

# THE KING OF ŚRĪ DVĀRAVATĪ AND HIS REGALIA

by

*J. J. Boeles*

## Present position.

The present state of knowledge of the history of the Mon Kingdom of Dvāravatī has been summarised by Coedès in 1944.<sup>1)</sup> The epigraphical evidence with regard to Dvāravatī, as found in Siam, was published by Coedès in 1929 and brought up-to-date in 1961.<sup>2)</sup> Though the archaeological Buddhistic evidence of that period is well established by Dupont,<sup>3)</sup> the contemporary historical data concerning Dvāravatī are scarce. The main sources of contemporary information are Chinese texts of which the account of the eminent Buddhist pilgrim Hiuan-Tsang of 648 A.D. seems most informative.<sup>4)</sup> The geographical position of Dvāravatī is described by this pilgrim in these words:<sup>5)</sup>

“Thence north-east, beside the great sea in a valley of the mountains, is the kingdom of 室利差呾 [*Biography* (?)] 羅 Shih-li-ch’a-ta-lo (*Śrīksetra*). Further, to the south-east, in a corner of the great sea is the kingdom of 迦摩浪迦 Chia-mo-lang-chia (*Kāmalāṅka*). Further, to the east, is the kingdom of (?) [*Biography* (?)] 羅鉢底 To-lo-po-ti (*Dvāravatī*). Further, to the east, is the kingdom of 伊賞那補羅 I-shang-na-pu-lo (*Iṣānapura*)<sup>1</sup>. Further, to the east is the kingdom of 摩訶瞻波 Mo-ho-chan-po (*Mahāchampā*); this is what we (Chinese) call 林邑 Lin-i<sup>2</sup>. Further, to the south-west [*Biography* “west”], is the island kingdom of 閩摩那 [*Biography* 羅 lo] Yen-mo-na<sup>3</sup>. In the case of all these six kingdoms the paths across mountains and streams are difficult. He (*sc.* Hsüan-chuang) did not enter their frontiers, but found out by enquiry their customs and territorial boundaries”.

The restoration of To-lo-po-ti, with its several variants, to Dvāravatī has become accepted by historians.<sup>6)</sup> It seems that Chavannes<sup>7)</sup> as early as 1894, was the first writer to have proposed this reconstruction though the actual geographical position of this king-

dom has been a subject of speculation by several later historians. Forty years ago when Coedès published his first volume of inscriptions of Siam, the position of Dvāravatī was formulated by him in the following theory :

“I give provisionally this name to the kingdom of Indian civilisation and Buddhist religion which has left in the south-west of Siam archaeological traces characterised by pronounced archaism and a manifest resemblance with Gupta art. This name, Dvāravatī, mentioned in the 7th century by Hsüan-chuang and I-ching, between Burma on the west and Cambodia on the east, seems to have been borne first by a town situated in the neighbourhood of Subarnaburī or Brah Pathama, and then applied to Ayudhyā (and finally to Bangkok), whenever the capital shifted ”<sup>8)</sup>

Coedès has observed that apart from the reconstruction from To-lo-po-ti from the Chinese texts, the actual name Dvāravatī has not yet been found back in ancient sources, but it is preserved in the official name of the capitals of Siam :<sup>9)</sup> Ayudhya founded in 1350 and Bangkok (Phra Nakorn) in 1781.<sup>10) 11)</sup>

The inhabitants of the Kingdom of Dvāravatī were most likely Mon as has been attested by the Mon language used in several inscriptions of that period. The position of the Mon in Dvāravatī during the early part of the 7th century A.D. has been formulated by Coedès in 1952.<sup>12)</sup> The above summary gives the situation until 1963.<sup>13)</sup>

### **New evidence. The King of Śri Dvāravatī.**

The soundness of the above mentioned theory concerning Dvāravatī has now been proven since the discovery of two new types of silver medals from Nakorn Pathom, each bearing on one side an identical inscription containing the words Śri Dvāravatī, in the so-called Pallava characters of the 7th century A.D. The discoverer of these two medals, the numismat and sinologist-historian Nai Chalmern Yongboonkerd of Bangkok, has permitted the Siam Society Research Centre in 1963, to publish these findings in the JSS.<sup>14)</sup>



Photo I. 1. Top. Silver medal. Dvāravatī. With *pūrṇaghaṭa* symbol.  
 2. Bottom. Silver medal. Dvāravatī. With cow and calf (?) symbol.



Photo II. 3. Reverse of medal of  
 Photo I, 1.



Photo II. 4. Reverse of medal of  
 Photo I, 2.



