

## NUMISMATICS, DIALECTOLOGY AND THE PERIODIZATION OF OLD MON

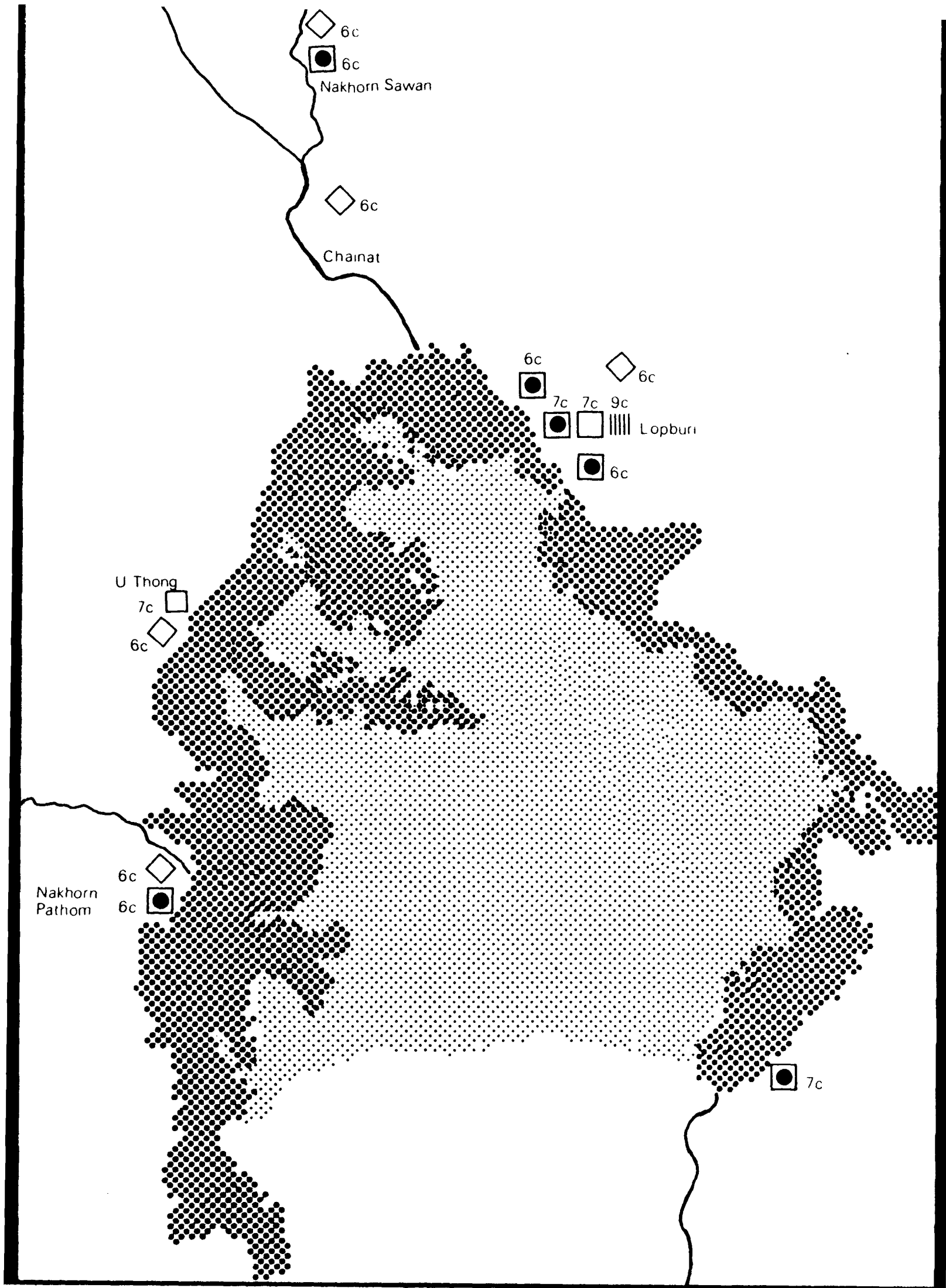
Christian BAUER  
Mahidol University

Mon has conventionally been divided into three main periods, Old Mon, Middle Mon and Modern Mon; this periodization, introduced by Blagden, was maintained by Shorto, although never spelt out explicitly. Shorto himself cautions that the complexity of the development of Mon since the earliest records dating back to the sixth century AD

