins of Ceylon. *Num. Chron.* Vol. 18 (6th series) 1958, pp. 135-146, 2 pl. (X-XI), 2 tables.

(I) Composition, with notes on the composition, (a)-(k); (II) Microstructures; (III) Some coins of Rāja Rāja. The two tables give: (i) Details of the surface condition, percentages of minerals in each coin, impurities, etc.; (ii) Details of coins of South India.

It seems that the coins of South India, i.e. of Rāja Rāja, show a close affinity in design to those of Ceylon. The Indian coins were produced from a much purer copper, however, than those of Ceylon, and therefore contained a much smaller percentage of impurities. "The metal from which the South Indian coins were produced was quite different from that of the Sinhalese coins. In other words, the latter metal was presumably produced in the island in which a metallurgical 'industry' must therefore be assumed".

117. **Tracy, James E.** *Rev.* Sēthupati coins. *M.J.L.S.* 1889-94, pp. 1-12, 1 pl.

The author concludes after an examination of the earlier and later series of coins, that, (1) the earliest known coins of the Sēthupati line belong to the period of the Chōla invasion of Ceylon and the counter invasion of the mainland by Parākrama Bāhu in the 12th c. A.D.; (2) during the period covered by both the earlier and later series, the worship of Siva predominated among the Sēthupatis, as all the emblems—bull, trident, lingam, peacock and tulsī—are significant of Sivaism; (3) the coins do not furnish enough data to know the geographical extent of the country over which the Sēthupati held sway.

118. **Vaux, W.S.W.** On the coins of Ceylon; with some remarks on the so-called ring and fish-hook money attributed to that island. *Num. Chron.* Vol. 16, April 1853-January 1854, pp. 121-132, 1 pl.

A collection of about 80 copper coins found in 1848 by Lt. Evatt of the Ceylon Rifle Corps, while cutting a road in the village of Ambegamuwa (Kandy district) and brought to London by Sir Emerson Tennent. They belong to six different Kings of Ceylon between 1050-1300 A.D. The author remarks on the peculiarity of there having been no coins in Ceylon before this period. The coins are described, along with two gold Śrī Lankēswara coins, from the British Museum coin cabinet.

119. **Wilson, Horace Hayman.** Description of select coins, from originals or drawings in the possession of the Asiatic Society. *A.R.* Vol. 17, 1832, pp. 559-606, 5 pl.

Five copper coins of the Polonnaruwa kings are described and illustrated in pl. V. (figs. 109-113). The coins were found by Col. Mackenzie at Dipaldinna (=Dambadeniya?). The writer is of the opinion that they belonged to a Hindu dynasty either on the island of Ceylon or in South India.

Wood, Howland. Coins of Sinhalese sovereigns of the thirteenth century. *The Gampola larin hoard* (1934). p. 5, Catalogue, pp. 78-79, pl. 11 (nos. 1, 5, 6, 8, 13, 15). Forty three copper coins of six kings found along with the silver larins and Portu-

guese coins in 1925 at Gampola. They have a standing figure on one side and a seated figure and inscription on the other, and are found in large quantities in Ceylon for most of the rulers. These coins have been generally called *massas* but this designation is incorrect as the *massa* is 1/20 of the *kahavaṇṇuva*, though later used as a general term for coin. One of the native names of the time, and the one considered best by students today is *Dambadeni kasi* or *salli*.

See also Nos. 6, 7, 8, 13, 14 & 35.

(h) **Larins or Fish-hook money**

120. **Allan, John.** The coinage of the Maldivo islands with some notes on the cowrie and larin. *Num. Chron.* Vol. 12 (4th series) 1912, pp. 313-322, 1 pl. (XX).

The larin was one of the standard currencies of the Indian ocean about the end of the 16th century. It was first struck probably about the beginning of the 16th c. at Lar in the Persian Gulf, from which it takes its name. It became an exceedingly popular coin on account of the purity of its silver and its use spread from the Persian Gulf down the West coast of India to Ceylon. Accounts of it by early travellers are given. In Ceylon the larin was doubled up like a hook and was familiar to 17th c. travellers as "fish-hook money".

- Codrington, H.W.** Larins. *Ceylon coins and currency.* Ch. 12, IV, pp. 162-164.

The larin derives its name from Lar, the place on the Persian Gulf where it was first struck. It is in the shape of a doubled up silver wire and containing an Arabic legend stamped on either side. In Ceylon the larin was bent into the shape of a hook and was variously known as *ridi* (silver), *koku ridi* (hook silver) or *mahu angutu* (horned massa). Its usual weight was about 73.7 grains. It enjoyed great popularity as a trade coin, and continued in use as currency right into Dutch times. It was confined to the Kandyan provinces after that and continued in circulation till a few years after the British occupation in 1815.

- Cunha, Joseph Gerson da.** Contributions to the study of Indo-Portuguese numismatics: Larim, lary or larym. *J.R.A.S. (Bom. B.).* Vol. 15, 1881-82, pp. 174-179. Also in reprint (1883) pp. 42-45.

121. **Dickinson, W.B.** Of the African gold ring currency of the Jolaf tribe and the silver fish-hook money of Ceylon. *Num. Chron.* Vol. XI, April 1848-January 1849, pp. 161-176, 1 pl. (Separate section headed "Cingalese silver fish-hook shaped money", pp. 170-176, figs. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, in plate).

Two specimens from the cabinet of Mr. Walter Hawkins and three from the cabinet of Dr. Lee, both of the straight variety which is doubled and the curved sort like a fish-hook. A feature of this loopable bullion is the inscription stamped on the back of the coin, which the writer considers an authority impress.

122. ———— Further remarks on the silver fish-hook money. *Num. Chron.* Vol. 12, April 1849—January 1850, pp. 82-89.

Comments on Sir John Chardin's observations on Larins in his "Voyages en Perse" (1711) to the effect that this singular form of coinage was current formerly throughout the East. The author believes that this silver fish-hook money is rightly attributable to Ceylon, and further than its fabrication was a deeply rooted popular practice and not a regal coinage, which the rulers permitted, rather than enjoined.

123. ———— Dudu-masu, coco-reedi, or hook-money of Ceylon. *Num. Chron.* Vol. 13, April 1850-January 1851, pp. 61-66, 2 text figs.

Further comments on the silver fish-hook money of Ceylon, based on information supplied by George Leo, Postmaster General at Colombo and editor of an edition of Ribeiro's *History of Ceylon*. Describes a specimen sent by Leo on which is stamped a word said to be "Sree" in the Grantha or Devanagari script. With regard to the notches referred to in earlier article, they are supposed to serve as tests of the silver standard. There is evidence also that this hook-money called Dudu-masu, was current also in the time of Parākrama Bāhu the Great about five hundred years earlier, "Coco-reedi" is the term used in the low-country. Concludes that this hook-money is strictly money in character.

124. **Ferguson, Donald W.** Ceylon coins — "massas" and "larins". *C.N.R.* Vol. 1, No. 3, January 1907, pp. 369-370.

Doubts the existence of a single larin in Ceylon in A.D. 1200 and refers to the massa or māsaka as a very ancient coin, frequently mentioned in the Pali books.

Grogan, H.T. Larins (ou Fish-hook money) fabriques en Perse et ayant cours à Ceylan sous les Portugais et les Hollandais. *Catalogue de la collection importante H.T. Grogan à Londres*. (1914). (Ceylan, p. 74, illus.)

- Lowsley, Barzillai.** Coins and tokens of Ceylon: fish-hook money. *Num. Chron.* Vol. 15 (3rd series), No. 59, Pt. 3, 1895, p. 223.

125. **Parker, Henry.** The Ceylon Ridi. *Village folk-tales of Ceylon*. Vol. 3, London, Luzac, 1914. Appendix, pp. 452-455.

Rhys Davids, T.W. Hook money. *On the ancient coins and measures of Ceylon* (1877). Pt. 4, pp. 33-35.

Scholten, C. Silver larins with different stamps, XVIIth Century. *The coins of the Dutch overseas territories 1601-1948* (1953). Ch. 10, p. 135.

126. **Tavernier, J.B.** *The six voyages of John Baptista Tavernier... finished in the year 1670; tr. from the French, by J. Phillips*. London, 1678. Part II: describing India and the isles adjacent... pp.1-13. (Larins, half-larins, pp. 1-2, illus.)

Vaux, W.S.W. On the coins of Ceylon; with some remarks on the so-called ring and fish-hook money attributed to that island. *Num. Chron.* Vol. 16, April 1853-January 1854, pp. 121-132, 1 pl.

Disputes Dickinson's view that these silver fish-hook pieces denoted money of the Kandyan kings. The writer affirms firstly that there is no evidence that there ever was such a currency and secondly there is no proof that the inscriptions on them have anything to do with Ceylon. The testimony of travellers asserts that such pieces belong to and were struck in Laristan, a small district on the coast of the Persian Gulf, and may have reached Ceylon in the course of trade. The author is of the opinion that larins having become popular in the East, they were imitated in Ceylon and adopted as a form of coinage.

127. **Wilson, H.H.** Remarks on the so-called fish-hook money. *Num. Chron.* Vol. 16, April 1853-January 1854, pp. 179-182, 1 pl.

Description of some pieces of silver wire, not hooked, which were coined extensively in imitation of the larins at Bijapur by the Sultan Ali Adil Shah (1670-1691). They bear on both sides legends in Arabic characters, and are of the same weight as the Ceylon hooks, viz. about one hundred and seventy grains troy.

128. **Wood, Howland.** *The Gampola Larin hoard*. New York, American Numismatic Society, 1934. vi, 84 p., 10 pl. 2 text figs. (Numismatic notes and monographs—No. 61).

Introduction, pp. 1-42; Catalogue, pp. 43-84; (1) Larins made in Ceylon, pp. 43-74; (2) Larins made in Persia and elsewhere, pp. 74-78; (3) coins, pp. 74-84.

Description of a hoard of silver larins and other coins found in a glazed earthen pot dug up in Gampola in 1925. The collection described by the author consisting of 819 larins and 114 coins, forms a very considerable part of the whole. The find contained probably the largest number of larins ever found at one time, certainly the largest number ever found in Ceylon. Certain pieces have inscriptions sunk, rather than in relief and reversed. These pieces were impressed from coins acting as dies, chiefly from coins of mediaeval Sinhalese rulers, but also from the Portuguese and Dutch coins. The coins, other than larins, found in the hoard fall into two divisions—copper coins of the Sinhalese rulers of the XIII century, 43 in number and representing 6 rulers, and Portuguese silver coins of the XVII century. The larins were a full-fledged trading coin used extensively along the Persian littoral, down the West coast of India, in the Maldivé islands and Ceylon. Their extensive use stopped probably with Ceylon, and went no further eastward. They remained current in Ceylon later than elsewhere, barring the base towelaha of El Hasa. Those larins in use on the island were either brought over in the course of trade, or were made by local private artisans, who placed arbitrary marks on them, consisting of several hundred different devices, few of them having any indications of governmental authority. No mention is made anywhere that the Sinhalese kings ever issued those coins, and the Portuguese and Dutch did not make any officially, outside of those struck by the Portuguese Captain of Colombo. The Dutch found the larin much in evidence when they occupied the country, but it gradually disappeared as a circulating medium, and became a money of account in the territories they occupied. There is evidence, however, that they were still current in the Kandyan country in the early part of the 19th c. The author gives a detailed account of the origin and spread of the larin, the manufacture and stamping of them, and various weights.

See also Nos. 9 & 14.

(i) Miscellaneous

Codrington, H.W. Miscellaneous ancient. (h) Sassanian; (i) Miscellaneous. *Ceylon coins and currency*. Ch. 4, p. 50.

129. ———— Ridi tiram. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 24, No. 68, 1916, Notes and Queries, Pt. 5, pp. lxxix-lxxx.

The Anurādhapura Ruvanvālisāya Dāgaba inscription of Nissauka Malla, states that this monarch, his heir apparent and chief queen "mounted scale pans and caused great showers of gifts to fall by throwing down in the King's street unlimited quantities [of wealth] including the seven kinds of jewels and silver *tiram*" (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. 2, p. 81). The author surmises that it may possibly be the silver drachma of the Greeks.

130. Nevill, Hugh. An oblong silver coin. *Taprobanian*. Vol. 3, Pt. 3, June 1888, p. 53, 3 text figs.

Refers to two silver coins, which appear to have been cast in a die and bear the same device on either side. The weight of one is 60 grains, of the other 52. The device is described. The letters resemble old Telegu and/or Sanskrit, and a possible reading is Skr I - jaṁ (= Arrow-born). Considered by H.C.P. Bell to be genuinely ancient.

