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KINGS OF JAFFNA



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# COINS OF MEDIEVAL SRI LANKA: THE COINS OF THE KINGS OF JAFFNA

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(With 10 Plates)

The Kings of Jaffna

THE medieval kingdom of Jaffna which embraced the Tamil districts of Northern Sri Lanka had its origins in the thirteenth century under Māgha of Kalinga. Māgha occupied Polonnaruwa in 1215 with the support of South Indian mercenaries and ruled Rajaraṭa—the northern part of the island—until around 1255. After his demise, the Javākas under the leadership of Candrabhānu secured power over most of the territories that were previously under Māgha, with the support of armies raised from the Tamil kingdoms in India. Candrabhānu soon came under the influence of the rising Pāṇḍya power in the Tamil country. By 1258 he had become a vassal of the Pāṇḍyas by whom he was subsequently defeated and killed.<sup>1</sup> No monuments, inscriptions or coins that could be assigned to the period of Māgha and Candrabhānu have hitherto been brought to light.

After the death of Candrabhānu the kingdom over which he once ruled became a dependency of the Pāṇḍyas. Towards the end of the thirteenth century Āriyacckkaravartti, a Pāṇḍya *Sāmanta* from Cevirukkaināṭu, acquired power in Jaffna.<sup>2</sup> His successors established an independent kingdom as the Pāṇḍya empire declined during the early fourteenth century. Under the Āriyacckkaravarttis the Tamil kingdom in Sri Lanka became stronger and more prosperous and aspired for and even attained, for a brief period, a sort of supremacy over the central highlands and the southwestern lowlands.

Under the Āriyacckkaravarttis Jaffna maintained close political, commercial and cultural relations with Malabar and the Coromandel and Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagara influences on Jaffna were predominant in successive stages. The rulers of Vijayanagara claimed and even obtained tribute from the kings of Jaffna since the late fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century the armies of Parākramabāhu VI (1412 - 1467) of Kotte overran Jaffna and the Tamil ruler Kanaḱcūriya Cinkaiyāriyan fled to India. Thereafter, Jaffna was administered by Sapumal Kumāra for a period of seventeen years (1450 - 1467).<sup>3</sup> When the latter left for Kotte some time after 1467 the king of Jaffna returned from exile and re-established his power with the aid of armies supplied by some of the South Indian princes. His successors, like their neighbours, had to confront the Portuguese whose power assumed menacing proportions and ultimately threatened their very existence. Caṅkili I (1519 - 1561) who realized the gravity of the threat posed by the Portuguese power joined some of the Sinhalese rulers in their wars against the Portuguese and consistently followed an anti-Portuguese policy. He effectively resisted Portuguese incursions and successfully defended his kingdom with the support of the South Indian rulers. A major expedition against him, organized and led by the Viceroy ended in failure.

1. S. Pathmanathan, *The Kingdom of Jaffna*. Pt. I, Colombo, 1978, pp. 150-156.

2. *Ibid.* pp. 271-283

3. S. Gnanarpagasar, *The Kings of Jaffna during the Portuguese Period of Ceylon History*, Achchuvelly, 1926, pp. 4-10.

The weak successors of Caṅkili I could not resist the Portuguese who began to play the role of king-makers. In Jaffna, as in Kotte, internal dissensions weakened the local dynasty, foiled its efforts of resistance and favoured the Portuguese. By the treaty concluded between the Portuguese and the king of Jaffna in 1591 Jaffna virtually became a Portuguese protectorate ; its ruler acknowledged the king of Portugal as his suzerain and promised to send him tribute. The concessions given to the Portuguese and the religious activities of the latter caused popular unrest and undermined royal authority. The last king of Jaffna, Caṅkili II, was defeated in 1619 and captured by the Portuguese. Although the forces of the Nāyaka of Tanjore overran Jaffna, subsequently the Portuguese forced them to retreat and established their power securely in the kingdom by 1621.

### The Cētu Coins

The kingdom of Jaffna had a continuous system of currency and the coins issued by the rulers of that kingdom were what are popularly known as the Cētu pieces. The Cētu coins have been discovered at Nallur, Tinnevely, Kopay, Sandilippay, Puttur, Nagercoil, Naranthanai, Māntai, Maṅkulam and at several other localities in the northernmost parts of the island.<sup>4</sup> Besides, they have been found also at various sites in South India.

Prinsep, whose collection of Indian antiquities included three specimens of these coins could not decipher the legend on them because of his unfamiliarity with the Tamil letters.<sup>5</sup> In his monograph on the *coins and measures of Ceylon*, Rhys Davids attempted to examine the evidence from two Cētu coins. He was of the opinion that these coins were issued by Parākramabāhu's general, Laṅkāpura for circulation in the Pāṇḍya country and he adduced the following reasons in support of his contention. Firstly, no other ruler is known to have struck coins from Rameshvaram. Secondly in shape, size and appearance these coins exactly resemble the *kahavaṇṇuva* issued by Parākramabāhu I. Thirdly, the South Indian coins were of a different size, weight and appearance. Fourthly, the kings who ruled over Rameshvaram are not known to have issued any coins while the Cōla and Pāṇḍya kings who conquered it would not have had any particular reason to put Cētu on their coins, whereas to Parākramabāhu, his continental conquests were naturally a source of more than ordinary pride. Lastly if these coins belonged to a South Indian dynasty, they would probably bear some of the constant symbols used by any of those dynasties on their coins.<sup>6</sup> The foregoing arguments are misleading and they reveal an ignorance of some aspects of the History of Sri Lanka and of the variations in the coinage of the Tamil kings of South India. The first argument has no valid foundation and it is based on a wrong interpretation of the *Cūlavamsa* statement concerning Lankāpura's effort to circulate Parākramabāhu's coins in the Pāṇḍya country. The other arguments adduced by Rhys Davids are untenable as they stem from the first argument which is based on a wrong assumption. The fault of Rhys Davids was to have attempted generalizations on the basis of a few isolated finds.

4. As regards these coins Gnanapragasar writes : 'Potfulls of them have been unearthed from time to time within the radius of a mile from the site of the palace of the Ariyachakkaravarttis . . . . At Kopay, at Manipay and Navalay, similar finds were made. Subsequent finds have been from several localities in the Northern province. See S. Gnanapragasar, 'The forgotten Coinage of the Kings of Jaffna', *Ceylon Antiquary*, 5 (4) p. 179.

<sup>5</sup> Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities* edited by E. Thomas, London, 1858, plate XXXV, p. 423.

<sup>6</sup> The *Cūlavamsa* states that Lankāpura ordained that the *Kahāpaṇa* coin bearing the inscription of king Parākramabāhu should be used throughout the country (CV, 47 : 101). It may be observed that this statement does not imply the striking of a special coinage but may only imply the compulsory circulation of Ceylonese currency.

Later, J. E. Tracey pointed out in his paper on 'The Sethupati coins' the distinction between the coins bearing the legend *Cētu* and those of the Setupathis of Ramnad. He observes :

'The coins divide themselves into an earlier and a later series, which are quite distinct from one another. The earlier series of coins present specimens which are usually larger, and better executed, and correspond in weight and appearance very nearly to the well known coins of the Sinhalese series together with which they have been found..... They are of two sizes, corresponding somewhat irregularly with the *massa* and the half *massa* of the above Sinhalese series, and are uniformly of copper or bronze, neither gold nor silver specimens have been brought to light thus far.'<sup>8</sup>

Gnanapragasar collected about seventy specimens of the *Cētu* coins which included more than twenty issues. Following on the results of Tracey's investigation, he examined the legend and the emblem found in these coins in the light of the evidence relating to the kings of Jaffna.<sup>9</sup> In his outstanding work, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, Codrington endorses the conclusions of Gnanapragasar and gives a detailed description of some of the *Cētu* coins.<sup>10</sup>

### **Cētu (Setu) and its Significance**

The *Cētu* coins have a few distinctive characteristics. Unlike the Sinhalese and *Cōḷa* issues on which they were initially modelled, they do not contain the names of the rulers by whom they were issued. The legend on the coins is uniformly *Cētu* written in Tamil characters. The bull couchant is engraved in most of them. These coins must have been issued by a line of rulers who had the bull emblem and had or claimed some connection with *Cētu*.

The word *Cētu* (Setu) has several meanings. It may denote a causeway, dyke, dam, a landmark, a boundary limit and a fixed rule or epithet of the *Praṇava* or sacred syllable *OM* (which is said to be *mantrāṇām Setuh*).<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the island of Rameshwaram and the reef of sunken rocks connecting the north of Ceylon with the mainland of India are referred to as *Cētu*. Inscriptions and Tamil literature show that there were several localities called *Cētu* in and around Rameshwaram. According to tradition embodied in the *Rāmāyaṇam* of Kampan and repeated in such works as the *Cekarācacekaramālai*, *Tēvaiulā* and the *Cētopurāṇam* the bridge or *Cētu* between Lankā and the southernmost point of India was constructed as a passage for Rama's armies.<sup>12</sup> A Pāṇḍya inscription mentions that Tiruñāna campantan taḷam otherwise called Pōkiṣyaram was at Cētumūlam on the beach of Cevvirukkaināṭu.<sup>13</sup> Inscriptions and

7. J. E. Tracey, 'The Sētopathi Coins,' *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1889-94, pp. 1-12.

8. Ibid.

9. S. Gnanapragasar, 'The Forgotten Coinage of the Kings of Jaffna,' *Ceylon Antiquary*, 5 (4), p. 179.

10. H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 75.

11. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by Monier Williams, Oxford, 1992, Tamil Lexican Madras, 1929. The expression *cētuvinirāma nātanai niṟuviya Kātaiyai* as found in the *Cētopurāṇam* clearly indicates that *cētu* referred to here was a locality.

12. *Cekarācacekaramālai* ed. I. C. Raghunātha Aiyar, Kokuvil, 1942, *pāyiram*, V. 2 ; *Tēvai ulā* edited by U. V. Cāminātaiyar, Madurai, 1907. *Cētopurāṇa vacanam* by R. Muttuvijayampillai, Third edition, Madras, 1920, p. 48.