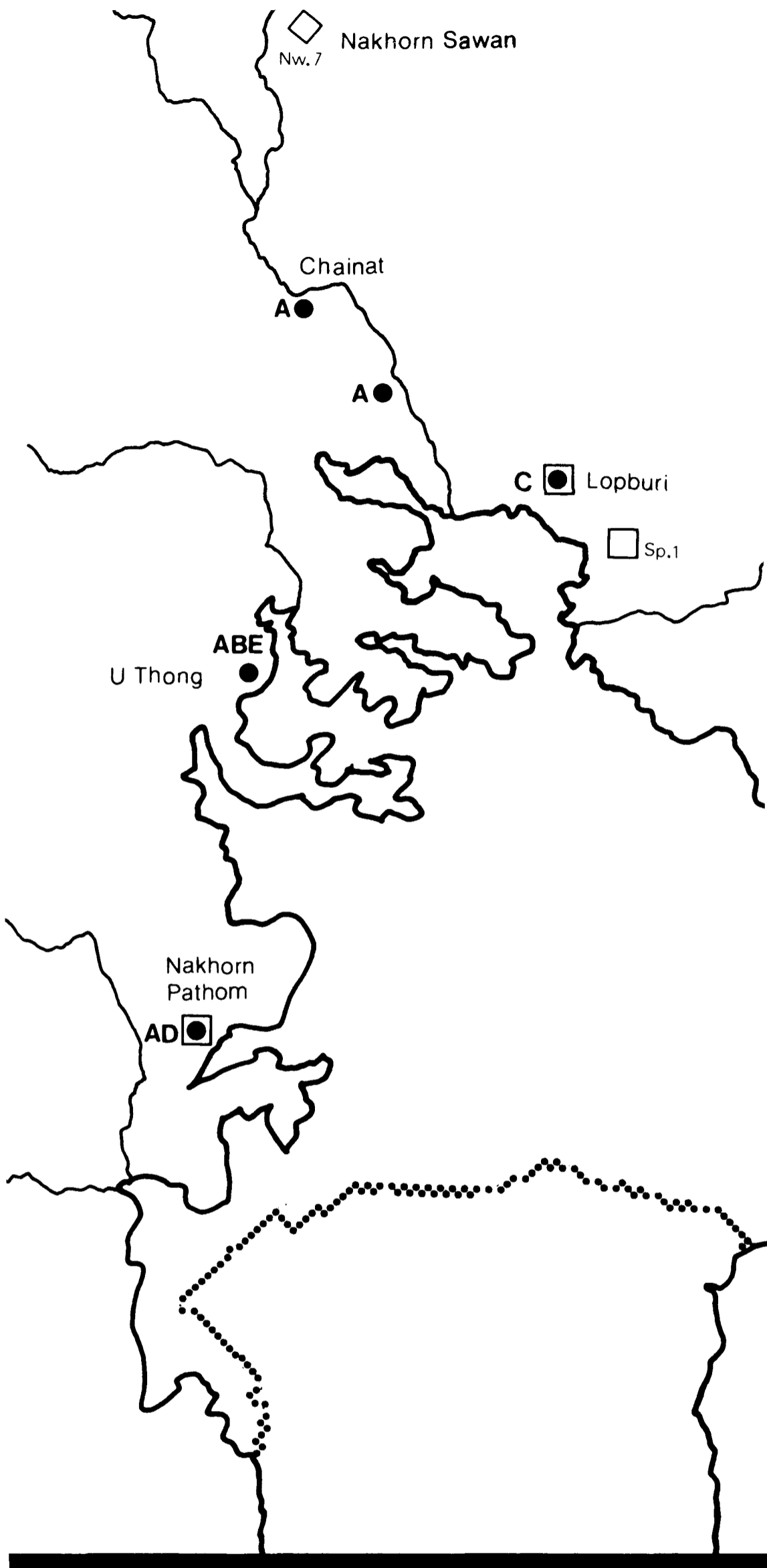
...is a good deal greater than the conventional division of epigraphs into 'Old Mon' and 'Middle Mon' implies. We owe these terms to an accident of history, in that the inscriptions in Burma, which were the first to be studied, include two large groups - on which attention naturally fell - from the turn of the twelfth century and the late fifteenth.  
(Shorto 1971.ix.)

In this brief note I will address the problem of subdividing the Old Mon period, that is, the period prior to 1455 AD; Shorto regards Kyaikmaraw I as the first Middle Mon inscription. Reconsideration is warranted by numismatic evidence hitherto ignored by linguists and the assumption that the three Mon inscriptions found at sites along the former littoral of the Gulf of Siam (Nakhorn Pathom, Lopburi, Saraburi), dating from ca. 550 to 750 AD, can be identified with a polity 'Dvāravatī' (Map 1).<sup>1</sup> Another factor, complicating the periodization of Mon generally, and not discussed here, is the fact that previous divisions are based exclusively on phonological criteria, not taking into account syntax and the lexicon; before the second world war Blagden and Luce planned the publication of a grammar of Old Mon but the project never came to fruition.<sup>2</sup>

The problem is further compounded because of the limited corpus of pre-11th century Mon: We have three inscriptions from three sites, two of which are contemporaneous, amounting to a total of not more than 150 lexical items.<sup>3</sup> The periodization of early forms of Khmer imposes no such limitations. Old Khmer has been divided into Pre-Angkor (sixth century to 802 AD) and Angkor Khmer (802 AD to the fourteenth century); Jenner lists 5892 lexical items for the Pre-Angkor Khmer variety alone.<sup>4</sup>



Map 1: Inscriptions (6c-8c) found at sites along the former littoral of the Chao Phraya Basin  
 (See legend on p. 158.)



Map 2: Sites with numismatic finds (6c-8c)  
 (See legend on p. 158.)

Legend to Maps 1 and 2

## Map 1:

- ◼ Mon inscription
- |||| Khmer inscription
- ◇ Pali inscription
- Sanskrit inscription
- ⋯ sea of 3.5-4m coastal line
- ⊞ sea of 6-8m coastal line

The identification of former coast-lines is taken from Pongsri Vanasin and Thiva Supajanya, Ancient Cities on the Former Coastline in the Central Plain of Thailand. Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University (= Research Report Series, #1), 1980. [in Thai]

## Map 2:

- inscribed coin find (individual or hoard)
- other type of inscription
- ◼ inscribed coin finds and other types of inscription
- ◇ inscribed terracotta stupa
- ABC etc. type of inscription found on coin (see Figure 6)

Figure 1 lists pre-Middle Mon inscriptions according to sites in chronological order. These pre-Middle Mon inscriptions (prior to 1455 AD) come from five different regions in mainland Southeast Asia, the Chao Phraya basin, northeastern Thailand, Lamphun, Thaton and Pagan.