3. Portuguese coinage and currency (1506-1658)

131. **Aragao, A.C. Teixeira de.** *Descricao geral e historica das moedas cunhadas em nome dos reis, regentes e governadores de Portugal.* Lisboa. Imprensa Nacional, 1877. 3 vols., 62 pl. (Vol. 3, Indo-Portuguesa. 643 p., 15 pl. Documentos Comprovativos, Nos. 1-145, pp. 455-602).

132. **Campos, Manoel Joaquim de.** *Estudes de numismatica colonial portuguesa: 10. Classificao de tangas do sec. XVII. O Archeologo Portugues (Lisbon).* Vol. XI, No. 8, August 1906, pp. 135-144, 9 text illus.

133. ————— *Numismatica Indo-Portuguesa. B.S.G.L.* Vol. 18, 1900, pp. 132-385.

An useful work on the subject of the series of the coins issued by the Portuguese for their possessions in India and the further East during the four centuries commencing with 1510. This long series issued in gold, silver, copper, tin and tutenag, presents many unsolved problems, especially in the issues of the series from 1510-1710. The work is unfortunately not illustrated.

134. **Chalmers, Robert.** *Ceylon coins. J.R.A.S. (G.B. & I.).* 1891, pp. 696-697.

Portuguese silver tangas referred to by Robert Knox as "tangom massas".

————— *Portuguese coins and currency. History of currency in the British colonies.* (1893). pp. 349-350.

135. **Codrington, H.W.** *The pedigree of the Pardão. C.A.L.R.* Vol. 1, Pt. 1, July 1915, pp. 24-28, table.

The currency system of Portuguese India consisted of reis, of tangas and of pardãos of 60 and 300 reis respectively. But as in Goa, where an older and local system of keeping revenue accounts prevailed, so also in Ceylon, there were at least two such systems in the 16th and 17th Centuries. The first, which may be termed the "Sinhalese" prevailed in the western and south-western districts and was derived from the currency in use of the Kotte dynasty, consisting of base gold fanams of which in 1554, thirty counted towards the pardão of 300 reis. This fanam became a silver coin in course of time, and plus the silver larin of 100 reis and the xerafim of thrice that value formed the Sinhalese currency system. The second system, of which the principal denomination was the pardão of 10 chakrams or fanams may be styled the "Tamil" and prevailed in the northern parts of the island. Both the Sinhalese fanam and the fanam-chakram are found among the treasures looted by the Portuguese at Kotte and Sitawaka. When the Portuguese arrived in India, the gold varaha or pagoda was the principal coin of the Vijayanagara empire and was known to the invaders as the pardão.

————— *Portuguese coins. Ceylon coins and currency.* Ch. 8, pp. 91-107. (I. General, pp. 91-95; II. Ceylon, pp. 95-102; III. Malacca, p. 102; IV. Coins found in Ceylon, pp. 103-107); Supplement to Ch. 8, pp. 254-257.

————— *Documents relating to the Portuguese period. Ceylon coins and currency.* Appendix E, pp. 202-207; Supplement to Appendix E, p. 264.

————— *A recent find of coins: Indo-Portuguese. J.R.A.S. (C.B.).* Vol. 23, No. 66, 1913, pp. 73, 76-78.

"These coins are comparatively few in number, but present some interesting varieties in which the legend is inverted in whole or in part". The counter-marks are variations of the Dutch Company's monogram. "The roughly executed tangas, with the royal arms on the obverse and a gridiron or the monogram. T A (tanga) on the reverse and those with the gridiron between SL (Sao Lourenco) are perhaps the issues of the local mint. The double gridiron tanga of 1645 is believed to be unique".

136. **Cunha, Joseph Gerson da.** Contributions to the study of Indo-Portuguese numismatics. Parts 1-4. *J.R.A.S. (Bom. B.)*. Vol. 14, 1878-80, pp. 267-273, 1 pl.; pp. 402-417, 1 pl.; Vol. 15, 1881-82, pp. 169-202, 3 pl.; Vol. 16, 1883-85, pp. 17-77, 4 pl.

Reprinted : Byculla (Bombay), Education Society's press, 1883. 125 p., 9 pl.

137. **Ennes, Ernesto.** Inventarios moedas da India Portuguesa. *O Gabinete Numismatico*. Lisboa, Oficinas Graficas da Biblioteca Nacional, 1927. pp. 9-25.

138. **Fernandes, Manuel Bernardo Lopes.** *Memoria das moedas correntes em Portugal : desde o tempos dos Romanos até o anno de 1856* [Record of the coins current in Portugal from the time of the Romans to the year 1856]. Lisboa, Typographia da Academia, 1856. 357 p., illus.

139. **Grogan, Henry Thomas.** Indo-Portuguese numismatics: the gold issues of Goa. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 20, No. 234, May 1912, Columns 13583-13593, illus.

140. ————— Indo-Portuguese numismatics: the Gold St. Thome of 1670. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 26, Pts. 11-12, November-December 1918, columns 495-497, illus.

Describes and illustrates this specimen, which helps to clear up two doubts, long held by students of Indo-Portuguese numismatics: (1) the probability of the S. Thome of 1660, referred to by J.B. Tavernier, being a genuine piece, and (2) whether coins issued at Goa between 1667 and 1683 should be allocated to D. Affonso VI or D. Pedro as Regent.

141. ————— Indo-Portuguese numismatics: inedited pieces of Goa and Ceylon. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 22, Pt. 2, February 1914, columns 90-93, 6 text figs.

Goa : Description of two interesting specimens of gold coins issued from the Goa Mint, discovered in Ceylon by Codrington. One is probably the earliest issue of the gold S. Thome of the type with the standing figure of the Saint, and the other is the earliest specimen of a dated gold S. Thome. *Ceylon* : Comments on Codrington's revelation of two fresh and important facts regarding the Portuguese issue of coins for Ceylon itself—(1) the proper and natural explanation of the presence of the gridiron on Portuguese Ceylon coins, and (2) that coins were issued for Ceylon not only in silver but in base metal as well. Firstly the Portuguese fort at Colombo was named after St. Lawrence and the gridiron would have been the logical symbol on coins struck there; secondly Codrington's researches have revealed several small tutenag pieces struck by the Portuguese for Ceylon. Two of these base metal coins of low intrinsic value are described and author surmises that they may have been struck in Fort St. Lawrence by Constantine de Sa. Official documents still remain silent about issues of copper coins, however.

142. ————— Indo-Portuguese numismatics: the issues of the Malacca Mint. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 24, Pt. 11-12, November-December 1916, columns 610-623, 24 illus.

Contradictory accounts in the two contemporary chronicles of Braz d'Albuquerque and Gaspar Correa of the type, weight and number of the gold, silver and tin issues of the Mint at Malacca opened in 1511. Some of the later silver issues have been found in Ceylon and elsewhere and specimens are in the Colombo Museum. The official documents relating to the operations of the Malacca Mint during the period of its operation (1511-1641) seem to have been lost or are still to be traced. The possibility exists of their being yet found among the archives at Java, Colombo, Lisbon or The Hague. The only satisfactory feature about the Portuguese Malacca coinage, which is shrouded in uncertainty, is that the coins themselves exist.

143. ————— Indo-Portuguese numismatics: the silver issues of Goa—the Cross of Christ type. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 21, Pt. 1, January 1913, columns 32-38, illus.

Broadly speaking the Goa silver issues may be classed under three main types: (1) those with standing figure of a Saint; (2) those with the Cross of the Order of Christ and (3) those with the bust of the ruling king of Portugal.

144. ————— Indo-Portuguese numismatics: the silver issues of Goa—the Saint type. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 20, No. 238, September 1912, columns 13865-13872, illus.

145. ————— Portuguese Ceylon coins. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 19, No. 224, July 1911, columns 12891-12895, 32 illus.

The date of opening of a Portuguese Mint in Ceylon is quite uncertain, though the Portuguese were established in Colombo and other places early in the 16th c., and coins were struck for use in the island in the periods of governorship of de Azevedo and de Saa in the first quarter of the 17th c. The following coins are described: a silver tanga (1640) issued from Colombo Mint; silver double tanga of Goa of 1642 and 1643; silver double and single tangas issued by Goa Mint in 1645 for use in Ceylon; silver double tanga of 1649 issued by Goa for Ceylon, and Saint type double tangas struck at Goa for Ceylon in 1650-53. When the Dutch captured Ceylon and became masters of the island, most of these coins were in circulation and were counter-marked with the Dutch East India Coy. monogram. Since official documents are scanty, contemporary chronicles frequently misleading, and specimens of the issues not only sparse and rare, but also worn and imperfectly struck, the reconstruction of the first two centuries of Indo-Portuguese numismatics is bedevilled with problems. The author likens it to assembling an elaborate jigsaw-puzzle of which very many of the pieces and the guide plan have been either mislaid or lost.

————— Les monnaies des colonies portugaises: Ceylan. *Catalogue de la collection importante H. T. Grogan à Londres...* (1914). pp. 72-74, illus. Reprinted (1949), pp. 72-74, illus.

Howorth, Daniel F. Indo-European copper coins: an introductory essay. [Portuguese India]. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 9, No. 97, December 1900, column 4354.

No Portuguese copper coins, according to the writer, were issued for use in Ceylon.

146. Perera, K.C.D. An unpublished Indo-Portuguese tanga from Ceylon. *Num. Circ.* August-September 1953.

147. Pieris, Paul E. *Ceylon: the Portuguese era, being a history of the island for the period 1505-1658*. 2 vols. Colombo, Colombo Apothecaries Co. Ltd., 1913, 1914. References to Portuguese coinage in use in the island—bazarucos, chakrans, cruzados, ducats, fanams, larins, pagodas, pardãos, patacas, reals, rees, seraphims, etc. (esp. pp. 449-50, note 28).

Scholten, C. (1) Indo-Portuguese coins counter-marked at Galle (1665); (2) Indo-Portuguese coins counter-marked at Colombo; (3) Indo-Portuguese coins counter-marked at Jaffnapatam. *The coins of the Dutch Overseas territories 1601-1948* (1953), Ch. 10, (1) pp. 149-150; (2) p. 150; (3) p. 151.

Shenoy, B.R. The Portuguese period. *Ceylon currency and banking*. (1941) Ch. 1, pp. 13-20.

Wood, Howland. Portuguese silver coins of the XVIIth century. *The Gampola larin hoard*. (1934). pp. 6-8, Catalogue, pp. 79-84, 1 pl. (x).

The Portuguese colonial coins in the find, numbering seventy pieces, are most important. These coins are all scarce and some are rare. The earliest dated coin is 1631 and the last dated piece 1655.

See also Nos. 9, 13, 14, 24, 28 and 35

4. Dutch coinage and currency (1602-1796)

148. **Anthonisz, R.G.** *Catalogue of the records of the Province of Galle, under the rule of the Netherlands East India Company, A.D. 1640 to A.D. 1796.* Colombo, H.C. Cottle, Govt. printer, 1906. 78 p.
149. ————— *Report on the Dutch Records in the Government Archives at Colombo.* Colombo, H.C. Cottle, Govt. printer, 1907, [vi], 138 p., front., map, 6 pl.
150. **Berg, N.P. Van Den.** *Munt-crediet en Bankwezen Handel en Scheepvaart in Nederlandsch Indie : historisch statistische Bijdragen.* The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1907. [6], 398 p.
- Bertolacci, Anthony.** Dutch coinage and currency. *A view of the agricultural, commercial and financial interests of Ceylon.* (1817). Book 1, pp. 77-88.
151. **Bucknill, John.** *The coins of the Dutch East Indies.* London, Spink & Sons, Ltd., 1931. xii, 291 p., 226 text figs.
152. **Ceylon. Legislative Acts. 1656-1795. Index to the Legislative Acts of the Dutch Government of the Island of Ceylon. (Vols. I-VIII, 1656-1795).** *A Collection of Legislative Acts of the Ceylon Government from 1796-1851.* 2 vols. Colombo, William Skeen, Govt. printer, -1853-54. Vol. 1, 1796-1833, Appendix, pp. 407-413.

