

# 8th c. Mon inscribed terracotta stupas from Nakhon Sawan

their Khmer affinities and further forays into  
medieval dialectology

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## I. Introduction

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SEALS 22  
Agay, France  
30 May - 2 June, 2012

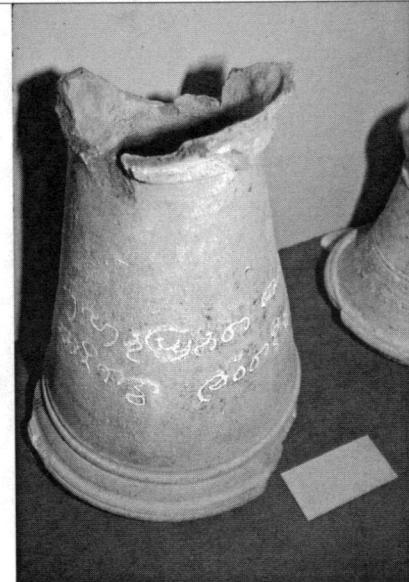
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National Museum  
Bangkok  
room 303  
cupboards 19 and 27

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h: 35 cm  
Nakhon Pathom  
ca. 8th c. AD

[ photo 1983 ]



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»ye dhammā« formula in Pali verse

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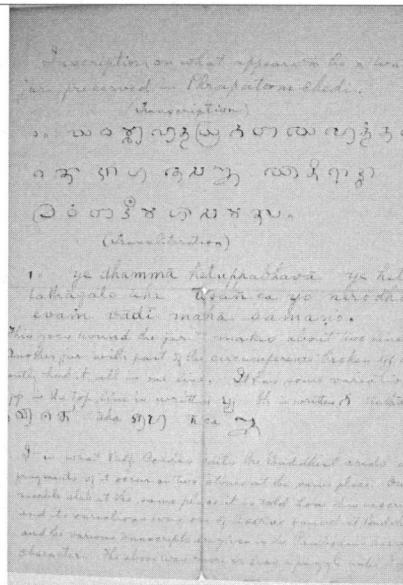
ye dhammā hetuppabhvā	Of things that proceed from a cause
yesam hetum tathāgato āha	their cause the Tathagatha has told
yesamca yo nirodho	and also their cessation
evam vādī mahā samāno	Thus teaches the great ascetic

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Robert  
Halliday

- 1912-1922 in Nakhorn Pathom
  - note to Blagden



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## Bangkok Museum stupas

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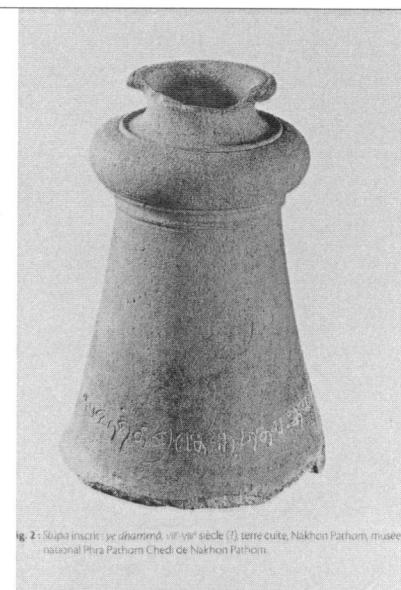
- known from excavations
    - 23.1.1923 and 24.10.1961 (museum inventory)
  - provenance:
    - Nakhon Pathom and Nakhon Sawan
  - first transcriptions of Pali inscribed stupas:
    - Halliday, undated letter to Blagden (1920s [?])

