

THE ANCIENT COINAGE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

by

PAMELA GUTMAN*

The economic history of ancient southeast Asia is only now beginning to benefit from methodological advances made by archaeologists and anthropologists. Friedman, in particular, has established a model for the evolution of the state from tribal structures¹:

The 'Asiatic' state evolves directly out of tribal structures in the process of verticalization of the relations of production... Relative rank is first established by horizontal exchange, then converted to absolute rank through claims on the supernatural. With the continued growth of surplus and the emergence of the state, the political hierarchy which had formerly been generated by the economic flows of horizontal exchange comes, finally, to dominate that flow. The chief who becomes a sacred king naturally appropriates all of the community rituals... The head of the state climbs a great deal further up the ancestral hierarchy—he is no longer the representative of the community to the gods, but descends from the heavens as the representative of the gods to the community.

The economic implications of the transformation of tribal chief to divine king have been explored by Wheatley, who sees the process as a result of Indian cultural influence which brought about 'a super-ordinate redistributive system of integration'².

This paper seeks to examine the nature of the coins which appear following the formation of the 'Indianized' urban centres: Oc-Ēo, the 'Mon' cities of Thailand and southern Burma, the Pyu cities of Beikthano, Halīn and Śrīkṣetra, and the northern Arakanese cities of Dhan-yavati and Vaiṣālī³. Earlier scholars considered the coins to be medals bearing religious symbols⁴. However, it will be shown that these coins were issued by kings with the intent not only to centralize and expand the economy, but also to enhance their position at the head of it.

The organization of a central authority dependent, to a certain extent, on Indian tradition for its mandate to rule and on external trade for its wealth, encouraged the evolution of a

* Research Fellow, Department of Asian Civilizations, The Australian National University, Canberra, ACT 2600, Australia. The original version of this article was presented at the 7th Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia, at Bangkok, August 1977. For the full reference to sources abbreviated in the following footnotes, please consult the list appearing at the end of this article.

¹ J. Friedman, "Tribes, states and transformations", in M. Bloch (ed.), *Marxist Analyses and Social Anthropology* (London, 1975), p. 196.

² P. Wheatley, "Satyānṛta in Suvarṇadvīpa: From reciprocity to redistribution in ancient southeast Asia", in J. A. Sabloff and C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky (eds.), *Ancient Civilization and Trade* (Albuquerque, 1975), pp. 227-283.

³ Southeast Asian numismatic studies have been few and far between. Malleret (*ADM* III, pp. 131 ff.) gives a fairly comprehensive bibliography. The Arakanese coins are catalogued in my unpublished doctoral thesis, "Ancient Arakan" (ANU, 1976). M. Mitchener has recently attempted a comparative assessment in his "Some early Arakan and Pyu-Mon coins", *JNSI* vol. XXXIV, pp. 47-59; however, his evidence is incomplete.

⁴ Sir Arthur Phayre, *Coins of Arakan, of Pegu and of Burma*, International Numismata Orientalia Series (London, 1882), pp. 1-2; Sir Richard Carnac-Temple, "Currency and coinage among the Burmese", *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LVIII (March 1928), pp. 37-39. We are not concerned here with the commemorative medallions issued by the kings of Dvāravati, e.g. *JSS*, vol. LII, pp. 99 ff.

currency based on the Indian model. All the coins found to date bear auspicious symbols of Indian kingship and its function of assuring the prosperity of the realm, and an examination of these motifs will elucidate their origins and diffusion.

The earliest references to a coin currency in southeast Asia are, of course, to be found in Chinese sources. The description of foreign countries of T'ung-tien, compiled by Tu Yu in the late eighth century A.D., has a section devoted to T'ou-ho, which Yamamoto has identified as Dvāravatī⁵. Tu Yu recorded that here, if a man casts silver coins without permission, his arm is to be cut off, implying that the minting of coins was a state concession. He notes further that in the six markets (or cities), everyone uses silver coins which are small like elmseeds. Yamamoto has observed that while the Chinese coins of the time were about 25 millimetres (mm) in diameter, the coins attributed to Dvāravatī were often as small as 14 mm⁶.

To-ho-lo or Tu-ho-lo, long identified as Dvāravatī, according to the T'ang histories, adjoined the country of Chia-lo-shê-fo where the regular tax levied was two silver coins⁷. The New T'ang History mentions that the neighbouring Pyus "makes coins from silver and gold, shaped like the half-moon called *teng-chia-t'o* or *tzu'u-t' an-t'o*" (登伽佗 or 足彈院) while the *Man-shu* only mentions silver⁸. Although no gold coins have yet been discovered at Pyu sites, a single specimen exists in the British Museum Collection (BMC). Temple took *teng-chia-t'o* to be a transliteration of the Sanskrit *taṅka*, "a weight or stamped coin". The same word survives in many of the old western languages of Burma (including Sak and Chin), where it usually means silver. 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 known in Funan and Arakan⁹. Luce noted that Old Burmese (OB) *klyap*, used in Pagán inscriptions to denote a quantity of silver used for commercial exchange, ought to mean something pressed between two surfaces¹⁰. 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 ninth or tenth centuries, roughly contemporary with the Mon coins from Pegu, and use of a coin currency apparently dwindled to nothing during the Pagán period; there are no local coins from the rest of mainland southeast Asia after the fall of Funan and Dvāravatī, their function being replaced by barter, cowrie shells, and standardized metal bars or lumps¹¹. The reason for the absence of coins in the later southeast Asian centres of Angkor, Sukhothai and Pagán

⁵ "East Asian historical sources for Dvāravatī studies", paper presented to the Seventh Conference, International Association of Historians of Asia, Bangkok, 1977, pp. 2-5.

⁶ Bangkok National Museum (Chawweewan Viriyabus), *Coins in Thailand* (Bangkok, 1973), pp. 11-19; J. Boisselier, "Travaux de la mission archéologique du Thaïlande", *Arts Asiatiques* XXV (1972), p. 29 & fig. 3; R.S. Wicks, "A Dvāravatī coin hoard and its implications", unpublished paper, Cornell University.