Proclamation—Declaring Portuguese coin not current, July 10, 1660: Vol. 1, p. 132; *Procl.*—Prohibiting the accepting or giving out Pagodas, Bullion, and Spanish dollars not having the ordinary weight, Nov. 16, 1668: Vol. 1, p. 185; *Procl.*—Declaring Abatjes and Mammodies not current, Feb. 8, 1702: Vol. 2, p. 1; *Procl.*—Declaring shillings and double stivers (pice) on both sides of which the impression can be seen, current, Oct. 15, 1707: Vol. 2, p. 69; *Procl.*—Prohibiting the carrying of copper money from one place to another, throughout Ceylon, on pain of forfeiting the same, Sept. 14, 1713: Vol. 2, p. 177; *Procl.*—Prohibiting the exportation of silver Two-penny pieces from Ceylon without the consent of Government, on pain of Rds. 2 fine for every Rix-dollar, intended to be exported; *Procl.*—For receiving and issuing Copper Doits as current coin, Aug. 8, 1731: Vol. 2, p. 245; *Advertisement*—For returning unto the Treasury the coin called Copper Doits and issuing other coin instead, Oct. 30, 1732: Vol. 2, p. 289; For receiving and issuing the current coin called Copper Doits at a lesser rate than fixed by the Regulation of 8 Aug. 1731, Feb. 5, 1733: Vol. 2, p. 293; Prohibiting the chipping of coins, on pain of being severely punished. Nov. 2, 1741: Vol. 3, p. 3; Containing an order that the country Gold coin, *Derham Djarie*, be declared current at Batavia, March 29, 1745: Vol. 4, p. 110; Prohibiting the discounting anything, or changing Pagodas for other coin, Feb. 25, 1747: Vol. 4, p. 149; *Notification*—For declaring current the Pagodas coined at Negapatam, at the rate of Rds. 2 each, March 8, 1747: Vol. 4, p. 165; *Advertisement*—For declaring a coin called *Boeseroekoe* current: Vol. 4, p. 195; By the Governor General declaring a Silver Coin called *Dirham* current at Batavia, April 21, 1747: Vol. 4, p. 199; *Notification*—Prohibiting the receiving of the Coin called *Boeseroekoe* as currency, April 23, 1748: Vol. 5, p. 18; Declaring the value of 108 new Negapatam Pagodas equal to Rds. 200, Nov. 18, 1749: Vol. 5, p. 29; Fixing the rate of Silver Ducatoons and Silver

Rupees, Nov. 6, 1753: Vol. 5, p. 78; *Advertisement* — Declaring the coin called Boeseroekoe not current, Dec. 7, 1756: Vol. 5, p. 96; *Advertisement* — Fixing the rates of Silver Ducatoons and Silver Rupees, Dec. 17, 1756: Vol. 5, p. 102; Declaring the coin called blue stivers current, Jan. 8, 1757: Vol. 5, p. 108; *Advertisement* — Declaring the new Silver Ducatoons current, Jan. 8, 1763: Vol. 6, p. 198; *Notification* — Declaring that the Portonovo Pagodas will not be accepted at the Govt. Treasury, Feb. 22, 1766: Vol. 6, p. 271; Prohibiting the counterfeiting of coins, on pain of punishment, June 29, 1790: Vol. 7, p. 223; Declaring cash notes of Rds. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 12 current, Dec. 18, 1795: Vol. 8, p. 12.

CEYLON. Memoirs and Instructions of Dutch Governors, Commandeurs, etc.

153. *Memoir of Joan Maetsuyker, President and Commander-in-chief, delivered to his successor Jacob Van Kittensteyn on the 27 February 1650*; tr. by E. Reimers, Colombo, H. Ross Cottle, Govt. printer, Ceylon, 1927. ii, 68 p.
- 153a. *Instructions from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon 1653-1665; to which is appended the Memoir left by Anthony Paviljoen Commandeur of Jaffnapatam to his successor in 1665*; tr. by Sophia Pieters . . . Colombo, H.C. Cottle, Govt. printer, 1908. v, 126 p.
154. *Memoirs of Ryckloff Van Goens, Governor of Ceylon delivered to his successors Jacob Hustaart on December 26, 1663 and Ryckloff Van Goens the Younger, on April 12, 1675*; tr. by E. Reimers. Colombo, Ceylon Govt. press, 1932. xii, 112 p.
- 154a. *Memoir left by Ryckloff Van Goens, junior, Governor of Ceylon, 1675-1679, to his successor Laurens Pyl, late Commandeur, Jaffnapatam*; tr. by Sophia Pieters . . . Colombo, H.C. Cottle, Govt. printer, 1910. v, 34 p.
155. *Memoir of Thomas Van Rhee, Governor and Director of Ceylon, for his successor, Gerrit de Heere, 1697*; tr. by Sophia Anthonisz . . . Colombo, H.C. Cottle, Govt. printer, 1915. v, 61 p.
156. *Memoir of Hendrick Zwaardcroon, Commandeur of Jaffnapatam, 1697, for the guidance of the Council of Jaffnapatam, during his absence at the coast of Malabar*; tr. by Sophia Pieters . . . Colombo, H.C. Cottle, Govt. printer, 1911. vi, 130 p.
157. *Memoir of Cornelis Joan Simons, Governor and Director of Ceylon, for his successor, Hendrick Becker, 1707*; tr. by Sophia Anthonisz . . . Colombo, H.C. Cottle, Govt. printer, 1914. v, 35 p.
158. *Memoir of Hendrick Becker, Governor and Director of Ceylon, for his successor Isaac Augustyn Rumpf, 1716*; tr. by Sophia Anthonisz . . . Colombo, H.C. Cottle, Govt. printer, 1914. v, 57 p.
159. *Memoir left by Jacob Christiaan Pielat, to his successor Diederik van Domburg, 1734*; tr. by Sophia Pieters . . . Colombo G.J.A. Skeen, Govt. printer, 1905. 61 p.
160. *Memoir left by Gustaaf Willem Baron Van Imhoff, Governor and Director of Ceylon, to his successor Willem Maurits Bruynink, 1740*; tr. by Sophia Pieters . . . Colombo, H.C. Cottle, Govt. printer, 1911. iv, 86 p.
- 160a. *Memoir of Joan Gideon Loten, Governor of Ceylon, delivered to his successor Jan Schreuder on February 28, 1757*; tr. by E. Reimers, Colombo, Ceylon Govt. press, 1935. x, 108 p.
- 160b. *Memoir of Jan Schreuder, Governor of Ceylon, delivered to his successor Lubbert Jan Baron Van Eck on March 17, 1762*; tr. by E. Reimers. Colombo, Ceylon Govt. press, 1946. xii, 202 p.
161. *Memoir by Anthony Mooyaart, Commandeur of Jaffnapatam, for the information and guidance of his successor, Noel Anthony Lebeck, 1766*; tr. by Sophia Pieters . . . Colombo, H.C. Cottle, Govt. printer, 1910. iv, 14 p.

162. **Memoir of Governor William Jacob Van de Graaf, to his successor Governor G. J. Van Angelbeck on 15 July, 1794; tr. from the Dutch. C.L.R.** Vol. 1, No. 37, April 15, 1887, pp. 302-304; Vol. 1, No. 38, April 22, 1887, pp. 309-312; Vol. 1, No. 39, April 29, 1887, pp. 318-320; Vol. 1, No. 40, May 6, 1887, pp. 326-328.

Chalmers, Robert. Dutch coins and currency. *History of currency in the British colonies.* (1893). pp. 350-1.

163. **Chijs, J.A. Van der.** *Catalogus der Numismatische Verzameling van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.* Batavia, Albrecht and Rusche: The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1896. 375 p.
164. ——— *Nederlandsch—Indisch plakaatboek, 1602-1811.* 17 vols. Batavia, Landsdrukkerij; The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1885-1900.
165. **Churchill, R.S.** Ceylon Dutch currency. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 15, No. 177, August 1907, columns 10022-23.

Description of a few copper duits and half-duits, from the author's collection of 116 specimens from 1727-1793. These copper coins bear on the obverse the monogram of the Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie (VOC) with date underneath and a mint mark above, while the reverse gives the arms of the state privileged to mint the coin, on a crowned shield.

Codrington, H.W. Dutch coins and currency. *Ceylon coins and currency.* Ch. 9, pp. 107-122; *contd.* Ch. 10, pp. 122-145.

Ch. 9: I. — 1602-1681, pp. 107-113; II. — 1681-1768, pp. 113-122; Ch. 10: III. — 1768-1796, pp. 122-130; Coins of the United Provinces found in Ceylon, pp. 130-1; Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie (1) Coinage of the Eastern Mints, pp. 131-139; (2) Coinage of the European Mints, pp. 139-141; Abstract of minting reports, pp. 141-144; Value of the Indian Rix-dollar in sterling, pp. 144-5; Supplements to Ch. 9, pp. 257-259; Ch. 10, p. 260.

——— Documents relating to the Dutch period. *Ceylon coins and currency.* Appendix F, pp. 207-236; Supplementary Appendix F, pp. 265-271.

166. ——— Dutch pagodas and fanams of Ceylon, *J.R.A.S. (C.B.).* Vol. 23, No. 67, 1914, Notes and queries, Pt. IV, No. 27, pp. lxxvi-lxxvii.

Evidence in "Proceedings of the Council" in 1783 and 1784 that *pagodas* and *gold fanams* were struck in Colombo by the Dutch Govt., "a fact hitherto unknown". Pagodas and fanams were current in the island during the 17th and 18th centuries, but the only pagodas known to have been issued by the Dutch were those struck at Pulicat, Negapatam and Tuticorin. The author believes that very probably the Colombo and Tuticorin issues were of the same design. The gold fanams were in all likelihood of the *Vira rāya* or "plough" type, so common in the island.

167. ——— "Heavy", "light" and "Indian" money. *C.A.L.R.* Vol. 1, Pt. 2, October 1915, pp. 99-102.

——— Pagodas and fanams (Dutch and British periods). *Ceylon coins and currency.* Ch. 13, VI, pp. 171-174; Supplement to Ch. 13, pp. 262-3.

The later phases of the pagoda, so important in the Portuguese period, belong to the Dutch and British periods. The Porto Novo and the Star varieties are the most common in Ceylon. *One, Two and Three Sami pagodas* issued from various Indian mints and current in the island, are described. *Kali* or *Kaliyugarāyan* fanams current throughout Kerala and outside and struck in Malabar towards the close, under the name of *Vira rāya*, comprised the greater proportion of the gold fanams found in Ceylon. The average weight was about 5.6 gr. The obverse and reverse designs are described, the obverse in particular deriving from the 'Ceylon type'.

Dutch fanams struck at Pulicat, Negapatam and Tuticorin were current in Ceylon in the 17th and 18th Centuries. There were only two types of silver fanams: (1) *Vira rāya* (=Sinhalese *paṇama*) a copy of the gold, and (2) *Cakram*, in the shape of a split half pea was struck in Travancore and imported. In the early years of British rule the popular Dutch denominations of these coins were retained.

168. ——— A recent find of coins. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 23, No. 66, 1913, pp. 72-88 (Dutch coins, pp. 73, 78-87).

A large collection of eight hundred silver and billon coins, chiefly Persian, Indo-Portuguese and Dutch found in 1913, probably in the Southern or Sabaragamuwa provinces of Ceylon. Coins of the United Provinces (Dutch) form the bulk of the find, every province and five cities being represented. A part of the find consisted of bare silver Kandyan fanams. Of those dated the earliest is 1601 and the latest 1711. Many were much worn by circulation. A descriptive list of the coins arranged by categories is given. Of the Dutch coins, the greater number of the dubbeltjes or two stuiver pieces are of Overijssel and Zeeland. A few are counter-marked. A considerable number of the Persian coins are counter-marked with the Dutch company monogram, surmounted by C, the mint mark of Colombo. The counter marks on the Portuguese coins are variations of the VOC monogram. A reference to the most recently discovered hoard of Dutch coins, 4075 in number, is made in the *J.D.B.U. (Cey)*. Vol. 20, No. 3, Jan. 1931, p. 155. All the coins were of copper of various dates and bore the Coats of Arms of different provinces of the Dutch Republic. They were found at Nabalagahatenne in Walapane, Nuwara Eliya district.

169. Grogan, Henry Thomas. Ceylon Dutch currency. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 16, No. 183, February 1908, columns 10382-10387, 34 text figs.

Points out errors in Churchill (No. 165) in mixing up coins issued by the Dutch for general circulation in their Asiatic colonies, with purely Dutch coins which happened to be in Ceylon. The duits and half-duits with the VOC monogram were minted in the Netherlands and sent to any Dutch colony that required them. They were not issued specially for Ceylon and may be called Ceylon Dutch currency but certainly not Ceylon Dutch coins. The coins issued specially for Ceylon fall into two classes: (1) those without the Company's monogram and (2) those with the monogram. Coins of both classes were struck under the auspices of the VOC and all appeared during the 18th c. Coins of both categories are described, including the counter-marked Portuguese, Indian and Persian pieces. The coins with C.G.I. or T over the monogram, were issued at or for Colombo, Galle, Jaffna and Trincomalee respectively. All the types of the Dutch Ceylon series are listed and described with details of dates, sizes and weights taken from specimens in the author's collection. (see MacMahon, No. 176 for discrepancies in above).