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stupa  
Pali

© catalogue Guimet  
2009

National Museum,  
Nakhon Pathom



**fig. 2 : Stupa inscrit : ye dhammā, VII-VIII siècle (?) terre cuite, Nakhon Pathom, musée national Phra Pathommachedi de Nakhon Pathom.**

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## Lopburi Museum

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- 2x inscribed terracotta stupas
- Thap Chumphol, Nakhon Sawan
- excavated March 1981

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## other collections

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- Nakhon Pathom, Museum
- Wat Nong Kradon, A. Muang, Nakhon Sawan

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## terracotta stupas, types

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- plain (no writing)
- Pali only (ye dhammā)
- Mon and Pali (ye dhammā)

11

## sub-types

12

- lid
  - with, without
- → Nitaya Kanokmongkol, Silpakorn Univ., MA, 2004  
(art history)
- → Adrian Snodgrass, 1985

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## usage

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- symbolic
- reliquary

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## inscribed terracotta stupas

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- Nakhon Pathom (2x Pali only)
- Lopburi/Singhburi (2x Pali only)
- Pattani (1x Pali only, miniature stupa)
- Nakhon Sawan (7x Pali-Mon)
- → unknown elsewhere
- → date: 8th - 9th c.
- → recovered 1923, 1961, 1981-1990s

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## terracotta stupas

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- of local manufacture
- tradition unknown elsewhere in Thailand
  - exc. Yarang (Pattani), different styles, earlier (?)
- from different sites in Nakhon Sawan province
- writing in different hands

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## stupa traditions, distribution

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- northeastern Thailand, Laos
  - »spine« on Sima stones
- southern Thailand
  - on votive tablets, miniature stupas in fragments
- central Thailand
  - terracotta stupas

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text:

17

- line 1: ye dhammā formula
- line 2: donor note:
  - ne' kyāk puñ tarla' x x x x x

17

## II. Mon inscribed stupas

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Mon text

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- ne' kyāk puñ trala' jrap wihār
- variants
  - tarala'

19

text

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- |                                  |            |
|----------------------------------|------------|
| ■ ne' kyāk puñ trala' jrap wihār | —stupa     |
| ■ wo' kyāk puñ trala' jrap wihār | —elsewhere |

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## questions

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- ne' — etymology
  - Khmer ?
    - OKhm. neh ~ nehh, MKhm. neh ~ naeh
    - nai
  - AA ?
- OM — how many dialects ?

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## parallels

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- votive tablets
  - Mg.2, Mg.3
    - nai' wo' kyāk puñ ...
  - stupas
    - Nw.7, etc.
    - ne' kyāk puñ tarla' x x x x x

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## parallels (2)

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- tarala' ~ tarla', trala'      'lord, master'
- garaliñ ~ garliñ, garluñ      'number, numerous'
- Sakol Nakhorn, Sima stone

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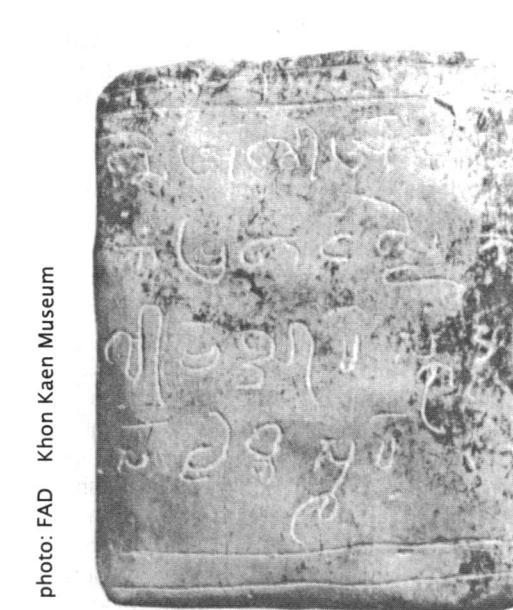


photo: FAD   Khon Kaen Museum

**Mg.2** 24

nai' wo' puñya

kamrateñ pñay ka

rom 'or skum da

s jāti smar

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Mg.3

photo: FAD  
Khon Kaen Museum



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Ila. Samples

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a Khmer calque ?

