CHAPTER III

THE COINS

Historical Context

The development of an urbanised society, organized under a central authority dependent on Indian tradition for its mandate to rule, and, to a certain extent, on external trade for its wealth, encouraged the evolution of a stable currency based on the Indian model. Although Phayre and Temple regarded the early coins found in Arakan and in Burma proper as medals bearing religious symbols,¹ we now have evidence of a series beginning by the 9th century and continuing, with very few breaks, for the next six hundred years.

The earliest Arakanese coins are connected with contemporary types from Pagan and the Mon² and Pyn kingdoms, to which it will be necessary to refer in detail, as no serious comparative study has yet been attempted. All bear auspicious symbols of Indian kingship and its function of ensuring the prosperity of the realm. The Arakan series, initially adopting these motifs, introduces the practice of inscribing the coins with the name of the ruler.³ These coins are especially valuable to the study of Arakanese history, as they confirm and supplement the evidence of the inscriptions, and, to some extent, enhance our knowledge of the development of the script.

² We are not concerned here with the commemorative medallions issued by the kings of Dvaravati, e.g. JSA, Vol.III, pt.1, pp.99 ff.
The earliest (and only) references to metal currency in Burma are found in Chinese histories describing the Pyu kingdom in the 9th century. The New P'ang History mentions that the Pyus "make coins from silver and gold, shaped like the half-moon called tang-chia-t'ao or czau-chu-t'ao (選加納及戛钯)," while the Man-shu only mentions silver. Although no gold coins have yet been discovered at Pyu sites, a single specimen exists in the British Museum Collection. Temple took tang-chia-t'ao to be a transliteration of the Sanskrit "ghada, "a weight or a stamped coin." The same word survives in many of the old western languages of Burma (including Sak and Chin), where it usually means silver. Temple's low regard for early Burmese technology led him to assume that "the crescent silver" consisted in reality of chips from lumps of metal or dust, i.e. "flowered silver." These lumps, as they came from the crucible, are generally flat and circular. While all the extant Pyu coins are round, the half-moon shape may have been the result of clipping them into smaller "denominations", a practice well known in Pusan, Java and Arakan. Luce noted that O.B. Kyog, used in Pagan inscriptions to denote a quantity of silver used for commercial exchange, ought to mean something

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7 Luce, "Ancient Pyu", and his translation of the Man-shu, p.90. The B.M. coin was acquired along with other Pyu coins in the Ayey collection from Thailand, but its original provenance is obviously Burma.
8 Op. cit., p.235 ff. He then attempts to prove the derivation of a number of modern terms for currency in India and Southeast Asia (e.g., Burmese dink, Anglo-Indian dinkel) from "ghada;" cf. Shorto, *IMM*, s.v. dinkel.
9 Luce, "The Advent of Buddhism to Burma" in *B. Courtois et al. (eds), Buddhist Studies in Honour of J.B. Bower*, p.230.
pressed between two surfaces. The Burmese weight standard, the pöka (O.B. pūka, pūxa), is derived from the Tamil word "division", and O.B. both, probably one-tenth of a pūka, from Pali-Tamil pada. This is interesting in that the early Southeast Asian coin types seem to have been based on South Indian models.

The use of die-struck coins seems to have disappeared with the fall of the early Indianized kingdoms: the last coins we have from Arakan belong to the 9th or 10th centuries, roughly contemporary with the Mon coins from Pegu, and use of a coin currency apparently dwindled to nothing during the Pagan period; there are no local coins from the rest of mainland Southeast Asia after the fall of Pagan and Pahawang, their function being replaced by barter, cowrie shells and standardized metal bars or lumps. It was not until the 16th century, probably under the influence of Muslim and European traders, that coins began to come into use again.

Collections, finds etc.

While the earliest Arakanese coins bear a certain resemblance to those from later Pinya and Mon sites, none have yet been discovered outside the state. The inscribed coins, from Dewenda to Dhammavijayas, are also known almost only in Arakan, and are most

9 "Economic Life of the Early Burman", JARS, XIX, 1980, repr., p.337 and p.57. Although Luce tended to consider that pöka meant a weight, rather than a coin, the first coins from Pagan were found among the ruins of the pagodas after the recent earthquake.

10 Hobson-Jobson, s.v. pūka; Luce, loc.cit.

11 Reginald Le May, The Coinsage of Siam (Bangkok, 1933), pp.3-9; Temple, op.cit., pp.54-57.

12 The earliest of these are from Arakan and Cambodia (see Phayre, op.cit., and Grousset, Mauroches aus Laos und Cambodia (Paris, 1921), p.309) while Burma and Thailand did not replace their punch-marked metal bars until the 19th century.
frequently found in the Mrauk U district. Two notable exceptions were uncovered in excavations at Maiman thi near Coimilla, along with the bulk of the connected Marikela ("Paribnya") coins. The latter are also found in Arakan, frequently along the seacoast. The last coins of the series, those of Sri Sakyapagasta, are known only from one hoard found near Ayah.

The most important collections have been published. Of these, the most extensive is the British Museum Collection (BMC), of which Phayre's collection formed the nucleus. The Indian Museum, Calcutta (IMC) has a fairly well documented collection, as does the White King Collection (WKC) now in the Hermitage at Leningrad. The Marikela coins from the Maiman thi excavations, now at the Maiman thi museum, are not yet published, but a number of identical types are found in the important collections. Scholars in Britain have studied the private collection of Mr H. de M. Short, and P.K. Banerji published five Arakan-type coins from the cabinet of Dr Paul Cattath Tagore.

A number of important collections in Burma remain unnoticed. The most extensive of these belongs to the Arakanese historian U Aung Tun. Other scholars have small collections, but the most fruitful source has been the manuscripts of upper Arakan. Here generations of scribes interested in the history of their country have accumulated chance finds made throughout the centuries. Interest

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13 See above, I, 126-28.
14 See Johnston, loc. cit.
16 A catalogue of the White King Collection is mentioned by Ruston in her article "Some Coins of Arakan", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Nov.11, 1962. I have not been able to locate this, but U. Temple, who was able to inspect the collection before it went to Russia, has described many of the coins in IA, Vol.LVIII, pp.37, 41-5.
in the coins in Burma has most recently been stimulated by U San Tha Aung, in his publications on the antiquities of Arakan.

Work to Date

Western interest in the coins of Arakan began soon after the British annexation, and various reports appeared in the JASB. Lieut. Thoe Lai, author of the Burmese Grammar, noticed the similarity of the symbolical Pyu coins of Kulin (Balasag) and the inscribed Arakan coins, which, he said, were "Shivite, but probably contemporaneous with the emblems of the worship of Shiva, and those of Buddhism have something in common". 17 Captain C.E. Fryer, Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Sadooway, described the first "Yarkriya" coin to be found, and attributed the inscribed coins to the Candra dynasty mentioned in the Arakanese chronicles. 18 Another "Yarkriya" coin was mentioned by W. Theobald, who described it as a "symbolical coin of the Katheli dynasty of Arakan". 19

In 1882 Fryer published his "Coins of Arakan, of Pagan and of Burma", mentioned before. He was followed by Temple, who in spite of all the evidence accumulated by 1928, held the view that the "symbolical coins" of Arakan and Burma proper had been first introduced by Rediawaya. 20

This was soon refuted by U Ma, who drew attention to the antiquity of the sites where the coins were found, and suggested that the symbols were auspicious signs. 21 E.H. Johnston first put the coins

18 "Note on an Arakanese Coin", JASB, 1872, pp.203-3.
21 ASS, 1929-34, pt II, pp.221-32.
in chronological order, and suggested Vefgi prototypes. 22 G.A. Rustum, working with the then unpublished results of McDowell, definitely established that the coins were not "medals" but currency issued in several denominations. 23 McDowell, who studied a hoard of Aryan-type coins from Sylhet, added to our knowledge of the "Yarikriya" coins, 24 but it was not until Harunor Rashid analysed the hundreds of coins found during the excavations at Mainamati in the 1960's that the connection between these and the coins from Arakan was established. 25

Metal and weight standards

All the early coins are of silver, with practically no impurities, which would indicate a plentiful source throughout the period. 26 A single gold and a few copper specimens of "Yarikriya" coins were found in later levels of the Salban Vihar excavations, reflecting the influence of Indian currency in the late period. Apart from the general description of "silver" for the Pyu and Mon coins, no other satisfactory data is available. 27 Melleret identified a number of silver mines sites in South Ancom, various parts of Cambodia and in Laos. 28 The silver mines of northern Burma are well known, and probably

23 Loc.cit.
26 Tests carried out in the Dept.of Prehistory, I.A.R., A.R.C., revealed a 74% silver content on 4 bullets and 2 bullets coins.
27 These described as "Vogu" type coin and two Pyu coins as "speller" (Dhaka) but no other writer has commented on this (see JA, LVII, p.37).
28 ADM, t.III, p.129.
supplied the Pyus with their needs.\footnote{28} The Mons of Southern Burma may have obtained their silver from Basselin.\footnote{30} While no comprehensive geological survey of Arakan has been undertaken to date, tradition has it that there are gold and silver mines.\footnote{31} Thayre (p.33) reported that before the British annexation, silver was the principal circulating medium for larger payments. In 1859, the town of Prome, with a population of about 20,000, had twenty pawnshops, or brokers and assayers of silver.