The remarks that follow are divided into six sections:

1. Minor syllable vocalism
2. Allography or raising?
3. A Khmer deictic?
4. Transitions
5. Numismatics
6. Toponyms

### 1. Minor syllable vocalism

Excluding epigraphs from northeastern Thailand, Shorto observes for OM:

In minor syllables we find an alternance i, u, a, with preference for i before /n r/ and for u before /m/. Whatever the earlier state of affairs may have been, there are no grounds for assuming a phonologically significant vowel distinction in this position in Old Mon.  
(1971.xix)

If one takes into account northeastern OM inscriptions, however, a distinct correlation emerges between orthographies found in the northeast as well as in central Thailand, at least as far as Lp.1 and Sp.1 are concerned, that is, east of the Chao Phraya and those found in the west (Thaton, Pagan). This correlation concerns the neutralization of the vowel in minor syllables:

<u>West</u>	<u>Central, Northeast</u>
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i, u ~ a a

These are listed in Figure 2. The status of the Nth.9 fragment is not clear; we have only one disyllabic word in this fragment, dumpoh 'seven' (Nth.9.A.1) which is not attested in Sp.1 and Lp.1, nor in the northeastern epigraphs. Complication arises when one examines 13th c. inscriptions from Lamphun; disyllabic words found in those inscriptions are listed in Figure 3. Taken together with occurrences listed by Blagden, examining other contexts, as shown in Figure 4, they may be included in a single isogloss encompassing the western epigraphs or, alternatively, show an historical development towards the neutralization of vowels in minor syllables (spreading from the east? due to Khmer contact?). Comment: In Figure 2 item 4 is not attested in

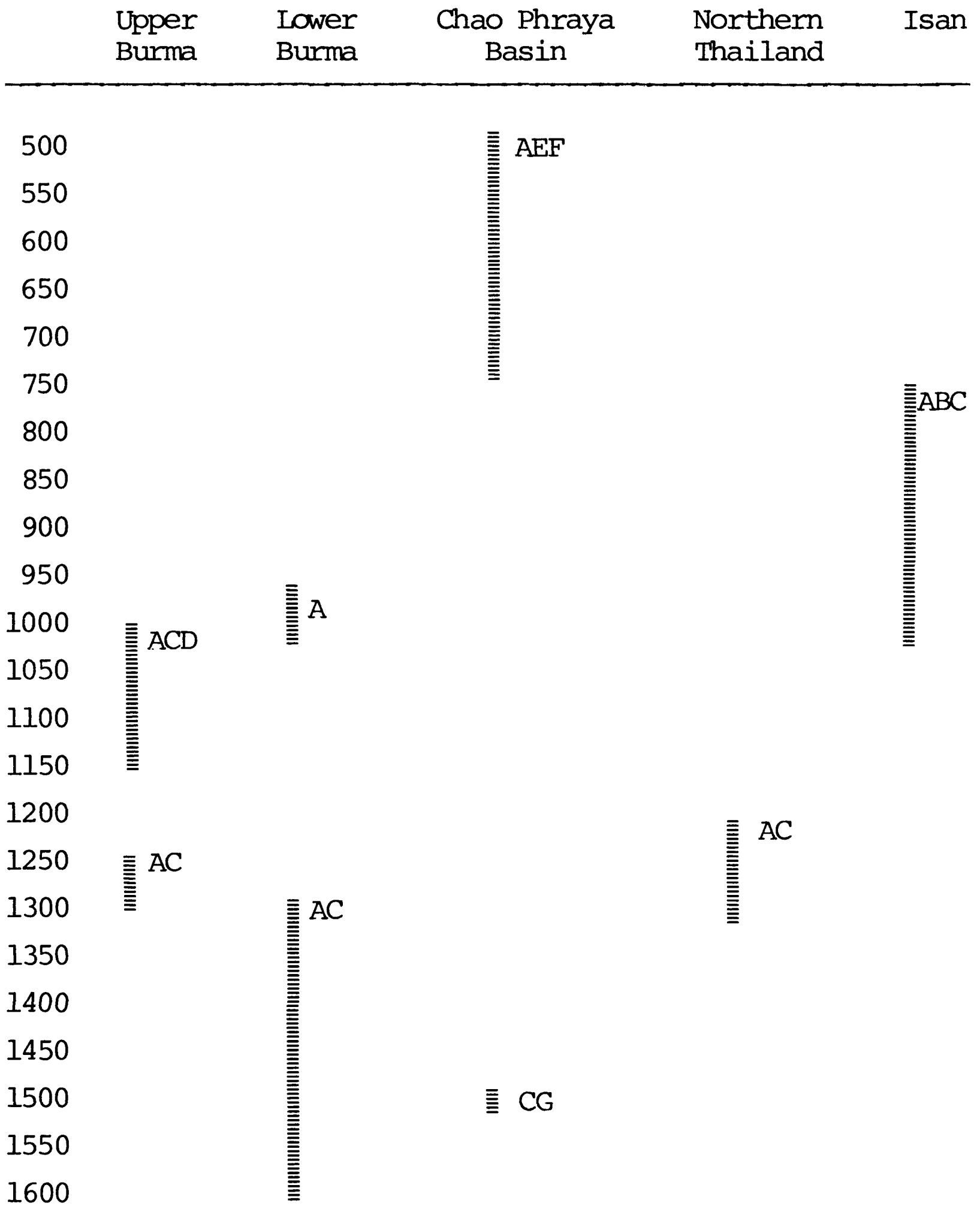


Figure 1: Mon inscriptions in chronological order

- |                   |                  |                 |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| A - slab, pillar  | D - ink glosses  | G - copperplate |
| B - sīmā stone    | E - stupa        |                 |
| C - votive tablet | F - seal, amulet |                 |