13. *South Indian Inscriptions* (SII) 8, No. 403

literary works make mention also of Cētusnānam. A grant of Tirumalai uṭaiyān Kāttatēvar states that Cētusnānam was at Rameshwaram.<sup>14</sup> Another Cētupati grant mentions Cētu Tanukkōṭi; yet another inscription mentions Srī Rama Tanukkōṭi Cētumūlam.<sup>15</sup> The *Tēvai ulā* attest, that there was also a town called Cētu. The evidence from this work as regards this particular town is corroborated by that from a Sētupathi grant which asserts that the Sētupathi had the epithet Cētunakarkāvalan.<sup>16</sup> On the correlated testimony of the evidence from inscriptions and literary works it may be concluded that there were, as mentioned earlier, several localities known as Cētu. 'Adam's bridge,' the island of Rameshwaram and Tanuškōṭi, were all referred to as Cētu.<sup>17</sup> All these localities were in the south-eastern corner of the Pāṇḍya kingdom.

### The Kings of Jaffna and their Connections with Cētu

Only two lines of rulers, the Āriyacckkaravarttis of Jaffna and the Setupathis of Ramnad are known to have had connections with Cētu. The Setupathis acquired authority over Ramnad in the early seventeenth century and were theoretically subordinate to the Nayaks of Madurai. In their grants the Setupathis are referred to with such epithets as *Cētukāvalan* (சேதுகாவலன்), 'the guardian of Cētu', *Cētumūlarakṣaturantaran* (சேதுமூலரக்ஷ துரந்தரன்), and *Cētunakarkāvalan* (சேதுநகர் காவலன்) 'the guardian of the town of Cētu.'<sup>18</sup> Their epithets suggest that the Setupathis had the responsibility of protecting both the sacred places in and around Rameshwaram and the sea-route along the Indo-Ceylon straits. Yet the *Cētu* coins cannot be attributed to the Setupathis because of several considerations. Firstly, as pointed out by Tracey and subsequently by Gnanapragasar the Cētu coins and the Setupathi coins have little in common between them. The difference in their weights, shapes and sizes are very conspicuous. The Cētu coins have some of the characteristic features of the usual 'Ceylon type' of coins (the standing fig. on the obverse and the seated fig. on the reverse) while the coins of the Setupathi's do not have any of those characteristics. Most of the Cētu pieces have the figure of the Nandhi while the Setupathi issues have a wide variety of figures and animal designs on them. The figures of Śiva seated on Nandhi, deity on peacock, Gaṇeśa and Horse with rider are designed in the different varieties of the Setupathi issues. The figures on Hunuman, Lingam and *tulaṣṭ* plant in pot are also to be found in some varieties. Secondly, on palaeographic considerations the *Cētu* coins could be assigned to the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Moreover, the shapes and sizes of the letters of the legends in the *Cētu* pieces and the Setupathi coins are very dissimilar. Lastly, there are strong grounds to suggest that the Cētu coins were issued by the rulers of Jaffna. It may be recalled that the Setupathis were not the only line of rulers who had connections with *Cētu*.

The Ariyacckkaravarttis of Jaffna also had the title *Cētukāvalan*. The *Cekarācēcēkara mālai*, an astrological work written in Jaffna during the fourteenth century, describes the reigning king, Varōtaya *ciṅkaiyāriyan* as (சேது காவலன் விஞ்சை விஞ்ச செகராச சேகரன்) *Cētukāvalan*

14. *Tevai ulā*, V. 95 ; *Archaeological Survey of Southern India (ASSI)* 4, No. 2, p. 65.

15. *ASSI*, 4, Nos. 4, 16, pp. 68, 98.

16. *Tevai ulā*, V. 95 ; *ASSI*, 4 No. 9, p. 81.

17. 'Kantamātanam is situated three miles north of Rāmeshwaram. Thirteen miles southward of Rāmeshwaram is Tanuškōṭi where is found the Cētu tīrtam.' See note on Rāmeshwaram ; *Pannirutirumurai-peruntiraṭṭu* edited by P. Irāmanātipiḷḷai, Madras, 1961.

18. *ASSI*, 4 Nos. 2-9, pp. 65-81. Cētunakar may be another name of Tēvainakar or Tēvaippattinam.

*viñcai viñcu Cekarācēcēkaran.*<sup>19</sup> The *Takṣiṇākailiṇca purāṃ* corroborates the Tamil astrological work when it refers to *cekarācēcēkaran* as *ciñkaivātipan cētukāvalan.*<sup>20</sup> The evidence from the Setupathi grants show that this epithet could be interpreted to mean 'the guardian of Cētunakar,' or 'the guardian of Rameshwaram' or 'the guardian of the bridge of Cētu' or just 'the guardian of the passage of Cētu.' Moreover, the *Takṣiṇākāilācapurāṇam* refers to *Cekarācēcēkaran* as '*umpar vantiraiñcum cētu uyar karaikkaval Vēntan,*<sup>21</sup> 'the guardian of the high coast of Cētu where the gods come to offer worship.' It is thus clear that Cētu referred to in the Tamil literary works of Jaffna was a sacred site which had a special religious significance. The Kotagama inscription which records the victories of a ruler of Jaffna commences with the expression Cētu instead of the usual benedictory expression *Svasti Sri.*<sup>22</sup> It is, therefore, evident that the expression Cētu had a symbolic significance for the kings of Jaffna. The Setupathis, however, are not known to have attached any such importance to the expression *cētu* although they bore such epithets as *cētukāvalan.*

The tradition recorded in the *Cekarācēcēkaramālai* traces the origins of the Ariyaccakkaravarttis of Jaffna from Rameshwaram. Rāma is said to have established the shrine of Rameshwaram and settled 512 āriyar (Brahmins) to conduct religious services there. Two among them are said to have acquired the grand-eloquent title of *Ariyavēntu* (Āriyaccakkaravartti), the paraphernalia of royalty and the bull standard from Rama at Kantamātanam.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, the kings of Jaffna bore epithets such as *Kantamalai āriyarkōn*, 'the king of the āriyar of Kantamātanam' and *Tevaiman*, 'the king of Tēvi (nakar)' which also indicate their connections with Rameshwaram and the localities near it.<sup>24</sup> It may be recalled that Rameshwaram was also known as *Cētu*. Indeed, the kings of Jaffna were the descendants of an Āriyaccakkaravartti of Cevvirukkainātu.<sup>25</sup> The earliest reference to *Cētu* is to be found in an inscription that mentions an Āriyaccakkaravartti of this nātu.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, *Cātumulam* is said to have been on the sea-coast of Cevvirukkainātu.<sup>27</sup> Quite apart from their connections with Cētu there are other strong considerations to suggest that the Cētu coins were issued by the rulers of Jaffna and not the Setupathis. The former had the bull as their emblem while the Setupathis had a figure of Hanuman as their emblem. The *Cekarācēcēkaramālai* mentions that *Cekarācēcēkaran* had the bull flag.<sup>28</sup> The *Takṣiṇākāilācapurāṇam* alludes to *Cekarācēcēkaran* as *iṭṭapavānkoṭi ēlutiya perumān*, 'The King who had the flag painted with the figure of the bull, and mentions that people lived in contentment and serene peace as the bull banner of *Cekarācēcēkaran* was ever shining with lustre.<sup>29</sup> The *Cekarācēcēkaramālai* asserts that *Cekarācēcēkaran* 'rejoiced in engraving the bull banner and Cētu in the nine lands of *Kanṭi.*<sup>30</sup>

19. *Ccm*, V. 86.

20. *Takṣiṇākāilācapurāṇam* (*Tkp*) edited by P. P. Vaithiliōka tēcikar, Point Pedro, 1916, *cirappuppāyiram*

21. *Tkp*, *Tirunakaraccarukkam*, V. 108.

22. C. Rasanayakam, *Ancient Jaffna*, p. 364.

23. *Ccm*, *cirappuppāyiram*, VV. 344.

24. *Ibid.*, V. 10; *Tkp* 5 *Tirunakaraccarukkam*, V. 116.

25. S. Pathmanathan, *The Kingdom of Jaffna*, pt I, pp 179-180

26. *SII*, 8, No. 396.

27. *SII*, 8, No. 403.

28. *Ccm*, *cirappuppāyiram*, VV. 5, 7, 76.

29. *Tkp*, *cirappuppāyiram*, *Tirunakaraccarukkam*, V 3

30. *Ccm*, *cirappuppāyiram*, V. 7.

From the foregoing analysis of the literary and epigraphic evidence relating to the connections the kings of Jaffna had with Cētu it is clear that most of the coins which bear the figure of the bull couchant, were issued by the kings of Jaffna. Indeed the *Cekarācacēkaramālai* attests that the rulers of Jaffna had a coinage with the royal seal.<sup>31</sup> Their royal seal, as seen earlier, consisted of the bull and the expression *Cētu*.

The legend *Cētu* as found on these coins may be an abbreviation of the epithet *Cētukāvalan* or it may have been intended to indicate the origins of the kings of Jaffna at Rameshwaram. It may perhaps indicate both their connections with Rameshwaram and the sacred syllable *OM* (which is said to be mantranam Setuh). The evidence from the Kotagama and Tiruppullani inscriptions suggests that the Āriyaccakkaravarttis had a devotional attachment to *Cētu*.

### Coin Types

#### I

The *Cētu* coins which have been discovered hitherto could be divided into six main types. Those of type I (1-18) closely resemble the late *Cōla* issues of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries but are slightly larger in size.<sup>32</sup> They are about .74 inches in diameter and are about 61.7 grains in weight. The obverse of this type has a rude standing human figure and a lamp on the left. On the reverse, beside the seated human figure, the legend *Cētu* incised vertically in Tamil characters appears in place of the *Nāgarī* legend of the Sinhalese and *Cōla* issues. The *kōmpu* of the legend is comparatively small, varying in size from a quarter to over half of the letter *Ca*, which with the final vowel is sometimes unusually deep.<sup>33</sup> There are three varieties of this type. The first of these varieties is represented by the coins which bear on the obverse the figure of a lamp on the left and that of a peacock head on the right.<sup>34</sup> Another variety of coins have the figure of a weapon in the form of a trident on the left with a group of dots on the right.<sup>35</sup> The third variety has as its distinguishing feature a miniature crescent on the right of the obverse of the coins.<sup>36</sup>

#### II

The obverse of the second type, the specimens of which are found in considerable numbers, is like that of type I but the crown consists of two lines and a dot. On the right of the obverse is a bull couchant depicted vertically with a dot before it. The figures are all laid within a bead circle which is of irregular design. The reverse is like that of type I.<sup>37</sup> The coins of this type have an average weight of 62.7 grains and are of about .8 of an inch in diameter. The coins of type II are also of three varieties. The specimens of IIA have the figure of a lamp on the left and that of seated bull on the right while those of type IIB have on the left a trident instead of the lamp<sup>38</sup> in other respects they are similar to IIA. The coins of IIC are exactly similar to those of IIB save for the miniature figure of a crescent beside the bull couchant on the right.<sup>39</sup>

31. *Ccm*, V. 208.