The initial exploitation of Southeast Asian silver for export can be seen as a direct result of the abrupt cessation of the Roman bullion trade with India in the middle of the 1st century A.D.\footnote{32} Silver coins, both local and Roman, are absent from the Indian assemblage immediately after this period. Wheeler has shown that Roman coins were used not as an impure currency but as bullion of a quality and weight guaranteed by the imperial stamp.\footnote{33} The Roman weight standard of 2.035g. was


\footnote{30} Charles iston, in his "Historical and Statistical Sketch of Arakan" (*Archaeological Research*, Vol.XVII (1928), p.379), noticed that "gold dust and silver, in grains, are found in the nullahs at Basselin; all those employed in gathering the precious metals pay each twelve rupees in gold, for the privilege, as no one is allowed to collect the dust without a purwazam from the King. The process is managed by a boy, about half an inch deep, which is filled with sand, and taken into the stream, where the sand is moved about, and carried away by water, the metals remaining at the bottom".


\footnote{33} Ancient India, No.4 (1947), p.281.
adopted by the Hoysalas and by the early Cholas. Unfortunately, reliable records of weights of early South Indian coins are not available, but it appears that some of the early uninscribed coins of Southeast Asia could have conformed to the Roman standard. Although the weights of the early Southeast Asian coins were rarely recorded, the scanty evidence we have suggests that the weight standard was fairly uniform throughout the area, and fell gradually as silver became scarcer.

The Baddo/pito/Sogdian coins from Puru sites in the BMC weigh, on average, 10.2g, 5.05g, and 2.7g. The B.MØ sun/Sogdian coins from Burma average 9.9g, while those from Oeö vary from 9.6 to 7.2g, averaging approximately 8.4g, close to the Roman standard. One coin of the same type from Barmah weighs 7.5g. Two specimens "from Burma" in the BMC weigh 7.9g. Of the couch/Sogdian coins found principally at Mon sites, the BMC Pesk specimens weigh 9.9 and 9.8g, one from Thailand described by Guézler 8.8g and two examples from Oeö 8.6g. A couch and Sogdian coin from Arakan in the BMC, possibly inscribed with DEVA, weighs 5g, conforming to what must be the early Pan standard.

34 D.C. Sirrer, Studies in Indian Coins (Delhi, 1968), p.12, lb.
35 ADM, t.III, p.137; cf. G. Guézler, Recherches sur les Cébydelphos (Paris, 1921), p.35, figs. 8 and 9 and pp.37–38, who describes two coins of this type weighing 7.1g. and 6.9g.
|        | 10.6 | 10.4 | 10.2 | 10.0 | 9.8 | 9.7 | 9.6 | 9.5 | 9.9 | 9.8 | 9.7 | 9.6 | 9.5 | 9.4 | 9.3 | 9.2 | 8.5 | 7.9 | 7.8 | 7.7 | 7.6 | 7.5 | 7.4 | 7.3 | 7.2 | 7.1 | 7.0 | 6.9 |
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v signifies a coin in reasonable condition, c a clipped specimen.

* Based on MacDowell's table of the weights of sandra and "kavikriya" coins in the BM, VBC and D. de C. Shortt Collection, Numismatic Chronicle XX, p. 84, and information given in the text.
Of the earlier Bull coins, a half-size specimen also issued by Devendra in the B.M. weighs 4.73g., suggesting a full size of about 9.5g. The standard appears to have fallen again during the reign of Bhumí or Bhūtiendra, when the size of the coins changed. The succeeding Candra Kings struck coins to a standard of about 7.6g., and were followed in this by the early kings of Harikela, who issued identical coins. The later Harikela kings again lowered the standard to between 7.2 and 7.0g.

The large number of clipped coins in the Arakan collection also indicates that as the weight standard decreased in the later period coins were clipped to conform to the lower standard.

The latest coins, issued by Shī Singhabagapandhra towards the end of the 9th century, are a crude mixture of approximately 80 per cent silver and 20 per cent copper, probably heated over a low fire as there is little diffusion of metals. The debased quality of these is a reflection of the precarious position of this little known dynasty.

It is also significant that the early Southeast Asian coins were executed at a comparable technical standard to the coins of the early Pallava, a series unequalled before or after in South Indian numismatics for clarity of design and finish. Production techniques of these double die-struck coins in all probability did not change much over the centuries. In this context it is interesting to note Paton's description of the mint at Arakan ("Aracan") at the beginning of the 19th century.

The mint was in Aracan, and any person was allowed to take bullion to it, for the purpose of being coined, paying five per cent of the state the process of...

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40 C.A. Ruston, loc.cit.
41 Vide MacDowell, op.cit., pp.231-2.
Coining was very tedious; the silver after being melted, was cut into small pieces, then weighed and beat out to the proper size; the coin was then placed between two dies, and with the stroke of a heavy hammer, the impression was effected: when the whole of the establishment was employed, they could with difficulty make two thousand rupees per day. 42

Origins and Significance of the Symbols

The introduction of a standardized metal currency was the result of trade with India, and thus Indian symbols of kingship and prosperity were borrowed to legitimize the function of the coinage. These symbols, recognized in Indian numismatics as dynastic emblems and religious or suspicious motifs, generally derive from the ancient collection of signs denoting fertility and prosperity. 43 As these were gradually incorporated into the symbolism of kingship and the Hindu tradition, their function is often misinterpreted. The couch, for example, is usually seen as an indication of Vaishnavism, but was originally a water symbol connected with fertility and used in royal illumination ceremonies. As such it was used by Buddhist kings and later in Buddhist ritual.

It must also be remembered that the divine aspects of the king were emphasized more in Southeast Asia than in India. Although Walleret has summarized the various interpretations of symbols used on early Southeast Asian coins, 44 his concern to emphasize the Scythian connection with Funan and his assumption that all the early coins originated thence has biased his interpretation. 45

42 op cit., p. 376
43 See below, p. 298ff.
44 ABD, t. III, pp. 133ff.
45 Although the numbers of suour/avantai coins found in excavations of the Funan and Pyu sites are similar, a far greater quantity of surface finds have been reported in Burma, and relatively few have been found at Mon sites in Thailand.
There is no doubt that motifs used by the "Sassanian" kings in India found their way to Southeast Asia. These include the beaded surround, the conch shell with or without protruding horns, the royal wheel of the sun, the phallic, swastika and auxiliary sun and moon motifs. Most of these elements however were present on the early Indian punch-marked coins and simply belong to a common tradition. "Sassanian" features like the beaded surround were adopted by the Gupta kings and the early Pallavas. The early southeast Asian coins have more in common with the latter: neither use the likeness of the king, or even anthropomorphic depictions of gods; the coins are often not inscribed and there are no indications of mint markings. The symbols used can be divided into two groups, the motifs directly connected with kingship and prosperity usually in a dominant position: श्रीवर्तेचा, conch, bull, श्रीक, śīvara, खुदाप्रती and secondary motifs associated with Purānic cosmology: the four great continents, sun and moon, the seven great rivers, and the ocean, either a series of wavy lines, or a fish, tortoise or lotus. These would seem to illustrate the idea of the king as a microcosm of the universe and guarantor of prosperity in the country. An exception may be found in the Rising Sun motif of the Pyu coins and identical types found at Funanese and Prasat Phnom sites.

This may tentatively be seen to represent the solar origin of the dynasty, as the motif was rejected by the Chenla (presumably later) dynasty of Arakan, who replaced it with the bull, and by the Khmer, who used the conch.15

A description of each of the symbols used on the Arakanese coins is necessary to establish their origins, meaning and connections.

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15 It has been suggested that the Bhramara and Haranas of the Pyu epigraphy were tantrists dividing the realm between them. (Bierte, "The 32 Mahākāla in the medieval Mon kingdom" BSAMS XX V, 1, p.580.) The two adverse motifs on Pyu coins, Buddhaṭhāna and rising sun, imply that each dynasty had a different emblem. The title "King of the Rising Sun" was given to Pyu and Baranese kings traditionally descended from Mahābuddha, founder of the solar dynasty of Baranasa Buddhha. See C. 61, pp.52-53; Kondrashova, Mahābuddha, i.e. (Bangon 1957 ed.) I, pp.15-16 ff, pp.224-5, 377 p.177; Golner, Mahābuddha, App.l.
The Śrīvatsa Motif

Plate XXV

The common link between the Funan, Dvaravati, Pyu and Arakan coins is the Śrīvatsa motif, which appears on the reverse (or obverse) of all the early examples in different forms. The significance of the symbol is important, as it explains, in part, the diversity of forms it takes, the identification of which has confused most scholars.47

Śrīvatsa may be taken to mean the symbol of the abode of Śrī, the ancient mother goddess, promoter of fertility and prosperity. The Śrīvatsa itself is common to Buddhist and Hindu iconography, and has foremost among the symbols of Indian kingship. The anthropomorphic equivalent is the well known abhāgya of Śrī, commonly depicted in Indian and Southeast Asian sculpture as the goddess, seated on a lotus, being sprayed by two elephants. As a symbol, it is noticed on the earliest coins of India, among the symbols of early Buddhist and Jain monastic art, and on the chest of Buddha and Viṣṇu images.48 In paleography, the symbol was used together with the swastika to denote the formula Śrīvatsa Śrī at the beginning of inscriptions.49 When a worthy king was crowned, Śrī was considered to enter him to ensure the fertility and wealth of the country.50

While forms of the symbol may have derived from the "double Y" in the Taxila coins, or the "nāga symbol" of the northern tribal coins.

47 The different interpretations (e.g. Śiva’s trident, nāga symbol, ornamental śrīvatsa, shield, fire altar, Viṣṇu-mūrti) have been discussed by U. Nya, op. cit., p. 333; Mallorot, ADM, t. III, p. 134; R.D. Banerjea, The Development of Hindu Iconography (Calcutta, 1956), pp. 190, 376.