West	Central, Northeast		
1. tirla &c.	tarla	Mg.-	8c+
2. girloñ	garaluñ	KhK.16.4, KhK.-	8c+
3. kintāp	kantāp	KhK.-	8c+
4. *kinmun	kanmun	Ks.7	8c+
5. rinleh	ranleh	Sp.1.2	6c
6. kindam̄	kandam̄	Lp.B.3	8c
7. kulo	gulo	KhK.17.7	8c+
8. wipāk	wipāk	KhK.17.6	8c+
9. ---	kur(u)ñ	KhK.17.3	8c+
9a. ---	kurun̄	Jy.10/Jy.11	8c+
10. ðik, ðīk	ðek	Lp.1.A.2-3 &c.	8c
11. kwil, kwīl	kwel	Lp.1.A.5-6	8c
12. tuy, tūy	toy	Sp.1.3	6c
13. ðun, ðūn	ðon	Sp.1.1	6c

Figure 2: Minor syllable vocalism (#1-9a) and e/i o/u variants (#10-13)





Blagden's synoptic table of Mon orthographies, as published in Halliday (1930.86-87); his examples are confined to cases of vowel-neutralization in minor syllables and to r-metathesis.

Pagan  
(11th c. AD)

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tirla, tirla', tarla, tarla'  
cirwek  
pumrey  
cirmat  
kinta, kinta', kanta  
tirḍey  
pirliṭ  
girloṅ, girluṅ  
tirley, tarley  
birbār

Lamphun  
(13th c. AD)

---

trala  
crawek  
pamrey  
cramat  
kanta  
traḍoy  
pralat  
graloṅ  
traley  
brabār

---

Figure 4

## 2. Allography or raising? (e/i, o/u)

Another geographical correlation is to be found in the vowel correspondences e / i, ī and o / u, ū. Examples are shown in Figure 2, items #10, #11, #12, #13. It might be argued that an isogloss is invalid given the fact that e and o in such contexts are not to be found after the 8th c. Examples cannot be adduced from the northeast nor from Nth.9; their evidence would be crucial in resolving the problem of whether we deal here with allography or the raising of vowels. Since his reconstruction of the OM vowel system in 1971 (based on a preliminary reconstruction in 1965) Shorto has recently added two further diphthongs, in addition to his \*/ai/ (in pre-velar contexts, ek, āk): \*/iə/ and \*/uə/. He assumes that e/i and o/u, in these contexts, are allographs.<sup>9</sup> If his internal reconstruction is correct, we witness simply two distinct regional orthographic traditions. There are two arguments in favour of Shorto's assumption: One is the treatment of Mon loans in Thai, such as OM 'cart' kwel, kwīl, kwil epigraphic Thai က္ဗူ /kwiən/ OM \*/kwiəl/.<sup>10</sup> The other is frequent allography found in OM inscriptions, and discussed by Shorto in 1965, cases such as 'to arrive, reach' cap, cip, cup or the relative clause marker man, min, mun. For both words, Shorto reconstructs the vowel \*/ø/; the written inherent vowel a of the latter is interpreted as a weakened vowel in unstressed environments /ə/. Again, the evidence is inconclusive.

## 3. A Khmer deictic?

I have discussed this word elsewhere in 1986.<sup>11</sup> In Mg.2.1 and Mg.3.1 we find a word, initial on a votive tablet (verso) which can be read as nai' or ne', and is no doubt a demonstrative pronoun. It could be connected with the modern Khmer reflex /nih/, corresponding to PA Khmer neh, Middle Khmer neh, although a connection with Middle Khmer naeh is equally likely (especially in view of the fact that, palaeographically, the reading ne' is less tenable). Peculiar is the fact, as I have pointed out in 1986, that it is combined with the Mon noun-clitic 'this' 'wo', wo' (modern LM wwa').<sup>12</sup> In this context, it should be noted that the same form occurs in Nw.7.<sup>13</sup> This implies--if this form is indeed Khmer--early Khmer contact in the Chao Phraya basin, in the 8th c.<sup>14</sup> This would also imply, then, an isogloss encompassing the northeast and the basin at that time because Nw.7 and Mg.1 and Mg.2 are contemporaneous. Nw.7 (which is inscribed with ye dhammā as well) comes from the same site as Lp.26 (inscribed with ye dhammā, without Mon).

#### 4. Transitions

By 1930 Blagden recognized a transitional stage of Old Mon in the inscriptions from Lamphun (Lb.1-7), that is, the shift /-s/ > /-h/; as evidence for this transition from Old Mon to Middle Mon he quoted a form rahssa (W.S.K.H.7) which was spelt, until then, rās (Skt. rastra), and subsequently rah and, not mentioned by Blagden, senās (W.D.A.14), sinās (W.D.Ā.11), sinah (W.S.K.H.3), Pali senāsana 'living quarters at monastery'.