32. H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, Colombo, 192, p. 75.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 751.

34. See plate I, Nos. 5, 6, 9, 10. Appendix I, Nos. 5, 6, 9, 10.

35. See Plates I, II, Nos. 14-18.

36. See Plate I, Nos. 7, 8, 10D, 11, 14. Appendix I, 7, 8, 10D, 11, 14.

37. See Plate II, Nos. 16-14, 33.

38. Compare Nos. 16-14 with 27, 31 and 32.

39. See Nos. 26, 31, 23.



## III

In the coins of type III, which are of two sizes and several variations, a significant innovation is introduced.<sup>40</sup> The standing human figure on the obverse of IIIA has become slender and is finely depicted. The hanging lamp on the left of the obverse is much more distinct than in the first two types and is very similar to that on the coins issued by the Sinhalese rulers of the Polonnaruwa period. The left arm which is stretched upwards holds an object that looks like a conch. A trident and a vertical line which has the resemblance of a sceptre or mace are depicted on the right side of the obverse. Another distinct feature of this type is that all figures are within a circular ring which is surrounded by a bead circle.<sup>41</sup>

On the reverse of the coins of this type the bull couchant replaces the rude seated human figure of the first two types. Usually a crescent with a dot above it is found over the bull couchant. There are three triplets of dots behind and in front of the bull couchant the dots border on the line circle. The exergue line runs across from one side or falls short at one or both ends. On the right the bull's tail sometimes joins the exergue line or curves over below it. The *Cētu* legend is inscribed horizontally below the bull couchant. The vowel mark in *tu* is particularly run into containing line circle. In a few specimens the left of the limb of the letters *ca* and *tu* joins the loop on the letter. The bull couchant, the *Cētu* legend and the crescent are all engraved within a circular ring as on the obverse ; the ring is surrounded by a bead circle.<sup>42</sup>

Type IIIB is represented by a few coins the obverse of which is like that of IIIA. The beautifully designed bull couchant on the reverse is engraved within a semicircle which touches the exergue line on both sides.<sup>43</sup> As usual the crescent and a dot are to be found above the figure of the bull. All these are designed within a circular ring which is surrounded by a bead circle. These coins are of fine minting and have an average weight of 68 grains.

Type IIIC is represented by the small coins which have a maximum weight of 35.5 grains. They are of fine minting as those of type IIIA and IIIB but have distinctive features which place them into a separate category. On the obverse a slender standing human figure with a crown is represented. The hanging lamp under the right arm is very distinct and beneath the left arm which is stretched upwards are to be seen a neatly engraved trident and a sceptre. All these figures are to be found within a circular ring. The distinguishing feature of this type is that the ring is surrounded by a chain engraved inside the bead circle.<sup>44</sup> Although the reverse is like that of IIIA there is a slight variation. The figure of the recumbent bull is exquisitely carved ; the crescent with a dot is found as usual above the bull couchant. There are three dots beneath the crescent and bordering the circular ring. The exergue line joins the ring on both sides and the kompu of *Ca* and the final vowel of *tu* are run into the exergue line. Moreover, the legend is engraved beneath the recumbent bull as in the coins of IIIA and IIIB. On the obverse the circular ring is surrounded by a circular chain.<sup>45</sup>

40. There are three varieties in the coins of type III that are available. For our purposes they may be classified as IIIA, IIIB and IIIC.

41. See Nos. 40-48, plate IIIA and Appendix.

42. See Nos. 40-45, plate IIIA.

43. See plate IIIB, Nos. 46-48.

44. See Appendix II, Nos. 14-18.

45. See plate III, Nos. 49-50B.

## IV

All the specimens of type IV are small and have a maximum weight of 34.67 grains. As the lotus motif appears on the obverse of these specimens they may be referred to as of the lotus type. In the coins of this type the standing human figure on the obverse is replaced by the figure of a finely engraved lotus of eight petals. At the centre of the floral design the Cētu legend is neatly engraved within a circular ring. The *kompū* of *Ca* and the final vowel of *tu* merge with the line circle. The petals of the lotus are surrounded by a circular ring that lies within a bead circle.

A bull couchant of exquisite design appears on the reverse. The crescent with a dot, as usual is engraved above the bull. Beneath the crescent and above the bull's tail are to be seen three dots. All these figures were designed within a circular ring surrounded by a bead circle.

## V

The coins of type V, which are of four main varieties, have greater similarities to those of type III than with those of any other group. The standing human figure and the recumbent bull are depicted on the obverse and reverse respectively on all coins that belong to these two types. Yet there are significant differences. The trident and the sceptre, common symbols on the coins of type III, have not been depicted on those of type V. The lamp is uniformly found on the left of the standing figure in the coins of type III whereas it appears some times on the right and in some cases on either side in type V. Moreover, the lamps depicted on the coins of these two types differ very much in their shape and design. It may therefore be assumed that the two types are separated from one another in point of time.

There are some indications which suggest that the coins of this type belong to a period earlier than that of those of type III. They lack the exquisiteness of the coins of the latter type. The circular ring and the bead circle have not been designed on these issues. Besides, the standing human figure is represented by thick and heavy lines and a relatively broad outline—a characteristic of some of the coins of type II. In some cases the shape of the lamp also suggests close affinities with type II. It may, therefore, be suggested that these coins were issued after those of type II, during the early decades of the fourteenth century.

The four varieties of this type are differentiated on the basis of symbols and figures that appear on the obverse. Those of VA have the figure of a lamp depicted on either side of the human figure.<sup>46</sup> On the obverse of the coins on VB the lamp on the left is replaced by a design which has the appearance of a flower bud.<sup>47</sup> On the obverse of the coins of VC a group of nine dots arranged to form a geometrical design appear on the left of the standing figure while the lamp is designed on its right.<sup>48</sup> The pieces of VD have a special feature; the figure of the pūrṇa ghaṭa is designed on the right and the lamp is retained on the left.<sup>49</sup>

46. Plate IV, Nos. 53A, 54, 62, 62A.

47. Plate IV, Nos. 55, 56.

48. Plate IV, Nos. 57, 57A, 58.

49. Plate IV, Nos. 60, 64.

## VI

The specimens of type VI, relatively rare in availability, are inferior to those of type V which they closely resemble. The standing human figure with crown appears on the obverse. The hanging lamp is designed beneath the right arm. As usual the left-arm, stretched upwards, holds an indistinct object. The trident and sceptre appear below it. The circular ring is not to be found in this variety.<sup>50</sup>

On the obverse the bull couchant is to be found ; the crescent and dot appear above it as usual. There are two dots, one below the bull and the other behind its tail. The bull's tail curves over the exergue line. The *kompū* of the letter *Ca* joins the loop of the letter ; the final vowel of *tu* does not reach up to the exergue line. As on the obverse there is no circular ring. Moreover, the bead circle is of irregular shape and inferior design. The relative deterioration in quality may suggest a late date and it may be assumed that these coins were issued during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries when the kingdom was on the decline.

## Chronology

As none of these coins provide any hint as to which particular reign it belongs it is not easy to determine precisely the dates of their issue. Therefore, for purposes of studying them on a chronological basis one has to depend on the evidence of palaeography as could be gleaned from the coin legend, their design and weight standard. As seen already these coins fall into six distinct types. Of these the first two are closely allied and the letters of their legend are less developed than those of the rest. It may therefore be assumed that the coins of types I and II are chronologically anterior to those of the other types. Since the coins of type I are exactly similar to the Cōla copper issues of the thirteenth century it is probable, as Codrington and Gnanapragasar contend, that they were issued towards the end of that century.<sup>51</sup>

The period in which the coins of type II were issued does not admit of precise determination. It may be suggested that the coins of this type are imitations of the lion coins of Parākramabāhu. Gnanapragasar and Codrington, however, argue that the lion coins were modelled on the *Cētu* coins of type III and that they were issued during the fifteenth century for circulation in the kingdom of Jaffna after its conquest by Sapumal, the general and adopted son of Parākramabāhu VI (1415-1467).<sup>52</sup> Codrington who assumed that the lion coins were issued by Parākramabāhu VI, based his conclusions mainly on three arguments. Firstly, the introduction of the lion (the emblem of the Sinhalese kings) may be explained as suitable to a coinage struck by a Sinhalese king in a conquered area. Secondly, the lion coins have not been found in any archaeological excavations outside Jaffna. Thirdly, if one takes into consideration the treatment of the head and crown as well as the frequent presence of a border of large dots

50. Plate V, 71.80.

51. The hanging lamp, common to the coins of the Polonnaruwa period, is also found in the *Cētu* coins of types I and II. However, the *Cētu* coins of these types have greater resemblance to the copper coins issued by the Cōlas during the thirteenth century. The rude standing human figure on the obverse, the group of dots, the seated human figure on the reverse and the vertically written nagari legend on the reverse are characteristics that are common to the coins issued by the Sinhalese and the Cōla kings. This was probably due to the influence of Ceylonese currency on that of the Cōlas. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas* Q.450, S. Gnanapragasar, "The forgotten Coinage of the Kings of Jaffna." *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. V (4), p. 179, H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 75.