170. ——— Ceylon Dutch currency. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 17, No. 196, March 1909, columns 11269-11271, 4 text figs.

Refers to MacMahon's (No. 176) questioning of the authenticity and existence of some of the pieces described in author's first article (No. 169). The attribution of the Suku silver coin to Ceylon confirmed—also the reading of the legends—a mixture of Arabic, Persian and Malay. Evidence is also produced that the Dutch had issued another silver piece—a Sikka rupee—for Ceylon. A specimen of the Sikka rupee of 1784 is described and illustrated. The other attributions in No. 169 are also defended.

171. ——— *Catalogue de la collection importante Henry Thomas Grogan à Londres : monnaies émises par ou pour les colonies des états Européens . . .* compiled by Jacques Schulman. Amsterdam, 1914. 2 Vols. (Text and plates). (Dutch coins in Ceylon, pp. 29-35, illus.).

——— The Indo-European Pagodas. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 16, No. 188, July 1908, columns 10728-10731, illus. (see Note to No. 269).

172. **Henderson, J.R.** Ceylon Dutch currency. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 17, No. 200, July 1909, columns 11522-3.

The writer is of the opinion that on the VOC coins, the characters of the inscriptions on the reverse are in Tamil and express the value. Also corrects the impression that the characters on the corresponding Galle coins are Tamil characters. The letters are Sinhalese.

173. **Howorth, Daniel F.** Indo-European copper coins: an introductory essay. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 9, No. 97, December 1900, columns 4352-4359. (Dutch India, columns 4354-4355).

A description of the monetary system introduced, as well as taken over by the Dutch. The series of Ceylon Dutch copper coins of native workmanship are described. These continued in use in Ceylon and parts of Southern India until the dying years of the 19th c.

174. **Juriaanse, M.W.** *Catalogue of the Archives of the Dutch Central Government of Coastal Ceylon, 1640-1796.* Colombo, Ceylon Govt. press, 1943. [14], 354 p.

175. ———— *Report on the Dutch Archives.* Colombo, Ceylon Govt. press, 1938. 10 p. (Sessional Paper IX—1938).

Lowsley, Barzillai. Coins and tokens of Ceylon: Dutch coinage. *Num. Chron.* Vol. 15 (3rd series) No. 59, Pt. 3, 1895, pp. 225-232.

176. **MacMahon, P.C.** Ceylon Dutch currency. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 16, No. 187, June 1908, columns 10674-5.

A few discrepancies in Grogan (*See* No. 169) are pointed out. (1) VOC duits and half-duits did not all appear in the 18th c.; (2) The "copper thorny wreath series" are known in Ceylon as "Crown of thorn stuivers"; (3) The inscription on the Saku of 1787 is Malay not Arabic and the coin was minted in Penang and not in Ceylon; (4) It is not certain whether the Dutch coined money in Jaffna; (5) The round "lead two stuiver piece of 1783" may be a forgery, originally coated with bronze.

177. **Molsbergen, E.G. Godee.** *Report on the Dutch records in the Govt. Archives at Colombo.* Colombo, A.C. Richards, Acting Govt. Printer, 1929. 6 p. (Sessional Paper IX—1929).

178. **Moquette, J.P.** De Munten van Nederlandsche — Indië. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-land-en Volkenkunde van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.* Batavia, Albrecht & Co., 1907-1910.

A series of nearly sixteen articles in the above journal on some of the various categories of coins of the Dutch East Indies.

179. **Netscher, E. and Chijs, J.A. Van der.** *De Munten van Nederlandsch Indië, beschreven en afgebeeld.* [The coins of the Dutch Indies, described and illustrated]. Batavia, Lange & Co., 1863. x, 230 p., 33 pl.

180. Old Dutch copper coins. *J.D.B.U. (Cey.)*. Vol. 1, No. 4, 1908, Notes and Queries, pp. 217-8.

181. **Rea, Alexander.** Indo-Dutch coinage. *Monumental remains of the Dutch East India Company in the Presidency of Madras.* (Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial series—Vol. XXV). Madras, 1897. Part III, pp. 65-72, 1 pl. (LXIII).

182. **Reimers, Edmund.** Krediet-brieven and Kas-briefjes. *J.D.B.U. (Cey.)*. Vol. 20, No. 1, July 1930, pp. 76-80.

Krediet-brieven or Dutch treasury notes, bearing interest at 3% were introduced into Ceylon in 1785 owing to the lack of specie. *Kas-briefjes* or currency notes,

were also introduced into Ceylon as a war measure, when Colombo was on the verge of being captured by the British in December 1795.

183. **Reus, G.C. Kerk de.** *Geschiedtlicher Ueberblick der administrativen rechtlichen und finanziellen Entwicklung der Niederlandisch — Ostindisch en Compagnie. Verhandelungen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.* Deel XLVII, 3e Stuk. Batavia — 'sHage, 1894.
- Rhys Davids, T.W.** *European Ceylon coins : Dutch. On the ancient coins and measures of Ceylon* (1877). Appendix to Pt. 4, p. 36.
184. **Scholten, C.** *The coins of the Dutch Overseas territories, 1601-1948*; tr. from the original Dutch edition of 1951 from the same publisher. Amsterdam, J. Schulman, 1953. 176 p., 20 pl.

Ch. 10. Coins of the United East India Company in India and Ceylon, pp.133-159 (India, pp. 133-146; Ceylon, pp. 146-159).

The various classes of gold, silver and base metal coins counter marked or struck within or outside Ceylon for use within the island are listed and described.
185. **Schulman, Andre.** *Numismatische herinneringen aan Ceylon onder Hollandsch bestuur.* [Numismatic reminiscences of Ceylon, under Dutch administration]. *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Genootschap Munt — en Penningkunde* Amsterdam. Vol. 1, 1914, pp.169-185, illus.
- Shenoy, B.R.** *The Dutch period. Ceylon currency and banking* (1941) Ch. 2, pp. 21-36; Dutch paper currency, Ch. 5, pp. 79-81.
186. **Stephanik, J.W.** *Catalogue of the Stephanik Collection of Dutch coins to be sold by auction in the month of October 1904*, by Messrs. Frederik Muller & Co., Amsterdam. 28 p., 3 pl. (Ceylon, pp. 20-21).
187. ——— *Geschiedkundige Catalogus der Verzameling Munten van Nederland, Bezittingen en Kolonien, Bijengebracht en Beschreven Door Joh. W. Stephanik . . . Met platen. De Verzameling bevindt zich in de Bibliotheek, naast het Prentenkabinet.* Amsterdam, 1888. 151 p. (Ceylon, pp. 118-119).
188. **Verkade P.** *Muntboek, bevattende de Namen en Afbeeldingen van Munten, geslagen in de zeven voormalig vereenigde Nederlandsche Provinciën.* Schiedam, P.J. Van Dijk, 1848. vi, 214 p., 228 pl.

See also Nos. 9, 13, 14, 28, 33 and 35.

5. British coinage and currency (incl. Tokens) (1796-1948)

189. **Atkins, James.** *The coins and tokens of the possessions and colonies of the British Empire.* London, Bernard Quaritch, 1889. vi, 402 p., illus. (Ceylon, pp. 192-199).

A description of some ninety-five of the silver and copper coins issued for the island between 1801-1870, in chronological order. A list of six copper tokens is also described.
190. **Bank of Ceylon, Colombo.** *Annual Reports [of the Chairman of the Board of Directors]* 1939-40—
191. **Bertolacci, Anthony.** *A view of the agricultural, commercial and financial interests of Ceylon . . .* London, Black, Parbury and Allen, 1817. (Book I. Coin, currency and exchange, pp. 77-137).

192. **Brushfield, A.N.** *Catalogue of the collection of Dr. A.N. Brushfield: Coins and tokens of Asia*. London, Glendening, 1949. (Early British coins and Ceylon tokens, pp. 33-38).
193. Catalogue of coins of British possessions and colonies: Ceylon. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 15, No. 173, April 1907. column 9817-8; A list of coins, tokens and proofs (1801-1912), Vol. 25, Pts. 3-4, March-April 1917. columns 212-3.
194. Catalogue of proof and pattern coins of British possessions and colonies: Ceylon. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 25, Pts. 9-10, Sept.-Oct. 1917, column 493; Vol. 25, Pts. 11-12, Nov.-Dec. 1917, Columns 590-1.
195. **Central Bank of Ceylon.** *Annual Reports of the Monetary Board to the Minister of Finance.* 1950—
196. **Ceylon. Ceylon Banking Commission.** *Report of the Ceylon Banking Commission.* December 1934. Colombo, Ceylon Govt. press, 1934. 2 Vols. Vol. 1: Report, 284 p., 8 appendices, 3 diagrs.; Vol. 2: Memoranda and evidence, 528 p.
197. **Ceylon. Ceylon Currency Commission.** *Reports of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into and report on the existing scarcity of silver in the Colony, and to suggest some way of meeting the present difficulty and of preventing its recurrence.* Colombo, H.C. Cottle, acting Govt. printer, 1903. 72 p. (Sessional paper V — 1903).
198. ——— *Papers relating to the Commissions on the scarcity of silver in Ceylon;* (in continuation of Sessional paper V of 1903). Colombo, G.J.A. Skeen, Govt. printer, 1903. 28 p. (Sessional paper XXVII — 1903).
199. **Ceylon. Currency. Correspondence. Despatches and Reports.** *Paper currency in Ceylon : despatches on the subject of paper currency in Ceylon from 1812 to 1840.* *M.L.R.* Vol. 2, No. 1, Jan. 1894, pp. 8-11; Vol. 2, No. 9, Sept. 1894, pp. 198-202; Vol. 2, No. 10, October 1894, pp. 235-238; Vol. 2, No. 11, Nov. 1894, pp. 247-249; Vol. 2, No. 12, Dec. 1894, pp. 265-267; Vol. 3, No. 1, Jan. 1895, pp. 1-2; Vol. 3, No. 2, Feb. 1895, pp. 29-31; Vol. 3, No. 3, March 1895, pp. 53-55; Vol. 3, No. 4, April 1895, pp. 77-79; Vol. 3, No. 5, May 1895, pp. 101-102; Vol. 3, No. 9, Sept. 1895, pp. 197-8.
200. ——— *Correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governor of Ceylon, upon the subject of the currency of the Colony.* Colombo, William Skeen, Govt. printer, 1869. 27 p. (Sessional paper I — 1869).
201. ——— *Currency of Ceylon. Report of the Commissioners appointed by his Excellency the Governor to consider "Whether any change will become either necessary or desirable in the denomination of the Public Accounts, on the Proclamation of Her Majesty's Order in Council of the 18th of June, 1869 declaring the Rupee to be the only legal tender of payment within the Colony of Ceylon and its dependencies".* Colombo, William Skeen, Govt. printer, 1869. 27 p. (Sessional paper XV — 1869).
202. ——— *Further papers relating to the currency of Ceylon.* Colombo, William Skeen, Govt. printer, 1869. 10 p. (Sessional paper XVI — 1869).
203. ——— *Further papers relating to the currency of Ceylon.* Colombo, William Skeen, Govt. printer, 1871. 35 p. (Sessional paper I — 1871).
204. ——— *Further papers relating to the currency of Ceylon.* Colombo, William Skeen, Govt. printer, 1871. 15 p. (Sessional paper V — 1871).
205. ——— *Despatches relating to the issue of currency notes by the Government of Ceylon.* Colombo, G.J.A. Skeen, Govt. printer, 1886. 30 p. (Sessional paper I — 1886).
206. ——— *Despatches relating to the proportion of silver held in reserve against the currency note issue.* Colombo, G.J.A. Skeen, Govt. printer, 1896. 3. p. (Sessional paper XXXIV — 1896).