Both Blagden and Shorto comment also on differences in vocabulary; this, however, needs to be evaluated properly: The word for '1,000' in W.M.A.12-13 and W.B.H1.B.13 is kladin, not attested anywhere else in Mon; but on the same face of W.B.H1. (that is, B.1) we find lnim (as in W.K.A.19-B.1) which is attested elsewhere throughout the history of Mon (modern LM lnim, SM /ɲim/). This, however, is not sufficient to establish an isogloss; it may be a geographical zone of transition.

Referring to r-metathesis (which is also prevalent in 15c inscriptions) as well as to neutralization of minor vowels Shorto comments:

...other peculiarities are likely to be graphic only.  
(Shorto 1971.xx.)

This is indeed a problematic proposition; inscriptions at Lamphun are the only attested Mon epigraphs which show the occurrence of both virāma in some cases and the doubling of aksaras in others to indicate a phonologically closed syllable (that is, a final consonant). If this can be attributed to Khmer influence (where this orthographic convention is attested prior to 13c) the r-metathesis may not merely be graphic in which case we do have an isogloss.

Other instances of diachronic transitions have not been noticed before in the literature. One is the voicing of complex initials and morphophonemic variation. Since almost all instances cited in Figure 5 occur in the same inscription but show variation with respect to voicing we must assume a transitional stage. The case in question concerns complex initials in bases, consisting of a voiceless aspirated stop /ch-/ and /th-/.<sup>15</sup> When undergoing infixation the initial of the derivative either remains stable /c-X-h-/, /t-X-h-/ or undergoes voicing /j-X-h-/, /d-X-h-/, as shown in the examples listed in Figure 5. This voicing process of initials preceding medioclusters CəCCVC had already taken place by 6c in some heterorganic sequences, as for instance in 'seven' dumpoh (Nth.9.A.1) whereas sequences of identical initial and

- 
- (1) chāy / cīrhāy, crihāy, carhāy (Skt./P. chāyā) 'to be beautiful' / 'beauty'.  
Ku.213 / I.C.13, XII.M.22, B.B.
- (2) thin kṣah / tirhin kirsah 'to praise' / 'applause'  
I.C.44-46 / I.E.12-13, VIII.A.24

### Voicing

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- (1a) chān / jīrhān, jarhān, jrahān 'to love' / 'loving kindness' I.A.6-7 / I. F.6-8, Hpay., Kk., Smd.
- (2a) thic, thīc, thec / duṁhic 'to be good, fair' / 'right conduct' I.D.19, I.H.20-21 / I.E.29-30
- (3a) thatta / dīrhat, darhat, drahat 'to be strong' / 'strength' W.K.A.2 / I.B.26-28, VIII.B.2, XII.A.17
- 

**Figure 5:** Voiced and voiceless initials in derivatives of the form CəCCVC.

postinitial were only to shift later, not before 14-15c, as for instance in 'perfection' tirtūy > dratuy, 'family, kin group' kirkūl > grakū. Most problematic are bases with imploded initials. In the case of alveolars we find no voicing whereas in the case of bilabials we find only voicing, as in '[locative particle]' dey > tirdey, tradoy, 'two' bar > birbar, brabar, 'to have completed' duk, dik > rīnduk follows a morphophonemic rule applicable to bases with initial glottal stop.<sup>16</sup>

## 5. Numismatics

Numismatic finds are directly relevant to a periodization of Old Mon inasmuch as inscribed coins found in Central Thailand raise questions about toponyms and their identification with sites which have yielded Old Mon epigraphs; they may also help establish diffusion patterns and provide clues for the identification of boundaries of polities.

In Figure 6 all inscribed coins found in Central Thailand (16 pieces in all) are listed; most can be dated palaeographically to ca. 6-7c or 7-8c (#10, #11), one is undeciphered (#9), and one coin shows only traces of an inscription (#16), identified by Wicks as a "ye dhammā"-type. All were found at sites which also yielded other artefacts, conventionally classified as "Dvāravatī".

All inscriptions (with possible exception of #16) are in Sanskrit, written in Pallava script. Six different formulae have been identified.<sup>17</sup>

The history of the numismatic finds and the history of identification with toponyms of particular sites is revealing: Early finds, such as #1 and #2 were discovered in the 1940s, and led Coedès to identify Dvāravatī with the site of Nakhorn Pathom, then excavated by Dupont, as the capital of a polity of the same name.<sup>18</sup> In 1966 two further inscribed silver coins were found at a site in U Thong, one bearing the inscription lawa (obverse) and pura (reverse) [#10], the other having a two-line inscription on the reverse side (lawapura [neither original nor photograph sighted]) and being smaller in size, according to Boisselier (1972 [1966]) [#11].<sup>19</sup> It was then thought that the city referred to as lawapura was part of the polity Dvāravatī since a coin with a type A inscription was also found at U Thong. Ever since this site was linked to Nakhorn Pathom simply on the basis of numismatic evidence. It was only in the 1980s that another six inscribed silver coins were found in Chainat, five of them having type A (dvāravatī) inscription, the sixth being undeciphered (#9). No type A inscribed coin has ever been found at Lopburi sites, no type B inscribed coins (lawapura) have been found at Nakhorn Pathom, Chainat, and Lopburi (Map 2).