### Description of the 2 silver medals.

During World War II, in 1943, two small medals (see photos I and II) of very pure silver have been found under a chedi at Huay Chorakay, (Crocodile Stream), Tambol Nern Hin, Changvat Nakorn Pathom, inside a small earthenware jar together with more medals of that type as well as other medals of the conch shell type.<sup>15)</sup> The medals of the conch shell type have since been lost. The Huay Chorakay crosses the road from Bangkok to Nakorn Pathom, under a bridge, reached after having passed the monument Wat Phra Paton. The site Nern Hin (or Nön Hin) is mentioned by Dupont.<sup>16)</sup> The diameter of these two circular coins is 2 cm.; both coins are in the possession of Nai Yongboonkerd. These two silver medals represent two types:

The first type (Photo I, 1.) shows the well known symbol of the full brimming water jar, *pūrṇaghata* or *pūrṇakalāṣa*, from which two tender creepers (*latā*) are sprouting. The second type shows also on the obverse an animal on four straight legs with two short straight horns, feeding a smaller animal standing under her; heads are in opposite directions. It appears to be a cow or a deer with her calf. In Indian numismatics, representations of the sacred cow are known. (Photo I, 2.). Both symbols in relief, are placed within a circle. Both coins on the reverse bear an identical inscription in Pallava characters of the 7th century A.D. from part of which Acharn Mahā Saeng has read the words "*srī dvāravatī*"; the meaning of the other words was not quite clear at a cursory reading at that time.

It seems that these medals constitute two new types. They are not mentioned by le May, Guehler, nor by Malleret.<sup>17)</sup> We have no access here to the literature on coins of that time, found in India or Burma. The importance of these medals is demonstrated by the legend which reads *srī dvāravatī* and their discovery in the Nakorn Pathom area, which is known to have been a centre of the Dvāravatī kingdom and of which its Buddhistic culture flourished between the 6th and 9th century A.D. and ended maybe as late as the 11th century.

At this point we sent the above new data to Professor G. Coedès with the object of obtaining a correct translation of the inscriptions. The immediate reaction of Professor Coedès was to confirm the great importance of this inscription for the early history of Thailand and even more important than we thought, because the reverse of the silver pieces found at Nern Hin reads clearly :

*ṣrīdvāraṇatīvarapunya*

“oeuvre méritoire (c'est à dire : fondation)  
du roi de Ṣrī Dvāraṇatī.”<sup>18)</sup>

Unfortunately to-day there is nothing left of the chedi at Huay Chorakay. Nern Hin was part of the group of Wat Phra Paton as is mentioned in Dupont's work.<sup>19)</sup> Coedès observes that one could ask whether it could not have been the foundation of this great monument which constitutes the *punya* (บุญ) of the King of Dvāraṇatī. The script is indeed that of the 7th century A.D. Professor Coedès confirms that these pieces of silver give us therefore the first contemporaneous mention of the real name of the kingdom of To-lo-po-ti of the Chinese pilgrims. This discovery confirms the theory formulated by Coedès in 1924 and quoted above.

Coedès' theory places Dvāraṇatī in the region of Subarnapuri or of Brah Pathama. The find of the medals pinpoints Dvāraṇatī as having Phra Paton as its centre. It also confirms that the statues of the Buddha of that period, some of them identified by inscriptions on its base, indeed belong to the Dvāraṇatī period.

The new evidence establishes with certainty a Buddhist king of Ṣrī Dvāraṇatī, reigning in the area of Nakorn Pathom in the 7th Century A.D. or 1300 years ago. The first king known to have reigned in a part of present-day Thailand. In accordance with ancient tradition the name Dvāraṇatī is incorporated in the title of the previous capital at Ayudhya.<sup>11)</sup>

กรุงเทพ พระมหานครบรรพตราชวดีศรีอยุธยา

We also may conclude that the official and sacred language used by the King of Dvāravatī on this occasion was Sanskrit. It seems furthermore evident that like the great Emperor Aśoka, the King of Śrī Dvāravatī was not interested in a personality cult, but in the welfare and prosperity of his people and which is expressed in the motives on the obverse of the other medal which shows the full brimming water jar that symbolises abundance in creation. A closer examination of this water jar may tell us more about its origin and meaning. *Pūrṇaghaṭa* or *Maṅgalakalaśa* See Photo I, 1.

The abundance in creation is represented by two elements. The full brimming water jar or *Pūrṇaghaṭa* also known as *Maṅgalakalaśa* shows the element of water as a pre-requisite for all life. There is abundance of water because the water jar is full. The vegetation sprouting from the water is represented by the two identical hanging creepers or *latā*, sprouting from the water in the thick bellied jar, sometimes compared with the womb. These two elements together form the concept of the "vase of abundance".<sup>20)</sup>

This symbol finds its origin in India where however, the water jar in most cases is shown to have a lotus vegetation instead of creepers; also in Ceylon and in the representation in Indonesia, the theme of the lotus vegetation is dominant. One could observe that the lotus as a symbol is connected with beliefs, Buddhistic and/or Hinduistic, whilst the simple creeper represents the reality of nature, because without water no life is possible for human beings on earth. The shape of the water pot, together with the two graceful hanging creepers, in this archaic form is appealing by its moving simplicity. The circle around this symbol could represent the universe and therefore it is a universal symbol which in India has been venerated for more than a thousand years and as such has accumulated power. We cannot recollect to have seen the *pūrṇaghaṭa* symbol used in Khmer art, neither after the Dvāravatī period in Thailand.