207. ——— *Correspondence on the subject of the Currency question as affecting the interests of Ceylon.* Colombo, H.C. Cottle, acting Govt. printer, 1898. 16 p. (Sessional paper XVI — 1898).
208. ——— *Five-cent nickel coin for Ceylon. Despatches relating to the introduction of a Nickel Five-cent coin to replace the copper coin of the same value at present in use in Ceylon.* Colombo, Ceylon Govt. press, 1909. 4 p. (Sessional paper XXI — 1909).
209. **Ceylon. Ministry of Finance.** *Report on the establishment of a Central Bank for Ceylon,* (by John Exter). November 1949. Colombo. Ceylon Govt. press, 1949. x, 56 p. (Sessional paper XIV — 1949).
210. **Ceylon. Legislative Council.** Sub-Committee on paper currency. *Report of a Sub-committee of the Legislative Council appointed to report upon the Bill intituled "An Ordinance to provide for the issue of Govt. Paper Currency".* Colombo, G.J.A. Skeen, Govt. printer. 1884. 3 p. (Sessional paper XII — 1884).
- 210a. **Ceylon. Legislative enactments.** [Proclamations, regulations, ordinances, etc., relating to coinage and currency, 1796-1948]. *The Legislative Enactments of Ceylon.* 1st ed. 1821 and successive editions.
211. **Ceylon. Silver Currency Commission.** *Report of the Commissioners.* Colombo, G.J.A. Skeen, Govt. printer, 1894. xvii, 100 p. (Sessional paper VI — 1894).
212. **Chalmers, Robert.** *History of currency in the British colonies.* London, printed for H.M.S.O. by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1893. viii, 496 p.
- Ceylon. Ch. 25, pp. 349-359 (Portuguese coins and currency, pp. 349-350; Dutch coins and currency, pp. 350-1; British coins and currency, pp. 351-359); Treasury minute (11th Feb. 1825) respecting introduction of British silver and copper coin into Ceylon. Appendix B, pp. 422-424.
- Codrington, H.W.** British coinage and currency. *Ceylon coins and currency.* Ch. XI, pp. 145-157. (I. — 1796-1825, pp. 145-152; II. — 1825-1914, pp. 152-154; Coins struck in England, pp. 154-5; Coins struck in Ceylon, pp. 155-7).
- Documents relating to the British period, *Ceylon coins and currency.* Appendix G, pp. 237-247.
- Pagodas and fanams (Dutch and British periods). *Ceylon coins and currency.* Ch. 13, pp. 171-174; Supplement to Ch. 13, pp. 262-3.
213. **Das Gupta, B.B.** Expansion of currency in Ceylon. *C.E.J.* Vol. 10, December 1940, pp. 52-57.
214. ——— The problem of the small coins. *C.E.J.* Vol. XI, December 1943, pp. 11-30.
215. **Fernando, B.W.** Ceylon currency—British period. *C.T.J.* Vol. 3, No. 4, April 1938, pp. 145-149; Vol. 3, No. 5, May 1938, pp. 197-202; Vol. 3, No. 6, June 1938, pp. 249-253; Vol. 3, Nos. 7-8, July-August, 1938, pp. 293-296.
216. ——— *Ceylon currency, British period 1796-1936;* with a foreword by H.W. Codrington. Colombo, Ceylon Govt. press 1939. viii, 68 p., 9 pl.

Part I. — The coinage, 1796-1936, Chs. 1-5, pp. 1-24; Part II — The Paper currency, 1796-1936, Chs. 6-7, pp. 24-34; Appendices, (i) Law regulating the coinage and the paper currency, A — L, pp. 37-60; (ii) Statistics, M — O, pp. 61-62.

A brief history of the coinage and paper currency of Ceylon since the British occupation. It consists of material collected from both official and unofficial publications and records. It is a revised and enlarged version of No. 215.

217. **Forrer, L.** Biographical notices of medallists, coin, gem and seal-engravers, ancient and modern, with references to their works: Thomas Wyon (11) jun. Coins for currency. Ceylon—Two Rix dollar, 1812; Rix dollar, 1812. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 22, Pts. 11-12, November-December 1914, column 621, illus.
218. **Friedberg, Robert.** *Coins of the British world, complete from 500 A.D. to the present. An illustrated standard catalogue with valuations of the coinage of the British Isles from 500 A.D. and the British Empire from 1600 A.D.* New York, Coin and currency Institute, 1962. 224 p., illus.
219. **Garside, Henry.** Some coins of the British Empire: Ceylon. Different denominations of the silver and nickel coins specially designed and minted for circulation in Ceylon during the reigns of Queen Victoria and King Edward VII. A tabular statement, *Num. Circ.* Vol. 20, No. 230, January 1912, column 13318.
220. ———— Coins of the British Empire: Ceylon. Queen Victoria, Copper half and quarter farthing, 1839. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 20, No. 236, July 1912, columns 13720-1; Silver Fifty cents, 1892. Vol. 21, Pt. 8, Aug. 1913, ens. 591-2; Silver Twenty-five cents, 1892. Vol. 21, Pt. 10, Oct. 1913, en. 735; Silver Ten cents, 1892. Vol. 21, Pt. 12, Dec. 1913, ens. 910-11; Copper Five cents, 1870. Vol. 22, Pt. 2, Feb. 1914, en. 96; Copper cent, 1870. Vol. 22, Pt. 3, March 1914, ens. 164-5; Copper Half-cent, 1870. Vol. 22, Pt. 5, May 1914, en. 295; Copper Quarter-cent, 1870. Vol. 22, Pt. 7, July 1914, en. 428.
221. ———— Coins of the British Empire: Ceylon. King Edward the Seventh. Silver Fifty cents, 1902. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 22, Pt. 9-10, Sept.-Oct. 1914, en. 562; Silver Twenty-five cents, 1902. Vol. 23, Pts. 1-2, Jan.-Feb. 1915, ens. 28-29; Silver Ten cents, 1902. Vol. 23, Pts. 5-6, May-June 1915, en. 296; Copper cent, 1904. Vol. 23, Pts. 7-8, July-Aug. 1915, en. 393; Copper Half-cent, 1904. Vol. 23, Pts. 9-10, Sept.-Oct. 1915, en. 546; Copper Quarter-cent, 1904. Vol. 23, Pts. 11-12, Nov.-Dec. 1915, ens. 666-7; Copper-Nickel Five cents, 1909. Vol. 24, Pts. 7-8, July-Aug. 1916, ens. 385-6.
222. ———— Coins of the British Empire: Ceylon. King George the Fifth. Copper cent, 1912. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 20, No. 238, Sept. 1912, en. 13874; Copper Half-cent, 1912. Vol. 21, Pt. 8, Aug. 1913, ens. 593-5; Silver Fifty cents, 1913. Vol. 22, Pt. 6, June 1914, en. 361; Silver Twenty five cents, 1911. Vol. 22, Pt. 8, Aug. 1914, ens. 497-8; Silver Ten cents, 1911. Vol. 22, Pts. 11-12, Nov.-Dec. 1914, ens. 625-6; Fifty cents, 1914, Twenty five cents, 1914 and Ten cents, 1914. Vol. 25, Pts. 5-6, May-June 1917, en. 253; Cent, 1914 and Half cent, 1914. Vol. 25, Pts. 9-10, Sept.-Oct. 1917, en. 444.
223. **Great Britain.** Treasury minute (11th Feb. 1825) respecting introduction of British silver and copper coins [into Ceylon]. *History of currency in the British colonies* by Robert Chalmers. (1893). Appendix B. pp. 422-424.
- Grogan, H.T.** The Indo-European pagodas. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 16, No. 188, July 1908, ens. 10728-10731, illus. (see Note to No. 269).
224. **Gunasekera, H.A. de S.** *From dependent currency to Central banking in Ceylon: an analysis of monetary experience 1825-1957.* London, George Bell, 1962. xi, 324 p., 55 tables (Ch. 1. Introductory, pp. 1-8; Ch. 2. The history of the currency and the beginnings of banking, pp. 9-37).
225. **Howorth, Daniel F.** *Coins and tokens of the English colonies and dependencies.* 3rd ed. London, George Allen and Co., 1900. 94 p., 69 illus.
- Indo-European copper coins : an introductory essay. (British India : Ceylon). *Num. Circ.* Vol. 9, No. 97, December 1900, column 4357.

The first English copper series for Ceylon are the thick "dumps" of the three sizes at 48 to the Rix dollar, 24 and 12 : equal to 1, 2 and 4 stivers. The dates range from 1801-1815, and they had an elephant and the date on one side, the words "Ceylon Government" and the value on the reverse. In addition to these, larger and thinner coins of similar device were issued in 1802, at 48, 96 and 192 to the rix dollar; i.e. 1, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ stivers; and a further large issue was made in 1815 of 2, 1 and $\frac{1}{2}$ stivers bearing the head of George III. Both issues emanated from the English Mint. Between 1828 and 1859, English pence, half-pence, farthings, half-farthings and quarter-farthings were exported to Ceylon for use there and the Indian Rupee having succeeded the rix dollar, they passed current as 8, 4, 2, 1, & $\frac{1}{2}$ paise. The division of the rupee into 100 cents was followed by the issue in 1870 of a series of 4 copper coins of pleasing design—the 5 cents, 1, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$; their sizes corresponding with the copper pence, farthings, halves and quarters issued by the English Mint before 1860. Repetitions of this series continued as needed up to recent times.

226. **Huxham, H.J.** Some observations on the problem of the small coins. *C.E.J.* Vol. XI, December 1943, pp. 31-32.
227. **Kelégama, J.B.** *The history of money and banking in Ceylon 1825-1954.* (Unpublished typescript. D. Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1957).
228. **Lahiri, A.N.** Indo-British coins since 1835. *J.N.S.I.* Vol. 23, 1961. pp. 90-114.
229. **Linecar, Howard W.A.** Ceylon. *British Commonwealth coinage.* London, Ernest Benn, 1959. Ch. 2, pp. 52-63, 2 pl. (Nos. 4 and 5).
Lowsley, Barzillai. Coins and tokens of Ceylon : (1) British coinage; (2) Ceylon tokens. *Num. Chron.* Vol. 15 (3rd series), No. 59, Pt. 3, 1895, (1) pp. 232-247; (2) 247-268.
230. **Milne, J.G. and others.** British Empire and Commonwealth. *Coin collecting*, by J.G. Milne, C.H.V. Sutherland and J.D.A. Thompson. London, Oxford University press, 1950 (3rd imp. 1956). Ch. 6, Pt. IV, pp. 106-111.
231. **Molesworth, Guildford L.** *Decimal coinage.* Colombo, William Skeen, Govt. printer, 1869. 6 p. (Sessional paper IV — 1869).
232. The New Ceylon Nickel coin [five-cents]. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 18, No. 210, May 1910, cns. 12062-3.
233. **Parsons, H.G.** Catalogue of the collection of British coins formed by the late H.G. Parsons. London, Glendening, 1954. (Ceylon : Early British coins and Ceylon tokens, pp. 99-106).
234. [**Pennington, James**]. *Currency of the British colonies.* London, 1848. (Published anonymously).
Pridham, Charles. British currency. *An historical, political and statistical account of Ceylon and its dependencies.* (1849). Vol. 2, Appendix XIX, pp. 838-841.
235. **Pridmore, Fred.** Ceylon: English minted copper coins dated 1802. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 67, 1959. pp. 202-3.
236. ———— The counter-marked Indian Silver rupee and quarter rupee of Ceylon. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 67, No. 10, 1959, pp. 178-9.
237. ———— A curious (Ceylon ?) counter-mark. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 67, 1959, p. 203.
238. ———— The T.C. counter-mark. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 68, 1960 pp. 131-2.
- 238a. **Rasanayagam, C.** Coinage. *The British period of the history of Jaffna.* Colombo, Slave Island press, printers, 1934. pp. 61-64. (Tamil text).