52. *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 179.

and the variations in size and weight they could be classed with, if not after, type III of the *Cētu* coins. The first two of these arguments do not seem to be convincing. The introduction of the lion may have been due to other considerations such as the reassertion of Sinhalese political power under Parākramabāhu II (1236–1271). It may well have been introduced by a king of the Polonnaruwa period in imitation of the tiger of the *Cōla* coins that were in circulation in the island. The provenance of the lion coins in Jaffna does not necessarily imply that they were meant for circulation in that region only. Although the Dambadeniya rulers had no authority there, a substantial number of their coins have found their way into Jaffna. The last argument raised by Codrington is based on a superficial comparison of the lion coins with type III of the *Cētu* series. Indeed the two are quite dissimilar, None of the lion coins approaches the standard weight of the *Cētu* pieces of type IIIA and IIIB and, moreover, they differ very much in their design. The lion appears beside the human figure on the obverse, whereas in the *Cētu* coins of type III the bull couchant appears on the reverse in a horizontal position. On the reverse the lion coins retain the seated human figure with the *Nāgarī* legend written vertically beside it as in the coins of the Polonnaruwa period and the early issues of the *Cētu* coins. If the lion coins were imitations of type III of the *Cētu* pieces they would probably have been modelled on the *Cētu* coins that were turned out from the royal mints in Jaffna just before Sapumal's conquest. The available evidence, although limited, does not seem to admit of such a possibility. It should also be noted that the circular ring—a distinctive feature of the *Cētu* coins of types III and IV is not to be found on the lion coins. Even the designs of the hanging lamp on the obverse of the two series are quite different ; that of the lion coins is exactly as that on the Polonnaruwa issues. Moreover, the standing human figure on the *Cētu* pieces of type III is slender whereas that on the lion coins is broad and as in the Polonnaruwa issues the lines representing the limbs of the body are thick and heavy, Codrington is not quite correct in asserting that the dots appearing on the lion coins are similar to those on the *Cētu* pieces of type III : in fact such dots are very rare on the lion coins. In the treatment of details the lion coins are basically similar to the Sinhalese copper coins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and this fact has to be taken into consideration in any discussion of the similarity in design between the *Cētu* coins and the lion coins of Parākramabāhu. Even Codrington conceded that the characters of the legend would suggest a date earlier than the fifteenth century. On account of the foregoing considerations and because the figure of the seated lion on these coins bears close resemblance to the lion motifs found in the architectural edifices of Parākramabāhu I and his successors the lion coins may be tentatively assigned to the Polonnaruwa period.

Among the *Cētu* coins, only the specimens of type II have the closest resemblance to the lion coins. They seem to be of the same weight standard. Moreover, just as the figure of the seated lion is engraved in a vertical position beside the human figure on the lion coins, on the *Cētu* coins of type II the figure of a recumbent bull is designed in a vertical position beside the standing human figure on the obverse. Therefore, it would appear that the *Cētu* coins of type II, although of inferior craftsmanship, were imitations of the lion coins of Parākramabāhu that were probably in circulation in the northern parts of the island, even after the rise of the Āriyaccakaravartti dynasty. The introduction of the bull couchant may indicate its adoption as the royal emblem by the Kings of Jaffna. As the *Cētu* coins of type II have similarities to both the *Cōla* coins of the thirteenth century and the coins of the Polonnaruwa period they may be assigned to the early fourteenth century.

The coins of types III and IV are of fine minting and the specimens of IIIA and IIIB have a maximum weight of 68.47 grains. The marked improvement in the quality of the metal and the design and the increase in weight may suggest that these were issued during a period of substantial prosperity. Unlike the earlier issues they are no longer close imitations of either Cōla or Sinhalese coins but are original in design and have distinctive features. The removal of the bull couchant from the obverse, the disappearance of the rude seated human figure from the reverse and the introduction of a large and neatly designed bull couchant seem to be innovations introduced by a generation of rulers who were firmly and securely established in power. The script of the legend is very similar to that of the Laṅkātilakā Tamil inscription and, as Codrington and Gnanapragasar suggest, the coins of this type seem to have been issued by the kings of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The specimens of type III and IV are the products of a remarkably high standard of craftsmanship and in their beauty and exquisiteness of their design they surpass the coins ever issued by the rulers of any other dynasty in Sri Lanka or in the Tamil kingdoms of South India.

### Symbols

In the coinage of Sri Lanka, the bull couchant, the trident, sceptre and the crescent are found only on the *Cētu* coins. These symbols, however, were quite common on the coins found in various parts of India. In Hindu mythology the crescent represents the moon and symbolises eternity, universality, light, shade and protection. Traditionally the king's qualities of benevolence and righteousness are compared with those of the moon. In Saivite mythology and iconography the moon is indicated by a crescent on the matted locks of Siva.

In the coins issued by the Sātavahana rulers the crescent is usually found above the *chaitya* symbol.<sup>53</sup> The crescent is to be found also on some of the coins of the Guptas and several other dynasties.<sup>54</sup> The figure of the bull and the trident are engraved on some of the Kuṣāṇa issues. The crescent often appears on both the obverse and the reverse of the coins issued by the kings of Kalinga who ruled during fourth and fifth centuries.<sup>55</sup> The coins issued by the rulers of Chind, notably those of Spalapatideva and Sāmantadeva have on their obverse the figures of the recumbent humped bull and trident.<sup>56</sup> The coins issued by the kings of Marwar have the figures of Siva and bull on the obverse and trisūla on the reverse.<sup>57</sup> On the obverse of some of the coins of Rājārāja the trident and crescent appear beside the standing figure on the obverse.<sup>58</sup> The coins issued by Kulottunga I bear the symbol of the bull with a stout hump and a crescent.<sup>59</sup> However, the figure of the bull is found relatively rarely on the Cōla issues.

53. Edwards James Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra dynasty, the western kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka dynasty and the "Bodhi" dynasty*, London, 1908. p. LXXXII.

54. John Allan, *Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta dynasty and Sasanka, King of Gauda*, London, 1914, pp. LXV, LXIX, LXX.

55. B. B. Bidya Binod, *Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Volume I, 1923, p. 28.

56. *ibid.*, pp. 60, 62.

57. *ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

58. *ibid.*, p. 101.

59. S. A. Raghavan, 'The Coins of Tamil Nad,' *IATR, Proceedings of the first conference Seminar*, Kuala Lumpur, 1966, pp. 539.

The bull had been a coin device in the Pāṇḍya country from ancient times. In the ancient Pāṇḍya coins all of which are either of rectangular or square shape, their dynastic emblem, the fish, is not found. They bear emblems such as the bull, elephant and the *Kaṭapa* tree. Although the fish appears in many of the coins issued by the later Pāṇḍyas it is not the only emblem represented. On the facial side of the few coins is seen the figure of a bull in the lying posture. Above it is a crescent moon and on the reverse is the figure of the two fish in vertical posture.<sup>60</sup> The lotus symbol is also found in a few coins issued by the Pāṇḍyas.<sup>61</sup>

The bull couchant is very common on the reverse of the coins issued by the Eastern Ganges of Kalinga. Moreover, in their coins the crescent with dot appears on the reverse. The Cētu coins of types III and IV bear close similarity to that of the coins issued by the Eastern Ganges. It may be suggested that they bear traces of the influence of the Coinage of Kalinga.<sup>62</sup> The bull couchant is a Saivite emblem. The bull is supposed to be the vehicle (*vāhana*) of Siva and it symbolises power, majesty and prosperity. *Trisūla* or the trident is also closely associated with Siva and Siva worship. In the Hindu conception of Divinity military prowess is an inherent quality of the supreme being. In mythology most of the Gods are associated with particular weapons ; Hindu tradition associates the trident with Śiva.

The bull couchant appearing on the *Cētu* coins must be considered as a Saivite emblem. The regular appearance of the crescent, the dot above it, and the trident recall Saivite mythology and seem to reinforce the conclusion that the bull couchant appearing on these coins represent the Nandi. The symbolism, shape, size and weights of the *Cētu* coins show that they were designed on a variety of indigenous and foreign models. They bear unmistakable traces of the influence of the coinage of the Sinhalese, Cōlas, Pāṇḍyas and the Gangas of Kalinga.

### Weight Standard and Units of Currency

The *Cētu* coins of types I and II have an average weight of about 58 grains and correspond to the average weight of the debased Cōla copper pieces. Therefore, it would appear that the *Cētu* pieces of these types were influenced by the Cōla currency which was of the Gadyāna standard ; at times the Gadyāna was equated with that of the *Kalañcu* and it was of 58 grains.<sup>63</sup> The *Cētu* coins of type IIIA and IIIB have an average weight of about 68 grains and they probably indicate an attempt on the part of the Āryacakravarttis to bring the currency of Jaffna in line with the weight standard of the old Lañkesvara coins which too had almost the same average weight.<sup>64</sup> The *Cētu* issues of type III may therefore be reckoned to have been based on the standard of the *Kalanda* or *Kalañcu* of 20 *mañcāṭis* which theoretically was of 72 grains<sup>65</sup>.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 540.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 541.

62. The gold fanams issued by the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga have the figure of a recumbent bull on their reverse. There are certain symbols above and in front of the bull. (V.A. Smith, *Catalogue* of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 314). Some of the kings of Sri Lanka, during the Polonnaruwa period, had dynastic connections with the Gangas of Kalinga. Besides, a few coins of Anantavarman Codaganga have been found in the island.

63. The Cōlas, p. 443, 'The gold gadyāna Coin of the Deccan averages 58 grains, the heaviest reaching 60.1 grains ; this was the standard unit called *gadyāna* or *Kalañcu* in the Tamil country.

64. The Lañkesvara coins were theoretically of a *Kalanda* in weight but the copper coins do not reach the standard although a few pieces weigh about 65 grains.

65. *The Cōlas*, p. 443.

Therefore, it would appear that the Cētu coins of type III were modelled on the copper *Kahavanuva* coins that were issued by the Polonnaruwa kings. The half Cētu pieces (types IIIC and IV) have a maximum weight of 35.67 grains and correspond to the *ada Kahavanuva* which was of 34 grains. Thus the large and small Cētu coins recall the *Kahavanuva* and *ada Kahavanuva* coins of the Polonnaruwa period. However, it should not be assumed that they were of equal value particularly because of the long period of time that intervened their issues.

The *Foral of Jaffnapatam* attests that the *mā*, *cakkaram* and *fanam* were the units of currency in Jaffna around 1645.<sup>66</sup> As all these denominations are Tamil it may be assumed that they were in circulation in the days of the Tamil monarchy which was abolished only two and a half decades before the date of the Foral. The Memoir of Zwaardecroon also testifies that the *fanam* was a unit of currency in Jaffna during the period of the Tamil kings.<sup>67</sup> In the seventeenth century the *fanam* was a decimal currency being of ten *kācu*. Besides, a *fanam* was equivalent to ten *mā* in value.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, the *mā* and *kācu* may have been of identical value. The *Cekarācacēkaramālai*, a fourteenth century text, as seen earlier, refers to the *kācu* bearing the royal seal. In this instance the *kācu* has to be reckoned as a coin—presumably the large Cētu coin.

