The Ancient Coinage of Mainland Southeast Asia

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Southeast Asia's coinage during the first millenium AD is remarkably conservative and uniform.[1] A single prototype, a silver conch and *śrīvatsa* coin, is the model for each mainland coinage issued over a period of more than five hundred years, from about AD 450 to 1000.[2] (Plate 1, coin 1) Silver is by far the preferred metal for minting. Gold and copper are rarely used, and then only in late or debased issues.[3] Most of the cointypes are

Research for this study was made possible by support from the American Numismatic Society, the Kress Foundation, and from Cornell University. The author's doctoral dissertation, "A Survey of Native Southeast Asian Coinage circa 450–1850: Documentation and Typology" (Cornell University, May 1983) provides a comprehensive overview of Southeast Asian numismatic developments. This paper is a revised version of chapter two of that work.

The author would like to thank Mr. Joe Cribb of the British Museum, London, Dr. Michael Bates of the American Numismatic Society, New York, Dr. Michael Mitchiner, Mr. Lewis A. Shaw, Dr. Pamela Gutman and Dr. Craig Burns for kindly providing the coin photographs which accompany this article. The author is also grateful for their comments, criticisms and suggestions while this work was in progress.

Following numismatic practice, coin citations are generally presented in a shortened form, such as Mitchiner (1982), no. 3414. A work is cited in full at its first appearance. In instances where a single specimen is referred to by more than one source, an equal sign (=) joins the references. When different specimens of the same type are referred to, citations are separated by a semicolon (;).

[1]Surveys of mainland coinage during the first millenium include, M. Mitchiner [hereafter Mitchiner (1972)], "Some Arakan and Pyu-Mon Coins", *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* [hereafter *JNSI*] 34 (1972): 47–59 and "The Date of the Early Arakanese, Pyu and Mon Coinages ('Symbolic Coins')", *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin* [hereafter *SCMB*] (May, 1981): 128–32. Often impressionistic, Mitchiner's pronouncements are to be approached with caution. P. Gutman, "The Ancient Coinage of Southeast Asia", *Journal of the Siam Society* [hereafter *JSS*] 66, pt. 1 (1978): 8–21, views early Southeast Asian coinage as a means of extending kingly authority. It is a rewritten version of chapter three of her doctoral dissertation, "Ancient Arakan" (Australian National University, 1976), pp. 131–57 [hereafter Gutman (1976)]. Her most valuable contribution is an examination of the symbols appearing on these early coins. J. Cribb has critiqued Mitchiner and Gutman in "The Date of the Symbolical Coins of Burma and Thailand — A reexamination of the evidence", ms. 1981. A revised and abbreviated version was published in *SCMB* (August, 1981): 224–26.

[2]The *śrīvatsa* is an Indian auspicious symbol of fertility and abundance, usually associated with Śrī Lakṣmi or with the tuft of hair on Vishnu's chest. The literature on this topic is extensive. Some of the better studies are A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Iconography II. Śrī-Lakshmi", *Eastern Art* 1 (1929): 175–89; A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Notes on Indian Coins and Symbols", *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 4 (1927–28): 175–88; C. Sivaramamurti, "Geographical and Chronological Factors in Indian Iconography", *Ancient India* 6 (1950): 21–63; C. Sivaramamurti, "Goddess Lakshmi and her symbols", *Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society* 14 (1941): 21–24.

[3]A single gold specimen of a Rising Sun coin is in the British Museum. It appears to be cast. The coin has been published in Mitchiner (1972), Plate III, 5. A Bhaddapiṭha/Śrīvatsa coin from Halin is 75% copper. (See R. W. Thiele and U Aung Khin and U Kyaw, "Neutron activation analysis of ancient Burmese silver coins with a low flux americum/beryllium source", *Archaeometry* 14 (1972): 199–219, coin 12.) Both gold and copper Harikela coins were recovered from Mainamati (Salban Vihara). See M. Harunur Rashid, "The Mainamati Gold Coins", *Bangladesh Lalit Kala*, 1, part 1 (1975): 57–58. These copper and gold issues from Mainamati are clearly the result of direct Indian influence from Bengal.

limited in circulation to their place of issue, providing insight into the geographical extent of effective political control in the early states of Candra Arakan, Pyu Śrīkṣetra and Mon Dvāravatī. Weight standards are extremely variable indicating that each state had a localized currency and not one immediately acceptable on an international basis. The main exception is the Rising Sun/Śrīvatsa coinage found in Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and southern Viet Nam. Unfortunately this Rising Sun coinage cannot be attributed to any mainland state with certainty.

The idea of coinage came to Southeast Asia from the outside, most likely from southern India.[4] The adoption of religious symbols as types and a beaded border surrounding the design, (rather than anthropomorphic deities and identifying inscriptions) point away from Gupta India and to Tamilnadu as a source of inspiration. Even so, no convincing Indian prototype for Southeast Asian coinage of the first millenium has been identified.[5]

Southeast Asian coins of this period tend to be anonymous issues. Only in Arakan, given its proximity to Bengal, did an inscribed coinage develop. Mon Dvāravatī, producer of the most diversified coinage of any early Southeast Asian state, issued some rare inscribed medals during the seventh century. The vast majority of the coins, then, are uninscribed, making proper attribution difficult and often uncertain. Each type and variety has a particular set of physical characteristics; this, combined with archaeological finds and limited literary evidence, permits us merely to ascribe most of the coins of mainland Southeast Asia during the first millenium to a political or cultural entity. More detailed studies are necessary before we can progress further, to determine the internal chronology of the uninscribed coins, the precise distribution of individual varieties, and identify influences affecting the development of the various cointypes.

The aim of this paper is to establish a coin typology, a tentative chronology for these issues along with their geographical distribution, and to present preliminary findings on weight standards. The coins are discussed in the following order: 1) Mon Pegu, 2) Candras of Vesali (Arakan), 3) Post-Candra Arakan, 4) Ākara kings, 5) Harikela, 6) Pyu Śrīkṣetra, 7) Mon Dvāravatī, and 8) Unattributed types.

MON PEGU

Tradition assigns Pegu a central role in Mon history. Excavations there, though few in number, reveal Buddhist artistic remains similar to those of Mon Dvāravatī to the east in present-day Thailand.[6] It is for the sake of convenience that scholars ascribe Conch/Śrīvatsa Class A coinage to Mon Pegu. (Plate 1, coin 1 and Map 1) The only major find of these coins, some 17 specimens, was discovered near Sittang in Pegu during the nineteenth century.[7] Two typologically later specimens, both apparently surface finds,

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[4]The best discussion is in P. Gutman, "The Ancient Coinage of Southeast Asia", *JSS* 66, pt. 1 (1978): 12–20.

[5]See U. Guehler, "Essay on the Symbols and Marks of Old Siamese Coins", *JSS* 37, pt. 2 (1949): 124–43 [hereafter Guehler (1949)]; and P. Gutman, "The Ancient Coinage of Southeast Asia", pp. 15 and 19 for more recent views.

[6]Chaloem Yongbunkoed, *Krasap Thai* [Thai coins] (Bangkok: The Social Sciences Press, 1966) [hereafter *KT* (1966a)], Plate V. The coin illustrated in *KT* is from Phayre (1882), however the Thai report is apparently genuine.

[7]The discovery was first reported by R. Mitra, "Silver coins from Burmah", *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1878): 102–103. See also Arthur P. Phayre, *Coins of Arakan, of Pegu, and of Burma* (London: Trubner & Co., 1882), p. 33 [hereafter Phayre (1882)].

have been reported from Oc Eo.[8] Specimens have also been recorded from *amphur* (hereafter, a.) Phunpin, *changwat* (hereafter, ch.) Suratthani on the Bay of Bandon in peninsular Thailand.[9] At least one early coin is known to have been recovered near Saigon.[10]

The obverse design of Conch/Śrīvatsa Class A coins consists of a realistic conch in high relief surrounded by a circle of beads.[11] A temple-façade-like *śrīvatsa* with a conch on the interior is its reverse type. Ancillary symbols vary, but usually consist of at least two beads beneath the temple. A characteristic of this coinage, carried on in several of the derivative types, is a thick, slightly cup-shaped flan. Weights range from 9.4 to 10.1 grams for 24mm specimens with a Pegu provenance, to 8.3 and 8.6 grams for the slightly smaller diameter (20mm) finds from Oc Eo.

Candra Arakan adopted a Conch/Śrīvatsa type (Classes B and C) sometime in the fifth century. (Plate 1, coin 3) Inscribed specimens can be attributed to Devacandra (ca. 454–76), providing evidence that the prototype must date at least to the early fifth century. It is uncertain, however, whether surviving specimens of Conch/Śrīvatsa Class A coins actually date to the fifth century or were struck later.

Conch/Śrīvatsa Class B is represented by a unique specimen found in Arakan.[12] No weight is recorded. The obverse is a conch shell with the open portion away from the viewer. A solid line and beaded border form the outer perimeter. The reverse is similar to Class A, but the 'spire' connects with the base of the *śrīvatsa* to eliminate any interior space. This *śrīvatsa* is now conceived of as two opposed S forms with a vertical member between. A circular line and beaded border is present as on the obverse.

Class C, also from Arakan, is comprised of both inscribed and uninscribed specimens.[13] (Plate 1, coin 3) Several elaborations on Class B are apparent. The conch is surrounded by a series of crescents and beads (water?) which fill the entire surface. Its neck projects upward. The reverse *śrīvatsa* is also surrounded by crescents and beads. A holed 28mm specimen weighs 7.11 grams. Another coin of this class, but with an inscription reading *Deva* (for Devacandra, ca. 454–76) weighs 5.0 grams with a diameter of 26mm. (Plate 1, coin 3) A smaller specimen (ca. 15mm) weighs 2.2 grams. Both of the latter have been punched to produce a cup-shaped flan, reminiscent of Conch/Śrīvatsa Class A coins.

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[8]Louis Malleret, *L'Archéologie du Delta du Mekong* (Paris: Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 1962), vol. III, pp. 948–49 [hereafter *ADM* III].

[9]Cappon, "Trouvaille de monnaies en Cochinchine", *Revue Numismatique* 3rd series, 4 (1886): 295–97.

[10]J.A. Stewart, "Excavations and Exploration in Pegu", *Journal of the Burma Research Society* [hereafter *JBRS*] 7, pt. 1 (1917): 13–26.

[11]The Oc Eo coins are published in L. Mitchiner, *ADM* III (1962), no. 948, Plate XLIV and no. 949, Plate XLIV. Specimens from Pegu are in Phayre (1882), Plate V, 6 and V, 7; see also Michael Robinson and Lewis A. Shaw, *The Coins and Banknotes of Burma* (privately printed for the authors, 1980), p. 13, fig. 3.10. [Hereafter Robinson and Shaw (1980).] Other coins of uncertain provenance are illustrated in R. D. Banerji, "Unrecorded Kings of Arakan", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 16, no. 3, Numismatic Supplement 33 (1920): Plate XIII, 7 [hereafter Banerji (1920)]; and Michael Mitchiner, *Oriental Coins and Their Values: The Ancient and Classical World 600 B.C.–A.D. 650* (London: Hawkins Publications, 1978), p. 653, no. 5207 [hereafter Mitchiner II (1978)]; and Michael Mitchiner, *Oriental Coins and Their Values: Non-Islamic States and Western Colonies* (London: Hawkins Publications, 1979) [hereafter Mitchiner III (1979)], p. 318, no. 2580.

[12]Phayre (1882), Plate II, 9 and p. 29.