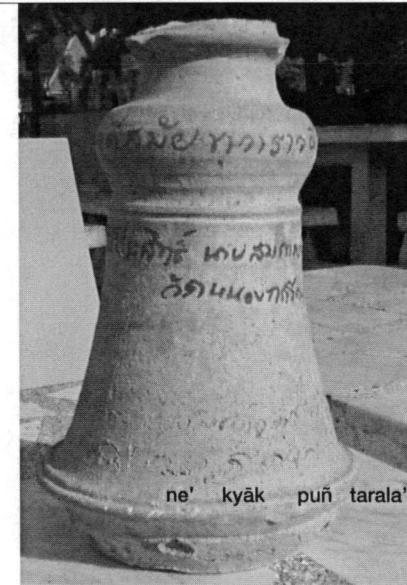
26

<i>nai' wo' puñ</i>	Mahasarakham Mg.2, Mg.3
<i>neh gi puñ</i>	OKhm.
<i>ne' kyāk puñ</i>	Nakhorn Sawan stupas
<i>wo' kyāk piñ</i>	Kalasin moulds Ks.1, Ks.2

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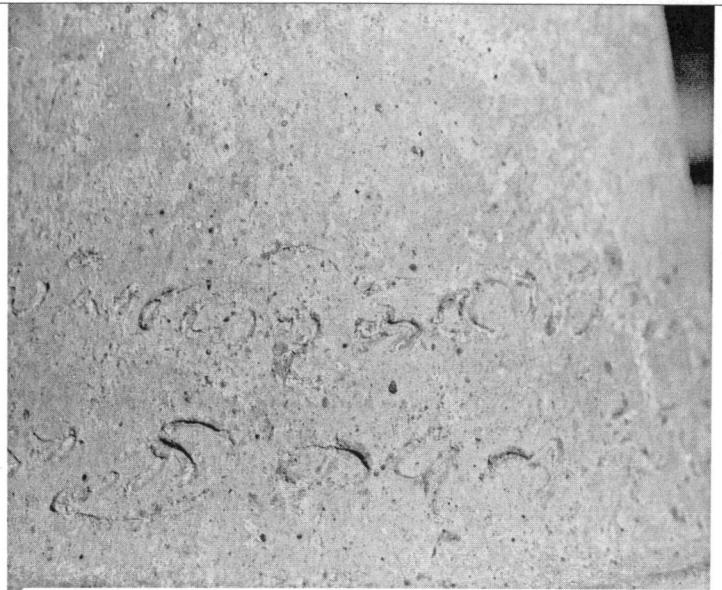
Nakhorn  
Sawan

2001,  
Wat Nong Kradon

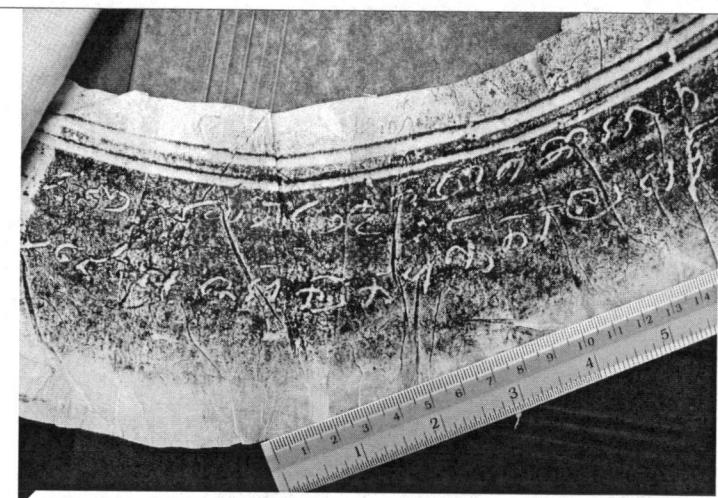


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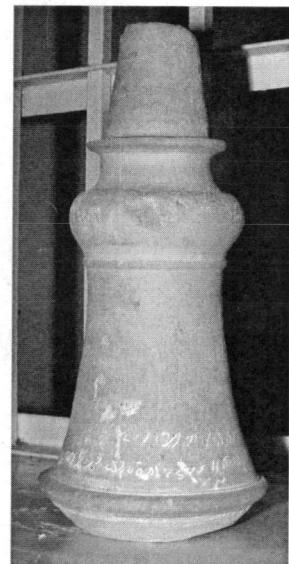