The earliest reference to the *fanam* in Sri Lanka is probably that in the Tamil inscription of the twelfth century from Budumuttāva.<sup>69</sup> Since there is no evidence for the existence of the *fanam* as a unit of the indigenous currency in the Polonnaruwa period, the *fanam* referred to in this inscription may be reckoned as a unit of South Indian currency that has found its way to Sri Lanka in the course of trade. However, the combined testimony of the Gadalādeniya and Lankātilaka inscriptions establish that the *fanam* was a unit of the indigenous currency of the Gampola kingdom.<sup>70</sup> Ibn Battuta found that 100 *fanam* of Ceylonese currency were equal in value to six dinars. The *fanam* of the Jaffna currency may have been introduced by the Āryacakravartti by the end of the thirteenth century. In Sri Lanka, the unit of coin known as the *mā* was current only in Jaffna and was probably introduced along with the *fanam* by the early rulers of Jaffna.

The origins of the *fanam* and *mā* of the Jaffna currency are probably traceable to the South Indian monetary system.<sup>71</sup> The *Mā* was a unit of the Pāṇḍya currency during the thirteenth century. Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1215–1238) is known to have revalued the *tiramam* from five to seven *mā* of the *kācu*. The references to *fanam* are numerous in South Indian epigraphy. It was of different metals and its value was subjected to regional and periodical variations. In Karnāṭaka the *fanam* (*haṇa*) was a gold coin and it was a tenth of the *Gadyāna*.<sup>72</sup>

66. P. E. Pieris, *The Kingdom of Jaffnapatam*, p. 59.

67. *Instructions for the opperkoopman Anthony Pavilioen, Commandeur and the Council of Jaffnapatnam with the adjacent islands and the provinces of the Vanni*, (31.1.1659), p. 86.

68. *The Kingdom of Jaffna Patam*, p. 59.

69. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, III, No. 33.

70. *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 80.

71. As regards the *panam* Codrington says : 'That the *panam* as distinct from the *Aka* was brought to Ceylon from the Tamil country is apparent from the formation of its Sinhalese name *panama*, plu. *panam*. Its Currency was continuous from the middle of the fifteenth century.' *ibid.*, p. 80.

72. A. Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in South India, AD. 1000–1500*, pp. 705, 711–712, 715.

The metallic content of the *fanam* in Jaffna is not known : probably it was of ten *kācu*. It may be assumed that a hundred *kācu* were equivalent to a *varāhan* of the Vijayanagara currency.

Whether or not the *cakkaram* belonged to the coinage of the rulers of Jaffna is not easy to determine. Cakkaram pieces were common in the currency of Travancore in a **much** later period.<sup>73</sup> The origin of the units called *cakkaram* can be ascertained only after a systematic study of the coins of Travancore. It may, however, be suggested that the *cakkaram* coins that were in circulation in Jaffna were foreign coins which had come into that kingdom in considerable amounts largely as a result of the lucrative tobacco trade with Travancore.

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73. Sir Walter Elliott, 'Coins of Southern India,' *Numismata Orientalia*, 1886, pp. 137-39.



APPENDIX A

Catalogue of Coins illustrated in the Plates

Findspots	Obverse	Reverse	Circumference (inches)	Weight (grains)
1. Mantai	.. The Devanāgari legend Dharmarāja	.. Standing humped bull with conch above it	.78	72.0
2. Sandilippay	.. Rude standing human figure with lamp on the left and miniature crescent on the right	.. rude seated human figure of irregular design and cettu legend	.78-79	66.9
3. Sandilippay	.. do.	do.	.78-79	66.0
4. Nagerkoyil	.. do.	do.	.74	57.0
5. Kopay	.. Double struck	do.	.71	65.3
6. Kopay	.. do.	do.	.71	55.0
7. Kopay	.. do.	do.	.72	60.1
8. Kantharodai	.. As 1 to 3	do.	.70	60.0
9. Kantharodai	.. do.	do.	.71	63.9
10. Kantharodai	.. do.	do.	.70	68.0
10. A. Nalbur	.. do.	do.	.70	65.0
10. B. Sandilippay	.. do.	do.	.70	65.3
10. C. S. ndilippay	.. as above but with a double standing figure	do.	.70	61.9
10. D. Sandilippay	.. as 10B	do.	—	—
11. Sandilippay	.. do.	do.	.70	56.0
12. Sandilippay	.. Lamp and spear beside the usual figures	do.	.70	56.1
13. Sandilippay	.. do.	do.	.70	60.1
14. Sandilippay	.. do.	do.	.71	61.0
15. Sandilippay	.. as usual but the lamp on the left seems to be depicted on a pea-cock's head	.. Unusual, double struck	.73	61.0
15. A. Mankulam	.. do.	.. As usual	.71	68.0
16. Mankulam	.. Besides the usual symbols five dots are designed beneath the crescent on the right	do.	.71	57.6
17. Nainativu	.. A miniature recumbent bull appears on the right	do.	.70	65.5
18. Vallipuram	.. do.	do.	.78	68.1
19. Nagerkoyil	.. do.	do.	.74	58.1
20. Alaveddy	.. do.	do.	.66	64.1
21. Sandilippay	.. do.	do.	.86	64.2
22. Sandilippay	.. do.	do.	.82	70.0
23. Sandilippay	.. do.	do.	.80	65.0
24. Sandilippay	.. do.	do.	.83	68.2
25. Sandilippay	.. do.	do.	.74	58.1

Findspot	Obverse	Reverse	Circumference (inches)	Weight (grains)
26. Sandlippyay	.. A miniature recumbent bull appears on the right	As usual	..	..
27. ———	do.	do.	.80	65.0
28. ———	do.	do.	.80	67.5
29. Sandlippyay	do.	do.	.80	69.5
30. Allaipiddy	do.	do.	.83	63.7
31. Alaveddy	do.	do.	.80	54.2
32. ———	do.	do.	.78	65.1
32A. Sandlippyay	do.	do.	.83	65.3
32B. Alaveddy	do.	do.	—	—
33. Nallur	.. As usual except for the lamp which has a peculiar shape	do.	..	..
34. Tinnevelly	.. Human figure of broad heavy frame. The shape of the lamp is peculiar	do.	..	..
35. Naranthanai	.. As 34 but washed in gold	do.	.79	55.0
36. Tinnevelly	.. Belongs to a distinct variety. The lamp has been replaced with the trident	do.	.79	63.0
37. Vallipuram	.. do.	do.	.82	61.0
38. ———	do.	do.	.83	61.0
39. Tinnevelly	.. do.	do.	.77	57.0
40. Nagerkoyil	.. Of a different type and of fine minting. The lamp is of irregular shape and indicated by a bar intersected by several horizontal bars. The recumbent bull is replaced on the right by a trident and sceptre	The rude seated figure is replaced by a recumbent bull surmounted by a crescent and dot. The cētū legend is depicted beneath it. Three groups of three dots behind the bull	..	..
41. Nagerkoyil	.. do.	do.	.83	70.0
42. ———	do.	do.	.83	72.0
43. Sandlippyay	.. do.	do.	.78	68.7
44. Mankulam	.. do.	do.	.80	72.5
45. Tinnevelly	.. do.	do.	.80	66.0
46. ———	.. do.	do.	.79	71.5
46A. ———	.. do.	do.	.79	69.0
47. Vallipuram	.. do.	do.	.72	56.0
48. Vallipuram	.. do.	do.	.80	72.5

Findspot	Obverse	Reverse	Circumference (inches)	Weight (grams)
49. Alaveddy	Seated human figure and other symbols are replaced by a lotus of 8 petals. The cetu legend is depicted within a circle designed at the centre of the floral design	As in 41.45. But the three groups of dots are indicated below the bull. Three dots appear between the crescent and the bulls' tail	.52	34.2
50. Sandilippay	do.	do.	.59	36.5
50 A. Alaveddy	do.	do.	.50	32.2
50 B. Nagerkoyil	do.	do.	.52	29.5
51. Nagerkoyil	Standing human figure holding lamp on the left. Trident and sceptre are depicted on the right. All these appear within a ring surrounded by a chain within a bead circle	As in type III, but the chain is an additional element	.50	32.2
51 A. Nagerkoyil	do.	do.	.58	37.0
52. Vallipuram	do.	do.	.59	34.0
53. Alaveddy	Belongs to a distinct variety. A heavy standing figure holding two lamps, one on either side	A majestic recumbent bull with the cetu legend beneath it and a floral design in front of it	.73	57.4
53. A. Alaveddy	do.	do.	.71	53.0
54. Mankulam	do.	do.	.70	65.0
55. Pandatterippu	Belongs to another variety. Heavy standing figure with flower bud on the left and lamp on the right	A majestic recumbent bull with the cetu legend beneath it and a floral design in front of it, but the floral design is removed	.70	66.0
56. Pandatterippu	do.	do.	.70	58.0
57. Mankulam	Of a different variety. The lamp on the left replaced by a design consisting of 9 dots	do.	.72	61.0
57 A. Mankulam	do.	do.	.70	66.0
58. _____	do.	do.	.72	61.0
59. Sandilippay	Rude standing human figure with lamp on the left	Crescent over the bull is replaced by a bird-like figure	.72	64.0
60. Nallur	Vase (purnaghata) on the right and lamp on the left	The letter is depicted below the bull's face	.74	63.0
61. Mantai	Standing human figure with lamps on either sides	recumbent bull with crescent above it and three dots behind. There is a bird in front of the bull	.77	61.0
62. Mantai	do.	do.	.70	53.4
62 A. _____	Standing human figure with lamps on either side	a special variety. Swan in front of bull and peacock above the bull	.72	73.0