[13]For the uninscribed type see Phayre (1882), Plate II, 10 and p. 29. For the inscribed coin see Gutman (1976), Plate XXXVII, 2 and p. 159; Phayre (1882), Plate II, 11 and p. 29; Robinson and Shaw (1980), p. 18, fig. 3.18.

The Conch/Śrīvatsa Class A type also influenced numismatic developments of the Pyu in central Burma (Bhaddapiṭha/Śrīvatsa), Mon Dvāravatī in Thailand (Conch/Temple with Vajra), an as yet unprovenanced series of Wheel of the Law/Śrīvatsa coins, and, less directly, the Rising Sun/Śrīvatsa issues.

A group of unusually thin 9–10mm silver coins with an early form of the *śrīvatsa* on the obverse has been recently reported. (Plate 1, coin 2) The *śrīvatsa* is very similar to Conch/Śrīvatsa Class A coins; indeed, the small coins are known with two beads beneath the *śrīvatsa*. The very thin and foil-like flan is slightly scyphate. The reverse *bhaddapiṭha* is similar to the ancillary symbol found on Rising Sun coins. Several varieties are known, one without the reverse *bhaddapiṭha*. Weights are: 0.09, 0.10, 0.11, 0.12, and 0.14gm. Tavoy is said to be their place of origin.[14] Their relationship with the main series of Conch/Śrīvatsa coins is unclear.

Before continuing with the derivative coinages, it is necessary to consider two early currency notices, possibly referring to the Mon region of lower Burma. P. Wheatley, after a survey of Arab and Chinese authors, suggests that the Geluo and Gekuluo of the Chinese are the same as the Kalāh and Qāqulla of the Arabs.[15] He further postulates that Kalāh is to be located on the Tenasserim coast, probably near Mergui. Geluo is also known to the Chinese as Geluofushaluo, a perfect transcription of Kalaśapura ("City of Pots"). According to P. Gutman a recently discovered Sanskrit inscription from Śrīkṣetra mentions Kalaśapura several times.[16] E. Guillon would place Kalaśapura at the site of ancient Thaton.[17] Chinese authors point out that its customs were the same as those of Dvāravatī, a possible reference to the Mon cultural axis linking lower Burma with central Thailand.[18]

A Chinese notice of Geluo, probably of the eighth century, appears in the *Xin Tang Shu*: "Tax is levied at the rate of two silver *shu*".[19] In a footnote, P. Wheatley interprets *shu* to mean 'an ancient silver coin', following the definition in Mathews' *Chinese-English Dictionary*.[20] P. Gutman emends *shu* to read *coin*.[21]

The definition of *shu* by Mathews, referring to 'a silver coin' is inaccurate. When speaking of coinage, Chinese authors normally use the word *chien*, meaning cash or coin. The term *chien* is not present in the above quotation. *Shu* on the other hand, is a standard Chinese weight also known as *ju*. The value of this weight varied over time.[22] Until the T'ang dynasty, one of the most popular coins in China was a copper *wushu* (five *shu*) piece; a silver *shu* coin is unknown. In all likelihood, the Chinese account does not describe a coin, but a standard weight of precious metal.

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[14]The only published photograph of these pieces is in Robinson and Shaw (1980), p. 10, fig. 3.3. The information on provenance is from recent publications on Burmese archaeology kindly provided by Professor M. Aung-Thwin, personal communication, 30 April 1982.

[15]P. Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1961), p. 59.

[16]Gutman, "The Ancient Coinage of Southeast Asia", p. 9, note 7.

[17]E. Guillon, "Recherches sur quelques inscriptions Mônes. II Tablettes trouvèes dans l'état Shan", *Bulletin du l'Ecole Francaise de l'Extreme-Orient* 64 (1977): 110–11.

[18]See Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, pp. 55–56, for relevant Chinese text and translation.

[19]Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, p. 56.

[20]Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, p. 56, note 1. Mathews, under '*chu*' no. 1354, p. 191 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Revised ed., 1969).

[21]Gutman, "The Ancient Coinage of Southeast Asia", p. 9.

[22]Yang Lien-sheng, *Money and Credit in China: A Short History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monographs, 12, 2nd edition, 1971), pp. 21–23.

More complete information about Kalāh is provided by Abū Dulaf, an Arabic geographer of the tenth century.[23]

> Their *dirham* (silver coin) weighs two thirds of an ordinary *dirham* which is called a *fāhrī*. They have smaller coins (*fulūs*) which they use for normal trade.

Standardized to 2.92 grams in AD 714, the silver *dirham* maintained its weight for five hundred years.[24] The *dirham*, usually thought of only as a coin, was also a measure of weight. *Fulūs* is the plural of *fils*, defined as "A small coin ... or anything of similar shape as the scale of a fish, the boss on a bridle or book." As the term also encompasses shells, Abū Dulaf was possibly referring to the use of cowries.[25] Two pieces of information from Abū Dulaf should assist in the eventual identification of Kalāh. The indigenous name for the unit (coin?) is given (*fāhrī*) and its weight, two-thirds of an ordinary *dirham*, can be calculated (1.98 grams).

CANDRAS OF VESALI (ARAKAN)

The earliest definitely attributable coinage in Southeast Asia is that of the Candra rulers of Vesali.[26] (Plate 1, coins 3–6 and Map 1) A reliable dating for the inscribed Arakan series enables us to fit other mainland coinages, almost all of which are uninscribed, into a chronological framework.

The most important source for reconstructing the chronology of Candra kings is the Mrohaung *praśasti* or Sittaung pillar inscription of Ānandacandra.[27] (Fig. 1) This inscription, written sometime during the early eighth century, lists 13 Candra rulers in order of their accession. The dynasty lasted approximately 230 years, from the second half of the fourth century until overthrown by an outsider, Mahāvīra of Pureppura, in the waning years of the sixth century. In the late seventh or early eighth century, following a confused inter-regnal period, the Candra dynasty was restored, if only in name, by Dhammacandra. It was his son, Ānandacandra, who erected the Mrohaung inscription.

Ānandacandra's declaration is clearly self-adulatory — more than one-third of the entire epigraph (verses 44–65) details his accomplishments and virtues. The genealogy of Arakan rulers given in the first 43 verses acts as a mounting crescendo, preparing for the

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[23]Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, p. 217 translates the relevant text. A more recent version (and the one used here) is found in G. R. Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Material on South-East Asia* (E. J. Brill: Leiden and London, 1979).

[24]See F. G. Skinner, *Weights and Measures: Their Ancient Origins and their Development in Great Britain up to AD 1855* (London, 1967), pp. 84–86.

[25]*United Arabic and English Literary Dictionary* (Taipei, n.d.), pp. 276 and 277.

[26]Studies of Candra coinage include Phayre (1882), E. H. Johnston, "Some Sanskrit Inscriptions of Arakan", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11, pt. 2 (1943–46): 383–85; M. S. Collis and San Shwe Bu, "Arakan's Place in the Civilization of the Bay", *Journal of the Burma Research Society* 15, pt. 1 (1925): 35–52; M. B. Mitchiner, "Some Early Arakan and Pyu-Mon Coins", *JNSI* 34, pt. 1 (1972): 47–59; P. Gutman, "Ancient Arakan" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Australian National University, 1976); R. S. Wicks, "Bull/Trisula Coin Issues of the Fifth to Eighth Century from Arakan, Assam and Bengal: A Revised Typology and Chronology", *American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes* 25 (1980): 109–131; U San Tha Aung, *Arakanese Coins* translated by Aye Set (privately published, 1982); and C. A. Rustom, "Some Coins of Arakan", *Supplement* to *The Nation* (Rangoon newspaper), 11.11.1962.

[27]The major studies of the Sittaung pillar inscription include, Johnston, "Some Sanskrit Inscriptions of Arakan", pp. 357–85; D.C. Sircar, "No. 11. Inscriptions of the Chandras of Arakan", *Epigraphia Indica* 32 (1957): 103–109 and "No. 13, Fragmentary Copper Plate Grant from Arakan", *EI* 37, pt. 2 (1967): 61–66; U San Tha Aung, *Anandacandra, 8th century monarch of Arakan* (Rangoon, 1975); and Gutman (1976), chapter 2.

entrance of Ānandacandra. Any attempt to assign firm dates to the list of Candra rulers must take into account the possibility of distortion, suppression and fabrication on the part of Ānandacandra's poet-genealogist.

The inter-regnal period is the most obviously questionable sequence — the remarkable nature of four consecutive 12-, 12-, 12- and 13-year reigns is not matched elsewhere in the *praśasti* save at the very beginning, where six early kings ruled 120 years each. Quite possibly, those four inter-regnal rulers controlled different parts of Arakan simultaneously. Arakanese chronicles record that the capital city was moved following the downfall of the Candra dynasty, and Mahāvīra, it will be recalled, was a foreigner from Pureppura, an area considerably north of Vesali. P. Gutman suggests instead that "...the number twelve represents the reestablishment of the king's *dharma* and his ability to bring forth rain".[28] It is possible that both ideas are involved.

D.C. Sircar has recently studied this *praśasti* and arrived at an approximate date for its erection, about AD 729.[29] Counting backwards from this fixed point, he has assigned provisional dates to the Candra line. P. Gutman, without reference to Sircar's study, has palaeographically dated surviving Candra coins.[30] After comparing Gutman's results with those of Sircar, the latter's dates for the main Candra dynasty appear to be about twenty years too early, thus providing some support for the presence of simultaneous leadership over different parts of Arakan during the inter-regnal period. For practical purposes, however, the dates of Sircar are very useful and provide a starting point for discussion. Further, the typological development of known Candra coins is an orderly one, confirming the sequence of Candra rulers as given in the Ānandacandra inscription.

Devacandra, the fourth ruler of the Candra line (ca. 454–76) issued two cointypes. The earlier is a Conch/Śrīvatsa Class C coin derived from the widespread Mon tradition, the only difference being that the characters for *Deva* are placed above the conch on the obverse.[31] The reverse *śrīvatsa* is also simpler, merging into the form of a trident. (Plate 1, coin 3) An uninscribed variety may actually be earlier than the reign of Devacandra.[32] His second coinage is of the Bull/Triśūla type, destined to become the Candra dynasty standard.[33] (Plate 1, coin 4) This Bull/Triśūla coin is clearly experimental; his name appears squeezed between the recumbent Brahmany bull and the border of the coin. The reverse *śrīvatsa* is taken from his earlier coinage.

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[28]Gutman (1976), p. 45.

[29]See D. C. Sircar, "No. 11. Inscriptions of the Chandras of Arakan", pp. 103–109 and "No. 13. Fragmentary Copper Plate Grant from Arakan", pp. 61–66. The validity of dating Arakanese inscriptions palaeographically has been questioned recently by J. Cribb, "The Date of the Symbolic Coins of Burma and Thailand — A reexamination of the evidence", ms. 1981. The following comment by E. H. Johnston is an adequate rejoinder:

> When these [ancient Arakan] inscriptions are compared with the few which have been published from Burma proper, the curious point arises that the scripts used in Arakan, unlike those in Burma, all find close analogies with those current in North Eastern India ... the parallelism is so exact that we need hardly assume any substantial "time-lag" for the introduction of changes; that assumption would in the circumstances make it necessary to postulate a time-lag of similar length in all cases throughout a period of five centuries.

(From "Some Sanskrit Inscriptions of Arakan", p. 360.)

[30]Gutman (1976), pp. 120–26.

[31]See Phayre (1882), Plate II, 11 and p. 29; a smaller coin is published in Wicks (1980), Plate XIV, 1 and Robinson and Shaw (1980), p. 18, fig. 3.18.