### Gaja-Lakṣmī and the Pūrṇaghata on toilet trays in Dvāravatī art.

The *Pūrṇaghata* on the silver medal of the King of Dvāravatī is not unique, in this country the same auspicious symbol appears on a fragment of a small stone toilet tray from the Dvāravatī period and also found in the Nakorn Pathom area. See Photo III. Plate I, 3.

The *pūrṇaghata* is placed at the base of the toilet tray, and it seems standing on a pedestal. Graceful creepers (*latā*) are sprouting from its mouth and are hanging down in curves almost to the base. A flower is seen on the left but we are not at all sure that it is a lotus. In line with the meaning of *latā*, the designation should be creepers, or vegetation in general. It seems as if the *pūrṇaghata* is supporting the huge double lotus placed in a circle in the middle of the toilet tray and which could have served as a container for toilet powder. An elephant is standing above this lotus circle with raised trunk. If we compare this elephant with the pair of tuskless elephants of a second toilet tray, also from the Dvāravatī period, it is clear that this single elephant forms part of the *Gaja-Lakṣmī* composition to which the first representations originate from Central-India, Bharhut and Sāñchī. Drawing 1, of Plate A. shows the comparison. Foucher has attempted to demonstrate that the so-called *Gaja-Lakṣmī* composition from Bharhut and Sāñchī, could be no other than a symbolic representation of the birth of the Buddha as Bodhisattva. Both elephants in their raised trunks hold inverted jars with the water of which the mother of the future Buddha, Queen Mahā Māyā and the—not represented—Bodhisattva, are bathed in the *bodhisattva-abhiṣeka rite* <sup>21)</sup>

A secondary and later interpretation, possibly made during the Gupta period, as adopted by the Hindus, is that of the *Gaja-Lakṣmī* concept in worship of the goddess Lakṣmī, the lovely Indian goddess of fortune and beauty. Coomaraswamy in support of an original *Gaja-Lakṣmī* concept emphatically rejects Foucher's interpretation as the first miracle; the Buddha's nativity. <sup>22)</sup> In the case of the two toilet trays from the Dvāravatī period and in the absence of other specific Buddhist characteristics it seems appropriate that since the