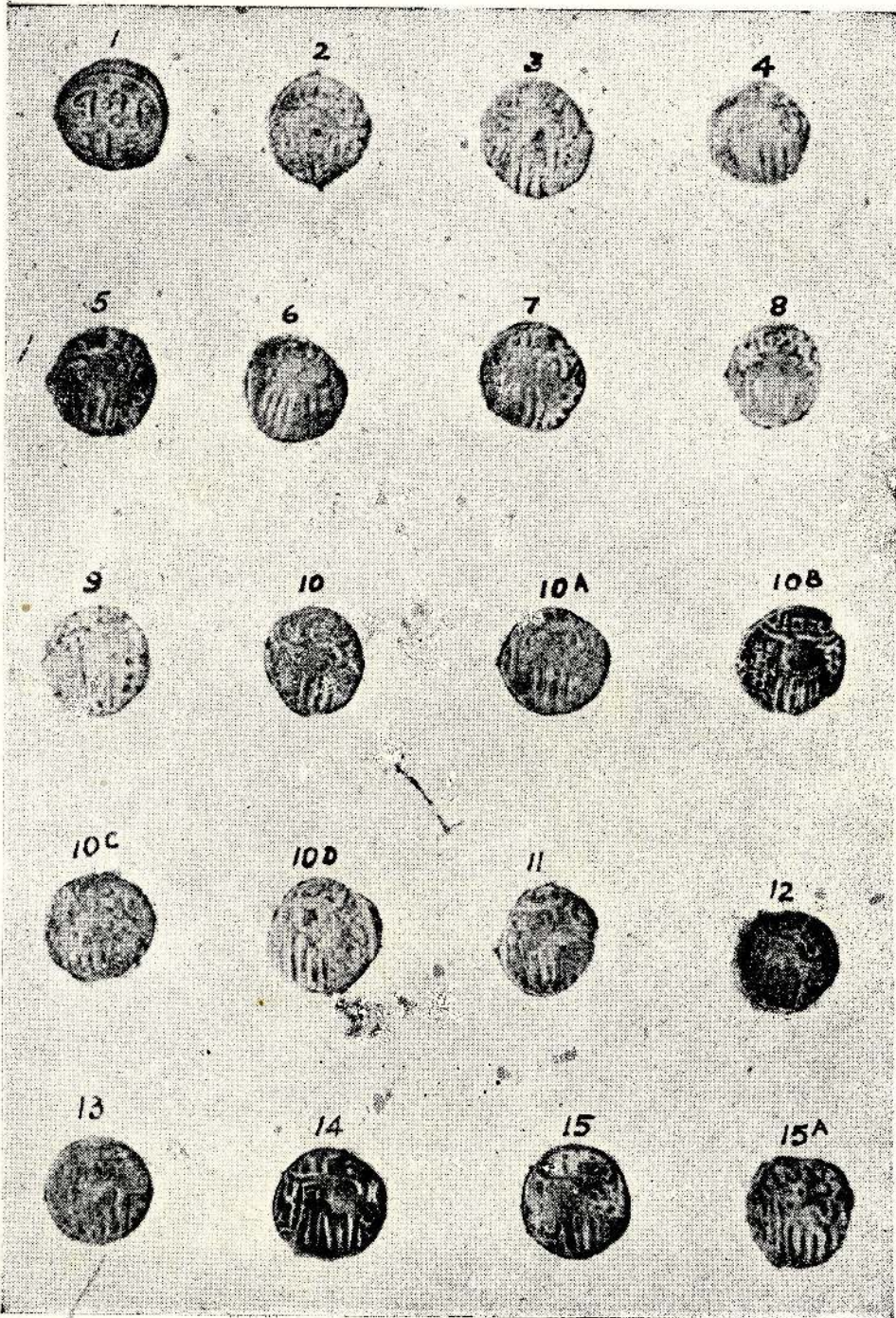
<i>Findspot</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Circumference</i> ( <i>inches</i> )	<i>Weight</i> ( <i>grains</i> )
63. Sandlippay	.. As 60 ..	.. As 59 ..	.72	49.5
64. ———	.. do. ..	.. do. ..	.79	78.0
65. ———	.. As 61 ..	.. As 57-59 ..	.77	65.0
66. ———	.. Standing human figure with lamps on the right ..	.. do. ..	.75	65.5
67. ———	.. do. ..	.. do. ..	.76	65.85
68. ———	.. do. ..	.. do. ..	.78	60.8
69. ———	.. Standing human figure with a lamp on the left only ..	.. do. ..	.69	59.0
70. ———	.. do. ..	.. do. ..	.78	61.0
71. Nagerkoyil	.. Standing human figure with a lamp on the left and trident appears on the right, all within a bead circle ..	.. Recumbent bull surmounted by a crescent and cētu legend within a bead circle ..	.70	58.0
72 Nagerkoyil	.. do. ..	.. do. ..	.70	59.0
72 A. Allaipiddy	.. do. ..	.. do. ..	.72	69.0
72 B. Allaipiddy	.. do. ..	.. do. ..	.70	63.0
72 C. Allaipiddy	.. do. ..	.. do. ..	.69	59.0
72 D. Allaipiddy	.. do. ..	.. do. ..	.70	58.0
72 E. Allaipiddy	.. do. ..	.. do. ..	.69	62.0
73. Kopay	.. do. ..	.. do. ..	.69	52.0
74. Kopay	.. do. ..	.. do. ..	.69	49.8
75. Sandlippay	.. do. ..	.. do. ..	.72	71.8
76. Mankulam	.. do. ..	.. do. ..	.70	58.1
77. Mankulam	.. do. ..	.. do. ..	.72	60.0
78. Nagerkoyil	.. Design of lamp is peculiar ..	.. No trident or spear but instead a pirnaghata ..	.79	61.9
78 A. Nagerkoyil	.. do. ..	.. do. ..	.74	53.0
79. Kantharodai	.. Probably a counterfeit coin. Trident and spear appear on the left of the standing figure. The Lamp is on the right ..	.. do. ..	.68	52.0
80. Kantharodai	.. Traces of gold wash but the design is as usual ..	.. Of bad design ..	.72	32.0

## APPENDIX B

## A Catalogue of Cētu Coins in the British Museum

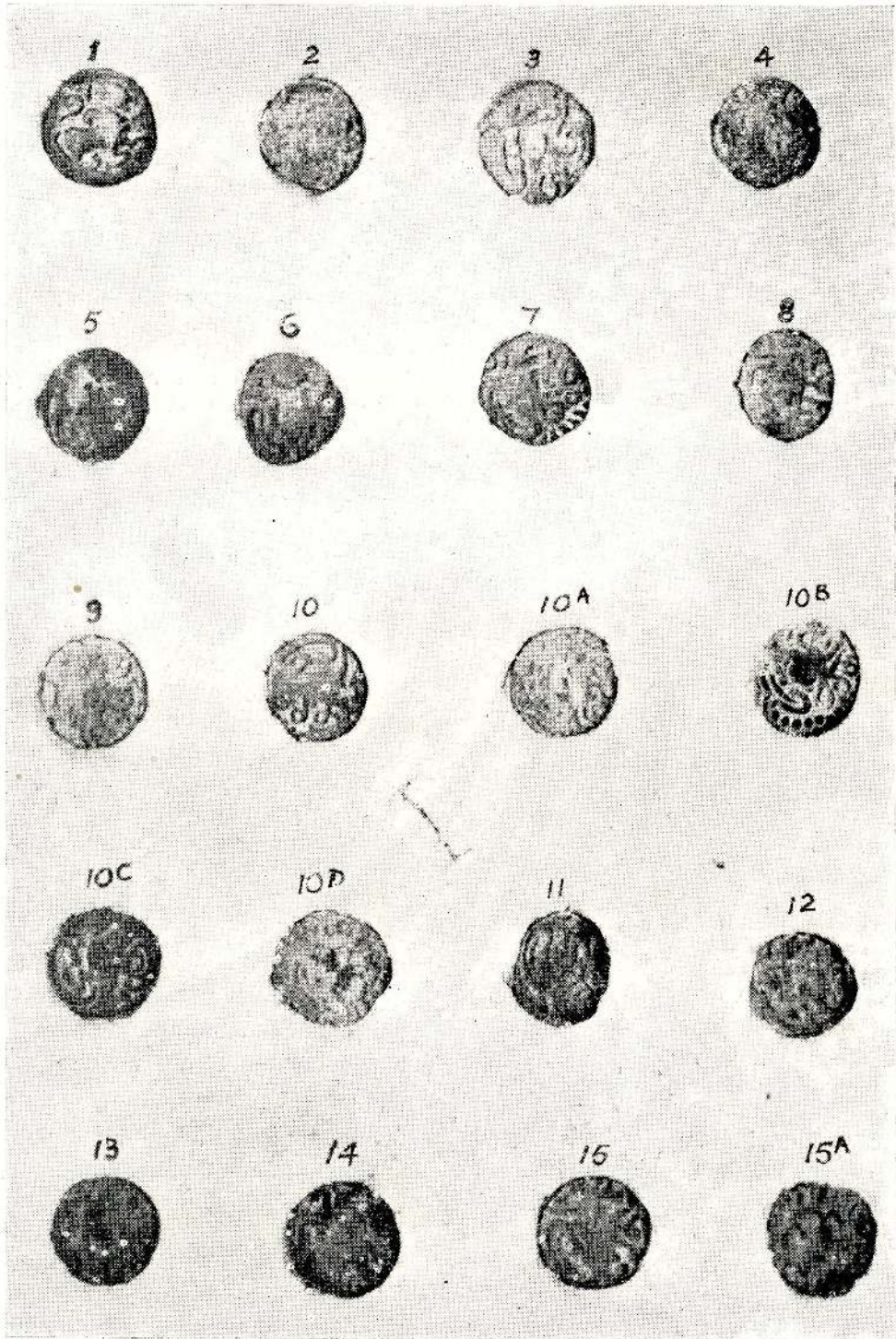
<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Weight (grains)</i>
1. A rude standing figure, a hanging lamp on its left, and a group of five dots on its right.	A rude seated human figure of irregular shape and the vertically written Cētu legend	59.2
2. As exactly as 1.	.. As exactly as 1	.. 50.3
3. As exactly as 1.	.. As exactly as 1	.. 56.2
4. A rude standing human figure with crown, a standing lamp beneath the right arm and a group of five dots below the left arm.	As exactly as 1	.. 56.2
5. A broad standing human figure with crown, a distinct lamp held by the right-hand (as in the Polonnaruwa coins), and a group of dots. Besides, the upraised left hand holds an indistinct object.	as 1-4 but the <i>kompu</i> of the legend is half the size of <i>Ca</i>	63.3
6. Besides, the standing human figure with crown and a lamp of irregular design, a small recumbent bull is incised in a vertical position on the left of the standing figure.	do.	.. 61.0
7. A neatly engraved standing human figure with crown, a clear and well designed lamp held by the right hand, and a trident and sceptre are designed within a circular ring surrounded by a bead circle on the obverse. The upraised left hand holds a (lotus) flower of exceptionally fine minting.	A finely designed bull couchant, a crescent with a dot above it and the horizontally written Cētu legend appear on the reverse. Three groups of three small dots appear in front of and behind the bull. All these figures are designed within a ring surrounded by a bead circle	65.1
8. A neatly engraved standing human figure with crown, a clear and well designed lamp held by the right hand, and a trident and sceptre are designed within a circular ring surrounded by a bead circle on the obverse. The upraised left hand holds a (lotus) flower of exceptionally fine minting.	do.	.. 66.4
9. A neatly engraved standing human figure with crown, a clear and well designed lamp held by the right hand, and a trident and sceptre are designed within a circular ring surrounded by a bead circle on the obverse. The upraised left hand holds a (lotus) flower of exceptionally fine minting.	do.	.. 61.6
10. As exactly as the former except in the appearance of three dots above each foot. The coin is of fine minting.	In addition to symbols in 7, 8 and three dots in front of the bull's face, another group of three dots below the crescent.	68.
11. As exactly as the former except in the appearance of three dots above each foot. The coin is of fine minting.	do.	.. 54.3
12. A heavy and rude standing human figure, a group of nine thick dots on its right and four thin dots on its left.	As 7, 8 and 9, but a floral design is depicted behind the bull's tail and just above the vowel mark of <i>tu</i> .	58.5 59.2
13. Besides the standing human figure and the lamp, a trident and sceptre are depicted.	As 7,8,9. Relatively of poor design.	