[32]Phayre (1882), Plate II, 10. A similar coin, but with faint traces of an inscription is recorded in Gutman (1976), Plate XXXVII, 2.

[33]Phayre (1882), Plate II, 7; Mitchiner II (1978), p. 651, no. 5185; Gutman (1976), Plate XXXVIII, 2.

The presence of these two cointypes points up a division in the coinage that was to last until the reign of Nīticandra (ca. 520–75). Conch/Śrīvatsa coins are struck on a relatively thick flan; some specimens have been deliberately punched, producing a cup-shaped planchet reminiscent of the Mon tradition. Some early Bull/Triśūla coins are also struck on a thick flan; a thin flan is characteristic for the dynasty. The designs on thick flan Bull/Triśūla coins are in profile and outline, with no emphasis on relief; those struck on a thin flan are in relatively high relief, with more detailed modeling of the figure.

Standardization of designs and weights took place during or just prior to the 55-year reign of Nīticandra. (Plate 1, coins 5–6) Besides having the most common coinage of the dynasty, he is probably the only Candra ruler to have issued at least three denominations of coins. Early coins of the dynasty show no definite adherence to a weight standard, although a 1:2:3 relationship can be visualized from the scanty evidence:

3.0	5.0	7.1
2.9	4.7	
2.9		
2.5		
2.2		

(Weights are given in grams.)

Beginning with Nīticandra, a 1:2:8 ratio is established with coins of the quarter-unit (1.7–1.9gm) predominating. P. Gutman has reported one-half unit coins for several rulers, but without metrological evidence this cannot be confirmed.[34]

A recumbent Brahmany bull, facing left or right, is the most obvious feature of this standardized coinage. A wreath or necklace appears about its neck. The name of the ruler is inscribed above the bull in a regional script and is normally spelled out in full. On smaller coins the name is usually limited to the first two characters, that is, without the dynastic emblem (*Candra*). Surrounding this is a plain circle and a beaded border. In the center of the reverse is a trident or *triśūla*. It has no handle — the base is flat and a number of beads are placed beneath it. Of the three prongs on the trident, the central member is slightly longer than the rest; it bulges at the middle and has a pointed tip. Above the trident is an open circle, solid bead or asterisk-like form, presumably representing the sun, and a crescent moon. On some of the larger coins S-shaped forms cascade from the top of the trident to its base. Issuing forth from each S are five or six comma-shaped details similar to raindrops. Enclosing these motifs are a solid circle and beaded border as on the obverse.

Coins of the main Candra dynasty, from Yajñacandra (ca. 476–83) through Dhṛticandra (ca. 597–600), exhibit several predictable characteristics: 1) the side elements of the *triśūla* are in the shape of a question mark with a rounded upper end; 2) the base of the *triśūla* is usually flattish with beaded ends similar to an Instamatic film cartridge; 3) the hump of the bull has a natural appearance; 4) the bull's tail is in a relaxed position; 5) when S elements are present they flow easily, in comma fashion, from the main "vine" to the "droplets".

With the exception of issues prior to the reign of Nīticandra (ca. 520–75), Candra coinage is extremely conservative. On the basis of design alone, lacking the Mrohaung

[34]Gutman (1976).

inscription and palaeographical studies it would be difficult though not impossible to determine the relative sequence of Candra coinage. The major changes are in the presentation of a ruler's name. P. Gutman, in an excellent analysis of the coin inscriptions, has shown that, for the most part, affinity is to be had with Gupta inscriptions from Bengal.[35] Influence from southern Indian scripts is to be noticed only with the last three rulers of the dynasty — Prīticandra (ca. 578–90), Prṭhvīcandra (ca. 590–97) and Dhṛticandra (ca. 597–600).

Only two sources are available to us which suggest the function of Candra coinage. The first is an inscription dated to the last quarter of the sixth century, issued by the tenth Candra ruler Vīracandra. In it he records the building of several Buddhist stupas, "...owing to his love for the true faith (and) with his own money".[36] While coinage is not specifically mentioned, coins of Vīracandra have survived. A second notice, again indirect, is probably from the period of Bhūticandra's reign (ca. 496–520). A badly damaged copper plate grant states that the "...gift village Dengutta yielded 3000".[37] Sircar suggests that the 3000 refers to standard coin. On the evidence of the coins themselves some exchange function is indicated. The two examples presented above point up the possibility of non-commercial religiously motivated exchange playing an important role in the Candra economy. Interestingly, the geographical distribution of Candra coinage is limited to the immediate vicinity of Mrohaung, Vesali and Akyab, giving some notion of the limits of real political control exercised by the Candra rulers in ancient Arakan.

POST-CANDRA RULERS IN ARAKAN

Developments in coinage during the post-Candra period (after 600 AD) are not strictly linear. Surviving coinage can be divided into three overlapping and somewhat discontinuous groups, that of post-Candra rulers in Arakan, coinage of an enigmatic Ākara dynasty and a widespread Harikela series of southeastern Bengal.

In the post-Candra period the Bull/Triśūla type undergoes a number of minor changes. (Plate 1, coin 7) The side elements of the *triśūla* are still in the shape of a question mark but end in sharp points rather than beads. The base of the *triśūla* is either flat or rounded, the ends no longer bead up — they end in a point or are simply rounded off with no thickening. The hump of the bull is usually hooked. The tail of the bull angles upward forming a V. The necklace is usually missing. When the S elements are present, the "droplet" ends are connected in the center of the droplet rather than flowing smoothly into the outer edge. Compared with the main Candra issues, later coins are in lower relief, with less care being taken in their design and manufacture.

At first, coin weights maintain the Candra dynasty standard. Recorded weights of Dharmavijaya (ca. 665–701) and Dhammacandra (ca. 703–720) range from 7.3 to 7.6 grams. (Plate 1, coins 7 and 8) Those of Ākara rulers weigh 7.6 and 7.8 grams. (Plate 1, coin 9) The earliest Harikela specimens are similar, weighing between 7.3 and 7.6 grams. (Plate 2, coin 11) Later Harikela coins gradually become lighter, decreasing from 7.0–6.1 for the Sylhet hoard to 5.1 grams for a severely degraded specimen. (Plate 2, coin 12) Notably, only one denomination is recorded for most post-Candra coins. The exceptions are some late Harikela coins from Mainamati and Harikela bracteates which are known

[35]Gutman (1976).

[36]D. C. Sircar, "No. 11. Inscriptions of the Chandras of Arakan", p. 109.

[37]D. C. Sircar, "No. 13. Fragmentary Copper Plate Grant from Arakan", p. 63.

in at least two sizes.[38] Bracteates range from 2.7 to 4.4 grams for the 48 to 58mm specimens and 0.6 to 1.5 grams for smaller coins. (Plate 2, coin 13)

Of the post-Candra rulers mentioned in Ānandacandra's inscription, coinage has survived of at least three, including his own. Two other rulers, one of the seventh century, the other of the tenth, are also known to have produced coinage. Because we lack a reliable genealogy for the post-Candra period, a review of the chronological evidence is presented below.

Sūriyacandra, Second Half of the Seventh Century

The coins of Sūriyacandra can be dated palaeographically to the second quarter of the seventh century.[39] Mention has been made of the attempt to re-establish a Candra dynasty almost a hundred years following Mahāvīra's conquest of Vesali. P. Gutman has suggested that Sūriyacandra regained the Candra throne for a short while following Mahāvīra's invasion.[40] Because his line would thus have strong claims to the kingdom, Ānandacandra chose to ignore him when drawing up the genealogy of Candra kings. Gutman also mentions a pillar inscription dated to the second quarter of the seventh century at a temple in Vesali, purportedly built by a Sūriyacandra.

Dharmmavijaya, ca. 665–701

(Plate 1, coin 8) The coins of Dharmmavijaya are palaeographically late seventh century, complementing the dates Sircar arrived at following his study of the Mrohaung inscription.[41] Dharmmavijaya's coins have also been recovered at Mainamati in a 7–8th century context.

Dhammacandra, ca. 703–720

(Plate 1, coin 7) No remarkable features in palaeography or known finds.[42]

Ānandacandra, Early Eighth Century

Attribution of this coin, first reported by P. Gutman, is uncertain.[43] Only the letters *candraḥ* are visible. P. Gutman assigns it to Ānandacandra on the basis of similarities with the style on the west face of the Sittaung pillar, erected by Ānandacandra ca. 729.

Śrī Siṁghagaṇḍacandra, Late Tenth or Early Eleventh Century

(Plate 1, coin 10) P. Gutman was the first to report on this coin from a hoard found near Kywede.[44] He is to be identified with Śrī Siṁghaṇḍapatiśuracandra on the north face of

[38]Two sizes of standard Harikela coins are mentioned by F. A. Khan, *Mainamati, A Preliminary Report...* (Pakistan: Department of Archaeology, 1963). The small bracteates seen by the author were at one time in the possession of Scott Semans.

[39]Gutman (1976), Plate XL, 13 and p. 172.

[40]Gutman (1976), p. 172.

[41]Phayre (1882), Plate II,3; Gutman (1976), Plate XL, 15 and p. 174; Thomas Latter, "The Coins of Arakan — the symbolical coins", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 15 (1846): 238–40 [hereafter Latter (1846)]; Capt. G. E. Fryer, "Notes on an Arakanese Coin", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 41, no. 1 (1872): 202, fig. C (hereafter Fryer (1872)].

[42]Latter (1846), Plate III, 3; Phayre (1882), Plate II, 1.

[43]Gutman (1976), p. 175. A full-unit coin is illustrated in Gutman (1976), Plate XLI, 2. She also mentions, but does not illustrate, a half-unit coin.

[44]Gutman (1976), p. 176. The coin is illustrated in Gutman (1976), Plate XLI, 3 and 4.

the Sittaung pillar inscription. The script is palaeographically related to proto-Bengali of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

ĀKARA KINGS

(Plate 1, coin 9) At least two groups established themselves to the north of Arakan prior to the reign of Dharmmavijaya (ca. 665–701). The lesser of these is an otherwise unknown Ākara dynasty which struck coins for at least four of its rulers. Typical of post-Candra coin manufacture, recorded specimens of Ākara dynasty coins are not well made. Inscriptions are only partially visible on surviving specimens, making attribution difficult. Banerji, writing in 1920, was able to decipher the names of four rulers, all of which he ascribed to the tenth century: 1) Lalitākara, 2) Ramyākara, 3) Pradyumnākara, and 4) Antākara or Annākara.[45] A number of Lalitākara coins were recovered along with coins of Dharmmavijaya and Harikela from an eighth century level at Mainamati. Johnston placed them in the eighth century after Ānandacandra.[46] P. Gutman assigns the coins to the mid-ninth century.[47] No inscriptions are known for these rulers.

HARIKELA

Beginning sometime in the mid to late seventh century coins reading *Harikela* appeared in parts of southeastern Bengal.[48] The type is clearly derived from Candra coinage, but instead of placing the name of a ruler on the coins, a placename (Harikela) is substituted. (Plate 2, coin 11) This Harikela coinage is the most widespread and plentiful of all Bull/Triśūla coinages, providing documentation for the Harikela kingdom during the eighth and ninth centuries.

According to the most recent studies Harikela should be located in the Tippera-Chittagong area.[49] The one Harikela inscription known, of a Kāntidēva, was discovered in Chittagong and dates to between 750 and 850.[50] Ijing, at the end of the seventh century, mentions Harikela as an eastern boundary of India.[51] Bengal Chandras record an as yet unclear political relationship with Harikela, presumably during the eighth or ninth century.[52]

The earliest Harikela coins, of the late seventh century, follow closely the main Candra tradition. (Plate 2, coin 11) The script is at first closely related to Arakanese developments of the seventh century and earlier.[53] Later coins move gradually away, picking up

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[45]R. D. Banerji, "Unrecorded Kings of Arakan", p. 85, Plate 13. See also Wicks (1980), Plate XIV, 3 and 4.