Examining the numismatic evidence, including coins which bear no inscriptions, Wicks comes to the following conclusion:<sup>20</sup>

In the region of Chainat only Conch/Temple with Vajra Class C coins have been recovered, while the type does not appear at all in the Lopburi area. This tapering off of Conch/

	Location		Date	Language	Content
	site	now			
1.	NP	BKK M	6-7c	Sanskrit	A
2.	NP	?	6-7c	Sanskrit	A
3.	Inb.	Silp Uni	6-7c	Sanskrit	A
4.	Chai.	pvt.	6-7c	Sanskrit	Aa
5.	Chai.	pvt.	6-7c	Sanskrit	A
6.	Chai.	pvt.	6-7c	Sanskrit	A
7.	Chai.	pvt.	6-7c	Sanskrit	A
8.	Chai.	pvt.	6-7c	Sanskrit	A
9.	Chai.	pvt.	6-7c	undeciphered	
10.	UTh.	pvt.	7-8c	Sanskrit	B
11.	UTh.	pvt.	7-8c	Sanskrit	B
12.	UTh.	pvt.	6-7c	Sanskrit	A
13.	Lpb.	Lpb. M	6-7c	Sanskrit	C
14.	?	?	6-7c	Sanskrit	Aa
15.	NP	?	6-7c	Sanskrit	D
16.	UTh.	?	6-7c	Sanskrit	E

Figure 6: Inscribed silver coins from Central Thailand.

FAD No.	Date found	Citation
Nth.8	1940s	IT.5.95-97; Coedès 1963; 1966.
?	1940s	Coedès 1966.
Lp.20	1979	IT.1.126-128; Lpb.48-50.
---	1980s	Dkh.#6
---	1980s	Dkh.#7
---	1980s	Dkh.#8
---	1980s	Dkh.#9
---	1980s	Dkh.#10
---	1980s	Dkh.#11
---	1966	Boeles 1967.
---	?	Boisselier 1972.
---	?	Boisselier 1972.
Lp.21	1981	IT.1.112-115; Lpb.18-20.
?	?	Wicks 1989, #47
?	?	Wicks 1989, #49
?	?	Wicks 1989, #50

Temple with Vajra coins as one moves eastward suggests that the coinage was identified with the Dvaravati polity, traditionally centered at Nakhon Pathom. Indeed, it could be argued that Lopburi, the ancient Lavapura, was already asserting its political independence during the seventh and eighth centuries, a supposition supported by the appearance of the Lavapura toponym on a rare eighth century coin from U Thong, and by the fact that medals issued by the ruler of Dvaravati have not been reported from the Lopburi area. (Wicks 1989.8.)

## 6. Toponyms

There is some limited evidence in inscriptions that early settlements, perhaps capitals, had two names, a ceremonial and a vernacular. Pagan is a case in point: It is attested in the vernacular as OM pokām, pukām (VI.25, VIII.A.2 &c.; IX.F.15-16 &c.) and its corresponding ceremonial name 'arimaddanapūr (VI.26 &c.); in addition, the term OM tattades (I.F.16), glossed by Shorto in DMI as "... metropolitan area of the Pagan empire", also occurs. This practice is also attested in Middle Mon: Pegu appears in MM as pugo, pago (XII.F.50 &c.) as well as hāmsawatī &c. (XII.J.40 &c.).<sup>21</sup>

In some cases toponyms can be identified for both South Asia and mainland Southeast Asia, such as MM bhīmapūra (XII.K.25) which Shorto (DMI) locates west of Pegu; its vernacular name in MM is unknown.<sup>22</sup>

### (i) 'anurādhapura

This toponym is attested in one of the two earliest Mon inscriptions, Sp.1. (datable to the 6th century AD). Anurādhapura was the capital of Ceylon until the time of Aggabodhi IV (to AD 641). The problem is that the existence of this toponym in Ceylon is contemporaneous with its occurrence in the cave inscription in Saraburi. The context establishes beyond doubt that 'anurādhapura in Sp.1 cannot be identified with the area of that particular site; it is, however, not clear whether the toponym is a local one, located elsewhere in Central Thailand, or to be identified with Ceylon's capital.

### (ii) lawapura

As has been mentioned in section (5.) this toponym is attested on the obverse and the reverse side of two coins which were found, together with other artefacts, referred to as "Dvāravatī style", at a site in U Thong in 1966. Boeles (1967) deduces from the find in U Thong that Lopburi, to the east, "... belonged



to the realm of the King of Dvāravatī" (1967.114). In view of Wicks' recent interpretation this view is untenable.

(iii) śāmbūka

Attested in K 577 (=Lp.5, inscribed on the base of a Buddha image, found at Lopburi), and attested as śāmbūkapattana in K 908, Jacques (1988) assumes this city to be located in the Chao Phraya basin, referring possibly to Lopburi.<sup>23</sup> If this is the case, do we have here again two names for a single polity or city (since both toponyms are attested in contemporaneous epigraphs), a vernacular Sanskritized (lawapura) and a ceremonial toponym (śāmbūka)?

(iv) cānāśa ~ cānaśa

LeBonheur (1972.133-137) gives a résumé of the discussion of this controversial place-name, and dismisses it as a stylistic category.<sup>24</sup> cānāśa &c. has been identified by Coedès as a polity located on the Khorat plateau but this identification, as LeBonheur points out, is extremely doubtful. Attested in K 400 (AD 868) and K 949 (AD 937) Jacques (1988.28-29) assumes that in the first half of the 10th century Khmer was the language of a polity called cānāśa: The first occurrence of this toponym marks the onset, in this area, of Khmer influence. Mon influence is felt in the area of the Khorat plateau by the eighth century, although the languages used are Khmer and Sanskrit: K 388 (= Nm.28/B.11) is likely to have been written by a Mon although the passage in question is written in Khmer. A close reading of K 400 suggests, on the contrary, that cānāśa is a location that cannot be identified with the Khorat plateau.