⁷ Yamamoto, *op. cit.*, following Pelliot and Luce, identifies Chia-lo-shê-fo as Kalaśapura ("City of pots") mentioned in the *Kathāsaratsāgra* (Tawney's transl., vol. I, p. 530). An unpublished fragmentary Sanskrit inscription, discovered at Śrīkṣetra in 1970, mentions Kalaśapura a number of times, which is interesting especially in the light of Luce's suggestion ("Countries neighbouring Burma", *JBRs* XIV, ii, p. 182, n. 2) that Chia-lo-shê-fo could be the Chia-lo-p'o-t'i mentioned first in the list of kingdoms subject to the Pyu.

⁸ Hsin-t'ang-shu, 222, cf. Luce, "The ancient Pyu", *JBRs*, vol. XXVII, p. 251; Temple, *op. cit.* (1897), p. 233.

⁹ Malleret, *ADM*, t. III, pp. 137-8; C.A. Rustom, "Some coins of Arakan", *Nation* (newspaper, Rangoon), supplement 11 November 1962.

¹⁰ "Economic life of the early Burman", *JBRs* XXX (1940), n. 87.

¹¹ R. Le May, *The Coinage of Siam* (Bangkok, 1932), pp. 3-9; Temple, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-157.

is beyond the scope of this paper. Briefly, it would appear that surplus wealth during this period was redistributed through the great monastery and temple complexes which had emerged, rather than through the court as in the earlier period¹². Coins began to come into use again only in the fourteenth century, probably through the influence of Muslim and, later, European traders¹³.

Metal and weight standards

Apart from the general description of 'silver' for the Mon and Pyu coins, no other satisfactory data are available. A series of early Arakanese silver coins in my collection when tested showed practically no impurities. The coins of Harikela, a state in southeast Bengal which used Arakanese currency as a model, are initially all silver. A single gold and a few copper specimens of Harikela coins were found in later levels of the Salban Vihāra excavations, reflecting the influence of Indian currency during this period (*circa* seventh/eighth centuries)¹⁴. Malleret identified a number of silver-mine sites in Indochina¹⁵, and the silver mines of northern Burma are well known and probably supplied the Pyus with their needs¹⁶. The Mons of southern Burma may have obtained their silver from Bassein¹⁷. While no comprehensive geological survey of Arakan has been undertaken to date, tradition has it that there are gold and silver mines¹⁸.

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 first century A.D.¹⁹ 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 imposed currency, but as bullion of a quality and weight guaranteed by the imperial stamp²⁰. The Roman weight standard of 8.035 grams (g) was adopted by the Kuṣaṇas and by the early Guptas. Unfortunately, reliable records of weight of early south Indian coins are not available,

¹² Cf. P. Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-56; M. Aung Thwin, "Kingship, the Sangha and society in Pagan", in K.R. Hall and J.K. Whitmore (eds.), *Explorations in Early Southeast Asian History: The Origins of Southeast Asian Statecraft* (Ann Arbor, 1976), pp. 213-5.

¹³ The earliest of these are perhaps the coins ascribed to the fourteenth century from the Malay Peninsula (see *JMBRAS*, 1939), followed by those of Arakan (Phayre, *op. cit.*) and Cambodia (G. Groslier, *Recherches sur les cambodgiens* [Paris, 1921], p. 32), while Burma and Thailand did not replace their punch-marked metal bars until the nineteenth century.

¹⁴ Harunur Rashid, *The Early History of Southeast Bengal in the Light of Recent Archaeological Material* (Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge, 1968, unpublished), appendix II. The Harikela coins were formerly known as "Yarikriya".

¹⁵ *ADM*, t. III, p. 129.

¹⁶ H.L. Chhibber, *The Mineral Resources of Burma* (London, 1934), ch. VIII *passim*; P. Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese* (Kuala Lumpur, 1961), p. 117. A number of Pyu coins have been found in the Shan States: see *ASI* 1930-34, pt. 2, pp. 332, 335.

¹⁷ Charles Paton, in his "Historical and statistical sketch of Arakan" (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. XVI, 1828, p. 379) noticed that "Gold dust and silver, in grains, are found in the Nullahs at Bassein: 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 *purwannah* from the King".

¹⁸ R.B. Smart, *Burma Gazetteer - Akyab District*, vol. A, (Rangoon, 1917), p. 142.

¹⁹ G. Coedès, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (Honolulu, 1968), p. 20.

²⁰ *Ancient India*, No. 4 (1947), p. 287.

but it appears that some of the early uninscribed coins of southeast Asia could have conformed to the Roman standard. The Burmese weight standard, the *viss* (OB: *pisá, sá*), is derived from the Tamil *visai* "division", and OB: *buih*, probably one tenth of a *viss*, from Pali-Tamil *pala*²¹. This is interesting in that the early southeast Asian coin types seem to have been based on south Indian models.