[46]E. H. Johnston, "Some Sanskrit Inscriptions of Arakan", p. 366.

[47]Gutman (1976), p. 181.

[48]See M. Harunur Rashid, "The Early History of Southeast Bengal in the Light of Recent Archaeological Material" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge, 1968). P. Gutman, "Ancient Arakan", pp. 126–30 and 177–81; and R. Wicks, "Bull/Trisula Coin Issues", pp. 109–31.

[49]The best discussions are, B. N. Mukherjee, "The Original Territory of Harikela", *Bangladesh Lalit Kala* 1, pt. 2 (July, 1975): 115–20. M. Harunur Rashid, "The Origin and Early Kingdom of the Chandras of Rohiatgiri", *Bangladesh Historical Studies* 2 (1977): 9–30 and A.M. Chowdhury, *Dynastic History of Bengal* (Dacca, 1967), pp. 150–53.

[50]R. C. Majumdar, "Chittagong Copper-Plate of Kantideva", *Epigraphia Indica* 26 (1941–42): 313–18.

[51]See B. N. Mukherjee, "The Coin-Legend Harikela", *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (Calcutta) 18 (1976): 99–101; B. N. Mukherjee, "The Original Territory of Harikela", pp. 115–19.

[52]See M. Harunur Rashid, "The Origin and Early Kingdom of the Chandras of Rohiatgiri", pp. 9–30.

[53]For some examples of early Harikela coins, see Phayre (1882), Plate II, 12; Vincent A. Smith, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, Vol. I, 1906), Plate XXXI, 10;

typical post-Candra characteristics noted earlier; letter forms become those prevalent in Bengal. (Plate 2, coin 12) Few Harikela coinfinds are known from Arakan, the majority being found in southeastern Bengal and Assam. Several hundred specimens from an eighth century level at Mainamati confirm palaeographic and stylistic conclusions about the dating of the early Harikela coinage.[54] This coinage apparently continued to be made for quite a period of time, as palaeographic variants for later coins are disturbingly abundant.

Increasingly diverse is a series of broad, thin silver bracteates derived from the main Harikela coinage.[55] (Plate 2, coin 13) Almost every coin displays a different inscription of either two, three or four graphs.[56] All, however, appear to be variants of *Harikela.* Some specimens are a true bifaced coinage, but more often only the obverse bull and legend is impressed through the foil-like flan. These bracteates have not been found together with other post-Candra coins (including the standard Harikela issues), indicating a separate origin for the bracteates.[57] Several hundred of the Harikela bracteates are reported from Belonia, South Tripura.[58] As noted previously, the coins appear in at least two denominations. Begun during the eighth century, these bracteates continued to be made for an undetermined period.

PYU ŚRĪKṢETRA

(Map 1) At least three major Pyu sites are presently recognized — Hmawza (Old Prome), Halin and Beikthano.[59] The first of these to be excavated was Hmawza (Old Prome), the Śrīksetra or 'Field of Glory' of history. Although no radiocarbon dates are available for the site, inscriptions discovered there have been dated to the sixth and

Mitchiner II (1978), p. 659, nos. 5259, 5260 and 5261; Wicks (1980), Plate XIV, 5. The Sylhet hoard is published by D. W. MacDowall, "Eight Coins of Arakan from Sylhet", *Numismatic Chronicle* (London) 6th series 20 (1960): 229–34. This consists of later coins. Transitional coins, of a lower weight standard, are published in Wicks (1980), Plate XIV, 6 and 7; Mitchiner III (1979).

[54]A. H. Dani, "Coins of the Chandra Kings of East Bengal", *JNSI* 24 (1962): 141–42, interpreted the finds at Mainamati to be of the tenth century. Subsequent studies, primarily those of M. Harunur Rashid, show that Dani based his chronology on inaccurate information from the Department of Archaeology. (See M. Harunur Rashid, "The Mainamati Gold Coins", *Bangladesh Lalit Kala* 1, pt. 1 (1975):45, particularly footnote 49.] Dani now accepts the eighth century dating and *Harikela* reading for these coins. See M. Harunur Rashid, "The Origin and Early Kingdom of the Chandras of Rohiatgiri", p. 18. A useful summary of the numismatic evidence can be found in F. A. Khan, *Mainamati, A Preliminary Report...* (Pakistan: Department of Archaeology, 1963).

[55]These are dealt with in R. Wicks, "Bull/Trisula Coin Issues", pp. 124–27. B. N. Mukherjee, "A note on a few series of Silver coins", *JNSI* 39, pts. 1–2 (1977): 135–38 and "Harikela and Related Coinages", *Journal of Ancient Indian History* [hereafter *JAIH*] 10 (1976/77): 166–71. Other publications of the bracteates include Mitchiner II (1978), p. 659, no. 5262; p. 660, nos. 5263–66; p. 661, nos. 5267–70; A. G. Malloy, "New Discovery of the Candra Kingdom of East Bengal", *Medieval Coins XV* (fp1) 1978, pp. 2, 9–10, Plates III and IV; M. B. Mitchiner, "A Group of Broad Repoussee Silver Coins Struck by the Candra Kings of East Bengal Circa AD 1000", *Spink's Numismatic Circular* [hereafter *SNC*] 86, no. 1 (January, 1978): 8–9; Mukherjee, "Harikela and Related Coinages", pp. 166–71; and V. Chowdhury and P. Ray, "Broad Repoussee Silver Coins Struck by the Candra Kings of East Bengal, a Response", *SNC* (1978), pp. 186–87.

[56]Mukherjee, "Harikela and Related Coinages", pp. 166–71, lists a number of variant readings: Veraka, Viraka, Piraka, Varita, Sivagiri and Jayagiri. The present writer questions the validity of these interpretations. See R. Wicks, "Bull/Trisula Coin Issues", p. 125, note 33.

[57]This division is noted by Mukherjee, "Harikela and Related Coinages", p. 170.

[58]Mukherjee, "Harikela and Related Coinages", p. 167.

[59]The most useful study of the Pyu remains G. H. Luce, "The Ancient Pyu", *JBRS* 27, pt. 3 (1937): 239–53; *Burma Research Society Fiftieth Anniversary Publications* no. 2 (Rangoon, 1960), pp. 307–316 [hereafter Reprint edition].

seventh centuries.[60] Two seventh-century Chinese pilgrims, Xuanzang and Ijing, mention the city. Halin is apparently a later city, and was the Pyu capital when overrun by *Man* barbarians in AD 832.[61] Relatively less archaeological work has been conducted at Halin as compared to Śrīkṣetra; no firm dates, other than ninth century Chinese notices, are available. A third site, Beikthano, is of uncertain historical relationship to the two presumed Pyu capitals.[62] Tradition has it that Beikthano was built by Queen Panhtwa who married the Pyu king Duttanbaung of Śrīkṣetra after fighting him in battle.[63] Radiocarbon dates from portions of the site would indicate settlement there as early as the first century BC; the main occupation phase was probably somewhat later. Recently two sites, Mongmao (south of Kyaukse) and Kyaikkatha (in the Mon State) have been explored.[64] The cities exhibit clear Pyu associations, including coin finds.

Coinage has been discovered at all five sites, some in a definite archaeological context, but mainly as surface finds. Chinese references do provide a terminal date early in the ninth century for the end of the main Pyu coin traditions. In AD 800 Imouxun of Nanjao sent a troupe of musicians, including a number of Pyu, to appear before the Tang court. Apparently because of the positive reception accorded these performers, the Pyu ruler sent a formal embassy to China in 801–802. This musical event impressed the Chinese emperor to such an extent that Bo Jui composed a critical poem condemning the appreciation of foreign music when matters of state administration should have been attended to. In it Bo Jui asks (sarcastically):

> That such an occasion as an Emperor watching the P'iao presenting new tunes ought to be recorded in the state annals, to be handed down to future generations.[65]

The resulting record is the earliest surviving detailed account of the Pyu kingdom. (Interestingly, the description of Pyu music by Wei Gao (ca. 800) is not preserved in the *Jiu Tang Shu*, but is included in the eleventh-century *Xin Tang Shu*.) The Chinese received another Pyu embassy in 807.

Later in the ninth century (ca. 860–70) Fan Cho first published his account of the Six Jao, drawing on personal observations and experiences as secretary to the governor of Tongking. Fan Cho's work, known today as the *Man Shu* or Book of the Southern Barbarians, is a listing of road-stages on the ninth-century Yunnanese frontier, supplemented by information on trade and local customs.[66] The Pyu kingdom is treated in the section on neighbouring barbarian kingdoms.

Fan Cho mentions that "...(Piao) country uses silver coinage".[67] Specimens of a silver Pyu coinage are known from Prome (Old Hmawza), Halin, Beikthano and elsewhere, confirming Fan Cho's report.

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[60]Cf. Ibid., for references to excavations.

[61]See Myint Aung, "The Excavations at Halin", *JBRS* 53, pt. 3 (1970): 55–64.

[62]See U Aung Thaw, *A Report on Excavations at Beikthano* (Rangoon: The Ministry of Union Culture, 1968) [hereafter U Aung Thaw (1968)].

[63]G. H. Luce, "The Ancient Pyu" (*Reprint* edition), p. 312, note 1.

[64]On Mongmao see U Than Tun, "A Forgotten Town of Burma", *Shiroku* 12 (1979): 51–56 and Sein Maung U, "Mongmao: A Forgotten City", *The Working People's Daily*, Wednesday, 21 January 1981, pp. 5, 8; for Kyaikkatha see U Myint Aung, "The Capital of Suvannabhumi unearthed?", *Shiroku* 10 (1977): 41–54. Archaeological explorations throughout Burma promise to completely revise our understanding of Burmese protohistory.

[65]Translation by A. Waley. From G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma* (London, 1925), p. 14.

[66]It has been translated by G. H. Luce and Giok Po Oey as, *The Man Shu: Book of the Southern Barbarians* (Ithaca: Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program Data Paper No. 44, 1961).

[67]Luce and Oey, *The Man Shu*, p. 90.

The *Xin Tang Shu* compiled under the direction of Ou Yangxiu in the early eleventh century, contains a much longer description of Pyu coinage.

> (They) take gold and silver to make it into coin. It is like a half-moon in appearance, called *dengchietuo* and *zudantuo*.[68]

The Chinese transcriptions clearly refer to the Indian weight known as the *taṅka*.[69] Two statements in this passage, however, are problematic — that Pyu coins are made of silver and gold, and that they have a half-moon shape. No gold Pyu coins are known. *"Yi jinyin wei..."* is not an uncommon phrase in medieval Chinese texts. Because *jin* (gold) and *yin* (silver) often occur together, the *jin* character is quite possibly a copyist's error, inserted in haste while transcribing the *"yi...wei"* phrase. The reference to a 'half-moon' or 'crescent-like' shape has aroused speculation that the Pyu had an early version of the Ch'ieng coinage of Lanna Tai.[70] Others believe it refers to the clipping of coins, even though no clipped specimens of Pyu coinage are known.[71] Surviving Pyu coins do have a slightly cupped flan, becoming more pronounced in later specimens. If the Chinese were describing such a coin, use of the term *banyue* (half-moon) would not be unreasonable. Or, Ou Yangxiu might have been referring to the Rising Sun design on a related series of coins also found in Burma. Another possibility, of course, is that Ou Yangxiu, while elaborating on the spare account of the Pyu in the *Jiu Tang Shu*, unknowingly incorporated materials referring not to the Pyu at all, but to some other 'barbarian' country. The statement in the *Xin Tang Shu* cannot be traced to any earlier source.