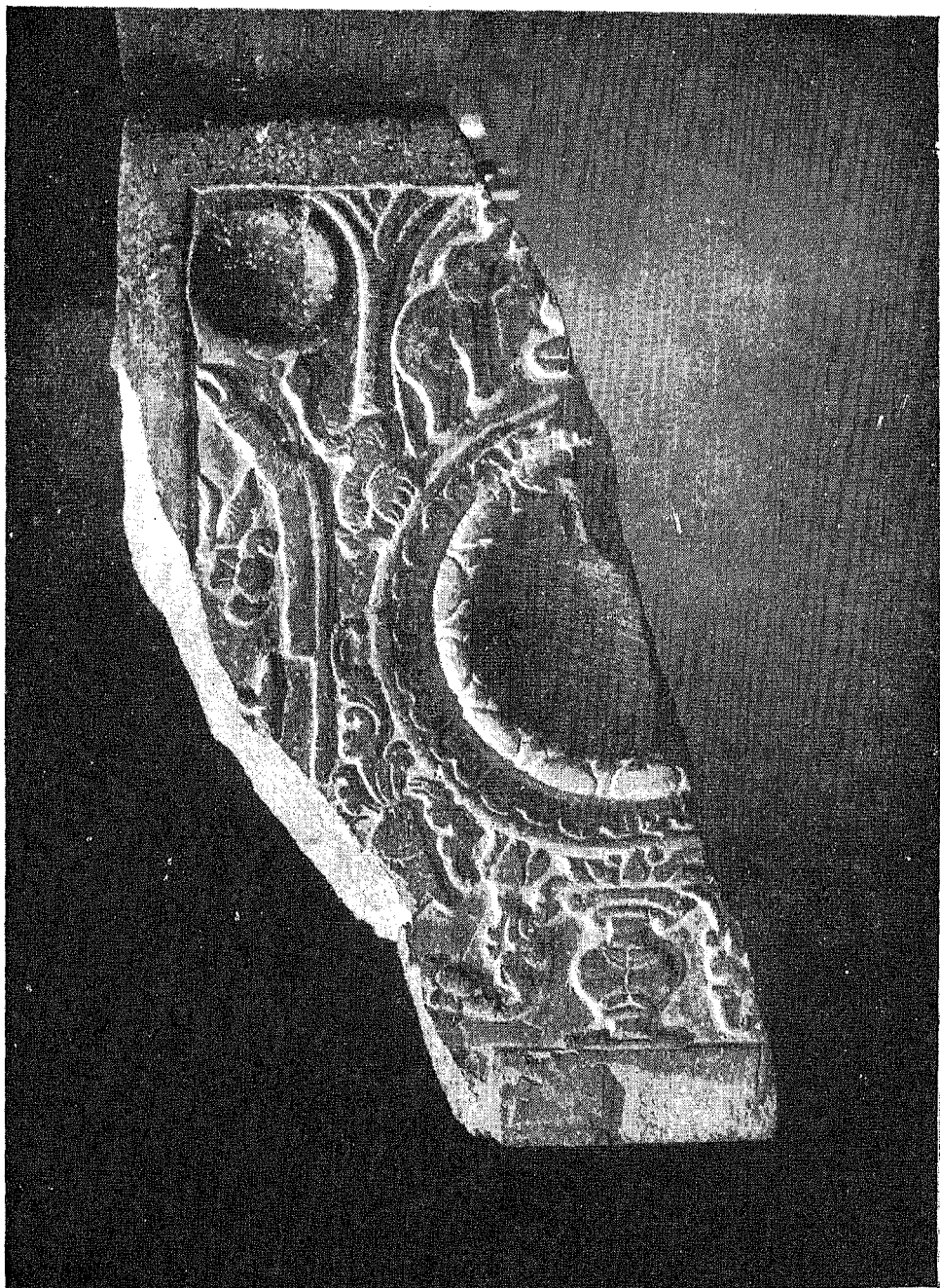


Photo III. Toilet tray. Dvāravatī. Stone, fragment. Height abt. 13 cm.  
( Photo copy-right reserved by Siam Society )

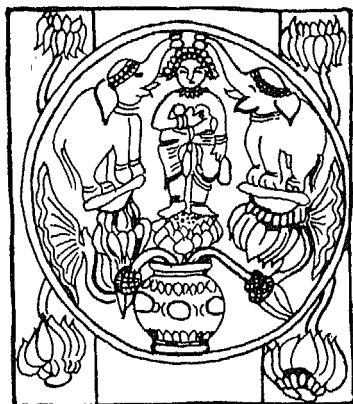




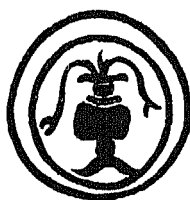
Photo IV. Pūrṇaghaṭa symbol. Dvāravatī  
Detail of toilet tray of photo III.  
( Photo copy-right reserved by Siam Society )



# PURNAGHATA SYMBOL



1 BHĀRHUT  
GAJA-LAKSMĪ



2 DVĀRAVATĪ  
SILVER MEDAL



3 DVĀRAVATĪ  
TOILET TRAY



purpose of a toilet tray is to beautify its user, that it should be dedicated to Lakṣmī, goddess of beauty, born from the milk sea. We therefore prefer to identify her as Gaja-Lakṣmī. This identification is however not final because behind the lone elephant of photo III we see clearly a tree, which could indicate the traditional Lumbinī grove, the birthplace of the future Buddha. We therefore must keep an open mind. Another feature is that the elephants on both toilet trays are no longer standing on lotus flowers like their Indian predecessors. The vase of toilet tray No. 2 is not a specific *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* because the vegetation is absent and therefore we do not know whether it is filled with water. The correct designation in this case is *kumbha*; it is decorated with two heavy ropes crossing in the centre of the thick bellied pot which seems also to stand on a (wooden) pedestal. Photo V.

To complete the description of toilet tray 1 we mention the following attributes placed around the rim of that fragment from bottom to top: (Photo III):

1. Pūrṇa-ghaṭa, on pedestal with creepers, as described.
2. Object below creeper – end, left, uncertain.
3. Fish, flat shape, possibly sea fish, unidentified.
4. Spiral ornament, seemingly to come from the fish' mouth, could indicate waves of the sea.
5. Hook-like fragment, could be part of *aṅkuśa* or elephant's *gōad*.
6. Banner on pole. Could signify the King's army. (*Dvaja*.)
7. A bird (pigeon?) carrying a crab through the air.  
(Story unidentified).
8. Haṃsa (Hong) holding a closed lotus stalk in his mouth.
9. Small circular receptacle for colouring matter? (black or red) for cosmetic purpose?
10. Tree, on top of the head of the Hong; representing Lumbinī?
11. Elephant, standing unadorned, tuskless, raised trunk.  
As described. Raised head turned to the right. *Gaja*.

12. Fragment of seated person with folded legs. *Lakṣmī*.
13. Circular receptacle in the centre, for powder?. Surrounded by double lotus formation.