48 R.D. Banerjea, loc. cit.


50 E.g. Raghunātha, jII, 36; VI, 29; XVIII, 66; XVIII, 8.
it first appears in its usual "shield" form on Brahmagiri's 1st century B.C. inscription at Udayagiri cave in Orissa.

The immediate prototype for the Southeast Asian form is found on coins from Chandravalli, in the Chitalagur District of northern Karnataka, from strata associated with the Sātavāhana kings of the 2nd century A.D. An identical type was found in Andhradeva, between the Kistna and Godavari rivers. (XXXV, i.4)55. U Aung Thaw has remarked on the many parallels between the culture of this region and that of early Ayu sites.54 The "Śrīvatasa and rising sun" coins common to Oc-lo, li-Thong, Beikthano, Balin and Śrīkastra, have the typical shield outline enclosing a stylized human figure. We are tempted to identify this with Śrī herself, as in early medieval South Indian sculpture the "shield" form of the Śrīvatasa symbol becomes an image in its own right.55 Here, the curved ends of the symbol simulate the arms.

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52 AGS, 1959-60, p. 32.
55 Banerjee, op.cit., p. 376 and Pl. XIX, figs 1, 2 and 3; Sivaramamurti, op.cit., pp. 51-2, fig. 42.
and legs, the upper point is rounded and crowned, and facial features and a prominent necklace are also apparent. (c.f. XXXV, 9 and 10-12)

As the coin types become regionalised, the central symbol took different forms. In the typical Prasawat coin, it looks like a bunch of three stalks, tied in the centre (XXXV, 20, 25, 26). Malleret has identified this as a **phran**. The Ballin and Phra That-series have nine dots, arranged in groups of three (XXXV, 18, 19) which may be of cosmological significance. Yet another type found at Phu sites has, within the *Prasawat* outline, a symbol identified by Oehler as the "moon, sun and fire" representation of the sacred syllable *γα* (XXXV, 27). The type found mainly on specimens from Lower Burma, generally known as "Vega" coins, shows a close connection (through the *Prasawat* symbol on the reverse) with the coins from Man sites in Thailand, but has, within the outline, a symbol identified by Johnston as the *γαγλα*(XXXV, 28).

The transition from the *Prasawat* outline with an enclosed symbol to the tripartite form can be traced in Phu coins of the 5th century and later. Initially, the figure within the surround common in the earlier coins becomes a dot, line and triangle seen in a single coin at Belkhano (XXXV, 15 of 1,11). An almost identical form is

56 *ADB* t. III, pp. 130ff.
58 Phayre, op. cit., p. 33 and pl. IV, 6, 7.
59 Johnston, op. cit., p. 38a. Malleret (ADB t. III., p. 132) disagreed with this interpretation, although identical forms of the elephant god are common in the *Pra-Khao* assemblage, on coins and, significantly, on gaming dice which also bear other auspicious symbols: the vase, the pair of fishes, couch, sun, swastika and *Prasawat*. Cf. his pl. LXIII (no. 136) and pl. X in t. III. An *αγλα* similarly adorned with ribbons appears on the *Phra That* plaque; see pl. LXXXVII.
60 The Belkhano coin was found within the rubble filling of Stupa XXXV 5. Stylistically, it shows a development from the Ballin type...
found on the earliest coins from Arakan, issued by Devacandra (c. 476 A.D.). Here, the upper corners are rounded and there is a protuberance at the apex (XXXV, 23). In the Pyu coins, the central triangle becomes a cylinder, pointed at the top, mounted on a base and with four dots at each site (XXXV, 7) — a symbol variously described as a Śiva linga or a representation of the Babawgyi stūpa.  

In Arakan, however, the central triangle becomes a diamond shape, which, in the later coins of Devacandra, evolves into a vertical extending from the base line, broadening to a diamond at the centre and at the apex XXXVII, 1 and XXXVIII, 1–2.)

The transition to the triradial form of Śaradaśe can also be seen in India at this period. A variant of the protuding triangle type is found on terracotta sealings from Basar, in strata datable between the 4th and 5th centuries.  

The triradial form is also seen on sealings found in the same context and on the chest of Śiva images in the Gupta idiom of the 5th century. An almost identical form of the

60 (contd)

and was found together with a coin of the Śrīśāttra type. The last phase of occupation at Belithana, and the first at Śrīśāttra, was during the 5th century. See K. Aung Than, op. cit., p. 53 and figure 64, 3.

61 Cf. the drawing of a small coin found at Belithana in IA, LVII, Pl. III, the moulded terracotta disc from Śrīśāttra, ASI, 1910–11, pp. 90 ff. and Pl. XVIII, 9, 10, and coins found in Babawgyi reliquaries, Arch. Beitr. 50/4/5 (1910–11), 967/8 (1921–22). A single specimen is also known from Balin acquired by the Burma Historical Commission from a villager of Tagantha, N. of the old city.

62 Cf. Phayre, op. cit., Pl. II, Figs. 9, 11. (Plate XXXVIII, 1)


64 Banerjea, op. cit., Pl. VI.

65 Sivaramamurti, loc. cit.
developed Arakan tripartite śrūtiśrāvaśa is found on a rare coin type from South India. Here, the symbol has the outer members curved outwards and up, whereas on the coins they twist under. The central member of both has the two diamond shapes; the South Indian coin, however, has no surrounding foliage but there is some indication of a three-stalked lotus base (XXXV, 24). Significantly, the obverse has a humped ball, as do all the Arman coins from Devandra onwards.

It should be noted that, after the earliest coins, a water symbol appears under the śrūtiśrāvaśa in various forms. On the Malin coins, this is usually two curved lines, developing into three or four wavy lines on the Śrīkṣeta examples. The large coin from U-Thong has a fish, while the early Arakan coins have a number of vertical lines suggesting a (lotus) stem. This line is carried further with the foliage sprouting from the top and sides of the śrūtiśrāvaśa outline. In the later Arakanese coins, the stem is replaced by a row of dots, an accepted rendition of the lotus base indicating the presence of a divinity, in this case, the goddess Śrī. The water symbols at the base of these coins supplement the sun and moon symbols nearly always present at the top, and would seem to be connected with the cosmological functions of the king. In Indian coins of this period, the anthropomorphic form of Śrī was used in preference to the symbol, reflecting the form of Hindu revitalism at this time.

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67 Ramin, on the basis of an almost totally illegible inscription, attributed the coin to “the Pallava façade series at Kanchi, probably about the time of Yeṣṭa sthākṣur towards the close of the 2nd century A.D. That the coin belongs to an early Pallava series is certain, but in view of the use of the ball, the Pallava emblem, and the nature of the symbol on the reverse, it should perhaps be attributed to the Prakrit Pallavas of the 4th or 5th centuries.
The śrīśila type of śrīśila is commonly used on religious and royal ritual objects in India and Southeast Asia from this period. We find it embossed on a bell found at śrīśila, surmounting the handle of Harem and Central Javaese bells, and as the top-piece of ceremonial standards carried in royal processions on the Borobudur reliefs. In Bengal, the same symbol appears on terracotta plaques facing the Paharpur temple and the Amara Vilānā at Matanamī. This form is identical to that of a single ūrja, and may reflect growing Tantric influence. Elqaden suggested that śrīśila is a corruption of śrīśila, which seems feasible in the light of the Mān "śrīśila" coins. The word śrīśila appears to have been current by the Gupta period when it appears in the Vaiṣṇavism traditions. Other forms of the śrīśila and its function in the ritual of Buddhist kingship in Southeast Asia will be discussed below.

Śrīśila

(Plate XXXVI)

The conch shell, śrīśila, belongs to the ancient group of water symbols found among the āgamas of śrīśila, and later incorporated into the iconography of Kubera, god of wealth, and of Viṣṇu. Common on the seals found at Bānerā, Mālān and Paharpur of the Gupta period and later, it is usually identified as the Paharpuru śrīśila of

70 Letter to Luce, dated 12th Dec, 1900
71 Manorch, op.cit., p.105, fn.1.
Vigwe.\textsuperscript{72} This is by no means justified where evidence of a Vaishnavite context is lacking. On coins, the appearance of the Sūbbha may indicate the wealth bestowed by Śrī, who, as we have seen, resided within a deserving king.

The conch is comparatively rare on early Indian coins. It appears among symbols surrounding a central lotus on the punch-marked Kaśīma Karahastamudrā\textsuperscript{73} and later on the reverse of some bull coins usually ascribed to the early Pāllams.\textsuperscript{74} Unfortunately the condition of these coins and their poor reproduction in photographs does not permit adequate description here.

In Southeast Asia, coins with the conch on the obverse and, unusually, Śrījaya on the reverse, are mainly found at Mon sites in Thailand and southern Burma, although a few have been discovered at Oo-Do, Hallin, Śrījaya and in Arakan. The first of these may be Boisselot's "medaille d'argent à la coque" found at U Thong.\textsuperscript{75}

Here the apex is depicted by a round dot, under which are three curves of increasing size, forming the upper quarter of the shell. The form bulges around the centre and gradually diminishes to the lower point, from which issues a linear central opening, shaped like a question mark. The symbol is contained within a circle, beyond which is a row of dots. Directly connected with this are the coins found at Nakhon

\textsuperscript{72} JAIBR, VIII, p.195; EI, XXIII, p.56; ASI, 1913-14, pp.126-9, 136, 145, 150, 151; K.N. Bakhit, op.cit., p.302.