239. **Raymond, Wayte** editor. *Coins of the world, Nineteenth century issues*. 2nd ed. New York, Wayte Raymond; London, Bailey Bros. and Swinfen, 1953. 251 p., illus. Claims to be a complete catalogue of the silver, copper and base-metal coinages of the 19th c., issued by the countries of the whole world, and their colonies or dependencies, with illustrations of most of the types and the average valuation among collectors and dealers.
240. ————. *Coins of the world. Twentieth century issues, 1901-1954*. 5th ed. New York, Wayte Raymond; London, Bailey Bros. and Swinfen, 1955. 326 p., illus.
An extensive list on the same lines as No. 239, with illustrations of the principal or most interesting types.
241. **Reinfeld, Fred**. *Ceylon coins. A catalogue of the world's most popular coins*. New York, Sterling Publishing Co., 1956. pp. 38-39.
Rhys Davids, T.W. *European Ceylon coins (mainly early British). On the ancient coins and measures of Ceylon* (1877). Appendix to Pt. 4, pp. 36-37.
242. **Rudding, Rogers, Rev.** *Annals of the coinage of Great Britain and its dependencies*. London, printed for John Hearne, 81, Strand by Manning and Mason, 1840 3rd ed. 3 vols. (Vol. 3-Plates). (Ceylon. Vol. 2, pp. 110-112. Silver and copper coinage).
243. **Scaife, J. Vernon**. *British colonial coins and tokens: Ceylon. Ceylon Coffee tokens. Num. J.A.N.S. 1953-54*, pp. 814-822; 926-931, 16 text illus., 3 pl. (57 illus. of tokens). *Reprint*. 87 p. Ceylon, pp. 30-43. *Coffee tokens*, pp. 32-43, 16 text illus., 3 pl.
Shenoy, B.R. (1) *The British period I*; (2) *The British period II*; (3) *Paper currency. Ceylon currency and banking* (1941). (1) Ch. 3, pp. 37-54; (2) Ch. 2, pp. 55-78; (3) Ch. 5, pp. 79-98.
———. *The currency system of Ceylon. C.E.J.* Vol. 10, Dec. 1940, pp. 28-35.
244. **Steuart, James**. *Monetary system. Notes on the monetary system and cinnamon revenue of Ceylon*. Colombo, Examiner press, 1850. pp. 1-46.
- 244a. **Turner, L.J.B.** *Compiler. Currency and exchange. Handbook of Commercial and general information for Ceylon*. Colombo, H.R. Cottle, Govt. printer, Ceylon, 1922. Section 5, pp. 97-106; *Suppt. 1924*, pp. 45-57; *Suppt. 1925*, pp. 49-61; *Handbook 1926*, pp. 138-9; *Suppt. 1927*, p. 48.
- 244b. **White, Herbert**. *Compiler. The Ceylon Manual ... for the years 1904, 1905, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911 & 1912-13*.
Chapters on Silver and gold currency, and Paper currency respectively, in each volume.
245. **Wright, L.V.W.** *Colonial and Commonwealth coins: a practical guide to the series*. London, Harrap, 1959. 236 p. illus. (Ch. 3. The Indian group. Ceylon, pp. 119-128, 68 illus. (1803-1957)).

See also Nos. 9, 13, 14, 28, 33 & 35.

6. Miscellaneous (Mediaeval and Modern).

(a) Kandyan.

- Codrington, H.W.** *Kandyan. Ceylon coins and currency*. Ch. 14, pp. 174-6; Supplement to Ch. 14, pp. 263-264.

The currency in the central parts of the island reflected, to begin with, the currency system in use in the Maritime Provinces in the first half of the 17th c. Larins and

fanams of gold and silver were current and remained in use for many years alongside Portuguese money. The Dutch copper coins, struck in large numbers, penetrated the Kandyan kingdom and became an important currency medium by the end of the 18th c., leading to the comparative disuse of the larin. Use was also made of the mediaeval *Dambadeni salli*, "as of almost any coin that came to hand". Various South Indian copper coins were also current at different times, as also British East India Coy. coins and silver rix-dollars.

246. **Davy, John.** *Currency. An account of the interior of Ceylon and of its inhabitants, with travels in that island.* London, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1821. Ch. 8, pp. 245-6, illus. (of larin and Dambadenia chally).

"The Singalese currency consists of gold, silver and copper coin. The Indian pagodah is the only gold coin now to be met with. Lately an antique gold coin, called a Dambadenia rhatra, was found in the neighbourhood of Dambadenia in the Seven Korles, which was probably struck there, when it was a place of royal residence. This coin exactly resembles in size and appearance the Dambadeniya chally. The silver coin in circulation called a riddy or rheedy, is worth about seven pence English, and is equivalent to sixty four Kandyan challies. Its form is singular; it resembles a fish-hook and is merely a piece of thick silver wire bent. The chally is a copper coin, of which two kinds are to be met with, — Dutch challies which are common, and the Dambadenia challies which are scarce. The characters on this ancient coin . . . resemble more hieroglyphics than letters; the natives are ignorant of their meaning . . . In the habit of bartering what they have superfluous for what they want, money is but little used by the Singalese, and the quantity of it in their possession of every kind must be extremely small, particularly of gold and silver".

247. **Knox, Robert.** *Of their Coin. An Historical Relation of Ceilon.* London, Richard Chiswell, 1681. Pt. III, Ch. 8, p. 97; *Also in:* 1911 ed. by James Ryan. Glasgow, Maclehose, 1911. pp. 156-157; *Reprinted.* Colombo, Ceylon Historical Journal, 1958. pp. 156-157.

"Of money they have but three sorts that passeth for coin in the King's dominions. The one was coined by the Portugals, the King's Arms on one side, and the image of a Frier on the other, and by the Chingulayes called Tangom massa. The value of one is nine pence English, Podd Tangom, or the small Tangom is half as much. There is another sort, which all people by the King's permission may and do make. The shape is like a fish-hook, they stamp what mark or impression on it they please. The Silver is purely fine beyond pieces of eight . . . The Third sort of money is the King's proper coin. For none upon pain of death may coin it. It is called a Ponnam. It is as small as a spangle: seventy five make a piece of Eight or a Spanish Dollar. But all sorts of money is here very scarce: And they frequently buy and sell by exchanging Commodities".

(b) Muhammadan coins

248. **Codrington, H.W.** *Coins of some Kings of Hormuz. Num. Chron.* Vol. 14 (4th series) Pt. 2, 1914, pp. 156-168, 1 pl. (XI).

The gold coins described were purchased in Colombo.

249. ———— A Gold coin (Dīnār) of Mustanjid. *J.R.A.S. (G.B. & I.)*. 1928, pt. 1, p. 149.

————— Muhammadan coins. *Ceylon coins and currency.* Ch. 12, pp. 157-166; Supplement to Ch. 12, pp. 260-262. (I) Mediaeval, pp. 157-160; (II) Hormuz or Ormuz, pp. 160-1; (III) Othmanli, p. 161 (IV) Persian, p. 164; (V) Mughal and East India Coy., pp. 164-6.

Ceylon was frequented by the Arabs from a very early period, and when the Portuguese arrived, Colombo had been for a considerable time the chief centre of Muslim trade. All the mediaeval Muhammadan gold and silver coins of the 12 and 13th Centuries have been found in the areas between Colombo and the Kandyan hills. The dynasties represented are the Muwahhids of N. Africa, the Zangid Atabegs of Mūsil, the Abbāsīd Khalīfs of Baghdad, the Bahrī Mamluks of Egypt and the Mongols of Persia. Coins of the Sultans of Delhi, as well as gold xerafins of Hormuz and Othmanli sequins of the 16th C. have also been found. Coins of the Persian Shahs ('abbāsīs and mahmūdīs) circulated in the 17th C. and usually bore the countermark of the Dutch East India Company's monogram, surmounted by C for 'Colombo'. Rupees of the Mughal Empire from various mints were also current in the island, passing under the name of Surat rupee or *Surati rupiyal* in Dutch times. The Madras rupee of the East India Coy. and its quarter was also countermarked for use in Ceylon. The gold muhr or rupee is found too. The following varieties of the ubiquitous larin extant in Ceylon have been identified: Lar, Hormuz, Persian, "Mill-sail type, Othmanli and Maldivian. The Kandyan and European types derived from the Muhammadan prototype.

250. ——— The Persian weight standard in mediaeval India. *Num. Chron.* Vol. 18 (4th series) 1918, pp. 124-126.

————— A recent find of coins: Persian. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*, Vol. 23, No. 66, 1913. pp. 72-76.

"As far as is known no other coins of the Shahs of Persia have been found in Ceylon, but that they were in circulation is certain. With the exception of a single five shāhi piece, the "great abbāsi" of Valentyn, the coins in the find are abbāsīs of 4, and mahmūdīs of two shāhis each, weighing about 114 and 57 grains respectively. A considerable number are countermarked with the monogram of the Dutch Company, surmounted by C, the mint mark of Colombo.

251. Codrington, O. *A manual of Musalman numismatics*. London, Royal Asiatic Society, 1904. 239 p., 2 pl.

252. Hodivala, S.H. *Historical studies in Mughal numismatics*. Culeutta, Numismatic Society of India, 1923. x, 376 p.

253. Hultsch, E. The coinage of the Sultans of Madura. *J.R.A.S. (G.B. & I.)*, 1909, pp. 667-683, 1 pl.

Copper coin of Fakhru'd-din Mubarak Shāh A.D. 1359/60-1368/9 (No. 23 on p. 681) noticed by Codrington.

254. Lane-Poole, Stanley. *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*. 10 vols. London, 1875-1891.

Vol. 1, The coins of the Eastern Khaleefehs (1875); Vol. 2. The coins of the Mohamadan dynasties (1876); Vol. 3. The coins of the Turkuman Houses of Seljook, Urtuk, Zengee, etc. (1877); Vol. 4, The coinage of Egypt (1879); Vol. 5. The coins of the Moors (1880); Vol. 6. The coins of the Mongols (1881); Vol. 7. The coinage of Bukhārā (1882); Vol. 8. The coins of the Turks (1883); Vol. 9. Additions to Vols. 1-4 (1889); Vol. 10. Additions to Vols. 5-10. (1890).

255. Poole, R.S. *Catalogue of coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum*. London, printed by order of the Trustees, by Longmans; Pickering, etc., 1887. xcv, 336 p., 24 pl.

Scholten, C. Persian coins counter-marked at Colombo. *The coins of the Dutch overseas territories, 1601-1948*. (1953). Ch. 10, pp. 150-1.

See also 2 (h) (Larins or fish-hook money).

(c) Chinese

256. Ayrton, E.R. (Coins discovered during excavations at Ratana Pāsāda and the Western Monasteries of Anurādhapura). *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*. Vol. 1, ed. by A.M. Hocart. 1924. pp. 3, 28.

Refers to finds of silver cladding and Chinese bronze coins similar to No. 351, in Vol. 2 of the Glover Collection, catalogued by J.H.S. Lockhart and described on p. 35 of Vol. 1 (See No. 260).

257. Bell, H.C.P. [A find of Chinese coins at Yāpahuwa]. *A.S.C.A.R.* 1911-12. p.64.

At the Mura-gē ruin, nearly a dozen Chinese coins were found, historically valuable as pointing to the existence of Chinese intercourse with Ceylon. These coins were identified at the British Museum and belong to the Sung and Southern Sung Dynasties.

258. Chinese coins found in Ceylon. *C.L.R.* (3rd series). Vol. 2, No. 8, August 1932, Notes and Queries, p. 383.

Excavations at the "Rajamāligāwa" (Kings palace) of Poḷonnaruva yielded 154 coins belonging to Chinese Emperors ranging from Kao Tsu (618-627) — Li Tsung (1225-1265). Eight coins were not identified.

- Codrington, H.W. Far Eastern coins. *Ceylon coins and currency*. Ch. 13, pp. 166-169; Supplement to Ch. 13, p. 262.

Embassies of a mainly religious character, were sent by the Sinhalese kings to China from the early 5th C. and from about the 10th C. Ceylon became an important link in Arab-Chinese trade, culminating in overt political adventure in the 15th c. when the Chinese admiral Ching Ho carried off the Sinhalese king to Peking. Numbers of Chinese coins of the Sung and Southern Sung dynasties mainly, have been found in various parts of the island, principally at Anurādhapura, Poḷonnaruva and Yāpahuwa. A few modern coins, as well as Japanese gold kobans and small rectangular gold and silver coins have also been found.

259. Hopkins, L.C. On the origin and earlier history of the Chinese coinage. *J.R.A.S.* (G.B. & I.). 1895, pp. 317-378.

260. Lockhart, J.H. Stewart. *The currency of the Farther East from the earliest times up to 1895*. Hongkong, Noronha and Co., 1895-1907. 3 vols.

Vol. 1: A description of the Glover Collection (1907); Vol. 2: The plates of the Chinese, Annamese, Japanese, Korean coins, of the coins used as amulets, of the Govt. and private notes collected by the late Mr. G.H. Glover (1895); Vol. 3: A guide to the inscriptions of the coins of the Farther East, with special reference to the Glover Collection and a chronology of the Dynasties and Emperors of China, Annam and Japan (1898).

261. Schjoth, Fr. *The currency of the Far East. The Schjoth collection at the Numismatic Cabinet of the University of Oslo, Norway*. "What the Chinese say about their coins". London, Luzac; Oslo, H.A. Aschehoug, 1929. 88 p., 132 pl. (Publications of the Numismatic Cabinet of the University of Oslo, No. 1).

262. Still, John & Johnston, R.F. Three Chinese coins from Poḷonnaruva. *S.Z.* Vol. 4, Pt. 16, August 1907. Notes pp. 177-8.