(v) dvāravatī

This toponym is attested on the reverse side of ten silver coins, recovered from sites at Chainat (5), Inburi (1), Nakhorn Pathom (2), U Thong (1) and a site unknown to me (1). This is a ceremonial toponym the vernacular equivalent of which cannot be identified. The conspicuous absence of evidence from the eastern half of the Chao Phraya basin strongly suggests the exclusion of sites like Lopburi and Saraburi from a polity referred to as dvāravatī.

What emerges from even a cursory examination of toponyms attested in epigraphs (only one of which [i] actually in a fixed location [cave entrance], the others movable) is that we find only names in non-vernacular forms which cannot be identified with any one particular site. Since the locations cannot be identified, they cannot be used as labels for art-historical

styles, dialects or linguistic periods.

### Conclusion

What conclusions can be drawn from the evidence presented above?

Pre-1455 inscriptions in Mon come from five different areas of mainland Southeast Asia, and within some areas, such as Central Thailand and the Isan, we may recognize several sites which may, or may not, be separated by an isogloss.

Criteria for dividing Middle Mon and Old Mon are more easily determined; my classification is based on the following losses, shifts, and reductions:

<b>final consonants:</b>	Loss of final palatals /-c, ɲ-/
<b>medial consonants:</b>	Simplification of medioclusters -CC- > -C- except attributive forms -mC- which have come to be simplified only in modern spoken Mon
<b>initial consonants:</b>	Loss of pre-nasalized stops (1) Initial palatal shift (2) (i) /cəc-/ > /dəc-/ /ɲəɲ-/ > /dəy-/ (ii) /cl-/ > /tl-l/

Within Old Mon itself we can distinguish a further stage attested in the inscriptions from Lamphun and classify them as Late Old Mon (LOM) rather than Early Middle Mon (EMM), a position Shorto has taken in DMI.<sup>25</sup>

If the allography of e/i and o/u is interpreted as a phonological shift (say, raising), then we could distinguish a further stage Early Old Mon (EOM). However, lack of evidence from Nth.9 precludes any such division; it may be that the eastern Chao Phraya basin was separated by an isogloss. It may also be that the eastern half of the basin, together with the Northeast, was more exposed to Khmer influence.<sup>26</sup>

Given the history of voicing of initials preceding medioclusters, we must distinguish at least three different stages within Old Mon itself, and here the periods Early Old Mon (EOM) and Late Old Mon (LOM) are justified, with what Shorto refers to as Classical Old Mon of Kyanzitha being a transitional stage.<sup>27</sup>

## NOTES

1. H.L. Shorto, The linguistic proto-history of mainland South East Asia, in: W. Watson & R.B. Smith, eds., Early South East Asia, London, Oxford University Press, 1979 [proceedings of a conference held at SOAS, London, 1973], pp.273-278: "Mon shows no obvious immediate relationship with any other language except for those of two tribal groups in the hills on the edge of the plateau north and south of Korat, who appear to be remnants of an original Dvāravatī population" (p.277). A summary of the formation of such a hypothesis is provided by Coedès's Les môns de Dvāravatī, in: Essays offered to Gordon Luce, Ascona (= Artibus Asiae, Supplement), 1966, pp.112-116 where further references can be found; the toponym will be further discussed below where additional references are given.

2. Some of Blagden's correspondence with Halliday and Luce, as well as some of the correspondence he received, can be consulted at the library, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

3. This number excludes the inscriptions found in the northeast; these inscriptions from the 8th-9th centuries yield less than 160 lexical items.

4. P.N. Jenner, A chrestomathy of Pre-Angkorian Khmer, Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Center for Asian and Pacific Studies, 1981-82. For a periodization of Old Khmer see also J. M. Jacob, The structure of the word in Old Khmer, BSOAS 23 (1960).351-368.

5. The northern inscriptions discussed here exclude epigraphs from Chiangmai sites, such as Jm.58, Jm.61, Jm.68 which may antedate the ones from Lamphun, and Jm.45, from another site, which is contemporaneous with them. The label "Northeast" in Figure 1 does not show specific sites; these are: Udorn (Kumphawapi), Kalasin (Kamalasai), Mahasarakham (Nadun), Khon Kaen (Chumphae) and Chayaphum (Muang and Phu Kiew).

6. Figure 3 was originally part of another manuscript; it lists only nasal medioclusters found in Lamphun inscriptions; Figure 4 is culled from Blagden, in: R. Halliday, Les inscriptions mon du Siam. BEFEO 30 (1930). 85-105.

7. Failure to be aware of a voicing distinction in this loanword may be due to scribal error; could it be Dravidian, especially Tamil, influence? Hpaya-ywa (of 1486 AD) mentions an Indian serf (dek galā) who cut that inscription while the king dictated the text; Professor Shorto drew my attention to this inscription. Professor Jacques assumes that Indians were part

of the entourage of the Khmer court; he bases his hypothesis on the fact that Sanskrit grammar was not influenced by Khmer in any way, unlike Sanskrit inscriptions from Champa which show traces of naturalization. These traces may be attributed to the fact that the writers were speakers of a vernacular, in this case Cham (C. Jacques in conversation, July 1988, Bangkok).

8. PA titles containing kuruṅ are mratañ kuruṅ vikramapura (K 38.11), and vrah kanmiṅ kuruṅ 'añ (K 423.A.4).

9. Shorto in conversation, May 1987, London. His methodology is outlined in The interpretation of archaic writing systems. Lingua 14 (1965).88-97.