\textsuperscript{73} Elliot, op.cit., Pl.I, 8; cf. Vidyā Prakāsh, op.cit., p.40.

\textsuperscript{74} Prakāsh, ibid., p.49; cf. Abul Wāhid Kān, who attempted to allocate these coins to the Vīṣṇuṣikāsins of the first half of the 6th century on the basis of a few letters which are not apparent on his photographs; see Anbāra Pradēsha Anbō, Series, 16, Pl.XVII, and pp.55-7.

\textsuperscript{75} Arts Antiques, 1.XII (1968), fig.26.
Pathom and Puchim Buril, illustrated by Buhrer. Here the couch is more perfectly formed, and is not squashed within the circle as the U-thong motif is. The central opening does not have the crude curve of the earlier coin, but otherwise the depiction is quite similar.

Following the westward drift of Mon culture towards lower Burma a coin type very close to the Nakon Pathom style is found, principally around Pegu. Although the Pegu krózaer differs from the Nakon Pathom types (the abkaa replacing the wiija), the couch is almost identical. On some specimens two loops issue from the top of the shell, the curved aperture reaches the upper bands and has tooth-like markings. Johnston noted that the specimens of this type which he examined were later in appearance than the early Arakan coins. A date around the 9/10th centuries may be appropriate. He was apparently not aware of the Nakon Pathom coins, which may have influenced the coin types found at Halin, Órikresta and Arakan. Pegu coins have also been found at Co-Bo, and among a hoard of late bull and Órikresta coins probably from Bangladesh (see below, p.181). None have been noticed at Pyu sites. Two coins from Halin described by U Nye are possibly earlier than the Mon coin currency. The reverse has a 12-spoked wheel within a beaded surround, similar to the sun motif common

76 JSS, Vol.XXXVII, Pt.2 (1949), pp.104 ff, and Pt.1, Figs 3, 4, 5. An unpublished series of slightly concave coins, said to come from Thailand and now at Spinks of London, also have a "squashed couch", on the obverse and the identical "eik # wiija" motif on the reverse. I am grateful to Mr. 0. C. Orby of the British Museum for showing me photographs of these.

77 Phayre, op.cit., pp.20-33


on Indian coins and seals, but replaced in Southeast Asia by the rising sun design. The obverse has a stylized conch, the outline and not the form raised, surrounded by cosmic and royal symbols: sun, moon, seven rivers (?), mountains, and a sūliya or dhowa.81

The other Pyu conch type was found among coins in the Khinbagha relic chamber at Šrīksetra, along with images and inscribed plates datable to the 6/7th centuries.82 In these coins, the base of the conch has a twist to the right, and the aperture is missing altogether. It arises from what appears to be a stem, exuding branches which surround the shell. This vegetative surround is also apparent on the earliest coins found in Arakan, some of which also have a lower hook on the conch. In this series, we also find ribbon like projections from the top of the shell, which suggested to Phayre "the sanhk shell of Viṣṇu, with what is apparently meant to represent a hermit crab at the open part; an appropriate Buddhist symbol".83 A similar motif is found at Oc-Đô in various contexts.84 Although Coomaraswamy regarded the conch on lotus to symbolize the Ananta borne by the Padmapani, "the universal ground of existence and birthplace of Life in the Worlds",

81 U Mya recorded, in this connection, that a legendary history of Mogun in the Nyikyim Diše mentioned a seal once in the possession of the Shan Sanbha ruling in that area. The seal is said to bear the following words on it: "Seven ranges of mountains, seven seas, the sun, the moon and the stars". It was said to possess magical powers and was strictly guarded. As long as it remained in possession of the reigning Sanbha, the country was immune from foreign attacks. We are reminded of the representation of the same cosmology on Buddhagāda from Pagan and later Buddhist sites in Southeast Asia, where the symbol is intimately connected with Gautama or Maitreya as Cakravartin.


84 E.g. ADM, t.III, Pl.LXXXVIII.
on the Southeast Asian coins, at least, it would appear to denote the wealth and fertility guaranteed by the issuing king.85

Bull

The couchant bull on the obverse of all the Candra coins after Devasimha has usually been described as a Śatīvite symbol.86 While the early Candras may have favoured this religion, the bull symbol was initially an emblem of royalty and its importance to Indian kingship can be traced to Vedic royal ritual surrounding the sacrificial bull.87 The bull is among the most common Loṭahāras noticed on royal seals in North and South India and was used by Śatīvite, Vaigaśite and Buddhist kings,88 often together with other auspicious emblems of royalty: the couch, śanvata, sun and moon symbols, chakra and abhūta. The bull motif was used at 00-30 on terracotta sealings, finger rings, and tin plaques together with representations of the king himself.89 In Araian,

85 Elements of Buddhist Iconography (New Delhi, 1972), pp.77-8.
86 Phayre, op.cit., p.28; Johnston, op.cit., p.385.
87 Banerjee, op.cit., pp.112-3.
88 E.g. The bull is depicted on the seal of the Guri̇śar copperplate of Vaigaśa (JINQ, VI, p.46); and on the Khataagar seal matrix of Śatīśa (III, IIII, pp.281-4), and was used by Harīvardhana (pān, Harīsvarārtha, tr. Cowell) and Thomas, r.92, Ex, XXI, p.72, CII, III, p.231). It was particularly favoured by the ruling families of Arras and Āndra, e.g. the Ballāshāvaras (Ex, VI, p.133, GHA, II, p.6, Ex, XXIV, p.338, XXI, p.24, XIX, p.263), the Bahmadārās (Ex, XV, p.1, XXVIII, p.111, JBS, XV, pp.69, 903, ĀLKIN, IV, p.189) and the Gaṇya of Kaśīpa (Ex, XIII, p.68, XVII, p.387, XIV, p.360, XIV, p.194). The vañcāha-loṭahāra was regarded as the insignia of excellence of Pāḷka sovereignty in an inscription in the Vaiṣṇava-perusal temple mentioned by G.H. Khare, in Sources of Medieval History of the Deccan (in Marathi), I, p.11, cited in Prakhā, Coinsage of South India (Varanasi, 1968), p.93, and was often used on the seals of copperplate grants, e.g. Ex, VI, 84, VIII, p.199, III, p.142, South Indian Inscriptions, I, pp.144 ff, II, pp.346, 501 ff, 517.
89 S.Ph. Groslier, Indokhâma (Art of the World Series), p.50.
a couchant bull within a lotus is depicted on the seal of the 6th century Candrā copper-plate.

Before the time of Devacandra, the bull as a coin device was used almost exclusively by South Indian rulers. The earliest of these may be on the square silver punch-marked Konkan find type.29 A standing humped bull, generally facing left, was depicted on the inscribed lead and potin coins of Andhra feudatories of the Śrāvānas during the 2nd century A.D.30 The identical symbol is found on the obverse of the earliest coins definitely attributed to the Pallavas. These are lead coins from the excavations at Kārī from strata directly above the Śrāvāna phase.31 The lead coins were succeeded by the early Pallava series in copper and bullion, round coins, sometimes inscribed, with a bull, sun and moon above and a beaded surround on the obverse, and various symbols, including the sun-wheel, conch, fish and a double-masted ship on the reverse. This group is mainly found from the seashore off Māmallapuram, a famous Pallava port, and from Nellore to Pondicherry on the coast.32 The double-masted ship, a device borrowed from the Śrāvānas, indicates the importance of sea trade to the Pallavas.

Phayre mentions a number of lead coins from Tenasserim, one of which has a bull on the obverse and some with a "galley" on the reverse which, he considered, were based on these South Indian models.33

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30 R.E.H. Wheeler, op.cit., pp. 288–92, Pl.IXXVIII 10–18. These were found together with coins having the Southeast Asian Śrāvāna prototype.
32 W. Elliot, Coins of South India, Pl.1
The technical advance evident in the clarity and fineness of design and finish of early Pallava coins was not continued in later South Indian series, but is comparable to the early Southeast Asian coins.

The tripartite śrīvatsa coin from South India, described above (p.146) has a bull on the reverse and possibly belongs to this group. A connected series can be found in the Gaurala hoard from the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh. These too have a standing or seated bull within a beaded circle on the obverse. On the reverse is a motif variously described as "a Śiva lingam, flanked by two curved posts within a rayed circle", or as "a trident of Śiva".95 The symbol could, however, be seen as a development of the "triśūla" type of śrīvatsa.

The Gaurala coins were attributed to the early Vijayanagar kings of the 5/6th centuries by Subramaniam,96 whereas most other scholars assign them to the 4/5th century Pallavas.97 In either case, it is clear that these coins, or their immediate prototypes, were the models for the Candra bull/śrīvatsa coins of Arakan.

Latter, in his article on "The Symbolical Coins of Arakan", recounted a popular tradition connected with the bull/śrīvatsa coins.

There was a king who set off to China to find the skull which he owned in a former state of existence when he was the body of a dog; his astrologers having told him that his skull being wedged into the cleft of a tree was the reason why he was troubled with headaches, and that on removing it he would be cured. On his departure he left his wife with a ring, and told her that in case he should not come back in seven years, she was to raise to the throne, and marry that one of her subjects whom it would fit. On his way back the daughter of the ocean king who was in love with him, begged her father to raise a storm to drown his fleet,

97 Vidya Prakash, loc.cit.
and thus procure her lover. This being done, the prime minister who escaped informed the queen of the death of her husband; she immediately gave out throughout her kingdom that he should be her husband whom this ring would fit. Though numbers tried, it was not till a herdsmen from the hills with his brother and nephew came down, that it was found to fit anyone. It fitted them all three, the queen married the eldest brother, who thus became king, and he, in commemoration of his origin, put an ox upon his coins, as also the goad (trident), the implement of his craft.98

The same story, without the addition of the introduction of the bull coinage, is told in the Arakanese chronicles of King Thala Chanda and his successor, the tribosman Anra To, who is said to have ascended the throne in 1030 A.D.