Obverse	Reverse	Weight (grains)
14. A neatly designed standing human figure, a distinct hanging lamp held by the right hand and a trident and sceptre are depicted within a ring surrounded by a chain within a bead circle. The upraised left hand holds a (lotus) flower.	As 7and9 but only three dots appear beneath the crescent	35.5
15. A neatly designed standing human figure, a distinct hanging lamp held by the right hand and a trident and sceptre are depicted within a ring surrounded by a chain within a bead circle. The upraised left hand holds a (lotus) flower.	do.	35.0
16. A neatly designed standing human figure, a distinct hanging lamp held by the right hand and a trident and sceptre are depicted within a ring surrounded by a chain within a bead circle. The upraised left hand holds a (lotus) flower.	do.	27.3
17. A neatly designed standing human figure, a distinct hanging lamp held by the right hand and a trident and a sceptre are depicted within a ring surrounded by a chain within a bead circle. The upraised left hand holds a (lotus) flower.	do.	20.3
18. A lotus of 8 petals within a circular ring surrounded by a bead circle. At the centre of the lotus motif the cōtu legend is neatly written within a small circular ring.	The bull couchant is exquisitely carved on the reverse ; as usual the crescent with the dot appears above it. There are three dots below the crescent. Besides, there are nine dots in three groups below the exergue line.	21.3