**Description of Toilet tray 2.** National Museum Bangkok. Dvāravatī period. The great importance of this toilet tray is the fact that it contains a large range of royal insignia of the Dvāravatī period in duplicate, which are grouped around the circular double lotus receptacle. In the first place it is a replica of the universe, a Meru symbol, as will become clear from the description given here:

**Identification of attributes and symbols.** To start at bottom. Photo V.

1. Large thick bellied jar of the *kumbha* type. No vegetation. Standing on a foot? Two thick ropes crossing on the belly. *Kumbha* supporting rosette-like circular lotus receptacle. *Kumbha* is placed on small lotus cushion.
2. Circular receptacle, surrounded by double lotus formed in a rosette, placed in the centre of the rectangular tray. The receptacle most likely held powder or other toilet preparation.
3. *Lakṣmī* is seated, with folded legs, on a lotus cushion. Palms of both hands are raised above the thighs. Wearing garment held up around the middle. No upper garment. It seems that both hands are holding a lotus stalk of which the closed lotus appears above the shoulders next to the head. *Lakṣmī* has a broad smiling face with closed eyes. Large earrings are pending on the shoulders. The goddess forms a composite figure with the two flanking royal elephants facing her and she is therefore identified as *Gaja-Lakṣmī*. Her headdress—if any—is uncertain. *Lakṣmī*, the lotus receptacle under her, and the *kumbha*, constitute a unity of conception. A unity also available in toilet tray 1 and which may derive its origin from Bharhut. These three elements occupy the centre of the tray from top to bottom as well as of the universe.



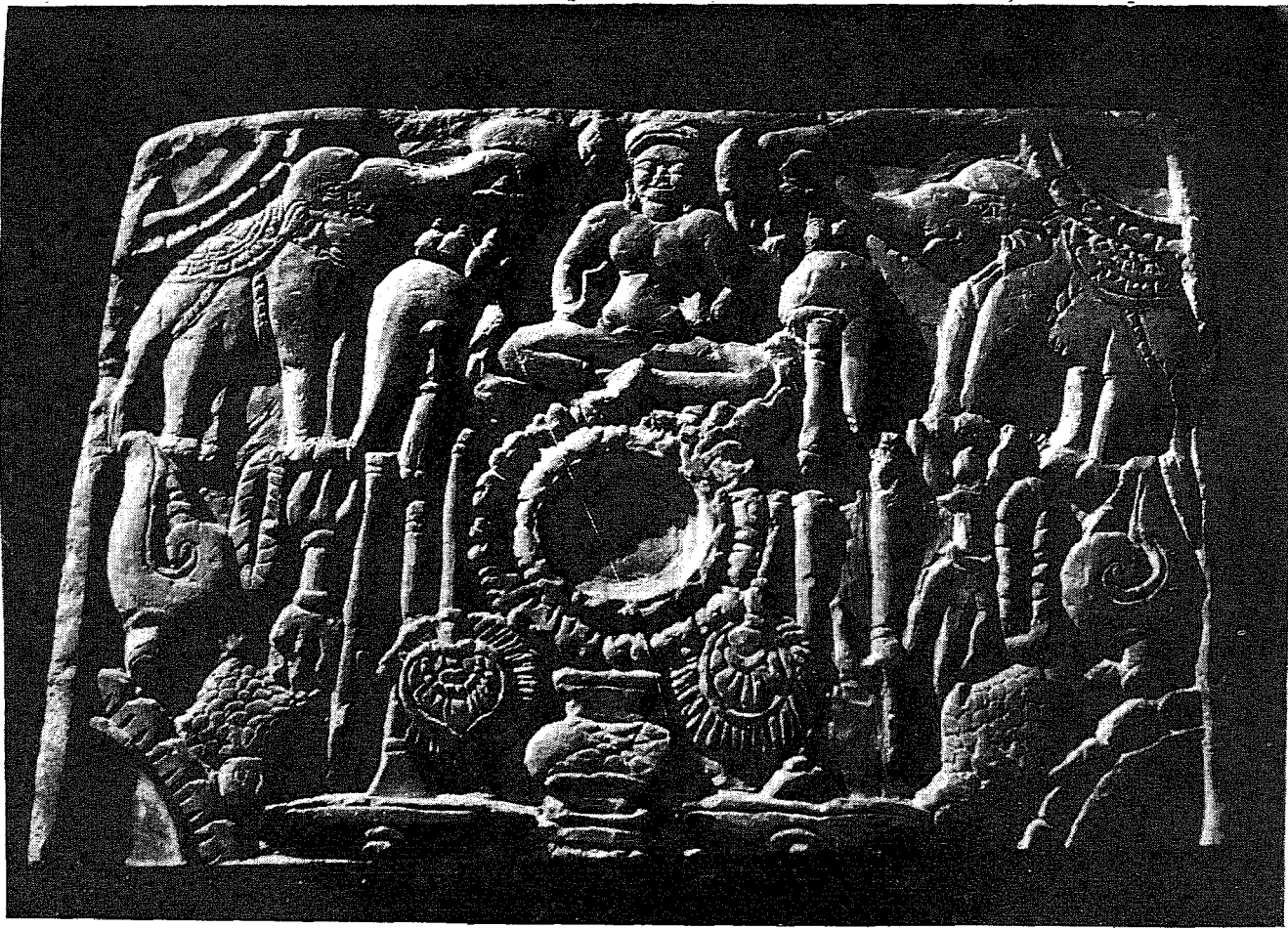


Photo V. *Gaja-Laṣkmī maṇḍala*, or toilet tray. Dvāravatī.