The symbols on the coins can now be seen to be of greater significance than was formerly supposed. The obverse bears the dynastic emblem, closely associated with the royal function: the rising sun and \\text{Buddhajīva} of the Pus, the cow of the Gods and the royal bull of the Candra of Arakan. The reverse emphasizes that function, with the symbols representing the king in the centre, often with other royal symbols, the \\text{akṣa}, \\text{wijra}, \\text{Buddhajīva}, \\text{Singha} etc. within and without.

Above, the heavens are represented by the sun and the moon, and below are the earth and waters. The power of the king, ensuing from his \\text{abhiṣeka} ceremonies, would unite these to create life and prosperity in the kingdom. So We, in his \\text{Maha Rāmaśa}, recounts that as part of the coronation ritual of Arakanese kings, 50 coins struck to commemorate the new reign, together with 50 struck in the previous reign, were deposited by the king in the hole dedicated to Yasundharā, the Earth Goddess, within the Mahāmuni Temple enclosure.99

98 \text{op cit pp.}238-40
99 \text{ASF,} 1930-31, pp.60-61.
The introduction of a coin currency in Southeast Asia can now be seen as the direct result of trade with South India, and in particular the Andhra region. The initial impetus for this was the abrupt seizure of the Roman bullion trade after 69 A.D., which led the seafaring kingdoms, principally the Chola rulers and the Pallavas, to seek new sources of gold and silver. This is borne out by the lack of silver coins in the South Indian assemblage during this period, and by the use of Roman weight standards and South Indian coin motifs on the earliest Southeast Asian types. The Arakan series evolved directly from Buddhist prototypes at the beginning of the 5th century, but soon adopted the bull as the main device, again following a South Indian tradition. The use of northern script on the coins, however, indicates that Indian influence at the court was an extension of the "Brahmanization" of Bengal, already firmly established by the time of Devacandra.
Catalogue Paiseage

We mention here all the coins previously published, and a number of unpublished specimens. The latter complete the collection of the inscribed coins of the first Canira dynasty after Devananda, provide evidence of a new dynasty in the interregnum between Dhañamandha and Yajnasakti, and verify the name of one king mentioned on the north face of the Shitapinsu pillar inscription. The hoards of coins discovered during excavations in the Cemilla area, mostly unpublished, are examined. There provides a concrete link between Arakan and the kingdom of Marikela in Southeast Bengal.

The cuph and Sriksetra coins

(Plate XXXVII, 1-4)

of. AJI 1925-27, Pl.III.f.)

This very small series was first described by Phuyre, who said that local tradition ascribes them to the ancient kings of Arakan. Johnston suggested that the Arakan coinage was connected with the Pegu coins. However, the suggestion of vegetation or flames around the cuph on the full size coins, and the peculiar hook at the base of some of the copper coins may also be compared to the later cuph and Sriksetra coins found at Sriksetra. The Sriksetra, too, while initially taking the "shield" form noticed in the Kon and Pyu coins, evolves into the tripartite or in shape which was retained throughout the rest of the Arakan series.

Silver, diam. 2.5 cm. weight 5 g.

Obverse. Within a beaded border, a stylized couch, with a head at the top and a hook to the left below. Only a slight suggestion of the upper curved bands to the right. No indication of an aperture.

Two ribbon-like projections from either side of the upper head, reminiscent of the Pega coins, and below, on either side, four other curved projections, possibly suggesting foliage. Between the beading and below the central figure is an inscription of four characters, read by Johnston as DEVA and, possibly, CANDHA. On his plate, however, DE and VA can be seen on either side of the hook, and CANDHA is not apparent.

Reverse. Within a beaded surround, the "shield" type spirates outline the two upper curves meeting at the centre from which a point protrudes. Within the outline, the base extends into a triangular shape. Five curved stalks or leaves spring from either side; below, three lines suggesting a lotus base. Above, crescent moon to left, sun depicted as a ring, to right, in the manner of the later Pfy coins.


Silver, diam. 2.8 cm.

Obverse. Within a circle and beaded surround, the same couch, but more realistically depicted. traces of an upper hook and aperture at left in the manner of the Pega coins; no hook below. Above, the wavy lines replaced by three or four dots. From the apex of the shell, two similar protrusions in the manner of the Pega coins, and five branches or leaves to the left, six to the right. On either side of the elongated base of the couch, above the beading, is a small character. Both are too indistinct to read with certainty.
Reverse. As above; the lotus stem below partially replaced by a row of dots. Above the symbol, outline of a crescent moon to left, the sun, a dot within a circle, to right.

3. A very small coin, some 1.9 cm in diameter, known only from Phayre's indistinct illustration (ibid., no. 9).

Obverse. Within a beaded border and a circle, the usual conch, dot at apex and three bands below, no indication of aperture but some decoration below the bands. A few lines below the symbol possibly suggest water or vegetation, but may be read, with some reservation, as DEV. In the same script as the later inscribed bull and Devanat coins of Devananda.

Reverse. Within the same beaded border and circle, the usual Devanat outline, but with a central vertical shape, between a diamond and a shield, within வ. This shows an intermediate stage in the evolution of the form of the symbol. Two curved lines spring from either side of the base.


Silver, diam. 2.8 cm; condition worn.

Obverse. An outer band of beads enclosed by a circle, within which is another band of beads, surrounding a conch of the no. 1 type, but the upper portion not clearly depicted; about eight projections from either side of the shell; no indication of an inscription.

Reverse. Within the same bead band bead border, an evolved tripartite Devanat symbol, the central member reaching beyond the outer curves, and having a diamond shape at the apex and the centre. Five branches spring from each side, and an indication of a lotus below. Above, crescent moon to left and sun, depicted as a dot, to right.
This short series, usually described as the "uninscribed" coins of Arakan, is close to contemporary Mon and Pyu coins, and stylistically immediately precedes the bull and śrāvastīa series. The variations in the forms of the symbols show that, during the reigns of the earliest Candra kings, the type was still experimental.

The bull and śrāvastīa coins

DEVCANDRA

(Plate XXXVIII, 1-2)

Apart from the couch/śrāvastīa coins which may have been issued by this king, we have two coins of the bull/śrāvastīa type definitely bearing his name. Although Taw Sein Ko reported the existence in the Phayre Coin Cabinet of a coin bearing the name of Kālacandra (ASI, 1910-11, p.92), the reading was more probably RITICANDRA or PRITICANDRA.

1.Refs. Phayre (p.29 and Pl.II, fig.7); Johnston (pp.383-4 and Pl.IV, fig.5). INC.

The weight is 4.734 gm, and the size approximately the same as the Pegu coins. Buxton noted that if it were a half-denomination, the weight standard would be approximately 9.5 gm, nearly 2 gm heavier than the weight standard of the later coins.

Obverse. Bull facing left, within a circle of beads surrounded by a circle. The bull is not garlanded, but is more realistically executed than those of the later coins, the hump and forequarters being separately delineated. Johnston remarked that this is the only coin in the series where the bull has been placed in the centre of the obverse, leaving insufficient place for the inscription, which appears to have been added as an afterthought. The inscription, in the Nagari
style of 6th century Bengal, reads DEVA, wrongly read by Phayre as LAM.

Revers. The tripartite Ārṇavāc symbol surrounded by a ring of beads enclosed within a circle. The central member of the symbol rises above the outer members, and has a diamond shape in the middle. Leaf-shapes emerge from the outer members, although they are not attached in any way. The sun and moon, although indistinct, appear at the top to the left and right of the central member. There are four dots below the symbol.

2. There is no record of the provenance, size or weight of the second coin, a photograph of which was given me by U San Tan Hawn.

Obvers. As above, but following DEVA two other letters, probably CANA.

Revers. As above, but to the right of the top of the middle member a small orb within a crescent, as in the coin/Ārṇavāc coins.

YAJñACANDRA
(Plate XXXIII, 3)

No coins of the succeeding king, Yajñacandra, have been published, but a full-size specimen is in the extensive collection of the Sima monastery at Kyaukse, and is said to have been found in the vicinity of the Mahāmuni temple. Although worn smooth in parts, the coin is in fairly good condition.

Obvers. Seated bull, galloped, facing left, now within a circle, with a rather ill-formed ring of large beads beyond. The bull is similar to that on the Devacandra coins, the face shown frontally and the legs quite realistically bent beneath the body. The hump is not as pronounced as before. The inscription, well-spaced in the upper third of the coin, reads YAJñACANDRA in 5/6th century script.
Reversee. Here the symbol attains the form it was to take throughout
the rest of the series, with minor variations. The three upper members
rise from a base which curves upwards; the middle protuberance, which
has left the central diamond shape seen in the earlier coins, is
slightly higher than the outer members. These side pieces are
taller and lack the extreme inward curl noticed before. Single
branches, each with five outer leaves fall from the top of each.
These branches are no doubt a development from the leaf-like projections
which formerly sprang from the outer curves of the symbol. The lotus
base is again represented by five dots below. A large crescent moon,
with no inner sphere, above left, and the sun, to the right, is a
sphere within a circle.