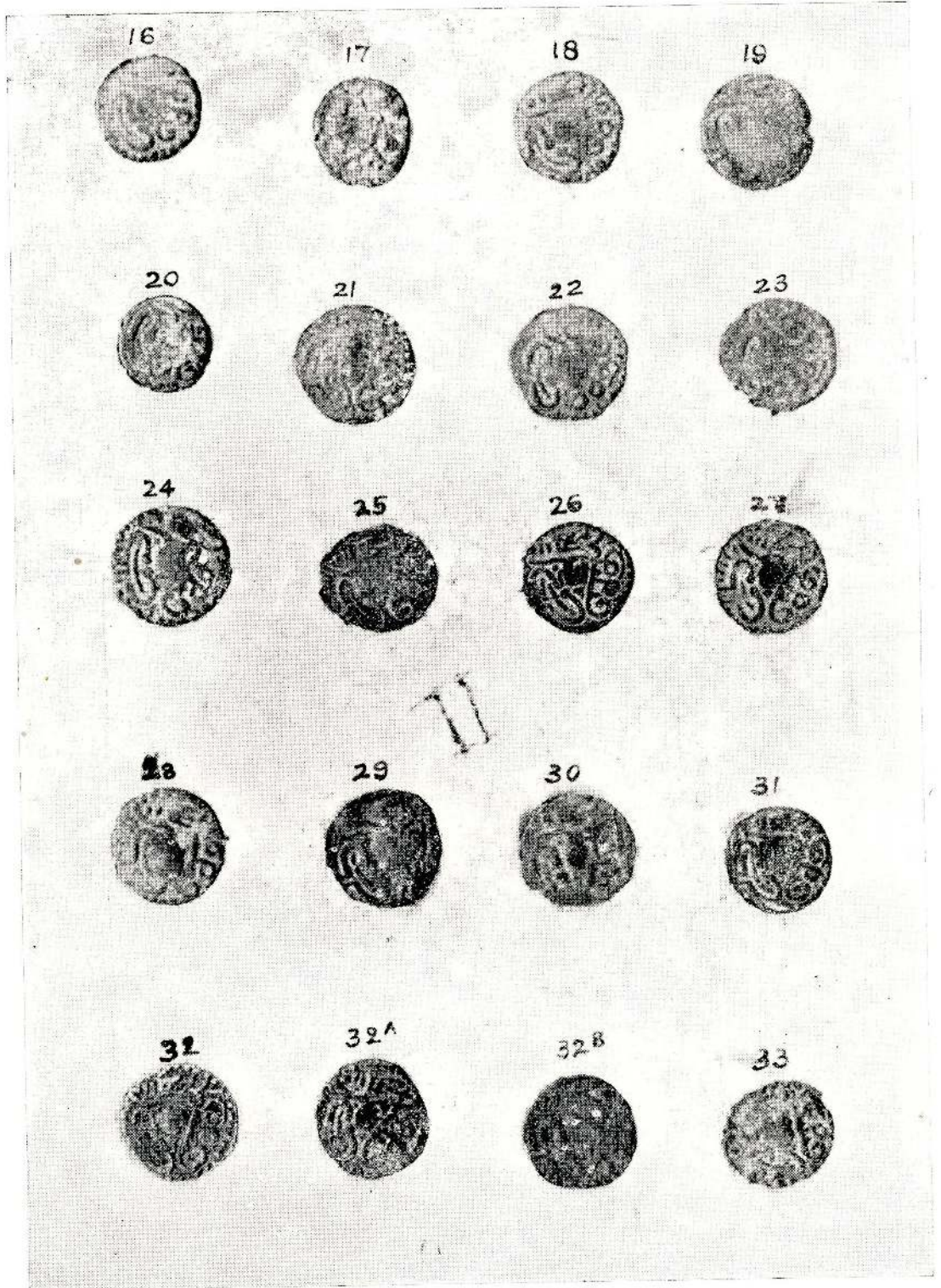




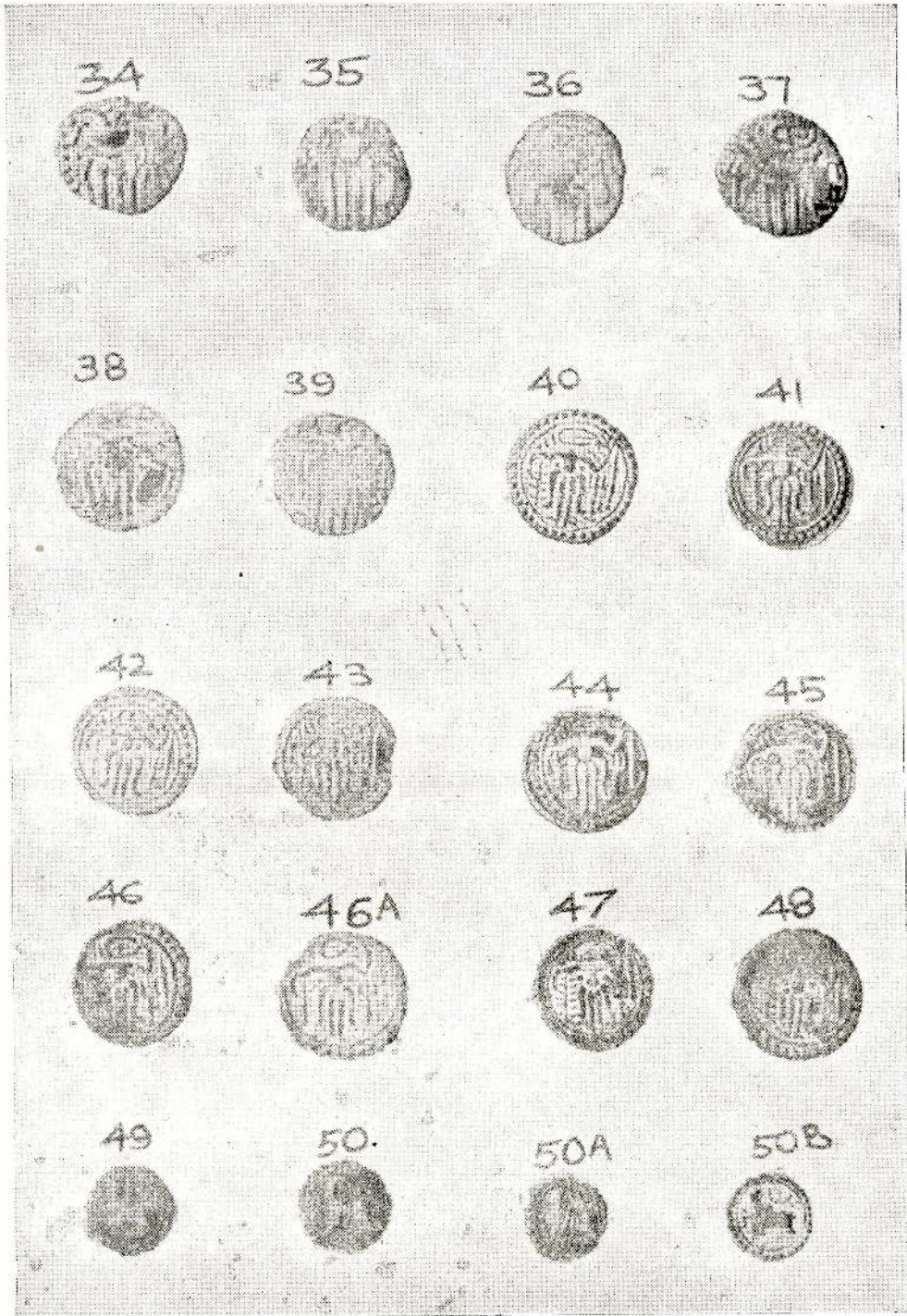


II



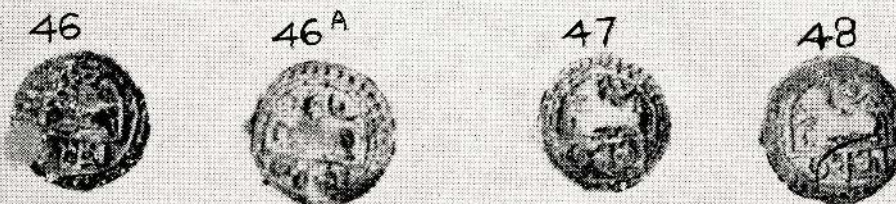
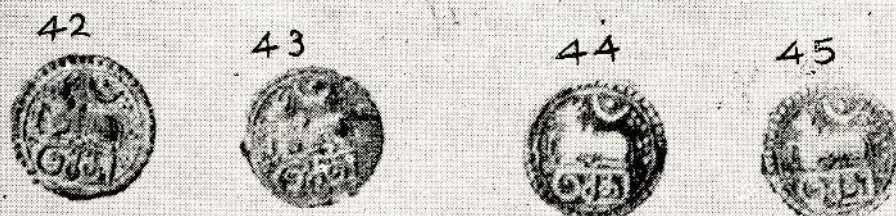
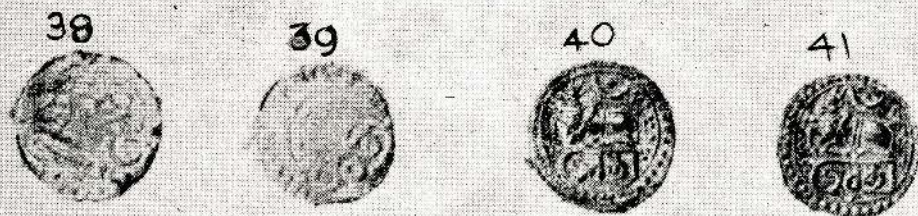
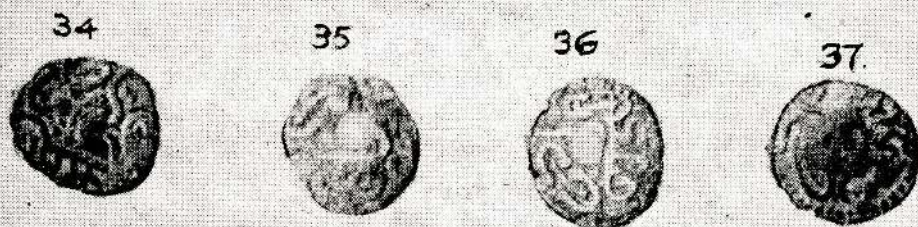














51



51A



52



53



53A



54



55



56



57



57A



58



59



60



61



62



62A



63



64



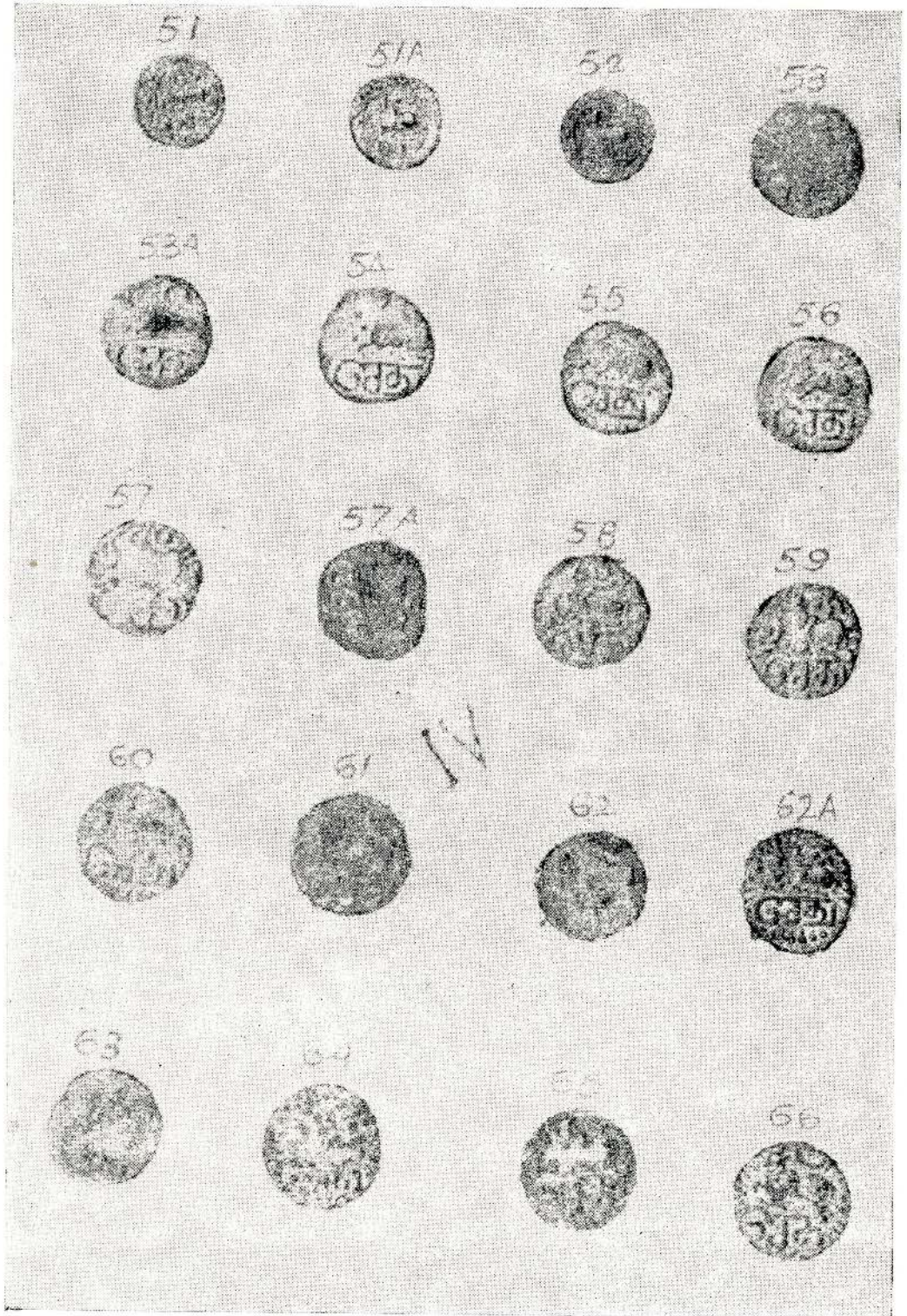
65



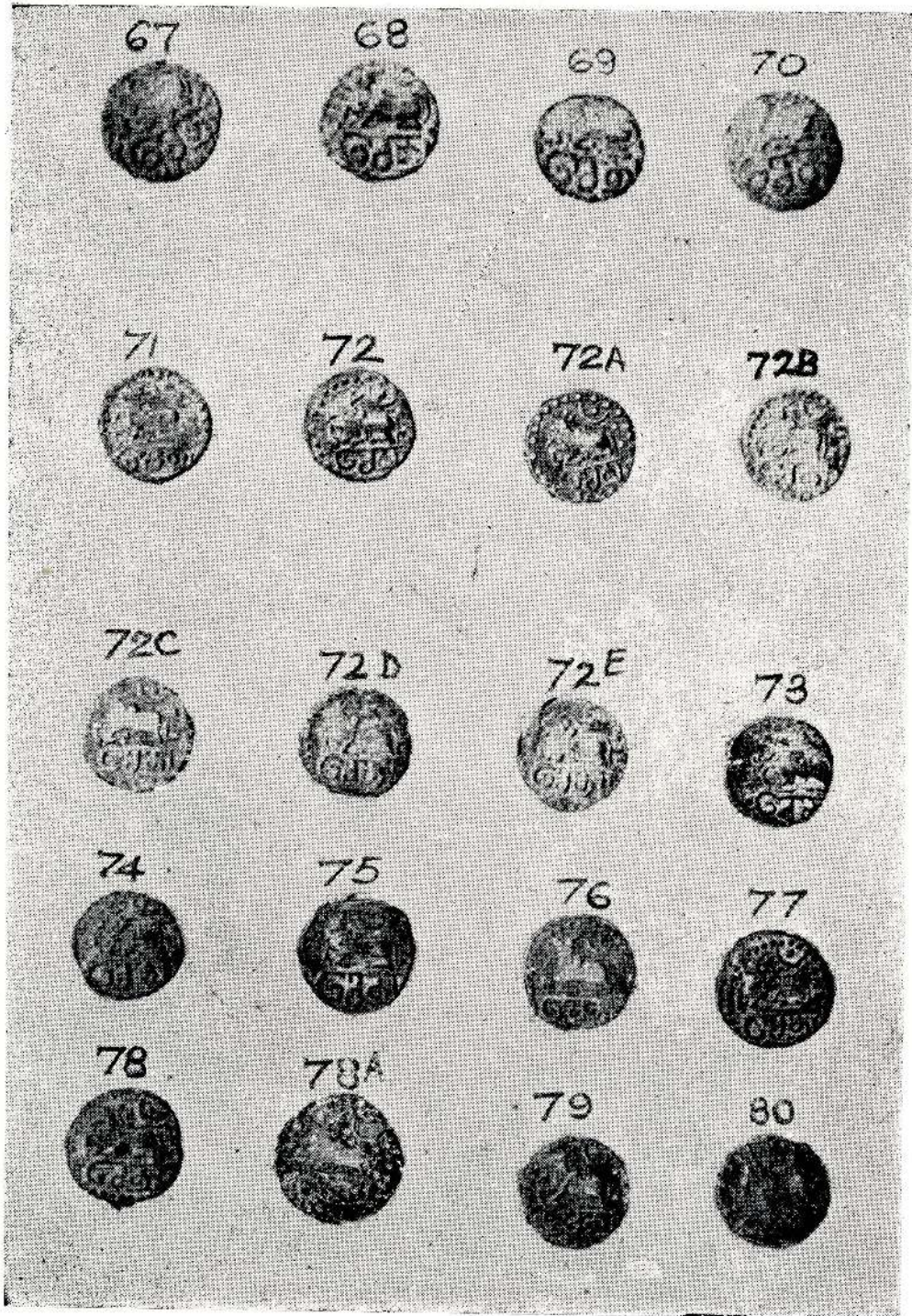
66















67



68



69



70



71



72



72A



72B



72C



72D



72E



73



74



75



76



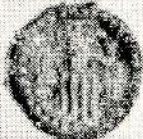
77



78



78A



79



80