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277/04 - Nong Krot  
Bangkok National Museum

rubbing : FAD

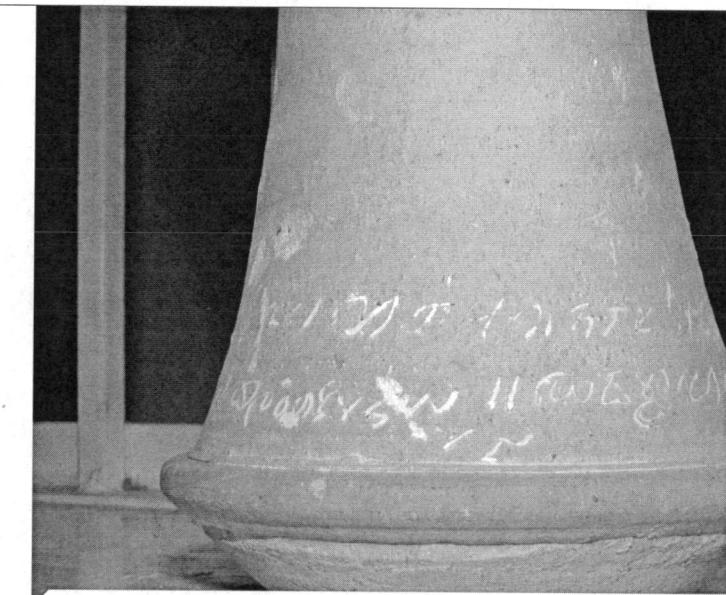
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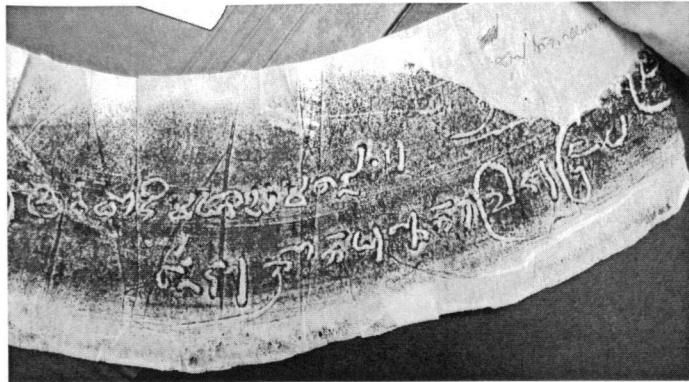
Nw.7

1983,  
Lopburi Museum



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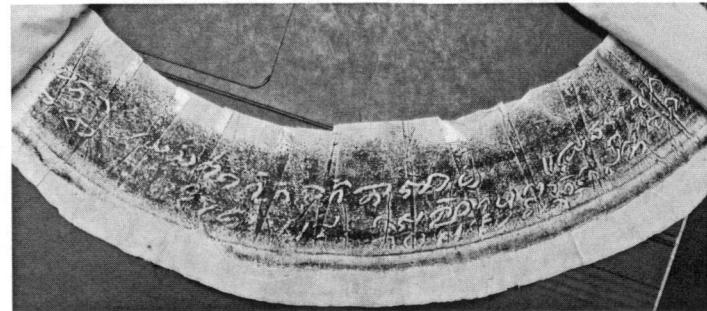
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278/04 - Nong Krot  
Bangkok National Museum  
(lower part, fragment)