Unfortunately, neither account describes the Pyu at their height during the sixth and seventh centuries. Indeed, even Fan Cho writing in the middle of the ninth century, recalls the kingdom of the Pyu only in memory. He records its demise:

> In the 6th year of *Ta-ho* (832 AD), Man looted and plundered P'iao kingdom. They took prisoner over three thousand of their people. They banished them to servitude at Che-tung, and told them to fend for themselves. At present their children and grandchildren are still there, subsisting on fish, insects, etc. Such is the end of their people.[72]

Typologically, the major Pyu coinage can be divided into four classes. This Bhaddapiṭha/Śrīvatsa type is found almost exclusively in Burma. Class A is a clear outgrowth of the Conch/Śrīvatsa coinage of Pegu.[73] (Plate 2, coins 14 and 15) A medium-thickness, high-relief, slightly cupped flan is maintained as in the earlier coins. The obverse *bhaddapiṭha* (throne) has an hour-glass-like form with angular, straight sides and L-shaped 'handles' joining the central hub. Triangular flame-like elements are placed above the throne; a single line occurs beneath. The throne is enclosed by a solid line and beaded

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[68]The following quotation is taken from Luce, "The Ancient Pyu" (Reprint edition), p. 91. Original edition, p. 319. The passage can also be found in G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, p. 13 and elsewhere.

[69]H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharial, 2nd edition, 1968), p. 896. See also Gutman, "The Ancient Coinage of Southeast Asia", p. 9.

[70]R. LeMay, *The Coinage of Siam* (Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1932), pp. 19–20 [hereafter LeMay (1932)].

[71]Gutman, "The Ancient Coinage of Southeast Asia", p. 9.

[72]Luce and Oey, *The Man Shu*, p. 91.

[73]Scattered publications of Class A coins include, M. Robinson and R. Domrow, "Some New Pyu Coins and Modern Fantasies", *Oriental Numismatic Society* [hereafter *ONS*] *Newsletter* no. 78 (June, 1982): 2–3, no. 3; M. B. Mitchiner, "Early Burmese Coinage and King Bodawpaya's Restrikes", *ONS Newsletter* no. 68 (October, 1980): 1–4, nos. 4–6; Cappon, "Trouvaille de Monnaies en Cochinchine", *Revue Numismatique* 3rd series, 4 (1886): 295–97; Mitchiner III (1979), no. 2628; Mitchiner (1972), Plate III, 9.

border. The reverse has a slightly simplified temple form of *śrīvatsa* lacking the accentuation of the side elements present on Conch/Śrīvatsa Class A coins. The base and roof are separated from the side elements; single beads are at the ends of and below the base. A conch on the interior of the *śrīvatsa* flares to the left. A worn and holed ca. 18mm specimen of Class A was discovered in the 6–7th century Khinba mound relic chamber at Śrīkṣetra during 1926–27.[74] Several specimens of Class B were also reported, all in good condition, vouching for the relative chronology of the two classes. A large-diameter Class A specimen was found near Saigon in the 1880's.[75] More recently a few coins with a "...Śrīvatsa and Sankha on the obverse and Bhadrapita on the reverse..." were discovered at Mongmao, south of Kyaukse.[76] At least three denominations for Class A are reported; only weights of two sizes are known: 11.3, 11.2, 10.1, and 5.5 grams, indicating a possible 1 (?): 4:8 relationship. The die axis is a consistent ↑ ↑ .

Class B coins represent the main series.[77] (Plate 2, coins 16 and 17) These coins are struck in lower relief on a medium thickness, slightly cupped flan. The obverse throne remains as on Class A, however some later specimens display a rounded lower portion. The interior conch of the *śrīvatsa* is replaced by nine beads or angular forms arranged in three vertical rows; the central top unit is placed slightly higher than the rest. Above the *śrīvatsa* is an open-bead moon and asterisk or star-like sun. To the left of the symbol is an elaborate *vajra* (thunderbolt or trident); to the right, a simplified conch. Two or three wavy lines support the design. Most specimens of Class B come from Hmawza (Old Prome), excavated in 1910–11 and 1926–27. Other examples are known from Halin and Beikthano. Large coins, 30–34mm in diameter, weigh between 9.9 and 10.6 grams. Small, ca. 17–18mm, coins range from 2.3 to 2.8 grams. A 1:4 ratio is evident, indicating a shift from Class A metrology. The normal die axis for Class B is ↑ ↑ , although an occasional coin will be ↑ ↓ . Several one-half unit coins are known; these are of uncertain provenance and authenticity.[78]

In Class C, the center of the throne appears as a four-petalled rosette; the lower curvature is fully accentuated, with flared motifs appearing below along its edge.[79] (Plate 2, coins 18 and 19) The interior of the *śrīvatsa* now has eight tear-like motifs flanking an

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[74]C. Duroiselle, "Excavations at Hmawza", *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual 1926–27*, Plate XLII, f [hereafter Duroiselle (1930)].

[75]Cappon, "Trouvaille de monnaies en Cochinchine", pp. 295–97.

[76]U. Than Thun, "A Forgotten Town of Burma", p. 54.

[77]Full-unit coins with an angular *bhaddapiṭha* can be found in Mitchiner (1972), Plate III, 10; Mitchiner II (1978), p. 656, no. 5242; Latter (1844), p. 571 = Phayre (1882), Plate V, 1 = Ulrich Guehler, "Essay on the symbols and marks of old Siamese coins", *JSS* 37, no. 2 (1949): 124–43, Plate II, 2. Full-unit coins with a curved *bhaddapiṭha* can be found in Duroiselle (1930), Plate XLII, f = Malleret *ADM* III (1962), Plate XLVI, 3; Duroiselle (1930), Plate XLII, f = Malleret *ADM* III (1962), Plate XLVI, 2 = U Aung Thaw, *Historical Sites in Burma* (Rangoon: The Ministry of Union Culture, 1972), p. 9; Robinson and Shaw (1980), p. 9, fig. 3.1. For one-quarter unit coins with an angular *bhaddapiṭha*, see Robinson and Shaw (1980), p. 9, fig. 3.2; U Aung Thaw (1968), Plate LVIII; for the angular *bhaddapiṭha*, Mitchiner II (1978), p. 656, no. 5243–45; Mitchiner (1972), Plate II, 11; Duroiselle (1930), Plate XLII, e = Malleret vol. III (1962), Plate XLVI, 4; Thiele (1972), coin 12; Mitchiner (1980), p. 2, figs. 2 and 3.

[78]See Robinson and Domrow, "Some New Pyu Coins and Modern Fantasies", pp. 2–3, nos. 1–2; M.B. Mitchiner, "Some New Pyu Coins", *ONS Newsletter* no. 78 (June, 1982): 4.

[79]For one-unit coins, see Mitchiner II (1978), p. 656, nos. 5238–41; Mitchiner III (1979), nos. 2617–20; Robinson and Shaw (1980), p. 10, fig. 3.5; Richard C. Temple, "Currency and Coinage among the Burmese", *Indian Antiquary* 57 (1928), Plate IIIa, 2; Taw Sein Ko, "Excavations at Hmawza", *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1914* [hereafter *ASI, AR*], Plate XLVII, 9–10; Leonardo Fea, *Quattro Anni fra i Birmani* (Milano: Hoepli, 1896), fig. 175 [hereafter Fea (1896)], no. 2621.

obelisk form. An elaborate trident appears to the left and a wavy conch is to the right of the *śrīvatsa*. The sun above has disconnected teardrop-shaped rays.

Class C coins are struck on a thin, slightly wavy scyphate flan. Weights are less regular than in Class B. Two denominations are known. Large specimens, 33 to 35mm in diameter, weigh between 7.6 and 10.1 grams. Most specimens are holed. Small coins weigh 2.6 to 2.8 grams, again indicating a 1:4 relationship. The die axis is a constant ↑ ↑. Coins of this class have been found during a road project near Beikthano and in Chiala, Karenni, preserved by the Padaung tribespeople "...as the most ancient work of their fathers".[80] A clay seal (?) with identical designs, but with the reverse side elements transposed, was discovered at the Bawbawgyi pagoda, south of Hmawza, in 1910–11.[81]

Judging from findspots and association, Bhaddapiṭha/Śrīvatsa Classes A and B are more than likely Pyu issues struck from the sixth to eighth centuries. Class C is less certain, as specimens have an unusual geographical distribution. Although typologically Pyu they could have been issued by another ethnic group (or perhaps by the remaining Pyu) after the kingdom's demise in the ninth century.

MON DVĀRAVATĪ

(Map 1) Archaeological remains from central Thailand displaying an archaistic Gupta-derived style were labeled 'Dvāravatī' by G. Coedès as early as 1924.[82] Xuanzang (648) mentions Dvāravatī (Duoluobuodi) in his itinerary of Southeast Asian kingdoms.[83] In the years 638 and 649 the ruler of Dvāravatī sent tribute missions to the Tang court. Lack of native historical records has made it difficult to determine the nature and extent of this Mon kingdom. Whether Dvāravatī was a single unified kingdom or a series of small semi-independent states sharing a common heritage is uncertain. One major Dvāravatī city, perhaps its capital, has been identified. Silver medals reading 'The Meritorious Deed of the King of Dvāravatī', unearthed at Nakhon Pathom, were discovered as early as 1948.[84] Written in Sanskrit in a seventh-century script, these medals confirm the Chinese accounts and place Dvāravatī squarely on the map.

During the seventh century the country of Touhe (= Dvāravatī?) to the south of Jenla (Cambodia) is mentioned by the Chinese as a user of silver currency. The ultimate source for this reference is at least one mission received by the Tang court during the Jengguan period (637–50). Du You's *Tungdian* compiled in 901 and covering all periods of Chinese history until 754, and the *Xin Tang Shu*, both note that Touhe had a silver coinage.

First, the location of Touhe and its possible relationship to Dvāravatī. In the *Tungdian* Touhe is mentioned as being south of Jenla, located on a sea-island. The *Xin Tang Shu* leaves out this last phrase. Du You goes on to note that travelling by water from Guangjou one can reach it in 100 days. The family name of the king is Touheluo; his personal name is Fuyechiyao. The government is well-organized. Taxes are voluntary, based on one's ability to pay. The dead are placed in terracotta jars and thrown into deep water.

This country Touhe has been associated with the better-known Duheluopuodi or

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[80]U Mya, "Some hitherto unknown Burmese coins", *ASI, AR* 1930–34, pt. 2, pp. 331–35.

[81]Taw Sein Ko, *ASI, AR* (1910–11), p. 90, Plate XLXII, 9–10.

[82]G. Coedès, *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, pt. 1 (Bangkok, 1924), p. 1, note 1.

[83]G. Coedès, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: East-West Press, 1968),p. 76.

