NUMISMATICS, DIALECTOLOGY AND THE PERIODIZATION OF OLD MON

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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).[1] 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.[2]

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.[3] 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.[4]
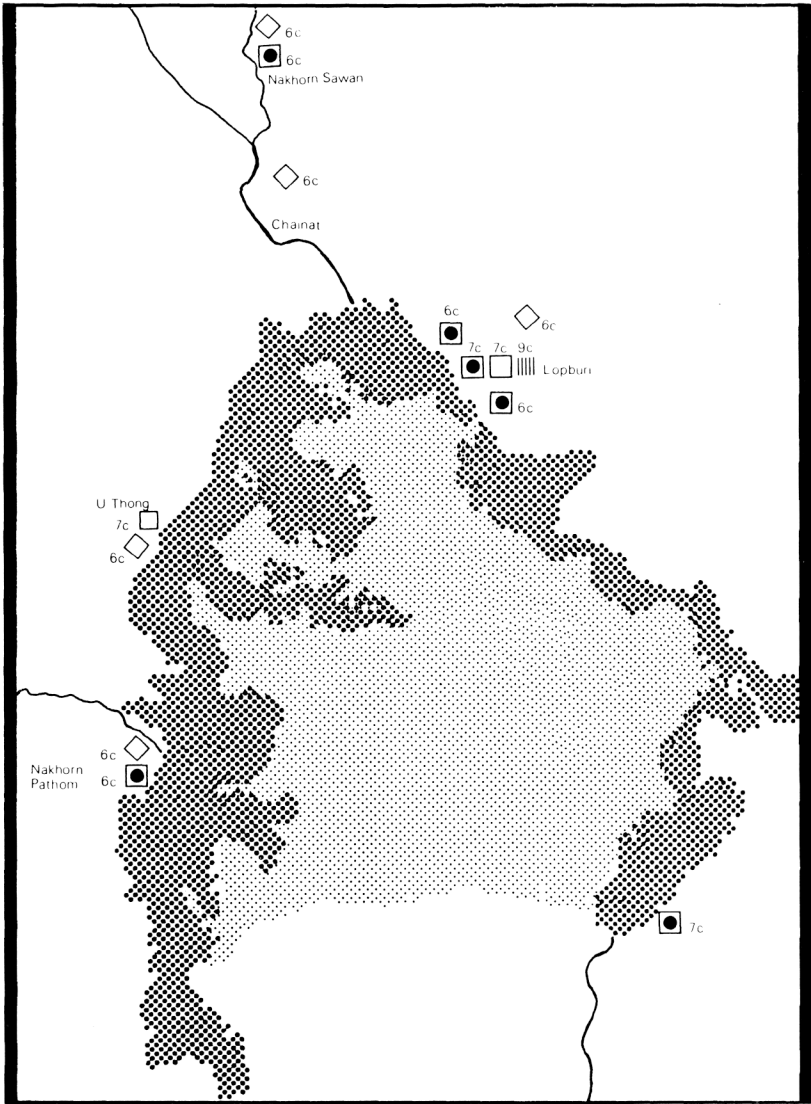
Map 1: Inscriptions (6c-8c) found at sites along the former littoral of the Chao Phraya Basin (See legend on p. 158.)
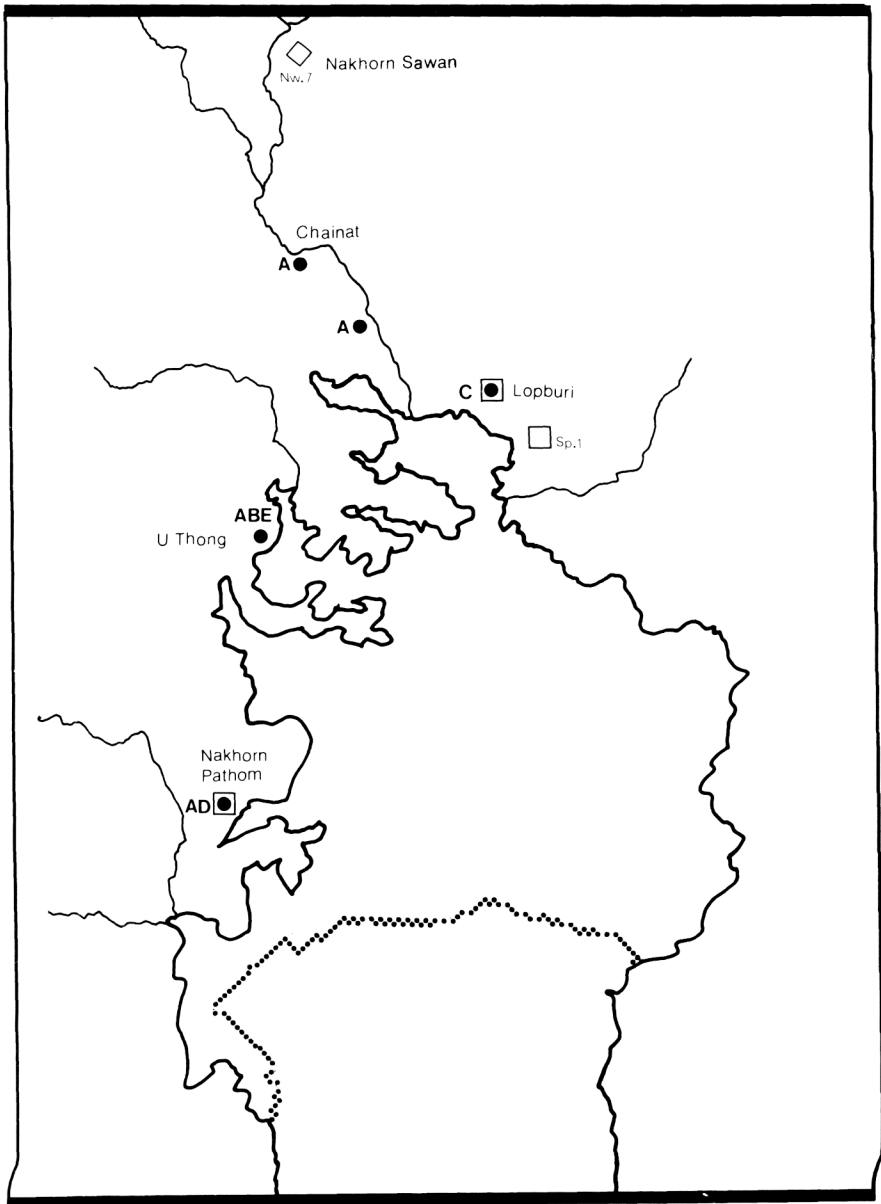
Map 2: Sites with numismatic finds (6c–8c)
        (See legend on p. 158.)