Although the weights of the early southeast Asian coins are 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 *bhadrapīṭha-śrīvatsa* coins from Pyu sites in BMC weigh, on average, 10.5g, 5.05g and 2.7g. The BMC sun/*śrīvatsa* coins from Burma average 9.9g, while those from Oc-Ēo vary from 9.6 to 7.8g, averaging approximately 8.4g, close to the Roman standard²². One coin of the same type from Dvāravatī weighs 7.5g²³. Two specimens "from Burma" in the Indian Museum Collection weigh 7.9g²⁴. Of the the *saṅkha* ("conch")/*śrīvatsa* coins found principally at Mon sites, the BMC Pegu specimens weigh 9.9g and 9.8g, one from Thailand described by Guehler 8.8g²⁵ and two examples from Oc-Ēo 8.6g²⁶. The recent discoveries from Thailand mentioned above introduce three new braced varieties of the conch with a *śrīvatsa* enclosing a *vajra* on the reverse coin. The largest weigh between 3.054 and 4.5g, indicating a half size. The next size, with a mere indication of a *śrīvatsa* on the reverse, weigh between 0.46 and 0.59g, while the smallest are merely from 0.106g to about 0.06g, that is, a mere hundredth of the standard weight. This would indicate the use of coins for smaller everyday transactions as Tu Yu indeed recorded. A conch and *śrīvatsa* coin from Arakan in the British Museum Collection, possibly inscribed with "DEVA", weighs 5g, conforming to what must be the early Pyu standard. Of the earlier Arakan bull *śrīvatsa* coins, a half-size specimen also issued by Devacandra (fl.c. 454–76) in the British Museum Collection weighs 4.73g, suggesting a full size of about 9.5g²⁷. The standard appears to have fallen again during the reign of Bhūmi or Bhūticandra when the sizes 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 in southeast Bengal, who issued identical coins. The later Harikela kings again lowered the standard to between 7.2 and 7.0g²⁸. 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 Arakanese coins, issued by Śrī Siṃhagaṇḍacandra towards the end of the ninth 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.

²¹ Luce, "Economic life ...", p. 297; Col. Henry Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive* (new ed. by William Crooke, 1903; 2nd ed. Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1968), "viss".

²² *ADM*, t. III, p. 137; cf. G. Groslier, *Recherches sur les cambodgiens* (Paris, 1921), p. 32, figs. 8 and 9, and pp. 37–38, who describes two coins of this type weighing 7.7g and 9.7g.

²³ U. Guehler, "Further studies on old Thai coins", *JSS*, vol. XXXV, pt. 2 (1944), pl. X, figs. 2a, 2b.

²⁴ V.A. Smith, *Cat. of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1906), p. 333 and pl. XXXI, 16; B.B. Bidyabinod, *Suppl. Cat. of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Non-Muhammadan Series, vol. 1 (Calcutta, 1923), p. 99, no. 8.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, pl. X, figs. 3a, 3b.

²⁶ *ADM*, t. III, p. 135.

²⁷ C.A. Rustom, *loc. cit.*

²⁸ See MacDowell, "Some coins of Arakan and Sylhet", *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. 20 (1960), pp. 231–2.

It is also significant that the early southeast Asian coins were executed at a comparable technical standard to the coins of the early Pallavas, 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 Mrohaung ('Aracan') at the beginning of the nineteenth century²⁹.

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 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 dyes, and with the stroke of a heavy hammer, the impression was effected:

Wicks has admirably described the technique of producing the braceated coins from Thailand in his paper.

Origins and significance of the symbols

The introduction of a standardized metal currency was the result of trade with India, and 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 auspicious motifs, generally derive from the ancient collection of signs denoting fertility and prosperity. As these were gradually incorporated into the symbolism of kingship and into the Hindu tradition, their function is often misinterpreted. The conch, for instance, is usually seen as an indication of Vaiṣṇavism, but was originally a water symbol connected with fertility and used in royal lustration ceremonies. As such it was used by Buddhist kings and later in Buddhist ritual.

Although Malleret has summarized the various interpretations of symbols used on early southeast Asian coins, his concern to emphasize the Scythian connection with Funan and his assumption that all the early coins originated thence has biased his interpretation. There is no doubt that motifs used by the 'Scythian' kings in India found their way to southeast Asia. These included the beaded surround, the conch shell with or without protruding flora, the rayed wheel of the sun, the *aṅkuśa*, 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. 'Scythian' features like the beaded surround were adopted by the Gupta kings and by 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 three groups. It is possible that the main motif on the obverse is a dynastic emblem. This is certainly the case with the main series of Arakanese coins, where the king's name is inscribed above a recumbent bull. The Pyu coins have two dominant obverse motifs, a rising sun and a *bhadrapiṭṭha* 'throne'. It has been suggested that

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 376.

³⁰ *ADM*, t. III, pp. 133 ff.

the Vikramas and Varmans of the Pyu epigraphs were tanists dividing the state between them³¹. These two motifs, therefore, may imply that each had a different dynastic emblem. As these types are widely spread, not only over Pyu sites (where they are most numerous) but also as far east as Oc-Ēo, it is possible that neighbouring countries may have imitated the emblems, as indeed Harikela borrowed the Arakanese bull. The majority of coins found in Thailand have a conch on the obverse, suggesting that this was a Mon emblem. Each of the main series of coins has on the reverse a variation of the *śrīvatsa* motif. This is intimately connected with the function of the king, and is discussed in detail below. Thirdly, many of the coins have a number of secondary motifs, some connected with kingship: *vajra*, *bhadrapiṭha*, *daṇḍa*, *aṅkuśa*, *cāmara*, etc.; and others associated with Purāṇic (and hence Buddhist) cosmology: sun and moon, the four great continents, the seven great rivers and the ocean, the last represented by a series of wavy lines, a fish, a tortoise or a lotus. The last two groups, especially, can be shown to illustrate the microcosmic character of the king, and his role as guarantor of the country's prosperity. A description of the main symbols is necessary to establish their origins, meanings and connections.

Motifs

Śrīvatsa

Figure 1. The common link between all the coins from Oc-Ēo to Arakan is the *śrīvatsa* motif, which appears on the reverse 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 scholars³².

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 is foremost among the symbols of Indian kingship. The anthropomorphic equivalent is the well-known *abhiṣeka* 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 aniconic art, and on the chest of Viṣṇu images. In paleography, the symbol was used together with the *svastika* to denote the formula '*Svasti Śrī*' at the beginning of inscriptions. When a worthy king was crowned, Śrī was considered to enter him to ensure the fertility and wealth of the country³³.