[84]These medals fall outside the scope of this study. They are discussed by J. J. Boeles, "The King of Śrī Dvāravatī and his Regalia", *JSS* 52, pt. 1 (April, 1964): 99–114.

or Duoluobuodi (Dvāravatī).[85] Dvāravatī sent missions to China in 638 and 649, the same period as Touhe. Touheluo, the family name of the Touhe ruler, is close to the Chinese transcription of Dvāravatī, perhaps indicating some relationship with the latter. According to the *Jiu Tang Shu*:

> On the south (Dvāravatī) adjoins P'an P'an, on the north Chia-lo-she-fo (Kalaśa-pura); on the east Chenla; on the west it borders the ocean.[86]

Given its geographical position relative to Jenla, Touhe was quite possibly under the rule of Dvāravatī. Two other kingdoms, both islands according to the Chinese, are recorded as being dependents of Dvāravatī. One, Tanling is described in the same terms as Touhe, i.e. on a sea-island.[87] Although the identification of Touhe with Dvāravatī is not certain, quite possibly this state was one of a number of Dvāravatī dependencies. Whatever the outcome of this debate, both the *Tungdian* and the *Xin Tang Shu* supply important information about native Southeast Asian coinage during the seventh century.

The passage from the *Xin Tang Shu* reads as follows: "Silver is made into coinage, like elmseeds in shape."[88] A longer passage survives from the *Tungdian*:

> Those who privately mint (lit. cast) silver coins have their hands cut off.
> There are six market-cities in Touhe. For commercial transactions they always use silver coins, small like an elmseed in appearance.[89]

First, the reference in the *Tungdian* emphasizes the point that the minting of coin is a state monopoly. Second, the Chinese conception of elmseed assists in a proper understanding of these texts. Chinese elms (*Ulmus campesris*, L. and *Ulmus macrocarpa*, Hance) are similar in appearance to the American elm (*Ulmus fulva* Michaux). The seed of the American elm is ovate in shape, approximately three quarters of an inch in length, with a thin papery hilium around projecting outward along one plane.[90] This hilium gives the seed a disk-like or saucer shape. The Chinese encyclopedia *Gujin Tushu Jicheng* illustrates the Chinese elm.[91] The hilium is also circular, but the seed itself is shown as round instead of ovate. At least one ancient Chinese coin is named after the thin, round elmseed. During the Han dynasty, emperor Gao Di (206–195 BC) felt the heavy coinage of Qin to be inconvenient for use in everyday transactions. The people were then permitted to cast 'elmseed coins' to make up for the need.[92] As might be expected, these coins are small and thin, sometimes as little as 8 or 9mm in diameter. Weights of recorded specimens are as low as 0.26 grams, making this one of the lightest of all Chinese coins.

When speaking of Touhe coinage as 'small like elmseeds' the Chinese meant a thin, relatively light coinage. The coinages of Dvāravatī, particularly the later classes of the Conch/Temple with Vajra type, easily fit this description. If it is accepted that Touhe refers to Dvāravatī, a date of the 7–8th century can be placed on the main series of

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[85]The first to do so is Yamamoto, "East Asian Historical Sources for Dvāravatī Studies" (ms. 1977), pp. 2–5. Gutman, "The Ancient Coinage of Southeast Asia", p. 9, accepts this identification.

[86]As quoted in G. H. Luce, "Countries Neighboring Burma", *JBRS Reprint*, pp. 280–81.

[87]See Luce, "Countries Neighboring Burma", p. 281, note 4.

[88]*Xin Tang Shu* as recorded in the *Gujin Tushu Jicheng* (1726 edition), 218.8.102.218:1.

[89]Du You, *Tungdian* (Taipei, 1962), p. 1010.

[90]See C.S. Sargent, *Manual of the Trees of North America* (Boston, 1905), p. 293.

[91]*Gujin Tushu Jicheng* (1726 edition), 20.269.552:29.

[92]F. Schjoth, *Chinese Currency* (Hancock edition, 1965), p. 7. See coin numbers 86–87 on plate 13. Schjoth mistranslates the term as 'elm-leaf'. Weights and diameters of coins are taken from Schjoth, p. 84. This work was originally published as *The Currency of the Far East: The Schjoth Collection at the Numismatic Cabinet of the University of Oslo, Norway* (London and Oslo, 1929).

Dvāravatī coin issues, complementing what can be determined archaeologically. If the identification is not accepted, it should be noted that no other Southeast Asian state during this period had a coinage 'like an elmseed" in appearance.

Cointypes issued in Mon Dvāravatī fall into the following categories: 1) Conch/Temple with Vajra, 2) Animal/Temple with Vajra, 3) Flowing Vase Type, 4) Lavapura and 5) Odd Types. It is uncertain whether the coin developments represent a linear progression through time or in some instances are contemporaneous issues of neighbouring polities. Future studies with more accurate reports of findsites for the individual classes should clarify the chronological developments.

Conch/Temple with Vajra

In this group of Conch/Śrīvatsa-derived coins, the *śrīvatsa* takes on the character of a frontal building. (Plate 3, coins 20–24) The interior conch is replaced by a thunderbolt. It is possible to distinguish four groupings of this type. Though not common, they have been found at Nakhon Pathom and U Thong, two of the major archaeological sites associated with Dvāravatī. While the flan maintains the Conch/Śrīvatsa cup-shaped form, coins of Class A are apparently cast and not struck. (Plate 3, coin 20) The conch on the obverse is naturalistic, though blurred, and is surrounded by a border of beads. The reverse temple has a flat base; a single fish appears beneath it. Indistinct columns are to either side of the temple. Above are what appear to be the sun and the moon; a *vajra* is evident on the interior of the building. Class A coins are usually about 24mm in diameter and weigh 8.1 to 8.8 grams.[93] At least one well-documented find of Class A coins is known, associated with the famous seventh-century medals of the king of Dvāravatī.

> During World War II, in 1943, two small medals of very pure silver have been found under a chedi at Huay Chorakay (Crocodile Stream), Tambol Nern Hin, Changvat Nakorn Pathom, inside a small earthenware jar together with more medals of that type as well as other medals of the conch shell type. The medals of the conch shell type have since been lost.[94]

Later classes display a shift in manufacturing technique. Instead of being cast, the flans are hammered out and struck between two dies. The cup-shaped flan is maintained. In Class B the conch is simplified in form yet balloons to fill the entire space, its rings being indicated by a row of beads and curved lines.[95] The opening is shown by an incuse *unalom* shape. The reverse temple has a flat base and kidney-shaped endings at the four corners. A fish swimming to the right appears below. No weights are recorded. Representative specimens have diameters of 20 and 28 millimeters, indicating the introduction of a new smaller denomination coin.

Class C is similar to B, but without the beads on the body of the conch.[96] (Plate 3, coin 21) The reverse temple is also comparable, except that its base arcs upward. The *vajra* is more complex in form. A 27mm specimen weighs 8.7 grams. A smaller module coin of ca. 18mm has no weight recorded.

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[93]See Ulrich Guehler, "Further studies of old Thai coins", *JSS* 35, no. 2 (1944), Plate X,3; Guehler (1949), Plate I,3 and 5; Mitchiner II (1978), p. 653, nos. 5210 and 5211; *KT* (1966a), fifth plate, bottom.

[94]Boeles, "The King of Śrī Dvāravatī and his Regalia", p. 101.

[95]Jean Boisselier, "Recentes Recherches Archeologiques en Thailande", *Arts Asiatiques* 12 (1965): 125–74, fig. 26; Mitchiner II (1978), p. 653, no. 5210; *KT* (1966a), fourth plate, first, third and fourth row.

[96]*Coins in Thailand* (Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 1973) [hereafter *CIT* (1973)], fig. 8, top left and right; *KT* (1966a), fourth plate, third row (two specimens).

Conch/Temple with Vajra Class D, the most common coin of this series, differs greatly from the others.[97] (Plate 3, coins 22–23) The formerly incuse *unalom* now appears in relief and is the main motif visible on the obverse of the coin. Because of improper striking, the design is difficult to discern. A flat-based structure on the reverse has a linear *vajra* on its interior. The tail of a fish swimming to the left is sometimes visible below. Large specimens 28mm in diameter weigh from 3.5 to 4.5 grams. Smaller specimens, ca. 17mm in diameter, weigh between 0.4 and 0.6 grams. Accompanying these coins is a small ca. 10mm uniface coin with an *unalom* embossed.[98] (Plate 3, coin 24) A major find of Class D coins (including all denominations) was made in 1966 at U Thong. Several hundred specimens were discovered in a ceramic pot near a *mukhaliṅga* dated to the seventh or eighth century.[99]

Animal/Temple with Vajra

(Plate 3, coin 25) These coins, probably contemporary with Conch/Temple with Vajra Class A, have an animal on the obverse in place of the conch.[100] A similar fabric and cup-shaped flan is to be noted. The most common variety has a four-legged animal (sometimes identified as a deer or goat) walking to the right, tail arched over its back. This is enclosed by a thick circular line and beads in the outer perimeter. The reverse temple has squarish concave sides and base, and a ballooning roof. A fish swimming to the left is sometimes visible beneath. Indistinct columns flank the building. The *vajra* is small and impotent. Most coins are badly worn; the only recorded weight is 8.5 grams for a poor 24mm specimen. On some specimens it is possible to discern what appears to be the ear of a rabbit. The identification has not been confirmed. Both varieties are reported from Nakhon Pathom and U Thong.

Flowing Vase Type

Coins of at least two diameters with the design of a flowing vase have been found at Nakhon Pathom.[101] They have a cup-shaped flan similar to Conch/Temple with Vajra Class D; however the workmanship is of a higher order. The reverse is apparently a flowing vase design, but incuse. No weights are recorded; the larger coins are approximately 27mm in diameter.

Lavapura

An ancient jar containing silver coins was recovered near U Thong during 1966.[102] Most of the pieces were reportedly of the Conch/Śrīvatsa or Conch/Temple with Vajra types. Several, however, contain an inscription reading *Lavapura* in a Pallava script dated to the seventh or eighth century.[103] As with other coins from central Thailand, the flan is slightly

[97]For large module coins, see Mitchiner II (1978), p. 654, nos. 5213–20; *KT* (1966a), fifth plate, top row. For the smaller coins, Mitchiner II (1978), p. 655, nos. 5221–28; *CIT* (1973), fig. 8; *KT* (1966a), fifth plate, second row.

[98]Mitchiner II (1978), p. 651, nos. 5229–37; *KT* (1966a).

[99]J. Boisselier, "Travaux de la Mission Archeologique Francaise en Thailande", *Arts Asiatiques* 25 (1972), fig. 3, p. 29. See also *Guide to the U T'ong National Museum* (Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 1966).

[100]LeMay (1932), Plate 1, 5; Guehler (1949), Plate I, 4; *KT* (1966a), sixth plate, top; *CIT* (1973), figs. 9–10; Mitchiner II (1978), p. 653, no. 5212.

[101]*CIT* (1973), figs. 11–12.

[102]See *CIT* (1973), figs. 15–16.

[103]J. Boeles, "A note on the Ancient City called Lavapura", *JSS* 55, pt. 1 (1967): 113–14.

concave. Two letters appear on each side of the coin, surrounded by a solid line and traces of beading in the outer perimeter. Stylistically, the 18mm coin is very similar to Conch/Temple with Vajra Class D.

Odd Types

A silver medal similar in fabric to the *Śrī Dvāravatī* pieces but with a simple conch in outline was discovered at Ku Bua.[104] No clear photographs of this piece are available. The reverse (inscription?) is uncertain. Another coin(s) with the typical cup-shaped flan with curling designs over its surface reminiscent of South Indian issues has been reported.[105] Other coins have also been attributed to Dvāravatī.[106]

The coinage of Dvāravatī, as was noted before, is the most varied of all mainland Southeast Asian states during the first millenium. The relative chronologies for the various issues have not been established; most writers have been content to place them in the years between 600 and 1100, the accepted dates for Dvāravatī.