National Museum Bangkok.

With the regalia, ( Photo copy-right reserved by Siam Society )



The identification of the royal insignia gives no problems: The attributes to the right form a pair with the attributes to the left. These are from top to bottom: (Photo: V)

1. 2. Caparisoned (white?) elephants, carry inverted water pitchers in raised trunks, from which 4 streams of flowers are descending.
2. 2 Flywhisks or *cāmara*.
3. 2 Conch shells in erect position; *śaṅkha*.
4. 2 Garlands or rather strings of prayer beads; *akṣamālā*.
5. 2 Thunderbolts or *vajra*. Three-pronged on each end.
6. 2 Elephants goads or *aṅkuṣa*. In reverted position.
7. 2 Royal umbrellas or *chattra*; In reverted position.
8. 2 Royal fans with long handle. In reverted position.
9. 2 Turtles. In reverted position.
10. The goddess *Lakṣmī*, and the pot-bellied jar (*kumbha*).

The toilet tray itself is rectangular. At each of the four corners there is a small receptacle, which is adorned with a curve of lotus flowers. They seem to correspond with the circular receptacle surrounded by lotus flowers and placed in the centre of the toilet tray. This arrangement together with the presence of the auspicious royal emblems, identifies the entire toilet tray as a representation of the universe according to the ancient Indian cosmogony. The cosmic mountain Meru is placed in the centre of the universe with the four continents placed in the four corners of that universe. A conception to be found back in Wat Arun, Dhonburi. Such a replica of the universe is called a *maṇḍala* and as of old the king, the symbolic ruler of the universe or *cakravartin* takes his position in the centre of the *maṇḍala*. As the surrounding emblems are royal emblems or regalia pertaining to a king exclusively, we may conclude that this toilet tray was made for use by the king. In this case the King of Dvāravatī.

The goddess *Lakṣmī* placed at the top, takes her position as one of the great "jewels" of the king, as queen. Without these jewels the king cannot become a *cakravartin*.

The ancient Brahmanical concept prescribes the following seven jewels (*saptaratna*) for the king as Universal Monarch:

(sanskrit)

- |                                       |                   |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Wheel of a thousand rays or spokes | <i>cakra</i>      |
| 2. Elephant                           | <i>hasti</i>      |
| 3. Horse                              | <i>aśva</i>       |
| 4. Gem                                | <i>maṇi</i>       |
| 5. Wife                               | <i>strī</i>       |
| 6. Household chief                    | <i>grha</i>       |
| 7. General                            | <i>pariṇāyaka</i> |

A discussion of these seven jewels and their origin has been given by various authors in detail.<sup>23</sup>

For our purpose we propose to recognize the following jewels on our toilet tray 2: (Photo V):

- |                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| 1. Wheel,           | to be recognized in the central lotus rosette, or an umbrella? The wheel is also to be interpreted as the full moon.                              |
| 2. Elephant,        | as represented by the two caparisoned elephants.  |
| 3. Horse,           | no identification, unless it would be permissible to accept the two flywhisks—made of yak tails—to represent the horse.                           |
| 4. Gem,             | no identification, unless it would be permissible to accept the <i>vajra</i> of Indra— <i>vajra</i> in the sense of diamond—to represent the gem. |
| 5. Wife,            | as represented by <i>Lakṣmī</i> . She is the Queen.   |
| 6. Household chief, | no identification offered, the conch-shell as sacramental vessel, may be his symbol.  |
| 7. General,         | no identification, unless the elephant's goad would be acceptable. The <i>aṅkuśa</i> symbolises the king's army.                                  |

The sacred character of these symbols might even justify an identification of this tablet as a royal reliquary.

Apparently not included in the seven treasures of the Universal Monarch are the remaining symbols on the second toilet tray:

1. The 2 conch shells, or *sankha*.
2. The 2 strings of prayer beads.
3. The 2 royal umbrellas or *chattra*.
4. The 2 royal fans.
5. The 2 turtles (symbols of long life).

Of these additional regalia, the *chattra* is the most important one and it is the emblem that always designates the presence of the king. The royal fans are indispensable in royal processions on land—as witnessed recently in Bangkok—but are not in the same category of importance as the *chattra*. The 2 turtles seem to be sea turtles and as such represent the ocean.