While forms of the symbol may have derived from the 'double Y' on the Taxila coins, or the '*nāga* symbol' of the northern tribal coins (no. 5), it first appears in its usual 'shield' form on Kharavela's first-century B.C. inscription at Udayagiri cave in Orissa (no. 1), and on the famous *torāṇa* at Sanchi (no. 2). The immediate prototype for the southeast Asian form is found on coins from Chandravalli, in Chitaldrug District of northern Karnataka,

³¹ "The 32 Myos in the medieval Mon kingdom", *BSOAS*, vol. XXX (1967), p. 580.

³² The different interpretations (e.g. Śiva's trident, *nāga* symbol, ornamental *triśūla*, shield, fire altar, *vardhāmana*) have been discussed by U Mya, *op. cit.*, p. 333; Malleret, *ADM*, t. III, p. 134; R.D. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta, 1956), pp. 190 and 376.

³³ E.G. Raghuvamsa, III, 36; VI, 29; XVII, 46; XVIII, 8.

from strata associated with the Satavahana kings of the second century A.D. An identical type was found in Andhradesa, between the Kistna and Godavari rivers (nos. 3-4)³⁴. U Aung Thaw has remarked on the many parallels between the culture of this region and that of early Pyu sites³⁵. The 'śrīvatsa and rising sun' coins common to Oc-Ēo, U Thong, Beikthano, Halin and Śrīkṣetra, 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 śrīvatsa symbol becomes an image in its own right³⁶. Here, the curled ends of the symbol simulate the arms and legs, the upper point is rounded and crowned, and facial features and a prominent necklace are also apparent (nos. 9 and 10-12).

As the coin types became regionalized, the centre symbol took different forms. In the typical Dvāravatī coins it looks like a bunch of three stalks, tied in the centre (nos. 20, 25, 26); Malleret has identified this as a *vajra*³⁷. The Halin and Śrīkṣetra series have nine dots, arranged in groups of three (nos. 18, 19) which may be of cosmological significance³⁸. Yet another type found at Pyu sites has, within the śrīvatsa outline, a symbol identified by Guehler as the 'moon, sun and fire' representation of the sacred syllable *Om* (no. 27)³⁹. The type found mainly on specimens from Lower Burma, generally known as 'Pegu' coins⁴⁰, shows a close connection (through the *śaṅkha* symbol on the reverse) with the coins from Mon sites in Thailand, but has, within the outline, a symbol identified by Johnston as the *aṅkuśa* (no. 28)⁴¹. The transition from the śrīvatsa outline with an enclosed symbol to the tripartite form can be traced in Pyu coins of the fifth 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 Beikthano (no. 15, cf. 7, 14)⁴². An almost identical form is found on the earliest coins from Arakan, issued by

³⁴ R.E.M. Wheeler, "'Brahmagiri and Chandravalli 1947': Megalithic and other cultures in the Chitaldrug District, Mysore State", *Ancient India* 4 (1948), pp. 287 ff., pl. CXXVIII, 29, 33, 35. Cf. E.J. Rapson, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty* (London, 1908), pl. VIII, 207. The importance of the śrīvatsa and allied symbols, fish, water, conch, *vajra*, etc. to the Satavahana dynasty from the time of the founder, Simukha Satavahana, has been dealt with by Karthikeya Sarma, "The names 'Sātavāhana', 'Satakarni', and the significance of the 'śrīvatsa' symbol on the Sātavāhana coinage", paper submitted to the 59th Annual Session of the Numismatic Society of India (Nagpur, 1970); see also his "Regional distribution, sequence, chronology and historical significance of the Sātavāhana coinage", in A.M. Shastri (ed.), *Coinage of the Satavahanas and Coins from Excavations* (Nagpur, 1972), p. 78.

³⁵ *Historical Sites in Burma* (Rangoon, 1973), pp. 64 ff.

³⁶ Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 376 and pl. XIX, figs. 1, 2 and 3; Sivaramamurti, *Aspects of Indian Culture* (New Delhi, 1969), pp. 51-2, fig. 42.

³⁷ *ADM*, t. III, pp. 130 ff.

³⁸ The nine dots on the Pyu coins may be connected with the nine-stone ornament of later Burmese art (see J. Lowry, *Burmese Art* [London, 1974], pls. 30, 32 and accompanying text). Lowry notes that "in Burma, the seven planets are increased to nine with the addition of Rahu and Keik ... In a deified form, all nine play their part in the ceremony of the Nine Gods, in which eight are placed around Keik at the cardinal and intermediate points of the compass ..."

³⁹ "Notes on old Siamese coins", *JSS*, vol. XXXVII, pt. 1 (1948), pp. 1-25 and pl. VII.

⁴⁰ Phayre, *Coins of Arakan* ... , p. 33 and pl. IV, 6, 7.

⁴¹ Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 384. Malleret (*ADM*, t. III, p. 132) disagreed with this interpretation, although identical forms of the elephant god are common in the Oc-Ēo assemblage, on cameos, and, significantly, on gaming dice which also bear other auspicious symbols: the vase, pair of fishes, conch, sun, swastika and śrīvatsa. Cf. his pl. LXXIII (no. 1308) and pl. X in t. III.

⁴² The Beikthano coin was found within the rubble filling of *stupa* KKG 3. Stylistically, it shows a development from the Halin type, and was found together with a coin of the Śrīkṣetra type. The last phase of occupation at Beikthano and the first at Śrīkṣetra, was during the fifth century. See U Aung Thaw, *Report on the Excavations at Beikthano* (Rangoon, 1969), p. 54 and figs. 84, 3.

Devacandra (c. 454-476 A.D.). Here, the upper corners are rounded and there is a protuberance at the apex (no. 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 side (no. 7), a symbol variously described as a Śiva *liṅga* or a representation of the Bawbawgyi stupa⁴³. 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 (nos. 16, 21-23).