rubbing : FAD

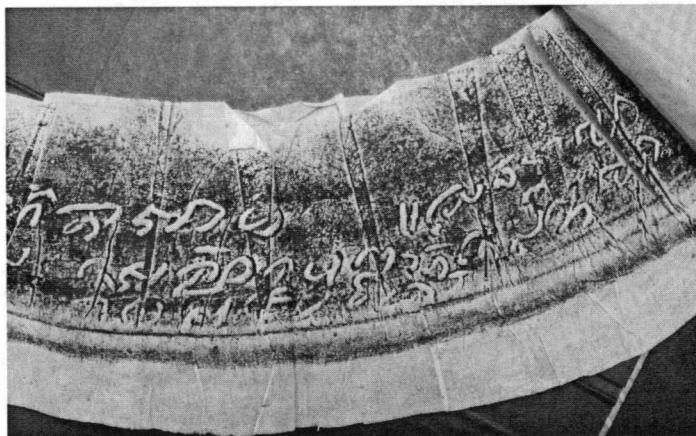


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286/04

rubbing : FAD

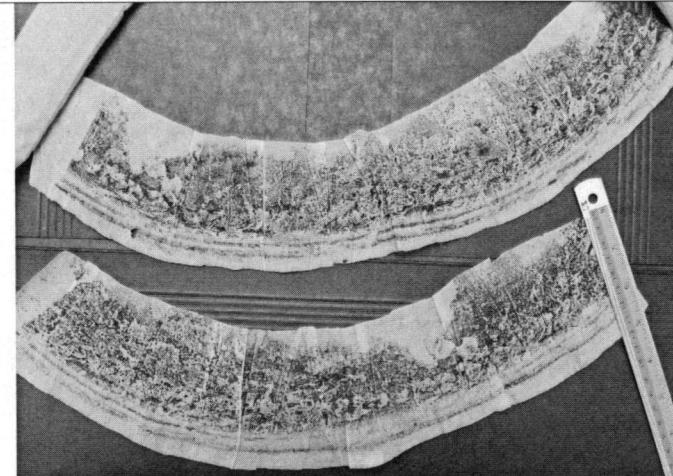
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286/04, detail

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[...]/04, illegible

rubbing : FAD

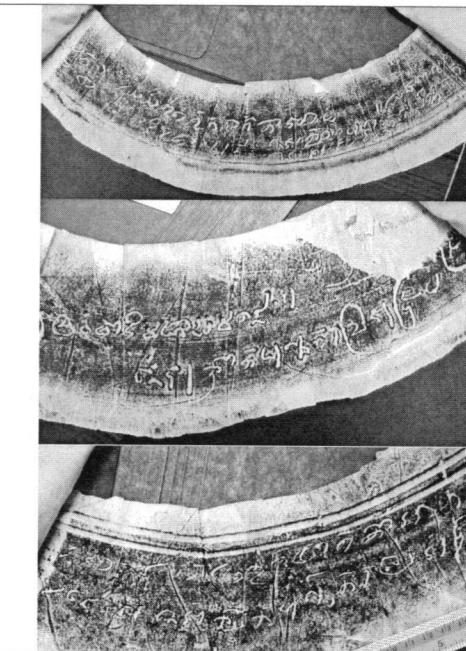
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[...]/04, script ? — Pali only