- Three coins found in the course of excavations by the Archaeological Survey near the Thūpārāma at Polonnaruwa. Note by R.F. Johnstone identifies the 3 coins as belonging to the Sung dynasty and covering a period of about 100 years from 998 A.D.-1107 A.D. approximately.
263. Terrien De Lacouperie, Albert. *Catalogue of Chinese coins from the 7th c. B.C. to A.D. 621, including the series in the British Museum*; ed. by R. Stuart Poole. London, printed by order of the Trustees, 1892. lxxi, 433 p., illus.
264. Vissering, W. *On Chinese currency, coin and paper money*. Leiden, 1877.
265. Willett, William. *Ceylon and China*. Parts 1-3. *C.T.* Vol. 9, No. 12, December 1960, pp. 18-21, 28; Vol. 10, No. 1, January 1961, pp. 18-21; Vol. 10, No. 2, February 1961, pp. 18-21.
- Refers to Chinese coins discovered in Ceylon at Mantai, Panduvas Nuvara, Polonnaruwa and Yapahuwa.
266. Winzer, C.F. [Chinese coins found during excavations at the Rājavesibhujaṅga in Polonnaruwa]. *A.S.C.A.R.* 1931. p. J.8.
- A most important group of Chinese coins discovered in Ceylon, 342 in all. They were identified as belonging to Chinese emperors from Kao Tsu (618-627) to Li Tsung (1225-1265).

See also Nos. 14 & 22.

(d) Maldivé Islands

- Allan, John. The coinage of the Maldivé Islands, with some notes on the cowrie and the larin. *Num. Chron.* Vol. 12 (4th series), 1912, pp. 313-322, 1 pl. (XX).
- The currency of the islands consisted of larins and cowries up till almost the end of the 17th century, when the Sultans first began to issue a coinage in the strict sense of the word. The first Sultan to do so was apparently Muhammad (1691-1700 A.D.). Early in the 18th century the Indian rupee was introduced, displacing the larin and became the standard coin of the Maldives. About 30 coins issued by various Sultans are described and illustrated.
267. Bell, H.C.P. Maldivé coinage and currency. *The Maldivé Islands: monograph on the history, archaeology and epigraphy*. Colombo, Ceylon Govt. Press, 1940. Appendix C, pp. 75-86, 4 pl. (Q.R.S. & T.).
268. ———. Money, weights and measures. *The Maldivé Islands: an account of the physical features, climate, history, inhabitants, productions and trade*. Colombo, Frank Luker, acting Govt. printer, 1883. (Sessional paper XLIII — 1881). Ch. 8, pp. 117-121, illus.
- Codrington, H.W. Maldivian coins. *Catalogue of coins in the Colombo Museum. Part I* (1914). pp. 3-4; 15-18.
- "The coins are of three denominations: the boḍu (great) lāri; its half the bai lāri; and the kuḍā (small) lāri. The names and weights show them to be based on the silver larin. All are of the same design, having on the obverse the name of the Sultan, and on the reverse the not inappropriate title "Sultan of the land and sea" with the Hijra date. The mint is at Mālē. 30 boḍu lāri = 1 Indian rupee".
269. Pyrard, Francois. *Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldivés, the Moluccas and Brazil*; tr. into English from the 3rd French edition of 1619 and ed. with notes by Albert Gray and H.C.P. Bell, 3 vols. (Hakluyt Society, Vols. 76, 77 and 80), 1887-90.

The currency in the islands (larins and cowries) is discussed in Vol. 1, pp. 232-4 and there are illustrations of Ceylon and Maldive larins.

(e) Pagodas and fanams. (excluding those in Portuguese period).

Codrington, H.W. Dutch pagodas and fanams of Ceylon. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 23, No. 67, 1914, Notes and Queries, Pt. IV, No. 27, pp. lxvi-lxvii. (See Note to No. 166).

—————Pagodas and fanams (Dutch and British periods). *Ceylon coins and currency*. Ch. 13, pp. 171-174; Supplement to Ch. 13, pp. 262-3.

—————The pedigree of the pardão. *C.A.L.R.* Vol. I, Pt. 1, July 1915, pp. 24-28, table. (See Note to No. 135).

Cunha, Joseph Gerson da. Numismatic notes on the fanams of Southern India. *J. Anthr. S. Bom.* Vol. 2, 1887, pp. 155-160.

270. Grogan, H.T. The Indo-European pagodas. *Num. Circ.* Vol. 16, No. 188, July 1908, ens. 10728-10731, illus.

A small round stud or button-shaped gold coin, convex on one side and flat on the other, weighing about 3.40 grammes and having a diameter of from 11-14 mm. and of the intrinsic value of about 8 shillings. Such coins were issued by many of the Indian princes, and also by four out of the five European nations which in the 17th and 18th Centuries, had possessions and factories in India. The pagodas issued by the French, Dutch, English and Danish have always the convex side granulated and on the flat side, a standing figure of Vishnu, alone or accompanied by his two wives. They are undated and have no inscription of any kind. These issues are enumerated and classified.

(f) Venetian coins

271. Aravamuthan, T.G. *Catalogue of Venetian coins in the Madras Government Museum*. Madras, Govt. Press, 1938. 59 p., 1 pl. (Bulletin of the Madras Govt. Museum. New series—General section, Vol. 3, Pt. 3). (References to Venetian coins in Ceylon. pp. 4, 10 and 11).

Sequins of a Doge of the last quarter of the 14th c. and of various Doges from 1523 onwards have been found in Ceylon. Issues of the last four Doges seem to be the most common (1752-1797), mainly because of the official recognition given to them in 1782. Venetian sequins were current in Ceylon in 1596, being known by the name of "Vilisiyanu". Sequins of Venice were found hoarded in the treasury of the King of Ceylon, when it was looted by the Portuguese Viceroy in India, De Noronha, in 1551.

Codrington, H.W. Venetian coins. *Ceylon coins and currency*. Ch. 13, p. 169; Supplement to Ch. 13, p. 262.

The gold Venetian sequin or ducat became a very popular trade coin from the 13th to the end of the 18th C. It weighted 53.75 grs. and remained practically unchanged in design during the whole of this period. It was in use in Ceylon in the Portuguese and Dutch period at various ratings, and the constancy of weight and fineness helped to maintain its long reputation.

272. Papadopoli, Nicolo. *Le monete di Venezia*. Venezia, Ferdinando Ongania editore, 1893. 3 vols., 51 pl. (The title page of Vol. 2, bore the imprint "Venezia, Tipografia Libreria Emiliana, 1907).

Pieris, Paul E. Venetian coins. *Ceylon: the Portuguese era, being a history of the island for the period 1505-1658*. 2 vols. Colombo Apothecaries Co. Ltd., 1913. (References to Venetian coins, pp. 117, 298 and 555 (note 56)).

Two elephant loads of these coins, estimated to number about 100,000 were captured in one of the battles of the Ceylonese-Portuguese war, and so the name of "Vilisianu" came to be applied to the battle. "These sequins are still known as *vilisiyanu* among the Singhalese, among whom they are greatly prized. They are reputed to be of the finest quality of gold and are where available employed for backing diamond work".

See also Nos. 9, 13 & 14.

(g) **Spanish coins (including Spanish Netherlands).**

273. **Codrington, H.W.** A Philippus. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)* Vol. 23, No. 66, 1913, Notes and Queries, Pt. 1, pp. v-vi, 1 pl.

Description of a silver coin purchased in Colombo, where the mint mark and the termination of the royal title show that this piece was struck for the use of the Spanish Netherlands. It is a Filips-daalder, Philippus, or Zilveren Reaal, a coin first struck by Philip II in the Low Countries.

— A recent find of coins. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)* Vol. 23, No. 66, 1913, pp. 73, 88.

Two coins of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella of the Spanish Netherlands. (*see* Note to No. 168).

— Spanish coins. *Ceylon coins and currency*. Ch. 13, pp. 169-170; Spanish Netherlands, Ch. 13, p. 170; Supplement to Ch. 13, p. 262.

(h) **Other European coins**

- Codrington, H.W.** Other European coins. *Ceylon coins and currency*. Ch. 13, p. 171.

Coins of Cleves, East Friesland, Jever, Poland and Denmark are listed and described.

— A recent find of coins. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*. Vol. 23, No. 66, 1913, pp. 73, 88.

A coin of the Duchy of Cleves, the mint of which the author had not identified.

APPENDIX

Coins of India

General

British Museum. Dept. of Coins and Medals. Catalogues of Indian coins; ed. by Reginald Stuart Poole. 7 vols. London, 1884-1936.

274. **Lane-Poole, Stanley.** *The coins of the Sultans of Delhi in the British Museum*; ed. by R.S. Poole. London, 1884. xlv, 199 p., 9 pl.

275. — *The coins of the Muhammadan States of India in the British Museum*; ed. by R.S. Poole. London, 1885. lxx, 239 p., 12 pl., fold. map, col. fold. diagr., tables.

276. **Gardner, Percy.** *The coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*. London, 1886. lxxxvi, 193 p., 32 pl.

277. **Lane-Poole, Stanley.** *The coins of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum*: ed. by R.S. Poole, London, 1892. cliii, 401 p., 33 pl., fold map, tables.
278. **Rapson, E.J.** *Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Ksatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the "Bodhi" Dynasty.* London, 1908. ceviii, 268 p., 21 pl., map.
279. **Allan, John.** *Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta dynasties and of Sasāṅka, King of Gauda.* London, 1914. cxxxv, 184 p., 24 pl.
280. ———— *Catalogue of the coins of ancient India in the British Museum.* London, 1936. clxvii, 318 p., 46 pl., tables.
- Brown, C.J.** *The coins of India.* Calcutta, Association Press; London; Oxford Univ. Press, 1922. 120 p., 12 pl. (Heritage of India series).
281. **Cunningham, Alexander.** *Coins of ancient India from the earliest times down to the seventh century A.D.* London, Bernard Quaritch, 1891. ix, 118 p., 14 pl., 2 tables, map.
282. ———— *Coins of mediaeval India from the seventh century down to the Muhammadan conquests.* London, Bernard Quaritch, 1894. [6], 108 p., 11 pl., tables, map.
- Elliot, Walter.** *Coins of Southern India.* London, Trubner, 1886. xi, 159 p., 4 pl., map. (International Numismata Orientalia).
283. ———— *Numismatic gleanings.* Nos. 1 and 2. *M.J.L.S.* No. 6 (new series) January-March, 1858, pp. 220-249, 5 pl.; No. 7 (new series) April-September 1858, pp. 75-99, 1 pl.
284. **Gupta, P.L.** A survey of Indian numismatography (Muhammadan coinage). *J.N.S.I.* Vol. 23, 1961, pp. 49-73.
285. ———— A survey of Indian numismatography (South Indian coinage). *J.N.S.I.* Vol. 23, 1961, pp. 74-77.
286. ———— A survey of Indian numismatography (Coinage from the decline of the Mughal Empire to 1947). *J.N.S.I.* Vol. 23, 1961, pp. 78-89.
- Indian Museum, Calcutta.** Catalogues of the coins. 1906-1939.
- Smith, Vincent Arthur.** *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, including the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.* Vol. 1. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1906. xviii, 346 p., 31 pl. (Pt. I. The early foreign dynasties and the Guptas, pp. 3-128; Pt. II. Ancient coins of Indian types, pp. 131-214; Pt. III. Persian. Mediaeval and South Indian and Miscellaneous coins, pp. 217-336).
287. **Wright, H. Nelson.** *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, including the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.* Vol. 2, Pt. 1. *The Sultans of Dehli*; Pt. 2. *Contemporary dynasties in India.* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1907. xii, 380 p., xi pl., fold map.
288. ———— *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, including the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.* Vol. 3 *Mughal Emperors of India.* Parts 1 and 2. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908. Pt. 1: lxxxiv, 130 p. 22 pl., fold map.; Pt. 2: lxxxiv, 131-260 p., 22 pl., fold map.
289. **Allan, John.** editor. *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, including the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.* Vol. 4, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1928. vii, 390 p., 26 pl. (Section 1: Coins of Awadh, by C.J. Brown, pp. 1-59, pl. 1-2; Section 2: Coins of Mysore and miscellaneous coins of South India, by J.R. Henderson, pp. 65-148, pl. 3-8; Section 3: Coins of Western India, Rajputana, and Central India, by William H. Valentine, pp. 153-360, pl. 9-26).