The transition to the tripartite form of *śrīvatsa* can also be seen in India at this period. A variant of the protruding triangle type is found on terracotta sealings from Basarh, in strata datable between the fourth and sixth centuries⁴⁴. The tripartite form is also used on sealings found in the same context, and on the chest of Viṣṇu images in the Gupta idiom of the fifth century⁴⁵. An almost identical form of the developed Arakan tripartite *śrīvatsa* is found on a rare coin type from south India⁴⁶. Here, the symbol has the outer members curved outwards and up, where 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 (no. 24). Significantly, the obverse has a humped bull, as do all the Arakan coins from Devacandra onwards⁴⁷. In most Indian coins of this period and later, however, the anthropomorphic form of Śrī was used in preference to the symbol reflecting the form of Hindu revivalism at this time.

Bladgen suggested that '*śrīvatsa*' is a corruption of '*śrī-vajra*'⁴⁸, which seems feasible in the light of the Mon '*śrī & vajra*' coins. The *vajra* is well known as a symbol of royal power. The word '*śrīvatsa*' appears to have been current by the Gupta period when it appears in the *Viṣṇudharmamottaram*. It is likely that the early shield form of the symbol simply denoted Śrī. As the king came to be seen as the abode of Śrī, the *śrīvatsa* was principally associated with royalty, and was used to indicate both the divine nature of kings and the royal nature of gods. The concept of the 'abode of Śrī' survives in the modern Burmese name for the symbol, *?im mwan*: 'auspicious house'.

It should be noted that, after the earliest coins, a water symbol appears under the *śrīvatsa* in various forms. On the Halin coins, this is usually two curved lines, developing into three or four wavy lines on the Śrīkṣetra examples. The large coin from U Thong has a fish, while

⁴³ Cf. the drawing of a small coin found at Beikthano in *JA* LVII, pl. IIIa, the moulded terracotta disc from Śrīkṣetra, *ASI*, 1910-11, pp. 90 ff. and pl. XVIII, 9, 10, and coins found in Bawbawgyi reliquaries, *Arch. Negs.* 904/5 (1910-11), 987/8 (1911-12). A single specimen is also known from Halin, acquired by the Burma Historical Commission from a villager of Tagantha, north of the old city.

⁴⁴ Cf. *ASI*, 1903-4, p. 110; J.N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 190 and pl. II, 2; B.P. Sinha and Sita Ram Roy, *Vaisali Excavations 1958-62* (Patna, 1969), pl. XXXI, 47 and p. 126, from the upper layers of the Period IV strata, c. A.D. 400-600.

⁴⁵ Sivaramamurti, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁶ First published by S. Ramayya in his paper "The puzzle of Pallava coins", *JNSI* vol. XXIX, pt. 1, p. 30 and pl. I, 1: "Round, copper probably with some tin mixture".

⁴⁷ Ramayya, on the basis of an almost totally illegible inscription attributed the coin to "the Pallava feudatories at Kanchi, probably about the time of Yajña Satakarni towards the close of the second century A.D.". That the coin belongs to an early Pallava series is certain, but in view of the use of the bull, the Pallava emblem, and the nature of the symbol on the reverse, it should perhaps be attributed the Prakrit Pallava of the fourth or fifth centuries.

⁴⁸ Letter to Luce, dated 12 December 1920.

the early Arakan coins have a number of vertical lines suggesting a (lotus) stem. This idea is carried further with the foliage sprouting from the top and sides of the *śrīvatsa* 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.

Saṅkha

Figure 2. The conch shell, *saṅkha*, belongs to the ancient groups of water symbols found among the *aṣṭanidhi* of Śrī Lakṣmī, and later incorporated into the iconography of Kubera, god of wealth, and of Viṣṇu. Common on the seals found at Basarh, Nalanda and Pharapur of the Gupta period and later, it is usually identified as the *Pañcajanya saṅkha* of Viṣṇu. This is by no means justified where evidence of a Vaiṣṇavite context is lacking. On coins, the appearance of the *saṅkha* 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 Kadamba *Kamalamudras*⁴⁹, and later on the reverse of some bull coins usually ascribed to the early Pallavas⁵⁰. 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, usually, *śrīvatsa* on the reverse, are mainly found at Mon sites in Thailand and southern Burma, although a few have been discovered at Oc-Ēo, Halin, Śrīkṣetra and in Arakan. The first of these may be Boisselier's '*medaille d'argent à la conque*' found at U Thong⁵¹. 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. The obverse motif of the newly discovered Dvāravatī coins appears to have been derived from this type. Also directly connected are the coins found at Nakhon Pathom and Prachin Buri, illustrated by Guehler⁵². Here the conch is more perfectly formed, and is not squashed within the circle as the U Thong motif is. The central opening does not have the ornate curve of the earlier coin, but otherwise the depiction is quite similar.

⁴⁹ Elliot, *Coins of South India*, International Numismata Orientalia Series, pl. I, 8.

⁵⁰ Abul Wahid Khan attempted to allocate these coins to the Viṣṇukūṇḍins of the first half of the sixth century, on the basis of a few letters which are not apparent on his photographs; see Andhra Pradesh Arch. Series No. 14, pl. XXVI, and pp. 55-7.

⁵¹ *Arts Asiatique*, t. XII (1968), fig. 26.

⁵² *JSS*, vol. XXXVII, pt. 2 (1949), pp. 124 ff, and pl. I, figs. 3, 4, 5. Another unpublished series of slightly concave coins, said to come from Thailand and now at Spinks of London, also have a "squashed conch" on the obverse and the identical "Śrī & vaira" motif on the reverse. I am grateful to Mr. Joe Cribb of the British Museum for showing me photographs of these.