10. A possible counterargument is the loan OM dek ~ dik ~ dīk 'serf, dependent' which is borrowed into Thai; if Mon e/i ~ ī reflected a diphthong this should have been retained in Thai, unless this word was borrowed prior to the diphthongization in Mon. This word is discussed in my Thai etymologies, MS. (1987).

11. See my Mon inscriptions in the Isan and early Khmer-Mon contacts, in: Ancient cities and communities in the Northeast, Thailand, Khon Kaen, 26-29 August 1986 (proceedings of the conference pp.185-193).

12. OM wo' ~ 'wo' may be reconstructed as \*/wuu?/; its LM reflex is wwa'.

13. So far I have not examined this replica of a stupa, in a private collection, and I rely on the FAD report reading as ne' rather than nai'.

14. R.L. Brown whose reference is given below (note 26) argues for an early Khmer influence in central Thailand. See also the discussion in my Notes on Mon epigraphy JSS, in press (where further references are given).

15. Bases of /kh-/ and /ph-/ undergoing infixation are not attested. Ch- initials are analyzed here as complex initials CC-.

16. This rule has been discussed in MKS 15 (1989).155-164. where further references can be found.

17. In Figure 6 the letters A-E refer to the following inscriptions:

A. śrīdvāravatīsvrapunya

Aa. śrīdvāravatīsvradevipunya

B. lawapura

C. labdhavara

D. śrīsucaritarikarna

E. *Wicks (1989.28 #50): "traces of an inscription in outer perimeter of flan."*

18. For a résumé, see Coedès, *Découverte numismatique au Siam intéressant le royaume de Dvāravatī. C.R. de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, juillet-décembre 1963.285-292, and his *Les Mōns de Dvāravatī*, in: Ba Shin et al., eds., *Essays offered to G.H.Luce*, Ascona, *Artibus Asiae*, 1966, Vol.II, 112-116.

19. This is at variance with Wicks, most recently 1989, who refers to one inscribed silver coin. J.J. Boeles (A note on the ancient city of Lavapura, *JSS* 55 (1967.113-114+pl.) refers to a hoard find and implies that only one coin from the hoard is illustrated and commented upon in his article. Boisselier (*Travaux de la mission archéologique française en Thaïlande* (juillet-novembre 1966), *Arts Asiatiques* 25 (1972).27-90) refers to two coins inscribed with lawapura (p.52, and p.52 note 2).

20. For a complete typology see R.S. Wicks, *Ancient coinage from Thailand and Burma: Its geographical distribution and typological development*, in: D.W. MacDowall, ed., *Dr. Gupta Felicitation volume*, 1989, in press. For a bibliographical survey (prior to 1983) see his *A survey of native Southeast Asian coinage circa 450-1850: Documentation and typology*, Ithaca/NY, Cornell University, PhD, 1983, 2 vols., xxviii, 571pp. (Dvāravatī types discussed pp.48-58). It should be noted that H.W. Woodward Jr., *Studies in the art of central Siam 950-1350 AD*, New Haven/CT, Yale University, PhD, 1975, 2 vols., xxix, 179+119+pl. (60pp.) errs in stating that the two coins referred to (here #1, #2, from Nakhorn Pathom, inscription type A) are "gold medals" (p.5); they are silver coins.

21. Forms with voiced initials are also attested after 13c, such as bukām (XI.\$) and bago (MM) respectively.

22. For a detailed discussion of -pura toponyms in pre-Angkor Cambodia see M.T. Vickery, *Locations of certain -pura*, to appear.

23. Cl. Jacques. Les Khmers en Thaïlande: ce que nous disent les inscriptions. La Thaïlande dès debuts de son histoire au 15e siècle, conference held at Silpakorn University, Bangkok, 18-20 July 1988, proceedings pp.23-34.
24. A. LeBonheur. Un bronze d'époque préangkorienne représentant Maitreya. Arts Asiatiques 25 (1972).129-154.
25. Three votive tablets from Chiangmai (Jm.58, Jm.61, Jm.68 = 422/2524), antedating the Lamphun inscriptions, may provide further evidence although I have not examined them yet. They may not be of local origin.
26. R.L. Brown, in his The Dvāravatī Dharmacakras: A study in the transfer of form and meaning, UCLA, PhD, 1981, xx, 434pp., argues for an early onset (6c) of Khmer influence in the Chao Phraya basin, earlier than any other art historian has admitted. Problematic is also Piriya Krairiksh' assumption of a population movement from Northeastern Thailand to Thaton; see his Semas with scenes from the Mahānipātā Jātakas in the National Museum at Khon Kaen. In: Art and Archaeology in Thailand, Bangkok, FAD, 1974.35-65 (+26 plates).
27. I wish to thank R.S. Wicks and M.T. Vickery for sending me copies of their unpublished work.

Bibliographical abbreviations used in this article are:

- DKh. โบราณคดีเมืองดงคอน อำเภอสรรคบุรี จังหวัดชัยนาท. ภูธรนุกะชน. ชัยนาท, 2530 [1987].
- IT. จารึกในประเทศไทย. เล่ม 1. กทม, กรมศิลปากร, 2529 [1986].
- Lpb. จารึกโบราณรุ่นแรกพบที่ลพบุรีและใกล้เคียง. กทม/ลพบุรี, กรมศิลปากร, 2524 [1981].

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