rubbing : FAD

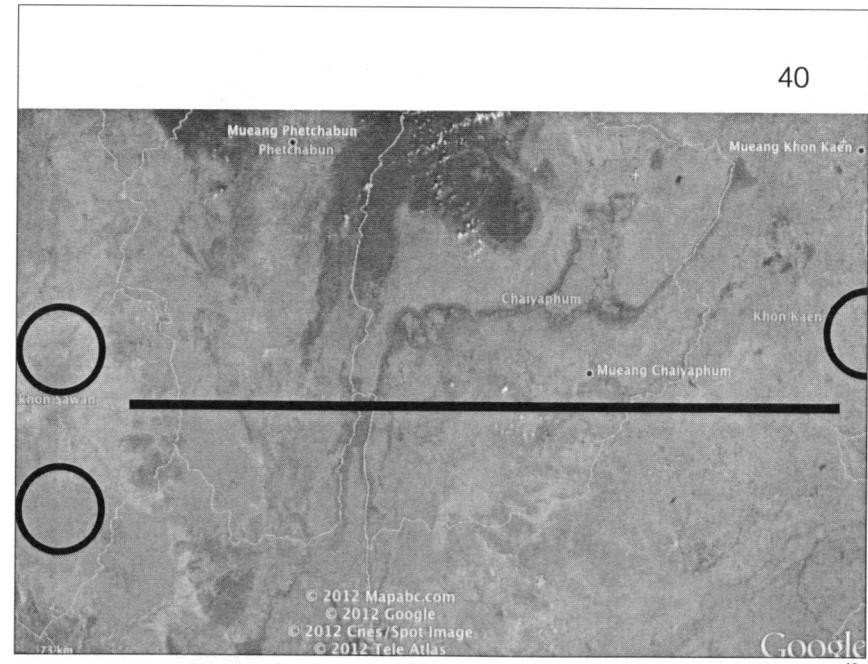


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### III. Interpretations

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## Khmer-Mon axis (isogloss ?) across Si Thep ?

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- Khmer influence in NE limited across axis to NW ?
  - Mon inscriptions of Laos — all wo'-type
  - Coedès 1958, JA, hypothesis  
(K 966, Nakhorn Sawan, Banpot Pisai,  
AD 1167, Pali-Khmer inscription)



Ban Thalat

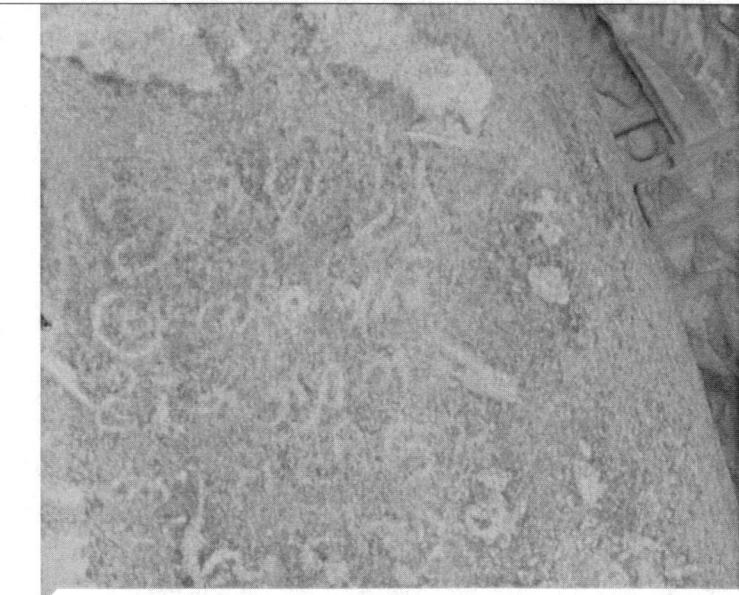
discovered late 1960s  
photo: 2011

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## Language shift scenario in Nakhorn Sawan

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- Mon > Khmer
- Khmer > Thai (earliest Thai inscription #11 / Nw.1 (AD 14th c.))
- implication: Khmer influence
  - in NW/NC-Thai through Mon speakers
  - in C-Thai direct