UNATTRIBUTED TYPES

Wheel of the Law/Śrīvatsa

While early variants of this type have stylistic affinities with Conch/Śrīvatsa Class A, the coins are thick, flat and dumpy. (Plate 3, coin 26) It is not certain if Class A originates from Thailand or Burma as no findsites are known.[107] The wheel of Class A has either 12 or 14 spokes, with a central rim and hub showing the end of the axle. The design is plain and linear, although specimens possess fully rounded contours. The reverse *śrīvatsa* usually has a crescent moon inside the temple-like form and sometimes a *lingam* (?) is present inside the *śrīvatsa* beneath the crescent. Coins are 18 to 20mm in diameter and weigh 9.3 to 9.8 grams with a single specimen weighing 6.5 grams.

Excavations at Halin have recovered several specimens of a related, though typologically later, coinage.[108] (Plate 3, coin 27) Since adequate photographs are not yet available, a description of Class B by U Mya is provided:

> One face shows a wheel with a dot in the centre probably representing one end of the axle, a hub, 12 spokes and a tyre within a beaded border and a slightly raised edge. On the reverse is a conch surmounted by three small segments of circles placed in a row from left to right and flanked by a crescent moon and a star and marks generally known as *chaityas* to numismatists. The shell is standing with the mouth downward on a curved horizontal line. Below in a compartment bounded by curved and straight lines are seven wavy lines, probably representing rivers. Each of these two coins is about the size of a rupee.[109]

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[104]*KT* (1966a), fifth plate.

[105]*KT* (1966a), third plate.

[106]For example, a silver coin with the design of a deer on the obverse and a floral star or rosette on the reverse has been associated, wrongly, with Dvāravatī. See T. Oliver, *Twenty Centuries of Coins, Thailand's Currency Through the Ages* (Bangkok: Published by the author, 1978), p. 12. He calls the coin a sixth century 'link' between Funan and Dvāravatī. The piece has clear Ayudhyan affinities, however. Another specimen is illustrated in W. Harding Kneedler, "The Coins of North Siam", *JSS* 29, no. 1 (Aug., 1936), Plate XI, 2. The ANS possesses a cast specimen.

[107]Mitchiner II (1978), no. 5208; Mitchiner II (1979), nos. 2581–85; Robinson and Shaw (1980), p. 14, fig. 3.12.

[108]Robinson and Shaw (1980), p. 11, fig. 3.6.

[109]U Mya, "Some hitherto unknown Burmese coins", *ASI, AR* (1930–34), pt. 2, pp. 331–35.

Class B coins, like Class A, have a flat flan but are 33mm in diameter, distinguishing them from the other coin series discussed thus far. These two characteristics (flat flan, 33mm diameter) establish a clear relationship between Class B coins and the Rising Sun series discussed below.

Rising Sun/Śrīvatsa

Rising Sun/Śrīvatsa coins have the widest distribution of all early coinages from the mainland. (Plate 3, coin 29) Struck on a flat 33mm flan with a weight standard of approximately 9.2–9.4 grams, Rising Sun coins differ from all attributable cointypes.

Rising Sun coins from Oc Eo prompted Malleret to attribute the cointype to Funan.[110] The attribution has not been challenged. Rising Sun coins found at U Thong have been cited as evidence for the conquering expeditions of Fan Shiman of Funan against countries to the west of Cambodia in the third century.[111] U Aung Thaw would include Rising Sun coins in his criteria for the presence of the Pyu culture in Burma; specimens are known from at least three of the five major Pyu sites studied.[112] It is questionable, however, whether these coins are Funanese or even Pyu. They are typologically quite late and have geographical associations with the Southern Shan States region of Burma.

Several finds have been made near Yaunghwe in the Southern Shan States as well as from Chiala, Karenni. Some specimens are known from Halin, Beikthano and Mongmao. No finds have been reported at Hmawza (Old Prome), perhaps the major Pyu center. The Burmese finds include not only a large module coin, but also a quarter denomination and possibly an eighth. At least eight areas in Thailand have produced specimens. These include: a. Sarimhaburi (ch. Prachinburi), a. Manorom (ch. Chainat), a. Sawankhalok (ch. Sukhothai), a. Muang (ch. Nakhon Pathom), a. U Thong (ch. Supanburi), a. Banglamong (ch. Chonburi) and the military camp at Lopburi. With few exceptions, coins found in Thailand are of the larger denomination; some have deep cuts in them and a number of pie-shaped wedges cut from larger Rising Sun coins have been reported. At least a few specimens are known to have originated in Cambodia. Oc Eo produced, mainly as surface finds, 11 intact specimens 30–34mm in diameter with consistently low weights and 68 segments of Rising Sun coin segments. Coins are also reported from Tráp-dá, with segments known from Đá-nôi, Long-xuyên and Bathê. Two large specimens were found near Saigon in the 1880's.

At least one specimen of a Full Sun coin is known.[113] (Plate 3, coin 28) It shares several traits with the Wheel of the Law/Śrīvatsa Class B specimens from Halin, notably the flat flan and crescent form of the moon on the interior of the *śrīvatsa* on the reverse. The 'wheel' has a single hub with a solid bead in the center. Eighteen leaf-shaped spokes with beads between them radiate from the central hub. A temple-like *śrīvatsa* with disconnected roof and base portions is on the reverse. The endings are less accentuated than in the Conch/Śrīvatsa series. The interior is made up of a butterfly-like form resting in a crescent; three vertical oblong shapes are below. There are traces of three solid beads below the symbol. A plain swastika is to the left, and a *bhaddapiṭha* with four beads above is to the right. As only one specimen of this coin is presently known, little can be added to the observation that this coin provides a link between Wheel of the Law/Śrīvatsa issues and the regular Rising Sun series.

[110]Malleret, *ADM* III (1962), pp. 131ff.

[111]Boisselier, "Recentes Recherches Archeologiques en Thailande", p. 144.

[112]U Aung Thaw, *Report on the Excavations at Beikthano*, p. 64.

[113]Mitchiner III (1979), p. 316, no. 2567x.

On the obverse of Rising Sun/Śrīvatsa coins a rising sun motif with beads between its rays is enclosed by a solid circular line. (Plate 3, coin 29) A number of beads are in the outer perimeter. A horizon line divides the planchet roughly in half. In Class A seven beads appear between the rays above and below the horizon line.[114] In the outer perimeter are 26, 27 or 28 beads; 27 is the usual number. At least one-half of a raised outer rim is visible on the obverse. The reverse consists of a stylized *śrīvatsa* with a *bhaddapiṭha* (throne) and a swastika to either side. Above the *śrīvatsa* on the reverse is an open-bead moon to the left and a rayed sun or star to the right. The lower part of the *śrīvatsa* is distinctive. It is composed of a triangle with a bead on the interior and another at its apex. Only in Class A do the two upper sides of the triangle extend below and farther out than the base. Of the Class A specimens recorded, nine are of a standard weight, that is, between 9.2 and 9.4 grams in weight. Only one of the large module coins, a holed specimen, is underweight — 7.6 grams. Two of unknown weight are of a smaller module. Notably, a majority of Class A specimens are of the large 30 to 33mm size.

In Class B, there is no preferred pattern for the number of beads above and below the horizon or in the outer perimeter of the obverse.[115] (Plate 4, coin 30) On the reverse, swastika and *bhaddapiṭha* elements are generally simplified. Weights of the large diameter Class B coins are not standardized. Specimens 30–33mm in diameter weigh from 5.4 to 8.9 grams. None approach the 9.2–9.4 gram standard of Class A. Smaller specimens (Ba), however do seem to maintain some standard and range from 2.2 to 2.3 grams for well-preserved specimens. (Plate 4, coin 31) Contrasted with Class A small coins are the rule in this second grouping.

Class A and Class Ba specimens are reported most frequently in Burma. The 30 to 33mm Class B coins are concentrated in central Thailand and southern Cambodia. This offers a possible geographical separation of Rising Sun coins. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that Classes A and Ba are closely related since they occur at the same sites and are complementary in terms of weight. Class A clusters between 9.3 and 9.4 grams and Class Ba averages 2.3 grams. This suggests that Class Ba coins are indeed the quarter-unit of Rising Sun Class A.

While only one photograph of Rising Sun coins from Oc Eo has been published, the weights of examples found there are recorded. These are: 7.0, 9.7, 7.6, 8.6, 8.3, 8.2, 9.2, 9.0, 8.7, and 7.9 grams.[116] None can be confidently assigned to Class A on the basis of weight alone, but, allowing for corrosion three coins weighing more than nine grams might belong to Class A. No Class Ba coins, or any small Rising Sun specimens, are known from the site. Some 68 to 70 wedge-shaped pieces cut from larger Rising Sun coins were recovered.[117] Coedès was of the opinion that these could correspond to the subdivisions

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[114]Publication of large Class A specimens include, Smith (1906), Plate XXXI, 16; Temple (1928), Plate III, 5; Mitchiner (1972), Plate III, 7 and 8; Boisselier (1965), fig. 27; Theile (1972), coin 1; *CIT* (1973), fig. 1; Mitchiner II (1978), p. 657, nos. 5246–52; Robinson and Shaw (1980), p. 11, fig. 3.7. A quarter-unit Class A coin is published in *KT* (1966a), second plate, third row. A sandstone 'seal' from the military camp at Lopburi inscribed with the reverse *śrīvatsa* is also known. See Jean Boisselier, "Recherches Archeologiques en Thailande", *Arts Asiatiques* 20 (1969): 53, fig. 11.

[115]One unit Class B coins are published in Malleret, *ADM* III (1962), Plate XLIV, no. 950; U Aung Thaw (1968), Plate LVIII, a; Mitchiner (1972), Plate III, 6; *CIT*(1973), fig. 1. Smaller one-quarter unit coins are illustrated by, Fea (1896), fig. 173, c–d; U Aung Thaw (1968), Plate LVIII, a; Thiele (1972), coin 3; Mitchiner II (1978), p. 657, nos. 5253–56, 5258. A one-eighth or one-tenth denomination coin is also reported.

[116]Malleret, *ADM* III, p. 137.

[117]Malleret, *ADM* III, pp. 137–38, no. 951.

of a monetary unit.[118] This interpretation, in which cut portions would serve as a fractional coinage, might explain the lack of finds of Class Ba coins in Thailand and Cambodia. The segments are not known in Burma, a distinction which points to Burma as the place of origin for the Rising Sun series.

Classes C and D constitute miscellaneous categories with very few specimens recorded. Class C includes coins exhibiting a breakdown in the sun and *śrīvatsa* motifs, with less care being taken in their execution.[119] (Plate 4, coin 32) Class D coins are probably modern copies, as several specimens examined by the author are struck from a single pair of dies, a feature not found in genuine coins.[120] (Plate 4, coin 33) The fabric also differs from Classes A-C in having an unusually thin and flat planchet with clipped edges and bubbly surface texture. No satisfactory provenances are reported.

Because we lack a firm chronology for these coins, the possibility remains that Funan could have produced a Rising Sun coinage. This is unlikely, however, because Rising Sun coins are typologically later than either Dvāravatī or Pyu issues and have geographical affinities with Burma and Thailand. It is entirely possible that specimens found in Cambodia and Viet Nam reached there through trade. The Saigon hoard would support such a view. About 1886 two Class A Rising Sun coins, one Class A Conch/Śrīvatsa coin and one Class A Bhaddapiṭha/Śrīvatsa coin (the only specimen discovered outside Burma) were found in a vase together with other artifacts, including some silver ingots.[121] The Pyu remain a possible issuer, although it is necessary first to explain the metrological and fabric differences between definite Pyu issues (Bhaddapiṭha/Śrīvatsa Classes A and B) and the Rising Sun series. It is also necessary to explain the fact that Rising Sun coins have not been recovered from Hmawza, one of the major Pyu sites.