290. **Bidyabinod, B.B.** *Supplementary catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Non-Muhammadan series.* Vol. 1, Calcutta, Supdt. Govt. printing, India, 1923. viii, 103 p., 1 pl.
291. **Ahmad, Shamsuddin.** *A supplement to Volume 2 of the Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (The Sultans of Delhi and their contemporaries).* Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1939. ix, 152 p., 5 pl.
292. ———— *A supplement to Volume 3 of the Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (The Mughal Emperors of India).* Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1939. ix, 240 p., 3 pl.
293. **Lane-Poole, Stanley.** *editor. Coins and medals: their place in history and art,* by the authors of the British Museum Official Catalogues. 3rd ed. rev. London, Elliot Stock, 1894. xii, 286 p., illus. (Ch. 8. Coins of India, pp. 175-189; Ancient, by E.J. Rapson, pp. 175-182; Mohammadan, by S. Lane-Poole, pp. 182-189).
- Lucknow, Provincial Museum.** Catalogues of coins. 1920-1925.
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AUTHOR INDEX

The numbers attached to the authors' names refer to the serial numbers in the bibliography

- Abeywardene, T.M. de Silva, 1.
 Ahmad, Shamsuddin, 291, 292.
 Aiyangar, R. Srinivasa Raghava
 see Raghava Aiyangar, R. Srinivasa.
 Allan, John, 120, 279, 280, 289, 308.
 Altekar, A.S., 309-311.
 Anthonisz, R.G., 148, 149.
 Aragao, A.C. Teixeira de, 131.
 Aravamuthan, T.G., 43, 271.
 Ariyapala, M.B., 89.
 Atkins, James, 189.
 Ayrtton, E.R., 256.

 Bank of Ceylon, Colombo, 190.
 Barrow, George, 54.
 Bassett, R.H., 2.
 Becker, Hendrick, 158.
 Bell, H.C.P., 3, 55, 90, 257, 267, 268.
 Berg, N.P. Van Den, 150.
 Bertolacci, Anthony, 191.
 Bidie, G., 348.
 Bidyabinod, B.B., 290.
 Borger, J.D., 4.
 British Museum. Dept. of Coins and Medals,
 56, 63, 74-76, 78, 254, 255, 263, 274-280.
 Brown, C.J., 91, 294, 295.
 Brushfield, A.N., 192.
 Bucknill, John, 151.

 Caldera, Lilananda, 6, 7.
 Campos, Manoel Joaquim de, 132, 133.
 Carson, R.A.G., 8, 57, 58.
 Casie Chetty, Simon, 92.
 Central Bank of Ceylon, 195.
 Ceylon Banking Commission, 196.
 Ceylon. Currency Commission, 197, 198.
 Ceylon. Currency. Correspondence Des-
 patches and Reports, 197-208, 210, 211.
 Ceylon, Ministry of Finance, 209.
 Ceylon, Legislative Acts, 152.
 Ceylon, Legislative Council, 210.
 Ceylon, Legislative Enactments, 210a.
 Ceylon. Memoirs and Instructions of Dutch
 Governors, Commandeurs, etc. 153-162.
 Ceylon. Silver Currency Commission, 211.
 Chakravarti, M.M., 311.
 Chakravarti, Surendra Kishore, 313-315a.
 Chalmers, Robert, 134, 212.
 Chatterji, Charan Das, 316.
 Chetty, Simon Casie
 see Casie Chetty, Simon.
 Chijs, J.A. Van Der, 163, 164, 179.
 Churchill, R.S., 93, 165.
 Codrington, H.W., 9-12, 37, 38, 59, 94,
 129, 135, 166-168, 248-250, 273.

 Codrington, O., 95, 251.
 Colombo Museum, 13-18.
 Cosmas Indicopleustes, 60.
 Couto, Diogo do, 61.
 Cunha, Joseph Gerson da, 136, 317, 349.
 Cunningham, Alexander, 281, 282, 318, 319.

 Da Cunha, Joseph Gerson
 see Cunha, Joseph Gerson da.
 Das Gupta, B.B., 213, 214.
 Davids, T.W. Rhys
 see Rhys Davids, T.W.
 Davy, John, 246.
 Dayal, P., 296.
 De Aragao, A.C. Teixeira
 see Aragao, A.C. Teixeira de.
 De Campos, Manoel Joaquim
 see Campos, Manoel Joaquim de.
 De Couto, Diogo
 see Couto, Diogo do.
 De Lacouperie, Albert Terrien
 see Terrien de Lacouperie, Albert.
 Deraniyagala, P.E.P., 18.
 De Reus, G.C. Kerk
 see Reus, G.C. Kerk de
 Desikachari, T., 107, 350-352, 370.
 De Silva Abeywardene, T.M.
 see Abeywardene, T.M. de Silva.
 Dickinson, W.B., 121-123.

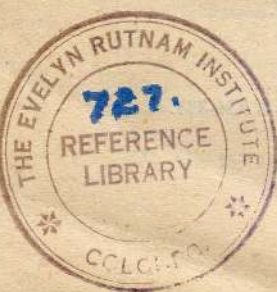
 Elliot, Walter, 79, 283.
 Ennes, Ernesto, 137.

 Fabri, C.L., 320.
 Ferguson, Donald W., 62, 124.
 Fernandes, Manoel Bernardo Lopes, 138.
 Fernando, B.W., 215, 216.
 Fernando, C.M., 85, 96.
 Fonrobert, Jules, 19.
 Forrer, L., 217.
 Foster, W., 353.
 Frey, Albert Romor, 20.
 Friedberg, Robert, 218.

 Gardner, Percy, 77, 276.
 Garside, Henry, 219-222.
 Geiger, Wilhelm, 97.
 Gnanaprakasas, S., 98.
 Goens, Ryckloff Van, 154.
 Goens, Ryckloff Van, jun., 154a.
 Graaf, William Jacob Van de, 162.
 Grogan, Henry Thomas, 139-145, 169-171,
 270.
 Gunasekera, H.A. de S., 224.
 Gunasekera, Muriel, 21.
 Gupta, B.B. Das
 see Das Gupta, B.B.
 Gupta, P.L., 284-286, 321.

- Haly, Amyrald, 13, 15.
 Hawkes, H.P., 354.
 Head, Barclay V., 76, 78.
 Hemmy, A.S., 322.
 Henderson, J.R., 80, 172, 289, 355.
 Heras, H., 44, 356, 357.
 Hettiaratchi, D.P.E., 45-48, 81.
 Hocart, A.M., 22, 23.
 Hodiwalla, S.H., 252.
 Hopkins, L.C., 259.
 Howorth, Daniel F., 173, 225.
 Hultzsch, E., 253, 358-360.
 Huxham, H.J., 226.
 Imhoff, Gustaaf Willem Baron Von, 160.
 Indian Museum, Calcutta, 112, 287-292.
 Jackson, R.P., 361.
 Johnston, J.M.C., 362.
 Johnston, R.F., 262.
 Juriaanse, M.W., 174, 175.
 Kelegama, J.B., 227.
 Knox, Robert, 247.
 Kosambi, D.D., 323.
 Lacouperie, Albert Terrien de
 see Terrien de Lacouperie, Albert de.
 Lahiri, A.N., 228.
 Lahore, Panjab Museum
 see Punjab Museum, Lahore.
 Lane-Poole, Stanley, 254, 274, 275, 277, 293.
 Linecar, Howard W.A., 229.
 Lockhart, J.H. Stewart, 260.
 Loten, Joan Gideon, 160a.
 Loventhal, E., 363.
 Lowsley, Barzillai, 24.
 Lucknow, Provincial Museum, 294-296.
 Macdonald, George, 324.
 MacMahon, P.C., 176.
 Mc Quilkin, P., 116.
 Madden, Frederic W., 73.
 Maetsuyker, Joan, 153.
 Maity, S.K., 325.
 Malcolm, John, 364.
 Mattingly, Harold, 63-65.
 Memoirs and Instructions of Dutch Govern-
 ors, Commandeurs, etc. 153-161.
 Milne, J.G., 230.
 Mitchell, Helen, 25.
 Molesworth, Guildford L., 231.
 Molsbergen, E.G. Godee, 177.
 Mooyart, Anthony, 161.
 Moquette, J.P., 178.
 Narain, A.K., 297, 298, 326.
 Netscher, E., 179.
 Nevill, Hugh, 86, 130.
 Nicholas, C.W., 99, 130.
 Panchmukhi, R.S., 365.
 Panjab Museum, Lahore, 304-306.
 Papadopoli, Nicolo, 272.
 Paranavitana, Senerat, 26, 39, 40, 66, 87,
 100-102.
 Parker, Henry, 49, 50, 50a, 125.
 Parsons, H.G., 233.
 Paviljoen, Anthony, 153a.
 Pearson, Joseph, 10, 17.
 Pennington, James, 234.
 Perera, K.C.D., 88, 146.
 Perera, S.G., 27.
 Pielat, Jacob Christiaan, 159.
 Pieris, Paul E., 17, 28, 67, 103, 147.
 Poole, R.S., 255.
 Poole, Stanley Lane
 see Lane-Poole, Stanley.
 Prakash, Jai, 327.
 Prasad, Durga, 328, 329.
 Pridham, Charles, 29.
 Pridmore, Fred, 235-238.
 Prinsep, James, 104-106.
 Pyraard, Francois, 269.
 Rae, W.N., 51.
 Raghava Aiyangar, R. Srinivasa, 366, 367.
 Ramarao, M., 368, 369.
 Rangachari, T.M., 107, 350-352, 370.
 Rapson, E.J., 108, 278, 293, 330.
 Rasanayagam, C., 109, 110, 238a.
 Raymond, Wayte, 239, 240.
 Rea, Alexander, 181.
 Reimers, Edmund, 182.
 Reinfeld, Fred, 241.
 Reus, G.C. Kerk de, 183.
 Rhee, Thomas Van, 155.
 Rhys Davids, T.W., 30.
 Roach Smith, C.
 see Smith, C. Roach.
 Ruding, Rogers, 242.
 Sahni, Birbal, 332.
 Scaife, J. Vernon, 243.
 Schjoth, Fr., 261.
 Scholten, C., 184.
 Schreuder, Jan., 160b.
 Schulman, Andre, 185.
 Scott, W.H., 111.
 Sewell, Robert, 68.
 Shelton, R.A.J., 116.
 Shenoy, B.R., 31, 32.
 Simons, Cornelis Joan, 157.
 Singhal, C.R., 299, 300.
 Sircar, D.C., 333.
 Smith, C. Roach, 73.
 Smith, Vincent Arthur, 112, 334-338.
 Srinivasan, V., 82.
 Stark, Mr. Justice, 33.
 Stephanik, J.W., 186, 187.

- Steuart, James, 244.
 Stevenson, Seth William, 69.
 Still, John, 14, 34, 41, 52, 53, 70, 83, 113, 262.
 Suhle, A. 114.
 Sutherland, C.H.V., 71, 230.
 Sydenham, E.A., 65.
 Tavernier, J.B., 126.
 Teixeira de Aragao, A.C.
 see Aragao, A.C. Teixeira de.
 Tennent, James Emerson, 115.
 Terrier de Lacouperie, Albert, 263.
 Theobald, W., 339-342.
 Thomas, Edward, 42, 343.
 Thompson, F.C., 116.
 Thompson, J.D.A., 230.
 Thurston, Edgar, 35, 302, 371, 372.
 Tiwari, J.N., 301.
 Tracy, James, E., 84, 117.
 Tufnell, R.H. Campbell, 36, 373.
 Turner, L.J.B., 244a.
 Upasak, C.S., 344.
 Valentine, William H., 289.
 Vanaja, R., 303.
 Van de Graaf, William Jacob
 see Graaf, William Jacob Van de
 Van Den Berg, N.P.
 see Berg, N.P. Van Den.
 Van der Chijs, J.A.
 see Chijs, J.A. Van der.
 Van Goens, Ryckloff
 see Goens, Ryckloff Van.
 Van Imhoff, Gustaaf Willem Baron
 see Imhoff, Gustaaf Willem Baron Van.
 Van Rhee, Thomas
 see Rhee, Thomas Van.
 Vaux, W.S.W., 118.
 Venkaya, V., 80, 83.
 Verkade, P., 188.
 Vissering, W., 264.
 Walsh, E.H.C., 345.
 Warmington, E.H., 72.
 Wheeler, R.E.M., 73.
 White, Herbert, 244b.
 Whitehead, R.B., 304-307, 346, 347.
 Willett, William, 265.
 Willey, Arthur, 16.
 Wilson, Horace Hayman, 119, 127.
 Winzer, C.F., 266.
 Wood, Howland, 128.
 Wright, H. Nelson, 287, 288, 374.
 Wright, L.V.W., 245.
 Wroth, Warwick, 74, 75.
 Zwaardercroon, Hendrick, 156.



Printed by The Colombo Apothecaries' Co., Ltd.,
125, Glennie Street, Colombo, 2.