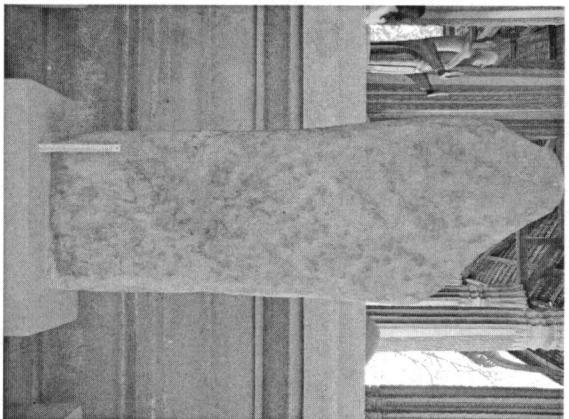
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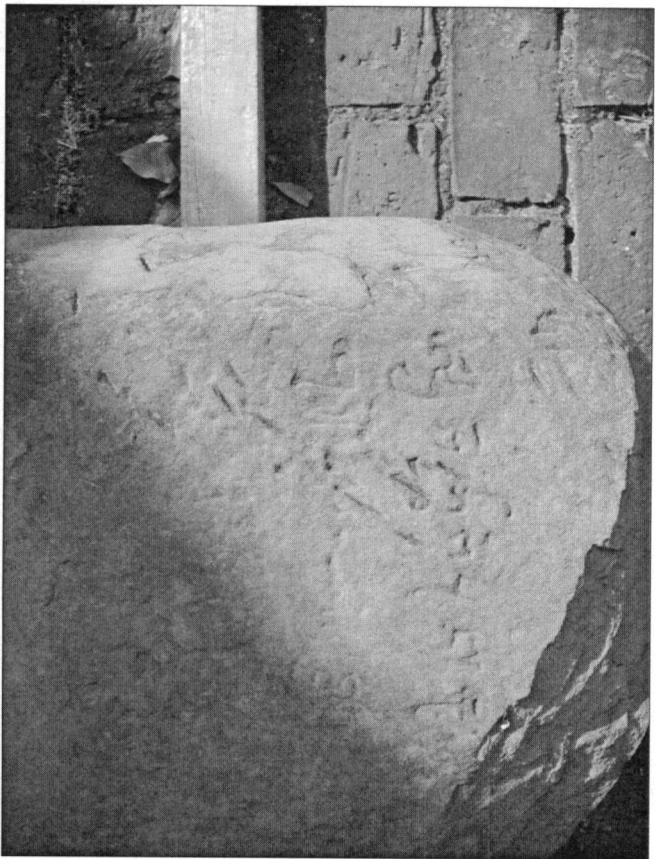
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## AA cognates ? — Shorto 2009

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\***91 \*ni?**; \***nih** *this*.

- a: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric) Kuy **ni:**, Stieng **nedi**, **ni** *this, here*, Sre **ne** *there*, Bahnar **?ney**, **?ni:** *that*, Kammu-Yuan **ni?** *this near at hand*, Khasi **[u &c.]-ne**, Muong **ni** *this* (Barker 1966 21), Central Nicobarese **ene** *that* (pronoun).
- b: (Khmer, Palaungic) Old Khmer **neh**, Middle Khmer **neh neh**, **nih neh**, Riang-Lang **ni** *this*.  
Bahnar **?n-** in deictic also in following, which compare.; as **1475 \*naay**, **1435a \*?[ey]?** &c. Jakun & Sakai (Lanoh) forms at Skeat & Blagden 1906 T 89 are ← Malay.  
Sora **-ne-** in e.g. **ten-ne-** *here*, Kurku **ini** *this*, &c. (Pinnow 1959 337).  
proto-Austronesian **\*in,i** *this*: Malay **ini**, &c. (Dempwolff 1938 69; Dyen 1953 § 133; Dahl 1973 § 15.2). See Benedict 1975 408. (Pou & Jenner 1975 no. 44.)

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## AA cognates ? — Shorto 2009

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**1475 \*n<sub>1</sub>aay** *deictic*.

- a: (Khmer, Khmuic, Viet-Muong) Khmer **ni:ey** *on the far side, over there*, Kammu-Yuan **n<sub>2</sub>ay** *that*, Vietnamese **n<sub>2</sub>ay** (beside **n<sub>2</sub>ay**) *this*.  
Cf. **91 \*ni?** &c. *this*; original compound, as perhaps **1466 \*t<sub>1</sub>aay** *that...* of **65 \*ti?** &c.? But conceivably ← Tai, cf. Benedict 1975 408.

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