CANDRAVARADU

(Plate XXXVIII.4)
Unpublished. Provenance, size and weight unrecorded, but has the
appearance of a full-size coin. Condition good.

Obverse. Seated bull, facing left, garlanded, within circle. Traces
of a row of dots within an outer circle. Apart from the wreath, six
(visible) beads from the upper front knee to the outer horn, the type
of bull differs little from that on Revacandra's coins. The
inscription, which fills almost all the upper half of the coin, is
written in two lines CANDRAVARA in the first, and under BA, (2)BNU,
datable to the late 5th century.

Reversee. The tripartite symbol with foliage surmounted by the sun, at
left a sphere within a circle, and the crescent moon at right, facing
outwards. Seven dots underneath, the whole surrounded by two circles
within which there may be beads; these are hardly apparent in the
photograph. The centre part of the symbol, the same height as the
outer curves, bulges outwards towards the top. The side pieces do not
curl inwards as in the earlier coins.
According to Arindasandra's prasasti (V 26), Bhūtisandra followed Candrabandhu and reigned for seven years. No coins issued by this king have been published, although Charles Barlowelle in ASR 1925-26 reported having seen a coin belonging to U San Shwe Bu with the legend Bhīlisandra, Bhūtisandra or Bhūmisandra. However, U Tin Da has sent me photographs of three interesting new coins found in Arakan. Unfortunately we have no other data regarding them.

**Plate 3**

From the photograph, which shows coins found in the Myohaung area, this coin appears to be about the quarter or eighth size, and thicker than usual. The condition is fairly good, although there is slight damage around the edges.

**Obverse.** As above, the garlanded humped bull. Apart from the garland, the bull resembles that on the coins of Devacandra rather than that on those of Candrabandhu, although the latter may be more worn. There are no surrounding waves or circles. The inscription, again squeezed above the bull, is in two lines, BHUKUL, and below the NH, MHRA. The paleography closely resembles the Bengal style of the late 9th and early 10th centuries.

**Reversal.** The śūlakṣa sign, closer to that on Devacandra's coins than on that of Candrabandhu's. The middle element bulges slightly in the centre, and ends in a point reaching to the top of the coin, sun to right and moon to left. There are five or six dots under the symbol. The foliage issuing from the top of the outer members resembles the Devacandra type rather than that of Candrabandhu.
There is however, a thin walk from which seven leaf-like shapes project outwards. As with the obverse, surrounding beads and circles are lacking.

**Bhûmicakra II**
(Plate XXVIII, 5)

This and the following coin are, I believe, in the collection of U Aung Tun Co of Rangoon.

This appears to be a full-sized coin of the type common to the later kings, in fairly good condition.

**Obverse.** As in the above coin, although the modelling of the bull has degenerated somewhat, the face being thinner and the forequarters only faintly delineated. Two surrounding circles enclose a border of 22 beads. The inscription, which is well spaced in the upper third of the coin, reads BHûMICAKRA, datable to the first half of the 6th century.

**Reverse.** As above, but the central member of the symbol has lost its middle bulge, and only reaches the same height as the side member. The foliage is the same as that of Chandrabhandhu's coin. Under the symbol are five dots, and within the surrounding circles are 22 beads.

**Bhûmicakra III**
(Plate XXVIII, 6)

This coin is the half-size and closely resembles the former in style. It is rather worn, more so on the reverse.

**Obverse.** As above, but with the bull facing right. The inscription is faint, although BHûMI can be read with certainty, there may be two following letters, reading CANDA. 16 beads within the surrounding circles.

**Reverse.** As above, but with a longer, more elongated central member. No indication of foliage. 7 dots under the symbol, the outer beads too obscure to count.
The difference in style between 1 and 2 and 3 and their possible variation in weight standard, would suggest that during the short reign of this king the new standard was introduced, constant at least until Dharmaśrīnamōnda, who ruled at the end of the 7th and beginning of the 8th centuries. We find, too, that the practice of issuing only the first part of the name on the smaller coins was not introduced until the reign of Nāgāsena.

NĀGĀSENA

(Plate XXXVIII, 8)


Comparison with the preceding Deva coins and with Bhūmi type I which follows lead us to attribute this specimen to Bhūmi rather than Nāgāsena.

Obverse. Bull facing right, rendered in the identical fashion as in the Deva and Bhūmi I coins. The dotted border is absent, as in Bhūmi I, possibly indicating that this is a half size. From Johnston’s photograph it appears to be approximately half the size of the Deva coin.

Reverse. The triratna symbol with extended central protuberance noticed in Deva and Bhūmi I. The foliage does not fall from a stem but protrudes from the outer members, as in some of the preceding, but not in the later coins. Moon to left, sun to right. Traces of a beaded surround.

The relatively poor collection of coins from Devanāgara to Nāgāsena indicates not only their greater antiquity but a more limited circulation than the later coins.
NITICANDRA

(Plate XXXIX, 1-1)

Perin. Johnston, p. 335 and Pl. V, 6, 8, 9 (BMC), 22 (A.S.B.)

The next king, Niticandra, was, it seems, the most powerful of the dynasty. He is described as the remover of strife by policy, and reigned "like Mahendra" for 55 years. His coins are the most numerous in the assemblage, and were issued in all four denominations. The full size, weighing approximately 7.4 gm., 32.5 mm in diameter, is always inscribed NITICANDRA; the half and the quarter have NITI, and are about 3 gm. and 23 mm diameter, and between 1.9 and 1.3 gm. and 18 mm diameter respectively. The smallest size usually has no inscription, but is recognizable as being issued by NITI by the style of the symbols. The BMC specimen weighs 0.966 gm. and is 14 mm in diameter. A crescent moon with a sphere above often replaces the inscription.

Few, if any, of the known coins appear to be struck from the same die. There are a number of minor variations within the coins in the rendering of the symbols and in the script. Both Johnston (op.cit.) and Buston (loc.cit.) have described individual coins in the British Museum and Archaeological Survey collections. We shall therefore consider these and the many coins in the private collections in Myobaugh and Rangoon together.
Obverse

The rendition of the bull varies between the realistic Devacandra style and the later more flattened mode. In at least two instances it faces right rather than left (cf. Johnston, p.385, and Pl.V, fig.22) in the full size coins, and often in the smaller denominations. The number of beads within the outer circles is uncertain on most of the coins.

Reverse

As usual, the central member of the symbol is usually elongated above the others; the position of the sun and the moon is often reversed.

The outer members in what may be the later coins exhibit a sharp curve inwards, while the branches on either side are gradually confused with the leaves, whose number, however, remains constant at 5+5. The number of dots below varies from five to seven. The three smaller sizes have no foliage.

VfRACANDRA

P1. XXXIX, 15-19)

Ref: Phayre, p.29 and Pl.II, 6; Johnston, p.385 and Pl.V,11,12,13; (BMC) IBC Cat.

Although the next king, called Vfryacandra in the inscription and Vfira on the coins, reigned for only three years, he is fairly well represented in the assemblage. He also issued three or possibly four denominations, most of which are close to the late Vftri style.

Full sized coins.

The BMC specimen, badly damaged and clipped, weighs 4.896gm.

Obverse

The bull has become more stylized; the body scarcely modelled and the head a thin projection. The tail protrudes further from the shoulders.

There are 22 beads within the outer circles. The inscription reads VfRACANDRA and is datable to the first half of the 7th century.
Reverses
As in the later Pratapendra coins. The sun and the moon gain more importance.

Half and quarter sizes
Reverses
As above but with VIRA.

Reverses
The foliage around the symbol disappears. There are five or six dots below.

Eighth size
As above with no inscription.

Prati
(Pl. XL, 1-6)

Refs. Latter, op cit, p.223 and pl.III; Fryer, op cit, pp.201-2 and figs.
2 & 3; Phayre, op cit, p.98 and pl.II, 2-6; Johnston, op cit, p.385 and

Pratapendra's successor, Pratisticandra, ruled for twelve years. He is well
represented in the collection.

Full size
Two of these coins are known. Phayre published the drawings of a coin first
noticed by Latter. Fryer read the inscription Ari-ta-candra with the help of
Pratapacandra Ghosh, but the reading is definitely Pratisticandra. Another
coin, in better condition, is in U Aung Tha Oo's collection. The catalogue
of the White King collection assigns seven of eight coins to Pratisticandra,
but owing to unreliability of the descriptions of the coins, it is difficult
to say how many are in fact his.

Reverses
The bull in all cases faces left and is garlanded. On U Aung Tha Oo's
specimen there are 21 dots beyond the circle.

Reverses
The sun and moon are to the right and left respectively. The lower part of
the outer members become elongated, due to the retention of the sharp
inner hook in most cases. There are five beads below the symbol. The foliage
on either side is again five-branched, the rendition being more stylized.

Half and quarter sizes

The quarter size is the most numerous, 6 being in the British Museum
Collection.

Obverse

As above, with Pimet.

Reverse

As above, but with no foliage. Sun and moon sometimes reversed.

Pretendemeta

The next king, named Pretendemeta in the inscriptions, ruled for 7 years.
He is represented by one quarter in the British Museum Collection, weighing
1.69gms., illustrated by Johnston (op cit pl.v, fig.12) and two large
unpublished coins, of which I see. The king has sent me photographs.

Full size

(pl. xi, 7-8)

Obverse

As usual, bull facing left in both cases. By this stage the lump of the bull
has become an incongruous lump near the head.

The inscription on the large coins reads PRETDEMETRA, paleographically
belonging to the 5th/6th century.