CONCLUSION

Although there are typological linkages among the various groups of coins, there is little if any metrological affinity. This point is made sufficiently clear by using the largest denomination of each group as examples. Mon Conch/Śrīvatsa Class A coins weigh 9.4–10.1gm; Bull/Triśūla issues weigh 7.3–7.6gm; Bhaddapiṭha/Śrīvatsa coins weigh 9.9–10.6gm for Class B and 7.6–9.4gm for Class C. Conch/Temple with Vajra pieces weigh 8.1–8.8gm and Class D coins weigh 3.4–4.0gm; Rising Sun coins are 9.2–9.4 grams in weight.

The die axes of Bhaddapiṭha/Śrīvatsa coins and some Post-Candra Bull/Triśūla issues are ↑ ↑ indicating they were struck from aligned dies. Rising Sun Class A coins are also aligned, but are set slightly askew: ↑↗ . The reason for this divergence is not known. The majority of the early coins are not aligned in any regular manner, demonstrating that the dies used for striking coin were not connected together, either by a swinging hinge or aligning pins, and thus were freely movable. The cup-shaped flan and variable diameter for most issues reflects the mode of manufacture. Judging from an examination of representative specimens the coin blank was probably made by hammering flat a small bead of pre-weighed silver. Most coins have a wavy edge from action on the anvil. On larger specimens definite hammer-marks are often present. The process of making the

[118]A letter from Coedès was published in Guehler, "Essay on the Symbols and Marks of Old Siamese Coins", p. 142a.

[119]Fea (1896), fig. 173, a–b.

[120]Guehler (1944), Plate X, 2; Mitchiner II (1978), p. 658, no. 5257; Mitchiner (1980), p. 4, fig. 12; Robinson and Shaw (1980), p. 12, fig. 3.9.

[121]Cappon, "Trouvaille de Monnaies en Cochinchine", pp. 295–97.

coin planchets helps explain why designs are often incomplete — a flat die can not completely engage with an uneven blank. It also points toward a three step program for producing coinage: 1. Melting a certain amount of silver in a crucible until formed into a bead or globule. 2. Transfer to an anvil where the metal is pounded flat. 3. Placement between dies and stamped. Bracteates were probably made somewhat differently. Thin sheets of silver were apparently cut into disks and then struck with a die against some resilient surface (such as leather) to bring up the design. Unfortunately we have no records of mint operation, only Du You's notice about the illegality of privately minting silver coin.

The limited distribution of most cointypes precludes their use in international commerce; more than likely these local issues facilitated the payment of fines, fees, taxes and religious donations, rather than fulfilling a strictly commercial function in the marketplace. If ancient mainland Southeast Asia had a trade coinage, it would have to be identified with the Rising Sun coins.

Although the *śrīvatsa* motif is maintained on almost every cointype, each variety displays a subtly changed iconography adapted to local symbolic preferences. It is possible that this early coinage, albeit anonymous in most instances, also served a political function; it has been suggested that the types found on the coins are the totems of the issuing cities.[122]

Changes in economic distribution patterns, new political forces and religious currents no doubt contributed to the demise of these *śrīvatsa*-derived coinages. Even counting the exceptionally late Bull/Triśūla issue of Śrī Siṁhagaṇḍacandra (ca. 1000), coinage on the mainland was discontinued for at least three to four hundred years until re-introduced by the Thai (in two radically new forms) during the fifteenth century. The break between early and late coinage on the mainland is thus nearly complete, joined only by a common preference for silver.

[122]M. Mitchiner, personal communication and Gutman, "The Ancient Coinage of Southeast Asia", pp. 8–21.

LIST OF COIN ILLUSTRATIONS

Mon Pegu

1. Conch/Śrīvatsa Class A. Discovered near Saigon. Natural size.
   Reference: Cappon (1886).
2. Variant of Conch/Śrīvatsa type. From Tavoy. 9mm diameter, 0.11gm. Lewis A. Shaw.

Candra Arakan

3. Devacandra (ca. 454–76). Conch/Śrīvatsa Class C. Inscribed *Deva* above conch. 26mm diameter, 5.04gm. British Museum.
   Reference: Phayre (1882), Plate II, 11.
4. Devacandra (ca. 454–76). Bull/Triśūla. Inscribed *Deva* above bull. 23mm diameter, 4.73gm. British Museum.
   Reference: Phayre (1882), Plate II, 7.
5. Nītīcandra (ca. 520–75). Bull/Triśūla. 32mm diameter, 7.39gm. British Museum.
   Reference: Johnston (1943), Plate V, 6.
6. Nītīcandra (ca. 520–75). Bull/Triśūla. 19mm diameter, 1.79gm.
   Reference: Johnston (1943), Plate V, 9.

Post-Candra Arakan

7. Dhammacandra (ca. 703–720). Bull/Triśūla. 31mm diameter, 7.62gm. British Museum.
   Reference: Phayre (1882), Plate II, 1.
8. Dharmavijaya (ca. 665–701). Bull/Triśūla. 28mm diameter, 7.29gm. British Museum.
   Reference: Phayre (1882), Plate II, 3.
9. Ākara rulers (ca. 8th–9th centuries). Bull/Triśūla. 30mm diameter, 7.59gm. American Numismatic Society.
   Reference: Wicks (1980), Plate XIV, 3.
10. Śrī Siṁghagaṇḍacandra (ca. 10th–11th centuries). Bull/Triśūla. Natural size. From near Kywede.
    Reference: Gutman (1976), Plate LXI, 3 and 4.

Harikela

11. Harikela (ca. 8th–9th centuries). Bull/Triśūla. 27mm diameter, 7.28gm. From Sandoway. British Museum.
    Reference: Phayre (1882), Plate II, 12.
12. Harikela (ca. 8th–9th centuries). Bull/Triśūla. 30.5mm diameter, 6.98gm. From Sylhet. British Museum.
    Reference: MacDowall (1960), Plate XVI, 2.
13. Harikela (ca. 8th–10th centuries). Bull/Triśūla bracteate. American Numismatic Society.

Pyu Śrīkṣetra

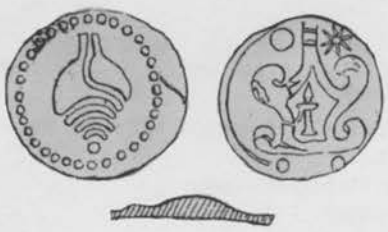
14. Bhaddapiṭha/Śrīvatsa Class A. Discovered near Saigon. Natural size.
    Reference: Cappon (1886).
15. Bhaddapiṭha/Śrīvatsa Class A. 22mm diameter, 5.51gm. British Museum.
    Reference: Mitchiner (1972), Plate III, 9.
16. Bhaddapiṭha/Śrīvatsa Class B. 34mm diameter, 10.62gm. From Hmawza. British Museum.
17. Bhaddapiṭha/Śrīvatsa Class B. 17mm diameter, 2.68gm. From Hmawza. British Museum.
18. Bhaddapiṭha/Śrīvatsa Class C. 36mm diameter, 10.10gm. Michael Mitchiner.
    Reference: Mitchiner I (1978), no. 5240.
19. Bhaddapiṭha/Śrīvatsa Class C. Natural size. Michael Mitchiner.

Dvāravatī

20. Conch/Temple with Vajra Class A. 23mm diameter, 9.40gm (with finding). Michael Mitchiner. Reference: Mitchiner I (1978), no. 5210.
21. Conch/Temple with Vajra Class C. 27mm diameter, 8.74gm. Michael Mitchiner. Reference: Robinson and Shaw (1980), fig. 3.11.
22. Conch/Temple with Vajra Class D. Natural size. Michael Mitchiner.
23. Conch/Temple with Vajra Class D. Natural size. Michael Mitchiner.
24. *Unalom* bracteate. Natural size. Michael Mitchiner.
25. Animal/Temple with Vajra. 24mm diameter, 8.45gm. Michael Mitchiner. Reference: Mitchiner I (1978), no. 5212.

Unattributed Types

26. Wheel of the Law/Śrīvatsa Class A. 20mm diameter, 9.8gm. Michael Mitchiner. Reference: Mitchiner I (1978), no. 5208.
27. Wheel of the Law/Śrīvatsa Class B. 33mm, no weight available. From Halin. Reference: Robinson and Shaw (1980), fig. 3.6.
28. Full Sun/Śrīvatsa. 28 x 30mm diameter, 10.33gm. Craig Burns. Reference: Mitchiner II (1979), no. 2567x.
29. Rising Sun/Śrīvatsa Class A. 33mm diameter, 9.34gm. From Burma. British Museum. Reference: Mitchiner (1972), Plate III, 7.
30. Rising Sun/Śrīvatsa Class B. 33mm diameter, 8.84gm. From Burma. British Museum. Reference: Mitchiner (1972), Plate III, 6.
31. Rising Sun/Śrīvatsa Class Ba. 20mm diameter, 2.18gm. American Numismatic Society.
32. Rising Sun/Śrīvatsa Class C. 29mm diameter, 6.45gm. From northern Thailand. Robert S. Wicks.
33. Rising Sun/Śrīvatsa Class D. 30mm diameter, 5.15gm. Possible forgery. American Numismatic Society.
    Reference: Robinson and Shaw (1980), fig. 3.9.



1

2

PEGU, 1–2.

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5

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CANDRA, 3–6.

7

8

POST–CANDRA, 7–10.

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10

PLATE 1

11

12

HARIKELA, 11–13.

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15

14

PYU, 14–19.

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PLATE 2

20

21

DVARAVATI, 20–25.

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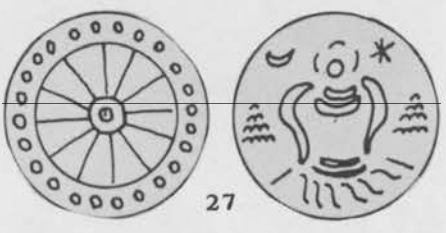

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UNATTRIBUTED, 26–29.

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PLATE 3

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UNATTRIBUTED, 30–33

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PLATE 3 (*cont'd*)

FIGURE 1: DYNASTIC TABLE OF THE
CANDRA AND POST-CANDRA RULERS OF ARAKAN
(Note: Rulers known to have issued coinage are underlined)

1.	Dveṅcandra	55 years	ca. 370–425
2.	Rājacandra	20 years	ca. 425–45
3.	Kālacandra	9 years	ca. 445–54
4.	Devacandra	22 years	ca. 454–76
5.	Yajñacandra	7 years	ca. 476–83
6.	Candrabandhu	6 years	ca. 483–89
7.	Bhūmicandra	7 years	ca. 489–96
8.	Bhūticandra	24 years	ca. 496–520
9.	Nīticandra	55 years	ca. 520–75
10.	Vīracandra	3 years	ca. 575–78
11.	Prīticandra	12 years	ca. 578–90
12.	Pṛthvīcandra	7 years	ca. 590–97
13.	Dhṛticandra	3 years	ca. 597–600
14.	Mahāvīra	12 years	ca. 600–612
15.	Vrayajap	12 years	ca. 612–24
16.	Seviṅreṅ	12 years	ca. 624–36
17.	Dharmaśūra	13 years	ca. 636–49
18.	Vajraśakti	16 years	ca. 649–65
19.	Dharmavijaya	36 years	ca. 665–701
20.	Narendravijaya	(2 years and 9 months)	
21.	Dharmacandra	16 years	ca. 703–20
22.	Ānandancandra	9 + years	ca. 720–29+

MAP 1
ANCIENT MAINLAND SOUTHEAST ASIA