In the episode of the churning of the milk ocean as related in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, the Lord Viṣṇu assumes the form of a tortoise used as pivot for the mountain *Maṇḍara*. A tortoise or turtle is not one of the traditional treasures of the *cakravartin*. The pot-bellied jar is not the traditional *pūrṇaghaṭa* as found in Bharhut and on the toilet tray No. 1. It reminds us however of the jar which is used as container of the *amṛta*—the life elixir of the gods—as portrayed on a lintel above one of the doors of the Khmer monument, Khao Phra Viharn.<sup>24)</sup>

This lintel represents the churning of the milk ocean.<sup>25)</sup> From this cosmic churning a whirl results that is sometimes referred to as the navel of the ocean and one of the principal creations arising from that navel is the goddess *Lakṣmī* who becomes the spouse of the Lord Viṣṇu. We can therefore not resist the temptation to advance her another interpretation of the threefold main theme of this toilet tray No. 2, as an early representation of the churning of the ocean epos from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. The thick bellied jar could be the container of the milk sea from which the *amṛta* is churned. The goddess holding water lilies or a lotus stalk in each hand, has been identified already as *Lakṣmī* created by the churning of the milk ocean. We ask ourselves why we could not identify this lotus rosette placed between the jar and *Lakṣmī* as the milk ocean from the navel of which *Lakṣmī* was born.

It does not however follow that the other specific characteristics of the Lord Viṣṇu, on the maṇḍala are to be considered to take a part in that cosmic event. These symbols are the tortoise and the conch shell. Their place in the maṇḍala seem rather to indicate as to form a part of the regalia which by their nature have been derived from the ancient Hindu gods.

The meaning of the regalia placed in the maṇḍala in two identical sets must be left unanswered at this moment. There is one set that is placed in the right path in the *maṇḍala* and the other set is placed on the left path. With the exception of the flywhisks, these regalia are placed upside down, in an inverted position.

The maṇḍala however clearly consists of two levels. The top level is formed by the *Gaja-Lakṣmī* group and the two fly-whisks. The feet of the elephants are placed on the imaginary line that divides the *maṇḍala* into 2 parts. If we then turn the *maṇḍala* around we see second level in the right position with all the regalia turned upwards. It is possible that we have to understand the *maṇḍala* as a picture of the universe that is in all directions of space. To judge from its style we may classify also this toilet tray as to belong to the Dvāravatī period of art, of which its name has now been established legitimately as a result of the discovery of the inscription on the two silver medals. Our examination of the objects on toilet tray No. 2 warrants the conclusion that the royal attributes described, constitute the regalia of the King of Śrī Dvāravatī. It is hoped that one day, one of these medals of such great value for the history of the country, may find its way to the National Museum.<sup>26</sup>

*A research study by  
The Siam Society  
Research Centre.  
1964*

## NOTES

- 1) G. Coedès. Histoire Ancienne des Etats Hindouisés d'Extrême-Orient. Hanoi, 1944. 93-94. Re-issued as:  
     G. Coedès. Les Etats Hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie, Paris, 1948. 131-2. (New edition; Paris, 1964. p. 145, n. 5)
- 2) G. Coedès. Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam. Deuxième Partie: Inscriptions de Dvāravatī, de Ārīvijaya et de Lavo. Bangkok, 1929.  
     idem. Second, revised edition, Bangkok 1961.
- 3) Pierre Dupont: l'Archéologie Mène de Dvāravatī. Paris 1950. 2 Vols.
- 4) G.H. Luce. Countries neighbouring Burma. J. Burma Res. Soc. XIV, II, 1924. 158-160; 178-182.
- 5) G.H. Luce. Op. cit. p. 159. (The pertaining footnotes are not quoted.)
- 6) P. Pelliot. Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle. BEFEO. IV. 1904. 223.
- 7) E. Chavannes. Mémoire composé à l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang sur les religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la Loi dans les pays d'Occident, 1894. This major source could not be consulted in Bangkok.
- 8) G. Coedès. Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam. Première Partie: Inscriptions de Sukhodaya. Bangkok 1924. Page 1, n. 1, as translated into English by Luce, op. cit. p. 181.
- 9) G. Coedès. Histoire Ancienne des Etats Hindouisés d'Extrême-Orient, 1944; 93.
- 10) Prince Dhani Nivat. The city of Thawarawadi Sri Ayudhya, JSS. XXXI, 1939, 147-153, as quoted by Coedès, op. cit. p. 93, n. 3.