Reverse

As above, however, the foliage does not spring from branches, but from the
upper half of the outer members.
Quarter size
(Pl. H, 9)
As above. The inscription reads PUDENT

MYODICANDRA
(Pl. XI, 10-12)
This last king of the first Candra dynasty reigned for only three years, after which followed a very confused period of Arakanese history.
Three coins issued by Dhati are known, a full size and a quarter in the British Museum Collection, illustrated by Johnston, and another, unpublished, in the Mro-hiang Museum, possibly a half, but no size has been recorded.
The full-sized coin, inscribed DUTICANURA, is stylistically identical to those of his predecessor. There are five dots below the symbol. The smaller coins are inscribed DUTIY, and also have five dots below.

BUTICANDRA
(Pl. X L, 13)
According to Chandravandan's Prashed (vV. 33-6) the next four kings of Arakan reigned for a total of 49 years, that is, approximately, during the first half of the 7th century. I have shown elsewhere (above, p.44) that Mahiva, the first king, probably came from a port on the Bangladesh side of the Mrauk estuary. He and the following two kings, whose names indicate their local origins, are each said to have ruled for twelve years, a coincidence not to be taken literally. They were followed by one Dharmaraja, devout and prosperous, who reigned for the 13 years. A presumably more peaceful era was ushered in by Vajrashakti, a king of royal blood. No coins of these kings are known.
One coin in U Aung Tha Go's collection obviously belongs to this era, having characteristics of the coins which both precede and follow it.
The inscription reads युग्मयक्षर, a name common enough in local tradition, but omitted by जन्मदोस्य, द्रविषम and द्रविषम's scribes. Are we to assume that he belongs to the first Candra dynasty, perhaps regaining the throne for a short period after an invasion by Mahāvīra? If so, he represented a line with strong claims to the kingdom whose presence was best ignored by the succeeding dynasty.

An inscribed pillar from a stūpa traditionally built by a King Mūryacandra in Vesali is paleographically dated to the second quarter of the 7th century A.D. (see above, p. 98). This date gives our hypothesis of a short resurrection of the Candra dynasty more weight.

The coin is damaged at the top of the obverse side, partially obliterating the first letters of the inscription, and correspondingly at the bottom of the reverse.

Obverse
Bull, garlanded, facing right. The rendition of the body has become quite unrealistic. The head is shown in profile, the hump springs precariously from the back, the legs are thin and elongated, bent below the body in a most uncomfortable position, and the tail has an upward twist. There is a trace of a surrounding circle, but not of beast, although they may once have been present. The inscription is not correctly positioned, the last two letters slanting down at the left of the coin, and may be ascribed paleographically to around the second quarter of the 7th century.

Reverse
The outer members end in pointed hooks, and the inner hook is more pronounced. The central member protrudes, and has a diamond shaped hollow effect in the centre, reminiscent of the Devacandra coins. The dots below are lost.
Vajraśakti was succeeded by Dharmaśīvāya, although the relationship between the two is not clear from the inscription. At least seven coins of this king are known. Johnston (op cit p.385 and Pl.V fig.19) described a specimen found in Arakshar, now in the BMC, unfortunately in bad condition, but with the legend ...DHARMASITYA quite clear on the obverse. Similar coins were noticed by Latter and Pryer (p.262, fig.3) and by Thayre (op cit p.29 and Pl. II fig.3), who read Varmavijaya. These identical coins were found during the Mainavati excavations near Corulla, in strata assignable to the 7th/8th centuries. No clear photographs of these are available and I was unable to inspect them at the Mainavati Museum. Hashid noted however, that the legend ...DHARMASITYA was quite clear in all cases, the common mutilated portion of the legend seemingly caused by a defective die. Another coin, almost half of which is clipped away, is in U Aung Tha Oo's collection, and

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100 Harunur Rashid (The Early History of Southeast Bengal in the Light of recent Archaeological Material. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Cambridge 1968) describes (p.171) one coin of Dharmaśīvāya among 172 coins in hoard III, from a large pot under the brick floor of Cell 13, Period III. Shilen Vihara, 1956. Other coins from the hoard are the usual Marikella type, except for one coin of Lalikākara (see p.152). Another Dharmaśīvāya coin, also from Period III was discovered in Cell 9a at the same site in 1956, and a third dates from the same period but its provenance is uncertain.
read SIVARAJA. ... This coin came, I think, from the hoard found at
Kvode near Agyab, together with some 10th century coins. The form of
all the letters on the Dharmavijaya coins corresponds to the 7th
century style of the Nithamur plates of Bhaskaravarman. All the coins
found so far are full size. No other coins of Arakanese kings have been
found over such a wide area, which would indicate the stability and
prosperity of the country during his 36 year reign. The appearance of the
coins of this group in a 10th century hoard suggests that after the fall
of Anandadatta, (or his immediate successors) the same currency remained
in use until the rise of the Sihagacandra dynasty in the 9th or 10th
century.

Obverse
The bull, facing left and not garlanded, has become quite stylized. Two
blobs serve for the head, and the hump is so imperfectly formed that it
looks like a hock. The tail curves upwards.

Reverse
The symbols are well-proportioned and carefully executed. The parts of
the ōtis are thinner than before, although the central projection
has a sharp bulge from the mid-point. Eight or nine dots below.

No coins of the next king, Sarentrivijaya, who ruled for 2 years and 9
months are known.

DHURMACANDRA
(p. XII.1)

Coins of this king, who is said to have reigned for 16 years, are well
known (e.g. Phayre, op. cit. Pl. II, fig. 1; Johnston, op. cit. Pl. V, no 20).
Although the inscription gives his name as Dhurmacandra, the coins
invariably read Dharmacandra. As was the case with Dharmavijaya, only
full-size coins are found. The K6 specimen, in good condition, weighs 7.6 gm. and is 33 mm. in diameter.

**Obverse**

As above, with DHARMACANDRA in small neat letters.

**Reverse**

As above, the projecting members of the symbol are thinner, and the central bulge noticed in the coins of Dharmavijaya is absent. Seven or eight dots below. The foliage no longer has five but seven projecting leaves from either side, some with a round central bulge. Above, full moon within crescent to left, circular sun to right.

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**AKHANDACANDRA (?)**

(VI. XLI, 2)

Unpublished. Weight and size not recorded. About a half, worn smooth on both sides.

Another very worn full size coin, found together with the coins of Dharmavijaya and Sri Singharajacandra in the Kywee hoard, and now in U Aung Tha Co’s collection, obviously belongs to this group.

**Obverse**

The bull, as depicted on the coins of Dharmavijaya and Dharmacandra, with a pointed hump, no garland and tail between the legs. Only the letters ... CANDRA are discernible, but from the spacing and by comparison with the palaeography of the West face of the Shitthanung pillar inscription we may tentatively ascribe it to Anandacandra. The vijaya after the name is only known on this and the later Sri Singharajacandra coins.

**Reverse**

As above, with eight small leaves on the outer stem.
Two coins of this king, now in private collections in Aghab and Banasor, were found among a hoard of 30 accidentally uncovered near the grazing ground of Koode village, 12 km. west of Aghab on the Kaladari river. The hoard also contained a coin of Dharmavijaya and the coin we have tentatively assigned to Anandastra. Sri Singhadagacandra may be identified with the Sri Singhastra (Yogal patishumandra) mentioned on 1.0 of the North face of the Shittaung pillar. Although this inscription belongs to the mid-11th century, the name is among the first of a fairly long genealogy. Singhadagacandra may, therefore, have reigned early in the 10th century. The coins are in bad condition, both broken or clipped in places. The metal used is inferior to that of the previous coins. Each specimen is about 0.3 cm. in diameter, and they appear to have been struck from the same die. The type is close to the coins of Dharmavijaya, Dharmacandra and the later Harikasa group, where the wreath around the neck of the bull is absent.

Obverse
Beaded surround beyond circle. Upper third containing the words SRI SINGHAGACACANDRA in two lines, in 10th century proto-Bengali script. No attempt has been made to suggest modelling of the bull's body, which is extremely stylized. The ears and horns are mere pointed projections, and the hump, although not the hook noticed in the other coins of the same style, is a surprising lump. The tail does not curve upwards.

Reverse
The Sri bonus symbol closely resembles the form taken on the coins of Dharmavijaya. The branch of silhouette has a projecting fine "leaves", each
with a globular bulge in the centre. 10 dots beneath, crescent moon to
left and sun to right.

Bull and Ghatihoys coins minted in East Bengal

Harikola

The next, and largest group of coins bear the same symbols as the usual
Cendra series, but seem to have originated, not from Arakan, but from
Southeast Bengal. From Phayre's first doubtful reading of the legend
they are familiarly known as the 'Parikriya' group.

The provenance and notices of these coins are summarized here:

Arakan

1. Bankowsky
   One coin discovered at Sambowky in 1876 and
   first noticed by Phayre, op cit. p.20, pL 71,17

2. Theobald Collection
   Another coin acquired by W. Theobald and recorded
   by him in JASR LXI, pp.102ff in 1892. Find-spot
   not recorded, but probably Arakan.

3. Shortt Collection
   One coin in the collection of R.de S.Shortt,
   mentioned by McNeill in Numismatic Chronicle,
   XX.p.321, fn.3. Findspot not recorded.

4. British Museum
   Apart from no.1, the British Museum possesses
   a few more specimens of this type, but no published
   list is available.

5. British Museum
   Eight coins are listed in the Indian Museum's
   catalogue. Smith, CWN, p.331,F1.XXXI,9-11;
   Suppl. CWN p.99; provenance unknown.