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:

West   Central, Northeast

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
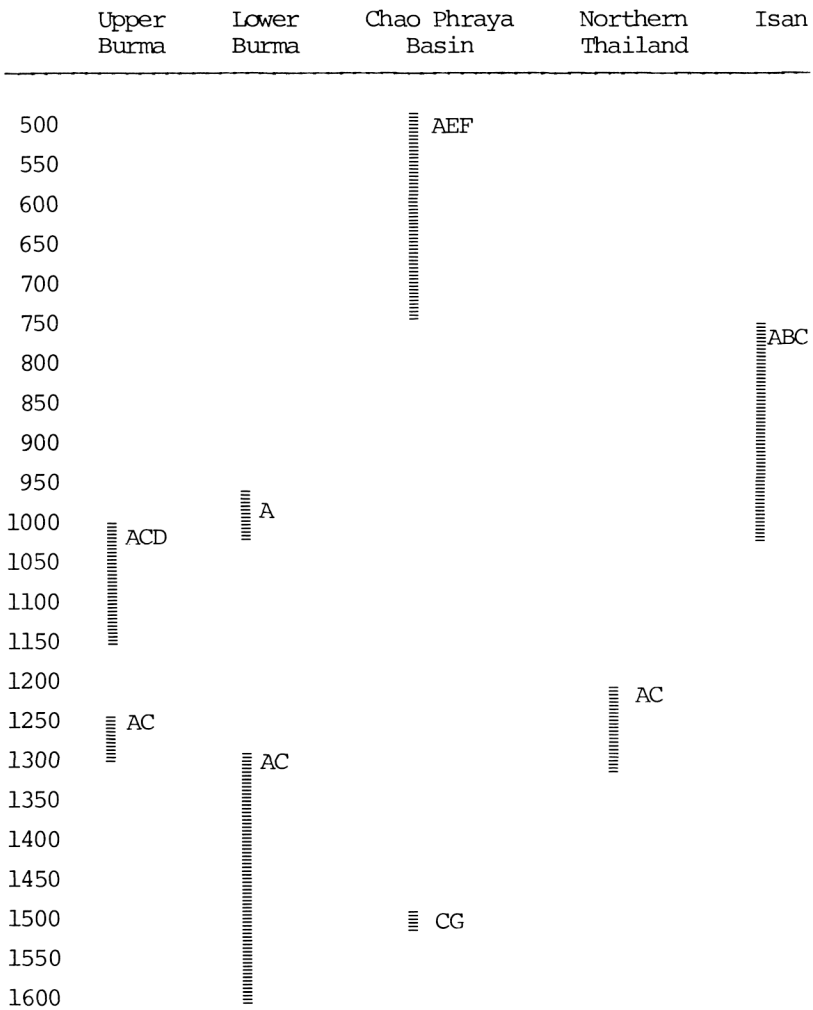
	Upper Burma	Lower Burma	Chao Phraya Basin	Northern Thailand	Isan

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 500                                          ▤ AEF
 550                                          ▮
 600                                          ▮
 650                                          ▮
 700                                          ▮
 750                                          ▮                           ▤ABC
 800                                                                      ▮
 850                                                                      ▮
 900                                                                      ▮
 950                                                                      ▮
1000          ▤ ACD        ▤ A                                            ▮
1050          ▮
1100          ▮
1150          ▮
1200                                                      ▤ AC
1250          ▤ AC                                        ▮
1300          ▮           ▤ AC                            ▮
1350                      ▮
1400                      ▮
1450                      ▮
1500                      ▮            ▤ CG
1550                      ▮
1600                      ▮
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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.	tírla &c.	tarla	Mg.-	8c+
2.	gírloṅ	garaluṅ	KhK.16.4, KhK.-	8c+
3.	kintāp	kantāp	KhK.-	8c+
4.	*kinmun	kanmun	Ks.7	8c+
5.	rinleh	ranleh	Sp.1.2	6c
6.	kindaṁ	kandaṁ	Lp.B.3	8c
7.	kulo	gulo	KhK.17.7	8c+
8.	wipāk	wipāk	KhK.17.6	8c+
9.	---	kur(u)ṅ	KhK.17.3	8c+
9a.	---	kuruṅ	Jy.10/Jy.11	8c+
10.	ḍik, dĪk	ḍek	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.	ḍuṅ, ḍūṅ	ḍoṅ	Sp.1.1	6c

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

Figure 3: Nasal medioclusters attested in Lamphun inscriptions (13th c. AD), excluding IA loans

Wat Don (1219 AD)	Wat Kukut I	Wat Sen Khao Ho	Wat Kukut II	Wat Mahawan	Wat Ban Hlui
paṅrey	paṅrey				
gumloṅ	gumloṅ				
ḍuṁpoh			ḍuṁ(poh)	dumpoh	ḍuṁmpoh
dincām	dincām				
dinlāy					
kindarr					
tinmo'					
	dinkel			di(ṅ)kell	
	dincit			dincit	
	sum # bal, (suṁbal)			suṁbal	
	sumluṅ				
	kanta				
		punjan			
		laṅgur			
				cinmo'	
					can(d)am