- 11) The original and sealed treaty of Siam with the Netherlands, dated Saka era 1026 (1664 A.D.) concluded in Ayudhya and discovered by the author in the Arsip Nasional Indonesia in Djakarta and which manuscript in Thai, gives the name of the old capital several times and invariably as:  
 กรุงเทพมหานครบรรพตวรทวารวดีศรีอยุธยา  
 or *Krung Devamahānagara Pavara Dvāravatī Sri Ayudhā*. This is a shorter title than the one in Pali cited by Prince Dhani from the official document of 1757 A.D. and repeated by Coedès, op. cit. p. 93, n. 3. The present official title of the capital Phra Nakorn (Bangkok) no longer includes the ancient "Thawara-wadi".
- 12) G. Coedès. Recueil des inscriptions du Siam. II. 2nd. ed. 1961. p. 2-3.
- 13) We have here no access to: O.W. Wolters. Tambralinga, BSOAS, 1958, p. 587, neither to: L.P. Briggs. Dvāravatī, the most ancient kingdom of Siam, JAOS, 65, 1945, p. 98.
- 14) A preliminary announcement of this discovery was made by the author in the University of London-Cornell University, Field Seminar on Social Research; September 30-October 3, 1963, held in the Siam Society.
- 15) U. Guehler; Symbols and marks of Old Siamese Coins. JSS, Vol. XXXVII, Pt. 2, 1949, 124-143. Plate I. n. 3, 5. See also reprint series JSS. Vol. X. 1961, p. 144.
- 16) P. Dupont. op. cit. Vol. I, pages 20 and 65 and indicated on map.



- 17) L. Malleret; *l'Archéologie du Delta du Mékong*. Paris, 1959-1963. 4 Vols. *Le May; The Coinage of Siam*. 1961. Reprint.
- 18) G. Coedès; private communication dated 12th September 1963.  
Translation in English:  
"Meritorious work (deed) (that is to say: foundation) of the King of Śrī Dvāravatī".
- 19) P. Dupont: *op. cit.* 65.
- 20) C. Krishna Gairola; *Evolution du pūrṇa ghata (vase d'abondande) dans l'Inde et l'Inde extérieure*. *Arts Asiatiques*, Tome I, (1954), Fasc. 3, pp. 209-226.  
  
Sergiu Al-George et Arion Rosu; *Pūrṇa ghata et le symbolisme du vase dans l'Inde*. *Arts Asiatiques*; Tome IV (1957), Fasc. 4, pp. 243-254.  
  
Arion Rosu; *Pūrṇa ghata et le symbolism du Lotus dans l'Inde*. *Arts Asiatiques*, Tome VIII (1961), Fasc. 3, pp. 163-194.  
  
For Central-Java cf. A.J. Bernet Kempers; *Ancient Indonesian Art*. 1959. pl. 130, from Chaṇḍi Sewu.
- 21) A. Foucher; *On the iconography of the Buddha's Nativity*. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*. No. 46. Delhi. 1934. p. 16, 22.
- 22) Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. *La sculpture de Bharhut*. Paris, 1956. p. 83 Pl. XL. Fig. 122, 123. For discussion of the controversy cf. *P. Mus. BEFEO*. XXXV. 1935, 397-404.
- 23) L.A. Waddell's article on *Jewels in: Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (E.R.E.) Vol. VII, 553-7*.  
H.G. Quaritch Wales. *Siamese State Ceremonies*. 1931. 92-115.
- 24) Cf. Charles Nelson Spinks. *Siam and the Pottery Trade of Asia*. *JSS*. Vol. XLIV. part 2, 1956, 61-111.

Photograph. after p. 84. Also Reprint Series JSS. Vol. X. 1959, p. 283.

- 25) Cf. A.K. Bhattacharyya. The Theme of Churning of the Ocean in Indian and Khmer art. Arts Asiatiques. 1959. T. VI. 121-134.
- 26) After the conclusion of this research, we received a copy of Nai Yong Boonkerd's article on his discovery, published in Sām Tahāra (สามทหาร) Vol. 3. Part 2, 1964. under the title Tawārawadi? p. 39-43. In Thai.

### Notes to illustrations

Photo I and Photo II, Both silver medals are in private collections in Bangkok.

Photo III. A dark greenish, clayey sandstone (?). Origin Nakorn Pathom province. Original shape square? Private collection Bangkok.

Plate A. Pūrṇaghāṭa symbol:

1. Redrawn from: Arion Rosu. Arts Asiatiques, VIII, 1961, fig. 1. Cf. A. Coomaraswamy. La sculpture de Bharhut, 1956. Pl. XL. fig. 123. (Bharhut period: II-I st. Cent. B.C.)
2. Pūrṇaghāṭa, from medal of Photo IV; enlarged.
3. Pūrṇaghāṭa, from toilet tray fragment of Photo IV; enlarged.

Photo IV. Toilet tray and Maṇḍala. Clay tablet.

National Museum Bangkok.

Origin: Nakorn Pathom Chedi. Nos. 129 and 54.

Light brown colour. Measurements: abt. 19 × 14 × 2.5 cm.

Photo by the author.

The author is indebted to Prof. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw for her identification as a toilet tray.