Following the westward drift of Mon culture towards Lower Burma, a coin type very close to the Nakhon Pathom style is found, principally around Pegu⁵³. Although the Pegu *śrīvatsa* differs from the Nakhon Pathom types (the *aṅkuśa* replacing the *vajra*), the conch is almost identical. On some specimens two loops issue from the top of the shell, the curved aperture reaches the upper bands and has teeth-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 ninth or tenth centuries may be appropriate⁵⁴. He was apparently not aware of the Nakhon Pathom coins, which may have influenced the coin types found at Halin, Śrīkṣetra and Arakan. 'Pegu' coins have also been found at Oc-Ēo, and among a hoard of late bull and *śrīvatsa* coins probably from Bangladesh⁵⁵. None have been noticed at Pyu sites. Two coins from Halin described by U Mya are possibly earlier than the Mon conch currency⁵⁶. The reverse has a twelve-spoked wheel within a beaded surround, similar to the sun motif common 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 (?) *cāmara* or *daṇḍa*⁵⁷.

The other Pyu conch type was found among coins in the Khinbagon relic chamber at Śrīkṣetra, along with images and inscribed plates datable to the sixth or seventh centuries⁵⁸. 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 sankh shell of Viṣṇu, with what is apparently meant to represent a hermit crab at the open part; an appropriate Buddhistic symbol"⁵⁹. A similar motif is found at Oc-Ēo in various contexts⁶⁰. Although Coomaraswamy regarded the conch on lotus to symbolize the *sutra* borne by the *padma*, "the universal ground of existence and birthplace of Life in the Worlds", on the southeast Asian coins, at least, it would appear to denote the wealth and fertility guaranteed by the issuing king⁶¹.

Throne

The significance of the *bhadrapiṭha* 'throne' symbol is immediately obvious to any Burmese. Western readers will be more familiar with Jeannine Auboyer's work, *Le trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne* (Paris, 1949). Here the author has admirably pointed out the microcosmic symbolism of the throne, and its analogy with Mount Meru and the

⁵³ Phyre, *op.cit.*, pp. 30-33.

⁵⁴ Phayre, "On the history of Pegu", *JASB* vol. XLII (1873), p. 23.

⁵⁵ R.D. Banerji, "Unrecorded kings of Arakan", *JASB* N.S. XVI (1920), pp. 85 ff.

⁵⁶ *ASI*, 1930-34, pt. 2, pp. 334-5, pl. CLIV d. *Arch. Negs.*, 3701-2 (1933-34).

⁵⁷ U Mya recorded, in this connection, that a legendary history of Mogaung in the Myitkyina District mentioned a seal once in the possession of the Shan *Sawbwas* ruling in that area. The seal is said to have borne the following words on it: "Seven ranges of mountains, seven seas, the sun, the moon and the stars". It was said to have possessed magical powers and was strictly guarded. As long as it remained in possession of the reigning *Sawbwa* the country was immune from foreign attacks. We are reminded of the representation of the same cosmology, on Buddhapāda from Pagán and later Buddhist sites in southeast Asia.

⁵⁸ *Arch. Negs.*, 2872-2873 (1926-27); *ASI*, 1926-27, p. 179 and pl. XLII f; cf. *ASB*, 1949-15, p. 26.

⁵⁹ *On the Coins of Arakan...*, p. 33.

⁶⁰ E.g., *ADM*, t. III, pl. LXXXVIII.

⁶¹ *Elements of Buddhist Iconography* (New Delhi, 1972), pp. 77-8.

world pillar, separating the heavens from the underworld. As the symbolism of royalty was adapted for the Buddha, we find a form similar to that on the coin type found on early Buddhapādas, notably from Amaravati⁶².

The rising sun

The rising sun motif is common to the majority of the Pyu coins, and is often found in Thailand, notably at U Thong. The Burmese, Arakanese and Thai chronicles, following Sri Lankan precedent, trace their royal lines from the solar dynasty. The 'Glass Palace Chronicle' refers to the title 'Lord of the Rising Sun' used by Pyu and Burmese kings. The names of some kings of Angkor, notably Sūryavarman and Udayādityavarman, may have some connection with the concept behind the coin motif; Coedès long ago proposed that the Devarāja cult had derived from an ancient Chinese sun-god cult⁶³.

Bull

The couchant bull on the obverse of all the Arakanese and Harikela coins after Devacandra has usually been described as a Śaivite symbol. 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. The bull is among the most common *lanchana* noticed on royal seals in north and south India, and was used by Śaivite, Vaiṣṇavite and Buddhist kings⁶⁴, often together with other auspicious emblems of royalty: the conch, *cāmara*, sun and moon symbols, *chattra* and *aṅkuṣa*. The bull motif was often used at Oc-Ēo, notably on terracotta sealings and finger rings. In Arakan, a couchant bull within a lotus is depicted on the seal of the sixth-century Candra 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 type found at Konkan⁶⁵. A standing, humped bull, generally facing left, was depicted on the inscribed lead and potin coins of Andhra feudatories of the Sātavāhanas during the second century A.D.⁶⁶ 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 Kanchi from strata directly above the Sātavāhana phase⁶⁷. The lead coins were succeeded by the early Pallava

⁶² E.g. D. Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum* (London, 1954), pl. XLVII.

⁶³ In "Le Culte de la royauté divinisée", *Serie Orientale Roma Conferenze* (vol. V), pp. 18 ff.

⁶⁴ E.g. The bull is depicted on the seal of the Gunaighar copper-plate of Vainyagupta (*IHQ*, VI, p. 46); and on the Rohtasgarh seal matrix of Śaśāṅka (*CII*, III, pp. 283-4), and was used by Harṣavardhana (Bana, *Harṣacarita*, tr. Cowell and Thomas, p. 198, *EI*, XXI, p. 75, *CII*, p. 231). It was particularly favoured by the ruling families of Orissa and Andhra, e.g. the Sailodbhavas (*EI*, VI, p. 143, *OHRJ*, II, p. 6, *EI*, XXXIX, p. 3388, XXI, p. 34, XIX, p. 265), the Bhaumakaras (*EI*, XV, p. 1, XXVIII, p. 211, *JBORS*, XIV, pp. 69, 293, *JAHRS*, IV, p. 189) and the Gaṅgas of Kalinga (*EI*, XXIII, p. 62, XVII, p. 307, XIV, p. 360, XXV, p. 194). The *vr̥ṣabhalañchana* was regarded as the insignia *par excellence* of Pallava sovereignty in an inscription in the Vaikunthaperumal temple mentioned by G.H. Khare, in *Sources of Medieval History of the Deccan* (in Marathi), I, p. 21, cited in Prakash, *Coinage of South India* (Varanasi, 1968), p. 38, and was often used on the seals of copper-plate grants, e.g. *EI*, VI, p. 84, VIII, p. 159, III, p. 142, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, pp. 144 ff., II, pp. 346, 507 ff., 517.