Bengal

6. Mailbarati, Coxville
   329 coins, including four gold and two copper
   specimens found during excavation of the
   Saltan Vihara at strain dating from the 7th and
   8th centuries, and recorded by Harunur Rashid in
7. EM5
A few coins in the Indian Museum, originally from a hoard of 63 silver coins recovered from Ananda Vihara, a Mainamati site, and mentioned by T.N.Banakaradran in the B.C.I. Assam Mem., Vol. IV, p.217 and Pl. V.I.

8. EM8
8 'Vatnariya' type silver coins from Sylhet originally from a hoard of 40 coins; the remaining specimens not traceable now, see Numismatic Chronicle XX, p.229fr., Pl.V.I.

9. Assam Coin Cabinet
One 'Vatnariya' coin in the Provincial Coin Cabinet, Assam; provenance unknown, but probably from Sylhet, according to Rashid, p.345. See A.W. Botham, Cat. of Prov. Coin Cabinet, Assam, p.978

As we have seen, the inscription on all these coins reads NARICELA, the name of the mint or country of issue, and must be equated with the well-known ancient division of Bengal by that name. The script shows a development from the 6th/7th century Arakan style, and reflects changes noticed in the epigraphs of Southeast Bengal in the 7th and 8th centuries.

This dating is further substantiated by the context of the coins found during the Mainamati excavations. Rashid noticed that most of these came from strata associated with the early Deva rulers of East Bengal in the 8th century. Coins of Uharmanvijaya (end 7th century), "imitation Gupta" coins of Bengal (6th/7th centuries) and a silver coin of Sañkha (c.600 - 620) were also found together with the Narikelacury.

It is obvious from the inscription and the great number of coins found in Bangladesh that they were not minted in Arakan but in Narikelacury. However, that both countries were in close contact is noticed from the changes in the design of the motifs. Most Narikelacury coins found in Arakan, but only a few of the Mainamati coins, and one of the Sylhet coins, depicts the bull with a garland around the neck. The last Candra coin to exhibit this feature was the single Bhrayacandra specimen, which, it will be remembered,

101 ibid, pp.388 and 394
was the only known coin issued during the confused half-century following the fall of Dhṛtiśena. The bull on the Gāryaśendra coin has an upturned tail, unlike the earlier Candra examples but followed by all of the Harikela coins. The hump is out of proportion in both this and the early Harikela types. The reverse symbol on the earlier Harikela coins also follows the Gārya example; on both, the five leaves from the falling branches are dots joined to the branch with fine stems, and the sun and moon, to the left and right, are a dot within a circle and a wide crescent.

The later Harikela coins may be identified stylistically by the absence of a wreath and by the hook-shaped hump of the bull. Both these features are noticed on the coins of the Arakan kings from Dharmasenaśa in the early 8th century. Similarly, the script on the early Harikela coins has peculiarities known only from the late 6th century inscriptions of Arakan, while later developments can be traced in the "bull without wreath" coins. McDoell has noticed that the "bull with wreath" coins were struck to the weight standard of 7.6gm used by the main Candra dynasty, while in the later "bull without wreath" coins, the standard dropped to 7.2 to 7.6gm. It would seem therefore that the earliest Harikela coins appeared during the period after the fall of the first Candra dynasty. The inscription on the west face of the Shittawng pillar (V.33) records that after Dhṛtiśena, Mahāśīva, king of Purnapura, reigned in Arakan for 12 years. If we are to accept the identification of Purnapura with present-day Purnapāra, on the west bank of the Mauf river, the traditional border between Arakan and Bengal
(see above, p. 14 fn. 26.), it would suppose that the conquering king, most probably a powerful petty chief of an important trading centre, adopted and released the coinage of the defeated country.

The mint may have initially been at Vesali, but was soon moved east to the Mainamati hills, perhaps after the pretender Indravarman gained power, sometime around the middle of the 7th century. The first mention of Barikola is I-tsing’s account, where it is defined as the eastern limit of India, in 671 A.D. It is significant that the Khajara kings, rulers of Southeast Bengal in the second half of the 7th century, had as their dynastic emblem on the seals of their inscriptions a recumbent bull, facing left, in the manner of the Arakan coins and the 6th century copper plate from Vesali. The Khajara kings were supplanted by the Bihars around the beginning of the 8th century. The later group of Barikola coins are definitely associated with these kings, and again reflect the minor changes which occur in the Arakan coins from Harmanvijaya (c. 665-701). There is not enough evidence to postulate a dynastic connection between the kings of Arakan and Bengal. However, it might be suggested that at the beginning of the 7th century, Arakan was weakened by Pyu incursions and by attacks of the more powerful hill tribes, and the commercial advantage it had over Southeast Bengal diminished. The Khajara kings, taking advantage of this situation, imitated the Candra coinage then current, and possibly imported silver from the same sources.

As the price of silver, or the cost of importing it, increased, the weight standard slowly decreased to the 7.0gm. standard of the Dem kings. That the latter had commercial relations with Arakan is attested by the similarity of the motifs and the coin of Harmanvijaya found

103 H.C.Majumdar, History of Ancient Bengal (Calcutta, 1971) p.9
104 For a description of the Khajara epigraphs, see BarrisMorrison, Lalitpur - A Cultural Centre of Early Bengal (Seattle, 1974) pp.99-101
at the Saiban Vihara. The commercial advantage of the Deras was probably strengthened after the fall of Ānandaśena or his immediate successors and the confused state of Arakan and Burma proper in the second half of the 8th century.

Coins of the "Ākara" kings

(Pl. XLI, 11-14)

This series of bull and Ānuṭasa coins is only known from four coins once in the cabinet of Mr. Frapella Math Tagore, recorded by R. D. Banerji in JASB Vol. XI (Sanskritic Supplement No. XXIII, 1920), p. 85, and by two coins found during the Mainamati excavations. The Tagore coins were purchased together with a "Pegu" cowen/ātīṭāna coin, and, if originally found together, would indicate that this small hoard reflects the sea-trade in the Bay of Bengal around the 8th century. The inscribed coins may be assigned paleographically to between the mid-8th and mid-9th centuries.

(Pl. XLI, 11)

Ref. Banerji, ibid and Pl. XII, 3; Rashid, op. cit. p. 346.

Obverse

Beaded surround; humped bull, ungarroled, facing left, long tail twisted under the back legs. Above the inscription LALIṬĀKARA , not entirely clear in Banerji’s illustration, but apparently better in the Mainamati specimen.

Reverso

The Ānuṭasa within a beaded border and circle. The form is not clear from the photograph, but the leaves, were strokes, are attached directly to the sides, and there are five incised dots below.
(P1. XLI, 12 )
Ref. Banerji P1.XII, 5.

Obverse
Bull, as above, tail bent behind and three dots below. Banerji read the inscription as SAMArasinga, but only .SAMA is visible on the photograph.

Reverse
Not illustrated.

(P1. XLI, 13 )

Obverse
The bull, now hardly recognizable, head a smaller blob with five dots, hump at mid-back and not behind head. Banerji read ANMKARA or ANMESA, only the initial vowel is clear.

Reverse
Not illustrated.

While this group is obviously connected with the later Harikela and Chandras coins, their place of origin is not at all certain. Banerji attributed them to a late dynasty of Arakan, while Bashku preferred Bengal. As a compromise, we might suggest the Haaf river area, a well-known commercial centre, too remote to pose a threat to the kings of Mraukul or Arakan, who were, during this period, too weak to interfere with even a small neighbouring dynasty.

Foreign Coins

No foreign coins dating before the 11th century have been reported found in Arakan, and apart from the Vilaya coins specimens at Mraukul, no Arakanese coins have been found elsewhere. A number of gold coins issued
by the later Eastern Chalukyas found on Panree and Cheduba islands, apparently from old shipwrecks, were noticed by Iatter and identified by Fleet. Jan Save Ja recounted that in Panree and Cheduba these coins are known as phu-tha-lyaa and local tradition connects them with the Mahasuni legend. I have been shown, in Arakan, a number of Indian pūndāraṇgas with a bull on the obverse, which has led some local scholars to connect them with the early bull/medallion coins. These medallions date only from about the 16th or 17th centuries, and identical examples have been described by Sirca in his Studies of Indian Coins.

108 op cit P. XIII, 6
107 The Indian Antiquary, Vol.XIX.(1890) pp.30-80
108 "About two thousand years ago, during the reign of Man-ta-thu-rajya (Candrasriyarraya) of Arakan, Gautama Buddha went there from India. The king did worship to the Buddha, being much attracted to his preaching. And when the Buddha was about to return to India, the king and his subjects asked for permission to preserve and worship an image in memory of him. The Buddha assented. And then the king sent out notices to all the Buddhist kings, according to their means, for the fashioning of an image of the Buddha. With the contributions that came in, there was fashioned in seven metals, gold, silver, brass, copper etc., an image which is now in Mandalay. Some of the kings brought their images to Arakan in person. Others started to do so, but did not arrive in time; and so the offerings brought by them were of no use and had to be taken away again. On the way home, some of them happened to come to the island of Man-sang (Cheduba); and finding it uninhabited (and I suppose not wishing to apply to any worldly use articles which, though not actually accepted for a sacred object, had been dedicated to it) - there they buried in the ground the metals which they had taken with them as religious offerings." cf. Appendix 7, "The Mahasuni Tradition". The story differs from the usual account of the making of the Mahasuni image given in the Arakanese Chronicles, where Chandrasriyra merely orders nine rubis worth of treasure to be collected, cf. Porchhamer, Arakan, p.4
109 (Delhi 1966) pp.277-8