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)	Lamphun (13th c. AD)
tirla, tirla', tarla, tarla'	trala
cirwek	crawek
pumrey	pamrey
cirmat	cramat
kinta, kinta', kanta	kanta
tirdey	tradoy
pirlit	pralat
girloñ, girluñ	graloñ
tirley, tarley	traley
birbār	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.[9] 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 เกวียน /kwiən/ OM
*/kwiəl/.[10]   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.[11] 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').[12]   In this
context, it should be noted that the same form occurs in Nw.7.[13]
This implies--if this form is indeed Khmer--early Khmer
contact in the Chao Phraya basin, in the 8th c.[14] 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, senằs (W.D.A.14), sinās (W.D.A.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 lñim (as in W.K.A.19-B.1) which is attested elsewhere throughout the history of Mon (modern LM lñim, SM /ŋim/). 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 in-stances 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-/.[15]   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) <u>chāy</u> / <u>cirhāy</u>, <u>crihāy</u>, <u>carhāy</u>   (Skt./P. chāyā) 'to be beautiful' / 'beauty'. Ku.213 / I.C.13, XII.M. 22, B.B.

(2) <u>thin</u> <u>ksah</u> / <u>tirhin</u> <u>kirsah</u>   'to praise' / 'applause' I.C.44-46 / I.E.12-13, VIII.A.24

Voicing

(1a) <u>chān</u> / <u>jirhān</u>, <u>jarhān</u>, <u>jrahān</u>   'to love' / 'loving kindness' I.A.6-7 / I. F.6-8, Hpay., Kk., Smd.

(2a) <u>thic</u>, <u>thīc</u>, <u>thec</u> / <u>duṁhic</u>   'to be good, fair' / 'right conduct' I.D.19, I.H.20-21 / I.E.29-30

(3a) <u>thatta</u> / <u>dirhat</u>, <u>darhat</u>, <u>drahat</u>   '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' <u>tirtūy</u> > <u>dratuy</u>, 'family, kin group' <u>kirkūl</u> > <u>grakū</u>. 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]' <u>dey</u> > <u>tirdey</u>, <u>tradoy</u>, 'two' <u>bar</u> > <u>birbar</u>, <u>brabar</u>, 'to have completed' <u>duk</u>, <u>dik</u> > <u>rinduk</u> follows a morphophonemic rule applicable to bases with initial glottal stop.[16]

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.[17]

     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.[18] 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].[19] 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
Lopburī (Map 2).

     Examining the numismatic evidence, including coins which
bear no inscriptions, Wicks comes to the following conclusion:[20]

     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
Nṭh.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
haṁsawatī &c. (XII.J.40 &c.).[21]

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

(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.[23] 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.[24] 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:

final consonants:	Loss of final palatals /-c, ɲ-/
medial consonants:	Simplification of medioclusters -CC- > -C- except attributive forms -mC- which have come to be simplified only in modern spoken Mon
initial consonants:	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.[25]

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.[26]

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 Kyanzittha being a transitional stage.[27]

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 <u>kuruṅ</u> are <u>mratāñ kuruṅ vikramapura</u> (K 38.11), and <u>vraḥ kanmiṅ kuruṅ 'añ</u> (K 423.A.4).

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

10.   A possible counterargument is the loan OM <u>ḍek</u> ~ <u>ḍik</u> ~ <u>ḍīk</u> 'serf, dependent' which is borrowed into Thai; if Mon <u>e/i</u> ~ <u>ī</u> 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: <u>Ancient cities and communities in the Northeast, Thailand</u>, Khon Kaen, 26–29 August 1986 (proceedings of the conference pp.185–193).

12.   OM <u>wo'</u> ~ <u>'wo'</u> may be reconstructed as */wuɪʔ/;   its LM reflex is <u>wwa'</u>.

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 <u>ne'</u> rather than <u>nai'</u>.

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 <u>JSS</u>, 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 <u>MKS</u> 15 (1989).155–164. where further references can be found.

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

A. śrīdvāravatīsvarapuṇya

Aa. śrīdvāravatīsvaradevipuṇya

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'Academie des
inscriptions et belles-lettres, juille-décembre 1963.285-292,
and his Les Môns 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 dés 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. ภูธนภูมะธน.
        ชัยนาท, 2530 [1987].

IT.   จารึกในประเทศไทย. เล่ม 1. กทม, กรมศิลปากร, 2529 [1986].

Lpb.   จารึกโบราณรุ่นแรกพบที่ลพบุรีและใกล้เคียง. กทม/ลพบุรี, กรมศิลปากร,
        2524 [1981].

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