⁶⁵ Allen, *Cat. Ind. Coins in the British Museum*, pp. xviii, 9 and pl. I, 20.

⁶⁶ R.E.M. Wheeler, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-92, pl. CXXVIII 10-18. These were found together with coins having the southeast Asian *śrīvatsa* prototype.

⁶⁷ *IA - A Review*, 1962-3, p. 12 and pl. XXXIX B.

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 Mamallapuram, a famous Pallava port, and from Nellore to Pondicherry on the coast⁶⁸. The double-masted ship, a device borrowed from the Sātavāhanas, 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 models⁶⁹. The tripartite *śrīvatsa* coin from south India described above has a bull on the reverse and possibly belongs to this group. A connected series can be found in the Gurzala 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'⁷⁰. The symbol could, however, be seen as a development of the '*triśūla*' type of *śrīvatsa*. The Gurzala coins were attributed to the early Viṣṇukūṇḍin kings of the fifth/sixth centuries by Subramaniam, whereas most other scholars assign them to the fourth/fifth-century Pallavas⁷¹. In either case, it is clear that these coins, or their immediate prototypes, were the models for the Candra bull/*śrīvatsa* coins of Arakan.

It is clear that most of the motifs on southeast Asian coins were introduced from south India, notably the east coast, between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D. It may be that the initial impetus for contact was the Indian search for precious metals after the first century. A result of this was the introduction of coinage where quality and weight were guaranteed by the royal seal in possible imitation of Roman prototypes. However, apart from a few coins of Dharmmavijaya of Arakan (flourishing between 665-701) found in Bangladesh⁷², no southeast Asian coins have yet been recorded in India. The diffusion of the motifs throughout the area is clear, but until further statistical data regarding provenance and weights are collected, it is impossible to come to more precise conclusions than those tentatively proposed here. Only then can we establish the extent of economic and political influence of the early urban centres.

Although most of the coin motifs were borrowed from India, they are arranged in a peculiarly southeast Asian manner. The juxtaposition of the *śrīvatsa* motif with celestial symbols above and water symbols below is never found in India, but illustrates the concept

⁶⁸ W. Elliot, *op. cit.*, pl. 1.

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 38-9.

⁷⁰ Cf. Vidya Prakash, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-2.

⁷¹ Andhra Pradesh Arch. Series No. 8, p. 45, cf. Vidya Prakash, *loc. cit.*

⁷² Harunur Rashid, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

of divine kingship as it must have existed by the fifth century. In earlier society, the chief was concerned with assuring social stability and reproduction and soil fertility through the propitiation of the tribe's common ancestor, who could mediate with the territorial and celestial spirits⁷³. The advent of urbanization precipitated the need to guarantee the support of a wider population, no doubt of diverse origin, and the answer was found in the magic power attained through Indian kingship and religion. Perhaps even more than his Indian counterpart, who controlled a more developed and diverse economy, the king had to be seen to regulate the forces of nature in order to assure the fertility and prosperity of the country⁷⁴. Hence, such texts as the fifth-century *Suvarnabhasottamasutra*, which gained popularity in India and China, may well have been used as models for kingship. Notably, in the chapter on 'Instruction concerning divine kings'⁷⁵, we find

The law-abiding king fills the triple world with his fame, and the lords of the gods in the dwellings of the thirty-three will rejoice 'In Jambudvīpa the law-abiding king is thus our son. He establishes people in good action ... asterisms and likewise moon and sun move properly. In due time the winds blow. In due time the god sends rain. The god provides plenty in the realm...

The king, seen as the source of his realm's prosperity, emphasized this function on the reverse of every coin as a constant reminder to his people. His guarantee of the value of the coin was likewise illustrated by the dynastic insignia on the obverse. Having established coinage as a major medium of exchange, he was able to centralize and thereby dominate the economy of the state.

⁷³ Friedman, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-202.

⁷⁴ The old territorial spirits were not forgotten. Do We, in his *Maha Razawin*, recounts that as part of the coronation ritual of the 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 Vasundharā, the Earth Goddess, within the Mahamuni Temple enclosure (*ASB*, 1920-21, pp. 60-61).

⁷⁵ R.E. Emmerick, trans., *The Sutra of Golden Light* (London, 1970), pp. 61-62.

INDEX TO FIGURE 1 APPEARING ON OVERLEAF

Figure 1. Variations on the *śrīvatsa* motif

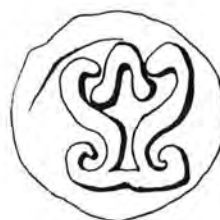
- No. 1. Śrī from Kharavela's inscription at Udayagiri cave, Orissa (*ASB*, 1959-60, p. 39)
- No. 2. Sāñcī (*ASB*, 1959-60)
- Nos. 3, 4. Sātavāhana coins from Āndhra and Karnataka (*Ancient India*, 4 [1948], pl. CXXVIII)
- No. 5. 'Nāga' symbol (J.N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pl. II, 11)
- No. 6. Gupta seal, shield type (*ibid.*, pl. II, 12)
- No. 7. Śrīkṣetra, terracotta mould; reverse: *bhadrāpīṭha* (*ASI*, 1910-11, pl. XVII, 9-10)
- No. 8. Śrīkṣetra, motif on bell (Arch. Neg. 13235 [1966-67])
- No. 9. Pallava, the goddess Śrī in the form of a *śrīvatsa* (Sivaramamurti, *Aspects of Indian Culture*, p. 52)
- No. 10. Beikthano; reverse: rising sun (Aung Thaw, *Excavations at Beikthano*, pl. LVIIIa)
- No. 11. Oc-Ēo No. 950; reverse: rising sun (*ADM*, III, pl. XLV)
- No. 12. U Thong; reverse: rising sun (*Arts Asiatiques*, t. XII [1965], fig. 27)
- No. 13. Vaiśālī, motif on plaque (Gutman, *Ancient Arakan*, pp. 306-7)
- No. 14. Oc-Ēo No. 793, motif on silver pendant (*ADM*, III, pl. VIII)
- No. 15. Beikthano; reverse: rising sun (Aung Thaw, *op. cit.*, fig. 84, 3)
- No. 16. Arakan, uninscribed coin; reverse: conch (Phayre, 'Coins of Arakan', pl. II, 10)
- No. 17. Śrīkṣetra, variant type; reverse: uncertain (Arch. Neg. 2872 [1926-27])
- No. 18. Halin; reverse: *bhadrāpīṭha* (*JBRs*, vol. LIII, pt. 2, pl. XIII)
- No. 19. Śrīkṣetra; reverse: *bhadrāpīṭha* (*ADM*, III, pl. XLVI)
- No. 20. U Thong; reverse: conch (*Arts Asiatiques*, t. XII [1965], fig. 26)
- No. 21. Arakan, uninscribed coin, ? Devacandra; reverse: conch (Phayre, pl. II, 10)
- No. 22. Arakan, uninscribed coin, ? Devecandra; reverse: conch (*ibid.*)
- No. 23. Arakan, Devacandra; reverse: bull (*ibid.*, 11)
- No. 24. Early Pallava ?; reverse: bull (*JNSI*, vol. XXIX, pt. 1, fig. 1)
- No. 25. Pra Pathom; reverse: conch (*JSS*, vol. XXXVII, pt. 2, p. 144, pl. I, 4)
- No. 26. Prachin Buri; reverse: conch (*ibid.*, fig. 3)
- No. 27. Halin; reverse: *bhadrāpīṭha* (*JBRs*, vol. LIII, II pl. XIII)
- No. 28. Pegu; reverse: conch (Johnston, *Some Sanskrit Inscriptions . . .*, pl. V, 2)
- No. 29. Arakan, Dhammacandra; reverse: bull (*ibid.*, 20)
- No. 30. Early Pallava ?; reverse: bull (*JNSI*, vol. XXIX, pt. 1, fig. 1)
- Nos. 31, 32. Pagan, *śrīvatsas* on *Buddhapādas* (*ASB*, 1959-60, p. 39)



1. Orissa



2. Sanci



3. Andhra



4. Sātavāhana



9. Pallava



10. Beikthano



11. Oc Êo



12. Û Thônġ



17. Śrīkṣetra



18. Halin



19. Srīkṣetra



20. Û Thônġ



25. Pra Pathom



26. Prachinburi



27. Halin



28. Pegu



5. "Nāga" symbol



6. Gupta



7. Śrīkṣetra



8. Śrīkṣetra



13. Veśālī



14. Oc Êo



15. Beikthano



16. Arakan



21. Arakan



22. Arakan



23. Arakan



24. Pallava



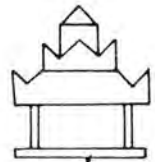
29. Arakan



30. Pallava



31. Pagán



32. Pagán

VARIATIONS ON THE ŚĀṆKHA MOTIF



1. Oc-èo



2. Oc-èo



3. Śrīkṣetra



4. Oc-èo



5. Oc-èo



6. Pegu



7. Pegu



8. Arakan



9. Arakan

Figure 2. Variations on the śāṅkha motif

Nos. 1, 2. Oc-Èo, nos. 948, 949; reverse: śrīvatsa (*ADM*, III, pl. XLIV)

No. 3. Śrīkṣetra, variant type (*Arch. Neg.* 2872 [1926-7])

No. 4. Oc-Èo, no. 809, gold pendant (*ADM*, III, pl. III)

No. 5. Oc-Èo, engraved seal (*ibid.*, pl. LXXXVIII)

Nos. 6, 7. Pegu, BMC (*Johnston*, pl. V, 2, 1)

Nos. 8, 9. Arakan, BMC; reverse: śrīvatsa (*ibid.*, 3, 4)

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

<i>ADM</i>	Malleret, <i>L'Archéologie du Delta du Mekong</i> , Publ. EFEO No. XLIII, 4 vols. (1959-63)
<i>Arch. Neg.</i>	Followed by a serial number of the Photo-Negative as given in U Mya, <i>A List of Archaeological Photo-Negatives of Burma</i> (Delhi, 1935), or in 'The List of Photographs taken by the Archaeological Survey' appended to each yearly report of <i>ASB</i> to 1965
<i>ASB</i>	<i>Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma</i> (from 1901-2 to 1904-5); <i>Report on Archaeological Work in Burma</i> , issued annually until 1926, then incorporated into <i>ASI</i> until 1947; 1947-65, <i>Report of the Director, Archaeological Survey</i>
<i>ASI</i>	<i>Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report</i> ; yearly from 1902-3 to 1936-7
<i>BEFEO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
<i>BMC</i>	British Museum Collection
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> , London
<i>EI</i>	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
<i>IA - A Review</i>	<i>Indian Archaeology, A Review</i> ; Department of Archaeology, New Delhi, yearly from 1953
<i>IMC</i>	Indian Museum Collection
<i>JAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> , London
<i>JASB</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> , Calcutta
<i>JBRs</i>	<i>Journal of the Burma Research Society</i> , Rangoon
<i>JNSI</i>	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</i> , Calcutta
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of the Siam Society</i> , Bangkok
Publ. EFEO	Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient